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Sacerdos Parochialis edited from British Library MS Burney 356

&

Exornatorium Curatorum edited from Cambridge Corpus Christi
Sp.335.2

Ph.D.
Trinity College Dublin
2003

Niamh Pattwell

2 Volumes

Volume 2
Volume 2

PART 2. Edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum*

Chapter

3. Editorial Principles ......................................................... 316
   List of editions ............................................................... 317

Description of incunabula
   RSTC 10627.5 or Corpus Christi College Cambridge Sp.335.2 . 318
   RSTC 10628 or British Library Landsdowne 379 [1518?] .. 322
   RSTC 10629 or Oxford, Bodley 4th Rawlinson 276 .... 327
   RSTC 10630 or British Library C.21.a.32 .............. 329
   RSTC 10631 or British Library C.37.d.8 .............. 332
   RSTC 10631.5 or Glasgow Hunterian Library, SP. Coll. Bv.3.8 335
   RSTC 10632 or British Library C.21.c.27 .............. 338
   RSTC 10633 or British Library C.192.a.73 .............. 342
   RSTC 10633.5 .............................................................. 344
   RSTC 10634 or Cambridge University Library Syn. 8.53.80(3) 346
   RSTC 10634.3 or Jesus College Oxford Library H.13.23 .... 348

Text ................................................................. 350
Substantive Variants ....................................................... 369
Literary and Historical Notes ........................................ 427
Glossary ................................................................. 438

Appendix

1. William de Walcote, his books and their buyers .......... 442
2. A Sentence of Cursing in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 .... 455
3. Table showing pattern of ornaments in each edition
   of *Exornatorium Curatorum* ........................................ 468

Select Bibliography ....................................................... 471
Part Two
Chapter Three
An Edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum*

Editorial Policy

*Exornatorium Curatorum* is a printed text (a manuscript edition has not been found to date), therefore the differences between the editions are not as extensive as the differences between editions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. All differences have been noted in the list of variants, including spelling differences, such as *u*-v, *i*-y, *th*-b, often omitted in texts edited from manuscripts.

Every effort has been made to produce a text as close to the original de Worde edition as possible. Departures from the base text are minimal and are clearly indicated. Contractions and abbreviations, with the exception of "*＆*", "*ḥ*", "*ḥw*", "*w*" are written in full, and their expansions are underlined. A horizontal line above a vowel has been expanded as 'm' or 'n'; occasionally it has been expanded to 'y' according to the form found elsewhere in the text. Superscript letters in simple form, such as 'ḥ', have been kept in the transcription simply to indicate difference between the base text and the variants.

The text has been emended where the base text contains apparent errors or fails to make sense. Emendations have been made according to the handwritten corrections in the base text, the readings found in the other editions of the text, and the *Middle English Dictionary*. Corrected or added letters or words in the text have been put within square brackets. If an emendation requires removing letters or words, this has not been indicated in the text, but the variant reading is included in the list of variants.

While consideration was given to the punctuation in the base text (such as vertical strokes, capital letters and other points) the punctuation in the present edition is editorial. Roman numerals are marked off by points as in the base text.

The line numbers on the left-hand margin of the text are editorial. Folios have been included to the right of the line numbers in accordance with the signatures, although those in square brackets are not found in the original edition.
Editions of Exornatorium Curatorum

A. **RSTC 10627.5** [1516?] Wynkyn de Worde. At the Sign of the Sun, Fleet Street.

B. **RSTC 10628 & British Library MS Lansdowne 379** [1518?] Wynkyn de Worde. At the Sign of the Sun, Fleet Street.

C. **RSTC 10629** [1519] Julian of Notary. At the Sign of the Three Kings, Paul's Church Yard.

D. **RSTC 10630** [1520?] R. Pynson. At the Sign of the George, beside Saint Dunstane's Church, Fleet Street.

E. **RSTC 10631** [1520?] Wynkyn de Worde. At the Sign of the Sun, Fleet Street.

F. **RSTC 10631.5** [1521?] Wynkyn de Worde. At the Sign of the Sun, Fleet Street.

G. **RSTC 10632** [1525?] Henry Pepwell. At the Sign of the Trynyte, Paul's Church Yard.

H. **RSTC 10633** [1530?] R. Pynson.

I. **RSTC 10633.5** [1531?] Peter Treverys. At the Sign of the Wodowes, Southwark.


DESCRIPTION OF INCUNABULA OF EXORNATORIUM CURATORUM

A or RSTC 10627.5 or Corpus Christi College SP.335(2)

[1516?]

Wynkyn de Worde

The first edition is a quarto volume of 30 folios arranged in quires of 6 folios each followed by a single quire of 4 folios. The volume measures 191mm in height, and was probably bound in limp (re-used) parchment in the sixteenth century. There are two modern flyleaves at either end of the volume. A full page consists of 32 lines of type: only type 95 textura was used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1 - b3; c1; c2.

There are four other items bound in this volume as follows:

2. Complaynt of the Soule. London: De Worde, 1519?. RSTC 5609.5
4. Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi. London: Berthelet, 1532?. RSTC 10470.8

The title of Exornatorium Curatorum appears on f.a1 underneath which is found an image measuring 85 x 95mm. The plate used to create the image was obviously cracked down the middle, between the two figures. It depicts Christ

---

426 I am grateful to William Hale MA, Parker-Taylor Bibliographer for details concerning this volume (private correspondence, 12th September 2003).
427 The measurement and description is according to the guidelines suggested in Frank Isaac, English & Scottish Printing Types 1501 – 35 and 1508 – 41, Bibliographical Society, (Oxford: OUP, 1930). The measurement refers to the number of millimetres of 20 lines of type, the description refers to the overall impression of the letters on the page. Alternative descriptive categories include ‘rotunda’ and ‘bastard’. Isaac focuses also on characteristics of particular letters: a, d, h, s, v, w, and y to distinguish one printing type from another. The types found in this particular print are similar to a', d', h', s', v', w', y' and are fairly typical for books printed after 1514. See Isaac, fig. 2 and pages, 1 – 3.
428 See Edward Hodnett, English Woodcuts 1480 – 1535, particularly figures 443 and 30 of Wynkyn de Worde. This plate appeared in the following texts printed before Exornatorium Curatorum in varying degrees of repair: Remors of conscyence [1500?] (neatly joined halves); Dystruccyon of Jherusalem [1508?] (left half only); Peniteas cito libellus, [1510?]; Simon, the anker. Frayte of Redempcyon, 1514; Peniteas cito libellus [1515?]; Simon the Anker. Frayte of Redempcyon, 1517 (Edward Hodnett, English Woodcuts 1480 - 1535 with additions and corrections, (London: OUP, 1935), 175).
429 I would even suggest that the image produced here, and in other editions of Exornatorium Curatorum, may be from the cracked halves of two different plates. The detail of pillars on either half and the line etching on the walls behind both figures is quite different.
instructing a monk who is kneeling in the left of the picture. The monk’s hat is cast upon the cobblestones beside him. Jesus is standing with his right hand raised as if he were teaching the young man. He has a cruciform nimbus and a disproportionately long right foot extended in front of him. On the reverse side of the page (a1v) the image is repeated, although this time the two characters have their backs to one another because the cracked plate was aligned in reverse order.

The text begins on f.a2' after the rubric sourcing the material to Pecham’s constitutions. The initial ‘I’ is the only decorated uncial in the edition. Measuring 15 x 20mm (or the depth of five lines of text), it is decorated with a bird piercing the letter.430 Punctuation consists of capital letters, slanted strokes between certain phrases, full stops, paragraph marks and single points before and after numbers. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of a line are indicated by two short parallel, diagonal strokes. Abbreviation is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; a superscript ‘t’ or ‘e’ or ‘u’ after a ‘thorn’ to indicate ‘that’, ‘the’ or ‘thou’ respectively; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the rubric on f.a6’. Occasionally, ‘9’ is employed to abbreviate a Latin word in the rubric or to abbreviate a common Middle English word.431

A new section is indicated by a capital letter of 11 x 9mm approximately (or the depth of 2 lines of text) as on folios: a2v, a4v, a5v, a5v, a6v, although a space is left for a capital ‘y’ on f.a6’ that was later inserted in regular rather than majuscule size.432 Thereafter, capital letters are not significantly larger than the print in the main body of the edition. Single line spaces to indicate different sections are found on folios: a2’ (after the introduction); a2v (after the articles of faith); a4’ (after the commandments); b5v (after the form of confession); b6’ x 2 (after the introduction to the temptations); b6v; c1v; c2v; c2v; c3v (after each of the temptations); c3’ (after advice to those who care for the sick); c3’ (after advice on trust in one’s faith); c4’ x 2 (concluding paragraphs). Spaces of 2 lines separate sections as found on f.b4’ (after the seven deadly sins) and f.b4v (after the sacrament of penance). Rubrics, or section headings,
are centred on the page and are separated from the main body of the text by 1 line space before and after the heading as on folios a2\textsuperscript{r} (introduction); a4\textsuperscript{r} (sacraments); a5\textsuperscript{r} (baptism); a5\textsuperscript{v} (eucharist); a6\textsuperscript{r} x 2 (marriage, penance and temptations). The seven deadly sins are centred on the page and separated from the text by 1 line space above and below each title as on folios: a6\textsuperscript{v}; b1\textsuperscript{v} x 2; b2\textsuperscript{v}; b2\textsuperscript{v}; b3\textsuperscript{v}. ‘Lechery’ is separated by 2 lines above the word and one line above on f.b3\textsuperscript{v}. On f.a4\textsuperscript{r} x 2 (end of ten commandments, two great commandments respectively) a half-line space, rather than a full-line space, indicates the close of those particular topics. A smaller space is found on f.c1\textsuperscript{v} to suggest the end of a paragraph on the remedy against the third temptation.\footnote{Spaces of 2 lines separate sections of the treatise as on f.b4\textsuperscript{r} (after the seven deadly sins) and f.b4\textsuperscript{v} (after the sacrament of penance).}

Decoration, or ornaments, indicating the end of a particular section of the treatise are used throughout this edition, all of the de Worde editions and the one Notary editions.\footnote{Wynkyn de Worde was one of the first printers to use ornaments to complete borders or to fill up lines. Three of the ornaments were in use as early as 1504. It is not known whether he had the ornaments cut in England or whether he procured them from the continent. See \textit{Wynkyn de Worde, assistant, friend and successor of William Caxton, England's first printer: the romance of the printing type and of the men who in the creation and use have become famous told in linotype Granjou designed by George Jones}, (Birmingham: School of printing, 1936). See also Henry R. Plomer, \textit{English Printers' Ornaments}, (London: Grafton & Co., 1924), fig. 112 where three of the ornaments are reproduced. The intersecting diamonds are not included in Plomer's descriptions. This device is closest to the device found in Davies fig. 198. The number of smaller stars in the upper panel varies somewhat from device to device. H.W. Davies, \textit{Devices of Early Printers}, (London: Grafton & Co., 1935), 576. See also R.B. McKerrow, \textit{Printers and Publishers Devices in England and Scotland 1485 – 1640}, (London: Chiswick Press, 1913), 7 – 9. See figures 19, 20 and 21 in particular.} The section endings are usually a combination of the following 4 ornaments: 2 arcs linked at either end similar to a single link in a chain; a chain or spiral of 4 loops; a thin curving stem with a trefoil leaf on either side; a chain or spiral of 3 intersecting diamonds. Each single piece of decoration is approximately 10mm in length. They correspond to the rubric and section indentations indicated above and are found on folios: a2\textsuperscript{r} x 2; a2\textsuperscript{v}; a5\textsuperscript{r} x 2; a5\textsuperscript{v} x 4; a6\textsuperscript{r}; a6\textsuperscript{v}; b5\textsuperscript{v}; b6\textsuperscript{r} x 2; c1\textsuperscript{r}; c2\textsuperscript{v}; c2\textsuperscript{v}; c3\textsuperscript{r} x 2; c3\textsuperscript{v} x 2.

The colophon announces the conclusion of the treatise, and includes the name and address of the printer: “Finis Exornatorium Curatorum, Enprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde at the sygne of the Sonne In Fletestrete.”

The device at the end of the edition is 108 x 89mm and is divided into three panels.\footnote{The pattern of line spaces to indicate the end or beginning of particular sections within the text is generally repeated in all of the de Worde editions and in the one Notary edition.} The upper panel depicts a sun at the centre complete with face and
surrounded by 2 larger stars and 20 smaller stars (11 left; 9 right). The middle panel consists of a large ‘W’ to the left, and a large ‘C’ to the right representative of de Worde and Caxton respectively. In the centre two arabic numerals are interlinked, one of which is clearly ‘4’. Davies suggests that the second figure is an arabic ‘7’, but the exact identity of the figure is unresolved. The arabic numerals or figures are Caxton’s mark; the ‘4’ was the usual trade mark of a printer. The lower panel contains three simple scrolls with a part of the printer’s name in each: ‘Wynkyn’ ‘de’ ‘Worde’. Above the scroll on the left is a hound, lying down, with his head faced to the left of the image. To the right is a centaur shooting an arrow at the hound. The panel is completed with a series of decorative trefoils.

The treatise is heavily annotated and corrected in an early sixteenth-century hand. Most of the time these annotations are expansions on the existing text, although occasionally words are corrected as ‘That’ to ‘The’ on f.2a or on f.a2 l.5 ‘is’ is replaced by ‘in,’ and on f.a2 l.7 ‘or deedly synne’ is replaced by ‘or in deedly synne;’ f.a.3 l.26 ‘it’ is crossed out. In some cases, whole phrases have been crossed out and replaced with new ones. For example, on f. a.3 ‘Also all those sle spyrytually’ has been crossed over and ‘or gostely’ has been inserted in the margins as if the corrector wanted to make one longer sentence out of two shorter sentences. On f.b6 l.4, ‘For these’ is replaced by ‘perfere for the benefit of later readers, similar to the replacement of ‘dyspense’ with ‘resoun.’

This particular edition is the only extant copy of Exornatorium Curatorum for which an owner can be identified definitively. The volume is part of the Matthew Parker collection in Cambridge. Matthew Parker was archbishop of Cambridge in the reign of Elizabeth II.

436 De Worde’s print shop was at the sign of the sun. See Henry R. Plomer, Wynkyn de Worde & His Contemporaries from the death of Caxton to 1535, (London: Grafton & Co, 1925). Plomer identifies this device as No.19 of McKerrow, noting that the star to the left of the sun has six points and was in use between 1504 and 1518 (Plomer, de Worde, 103).

437 Caxton’s mark was, apparently, the first printer’s mark. It was used for the first time in 1487. Julian Notary’s was the second mark; it was introduced in 1496 (Davies, 574-5 and Davies 40ff). The trade mark of the printer was the figure four, surmounting the monogram of the owner with one or more horizontal bars or strokes forming a cross. An orb was often included in the mark. The mark was used consistently by the individual trader. For a fuller discussion see Davies 24ff. I thought that the second figure was an arabic 2. Davies, however, suggests that it may be a particular mark or figure, not necessarily a digit, imported by Caxton from his printing days on the continent. Others think that it was a ‘7’, indicating a date, perhaps the beginning of Caxton’s print shop in England 1474 or another important date in his career.

438 Davies speculates that the centaur may have once been a unicorn (Davies, 576).
An edition of the treatise is also available in Durham University Library as part of the Bambourgh collection.

B or RSTC 10628 or BL MS Lansdowne 379

[1518?]

Wynken de Worde 4to

This manuscript contains 86 numbered folios with four modern fly leaves, two at the back and two at the front of the manuscript. There is one older fly leaf at the front of the manuscript and at the back there are four. The manuscript measures 207 x 170mm. The binding is modern British Museum binding, of dark red leather with the Lansdowne crest on the centre of both covers. The page measures 200 x 170mm, written space averaging 160 x 120mm. Most of the manuscript is written in single columns, except for the first treatise on ff.4r – 9r which is written in double columns.

British Library Lansdowne 379 was originally two separate manuscripts, although it is not clear when both were bound together. The remaining folios of the Lansdowne manuscript have been pasted to modern paper and the manuscript lacks catchwords, so that the collation of the manuscript is no longer discernible.

Script

It is possible to distinguish five different hands in the manuscript. Three of those hands are single entries, or fillers found on the following folios: Hand B: 38v (six lines only); Hand C: 41v; Hand D: 41v.

The remaining two hands make up the bulk of the manuscript which is, in fact, two separate manuscripts bound together: Hand A 10v – 40v and Hand E 42v – 88v. In fact, Hands C and D or folio 41 is quite possibly a loose leaf that was inserted into the extant manuscript when binding the two original manuscripts.

There is very little evidence of earlier ownership, although based on the story or prologue to the sequences of prayers found on ff.42v – 88v, one can surmise that the...

439 Bamburgh Sel. 107.
440 I am grateful to Clare Breay (Curator, British Museum) for her assistance with some of the details in the description of the manuscript (in private correspondence, e-mail 29 August 2003.)
441 There are several attempts to number the folios visible in the manuscript. The most recent system, and the one with which I agree, counts 86 folios.
owner of the second part of the manuscript had some connection with the Mount Sheen, Charterhouse, London.

An eighteenth-century instruction on an opening fly-leaf provides us with the name of M. Joseph Jekyl who bought the manuscript from Lord James West, in February 1798.

Contents
An antiquarian collection of treatises, in Latin and Middle English, on religious matters in both prose and verse, medical recipes, prayers and carols in both Latin and Middle English.

1. f.2 A list of contents of the rest of the manuscript which does not correspond to the folio numbers or contents of the extant manuscript. A penitential manual, *Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi printed at Antwerp 1486*, was once a part of the manuscript according to the list of contents. It is now missing.

2. ff.3r *Oratio D. Johannis Damasni*. Seventeenth-century prayer in Greek, written only on recto side of folios.

3. ff.9r A Sermon on the Lord’s Supper. *Incipit*: Fryndes yowe schall vndyrstande þat þe gloryus apostyll saynt Powl counsell euery crystenn man and woman at all tymes as nede requires whan þat [þey] schall resyve theyre blessud sacrament

4. ff.14r A Sermon for Easter Sunday in Middle English. *Incipit*: Fryndes yowe schal vndrestonde that hyt is acustomde in plasys of worshyp and in many oþer dyuers plasys, that, at þys solempe fest of Estren,

5. ff.18r A Sermon for All Saints’ Day. *Incipit*: Yowe schall vndrestonde þat þe feste of all seyntes os establyssched for 4 causes. The fyrste was for þe dedycacion of a temple.

6. ff.23r – 35r *Exornatorium Curatorum* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Middle English. The work is completed in an early sixteenth-century hand. *Incipit*: In constitutione provinciale Iohannes Peccham de officii archipresbyteri, capitulo ignorancia sacerdotum. It is ordeyned and decreed by holy chyrche
that every curate hautnge cure of soule shall shew and declare vnto his parysshens foure tymes in the yere, the xiii. artylces of the faythe. . .

7. f.36v A medical recipe, in Middle English, to break the stone in a man's body.

8. ff.38v A Carol. **Incipit:** Tydyrs tydyng | be tewe / Sorow ys paste and ioye dothe renew/ Qwhere as Adam caused be synne...

9. f.39v A cure for tootache written in Middle English.

10. f.40v A note in Latin (possibly added later) on the four temperaments of the human body.

11. f.40v A note on the age of the world in Middle English (possibly added later). **Incipit:** Se it remembrid that atte the draw, owt of this blyle was founde in an ald boke how many yere it was paste, that God hadde made the world.

12. f.41v Prayers in Middle English, from Charterhouse in London, to commemorate the passion of Our Lord on each day of the week.

13. f.52v A brief story explaining the merit or benefits to be obtained from reciting the ensuing prayers. **Incipit:** A Monk of the Chartre hous of London sent in wryting the rule and revelacion of the forsaid prayer to a brother of the same ordre atte Mountgras in the Northe countre and wityn certen dayes after he wrote to hym to London thankyn god and hym that evere he knew or herde of he forsaid prayer.

14. f.54v A sequence of prayers, attributed to St. Augustine, based on the five sorrows of Our Lady. **Incipit:** Domina sancta maria virgo gloriosissima mater dei et hominis te adoro te

15. f.56v A sequence of ejaculations to Our Lord. **Incipit:** Miserere mei domine et exaudi oracionem meam.

16. f.58v **Stabat Mater.** **Incipit:** Stabat Mater Dolorosa iuxta crucem lacrimosa dum pendebat filius, cuius animam gementem constematam et dolentem.

17. f.60v A Latin prayer to be said in times of great necessity. **Incipit:** Domine deus pater omnipotentis et misericorde, cuius pietatis et misericorde

18. f.64v The Glorious Invocation to Our Saviour Jesus Christ, written in Latin and Middle English. **Incipit:** Dominus noster Ihesus Christus humiliat . . .

19. f.72v A prayer to the Trinity. **Incipit:** O blessed trinyte fader and sone and holy gost thre persones and one god, I beleve with myn harte and confesse
20. f.74v A Prayer by St. Bede on the seven words said by Christ on the cross. Incipit: Lorde Ihesu Cryst that spake vij wordes in the last ende of thy lyffe, honging on the crosse that we shuld euerymore.

21. f.76r A prayer or meditation on the merit of the Crucifixion. Incipit: Si sanctis in mortali peccato aut in tribulacione vel angustia perge ad ecclesiam et genibus flexis coram sancta cruce deum humiliter deprecare ut tui in sereatur tibi quod peticionem.

22. f.80r A form of Indulgence from Rome written in Latin with a Middle English prologue. Incipit: This vndyr wryten ys founde at Rome behynde thawter of Saint Peter how the Pope John the xiith graunt to all people passyng be a chirch yarde.

23. f.81r The Seven Joys showed to Saint Thomas of Canterbury by Our Lady. Incipit: Legitur quod Beatus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cum semptem gaudia temporalia beate marie virginis cum nimia cordis exultatione.

24. f.84r A prayer. Incipit: Domine Ihesu Christe dulcissime qui beatam genitricem tuam gloriosissimam virginem mariam.

25. f.84v A prayer, found in a marble stone in Rome. Incipit: Domine Ihesu Christe rogo te ut amore illius gaudii quod dilecta mater tua.

26. f.85r A Latin prayer reputedly given to St. Bernard by an angel in praise of Our Lady. Incipit: Ave Maria, ancilla trinitatis humili*a, Ave Maria prelecta dei patris filia sublimissima

27. f.85v A confiteor attributed to St. Ambrose. Incipit: Confiteor tibi domine Ihesu Christe omnia mala ut...

The edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum* in this manuscript, consists of a quarto volume of 16 folios arranged in 2 quires of 6 folios followed by an incomplete quire of 2 folios and a further quire of 2 handwritten pages. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 88 was used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1-b3; c1; c2. The title page is missing.

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442 This measurement was supplied by Ms. Breay of the British Library in private correspondence.
The treatise begins immediately on f.a2'. The initial uncial 'I' is 22 x 14mm (5 lines of text) and decorated with a bird to the left of the letter similar to that found in A.

B employs the same system of punctuation and abbreviation as A. Similarly, the same capital letters are inserted at exactly the same points in each edition. Line spaces (whether half, single or double) indicating the end of sections within the treatise and particular headings are also employed in the same position in both editions. The four ornaments found in A are also found in B. The position of the ornaments to mark section endings is identical, but the sequence of particular pieces is not. Rather than include a lengthy paragraph comparing the arrangement of ornaments in both A and B, which would make for very tedious reading, a table comparing the layout of ornaments in the five editions that employ such decoration has been included at the end of this chapter.\textsuperscript{443} Such a table should make the identification of editions of further copies of \textit{Exornatorium Curatorum} possible, should any more be discovered.

Apart from the pattern of ornaments, there are other differences between A and B. A closer look at the textual variants, included after the edition of \textit{Exornatorium Curatorum}, will reveal that there are occasional spelling differences between the two editions.\textsuperscript{444} For example, on f.a2' line four of B, 'the' of A has been replaced by 'h'. On f.a2' line 11 of B, 'fayth' of A has been replaced by 'fathe'.

Differences in end-line words or parts of words are also noticeable between the two editions. On f.a2' line 10, B concludes the line with 'vnder' where A concludes with 'vn'. On f.a2' line 7, B concludes the line with 'euermore', A concludes with 'euermo'. Consequently, the end-line words for that particular section of text do not match thereafter so that B needs to include only two words, 'and badde' on the last line of that particular section (line 25). B fills the remaining space with 7 ornamental pieces. A, on the other hand, includes three words 'good and badde' and can, therefore, include only six pieces of ornament. Differences in end-line words are too numerous to mention. However, only once do the words at the bottom of the page not match. This occurs on f.a3' where the final words of B are 'is forbede al'. The final words of A are 'is forbede all maner of vnlefull de...'. By the end of the next page,

\textsuperscript{443} See appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{444} See 369 below.
the gap or mismatch has readjusted and the end-page words in both treatises are identical.

The final 2 folios are missing from edition B, but they have been replaced by a handwritten text. The replacement begins at the end of the section on the fifth temptation 'pryde and vayne glorye, yow shall lowe your selfe by meknes'. There are 25, 24 and 26 lines of script to each page respectively. The final page is not a complete page of script. The script is an early sixteenth-century secretary, similar to that found in the margins of the printed text.

This is the only extant edition of this treatise.

C or RSTC 10629 or Oxford, Bodley 4th Rawlinson 276

1519

Julian Notary

The edition consists of 16 folios arranged in 2 quires of 6 folios and one quire of 4 folios. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 92 textura has been used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1 - b3; c1 - c3. The edition measures 205 x 135mm. It is bound in brown leather with reinforced corners and spine. The title and catalogue number are embossed on the spine in gold. There are three fly-leaves at either end of the treatise.

The title Exornatorium Curatorum, is on f. a1 above an image measuring 68 x 97mm. The plate depicts Christ on the left, standing and preaching to the twelve apostles. Six of the apostles are clearly visible, two are represented merely by their heads and nimbi and the remaining four are represented by their nimbi only. All of the apostles are bearded except the one in the centre of the image. Christ’s nimbus is cruciform while those of the apostles are plain. Above the heads of the apostles is a

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445 Title page or a1 is missing.
447 F.S. Isaac English and Scottish Printing Types 1501 - 35; 1508 - 41. Bibliographical Society, (London: OUP, 1930), Fig 27. Letters used are S', v', w' (capital) (1507), w'.
448 See Hodnett, fig. 2078. An almost identical image was reproduced by Wynkyn de Worde in a 1505 edition of The Arte or Crafte to Lywe Well, RSTC 972, which might explain Notary’s decision to choose it for his title page. Exornatorium Curatorum and The Arte or Crafte to Lywe Well share the same framework. This particular cut is also found in the following treatises: Postilla siue expositio epystolarum (1509). Herolt, Joannes. Sermones discipuli, (1510). Kalender of Shepardes (1518?).
The edges of the plate indicate wear and tear: the top right-hand corner is missing; the lower right-hand corner is faded; the lower left-hand corner is also missing as is a small space in the middle left border. The image is repeated on a1v.

The treatise begins on f.a2v. After the usual rubric, the treatise begins with the initial letter ‘I’ (15 x 20mm) and is decorated with a bird similar to that found in A and B.

C employs the same system of punctuation and abbreviation as A and B. Similarly the same capital letters are inserted at exactly the same points in all three editions. Line spaces (whether half, single or double) indicating the end of sections within the treatise and particular headings are also employed in the same position in all three editions. The same four ornaments are employed in C as in B and A with two notable exceptions. The ornament of 3 interlocking diamonds is reduced to 2 ½ diamonds. This later piece often occurs on its own in a sequence of ornaments, but occasionally the piece is laid side by side with an identical piece to create an ornament of 5 interlocking diamonds. The second anomaly is the inclusion of a fifth ornament not found in A or B, a simple flower of six petals found on folios: a5v; b6v; c4v. The position of the ornaments is not exactly the same as in A and B. The table in the appendix best illustrates the differences. Each single piece of decoration is 10mm in length.

Again, there are spellings in C not found in either A or B. The textual variants indicate the differences. While C follows A in the two examples of spelling difference included in the description of B above, it is true to say that generally C does not show any tendency to agree with A against B or vice versa.

C, like B, differs from A in terms of end-line words or parts of words. Moreover, the pattern of end-line words of C is identical to B, except for a few small differences. The differences are usually but single letters as, for example, on folio a3f line 5 C reads ‘va-’ where B reads ‘vay’. On f.a4f line 18, C reads ‘nece’ where B reads ‘nces’. On f.a4v line 6 C reads ‘dr’ where B reads ‘dryn’ and on line 23 of the same page, C reads ‘wh’ where B reads ‘whi’. The delicate nature of setting and printing is clearly visible on f.a4v line 21 of C; the ‘l’ that is the last letter of that line

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449 The Pater noster was inserted into this scroll in the plate that was printed with a 1505 Wynkyn de Worde production The Arte or Crafte to Lyue Well (RSTC 972).
450 See appendix 3.
from ‘fai’ of ‘false’ has slipped to the next line below so that the last word of line 22 on the same page reads ‘wrongfully’.

C concludes with the colophon, ¶Finis Exornatorium Curatorum, ¶This emprented at London in Powlys chyrche yarde at the sygne of the .III. kynge By my Julyan Notary. In the yere of our lorde. MCCCCC. & .xix. Laus deo’ preceded by a paragraph mark are found at the bottom of the folio.

The book ends with a device of Julian Notary. The plate is 140 x 100mm. It consists of the mark of Julian Notary surrounded by a lavishly decorated border of flowers, birds, butterflies and two dragons. In the top border is a small scroll, again with the initials J.N. The mark is as follows: the printer’s ‘4’, the descender is lengthened to surmount and penetrate an orb at its base; a parallel line forms a cross on the descender; the initials J.N. are in the lower half of the orb. The printer’s mark is separated from the outer frame by a blank and smaller frame, to form part of a tree trunk in the outer frame.

A copy of this edition is also available in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. In the Oxford edition, it is not bound with any other treatise.

D or RSTC 10630 or BL C.21.a.32
[1520?]
Richard Pynson.

The edition is in brown leather of modern binding. A slightly different version of the title, Exoneratorium Curatorum, is printed in gold letters on the spine with the name of the printer, Richard Pynson. A gold trefoil is found in each corner of the front and back cover. The pages have been edged with gold-leaf. The volume measures 90 x 140 mm and contains 2 fly leaves of modern paper at the beginning and 13 blank fly leaves at the end of the treatise.

451 See fig. 26 and page 10 of McKerrow, Devices. The device seems to have been in use from 1507. A later device inserted a shield with the mark of Julian Notary into the compartment (McKerrow, Devices, fig. 28, 11). The compartment found in Exoneratorium Curatorum is described in McKerrow, Title-pages, page 2 and fig. 4.

452 Julian Notary first used his mark in 1496. See f.n. 437 above for discussion on printer’s marks.

453 Richard Pynson was a printer, bookseller and binder in London from 1490 – 1529 (Pollard, vol. 3: 140) See also Duff Century, 126 - 27.
The edition is an octavo volume consisting of 17 folios arranged in 2 quires of 7 and 10 folios each. A full page contains 30 lines of type; only type 70 textura was used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2 - a4; b1 - b5. There are two mistakes in the numbering of the folios: a3 and b1 occur twice.

The edition lacks a title page and plates.

The treatise begins on f.a2' erroneously marked a3'. The initial letter 'I' is 21 x 21mm and is surrounded by two single stem flowers of five petals each. Punctuation consists of capital letters, slanting strokes to separate phrases, single points before and after roman numerals and paragraph marks. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of a line are indicated by two short parallel and diagonal strokes. Abbreviation is employed much less than in this edition than in the previous three editions; the only two features are a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent 'm' or 'n', and a single '3' to replace 'ue' in the rubric on f.a6'.

A new section is indicated by a captial letter of 10 x 8mm (the depth of three lines of text) as on a3', a5', a5'; a6' although a space is left for a capital 'y' on a6' that was never supplied. The letters are identical to those found in the de Worde and Notary editions. Thereafter new sections of the treatise are not indicated by capital letters, but by 1 line space as found on folios: a2' (after the introduction); a4' x 2 (after the seven deadly sins and the seven virtues respectively); b2' (after the seven deadly sins); b3' (after the form of confession); b4' (before the temptations). Each of the temptations is separated by one or more spaces as on folios: b5' and b6' (the first temptation and second temptations are followed by 2 blank line spaces); b7' x 2 and b8'. A single line space separates the remaining sections of the 'temptations' on folios: b8' x 2 and b9'. Line spaces of 2 separate sections of the text as found on f.b5' (after the introduction to the temptations). A space of approximately 4 lines separates the concluding paragraph from the remainder of the text on f.b9'. Rubrics or section headings are centred on the page and are separated from the main body of the text by 1 line space before and after the heading as on folios; a5' (sacraments); a5' (baptism); a6' x 2 (eucharist and matrimony); a6' (and the section on penance and temptations).

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454 RSTC says A8 and B10
455 Isaac fig.17. Isaac notes that this type was seldom used, but is notable for the first appearance of the diphthong ae which was not cut for the type. This type is similar to 95 except for the use of w'. The type was used in 1509, 1516, 1521. The form of variable letters used in 95 textura and also found here is s', w', y' and v'.
The seven deadly sins are centred on the page and separated from the text by 1 line space above and below each title as on folios: a7v; a8r; a8v x 2; b1v; b2v; b2v. a2v (after the articles); a4v x 2 (after the ten commandments and two great commandments respectively); a4v x 2 (seven works of mercy and seven virtues respectively); a5v x 2 (after the sacrament of baptism and confirmation respectively).

The text completely lacks decoration.

D is so obviously a different edition to the de Worde and Notary editions that comparison of end-line words and end-page words is futile.

Separated from the main body of the text by three blank lines, the colophon is written on 9 lines centred on the page and tapering to form an inverted triangle as follows:

Explicit Exoneratorium Curatorum. Emprynted by Rycharde Pynson prynter
tnto the Kynges noble grace, dwel-lynge in London inFletestrete
at the sygne of the Ge-orge beside saynt
Dunstanes churche.

The book ends with a device of Rychard Pynson. It is 44.5 x 43mm. At the centre of the plate is a shield with the monogram 'RP' reversed. The shield is supported by two naked figures, male and female, possibly representing Adam and Eve. Surmounting the shield is a knight’s helmet framed by some scrolling vines. A bird, probably a finch, is atop the helmet. The headpiece (73 x 10mm) is simply a wave of four frills; the tailpiece (73 x 15mm) is a dense flower and bird scene. The right and left borders (15 x 60mm) match. They are also of birds and flowers, though the background is darker and the foliage less than that of the tailpiece.

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456 This, according to McKerrow, is a cut away form of an earlier device (McKerrow, Devices, page 12 and fig. 32). See also figs 19 & 70 of Davies for a description of earlier devices used by Pynson, as they share features with the device found here (Davies, 218 - 19 & 320 - 21).

457 Pynson was originally a glover. The glovers and breechmakers were represented by Adam and Eve at the Corpus Christi processions of the Guilds and Fraternities (Davies, 218).

458 Pynson was translated into English as Finch (Davies, 176).
Exornatorium Curatorum is bound in modern blue leather with two rectangles embossed on the front and back covers in gold, in a pocket-sized book measuring 132 x 175 mm. There are 2 modern fly leaves at the front of the edition and 30 at the back. The title 'Exornatorium Curatorum', the printer 'Wynkyn de Worde' and the place of publication 'London' are printed in gold ink on the spine. It is not bound with any other texts.

The edition consists of 20 folios arranged in 3 quires of 6 folios, 6 folios and 4 folios respectively. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 95 textura was used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1 - b3; c1 - c3.

The title page is found on f.a1'. Apart from the title 'Exornatorium Curatorum' there is a plate, 50 x 68mm, depicting a large phoenix piercing its breast to feed four young birds in the nest. The image is thought to represent Christ feeding the world through his own blood; the four nestlings are possibly the four evangelists. Four borders surround the plate. In the head and tailpieces, a figure (like a court jester) is found in the centre holding two full branches of foliage and flowers in either hand. The branches are large enough to fill the space surrounding the figure. Some detail of the flowers indicates that the borders are similar, but not identical. The border to the right of the main plate runs the full length of the plate and of the head and tailpieces. It depicts a figure picking an apple(?) from a tree above his head while the figure holds a stick in his other hand. He is surrounded by full branches of foliage.

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459 Isaac Fig.2. The variant letter forms are: a', d', h', s^, v^, w^, y'. Isaac comments on s', that it was first introduced in 1514 in small quantities, by 1519 it was in general use and after 1521 was the only s used. W^ was recut in 1519, but continued in use to the end. Y', apart from occasional use in 1401, 1502 and 1512 it was not found in a dated book before 1520.

460 Hodnett does not list this plate among his woodcuts for Wynkyn de Worde. However a similar, although not identical, woodcut is included for Pepwell under 'Non-Religious Cuts', (Hodnett, page 433, fig. 2280). See also the description for F, G and K below.

461 According to Claudine Davie of the British Library, the measurements of the image on the title page, including the border pieces, is 92mm (top) x 92mm 92mm (right) x 93mm (bottom) x 93mm (left). Ms. Davie cited all four measurements because the four borders are slightly out of synch (private correspondence, 1st Sept. 2003).

462 The headpiece is identical to that found on the upper right-hand margin of fig. 7 in Plomer, where the border accompanies the title page of Wynkyn de Worde's Nichodemus Gospell (1515?) (Plomer, Ornaments, 159).
The left-hand border is only the length of the main plate and is composed of foliage and flora.

On the verso side (f.a1\textsuperscript{v}) one finds the plate as described for the title page of A above. The image appears to be made from the same plate, identifiable by the same crack through the middle of the picture. A third image, ‘The Vision of St. Gregory’ is also found in this edition on the verso side of the second fly-leaf. Measuring 90 x 70mm, it depicts Pope Gregory saying Mass surrounded by acolytes, deacons, priests, bishops and cardinals. On the altar, which the Pope is facing, Christ appears with all the instruments of his passion and death around him.\textsuperscript{463} The picture is surrounded by four discrete borders. The headpiece is a delicate, lacy intertwine of crucifixes with trefoils on top. The right-hand border has a devil on the top, and entwining vines and flowers beneath. The opposite border is of a similar style, although without the devil. The tailpiece is a combination of fleur-de-lys and other foliage.

The treatise begins on f.a2\textsuperscript{f}. After the rubric, indicating that the treatise was drawn from Pecham’s constitutions, the initial letter ‘I’ is identical to that found in A, B and C.

E employs the same system of punctuation and abbreviation as the previous editions. Similarly, the same capital letters are inserted at exactly the same points in all editions. Line spaces, (whether half, single, or double) indicating the end of sections within the treatise and particular headings are also employed in the same position in all editions. E is the one edition from de Worde that is almost completely without ornament, except for one single stem on f.a2\textsuperscript{v} after the section on the fourteen articles of faith.

Variations in spelling, or abbreviation, are visible in the section on ‘Substantive Variants’ that follows the edition.\textsuperscript{464} E does not show agreement with one edition against another.

E agrees with B and C in terms of end-line words or parts of words against A. E also agrees with B against C. In fact, E and B at first glance could almost be the same edition except for a few small differences in spelling and letter formation. Although the spellings and letter forms peculiar to each edition are included in the section on ‘Substantive variants’ and under the description of type of each edition respectively, it is worth comparing a number of random samples. On f.a3\textsuperscript{f} line 4, the

\textsuperscript{463} Hodnett, page 176, fig. 446 of Wynkyn de Worde.

\textsuperscript{464} See 369 below.
word ‘second’ is spelled ‘secounde’ in B and ‘seconde’ in E. On line 5, ‘the’ of B is reproduced as ‘he’ in E. On line 12, ‘thy’ of B becomes ‘the’ in E. Letter forms also vary in the two treatises. On line 12, the descenders of the ‘k’ of ‘kepe’ in B are opened where they are closed in E. Such differences are minimal, but are enough to confirm that B and E are quite definitely two different editions.

The colophon of E includes ‘Finis Exornatorium Curatorum’ and the words ‘Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde /dwellynge in Flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne’.

The device which concludes the book is 90 x 103mm and divided into three panels. It is almost identical to that described in A. There are ten stars to the right of the sun instead of the 9 found in A. The ‘C’ in the middle panel is slightly worn. The panel is completed with a series of flowers and trefoils. There are notes from an early sixteenth-century hand on folios: b2v; b4v; c4v. The handwriting on the final page of the edition says that the text was printed at London by Wynkyn de Word, dwelling in Flete Street at the Signe of the [. . .]. The final word is unclear.

A copy of this treatise is also available in Bodley Ashmole 1215. It lacks both the title page and the final folios of the treatise. There are five fly leaves at the end and three at the beginning. The book measures 125 x 180mm. In Bodley Ashmole, the Exornatorium Curatorum is bound with several other religious treatises, although from the seventeenth century rather than sixteenth century. They are: Injunctions given by the Queen’s Majesty in 1559; Articles to be enquired in the visitation, in the first yeere of the raigntne of ourm ost dread Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, 1589; Articles agree vpon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Prouinces, and the whole Cleargie: In the Cnuocation holden at London, in the yeere 1562, (London: Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1628); Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall treated vpon by the Bisshop of London, President of the Conuocation for the Prouince of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops and Cleargy of the sayd Prouince, (London: Norton and Bill, 1628); Articles to be Enqvired of, within the Diocesse of Lincolne, ( Cambridge: John Legat, 1604); Certaine Considerations drawne form the Canons of the last Sinod, and other the Kings Ecclesiasicall and statute law, (1605); Articles to be enqvired of Within the Diocesse of Lincolne, (London, 1625);

465 See 320 - 21 above.
466 See McKerrow, Devices, fig. 20, page 8. This devices seems to have been in use between 1508 and 1529.
Instructions directed from the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, (London, 1626); The Authorite of the Chvrch in making Canons and Constitutions concerning things indifferent, (London, 1607); Articles of Religion Agreed vpon by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergie of Ireland in the Convocation holden at Dyblin in 1615, (London, 1628); King James, his letter and direction to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury concerning Preaching, (London, 1642); Cygnea Cantio. King James, (1629); Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, (London and York, 1640); London 1683 – The Sayings and Apothegms of Sundry learned and Eminent Divines of the Church of England; A werke for housholders or for them that have the gydynge of gouernaunce of any company. Gadred & set forth by a professed brother of Syon, Rycharde Wyhyforde and newly corrected & prynted agayne with and addicion of policy for housholdynge set forth also by the same brother.

F or RSTC 10631.5.
[1521?]
Wynkyn de Worde 4to

This final edition of Exornatorium Curatorum by Wynkyn de Worde is a quarto volume off 17 folios arranged in 3 quires o f 6 folios. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 95 textura was used. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1 - b3; c1 - c3.

The title plate found on f.a1 is identical to that found on the title page of E. The detail and edges of the plate are exact matches. The plate is 50 x 68mm. The border surrounding the title plate, however, is different to that found on E. It consists of a headpiece and right-hand border which are identical, containing flowers o f six petals without foliage. These two borders are completed by ornaments similar to that found in the spaces of the text. The border to the right is a mixture of birds and flowers interwoven. The tailpiece is quite faded, but seems to consist of flowers and birds although with greater density and detail than that found on the right-hand

467 Isaac fig.2. The variant letter forms are V, W is used as a capital form and generally throughout the treatise. However W is used at the beginning of the treatise, although Isaac notes that it “is found only in a few pages at the beginning of Lydgate’s [?] Court of Sapience, 1510. Y

468 See Plomer, Ornaments, fig. 7 (lower right-hand margin), page 159 and fig. 9, page 163 illustrating a title-page of Pynson.
border. Within the border and below the plate of the phoenix a blank space of 47mm is filled in with two parallel rows of ornaments similar to that found within the text. The upper and lower margins of the border are decorated with similar detail.

On f.a2' the same plate as that found on A and E is reproduced.\textsuperscript{469} It is 85 x 95mm and is identifiable by the crack through the centre of the image. The image, as it is reproduced in F, is somewhat broken and faded.

The treatise begins on f. a2' with the rubric indicating the source of the text as Pecham. The initial 'I' of the text is decorated as in the previous editions with a bird to the left, penetrating the letter. It measures 15 x 21mm.

F employs the same system of punctuation and abbreviation as the previous editions. Similarly, the same capital letters are inserted at exactly the same points in all editions. F does not follow any of the previous editions, however, in its use of line spaces to separate particular sections of the treatise. Occasionally, it employs double-line spaces where the previous editions employed only single spaces, for example, on folios: a2' (articles of the faith); b5' (on lay confession); b6' x 2 (introduction to temptations); c1' (before the remedy for the third temptation); c2' (after the remedy for the third temptation); c2' (after the fourth temptation and remedy); c3' (advice to carers of the sick). Spaces of 3 blank lines are used on folios b4' (after the 7 deadly sins) and b4' (after the form of confession). Otherwise, single line spaces to indicate different sections are found on the following folios as in previous editions: a2' (after the introduction); a4' (two great commandments, seven works of mercy); b6'; c1'; c1' (after the second and third temptation and the remedy for the third temptation respectively); c3'; c4' x 4 (concluding paragraphs).

Rubrics, or section headings, are centred on the page and are separated from the main body of the text by 1 line space before and after the heading as on folios: a4' (2 blank line spaces) (sacraments); a5' (baptism); a5' (2 blank lines above the rubric) (eucharist); a6' x 2 (marriage and the sections on penance and tribulation). The section headings for the seven deadly sins are laid out as in previous editions.

F inserts the same four ornaments between sections as found in A, B and E. The table illustrates the arrangement of these ornaments.

\textsuperscript{469} See 318 – 9 above.
Variations in spelling, or abbreviations, are visible in the section on ‘Substantive variants’ that follows the edition. F does not show a consistent pattern of spelling or abbreviation in agreement with one edition against another.

F is also unique in terms of layout of the edition. Initially, it seems closer to B, C, and E than A. On a2r line 10, for example, F concludes with ‘vnder’ rather than with ‘vn’ as does A. From line 16 of a2r, however, end-line words do not match the end-line words of B, nor even C. The differences are far greater and are far too numerous to mention. In fact, the layout of the text changes so much in F that many end-page words do not match end-page words of the previous editions. See, for example, folios: a3v, a5r, b3r, b4r, b5v-r, b6v, c1r-c3v.

The colophon of F includes notice of the end of the treatise and details of the printer and his address as follows: ‘Finis Exornatorium Curatorum. Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of £® Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde.’

The device concluding the text is highly complex and lavish. It measures 70 x 94mm. It first appeared in 1520 and is described by Davies as “a direct plagiarism of Froben-Holbein.” At the centre of the device is Caxton’s mark accompanied by the initials ‘W’ and ‘C’ at either side. This mark, a rose, and a thistle below the mark are the main differences between the Froben-Holbein plate and de Worde’s plate. Caxton’s and de Worde’s mark is supported by two smiling child-like figures. The figure on the left wears a knotted belt around his waist; the figure on the right seems to be wearing animal skin. These two figures are assisted in supporting the mark by a cherub above the space in which the mark is found. In the dome-like space above the mark, the sun, moon and stars are represented. Both the Sun and Moon have faces. At either side of the two figures are two renaissance-

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470 See 369 below.
471 McKerrow, Devices figs. 46, 49 and 50, page 17. The device, according to McKerrow, was in use between 1520 and 1535.
472 Davies, 290 and 292. John Froben was a printer in Paris, Basle and Coln c.1511 - 19. The plate to which Davies refers was used from 1519 onwards. See fig. 55 of Davies for the Froben-Holbein plate. See fig. 56 for a “second state” version of the plate. In the “second state” version the background around the sun and planets has been cut away. See also Plomer, 105.
473 For a note on Caxton’s mark see f.n. 437 above.
474 According to Davies, the rose which is “slipped” was the badge of Catherine of Aragorn (before she separated from her husband). The ‘thistle’ ought to be a pomegranate, but is only semblant of one (Davies, 292).
475 Davies suggests that the left figure is representative of a friar and that there is possibly a monastery in the background of the device. The figure on the right is representative of John the Baptist dressed in camel hair. Davies interprets these figures as symbolic representations of the original owner’s name ‘John Froben’ (290).
476 Davies points out that one star is particularly brighter than another, perhaps to indicate a special date or occasion in de Worde’s life (Davies, 290).
style columns topped by two centurions. The name ‘Wynkyn de Worde’ is written beneath. The borders to the left and right are in reverse order to the borders found in fig. 56 of Davies. The right-hand border consists of four rabbits in various positions, separated by scrolling vines. The border to the left consists of two birds at either end of the border, between which are found scrolling vines. The headpiece and tailpiece are similar. Two sets of three-linked chains, completed with a rose of five petals, surround a shield bearing Caxton’s mark. They measure 106 x 24mm and 108 x 21mm respectively. On the headpiece, the sun surmounts the shield. Below the tailpiece another face appears immediately below the shield. These borders are trimmed with simple fleur-de-lys completed on either end with the sepia found beneath a flower. There is an extra panel of decorative foliage meeting at a diamond inserted between the top border and the device.

There is some illegible handwriting on c4f, which looks like a list.

For the purposes of the current study, the edition was downloaded from Early English Books Online. The edition used there is from the Hunterian Library, in Glasgow, shelfmark Sp Coll Hunterian Bv.3.8. The only known owner was William Hunter, an eighteenth-century antiquarian.

**G or RSTC 10632 or BL C. 21.c.27**

[1525?]

**Henry Pepwell.**

The treatise is bound in modern navy leather in a small, pocket-sized book measuring 137 x 195mm. The title ‘*Exoneratorium Curatorum*’ (sic) and place of publication, ‘London’ are embossed on the spine in gold lettering. On the front and back cover, a gold-leaf patterning of 7mm in depth borders the covers. It is not bound with any other texts. There is one fly-leaf at the beginning of the treatise and 42 at the end.

The edition is a quarto volume consisting of 15 folios arranged in 3 quires of 6 folios each for the first 2 quires, and of 3 folios for the last quire. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1-b3; c1-c3. The numbering on the folios for the last quire is quite

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477 In private correspondence with Shawn Martin (e-mail, 26 August 2003).
478 Henry Pepwell was a printer (up to 1525?) and bookseller in London from 1518 - 41. (Pollard and Redgrave, vol. 3:134 and Duff, *Century* 119).
479 RSTC notes quires of six folios.
peculiar. It is as follows: a1, c2, c3 indicating that at some stage in the bookmaking process the first folio of the first quire was confused with the first folio of the third quire. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 93 textura was used in the book.\textsuperscript{480}

This edition follows D in bearing the slightly different title of \textit{Exoneratorium Curatorum} rather than \textit{Exornatorium Curatorum} as found on the de Worde and Notary editions of the treatise. However, the title page, like that found on E and F is of a phoenix piercing its breast to feed its four young in the nest.\textsuperscript{481} The image measures 70 x 68mm. Some of the detail in the plate suggests that this image has been reproduced from a copy of the plate described above rather than an image reproduced from the same plate. For example, the grass on the right background has six fronds rather than four thicker fronds of the earlier plate. The flower in the right foreground is slightly smaller than that of the earlier plate. The beak of the bird on the far right of the earlier plate is open whereas the beak of the bird on the far right in the later plate is closed. Overall, the reproduction is somewhat less fine than that of the earlier plate.

The second plate, measuring 105 x 130mm, is that of St. Barbara and St. Agatha.\textsuperscript{482} Mary stands in the middle of two and a turret is visible in the left background. The two saints are both bearing processional staffs with crucifixes and pennons atop. The figure to the left (St. Barbara) also carries a palm and a scroll, while the figure to the right (St. Agatha) bears a scroll and pincers. The heads of both saints and of Mary are each surrounded by a nimbus. Under Mary’s crown is half a tudor rose and a pomegranate. Jesus’ nimbus is decorated with the fleur-de-lys. Mary is standing on a globe out of which emanates two horns of the devil. Above the plate, the title as found on f.a1\textsuperscript{7} is clearly identifiable, suggesting that the ink was not quite dry when the pages were closed. Similarly, the plate found on f.a1\textsuperscript{7} is visible on the title page.

The treatise begins on f.a2\textsuperscript{7}. The initial letter ‘I’ is 10 x 7mm (almost the depth of 2 lines of text) and is plain and unadorned. Punctuation consists of capital letters, full stops, vertical strokes to separate phrases, single points before and after roman numerals and paragraph marks. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished

\textsuperscript{480} Isaac, fig.48. The variant letter forms are a', d', pointed h, s', v', w', w', y'.
\textsuperscript{481} See fig. 2280 of Pepwell in Hodnett, 433. 1530 is tentatively suggested as a date for this particular plate.
\textsuperscript{482} See fig. 2278 of Pepwell in Hodnett, 433.
words at the end of a line are indicated by two parallel, diagonal strokes. Abbreviation
is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually
indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; a superscript ‘t’ or ‘e’ after a ‘thorn’ to indicate ‘that’,
or ‘the’ respectively; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the
rubric on f.a6’.

Capital letters, (10 x 7mm) are used to indicate a new section of the text on
folios: a2v (ten commandments); a4v (sacraments); a5v (baptism); a5v (eucharist); a6v
(marriage and the section on penance and tribulation). The letters are identical to
those found in the de Worde, Notary and Pynson editions. On f.6v space is left for a
capital ‘y’ at the beginning of the section on penance, but it was never supplied.
Instead a smaller ‘y’ was inserted, possibly by hand. Thereafter new sections of the
treatise are not indicated by capital letters, but by a single line space as on folios: a4v x
3 (after the ten commandments, two great commandments, seven works of mercy
respectively); b6v; c1v (after the first two temptations); c1v (before the concluding
paragraph of the third temptation); c3v (between the two paragraphs setting out advice
to those who are caring for the sick); c3v (after the five questions); c.4v x 4
(concluding paragraphs). Blank spaces of 2 full lines are used to indicate breaks
between sections on the following folios: a2v (after the introduction); a2v (after the
articles of the faith); b4v (after the seven deadly sins); b4v (after the form of
confession); b5v (introduction to the temptations); b6v x 2 (before the first temptation
and the remedy to the first temptation respectively); c1v (after the third temptation);
c2v (before the fourth temptation); c2v (before the fifth temptation); c3v (between the
two paragraphs setting out advice to those who are caring for the sick). Spaces of 3
lines are used on f.b4v(after the seven deadly sins). Rubrics or section headings are
centred on the page and are separated from the main body of the text by 1 line space
before and after the heading as on folios: a2v (2 lines below the rubric)(introduction);
a5v (baptism); a6v (two lines below rubric) (marriage); a6v (section on penance and
tribulation). Each of the title words for the seven deadly sins is centred on the page,
preceded by a paragraph mark and separated from the main treatise by a number of
blank lines above and below the title as on folios: a6v (pride); b1v (wrath); b1v (envy);
b2v (2 blank lines below the title word)(covetousness); b2v (2 blank lines above the
title word)(sloth); b3v (2 blank lines above)(gluttony). The rubric indicating the
sacraments, eucharist, lechery are separated from the main body of the text by 2 blank
line spaces above and below the rubric on folios: a4v a5v; b3v respectively. The book
lacks decoration. Only half-line space rather than full-line spaces are used to indicate section endings in the following folios: a5v (after the first sacrament); a5v x3 (after the third, fourth and fifth sacrament respectively; c1v (after the introduction to the third remedy).

The text completely lacks decoration.

G does not share end-line or end-page words with any of the previous editions.

The colophon announces the end of the treatise and includes detail of the printer and the printer's address as follows: 'Finis Exoneratorium curorum. Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell'.

A simple panel (25 x 92mm) consisting of a scroll at the end of f.c4v and bearing the name of Henry Pepwell concludes the treatise. Above 'Henry' there is a 'H' surrounded by two small lozenges and above 'Pepwell' there is a 'P' surrounded by two small lozenges. The centrefold of the scroll bears a 'W'; below is the monogram similar to that used by Richard Pynson; above the 'w' is another figure, possibly 'J' to represent Henri Jacobi, the previous owner of the printing shop occupied by Pepwell. This same device is reproduced again on the reverse of the folio (c4v) with an earlier device modified slightly from a device used by Jacobi. This particular device is 53 x 75mm and is of the Trinity. The father is represented as a crowned king, the spirit as a dove and below both the son is represented as Christ crucified. The image is flanked by two figures; to the right is a king and to the left a soldier. Below the image of the Trinity, but within the same plate, are two scrolls on either side of a shield bearing the mark of Henri Jacobi. The left hand scroll bears the name 'Henricus' the forename of both Jacobi and Pepwell. The right-hand scroll has been scratched blank. Above the image of the Trinity are symbols of the various members of the royal household.: a crowned fleur-de-lys is in the top left-hand corner.

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483 See fig. 47 in McKerrow, Devices, 17.

484 Duff suggests that this particular device was Pepwell's third and he describe it as "an oblong block containing a ribbon with the name Henry Pepwell above which are the initials H.P. with the trademark in the centre." (Duff Century, 119). The trademark is interesting in that it does not use the standard '4' which was a central part of most printer's marks (See f.n. 437 above). Instead, the mark at the centre of the block is a form of the monograms of three other printers combined, possibly indicative of the different printers with which Pepwell worked during his printing career. A closer look at the device on the verso side of this folio reveals a more typical trade mark i.e. the figure 4 surmounting a parallel line to form a cross and incorporating the letters 'H' and 'J'. This mark was probably that of the previous owner of Pepwell's shop, Henri Jacobi. Davies confirms that the Jacobi's device went to Pepwell in 1519, though the 'Jacobi' was cut out and the 'Henri' remained as it was the Christian name of both printers (Davies, 580).

485 Fig. 34 in McKerrow, Devices, 13. It seems to have been in use between 1513 and 1525(?).
a crowned rose in the centre and in the top right-hand corner there is a crowned pomegranate.

On f.a3r an attempt has been made to erase the word ‘pope’, indicating that the treatise was in use after the Reformation.

H or RSTC 10633 or BL C.192.a.73
Peter Treveris

The treatise is bound in red, modern leather. The title, ‘Exornatorium Curatorium’ and the printer and date, P. Treveris c.1530, are embossed upon the cover and spine in gold letters. The book is very small, measuring 92 x 140mm. There are four fly-leaves at the beginning of the treatise and four at the end.

The edition is an octavo volume of 24 folios arranged in 3 quires of 8 folios each. A full page contains 26 lines of type, although there are only 25 lines of type on folios: c1v, c2r, c3v. Only type 81 bastard was used in the book. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: b1; c1; c2.

The title page consists of four borders surrounding the title, rather than the title written above a plate representing Christ. The headpiece depicts two apes jousting, each astride a four-legged creature with a grotesque head. The ape on the right bears a bi-pronged instrument. Foliage and flora lie between them. In the tailpiece a horse is being led by a hunter and his dog. The horse bears a stag. Another man carrying a pike over his shoulder completes the little procession which takes place in front of a city. These panels measure 23 x 62mm and 24 x 60mm. The side panels are not matching, but are two different arrangements of flora and foliage. To the left of the head and tailpieces are two ornaments (ribbon and stem pieces) identical to that used by de Worde to complete sections in his editions. Each of these borders measures 56 x 12 mm.

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486 Peter Treveris was a native of Germany and was a printer in Southwark from 1525 - 1532. (Pollard, vol. 3, 171 and Duff Century, 158).
487 Isaac, fig. 54b.
488 Both of these pieces are described in the “Additional” section of Hodnett’s English Woodcuts 1480 – 1535. See the descriptions for 2385a and b.
The treatise begins on f.a2^r. The uncial letter (36 x 32mm), is the depth of 8 lines of text. It is a large ‘I’ akin to a tree and surrounded on either side by two four-legged animals standing on their hind legs. Punctuation consists of capital letters, full stops, single points before and after roman numerals, single diagonal stroke to separate phrases and paragraph marks. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of a line are indicated by two short, parallel, diagonal strokes. Abbreviation is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; a superscript ‘t’ or ‘e’ after a ‘thorn’ to indicate ‘that’, or ‘the’ respectively; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the rubric on f.a8^r.

The edition lacks decoration, but sections of the treatise are usually indicated by indentation and spacing. For more significant divisions in the text, spaces of 1 line or more indicate section endings. On f.a5^l 1 blank line space follows the section on the two great commandments. Rubrics in the text are indicated by indentation and a space of two lines on either side of the rubric as on folios: a6^t (sacraments); a6^y (baptism); a7^y (eucharist); a8^x 2 (marriage and the remaining sections on penance and temptations). The seven deadly sins are centred on the page and divided from the remainder of the treatise by two lines above and below the title as on folios: b1^l; b2^y; b3^l; b3^l; b4^y; b5^y. ‘Lechery’ is separated from the text by three line spaces above and two below the title on f.b6^l. A half-line space or smaller indicates a section end as on the following folios: a2^t (after the introduction); a2^y (after the first seven articles); a3^t (after the ten commandments); a5^y 2 (after the seven works of mercy and first three virtues respectively); a7^t (after the fifth sacrament); b2^y (half-ways through the sin of wrath); b4^t (half-ways through the sin of covetousness); b5^t (half-ways through the sin of sloth); b6^t (after the seven deadly sins); b7^t (after the second thing to remember for a good confession); b7^y (after the form of confession); b8’(during the note on lay confession); c3^y (after the remedy for the second temptation); c4^t 2 (after the third temptation and the first paragraph on the remedy for the third temptation); c4^y (after the second paragraph on the remedy for the third temptation); c5^y (after the fourth temptation and remedy); c6^t 2 (after the concluding remarks on the fifth temptation and the advice to those caring for the sick respectively); c6^t(before the five questions).

489 I am grateful to Claudine Davie, curator in Rare Books in the British Library (private correspondenced, 1st Sept. 2003).
**H** is so obviously a different edition to any of the previous editions that comparison of end-line or end-page words is futile.

The text ends with a simple ‘finis’. The edition is without a printer’s device.

On f.a.3v.1.24 the word ‘pope’ has been erased indicating that this edition was in use after the Reformation.

The RSTC entry notes that this edition cannot be traced and refers instead to the Quaritch catalogue 436 (1930), item 1364. The edition was, in fact, purchased by the British Library on 30th September 1990.490

I or RSTC 10633.5

[1531?]

Peter Treveris 80

The edition consists of 20 folios arranged in 2 quires of 8 folios each and 1 final quire of 4 folios. A full page contains 27 lines of type; only type 81 bastard was used in the book.491 Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1-b4; c1-c3. This is an incomplete copy; it breaks off at c.3v at the words, “all aduocate for to shewe and presente all our causes and.”

The title page is identical to that of **H**.

The treatise begins on the f.a2'. The initial ‘I’ is an unadorned uncial. Punctuation consists of capital letters, full stops, single diagonal strokes to separate phrases, single points before and after roman numerals and paragraph marks. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of a line are indicated by double diagonal strokes. Abbreviation is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the rubric on f.a5v.

Capital letters indicate the beginning of a new section as on folios: a5f; a6f; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b1f; b2v; b3f and b3v. Punctuation is indicated by capital letters, full stops, paragraph marks and slanting strokes to separate phrases. Rubrics are indented as on the following folios: a1v (introduction); a5f (sacraments); a5v (baptism); a6f (eucharist); a6v x 2 (marriage and extra on penance and the temptations). Each of

490 Ibid.

491 Isaac, fig. 54b.
the seven deadly sins is centred on the page and preceded by a paragraph mark as on folios: a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b3v. Only once, on f:b1v (covetousness), is a rubric separated from the rest of the text by a space of two lines above the heading. Only a half-line or part of a line is left blank to indicate the end of one section or part of a section on the following folios: a2 (the first seven articles); a4v (after the seven works of mercy and the first three virtues); a7v (after the first paragraph on pride); b1v (before the final paragraph on envy); b3v (before the final paragraph on sloth); b3v (after the first paragraph on lechery); b4 (after the seven deadly sins); b5v x 3 (during the note on lay confession); b6v (before the form of confession); b7v x 3 (before and after the final two paragraphs on the remedy to the first temptation); b8v x 2 (before and after the first paragraph on the third temptation); c1v (after the third paragraph on the third temptation); c1v (after the remedy to the third temptation); c2v (after the remedy to the fourth temptation); c2v (concluding remarks on the temptations); c3v (after the third question). Apart from the decorated uncial letters already described, the edition lacks decoration.

Despite the similarity of type and title pages, H and I are quite definitely separate editions. I does not use the capital letters found in H and other editions. Moreover, H generally has twenty-six lines of type to a page, where I has 27. The layout of the text in both editions is completely different. There are also spelling differences; these are listed in the substantive variants.

‘Amen’, centred on the page and written directly below the main body of the treatise, concludes the text. The colophon, as usual, supplies the name of the printer and his address: ‘Enprynted by me Peter Treuerys dwellynge in Southwarke at the sygne of the wodowes’.

To the best of my knowledge, there is not a device at the end of this edition.

A copy of this edition is available in the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. I worked from the copy available on Early English Books Online.
Exonoratorium Curatorum(sic) is bound in modern leather with two other Middle English texts:

1. 3 - 25 *Stella Clericorum* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Oct 20th 1531.\(^{493}\)
2. 27 - 56 *Cura Clericalis* printed by Thomas Petyt, 1642.\(^{494}\)

The book is pocket-sized measuring 95 x 135mm. On the inside cover are two blank fly leaves.

The edition is an octavo volume of 18 folios arranged in 3 quires of 6 folios each. A full page contains 30 lines of type; only type 73 textura was used in the book.\(^{495}\) Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1-b3; c1-c3.

The title undergoes a further change in this edition, presented here as *Exonoratorium Curatorum*. The title plate is 81 x 119mm enclosing 41.5 x 67mm. The title is surrounded by decorative borders, including the monogram of Richard Pynson at the centre base of the border. A smaller monogram, ‘I.S.’, is located just above Pynson’s monogram.\(^{496}\) Pynson’s shield is supported by two figures: the figure on the right is a jester, the figure to the right is (possibly) a musician. On either side of the title are two identical renaissance-style pillars topped on each side by a cherubim. The one on the right bears an instrument which he seems to be aiming at the cherubim on the left who is carrying a dead bird over his shoulder.

The treatise begins on f.a1\(^v\) with the usual rubric referring to Pecham’s statutes. The initial letter ‘I’ is 21 x 21mm and decorated on either side with two flowers of five petals each on branching stems. The uncial is similar to that found in D. Punctuation consists of capital letters, full stops, single diagonal strokes to

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\(^{492}\) Thomas Godfray was a printer in London from 1531(?) - 1536, at least (as only two of his works bear dates, it is more difficult to ascertain exact dates of his career (Pollard & Redgrave, vol. 3, 69).

\(^{493}\) RSTC 23244

\(^{494}\) RSTC 6127

\(^{495}\) Isaac fig.79a. The variant letter forms are as follows: a', d', h', s', v', w', y'.

\(^{496}\) McKerrow identifies this monogram as that of J.Schoeffer, a Mainz printer (Mc Kerrow, *Title- pages*, 7). It is described by McKerrow as follows: “The break in the top inner border-line now measures 22mm and that in the lower inner border-line 8.5mm. The compartment of this title page is identical to fig. 53 of McKerrow’s *Devices* and is, in fact, a device of Pynson’s here adapted to become the title-page of Godfray’s edition of *Exonoratorium Curatorum.*” According to McKerrow’s note, it was a common compartment block (*Devices*, 19).
separate phrases, single points before and after roman numerals. The number of paragraph marks is greatly reduced in this edition; they are employed to indicate the introduction of new material within a particular section rather than to indicate new paragraphs. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of line are indicated by two parallel diagonal strokes. Abbreviation is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; a superscript ‘t’ or ‘e’ after a ‘thorn’ to indicate ‘that’ or ‘the’ respectively; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; on f.a3r l.22 ‘promote’ is abbreviated to ‘p’mote’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the rubric on f.a6v.

The treatise does not insert larger uncials for the beginning of sections, as is found in other editions of Exornatorium Curatorum.

This edition is much more economical in terms of spacing and lay out of the treatise. New sections are barely indicated. Rubric preceded by a paragraph mark is found on the following folios: a1v (introduction); a5r (sacraments); a5v (baptism); a6r (eucharist); a6v x 2 (marriage and the section on penance and temptations respectively). The rubric is separated from the previous section by a single line space. The seven deadly sins are all introduced by the title of each sin, highlighted by a paragraph mark preceding the word and occasionally brief spaces before and after the word, although occasionally the spaces are not included. For the titles to the seven deadly sins see folios: b1r; b2r; b3r; b4r; b4v x2 c4v. A paragraph mark is all that indicates a new section of the text on the following folios: b5r (after the seven deadly sins); c1v (the introduction to the temptations); c3v x 2 (the third temptation and the remedy); c4r (final paragraph on the third temptation). The text lacks decoration.

The colophon does not mention the name of the treatise as in other editions, but simply ‘Finis’ and the name and address of the printer: ‘Prynted at London at Temple barre by Thomas Godfray’.

K or Jesus College Oxford Library H.13.23 or RSTC 10634.3

[1552]
The edition is an octavo volume of 25 folios arranged in 6 quires of 4 folios each, with the exception of quire C which consists of 5 folios. A full page contains 26 lines of type. Signatures in higher-case letters and roman numerals are found on the recto side of the following folios: a2; a3; b1-b3; c1; c2; d1-d3; e1-e3; f1-f3.

This edition returns to the title *Exoneratorium Curatorum* used by G. The title page uses yet another version of the phoenix image. The image measures 68 x 70mm. The detail of some of the plants differs from the earlier plates, as for example the clump of leaves found on the left foreground close to the basket. In the left background a city is clearly visible. In the earlier plate there is a division between the two right leaves not visible in this later plate, and the position of the fourth bird’s beak is at a different angle. These details suggest that Wyer made a copy of a previous plate.

The treatise begins on f.a1v with the usual rubric sourcing the text to Pecham. The initial letter ‘I’ is 10 x 17mm and is decorated with three simple flowers and stems. Punctuation is indicated by capital letters, comma, single points before and after roman numerals and paragraph marks at the beginning of paragraphs. Lines are justified at the end; unfinished words at the end of a line are indicated by two short parallel diagonal lines. Abbreviation is employed throughout the text as follows: a parallel stroke above a vowel usually indicating an absent ‘m’ or ‘n’; a superscript ‘t’ after a ‘thorn’ to indicate ‘that’; ampersand to indicate ‘and’; ‘3’ is used to replace ‘ue’ in the rubric on f.b4v.

New sections are indicated by indented rubric and larger uncials before the text on the following folios: b2v (sacraments); b3v (baptism); b4f (eucharist); b5v x 2 (marriage and the section on penance and temptations respectively). The rubric is separated from the previous section by a single line space. Each of the seven deadly sins is introduced by its title, centred on the page. Each section begins with a large ornate uncial on the following folios: c1v; c3v; c3v; c4f; c4v; c5l; d1v; d1v; d2f. Indentation and a paragraph mark before the first word and a half-line space indicate the end of a section or part of a section on the following folios: a1v (after the

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497 Robert Wyer was a printer in St. Martin of the Fields at the Sign of St. John the Evangelist from 1529 or 1530 onwards (Pollard and Redgrave, vol.3, 191).

498 Possibly of group 3 mentioned by Plomer (Wyer, 14).
introduction to the articles); a2' - a3' (after the first, third, fifth, seventh and fourteenth articles; after the introduction to the ten commandments); a3' - b1' (after each of the ten commandments except the sixth); b1' (after the two great commandments, the seven works of mercy); b2' (after the first three virtues); b3' (after the first, second and third sacrament); b4' (after the fourth and fifth sacrament); c1' (after the first paragraph on confession); c2' (after the first paragraph on pride); d3' (after the seven deadly sins); e2' (before the introduction to the temptations); e2' (after the first paragraph on the remedy for the first temptation); e3' (before the second trouble); e4' (before the third temptation); f1' (before the fourth temptation); f2' (before the fifth temptation); f2' (before the two paragraphs advising those caring for the sick); f3' (before the five questions); f3', f4' (concluding paragraphs of text). The text lacks decoration.

Handwriting on the title page is suggestive of a name, but is difficult to decipher. On f.d3' a hand has inserted ‘sorowyd’ over the third line of the page “Whan ye have remembred your... .” The name of the Pope is erased on f.a3' indicating that the treatise was in use after the Reformation.

The colophon includes ‘Finis Exoneratorii Curatorum’ and information on the printer and his address: ‘Imprinted by me Robert Wyer: dwellynge at the sygne of S. John Euangelyste, in S.Martyns parysshe, in the Duke of Suffolkes cetres, besyde Charynge Crosse.’

A motto, centred on the page and preceded by a paragraph mark, written in Latin above the simple device at the end of the page concludes the edition. The motto reads ‘Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum’. The device, 60.5 x 11.5mm consists solely of the name ‘Robert Wyer’ written in capital letters and separated by the printers mark. The mark is a simple one: at the base are two ‘v’s inverted into one another, a vertical line crossed by a horizontal line and topped by a ‘4’.

499 Plomer notes that any of Wyer’s books “that mention the Duke of Suffolke’s rents were certainly not printed before 1536(Plomer, Wyer, 4).”
500 This device is often combined with another device which includes the name of St. John the Evangelist McKerrow, Devices, page 24, fig. 69.
501 For further information on the printer’s mark, see f.n. 437 above. Davies describes this as the second device of Wyer. The first depicted John the Baptist and occasionally had a different spelling of Wyer’s name (Davies, 616 - 19).
It is ordeyned and decreed by Holy Chyrche that euery curate hauynge cure of soule shall shewe / and declare vnto his parysshens, foure tymes / in þe yere: the .xiii. artycles of the faythe, / the .x. commaundements of Oure Lorde God, the / .vii. werkes of mercy, the .vii. deedly synnes with [the] braunches / therof, the .vii. pryncypall vertues and the .vii. / sacramentes of Holy Chyrche with other thynges necessary / as shall appere here after. / 

|a.2'|

¶In constitutionibus .provinci[al]. Johannes Peccham de offic. Archipresbyteri / Capitulo Ignorancia Sacerdotum. / 

Wherfore fyrst and formest, ye shall knowe and vnderstande / that there be .xiii. artycles of the fayth whiche / euery man and woman is bounde stedfastly to beleue. / ¶Of the[se] artycles, .vii. perteyne vnto God almyghty by / his dyuynyte or godhed. Th[e] other .vii. perteyne vnto / God alm[y]ghty by his humanyte or manhode. ¶The fyrst / of the .vii. that perteyne vnto God almyghty by his / dyuynyte or godhed is this, that we shall beleue in one / God, one in substance, and .iii. in persons. The secunde, / we shall beleue in the Father vnbegoten that he is very / God. The thyrde, we shall beleue in þe Sone oonly begoten / of the Father þe is also very God. The fourth, we shall belyue / in the Holy Goste, equally procedynge of the Father / and of the Sone, that he is lykewyse very God. The fytte, / we shall beleue that [t]his one very God, Father & Sone and / Holy Goste, hath made heuen and erth, that is to saye all / manner creatures vysyble & inuysyble. 

The syxt we shal / byleue that the Chyrche Catholycal is holy, and that there / in ben holy sacramentes suffycyent to all maner o f people / for theyr saluacyon. The .vii., we shal beleue that our / bodyes shall ryse agayne at the daye o f generall iugement / and be ioyneth agayne to the soule. And than all / they that haue dyed in the fayth of Holy Churche & ou / of deedly synne shall haue ioye euerlastynge i[n] heuen, / and all they that haue dyed out o f the fayth o f Holy Churche / or [in] deedly synne shall haue payne in helle for euermore. ¶Of those .vii. artycles whiche perteyne to God almyghty / by his humanyte or manhode the fyrst is this, / that we shall byleue the blessyd incarnacyon. That is to / say that the secunde persone in Trinite, Criste Ihesu, was / conceueyed by operacyon of the Holy Goste & toke flesshe / and blode of the gloryous virgyne, Our Lady, Saynt Marye. / The secunde, that he was borne of the same gloryous / virgyne. The thyrde, that he dyed for vs vpon þe / crosse vnder the wycked iuge Pylate, and his blessyd / body was beryed in the sepulchre. The fourth, that he / went downe vnto helle in soule,
the body remaynynge / in the sepulchre, and spoyled helle of all those that were / predestynate to the glorye of God. The fyfte, that he rose / agayne from deth to lyfe þe thyrde day. The syxte, that / he ascendyd in to heuen & there sytteth at þe ryght hande / of the father. The seuenth, that he shall come agayne / at the generall iugement and iuge all the worlde both / good and badde. /

Forthermore ye shall knowe & vnderstande that / there be .x. commaundementes of Our Lorde God. The / fyrste is this, thou shall haue no false goddes but worshyp / one very God. By this commaundemente is forbyd / idolatry pryncypally whiche is to do worshyp to other / then to God alone. By this [a3'] commaundement also is forbyd / wycheraftes, charmes, sorserye, inchauntementes & / superstycyons and all vayne and deuylysshe inuencyons, / whether they be done by wordes or by wrytynge or / by any other folysshe obseruaunce. The secunde commaundement is this, thou shal not take þe name of God in vayne. By this commaundement is forbyd pryncipally all maner / of heresy & all blasphemous wordes whiche sounde / ayenst the goodnes of God. Also all periurye, that is / to saye to swere false wetyngly, and all other swerynge / by God vnreuerently or to swere vnreuerently by ony / parte of his blyssed body. The thyrde commaundement / is th[i]s, þe shall kepe thy holy daye, that is to saye the Sondaye / and other holy dayes ordeynyd by Holy Chyrche, & / that daye worshyp thy Lorde God & absteyne frome synne / specyally and also fro bodely laboures excepte cause lefull / & resonable. The fourth commaundement is this, thou / shall honour thy father and thy mother. That is to wete / thy naturall father and thy naturall mother, thy godfather / and thy godmother, thy ghostly father & thy ghostly / mother. Thy ghostly father is the Pope, thy by[s]shop / thy curate, & thy ghostly mother is Holy Chyrch in whom / thou was regenerate vnto ghostly lyfe. The fyft commaundement / is this, thou shall not slee. This is to vnderstande / that thou shall not slee ony man or woman by vnlefull / meane, nother by worde nor by dede, by consent nor / by fauour. By this commaundement also it is forbyd al maner / of bodely hurte of any persone ayenste ryght. Also / all those sle spyrytually, that by extorcyon and power or / by any other vnyghtwyse or vncharyttable meane oppresse / innocentes whiche be not gylyty. Also all those [slee] / spyrytually that backbyte & slaunder ony persone ayenst / ryght or ayenst charyte to brynge them [a3'] from go[o]d name / vnto euyll. Also all tho slee spyrytually that maye and / wyll not refresshe them that be in necessyte. Also all those slee spyrytually þ by theyr
euyll examples, or by ony / other wycked persuasyons, induce & brynge other vnto synne. / The syxte commaundement is this, thou shalt do not lechery. / By this commaundement is forfyte all maner of bodely / commyxityon betwyxe man & woman, except in lefull use of / matrymony. By this commaundement is forbede also al / maner of fylthy & abhomynable polucyons, wyfully procured / by ony adinuencyons or crafte, wherby the sede ψ / is ordeynyd to generacyon of mankynde is done other / wyse than in to the dewe vessell that is ordeynyd therefore. / The seuenth commaundement is this, thou shall do no / thefte, ρ is to saye ρa shall not take other mennes goodes / pryuely ayenst their wyll. By this commaundement is forbyd / also all maner of wronfull takynge, occupyenge, or / withholdynge other mennes goodes other by fraud[e] / or by deceyte, by ypocryse or Feyned holynesse, by vsury / or by symony, by drede or by threte, by strenght or / by vyolence or by suche other. The .viii. commaundement is / this, thou shalt bere no false wytnes nother to hurt thy / neyghboure wronfully nor to promote thy frende vnworthely. / By this commaundement is forbyd also all maner / of lyes conceyued of malyce or intended to other mennes / hurte. The .ix. commaundement is this, thou shall not desyre / an other mannes wyfe vnlefully. By this commaundement / is forbede all maner of concupyscence of the flesshe; / other vnlefully to wyl or to desyre, to purpose or to / consent to ony kynde of lecherye ayenst iugement of / reason. The .x. commaundement is this, thou shall not / desyre to haue other mennes goodes wrongefully. By / this commaundement is forbede all maner of vnlefull desyre, / other in wyl or in purpose, to take or to / withholde / other mennes goodes ayenst ryght or ayenst good conscyeunce. / ¶These .x. commaundementes be included and vnderstande / in .ii. commaundementes that be spoken of in the / Gospell of Mathe. That is to wete in the loue of God & / in the loue of thy neyghboure. He loueth God duely that / loueth hym aboue al other thynge & kepeth his commaundementes / for loue, and not all oonly for fere of payne. He / loueth his neyghboure duely ψ wolde vnto hym, & doth / vnto hym, as he wolde his neyghboure shoulde shewe & / do vnto hym. This is vnderstande of well ordred and / confourmed vnto reason. That is to say, thou shalt wyl & / do vnto thy neyghboure as thou wolde ryghtfully he / shoulde wyl or do vnto the. / ¶Besyde these commaundementes of our lorde God there / be .vii.werknes of mercy whiche commynly be called dedes / of charyte, but doubtles in certayne
cases of necessyte / they be strayte commaundementes. ¶And these be they: / to 
rede the hungry, to gyue drynke to the thirsty, to gyue / herber to the herberles, to 
cloth[e] the naked, to vysyte / the seke, to comforte the prysoner, to bury the deed. /

¶Fortheoremore ye shall knowe & vnderstande that there / be .vii. pryncypall 
verctues orderynge man to lyue wel / bothe anendes God and the worlde. Thre of 
them ordre / a man pryncypally vnto God and they be these: faythe / hope & 
charyte. Faythe maketh a man to beleue well / vpon God and Holy Chyrche. Hope 
maketh a man to truste / well to come to þe ioye of heuen by the grace of God / & 
his owne merytes. Charyte maketh a man to loue God / aboue all other thynge, & 
[a4⁺] to loue al other thynge for God. / ¶That other .i.ii. vertues ordre a man to lyue well 
anendes / the worlde and they be these: prudence, temperaunce, / ryghtwysnes, and 
strenght. Prudence maketh / a man to dysceme and iuge well what is good, / what 
is badde, what is to be done & what is to be lefte. / Temperaunce maketh a man 
moderat in etynge & drynkynge, / moderate in flesshly delectacyons, moderat in / 
hate, moderate in other conversacyon of mannes lyfe. / Ryghtwysnes maketh a 
man to gyue to euery man that / is dewe to hym whether it be in temporall goodes 
or in / temporall honour, or whether it be in correckynge theym / that be euyll or 
[as⁺] promotynge them þ be good. Strength / maketh a man stronge in suffrynge 
aduersyte and trouble, / stronge in execucyon of iustyce and correccyon of / synne, 
stronge and without fere to holde with trouthe / and vertue, stronge and without fere 
to withstande vyce / and wyckyednesse. /

In Constitucionibus Johonnes Pecham de / sacramentis iterandis vel non. 
Also you shal knowe and vnderstande that ther / be seuen sacramentes of Holy 
Chyrche wherof / fyeu every man & woman is bounde to receyue at tyme / 
conuenyent. The fyrste is baptym or crystendome whiche / putteth awaye 
orygynall synne. For this ye shall vnderstande / that whan our fyrste father & 
mother, Adam / and Eue, were creat[e] & made, they receyued of almyghty / God 
for them & for all theyr yssue, þ is to saye for all mankynde, / þ noble gyfte of 
orygynall iustyce w[h]iche yf they / had kepyd they, & all theyr yssue hauynge the 
same gyft, / shoulde neuer haue dyed nor suffred any penalty of this / wretchyd 
worlde, but shuld haue ben translate[d] at conuenyent / tyme into paradise 
celestyall there to haue lyued for / euermore. But than, bycause they dysobeyed 
and brake / the commaundement of God, they loste this gyfte of orygynall / iustyce
and fell vnto necessyte of dethe & to other / wretchydnesse of this worlde with all theyr yssue. Wherfore / nowe all we be borne in orygynall synne, that is to / saye in wantynge of orygynall iustyce, and can nat be / sauyd by the ordynate lawes of God vnto þ tyme that / this orygynall synne be put away and grace goten vnto / our soules, whiche is nowe done by this sacrament of / baptysme or crystendome whiche is the fyrste sacrament / and entre vnto all other sacramentes./

In constitutionibus provincialialibus de / Baptismo & eius effectu. / This sacrament ought not to be mynystred but / by a preest, excepte [in] case of necessyte and thenne / euery man and woman maye mynystre it. The father / or the mother maye mynystre it to theyr owne chylde & / yet afterwarde lye togyder after [th]e lawe of matrymonye; / wherfore yf suche case of necessyte happe vnto any / of you, then ye shall say with good intent on this wyse: / I cristen the in the name of the Father, and of the / sone, and of the holy goste, & whyles ye be sayinge these / wordes, ye shall caste water vpon the chylde or ellys put / the chylde vnto the water. And thenne doubte ye not, but / that chylde receyueth suffycyentely this sacrament of / baptysme./

[a5'] The secunde sacrament is confirmacion of the bysshop, / whiche gyueth grace to be the stronger in the ryght byleue / of God and Holy Chyrche. /

The thyrde sacrament is penaunce, whiche restoreth agayne / the grace of God yf it be loste by deedly synne. /

The fourth sacrament is the blessyd sacrament of þ / auer, whiche increasyth grace meruaylously and causeth / other spyrytuall effectes innumerable. And no meruayle / hereof for in this holy sacrament is conteyned vnder / the forme of brede þ very body of Cryst Ihesu, flesshe / & blode, Cryst hym selfe, hole God & man. And lykewyse / in the chalys, after the tyme of consecracyon, is conteyned / vnder the forme of wyne the very body of Cryste Ihesu, / flesshe & blode, Cryste hym selfe, hole God and man. /

In constitutionibus provincialibus Johannis Peccham de Summa / trinitate fide catholica. Capitulo Altissimus./ But ye that be laye people, whan ye receyue this / blessyd sacramente at Ester or at other tymes / necessarye, ye receyue hit in forme of brede alone. For þ / thynge that is gyuen you in the chalyce is no sacrament / but wyne or water to cause the holy sacrament to go to / his place more redely.
The fyfte sacrament is anoylynge, whiche remytteth / and putteth away venyall synnes and increasyth grace / to the better helthe both of body and of soule. / There be other .ii. sacramentes whiche noo man is / bounde to receyue but they that wyll. One of theym is / holy ordre, whiche gyueth auctoryte to mynystre aboute / the sacramentes of Holy Chyrche. That other is matrymonye, / whiche maketh lefull the bodely dede betwyx / man & woman whiche elles were vnlefull & damnable. /
cursynge by the generall / sentence whiche is commandyd and accustomed / to be shewyd you .iii. tymes in the yere. The syxty, remembre / whether ye haue synned in any of the .vii. deedly synnes; / that is to saye in pryde, in wrath, in enuye, in / couetyse, in slouthe, in glotonye & in lecherye, or / in any braunches of theym. /

Pryde. ¶Fyrste in pryde [remembre] whether ye haue desyred ony vayne / glorye, or ony vayne laude or prayse of your self before / other for any goodes of nature þ ye haue had as beautye, / strength, or yought; or for any goodes of fortune / as gold, or syluer, ryche clothes, landes, or catelles; or / for any goodes of grace as connynge, eloquence, wysdome / or other vertue; or if ye haue dispysed or mocked / other þ haue wantyd any of these. Furthermore, whether / ye haue feyned your selfe by ypocrysy more holy or more / ryght wysse then ye haue ben in dede; or whether ye / haue shewyd your selfe by crackynge, or bostynge, or by / other inordynat delyte in pryde to haue þ thynge that / ye had nat, or to knowe that thynge that ye knowe nat, / or to haue done that thynge whiche ye haue not done in / dede; or whan ye haue had ony gyfte of God syngulerly / before other as connynge, eloquence, wysdome, / or other vertue whether ye haue thought that it hath commen / of your selfe and not all oonly of God; or thoughe / ye haue thought that it hath cummen of God, yet whether ye / haue thought that it hath cummen of God for your owne / merytes and your deseruyse. Furthermore, whether ye / haue ben proude of youre kynne, or proude that ye haue / stande in fauoure or famylyaryte with lorde or lady or / with any other state, p[ro]ude of youre offyce or roume / that ye haue ben in; or elles whether ye haue haue shamed / of your kynne bycause of the pouerte, or yf ye haue / shamed that ye haue not ben taken vp to hygher / place or greter honoure. Furthermore, whether ye haue / hadde pleasure to reporte your eyll dedes, or whether / ye haue sought excuses for theym and sythe putte other / men in the faute therof; or yf ye haue ben dysobedyent / vnto your superyours as to your father, or to your mother, / or to the prelates of the Chyrche; or trusted so moche / in your owne wytte that ye haue dyspysed the counsayle / of your betters, or taken more vpon you then ye / or your lornyng hath requyred. Furthermore, whether ye / haue loved syngularyte in your apparyll, syngularyte / in your speche or in other conuersacyon, syngularyte in / fuste, in prayer, or in other d[e]uoycyons taken by [y]our owne / auctoryte rather than in the comyn fastes and prayers / or other devocions ordeynyd by Holy Chyrche; or whether / ye haue ben suspecyous and curyous in serchyng / and iugynge other
mennes dedes, and proude & presumptuous / in iustfyfyinge and preferryng your owne / dedes before the dedes of others. /

[Wrathe. Thenne in the synne of wrathe, remembre whether / ye haue ben so grettely moued or styred by angre, or by / wrathe, ayenst ony man that ye haue wylled hym ony / hurte other in his body or in his goodes; or whether ye / haue keped wrathe longe tyme in youre mynde of[f]tentyymes / thynkynge howe ye myght be venged; or whether / ye haue in your angre or wrathe hurte ony man in dede / by worde or by werke, by counsayle or by mayntenaunce; / or whether ye haue vexed or troubled ony man by / sute or by plee, rather of euyll wyll and malyce then of / good wyll and affeccyon of ryghtwysnes. Furthermore, / whether ye haue cursed or asked vengeaunce vpon your / euyn crysten; or whether ye haue ben so engre or so inpacyent / in sykenesse or in trouble, or for any losse of temporall / goodes, that ye haue gru[d]ged with the ordynaunce / of Our Lorde God or spoken ony blasphemouse worde / ayenst his goodnes or sworne vnreuerently by his holy / name. Furthermore, whether ye haue refused to aske them / forgyuennesse that ye haue hurte, or whether ye haue refused / to forgyue them that haue hurte you; or whether / ye haue mysordred your selfe in braulynge and chydynge / or myscallynge your euyn crysten by wordes of rubukynge / other ayenst theyr persone or ayenst theyr condycyons; / or whether ye haue ben so inpacyent customabl[y] / other in game or in worldly besynes that ye haue wysshed / all at the deuyll, or wysshed your owne deth or ony / others; or whether ye haue manessed to bete or to slee & / sworne the same with a grete othe. /

[Enuye. Thenne in the synne of enuye, remembre whether ye / haue ben glad of other mennes hurte or sory of other mennes / profyte; or whether ye haue ben glad of other mennes / infamy and euyll name, or sory of other mennes fame / and good name; or whether ye haue ben glad that / ony of your euyn crysten haue fallen to syne and to vyce, / or sory b' ony of them haue kepyd them in vertue or in / grace. Furthermore, whether ye haue of malyce & euyll / wyll defamed ony persone pryuely or aperely, or gyuen / ony helpe or counsayle therto; or whether ye haue iuged / euyll of your euyn crysten without suffycient knowlege / therof; or whether ye haue made bate or dyscorde / betwewayxe ony persons for malyce & euyll wyll that ye haue / had vnto theym; or whether ye haue letted to make / peace & accorde where ye myght haue done, & wold not / for hatered & malyce or for ony other wycked occasyon. /
**Couetyse.** ^Thenne in the synne of couetyse, remembre whether / ye haue taken
other mennes goodes by thefte, by r[o]bery, / or by extorsyon; or wheth[er] ye haue
ben in wyll or / purpose for to do; or whether ye haue withholden other / mennes
goodes wrongfully from them; or whether ye / haue by flaterynge, by fayre wordes
or by fayre promyse / or by ony other vntrewe meane deceyued ony man / of his
goodes or of his landes. Furthermore, whether / ye haue vsed ony false or
deceyJefull marchaundyse, other / by vnsuffycyent stuffe or by vniuste weyghtes or /
measures or by ony other subtyll crafte; or whether ye / haue in ony hande crafte
werke, or ony other occupacyon, / vsed subtylty or crafte to deceyue your euyn
jectories / for your owne lucre; or whether ye haue wrought or / laboured or vsed
byenge or sellenge vpon the Sondaye, / or vpon other holy dayes, without
reasonable and lefull / necessyte; or whether ye haue in byenge or sellynge or / in
bargayn makynge or in lenyng ye monay commyttyd / ony vsury ayenst the ordre
of iustycyce & good charyte; / or whether ye haue commyttted ony symony, that is / to
say bought or solde or ony bargen made of synprytuall / thynge for ony temporall
goodes. Furthermore, whether / ye haue fulfylled the deeds wyll, whether ye haue
/ ben executor or kepeth the goodes to youre owne vse or / spende them otherwyse
then in dedes of charyte or than / the deeds wyll hath requyred; or whether ye haue
falsely / forsworne your selfe for ony worldly vauntage or / whether ye haue
desyred ony mannes hurte or any mannes / deth bycause of ony vauntage that
myght come to / you therby. Furthermore, whether ye haue payde duely / youre
seruauntes theyr wages; or yf ye be seruaunte / whether ye haue done truely your
seruyce or whether / ye haue myspende your maysters goodes or otherwyse / hurte
your maysters vauntage other wylfully or by / your neglygent seruyce; or whether
ye that be of power / haue withdrawn youre hande of charyte [of] refresshynge /
poore people and ben couetyse of gettyng weylde / goodes, couetyse in kepyng
theym and sorowfull in departynge / from them.

^Slouthe. ^Then in the synne of slouthe, remembre whether / ye haue ben
slouthfull in Godes se[r]uyce specyally vpon / the Sonday & the holy daye;
slouthfull to come to [t]he chyr[c]he; / slouthfull to praye whenne ye haue be there;
slouthfull / to here the worde of God preched; slouthefull to applye / youre mynde
to good thoughtes and to good medytacyons; / neglygent to refrayne your mynde
frome / euill thoughtes or your eye frome vnchast lokes. Furthermore, / whether
ye haue ben neglygent to lerne your / Pater Noster, youre Aue Maria, or youre
Credo; or whether ye haue be neglygent to teche the same to your owne children or to your godchylde[n]; or whether ye haue chastysyd your children & taught theym good maners; or ye haue suffred them to vse great swerynge & at theyr pleasure, wanton and dyssolute; or whether ye haue ben neglyglent in kepyng your children from fyre & from water & from other lyke iepardy. Furthermore, whether ye haue mysspende your tyme in idelnes or omytted & lefte vndone thynges that ye were bounde to do; or whether ye haue broken ony vowe that ye haue before tyme resonably promysed; or whether ye haue broken or ben neglygent in fulfyllyng the penaunce that hathe ben resonable inioyned you by your ghostly fathers or by your ordynaryes; or whether ye haue hadde at ony tyme suche heuynesse that ye haue despyred of the mercy or of the helpe of God; or whether ye haue wysshed or wylled indiscretly your owne dethe; or whether ye haue gyuen due thank[es] to God in your trouble or in youre heuynes remembrynge that Our Lorde sendeth all for the best yf ye can so take it. /

Than in glotony, remembr[e] whether ye haue broken ony fastes that hath ben commaunded by the Chyrche without lefull cause; or whether ye haue eten [or] dronken many tymes so moch that ye haue had vomytyes or ye haue fallen therby in to sykenes or dronkenshyp or ye haue fallen therby to bate & dyscencyon; or ye haue fallen therby to suche dyssolute myrth and recheles behauoure that ye haue not duely fulfylled those thynges that haue longed to your offyce or to your charge. Furthermore, whether ye haue had inordynate delectacyon in etynge & drynkynge or vsed ony inordynatly desyred metes or drynkes more costely or more dylycately prepared then reason hath requyred; or whether ye haue induced or caused ony other to take suche maner drinkes, or so largely therof, for the intent to make them dronken other for sporte or for any other wycked occasion. /

Thenne, in lechery [remembre] whether ye haue keped or contynued fylthy thoughtes of þe fleshe in your mynde for delectacyon and pleasure of your body; or whether ye haue consented in your mynde to haue ony fylthy dede besyde the lawe of matrymony; or whether ye haue w[.] in matromony vsed ony maner contrary to dewe ordre of nature or ayenst the profyte of generacyon. Furthermore, whether ye haue excyted or moued ony other to this fylthy synne of lechery other by sygnes or by wordes, by annournynge of your body or by lyght gesture & wanton behauoure, by syngynge, by daunsynge, by
kyssynge, by halsynge or by ony other dysso[ll]ute or vnhonest / demenyoure; or whether ye haue not fledde the occasyons / of this fylthy synne, but rather sought occasyons / therto. Ferthermore, whether ye haue had other in your / youth or ony other tyme fylthy touchyng of your pryue / membres or of ony others and whether ye haue had / ony pollycyons in your slepe by fylthy dremes or vnclene / ymagynacyons, specyally by ony occasyon gyuen before / of your selfe; or whether ye haue had bodely dede / of lechery with ony persone and whether syngle or maried, / whether with a vyrgyne or with other, whether / with ony of youre owne kynne or with ony of relygyon / or within holy ordres. / ¶Whanne ye haue remembred your selfe dylygently / in the secrete counsayle house of youre conscyence after / this maner of wyse, or after any other good or more suffycyent / maner as the grace of God and your owne wyte / and wysdome wyll serue you, than go to your ghostly / father and shewe hym all your synnes playnely without / ony coloure or cloke - specyally your deedly synnes yf / ye haue ony done sythe ye were laste shryuen with dewe / circumstaunce and with the occasyons therof accordynge. / And than ye fulfyll one of those .iii. thyges {be specyally / requyred to this sacrament of penaunce. And / another thyng that is also requyred therto is contryclyon, / that is to saye that ye be sory for all those synnes / thay ye haue done and be in wyll and purpose no more / to synne. The thyrde thyng that is requyred to this sacrament / of penaunce is satisfacyon, that is to say that / ye be in wyll to fulfyl suche payne and penaunce as shal / be reasonable lymytted after the quantyte of your synnes. / Than these thre thynges hadde after this maner of wyse, / the preest that hath iurysdyccyon vpon you / mynystreth / to you the sacrament of penaunce and grace of absolucyon / and declareth you clene assoyled of all youre synnes / (quantum ad culpam), that is to say all your synnes / were they neuer so grete for whiche you hadde deserued / nyne of helle euerlastyng. Nowe that payne is chaunged / by the vertue of this sacrament of penaunce in to / temporal payne of this worlde or of purgatory. And yf / the payne or penaunce inioyned by the preest - whiche / standeth pryncypally in prayer, in faste and in almes deed - / if that penaunce be suffycyent in the acceptacyon of God / for the quantyte of your synnes, than that fulfylled the / payne of purgatorye also whiche elles were dewe for pʃ / sayd synnes shall be fully remytted and forgyuen you. /
But nowe, to the honour of God and to the conforte / of all vs that be wretchyd synners, here maye be moued / a questyon: whether every man after he haue done ony / deedly synne be out of state of grace & in state of dampnacyon / vnto þe tyme that he be shryuen therof vnto his / ghostly father and receyue this sacrament of penaunce; / or whether he be in state of grace and state of saluacyon / beynge all oonly sory in his herte for his synnes with / wyll & purpose no more to synne, though he dyfferre his / shryfte vnto the tyme generall assygned by our mother / Holy Chyrche? In this behalfe, .ii. wayes maye be taken; / that one waye is good and suffycyent, that other waye / is better and more perfyte. Better it is and more perfyte / waye for a man to go to his ghostly father shortly after he / haue done ony deedly synne & be shryuen therof & receyue / þe sacrament of penaunce, than to defer his shryfte ony longer / & þ for dyuers causes. One is he shall haue þ more increas / of grace. An other is he shall haue the better knowlege / of hym selfe and of his synnes. The thyrde is he shall / the better venquesshe and overcome the temptacyons / of the deuyll with many other profytes that he shall haue / therby; wherfore it is specyally counsellyd vnto euery / man and woman after they fele theym selfe greuously / wounded with ony deedly synne, thanne shortly to / take theyr ghostly father whiche maye mynystre vnto / them this holy sacrament of penaunce. But for asmoche / as some be not dysposed to take the better and the more / perfyte waye, namely sythe our mother Holy Chyrche / commaundeth no laye persone to be shryuen but ones in the / yere - excepte in dyuers causes as whan he is in perell of / deth or whan he shall receyue other sacramentes - therfore / ye maye take that other waye whiche is ryght good / and suffycyent. That is to wete that ye ones in the daye, / or ones in the weke at the leste as vpon the Sonday and / other holy dayes, recyte & reken vp, betwyxe God and you / in þ secrethe house of your conscyence, how ye haue spent / or passed your tyme. And yf you fynde in your conscyence / that ye haue done ony deedly synne that day or that / weke, than loke that ye be sory for it, and be in wyll and / purpose with the helpe of Our Lorde God no more to synne; / purposynge stedfastly to be shryuen therof to youre gostely / father at tyme assygned by þe Holy Chyrche. He that / ordreth hymselfe after this maner, though he had done / neuer so grete nor so greuous synnes nor neuer so ofte / tymes - ye though it were. vii. tymes in þ daye - he myght / yet as ofte ryse ayen by this meane from deedly synne to / the grace of God, from state of dampnacyon in to state of / saluacyon. Lette no persone therfore, in ony wyse,
refuse / this gentyll & suffrayne medycyne after they fele them / seffe wounded
with deedly synne, but remembre well / these .iii. thynges before rehearsed. The
fyrste that they / be sory in herte for theyr synnes. The secunde that they / haue
purpose to be shryuen therof at tyme assygned by / Holy Chyrche. The thyrde that
they be in wyll with helpe / of God no more to synne. If ye wante ony of these thre
/thynges after ye haue commytted ony deedly synne, whether / it be by worde or by
thought or by dede, thanne / doubtles ye be out [of] þ[e] fauoure of God and in state
of dam[pncayon]. / And all the werkes that ye doo in meane tyme / be deed and
vnfruytefull, and shall neuer be accepte in / the syght of God. And if ye take these
.thynges with / you truely and vnfeyndely though[e] your synnes that ye / had
done were neuer so grete, yet by this meane ye shal / be in the fauour of God and in
state of saluacyon. And if / ye happen to dye sodaynely withoute ony other shryfte
/ so that ye dyspyse not to be shryuen at conuenyent tyme, / thanne doubtlesse this
shall be suffycyent for your saluacyon. / And all the good werkes that ye do in
meane tyme / shall be ryght fruytfull and graciously accept in þ[e] / syght of God,
there to haue grace and afterwarde glorye / euerlastynge. /

†Besyde these doctrynes be foresayd, yet lette vs consider / and oftentymes calle
to mynde þ[e] moste ferefull houre / of deth and puruey nowe some remedies and
preseruatyues / ayenst the troublous and temptacyons that happeneth / commenly
the sayde tyme. And this is necessarype, / not all oonly for our selfe, but also þ[e] we
may gyue counsayle / and exortacyon to our frende when he is in the same / ieopardye. For if he may be called a frende that is / dylygent aboute a syke persone
to mynyster vnto hym / thynges necessarype for his body, whiche shall be shortly /
dyssolued and be meete for wormes; moche more than / he is worthy to be called a
trewe and a faythfull frende / that is dylygent aboute a syke persone to mynystre
vnto / hym thynges necessarype for his soule, whiche shall neuer / dye but euer
indure other in ioye contynuall or ellys / in payne euerlastynge.

† Lette vs nowe therfore consyder before the troubles / of the houre of dethe, and
thenne we shall suffre them / the more easely whenne they come. Fyrste, we shall
consyder / .v. maner of troubles or temptacyons whiche the / wycked f[i]ende
commonly troubleth or tempteth a crysten / soule with all at the houre of dethe. The
fyrste is ayenst / the fayth whiche commeth pryncpally by suggestyon of / the
deuyll, for the deuyll knoweth su[re]ly that there is / not a more redy meane to
brynge a soule vnto euerlastynge / payne of hell, then for to induce hym by some
cr[a]fte / or subtyll persuasyon to forsake his faythe or to doubte / in ony parte therof. But than, aboue all thynge, lyke as / ye haue begun your lyfe in perfyte fayth of Holy Chyrche, / indeuer your selfe stedfastly by the grace of God so for to / ende it. And lose not the good dedes the ye haue done in / your lyfe before, for all the welthe of your lyfe before hangeth / them of pe ende. Thynke therfore stedfastly in your / mynde, that all persuasyons mouynege ayenst the trewe / fayth of the Chyrche be but temptacyons and wycked suggestyons / of the deuyll whiche wolde decyue you & make / you to lose that ye haue done. / Consyder well also, and stedfastly beleue, that there / was neuer man nor woman syth the begynnynge of the / worlde that euer pleaseth almyg[h]ty God without trewe / fayth of Our Lorde God. There was neuer soule that euer / came to heuen, nor yet shall do, without trewe faythe of / Our Sauyour Cryste Ihesu. For these yf the deuyll wolde / dispense with you in your faythe, beware that ye stand / not with hym in dysputacyon therof. For yf ye do, ye put / your selfe in great ieopardye, for the deuyll is so subtyll / in argumentacyons that all the clerkes vpon er[t]h be not / able for to be compared vnto hym. And though our fayth / in meke soules be lyke vnto sweate spyces of the apothecary's / shoppe, whiche in betynge & boultynge gyueth / euer the sweter sauoure and odoure. Yet if a man wyll / presume vpon his lernynge or vpon his reason to stande in / dysputacyons of his fayth with the olde serpent b[e] deuyl / he shall not fayle, but he shall be brought into the snares / of the deuyll with many folde errours and inconuenyentes./ Therfore, whether ye be clerke or laye man, haue euer / your fayth stedfastly roted in the fayth of Holy Chyrch & / content your selfe to rest therto at all tymes, but specyally / at the houre of dethe when your wyttes be most feble / and your ghostly enmy moost cruell. / The secunde trouble or temptacyon at the houre of / deth is disperacyon. Tha[t] temptacyon cometh commenly / by suggestyon of b[e] [d]euyll, for whan a soule is sore troubled / with sekenesse and heuynesse than the deuyll putteth / vnto his mynde suche synnes as he hath done before / tyme; specyally some synnes wherof he was neuer shryuen / somwhat of neglygence, somewhat of forgetfulnes. / And than the seke persone, so trou[b]led both in body and / in soule, remembreth no thynge but payne and synne. / Wherfore somtymes he fereth so moche b[e] rygh[t]wysnes / of God seynge all oonly the abhominacyon of his owne / lyfe & no thynge of his good dedes that he hath not suffycent hope and truste in the mercy of
God, but falleth in to desperacyon without remedy. This desperacyon is moste greuouse and moste peryllous aboue all synnes in the worlde. Wherfore, yf ony suche temptacyon come in a mannes mynde, lette hym arme hym self myghtely with vertue of hope and confydens, consyderynge well and certaynly trustyng that though a man had neuer done good dedes in his lyfe but as many synnes as euer was done syth the begynnynge of the worlde or shall be done to worldes ende, and though he had neuer ben shyruen nor done penaunce for them, and at the houre of dethe perauenture he myght not speke or had no la[y]ser for to beshryuen, yet he shouルド not in no wyse dyspayre of the mercy of God. For in this case it were suffycyent for his saluacyon to be sory in his herte for his synnes & aske God mercy all oonly in his mynde, thynkynge that the mercy of God is euer in this worlde aboue his ryght wysnesse. A man shoulde euer haue so great hope and truste of his saluacyon, though an aungell of heuen appered vnto hym and shewed hym that he shoulde be damned, yet he shoulde not beleue hym but rather thynke it were some illusyon of the deuyll transformynge hym selfe in lykenesse of an aungell for too deceyue hym. And yet if he were certyfyed that it were an aungell of God in dede, yet he shoulde not despayre of his saluacyon but rather thyn[ke] that the aungell spake condycyonally, that is to say that he shoulde be damned if he wolde not be in wyll and purpose to amende his lyfe and be sory for synnes that he had done.

[e1'] ¶The thyrde trouble or temptacyon at houre of deth is anger, wrathe and impacyence. This temptacyon commeth oftentymes by suggestyon of the deuyll whiche moueth a soule to grugge with his sykenesse and to thynke that his payne is greter thanne he hath deserued. Wherfore he cryeth and complayneth vnto God & sayth, "Why suffrest thou me lorde God to contynue in so longe and so grete payne what haue I done I shuld suffre all this?" /

¶Consyder here faythfull soul, that by many trybulacyons we muste entre in to the kyngdome of heuen, for a man is not worthy to come to grette ioye that wyll suffre noo great payne therfore. And what is the payne of a weke, or of a yere, towarde the grete and the inestymable ioye of heuen whiche shall indure nor a weke or a yere but euermore worlde without ende. The dere belouyd soules of Our Lorde suffred great payne before they departed out of this worlde. And they were glad so to do knowynge the grete profyte and fruyt that they shouルド haue, therfore if we wolde remembre and imprynt wel in our myndes what payne &
passyon / Our Sauyour Cryste hath taken for vs, we myght thynke / oure selfe
delycate persons if we wolde not pacyently / suffre some payne for hym & for hys
welthe of our soule / to obtayne hys great blysse he hathe bough[t] for vs. / Lette
vs therefore indeuer our self pacyently to suffre / payne for the loue of hym whiche
suffred grea[t]e payne / and passyoun of the moste bytter dethe of the crosse / for vs.
And though our flesshe grugge with payne and / desyre helthe and reste in this
worlde, we muste forsake / this desyre and put our wyll to the wyll of God whiche /
knoweth beste what thyng is to our auayle. And thanke / hym hertely of his
vysytacyon in sendyng vs payne / and passyoun here in this worlde, lyke as we
receyued of / hym a precyous gyfte. For if we be partyners with Our / Lorde in
payne and passyon, we shall be partyners with / hym in ioye and consolacyon. /

The fourthe trouble or temptacyon at the houre of dethe / is couetyse and
besynesse of mynde in worldly thynges, / whiche draweth the soule from the deuote
remembraunce / and in-warde loue that it should haue in Our Lorde / specyally at
that tyme. This temptacyon commeth oftentymes / by suggestyon of the deuyll,
which putteth in / a mannes mynde at the houre of deth suche thynges specyally / as
a man hath loued best in his lyfe before as rychese, / worldly pleasure, wyfe and
chylfren, & such other. / These the deuyll presenteth besely vnto a mannes mynde /
for hys intent he shoulde rather occupy his mynde here / with all, then wyf
profyte & welth of his soule. / Therfore, to pursuay remedy ayenst this temptacyon,
it were expedient that euery man haue his testament redy / made in tyme of his
helth that he be not letted about / the orderynge of his worldly goodes at the tyme of
his / departrynge when he shoulde specyally ordre his soule / to the loue of God &
forsake the loue of all temporall thynges, / for Our Sauyour sayth he that wyll not
forsake father / and mother, wyfe and chylfren and all other temporall / possessyons,
he may not be my dyscyple. Wherfore / they that shall be aboue syke
persons, let theym be ware / that they gyue them not ouer great comforte of bodly
helth; / nor put them in ouer moche truste & hope of lyfe, for suche / swete wordes
& vayne comforthes may be occasyons of / theyr vtter dampnacion. But let them
moue them diligently for / to forsake pe loue [of] this wretched worlde and to put
theyr wyll to God and to be content alwayes, whether it be to / lyue or to dye; and
of bothe rather ordre them self to dye / than to lyue & than they shall not be
decyued, for many / a man is deceyued in the tyme of their deth by hope / of
contynuance of lyfe. For as longe as they truste to lyye, / they wyll euer dyspose
theym perfytely to dye and so / deth taketh them vndesposed to the great damage and / hurte of theyr soules. /

¶The .v. trouble or temptacyon at the houre of deth is / pryde andayne glor[y]e, whiche commeth chefely by instygacyon / of the deuyll. For when the deuyll perceyueth þ / he can not overcome a soule by ony of these temptacions / before rehersyd, thenne he moueth hym to reioyse in hymselfe / of his good dedes saynge vnto hym, “O howe stronge / be ye in fyghthe, howe stedfast in the hope, howe perfyte / in pacyence ye shall fynde but fewe suche as ye be. Ye / haue done so many good dedes in your dayes that shall / be remembred as longe as the worlde standeth.” This is / a peryllous and a subtily temptation, wherfore if ony / suche thoughtes come in your mynde loke that ye meke / your selfe lowely vnto Our Lorde, consyderyne that / of your selfe ye be nought ellys but a synfull creature / & a wretchyd synner; not all oonly for that ye haue done, / but also for many synnes whiche ye shoulde haue fallen / vnto yf ye had not ben preseruyd of Our Lorde therfrom. / And where ye haue euer in your lyfe done ony good dedes, / those came not of your selfe but of the grace of God / to whome belongeth honoure and prayse therfore. / Thus ye shal with Goddes grace ouer come the temptacions / of the deuyll. For when he wolde exalte you by pryde / andayne glory, ye shal[I] lowe your selfe by mekenesse. / And when he wolde lowe you by desperacyon, ye shall / exalte your self by stedfast hope of þ great mercy of God. /

¶More ouer ye that shall be aboute syke persone, loke / that ye counsayle them by tyme for to receyue the sacramentes / of the Chyrche, for they be suffrayne medycyns / bothe for the soule & for the body. For all sykenesse & payne / commeth of synne, for if there hadde neuer ben synne / there shoulde neuer haue ben payne. But remedy ayenst / synne is grace, & grace is gotten chefely by the sacramentes /of þ Chyrche [for they] be suffrayne medycyns both for þ soule / and also for the body. /

¶And after that the syke persons hath receyued the sacramentes / of the Chyrche, lette hym not fere to dye at ony / tyme that shall please Our Lorde to call hym; remembrynge / that there is none other waye to come to the ioye / of heuen, but all oonly by this way of deth. For all the / soules that be now in heuen haue passed this same way / of deth. And though the flesshe and the sensuall appetyte / grugge and fere to dye, lette not this trouble the syke / persone, for it is naturall for the flesshe so to do. But / this grugge and fere shall not lose the meryte of þ soule / yf
the soule consent not wyllyngly therto, but be content / to submytte hym selfe to the wyll of God, whether it be / to dye or to lyue. /

¶Nowe for a shorte conclusyon. That a man maye the / better knowe at the houre of deth whether he be in state / of saluacyon, he shall examyne hym selfe or his frende in / lywyse of .v. specyall thynges. Fyrste, whether he beleue / all that longeth to crysten fayth as Holy Chyrche beleueth / and techyth. The seconde, whether he truste stedfastly / to be sauyd & to come to þe ioye of heuen thorugh / the merytes of Cryste’s passyon. The thyrde, whether he / be sory for all the synnes that he hath done and aske specyally / forgyuenes of Our Lorde for them with wyll and purpose / to asteyne from synge hens forwarde. The fourthe, / whether he forgyue all them that haue hurt or offended / hym by worde or by dede, and aske all theym forgyuenes / þe he hath hurt or offended other by worde or by dede. / The .v., if he haue hurtone man whether he wyll þ / restytucyon and amendes be made vnto theym accordynge / to ryght and conscience as ferre as his power may extende. / The[se] .v. questyons be necessary to be asked of them / that lye in ieopardy o f deth. And whoso euer may answere / to all theym, and say ye therto truely and infeynydly / by his worde of mouthe - or for want of speche in his herte / alone - he maye be assured if he so departe this worde / that he shall be saued and come to the blysse of heuen euerlastynge. /

¶Yet in all maner of troubles and temptacyons in body / or in soule, lette euery man remenbre inwardly the / blessyd passyon of Our Sauyore Cryste and call therto / for helpe and secoure, & he shall euer fynde remedy therin. /

Besyde this, let euery man call vnto the gloryouse virgyne, / the mother of God, Our Lady Saynt Mary for helpe / comforte and assystence. For she may helpe vs and succoure / vs, for she is moste of power vnder God. And doubtles / she wyll helpe vs & succoure vs if we call vnto hyr, / for she is the mother of mercy and of pyte and our specyall / aduocate for to shewe & present all our causes and / our [c4'] necessytyes to the hyghe iuge of heuen, hyr owne /blyssed sone. And doubtles it is not to be thought þsuche / a noble sone so louynge and so gentyll vnto his mother / wyll denye hyr ony thynge that she asketh, wherfore / lette euery man and woman at all tymes, but specyally / at the houre of deth, call vnto hyr for helpe & succoure. / And doubt we not, but she wyll euer be redy to helpe, / succoure, conforte and assyste vs in all our causes and /necessytyes.
Besyde this let every man and woman, at the hour of death, make invocation (and their friends with them) unto holy angels and saints of heaven, specially to those which they have had most devotion unto in their lives. And so finally recommend their souls unto Our Lord Jesus Almighty, to his blessed mother & virgyn, / Our Lady Saint Mary and to all saints say[en]ge: In manus tuas domine. &cetera. /

And other prayers which shall be thought convenient / and pleasant unto God, to whom be honour and glory everlastynge. Amen.
Substantive Variants

1. constitutionibus / constitutionibusl / Archipresbyteri / archipresbiteri 
2. Capitulo / Capitool / Ignorancia / ignorancia / Sacerdotum / sacerdotum 
7. princypall] / princypallC / principallD / principallIJ / pryncypall / 
and] / AndABCDEFGJK &H andI / the] / [b]G / sacramentes] / sacramentesDJ 
bounde] / boundeHJ / stedfastly] / stedfastlyeK 
11. beleyue] / beleyueBDFGHI / the] / [se]] / theABCEF / theyseHI / artysles] / ArtyslesF / 
.vii.] / seuenK / perteyne] / perteyneDJ / doo apperteyneK / vnto] / God...godhed] 
the hygh mystery of the blessed Trinite, to the pure Godhed and the workes of the sameK 
12. Th[e] / ThatBCDEFG& / theHJ / and the / Thel / TheK / 
vnto] / God...his] / the holye 
mystere of the blyssed incarnacionK / alm[y]ghtyA / almightyJ / notK / 
humanyte] / humaniteDJ / humanyteK


18. procedynge]procedyngeDH procedyngl / and]and]GHJ / Sone]sonneF sonneJK / the]bG / that]bG / lykewyseJ lyke wyseDHI likewiseJ / God]God and the thyrde person in Trynitie or in godhed. And that al the these thre persons, the father, the sonne, & the holy ghoste, but one very god in nature & substaunce, and one Trynitie in thre dyuers personsK


visible and in visible


IncarnacionD incarnacionHK incarnationJ / That]thatABCDEFGHIJ p\textsuperscript{1}K / say]sayeBCEG / that]p\textsuperscript{3}FK / seconde]secondeBCEFGHIK secondeDJ


34. beryed]buriedBCDFGHIK buriedDJ buryedK / the]p\textsuperscript{4}EF / sepulchre]SepulchreABC FK sepultureE sepulcreHIJ / fourth]iii.HIJK / that]p\textsuperscript{7}FK / went]wentD wen\textsuperscript{7}EFGHI / vnto]intoHI / helle]hellHJK the hell /


38. the]p\textsuperscript{6}F / shall]shalG / seuenth]vii.HIJK /


commandementes | commandementes | commandementes | commandementes | Lorde]lordDHJ | fyrste|firsteDJ fyrstGHI | thou]ThouABCDEFGJK | shall]shalteBCEFGJK shaltDI | false|falsHI
goddes|GoddesK | worshipJworshipteJ | very|veryeK | commandemente|commandementDEG | commandementF | commandementI | idolatry]IdolatryABCDEFGK | yolatryDydolatrieD | yolatryEHI | idolatryJ
commandement|commandement|commandement|commandement| wychcraftes|wychcraftesC | wych craftesD | wytchcraftesEFI | wytche|craftesGHK | wicraftesJ |
words|wordeBCEFG | wordJ | worde | or by]notHI | wrytynge|writyn | ony|anyHIJK | folysshe|folissheDJ | obseruaunce|obseruaunceDHJ |
secunde|secoundeB | secondeC | secon|DFEG | .I |HIJK | commandementeFH | commandementeG | commandementI | this]notHIJ |
thou|ThouIGK | shal|shalteFGK | shaltHIJ | not|natDJ | theBCDFGH | in|J | vaynI | vainJ | By|byABCDEFGJK |
commandemente|commandemente|commandemente | commandemente | principally | principallyD | prin|ycpally | BEFGH | pryncpalyC | principallyD | all]alCGK | heresy|EresyesF | heresyeHI | heresyesK | also|DG |
sounde|soundeDG | ayenst|agaynsteBCEH | ageynsteDFG | agaynstIK | goodness|godnesC | goodnessJ | all]allIJ | periyure|periyureDGHIK | periyureJ |
saye|sayHIJK | wetyngly|wyttyn}ly | BCEFGHIK | and]K | al]alFGK | vnreuerently|vnreuerentlyD | vnreuerentlyeK | to]notBCE |
vnreuerently|vnreuerentlyK | ony|anyC |HIJK | parte|parteJ | partK | blyssed|blessydBCEFGHI | blessedDJK | body]bodyeK | thyrde|thirdeD.II |HIJK |
commandement|commandemente | commandemente | commandemente | commandemente | forbyd|fordydC | pryncipally | prin|ycpally | BEFGH | pryncpalyC | principallyD | all]alFGK | heresy|EresyesF | heresyeHI | heresyesK | &|DG |
sounde|soundeDG | ayenst|agaynsteBCEH | ageynsteDFG | agaynstIK | goodness|godnesC | goodnessJ | all]allIJ | priyure|periyureDGHIK | periyureJ |
vnreuerently|vnreuerentlyD | vnreuerentlyeK | to]notBCE | th[I]s]notHIJ | thu]BCEFGIJ | ThouDK | shall|shalteBCEFGH | shaltDJIK | /
thy]theEK / daye]dayBCDEGHJ / saye]sayBCDEGHJ / Sondaye]sondayBCDEGHJ / SondayF sondayI SondayK
58. ghostly]goostlyDJ ghostly]goostlyHI / by]byBCDEFGHIJK / &]andFI AndK / ghostly]goostlyD ghostlyeK
64. extorcyon extortion and ony anyHJK vnryghtwyse notI moyenE
65. oppresse innocentesC whichI notI gylty gylyeK allI sleeB flieC sleF sprrytuallyI
66. backbyte backbyteBGK backbiteJ andF slaunderBC slaundregG slaundrehIK personeJ personneJ
personeJ personsK ayenst layensteBC agaynstFHIK ryghtJrightJK ayenst notHIJ agaynstFK charyteJ chariteD charitieK bryngeB bringeJK themJ themFK 67. fromF froHI go[o]d godA euylJ euyllDJ euykK AlsoJ AndK allI sleeB thiostDGK mayeB mayBCEFJ andJ &BCEFJHI wyllJ wylleD wylk
68. notDJ themJHJ necessaryteJ necessiteD AlsoJ AndBCEFJ allI sleeBCEFK thoseJ thatABCEF sleBCEF spyrrytuallyJ spirituallyD spyrrytuallyK thatDGHIJK theyrJ therC theirJK 69. euyllJ euyllBCH euyllD euylJ examplesB exemplesC exsamplesE exemplI ensamplesI onyJ anyHJK wyckedB wickedJ persuasyonsJ persuacyonsBCEF persuasionsD persuasyonsH persuasyonsI persuacionsJ opperacyonsK induceJ InduceK InduceJ bryngeB bringeHIK bryngBC bringeJK vntoJtoHIK
376

73. al]allBCDFHK / fylthy]filthyJ / &]andK / abhominable]abhominableD 
abhominableI / polucyons]pollusionsD polucyonsEF pollucyonsG pollutionsJ 
pollucionsK / wylfully]wylfullyeK / procured]procurydHI / ony]anyDHIJK / 
74. adinuencyons]inuencyonsBCEFG inuencionsDK inuencyonsI aduentionsJ / 
þ]thatBCDFHIIJK / ordeyny]ordeynedBCDEFGK ordainedJ / 
generacyon]generacionDK generationJ 
75. mankynde]mankyndeIJ / done]dyneC / than]thanEFIK / to]notK / the]b5F / 
dewe]dueGHIJ / ordeyny]ordeynedBCDEFGD ordainedJ 
76. seuenth]vii.GHIJK / commaundement]commaundementBCE 
commaundementFG commaundementIJ / this]notHIIJ / thou]ThouK / 
y]isDEFGI 
77. saye]sayDEFIK þ]thouBCDFGHIIJK / shall]shaltDIK shalteF 
theyr]theirJ / wyl]wylI / By]byG 
78. commaundement]commaundementBCDEFH commaundementG 
commaundementI / all]alGI / wronfull]wronfullBCEFGI wronfulleD wronfullK 
wrongfulleK / takynge]takyngeHIJ takingeK / occupyenge]occupyengI 
79. withholdynge]with holdyngeD withholdyngH withholdingJ / 
mennes]mennesDEGHI / other]outherF eytherGHIJ / fraud[e]fraundA fraudedeBC 
defraudeK / deceyte]dysceyteG desceyteH deceytI deceytJ / 
ypocrisy]ypocrisyBEFGHIK ypocriskeyD ipocrisyD / or]ofK / feyned]faynedEFG 
faynydHI 
80. holynesse]holynesFGHIK / vsury]vsuryeBCEHIK / by]notIJ / 
therethretenyngeK / strenght]strengtheBCDEG strengthFHIJ StrengthK 
81. vyolence]vyolenceBCGHI violenceDJ VyolenceK / 
commaundement]commaundementBDEFH commaundementC commaundementG 
commaundementI commaundementJ / this]notI / thou]ThouK / 
shalt]shalteBCDEFGH / bere]beareJ 
82. no[nol / wytnes]witnesIJ wytnesseK / nother]neytherDGHIJ neitherK / 
hrurthe]hurtheBCFHIK / neyghbour]neyghbourDEFGHI neighbourJ / 
wronfully]wronfullBCDEFGHIK wronfullyJ / promote]promoteJ
83. frende[fryndeK / vnworthely]vnotworthyD vnworthelyeK / this]thysI / commandement[jcommandementBCDEFJK commandementGI / is]ysI / forbyd]forbyddeG


90. forbede]forbyddeFGHIJK / all]alBCI / vnlefull]vnlaufull / desire]desyresFI desiresK / other]eytherDI outherF / wyll]willD wylFIK / or]or toD


92. These]TheG / commandements] comaundementesDFGK commaundementesHIJ / included]includydHI concludedK / and]&FGHIJ / .ii.]twoGHIJK

106. Furthermore

107. orderynge

108. them

109. charyte

110. maketh

111. his

112. al

113. anendes

114. strenght
delectacyons]delectationsDG delectacyonsI delectacionsK / moderat]moderateEFGHIJK

conuersacionD conuersacyonI conuersationJ conuersacionsK / mannes]mannesD


119. temporall]temporalBCDEFI / honour]honoureFGHIK / or]OrD /
whether]whetherJ / it]ytH / correckyng]correctyngHJ correctyngelK /
theym]themBCDEFGJK / euyll]yuelD yuellJ

120. promotynge]promotyngelC promotyngeDI promotyngeJ / them]themFHI
themK / b']that]DFGHIJK / Strength]StrengthC StrengthDJ StrengthelH Strengthel
suffrynge]sufferyngelGHI sufferyngelJ sufferingeK

121. aduersyte]aduersiteDK / and]&DGI / stronge]strongF strongeI /
execucyon]execucionDK execusyonG execucionI executionJ /
Iustycy]IustyeCABCEFGK IusticeD / and]&I / correccyon]correccionD
correccyonGI correccionJ

122. stronge]strongeI / and]&GIJ / without]withoutC / trouth]truthGJ /
and]&FGJ / stronge]strongeJ / and]&J / without]withoutC w'outJ withouteK /
and]&IJ / wyckyednesse]wyckednesseDG wickednesseJ wyckyednesHI

Pecham]PecchamEG PechamH PechamI PecchamJ /
sacramentis]sacramentisCEFHIJK / iterandis]iterandisDEFGHI iterandisJ

125. Also]ForthermoreDG FerthermoreHI FurthermoreJ / you]yeDFGHIJK /
shal]shallIDFGK / and]&DEGIJ / vnderstande]vnderstandeDIJ / that]b'G /
ther]thereDEFGHIJK / be]benBCEFHIK / seuen].vij.DJ /
sacramentes]SacramentesD sacramentesJ SacramentesK
126. Chyrche[churcheDJK / wherof]wher ofC whereofHI / fuye}.v.DJ /
crystendome]cristendomeD christendomeJ CrystendomeK / which]whycheD
whicheK / putteth]puttythHI / awaye]awayHI
129. mother]matherE / and]&H / Eue]eueA / creat]createDFGHIJK /
&]andDGJK / receyued]receyuydHI / almyghty]almightyJ
mankyndD / b]theDHIJ thatK / gyfte]gyftJK
penaltieJ penalteK / this]thsBCEH / wretchyd]wretchedBCDFEGJK
134. there]therK / euermore]euer moreCK / than]thanI / by
cause]bycauseBCEFHJ becauseG / dysobeyed] dysobeiedC disobeyedDJ /
and]DJ
iustye]iustyeABCEFGK IusticeD / and]&HIJK / fell]felC
wretchydnesse]wretchidenesseD wretchednesseFGK / worlde]worldI / all]allI / theyr]theyreD theG theirJ
137. yssue]issueDJ IssueK / Wherfore]wherforeABCDEFHIJK / nowe]nowI
382

138. wantynge\[waytyngeE wantyngJ / orygynall\]orygynallD orygynall origynallJ / iustyece\[Justice\]BCEFGK LusticeD / and\]&J / nat\]notBCEFGHIK / sau\]sauedDFGJK / ordynate\]orygynallF / lawes\]LawsE

139. vnto\[the]VntoABCEFJ / b\]theDEFGHJK / tyme\]timeK / this\]thySD / put\]butA orygynall\[originalD origynall orygynall / synne\]synJ / and\]&DGHIJ / gotten\]gottenHIH

140. whiche\]whycheCD / is\]ysH / this\]theFK / sacrament\]sacramentDIJ SacramentK / baptysme\]baptismeD baptymeHIJ BaptysmeK / crystendome\]crystendameB crystemdameC cristendomeD crystendomeI christendomeJ ChristendomeK

141. is\]ysH / fyrste\]firsteD fyrstEFGH firstJ/ sacrament\]sacramentDEFGHIJ SacramentK / and\]&D / sacramentes\]SacramentesK

142. \]constitutiombus\]constitutiombusC constytutionibusH / provincialibus\]proucincialibusC provincialiK / Baptismo\]BaptysmoB baptismoGlJ BaptismoK / Cristendome\]crystendomeB CristendameC ChristendomeD Christendomel

143. sacrament\]sacramentJ SacramentK / ought\]oughteK / not\]natDJ / mynystred\]ministredD mynystrydHI mynistredJ / a preest\]apreestEH / excepte\]exceptK / case\]causeK / necessity\]necessiteD

144. and\]&D / then\]thenBCE thanneD thanFGHIJK / euery\]eueryeK / and\]&J / maye\]mayBCDEGHJI / mynystre\]mynistreJ mynysterK / it\]it\]I

145. maye\]mayGJ / mynystre\]mynistreJ mynysterK / it\]it\]I / theyr\]theirJ / chylde\]childeDJ / &\]andBCDEFGIJ / afterward\]afterwardeJ / lye\]to lyeG / tog\]togetherD togtherK / [th]e\]hteABCFG

146. lawe\]lawK / matrmony\]matrmonyBCEG MatrmonyHI MatrimonyJK / yf\]yfDJ / suche\]suchK / of\]yfI / necessity\]necessiteD / happe\]happenBCDEFGK / any\]onyBCEFG

147. then\]ThenABCE thanDHIJ ThenF thanG / say\]sayeBDFGHJI / with\]wythI / intent\]ententeEGHI ententJ intencionK / on\]inK / this\]thySD / cristen\]crystenBCEFHJJ christen\]the\]b\]GK / in\]InABCF / the\]b\]K

148. Father\]fatherDGHIJK / and\]notHIJ &K / of\]notG / Sone\]soneABCDH sonE\]sonJ / &\]andG / the\]b\]F / Holy\]holyABCDEFGHJI holyeK / Goste\]gosteA GhoostBCE goosteD GhostF ghostG goostHI gostJ ghosteK /
andBCDEFG AndHIJK / whyles]whileD whyleFGHIK whilesJ / sayinge]sayengeBCDEFGHIK sayengJ
151. sacrament]SacramentABC SacramenteE / baptysme]BaptysmeABCEFJK BaptismeD baptymeHIJ
155. yt][fD / it][tH / loste]lostGHI


and]&I / man]manI


more]the moreGI


mynysterK
175. dampnable]dampnablel
184. wetë]wyteH wytl / confessyon]
ConfessyonA ConfessyonBCEF confessionDJ
confessyonG confessyonHK confessyonI / contrcyon]
ContrcyonA contricionD
ContrcyonF contryonH cogtricionI cogtritionJ contrycyonK / and]&DFHIIJ /
Satysfaccyon]SatysfaccyonA satisfaccionD satysfaccyonH satyssfaccionI
satisfactionJ satysfactionK / Confessyon]ConfessionD confessyonF confessionI
ConfessionJ / crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenK

dyscrecyon]discrecionD dyscrecyonI discretionJ dyscressyonK / is]ysH beI /
bounde]boundeDJ / [p]theDFHIIJK

186. lest]leestBCEFHIJ leesteD / [p]theDFGHIJK / them]thenF thanHIJK /
make]notDGHIJ / knowledge]knowledgeF / of]notDGHIJ / al]allDEFGHIIJK /

187. ordnary]ordnaryeDK ordnaryF ordinaryJ / and]DGIIK /
except]excepteBCEF GHI / lefull]lefulBCEF lawfullHI / whiche]whycheD
whichK / may]mayeK

188. an]otherBCEFJG a notherDHI an otherK / confesor]ConfessorA
ConfessourBCEF confessourD confessoureFGHK confessourI / so]sooH / that]ptG /

189. ordnarye]ordnaryBCEFGH I ordinaryJ / asmoche]as mocheGHK as mychI
theyr]thyrD theirJ

190. confessyon]confessionD / thynges]thyngesBCEF GHIJ thyngesK / shall]shalD
shalbeJK / be]notJK / shewed]shewyd toHI / them]theymFH / nowe]nowIJ /
the]pG

them sel}theymsel}bef theym selfe}CH them sel}G them self} / theyr]theyrel
theirJ / confessyon]confessionC confessionD confessionG confessedJ /
makynge]makynegJ

ghostelyF gostolyG hooostlyL gostlyJ ghostlyeK / Father]fatherGHIIJK / that]pG /
gette]geteBCEF GHIIK getK / in]inG / to]notK

and]&DG / great]gretceEFHI / studye]studyEGK / and]G /
dylygence]dilige}nceD diligenceJ / to]ToABCE / remembre]remembreDEGHIK
389


dispisedD dyspisedK / the]bF

231. counsayle]counsayleBCDK counsayllF counsaileJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIK /
taken]takyngeDG / then]thanDGHI / or]andHI &J / your]youreHI /
lornyng]lornyngeBCDEFGIK lerningI / hath]hatheGHI

232. requyred]requyredI / Furthermore]FurdermoreDGHI FurdermoreJ
FurthermoreK / whether]whederI whytherK / ye]notBC / loved]louydHI /
syn]syngulariteD singularitytel singulariteJ / apparell]apparayleD
apparelEFHJK apparellI /

233. syngularite]syngulariteD notHIJ / speche]speceC / other] yourHIJ /
conuersacion]conuersacionD couersacyonl conversationJ / syngularite]syngulariteD
notHIJ / faste]fastBCEFK fastyngeHI fastingJ / in]inBCDEG orFK / notHIJ

234. in]inC / d[e]uocionsA deuocionsDK deuocionsEI deuotionsJ /
taken]takenFI / [y]our]yourABDGHJK / auctoryte]auctoriteDJ auctoriteK /
rather]notI / than]thanIJK / the]bFG

235. comyn]commenD commenG commonH commonl commonJK / and]&FJIK /
deuocions]deuocionsDK deuotionsJ / ordeyned]ordeynedD ordenedl ordayedJ /
Holy]holyABCEFK theDGHJI / Chyrche]churcheABCEGHI churcheDJK chircheF /
or]OrABCDEFGHIJK

iugyng]iugyngABCDEF iugyngG iugyngHIJ iugyngK

237. mennes]mennesI mensK / dedes]dedesJ / &]andDEJK /
presumptuous]presumptuousD presumptuousI / iustfyinge]iustfyingeA
391

[illegible text]

238. of not BC or H / others other DG IJ


270. wycked]wykedD wickedJ / occasion]occasionDJ

282. reasonable]resonableDJ lefullI / and]&IJ / lefull]lefulCJ reasonableI / 
necesseyte]necesssitelDJ or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / whether]whederJ / 
byenge[byengj / sellynge]sellingeC sillyngeD sellyngEIJ / in]ingG

lenyngel]lendyneD lendyneGHI lendingJ lenningeK / ony]anyDHIJK / 
monay]monyBCDEFGHIIJK / commyttty]commyttedCEH commytttedDFIJK 
the]bF notI / ordre]orderHIK thorderJ

204. iustyce]iusticeABCEFGHK iusticeD / &]andDHK / charyte]chariteDJ / 
symony]SymonyABCDEFGHI simonyJ / that]bF / is]ysH

spyrytual]spiritualD spiritualJK / thynge]thingJ / ony]anyHK / 
temporal]temporalCEK temporalIJ /

286. goodes]goodesIJ / Furthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJK / 
wilk / whether]Or whetherH or whetherI whederJ whereK

287. ben]beneBC / executor]execoutoureBCFEFGHK executeourl / or]andH &l / 
/ them]theymBCEFHK themGHI / otherwyse]otherwiseDJ

288. then]thanFHK thanl / in]theBCE inD bF in theI / deedes]dedisD deedesJ / 
charyte]chariteDJ / than]thanBCFEFGHIJ theK / the]bF / deedes]deddesH deedesJ 
or]OrABCDEFGHIIK / whether]whether bF whederJ

vauntage]vauntageJK / worldly]worldelyBCEG worldelyH / or]OrI / 
whether]whederJ


Furthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJK / had]haddeD
330. wycked]wyckydH wickedJK / occasion]occasionBEFGIJK accasyonC
333. pleasure]pleasoureC / your]youreBEHJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIJK /
346. maryed]mariedJ / whether with a]\notHIJ / vyrgyne]virgenD vyrgynFGHI
vyrgynJK / with\w'F notHIJ / whether]orHIJ / ony]anyDHIJK / youre]yourBDEFGHIJK
350. suffycyent]suffyci\ntDJ suffi\ntD sufficientJ / and]\&F / wyte]wytteDGJK wyt\th \tFHI / and]\&F / wysdome]wysdomeD wisedomeD wisedomeJ
synnesK / yf]iffDJ
circumstaunce]cyrcumstaunceB CEFGH circumferenceD cyrcumstance\l circumferenceJ cyrcumstanceK / and]\&FGI / the]\notBCEHK
356. requyred | required / therto BC there to / is | ysI / contrycyon | Contrycyon ABC | Controcion D / that | b G / is | ysH / to | too BCE / saye | G / all | aJ
357. synnes | synneF sinnesD / and | And ABC | DEF | G / wyl | wylDF wilJ / and | J / no | noo BCE / synne | synneG synJ
358. thyrde | thirde DJ / that | b FG / is | ysHI / requyred | requyrydI required / to | too BCE / this | thysI / sacrament | sacrament J / penaunce | penaunceDFGHI / is | ysHI / satisfaccyon | SatisfaccyonAE Satysfaccyon BC | CFGHI SatisfaccionD satisfactionJ satysfactionK / that | b G
359. is | ysHI / say | sayeFIK / that | b F / inJ / fulfyI || BCEBCEFHIK / payne and | notHIJ / penaunceJ / shall | shalDFGHIJ
360. reasonable | resonableD resonablyFE reasonablyeHI resonableJ resonablyK / lymytted | lymyttydHI lymytedK / the | b BCEFG / quantyte | quantyte BC | DEF | GHI / quantiteJ quantyteK / synnes | synnesBC | DEF | GHIK sinnesJ / these | theyseHI / thre | .III D / thyngesJ thingsJ
361. hadde | hadGHIJ / this | thysHI / the | b DG / preest | prestB / iury | iury | iury | iurysdyccyon | iurisdiccionD iury | iury | iury | iury | dyccyon EF | GHI iuri | iurysdyctionK / vpon | vponBC | DEF | HIJK
362. mynistreth | mynistreth DJ / the | b F / sacrament | SacramentABCE SacramenteG sacramentJ sacramenteK / penaunce | penaunceB penaunceJ / and | J / absolucyon | absolucyon J absolucionK / and | And ABC | DEF | G &HJ /
363. assoyled | assoylydHI / all | aI CHJ / youre | yourBCJK / synnes | synneI SynnesK / quantum | quantum BCE | GHIK / is | ysHI / to | notHIJ
364. say | sayeBCEF | GFK notHIJ / all | aI / your | youreHI / synnes | synnesF / grete | greatDK gretJ / for | ofC / which | whycheD whichJ / youlye | ye | DHIJ / hadde | hadBCEF | GHIJK / deserued | deseruydHI
365. payne | payN | the | paienK / of | notHIJ / helle | hellDK notHIJ / euerlastynge | euerlastyngJK / Nowe | noweABCE | GHIK nowFDI / that | b F / is | ysHI / chaunged | chaungedF chaunygdHI / the | b F notHIJ / vertue | vertuDJ / this | thel /
366. sacrament | SacramentABC | DE sacramentF / of | notJ / penaunce | penaunceFJK / in to | into DHK in toJ / temporall | temporallBCEF | GHIK temporalleD temporallJ / this | thysDI / worlde | worldK / And | J


406. no more no more / synne | synne
purposynge | purposing
shryuend / shryued
shriuen / to | too
youre | your
401. gostely | gostely
hostly | hostly
ghostly | ghostly
assygned | assyngnyd
assigned | assigned
that | that
shryuen | shryued
shriuen | shriuen
to | too
404. ofte | ofte
ayen | agayne
againe | againe
meane | moyen
meane | moyen
synne | sinne
yneca | sinne
the | the
grace | fauoure
faoure | grace
from | from
405. dampnacyon | dampnacion
into | into
saluacyon | saluacion
Lette | Lette
person | person
frome | from
406. this | this
gentyll | gentyl
gentyll | gentyl
and | and
sufferayne | sufferayne
souerayne | soueraigne
medicyne | medicine
them | them
wounded | wounded
woundyd | woundyd
407. deedly | deedly
woundyd | woundyd
remember | remember
well | wel
thryen | thre
408. fyrste | fyrst
herte | hert
theyr | their
yneca | sinne
seconde | seconde
409. shryuen | shryuen
shriuen | shriuen
tyme | time
assygned | assigned
Holy | holy
hooly | holy
church | chyrche
church | chyrche
410. wyll | will
with | with
wante | want
theyrse | theye
thre | thre
411. thynge | thinges
yneca | sinne
ye | you
wante | want
yneca | sinne
whether | wheder
or | or


421. there]hereK / glorye]glorieJ gloryK

nowe]nowIJ / remedyes]remediesDJ / and]&DFGHJ
424. preseruatyes]preseruatiuuesD / ayenst]ageynstD agaynstH agaynstel againstK / 
temptacyons]temptacyonsBCEFGHI temptacionesD temptationsJ temptacionK / 
happeneth]happenHK  happenethJ / commenly]commenlyBCF commenlyDG 
comunelyD comonlyHI
425. sayde]saydFGHIJ / this]thysI / necessarye]necessaryBCDEG / is]ysH / 
onlyD / our selfe] our selfD ourselfeG yourselfeFK / thatBCDEFGHIJK
426. may]mayeBCEIJK / counsayle]counsayleD counseylF counsaileJ / and]&GJ / 
exortacyon]exortacionDK exhortacyoni exortationJ / when]whanDGHIJK whanF / 
the]p]F
427. ieopardye]leopardyeABCD leoperdyeE leopardyFG ieoperdyeHI ieopardyJK / 
if]ifbCEFGIK / may]mayeBCEDEGHIK / called]callydHI / is]ysBCE / 
necessarye]necessaryDFGHIJ necessarieK / whiche]whichJ / shall be]shalbeDJK / 
shortely]shortlyJ
429. dyssolued]be dyssoluedA dissoluedJ dyssolutedK / and]&FGJ / 
persone]personJK / mnystre]mnystreF ministreJ mnystreK
whichF the whichK
432. indure]endureEHIJK / other]eytherDGHI eitherJ / ioye]IoyeABCEF IoyG 
ioyJ / contynuall]contynuallyl contynualJ / ellys]ellesDFGHI elsJK / 
euerlastynge]euerlastyngJ
433. thenne]thenneD thanFGHK thanI / theym]themFGJK / the]p \[ \hat{e} \\  
whenne]whanneD whanFGHK whanI / Fyrste]FyrsteDK FyrstFGHI FirstJ
434. consyderJconsyderF consydreHI considreJ .v.]fyueHIJ / temptacyonsJtemptacionesDK temptacyonsI temptationsJ / whicheJwhycheC whichI / wyckedJwickedJ / frende]fendeBCDEFGHIJK


greteEFG


moost]mosteDK mostJ


487. hym|himK / and|&FG / hym|himJK / that|]b\`F / should|sholdeBCEFHI shuldeDJ shuldeK / dampned|dampnedBCDGHIK / should|sholdeBCEFEGHI shuldeDK shuldeJ / not|notDJ / beleue|byeleeuBCDEFGHI belyueC / hym|himJK

488. thinke|thinkeJ thinkeK / ]b\`thattDH|HIJK / some|someJ / illusyon|illusionD ylusyonF / the|]b\`EF / deuyll|deuyllD / transformyne|transformyneDH transformyngneEFI transforminge|transformingeJ transformyngK / hym|himselfeF hymselfeG him selfJ him selfeK

489. in|jinC / lykenes|lykenesJF / aungell|aungellF aungelG angellJ / too|toFHI / deceyue|disceyueD disceyueHI disceyueJ / hym|hymM himJK / And|]D / if|]yfBCEFEGHIK / he|]yeG itK / certifyed|certifiedDJ / that|]b\`FG

490. it|it\`H / aungell|aungellD aungellF AngellJ / god|GodK / should|sholdeBCEFEGHI shuldeDJ notK / not|notJ / despayre|dispayreEHI despeyreGK dispayreJ / saluacyon|saluacionD salvationJ

491. thin|thinkeJ thinkeK / that|]b\`FG / the|]b\`E notJ / aungell|aungelC aungellDGHIK thangellJ / condycionally|condicionallyDK kondicionallyJ / that|]b\`FG / is|]ysI / say|sayeBCDGI / that|]b\`FG


493. and|]D / to|toFHI / sory|sorieJ / his|]hisHIK / had|hathDJ hatheHI

494. thyrde|thirdeDJ / temptacyon|temptacionDK themptacyonE temptationJ / ]b\`thetDGHIJK / housre|hounJ / deth|detheHIJ deathK / is|]ysHI / anger|AngreF angreHJ angryeK / wrathe|wrathBCDEGK / and|]F

495. impacyence|ImpacienceD ImpacienceFG impacienceJK / This|ThysH / temptacyon|temptacionK temptacionT temptacionK / commeth|commethBCFHI commethDK / oftentymes|often tymesBCE ofte tymesDGH oft tymesJ / suggestyon|suggestionD suggestyonBCEFEGHIK suggestionDJ / the|]b\`BCDEF / deuyll|deuyllD

496. whiche|whichJ / gru|dgel|gruggeA / his|]b\`F hysH / sykenesse|sekenesseC sykenesseDFGI syckenesseH sicknessJ syckenesseK / and|]D / that|]b\`FG notK / pay|paye

497. is|]ysH / gretter|greterBCEFIL gretterDJ greaterK / thanne|thanneK thanBCEFEGHIJK / hath|hathE / desrued|desruedBCDFHIJK / and|]G

498. complayneth|complaynethF / God|godABCDEFGHIJ
499. ... thatBCDEFGHJK / shuld]sholdeBCEFGHI shuldeDJK / suffre]sufferK / this]thysH
504. or]norFHIJK / worlde]worldI / without]withoutC / belouyd]bylouedBCDEFH belouedGJK
/ oure]ourIK
&]andDHIJ / t]theBDEGHIJ
optayneGJ obtaineK / the]BCEFGHIJ / great]gretBCEFGH / blysse]blysD
511. in deuer]indyuerC endeuerDGI endeuoureH endeuourJ / our
self]ourselfeBCFG oure selfeDHIJK / pacyently]pacyentelyD pacyentlyFG
512. suffred]sufferedDI / grea[t]e]greA in greateBCE in greteF the greatDIK t
greteG the greteH the grejt / and]&DFG / passyon]passionDJ / the]F
moste]moostBCEK moostFGHI mostJ / dethe]dethD deathK / of]onBCEH
/ crosse]CrosseABDEG
513. though]thoughheBCDEGHIJK / oure]oureBCK / gruggeA /
and]&DFGJ / reste]restFGHIJ
and]&DFG / wyll]wylF / the]peF / desyre]desyreD / whiche]whichIK
516. vysytacyon]visytacionD vysitacyonF visytacionJ vysytacionK / injinJ /
sendyne]sendyngeDI sendingJ / and]&GJK / passyon]passionDJ passyonI / injinJ /
this]thysCD / worlde]worldFIK / lyke]likeJ / as]as yfK
pertaynersK / injinJ
ioye]IoyG / and]&J / console]consolacionDK consolationJ
temptacionDK temptacionJ / the houre]hourJ / dethe]dethDJ deathK / is]ysH /
couetyse]couetiseJ / and]J
besynesse | busynesse | BCEFGHIJK | besynesD | worldly | worldlyDFGHI | thynges | thyngesGHI | thingesJ | thejaDG | from | fromE | deuote | deuoute | BCDFGI | deuoutJ
remembranence | remembranenceB | remembranenceG | remembranceJ | remembranenceK | and | in warde | inwarde | DFJIK | it | ytH | should | sholde | BCDFGHI | shuldD | shuldeJK | in | inJ | specially | speciallyDJ | speciallyyeK
that | the | DG | temptacion | temptation | BK | temptation | D | temptationJ | commeth | comethBCDFHI | oftentimes | oftentimesCD | ofte | tymes | D | GH | oftymesJ | suggestion | suggestyn | suggestionJ | the | thyD | beG | deuyll | deuellD | deuylK
which | which | BCEFGI | whycheD | in | inJ | a | not | HJ | mannes | mansJK | mynde | mindeK | houre | houre | J | deth | dethe | CFHI | suche | suchK | thynges | thingesJ | specially | speciallyDJ | speciallyyeK
man | manGJ | hath | hathe | DEG | best | besteDG | his | hisH | lyfe | lifeJ | rychese | rychesse | BCEFIJK | richesD | rychesGH | richesJ | worldly | worldlyBFGHI | worldlyC | pleasure | pleasureC | pleasuresH | wyfe | wifeJ | and | & | & | BCEFGIK
chylrden | children | DJ | chylrdenE | childrednE | chylrdenF | & | andH | & | suche | BCDEFGHIK | the | bF | presenteth | presentlyH | besely | busilyBCFGHI | buselyJ | vnto | toH | mannes | mannesBCDEGI | mansJ | mynde | mindeJ
bthat | DGHI | the | IK | intent | entent | EI | intente | G | entente | HK | bthat | BCDGHJK | shoulde | sholde | BCEGHI | shuldD | shuldeJK | occupy | occupyeH | his | hisH | mynde | minde | C | here | with | all | here | withall | EH | herwith | all | herwith | allG | here | w | allJ | with | all | withallII | then | than | DGHIJK | w | with | DEGHIJK | gostely | gostly | DHJ | gostlyGIK
profyte | profyte | BCEGHIK | profiteD | profiteJ | & | and | DGHK | welth | welthe | DH | remedy | remedye | HK | ayenst | ageynstD | agaynst | GHIK | againstJ | temptacyon | temptacyoo | C | temptacion | DK | temptacyon | I | temptationJ
expedyent | expedyenteD | expedient | JK | that | b | G | man | man | J | his | hysCH | testament | testamentDI | Testament | J | testamenteK | his | hysH
helth | helthe | GHIK | not | nat | DJ | letted | lettydH | about | about | BCDEGHK | the | orderynge | the | ordrynge | D | be | ordrynge | I | thordring | J | worldly | worldlyGHI | goodes | goodes | J | the | b5I
418

530. his\thisBCE / departynge\departyngeJ departingeK / when\whanDHIJ whan\GK / shoulde\sholdeBCEGHI shulde\shuldJ / specyally\speciallyJ specyally\yeK / ordre\orderHJ / the\]b\I / &\andBCDEHI

531. the\]b\I / all\]all]theG al / temporall\temporallDJ / thynges\thyngesCEHI thinges\] / for\ForDGHJK / sauyour\sauyoureBCEGHI sauioureD sauiour\J / sayth\saytheEHI saith\] wyll\]wylD / not\]natDJ

532. and\]&GJ / mother\moderJ / and\] &J / chyldren\childrenD chylderneH childre\] / and\] &J

533. possessyons\possessionsD possessionsJ / may\maye\E / not\]natDJ / dyscyple\discipleG disciple\J / that\]b\I / shall be\]shalbeDJK shal beEH / aboute\]aboutDJ / syke\]sikeJ syckeK

534. persons\personsCK personesDEGHI / them\]themGIK them\] / be\ware\BCDEHJK / them\]themDEGIK them\] / not\]natDJ / grete\]greatDK gret\] / comforthe\comforteEGHK comforJ / bodely\]bodelyBCDGHIJJK

535. helth\]heltheCGH / them\]themH them\] / ouer moche\ouermochJ / truste\]trustEHJ / &\]andDGHK / suche\]suchJ

536. \]&\]andDGHK / comforthe\comfortesDEGIK comfor\]esJ / may\]mayeDEGHI / occasyons\occasionH occasionJ / theyr\]theirJ / vter\]vtterlyG / dampnacion\]dampnacyonBE danac\]yonC dampnacyonGHI dampnation\]J

537. diligently\]dylygentlyBEI dylygently\]DY dylygently\]DY dylygentely\]yeK / \]b\I / the\]DEGHIJK / [of\] this\]thisABCDEF\]GK of thys\]H / wretched\]wretchyd\}eD wretchyd\] / worlde\]worldl / and\]AndABCEFI &GJK / too\]tooE

538. theyr\]theirJJK / wyll\]wylB will\]J / god\]GodK / and\] &EJ / content\]contentDJ contente\]G contonteHI / alwayes\]al wayesB al wayeE alwaiss\]J / whether\]wheder\] / it\]yt\] / and\]AndABCD\]EFGHI &J

539. bothe\]bothDK / ordre\]orderHJ / them self\]themselfeCEG them selfe\]DK them\]selfeH themselfI them\] selfJ / to\]rather to\]K / than\]thanE / to\]not\K / &\]andDGHK / than\]than\]J / shall\]shalleD shalEIJ / not\]natDJ

540. deceyued\]dyseceyuedH disceyued\]J / for\]ForABCDEFGHIJK / deceu\]deceyuedD dyseceyued\]H diseceu\]edJ / in\]inJ / the\]not\]HJ \]b\I / theyr\]their\]J / deth\]detheCGHI / hope\]hoopeBCE


421. and]&BCEG not]HJ / hurt]hurtJ / theyr]theirJ


lorde]lordFI / consyderynge]consideringJ considyryngl consideryngeK / your
selfe]yourselfeEFG youre selfeH your selfJ / nought ellys]noughtellesD nought
ellesFGHI nought elsJK / creature]creaturF

&]andGIK / wretchyd]wretchedBCEFGIJK wrecthyedD / not]notDJ / all
only]all onelyBCEGH allonlyl alonevFJK / done]doneH / But]butGHIJK / also]notI

synges]synnesBCDEFHIJK / whiche]whichel / shoulde]sholdeBCEGH
lorde]lordI / preseruyd]preservedBCDEFGHIJK

erherfrome]herfromEJK therfroG therefromH there fromI / And]andGIK /

those]theseDG / came]camDI / not]notDJ / your selfe]yourselfeBFGK / the]theI
FGK / to]tooBCE / whome]whomDJ whomI / honour]honourDJ /

GoddesK / ouer come]ouercomeGIJ / the]theI

the]theI FG / deull]dullI dyuellD dyuelJ / For]forABCDEFGHIJK /
when]whenDFGIJK whanH / he]yeD / wolde]woldI / exalte]axalteC /
pryde]PrideHK prideJ / and]DGJ / vayne glory]vayne gloryeD vayngloryFI
vayngloryeH vyn gloryeJ vaynegloryK / shall]shalleD shalGJ / ye]yowB /

lowe]lowECEF lowl humbleK / your selfe]yourB yourselfeEFGK / by]withI /
mekenesse]meknesB mekenesEFGJK / and]AndBDGHIK &EFJ /
humbleK / desperacyon]desperacionB desperacyonJ disperationJ desperacionK

B theCDEFGHIJK / great]greteBJ greteCEFGH / mercy]mercyB / god]allmyhty godB

More ouer]ovyrB MoreouerGIJK / that]thatB / shall be]shall beB shalbeDJK /
that]thatBG / counsayle]counsellB counsayleD counsaileJ / them]themB

by]be tymB betymeEIK be tymeHJ / receyue]receyueB receiueD / the]theI
B the]theI

More ouer]ovyrB MoreouerGIJK / that]thatB / shall be]shall beB shalbeDJK /
that]thatBG / counsayle]counsellB counsayleD counsaileJ / them]themB

by]be tymB betymeEIK be tymeHJ / receyue]receyueB receiueD / the]theI
B the]theI

More ouer]ovyrB MoreouerGIJK / that]thatB / shall be]shall beB shalbeDJK /
that]thatBG / counsayle]counsellB counsayleD counsaileJ / them]themB

by]be tymB betymeEIK be tymeHJ / receyue]receyueB receiueD / the]theI
B the]theI

More ouer]ovyrB MoreouerGIJK / that]thatB / shall be]shall beB shalbeDJK /
that]thatBG / counsayle]counsellB counsayleD counsaileJ / them]themB

by]be tymB betymeEIK be tymeHJ / receyue]receyueB receiueD / the]theI

chyrche]chërcheB churcheDGK churchJ / forJfforB / they]theyB / suffrayneJsouerayneGHIJ


567. sacramentesJsacramentisB sacramentesDFGHI / the]theB theDFGHIJK / chyrche]chërcheB churcheDK / [for they] be]wherfore dowteles } be sacramentis of } chyrche byB wherfore doubtlesse the sacramentes of the Churche beD beE beF wherfore doubtlesse the sacramentes of the chyrche beG wherfore doubtlesse the sacramentes of the chyrche beH wherfore doubts the sacramentes of the chyrch beI wherfore doubts the sacramentes of the chyrche beJ the whiche they beK / suffrayne]sufferayneDFK souerayneGH soueraineJ soueraynI / medycynsJmedycynsD medecyonsF medecynesHIKmedicinsJ / both]botheBCDEFGHIJ / the]theB theDFGHIJK / soule]sowllB / and]AndB &GIJ

568. the]theB


beleuey[v]eCDEFGH / allail / that]BE

57. hour[weB hourl / delthe[CDGI delthK / whether[whetB whether]


59. wyll]v]eB hourl / delthe[CDGI delthK / whether[whetB whether]

57. wyll]v]eB hourl / delthe[CDGI delthK / whether[whetB whether]


assystence / For notG forHIJ / she]scheB / may]mayeBCDE / helpe|helpB by her intercessyon helpeK


602. pyte|pytyeBDH pytyl piteK / and|AndABCDCEF andHI &? / our]owrB / specyall]|notB speciallDJ specyalF / aduocate|aduocatD / shewe|schewB shewl / &]andCEDEHIK / present|presentB presenteCEG / all]alF / our]owrB / causes|cawsesB / and|&FGH / oure|oureB ourFGK andI noI


606. all]alGIK / tymes|timesI / specyally|speciallyDJ / the]peB p"F / houre|owrB hourJ / deth|detheBHJ deathK / vnto|ToB / hyr|hirD herFGHIJK / &]andBCDEGHI / succoure|socourB socoureCFGHK socourIJ socoure by her intercessyonK


608. assyste|assystHI / vs]vs makyng intercessyon for vsK / our]oureB ourH / and|&J / necessytes|necessytesD necessytesEG necessytesI necessytesJ necessytesK


614. tuas]tuasA / domine]domineCDG / & cetera]commendo spiritum meum redemisti me domine deus veritatisB commendo spiritum meum redemisti me domine deus veritatisD commendo spiritum meumK


Literary and Historical Notes

1 - 2. A reference to chapter nine of the statutes published by John Pecham after the 1281 Lambeth Council. The statute is essentially a catechism or outline of the minimum amount that the clergy were required to know in order to instruct the laity effectively in matters of faith. The rubric employed here by de Worde was a standard rubric or introduction to manuals of religious instruction throughout the fifteenth century, although the manuals often included more material than that suggested in Pecham’s catechism.

3 - 8. According to Pecham, the laity were to be instructed in these six matters. Pecham, however, was merely articulating what Innocent III had outlined in the IV Lateran Council of 1215. Innocent III’s conciliar document, *Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, is generally considered to be the source of many similar statutes or manuals of religious instruction from the thirteenth century to the Reformation.

9 - 39. A close translation of Pecham’s fourteen articles of faith, otherwise known as the *Credo*. Here, as in Pecham, the articles are divided into two groups of seven. The first seven articles relate to the Godhead or to the Divine nature of God and Christ. The second seven relate to Christ, in particular his humanity.

40 - 91. The ten commandments possibly, but not necessarily translated from Pecham. The tract in *Exornatorium Curatorum* does not divide the ten commandments into three and seven as does Pecham, “*tria ordinantur ad deum, que dicuntur mandata prime tabule; vii vero ad proximum que dicuntur secunde tabule mandata* [three pertain to God, which we call the first table; seven pertain to our neighbour which we call the second tablet].” Also *Exornatorium Curatorum* tends to be more expansive on what is forbidden under each commandment. Unfortunately, the material included here is too general to be of help in identifying a particular source.

503 Ibid., 901.
506 Ibid., 902 – 3.
507 Ibid., 902.
91-100. A summary of the two great commandments or evangelical commandments as found in Matt. 22:37-9 and in Pecham. The translation is fairly close to Pecham. However, *Exornatorium Curatorum* omits material included in Pecham, about the nature or means of loving one’s neighbour.

101-5. Seven works of Mercy. The first six works are traditionally derived from Matt. 25:35-6. Pecham refers to Tobias 1:21 for the seventh work of mercy, but by the late Middle Ages most writers (like the compiler of *Exornatorium Curatorum*) do not make such a distinction.

106-23. Pecham’s seven virtues are much briefer than the tract included here in *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

124-41. An introductory note to the sacrament of baptism not, to date, found elsewhere.

142-51. A brief note instructing the laity on how to administer the sacrament of baptism when the newborn child is in danger of dying. The information is much reduced from what one finds in similar manuals of religious instruction. Pecham includes information on the laity baptising in chapter three of his 1281 statutes.

152-3. A brief note explaining the effect of the sacrament of confirmation. This is too brief to be located in Pecham or in any other source.

154-5. A brief note explaining the effect of the sacrament of penance which is too general and brief to identify elsewhere. The compiler includes more material on the sacrament of penance under the chapter *Extra de penitentiis* II.181ff.

156-68. *Exornatorium Curatorum* is briefer than most in its treatment of the sacrament of the eucharist. Most manuals list the spiritual and corporal benefits to be gained from either seeing or receiving the eucharist. *Exornatorium Curatorum*, however, merely states that benefits are to be gained and stresses that Christ is wholly present in the bread when the laity receive the sacrament. The wine is to help the lay person swallow the host. Such an idea was common throughout the Middle Ages and is included in chapter one of Pecham’s 1281 Lambeth statutes.

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508 Ibid., 903.
509 Ibid., 904.
510 Ibid., 904 – 5.
511 See *Sacerdos Parochialis* II. 710 - 80 or *Quattuor Sermones*, 37 – 8.
512 Ibid., 896.
513 See *Sacerdos Parochialis* II.810 - 30 or *Quattuor Sermones*, 42.
514 Here it is referred to by its incipit, “Altissimus de terra...” Powicke and Cheney, vol2: pt.2, 894 - 5.
169 – 70. A brief note explaining the benefits of the sacrament of extreme unction. Again, this note is too general to be of help in identifying a source.

171 – 5. Pecham concludes the ninth chapter of his 1281 statutes with a note on the seven sacraments in which he states that “quorum quinque ab omnibus debent recipi christianis [five of which all Christians must receive].”515 Most of the note is concerned with instructions for the sacrament of extreme unction, but it concludes with a brief note on “duo alia sacramenta [two other sacraments].”516 The Exornatorium Curatorum follows the spirit of Pecham in suggesting that these two sacraments are optional, but does not otherwise follow Pecham’s instructions on the sacraments.

176 – 80. The Exornatorium Curatorum adds a brief note, common to most manuals, forbidding private weddings. See, for example, chapter 54 of Stephen Langton’s 1213 – 4 Canterbury statutes,517 chapter 85 of Richard Poore’s 1219 – 29 Salisbury statutes,518 or Sacerdos Parochialis II.878 – 82. The identity of ‘Walteri’ is unclear. It could be Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury 1193 – 1205 or Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury 1313 – 27.

181. The Exornatorium Curatorum includes material, as it suggests in the prologue, that goes beyond the six points of faith outlined by Pecham. The phrase ‘omnis viriusque’ in the rubric is a reference to the constitutions of Innocent III’s 1215 Lateran Council from which Pecham’s 1281 statute Ignorancia Sacerdotum was ultimately derived. In order to justify his decision to discuss matters other than the six points outlined by Pecham, de Worde seems to be deliberately incorporating the ‘extra’ material under the rubric of another well-known, and essentially more authoritative, church document. As I have argued here, and elsewhere, the material included in this section of Exornatorium Curatorum is not primarily derived from the traditional English sources, such as William Pagula’s Oculus Sacerdotis (1326). Instead the compiler drew upon a work by the French theologian Jean Gerson known as Opus Tripartitum.519

515 Ibid., 905.
516 Ibid.
519 The editor first noticed the similarity between the two texts in an early printed book in the British Library Opusculum Tripartitum de Preceptis Decalogi, de Confessione, et de Arte Moriendi (BL Cc.6.4498). All citations here are from Oeuvres Completes, ed. P. Glorieux, vol. 3, Paris: Desclée & Co, 1973. A Latin edition of the Opus Tripartitum has since been uncovered in Trinity College Library, Dublin by the editor. Unfortunately the work is without a date or name of a publisher. The
182 – 206. Tracts on how to examine one’s conscience were also available in the vernacular in fifteenth-century manuscripts, but to date a Middle English source for this particular version has not been found.\footnote{182-183}

207 – 347. The following lines in Exornatorium Curatorum correspond closely to Jean Gerson’s L’Examen de Conscience selon les Pêchés Capitaux.\footnote{207-208} As is often the case in such translations, Exornatorium Curatorum is not an exact translation. Sometimes it expands each question, occasionally it omits material and sometimes it changes the order of the material from the French treatise. Exornatorium Curatorum follows the usual Gregorian order of sins: *Superbia* (pride), *Invidia* (envy), *Ira* (wrath), *Avaritia* (avarice), *Acedia* (sloth), *Gula* (greed) and *Luxuria* (lechery).\footnote{207-208}

Gerson, works within the Gregorian framework, but does vary the order slightly as follows: *Superbia*, *Ira*, *Invidia*, *Avaratia*, *Acedia*, *Luxuria* and *Gula*. *Gula* and *Luxuria* were considered to be the carnal sins and thus “the most difficult to eradicate” as they are natural or necessary to some extent for the survival of the species.\footnote{207-208} As long as these two carnal sins come last in the sequence of seven, their position in relation to one another is interchangeable. The mnemonic *siiaagl* which was used in the late Middle Ages to remember the Gregorian order of sins, probably accounts for the confusion in the sequence of *Invidia* and *Ira*, as both words share the same initial. The list of sins in both Exornatorium Curatorum and Opus Tripartitium are still Gregorian. I suggest that de Worde or his compiler adapted the Gerson order to the more familiar English sequence in *Exornatorium Curatorum*. In the following notes, the editor has attempted to provide the passages from Gerson’s work which run parallel to passages in *Exornatorium Curatorum*.\footnote{207-208}

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\footnote{182-183} Library reference is T.C.D. Press B. 1. 14. Further work on the particular edition that de Worde may have used or on the popularity of Gerson’s work in England needs to be done. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, Caxton also used a portion of Gerson’s tract on penance in at least one of his religious treatises, although that particular work survives in only one copy.

\footnote{207-208} See, for example, British Library MS Harley 4172 ff.116 – 23.

\footnote{207-208} Œuvres Complètes, 393 – 8.

\footnote{207-208} On the order of sins in the Late Middle Ages see M.W. Bloomfield, Seven Deadly Sins, (Michigan: State College Press, 1952), 72. Bloomfield establishes the Gregorian order of sins as the most popular sequence in the late Middle Ages. The Gregorian sequence triumphed over the Cassianic order which listed eight rather than seven sins as follows: *Gula*, *Luxuria*, *Avaritia*, *Ira*, *Tristitia*, *Acedia*, *Vana Gloria*, *Superbia*. Cassian’s sequence reveal, according to Bloomfield, a “monastic and ascetic point of view, with its emphasis on the carnal sins (*Gula* and *Luxuria*) as the most difficult to eradicate.” (Bloomfield, 70). The most notable difference in Gregory’s list of sins is his inclusion of *Invidia*, his merging of *Tristitia* and *Acedia* and the eventual replacement of *Vana Gloria* with *Superbia*. He too perceived a division in the sins between those that are spiritual and those that are carnal. *Luxuria* and *Gula* are carnal whereas the other five were spiritual.

\footnote{207-208} Bloomfield, 70.

\footnote{207-208} For a further discussion on Gerson’s treatise and the treatment of the sacrament of penance here see the introductory chapter to this thesis.
207 – 12. “se tu as quiz vainne louange et excellence de toy mesmes ou pour les biens de fortune comme richesse et pocessions, or et argent . . . ou pour les biens de grace comme est science ou cognoisance ou dovociou.\textsuperscript{525} The order of the gifts varies in both texts. \textit{Exornatorium Curatorum} mentions first the goods of nature, followed by the gifts of fortune and grace; Gerson begins with the gifts of fortune, then the gifts of nature and concludes with the gifts of grace.

211 – 2. “Se tu as mesprisé les aultres pour aulcun deffault des bien dessudits.”

212 – 7. “Se tu as fait aulcunes eouves pour estre loué du monde ou pour estre reputé bon ou meilleur que tu n’es, par ypocrisie et faintise, plus que pour eschever que tu ne donnasses mal exemple aux aultres.”

217 – 27. There is nothing in Gerson to correspond with this.

226 – 8. “Se tu as menti en confession pour honte ou pour paour de dire au plain ton pechié comme tu l’avoies fait, et par ainses ta confession ne a riens valu, et as pechié de nouvel. Se tu as quis excusacions en tes pechiez en disant que par les autres, comme par tes compaignons, tu avoies fait tes pechiez et leur imposant la coulpe.”

228 – 30. “Se tu as souffert par inobedienc e que tu aies esté excommunie ou que tu ayes participes avec excommuniez trop lègerement.”

230 – 2. “Se tu as trop creu ta propre opinion en mesprisant le conseil d’autruy, et par especial en matiere de la foy et de religion, quar de ce viennent heresies, sorceries et folles creances.”

232 – 8. “Se tu as mesprisé par signes ou par paroles ceulx qui se tournaient a bien et a devotion, et se tu as entreprins a fair choses par presumpcion plus que ta puissance ou science ne requeroit.”\textsuperscript{526}

239 – 58. The sin of wrath is third in Gerson’s treatise, not second as it is here.

239 – 41. There is nothing in Gerson that closely resembles this item.

241 – 4. “Se tu as gardé longuement ton courroux contre aultruy en desirant vengence, ou le grever par toy ou par aultury ou par fait ou par paroles.”

244 – 6. “Se tu as grevé aultruy en plaiz, en proces, par ire ou par hayne, plus que pour avoir ton droit.”

246 – 51. “Se par ire tu as juré et pariuéré, despité Dieu ou malgroié es jeux des dez ou des aultres.”

\textsuperscript{525} \textit{Oeuvres Complètes}, 394.

\textsuperscript{526} Ibid., 395.
251 – 2. “Se tu n’as voulu demander pardon ou amendement a ceulx lesquelx tu as courrouciez, et par especial quant ilz n’estoient de riens soubiectz a toy.”

252 – 7. There is nothing that corresponds exactly with this item in Gerson.

257 – 8. “Se tu as follement menacie en jurant chose qui n’est expedient a faire.”

259 – 70. Envy is the third item in *Exornatorium Curatorum*, but the second in Gerson.

259 – 64. “Se tu as eu joie du mal d’aultruy, comme se on le blasmoit ou s’il devenoit pouvre, ou se on le persequutoit de fait. Se tu as tristesse du bien d’autruy, comme s’il estoit bien renommé ou riche ou bel ou sachent ou bien parlent ou bien devost et religieux.”

264 – 6. “Se tu as volu querir le mal et ameindrir le bien de ton prochain par maulviase parole dire de luy, en appert ou en secret, plainement ou par fainte cautelle, comme en celant son bien ou en interpretent mal ses faitz ses paroles.”

271 – 97. Sin of Covetousness or Avarice.

271 – 2. “Se tu as riens de l’aultruy sans son gre ou sans son savoir.”

274 – 6. “Se tu as flaté fauslement aultruy pour avoir le sien ou pour le mocquer ou decepvoir.”

276 – 80. “Se tu as fait faulces marchandises et comment. Se tu as fait faulx ouvrages et comment.”

280 – 2. “Se tu as ouvré es festes ou fait ouvrir seulement pour gaignier, et se tu y as marchandé.”

282 – 4. “Se tu as commis usure et comment.”

284 – 6. “Se tu as fait et commis symonnie pour toy our pour aultruy.”

286 – 8. “Se tu as lessié a distribuer les biens et les aulmosnes que tu debvois faire pour testament ou pour office a toy commis.”

288 – 9. “Se tu as pariuuré pour gaigner.”

294 – 6. “Se tu as lessié a faire les euvres de misericorde quant necessite le requeroit, et a paier tes dismes et offrandes.”

298 – 9. “Se tu as par tristesse ou par negligence ou par vanité ou par oiseuseté laissié a ouir le service de l’eglise, par especial aux festes commandees.”

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527 Ibid., 396.
300 – 3. “Se tu as expose ton temps, et par especial les festes, en paroles ou en faitz ou en penseses de nul prouffit ou de pechïé, et par especial en empeschent le service de l’eglise par jonglerie.”

304 – 9. There is nothing in Gerson to correspond with these lines in Exornatorium Curatorum.

309 – 11. “Se tu as perdu ton temps par trop dormir ou demourer en ton lit.”

311 – 2. “Se tu as trespassez aulcuns veux et aulcunes promesses et comment.”

312 – 4. “Se tu as esté negligent de toy repentir et aussi confessser et de bien penser a tes pechiez.”

314 – 8. There is nothing in Gerson to correspond with these lines.

319 – 30. Gluttony is the sixth sin of Exornatorium Curatorum, but the seventh sin in Gerson’s text.

319 – 20. “Se tu as trespassé les jeunes commandees de l’eglise sans cause bonne ou excusacion de maladie ou aultre foiblesse.”

320 – 5. “Se tu as par trop boire ou trop mengier, cheu en yvresse ou en luxure ou en riottes ou en maladies de ton corps. Se tu as laissié a faire ce que a quoy tu estoies obligié, comme estude, labourage ou gaingnage.”

325 – 30. There is nothing in Gerson to correspond with these lines.

331 – 47. The sin of Luxury is seventh in Exornatorium Curatorum, but the sixth sin in Gerson.

331 – 3. “Se tu as pensé longuement au pechïé de la char pour y prandre maulvaise plaisance ou delectation.”

334 – 6. “Se tu as accomplié ce pechïé autrement que nature la ordonné ou contre l’onnestete qui appartient a mariage, soit ou fait soit es circonstances.”

336 – 41. “Se tu as esté cause de telx pechiez avec aultres, par paroles ou par baisiers ou par atouchemens ou par aultres signes ou par paintures deshonnestes.”

341 – 4. “Se tu as par ainsi eu aulcuns attouchemens ou frottemens desonestes sur tes membres honteux jusques avoir accompliément de l’ordre plaisance charnelle et comment.”

344 – 7. “Se tu as eu compagnie charnelle a aultruy, et dequel estat estoit la personne, s’elle estoit vierge, s’elle estoit mariee, s’elle estoit de ton lignage, en quel

528 Ibid., 397.
529 Ibid., 398.
530 Ibid., 397.
degré, s’elle estoit de religion ou sacree ou de l’ordre de prestrise, s’elle estoit consentent a toy ou refusant; s’elle estoit d’un mesme sexe aavec toy, et comment.”

348 – 71. A simple exposition on the three requirements of a good confession: confession, contrition and satisfaction. All three must be present or ‘carried out’ before the sacrament is effective. In *Exornatorium Curatorum*, while the role of the priest is not dismissed, it is the role of the penitent that receives the most attention. This is contrary to the treatment received by the same sacrament in other manuals of religious instruction such as *Sacerdos Parochialis* or *Quattuor Sermones* where the emphasis is upon the role of the sacrament and the priest rather than the contrite heart of the penitent. 531

372 – 421. A discourse on, whether having committed a deadly sin, one remains in a state of damnation until next receiving the sacrament of penance. This question was particularly important for the laity as they were only allowed to receive the sacrament of penance at Easter, unless they were in mortal danger or about to be wed. The author of *Exornatorium Curatorum* argues that anyone who examines his conscience, finds himself guilty of any sin and (i) is truly penitent, (ii) promises to receive the sacrament as soon as possible, and (iii) desires to sin no more, will be in a state of grace. This discourse is closely related to chapter sixteen of Gerson’s *Opusculum Tripartitium*. 532 Initially I thought that this might be a departure unique to de Worde and evidence of a more creative approach on his part and indicative of significant links with continental printers. However, I recently acquired a thesis that illustrates Caxton had already used Gerson’s work in his *Ars Moriendi* of 1491, a unique copy of which is found in Bodley Library Oxford Arch.G.f.9. 533 De Worde’s translation is less awkward than Caxton’s which seeks to be more faithful to the original. As we know, direct translation can be stilted. I have included extracts from Gerson’s work below.

394 – 7. “chascun chrestien tous les iours vne fois ou deux au soir et au matin a tout le moins aux festes: se retourne a son cueur & examine sa conscience.” 534

407 – 10. “La premiere verite est sire iay peche ainsi & ainsi contre vostre bonte il men desplaisit & men repens, pour que ie vous ay offense. . . . La seconde verite est,

531 *Sacerdos Parochialis* II, 796 – 809. In *Quattuor Sermones*, a long and wieldy discussion on the power of Christ moving within the heart of the person and the power of the priest and church to “unbind” the sins of the sinner is quite emphatic on the sacramental power of the priest (68 – 70).

532 EL Cc.6.4498 ff.d3v. This particular section does not seem to have been included in Gerson’s *Oeuvres Complètes.*

533 Morgan, 105 – 07.

534 EL Cc.6.4498, d3v.
sire iay bon propos & desire moyennant vostre bonne ayde moy bien garder doresnuant choir en peche... La tierce verite est, sire iay bonne vouente de faire entiere confession de mes pechez temps & lieu conuenable."

414 – 9. "Quiconque & en quelconque lieu qu’il soit & en quelconque temps dira a dieu de cœur en pure conscience sans faict & sans mensonge les dessusdicted veritez: soit assure qu’il est en estate de grace & de salut & qu’il merite vie eternelle. . . Et si telle personne incontinent mouroit sans autre confession en l’absence du prestre: ou en dormant ou autrement ou quelle fust prevenue de mor soubdaine: elle seroit finablement saluee..."

422 – 616. The remaining section of Exornatorium Curatorum is composed of a version of the Ars Moriendi. The Ars Moriendi was an early fifteenth-century treatise written to advise on how to prepare for one’s death and how best to assist at the deathbed of a friend or relative. It has not been possible to trace exactly the source of the Ars Moriendi that concludes Exornatorium Curatorium, although there are some similarities between it and the Ars Moriendi which makes up the third part of Gerson’s Opusculum Tripartitum.

426 – 32. The introduction, in both Gerson and Exornatorium Curatorum, instructs true friends to be as concerned for their companion’s spiritual welfare as for their physical welfare. "Si les vrays amys d’ung malade font grant diligence envers luy pour sa vie et santé corporelle et faillable, Dieu et charité requierent que ilz soinet plus soigneux pour son salut et vie espirituelle et pardurable, car a ce dernier besoing voit on qui vray ami est."

422 – 577. The five temptations which one faces at death are: to doubt one’s faith, desperation, anger, covetousness and vain glory. The order of the temptations provided follows the sequence of temptations found in an earlier work by de Worde,
The Craft to Live Well and to Die Well (1505). De Worde (or his translator) was translating from a 1493 French treatise *L'Art de Bien Vivre et Bien Mourir* by the Parisian publisher Antoine Vérard. De Worde may also have been influenced by the editions of Dutch publishers, Peter Os and Peter Quentell who follow this order of the temptations. He did not use either of Caxton's treatises on the *Ars Moriendi* in which 'avarice' or concern for worldly matters rather than 'vain glory' concludes the sequence of temptations. Each of the temptations is followed by a remedy. In Gerson, the five temptations are 'exhortations' or advice instructing the dying person to focus on certain faith matters: the grace of God, the gift of a 'conscious' death, the value of suffering in this world rather than the next, the need to let go worldly goods and worries.

578 – 97. A set of questions to be asked by the priest (or friend) of the dying person. These questions were traditionally attributed to Anselm and were an accepted part of the liturgy for care of the dying. The interrogations also form the second part of Gerson's *Ars Moriendi*, although he has six interrogations rather than five. The interrogations are too popular to be sure of identifying a source. However, I have provided the corresponding lines from Gerson's work for consideration.

580 – 1. "Mon amy ou amie, veult tu morir et vivre en la foy crestienne de nostre saulveur Jhesu crist, comme loyal et vray filz de sainte eglise?"

581 – 3. There is nothing in Gerson to correspond with this particular interrogation.

583 – 5. "Demande tu pardon a Dieu et a tous sains et sainctes, de tes pechies et deffauxx passex, de ce que tu as fait contre leur amour et bonte et de ce que tu ne les as pas honnoré comme tu deusses?"

585 – 7. "Pardonnes tu de bonne cuer a tous et a toutes, en l'onneur et pour amour de celuy Seigneur du quel tu attens pardon et auquel tu le demandez, et aussi tu

540 *The Craft to Live Well and to Die Well*, RSTC 72 and 788.
541 Vérard was a renowned French publisher with a particular interest in producing books for the English. His linguistic skills (or those of his translator) were, however, notoriously poor. He produced an English translation of *L'Art de Bien Vivre et Bien Mourir* in 1503. De Worde did not use this translation for his 1505 edition, instead he retranslated the 1493 edition.
543 *Oeuvres Complètes*, 405.
545 *Oeuvres Complètes*, 405.
demandez pardon et cris mercy a tous quisquelx tu as offensé et fiat iniures, de paroles ou de fait?"^546

590 – 1. "Veulx tu que si tu as riens de l'autruy qu'il soit rendu entierement selon ce que tu y peuze estre tenu et en tant que tous tes biens se porront estandre se mestier est, ou tu renonces a tous se tu ne peux satisfaire, et en demandes pardon a Dieu et aux hommes?"

598 – 616. Prayers to be said by either the friends of the dying person or the dying person bear some correlation with the prayers found in the third part of Gerson's *Ars Moriendi* or *La Médecine de l'Ame*. However, while Gerson provides prayers to be recited in the final moments, *Exornatorium Curatorium* merely provides suggestions as to where one ought to address one’s entreaties. The prayers are not included.

598 – 8. “Mon amy ou mamie, dy a Nostre Dame: Royne des cieulx et mere de misericorde et refuge des pecheurs, racordez moy a vostre filz; recommandez moy a luy; priez luy que pour vostre amour il me pardonne tout et me preigne a sa grace.”

609 – 11. “Mon amy ou amie, dy aux anges: benois angelz des cieulx soiés a mon trespas et puis medeffendes et recepvez, vous en especial mon bon ange et ma bonne garde. Puis soit sceu ou demande ouquel saint ou saincte il a heu plus de devocion en sa vie; et lors que selon sa devocion il dise: O glorieux sains, ou sainte N. je heu. . .”

^546 Ibid., 406.
Glossary to Exornatorium Curatorum

The following glossary does not attempt to include every single word found in this edition of Exornatorium Curatorum. Instead, words were selected on the basis of their peculiar spelling, their unusual application to meaning, and/or unfamiliarity. The definitions have been provided from the Middle English Dictionary and in accordance with the context of the word in the text. Bold letters have been employed to indicate the word found in the text in its variant formats as well as the root Middle English words. Italics indicate the meaning in Modern English. Line references to each word have also been provided. The following abbreviations have been included:

Abbreviations

adj. adjective
adv. adverb
aux. auxilliary
cp. compare
ger. gerund
imp. imperative
l. line
n. noun
per. person
phr. phrase
pl. plural
pp. past participles
pr. present
sg. singular
v. verb
1,2,3 first, second, third person

adinuencyons n.pl. 1.74 adinuencyon n. s. [OF & L] an idea of one's own inventing; a fabrication.

anen\-des prep. l.117 & 113. [OE on e\-fen, on -ef\-n, on-em\-n besides, etc. ME anens, onens and anemptes, onentes, anentes have the adverbeial -(e)s] with respect to, as regards, concerning.

aperely adv. l.265 clearly, distinctly; obviously.

annourny\-nge ger. l.337 anouren v. from enournen [L. inaurata gilded] to adorn, to enhance.

bap\-tym n. l.127 [OF bapt(e)(s)me, -i(s)me & ML baptismus] the act, ceremony, or sacrament of baptism.

b\-ate n. l.l.277 & 322 [From debate, probably by taking debate as the bate] discord, dissention, disagreement, or an instance of it; also litigation.

beryed p.p. l.34 (with aux. v. ‘was’ to create passive) bere v. [O.E. byr(i)gan; byr (i)gde; -byrged] to inter or entomb a corpse. bury inf. l.147.

bet\-wyxe prep. l.l.71 & 396 [O.E. betwix, - tweox, -twux(t, -tux (cp. Ofris. twiska, OS twisk) between two persons or parties; of procreation. betweyxe l.379.


catelles n.pl. l.210 n. sing. catel [AF] property of any kind; goods, treasure, money, land, income etc.

com\-m\-nity\-on n. l.71 [L. & OF] sexual intercourse.

con\-fou\-r\-med pp. l.98 confourmen v. [OF & L] to consent or agree to, acquiesce.

corre\-ck\-ynge ger. l.119 correcten v. [L. correctus p.pl. corrigere] to correct (a fault in conduct); punish (a sin, a misdeed).

crak\-ynge ger. l.214 craken v. to utter (words, speech, etc.), say; speak, talk; esp. speak loudly or sharply; boast (of sth); to brag.

custom\-ably adv. l.361 [OF] habitually, frequently.

de\-lect\-acy\-ons n. l.163 [OF & L] sensual pleasure.

dy\-fer\-re 3 pres. sing. l.378 differren v. [L. differre & OF diferer] put off.

dis\-puten v. l.452 [L. disputare & OF desputer, despiter] to engage in a formal debate with (sb.); also contradict.

diss\-senten v. inf. l.452 [L. & OF] to express disagreement, dissent, withhold consent.

du\-ely adv. ll.94, 94, 291 & 324 [from due adj. OF p.pl of devoir] as one ought to do, in accordance with duty or moral obligation; with due respect; dutifully, diligently, conscientiously. dewe adj. l.166.

dy\-s\-sol\-ute adj. ll.308 & 323 [L. dissolutus, p.pl. of dissolvere] of actions; unruly, unrestrained. dissolute l.483.
feyned pp. 1.80 (adjectival function) & 212 (with aux. v. ‘have’ to create perfect tense) [L. fingere] to simulate (a virtue, an emotion, an action, etc.)

formest adv. 1.9 first and foremost, above all, first of all.


inioyned pp. ll.313 (with ‘hath ben’ to create passive) & 367 (pp. in passive clause) [L. injungere & OF en)joindre] to prescribe or impose (penance).

inpaciente adj. ll.248 & 255 [OF] incapable of bearing or enduring adversities.

layser n. 1.481 [OF leisir, laisir, vars of loisir] an allowance of time, respite, time for consideration.

lefull adj. ll.55, 72, 174, 187, 282 & 320 [from leve] permissible, permitted, allowable, allowed.

lenyng ger. 1.283 the act or practice of lending; lenen v. to loan.

letted pp. ll.268 (with aux. v. ‘have’ to create past perf.) & 529 (with ‘that he be not’ to create subjunctive mood) prevented [OE lettan] letten v. to refrain or forbear from doing something.

lucr n. 1.280 [L lucrum; also cp. OF (15th cent.) lucr.] advantage, benefit.

manessed pp. (with auxiliary verb ‘have’ to create past perfect) l.257 manacen v. [OF menacier] to threaten (sb., an animal) with suffering of present or future danger or harm.

mayntenaunce n. 1.244 [OF] support, backing; abetting a wrong or wrongdoer.

myscallen v. to call something by a wrong name; to revile.

ordynate adj. l.138 [L. ordinatus, ppl. of ordinare] of law, acts, or gifts of god: appointed, determined.

parysshens n.pl. 1.4 parysshen n.s. members of a parish, a parishioner.

peraunture adv. 1.481 [OF] perhaps, per chance, possible, maybe.

plee n. l.245 [OF plait, plet, plai] contention or complaint.

promoten v. [L. promotus, ppl. of promovere & OF promoter] to enhance the fortune of (sb.), help;

purveien v. [OF previr] to think beforehand, consider, reflect.

recommande inf. 1.612 (after ‘let’ to create hortative mood). recommenden inf. [ML recommendare; also cp. of recommender, var. of recomander] to commit (sb. to
another) for care or protection; entrust sb., one's own soul to God, the saints, divine mercy.

rehersed pp. 1.407 (adjectival function) rehersen v. [OF] to mention, list, enumerate; before rehersed above-mentioned.

reken vp 1.396 2.pres. pl. [OE gerecenian] rekenen v. to tell, speak; speak of (sth.), mention, tell; speak (words), utter; declare (sth. in a certain language);


roume n. 1.224 [OF reaume, reiaume, realme, riame, vars. of roiaume] a spere or an area of influence, realm.

suffrayne adj. ll. 406, 563 & 567 [OF soveraine] of something, a quality, virtue, an act, office, etc.: principal, paramount, supreme, chief; highest, greatest, most notable, foremost of its kind.

sute n. 1.245 [OF suite, siute, sieute, seute] a lawsuit, a legal action undertaken to redress a wrong.

syngularyte n. 1.232 & 233 [OF] personal gain or advantage.


thrusty adj. 1.104 [WM] suffering from thirst; parched; dehydrated.

wete inf. ll. 56, 93, 184, 199 & 394 [OE witan] to impute or to know wetylingly adv. 1.70 knowingly.
Appendix 1

William de Walcote, his books and their buyers.¹

Attention has been drawn to a coterie of clergy attendant at the court of Queen Isabelle, in the years before and after her death, through a list of books published in vol. 22 of The Library.² The books listed were sold in 1358 in order to meet the debts that a wayward clerk, William de Walcote, owed to Isabelle and later to the king.

Appointment of Nicholas de Walcote, William de Neuton and Thomas de Chilten to receive certain goods of William de Walcote, clerk, which the King has caused to be arrested for debts wherein the said William is held to the King’s mother Queen Isabel, to enquire of all other goods of the same not yet arrested and of any sums of money due to him, to arrest the said goods and debts and sell the debts, so that the queen may be answered of the money thus arising in part satisfaction of what is due to her.³

The books indicate a well-educated cleric: written in Latin, canonical and theological in focus. They include several missals and bibles, Raymond of Pennafortes’ Summa de Penitentia, Thomas Chobham’s Summarum de Confessorum, a collection of Sermons by Bernard of Clairvaux, decretals, commentaries upon the decretals, as well as the Oculus Sacerdotis by William Pagula. The inventory and the list of buyers is of immense value; it contributes to the ongoing research into the nature of readers and reading in the Middle Ages.⁴

Prof. Scattergood has made tentative suggestions about the identity of some of the buyers in his article.⁵ A detailed search of the royal records for the period c.1340 – 1400 and of British Library MS Cotton Galba.E.xiv has provided further information on the

¹ An earlier version of this article was originally delivered at the Borderlines Postgraduate Conference, Trinity College Dublin, 2002.
³ Calendar of Patent Rolls 1358 – 61, 73.
⁴ Consider for example, how Carol Meale’s research among wills of the gentry or Vincent Gillespie’s study of Carthusan Monasteries has enhanced our understanding of reading and readership among women and monastic communities respectively. Carol Meale, Women and Literature in Great Britain, 1150 – 1500. (Cambridge: CUP, 1993). Vincent Gillespie, “Cura Pastoral in Deserto” De Cella in Saeculum. Ed. Ml. Sargent. 161 – 81.
⁵ Scattergood, 39.
identity of most of these buyers. In short, the list of buyers reveals a close-knit circle; a coterie of well-educated clergy more engaged in temporal than in spiritual affairs and closely connected to Isabelle’s house. Many of the buyers came from the gentry rather than the nobility, were educated at university and found employment as clerks in the houses of the nobility, royalty, or at court. Their patrons supplied them with wealthy benefices. They were obviously educated and talented men, but seemed to have used their talents to further their own personal ambitions rather than to take responsibility for the souls entrusted to their care.

De Walcote, the original owner of the books, is a fascinating study. Although his name is unusual, his family background remains uncertain. He may have come from the landed gentry family listed in the 1297 Yorkshire Lay Subsidy Lists in which a William de Walcote and Robert Plaiz are noted to have paid 659li 16s 2d. He was educated at Cambridge, although the two entries for the name ‘William de Walcote’ in Emden’s Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge are confusing. The earlier entry states that he entered the Grey Friars in 1342 and in the same year he was granted a licence to hear confessions in the diocese of Ely. A degree is not mentioned. The second entry places him as a scholar in King’s College in 1350, nominated by Queen Isabelle, and later admitted as a fellow there in 1351. He resigned this post in 1352 when he entered the Austin Friars. It is possible that both entries refer to the same clerk. After all, it was not unknown for the clergy to cite a convent as a patron in support of their request to be ordained. A clerk had to have evidence of patronage or of a benefice before being ordained by the bishop, otherwise the bishop became responsible for him. It is also possible that de Walcote found the Franciscan order too humble and confining for his

6 British Library MS Cotton Galba E.xiv contains the household accounts for Queen Isabelle, the mother of Edward III. It is a manuscript that has not received much attention to date. The entries record the day-to-day running of her house from October 1357 to her death in August 1358. Michael Bennett, attempting to explain the lack of interest in this manuscript, notes that the manuscript is not listed in the general catalogue in the British Library, St. Pancras (Michael Bennett. “Isabelle of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s”. The Age of Edward III. York Manuscript Conference Proceedings 1999, (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 192–215). I would add that the condition of the manuscript is also an impediment. As a consequence of the Cottonian fire, the pages – and writing - are shrunked and charred, although with the help of a magnifying glass the entries are fairly legible.


8 A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500, (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), 610.
ambitious and learned talents and changed to the more liberal order of the Austin Canons.⁹

Either way, de Walcote of the book collection listed above was undoubtedly a member of the Queen's household; many of his appointments were granted at her request. In 1343 de Walcote was given a benefice (the gift of the abbot of Ramseye at the request of Queen Isabelle) to the value of 30 marks with cure of souls, or 20 without.¹⁰ The entry reveals that this was not his first benefice, it demands that he resign as Rector of Pudding Norton. De Walcote lived most of his professional life as a civil servant at the Queen Mother's court. He occupied several prominent positions: 'the Keeper of her Wardrobe'; 'Attorney'; 'Receiver' and most influentially 'General Receiver' until 1358.¹¹ Until his downfall in that year de Walcote was a successful clerk, and like similarly successful clerks he was paid in prebends or benefices.¹² One of the more prestigious church appointments was his appointment to the Archdeaconry of the East Riding in the Church of St. Peter York, granted to him by Royal provision in 1352.¹³ De Walcote, by all accounts, was a succesful and wealthy clerk.

De Walcote was also a rogue, and like many other well-to-do rogues eluded punishment for his roguery for a long time. To the end of his days, de Walcote (no matter how unlawful his behaviour) was able to muster up enough support to be granted

⁹ There is a also another entry which makes reference to a William de Walcote who was an Augustinian Friar. It is not a very favourable entry although it does echo the behaviour of other entries for the de Walcote who worked as a clerk of Isabelle. In that particular entry, de Walcote is pardoned for assisting a certain Richard de Dalton in committing a crime that is not made explicit, but was serious enough to have de Dalton executed (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354 – 58), 102.
¹¹ For the reference to ‘the keeper of her wardrobe’ see Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters III 1342 – 62, 418. For reference to the receivership, see Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350 – 54, 381. For reference to his role as attorney to the queen see Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350 – 54, 246. British Library MS Cotton Galba E.xiv. For further references to letters from William de Walcote, the Queen’s General Receiver, see Edward Bond, ‘Notices of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, drawn from an account of the expenses of her household’ Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity. Society of Antiquaries, London, 35: 453 – 69, 468.
¹² Parson of Esinden in the diocese of Lincoln (Calendar of Register of Papal Letters III 1342 – 62, 444); Provost of the Chantry of Cotherstock (Feet of Fines for the County of York from 1327 – 47, 1- 20 of Edward III, York Archaeological Society Record Series, 42, (1910): 180 – 81). Provision of a canonry of Lincoln, with reservation of a prebend (Calendar of Register of Papal Letters III 1342 – 62, 418); presentation of William de Walcote to the church of Kenlys, in the diocese of Meath, in the King’s gift by reason of the voidance of the bishopric of Meath (Calendar of Fine Rolls 1347 – 56, 348); rector of Gartington (Geddington) in the diocese of Lincoln, value 100l. a canonry of Lincoln with expectation of a prebend (Calendar of Register of Papal Letters III, 1342 – 62), 479.
¹³ Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350 – 543, 83. See also Fasti Anglicanae. 6. 22.
royal pardon for his crimes. There are several entries in the royal records in which he is accused of raiding other parsonages. On one occasion his mother is included in the list of offenders, alongside his brothers. In another entry, he is accused of attempting to falsely inherit property that rightly belonged to the king. Despite these accusations, he continues to enjoy the privileges of a clerk in the king's service and, in 1356 he was granted a prebend at the free chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster. According to Pantin, this prebend was established in 1348 by Edward III as an ecclesiastical 'pocket borough', a means of rewarding hardworking clerks of the king.

Not all offences however, were forgivable. Unfortunately for de Walcote, despite his many benefices and despite the fact that he was a professional 'money manager', he fell into debt. He eventually owed Queen Isabelle 600 livres, the nature of his debts are unclear. Perhaps during his term as general receiver he pocketed some of the money that rightly belonged to Queen Isabelle. As general receiver he would have been responsible for gathering the incoming revenue for the household and of redistributing it according to the needs and expenses of the house. Whatever the cause of his debt, the first signs of his personal trouble are found early in March 1358 when he resigned from both the canonry of Lincoln and the prebend of Carleton and Thurleby. Later that month the king appointed his two brothers and two others to arrest de Walcote, to seize his goods and to enquire into other means by which he might pay the debt outstanding to the Queen Mother.

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not de Walcote was immediately arrested and imprisoned for his debt. In August 1358 he was involved in a raid on the household of the late William Ros of Hamelak. Later that month he is accused of stealing cattle,

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14 1348 July 4 he and his brothers, Walter, son of Adam Godwyne of Lutterworth, Agnes late the wife of Geoffrey de Walcote and others broke into his close and houses of Wykyngston, parson of the church of Luttersworth and took some of his goods (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348 – 50), 163.
15 Calendar of Fine Rolls 1347 – 56, 331.
16 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354 – 58, 417.
17 Pantin, 30.
18 In an entry for November 12 1361, his brothers guaranteed that they would pay the remaining 100l. 13s. 4d still remaining in arrear of 600l (of William de Walcote) for whom they were willing to be bound, (Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 –4), 132.
20 Cited in f.n.3 above.
21 Calendar of Patent rolls 1358 – 61, 151.
horses and pigs from Thomas de Stapehlo. These raids were obviously part of de Walcote’s attempts to raise funds, as was his decision to sell property to Queen Isabelle. An entry in the British Library MS Cotton Galba E.xiv lists four horses, a carriage and his manor in Hatfield as goods to be sold for the sum total of one hundred and 33li, 6s and 9d by his two brothers and Thomas de Chiltern. There are also several entries pertaining to expenses paid to those involved in negotiations or in carrying letters to and from Isabelle and John de Wynewyck, keeper of the privy seal. A certain John de Romsey, for example, on the nineteenth of March was paid 6s 9d for carrying letters between the queen and the chancellor on the matter. Thomas Chiltern was paid 12s for going to Ely and Hereford to carry out negotiations in relation to de Walcote.

There seem to have been various and involved attempts to raise money. The king, in August 1360, intervened in church affairs to prevent Archbishop John Thoresby of York and Bishop Thomas of Norwich from withholding de Walcote’s benefits. De Walcote had given his bond to the king for a sum of money to be raised, apparently, through his benefices in each diocese. A similar notice, requesting the warden to free de Walcote, was issued on the same date to the warden of Flete Street Prison. Ravensere, an executor of Isabelle’s will, put pressure on the Abbot and convent of Pippewell to pay a sum of 83li 8s and 8d. The convent originally owed money to de Walcote but, after Isabelle’s death, the debt passed to the king. It was obviously in the king’s favour to grant a pardon or at least a stay on de Walcote’s arrest so that de Walcote could raise money. In October 1358, for example, an entry notes that the king ordered William de Shareshull and his fellows to delay arresting de Walcote until further notice.

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22 Ibid.
23 BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.41r.
24 BL MS Cotton Galba E. xiv f. 38v.
25 BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.39v.
26 Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 64
27 Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 131.
28 Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 10 - 11. They had already paid 20 livres of that sum to the king’s clerk on this matter, Richard de Ravensere, and made an arrangement to pay the remaining sum of 63 lires. 6solidos 8d. over the next three years. They were pardoned of the remaining 5 marks on that occasion and of 40 the remaining marks still owed in 1363 on account of their extreme poverty. A Mass was to be said and a candle weighing two pounds to be burnt at the Mass and on the octaves of the Assumption for the soul of Isabelle in exchange for the pardon of the remaining debt. Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 - 64. 396.
To William Shareshull and his fellow, justices appointed to hold pleas before the king. Order to continue until Easter in the same state in which they now are all indictments affecting William de Walcote, clerk, without making any process or execution thereupon, and to supersede the taking of his body for that cause, as the king has admitted William to his favour, upon condition that he shall satisfy the administrators of the goods of Queen Isabella for as much as he shall be adjudged by the king’s council to be debtor towards the said queen.29

On the same day a similar order to “supersede” or delay the arrest of William was sent to the sheriff of Hertford. Notices, granting de Walcote with protection. Similar orders were granted until the end of his life. In an entry for May 1368, de Walcote is granted protection until the quinzaine of Trinity in order that he might raise funds.30 De Walcote also held on to his benefice in St. Stephen’s Westminster until 1363 when he was replaced by another king’s clerk John de Hermesthorp.31

Despite these many favours and pardons William de Walcote was eventually arrested. An entry for 1360 notes that he was in Flete prison awaiting acceptance of the bond put up by seven clerks, mercers, and merchants from Lichfield and London.32 The final entry for de Walcote was a pardon “for his outlawries in the hustling of London for non-appearance before the justices of the Bench.”33 At that time, he had once again returned to Flete Prison. He is not mentioned in the royal records thereafter. Those final entries suggest that de Walcote spent the rest of his ignominious life fleeing debtors and chasing money - hardly a fitting end for a talented cleric.34

Three of the buyers of de Walcote’s books enjoyed illustrious careers as king’s clerks. At least two of those clerks were directly involved in de Walcote’s downfall. Wynewyk, the first buyer’s name on the list of books, was probably one of the most successful clerks of the fourteenth century. Tout uses phrases such as “epoch-making”

29 Calendar of Closed Rolls 1354 – 60, 118.
31 Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 307.
32 Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 102.
33 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367 – 70, 371.
34 The entries grant pardon to de Walcote for “homicides and felonies whereof he is indicted or appealed” and grant protection for him as he seeks to raise money for his debts as there are “fears he may be hindered in such suit by certain enemies (Calendar of Close Rolls 1360 – 64, 442 and 464);” Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367 – 70, 101, 215 & 371.
and “exceptional” to describe his career in the chancery. He came from the landed gentry although his father was dispossessed for failure to appear in a court case. The return of the goods by the king in 1339 is a measure of Wynewyk’s ability and success. Wynewyk enjoyed many benefices, both royal and papal. One of the most notorious of his appointments was his treasurership of York for which the king had to sue for right to appoint Wynewyk, although the Pope finally agreed. Not only was Wynewyk a gifted clerk of the court, he was also a successful business man both on behalf of the king and on his own behalf. The apex of his career was neither in Chancery nor in the Church but in his efforts at the treaty of Bretigny in 1360. So prominent was he in those negotiations that the French, in their record of the treaty, incorrectly refer to him as the chancellor of England. He was one of the chief negotiators on that occasion along with William Tirington, another buyer of de Walcote’s books. On his return from that assignment Wynewyk retired from the court. His name does not occur on the payroll after the 12 July, indicative perhaps of a sudden death.

Wynewyk’s connections to the house of Isabelle are clear from the account book of the last year of her life, found in British Library MS Cotton Galba E. xiv. According to that manuscript he was a frequent visitor to Isabelle’s house, visiting her at least six times between January and August 1358. He was present in the house when Isabelle died on the 22 August. Bond writes that he is uncertain of the identity of Wynewyk. He correctly guesses, however, that he may have been a member of the king’s court and “was perhaps the medium employed for managing Isabelle’s affairs. He visited her and

35 Much of the information here following has been provided by Tout, *Chapters in the Administratve History of Mediaeval England*. vol. 5, 35 & 96. Apparently, Wynewyk’s father was accused, but acquitted, of murder.
36 Tout, 5:35
37 For a detailed list of Wynewyk’s benefices see Emden *Biographical Register of University of Cambridge*, 63 - 64.
38 According to the treaty of Bretigny, Edward III had to cede his claim the throne, break any alliances with the Flemings and “agree to perpetual peace and alliance with the valois of France.” In return, the French would cease to build an alliance with Scotland, conceded significant parts of their territory to Edward and promised Edward 3,000,000 gold ecus (Clifford J. Rogers “The Anglo-French Peace Negotiations of 1354 – 60 Reconsidered”. *Edward III*. 193 – 213). In this article, Clifford argues contrary to “current orthodoxy” that the treaty of Bretigny was a major coup for Edward III.
39 Tout, 5: 36.
41 Bond, 458, 460, 462. BL Cotton Galba Galba MS E.xiv ff. 8r, 15r, 16r, 20r, 24v.
Michael Bennett confidently identifies Wynewyck as the keeper of the privy seal and Isabelle's informant on matters pertinent to the negotiations between France and England.

On 10 May she received news of the agreement reached between the King of England and France from three separate sources: John Winwick, Queen Philippa, and the marshal d'Audrehem. In her enthusiasm, she gave no less than 10 marks each to the two English messengers, and 40s to the marshal's squire. In the evening Winwick joined her for dinner, presumably bringing her blow-by-blow account of the final round of negotiations.

Although, there is mention of another Wynewyck in the royal records, a brother of the John and also a clerk at court, it is most probably John Wynewyk who is the buyer mentioned in the list.

The matter of a troublesome clerk pales in significance beside the affairs of a state at war with its neighbour. Yet, it is hard to believe that de Walcote's financial troubles were not also part of John Wynewyk's supper-time conversations with Isabelle. De Walcote and Wynewyck were colleagues, both holding key positions in the Archdiocese of York: de Walcote as Archdeacon at St. Peter's York and Wynewyck as treasurer. Wynewyck would have had a vested interest in the case.

It is most probable that Wynewyck was one of the purchasers of de Walcote's books. Wynewyck's final testament is evidence of his interest in clerical education for poorer priests in the fourteenth century. He may have bought the books for this purpose. It is highly unlikely Wynewyck, a man already at the height of his career, purchased de Walcote books for his own private reading. A cleric of his rank would already own or have had access to such books. The books he purchased from de Walcote must have formed part of his overall scheme to establish a college of civil and canon law for the less well-off clergy. For 121s 4d he bought a breviary, missal and saints' legends, enabling him to furnish the library of his proposed college or to provide some of the younger and poorer scholars with books necessary for their study in the cure of souls. During his life

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42 Bond, 458.
43 Bennett, 222 – 23.
44 William de Wynewyck communicated with Isabelle on "the conclusion of an agreement between the two sovereigns of England and France (Bond, 460)."
time he supported scholars by setting up a fund giving them 8d each and in his will he requested and arranged for this fund to continue. His schemes, however, went one step further. In 1358, the same year in which de Walcote’s books were sold, he purchased an advowson “with the object of conveying to Oriel College for the maintenance of scholars who should study canon or civil law.”

His will also made provision for the erection of a separate hall for that purpose, although the hall was never built.

William Tyrington was a professional acquaintance of Wynewyck. Both were members of the English party who travelled to Bretigny for negotiations with the French. Tyrington also purchased books from de Walcote’s library. He bought a book by Peter de Blois which lacks an exact title and which cost him 3s 4d. Tyrington was a successful clerk of the privy seal from 1350 – 1370, as revealed by his many benefices. His career is further testimony to the clash of interests evident in the lives of many of these chancery clerks. He spent much of his time in Avignon fighting for his rights to a benefice. Like his colleague, Wynewyck, he too was concerned with the cause of clerical education as evidenced by his bequeathing a book of canon law to New College. Evidently not one of those books bought at the de Walcote sale.

The second clerk directly involved in de Walcote’s downfall and the third buyer on his book list is Nicholas de Louth (d.1383). De Louth was a member of Isabelle’s household when she died in 1358 and was probably the clerk who drew attention to the collection of books in the first place. He was cofferer in Isabelle’s household and following her death was involved in preparing an inventory of her possessions. He too came from a family of landed gentry. The Louth or de Luda family held lands in Lincolnshire in the thirteenth century. His family served as mayors, bailiffs and

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45 Emden, 2064.
46 Tout, 37.
47 Emden, 2064.
49 See Emden, 1925.
50 Ibid. See also W. H.C. Bliss, ed., Calendar of Entries in the Papal Register relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Petitions to the Pope. 1. 1342 – 1419 (London, 1896) where an entry notes that Tirrington is accused of “intruding into the church of Schippedham in the diocese of Norwich” by the Papal Auditor, John Haberti, 378.
51 It is listed in Emden as Liber Decretorum with 2° folio (1925).
52 A.S. Harvey, “Cottingham Church and its heraldry” York Archaeological Journal, 40, (1962): 265 - 97. See also Tout, 5: 248. BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.38' mentions that Nicholas de Louth, cofferer. He is also mentioned as an adviser to the queen on the matter on f.41'.
Nicholas de Louth enjoyed an illustrious career at the chancery. From Isabelle’s household he was appointed to the treasury. He benefitted from several prebends such as: Rector de Mold in the diocese of St. Asaph; a canonry of St. Waolfstram, Abbeville in the diocese of Amiens; rector at Cottingham Church; canonry and prebend of Horton in Salisbury and a canonry at St. John’s Beverley. The prebend of St. Asaph was attached to the treasureship of Isabelle - another example of benefices being used as rewards for faithful stewardship to the regent of the land. In fact, de Louth was so busy in 1362 at the time of his presentation to St. Asaph by the Black Prince that he was unable to attend and had to be instituted by proxy. He occupied the benefice of St. Asaph until 1383; although he must have done so in absentia as he was also the king’s treasurer in Ponthieu and Montreuil at that time. Evidence of his travel is found in the licence granting him permission to travel with six men and six horses in 1367, including permission to cross the seas from Dover.

De Louth bought five books from de Walcote’s collection that would have been suitable reading for any cleric engaged in pastoral activity. They are: a portable breviary; the sermons of St. Bernard; Summa Confessorum by Thomas de Chobham; Raymond de Pennaforte’s Summa de Penitentia and a collection of the gospels. There is no record of de Louth making contributions to clerical education as did Wynewyk or Tyrington.

It has proven difficult to establish the exact identity of two of the buyers of de Walcote’s books: Mestre W. Boulge and Sanekyn Clerk. The three remaining buyers - Thomas de Rous, John de Kendale and Robert Corby - are identifiable as clerks in Isabelle’s household. Thomas de Rous and John de Kendale were not as prominent as

53 Tout, 5: 248
54 Records state that “in his capacity as an exchequer official, he received attorneys in Westminster in 1362” (Harvey 265 – 97). He is described as the “King’s treasurer” in Calendar of Register of Papal Letters 11342 – 1419, 489 and 492 - 93.
55 For the canonry at St. Asaph see Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters 11342 – 1419, 363. For the canonry in the French diocese of Amiens see Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters 11342 – 1419, 381. For details on the canonry at Cottingham Church including his contribution to the church building there and a description of his tomb see Harvey. York Archaeological Journal, 265 - 97. For notice of the canonry at Horton see Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters 11342 – 1419, 314. For notice of the canonry at Beverley see Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters 11342 – 1419, 415.
56 Harvey, 265 - 97.
57 Ponthieu and Montreuil were lands regranted to Isabelle. De Louth, as a prominent member of her household would have been both a suitable candidate for the treasureship and in a position to canvass for the position.
58 Harvey, 265 - 97.
59 Scattergood, 238 - 39.
Wynewyk, Tirrington, de Louth or de Walcote, either in the chancery or in the house of Isabelle. Yet, they provide further examples of the secular occupations of many of the educated clergy. The origins of Thomas de Rous is uncertain. It is quite likely that he is Thomas de Rous, son of William de Rous, whose inherited advowson the king seized in 1349 or 1350 because Thomas de Rous was too young to occupy it. Thomas de Rous also worked at the court of Isabelle as her almoner. He was one of the 33 clergy who received 20s as a New Year's gift from the Queen in 1358. In 1353, at the request of Isabelle, he was granted a rectory at South Wotton to the value of 8 marks with an expectation of a prebend. He also seems to have enjoyed a prebend in Hereford diocese from 1366. The only other entry of note is that found in the Calendar of Papal Registers in 1353 when he, de Walcote and de Kendale are listed as receivers of indults granted at the request of Isabelle. Although there is no evidence that he attended university, de Rous bought five books from the de Walcote list (for the sum of 133s 4d) that would have required on his part some education in canon law and Latin. The books he bought were: William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*; two collections of decrees and a book of sentences.

De Kendale is listed among the clergy who received a gift of 20s from the Queen in January 1358. He bought one book, a set of constitutions on the Mass. In 1353 he is registered as the Queen's Chaplain in a request for a second prebend as a canon of Southwell. The entry states that he was already rector of Ripton Regis. From there, he seems to have been promoted to the king's household as a clerk. In 1354 he was presented as parson to the church of Salisbury in an exchange of benefices with another king's clerk, Thomas de Tweng. In 1375 and 1377 he was still receiving tithes from his

60 *Fasti Parochiales* vol. 6.
61 Bond, 469. BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.35v
62 *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters III 1342 – 62*, 478. Thomas de Rous is mentioned in his role as almoner several times in BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv. Gifts of money were distributed on certain feast days such as All Souls' Day, St. Stephen's Day. See ff.33';34'; 35'; 36';
64 *Calendar of Papal Register III*. 1342 – 62. 508 An indult is a licence granted to the person named, freeing them to choose his/her own confessor rather than having to attend the local curate as required by Canon Law.
65 Scattergood, 238 - 39.
66 BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.50v.
67 Scattergood, 238 - 39
rectorship in Ripton Regis. There is a much later entry (1409) in a Yorkshire will that is probably not de Kendale. In the entry a certain John de Kendale is to receive twenty livres. De Kendale would have been at least seventy-nine at the time of the will, a very old man by medieval standards.

In relation to the final buyer on the book list, Scattergood cites several references in the royal records to a Robert de Corby, king’s yeoman. However, it is more likely that de Corby - the buyer of a bible from de Walcote’s collection - was the same Robert de Corby listed in Isabelle’s New Year gift list of 1358 alongside de Kendale, Rous and de Louth. Robert de Corby was also a clerk at Isabelle’s household and indirectly involved in the de Walcote debacle. He received payment for expenses on more than one occasion in the month of June, usually for advice given in relation to that matter. His identity outside of Isabelle’s household is less easy to establish. I have not come across any references to prebends or benefices in either the Papal Register of Letters or the royal records.

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69 Memorials of the church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, 2, Surtees Society, 77. (1996): 134 & 212. 70 Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York, 3, Surtees Society, 45, 50 71 According to an article by Boyle on the provision for clerical education by Boniface VIII, many students for the priesthood were de jure rectors and de facto students in a university, ‘Since these ‘Cum ex eo’ rectors were presumed by the constitution not to be subdeacons at the time of the granting of the licence, they could not, in any case, have engaged in full cura animarum for some time. In fact, since they did not have to become priests until a year after the end of their studies, they could be admitted to a living as early as the age of twenty one, a year, that is, before the canonical age for the subdiaconate, and some four years short of the age required for the priesthood. Strictly speaking, a rector was supposed to be twenty five years of age at least at institution, according to III Lateran and Licet Canon, but here again there was a legal fiction in the broader interests of the cura animarum. The primary end of Cum ex eo (and of Pecham’s proposals at Reading in 1279) was to provide opportunities of education for the parochial clergy before ordination to the priesthood and before they shouldered the full burden of the pastoral care; and this was to be achieved by allowing likely young clerics to be rectors juridically but not in practice so that their parishes could pay for their course of studies. The admission of a young man of twenty one to a parish church on the understanding that he was to be released for studies did not really transgress Licet canon, nor did it nullify his institution.” Leonard Boyle, “The Constitution “Cum ex eo” of Boniface VII: Education of Parochial Clergy”. 263 – 302 (277). But, while de Kendale may have been granted a benefice prior to ordination, under the Cum ex eo licence, de Kendale would only have been allowed one benefice while enjoying the licence to study. Thus, he must have been ordained by 1353 when he received the second prebend to Southwell. Assuming that de Kendale was the ‘required age’, he was at least 25 years of age 1353.

72 Scattergood, 239.

73 BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv ff. 40" and 52".

74 BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.50"

De Walcote and the buyers of his books were educated, well-to-do clergy. Most of them were absentee curates or, at best, pluralists. The books were written in Latin were legal and theological in focus and remained in the hands of this group of elite clergy. The book sale is evidence of the limited circulation of texts since all of the identifiable buyers were involved in Isabelle’s household at the time of her death. The books remained in the hands of the ambitious, elite few, who were more concerned about matters of state than the spiritual affairs of the church and her people.
Appendix 2
A Sentence of Cursing in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285.76

After the IV Lateran Council of 1215 the local clergy were required to instruct their parishioners, at least four times in the year, in the articles of the sentence of cursing. The clergy recited a list of offences, “so that nought for our defaute no man nor woman falle therein.” The offences varied from sins against faith and the church to sins against society and one’s neighbour. Among the offences were acts of violence against clergy, acts of sacrilege, withholding tithes, believing in witchcraft, abandonment of children, theft and usury. To be guilty of even one of these offences resulted in total exclusion from the church (and the sacraments) while alive and denial of a Christian burial. Unless they repented of their misdeeds, the cursed were doomed to an eternity in hell.

I doo you to vnderstonde that cursynge is suche a vengeaunce takyng that hit departith a man from the blisse of heuen, fro howsel, shirft and al the sacramentis of Holy Chirche and betake hym to the deuyl and to the paynes of helle wythouten ende but yf he haue grace of hym to amende.78

A recitation of a list of offences was not enough. The priest - invoking the Trinity, Our Lady, Saints Peter and Paul and other significant saints - was obliged to curse anyone who might be guilty of these offences.79

By þe auctorite of owre lord Ihesu Cryst, and of hys moder owre lady Seynt Marye, and of alle þe holy feleshype of heuene, and by þe auctorite of Seynt Petre þat was þe furst pope of Rome, and by þe auctorite of alle popes þat haue be syþ and by alle þe commune consayl of alle holy cherche of þe p[ro]uynce of Canturbury whe denounseþ and shewþ for a-corsyd and sequestred fro þe lyþtes of holycherche.80

76 I am grateful to Prof. Oliver Pickering and Dr. Kari Anne Rand (who is currently indexing the Pembroke manuscripts for the Index of Middle English Prose series) for their comments on a draft version of this article.
78 Ibid.
79 The number and variety of saints or ‘fellowship in heaven’ varied from curse to curse.
80 Burney 356, f. 53'.
As only those who were members of the church were guaranteed salvation, the sentence of cursing, pronounced with vehemence and colour, must have struck horror in even the most rebellious of souls. In one particular curse, the overreaching effects are noteworthy:

\[ \text{Pe ye be\text{ô} a-cursyd in towne and in feelde, etynge and drynkynge, slepyne and wakynge, goynge, syttyne and stondynge.} \]

The curse extends to every aspect of one’s life.

Lest the accused not understand the full impact of the words being recited, the priest also extinguished a candle, thereby symbolising the sinner’s exclusion from the light of heaven.

\[ \text{And as } \text{by canle lisyf heere ly}3\text{t and quenchep here in 3owre swy}3\text{t, so be hy departyd from } \text{by ly}3\text{t of } \text{by blysse of heuene tylle } \text{by ey come to amendement and make satysfaccyon for here a-cursyde dedys.} \]

According to the manuscript evidence the sentence of cursing was not a fixed formula. More than one curse and several lists of offences have survived, usually attached to a longer text such as a manual of religious instruction intended for the clergy or the laity. Pickering, in his seminal article classifies over forty different versions of the sentence into nineteen different groups. It is the first attempt to list and “say something about the inter-relationships” of these sentences. Catalogues too often overlook the complexity of the sentence with a simple entry such as “Sentence of Cursing,” consequently he argues for the inclusion and identification of the sentence of cursing in the *Index of Middle English Prose.*

It is with the help of Pickering’s article that I was able to identify a sentence of cursing in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285.

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81 Ibid., f.54v
82 Ibid.
83 O.S. Pickering, “Notes on the sentence of cursing in Middle English; or a case for the index of Middle English prose,” *Leeds Studies in English n.s.* 12 (1981): 229 – 44.
84 Pickering, 230. The *Index of Middle English Prose* includes reference to specific sentences. For example, Sarah Ogilivie Thompson refers to the Pembroke sentence in her notes on New College Oxford, 92 in the *IMEP VIII,* p. 73 and Pickering and O’Mara refer to her note in the *IMEP* when indexing Lambeth Palace MS 172 in the *IPMEP XIII,* 14.
Group 10 of his classification includes three manuscripts: British Library, MS Arundel 130, British Library, MS Burney 356 and Oxford, MS Trinity College E.86.\textsuperscript{85} According to Pickering, these three manuscripts “textually appear to stand mid-way between” the two preceding groups: group 8 which is the York sentence of cursing and group 9 which he calls R.\textsuperscript{86} Group 8 or the York sentence is preserved in five manuscripts and in one printed edition.\textsuperscript{87} Pickering notes that “the printed edition and these five manuscripts appear to preserve practically the same text of the Sentence.”\textsuperscript{88} A relatively modern edition of the sentence was published by Henderson in 1875 for the Surtees Society.\textsuperscript{89} Group 9, or R, is found in Quattuor Sermones, a manual of religious instruction printed by Caxton in 1483–4, and in Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A381 ff.1v–2v.\textsuperscript{90} The sentences contained in both of these treatises are textually very close.

The texts in group 10 are similar enough to be identifiable as a particular recension of the York sentence, but do not show the same cohesion as the York and R manuscripts. British Library MS Burney 356, for example, contains an item on simony not found in any other version of this sentence. British Library MS Arundel 130 omits an item on heresy and money-clippers found in the other two manuscripts of this group.\textsuperscript{91} Notwithstanding, I wish to add a fourth manuscript to Pickering’s three manuscripts in group 10: Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 (ff.58v–60v). It contains a version of the sentence of cursing similar to that found in British Library MS Burney 356 (ff.53v–54v), although not identical. Occasionally it shows closer affinity to the Trinity E.86 version of the sentence. The identification of the Pembroke sentence with group 10 depends not only on textual similarities between the Pembroke sentence and the Burney, Arundel and Trinity sentences, but also on how the Pembroke sentence differs from the York and R sentences, particularly where the York and R sentences exhibit unique features.

\textsuperscript{85} Pickering, 237–8.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 237. See also Ibid., 235–7.
\textsuperscript{87} For a list of manuscripts and the printed edition see Pickering, 235.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 236.
\textsuperscript{90} Quattuor Sermones, 81-5.
\textsuperscript{91} British Library, MS Burney 356 f.54v. I have not seen British Library MS Arundel 130, but am here dependent on Pickering’s comments.
Like Burney, Pembroke includes an item on abandoning children (32) that does not occur in Oxford MS Trinity E86 or British Library MS Arundel 130. Neither is this item a feature of R, but it is found in the York sentence. Both the Pembroke and Burney sentences mention the difficulty of not knowing whether the child is christened or not, and refer to 'weyletes' or 'crosse way' which the York sentence omits.

Also alle wommen that here chyldron in cherche porches oþer in weyletes oþer in feeldes leggep, or leuep y-crystnede or now3t y-crystnede wher-fore þe beþ y-called fondelynges.\(^4\)

Alle þo þat leye or doþ leye her children by ony crosse way or at þe chirch dore or in any oþer vnleful place to be founde of oþer men nat knowynge whetuer þei be crystened or noon.\(^5\)

Also alle they that wyfully lese theyr children, or leuys them in felde, or in towne, or in chirche dore, or in any other place, and leuys them socourles.\(^6\)

The Pembroke and York sentences, on the other hand, agree in their use of the nominative third person pronoun "þo" or "they" instead of "women" and in their positioning of the main verb "leye" or "lese" immediately after the subject. In the Burney sentence the main verb occurs than after the indirect object. The phrase "or in any other place" is also common to both the Pembroke and York sentences. In the light of these similarities to the York and Burney sentences, the Pembroke sentence appears to stand midway between both.

The Pembroke sentence is quite clearly not a version of the York sentence. R and the three manuscripts in group 10 of Pickering’s classification share a feature not found in the York sentence. Both R and Group 10 mention specifically the province of Canterbury in the item on tithing (20), whereas the York version does not make mention of a particular province. The Pembroke sentence agrees with R and Group 10, against the York sentence, in naming the province of Canterbury in that particular item.\(^7\) The item on incendiaries (40) unique to the York sentence is omitted from the Pembroke sentence.

\(^{92}\) The number in brackets refers to the item listed in the table appended to this article.

\(^{93}\) weyletes n.pl.: a place where two or more roads meet, junction; also, a street, byway (Middle English Dictionary).

\(^{94}\) Burney 356, f.54\(^\prime\)

\(^{95}\) Pembroke 285, f. 59\(^\prime\)

\(^{96}\) York, Henderson, 121.

\(^{97}\) Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 f.59\(^\prime\).
and item 4 on tithes does not follow the lengthier York version. In other words, the Pembroke sentence does not have any of the items unique to York.

Neither is the Pembroke sentence a version of the R sentence; it is free of items unique to R such as the longer item on tithing (55) or the placement of the item on witches (52). In the York and Group 10 sentences, the item on witches follows the item on heresy (26) whereas in R it occurs much later, after the item on the consistory courts (51). Pembroke agrees, in this case, with the York and Group 10 sentences. Similarly Pembroke agrees with the York and Group 10 sentences, against R, in its treatment of the three items pertaining to the king’s commandment on cursed men (19 – 21). In R, the points are dealt with as three separate items. In all other versions of the sentence the points are combined into one item.

Also alle that houses, maners, graunges personas or vicars, or of any other men of holy Chirche ageynst theyr attorney wyll any maner of good mouable or onmouable away beres, or with strength or wrongfully away drawes or wastis: of the whiche cursynege they may nat be assossed tyl they haue made restituccion to them that the wronge is done to.99

Also all tho that houses, maners, graunges of parsons, vycars or any oþer men of holy chyrche aȝen here wylly or any maner godes and mebles or onmebles a-wey bere with strength or wrongfylly a-wey drawe or wast of whychy cursing ȝe may not be asossed tyl ȝe haue made satysfaccion to whom the wrong was doun.101

Alle þo þat houses maners or granges of parsons or vicars or eny oþer men of holy chirche aȝeyn hur wille, eny maner good mevable or unmevable a-way beren wit

Also alle þey þat owȝt of houses of maneres, grawynges or gardynes of archbysshopes, bysshopes, abbates, pryores, parsones, vycares, or any oþer man of holy cherche aȝen here wylle or aȝen here torney ys wylle any manere gowd meuable or onmewuable a-wey bere wyþ strenkkeþe or wronglyche a-wey draweþ or wastþ; of whych corsynþ þey moy nouȝt be a-soyled for þe haue þaȝt þe mekeþ satysfaccion to hym þat þe wrong was y-do to.100

And al tho that holde howses, maners, graunges of persons, vycars or of ony oþer man of Holy Chirche ageyn theyr wylle or theyr attorneys wylle. And alle tho that ony maner goodes

98 This longer item in R, is essentially a Middle English translation of Boniface’s statute on tithing. For a Latin version of Boniface’s statute on tithing see F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 795 – 7.
99 York, Henderson, 120.
100 Burney 356, f.53v.
101 Trinity E86, f.45r–v.
However, despite the similarity in the division of this item or items on the king’s commandment, Pembroke does not share the extra material found only in the Burney sentence. The Burney sentence expands the subject matter to include “gardens” and specific titles of “men of holy chirche” such as “archbysshopes, bysshopes, abbates, pyroresses” as well as “parsones and vycares.” The Pembroke sentence, in this case, remains closer to the Trinity E.86 sentence.

One final comment on this item illustrates again the closeness of the Pembroke sentence to both the Burney and York sentences. The Pembroke sentence is the only other version to include the word “restitucion” in the final clause of this item. However, it also uses the word “satisfaccion” which is found in the R and Group 10 versions of the sentence. This is indicative, perhaps, of a version that stands midway between the York sentence and the R and Group 10 sentences.

Pembroke is never in full agreement with any single version of the sentence in group 10. However, the Pembroke sentence generally shows more agreement with the Burney sentence over the other manuscripts in group 10, although this sometimes appears more of a conflation (sometimes confusion) of items, than a straightforward agreement. The Burney sentence is the only version to list the item forbidding the spilling of blood on hallowed grounds (8), immediately after the item forbidding the purchase of letters in secular courts (7) and just before the item condemning those who disturb the peace of the land (9). In the York, R and Trinity E.86 versions of the sentence, the item on disturbing the peace of the land (9) precedes the item on spilling blood (8). The Pembroke sentence initially follows the order of the Burney sentence, by placing the item on the spilling of blood (8) immediately after the item on the purchase of letters (9). However, it then

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102 Pembroke 285, f.59r
103 Quattuor Sermones and Rawlinson A381.
104 A suitable expansion for a manuscript that was probably written for a religious community.
omits completely the item on the disturbing of the peace and the items condemning those against the king's right (10 – 12). This is not the first time that the copyist or scribe of this second half of Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 has omitted material in this way. For example, he conflates the sixth and seventh commandment in the copy of Pecham's syllabus found in this manuscript on f.50', possibly through eyeskip. It is not surprising to see him once again omit two or three items on similar material in the Sentence of Excommunication.

The inter-relationship between the Pembroke and Burney sentences would therefore be fairly well established if it were not for another expansion unique to the Burney sentence. In the item forbidding war against the king's peace, the Burney sentence includes a note against war on the peace of the land.

Also alle those that are ageynste the Kynges right. Also all those that the warre susteynes ageynst the Kynges peas wrongfully.\textsuperscript{105} And alle tho that ben ageyn the right of our lord the kynge. And al tho that were susteyne agaynst the kynge wrongfully.\textsuperscript{106}

Also alle þat beþ a-þen þ ky[n]gges ry3t of þe reme. Also alle þat were susteyneþ wrongfulliche a-þen þe kynge, or þe peas of þe londe.\textsuperscript{107} All-so all tho that the rightes of the kynge be aþen. Als[o] all tho þo þat were susteyne aþen the kynges pes wrongfulliche.\textsuperscript{108}

Alle þo þat were sustene aþeyn þe kynges peas wrongfulliche.\textsuperscript{109}

The Pembroke sentence, despite beginning to follow the order of material in the Burney sentence, agrees with the other versions of the sentence against the Burney sentence by not including the expansion on the "pees of the londe."

The Pembroke sentence has a unique feature. It omits the item on violence against clergy from its usual place (25) (either after the item against witches as in Burney, Oxford Trinity E.86 and the York sentence (27), or after the item forbidding stealing goods from a church in the R sentence (25)) to include it after the item on disruption of Christian consistory courts (52). There is no discernible explanation for this change in

\textsuperscript{105} York, Henderson, 118.  
\textsuperscript{106} Quattuor Sermones, 82.  
\textsuperscript{107} Burney 356, f.53'.  
\textsuperscript{108} Oxford Trinity E86, f. 44'.  
\textsuperscript{109} Pembroke 285, f.58'.
the order of material. The absence of a conclusion in the Pembroke sentence is, however, also a feature of the Arundel sentence.\footnote{Pickering, 237.}

A final note on the manuscripts in which the Pembroke and Burney sentences are found confirms the inter-relationship of these texts and highlights the importance of further study on the sentence of cursing. The sentence in the Pembroke manuscript and the sentence in British Library MS Burney 356 form part of a religious instructional manual for the clergy known as \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis}. This is a late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century manual of religious instruction intended to assist the less literate clergy in their pastoral duties. The manual, although it begins with the rubric from Pecham’s 1281 statute \textit{Ignorancia Sacerdotum}, is largely derived from William Pagula’s Latin manual (or a later version of it) of the early fourteenth-century, \textit{Oculus Sacerdotis}. \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis} includes instruction on the \textit{Pater noster}, \textit{Ave Maria}, fourteen articles of faith, ten commandments, seven works of mercy, seven principal virtues, seven deadly sins and the seven sacraments. Most, although not all, editions of the treatise also include a sentence of cursing and a set of bidding prayers. The sentence of cursing usually found with \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis} is a much more complex and lengthy sentence than that under discussion here.\footnote{This the first sentence (ff. 50’ - 53’) and is included in Pickering’s article under group 2, p.230.} Why does the scribe-compiler of Pembroke 285, unlike other scribes or copyists of \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis}, choose the shorter sentence of excommunication to accompany his copy of the manual?

The answer could be a simple matter of availability or accident, rather than an act of deliberate selection. \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis} generally circulated independently on one quire, or two at most. The sentence of cursing was one of the last tracts in the manual and, therefore, most prone to being accidentally lost. It was also vulnerable to censorship, as in the case of Cambridge University Library, Dd. 12. 69. The Cambridge manuscript contains the ‘standard’ form of \textit{Sacerdos Parochialis}, but the sentence of cursing has been ripped out.\footnote{What would have been f.34 in this manuscript.} One can just about read the beginnings of words on the remaining stubs of the leaves. Why, when or by whom the sentence was removed remains unclear. It was most likely the act of a Lollard or early Protestant.\footnote{The sentence of cursing has been crossed through also in the Pembroke Manuscript.} In any case,
whether the sentence was lost through censorship or accident, it is quite possible that the 
sentence of cursing was already missing from the exemplar and the copyist merely 
supplemented with whatever sentence was available to him.

Equally the replacement of one sentence of cursing with another might also be 
quite deliberate. One might even call it an act of editing. The sentence of cursing that 
normally accompanies Sacerdos Parochialis is long and wieldy, embedded with Latin 
references to Canon Law. As such, it would be difficult material for 'illiterate' clergy, 
without Latin or a degree in Canon Law, or for the laity. Pickering describes the York 
sentence, of which R and group 10 are obviously relations (if not recensions), as follows:

In comparison with some of the forms of Sentence described above, the York 
Manual's is a plain text, comprising a simple list of some fifty of the usual 
offences. No authorities are cited, and the formal curse at the end is given in 
Latin.\textsuperscript{114}

Pickering is correct. The York, R and group 10 versions of the sentence are simpler and 
more 'vernacularised' than the sentence of cursing that normally circulated with Sacerdos 
Parochialis. As such, it would appeal to those who continued to believe in the use of the 
vernacular as a means of education in matters of faith, despite the restrictions imposed by 
Arundel in 1409.\textsuperscript{115} It might also appeal to a lay reader, ignorant of Canon Law. We 
already have evidence of a conscious compiler, or editor, in Cambridge MS Pembroke 
285. He supplements the usual form of the Pater Noster with a longer version, includes a 
sermon not found elsewhere, and excises the usual tract on the seven deadly sins to 
include another known as Every Christian Man and Woman.\textsuperscript{116} The whole of Sacerdos 
Parochialis, including the supplementary material, is written in the same fifteenth-
century hand. The codex is not the work of *ad hoc* collections of quires or tracts, but suggests deliberation and editorial choice, perhaps for a literate, lay audience.

Without further evidence, it is difficult to be sure of the compiler's intentions. Was he merely filling space with an available exemplar? Was there a local interest, or theological or political agenda, associated with particular sentences?\(^{117}\) Or was he deliberately choosing a simpler treatise to make a work more accessible and user-friendly for his potential reader. In order to build a clearer picture, further sentences needed to be uncovered. Although Pickering notes the tentative nature of the work begun in his article, nonetheless his attempts at classification have provided a solid basis for building on his observations. The sentence of cursing usually feature in more recent volumes of *Index of Middle English Prose*. Gone are the days of the the general description usually found in catalogues. These more accurate descriptions will contribute to our understanding of the circulation, inter-relationship, distribution, production and readership of the sentence of cursing and, consequently, of books in the late Middle Ages.

\(^{117}\) In conversation with Mr. Brendan O'Connell, he noted the shorter item on tithes (4) and suggested that this may be indicative of a Lollard perspective on the sentence of cursing. Given the Lollard overtones in the *Pater noster* of this particular version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (ff.60\(^{7}\) – 62\(^{7}\)), this is quite possible.
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Prologue</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Break freedom of church</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Deprive Church of its right</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Withold tithes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 To 'let' freedom of church</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Do sacrilege</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Purchase letters in secular cts.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Draw blood in church</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Disturb the peace of the land</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Be against the King's right</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sustain against the King</td>
<td>Sustain again King or peace of land</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Robbers or manslaughterers</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Against the King's charter</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Lie in court in cause of matrimony</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Lie to disinherit man or woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 False advocates</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Defame someone maliciously</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Disturb a presentation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Despise the king's commandment</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Prevent capture of cursed man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Purchase deliverance of cursed</td>
<td>Conflates 21, 22</td>
<td>Conflates 21, 22</td>
<td>Conflates 20, 21, 22</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Receive profit to disturb</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Take houses of religious etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Take movable goods</td>
<td>Conflates 24, 25</td>
<td>Conflates 24, 25</td>
<td>Conflates 24, 25</td>
<td>Conflates 24, 25</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Take goods violently from church</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Maintain heresy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Against witches</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Violence against clergy</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Support sarasens</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Heathens</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Women who procure abortions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wrongful father</td>
<td>Wrongful father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Women who ‘fadyr’ wrongfully</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Procure abortions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Women who abandon children</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Falsify king’s money</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Copy/ cut money</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Falsify pope’s letters</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Buy or sell by false measures</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 Falsify the king’s standard</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Block a will</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 Falsely swear against another</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Incendiaries</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Robbers or reevers</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Withhold falsely goods of another</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 Disturb the peace</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Thieves</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>To disturb peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 False conspirators</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 False complaints in court</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Withhold tithes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48 Give away tithes to pay a debt</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Prevent church courts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Simony</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Against witches</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Violence against clergy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Heretics</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>False usurers</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Withholding of tithes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Conclusion.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Latin: Yes Latin.
Appendix 3

Table of Ornaments in de Worde (A, B, E, F) and Notary (C) editions of *Exornatorium Curatorum*.  

**Key to table.**  

∞ Four interlocking circles  
ęki Intertwining ribbon  
♣ A stem of two trefoils  
♦ Three intertwining diamonds  
*: flower of six petals
| \(c1^r\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
| \(c2^r\) | \(\infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
| \(c2^v\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
| \(c3^r\) | \(\infty \infty\) | Missing | \(\infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
| \(c3^v\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | Missing | \(\infty \infty\) | none |
| \(c4^r\) | \(\infty \infty \infty\) | \(\infty \infty\) | Missing | \(\infty \infty\) | none |
| \(c4^v\) | \(\infty \infty\) | Missing | \(\infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
| \(c4^f\) | \(\infty \infty\) | Missing | \(\infty \infty\) | none | \(\infty \infty\) |
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**Electronic Resources**

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