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***Sacerdos Parochialis* edited from British Library MS Burney 356**

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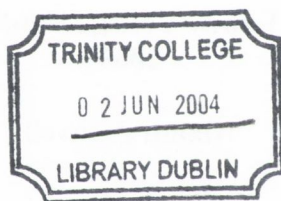
***Exornatorium Curatorum* edited from *Cambridge Corpus Christi*
*Sp.335.2***

**Ph.D.
Trinity College Dublin
2003**

Niamh Pattwell

2 Volumes

Volume 2



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Volume 2

PART 2. Edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum*

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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-h*, 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 ‘&’, ‘p^t’, ‘p^u’, w^t’ 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 p^e, 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.
- J. **RSTC 10634** [1532?] Thomas Godfray. Templebar, London.
- K. **RSTC 10634.3** [1552] Robert Wyer. Sign of St. John the Evangelist, in St. Martin's Parish, in the Duke of Suffolk's rentes, besyde Charynge Cross.

DESCRIPTION OF INCUNABULA OF EXORNATORIUM CURATORUM

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

[1516?]

Wynkyn de Worde⁴²⁵

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.⁴²⁶ 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.⁴²⁷ 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:

1. John Fisher, *The Sermon made agayn the pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther*. Wynkyn de Worde, [1521?]. RSTC 10984.
3. Complaynt of the Soule. London: De Worde, 1519?. RSTC 5609.5
4. Richard Rolle, *Explanationes notabiles*. Paris: Remboldt, 1510. Adams R677.
5. Erasmus, *De Contemptu Mundi*. London: Berthelet, 1532?. RSTC 10470.8

The title of *Exornatorium Curatorum* appears on f.a1^r underneath which is found an image measuring 85 x 95mm.⁴²⁸ The plate used to create the image was obviously cracked down the middle, between the two figures.⁴²⁹ It depicts Christ

⁴²⁵ Wynkyn de Worde was printer in Westminster 1492 - 1500 and in London from 1501 - 1535. He was assistant to Caxton and was his successor in Westminster (A. W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 - 1640*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976 - 91), 3: 187.) See also Gordon E. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, Bibliographical Society, (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1905).

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 a¹, d¹, h¹, s³, v³, w², y² 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 consyence* [1500?] (neatly joined halves); *Dystruccyon of Jherusalem* [1508?] (left half only); *Peniteas cito libellus*, [1510?]; *Simon, the anker. Fruyte of Redempcyon*, 1514; *Peniteas cito libellus* [1515?]; *Simon the Anker. Fruyte 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 (a1^v) 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^r 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^r. 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: a2^v, a4^v, a5^r, a5^v, a6^r, although a space is left for a capital 'y' on f.a6^r that was later inserted in regular rather than majescale 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^r (after the introduction); a2^v (after the articles of faith); a4^r (after the commandments); b5^v (after the form of confession); b6^r x 2 (after the introduction to the temptations); b6^v; c1^v; c2^r; c2^v; c3^r (after each of the temptations); c3^r (after advice to those who care for the sick); c3^r (after advice on trust in one's faith); c4^r x 2 (concluding paragraphs). Spaces of 2 lines separate sections as found on f.b4^r (after the seven deadly sins) and f.b4^v (after the sacrament of penance). Rubrics, or section headings,

⁴³⁰ This letter is repeated in each of the de Worde editions and in the Julian Notary edition. See RSTC 10628, 10629 or 10631, 10631.5 or **B**, **C**, **E**, and **F** below.

⁴³¹ The systems of punctuation and abbreviation outlined here are common to all of the de Worde editions and to the Notary edition.

⁴³² A distinctive feature found in all the de Worde editions, but which is also common to the Notary, Pepwell (RSTC 10632 or **G**), Treverys (RSTC 10633.5 or **I**) and early Pynson (RSTC 10633 or **D**) editions. Perhaps, the printers did not own a piece with a suitable capital 'y'.

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^r (introduction); a4^v (sacraments); a5^r (baptism); a5^v (eucharist); a6^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^v; b1^v x 2; b2^r; b2^v; b3^r. 'Lechery' is separated by 2 lines above the word and one line above on f.b3^v. On f.a4^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^v to suggest the end of a paragraph on the remedy against the third temptation.⁴³³ Spaces of 2 lines separate sections of the treatise as on f.b4^r (after the seven deadly sins) and f.b4^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.⁴³⁴ 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^r x 2; a2^v; a5^r x 2; a5^v x 4; a6^r; a6^v; b5^v; b6^r x 2; c1^r; c2^r; c2^v; c3^r x 2; c3^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.⁴³⁵ The upper panel depicts a sun at the centre complete with face and

⁴³³ 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.

⁴³⁴ 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 *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, *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.

⁴³⁵ 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, *Devices of Early Printers*, (London: Grafton & Co., 1935), 576. See also R.B. McKerrow, *Printers and Publishers Devices in England and Scotland 1485 – 1640*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1913), 7 – 9. See figures 19, 20 and 21 in particular.

surrounded by 2 larger stars and 20 smaller stars (11 left; 9 right).⁴³⁶ 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.⁴³⁷ 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.⁴³⁸ 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^r or on f.a2^v 1.5 'is' is replaced by 'in,' and on f.a2^v 1.7 'or deedly synne' is replaced by 'or in deedly synne;' f.a.3^r 1.26 'it' is crossed out. In some cases, whole phrases have been crossed out and replaced with new ones. For example, on f. a.3^r '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^r 1.4, 'For these' is replaced by 'perfore' perhaps 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 Bamburgh collection.⁴³⁹

B or RSTC 10628 or BL MS Lansdowne 379⁴⁴⁰

[1518?]

Wynkyn 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.⁴⁴¹ 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.4^r – 9^r 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: 38^v (six lines only); Hand C: 41^r; Hand D: 41^v.

The remaining two hands make up the bulk of the manuscript which is, in fact, two separate manuscripts bound together: Hand A 10^r – 40^v and Hand E 42^r – 88^v. 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.42^r – 88^v, 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 inscription 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.3^r *Oratio D. Johannis Damasni*. Seventeenth-century prayer in Greek, written only on recto side of folios.
f. 8^v blank.
3. ff.9^r A Sermon on the Lord's Supper. **Incipit:** Fryndes yowe schall vndyrstande þat þe gloryus apostyll saynt Powll counsell euery crysten man and woman at all tymes as nede requires whan þat [þey] schall reseyye theyre blessud sacrament
f.13^r blank
4. ff.14^r A Sermon for Easter Sunday in Middle English. **Incipit:** Fryndes yowe schal vndrestonde that hyt is acostumde in plasys of worschyp and in many oper dyuers plasys, that, at þys solempne fest of Estren,
f.17^v blank
5. ff.18^r 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.23^r – 35^v *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 euery curate hauynge cure of soule shall shew and declare vnto his
parysshens foure tymes in the yere, the xiii. artylces of the faythe. . .

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

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

ff.38^v - 39^r blank.

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

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

11. f.40^v 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 bylle was founde in an
ald boke how many yere it was paste, that God hadde made the world.

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

13. f.52^r 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 þe forsaid prayer.

14. f.54^v 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.56^v A sequence of ejaculations to Our Lord. **Incipit:** Miserere mei
domine et exaudi oracionem meam.

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

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

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

19. f.72^v 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

with my mouthe

20. f.74^r 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.76^r 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 petitionem. . .
22. f.80^r 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.81^v 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.84^r A prayer. **Incipit:** Domine Ihesu Christe dulcissime qui beatam genitricem
tuam gloriosissimam virginem mariam . . .
25. f.84^v 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.85^r 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.85^v 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.⁴⁴² 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.

⁴⁴² This measurement was supplied by Ms. Breay of the British Library in private correspondence.

The treatise begins immediately on f.a2^r. 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.⁴⁴³ Such a table should make the identification of editions of further copies of *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 *Exornatorium Curatorum*, will reveal that there are occasional spelling differences between the two editions.⁴⁴⁴ For example, on f.a2^r line four of **B**, 'the' of **A** has been replaced by 'p^c'. On f.a2^r 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^r line 10, **B** concludes the line with 'vnder' where **A** concludes with 'vn'. On f.a2^v 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^v 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,

⁴⁴³ See appendix 3.

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 4^{to} Rawlinson 276⁴⁴⁵

1519

Julian Notary⁴⁴⁶

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.⁴⁴⁷ 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^r above an image measuring 68 x 97mm. The plate depicts Christ on the left, standing and preaching to the twelve apostles.⁴⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁴⁵ Title page or a1 is missing.

⁴⁴⁶ Julian Notary was a printer, bookseller and bookbinder in London, 1496 -97, in Westminster 1498 - 1500 and again in London in 1503(?) – 23 (Pollard & Redgrave, vol. 3: 128).

⁴⁴⁷ F.S. Isaac *English and Scottish Printing Types 1501 – 35; 1508 – 41*. Bibliographical Society, (London: OUP, 1930), Fig 27. Letters used are S¹, v², w² (capital) (1507), w^{5a}.

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 Lyue Well*, RSTC 972, which might explain Notary’s decision to choose it for his title page. *Exornatorium Curatorum* and *The Arte or Crafte to Lyue 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?).

blank scroll.⁴⁴⁹ 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 a1^v.

The treatise begins on f.a2^r. 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: a5^v; b6^r; c4^r. The position of the ornaments is not exactly the same as in **A** and **B**. The table in the appendix best illustrates the differences.⁴⁵⁰ 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 a3^r line 5 **C** reads 'va-' where **B** reads 'vay'. On f.a4^r line 18, **C** reads 'nece' where **B** reads 'neces'. On f.a4^v 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.a4^r line 21 of **C**; the 'l' that is the last letter of that line

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 ‘fal’ of ‘false’ has slipped to the next line below so that the last word of line 22 on the same page reads ‘wrongfullyl’.

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.⁴⁵¹ 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.⁴⁵² 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.⁴⁵³

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 *Exornatorium 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.⁴⁵⁴ A full page contains 30 lines of type; only type 70 textura was used.⁴⁵⁵ 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^r erroneously marked a3^r. 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^v.

A new section is indicated by a capital letter of 10 x 8mm (the depth of three lines of text) as on a3^r, a5^r, a5^v, a6^r although a space is left for a capital 'y' on a6^v 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^r (after the introduction); a4^v x 2 (after the seven deadly sins and the seven virtues respectively); b2^v (after the seven deadly sins); b3^v (after the form of confession); b4^v (before the temptations). Each of the temptations is separated by one or more spaces as on folios: b5^v and b6^v (the first temptation and second temptations are followed by 2 blank line spaces); b7^r x 2 and b8^r. A single line space separates the remaining sections of the 'temptations' on folios: b8^v x 2 and b9^r. Line spaces of 2 separate sections of the text as found on f.b5^r (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^v. 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^r (sacraments); a5^v (baptism); a6^r x 2 (eucharist and matrimony); a6^v (and the section on penance and temptations).

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 w⁴. The type was used in 1509, 1516, 1521. The form of variable letters used in 95 textura and also found here is s², w^{5c}, y² and v³.

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: a7^r; a8^r; a8^v x 2; b1^v; b2^r; b2^v. a2^v (after the articles); a4^r x 2 (after the ten commandments and two great commandments respectively); a4^v x 2 (seven works of mercy and seven virtues respectively); a5^v 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. Em-
 prynted by Rycharde Pynson prynter
 vnto 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.⁴⁵⁶ 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.⁴⁵⁷ Surmounting the shield is a knight's helmet framed by some scrolling vines. A bird, probably a finch, is atop the helmet.⁴⁵⁸ 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.

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).

E or RSTC 10631 or BL C. 37 d. 8

[1520?]

Wynkyn de Worde 4to

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.⁴⁵⁹ 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^r. 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.⁴⁶⁰ 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.⁴⁶¹ 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.⁴⁶² 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.

⁴⁵⁹ Isaac Fig.2. The variant letter forms are: a¹, d¹, h¹, s³, v³, w², y¹. Isaac comments on s³, 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. W² was recut in 1519, but continued in use to the end. Y¹, 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 Gospel* (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^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.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^r. 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^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.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^r line 4, the

⁴⁶³ Hodnett, page 176, fig. 446 of Wynkyn de Worde.

⁴⁶⁴ See 369 below.

word 'second' is spelled 'secounde' in **B** and 'seconde' in **E**. On line 5, 'the' of **B** is reproduced as 'þe' in **E**. On line 12, 'thy' of **B** becomes 'the' in **E**. Letter forms also vary in the two treatises. On line 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**.⁴⁶⁵ 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.⁴⁶⁶ The panel is completed with a series of flowers and trefoils. There are notes from an early sixteenth-century hand on folios: b2^r; b4^v; c4^r. The handwriting on the final page of the edition says that the text was printed at London by Wynkyn de Word, dwellyng 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 raigtne of ourmoste 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 Ecclesiasticall 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 Conuocation holden at Dvblin 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 haue the gydyng 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 housholdyng 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 of 6 folios. A full page contains 32 lines of type; only type 95 textura was used.⁴⁶⁷ 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^r 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 of six petals without foliage.⁴⁶⁸ 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 v³, W² is used as a capital form and generally throughout the treatise. However w^{5a} 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. Y³

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^v the same plate as that found on **A** and **E** is reproduced.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^r 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^v (articles of the faith); b5^v (on lay confession); b6^r x 2 (introduction to temptations); c1^v (before the remedy for the third temptation); c2^r (after the remedy for the third temptation); c2^v (after the fourth temptation and remedy); c3^r (advice to carers of the sick). Spaces of 3 blank lines are used on folios b4^r (after the 7 deadly sins) and b4^v (after the form of confession). Otherwise, single line spaces to indicate different sections are found on the following folios as in previous editions: a2^r (after the introduction); a4^r (two great commandments, seven works of mercy); b6^v; c1^r; c1^v (after the second and third temptation and the remedy for the third temptation respectively); c3^r; c4^r 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^v (2 blank line spaces) (sacraments); a5^r (baptism); a5^v (2 blank lines above the rubric) (eucharist); a6^r 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.

⁴⁶⁹ See 318 – 9 above.

Variations in spelling, or abbreviations, are visible in the section on 'Substantive variants' that follows the edition.⁴⁷⁰ **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 a2^r line 10, for example, **F** concludes with 'vnder' rather than with 'vn' as does **A**. From line 16 of a2^r, 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: a3^v, a5^r, b3^v, b4^v, b5^{r-v}, b6^v, c1^r-c3^v.

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 þ^e Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde.'

The device concluding the text is highly complex and lavish.⁴⁷¹ It measures 70 x 94mm. It first appeared in 1520 and is described by Davies as "a direct plagiarism of Froben-Holbein."⁴⁷² At the centre of the device is Caxton's mark accompanied by the initials 'W' and 'C' at either side.⁴⁷³ This mark, a rose, and a thistle below the mark are the main differences between the Froben-Holbein plate and de Worde's plate.⁴⁷⁴ 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.⁴⁷⁵ 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.⁴⁷⁶ Both the Sun and Moon have faces. At either side of the two figures are two renaissance-

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 c4^r, 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.3.8.⁴⁷⁷ The only known owner was William Hunter, an eighteenth-century antiquarian.

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

[1525?]

Henry Pepwell.⁴⁷⁸

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.⁴⁷⁹ 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

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.⁴⁸⁰

This edition follows **D** in bearing the slightly different title of *Exoneratorium Curatorum* rather than *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.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.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^r is clearly identifiable, suggesting that the ink was not quite dry when the pages were closed. Similarly, the plate found on f.a1^v is visible on the title page.

The treatise begins on f.a2^r. 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

⁴⁸⁰ Isaac, fig.48. The variant letter forms are a¹, d¹, pointed h, s³, v³, w², w³, y².

⁴⁸¹ See fig. 2280 of Pepwell in Hodnett, 433. 1530 is tentatively suggested as a date for this particular plate.

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^r.

Capital letters, (10 x 7mm) are used to indicate a new section of the text on folios: a2^v (ten commandments); a4^v (sacraments); a5^r (baptism); a5^v (eucharist); a6^r (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.6^r 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: a4^r x 3 (after the ten commandments, two great commandments, seven works of mercy respectively); b6^v; c1^r (after the first two temptations); c1^v (before the concluding paragraph of the third temptation); c3^r (between the two paragraphs setting out advice to those who are caring for the sick); c3^v (after the five questions); c.4^r x 4 (concluding paragraphs). Blank spaces of 2 full lines are used to indicate breaks between sections on the following folios: a2^r (after the introduction); a2^v (after the articles of the faith); b4^r (after the seven deadly sins); b4^v (after the form of confession); b5^v (introduction tot the temptations); b6^r x 2 (before the first temptation and the remedy to the first temptation respectively); c1^v (after the third temptation); c2^r (before the fourth temptation); c2^v (before the fifth temptation); c3^r (between the two paragraphs setting out advice to those who are caring for the sick). Spaces of 3 lines are used on f.b4^r(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: a2^r (2 lines below the rubric)(introduction); a5^r (baptism); a6^r (two lines below rubric) (marriage); a6^r (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: a6^v (pride); b1^r (wrath); b1^v (envy); b2^r (2 blank lines below the title word)(covetousness); b2^v (2 blank lines above the title word)(sloth); b3^r (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: a4^v a5^v; b3^v respectively. The book

lacks decoration. Only half-line space rather than full-line spaces are used to indicate section endings in the following folios: a5^r (after the first sacrament); a5^v x3 (after the third, fourth and fifth sacrament respectively; c1^v (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 curatorum. 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.c4^r 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.⁴⁸³ 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.⁴⁸⁴ This same device is reproduced again on the reverse of the folio (c4^v) with an earlier device modified slightly from a device used by Jacobi. This particular device is 53 x 75mm and is of the Trinity.⁴⁸⁵ 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,

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.a3^r 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 Treveris⁴⁸⁶

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: c1^v, c2^r, c3^v. Only type 81 bastard was used in the book.⁴⁸⁷ 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.⁴⁸⁸ 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.

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.⁴⁸⁹ 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^r 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^r (sacraments); a6^v (baptism); a7^v (eucharist); a8^r 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^r; b2^v; b3^r; b3^v; b4^v; b5^v. 'Lechery' is separated from the text by three line spaces above and two below the title on f.b6^r. A half-line space or smaller indicates a section end as on the following folios: a2^r (after the introduction); a2^v (after the first seven articles); a3^r (after the ten commandments); a5^v x 2 (after the seven works of mercy and first three virtues respectively); a7^r (after the fifth sacrament); b2^v (half-ways through the sin of wrath); b4^r (half-ways through the sin of covetousness); b5^r (half-ways through the sin of sloth); b6^v (after the seven deadly sins); b7^r (after the second thing to remember for a good confession); b7^v (after the form of confession); b8^r (during the note on lay confession); c3^v (after the remedy for the second temptation); c4^r x 2 (after the third temptation and the first paragraph on the remedy for the third temptation); c4^v (after the second paragraph on the remedy for the third temptation); c5^v (after the fourth temptation and remedy); c6^r x 2 (after the concluding remarks on the fifth temptation and the advice to those caring for the sick respectively); c6^v (before the five questions).

⁴⁸⁹ I am grateful to Claudine Davie, curator in Rare Books in the British Library (private correspondence, 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.a3^v l.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 8o

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.3^v 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^r. 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.a5^v.

Capital letters indicate the beginning of a new section as on folios: a5^r; a6^r; a6^v; a7^v; a8^v; b1^r; b1^v; b2^v; b3^r and b3^v. Punctuation is indicated by capital letters, full stops, paragraph marks and slanting strokes to separate phrases. Rubrics are indented as on the following folios: a1^v (introduction); a5^r (sacraments); a5^v (baptism); a6^r (eucharist); a6^v 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: a7^v; a8^v; b1^r; b2^v; b3^r; b3^v. Only once, on f.b1^v (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^r (the first seven articles); a4^v (after the seven works of mercy and the first three virtues); a7^v (after the first paragraph on pride); b1^v (before the final paragraph on envy); b3^r (before the final paragraph on sloth); b3^v (after the first paragraph on lechery); b4^r (after the seven deadly sins); b5^v x 3 (during the note on lay confession); b6^r (before the form of confession); b7^v x 3 (before and after the final two paragraphs on the remedy to the first temptation); b8^v x 2 (before and after the first paragraph on the third temptation); c1^r (after the third paragraph on the third temptation); c1^v (after the remedy to the third temptation); c2^r (after the remedy to the fourth temptation); c2^v (concluding remarks on the temptations); c3^v (after the third question). Apart from the decorated uncials 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*.

J or RSTC 10634 or CUL Syn. 8.53.80(3)

[1532?]

Thomas Godfray.⁴⁹²

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

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: a¹, d¹, h¹, s³, v², w^{5c}, y².

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.a3^v l.22 'promote' is abbreviated to 'p'mote'; '3' is used to replace 'ue' in the rubric on f.a6^v.

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: a1^v (introduction); a5^r (sacraments); a5^v (baptism); a6^r (eucharist); a6^v 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: b1^r; b2^r; b3^r; b4^r; b4^v x2 c4^v. A paragraph mark is all that indicates a new section of the text on the following folios: b5^r (after the seven deadly sins); c1^v (the introduction to the temptations); c3^v x 2 (the third temptation and the remedy); c4^r (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]

Robert Wyer⁴⁹⁷

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.a1^v 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.⁴⁹⁸ 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.b4^v.

New sections are indicated by indented rubric and larger uncials before the text on the following folios: b2^v (sacraments); b3^r (baptism); b4^r (eucharist); b5^v 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: c1^v; c3^r; c3^v; c4^r; c4^v; c5^r; d1^r; d1^v; d2^r. 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: a1^v (after the

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^r - a3^r (after the first, third, fifth, seventh and fourteenth articles; after the introduction to the ten commandments); a3^v - b1^r (after each of the ten commandments except the sixth); b1^v (after the two great commandments, the seven works of mercy); b2^r (after the first three virtues); b3^v (after the first, second and third sacrament); b4^r (after the fourth and fifth sacrament); c1^r (after the first paragraph on confession); c2^r (after the first paragraph on pride); d3^r (after the seven deadly sins); e2^r (before the introduction to the temptations); e2^v (after the first paragraph on the remedy for the first temptation); e3^r (before the second trouble); e4^r (before the third temptation); f1^r (before the fourth temptation); f2^r (before the fifth temptation); f2^v (before the two paragraphs advising those caring for the sick); f3^r (before the five questions); f3^v, f4^r (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^r 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^r 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.'⁴⁹⁹

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.⁵⁰⁰ 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'.⁵⁰¹

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).

[a.2^r] ¶ *In constitutionibus .prouinci[a]lli. Iohannes Peccham de offic. Archipresbyteri / Capitulo Ignorancia Sacerdotum. /*

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 þ^e yere: the
 5 .xiiii. artycles of the faythe, / the .x. commaundementes 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. /

¶ Wherefore fyrste and formest, ye shall knowe and vnderstande / that there be
 10 .xiiii. 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 fyrste / 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
 15 .iii. in persons. The secunde, / we shall beleue in the Father vnbegoten that he is very / God. The thyrd, we shall beleue in þ^e Sone oonly begoten / of the Father þ^t 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 fyfte, / we shall beleue that [t]his one very God, Father & Sone and / Holy Goste,
 20 hath made heuen and erth, that is to saye all / maner creatures vysyble & inuysyble. The syxt we shal / byleue that the Chyrche Catholycal is holy, and that there / in
 [a2^v] ben holy sacramentes suffycient to all maner of people / for theyr saluacyon. The .vii., we shal beleue that our / bodyes shall ryse agayne at the daye of generall iugement / and be ioyneth agayne to the soule. And than all / they that haue dyed in
 25 the fayth of Holy Church & out / of deedly synne shall haue ioie euerlastynge i[n] heuen, / and all they that haue dyed out of the fayth of Holy Church / 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 fyrste is this, / that we shall byleue the blessyd incarnacyon. That is to / say that the secunde
 30 persone in Trinite, Cryste Ihesu, was / conceyued by operacyon of the Holy Goste & toke flesshe / and blode of the glorious virgyne, Our Lady, Saynt Marye. / The secunde, that he was borne of the same glorious / virgyne. The thyrd, that he dyed for vs vpon þ^e / 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,

35 the body remaynyng / 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 þ^e thyrde day. The syxt, that / he ascendyd in to heuen & there sytteth at þ^e
 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. /

40 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^r] commaundement also is forbyd / wychcraftes, charmes, sorserye, inchauntementes

45 & / supersticyons and all vayne and deuylysshe inuencyons, / whether they be
 done by wordes or by wrytyng or / by any other folysshe obseruaunce. The
 secunde commaundement is this, thou shal not take þ^e 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

50 saye to swere false wetyngly, and all other sweryng / by God vnreuerently or to
 swere vnreuerently by ony / parte of his blyssed body. The thyrde
 commaundement / is th[i]s, þ^u 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 & absteine frome synne / specyally and also fro bodely laboures excepte

55 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

60 commaundement / is this, thou shall not slee. This is to vnderstande / that thou
 shall not slee any 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 vnryghtwyse or vncharytable meane

65 oppresse / innocentes whiche be not gylty. Also all those [slee] / spyrytually that
 backbyte & slaunder any persone ayenst / ryght or ayenst charyte to brynge them
 [a3^v] from go[o]d name / vnto euyll. Also all tho slee spyrytually that maye and / wyll
 not refresshe them that be in necessity. Also all those slee spyrytually þ^t by theyr

euyll examples, or by ony / other wycked persuasyons, induce & brynge other vnto
 70 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 vse of / matrymony. By this commaundement is forbede
 also al / maner of fylthy & abhomynable polucyons, wylfully procured / by ony
 adinuencyons or crafte, wherby the sede p^t / is ordeynyd to generacyon of
 75 mankynde is done other / wyse than in to the dewe vessell that is ordeynyd
 therfore. / The seuenth commaundement is this, thou shalt do no / thefte, p^t is to
 saye p^u shall not take other mennes goodes / pryuely ayenst theyr 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 ypocrysye
 80 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.
 85 commaundement is this, thou shalt not desyre / an other mannes wyfe vnlefully. By
 this commaundement / is forbede all maner of concupyscence of the flesshe; / other
 vnlefully to wyll or to desyre, to purpose or to / consent to ony kynde of lecherye
 ayenst iugement of / reason. The .x. commaundement is this, thou shalt not /
 89 desyre to haue other mennes goodes wrongefully. By / this commaundement is
 [a3^v] forbede all maner of vnlefull desyre, / other in wyll or in purpose, to take or to
 withholde / other mennes goodes ayenst ryght or ayenst good consyence. /

¶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 /
 95 loueth hym aboue al other thyng & kepeth his commaundementes / for loue, and
 not all oonly for fere of payne. He / loueth his neyghboure duely p^t 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 shall wyl & / do vnto thy neyghboure as thou wolde ryghtfully he /
 100 shoulde wyll or do vnto the. /

¶Besyde these commaundementes of our lorde God there / be .vii. **werkes of
 mercy** whiche commynly be called dedes / of charyte, but doubtles in certayne

cases of necessity / they be strayed commaundementes. ¶ And these be they: / to
 fede the hungry, to gyue drynke to the thrusty, to gyue / herber to the herberles, to
 105 cloth[e] the naked, to vysyte / the seke, to comforte the prysoner, to bury the deed. /

¶ Furthermore ye shall knowe & vnderstande that there / be .vii. **pryncypall**
vertues 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
 110 maketh a man to truste / well to come to þ^e ioye of heuen by the grace of God / &
 his owne merytes. Charyte maketh a man to loue God / aboue all other thyng, &
 [a4^v] to loue al other thyng for God. / ¶ That other .iiii. vertues ordre a man to lyue well
 anendes / the worlde and they be these: prudence, temperaunce, / ryghtwysnes, and
 strenght. Prudence maketh / a man to dyscerne and iuge well what is good, / what
 115 is badde, what is to be done & what is to be lefte. / Temperaunce maketh a man
 moderat in etynge & drynkyng, / moderate in fleshly delectacyons, moderat in /
 hate, moderate in other conuersacyon 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 correkyng theym / that be euyll or
 120 promotynge them þ^t be good. Strength / maketh a man stronge in suffryng
 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 wyckednesse. /

In Constitutionibus Johannes Pecham de / sacramentis iterandis vel non.

125 Also you shal knowe and vnderstande that ther / be seuen sacramentes of Holy
 Chyrche wherof / fyue euery man & woman is bounde to receyue at tyme /
 conuenient. 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
 130 for them & for all theyr yssue, þ^t is to saye for all mankynde, / þ^e noble gyfte of
 orygynall iustyce w[h]iche yf they / had kepyd they, & all theyr yssue hauynge the
 [a5^r] same gyft, / shoulde neuer haue dyed nor suffred any penalty of this / wretchyd
 worlde, but shuld haue ben translate[d] at conuenient / tyme into paradyse
 celestyall there to haue lyued for / euermore. But than, bycause they dysobeyed
 135 and brake / the commaundement of God, they loste this gyfte of orygynall / iustyce

and fell vnto necessitye of dethe & to other / wretchydnesse of this worlde with all
 theyr yssue. Wherefore / 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^e tyme that / this orygynall synne be put away and grace gotten vnto / our
 140 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 prouincialibus de / Baptismo & eius effectū. / This
 sacrament ought not to be mynystred but / by a preest, excepte [in] case of
 necessitye and thenne / euery man and woman maye mynystre it. The father / or the
 145 mother maye mynystre it to theyr owne chylde & / yet afterwarde lye togyder after
 [th]e lawe of matrymonye; / wherefore yf suche case of necessitye 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
 150 water. And thenne doubte ye not, but / that chylde receyueth suffycyently this
 sacrament of / baptysme./

[a5v] 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
 155 yf it be loste by deedly synne. /

The fourth sacrament is the **blessyd sacrament of þ^e / auter**, 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^e very body of Cryst Ihesu, flesshe / & blode, Cryst hym selfe, hole God & man.
 160 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 prouincialibus Iohannes Peccham de Summa / trinitate
 fide catholica. Capitulo Altissimus.* / But ye that be laye people, whan ye
 165 receyue this / blessyd sacramente at Ester or at other tymes / necessarye, ye
 receyue hit in forme of brede alone. For þ^t / thyng 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
 170 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 &
 175 dampnable. /

[a6^r] ¶*In constitutionibus Walteri di sponsalibus. / Capitulo Matrimonium.* And in
 this behalfe Holy Chyrche commaundeth vnder / payne of cursynge that no persons
 make ony / pryue contracte of matrymony togyther nor ony secrete / promyse
 therof, but that it be done all oonly in open / place and before dyuerse persons
 180 therto specyally called / to bere wytnesse of the same. /

¶*Extra de penitentiis et remissio capitulo: Omnis vtriusque.*

Yet for more declaracyon of the sacrament of penaunce, / which was spoken of
 before, ye shall vnderstande / þ^t there be .iii. thynges specyally requyred / therto, þ^t
 is to wete confessyon, contrycyon and satysfaccyon. / Confessyon euery crysten
 185 man and woman, / after they come to yeres of dyscrecyon, is bounde to make / at þ^e
 lest ones in þ^e yere, them to make knowlege of al / theyr synnes to theyr owne
 ordynary curate and to none / other, except a lefull cause whiche had they may take
 an-other / confessor, so that they haue lycence therto of theyr / owne curate
 ordynarye. ¶But for asmoche as some persones / can not well make theyr
 190 confessyon, some thynges / shall be shewed them nowe, by the grace of God,
 wherby / they may the better ordre them selfe in theyr confessyon / makynge.
 Fyrste, before ye come to your gostely father / loke that ye gette you in to a secrete
 counsayle with your / selfe, and take as great studye and dylygence to remembre /
 all your synnes for the loue of God and your owne / soule helth as ye wolde take in
 195 a great mater of worldly / vauntage ¶Fyrste, remembre your selfe in your
 [a6^v] consyence / whether ye haue ben doutefull in any artycles / of the faythe. The
 seconde, remembre whether ye haue / broken any of the .x. commaundementes of
 Our Lorde God. / The thyrde, remembre whether ye haue kepyd þ^e .ii.
 commaundementes / of the gospels, that is to wete whether ye / haue louyd God
 200 aboue all other thyng & done to your / neyghboure as ye wolde be done to. The
 fourth, remembre / whether ye haue ben dylygent after your power / to fulfyll the
 .vii. werkes of mercy. The fyft, remembre whether / ye haue fallen in any poynt of

cursynge by the generall / sentence whiche is commaundyd and accustomed / to be shewyd you .iiii. tymes in the yere. The syxt, remembre / whether ye haue synned
 205 in any of the .vii. deedly synnes; / that is to saye in pryde, in wrathe, 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^t ye haue had as beautye, / strength, or yought; or for any goodes of fortune
 210 / as gold, or syluer, ryche clothes, landes, or catelles; or / for any goodes of grace as connyng, eloquence, wysdome / or other vertue; or yf ye haue dispysed or mocked / other þ^t haue wantyd any of these. Forthermore, whether / ye haue feyned your selfe by ypocrysy more holy or more / ryght wyse then ye haue ben in dede; or whether ye / haue shewyd your selfe by crakynge, or bostynge, or by / other
 215 inordynat delyte in pryde to haue þ^t thyng that / ye had nat, or to knowe that [b1'] thyng that ye knowe nat, / or to haue done that thyng whiche ye haue not done in / dede; or whan ye haue had ony gyfte of God syngulerly / before other as cunnyng, eloquence, wysdome, or / other vertue whether ye haue thought that it hath comen / of your selfe and not all oonly of God; or thoughe / ye haue thought
 220 that it hathe cummen of God, yet whether ye / haue thought that it hath cummen of God for your owne / merytes and your deseruyse. Forthermore, whether ye / haue ben proude of youre kynne, or proude that ye haue / stande in fauoure or famylyaryte with lorde or lady or / with ony other state, p[ro]ude of youre offyce or rourne / that ye haue ben in; or elles whether ye haue ben ashamed / of your kynne
 225 bycause of the pouerte, or yf ye haue / ben ashamed that ye haue not ben taken vp to hygher / place or greter honoure. Forthermore, whether ye haue / hadde pleasure to reporte your euyll 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
 230 Chyrche; or trusted so moche / in your owne wytte that ye haue dispysed the counsayle / of your betters, or taken more vpon you then ye / or your lornyng hath requyred. Forthermore, whether ye / haue loved syngularyte in your apparayll, syngularyte / in your speche or in other conuersacyon, syngularyte in / faste, in prayer, or in other d[e]uocyons taken by [y]our owne / auctoryte rather than in the
 235 comyn fastes and prayers / or other deuocyons ordeynyed by Holy Chyrche; or whether / ye haue ben suspecyous and curyous in serchyng / and iugynge other

mennes dedes, and proude & presumptuous / in iustyfyinge and preferryng your owne / dedes before the dedes of others. /

[b1'] ¶**Wrathe.** ¶Thenne in the synne of wrathe, remembre whether / ye haue ben so
 240 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 o[f]tentymes / thynkyng 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 counsaile or by mayntenaunce; / or whether ye haue vexed
 245 or troubled ony man by / sute or by plee, rather of euyll wyll and malyce then of /
 good wyll and affeccyon of ryghtwysnes. Forthermore, / 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
 250 blasphemouse worde / ayenst his goodnes or sworne vnreuerently by his holy /
 name. Forthermore, whether ye haue refused to aske them / forgyuenesse that ye
 haue hurte, or whether ye haue refused / to forgyue them that haue hurte you; or
 whether / ye haue mysordred your selfe in braulyng and chydynge / or
 miscallynge your euyn crysten by wordes of rubukynge / other ayenst theyr
 255 persones 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. /

[b2'] ¶**Enuye.** ¶Thenne in the synne of enuye, remembre whether ye / haue ben glad
 260 of other mēnes hurte or sory of other mēnes / profyte; or whether ye haue ben
 glad of other mēnes / infamy and euyll name, or sory of other mēnes 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 þ^t ony of them haue kepyd them in vertue or in /
 grace. Forthermore, whether ye haue of malyce & euyll / wyll defamed ony
 265 persone pryuely or aperely, or gyuen / ony helpe or counsaile therto; or whether ye
 haue iuged / euyll of your euyn crysten without suffycient knowlege / therof; or
 whether ye haue made bate or dyscorde / betweyxe ony persons for malyce & euyll
 wyll that ye haue / had vnto theym; or whether ye haue letted to make / peace &
 accomde where ye myght haue done, & wold not / for hatered & malyce or for ony
 270 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 whet[h]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
 275 or by fayre promyse / or by any other vntrewe meane deceyued any man / of his goodes or of his landes. Forthermore, whether / ye haue vsed any false or deceytefull marchaundyse, other / by vnsufficyent stuffe or by vniuste weyghtes or / measures or by any other subtyll crafte; or whether ye / haue in any hande crafte
 279 werke, or any other occupacyon, / vsed subtylty or crafte to deceyue your eyn
 [b2'] crysten / 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 / necessity; or whether ye haue in byenge or sellynge or / in bargayn makynge or in lenynge any monay commytted / ony vsury ayenst the ordre of iustyce & good charyte; / or whether ye haue commytted any symony, that is / to
 285 say bought or solde or any bargaen made of spyrytuall / thynges for any temporall goodes. Forthermore, whether / ye haue fulfilled the dedes wyll, whether ye haue / ben executor or keped the goodes to youre owne vse or / spende them otherwyse then in dedes of charyte or than / the dedes wyll hath requyred; or whether ye haue falsely / forsworne your selfe for any worldly vauntage or / whether ye haue
 290 desyred any mannes hurte or any mannes / deth bycause of any vauntage that myght come to / you therby. Forthermore, 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 wyllfully or by / your neglygent seruyce; or whether
 295 ye that be of power / haue withdrawn youre hande of charyte [of] refresshyng / poore people and ben couetyse of gettyng worldly / 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;
 [b3'] 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; slouthfull to applye / youre mynde to good thoughtes and to good medytacyons; / neglygent to refrayne your mynde frome / euyl thoughtes or your eye frome vnchast lokes. Forthermore, / whether ye haue ben neglygent to lerne your / *Pater Noster*, youre *Aue Maria*, or youre

305 *Credo*; or whether / ye haue be neglygent to teche the same to your owne / chyldren
 or to your godchyldren; or whether ye haue / chastysyd your chyldren & 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 chyldren from fyre & from water / & from other lyke ieopardy. Forthermore,
 310 whether / ye haue mysspende your tyme in idelnes or omytted & / left vndone
 thynges that ye were bounde to do; or whether / ye haue broken any vowe that ye
 haue before tyme / resonably promysed; or whether ye haue broken or ben /
 neglygent in fulfyllinge the penaunce that hathe ben / resonable inioyned you by
 your ghostly fathers or by / your ordynaryes; or whether ye haue hadde at any tyme
 315 / 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 than[k]es to God in your trouble or in youre / heuynes
 remembryng that Our Lorde sendeth all for the / best yf ye can so take it. /

319 ¶**Glotomy.** ¶Than in glotomy, remembr[e] whether ye haue broken / ony fastes
 [b3^v] 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 fulfilled those thynges that haue / longed to
 325 your offyce or to your charge. Forthermore, / whether ye haue had inordynate
 delectacyon in etynge / & drynkyng or vsed any inordynatly desyred metes or /
 drynkes more costely or more dylycately prepared then / reason hath requyred; or
 whether ye haue induced or / caused any other to take suche maner drinkes, or so
 largely / therof, for the intent to make them dronken other / for sporte or for any
 330 other wycked occasion. /

¶**Lechery.** ¶Thenne, in lechery [remembre] whether ye haue keped or
 contynued / fylthy thoughtes of þ^e flesshe in your mynde for / delectacyon and
 pleasure of your body; or whether ye / haue consented in your mynde to haue any
 fylthy dede / besyde the lawe of matrymony; or whether ye haue w^t / in matromony
 335 vsed any maner contrary to dewe ordre / of nature or ayenst the profyte of
 generacyon. Forthermore, / whether ye haue excyted or moued any 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 any other dysso[l]ute or vn honest / demenyoure; or
 340 whether ye haue not fledde the occasyons / of this fylthy synne, but rather sought
 [b4^r] occasyons / therto. Ferthermore, whether ye haue had other in your / youth or any
 other tyme fylthy touchynge of your pryue / membres or of any others and whether
 ye haue had / any pollycyons in your slepe by fylthy dremes or vnclene /
 ymagynacyons, specyally by any occasyon gyuen before / of your selfe; or whether
 345 ye haue had bodely dede / of lechery with any persone and whether syngle or
 maryed, / whether with a vyrgyne or with other, whether / with any of youre owne
 kynne or with any of relygyon / or within holy ordres. /

¶ Whanne ye haue remembred your selfe dylygently / in the secrete counsaile
 house of youre conscyence after / this maner of wyse, or after any other good or
 350 more suffycient / 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
 any done sythe ye were laste shryuen with dewe / circumstaunce and with the
 occasyons therof accordynge. / And than ye fulfyll one of those .iii. thyges þ^t be
 355 specyally / requyred to this sacrament of penaunce. And / another thyng that is
 also requyred therto is contrycyon, / 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
 thyrd thyng that is requyred to this sacrament / of penaunce is satisfaccyon, that
 is to say that / ye be in wyll to fulfyl suche payne and penaunce as shal / be
 360 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
 [b4^v] 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 /
 365 payne of helle euerlastynge. 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 suffycient in the
 acceptacyon of God / for the quantyte of your synnes, than that fulfilled the / payne
 370 of purgatorye also whiche elles were dewe for þ^e / sayd synnes shall be fully
 remytted and forgyuen you. /

¶But nowē, to the honour of God and to the comforte / of all vs that be wretchyd
synners, here maye be moued / a questyon: whether euery man after he haue done
ony / deedly synne be out of state of grace & in state of dampnacyon / vnto þ^e tyme
375 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 / beyngē 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
380 and sufficyent, 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 / þ^e sacrament of penaunce, than to
defer his shryft ony longer / & þ^l for dyuers causes. One is he shall haue þ^e more
[155'] increas / of grace. An other is he shall haue the better knowlege / of hym selfe and of
385 his synnes. The thyrde is he shall / the better venquesshe and ouercome 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 shortely to / take
theyr ghostly father whiche maye mynystre vnto / them this holy sacrament of
390 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 way whiche is ryght good / and sufficyent. That is to wete
395 that ye ones in the daye, / or ones in the weke at the leste as vpon the Sunday and /
other holy dayes, recyte & reken vp, betwyxe God and you / in þ^e secrete house of
your consyence, how ye haue spent / or passed your tyme. And yf you fynde in
your consyence / 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
400 God no more to synne; / purposynge stedfastly to be shryuen therof to youre
gostely / father at tyme assygned by þ^e Holy Chyrche. He that / ordreth hymselfe
after this maner, thoughe he had done / neuer so grete nor so greuous synnes nor
neuer so ofte / tymes - ye thoughe it were. vii. tymes in þ^e daye - he myght / yet as
ofte ryse ayen by this meane from deedly synne to / the grace of God, from state of
405 dampnacyon in to state of / saluacyon. Lette no persone therfore, in ony wyse,

[b5^v] refuse / this gentyll & suffrayne medycyne after they fele them / selfe wounded
 with deedly synne, but remembre well / these .iii. thynges before rehersed. 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
 410 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 dampnacyon. / 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
 415 .iii. thynges with / you truely and vnfeynedly 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 conuenient tyme, / thanne doubtlesse this
 shall be sufficyent for your saluacyon. / And all the good werkes that ye do in
 420 meane tyme / shall be ryght fruytfull and graciously accept in þ^e / syght of God,
 there to haue grace and afterwarde glorye / euerlastyng.

¶ 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
 425 the sayde tyme. And this is necessarye, / not all oonly for our selfe, but also þ^t 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
 [b6^r] to mynyster vnto hym / thynges necessarye for his body, whiche shall be shortely /
 dyssolued and be meete for wormes; moche more than / he is worthy to be called a
 430 trewe and a faythfull frende / that is dylygent aboute a syke persone to mynystre
 vnto / hym thynges necessarye for his soule, whiche shall neuer / dye but euer
 indure other in ioie contynuall or ellys / in payne euerlastyng.

¶ Lette vs nowe therfore consyder before the troubles / of the houre of dethe, and
 thenne we shall suffre theym / the more easely whenne they come. Fyrste, we shall
 435 consyder / .v. maner of troubles or temptacyons whiche the / wycked f[i]ende
commenly troubleth or tempteth a crysten / soule with all at the houre of dethe.
 The fyrste is ayenst / the fayth whiche commeth pryncypally 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 euerlastyng / payne of hell, then for to induce hym by some

440 cr[a]fte / or subtyll persuasyon to forsake his faythe or to doubte / in any parte
therof. But than, aboue all thyng, lyke as / ye haue begon 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 þe ende. Thynke therefore
445 stedfastly in your / mynde, that all persuasyons mouynge 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
[b6v] woman syth the begynnyng of the / worlde that euer pleaseth almyg[h]ty God
450 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 Sauyours Cryste Ihesu. For
these yf the deuyll wolde / dyspense 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
455 er[t]h be not / able for to be compared vnto hym. And though our fayth / in meke
soules be lyke vnto swete spyces of the apothecary's / shoppe, whiche in betyng &
boultyng gyue / 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 þ^e deuyll / he shall not fayle, but he shall be brought into
460 the snares / of the deuyll with many folde errors and inconuenyentes. / Therefore,
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 whan your wyttes be most feble / and your ghostly enemy
moost cruell. /

465 ¶ The secunde trouble or temptacyon at the houre of / deth is disperacyon.
Tha[t] temptacyon cometh comenly / by suggestyon of þ^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 / somewhat of neglygence, somewhat of forgetfulnes. /
470 And than the seke persone, so trou[b]led both in body and / in soule, remembreth
no thyng but payne and synne. / Wherefore somtymes he fereth so moche þ^e
[c1v] rygh[t]wysnes / of God seyng all oonly the abhominacyon of his owne / lyfe & no
thyng 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
 475 greuouse and moste peryllous aboue all synnes / in the worlde. Wherefore, 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 trustynge
 that though a man had neuer / done good dedes in his lyfe but as many synnes as
 euer / was done syth the begynnyng of the worlde or shall be / done to þ^e worldes
 480 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 shoulde not in no wyse dyspayre / of the mercy of God. For in
 this case it were sufficyent / for his saluacyon to be sory in his herte for his synnes
 & / aske God mercy all oonly in his mynde, thynkyng that / the mercy of God is
 485 euer in this worlde aboue his ryght / wysnesse. A man shoulde euer haue so great
 hope and / truste of his saluacyon, þ^t though an aungell of heuen appered / vnto
 hym and shewed hym that he shoulde be dampned, / yet he shoulde not beleue hym
 but rather thynke þ^t / 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
 490 it were an aungell of God / in dede, yet he should not despayre of his saluacyon but
 / rather thyn[k]e that the aungell spake condycyonally, that / is to say that he
 shoulde be dampned if he wolde not be / in wyll and purpose to amende his lyfe
 and be sory for þ^e / synnes that he had done. /

[c1^v] ¶The thyrd trouble or temptacyon at þ^e houre of deth / is anger, wrathe and
 495 impacyence. This temptacyon commeth / oftentimes by suggestyon of the deuyll
 whiche moueth / a soule to grugge with his sykenesse and to thynke / that his payne
 is gretter thanne he hath deserued. Wherefore / 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 þ^t I shuld suffre all this?” /

500 ¶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
 505 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 shoulde haue,
 therefore if we wolde remembre / and imprynt wel in our myndes what payne &

passyon / Our Sauyours Cryste hath taken for vs, we myght thynke / oure selfe
 delycate persons if we wolde not pacyently / suffre some payne for hym & for þ^e
 510 welthe of our soule / to obtayne þ^e great blysse þ^t he hathe bough[t] for vs. / ¶Lette
 vs therfore indeuer our self pacyently to suffre / payne for the loue of hym whiche
 suffred grea[t]e payne / and passyon of the moste bytter dethe of the crosse / for vs.
 And though our flesshe grugge with payne and / desyre helthe and reste in this
 514 worlde, we muste forsake / this desyre and put our wyll to the wyll of God whiche /
 [c2^r] knoweth beste what thyng is to our auayle. And thanke / hym hertely of his
 vysytacyon in sendyng vs payne / and passyon 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 ioie and consolacyon. /

¶The fourthe trouble or temptacyon at the houre of dethe / is couetyse and
 520 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 oftentimes / 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
 525 chyl dren, & such other. / These the deuyll presenteth besely vnto a mannes mynde /
 for þ^e intent þ^t he shoulde rather occupy his mynde here / with all, then w^t gostely
 profyte & welth of his soule. / Therefore, to puruey remedy ayenst this temptacyon,
 it / were expedyent 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
 530 his / departynge when he shoulde specyally ordre his soule / to the loue of God &
 forsake the loue of all temporall thynges, / for Our Sauyours sayth he that wyll not
 forsake father / and mother, wyfe and chyl dren and all other temporall /
 possessyons, he may not be my dysciple. Wherefore / they that shall be aboute syke
 persons, let them be ware / that they gyue them not ouer great comforte of bodily
 535 helth; / nor put them in ouer moche truste & hope of lyfe, for suche / swete wordes
 & vayne comfertes may be occasyons of / theyr vtter dampnacion. But let them
 [c2^v] moue them diligently for / to forsake þe 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
 540 deceyued, for many / a man is deceyued in the tyme of theyr deth by hope / of
 contynuaunce of lyfe. For as longe as they truste to lyue, / 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 and vayne glor[y]e,
545 whiche commeth chefely by instygacyon / of the deuyll. For when the deuyll
perceyueth þ^t / he can not ouercome a soule by any 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 faythe, howe stedfast in the hope, howe
perfyte / in pacyence ye shall fynde but fewe suche as ye be. Ye / haue done so
550 many good dedes in your dayes that shall / be remembred as longe as the worlde
standeth.” This is / a peryllous and a subtyll temptacyon, wherfore if any / suche
thoughtes come in your mynde loke that ye meke / your selfe lowely vnto Our
Lorde, consyderynge 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
555 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 any 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 temptacyons /
[c3'] of the deuyll. For when he wolde exalte you by pryde / and vayne glory, ye shal[1]
560 lowe your selfe by mekenesse. / And when he wolde lowe you by desperacyon, ye
shall / exalte your self by stedfast hope of þ^e great mercy of God. /

¶More ouer ye that shall be aboute syke persones, 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 /
565 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^e Chyrche [for they] be suffrayne medycyns both for þ^e soule / and
also for the body. /

¶And after that the syke persons hath receyued the sacramentes / of the Chyrche,
570 lette hym not fere to dye at any / tyme that shall please Our Lorde to call hym;
remembrynge / that there is none other waye to come to the ioie / 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 thoughe the flesshe and the sensuall appetyte / grugge
and fere to dye, lette not this trouble the syke / persone, for it is naturall for the
575 flesshe so to do. But / this grugge and fere shall not lose the meryte of þ^e soule / yf

the soule consent not wyllingly 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
580 his frende in / lyke wyse 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 sau'd & to come to þ^e ioye of heuen thorough /
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
585 and purpose / to astepne from synne hens forwarde. The fourthe, / whether he
forgyue all them that haue hurte or offendēd / hym by worde or by dede, and aske
all theym forgyuenes / þ^t he hath hurte or offendēd other by worde or by dede. / The
.v., if he haue hurte ony man whether he wyll þ^t / restytucion and amendes be made
vnto theym accordynge / to ryght and consyence as ferre as his power may
590 extende. / The[se] .v. questyons be necessary to be asked of them / that lye in
ieopardy of deth. And whoso euer may answer / 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 sau'd and
come to the blysse of heuen euerlastynge. /

595 ¶Yet in all maner of troubles and temptacyons in body / or in soule, lette euery
man remembre 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
600 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'] necessityes to the hyghe iuge of heuen, hyr owne / blyssed sone. And doubtles it is
not to be thought þ^t suche / a noble sone so louynge and so gentyll vnto his mother /
605 wyll denye hyr ony thyng 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 doubte we not, but she wyll euer be redy to helpe, / succoure, comforte and
assyste vs in all our causes and / necessityes.

¶Besyde this let euery man and woman, at the houre / of deth, make inuocacyon
 610 (and theyr frendes with them) / vnto holy aungelles and sayntes of heuen, specyally
 to / those whiche they haue had moste deuocyon vnto in theyr / lyfes. And so
 fynally recommande theyr soules vnto Our / Lorde Ihesu God almyghty, to his
 blessyd mother & virgyne, / Our Lady Saynt Mary and to all sayntes say[en]ge: *In /*
manus tuas domine. &cetera. /

615 ¶And other prayers whiche shall be thought conuenyent / and pleasaunt vnto
 God, to whome be honour and / glory euerlastynge. Amen.

Substantive Variants

1. *constitutionibus*] *constitutionibus*I / *Archipresbyteri*] *archipresbiteri*I
2. *Capitulo*] *Capitulo*I / *Ignorancia*] *ignorancia*I / *Sacerdotum*] *sacerdotum*I
3. ordeyned]ordeinedC ordeynyndHI ordaynedJ / and]andC / Holy]the holyI / Chyrche]churcheDK chyrchI chirchJ / curate]CurateABCDEFG / hauynge]hauyngeC hauyngI
4. soule]SouleABCDEFGJ soulesK / shall]ShallH / and]andC &HJ / his]hysI / parysshens]paryishensG parysshynneH parysshynsI parishynsJ / foure]iiiiDG / in]inC / þ^e] theBCDEFGHIK TheHJ / yere]yere, playnly without any curyosyte or subtiltieK / the]TheI
5. artycles]ArtyclesABCDEFGHIK / faythe]fayhteC faythGHIK faitheJ / comaundementes]commaundementesG comaundementesFHJ commaundementesI / Oure]ourFJ / God]GodK / the]TheABCDEFGHIK
6. werkes]workesHIJK / mercy]mercyeK / the]TheABCDEFGHIJK / deedly]DeedlyeK / synnes]synnesFI / with [the]]withABDGHJK w^t theEF / braunches]braunchesCEFI braunchysH branchesK
7. pryncypall]pryncypallC pryncipallD principallJ pryncypall / and]AndABCDEFGJK &H andI / the]þ^eG / sacramentes]sacramentesDJ SacramentesK / Holy]the holyI / Chyrche]churcheDJ ChurcheK / thynges]thingesJ
8. necessary]necessaryeK / shall]shall / appere]apereC / here after]hereafterDGIK
9. fyrste]firsteD fyrstFGI firstJ / and]andC &HJ / formest]formostHI / knowe]knowJ / and]&HI / that]þ^tG / be]benBCEFK
10. artycles]articlesJ ArtyclesF / fayth]fatheBC faytheDFJK / &]andBCDEFGIK / bounde]boundeHJ / stedfastly]stedfastlyeK
- 11 - 12. beleue]byleueBDEFGHI / the[se]]theABCEF theyseHI / artycles]ArtyclesF / .vii.]seuenK / perteyne]perteyneDIJ doo apperteyneK / vnto]to / God...godhed] the hygh mystery of the blessed Trinite, to the pure Godhed and the workes of the sameK / dyuynyte]dyuyniteD diuynyteH diuyniteJ / godhed]godhedeBCEFGHI godheedJ
12. Th[e]]ThatBCDEFG& theHJ and theI TheK / .vii.]vii. ArtyclesK / perteyne]perteineC perteyneJ appertayneK / vnto]toDGK / God...his]the holye mystere of the blyssed incarnationK / alm[y]ghty]almaghtyA almightyJ *not*K / humanyte]humaniteDJ humanytieK

13. manhode]of manhodeF / manhodeJ manhode of our sauyoure Iesu ChristK / fyrste]fyrstG firstJ / of the]notK / .vii.]seuenHI seuyneJ ArtycleK / that]notDK / perteyne]perteyneJ apperteynyngK / vnto]to theK / almyghty]almyghtyeBC almyghty godD almyghtieK / by his]notK

14. dyuynye]diuiniteDJ humanyteHI Godhed or DiuinitieK / godhed]godhedeBCEFGHI notK / that]ThatHIJ notK / shall]shallI musteK / beleue]byleueBCDEFGHI / God]GodK / one]notK / substance]substaunceBCEFGH substanceI substaunceJ substaunce and natureK / and]&DFHIJ And that there is but one God in substaunce in nature and in GodhedK / and]notK

15. .iii.]threHIJ notK / in]inD notK / persons]personesBCEFG personsD personeHI personJ notK / secunde]secondeBEFGK secundeC secundeD .ii.HIJ / shall]musteK / beleue]byleueBCEFGHI bileueD / in]onBE /vnbegoten]vnbegottenI of heuyn the fyrste person in diuinitie or Godhed andK / he]notDGHIJ

16. God]GodK / thynde]thirdeDJ / shall]shalH musteK / beleue]byleueBDEFGHI / p^e]theBCDEFGHIJ notK / Sone]sonneH sonJ Iesu Chryste the sonne of GodK / oonly]onelyBCEDFHIJK onlyD / begoten]begotenBCE begottenHI / Father]father of heuyn eternally before the worlde beganK / p^t]thatDFGHIJ that heDGHIJ And that heK 17. also]notK / very]vereC / God]God and the secunde person in the Trinitie or in the godheedK / fourth]fourtheBCDE iiijGHIJK / shall]shall musteK belyue]byleueBCDEFGHI beleueJK / the]p^eG / Goste]ghostBCF ghoostE gostIJ GhosteK / equally]legallyJ

18. procedynge]procedyngeDH procedyngeI / and]&GHJ / Sone]sonneF sonneIJK / the]p^eG / that]p^tG / lykewyse] lyke wyseDHI likewiseJ / God]God and the thynde 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

19. fyfte]fyrstD .v.GHIK fifthJ / shall]musteK / beleue]byleueBCDEFGHI / that]p^tG / [t]his]hisBC thysD he isFG / Father]FatherF the fatherK / &]andDF notHIJ theK / Sone]SoneDG SonneF sonneHIK / and]&EGHJ and theK / Goste]ghostBCEFGK gostHIJ

20. hath]hatheF / made]creat and madeK / heuen]heuynJK / and]&DGHJ / erth]ertheHIJ earthK / that]p^tG / saye]sayDGHIJ / all]all / maner]manerofGK /

vysyble & inuysyble]visible and in vysibleD visyble and inuysybleI visible and inuysibleJ

21. syxt]syxteBCEG sixteD sexteF .vi.HIJK/ shal]shallFI musteK /
byleue]beleueJK / that]þ^tG notK / Chyrche]churcheDJ holy catholyque churche to
be alwaye sanctified and made holy by this one god the blessed Trynitie, whiche
hathe ordeynedK / Catholycal]catholycallBCFIJ notK / and]&HIJ notK / there
in]therinDHIJ

22. ben]sucheK / sacramentes]sacramentesDIJ SacramentesFG sacramentsK /
suffycyent]suffycientD suffycyentI suffycientJ as be suffycyentK / all]all
ple for theyr saluacyon. The .vii. we shall beleue that our / saluacyon]saluacionDK
saluatyonJ saluacyonI

23. shal]shallBCDEFGHJ shallI mustK / beleue]byleueBCDEFGHI / that our]notK /
bodies]bodisJ the resurreccion of all deed mennes bodiesK / shall]shalJ notK /
ryse]notK / agayne]ayenJ notK / daye]dayDGHK / generall]generalD /

24. Iugement]IugementDG IugementEI iugementJ iudgementK / and]&H toK /
ioyneth]IoynethA IoynedBCEF ioynedDGJ ioynyndHI reysed vp agayne by almyghtye
god and ioynedK / agayne]ayeneJ notK / to]tooBE vnto theyr soulesK /
and]AndDG &FHJ / than]toK / they]themK

25. the]þ^eFG / fayth]feythD faytheJ / churche]ChurcheAD chyrcheBCEFGHI /
&]andBCDEFI notK / out]withoutK / of]notK deedly]dedlyD dedelyK /
synne]synJ synneK / shall haue]notK / ioye]IoyeA ioyHIJ notK /
euerlastyng]euerlastyngHJ euerlastyngE lyfeK / i[n] heuen]is heuenABCDEG in
heun and glorie shall be gyuen by almyghtye godK notHIJ

26. and]andHI &J and toK / all]alJK / they]themK / the]þ^eFG / fayth]faytheHIJK
/ holy]holyeK / churche]chyrcheFGHI / [in]]notABCEF

27. deedly]deedlyeD dedelyeK / synne]synneG synJ synne, almyghtye GodK /
haue]gyueK / in]inD / helle]hellCEI / for]notI / those]theseK / .vii.]vil /
artycles]articlesDJ ArtyclesK

28. whiche]whycheC / perteyne]perteyneJ do appertayneK / god]notK /
almyghty]almightyJ notK / humanyte]humaniteD the humanytieK /
manhode]manhodeBEFHII or manheed of our sauour Iesu Chryst which is both God
and manK / the]TheABCDEFGHIIJK / fyrste]firstDJ fyrstHI

29. that]þ^tBCE / shall]mustK / byleue]by leueA byleueFI beleueJK /
blessyd]blessedD blyssydJ blissedK / incarnacyon]IncarnacyonABCEFG

- IncarnacionD incarnacionHK incarnationJ / That]thatABCDEFGHIIJ p^hK /
 say]sayeBCEG / that]p^hFK / secunde]secondeBCEFGHIK secundeDJ
30. persone]person personeFIJK / Trinite]TrynnyeBCEFG trynnyeHI TrinitieK /
 Cryste]crysteA CrysteBCE cristD CrystFG ChrystHI ChristJ christK /
 Ihesu]IesuHIIK / conceyued]conceyuydH conceyuyd conceyuedJ /
 operacyon]operacionD operationJ / Goste]ghostBCFGI gostDJ ghosteK /
 &]andDGHIJK / flesshe]flessHJ
31. and]&DHIIJ / glorious]gloriousDJ / virgyne]vyrgyneBCFGH vyrgynEIK /
 Lady]LadyBEFG / Saynt]S.K / Marye]MaryBEGHIJK maryC
32. secunde]secondeBCDEFG .ii.HIIK / glorious]GloriousAB GloriousCD
 gloriousJ / virgyne]vyrgyneBCEFGH vyrgynIK / p^e]theBCF / thyrdeth]thirdeDJ .iii.K
33. p^e]theDHI / crosse]CrosseABCDEFG / wycked]wyckydHI wickedJ /
 iuge]IugeABCEFHI iugeDGJ iudgeK / Pylate]PilateJ and]&BFHIJK / his]hysI /
 blessyd]blessedBDFJ blyssedK /
34. beryed]buriedBCEFGHIK buriedDJ buriedK / the]p^eEF /
 sepulchre]SepulchreABC FK sepultureE sepulcreHIJ / fourth].iiii.HIIK /that]p^hFK /
 went]wentD wenteEFGHI / vnto]intoHI / helle]hellHIJK the hellI /
35. remaynyng]remanyngJ / in]inD / the]p^eF / sepulchre]SepulchreABCDFK
 SepultureE sepulcreHIJ / and]&DJ AndG / spoylydHI / helle]hellDHIJK HelleG /
 those]thosoC
36. predestynate]predestinateJ / glorie]gloryDFGHIJK / God]GodK /
 fyfte].v.HIIK / agayne]ayenJ / from]fromHJ / deth]detheFHIJ / lyfe]lifeJ
37. p^e]theBCDEFGHIK / thyrdeth]thirdD thirdeJ thyrdK / day]dayeF /
 syxt]syxteBCEF sixtD viGHIJK / ascendyd]ascendedBCDEGJK assendedF / in
 to]intoDGI / heuen]heuyneJK / &]andBCDEFK / sytteth]sittethD syttythI /
 at]onEFHIJK / p^e]theBCDGHIJK / ryght]ryghteBCEK rightDJ
38. the]p^eF / shall]shalG / seuenth].vii.HIIK /
39. generall]generellH / iugement]IugementABCDEFHI IugementeG iugementJ
 IudgementK / iuge]IugeBCDEFG iudgeK / all]alK / both]botheBCEFG *not*HIJ /
 good] the goodF quickeK / and]&I / badde]badHI deedK.
40. Forthermore]FerthermoreHI FarthermoreJ / shall]shalEG / &]andBCDEFGK /
 vnderstande]vnderstandD vnderstandeJ

41. commaundementes]commaundementesF commaundementesI / Lorde]lordDHJ / fyrste]firsteDJ fyrstGHI / thou]ThouABCDEFGHJK / shall]shalteBCEFGJK shaltDI / false]falsHI

42. goddes]GoddessK / worshyp]worshippeJ / very]veryeK / commaundemente]commaundementDEG commaundementF commaundementI / idolatry]IdolatryABCFGK ydolatrieD ydolatryEHI idolatryJ

43. pryncypally]principallyD principallyJ / whiche]whichIK / do]dooI / worshyp]worshipJ godly worshypK / then]thanDHJ thanI / this]thysI / 44.

commaundement]commaundementF commaundementI / wychcraftes]wychraftesC wyche craftsD wytchcraftesEFI wytche craftesGHK wichcraftesJ / sorserye]sorseryFG sorceryHIJ sorceryeK /

inchauntementes]InchauntementesABCDEFG inchauntementesJ inchauntmentesK

45. &]andDFGK / superstycyons]supersticionsD superstitionsJ superstycionsK / and]&HIJ / all]alFGJ / vayne]vaynJ / and]&H / deuylysshe]dyuellissheJ / inuencyons]inuencionsDK inueuncyonsHJ / whether]whyderHI whederJ

46. wordes]wordeBCEFG wordJ wordeK / or by]notHI / wrytynge]wrytyngJ / ony]anyHIJK / folysse]folissheDJ / obseruaunce]obseruanceDHJ /

47. secunde]secondeB secondeCDEFG .ii.HIJK / commaundement] commaundementFH commandementG commaundementI / this]notHIJ / thou]ThouGK / shal]shalteFGK shaltHIJ / not]natDJ / þ^e]theBCDFGHIJK / in]inJ / vayne]vaynI vainJ / By]byABCDEFGJ

48. commaundement]commaundementF commaundementHJ commaundementI forbyd]fordydC / pryncipally]pryncypallyBEFGHI pryncypalyC principallyD principallyJ / all]alCGK / heresy]EresyesF heresyHI heresyK / &]AlsoDG alsoHIJ andK

49. sounde]soundeDGIJ / ayenst]agaynsteBCEH ageynsteDFG agaynstIK / goodnes]godnesC goodnesseJ / al]allIJ / periurye]periuryDGHK periuryJ

50. saye]sayHIJK / wetyngly]wytynglyBCEFGHIK / and]&HJ / all]alFGK / vnreuerently]vnreuerentlyD vnreuerentlyeK / to]notBCE

51. vnreuerently]vnreuerentlyK / ony]anyCDHIJK / parte]parteJ partK / blyssed]blessydBCEFGHI blessedDJK / body]bodyeK / thyrd]thirdeD .iii.HIJK

52. commaundement]commaundementFG commaundementJ commaundementIK / th[i]s]notHIJ / þ^u]thouBCEFGIJ ThouDK / shall]shalteBCEFGH shaltDIJK /

- thy]theEK / daye]dayBCDEGHIIJ / saye]sayBCDEGHIIJ /
 Sondaye]sondayBCDEGHIIJ SondayF sondayI SondayeK
53. and]&GHIIJ / holy dayes]holidayesJ holi daiesK / ordeynyd]ordeynedBF
 ordaynedJ / Holy]holyeK / Chyrche]churcheDJ / &]andBCDEFGHK /
 daye]dayBCDEHIIJ /worshyp]worshipD
54. &]andFHK / absteayne]abstayneBCEFK / frome]fromBCDFGK froHIIJ /
 synne]synneFI synJ / specyally]speciallyDJK / and]AndDG &HIIJ / fro]fromBEFK
 notHIIJ / bodely]bodylyHI / laboures]laboursBEFHJ
55. &]andDFK / resonable]reasonableF / fourth].iiii.HIIJK /
 commaundement]commaundementF commaundementG commaundementJ
 commaundementK / this]notIJ / thou]ThouDK / shall]shalteBCEFGH shaltDIJK /
 honour]honoureDFGHK
56. and]&HIIJ / thy]thiC / That]thatABCDEFGHIIJK / wete]wytHIIJ wytteK /
 and]&IJ / thy]notIJ
- 57 - 8. godfather]god fatherF godfaderJ / and]&DHJ / godmother]god motherF
 godmoderJ / ghostly father]ghostly fatherDJ goostly fatherHI ghostlye fatherK /
 &]andFH / ghostly mother]ghostely motherBC gostly motherDJ goostly motherHI
58. ghostly]gostlyDJ ghostelyF goostlyHI / by[s]shop]bysshopBCDEFGHIIJK /
 &]andDFI AndK / ghostly]gostlyDJ goostlyHI ghostlyeK
59. Chyrch]chyrcheBCEFGH churcheDJ / in]inI / whom]whomBCEI whomeFG /
 was]wereJ / ghostly]gostlyDJ goostlyHI ghostelyeK / fyft]fyfteCEF .v.DGHIIJK /
60. commaundement]commaundementGJ commandementI / this]notHIIJ /
 thou]ThouABCDFJK / shall]shalteBEFGH shaltIJ / slee]sleEG / This]thatHIIJ
 ThatK / vnderstande]vnderstandeFHJ / that]p^tE notHIIJ
61. shall]shalteFGHJ shaltI / not]natJ / ony]noHI anyJK / woman]womanI /
 vnlefull]vnlaufull
62. consent]consenteFG consentI / nother]neytherHI neitherJ / by]inK / nor]neJ
 by]notHIIJ / fauour]fauoreFK / commaundement]commaundementF
 commandementI commaundementJ commaundementK / it is]isGHIIJ is itK /
 al]allFHJK
63. bodely]bodylyHI / hurte]hurtI / any]onyF / persone]personH personI personJ
 / ayenste]agaynstBCEHIK agaynstF ayenstGJ / all]all / those]theseK /
 slee]sleeFHIIJ / spyrytually]spirituallyeJ

64. extorcyon]extorcyonF extortionJ / and]&HIJ / ony]anyHIJK / vnryghtwyse]notI
vnryghtwiseJ / or]notI / meane]moyenE

65. oppresse]oppreseFIJ / innocentes]innocentesIJ / whiche]whycheC whichHI /
not]natJ / gylty]gylyeK / all]alI / [slee]]flyeB flieC sleF / spryrytually]spirituallyIJ

66. backbyte]backebyteFGK bacbyteI backbiteJ / &]andF / slaunder]slauderBC
sclaundreG slaundreH slaundreIJ slaunderK / ony]anyIJK / persone]personI
personeJ personsK / ayenst]ayensteBC agaynstFHIK / ryght]rightJK / ayenst]notHIJ
agaynstFK / charyte]charytee chariteD charitieK / brynge]bryngBC bringeJK /
them]themuFK / 67. from]froHI / go[o]d]godA / euyl]yuellDJ euylK / Also]AndK
/ all]alH / tho]thoseDGK / maye]mayBCEGH / and]&BCEFHIJ / wyll]wylleD
wylK

68. not]natDJ / them]themuHJ / necessyte]necessiteD / Also]AndBCEFK /
all]alBCEK / those]those thatABCEF / slee]sleBCEF /
spyrytually]spyrytuallyBCFGI spirituallyD spyrituallyK / þ^h]thatDGHIJK /
theyr]therC theirJK

69. euyl]euylBCH yuellD yuelJ / examples]exsamplesBF exemplesC exsamplesE
examplesI ensamplesJ / ony]anyDHIJK / wycked]wickedJ /
persuasyons]persuacyonsBCEF persuasionsD persuasyonsH persuasyonsI
persuacionsJ operacyonsK / induce]endeuerDG induceFI enduceJ InduceK /
&]andDGK / brynge]bryngHI bringJ / vnto]toHIK

70. synne]synneBFI synH / syxte]sixtD viGHIJK /
commaundement]commaundementBCE commaundementD commaundementFJK
commaundementG / this]notHIJ / thou]ThouK / shalt]shalteBCDEFGHK /
lechery]LecheryABCEF LecheryeK / By]byABCDEFGHII

71. commaundement]commaundementBCEFG commaundementD commaundementH
commaundementIJ commaundementeK / is]ysI / forfyte]forfeteBCEF
forbydDGHIJK / all]also alGIJ / bodely]notK / commyxityon]commyxicyonBE ?C
commixisnD commyxycyonF commyxyonG commyxyonHI commixionJ
commyxcionK / bytwyxe]bytweneBCDEFGHI bytwixJ betweneK / man]manF /
&]andK

72. woman]womanBCEFG / except]excepteBCEFGHK / lefull]lefulCJ laufullI /
matrymony]matrimonyJ matrymonyeK/ By]byG /
commaundement]commaundementBCEFG commaundementHK commandementI
commaundementJ / forbede]forbydDFGHIJK

73. al]allBCDFHK / fylthy]filthyJ / &]andK / abhomynable]abominableD
abomynableI / polucyons]pollusionsD polucyonsEF pollucyonsG polutionsJ
pollucionsK / wylfully]wylfullyeK / procured]procurydHI / ony]anyDHIJK /
74. adinuencyons]inuencyonsBCEFG inuencionsDK inuencyonsI aduentionsJ /
crafte]craftK / wherby]WherbyABDEGK wherebyI / sede]seedeD /
þ¹]thatBCDEFHIJK / ordeynynd]ordeynedBCDEFGK ordaynedJ /
generacyon]generacionDK generacyonI generationJ
75. mankynde]mankyndeIJ / done]dyneC / than]thanEFIK / to]notK / the]þ^eF /
dewe]dueGHIJ / ordeynynd]ordeynedBCDEFG ordaynedJ
76. seuenth].vii.GHIJK / commaundement]commaundementBCE
commaundementFG commaundementIJ / this]notHIJ / thou]ThouK /
shall]shaltDIK shalteFGHJ / do]dooFH / thefte]theftK / þ¹]thatBCDEFGHIJK /
ys]isDEFGI
77. saye]sayDEFIK þ^u]thouBCDEFGHIJK / shall]shaltDJIJ shalteFGH /
not]natDJ / mennes]mennesDIJ / pryuely]priuelyJ preuely / ayenst]agaynstGHIJ /
theyr]theirJ / wyll]wyll / By]byG
78. commaundement]commaundementBCDEFH commaundementG
commaundementI / all]alGI / wronfull]wrongfullBCEFGI wronfulleD wrongfullJ
wrongfullK / takynge]takynghIJ takingeK / occupyenge]occupyengIJ
79. withholdynge]with holdyngeD withholdyngh wtholdingJ /
mennes]mennesDEGHI / other]outherF eytherGHIJ / fraud[e]]frauda frauudeBC
defraudeK / deceyte]dysceyteG desceyteH deceytI disceytJ /
ypocrysye]ypocrysyBEFGHIK ypocrycyD ipocreisyJ / or]ofK / feyned]faynedEFG
faynydHI
80. holynesse]holynesFGHIK / vsury]vsuryeBCEHIK / by]notIJ /
symony]symonyeBCEHI SymonyeK / drede]DredeK / by]notHIJ /
threte]thretenyngeK / strenght]strengtheBCDEG strengthFHIJ StrengthK
81. vyolence]vyolenceBCGHI violenceDJ VyolenceK /
commaundement]commaundementBDEFH comaundementC commaundementG
commaundementI commaundementJ / this]notI / thou]ThouK /
shalt]shalteBCDEFGH / bere]beareJ
82. no]nool / wytnes]witnesIJ wytnesseK / nother]neytherDGHIJ neitherK /
hurt]hurteBCEFGHIK / neyghboure]neyghbourDEFGHI neighbourJ /
wronfully]wrongfullyBCDEFGHIK wronfullyJ / promote]promoteJ

83. frende]fryndeK / vnworthely]vnworthylyD vnworthelyeK / this]thysI /
 commaundement]comaundementBCDEFJK commaundementGI / is]ysI /
 forbyd]forbyddeG
84. conceyued]conceyuedFJ conceyuydHI / intended]intendedD entendedG
 intendydHI intendedJ / to]tooI / mennes]mennesBHI mannesC / hurte]hurtDJ
85. commaundement]commaundementBC commaundementF commaundementI
 CommaundementeK / this]thysI / thou]ThouK / shall]shalteBCEFGHJ shaltDIK
 / not]natDJ / desyre]desireD / an other]anotherCEFG a notherBDHIJ /
 mannes]mannesIJ mansK / wyfe]wifeJ / vnlefully]vnlaufullyI
86. commaundement]commaundementC commaundementH commaundementI
 commaundementeK / forbede]forbydDEFGHIJK / all]alEJ /
 concupyscence]concupiscenceBCD concuupiscenceJ concupyscenceK
87. other]eytherDGHI outhereJ *not*FK / vnlefully]vnlefullEHJ vnlaufullI
 vnlefullyeK / to]outhere toF other toK / wyll]willD / to]*not*K / desyre]desireDJ /
 consent]consenteBCEFGHI consentDJ / ony]anyDHIJK
88. lecherye]LecheryeAEK LecheryBCF lecheryDGHIJ / ayenst]ageynstD
 agaynstGHIK / iugement]IugementABCEFG iugementI iudgementK /
 reason]reasonI / commaundement]commaundementBCE commaundementDGH
 comandementI commaundementJ CommaundementeK / thou]ThouABCDEFK /
 shall]shaltDHIJK shalteFG
89. not]natDJ / desyre]desireD / mennes]mannesC /
 wrongefully]wrongfullyBCDEFGHI wrongfullyJK / By]byG /
 commaundement]commaundementBCDEH commaundementJ
90. forbede]forbydDEFGHIJK / all]alBCI / vnlefull]vnlaufullI / desyre]desyresFI
 desiresK / other]eytherDI outhereF / wyll]willD wylFIK / or]or toD
91. withholde]with holdeD to withholdeFI withholdK / mennes]mennesI mensK /
 ayenst]againstK agaynstI / ryght]rightD / or]andI / ayenst]ageynstD agaynstKI /
 consyence]conscienceD
92. These]TheG / commaundements]comaundementesDFGK
 commaundementesHIJ / included]includydHI concludedK / and]&FGHIJ /
 .ii.]twoGHIJK
93. commaundementes]commaundementesBCEH commaundementesIJ / in]inC /
 Gospell]gospellDFGHJ gospell / Mathe]MathueJ MatheweK matheC / is]ysH /
 wete]wytteHI

94. the]þ^cFG / &]andBCH / in]notG / the]notK / neyghboure]neighbourJ /
loueth]leuethC louythHI / duely]onelyHI onlyJ
95. loueth]louythHI / al]allBDFGHK / thyngel]thingJ / &]andBCDEHK /
kepeth]kepeF kepythHI / commaundementes]commaundementesBCDEH
commaundementesFGK commaundementesI / and]&FGHK / not]natDJ
96. all oonly] all onelyBCEH alonelyFK al onelyG onelyI onlyJ / fere]feareJK /
He]heHK / loueth]louythHI / his]hysDI / neyghboure]neyboureD neyghbourGHI /
neighbourJ / duely]duelyeK / þ^t/thatBCDEGHIJK
97. hym]hymDFIK / &]andDHK /doth]dotheFHI / neyghboure]neyghbourBCGHI
/ neighbourJ / shoulde]shuldeDJK sholdeBEFGHI / shewe]wyllDGHIJ /
&]andDHIK/ vnto]toDHIJ
98. is]is toDG notK / vnderstande]vnderstandeFI / of]inG / well]wyllDGHIJK /
ordred]orderedD ordrydHI / and]&FG / confourmed]counformedC conformedDGK
confermedF confyrmydHI confirmedJ / that]þ^tG / to]tooBCE
99. say]sayeBCEFGH / shall]shalteDFGH shaltJK / wyl]wyllBDEFGHIK /
&]andHIK / neyghboure] neyghbourDIJ neyghbureH neyghboureK /
wolde]woldestDGK / ryghtfully] rightfullyDK ryghfullyH
100. shoulde] shuldeDK sholdeBCEFGHI shuldJ / do]dooI
101. Besyde]BesideD / these]theyseHI /
commaundementes]commaundementesBCDEG commandementesJ
commaundementesIK / .vii.]seuenHI / werkes]workesHIK
102. mercy]mercyeK / whiche]whycheDI whichJ / commy[n]ly]commenlyBHI
comenlyCEF commonlyD commenlyJ commonlyK / called]callydHI /
charyte]chariteDJ charytieK / but]But]F / doubtles]doubtelesBCEFG
doubtlesseHIK doutlesseJ / in]inJ / certayne]certaynJ
103. cases]causesBCEFGK / necessyte]necessiteDJ / strayte]straiteJ /
commaundementes]commaundementesBCEGK commaundementesDH /
these]theyseHI / be]benFHIK
104. hungry]hongryJ hungryeK / drynke]drinkeJ / the]þ^cE / thrusty]thurstyDGHIJ
thurstyeK / herberles]herberlessK
105. cloth[e]]clothAD / naked]nakydHI / vysyte]vysiteD visyteJ / seke]sykeG
syckeHIK sickeJ / to]or toF / comferte]comfortHJ / prysoner]prysonersGHIK
prisonersJ / to]and toI & toJ / bury]bureC

106. Forthermore]ForhhermoreC FerthermoreDGHI / shall]shalBC /
 &]andBCDFHIJK / vnderstande]vnderstandeD / there]therK /
 pryncypall]principallDJ /
107. orderynge]ordringeJ ordryngeFK / man]manEF a manDGHJK a manI /
 wel]wellBCDFGHIJK / anendes]agaynstBCEFGHI ageynsteD ayenstJ anenstK /
 God]godABCDEFGHIIJ / and]&GHI
108. them]themG theymFHI / ordre]orderJ / man]manH /
 pryncypally]pryncipallyD principallyJ / and]&G / they]thatCEF / be]benBCEK
 beneF / these]thyseBCEF / faythe]FaytheABCEFGI FeythD FaitheJ FaythK /
 hope]HopeABCDEFGF / &]andFGIK
109. charyte]CharyteABCEFG chariteD CharytieK / Faythe]feythD FaitheJ FaythK
 / beleue]byleueBCDEFGHI / vpon]inDG / God]godABCDEFGHIIJ / and]&DG /
 Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGI churchDK churchJ / Hope]hopeK
110. maketh]makythH / man]manD / truste]trustBCEHI byleueDG / well]welHJ
 / þ^e]theBCDEFGHI / ioye]IoyeABCEF ioyDHI IoyG / heuen]heuenD HeuenG
 heuynJK / God]godABCDEFGHIIJ / &]andDFIK
111. his]hysI / merytes]meritsD / Charyte]ChariteDJ CharytieK /
 maketh]makythHI / man]manDFGIJK / all]alCB / other]notG /
 thyng]thyngBCDEFHIK notG thingJ / &]andDGHIK
112. al]allDFGHIK / thyng]thyngBCHK / That]TheJHIK / .iiii.]fourJ foureHI /
 ordre]orderJ / man]manG / to]tooBC
113. anendes]agaynstBC ageynstDG ayensteF agaynstEHIK ayenstJ / and]&JH /
 they]thatBCEF / be]benBCEFK / prudence]PrudenceABCDEFGHIIJK /
 temperaunce]TemperaunceABCEFG TemperaunceDK temperanceJ /
 ryghtwysnes]RyghtwysnesABCEFGH RightwysnesD rightwysenesJ
 RyghtwsenesseK / and]&D
114. strenght]strentheBC StrengtheDFG strengthEJ strengtheH strenghteI Strength of
 myndeK / Prudence]PrudenceD / maketh]makythHI / man]manG / to]tooBC /
 dyscerne]decerneD deserneG discerneJ descerneK / and]&J / iuge]IugeAF too
 IugeBCE to iugeDG to iudgeK / well]welJ / is]ysI / what]and whatJ
115. is]ysI / badde]badDGHIIJK / is]ysI / done]donJ / &]andGHIK / is]ysI /
 lefte]leftJ / Temperaunce]TemperaunceBCEFK TemperaunceI TemperanceJ /
 maketh]makythHI / man]manEGI

116. moderat]moderateBCEFHIJK temperateG / etynge]etynngeCH eatyngeK /
&]andDHK / drynkyng]drinkegeC drynckyngeI drinkyngJ /
moderate]moderateBCEJ moderatD / in]inC / fleshly]fleshelyDG fleshelyK /
delectacyons]delectationsDG delectacyonsI delectacionsK /
moderat]moderateEFGHIJK

117. hate]hoteE / moderate]moderatD / conuersacyon]conuersacyonsBCEF
conuersacionD conuersacyonI conuersationJ conuersacionsK / mannes]mannesD
mansJ / lyfe]lifeJ / Ryghtwysnes]RightwysnesD RightwisnesJ RyghtwsenesseK /
maketh]makythHI

118. to gyue]gyueJ / man]manDE / that]p^tG / is]ysI / dewe]dueGHIJ / it]ytI /
in]notF / temporall]temporalD

119. temporall]temporallBCDEFI / honour]honoureFGHIK / or]OrD /
whether]whederJ / it]ytH / correckyng]correctyngHJ correctyngEIK /
theym]themBCDEFGJK / euyll]yuelD yuellJ

120. promotyng]promy^ttyngC promotyngDI promotyngJ / them]theymFHI
themK / p^t]thatDFGHIJK / Strength]StrenghtC StrengthDJ StrengtheH StrengtheI
Strength of mindeK / maketh]makythHI / man]manGI / stronge]strongeDI strengeK
/ suffryng]sufferyngGHI sufferyngJ sufferingeK

121. aduersyte]aduersiteDK / and]&DGI / stronge]strongF strongeI /
execucion]execucionDK excusyonG excucyonI executionJ /
iustyce]IustyceABCEFGK IusticeD / and]&I / correccyon]correccionD
correccyonGI correctionJ

122. stronge]strongeI / and]&GIJ / without]whithoutC / trouthe]trouthGJ /
and]&FGJ / stronge]strongeJ / and]&J / without]whithoutC w^toutJ withouteK /
fere]feareJK 123. withstande]whith standeC wythstandeI w^tstandeJ / vyce]viceD /
and]&IJ / wyckyednesse]wyckednesDG wickednesseJ wykydnesHI

124. *Constitution*]constitutionibusC constitutionibusHI / *Johannes*]JohannesI /
Pecham]PecchamEG PechamH PechamI PecchamJ /
sacramentis]sacramentisCEFGHIJ / iterandis]iterandisDEFGHI iterandisJ

125. Also]ForthermoreDG FerthermoreHI FurthermoreJ / you]yeDFGHIJK /
shal]shallDEFGK / and]&DEGIJ / vnderstande]vnderstandeDIJ / that]p^tG /
ther]thereDEFGHIJK / be]benBCEFHIK / seuen].vij.DJ /
sacramentes]SacramentesD sacramentesJ SacramentesK

126. Chyrche]churcheDJK / wherof]wher ofC whereofHI / fyue].v.DJ /
&]andGFHIK / woman]womanJ / is]ysI / bounde]boundeDJ / receyue]receiueK
127. conuenyent]conuenientD conuenyentI conuenyentJ / fyrste]firsteD fyrstE firstJ
/ is]ysI / baptym]baptymeBCHIJ baptismeD baptysmeEFG BaptysmeK
crystendome]cristendomeD christendomeJ CrystendomeK / which]whycheD
whicheK / putteth]puttythHI / awaye]awayHI
128. orygynall]orygynallD origynallJ / synne]synJ / shall]shalJ /
vnderstande]vnderstandeG / that]ThatABCE / whan]whanDFGHIJK / our]oureK /
fyrste]firsteD fyrstFGHI firstJ / &]andDFGHIK
129. mother]matherE / and]&H / Eue]eueA / creat]createDFGHIJK /
&]andDGIK / receyued]receuydHI / almyghty]almightyJ
130. them]theymF / &]andDGIJK / theyr]theirJ / yssue]issueDJ IssueK /
þ¹]thatDGHJK / is]ysHI / saye]sayDGHJ / mankynde]mankyndeCEFGHIJK
mankyndD / þ^e]theDHIJ thatK / gyfte]gyftJK
131. orygynall]orygynallBCE origynallJ / iustyce]IustyceABCEFG IusticeDK /
w[h]iche]wicheA whichIK / yf]ifDJ / kepyd]kepteBCEFGHI keptJK / &]andGHI
/ all]allIJ / theyr]theirJ / yssue]issueJ IssueK / hauynge]hauyngJ
132. gyft]gyfteBCFGHIK / shoulde]sholdeBCEFGI shuldD shuldeJK / dyed]diedD
/ suffred]sufferedFG sufferydGI / any]onyBCEFG / penalty]penaltyeBCEFGHI
penaltieJ penalteK / this]thysBCEH / wretchyd]wretchedBCDEFGJK
133. shuld]sholdeBCEFGHI shuldeJK / translate[d]]translateDHJK translateI /
conuenyent]conuenientBCEI conuenyentDFGHJ couenyentK / into]in toCEFHIJK /
paradyse]paradiseDJ ParadyseK / celestyall]celestiallD celestyalG celestialJ
134. there]therK / euermore]euer moreCK / than]thanI / by
cause]bycauseBCEFHIJ becauseG / dysobeyed]dysobeiedC disobeyedDJ /
and]&DIJ
135. commaundement]commaundementI commaundementJ comaundementK /
loste]lostGHIJ / gyfte]gyftJK / orygynall]orygynallCE originalld origynallJ /
iustyce]IustyceABCEFGK IusticeD / and]&HIJK / fell]felC
136. necessyte]necessiteD / dethe]dethGK / &]andDGHK / to]tooI /
wretchydnesse]wretchidnesseD wretchednesseFGK / worlde]worldI / all]all /
theyr]theyreD theG theirJ
137. yssue]issueDJ IssueK / Wherefore]whereforeABCDEFGHIJK / nowe]nowI
notK / orygynall]orygynallD origynallJ / synne]synJ / is]ysI / saye]sayDFGHIJ /

138. wantynge]waytyngeE wantyngJ / orygynall]orygynallD orygynallI origynallJ / iustyce]IustyceABCEFGK IusticeD / and]&J / nat]*not*BCEFGHIK / sauyd]sauedDFGJK / ordynate]orygynallF / lawes]LawesK
139. vnto]VntoABCEfJ / þ^e]theDEFGHIJK / tyme]timeK / this]thysD / put]butA orygynall]originallD origynall orygynallI / synne]synJ / and]&DGHij / goten]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. *constitutionibus*]constitutionibusC constytutionibusH / *prouincialibus*]prouincialibusC *prouinciali*K / *Baptismo*]BaptysmoB baptismoGIJ baptysmoG / &]etI / *effectu*]affectuJ
- 143 sacrament]sacramentJ SacramentFK / ought]oughteK / not]natDJ / mynystred]ministredD mynystrydHI mynistredJ / a preest]apreestEH / excepte]exceptK / case]causeK / necessyte]necessiteD
144. and]AndABCDEFGH &H / thenne]thenBCE thannedD thanFGHIJK / euery]eueryeK / and]&J / maye]mayBCDEFGHIJ / mynystre]mynistreJ mynysterK / it]ytI
145. maye]mayGJ / mynystre]mynistreJ mynysterK / it]ytI / theyr]theirJ / chylde]childeDJ / &]andBCDEFGIJ / afterward]afterwardeJ / lye]to lyeG / togyder]togetherD togytherK / [th]e]hteA þeFG
146. lawe]lawK / matrymonye]matrymonyBCEG MatrymonyHI MatrimonyJK / yf]ifDJ / suche]suchK / of]yfi / necessyte]necessiteD / happe]happenBCDEFGK / any]onyBCEFG
147. then]ThenABCE thanDHIJ ThenF thanG / say]sayeBDFGHIJ / with]wythI / intent]ententeEGHI ententJ intencionK / on]inK / this]thysI / cristen]crystenBCEFHIJ christenJ / the]þ^eGK / in]InABCF / the]þ^eK
148. Father]fatherDGHIJK / and]*not*HIJ &K / of]*not*G / Sone]soneABCDH sonneEGIK sonJ / &]andG / the]þ^eF / Holy]holyABCDEFGHIJ holyeK / Goste]gosteA GhoostBCE goosteD GhostF ghostG goostHI gostJ ghosteK /

&]andBCDEFG AndHIJK / whyles]whileD whyleFGHIK whilesJ /

sayinge]sayengeBCDEFGHIK sayengJ

149. wordes]wordesJ / shall]shalG / caste]castGK / vpon]vponBCDEFGHIJK /
ellys]ellesBDEFGH el-I elsJK / put]dyppe inK / chylde]childeJ / vnto]in toHIK /
the]p^eF

150. And]andABCEFHI &DGJ / thenne]thanDGHIJK thenF / doubte]douteHJ
doutI / ye]youK / not]natDJ / but]notK / that]theK / chylde]the childeDG childeJ
/ receyueth]receyuetheD receyuethHI / suffycentely]suffycentlyBCK sufficyentlyDE
suffycyentlyFGH suffycyentlyI sufficientlyJ

151. sacrament]SacramentABC SacramenteE / baptysme]BaptysmeABCEFK
BaptismeD baptymeHIJ

152. secunde]secondeBCDEFGK .ii.HIJ / sacrament]SacramentF SacramenteK /
confirmacion]ConfirmacionADE ConfirmacyonBG ConfirmacionC ConfirmacyonF
confirmacyonH confirmacyonI confirmationJ confirmacionK / the]peEG /
bysshop]BysshopK / whiche]whichK / gyueth]gyuethD

153. the]p^eFG / stronger]strongerI / ryght]rightD / byleue]beleueK / of
God...Chyrche]notDGHIJ

154. thyrd]thirdeD .iii.HIJ / sacrament]sacramentDIJ SacramentK /
penaunce]penaunceDHIJ / restoreth]restorythHI / agayne]agaynI ayenJ

155. yf]ifDJ / it]ytHI / loste]lostGHI

156. fourth].iiii.HIJ / sacrament]sacramentHIJ SacramentK / blessyd]BlessydABC
blessedDEJ blissedK / sacrament]SacramentABCDFK sacramentEGHI sacramentJ /
p^e]theBCDFGHIJK / auter]AuterA AwterBCEF AulterDGIK aulterH autreJ /
increasyth]encreasethBEGK encreasethC increasithD increasethF encreasythHI
encresethJ

157. meruaylously]merueylouslyH merueylouslyI marueylouslyJ meruaylouslyeK /
and]&HIJ / causeth]causythHI / spyrytuall]spyrytualleB spirituallD spyrytuall
spirituallJ / And]&DGIJ andFH meruayle]merueyleF marueyleJ

158. hereof]here ofACE herofJ / holy]holyeK / sacrament]sacramentIJ
SacramenteK / conteyned]containedC conteynedD conteynyndHI contaynedJ /
the]p^eF / forme]fourmeBCEFG / brede]bredJ

159. p^e]theDFGHIJK / Cryst]crystABCEG cristD crysteF ChristJK /
Ihesu]IesuCHIIK / flesshe]flesshJ / &]andBCDFGIK / Cryst]crystABCEFG

cristeD CrysteHI ChristJ ChrystK / hym selfe]hymselfeEFGH himselfeJ /

God]godABCDEFGHJIJ GodK / &]andDEFGK / man]manDH

160. And]andDG / lykewyse]lyke wyseBCDHI lykewiseJ / in]InC /

chalys]chalyceBEFHIIJK chalycheC / consecracyon]consecracyonCI

consecracyonDFG consecrationJ consecracionK / conteyned]conteynedC

conteynedDFG conteynyndHI contaynedK

161. forme]fourmeBCEGHJK / the]þ^eFG / Cryste]crysteA ChrystBK CrystCEH

CristD crystFGI ChristJ / Ihesu]IesuDHIIJK / &]andDFGHJK / Cryste]crysteA

ChrystB CrystCEFGH cristedD crystI christeJ ChrysteK / hym selfe]hymselfeBEFGK

hym selfI him selfeJ

162. and]&I / man]manI

163. *constitutionibus*]constitutionibus constiIJ / *prouincial*]pronincialibus notIJ /

Iohannes]IohanBCDFHIIJK / *Peccham*]PecchamG PechamHI PechamJ PecchamK /

Summa]summaGHK summaJ / *trinitate*]TrinitateGI

164. *fide*]et fideCGHJ FideF / *catholica*]chatholycaC / *Capitulo*]CapitulumI capJ /

Altissimus]altissimusADEJK altissimusBGH AltissimusCFI / But]BotHK / that]þ^tF

/ laye]layGHI leyJ

165. receyue]reecerueB receueC resceyueD / this]thysEI / blessyd]blessedDJ

blyssydK / sacramente]sacramentBCDEFGHIIJ SacramentK / Ester]EesterD

EasterK / necessarye]necessaryEFGHIIJ

166. hit]itFGJK ytHI / forme]fourmeBCDEFGK / brede]breedJ / For]forC /

þ^t]thatBCDEFGHIIJK / thyng]thyngJ / is]ysI / chalyce]chaliceJ ChalyceK

167. is]ysI / no]nooHI / sacrament]sacramentBCEFI SacramentK / to]tooI /

holy]holyeK / sacrament]SacramentK / go]gooBC

168. more]the moreGIJ

169. fyfte].v.GHIIJ fyftK / sacrament]sacramentD SacramentK /

anoylynge]anoyntyngDGH anoyntyngIJ / whiche]whycheC

170. and]&GI / away]awayeBCDJK a wayE / venyall]veniallC / synnes]synneG

/ and]&DIK / increasyth]increasethBCEFI increasithD increasethGHJ encresethK /

helthe]helthDFHIIJK / both]botheBCDFGH *not*I / of soule]souleHIIJ

171 - 2. .ii.]twoHIIJK / sacramentes]sacramentesJ SacramentesK /

whiche]whycheC / noo]noDFGIJK / is]ysH / bounde]boundeFGJ / they that]that

theyK /

172. theym]themDGIK themJ / ordre]ordresBCEFHI ordersJ orderK /
whiche]whycheI / auctoryte]auctoriteDEJ / mynystre]ministreD mynystreJ
mynysterK

173. aboute]aboutBCIJ aboueE / the]þ^eG / sacramentes]SacramentesBCE
sacramentesD sacramentJ SacramentK / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGH churcheDJ
churchK / That]TheHIJK / is]ysH / matrymonye]matrymonyBCDEFGJ
MatrymonyHIK / whiche]whycheCI the whicheK

174. maketh]maketheD makythHI / lefull]lefulleD lefulJ / the]notF /
bodely]bodylyI bodelyeK / betwyx]bytveneBCEFGHIJ betveneK / man]manI /
&]andDFH / woman]womanGJ / whiche]whycheI / elles]ellisD elsHIJK ellesI /
vnlefull]vnlefulBD / &]andDFHIJK

175. dampnable]dampnableI

176. *constitutionibus*]constitutionibusC constitutioneHI / *Walteri*]waltyryJ /
di]deBCDEFGH / *sponsalibus*]sponsalibusC sponsalibusI / *Capitulo*]CapitulumG
CapiHJ Capitul / *Matrimonium*]MatrymoniumC matrimoniumG

177. this]thysDI / chyrche]ChurcheD churchJ chyrchI /
commaundeth]commaundethBCF commaundythI / persons]personsBF /
cursynge]cursyngI / persons]personel

178. ony]anyDHIJK / pryue]preuyI priuyJ pryuyK / contracte]contracteJ /
Matrymony]matrymonyDGI MatrimonyJ MatrymonyeK / togyther]togyderHIJ /
ony]anyIJ / secrete]secretK / promyse]promesseDG

179. it]ytH / done]dooneBCE / all]alD / oonly]onelyBCEFGHIJK onlyI / and]&I
/ dyuerse]diuerseD dyuersEGHIJ diuersK / persons]personesEGI /

180. specyally]speciallyCDJ specyallyeK / called]callydHI / bere]beareJ /
wytnesse]wytnesHI witnesseJ

181. *penitendis*]pnijsDG *penitentiis*HIJ / et]&CE / *remissio*]remissioDGHIJ /
capitulo].cap.G Cap.HIJK / *Omnis*]OmnisI

182. declaracyon]declaracionD declaracionI declarationJ / the]thisBCEF /
sacrament]sacramentDI sacram?H SacramentK / penaunce]penaunceIJ PenaunceK /
which]whicheBDEFGHK whycheC whycheI / spoken]spokenI

183. shall]shalDG / vnderstande]vnderstandeDJ / þ^t]thatDHIJK / be]benK /
.iii.]threHIJK / thynges]thyngesD / specyally]speciallyDJ pryncypallyFK /
requyred]requiredJ / þ^t]thatDGHIJK

184. wete]wyteH wytI / confessyon]ConfessyonA ConfessyonBCEF confessionDJ
 confessyonG confessyonHK confeyssonI / contrycyon]ContrycyonA contricionD
 ContrycyonF contryconH contricionI contritionJ contrycionK / and]&DFHIJ /
 Satisfaccyon]SatisfaccyonA satisfaccionD satisfaccyonH satysfaccionI
 satisfactionJ satisfactionK / Confessyon]ConfessionD ConfessyonF ConfessionI
 ConfessionJ / crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenK

185. man]manI / and]&GIJ / woman]womanG / come]comeJ / yeres]yearesK /
 dyscrecyon]discrecionD dyscrecyonI discretionJ dyscressonK / is]ysH beI /
 bounde]boundeDJ / þ^e]theDFHIJK

186. lest]leestBCEFGHI leesteD / þ^e]theDFGHIJK / them]thenF thanHIJK /
 make]notDGHIJ / knowlege]knowledgeF / of]notDGHIJ / al]allDEFGHIJK /
 theyr]theirJ / synnes]synnesDFGHIJK / to]notG / theyr]theirJ /

187. ordynary]ordynaryeDK ordanaryF ordinaryJ / and]&DGIK /
 except]excepteBCDEFGHI / lefull]lefulBCEG lawfullHI / whiche]whycheD
 whichIK / may]mayeK

188. an other]anotherBCEFGJ a notherDHI an otherK / confesor]ConfessorA
 ConfessourBCE confessourD confessoureFGHK confessourI / so]sooH / that]þtG /
 lycence]lycenceBCEJ / therto]theretoH / theyr]theirJ / curate]Curate orK /

189. ordynarye]ordynaryBCEFGI ordinaryJ / asmoche]as mocheGHK as mychI
 asmochJ / some]somI / persones]personesDFHI personsJK / not]natDJ /
 theyr]thyrD theirJ

190. confessyon]confessionD / thynges]thyngesBCEFGHIJ thyngeK / shall]shalD
 shalbeJK / be]notJK / shewed]shewyd toHI / them]theymFH / nowe]nowIJ /
 the]þ^eG

191. wherby]wherebyHI / may]mayeBCEFGHIK / ordre]orderHIJ / the]þ^eG /
 them selfe]theymselbeBEF theym selfeCH themselfeG them selfJ / theyr]theyrel
 theirJ / confessyon]confessyonC confessionD confessyonG confessionJ /
 makynge]makyngeJ

192. Fyrste]FirstD FyrstEG FirstJ / to]untoHI / gostely]ghostlyBCEG goostelyD
 ghostelyF goostlyH ghostlyI gostlyJ ghostlyeK / Father]fatherGHIJK / that]þ^tG /
 gette]geteBCEFGHI getK / in]inG / to]notK

193. counsayle]counsailleCDEFHIK counsaileJ / with]wythI / your]youreI /
 and]&DG / great]greteCEFHI / studye]studyEGK / and]&G /
 dylygence]dilygenceDK diligenceJ / to]ToABCE / remembre]remembreDEGHIK

194. youre]yourCEI / synnes]sinnesD / the]þ^eG / God]godABCDEFGHIIJ /
and]&GHI and forFK / helth]heltheG / in]inDJ
195. great]greteEFHI gretJ / mater]matterIJK / worldly]wordlyD worldelyEGHI
worldlyeK / Fyrste]FirstDJ FyrstI / remembre]remembreD / your
selfe]yourselfeEFG youre selfeI / your]youreEFG
196. consyence]conscienceCEFGH conscienceD consyenceI conscienceJK /
whether]whederJ / ben]beneF beenI / doutefull]doute fulC doubtfullF doubtfulG
doutfullH doubtfullI doubtfulJ doubtfullK / in]inJ / any]onyBCEFG /
artycles]ArtyclesABCEF ArticlesD artycleHI articleJ / faythe]faythG faithJ
197. seconde]secondeD / remembre]remembreDJ / whether]whederJ /
any]onyBCEFG / commaundementes]CommaundementesA
CommaundementesBCEGHJ CommaundementesD commaundementesF
commaundementesI
198. thyrd]thirdeDJ thyrdI / remembre]remembreDJ rememberI /
whether]whederJ / kepyd]kepteBCDEFGHK keptIJ / þ^e]theBCDEFGHIIJK /
.ii.]twoHJK
199. commaundementes]commaundementesBCF commaundementesD
commaundementesGIJ commaundementesH commaundementesK / gospel]GospelK
/ the]þ^eG / wete]wyteBCEK wytteI / whether]whederJ / louyd]louedBCDEFGJK
/ God]godABCDEFGHIIJ
200. thyng]thyngJ / &]andBDEGHIJK / done]dooneBCE /
neyghboure]neghboureBC neyghbourDE neyghbourJ neyghboursK / to]vntoHIJ
201. fourth]fourtheK / whether]whederJ / ben]beneG / dylygent]dylygentBCE
diligentJ dylygenteK / your]youreG / fulfill]fulfylFJ
202. .vii.]seuenH seynJ / werkes]workesHIIJK / fulfill]fulfylG /
fyft]fyfteBCEFGK fyfthH fyftheIJ / remembre]remembreCEFGK rememberI /
whether]whethtrD whederJ / fallen]fallenD / any]onyBCEFG /
poynt]poynteBCEFGH
203. cursyng]cursyngDIJ / generall]generalBCE / sentence]sentenceCD /
whiche]whichK whychI / commaundyd]commaundedBCDEJK commaundedFG
commaundydH commaundydI / and]&DHI / accustomed]accustomydHI
204. shewyd]shewedDEFJK / .iiii.]foureFGIK fourJ / tymes]timesK /
syxt]syxteBCEFGK .vi.]DHI / remembre]remembreI / whether]whederJ /
synned]synnedCDEFGHIIJK

- 205.** any]onyBCEFG / the]p^cG / .vii.]seuenI seuynJ / deedly]dedelyeK /
saye]sayHI / in]InABCEF / pryde]PrydeABCDEFGHK PrideJ /
wrathe]WratheABCEFG wrathI WrathK / enuye]EnuyeABCDEFGK EnuyHJ enuyI
- 206.** couetyse]CouetyseABCDEFGK / slouthe]SloutheABCDEFJK SlowthG
slouthI / glotonye]GlotonyeABCDEK GlotonyFGJ glotonyHI / &]andDFGJK /
lecherye]LecheryeABCEK LecheryDFGHJ lecheryI / any]onyF / any]onyBCEG /
braunches]braunchesIJ / theym]themDFGIJK
- 207.** Pryde]PrideJ / Fyrste]FirsteD FyrstFG FirstHIJ / pryde]PrydeABCDEFGK
prideJ / whether]whederJ / desyred]desiredJ / ony]anyDHIJK / vayne
glorye]vayngloryI vayngloryeK
- 208.** glorye]gloryG glorieJ / ony]anyDHIJK / or]or ofI / of]notI / your
self]yourselfeBCEFG your selfeDHK / any]onyBCEFG / goodes]gooddesD /
- 209.** p^t]thatDFHIJK / had]haddeJ / beautye]beauteFG beautyHI /
strength]strengtheH strengthIJ / yought]yongthBCEF youtheDH youthGIJK /
or]OrABCDEFGHIK / any]onyBEFG
- 210.** gold]goldeBCDEFGHIJK / ryche]richeDJ / landes]landesD landesJ /
catelles]cattellesCEF catelleD catellGH cattellI catelJ / or]OrDG / any]onyBCEFG /
as]as ofH
- 211.** connynge]ConnnyngABCE ConnyngeF connnyngJ / eloquence]eloquenceDGHJ
eloquensK / wysdome]wysedomeHIJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIJK / yf]ifDJ /
dispysed]dispisedD dyspysedEFGH dyspysyDI / mocked]mockyDHI
- 212.** p^t]thatDFGHIJK / wantyd]wantedBCEHIJK wantedDG / any]onyBCEFG /
Forthermore]FerthermoreDHI FurthermoreJK whether]whederJ / ye]youK /
feyned]faynedBCDEFGK faynydHI / your selfe]yourselfeBEF
- 213.** ypocrysy]IpocrysyE ipocreisyJ ypocrysyeK / holy]holyeK / ryght
wyse]ryghtwyseBEFHK rightwyseJ / then]thanBGHIJK / ben]beneBCFH / in]inJ
/ or]OrABCDEFGHIJK
- 214.** whether]whederJ / shewyd]shewedBCDEFGJK / your selfe]yourselfeBCEG /
crakyng]CrakyngE crackyngel crakyngJ / bostynge]BostyngeF bostyngJ
- 215.** inordynat]inordynateBCDHIJK in ordynateE InordynateFG / delyte]deliteK /
pryde]PrydeABCDEFGH prideJ / p^t]thatDFGHIJK / thyng]thingJ thingeK /
that]notG / had]haddeHK / nat]notBCEFGHIK / or]or forK / to]tooF
- 216.** thyng]thingJ / that]the whicheFK / knowe]kneweDFGHI knewJ /
nat]notBCEFGHIK / done]dooneHI / that]p^tF / thyng]thingJ / not]natDJ

217. or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / ony]anyHIIJK / gyfte]gyftDF giftJ /
syngulerly]syngularlyDG singulerlyJ syngulerlyeK

218. cunnyng]CunnyngABCEF connyngDGHI connyngJ /
eloquence]EloquenceABCEF eloquenceDJ / wysdome]WysdomeABCE
wysedomeHI wisdomJ / vertue]vertuD / whether]whederJ / thought]thaughtD
thoughteK / it]ytHI

219. hath]hatheHI / comen]comenDJ comenF comenHI / your
selfe]yourselfeBEFG youreselfeH youre selfI your selfJ / and]&FJ / not]natD /
all]alBCE *not*IJK / oonly]onelyBCEFGHI onlyD alonlyJ alonlyK /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / thoughe]whetherDG thoughFJ / thought]supposed or
thoughtDG

220 - 1. that]p^tF *not*IJ / it]this goodnesDG ytHI / hathe]hathBCEGJK /
cummen]comenBCEF ben gyuen youDG comenHIK comenJ / yet...hath]*not*DGJ
/ it]ytHI / hath]hatheHI / cummen]comenBC *not*DGJ comenF comenHIK / of
god]*not*DGJ

221. your]youreBE oonly for yourD onely for your owneG / merytes]meriteesD
meritesJ / and]orDG *not*H &IJ / your]*not*DHIJ / deseruyse]deseruyngesD
deseruyceF deserteHI desertJ deseruyngK / Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI
FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJ

222. proude]proudi / youre]yourDFIJ / kynne]kynJ / or]or whether ye have
benDG / ye]youHI / stande]standeDF / fauoure]fauourDJK / or]*not*HIJ

223. famylyaryte]familiariteD *not*HIJ / lorde]lordD / or]*not*I / lady]ladyeK /
or]*not*HJ / with]w^tF *not*HIJ / ony]anyDHIJK / state]estateDIJ / p[ro]ude]porudeA
/ youre]yourJ / offyce]officeD

224. rouse]rowmeD iowmeG romeHI / that]p^tG / ben]bene]H /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / elles]elsDJK / whether]whederJ / ben]benF beneHI / a
shamed]asshamedBCE ashamedFD as hamedG ashamydHI / your]youreHI

225. bycause]by causeB becauseG / the]p^cBCEJ theyrDFGK *not*HI /
pouerte]pouertyeHI pouertyJ / or]OrG / yf]thatBCEFK *not*DGHIJ / ben]beneHI /
ashamed]a shamedDJ asshamedEK ashamydH asshamydI / that]p^tG / ye]youBCFK
/ not]natDJ / ben]beneBCEFHI benD

226. to]tooE / hygher]higherJ / greter]greaterBCDEK gretterHIJ /
honoure]honourGJK / hadde]hadFGHIIJK

227. to]tooI / your]youreB / euyll]yuellD euyIG yuelJ / whether]whederJ /
sought]soughteD / excuses]excusysHI / theym]themDFG themJK / and]&FJ /
228. sytthe]notDGHII sythFK / putte]putDFGHIJK / men]notHI / the]p^eF /
faute]defauteDG fawteK / therof]thereofHI / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / yf]ifDGJ /
ben]beneBCEK / dysobedyent]dysobedyentC dysobedientD disobedientJ / vnto]toHI
tooI
229. superyours]superioursDK superioursJ / to]tooI / to your]notHIJ yourK /
the]p^eF / prelates]prelatesJ / the]p^eF
230. chyrche]churcheDJ ChurcheK / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / trusted]trustydHI /
so]sooBCEHI toK / wytte]wytJ / that]ptF / dyspysed]dyspysydABCEFI
dispisedD dyspisedK / the]p^eF
231. counsayle]counsayleBCDK counseyllF counsaileJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK /
taken]takyngDG / then]thanDGHI / or]andHI &J / your]youreHI /
lornyng]lernyngeBCDEFGHIIK lerningJ / hath]hatheGHI
232. requyred]requyredJ / Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurdermoreJ
FurthermoreK / whether]whederJ whytherK / ye]notBC / loved]louydHI /
syngularyte]syngulariteD singularyteI singulariteJ / apparayll]apparayleD
apparellEFHIJK apparelGI /
233. syngularyte]singularyteD notHIJ / speche]speceC / other] yourHIJ /
conuersacyon]conuersacionD couersacyonI conuersationJ / syngularyte]syngulariteD
notHIJ / faste]fastBCEFK fastyngeHI fastingJ / in]inBCDEG orFK notHIJ
234. in]inC / d[e]uocyons]doucyonsA deuocionsDK deuocyonsEI deuotionsJ /
taken]takenFI / [y]our]ourABCDEFGHIIJK / auctoryte]auctoriteDJ authoriteK /
rather]notIJ / than]thanIJK / the]p^eFG
235. comyn]commenD comenG commonH comonI commonJK / and]&FIIK /
deuocyons]deuocionsDK deuotionsJ / ordeynyd]ordeynedD ordenydI ordaynedJ /
Holy]holyABCEFK theDGHII / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEGHI churcheDJK chircheF
/ or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK
236. whether]whederJ / ben]beneHK / suspecyous]suspyciousC suspiciouseDJ /
and]&J curyous]curiouseD curiousJ / serchyng]sertchingJ / and]&FJ /
iugynge]iugyngeABCDEF IugeyngeG iugynghII iudgyngeK
237. mennes]mennesIJ mensK / dedes]dedesJ / &]andDEGJK /
presumptuous]presumptuousD presumptousIJ / iustifyinge]iustifyingeA

IustyfyengeBCEFG IustifyengeD iustyfyengeHK iustyfyengeI iustyfyengJ / and]&IJ
/ preferryng]preferryngeDHK preferryngel /

238. of]notBC orH / others]otherDGIJ

239. Thenne]ThanneD ThanFGHIJK / the]p^eF / synne]synJ / wrathe]wrathJK /
remembre]RemembreABCDEGH RemembreFIJ / whether]whederJ / ben]beneH /
so]sooBCK

240. grettely]gretelyBCEFG greatlyD gretlyHIJ greatlyK / moued]mouydHI /
styred]steredH / by]toG notHIJ / wrathe]wrathJK / ayenst]ayensteBCE
agaynstDGK agaynsteHI / ony]anyDHJK / man]manI

241. wyllled]wylydHI / ony]anyDHIJK / hurte]hurtJ / other]eytherDGHIIJ /
his]hysI / goodes]goodesJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK

242. keped]kepteBCDEGHIK keptFJ / longe]longeD longJ / in]inJ /
youre]yourFJ notI / oftentimes]ostentimesA often tymesDIK often tymesF ofte
tymesGH oftymesJ / thynkyng]thikyngJ / howe]howBCEJ / ye]heFK /
myght]mightJ myghteK

243. venged]vengedBCEFGK vengydeD reuengydH reuengydI reuengedJ /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / whether]whederJ / wrathe]wrathK / your]yoreHI /
angre]angerD / ony]anyDHIJK / man]manF / by]orK

244. werke]warkeG workeIK / counsaile]counsaille counseylIF counsaileJ
counsaileK / mayntenaunce]mayntenaunceDEGH manytenaunceI maintenaunceK /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / whether]whederJ / vexed]vexydHI

245. troubled]troublydHI / ony]anyDHIJK / sute]suteDG / plee]pleG / of]byI /
euyll]yuellD yuellJ / and]&J / malyce]maliceJ / then]thenneB thenneC
thanDFGHIJK

246. good]godI / wyll]heleDGHIIJ / and]&F / affeccyon]affecionD affeccyonI
affectionJK / ryghtwysnes]ryghtwysnesseDHI rightwysnesseJ /

Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHII FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJ /

cursed]cursydHI **247.** asked]askydHI / vengeaunce]vengeaunceDGI /
your]yoreEI / euyne]euenF / crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenK / Or]orJ /
whether]whederJ / ben]beneH / so]sooH / engre]angryBCEFGJIK angreD /
so]sooH

248. inpacient]impacientD inpacientGK inpacientI inpatientJ /
sykenesse]sykenesseHIK sicknesseJ / in]notHIJK / any]onyF / losse]lostF /
temporall]temporallDEFGHIK / goodes]gooddesC / that]p^tG

- 249.** gru[d]ged]gruggedA grudgydHI / ordynance]ordynaunceEFGJ ordenaunceH
ordenaunceI ordinaunceK / Our]ourABCDEFHIJK oureG /
Lorde]lordeABCDEFGHIIJK / God]godABCDEFGHIIJK or]*not*K / ony]anyHIIJ
- 250.** blasphemouse]blasphemousEFHIK / worde]wordesBCDEHIIK /
ayenst]ageynstD agaynsteHI againstJ agaynstK / his]hysHI / goodnes]goodesF
goodnesH goodnesseIJ / vnreuerently]vnreuerentlyG vnreuerentlyDFHIIJ
vnreuerentlyeK / his]hysHI
- 251.** Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurdermoreJ / whether]whederJ /
refused]refusydHI / aske]aske ofDGHIJ / them]themDFG theymHI / that]p^tF /
- 252.** hurte]hurtJ / or]OrDG / whether]whederJ / refused]refusydHI /
them]theymBCHI themFGJ / hurte]hurtDIJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK /
- 253.** whether]whederJ / mysordred]misordredDJ mysse ordrydH mysse orderydI /
your selfe]youre selfeBCHI yourselfeF / braulynge]brawlyngeHI braulyngJ /
chdyng[e]chdyngI chydingJ chydingeK
- 254.** myscaallynge]in sclaudryngeG mysse callyngeH miscallyngeJ / your]youreE
/ crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenK / rubukynge]rebukyngBCEFG rebukeDHIIJ /
other]outherDG eytherHI eitherJ / ayenst]ageynsteD ayensteF agaynsteG
agaynstHIK againstJ / theyr]theirJ
- 255.** persones]personsJK / ayenst]ageynstD agaynstGH againstJ agaynsteIK /
theyr]theyreI theirJK / condycyons]condycyonsBCFGHI condicionsD condicionsJ
condycionsK / or]OrABCDEFHIJK / whether]whederJ / ben]benF beneH /
so]sooBCE / inpacyent]impacyentABCEFGHIIJK impacientD /
- 256.** customably]customableAD customablyeK / other]eytherDGHI eitherJ / in]inJ
/ in]inD / worldly]worldelyBCEFGH / besynes]busynesBCEFG busynesseHIIK /
wysshed]whyssedC wysshydH wisshedJ / all]alG / the]p^eF
- 257.** deuyll]deuyf dyuelJ deuilK / wysshed]wysshydI wisshedJ / your]youreI /
deth]detheCFHIJ deathK / ony]anyDHIIJ / whether]whederJ /
manessed]manesshedC manassydHI manassedJ
- 258.** bete]beateJ / to]tooBCE / slee]sleC / &]andDFGK *not*H any body andI /
with]wythI / grete]greatDJK
- 259.** Enuye]EnuyHJ / Thenne]ThenBCDE ThanFGHIIK / the]p^eF /
synne]synneBCDEFGHIK synJ / enuye]EnuyeBCDEGK enuyF EnuyHIIJ /
remembre]RemembreABCEFGHIK remembreJ / whether]whederJ / ben]benDF
beneHI / glad]gladdeHIIJ

260. mennes]mennisD mennesFGHIJ mensK / sory]sorieH / other]notHIJ /
mennes]mennesBCDEG theyrHIJ / profyte]profiteD profiteGJK /
or]OrABCDEFGHGIJK / whether]whederJ / ben]benF beneHI
261. glad]gladdeHI / mennes]mennesGJ mensK / infamy]infamyeDH infamysI /
and]&K / sory]soryeK / euyl]yllD euylG yuelIJ/ mennes]mennesD mensHK /
and]&D
262. or]OrABCDEFGHGIJK / whether]whederJ / ye]heF / ben]beneBCEHI /
glad]glanB gladdeFGHI / ony]anyDHIJK / your]youreHI / euyn]euenBCK /
crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenIK / fallen]fallenD
263. syne]synneBCDEGHIK synJ / and]&FK / vyce]viceJ / sory]sorieJ /
þ^t]thatBCDEFGHGIJK / ony]anyDHIJK / them]themHI of themK /
kepyd]kepteBCEFGHI kepedD keptJK / them]themBCEHI themJ / in]inJ
264. Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJK / or]OrABCDEFGHGIJK /
whether]whederJ / of]inBCEFK orG / malyce]maliceJ / &]andFHIK /
euyl]euylBCE yuellD yuelJ / defamed]de famedD defamydHI / ony]anyDHIJK
265. persone]parsoneG personJK / pryuely]priuelyJ / aperely]apertlyDGK
openlyHI openlyJ / gyuen]gyuenF / ony]anyDHIJK / counsayle]counseyllF
counsaileJ / therto]theretoBCHI / whether]whederJ
266. Iuged]iugedDJ IudgydHI iudgedK / euyl]euylBCE yuellDJ / your]youreHI
youK / euyn]euenBCEFK / crysten]cristenD christenJ chrystenK / without]w^toutJ
wythoutI withouteK / suffycient]suffycyentBCEFGHIK sufficientD /
knowlege]knowledgeK / therof]thereofBCEHI
267. whether]whederJ / dyscorde]discordeCDJK / betweyxe]bytweneBCDEFGI
bytwereH betwixtJ betweneK / ony]anyDIJ notK / persons]personesCHI personsJ /
malyce]maliceDJ / &]andDHIK / euyl]euylBC yuellD ylJ
268. wyll]wylDJ / that]þ^tF / vnto]toHIJ / them]themDF themIJK /
or]OrABCDEFGHGIJK / whether]whederJ / to]tooBCE / peace]peasBCEF /
&]andDGHIK
269. myght]myghtJK / &]andDGHIJK / wold]woldeBCDEFGHJK / not]natDJ /
hatered]hatredDFGJK / &]andHI / malyce]maliceD / ony]anyDHIJK /
270. wycked]wykedD wickedJ / occasyon]occasionDJ
271. Thenne]ThanDFGHIJK / the]þ^cF / synne]synJ / Couetyse]couetiseJ /
remembre]RemembreABCFH remembreDIJ remembrerK / whether]whederJ

272. mennes]mennesBEFGHI mannesC / thefte]thyfteC theftFIJK /
r[o]bery]raveryA robberyGIK / extorsyon]extorcyonBCEFGHIK extorcionD
extortionJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJ / whet[h]er]wheterA whederJ
273. ben]bynD benF bene / wyll]wylBCE / do]dooDK / or]OrABCDEFGHIIK /
whether]whederJ / withholden]withholdenBCDEFGHIK w^holdenJ /
mennes]mennesDFH mensJ
274. wrongfully]wronfullyD / from]fromeGH / them]themF theymHI /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIK / whether]whederJ / flatteryngel]flateringeC flateryngeF
flatteryneI / fayre]faireJK
275. or by]notK / fayre]notK / promyse]promysel promiseJ notK / ony]anyDHIJK
/ vntrewe]vntrueFJK / meane]moyenE / deceyued]deceuydBCG dysceyuydH
dysceyuedI disceyuedJ / ony]anyDHIJK / man]manF notK / his]hysH / his]hysH
276. landes]LandesBCE landesD landeG landes]londesK /
Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJ / whether]whederJ / vsed]vsydHI /
ony]anyCDHIJK / false]falsI / deceytefull]deceyfullFIK
277. dysceytefullG dysceyfullH disceitfullJ / marchaundyse]marchaundiseD
marchaundyseFI marchandiseJ / other]eytherDGHI outhereJ /
vnsuffycyent]vnsufficientD vnsuffycientJ / vniuste]vniustFJ / weyghtes]weyghteG
weightesJ / or]andHIJ
278. measures]mesuresBCEFJK / ony]anyHIJK / subtyll]subtylleD subtylFI
subtylK / crafte]craftJK / or]OrABCDEFGHIIK / whether]whederJ / in]inJ /
ony]anyDHIJK / hande]handF handyHI handicraftJ /
279. werke]workeDHIJK workesG / ony]anyDHIJ notFK in onyG /
occupacyon]ocupacionDJK occupacyonF / vsed]vsydH / subtylty]subtyllyBCE
subtyltyeD notFK subtylteGI subteltyeHJ / or]onyF anyK / crafte]craftEFJK /
to]for tooG / deceyue]dysceyueH disceyueJ / your]youreBCGH / euyne]euenF
euenK
280. crysten]cristenDJ crystenF chrystenK / your]youreH / owne]notI / Or]orJ /
whether]whederJ / wrought]wroughteE wroughtG wornghtK / laboured]labourydH /
vsed]vsydH
281. byenge]beyngeC byengIJ / or]andH &IJ / sellenge]sellyngeCEFGHK
sillyngeD sellyngeEJ sellingeI / vpon]onHIJ / Sondaye]SondayB sondayDI
sondayeHK sondayJ / vpon]onHIJ / dayes]daiesJ / without]whitoutC w^toutJ

- 282.** reasonable]resonableDJ lefullI / and]&IJ / lefull]lefulCJ reasonableI /
necessyte]necessiteDJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIIJK / whether]whederJ /
byenge]byengJ / sellynge]sellingeC sillyngeD sellyngEIJ / in]inG
- 283.** bargayn]barginD bargayneEGHI bergayneF bargainJ / makynge]makyngeJ /
lenynge]lendyngeD lendyngeGHI lendingJ lenningeK / ony]anyDHIJK /
monay]moneyBCDEFGHIIJK / commytted]commyttedCEH commyttedDFIK
committedJ / ony]anyDHIJK / vsury]vsuryeHIK / ayenst]agaynsteH agaynstIK /
the]p^eF notJ / ordre]orderHIK thorderJ
- 204.** iustyce]iustyceABCEFGHK iusticeD / &]andDHK / charyte]chariteDJ /
whether]whederJ / commytted]commyttedFGH committedJK / ony]anyIJ /
symony]SymonyABCDEFGHII simonyJ / that]p^tF / is]ysH
- 285.** say]sayeEFK / bought]boughteK / or]notHIJ / ony]anyJK /
bargen]bargayneBCGHIK bargynD bergayneEF bargainJ / of]notBF /
spyrytuall]spirituallD spiritualJK / thyng]thingJ / ony]anyHK /
temporall]temporalCEK temporalIJ /
- 286.** goodes]goodesJ / Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJK /
whether]whederJ / fulfilled]fulfyllydH / the]p^eF / deedes]deddesHJ / wyll]wylGJ
wilK / whether]Or whetherH or whetherI whederJ whereK
- 287.** ben]beneBC / executor]executoureBCEFGHK executourI / or]andH &I /
keped]kepteBCDEFGHIK keptJ / the]p^eFG / goodes]goodesJ / your]youreH /
owne]ownI / vse]youseF / spende]spendeBCDE spentedFGK spentedH spentI spentJ
/ them]theymBCEFH themGHI / otherwyse]otherwiseDJ
- 288.** then]thanFHJK thanI / in]theBCE inD p^eF in theI / dedes]dedisD dedesJ /
charyte]chariteDJ / than]thanBCEFGHIJ theK / the]p^eF / deedes]deddesH dedesJ
deedsK / wyll]wylJ / hath]hatheBCEFHI / requyred]requyrydH requyredJ /
or]OrABCDEFGHIIK / whether]whether p^tF whederJ
- 289.** falsely]falslyDFJ / your selfe]yourselfeBCEF your selfJ / ony]anyDIJ /
vauntage]vauntageJK / worldly]worldelyBCEG wordelyH / or]OrI /
whether]whederJ
- 290.** desyred]desiredD / ony]anyDHIJK / mannes]mannesDG mannysI /
hurte]hurtDJ / mannes]mansJ mannesIK / deth]detheFI deathK / because]by
causeC bicauseJ / ony]anyDIJK / vauntage]vauntageJ vantageK / that]p^tF

291. myght]mightJ / come]comeJ / to]tooBCE / therby]therofHI /
 Forthermore]FerthermoreDG FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJ /
 payde]payedDHK paydI / duely]notK / youre]yourDFGHIJK / thert]theirK
292. seruauntes]seruauntisDH seruantesF seruauntG seruauntI seruauntesJ /
 theyr]theirF / wages]wagisH wagesJ / or]OrABCDEFGFG / yf]notBCEFK ifJ /
 seruaunte]seruantBCDEF a seruauntH a seruauntI seruantJ seruauntK /
 whether]whederJ / done]dooneBCE / truely]trewelyBCE trulyJ /
293. seruyce]seruiceDJ / or]OrFGK / whether]whederJ / myspende]mispendedD
 myspendedF myspendedGK myspentI myspentJ / your]youreBCEI /
 maysters]maistersDHJ / other wyse]otherwyseBFGIJ / hurte]hurtHJ
294. your]youreI / maysters]maistersDJ / vauntage]vauntageDJ /
 other]eytherDGHII / wylfully]wilfullyJ wylfullyeK / neglygent]neglitencedD
 negligentJ / seruyce]seruiceJ / or]OrK / whether]whederJ
295. that]þ^tF / withdrawen]w^ddrawenJ wythdrawenI withdrawennK /
 youre]yourBCDFGK / hande]handD handeJ / charyte]chariteDJ /
 refresshyng]refreshyngJ
296. poore]poreHIJ / and]AndABCDEFGFG &J / ben]bennF / couetyse]couetiseJ /
 [of]]inABCEFHIK inJ / gettyng]gettyngJK / worldly]worldelyBCEFGHI /
 couetyse]couetiseDJ / kepyng]kepyngJ
297. theym]themDFK themnJ / and]&FG / sorowfull]sorowfulH soroufullJ /
 departyng]beparryngeD departyingJ / from]froDG fromeHI / them]theymHI
 /Then]ThanDFGHIJK / synne]synJ / slouthe]SloutheABCDEGK SoutheF /
 remembre]remembreDHIJK / whether]whederJ
299. slouthfull]slouthfulH / Godes]godesAD goddesBCEFGK goddisH goddysI
 goddesJ / se[r]uyce]seruiceDJ / specyally]speciallyDJ / vpon]vponnD onHIJ /
 Sonday]sondayeEHI SondayFG sondayJ / &]andDFGHI / the]þ^eF notIJ / holy
 daye]holyydayeH holydayesI holy dayJK / daye]dayG
300. slouthfull]slouthfulleD slouthfulJK / come]comeJ / the]cheA notHJ /
 chyr[c]he]chyrtHeABCEH churcheDJK / slouthfull]slo uthfullAF slouthfulDEK /
 praye]prayDFGHJ / whenne]whanDFGHIJK / be]benD benFHJK beneI /
 there]therJ
301. slouthfull]slouthfulFJK / the]þ^eEFGK / worde]wordJ wordesK /
 preched]prechedJ preachedK / slouthefull]slouthfulleEFGHJK slouthfullyI /
 to]tooBC / applye]applied applyGJK / youre]yourDEFJK / mynde]mindeK

- 302.** to]toolI / thoughtes]thoughtysHI thoughtesJ / and]&FGJ *not*HI / to]tooE
*not*HIJ / good]*not*HIJ / medytacyons]meditacionsD meditationsJ medytacionsK /
 neglygent]NeglygentABCEFGHI NegligentDJ NeglygentK / refrayne]refrainJ /
 your]youreI / mynde]myndD
- 303.** frome]fromBCEFGHK frome allI fromJ / euyll]yuellD euylFG yuelJ /
 thoughtes]thoughtysI / or]andBCE &FK / your]youreC / eye]eyesDGHIIJ /
 &]*not*BCDEFGHIIJK / frome]fromEGHIK fromJ / vnchast]vnchasteDGK /
 Forthermore]FerthermoreDG FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJ
- 304.** neglygent]negligentD negligentJ / lerne]learneK / *Pater Noster*]Pater
 nosterABCDEFGHIIK Pater nosterJ / youre]yourBCDGHJ *not*FK and yourI /
Maria]mariaABCDEFGK maH *not*J / youre]yourBCDEFGHIIK
- 305.** *Credo*]CredeHIJ / or]OrI / whether]whederJ / be]benDFGHIIJ /
 neglygent]negligentDJ / the]b^eF / chyldren]childrenD chylderneHI childrenJ
- 306.** godchyldren]godchyldrenBG god chyldrenDFK god chylderneHI god childrenJ
 / or]OrABCDEFGIK / whether]whederJ / chastysyd]chastysedBCDEFGHIIJK /
 your]youreE / chyldren]chyldrenCF childrenD chyldredE chyldreHI childreJ /
 &]andBEHIIJK / taught]taughtC taughteF
- 307.** theym]themFGK themJ / maners]mannersH manersJ / haue]*not*HIJ /
 suffred]sufferedDGI / them]themGJ theymHI / great]greteBCEFG gretJ /
 swerynge]sweringJ / &]andDGHIIK / theyr]theirJ
- 308.** pleasure]pleasurD pleasoureF / wanton]wantonFJ wantonI / and]&FGJ /
 dyssolute]dyssolutyC dissoluteDJ desoluteG / or]OrABCDEFGK /
 whether]whederJ / ben]benBCEGHIIJ / neglygent]negligentDJ / in]inBCDEFGHIIJ
 / kepynge]kepyngD kepingJ /
- 309.** your]youreI / chyldren]chyldrenBCEFGK childrenD chylderneHI childreJ /
 from]fromeE froHIJ / fyre]fireD / &]andHIK / from]fromeE *not*HIJ / &]andDEHI
 orK / from]*not*HIJ / lyke]likeJ / ieopardy]IeopardyA IeoperdyeBCE IepordayeD
 IeoperdyFG ieopardesH ieopardyesI ieopardesJ ieoperdyK /
 Forthermore]FerthermoreDG FurthermoreJK
- 310.** whether]whederJ / mysspende]myspendeBCEF myspendeG myspentH myspentI
 mispentJ myspendeK / tyme]timeK / in]enD / idelnes]IdelnesABCDEFG
 ydelnesGK ydelnesseHI idelnesseJ / omytted]omittedJ / &]andDEHK /
 lefte]leftDFIK / vndone]vndonI

311. thynges]thyngesF / that]þtF / bounde]boundeDHIK / or]OrABCDEFGGIK / whether]whederJ / broken]brokenI / ony]anyDHIJK / that]þtFG
312. resonably]reasonablyDG *not*HIJ / promysed]promysedFGJ promisedK / or]OrABCDEFGHK orIJ / whether]whederJ / broken]brokenDI
313. neglygent]negligentDJ neglygenteK / in]inJ / fulfyllyne]fulfillyngIJ / the]þeF / penaunce]penaunceJ / that]þtF / hathe]hathGHIJK / resonable]reasonablyEFIK resonablyHJ / inioyned]InioynedBCEF enioynedDGHIJ inioinedK
314. your]youreBCE / ghostly]gostelyDI gostlyHJ / Fathers]FatherC fatersD fathersEGK fadersF fatherHIJ / ordynaries]ordynariesD ordinaryH ordinaryeI ordinaryJ / or]OrABCDEFGGK / whether]whederJ / hadde]hadFGHIJK / ony]anyDHIJK
315. suche]suchI / heuynesse]heuynesFGI / that]þtF / despyred]depyredC dispeyredD desperedF dyspayredGH dspayredI dispayredJ dyspeyredK / the]þtF / of the]of þtF *not*HIJ / or]OrABCDEFGHIK orJ
316. whether]whederHJ / wysshed]whysshedC wissshedHJ / wylled]wyllydHI / indiscretly]indyscretlyBCE indyscretelyDGHI indyscretelyeFK indiscretelyJ / your]youreHI / dethe]dethBCE deathK / Or]orHJ / whether]whederJ
317. due]deweFK / than[k]es]thangesA thankesJ / or in]toF / your]youreDI / in]*not*K / youre]yourBCDEGHJK / heuynes]heuynesseGHIJK
318. remembrynge]remembryngeJ / our]oureBCIK / lorde]lordJ / the]þtF / best]besteDEG / yf]*not*BCE ifDJ / it]ytI
319. Glotonye]GlotonyFGHIJ / glotony]GlotonyDFGHI / remembre]RemembryngeABCEF remembreDJK RemembreHI / whether]whederJK / broken]brekenG / ony]anyDHIJK
320. hath]hatheGHI / ben]beneGH / commaunded]commaundedBCEJK commaundedGHI / chyrche]churcheDJK / lefull]lefulJK lawfullI / whether]whertherAHI whederJK
321. eten]eatenHIJK / or]&DJK andHI / dronken]dronkenBCEFdronkenDGHI dronkenJK / so]sooHI / moch]mocheBCDFGHIJK / vomytyes]vomytiesD vomytesHI vomitesJK / or]OrHI
322. fallen]fallenD / therby]therebyHI / in to]intoD / sykenes]sykenesC sykenesseHI sicknesseJK / or]ofHIJK / dronkenshyp]dronkenshypBCI dronkenshypF dronkynshypG dronkenschapJK / therby]therebyHI / &]andDGHI

323. dyscencyon]discensionD discensionJK / or]OrABCDEFGFG / fallen]fallenDI /
therby]therebyH / suche]someDG / dyssolute]dissoluteDJK / myrth]myrtheFGHI
mirtheJK / and]&FIJK / recheles]reckelesDG /
324. behauoure]behauourDIJK / not]natDJK / duely]dewelyH / fulfilled]fulfyllydH
/ thynges]thyngesF thingsJK / longed]longedF longydH
325. your]youreBCH / offyce]officeDJK / to]tooBE / your]youreCEH /
Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJK / had]haddeD
326. delectacyon]delectacionDJK delectacyonF / etynge]eatyngeDGHI eatyngJK /
&]andDGH / drynkyng]drynkyngDI drinkingJK / vsed]vseE vsydH /
ony]anyHIJK / inordynatly]inordynateBCEHI inordynatelyG inordinateJK /
desyred]desyresBCEFHIJK or desyredDG / metes]of metesBCEFIJK meatesG of
mettesH
327. drynkes]drinkesJ drinkesK / costely]costlyJK /
dylycately]delycatelyBCDEFGHI delicatelyJK / prepared]preparydH /
then]thenneBE thenneC thanDGHJK thanFI / reason]resonD / hath]hatheCEFH /
requyred]requiredD requyrydH requiredJK / or]OrABCDEFHIJK
328. whether]whederJK / induced]inducydHI inducedJK / caused]causydH /
ony]anyDHIJK *not*F / suche]suchJK / maner]manerJK /
drinkes]drynkesBCDEGHI / so]sooE
329. therof]thereofI / the]þ^eF *not*JK / intent]intentD intendeEFG ententeHI
thententJK / them]theymBEH / dronken]dronkenDJK / other]eytherDGHI
outherJK / any]onyBCEFG
330. wycked]wyckydH wickedJK / occasion]occasyonBEFGIJK accasyonC
331. Thenne]ThanDFHIK ThenG / lechery]LecheryABCDEGJ LecheryeIK /
[remembre] whether]whertherA whetherBCDEFGK Remembre whetherHI whederJ
keped]kepteBCDEFGH keptIJK / contynued]contynewedBCEF contynuydH
332. contynuedH continuedK / fylthy]fylthyeI filthyJ / thoughtes]thoughtesDJ /
þ^e]theBCDEFGHIJK / in]inJ / mynde]mindK / delectacyon]delectacionDK
dylectacyonG delectacyonI delectacionJ / and]&FIJ
333. pleasure]pleasoureC / your]youreBEHJ / or]OrABCDEFGFGHIJK /
whether]whederJ / consented]consentedFJ consentydH consentydI / your]youreH /
mynde]myndI / to]tooBCE / ony]anyCHIIK
334. fylthy]filthyJ / besyde]besideI / the]þ^eBCEF / lawe]lawI /
matrymony]MatrymonyH matrimonyJ / or]OrABCDEFGFGHIJK / whether]whederJ

/ w^t]withBCDEFGHIJK / matromony]matrymonyBCDEFK MatrymonyeHI
MatrimonyJ

335. vsed]vsydHI / ony]anyHIJK / contrary]contraryDJ / dewe]dueGHIJ /
ordre]orderHJ / ayenst]ayensteBCE agaynstHIK / the]peF / profyte]profiteDJ /

336. generacyon]generacionDK generationJ / Forthermore]FerthermoreDGHI
FurthermoreJK / whether]wheder]J / excyted]excytedeD excytydHI excitedJ /
moued]mouydH / ony]anyDHIJK / to]vntoCFIK / this]thysDH

337. synne]synFJ / lechery]LecheryBCEFGH lecheryeD LecheryeK /
other]eytherDGH eitherF outhereJ / sygnes]signesDJ / wordes]wordeseD /
annournynge]anowrnementesD annournyngeF adournementesG adournementesHJ
adournementesI annourningeK

338. lyght]lightJ / &]andIJK / behauoure]behauourGJ / syngynge]syngingJ /
by]notH / daunsynge]daunsyngeFGK dauncyngeI daunsingJ / by]dyB notHIJ /

339. kyssynge]kyssyngeEIJ / by]notHIJ / halsynge]halsyngBCEGJ halsingD
halsyngeFGHIK / ony]anyDHIJK / dysso[l]ute]idyssouteA dissoluteDJ /
vnhonest]vnhonesteD / demenyoure]demeanoureBCDEHI demeanourFGK
demenourJ

340. whether]whederJ / not]natDJ / fledde]fledIJ / the]p^eFG /
occasyons]occasionsD occasyonsI occasionsJ / this]thysD / fylthy]filthyJ /
synne]synJ / But]butHIJ / sought]soughteE

341. occasyons]occasionsD occusyonsG occasionsJ / therto]theretoH /
Ferthermore]ForthermoreBCEF FurthermoreJK / whether]whederJ /
other]eytherDGHK outhereJ / your]youreH / youth]youtheH / ony]anyDHIJK noyF
in onyG

342. fylthy]filthyJ / touchynge]thouchyngeC touchingJ / your]youreD /
pryue]pryuyeI priueJ pryuyK / membres]membresBCEGHIK / ony]anyIJK /
and]AndABCDEFK &G and alsoI / whether]whederJ

343. ony]anyDHIJK / pollycyons]pollucionsDG polycyonsF pollucyonsHI
pollutionsJ polucionsK / in]inG / your]youreIJ / fylthy]fylthyeI filthyJ /
dremes]dreamesK

342. ymagynacyons]ymaginacionsD imaginationsJ ymagynacionsK /
specyally]speciallyDJK / ony]anyDK notHIJ / occasyon]occasyonI occasionK /
gyuen]giuenJ / your selfe]yourselfeF / or]OrABCDEFGHIJK / whether]whederJ

345. bodely]bodylyHI / lechery]LecheryABCDEFK LecheryeI / with]w^tJ /
 ony]anyDHIJK persone]personeBCDEFGI personHK personJ / and]andHIJ /
 whether]whederJ / syngle]singleJ
346. maryed]marriedJ / whether with a]notHIJ / vyrgyne]virgenD vyrgynFGHI
 virgynJK / with]w^tF notHIJ / whether]orHIJ / ony]anyDHIJK /
 youre]yourBDEFGHIJK
347. kynne]kynJK / with]w^tFJ / ony]anyDHI ony ofFG any ofJK /
 relygyon]religionDJ relygyous personHI religyonK / or]notE / within]with inC w^tinJ
 / ordres]ordersFHJ
348. Whanne]WhanDFGIJ / remembred]remembrydGI / your]youreBCE
 yourselfeFG / dylygently]dylygentelyBCE dilygentlyD diligentlyJ /
 counsayle]counseylF counsaileJ
349. youre]yourI / conscyence]concyenceC conscienceD conscyenceF conscyenceI
 conscienceJ / after]a^ttherC / wyse]wiseJ / any]onyBCEFG / or]ofDG
350. suffycyent]suffycientD sufficientJ / and]&FJK / wyte]wytteDGJK wytFHI /
 and]&F / wysdome]wisdomed wysedomeH wisdomedJ
351. wyll]wylF / than]ThanABCDEFGIJ ThenH / go]gooGHI / to]vntoI /
 your]youreH / ghostly]ghostlyDJ goostlyH / and]&DGJ / hym]to hymI himJ /
 all]alJ / your]youreBCEH /
352. playnely]playnlyDFG plainlyJ playnelyeK / without]wythoutC withouteIK
 w^toutJ / ony]anyDHIJK / coloure]colourJ / or]ofFK / cloke]clookeI /
 specyally]speciallyJ / your]youreD / deedly]dedelyI dedlyJ / synnes]sinnesJ
 synnesK / yf]ifDJ
353. ony]anyDHIJ notK / done]done anyK / sythe]sythDFGHK / laste]lastDGH /
 shryuen]sheyuenH shriuenJ / with]w^tJ / dewe]dueGHI /
 circumstaunce]cyrcumstaunceBCEFGH circumstaunceD cyrcumstanceI
 circumstanceJ cyrcumstaunceK / and]&FGI / the]notBCEHK
354. occasyons]occasionsD thoccasionsJ / therof]ther ofC thereofH /
 accordynge]acordyngJ / fulfyll]fulfylD / those]theseDGHJ / .iii.]threBCEFHIJK /
 thyges]thyngesB thyngesCDEGHIJ thingesK / þ^t]thatBCDEHIJK
355. specyally]speciallyDJ / requyred]requiredD requyrydHI requiredJ / to]tooBCE
 / this]thysI / Sacrament]sacramentFGHIK sacramentJ / penaunce]penaunceJ /
 another]an otherBC a notherDHI / thynge]thingJ / that]þ^tG / is]ysHI /

356. requyred]requyrydHI requiredJ requiredK / therto]theretoBC there toC / is]ysI
/ contrycyon]ContrycyonABCEFGHI ContricionD contritionJ contricionnK / that]p^tG
/ is]ysH / to]tooBCE / saye]sayGIJ / all]alJ

357. synnes]synneF sinnesD / and]AndABCDEFG &J / wyll]wylDF wilJ / and]&J
/ no]nooBCE / synne]synneG synJ

358. thyrde]thirdeDJ / that]p^tFG / is]ysHI / requyred]requyrydI requiredJ /
to]tooBCE / this]thysI / sacrament]sacramentJ / penaunce]penaunceDFGHI /
is]ysHI / satisfaccyon]SatisfaccyonAE SatysfaccyonBCFGHI SatisfaccionD
satisfactionJ satysfactionK / that]p^tG

359. is]ysHI / say]sayeFIK / that]p^tF / in]inJ / fulfyl]fulfyllBCEGHIK / payne
and]notHIJ / penaunce]penaunceJ / shal]shallDFGHIJ

360. reasonable]resonableD resonablyFE reasonablyeHI resonableJ resonablyK /
lymytted]lymyttydHI lymytedK / the]p^eBCEFG / quantyte]quanyteBCDEFGHI
quantiteJ quantytieK / synnes]synnesBCDEFGHIK sinnesJ / these]theyseHI /
thre].iii.D / thynges]thingesJ

361. hadde]hadGHIJ / this]thysHI / the]p^eDG / preest]prestB /
iurysdyccyon]iurisdiccionD iurysdyccyonEFGHI iurisdictionJ iurysdyctionK /
vpon]vponBCDEFHIJK

362. mynstreth]mynistrethDJ / the]p^eF / sacrament]SacramentABCE SacramenteG
sacramentJ sacramenteK / penaunce]penannceB penaunceJ / and]&J /
absolucyon]absolucionJ absolucionK / and]AndABCDEFG &HJ /

363. assoyled]assoylydHI / all]alCHJ / youre]yourBCJK / synnes]synneI SynnesK
/ *quantum*]quantumBCEGHIK / is]ysHI / to]notHIJ

364. say]sayeBCDEFGK notHIJ / all]alJ / your]youreHI / synnes]synnesF /
grete]greatDK gretJ / for]ofC / whiche]whycheD whichJ / you]yeDGHIJ /
hadde]hadBCEFGHIJK / deserued]deseruydHI

365. payne]p^e payneF paynJ the paineK / of]notHIJ / helle]hellDK notHIJ /
euerlastyng]euerlastyngJK / Nowe]noweABCEGHJK nowFDI / that]p^tF /
is]ysHI / chaunged]chaungedF chaungydHI / the]p^eF notHIJ / vertue]vertuDJ /
this]theI /

366. sacrament]SacramentABCDE sacramentF / of]notJ / penaunce]penaunceFJK /
in to]intoDHK in toJ / temporal]temporallBCEGHIK temporalledD temporallJ /
this]thysDI / worlde]worldK / And]&J

367. yf]ifDG / the]p^eF / payne or]notHIJ / penaunce]penaunceDJ /
 inioyned]enioynedDGHII InioynedE / the]p^eF / preest]prestH / whiche]whichJK /
 standeth]standethDIJ standeFK / pryncypally]pryncipallyD princⁱipallyJ princⁱipallyK
 / in]inBCEFGHIJK
368. in]inCD notHIJ / faste]fastFHIJK / and]&BCEFJ / in]notI /
 almes]almesseBCEFG / deed]dedeBDEFGHIJK dedesC / if]IfABCDEFGHII yfFK /
 that]p^tEF^g / penaunce]penaunceBCDFGI / suffycyent]sufficyentD suffycientJK /
 in]inC / the]p^eFG notJ /
369. acceptacyon]accepcyonBEFG acceptacionD acceptatyonH thacceptationJ
 acceptionK / God]godABCDEFGHII / the]p^eBCEFG / quantyte]quanteBCEFG
 quantiteDJ quantiteH / synnes]synnesF / than]thenDG notJ / that]p^tF /
 fulfylled]fulfyllydDH fulfyledC / the]p^eFG / payne]paynesI
370. purgatorye]purgatoryBCEFGIJK / whiche]whycheD whichJK / elles]jellysD
 elsJK / dewe]dewF dueGHIJ / p^e]theBCDEFGHIJK / sayd]saidJ saydeK /
 synnes]sinnesJ / shall be]shalbeDJK shal beF /
371. remytted]remittedJ / and]&FJ / forgyuen]forgyuenF
372. nowe]nowFK / honour]honoureBCEFHI honorJ / and]&J /
 comferte]comferteDK confortHI comf^ortJ / all]alGI /
 wretchyd]wretchedBCDEFGIK wrechedHJ / here]HereFI /
373. maye]mayDGJK / questyon]questyonF questionJ / whether]whederJ /
 euery]eueryeK / man]manF / haue]hathD / done]dooneBCE
374. ony]anyDHIJK / deedly]dedlyHI / synne]sinneD synHIJ / be]byC /
 &]andDFGHIK / dampnacyon]dampnacionD dampnationJ dampnacionK /
 p^e]theBCDEFGHIJK / tyme]timeK
375. that]p^tF / shryuen]shriuenJ / therof]thereofI / his]hysI / ghostly]gostlyDI
 goostlyHJ ghostlyeK / and]&K / this]thysI / sacrament]SacramentABCEFK
 sacramentDGHII /
376. penaunce]penaunceCFGHI / whether]whederJ / and]&FJK /
 saluacyon]saluacionDJK / beynge]beingJ / all]alE notDH
377. oonly]onelyBCEFGK alonnyD alonlyHIJ / his]hysDHI / synnes]synnesD /
 with]wythH w^tJ / wyll]wylF / &]andDFHIK / no more]nomoreD / synne]synneD
 synJ

- 378.** though]thougheBCEFGK / dyferre]deferreBCDEFGHIJK / his]hysI / shryfte]shryftDIK shriftJ / the]p^eF / tyme]timeK / generall]generalG generallJ / assygned]assignedDJ / our]oureBC / mother]moderJ
- 379.** Chyrche]chrycheABCEFGI churcheDJK / this]thysHI / .ii.]twoEFHIJK / maye]mayJ / be taken]betakenF / that]ThatABCDEFG theHIJ TheK / waye]wayBCEGHJ / is]ysI
- 380.** and]&J / suffycyent]sufficientD sufficientHJ suffycienK / that]theHIJ / waye]wayE notHIJ / is]ysI / and]&DJ / it]notI / is]ysHI / and]&F
- 381.** perfyte]perfyteBCEFGHIK / waye]wayBCDEHJ / for]notI / man]manFGK manneHI / go]gooI / his]hysHI / ghostly]gostlyDHIJ / father]faderFJ / shortly]shortelyEFHI / haue]hathDGHJ / ony]anyDHIJK
- 382.** deedly]dedelyHI / synne]synneBCK synHIJ / &]andGHIK / shryuen]shryuenDHIK shriuenJ / &]andDGHJ / p^e]theDFGHIJK / sacrament]sacramentDFGHIJ sacramenteK / penaunce]penaunceBEGHIJK / than]thanneHI thanJK
- 383.** defer]deferreBCDGHJ / shryft]shryfteBCDEFG shriftJ notK / ony]anyDHIJK / longer]longerDJK lengerF longreH / &]andHIK / p¹]thatDHIJK / dyuers]dyuerseBCDEG diuersJ / One]oneABCDEFG / is]ysH / he]yeD / shall]shalK / p^e]theDHIJK
- 384.** increse]increaBCE encreaseDGHJ increaceF increaseK / An other]AnotherDFGHIJK A notherE / is]ysHI / he]yeDG / shall]shaleK / knowlege]knowledgeBEK / hym selfe]hymselfeEFG him selfeJK / and]&JK
- 385.** his]hysH / synnes]synnesD sinnesJ / thynde]thirdeDJ / is]notG ysHI / shall]shalFG / venquesshe]venquyssheD vaynquessheE veynquyssheFG vaynquyssheI vanquyssheK / and]&DIK / ouercome]euercomeC / the]p^eF
- 386.** temptacyons]temptacionsD temptacyonG temptationsH temptationsJ temptacionK / the]heB p^eE / deuyll]dyuellD diuelJ / with]wythH / many]notHIJ / profytes]profitesDJ / that]p¹BC / shall]shalG
- 387.** is]ysH / specyally]speciallyJ speciallyeK / counsellyd]counsayedBCEGK counseylledD counseyledF counselledH counsellledJ / man]manCG / and]&FJ / woman]womanG / they]thyF
- 388.** theym selfe]theymselveBEG themselfeDF them selfeK / wounded]woundedJ / with]w¹F wythH withinK / ony]anyHIJK / deedly]dedelyD dedlyHI / synne]synJ / thanne]thanCEFG thanJK / shortely]shortlyDJK / to]tooBCE / theyr]theirJ /

ghostly]ghoostlyBCEG gostelyD gostlyHIJ ghostlyeK / whiche]wicheC whycheH /
 maye]mayDGHJK / mynystre]mynistreD mynysterE ministreHIJ minystreI ministerK
 / them]theymBCFHI / this]thysHI / holy]notIJ /

sacrament]sacramentBCEFGHIJK

390. penaunce]penaunceFJ / asmoche]as mocheBCEHIJK / some]someC sommeHI
 / not]natDHIJ / dysposed]disposedDJK / and]&DJ /

391. perfyte]parfyteF perfyteJ / waye]wayBCEJ / sythe]sythBCDEFGK sitheJ /
 our]oureHI / Holy]holyABCDEFGHIIJ holyeK / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEF
 churcheDHIK churchJ / commaundeth]commaundethBCEGH commaundetheD
 commaundethF commaundythI commaundethK

392. laye]layDG / persone]personneH persoynel personeJ personK /
 shryuen]shryuenBCDEFGHIK shriuenJ / the]þ^eF / excepte]ExcepteD exceptHIJ /
 dyuers]dyuerseBCDEF diuersK / causes]casesDGHIIK /

393. is]ysI / in]inJ / perell]perylBC perillD peryllEFGHIJK / deth]detheBCEF
 deathK / whan]whanBEGJ whanneHI / shall]shalCFG / receyue]receiueDK /
 sacramentes]sacramentesDJ sacramentisH sacramentysI /
 therfore]ThereforeABCDEFGHIIK

394. maye]mayGJ / way]wayeBCDEFGIK / whiche]whycheGI / is]ysHI /
 ryght]rightJK / and]&D / suffycyent]sufficientD suffycyenteE sufficientJ
 sufficienteK / is]ysH / to]tooH / wete]wyteBCEF wytteHI wythJ

395. that]þ^tF / ones]elsK / weke]weekeK / the]þ^eF / este]leestBCFGHIJK /
 Sonday]sondayADJ sondayeBCEFGHK SondayeG sondayI / and]&J

396. dayes]daiesJ / recyte]reciteJ / &]andBCEGHIK / reken]rekynDHI /
 betwyxe]bytweueBC bytweneDEFGHIJ betweneK / and]&DJ / þe]theDEGHIJK /
 secrete]secretK / house]housDF

397. your]youreHI / conscyence]conscienceD conscienceJ conscienceK /
 how]howeBCEGH / spent]spenteBCEFGHI spentD / passed]passydHI /
 your]youreH / tyme]timeK / yf]ifDGJ / fynde]fyndJ / in]inJ

398. your]youreH / conscyence]conscienceD conscyenceI conscienceJK / that]þ^tF
 / ony]anyDIJ / synne]synJ synneK / day]dayeBCI /

399. it]ytHI / and]AndABCEFK &IJ / wyll]wylleD / and]&IJK / the]þ^eF
 notDGHIIJ / Lorde]lordABCDEFGHJK lordI

400. no more]noo moreBEH nomoreF / synne]synneBCDEFGHIK synJ /
purposynge]purposingJ / shryuen]shryuedBC shryueD shriuenJ / to]tooG /
youre]yourEFGHI
401. gostely]ghostelyBC gostlyD ghostlyFGK goostlyH / assygned]assygnydH
assignedJK / þ^e]theBCEK *not*DGHIJ / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGI churcheDJK /
that]þ^tG / hymselfe]hym selfeDHI him selfeJK
402. this]hisC / thoughe]thoughDFI / had]haddeDK / done]dooneBCE donI /
grete]greatDJK / greuous]greouseD / synnes]synesD synnesF sinnesK /
403. ofte]oftDJ oftenFI oftenK / tymes]timesK / thoughe]thoughtC thoughD /
it]ytHI / .vii.]seuenHI seuynJ / in]inD / þ^e]theDFGHIJK / daye]dayDEFJ /
myght]mightJK
404. ofte]oftD / ayen]agayneFGHI againeK / this]thysI / meane]moyenE /
synne]sinneC synneFGHK synIJ / the]þ^eF / grace]fauoureH fauourIJ /
from]fromeDF
405. dampnacyon]dampnacionD dampnationJ dampnacionK / in to]intoD vntoG
into theHI in to theJ / saluacyon]saluacionDK saluationJ / Lette]LetDFGHIK /
persone]personHJK personI / ony]anyDHIJK
406. this]thysI / gentyll]gentylGI generallK / &]andFGK /
suffrayne]sufferayneDF souerayneGHK soueraynI soueraigneJ /
medycyne]medicyneJ medicineK / them]theymBCEH thyemD theme selfeIJ /
wounded]woundedDJ woundydH woundydI
407. deedly]deddlyC / synne]synneD synJ / but]ButABCDEFG /
remembre]remembreDGJK rememberI / well]welG / .iii.]threGHIJ /
thynges]thingsJK / rehersed]rehersydH
408. fyrste]firsteD fyrstFHI firstJK / herte]hertDJ / theyr]theirJK / synnes]synnesF /
secunde]secondeBDEFGHIJK
409. shryuen]shryuenF shriuenJK / tyme]timeK / assygned]assignedDJK /
Holy]holyABCDGHIJK hoolyE / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGHI churcheDK
churchJ / thyrde]thirdeDJK
410. wyll]willK / with]with þ^eE w^tF / no more]nomoreD / synne]synJ synneK /
wante]wantFJK / ony]anyDHIJK / these]theyseH / thre].iii.D threeK
411. thynges]thingesJ thingsK / ye]youBCEFK / commytted]commyttedG
commyttydH / ony]anyDHIJK / synne]sinneD synJ / whether]whederJ / or]*not*I

412. thought]thaughtD thoughteK / thanne]thanDGK thanIJ /
doubtles]doubtelesBCEGK dubtelesF doutlesHJ / [of] p^e]p^eAE of theBCDFGHIJK /
fauoure]fauourIJK / and]&FJK / in]in theHI
413. dampnacyon]dampnacyonBCEFGHI dampnacionDK dampnationJ / And]andD
/ werkees]workesHJK good workesI / doo]doBCDEFGHIJK / meane]p^e meaneBCE
meneD the meaneFGHIK / tyme]timeK / be]benG / and]&J
414. vnfruytefull]vnfrutefullDFHI vnfruitfullJ vnfruitefullK / accepte]acceptJ /
the]p^e BCEF / syght]syghteI sightJ / if]yfBCFGHIK
415. .iii.]threBCDEFGHIJK / with]wythI / truely]trewlyHIJ trulyK / and]&DJ /
vnfeynedly]vnfaynedlyBCEFGHIJ vnfainedlyeK / though[e]]thoughtA thoughDIJ /
that]p^tF / had]haddeI
416. done]dooneBCE / grete]greatDJK / this]thysI / meane]moyenE /
shal]shallBCGHIK shalbeDJ / be]notDJ / fauour]fauoureBCDFH / and]&DJ
417. saluacyon]saluacionDK saluationJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / happen]happenD /
dye]deyeF / sodaynely]sodeynelyE sodaynlyFGI sodeynlyH sodenlyJ sodainlyK /
withoute]whithouteC withoutDEGIJK w^toutF / ony]anyDHIJK / shryfte]shryftDI
shrifteJ shrytK
418. so]sooE / that]p^tG / dyspyse]dispiseD dyspyseJK / not]natDJ / to]tooE /
shryuen]shriuenJ / conuenyent]conuenientBC conuenientD conuenyenteEG
conuenyentFJ / thanne]ThanneACH ThanBDEFG thanIJK /
doubtlesse]doubtelesseEFI doubtelesG doutlesseH doutlesJ
419. shall be]shalbeDJ isK / suffycyent]sufficientD sufficientJ suffycienteK /
saluacyon]saluacionDK saluationJ / And]andHIJ / werkes]warkesD workesHIJK /
do]dooG / in]in theGHIK
420. meane]meanJ / tyme]timeK / shall be]shalbeDJK / ryght]notHI rightJK /
fruytfull]fruytefullBEFG fruyte fullC frutefullD fruitfullJ fruitfulK / and]&DJ /
graciously]graciouslyDK graciouslyeHI gratuslyJ / accepte]accepteBCDEFGHIJ /
p^e]theBCEFHIJK / syght]sightCDJK
421. there]hereK / glorye]glorieJ gloryK
422. Besyde]BesideDJ / these]theI / doctrynes]doctrinesJ / be
foresayd]beforesaydBCDGH beforesaydeEK before saydFI beforsaidJ / yet
lette]yetletteCE yet letFHIJK / consider]consydeeB consydeC considerD
consyderEFGHIK considreJ / and]&DJ / oftentimes]ofte tymesDH often tymesFG
ofte tymesI oft tymesJ often timesK / calle]callBCEFGHIJK

423. þ^e]theDFGHIJK / moste]moostBCEFG moosteD mostHIJK / ferefull]feerfullJ
/ houre]hourK / deth]detheBCDEGHIJ / and]&DJ / puruey]purneyGJ /
nowe]nowIJ / remedies]remediesDJ / and]&DFGHJ
424. preseruatyues]preseruatiuesD / ayenst]ageynstD agaynstH agaynstel againstK /
the]þ^eF / troublous]troublesDG / and]&D ofG *not*HK /
temptacyons]temptacyonsBCEFGHI temptacionsD temptationsJ temptacionK /
happeneth]happenHIK happethJ / com^menly]comenlyBCF comenlyDG
comunelyD comonlyHI
425. sayde]saydFGHIJ / this]thysI / necessarye]necessaryBCDEG / is]ysH /
necessarye]necessaryFHIJ / not]natDJ / all]alF *not*HIJ / oonly]onelyBCEFGHIJK
onlyD / our selfe] our selfD ourselfeG yourselfeFK / þ^h]thatBCDEFGHIJK
426. may]mayeBCEIJK / counsayle]counsayleD counsey]F counsaileJ / and]&GJ /
exortacyon]exortacionDK exhortacyonI exortationJ / when]whanDGHIJK whan^f /
the]þ^eFG
427. ieopardye]leopardyeABCD IeoperdyeE IeopardyFG ieoperdyeHI ieopardyJK /
if]yfBCEFGIK / may]mayeBCDEGHIK / called]callydHI / is]ysBCE /
dylygent]diligentJ / aboute]aboutJ / syke]syckeHIK sickeJ / persone]personJK
428. to]tooE / mynyster]mynystreGHI ministreJ / hym]himJK / thynges]thingesJ /
necessarye]necessaryDFGHIJ necessarieK / whiche]whichJ / shall be]shalbeDJK /
shortely]shortlyJ
429. dyssolued]be dyssoluedA dissoluedJ dyssolutedK / and]&FGJ /
meete]meateDGHIJK meteF / moche]MocheDGHIJ / than]thanBCEFGHIJK
430. trewe]rtweD trueFJK / and]&FGJ / a]*not*K / faythfull]faithfullJ / is]ysH /
dylygent]diligentJ dylygenteK / aboute]aboutJ / syke]sickeJ syckeIK /
persone]personJK / mynystre]minystreF ministreJ mynystreK
431. hym]himJ / thynges]thingesJ / necessarye]necessaryGHIJ / whiche]þ^e
whicheF the whichK
432. indure]endureEHIJK / other]eytherDGHI eitherJ / ioye]IoyeABCEF IoyG
ioyJ / contynuall]contynuallyI contynualJ / ellys]ellesDFGHI elsJK /
euerlastyng]euerlastyngJ
433. Lette]LetFGJK / nowe]*not*K / consyder]considerD consydreH consydreI
considreJ / before]*not*I / houre]hourJ / dethe]dethD deathK / and]&IJK
433. thenne]thanneD thanFGHIJK thanⁱ / theym]themFGJK / the]þ^eF /
whenne]whanneD whanFGHIJK whanⁱ / Fyrste]FirsteDK FyrstFGHI FirstJ

434. consyder]consyderF consydreHI considreJ / .v.]fyueHJ /
temptacyons]temptacionsDK temptacyonsF teptacionsuI temptationsJ /
whiche]whycheC whichI / wycked]wickedJ / frende]fendeBCDEFGHIJK
436. commenly]comenlyBF commenlyDGJK comunelyE commonlyH commonlyI /
tempteth]themtethC temptethIJ / crysten]cristenD christenJ christenuK / with
all]withallDEFGHIJK withall / the]p^eF / houre]hourJ / dethe]dethDGK /
437. fyrste]firstDJ fyrstFGI firsteK / ayenst]ayensteBCE ageynstD agaynstGK
agaynstE againstIJ / fayth]faytheCEFHFeythD faithJK / whiche]whichI /
commeth]comethBCEFHIJ commethG / pryncypally]principallyD pryncypaleyH
princupallyJ pryncipallyeK / suggestyon]suggestionD sugiestionJ
438. deuyll]deuyll dyuelJ / deuyll]deuyll dyuelJ / the]p^eF / su[re]ly]suerlyA
surlyI / there]therI / is]ysBCE / not]natDJ / redy]redyeK / meane]moyenE
439. brynge]bryngD bringJ / euerlastyunge]euerlastyngeBDFGI euerlastingeC
euerlastyngJK / payne]paynesH paynI paineK / then]thanneD thanuF ThanG thanHIK
/ for]notE / to induce]to unduceD to enduceHIK tenduceJ / hym]himJK
440. cr[a]fte]creaftA craftJK / subtyll]subtellHIJ / persuasyon]persuacyonBCEFG
persuasionD persuasyonsI persuasionJ / faythe]feytheD faythFGJ faithK / to]tooBC
notK / doubte]douteH doutJ / in]inG / ony]anyDHIJK
441. therof]thereofB there ofC / than]whanuF thanuG / all]alJ / thyngel]thingJ
thyngesK / begon]begoneD / your]youreHI / lyfe]lifeJ / perfyte]parfyteBCEFK
perfiteDJ
442. fayth]feytheD faytheFGHI / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGHIJ ChurcheD
churcheJK / indeuer]endeuereH endeuoureI endeuerJK / your selfe]yourselfeBCEFG
youre selfeI / stedfastly]stedfastelyG / the]p^eG / so]sooEH
443. ende it. And lose not the good dedes that ye haue done in / it]ytHI / And]&J
andK / not]natDJ / the]p^eF / done]dooneB / your]youreE / for]ForG / all]alJ
444. the]p^eF / welthe]welthFJK / of]inHIJ / lyfe]lifeJ / hangeth]hangethDEFI /
them]thanDGHJK thanuJ / p^e]theDHIJK / Thynke]ThinkeJK / therfore]thereforeI /
445. your]youreBCHI / all]alJ / persuasyons]persuacyonsBCEFG persuasionsD
persuasyonsI persuasionsJ persuacionsK / mouynge]notI mouyngJ /
ayenst]agaynstHK notI / the]notI / trewe]trueFDJ notI / fayth]feythD faytheEHK
notI faitheJ / of]notI
446. the]p^eBCF notI / Chyrche]chyrcheABCEFGH churcheDK notI churchJ / be
but]notI / temptacyons]temptacyonsBCEGH temptacionsDK notI temptationsJ /

and]&D / wycked]wickedJ / suggestyons]suggestionsD suggestyonF sugictionsJ /
deuyll]dyuelJ / whiche]whichJK

447. wolde]woldJ / decyue]receyueBCEF deceyueDGK dysceyueHI disceyueJ /
&]andDHIK / to]notJ

448. Consyder]ConsiderD ConsydreH ConsydreI ConsidreJ / well]welJ / and]&J
/ stedfastly]stedfastelyBEGI / beleue]byleueBCDEFGHI / man]a manI

449. woman]womanCGH / syth]sytheF sithJ / the]p^eF / begynnynge]beginnyngJ
begynningeK / worlde]worldJ / that]p^tG / pleaseth]pleasedDGHIJK /
almyg[h]ty]almygtyA almightyJ almyghtieK

450. without]wythoutI wtoutJ / trewe]trueJ / fayth]feythD faytheHIJ / our]oureI /
There]TherJ

451. heuen]HeuenD heuynJ / shall]shalK / do]dooH / without]withouteD w^touteF
wtoutJ / trewe]trueJK / faythe]feythD faythF faithK / sauyour]sauyoureDE sauourJ
/ Cryste]crysteABCE ChristeD crystF CrystGHI ChristJ christeK / Ihesu]IesuDHIJ
/ For]forH

452. these]notI / yf]ifDJ / the]p^eF thatH that theIJ / deuyll]dyuyllH dyuellJ /
dyspense]dispentedD dysputeGHI disputeJK / with]wythI / your]youreH /
faythe]faythCEFGJK / stand]standeBCDEGHK standeJ

453. not]natDJ / with]wythI w^tJ / hym]himJK / dysputacyon]dysputacyonB
disputacyonD disputationJ disputacionK / therof]thereofHI / For]forH / yf]ifDJ /
do]dooI / ye]youHI / your selfe]yourselfeBCEFG / in]inJ / great]greateBCI
greteEFG

454. ieopardye]IeopardyeABC ieoperdyeDH IeoperdyEFG ieopardyJ ieopardyK /
for]ForIK / the]p^eF / deuyll]dyuelJ / is]ysH / so]sooE / subtyll]subtylB
subtellGHJ / argumentacyons]ArgumentacyonsABC hys argumentacyonsI
argumentationsJ argumentacionsK / all]alCE / clerkes]clarkesBCEG /
vpon]vpponI /

455. er[t]h]errhABCE ertheDFGHIJ the earthK / not]natDJ / for]notFGIJK /
compared]comparedFDK comparydHI / hym]himJK though]thougheDEGHIK /
our]oureDH / fayth]faytheBCH feytheD

456. swete]sweeteF the sweteI / spyces]spicesDJ / the]p^eF /
apothecarys]apothecaresD apothecaryesEG ApothecaryesF pothycaryesH
PothecaryesI pothicaresJ ApothecariesK / Shoppe]shopeDG shopFJK shoppeHI /
whiche]whichI / betynge]beatyngeDI betyngJ / &]andDDGHIK

457. boultynge]boultyngJ bultyngEKF / gyueth]gyuethED / the]p^eG / sweter]sweteBEFK swetterGHJ / sauoure]sauourDIJ / and]&BCE notHIJ / odoure]notHIJ / yet]AlsoHI alsoJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / wyll]wylF
458. presume]presumeBCDEGHIJK / vpon]vponD vpponI / his]hysI / vpon]vponBCFGHIJK vpponI / his]hysI / reason]resonD / stande]standeBCEFGI / dysputacyons]disputacionsD dysputacyonsF disputationsJ disputacionsK
459. fayth]feythD faytheHI faitheJ / with]w^tJ / the]p^eF / serpent]serpenteF / p^e]theDHIJK / deuyll]deuyllDFGIK dyuellJ / shall]shalJ / not]natDJ / fayle]fallHI faileJ / shall be]shal beBG shalbeDJ shallbeK / brought]broughteK / into]in toEFGHK in toJ
460. snares]snareK / the]p^eFG / deuyll]deuyllH dyuellJ / with]w^tFJ / many folde]manyfoldeDGHI manifoldeJK / and]&J / inconuenyentes]inconuenyencesBCK inconuenyentesD inconuenyencesEI inconuenyentesFGH inconuenientesJ
461. whether]whederJ / clerke]clarkeEK a clerkI / laye]layDEGH a lay leyJ / man]manDEFGHIJK / fayth]feythD faytheHIJ / roted]rotydH rootydI / in]inJ
462. fayth]feytheD faytheH / Holy]holyABCEFK theDGHIJ / Chyrch]chyrchA chyrcheBCEGHI churcheDJK chircheF / &]andDFGHI / content]contenteGHI / your selfe]yourselfeBCEG / therto]theretoI / tymes]timeK / specyally]speciallyDJ speciallyeK
463. the]p^eFG / houre]hourDJ / dethe]dethDEGIJ deathK / whan]whanD / your]youreK / wyttes]wittesJ / most]moostBCEFG mosteD moosteK / and]&FJ notK / your]youreK / ghostly]goostelyD ghostelyI gostlyJ / enmy]enemyFGIK enemyeH
464. moost]mosteDK mostJ
465. secunde]secondeBDEFGHIK .ii.J / temptacyon]temptacyonCD temptationJ temptacionK / houre]hourJ / deth]detheBCEFHI deathK / disperacyon]dysperacyonBCEFG desperacionD disperacyonHI desperationJ desperacionK
466. Tha[t]ThaA TheBCEFK ThisDGHIJ / temptacyon]temptacionD temptationJ temptacionK / cometh]commethDJK commethG / comenly]comenlyBEF comenlyH comonlyI comenly / suggestyon]subgestyonBCEF suggestionJ / p^e]theDFGHIJK / [d]euyll]euyllABCEF deuyllD dyuellJ / for]ForABCDEFGK

467. troubled]troubledeD troublydH / sekenesse]sykenesseBCD sekenesF sykenesGI
sykenesH sicknesJ sickenesK / and]orGHIJ / heuynesse]heuynesEFGHIIJK /
than]thanJ / deuyll]dyuelJ / putteth]puttythH

468. suche]suchD / hath]hatheBCEGHI / done]dooneBCE / specyally]speciallyJK
/ some]someJ / synnes]synnesDFGIJ

469. wherof]whereofH / shryuen]shryuenG shriuenJK / somewhat]somewhatF
somwhatJ / neglygence]negligenceDJ neclygenceFI /
somewhat]somewhatCDGHIK somwhatJ

470. And]andHI &J / the]p^eF / seke]sykeBCDEG syckeHI sickeJK /
persone]parsoneG personJ / trou[b]led]troudledA troublydH / both]botheFGHJ /
and]&FJ / in]notH / remembreth]remembrethDJK remembrythH

471. no thynge]noo thyngeBCE nothyngeDFGHIK no thyngJ / and]&FJK /
synne]synJ / wherfore]wherforD / somtymes]some tymesFHI somme tymesJ
somestimesK / so moche]somocheF / p^e]theDFGHIJK

472 - 3. rygh[t]wysnes]ryghwysnesA ryghtwysnesseF rightwysnesI rightwisnesJ
rightwysenesK / seynge]seyngJ / all]alD notJ / oonly]onelyBCEFGHI alonlyJ
allonelyK / the]p^eEF notJ / abhominacyon]abhomynacyonBEFGHK
abhominacyonD the habomynacyonI thabominationJ / his]hysH / owne]ownJ /
lyfe]lifeJ / &]andDH / no thynge]noo thyngeBCEH nothyngeDIK nothingJ

473. good]notJ / dedes]dedesJ / that]p^tFG / hath]hatheH / not]natDJ /
suffycent]suffycientD suffycyentEFI sufficientJ sufficientK / and]&DGIJ / and]&F /
truste]trustFGHIJ / in]inJ / the]p^eFG

474. God]godABCDEFGHIIJ / in to]intoD / desperacyon]desperacionD
dysperacyonEFG disperacionJ desperacionK / without]wythoutC w^outFJ withoutK /
This]ThysI / desparacyon]desparacyonDF desperationJ dysperacionK / is]ysH /
moste]moostBCEFGH moosteI mostJ mosteK / and]&FG /

475. greouse]greuousBCHIJ gracyousE / and]&EJK / moste]moostBCEGH
moosteI mostJ / peryllous]perillousD peryllouseI perilousJ / all]all theFHK alJ /
synnes]synnesBCEFK synneDG the synnesI synJ / the]p^eF / worlde]worldJ /
Wherfore]wherforeABCDEFGHIIJ whereforeK / yf]ifDJ / ony]anyDHIJK

476. suche]suchJ / temptacyon]temptacionD temptacyonsI temptacionJ
temptacionsK / come]comeJ / mannes]mannesDJ / mynde]myndD mindeJ /
lette]letFHIJK / hym]himJ / hym self]hymselfeBE hymselfF / hym selfeCD him
selfJ him selfeK / myghtely]myghtylyD mightelyJK

477. with]wythC witheD wtJ / vertue]the vertueH the vertewI vertuJ / hope]hoopel
 / and]&FGJ / confydens]confidenceD confydensF good confydenceHI good
 confydenceJ / consyderynge]consideryngeDK ConsyderyngeHI ConsidringJ /
 well]welDG / and]&FJK / certaynly]perfyteIHI perfitelyJ certainlyK /
 trustyng]trustyngJ

478. though]thougheBCDEFGHIK / dedes]dedeFHIJK / in his lyfe]notHIJ /
 but]ButD / synnes]synnesBCDEFGHIJ

479. done]donJ / syth]sytheDI sithJ / begynnyng]begynningJ / the]p^eF /
 worldee]worldK / shall be]shalbeDJ shal beF / done]donJ / p^e]theBCDEGHIJK /
 worldes]worldesJ

480. and]AndABCDEF GH And alsoI &J / though]thougheBCDHIK thoghJ /
 shryuen]shriuenJ / penaunce]penaunceIK / them]themGJK theymH /
 and]AndABCDEF G &IJ

481. the houre]p^e houreF the hourI thourJ / dethe]dethJ deathK /
 peraenture]peraentureBCDEGK peraduentureHI paraentureJ / myght]myghteDK
 mightJ / not]natDJ / speke]speakeK / had]haddeBCE / no]natJ / la[y]er]laserA
 leyserBCEFGJK leysarD leasoureH leasureI / for]notHIJ

482. beshryuen]be shryuenBCDEGH be shryuenFI be shriuenJ /
 shoulde]sholdeBCEFGH shuldeDJ sholdI shuldK / not]natDJ / in]inIJ /
 no]nooBCE / dyspayre]despeyreD despayreGK dyspeyreH dispeyreJ / the]p^eBCEF /
 For]forI / in]inDI

483. suffycyent]sufficientC sufficientI suffycienteK / saluacyon]saluacionDIK
 saluationJ / his]hysD / herte]hertIJ / synnes]synnesF

484. &]andBCDEIK / mercy]mercyD / all]notJ / oonly]onelyBCEFGHIK onlyD
 alonelyJ / his]hysI / mynde]mynde for theymHI mynd for themJ /
 thynkyng]thynkingJ thinkingeK / that]p^tFG / mercy]mercyDK /
 God]godABCDEF GHIJ GodK / is]ysD / in]inJ

485. worlde]worldJ / ryghtwysnesse] ryghtwysnesseBCE rightwysnesseD
 ryghtwysnesGHI rightwysnesseJ ryghtwysnesK / shoulde]sholdeBCEFGHI
 shuldeDJK / euer]neuerEG / so]sooBCEH / great]greateBC greteEFGH greatJ

486. and]&FGJ / truste]trustFGHIJ / of his]inF of hysI inK /
 saluacyon]saluacionDK / p^t]p^eA notBCEFK thatDHIJ / though]thougheBCDEGH /
 aungell]aungellBDEFGHIK AngellJ / heuen]heuyneHIJK / appered]apperdeD
 apperydH / vnto]toJ /

487. hym]himK / and]&FGJ / hym]himJK / that]p^tF / shoulde]sholdeBCEFH
 shuldDJ shuldeK / dampned]dampnedBCDGHK / shoulde]sholdeBCEFGHI
 shuldeDK shuldJ / not]natDJ / beleue]byleueBDEFGHI belyueC / hym]himJK
488. thynke]thinkeJ thinkeK / p^t]thatDHIJK / some]someJ / illusyon]illusionD
 yllusyonF / the]p^eEF / deuyll]deuyldK beuyllI / transformyng]transformyngDH
 transfourmyngEFI transformingeJ transfourmyngK / hym selfe]himselfeF
 hymselfeG him selfJ him selfeK
489. in]inC / lykenesse]lykenesFGHIJ / aungell]aungellF aungelG aungellJ /
 too]toFHI / deceyue]desceyueD dysceyueHI disceyueJ / hym]hymF himJK /
 And]&D / if]yfBCEFGHIK / he]yeG itK / certyfyed]certefyedBCE certifiedDJ /
 that]p^tFG
490. it]ytH / aungell]angelD aungellF AngellJ / god]GodK /
 should]sholdeBCEFGHI shuldeDJ *not*K / not]natJ / despayre]dyspayreEHI
 despeyreGK despeyreJ / saluacyon]saluacionD saluationJ
491. thyn[k]e]thyngABC thinkeJ / that]p^tFG / the]p^eE notJ / aungell]aungelC
 aungellDGHK thangelJ / condycyonally]condycionallyDK condicionallyJ /
 that]p^tFG / is]ysI / say]sayeBCDGI / that]p^tFG
492. shoulde]sholdeCEFGHI shuldeDJK / damned]dampnedI dampnedJK /
 if]yfBCEFGIK / not]natDJ / in]inJ / and]&GJK / amende]amendeIJ / lyfe]lifeJ
493. and]&G and toH & toI / sory]sorieJ / p^e]theDEFGJ hisHIK / had]hathDJ
 hathEHI
494. thyrde]thirdeDJ / temptacyon]temptacionDK themptacyonE temptationJ /
 p^e]theDGHJK / houre]hourJ / deth]detheHIJ deathK / is]ysHI / anger]AngreF
 angreHIJ angrieK / wrathe]wrathBCDEGK / and]&F
495. impacyence]Impacienced ImpacyenceFG impaciencedJK / This]ThysH /
 temptacyon]temptacionD temptationJ temptacionK / commeth]comethBCFHI
 commethDK / oftentimes]often tymesBCE ofte tymesDGH oft tymesJ /
 suggestyon]suggestyonBCEFGHIK suggestionDJ / the]p^eBCDEF / deuyll]deuyllI /
496. whiche]whichIJ / gru[d]ge]gruggeA / his]p^eF hysH / sykenesse]sekenesseC
 sykenesDFGI syckenesH sicknesseJ syckenesseK / and]&DFG / that]p^tFG *not*K /
 payne]paynI
497. is]ysH / gretter]greterBCEFI greatterDJ greaterK / thanne]thanBCEFGHIJK /
 hath]hathE / desrued]deseruedBCDFHIJK / and]&GI /
 complayneth]complaynethF / God]godABCDEFGHJ

- 498.** &]andDHIK / sayth]saytheH saithJ / suffrest]suffrethCD sufferestHIK /
 contynue]contynueDG contyneweK / longe]longeBCDEFHIJK / and]&BCEK /
 so]sooH / grete]greatDIK gretJ
- 499.** þ^t]thatBCDEFGHIJK / shuld]sholdeBCEFGHI shuldeDJK / suffre]sufferK /
 this]thysH
- 500.** Consyder]ConsiderD ConsydeHIJ / faythfull]feythfullD faithfullJK /
 trybulacyons]tribulacionsDK tribulationsJ / muste]mustDEFGHIK / in to]intoDK in
 toJ
- 501.** the]þ^{eG} / kyngdome]kyngedomeGK kyngdomI / heuen]heuyhHJK /
 man]manG / not]natJ / come]comeJ / grette]greteBCFGH greteI gretJ /
 ioye]IoyeABG IoyCEF ioyJ / that]þ^tF / wyll]wylBK
- 502.** noo]noDGIJK / great]greateBCE greteFG *not*I / therfore]thereforeH /
 And]andDHI &J / is]ysH / the]þ^{eF} / weke]weke a monethHJ weke a monetheI /
 of]*not*HIJ
- 503 - 4.** towarde]towardsD toHIJ / the]þ^{eF} / grete]greatDIK gretJ / and the]*not*B
 andCEI & theDG &FJ / inestymable]inestimableJ / ioye]IoyeABCDEF IoyG
 ioyeHIJK / heuen]heuenG heuyhHJK / whiche]whychI / indure]indureBCD
 endureEG not indureF not endureHIK nat endureJ / nor]notBCEFGK natD *not*HIJ /
 a weke]a weke a monethHIJ
- 504.** or]norFHIJK / worlde]worldI / without]whithoutC /
 belouyd]bylouedBCDEFH belouedGJK
- 505.** Our]ourABCDEFHIJK oureH / suffred]sufferedDI suffreK /
 great]greteBCEGH gretF / departed]departeG departedJ departK / out]outeHI /
 this]thysHI theK
- 506.** glad]gladdeHI / so]sooBCEH / do]dooBCEH / knowynge]knowingJ /
 the]þ^{eF} / grete]greatDIJK / profyte]profytyC profiteDJ profytesHI / and]&FJ /
 fruyt]fruyteBCEFGK fruteD commoditytesH commoditytiesI com^mmoditeJ / that]thetK
 / shoulde]sholdeBCEFGH shuldeDIJK
- 507.** therfore]thereforeH / if]yfBCEFGK IfHIJ / wolde]woldK /
 remembre]remembreJ / and]&BCEFGJ / imprynt]ImprynteBCEFG emprynteD
 imprintJ imprynteK / wel]wellBCDEFGHIK weleJ / our]yourF / payne]paineK /
 &]andBCDEHIJK /
- 508.** passyon]passionDJ / Our]ourABCDEGIJK oureFH /
 Sauyour]sauoyourABCDEFHGK sauyoureHI sauioirJ / Cryste]crysteA CrystBCG

CristeD CrystEF ChristJ ChristeK / hath]hatheGHI / taken]takenD / myght]mightJ
/ oure]ourIK

509. persons]personesCEFGIK personsJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / not]natDJ /
pacyently]pacientlyJ pacyentlyeK / suffre]sufferH / some]someJ / hym]himFJK /
&]andDHIJ / p^e]theBDEGHIJ

510. welthe]welthBCDEGHIJK / soule]soulesDFGHIJK / obtayne]opteyneDH
optayneGJ obtaineK / p^e]theBCDEFGHIJK / great]greteBCEFGH / blysse]blysD
/ that]p^tBCEFGHIJK / hathe]hathDFGJK / bough[t]boughA / Lette]LetFIK

511. in deuer]indyuerC endeuerDGI endeuoureH endeuourJ / our
self]ourselfeBCFG oure selfeDHIJK / pacyently]pacientlyD pacyentlyFG
pacientlyJK / the]p^eFG / hym]hymF himK / whiche]whycheI

512. suffred]sufferedDI / grea[t]e]greaeA in greteBCE in greteF the greatDIK p^e
greteG the greteH the gretJ / and]&DFG / passyon]passionDJ / the]p^eF /
moste]moosteBCEK moostFGHI mostJ / dethe]dethD deathK / of]onBCEHIJ /
crosse]CrosseABCDEGH

513. though]thougheBCDEFGHIK / our]oureBCK / gru[d]ge]gruggeA /
payne]paineC / and]&FG / desyre]desireD desyrethK / helthe]helthDGIJK /
and]&DFGJ / reste]restFGHIJ

514. worlde]worldD / muste]mustDFGIJ / this]thysBC / desyre]desireJ /
and]&DFGH / wyll]wylFG / the]peF / desyre]desireD / whiche]whichIJK

515. beste]bestDFGHIJK / thyng]thyngJ / to]forDG best toHI / auayle]aueyleJ /
And]andK / thanke]thankeDJ / hym]hymF himJK / hertely]hartelyI / of]forHIJ

516. vysytacyon]visitacionD vysitacyonF visytacionJ vysytacionK / in]inJ /
sendynge]sendyngDI sendingJ / and]&GJK / passyon]passionDJK passyonI / in]inJ
/ this]thysCD / worlde]worldFIK / lyke]likeJ / as]as yfK

517. receyued]receyueBCEF receyuydHI / hym]himK / precyous]preciousDK
preciousJ / gyfte]giftJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / partyners]partenersDGH partenersJ
pertaynersK / in]inJ

518. payne]paynJ / and]&DFGK / passyon]passyenD passyonH passionJ / shall
be]shalbeDJ / partyners]partenersDGH partenersJ partaynersK / hym]himJ /
ioye]IoyeABCDEFG IoyG / and]&J / consolacyon]consolacionDK consolationJ

519. fourthe]fourthEH .iiij.J / or]ofBCEFIK / temptacyon]temptacyonBCEFGHI
temptacionDK temptationJ / the houre]thourJ / dethe]dethDJ deathK / is]ysH /
couetyse]couetiseJ / and]&J

- 520.** besynesse]busynesseBCEFGHIJK besynesD / worldly]worldelyDFGHI /
thynges]thyngesGHI thingsJ / the]aDG / from]fromeD fromJ /
deuote]deuouteBCDFGI deuoutJ
- 521.** remembraunce]remembrannceB remembraunceG remembranceJ
remembraunceK / and]&J / in warde]inwardeDFIJK / it]ytH /
should]sholdeBCDFGHI shuldD shuldeJK / in]inJ / specyally]speciallyDJ
specyallyeK
- 522.** that]theDG ptFI / temptacyon]temptacionBK temptacyonD temptationJ /
commeth]comethBCDFHI / oftentimes]oftentimesCD ofte tymesDGH oftymesJ /
suggestyon]suggestynD suggestionJ / the]thyD þeG / deuyll]deuillD deuyllK
- 523.** which]whicheBCEFGI whycheD / in]inJ / a]notHJ / mannes]mansJK /
mynde]mindeK / houre]hourJ / deth]detheCFHI / suche]suchK thynges]thingsJ /
specyally]speciallyDJ specyallyeK
- 524.** man]manGJ / hath]hatheDEG / best]besteDG / his]hysH / lyfe]lifeJ /
rychese]rychesseBCEFIK richesseD rychesGH richesJ / worldly]worldelyBFGHI
wordelyC / pleasure]pleasoureC pleasuresH / wyfe]wifeJ / and]&BCEFGIK
- 525.** chyl dren]childrenDJ chyl drednE chyl drenF / &]andHK /
such]sucheBCDEFGHIK / the]þ^eFI / presenteth]presentythH /
besely]busylyBCFGHI buselyJ / vnto]toH / mannes]mannesBCDEGI mansJ /
mynde]mindeJ
- 526.** þ^e]thatDGHJ theIK / intent]ententEIJ intendeG ententeHK / þ^l]thatBCDGHJK
/ shoulde]sholdeBCEGHI shuldD shuldeJK / occupy]occupyeH / his]hysH /
mynde]mindeC here with all]here withallEH herwith allD herewithalG here w^t allJ /
with all]withallI / then]thanDGHJK / w^t]withDEGHIJK / gostely]gostlyDHJ
ghostlyGIK
- 527.** profyte]profyteBCEGHIK profiteD profiteJ / &]andDGHK / welth]weltheDH
/ remedy]remedyeHK / ayenst]ageynstD agaynstGHIK againstJ /
temptacyon]temptacyooC temptacionDK temptacyonI temptationJ
- 528.** expedyent]expedyenteD expedientJK / that]þ^lG / man]manJ / his]hysCH /
testament]testamentDI TestamentJ testamenteK / his]hysH
- 529.** helth]heltheGHIK / not]natDJ / letted]lettydH /about]abouteBCDEGHK /
the orderynge]the ordryngeD þe orderyngeI thordringJ / worldly]worldelyGHI /
goodes]goodesJ / the]þ^eI

- 530.** his]thisBCE / departynge]departyngeJ departingeK / when]whanDHIJ
whanGK / shoulde]sholdeBCEGHI shuldeDK shuldJ / specyally]speciallyJ
specyallyeK / ordre]orderHJ / the]þ^eI / &]andBCDEHI
- 531.** the]þ^eI / all]theG al / temporall]temporallDJ / thynges]thyngesCEHI thingesJ
/ for]ForDGHJK / sauour]sauyoreBCEGHI sauioireD sauioirJ /
sayth]saytheEHI saithJ / wyll]wylD / not]natDJ
- 532.** and]&GJ / mother]moderJ / and]&J / chyldren]childrenD chylterneH
childreJ / and]&J
- 533.** possessyons]possessionsD possessionsJ / may]mayeE / not]natDJ /
dysciple]dyscipleG discipleJ / that]þ^tI / shall be]shalbeDJK shal beEH /
about]aboutDJ / syke]sikeJ syckeK
- 534.** persons]personsCK personesDEGHI / theym]themGIK themJ / be
ware]bewareBCDEHJK / them]themDEGIK theymH / not]natDJ / grete]greatDK
gretJ / comferte]comferteEGHK comfortJ / bodily]bodelyBCDGHIIJK
- 535.** helth]heltheCGH / them]theymH themJ / ouer moche]ouer mochJ /
truste]trustEHJ / &]andDGHK / suche]suchJ
- 536.** &]andDGHK / comfertes]comfertesDEGIK comfertesJ / may]mayeDEGH /
occasyons]occasyonH occasionJ / theyr]theirJ / vtter]vtterlyG /
dampnacion]dampnacyonBE danacyonC dampnacyonGHI dampnationJ
dampnacionK / But]butABCEFIK / let]letteDG / them]themDGI theymHK /
them]themDGK theymH
- 537.** diligently]dyligentlyBEI dyligentlyCH dyligentlyDG dyligentlyeK /
þ^e]theDEGHJK / [of] this]thisABCDEFGK of thysH / wretched]wretchydeD
wretchydH / worlde]worldI / and]AndABCEFI &GJK / to]tooE
- 538.** theyr]theirIJK / wyll]wylB willJ / god]GodK / and]&EJ / content]contentDJ
contenteG contonteHI / alwayes]al wayesB al wayeE alwaisJ / whether]whederJ /
it]ytH / and]AndABCDEFGHI &J
- 539.** bothe]bothDK / ordre]orderHJ / them self]themselfeBCEG them selfeDK
them selfeH themselfI them selfJ / to]rather toK / than]thanE / to]notK /
&]andDGHK / than]thanJ / shall]shalleD shalEIJ / not]natDJ
- 540.** deceyued]dysceyuedH disceyuedJ / for]ForABCDEFGHIIJK /
deceetued]deceyuedeD dysceyuedH disceiuedJ / in]inJ / the]notHJ þ^eI / theyr]theirJ
/ deth]detheCGHI / hope]hoopeBCE

541. contynuaunce of]longeH contyuanceI longJ contynuaunce ofK / lyfe]lifeJ /
For]forABCEFGIK / longe]longeK / truste]trustGHIJK / wyll]willJ /
euer]neuerDGHIJK / dyspose]disposeDJ
542. theym]themGIK themJ / perfytely]parfytelyBCEGI perfytelyD perfitlyJ /
dye]dyeI dyJ / and]&IJ / so]sooG / deth]detheBEGHIJ / them]theymHI /
vndesposed]vndysposedGI vndysposydH vndisposedJK / the]p^eI / great]greteEGHI
/ damage]notHJ
543. and]&BCEG notHJ / hurte]hurtJ / theyr]theirJ
544. .v.]fyfthHI fyfteK / temptacyon]temptacionD temptacyonI temptationJ
temptacionK / the houre]p^e houreF thourJ / deth]detheBCEFGH deathK / is]ysH /
pryde]prideJ / and]&FGIJ / vayne glor[y]e]vayne gloreA vayngloryeBCEFI vayne
gloryG vayngloryH vaingloriJ
545. whiche]whichFI / commeth]comethBCFGHI / chefely]chieflyD chyeflyG /
Instygacyon]IustygacyonC InstigacionD instygacyonHI instigationJ instigacionK /
the]p^eF the theI / deuyll]dyuellD deuyI G / when]whanBCDEFGHIJK / the]p^eFG /
deuyll]deuyII
546. perceyueth]perceyuethCI perceyuethD parceyuethJ / p^t]thatDHIJK / can]canC
/ not]natDJ / ouercome]ouer comeD / ony]anyDHIJK / these]theyseH /
temptacions]temptacyonsBCEFGHI temptacionsDK temptationsJ
547. rehersyd]reherseBCDEFGHIJK / thenne]thanFDIJK thanG thanneH /
moueth]mouetheD / hym]himJ / reioyse]reioyceEGHIJK / hym selfe]hym
selfeBHK hym selfD hymselfeG him selfJ / saynge]sayengeBCEFGHK sayengDJ
548. hym]hymF himJ / howe]howBCEFG / stronge]strongI / faythe]feythD pe
faythG faithJ faythIK / howe]howFGIJ / stedfast]stedfasteDK / the]notFHIJK /
howe]howFGI
549. perfyte]perfiteD parfyteFGI perfiteJ / in]inF / pacyence]pacienceDI pacienceJ
/ fynde]fyndI / few]a fewI / suche]suchIJ / Ye]yeABCDEFGHIJK / so]sooI
550. your]youreK / shall be]ye shalbeDJ shal beE ye shall beGH / that]p^tF / shall
be] ye shalbeK / remembred]remembredDIJ / longe]longeD longI / the]p^eF
551. standeth]standethJ / This]ThysH / is]ysH / peryllous]perillousD perilousJ /
and]&DFGIHJ / subtyll]subtellFGHJ / temptacyon]temptacionDK temptacyonF
temptacionJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / ony]anyDHIJK / suche]suchI
552. come]comeJ / in]toHI / your]youreH / that]p^tE / meke]makeE / your
selfe]yourselfeBEFG you selfD youre selfeH your selfJ / lowely]lowlyJK

553. lorde]lordFI / consyderynge]consyderynGI considringJ consideryngeK / your selfe]yourselfeEFG youre selfeH your selfJ / nought ellys]noughtellesD nought ellesFGHI nought elsJK / creature]creatourF

554. &]andGIK / wretchyd]wretchedBCEFGIJK wretchyedD / not]natDJ / all oonly]all onelyBCEGH allonlyI alonelyFJK / done]dooneH / But]butGHIJK / also]notI

555. synnes]synnesBCDEFHIIJK / whiche]whycheI / shoulde]sholdeBCEGH sholdFI shuldeDJK / fallen]falledC fallenD / yf]ifDGJ / not]natDJ / ben]beK / lorde]lordI / preseruyd]preservedBCDEFGHJK

556. therfrom]therfromeBCEJ therfroG therefromH there fromI / And]andGK / in]inI / your]youreG / done]dooneBCE / ony]anyHIIJK

557. those]theseDG / came]camDI / not]natDJ / your selfe]yourselfeBFGK / the]þ^eFGK / to]tooBCE / whome]whomDJ whomI / honoure]honourDJ /

558. and]&DG / therfore]thereforeB / shal]shallDEGHIIJK / goddes]goddesJ GoddesK / ouer come]ouercomeGIJ / the]þ^eG / temptacyons]temptacionsDK temptacyonsH temptacyonsI temptationsJ

559. the]þ^eFG / deuyll]dyuellD dyuelJ / For]forABCDEFGHIIJ / when]whanDFGIJK whanH / he]yeD / wolde]woldI / exalte]axalteC / pryde]PrydeHK prideJ / and]&GJ / vayne glory]vayne gloryeD vayngloryFI vayngloryeH vayn glorieJ vaynegloryK / shall]shalleD shalGJ / ye]yowB /

560. lowe]loueCEF lowI humbleK / your selfe]yourB yourselfeEFG / by]withI / mekenesse]meknesB mekenesEFGJK / and]AndBDGHIK &EFJ / when]whanBDHIIJK whenF / he]yowB yeD / wolde]woldK / lowe]loueEF

humbleK / desperacyon]desperacionB desperacyonI disperationJ desperacionK

561. shall]schallB shalF / exalte]exaltK / your self]your selfeD yourselfeEFG / stedfast]stedfasteB / þ^e]þ^eB theCDEFGHIIJK / great]gretBJ greteCEFGH / mercy]mercyB / god]allmyhty godB

562. More ouer]ovyrB MoreouerGIJK / that]þatB / shall be]schall beB shalbeDJK / aboute]abowteB aboutIK / syke]syckeDHIK sickeJ / persones]personesB personsJ / that]þ^eBG / counsayle]counsellBF counsayleDK counsaileJ / them]þemB theymCEH themJ

563. by]be tymeB betymeEFIK be tymeHJ / receyue]reseyueB receiueDK / the]þ^eB þ^eF / sacramentes]sacramentisB sacramentesD sacramentK / the]þ^e /

chyrche]chercheB churcheDGK churchJ / for]fforB / they]þeyB /
suffrayne]souerayneGHIJ

564. medycyns]medycynesDH medecynesI medicensJ medycinesK / bothe]boþeB
bothFK / the]þ^eB / soule]sowlIB / &]andBDHJK / for]notFK / the]þ^eB /
body]bodyeD / For]fforB forI / all]alK / sykenesse]seknesB sykenesseH sykenesI
sickenesseJ sycknesK / &]andBDGHK

565. commeth]comythB commethDF comethHIJK / for]ForBK / if]yfBCEFGHIK
/ there]þerB / hadde]hadBDFGHIK / neuer]nevyrB / ben]beneH /
synne]synneBCDEFGHI synJ / hadde]hadJ / synne]syn / there]therB /
shoulde]schuldeB sholdeCEGH sholdI shuldeDJK / neuer]neuyrB

566. ben]bynB / synne]synJ / but]ButBDGHIK / remedy]remydyG remedyeJ /
ayenst]ayensteBD agaynstCEFHIK agaynsteG ayenstJ / synne]synJ / is]ysB /
&]AndB andDGH / is]ysBH / gotten]gotynB gotenFJ gotenI / chefely]chyflyB
chyfelyD chyeflyGI chefelyeK / by]þeB / the]þeB

567. sacramentes]sacramentisB sacramentesDFGHI / þe]þ^eB theDFGHIJK /
chyrche]chercheB churcheDK / [for they] þe]wherfore dowteles þe sacramentis of þe
cherche byB wherfore doubtesse the sacramentes of the Churche beD byE beF
wherfore doubtesse the sacramentes of the chyrche beG wherfore doutlesse the
sacramentes of the chyrche beH wherfore doutles the sacramentes of the chyrch beI
wherfore doutles the sacramentes of the church beJ the whiche they beK /
suffrayne]sufferayneDFK souerayneGH soueraineJ soueraynI /
medycyns]medicynsD medecyonsF medecynesHIKmedicinsJ /
both]botheBCDEFGHJI / þ^e]theBCDEFGHIJK / soule]sowlIB / and]AndB &GIJ
568. the]þ^eB

569. And]andHJ &I / after]aforeB / that]þ^tB / the]þ^eB / syke]sekeB sikeD
syckeHK sickeJ / persons]þer^usonsB personesEFG personeH personIJK / hath]hafeB
hatheEFH haueG / receyued]reseuydB receyuydH requyredK / the]þ^eB þ^eF /
sacramentes]sacramentisB sacramentesCJ / the]þ^eB þ^eEF /
Chyrche]chyrcheACEFGHI chercheB churcheDJK

570. lette]letBFHIJK / hym]himJ / not]natDJ / fere]feareJ / dye]dieD /
ony]anyBDHIJK / that]þ^tB / shall]schallB shallJ / please]pleseBJ / our]oureBK
notHIJ / lorde]godHIJ / call]calBJ calleD call forHI J

571 - 2. remembrynge]remembryngeB remembryngeDF RemembryngeI
remembringJ / that]þ^tBFG / there]þer / is]ysBH / none]nonB nonI / other]noþerB

- / waye]wayBDFGIJ / come]comI comeJ / the]peB p[°]F / ioye]IoyeBDEF IoyG
 ioyIJK / heuen]heuynJK / all oonly]alonlyBJ all onelyCEGHI aloonlyD alonelyFK
572. this]pisB / way]wayeFGK / deth]detheCEFHI deathK / For]FforB forI /
 all]alGIJ / the]peB p[°]EF / soules]sowllysB / that]p[°]BF / now]noweCEHIJK /
 heuen]heuenF heuynHIJK / haue]hathFHIK / passed]passydH
573. this]pysB theK / same way]way sameB same wayeE wayHIJ /
 deth]detheBCEFHI deathK / And]&J / thoughe]thoughFHIJ / and]&J / the]peB
 p[°]F / flesshe]flescheB / and]&F *not*I / the]peB / sensuall]sensuell sensualK /
 appetyte]appelyteH apetyteI / gru[d]ge]gruggeAJ
574. and fere]*not*B & fereDFI feareJ / lette]letBFHIJK / not]natDJ / this]pysB /
 trouble]troubyllB trubleE / the]peB / syke]sekeB sikeD syckeH sickeJ /
 persone]personIK personJ / it]ytBH / is]ysBH / naturall]naturalIJ / the]peB
575. flesshe]flescheBflessHJ / so]sooCE / do]dooCEHK / But]butHI / this]pysB
 this]thysC / gru[d]ge]gruggeA / and]&BDFIJK / fere]feareJ / shall]schallB shall
 / not]natBDJ / the]peBCD thisEF / meryte]meriteJ / of]*not*G / p[°]]theEHIJK *not*G
 / soule]sowlleB notG / yf]ifDJ
576. the]peB / soule]sowllB / consent]consenteCEH contenteFG consentJ /
 not]natBDJ / wyll]ngly]wyllngB well]nglyC wyll]ngeD willinglyJ wyll]ngelyK /
 therto]pertoB / be]toC / content]contenteCDEH contentI contentJ consentK /
 submytte]submytFHIJK / hym selfe]hymselfeDEFG him selfeJ / the]peB
577. wyll]wylGJ / god]GodK / whether]wheperB *not*I / it]ytBH *not*I /
 be..lyue]*not*I
578. Nowe]NowFGI / shorte]schorteB shortD / conclusyon]ConclusyonCE
 conclusionD conclusyonI conclusionJ / that]ptB / maye]mayBCFHI / the]peB /
 better]betterB / knowe]knowIJ / the]peB p[°]GI
579. houre]owreB hourIJ / deth]detheCDGH deathK / whether]wheperB yfI
 whederJ / be]benB / in]in peB / saluacyon]saluacyonB saluacyonCEGI saluacionDK
 saluationJ / shall]schallB shalGIJ / examyne]examynIJ / hym selfe]hymselfeCEG
 hymselfeF hym selfI him selfeJK
580. frende]feyndeB frendeFGI / in]*not*I / lyke wyse]lykewyseFJ *not*I /
 specyall]specyall specialIJK / thynges]pyngsB thyngesD thingesJ /
 Fyrste]FyrstCEFI FirstJ / whether]wheperB whederJ / he]yeBD /
 beleue]byleueCDEFGH / all]all / that]p[°]BF

581. longeth]longythB belongethCEFH longethDIJ / crysten]crostenB cristenD
rcystenF chrystenI christenJ ChrystenK / fayth]feythB faytheHI faithJ / holy]holyeK
/ chyrche]chercheB churcheDJK / beleueth]beleuythB byleuethCDEGHJ
belyuethK / and]F &J / techyth]techytB techethCEGHIJK techetheD /
seconde]2deB .ii.J

582. whether]wheperB whederJ / truste]trustEIJ troustF trustethG /
stedfastly]stedfastelyB stedfastlyeK / sauyd]sauedCDEFGJK / &]andBCDEHIK /
come]comD / pe]peB theCDEGHIJK / ioye]loyeABCDEFJ IoyG ioyJ /
heuen]heuynHIJK / thorugh]thorowB thrugheCEFGH thrughI throughDJ througheK
583. the]pe p^eF / merytes]meretesB meriteesD meritesJ / Crystes]crystesABFGJ
cristesD ChrystesI ChristesJ chrystesK / passyon]paschyonB passionDJ /
thyrde]3deB thirdeD .iiij.J / whether]wheperB whederJ / sory]soryeIK sorieJ /
the]hysB p^eF / synnes]synnesBCDEFGHIK

584. that]patB p^tF / hath]hatheBHI / and]AndB andC &FJ / aske]askedF /
specyally]speciallyDJ speciallyeK / forgyuenes]forgynenesB forgyuenesseK /
our]oureB *not*HIJ / lorde]godHIJ / them]pemB theymHI / with]w^tBFJ

585. and]&FGJ / to]*not*HI / asteyne]absteyneB abstayneCEFG absteynD *not*HIJ
refrayneK / from]froG fromeF neuer toHIJ / synne]synneBDEFGHIK synJ / hens
forwarde]hensforwardeDG afterHIJ / fourthe]4thB fourthCEFGK .iiij.J /
whether]wheperB whederJ

586. forgyue]forgyveB forgaue haue forgyueG / all]alF / them]pemB theymH /
that]patB p^tF / haue]hatheB / offended]offendydBHI offendedCEFGK / by]beB
*not*HJ / and]AndABCDEFJ andHIK &J

587. theym]pemB themCDFGIK themJ / forgyuenes]forgyfnenesB forgynesseJ /
p^t]thatCDEFHIJK / hath]hatheBCEF / offended]offendydBH offendedDEFGIK /
other]eytherBDGHIJ / by]beB / by]beB

588. .v.]5thB fyfteDK fyftI / if]yfBCEFGHIK / he]yeE / haue]hatheBG hathD /
hurt]hurtJ / ony]anyBDHIJK / man]manCE / whether]wheperB whederJ /
wyll]wylCG / p^t]thatCEHIJK / restytucyon]restytucyonB restytucionD restitutionJ
restitucionK / and]&BCF / amendes]amendysB amendesJ

589. theym]pemB themEFK themJ / accordynge]accordyngeB
accordyngeCDFGHIK acordingJ / ryght]rythB ryghteDK rightJ / and]&BCF /
conscyence]consyensB concyenceCEF conscienceD conscyenceGHIK conscienceJ /
ferre]farB farreIK ferJ / his]hysBHI / may]mayeEH

590. extende]extenddC extendeJK / The[se]]TheAC The ysB / .v.]fyueHI /
 questyons]questyonsBEGHIK questyonC questionsDJ / be]benFK /
 necessary]necesityF / too]toBCDFGHIK / asked]askydBH / them]p̄emB
 theymFHI themJ / that]p̄BFG /

591. ieopardy]IeopardyAB IeoperdyCEFG IeopardyeD ieoperdyeH ieopardyeK /
 deth]detheBDFGHI / whoso]who soDEFGHIJK who sooH / euer]euyrB /
 may]mayeCGHK / answer]answereB / them]p̄emB themDFGK themJ /
 and]&EGJ / say]seyB sayeEFH / therto]p̄ertoB

592. truely]trwelyB trulyDJ truelyeK / and]&FHJ / infeynydly]infeynedlyB
 vnfaynedlyCEFGI vnfaynydlyH vnfeynedlyJ vnfaynedlyeK / his]hysB /
 mouthe]mowtheB mouthD / want]wanteCDEGHI / his]hysBH / herte]harteBI
 hertJK

593. alone]a loneB / he]HeF / maye]mayFGIJ / assured]assurydH /
 if]yfBCEFHJK / so]sooCEH / depart]departeJ / this]p̄ysB out of thisI /
 worde]worldeBCDEFGHIJK / that]p̄tB / shall]schallB shalC shalbeDJK /
 saued]sauydBH besauedF / and]&GJK

594. come]comeB / the]p̄eB p̄^eG / blysse]blisseD / heuen]heuenB heuynHJK /
 euerlastyng]euyrlastyngB euerlastyngJ

595. Yet]yetHI / all]alF / maner]manerBJ / and]orG &FK /
 temptacyons]temptacyonsB temptationsJ temptacionsK / body]bodiC / or]andK /
 in]inJK / soule]sowlIB SouleCE / lette]LetteACE LetBFI letHJK / euery]eueyryB

596. remembre]remembreBDEFGHIK remembreJ / inwardly]inwardelyBCEFG /
 the]p̄eB / blessyd]blessudB blyssydC blessedDFI blyssedK / passyon]passionDJ /
 our]owreB / sauyore]sauyourB sauyoureCEHK sauyourDFG saueourI sauioirJ /
 cryste]CrysteCE CristeD crystFG CrystH ChristeI ChristJ ChrysteK / and]AndB
 &FGJ / call]caleB calF / therto]p̄ertoB

597. and]&CEFJ / secoure]socurB socoureCEFGHIK succoureD socourJ /
 &]andBCDEHIK / shall]schallB / euer]euyrB *not*HIIK / remedy]remediC
 remedyeHI / therin]p̄erinB therinCDEFGHIK

598. Besyde]BesideDJ / this]p̄ysB / let]letteBCDEF / euery]eueyryB / call]calD /
 the]p̄eB p̄^eF / gloryouse]gloryusB gloriouslyD gloriousFGHK / virgyne]vyrgyneB
 vyrgyneEFGH vyrgynIJK / the]p̄eB p̄^eF / mother]moperB moderFJ / god]ChrysteI

599. our]*not*B oureD / lady]LadyCDEFG LadyeI / saynt]sentBsaintJ /
 Mary]maryB MaryeDI / comferte]comfortBD confortel comfortJ / and]&FG /

- assystence]assystenceF assistenceJ / For]notG forHIJ / she]scheB /
 may]mayeBCDE / helpe]helpB by her intercessyon helpeK
- 600.** and]&FGJ / succoure]socurB socoureCFGHK socourIJ / she]scheB / is]ysBH
 / moste]moostCEFH mostDG / of power]full of pytieK / vnder]vndyrB /
 god]GodK / And]andACDEHIK &FGJ / doubtles]dowtelesB doubtelesCEFGK
 doubtlesseH doutlesseJ / she]scheB / wyll]wylCEF willJ
- 601.** helpe]by hyr Intercessyon helpeK / &]andBCDEHIK / succoure]soccoureB
 socoureCEFGHK socourIJ / if]yfBCEFGHIK / call]calleBK calFJ /
 hyr]herCEFGHIJ hirD / for]ForK / she]scheB / is]ysB / the]pe p^eF notI /
 mother]mo^{pe}rB moderF / mercy]mercyB mercyeD / and of]& ofF &J andIK
- 602.** pyte]pytyeBDH pytyI piteJ pytieK / and]AndABCDEFG andHIJ &? /
 our]owreB / specyall]notB specialIDJ specyalF / aduocate]aduocatD /
 shewe]schewB shewI / &]andCDEHIK / present]presentB presenteCEG / all]alF /
 our]owrB / causes]cawsesB / and]&FGH / oure]oureB ourFGK andI notJ
- 603.** necessityes]necessytesH necessitesJ necessitytieK / to]tooCE / the]peB p^eF /
 hyghe]hyeB hyghI higheJ / Iuge]iugeJ iudgeK / heuen]HeuenD heuynHIK /
 hyr]herCEFGHIJK / owne]awnB / blyssed]blessudB blessydCEFGH blessedJ /
 sone]sonneCEFHIK sonJ / doubtles]doubtelesGK doutlesHIJ / it]ytBH / is]ysBH
- 604.** not]natBDJ / thought]thaughtD thoughteF / pt]patB thatDHIJK /
 suche]suchD / sone]sonneCHIK sonJ / and]&FGK / so]sooGH / gentyll]gentellF /
 louynge]louyngJ / and]&J / gentyll]gentyllJ / his]hysB / mother]mo^{pe}rB moderJ
- 605.** denye]denyIJK / hyr]herBEFGHIK hirD / ony]anyBDHIJK / thyngel]pyngB
 thingeJ thyngIK / that]patB / she]scheB / asketh]asketh for vsK /
 wherfore]qwherforeB / lette]letBFGHIJK / euery]enyB / and]&BFGJK
- 606.** all]alGIK / tymes]timesI / specyally]speciallyDJ / the]peB p^eF /
 houre]owreB hourJ / deth]detheBHJ deathK / vnto]toB / hyr]hirD herFGHIJK /
 &]andBCDEGHI / succoure]soccureB socoureCEFGH socourIJ socoure by her
 intercessyonK
- 607.** And]andHI &J / doubte]douteJ doubtK / we]yeHJ youI / not]natBDJ /
 she]scheB / wyll]wylK / euer]evyrB / to]tooCE andK / succoure]succoureB
 socoureCEFGHJ socourI notK / comferte]confortel comfortJ / and]&GIJ
- 608.** assyste]assystHI / vs]vs makynge intercessyon for vsK / our]oureB oureH /
 and]&J / necessityes]necessiteesD necessityteesEG necessityyesI necessitesJ
 necessityesK

609. Besyde]BesydesJ / this]pysB / let]letteEGH / euery]eueryB / and]&BDJ /
at the]atB at þ^eF / houre]owreB hourJ / deth]detheBCDEFGHIJ /
inuocacyon]inuocacynB inuocationJ

610. and]AndB &FI / theyr]peyreB theyreD theirJ / frendes]frendysB frendesIJ /
with]w^tB / them]pemB theymHIK / holy]holyeK / aungelles]aungellysB aungellesF
aungelsHIJK / and]&FGJ / sayntes]saintesJ / heuen]heunHIJK /
specyally]speciallyDJK

611. to]tooCE / those]poseB / whiche]wycheB whycheC whichK / they]peyB /
had]haddeBDF / moste]moreBDG mostCEK moostFH / deuocyon]deuocionD
deuocyonFGHI deuotionJ deuocionK / theyr]peyreB theirJ / lyfes]lyuysB
lyuesDFGHIJ lyfeE lyues to make intercessyon for them vnto almyghtie godK /
And]andHI &JK

612. fynally]finallyJ fynallye toK / recommande]recommendeBCDEH
recommendedF recommedeGIJ / theyr]peyreB theirJ / our]owreB oureE notHIJK
/ lorde]notHIJK / Ihesu]IhuB IesuD notHIJK / god almyghty]god almyhtyB god
almyghtC almyghty godHIJ God almightieK / to]notK ToF / his]hysB notK /

613. blessyd]blessedBDFJ notK / mother]moþerB moderD notK / &]andBCDHI
notK / virgyne]virgyneB vyrgyneCEFGH virgynDJ vyrgynI notK / our]oureBH
notK / lady]LadyCEFGI ladyH notK / saynt]notHIJK / Mary]maryB notHIJK /
and]AndB &FGJ notK / to]notK / all]notK / sayntes]sayntysB the sayntesCEF
saintesJ notK / sayge]sayengeB sayenC sayengeDFGHIK sayngeEI sayengJ

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

615. And]andJK / other]operB / whiche]wycheB whichI / shall]schall be
shalbeDJK / thought]thoughteK / conuenyent]conuenentB conuenientD
conuenientJ conuenyenteIK / plesaunt]pleasauntB pleusauntC pleasantJ /
to]ToABCDEFGHIK /

616. whome]whomBIJK / honour]honoureBGH honoureF al honoureK /
glory]gloryeFHI glorieJ / euerlatynge]euerlastingeB euerlastyngJ /
Amen]A.M.E.N.B

Literary and Historical Notes

1 – 2. A reference to chapter nine of the statutes published by John Pecham after the 1281 Lambeth Council.⁵⁰² 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.⁵⁰³ 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.⁵⁰⁴

9 – 39. A close translation of Pecham's fourteen articles of faith, otherwise known as the *Credo*.⁵⁰⁵ 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.⁵⁰⁶ 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]."⁵⁰⁷ 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.

⁵⁰² 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), 900 – 5.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 901.

⁵⁰⁴ For a fuller discussion on the influence of the IV Lateran Council on manuals of religious instruction see Leonard Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology" in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., Tennessee Studies in Literature, 28, (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1985) 30 – 43.

⁵⁰⁵ Powicke and Cheney, vol 2, pt.2: 901 – 2.

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.⁵⁰⁸ 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.⁵⁰⁹

106 – 23. Pecham's seven virtues are much briefer than the tract included here in *Exornatorium Curatorum*.⁵¹⁰

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.⁵¹¹ Pecham includes information on the laity baptising in chapter three of his 1281 statutes.⁵¹²

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* ll.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.⁵¹³ *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.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 903.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 904.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 904 – 5.

⁵¹¹ See *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll. 710 – 80 or *Quattuor Sermones*, 37 – 8.

⁵¹² Ibid., 896.

⁵¹³ See *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll.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* ll.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 vtriusque*’ 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.

⁵¹⁷ Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1: 34.

⁵¹⁸ Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1: 88.

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 Complètes*, 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.⁵²⁰

207 – 347. The following lines in *Exornatorium Curatorum* correspond closely to Jean Gerson's *L'Examen de Conscience selon les Péchés Capitaux*.⁵²¹ 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).⁵²² Gerson, works within the Gregorian framework, but does vary the order slightly as follows: *Superbia*, *Ira*, *Invidia*, *Avaritia*, *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.⁵²³ 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 *siaagl* 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 Tripartitum* 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*.⁵²⁴

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.

⁵²⁰ See, for example, British Library MS Harley 4172 ff.116^r – 23^r.

⁵²¹ *Oeuvres Complètes*, 393 – 8.

⁵²² 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.

⁵²³ Bloomfield, 70.

⁵²⁴ 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 vaine louange et excellence de toy mesmes ou pour les biens de fortune comme richesse et possessions, or et argent . . . ou pour les biens de grace comme est science ou cognoissance ou devocion.”⁵²⁵ The order of the gifts varies in both texts. *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 euvres pour estre loué du monde ou pour estre réputé 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 ainse 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 inobedience que tu aies esté excommunie ou que tu ayes participes avec excommuniez trop légierement.”

230 – 2. “Se tu as trop creu ta propre opinion en mesprisant le conseil d’autrui, 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 entrepris a fair choses par presumption plus que ta puissance ou science ne requeroit.”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 aultrui en desirant vengeance, ou le grever par toy ou par aultury ou par fait ou par paroles.”

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

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

⁵²⁵ *Oeuvres Complètes*, 394.

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 menacié 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 persecutoit de fait. Se tu as tristesse du bien d’aultruy, 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 gré ou sans son savoir.”
- 274 – 6.** “Se tu as flaté faulusement aultruy pour avoir le sien ou pour le mocquer ou decepvoir.”⁵²⁷
- 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 pariuré 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.”

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 396.

300 – 3. “Se tu as expose ton temps, et par especial les festes, en paroles ou en faitz ou en pensees de nul prouffit ou de pechié, 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.”⁵²⁸

312 – 4. “Se tu as esté negligent de toy repentir et aussi confesser 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 trespasé les jeunes commandees de l’eglise sans cause bonne ou excusacion de maladie ou aultre foiblesse.”⁵²⁹

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 oubliié, 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 pechié de la char pour y prandre mauvaïse plaisance ou delectation.”⁵³⁰

334 – 6. “Se tu as accomply ce pechié 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 peintures deshonestes.”

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

344 – 7. “Se tu as eu compaignie 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 avec 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 Tripartitum*.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 desplaist & men repens, pour que ie vous ay offense. . . La seconde verite est,

⁵³¹ *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll. 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 BL Cc.6.4498 ff.d3^{r-v}. This particular section does not seem to have been included in Gerson's *Oeuvres Complètes*.

⁵³³ Morgan, 105 – 07.

⁵³⁴ BL Cc.6.4498, d3^v.

sire iay bon propos & desire moyennant vostre bonne ayde moy bien garder doresnuaunt cheoir en peche. . . La tierce verite est, sire iay bonne volente de faire entiere confession de mes pechez temps & lieu conuenable.”⁵³⁵

414 – 9. “Quiconque & en quelconque lieu qu’il soit & en quelconque temps dira a dieu de cueur en pure conscience sans faincte & 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 preuenue de mor soubdaine: elle seroit finablement saluee. . .”⁵³⁶

422 – 616. The remaining section of *Exornatorium Curatorium* 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.⁵³⁷ 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*.⁵³⁸

426 – 32. The introduction, in both Gerson and *Exornatorium Curatorium*, 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.”⁵³⁹

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,

⁵³⁵ Ibid., d3^{r-v}.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., d3^v.

⁵³⁷ For further discussion on the *Ars Moriendi* see Mary Catherine O’Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi*. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 156, (New York: Columbia UP, 1942). In the vernacular tradition, there are two noticable types of *Ars Moriendi*: the block book and the *L’Art de Bien Mourir*. The block book was composed of fifteen temptations each followed by a remedy. It is best known, however, for the graphic woodcuts that accompany each temptation, depicting the devils (temptations) and angels (inspirations) that surround a dying person. The longer *L’Art de Bien Mourir* comprises three parts as we find here in *Exornatorium Curatorium*, and in the third part of Gerson’s *Opus Tripartitum*: temptations, interrogations and prayers. The *L’Art de Bien Mourir* was usually accompanied by another treatise *L’Art de Bien Vivre* and included material on the fourteen articles of faith, the creed and the sacraments. *Exornatorium Curatorium* obviously belongs to this second tradition.

⁵³⁸ See Gerson’s *Oeuvres Complètes*, 404 – 7 where it is entitled *La Médecine de L’Ame*.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 404.

The Craft to Live Well and to Die Well (1505).⁵⁴⁰ 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.⁵⁴¹ 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.⁵⁴² 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.⁵⁴³

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.⁵⁴⁴ 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, veulx tu morir et vivre en la foy crestienne de nostre sauveur Jhesu crist, comme loyal et vray filz de sainte eglise?"⁵⁴⁵

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 saintes, de tes pechiés et deffaulx passez, de ce que tu as fait contre leur amour et bonté et de ce que tu ne les as pas honnoré comme tu deusses?"

585 – 7. "Pardones tu de bonne cuer a tous et a toutes, en l'onneur et pour amour de celui 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.

⁵⁴² For a discussion on the order of temptations see Nancy Lee Beatty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study of the Literary Tradition of the 'Ars Moriendi' in England*. Yale Studies in English, 175, (New Haven and London: YUP, 1970), 2. I mention the Dutch editions as a pointer to further study. Much work remains to be done on de Worde and his contacts and sources on the continent.

⁵⁴³ *Oeuvres Complètes*, 405.

⁵⁴⁴ See, for example, *Manuale ad Usum Sarsum*, W.G. Henderson 110* - 112*; *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll.831 – 47; Holmstedt, G., *Speculum Christiani*, Early English Text Society, o.s. 182, (London, 1933): 206.

⁵⁴⁵ *Oeuvres Complètes*, 405.

demandez pardon et cris mercy a tous qusquelx tu as offensé et fiat iniures, de paroles ou de fait?”⁵⁴⁶

590 – 1. “Veulx tu que si tu as riens de l’autrui qu’il soit rendu entierement selon ce que tu y peuz 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 hoommes?”

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 sainte 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.⁵⁴⁷ 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. l.74 **adinuencyon** n. s. [OF & L] *an idea of one's own inventing; a fabrication.*

⁵⁴⁷ Robert E. Lewis, ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (Michigan: U Michigan P Ann Arbor, 1986).

anendesprep. l.117 & 113. [OE **on efen**, **on -efn**, **on-emn** *besides*, etc. ME **anens**, **onens** and **anemptes**, **onentes**, **anentes** have the adverbial **-(e)s**] *with respect to, as regards, concerning*.

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

annournynge ger. l.337 **anouren** v. from **enournen** [L. **inaurata** gilded] *to adorn, to enhance*.

baptym n. l.127 [OF **bapte(s)me**, **-i(s)me** & ML **baptismus**] *the act, ceremony, or sacrament of baptism*.

bate n. ll.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.

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

boultynge ger. l.457 [cp. Swed. **bulta**] **bulten** v. inf. [OF **buleter**] *pounding*.

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

commyxityon n. l.71 [L. & OF] *sexual intercourse*.

confourmed pp. l.98 **confourmen** v. [OF & L] *to consent or agree to, acquiesce*.

correckyng ger. l.119 **correcten** v. [L. **correctus** p.pl. **corrigere**] *to correct (a fault in conduct); punish (a sin, a misdeed)*.

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

customably adv. l.361 [OF] *habitually, frequently*.

delectacyons n. l.163 [OF & L] *sensual pleasure*.

dyferre 3 pres. sing. l.378 **differren** v. [L. **differre** & OF **diferer**] *put off*.

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

dissent v. inf. l.452 [L. & OF] *to express disagreement, dissent, withhold consent*.

duely 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.

dyssolute 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. **fingerē**] *to simulate (a virtue, an emotion, an action, etc.)*
- formest** adv. 1.9 *first and foremost, above all, first of all.*
- halsynge** ger. 1.339 [O.E. **halsung**. *entreaty, exorcism*] *act of embracing; an embrace.*
- inioyned** pp. 11.313 (with 'hath ben' to create passive) & 367 (pp. in passive clause) [L. **injungere** & OF **en**]**joindre**] *to prescribe or impose (penance).*
- inpacyent** adj. 11.248 & 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. 11.55, 72, 174, 187, 282 & 320 [from **leve**] *permissible, permitted, allowable, allowed.*
- lenynge** ger. 1.283 *the act or practice of lending; lenen v. *to loan.**
- letted** pp. 11.268 (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.*
- lucre** n. 1.280 [L **lucrum**; also cp. OF (15th cent.) **lucre**.] *advantage, benefit.*
- manessed** pp. (with auxilliary verb 'have' to create past perfect) 1.257 **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.*
- myscallynge** ger. 1. 254 **myscallen** v. *to call something by a wrong name; to revile.*
- ordynate** adj. 1.138 [L. **ordinatus**, ppl. of **ordinare**] *of law, acts, or gifts of god: appointed, determined.*
- parysshens** n.pl. 1.4 **parysshēn** n.s. *members of a parish. a parishioner.*
- perauenture** adv. 1.481 [OF] *perhaps, perchance, possible, maybe.*
- plee** n. 1.245 [OF **plait**, **plet**, **plai**] *contention or complaint.*
- promotyngē** ger. 1.120 **promoten** v. [L. **promotus**, ppl. of **promovere** & OF **promoter**] *to enhance the fortune of (sb.), help;*
- puruey** 11.423 (after 'let' to create hortative mood) & 527 (inf.) **purveien** v. [OF **previr**] *to think beforehand, consider, reflect.*
- recommande** inf. 1.612 (after 'let' to create hortative mood). **recommenden** inf. [ML **recommandare**; 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. l.407 (adjectival function) **rehersen** v. [OF] *to mention, list, enumerate; before rehersed above-mentioned.*

reken vp l.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);*

remenbre l.596 3. pres. sing. **remembren** inf. [OF] *reflect inwardly.*

roume n. l.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. l.245 [OF **suite, siute, sieute, seute**] *a lawsuit, a legal action undertaken to redress a wrong.*

syngularyte n. l.232 & 233 [OF] *personal gain or advantage.*

temporall adj. ll. 118, 119, 248, 285, 531 & 532. [OF **temporel, temporal**] *lasting a short time; worldly, material; earthly.*

thrusty adj. l.104 [WM] *suffering from thirst; parched; dehydrated.*

wete inf. ll. 56, 93, 184, 199 & 394 [OE **witan**] *to impute or to know* **wetyngly** adv. l.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 Pennafort's *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.

² V.J. Scattergood, "Bibliographical Notes: Two Medieval Book Lists", *The Library*, 22: (1968): 236 – 39. I am grateful to Professor Scattergood for drawing my attention to this list.

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 Carthusian 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 shrunken and charred, although with the help of a magnifying glass the entries are fairly legible.

⁷ *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy. York Archaeological Journal Record Series*. 16. (1894): xxxiii.

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 successful 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 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.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters III 1342 – 62*, 71.

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 Cothelstock (*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 – 54*, 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.¹⁴ In another entry, he is accused of attempting to fallsely inherit property that rightly belonged to the king.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ Later that month he is accused of stealing cattle,

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.

¹⁹ *Registers Papal Letters III. 1342 – 62*, 327.

²⁰ Cited in f.n.3 above.

²¹ *Calendar of Patent rolls 1358 – 61*, 151

horses and pigs from Thomas de Stapehlho.²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴ Thomas Chiltern was paid 12s for going to Ely and Hereford to carry out negotiations in relation to de Walcote.²⁵

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.²⁶ A similar notice, requesting the warden to free de Walcote, was issued on the same date to the warden of Flete Street Prison.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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.

²² Ibid.

²³ BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.41^r.

²⁴ BL MS Cotton Galba E. xiv f. 38^v

²⁵ BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.39^v

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 livres. 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 husting 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.

³⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367 – 70*, 101.

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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ Wynewyk enjoyed many benefices, both royal and papal.³⁷ One of the most notorious of his appointments was his treasureship 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 1360.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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 Administrative 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.

⁴⁰ Tout, 3: 226 - 28.

⁴¹ Bond, 458, 460, 462. BL Cotton Galba Galba MS E.xiv ff. 8^r, 15^r, 16^v, 20^v, 24^v.

exchanged letters with her constantly.”⁴² 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.⁴³

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.⁴⁴

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

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.⁴⁵ 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."⁴⁶ His will also made provision for the erection of a separate hall for that purpose, although the hall was never built.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.⁵² 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

⁴⁵ Emden, 2064.

⁴⁶ Tout, 37.

⁴⁷ Emden, 2064.

⁴⁸ On Tyrington's role in the Bretigny affair see Tout, vol. 3, p.226.

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. I. 1342 – 1419* (London, 1896) where an entry notes that Tyrington 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^o 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^v mentions that Nicholas de Louth, cofferer. He is also mentioned as an adviser to the queen on the matter on f.41^v.

chamberlains in York.⁵³ Nicholas de Louth enjoyed an illustrious career at the chancery.⁵⁴ 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. Waulfstram, 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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ He occupied the benefice of St. Asaph until 1383; although he must have done so in abstentia as he was also the king's treasurer in Ponthieu and Montreuil at that time.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹ 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 I 1342 - 1419*, 489 and 492 - 93.

⁵⁵ For the canonry at St. Asaph see *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters I 1342 - 1419*, 363. For the canonry in the French diocese of Amiens see *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters I 1342 - 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 I 1342 - 1419*, 314. For notice of the canonry at Beverley see *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters I 1342 - 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.⁶⁰ 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 1358.⁶¹ 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.⁶² He also seems to have enjoyed a prebend in Hereford diocese from 1366.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵

De Kendale is listed among the clergy who received a gift of 20s from the Queen in January 1358.⁶⁶ He bought one book, a set of constitutions on the Mass.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.35^v

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^r; 34^r; 35^v; 36^v;

⁶³ A.C. Wood, ed. *Register of Langham. Canterbury and York Society*. Vol. 53, 5.

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.50^v.

⁶⁷ Scattergood, 238 – 39

⁶⁸ *Calendar of Registers of Papal Letters III* 1342 – 62, 478.

rectorship in Ripton Regis.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ De Kendale would have been at least seventy-nine at the time of the will, a very old man by medieval standards.⁷¹

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.⁷² 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.⁷³ His identity outside of Isabelle's household is less easy to establish.⁷⁴ I have not come across any references to prebends or benefices in either the Papal Register of Letters or the royal records.⁷⁵

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 Peckham'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^v and 52^v.

⁷⁴ BL MS Cotton Galba E.xiv f.50^v

⁷⁵ A story worthy to rival Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose* is told of another Robert Corby in *The History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, vol. 2, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, ed. by L.F. Salzman (London: OUP, 1948), 215ff.

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.”⁷⁷ 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 cursyng is suche a vengeaunce takyng that hit departith a man from the blisse of heuen, fro howsel, shrifte and al the sacramentis of Holy Chirche and betake hym to the deuyll 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 sheweþ for a-corsyd and sequestred fro þe lyztes 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.

⁷⁷ N.F. Blake, ed., *Quattuor Sermones printed by William Caxton*, Middle English Texts 2, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975), 81.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ The number and variety of saints or ‘fellowship in heaven’ varied from curse to curse.

⁸⁰ Burney 356, f. 53^r.

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:

Þey beþ a-cursyd in towne and in feelde, etynge and drynkyng, slepyng and wakyng, goyng, syttyng and stondyng.⁸¹

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.

And as þys candeles lesyþ heere lyzt and quencheth here in 3owre swyzt, so be hy departyd from þe lyzt of þe blysse of heuene tulle þey come to amendement and make satysfaccyon for here a-cursyde dedys.⁸²

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.⁸³ It is the first attempt to list and "say something about the inter-relationships" of these sentences.⁸⁴ 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.

⁸¹ Ibid., f.54^v

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 Ogilvie 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.86.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ Group 8 or the York sentence is preserved in five manuscripts and in one printed edition.⁸⁷ Pickering notes that “the printed edition and these five manuscripts appear to preserve practically the same text of the Sentence.”⁸⁸ A relatively modern edition of the sentence was published by Henderson in 1875 for the Surtees Society.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.1^v – 2^v.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.⁹¹ Notwithstanding, I wish to add a fourth manuscript to Pickering’s three manuscripts in group 10: Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 (ff.58^r – 60^r). It contains a version of the sentence of cursing similar to that found in British Library MS Burney 356 (ff.53^r – 54^v), 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.

⁸⁵ Pickering, 237 – 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 237. See also *Ibid.*, 235 – 7.

⁸⁷ For a list of manuscripts and the printed edition see Pickering, 235.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 235 – 6. W.G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et Processionale ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 63 (1875): 119 – 22.

⁹⁰ *Quattuor Sermones*, 81 – 5.

⁹¹ British Library, MS Burney 356 f.54^v. 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 130.⁹² 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.⁹³

Also alle wommen þat here chyldron
in cherche porches oþer in weyletes
oþer in feeldes leggeþ, or leueþ
y-crystnede or nowȝt y-crystnede
wher-fore þe beþ y-called fondelynges.⁹⁴

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 wheþer þei
be crystened or noon.⁹⁵

Also alle they that wylfully lese theyr children, or leuys them in felde, or in towne, or in chirche dore, or in any other place, and leuys them socourles.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁷ 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^r

⁹⁵ Pembroke 285, f. 59^r

⁹⁶ York, Henderson, 121.

⁹⁷ Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 f.59^v.

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).⁹⁸ 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
persones 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 cursynge
they may nat be assoyled tyll they haue made
restitucyon to them that the wronge is done to.⁹⁹

Also all tho that houses, maners, graunges of
parsons, vycars or any oper men of holy chyrche
a3en here wyll or any maner godes and mebles
or onmebles a-wey bere with strength or
wrongfully a-wey drawe or wast of whychy
cursing 3e may not be asoyled tyll 3e haue made
satisfaccion to whom the wrong was down.¹⁰¹

Alle þo þat houses maners or granges of
parsones or vicars or eny oper men of holy
chirche a3eyn hur wille, eny maner good
mevable or unmevable a-way beren wit

Also alle þey þat ow3t of houses of
maneres, grawynges or gardynes
of archbysshopes, bysshopes,
abbates, pryores, parsones,
vycars, or any oper man of holy
cherche a-3en here wyll or a-3en
here torney ys wyll any manere
gowd meuable or onmeuable
away bereþ wyþ strenkþe or
wronglyche a-wey draweþ or
wasteþ; of whyche corsyng þey
mow now3t be a-soyled for 3e
haue y-maked satisfaccyon to
hym þat þe wrong was y-do to.¹⁰⁰

And al tho that holde howses,
maners, graunges of persons,
vycars or of any other man of
Holy Chirche ageyn theyr wyll
or theyr attorneys wyll. And
alle tho that any 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.53^v.

¹⁰¹ Trinity E86, f.45^{r-v}.

streynge or wrongfullyche a-way drowen
 wasten, of wyche cursynge þei mowe not
 be assoyled tel þei haue made restitution
 and satisfaccion to whom þe wrong his doon to.¹⁰²

meuable or vnmeuable away bere or
 with strengthe or wrongfully
 away draw or wasten, of the
 which cursynge they may not be
 assoyled tyl they haue made
 satisfaccion to whom the wrong
 is doon.¹⁰³

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 "archbyssshopes, byssshopes, abbates, pryores" as well as "parsones and vycars."¹⁰⁴ 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 "restitution" 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

¹⁰² Pembroke 285, f.59^r

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^r, 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.¹⁰⁵

And alle tho that ben ageyn
the right of our lord the kyng.
And al tho that werre susteyne
agaynst the kyng wrongfully.¹⁰⁶

Also alle þat beþ a-zen þ ky[n]gges
ryzt of þe reme. Also alle þat werre
susteyneþ wrongfullyche a-zen þe kyng,
or þe pees of þe londe.¹⁰⁷

All-so all tho that the rightes of
the kyng be azen. Als[o] all tho
þo þat werre susteyne azen the
kynges pes wrongfully.¹⁰⁸

Alle þo þat werre sustene azeyn þe kynges pees wrongfulliche.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

¹⁰⁵ York, Henderson, 118.

¹⁰⁶ *Quattuor Sermones*, 82.

¹⁰⁷ Burney 356, f.53^v.

¹⁰⁸ Oxford Trinity E86, f. 44^r.

¹⁰⁹ Pembroke 285, f.58^v.

the order of material. The absence of a conclusion in the Pembroke sentence is, however, also a feature of the Arundel sentence.¹¹⁰

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 *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 *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, is largely derived from William Pagula's Latin manual (or a later version of it) of the early fourteenth-century, *Oculus Sacerdotis*. *Sacerdos Parochialis* includes instruction on the *Pater noster*, *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 *Sacerdos Parochialis* is a much more complex and lengthy sentence than that under discussion here.¹¹¹ Why does the scribe-compiler of Pembroke 285, unlike other scribes or copyists of *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. *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 *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but the sentence of cursing has been ripped out.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ In any case,

¹¹⁰ Pickering, 237.

¹¹¹ This the first sentence (ff. 50^v - 53^r) and is included in Pickering's article under group 2, p.230.

¹¹² What would have been f.34 in this manuscript.

¹¹³ The sentence of cursing has been crossed through also in the Pembroke Manuscript.

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.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 1409.¹¹⁵ 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*.¹¹⁶ The whole of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, including the supplementary material, is written in the same fifteenth-

¹¹⁴ Pickering, 236.

¹¹⁵ Many scholars have discussed the restrictive nature of Arundel's 1409 constitutions in which he laid out the Pecham syllabus as the maximum that the laity ought to be taught and also outlawed the translation of the Bible into English. The most comprehensive article is Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1992): 822–64.

¹¹⁶ I have already argued in this thesis that *Every Christian Man and Woman* is an abbreviated form of Richard Lavynham's *A Lityl Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*. For an edition see J.P.W.M. Van Zutphen, ed., *A Lityl Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956). For a note on the sermon see V.M. O'Mara "A Checklist of Unedited Late Middle English Sermons that Occur Singly or in Small Groups", *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s.19, (1988) 141–66.

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^r – 62^v), this is quite possible.

	BL Burney 356	Camb. Pemb. 285	Oxf. Trin. E86	York	Quattuor Sermones	Oxf. Rawl. A381
1 Prologue	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 Break freedom of church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3 Deprive Church of its right	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4 Withold tithes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5 To 'let' freedom of church	Yes	Yes	No	(longer) Yes	Yes	Yes
6 Do sacrilege	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
7 Purchase letters in secular cts.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8 Draw blood in church	Yes	Yes	Disturb Peace	Disturb Peace	Disturb Peace	Disturb peace
9 Disturb the peace of the land	Yes	No	Draw blood	Draw blood	Draw blood	Draw blood
10 Be against the King's right	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
11 Sustain against the King	Sustain again King or peace of land	Conflates 10, 11, 12.	Against King's peace	A. King's peace	Yes	Yes
12 Robbers or manslaughterers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
13 Against the King's charter	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
14 Lie in court in cause of matrimony	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
15 Lie to disinherit man or woman	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
16 False advocates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
17 Defame someone maliciously	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
18 Disturb a presentation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
19 Despise the king's commandment	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
20 Prevent capture of cursed man				Conflates 20, 21	Yes	Yes
21 Purchase deliverance of cursed	Conflates 21, 22	Conflates 21, 22	Conflates 20, 21, 22	No	Yes	Yes
22 Receive profit to disturb	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

peace							
23 Take houses of religious etc.					Yes	Yes	
24 Take movable goods	Conflates 24, 25	Conflates 24, 25	Conflates 24, 25	Conflates 24, 25	Yes	Yes	
25 Take goods violently from church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
26 Maintain heresy	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	
27 Against witches	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	
28 Violence against clergy	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
29 Support sarasens	Yes	Yes	Heathens	Yes	Yes	Yes	
30 Women who procure abortions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Wrongful father	Wrongful father	
31 Women who 'fadyr' wrongfully	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Procure abortions	Procure abortions	
32 Women who abandon children	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	
33 Falsify king's money	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
34 Copy/ cut money	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
35 Falsify pope's letters	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
36 Buy or sell by false measures	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
37 Falsify the king's standard	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
38 Block a will	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
39 Falsely swear against another	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
40 Incendiaries	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	
41 Robbers or reevers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
42 Withhold falsely goods of another	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
43 Disturb the peace	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Thieves	
44 Thieves	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	To disturb peace	
45 False conspirators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
46 False complaints in court	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
47 Withhold tithes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	

48 Give away tithes to pay a debt	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
49 Prevent church courts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
50 Simony	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
51 Against witches	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
52 Violence against clergy	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
53 Heretics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
54 False usurers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (in Camb.)	Yes	Yes
55 Withholding of tithes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
56 Conclusion.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes 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

⌘ Intertwining ribbon

♣ A stem of two trefoils

◆ Three intertwining diamonds

*: flower of six petals

	A		B	C	E	F
a2 ^T	∞ ♠	∞ ♠	∞ ♠	none	none	∞ ♠
a2 ^T	∞ ♠	∞ ♠	∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ♦ ∞ ♠	none	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠
a2 ^V	♦ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠	∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ♠	♣	None
a5 ^T	∞ ♠	♣ ∞	♣ ∞	♣ ∞ ♦ ∞	none	∞ ♠
a5 ^V	∞	♦	none	none	none	None
a5 ^V	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ *	none	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠
a5 ^V	♣	♣	none	none	none	♣ ∞
a6 ^T	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ♦ ∞ ♠	none	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠
a6 ^V	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ♦ ∞	none	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠
b5 ^V	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	none	♣ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠ ∞ ♠
b6 ^T	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ♦ ♦ *	none	none
b6 ^T	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	∞ ♠ ∞ ♠	♣ ∞ ♦ *	none	none
b6 ^V	none	None	None	none	none	♣ ∞ ∞ ♠

c1 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	none	♠ ♠ ♠
c2 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♦ ♦ ♠ ♦	none	♠ ♠ ♠
c2 ^v	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♦ ♦ ♠	none	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠
c3 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	Missing	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	none	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♦
c3 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	Missing	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♦ ♦	none	♠ ♠ ♠
c3 ^v	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	Missing	none	none	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠
c4 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	Missing	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	none	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠
c4 ^r	♦ ♠ ♠	Missing	* ♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	none	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠
c4 ^r	♠ ♠ ♠ ♠	Missing	♠ ♠ ♦ ♠ ♠	none	none

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