The *Lay Folks' Catechism* – An Edition

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Abstract

This thesis presents the first critical edition of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* using the previously unpublished Oxford, Bodleian MS Don.c.13 as the base text. The list of extant witnesses is revised and includes the newly discovered Chetham Library fragment. The edition presents detailed manuscript descriptions, variants from all 26 witnesses, notes on the text and a comprehensive glossary. The introduction considers the roles of Archbishop Thoresby and the Benedictine John de Gaitrik in commissioning and composing the *Catechism*, and its sources and orthodoxy are confirmed. Scribal presentation of the text as verse or prose is re-examined in conjunction with Gaitrik's use of punctuation and various literary devices, and a new conclusion reached concerning the text's construction. The *Catechism*'s distribution and circulation, its effectiveness as a didactic text, and the transition from northern clergy to non-secular ownership are discussed. The edition establishes the importance of the *Catechism* in late medieval vernacular pastoralia aimed at a pious lay audience.

Acknowledgements

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My sincerest thanks to the archivists, librarians and other staff at the many repositories who have provided images of manuscripts and trusted me to handle manuscripts. I am extremely grateful to Fergus Wilde for bringing to my attention to the newly found fragment at Chetham Library.

I am especially grateful for the scholarly interest and advice generously provided by Professors A. S. G. Edwards and Susan Powell. I am grateful to Ardis Butterfield for being my mentor at Yale, and introducing me to Ian Cornelius, who granted early access to his excellent work on my text. I am indebted to Professor Ralph Hanna for his palaeographic assistance, wit and wisdom.

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Manuscript sigla

A	London, British Library Add. MS 25006
B	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 789
C	Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 155
D	Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.39
E	London British Library Harley MS 6615
F	Cambridge University Library MS Ff.5.40
G	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève MS 3390
H	London, British Library Harley MS 1022
J	Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.4.9
K	Cambridge, University Library Add. MS 6686
L	Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 91
La	London, Lambeth Palace MS 408
M	London, British Library Add. MS 24202
N	Nottingham, University Library Middleton MS LM 9
O	Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 60
P	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.285
Q	Oxford, Queen's College MS 389B
R	Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.288
S	Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 55
T	York, Borthwick Institute Register 11
U	Oxford, Bodleian MSS Eng.th.e.181 / Douce 274 / Douce 273
V	Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.12
W	Tokyo, Keio University MS 9 (*olim* Hopton Hall)
X	London, British Library MS Arundel 507
Y	New Haven, Yale University Library, MS Beinecke 317
Z	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Don.c.13

Abbreviations

BVV	*The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *a 14th century English translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens D'Orleans,* W. Nelson Francis, ed. EETS os 217 (Oxford, 1942; Reprint 1987)
DIMEV	*Digital Index of Middle English Verse (*http://www.dimev.net/)
DRBO	Douay-Rheims Bible Online (http://drbo.org/)
EETS	Early English Text Society; os Ordinary Series, es Extra Series, ss Supplementary Series
Eng. MSS	*The English manuscripts of Richard Rolle : a descriptive catalogue*, Ralph Hanna, ed. (Exeter, 2010)
IMEP	*The Index of Middle English Prose*, vols. i-xxii, (Cambridge, 1984-2016)
IPMEP	*The Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, Robert E. Lewis, Norman Francis Blake, A. S. G. Edwards, eds., (New York, 1985)
Fol(s).	Folio(s)
LALME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *eds.,* 4 Vols., (Aberdeen, 1986)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary* (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/)

MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
Reg. 11	York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 11
Reg. 13	York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 13
YW	*Yorkshire Writers : Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers*, Carl Horstman, ed., 2 Vols., (London, 1895-6)

Introduction

John Thoresby, Archbishop of York 1352-73, issued a mandate during 1357 in which he expressed the concerns shared with his Council regarding *intollerabilis ignorancia*, contradictory and superflous preaching, and those who were 'inwardly ignorant of the basis of our faith'.[1] The mandate requests *dompno J.*[ohn] *de Gaitrik, monacho*, to produce a vernacular text containing such items as the articles of faith, the commandments, *et alia*, the details of which would be sent separately in a Latin schedule.

The Latin schedule was issued from the archbishop's palace at Cawood on 25 November 1357 and contained six tenets: *articulos fidei, praecepta tam novi quam veteris testamenti, opera misericordiae, virtutes principales, gratiae sacramenta et peccata mortalia*.[2] These were to be circulated via the archdeacons to all rectors, vicars, chaplains, and curates to teach and preach on Sundays so that all Christians in the Province could learn them. The clergy were to test their parishioners' knowledge annually at Easter, when those able to recite the tenets would receive *quadraginta dies indulgentiae* while those could not would receive suitable penance. It is safe to assume the *Catechism* was composed at the end of 1357, given Thoresby's urgency in requesting the text be circulated without delay.

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[1] BL MS Cotton Galba E.x., fols. 73r-74ra. The mandate is published together with a translation in R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Medium Aevum* 60 (Oxford, 1991), 92-100 at 98-100. The Latin and its translation are presented at Appendix A, item 1.

[2] Reg. 11, fols. 297v-298r.

John Gaitrik was a Benedictine monk at St Mary's Abbey, York, whose name continued to be associated with the *Lay Folks' Catechism*.[3] He has been identified as a trusted companion of the archbishop, specifically selected for the task.[4] Thoresby had requested that Gaitrik restrain his 'flowery elegance' in favour of 'clarity of meaning', for the benefit of those of mean learning, i.e. his intended audience.[5] Gaitrik's vernacular expansion is 'terse, factual, and utterly devoid of theological speculation',[6] yet it fulfils the requirements of the archbishop and his council. In issuing a simple, standard text Thoresby intended for claims of ignorance to be denied, whether through lack of learning, as a result of misunderstanding over complicated sermons, or as an excuse for the insubordinate.

A postscript to Thoresby's schedule stipulates that permission to preach was not being granted as part of the text: *Nostrae tamen intentiones non exist[un]t aliquibus personis ad praedicandum indultis per praesentes in aliquo praejudicare*. This was not conveyed in Gaitrik's translation and is not included in any of the text's witnesses.[7]

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[3] The monk is named in four witnesses: 'Johannem de Taystek' (H, fol. 213v); 'Iohn Gaytryge' (L, fol. 213v); 'Joh*an*is de Caterig' (X, fol. 50r); and 'Gaitrig' (Z, fol. 162v). However, the spelling used here is taken from Thoresby's mandate in MS Cotton Galba E.x., fol. 73r, 'dompno J.[ohn] de Gaitrik', as it is addressed to the monk directly.

[4] R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Medium Aevum* 60 (Oxford, 1991), 92-100 at 94 .

[5] Swanson, 100

[6] Anne Hudson, 'A New Look at the *Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Viator* 16 (1985), 243-259 at 244.

[7] Reg. 11, fol. 298.

The *Catechism* survives in 26 manuscripts.[8] The complete witnesses are ACGHLNSTVXZ; and reworked versions of the text are BELaRUWY.[9] Seven manuscripts contain fragments, DFJKMPQ, and there is a newly discovered fragment, O. ACHKLOPQTVXZ are Northern, the remainder are of midlands or East Anglian dialects. The (mostly) Northern witnesses ACHGNOQVZ present the *Catechism* as lineated verse, and it is otherwise compressed into punctated prose. LTZ are the most reliable witnesses, and contain fewest errors.

The *Catechism* will be familiar to scholars from previous editions, the most frequently referenced being that of Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolleth who published the text in parallel from T and La.[10] Having already published in the same series *The Lay Folks* [sic] *Mass Book* and *The Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, the text was given its current name. Nolleth (following the death of Simmons) expresses in his introduction caution in so doing.[11] However, it is entirely

[8] I have examined all manuscripts, with the exception of W (Keio University Library MS 9).

[9] This is adjusted from the classification by Anne Hudson, who places the fragment Q and the slightly expanded R in the group 'complete, or virtually so, or may reasonably be conjectured to have been'. Hudson places B with the manuscripts containing 'extracts only'. B and H are acephalous, with the loss of text resulting from misplaced folios or misbinding, but can otherwise be considered as containing the majority of the text. Hudson was unaware of the fragment O. Hudson, 'A New Look', 245-7. In her second paper, Hudson identifies Oxford, Bodleian MSS Eng.th.e.181 / Douce 274 and Douce 273 as formerly being a single codex, to which she assigns the siglum U. Anne Hudson, 'The *Lay Folks' Catechism*: a postscript', *Viator* 19 (1988), 307-310.

[10] Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolleth, eds. *The Lay Folks' Catechism,* EETS os 118, (London, 1901).

[11] Simmons & Nolleth, xxix-xxxix.

appropriate as the text was intended for the benefit of the laity, and is catechistic in that it provides the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. The text in L is reproduced by George Perry and Norman Blake, with the latter making brief comparisons with V.[12] Neither had the benefit of knowing that the *Catechism* survives in numerous manuscripts. A modern critical edition is now due.

This edition is based on Z as the most superior witness. Where Z is corrupt, the text is supplemented by LT. This presents a version of the *Catechism* which most closely resembles the lost archetype.[13] Substantial variants from all witnesses are given in a comprehensive apparatus, with lengthier interpolations given at Appendices B and C. Appendix D lists the variants from the fragments. The text is accompanied by selective notes and a full glossary is provided. The introduction discusses the composition, distribution & ownership of the text, and commences with the manuscript descriptions.

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[12] George Gresley Perry, ed., 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon' in *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1914), 1-15, and Norman F. Blake, 'John Gaytryge's Sermon' in *Middle English Religious Prose*, (London, 1972), 73-87. A fourth edition is now available: Thomas Haydyn Williams, *An Edition of Manuscript Bodley 789 – Aspects of Late Medieval Affective Piety in England,* PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007.

[13] Hudson, 'A New Look', 247-8.

Manuscript descriptions

Anne Hudson first published the list of manuscripts then identified as containing the *Catechism*.[14] The allocation of sigla follows that of Hudson, with the following changes. Two manuscripts listed by Hudson were not allocated a siglum: London, BL Addit. MS 25006 (A); and London, Lambeth Palace MS 408 (La). Another three manuscripts contain texts which are similar in content to, but are not, the *Catechism*: Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 66 (Hudson's I manuscript); Cambridge Trinity College MS B.14.19 (Hudson's O manuscript); and York Minster XVI.L.12, to which Hudson did not allocate a siglum.[15] A new fragment of the *Catechism* has recently been discovered, item 60 of Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 60, to which I have reallocated the siglum O. The descriptions include where possible the DIMEV, IPMEP or Jolliffe numbers.[16] Where no number is given, that witness is not listed in those publications. Measurements in the manuscript descriptions are given in mm.

A London, British Library MS Add. 25006

s.xv. Parchment. Fols. 11. Overall size 275 x 175 (fols. are irregular sizes); writing area generally 197 x 126, 27 to 31 long lines; fols. 10^{r}-10^{v} in two columns, 35 lines in column A and 17 lines in column B, plus four lines of notation. Written in secretary hand. Post 1600 binding.

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[14] Hudson, 'A New Look', 245-7. In her subsequent paper, Hudson observes the Bodleian manuscripts as originally being a single codex, and it is allocated the siglum U. Hudson, A postscript', 307-310.

[15] Hudson, 'A New Look', 249.

[16] P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974).

CONTENTS.

1. **1^{r}-9^{v} *Lay Folks' Catechism* (DIMEV 671) - Lines 1-76 as punctuated prose, thereafter lineated as verse**
2. 10^{r}-11^{v} *Tabula super omelias*, fragment of a Latin homily
3. 11^{v} *A Father's Instructions to his Son* (DIMEV 4995)

COLLATION. A single quire: iiii + 8 $^{+ 3}$ (? lacks 1) + iiii

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Several gaps appear in the text, which are due to erasures: fol. 5^{r}, line 1; fol. 6^{v}, line 2; fol. 7^{r}, line 10.

LANGUAGE. Item 1 from north west Yorkshire (LP 596, unmapped).[17]

PROVENANCE. Fourth flyleaf verso:

> See another copy [in]tricately arranged, in MS Harley 1022. fol. 65b /[18] where it is stated to have been translated / from the Latin order of John Thoresby / Abs of York by John de Taysteke [sic],[19] monk of / the monastery of S. Mary York in 1357 / See also MS Arundel 507 art. [...] /[20] there is it ascribed to John de Caterige / Monk of York', with signature 'JM'.

Fourth flyleaf recto: 'Purchased at Sir [Francis] Palgrave's sale 20 Nov 1862 / Lot 34.'; fol. 1^{r} footer: 'Folia M*anuscri*pta No. 11', in a modern hand.

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[17] LALME 3:572-3.

[18] Fol. 65v contains DIMEV 5914, with the *Catechism* commencing on the following fol.

[19] The reading in H is 'Gaystek'. See below.

[20] The current fol. 50r of X.

DESCRIPTIONS. *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the British Museum in the year MDCCCLIV – MDCCCLXXV*, Vol. II., 138-39

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789

s.xv. Parchment. Fols. 162. Overall 215 x 150 (writing area: 130 x 83 approx.), 18 lines in single column, written in textura formata by one scribe. Early s.xvi binding.

CONTENTS.

MS 1

1.	1^{r}-51^{v}	Pseudo-Bonaventuran, *Meditation on the Passion*
2.	**51^{v}-68^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism* - Acephalous, commencing at line 50, prose with medial and final pointing**
3.	68^{v}-85^{r}	*Speculum peccatoris*, Latin
4.	85^{v}-94^{r}	*Formula honeste vite*, Latin
5.	94^{v}-95^{r}	*De morte tua cogita,* Latin prayer
6.	95^{r}-96^{r}	*O bone Ihesu,* Latin prayer
	96^{v}	Blank

MS 2

7.	97^{r}-102^{v}	Exposition on Pater Noster (IPMEP 810)
8.	102^{v}-104^{v}	Ave Maria (IPMEP 455)
9.	104^{v}-105^{r}	Creed, 'I bileue in god fader almiɜti makere of heuene and of erþe'

10. 105^{r}-108^{v} Form of confession, 'I knowleche to God almiɜti and to his blesside moder Marie and to alle his seyntis'[21]
11. 108^{v}-120^{v} Ten Commandments (IPMEP 49)
12. 120^{v}-123^{r} Deuteronomy 28 (abridged translation)
13. 123^{r}-139^{v} *Ars moriendi* (ch. 5 of Suso's *Horologium sapientae*, in English)
14. 139^{v}-143^{r} *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, ch. AB, ends with 'Whanne þou schapist þe to praie' (Jolliffe M.15)
15. 146^{r}-^{v} 'Orison to the Holy Trinity' (DIMEV 417)
16. 148^{r}-149^{r} 'Ihesu for þi precious blood' (DIMEV 2846)
17. 149^{r} 'Jesu for Thy wounds wide' (DIMEV 2850)
18. 149^{r}-150^{r} 'Mi leeve liif þat lyvest in welþe' (DIMEV 3624)
19. 150^{r}-152^{r} Short exposition on the Pater Noster, 'Pater noster þat is lorde oure fader ɜiue us grace þat we mowe plese þee'
20. 152^{r}-156^{r} 'An ABC of the Passion' (DIMEV 2494)
21. 156^{r}-^{v} 'Here ben foure þingis þat maken god oure freend' (JolliffeI.17)
22. 157^{r}-160^{r} 'þis be wordis of greet cumfort to seke men' (JolliffeL.7)
23. 160^{r}-161^{v} Prayer on Christ's seven words on the cross, 'Lord Ihesu crist þat spekist seuene wordis in þe laste ende of þi liif hangynge on the cros'

162^{r}-^{v} Blank (former pastedown)

COLLATION.ii + 1-15^{8}, 16^{6}, 17-20^{8}, 21^{6} (4-6 cancelled), 22^{2} (1 cancelled) + ii

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Rubricated, with decorated initials between two and seven lines high in blue and red. Catchwords, often boxed,

[21] Two fols. are missing, omitting approximately 70 lines.

and signatures. Numerous marginalia – those marked by a paraph are by the same scribe, plus some in s.xvii hand.

The first nine lines of 97^{r} have been scraped away, so that the Pater Noster is now the start of the following quire. This may indicate that a text has been censored, firstly by removing an entire quire, secondly by erasing the text's final nine lines, or that the removed text was not thought relevant to what follows. References to purgatory have been removed from fols. 135^{r} and 136^{r}; 'pene temporarie' in margin of 136^{r} in ?s.xvii hand.

LANGUAGE. Gloucestershire.[22]

PROVENANCE. Fol. 1r 'The gifte of S*ir* James Lee', s.xvii or s.xviii.[23] Fol. 155r 'Henricus Feld', s.xvi. Fol. 162r, 'Exiguu*m* munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus accipito placide et plene laudere memento', beneath this is 'Edm*undo* Smythe owthe this boke' and 'Donat patri, abs avu*n*culo, Edmundo Smith. Paginar*i* numeri examinati. Et sunt o*mn*io folia : 162. A*nn*o D*ominus* 1601 : Octob*e*r'. Fol. 162v, 'Orate pro ?ab a*nima*bus Isabelle Willelmi Katerine Joha*nn*is Isabelle Henrici Saui & a*nim*ab*us* omnium' (note for prayers), ?s.xv.

DESCRIPTIONS. Arnold, iii, 82-92. J.C. Hirsch, 'Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England: MS Bodley 789' *Medium Ævum*, Volume 48 (1979), 55–66. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the*

[22] Maria José Carrillo-Linares and Edurne Garrido-Anes, 'Middle English Word Geography: methodology and applications illustrated' in *English Historical Linguistics 2006: selected papers from the Fourteenth International Conference on English*, eds. Marina Dossena, Richard Dury and Maurizio Gotti, (Bergamo, 2008), 67-90, at 83.

[23] Williams explores the possible identity of Sir James Lee as that of Lord Treasurer (1624) and Earl of Marlborough (1626), and owner of Bodley 288, 770, and 780. Williams, *An Edition*, 5.

Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1968) 317-18. Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse', *Modern Philology* 36 (1939), 337-50. Ryan Perry, *Geographies of Orthodoxy* (http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/)

EDITION. Thomas Hadyn Williams, *An Edition of Manuscript Bodley 789 – Aspects of Late Medieval Affective Piety in England,* unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham 2007.

C Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 155

s.xv^{ii}. Parchment. Fols. 274. Overall size: 200 x 140 mm (writing area: 145 x 80), 130 x 121 (85 x 140-50), 25 lines. Single hand (apart from initial table of contents), in anglicana formata. 'Rough blind-filleted calf on pasteboard, sewn onto four bands, two cloth ties, medieval parchment pastedowns'.[24]

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{v}	Table of contents (s.xv^{ii} hand)
2.	2^{r} – 2^{v}	Table of contents (in main scribal hand)
3.	3^{r} – 10^{v}	?Robert Grossteste, *De pena purgatorii*, ends imperfectly in ch. 5
4.	11^{r} – 12^{r}	*Narratio* of a king and his four sons
5.	12^{r} – 13^{v}	Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermo de dignitale sacerdotum*
6.	13^{v} – 14^{r}	Petrus Quivel's *Summula* (prologue only)
7.	14^{r} – 15^{v}	*De amore Mundi*
8.	16^{r} – 24^{r}	*Summula confessionis*

[24] R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, (Cambridge, 2011) 80-82, at 80.

9. 24^{r} – 39^{r} Hugo de St Caro's *Speculum ecclesiae*
10. 39^{r} – 49^{v} Episcopal constitutions
11. 43^{r} – 49^{v} Latin treatise on the seven deadly sins
12. 49v – 81^{v} Innocent III, *De miseria humanae conditionis*
13. 82^{r} – 139^{v} *Speculum sacerdotum*
14. 140^{r} – 145^{r} Latin notes
    145^{v} Blank
15. 146^{r} – 205^{v} *Speculum Christiani*
16. 205^{v} – 206^{r} *Bernardus de ecclesie prelatis*
17. 206^{v} – 214^{r} *Speculum peccatoris*
18. 214^{r} – 238^{v} Rolle's *Emendio vitae*. Ends at line 9, the rest of the fol. is blank
19. **239^{r} – 250^{v} *Lay Folks' Catechism* (DIMEV 671)[25] – Verse, unpunctuated**
20. 250^{v} Creed, ascribed to each of the apostles (DIMEV 2295)
21. 251^{r-v} Ave Maria
22. 252^{r} – 256^{r} Treatise on the mass
23. 256^{v} – 260^{r} *Lay Folks' Mass Book* (DIMEV 5537)[26]
24. 260^{r} – 268^{v} *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 39)[27]
25. 269^{r} *Duodecim benedicta* and *duodecim articuli fidei*
26. 269^{v} – 274^{r} *[D]e diversis casibus et perculosis in missa contingentibus*

COLLATION.ii + 1^{8}, 2^{10} (wants 6-10), 3-9^{8}, 10^{10}, 11-33^{8}, 34^{8} (wants 4-8; 2 and 3 in reverse order), 35^{6}. Two quires of 8 missing after 1, and five leaves plus two quires of eight after 34.

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[25] DIMEV incorrectly gives 237r-248r.

[26] DIMEV incorrectly gives 250v-258r.

[27] A photostat of the missing Cotton Vespasian D.XIII has been attached to the stub following fol. 268.

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Two-line, blue initials, flourishes in red. Some pricking where not trimmed. Boxed catchwords, and signatures.

LANGUAGE. North Riding of Yorkshire (LP 197).[28] Items 19 and 21 are from the Rievaulx area of North Riding of Yorkshire. Item 22 in same hand as the *Catechism*, 'language probably mixed; appears to contain a N Lincs component'.[29]

PROVENANCE. Fol. 1^{r}, upside down, 'M E Nettleton' (s. xvi); fol. 1^{v} 'CMA nos 1622, 155' and 'D.1.2.', (s.xvii^{ex} or xviii); 2^{v} and 274^{v} inscription 'Liber beate Marie de Rievalle ex procuracione domini Willelmi Spenser, Abbotis eiusdem';[30] colophon 'Explicit speculum christiani quod dominus Johannes Watton', from which the *Speculum Christiani* has been ascribed to John Watton. Thompson notes that John Nettleton of Hutton Cranswick, ERY, (who also owned Thornton ms., BL Add 33994) may have owned the manuscript, from whom it passed to Henry Savile of Banke.

DESCRIPTIONS. R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford,* (Cambridge, 2011), 80-82. Sarah J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *IMEP Handlist VIII: A handlist of manuscripts containing Middle English prose in Oxford college libraries* (Cambridge, 1991), 22-3.

D Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.39

s.xiv. Parchment. Fols. 77. Overall size: 145 x 100 (writing area: 116 x 75), 22-32 lines per page, written in two anglicana hands.

[28] LALME 1:152; also Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82.

[29] LALME 1:152.

[30] William Spenser was abbot of Rievaux, 1436-49.

CONTENTS.

	1^{r}	Blank
1.	**1^{v}-2^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) - Lines 380-444, as prose with medial and final pointing**
2.	3^{r}-16^{v}	'Of wedded men ande þer wyues and þer childer' (IPMEP 521)
3.	16^{v}-72^{v}	'þo Actus of Apostuls' (IPMEP 413)
4.	72^{v}-74^{v}	Pater Noster
5.	74^{v}	'Understanding I shall thee send' (DIMEV 6107)
	75^{r}-77^{v}	Blank, with alphabet trials on 76^{r}

COLLATION. i + 1^{2}, 2-7^{12}

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Red initials throughout. Catchwords. Pen trials on 'flyleaf'. The volume has been trimmed, losing marginalia.

LANGUAGE. LALME localizes Hand A (item 1) and Hand B (items 2-5) to Nottinghamshire (specifically, Hand B is LP 2).[31]

PROVENANCE. Fol. 75^{v} 'Thes ys master thornes bok clothworker of London'; fol. 76^{r} 'the lord be with you'; fol. 76^{v} 'This is mastere thernes booke whoso ever findeth it i praye you to lette hym haue it agayne so be it amen'; and fol.77^{v} 'John Feldes bok' – all s.xvi.

DESCRIPTIONS Charles Hardwick and Henry Richard Luard, eds., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Ed. for the Syndics of the University Press*, 2 Vols (Cambridge, 1856-67), 1:489-90. Margaret Connolly, *IMEP: Handlist*

[31] LALME 1:66.

XIX: Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Dd-Oo) (Cambridge, 2009), 73-4.

E London, British Library MS Harley 6615

s.xv$^{2/4}$. Parchment. Fols. 152. Overall size: 155 x 110 (110/120 x 65/70). Fols. 100-122 x 72-77. 21 to 25 lines in single column, written in cursive anglicana hand. Post s.xvi binding with marbled endpapers.

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r} – 100^{r}	Various devotional treatises, including *The Chastising of God's Children* (IPMEP 343)
2.	100^{v} – 103^{v}	'Of wich drawyng of deuocyo*n*n how a man shul doo*n*n'
3.	104 ^{r} -109^{v}	English translation of the *Revelations of St Bridget*
4.	109^{v}-123^{r}	William Flete's *De remedis contra temptationes*, first of two different English translations
5.	123^{v}-124^{r}	'It be houeth a man or woman for to suffer many temptacyo*n*ns'
6.	**127^{v}-140^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism* – Prose, with some punctuation**
7.	140^{v}-141^{v}	*Beatus Gregorius iii. quadiii omelia sup Johēm xiiij ca°. diat/ De [diseccione] conditotis* [illeg.] *mens et uita reserantue*...
8.	142^{r}-152^{r}	'Owre lorde Ihesus suffriþ men and women þat ben chosen of hym for to ben dyspicyd', followed by the second of the translations of William Flete's *De remedis contra temptations*
	152^{v}	Blank.

COLLATION. iii + 19^{8} + iii

The fols. were previously numbered 150-300, suggesting that there are 149 fols. missing.

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Initials in blue with pen-flourished decoration in red; seven-line initial in blue with red flourishes at fol. 123. Paraphs in blue and red. Rubrics, marginal notes and occasional underlining of words in red; initials highlighted in red. Catchwords, often trimmed.

LANGUAGE. Norfolk.[32]

PROVENANCE. Front flyleaf i^{v} (and repeated throughout the codex) is the inscription 'IMS', which has been identified as John Murray of Sacombe, Hertfordshire (b. 1670/71, d. 1748), library agent, book collector, and friend of Edward Harley.[33] Front flyleaf ii: 'N.B. This book is printed and I suppose it to be by Caxton but this M.S. seems older wrote than this print and varies the English in some sort there is more in this book than in Caxton and something added to Caxton that is not in this book. The Caxton lies in Lyon College. Tho. Granger'.[34]

DESCRIPTIONS. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*.

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[32] Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, (erroneously refers to 'fol. 278v') 83.

[33] Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972), 170, 291 and 468.

[34] Granger (d. 1732) was clerk to the Committee of Private Trade, East India Company 1687-1732. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, 170.

F Cambridge University Library MS Ff.5.40

s.xv$^{2/4}$. Parchment. Fols. 130. Overall size: 223 x 150 (writing area: 162-68 x 100-10), 29-30 lines per page, written in three hands: booklets 1 and 2, anglicana formata; fols 71-72/11, secretary; fols. 72/12 -130^{r} (most of book 3), anglicana with secretary. Leather binding, with 'Richard Rolle &c.' on spine; CUL bookplate.

CONTENTS.

Booklet 1

1.	1^{r}-14^{v}	Hilton's *Epistle of the Mixed Life* (longer version) (IPMEP 147); begins imperfectly, as first and second quires lost
2.	14^{v}-32^{v}	Anonymous translation of Rolle's *De Emendatio Vitae* (IPMEP 652)

Booklet 2

3.	33^{r}-70^{v}	Hilton's *Scale of Perfection,* Book 1 (IPMEP 255), ends in ch. 61, preceded by a table of chapters (33^{r} -35^{r})

Booklet 3

4.	71^{r}-88^{v}	Conclusion of *Scale of Perfection*, Book 1
5.	88^{v}-92^{r}	Rolle's *The Commandment* (IPMEP 660)
6.	92^{r}-93^{v}	'Of proper will' (misattributed to Hilton) (IPMEP 551)
7.	93^{v}-96^{v}	Hilton's *Of Angel's Song* (IPMEP 146)
8.	96^{v}-97^{v}	Treatise on deadly sin (misattributed to Hilton) (IPMEP 149)

9. 97v-98^{r} Extract from *Prick of Conscience*, lines 6071-6113 (DIMEV 5628)
10. 98^{r}-114^{r} Extracts from Rolle's *The Form of Living* (IPMEP 351)
11. 114^{r}-115^{r} Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book I, ch. 70 (IPMEP 64)
12. 115^{v}-116^{r} Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book I, ch. 91 (IPMEP 66), followed by reworked excerpts of *Oleum Effusum* (IPMEP 339 and 351)
13. 116^{r} Extracts from Gregory's *Sentences*, attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 527)
14. 116^{r}-117^{r} Hilton's *Scale*, Book I, ch. 82 (IPMEP 484)
15. 117^{r}-117^{v} *De visitacione infirmorum* (IPMEP 573)
16. 117^{v} Extract from Catherine of Siena's *Documento*, ch. 100 (IPMEP 409)
17. **117^{v}-119^{r}** ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(IPMEP 13) lines 166-267 – Prose, with medial and final pointing**
18. 119^{r}-119^{v} 'Points Best Pleasing to God or Treatise on the Nine Virtues' (IPMEP 847), with opening couplet (DIMEV 6686)[35]
19. 120^{r}-124^{r} 'Meditation on the passion' (IPMEP 480), includes 'Three Arrows on Doomsday' (IPMEP 502) and 'Christ's Appeal from the Cross to Unkind Man' (DIMEV 3814) inserted in the prose tract on 'Three Arrows' on fol. 123^{r}
20. 124^{v}-127^{r} Rolle's 'Epistle of St John the Hermit' (IPMEP 274)[36]
21. 127^{r}-130^{r} Anecdotes from *Sayings of the Fathers* (IPMEP 546)

[35] *YW*, i.110-12. This manuscript not included in DIMEV 6688 entry.

[36] Printed in Ralph Hanna, ed., *Richard Rolle: Uncollected prose and verse with related northern texts*, EETS os 329 (Oxford, 2007), 98-102.

22. 130^{v} Latin verse

COLLATION. i + 130 + vi (i and vi are former pastedowns)

Booklet I 1-2^{8} lost, 3-6^{8}
Booklet II 7-10^{8}, 11^{6}
Booklet III 12-17^{8}, 18^{12}

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Catchwords and signatures. Three-line blue lombard initials with red flourishes on fol 1r; further two-line lombard initials at chapter headings, etc. Some crude drawings. Booklet 1 has quires signed, and catchwords in scrolls. Red and blue alternate paraphs in the table in booklet 2. Evidence of pricking and ruling; a well used manuscript. From item 8 onwards the manuscript becomes much plainer, with just paraphs and a few decorated initials.

LANGUAGE. Hand A (Booklets I and II) and Hand B (Booklet III): both hands north east Norfolk (LP 4663).[37]

PROVENANCE. Unknown.

DESCRIPTIONS. Hardwick & Luard, ii.498-500; Hanna, *Uncollected*, 28-30; Connolly, *Handlist XIX*, 135-41.

G Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève MS 3390

s.xv ^{in}. Parchment. Fols. 110. Overall size: 145 x 96 (writing area: 93-98 x 60-65), 20 lines per page, written in single textura hand. Binding: s.xvi^{in} leather, five stitches, and two sets of leather ties.

[37] LALME 1:67 & 3:356-361.

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r}-23^{v}	Commentary on the Ten Commandments (IPMEP 48)
2.	24^{r}-27^{r}	Commentary on the Apostles' Creed (IPMEP 403)[38]
3.	27^{r}-30^{r}	Commentary on the Pater Noster (IPMEP 810)
4.	30^{r}-37^{r}	Treatise on the theological virtues (IPMEP 595)
5.	**37^{v}-52^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(IPMEP 70, 71) – Prose, with medial and final pointing** [39]
6.	52^{r}-57^{v}	Form of confession, '[I] synful creature knowleche & schryue me to god þat is fadir & sone & holi gost þre p*er*sones & o god in trinite & to oure ladi seynt Marie & to al þe cumpeny in heuene & to þe gostli fader beyng in goddes stede in þat þat I haue synned & trespased'
7.	57^{v}-95^{v}	Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 351)
8.	95^{v}-108^{v}	Rolle's *Ego dormio* (IPMEP 160)
9.	109^{r-v}	Originally blank though ruled, now with various inscriptions and pen trials in various later hands

COLLATION. iv + 1-13^{8}, 14^{8}, wants 7 and 8 (fol. 110 is now a pastedown, with last 2 leaves being stubs under pastedown)

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Two-line blue decorated capitals, red and blue alternating paraphs, 9-, 5- and 4-line thorns; flourishes at section ends and four-line decorated capitals with flourishes at section beginnings. No signatures (possibly lost in trimming); boxed catchwords. Crude drawings in later hand on fol. ii^{r}, ii^{v}, iii^{r}, and 108^{v}.

[38] Item also in La.

[39] The description given in *Eng. MSS.* is inaccurate, as the text ends at fol. 52v line 3.

LANGUAGE. North Warwickshire.[40] Jeremy Griffiths identified scribe as John Cok.[41]

PROVENANCE. Flyleaves ii and iii, 'For my verie Noble Lord and good patron my Lord Salton and Abdinethie'. Flyleaf iii^{v}:

> Ce livre a esté envoyé de la Biblioteque d'Aberden, en Ecosse, au roy Jacque sixième et après la mort de ce prince est tombé entre les mains de plusieurs particuliers, desquels il a esté retiré par R A De la Haye, chanoine regulier de la congregation de France et envoyé à la Biblioteque Ste Geneviève du mont, l'an de j. Christ 1689, 2 May.

In the lower margin of fol. 19r 'Bib. Ste Genouesue paris' in later hand, and 'Ex libris S. Genouesae Paris, 1753' on fol. 109r. Also on fol. 109^{r}, 'in the yere of our lord god ano 1519 ad' and 'In nomine [pater] of filli et spyryte PATER NOSTER : John Sympyrd, Roger Andros, Thomas Loke, Wylliam Pyto, Harre Benbrike, Wylliam Jonson'.[42] The names are not easily legible, but may be those of its Augustinian owners prior to Fr Hay obtaining the manusript. The names may have been written by the men themselves, as the hand is inconsistent. The inscription on fol. 63^{r}, 'Thi worshypfull Wyll(ia)m [*illeg.*]' may refer to St William of Æbelholt, the word 'saynt' also appears many times on the originally blank fols. and throughout the

[40] *Eng. MSS*, 191, reporting Jeremy Smith (personal communication). Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes are 'in favour of the western counties', they suggest the Cheshire/Derbyshire/Nottinghamshire region, and do not rule out Staffordshire. Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 77-9.

[41] *Eng. MSS*, 192.

[42] J. H. Baxter incorrectly records 'John Sympyrs' and 'Thomas Jord'. J. H. Baxter, 'An Aberdeen Manuscript in Paris', *The Scottish History Review*, Vol. 24, no. 96 (1927), 326-7, at 327.

manuscript.[43] St William, also known as William of Paris (c. 1125-1203), became sub-prior of Sainte Geneviève in 1148. Another name, partially obscured, reads 'John Gren[...]' (fol. 109^{v}). Hanna has suggested 'Grensgo', although it could equally be 'Grene' or Grens'. Finally, fol. 110^{r} (now pastedown) has the following, mostly illegible, verse in a ?seventeenth century hand:

> Ih(es)u For a pynt of [...]
> For my brother(?s) [...]pion & spenser
> Ih(es)u For [... ?edward.....]
> [...] pynt off [.....]

DESCRIPTIONS. Kohler, Charles, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 1898), vol. 2, 672; *Eng. MSS*, 191-2. James Simpson, *IMEP Handlist VII: Manuscripts containng Middle English Prose in Parisian Libraries* (Cambridge, 1989), 22-8.

H London, British Library, MS Harley 1022

s.xiv^{ex} or xv^{in}. Four (linked) books, the second divided into booklets, written in two hands, Hand A cursive anglicana, and Hand B anglicana formata bound together with modern leather binding. Overall size: 215 x 145-50.

MS1		Parchment, writing area 165-75 x 120. Hand A, 35 lines in single column
MS2	Booklet I	Parchment and paper, writing area 180-82 x 110, Hand B, 37 lines in single column in quire 4, but elsewhere 38-43 in double columns

[43] Baxter incorrectly records 'Cathe Worsuypfuller'. Baxter, 327.

Booklet II Parchment and paper, writing area 170 x 126, Hand B

Booklet III Paper, writing area 188 x 115, 31-34 lines per page, Hand B

MS3 Parchment, writing area 150 x 115, 35-38 lines, Hand A

MS4 Parchment, writing area 150 x 115, 28-30 lines.

CONTENTS.

MS1

1. 1^{r}-15^{v} Latin theological notebook, with English exempla at 1^{v} (IPMEP 126 & 8)

2^{v}-3^{r},

16^{rv}, 15 bis^{rv} Blank

MS2

Booklet I

2. 16 bis^{r} - 46^{v} Hilton's *Scale of Perfection, Book I* (IPMEP 255), and table of contents fol. 16 bis^{rv}, begins towards end of ch. 8 following lost leaves[44]

[44] It is not clear from the manuscript whether anything has been lost, or whether the first lines were never copied originally. Any loss would be medieval, as there is an introductory note on the previous fol. in a contemporary hand.

Booklet II[45]

3.	47^{r} -61^{v}	Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 351)
4.	61^{v}	'Queen of parage paradise repaired I-wis' (DIMEV 4432), immediately followed by 'Mary so mild / For love of Thy child' (DIMEV 3437)

Booklet III

5.	62^{r}-64^{r}	Rolle's *Oleum effusum* (IPMEP 506)
6.	64r-65r	'The Rule of the Life of Our Lady' (IPMEP 22)
7.	65v	'Through grace growing in God almighty' (DIMEV 5914)
8.	**66^{r}-73^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Acephalous, commencing at line 83 in punctuated verse**[46]
9.	73^{v}	Latin notes

MS3

10.	74^{r} -80^{v}	Richard of St Victor's *Benjamin Minor* (IPMEP 4)

[45] Fols. 47r-73v are in the same hand and David Lawton suggests were once a single manuscript. David A. Lawton, 'Gaytryge's Sermon, *Dictamen*, and Middle English Alliterative Verse', *Modern Philology*, 76, (1979), 329-343 at 339.

[46] Lawton comments that the 'manuscript is damaged, and much of the latter portions of Gaytryge's Sermon has been lost'. Lawton, 'Gaytryge's Sermon', 339. This is not the case, as the text continues without any loss until the end.

11. 80^{v} ‘Wythdragh thy þoght fro þi gude dedys & fro þine ill dedys’ (IPMEP 851);[47] remainder of fol. is blank

12. 81^{r} *Three points of humility* (IPMEP 757);[48] remainder of fol. is blank

13. 81^{v} Latin note on St Malachi; remainder of fol. is blank

MS4

14. 82^{r} -97^{v} Latin, *Tractatus de vtilitate dominice orationis*, derived from Loren’s *Somme le roi;* ends incomplete at quire boundary [49]

COLLATION. The collation for this manuscript is difficult, both because of the mixed nature of many quires and because of the single leaves, which have been added by means of binder’s tags. Mixed quires have been described individually, while un-mixed quires have been described in groups (designated by semicolons): iv, i; 14, 21, 3–46 (parchment); 58 (1 and 8 parchment, 2–7 paper), 610 (1 and 10 parchment, 2–9 paper), 712 (1, 6, 7 and 12 parchment, 2–5, 8–11 paper); 81, 91 (parchment); 1014 (1–6, 9–14 paper, 7–8 parchment); 111, 126, 135 (paper); 14–168 (parchment), iv.[50]

MS1 1^{4}, 2^{8} (wants 8?), 3^{6}

[47] *YW*, 172.

[48] *YW*, 172.

[49] *YW*, 157.

[50] *Uncollected*, xxx–xxxiii.

MS2

Booklet I	4^{10} (wants 2 and 3), 5^{10}, 6^{12+1} (13, a singleton, has been added to the quire to complete item 2)[51]
Booklet II	7^{16} (wants 16)
Booklet III	8^{8}, $9^{?}$ (fols. 70-73 are singles, perhaps the first half of an eight)
MS3	10^{8}
MS4	$11\text{-}12^{8}$

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION.

MS1	Some one- and two-line lombard initials, red slashed capitals and paraphs; headings in upper margins.
MS2	Two-line red lombard initials, headings in display anglicana and underlined in red with red paraphs. Biblical lemmata underlined in red; occasional red paraphs. Spaces left for two-line initials later; booklet II has red paraphs, red underlining, and manicules throughout.

[51] Hanna notes that 'Quires 4 and 5 are two full sheets folded in quarto within an outer parchment half-sheet; in quire 6, a full parchment sheet folded around the paper, so as to form the inner and outer bifolia, and the extra final leaf fol. 46 also vellum'. *Uncollected,* xxxi.

MS3 Two-line red lombard initials, red paraphs and red underlining. Ruling and pricking, trimmed.

MS4 Opens with four-line red lombard initials with violet flourishings, and two-line lombard initials, some with flourishing, red paraphs, red underlining and red slashed capitals, with finding notes and corrections in upper margins (by Hand A?). Red boxed catchwords, ruling and pricking, trimmed.

LANGUAGE. North west riding of Yorkshire (Hand A is LALME LP 115;[52] Hand B is LP 4[53]).

PROVENANCE. Doyle has suggested mendicant or monastic reader.[54] Fol. 16^{v}, 'Robert Goldsmith of 'Marleburgh'' (Marlborough, Wiltshire); fol. 15 bis^{v} bears the signature 'Thomas Clerkson minus' and mentions 'Damsonen Selfield', both in same hand (anglicana, s.xv); fol. 15^{v}, erased, 'I Robert godefraith of morles<worth>';[55] and fol. 97^{v}, vertically in the margin, (s.xv ex), 'mychyael frost tales uiuos Iohn perkyns Tales uyuos'. An inscription follows item 8, in the same hand:

> *Transumpta erat ista predicacio a lingua Latina in n*ostram *mat*ernam *linguam de mandato d*omi*ni Joh*ann*is de Thoresby Ebor*um *Archiep*[.....] *p*er *ven*erabilem *et*

[52] LALME 1:110, 3:614-5; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82.

[53] LALME 1:110, 3:603-4.

[54] Anthony Ian 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, 2 vols.*, (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953), 1:117-8.

[55] Hanna suggests this is Molesworth (some ten miles north-west of Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire). *Uncollected,* xxxii; *Eng. MSS*, 96.

*discretu*m *viru*m *Joh*ann*em de Gaystek monachu*m *mo*nas*t*[erii] *b*eat*a*e *Mar*iae *Ebor*[um]. *Anno D*omi*ni Mill*esi*mo T*rescentesi*mo quinquagesimo septi*mo.

DESCRIPTIONS. *Uncollected*, xxx–xxxiii. *Eng. MSS*, 96-97. Perry, *Geographies*.

J Cambridge University Library Ii.4.9

s.xv ¾ or xv 2. Paper. 197 leaves. Overall size: 240 x 167 (writing area: 175-88 x 82-90 (verse), 197 x 120 (prose), and 200 x 130+ (Rolle)) averaging 28 lines; Hand A (items 1-15 & 17-25) written in anglicana, Hand B (items 16 & 26) in mixed anglicana/secretary.

CONTENTS:

1.	1^{r}-42^{r}	*The Northern Passion* (DIMEV 3124)
2.	42^{v}-47^{r}	*The Long Charter of Christ* (DIMEV 6650)
3.	47^{r}-51^{v}	*The Lamentation of Our Lady* (IPMEP 828)
4.	52^{r}-55^{v}	Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditationes vitae Christi*, ch. 1
5.	55^{v}-60^{r}	*The Lay Folks Mass Book* (DIMEV 2205), lacks incipit
6.	60^{v}-63^{r}	Tracts on the Decalogue, Deadly Sins, Virtues, Works of Mercy, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Creed; ends line 20, remainder of fol. 63r blank
7.	63^{v}-65^{v}	Treatise on the nine virtues (DIMEV 1942)
8.	65^{v}-66^{v}	Treatise of the six masters on tribulation (IPMEP 287)
9.	67^{r}-68^{v}	*Erthe upon Erthe* (DIMEV 1171); ends line 8 then remainder of fol. filled with illustration

10.	69^{r}	Originally blank. *Cur in hac misera miseri moramini*, a four-line Latin verse with English translation, 'Wherefor in this vale of myserye to you abyde' (DIMEV 6500), added s. xvi^{in}
11.	69^{v}-74^{r}	*The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 39)
12.	74^{v}-87^{r}	*The Charter of the Abbey* (IPMEP 590)
13.	87^{v} -93^{v}	*Kynge Roberd of Cysyle* (DIMEV 4415)
14.	94^{r}-95^{r}	Extracts from Nicolas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (IPMEP 553 and 803)
15.	**95^{v}-96^{r}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism* (line numbers 83-165) – Prose, with final pointing**
	96^{v}	Blank
16.	97^{r}-142^{r}	*Handlyng Synne* (DIMEV 1283)
17.	142^{v}-163^{v}	Treatise on shrift and the deadly sins, illustrated by exempla (DIMEV 1598)
18.	163^{v}-165^{v}	*The Five Bodily Wits* (DIMEV 3737), concluding with a form of confession
19.	165^{v}-173^{r}	*The Seven Virtues* (DIMEV 3355)
20.	169^{r}	The Virgin's advice to St Bridget on temptation, written vertically in the margin (s.xv^{ex}, anglicana)
21.	173^{r}-177^{r}	*The Seven Works of Mercy* (DIMEV 3355)
22.	177^{r}-185^{r}	*The Seven Sacraments* (DIMEV 3099)
23.	185^{r}-188^{v}	*The Seven Principal Virtues* (DIMEV 3339)
24.	188^{v}-190^{r}	*The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost* (DIMEV 378)
25.	190^{r}-195^{r}, 196^{r}-97^{v}	Rolle's *Form of Living*[56]
	195^{v}	Blank originally, contains several traces of ownership and pen trials

COLLATION. Difficult to ascertain with any certainty. 1^{16} (wants 2, a cancellation without textual loss), 2-11^{16}, 12^{20}, 13 is a lost quire,

[56] Lines 283-765 appeared on leaves now lost after fol. 195. See *Eng. MSS.*, 35 for additional notes.

probably of eight leaves, 14^2 (two leaves, fols. 196-97, ?from at least a four-leaf quire).

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Rough, coloured illustration on fol. 68r which Hanna describes as 'a courtly worldling confronted by a shrouded corpse, with legends in red on gold ink edged scrolls; 'Festina tempus et memento finis', 'In omni opere memorare nouissima et in eternum non peccabis'.'[57] No signatures or catchwords. Red initials throughout.

Front flyleaf verso: 'Rebacked, 1920. From beneath the bookplate was removed a fragment of a docment relating to Norwich and Sedgeford, c.1300, now Doc. 799. 25 November 1920.' Fol. 1^r: 6-line red decorated initial, and to end of 2^r is end line filled in red ink; fols. 16r and 32r: couplets linked in red; and fols. 28^v, 29^r, and 30^r contain manicules. Rear pastedown: 'rebound, Cockerell, 1974. a^{16} (2 cancelled) b^{16}-l^{16}, m^{20} n^2'. A well used manuscript.

LANGUAGE. West Norfolk. Hand A (LP 621); Hand B (items 16 & 26).[58] Doyle suggests that the manuscript perhaps has a Thetford provenance.[59]

PROVENANCE. Coat of arms (currently unidentified) inhabits the initial letter on fol. 1r. Fol. 195v, 'This is the boke off Sir Will' Cray I witnesse wherefor I Thomas Barvyle hauyng knowlag thereoff have put my signe'; 'This is the boke for Robert Hawe' (twice); 'Iohn Cuttyng d<e> worsted in comitatu <Norf>', followed by a series of monograms, all s. xvi^{in}.

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[57] *Eng. MSS.*, 36.

[58] LALME 1:223; Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes, 83.

[59] Doyle, *A Survey*, 2:55-56.

DESCRIPTIONS. *Eng. MSS.*, 34-36; Perry, *Geographies*. Connolly, *Handlist XIX*, 210-17.

K Cambridge University Library MS Add. 6686 [*olim* Ashburnham 140]

s.xv$^{1-2}$. Parchment. 364 leaves. Overall size: 273 x 200 (writing area: 250 x 160, approx.), 36 lines (40 lines in items 3 and 8) in double columns except the last item, which is in 42-47 long lines. Hand A (item 1) anglicana formata, Hand B (item 2, item 3 to 269) anglicana, Hand C (270-271) cursive anglicana, Hand D (item 7) bastard secretary, Hand E (items 8 and 10) anglicana formata, and Hand F (item 9) cursive anglicana. Bound in calf skin.

CONTENTS

Booklet I

1.	1-233	Nicolas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*
2.	234	Treatise on the sacrament
	234	Blank

Booklet II

3.	235-269	*Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*; concludes with Latin prayer
4.	270-271	'To all christian be it known' (DIMEV 5963)
5.	270a-270b	*The Short Charter of Christ* (DIMEV 6769)
6.	270b-271a	'Jesu of Nazareth the king of Jews' (DIMEV 2891)
7.	272a-273b	John Lydgate's verses on the kings of England, from William the Conqueror to Edward II (DIMEV 3158)

274 Blank

Booklet III

8. 275-361 Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book I (IPMEP 255), preceded by a table of chapters from ch. 49 only
9. 361 Latin instruction for administering the sacraments, filling a space beneath columns a and b
10. **362-64** ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(lines 80-165 and 269-444) – Prose, with medial and final pointing**

COLLATION. ii + 182 + ii + i (pages are numbered on sinister and dexter)

Booklet I $1\text{-}14^{8}$, 15^{6} (194-195 are repeated)

Booklet II $1\text{-}2^{8}$, 3^{4}

Booklet III $1\text{-}4^{8}$, 5^{14} + ii (parchment) + i (paper)

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Full and partial border decorations at main divisions; one border (p. 190) includes three unfilled shields, suggesting the patron was unknown to the limner. Rubrics and initials; first item has illuminated initials and marginal ornamentation. Following item 6 on 271 is a red and green charter seal whose legend reads '*vvulneris hoc signum pellit per cuius orem malignum / Et misserum dignum meritis facit atque benignum*' (This sign of the wound drives away evil [through its mouth] / And makes the wretched kind and worthy of merit), and depicts the wounds of Christ. [60]

[60] Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 2003), 85.

Framed text, titles and marginal sidenotes. Flyleaves are ruled and numbered. Two-line initials in gold and blue; alternating gold & blue and red & blue sentence capitals. Notes and guides in margins, evidence of pricking, and manicules throughout. Monogram 'IHC' at the foot of each fol. of booklet III.

LANGUAGE. Hand A on the Northamptonshire/Oxfordshire border (LP 9340); Hand B is from Lincolnshire (LP 508); Hand E is 'probably Notts, but an odd, suspiciously regular and somewhat artificial language',[61] and Hand F probably north Nottinghamshire.[62]

PROVENANCE. 'Dan Adam Reyd Here' (p. 36), '*hic liber secundum quosdam ascribitur Roberto Rooll heremite de hanpoll deuotissimo*' (p. 235), and 'Tho[mas] Mylray his' (p. 271), all in later (s.xv or xvi) hands.

DESCRIPTIONS. Perry, *Geographies*.

L Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 (Lincoln Thornton)

s.xv^{med} or xv$^{2/4}$.[63] Paper. Leaves 322. Overall size: 290 x 210 (writing area: 225 x 125), 48-52 lines per page, 41-45 lines, after page 250 (?), anglicana. Bound in 1832 from oak boards covered in white leather with clasp, and again on wooden boards in 1975.

CONTENTS.

[61] LALME 1.66; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes 82.

[62] LALME 1.66.

[63] Dates of production suggested by Hanna are 1428 x 1461, *Uncollected*, xxxvi, and *Eng. MSS*, 68.

In four booklets: Booklet I contains the Life of Alexander, Morte Arthure etc.; Booklet II romances, charms and prayers; Booklet IV contains medical recipes, with some contents 'resembling those of Booklet 3 spill[ing] over onto originally blank leaves at the end of the preceding unit (fols. 176v-78r)' and a treatise on twenty-three herbs (DIMEV 4171).[64] Booklet III is the relevant section.

Booklet III

1. 179^{r}-189^{r} *The Privity of the Passion* (IPMEP 837), followed by 'Love Jesus over all things' (DIMEV 4144)
2. 189^{r}-91^{v} William of Nassington's *De trinitate et unitate* (DIMEV 100)
3. 191^{v}-192^{r} Christological poems (DIMEV 2909, 424, 3193, and 2892)
4. 192^{r}-193^{v} '*Of the vertuus of the haly name of Ihesu Ricardus heremita super versicule Oleum effusum*'
5. 193^{v} *Narracio - A tale þat Richerde hermet* - the conclusion of previous item
6. 193^{v}-94^{r} Latin prayer ascribed to Rolle, *Deus noster refugium O creator noster et virtus*, followed by hymn ascribed to Ambrose, *Ihesu nostra redempcio*
7. 194^{r} 'De inperfecta contritione Rycharde hermyte reherces a dredfull tale of vnparfitte contrecyone'
8. 194^{r} 'Allswa he reherces anothyre tale of verraye contrecyone'
9. 194^{r}-^{v} Rolle's *The Bee and the Stork* (IPMEP 657)
10. 194^{v}-195^{r} *De vita cuiusdam puelle incluse propter amorem cristi Alwsa hereclides*
11. 195^{r} Two Latin meditations ascribed to Rolle, *Meliora sunt ubera tua vino dulciora et meliora* and *O quam*

[64] *Eng. MSS*., 69.

delectabile gaudium et delicatum solatium amre dei filium

12. 195^{v}-96^{r} ‘A notabill Tretys off the ten Comandementys Drawen by Richerde the hermyt off Hampull’
13. 196^{r}-^{v} ‘*Also of the gyftes of the haly gaste*’
14. 196^{v} Rolle’s *Desire and Delight* (IPMEP 863)
15. 197^{r}-209^{v} *The Mirror of St Edmund* (IPMEP 800)
16. 209^{v}-211^{r} Treatise on Pater Noster (IPMEP 533)
17. 211ra-^{va} A prayer to Jesus, written in double columns (DIMEV 2826)
18. 211^{vb}-212^{rb} A prayer to the Trinity, Mary and Christ (DIMEV 1280)
19. 212^{rb} Prayer to Christ (IPMEP 415)
20. 212^{rb}-^{vb} Latin meditations and prayers on the five wounds, including *Adoro te piissime Ihesu qui redimisti me*
21. 212^{rb} ‘For the meekness of Thy clean incarnation’ (DIMEV 1388), a prayer to Jesus
22. 212^{vb}-213^{r} Latin meditation on the cross, inc. *O crux frutex saluificus vino fonte rigatus*
23. 213^{r}-^{v} ‘When Adam delve and Eve span spur if thou will speed’ (DIMEV 6265)
24. 213v ‘Ihesu criste haue mercy one me’ (DIMEV 2808, with DIMEV 2806 as colophon)
25. **213^{v}-218^{v}** ***Lay Folks’ Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Prose, delineated as verse**
26. 219^{r}-^{v} ‘Ihesu thi swetnes’ (DIMEV 2940)
27. 219^{v}-221^{v} Hilton’s *Of Angels’ Song* (IPMEP 146)
28. 222^{r}-^{v} ‘þi ioy be ilk a dele to serue thi godde to paye’ (DIMEV 5940)
29. 222^{v} ‘A Warning against Worldly Vanities’ (DIMEV 401)
30. 222^{r} Blank
31. 223^{r}-229^{r} Hilton’s *Mixed Life* (IPMEP 147), acephalous
32. 229^{v}-230^{v} Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* (IPMEP 848), ch. 44

33. 231^{r}-233^{v} ‘Of sayne Iohn þe Evangelist’ (DIMEV 4132)
34. 233^{v}-236^{v} ‘[P]raying es a gracyous gyfte of owre lorde Godd’ (IPMEP 548), breaks off incomplete[65]
Followed by four blank fols., unnumbered
35. 237^{r}-250^{v} Rolle’s *þe holy boke Gracia Dei* (IPMEP 502), disordered
36. 250^{v}-258^{v} ‘A Reuelacyone Schewed to ane holy womane now one late tyme’ (IPMEP 50)
37. 258^{r}-^{v} Psalm 50, in Latin
38. 258^{v} *Veni creator spiritus*, Latin hymn
39. 258^{v}-269^{r} St Jerome’s *Psalter* (abbreviated) in Latin
40. 269^{v}-270^{v} Five Latin prayers
41. 271^{r}-276^{r} *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 39)
42. 276va-277ra *Pricke of Conscience* (DIMEV 5398), lines 438-551
43. 277^{rb} Originally blank, now added trial alphabet
44. 277^{v}-279^{r} Latin prayers
45. 279^{r}-^{v} ‘Earth upon earth’ (DIMEV 1170), followed by recipe against sciatica

COLLATION. Booklet III: 11^{20} , 12^{24} , 13^{18} (wants 1, 16-18), 14^{18} (wants 1), 15^{30-4} (wants 1, 10-12 cancelled). [66]

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Three- to five-line lombard initials at openings, and some five- to seven-line lombard initials, flourishes throughout, red slashed capitals, red initials, or red words divide the texts, Latin lemmata usually red.[67] Inhabited capital ‘P’ at 209v. Fol. 217r, ‘prayse the lorde O ye children pr[ay]’ and ‘Pater Noster’ in

[65] Seven-line ‘S’ written instead of ‘P’, which is corrected in the margin.

[66] Hanna suggests that Booklet III ‘might be treated as composed of three separate units, quires 11-12 with the Rolle, 13 with Hilton and filler, and 14-15.’ *Uncollected,* xxxix.

[67] *Eng. MSS*., 71.

margin of item 25, in contemporary hand, and on fol. 278v, 'Thornton miseratur mei dei/ miserere mei deus' (have pity on me, have mercy on me) in Thornton's hand. Rubrics and catchwords, no signatures.

LANGUAGE. West Riding of Yorkshire, with Lincolnshire features.[68]

PROVENANCE. In the hand of scribe/compiler Robert Thornton (d. c1462) of East Newton, North Yorkshire and remained in Thornton family until late seventeenth century. References include: fol. 49v (on the birth of a son), '*Iste die natus Fuit Robertus Thornton in Ridayll anno domini M°CCCCliij*' and 'Wylliam thornton admiger this Boke'; fol. 93r, 'Robert Thornton' inside a cartouche clutched within a bird's claws; fol. 98v, 'Here endes Morte Arthure writen by Robert of Thornton', and '*R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus* Amen' (the latter is repeated on fol. 213r); fol. 194r, 'edward thornton' written in a similar hand to item 5; and fol. 266r, 'Dorothy Thornton' and 'Roger blande'. Fol. 29r bears a s. xvi^{2} signature of Robert Louson, plus several other later signatures.

DESCRIPTIONS. John J. Thompson*, Robert Thornton and the London Thornton Manuscript: British Library MS Additional 31042* (Cambridge, 1987). *Uncollected*, xxxvi-xxxix. Susanna Fein, 'The Contents of Robert Thornton's Manuscripts' in *Robert Thornton and his books: essays on the Lincoln and London Thornton manuscripts* eds. Susanna Fein and Michael Johnston (York, 2014). Perry, *Geographies*.

La London Lambeth Palace Library MS 408

Booklet I s.xv, and Booklet II s.xii. Parchment. Fols. 129. Booklet I overall size: 230 x 165 (writing area: 170-175 x 120-130), 34 lines in rough English hand. Booklet II overall size: 223-229 x 155-160

[68] LALME 1:267-8; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes 82.

(writing area: 120-128), 46 - 57 lines in minute and close hand, with many abbreviations. Bound in calf skin, panelled in blind, over wooden boards, with modern paper flyleaves.

CONTENTS.

Booklet I

1. **1^{r}-17^{r}** ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 672) – Prose, with medial and final pointing.** Including:

1^{v}-2^{v} Treatise on the Pater Noster (IPMEP 810)
2^{v}-3^{v} Treatise on the Aue Maria (IPMEP 455)
3^{v}-4^{v} Treatise on the Creed (IPMEP 403)
4^{v}-5^{r} Treatise on the five outer and five inner wits
6^{v}-12^{r} Treatise on the Ten Commandments

17^{v}-19^{v} Blank

Booklet II

2. 20^{r} *In cena domini ante diem festum pasche sciens Ihesus*
3. 20^{v}-23^{r} *In parasceue, Habemus altare etc*. *In primis fratres dilectissimi fateor imperitiam meam*
   23^{v} Blank
4. 24^{r}-28^{r} *Beati qui audiunt etc. Vultis nosse quare beati*
   28^{v}-31^{r} Blank
5. 32^{r}-^{v} *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis etc. Six ferramenta que hebent*
6. 33^{r}-65^{r} Latin sermons: *Dom. I. aduentus. In die illa erit fons…Bernadus. Ardorem desiderii patrum*; immediately followed by *In capite ieiunii*

	65^{v}	Blank
7.	66^{r}-128^{v}	Latin sermons: 'Dom. I. in quadragesima to Pascha (including Annunciation), passes from Pascha to Pentecost (83v) : then back to Pascha and Sundays following : omits Pentecost : passes to Trinity and Sundays following : but Sundays vii-xiv follow Sunday xxiv : the misbinding is not obvious.'[69]
	129^{r}	Blank
8.	129^{v}	*Themata*
9.	130^{r}-141^{v}	Latin sermons, including 'Invention of the Cross; Nativity St John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Purification, Magdalene, and Decollation of St John the Baptist.'[70]

COLLATION:

Collation of the manuscript is problematic due to its tight binding. Booklet I comprises two quires: two medieval flyleaves bound into a quire of ten, with a cancellation, and a quire of six, with two additional singletons. Stitching is visible between fols. 4 & 5 and 12 & 13; there is a catchword on fol. 9v suggesting that the following fol. was cancelled prior to Scribe A's commencement on the *Catechism*, which continues on fol. 11r without loss of text; the two singletons (16, 17) have been inserted in order for Scribe A to complete the *Catechism*;

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[69] Montague Rhode James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: the mediaeval manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1932), 562. There is no 'misbinding' – James has mis-collated the fols. of item 8, as follows: '8^{10} slips), 9^{12} (+ 1 and 4 slips: cancels), 10^{10} (+ 2 slips: cancels), 11^{4} (wants 4: 1 slip), 12^{10}, 13^{10} (+ 1 and slip), 14^{12} (wants 12: 3 slips)'.

[70] James, *Lambeth Palace*, 562.

and two medieval flyleaves, which have been foliated as '18' and '19', complete the booklet.

Booklet II is made of five sets of quires (3, 4, 5-7, 8-13, and 14), each with different writing areas, lines per page, rubrication, ruling, etc. with several ruled but blank fols., bound together. 19 slips containing Latin prayers in a contemporary hand have been tipped into Booklet II, nine of which have been foliated (34, 43, 73, 75, 77, 106, 128, 131 and 133), so that previous catalogues have suggested that the manuscripts consists of 141 fols.[71] In fact, Booklet II consists of 112 fols.

The following collation is now proposed:

ii + 17 + ii + 112 (plus 9 foliated slips)

Booklet I 1^{10} (wants 10), 2^{6} (+2), [ii + 18 + 19)

Booklet II 3^{4}, 4^{8}, 5^{10} (unfoliated slips after 2 and 10), 6^{10} (+ 1), 7^{10} (+ 1, and 1 unfoliated slip after 10), 8^{10} (unfoliated slips after 3, 4, 6 and 8), 9^{16} (wants 3, 4 and 15; unfoliated slips after 8, 9, 10 and 11), 10^{12} (wants 3 and 9; unfoliated slips after 1 and 2), 11^{4+1} (wants 4), 12^{10}, 13^{12} (wants 1), 14^{12} (wants 12; unfoliated slips after 4)

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. The spine is embossed 'JOH. THORESBY ET SERMONES' and 'COD LAMBETH 408'. The outer corners of the binding are worn, and Booklet 1 has been much used. Pricking on both booklets. Booklet I has been trimmed very neatly; booklet II

[71] The slips consist of fragments ranging in size, sometimes just a few lines.

rather less so. '408' is stamped onto the recto of the modern paper flyleaf. On iv is '[F] G.ϴ.7' and '4to vol. 89, 99' in a modern hand. Fol. iiv bears the inscription 'John [de] Thorisby (ABp of York)'s Directions to preachirs in þ[a]t province; Sirmons, & Tractatus in diuirsa Loca S*anctæ*. Scripturæ'.

Booklet I is decorated with opening 5-line dedication on fol. 1r in red, with capital initial 'M' in blue. 2- and 3-line initial capitals in red, often decorated, and an inhabited 'H' on fol. 3v. Latin headers are in red, as are roman numerals in the margins, and some red underlining (particularly saints' names). Fol. 8r has a finely drawn bird and flower in red in the lower margin. There is a single part-catchword ('¶ kyn' for *brekyn*) on fol. 9v. Booklet II has red initials, is boxed and ruled, including blank fols., and deletions are struck through in red. Each booklet is marked 'H3' (ii) and 'F14' (20r) respectively in a later hand.

LANGUAGE. Norfolk/Ely/Lincolnshire (Booklet I);[72] scribe B (Booklet II), and scribe C (slips in Booklet II) are non-northern.

PROVENANCE. Booklet I was given by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury (1611-1633); Booklet II tenuously linked to Augustinian Llanthony Secunda Priory, Gloucester.[73]

DESCRIPTIONS. James, *Lambeth Palace,* 561-2. Lambeth Palace Library – Database of Manuscripts and Archives (http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/). O. S. Pickering and V. M. O'Mara, *IMEP Handlist XIII: Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library,*

[72] Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 83.

[73] James states the link between Booklet II and Llanthony Secunda Priory can be found at: Henri Auguste Omont, *Anciens catalogues de bibliothèques anglaises, XIIe-XIVe siècles*, (Leipzig, 1892), 211 note 2, which I have not consulted due to unavailability. James, *Lambeth Palace*, 562.

including those formerly in Sion College Library (Cambridge, 1999), 29-30.

M London, British Library MS Add. 24202

s.xv^{2}. Parchment. Fols. 60. Overall size: 260 x 175 (writing area: 190-197 x 120), 41 – 45 lines in single columns, written in various anglicana hands. Modern binding; marbled endpapers.

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r}-13^{v}	Bishop's oath sworn to Urban VI, in 23 articles; with critical comments on the oath and the articles.
2.	14^{r} -21^{r}	'A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge' (IPMEP 428), Wycliffite treatise against the performance of miracle plays, immediately followed by a treatise against dice.
3.	22^{v}	'þese ben þe wordis of seynte Gregor þe pope eche priste shulde be holy & departed fro synne'
4.	24^{v}-25^{r}	Treatise against exposing relics for profit
5.	25^{r}-^{v}	'Dere sister in Crist sithen charite alle thing leeueth as seith the apostle', tract on the knowledge of the soul
6.	26^{r}-28^{r}	Treatise against the use of images
7.	28^{v}-29^{r}	Treatise on priests
8.	29^{r}-34^{r}	'Of weddid men and þ*er* wyuis and þ*er* childere' (IPMEP 521)
9.	34^{r}-35^{v}	Treatise on tithes and offerings
10.	**35^{v}-36^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) - Lines 268-347 and 380-433, ends imperfectly at**

quire end. Prose with medial and final pointing

11. 37^{r}-60^{v} Fragment of a treatise against the religious orders, begins in the middle of ch. 16 at start of new quire and ends imperfectly in ch. 39, at quire end

COLLATION. iii + 12^{5} + iii

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Unruled, boxed, with red headings and underlining; three-line initial capitals, with some six-line decorated initials in black and red and five-line red thorn at line 30 of fol. 22v. At fol. 31r is a red star in space left for capital 'w'. Well thumbed manuscript, with some water damage, it has not been trimmed.

LANGUAGE. Items 2 to 6, Northamptonshire;[74] items 7 to 10, Derbyshire (LP 577);[75] and item 11, Northamptonshire (LP 562).[76]

PROVENANCE. Inscription at front flyleaf ii reads, 'Purchased at the sale of 1st July 1861 Lot 84'; and another at rear flyleaf i reads, '60 fols. J.W. Nov^{r} 1867'; fol. 60r 'End. H.G. July 8 185'.

DESCRIPTIONS. Fols. 14ff see Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, eds., *Reliquiae antiquae : scraps from ancient manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English literature and the English language* (London, 1845).

N Nottingham University Library WLC/LM/9

[74] LALME 1:100-101.

[75] LALME 1:100-101 & 3:78-9.

[76] LALME 1:100-101 & 3:366-7.

s.xv^{in}. Parchment. Fols. 270. Booklet I overall size: 245 x 140 (writing area: 165-70 x 83-85), 32 lines per page in anglicana formata; Booklet II overall size: 178 x 95, 34 lines, similar hand.

CONTENTS.

Booklet I

1. 1^{r}-247^{r} *Speculum vitae* (DIMEV 423)[77]

247^{v} Originally blank, now with pen trials and signatures

Booklet II

2. **248^{r}-256^{r}** ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Verse, some pointing**

257^{r}- ^{v} Blank

COLLATION.ii + 270 + ii.

Booklet I 1-25^{10}; Booklet II 26^{10}.

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Headings in margins, full marginal explanatory program underlined in red and red slashed capitals; running titles in bastard anglicana boxed in red; alternating red and blue paraphs; four-line blue lombard initial with red foliate flourishes and marginal extensions on fol. 1r; two-line lombard initials at major divisions. Catchwords and signatures.

LANGUAGE. Leicestershire.[78]

[77] DIMEV incorrectly lists this item as the sole text.

[78] LALME 1:144; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82-3; Hanna, EETS os 331, xliv.

PROVENANCE. Fol. 257v, 'Wylliam Fleccher' (s.xv^{2} or xv^{ex}), 'wortys in god feay withowtyn…', and 'God safe my lady fyssyheu & all hyr wymmen god saue master wylle' and at the foot of the leaf is 'honoriuicablica[…]tatibus', upside down in textura hand.

Hanna and Turville-Petre confirm 'the book came to the Willoughbys after earlier ownership by Elizabeth, Lady Fitzhugh, wife of Richard Fitzhugh (d. 1487), who subsequently married 1491 (as his second wife) Henry Willoughby. She died in 1507. The Fizthughs are associated with Ravensworth, North Riding of Yorkshire; Elizabeth was daughter of Thomas, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough, Lincs.'[79]

DESCRIPTIONS. Thorlac Turville-Petre and Dorothy Johnson, *Image and Text*, 8 (with reduced facsimile of fol. 17). Hanna and Turville-Petre, eds., *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts*, 102-103. Ralph Hanna, ed. *Speculum Vitae, A Reading Edition*, Vol. 1, EETS os 331, xliii-iv. Valerie Edden, *IMEP Handlist XV: Manuscripts in Midland libraries* (Cambridge, 2000), 48.

O Manchester, Chetham Library MS 60

s.xv. Parchment. Fols. single bifolium. Overall size 180 x 140 (writing area: 145 x 110); 26-28 long lines per fol. Written in a good late s.xiv anglicana hand. Modern red binding, evidence of three stitches.

CONTENTS. Latin, except item 60

[79] Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre, eds., *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers* (York Medieval Press, 2010), 102.

Item 60 ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) - Lines 89-141 and 256-311 – Verse, unpunctuated**

Item 60 in a guardbook containing mostly broadsheets and ballads from 1681 to 1732, with some contemporary handwritten notes. Previous item: '1/59/97-98' 'The Grand Seignior Speech to the Ottoman Forces at Belgrade' (1683). Following item '1/61/102' 'T—l—nd's Invitation to Dismal to dine with the Calves-head Club (imitation of Horace, Epist. 5 Lib. 1)', 29 January (no year).

COLLATION.

Single bifolium. Modern pencil foliation: '3' and '4'. Assuming this to have been a complete version of the text, the lost lines suggest: 1^{8} (wants 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8) $2^{?8}$

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Boxed, but writing extends beyond. Two-line initial 'T' on fol. 3r. No rubrication, underlining, margination or any other marks.

LANGUAGE. Northern.

PROVENANCE. Once part of the extensive Halliwell-Phillipps collection.

DESCRIPTIONS. The fragment is the only medieval item amongst a collection of mostly printed material, and is therefore unrecorded elsewhere.

P Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.285

s.xiv^{ex} or xiv/xv (additions ss xiv/xv, xv^{in}, and x. xv^{1}). Parchment. Fols. 118. Overall size 220 x 160.

Booklet I: Hand A - writing area 185-90 x 125-30, written in anglicana, 32-38 lines (usually 36 or 37); Booklet II: Hand B - writing area for the main hand 175-80 x 120-25, written in anglicana (plus some lemmata in larger textura), 28–29 lines; Booklet III: item 18 in Hand A, the remainder by Hand C in contemporary anglicana, writing area for first scribe 175-80 x 120, 28 lines to the page, and for second scribe 180 x 125, 37-38 lines per page; and Booklet IV: Hand D, writing area 180-85 x 115-25, written in bastard anglicana, (begins as textura but lapses), 38-40 lines per page. Bound in s.xv brown leather chemise.

CONTENTS:

Booklet I

1. 1^{r}-39^{r} Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book I (IPMEP 255), preceded by a table of chapters from ch. 49 only
2. 39^{r} Extract from *Prick of Conscience*, lines 6071-6113 (DIMEV 5628)
3. 39^{v} Originally blank, added (s.xiv/xv) English *sententiae* from Bonaventura and St Bernard, with a sentence from *Emendatio vitae* ch. 8 (IPMEP 139)

Booklet II

4. 40^{r}-57^{v} Extracts from Rolle's *The Form of Living* (IPMEP 351), including 'Loved be thou king and thanked be thou king' (DIMEV 3290) and 'When will thou come and comfort me' (DIMEV 6482)

5.	57^{v}	Hilton's *Scale*, Book I, ch. 70 (IPMEP 64)
6.	58^{v}	Hilton's *Scale*, Book I, ch. 91 (IPMEP 66)
7.	59^{r}	Rolle's *Form of Living*, ch. 9, lines 610-21, followed by reworked excerpts of *Oleum Effusum* (IPMEP 339 and 351)
8.	59^{v}	Extracts from Gregory's *Sentences*, attributed to Rolle (IPMEP 527)
9.	59^{v}	Hilton's *Scale*, Book I, ch. 82 (IPMEP 484)
10.	60^{v}	Extract from a deathbed meditation by Anselm (IPMEP 573)
11.	61^{r}	Extract from Catherine of Siena's *Documento*, ch. 100 (IPMEP 409)
12.	**61^{v}-62^{r}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism* (IPMEP 13) - Lines 166-267, prose, delineated as verse**
13.	62^{r}	A 'nine points' text (IPMEP 847)
14.	62^{r}	'*Will ȝe offe þir poyntis lere*' (DIMEV 6686), a couplet introduction to 'Points Best Pleasing to God or Treatise on the Nine Virtues' (IPMEP 847)
15.	63^{v}	Originally blank; Latin notes added, as printed in *YW* 1.128

Booklet III

16.	64^{r}-68^{v}	'Meditation on the passion' (IPMEP 480)
17.	68^{v}-71^{r}	Rolle's 'Epistle of St John the Hermit' (IPMEP 274)
18.	71^{r}-73^{v}	Anecdotes from *Sayings of the Fathers* (IPMEP 546)
19.	73^{v}	Originally blank, Latin notes added, as printed in *YW* 1.128

Booklet IV

20.	74^{r}-118^{v}	Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Book 2

COLLATION. iii (stubs) + 118 = iii (stubs)

Booklet I 1^{10}, 2^{14} (wants 9), 3^{14}, 4^{2}
Booklet II 5-6^{12}
Booklet III 7^{10}
Booklet IV 8-11^{10}, 12^{6} (wants 6)

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. No signatures; catchwords, usually boxed in red; presumably a fly- or extra leaf with the opening table has been lost from the first quire; Booklet II no signatures or catchwords; Booklet III no signatures; and Booklet IV some catchwords and signatures.

LANGUAGE. Hand A (items 1, 17, and 18) and Hand B (items 4 to 16) are Northern, and are assigned LP 22 (unmapped), 'probably northwest Yorkshire'.[80] Hanna suggests Hand D (item 20) is more southern, 'probably southwest of the Wash, perhaps the Ely-Norfolk border'.[81]

PROVENANCE. Front flyleaf verso, '<O>biit dominus Iohannes Marchal', a residential canon of York.

DESCRIPTIONS. *Uncollected*, xlviii-l. *Eng. MSS.*, 174-76, with a reproduction of fol. 68v as pl. 4. Sarah J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist XXIII: The Rawlinson Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge, 2017), 118-25.

Q Oxford, Queen's College MS 389B

[80] LALME 1:151 & 3:661-2; *Eng. MSS.*, 176.

[81] *Eng. MSS*., 176.

s.xii to s.xv. Paper and parchment. Guardbook containing 41 Latin and English fragments, ranging in size from 95 x 155 to 275 x 395. Fragments 24 and 25: 130 x 200 (writing area: 115-120 x 170-180), 26-28 lines in single column, in a mixed anglicana/secretary hand of first half of s.xv. Modern leather binding.

CONTENTS. Latin, except fragments 24, 25 and 26

Frags. 24, 25 ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Lines 170-225 and 435-489.[82] Verses. xv-xvi**

Frag. 26 Memorandum of land leased at Buckhurst, Sussex, Lady Day 27 Henry vi, 1449, England, paper

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Fragments 24 & 25 are not ruled or boxed, and there is no rubrication.

LANGUAGE. Northern – fragments 24 & 25 are too short to analyse further.

PROVENANCE. On the front pastedown is 'REGINAE ERVNT NVTRICES TVAE COIL REG OXON Robertus Clericus Eglesfield'. Robert of Eglesfield, Cumbria (c.1295-1349) was the founder of The Queen's College, Oxford[83]

A letter dated 4 December 1932 on Bodleian headed notepaper pasted onto the first page of the manuscript declares, 'fol. 28-31 added subsequently', and '8a, 8b, 32-41 added in March 1351 R. W. Hunt'; and continues:

Dear Librarian,

[82] Fragments 24 & 25 were previously fols. 245 & 248 of Oxford, Queen's College MS 389, which now ends at folio 244.

[83] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (oxforddndb.com).

I send herewith the list of manuscript fragments which I promised a year ago. The fragments themselves have already been forwarded to you. I have omitted the last three – from 12th-13th cent. moral treatises, written in England – As the identity of which I can obtain no clue. Nos. 6, 7 have formed half of an important M.S. of the letter-book of Pierre de la Vigue. Probably it is as early as any of the MSS. known to exist; but there is no modern edition. Nos 16 & 19 are also of some interest, but my identification of them is not complete. I will let you know if I track them down.

Yours sincerely,

N[oel] Denholm-Young

DESCRIPTIONS. Henricus Octavius Coxe, 'Catalogus codicum MSS. Collegii Reginensis', in *Catalogus codicum MSS. Qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* 2 vols., (Oxford, 1852), 1:89-91.[84] Ogilvie-Thomson, *Handlist VIII,* 84.

R Oxford Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.288

s.xv. Parchment. Fols. 109. Overall size: 210-220 x 135-145 (writing area: 145-180 x 95-120), various anglicana scribal hands; item 1 29 lines, otherwise approx. 26-29 lines (12-24 lines in double columns). Modern binding, in chemise.

CONTENTS.

[84] Reprinted as H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Oxford colleges* (East Ardesley, 1972).

	iv^{v}	Table of contents in a later (?s.xvi) hand; the same hand applies titles to the beginning of each item
1.	1^{r}-13^{v}	'A treatise of þe 7 deadely synnes', contains pride, wrath, sloth and ends imperfectly in the sin of envy; following three fols. lost
2.	14^{r}-21^{v}	*Canones euangelior(um)* with a concordance
3.	21^{r}	Concordance of the four gospels, followed by *Capitula [omnium] libror(um) sacre sc(ri)pture*
4.	22^{v}-81^{v}	Excerpts from *Scintillis Defensoris*; explicit: '*Quidam tractatus que vocatur Dominus in Evangelio, alias Sintellarie*'
5.	85-91^{r}	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Prose, unpunctuated.** Text ends 91r/10, the remainder is blank
	91^{v}	Blank
6.	92^{r}	'A brief exposition of þe X co*m*mandme[n]*ts*', inc. 'Euery man that xal comen to heuen most knowe and kepe the x comawndments of God'
	95^{v}-96^{r}	Blank, unruled but boxed
	96^{v}	Three-line inscription in a later hand
7.	97^{r}-98^{v}	Three more similar boxes of texts, in Latin
8.	99^{r}-102^{r}	*Regulae, sive Pica, de historiis a mense Augusti ad Octobrem in ecclesia legendis*
9.	99^{r}-101^{v}	Three Latin lines: *Pica p(ro)lectionibus [&c?] in diuinis Officijs*, remainder of 101^{v} blank
10.	102^{r}-^{v}	Originally blank, ruled to end of 102^{v} which now contains Latin three-line verse, accompanied by a crude drawing, in later hand
11.	103^{r}-108^{v}	*Fabulae morales*
12.	108^{v}	Receipts for colours (red, white, green, blue, and yellow) and sizes for gold

13. 109^{r} Blank. Rear flyleaves now contain various (illegible) Latin notes, pen trials, a counting table, and on iv^{r} is a charm against rats (DIMEV 2150), followed by medical receipts

COLLATION: iv + 109 + iv

iv + 1^{8}, 2^{8} (wants 6 to 8), 3^{8} (wants 1 to 2), 4-10^{8}, 11^{8} (wants 7), 12^{8} (wants 8), 13^{8} (wants 8), 14^{4}, 15^{8} + iv

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. A well thumbed *vade mecum*. One catchword (fol. 37^{v}), and signatures. Headings and biblical names in red ink. Fols. have been collated and trimmed to fit together, cutting off pricking. Tabs have been placed on fols. 14^{r} and 22^{v} to mark the two texts within, which cross two quires, so done after compilation. Fol. 57 has stitching, and fol. 106 has been torn, leaving the top and right portions missing. Remainder of 91r and 95^{v}-96^{r} are boxed but unruled.

Item 3 has alternating blue and red initial capitals; item 5 begins with large-ish red inked 'A' and only 85^{r}-86^{r} have red ink underlining Latin; item 6 has no decoration; item 9 top half of fol. 99^{r} space left for illustration; the remainder of the text has spaces for two-line initials and gaps in text to allow for red inked Latin

LANGUAGE. Norfolk.[85] LP 5668 (unmapped) based on Hand A (fols. 1^{v}-11^{v} of item 1, and items 7 to 8) and Hand B (12^{r}-13^{v} of item 1).[86]

PROVENANCE. 'An early inscription on a flyleaf mentions 'Wiltun' (?N Suffolk). Over it, in a later fifteenth century hand, is: "Assit principio Sancta Maria meo quod Treue"; and "Iste liber Constat Domino

[85] Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes, 83.

[86] LALME 1:151 & 3:362-3.

(Johanni Treve) cum gaudio & honore Amen". On ff. 96v-97r appear notices of the family of W. Mundys of Thorp Market, Norfolk (20 miles north of Norwich) from 1549; on fol. 83v is a memorandum of the birth of *Hen. Reppes, 10 Jun. 30 Hen. VIII*.; on fols. 96v, 97r, notices of the marriage of *William Mundys, senior, of Thorppemerket*, with Katherine Sword, and of the births of three of his children, from 1549 to 1552.'

DESCRIPTIONS. William Dunn Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ partis quintæ fasciculus secundus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson,* (Oxford, 1878). Ralph Hanna, *IMEP Handlist* XII, *Smaller Bodleian collections: English miscellaneous, English poetry, English theology, Finch, Latin theology, Lyell, Radcliffe Trust* (Cambridge, 1997). Ogilvie-Thomson, *Handlist XXIII*, 125-7.

S Cambridge Sidney Sussex College MS 55

s.xiv-xv. Parchment. Fols. 54. Overall size: 203 x 140 (writing area: 155-163 x 100-105), 32-33 lines in single columns, written in anglicana. Originally two volumes, s.xix leather binding.

CONTENTS.

Booklet I

1.	1^{r}-40^{r}	*Speculum Christiani*
2.	40^{v}	Prayer to saint Gregory; followed by 'premor et puer es / cur collo tam grauis [h]eres Non lateat [ti]bi res / que*m* fers est celicus heres'. Remainder of fol. blank.

Booklet II

3.	**41^{r}-47^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Prose, delineated as verse**
4.	47^{v}-48^{r}	Pater Noster
5.	48^{r}	Ave Maria
6.	48^{r}	Apostle's Creed
7.	48^{r}	Decalogue
8.	48^{r}	List of the Sacraments
9.	48^{r}-49^{r}	Treatise on the Pater Noster
10.	49^{r}-52^{r}	'In the worshepe of oure lord Ih*es*u cryste oure lady seynt Marie and al the holy cu*m*panye of heuene ȝe schal knele a doun up on ȝour kneys'
11.	52^{v}-54^{r}	'Be the auctorite of seynt Peter and Paul and be the auctorite of alle holy chirche', a bidding prayer. Remainder of fol. blank
	54^{v}	Blank originally, now with pen trials

COLLATION. i + 54 + i

Booklet I 1-5^{8}
Booklet II 6^{14}

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Fols. unnumbered. The flyleaves were originally a single thirteenth century leaf, concerning canon law, written in double columns. Two-line blue initials with red flourishes; paraphs in red and blue alternating; red and black underlining; headings in red. Catchwords framed with flourishes, no signatures.

LANGUAGE. Midlands, with northern forms: item 1 (fols. 3^{v}-26^{v}) south Nottinghamshire; items 3 and 9, Northamptonshire (LP 737);

and items 10 and 11, south east Cambridgeshire or south west Suffolk.[87]

PROVENANCE. Fol. 1r 'Sum Iohannis Pilkingtoni Dunelmensis : ex dono Dominici Henrici Wanless [?Wanley] clerici 1594. Morb*us* est non iudici*um* damnare quod non inspexeris'. 'Erat silens' (he was silent) with clover leaf at foot of fol. 49v. Donated to Sidney Sussex College by Dr Samuel Ward in 1643.

DESCRIPTIONS. Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), 39. Arthur H. Cook, *Early Printed Books to the Year 1500 in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1922). Angela M. Lucas, *IMEP Handlist XXII: Manuscripts in Christ's, Emmanuel, Jesus, Selwyn and Sidney Sussex Colleges, Peterhouse and Trinity Hall, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2016), 86-7.

T York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 11

c.1352-74. Parchment. Fols. 400. Overall size 350-355 x 245-270; fols. 329r-393r in double columns, otherwise single columns, written in various s.xiv hands. Leather covered wooden boards stamped 'THYRESBY' front and rear.

CONTENTS.

Booklet I

[87] LALME 1:64 & 3:369-70; Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes agree on item 3 being from Northamptonshire, 83. LALME misidentifies items 3 to 9 as 'Treatise on Seven Deadly Sins'.

1. 1^{r}-80^{r} Chapters and officialities (Aug 1352-July 1373)[88]

80^{v}-81^{v} Blank, followed by three papers, foliated but not bound in:

81A *Fabrica Ecclesia Eboranc[ia],* marked 'Thoresby – folio 316.b'

81Br-Cr Ordination records

$81C^{v}$ Blank

Booklet II

2. 82^{r}-172^{r} Archdeaconry of York records (May 1354-Oct 1373)

172^{v}-172A Blank

Booklet III

3. 173^{r}-193^{r} Archdeaconry of Cleveland records (May 1354-Aug 1373)

193^{v}-193A Blank

Booklet IV

[88] Capitula are items relating to York Minster and its collegiate churches (Beverley, Ripon, Southwell, St Mary's chapel, and Holy Angels), including internal correspondence. However, as Smith notes, 'the heading of this first section is usually *Capitula cum capella et officalitate Ebor*', but on fol. 35r the heading also refers to the collegiate church of Howden and isolated entries relating to this church are found in this section as well as in the Howdenshire and Allerton section.' David Michael Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Register of England and Wales* (London, 1981), 239.

4. 194^{r}-233^{r} Archdeaconry of the East Riding records (May 1354-Oct 1373

233^{v} Blank

Booklet V

5. 234^{r}-279^{r} Archdeaconry of Nottingham records (May 1354-Oct 1373)

279^{v} Blank

Booklet VI

6. 280^{r}-285^{r} Howdenshire and Allertonshire records (July 1356-Oct 1373)

285^{v}, 285A^{r-v} Blank

Booklet VII

7. 286^{r}-294^{r} Archdeaconry of Richmond records (Jan 1356-Oct 1373)

294^{v},
294A^{r}-294B^{v} Blank

Booklet VIII

8. **295^{r}-297^{v}** ***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Prose, delineated as verse**

9. **297^{v}-298^{v}** **Latin text on Creed, Decalogue, Virtues, Sacraments, Works of Mercy (bodily and spiritual) and Sins (Pride, Invidia, Ire, Accidia, Avericia, Gula & Luxuria)**[89]

[89] The introductory matter and concluding lines of the Latin text are printed at Appendix A, item 2. The Latin headings, of the text are set

10. 299^{r}-307^{r} *Ballive* (July 1354-Oct 1373)
    307^{v},
    307A^{r}-307D^{v} Blank

Booklet IX

11. 308^{r}-314^{r} Collection of various letters (Apr 1356-Nov 1373)
    314^{v} Blank

Booklet X

12. 315^{r}-327^{r} *Intrinseca de camera* (Feb 1360-Sept 1373)
    328^{r-v} Blank

Booklet XI

13. 329^{r}-393^{r} Ordination records (Dec 1356-Sept 1373)
12. 393^{v}-394^{r} Election and benediction of John, abbot of Whitby (June 1374)[90]
    394^{v}-395^{v} Blank

Booklet XII

14. 396^{r}, 397^{r} Admission of friars as penitentiaries, etc. and homages
15. 396^{v}-397^{r} Articles for a rural visitation and a visitation of nuns
    397^{v} Blank
16. 398^{r}-399^{v} Suffragan records (Mar 1357-Dec 1359)

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out in the Notes on the Text against the correlating lines of the *Catechism*.

[90] Item 14 'is an addition from the time of Archbishop Neville'. Smith, *Guide*, 239.

17. 400^{r} Two licences dated 1366-1369, followed by a single line oath

18. 400^{v} Blank

COLLATION. The following collation is now proposed:[91]

Three paper flyleaves, then: iii + 1^{8} (+ 8A, 8B), 2^{6} (wants 3, + 13A), 3^{16} (wants 9), 4^{6}, 5^{8}, 6^{18}, 7^{12}, 8^{8}, 9^{8}, 10^{8}, 11^{16}, 12^{8}, 13^{6}, 14^{8}, 15^{8}, 16^{10}, 17^{8}, 18^{12}, 19^{10}, 20^{14}, 21^{6}, 22^{12}, 23^{8}, 24^{10}, 25^{6}, 26^{12}, 27^{10}, 28^{8}, 29^{10} (wants 7, 8, 9 and 10), 30^{12} (wants 12), 3^{14}, 32^{20} (wants 13, 19 and 20), 33^{12} (wants 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12), 34^{14}, 35^{10}, 36^{10}, 37^{4}, 38^{8}, 39^{20}, 40^{8}, 41^{6} (wants 5), 42^{4}, + iii, plus three paper flyleaves

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Heavily worn manuscript, much used, with many cuts and other damage to adjacent fols. where fols. have been removed. Item 8 fully boxed and ruled; remaining items boxed. Manicules throughout, usually marking marginalia, which is abundant.

Crude drawings of family emblems throughout, including those of 'Waltus de ?Skylagh' (89v), 'Wills de Sullyngton' (64r & 71v), and 'John [W]estupyne' (148v).

LANGUAGE. West Riding of Yorkshire (LP 116 Grid 426 469).[92] The scribe of the *Catechism* and its Latin counterpart has been identified as Thomas de Aldefeld.[93] Ian Doyle is of the opinion that Thomas de Aldefeld is also the scribe of *Speculum Vitae* and *Stimulus Conscientie Minor* in BL Addit. 33995.[94]

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[91] Smith's collation is incorrect. Smith, *Guide*, 239.

[92] LALME 1:259; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82.

[93] Doyle*, A Survey*, 1.117-8.

[94] Private communication with Ralph Hanna dated 15 September 2017.

PROVENANCE. The Register records the visitation, ordination and collation accounts in the York province from 1352 to 1374, bound together for the sake of preservation. Two items relate to Thoresby's temporal affairs: item 10 is correspondence with his secular officers, including his secular appointments, gifts and loans, etc.; and item 12 relates to Thoresby's wardrobe and general household business.[95] The *Catechism* and Thoresby's Latin headings form a separate quire, bound in as a record of the archbishop's pastoral business. Each booklet clearly ends with blank fols. which have later been foliated. Various inscriptions, including on the first paper flyleaf:

> N. In the Exchequer William Wright Laynge, Complainant, Between Henry Yarburgh George and John Dixon, Defendants, October 8th 1811 at the execution of a Commission for Examination of witnesses in this cause this book in parchment writing was produced and hewn to John Dawson and by him deposed undo at the time of his Examination to the Second Interrogatory on the part of the Complainant, before us, John Book Incoates

DESCRIPTIONS. Smith, *Guide*, 239. The ms is digitally available at https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk

U Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.th.e.181 '(i)', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 274 '(ii)', and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 273 '(iii)[96]

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[95] Ernest Fraser Jacobs, *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York: some points of comparison* (London, 1953), 13-14.

[96] These three volumes once formed a single codex, with some loss of text prior to fol. 1r. *Lay Folks' Catechism* begins in Eng.th.e.181, and

s.xiv^{ex}. Parchment. Fos. 11 (i); 22 (ii); 96 (iii). Overall size: 113mm x 183mm (writing area: 65mm x 122mm), 29 lines, written in single anglicana formata hand. Modern binding, with marbled endpapers.

CONTENTS.

(i) Eng.th.e.181

1.	1^{r}-2^{r}	Exposition of the Pater Noster (IPMEP 810), begins acephalous
2.	2^{v}-3^{v}	Exposition of the Aue Maria (IPMEP 455)
3.	3^{v}-6^{r}	Exposition of the Creed (IPMEP 403)
4.	**6^{r}-10^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 672)[97] - Lines 1-168, continues in Douce 274. Prose, with medial and final pointing**

(ii) Douce 274

5.	**1^{r}-17^{v}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(continuation of Eng.th.e.181) - Lines 169-574**
6.	17^{v}-19^{r}	Treatise on the duties of priests
7.	19^{r}-22^{v}	*The Seven Heresies Against the Seven Petitions of the Pater Noster* (IPMEP 208)

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continues in Douce 274 at fol. 17v; Douce 273 completes that original codex, as identified by Hudson. Hudson, 'A Postscript', 307-10.

[97] This ms is listed as IPMEP 70. However, the witness is punctuated as verse, set out in a prose format, and is here allocated the same DIMEV number as La, the two witnesses being closely related and, presumably, descendants of a verse ancestor.

(iii) Douce 273

8.	1-37v	Wycliffite tract on the Twenty-five Articles (IPMEP 675)
9.	37v-53r	*Tractatus de regibus*, tract based on Wyclif's *De officio regis* (IPMEP 605)
10.	53v-96	Wycliffite *Septem hereses contra septem petitiones* (IPMEP 596)

COLLATION.

(i) v + 11

1^6, 2^4, 3^1. The original fols. 1-2 and 7-8 are lost (fol. 2 has signature "Aiiij", so was the original fol. 4); fol. 11 is a singleton.

(ii) ii + 22 + ii

1^4, 2^8, 3^{10}

(iii) ii + 96 + ii

1^8 (wants 2), 2-10^8, 11^4, 12^8, 13^4; '80 is a double, and 24-5 and 39-40 are each but one leaf.'[98]

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Catchword on fol. 6v of (i); fol. 7r 'bought' in upper margin. Decorated initials in blue, gold and dark red, with flourishes, also silver dots and white lines; some pencil lines still visible. Modern pencil note on flyleaf recto (not pastedown) of (iii) and same hand has numbered the fols. Fol. 11r of (ii) decorated with initials, alternative red and blue paraphs, with a crude drawing in top margin. Occasional decorated initials with flourishes along length of

[98] Hanna, *Handlist* XII, 12.

fol. red and blue alternate paraphs in margins throughout as place finders.

LANGUAGE. Derbyshire (LP 54)[99]

PROVENANCE. Front flyleaf verso: sold for £100 to 'Dr Oliver Gollancz, 6 Aug. 1887'

DESCRIPTIONS. (i) and (ii) Hanna, *Handlist* XII, 12-14 and 59-61; (ii) Laurel Braswell, *IMEP Handlist* IV, *Manuscripts in the Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge, 1987), 61; and (iii) Braswell, *Handlist IV*, 59-61.

V Cambridge, Trinity College B.10.12

s.xv¼. Parchment. Fols. 69. Overall size: 200 x 145 in (writing area: 144-146 x 100-120), 25 lines in single column, written in textura/anglicana formata hybrid hand. 'MA' stamped onto s.xvi leather binding, and two holes left by clasps on front and rear boards.

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r}-53^{r}	Pseudo-Bonaventuran, *The Privity of the Passion*, acephalous
2.	53^{r}– 5^{r}	'Iesu mercy mercy I cry' (DIMEV 2875)
3.	55^{r} – 55^{v}	'Ihesu þi name honoured myȝt be' (DIMEV 2937)
4.	**56^{r}-67^{r}**	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) – Lines 1-116 as prose, thereafter lineated as verse**; ends at 67r line 11, remainder of fol. is ruled but blank
	67^{v}-69^{v}	Blank

[99] LALME 1:148 & 3:67-68.

COLLATION. i + 1-5^{8}, 6^{8} (wants 1), 7^{8} (5 cancelled from the quire without loss of text), 8^{8}, 9^{8} (wants 8) + i

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Item 1 is illustrated with 44 miniatures, usually 17 lines, within borders; detailed hair/beards, textiles and background architecture, etc.

Three-line initial 'A' on first line of fol. 1^{r} in blue with magenta fill and flourishes and red heading. Flowers decorate margin of fol. 1^{v}. Two-line initials; blue paraphs, Latin headings and marginalia, and roman numerals in margins. Catchwords and signatures. Guides in margins for Latin markers.

Rear flyleaf, in two s.xv hands: 'Serue god deuoutely & loue well the churche' and 'Respice finem'.

LANGUAGE. West Riding of Yorkshire, to the east of Ripon (LP 175).[100]

PROVENANCE. Fol. 1^{r} bears the (partially erased) inscription 'Roberti Hare 1548'; donated to Trinity by John Laughton, canon of Lichfield, Chaplain (1678-83), Librarian of Trinity (from 1679) and of the University (1686-1712).[101]

DESCRIPTIONS. *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/). Linne R. Mooney, *IMEP Handlist XI: Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1995), 7.

[100] LALME 1:65 & 3:169; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82.

[101] Robert Sinker, *Biographical Notes on the Librarians of Trinity College on Sir Edward Stanhope's Foundation*, (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1897), 19-24, at 55.

W Keio University Library MS 9 [*olim* Hopton Hall][102]

s.xv? Parchment. Fols 43. Overall size: 193 × 131mm. Item 2: 36 to 40 lines per page, written in small anglicana formata hand. Bound & stitched into parchment wrappers formed of an English document of 9 December 1659.

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r}-3^{r}	Form of confession for the Seven Deadly Sins
2.	3^{v}-9^{v}	***Lay Folks' Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671) - Prose with final pointing**
3.	9^{v}-11^{v}	Form of confession for sins of the heart, mouth and deed
4.	11^{v}-13^{r}	Form of confession for 'confort again dyspayre'
5.	13^{r}-13^{v}	*A Dialogue between Christ and Man* (DIMEV 2945)
6.	14^{r}-19^{r}	A text on human vanity, 'a gode chapitre of confort again dyspayr for multitude of synnes', which contains a number of extracts from other works, including an extract from Heinrich Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, under its Middle English title, 'þe horloge of wisdom' (fols. 15^{v}-16^{v}) and an

[102] I have not been able to examine this manuscript. The description is based on that given in A.S.G. Edwards, 'Journeyman manuscript production and lay piety: the Hopton Hall manuscript' in *Medieval Texts in Context*, eds. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (Abingdon, 2008), 113-121.

		extract from 'The Teachings of St Barnabas' (17^{v}-19^{r})[103]
7.	19^{v}-27^{r}	*The Charter of The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (IPMEP 39)[104]
8.	28^{r}-^{v}	Fragments of Hilton's *Mixed Life* (IPMEP 147)[105]
9.	29^{r}-37^{r}	Comparison of the Ten Commandments with the plagues of Egypt, and a debate on Moses' exile
10.	37^{r}-43^{v}	A manual on prayer and fasting

COLLATION. 1^{12}, 2–3^{8}, 5^{1}, 6^{6} (lacking a gathering after fol. 28)

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Two-line initials in dark blue ink with red flourishes, headings and names of authorities in red, some staining and wear especially at the beginning and end. Signature of scribe 'William Hal(s)', fol. 19v, and signed '*Amen quod Hall'* , fol. 13v.

LANGUAGE. Norfolk.[106]

PROVENANCE. Unknown.

DESCRIPTIONS. A. S. G. Edwards, 'Journeyman Manuscript Production and Lay Piety: the Hopton Hall Manuscript', in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. by Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (Abingdon, 2008), 113-121. A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Hopton Hall Manuscript at Keio University' *in Codices Keionenses: Essays on*

[103] The same text appears in full in Cambridge, Magdelene College MS Pepys 2125, a West Midlands composition.

[104] Edwards, 'Journeyman', 113-121.

[105] The following gathering is missing, but presumably contained the rest of this item.

[106] Personal communication with A. S. G. Edwards. Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes suggest possibly west Norfolk/east of Ely, 82.

Western Manuscript and Early Printed Books in Keio University Library, ed. Takami Matsuda (Tokyo, 2005), 69-86.

X British Library, MS Arundel 507

A *sammelbande* of various s.xiii and s.xiv Latin, English and French texts, often only extracts, on different sized paper and parchment. The relevant section is fols. 16-25 (parchment) and fols. 26-81 (paper, folded in fol.); overall size: 255 x 165 (writing area: 220-30 x 135-45); fols. 36-66 written in untidy anglicana, around 40-45 lines. Modern BL binding, with marbled endpapers.

CONTENTS.

1.	16^{r}-20^{v}	*Speculum theologie*
2.	21^{v}-22^{r}	*Stationes et peregrinationes Terræ Sanctæ*
3.	22^{v}-24^{r}	Anglo-Norman history of the cross
4.	24^{v}-28^{r}	Extract from Richard of St Victor's *Benjamin minor* (IPMEP 4)
5.	28^{v}-29^{r}	Theological notes
6.	29^{v}-31^{r}	Latin letter of devotional instruction, and a theological note
7.	31^{v}-33^{v}	Alcher of Clairvaux, *De diligendo deo*
8.	34^{r}-^{v}	*Mens humana ymago dei est in qua sunt hec tria memoria intelligentia et voluntas,* Latin prose
9.	34^{v}-35^{v}	*Domina mea sanctissima sancta Maria perpetua virgo virginum*, Latin prose prayer
10.	35^{v}-36^{r}	*Diabolus tribus odis insidiatur religiosis*[107]

[107] These fols. originally blank; further later additions to fill blank spaces occur at fols 36^{v}, 38^{v}, 43^{v}, 48^{r}, and 37^{r}.

11. 36^{r}-38^{v} Rolle's *Form of Living*, several excerpts from ch. 6 (IPMEP 242) 'Four thinges nedis man til knowe', ch 6, abridged with additions
12. 36^{v}-38^{v} Latin note on devotion and ascribed to Jerome; two English notes on serving God on good & evil deeds (IPMEP 227 and IPMEP 515)
13. 39^{r}-^{v} Theological notes in Latin
14. 40^{r}-^{v} Rolle's *Ego dormio*, (IPMEP 160) lines 1-124, single-leaf fragment cut down to fit MS
15. 41^{r}-43^{r} Rolle's *þe holy boke Gracia Dei* (IPMEP 502) extract on grace
16. 43^{r}-^{v} 'The Seven Gifts' (IPMEP 700)
17. 43^{v}, 48^{r} Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 788), ch. 12 abridged
18. 48^{r}-^{v}, 47^{r}-^{v}, 44^{r}-45^{r} 'Meditation on the Passion', a section of Rolle's *þe holy boke Gracia Dei* (IPMEP 480)[108]
19. 45^{r}-46^{r} Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 839), ch. 1, lines 1-121
20. 46^{r}-^{v}, 49^{r} Rolle's *Form of Living* (IPMEP 839), excerpts from chapters 2-4 lines 122-58, 166-78, 203-14, 220-30, 236-46, 246-60, all either abbreviated or amended
21. 48^{r} 'Thre thinges are nedeful, (false start to *Our Daily Work* - see item 26)
22. 49^{v} Originally blank. Later added Rolle's *Incendium amoris*, amended extract from ch. 15
23. **50^{r}-54^{r}** ***Lay Folk's Catechism*** **(DIMEV 671)**[109] **– Prose, but delineated with medial and final pointing**

[108] Fols. are bound out of order. *Uncollated,* xx.

[109] DIMEV notes that the text is in prose, and it was incorrectly listed as IPMEP 71. The *Catechism* is punctuated as though verse but condensed into a prose layout to save space.

	51^{v}-52^{r}	short verse form of the Decalogue at foot of pages
24.	54ra	*Fastus auaricia torpedo liuor et ira,* Latin mnemonic for the tenets of item 23
25.	54^{rb}	*Quædam de stirpe Annæ et Mariæ*, cited from St Jerome in Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*[110]
26.	54^{v}-66^{r}	'Our daily work', a section of Rolle's 'þe holy boke Gracia Dei' (IPMEP 480; see also IPMEP 502)[111]
27.	66^{r}-^{v}	*Dominus deus spititus sancte timeo et desidero loqui de te pro me quia de me*, Latin prose
28.	67^{r}-68^{v}	*Commentaritis in Psalmos xiv. et xxxviii,* Latin commentary on the psalms
29.	69^{r}-76^{v}	*Est nichil vtilius humane credo saluti / Quam morum nouisse,* and other Latin verses, some riddles in Latin and English, and the Latin martyrdoms of English saints, glosses in English added
30.	76^{v}	'Think oft mid sorrow of heart o thine sin' (DIMEV 5642)
31.	76^{v}	'When the eye begins to turn', (DIMEV 6437)
32.	77^{r}	*Anselmus ad quasdam Monachas contra inutiles cogitationes*
33.	77^{v}-80^{v}	Theological notes,
34.	81ra-^{vb}	*Le prestre apres est deuiee*, extract from William of Waddington's *Manuel des Pechiez*, plus another exempla

COLLATION: 100 fols, plus unfoliated modern paper flyleaves. Many of the leaves have been bound out of order. Hanna suggests:[112]

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[110] *Uncollected*, xviii-xix; *Eng.MSS*, 88.

[111] 'Fol. 65, with the English text, on the recto only, is waste from another book, with cancelled Latin, including 'Remedium contra vicium gule', on the verso, the leaf inverted before adding the English.' *Uncollected*, xviii-xix; *Eng.MSS*, 88.

$1^{10?}$ (parchment fols. 16-25), 2^{6}, 3^{8+1}, (+9, fol. 40), 4^{8} (fols. 41-48; the current 8 + 7, fols. 48 + 47 are now the displaced 4 + 5), 5^{8}, $6^{?}$ (perhaps remains of a ten, fols. 57–63), 7^{8} , 8^{10}

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Simple initials in red or brown. Diagrams (fols. 16-21v, 22v), and a damaged map of the world (fol. 100). Some highlighting in yellow or red. No headings or decorated initials; no catchwords or signatures.

LANGUAGE. Durham (LP 10).[113]

PROVENANCE. Note at fols. 93v-94r concerning personal effects and household items of *Ricardus de Segbrok*, Benedictine monk of Durham Cathedral Priory of St Cuthbert (d. 1396 or 1397). Doyle suggests the 'volume was among books given by the Durham chapter to the recusant antiquary Lord William Howard (of Naworth, Cumb., 1563-1640), when he came to the north in the 1590s.'[114]

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[112] *Uncollated*, xx.

[113] LALME 1:105 and 3:89-90; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 82.

[114] Doyle, A. I., 'William Caxton and the Durham Chronicles', *Books and Collectors 1200-1700*, ed. James P Carley and Colin G C Tite (London, 1997), 335-55, at 337, 352 n.13. *Eng. MSS.*, 89. 'Richard Segbrok, who died in 1396 or 1397, both copied the excerpts here and owned the book. As A. J. Piper points out, Segbrook copied historical excepts into other Cathedral Priory books, at BL MS Additional 24059, fols 1-14, 15v, 20-22v, 61-62v; and London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 25, fols 4v-31v (Piper, A. J., 'Biographical Register of Durham Cathedral Priory (1083-1539)' in *The Durham* Liber Vitae, David and Lynda Rollason, eds, 3 vols (London, 2007), 3:129-436, at 271-72). In addition, there is some possibility that Segbrok is 'the monk of Farne', whose meditations appear at

Henry Howard (b. 1628, d. 1684), 6th duke of Norfolk, presented to the Royal Society in 1667. The Royal Society, London (its ink stamp: 'Soc. Reg. Lond / ex dono HENR. HOWARD / Norfolciensis.', fol. 2). Purchased by the British Museum in 1831.[115]

DESCRIPTIONS. *Uncollected*, xvi-xx. *Eng. MSS*, 85-89. British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1657&).[116]

Y New Haven, Yale University Library, MS Beinecke 317 [*olim* Phillipps 1052]

s.xv[1]. Paper. Fols. 56. Overall size: 215 x 145 (writing area: 165-180 x 75-135 mm). Lines per page vary considerably, including items 4-5, 42 lines; item 8, 48-50 lines; item 9, 46-49 lines; item 10, 47-51; item 12, 49 lines; item 14, 47-57 lines; item 15, 44-49; item 17, 44-52. Written primarily by a single scribe in cramped Secretary script, with additions, marginalia, and corrections of s. xvi. Binding: handmade paper; title 'Life of St. Jerome. M. S.' on a foil-stamped paper label on spine.[117]

Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.34, fols 6-75v.' 'Revises *Uncollected* xvi-xx.' *Eng. MSS*, 89.

[115] British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1657&.

[116] Incorrectly attributes composition to 'John' Segbrok, citing John B. Friedman, *Northern English Book Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, 1995), 245, no. 107.

[117] Rebound in 2005 following deterioration of blind tooled calf leather binding, with the original worn, warped boards (224 x 148mm)

CONTENTS.

1.	1^{r}	*De modo psallendi*. 12 lines, mostly illegible; beginning *Cum domino*... (Walther, *Sprichwörter*, no. 4128)[118]
2.	1^{r}	*Gaudet epar spodio. mace cor. cerebrum quoque musco / Pulmo liquoricia, splen capare, stoma galanga...Dicit borago gaudia semper ago*. In margin, four lines: *Medicina... pro regimine sanitatis. Borago*. (Walther, *Sprichwörter*, no. 101906)[119]
3.	1^{v}-3^{v}	The thirty-four virtues of the mass, preceded by 16 lines of prefatory material (DIMEV 5651); 16- and 14-line unidentified Latin verses follow[120]
4.	3^{v}-4^{v}	Prose commentary on item 3, with paraphrases in English and some quotations in Latin of material taken from the Bible and Church Fathers. Ends 4^{v}/13, remainder blank

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showing evidence of three clasp marks. The boards and the now detached spine are boxed with the volume, together with loose original stitches. The title 'Life of St. Jerome. M. S.', in gold, on the spine is now barely legible. The original flyleaves separated from the gatherings are retained with the original boards, and modern, handmade flyleaves are attached to new binding.

[118] Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi; Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 5 vols., (Göttingen, 1963-67).

[119] Also appears at fol. 70v in X as two lines in many epigrams. Attributed to Rolle, simply because they appear with Rollean texts; *YW*, 1, 424.

[120] In the left margin of fol. 3v is written 'Lollards!!' adjacent to a line of the text which reads, 'lollards and heretykes of þe deueles lawe'.

5. 5^{r}-21^{v} Symon Wynter, 'Life of St Jerome',[121] drawn from the *Legenda aurea*, the apocryphal correspondence between Sts Cyril and Augustine, and supplemented with the *Revelations of St Bridget*; prose. Ends 21^{v}/4

6. 21^{v} Seven line verse, prayers to St Jerome, in Latin

7. **21^{v}-22^{r}** **Lay Folks' Catechism, lines 1 to 75, continued in item 11.[122] Prose, delineated with final pointing**

8. 22^{r}-27^{v} 'The Virtues of the Mass' (DIMEV 5128)

9. 27^{v}-30^{r} 'Ferthirmore yn confirmacyioun of the medys and merytes of theym that deuoutly here theire masse. Seynt bernarde sayeth. That to here a masse deuoutly...that of nougth made all thynge. Amen. Amen. Amen. Amen.' A further prose commentary on the Mass. The final portion of text, beginning on fol. 29^{v} ('Thyse be the tokenys and condycionys of a vycyows preste...') has been crossed out

10. **30^{v}-34^{r}** **Continuation of Lay Folks' Catechism, lines 76 to 575**

11. 34^{r} '*Hec in constitutionibus prouincialibus. ca(pitulum) Ignorancia sacerdotum.* Euery synfull man and woman yn this worlde that assendyth theire lorde god...', unique prose text

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[121] The text is heavily censored, with a substantial section crossed out which includes a detailed account of the sexual fantasies of St Jerome whilst in the desert, an explanation for the saint leaving Rome, and the addition of the tale of St Jerome and the Lion (fols. 20r-21v). Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence [sic], Symon Wynter, and Yale University MS 317', *Gazette 60* (1985), 32-46.

[122] This witness not listed in IPMEP.

12. 34^{v}-35^{r} A prose form of confession

13. 35^{r}-^{v} *Grando nix et aqua tria sunt res est tamen vna/ Sic in personis trinus deus est tamen vnus/ Tres sunt non tria sunt Idem sunt non idem sunt*, 27 lines of Latin prose notes on the Mass (35^{r}), followed by unidentified Latin verses[123]

14. 36^{r}-42^{r} Alphabetical subject index to Gregory's *Dialogi*; ends 42^{r}/34, remainder blank

15. 42^{v}-50^{v} A second prose form of confession;[124] lower margins of 44^{v}-45^{r} contained additional (Latin?) text which has since been erased and is now illegible

16. 50^{v}-51^{r} Vision in which the Virgin Mary reveals to John the Evangelist her five sorrows, English

17. 51^{r}-56^{v} *Deo gracias*, a prose composition; inserted at 54^{v} is a short verse, `Aue maria mayden ymmaculate/ *Eram plena et humylyte*/ dominus tecum bothe erthely and late/...ventris tui Ihesus on vs have mercy' (DIMEV 735),[125] followed by proverbs, in Middle English and Latin, beginning: 'By a lytel

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[123] Shailor's description reverses the prose and verse. Barbara Shailor, 'Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Vol. 2, mss 251-500', *Medieval & Renaissance Text & Studies*, 48 (1987), 120-30 (available online at https://archive.org/stream/catalogueofmedie02bein/shailor_djvu.txt).

[124] For similar forms of confession see Jolliffe, 69-73. This confession appears to be an expanded version of one found in Beinecke MS 163, fols. 179r-183v.

[125] Attributed author is Wa[l]ter Alewyne ('*quod Aqua ceruisiavum*', fol. 54v).

hoole beholdeth man his frend/ *Per specular modicum speculatur amicus amicum*'[126]

18. 56[v] Unidentified 24-line fragment, Latin prose

COLLATION: iii (paper) + 56 + ii (paper)

iii (+ stub), 1^{4}, 2-3^{20}, 4^{10+1}, iii (rear flyleaf i is foliated as 56, and contains the end of item 17, and item 18)

Quires 2 and 3 are each made up of one ten-folio gathering stitched inside another ten-folio gathering, the former being markedly smaller in size and of darker colouration.

During the recent rebinding, torn leaves have been repaired, folds guarded, and the most badly damaged leaves have been leafcast, including fols. 53-55 which are mutilated and fol. 56 (which is torn in half, the upper portion lost); the lower portion of fol. 14 has been cut away, but without loss of text; two parchment tabs at fols. 22 and 51.

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. On fol. 22r, toward the end of item 7 is a sign referring the reader to a note in the lower margin:

> Of thise vij thynges before rehersyd for a more playn declaracyoun of hem to euery mannys vndirstondynge the which euery crysten man is bownde to lerne and kunne to his powere vpoun the payn of dampnacyoun loke yn the viij^^te lef after this [item 7] at such a sygne'

[126] Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 52, fol. 56r, and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS 394, fol. 107, both c.1450. See Bartlett Jere Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases : from English writings mainly before 1500*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 284, no. H414.

and added beneath by another hand: 'de istis vide in Speculo beati Edmundi archiepiscopi'.[127] Many Latin notes, in several hands, tightly squeezed together, including sections labelled *Augustinus in confessionibus; de ascensione; de temptacione.*

Aside from a manicule on fol. 28v in a s.xvi hand, there are no decorations, rubrication, catchwords, or signatures. It is a well used, utilitarian volume. Upper portions are mostly damaged, water stained, and the inks often faded.

LANGUAGE. Norfolk/Ely/ South Lincolnshire.[128]

PROVENANCE. A note dated 1539 in the lower margin of fol. 3r: 'M[...]t holmes of the gard born at lyrpole in lankashyre/ the thursday aft*er* saynt George'.

Once part of Richard Towneley's collection (1628-1707): an armorial plate on pastedown of original front board reads 'Ex libris Bibliothecæ domesticæ / RICHARD TOWNELEY de Towneley / In Agro Lancastrensi Armigeri / Anno {Ætatis : 73 / {Domini 1702'; above this are feint notes in s.xvi hand, including '160 / N N abot / Sion Monastry'; and at fol. 5^{r}:

> Here begynnyth the prologe ynto the lyf of Seynt Ierom drawen yn to englysh as hit is take of the legende aurea. Vnto the hygh pryncesse Margarete duchesse of Clarence [sic] by Syr. N. N. brothire and prest of the Monastery of Syon [*following six words cancelled*: the which is comynly callyd Shene]. Rigth noble and worthi lady and my ful

[127] St Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury 1234-40.

[128] Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes, 83.

reuerend and dere gostly doughtire...and desertys of this
O gloryows Seynt Ierom. Amen. [129]

Margaret, Duchess of Salisbury, was sent to live at Cowdray House in Midhurst, Sussex, where she was effectively held under house arrest from September 1539. An eighteenth century engraving of Cowdray House attributed to George Quinton has been tipped in as one of the front flyleaves to mark this association.

Later entered Sir Thomas Phillipps' (1792-1872) extensive collection: below the Towneley plate is written 'Phillipps ms 1052'; front flyleaf iiir bears the family crest and 'Sir T. P. / Middle Hill',[130] also the collection number '1052' is repeated underneath.

In the upper margin of fol. 5r has been added by a contemporary hand the name of the author Symon Wynter; in the lower margin, by another hand: 'This book to hym that lovyth god and the helth of his owen soule is bettyre than eny erthly tresoure. And so wolle he say that redyth or heryth hit. For with out the knowlych of the matere that is wryten in this booke, no man may fle evyll and do wele. The which is don for love or drede. Or payne or ioye. *Vt patebit*.' This passage was then struck out and 'Beware of fals englysshe' added; in the same hand on fol. 29v, 'Whan gods wylle bettyre shall be'.

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[129] Margaret Pole was Duchess of Salisbury. The Duchess of Clarence was her mother, the wife of the Duke. The error is repeated in George R Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinecke MS 317', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, Vol. 60, no. 1/2 (October 1985), 32-46.

[130] The manor of Middle Hill is in the parish of Broadway in the Vale of Evesham. Alan Noel Latimer Munby, *Portrait of an Obsession: The Life of Sir Thomas Phillipps*, (London, 1967), 2.

A bookplate on pastedown of original rear board reads: 'Gift of Charlton M. Lewis, Jr., Grace Lewis Case, Penelope Lewis Rainey, in memory of their father Professor Charlton M. Lewis Yale 1886'.

DESCRIPTION. Margaret Shailor, *Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library General Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts*, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts (available online: http://brbl-net.library.yale.edu/pre1600ms/docs/pre 1600.ms317.htm).

Z Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don.c.13

s.xiv^{ex} or xiv/xv (the main text) and s.xv^{½} (additions). Parchment. Fols. 168. Overall size: 305 x 220 (writing area 230+ x 160-65), 46 lines in double columns, written in anglicana formata hand (item 10 in textura). Originally blank leaves after item 1 unruled, but ruling by the scribe of items 3-8, approx. 180mm wide. Binding: remains of red leather over wooden boards, sewn on five thongs, upper board now almost off, seatings for straps and clasps.

CONTENTS.

1.	1ra-162va	Wycliffite sermon cycle (IPMEP 304), in English with Latin headings[131] Originally the following fols. were blank, but two later hands have added :
2.	**162va-65va**	***Lay Folks' Catechism* (DIMEV 671) – Verse, punctuated**
3.	165^{vab}	'I herd an harpi*n*g on a hille' (DIMEV 2197)
4.	165^{vb}-166ra	'Abide good man and hold your peace', an appeal of Christ to man (DIMEV 201)[132]

[131] Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their books*, (London, 1985) 201-26.

5. 165^{vb}-166ra ‘Lo hou I hinge on rode for þe’ (DIMEV 3387)
6. 166ra ‘A song of love longing’ (DIMEV 1722), attributed to Rolle [133]
7. 166ra ‘Swete Ihesu crist to þe a synful wreche I ȝelde me’ (DIMEV 2877)
8. 166^{rb} A series of petitions to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Angels, Apostles, etc. (DIMEV 5071)
9. 166va ‘Think man whar to þou ert wroȝt’ (DIMEV 5638)
10. 166va-167^{rb} Latin commentary on the Pater Noster, attributed to Rolle.

Remaining leaves blank, 167^{v}-168^{r} ruled.

COLLATION. ii + 168 + ii, flyleaves taken from liturgical manuscript.

1-14^{12}

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION. Catchwords under inner column; no signatures. Red lombard initials, some eight-, four-, and three-line initial capitals, with two-line initial capitals otherwise. Occasionally text is boxed in red. Columns are marked, but not ruled. Various marginalia in different hands, some in faint rubric, including amendments, corrections and notation; some manicules (fols. 1^{v}, 44^{v}, 68^{v}, 111^{v}, 136^{r}, 138^{v}, 150^{v}, and 159^{r}); flyleaf i^{v} contains a crude drawing, perhaps of a knight, with pen trials and Latin notation; and a crude face in profile on fol. 51. Red capitals on fols. 165^{v}, 166^{r}, and 166^{v}. Item 10 without rubrication; underlining and Latin titles are in the same ink.

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[132] Items 4 and 5 appear in Oxford, Bodleian Rawl. poet.175, a north Yorkshire (LP 174) collection of religious instruction, together with the *Pricke of Conscience*.

[133] *Uncollected*, 28-9, 33-4.

LANGUAGE. Item 1 north-central Yorkshire (LP 412);[134] the language of items 2-9 is 'very like that of the main hand, though not identical'.[135]

PROVENANCE. There are two s. xv inscriptions, on fol. 170^{r}, 'Dominus Johannes Coldane of Pos<inglet?>.', and on fol. 168^{v}, 'Magister T. G. est verus possessor istius libri'.[136] A third, on fol. 168^{v}, 'John Savage', in a s. xvi hand. The manuscript was sold by Sir F A T C Constable at Sotheby's on 6 November 1899, and bought the following day by Quaritch. It was presented to the Bodleian by Herbert Watney in February 1931.

DESCRIPTIONS. *Uncollected,* xxiii-xxiv; *Eng.MSS.*, 148-9.

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134 LALME 1:255 and 3:581-2; Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes suggest NRY, 82.

135 *Eng. MSS.* 148, citing LALME 1:257.

136 Hanna adds that this is 'not obviously the hand of the Yorkshireman and Oxford scholar Thomas Gasgoigne', *Uncollected,* xxiv.

Textual relations

It has proved impossible to construct a stemma because of widespread contamination between the many witnesses to the text. A more strategic approach is to first group the extant witnesses according to dialect, and then to analyse their relations within and across those groups.

The Northern witnesses are ACHLTVXZ, and the fragments OPQ. Of these, LTZ contain the fewest errors. The Northern group of manuscripts contain the fewest variants, the most difficult readings, and rare words. ACHPVX are good copies which usually support LTZ. The Northern witnesses are unrelated to each other and have no known descendants, as they derive from the area where the volume of copies of the *Catechism* was at its most dense.

LTZ

T is the earliest extant witness. It is immediately followed by a copy of Thoresby's Latin schedule. The vernacular and Latin versions were copied by the scribe Thomas of Aldefeld. Aldefeld has recently been identified as Hand A of BL MS Addit. 33995, the copyist of *Speculum Vitae* and *Stimulus Conscientie Minor*; Hand B for *Pricke of Conscience* (102ra-155ra) and *Band of Love* (fols. 155rv-156vb).[137] The *Band of Love* is extant in only one other manuscript, L (item 2 of Booklet III).

[137] Private communication with Ralph Hanna dated 15 September 2017. The manuscript has been assigned LP 468, placing it in the proximity of Hawes, North Riding of Yorkshire. LALME 1:101. However, Hanna has disputed this as 'an improbable placement, since at this time [Hawes] was uninhabited'. Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds. *Richard Morris's Prick of Conscience: A Corrected and Amplified Reading Tex*t, EETS, os 342 (Oxford, 2013), xxiv.

If the name derives from the village of Aldfield, three miles west of Ripon, then the scribal dialect for Hand A is plausibly that of Ripon.

The *Speculum Vitae* is a verse translation of the *Somme le roi* aimed at a lay audience and includes the commandments, sacraments, sins, vices and virtues. While its content covers similar material as the *Catechism*, the latter is much shorter and less sophisticated. However, comparison of the virtue Hope is too alike to be anything other than borrowed. Lines 394-405 of the *Catechism* read:

> Þe toþir gode thewe or virtu is hope,
> Þat is a siker abidinge of gastely gode
> Thurgh Goddis godenes and oure gode dedis,
> For-to com to þat blis þat neuer mare blynnes,
> Not anely in treste of Goddis godenesse,
> Ne al-anely in treste of oure gode dedis,
> Bot in treste of þaim when þai er bath samne.
> For nouþir sal we falle sa fer into wanhope
> Þat we ne sal treste to haue blis if we wele do,
> Ne we sal noȝt com sa fer into ouerhope
> Þat we sal traist sa mykil of Goddis godenes
> Þat we sal hope to haue blis withouten gode dedis.

The lexical likeness of the same passage in *Speculum Vitae* is remarkable, with the additional second half-lines to form the rhyming couplets in which the text is composed:

> **Hope es a siker habydynge**
> **Of gastly gode** aftir our endynge,
> **Thurgh þe godenes of Godde** almyghty
> **And thurgh our gode dedes** a party,
> **For to com**, when we hethen wende,
> **Vnto þe blisse þat neuer sal ende**.

IN CELIS
And noght anely in ouer-grete trayst
Of Goddies godenes þat men may frayst,
Ne alanely als witte vs ledes
In trayst of our awen gode dedes,
Bot in trayst of þam þat faylles noght
When þai er bathe sammen broght.
For nouthir we sal so fer falle
Intil Wanhope, mast synne o alle,
þat we ne sal trayst to haf blisse
If we wele do and leue our mysse;
Ne we ne sal so fer com
Intil Ouerhope thurgh our awen dome
þat we sal trayst als men witteles
So mykell in Goddis godenes
þat we sal hope þat blisse to haue
Withouten gode dedes and be saue.[138]

At no other point in the *Speculum* is there any such textual similarity with the *Catechism*, even the Works of Mercy, the most likely section of material to have been borrowed due to its simplicity, is entirely different. Such material may have existed in an entirely separate text from which the *Speculum* author and Gaitrik both happened to borrow. The *Speculum* was composed in 'broadly the third quarter of the fourteenth century', so the two texts are contemporary.[139] The duplication is certainly a result of these texts circulating together and influencing each other (the N manuscript contains only the *Speculum Vitae* and the *Catechism*), and suggests that there was a reading

[138] My emphasis. Hanna, *Speculum Vitae,* lines 1810-30.

[139] Hanna suggests its production as between 1348-9 and c. 1375. Hanna, *Speculum Vitae*, lxii-lxiii.

community where this material was shared, particularly in York and surrounding areas.

L is an equally reliable witness, despite it being copied a century later, indicating that its scribe-owner Robert Thornton had access to another good exemplar, probably at York. Joel Fredell has investigated the materials used in the production of the two Thornton manuscripts, concluding that the Lincoln manuscript has been decorated in styles 'exclusive to York', and that the contents of both manuscripts contain texts from York or Yorkshire.[140]

There are times when L offers an additional, explanatory line. Prior to line 330 is the addition:

> **þe whilke sacrament awe anely to be gyffen**
> to þam þat he wate ere of skillwyse elde (fol. 216v)

following line 243:

> For what thyng so we take or getes one oþer wys
> **þan þe lawe and þe lare of Haly Kyrke teches** (fol. 215v)

and the replacement of line 267, *Wha sa dose þir twa fulfillis alle þe toþir* (267) with:

> and whate so eu*er* þat he bee þat þise twa wele ȝemes all
> þe ten co*m*mandementes forsothe he fulfilles (fol. 216r)

Unique readings in L include *his pystill* for *Ihesu Crist* (42), *þe whilke* for *haly kirk* (104), *euyll* for *wille* (366), *chasty* for *withdrawe* (367),

[140] Joel Fredell, 'The Thornton Manuscripts and Book Production in York' in *Robert Thornton and His Books*, ed. Susanna Fein and Michael Johnston (York, 2014), 109-130, at 113.

folkes for *man* (449), and *brede* for *born* (537). Omissions include *Lecherie* from the list of deadly sins (451) and lines 177, 183, 312-3, & 385.

Z is an excellent copy, although it too is chronologically distant from Gaitrik's original, and survives in isolation from the other extant witnesses. It contains unique errors or variants, such as the substitution of *Godd* for *Crist* (10), the transposing of the verbs *preche* and *teche* (48), the loss of the negative *noghte* at line 33, replacing *law* with *boke* (445) and *do* with *gif* (518). Z preserves the reading *Þof al we do* (253), as do HLX.

ACHVX (and the fragments O & P)

The only occasion when the two witnesses AV agree against all others, replacing *Goddis* with *God* (88), can be explained as being a shared coincidental error. AV share variants with another northern witness C: *tholed* appears after *paines* in ACV (135); *gospell* replaces *epistle* in ACVY (412); and *coniurisons for charmes* in ACY (176). Again, these may be attributed to coincidence, particularly as the non-Northern witness Y replicates the same emendations. Otherwise, any shared variants in the grouping ACV occur in other northern witnesses, so that no likely textual relationships can be conjectured.

Another Yorkshire witness, H, rarely dissents from the base text Z and the loss of the first 83 lines is regrettable. H occasionally displays substitutions not found in the other Northern witnesses, such as '*deliuered*' for '*heride it'* (140), '*stedfastle*' for '*sothfastly*' (161), and '*oponlyche*' for '*apon lenthe*' (527). The scribe corrects the duplication of 'any' at 124, and initial replacement of *wondir medeful* (377) with the messy *wonder spedeful*, rectified by the interlinear *mede*. These errors occuring in H do so in isolation, as with V.

V contains several errors, including the repetition and subsequent deletion of *haly* at 169, and substitutions include *ordans* for *fandis* (210), *wyckednes* for *synnes* (315), *weynde* for *passe* (335), and *berynge* for *hert* (433), which is perhaps a misreading for *herynge*? The V manuscript overall is the product of a professional scribe, whose exemplar was defective, as lines 44-51 and 58-76 have been entirely re-written (see Appendix B), and there is a loss of text at line 475, which breaks off in the middle of 'good' The line *& namely þas vndirloutis þat til him langis* (44) is replaced with *And namely he þat is vnder-neghe his cure as I am charged to al ȝow* (fol. 56v). X, the most northerly of the extant witnesses, remains faithful to Gaitrik's composition although it contains additions to each of the Commandments (see Appendix B).

The Northern witnesses retain various rare words and difficult readings which differentiate them from the non-Northern witnesses. There are two examples of *durior lectio*, readings which must have been in Gaitrik's composition but were replaced by Northern scribes: the phrase *þof al we do* (253) is retained in ZHLX, with *þof* copied as *of* in T, presumably a misreading rather than a misunderstanding; and *stepmodir & stameryng* (540), which is retained in only HLTX (ZACV substitute with the simpler synonym *standing*, with the meaning 'hesitate' or 'resist'). The witnesses ZACHLTVX retain three early forms considered to have been more common in the thirteenth century: *anlepy* (546); *methfulnes* (439); and *meth* (439).[141] Finally, common northern forms, which are almost always substituted by non-Northern scribes, include: *samen* (91, 114); *tholen* (131); *deluen* (137); *sere* (95, 466, 495, 526, 544); *mister* (360); *wandreth* (432);

[141] Ian Cornelius, *Reconstructing Alliterative Verse: The Pursuit of a Medieval Meter* (Chicago, 2017), 53. The phrase 'meth or methfulnesse' also survives in N.

ȝemes (442); *ȝernyngis* (442) and *ȝernynge* (507); *hankid* (456); and *bolnynge* (484).[142]

While the Northern witnesses display few variants and tend towards textual similarity, the non-Northern witnesses foster progressively more variants, particularly as each witness develops further away from the earlier exemplars. This is particularly so with W and Y, which often contain independent or unique readings (see Appendix B). Three pairs of witnesses (FP, LaU and DM) are indisputedly related, and the remaining non-Northern witnesses may be divided loosely into two separate groups, albeit with considerable overlap.

D (lines 379-444) and M (lines 267-346, 380-433)

D and M share lines 380-445 (although the last 11 lines, which began a new quire, are lost in M) which contain sufficient variants not found elsewhere to prove the fragments are related. These include *souereyne* for *hed* (382), *warnesse and sleghte in gode* for *sleght or slenesse* (424), and *stalworþeli and tholemodely* for *euenly* (431). More significant is the replacement of lines 403-5:

> nor we schal noghte so ferr falle into t*ra*yste in [M: of] þe mercy þat we leue gode dedis vndone, for wiþouten gode sall rouse [M: dedis] co*m*me we neu*er*e to heuene and speciali but if we kepe þe biddynges of God (fol. 2r)

the addition after line 420:

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[142] Maria José Carrillo-Linares and Edurne Garrido-Anes, 'Middle English word geography: methodology and applications illustrated' in *English Historical Linguistics 2006: selected papers from the Fourteenth International Conference on English*, eds. Marina Dossena, Richard Dury and Maurizio Gotti, (Bergamo, 2008), 67-90 at 76ff.

> þat is hem þat lifen gode life after Goddis lawe, but noght worschippe men for þeire richesse for þei ben mysdoers, sutel and sleghtful deceyuers, not for þeir faire clothes, but oneli for þair*e* faire v*er*tewes and þair clene life (fol. 2v)

and the replacement of *euenly to suffre* (431) with

> stalworþeli and tholemodely to suffre woo a[n]d wele sekenesse [M: sekene] and hele tribulatione and temptaciou*n*e D (fols. 2v-3r)

D and M clearly descend from a common ancestor, possibly a midlands intermediary, as the D and M fragments display Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire dialects respectively.

F and P (lines 165-266)

FP are textually very close and manuscript evidence points to P as the exemplar for F (perhaps with an intermediary).[143] They share fourteen devotional texts (including Richard of St Victor's *Benjamin Minor*, an extract from Catherine of Sienna's *Documento*, the *Epistil of Saynt Johann þe Ermyte*, and lines 6071 – 6113 of *Pricke of Conscience*[144]) as well as extracts from Rolle's *Form of Living*, reworked sections of his *Oleum Effusum*, and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* Books 1 and 2 (although Book 2 is missing from the F manuscript).

They exhibit in only a hundred lines quite significant common variants such as *worschepfully* for *bihouely* (184), which is reversed on the

[143] CUL Dd.v.55 (not now containing *LFC*) is a twin of F, but is Yorks. and xv$^{1/2}$.

[144] *Richard Morris's* 'Pricke of Conscience', eds. Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood (Oxford, 2013).

following line (*behouerely* for *worshipfully*), or *þe trespas* for *oure fals ath* (254). The extract ends at line 266 with:

> Tyll [F: To] þe whilke blysse brynge vs Jhesus Cryst [F: vs brynge C*ri*st Ihe*s*u] Goddis son*n*e of heeuene . eeu*er* mar w*it*h hym to dwell [F: to dwelle with hym] Amen (fol. 62v P; fol. 119r F)

There are a number of occasions when F displays amendments not made in P: *desireth* for *ȝernes* (194) and *desire* for *ȝerne* (236, 239); *wickede beleue* for *mysbileue* (178); and *susteyneth* for *forsters* (198).

La and U

LaU must share a common ancestor and are frequently in isolated agreement against all other witnesses. Minor variants shared only by LaU include the substitutions of *cawse* for *defaute* (37), *comaundyd* for *gyuen vs* (53), *warnesse & sleyȝte* for *sleght or slenesse* (424), and *lykynge* for *conandenes* (514). The half-lines *when men has greued vs* is emended to *whan men be out of pacience [&] resoun & mesoure* (371) and *til oure euen-Cristen* is rewritten as *bodyly & gostly & to fulfylle hem in al þat we may & do / hem to our euyn Cristen vp on peyne of dampnacioun* (350).

Most significant is the incorporation of the Decalogue from an entirely separate source now identified as IPMEP 48/49.[145] Versions of this

[145] The text is discussed in 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 XVI.L.12 and Harvard English 738: together with discussion of related commentaries* (unpubl. PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 1995). This substitute section of text (and all other major amendments and

text occur in B (item 11), G (item 1) and R (item 6). The version in B is unique, that in G survives in 21 witnesses, including the Simeon MS (BL Addit. 22283, fol. 92r-93v), and that in R is also in BL Royal 18.A.X (fols. 83r-85r). G and U begin each of the commandments with Latin quotations followed by 'a somewhat fuller version in English'.[146] La contains 'breakers' after each commandment. These are sets of questions and responses which define three types of breakers for each commandment,[147] and seem to have developed independently:

> It is, therefore, in many ways, easier to imagine that the rhetorical versions, with their trinities of breakers, were gradually expanded and that, in the process, certain categories of breakers and many of the quotations were lost as other sections of the discussion received more emphasis.[148]

The 'breakers' in La are a brief list of those who break each commandment and follow this format:

> Who brekys þe fyrste maundement?
> Prowde men, wordly men, & fleschly men.
> Why prowde men? For þey make þe deuyl here god.
> Why wordly men? For þey make worldly godys here god.
> And why fleschly men? For þey make here bely here god La (fol. 7r)

The breakers are similar to those in another manuscript, Morgan 861:

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additions to the Catechism in LaU) is presented at Appendix C.

[146] Jefferson, cxli.

[147] Jefferson, cxxx ff.

[148] Jefferson, cxl.

> Who brekith þis commaundement. proude men . worldly men. and fleischly men. Why proude men. for þei maken þe feend her god. as Iob seiþ in þe .xlj.c°, The deuel is prince ouer alle þe children of pride. Why worldly men. for þei maken worldly goodys her god. as Poul seiþ to Effesices þe v.c.°an auerouse man is a seruant of mawmentis. Why fleischly men. for þei maken her belyes her god. as Poul seid to Philipenses .iij. c°, þer ben many þat walken þat ben enemyes of Cristis cros whoos end is deeþ and her bely is her god.[149]

while B offers three sins pertaining to each commandment:

> In þese þre, loue of fleishe, and loue of ei3e, and pride of liif. And so glotouns and lecchouris breken þis heeste; as Poul seiþ, þat þese glotouns makyn hire beli hire god. For God biddeþ þe feede þe in mesure, and 3if þow passist þis mesure for lust of þi belie, þi fleische stireþ þe moore to do þat þi fleische askiþ, and so þou makist falsli þi belie þi god. And on þe same wise, þe coueytous man makeþ his mawmet þe temperal goodis, as Poul seiþ þat aueryce is seruice of maumetis. And so þe proude man makiþ þe feend his God. þus it is in dede, how-euere oure mouþ blabre.[150]

This version of the Commandments circulated across the Midlands and its availability meant it was accessible for copying into the *Catechism* to replace the lost original Commandments. It travelled with similar commentaries on the Pater Noster (IPMEP 810), Ave Maria (IPMEP

[149] New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS 861 fols. 1r-3v, published in C. Bühler, 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan 861' in *PMLA*, 69 (1954), 686-92, at 689.

[150] Fols. 109v-110r.

455),[151] and Creed (IPMEP 403),[152] which survive in the same group of witnesses. These three rudimentary texts circulated in large numbers, and the same three texts are extant in Trinity College Dublin MS 245 (where the Creed follows the Ave Maria) and BL Harley 2385.[153] The same versions of the Pater Noster are found in B as item 7 (97-100v, with extra material at 100v-102v), in G as item 3, BL Add. 17013 (36r-v), and in CUL Dd.12.39 (72v-74v); the Ave Maria appears in B as item 8 (but not in G), and CUL Nn.4.12; and the Creed in G as item 2 (but not in B), and CUL Nn.4.12 (27-29v).

The Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, together with the Five Wits (see Appendix C, C3-208) are on folios 1r-6r of the U manuscript. In La, they have been incorporated into the *Catechism* in La following line 50. This is plausibly a result of a misgathering of folios in an earlier exemplar. Clearly these texts were circulating independently from each other, and as a result in TCD 245 they 'do not appear in the same order as in [La]'. The York Minster manuscript contains additional material 'not paralleled in [La]' but which 'is found between the commentary on the *Pater Noster* and that on the *Ave Maria*' at fols. 33vb-36va.[154] This is *The Seven Heresies Against the Seven Petitions of the Pater Noster* (IPMEP 208) which was not copied into La, but is found in U (fols. 19r-22v), TCD 245 (fols. 4v-6v) and Harley 2385 (fols. 3-5).

Evidently these works were being exchanged across the Midlands and consequently we can see shared variants amongst the *Catechism* witnesses from this region. For instance, the LaU witnesses share

[151] IPMEP 455 is also in Oxford, New College 95, and Dublin Trinity College 245, and York Minster XVI.L.12.

[152] IPMEP 403 is also in Harvard MS Eng 738, folios 76r-84v, 84v-85v (incomplete); also Oxford New College 95, and York Minster XVI.L.12.

[153] Hudson, 'A New Look', 250.

[154] *Ibid.*, 251.

variants with B: *disciple* is replaced with *owene disciple* in BLaU (132), and *tholed* with *suffride* in BELaU (131); and also with the group ERW: *wille* becomes *vncunnynge* in ERW and *vncunnynge of Goddys lawe* in LaU (366), *hankid* becomes *bownde* in ELaRWU (456), and *syte* ('regret') becomes *ouyr-thynkynge* in ERW and *forþynkynge* LaU, and also in Y (471). Finally, the addition or replacement of 'comfort' occurs in BLaRUWY, with *visite* emended to *cumforte* in BY, *visite and conforte* in LaUW, and *confort & visiten* R (358).

BEGNSY

Central to this group is the pair of witnesses N and S which are not always in agreement, but share sufficient variants to be considered related. The repetition of line 152 following 157 occurs only in NS, as does the substitution of *Þe wele & þe wa, welth or wandreth, whеþer sa bitidis* with *þe wele with þe wo / Wele or wo whеþerso hit be tydeþ* (432). Two substitutes which only occur in NS are *wikked* in N and *euyl or wikkid* in S for *wille* (366), and *counseylinge* for *to counsel*. Further shared variants include *bileue* for *trouth* (52), *biryed* for *doluen* (137), *persoun* for *forloke* (142), *schenden* N [S: *shend*] for *confounde* (210), and *foule* for *sere* (526).

The treatment of northern forms varies in NS. While *mister* is retained in N S (360), *vmbiloukid* becomes *founden* in N, and *conteyned* in S (258). S substitutes *desirith* for *ȝernes* (194) and *suffered* for *tholen* (131) whereas N retains the northern form. The substitution of *suffered* agrees in S with BELaU, so that the northern forms assist in fitting these witnesses into a loose group.

GNS share variants such as replacing *trey* with *tariynge* (25), *trouth* with *feiþ* (78), or *sere* with *diuers* (466). N and S do not always agree, such as the retention in N of the northern variant *lere*, which is replaced in GS with *teche*. At line 199, *hede* becomes *cure* in GS, a

variant also shared by the witnesses CV, while the N substitution, *kepyng* occurs in ER (which are related). The relationship between NS and Y is reflected by the lines 292, where *baptiȝed* is replaced with *Cristened* in NSY, and again at 299, where it is replaced with *Cristen* in N, *Cristened* in S and *Crystenynge* in Y. Variants often agree between the witnesses B and S, such as where N agrees with *tholed*, but is replaced in B and S with *suffride* (131). Similarly, the lexical variant for *ȝerne* is *desire* in BS at line 236, yet only a couple of lines later, where S persists with *desire*, and B opts for *coueite* (239). Only S and Y expressly name the traitorous disciple as *deciple Iudas*, and go on to share such variants as *feith* for *trouth* (279), *desiryng* for *ȝernynge* (507); BSY replace *shappe* with *fourme* (283), and GSY replace *sundrid* with *departid* (107).

BGY in this group

There are occurrences where GY share variants in isolation: *resounable* for *skilwis* (12); and *comprehended* for *vmbiloukid* (258). GY both make reference to there being seven, rather than six tenets in the *Catechism* (51, 560). This may well be a simple error in G, copied from a version of the Catechism in which another tenet had been inserted. This is the case with Y, which includes a seventh tenet, the Gifts of the Holy Spirit the text following line 347. GY expand *erchebisshop* to *erchebisschop of Caunterbyri* (41, 565) whereas B refers to *Archibischop of 3ork* (565), even though the B manuscript is a west midlands production.[155]

[155] The first reference to the archbishop at line 41 is lost from B, which commences at line 50. The Thornton witness reduces the status *erchebishop* to a mere *beschope* at every occurrence (41, 74, and 565), which must therefore have been intentional. Blake makes the assumption that that *the byschope* (41) must be 'John Thoresby, Archbishop of York', although the substitution would most likely have occurred previous to Thornton's exemplar' given that, as Lawton

Generally, GY share variants in conjunction with other witnesses in this group. For example, BY agree on *wedlock* for *matrimoigne* (217) and the introduction of *prudence or sleiȝþe or sleiȝnesse* in B and *prudete* in Y for *sleyt* (424).

BEGJRWY

RW are closely related. They omit several lines (including 271, 275, 338-9, 352, 376, and 521-2), share a number of additional material not found elsewhere, and are undoubtedly a pair. RW frequently share variants in isolation, such as *Leste* for *Paske* (321); *men* for *þai* (322), *festyng band* for *festenyng* (343). The text is sometimes expanded, for example *remedie and excusacon* for *remedy* (346), *entent & lawefully kept* for *entent* (347), *pacient aȝens þe wrecheful* for *tholemode* (370), and *for-to forȝeue with hole herte* for *forgyue* (371). RW are the only witnesses that mention purgatory, emending *payne* to *payne in purgatory* in W, and *here porcatory* in R (335). RW share more substantial additional materials, the first of which occurs at lines 364-5 *þir er of mercy alsa seuen gastely dedis / þat vs awe to do to þaim þat has nede til vs*, where the second line reads:

> þat euery skylful [W: gostly & skilfulle] c*re*ature ow[eþ] to done to his euen Cristen vpon [W: after] hys conyng and fryst to hys owen soule [W: soule owne] (R, 88v)

the second addition follows line 468:

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states, 'we may safely give Thornton credit for knowing the difference between a bishop and an archbishop'. Lawton, 'Gaytryge's Sermon', 333.

> May*n*tenynge [W: Menyng] of hys fals hed & wyl, for-sakyng of trewþe and vnskylful or ornementys other þanne mankend asketh nedfullich in hys degre (R, 89v)

the third after line 532:

> And cause þer-of is most coueytyce & loue of erdly thyng & likyng to medels þat with þat is wolful of gyle (R, 90v)

> And cause þerof most is conyng & lufe of herdly þing and þe lekyng þat is wele ful of gyle to drawen mannys herte away to ben besy & medelyng with erdely thing þat is but vanite (W, 9r)

the fourth is a replacement for line 541:

> No good purchasande [W: wynnande] but alle good [W: godenesse] lesande & teches to al maner vyces (R, 90v)

and finally this addition, following line 559:

> To qwich þis werd is here heuen here belies arn here God, as seth Sent Poule, & here endyng [W: hende] is [W adds *her*] confusion & deth, God kepe [W adds *vs & saue*] mankend þer fro (R, 91r)

While RW are isolated from the other witnesses by this additional material, and must share a common ancestor, as W contains additional material lost in R (see Appendix B).

ERWY

The witnesses ER agree on many substitutions, such as *modyr* for *maiden* (127), *towchyd* for *rekened* (257), *angyr* for *wandreth* (432), *couetise* for *ȝernyngis* (442), *derworthely* [R : *dereworthy*] for *dere* (407), and *manerys* for *wise* (509). Both witnesses substitute a form of *shenden* for *confounde* (210) – the same form also occurs in NS.

Otherwise, when ER agree, they do so in conjunction with W, so that ERW are unquestionably related. For example, *feythe* for *trouth* (78), *sundry* for *sere* (95), *gaderyng* for *comunyng has* (100), *mannes-slaghter* for *mannys deeþ* (490), *gyle* for *gilery* (512), and the substitution of a form of 'expound' for *vmbiloukid* (258). Further shared variants include *helþe of sowle* [R: *souls*] for *saule heel* (104), *feythe* for *trouth* (392), *ennemyes* for *faas* (435), and the addition of *hopyn to haue* for *hopis* (179).

ERW omit the lines 564-9, which seems intentional, as they affirm the archbishop's promise of indulgences for those who have learned the tenets, the actions of someone disapproving of the practice of indulgences. Although ER omit line 41, which refers to *Oure fadir þe erchebisshop*, this is probably due to an earlier exemplar, as the line survives in W, and it is the practice of indulgences, not the archbishop, which was deemed objectionable. Similarly, lines 44-6 undergo the following emendations:

> þerefore ys ordeynyd be cownsel of Holy Chyrche E
>
> it is ordeyned to confes of God al-myty of Holy Chirch R
>
> & nameli hese soiectys þat to hy*m* longyn he hath ordeynid for þe comon p*ro*fyte þorwe counselle of hys clergy W

At line 240, W makes the addition *As golde & seluer clothis or ony odyr tresor*, and Y replaces the original line with *ne his golde ne his*

syluer / ne his clothes ne his catelle þat is meuable oþir wyse. The verbs in *heringe & lernynge* (27) are transposed in RWY, and these three witnesses promote the person tasked with administering for the fifth sacrament from *preste* to *bischop* (329). The verb *ȝerne* is replaced in ERY with *askiþ* (194) or *coueyte* (236); *hede* with *kepynge* [Y: *keep*] (as does N) (199); and ERWY agree in substituting *blemyschynge* for *merringe* (123).

E, J and BGY in this group

Y offers unique readings on one hand, yet shows lexical connections with witnesses from all three groups. Geographically, Y is most closely associated with La, their dialects being from the border of south Lincolnshire, Ely and Norfolk. Yet Y demonstrates variant agreement with the Northern witnesses ACV.

EY

EY omit lines from the preamble, with 65-71 omitted from E and 63-71 from Y. This might be coincidental, though it is more likely that the lines were lost in an earlier exemplar, from which EY have inherited this verse, inserted after line 166:

> Whiche be þese: haue oo God in worchepe, nemele nowȝte is name in ydyschepe; halwe wele þe halyday; fadyr and modyr worchepe ay; loke þat þou slee nooman; do no foly be no woman; loke þat þou not stele; ne non fals wyttenesse þat þou beere; aftyr þi neyborys wyfe þou noȝt longe, ne of hys gode to haue w*ith* wronge. E
>
> þe which been þise: to haue oon God þu worschip, & not to take his name yn ydilship; to halowe wele oure holy day; fadir & modir to worship ay; and we shulde not sle no man; ne no

foly do with no woman; and also þat we not stele; and no fals witnesse þat we bere; ne coueyte not oure neygh-borys wyf; ne noþynge þat to hym lyeth. Þoo goode men & women, þise be þe x commawndmentys of God which x. he techyth & chargyth vs to holden. Y

The argument for EY sharing an ancestral exemplar is further supported by this addition following line 151:

and sette hym on hys [Y: hym-silf] fadrys ryȝt honde [Y: ryght half] / where [Y *adds* þat] owre kynde ys nowe in hys blyssyd persone EY

The fragments J and K

The witnesses JY agree on the addition of *artycle* (88, 96, 98), and also the substitution of *apon þe laste day* with *at þe day* [J: *dredfull day*] *of dome* (158). Otherwise, J does not share substantial variants with any of the complete witnesses, and the loss of lines 93-5 and 111-3 is also unique to J. Substitutions unique to J include *sothfastely* for *stedfastly* (84), *pepill* for *folke* (100), *comyth* for *comun*es (101), and the following:

þat we sal] is how I schuld stedfastly (83)

vs awe to] we schulde stedfastly (105)

of fleshe & life with-outen end] þat all menn shall haue (106)

Þan oure saulis sal turne agayne til our bodies] after that they haue deserued and them þat don wele and wele byleue here (110)

The two fragments of the *Catechism* surviving in the K manuscript retain many northern forms such as *tholed* (131), *doluen* (137), *alkines* (277, 315), *visite* (358), *mister* (360) and *sunder* (107, 113, 427).[156] K records spellings such as 'kirk' (104, 282, 321) in common with ACTVXZ, and the repetition 'þat þat' (313) as do ACHZ. Indeed, K and A share many variants, although not in isolation from any other witness: *&* ***ȝit*** *behoues* AC (309); and *agayn sinne* K ZACHVX (303). Although K agrees with AV, such as the northern form *ille* for *yuel* (428, 434), it also agrees with ACVY in substituting *gospell* for *epistle* (412), which is coincidental. Lines 123-4 are conflated to *withouten any meryng / of hir maydenhed*, as with AG and the (unrelated) LaU, and the substitution of *wickedness* for *wathis* also occurs in ERW (425). K contains a number of unique substitutions, including *Goddis* for *Cristis* (305), *dosenyng* for *lightnes* (332), *wrong* for *wille* (366), *are wronge will* for *wald do ylle* (367), *soþfast* for *sorowful* (368), *take* for *chese* (429), *powert* for *wandreth* (432), and *myght or mesures* for *meth or methfulnes* (439). Additional text unique to K includes *when þei to-geder comen* (91) (LaU also have 'together'), *all* ***oþer*** *thinges* (97), *þat it falles to* (340), and *for God amyghtenn* **sake** (410). As with J, it is difficult to associate the K fragments with any of the other witnesses.

Overall, there is a certain degree of overlap in the variants found across the various midlands witnesses: *sugetus* is preferred over the Northern *vndirloutis* in GSW, while LaN substitute *vndirlynges* (44); and *diligently* is replaced with *bisyly* in LaRSUW. At line 514, *conandenes* becomes *hertys* in ER and *hertys cunnynge* in G, while W

[156] The extract of *Catechism* in K appears in Booklet III, whose primary text is Book 1 of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, preceeded by a table of contents for chapter 49 – both of which appear in P (Booklet I) and F (Booklets 2-3).

has *er wytte & her wylle*. ERW agree in the replacement of *stryuynge* with *sorwynge and flityng*, and G has *steryng & stryuyng* (487). In ER, *ger* is amended to *ask*, while BGR agree on *make* (497). Similarly, the group BERS share variants such as *departid* for *sundrid* (107) & *departe* [R: *departed*] for *sundir* (113), *power* for *hauynge* (212), and *diuerse* for *sere* (526). BERWY share the variants *nakyd* for *clathless* (356); *feythe* for *trouth* in ERWY (392); and *kepiþ* for *ȝemes* in BENRSW (442), all of which support the argument for a multi-directional flow of textual exchange. In summary, the cross contamination and loss of too many intermediary copies of the *Catechism* prevents more accurate grouping of the extant witnesses. However, this indicates the volume and geographical spread of the *Catechim*'s circulation, which is evidence of its effective distribution. That the later witnesses and their interpolations do not (generally) alter the text notably from Thoresby's instructions support an argument for the success of the archbishop's intentions.

The text

The *Catechism* was a crucial part of Thoresby's program of education and moral reform in particular against unregulated preaching, which was confusing and contradictory, particularly for 'lay people and others of mean learning', who were 'inwardly ignorant'.[157] Having considered the 'condition and reformation' of the clergy and 'excessive subtleties of preaching', it was agreed at the 1357 York Convocation to commission the *Catechism* for circulation across the Northern Province.[158] That mandate was sent to John Gaitrik, a Benedictine monk of St Mary's Abbey in York, instructing him to produce a vernacular expansion of a Latin outline, which was to follow under separate cover. The mandate makes it clear that Thoresby has concerns about the low standards amongst the clergy. The concerns had been 'mulled over with due maturity' at Convocation, and it was agreed that the fundamentals of the faith, in the form of the *Catechism*, was to be issued for regular recitation. The details of the tenets would be sent to the monk in a separate schedule to be copied 'diligently in the vulgar tongue'.[159] A copy of that schedule is bound in with the vernacular witness of the *Catechism* in T at fols. 297v-298v.

A copy of the mandate commissioning the text survives in BL MS Cotton Galba E.x, fols. 73r-74ra, and is set out in Appendix A.[160]

[157] R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Medium Aevum* 60 (Oxford, 1991), 92-100 at 98.

[158] Swanson, 98.

[159] Swanson, 99.

[160] The text is reproduced by Swanson, together with an English translation (pp. 99-100), both of which are here presented at Appendix A. On a paper pastedown on the front board of Reg. 13 is a note that Cotton Galba E.x 'contains mainly York items, of which one is a continuation of the letter formulary in York Diocesan Registry MSS. [Reg.] 13 in the same hand and style'.

While Cotton Galba E.x. contains 'sample formulae', this 'does not mean that they are not genuine letters'.[161] Similarly, while the first part of Reg. 13 contains additional material concerned with the official business of Archbishop Neville, the remainder is sample formulae from Thoresby's archiepiscopy. One item is of special interest, as it is concerned with a monk who is referred by the initials 'J. de G'.[162] Owst paraphrases:

> ...right healthy and laudable had been the influence of this brother beloved upon the archiepiscopal household during this Christmas visit. "Nedum Divini verbi pabulo, sed gestus honesti modestia tam salubriter quam laudabiliter nos refecit." In fact, so far had he become the darling of that prelate, that other members of the convent appear to have grown jealous of him, and to have murmured that he had been publishing abroad in his palace sermons some of the monastery scandals, thus bringing down upon them correction at the visitations in chapter. However that might be, the enthusiastic archbishop is now asking to have him back "about the begining of Lent" – "nobis ad magnum nostrum solatium assistentem" – in that great preaching and penitiential season.[163]

The archbishop then 'requests the abbot of St Mary's to provide J. de G. with a private chamber in the monastery, wherin he can study the

[161] Susan Powell, 'The transmission and circulation of the Lay Folk's Catechism', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. L Doyle*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis, (Woodbridge, 1994), 67-84 at 71.

[162] Register 13, fol. 18r.

[163] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England : An Introduction to sermon manuscripts of the period c.1350-1450*, (Cambridge, 1926), 53.

Scriptures and (presumably) prepare sermons, requesting also that he be released from his obligations in the choir and refectory'.[164] This indicates that a good relationship had already been established between Thoresby and the Benedictines. During his brief spell as Bishop of Worcester (1349-52), Thoresby drafted a compromise agreement to settle an ongoing dispute concerning visitation rights at one of the Benedictine abbeys/priories.[165] Prior to Thoresby's arrival at York, there had been an ongoing boundary dispute between the mayor and citzens of the city and the Abbey of St Mary; riots had broken out in 1262, 1315-6, and another at the beginning of Thoresby's archbishopric.[166] Thoresby drafted an agreement to resolve the matter. If the abbot was suitably appeased, and good relations established, this might allow for Thoresby to approach the Benedictines and request their participation in his program of education, in particular, Gaitrik.

A third item of correspondence issued by Thoresby is addressed to 'dompno J. de Gaitrik'.[167] In all probability, this is likely to be the same monk of St Mary's as 'J. de G.' of fol. 28r, showing Gaitrik to be an entirely trustworthy companion of the archbishop. He is 'portrayed as a spiritual director, a theologian, a preacher, and virtually one of the archbishop's familiars, who seems to have been fairly regularly in his company, spending time in his household and accompanying him to meetings of Parliament'.[168] Thoresby recognised the monk's compositional skills, describing his work as 'quem deus scienciarum

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[164] Swanson, 90 and n. 16; and cf. n. 15.

[165] Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion & Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, UK, 1988), 133.

[166] *Fasti Ebor*. 457; also quoted by Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 134.

[167] Reg. 13, fol. 22r.

[168] Swanson, 94; Cotton Galba E.x, fols. 73r-74r.

dominus floribus dotavit eloquencie'; aside from the *Catechism*, no extant work attributable to Gaitrik is known.[169]

Gaitrik is named in four manuscripts: 'discretum virum Johannem de Taystek, monachum monasterii beatae Mariae Ebor.' (H, fol. 213v); 'Don Iohn Gaytryge', (L, fol. 213v); 'd*omi*ni Joh*an*is de Caterig m*ona*ochi Ebor.', (X, fol. 50r). This suggests that he was ordained as priest, although Swanson considers evidence for this rather tentatively.[170] He notes the recording of a 'John de Gaytryk (also spelled Gayrtik and Gaytrig)' who was ordained subdeacon in September 1344, deacon in September 1345, and priest in the 'early summer of 1346' amongst the records for the secular clerics.[171] This could be an entirely different individual – although the dates would be about right - but, if not, it would indicate that Gaitrik was ordained late in life, perhaps via a mass petition to Clement VI following his accession in 1342. Although no such name appears in the calendar of entries in the papal registers, that in itself is unsurprising considering the number of similar petitions arriving in Rome, which would be far too many to be recorded.[172] Such ordinations were done abroad, in batches, so that papal grants were given in such large numbers that they were not recorded. Alternatively, it may be that the York records containing his entries are erroneous, which was 'not an uncommon occurence in other diocese'.[173] Ordination prior to 1342 would put Gaitrik in his late thirties at the time the *Catechism* was composed.

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[169] Galba E.x fol.74r

[170] Swanson, 94-5.

[171] Swanson, 95.

[172] William Henry Bliss, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland : Petitions to the Pope, Vol. I : AD1342-1419* (London, 1896)

[173] Swanson, 95.

Lastly, fig. 1 shows the number of ordinations from 1343 to 1380, covering the years of Thoresby and his predecessor William Zouche (1342 to 1352). There is a gap for the years 1352 to 1356 so that, were Gaitrik ordained during these years, then the list of ordinands has been lost.

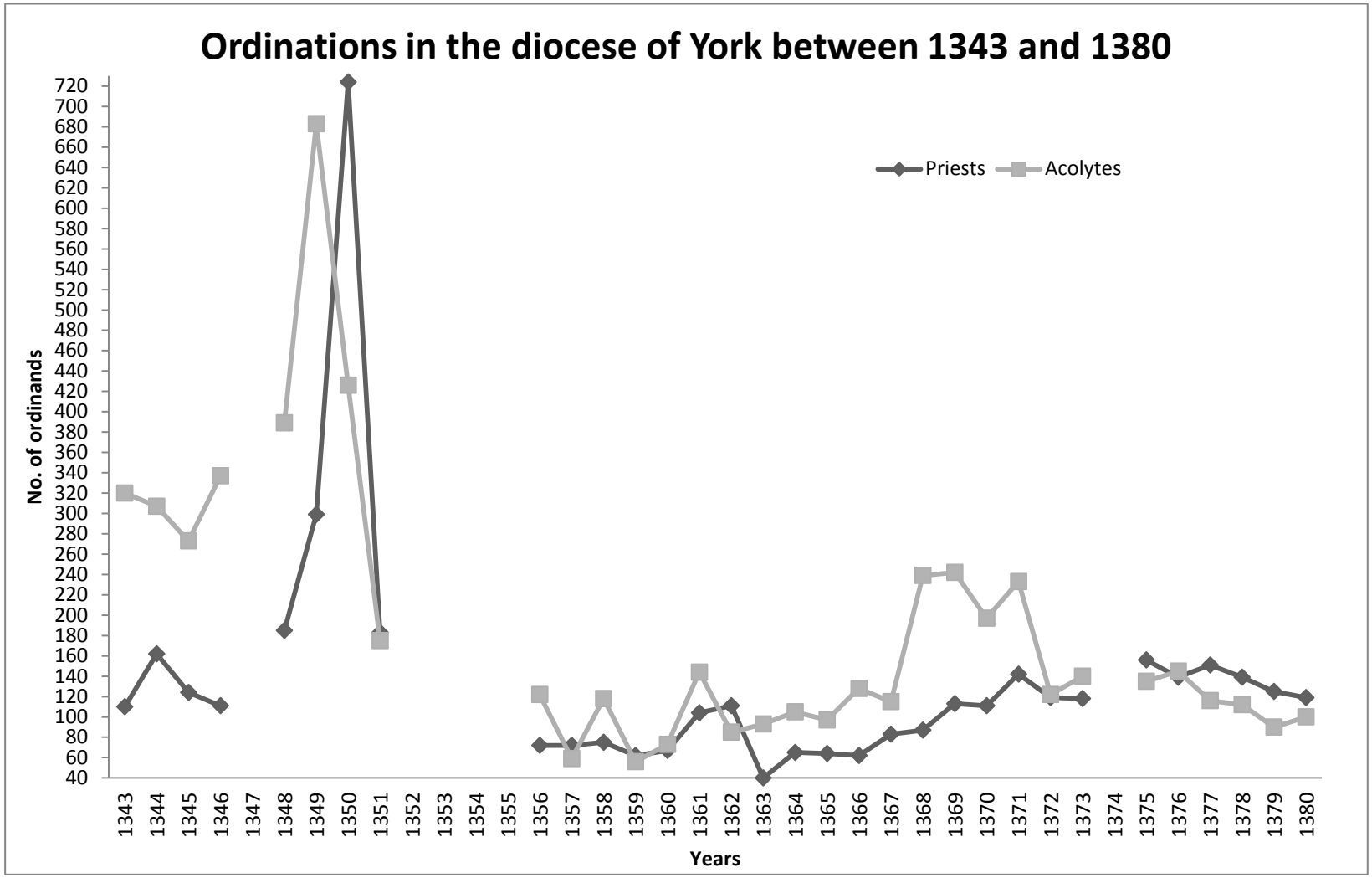


Fig. 1[174]

[174] Based on Jo Ann Hoepner Moran, 'Clerical Recruitment in York 1340 – 1530: Data and Commentary' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22.

Recruitment

The years prior to Thoresby's archiepiscopy show a sharp rise in the numbers of ordinands correlating to the first outbreak of plague in 1349. The 'Great Mortality', as it was then known, entered Yorkshire in *c*.February 1349, and quickly spread through the Diocese.[175] In July 1348, with the epidemic raging in the south, Zouche issued a warning of 'great mortalities, pestilences and infections of the air'.[176] Only a severe recruitment drive in anticipation could account for the unprecedented rise in the number of ordinations between 1348 and 1351. The numbers peaked in 1349 when almost 700 men were ordained as acolytes and, in the following year, well over that number became ordained as priests. Those ordained priest in 1350 must have included acolytes ordained inprevious years, some of whom may not otherwise be considered for the priesthood. Further, such a recruitment drive would attract those for whom the financial outweighed the spiritual benefits.

The financial benefits came from assisting the dying and preparing the living for the afterlife in what became a cult of death. This involved activities such as building chantries, or paying for masses & prayers to be said, in the belief that the souls of the deceased could be assisted by the living in relieving the suffering in Purgatory.

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[175] *The plight of human fortune and the pitilessness of death: The Black Death and the Church in Yorkshire, 1349* by Gary Brannan, Access Archivist, Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York.

[176] York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 10, fol. 247r.

Thoresby's arrival at York heralded a regime change, involving financial restrictions and a program of clerical reform being introduced. For example, stipends were written into wills requesting chaplains to attend funerals or chant masses. To eradicate the 'grasping demands and difficult attitude' of stipendiary chaplains, Thoresby put a limit of six marks (or a non-financial equivalent value) on stipends.[177] There were also restrictions put on stipendiary chaplains performing their duties without the parishes providing their stipends. Chaplains found to be in breach of this were to be penalised by a year-long suspension of their performing divine services or to celebrate masses.

Clerical recruitment, in general, fell to more regular numbers during Thoresby's archiepiscopy. Those ordained as acolytes rose during the years 1367-1371, perhaps to take account of a loss of clergy during further outbreaks of the Black Death and, although Thoresby held additional ordination services during the years affected 1361 and 1369,[178] numbers never again reached those of the 1340s.

The lack of education among the clergy was a serious issue for Thoresby. Records show that new ordinands tended to be younger, and would be less educated.[179] Those recruited under Zouche, who may have been older but no better educated, were doubtless the ignorant priests who were the incentive for Thoresby's commissioning the *Catechism* and its distribution across his Province.

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[177] Reginald Maxwell Woolley, ed., *The York Provinciale: Put Forth by Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, in the Year 1518* (London, 1931), 40-42 at 40.

[178] Moran, 33.

[179] Moran, 26.

Previous editions

The *Catechism* appears in three modern print editions. It was first published by George Perry in his 'miscellany of religious tracts' taken from the Lincoln Thornton manuscript, L, under the title 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon'.[180] A second edition, by T. F. Simmons & H. E. Nolleth, entitled *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, is the most well known.[181] Its title was created following the publication of their earlier works, *The Lay Folks* [sic] *Mass-Book*, and *The Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, in the same series, and that is how the text has become known. Norman Blake has also edited the Thornton witness as 'John Gaytryge's Sermon' and, like Perry, takes his title from Thornton's incipit, *Here begynnes a sermon þat Don Iohn Gaytryge made* (fol. 213v).[182] Perry and Blake's editions are anthologies and reproduce the *Catechism* in the context of religious miscellanies. Simmons & Nolleth edit the *Catechism* alone, presenting T on the *verso* (with Thoresby's Latin headings beneath corresponding with the text), and La on the *recto* pages (with Pecham's Latin headings beneath).

Blake had access to these two editions and, consequently, to the LaTV witnesses of the *Catechism* (Perry refers to also having

[180] George G. Perry, 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon', in *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse edited from Robert Thornton's MS*, (London, 1867; repr. 1914), 1-15. It is listed in the contents as 'Dan John Gattrynge's Sermon'. Perry had consulted V. Perry, vi.

[181] T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolleth, eds., *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, EETS os 118 (1901).

[182] Norman Francis Blake 'John Gaytryge's Sermon', ed. in *Middle English Religious Prose*, (London, 1972), 73-87. Blake refers to Thornton (L) as 'T'; the Trinity manuscript (V) as 'B'; and Thoresby's Register (T) as '*Catechism*'.

viewed the V witness).[183] He acknowledges that 'apart from these three versions, it is found entire or in part in at least eight other manuscripts'.[184] In a footnote to line 205, Blake refers to 'some MSS', which read *he* rather than *it*.[185] Those witnesses are ACEGHNRSVWXZ and the extract F; of these, we know Blake had access to H and V. Four of these witnesses can be eliminated as unlikely to have been accessible: G (held in a Parisian library); N (then held in the Wollaton collection, Nottingham); S (held by one of the smaller Cambridge college libraries); and W (then the Hopton Hall, Derbyshire, manuscript). By elimination, therefore, it can be surmised that Blake had access to, or was aware of, any of ACERXZ and the extract F, in addition to HTV and La.

Transcriptions

Simmons & Nolleth's transcriptions of the *Catechism* in their parallel text are often erroneous, and their decision to introduce material from another manuscript, York Minster XVI.L.12, to supplement their transcription of La is inexplicable, other than it was conveniently located in York and therefore readily available. As already noted, that manuscript contains a text similar to, but which is not, the *Catechism*. These insertions include: *and not in wrong ete our neeghboris breed* after *bred* (Appendix C, C40); and *askynge of þis part* after *askyngge* (Appendix C, C44).

The Simmons & Nolleth edition contain inaccurate and misleading assumptions. As the best known edition, and therefore the most referenced, these errors have gone unquestioned, and been

[183] Perry, vi.

[184] Blake, 3 and note to 79/182. The witness H is referred to in a footnote to line 253. Blake uses the sigla 'T' for L, 'B' for V, and does not allocate a siglum to T.

[185] Blake, note to 78/148.

perpetuated by later scholars. These must now be addressed and clarified.

A Lollard reworking of the *Catechism*?

Simmons & Nolleth suggest that John Thoresby knew the reformer John Wyclif, yet there is no evidence to substantiate this.[186] The introduction of Wyclif seems entirely spurious, and only serves to support the editors' (incorrect) theory that the La witness is the result of a Lollard reworking, which it is not. Most disconcerting is the suggestion that the editors are 'fully persuaded that Wyclif asked for and obtained the consent of the Archbishop, at the very least, if not his assistance, in his amplification of the Lay Folks' Catechism'.[187] No evidence is provided in support of their argument. Blake repeats the Simmons & Nolleth erroneous suggestion of La being the result of being 'adapted and expanded by a Wycliffite writer'.[188]

The notion that the La version is a Lollard reworking of the *Catechism* has been entirely discredited by Anne Hudson. In her study of La, Hudson notes three points concerning priests at which Wycliffite influences might arise. The first occurrence is:

> But how moche more be þei cursyd of God þat bynde hemself wilfully, and takyn moche mede to do þese werkys of gostly mercy as do curatis & prelatis & ȝit do hem nat, but lettys oþer men to fulfylle hem be feynyd iurisdictioun whan þey hemself may not, con not, or wyl not for worldly bysynesse or ese of here body (Appendix C, C405-09)

[186] Simmons & Nolleth, xxiv.

[187] Simmons & Nolleth, xxvi.

[188] Blake, 3.

The second:

> and al þe grettyst synne is in prestis þat leccherye vsyn for it passyþ þat oþer in despit þat is do to god and euer gretter & gretter as þei be of degre & þe stat of þe oþer party þat þey syn with (Appendix C, C461-3)

The third section Hudson highlights is that which follows line 420, and is a lengthy condemnation of *for here fayre cloþes ne for here qweynte schappis*, (Appendx C, C422ff.) and the false belief that those who die wearing a habit *schal neuer go to helle*, especially those paying for the privilege of being buried in their habit, which is contrary to God's teaching. While all three are certainly examples of anti-clerical sentiments, and which were rife in the fourteenth century, they do not amount to a Lollard reworking. An even stronger argument for the La witness being a Wycliffite reworking would be its condemnation of indulgences (which here follows an objection to God's word, considered equally offensive):

> The þridde part of þis gret. Hit ys seyd þat þe Pope gefys gret pardoun to men þat addys þese wordys, and be þe same skyle þat men schuld triste to eny pardoun, men schuld triste to þis pardoun be yt four score dayes or more. And as þe Pope may ȝeue þis pardoun be addyngge of þese two wordys, so may he adde oþer mo & withdrawe as hym-self lykys, and so turne Godys lawe in-to lawe of Antecrist. (Fol. 3r)[189]

This extract is from the Aue Maria and is entirely separate from the *Catechism*, and it appears as a separate unit with the Pater

[189] Simmons & Nolleth, 13.

Noster and Creed at folios 1r-6r of the U manuscript. Therefore it is not reproduced at Appendix C. As neither La nor U derive from one another, it is very likely that this version of the three texts circulated at some point with the *Catechism*, and they happened to be copied together in an exemplar whose scribe believed they were compatible in subject matter. It should also be seen in La as additional to, rather than a part of, the *Catechism*.

The witnesses ERW omit lines 564-9, removing the promised reward of *Fourty daies of pardoun* for those who have learned and can recite the six tenets. The practice of indulgencies was objectionable to those early reformers and these lines may have been intentionally censored for that reason. However, RW are the only witnesses to make reference to Purgatory, replacing *payne* (335) with *here porcatory* in R and *payne in purgatory* in W. This may have been an oversight on the part of the censoring scribe. However, as Lollard writers typically removed references to those practices they deemed unacceptable, such as the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, both of which could easily be redacted, they too remain intact. Similarly, oral confession was an anathema to the reformers, and yet the relevant lines bear only minor amendments:

> Ane is sorowe of oure hert þat we haue synned
> An-oþir is open shrift of our mouth hou þat we haue synned
> And þe thrid is rightwis amendis makynge
> for þat þat we haue synned (309-312)

> On ys sorw of herte of þat þat we haue synnyd
> Anoþer ys opyn schryft of oure mowþ how we haue synned

> The þyrde is amendys makyng
> for þat we haue do[190]

That this version of the *Pater Noster* contained unorthodox commentary was obviously overlooked, as a scribe holding Wycliffite opinions may have attempted to edit these lines, together with the promise of *fourty daies of pardoun* (540), which is retained in the final lines of LaU. This would depend upon the circumstances in which the scribe-copyist was working, for instance, whether he was engaged to simply copy his exempla or had the freedom to make such textual changes. Again, this could easily be removed (see ERW) were these witnesses the work of an unorthodox scribe. On the contrary, the promise is highlighted in the colophon of La, surely the strongest evidence that what follows is resolutely not the work of Wyclifite scribe. It reads:

> Mandatu*m* do*m*ini Ioh*ann*is de Thoresby Ebor*acensis* Archiepis*copi* ... pred*ictus* d*omi*n*u*s Ioh*ann*i*s* co*n*cessit om*n*ib*us* adiscentib*us* istud mandatu*m* .xl. dies indulgencie.[191]

As a result of Simmons & Nolleth's claims concerning Wyclif, the manuscript G has been deemed to contain Wycliffite texts, although there is nothing to indicate that these are anything other than orthodox.[192] It was later suggested that its scribe had then removed all Wycliffite content. The logical explanation is

[190] Fol. 12v.

[191] Fol. 1r. La is the only witness to name Thoresby.

[192] J. H. Baxter, 'An Aberdeen Manuscript in Paris', *The Scottish History Review*, Vol. 24, no. 96 (1927), 326-7, at 327. The allegation relates to items 2 and 3, being treatises on the Apostles' Creed and Pater Noster respectively, not the *Catechism*.

that it never had any connection with Wyclif in the first place, and contained no unorthodox material.

Archbishop John Pecham's *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*

The most misleading of Simmons & Nolleth's claims is their assumption that John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–1292, was the source for the *Catechism*.[193] This is entirely unfounded. Pecham's best known work is *De informatione simplicium sacerdotum*, the ninth canon of the 1281 Council of Lambeth.[194] It is known by its opening words, *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, and was widely copied and circulated as late as the mid-sixteenth century, and is extant in 'some sixty manuscripts'.[195] Simmons & Nolleth's assumption must come from Pecham and Thoresby's mutual intention, that of combatting claims of ignorance:

> ut quilibet sacerdos plebi praesidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die uno solenni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo "…vulgariter absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos; decem mandata decalogi; duo praecepta evangelii scilicet, geminae charitatis; septem opera misericordiae; septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie; septem virtutes principales; ac septem gratiae sacramenta…[196]

[193] Simmons & Nolleth, ix.

[194] *Councils and Synods*, 900-905.

[195] *Councils and Synods*, 888.

[196] Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Vol. II, (London 1737), 54. 'As a remedy for this peril we expressly command that four times a year, upon one or more holy days each priest having charge of the people, either personally or

The order of the tenets differs slightly between the *Ignorancia sacerdotum* and the *Catechism*: the sins and virtues are transposed; and the sacraments are the final tenet, so that the deadly sins appear to be enclosed between the good and virtuous elements of the text. Then follows a *summaria brevitate* of each tenet. Although a century had passed between the *Ignorancia sacerdotum* and the *Catechism*, as Owst points out:

> More than a hundred years after Peckham's [sic] elaborate Decrees, it is possible for the writer of a vernacular treatise to declare that none but a few of the common people knew even their Paternoster, Ave or Creed.[197]

The one constant in these and other similar mandates issued by bishops is that the people must be taught in the vernacular. Richard Poore's statues ordered that the Paternoster, Creed, and

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through someone else, shall explain to the people in their mother tongue, without any fantastic subtlety, the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments of the decalogue, the two precepts of the gospels, the seuen Works of Mercy, the seven deadly sins with their offspring, the seven cardinal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. And lest anyone on account of ignorance excuse himself from the aforesaid things, which all ministers of the church are bound to know, we touch upon them here in a brief summary'. Translation from Malone Kemp and Albert Croll Baugh, eds., *A Literary History of England: The Middle Ages*', (Oxford, 1959), 202.

[197] Owst, *Preaching*, 46.

Ave Maria be taught in English;[198] Robert Grosseteste in his *Templum dei* states that the Creed must be available in the vernacular;[199] and Walter Cantilupe's *Omnis aetas* requires that the priest teach the parishioners the Creed in the vernacular.[200] Where the *Catechism* differs is that Thoresby's mandate is the only one circulating in the Northern Province.

Thoresby not only introduced the tenets into the Northern Province, but was responsible for several factors which contributed to the success of the *Catechism*. One is Thoresby's precise directions for its dissemination amongst the northern clergy, discussed below, to ensure a wide circulation and clear instructions for those clergy to teach and test their parishioners. This was encouraged by incentives for those who had learned its contents and threat of penance for those who had not. More influential was the construction and composition of the text, which greatly contributed to its popularity, and its simple, straightforward style and content, specified by Thoresby and expounded by Gaitrik.

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[198] *Councils and Synods*, 1:61; Andrew Reeves, *Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: Lateran IV to 'Ignorantia sacerdotum'* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2009), 63.

[199] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 7.14.

[200] *Debet etiam sacerdos docere laycum quod credat et sciat symbolum, scilicet Credo, saltem in lingua materna*. *Councils and Synods*, 2:1076.

Origins and social & pastoral contexts

The original source for the tenets of the *Catechism* is Scripture. The first tenet is the Articles of Faith, or Creed, a set of doctrinal statements clarifying what Christians must believe. The *Catechism* differs from many medieval texts where the Articles are divided into twelve, each being assigned to one of the Apostles, and known as the Apostles' Creed. The *Catechism* has fourteen Articles, seven of which are concerned with the divinity of God and are an expansion of Matt. 28:19. The other seven relate to Christ's humanity, and stem from the four Gospels.

The Ten Commandments are recorded twice in the Pentateuch, first in Exodus, and then in Deuteronomy.[201] The first three Commandments pertain to man's love towards God, the remaining seven to the love of our fellow man. They are summarised in the gospels of the New Testament: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua* (Matt. 22:37); and *Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos* (John 15:12). These laws of Christ are rendered in the Catechism as *Þe tane is þat we loue God ouer alle thinges / Þe toþir þat we loue our euen-Cristen as we do ourseluen* (259-60). The order of the last two Commandments in the *Catechism* follows that of Exodus, wherein

[201] Exod. 20:3-17; Deut. 5:17-21. The removal of the commandment against graven images and idolatry and the division of Exod. 20:17 on coveting into two commandments are attributed to Augustine, later agreed at the Council of Trent (1545 to 1563). *Saint Augustine of Hippo, Sancti Aurelii Augustini Quaestionum in Heptateuchum, libri VII; Locutionum in Heptateuchum, libri VII*; *De octo quaestionibus ex Veteri Testamento*, eds. J. Fraipoint and D. De Bruyne, (Brepols, 1958), 102-105.

the ninth pertains to immovable possessions, *þat we not ȝern oure neiȝbour hous... or of oȝte ellis, / Þat may not be lifted ne raisid fra þe grounde* (231-4), and the tenth to movable chattels, *Any thing þat mai be stirrid of oþir mennes godis* (240). The version of the Commandments in LaU combines the two, and puts the coveting of movable goods before that of the immovable ones:

> T[h]e nynthe comaundement & þe tenthe ar these: thow schalt not coueyte þy neyȝborys wyf, ne his hows, ne his seruant, ne his maydyn, ne his oxe, ne his werk best, ne ony thyng þat ys his[202]

The first six physical Works of Mercy are from the gospel of Matthew (Matt. 25:35-36), and the seventh from Tobit 1:21. The spiritual Works of Mercy derive from Luke 15:7, Mark 16:15, John 14:27, Matt. 11:28, Luke 6:27-28, Matt. 6:12 and John 17:24. The first three virtues are faith, hope and charity. Faith is the beginning of man's salvation without which it is impossible to please God (Hebr. 11:6), followed by the hope of salvation (Rom. 8:24) and God's love, or charity (Rom. 5:5). These are summarised by Paul: *Nunc autem manent fides, spes, caritas, tria haec : major autem horum est caritas* (1 Cor. 13:1-13). The four cardinal virtues were originally fortitude or courage, prudence or wisdom, temperance, and justice, the character traits deemed desirable by Plato.[203] They too are Biblical: *Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes : sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et justitiam, et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus* (Wis. 8:7). The

[202] See Appendix C, C458-60.

[203] Plato, *Republic*, IV, 427-34. Aquinas amends the order of the cardinal virtues to prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, QQ47-170.

theological virtues are acquired from God, through the sanctifying grace received via the seven sacraments, which also originate in the New Testament: Baptism (John 3:5); Confirmation (Acts 8:14-17); Eucharist (John 6:51-58); Confession (John 20:21-23); Matrimony (Matt. 19:4-6); Holy Orders (1 Cor. 11:23-25); and Last Anointing (James 5:14).

Peter Lombard and *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum*

In the twelfth century, Paris was the centre of intellectual exchange and theological debate. One of its most prominent scholars was Peter Lombard (*ca*.1095-1160), who became an essential authority on Christian theology across Europe. Peter was immensely influential, and he is acknowledged in the incipits to R as *magister* and W as *þe mayster of þe sent[enc]es*. This refers to his best known work, *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* (hencefore *Sentences*), a collection of authorative opinions which became a standard work taught in all universities in the late middle ages. All witnesses of the *Catechism* containing the introductory material retain the line *Als þat a grete clerk shewis in his boke* (2), and the witnesses AEGLRTYZ refer specifically to *secundo sentencia distinctione prima* (1), the first distinction of Book 2. Here Peter introduces the concept of the Creation, prior to discussing the creation of angels and man, the Fall, and original & actual sin.

In relation to the tenets of the *Catechism*, Book 3 explores the commandments (Dists. XXXVII-XL), the virtues (Dists. XXIII-XXXVI) and, briefly, the creed (Dists. I-XIV on the Being of Christ and XV-XXII on the Passion & Redemption of Christ). Dists. XLII cover the sins: chapter 6 looks at the seven principal vices and chapters 7 and 8 focus on pride. In Book 2 Peter established

that, prior to the Fall, God's grace was inheritent but now had to be sought through participation in the sacraments. The sacraments heal the damage caused to mankind by original and actual sin, without which man cannot achieve salvation. Peter therefore regards the sacraments to be of such importance that he devotes almost all of Book 4 (Dists. II-XLII) to them.

Peter Lombard & the Sacraments

The sacraments were instituted by Jesus and are assisted by three elements, words, matter (e.g. water, oil, etc.) and deed.[204] Peter asserts that baptism is 'so holy that not even its administration by a killer pollutes it' as, ultimately, it is always Christ who performs the sacrament, via a priest (except in exceptional circumstances).[205] The element of water alone simply cleanses the physical body. By invoking the Trinitarian formula *I baptize þe in þe name of þe Fadir / And þe Son and þe Haly Gaste* (285-6), the recipient is spiritually cleansed.[206] The word element of the sacrament is necessary to purge sin, and the matter, water, is most suitable because it is universally available. Water also represents the fluid seeped from Christ's wound, and as such Peter judges it to have equal properties as the wine representing Christ's blood in the Eucharist.[207] Should there be any doubt as to whether a person is already baptised, the words

[204] *Ibid.*, Book 4, Dist. I ch. 1.

[205] *Ibid.*, Dist. V, ch. 1.

[206] *Ibid.*, Dist. III, ch. 9, nos. 1-2.

[207] *Ibid.*, Dist. III, ch. 6. 'The water probably represented serous pleural and pericardial fluid' which filled the heart's ventricles during cruxifiction. William D. Edwards, Wesley J. Gabel, and Floyd E. Hosmer, 'On the Physical Death of Jesus' in *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 255, no.11:21 (1986), 1455-63 at 1463.

to be spoken are *If þou be not baptized, I baptize þe / In þe name of þe Fadir & þe Son & þe Hali Gaste* (296-7).

Confirmation conveys the strength of the Holy Spirit 'given to the baptized [during confirmation] so that he may be fortified' against the temptations of Satan.[208] It is therefore a superior sacrament to baptism, must be performed by a 'superior' priest (i.e. a bishop), and administered to the superior part of the body, the head.[209] Baptism and confirmation are considered forms of consecration, and must not be repeated.[210] Unlike the other sacraments, penance is intended to be repeated, as 'it is lawful for a man to repent several times, but not to be baptized several times'.[211]

Penance is treated at considerable length in the *Sentences*.[212] 'It is called penance from 'punishing', and by it each one punishes the illicit things which he has done'.[213] It was seen 'as a preparation for death', providing restitution for the sinner.[214] Baptism and confirmation are only sacraments, penance is both a sacrament (the exterior penance) and a virtue (the interior penance of the mind).[215] The internal remorse of the penitent is expressed through *sorowe of oure hert* (310), the external expression of remorse through *open shrift of our mouth* (311), and provides the physical aspect of contrition in our *rightwis*

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[208] *Ibid.*, Dist. VII, ch. 3.

[209] *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. III, ch. 2.

[210] *Ibid.*, Dist. VIII, ch. 5, nos. 1-2.

[211] *Ibid.*, Dist. XIV, ch. 1.

[212] *Ibid.*, Dists. XIV-XXII.

[213] *Ibid.*, Dist. XIV, ch.2, no. 1.

[214] Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, (Oxford, 2004) 162.

[215] *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. XIV, ch 1 no 2.

amendis makynge (312).[216] For Wyclif, priestly intervention during penance was controversial, and absolution was condemned on the grounds that only God could judge man's soul. In Distinctions 16 and 17, Peter deals with the question of to whom confession ought to be made. He concludes that ultimately, only God can forgive, but that He has granted priests with certain powers, which justified priestly intercession.[217]

The Eucharist assists the 'remission of venial sins and the perfecting of virtue'.[218] Its elements are the form of words spoken by Christ at the Last Supper, and the bread and wine as the material aspect. The sacrament represents the Incarnation - as Christ received his body from Mary, so we received it from Christ – and controversy surrounded the transubstantiation of the material aspect of the Eucharist. Peter recommended that everyone must receive Communion at least once a year on pain of excommunication 'unless they refrain from it for a good reason', such as illness.[219] Gaitrik concurs, suggesting the Eucharist be administered *anes in þe ȝere* (320). The Eucharist is only of benefit to the spiritually good, who may receive Christ's mystical body, as the behaviour of the wicked excludes them from this spiritual benefit and it is detrimental to their souls.[220] Gaitrik summarises this in the couplet *For he þat takis it worþily takis his saluacioun / And wha sa vnworthily takis his dampnacioun* (327-8).

Extreme Unction 'was instituted for double cause, namely for the remission of sins, and for the relief of bodily infirmity', bestowing

[216] *Ibid.*, Dist. XVI, ch. 1, no. 1.

[217] *Ibid.*, Dists. XVI-XVII.

[218] *Ibid.*, Dist. XII, ch. 5, no. 4.

[219] *Ibid.*, Dist. XII, ch. 6, no. 2.

[220] *Ibid.*, Dist. IX ch. 1 no. 8.

relief on the body and the soul.[221] Those who recovered from their sickness did so as a demonstration of God's grace, those who did not instead passed into the afterlife cleansed of sin.[222] The sacrament is administered by a priest, using *oile þat is halowid* ('consecrated') by a bishop (329). The oil is said to sooth the pain of physical sickness and the suffering of the soul when given in conjunction with the words 'Through this holy anointing may the Lord in his love and mercy help you with the grace of the Holy Spirit. May the Lord who frees you from sin save you and raise you up'.[223]

Ordination is treated very briefly in the *Sentences.* Although there are seven clerical orders, reflecting the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, Peter clarifies that only deacons and priests have taken holy orders.[224] The grade, or *degre* (341) confers divine grace and spiritual power to the recipient to *singe messe, & for-to minstre sacrament* (340).[225] Ordination is performed by a bishop, whilst laying his hands on the ordinand's head, and the ordinand's hands are then annointed with consecrated oil.

Marriage is the only sacrament to precede sin, and is a remedy against fornication: *In remedy of syn* (346). For Peter, intercourse for the purpose of procreation may only be tolerated within the sacrament of marriage.[226] It was instituted by God before the Fall and reinstituted to negate the sin of lust associated with sexual intercourse following the Fall. [227] The

[221] *Ibid.*, Dist. XXIII, ch. 3, no. 2.

[222] *Ibid.*, Dist. XXIII, ch. 3, no. 2.

[223] James 5:14-15.

[224] Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, 170-1.

[225] *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. 23 ch. 13 nos. 1-2

[226] *Ibid.*, Dists. 26-42.

[227] Gen. 1:28. *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. 27, chs. 2-3.

sacrament signifies the union between Christ in his natural body and the Church as his mystical body.[228] It was therefore important to ensure the legitimacy of marriage, a subject considered at Canon 1 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (henceforth Lateran IV). While Lateran IV influenced many bishops' consititutions regarding (particularly moral) reform. Moreover, Canon 1 revised the Articles of Faith, and is the source for the version found in the *Catechism*.

The Fourth Lateran Council

Like Thoresby, Innocent III was concerned with combatting ignorance and laxity within the church, although his wider focus was on controlling the rise in heresy across Europe. His concerns formed the agenda for one of the largest, and most influential, papal assemblies in Rome, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Indeed, its canons were considered so significant that Lateran IV was later recognised as the Twelfth Ecumenical Council. Lateran IV was centred around Christian teaching and practice, clarifying theology and forbidding certain behaviours and pursuits of the clergy. The Council provided that all Christian men received the 'nourishment of God's Word', and generally achieve moral reform: 'Innocent's work on moral reform was part and parcel of a trend based around the schools of Paris that had been ongoing for several decades.'[229] Its canons provided a basis for the reforming bishops and, as will be seen, clearly influenced the *Catechism*.

As discussed above, Canon 1 redefines the Articles of Faith:

[228] *Ibid.*, Dist. 27.

[229] Reeves, 41.

Firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur, quod unus solus est verus Deus, aeternus, immensus et incommutabilis, incomprehensibilis, omnipotens et ineffabilis, Pater, et Filius et Spiritus sanctus: tres quidem personae, sed una essentia, substantia seu natura simplex omnino; Pater a nullo, Filius autem a Patre solo, ac Spiritus sanctus pariter ab utroque, absque initio, semper ac sine fine; Pater generans, Filius nascens, et Spiritus sanctus procedens; consubstantiales, et coaequales, et coomnipotentes, et coaeterni; unum universorum principium; creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, spiritualium et corporalium; qui sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam, quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam. Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni; sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali. Homo vero diaboli suggestione peccavit.

Haec sancta trinitas, secundum communem essentiam individua et secundum personales proprietates discreta, primo per Moysen et sanctos Prophetas aliosque famulos suos iuxta ordinatissimam dispositionem temporum doctrinam humano generi tribuit salutarem. Et tandem unigenitus Dei Filius Iesus Christus, a tota trinitate communiter incarnatus ex Maria semper virgine Spiritus sancti cooperatione conceptus, verus homo factus, ex anima rationali et humana carne compositus, una in duabus naturis persona, viam vitae manifestius demonstravit. Qui quum secundum divinitatem sit immortalis et impassibilis, idem ipse secundum humanitatem factus est passibilis, et mortalis. Qui etiam

> pro salute humani generis in ligno crucis passus et mortuus descendit ad inferos, resurrexit a mortuis, et ascendit in coelum; sed descendit in anima et resurrexit in carne, ascenditque pariter in utroque venturus in fine saeculi, iudicaturus vivos et mortuos, et redditurus singulis secundum opera sua, tam reprobis quam electis, qui omnes cum suis propriis resurgent corporibus, quae nunc gestant, ut recipiant secundum opera sua, sive bona fuerint sive mala, illi cum diabolo poenam perpetuam, et isti cum Christo gloriam sempiternam. [230]

The same canon affirms the sanctity of four sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, Penance and Marriage:

> Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur, in qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina, ut at perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui rite fuerit ordinatus, secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit Apostolis eorumque successoribus Iesus Christus.
>
> Sacramentum vero baptismi, quod ad Dei invocationem et individuae trinitatis, videlicet Patris, et Filii et Spiritus sancti, consecratur in aqua, tam parvulis quam adultis in forma ecclesiae a quocunque rite collatum proficit ad

[230] *Medieval Sourcebook: Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215*
(https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp)

> salutem. Et si post susceptionem baptismi quisquam prolapsus fuerit in peccatum, per veram potest semper poenitentiam reparari.
>
> Non solum autem virgines et continentes, verum etiam coniugati per fidem rectam et operationem bonam placentes Deo ad aeternam merentur beatitudinem pervenire.[231]

Canon 2 endorses the Trinitarian theology of Peter Lombard in Book 1 of the *Sentences*, validating his theology as entirely orthodox. Canon 3 condemns heretics, and declares those who refuse to repent be excommunicated. Canon 6 stipulates the need for bishops to hold provincial synods with their suffragans on an annual basis 'with a genuine fear of God in correcting abuses and reforming morals', in particular those of the clergy, and Canon 8 states the punishments to be given for clergy found guilty of clerical abuses and moral failings.[232] Canons 7 to 10 are concerned with moral reform and discipline within the church, with Canon 10 dealing specifically with the appointment of suitable vicars by bishops.

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[231] *Ibid*.

[232] 'That this may be done more effectively, let them appoint in each and every diocese prudent and upright persons, who throughout the entire year shall informally and without any jurisdiction diligently investigate such things as need correction or reform and faithfully present them to the metropolitan, suffragans, and others in the following synod, so that they may give prudent consideration to these and other matters as circumstances demand; and in reference to those things that they decree, let them enforce observance, publishing the decisions in the episcopal synods to be held annually in each diocese.' *Medieval Sourcebook.*

Canons 50 to 52 are concerned with the requirements for legitimate marriage. Canon 50 redefined prohibitions against consanguinity and affinity, so that 'prohibition of marriage is now perpetually restricted to the fourth degree' instead of the seventh degree. In cases where doubts were raised, marriage was forbidden until the matter had been settled, and hearsay was disallowed as evidence in such matters unless it came from persons of good repute.[233] Peter Lombard's concerns about consanguinity and other impediments to marriage are discussed in Book 4, Dists. XXVI-XLII.

Thoresby was concerned with ensuring the sanctity of marriage as part of his program of reform. At the 1361 York Convocation, Thoresby announced that anyone involved in a marriage without banns being correctly published would be excommunicated.[234] Marriage vows are, in essence, a contract into which the couple and the priest enter. The reading of banns is a measure introduced to prevent (and to protect priests from conducting) clandestine marriages, by repeatedly announcing forthcoming marriages to all parishioners. This allows for any objections to be raised and, where there are objections, for time to be allowed for the priest to investigate any lawful impediment raised by objectioners.

The portrayal of marriage by Peter as the 'marital union of man and woman, between legitimate persons, which places a limit upon the individual habit of life' is reflected in the *Catechism*:[235]

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[233] *Medieval Sourcebook*, Canons 51-52.

[234] Wilkins, III 71-2; *The Records of the Northern Convocation*, Surtees Society, 113 (Durham, 1906) xlvii, 95.

[235] *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. 27.

Þat is a lawful festenyng bitwix man & womman
At þair bathir assent for-to lyue samne,
Withouten any lousyng to þair lyue lastes
In remedy of syn and getynge of grace,
If it be taken in gode entent & clennes of life. (343-7)

Confession, penance, and the rise of the penitential

Canon 21 of Lateran IV requires that every Christian, having attained a suitable age, should confess faithfully their sins to their own priest at least once a year and attempt to the best of their ability to fulfil the penance enjoined therein.[236] Part of the confessional involved the priest examining the penitent's understanding of the faith. Without that diligent examination, the priest would fail the penitent in the latter's need for repentance. It was therefore necessary for priests to understand the nature of confession and penance. This lead to a growing demand for pentitential material for the education of priests. Indeed, Peter Lombard had been concerned with, and expressed his own displeasure at, indiscriminate priests administering unsuitable penance, advocating the penitent seek a priest with the wisdom to assign suitable penance, and avoid those unable to discern when a penitent has sufficiently paid for their sins. [237] As a consequence, demand for penitential literature increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As an example, of the manuscripts containing the *Catechism*, forms of confession occur

[236] *Omni utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annosdiscretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, salterm semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pænitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere*. C.-J. Hefele, *Histoires des conciles*, ed. and trans. Jean Leclercq, vol. 5, part 2 (Paris, 1913), 1350.

[237] *Sentences*, Book 4, Dist. XIX ch. 1 no. 3.

in the witnesses BCGWY, while K has a treatise on the administration of the sacraments, and U has another on the duties of priests.

Forms of confession such as Thomas of Chobham's (d. 1233x6) *Summa confessorum* circulated widely around northern Europe, in Latin and the vernacular, and survives in 160 manuscripts.[238] In it, Thomas discusses penance in its differing types (i.e. public, private, auricular), the various sins and their causes (such as situation, intent, etc.), the importance of the role of confessor-priest in hearing confession and giving suitable penance, and concludes with a lengthy exploration of sins and their appropriate punishments.[239] Raymond of Penafort's *Summa de penitentiae* requires that the penitent be tested to make sure that they knew the Creed, Pater Noster, and Lord's Prayer, before appropriate penance could be given.[240] Two Middle English works provide examples of penitential texts circulating quite independently in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Ayenbite of Inwyt (*c*. 1340) is a Kentish text which deals with the sacrament of penance. It stipulates six conditions of shrift: that it be made wisely, and to a good confessor; that there be no delay in confession, due to the risk of dying before confession is made; that confession is made openly, clearly, and 'nakedly'; that all sins must be confessed, not just the deadly sins, including details of the circumstances; that the confessor be humble, and make their confession with dread and sorrow; and that confession be made frequently.[241] The second text,

[238] Reeves, 34.

[239] *Ibid*.

[240] Reeves, 65.

[241] *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. N Trübner, EETS os 23 (London, 1866), 172-185.

Handlyng Synne (*c*.1303), circulated in the north. It sets out the same requirements, adding that confession must not be made for false sins, or for the sins of others, and that penance is to be done 'gladly', promptly and completely.[242] Penitentials dealt with those who had already committed sins, were remorseful, and sought absolution. To avoid committing sin in the first place, man needed to be aware of what constituted sin, particularly *peccata mortalia*.

The Seven Deadly Sins

The final tenet, the seven sins, has a complex history worth exploring. Although the term 'deadly sin' was first used by Tertullian,[243] it was 'rarely, if at all, applied to the cardinal sins before the fourteenth century'.[244] The *Catechism* suggests the terms *hed synnes* and *dedely synnes* are interchangeable (447). Bloomfield makes the distinction clear:

> Catholic theology has always made a distinction between *cardinal* (or *chief* or *capital*) sins. Individual theologians and laymen have, however, often confused the two, especially since the late Middle Ages, a confusion which both the catechism and the terminology (the term "deadly sins" used for the "cardinal sins") have tended to foster. As their name tells us, the cardinal sins are

[242] *Handlyng Synne*, 349

[243] Bloomfield, 51, n 60.
'Tertullian was the first to use the term "cardinal" in connection with the Platonic virtues'. Bloomfield, 51 n60. The Lombard discusses the virtues in *Sentences*, Book 3, with Dists. XXIII-XXVI covering faith & hope, and charity at more detail in Dists. XXVII-XXXII.

[244] Bloomfield, 44.

> simply the most important sins; the deadly sins are those which inevitably lead to damnation and the death of the soul.[245]

The sins originated in Judeo-Christian theology,[246] and were developed by Evagrius and his pupil John Cassian and, separately, by Gregory the Great. The Cassianic sins are *gula, luxuria, avaricia, ira, tristita, acedia, cenodoxia or vana gloria*, and *superbia*. Although they were included in English works such as Ælfric's *Pastoral letters* (with some adaptation: *superbia*, *gula*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, *ira*, *accidia*, *tristitia* and *vana gloria*), the Cassianic sins did not survive beyond the twelfth century.[247] In contrast, Gregory brought the sins out of monastic works and introduced them to writers of more general theological texts, such as the *Sarum Psalter* and Hugo of Victor's *Expositio moralia in Abdiam*, which ensured their success.[248]

Gregory reclassified the sins, placing *superbia* first as the root of all the other sins. Peter Lombard agreed, stating that pride is such an affront to God as it caused angels to become demons.[249] Gregory merged *tristitia* with *acedia*, and listed *gula* and *luxuria* at the end, following *ira*, *vana gloria* and *invidia*. *Vox memoralis* emerged, such as 'saligia' (*superbia*, *avaritia*, *luxuria*, *ira*, *gula*, *invidia*, *accidia*) and 'siiaagl' (*superbia*, *ira*, *invidia*, *avaritia*, *accidia*, *gula*, *luxuria*). The transposition of 'ii' and 'aa' explains the frequent rearrangement of the sins.

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[245] Bloomfield, 43.

[246] See, for example, 1 John 5:16.

[247] Bloomfield, 113.

[248] *Ibid.*, 72.

[249] *Sentences*, Book 2, Dist. 14, ch. 7, 1-3.

There was a tradition of presenting the virtues as 'remedia' to counter sins. For example, Chaucer's Parson declares the following *remedia*: humility against pride (475); patience and *mansuetude*/*debonairetee* (654) against wrath; love of God and neighbour against envy (514); strength or fortitude against sloth (727); *misericorde* against covetise (803); abstinence against gluttony (831); and chastity & continence against lechery (914).[250] However, the virtues and sins developed independently, and the *Catechism* treats the two tenets quite separately. Further, such *remedia* are not established in Scripture. Therefore the only remedy is confession, contrition and penance.

For Aquinas, there were two aspects to sin, the intention to commit sin and the actual execution of the sin.[251] Accordingly, a man who commits sin with good intention does so out of ignorance. For this very reason Gaitrik clearly defines the sins, *for man may not flie þaim bot he knawe þaim* (449). Learning the final tenet would prevent the unintentional commitment of mortal sin due to ignorance.

[250] Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, (Oxford, 2008), 299-322.

[251] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, Q84.

Gaitrik's interpretation of Thoresby's Latin headings

Gaitrik complies with Thoresby's instructions to produce a suitable text based upon the Latin headings of the schedule the archbishop provided. The order of the tenets in Thoresby's schedule (Creed, Decalogue, Virtues, Sacraments, Works of Spiritual Mercy and Sins) in the *Catechism* becomes Creed, Decalogue, Sacraments, Works of Physical and the additional Works of Spiritual Mercy, Virtues and Sins. In Thoresby's schedule, the order of the sacraments is: *baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistis, poenitentia, extrema unctio, ordo, et matrimonium*. The rationale for the reversal of penance and the Eucharist in the *Catechism* is unclear, although the sequence of sacraments often varied. In the *Speculum Vitae*, for example, Extreme Unction appears last.[252] However, it was usual for baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist to be placed together. Gaitrik may have initially overlooked the Eucharist and then inserted it after penance. He also interpolates the seven spiritual Works of Mercy. Clearly the amendments were deemed acceptable, as the composition was put before the archbishop and his council, and the order of its contents is retained in all extant witnesses.

It seems appropriate to address here the question of whether the *Catechism* was already available in some form – as individual tenets or collectively - prior to Thoresby's mandate, to which Gaitrik had access and was able to rework for the purpose.[253] This might explain the order of the tenets in the *Catechism* differing from that of the Latin schedule.[254] It might also explain the similarity of lines 394-405 on the virtue of hope with lines

[252] Hanna, *Speculum Vitae*, lines 1381-1420.

[253] The question was first raised by Anne Hudson. *Viator* 19, 249. Hudson, 'A New Look' 249.

[254] *Ibid*.

1811-32 in *Speculum Vitae* if both had borrowed from an existing text. If a suitable vernacular text were already available which could be reworked and improved, prior to circulation to comply with the archbishop's instructions, then no evidence remains.
The *Catechism* is Gaitrik's interpretation of Thoresby's schedule, and its preamble entirely is his own creation.

Preamble

Peter Lombard and his *Sentences* are introduced in the first two lines of the *Catechism*, and what follows is essentially a summary of Book 2. The subjects of Book 2 are the creation of the universe from nothing (*qui de hilio aliuqa facit*), angels and mankind, the Fall, original and actual sins. Peter explains that angels and man were created to enjoy God, heaven was created for the angels and the world was made for the enjoyment of humanity. Angels were made to assist mankind and are now man's superior, but at the resurrection man and angel will be equals. Before the Fall, mankind lived in a state in between mortality and immortality, suffered no pain, and enjoyed intercourse without lust *in þe state of innnocence þat þai were made in* (16-7). The inherent gift of grace once held by our *forme-faders* prior to the Fall was lost when Adam and Eve succumbed to temptation. As a result, man must participate in his own redemption, and leading his life in accordance with the tenets of the *Catechism* is therefore fundamental to achieving salvation.

Therefore, the second element of the preamble explains that it is the duty of the clergy to assist their parishioners in learning the tenets and ensure their knowledge and understanding of the tenets is satisfactory. The clergy are *ordened for comoun profit* (45), have taken their role for the benefit of the Christian

community, and are responsible for the souls in their care. The tenets are to be delivered each Sunday, in the vernacular, and at Easter the parishioners' knowledge is to be tested. Thoresby's despair at the ignorance of the clergy is disguised by Gaitrik's subtle reminder of their priestly duty. As Vincent Gillespie suggests:

> Gaytryge changes the target of the passage in Thoresby's original about culpable ignorance (where publication of the text is intended to prevent priests avoiding their catechetic duty) and re-instates the principle, aiming it primarily at the laity.[255]

The preamble was therefore not intended to be delivered from the pulpit with the actual tenets. The laity in the Northern Province are refered to as *þas vndirloutis* (44), and the parisioners as *þaim þat* [the clergy] *haue cure of* (49), *þair parishynes & þair sugettes* (60), or simply *þe folke* (76). That the clergy are authorized to examine parishioners at Easter on their learning, and to impose penances on those *vndirloutes* (70) whose knowledge is lacking, is contained in the preamble. In contrast, the promised reward of *fourty daies of pardoun til alle þat kunnes þaim / or dose þair gode diligence for-to kunne þaim* is baldly stated at the end of the tenets and clearly intended for the lay audience.[256] Here, the pronouns switch to *ȝe* (562-3, 570-71), *ȝou* (564) and *ȝoure* (569) for the congregation, who are addressed by the priest in the first person 'I' (560). This highlights the consideration Gaitrik gave to the delivery of the

[255] Vincent Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicacio*: The design and function of some pastoral manuals', *Leeds Studies in English*, ns 11 (1980 for 1979), 36-50 at 45.

[256] ERW censor the lines.

text by the clergy, and its reception by the laity, in his composition of the *Catechism*.

Composition

Gaitrik composed the *Catechism* as a rhetorical text in accordance with its purpose: to assist in its oral delivery; and to aid its aural reception. As Cornelius recognises, 'by its diction, syntax, meter, and general style, the *Catechism* stands apart from the alliterative tradition'.[257] The text is not regular alliterative verse, yet is too patterned to be rhythmical alliterative prose. Gaitrik composed the text in a rhetorical style well suited for oral delivery.[258] This is achieved by punctuating the text to create pauses and stresses according to syntax and the natural rhythm of speech. The best term for this is one preferred by medieval writers themselves, 'cadence'.

Modern scholars have attempted to define cadence. The MED suggests 'rhetorical periods; the use of rhythm or rhetorical periods'. Unfortunately, this is misquoted in the explanatory notes to Chaucer's *House of Fame: To make bookys songes dytees / In rime or elles in cadence* (622-3), which instead gives the rather unhelpful and incorrect definition 'rhythm of prose in poetry'.[259] Margery Morgan provides a better description of cadence as 'a technical term of literary composition, apparently connected with rhetoric, not identical with rhyme or metre' in her discussion of a late fourteenth century text, *A Talkyng of þe Loue*

[257] Ian Cornelius, *Reconstructing Alliterative Verse: The Pursuit of a Medieval Meter* (Chicago, 2017), 53.

[258] Perry and Blake recognised the rhetorical structure of the *Catechism*, printing their editions with 'sermon' in the title.

[259] Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, (Oxford, 2008), 355.

of God.[260] The scribe of *A Talkyng* clearly understood the term and its purpose:

> Men schal fynden lihtliche þis tretys in Cadence . after þe bignninge . ȝif hit beo riht poynted . & Rymed in sum stude . To beo more louesum . To hem þa hit reden[261]

The tradition of cadence texts

A Talkyng is a late fourteenth century reworking of *The Ureison of God Almyhti* and *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, two early thirteenth century mystical texts which, together with *On Lofsong of Ure Louerde*, are collectively known as the Wooing Group. Another collection of thirteenth century texts written in cadence, the Katherine Group, are devotional texts aimed at a female audience. Like the *Catechism*, the Katherine and Wooing Group texts, were composed for the purpose of oral delivery, for which cadence is most effective.[262] These texts continued a native tradition of English sermons and other works written in cadence:

> The legends of the Katherine Group, indeed, appear to carry on the tradition of a rhythmical, alliterative prose, established for homiletic writings by Ælfric in such a work

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[260] Margery Morgan, 'A Treatise in Cadence' in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 47, no. 2 (1952), 156-164 at 157. Edited by M. Salvina Westra, *A Talkyng of Þe Loue of God, edited from MS. Vernon (Bodleian 3938) and collated with MS. Simeon (Brit. Mus. Add. 22283)*, (The Hague, 1950). The Vernon ms is now Bodleian MS Eng. poet a. 1.

[261] Oxford, Bodleian MS Eng. poet a. 1, fol. 367, lines 19-21.

[262] F. M. Mack, *Seinte Marherete*, EETS 193 (London, 1934), xiv, n4: 'The legends of the Katherine Group appear to have been written for delivery in church'.

> as his *Lives of the Saints*: a form of native eloquence which was to maintain its hold among preachers and writers well into the sixteenth century.[263]

Definition of cadence

That *A Talkyng* is introduced as *þis tretys in Cadence* substantiates the argument that late fourteenth century scribes, and readers, were well aquainted with cadence for rhetorical compositions, and misunderstood by modern scholars.

David Lawton proposes that L is divided according to *lectio*, as it is a manuscript for private use; and that T is punctuated according to *elocutio*, as they are intended to be read aloud; he then asserts that 'rhythmical clausulae' would seem most suitable for a text intended for oral delivery.[264] Lawton examines the witness in H, which presents the text in 'verse format, without punctuation', although its other content is in prose. Lawton wonders whether, in addition to verse and prose, he should include a third form, 'composition' (forming affinities with the Latin *compositio*).[265] He notes the use of 'rhyme for mnemonic and climactic effect',[266] but concentrates on the rhyme by following this with several examples of rhyming couplets in the treatise.

Cadence is a form of rhythmical prose. It divides the lines into syntactical units, which also correspond with the natural rhythm of, and creates pauses for, oral delivery. That the *Catechism* is presented in verse format in the earlier, northern witnesses

[263] *Ibid.,* xix.

[264] Lawton, 338-9.

[265] Lawton, 339.

[266] Lawton, 340.

ACHNOQVZ, but otherwise as prose, must represent Gaitrik's initial composition. However, the distinction is in the form, rather than the format, as the crucial feature of cadence is its punctuation, which is retained in the earlier witnesses irrespective of verse or prose presentation. Of the witnesses presented as prose, LPST are delineated as verse, and BDFGKLaMUXY retain evidence of medial and final pointing.[267] Two witnesses, AV, present the introductory matter as prose, but then present the tenets in a verse format. The shift from prose in A occurs once the tenets commence, 'þarfore onens þe first of þer sex thinges' (77), while in V the transition does not take place until line 177, 'þar er oþer seuen poyntes of Cristes manhede', although the punctuation of lines 77-177 correspond with that of Z. The change may have been made by the scribe of an earlier exemplar who realised the tenets were punctuated as cadence, and rearranged the presentation of his text accordingly, perhaps when a new folio was begun. As argued above, the introductory material in the *Catechism* was separate from the actual text. This point is made by the scribe of *A Talkyng*: *þis tretys in Cadence . after þe bignninge*. Therefore, the form and format of the preamble (and the format of the tenets) was inconsequential. Conversely, the form of the tenets was crucial. As Parkes notes, such was its importance to the construction of the text that 'Ælfric corrected the punctuation in a copy of his Catholic Homilies to emphasize the patterns of the rhetorical structure'.[268] Punctuation was therefore seen as vitally important by the scribes copying the text.

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[267] JW contain only end-line pointing, but these are much later versions.

[268] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 79. Ian Cornelius notes that 'the scribe was very consistent, omitting punctuation in less than 2% of lines'. Cornelius, 50.

Punctuation

The introduction of *A Talkyng* stipulates that the text must retain its punctuation and rhyme in the correct places in order for the text to be attractive to the reader. Margaret Morgan gives a detailed interpretation of the punctuation in *A Talkyng*, noting it corresponds with the 'sense unit', indicates 'that a climax has been reached', or 'was meant to indicate a 'rest''.[269]

The punctuation in the *Catechism* divides the lines into word patterns and sense units, directing where the intonation should fall during oral delivery. The *Catechism* has *positurae,* rather than the *caesurae* used to separate half-lines, as medial pointing which serves to divide the lines into semantic units:

> Þe first poynt þat we sal trowe ; of þe godhed.
> Is to trowe stedfastly ; in a trewe God / (83-4)

The lines are divided semantically, so that the first item of the Creed is introduced, followed by its subject, *þe godhed*, then the instruction *to trowe stedfastly*. Punctuation introduces pauses in a series:

> As bi sac*ri*lege or symony ; stulthe . falshed . okir . or oþ*ir* gylry (512)

Similarly, the sins are listed in two very short lines with pauses between each one:

> Pride. Envie ; Ire and Glotonye/

[269] Morgan, 161. Morgan relies on the punctuation as reproduced in Westra's edition of *A Talkying*, and had not examined any of the manuscripts.

Couetise Sleuth ; and Lecherie/ (450-1)

T renders a more appealing reading:

Pride ; enuy
wrath and glotony
couatis and slauth and licheri (Fol. 297r)

The following are traits associated with the sin of pride and the pointing is used to emphasize the increasing severity of each trait:

Boste & auauntinge ; and vnbouxomnesse/
Despite and ypocrisie ; and vnschamefulnesse/ (467-8)

so that whilst boasting and contempt are bad, *vnbouxomnesse* ('disobedience') is worse; despite and hypocracy are terrible, but *vnschamefulnesse* ('immodesty')is more wicked.

The majority of lines fall into regular two-stress half lines with irregular alliteration and frequent end-rhyme. However, there are lines with much less regular in stress patterns, such as *He rase fra ded to lyue, sothfast God & man in bodi & in saule* (144). In Z, medial pauses are marked by *punctus elevatus* (;) and final pauses by virgules (/). Only final pauses are marked in T. The retention of punctuation in T is evidence that the scribes involved in the initial copying of the *Catechism* fully understood its importance in the text. T retains sufficient punctuation for it to be associated with the witnesses presented in verse format, [270] and so the punctuation retained in Z must be close to that of Gaitrik's archetype.

[270] This was recognised by Simmons & Nolleth, who publish the *Catechism* as verse in their edition.

Certain sections of the text do come close to regular alliterative verse, or rhythmical alliterative prose, leading to attempts to categorise the *Catechism* as such. For example, W. W. Skeat, as quoted by Perry, identifies a short section of the text, lines 149-54, as either regular or unrhymed alliterative verse, which he then confesses to be '*perfect* as regards accent, *imperfect* as regards alliteration', with only line 151 deemed 'a nearly perfect line'.[271] Working with the V manuscript, Skeat presents lines 149-54 in support of his argument:

> Þe sext poynt is . þat we sal trowe
> Þ*a*t þe fo*ur*tyde day . aft*er* þat he rase,
> thurgh stre*n*gh of he*m*selfe . he steghed v*n*til heue*n*,
> whare oure kyn*n*de is now . i*n* his blyssed p*er*son,
> noght anely euen . ne mete til his au*n*gels,
> bot heghe corounde kynge . abouen all au*n*gels.[272]

The verse is punctuated in the same places as Z with the exception of line 153, in which the pause falls after *mete* in Z. Perry then proposes what he believes to be an 'even stronger passage than the one selected by Prof. Skeat' from L to demonstrate the *Catechism*'s verse:

> ...euynly to suffire . þe wele and þe waa,
> Welthe or wandreth whethire so betyde ...
> [and þat oure herte be noghte to hye
> for na wele fare ne ou*er* mekill vndire
> for nane euyll fare
> Bot] styffely for to stande . agaynes our faas,
> Whethir þay be bodyly . or þay be gastely,

[271] Perry, vi.

[272] Perry, vi.

Swa þat na fulle fandynge . make vs to falle,
Ne be false in oure faythe . agaynes God Almyghtty.[273]
(430-38)

However, Perry omits the text in square brackets so that the lines better support his argument.. In the manuscript, *þe sexte vertue es strenghe or stalworthnes noghte anely of body bot of herte and will euynly to suffire þe wele and þe waa* is one single, long line, although this may be attributed to the loss of *virgula*, which denotes line ends in L. Perry admits the lines are not representative of the text, and any alliterative patterns are often irregular (e.g. 435 is aa/xx). That Skeat and Perry had to carefully select passages to support their arguments shows that the *Catechism* is not what they had hoped it would be. We should remember that 'punctuation should be studied according to the ways it has been used rather than the ways some have thought it ought to have been used'[274]

Two lines which demonstrate the occasions when the *Catechism* is quite regular in its metre are:

W*ith*oute*n* any m*err*i*n*ge ; of hir modirhede
W*ith*oute*n* any menusi*n*ge ; of hir maidenhede/ (123-4)

Again, we have half-lines, each with two stresses, together with alliteration, parallelism and repetition. It should be noted that only BCHLTX retain lines 122-3 as above, at some point there was a loss of the half-lines 122b and 123a, reducing AGKLa to *Wythe-outen ani merring of hir madenhed*; while V emends *merringe* to *lettynge*, and N emends *merringe* to *lak* and *menusinge* to *eny blemysching*, resulting in the loss of

[273] Perry, vii.

[274] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, xi.

alliteration, parallelism and lexical repetition. This loss continues in the later, non-Northern witnesses:

> wiþ-owte ony [ony: *om.* W] blemyschynge of here mayden hede EJRW
> w*i*thowtyn lak or wem of hir maydynhed S
> with-oute lessy*i*nge or blymysshynge of her maydenhede Y

The loss of text and literary devices correlates with the chronological and geographical distance from Gaitrik's archetype, and the form of cadence now absent from these lines.

Implicit in Thoresby's instructions was that the *Catechism* was to be easily committed to memory. The formulaic nature of alliterative verse, the lifts and falls of stressed syllables and other constraints of consistent rhyme and metre, would not have permitted the variety of style found in the *Catechism* which is essential in making its contents easy to learn. The *Speculum Vitae*, for example, which contains similar material to the *Catechism*, is composed in rhyming couplets throughout and, aside from being considerably lengthier, is certainly not designed for uneducated parishioners, or those of little learning, to commit to memory. Without evidence of his other composition it is difficult to say with certainty, but a scribe 'whom God the lord of sciences has endowed with the flowers of eloquence' would have been capable of constructing a short text with more consistency had he chosen so to do.

Literary devices in the *Catechism*

Gaitrik uses a number of literary features, usually in conjunction with one another. The same devices occur in the cadence of

Ælfric, which is 'characterized by a heavy use of rhyme, parallelism, antithesis, alliteration, and, especially, rhythmical final clauses'.[275] The use of rhyme in the *Catechism* is relatively rare, and so its occurrences make it more pronounced.

There is end rhyme in the physical Works of Mercy (354-60):

Of whilk þe first is ; to fede þai*m* þat er hungry/
Þe toþ*ir* ; forto gyue þai*m* drynke þat er thristy/
Þe thrid forto cleth þai*m* ; þat er clathles/
Þe ferth forto herber þai*m* ; þat er houselesse/
Þe fifte forto visite þai*m* ; þat lyes in sekenesse/
Þe sexte forto help þai*m* ; þat in prisou*n* er/
Þe seuent forto biry dede me*n* ; þat has myster/

These lines follow a formula: 'Þe [number] forto [verb] þai*m* þat [are in a situation or lacking something]', and an element of alliteration (*cleth*/*clathles*, *herber*/*houselesse*). The same pattern is repeated in the spiritual Works of Mercy, which include the end rhymes *wille/ylle, sorrowful/sinful, mysdose vs/has greued vs,* and *here þaim/lere þaim* (366-73), and conclude with two rhyming couplets:

Þir til oure neiɜbo*ur* ; er ful nedeful/ (354-60)
And to þai*m* þat dos þai*m* ; wondir medeful/
For he sal fynd mercie ; þat merciful is/
And man wi*th*outen mercie ; of mercie sal mys/ (376-9)

Each couplet is divided so that the stress falls before the pause, putting emphasis on the phrase, rather than the lemma or syllable. In the second couplet, there is additional stress on the

[275] James Hurt, *Ælfric*, (New York, 1972) 126.

three occurrences of *mercie* as a result of word repetition, which is discussed below. The same lines occur in MS B.14.19 where the rubrication fails to reproduce the emphasis created by the medial and final pointing of the *Catechism*:

> Thes to owre neyborys are ful nedeful and to hem þat fulfylle hem ful medeful. For he shal fynd mercy that mercyful is. And man wyth-oute mercy of mercy shal mysse (fol. 223v)

Ælfric's regular prose has alliteration, and its 'chief patterning device is repetition'.[276] There is lexical repetition and like endings throughout the *Catechism*. Examples include the repetition of *aungelis* (153-5) *mercy* (164-5) and *godhede/manhede/godhed* (81-3) repeats at 145-6:

> For as he died i*n* sekenes ; of our*e* manhede/
> Sa he rase thurghe stre*n*gthe ; of his godhede/
> & sa distroide oure deed ; thurgh his deynge/
> And quykned vs to þe life ; thurgh his vprisi*n*g/ (145-8)

Parallels may be drawn in these lines between the verbs *died* & *rase*, and *distroide* & *quykned*; the contrast of *sekenes* with *strengthe*, and *deed* with *life*; and the repeated prepositions *of* and *thurgh* in the first two and second two lines respectively. The following brace of couplets is a prime example of the use of multiple literary devices:

> Sa þ*a*t we trowe not of his name ; bot it be stedfast/
> Þ*a*t we sai noȝt in his name ; bot it be sothfast/
> Þ*a*t we swere not his name ; bot bihouely/

[276] Hurt, 124.

Þat we neuen not his name ; bot worshipfully/ (182-5)[277]

The repetition of *þat we...not... his name*, a pause, and *bot*, create formulaic phrase which, with the additional end rhyme, produces a very memorable stanza. Another example is the almost identical repetition of , *for-to here þaim / for-to lere þaim* (373-4).

Another patterning device is found in the replication of the opening lines to the six tenets. Each begins in a similar way, with a repetitive forumula for the first half-lines, absolute repetition from the second to fifth tenets, and a *punctus elevatus* creates a pause before the second half-lines:

Þe first poynt þat we sal trowe ; of þe godhed (82)
Þe secound thing of þe sex ; to knawe God almyɜty (166)
Þe thrid thing of þe sex ; [þat I first touchid] (268)
Þe ferth thing of þe sex ; to knawe God almyɜty (348)
Þe fifte thing of þe sex ; to knawe God almyɜty (380)
Þe sext thing & þe laste ; of þas I first touchid (446)

Z emends the the second half of line 268 to read 'to knawe God almyɜty', which the most reworked witnesses either support (BLaU), or omit entirely (RW). The line is retained by LT, and all other witnesses agree (Y emends the half-line to 'þat we sholde knowen by God almyghty' and so is in agreement with the northern witnesses). Lines 268 and 446 therefore form part of the pattern of repetition created to connect each tenet and providing cohesion throughout the text.

[277] Whilst beneficial to the reader, such repetition might also cause scribal eyeskip, which is the case with CEGLNTW, all of which have lost line 183.

The consequence of repetition is monotony, which Gaitrik avoids by introducing stylistic devices, particularly rhyming couplets and like endings. The effect retains the audience's attention, and aids in making the tenets easier to remember.

Cadence, as a form for rhetorical compositions, must have been prolific during the late fourteenth century and a popular style which thrived in the metropolitan and provincial centres of manuscript production. As the text continues to be copied in the later fifteenth century, there is a decline in retention of punctuation. This may be attributable to the influence of French prose literature and its effect on the trend for prosified texts or, perhaps, the gradual loss of punctuation was caused by lack of attention by copyists. As the Catechism continued into the fifteenth century it shifted from Gaitrik's composition as a sermon-like text, losing its rhetorical function, while retaining the content which contributed to its popularity. Understood by medieval scribes, misunderstood by modern scholars, the cadence of Gaitrik's composition can now be given due recognition.

Distribution and circulation

Thoresby's instructions for the distribution of the *Catechism* are explicit.[278] The tenets were to be circulated via the church's hierarchy initially to the archeacons, then to all the clergy with care of souls, who should in turn instruct and examine their parishioners. Finally, the laity had responsibility for teaching the tenets to others in their household.

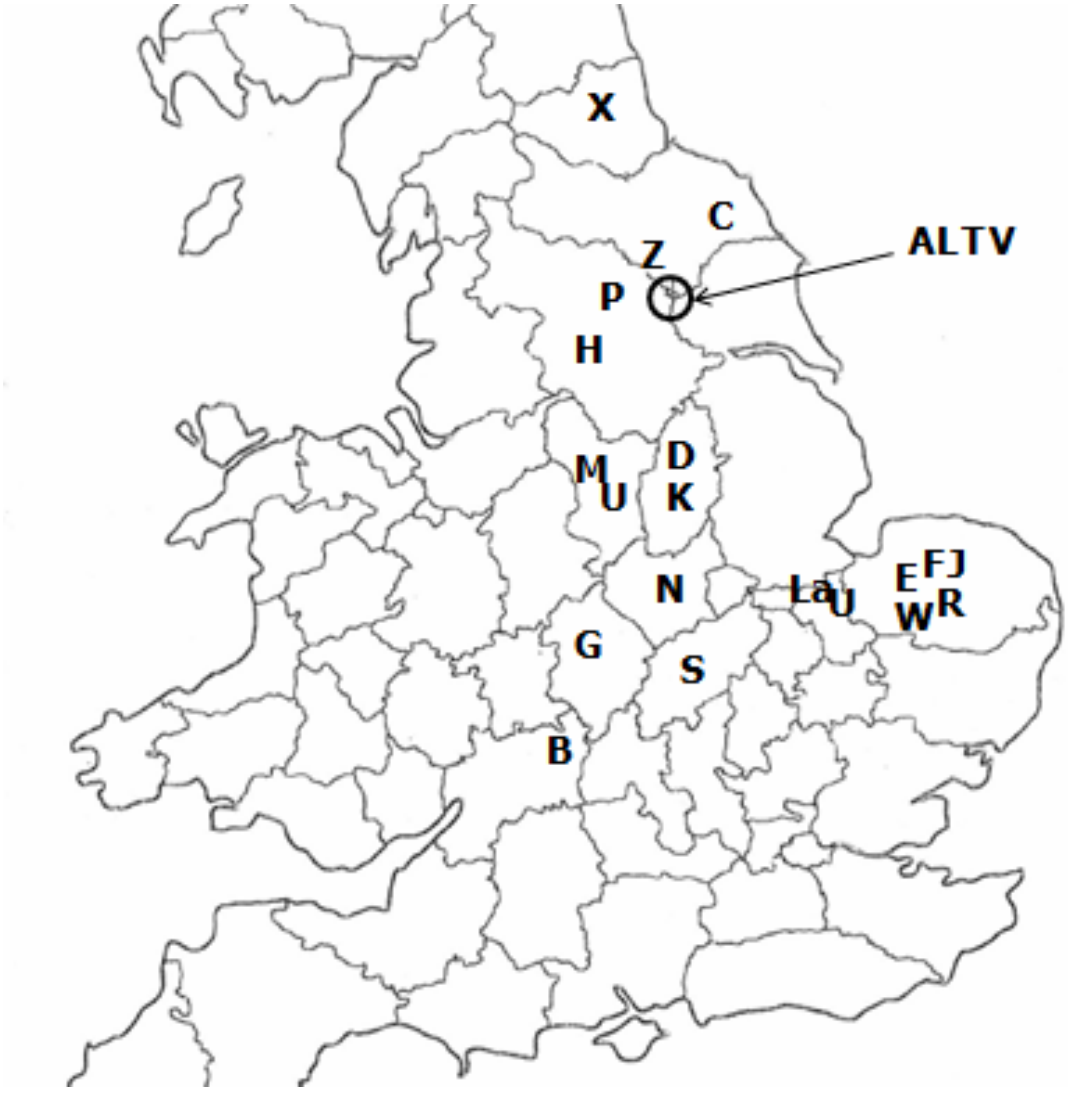


Fig. 2 Tentative locations for the *Lay Folks' Catechism*[279]

[278] Reg. 11, fols. 295r.

[279] The Northern fragments OQ are unmapped.

Fig. 2 shows the approximate distribution of the Catechism according to scribal dialect. It should be noted that the dialect of the scribe is not necessarily the witness's place of copying, e.g. Thomas of Aldefeld has been identified as having a dialect in the proximity of Ripon, although he must have been working in York when he copied the *Catechism* later bound in to the T manuscript. Similarly, L has also been sited at York on the assumption that Thornton made his copy whilst there, rather than at his family home in Lincolnshire. As such, the map is only an indication of where the *Catechism* circulated and survived due to being either bound or copied into manuscripts. Nevertheless, the *Catechism* appears to have been successfully circulated through most of the Northern Province.

The Northern witnesses

York served as a convenient hub for the copying and distribution of the *Catechism*. St Mary's Abbey, located to the north of the Ouse, was only three miles up river from the archbishop's residence, Bishopsthorpe Palace. Were the *Catechism* to be taken back and forth between the two locations until everyone was satisfied that it was ready for circulation then the location of the abbey was ideal. The city was centrally located for the archdeacons collect copies of the *Catechism* in bundles for onward transmission, and they may also have been involved in arranging for further copies of the *Catechism*. As Vincent Gillespie confirms, the archdeacons held exemplars for priests to copy:

> During the [thirteenth century] most dioceses had developed networks for the distribution of legislation:

> archdeacons held the exemplars from which priests were expected to copy the decrees. The copies were, on occasion, to be brought to convocations where the texts would be corrected and updated, and where the priest might be examined in his knowledge of them The archdeacons acted in effect as diocesan 'stationers'. This network for text distribution and copying was perhaps used for the dissemination of Archbishop Thoresby's decrees.[280]

York was well connected with all the major northern towns. In addition, a system of navigable rivers provided access to towns and villages inaccessible by the road network. Despite this, the Pennines hindered the distribution of the *Catechism* westwards, with only three routes providing crossings at the 'Stainmore Pass, Wensledale, and the Aire-Ribble gap'.[281] All three were notoriously difficult to traverse, particularly in the winter when the *Catechism* was initially disseminated. Further, parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland fell into the diocese of Carlisle, and the part of Lancashire south of the Ribble was in the archdeaconry of Chester, and therefore under the Lichfield diocese.[282] Not only were these areas beyond Thoresby's jurisdiction, the remaining parishes came under the archdeaconry of Richmond. There had been long standing disputes concerning the Richmond archdeacons' jurisdiction, and they were 'virtually

[280] Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular books of religion' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, (Cambridge, 1989) 317-44, at 317; see also Powell, 'Transmission and Circulation', 79 n50.

[281] *YW*, 54.

[282] Alexander Hamilton Thompson,'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York' in *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 71:1 (1914), 97-154 at 101.

extra-diocesan'.[283] Unless Thoresby had been able to resolve these issues, any continuing resentments may have contributed to that archdeacon's disrupting the archbishop's intentions. Whether this was the case, no extant witnesses survive further west than the North West Riding of Yorkshire. Without evidence to the contrary, we can conclude that the *Catechism* successfully circulated, with the exception of the North West, throughout the Northern Province.

The non-Northern witnesses

That the *Catechism* flourished beyond the Northern Province is due to some extent to its circulating in the company of more sophisticated devotional texts, in particular, the vernacular works of the Yorkshire writers Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton. Rolle produced comptemplative texts for Margaret Butler of Kirby in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* was composed for an anchoress, with Book 1 written shortly after her admittance and Book 2, which is more theologically developed, some time later. His *Epistle of the Mixed Life* was written for a wealthy patron attracted to the mystical life. Richard of St Victor, whose work influenced Rolle and Hilton, writing in the twelfth century, produced two comprehensive contemplative texts particulary focused on the development of one's virtues. One of these, *Benjamin Minor*, was translated into English in the fourteenth century, is an allegory aimed at a female readership found in the northern GHPX and, of course, F.[284] Another devotional text devised for a female lay audience, *Þe Abbey of the Holy Gost* occurs in the northern C and L

[283] *Ibid*, 101.

[284] The other being *Benjamin Major*.

manuscripts as well as in J. It is followed in J by its companion text, *Þe Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Gost*, also in W. Although neither the *Abbey* texts nor *Benjamin Minor* are northern compositions, they do demonstrate the popularity of vernacular mystical writings, and that this coincided with, and contributed to, the circulation of the *Catechism* for a pious lay readership. Rollean texts appear in the northern CHLPX and non-Northern FGJ, while Hilton's works are found in FHKLPW. Another Northern text, the *Pricke of Conscience*, survives in LP (and the East Anglian F). This attests to an East Anglian audience receptive to northern texts composed for the pious laity.

Fig. 2 suggests that the *Catechism* was being copied and distributed in two clearly defined regions beyond the Northern Province. DKMNSU form a distinct East Midlands group, with BG providing a connection to the West Midlands centres of production. Worcester and Hereford, for instance, were major centres of manuscript production in the early fourteenth century.[285] EFJLaRWY are clustered in the eastern counties encompassing Cambridge, Ely and the Soke of Peterborough, and East Anglia. These witnesses suggest the *Catechism*'s popularity in a region where Lollardy was rife (as has already been noted, ERW censor the reference to indulgences at the end of the *Catechism*). The Y manuscript has associations with Syon Abbey, but but not a southern production, nor is there any evidence for the *Catechism* being copied in the south.

The south

The most viable explanation for the failure of the *Catechism* to spread in the south is that its contents were already available in

[285] *YW*, 92.

other texts. One such text is John Mirk's *Manuale sacerdotis*, which contains material similar to the *Catechism* with the addition of the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Creed. The *Manuale* was also contemporary to the *Catechism*, circulating 'probably at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century'.[286] It is significant that the *Manuale* was Latin, as it was intended for a priestly audience, and it doubtless generated vernacular translations. Another text, in the vernacular, is the *Quattour sermones*, which contains the Pater Noster, Creed, Ten Commandments, Sacraments, Deeds of Mercy, Deadly Sins, the Five Senses, the Nine Pains of Hell, the Joys of Heaven, and concludes with a section on Contrition, Confession and Satisfaction. The *Quattour sermones* begins like the *Catechism*, with the reference to Peter the Lombard, but then amalgamates with another, similar work. Blake has suggested the *Speculum Christiani* and the *Pore Caitiff* which 'formed the basis of many manuals of religious instruction in the South of England just as the *Catechism* did in the North, the *Quattour sermones* may be said to amalgamate these two traditions.'[287] The *Quattour sermones* was clearly very popular in the south, where it was printed in several editions at the same time that the *Catechism* was circulating in the north and midlands.[288] The southern

[286] Susan Powell, 'John to John: The Manuale Sacerdotis and the daily life of a parish priest' in *Recording Medieval Lives*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 17 (2009), 112-129 at 112.

[287] Blake continues to say that 'the best and closest to QS is probably Trinity College Cambridge MS B.14.19 foll. 194-237v of East Anglian provenance' which, he determines, is 'much wordier than QS'. Norman Francis Blake, ed. *Quattuor Sermones*, Middle English Texts, (Heidelberg, 1975) 15-16.

[288] 'There are at least twenty-one editions or fragments of editions of the *Quattuor Sermones* extant.' Alexandra de Costa, 'From Manuscript into Print: The *Quattuor Sermones*, the four

audience was therefore no less devout than those where the *Catechism* circulated, but any demand for basics of faith texts was satisfied by works already available.

Even though the *Catechism* itself did not travel as far south as Oxford, its fame certainly did. Booklet II of Cambridge, Trinity College, B.14.50 contains a tract in defence of vernacular translations of Scripture. The tract begins 'Aȝens hem þat seyn þat hooli wryt schulde not or may not be drawu*n* in to engliche: we maken þes resouns'.[289] B.14.50 is a fifteenth century production, with the tract itself being translated from the Latin original of Richard Ullerston (d. 1423):[290]

> Bone memorie dominus Willelmus [sic] Thoresbi archiepiscopus Eborancensis quartus a presenti fecit fieri per quendam reuerendum uirum cognomento Gaitrik quendam tractatum conscriptum in uulgari in quo continentur articuli fidei in quo eciam de septem peccatis mortalibus pertractatur de septem operibus misericordie quem tractatumper paginas precepit laicis ad eorum

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sermons and the *Nova Festa*', *Medium Aevum* 79 (2010), 47-67, at 64 n31.

[289] MS B.14.50, fol. 26v.

[290] 'Also Sire Wiliam [sic] Thorisby, Erchebischop of ȝork, did do to drawe a tretys in Englisce be a worschipful clerk wos name was Gaytrik, in þe wiche weren conteyned þe articulis of feiþ, seuene dedli synnes, þe werkes of mercy, and þe ten comandementes'. Powell, 'Transmission and Circulation', 76 n34. The tract is edited by C. F. Bühler 'A Lollard Tract: on translating the Bible into English' in *Medium Ævum*, 7 (1938), 167-83; also IPMEP, 15 no. 7.

instructionem. (Vienna, Hofbibliothek MS 4133, fol. 198vb)[291]

Powell suggests that Ullerston was writing in Oxford 'probably before 1407'.[292] Despite Thoresby being mistakenly referred to as 'William' in both the Latin and the English texts, that Ullerston records the names of both author and composer suggests that they continued to be associated with the *Catechism*.

The Benedictines

At this point, we must consider whether the Benedictines were involved in distributing the *Catechism*. Although there was a condition for the Benedictines to participate in the education and edification of the laity as part of their Rule, there were no obligations for them to be involved in distributing the *Catechism*. The most northerly extant witness X was in the possession of Richard Segbrok of the Durham Cathedral Priory. Durham was a peculiar and therefore outside the direct control of the Archbishop of York, so the *Catechism* could have been taken north by a fellow Benedictine. However, the number of Benedictine houses in the Northern Province was relatively low in comparison with elsewhere. In the same correspondence requesting Gaitrik to produce the text, Thoresby proposes its circulation via the archdeacons. The Benedictines may therefore have considered its distribution to be the Church's responsibility. From the above evidence, we can only conclude that the Benedictines had little involvement in the circulation of the *Catechism*.

[291] Quoted in Powell, 'Transmission and Circulation', 76 n34.

[292] Powell, 'Transmission and Circulation', 75.

Ownership and readership

The earlier, Northern extant witnesses represent the intended audience, clergy with responsibility for cure of souls. The provenance and purpose of T is known. An inscription in Z, 'Dominus Johannes Coldane of Pos<inglet?>' (fol. 170r) supports its being in the possession of secular clergy. The witnesses CHX are in manuscripts once in the possession of regular clergy: the C manuscript bears the inscription 'Liber beate Marie de Rievalle ex procuracione domini Willelmi Spenser, Abbotis eiusdem' (fols. 2v and 274v); H bears the signature 'Thomas Clerkson [do]minus' and mentions 'Damsonen Selfield', both in same hand (fol. 15 bis^{v}); and the X manuscript belonged to Richard Segbrok, monk at Durham Cathedral Priory.[293] The earlier provenance of the V manuscript is unknown, but it was donated to Canon John Laughton (librarian at Trinity College Cambridge from the late 1670s), presumably by a member of the secular clergy.[294] The early provenance of A is also unknown. However, that the manuscript is written in a secretary hand suggest that it was owned and used by a 'clerical tutor or school teacher'.[295] P bears an inscription on the front flyleaf '<O>biit dominus Iohannes Marchal', a residential canon of York.

Of the non-Northern manuscripts, F bears no inscription indicative of ownership. However, it is almost identical in content to P, from which we might infer that F was requisitioned by a member of the clergy. The manuscript is a much used volume, and I would therefore suggest that F was used as a teaching aid, and in all likelihood by a cleric. Another two manuscripts may be deemed to have been in the possession of

[293] Doyle, 'A Survey', I, 117-8.

[294] Doyle, 'A Survey', I, 117-8.

[295] Powell, 'Transmission and Circulation', 74 n27, quoting Doyle.

secular clergy, given their inscriptions: the first is in a fifteenth century hand on a flyleaf in R, 'Iste liber Constat Domino (Johanni Treve) cum gaudio & honore'; and the second, 'Sum Iohannis Pilkingtoni Dunelmensis : ex dono Dominici Henrici Wanless clerici 1594' on folio 1r of S. The booklet in La containing the reworked *Catechism* must have been in secular or regular clerical ownership before it was received by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. Whilst the U manuscript was once a single codex, its division into three separate volumes has caused the loss of the original folios 1 & 2. Consequently, the beginning of the first text of the manuscript is missing, along with any potential indication of its early provenance. However, the extreme similarity of the La and U witnesses (and the contents of both) would indicate that the latter too was originally in the possession of the clergy. The K manuscript bears the name 'Dan Adam Reyd' (p. 36, s.xv^{ex}-xvi hand), suggesting monastic ownership, and Doyle has indicated that E, a collection of devotional treatises, was also a monastic manuscript.[296] There is no evidence for the early provenance of either B or W, although their content points to clerical ownership. G is in the hand of the Augustinian John Cok and was taken to Paris by the canon regular Richard Augustine Hay during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Y manuscript also had monastic connections, and bears the inscription 'by Syr. N. N. brothire and prest of the Monastery of Syon' (fol. 5r).

Private ownership of the *Catechism* meant that the children and domestic staff of those households could be given an elementary religious education, satisfying the responsibility of those within the household for their schooling. Two manuscripts whose provenance is known, L and N, provide evidence that the *Catechism* was received into a domestic setting for this very

[296] Doyle, 'A Survey', I, 117-8.

purpose. The N manuscript is associated with the Fitzhugh family, in particular Lady Elizabeth Fitzhugh, daughter of Lord Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough. As the Thorntons and Fitzhughs were wealthy and educated, there can be no reason for their requiring a copy of the *Catechism* other than for the education of youngest members of the family and the domestic staff in their household. Gaitrik is explicit that the *Catechism* was intended for use by everyone, clergy and lay people, with responsibility for the religious education of others. The obligation for the ordained to *Teche & preche þaim þat þai haue cure of* (49) is extended to their parishioners, who were encouraged to *sithen teche þaim þair childir if þai any haue* (63). The line is expanded to include *& her seruauntis* in S and *maynys* ('household servants') in Y.

The circulation of the *Catechism* across the Northern Province was sufficient that it was being copied, and preserved, quite contemporaneously, and its early ownership determined as proximate to its intended audience, the northern clergy. Presently it moved into the ownership of the more devout lay folk, and continued to be in use by the clergy and laity actively involved in the spiritual instruction of others. The survival of the *Catechism* was dependent to some extent on the more sophisticated vernacular devotional texts with which it travelled, although it did so entirely due to its own worthiness. It is written in English, for oral delivery, so as to be understood by all, irrespective of its audience's level of education. The brevity of the *Catechism* allowed it to be copied and circulated widely, and where it did so, perhaps sometimes in pamphlet form, its ownership extended to those unable to invest in an entire manuscript. The reception of *Catechism* was governed in part by its form, cadence, and its form determined by its intention.

Editorial procedure

The Text

This edition is based on the text as it appears in Oxford, Bodleian MS Don.c.13 (Z). All copies inevitably contain errors. Those with the fewest errors are LTZ, of which Z has been selected as the 'base' text for this edition. Agreement of LTZ generally establishes the text; on the other hand, when LT agree against Z, this generally indicates that Z is corrupt and needs to be emended. This is sometimes confirmed when LT offer better sense or present a reading closer to that of the original or supported by alliteration. All emendations are discussed in the notes.

Abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the scribe's usual spelling practice and are italicised. Final curls on –r representing final <e> are expanded as –r*e*; similarly, curls representing plurals are expanded as –*es*. The scribe consistently uses the *nomina sacra Ihu*, which is expanded to Ih*es*u. Scribal emendations have been preserved.

Capitalisation, punctuation, and word division are modern. The scribe's marginal text markers (either Arabic numerals or Latin headings) are retained, as are running titles.

` '	Marginal and interlinear scribal insertions are always marked by a caret in the manuscript, and are presented here between forward and reverse primes
(...)	Lacuna are indicated by an ellipsis between round brackets

[ ] Editorial additions or alterations are marked by square brackets

eras. erasure

illeg. illegible

Variant apparatus

I have treated as variant readings words that are distinguished by MED, which does not include: als/also/so; til/to; forto/to; etc.

~~dedyn~~ Scribal deletions are struck through

he Subpuncted text is presented with broken underlining

] single square brackets separates lemma from variants

† A single dagger directs the reader to Appendix B, where significant variants longer than an additional line are recorded from ABCEGHLNRSTVWXY

‡ A double dagger directs the reader to Appendix C, where significant variants longer than an additional line are recorded from LaU

[162va]Et est *secundo* s*entencia* dis*tinctione* prima
Als þ*a*t a grete clerk shewis in his boke:
Of alle þe cre*atur*es þ*a*t God made, i*n* heue*n* [and] i*n* erth,
In wat*ir* or in ayre, or in oɜte elles,
Þe souerayn cause & þe skil whi þ*a*t [He] made þai*m*
Was his awne gode wille and his godenesse;
Thurgh whilk godenes, as he is al gode,
He wald þ*a*t som creatures of þa þat he made
War*e* comuners of þe blis þat eu*er*-mare lastes.
And for na creat*ur*e myɜte com to þat blis
W*ith*-oute*n* knawyng of [God], as [þat] clerk techis,[297]
He made skilwis cr*e*atures, au*n*gels and man,
Of witte & of wisdome to knawe God al-myɜty,
And thurghe þair knawyng, lofe hi*m* & s*er*ue hi*m*,
And sa to com to þ*a*t blis \þat/ þai war*e* made to.
Þis man*ir* of knawy*n*ge had oure forme-faders
In þe state of innocence þ*a*t þai war*e* made in,
An sa suld we haue had, [if] þai [had] not synned;
Not sa mykil as haly saules has now i*n* heue*n*,
Bot mykil mare þan ma*n* has now in erth.
For our*e* form-faders sy*n*ned, sais þe p*ro*phet,[298]
And we ber*e* þe wickidnes of þair mysded.
For þe knawi*n*g þ*a*t þai had of God almyghty
Þai had it of Goddis gifte at þaire bigynnyng,
W*ith*-outen trauel or trey, or passyng of tyme,
& al þe knawynge þ*a*t we haue in þis werld of hym
Is of heri*n*ge & lerny*n*ge and techi*n*ge of oþer
Of þe lawe & þe lare þat langis til Haly Kirke.

[297] *Marg*.: vbi sup*ra*

[298] *Marg*.: termino vltimo

Þe whilk [alle] cre*at**ur*e[s] þat loues God almyɜty
Aght to knawe*n* & to ku*n*ne & lede þair life eft*ir*
And sa com to þ*a*t blis þat neu*ir*-mar*e* bly*n*nes.
& for-þi þ*a*t mykil folc nowe in þis werlde
Ne is [noɜt] wele ynoghe lered to knawe God almyɜty,
[162vb]Ne lou[e] hi*m* ne seru[e] hi*m* as þai sulde do
As þair dedis oft-sithis openly shewis,
In grete p*er*il to þaime to life & to sawel -
And p*ar*au*nter* þe defaute fallis in þai*m*
Þat has þair sawles to kepe & suld teche þai*m,*
As p*re*lates, p*ar*sones, vicares, & p*re*stes,
Þat er halden bi dett for-to lere þaime -
Oure fadir þe erchebisshop - þ*a*t God almyɜty saue -
Þat, as Saynte Paul sais of Ihesu Crist,
Wille þ*a*t alle men be saue & knawe God almyɜty,
& namely þas vndirloutis þ*a*t til hi*m* langis,[299]
Has tretid & ordened for comou*n* p*ro*fit
Thurghe [þe] \cou*n*sel of his clergy/
Þ*a*t ilkane þ*a*t v*n*dir hi*m* has kepi*n*g of saules
Openly on Inglishe apon Su*n*dais
Teche & p*re*che þai*m* þ*a*t þai haue cure of
Þe lawe & þe lar*e* to knawe God almyɜty.
Þ*a*t p*ri*ncipaly may be shewid i*n* þir sex thi*n*gis:
In þe foure*t*en poy*n*tes þ*a*t fallis to þe trouth;
In þe ten comau*n*dem[e]*n*tis þ*a*t God has gyue*n* vs;
In þe seuen sac*ra*m[e]*n*tis þat er in Haly Kirke;
In þe seue*n* dedis of m*er*cy til oure euen-C*ri*ste*n*;
In þe seue*n* v*ir*tues þat ilke man sal vse;
& i*n* þe seue*n* dedely sy*n*nes þ*a*t ilk ma*n* sal refuse.
And he comau*n*dis & biddis in al þ*a*t he may
Þ*a*t alle þ*a*t [has] kepi*n*g [or] cure vndir hym

[299] *Marg*.: P*aulus* ad Thi*m*o secundo ca*pitulo*

Enioyne þair p*ar*ishynes & þair sugettes
Þ*a*t þai her*e* & lere þir ilke sex thynges,
& oft-sithis r*e*herce þai*m* til [þat] þai ku*n*ne þai*m*
And sithen teche þai*m* [þair] childir, if þai any haue,
What tyme sa þai er of elde for-to ler*e* þai*m*
And þ*a*t p*ar*sones & vicar*e*s & alle p*ar*ische p*re*stes
Enquer*e* diligently of þair sugettes
In þe Lenten tyme whe*n* þai com to shrifte
Whe*þir* þai knawe & ku*n*ne þir sex thi*n*gis.
& if it be fu*n*den þ*a*t þai kan þai*m* not
Þ*a*t þai enioyne þai*m* apon his bihalue,
And of payn of penau*n*ce for-to kun þai*m*
And for-þi þat [nane] sal excuse þaime
[Thurgh] vnknawelegyng for-to kun þai*m*,
Our*e* fadir þe erchebisshop, of his godenes,
Has ordened & biden þ*a*t þai be shewid
Openly on Inglishe omanges þe folke.
Wharfore anence þe first of þir sex thi*n*gis
Þ*a*t is to knawe þe articlis þ*a*t fallis to þe trouth,
As g*re*te clerkis techis & shewis i*n* þair bokis,
Þar*e* falles to þe faith fo*ur*tene poyntes,
[163ra]Of þe whilke seuen fallis to Goddis godhede,
And oþ*ir* seuen fallis to Cristis manhede.

1 Þe first poynt þ*a*t we sal trowe of þe godhed
Is to trowe stedfastly in a trewe God,[300]
And þ*a*t nan oþir is to trowe in.

2 Þe toþ*ir* is þ*a*t þe hie fadir of heuen
Is stedfast & sothfast God almyghty.

3 Þe thrid is þ*a*t Ih*es*u C*ri*st, Goddis son of h\e/ue*n*,
Is sothfast[ly] God euen til his fadir.

4 Þe ferth poynt is þ*a*t þe Haly Gaste

[300] *Marg*.: art*iculus* fidei

Þat sa*m*nely comes of bath þe Fadir & þe Son
Is sothfast God and euen to þai*m* bathe;
And þe-wheþ*ir* not twa Goddis, þe Fadir & þe Son,
Ne thr*e* Goddis, þe Fadir & þe Son & þe Haly Gaste,
Bot thr*e* sere p*er*sones & noȝt bot a God.
5 Þe fift poy*n*t is þ*a*t þe T*ri*nite, Fadir & Son & Hali Gast,
Thr*e* p*er*sones & a God \is/ maker of heue*n* & erth & [of] al thi*n*g*es*.
6 Þe sext poynt is þ*a*t Haly Kirk oure modir
Is haly & al ane thurgh out þe werlde,
Þ*a*t [is] comuny*n*g & felured of alle Cristen [folke]
Þat comunes to-gidir in þe sacramentis,
And in oþir haly thi*n*gis þat fallis til Hali Kirk,
In forgifnes of sy*n*nes & heel of þair saulis,
For w*ith*-oute*n* Haly Kirk is na saule heel.
7 Þe seuent article þat vs awe to trowe
Is vprising [of] fleshe & life w*ith*-outen end;
For when \ded/ has su*n*drid our bodies [and] our saulis
For a c*er*teyn tyme, as our kynde askis,
Vn-to [when] þ*a*t God sal deme þe quyk & þe deed,
Þan our*e* saulis [sal] t*ur*ne agayne til our bodies,
& we þas ilc & nan oþ*ir* þan we er nowe
Sothfastly sal rise vp in body & in saule
Þ*a*t neu*er* mar*e* sal su*n*dir fra þat tyme furth,
[Bot] sa*m*ne if we wele do whils we [er] here,
Wende w*ith* God to þ*a*t blis þat eu*er*mare lastis
And als if we yuel do to endles pyne.
Þar*e* er oþ*ir* seue*n* poy*n*tes of Cristis manhede
Þ*a*t er nedeful to trowe til alle þ*a*t [er Cristen].
1 Þe first is þ*a*t Ihe*s*u C*ri*st, Goddis son of heuen,
Was sothfastly co*n*ceyued of þe maiden Mary,
And toke fleshe & blode & bicome man
Thurgh myȝte & strengthe of þe Haly Gaste,

W*ith*oute*n* any me*rri*nge of hir modirhede,
W*ith*oute*n* any [mynnyng] of hir maidenhede.

2 Þe toþ*ir* poynte þat we sal trowe
Þ*a*t he, God & man bath in a p*er*sone,
[163rb]Was sothfastly born of þat blissid maiden;
God geten of his fadir [before] any tyme,
And man born of his modir & broȝt furth i*n* tyme.

3 Þe thrid poy*n*t þ*a*t we sal trow is C*ri*stis passiou*n*
Þ*a*t he tholed bodily for sy*n*ful [man]-kynde,
Hou he was t*ra*yed w*ith* his disciple, & take*n* w*ith* Iewis
Beten w*ith* sco*ur*gis þ*a*t na skyn helde,
Nailid [on] þe rode , & crouned w*ith* thornes,
& many oþ*ir* hard paynes, & died at þe last.

4 Þe ferth article is þ*a*t when he was dede,
And his body taken dou*n* & wo*n*den & doluen
Ȝit þe whils þ*a*t [his] body lay in þe graue,
Þe soule w*ith* þe Godhed wente vn-to helle
& heride it & toke out þas þat war*e* his,
As Ad*a*m & Eue & oþir forme-fadres
Whilke he in his forloke wald þ*a*t ware saued.

5 Þe fifte poy*n*t is þ*a*t on þe thrid day eft*ir* þ*a*t he died,
He rase f*ra* ded to lyue, sothfast God & ma*n* i*n* bodi & i*n* saule;
For as he died i*n* sekenes of our*e* manhede,
Sa he rase thurghe stre*n*gthe of his Godhede,
& sa distroide oure deed thurgh his deynge
And quykned vs to þe life thurgh his risi*n*g.

6 Þe sext poynt is þat we sal trowe
Þ*a*t þe fo*ur*tied day eft*ir* þat he rase,
Thurgh strengthe of him-seluen he stied in-til heuen,
Whare our*e* ky*n*de is nowe i*n* his blissed p*er*sone,
Not anely euen ne mete til his au*n*gelis,
Bot hie crouned kynge abouen alle au*n*gelis,

Þat bifore tyme was lesse þan ki*n*de of au*n*gelis.
7 Þe seue*n*t poynt is þ*a*t riȝt as he died
And eftirwarde ras & stied in-til heuen,
Riȝt sa sal he com apon þe laste day
Bath for-to deme þe quyk and þe deed,
Whar*e* alle þe folc þ*a*t eu*er* was or is or sal be
Sal sothfastly be shewid & seen bifore hi*m*;
And ilc man answer of his awne dedis,
& be da*m*pned or saued whe*þir*-sa he s*er*ues.
For as his riȝtwisnes is now me*n*gid w*ith* mercy
Sa sal it þan be with-outen mercy.
Þe secou*n*d thi*n*g of þe sex to knawe God almyȝty
Is þe ten comau*n*deme*n*tis þ*a*t he has gyue*n* vs;
Of [þe] whilke ten, þe thre [þat er] firste
Awe vs haly to hald anentis oure God,
And þe seuen þat er eft*ir* anentis our*e* eue*n*-C*ri*sten.
1 Þe firste comau*n*deme*n*t chargis vs & techis
Þ*a*t we leue ne loute na false goddis
[163va]And in þis comau*n*deme*n*t is forboden vs
Alkyn mysbileue[s] and alle mawmetries;
Alle fals enchau*n*tementis & alle sorceries;
Alle fals charmes and alle wichecraftes;
And alle fals coniurisou*n*s and alle wickid craftes
Þat men of mysbileue traistis apon,
Or hopis any helpe in w*ith*outen God almyghty.
2 Þe secou*n*de comau*n*dement biddis [vs] not take
In Idilship ne in vayn þe name of oure God,
Sa þ*a*t we trowe not [in] his name bot [þat is] stedfast;
Þ*a*t we sai noȝt in his name bot it be sothfast;
Þ*a*t we swere not [bi] his name bot bihouely;
[And] þ*a*t we neuen not his name bot worshipfully.
3 Þe thrid is þ*a*t we sal hald & halow oure haly [day],
[þe] Sunday & alle oþir þat fallis to þe ȝere,

Þat er ordeyned to [halowe] thurgh Haly Kirke.
In whilk daies alle folke, lerid & lewid,
Awe to gife þai*m* godely to Goddis seruyse;
To [here] it [and] [sai] it eft*ir* þaire state is
In worship of God almyȝty & of his halowis,
Not þan for-to tente [to tary] with þe werlde,
Ne lyue in liki*n*g [ne] luste þat þe fleshe ȝernes,
Bot gladly to se*r*ue God in clennes of life.
4 Þe ferth biddis vs do worship to fadir & to modir,
Not anely to flesshely fadir and modir
Þat getis vs & forsters vs furth in þe warlde,
Bot til oure gastely faderis þat has hede of vs,
And techis vs hou to life til hele of oure saulis;
And til oure gastely modir þat is Haly Kirke,
To be buxome þ*ar*-to and saue þe riȝte of it
For it is modir til alle þat C*ri*stenly lyues.
And sa to ilk man þat worshipful is
For-to do worship eft*ir* þat [it] is.
5 Þe fifte biddis [vs] þ*a*t we sla na man,
Þat is at sai bodily ne gastely nowþir,
For als many we sla in þat þat we may
As we sklau*n*dir or [bacbite] or falsely diffames,
Or fandis to confou*n*de þai*m* þat noȝt se*r*ues,
Or withdrawis lyuelade fra þai*m* þat nede has
If we be of hauy*n*ge for-to helpe þai*m*.
6 Þe sexte comau*n*dement forbiddis vs to syn
Or for-to foly fleshely with any wo*m*man,
Ouþir sib or fre*m*med, weddid or vnweddid,
Or any fleshely knawynge or dede haue wi*th* any
Oþir þan þe sacrament of mat*ri*moigne excusis
And þe lawe and þe lare [of] Haly Kirke techis.
7 [163vb]Þe seuent comau*n*deme*n*t biddis vs not stele;
In whilk is forboden robbi*n*g & reuynge,

Al wrangwis takyng or withaldynge,
Or hidi*n*g or helyng of oþ*ir* mennes godis,
Agaynes þair witt & þair wille, þ*a*t has riȝt to þai*m*.
8 Þe aghtned biddis vs [þat we shal] bere
Na fals witnesse agaynes our*e* euen-C*ri*sten,
In whilk is forboden vs al man*ir* of lesyng,
False co*n*spiracy and forsweryng,
Whar*e*-thurghe our*e* euen-C*ri*sten may lese þair*e* catel,
Faith, fauo*ur* or fame, or any thinge ellis,
Wheþir it be [in gastely]or [bodily] godis.
9 Þe nynde is þ*a*t we not ȝern our*e* neiȝbo*ur* hous;
In whilke is forboden [al] wrangwis couetise
Of lande or of lith, or of oȝte ellis,
Þat may not be lifted ne raisid fra þe grou*n*de,
Als thi*n*g þ*a*t is stedfaste & may not be stirred.
10 Þe tend & þe laste is þ*a*t we ȝerne not
Þe wife of our*e* neȝbo*ur*, ne of our*e* euen-C*ri*sten,
Ne his maiden, ne his knaue, his oxe, ne his as;
In whilk is forboden vs to ȝerne or to take
Any thi*n*g þ*a*t mai be stirrid of oþ*ir* me*n*nes godis
As robes or riches or oþir catelle,
Þat we haue na gode title ne na riȝt to.
For what thi*n*g sa we gete or takis [on] oþ*ir* wise,
We may not be assoilid of þe trespas
Bot if we make asseth, in þat þat we may,
To þai*m* þat we haue harmed withhalden þair godis.
And in case þ*a*t we haue thurgh fals athes,
As in assisis or othere enquestis,
Witandly or wilfully, gert oure eue*n*-C*ri*sten
Lose þair pat*ri*moigne, or þair heritage,
Or falsely be dissesid of land or of lith,
Or false deuorce be made, or any man da*m*pned,
Þof-al we do þ*a*t we may vn-to þe party,

Ȝit may we not be assoilid of oure fals ath,
Bot of oure bisshop or of hi*m* þat has his power,
For swilke [cas is] ryuely reserued til hi*m*-selue*n*.
Þir ten comau*n*dem[e]*n*te*s* þat I haue now rekened
Er v*m*biloukid i*n* twa of þe gospel:[301]
Þe tane is þat we loue God ouer alle thi*n*ges;
Þe toþ*ir* þat we loue o*ur* eue*n*-C*ri*ste*n* as we do o*ur*selue*n*.
For God awe vs to loue haaly with herte,
W*ith* al o*ur* myȝt, w*ith* al o*ur* thoȝt, w*ith* word & w*ith* dede.
Oure euen-C*ri*sten alsa awe vs to loue
Vn-to þat ilke gode þat we loue oure-seluen,
[164ra]Þat is þat þai wele [fare] in body & in saule,
And com to þat [ilk] blis þat we think to.
Wha sa dose þir twa fulfillis alle þe toþ*ir*.
Þe thrid thi*n*g of þe sex [þat I first touchid]
Er þe seue*n* sac*ra*me*n*tis þat Haly Kirke gyues
Thurgh p*re*latis & oþ*ir* p*re*stis þat has þe power.
Of whilk seue*n*, þe first fyue ilk-a C*ri*sten man
Awe lawfully to take eft*ir* his elde is,
And twa lies in þair wille þat receyues þai*m*.
1 Þe first sac*ra*me*n*t of seue*n* is oure baptem
Þat we take þe first tyme þat we bico*m* C*ri*sten.
In whilk bath þe first syn þat we er born w*ith*,
And alkyn oþir syn, is wesshen away,
Þat we er filid w*ith* [ar] we take it.
And þe trouth of Haly Kirk is taken þ*ir*-in
W*ith*oute*n* whilk na sy*n*ful ma*n*nes saul mai be saued.
And to þis sac*ra*mente fallis foure thi*n*gis
If it sal riȝtly be taken as Haly Kirke techis.
Ane is riȝt saiyng & shappe of þe wordis,
Þat hi*m* awe for-to sai þat gyues þis sac*ra*me*n*t,

[301] *Marg*.: Luce X°·

\þat er þir/: "I baptize þe i*n* þe name of þe Fadir
And þe Son and þe Haly Gaste".
An-oþ*ir* is þ*a*t it be done anely in water,
For nan oþ*ir* licour is leueful þ*ir*-to.
Þe thrid is þ*a*t he þat gyues þis sac*ra*me*n*t
Be in witte and in wille for-to gyue it.
And þe ferth is þ*a*t he þat takis it
Be nouþ*ir* of lerid ne of lewid baptized bifor*e*,
For if þe p*re*ste be i*n* weer*e* of hi*m* þ*a*t sal take it,
Wheþir he be baptized or he be not,
Þan sal he sai þe wordis, apon þis wise:
"If þou be not baptized, I baptize þe
In þe name of þe Fadir & þe Son & þe Hali Gaste."

2 Þe secounde sacrament is confermy*n*ge
Þat þe bisshop gyues to þai*m* þat er baptized.
Þat gyues thurgh his power to þai*m* þ*a*t takis it
Þe grace & þe giftes of þe Haly Gaste,
To make þai*m* mar*e* stalworth þan þai war*e* bifor*e*
To sta*n*de agayn[es] þe fende & [dedely] syn.
Þ*a*t nane has power to do bot bisshop alane
Þat [has] þe state & þe stede of Cristis apostle[s].

3 Þe thrid sac*ra*me*n*t is callid penau*n*ce,
Þ*a*t is sothfast for-thi*n*ki*n*g we haue of our*e* syn
W*ith*-oute*n* wille or thoȝt to t*ur*ne agayn til it.
& þis bihoues haue thr*e* thi*n*g*is* if it be [stedfast]:
Ane is sorowe of our*e* hert þ*a*t we haue sy*n*ned;
[164rb]An-oþ*ir* is open shrift of o*ur* mouth hou we haue sy*n*ned;
And þe thrid is rightwis amendis makynge
for þat we haue synned.
Þir thr*e*, w*ith* gode wille to forsake oure syn,
[Clensis] vs & [wesshis] vs of [alkyn] synnes.

4 The ferth is þe sacramente of þe auter,

C*ri*stis awne bodye in licnesse of brede
As hale as he toke it of þe blissid maiden,
Whilk ilc man & wo*m*man þat of elde is
Awe to receyue anes in þe ȝere.
Þat is at sai at Paske as Haly Kirke vsis
When þai er clensid of syn thurgh penau*n*ce
Of payne of doynge oute of Haly Kirke
Bot if þai forbere it by skilwis cause
That awe to be knawen to þai*m* þat sal gyue it.
For he þ*a*t takis it worþily takis his saluaciou*n*
And wha sa vnworthily takis his da*m*pnaciou*n*.
5 Þe fifte sacramente is þe last ennoyntyng,
W*ith* oile þ*a*t is halowid & [handeled] of preste
[To] þai*m* þat he wate er of skilwis elde,
And þat he sees sikirly in p*er*il of deed,
In [lightenes] & alegeau*n*ce of þair sekenes,
If God wille þ*a*t þai turne agayne vn-til hele.
And als in forgifnes of venyale synnes
And in lessi*n*ge of payne if þai passe heþne.
6 Þe sext sacrament of Haly Kirke is ordir,
Þat gyues power to þai*m* þ*a*t riȝtwisly takis it
For-to serue in Haly Kirke eft*ir* þair state is,
And to þai*m* þat takis [þe] order of preste
For-to si*n*ge messe, & for-to mi*n*stre sac*ra*me*n*t of Hali Kirk
þ*a*t to þai*m* falles,
Eft*ir* þe state þ*a*t þai haue & þair*e* degre askis.
7 Þe seuent sacramente is matrimoigne,
Þat is a lawful festeny*n*g bitwix man & wo*m*man
At þair bathir assent for-to lyue sa*m*ne,
W*ith*oute*n* any lousyng to þair lyue lastes
In remedy of syn and getynge of grace,
If it be taken in gode entent [&] clennes of life.
Þe ferth thi*n*g of þe sex to knawe God almyȝty,

Þat vs bihoues fulfille in [al] þ*a*t we may,
Er [þe] seuen dedis of m*er*cy til oure euen-C*ri*sten
Þat [God] sal [reherce] vs apon þe day of dome,
& wite hou we haue done þai*m* her*e* in þis lyue,
As sei*n*t Matheu makis my*n*de i*n* his gospel.[302]
Of whilk þe first is to fede þai*m* þat er hungry;
Þe toþ*ir* for-to gyue þai*m* drynke þat er thristy;
Þe thrid for-to cleth þai*m* þat er clathles;
[164va]Þe ferth [is] for-to herber þai*m* þat er houselesse;
Þe fifte for-to visite þai*m* þat lyes in sekenesse;
Þe sexte [is] for-to help þai*m* þat in prisou*n* er;
Þe seuent [to] biry dede me*n* þat has myster.
Þir er þe seuen bodily dedis of mercy
Þat ilc man awe to do þat [is] myȝty.[303]
Vestio, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.
Þ*ir* er of m*er*cy alsa seuen gastely dedis
Þat vs awe to do to þai*m* þat has nede til vs:
Ane is to cou*n*sel & wisse þai*m* þat er wille;
An-oþir is to w*ith*drawe þai*m* þat wald do ylle;
Þe thrid is to solace þai*m* þat er sorowful;
Þe ferth is to pray for þai*m* þat er synful;
Þe fifte to be tholemode when men mysdose vs;
Þe sext gladly to forgyue whe*n* me*n* has greued vs;
Þe seue*n*t when me*n* askis vs for-to here þai*m*
If we can mare þan þai for-to lere þai*m*.[304]
Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.
Instrue si poteris: sic Cristo carus haberis.
Þir til oure neiȝbo*ur*[s] er ful nedeful
And to þai*m* þat dos þai*m*, wondir medeful.

[302] *Marg*.: XXv.° c*apit*o
[303] *Marg*.: vnde v*er*sus
[304] *Marg*.: vnde v*er*sus

For he sal fynd mercie þat merciful is
And man w*ith*outen mercie of mercie sal mys.
Þe fifte thi*n*g of þe sex to knawe God almyɜty
Er þe seuen v*ir*tues þat haly writt techis.
Of whilk seue*n* þe thr*e* firste, þat \er/hed thewes,
Techis [vs] hou to haue vs un-to God almyɜty;
And þe foure techis vs sa for-to lyue
Bath anence our-seluen and our euen-C*ri*sten,
Þ*a*t it be [bath likande] to God and [to] man.
Þe first v*ir*tu is trouth, wharthurgh [we trowe] anely[305]
In a God þat made alle thingis,
W*ith* alle [þe] oþ*ir* articlis I touchid bifore.
And þis is nedeful til alle þat C*ri*stenly lyues
For trouth is bigy*n*ny*n*g of alle gode werkis,
For nouþ*ir* is trouth worth w*ith*oute*n* gode werkis,
Ne na werk w*ith*oute*n* trouth may paie God almyɜty.
Þe toþ*ir* gode [thewe]or [v*ir*tu] is hope,[306]
Þat is a siker abidi*n*ge of gastely gode
Thurgh Goddis godenes and oure gode dedis,
For-to com to þat blis þat neue*r* mare blynnes,
Not anely in treste of Goddis godenesse,
Ne al-anely in treste of oure gode dedis,
Bot in treste of þai*m* when þai er bath sa*m*ne.
For nouþ*ir* sal we falle sa fer [into] wanhope
Þ*a*t we ne sal treste to haue blis if we wele do,
[164vb]Ne we sal [noɜt] com sa fer [into] ouerhope
Þ*a*t we sal traist sa mykil of Goddis godenes
Þ*a*t we sal hope to haue blis w*ith*oute*n* gode dedis.
Þe thrid v*ir*tu or thewe is charite,[307]

[305] *Marg*.: Fides

[306] *Marg*.: Spes

[307] *Marg*.: Caritas

Þe whilke is a dere loue þat vs awe to haue
Vn-to God almyɜty, and til oure eue*n*-Cristen,
Vn-to God almyɜty, al for hym-seluen,
And til oure euen-C*ri*sten, for God almyɜty,
For þe tane may not be loued w*ith*oute*n* þe toþ*ir*.
For as sei*n*t Jon sais in his epistle:[308]
Þ*a*t comau*n*deme*n*t, he sais, we haue of God almiɜti,
Þ*a*t wha-sa eu*ir* loues God, loues his eue*n*-C*ri*sten.
For he þ*a*t loues not his broþ*ir* wham he mai se,
Hou suld he loue God, wham he sees not?
Þe ferth v*ir*tu or thewe is riɜtwisnesse,[309]
Þ*a*t is to ɜelde to al me*n* þat we awe þaim.
For-to do til ilc man þat vs awe to do,
For-to worship þai*m* þat er worþi,
For-to helpe þe pou*ir* þat er nedy,
For-to do gyle ne wrange vn-to na man,
Bot for-to do þat skill [is] vn-to ilk man.
Þe fifte v*ir*tu or thewe is sleght or slenesse,[310]
Þat wissis vs to be-war w*ith* [w]athis of [þe] werlde,
For it ke*n*nes vs to knawe þe gode fra þe yuel,
And alsa to su*n*dre þe tane fra þe toþir,
And for-to leue þat [is yuel] & take to þe gode,
& of twa gode thi*n*gis, to chese þe bett*ir.*
Þe sext v*ir*tu is stre*n*gthe or stalwornes, not anely of body,[311]
Bot of hert & of wille, eue*n*ly to suffr*e*
Þe wele & þe wa, welth or wa*n*dreth, [wheþer] sa bitidis,
& þ*a*t our*e* hert be not to hie for na wele-fare,

[308] *Marg*.: c*apit*o *quarto*

[309] *Marg*.: Justicia

[310] *Marg*.: Prudentia

[311] *Marg*.: Fortituda

Ne ou*ir*-mykil vndir for nan yuel-fare,
Bot stifly to stande agaynes oure faas,
Wheþir þai be bodily or þai be gastely,
Sa þ*a*t na foule fandi*n*ge make vs to falle,
[Or] be fals in our*e* faith agaynes God almyɜty.
Þe seue*n*t v*ir*tu & þe last is meth or methfulnes,[312]
Þat hedis vs fra outerage & haldis vs i*n* euen,
Lettis foule liki*n*ges & lustes of þe flesshe
& ɜemes vs fra ɜerny*n*gis of werldly godis
And kepis vs i*n* cle*n*nes of body & [of] saule.
For meth is mesure [& mete] of alle þat we do
If we lyue skilwisly, as þe [lawe] techis.
Þe sext thi*n*g & þe laste of þas I first touchid
[Is] þe seue*n* hed sy*n*nes, or dedely sy*n*nes,
Þ*a*t ilc man awe to knawe to flie & forhoue,
[165ra]For man may not flie þai*m* bot he knawe þai*m*.
Pride, envie, [wrath] and glotonye,
Couetise, [&] sleuth, and lecherie.
[And] forþi er þai callid seuen hede synnes
For þ*a*t alle oþ*ir* comes of þaime,
And forþi er þai callid dedely sy*n*nes
For þai gastely [sla] ilc mannes saule
Þat is hankid in alle or in any of þai*m*.
Wharfore þe wise man biddis in his boke,[313]
As fra þe face of þe eddir fande to flie syn;
For as þe venym of þe eddir slaes ma*n*nes body,
Sa þe venym of syn slaes mannes saule.
Þe firste of [þis] seuen synnes is pride,[314]
Þat is a likande hienesse of a ma*n*nes hert

[312] *Marg*.: Temp*er*antia

[313] *Marg*.: Ecc*lesi*astici XXj°

[314] *Marg*.: Sup*er*bia

Of office, or of hie state, or oþ*ir* nobelay,
Þat he ouþ*ir* has of kynde, or of grace,
Or þ*a*t he hopis þ*a*t he has mare þan anoþ*ir*.
& of þis syn comes many sere spices:
Boste & auau*n*ti*n*ge, and vnbouxomnesse;
Despite and ypoc*ri*sie, and vnschamefulnesse;
An\d/ oþ*ir* þat er ofte seen omange proude men.
Þe secou*n*de dedly syn is hatten envie,[315]
Þat is a sorowe & a syte of þe wele-fare
And ioy of þe yuel-far*e* of oure eue*n*-C*ri*sten,
Of whilk syn many spices spri*n*gis & spr*e*dis:
Ane is hatereden to speke, or her*e* oɜte be spoke*n*,
Þ*a*t may soune vn-to gode to þai*m* þ*a*t we hate;
An-oþ*ir* is false iugynge or [dome] of þair*e* dedis
& [ai] t*ur*ne vn-to yuel þat þai [do] to gode;
Þe thrid is bakbiti*n*g to sai bihinde þaim
Þ*a*t we wil not avowe [ne] sai bifore þai*m*,
Whar*e* not anely he þat spekis þe yuel
Bot he þ*a*t heris it be spoken is for-to blame;
For war*e* þar na herer þ*ir* ware na bakbit*ir*.
The thrid dedly syn, or hed syn, is [wrath],[316]
Þat is a wickid stirri*n*g or bolnynge of hert,
Whar*e*-thurghe a man wilnes for-to take wr*e*ke
Or wickidly to venge hi*m* apon his eue*n*-C*ri*sten.
And of þis syn comes stryuynge & flити*n*ge,
W*ith* many false athis & [many] foule wordis,
Sklau*n*dir to fordo a ma*n*nes gode fame,
Feghti*n*ge & felowny, & ofte ma*n*nes-slaght*ir*,
& many ma þan now [is] nede to be neue*n*d.

[315] *Marg*.: Inuidia

[316] *Marg*.: Ira

Þe ferth dedely syn is glotonye,[317]
Þ*a*t is an vnskilwise likynge or loue
In taste or taki*n*ge of mete or of drynke.
[165rb]And þis [trespass dose] men apon sere wise:
Ane is ou*ir*-arely or ou*ir*-late or ou*ir*-ofte-[sithes]
For-to ete or to drynke bot if nede ger it;
An-oþir is for-to life ou*ir*-delicately;
Þe thrid is for-to ete or drynke ou*ir*-mykil;
Þe ferth is ou*ir* hastily to ete or to drynke;
Þe fifte is to co*m*pas apon what wise
We may gete delicious metis [&] drynkis
For-to fille [þe] likynges and luste[s] of þe fleshe,
Oþ*ir* þan we may godely lede our*e* life w*ith*.[318]
*Prep*rop*e*r*e, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.*
Þe fifte dedely syn is couetise,[319]
Þat is a wrangwis willenynge or ȝerny*n*ge
To haue anykyns gode þat vs awe not,
And [þis] is p*ri*ncipaly done a-pon twyn wise.
Ane is wrangwisly to gete any thinge
Þat our*e* liki*n*ge or [oure] loue lightis apon,
As bi sac*ri*lege or [bi] symony, stulthe, falshed, [or] okir, or oþ*ir* gylry
Whilk þes [warldis] me*n* er w[o]nt for-to vse
Þat castis þair conandenes sa [vnto] couetise
Þ*a*t þai ne rek wheþ*ir* it be bi riȝt or bi wrange,
Bot [þat] þai may gete þ*a*t þat þair hert ȝernes.
An-oþ*ir* is wrangwisly to hald þat is geten,
Þ*a*t is whe*n* we wil not [do] to God almyȝti, ne til Hali Kirk,
Ne til o*ur* eue*n*-C*ri*ste*n*, þ*a*t vs awe to do bi dett & bi lawe,

[317] *Marg*.: Gula

[318] *Marg*.: v*er*sus

[319] *Marg*.: Auaricia

Bot anely haldis þ*a*t we haue for ese of our*e*-self,
Whar*e* not anely he þat wrangwisly getis,
Bot he þ*a*t wra*n*gwisly haldis, fallis in þe syn.
Þe sext dedely syn is sleuth or slawnesse,[320]
Þat is a*n* hertli anger or a-noy til vs
Of any gastely gode þat we sal do.
And of þis syn comes many sere spices:
Ane is latsomnesse or lite to draw apon lenthe
Any gode dede þat we sal do,
Þat may t*ur*ne [vs] til helpe or hele of oure saulis.
An-oþ*ir* is a dolnesse or heuynes of herte
Þat lettis vs for-to loue our*e* [lord] God almyɜty
Or any likyng to haue in his seruyse;
Þe thrid is ydilship þ*a*t ou*ir*-mykil is hau*n*tyd,
Þat makis me*n* lath to bigyn any gode dede[s]
And liɜtly dos vs to leue when oɜt is bigu*n*nen.
And [þare] whar*e* we er kyndely born for-to swynke
As þe [foule] [is] ki*n*dely born [forto flie],[321]
It haldis vs eu*ir*mar*e* in ese agaynes oure kynde.
For Idilnes is enemy til C*ri*sten [man saule],
Stepmodir & [stameryng] agaynes gode thewis
And wit*ir* wissynge and way til alkyns vicis.
[165va]Þe seuente dedely syn is lecherie,[322]
Þat is a foule liki*n*ge or luste of þe fleshe.
And of þis syn comes many sere spices:
Ane is fornicaciou*n*, a fleshely syn
Bitwix [an anlepy] man and [an anlepy] wo*m*man,
Þ*a*t forþi þ*a*t it is agaynes þe lawe,
And þe leue & þe lare þat Haly Kirke haldis,

[320] *Marg*.: Accidia

[321] *Marg*.: Job.v°.c°

[322] *Marg*.: Luxuria

It is dedely syn to þaim þat dose it;
An-oþir is avoutrie þat is spouse-breke,
Wheþir it be bodily or it be gastely,
Þat greuouser and gretti*r* is þan þe toþir;
Þe thrid is incest þat is when a man sy*n*nes
Fleshely wi*th* any of his sib frendis
Or any oþir þat is of his affynyte,
Gastely or bodily wheþir-sa it be;
Oþir spices many ma spri*n*gis of þis syn
Þat ou*ir*-mykil er knawen & kend i*n* þis werlde
W*ith* þai*m* þat ledis þair life as þair fleshe ȝernes.
Þir er þe sex thi*n*gis þat I haue spoken of
Þat þe lawe of Haly Kirke lies maste in,
Þat [ȝe er] halden to knawe & to ku*n*ne
If ȝe [sal] knawe God almyȝty & com to his blis.
And for-to gife ȝou bett*ir* wille for-to ku*n*ne þai*m*,
Oure fadir þe erchebishop g*ra*untis of his grace
Fourty daies of p*ar*dou*n* til alle þat ku*n*nes þai*m*
Or dose þair gode diligence for-to ku*n*ne þai*m*,
And ratifies alsa þat oþir men gyues,
Sa mykil couetis he þe hele of [ȝ]oure saulis.
For if ȝe conandely knawe þir sex thingis,
Thurgh þai*m* sal ȝe kun knawe God almyȝty
Wham as seynt Jon sais i*n* his gospel,[323]
Conandly for-to knawe swilke as he is
It is endles life and lastande blis;
To whilk blis he bri*n*ge vs.
Q*ui cum* p*atre* sp*iritu sancto* v*iuit* + r*egnat* de*u*s
P*er* o*mn*ia se*cu*la se*cu*lor*um*, am*en*
Explicit se*r*mo. Gaitrig

[323] *Marg*.: Xv ij° *capito*°

Variant apparatus

Variants which are longer than an additional line are presented in the Appendices rather than in the variant apparatus. These are indicated by a single dagger (†) for Appendix B for the complete witnesses, and by a double dagger (‡) for Appendix C for the LaU witnesses. Appendix D contains the variants for the extracts and fragments DFJKMOPQ.

Lines 1-49 *om.* B; lines 1-83 *om.* H.

1 *line om*. CHNSVWXY; secundo] *adds* secunda E Petrus L mag*ister* ij. R; sentenciarum] s*entencia* Z; distinctione] dis*tinctione* one E *om.* GR.

2 Als] As ELaRSU Os N Is T *om.* A; þ*a*t] *om.* EGLLaNRSUVWXY; clerk] docto*ur* L; shewis] seiþ E tellys & schewys LaU; in his; boke] bokys ELaNRTUY bokys and yt ys þe mayster of þe sentes W.

3 þe] *om.* CENRSW; þ*a*t] þ*a*t euyr ER; and] ACEGLLaNSTUVWXY or Z *om.* R; in[2]] *om.* C.

4 In…elles] or ellys R; or[1]] and LLaUW *om.* Y.

5 Þe souerayn] qwen euer he made hem R; cause] þe cause R & specyall cause Y; &] *om*. G þe[2]] *om.* GY; &] in X; skil] will C *om.* G; þ*a*t] *om.* CEGLLaRUWY; He] ACELLaNRSTUVWXY God ZG.

6 his[1]] *om.* W; and…godenesse] *om*. G & þorwe quyche godenesse W; and] i*n* X.

7 Thurgh] *om.* RS & þorwe W; whilk] þe whilke LLaVY *om.* RSW what N; godenes] *om.* RSW; as…gode] as he ys alle godenesse & hese godenesse W; as he is] of whom comeþ G \he sawe þey were/ ~~als he is all~~ goode Y; as] syn A.

8 he] *om.* W \þerfor/ he Y; creatures of þa] of þe c*re*atur R; þa] all C.

9 comuners] comune*r*es & p*ar*tyner*e*s VY; of] in G to N; þe] his GW þat ELLaRTU; þ*a*t…lastes] *om.* W; more] *om.* LaU.

10 for] ACEGLaNRSTUVXY forþi þ*a*t Z for þ*a*t W; creat*ur*e] non W creaturys Y; myɜte] may R; com to þat] be co*m*moners of hese W; blis] ilk blis AT eche blysse E.

11 of God] ACEGLLaRTUVWXY of C*ri*st Z *om.* NS; þat] AEGLNTVWX a Z þe CLaRSU *om.* Y; clerk] clerkes LY; techis] seth R sheweth W; s*idenote*: vbi sup*ra*] *om.* CLN v.s. W

12 he] þe*r*fore he W; skilwis] resounable GY skyffule ELaNRSUW; cr*e*atures] creature G; au*n*gels] au*n*gell CEGLSXWY as au*n*gels La as angel RU.

13 of[2]] *om.* EGLNRSY; God al-myɜty] hy*m* Y.

14 And] *om.* RY; þair] þ*a*t C his La *om.* W; loue...hi*m*[2]] *om.* La lofe] to loue NS for-to loue Y; hi*m*[1]] *om.* UV; &] þorwe W; s*er*ue] drede C long s*er*uen W; hi*m*[2]] *om.* XY.

15 *line om.* La; sa] *om.* V; to[1]] *om.* CGLNTVX; com to] be p*ar*tene*r*ys of Y; þ*a*t[1]] þe GX ylke W þat the Y; þai] he W.

16 þis...knawy*n*ge] *om.* La; þis] of þis V; faders] fadir A *adds* \Adam & Eue/ Y.

17 state] fig*ur* C; þ*a*t] whiche ERW; in[2]] to E.

18 An sa] whilke C; An] *om.* LaU; sa] *om.* ERX þ*a*t LaUW þe same Y; suld we] *trs.* CELaRU; haue] an ERW; had[1]] *om.* TV haf N had þe same R; if] ACEGLLaNRSTUVWX *om.* Z & Y; þai] we N; had[2]] ACEGLLaNRSTUVWXY *after* had[1] Z; synned] & synned R.

19 Not... mykil] *repeats* W; Not] We xuld not R Bot not ZLaSUW; sa mykil] an had so R; saules] sayntys Y; has] hadde C haue EGLaNRSUWY.

20 Bot] And V; mykil] miche G moche Y; ma*n*] ani man ACGLaVXYZ men ENSUW soules R; has] haue ENSW; now] or may fole here Y; erth] hert V.

21 For] And as for myche as E & þat Y; faders] fader N formere fad*er*es V; sy*n*ned] synne W sy*n*ned Y; as... p*ro*phet] wytnysseth þe holy p*ro*phete & sayeth Y; sais] as sais Z seyþ þus (*after* prophet) E seyd R; p*ro*phet] p*ro*phets S; *sidenote*: termino] *om.* CLN trenor G.

22 And] þ*a*t Y; bere þe wickidnes] thorwe here wychydnesse E thorgh here synne R thorwe W; þe] *om.* AG; wickidnes] blame Y; of] and ER; mysded] misdedes ALLaNVY mysdede haue foreboren owre knowynge E

wikkede dedus G wikkednesse R; *sidenote*: vltimo] *om.* CRLN *prev. line* R.

23 For þe] ~~and~~ for þe A for [ȝ]ede þe R; þe] *om.* La; þai] *om.* W.

24 þai] þat N he hem W; it] þat G; of Goddis gifte] *om.* R.

25 W*ith*-outen] *adds* tene U; or[1]] *om.* E; trauel] trayl R; trey] angyr EWY tariynge GNS trayse R thoȝt V; passyng of tyme] of passien R.

26 &] But R; al] *om.* V; in] *om*. R now i*n* V; of hym] *after* haue AGV *om.* Y; *marg.* werlde (corrects *wer*elde) C.

27 Is...oþ*er*] as comyng w*ith* techynge U; Is] It is R; heri*n*ge] *om.* R leryng W erthly lerny*n*ge Y; &] *om.* RW or X; lerny*n*ge] of lerynge LS erthly lerny*n*ge Y heryng WY; and] or X; techi*n*ge] of techyng LS wyssynge La; of] *om.* EWY; oþer] *om.* EWY *adds* Holy Church R.

28 *line om.* R; Of] Als of C of alle W; þe[1]] *om.* S; lawe & þe lare] *trs. n*. V; þe[2]] of þe NSY; lare] doctryne Y; til] at La.

29 þe] *om.* ENRSW; all] ACEGLLaNRSTUVWX ilc Z *om.* Y; creatures] ACEGLLaNRSTUVWXY cr*e*at*ur*e Z; loues] louyn EGRSW loue LaUV; almyȝty] *om.* W.

30 Aght] howen W; knowe*n*] lerne Y; &... ku*n*ne] *om*. LaU; to[2]... eft*ir*] *om.* C; ku*n*ne] louen W; to[2]] *om.* GNY; &[2]]

to E; life] lyuys E; eft*ir*] þere-aftyr EGLaRSUW þ*er*aftir*e* (*before* lede) Y.

31 And sa] *om.* C; com] to come CERSUVYZ to getyn W; þat[1]] þe AERSVWX; blis] endeles blysse W; þat[2]... bly*n*nes] *om.* W; neu*ir*-mar*e*] neue*r* schal LaRV schal neue*r*e N eu*er*~ S *om.* Y; bly*n*nes] haue ende LaRUV fayles Y.

32 & … folc] Wher-for be-cause þ*a*t þ*er* ys Y; forþi] for ELaNRSUWXY; mykil] miche G moche Y; nowe] *before* mekyl LaU mowe Y; þis] þe W.

33 Ne] *om.* CGLaNSUVWX þat Y; is] ar S be Y; noȝt] ACEGLLaNRSTUVWXY *om.* Z; wele ynoghe] wise and noghte C ful RW; wele] now wele X; ynoghe] ELaRVXY; lered] lernyd noþ*ir* tawgth Y; to] *om.* R; to knawe] to haue knowyng W; God] of God W; almyȝty] *om*. W.

34 *line om.* ERWXY; Ne[1]] And NS; loue] GLLaNSTU loues ZACV; hi*m*[1]] *om.* A; ne[2]] & NS; serue] GLLaNSTU s*er*ues ZACV.

35 As] and als L; þair dedis] þaire wordes & þaire dedes V; dedis] dede W; oft-sithis] *om*. G ofte*n*-tyme LaRUW ofte NSY oft-sithe T; openly] *after* dedis S *om*. UV.

36 in] both yn Y; grete] *om.* A; p*er*il] perells W; to þaime] *after* soule W *om.* Y; to[1]] of AELaRSTUX; to[2]] of RWX in V to þe Y; to[3]] *om.* E of RWX in V to þe Y.

37 defaute] faute A defawtys E cawse LaU *marg.* þu defaute Y; fallis] *om.* ENTY may be LLaU is RSWX; in] to Y.

38 *line om.* C; has] haue EGNS; to kepe] in heuynge E keping of (*before* here soules) W; þai*m*] *before* sulde L.

39 p*re*lates…p*re*stes] curatys of Holy Chirche W; p*ar*sons] and *parson*ns LNSX; vicars] and vykerys ELaUX; &] *om.* V; p*re*stes] oþ*er* p*re*stys LaUY paroshe prestes RSZ.

40 ǂ LaU; *line om.* NX; þat... þaim] wherfor þ*e* remedye her of to auoyde þis p*er*ellows sy*n*ne of Ignorau*n*ce fro þe peple Y; þat] þay CT; er] arn RW; halden] be holde E boundyn S; bi] ben W; dett] beden R;for-to] to LaS; lere] teche GS; hem] *adds* for þey shull geve a-counte for hem by-fore God S.

41 *line om.* ER; Oure] þerfore oure G Forthi our*e* L and þ*er*fore our*e* LaU our holy Y; erchebisshop] *adds* of Caunterbyri GY byschope L; þ*a*t…saue] *om.* GWY wylle þ*a*t alle men knowe God (U: *om.*) & be saf; saue] hi*m* saue N *adds* þarfore my mayster ȝo*ur* gostely fader takand hede vn to þis V.

42 *line om.* Y; þ*a*t] *om.* CGLaNUW wherefore ER and S; as] for La *om.* V; sais] telles AG teches V; of Ih*es*u Crist] in his pystill L God (U: *adds* almyȝty) þ*a*t Ih*es*u LaU oure lorde I*es*u Cryste V.

43 Wille] God wyl E he wylle W & wylll*y*nge Y; þ*a*t] *om.* ER; men] *om.* W; be … almyȝty] knowe God and ben sauyd

W; be] to be E; saue] sauyd EY; &] that S; God] w*ith* God R.

44-7 *Sidenote*: Pa*ulus* ad Thi*m*o secundo ca*pitulo*] *om.* AHLaSTUVY

44 *line om.* EY; & ...langis] it is ordeyned to confes if God al-myty of Holy Chirch R hath publysshid & ordeynyd for þe comyn p*ro*phɜyte Y; &] *om.* G; & namely] anamely NS; þas] these C; þas vndirloutis] hor sugetus G þe vndirlynges LaNU þe soget*tis* S he þ*a*t is vnder-neghe his cure as I am charged to al ɜow V hese soiectys W; hi*m*] hem S; langis] longyn W.

45-51 † V.

45 *line om.* ER; Has…p*ro*fit] þerefore ys ordeynyd be cownsel of Holy Chyrche E; Has] as A & haþ G and þe*r*fore he has LaU he hath W; tretid] *om.* W publysshyd Y; &] *om.* W; comou*n*] þe comune ACGLLaNSUWXY.

46 *line om.* R; Thurghe...clergy] þerefore ys ordeynyd be cownsel of holy chyrche E; Thurghe] w*ith* X; counsel...clergy] initially omitted, then written at the ends of lines 47-9 Z; þe] ACGLLaNSTUXY *om.* ZW the gode C; his] *om.* G; clergy] clerkys Y.

47 † Y; ilkane] euery man ERW euerich-one GLaU eche N þey S; v*n*dir hi*m*] *after* kepyng G; hi*m*] hem S; has] *om.* N *before* vnd*ir* S hadde W; kepi*n*g] cure LW; saules] holy sowlys E mennes sowles G saule L.

48 *line om.* Y; Openly] xal speken R; on] in E; apon] Inglishe] *om.* E Englisch tunge G; Su*n*dais] *om.* E þe Sondayes S.

49 Teche & p*re*che] *v.trs*. AELLaNRUXY Preche thayme & teche thayme CW teche hem & preche G; þai*m*…of] here paryschenerys ER; þai] þaym T *om.* N hem S; haue] hase L; cure] cure & charge Y.

50 & þe] to C; þe[2]] *om.* Y; lar*e*] lore of oure R doctryne Y; God] *om.* R; almyɜty] almyɜty & hys werkys La *om*. W; ǂ La.

51 *line om.* V; þ*a*t] *om.* B þe whyche LaU þe whiche knowing G wylke W þe whiche techy*n*ge Y; p*ri*ncipaly may] *trs.* BW; þir sex] þese seuen G vj sundry R; þir] *om.* WY; thi*n*gis] thy*n*ges þ*a*t followeth Y; *sidenote*: no*ta* vj. B.

52 In…poy*n*tes] þ*a*t is to say firste yn þis xiiij artyclys & poyntes Y; in] as in R; þe[1]] *om.* EGNSW; þ*a*t fallis to] *om.* LaU fallis] falle NS langes V longyth Y; to] in E of LaU; þe trouth] þe feyth EGLaRUWY bileue NS.

53 In] & in Y; þe] *om.* EGW; ten] *om.* Y; God] God almyɜty NS; gyue*n* vs] comau*n*dyd to vs LaU *trs*. V; gyue*n*] ɜeue R *om*. W; vs] *om.* NS.

54 sac*ra*m[e]*n*tis] sacrament R; er] been BU be La beth NS arn ERW be mynystryd Y.

55-7 † Y.

55 þe] *om.* CTV; dedis] werkes L; til] untill ALTV to BCELaNRSUW *om.* C.

56 þe] *om.* CG; seue*n*] *om.* V; ilke] eche BGLaNSU euery ERW; man] a man VX sal] schulde BELaSUVW.

57 &] *om.* BNRS; i*n*] *om.* GV; þe] *om.* ACS; þ*a*t] þe E; ilk] ech BGLaNS wiche ER *om.* T a V euery W; ma*n*] me*n* R; sal] schulde BELaSUVW.

58-71 *lines om.* B.

58-76 † V.

58 And] Bot X; he[1]] it is E it R; comau*n*dis & biddis] comawndyd and bodyn ER *v.trs*. LLaU; &... may] *om.* C; in…may] be þe cownsel of Holy Chirche E be conseyl of Holy Chirch R *om*. W; al] *om.* G.

59 Þ*a*t alle] all those C; þ*a*t[2]] þoo þ*a*t ER *om.* W þey þ*a*t Y; has] ACEGLLaRSTUXY *after* cure Z *om.* NW; kepinge or cure] *v. trs.* GLNS; or] ACEGLlaNTUX & Z *om.* RY of S; cure] *om.* RY ~~creatures~~ curates W; vndir hym] of mannys sowle ER *adds* of me*n*nys sowlys Y.

60 Enioyne…sugettes] þat þey meue þeir p*ar*ysshenys Y; Enioyne] amonges C *om.* E forto enioyne G schuld comau*n*d & charge La xuld monysch R amonest & bid S schulde enioyne U embinen W; p*ar*ishynes] parochiens ST; & þair sugettes] *om*. W; þair[2]] *om.* LaU þai þair X.

61 þ*a*t] *om.* E; þai] *om.* AE; here & lere] to heryn and lerne E *v.trs.* CGX; ilke] *om.* ACEGLaNRSUWX; sex thynges] forseyde poyntys Y.

62 &] *om.* E; oft-sithis] *om.* E ofte GLaNSU ofte-tymes Y; r*e*herce] rehercynge E; þai*m*] hem ay G *om.* S; þ*a*t] CELTW *om.* ZAGLaNRSUXY; ku*n*ne þai*m*] cunnynge hys E *trs.* N know hem S.

63-71 *lines om.* Y.

63 sithen] þat þei EW *om.* NRSX; teche] to techen R; þai*m*] ys E *om.* GRSWX; þair] ACEGLNRTWX *om.* Z to here La as har U; childir] *adds* & her s*er*u*au*nt*is* S; if…haue] *om.* W; þai any] *trs.* R any haue] *trs.* E.

64 What tyme] when S as son as W; sa] soo þat E *om.* RSWX; er] ben E be LaU; of] on R; elde] of age ERW; forto...þai*m*] *om.* LaU; forto] to LNRST & W.

65-71 *lines om.* E.

65 And…prestes] p*ar*sonys p*re*st*es* & vicaryes R; þ*a*t] *om.* W; &[1]] *om.* La; vicar*e*s] p*re*stes A; &[2]] *om.* S; alle] *after* p*re*st*is* S *om.* LaUW; p*ar*ische p*re*stes] all vicars A.

66 Enquer*e*] a-spye LaU; diligently] *after* parisch G besily LaRSUW; of…sugettes] *om.* W; sugettes] parisch G p*ar*ichonys R.

67 In…tyme] *om.* W; þe] *om.* RS; tyme] *om.* C; shrifte] chirche W.

68 Wheþ*ir*] where N if LaRUW knawe & ku*n*ne] *trs*. NS ~~and~~ kun T; leue X; & ku*n*ne] *om.* W; &] *om.* La; sex] ilk sex ACZ.

69 kan] knowen W.

70 enioyne] monyse C charge La p*ro*nounce R embyen W amonest X; þai*m*] þame to cun þame A hem for to kunne hem G; apon his bihalue] *om*. R; his] Godys LaU.

71 of[1]] o AX on G vp þe N vp R vppon S i*n* W; of[2]] *repeats* A; penau*n*ce] grete pennaunce W; for-to] to S; kun þai*m*] come to hym G ; þai*m*] *om.* La *after* penaunce N.

72 *line om.* CNS; forþi] *om.* R; þa*t*] *om.* LaUWY; nane] LLaTU na man ZABERWX þei G no men Y; sal] schulde BELaUW schul not G; þaime] him BEX *om.* R.

73 *line om.* CGNRS; Thurgh] ABLTWY for ZRX of ELaU; vnknawelegyng] vnknowynge EXW vnku*n*nyg LaRU þe vnknowy*n*ge of þeym where þey be bownde Y; for-to…þai*m*] of þese þingis B *om.* W; for-to] to R.

74 *line om.* BERS; fadir] haly fadir LY alderys fader W; þe] þa*t* W; erchebisshop] holi erchebischop G beschope L; of... godenes] *om.* LaUWY.

75 *line om.* S; Has] hit is BER *om.* W; ordened] *om.* W; & biden] *om.* EGR biddis LaU beddyd W & co*m*mau*n*dyd Y; þai] thei schuldyn W shewid] shewid & tawgth Y.

76 *line om.* S; Openly] *om*. G; on] in BCY; Inglishe] Englisch tunge GLaUY; omanges] among BEY; þe] *om.* GY; folke] puple BLaRU hem G lewed peple N Crysten peple Y.

76-9 † Y.

77 wharfore] þar-fore A wharfor as B where among fore G oure fadir W; anence þe first] anysyth ȝu of the first E he neuens fyrst V; anence] aȝens LaSUW; first] three firste C; þe] *om.* V; þir] þe ET.

78 þa*t*[1]] it G *om.* RVW; is] arn R; þa*t*[2]] *om*. W; fallis] fallen BESU langen R *om*. W; to] of W; þe] *om.* E; trouth] bileue B feythe EGNRSW.

79 g[r]ete] *om.* CR; clerkis] clerke W; techis & shewis] *v. trs*. S; techis] tellen B telles R; &] *om.* W; shewis…bokis] Holi Writ schewiþ B be Holy Wrytte W.

80 þar*e*] þa*t* CW; falles] fallen BEGRUW longith SY langes V; faith] *eras.* bileue G *del*. L; poyntes] artycles Y.

81 Of] *om*. ALa þa*t* R; þe] *om.* GLaNRT *before* seuen W; whilke] *om.* La; fallis] fallen BGNRSU longyn E *om.* W lo*n*geth Y; to…Godhede] *om.* CE; Goddis] þe GRSV.

82 And…fallis] *om.* CE; oþ*ir*] *om.* R; fallis] lengen R *om.* LaUWX longeth Y; Cristis] þe GRS Ih*es*u Crystys Y ; manhede] Godhede E *adds* Quatuor decim articuli fidei U.

83 þat] is þ*a*t V; poynte] poynt is VW article Y; trowe] bileue BNS beleue yn Y; of þe Godhed] of Cryste þe Godhede E *om.* W; þe[2]] o V his X.

84 Is … God] in a stedfast God & no no*n* oþ*er* R steadfastly to be[le]ue onelay God W; Is] yt ys E þ*a*t is X; to] *om*. C; trowe] bileue BENSY; a trewe] on sothfast NY on trewe GS; trewe] *after* God X; *sidenote*: art*iculus* fides] *om.* CEGHKJLN.

85 *line om.* R; And] *om.* V; þ*a*t...in] i*n* hy*m* & in non odyrs ys to leuen i*n*ne & to trostyn i*n*ne W yn noon oþ*ir* God Y; þ*a*t] *om.* ELaNX in Y; oþir] *adds* þan he Z; trowe] bileue BNS; in] *om.* C.

86 Þe[1]] In þ*a*t C Þat GHNX; toþ*ir*] *adds* poynt Z secunde AERSY it R secu*n*de artycle Y; is] ys þis LaU is to trowen þ*a*t R; þ*a*t] *om*. ANW to beleue E to trowen R; hie] *om*. RW; fadir] faderhed N; of] in S.

88 thrid] *adds* poynt WZ *adds* artycle Y; Ih*es*u] *om.* E; Goddis] God AV; of heue*n*] *om*. W.

89 sothfastly] HLTVW sothefast ZABCEGLaNRSUXY; God] God al-myɜty R; euen] & euyn LaNSUZ of [h]euen WY; to] w*ith* Y; his] þe GR; fadir] *adds* in Godhede rygth as o man ys bodi & soule also i*n* on p*er*son is boþe God and man W.

90 poynt] *om.* L artycle Y Gaste] Hoste C.

91 Þat] *om.* ASW; sa*m*nely] *after* boþe B *om.* ERWY to-gedyr LaU holiche N euynly S; of] *after* bothe ERVW;

bath] to-gidre B *om.* NS hem bothe LaUY; þe[1]... Son] *om.* Y; þe[2]] of þe ENRSVW.

92 *line om.* A; sothfast] soþfastli BCGHSTVX sothfastenes E; God] \g/ God H; and…bathe] *om.* G; and euen] of heuyn Y; and] *om.* BEL; to] w*ith* Y.

93 *line om.* G; And...not] But þe shal not beleue þat þ*er* been Y; þe wheþ*ir*] þogh wedir AT þ*er*for B þouh ar þey E to qweth*er* H *om.* LaSU þey N þow arn þer*e* R noɜt forthy V þow þere arn W; not] *before* þ*er*for B.

94 &[1]] *om.* R; &[2]] *om.* LaR.

95 sere] sundry ERW *om.* GLaU sere ~~thre~~ H twinned N dyuers SY; noɜt] *om.* BNRSWY; bot] *om.* R; a] on LaRSUWY; God] God alone B; ✝ W.

96 poy*n*t] *om.* B artecle LY; is] *om.* A; þ*a*t] *om*. G; þe[2]] *om.* V; T*ri*nite] Holi Trinite GSV; fadir] þe fader ACGLV þat is þe fadir Y; &[1]] *om.* ER; son] þe son ACGLRVY; Hali Gast] þe Hali Gast ACGLUVY.

97 Thr*e* p*er*sons] *om*. R; &[1]] in GSV; a] on LaNRUWY; God] Godhede GV; is] he is V & Y; &[2]] helle R erth] of erthe AEHSTVXY; of[2]] AEHLLaNSTUVXY *om.* ZBCGRW; thi*n*ges] thing ACER þyngys þ*a*t vnd*er* heuyn be LaU þ*a*t is þ*er*yne W.

98 poynt] artycle LY.

99 Is haly] ys ondeliche E es hallyly L Is holy on NS; haly] oonly & hoolly Y *om.* W; &] *om.* ELLaRSUWX; al ane] alle

G ane LLaU *om.* S onely V; ane... werlde] *om.* G; thurgh-out] þorȝ out al BV thorgh al ESWY þourgh R; þe] al þis EV *om.* G þis RW.

100 *line om.* G; þat] For þeryn Y; is] ABCEHLLaNRSTUVWXY *om.* Z; comunyng] comunyng has Z gaderyng ERW komun NS a communynge Y; &] *om.* NSY; felured] felischip ABV a felawchepe E felaschype LaU *om.* NST to-gedir Y; &] of C; of] to NS; alle] *om.* BEHT; folk] ACEHLLaNSTUVWX men ZB [men] & woman R creaturys Y.

101-3 † Y

101 *line om.* La; comunes] commes A comenyn B; þe] Holi Chirche G holy V; sacramentis] sacramente ENW sacrament of þe autere R sacrament & in oþer holy thyngus U.

102 And...thingis] *om.* LaU; And] *om.* V; in…til] þe lore of W; in] *om.* G al V; oþir] þire X; haly[1]] *after* thinges A *om.* GRV; fallis] longyng E longen R.

103 *line om.* L; In] *om.* G & X; forgifnes] forȝeuyng LaU synnes] þaire sinnes ANW synne GS; heel] helþe BERW; þair] mannis B our R; saulis] saule AB.

104 *line om.* H; For] *om.* LW; haly kirk] þe whilke L quyche W; is na] ne es na L; saule heel] helþe of sowle EW helth of souls R; heel] helþe B helid SX holy Y.

105 article] is R poynt W; þat….trowe] *om.* WY; vs awe] we haue G is V; vs] we EGR is V; awe] all A haue G

moste N *om.* V; to] ~~to~~ to H *om.* N; trowe] bileue B knowe N leve S.

106 Is] ys þe E his R is our W; of] BGLT in ZACEHLaNRSUVWXY; flesh] fleysh booun Y; &] *om.* R; life] in lyf NSY end] ende at þe day of dome Y.

107 ded] þe dede ALLaNUV þat deþe ET; has] *om.* Y; sundrid] departid BEGRSY twynned N; bodies] body UV sowles Y; and] ABCEGLLaNRSTUVWXY fra ZH; our] *om.* N; saulis] saule AW bodyes a-two Y.

108 For...askis] from þat tyme LaU; For] at B; tyme] of tyme N; our kynde] þe kynde of oure fleysh asketh Y; oure] all oure AC.

109 Vn-to] alle E til GNSW vn H *om.* R to Y; when] ACHLRTV tyme Z þe time BLaU *om.* ENS þat tyme G þen X a tyme Y; þat] *om.* ERSW; þe[2]] *om.* EG.

110 sal] ABCEHLLaNRSTUVWX *before* oure ZGY; til] in-to E; our] þe R.

111 *line om.* ERW; we] wiþ B; þas…nowe] *om.* Y; þas ilc] þo same B; þas ilc] þo same B be þe same G in þas ilk H schul þe same LaU suche NS; we er] be we G we be NS; er] *after* now B.

112 sothfastly] & sothfastilyche EW sothly LaV stedfasthli X *om.* Y; sal] *om.* LaUW; vp... saule] *om.* E; vp] *om.* BRSW *before* rise G; in[1]] *om.* G; in[2]] *om.* GLRW; saule] *adds* yn þe age þat oure Lorde deyde on þe cros Y.

113 Þ*a*t] & SY; mar*e*] *before* fra NS; sal] schule*n* BE *om.* Y sal be X; su*n*dir] departe BES twinnen N dep*ar*ted be R dep*ar*tyd atwy*n*ne Y; fra…furth] but lyue to-gedir Y; furth] forthwarde E forward NRW *om.* S.

114 Bot] ABCEGHLNRSTUVWX bath Z boþ*en* La *om.* Y; samne] togedre BLa boþe E euen gedre G be to-gider*e* N heren R be to-gedir w*ith*owtyn ende S bothe to gedre U [boþin] W *om.* Y; if] and SY; we] we haue G we wyl V he W; wele] will A leue wel R; do] *om.* CR dedyn wele ~~dedyn~~ E han don W; whils] þe while B as whils C to qwiles HV; we] þei W; er] ACGHLRTVX ben BLaNSUY leuedyn in þis worlde E wer W lyue Z.

115 Wende] schuln wendyn ERW *after* God G And wende N we wende Y; w*ith*] vn-to H to LaV; to... lastis] or w*ith* God in to blysse ȝeu*er* mor*e* schal laste La; to] w*ith* H in V; þ*a*t[1]] to G *om.* RW þe Y; blis] life ABCGHV blis of heuyn Y; þat[2]…lastis] w*ith*oute ende Y; þat[2]] *om*. ALa; eu*er*mare] euer*e* schal NS; lastis] schal laste BGLaU leste ES.

116 als] all A *om.* EGLLaNRSUXWY; we] we haue EGW; yuel] ille AVX; do] don G; to…pyne] w*ith* þe fendys of helle & þus endyth þe vij artycles þat lo*n*geth to ~~þe~~ Goddes godhede Y; pyne] peynus G.

117 Þar*e*] these La and nowe þ*er* Y; er] ben also B arn EW ben LaNSU be Y; oþ*ir*] the C; poy*n*tes] *om.* Y; of Cristis manhede] þe manhod of Crist B þat lo*n*gith to Ih*es*u Crystes ma*n*hede Y; Cristis] Goddys W.

118 *line om.* WY; er] ben NS; to] *om.* E; trowe] bileue B *om.* E for to know (*after* C*ri*sten) R know S; til] of U; þ*a*t] *om.* GRSX er Cristen] ACEHLLaTUV Cristen ben B C*ri*sten men GX ben N al C*ri*sten R Crystn S C*ri*sten*n*ly lyues Z.

119 first] first artycle of Ih*e*su Crystes ma*n*hede Y; þ*a*t] *om.* RV; I*e*su] *om.* R; Goddis] God H godedes V; of heuen] *om.* W.

120 sothfastly] *om.* LaU; of] in G; maiden] mayde GNRY; Mary] *adds* be v*er*tu of þe Holy Gost LaU.

121 fleshe] of her fleysh Y; bicome] he cam W.

122 Thurgh] *om.* La; myȝte & strengthe] þe myghte and þe strengthe L; myȝte] *illeg*. W; Haly Gaste] Holy Chirche Goste E fadyr of heuyn LaU.

123-4 *lines merged*: AGLaU.

123 *line om.* ERSWY; any] any any H; m*e*rri*n*ge] lak N lettynge V.

123 merringe] blemyschynge ERW lak N lak or wem S lettynge V lessy*n*ge or blemysshy*n*ge Y; of hir modirhede] of hire moderhod B *om.* AEGLaRSUWY.

124 W*ith*oute*n* any mynnyng] *om.* AEGLaRSUWY; mynnyng] BCHLTV menusi*n*ge ZX blemysching N; maidenhede] maydenhod BR maydehed N.

125 Þe] þat ACGTUX; toþ*ir*] other ACGTUX secunde ERSWY; poynte] pointes A *om.* B artecle LY; is] ABCEGHLLaNSUVWX *foll. line* Z *om.* RT; is... trowe] *om.* Y; sal] schuln E; trowe] bileue B knowe S.

126 † Y; God] is God GSWX; he] *om.* R; bath] *om.* ELaRUW; a] *om.* C on R one W.

127 Was] & was G; sothfastly] stedfastli A sooþfastiliche E sothly Y; born] *om*. L; þat] þe BLaNUWY hise ER *om.* R a V; blissid] *om.*; ELaRUW; maiden] modyr ER mayden Marie LaUY.

128 *line om.* ER; God] *om.* Y; geten] bigeten BY be-ȝote W; his] þe Y; before] ABCGLLaSTUVWXY *wi*t*h*-outen ZH *om.* N.

129 And…modir] *om.* ER; &] *om.* GLa; furth] *om.* HW.

130 Þe] þ*a*t þe R; poy*n*t] poynte is CERSW artycule LaU artycle is Y; we… C*ri*stis] he þolyd bodyly W; trow] bileue B knowe S; is] is in G *om.* CERWY; C*ri*stis] Ih*es*u C*ri*stis BY *om.* C C*ri*st RV; passiou*n*] *om.* C passions W suffred gret passyou*n* Y.

131 *line om.* R; Þ*a*t... bodily] *om.* WY; Þ*a*t] whiche E; tholed] suffride BELaSU; sy*n*ful] *om*. GW; man-kynde] AEGLLaTUVW manys-kynde BCHNSXZ me*n*nys soules Y.

132 How…iewis] qwich body Iuwys R; Hou] whom E And how LaU & W whan Y; he] *om.* W; t*ra*yed] bitrayed BELaSVY ~~try~~ taysed H betraysede L traised TX; w*ith*[1]] thurgh AC of EWY; disciple] owene disciple BLaU deciple Iudas SY;

&] *om.* Y; take*n*] *after* Iewis B was taken W; Iewis] þe Iwes AHLLaNUY.

133 Beten] And beten ABCN bownden & betyn Y; na... helde] skin noght held A; skyn] hide G hole skyn Y; helde] dwellyd holle on hys body E held hool LaU was hel[d] R helde hole w*ith* odyr W held to-gedir Y.

134 Nailed] & naylyd hym LaU *before* and T doon nakyd Y; on] ABCEGHLNRSVXY to ZLaUW; þe] a LaU *om.* X; rode] cros LaU rode tree ZACGW; &] *om.* RY; crowned] crownyd hy*m* LaU p*ri*kked R; thornes] scharpe þornys E & many odyr peynis in ful to tellyn he sufferid þristandly W sharpe thornes þorough þe brayns dra*n*ke eyfell & galle mengyd to-gedir Y.

135 &[1]] & tholed Z; many] man H may V; hard] *om.* ACNRS; paynes] paines tholed ACV peynes he (B: *om.*) suffride BELa peynes had NS passyonys Y; &[2]] *om.* U; died] deade X; at þe last] *om.* U for mannys sake W.

136 article] poynt W; is þ*a*t] *om.* R; þ*a*t] *om.* W; dede] dede & Y.

137 And] *om.* X; taken] take R; &[1]...doluen] *om.* RY; &[1]] *om.* AGR; wo*n*den] hiled N *adds* to-gedir W; &[2]] *om.* RW; doluen] leid in g*ra*ue B leyde on a toumbe LaU biryed NS grauen V & leyd in þe g*ra*ue RY layde W.

138 *line om.* Y; 3it] and BR w ȝit G; þ*a*t E right S; þe[1]] *om*. ACELaU to TVX; whils] wyl E; þ*a*t] *om*. BCEGLLaU; his] ABEGHLLaNSTUVWX þe ZCR; lay...graue] *om.* R in graue W; in] on LaU; þe[3]] his CS.

139 þe[1]] & þe R þ*er*while þe Y; soule] gaste LLaU; þe[2]] *om.* C; vnto] in-til HLaRV.

140 &[1]] *om.* RY; heride it] deliuered H *om.* RY; out] w*ith* him X; þas þat ware his] *om.* Y; þas] hem B *om.* ERSW Adam & Eue oþ*ir* Y; ware] was CEW; his] him lees G þare in LLaU.

141 As ... forme-fadres] with our form-fadres Y; As] *om.* GNSW; oþir] oþ*er*e oure B oure GRWX; forme] *om.* E form*er* GNS formed V; fadres] fadrys þe whiche thr[o]we original synne were in þ*a*t place LaU.

142 whilke] þe whilk AB and þ*a*t LaU whiche BEGNRSY; he] *after* forluke E *before* wolde Y *om.* W; in] thorw LaU be Y; in... forloke] *om.* R hese forme [stei he] W; forloke] ordynau*n*ce B p*er*sou*n* NS passyon Y; þ*a*t] *om.* CLaRU þat þey Y; ware] schulde be B.

143 poy*n*t] *om.* B artycle Y; day] *om.* G; þ*a*t[2]] *om.* E.

144 He] *om.* C; sothfast] soþefastly WX; in[1]] *om.* A; in[2]] *om.* AEWY hym S .

145 as] *om.* GR rygh as Y; i*n*] þorough Y; our*e*] *om.* G hys R.

146 Sa] als ACHTVX ryght so EY & G also NR; thurghe] in CR; stre*n*gthe] þe strengh V; his] *om.* H þe LaU.

147 sa] *om*. AGLaRU *after* destryed NS so he Y; distroide] destruyede he BW; deed] endeless deth W deth Y; his] *om.* W.

148 quykned] whikend T wyckyd W; to…life] *om.* GU; to] in R vp to S; life] þe life ZACVX;
thurgh] þorough strength of Y; rising] vprysynge ZERSY deþ risi*n*g W.

149 sexte] fyfte Y; poynt] *om.* BN artecle LY; is…trowe] *om.* R is WY; is] *om.* S; þat] *om.* La; sal] schuld U; trowe] bileue BNS.

150 Þa*t*[1]] Is þat S; þe] *om.* A one þe LY he þe X; fo*ur*tied day] fourti dais AE fourty day HW; eft*ir*] *before* fourty E; þat[2]] *om.* AB.

151 Thurgh… heuen] he stey up [into] heuen thorgh hys myɜt R; stre*n*gthe] þe strengthe AC; steid] streigh X; i*n* til] til X vp to Y; heue*n*] *adds* and sette hym (Y: hy*m*-silf) on hys fadrys ryɜt honde (Y: half) EY.

152 Whare] where þat Y; his] *om.* G; blissed] blisful GLaU *om.* W *after* pe*r*sone X blysse Y.

153 anely] al onli B *om.* G; euen] euenli G *om.* H mete NSW; ne] *om.* BEGR & CLaSUW; mete] *om.* BER euene NSW equale Y; til] with Y; his] *om.* ABGST þe R; au*n*gelis] angel R.

154 *line om.* E; hie…kynge] *om.* Y; hie] *om.* GW he H; alle au*n*gelis] angels H all his angells L hem alle N alle angell R.

155 *line om.* AWX; tyme] þ*a*t time in his manhed B; lesse] lesse & lower S; ki*n*de…au*n*gelis] alle angell þ*a*t kende of R; ki*n*de] *om.* B þe kynde LLaSUVY *after* angeles N; of] *om.* BN; au*n*gelis] *adds* þat before tyme E.

156 poynt] *om.* BGN article LY; is] *om.* H ys & þe last La & þe last is U; þ*a*t] þ*a*t we schal trowe þat G *om.* ERVWXY; riɜt] *om.* ER.

157 And] *om.* GR; eft*ir*warde ras] after roos BG aft*er* was ras N sytthen Y; eft*ir*warde] aft*er*warde ward W; &] *om.* Y; in-til] vp to Y; heuen] *adds* whar*e* our*e* kynde is now i*n* his blessed p*er*sone NS.

158 Riɜt] *om.* B; sal he] *trs.* Y; com] come dou*n* LaUY; apon…day] at þe day of dome Y; apon] of R; in S.

159 Bath] *after* to deme W *om.* Y; for-to] for R to SW; deme] *om.* R; þe[1]] *om.* CW; þe[2]] *om.* CW.

160 Whare] For LaU; þe] *om.* GLaRUY; eu*er*] *om.* RW; eu*er* was] euere were G eu*er* weryn Y; or is] *om.* AGHNW is ERS or been Y; sal] euer sall AGNRV eu*er*-mare schal EHZ; be] be þ G.

161 Sal] Sal þan V; sothfastly] stedfastle H sykyrly La; shewid] schewed *illeg.* G swewed R; & seen] *om*. W; seen] & be seen Z sowen E þa*n* R; bifore] to-fore E; him] hys face þ*a*t day LaU.

162 And] *om.* R þan V & þa*n* shal Y; ilc] ech BGNS eu*er*y ERWY; man] a man G; answer] xal answere RV schal þer

ȝilden an answere W; of] for GLaUVY; his awne] alkin A his don N.

163 dampned or saued] ABCEGHLaNSTUVWX *v. trs.* ZLRY; wheþ*ir-sa*] eft*er* þat AC weder GRW whethir su*m* T aft*er* W whedir þat Y; he] he haþe EGRW þey haue La þai U; s*er*ues] s*er*uid AELaUW deserued GR des*er*ueþ NS be worthy Y.

164 For] *om.* X; as] riȝt GY; his] at C *om.* Y; riȝtwisnes] ryt-wysse R; is now] *trs.* CL; me*n*gid] *before* now B medelyd EGRW; mercy] his mercy GU reson of mercy R.

165 Sa] rygth so WY; it] it noght C he W; þan be] *trs.* ANSY; be] be menged C; w*ith*outen] with C al w*ith* oute X; mercy] eny m*er*cy ZNV; † WY.

166 þe] NOWE þe Y; thi*n*g] poynte V *om.* W; of…sex] *om.* Y; sex] sexte is ERW; God almyȝty] *om*. W.

167 Is] ABCEGHLLaTUVXY er ZS beþ N arn R *om.* W is to kepe Y; ten] *om*. W; comau*n*deme*n*tis] comawndement(s) of God W; þ*a*t he] qwiche R; he] God Y; vs] vn to vs H to vs LaNUY; s*idenote*: no*ta* x ma*n*data B.

168 † EY; Of ... ten] *om.* Y; þe[1]] ABCEGHLLaRSTUVX *om.* ZNW; ten] *om.* LaU; þe[2]] *before* first BG *om.* HRSVW; þat er] ABCEHLLaTUVWX *om.* ZGRY arn E þat beth N þ*a*t ben S.

169 Awe … God] we owe to our*e* God LaU towarde hy*m* silf Y; Awe vs] we ouȝen alle G we owyn ERS ~~vs~~ owe we W; Awe] aght A; vs] *after* holi A we (*before* owe) N; haly to

hald] to knowyn onlyke to hafeyn E onliche to holden N *om.* R to hold only S to knowe as W; haly] haly ~~haly~~ V; anentis] *om.* R aȝens S; our God] God almighti AC o*ur* lord God R; God \of heuene/ ~~euen C*ri*sten~~ X.

170 *line om.* X; þe] *om*. RXY; þat…eft*ir*] oþer aftyrward LaU aft*er*warde Y; anentis] we owe to LaRU aȝens S vnto Y; † V.

171-267 ‡ LaU.

171 þe] In þe Y; comau*n*dem*e*n*t*] *om.* W; chargis] he chargeþ GY it chargyth R; vs[1]] *om*. ER; &] *om.* WY; techis] techeþ vs EGLRY *om*. W to loue hym ou*er* all þy*n*ge & worship hy*m* ~~&~~ & drede hy*m* Y.

172 Þ*a*t... loute] to louen ne to wurschep R & not to loue ne beleue ne truste yn Y; we] *om.* N; leue] luf lowe A bileue BNS worchepe E schal not leue G ne louen W; ne] nor G no H; loute] lowte to B leue noȝt in E worchepe W; na] nane TW.

173 *line om.* A; And] *om.* VY; in … comau*n*dem*e*n*t*] *om*. W; þis] which Y; is] is now V it W; forboden] forbede S for-bediþ W; vs] to vs G *om.* S.

174 Alkyn] al man*er*e of B alkyns CHNTVX alle ERWY al maner S; mysbileues] ABCHLNSTVXY mysbeleue ZEGRW; and] *om.* G; alle] *om.* AGNSVX; mawmetries] *om.* G.

175 *line om.* G; Alle[1]... enchau*n*tementis] *om*. ERWY; &] *om.* ERW; sorceries] wicchecraftis B alle sorcerys EWY fals sorceryes R so*r*cerye V.

176 Alle[1]] and alle B *om.* GR & Y; fals] *om.* RY; charmes] coniurisons ACY; and alle] ~~& alle~~ B *om.* EW; wichecraftes] ~~enchaun*t*ementis~~ B *om.* E fals wichecraftes R wycket wychecraftes V.

177 † B; *line om.* ACGLSV; And[1]] *om.* EHNTX; alle[1]] *om.* RY; fals] *om.* R; coniurisou*n*s] charmes Y; and[2]... craftes] *om.* RY; wickid craftes] wyche whiche craftys E suche artes N wyke wordes & craftes W.

178 Þat] þe whiche B þat maken R yn þe whiche Y; men] man C men þ*a*t er V þ*a*t men ~~þat men~~ W men & women Y; mysbileue] false beleue E; traistis] trowes V; apon] in E michel inne NS *om*. R.

179 hopis] hopy*n* to haue ERW; any] our W; in] *om.* BEGRWY; w*ith*outen] saue in B w*ith*out help of R withoute þe mygth & stre*n*gth of Y; God almyghty] *trs.* W; † X.

180 secou*n*de] toþ*er* L; comau*n*dement] is R; biddis] & biddyth R he byddyth Y; vs] ABCEGHLNRSTVWXY *om.* Z ; not take] *om.* A *trs.* þat we take not Y; take] to swere A to take BES.

181 In[1]…God] his name yn ydilship Y; In idilship ne] *om.* WX; idilship] ydel BGS ; ne] ne ~~not~~ B or G; vayn] *adds* wiþ-outen worschup B; þe] be þe A ne VX; God] lorde Godd LS lord Ih*es*u Crist R.

182 *line om*. Y; in... name] *om*. W; in] LTV of ZABCEHRS on GNX; bot] but þat B; þat is] ABCEHLNRSTVX ȝif it be

G it be ZW; stedfast] stedefast is B soþfaste EGL; good & stedefast R.

183 *line om.* CEGLNTW; Þ*a*t] & þ*a*t R Ne þ*a*t V þat is to say that Y; sai] swer*e* Y; noɜt] *om.* H; in] on A be Y; it be] þat es AHSVX þ*a*t þi*n*g þ*a*t is B þ*a*t R; sothfast] soth is R rygth soth Y.

184 þ*a*t] and þat EGR ne þ*a*t W & alsa þ*a*t Y; bi] ABCEGHLNRSTW in VX *om.* ZY; bot] *om.* S; bihouely] ɜif hit be needful B in trwthe E it be nede G if it be byhouely L þat þ*a*t is nede N þ*a*t it be-houelich RW idilles or nedeles S it be-houeli X yef we haue gret need Y.

185 And] ABCEGHLNRSTVWY *om.* ZX; þat] *om.* W; neuen] ne*m*ne BN take E name G nemele R memyn S nemelyn W nemene Y; his name] *om.* C; worshipfully] hit be worschupfulli BGR worthily E i*n* worschipe N yef hit be yn worship & reue*r*ence Y.

186 thrid] thrydde comawndemente ELY; is] *om.* Y; þ*a*t…hald] *om.* E biddeth vs to R he byddeth vs Y; sal] *om.* LV; & halow] & halighe A to halwyn E *om.* G to halowe wele Y; oure] þe E; day] ELNRTVWXY daies ZABCGH *om.* S.

187 þe Sunday] þ*a*t is to say the Sonday Y; þe] ABEHLNRTVWX *om.* ZCGS; Sunday] Sonon-daies AGSZ Sonday nameli B; alle] *om.* B; þat...ɜere] solempne feestis B; fallis] langes A follow Y; to] in EGHNSWY.

188 Þat…kirke] þat Holi Cherche haþ ordeyned halwid to be B; þat] *om.* W; er] ben NY *om.* W; ordeyned] ordeynde &

comawnded W; to] *om.* R and V; halowe] HLNST halighe A halowede V halde X be halowed CEGRWY; thurgh] þorgh-out N thorugh al R of W þorough þe lawe of Y.

189 In] an B; whilk] þe whilk ACLRVW in þe whiche BY swilk H; daies] *om.* ERW; alle folke] namely al folk V; lerid] leernid BSY bathe lerede L ~~red~~ lerid R.

190 Awe] Aght H ben holdyn S owre W been yn dette Y gife] kepe B ȝeryn E heren R; þai*m*] *om.* RW godely] bisili B *om.* RY goode intente W; to] fram B *om.* R Goddis] alle B God C; seruyse] seruyle werkis B awne s*er*uys H s*er*uyse only Y.

191 To... it[1]] *om.* R; here] ACEGHLNSTVWX say ZY; it[1]] *om.* L; and] LNTX or ZACEGHSVWY; sai] ACEGHLNSTVWX here Z to seyn ERW to here Y; eftir] aftyr þat ERS after as N; is] *adds* in wirschep of God almyȝty R askeþ W.

191-95 † B.

192 *line om.* Y; In] in þe ZACGW; almyȝty] *om.* CVWX *before* God N; of] *om.* ENRW; his] holy hys E alle his X; halowis] gude halowes ACHLTV holy halwen N lawes S holi name W.

193 Not] & not W that day not Y; for-to] to ESVY; tente] besy E tenden N be besy R atte[n]dyn W wirk X tarye Y; to] LT ne ZAVWY and CHNRS or E nor GX; tary] CEGHLSTVX trai AZ tarien NRW tire X to sytte Y; with] abowte E; þe werlde] wildnes C.

194 Ne] ne noȝt in seruyce tyme E nor GX to R *om.* S; lyue... luste] to lyuen luste in and lykyng E; lyue] in ly[ue] S to lyue Y; ne[2]] ACLNSTV and ZWY nor G of H or RX; luste] in luste CGRS lustes H *adds* of þe world N; þat þe fleshe] of our*e* fleyssh Y; ȝernes] askiþ ER desirith S *adds* but kepen he*m* oute of synne & fro alle wordelye occupatyon W as kynde askyth Y.

195 *line om.* ABN; Bot] *om.* W; gladly] gudly L *om.* W; of] *om.* R; life] *om.* R sowle S lyfing & swetnesse of deuocyon W; † X.

196 ferth] ferd co*m*maundment ALSWXY fourthe poynt N; biddis vs] *om*. A biddyng techeþ vs G byddyþ W; do] es to A to do BHS *om*. NW to EGRVXY; worship] wirchip ip A worchepen ER; to[1]] *om*. AGNRWXY owre E; to[2]] *om*. ABGNRWXY owr E.

197–205 † B.

197 *line om.* ACGHSVY; anely] ondely E; to] *om.* ERW þe X; flesshely] bodily E our*e* flescly N *om.* RW.

198 getis] begotyn EW be-gate R gete Y; vs[1]] *om.* HNST vs bar*e* vs Y; &…warlde] *om.* W; forsters] browte ER bringen N bryng S norysshid Y; furth] *before* browte E vp V; þe] þis ACEGNRSTVY.

199 Bot] Bothe ACH and GSY; til] *om*. EHWY also G also to SX; oure] oþ*er*e N; faderis] fadir*e* LRX; þat … vs] *om*. W þ*a*t haue our*e* sowles to kepe Y; has] haue ERSY han G haues X; hede] cure CGSV kepynge ENR heuede L; vs] owre sowlys.

200 *line om.* R; And] Þat ZW; techis] *om.* H tech S to teche Y; vs] *om*. A; hou...of] to saue Y; hou] *om.* ACGLS for X; to life] we schul leuyn EW; til] þe X; hele] helthe ESW; saulis] saule X.

201 And] *om.* W; til] *om.* WY; oure] *om.* X; þat is] *om.* W.

202 *line om.* R; To] and to Z; buxome] *after* þer*t*o W buxom *illeg.* X; þa*r* to] *om.* Y; saue] to save SY; of it] of Holy Chirche E þe*r*of SW & þe fredom þe*r*of Y.

203 it] þat ACY; til] for E of HRWY; alle] alle þoo EW hem G; þa*t*] *om.* RY; C*ri*stenly lyues] ri3tfulli lyueþ G Cristen folk R Crysten creaturys Y; C*ri*stenly] Kristine A; lyues] leve S.

204 *line om*. B; to] *om.* RWY; to... man] to worchepe euery man E wurschepyn eue*r*y man R eu(er)y man W eue*r*y man of worship Y; þat... is] þat doþ worschipe G to do he*m* worschepe W & of state oþ*ir* of ku*n*ny*n*ge oþ*er* of elde Y.

205 Forto] And to B þerto G & forto R *om.* W; do] *om.* BGWY do to S; worship] him worchyp ACERS *om.* GW wyrschype til V worshyp þaym Y; eft*ir* þat he is] to eche man as his staat axit B þeym þa*t* her a-state ys Y; þat] *om.* H; it] LT he it X he ZABCEGHNRSVW; is] *adds* and also to godfadir & godmoder þat holpen vs S *adds* & may W; † X.

206 fifte] *adds* point AZ *adds* heste G *adds* comandeme*n*t LY; vs] BCEGHLNRSTVXY *om.* ZAW; þ*a*t we] *om.* RY; sla] shulle slen W *om.* X to sle Y.

207 Þat…nowþir] bodili ne goostli B; is at] for to R; at] to AEGLNRSWY; sai] mene W; nowþir] noght here A *before* bodyly ERSW ferþermor*e* N *om.* Y.

208-212 † Y.

208 als] as a E also N; in…may] aȝens Goddys boddyng W; þat[2]] *om.* AGR.

209 we] w*ith* H *om.* R; sklau*n*dir or bacbite] *v. trs.* W; sklau*n*dir] slawdryn EW slanderyng R; or[1]] *om.* R; bacbite] BCEGLNSTVW bakbites AXZ bakbytyng HR; falsely] *om.* RW; diffames] defame BGNS defamyn EW defamyng R.

210 † W; fandis] caste B foondyn EN fondeþ G *om*. R fond S ordans V falsli X; to confou*n*de] confou*n*de fra Z to fondy*n* schynden E to schenden N schendyng R to shend S c*on*fu*n*dis X; þai*m*] *om.* E; þat] þe whiche B þ*a*t is G þ*a*t it V; noȝt s*er*ues] seruen hit noȝt B noȝt haue deseruyd E not G noȝt deseruen N nowt hath deseruyd R not des*er*ue it S deseruis X.

211 withdrawis] withdrawe AEGRSW; lyuelade] þare lif lade A *om.* S; nede has] we nede haue E *trs.* L not han W; has] haue HTX.

212 be] haue BE; if we be] ȝif we be E ȝif we haue G; of] *om.* W; hauy*n*ge] power BERS anyþing G hauy*n*nd W;

for-to] to RS; þaim] ~~hem~~ hem (*before* for-to) B hem wiþ G.

213 comau*n*dement] *om.* BRW; forbiddis] chargyth Y; vs to] *om.* X; to] *om.* W þat we ne Y; syn] don foly or synne R *om.* W.

214 Or…fleshely] folilych R to do flesly in liking W *om.* Y; Or] *om.* CW; for-to] to B forto doo EG do S to do W; any] any man*er*e woma*n* N no Y.

215 Ouþir] be sche B *om.* RW noþir Y; or[1]] oþ*er* N ne Y; fre*m*med] frend AEHRSWXY; weddid] vnweddid seculeer or religious B wedde CLX or wedded NS; or[2]] ne Y; vnweddid] vnwedde CLX.

216 Or any] ne no Y; any] ony oþir E fleshely] suche fleisli B fleschly synne R; knawynge…haue] knowynge haue or haue do one E dede haue or knowyng S; knawynge] dedis B knowing han W; or[2]…any[2]] w*ith* hem for to do B or þa*n* to don R; or[2]] in W ne Y; any[2]] no woman Y; haue] *om.* W.

217 mat*ri*moigne] wedlock B Holy Chirche þat is wedloke Y; excuses] excuse CV excusyd ER.

218 And þe] or W; lawe] lar*e* X; and þe lare] *om.* R or lore W; and[2]] of X; þe[2]] *om.* CT; lare] lawe X doctryne Y; of] ABCEGLNRSTWXY þ*a*t ZHV; techis] techeth vs R; † X.

219 Þe] And þe A; comau*n*deme*n*t] *om*. LRW; biddis] techiþ ER; vs] *om.* ABCGHNSVX; not] þat we sall noght ABCEGHLRSVWX þ*a*t we not Y.

220 In…reuynge] ne robbes ne reuen Y; whilk] þe whilk AVX þe whiche BS; forboden] forboden vs L bodyn W; robbi*n*g] all robby*n*g E; &] *om.* R.

221 Al…takyng] ne nought wrongly taken Y; Al] And ASX And alle EGLNRW; wrangwis] wronge EGRS wrongful N wrongfully W; takyng] mys takyng G; or] and BR oþer N ne Y; withaldynge] foli wiþholdynge B ȝit wythhaldenge V.

222 Or[1]…helyng] *om.* W ne hyde Y; Or[1]] *om.* BRS; hidi*n*g or helyng] *v. trs*. X; or[2]] and B; helyng] concelyng S; mennes] mans H men T.

223 A-gaynes] Aȝeyn GNSTX; þair[1]] *om.* AC er W; witt] will AR wytinge BCEGSWY wittand X; &] or ABNRV \or/ ~~of~~ S *om.* X; þair wille] witting of þaim A will of thayme C knowyng of hem R wille X her weyty*n*ge Y; has] *om.* ACG *after* riȝt B haue (*after* riȝt) E haue Y; riȝt] *om.* AC; to þai*m*] þaim aghe AC þere-too ERWY was to hem G; † X.

224 aghtned] *adds* comawndemente ELY *adds* heste G; biddes] *om.* G; vs] *om.* ABEG; þat] ABCGLNSVWXY *om.* ZEHRT; we] ABCEGHLNRSTVWXY *om.* Z; shal] ACGHLNTVWX not Z *om.* BS schulde ER sal noght HV sholde not Y; bere] *foll. line, after* wyttenesse B.

225 Na... witnesse] *om.* A; agaynes] agayne AGHNRTWX bere aȝens E; euen] awen A; C*ri*sten] *adds* freendis or enmies B *adds* for loue ne for drede for wrath ne for wy*n*ny*n*ge of eny thy*n*ge Y.

226 whilk] þe whilk ALSVX þe whiche co*m*mawndme*n*t Y; is] we arn R; vs] *om.* ABGRTV; of] *om.* BE men G; lesyng] lesyngys ELRSY.

227 False... forsweryng] & forswery*n*ges and fals co*n*spyracyones Y; False] and al false Z all fals AC; co*n*spiracy] conspirasies AR conspiracyouns EG co*n*spiracyon W; forsweryng] al forsweri*n*ge B forswerynges E fals forsweryng G fals swerynge HL.

228 Whare-thurghe] wher þorþ B; may] may þe rather S muste*n*n W; lese þair*e* catel] ony þing lese B; catel] good R good name Y.

229 Faith… ellis] oþe*r*e name or fame feiþ freendschip or fauour or any þing ellis B wiþ fauour*e* or any þing of fame N & fame or her*e* worldly catellys wro*n*gfully Y; Faith…fame] or fauowre or fame EW or fauour or gode fame G or her*e* good fame R; or fame] loos or fame S.

230 † Y; Wheþir it be] *om.* B; in[1]] ELNSTX *om.* ZABCGHRV; gastely] ACEHLNRSTVX bodili ZBGW; bodily] ACEHLNRSTVX goostly BGWZ in bodily ELNS; godis] *om.* BR nedes N.

231 nynde] nynte comawndemente EGLY; is] *om.* W byddeth vs Y; þat we] *om.* R; not] schal not GH noght ne W sholde not Y; not ȝern] coueyte not BENRS *trs.* L coueyte Y; neiȝbo*ur*] neiȝboris BEGNSWXY; hous] gudes AN hys hous R; howses S weyf ne his hows Y.

232 *line om.* Y; whilke] þe whilk AGSVX; forboden] forboden vs CEW for-bed vs R; al] ABCEGHLNRSTVWX *om.* Z; wrangwis] wro*n*ggys E fals NS wronge W.

233 Of[1]] ne his Y; lande] hows R; or of lith] *om*. G; or[1]... ellis] ne no þy*n*ge Y; or[1]] *om.* A; of[2]] *om.* RX; lith] lordschipe B lyif EVW lent R; of[3]] *om.* R; oȝte ellis] any oþer þing B ony thing ellys W.

234 may…grou*n*de] is his vnmeuable Y; lifted ne] *om.* W; ne] nor E or G; fra…grou*n*de] *om.* R fra þai ar*e* growid X; þe] *om.* V.

235 *line om.* RW; Als] alle EG; is stedfaste &] *om.* Y; not] nat noght T; stirred] steryd fro oon place to anoþyr Y; † X.

236 tend] tenþe comau*n*deme*n*te BLWY; & þe laste] *om.* BY; is] *om.* R byddeth vs Y; ȝerne not] ne shulde (*before* coueyte) Y; ȝerne] desire BS coueyte ER.

237 Þe wife] no þy*n*ge Y; of oure[1]] or S; neȝbo*ur*] euen cristene G neyghborys wro(n)gfully Y; ne... C*ri*sten] nor of neiȝebore G noþir his man Y; of oure[2]] from oure B.

238 Ne[1]] *om.* B nor G; maiden] mayde N; ne his knaue] *om.* Y; ne[2]] nore EGX; his[3]] nor his E *om.* G ne LWY; ne[4]] nor EGTX; his[4]] *om.* GR.

239 *line om.* Y In... vs] ne E; whilk] þe whilk AGLSVX; is] *om.* G; ȝerne…take] *v. trs.* W; to[1]] *om.* R; ȝerne] coueite B desire S takyn W; to ȝerne] *om.* R; or] ne E *om.* R.

240 Any…godis] ne his golde ne his syluer Y; be] *om.* V; stirrid] take*n* or stered R; men*n*es] mans H men hys R men T; godis] good N.

241 As...catelle] ne his clothes ne his catelle þat is meuable oþ*ir* wyse Y; robes] jowel E golde W; or[1]] *om.* A and EHWX; riches] oþir rychesse E selu*er* clothis W; oþir catelle] what caas it be E; oþir] other man A other man*er*e C any oþer ZBGHNRSVWX; catelle] tresor W.

242 Þat] in wyche ER þa*n* Y; we] *om*. R; haue] haue to (*after* title) B *om*. R may Y; na[1]] *om.* ERW with Y; gode] riɜt B *om.* ERW; title] *om.* ERW rygth Y ; ne] ne ne S; na[2]] *om.* ARY any B; riɜt to] trewe chalange B skyl to E skyl R right haue to X skylle haue Y.

243 *line om*. S; what] na X þat Y; we] þat we N; sa] þat BWY so þ*a*t E *after* we X; gete] takyn EL; or takis] thoro cas H; takis] tak ABGN takyn ERWY getyn E getes L; on] ACGHLTVX of Z *om.* BNR wrongfully E i*n* W or withholden þa*n* skylle & rygth wolle Y; oþ*ir*] thir*e* A *om.* R þ*a*t V þese W; wise] *adds* þan þe lawe and þe lare of haly kyrke teches L *om.* R.

244 We] *om.* E; of þe trespas] *om.* BW; þe] þat GY *om.* R.

245 Bot... we] tylle ne Y; if] *om.* ANSWX; make asseth] restorynt W; asseth] amendes CE þe mendys R restitucio*n* & amendis S satisfaccyon Y; þat þat] al þ*a*t SY þat EGRW; may] may þoo goode men & women Y.

246–256 *lines om*. Y

246 haue] *om.* BCLNSTX *adds* mowne to hem E; harmed] hermid or AZ harmed & R harmen NS; withhalden] wiþholdinge BEN holdyng GS *om.* W; þair] *om.* W; godis] gude L *om.* W.

247 And] *om.* NR and as S; þ*a*t] *om.* R; haue] haue false E haue it S *om.* W; thurgh] þorȝ any BE hit wiþ any N it w*ith* S.

248 As] *om.* W in] *om.* G; assisis] questis B assise X; or] or in E and i*n* N & S or i*n* any V; othere] *om.* W i*n* X; enquestis] assises B questes NRW.

249 Witandly] wityngli BGNS wytynge E malyciously W; or] & AEHNST; wilfully] willandly C wyssynge E wilfulle H wetandly W; gert] han maad B do E maad G make NS don*e* RW; Cristen] Crystys E.

250 Lose] to lese G lesen NSW leren R loste EX; þair[1]] *om.* B or W; pat*ri*moigne] patronage CNS; þair[2]] *om.* BW; heritage] herytage of E.

251 Or[1]] As N; be] *om.* EVW to be S; dissesid] dyssesyd hem EV; land... lith] *n. trs.* NS; lith] catel B rente EW lede G.

252 Or...made] *om.* R; Or] or any B or ȝif ony E; be] *om.* ABEGNSVW; made] *before* fals W; man] sagates W; da*m*pned] to be dampned B dampnyd or slaunderid W.

253 Þof al] If all ACV al ȝif B þowh þ*a*t E or G And þogh NS þei R Of al T þowe W; we do] *trs.* AC *om.* B we

doon alle ERW doon al G; may] *om.* B may we may nought; vnto] wiþ B; party] *adds* make ful acord B *adds* þ*a*t we haue trespasyd to E parties G *adds* amendis makyng S.

254 *line om.* Y; 3it] *om.* BG; may we] *trs.* ABEGHNS may C mowe we E; be] *before* asoiled R; of... ath] *before* be asoiled R *om.* W; our*e*] þo HL; ath] othys EG trespas L.

255 Bot] *adds* ȝif hit be B; our*e*] þe X; or] & H; of[2]] *om.* ACTX; hi*m* þ*a*t] *om.* B; has] hauer *after* power) B haues X.

256 *line om.* WY; For] of ER; swilke] suche BGNS qwich R; cas] ACGHLNRTVX casis ZE a case S; is] EGHLRSTV er ZAC ben B *om.* N truli is X; ryuely] *om*. BER riȝtfully G comynly S truli X; reserued] *after* him N *after* self S hi*m*-selue*n*] him-silf aloon B; selue*n*] *om*. N.

257 þir] þuse B These ben þe E þe R; comau*n*dem[e]*ntes*] coma*n*dment X; þ*a*t... rekened] *om.* W; þ*a*t] whiche ER; now rekened] I haue towchyd E now towched R rekend here X.

258 Er] ben BNSY arn EW and V is X; v*m*biloukid] vmloken A closid B expownyd schortely E comprehended GY vnd*er*stanne H fou*n*den N expowned R conteyned S expoundid W belowkid X; i*n*] *om.* W; twa] *adds* wordes GV tweyne N *adds* comaundementis ZS; of... gospel] þingys E; of] as BS in WX; gospel] gospelles N gospel telliþ BS godspel OTX *adds* of Seynt Luke W hem as Luke sayeth yn his gospell Y.

259 þe] þat BXY; tane] oon BY an X; is] *om.* HV; þ*a*t] to R; we] schalt G we schul W we shulde Y; ouer alle] *om.* C aboue EY abouen R; thi*n*ges] other thing A þing BEGNRX *om*. C þing w*ith* alle our herte w*ith* alle owr strengthe (Y: mygth) & w*ith* alle our þogt WY; † W.

260 Þe … loue] *om.* C; þe] þ*a*t XY; toþ*ir*] oþ*er* STXY; is] *om.* BNRTX; þ*a*t we loue] *om.* B; loue] schul loue GY; as we do] riȝt as B hallely in our*e* herte als we do L eue*n* as N as S; we do] *om.* R; do] *om.* AH; o*ur*selue*n*] vs self X.

261 *line om*. AW; For] But E; God… loue] we schulde*n* loue oure lord God B God we schuln louyn E we owen to loue God GNS; awe vs] aght vs H vs behouyth Y; vs] *om.* R; haaly] *om.* ER *after* vs H hooly a-boue all þy*n*ges Y; herte] al oure herte BERSY our h*er*te H.

262 *line om*. W; myȝt] wittus G witt & o*ur* myght V; w*ith*^{2}… thoȝt] *om.* ER; w*ith*^{2} al] & AN and w*ith* al SV; w*ith*^{3}…dede] & bisily in dede G; w*ith*^{3}] in ANY and w*ith* V; w*ith*^{4}] in ANY *om.* CRS.

263 *line om*. W; Oure] And sithyn oure E and also our*e* Y; C*ri*sten] Cristen as owre self S; alsa... loue] *om.* ER; alsa] *om*. ABGY; awe vs] we scholde*n* B we owen GS owe we NX vs behouyth Y; to] *om.* B; *sidenote* loue C.

264 *line om.* RWY; Vnto... þat] *om.* EG; Vnto] even to S; ; ilke] same B; þat] as EG; we loue] we owyn to louyn E we don GN; oure~] vs~ TX.

265 þat[1]…do] bothe Y is] *adds* for to seyne E; þ*a*t þai] to sai A þair*e* X; fare] ABCEGHLNRSTVWX do Z; in body & in saule] *n. trs.* NS; in[2]] *om.* CGR; † Y.

266 *line om*. Y; And] & so R; come] þei mowe come E to kome ZR; þat ilk] endles R; ilk] ACGHLNTVX *om.* ZESW same B; þat[2]…to] *om.* R; think to] hope to come too EW; † W.

267 † L; *line om*. R; Wha-sa] and who-so E and þus who-so Y; sa] om. A; dose] filles A kepiþ wel B; twa] too comawndementys EY *om*. X; fulfillis] does AX he fulfyllyþ ESY doþ N; þe] *om*. C; toþ*ir*] other CHSTXY *adds* in þ*a*t is i*n* hy*m* to don W.

268 þe[1]] in þe W nowe þe Y; thi*n*g] *om.* AHR; of þe sex] *om.* Y; þe[2]] *om.* G; þat ... touchid] ACGHLNSTVX to knowe God almiɜti ZBLaU wiche I firste towchyd E *om.* RW þat we sholde knowen by God almyghty þorough þe lawe & þe doctryne of Holy Chirche Y; þat] wiche E.

269 Er] es ABCEHLLaTUWX ben NY; þe] *om.* R; þat] of LaR *adds* longen to Y; gyues] holdiþ B vseþ G þ*a*t he geuys La ɜeuen R mynisteriþ of þe g*ra*ce & þe ɜifte of þe Holy Gost W our*e* gostly modir Y.

270 *line om.* Y; Thurgh] of R; p*re*lates & oþ*ir*] *om.* W; oþ*ir*] *om.* BEVX; þe] *om.* GR; has] *after* power BU haue ELa haues X; power] *adds* to ɜeue hem E *adds* þ*er*to La *adds* han þ*er*- to U.

271 whilk] þe whilk ABVY; þe fyrst fyue] *om*. RW; first] *del.* B *om.* N; ilk-a] ich BGLa euery ERW techeth eu*er*y

Y; man] *om.* A *before* Cristyn La creature R man & woman Y.

272 Awe] owiþ BEGNRSW aght H *om.* Y; lawfully] lowely R; take] tak it A kunne & taken G takyn inne W receyue þeym Y; eft*ir*…is] after þat he is held R þ*a*t ys of witte & elde (*before* owyth) W; eft*ir*] aft*er* þ*a*t ENLaRSUY; his] he LaRU; elde is] *trs.* R; elde] age EY old La of elde U; is] *after* he U.

273 *line om.* ER; twa lies] þe tweyne oþ*er*e lye*n* B two receyue liggeþ G; þe oþer ij ben SW twa þe last X oþ*ir* two be Y; þair] her*e* Y; wille] wylle & choyce Y; receyues] shulde receyue Y.

274 sac*ra*me*n*t] *om.* BW; of] *om.* AEWY; seue*n*] *om.* AEW þe seuene BCLaNRSVXZ þat we receyen Y; is] þat is N; oure] *om.* GNS; baptem] Cristendom NY Baptem or Cristyndom S.

275 *line om.* RW; þ*a*t] and þ*a*t E *om.* R; we] *om.* G; take... C*ri*sten] receyuen yn þe font stone be þe p*re*stes hondes Y; þe] *om.* AGLa; take] taken it R resayues take T; tyme] *om.* GLa; þ*a*t[2]] whan EGLa bico*m*] come S ~~are borne~~ bicome X.

276 In] *om.* R; whilk] þe whilk ACGSVX whiche byrthe LaU *om.* R þe whiche sacrame*n*tes Y; whilk] which byrthe LaU; bath…w*ith*] owr original synne W; bath] baptyme E *om*. RVXY; first] olde G; syn] tyme U; we] *om.* C; er] ben B LaNS haue ben E w*er*e U were Y; born] bou*n*den C bore GS; w*ith*] inne ACRY.

277-8 & alle synnys þ*a*t we arn foulid w*ith* aforne þ*a*t we take it arne waschid awey W.

277 And] w*ith* R; alkyn] clene A alle BERY *om.* G al man*er* NS; syn] sinnes ABCELLaUWY *om.* R; is] ben BY.

278 *line om.* Y; Þat... it] aforne þ*a*t we take it arne waschid awey W; Þat we] Or A; er] be ABLaNSU filid] fowlyd LaU; w*ith*] in ALaU; ar...it] *om.* R; ar] EHLNRSTVWX before ZACG or þat BLaU; we] þat we BGLaU; take it] *trs.* BLaU.

279 *line om.* W; And... þir-in] er we taken it þe fryst tyme þat we be-come C*ri*sten R; And] *om.* A and throwe þat E i*n* X & also we receyue Y; trouth] feithe SY; is taken] *om.* GY is] has C *om.* H; þ*ir* in] *om*. E.

280 W*ith*oute*n*] outen A w*ith* euery R For w*ith* oute Y; whilk] þe whilk ABG þat sacrame*n*te Y; syn*n*ful ma*n*nes] man þ*a*t is sinful in LaU; sy*n*ful] *om.* RW C*ri*sten X; ma*n*nes] man AHSTVX *om.* GRW; saul] *om.* S; mai] þ*a*t myȝt (W: mai) it han & nought ne wele RW *after* soule Y; be saued] may ben saued R may not be sauyd W.

281 þis] þat Y; as…techis] *om.* R; fallis] falle E longeþ GY arne W.

282 *line om.* H; sal] schuld N *om.* RWX; riȝtly be] with righte be A be riȝtfulli BNSW ryȝtful be La ryȝtfully be EGU be rytfully RW *trs.* X be trowly Y; as Haly Kirke techis] of how þat yeuen þe Crystendome Y; taken] tane L take La takyng W; as…techis] *om.* W; as] as to E.

283 Ane is] ne his A; saiyng] to seie B; &] wiþ B; shappe] fourme BS schapynge C carpyng L sharpe LaU rygth fourme Y; þe] *om.* LaRU þair*e* X.

284 þat] of Y; þir] þe V; him] he ER þer W hem Y; awe... sac*ra*me*n*t] yeuen þe Crystendome Y; awe] owiþ BEGNRS owys LaU; for-to] to EGRSVWX; þ*a*t gyues] in G; þis sac*ra*ment] it R; þis] þe VWX.

285 þat] þoo wordys E þe whiche LaU & it R and W & þoo Y; er] is A ben BNSY; þir] ere A þise wordes Y; þe[1]] *adds* or O Cristine þe G; þe[3]] *om.* H; baptiɜe þe] baptise þe or I Cristene þe G Crystene þe Y; þe[3]] *om*. H.

286 Þe[1]] of þe BEGNVY *om.* H; þe[2]] *om.* AR of þe BEGNSVY.

287 An-oþ*ir*] the secunde E þe secounde þi*n*g GR & þe toþir W þ*a*t oþ*er* X; is] *om.* EN; done] *om.* GS; anely in water] in noon oþ*ir* lycour*e* but in watyr E; anely] *after* water A *om.* B; water] *adds* or ellys þat wat*er* be sprongen þeron Y.

288 leueful] leueli AV leelful B leuefully C lefful LaNRSUX law-full Y; þ*ir* to] þerfore CELLaTUV.

289 thrid] *adds* þy*n*ge Y; þat[1]] \ þat]/ H; he þat] he þ*a*t ~~h~~ H *om.* N þe þ*a*t Y; gyues þis sac*ra*me*n*t] Crystenyth Y; þis sac*ra*me*n*t] it GRW.

290 in witte] yn þougth Y; witte…wille] *v. trs.* LaUW; in[2]] *om.* ALaUVWY; for-to] freeli to B to RSW; it] Crystendome Y.

291 And] *om.* GLaRUWY; þe] *om.* V; ferth] fourth þy*n*ge Y; is] *om.* CR; þa*t*[1]] *om.* NX; þa*t*[2]] *om.* E; takis] thakes V; it] Crystendome Y.

292 nouþ*ir*] not Y; lerid ne of lewid] *trs.v.* N; lerid] lernyd Y; of[2]] *om.* AEGLaW; baptiȝed bifor*e*] *trs.* E; baptiȝed] C*ri*stened NSY be baptised R; bifore] or he be E aforn WY;

293–297 *lines om.* Y.

293 For] And BLaRWX *om.* U; if] *om.* W; þe p*re*ste] he þ*a*t xal baptisen R he þ*a*t baptisiþ W; weer*e*] dowte ELaSUW werte G; sal take] takes A.

294 *line om.* RW; Wheþir] whether þ*a*t ACEH; baptiȝed] Cristene N Cristened S; he be[2]] *om.* BGLaUX; he[2]] *om.* V.

295 sal he sai] owths to seyn R owyþ he to sayn W sai] þus V; þe wordis] þis word N þes wordis S *om*. RW; apon] in LaU euen o*n* N; wise] man*ir* E.

296 If…þe] ȝif þ*o*u be baptiȝed, I baptiȝe þe nowth ageyne E ȝif þou be Cristened, I Cristen þe not a-ȝeyn; ȝif þou be not Cristened, I Cristene þe G; if] but ȝif E; baptiȝed] be baptiȝed C; baptiȝe] baptiȝed N.

297 &[1]] *om.* RS; þe[3]] *om.* AHR of þe BEGNV; þe[4]] of þe BGNSV *om.* HR; Gaste] of Goste E.

298 sacrament] *om.* B; is] of \es/ H; confermy*n*ge] þe confermyng H c*on*fermyng of þe bischop X.

299 to] *om.* AY; þai*m*] þo R vs Y; þat er baptiȝed] aft*er* owr*e* Crystenyn*g*e Y; er] ben BNS; baptiȝed] baptiȝed ȝit he trewe be B C*ri*sten N Cristened S.

300 *line om.* V; þat[1]] And A He BG wiche ELaRW whan Y; gyues... it] he co*n*-fermyth vs Y; gyues] ȝiueþ hem G he ȝeuyth LaUW; thurgh] of R; to þai*m*] *om.* G to hym LaU; takis it] takent R han taken W.

301 Þe[1]…Gaste] And so þei take þe Holi Gost and ȝiftis of grace B; þe[1]] be þe LaU *om.* RW & yeuyth vs Y; &] of A *om.* RW; þe[2]] be RW *om.* Y; giftes] gift AEGLNRSW strength Y; þe[3]] *om.* W; Gaste] *adds* þ*a*t is of Godis grau*n*t to LaU.

302 make] be Y; þai*m*] *om.* R; stalworth] stalworthely E myȝty R stedfast & stalworth Y; þan…bifor*e*] *om.* R; þai] we Y; bifor*e*] *om.* E aforn W.

303 sta*n*de] sto*n*den BEW w*ith*stonde LaU; agaynes] BCEHLRTVWY agayn ZAGNSX *om.* LaU; þe] *om.* G; fende] fendus G fendes temptacen[s] RWY; &] *om.* RWY; dedely syn] *om.* RWY þe [fondinges] of hymn EN all te*m*ptaciou*n*s S; dedely] LT agayne ZAGVX agay*n*s C al deedli BLaU.

304 *line om.* B; Þ*a*t] þe whiche G that sac*ra*me*n*t LaU & þe*r*to RW & to doo þat sacrament S & þat sacrame*n*t Y; nane has] non oþir haþe E haþ noon G owys noo*n* LaU hath no R hath no*n* man WY; power] *before* haþ noon G *om.* LaU non power W; to do] *om*. GNRSXW to yeue Y;

bisshop] þe bischop AEGLLaNRUVY bisshoppes C þe bisshopis S a byschop W; alane] *om*. RW.

305 *line om.* ABLa; has] EHLNRTUWY haldes ZCGSVX; þe[2]] *om.* Y; Cristis] þe R; apostles] CEGHLNSTUVWXY apostel ZRU.

306 sac*ra*me*n*t] *om.* B; callid] *om.* AGRW *after* penau*n*ce C clepid of Holi Cherche þe sac*ra*ment of B clepyd ELaY.

307 is] *om*. N; sothfast] stedfaste G stedfastli X a soryfull Y; forthi*n*ki*n*g] ouyr thynkynge E; we…syn] for þat we haue synned Y; we] þ*a*t we EGLLaSUX *om.* BRW; haue] *om.* BRW; of] for CLaUVY; syn] wickide synnes B synnes LaRUW.

308 w*ith*oute*n*... thoȝt] And þat we been yn p*ur*pose & in wylle no mor*e* Y; w*ith*oute*n*] w*ith* W; to t*urn*e] neuyr to turne W; til it] þ*er*to BELaRSUVWY.

309 þis] yhit AC *om.* NS þer to RWY; bihoues] behoues it A þoȝt B it behoues C sacrament L longen RW; haue] to haue ZACEGHSX moste haue B *om*. RY p*ri*ncypally & nedely W; thi*ng*i*s*] p*ar*tyes NS; if...stedfaste] *om*. L; be] *after* stedefast B; stedfaste] BEGHLaNTUV sothfast ZACSX helthful R stedfastly & helfulle W trewe & stedfaste Y.

310 sorowe] trewly taky*n*ge gret sorowe Y; of] in ABCLNY; our*e*] *om.* EGHLaSUVWY; hert] hertes N; þ*a*t…sy*n*ned] *om.* G; þ*a*t] of al þat B of þ*a*t þ*a*t LaU þa V for þat Y.

311 *line om.* NR; An oþ*ir* is] *om.* H þe toþ*ir* is W; is... sy*n*ned] ryȝtful amendes makynge for our(e) synnes N;

open] trwe E *om.* GS; our] *om.* ABGLSVXY; hou] how þat VZ þat howe X.

312 *line om*. L; And] *om*. AELaNRSUWX an-oþ*ir* Y; þe] *om*. GY; thrid] *om*. Y; rightwis amendis makynge] with good wille to forsake our(e) synne N; is rightwis] ys ryɜhtful ER *om.* LaU ys right S is rygthfully WY is satisfaciou*n* in penance doying X; amendis] in amendyng X makynge] *om*. HX.

313 *line om.* LN; For…synned] for þat we haue do & ryse vp wiþ good wille G; of al þat we haue misdone X; For] of BRW of al X; þat... synned] oure synnes BRW; þat] þat at ZAH; synned] do GLa misdone X

314 þir thre] & ryse vp G and þese through R & þese iij W and þise þre þy*n*ges Y; &] *om.* ABGHLLaSUVXY is N; to forsake] doon & forsaky*n*ge Y; oure] of Y; syn] synnys EGHLaUV.

315 *line om*. AG; Clensis... synnes] maken vs clene of alle man*ir* synne don aft*er* baptem W; Clensis] BCEHLLaNTUV waschis ZXY Þese þre clansen N schul maken vs clene R & clense S; vs[1]] *om.* HS; & wesshis vs[2]] *om.* R clene þe sowle Y; wesshis] BCEHLLaNSTUV clensis ZX; of[1]] for C fro ESY; alkyn] CHLT al man*ir* of ZRY alle maner BELaSU alle our*e* NX al V; synnes] synne EHLS *adds* þat we arn defouled in after our baptem R wyckednes V fylth Y.

316 þe[1]] *om.* RY; ferth] ferthe sacrament U; is] *after* sacrame*n*tis Y; sacramente] worshipful sacrament B sacrame*n*ts Y; of þe auter] as our*e* saluacyon þat is sacred on þe awter betwene þe prestys hondes Y.

317 awne bodye] fleisch & his blood B hys awe*n* body R blyssed body Y; licnesse] foorme E forme & likenesse S þe fourme Y; brede] *adds* of wyn (in left marg.) *adds* as holy chyrche E.

318 As] ryȝt LaU also Y; hale] halily AX hol BG haly CSRW *om.* LaU; of] in G; þe] that T his Y; þe blissid maiden] Mary his moder R Mary his modir & clene maydin W blyssed modir Marye Y; blissid] blisfull AEHV; maiden] mayden Marye ELau mayde Marie S.

319 Whilk] þe which BLNS qwilk þat R whiche yn saluacyon of Y; ilk] euery ELaRU ech BGNY eny W; man & wo*m*man] *n. trs.* A man LaRW men U; elde] age EY wyt & elde R witte & of helde W; is] *before* of RNSWY.

320 awe] aght H owiþ BEGNSWY; to] *om.* X; receyue] reseiue it A.

321 Þat is] *om*. RWY at[1]] to ABCEHLaNU *om*. GRVWXY; at[2]] at þe LRXZ *om*. V; Paske] Este*r*ne ENSY Paskes HT Leste RW Pasch*er* V; as Haly Kirke vsis] *om*. X most vsyth Y.

322 When] þan whan E; þai] men RW; er] ben NSY; clensid] clensyd clene LaU; of syn] of heere synnys E of hor synne G *om.* R of synnes UW here synnys Y; of] *repeats* S; thurgh] w*ith* R; penau*n*ce] hire penau*n*ce doynge B holy pennawnce E penawnce doynge Y.

323 † E; *line om.* B; Of[1]] on GX o L vp La vp-on þe NS opon RY In V; of[2]] *om.* R; oute of] w*ith*-owten R; Haly] *om.* CNS þe R.

324 *line om.* B; if] *om.* CGY; forbere... by] han RW haue Y; it] for G; by] any GY for CNSVX; skilwis] skilful EGLaNRSUWX a rygth Y; cause] *adds* why Y.

325 *line om.* B; That...it] þe which þey behoueth to be a knowen to þe prest þat shryveth peym Y; That] and þat ER and W; awe] owiþ EGLaNRSW aght H; to[1]] *om.* A; knawen] knawing A knawe HSU; þai*m*] hym LaU; to[2]] of RS; sal] *om.* NSVX schuld R; gyue] ȝeueþ N giffes V; it] it hy*m* RW.

326 For] And B; he] *om.* W; takes[1]] he takes C tase L þat sacrame*n*t Y; it] *om.* AWY; worþily] worþily receyuyth Y; takis[2]] takys hit to LaU he receyuyth Y.

327 Wha sa] who þ*a*t LaU and he þat NRSWY; sa] s<u>a</u>oo E; vnworthily] takes it vnwortheli ACLLaNRSUX vnworthily takiþ yt he EG takyþ vnworthyly W receyueth his vnworthily Y; takis] *om*. BXY takyþ hit to LaU; da*m*pnaciou*n*] *adds* but if he amende hym S *adds* as wetnesseþ þe holy apostel Sei*n*t Poule W.

328 sacramente] *om.* RW; þe last] *om.* GY; ennoyntynge] enoynement C.

329 oile] holy oyle E; þ*a*t] *om*. Y; is] *om.* EY; halowid & handelynge] folkeys anoytyd wiþ E; halowid] heland A; &] *om.* RWY; handeled] BGHLLaNTUVX handelynge ZACS *om.* Y; preste] prustis BCHL þe preest ESV prests þe whilke

sacrament awe anely to be gyffen L þe bischop RWY p*re*stes hands X.

330 *line om.* A; To ...elde] qwich þe prest owyth to mynistren to C*ri*sten folk of elde & discrecon R qwyche þe p*ri*ste owyþ to minystr*e* to Cristen of holde W þe which sacrame*n*t eu*er*y man & woman & of lawful age Y; To] BGLLaSTUX *om.* ZCEHNV; þai*m*] *om.* E; he] *om.* GLaU; wate] knowiþ þat B wote þ*a*t E *om.* GLaU; er] are B þ*a*t þei arne E ben NS *om.* Y; skilwis] skilful BEGLaNSU skilful *before* of X; elde] age EY ȝelde S.

331 And…sikirly] & semyn La q*we*n he han R & þ*a*t men seen U & dystrecyon quen þei ben W owghten to receyue of þe prestys hondys Y; þat] *om.* N; he] him B; sees] semeþ B see E says H *om.* LaRUWY seyth S; deed] deþ BEGLaNRSUY.

332 In] for hit is Y; In] in-to B *om.* R; lightenes] ABCEGHLLaNTUVX lethnesse Z *om.* RW lighttyng S; &] and in AEGV *om.* RY of S; alegeau*n*ce] *om.* Y; sekenes] likenesse G.

333 *line om.* Y; þ*a*t þai] thayme C; turne] leue or to*ur*ne S drawe X; agayne…hele] to bodyly helth RW; hele] þe hele CHLLaU here helthe E þe lif X.

334 als] *om.* RW; in] in-to B *om.* RW a Y; forgifnes] for-ȝeft R; of] of her W; synnes] *om.* E synne Y.

335 *line om.* X; in] *om.* BRY of G; lessi*n*ge] þe lessing AW lessenynge C allegeaunce G; payne] hire peyne BEY peynes G here porcatory R payne in p*ur*gatory W; passe

heþne] *trs.* B passen R weynde hythen V shulde he*n*nys Y; heþne] *om.* GRW hennes NS *adds* and þise .v. sacrame*n*tes eue*r*y man and woman þat is of lawfull age owyth to receyue Y.

336 sacrament… kirke] *om.* RW is ordir] *after* sac*ra*me*n*te Y; ordir] ordre þat is holi B þe ordre W; Kirk] Chyrche as Benet, subdekyn, dekyn & prest Y.

337 power…þai*m*] þeym power Y; gyues power] is ȝeue*n* N; to þai*m*] *om.* G to hym is R; riȝtwisly…it] reseyuen it rytfully R resayues it ryghtwysly V taken hit ryghtfully Y; riȝtwisly] ryȝtfully EGLaNU rightly S; takis it] *trs.* B tase it L; takis] take take S.

338 *line om.* RW; haly] *om.* Y; eft*ir*] as B aftyr þ*a*t EN; þair] his A; is] axit B *om.* ACS.

339 *line om.* RW; to] *om.* B; takis] has H take S; þe order…of preste] it X; þe] BCEHLLaNSTUY *om.* ZAGV; preste] prusthod freli and worþili B p*ri*esthode Y.

340 For-to… &] *om.* RW; for-to] to BR; si*n*ge] s*er*ue T; messe] massys ELaUY *om.* T; forto[2]] *om.* CS; sac*ra*me*n*tis] sac*ra*me*n*t Z þe holi sacramentis B þe sacrame*n*tes EGHLLaSUVXY; of hali kirk… þai*m*] *om.* B; þ*a*t…falles] to þame þ*a*t falles A to men & women Y; falles] fallyn LaNSU *om.* X.

341 Eft*ir*… askis] freeli and holili þat vnto hem longeþ. B after þat here degre asketh RW aft*er* þat þey been & haue nede & as here stat of degre askyth Y; askis] langes X.

342 sacramente] sac*ra*me*n*t & þe last LaU *om.* RW sacrame*n*t of Holy Chirche Y; matrimoigne] trow matrymoyne V wedlok Y.

343 a] *om.* ZGHLRWXY; lawful] longe E *om.* RW; festeny*n*g] festyng band RW byndy*n*ge Y; bitwix] by-twene ABNSX.

344 *line om.* Y; At…assent] be asent of hem bothen R þorwe asent of hem boþen W; At] and N be R; bathir] bothenes E boþe NX; for-to] to NR; sa*m*ne] to-gidre to here lyues eende B to-gedere EGNS to-gydyr whyl*e* here boþe lyuys wyl laste LaU to geder qwiles (W: quyl) her lyues lesten RW.

345 *line om.* RW; W*ith*oute*n* …lousyng] *om.* LaU; W*ith*oute*n*] w*ith* \oute/ X; lousyng] departynge BGSY partenge ELaU lesynge V; to…lastes] in v*er*rey loue and charite B; to] whils ACLV whyl EN þe while S; lyue] lyfes SVY; lastes] *om.* GLaU ende Y.

346 In...getynge] *om*. G; remedy] remedie and (W: *om.*) excusacon RW foryeuenesse Y; of] aȝen B; syn] sinnes A fleschly synne R; and] i*n* X; getynge] purchasynge B.

347 If] & R; taken] tane L; in[1]] wiþ G of LaU; entent] attent NT entent & lawefully kept RW; &…life] to bringe forþ here children B; &] ACGHLLaNSTUVXY in Z and in E; life] *adds* the ferthe thyng of þe sex thiese be þe seuene werkes of mercy bodyly L *adds* Septe*m*opera corporalia misericordie LaU *adds* De vij operib*us* misericordie W *adds* & þus endyth þe vij sacrame*n*tys of Holy Chirche Y; † BY.

348 ferth] vij Y; thi*n*g] þing is W *om*. V; of þe sex] þat we shull Y; þe[2]] þes A *om.* G; sex] sexte ys EG; sex] sexte ys EG; to knawe] *rep.* C *om.* RW know by Y; God almyɜty] *om.* RW.

349 *line om*. BY; Þat[1]] & A and þ*a*t C is þ*a*t LaU; fulfille] fully C to fulfylle EGNRSW to knowe LaU; in…may] *om.* RW; in] *om.* G; al] þ*a*t ZS *om.* CEGN as mochyl as E.

350 Er] es CEHTVXY *om.* AGLaRUW ben BNS; þe] *om.* CHV þorough þe Y; til…Cristen] þat ech man moot fulfille after þat oure power is to oure euen Cristene B bodily & gostly LaU in þat we mown RW m*er*cy þat we owe to doon Y; euen-C*ri*sten] \eu*en*/C*ri*sten X; ǂ LaU.

351 Þat] whiche ERW for LaU þe which Y; God] ABCEGHLLaNRSTUVWXY *om.* Z; sal] *before* God N wolle Y; reherce] ABCGHLSTVXY be reherced Z rechercyn ENW reherse he*m* LaU reseyue R; vs] to us BLaSU *after* dome N *om.* RWY; apon] at EGLaRSUWY i*n* N; þe... dome] þe doom RW *adds* til vs N domes daie X; þe day] þe dredfull day LY þe doom RW domes daie X.

352 *line om.* RW; &] *om.* G i*n* X to Y; wite] what A *om.* G se LaU; done… lyue] dyspendyd þe wordly goodes þat he hath sente vs here Y; done] doo E; þai*m*] *om*. HN þen X; here…lyue] *om.* H to ou*r* euyn C*ri*styn LaU; þis] oure G.

353 As… mynde] *om.* H; as Mathew scheweth RW; Matheu] Mark & Matheu N; makis my*n*de] schewiþ E mynden N seyþ LaU makyth me*n*cyon Y; his] þe BLaRU *om.* C here N; gospel] godspell T.

354 Of] *om.* Y; whilk] þe whilk ACLaSUX whiche seuene E *om.* Y; is] *before* þe N dede of m*er*cy is Y; to] *om.* C ȝe X; þai*m* þat er] þe Y; þai*m*] *om.* X; er] beþ BLaNSU.

355 Þe toþ*ir*] *adds* is BGL þ*a*t other CTX þe secunde ys ERW that oþ*er* is LaU þe s[ecund]e S the secu*n*de ded of m*er*cy is Y; for-to] to ABGLLaNRSUWY; þai*m*] to hem (*after* drinke) B *om.* E hy*m* Y; drynke] *om*. V; þat er] to þe E; er] ben BLaNSU is Y; thristy] firsty N þristi or nedi W.

356 thrid] þriddre es BEGLNRVWY; for-to] to BEGRSVWY; þai*m*…clathles] þe nakyd W hy*m* to goeth nakyd abowte Y; er] ben BLaNSU; clathles] nakid BER clatheles or nakede L.

357 is] CEGLLaNRTUVWY *om.* ZABHX; for-to] to BGLaRSTUVWY; þai*m*] por*e* men LaU pilgrymis & he*m* W hy*m* Y; er] ben BLaNSU is Y; houselesse] honeles R herberwȝles LaSUY.

358 fifte] fifte ys EGLRWY; for-to] to BEGLaRSUWY; visite…sekenesse] cumforte þe sike B confort & visiten þe seeke R visiten & c*om*fortyn þe seke; visite] visite and co*n*forte LaU co*m*forte Y; þai*m*... sekenesse] men LaU in p*ri*sou*n* LaU; lyes] arne ENX ben SY; sekenesse] syknesses N seke Y.

359 is] EGLLaTUWY *om.* ZABCHNRSVX; for-to] to BEGLaRSTUWY; help] visite and co*n*forte LaUY visiten NS; in prisou*n* er] lyes or er in presoun L þ*a*t be seke LaU be i*n*

presou*n* S; er] es A ben (*after* þ*a*t) BSY *om.* E (*after* þat) GR *om.* LaU ben N arn (*after* þ*a*t) W.

360 seuent] seuenþe is BEGLLaW seuent & þe laste is U vij dede of m*er*cy is Y; to] ABCEGHLLaRSTUWY for-to ZNVX; dede me*n*] hem þat arn dede E hem LaNUY þe dede BRSW; me*n*] *om.* CX; þat] *om.* RW; has myster] nede han B nede haue E haue nede LaU at nede RW been ded Y; has] haues X; ǂ LaU.

361-79 ǂ LaU.

361 *line om.* RW; Þir] and þese B þise HLNTY; er] ben BLaNSU Y; þe] *om.* AC; seuen] *om.* S; bodily] *after* merci G *after* dedis X.

362 *line om.* BRW; ilc] euery EY iche GS; man] *om.* G a man V; do] fulfille G; þat... myȝty] aftyr þat ys stat ys E to his power S is of powe*r*e Y; is] ACEGLNTVX are ZH his S; *sidenote:* vnde v*er*sus] *om*. ACEHNVX .v. G vij. op*er*a mi*sericordi*e corp*or*alia vn*de* v*ersus* (*foll. line 378*) L .vij. op*er*a sp*irit*ualia m*isericordi*e (*foll. line 362*) LaU.

363 *line om.* BNRSWX; Vestio] visito V.

364 Þ*ir*] þe B Also þ*er* Y; er] es A *om*. B bene LaNSY; of m*er*cy] seuen B also EGNRSW; oþir Y alsa] goostli B seuente EGRSY of m*er*cy NW; seuen] dedis BG gostely ESY vij N of m*er*cy R; gastely] of m*er*ci BG dedys ESY; dedis] also B of mercy ESY gostly G.

365 vs[1]] we EGNSY; awe] be yn dette Y; to do] to ~~hem~~ don E; to þai*m*] *om.* X; has nede] *trs.* B; til vs[2]] *om.* B þe*r*of Y.

366 Ane is] *om.* B the first is Y; to cou*n*sel] *adds* hem EG cou*n*seylinge NS to [t]echen RW; & wisse] *om.* BLaRUWY & to wysse C and teche E & wille G & wissynge NS; þai*m* þat er] *om.* RW; wille] in doute B vncunnynge E vnwise G euyll L wikked N þe vnkonand R euyl or wikkid S þe vnconnyng W reedles Y; er] be LaNSUY.

367-8 *lines trs.* S.

367 An-oþir] *om*. B and anoþe*r* R þe þrid S the secu*n*de Y; is] *om*. BEH ys lettyng S; to] *om*. NY & S; wi*th*drawe] chasty L wi*th*drawyng S wi*th* goode wylle to lette Y; wald do] will wirk ABCGHTV werkyn E wyrkkys L wolde don NS welen werken or seyn RW do X; ylle] yuel (*before* wole) B euyl ENRSW.

368 is] es *eras.* A *om.* X; solace] confoorte B solace & confort S solace in W co*m*forte Y; er] ben BNY; sorowful] sorowefull and comforthe thaym L in sorwe or aduersite R sorye Y.

369 is] *om*. BN; to] for to V; þai*m*…synful] þe synful R; er] ben BNY.

370 fifte] fift es AEGLSVW; to... tholemode] gladli to suffre B to suffre he*m* pacyently Y; tholemode] pacyent EGS tholemody HV pacient aȝens þe wrecheful RW; when men] to hem þa*t* N; when] þat Y; men…vs] he don vs wrong or

seyn R þei don or sayn wrong to vs; W; doon to vs oþ*ir* þe*n* goode Y; mysdose] mysdo S.

371 sext] sext es AEGLSVWY; gladly] *after* forȝiue G gladly gladle H for to seyn gladly W *om.* Y; to] *om*. AX for to V; forgyue] for to forȝeue w*ith* hole herte R for to ȝif hem w*ith* hole herte W; whe*n* me*n*] hem þat GY me*n* þ*a*t NS; has…vs] greue vs all day Y; has] haue ES haues L; vs] *om*. T.

372 seue*n*t] seuent es AEGRSVWY seuenþe gladli to teche B; when…þai*m*] to teche hem þ*a*t been of lesse ku*n*nynge Y; for-to here þai*m*] *om.* B forȝiuenesse to forȝiue hem G; for-to] to AEGNRS; askis] aske G; vs] *om.* HR; here] lere A lerne NS leryn W help X.

373 *line om*. ABCVY; If] & ȝif GRW; can] knowe W; mare þan þai] om. E; lere] lerne NR; forto lere þai*m*] *om*. S; for-to] to G; þai*m*] *adds* w*ith*owten skorn or dispyt (W: dispising) RW; *sidenote:* vnde versus] *om.* AHN *on prev. line* C v. EG vij. op*er*a mi*sericordi*e sp*irit*ualia (*foll. line 378*) L.

374 *line om.* NRSX.

375 *line om.* NRSX; *Instrue ... haberis*] in þe first worde of þis verse þat is co*n*sule be vndir-sto*n*de þe firste & þe laste Y.

376 þir] þose N; neiȝbo*ur*s] BCEGLNSTVXY neghbur ZAHRWY; er] ben NSY is X; ful] *om*. GRSWY.

377 *line om*. NY; þai*m*[1]…þai*m*[2]] þe doer RW; wondir] wonnderful E are ful G are ful G wol R full S wonderful V is ful X; medeful] *om.* E \mede/ spedeful H nedefull S.

378-9 *lines trs*. X.

378 For] & X; fynd] *om*. L haf HVX.

379 And] þe G a WV for X; man] a man EY; of] *om.* GY; mys] mys wiþ-oute*n* dowte G no*n* be his N; he myse V.

380 þe] nowe the Y; fifte] syxte Y; thi*n*g] *om.* W; sex] sexte ys E *om.* G lawe & doctryne of Holy Chirche Y; to] is to G; knawe] knowe by Y; to…almyɜty] *om.* W.

381 Er] ben BGNSY ys EHLaRTUVWX; þe] *om.* C; Haly Writt techis] all men shulde vse as Holy Chirche wytnessyth Y; Writt] Kirk ABGHX; techis] techith vs RS.

382 whilk] þe whilk ASY þe X; seue*n*] seuen vertues G *om.* W; þe] *om.* ACG *after* thr*e* HY; thr*e* firste]; þre G *trs.* LaNSUX; þat er] *before* fyrste E; þat] *om.* GWY; er] ben BLaSUY byhoueth N; hed] *om.* EN sou*er*ayne LaU chief SY; thewes] schewes C vertuys or thewys E vertues GLaSUY *om.* R.

383 Techis vs] we owe LaU; Techis] techen BENS þat techen G þei techen R for it techyn W & techen Y; vs[1]] ABCEGHLNRSTVXY *om.* ZLaU; hou] for-to LaU; to haue] we schulden BY we shul ENRS we shulle be haue W; vnto... almyɜty] *om.* W; vnto] toward LaU as anemptes our God þ*a*t is our heued R ageyn S; vs[2]] *om.* CHLaU be*re* vs Y; almyɜty] *om.* Y.

384 *line om.* W; þe] *om*. BX; foure] oþ*er* foure LaU toþer fouer V iiij. oþ*ir* Y; sa ... lyue] how we shull lyue to our-silf Y; for-to] to BSY \for-to/ H; sa] *om.* ES.

385 *line om.* LLaU; Bath] *om.* BWY; our[1]…C*ri*sten] beþen anemptes God & our euen-C*ri*sten & oure-self R beryn vs towrde our euen Crysten Y; our~[1]] vs~ X.

386 *line om.* S; Þ*a*t... be] vnto þe Y; be] *om*. V *after* bathe X; bath likande] ACHLRTW *trs.* Z boþe plesynge B boþen lykyng EGNV lykynge LaU bath be likand X plesau*n*ce bothe Y; to[1]] of Y; to[2]] BCEGHLLaNTUVWX *om.* ZY; man] man also G eu*er*y good man R.

387 v*ir*tu] virtu or thewe Z *om.* W; is... anely] þat we shul vse is to beleue stedfastly Y; is] *om.* R; trouth] feyþ ELaR þe byleue N feith or byleve S; wharthurgh] whereby LaU; we trowe] ABCGHLLaNTUVWX *om.* EZ we byleve S; anely] treuli (*after* trowe) B hoollyche E; *sidenote*: Fides] *om*. BCDEGHLN.

387 v*ir*tu] v*ir*tu or thewe Z *om.* W *adds* þat we shul vse Y; trouth] feyþ ELaR þe byleue N feith or byleve S to beleue stedfastly Y; wharthurgh...anely] *om.* Y; we trowe] *om.* ZEY we louen R we byleue S; anely] treuli B hoollyche E.

388 In] to B; a] *om.* AGHLLaNUY on R; God] *adds* to trowe (from prev. line) Z; made] *om.* A boþe heuene and erþe B *after* þyngys LaU *adds* made & gouerne RW; alle] and alle B *om.* V; thingis] *adds* of noɜt B *adds* we leue C þinge EGHSX thing in hese ken W þe worlde of nowgth Y.

389 W*ith*] þ*a*t U as w*ith* W; alle] *om.* CY; þe] ABEGHLLaNSTUVXY þa Z *om.* CRW; oþ*ir*] tother ANE *om.* LaUY; articlis] vertus L thynges or articles R; I... bifore] þ*a*t y be for*e* seyde LaU of þe feythe W þat been rehersyd befor(e) Y; I] *om.* ABCEGRX þ*a*t NS; touchid] towchand A.

390 *line om.* B; And] as R for Y; þis] thise C; is] *om.* A er C; til alle] *om.* AW for alle R; þat...lyues] for trowyng stedfastly of þe W; þat] *om.* ERY; Cristenly] C*ri*stene RTY; lyues] leuen EG men R leve S creaturys Y.

391-3 † Y.

391 For] And þis B *om.* W; trouth] feiþ EGR it H *om.* W; bigy*n*ny*n*g] þo begynnyng H; werkis] dedis L.

392 *line om.* ABCGNS; For] But LaU; is] *om.* E; trouth] feythe ERW worth] wrowt R gode W; werkis] werk LLaU.

393 Ne na werk] ne non good feyth werkes R for S the gode werkys W; Ne] and B; na] good LaU; w*ith*oute*n*] *om.* S w*ith*oute *eras.* X; trouth] feyþ EGW *om*. N good feth R trewe feithe and byleve S; may] & so we shul Y *om.* W; paie] plese CGLaU qweme ERW payith S; almyȝty] *adds* þis treuþe in oure tunge is clepid feiþ B *om.* W

394 Þe] þ*a*t X; toþ*ir*] secounde GLaUWY oþ*er* X; good] *om*. GLaUWY; thewe or v*ir*tu] CHLTVX *n. trs.* AENZ vertu BGLaRSUW v*er*tu þat we shulde vse Y; hope] hope þ*a*t is hope W; *sidenote*: Spes] Hope B *om.* CDEGHLN.

395 a] *om.* AR; gastely gode] all gude werkes A; abidi*n*ge] beginning A abydynges Y; of] a S; gode] fode W godes X.

396 Thurgh] þorȝt B; godenes] m*er*cy & godenesse W; and] & our*e* LaU of W; gode dedis] godedis T; gode] go\d/e H.

396 scribe corrects ‘godes’ by interlinear insertion of a second ‘d’ H

397 for-to] to E; to$^{\dot{2}}$] *om.* E; þat] þe RY; blis] hygh blysse of heuyn Y; neu*er*-mare blynnes] euyr lastyþ more lastyþ E is lastande w*ith*owten sorwe W; neu*er*-mare] neu*er* ABGLaU neu*er*e ne C euer more R eu*er* Y; blynnes] schal haue eende B lesteth R styntith S shall laste Y.

398 Not] noiþ*er* X but not Y; anely] *om.* Y; in] in þe C for to V *om.* W to Y; of] yn Y; Goddis] Go~~ɵ~~dis S; godenesse] goodnesse withoute good dedys Y.

399 *line om.* HNS; al anely] oonli BE to moche Y; al] *om.* ABWX; in treste] *om.* R *trs.* Y; of…dedis] yn goode dedys with-oute Goddes goodnesse Y; our*e*] oni R; gode dedis] *adds* but in triste of oure goode dedis B goode werk*es* R.

400 in] only C on H; þai*m*] hem boþe BEGLLaNRSUVXY Goddys goodenesse & owr gode dedys W; þai er] þame A; er] ben BELaSUY; bath] *om.* BELaUX be NSY comen R; sa*m*ne] to-gedre BELaNRSUWY.

401 For nouþ*ir* sal we falle] Ne we ne shal falle Y; sa fer] *om.* BR to fere EW þ*er*fore X; into] AEHLNSTVY vnto Z in BCGLaRUWX; wanhope] hope E.

402-5 † Y.

402 Þ*a*t we] but þat S; ne] *om.* HSX; sal] schuln N shuld S; treste] *om.* A not trostyn W drede X; to] *om.* A; blis] þank B þ*a*t blysse ELLaSU þe blys W; we] þat A þat we GH; wele do] *adds* & heuene blisse to mede B *adds* wiþ owte Goddys goddenesse E; do] woln N iuel do X.

403-5 ‡ LaU.

403 Ne] Ere A nor G; we] when A we ne CTW; noɜt] BEHLLaNRSTUW *om.* ZACGVX; com] not go B take E falle G fallen RW; sa fer] *after* ou*er*hope X; sa] to AR; into] ABCEGHLNRSTVX vnto Z in LaUW; ouerhope] ou*er* hou*er* hop H oilhope N.

404 Þ*a*t we] *om.* BLRW; sal] ne sall A *om.* B schul noɜt E for-to L *om.* RW; traist] tristynge B to trosten RW; sa mykil] so ferre or so moche R; mykil] muche B; of] in EGHLNRSVWX; Goddis godenes] God*is* m*er*cy & goodnesse S þe godenesse of God W; Goddis] God R.

405 Þ*a*t... hope] *om.* RW; hope] *om*. GR; to haue] haue G *om.* N; blis] þ*a*t blis ABCEHLNSVWYZ it G þe blysse R; w*ith*oute*n*] ɜef we woln N; gode dedis] gudenes A *om.* N.

406 or thewe] *om.* BGLaRSUW þat we shal vse Y; is] þat is N; *sidenote*: Caritas] .iii. Charite. B *om.* CDEGHLN.

407 þe] þat B *om*. ENRSW for Y; whilke] *om.* B þat Y; a] *om*. NS; dere] ather A derworthely E fulnesse of LaU dereworthy R; loue] loue to God almyɜty E; þat...haue] *om.* LaU; þat] *om.* C; vs] we EGNRSWY; awe] aght A *om.* C shulde Y; to haue] *om*. L haue Y.

408 *line om*. HL; Vnto…Cristen] boþe to God and man B; Vnto] *om.* S; God almyɜty] *trs.* R; almyɜty] hym E *om.* W; almyɜty] *om.* W; til] *om.* ACSX.

409 *line om.* Y; Vnto] onys to E; al for] for for G; almyɜty] *om.* W; al] *om.* EGT.

410 *line om.* Y; til] *om*. N; for] al for BNSXZ for luf of H for þe lufe of V; almyɜty] almighti luf A *om*. VW.

411 For] *om.* A; þe] þat ELaUXY; tane] on ELaSUXY; loued] *om.* AE wele loued W; þe toþ*ir*] þe oþir ES þ*a*t oþ*er* LaUXY.

412 for] *om.* LY; as] als that T has W *om.* X; Jon] John þe gospellere L; sais] *om.* C *before* Se[i]nt W; in…epistle] *om.* W; epistle] gospell ACVY; *sidenote*: Ca*pit*o q*uar*to] *om.* CHLN ca*pit*o.iij° E cap*itu*lu*m* ·e· G.

413 *line om.* Y; þat] þe G; he sais] *om.* AELaRUWX; we haue] *trs.* AL; almiɜti] *om*. LLaWU.

414 eu*ir*] cu*n* A *om.* EW; God] God almiɜti G; loues[2]] he lofes AGR loue CEX he schulde loue E he loue G; his eue*n*-C*ri*sten] [hese he non] Crysten W.

415 For] but E; he þ*a*t] who-so S; he[1]] *adds* schulde loue hys euen-Crystene E; wham] þat BY whiche E qwilk R; he mai se] þ*a*t he seþe W; se] *adds* w*ith* iɜe B.

416 God] God almyɜti GHRST almighty God V hese God W; wham] which BER þat HTY who La qwilk R qwom þ*a*t W; sees not] mai noghte se AGNS nowt may sen R.

417 or thewe] *om.* BGLaRSUW þat we shulde vse Y; riɜtwisnesse] ryɜtfulnesse N; *sidenote*: Justicia] .iiij. Riɜtwisnesse. B *om.* CDEGHLN De quarto virtute G.

418 to[2]] *om.* ACGRSY; al] ilk A eu*e*ry W; me*n*] ma*n* A *om.* W; þat] þat þat B; we ... þai*m*] hem oweþ to haue G; we] thay C; awe] oweþ G; þaim] him A *om.* W we to do to hem Y.

419 *line om.* Y; For-to] and to B & forto GLaUV; to] to he*m* E *adds* God & to Holy Chirche W; ilk] alle B euery ER iche GLaU & euery W; man] men B a man GL; þat] þat þat B; vs] we EGNRSW; awe] auɜte GH; to do] hem E *om.* LaU; do] done B.

420 ǂ LaU; for-to] to B; þai*m*] to hem G alle men N eu*e*ry man aft*e*r Y; er] ben BNS is Y; worþi] *adds* and serue to oure souereyns B.

421 for-to] to BRW; þe þou*ir*] hem NSW eu*e*ry man aft*e*r Y; þe] þ*a*t La; þat er] and þe B þat he Y; nedy] *adds* & to amend synful men as þe gospel seys LaU oght nedy V remedy Y.

422 For-to] to BLLaU nowht for-to E; do] *om.* A; gyle] no gile BGLNRSWY *om.* LaU; ne] ne no B ne frande ne C *om.* GLaU; wrange] *om.* G; na] any B man] man or woman E.

423 Bot] and B *om.* G; for-to] to LaUW; þat] *om.* GWXY; skill] right A resou*n* ER skil & resou*n* G rygth & skylle Y; is] ABCEHLLaRTUV wille Z *om.* GWXY were NS; vnto] *illeg.* R; ilk] eueri BERWY iche GLaSU.

424 fifte] first AE; v*ir*tu…slenesse] qwayntise W; or thewe] *om*. BGLaNRSU þat we shull vse Y; sleght] prudence or sleiɜþe B warnesse LaU þe sleyte R prudete Y; or] & LaU *om.* Y; slenesse] qweyntys EGR sleyɜte LaU *om.* Y; *sidenote*: Prudentia] *om.* BCDEGHLN.

425 *line om.* LaU; wissis] techeþ B warnyth ER warnes W wolle teche Y; vs] *om*. C; w*ith*] of ENRSWY þ*a*t X; wathis] CHLTVX athis Z wathe A þe wrenches B þe wykkydnesse ER weyes G wawes N the p*er*els S wyckedenesse W co*n*dycyones Y; þe] HLNSTY þis ZABCEGRVX our W; werlde] emnys W.

426 For... vs] in God LaU; For] & for Y; it] to AE þat G *om.* RY; ke*n*nes] ken AW techiþ BENRS; it... vs] *om.* Y; vs] ~~vs~~ vs B; to knawe] *om.* ER; þe[1]] *om.* GSW; fra] and L; þe[2]] *om.* GSW; yuel] ill AHLVX; wycke & sa[re]cen W.

427 *line om.* W; alsa] so ER *om.* LaUY; to su*n*dre] forto twynne B departyn E departeþ N dep*ar*ten R to depart LaSUY; þe tane] þat oon BY þ*a*t an X; þe[1]…toþir] hem in

two LaU; þe[1]] þe þe C; þe[2]] þat GXY *om.* R; toþir] oþir EGXY.

428 *line om*. X; And…is] þ*a*t is wele W; for-to] *om.* B to E; leue…gode] teche þe bettyr & leue the worse Y; leue] hate LaU louen R; þat] þ*a*t at C *om*. G; is yuel] BCEHLNRST *trs.* Z is ill AV yuel G; take] loue LaU taken RW; to] *om.* AEGW þat BS þat þ*a*t R; þe] þat BERS; gode] good is B is good S.

429 *line om*. X; & ... bett*ir*] þat is for to teche þe goode & leue þe ꝥ euyll Y; gode] *om.* AW; to] *om.* NRSW; chese] chesen NRSW; þe] þat es A.

430 sext] seuen sixþe G; v*ir*tu is] vertwe or thewe ys E *trs.* R is W v*er*tue þat we shulde vse is Y; stre*n*gthe or stalwornes] stalworthnesse G *om.* LaU strengthe oþ*er* stalworthenesse N of strenkthe R strengþe SW *n.trs.* Y; not anely] *om*. B nowȝt noȝt onliche E but not only Y; body] þe body LaU; *sidenote*: Fortitudia] *om.* BCDEGHLN.

431 Bot] And also B but also LaU; of hert & of wille] *n. trs.* N; of[1]] of þe LaU; of[2]] *om.* ABLVXY of þe LaU; eue*n*ly] *om.* B oonly Y; euenly] stalworthly and tholemodly LaU.

432-4 ‡ LaU.

432 Þe[1]] Boþe þe B *om.* GRW; &] or E with NS; þe[2]] *om.* GRW; welth...wandreth] wele or wo (*err.*) NS; welth] prosp(er)ite B or seknesse Y; or] & W; wa*n*dreth] adu(er)site B angyr ER wandering W helth Y; wheþer] ABCEHLNRSTVWXY whille Z what G; bitidis] hit betydeþ N.

433 þ*a*t... hie] þ*a*t we be noght ou*er* hiegh X nought to be of to hyȝe herte Y; hert] hertus G berynge V; wele fare] welþe ne wele far(e) W.

434 Ne] Na noght AC; ou*ir* mykil vndir] to sory Y; ou*ir* mykil] ouer myche BG to mechel R to moch S; vndir] wonder N ; yuel] ill AV adu*er*syte ne iuel W.

435 to] *om.* W; stifly] stedfastly C; agaynes] aȝeyn GLaNSU; oure] alle oure BNS; faas] ennemyes ERW foon G.

436 Wheþir…gastely] bodily or gostly LaU; Wheþir þai be] wheþ*er* þat þei ben (*after* goostly) B wheþer so þey ben (*after* goostli) S; Wheþir] whethir þat AW; be[1]] *om.* Y; or] & S; þai be[2]] *om.* ABCEGRSWXY; gastely] gastly faes C gostly & þa*n*ke God of his sonde Y.

437 þ*a*t] *om*. V; na... falle] we falle yn to no temptacyon of þe fowle fende Y; foule] feendis B foly CLaU; fandi*n*ge] te*m*ptaciou*n* S fandyngs X; make] may make G.

438 or] ABCEGNTWX ne ZHLLaUVY or to ENSW; be... faith] of our*e* fleysh to be fals Y; be] to be LaU; fals] fals or fey*n*ing W; in] of G; faith] fare X; agaynes] aȝeyn GNSX ogayne T; God almyȝty] God W our*e* lorde God Y; ǂ LaU.

439 v*ir*tu] vertwe or thewe E *om.* W; & þe last] *om.* BGWX þat we shulde vse Y; or] of V; meth or methfulnes] methe þat is to seie myldenesse or mesure B mesure or

temporawnce ES; mesure or mesurablenesse G mesure LaRUW temp*er*au*n*ce or mesure Y.

440 hedis] kepes ABCEGLLaNRSUWY ledis V; vs[1]] *om.* W; outerage] outragenes AG vtragys E; &…euen] *om*. R; vs[2]] *om.* HW; i*n*] *om.* G an Y; euen] euenhed ELLaU mene S an euen way Y; *sidenote*: Temp*er*antia] Mesure. B *om.* CEGHLN.

441 Lettis] þat lettiþ B and lettyth ELaRSUW lettes vs V & lettyth vs Y; foule] ne fro R *om.* W fro Y; liki*n*ges] lekynge BGLLaUWXY *om.* E; &] *om.* E of Y; lustes] lustenes C luste GLWX; þe] oure RXY.

442 *line om.* LaUY; &] *om.* G; ȝemes] kepiþ BENRSW ȝernes X; vs] *om.* AH; ȝerny*n*gis] desiris B couetise ER ȝernyng GWX ~~ȝernege~~ ȝernynges H couetyng S; werldly] þis worldli B worthily C.

443 *line om.* Y; vs] *om*. AL vs also B; cle*n*nes of] clene way & sekir boþen W; of[1]] i*n* X; of[2]] *om.* ZEGHLaRUWZ i*n* VX.

444 *line om.* W; meth] temporawnce E menswe G mesure LaU medfulnesse R myght Y; mesure] good mesure B mede to vs LaU; & mete] *om.* ZBELaRY; of] in LaU & Y; we do] wele does A wel don G.

445 If... techis] þorwe skilful liuyng W; we] we wil V þat we Y; lyue] haue hit Y; skilwisly] skilfulli ABCEGLaNRU wilfully S ryghtfully Y; þe] Goddys LaU; lawe] ABCEGHLLaNRSTUVXY boke Z *adds* of Holy Chirche Y;

techis] vs techiþ BLa techyng E *adds* vs, & þise been þe vij v*er*tues þat vs behouyth to vse Y.

446 *line om.* Y; thi*n*g] *om.* ERX; & þe laste] *after* touchede G; þe] *om.* V; of þas] þ*a*t were*n* B of þo þat EGNS of þ*a*t H to know LaU *om.* W; I... touchid] God almyȝty LaU *om.* W; I] *om.* B; first] *om.* S; touchid] towchyd to knowen God almyȝty E.

447 *line om.* Y; Is] BEGHLLaTUVW er ACXZ arn R beþ NS; þe] *om.* AN; hed syn*n*es] *om*. GW; hed] of hed La; or…sy*n*nes] þat deedli ben clepid B; sy*n*nes[1]] *om.* LLaU; or] & A *om.* GW me*n* kalleþ N or þe seven S.

448 *line om.* Y; þ*a*t] whiche E qwilk R; ilc] ech BGS euery ELaRUW; man] *om.* HN a man & woman L; to] & W; flie] flee hem B eschewe S; forhoue] forbere B to forsakyn E to forsake G forsake LaU forsaken NRW & forsaks S.

449 For... þai*m*] thise been þe vij dedly sy*n*nes Y; man] nane A a man BHS men ERVWX folkes L no man LaU; not] *om*. ALaU; flie þai*m*] *repeats* E; flie] flen NR; þai*m*] am L; bot] bote if ACEGHNUVW but ȝif þat C; he] þai AEGLVWX; knawe] ken C *after* þai*m* X; þai*m*] these arn La þese þai ben U.

450 Envie] and enuye LN wrath] ACEGHLLaNRSTUVWXY ire Z and wraþþe BC; and] *om.* CGLaRSUY; Glotonye] coueitise BR.

451 Couetise] and glotenie B *om*. N slawthe R; &] *om.* ZEGHLaNRSUVXY; Sleuth] glotenys R; &] *om.* EGHLaRSUVXYZ.

452 *line om.* R; And] þ*a*t ZH *om*. ACLaXY þese W; forþi] for AB for riɜtfulli G þerefore CLaU *om.* ENSWY; er þai] *trs.* AE þese arn B þei be LaNS ben U thise been Y; callid] clepid BLaSU; seuen] the vij CELaU *om.* GW.

453 *line om.* NRY; For...oþ*ir*] *om*. W; þ*a*t] *om.* ABGLaSUVX; oþ*ir*] oþ*er*e synnes BEGLaSUX; comes] comen out BS.

454 *line om.* NRY; And] *om.* A; forþi] *om.* BGLaUW þerefore ES; er þai] *trs.* BG þey be LaU arn W; er] *om.* LaU; dedely] seuen dedely V; sy*n*nes] *om.* B.

455 þai] he*m* W why þey Y; sla] CEHLLaSTVY slaes *after* gastli ACGHLTVX *before* goostli BELaRSUW fylen (*before* gostly) N *after* saule Z; ilc] ech BG euery ELaRSY þat euery U; mannes] man ACH manes & woman*n*s L *om*. W sy*n*full Y; saule] saules AC;

456 is] er T; hankid] hanged B bownde ELaRUW cauɜt G take S de-fowlyd Y; in alle] *om.* Y; alle] hem BLaU; or in] or X with Y; or ... þai*m*] for he þ*a*t synnys in on synnys in alle LaU; *sidenote*: *om.* HLN.

457 *line om.* N; Wharfore] þ*er*fore (*after* man) W þe wise] þis La; þe] *om.* W; man] *adds* Ecclesiastes LaU; biddis] seiþ ER byddyþ (*after* boke) W byddyth Y; *sidenote*: *.ecc(..). xxij.* W.

458 *line om.* ENR; face…eddir] nedyrys face La; þe[2]] an BY a G; fande…flie] fle þ*o*u fro B; fande] fondes W.

459 *line om.* N; For] *om.* ER; þe[1]] *om.* GSW; venym] face B; of…body] *om.* A; þe[2]] *om.* E; ma*n*nys] a mannes G mennes R.

460 *line om.* N; Sa... venym] *om.* A; Sa] ryȝt so RY; þe] *om.* R; syn] þo synne HLaUW dedly sy*n*nes Y; slaes] *om.* S; mannes] man A mennes R þe W; saule] soules R *om.* S.

461 *line om.* W; þe[1]] þese LaU now þe Y; of] þan AC; þis] BGLLaSTUV *om.* A þe ZCEHNRXY; seuen] *om.* LaU; synnes] *om.* A dedly synnys EY dedly synne R; is] es called AL is hatten X; s*idenote*: Sup*er*bia] Pride . B *om.* CEGHLN.

462 þat] þis R Pride W & Y; a…hert[1]] noþy*n*ge but a fowle heyȝnesse of herte Y; a[1]] *om.* N; likande] lekynge BEGLaNSU; hienesse] of hiȝenesse G & heynesse (*after* herte) La heenes & grette hede W; of] in CG; a[2]] *om.* AGLaNSUW.

463 Of[1]... nobelay] of state, of ymage or of rychesse or of strength Y; or] *om.* S; of[2]] *om.* T; hie... nobelay] nobel of kende or of lwfe or of oþir grace W; hie] oþ*er* X; or[2]] *om.* S; or oþ*ir* nobelay] *om.* R; oþ*ir*] of oþer GNS *om.* La þ*a*t U of X;

464 Þat…kynde] or of bewte or of wysdom þat he hath oþ*ir* þa*n* of Goddys grace Y; Þat he] *om.* R *trs.* S; ouþ*ir*... grace] bodili or gostly or of hope hath W; ouþ*ir*] *om.* EGLaNRS *after* haues X; has] haues LX hade N *om.* R hale V; of[1]] or of R; kynde] kynde of fortune B kynred E kindred R; grace] oþ*er* g*ra*ce N goddess grace VY.

465 *line om.* Y; þat[1]…has] *om*. W; þat[1]] *om*. LNU; he[1]] *om*. A; hopis] wenys LaU sees X; þat[2]] *om*. EU; he[2]] *om*. HU; has] haue LaU haues X; mare] is bett*ir* W; a noþ*ir*] any other C inow G oþ*er* HS anoþ*er* man LaUW.

466 þis] þat G; syn] foule synne B wikkede synn L synnes N; comes] come ELa spryng S; many] *om.* E some L; sere] diu*er*se BEGNSW oþ*er* R fowle Y; spices] spice A.

467 Boste] As boost BS bosty*n*ge LaU as bostynge Y; &] *om.* LaUY; auau*nti*n*g*e] aua*n*t-maky*n*g LaU; and] *om.* BGLaRUWY.

468 Despite] & despiɜt G dispysyng RY; and[1]] *om.* GWY; and[2]] *om.* BGLaU; vnschamefulnesse] vnschamefastnesse BG vn[s]hamlynes L proud shame & fool drede LaU vncle*n*nesse Y; † RW.

469 oþ*ir*] many othere A many oþere diuerse poyntes B oþer mo G oþ*er* many LaRW of mony U many oþ(ir) vycys Y; þat] *om.* B; er... seen] *om.* B regne LaU; oftesithe] HT oft sithes AE ofte ZCGLSXV often NRY oft tymes V ofte tyme (*after* folke) W; seen] *om.* B been seyɜen & herde Y; omange] ABEGHLaNRSTUVWX amanges ZL *om.* B; proude men] þe folk RW; proude] synful E þes proude N; men] *adds* vsen B *adds* now on dayus G *adds* for pryde is rote of all vyces & sy*n*nes Y..

470 dedly] *om.* LaUW; syn] *om.* W; hatten] called ABHNSV *om.* CEGRWY bre*n*ny*n*ge LaU; s*idenote*: Inuidia] Enuye B *om.* CEGHLN.

471 þat] *om.* H; a[1]] *om.* G; sorowe] gret sorawy*n*ges yn herte Y; &] or Y; a[2]] *om.* BLaNX an ERW; syte] si3ynge BNS ouyr thynkynge ERW greuyng G sykyng H forþynky*n*ge LaU; þe] oþeres BLaU *om.* RW þeyr neyghborys Y; wele-fare] *adds* of owre euene Crystene E.

472 ioy] a ioy LUW *adds* & a lykyng La gret ioye Y; þe] here LaUY *om.* RW; yuel] ille AHV; of[1]... C*ri*sten] whe þ*er* þey be frendys or foys La whe þ*er* þai be oure frendis or oure foes U *om.* Y.

473 Of... spredis] and her-of comys many spycis LaU & of þis sy*n*ne spry*n*geth many fowle spyces Y; whilk] þe whilk ABSVX; syn] *om.* BRW synnes N; many] may N; spri*n*gis & spredis] *n. trs.* A spryngyn & spryngeyn spredyn E spryngen RW sp*ri*ngis X spryngyn (*before* many) S.

474-82 † Y.

474 hatereden] haterede BEGHLaNRSTUW; speke or here] *v. trs.* E; o3te... spoke*n*] wordys E speke N out R angyr W spoken X; here] to heren RSWX; be] to be B *om.* ENRWX.

475 þ*a*t] but at W; may] myt RW; soune] come W; vn to] ou3t to B into G *om.* R; gode... hate] *om.* V; gode] euyl E ~~gode~~ stet H; to] of ACESX; we] þay LLaU; þai*m*] *om.* C.

476 is] *om.* L; iugynge or demy*n*ge] *v.trs.* A; iugynge] iugemente BERW; or] & C to E; dome] BHLNSTV demy*n*ge ZACGLaRUW demyn E deme XY; of] *om.* W; dedis] dedys þ*a*t þey hate LaU.

477 & ...gode] oure neyɜborys be-hynde hem Y; ai] AEHLTVX þai*m* Z alway BLaU ofte-tyme C *om.* G eue*r*e NS an fonden R here W; t*ur*ne] *adds* one A *om.* CLa to [turnen] R turnen W; vn-to] to ELaNSUVX i*n*-to G hem to R aɜen to W; yuel] ill AHV; þai] es L *om.* VW; do] did Z doon GLNRS mowet be turned V be done W; to] for CGRW in S.

478 Þe thrid is] also R also in the same Envye is S; is] *om.* X; to] þat we NS; sai] seyn werse R; þaim] a man LaU *om.* W.

479 *om.* B; Þ*a*t] þame R; we] þei G he LaU; wil not avowe] mown goodlik a-vowen R wolde not speke W; avowe... sai] *v. trs.* LaU; ne] CEHLLaTUVX to Z & AN nor G *om.* RSW; sai] seyne E; bifore] aforn R; þaim] hym LaU.

480 Where] for LaU; þe yuel] *adds* ys for to blame E is gylty R it is gylti W; þe] þat G *om.* H; yuel] ill AHV.

481 Bot] bot þ*a*t L; he] thay C; be] *om.* LaNSUX; be... blame] also RW; spoken] spoke G; is…blame] *before* but E sy*n*nyþ þe*r*yn LaU; is] also is G; for-to] to GNS.

482 herer] herers LLa; þ*ir* ware] þat war H *trs*. NV þer shuld be S; bakbit*ir*] bakbytters LLa.

483 or hed syn] *om.* BEGLaRSUWY; or] of V; wrath] ABCEGHLLaNRSTUVWXY ire Z; s*idenote*: Ira] wraþþe B *om.* CEGHLN ire Y.

484 *line om.* X; a] *om.* ABCG an S; wickid] evill S noþy*n*ge but a fowle Y; or] of a E of LLaUW & Y; bolnynge] swellynge (*after* herte) B boldnesse LaU swellynge NSY; of] *om.* E in Y; hert] þe h*er*te R man*n*es herte Y.

485 Whar*e*thurghe …wr*e*ke] man willynge wreche B; Whar*e*thurghe] wharefore L; a] *om*. Y; man] mannes ANRSVX *om*. Y; wilnes] will es ACEGHNRSVX coueytys LaU is W; for-to... wr*e*ke] his wylle wer*e* a noon Y; for-to] to LaRU for W; take wr*e*ke] wreke hym EL wreche GLaU be wroke N wreken R be wrokyn S wr*e*kyng W; take] make La.

486 Or] *om.* BY; wickidly] *after* hym G *om.* BERY; to] *om.* La; venge] *illeg.* E ben auengyd RW wenge V; him] *om.* RW; apon] of R; his] þe E.

487 syn] wykkede syn L *om.* LaU to synne R foule synne V; comes] ofte comeþ B come SW comyth bothe Y; stryuynge] sorwynge ERW steryng G stryui*n*ges N steryngg*is* S; flit*in*ge] chidynge BLaUY stryuyng G chydynges NS fyghtynge V.

488 *line om.* B; w*it*h] & X; many[1]] men LaU; athis…wordis] & many foule & many gret athes V; athis] othe C \hotes/ E & oþes (*after* wordis) S *om.* TV; many[2]] ACEGHLLaNRTUVWXY *om.* ZS; false] fowle Y; wordis] worldly Y; † W.

489 Sklau*n*dir] And slaunder B slau*n*drs LaUY of slawndr*e* R also slaundyr W; to…fame] *om.* W; fordo] vndoon Y; fame] name B loos Y.

490 Feghti*n*ge] fliytynge EGR fityþ W; &[1]] *om.* RY; felowny] betinge B *om.* Y &] *om.* Y; ofte] ofte-tymes S *om.* Y; ma*n*nes- slaghter] mannys deeþ ERW.

491 ma] *om.* AC; þan... neue*n*d] her be rekenyd LaU I can telle W fowle vyces abhomynable to here Y; þan] þ*a*t L *om.* Y; is] BEGHLNSTV (*before* now) X er (*before* now) ZAC *om.* R; nede] nedeful E nedeth R; to] her for-to B for-to LV; be] *om.* BS; neue*n*d] ne[melyd] ER nemed G.

492 is] men calles L þat is N; Glotonye] wilkid glotonye V; *sidenote*: Gula] glotonie BY *om.* CEGHLN.

493 Þ*a*t] & þat Y; is] it U an] *om.* RXY; an] a W *om.* XY vnskilwise] vnskilful BCEGLaNRSUX non skilfull W noþy*n*ge but a fowle Y; likynge or loue] lust or lekynge B; or] of HUY; loue] lust CGHXY.

494 In..taki*n*ge] þ*a*t we haue yn tast Y; In] *om.* R; taste] tastenge EGVX *om.* R; of[1]] *om.* N; taki*n*g] in takinge BCHLNRTW *om.* E tastynge La; or[1]] *om.* ER; or[2]] *om*. A & HT; of[2]] *om.* EGLaUW.

495 And…men] þe which sy*n*ne is vsed Y; þis] i*n* þis ZACGX heryn LaU; trespass] ABCEHLNSTV trespasis Z *om.* G *after* me*n* LaX synne RW trespassen U; dose] HLT *om*. ZACGLaUX doon BENRS do W; men] after trespas L; apon] on BGLaUY in ENRSW; sere] diuerse BGY many ELaNSU thre RW; wise] manerys EG manere R wyses U.

496 *line om.* U; Ane... is] as yef we ete or dry*n*ke to moche Y; ou*ir*-arely] ouþ*er* oue*r* arely L to ete or drynke oue*r* erly La *om.* W oue*r del.* areli X to erly Y; or[1]] *om.* W; or[2]] *om.* La & W; ou*ir*[3]] *om.* La to S to Y; ofte-sithes] BCEGTVWX ofte tymes ZR oft sithe AHL *om.* La ofte N to ofte S to hastily Y.

497 *line om.* U; For-to...it] or to ofte mor*e* þa*n* nedyth Y; For-to] to BRS anoþ*er* for to La *om.* W for X ?or to Y?; or to] & W; to] *om.* La; if] it C *om.* La; ger it] hit make B gerte C askyth E make it GLaNS aske it R makyth W.

498-505 † Y.

498 *line om.* U; for-to life] *om.* R; lyf to lede (*before* oue*r*~) R; for-to] to BSW; ou*ir*~] to B more E *om.* NSV; ~delicately] *adds* lyyf þan mannys state askith E delitableli G by delytious mete N delicat lyf to lede R *adds* by dilicious mete S.

499 *line om.* LaU; is] *om.* C; for-to] *om.* W til X; or] & R; drynke] for to drinke ZBEGV; ou*ir*] to EW; mykil] miche BGS.

500 Þe ferth] *om.* LaRW one U; is] is for-to A *om.* CEHLaRVW; ouir hastily] after drynk G oue*r* mokyl or oue*r* hastly (*after* drynke) LaU om. X; to[1] ... drynke] *om.* RX; to[1]] *om.* A hastely W; to[2]] *om.* ALaNSUW.

501 *line om.* R; þe fifte is] *om.* LaUWX; is] *om.* EG; co*m*pas] cou[ete] E caste G compas & caste LLaU

compas & to kest S; apon] ou*er* AW i*n* B; what] what man*er* N whatkyn V.

502 *line om.* R; We] þei B þat we N he S man X; may] myȝte N; delicious] \delicious/ H &] ACENSTV and ~~and~~ B or ZGHLLaUWX.

503 for-to] to BGLS; fille] fulfill ABEGLLaRSUW; þe[1]] ABCEGHLLaNSTUVX *om.* ZRW *illeg* V; likynges] *om*. ZRW liking ABCHLaNSUX lust EG; and] or ENS *om*. RW; lustes] CTV þe lustes LW lust ZNSX þe lust ABEGHLaRU; þe[2]] oure ARW his X; fleshe] full flesche A foule flesch G *adds* or to t*ur*ne þe h*er*te to þe likyng of our flesch R.

504 *line om.* A; Oþ*ir*] oþir wise E or X; we] he X; godely] *om.* G; oure] his X; w*ith*] *adds* in reasonable man*ir* E; *sidenote*: [v..*n* v*er*sus] ·V· E ?vii(..) G *om.* HN.

505 *line om.* BLaNRSUWXY. ardenter] ardent*e* AEH; studiose] (illeg.) G.

506 fifte] fift es A; is] es callede L þat is N; couetise] foule couetys V; *sidenote*: Auaricia] Couetise B *om.* CEHLN.

507 a] *om.* B; wrangwis] wrongful ENSY; willenynge] willing AEGHRVWXY *om.* LaU wille NS; or] *om.* LaU oþer N of R; ȝerny*n*ge] ȝeringe N desiryng SY.

508 anykyns] any BERSW any-kynne G any man*er* of LLaU eny maner Y; gode] gudes AGX þy*n*ge Y; vs] we ENRSWY; awe] mowe ERW auȝte GHNX; not] not to haue BGSY not haue ryȝtfully E not han RW.

509 þis] ABEHLLaNRSTUVY þat ZGWX *om.* C; is…wise] þe vyces of þis sy*n*ne Y; is] *om.* GW *after* p*ri*ncipally NX been Y; p*ri*ncipaly done] doon þesli B principal GW *trs*. LS; apon] oue*r* A in NS of R; twyn] twa ACELaRUWX twei B þis G; wise] manerys ER wyses LaU.

510 wrongwisly] wrongfully ELaNSW wrongly R wro*n*gfully (*after* to gete) Y; any thinge] *om.* Y; any] anykyn V.

511 Þat... apon] a-noþ*ir* gret loue & lyky*n*ge to haue þe*r* Y; our] ony C; liki*n*ge or] *om.* R; oure] ABCEHLLaRTUV *om.* ZGNSWX; loue] lust CLaNSU; lightis] lyth ER lustys La ony thyng lyþe W.

512 or[1]] and AU; bi[2]] ACEGHLNRTW *om.* BLaSUXYZ ȝit thurghe V; stulthe... gylry] *om.* Y; stulthe] þefte G *om.* L stelynge LaU; falshed] or falshede GW; falshed] or falshede GW; or okir] *after* gyle E or deseyt R *om.* W; or[2]] ACEHLLaTUVX *om.* ZBGNS; okir] *om*. RW vsurie S; oþ*ir*] ony oþir R or be ony oþ*ir* W; gylry] gyle or okyr or [skorne] or oþir qwentyse or deceyte E; gyle W gyle or deseyt R othere gillore V.

513-20 † Y.

513 Whilk] þe weche GLa þ*a*t X; þes] þer A þise wyse V; warldes] GTX wardies (err.) Z werdli ABCEHLLaNRSUVW; er…vse] vsen RW traistis opon X; er] es AHT ben BLaNSU; for-to] to ELaU.

514 Þat] *om.* B þai V; castis] casten BLaNSU leyue ER lasten W; þair] \ þair/ X; conandenes] connynge BGNSX

hertys ER lykynge LaU wytte & her wylle W; sa] al in B; vnto] HLT on ZCEGRWX oue*r* A to BLaU.

515 Þai] he*m* W; ne rek] rekke not LaU; wheþ*ir*] wheder þ*a*t V; bi[1]] *om.* AER wiþ BGLLaNSUVWX; riɜt] wrong S; or] oþer B *om.* U; bi[2]] *om.* AEGR wiþ BLLaNSVUW \w*i*t*h*/ X; wrange] wranges H right S.

516 Bot] so LaU; þat[1]] ABEGHLLaNRSTUVWX *om.* ZC; may] mowne ENR mote W; þat[2]] þ*a*t gode Z þat þing B; hert] hertes NSVW; ɜernes] desirys LaRU ɜerne N desire S ɜernynges V.

517 wrangwisly] wrangfulli AELaNS a wrongly RW; to hald] heldyn E to holden G w*i*t*h*-holdyng RW; þat] þat þ*a*t EL of þat R þ*a*t þ*a*t W; is] vs A we haue E *om.* H; þat…geten] *om*. LaU; geten] get inne A.

518 we] he NW; do] ABCEGHLLaNRSTUVWX gif Z; almyɜti] *om.* RW; ne til hali kirk] *om.* B; ne] nor G & W.

519 vs] we EGR *om.* W; do] owre doo E; bi[1]... lawe] *om.* B be lawe R; bi[1]] of G; &] or A.

520 Anely] *om.* BRW *after* ease S; haldis] hald AGLaNSU holde harde B heste E holden RW; for] in ER to our*e* owne ese LaU; of] or ER for V *om.* LaUW; ese of] *om.* W; our*e*-self] *adds* not only we synne in couetyse but also in slewþe LaU *adds* for to ben wirschep þer by RW vs-seluen TX.

521 *line om*. RW; Whar*e*] and LaU wherfor S and þ*er*for Y; anely] *om.* V; wrangwisly] wronglyke EG wrongfully LaNSY; getis] wynnyþ E *after* þ*a*t X.

522 *line om*. RW; Bot] but also LaSUY; he] he ~~h~~ E; wra*n*gwisly] wrongly G wrongfully LaNSY; haldis] wiþ haldeþ GY halt N; fallis] boþe fallen G; in] to B; þe] þat AGLaUXY *om.* B þis ENS.

523 dedly syn] *om.* La syn] *om.* V; sleuth] accidy þ*a*t is LaU; or] *om.* EGLaRWU & Y; slawnesse] *om.* EGRW ydylnesse Y; *sidenote*: Accidia] Slouþe B *om.* CEGHLN; ǂ LaU.

524 *line om.* LaU; þat] & þat RWY; an] a L *om.* RX noþynge but an Y; hertli anger] erteles W; or] & G; a-noy til vs] heuynesse B *illeg.* vn-til vs X dulnesse Y; a-noy] noi A enemy G.

525-9 † Y.

525 Of] in LaU; gode] godeness E dedis X; þat] if W; we] he LaU; sal] owe to B sculde ELaNRSUW.

526 syn] wikkede synn L synnes U *om.* W; comes] spryngen out B; many... spices] *om.* W; many] *om.* ACLW su*m* HT; sere] diu*er*se BER sex C *om.* G foule NS; spices] braunchis B.

527 Ane is] *illeg.* W; latsomnesse] lohtfu[l]*n*nesse E heuynesse & feyntnesse of herte R laþsumnes, synnes & heuynes of harte W; or lite] to bigynne B *om.* X; lite] delay ERW *om.* HX delyt LaSU lytil N; to] and BX or

RW; draw] drawynge BX w*ith*-drawyng RW; apon lenthe] o-long ES oponlyche H apon lenghte or to lathe L to laten RW.

528 *line om.* A; any] anykyns ZCHV; to lettyn eny mane*r* E ony mane*r* LaU or to letten any RW; dede] dedis LX; þat...do] *om.* RW; we] we here B; sal] schulden BELaNSUX.

529 may] miɜte BS we may V; vs] ACGLLaTUX *om.* ZBEHNRSVW hem R; til helpe] *om.* RS; or] *om.* ELaU to RS; hele] *om.* ELaU helþe NRW; oure] *om.* RW; saulis] sowle GRW.

530 a] *om.* BGLaUXY; dolnesse or heuynes] *n. trs.* B; dolnesse] ydilnesse LaU; or heuynes] *om.* EW; or] & Y; heuynes] heghnes AG enuynes H an heuynesse S; herte] spirit B.

531 Þat... vs] *om.* Y; for-to] to EGNRSWY; oure] *om.* Y; lord] *om.* Z *illeg*. Y; almyɜty] *om.* RW.

532 any] *om.* AC eny maner Y; likyng] lykenge or sauour Y; to] *om.* AY; seruyse] holi seruise B; † RW.

533 þe thrid] anoþe*r* LaY; ydilship] a dulschipe AC clepid ydelnesse B dulschipe G coldnesse of herte & ydelschip LaU ydelnesse NY ydeship T; þa*t*…hau*n*tyd] *om.* R þa*t* draweth vs ofte abakke Y; ou*ir*~] *om.* X; ~mykil] ~muche B; hau*n*tyd] vsed BELaU; † Y.

534 me*n*] vs ALaU *om.* L man NS; lath…dede] to late loth of eny good dedys E vnwytty (W: vnwysely) to late lyt of

good dedys RW; lath] late BGNS; bigyn] do C; dedes] EHLRTVWX dede ZABCGLaNSU.

535 dos … leue] to laten of godenesse W; dos] makeþ BLaS; vs] *om.* V; to] *om.* BEN; leue] leuyn of ELaSU laten R lese V; when] ȝif G of q*we*n R; oȝt] it H out G ony LaUV; is] be G; † Y.

536-8 † Y.

536 *line om*. W; þare whar*e*] HLTV whar*e* þ*a*t Z þer er C þouh ar ER þere as GNSU þ*er*fore La thar*e* ar*e* T þar*e* X; we er] *trs.* ER we be LaNSU; born] be born B *before* kyndelyche EGRX; for-to] to BELaRUVX; swynke] *adds* and to swete B swynken ER þe swynke V.

537 *line om*. W; ACEGHLLaNRSTUV foules er Z foule X foul in kende is B; ki*n*dely] *after* fle La *om*. S; born] *adds* brouȝt forþ forto fle and fisch forto flete B; hetchyd E maad G \born/ H brede L mad (*before* kendly) R *before* ky*n*dly U; flie] ACEGLLaNRSTUVX flete ZH *adds* and fisch forto flete B; *sidenote*: Job.v°.c°] *om.* BGLN.

538 haldis vs] falles A; vs] \vs/ X; eu*ir*mar*e*] euere BGX; agaynes] aȝeyn GLNRS passynge LaU; kynde] bodili kende B; † W.

539 For] *om.* W so certeynly Y; Idilnes] wilnes A idelschip X; to... saule] *om.* Y; C*ri*sten] *om.* GLaUW; man saule] ALTV men saulis ZSX manis soule BEGHLaNRUW mens saulles CS.

540 stepmodir] stoppy*n*ge LaU; &] *om.* ERY; stameryng] HLTX standing ZACGV strau*n*ger B *om.* ERY stau*n*chy*n*g LaU lettynge NS stamchyng U w*ith*stonding W; agaynes... thewis] to eu*er*y crysten ma*n*nys sowle Y; agaynes] aȝeyn GNSX & LaU; thewis] condicious B v*er*tuys S.

541 † RW; *line om*. Y; And[1]] and hit is LaU; wit*ir*] wrong B bitterli G witt*e* LaVX yuel N; wissynge] ledere B will*n*g U; alkyns] alkin AL alle maner BLaNSU alle maner of E alle G; vicis] synnes & vices LaU.

542 deadly] *om.* BR; syn] *om.* B *adds* & þe laste LaU; is] es hatten L þ*a*t is N; is lecherie] *trs.* (*before* þe) B *trs.* R; *sidenote*: Luxuria] Leccherie B *om.* CEGHLN.

543 *line om.* W; þat] *om.* A; is] *om.* A if is R is noþy*n*ge but Y; a] *om.* LaU; foule] stinky*n*ge LaU; or] of ERVY; luste] a lust H; þe] *om.* Y; fleshe] fleysh betweene man & woman Y.

544 *line om.* W; And …syn] þe which sy*n*ne Y; And] *om.* X; þis] þe X; syn] loþli synne B *om.* CGR foule sin L; comes] come ES hath Y; sere] foule BNS dyu*er*se EGR dyuers fowle Y.

545 Ane is] As B & þ*er*of comyth W; fornicacio*u*n] clepyd fornycacyou*n* Y; a] þat is a BEWY of LaU þ*a*t a R of a V & X; syn] knowy*n*ge of sy*n*n Y.

546 Bitwix] betwene ABGHLaSUY; an[1]] AHLTX *om.* BCGRV a ZELaNSUWY; anlepy[1]] ACHLTVX sengle ZBGLaNRSUWY ~~sley~~ sengle H; man] \man/ H; an[2]] ACHLT *om.* BGRVWXY

a ZELaNSU; anlepy[2]] AHLTVX sengle ZEGLaNRSUW *om.* BY anely C; woman] *adds* aȝens Godis biddynge B

547 *line om.* B; Þa*t*[1]] *om.* AG and CELLaNRSUVWXY; forþi] for EGLaRSUWY; þa*t*[2]] *om.* GRW; it] *om.* AELaY; is] *om.* L; þe] Godes N; lawe] lawe of Holy Chyrch R.

548 *line om.* BR; And... lare] & doctryne Y; And...leue] *om.* AES; leue] law H; lare] lawe N; þat] of EWY; haldis] teches AS *om.* EWY halt N.

549 It] And hit B; is] is a GVY; to] for R yn Y; þaim] alle G alle hem N; dose it] it vses A *trs.* BLX; don yt EG.

550 An oþir] And a-noþ*ir* E; avoutrie] *om.* W clepyd auowtrye Y; þat] and þat L *om.* W; spouse-breke] spowse-breking ALaU spouse-breken C a spouse-briche GZ sposage-brekynge V.

551 Wheþir] *adds* þat AWZ *adds* so BHV; bodily... gastley] weddyd man or woman þat oon w*ith* þ*a*t oþir Y; it be[2]] *om.* BEGHLaSUW it C.

552 Þat] Þat es AHRY and þ*a*t ys EW wel LaU; greuouser] moore greuous B greuouser yt is LaU g*r*euows R; and] *om*. EW; gretti*r*] *om*. EW; is] *after* þat AEHRWY *om*. EW; þan] þan is BRW þe oþ*er* La þan toþ*er* R; þe toþir] þ*a*t oþer BGHTUX fornicaciou*n* SW sy*m*ple fornycacyon Y.

553 is[1]] *om.* A; incest] clepyd ynceste Y; þat is] *om.* AGH; when] yef Y; a] *om.* BW; sy*n*nes] sy*n*ne Y.

554 Fleshely] *om.* W; sib] *om.* LaRSUY; frendis] kyn BLaSUY frende HTV kyndred R blode W.

555 any] ellis B wiþ ony EVY *om.* X; oþir... is] other AGRW *om.* BXY þat is NSV; of] *om.* RX; his affynyte] *om.* R.

556 Gastely] þ*a*t is gostly R bodily SW; bodily] gostly SW; wheþir…be] as be mat*ri*mony or fleschely knowyng aforn of hese kynnys man or gostly as baptym & c*on*firmacyon W þat is grettyr sy*n*ne þ*a*n þat oþ*ir* Y; ~sa] ~þat AC *om.* EG; be] so be doo E be don R.

557 Oþir] and BY *om*. S; spices…ma] many oþ*ir* lustes & vyces Y; spices] *after* mo B *after* many GS synnys W; many] *om*. R; ma] *om*. ACEGLRWX may LaU; spri*n*gis] ther spryngyn W comyn Y; of þis syn] of þe seuen A out her-of B of þis and of þes oþ*er* dedly synnes S.

558-9 † Y.

558 Þat] queche ben W; ou*ir*…knawen] ben knowen al to much B moche knowen W; mykil] miche G; er] is ACELLaNRSUX *om.* W; knowen] customyd LaU; &] or A *om.* S; kend] now B kydde CN vsed ERW know LaU *om.* S; þis] þe AHRTV.

559 w*ith*] þ*a*t C; þai*m*] mani X om. Y; ledis] lede La leuen W; þair life] hem N *om.* W; as þair] after þe G; as] & als R; ȝernes] wyl LaU ȝernyth werse þanne bost*es* RW likith S; ‡ LaU † RW.

560 þir] þoo frendys þise Y; er] ben BLaNSUY *om.* C; þe] *om.* C; sex] seuen GY *om.* W; þat…of] *om.* Y; I haue] are B; of] *adds* bifore B.

561 *line om.* X; þat] which Y; lawe] lawe & doctryne Y; Haly Kirke] C*ri*stens W haly ~~lies mast in~~ kyrk H; lies] hangeth Y; maste] *om.* AW; in] *om.* W.

562 *line om.* La; Þat…ku*n*ne] yn which eue*r*y crysten man & woman leryd & lewed oweth to ku*n*ne & been yn dette to do aft*er* hem Y ȝe er] ACGHTVX ilc man Z alle Cristene men B we be E we er LR ȝe ben NS þai bene U; halden] all halden A be hold ES holde GS & holden ys (*after* knowen) W halden by dette X; to knawe &] *om.* B; to2] *om.* CW; kunne] ken CR knowen W

563 If] ȝif þat BY þat La; ȝe] þei BLaUY we ELRW; sal] ACEGHLNRTUVX wylle ZWY be hold La shold S; knawe] to know La; almyȝty] *om*. BX; his] *om*. ET þe LaU; blis] blysse of heuyn LaU blys þat eue*r*more lastyth Y; † W.

554-9 *lines om*. ERW.

564 for-to[1]] for La; ȝou] men B ȝow ȝow S bett*ir*] þe better GLaSU; ku*n*ne] knowe GNV; þai*m*] þese B.

565 Oure fadir] *om.* B owre holy fadir S And þe*r*for oure fadir Y; erchebishop] Archibischop of ȝork B beschope L Archebysshop of Cawnt*ir*berye Y; g*ra*untis…grace] *om.* Y; grace] grete grace G holy grace V.

566-71 † Y.

566 of] to ACX; þat…þai*m*] his subiectis B; ku*n*nes] cun*n*e LaNS wole lerne ham ande conne U; þai*m*] *om.* U.

567 *line om.* AHLNV; Or ... þai*m*] & rehercys hem & tellys he*m* to (U: al) oþe*r* LaU; Or] þat B; dose] doon BG do S; þair] his X; gode] *om.* B; for-to] to GS; ku*n*ne] come B knowe GS; þai*m*] to hem B.

568 ratifies alsa] *con*firmys al þe p*ar*dou*n* LaU *trs.* S; men] bischopes B; gyues] ȝeuys to LaU geue S.

569 Sa] swa L; mykil] muche BGLaS; couetis] desirith S; he] *before* couettes A; þe hele] *adds* & help Z help & þe hele A *adds* & þe helpe C þe helpe & þe hele G hele X; ȝoure] GLNSTVX oure ZAHLa hire B þere C hor ^oure U.

570 For] and so W; if ȝe] hwo so B if he C ȝif we ER *om.* W conandely] ku*n*nyngli BLaNSU knowleche E kyndely G *om.* R; þir] þuse B this ilk T.

571 *line om.* X; sal] ȝe LaNSU he W; ȝe] *om.* AB we CR schull LaU schowen N shold SW; kun] come B *om.* EHNRSW mowe G; knawe] to knowe B; almyȝty] *om.* W.

572 *line om*. X; Wham as] qwom for to knowe q*wa*t he is R of whom EG and LaU for Y; as] *om*. EGY so as U; sais] spekiþ E *before* Seynt Jon G; gospel] gode gospel H þe gospel R; *sidenote*: Xv ij° ca*pit*o] *om.* BHLN.

573 *line om*. RX; Conandly] cleerli B kyndeli GN ku*n*ny*n*gly LaSU knowandly W *om.* Y; for-to] to GLaSUY; knawe] knowleche God E knaw hym H knowe God almyȝty LaUY knowen God W; swilke] such BGNSW *om.* LaU sothly Y.

574 It] *om.* GLaU is] were Y; endles] an endeles NS; life and lastande] *om.* R; lastande] lastynge BEGLaU a lastynge NS euer lastynge Y.

575 To... blis] *om.* LaU; whilk] þe whilk ABHLSVY þe [~~blisse~~] whilk X; blis] *om.* BS; he] *om.* RW; bringe vs] *trs.* BUY vs alle GNSW vs vs þerto La ȝow & me RV vs awe (*before* bring) X; *mss. add* Amen BEGLaNSUWX Amen *quod Daniell* A Amen Amen R Amen amen amen L owre lorde God almyhty ELNS þat soþfast God and makere of alle þing B to Oure Ladi and to al the cumpeny of heuene G þat bowȝt vs w*ith* hys herte blod on (U: vpon) þe cros (La *adds* Crist I*hes*u) LaU þat for vs deyt (V: schedd his blode) on þe roode tre RV þat made vs & boght vs w*ith* his dere blode X owr lorde God in qwom we stedfastly lyuen W.

576 Q*ui cum* p*atre* sp*iritu* s*ancto* v*iuit* + r*egnat* de*us*] ZCY per d*omi*num n*ost*rum I*esu*m *Christu*m qui cum deo patri & sp*irit*u s*anc*to viuit & rignat o*mni*p*otens* deus in secula seculor*um* amen amen amen L qui cu*m* deo p*at*re viuit & regnat deus p*er* o*mn*ia. ll. amen. V.

577 P*er* o*mn*ia s*ecu*la s*ecu*lor*um*, am*en*] ZC & s*ecu*la s*ecu*lor*um* amen Y.

578 Explicit s*er*mo*n* Gaitrig] Credo in deu*m* p*at*rem o*mni*potente*m* creaturore*m* celi & *terrae* C Iesu est Amor Meus N.

Notes on the text

The reading in Z, the 'base' text for this edition, is emended when it is erroneous or semantically corrupt, or when there is strong evidence that an alternative reading is closer to that of the archetype. The reading in LT is used, and is often supported by the Northern witnessess ACHVX.

1 *Attendite populo meus legem meam*: Psalm 77. Added in AEGLaNVY. *Secundo sentencia distinctione prima*: ZAEGLaNTV (and *Et est secunda secunda sentenciae dis[tincci] one prima* E, + est 2° sina[..] G, and [*Et est mag(ister) ij [illeg.] bokys* R on following line). Book 2, Dist. 1 of Peter the Lombard's *Sentences.*

2, 11 *clerk*: i.e. Peter Lombard.

boke: Book 2 of Peter Lombard's *The Sentences*, a detailed treatise on the creation according to Genesis.

3 *and*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which substitutes *or*, and R, which omits.

5 *He*: The reading of all witnesses except ZG which substitute *God*.

11 *God*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which substitutes *Christ* by alliterative attraction, and NS, which omit. *clerk*: see 2 above

12-15 'For the rational creature was distinguished into the incorporeal and the corporeal; and the incorporeal is called

angel, but the corporeal is called man, who consists of a rational soul and flesh' (*Bk 2*, Dist. I, ch. 4, no. 2).

14 'And if it is asked for what is the rational creature created, answer: to praise God, to serve him, to enjoy him. By these things, the creature profits, not God.' (*Bk 2*, Dist. I, ch. 4, no. 4).

21 Lam. 5:7.

28 *lawe and … lare*: law and doctrine.

29 *alle*: The reading of all witnesses except Y, which omits. *creatures*: The reading in all witnesses except Z, which reads creat*ur*e.

32-40 A general expansion of Thoresby's *Injunctions*, translate 'because many people now do not have sufficient knowledge of the faith to be able to attain salvation through the worship of God (without guidance), as is shown by their behaviour, which is dangerous for their souls'.

33 As a result of original sin, souls now need the assistance of God's grace, without which we do not possess sufficient good to attain salvation (*Bk 2*, Dist. XXVIII, ch. 1 no. 1.)

39 *prelates, parsones, vicares, & prestes*: Bishops, parish priests, substitute priests and all other ordained clergy, encompassing each of their individual responsibilities regarding the care of souls.

41-7 The syntax of this sentence, with its sub-clauses, is awkward. Translate 'Our father the archbishop – whom

almighty God save, and who (as St Paul says of Jesus Christ) wishes that everyone may be saved and may know almighty God, and in particular, those simple people that belong to him (i.e. the priests) – has arranged and ordained for the common good (through the advice of his clergy) that everyone under him who has cure of souls teach and preach to those they have cure of the law and knowledge to know almighty God, on Sundays openly in English.'

41 *erchebisshop*: The reading preserved in all northern texts with the exception of L's inexplicable amendment to *byschope*. GY add *of Caunterbyri*, a change which may have occurred in a much earlier archetype intended for a southern audience.

42 *Paulus ad Thimo secundo capitulo:* The sidenote in ZEGRTXW refers to the second epistle of St Paul to Timothy, which encourages the latter to 'hold firm the sound doctrine of the gospel'

43 *Qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* (1 Tim. 2:4).

45-6 The two lines were originally copied in reverse order, but the Z-scribe has corrected the order by marking text appropriately.

46 *þe*: The reading in LT, supported by ACGLaNSUXY; ZW omit (BHRV omit the line).

59 *þat has*: The reading in LT and supported by ACEGLaNUX; Z substitutes &, S substitutes *of*, and RY omit.

63-71 Although the lines are omitted in Y, the scribe instead substitutes similar text at the end of that witness, which replace lines 566-71 (see Appendix B).

62 *þat*: The reading in LT introduces the relative clause and is supported by CEW; ZAGLaNRSUXY omit.

63 *þair*: The reading in LT and supported by ACEGLNRTWX (expanded in La, *to here,* S and U, *as here*); Z omits.

72 *nane*: The reading in LT, supported by LaU; ZABERWXY substitute *na man*, and G substitutes *þei*.

73 *Thurgh*: The reading in TL, supported by ABWY; ZRX substitute *for* and ELaU *of*.

74 *erchebisshop*: The reading in all witnesses except L, which repeats *beschope* from line 41. BEHSV omit.

76 The passage is here interrupted in Y by a tract on the mass, and the reader is directed to a later folio (30v) in the manuscript where it continues with a re-written incipit (see Appendix B).

79 *grete clerkis*: Refers to the authoratative theological writers such as Ambrose, Augustine, Pope Gregory, Isidore, Origen, et al., whose works are discussed in the *Sentences*.

80-82 Primo sciendum est quod secundum theologos xiiij. sunt articuli fidei, quorum septem pertinent ad divinitatem, et septem ad Christi humanitatum (Reg. 11).

83 Primus articulos pertinens ad divinitatem est in unum Deum credere firma fide (Reg. 11).

86-7 Secundus est credere Patrem omnipotentem esse Deum (Reg. 11).

88-89 Tertius est credere Dominum nostrum Filium ejus unigenitum esse Deum (Reg. 11).

89 *sothfastly*: The reading in LT, and supported by HIVW; ZABCEGLaNRSUXY substitute *sothefast*.

90-95 Quartus est credere Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum, et sic credendum est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum (Reg. 11).

96-97 Quintus est credere quod trinus et unus Deus est creator coeli et terrae (Reg. 11).

97 *maker of heuen & erth & of al thinges*: God the creator made from nothing the world at the beginning of time; 'the world was made by God the Creator in a single beginning' (*Bk 2*, Dist. I, ch. 1).

98-104 *Sextus est credere sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et sanctorum communicationem, quae consistit in congregatione et communione fidelium, et sacramentis ecclesiae et aliis quibus communicat ecclesia Christiana, ita quod extra istam ecclesiam non est salus* (Reg. 11); 'There is one universal church of the faithful, outside of which there is absolutely no salvation' (Canon 1, Lateran IV).

99 *werlde*: The reading in O, *we werlde*, is an uncorrected error.

100 *is*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which omits. *folke*: The reading of all witnesses except ZB, which substitute *men*, R which substitutes *men & woman*, and Y, which substitutes *creaturys*.

105-116 Septimus est credere carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam, videlicet, quod omnes in die judicii sumus in carne et anima veraciter surrecturi, et tunc erit aeterna gloria electorum et damnatio perpetua reproborum (Reg. 11).

106 *life*: The S-scribe's intention was to write *leff*, although the <l> is badly formed and the result appears as *feff*.

107 *and*: The reading of all witnesses except ZH, which substitute *fra*.

109 *when*: The reading in LT is supported by ACHRV; Z substitutes *tyme*, (expanded to *þe time* in BLaU, *þat tyme* in G, and *a tyme* in Y), X substitutes *þen*; ENS omit. *God*: Although all witnesses agree, it is of course in the form of the Son, so that wicked men will see only his humanity, as his divinity is reserved for the good (*Bk 4*, Dist. XLVIII, ch. 3.).

112 *in body & in soule*: 'That whatever was of the substance and nature of the body will rise again' (*Bk 4*, Dist. XLIV, ch. 2).

114 *Bot*: The reading of all witnesses except ZY, which substitute *bath* and *and* respectively; Y omits. *er*: The reading in LT is supported by ACGHRVX(W) and BLaNSUY (*ben*); Z substitutes *lyue* and E *leuedyn in þis worlde*.

118 *er Cristen*: The reading in LT, supported by ACEHILaUV; Z substitutes *Cristenly lyues*, with substitutions in B (*Cristen ben*), GX (*Cristen men*), N (*ben*), R (*al Cristen*), and S *(Crystn*).

119-124 *Primus articulus pertinens ad Christi humanitatem est vera Christi incarnatio, videlicet, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus Filius Dei unigenitus conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto sine virili semine ex Maria Virgine incorrupta* (Reg. 11).

121 *bicome*: The variant in W, *he cam*, is the result of a misreading.

123-4 Merged into a single line in AELaURSWY: *wythe-outen ani merring* (ERW: *blemyschynge*; S: *lak or wem*; Y: *lessynge or blemysshynge*) *of hir madenhed*.

123 *merringe*: The reading in Z is supported by BCGHLLaTX.

124 *mynnyng*: Adopted from BCHLTV as the best reading; that in Z, *menusinge* 'the loss' [OF amenuisier] is supported only by X which, given its meaning, 'diminishing, reducing', is probably a coincidental replacement, allowing the retention of the archetypal alliteration. N and Y share *blemysching* with ER (see comment above). The MED quotes the *Catechism* as the only record of its usage under *minnen* v. 2 with the definition 'to reduce (sth.), diminish'.

125-129 *Secundus est ipsius Domini nostri Ihesus Christi sic incarnati nativitas ex dicta Virgine gloriosa* (Reg. 11).

125 *is*: The reading in ABCEGHLLaSUVX, and maintaining consistency with lines 119, 136, 143, 149, 156 (and 130).

126 'He who was Son of God in divinity became son of man in humanity' (*Bk 3*, Dist. I, ch. 1, no 4).

127 *blissid maiden*: Mary was purified of all sin and 'freed…from the urge to sin' (*Bk 3*, Dist. III, ch. 1, no. 2).

128-9 The union of his divinity and his humanity (being both the body and the soul), in flesh and soul, were created in the same instant (*Bk 3*, Dist. II, ch.2).

128 *before*: The reading of all witnesses except ZH, which substitute *withouten*.

130-135 Tertius est vera Christi passio, qui, ut genus humanum ab aeterna morte, cui fuit obnoxium, redimeret, gratis sustinuit asperrimam mortem crucis (Reg. 11).

131 *tholed*: Christ, in taking on flesh, also took on 'the capacity to suffer and die' (*Bk 3*, Dist. XV, ch. 1 no. 8).

131 *man*: This reading in LT, supported by AEGLaUVW, Z has *mannes*. 'He is said to have borne our sins… the pain he bore on the cross… all temporal punishment due for sin', which is later 'entirely forgiven to the convert in baptism' (*Bk 3*, Dist. XIX ch. 4).

132 *taken with*: Translate 'seized by'.

136-142 *Quartus est descensio Christi ad inferos in anima, quiescente corpore in sepulcro, ut iude suos eriperet quos redemit* (Reg. 11). 'And at one and the same time, Christ lay in the tomb and descended into hell, but he lay in the tomb

according to the flesh alone, and he descended into hell according to the soul alone' (*Bk 3*, Dist. XXII, ch. 2, no. 3). See *Piers Plowman* B.18.

137 *laid in the grave*: Eyeskip has resulted in the phrase being duplicated in the previous line, replacing *& doluen*, in B.

138: *his*: The reading in LT is supported by ABEGHLaNSUVWX; ZCR substitute *þe*.

142 *forloke*: B substitutes 'ordynaunce', an easier near-synonym for a rare word. NSY 'passyoun' is probably the result of a substitution by a scribe who misunderstood *forloke*. NS do not derive from Y, which is a later copy, but there might have been an earlier exemplar with 'passion' that has been misread by NS yet correctly read in the line of descent ended at Y.

143-148 Quintus est vera Christi resurrectio qui tertia die post passionem suam, solutis inferni doloribus, a mortuis resurrexit (Reg. 11).

145-6 *sekenes*: Translate 'the weakness of being human, our mortal nature'. Lombard debates whether Christ's flesh and his soul separated at his death, concluding that 'as the soul withdrew, the flesh died' (*Bk 3*, Dist. XXI, ch. 1-2).

148 *rising*: The reading of all witnesses except ZY, which expand to *vprising*; repeated at l.106.

149-155 Sextus est vera Christi ascensio ad coelos, qui quadragesimo die post resurrectionem suam ascendit in coelum (Reg. 11).

154 *abouen alle aungelis*: Heb. 1:4.

156-165 Septimus est adventus Christi ad judicium certissima expectatio, et tunc, qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam; qui vero mala, in ignem aeternam (Reg. 11).

157 *steid in-til heuen*: The phrase is a duplication from l. 151; NS also copy l. 152 here.

163 *dampned or saued*: Adopted from T, which is supported by ABCEGHLaNSUVWX; ZLY transpose the verbs.

164-5 Mercy will be withdrawn at the Last Judgement: 'the reprobates in hell shall do penance in such a way that they will not thereby give up their evil will, and that malignant will shall heap suffering upon them; and yet they shall acquire no merit through it because no one can acquire merit, except in this life' (Bk 4, Dist. L, ch.1, no. 4).

165 *Post tenebras spero lucem*: Sidenote in the margin of the fragment J (Job 17:12).

166-170 Secundo decem sunt mandata a cunctis fidelibus inviolabiliter observanda, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, septem vero ad proximum (Reg. 11).

168 *þe thre þat er*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCHLaUVWX (and NS).

171-267 The Decalogue has been substituted in its entirety in LaU. See Appendix C (C209 to C525).

171-179 *Primum mandatum est, 'Non adorabis Deos alienos', in quo prohibentur principaliter omnis idolatria, sortilegia; et secundario omnes incantationes et carminationes cum suis characteribus et figmentis* (Reg. 11). The 'worship of the one God which pertains to the Father, in whom is unity or authority' (*Bk 3*, Dist. XXXVII, ch. 3, no. 2).

174 *mysbileues*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCHNSVXY, while Z has *mysbelue*.

177 ACGLSV omit the line.

180-185 Secundum est, 'Non assumes in vanum nomen Dei tui', in quo prohibetur principaliter omnis haeresis, et secundario omnis [blasphemia] et irreverens nominatio Dei nostri (Reg. 11). Exod. 20:7; also Deut. 5:11.

180 *vs*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which omits.

182 *in*: The reading in LT is supported by V, ZABCEHRS have *of*. *þat is*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCEHNRSVX, ZG have *it be*.

183 Line is omitted in CEGLNTW, which is coincidental as the witnesses (aside from EW) are unrelated.

184 *bi*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCEGHNRSW, Z omits.

185 *And*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which omits.

186-195 Tertium est, ‘Sabbata sanctifices’, in quo praecipitur tam clericis quam laicis, omissis operibus servilibus, vacare divino cultui diebus dominicis et festivis (Reg. 11).

186-7 *haly day / þe Sunday*: The reading in LT supported by the northern witnesses VX (and ENRW) has been adopted. Holy days included all those in the liturgical calendar.

188 *to halowe*: The reading in LT is supported by AHNS, and ZCEGRWY substitute *to be halowed*. While either reading is acceptable, that of LT has been adopted as being more likely to have been that of the archetype.

191 *here...sai*: The reading in LT is supported by ACEGHNSVWX, Z transposes the verbs.

193 *tary*: The reading in LT is supported by CEGHNRSVWX (and Y) is correct; *trey* in ZA is probably the result of confusion between *treien* ‘afflict’ and a variant of *tarien* (v. (2)) with the same sense. Translate ‘to plan to spend time with the world’.

194 *ne*^{2}: The reading in LT is supported by ACNV, Z omits.

196-205 Quartum mandatum est, ‘Honorare patrem et matrem’, in quo mandato intelliguntur pater et mater non solum carnales, sed etiam spirituales, videlicet praelati et alii curati qui sunt patres spirituales fidelium; mater vero ecclesia catholica, cujus sunt filii universi Christiani; secundario in isto mandato omnis superior juxta gradus sui meritum intelligitur honorandus (Reg. 11). Just as the first commandment pertains to the heavenly Father, this commandment pertains to the fleshly father (but does not mention the *gastely* mother and father) (Bk 3, Dist. XXXVII, ch. 4, no. 2).

205 Translate 'To show respect according to his worthiness'. *it*: The reading in LT. X is emended from *he* to *it*, while ZACEGHNRSVW have the easier reading *he*.

206-212 Quintus est, 'Non occides', in quo prohibetur nedum hominum occisio, sed etiam vis injusta, proximi laesio tam spiritualis, quam corporalis. Spiritualiter enim occidunt, qui proximis detrabunt, et indigentibus denegant alimenta, et qui per malitiam opprimunt innocentes (Reg. 11). Exod. 20:13; Deut. 5:17.

206 *vs*: The reading of all witnesses except ZAW, which omit.

207 *bodily ne gastely*: Matt. 5:21-22 adds spiritual aspect to the physical aspect of the law.

208-09 Translate 'for we kill just as many insofar as we slander...'

210 Translate 'we attempt to put to shame those who do not deserve it'. The inclusion by Z of *fra*, picked up from the following line, obscures the sense.

212 *be of hauynge*: Translate 'have the wherewithall'.

213-218 Sextum est, 'Non moechaberis', in quo prohibetur incestus et omnis fornicatio, et omnis commixtio viri et mulieris quam sacramentum matrimonii non excusat (Reg. 11). Lombard explains that 'you shall not have intercourse with anyone outside of marriage' and that adultery means 'every illicit [such] union' (Bk 3, Dist. XXXVII, ch. 4 no., commenting on Isidore, *Quaestiones de veteri et novo*

Testamento, In Exodam, c29 n11, and Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, bk 2, q71 respectively).

219-223 Septimum est, 'Non facies furtum', in quo prohibetur omnis illicita contractio et detentio rerum alienarum contra voluntatum dominorum vel custodum earumdem (Reg. 11).

224-230 Octavum est, 'Non loqueris falsum testimonium contra proximum tuum', in quo prohibetur omne mendacium et perjurium, maxime quod aliis est damnosum (Reg. 11).

224 *þat we shal*: The reading in the northern witnesses ACX is supported by GLNRWY has been adopted as a better reading than that of T (which omits *þat*) and therefore presumably the original.

227 *false*: The reading in LT is supported by BEGHNRSVWX, while Z has *and al false*.

229 *Faith, fauour or fame*: Translate 'credibility, esteem and reputation'.

230 *gastely or bodily*: The reading of all witnesses except ZBGW, which transpose the adjectives.

231-235 Nonum est, 'Non concupisces domum proximi tui', in quo prohibetur cupiditas cujuscunque rei immobilis proximi tui (Reg. 11).

236-256 Decimum est, 'Non desiderabis uxorem ejus nec servum nec ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quae ipsius sunt, in quo omnis cupiditas rerum alienarum mobilium condemnatur (Reg. 11). Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21.

243 The addition in L of *þan þe lawe and þe lare of haly kyrke teches* is a repeat of line 218.

249 *Witandly or wilfully*: See Piers Plowman: The B-Version, 'þat were forsworen ofte / Wytynge and willefully with þe false helden' (19.368). *Will's Visions of Piers Plowman - An Edition in the Form of Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, eds. G. Kane and E. T. Donaldson (1975). W has the only variant, *malyciously or wetandly*, translate 'wicked and knowledgeable intent', which resembles a phrase in *Jacob's Well*:

> We denouncyn hem alle acursed, dampnyd, & departed fro God to Sathan, þe feend, þat **wyttyngly & malycyously** depriuen of here ryght & of here lawe holy cherche, chapell, chirche-ȝerd, or ony place halwyd or priuylegyd (those who infringe upon the rights and benefits of the church are cursed and damned). *Jacob's Well* ed. A. Brandeis, EETS 115, (London, 1901, repr. 1999) 55/5.

252 *fals deuorce*: Perhaps refers to the corrupt divorcing of a couple on spurious grounds, e.g. consanginuity, and the seizing of inheritance.

253 *þof al we do þat we may vn-to þe party*: Translate 'Even though we do everything we can on his behalf'. *þof al we do* is an 'archetypal Yorkshireism' which is 'highly concentrated in the extreme WRY and Lancashire'. Hanna, *Yorkshire Writers*, 108. It is only retained in ZHLX. *þof* is emended to *of* in T (and FP), *if* in ACV (which also transpose '*we do*). It is interpreted as 'though', resulting in *and þogh we don* in NS and *þowh þat* [*þat*: *om.* W] *we doon alle* in EW. The later

witnesses render the phrase as *Al ȝif* (B), *or doon al* (G), and *þei we don al* (R).

254 *owre fals oþis*: The reading *þe trespas* in L is corrupt; H initially makes the same mistake before correcting *trespas* to *fals athe*.

256 *cas is*: The reading in LT is supported by GHRSV (and X), Z has *casis er*.

257-267 *Haec autem decem mandata praedicta in duobus mandatis Evangelii virtualiter includuntur, quae duo sunt dilectio Dei et proximi. Deum enim debet quilibet Christianus principaliter ex toto corde diligere, et plus amore quam timore; et proximum suum sicut seipsum, id est ad omne bonum ad quod diliget semet ipsum. Et qui haec duo perfecte observat, omnia decem mandata adimplet* (Reg. 11).

258 *Luce X°*: (Sidenote) Luke 10.27.

258 Translate 'Are encompassed in two (commandments) by the gospel. *vmbiloukid*: This is a direct translation of Lat. *includuntur*, literally 'shut in'. The Z reading *ūbiloukid* could be interpreted as either *unbiloukid* or *umbiloukid*, but CLTV and the fragments FPO support the latter; substituted by *closid* in B, *expowned* in ER and *expoundid* in W, *comprehended* in GY, *vnderstanne* in H, *founden* in N, *conteyned* in S, and *belowkid* in X. Evidently *vmbiloukid* is a rare verb. *MED umbeloken* (from *umbe* + *lōken*) 'pay attention', is not relevant. Rather this is *umbe*, 'around' + *louken* 'shut', hence here 'encompassed'; cf. *MED umlouken*, and *vmbilouken*, citing this passage only, translating 'include, contain'. However, the variants 'expound' etc. must derive from *vnloukid*, cf. *MED*

vnlouken, 'unlock', hence (sense 4) 'expound'. For the X variant see *MED bilouken* 'shut in', and hence sense 3, 'incorporate, express'.

265 *fare*: The reading of all witnesses except Z *do* and Y, which omit the line.

266 *ilk*: The reading in LT, supported by ACGHNVX. B has *same* and R *endles*. ZESW omit.

267 The line may have been damaged or illegible in an earlier exemplar resulting in an awkward interpolation in L, in particular the extraneous clause *and whate so euer þat he bee*; and considering the faithfulness of ZTCEGHNSVX (and the slightly emended ABWY).

268-273 Quarto septem sunt gratiae sacramenta, videlicet baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, poenitentia, extrema unctio, ordo, et matrimonium; quorum quinque prima ab omnibus debent recipi Christianis, sed duo ultima ordo, videlicet, et matrimonium sunt voluntaria. Et ista sacramenta sunt per praelatos et sacerdotes tantummodo dispensanda: excepto solo sacramento baptismi, quod in articulo necessitatis potest et debet a qu[a]cunque (ms: quocunque) persona indifferenter ministrari, viro vel etiam muliere, servatis omnino quatuor conditionibus infrascriptis (Reg. 11).

268 *þat I first touchid*: The reading is supported by the Northern witnesses ACEGHLNSTVX; the alternative phrase supplied in Z, *to knawe God almyȝty* is only supported by the generally less reliable witnesses BLaUY, and would appear to be a filler taken from l.166.

262 *thoȝt... word ... dede*: Set formula of unknown origin.

270 *prelatis & oþir prestis*: The bishops and priests who are ordained to administer the sacraments.

274-280 In baptismo quidem deletur omne peccatum tam originale qam actuale; et fides suscipitur sine qua nemo salvari potest (Reg. 11).

275 Omitted at this position in the text, the line instead replaces 277 in R, substituting *þat we take* with *we tane it.*

276 *first syn*: Original sin.

278 *ar*: The reading in LT is supported by BEHLaNSUVX; ZACG substitute *before*.

279 *trouth*: An odd form, but the reading in all witnesses except SY, which have *feithe* (RW omit).

281-286 Sunt autem in baptiso quatuor principaliter observanda: viz. forma verborum, ut Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti (Reg. 11).

283 *shappe*: The witnesses differ significantly here, although the best reading is supported by ZAEGHLaNRTVWX (and C); the form is misread in LaU, resulting in *sharpe*. The meaning is understood by the scribes of BS (and Y) who provide the legitimate substition *fourme* 'exact wording'. The substitution in L, *carpyng*, is inferior – the meaning here is taken as 'saying', although its alternative meanings indicate irreverent chatter, which is inappropriate in this context.

285-6 and 297: Matt. 28:19.

287-288 Item quod fiat in aqua et non in alio liquore (Reg. 11).

288 *leueful*: The reading in B *leelful* is explained as 'a blending of *leeful* (permissible) with *leal* (lawful)' by Williams, *An Edition*, 194, n26. However, it is a unique occurence and therefore seems to be no more than an error.

289-290 Item quod baptizans habeat intentionem baptizandi, et quod baptizandus non sit prius baptizatus (Reg. 11).

291-297 Et si dubium fuerit, dicendum est, 'Si non es baptizatus, Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti' (Reg. 11).

297 See 285-6.

298-305 Virtus et effectus confirmationis est conferre gratiam Spiritus sancti et virtutes homini baptisato, ad augmentum, fortificationem, seu roborationem contra diabolum et peccata. Hoc autem sacramentum tantum dari potest ab Episcopis qui locum tenet Apostolorum (Reg. 11).

303 *stande agaynes*: Translate 'hold out against'; see also 540. *dedely syn*: The reading in LT (and supported in BLaU) is adapted as being the more faithful reading, later substituted in the Northern ZACHVX with *agayne syn*, appropriating the stylistic device of repetition. The more distant witnesses are divided between the variants *fondinges of hem* NE and *fendes temptacens* RSWY (and G).

305 *apostles*: The plural is supported by Reg. 11 *Apostolorum* (see 298-305 above).

306-315 Poenitentia est peccata plangere et ea ulterius non committere, cujus tres sunt partes, scilicet cordis contritrio, oris confessio, et operis satisfaction. Contritio debat esse devote intima et amara (Reg. 11).

309 *stedfaste*: The reading in T is supported by BEGHILaNUV, W (*stedfastly & helfulle*) and Y (*trewe & stedfaste*); L omits. ZACSX substitute *sothfast*, presumably taken from line 307, while R substitutes *helthful. behoues haue*: L substitutes the northern form, *bus haue*, and B substitutes *þorȝt moste haue*.

311 Confessio debet esse humilis, nuda, et intergra, declarans facti circumstantias peccatum aggravantes. Satisfactio est libenset laeta injunctae poenitentiae completion. Sed frequense et amaradebet esse peccati recordation per quod quia ingrate suum praesumpsit offendere Redemptorem (Reg. 11).

315 *Clensis ... wesshis*: The reading of all witnesses containing the phrase except ZX, which transpose the verbs. *alkyn*: The reading in LT is supported by CH; ZBELaRSUWY substitute *al manir of*.

316-327 Eucharistia est vivum corpus Christi: et illud, si digne sumatur, sumenti proficit ad vitam aeternam, si indigne sumatur aedificat ad gehennam (Reg. 11).

317 *bodye...brede*: The *Catechism* does not mention the wine, representing the blood of Christ's wounds and signifying

redemption, because the Eucharist was given under 'one kind' – bread only (*Bk 4*, Dist. VIII, ch. 3).

318 *hale*: Incorporates a dual meaning: wholeness, or entirety, retained in ZLT (and BGHV) 'whole'; and also fully, or completely, from derives *halily* AX and *haly* CNRSWY.

321 *at Paske*: RW substitute with *þe leste* 'at least', presumably a misreading influenced by the frequency of required penance rather than the act itself.

323 Translate 'On pain (i.e. with the penalty) of being excommunicated from the church'. The Eucharist is representative of 'Christ's own body, which he took from the Virgin, because, just as the body of Christ is constituted of many most pure and immaculate members, so the society of the Church is made up of many people freed from the stain of crime' (*Bk 4*, Dist. VIII, ch. 7, no. 4). Therefore the Eucharist may only be received by the faithful; the evil are excluded by their behaviour and they can only receive the physical bread/wine exclusive of their mystical properties. Ultimately, excommunication from the Eurcharistic community removes any hope of salvation.

328-335 Extrema Unctio est poenae spiritalis aliqualis alleviatio quae tantum debet dari adultis, qui gravis infirmitatis indiciis videntur mortis appropinquare periculo, tamen, si potest commode fieri, detur dum infirmi sunt compotes rationis (Reg. 11).

329 *handeled*: The reading in LT is supported by BGHLaNUVX, ZACS have *handelynge*.

330 *to*: Adopted from the reading in LT is supported in BGSUX. The omission occurs in ZCEHNRVW (?); in addition, L provides further clarification by supplying the additional line following 329: *þe whilke sacrament awe anely to be gyffen*.

332 *lightenes*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCGHLaNTUVXY; Z substitutes the synonym *lethnesse* 'relief'. The latter is a viable substitute given the context, wherein God grants remission of sin and reduction in spiritual suffering in the afterlife should the recipient die or, should they survive, relief from the physical sickness they were suffering.

335 *payne*: R substitutes *porcatory* and W *payne in purgatory*. Reference to the dogma of purgatory occurs twice in LaU: *fyrst he wandrys here in erthe; & sethen he slepys in purgatory; and aftyr he restys in blysse of Crist þat ys here spowse* (Appendix C, C173-4); and *And most nedys punysche al maner synne in þis world or in purgatory or in hell* (Appendix C, C238-9).

336-341 Ordo, rite collatus, dat potestatem rite ordinatis ministrandi in ecclesia et conferendi ecclesiastica sacramenta – unicuique juxta statum et ordinem quae suscepit (Reg. 11).

336 *ordir*: Of the seven clerical orders (ostarius, lector, exorcista, acolytus, subdiaconus, diaconus and presbyter), only the last two were regarded as holy orders, and required celibacy. Through ordination, those in holy orders receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacred powers enabling deacons to preach, priests to perform mass, and bishops to consecrate.

339 *þe*: The reading in LT is supported by BCEHLaNSUY, Z omits.

340 *sacramentis*: The reading of all witnesses except RW, which omit, Z has *sacrament*.

341 *degre*: The rank held by those ordained as priest, who have received the 'spiritual power and office' (*Bk 4*, Dist. XXIV, ch. 13, nos. 1-2).

342-347 Matrimonium est viri et mulieris conjunctio individua, vitae retinens consuetudinem, et in isto sacramento etiam confertur gratia si puro corde et sincero animo contrahatur (Reg. 11).

347 *&*: The reading in LT is supported by ACEGHLLaNRSUVWXY. ZB omit.

348-353 *Item sex sunt opera misericoriae quae in evangelio recitantur* (Reg. 11). The first six corporal works of mercy are from Matt. 25:35-36, the seventh from Tobit 1:20.

349 *al*: The reading in LT is supported by the Northern witnesses AHV, Z has *þat*.

350 *þe*: The reading in LT is supported by BE NSXY (and Y), ZACGHV omit.

351 *God sal reherce*: The reading of all witnesses except Z which alters to a passive construction, *sal be reherced*, (Y has *wolle* for *sal*).

354-60 Primum est pascere famelicum. Secundum potare sitientem. Tertium hospitare peregrinos et pauperes. Quartum vestire nudum. Quintum visitare infirmum. Sextum consolari

carceri mancipatum. Et septimum colligi potest ex Tobia, videlicet, sepeliri corpora mortuorum (Reg. 11).

357 *is*: The reading in LT, is supported by CEGLaNRUVWY. ZABHX omit.

357-8 The fifth and sixth corporeal works of mercy are reversed in LaU.

359 *is*: The reading in LT is supported by EGLaUWY, ZABCHNRSVX omit.

362 *is*: The singular form is correct, as it relates to *ilc man*.

363 Following l.379 in L, omitted from BNRSUWX. The mnemonic verse is attributable to Aquinas (and continues at 374-5):

> visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo. Visito, scilicet infirmum; poto, scilicet sitientem; cibo, scilicet esurientem; redimo, scilicet incarceratum; tego, idest vestio nudum; colligo, idest recolligo hospitem; condo, idest sepelio mortuum. Thomas Aquinas, *Super Sententiis,* Lib. IV, Dist. 15, Q2a, 3qc, 1arg 1. Available online at http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/.

Vestio: The reading in ZACEGHLTY and the fragment K, while V substitutes the more traditional *visito*, following Aquinas. The line may have been amended, either by Gaitrik or in another exemplar with which Gaitrik was familiar, so that 'I visit' is replaced with 'I clothe' in accordance with line 356, *þe thrid for-to cleth þaim þat er clathles*.

Simmons & Nolleth (p.123) states the Catechism 'departs from the order of its own verse, and puts prayer out of order'. However, if the Catechism were to follow the Latin, the order would need to be: visit the sick; give drink to the thirsty; feed the hungry; redeem the prisoner; clothe the naked; harbour the stranger; and bury the dead. There is an alternative version of Aquinas' mnemonic, *Colligo, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, visito, condo*, in an inscription on fol. 1r of the Gower manuscript (BL Harley MS 3869).

364-379 There is no equivalent in Reg. 11. Gaitrik has added the seven works of spiritual mercy which sits together with the works of bodily mercy, as the author of the *Speculum Vitae* points out: *On þe right syde seuen gastley springes / And on þe left syde seuen bodily hinges* (7545-6). Hanna, *Speculum Vitae*, 252.

367 Translate 'Another is to restrain others from carrying out evil acts'. *withdrawe*: The variants *chasty* and *chastyse* in L and LaU respectively, where the Latin *castigare* ('correct, castigate') quoted 374 is substituted, and is coincidental as the witnesses are unrelated; S adds *lettyng,* from OE lettan 'to hinder, impede'.

370 *tholemode*: Retained in the Northern texts ZACHLTVX (and N), but substituted in the non-Northern EGRSW with the synonym *pacyent*. Although LaU replace the whole of the seven works of spiritual mercy from another source, both retain a very similar *suffre paciently* to the reading in B (*gladli to suffre*) and Y (*suffre hem pacyently*).

374 Following l.379 in L, omitted from LaNRSUX. Continuation of the mnemonic verse from Aquinas begun at 363.

376-7 *nedeful / medeful*: Although corrected, the initial error by the H-scribe is of interest, as his first attempt of *nedeful / spedeful* replicates the rhyme found in a sermon, *þe watere of grace...is nedefull, medefull, and spedefull to synnefull men in þis world*. W. O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons - from British Museum MS Royal 18 B.xxiii*, EETS 209 (London, 1940; reprint 1987), 215/29. It is also in Rolle's *Meditation on the Passion*: *for to loue þee swete Ihesu moost needful, moost meedful, & moost spedeful. English Prose Works of Richard Rolle: A Selection*, ed. Carl Horstmann, (London, 1895-6), 94.

378 Matt. 5.7.

378-9 The aphorism is DIMEV 1845, although the *Catechism* is not included and pre-dates the entries.

380ff Tertio sciendum, est quod tres sunt virtutes principales scilicet, fides, spes et caritas, quae theologicae appellantur, et a solis fidelibus possidentur (Reg. 11).

381-6 *haly writt*: Gaitrik is perhaps following Lombard, to whom the phrase meant not just the Bible but also the commentaries written by the authoritative theological teachers.

383 *vs*[1]: The reading of all witnesses except LaU, in which the first half-line is re-written.

386 *bath likande*: The reading in LT, is supported by ACHRWX, Z has *likande bath*, EGLaNUV, *boþen lykyng*. *to*[2]: The reading in LT is supported by ABCEGHLaNRUVWX, Z omits.

387-393 Fides est virtus, qua creduntur quae ad Christianae religionis pertinent fundamentum, et consist principaliter in articulis praenotatis (Reg. 11).

387-9 Gaitrik is referring both to the opening stanzas, where God is defined as the Creator of *alle thinges*, and to the Creed, the first of the *articles* he set out above.

387 *wharthurgh we trowe*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCGHNVWX; Z omits *we trowe* from its original position, then corrects the error by inserting it on the following line, after *God*.

391-3 The equivalent in the Speculum Vitae reads *Trouth withouten gode werk es dede / For of alle gode werkes it es hede* (1807-8), with a note in the margin *fides sine operibus mortua est*, 'faith without [good] works is dead' (James 2:26). Hanna, *Speculum Vitae*, 63.

394-405 Spes est certa futurae beatitudinis expectatio, proveniens ex meritis gratiaque divina; sed haec habet duo contraria, plurimum viciosa, scilicet desperationem et praesumptionem, a quibus cavere debemus. Nam cum Deus sit misericors, nemo desperare debet, quia quacunque hora peccator veraciter poenituerit salvus erit: et cum Deus sit justus nullus sub fiducia misericordiae peccare praesumat, cum solis poenitentibus venia concedatur (Reg. 11).

394 *thewe or virtu*: The reading in LT is supported in the Northern CHVX; the nouns are transposed in ZAEN.

395 *abidinge of gastely gode*: The phrase is replaced in A, whose exemplar must have been corrupt, with *beginning of all gude werkes*, duplicated from 391.

403 *noȝt*: The reading in LT is supported by BEHLaNRSUW, ZACGVX omit. *vnto*: The reading in LT is supported by ABEGHNRSVX, Z has *into*. *ouerhope*: Perhaps the result of a badly copied or expanded abbreviation from an earlier exemplar, the resulting form in N appears as *oilhope*, which is a nonsense.

406-416 Caritas est qua diligitur Deus propter se; et proximus propter Deum (Reg. 11).

412-4 1 John 4:20-21.

417ff *Quatuor vero virtutes cardinales sunt, justitia, prudentia, fortitudo et temperantia* (Reg. 11). The order in Lombard is 'justice, fortitude, prudence, temperance; (*Bk 3*, Dist. XXXIII, ch. 1 no. 1); Gaitrik follows Thoresby.

417-423 Justitia enim constat in recte reddendis judiciis, et debitis persolvendis; et sic est contra malitiam saeculi plurimum opportuna (Reg. 11).

423 *is*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCEHLaRUV, Z has *wille*. Translate 'But to do what is reasonable to everyone'.

424-429 Prudentia est in utilibus eligendis et malis praecavendis et sic est utilis contra diaboli tentamenta (Reg. 11).

425 Translate 'that warns us to beware of the dangers of the world'. *wathis*: (ON, cf. Icel. *váði*). The reading in LT is

supported by the Northern scribes CHVX (and A). Z misreads and expands the abbreviated 'w^{þ} wathis' resulting in *with athis*. B substitutes *þe wrenches*, 'tricks, deceptions', from OE *wrenc.* N has *wawes*, 'wretchedness' (*MED* wōwe, from OE *wāwa*). For the non-Northern scribes, the substitution *wykkydnesse* in the ERW group is a reasonable one, and retains the alliteration. S reads *the perels*, and the Y witness demonstrates a more vague understanding with replacement *of condycyones*. A close parallel is *Warnes vs wisses ay war to be / And þe wathes of þis werld to fle* (*Spec. Vitae,* 1910-11). Compare also the reading in another text which contains very similar material, Trinity MS B.14.19, fols. 194r-237v, under the seventeenth century heading *An Exposition of the Romish Catakism*, in its treatise on the virtues: *The fyfte vertewe ys wysdom thys vertu partyth good from euyl & techyth vs to be ware of sleythys of þe warde of the flesshe and of the deuyl* (fol. 224v).

426 *þe yuel*: W substitutes *wycke & sacen*, i.e. 'the wicked and non-Christian'.

428 *is yuel*: The reading in LT is supported by BCEHNRS, which has been transposed in Z.

430-438 Fortitudo constat in prosperis et adversis aequanimiter tolerandis : et haec est necessaria ad pugnandum contra mundum, carnem et diabolum in hac vita (Reg. 11).

430-33 The layout differs significantly in V, where the lines are set out as follows: *þe sexte vertu is strengh or stalworthnes / noght anely of body, bot of hert & wile / euenly to suffere þe wele & þe wa / welthe or wandreth wheder-so betydes / and þat our berynge be noȝt to hegh for nane wele fare*.

432 *wele & wa*: Translate 'good and bad times'. The nouns are duplicated by N as a result of eyeskip: *Euenly to suffre þe wele with þe wo / wele or wo whe*þ*er-so hit be tyde*þ. *whe*þ*er-sa*: The reading in LT, supported by ABCEHNRSVWXY; the substitution in Z, *whille-sa*, is a possible misreading of *whilk-sa*.

436 Y adds *þanke God of his sonde*: 'give thanks to God for his ordering of events.'

438 *Or*: Although the Northern witnesses HV (and also LaU) agree with Z *ne*, the reading is adopted from LT, supported by the Northern witnesses ACX (and also BEGNSW).

439-444 Temperantia est in motibus illicitis coercendis: et haec est necessaria ad carnalia desideria ratione domanda (Reg. 11).

440 Translate 'That prevents us from behaving excessively, and preserves us in moderation'.

hedis: 'protects'. The reading in the Northern witnesses ZHTX, supported by alliteration, and therefore retained in favour of *kepis* (ABCEGLLaNRSUW).

443 *of*[2]: The reading in LT is supported by ABCNS; ZEGHLaRUW omit.

444 *mesure*: The variant in G, *menswe*, is a nonsense. The closest attestation in MED is for *mensure*, 'excessive...out of measure' and has perhaps been confused with Latin

mensuram. *& mete*: The reading in LT is supported by ACGHNVX; ZBELaRY omit.

445 Istis quatuor hic in vita bene vivitur; et post ad aeternam patriam pervenitur (Reg. 11).

445 *lawe*: The reading of all witnesses except W, which omits. Z substitutes *boke*.

446 Item septem sunt peccata mortalia scilicet superbia, invidia, ira, acedia, avaritia, gula et luxuria (Reg. 11).

447 *Is*: The form in LT, is supported by BEGHLaUVW, ZAC have *er*.

450 & 483 *wrath*: The reading of all other witnesses, Z substitutes *ire*. Occurrence in contemporary texts include *The nexte synne and the seconde is Ire* (Peter Idley's *Instructions to his son*, 2.B.379); *þe þridde heued of þe best is ire þat is wraþþe* (BVV, 25/10); and *After Envye wol I discryven the synne of Ire*. (*Parson's Tale*, I.531.)

451 *&*: The reading in LT is supported by ACW, ZEGHLaSUVXY omit. The omission of *couetise* in N and *lecherie* in L, presumably lost in their exemplars, remain uncorrected.

452 *And*: The reading in LT is supported by ENSUV, Z omits. *hed synnes*: 'capital' sins (Latin *caput*); in one sense, the sins for which capital punishment is deserved, on the other, metaphorically, each being a principle vice from which many others follow (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, Q84).

455 *gastely sla*: The reading in LT is supported by CGHV (and AX); the phrase is transposed in BELaRSUW. The syntax of Z *gastely ilc mannes saule slaes* is awkward, and perhaps due to archetypal error where the omitted *slaes* was written in the margin and copied at line end or influenced by the same word in a similar context at l.460.

456 *hankid*: Northernism? Appears to be misunderstood by the non-Northern scribes: *hanged* is a misunderstanding / misreading by B, perhaps caused by the blending of *hank* 'bind' and *hang*; ERW and LaU provide a legitimate substitution with the synonym *bownde*, which may have been misread by R (*howdyn*); similarly the replacement in G, *cauȝt*, makes sense if the scribe understood the original reading as 'snared'; and *defowlyd* in Y, if taken to mean 'contaminated', gives an adequate reading. I cannot explain the curious reading *take* in S.

458-9 Quasi a facie colubri fuge peccata (Eccles. 21:2).

461 Superbia, radix omnium vitiorum, est amor propriae excellentiae, ex quo oriuntur jactantia, hypocrisis, schisma, et consimilia (Reg. 11).

462 *likande*: Translate 'self-satisfied'.

465 *Or þat he hopis þat he has mare þan anoþir* : Translate 'Or that he believes that he has more than anyone else'.

467-8 Translate 'Boasting and bragging, disobedience and contempt, false piety and immodesty'.

469 *oftsithe*: The reading in T is supported in H (and AE), ZCGLSXV substitute *ofte*.

470 Invidia est dolor felicitatis, et guadium adversitatis alienae, de qua oriuntur detractio, murmuratio, perversa judicia, et similia (Reg. 11).

475 The scribe of V breaks off the line having rendered *gode* as *gu*, suggesting that his exemplar was either missing the remainder of the line or it was otherwise illegible. It remains uncorrected.

475 *soune*: *MED sounen*, 6; ~ *vnto gode*, 'reflect well upon'. W substitutes *mygte come*.

476 *dome*: The reading in LT is supported by BHNSV. Z has *demynge*, supported by AC(E)GRUW.

477 *ai*: The reading in LT is supported by AEHVX, Z has *þaim*; the meaning is understood by the non-Northern scribes who substitute a form of 'always' in BLaU. *do*: The present tense form in LT is supported by ABCEGHLaNRSUWX, Z has *did*, while V substitutes the present plural form of 'may', *mowet*.

479 *avowe ne sai*: The reading in LT ('admit nor say') is supported by CEGHLaUVX (and AN); Z has *avowe to sai*, 'admit and say'.

483 Ira est vindictae injustus et temerarius appetitus de quo oriuntur contentiones, dissentiones, bella, homicidia, et similia (Reg. 11). wrath: See 450.

488 *many foule:* The reading in ACEGHLLaNRTUVWXY, which retains the repetition from the original, a literary device lost in ZS due to their omission of *many*.

491 *is*: The reading in LT, supported by BEGHNSV (and X), Z has *er*.

492 Gula est immoderatus edendi et bibendi appetitus et habet quinque modos (Reg. 11).

495 *trespas*: The reading in LT is supported by ABCEHNSV (and LaX), Z has *trespasis*. *dose*: The reading in T is supported by HL, ZACGLaUX omit. Otherwise the line is lacking a verb; X recognises the loss in an archetype and emends the line so that *trespas* becomes the verb and, similarly, Y supplies *vsed*.

496 *~sithes*: The reading in T, supported in BCEGVWX, and that of L (*~sythe*), supported in the two Northern witnesses AH, has been adopted as being closer to the original; the reading *tymes* in ZR is a later substitution.

496-7 Primus est in non debito tempore comedendo. Secundus nimis laute cibaria praeparando. Tertius cum sumitur nimis quantitate. Quartus cum sumitur nimia aviditate. Et quintus est ciborum delectabilium excogitatio studiosa. Quae continentur in hoc versu: Praeporere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose. Avaritia est immoderatus amor bonorum temporalium, tam illicite adquirendo, quam indebite detinendo; ex qua oriuntur fraus, furtum, sacrilegium, simonia, usura et omne turpe lucrum. (Reg. 11).

503 *lustes*: The reading in LT, supported by the Northern witnesses CV, has been adopted on the grounds that the

reference is to the numerous sins of the flesh, and to continue the plurals of the previous line (*metis & drynkis*), in preference to the singular form in ZABEGHLaNSRUX.

509 *þis*: The reading in LT is supported in ABEHLaNRSUVY, Z has *þat*. *principaly*: The reading of all witnesses except Y, which omits, and B, which substitutes *þesli.* The reading in B makes little sense, and there is nothing resembling *þesli* in MED. It may be a corruption of a form of 'chiefly', which might be explained as a synonymic substitution for an illegible reading in an archetypal manuscript.

511 *oure loue*: The reading in LT is supported in ABCEHLaUV (and R) is adopted on the grounds of Gaitrik's use of repetition as a literary device, simplified in ZGNSWX

512 *bi*^{2}: The reading in LT is supported in ACEGHNRW, Z omits. *or*^{2}: The reading in LT is supported in ACEHLaUVX, Z omits.

513 *warldes*: The reading in T, supported by GX; ABCEHLLaNRSUVW substitute *werdli*; the reading in Z, *wardies*, is erroneous.

514 *vnto*: The reading in LT is supported in H, ZCEGRWX has *on*.

516 *þat*: The reading in LT is supported in ABEGHLaNRSUVWX, Z omits.

518 *do*: The reading of all witnesses except Z which has *gif*.

523 Acedia est taedium boni spiritualis, quo quis nec in Deo, vel ejus laudibus, aut bonorum operum exercitione delectatur; et ex hoc sequitur tristitia, negligentia, otium et similia (Reg. 11).

529 *vs*: The reading in LT is supported in ACGLaUX, Z omits.

531 *lord*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which omits, thus losing the alliteration.

534 *dedes*: The reading in LT is supported by EHRVWX, ZABCGLaNSU has *dede*.

536 *þare whare*: The reading in LT is supported by HV), Z has *whare þat*.

536-7 Translate 'And in a situation where we are by nature born to work, as a bird is naturally born to fly ...'. Job 5:7.

537 *foule is*: The reading of all witnesses except Z, which has *foules er*. *flie*: The reading of all witnesses except ZH, which substitute *fliȝte*, and WY, which omit.

539 *man saule*: The reading in LT supported by AV, Z has *men saulis*.

540 *Stepmodir & stameryng*: The phrase is attractive because of its difficulty. It is unique, and presents an unusual sense for *stameryng*. *Stepmodir* is retained in all witnesses except LaU, which substitute *stoppynge*. The MED gives the definition 'symbolizing parsimony or cruelty', quoting the *Catechism*. The stepmother in literature and folklore embodies meaness (in all its senses), denotes the wicked outsider, and is usually

the cause of family dischord. There is no good stepmother and, figuratively, the word has only negative connotations.

In contrast, *stameryng* is problematic even for the text's Northern scribes. It is retained in only HLTX, with ZACGV substituting the simpler synonym *standing* (and *withstonding* in W), with the meaning 'hesitate' or 'resist'. The variant *lettynge* in NS, meaning 'hindering' or 'impeding', is a poorer substitute. B substitutes *straunger*, perhaps associated with the notion of the stepmother as an outsider. It is omitted in ERY. The substitutions *staunchyng* in La and *stamchyng* in U convey the sense of stopping. MED (e). The best definition would be 'stumbing block'.

The corresponding lines in *Quattuor Sermones* are: *therfore & thou wolt be sauyd thout must flee ydelnesse / for it is enemy of cristen sowlis,* ***stepmodir to goodnes*** *and alle vertues and the key of all vyces*. Blake, *Quattuor Sermones*, 58/24-26.

542 Peccatum vero luxuriae est his temporibus nimis notum, ut incestus, adulterium, fornicatio et ideo non oportet exponere ejus foeditatem (Reg. 11).

547-8 it is agaynes þe lawe...þat Holy Kirke haldes: 1 Cor. 6:18.

546 *anlepy*[1] and *anlepy*[2]: The reading in LT is supported in ACHVX, Z has *sengyl*.

554 *frendis*: Northernism meaning 'kin', understood by non-Northern scribes who substitute simpler synonyms: BLaSUY (and K) *kyn*, R *kyndred*, and W *blode*.

560 *sex*: GY refer to *seuen* tenets. In G, this may be an error resulting from the loss of a seventh tenet from an earlier exemplar, whereas Y does contain a seventh tenet if the Gifts of the Holy Spirit following line 347 is included.

562 *ȝe*: The reading in T, supported by ACGHNSVX. Z substitutes *ilc man*, with further substitutions of *alle cristene men* in B, *we* in ELR, and *þai* in U. The line is omitted in La and rewritten in W as *to knowen & knowen & holden ys* and as *euery crysten man & woman leryd & lewed* in Y.

563 *ȝe sal*: The reading in T is supported by the Northern witnesses ACHVX (and GNS), while Z retains *ȝe* but substitutes *wille* for *sal*; ELRW substitute *we,* W substitutes *wolle*. The phrase is rewritten as *þat þei schulen* in B, *þat þey beholde* in La, U *þai schil* in U, and *þat þey wolle* in Y.

564-9 That the group of witnesses ERW inherit the removal of this reference to indulgences hints at unorthodoxy in an earlier exemplar.

565 *erchebishop*: L has *beschope*; B expands to *archibischop of ȝork* and Y to *archebysshop of Cawnterberye*. ERW omit the line. See line 41.

567-8 Z-scribe omits line 567, adds it below line 568, and the text is annotated for the correct reading.

569 *hele*: The reading in LT is supported by BHLaNSUVX. Z (and ACG) ADD *& help*. *ȝoure*: The reading in LT is supported by VX (and GNS), ZALaU have *oure*, and CE *hire*.

572 John 17:3.

Appendix A

1. Archbishop Thoresby's mandate

London, British Library MS Cotton Galba E.x, fols. 73r-74ra (no. xxi)

fol.73v *Archiepiscopus scribit \rogando/ dompno J. de Gaitrik, monacho, ut transferat cimbolum, decem precepta decalogi, et articulos fidei, et alia, in linguam maternam ad informacionem laicorum [et phariaticaticum, etc.]*

Carissime, pridem in provinciali consilio in nostra Ebor. ecclesia celebrato, clerus nostrarum diocesis et provincie dum quedam statum et reformacionem ecclesie tangencia diligenti meditacione revolverent, [*Marg*.: Nota: dum diligenti meditacione revolverent] satis prudenter attendens quod per nimias predicacionum subtilitates inter se plerumpque contraria asserentes, tam plebs laicalis quam alii mediocriter litteratie, non solum prolapsi sunt hactenus in errores, sed fundamentum fidei nostre, cuius est intollerabilis ignorancia, [*Marg*.: Nota: de facto proprio intolerabilis est ignorancia] habemus vanis et superfluis, ut plur[i]mum indulgentes quod penitus ignorarunt; quamobrem, tam nobis qui eidem consilio presidebamus, quam dicto consilio utile videbatur quin pocius neccessarium articulos fidei, precepta decalogi, et alia in quadam cedula quam vobis sub sigillo nostro clausam transmittimus contenta, sub compendio generoso modo redigere, et ea inter subditos nostrarum diocesis et provincie predictarum per rectores, vicarios, capellanos parochialis, seu quovis alios curam animarum habentes, singulis diebus dominicis sub certis penis contentis in cedula supradicta, ut [omnia] de cetero \huius/ erroribus precludatur, facere diligencius in vulgari, et quidem propter incuriam quorundam sacerdotum non quantum

oportet [sed] sapere sapienter, ne eis in aliquibus verbis dicte fidei fundamentum tangentibus errandi materia relinquatur. [*Marg*.: Ne eis in aliquibus verbis errandi materia relinquatur] Ulterius, in dicto consilio condutum fuerat quod premissa, debita maturitate digesta, sciberentur in wlgari, \et/ si per dictas diocesim et provinciam mitterentur, super quo dum ad vos, quem deus [fol.74r] scienciarum dominus floribus dotavit eloquencie, aciem nostre consideracionis direximus [*Marg*.: Nota: super quo ad vos, quem deus scienciarum dominus floribus dotavit eloquencie, aciem nostre consideracionis direximus] premissa vobis duximus destinanda, ex corde rogantes, quatinus predicta cedula debite recensita contenta in eadem grosso modo cum celeritate possibili transferatis, plus querentes in translacione ipsa, cum sit ad laicorum informacionem, ut dicitur, ordinata, intellectum patulum quam ornatum. [*Marg*.: Nota: plus querentes intellectum patulum quam ornatum] Valete.

The mandate has been translated by Swanson, as follows:[324]

Most dear: Some time ago in the provincial council celebrated in our church of York, while the clergy of our diocese and province were considering with diligent thought matters touching the condition and reformation of the Church, they thoroughly took into consideration that by the excessive subtleties of preaching (which we hold to be vain and superfluous, while being tolerant of many) which for the most part assert contradictory matters among themselves, both the lay people and others of mean learning have not merely fallen so far into errors, but are inwardly ignorant of the basis of our faith, which is intolerable ignorance. On account of which, it appeared useful, nay, rather,

[324] R N Swanson, 'The Origins of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 60 (1991), 98-100, at 99-100.

essential both to us (who headed that council) and to that council now to summarize in full compendium the articles of faith, the precepts of the Decalogue, and other things (contained in a certain schedule which we send to you closed under our seal); and that these should be made known diligently in the vulgar tongue among the subjects of our diocese and province aforesaid by rectors, vicars, parochial chaplains, or any others having cure of souls, on every Sunday under certain penalties contained in the abovesaid schedule, so that in this way henceforth errors should be prevented. And indeed, on account of the lack of care of certain priests (which has not been what it ought) to take good care lest any occasion for error should be left to them in any words touching on the fundamentals of the said faith, it was furthermore agreed in the said council that the above, having mulled over with due maturity, should be written in the vulgar tongue, and thus should be sent throughout the said diocese and province; concerning which when we turned the keenness of our concern to you, whom God, the lord of sciences, has endowed with the flowers of eloquence, we consider that we ought to send the above to you, asking from our heart that, insofar as you can, having duly reviewed its contents, you roughly translate the aforesaid schedule with all possible speed, seeking clarity of meaning rather than stylistic elegance, since it is intended for the informing of the laity, so to speak. Farewell.

2. Archbishop Thoresby's Latin schedule

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. 11, fols. 297v-298v

[297r] *Johannes permissione divina &c. dilecto filio Archidiacono nostro &c., salutem gratiam et benedictionem*.

Quia nonnulli Christi fideles, quibus, licet immeriti, praesidemus, non sunt, quod dolenter gerimus, saltem in grossis et necessariis Christianae legis observantiis instructi, quod tam ex nostra, quam ex rectorum, vicariorum, et sacerdotum parochialium, qui ipsos juxta susceptae curae debitum haberemus instruere, incuria, ne dicamus ignorantia, dicitur evenire; per quod (quod Deus avertat) de facili, via patere potest erroribus, et gravibus periculis animarum. Nos volentes, ut tenemur, super hoc remedium apponere salutare, sacro approbante cleri nostrarum dioecesis at provinciae consilio, super hoc sic duximus ordinandum, ut quilibet rector, vicarius, capellanus parochialis et curatus alius, saltem diebus dominicis, sine exquisita verborum subtilitate exponant, seu exponere faciant, populo in vulgari articulos fidei, praecepta tam novi quam veteris testamenti, opera misericordiae, virtutes principales, gratiae sacramenta et peccata [298r] mortalia cum sua sequela ; et quod vice nostra injungant parochianis suis, viris et mulieribus, quod ipsi et eorum singuli praemissa omnia diligenter audiant et addiscant ; et quod haec parvulos suos, filios et filias, clare doceant et ipsos ad haec addiscenda compellant ; et quod saltem in singulis quadragesimis dicti curati parochianos suos an haec sic didiscerint et sciverint, et sic liberos suos instruxerint, examinent, exquisite injungentes non parentibus in hac parte poenitentiam salutarem, quam pro tempore, prout eorum requirit inobedientia, studeant aggravare. Et ne quis super hiis per ignorantiam se valeat excusare, haec sub verbis planis et incultis, ut sic levius in publicam deducantur notitiam, fecimus annotare.

[*The Latin headings are set out in the Notes on the Text against the appropriate lines numbers and are therefore not reprinted here*]

Quamobrem vobis injungimus et mandamus, quatenus praemissa omnia et singula, tam clero, quam populo vestrae jurisdictionis intimetis seu publicetis publicarive seu intimari faciatis, rectoribus, vicariis, presbyteris et aliis curatis quibuscunque jurisdictionis praedictae, in virtute obedientiae, ex parte nostra firmiter injungentes, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, habitis praemissorum veris copiis infra mensem, praemissa parochianis suis publice praedicant, eosque super articulis memoratis instruant, exquisite singulis quadragesimis a dictis parochianis suis in confessionibus audiendis an haec sic addiscerint et parvulos suos instruxerint inquirendo, poenitentiam non parentibus imponendo, et eam postmodum ut praemittitur aggravando ; laicos vero jurisdictionis praedictae per vos moneri volumus et induci quod ipsi, et eorum quilibet, praemissa per curatos suos sibi exposita devotione filiali benigne audiant et addiscant, parvulosque suos, ut praemittitur, erudiant, seu per alios faciant erudiri, sicut indignationem divinam et inobedientiae reatum voluerint evitare. Et ut mentes fidelium ad id propensius excitemus, Nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, gloriosae Virginis Mariae matris ejus, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, gloriosissimi Confessoris Willelmi meritis et precibus confidentes, omnibus subditis nostris infra nostras civitatem, dioecesim, et provinciam constitutis, et aliis, quorum dioecesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatis suis vere confessis poenitentibus et contritris, qui praemissa in praedicando, docendo, audiendo et erudiendo devote servaverint et adimpleverint, quadraginta dies indulgentiae misericorditer duximus concedendos.

Data apud Cawode xxv^{to} . die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} . lvij^{o}.

Nostrae tamen intentionis non existit aliquibus personis ad praedicandum indultis per praesentes in aliquo praejudicare.

3. Correspondence from Archbishop Thoresby concerning 'frater J. de G.' addressed to the Abbot of St Mary's Abbey, York

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 13, fol. 18r:[325]

Archiepiscopus significat abbati Ebor. qualiter monachus suus jam redit ad monasterium.

Salutem etc. Venit ad nos, quasi columba suam rediens ad fenestram, confrater vester frater J. de G., commensalis noster carissimus, qui jam in praeterito festo Nativitatis Dominicae nedum Divini verbi pabulo sed gestus honesti modestia tam salubriter quam laudabiliter nos refecit, quem nostri consideratione habere velitis propensius commendatum. Sibi fraternae caritatis dulcedinem et spiritualioris communionis habundantiam petimus, impendentes per quod nos ad votiva vestra inveniri volumus pro tempore promptiores. Et quia quidam, ut dicitur, murmurant contra eum, fingentes eum quaedam sinistra nobis contra vestrum aliquos praedicasse et correctiones in capitulo vestro fieri procurasse, ipsum ab impositis hujusmodi sub verbo veritatis plenius excusamus, quia revera super hoc totaliter est immunis, et ideo nullus vestrum sibi improperet ex hac causa. Circa vero principium

[325] Published in William Henry Dixon and James Raine, *Fasti Eboracensis : lives of the archbishops of York*, Vol. 1, (London, 1863) 477-8, and EETS 118, p. xx.

quadragesimae ipsum libenter haberemus, nobis ad magnum nostrum solatium assistentem, quem ad hoc licenciare velitis cum scripserimus pro eodem. Feliciter in Domino valeatis.

Appendix B

Variants in the complete witnesses which are longer than an additional line are presented here rather than in the variant apparatus, from where the reader is directed by a single dagger (†).

Incipits: Attendite (NV: Adtendite) p*opu*le meus legem meam, etc. (EGNV: *omit* etc.). AEGNV

and heer after folwyn sexe þingis to know In God almiɜti. B

yt is ordan by þe constytucion provincyall þat euere curet þat kepyng has of \Crystyn/ men sawles schrift schall emong þe paryschyns þe faythe of Holy Kyrk. þat es for to say xiiij articulus fidei. H

Here begynnes a s*er*mon þat Don Iohn Gaytryge made þe whilke teches how scrifte es to be made & whare of & in scrifte how many thynges solde be co*n*sideride *Et est patrus* [*illeg.*]. L

How preists should instruct þ\er/ parishionies R

Tractat*is* d*omi*ni Joh*an*is de Caterig mo*na*chi ebor*um* X

Instrue p*re*ceptus a*ni*m*u*m ne discer*e* cesses. Nam sin*e* doctri*n*a vita e*st* q*uasi* mort*is* ymago. [*illeg.*] absque cognitens creatoris sui pecus est. [*illeg.*] sic de celas. Y

***Replacing* 44-6**: And namely he þ*a*t is vnder-neghe his cure as I am charged to al ɜow, sex sere thynges þ*a*t gud er for-to lere, be þe whylke ɜe sal knaw God and lufe hi*m* p*er*fytely. V

***Following* 46**: þat eue*r*y curate þat vndir*e* hym, þe which eue*r*y Crysten ma*n* is bownde to eschewe & \flee/ or refuse. Y

***Preceeding* 50**:[326] and heer after folwyn sexe þingis to know in God almiȝti and heer after folwyn sexe þingis to know bi God almiȝti. B

***Replacing* 55-7**: Yn þe vij petycyons of þe pater noste*r*, be þe which we purchace þe vij gyftys of þe Holy Gost & put out of our sowlys þe vij dedly synes, & yn þe stede of payne þe Holy Gost plantyth yn our soulys þe vij p*ri*ncypall v*er*tuys þat eue*r*y C*ri*sten man shulde vse. Y

***Replacing* 58-76**: þise sex sal I teche ȝow thurgh þe grace of God so þ*a*t ȝe may lere þai*m* & come to þai*m* & rewele ȝowre lyfe after þai*m*. And also for þ*a*t none of ȝow sal excuse ȝow for vncu*n*yngeschype at þe ty*m*e of Lenten, when ȝe sal be examynde of þai*m*. V

***Following* 76**: Fowr*e* tymes a yer*e* at þe Leste wey + <u>And yn lyke wyse ys þe</u> 'Of þise vij þy*n*ges before rehersyd for a more playn declaracyoun of hem to eue*r*y C*ri*sty*n* ma*n*nys vndirstondy*n*ge, þe whiche eue*r*y Crysten man is bownde to lerne & ku*n*ne to his power vpon þe payne of da*m*pnacyou*n*'; + loke yn þe viij^{te} lef aft*er* þis at suche a signe.[327] Y

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[326] This is the introductory line for B, which commences at line 50.

[327] In the lower margin, a later hand has written: 'De istis vido in Speculo beati Edmundi archiepiscopi'. A thirteenth century ascetic, theologian, and (later) saint, Edmund was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 to 1240; the note refers to his *Speculum ecclesiae*.

The text ends abruptly, is followed by a treatis on the mass, and the reader is redirected to fol. 30^{v}, where it continues:

(+) Attendite p*opu*le legem mea*m* etc. Good men & wome*n* As a gret clerk tellyth yn hys boke &c., *vbi supra* + Now goode men & women as gret clerkys shewen & tochen be here bokes, general sentence be þe seyd holy fadir ordeynyd to be vpon þe Sondayes more festyful dayes or ellys iiij tymes in þe yer be þe Leste wey & all is for-to avoyde þe p*er*ellys þat many man fallyth yn often tymes þorough ignorance, þe which in some case excusyth a man of þe blame but nought of þe payne. Y

***Preceeding* 83**:[328] yt is ordan by þe co*n*stytuc*i*on p*ro*vincyall þ*a*t euere curet þ*a*t kepyng has of \Crystyn/ men sawles schrift schall emong þe paryschyns þe faythe of Holy Kyrk, þ*a*t es for to say xiiij art*iculus* fidei. H

***Following* 95**: The example in þe sunn is hete & clernes: þe hete gefeþ v*er*tu & founderyng to odyr creaturis, þe clerete ȝeueþ ys coumforte & lyte, & þorwe ys þe ete neyther þe sunne ne þe clerete, non þe clerete ys not þe sunne ne þe hete, and ȝet is al on substaunce. Also in mannys soule is skylle myn & loue skyl reseyues wysd*a*m mynde kepyt it & loue puttyth it in wille & werkyng and alle ys it bot a sowle. W

***Replacing* 101-3**: þer*e* men receyue here sacrame*n*t*es* of Holy Chirche as Bapteme, foryeuenesse of sy*n*nes, receuynge of here makere*,* hery*n*ge of Goddes s*er*uyse, p*ra*yenge of

[328] This is the introductory line for H, which commences at line 83.

orysonys, wedloke, & beryenge, & many oþ*er* thynges yn saluacyou*n* of ma*n*nys sowle. Y

***Replacing* 126**: Ih*es*u Cryst, Goddes sone of heuyn, was sothfastly co*n*ceyuyd of the mayde Marye & soo God & man yn oon p*er*sone Y.

***Replacing* 135**: & many odyr peynis in ful to tellyn he sufferid þristandly for lufe of mannys soule & dyed for mannys sake W.

***Following* 165**: þe seyntes, Danyel þe prohete, & seyth at þ*a*t tyme Lorde shal neþ*er* p*ri*nce ne duke ~~þ*a*t schal fynde~~ [*illeg.*] m*er*cy aforne þe, [b]oot who-so be m*er*cy alle to hese soule whiles he is lesand here & kepe it clene owt of synne & honowd it to Goddys worschepe, w*ith* alle hese mygth & hese con[y]ng, he shalle fynde m*er*cy at Goddes dome rysing, et ce*tera*.[329] W

***Following* 165**: & þus endyth þe xiiij arycles of þe feyth þat all Crysten peple shull beleve yn, & here folowyth the x co(m)mawndmentys. Y

***Following* 167**: þe which been þise: to haue oon God þu worschip, & not to take his name yn ydilship; to halowe wele our*e* holy day; fadir & modir to worship ay; and we shulde not sle no man; ne no foly do with no woman; and also þat we not stele; and no fals witnesse þat we ber*e*; ne coueyte not our*e* neygh-borys wyf; ne noþy*n*ge þat to hy*m* lyeth.

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[329] Lower margin, in contemporary hand: '+ offeryng ne be-seking worde no dede þ*a*t & alle mon fynde'. It is unclear where this should be inserted within the text.

Þoo goode men & women, þise be þe x co*m*mawndme*n*tys of God which x. he techyth & chargyth vs to holden. Y

***Replacing* 168**: Whiche be þese: haue oo God in worchepe, nemele nowȝte is name in ydyschepe; halwe wele þe halyday; fadyr and modyr worchepe ay; loke þat þ*o*u slee nooman; do no foly be no woman; loke þ*a*t þ*o*u not stele; ne non fals wyttenesse þ*a*t þ*o*u beere; aftyr þi neyborys wyfe þ*o*u noȝt longe, ne of hys gode to haue w*i*t*h* wronge. E

***Following* 170**: And if we do þai*m* trowly & kep þai*m* ryght we sal hafe þan þ*a*t blyse þ*a*t has vs hyght. V

***Replacing* 177**: Alle false co*n*iurisou*n*s and reryngis of þe feend, tilyngis of children libbes and dremredlis, & alle oþ(er)e wickide craftes þat Goddis lawe apre-ueþ not. B

***Following* 179**: Hali crossis men sal loute i*n* þe hono*ur* of C*ri*st c*ru*cified & til ymages i*n* þe hono*ur* of þai*m* of whaim þai ar*e* ymages w*i*t*h*. X

***Replacing* 190-195**: Owe to kepe hem bisili fram alle seruyle werkis and in holynesse of liif, heringe Godis s*er*uise to ȝiue hem vn-to prayers, and to holi dedis & to kepe hem fro vanitees þat þis worlde vseþ. I*n* worschip of God almiȝti and of his goode halwis, and not þanne to lyue in lekynge and lust in ydilnesse and nece playes þat plesyn not to God. Not in tauerne sittinge ne in proud aray, for þat lettiþ praier of God to be herd whame hit w*i*t*h* drawiþ ma*n*nys herte to veyn glorie of þis worlde. B

***Following* 193**: Ne to chateryn or rangelyn in Holy Chyrche as byers or sellerys in feyerys, for God seyth, 'Myn howse is an hows of preyer'. E[330]

***Following* 195**: þis comandme*n*t mai be taken i*n* iij. mane*r*s: first gene*r*li þa*t* we cesse of alle vices sithen speciali; þa*t* we cesse of alle bodili werkis þa*t* lettis deuocou*n* til God i*n* p*ra*yng & thinkyng; þe .iij. as is i*n* c*on*te*m*platif men þa*t* dep*ar*tis þai*m* fra alle werldli thinges swa þa*t* þai hali gif þai*m* to God. X

***Replacing* 197-205**: To bodili & to gostli as resou*n* vs techeþ þat nurschen us and techen vs to lyue to Goddis worschup, and to oure gostli moder þat is Holi Cherche, ech Cristene man and wo*m*man as vs owe to do. To be buxu*m* and meek euer ech oon to oþe*r*e and lyue in loue and charite to oure lyues ende. For Holi Cherche is moder to alle þat Cristenli lyuen, and to worschup to eche man as his staat axit. B

***Following* 205**: + Men agh til hono*ur* fader & moder, bodili & gasteli: bodili as to susten þai*m* i*n* þair*e* elde when þai ar*e* vnmighti til help þai*m* self; gasteli as i*n* reue*r*ence & buxomnes þa*t* þai sai to þai*m* na wordes of mislawe nor vnhonest, bot se*r*ue þai*m* mekeli & gladli þa*t* þai mai wyn þa*t* God hight to swilk vaynes þa*t* is þe land of light barnes; & if þai be deade þai*m* agh til help þair*e* saulis w*ith* almis, dede & p*ra*iers. X

***Replacing* 208-12**: Bodily w*ith* swerde ne w*ith* staf ne w*ith* knyf, gostly not dyffame ne sclawndir*e* ne man ne woman wrongfully, ne withdrawe fro hem lyflode þat haue need yef he be of power for to helpe hem, for as many as we se*r*uyn

[330] Matt. 21.13; Isaiah 57.6.

on þis manere we sle hem yn all þat we may gostly; alle þe bakbytarys þat bakbyte þaire euen Crysten behynde hem & also þe herarys for were there noon herares þer wolde be no bakbytaryes. Y

***Replacing* 210**: Or ȝeuen occasion to synne with worde or dede or for malys or braydinng any [t]hing to confundyn þe vnloreful. W

***Following* 212**: Here is forbidden man-slaghter with assent or werk, worde or fauor, & vnrightwis hurtyng. X

***Following* 218**: + Alswa here is forbeden al wilful pollucion parcuirid on ani maner agayn \per/ kyndli vse or oþer g[r]ace. X

***Following* 223**: bot if it be in tyme of mast nede when al thing is commune, alswa here is forboden gyleri of weght or tale or mette or thorugh oker or violence or drede, als bedels & foresters dose & ministres of þe kyng or thorugh extorsions as il lordis dose. X

***Following* 230**: As yn case þat we haue þorough fals othes yn assysles or questys wrongfully or wetyngly made oure euen Crysten lese here patrymoyne or herytage, or falsly deceyue eny man or eny fals wrenche or sottytle made to man or woman, þough we make goode & amendys to þe partyes yn alle þat we may, yet may we not be assoyled of oure fals othes but of oure Bysshop or of hym þat hath his power - thise cases been reserueyd to hymsilf. Y

***Following* 235**: nor þen sal couatise þe mouebils of þi neghbur w*i*t*h* wrang nor withald oþ*er* me*n*nis gode if þai mai ȝelde þai*m* ellis þi penance saues þe noght. X

***Following* 259**: w*i*t*h* alle our herte, w*i*t*h* alle owr strengthe, & w*i*t*h* alle our þogt*s.* Now it ys to wetyn þ*a*t in owr hertis arn four thing*s:* ioye & sorwe, hope & drede, qwo þan stably leuyþ in God w*i*t*h*-owten errowr & ioye in hy*m* most of alle thyng, in þe lofe and gode wylle of God & for non p*ro*sp*ar*yte. For ȝete hym not ne breke not hese co*m*mawndementys. And also of no þing þ*a*t he may lesyn so mekyl sorwe as to wraþen God and also ben s*er*teyn hope of blysse sette in hese herte in God & for lufe of hy*m* doþe gode dedys þ*a*t he may w*i*t*h*-owtyn grutching & wycke for drede of payn & louyþ non þing aboue hym & doþe þ*a*t in hym is to fulfillyn hys co*m*mawndement. W

***Following* 265**: & do to hem no worse þa*n* we wolde þey dyd to vs, & speke be hem no worse þa*n* we wolde þey spoken be vs. Y

***Following* 266**: And þ*a*t þ*o*u loue ilke Crysten creatur*e* mor þan alle þese were*l*des helþe of ilke Crysten soule mor þan þin ouen life & sokure he*m* in eny nede as þ*o*u woldist in nede be socourde of hem & skylful man awe. W

***Replacing* 267:** And whate-so-eu*er* þat he bee þat þise twa wele ȝemes all þe ten co*m*mandementes forsothe he fulfilles. L

***Replacing* 323**: And clinesse ȝeuynge and bedys byddynge and wolwarde goynge and oþir holy dedys þat arn ordeynyd in Holy Chirche. E

***Replacing* 347**: And eiþer to helpe oþer as C*ri*stis lawe techeþ, not for lust but for loue, [ne] for richesse ne for kyn, þanne is hit verrei sacrament þe whiche God haþ ioyned. B

***Following* 347**: The ferthe thyng of þe sex thiese be þe seuen*e* werkes of mercy bodyly. L

AND NOWE þe fourth þy*n*ge to knowe by God almygthy be þe vij gyft*es* of þe Holy Gost, þe which been þise: þe gyfte of wysdom & of ku*n*ny*n*ge; þe gifte of counceyle & stre*n*gth; þe gyfe of kuny*n*ge & of pyte; & þe gyfte of þe drede of our lorde. Thise gyftes may not p*er*fyȝtly be geete withoute specyall þ*ra*yer*e*, þe whych co*m*p*re*hendyyh þe vij petycionys of the pater noster, be þe which we put out of oure solwe þorough þe v*er*tu of þe gyftes of þe Holy Gost þe vij dedly sy*n*nes, & so as towchy*n*ge to þe vij petycyones of þe pater noste*r* & also þe vij gyftes of þe Holy Gost I passe ouyr to speke of as at þis tyme tylle at mor*e* leyser, & purpose me to speke of þe vij dedly sy*n*nes þe whych is þe fyfte þynge þat we shulde knowe God almygthy by þorough þe lawe & doctryne of holy chirche, þe which vij dedly sy*n*es eu*er*y man & woman shulde eschewe & refuse þerougth þe grace & mygth of God. Y

***Replacing* 391-3**: & þ*er*to to werke goode werkys for goode werkys w*ith*oute goode feyth is nougth ne feyth w*ith*oute goode werkys but vse þat oon w*ith* þe oþ*ir* & so we shul plese God almyghty. Y

***Following* 468**: May*n*tenynge of hys fals hed & wyl, for-sakyng of trewþe and vnskylful or ornementys other þanne mankend asketh nedfullich in hys degre. R

Menyng of falsnes & of wicke for-sakyng of trwthe & vnskylful owrnemens odyr þan man-nys kynde askys in hese degre. W

***Replacing* 479-82**: & many oþ*ir* fowle spyces þat hit were lo*n*ge to reken þeym. Y

***Following* 488**: & vpbrayding & often false for at þ*a*t tyme as sayþe Caton, ire lettyth & blyndyth þe harte & þ*a*t he ne may seyn no trowþ. W

***Replacing* 498-505**: Fro all þey þat etyn or dry*n*ken more þa*n* þey mygth goodly susteyn*n* here bodyes with, þey sy*n*ne yn glotenye. But þe*r*on þy*n*keth full lytell þise alegoarys þat þenken full longe on Sondayes & oþ*ir* masse dayes tylle masse be doon, þat þey ne were at þe ale hows þat is here modire chirche, & þa*n* holden hem þere tyll þat þe so*n*ne be down or to mydnygth, or p*ar*auenture tyll day, & swere & stare & leyȝen & neme Goddys name yn veyn, brekyn*g*e þe x. co*m*mawndmen*t*ys & getynge Goddys curs, for þe*r*of þey wex ryche & prowde; yef any spende more þan a-noþe*r* þan þey were enuyows; & þere þey were wroth yef eny speke a noysse to a noþer. There eue*r*y man fondyth to begyle oþir, þe*r* þey were slowe to all good werkys, þe*r* þey speke rybawdrye & harlotrye to tyse men & women to lecherye, & þus þey wex gyltye yn all vij. dedly sy*n*nes & also in here v. wyttes . Whan þey been dronk as here hery*n*ge, here seynge, here spekyn*g*e, here handlyn*g*e, & here goynge, & whan þey come home þey fyghte or chide with þere wyues, here chyldren & þer mayny, & þus all þise vyces betyden þorough gloteny. There*f*or yn holy wryt hit is seyde þat þe tauerne is þe deuelys nette. Also more ou*er* we shulde not

ymagyn yn oure hertys on what manere we mygth beste getyn delycyows metys & dry*n*kes to fulfylle þe luste & lyky*n*ge of our fleysh, for such deynte metes & sharp sawces was ordeyned for seke men to gyue þeym an appetyte to ete þe raþir to take helth & stre*n*gth of body. Neu*ir*þeles an hoole man mesurably may ete of all man*er* of metys þat be sette befor*e* hy*m* lawfully and yef he absteyne hy*m* discretly fro excesse yn such ple*n*te of deynte metys & dry*n*kes, dowtles he shall haue þe*r*for gret mede of God.[331] Y

***Replacing* 513-20**: A-noþ*ir* is slyghte: falshede & gyle or trecherye of þe chapmen & oþ*ir* worldly men þat yeuen all here wytt*es* & here dylyge*n*ce to begyle here euen Crysten; anoþ*ir* is to withholde þy*n*ge þat is not wele gote, and also for-to withdrawe þat þ*a*t to God & to Holy Chirche or to þeyr euen Crysten is dette & withholden hit to here owen vse. Y

***Following* 532**: And cause þer-of is most coueytyce & loue of erdly thyng & likyng to medels þ*a*t w*ith* þ*a*t is wolful of gyle. R

And cause þ*er*of most is conyng & lufe of herdly þing and þe lekyng þ*a*t is wele ful of gyle to drawen mannys herte away, to ben besy & medelyng w*ith* erdely thing þ*a*t is but vanite. W

***Replacing* 533-8**: A-noþ*ir* is ydylnesse þ*a*t draweth vs ofte abakke þat we mow not do no goode werke ne no penawnce ne occupye vs with noon good dedys ne bedys þ*a*t mygth turne to þe helth of our sowlys, but eu*er* holde vs yn ese of oure bodyes a-gey*n*st kynde, for so sayeth Job. v^to^ ca^o^ [332]

[331] Marg. 'ABSTINENTIA'.

[332] Job 5:7.

Right as þe fowle is bredde kindly for to fle forth yn to þe eyre, ryght so was man made kyndly for-to labour*e* & traueyle yn þe erthe for þe lyf & for þe sowle. Y

***Following* 538**: For to trauayle kyndely we arn borne in þis werde þ*a*t we mygte reste in þe toþ*er*. W

***Replacing* 541**: No good purchasande but alle good lesande & teches to al maner vyces. R

No gode wynnande bot all godenesse lesande & wyþer wyssyng & liþ*e* wey to alle man*er* of quan[t] þewys. W

***Replacing* 558-9**: þat be not worthy to be reherced but yn shryfte, whych men & women vse ageynst ky*n*de þat leden her*e* lyf yn lyky*n*ge & lustys aft*er* her*e* fleysshyd desyry*n*ge. Y

***Following* 559**: To qwich þis werd is here heuen here belies arn here God, as seth Sent Poule, & her*e* endyng is confusion & deth, God kepe mankend þ*er* fro. R

To wiche this worde is her [h]euen, her bely is her God, as seit Sent Poule,[333] & her hende is her confusion & deþe, God kepe vs & saue mankende þ*er* fro. W

***Following* 563**: For as wittenessith howr holy faderis of Egypte be knowyng in dede quo so hadde clennesse in sowle w*ith* felyng of feythe al þ*a*t is in þe four*e* element*s* xulde ben so gode & so buxu*m* to hese wille & byddyng as it wer to Ad*a*m whiles he wer in paradise and he shulde sen quat gode aungelis & wycke don in þe erþe amonge þe folke. W

[333] Phi. 3:19.

***Replacing* 566-71**: And þ*er*for our*e* fadir þe Archebysshop of Cawnt*ir*berye wolde þa eu*er*y Crysten ma*n*nys soule & woma*n*nys were sauyd, & his co*m*mawndyth to all his subiectys þat been vndir hym, as to p*ar*sones, vycaryes & p*ar*ysh prestys, þat þey often reherce þise vij. þynges on Sondayes & oþ*ir* masse dayes to here p*ar*ysshenys, so þat þey shul not excuse hem at þe dredfull day of dome be vnknowy*n*ge of þeym. Also to all hem þat haue wylle & lyky*n*ge to here hem, & to all þo þat ku*n*ne hem, he yeuyth xl. dayes of p*ar*don & co*n*fermyth all þat oþ*ir* yeuen. Also he co*m*mawndyth to all his subiectys þat þey enquyre dylyge*n*tly of here p*ar*ysshenys wha*n* þey come to shryfte yn tyme of Lentyn yef þat they ku*n*ne þise vij. þy*n*ges. And yef þey fynde þey ku*n*ne hem not, þat þey enioyne þeym of þe bysshoppes behalue &, of peyn of gret penawnce doynge, þat þey hygh hem faste to lerne hem & ku*n*ne hem & teche hem þeyr chyldren & maynys (yef þey eny haue) wha*n* þey come to age, & so to knowe God almygthy. Y

Appendix C

Additions found in La (with variants found in U at the end), as marked ǂ in the variant apparatus.

Incipit: Mandatu*m* do*mi*ini Ioh*ann*is de Thoresby Ebor*acensis* Archiepis*copi* Rectorib*us* Vicariis toc*ius* p*ro*vincie sue et p*re*dicandu*m* p*ar*ochianos illor*um* & p*red*i*ctus* d*omi*n*u*s Ioh*ann*i*s* co*n*cessit om*n*ib*us* adiscentib*us* istud mandatu*m* .xl. dies indulgencie. Thema. Attendite p*opu*le me*us* Inclinate aurem v*est*ram in verba oris mei. La [334]

***Replacing* 40:**

> þ*a*t haue take þ*a*t offyce & ar holdyn be dette to lere þaym and no prestts may be
> excusid for be trew dette þey holdyng to teche þaym

***Following* 50:**

At this point the La witness presents treatises on the Pater Noster (fol. 1v), Ave Maria (fol. 2v), and the Creed (fol. 3v). The same texts appear at fols. 1r-6r of U. They do not form part of the *Catechism* and are not reproduced here. Following immediately after the Creed in La and at this point in U are the five inner & outer wits, as follows:

> The be-houys to know þe fyue wyttys, þe
> vttyr & þe ynnyr, and to spend hem in good vse & in þe louynge of God. þe fyrst

[334] Mandatu*m* ...mei] Whi god made heuen and erthe . Ande alle þinge in hem.

ys syȝt of eye. þe toþ*er* heryng of ere. þe fyrd tast of
C5 mowþ. The ferþe smelyng
of nese. þe fyfte [fol. 5r] handlynge or towchyng of me*m*bris.
Kepe so þy syȝt þ*a*t
þ*o*u se nothyng þ*a*t ys not leful to se or may harme þy
sowle. And kepe þy heryng
so þ*a*t þow her*e* no euyl speche, or þyng þ*a*t is nat
honeste ne p*ro*fitable. And
kepe so þy tast þ*a*t þ*o*u swolow no more þan ys nede or
myster to þy bodily
sustynau*n*ce. And kepe so þy smelly*n*g þ*a*t yt make þe nat
C10 to ete ou*er* moche, ne
delite not ou*er* mekyl in smellyng, ne vgge þ*o*u not w*ith*
seknesse of þi*n* euyn-
C*ri*styn. And kepe so þy towchyng þ*a*t þ*o*u w*ith*draw þe fro
schameful towchy*n*g or
handlyng bare of man or of wom*m*an; handyl þ*o*u not
vnhonestly þy self ne noon
oþer, ne let non oþer towche þe vnhonestly. For ȝif þy
flesche neghȝe ony
towchi*n*g vnclene þ*o*u may not þe dede etthwe or
C15 eschewe. These ben also þy
fyue inwyttys: Wyl; resou*n*; mynd; ymaginaciou*n*; and
thogth. Loke þ*a*t þy wyl be
good & holy. And loke þ*a*t þy resou*n* rewle þe, and nat þy
fleschly lust. & loke þ*a*t
þy mynde be good & honest. And lok þyn ym*a*gynacio*un*
be spedynge in louy*n*g of
God, & not be set to harm or schame. And loke þy thowȝt
be grou*n*dyd in þe ioy
C20 of heuyn & drede þe peyne of helle, & þynk not ou*er* mekyl

in þe vanite of þe
world. But þynk deuowtly on þe passion of C*ri*st in wo & in wele and he schal helpe
þe in al þy nede.These be þe wittys þe whiche God has geuyn vs to know hym
w*ith* and to rewle vs thorwȝ wysdam & leue holy lyf as good s*er*uau*n*tys of God
schuld do and eschewe p*er*elys of synne and so to come to þ*a*t ioye þ*a*t God has
ordeynynd vs to be made for*e* to þe wiche ioy he vs
brynge þ*a*t deyde for vs vp-
on þe rode. Amen. And if we wyl come [to] þe ioye þat y spokyn of we be-houys
to know God almyȝty.

***Replacing* 171-267:**

Primu*m* mandatu*m*
Thow schalt haue o God & no mo
Non adorabis
Ouyr al thyng*e* loue hym also
deos alienos
And þy neghebor*e* both*e* frend & fo.
Thys ys þe fyrste of Godys comandeme*n*tys þ*o*u schalt not worschype fals goddys.
Alle þo þ*a*t leue in gret synne as pryde couetyse gloteny & such mo worschepyn
fals godys For God, seys be Job, þat þe fynd ys prince of alle þe childryn of pride
And Ihesu Crist says in þe gospel þat þe fend ys prince

of þe world þat ys of fals
men þat loue more þe pride and þe falshede of þis world þan þe trewþe of Goddys
lawe. Herfore, seyþ Seynt Poul,þat couetyse ys worschepyng of fals goddys And
so glotonys make þeyr bely here God . To þys ende Seynt Austyn & Seynt Jerom
wytnessyn þat what-euer a man bowys most to þat thyng he makys hys God.
Therfore prude men worschepyn pride & so þe fynd for
C40 here fals God, and so of
alle oþer synnys. The two cherubynnys þat schadewyd in archa dei Exo[d] 25
capito. Were not set þer-to be worschypyd But for to meve þe chyldryn of Israel
to haue mende of God in heuyn & pray to hym þat he [Fol 7r] wolde sende down his
angell to teche hem wyt & wysdam þat ys be-toknyd be cherubyn. And also to
meve hem to pray to God þat he wold send \to/ hem
C45 angelys fro heuyn to fyȝte
aȝenst here enmys whan þey were hard be-stad & so he dyde ofte as Holy Wryt
wytnessyþ. 4 regem 19 capito Ysaye 37 capito.
The [n]eddyr of bras was set in þe ofte for two skyllys: þe ton was þat whan þe
childryn of Israel lokyd þer-on þei schuld haue mynde of Godis godnesse, &
C50 þanke hym þat he wold hele hem of þe styngynge of þe

[n]eddrys; an-oþer skyle
was whan þe pepyl lokyd on þe [n]eddyr of bras þey schuld be-war & kepe hem-
self þat þey brak no more Godys comaundementis lest þat þe same vengaunce
come aȝen. For to kepe þis comaundement yt ys nedful þat þou beleve sadly þat
þer ys but o God in trinite: fadyr & sone & Holy Gost, thre personys & o God. This
God is most myȝty þyng þat may be, the most wytty and most ryȝtful, & most ful
of goodnesse, mercy & charite. þerfore þou most drede hym & hys offence be-fore
al oþer thyngys, for he knowyþ al þyng preuy & apert. And most nedys punysche
al maner synne in þis world, or in purgatory, or in hell. And no creature may be
a-gayn his iuste punyschynge & for hys endles godnesse þou most loue hym with
al þyn herte and seke his worschipe & plese hym be-fore alle oþer thyngys. If
þou do þis wel, þou most stody to kepe his comaundementys & his lawe be-fore
alle oþer preceptys & lawes maad of men for ellys þou louyst not hys lawe be-fore
oþer & so not hym-self be-fore al oþer thyngys Also þou most forsake al maner
wycchecraftys & coniurynge of fendys & þat þou seke nat trewthe of dede spiritys,
But only of God & his lawe as he comaundys hym-self in his lawe.

Who brekys þe fyrste maundement?

Prowde men, wordly men, & fleschly men.

Why prowde men? For þey make þe deuyl here god.
Why wordly men? For þey make worldly godys here god.
And why fleschly men? For þey make here bely here
C70 god.
Secundum mandatum [Fol 7v]
In ydyl Godys name tak þou nogth,
Non adsumes nomen
Swere be no þyng þat God haþ wrought.
[Domini] dei tui in vanum
The secunde comaundement ys þis: thou shalt not take
þe name of þy lord þy
God in vayn. Here alle men or wymmen þat turne to
C75 grete synnes aftyr here
Cristyndom In þat þey taken þe name of God in vayn.
For at here Cristyndom þey
forsake þe fynd & alle his pompis, hys pride & alle hys
werkys of synne & of
falsnesse And bynde hem wylfully to Goddys hestys þan
ȝyf þey turne aȝen to
þese synnys yt is in vayn þat þey take Goddys name
vpon hem. But yf þey
amende hem wylfully in þis lyf. For ellys þey schal haue
C80 more payne with-owte
ende, as Seynt Petyr seyþ. Also whan men seye Godys
seruyse in gret hate &
envye withowte deuocioun & reuerence þey take Godys
name in vayn, for þey
aske here owne dampnacioun in seyyng of þe pater
noster. Also prestys þat sey
masse & oþer seruyse of þe chirche in dedly synne not
for reuerence & deuocioun

of God, but for couetyse & veyn-glorye takyn þe name of
C85 God in veyn. For þey
resseyue þe sacrament to here dampnacioun, as Seyne Poul seys. Also in vayn
sweryng & nedles fals men take þe name of God in vayn. Also men in gret statys
- be þey spiritual, be þey temperal - þat gouerne not þese statys aftyr þe lawe of
God in destroyyng of synne & wrongys, & mayntenyng of ryȝt wysnesse & good
lyf of þe pepyl taken þe name of God in vayn. For \in/
C90 as moche as þey take þese
offycys or statys in þat þey be þe mynystris of God to do ryȝtwisnesse and bere
down wronges & synne & to be myrour & ensample of holynesse & ryȝtwysnesse
to alle men vndyr hem. þerfor be-war þat neuer þou swere fals, ne ydyl, ne be
ony creature, but only be God in tyme of nede for-to schewe nedful trewþe &
profytable to þe & to oþer men. For God comaundys þat
C95 oure word be, 'ȝe ȝe,
nay nay' þat þe herte & þe mowþ acorde to-gydyre. And whan we speke of þe
name of God or Ihesu þat hit be don with drede reuerence & loue.
Fol. 8r Who brekys þe secunde comaundement?
Veyn spekeris, ydyl swererys, and fals werkerys.
C100 Why veyne spekers? For here wordys be no medful.
Why ydyl swerys? For here oþys be no nedful.

Why wikkyd werkerys? For here werkys be not spedful
Sabata sanctifices
Kepe þy halyday in clene lyf 3. mandatum
With alle þy meyne & þy wyf
The thyrde heste is þis: Be thynk þe to kepe þy haly day. Fyrst haue mende how
God made heuyn & erthe & alle creaturys of noȝt nat for his nede, but only for his
goodnesse, and made angelys & men to be resonable & to vndirstonde þe
godnesse of God & to be partyners of þe blysse of heuyn. Whan man was mad in
þis degre of nobley & worthynesse he brak Goddys comaundement in paradys, &
was boundyn to bodyly deth & peyne of helle. Tyl Ihesu Crist made raunsoun
with his herte blod on þe cros þerfore haue mynde of þis charite of Crist & [his]
peynful deth. Also haue mynde how ofte þou hast brokyn Godys hestys sytthe
þou haddyst dyscrecioun of good & euyl & of þis amende þe be verry contricion,
schryft & satisfaccoun. And if þou hast don ony good dede wele, þank God þerof
for his grace hit was & not þou þy-self, and pray hym ȝeue þe grace to laste &
ende trewly in hys seruyse. þann here þou Goddys seruyse with reuerence &
devocioun and seye deuowtly þy Pater noster & þy beleue and þyn Aue Maria. &
oþer deuowt prayeris yf þou can and here Godys lawe tawȝt in þy modyr tonge,
For þat is bettyr to þe þan to here many massys.

Aftyrward ete and drynk in
mesure & þank God of his ȝyfte Aftyr noon gyf þe not to nyse vanytes & pley. But
loke wher þy neyȝebours ben at debat & acord hem be meknesse and charite ȝif
þou may. For it is bettyr þan to bylde many chirches þan visyte þy neyȝeboris þat
arn bedreden, blynde, & crokyd, & in oþer dysesys, & comfort fyrst here sowlys
þat þey falle not in despayre ne grucchyngge a-gayn
C125 þeyre Godys visitacioun.
For yf þey [Fol. 8v] do þey schal haue more peyne in þis world & in helle euer, and ȝif
þey take þis lytyl peyne paciently þey schul haue remyssioun of here synnes
before don in þe blysse of heuyn with owten ende. þan ȝeue hem of þy catelle to
susteyne here lyf as þow woldyst þat þey schulde helpe þe yf þou were in þe
same myschef and þey in bonchef as þou art now But
C130 men dredys sore þat on þe
haly day whan schulde most worschype God þan þey dispyse hym most be
hauntynge of pryde & alle oþer synnes & make yt þe deuelys worke day worsse
þan eny oþer day in þe weke
Who brekys þe thyrde maundement?
Men þat thenk not on God hertyly, and men þat pray not
C135 to God devoutly,

And men þat do not werkys of mercy wysly. Whi men þat thenk no on God hertly?

For þey ocupy here hertys in vanites.

Why men þat pray not to God devoutly?

For þey worschipe hym with here lyppis & not with here hertys.

Whi men þat do not þe werkys of mercy wysely?

For þey don here almes more to þe nedles þan to þe verry nedy.

Quartu*m* mandatu*m*

Fadyr and modyr worschipe both

Honora

W*ith* cou*n*seyl confort & mete & cloþ.

parentes

The ferthe comaundement is þis: worschipe þy fadyr & modyr. Holy Wryt spekys

of þre fadyrs: [T]he fyrst ys God þa*t* made vs alle of noȝt and Holy Chirche ys

owre modyr. And we owe to drede þ*i*s fadyr & his offense be-fore alle oþe*r*

thyngys & loue hym & seke hys hono*ur* & do his wylle be-fore al oþ*er* thyngys for

God says be þe p*ro*phete þe sone schal hono*ur* þe fadyr, & þe se*r*uaunt schal

drede hys lord. þe*r*fore ȝif y am ȝo*ur* fadyr, where is myn hono*ur* & loue? ȝyf y

be ȝo*ur* lord, where is my drede? The secu*n*d fadyr is þy gostly fadyr þa*t* haþ cure

of þy sowle and þou schalt loue hym hertely & do hym reuerence in word & dede

and do aftyr his techynge in þat þat he techys þe Godys lawe And pay hym tyþys

& offryngys dewe wilfully, redyly, and trewly, & styre hym and confort hym to do
hys offys [Fol. 9r] trewly in sa[i]d techynge of Holy Wryt & opyn ensampyl of holy lyf.
For yf he do nat his offys wel he is a þowsand fold more cursyd þan suggettys
wyþdrawyng here tythis, ȝe, whan curatys don wel here offys. The thyrde fadyr &
modyr ar þy bodily fadyr & modyr þat browȝt þe forþ in-to þis world and þou
schalt drede hem & reuerence hem in wil word & dede, and in here nede help
hem with þy catel & þy trauayle, & spende þy flesch & þy blood for here
sustinaunse as þey dyde for þe whan þou myȝtyst noȝt. And ȝif þou do þis wel
þou schalt haue Goddys blessyng and all hys angelys, & of alle good men &
wymmen in erthe. And if þou do nat þis worschype þou schalt haue Godys curs, &
alle hys seyntys & of alle good men & wymmen in erthe. And alwey haue mende
on þe sorwe & þe trauayle þat þy modyr had with þe in beryng, & norschyng
forþe, and þerfore loue here and do here reuerence in al þy lyf vp-on Godys
blessynge.
Who brekys þe fourþe commaun-dement?
Vnkende men, froward men, & rebel men.
Whi vnkende men? For þey helpe not here eldrys as þey

schuld do.
Why froward men? For þey wil take no gostly techynge.
Why rebel men? For þey ben vnbuxum to Cryst & his chyrche.
Non occides
Sle no man with wykkyd wyl,
Quintum
In word ne dede, lowde ne styl.
C175 mandatum
þe fyfte comaundement ys þis: þou schalt not sle. Vndir-
stonde þou wrongwysly
noþer man, ne womman, ne child, neþer Cristyn, ne heþyn, ne be fals hate of
herte, ne euyl sterynge, ne counseylynge þerto ne doynge of dede, Ne
mayntenynge of oþer mysdoers þerto, But loue yche man perfytly in charite as þy
self. Also þou schalt not sle þyn owne sowle be consent
C180 to dedly synne, Ne oþer
mennys be opyn sklaundyr & mayntenynge in synne, For who-so euyr doys þis ys
cursyd of God & alle his seyntys. Also froward prelatys & curatys sle Fol 9v mennys
sowlys & bodyes Be wythdrawynge of Godys word and ensample of holy lyf. For
þey may not lyve gostly in fayþ & oþer vertuys, But be heryng & kepynge of
Godys word, And þey ar bounde vp-on peyne of
C185 dampnacioun To teche þus
Godys word þat ys fode of mannys sowle. Also bakbyters & sowers of fals

lesynggys þat bryngge men at debat & owt of charite arn wykkyd men-sleers For
þey sle boþe bodys & sowlys - som-tym many thowsandys. Also wikkyd
extorsioneris & fals oppressoris of pore men Sle þeyre bodys wrongfully & her
sowlys be grucchyngge & vnpaciens & blasfemynge of
C190 God whan þey take awey
falsly þeire godis Be þe whiche here bodely lyf schuld be susteynyd. Also gret
lordys & prelatys þat schulde withstonde þe opun mysdoers And do not, but raþer
meyntenys hem þeryn ar cursyd mensleers, For þey fauor & mayntene al þis
seþyn þey be bowndyn To amend al þis and may lyȝtly do hit & do hyt not.
C195 Who brekys þe fyfte maundement?
Envyous men, wraþful men, and auerous men.
Why envious men? For þey hatyn here breþeryn.
Why wraþful men? For þey bakbytyn here breþeryn.
And why auerous men? For þey help not here euyn Crystyn.
C200 [Non mechaberis]
Synne þou not in leccherye
Consent þou not to þat foly.
þe sexte comandement ys þis: Thou schalt not do leccherye noþer in consent, in
hert, ne spekynge, ne in countenaunce withowte-forþ, ne doyng in dede,
excusynge & iustyfyynge and mayntenyg of oþer men
C205 þeryn. Noþer in doynge of

symple fornicacioun be-twyx sengyl man and sengyl womman. Noþer in avowtry,
ne in brekynge of chastyte þat ys þe moste synne of alle oþer. And ȝyt þe lest of
alle þre ys dampnable who-euer do yt with-owtyn ful repentance, as Seynt Powl
says. Also froward ordynaries & confessouris þat norschyn men in þis synne for
annuel rent, oþer worldly wynnynge, & bodyly welfare,
C210 bre-[Fol 10]-kyn cursydly þis
heste. For þey sellyn sowlys to Satanas for lytyl worldly dryt & ȝeue hem leue fro
ȝere to ȝere to roty forþ in þis cursyd lecceherye as longe as þey wyl pay mekyl,
Or help to bere hem vp in extorsiouns. To kepe þe fro lecchery haue mynde how
foul þy body schal be whan þat schal be wormys mete, and how gret peynys of
helle þou schalt suffre, but yf þou amende þe. Therefore
C215 fle ydylnesse and
occasions to þis synne & maystyr þy flesch be trauayle, wakynge, & prayeris.
Who brekys þe sexte comaundement?
Fornycatouris, auowtereris, & holours.
Why fornycatours? For þey defoulyn here bodyes in leccherie whylys þey ben
C220 sengyl.
Why avowtererys? For þey brekyn þe sacrament of wedlock.
And why holours? For þey wastyn here bodyes in

lecchery.

Non furtum facie

Stele þou not þy neɜborys þyng

With byinge, sellynge, ne wrong getyng.

The seuynt commaundement ys þis: Thow schalt do no þefte. þat ys mys-vsyng of

þyngys aɜen þe lordys wyl or apreuyng Than seþyn alle creaturis ar goodys. Who-

euer mys-dispendys myɜtys of sowle or body or ony oþer goodis agaynst Godys

law ys a strong thef be Godis ryɜtful dom, what-euer þe wor[l]d flaterys. Also alle

þat vsyn to dysseyue her neyɜbors be fals mesurys, fals weyɜtys, and deceytis, &

fals oþes, arn strong þefys and bakbyters be Godys lawe & mannys, and ar holdyn

to make restytucioun aftir here power & leue of boþe of þese synnys & of oþer.

Also al þo þat wast here godis in glotony, drunkenesse, pride, & lecherie, & in

oþer vanytes be perlows theuys for þey stele fro pore men here sustynaunse. For

þe resydue of þese godys ouer here owne nede ys pore mennys lyflade. And he

þat defrawdys þat good is a thef & a man-qweller as þe wys man seys. Also al þo

þat drawe riche mennys almes fro pore bedrede men, & pore febyl, & crokyd, &

blynde, vndyr colour of holynesse to hem þat haue no nede þerto arn strong

theuys & Fol 10v manqwellers. For þey take þe godys agayn Godys law be whyche
pore men schuld be norisched, and so þey ar thefys
C240 agayn ryche men & pore, &
robbe men of feyth & good beleue. Also lordys & maystrys þat wyþholdyn here
seruant hyre whan þey haue trewly do here seruyse ar stronge þefys be Goddis
lawe. Also seruauntys þat falsly do here maystir werke & \take/ fully here hyre
arn thefys be Godis dom. Also alle þat do falsy here offyce spiritual or temperal &
C245 takyn here fulle profyt - perfore ar thefys be Godis dom.
Who brekys þe seuent comaundement?
Merchers, robbers, & extorcioners.
Why mechers? For þey stelyn priuyly.
Whi robbers? For þey robbyn opynly.
C250 Whi extorcines? For þey spoylyn men of here good falsly.
Non loqueris falsum testimonium
False wytnesse þow noon beere
þy neyɜbore wyttyngly to dere
[T]he eyɜten comaundement is þis: þou schalt not speke fals wytnesse ageyns þy
neybore. And he þat for-swerys hym for hate, or for
C255 loue, drede, or wynnynge,
for-sakys God almyɜty & betakys hym to þe fend body & sowle, & to peyne
withowt ende. Namely, al þo þat constreyne men to for-swere hem be here gret
lordschip & power and gretly rewardys hem þerfore.

Also al þo þat lyes on Crist
seyynge þat he was worldly lord, as clerkys ar now, breke fowle þis heste for
Crist hym-self seyþ þat his kyngdom ys not of þis world,
C260 and of his kyngdom
schal neuer be ende. Also alle þat sey þat Cryst beggyd of men, as sum religious
dos now, bere fals wytnesse agayn Crist oure best neyȝbore. For be Goddis owne
commaundement among his pepyl schuld no begger be, and ȝyt Crist nedyd not
to begge þus. Also alle þo þat seþe þat newe religious foundyd of seyntis ys
better þan glene religious of priesthod þat Crist made
C265 hym-self arn fals witnesse &
blasfemys God.
Who brekys þe eyȝten maundement?
Lyers, gloseris, and fals qwestmongeris.
Whi lyeris? For þe[y] hatyn þe trewþe.
C270 Why gloseris? For þey hydyn þe trewthe.
& why fals qwestmongeris? For þey sellyn þe trewthe.
Non concupisces vxorem proximi tui.
Thy neyȝbours wif coueyte þou noȝt,
With here to synne in dede ne þoȝt;
C275 Thy neyȝboris hows, wenche, ne knaue,
Coueyte hem noȝt, ne his goodys to haue.
T[h]e nynthe comau*n*deme*n*t & þe tenthe ar these: thow schalt not coueyte þy
neyȝborys wyf, ne his hows, ne his s*er*ua*n*t, ne his maydyn, ne his oxe, ne his
werk best, ne ony thyng þa*t* ys his, For þe rote of synne

& wro*n*g couetyse
stondys in þe herte. Therefore God forbedys euyl
C280 couetyse & wyl of helle. For ȝif
þ*a*t be wel kepte fro euyl desyr*e* of oþ*er* me*n*nys goodys yt ys lyȝt to hold owt alle
wrongis & harm & synne. And þow þe world know þe not or punysch þe not for þy
trespas, ȝit leue al for drede & reu*er*ence of God. And if þ*o*u fynde ony thyng þ*a*t
þy neyȝebore haþ lost, Restore yt agayn, for ellys it is þefte as Seynt Austyn seys.
And yf þ*o*u breke þese comau*n*deme*n*tys or ony of hem
C285 alle al-so sykyr as God ys
God, but þ*o*u ame*n*d þe in þ*i*s lyf, þ*o*u schalt be da*m*pnyd in helle, in body &
sowle, w*it*houten ende, þow þ*o*u haue a þowsand bullys of pardou*n*, lettris
fraternite, and chauntres aftry þy deth. And also sekyr as God ys God, ȝif þ*o*u
kepe wel þese comau*n*dementis þ*o*u schalt haue þe blysse of heuyn, in body &
sowle, with owten ende, þow þ*o*u haue neu*er* bulle of
C290 pardou*n*, ne lett*er* of
frat*er*nite, ne chauntre aftyr þy deþ. Therefore kepe hem wel, & do þe werkys of
mercy to þe nedy pore neyȝebo*ur*s and þe erytage of heuyn ys þyn be grau*n*t of
Cristys gospel aselyd w*it*h his p*re*cious blod þat may neu*er* be fals for no creatur*e*
in erthe ne in heuyn.
C295 Who brekys þese to comau*n*deme*n*tes & þe laste?
þey þ*a*t wro*n*gfully coveytyn ony thyng in herte,
þow þey don yt nat in dede.

And þey þat wrongfully in herte coueytyn & to here power don hit in dede.
And also þey þat han in herte lust & lykynge of suche wrongful coueytynge.

Contra concupiscentes domum proximi &c ysa. 5 deut°
C300 5° 19° 27° 3° regum 21° de acab.
concupiscente vineam naboth. [Fol 11v] Contra adulterium exo 20 deut° 22° prouer 6°, sapien
x° 2° reg 11 12 Adulterium Dauid fuit multipliciter punitum primo, puer conceptus in illo
adulterio fit mort[u]us propter hoc peccatum. [H]aman filius suus congnouit thamar
sororem suam et propter hoc absolon interfecit eum. Item: Absolon fugauit patrem suum &
regno, et prius congnouit decem vxores dauid patris sui
C305 in Ierusalem, et deturpauit eas in
conspectu populi.

These ar þe comau*n*deme*n*tys ten
þ*a*t God ȝaf to alle men,
Mekyl ioy schal be to hem
C310 þ*a*t kepe wel & trewly he*m*.
For schull be callyd Godys sonys or his douȝtris & schulle regne w*ith* C*ri*st here
God & here fadyr in his mageste, & so be broþerys & sustrys with angelys & lyk to
he*m* þ*a*t ar bryȝte*r* þan þe sunne-bemys schyny*n*g eue*r* in ioy w*ith*-oute*n* ende.
Ful wo þan schul þey be þ*a*t forsake swyche a cu*m*pany þe*r* me*r*the lastys euyr for
a schort delyt of þe flesch, & for a lyte wyl of þe herte
C315 þ*a*t he wyl not ȝeue to hys

God. And aftyrward for þ*a*t schort delyt bre*n*ne in helle fyre as longe as angelis &
holy seyntis make m*er*y in heuy*n* with here lord God þ*a*t is eu*er*-mor*e*. And þan
schulle þey sey eche tyl oþ*er* thorwȝ trew dom of God, 'Wo to vs, wo to vs, euyr
bre*n*nyng*e* in byttyr fyr*e*, For we haue deseruyd no*n* oþer hyr*e*, & þ*er*fore
derknesse haþ swolwyd vs þ*a*t we schul neu*er* se þe day
C320 of ame*n*dy*n*ge'. Therfor*e*
kepe we þese comau*n*deme*n*t*es* of God in drede of hy*m* þ*a*t we for-ȝete hem not
For whan man dredys not, he sone forgetys þat he schulde do. Therefore kepe we
þese comaundementes & God schal þanke vs For who-so kepis hem with al his
herte, he doþ more kendenesse to God þan ony broþer may do to anoþer. And
also yf he kepe hem not he doþ to God more
C325 vnkendenesse þan ony broþer may
do to anoþer. For more vnkendenesse may no man do þan forto grucche & set
lytyl pris be þe comaundement of his lord þat is his maker & made hym thorwe
his kendnesse lyk to hym-self in schap & to haue þe blysse of his godhed. And yf
we withstond þat lord þat made vs for oure owne profyt, we do þe most
vnkendenesse þat may be wroȝt. Therfore [w]ho-so
C330 felys hym agreuyd in ony of
þese his medcyn most [Fol 12r] be to amende hym & breke

ham no more in as moche
as he may, & be euer sory whan he thynkys þat he has brokyn ony of hem, not
only for þe peyne þat he haþ deseruyd, but for he haþ greuyd God so vnkendely.
And þan þe grace of God schal lyȝt vpon hym. And blyssid be suche a remedy þat
þorwȝ foul wyl vnkendely & wykkyd is wroȝt þorwȝ
C335 ordeynynge of good wil ys
forȝeuyn. And yf þou wilt ordeyne þy wil to haue forȝefnesse, Loke þou withstande
sadly þe furst begynnynge of þe temptacoun of þe fend & not consent to hym for
nothyng with þy wyl whan þou art temptyd, & þan þou schalt lyȝtly ouercom hym
& þou schalt ioye be for God for þat good wyl. For as many temtaciouns as þou
withstondis for Godys sake, as many crownys wynnyst
C340 þou of God. Fayn þan may
þou be to thynk whan þou art temptyd & sey to þy self. A, now I may chese
wheþer I wyl falle with a heuy byrden toward helle & y consent to þe fend, Or
ellys to be lyfted vp with a glorius corone toward God. Ilke man þat haþ resun wot
wheþer ys better to chese, And þerfore no man may be excusyd.

Replacing 350:

þe seuen dedys of mercy bodyly & gostly & to fulfylle hem in al
C345 þat we may & do
hem to our euyn Cristen vp on peyne of dampnacioun

Following 360:

Al maner of men holdyn be Godys lawe to do þese seuyn bodyly werkys of mercy
vpon here power, and who-euer do þese werkys of mercy trewly be in his power he
schal haue þe blysse of heuyn, as Crist sayþ in þe gospel & schewis opunly.
Therefore sayþ Crist whan þou makyst a feste or a soper
C350 calle noon to þe ryche
men, but pore men, febyl, crokyd, & blynde, And hit schal qwyt to þe in þy laste
day. And [Fol. 13v] also be þe prophete Ysaye God seyes breke þy bred to þe hungry
and bryng in-to þyn hows nedy men, & þo þat haue noon hous of here owne;
whan þou seist a nakyd man hele hym, & dispise not þy broþer. Lord, how cursyd
be þe ypocritys þat be fals ypocrisy ravischyn ryche
C355 mennys almes fro pore nedy
men where God byddis almes be don, & draws yt to hem-self to make nedles
howsys. & grete festys to ryche men & oþir vanitees. Hit semyþ þe fend bryngis
yn suche ypocritys to disseyue þe riche men of here almes, & of feyth, & of Cristis
gospel. For in almes wel don stondys moche remissoun of

synnys þerfore þe fend
castys be sotel ypocrisy to for do þys almes. Causa monens
C360 ad opera misericordie.
A general steryng be Crystys lyf & resun For-to fulfylle þese werkys of mercy.
Furst men schuld wilfully fede pore hungry men & þrusty, For in þat þey fede
Iesu Crist as he hym-self sayþ in þe gospel And also Iesu Crist gyfys body &
sowle, lyf & catel, to vs for þis ende, & fedis vs wyþ his flesch & his blod in þe
sacrament of þe awter, & gaue hys precious herte blod on
C365 þe cros to bryng vs owt
of mischef of synnys & paynes. þan resonnably ow we to ȝeue mete & drynke to
nedy men of his owne goodes, For hys loue & reward of heuyn blysse & more
encrese of wordly goodys. Also skylfully we owe to cloþe þe nakyd pore men
sethen Crist gyfys cloþis to þis ende and he hym-self was strepid nakyd & betyn &
suffryd moche cold for our nede. And ȝif we do þis wel he
C370 wyle cloþe oure sowlys
with vertues & grace in body & sowle with þe stole of vndedlynesse & blysse of
heuyn. And we owe wel to herberwe pore herberwȝles men for Cristys loue,
sethyn Crist for oure nede com doun fro heuyn & leuyd in þis world pore lyf & had
non hous of his owyn be worldly tytl, and offrid al hys body on þe cros & his herte

to be pynyd & persyd with a spere for-to bryng vs in to þe
C375 hows of Holy Chirche
& into þe hows of heuyn in blysse with-owtyn ende. Be gret resoun owe we to
vysite seke men sethyn [Fol. 14r] Crist for oure nede deyd on þe cros to bryng vs out
of seknesse & synne & kepes vs out of bodily seknesse, for we schuld help oþer
seke men & be þ*i*s help deserue þe blyss of heuyn. Also we owe be gret resu*n* to
co*m*fort me*n* in p*ri*sou*n* seþen C*ri*st was þre & thyrty ȝere in
C380 gret p*ri*sou*n* &
paynful in þ*i*s world, & sparid not for no cold, ne hu*n*gyr, ne oþ*er* peynys, to
visyte vs þ*a*t were in p*ri*sou*n* of synne ne sparid not to visite me*n* þ*a*t were in
helle for horro*ur* of þ*a*t place. Lord, whi schuld venym of stynk lette vs to visite
men in p*ri*su*n* sythyn þey be many tymes p*ri*sonyd for hate & for trewthe þ*a*t
þey mayntene, and many tymys for ensampyl of vs God
C385 suffrys hem þ*us* to be
pynyd for we schuld drede gretter þe peynys of helle. We owe to bery pore dede
men in tyme of nede sythyn C*ri*st wilfully suffryd so hard deth in þe Mou*n*t of
Caluerye for oure sy*n*nys. And þese werkys of mercy be vndon he schal da*m*pne
vs to helle w*ith*-outyn ende. And yf we do hem trewly he wil bryng vs to heuyn
C390 w*ith*-out*en* ende. Amen.

***Replacing* 361-79:**

.vij. ope*r*a sp*irit*ualia m*isericord*ie þer be seuen werkys of gostly m*er*cy þ*a*t God
chargis mor*e* þan þe werkys of bodily m*er*cy and þey be bettyr and esyer to
fulfylle. The fyrst is to teche men þ*a*t be vncu*n*nynge of Goddys lawe. The
secu*n*de is to cou*n*seyl men in dowte, whiche is sekyr wey to plese God. The
þridde ys to chastyse hem þ*a*t be rebel aȝenst Godis
C395 comau*n*deme*n*tys. þe
ferthe is to conforte men þ*a*t be in car*e* & disese. The fyfte is to forȝeue ranco*ur*
of herte, hate, & envye. The sexte is to suffre paciently whan men be out of
pacience, resou*n*, & mesour*e*. The seuent & þe last is to pray erly & late for
our*e* enmys as Crist byddys in þe gospel. Euery man, por*e* & riche, may do alle
þese whaneu*er* he wyl in o man*er* or in anoþ*er,* & he is
C400 neu*er* þe porer and þey
bryngge sowlys out of mischefys of synne. Therefor*e* as þe sowle is bett*er* þan
þe body, so þese gostly m*er*cyes be bett*er* þan þe bodyly m*er*cyes. A, lord how
cursyd be þey þ*a*t may lyȝtly do þese werkys of gostly m*er*cy & do not, sythen
þey [Fol 14v] be so cursyd of God þ*a*t do nat þe werkys of bodyly m*er*cy þ*a*t ar not
so esy ne so p*ro*fytable. But how moche more be þei
C405 cursyd of God þ*a*t bynde

hemself wilfully, and takyn moche mede to do þese werkys of gostly mercy as
do curatis & prelatis & ȝit do hem nat, but lettys oþer men to fulfylle hem be
feynyd iurisdictioun whan þey hemself may not, con not, or wyl not for worldly
bysynesse or ese of here body. Hyt semyþ be many resonys þat þey be more
cursyd þan [I]scariot or Symon Magus, & deppyr schul be
C410 dampnyd but yf þey
amend hem fully in þis lyf.

***Replacing* 403-5:**

Ne we schal nat truste so fer in þe mercy of God þ*a*t we leue goode dedys vndon.
For w*ith*oute goode dedys we come neu*er* into heuyn and but we hold specialy þe
byddyng of God.

***Following* 420:**

Fyrst, for-to ȝeld to God seruyse þ*a*t we be-heet hym
C415 whan we tok C*ri*styndo*m*
& to kepe his comau*n*deme*n*tys be-fore alle oþ*er* thyngys and study we al oure
herte, to do aftyr his cou*n*syl & so to plese hym & fulfylle his wyl in al þ*a*t eu*er*
we mowe for-to haue þank of hym & to gete of hym oure mede for þ*a*t ys
sou*er*ayne ryȝtwisnesse. And aftyrward to worschype

ham þ*a*t be worthy þ*a*t is
þo þ*a*t loue God & leue good lyf aftyr Goddys lawe not
C420 worschipe men for her*e*
worldly rychesse as þe fals world doþ for þey be mysdoers sotel & sly*t*ful
dysseyuers ne worschipe not men for here fayre cloþes ne for here qweynte
schappis þat sum men vsen & sey þe cloþis make hem holy and forþermore
þey make sum men beleue þat who so euer deys in here abyte of hire ordre,
þat he schal neuer go to helle and sum men þynke þat þis
C425 is a ful perlows
heresy for to make men to trowe in fals thyngys þat may not helpe hem to
here saluacioun for þan myȝt a man synne how-euer hym lyst & leue so in
dedly synne tyl hys endyng day & neuer forthynk his synne ne make
satisfaccion of goodys þat he haþ stole of oþer mennys but kast on suche a
cape and dye þer-yn & þan his synnys schul be forȝeue
C430 hym as fro þe peyne of
helle. But þis lernyng is aȝen ryȝtwisnesse seþyn ryȝtwys God techys þe
contrary. For God & alle his seyntys & oure beleue techis vs þat [w]ho-so euer
brekys Godys comandeme*n*tys wilfully & leuyþ in pride & in lecchery & stelys
his neyȝebo*ur*s goodys and haþ no repe*n*tau*n*ce for þese

synnys in his laste
ende ne makys no satisfacc*i*on yf he may of þe stole
goodys neþ*er* in dede, ne
in wyl, ne in thoɜt, þ*a*t he mot v*er*ilyche go to helle euery w*ith*- oute ende þow
he deyde in alle þe abytys and alle þe vestime*n*tys in C*ri*styndom.
3e, þow he hadde vp on hy*m* in his deþ þe cloþ þ*a*t C*ri*st weryd [Fol. 15v] here in
erthe in his manhed þ*a*t be resu*n* was neu*er* worldly cloþ so holy. And furþ*er*
mor*e* [w]ho-so eu*er* had synnyd in alle þese wyse & lefte
his synne w*ith* ful
repentau*n*ce & p*er*fyt wylle neu*er*more to synne eft-sonys dedly w*ith*
satisfacc*i*on to his euyn Cristyn as is trew God he most saue hym þorwɜ his
ryɜtwysnesse & his m*er*cy for on þ*i*s wyse stondys ful remyssion of synne and
þ*er*for*e* [w]ho-so-eu*er* behotys eny man to come to heuyn thorwɜ forɜeuenesse
of synne but on þis wyse he is vnryɜtwys & fals in his
seyynge for yf he sey he
schal not come in helle and he deye in here abyte of her*e* ordre þan most he
wel wyte þ*a*t he schuld to heuyn at þe day of dom and Holy Wryt seyþ þ*a*t no
ma*n* wot whydyr he may be worþy to haue hate or loue of God. And Holy Wryt
may nat be fals þan ys he fals þ*a*t þ*u*s techys þ*a*t who-eu*er* deyes in her*e* abyte
schal neu*er* go to helle. But trew me*n* & meke men þynke
yt were mor*e* tokyn

of holynesse to dey w*ith*-oute*n* ony cloþynge or ellys in a pore cloþynge to
schew oþ*er* ensample whiche þey schul be, and to schew he*m* meknesse &
porenesse to stoppe pride & þ*a*t we come bare in to þ*is* world & bare schul we
passe but yf we be cloþyd in oure sowle w*ith* vertues & holy lyuy*n*ge and
þ*er*fore ryȝtwisnesse wyl not þ*a*t we worschipe me*n* for
C455 here cloþynge but only
for here fayr*e* v*er*tues & here clene lyf

***Foll*owing 438:**

Fol. 16r but hertely in Godes querel to withstonde yn our euyn Cristyn in al þat we
may

***Following* 523:**

whan a man schuld do a good dede hastly & w*ith* good wil for þe loue of God
C460 draw*ith* yt on lengthe

***Following* 559:**

And al þe grettyst sy*n*ne is in p*re*stis þ*a*t leccherye vsyn, for it passyþ þat oþer in
despit þat is do to God and eu*er* gretter & gretter as þei be of degre, & þe stat of
þe oþ*er* party þ*a*t þey syn w*ith*.

Variants found in U:

Incipit: Whi god made heuen and erthe . Ande alle þinge in hem U

C1 take] taken (*after* office), & ... þaym] *om.*, prestts] p*re*ste; C2 trew] *om.*, holdyng] bene holden, teche] lere; C29-30 *lines om.*; C33 synne] synnes; C36 falshede] falsenes; C39 bowys] loues; most] most to, he makys] *trs.*; C41-53 The two... aȝen] *om.*; C47 þyng] þyngis; C51 his] the; C53 thyngys] þinge; C54 wycchecraftys] wycchecraffte; C66-7 *lines om.*; C72-3 In ydyl...wrought] *om.*; C75 God] lord God; C80 hem] hor, payne] peyne in helle; C83 þ*a*t] & þat; C93 neu*er* þ*o*u] *trs.*; C98-105 *lines om.*; C107 his[2]] his owne; C112 &] & his; C115 dede] þinge; C118 Maria] Mary & þi Crede; C119 lawe] seruyce, tawȝt] tauȝt þe; C121 God] *om.*, not] not al, vanytes] vanyte; C126 eu*er*] eu*er*more; C131 schulde] men schulden; C134-45 *lines om.*; C149 says] said; C157 curatys] *om.*; C161 And] *om.*; C162 Goddys] gode; C163 And] *om.*, &] & of; C166 þerfore] *om.*; C168-72 *lines om.*; C174-5 *lines om.*; C183 lyf] *om.*; C190 vnpaciens] impatience; C192 þe] þese; C194 seþyn ... þis] *om.;* C195-99 *lines om.*; C203 noþ*er*] ne; C210 oþ*er*] & oþ*er*; C211 dryt] dette; C211-12 fro ȝere to ȝere] *after* lecherye; C213 lecchery] þis leccherie; C214 whan þ*a*t] when h*i*t; C217-22 *lines om.*; C224-5 *lines om.*; C232 leue] to leefe, of[1]] of \all/; C233 Also] Ande also; C234 be] are, for] fro; C235 ys] are; C237 &[2]] *om.*, &[3]] *om*. ; C239 þe] þese, whyche] þe whilke; C241 beleue] *om.*, &] *om.;* C242 s*er*uant] s*er*ua*nt*i*s*, do] done; C243 falsly do] haue falsely done; C246-50 *lines om.*; C252-53 *lines om.;* C255 drede] for drede, wynnynge] for wynnynge; C256 peyne] þe payne;

C262 alle] alle þoo; C266 blasfemys God] [*illeg.*]; C267-71 *lines om.;* C273-76 *lines om.;* C281 helle] hert; C282 þow] þof; C287 þow] þof; C290 þow] þof; C292 nedy pore] *trs.*, and] *om.;* C294 heuyn] heuyn, Gode kepe vs Amen; C295-344 *lines om*.; C345 holdyn be] *trs.*; C347 in] *om.;* C350 noon] not; C351 schal] schal be; C354 hele] luff; C355 þe] þoo, fals] by false; C360 suche ypoc*ri*tys] sichee vponnes; C359 þe fend] *om.;* C360 almes] God for hit pite kepe vs f*r*o suche ypoc*ri*tis, *Causa ... misericordie*] *om.;* C361 þese] *om*.; C368 encrese] enquees-encrees; C370 þ*i*s] *om.;* C373 pore] þe pore; C377 nede] *om.*; C381 no] *om.;* C383 of] or; C386 þe] *om.;* C387 in] on; C388 þese] for þese, be] *om.;* C391 þer] Here; C398 pacience] *adds* &, erly & late] hertly; C400 anoþ*er*] oþ*er*; C402 m*er*cyes[1]] werkes of mercye; C407 oþ*er*] þ*a*t; C408 iurisdictiou*n*] *om.;* C413 we come] *trs.* U, hold specialy] *trs.* U; C415 be-heet] byhetten; C416 al] þat al; C417 so] *om.;* C418 of hym[2]] vs þe blisse of heuen to; C419 ryɜtwisnesse] rightwysenes to serue God; C420 &...lawe] *om.*, not] ande not; C423 su*m*] as so*m*me; C425 go to] com i*n*, su*m*] mony; C426 thyngys] þinge; C427 leue] luf; C429 on] on hym; C430 cape] cape of a frere; C431 lernyng] techynge; C436 helle] helle worlde, þow] þof; C438 þow] \&/ þof; C440 ful] false; C442 as] as God; C444-45 thorwɜ ... synne] *om*.; C446 and] if; C448 may] *om.*, to haue hate] hateraden; C449 þus techys] *trs.;* C631 men[2]] *om.;* C451 cloþynge[1]] wordly clothynge; C452-53 whiche...porenesse] how por*e* [schil] passe out of þis worlde; C456 lyf] lyuynge; C447 w*ith*stonde] stonde; C462 do] done; C463 þe] þ*a*t.

Appendix D

Variants in the extracts and fragments DFJKMOPQ.

J (lines 83-165), K (lines 80-165) and O (lines 89-141)

80 falles] fallen K.

81 þe] *om.* K; fallis] fallen K.

82 fallis] fallen K.

Preceeding 83 Explicit. Primus articulus p*er*tinens ad deitatem J.

83 þat we sal] is how I schuld stedfastly J; of] in J.

84 Is] and J þ*a*t is K; to trowe] byleue J; stedfastly] sothfastely J; a trewe] oo J.

85 þat] in J *om.* K; is] *om.* J; to] forto K.

86 Þe toþir] the secunde article J þat oþ*er* K; þat] to bileue that J; hie] *om.* K.

87 almyghty] of heuen K.

88 thrid] *adds* artikyll J.

89 sothfastly God] *om.* J; euen] *om*. K; til his] w*ith* the J.

90 poynt] *om.* J

91 Þat sa*m*nely] *om.* J when þei to-geder K; of bath] *trs.* J both K; þe[1]] of þe J; þe[2]] of þe J.

92 Is] and is J; sothfast] sothfastli K; and euen] heuen O.

93 *line om.* J; Son] *adds* & þe holi gost K.

94 *line om.* JK.

95 *line om.* J; a] on K.

96 poy*n*t] article J *interlinear* K; þe Trinite] the sothfast God in Trynyte J; Fadir... Gast] *om.* J; Fadir] þe fader K.

97 Thre... God] *om.* J; a] on K; erth] of erthe JKO; *adds* þa*t* be w*ith* inne and w*ith* oute J.

98 poynt] article J; is] *after* chirche J

99 Is haly] *om.* J; &] *om.* O; thurgh-out] thirwe J; þe] all the JK; werlde] we werlde (*err.*) O.

100 alle] *om.* K; folke] pepill J.

101 comunes] comyth J; sacramentis] sacrament JK.

102 And... fallis] *om.* J; til] of J.

103 sy*n*nes] all synnes J; &...saulis] *om.* J; þair] oure K.

104 Kirk] *adds* oure moder K; heel] helthe J.

105 vs awe to] we schulde stedfastly J; vs] is K.

106 Is] in gen*er*all J; of... end] þ*a*t all men*n* shall haue J; of] in K.

107 For...saulis] in bodie and sowle at þe dredfull day of dom J; bodies] bodi K] *om.* O; saulis] soule K.

108 *line om.* J; For] at O.

109 Vn-to] *om.* J; þ*a*t] *om.* JK; þe[1]... deed] all mankynde J.

110 Þan ... bodies] aft*er* that they [haue] des*er*ued and them þ*a*t don wele and wele byleue here J.

111 *line om.* J; we] wyth O; þas] þo K.

112 *line om*. J;

113 *line om.* J; Þat] & K

114 Bot...here] whill they lyuid J; sa*m*ne] alle-way be samen K; wele do] *trs.* K; whils] whil K.

115 Wende] to wende J þen schal we wende K; God] hym J; þat blis] into blisse J to þe life K; blis] lyf O; þat euermare lastis] w*ith* oute ende J; lastis] schal last K

116 als if we] them þ*a*t J; yuel do] dede yuill J *adds* we schal wende K; pyne] *adds* that euir schall last J *adds* of helle K .

117 Þare...manhede*] Hic incipiunt Septem Articuli Qui pertinent ad humanitatem septem articulos* J.

118 *line om.* J.

119 first] *adds* article J.

120 of ...Mary] in oure ladie seynt Marie J; maiden] mayde O.

121 blode] blode of hir J.

122 myȝte] the myght J; strengthe] the stronght J.

123 mer*r*i*n*ge] blemysshing J; of...modirhede] *om.* JK.

124 W*ith*outen any mynnyng] *om.* JK.

125 þe toþ*ir* poynte] the secunde article is J; þat oþ*er* is K; trowe] stedfastly trowe J.

126 he] Cryst J; bath] *om.* J.

127 sothfastly] *om.* J; blissid] blissedfull J.

128 *line om.* J.

129 w*ith*oute womme or peyne of hir bodie J.

130 poy*n*t] article is J; þat] *om.* K; sal trow] schuld bileue J; is] in J of K.

131 tholed] sufferedde J; for sy*n*ful] in saluacou*n* of J.

132 t*ra*yed] bet*ra*yed J t*ra*ysed O; w*ith*] of J; disciple] disciple Judas J; Iewis] the Iewes J.

133 Beten] and betyn JK; w*ith*...held] & spytted vponn hym J; Beten] & beten K

134 Nailid] and aft*er* nailed hym J; rode] rode tre JK; crouned] corownyd hym J.

135 paynes] *adds* suffred J; died] he deyed bodely for vs (*after* last) J; þe] *om.* O.

136 þ*a*t] *om.* J.

137 *line om.* J; doluen] deluide K.

138 3it...graue] and bodily leyd in graue J; 3it] þ*a*t O; his] þe K.

139 w*ith*] in J; wente...helle] the body leyng still in the g*ra*ue went in to helle J.

140 &[1]... it] *om.* J; it] *om.* O; þas] them J.

141 As] *om.* J; oþir] *adds* that were oure J.

142 Whilke] þe whiche JK; he...þat] *om.* J; he] *before* wold K; forloke] lokyng K; þat] *om.* K; ware] be J.

143 poy*n*t] article J *om.* K.

145 *line om.* J.

146 *line om.* J; Sa] als K; thurghe] in K;

147 sa] he JK; thurgh] w*ith* J.

148 quykned] gaf J; to] euir-lastyng J; life] þe lyfe K; thurgh] w*ith* J; risi*n*g] vpryseng JK.

149 poynt] article J; þat ... trowe] *om.* J.

150 þe...rase] on*n* the ascencou*n* day J; fo*ur*tied] fourty K; þat[2]] *om.* K.

151 Thurgh...him-seluen] *om.* J.

152 nowe] *om.* JK.

153-5 is sett aboue all p*er*sonnes aungellys J; ne] & K; his] *om.* K.

155 *line om.* K.

156 poynt] article J; þ*a*t] *om.* K; riȝt as he] in the same kynde þ*a*t Crist J; died] *adds* inne J

157 eftirwarde] *om.* J

158] apon...day] at the dredfull day of dome J.

159 Bath] *om*. J; þe[1]...deed] *om.* J.

160 Whare...folc] all mankynd J; or is] *om.* JK; sal] euir schall JK.

161 *line om.* J.

162 *line om.* J.

163 &...s*er*ues] after that they haue deserued J; he s*er*ues] haue s*er*ued K

164 riȝtwisnes] rightfullnesse J; me*n*gid] medilled J.

165 mercy] *adds* for they schall be but rightfullnesse shewed · *Post tenebras spero*
lucem · and of to gode thynges take to þe bettere J.

F & P (lines 166-267), O (lines 256-267) and Q (lines 170-225)

166 Þe[1]... sex] A nedfull þing FP.

167 Is] er FP; he] God FP.

169 God] lord God F.

170 er] ben F; anentis] onent Q.

171 & techis] *om.* FP.

172 na] no*n* F.

173 is] arn FP þis] *om*. Q.

174 Alkyn mysbileue] alle-kynnys mysbelenyg F; and] om. F; alle] *om*. Q; mawmetries] maumentrisse F maumentryste P.

175 Alle[1]] and alle F; &] *om.* FP.

176 alle] *om*. Q.

177 And] om. Q; alle[2]] om. Q.

178 mysbileue] wickede beleue F; traistis] trosteneth F t*ra*yst P.

179 God almyghty] *trs*. Q.

180 secounde] toþer FP; biddes] *adds* and charges Q; take] taken F.

181 idilship] idelchere Q; God] lord God F.

182 Sa] owe F; in] ^of Q; þat] *om*. Q; is] he is F.

183 it] þat FQ; be] is FP; sothfast] sothfastnesse F.

184 swere] owere F; bhiouely] worschepfully FP.

185 þat] *om*. Q; neuen] nemene F; worshipfully] it be-houereley FP.

186 thrid] þredde comaundement FP; sal] om. FP; hald] *om*. Q; day] dayes Q.

187 þe] *om*. Q.

188 er] ben F.

189 In] om. F; daies] om. Q; folke] folkes F; lerid] lerned F.

191 it[1]] *om.* FP; sai] to say FP; þaire] þe F.

192 worship] þe worschep Q; almyɜty] om. Q halowis] gode halewes FP.

193 for-to] to Q; to[2]] or F ne Q.

194 ne] and Q; ɜernes] desireth F ɜerned Q.

195 gladly] godely FP.

196 do] *om.* FP; to[2]] *om.* FP.

197 anely] *om.* FP

198 vs[1]] om. FP; forsters] susteyneth F; þe] thys Q.

199 til] *om*. Q; faderis] fader FP.

200 hou] om. FP; saulis] sawle Q.

203 til] of FP; þat] *om.* F; C*ri*stenly] Cristen*n F.*

204 sa] owe F; ilk] eche F; man] a man FP.

205 þat] *om.* P; it] he FQ.

206 we] we schulde F we sal P.

208 þat[2]] *om.* FP

209 backbite] bakbit*es* P; diffames] defamy*n* F.

210 fandis] fonde F; to] to for Q; serues] seruise FP.

213 sexte] se[uent][335] Q.

215 fre*m*med] frend Q; weddid] wede Q; vnweddid] vnwede Q.

217 excusis] excused F excuse P.

218 of] þat Q; techis] vs techeth F.

219 seuent] sext Q; not] þat we schul nouth FPQ.

220 whilk] þe wheche FP; forboden] forbedyn vs alle FP; robbi*n*g] al robbyng Q.

221 wrangwis] wrange Q; or] & Q.

222 of] or Q; godis] gude Q.

223 þair[1]] þe Q; witt &] om. FP wetyng & Q; þair[2]] om. FQ; þat...þaim] þaym þat þam aughe Q; has] haue F.

224 biddis] forbedeth F.

225 Na] no*n* F; agaynes] ageyn FP.

[335] Q transposes *sext* and *seuent*

226 of] *om.* F.

229 or[1]] *om.* FP; ellis] *om.* FP.

230 bodily] in bodely F.

231 nynde] *adds* comaundeme*n*t FP; not ȝern] desir*e* nouth F ȝernyng nogth P; neiȝbour] neighbo*ur*is F.

232 forboden] *adds* vs FP.

233 of[3]] *om.* FP; oȝte ellis] *trs.* F.

236 ȝerne] desir*e* F.

238 his[1]] þe F; his[3]] ne his FP; ne[3]] nor P.

239 ȝerne] disir*e* F.

240 me*n*nes godis] men gud P.

241 or[1]] & FP.

242 haue] may haue F; na gode] *om.* F; to] *after* titil F.

243 sa] so þat F; takis] take F.

245 asseth] *adds* þ*er*for F; þat[2]] *om.* FP.

246 withaldand] withholde F.

252 da*m*pned] be dampned FP.

253 Þof-al] of alle FP.

254 be] *om.* F; oure...ath] þe trespas FP.

257 I...now] ben bi-fore F er befor P.

258 gospel] godspel O.

259 thi*n*ges] þinge F.

260 toþ*ir*] oþ*er* O; þ*a*t we loue] *om.* O; as we do] rygt als O.

261 haaly] only F.

262 w*ith*^{2}] *om.* FP.

263 alsa] *om.* F.

264 ilke] ylle (*err.*) P; oure*~*] vs~ O.

265 þ*a*t þai] to say F at say P; in^{2}] *om.* O.

266 ilk] *om.* F.

266 To þe wheche blisse vs brynge C*ri*st Ihe*s*u (P: brynge vs Jhesus Cryst) Godis son of heuen eu*er*emar*e* to dwelle with hym (P: w*ith* hym to dwell). Am*en.*

267 dose] dos wel O; þe] þys O.

K (lines 269-44), M (lines 268-347) and O (lines 268-311)

Following 267: Here bigynnen þo seuen sacramentis M

268 Þe thrid] On M; þat ... touchid] to knaw God almyɜty O of...touchid] for-to knowe God almyɜty M.

269 Er þe] þer ar also K es þe M; Er] is O.

270 þat] þat þat M; has] haue K hauen (*after* powere) M haues O; þe] *om.* M.

271 whilk] þe whilk KM; ilk-a] iche M.

272 Awe] aght O; to take] *before* lawfully K take M; his] þe*r* K; elde] state K age M.

273 *line om.* K; twa...wille] tweyne lyne in þe wyse M; þai*m*] man (*err*.) O.

275 þat[1]...tyme] *om.* M; þat[1]] when K.

276 bath] *om.* K; syn] tyme M; er] *om*. M; wi*th*] ynne M.

277 alkyn] alkines KM; syn] sy*n*nes M; is] ben M

278 er] ben M; ar] befor K; take it] *trs.* M.

280 whilk] *om.* O; sy*n*ful] C*ri*sten M; ma*n*nes] man KO.

281 fallis] falle M.

282 riɜtly] right KO.

283 saiyng] to say O; shappe] schaping K.

284 awe] trowe K owes M; for-to] to M; þis] þe K.

285 er] ben M.

286 þe[1]] of þe M; þe[2]] *om.* O.

287 is þat] þ*a*t þis K.

288 leueful] leful KMO.

289 is] *om.* KO; þis] þ*a*t O.

290 in[2]] *om.* K.

291 And] *om.* KM; takis it] *trs.* O.

292 of[2]] *om.* M.

293 For] and M; weer*e*] dowte M a-wer O; him] *om.* O.

294 he...not] non K noghte M.

295 þe] þise K.

296 þou] you KM.

297 þe[3]] of þe K; þe[4]] of þe K; gost] *adds* and if you be baptyȝid I baptyȝe þe nouȝt [efte] M.

298 confermy*n*ge] co*nfir*macio*un* K.

299 þe] *om.* K; er] ben M.

300 Þat] he K.

301 þe[2]] *om.* O; Gaste] *adds* þat is of Goddis graunt M.

302 To] forto M; war*e* bifore] *trs.* M.

303 stande agaynes] wiþstonde M; dedely] agayn K al deadly M.

304 *line om.* O; Þat] and þat owis M; power] *om.* KM.

305 *line om.* O; has] haldes K haues M; state...stede] *n. trs.* K; Cristis] Goddis K; apostles] apostle M.

307 we] þat we M; of] for K; syn] synnes MO.

308 to] *illeg.* O; til it] þe*r*to K vnto hem M *om.* O.

309 þis] ȝit K; haue] hym to take K; stedfast] sothfast K.

310 of] in KO; þ*a*t] of þat þat M.

311 o*ur*] *om.* KM; hou] how þ*a*t KM.

312 And] *om.* M; þe] *om.* K; rightwis] right K.

313 þat] þat þ*a*t K.

314 Þir thr*e*] and þes þre þingis M; to] forto K.

315 vs[1]] *om.* K; alkyn] alkynes KM.

317 in licnesse] vndir fourme M.

318 As hale] als holi K riȝt M.

319 Whilk] þe whiche M; ilc] iche M; &] om. M; wo*m*man] ilk woman K *om.* M.

320 Awe] owes M; to] forto K.

321 at[1]] to KM; Paske] Paskis K.

322 er] ben M; clensid] *adds* clene M; syn] sy*n*nes M; penau*n*ce] peyne of penaunce M.

323 *line om.* K; Of payne] *om.* M.

324 by] for M; skilwis] skilful KM.

325 That awe] and þat owes M.

326 takis[1]] tas (*after* wortheli) K; takis[2]] tas K *adds* it to M.

327 vnworthily takis] vnwortheli it tas, tas K; takis] vnto M.

328 ennoyntyng] anoyntement K.

329 preste] p*re*sts K.

330 To] *om.* K; er] ben M; of] in M; skilwis] skilful KM.

331 deed] *adds* whi is þat gyuen K.

332 lightenes] dosenyng K.

335 less*i*nge] alleiaunce K.

338 þair] þe M.

339 þe] *om*. K.

340 for-to[2]] frely [*illeg*.] M; sacrament] þe sac*ra*me*n*t K þe sac*ra*mentis M; þ*a*t to þai*m* falles] to hem þ*a*t it falles to K þat vnto hem fallis M.

341 &] as K.

343 a] *om.* KM; lawful] lawfully M; bitwix] betwene K.

344 þair] þe M; bathir] boþe KM; sa*m*ne] to-gedir*e* KM.

345 lousyng] departynge M; to] whil K þe whileste M.

347 in] wiþ M; life] *adds* and þus endis þis tretise M.

348 Þe[1]... almyɜty] þise are þe seuen dedes of mercy vnto oure euen Cristenn K.

349 vs] it K; al] þat K.

350 *line om.* K.

351 vs] to vs K; þe...dome] domys day K.

352 þis] our*e* K.

354 whilk] þe whilk K.

355 Þe toþir] þ*a*t oþ*er* K; þaim] til hem (*after* drink) K.

356 clathles] naked K.

357 is] *om.* K.

358 lyes] liue K.

359 is] *om.* K; er] *before* in K.

360 has] haue K.

361 Þir] þis K; þe] *om.* K.

362 at...myȝty] aftir*e* his myght K.

364 of m*er*cy] *after* dedis K.

365 has] haue K.

366 wisse] to wise K; wille] wrong K.

367 wald...ylle] \are/wrong will K.

368 sorowful] soþfast (*err.*) K.

370 fifte] fift is K; tholemode] pacient K; mysdose] misdo K.

371 sext] sext is K; has] haue K.

372 seue*n*t] seuent is K; askis] ask K; for-to] to K; here] lere K.

373 for-to...þaim] *om.* K.

376 Þir] þise K; neiɜbo*ur*s] neghtbur K.

377 medeful] modfull K.

379 sal] may K.

D & M (lines 380-444)[336] and Q (435-489)

Following 379: Also here bigynnen þe seuene uertues M.

380 *line om.* K; Þe[1]... sex] Anoþ*er* þinge DM.

381 Is] ben DM þar*e* K; þe] also K.

382 *line om.* K; whilk] þe whiche DM; er] ben DM; hed thewes] sou*er*eyne v*er*tewes DM.

383 *line om.* K; Techis...haue] vs owe for-to do DM.

384 *line om*. K; foure] toþ*er* foure DM; for-to] so forto DM.

385 *line om*. DKM.

386 *line om*. K; likande] likynge D; to[2]] *om.* DM.

[336] M ends incomplete at line 433

388 a] *om.* DKM; made] *after* þingis DM.

389 þe] *om.* K; oþir] *om.* DM; I] þat I DM *om.* K; touchid] saide (*after* bifore) DM.

391 gode] oþ*er* K.

392 For... werkis] for no man*n* w*ith* outen*n* trauthe K; nouþ*ir*] [*illeg.*] M; werkis] werke DM.

393 Ne...trouth] *om.* K; Ne] nor DM.

394 Þe] þat K; toþ*ir*] secunde DM oþ*er* K; gode] *om.* DM; thewe or] *om.* DKM.

395 a] *om.* M.

396 and] in K; oure...dedis] tendre passion of Crist D; oure] *adds* owne M.

397 þat[2]] *om.* M; neuer-mare blynnes] neue*r*e schal haue ende DM.

398 *line om.* M; Not] and [*del.*] D.

399 Ne] ^& not KM; al-anely] *om.* KM; oure] oure owene D.

400 þaim] þe faþer & þe ^sonne D hem boþe M; er] ben DM; bath] *om.* K; sa*m*ne] to-gadere DM.

401 sal] schulden DM; falle] wene to fall K; sa fer] *om.* K.

402 we ne] *trs.* DM we K; blis] þe blisse of heuene KM.

403 *line om.* K; Ne] nor DM; com] falle (*after* ferr) DM; ouerhope] t*ra*yste in (M: of) þe mercy DM.

404-5 þat we leue gode dedis vndone for wiþouten gode dedis (D: *om.* dedis) sall rouse co*m*me we neu*er*e to heuene and speciali but if we kepe þe biddynges of God DM.

404 Þat] ne K; of] in K.

406 or thewe] *om.* K.

407 a...haue] fulnes of loue (M: lif) DM; dere] noþ*er* K; to] *om.* K.

408 *line om.* DM.

409 al] as DM; hym-seluen] God hym-selfe K.

410 almyȝty] *adds* sake K.

411 þe] þat K; tane] tou M; þe toþir] þ*a*t oþ*er* K.

412 sais] *om.* D; his] a K.

413 Þ*a*t] þe K; almiȝti] *om.* DM.

414 eu*ir*] *om.* DM here K; loues[2]] he louis K.

415 he[1]] who-so K; wham] whom þat DM.

416 God] God a-myghten K; wham] þ*a*t K.

417 or thewe] *om.* DKM.

418 to[2]] *om.* D; þaim] to hem DM.

419 For-to] And to DM; ilc] iche DM; man] a man K; þat vs] *om.* K; to] forto DM.

420 For-to] to DM; er] ben DM; worþi] *adds* þat is hem þat lifen gode life after Goddis lawe, but noght worschippe men for þeire richesse for þei ben mysdoers sutel and sleghtful deceyuers, not (M: nor) for þeir faire clothes, but oneli for þair*e* faire v*er*tewes and þair clene life DM.

421 er] ben DM; nedy] *adds* and þe synful to amende hem as ^þe gospel sais DM.

422 For-to] to DM; gyle] *om.* DM no gile K; ne] *om.* DM.

423 Bot] *om.* DM; skill is] *trs.* DM; ilk] alle DM.

424 or thewe] *om.* DKM; sleght...slenesse] warnesse and sleghte i*n* Gode DM sothnesse K.

425 *line om.* DM; w*ith* wathis] wickednes K; þe] þis K.

426 For...vs] *om.* DM; For it] & þ*a*t K; yuel] ille K.

427 alsa] *om.* DKM; to] fort K; þe[1]... toþir] hem in twoo DM; þe[1]] þ*a*t K; þe toþir] þ*a*t oþ*er* K.

428 for-to] to DM; leue] hate DM; þat] þe DM; is] *om.* DM; yuel] ille K; take to] lufe DM take K.

429 to] *om*. DM take to K.

430 or stalwornes] *om.* DKM.

431 Bot] *adds* also DM; eue*n*ly to suffr*e*] stalworþeli and tholemodely to suffre woo a[n]d wele sekenesse (M: sekene) and hele tribulatione and temptaciou*n*e DM.

432 Þe[1]... bitidis] meekly to suffur (D: *repeats* to suffur) whe*þer* so eu*er* falles woo or welþe DM; wandreth] powert[y] K. [FN: 'poverty]

433 to] ou*er* DM.

434 ff: *lines om*. M; Ne] nor D; ~mykil vndir] ~heuy D; yuel~] ille~ K.

435 to] om. D forto KQ; faas] enmyse D.

436 Whe*þ*ir...be[1]] om. D; þai be[2]] om. DK; þai] þat þai Q.

437 foule] foly D foil K; to] forto Q.

438 Or] nor to D ne Q; agaynes] agayn K; almyɜty] *adds* ande herty in Goddes cause forto wiþstonde synne in oure euen Cristen in alle þat we may or kan.

439 þe[2]] om. K; meth...methfulnes] mesure D myght or mesures K; *sidenote:* Te*mper*antia.

440 hedis] kepes D ledes K; vs[1]] om. Q; outerage] outeragnes D; haldis] hald Q; euen] euenheden D euenhed K.

441 Lettis] ande lettes DK; liki*n*ges] likynge K.

442 ȝemes] ȝernes K; ȝernyngis] ȝernynge D; godis] thynges Q.

443 of[1]] in K; of[2]] in K.

444 meth] mesur*e* D myght K; mesure & mete] nedfulle vnto vs D; of] in D; alle] *adds* þi*n*ge D.

445 skilwisely] skilfully D stifli K; þe] Goddes D; techis] *adds* vs and so be hit. Amen D.

446 I...touchid] þat in this bok er wrytten Q.

449 he] if he Q; þaim] *adds* thay er þise Q.

450 wrath and] om. Q.

451 &] om. Q.

452 seuen] *om.* Q.

453 þat] *om.* Q; oþir] *adds* synnes Q.

455 þai] þat þai Q; mannes] man Q.

459-60 for as þe venyme of syn slase man [*illeg. interlinear insertion*] saule Q.

465 he[1]] *om.* Q.

466 many] *om.* Q.

469 oþir] *adds* synnes Q; er ofte] *trs.* Q; omange] amanges Q.

473 spices] synnes Q.

476 deme] demyng Q.

477 ai] þai Q.

485 wilnes] yernes Q.

487 stryuynge] styryng Q.

488 athis] *om.* Q.

489 to] forto Q.

Glossary

Abbreviations

acc.	accusative	ME	Middle English
adj.	adjective	MDu	Middle Dutch
adv.	adverb	n.	noun
AF	Anglo-French	nom.	nominative
AN	Anglo-Norman	num.	numeral
art.	article	OE	Old English
comp.	comparative	OF	Old French
conj.	conjunction	ON	Old Norse
def.	definite	ord.	ordinal
demons.	demonstrative	pa.	past tense
fem.	feminine	pl.	plural
gen.	genitive	part.	participle
fig.	figurative	pp.	past participle
ger.	gerundive	pr.	present tense
imp.	imperative	prep.	preposition
indef.	indefinite	pron.	pronoun
inf.	infinitive	s.	singular
L	Latin	subj.	subjunctive
LOE	Late Old English	sup	superlative
masc.	masculine	v.	verb

Alphabetically, *ȝ* follows *g*, and *þ* is treated as *th*. Where *y* is a vowel it is treated as *i*, but where it is a consonant it follows *w*.

A

a *adj.* one 84, 95, 97, 126 +; **a** *def. art.* 2, 108, 343 +; **an** *indef. art.* 493, 524 [OE ān]

abidinge *ger.* expectation 395 [OE abīding]

abouen *prep.* above 154 [OE abufan]

Adam *n.* the first man 141 [L]

affynyte *n*. blood relative 555 [OF afinite]

agayn, agayne, agaynes *prep.* against 110, 223, 225, 303 + [OE agēn]

aght *pr. 3 s*. ought 30 [OE āhte]

aghtned *num*. eighth 224 [OE eahtoða]

ai *adj.* always 477 [ON]

ayre *n*. air 4 [OF aire]

al, alle *adj.* all 3, 7, 26, 29 + [OE ealle]

alane *adv.* only 304 [*from phrase* al ōne]

alegeaunce *n*. alleviation 332 [AN]

alkyn, alkyns *adj.* of every or any kind 174, 277, 315, 541 [OE ealra + cynna]

almiȝti, almyghty, almyȝti, almyȝty *adj.* almighty 13, 23, 29, 33 + [OE eal-mihtig]

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any *adj.* any 20, 63, 123, 124 + [OE ǽnig]

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comoun *adj*. shared 45 [OF commune]

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comunes *pr. pl.* share 101 [OF comuner]

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dede *n.* deed 216, 262, 528; **dedis** *n. pl.* 35, 55, 162, 350 + [OE dēd]

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do *inf.* perform (an action) 114, 116, 196, 205 +; **dos(e** *pr. 3 s*. 267, 377, 535, 549 +; **did** *pa. 3. pl*. 477; **done** *pp*. 287, 352, 509; in phrase: ***doynge oute of*** excommunication 323 [OE dōn]

dolnesse *n.* indifference 530 [OE dol + ness]

doluen *pp.* buried 137 [OE delfan, *pp.* dolfen]

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erth *n*. dry land 3 [OE eorþe]

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faith *n.* Christian doctrine or belief 80, 229, 438 [OE feþ]

falle *inf.* befall 402, 437; **falles, fallis** *pr. 3 sg*. 37, 52, 78, 80 + [OE feallan]

fals(e *adj.* false 172, 175, 176, 177 +; **falsely** *adv.* 209, 251 [OF fals]

falshed *n*. falsehood 512 [OE fals+ hād]

fame *n.* reputation 229, 489 [OF]

fande *inf.* endeavour 458; **fandis** *pr. 2 pl.* 210 [OE gefandian]

fandinge *ger*. temptation 437 [OE gefandung]

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fauour *n.* good will 229 [OF]

fede *inf*. feed 354 [OE fēdan]

feghtinge *ger.* quarreling 490 [OE feohtan]

felowny *n.* crime 490 [OF felonie]

felured *n.* community, fellowship 100 [OE fēlaue + -rēden]

fende *n*. Satan 303 [OE fēond]

fer *adv*. far 401, 403 [OE feorr]

ferth *num.* as *n.* fourth 90, 136, 196, 291 + [OE fēorþa]

festenyng *ger.* joining of persons in marriage 343 [OE gefæstan]

fift(e *num.* as *n.* fifth 96, 143, 206, 328 + [OE fīfta]

filid *pp*. defiled 278 [OE fȳlen]

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fynd *pr. 2 s.* find 378; **funden** *pp*. found 69 [OE findan]

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flie *inf.* to escape 448, 449, 458 [OE flēon]

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flitinge *n*. quarrelling 487 [OE flītan]

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for *prep.* for 45, 131, 369, 409 + [OE]

forbere *inf*. abstain 324 [OE forberan]

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fordo *inf.* destroy 489 [OE fordōn]

forgyue *inf.* forgive 371 [OE forgefan]

forgifnes *n.* forgiveness 103, 334 [OE forgifennes]

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forloke *n.* divine providence 142 [OE fore + locian]

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fornicacioun *n*. sexual intercourse 545 [OF]

forsake *inf.* abandon 314 [OE forsacan]

forsters *pr. 3 sg*. brings up 198 [OE fōstor]

forswering *n*. swearing false oaths 227 [OE forswerian]

forþi *adv*. therefore 10, 32, 72, 452 + [OE]

forthinking *n*. repentance 307 [OE forþencan]

for-to *adv.* (in order) to 40, 64, 71, 73 + [OE for *adv.* + to *inf.*]

foule *adj*. foul 437, 441, 488, 537 + [OE fūl]

foule *n.* birds 537 [OE fugol]

foure *num.* four 281, 384 [OE fēower]

fourteen, fouretene *num.* fourteen 52, 80 [OE fēower-tene]

fourty *num.* forty 566 [OE fēowertig]

fourtied *num.* fortieth 150 [OE fēowertigoþa]

fra *conj.* from 113, 144, 211, 234 + [OE fram]

fremmed *adj.* unrelated 215 [OE fremede]

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fulfille *pr. 1 pl*. comply with 349; **fulfillis** *pr. 3 s.* 267 [OE ful-fyllan]

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getynge *ger.* acquiring 346 [OE geting(e]

gif(e, gyue *inf.* give 190, 290, 325, 355 +; **gyues** *pr. 3 s.* 269, 284, 289, 299 +; **gyuen** *pp.* 53, 167; [OE gi(e)fan]

gifte *n.* spiritual benefit 24; **giftes** *n. pl*. 301 [OE gift, gyft]

gyle *n.* deception 422 [OF guile]

gylry *n*. deceit 512 [OF guilerie]

gladly *adv.* willlingly 195, 371 [OE glædlīce]

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God *n.* God the Father 5, 11, 13, 23 +; **Goddis** *gen.* 24, 81, 88, 119 +; *n. pl*. deities 93, 94, 172 [OE]

gode *n*. good 7, 395, 426, 428 + asset 264; **godis** *n. pl*. 222, 230, 240, 246 +; **vnto ~** of value 475; *adj*. 6, 242, 264 + [OE gōd]

godely *adj.* virtuously 190, 504 [OE gōdlīc]

godenes(se *n*. goodness 6, 74 [OE gōdnes]

godhed *n.* divinity 81, 83, 139, 146 [OE godhād]

gospel *n.* one of the books written by the four Evangelists 258

[OE god-spel]

grace *n.* mercy 301, 346, 464, 565 [OF]

grauntis *pr. 2 s*. grants 565 [OF granter]

graue *n.* grave 138 [OE græf]

greued *pa. 3 pl.* injured 371 [OF grever]

greuouser *comp.* more grievous 552 [OF grevos]

grete *adj.* famous 2, great 36; **grettir** *comp.* greater 552 [OE grēat]

grounde *n.* the ground 234 [OE grund]

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ȝe *pron. nom.* you 562, 563, 570, 571; **ȝou** *acc.* 564; **ȝoure** *gen. 2 pl.* your 569 [OE ȝe, ēow, ēower]

ȝelde *inf.* surrender 418 [OE gieldan]

ȝemes *pr. 3 s*. protects 442 [OE gīman]

ȝere *n*. year 187, 320 [OE gēr]

ȝern(e *inf*. desire 231, 236, 239; **ȝernes** *pr. 3 sg.* 194, 516, 559 [OE girnan]

ȝernynge *n.* desire 507; **ȝernyngis** *n*. *pl. 442* [from ME yernen]

ȝit *adv.* yet 138, 254 [OE gīet, gīeta]

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hald *inf.* hold 169, 186, 517; **haldis** *pr*. *2 s*. keeps 305, 440, 538, 548; holds 520, 522; **helde** *pa. 3 s.* remained

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hale *adj.* whole 318 [OE hāl]

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halow *inf*. observe as holy 186, 188; **halowid** consecrated 329 [OE hālgian]

halowis *n. pl*. saints 192 [OE hālga]

handeled *pp.* touched 329 [LOE handlian]

hard *adj.* physically tough 135 [OE heard]

harmed *pa. 1 pl*. done wrong to 246 [OE hearmian]

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hastily *adv.* hurriedly 500 [from OF haste]

hate *pr. 1 pl*. detest 475 [OE hatian]

hatereden *n.* detestation 474 [from OE hāte + -rēde(n]

hatten *pp*. called 470 [OE hātan]

hauntyd *pa. 3 sg.* practised 533 [OF hanter]

hankid *pp.* bound in sin 456 [from ON hank]

haue *inf.* have 216, 309, 383, 402 +; *pa. 1 s*. 257, 560; *pa. 1 pl*. 18, 26, 242, 246 +; *pa. 3. pl*. 49, 63, 341; **has** *pr. 2 pl.* 19, 20, 38, 45 +; **had** *pp.* 16, 18, 23, 24 [OE ge)habban *pp*. hæfd]

hauynge *ger*. wealth 212 [OE]

he *pron., nom. s*. *masc.* male person 7, 8, 58, 85 +; **him, hym** *pron*., *acc. s. masc.* him, male person 14, 26, 34, 44 +; **him-seluen, hym-seluen** *refl*. 151, 256, 409; **his** *masc. poss. adj*. *s.* his 2, 6, 46, 70 + [OE hē]

hed(e *n*. head; **~ sins** mortal sins 382, 447, 452, 483 [OE hēafod]

hede *n.* care 199 [OE hēd]

hedis *pr. 3 sg*. protects 440 [OE hēdan]

heel, hele *n.* salvation 103, 104, 200, 333 + [OE hæ̆lu, hæ̆l]

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helle *n.* place of the dead 139 [OE]

help(e *n.* spiritual assistance 179, 529, 569 [OE]

helpe *inf.* help 212, 359, 421 [OE helpan]

herber *inf*. house 357 [OE herebeorgian]

here *inf.* hear 61, 191, 372, 474 [OE hēran]

here *adv.* in this place 114, 352 [OE hēr]

herer *n.* hearer 482 [from OE heren]

heride *pa. 3 sg.* harrowed 140 [OE her(g)ian]

heringe *ger.* listening 27 [OE gehēring]

heritage *n.* property 250 [OF]

hert(e *n.* heart 261, 310, 431, 433 + [OE heorte]

hertli *adj.* passionate 524 [OE heorte + -ly]

heþne *adv*. hence 335 [ON heðan]

heuen *n.* heaven 3 [OE heofon]

heuynes *n.* heaviness 530 [OE hefignes]

hiding *ger.* concealing 222 [from OE hȳdan *v.*]

hie *adj.* high 86, 154, 433, 463 [OE heigh]

hienesse *n.* haughtiness 462 [OE hēanes]

hou *adv.* how 132, 200, 311, 352 + [OE hū]

him, hym *see* **he**

his *see* **he**

hir *fem*. *poss. adj. s.* her 123, 124 [OE hiora]

hope *n*. (the virtue of) hope 394 [OE hopa]

hope *inf.* expect 405; **hopis** *pr. 1 pl*. thinks 179; *pr. 3 s*. 465 [OE hopian]

hous *n*. home 231; **houselesse** *adj*. destitute 357 [OE hūs]

hungry *adj.* in need of food 354 [OE hungrig]

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I *pron., nom. 1 s.* I 257, 296, 389, 446 + [OE ic]

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if *conj.* in case that (introducing a conditional clause) 18, 64, 69, 114 +; **als ~** as though 116; **bot ~** *see* **bot** [OE gif]

Ihesu *n.* Jesus (Christ), God's son 42, 88, 119 [L]

ilc, ilk(e *pron. demon. as adj.* each 56, 57, 61, 111 + [OE ylc]

ilc, ilk(e *pron. demon. as adj.* same 61, 68, 111 [OE ilca]

ilkane *pron.* each one 47 [OE ylc + ān]

ylle *n.* evil 367 [ON]

in *prep.* in 2, 3, 4, 19 +; *adv.* 179 [OE]

incest *n.* sexual relations with a relative (familial or spiritual) 553 [OF]

Inglishe *n.* English 48, 76 [OE Englisc]

innocence *n.* freedom from sin 17 [OF]

ynoghe *adj.* enough 33 [OE genōg, genōh]

in-til *prep.* into 151, 157 [from in *adv*. + til *prep*.]

ypocrisie *n*. hypocrisy 468 [OF ipocrisie]

is *see* **be**

it *pron., nom. 3 s.* it, thing previously mentioned 24, 69, 140, 165 + [OE hit]

yuel *n*. evil 116, 426, 428, 434 + [OE yfel]

yuel-fare *n.* misfortune 434, 472 [from ivel *adj*. & fāre *n*.]

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iewis *n. pl.* Jews 132 [OF giu]

ioy *n.* joy 472 [OF joi]

Jon *n.* John the apostle 412, 572 [L Johannes]

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vnschamefulnesse *n*. immodesty 468 [from OE shāmefulnes(se]

vnskilwise *adj.* excessive 493 [from OE skil-wīs *adj*.]

vnto *prep.* unto 109, 139, 253, 264 + [OE tō]

vnweddid *n.* unmarried 215 [from OE weddian *v*.]

vnworthily *adv.* in a sinful state 327 [from OE worþig a*dj*.]

vp *adv*. up 112 [OE uppan]

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vayn *adj.* futile 181 [OF vain]

venge *inf.* avenge 486 [OF vengier]

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venym *n.* poison 459, 460 [OF venim]

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wanhope *n.* despair of salvation 401 [MDu wanhope]

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whar(e)thurgh(e *adv.* through which 228, 387, 485 [from OE whēr *adv.* & thurgh *prep.*]

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whille-sa *conj.* whichever 432 [OE hwæðer & swā]

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