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Sacerdos Parochialis edited from British Library MS Burney 356

&

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

Ph.D.
Trinity College Dublin
2003

Niamh Pattwell

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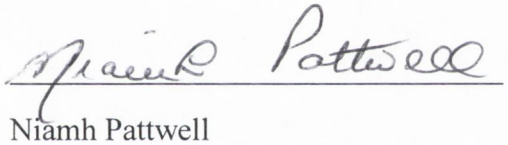

Niamh Pattwell

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Summary

This thesis is in two parts. Each part contains a critical edition of a late Middle English manual of religious instruction. The first edition is *Sacerdos Parochialis* and is found in eleven extant manuscripts from the fifteenth century. The second edition is *Exornatorium Curatorum*, which was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in c.1516. It was reprinted ten times. The last known date of publication is 1552. The texts are examples of religious treatises produced from the end of the fourteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth. Both manuals were influenced by the 1281 statutes which were published by Pecham (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279 - 92) in an attempt to counteract clerical ignorance. Pecham's statutes were republished by Thomas Arundel (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1399 - 1414) in 1409 in response to the Lollard crisis that threatened the Church. Arundel's aim was to limit the scope of religious knowledge available to the laity to that of the Pecham syllabus. Arundel was particularly keen to control access to vernacular translations of the Bible as well as to vernacular books of religious instruction. These editions will, among other things, provide material by which scholars can assess the effectiveness of his constitutions.

In the introductory chapter I establish the importance of the editions to our increasing understanding of Middle English religious writings. The chapter includes a brief discussion on editing Middle English works found in manuscripts. It establishes that the treatises are two distinct tracts. The chapter concludes with a comparative discussion on both treatises in which I contend that *Exornatorium Curatorum* is a slightly more progressive text. Not all religious treatises from that period are as orthodox as their opening rubric would suggest.

The text forms the main body of both editions. British Library MS Burney 356 was established as a base text for *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Substantive variants listing significant differences in spelling, syntax, and vocabulary follow the text. The literary and historical notes at the end of the edition point to key passages which link *Sacerdos Parochialis* to its fourteenth-century Latin source, *Dextera Pars* which is the second part of William Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*. Some comparative notes on the differences between *Sacerdos Parochialis* and similar manuals of the fifteenth century are also included, as well as explanatory notes on less familiar aspects of the text.

In the case of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, four of the manuscripts contain a version that interpolates material borrowed from other sources. In light of the overall aims of the edition – to chart the progress of the text through the fifteenth century - a complete transcript of the variant forms of the text is included in the second chapter. Lollard interpolations have been identified in two of the variant forms of the treatise. In a third version, borrowings from *Speculum Christiani* have been identified in the chapter on confession appended to the treatise. The fourth (and latest variant version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*) illustrates the complexity and interrelationship of Middle English religious writings. It is not, strictly speaking, a copy of *Sacerdos Parochials*, but a late fifteenth-century Middle English translation of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The edition concludes with a glossary.

In an effort to respect the manuscript culture in which *Sacerdos Parochialis* was produced, the edition includes: (i) a brief outline of editorial procedures, (ii) a list of manuscripts, (iii) a detailed description of manuscripts including collation and a list of contents, and (iv) some notes on provenance. The descriptions establish, among other things, that: (i) the well-to-do clergy were primarily the owners of these manuscripts, (ii) *Sacerdos Parochialis* circulated independently or with sermon tracts, and (iii) *Sacerdos Parochialis* seems to have originated in or around Chichester.

The second part of the thesis is an edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum*. The structure of this edition is similar to the earlier edition. It includes a note on editorial procedures; a list of the editions, printers and dates of publication; a description of each edition including plates, borders and title pages. Corpus Christi College SP.335.2, the earliest extant edition, was chosen as the base text. It was emended from later editions and from notes in the margins or over the lines, and includes a list of all substantive variants. The literary and historical notes comment primarily on the origin of the material in the treatise. The second part of *Exornatorium Curatorum,* for example, is a translation of *L'Examen de Conscience* which forms the second part of the fifteenth-century treatise by Jean Gerson, *L'Opus Tripartitum*. The third part may also have been derived from the third part of Gerson's work, the *Ars Moriendi.* The edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum* concludes with a glossary.

The editions remind us to be cautious in our assumptions about vernacular religious writings of the fifteenth century. Scholars must look beyond the opening rubric of a so-called Pechamite manual: inoffensive beginnings can sometimes mask heterodox leanings.

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INTRODUCTION
Sacerdos Parochialis and *Exornatorium Curatorum*: Some initial observations.

Introduction

Nicholas Watson, whilst discussing the censorial effect of Arundel's 1409 constitutions, states, "all but the most pragmatic religious writing could come to be seen, by the early fifteenth century, as dangerous: a perception that led inexorably to a by and large successful attempt to inhibit the further composition of most kinds of a vernacular theology."[1] Watson's words are challenging, particularly in the light of his comments on an early fifteenth-century manual, *Memoriale Credencium,* which he describes as a "simpler work of pastoralia" belonging to a group of texts "none of which goes far beyond the topics set out by Pecham."[2] As I have shown elsewhere, contrary to Watson's observations, *Memoriale Credencium* is a wide-ranging treatise of religious instruction that includes material on meditation and contemplation, and as such beyond the scope of Pecham's constitutions.[3] It is addressed to the laity, self-consciously employs the vernacular, draws attention to the value of the book as a means of instruction, and adapts material originally intended for religious to the needs of the laity.[4] Watson's contention that Arundel's constitutions were successful in inhibiting "most kinds of vernacular theology" deserves further study.

It is difficult to argue with Watson's claim about the censorial nature of Arundel's constitutions.[5] The statutes expressly forbade, among other things, the translation of any Biblical passages without the imprimatur of a bishop. The six tenets of the faith outlined in Pecham's 1281 constitutions, once the "*minimum* necessary for the laity to know if they are to be saved has been redefined as the *maximum* they may hear,

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[1] 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), 823.
[2] Ibid., 833
[3] For an edition see Kengen, J.H.L. ed., *Memoriale Credencium*: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People edited from Bodley MS Tanner 201, (Ph.D. diss., Nijmegen University, 1979).
[4] Niamh Pattwell, *Memoriale Credencium: A Fifteenth-Century Notebook of Faith.* (M.A. diss., University College Cork, 1998).
[5] David Wilkins, *Concila Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. 3, (London, 1737), 317 – 9.

read, or even discuss."[6] Arundel was also working "to control the supply and dissemination of books."[7] In his constitutions, he was chiefly concerned to curtail the evangelising activities of an heretical movement known as the Lollards. The Lollards expressed doubts about key tenets of the Catholic Church, such as transubstantiation and confession. However, their concern about the education of the laity, the use of the vernacular and the use of books to carry out that education are what interest us most in this thesis. For throughout the fifteenth century, (despite courts and enquiries, burnings of books and of people) a significant volume of the manuscripts and treatises that survived the vicissitudes of time, use, and deliberate destruction are vernacular works of religious instruction.

Hudson, in her authoritative account on the Lollards, *The Premature Reformation,* raises many questions about our understanding of this heretical movement. She does not rely upon the court accounts drawn from the episcopal registers, often biased and formulaic in their reports. Instead her "chief source" are "the texts written by the Lollards themselves; the second source those tracts composed against by their orthodox opponents."[8] Hudson admits that one of the major inhibiting factors in such a study is the lack of edited texts. She has been engaged on the mammoth task of editing Lollard sermons and writings; editorial work on orthodox writings is equally important.

Sacerdos Parochialis and *Exornatorium Curatorum* do not contain tracts explicitly counteracting the Lollard movement, yet they are nonetheless representative of vernacular religious writing in the late middle ages.[9] Both treatises begin with the standard rubric, Pecham's 1281 constitution.[10] Initial impressions then, would suggest that both texts are orthodox. *Sacerdos Parochialis* is a conservative treatise, intended for use by the parochial clergy. However, not all the versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are that conservative. Some of the tracts, for example on the *Pater noster*, have been removed and a heterodox tract inserted in its place. If all material that was offensive to

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[6] Watson, 828.

[7] Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, (London: Hambledon Press), 103.

[8] Hudson, *Premature*, 2.

[9] A single sentence, included in the chapter on the Eucharist in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, expressly forbids the laity to discuss such theological matters and is probably indicative of the efforts of the orthodox leadership to control heretical teaching. See 99, ll.828 – 30 below.

[10] I will discuss the influence of Pecham on manuals of religious instruction later in the chapter.

the Lollards or inimical to their beliefs was replaced by heterodox material, the case might be simpler: Lollards adapting religious material to suit their own ends.[11] However, in one of the manuscripts (British Library MS Additional 10053), orthodox material on the Eucharist and on confession remain. Moreover, the *Pater noster* tract inserted into Cambridge, MS Pembroke 285 is not definitively Lollard, but merely shows signs or hints that it might be.

As Hudson says,

> "Lollardy and orthodoxy were not in every regard mutually exclusive creeds, nor were the bounds of orthodoxy or heterodoxy unchanging . . . but between the two was a spectrum of opinion, in the mid-point of which radical orthodoxy and conservative Lollardy might look very much alike on many issues. . . . Furthermore, writers may be either deliberately evasive or even simply muddled or careless . . . . Equally there were a certain number of manuscripts whose authors would appear to have been eclectic, selecting some views which would have offended . . . "[12]

In other words, despite Arundel's restricting influences, books of vernacular religious writing continued to flourish and to be produced in great abundance. Within the confines of Pecham's constitutions, orthodox and heterodox tracts were published alike, occasionally in the same volumes. Editions, such as *Sacerdos Parochialis*, may help to establish a more precise graph illustrating the range of that "spectrum of opinion."

Despite the fact that the possession of a tract on the ten commandments or on the *Pater noster* was punishable by death, people continued to write and publish and own books of this nature. Questions have to be asked about why some books survived and others were burned. Hudson and Aston have produced some definitive works on the Lollard tracts.[13] However, our understanding of these works (their ideas, their owners, means of distribution, writers, even the vocabulary they employ) is incomplete without an equal study of the more orthodox treatises.

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[11] Hudson notes that "adaptation was a two-way traffic: as well as the Wycliffite modification of earlier orthodox material. . . there exist cases where originally strongly heteredox texts have been revised in the direction of greater conventionalism (*Premature*, 426)."

[12] Hudson, *Premature*, 429.

[13] For example, *The Premature Reformation* already cited, but also *Lollards and their Books* , (London: Hambledon Press, 1985) and Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, (London: 1984).

There are authoritative studies on orthodox writings. It is impossible to consider any work on religious writing without reference to Ian Doyle's seminal work *A Survey on the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth and early Sixteenth centuries.*[14] Vincent Gillespie has also written extensively on the production of vernacular works of religious instruction, and raises interesting questions on the distribution, copying and circulation of such treatises. He comments, for example, on the "failure" of some manuscripts to "distinguish between the original work and added material" and on "the random collection" of texts found in many manuscripts. He notes:

> An apparently random collection can represent a process of gradual collection or simply the accidental accretion of material, or may reflect the taste of a particular patron or collector, or the speculative activity of the bookseller. The detailed evidence at present available casts little light on the balance between professional copying and promotion of such collections, and the exercise of individual initiative in the acquisition and copying of texts.[15]

Perhaps, close-up studies of particular texts will produce more "detailed evidence." Critical editions of works such as *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* are integral to our understanding of books and the culture in which they survived in the late middle ages. Like their Lollard counterparts, orthodox tracts are often conformist and derivative. It can be difficult to establish originals or source materials. They are the products of much 'cutting and pasting' on the part of a scribe, compiler or redactor who usually remains anonymous. Nonetheless, an examination of these texts, and their relationship (if any) to the Lollard tracts will provide a more complete understanding of religious writing and the environment in which it survived.

Sacerdos Parochialis seemed an ideal choice from which to gauge the composition, transmission, circulation as well as reception of orthodox texts. It purports to follow Pecham's syllabus. According to Raymo, *Exornatorium Curatorum* was its sixteenth-century *cousin*, providing us with the opportunity to watch the development of

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[14] D.Ph. diss., Cambridge, 1953.

[15] Vincent Gillespie, "Vernacular Books of Religion," *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375 – 1475*, Edited by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 317 – 44.

the text as it travelled through the fifteenth century up to and beyond the early Reformation.[16] An edition of both treatises, particularly an edition that includes the 'corrupt' or interpolated material of later versions, affords a view of the response of the people to Arundel's constitutions up to (and after) the Reformation.[17]

If one were to accept Duffy's position, traditional religion in the late middle ages, was not ready for the Reformation, but was an organic, cohesive, unified body of believers.

> ". . . late medieval Catholicism exerted an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold over the imagination and the loyalty of the people up to the very moment of Reformation. Traditional religion had about it no particular marks of exhaustion or decay, and indeed in a whole host of ways, from the multiplication of vernacular religious books to adaptations within the national and regional cult of the saints, was showing itself well able to meet new needs and new conditions. Nor does it seem to me that tendencies towards "privatizing" of religion, or growing lay religious sophistication and literacy, or growing lay activism and power in gild and parish, had in them that drive towards Protestantism which some historians have discerned."[18]

An edition of a treatise such as *Exornatorium Curatorum*, provides a good basis from which to assess Duffy's claims. *Exornatorium Curatorum* purports to deal with the Pechamite catechism, working therefore from within the orthodox tradition and comparable to earlier Pechamite manuals. It is a short, comprehensive and popular treatise, ideally placed to give us a glimpse of the religious sensibilities in the decades immediately preceding the Reformation.[19]

The primary aim of this thesis is to produce an edition of each text. The secondary purpose is to provide some tentative observations on the socio-historical origins and environment in which the editions were originally produced. In the

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[16] I will argue later that this treatises did not, in fact, originate together as Raymo argues. *Quattuor Sermones* and Myrk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* are more closely related to *Sacerdos Parochialis* than is *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

[17] It has not been possible to establish an exact date of publication for *Sacerdos Parochialis*. However, the manuscripts (palaeography) and the content suggest the end of the fourteenth century or first decade of the fifteenth. *Exornatorium Curatorum* was published as late as 1552.

[18] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.

[19] Despite the title and the lack of evidence, I believe that *Exornatorium Curatorum* was probably written with the laity as well as the clergy in mind. I will return to this discussion again.

introduction, brief descriptions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* are offered. Details on the manuscripts in the case of *Sacerdos Parochialis,* and a brief note on the printers and date of printing in the case of *Exornatorium Curatorum* are also included. The first chapter contains a lengthy description of each of the manuscripts. In this introductory chapter, some of the more salient facts such as patterns in the provenance, circulation, and location are identified. A note on the socio-historical environment in which these texts were produced, with a particular emphasis on the influence of Pecham provides a better understanding not only of the treatises, but of the divergences between the two. A discussion of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* (1326) as a source for *Sacerdos Parochialis* offers a link between the latter and two other late medieval manuals of religious instruction: *Quattuor Sermones* and John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests.*[20] The difference between *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* is further highlighted by consideration of de Worde's source material for *Exornatorium Curatorum.*

Finally, a justification of the editorial decision to include complete renditions of variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis* opens the way to the discussion on the hybrid nature of many theological treatises in the fifteenth century.

The Texts

Sacerdos Parochialis and *Exornatorium Curatorum* are two religious instructional manuals composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively.[21] Both treatises aim to educate the clergy on how to instruct the laity on the essential points of faith, as published by Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury at the 1281 Council of Lambeth.[22] Both

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[20] *Quattuor Sermones* was printed by Caxton c.1489 and *Instructions Parish Priests* was published at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in verse.

[21] For a brief textual and bibliographical description of both texts see R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction" in *Manual of the Writings of Middle English, 1050 – 1500,* 2272 – 73 & 2494 – 95, edited by A.E. Hartung, vol. 7, (Connecticut: Archon Books The Shoe String Press, 1986).

[22] The ninth chapter of Pecham's 1281 statutes is a complete compendium or catechism of religious instruction. Pecham's catechism is a often cited as the source for many manuals of religious instruction intended for either the clergy or the laity. It outlined the minimum that the laity needed to know consequent to the IV Lateran Council of 1215. For a copy of the statute see F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church A.D. 1205 – 1313,* vol. 2, pt. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 900 – 1. For a brief, but insightful discussion on the influence of the Fourth Lateran Council, see Leonard E. Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology", *The Popular Literature of the Medieval England,* ed. Thos. J. Heffernan, Tennessee Studies in

treatises are written in vernacular prose and, as Raymo correctly states about *Sacerdos Parochialis,* "circulated widely in the South of England as an alternative text to the *Lay Folks' Catechism.*"[23] *Sacerdos Parochialis* treats of the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, ten commandments, two evangelical commandments, seven works of mercy, seven principal virtues, seven deadly sins and the seven sacraments. The section on the sacraments comprises the major part of the treatise. A set of excommunications and, less frequently, a set of bidding prayers are also appended to the treatise.

Sacerdos Parochialis exists in seven manuscripts in a relatively similar format, although one of these is merely the tract on the seven deadly sins. The manuscripts in which *Sacerdos Parochialis* is to be found are: British Library MS Burney 356; Oxford MS Bodley 110; Oxford MS Trinity 7; British Library MS Harley 4172; British Library MS Additional 10036 and Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.69. British Library MS Royal 1.A.x contains the extract on the seven deadly sins where it is appended to a Wycliffite Bible. There are also four other versions of the treatise in which sections have been replaced by other treatises, or extra treatises have been included to create almost new forms of the original *Sacerdos Parochialis.* These variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are to be found in the following manuscripts: Oxford Bodley MS Rawlinson D913; British Library MS Additional 10053; Cambridge MS Pembroke 285; Durham University MS Cosin V.iv.2.

Raymo includes two other manuscripts in his bibliography: Oxford Bodley MS Rawlinson A381 and Oxford Bodley MS 554.[24] Neither manuscript contains a version of *Sacerdos Parochialis.* Raymo's decision to include these manuscripts is understandable as both are related to some of the extra material included in the variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis.* Bodley MS Rawlinson A381 ff.112^{r} – 114^{v} is a version of the seven deadly sins also found in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 ff.65^{r} – 72^{v} and British Library MS Additional 10053 ff.85^{r} – 98^{v}, known as *Every Christian Man and Woman.*[25] The treatise replaces the usual tract on the seven deadly sins in the Pembroke version of *Sacerdos*

Literature, 28, (Knoxville, U of Tennessee P: 1985), 189 – 243. See also, W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fouteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1955. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 189 - 243.

[23] Raymo, 2272.

[24] Raymo, 2494.

[25] I will discuss this later in the chapter.

Parochialis, thus accounting for the confusion. Oxford Bodley MS 554 ff.88^{v} – 89^{r} is a tract on the sins of the heart, mouth and deeds which is also included in the final chapter of the Oxford MS Rawlinson D913 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, possibly explaining Raymo's decision to list that manuscript. Two further manuscripts must be excluded from the list of manuscripts containing *Sacerdos Parochialis*: British Library MS Royal 8.F.vii f.41^{v} and Oxford, MS University College 28 f.48. Both manuscripts are listed in the *Index of Middle English Prose Handlist V* under the entry for British Library, MS Additional 10053 as versions of either the *Sacerdos Parochialis,* or of the *Pater noster* found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[26] While both of these treatises are comparable to *Sacerdos Parochialis* in terms of the overall framework, in neither case do the similarities extend to the development of the material.[27]

Wynkyn de Worde first printed *Exornatorium Curatorum* in 1516(?).[28] Despite the numerous editions published by both de Worde and other printers in the first half of the sixteenth century, *Exornatorium Curatorum* did not undergo the numerous adaptations and revisions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[29] *Exornatorium Curatorum* and *Sacerdos Parochialis,* despite Raymo's contention that they "may have originated together," differ one from the other in terms of content and source material.[30] Both treat of the *credo*, the ten commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues, the seven deadly sins and the seven works of mercy, but *Sacerdos Parochialis* includes tracts on the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* not found in *Exornatorium Curatorum*. *Exornatorium Curatorum*, on the other hand, goes beyond the six principal matters listed in Pecham's statutes to include a version of the *Ars Moriendi* and an examination of conscience not found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

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[26] Peter Brown and Elton D. Higgs, *Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist V. Additional Collection 10001 – 14000, British Library, London*, (London: Brewer, 1988).

[27] A brief comparative note on these manuscripts is included in 54, f.n.82, below.

[28] The same treatise has two different titles: *Exornatorium Curatorum* and *Exoneratorium Curatorum*. The first translates as *Exhortations of the Clergy*, the second as the *Discharges of the Clergy*. It is not clear why Pepwell, and later Godfray and Wyer changed the meaning midways through the printing history of the treatise (338, 346 and 348 below). The original title is probably derived from a similar tract written by the Parisian Chancellor, Jean Gerson, from which part of de Worde's *Exornatorium Curatorum* is derived.

[29] Seven printers produced eleven extant editions. The printers were Wynkyn de Worde, Julian Notary, Henry Pepwell, Peter Treveris, Thomas Godfray and Robert Wyer. See 317 below for a list of printers and dates.

[30] Raymo, 2272.

Both treatises were addressed to the clergy, although I will argue later that *Exornatorium Curatorum* (despite its title) could also include the laity in its intended audience. It omits instructions on how to perform certain sacraments such as Marriage and Extreme Unction and abbreviates the remaining material on the sacraments to a brief definition.[31] Moreover, it includes a tract on the sacrament of penance that would better assist a layperson preparing for confession than a priest administering the sacrament.[32] Evidence of provenance is sadly lacking, hindering our ability to confirm the readership of Exornatorium Curatorum. Only one owner has been identified, Matthew Parker, the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury.[33] The first edition of *Exornatorium Curatorum*, and the base text for the edition in this thesis, is included in his collection of books at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The Manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis*

In the case of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, all of the extant manuscripts seemed to have been in the possession of the clergy at one time or another. Where particular information about the owners of the manuscripts is lacking, the contents of the manuscripts are indicative of clerical, if not monastic, ownership. For example, the base text, British Library MS Burney 356 is divided into twenty-three books (although the twenty-third is now lost), the material is mainly written in Latin and includes treatises such as Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Domini*, *Directorium Sacerdotum* and *Speculum Sacerdotum*.[34] Written in a uniform, careful anglicana script, British Library MS Burney 356 is the most elaborate of the manuscripts. The initial letters of each of the treatises is decorated in gold leaf, surrounded by mauve, blue and green foliage. The manuscript was most likely compiled and written in a monastic scriptorium.

The remainder of the manuscripts, including the variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, are most likely commonplace notebooks belonging to the clergy. The contents are best suited to a cleric engaged in the day-to-day task of parochial work.

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[31] Compare the treatment of the sacrament of marriage in 99 – 100, ll.855 – 96 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* to 355, ll.176 – 80 of *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

[32] See 355 – 62 below.

[33] In private correspondence with William Hale MA, Parker-Taylor Bibliographer. See 318 – 22 below for details on the binding, other contents and provenance of this edition.

[34] For a list of the contents and editions of these tracts of the mansucript see 5 – 12 below.

Each manuscript is a collection of tracts, usually written in a number of secretary or late anglicana hands without ornament or decoration. At most, a paraph mark or rubric is decorated in red or blue ink. In the case of Oxford MS Trinity 7, for example, a list of people who paid 'Sts. Peter and Paul's pence' is found alongside prayers to be said by a priest before and after Mass.[35] In a number of manuscripts a significant body of the remainder of the material is written in Latin: British Library MS Burney 356, Bodley MS 110, Oxford Trinity MS 7, Durham University Library MS Cosin v. iv.2 and British Library MS Additional 10053.

Although the manuscripts contain a significant amount of Latin, *Sacerdos Parochialis* occurs alongside other Middle English texts in Bodley MS 110 and British Library MS Additional 10053.[36] In the case of Bodley MS 110, the sermon that accompanies *Sacerdos Parochialis* originated with it. In the case of British Library MS Additional 10053, both tracts - *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Every Christian Man and Woman* (in two distinct hands) - are later additions to the original manuscript. British Library MS Additional 10036, Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 and British Library MS Royal 1A.x contain primarily Middle English texts. Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.69 is also predominantly composed of Middle English material, but the text that originally circulated with *Sacerdos Parochialis* is, in fact, written in Latin. The *Prick of Conscience* was a later addition to the manuscript.[37] British Library MS Harley 4172 also contains a number of Middle English texts, but the first nine quires form the matrix of the manuscript in which one finds *Sacerdos Parochialis,* the Latin *De Festis Duplicibus* and sermons on the ten commandments and the *Pater noster* in Middle English.[38] The remainder of the manuscript is an eclectic collection of various tracts in Middle English and Latin, which would have been of use to a cleric. We can deduce therefore, that although the manuscripts do contain predominantly Latin material, *Sacerdos Parochialis* seems to occur in sections of the manuscripts where Middle English is more common.

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[35] For a list of contents see 52 – 54 below.

[36] *Sacerdos Parochialis* is item 11 and a sermon written in Middle English is item 12 in Oxford, Bodley MS 110. Both are written on the same hand and form part of the later section of the manuscript (see below 14 – 20). In British Library MS Additional 10053 *Sacerdos Parochialis* is item 7 (the final item) and *Every Christian Man and Woman* is item 6 (see 53 - 54 below).

[37] See below 29 – 32 for the quire arrangement and lay out of the manuscript.

[38] See below 33 – 45. *De Festis Duplicibus* is treatise containing practical information for a cleric such as information on the sacrament of penance, feast days etc.

British Library MS Burney 356, Oxford MS Trinity 7, British Library MS Additional 10036 and Bodley MS Rawlinson D913 do not bear an inscription by which the owner might be readily identified. Bodley MS 110, however, was owned by at least two clergy both working in the parish of Cliff-at-Hoo, Kent.[39] British Library MS Harley 4172 bears a number of names, none of which can be identified with certainty, but a licence for temporalities on one of the final folios and a set of marriage banns on f.107^{v} is indicative of clerical ownership.[40] An inscription on Cambridge Dd.12.69 links that manuscript to the parish of Shermansbury.[41] Both British Library MS Additional 10053 and Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 are linked to Augustinian Canons; the former to Aldgate, London and the latter to Ossyth, Essex.[42] Durham MS University Cosin V.iv.2 was written and owned by a Carmelite Anchorite in Norwich.[43]

It seems then that most of the manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis* were collections of tracts; they were personal libraries of various clergy into which were gathered or written useful material for preaching and teaching. As already discussed in relation to Bodley MS 110 and British Library MS Additional 10053, many of the manuscripts show evidence of not being in their original form. British Library MS Burney 356 and British Library MS Additional 10036 are the only manuscripts to show any sign of existing in their original format.[44] Most, if not all, of the other manuscripts show a more evolved, gradual pattern of development.

Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not necessarily give insight into the typical owners of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Instead, they give witness to one of the ways in which a simple pastoral manual, usually fitting on one or two quires at most, managed to survive the ravages of use, time, and censorship. *Sacerdos Parochialis* survived only through inclusion in a collection of tracts that was later bound by the owner of the collection or some later antiquarian. This is particularly true in the case of Bodley MS Rawlinson

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[39] See below 20 - 21 for greater detail.

[40] For a very tentative suggestion of ownership see 43 - 45 below.

[41] See below 32 for the full inscription.

[42] See below 57 and 60 for further information.

[43] See below 71 for a longer note on the ownership of the manuscript.

[44] Both show a consistent hand and pattern of quiring throughout. British Library MS Additional 10036 has, however, lost a number of leaves and some of the leaves have been regathered into the manuscript incorrectly (see below 45).

D913 where *Sacerdos Parochialis* is found among Anglo-Norman romances, Middle Dutch and Latin poetry as well as unrelated Middle English prose pieces and Chaucer's *Astrolabe*.

We do know, however, that where *Sacerdos Parochialis* circulated with other tracts it was usually with a scriptural sermon and, often (although not always) with Middle English material. In Cambridge MS Pembroke 285, the sermon for the feast of St. Nicholas is integrated into the *Sacerdos Parochialis* treatise. It occurs between the *Pater noster* (itself an interpolation) and the tract on the seven deadly sins.[45] In the case of Bodley MS 110, the sermon (a dedication sermon) occurs after *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[46] British Library MS Harley 4172 follows the *Sacerdos Parochialis* with a collection of sermons, in Latin and Middle English. *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Oxford, MS Trinity 7 is preceded by three Latin sermons. Veronica O'Mara has published one of the two Middle English sermons found in Durham MS Cosin v.iv.2 that precede *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[47] H.L. Spencer in her exhaustive treatment of the Middle English sermon notes that pastoral compendia such as *Sacerdos Parochialis* "are often found travelling with sermons."[48] She suggests that "it is reasonable to infer the possibility that they might be preached, or at least quarried for preaching."[49]

In other words, *Sacerdos Parochialis* was probably read by a curate to provide sermon material. While many of the owners of the extant manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis* would seem to be able to read Latin, it is quite possible that there were many more owners of the treatise who were "illiterate" and possessed only this single book or tract.[50] A single or two quire volume had far less chance of survival than a tract included or bound with other treatises. Moreover, if *Sacerdos Parochialis*, was the sole book in the possession of the less literate clergy, constant use would have mitigated against the survival of the book far more than the censorial flames of the ecclesiastical courts.

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[45] The sermon has been included in the Cambridge, Pembroke 285 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (see 226 – 30below).

[46] See 16 below where the item is listed after *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

[47] See 67 - 70 below for the exact order of items.

[48] H. L. Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 216.

[49] Ibid.

[50] William Cleve, for example, was a clerk of the King's court (21 below) and if Thomas Swan were the owner of British Library MS Harley 4172 as tentatively discussed (43 - 45 below), he too was a cleric of fairly high standing.

The Influence of Archbishop Pecham.[51]

In order to fully appreciate the roles played by *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, it is necessary to take a brief look at the influences on, and the sources from which, the treatises were composed.

The contents of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are in line with the contents of Pecham's syllabus of 1281, except that *Sacerdos Parochialis* includes a tract on the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* not found in Pecham. As such, *Sacerdos Parochialis* (and *Exornatorium Curatorum*) belong to a genre largely preoccupied with educating the clergy to instruct the laity in the principle matters of faith. Innocent III, as a means of counteracting the false doctrines and heresies gaining currency towards the end of the twelfth century, outlined the six things that the laity ought to know. *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* cites the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues and the seven sacraments as the principal tenets of the Christian faith.[52] It was incumbent on the priest responsible for the cure of souls to ensure that the laity was instructed in these 'six things', as they came to be known, at least once a year. The annual obligation to avail of the sacrament of penance, instituted at the IV Lateran Council, was to be used as an opportunity to test the knowledge of the laity, to correct their errors and to instruct them on the 'six things'. Throughout the thirteenth century, the English Church held a series of councils to promote and publicise these six elements of the faith, culminating in Pecham's Council of 1281.[53] The influence

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[51] Some of the initial observations here on the influence of the Fourth Lateran Council, the importance of the English Councils and, in particular, of Pecham's Lambeth 1281 council is discussed in my M.A. thesis (Niamh Pattwell, *The production of religious texts for the laity in the late middle ages. An Exploration of Memoriale Credencium: A Fifteenth-century notebook of Faith,* (M.A. diss., University College, Cork, 1998) 1 - 19.)

[52] A list of articles on the IV Lateran Council is provided in footnote 19 above.

[53] Barratt offers a brief outline of the thirteenth-century Bishops who made particular provision for the instruction of the laity, including those who were concerned about such education prior to the IV Lateran Council. She describes it as a "gradual evolution of a set programme of instruction." Some of the Bishops explicitly stated that the laity were to be instructed in the vernacular: Bishop Poore, Salisbury (1228 - 36); Peter des Roches (?1224); William Blois (1229). Others issued directions on when the instruction was to be carried out. In most cases, Bishops expected the instruction to be carried out during the Sacrament of Confession. Others devised a programme of instruction to be preached on Sundays and other major feast days: Alexander Stavensby, Coventry (1224 - 1237); Grosseteste of Lincoln (?1239); Walter de Cantilupe (1240); William of Bitton II, bishop of Wells (1258?). See Alexandra Barrat, "Works

of Pecham's statutes of the Lambeth Council of 1281 on the education of the laity in religious matters in the Late Middle Ages is unequivocal.[54] The statutes, in which Pecham sets out the minimum that the laity ought to know, were expanded to become the basis for many religious texts, both Latin and Middle English. They were produced in the century and a half after their initial publication and to varying degrees of conformity.[55]

Chapter nine, commonly known as "Ignorancia Sacerdotum" is the most quoted of the 1281 statutes. It is found among a series of statutes treating of a wide variety of pastoral and theological topics including the custody of the eucharist, penance, reserved cases for a Bishop, how the laity ought to baptise a child in danger of death, and a list of offences punishable by excommunication.[56] Describing the statute as a 'compendium', Cheney suggests that such compendia or syllabi were common in diocesan statutes prior to publication of Pecham's statutes, although he asserts that Pecham's syllabus cannot be traced to any particular source.[57]

The compendium begins with an appeal to the clergy to correct the errors of the laity lest they fall into incorrect thinking and lose their souls. The correction is to take place through preaching on the listed items at least four times a year in a simple and direct manner:

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of Religious Instruction." *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, edited by A.S.G. Edwards, (New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 1984), 413-432.

[54] C.R. Cheney and F.M. Powicke, eds., *Councils & Synods with other documents relating to the English Church II A.D. 1205 – 1313*, Vol. 2, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 886 - 918.

[55] Pecham was Archbishop of Canterbury (1279 - 92). The following is a list of treatises, "directly or indirectly influenced by Pecham's statutes", found in John Laimbeer Peckham's study of Archbishop Pecham. The list is not exhaustive and there is some overlapping of material, but it does provide a suitable sample of the texts derived from the Pecham statutes: *Pupilla Oculi* a derivative of *Oculus Sacerdotis* by William Pagula; *Speculum Christiani*; *Regimen Animarum; Compilatio brevis; Manuale Sacerdotum.* These examples are included under the list of Latin Clerical Manuals. There are three discrete references to *Sacerdos Parochialis* under the generic title attributed to the collection of texts in BL Burney MS 356 *Flos Florum*, Bodley MS 110 and Cambridge University Library Dd. XII.69. Other English manuals influenced by Pecham are *Dan Gaytrige's Sermon* otherwise known as the *Layfolks' Catechism*; John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*; *Jacob's Well*; *Exornatorium Curatorum*; *Quattuor Sermones*; *Speculum Christiani* and another un-named text found in Lincoln Cathedral Library A. 6.2 (see J.L. Peckham, *Archbishop Peckham as a Religious Educator*, Yale Studies in Religion, 7, (Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1934), 98 – 113). One could also add *Memoriale Credencium* and *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* to the list. For a list of these editions see under 'primary sources' in the bibliography.

[56] Powicke and Cheney, 886 - 918.

[57] Ibid., 888.

> Ignorantia sacerdotum populum precipitat in foveam erroris; et clericorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui diffinitione canonica filios fidelium instruere iubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit quam doctrinam . . . precipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica...[58]
> [The ignorance of the clergy teaches the people to remain in error; and the foolishness or lack of skill of the clergy, which canon law orders its sons to instruct the faithful, advances them in error rather than in doctrine. . . We advise how you the priest of the people, expound in the language of the people without fantastic or simple text, four times in the year (that is, once in each quarter of the year on a day or more of solemnity) by him or by another]

The list of material to be dealt with is then listed:

> quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta.[59]
> [fourteen articles of faith, ten commandments, two evangelical commandments, twinned, of course, with charity, and the seven works of mercy, seven capital sins with their branches, seven principal virtues and seven sacraments]

That Pecham intended it as an aid rather than a comprehensive guide to the Christian way of life is attested to by the use of the word "summary" in the final sentence of the proem. Stressing that this is the minimum that the laity ought to know, he encourages those who claim ignorance as an excuse to keep the "summary" close by them.

> Et ne quis a predictis per ignorantiam se excuset, que tamen omnes ministri ecclesie scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.[60]
> [And who excuses him from preaching through ignorance, notwithstanding that all ministers of the church ought to know, we must hold close this brief summary.]

Powicke and Cheney state that this particular statute often circulated independently of the other statutes as is witnessed by their reproduction in the manuscripts.[61] Its popularity is

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[58] Ibid., 900 – 01.
[59] Ibid., 901.
[60] Cheney, 901.

attested to not only by the influence or shape it gave to the manuals of religious instruction produced throughout the Late Middle Ages, but also by the decision of later bishops to reissue the compendium. Quivel, in 1287, set out what he thought the clergy ought to teach the laity in his *Summula*. Quivel's work differs from Pecham's in that it deals more extensively with the seven deadly sins and the sacrament of penance. The order of material is as follows: the ten commandments; the seven deadly sins, divided into branches; and extensive treatment of penance; and the fourteen articles of faith. Quivel went two steps further than Pecham to ensure that the 'six things' were indeed taught to the laity. He attached forty days indulgence to the *Summula* as well as a fine of one mark payable to the Archdeacon by the parish priest if the local church is found to be without a copy of the *Summula*. The Archdeacon was to be fined two marcs if he was found negligent of imposing these fines.[62] The use instead of a positive sanction to encourage the laity to fulfil their duties and learn the 'six things' was employed by Archbishop Thoresby in York in 1357. He attached forty days' indulgence to his Injunctions.[63]

His Injunctions are noteworthy not so much for their content as for his decision to have them translated into and circulated in the vernacular. In 1361, Thoresby issued a vernacular translation of his Injunctions, known today as the *Lay Folks' Catechism*.[64] The *Lay Folks' Catechism* is little more than an extended version of Pecham's syllabus; it is,

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[61] "Copies of c.9 were widely diffused apart from the other canons of the council; it was taken over by John Thoresby, archbishop of York, in 1367, received commentaries in Latin and in English in the Later Middle Ages, and as late as 1554 formed the basis of Edmund Bonner's article 34 for the diocese of London. (Ibid., 887 -88.) The sentences of excommunication promulgated at Lambeth follow immediately on the syllabus outlined above in statute 10. While the compendium or syllabus may have circulated independently, in most editions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* the sentences of excommunication follow the final section on the seven sacraments - albeit not an exact translation of the form found here.

[62] Powicke and Cheney, 1077. See also Peckham, 83 - 84.

[63] Simmons, T.F. & H.E. Nolloth. eds. *Lay Folks' Catechism or the English and Latin Version of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People*. Early English Text Society, os 118. 1901. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1972. 98.

[64] Susan Powell has pointed to the erroneous nature of this title. It was a manual intended not for the laity but for the clergy, although the material was to be transmitted to the laity eventually. The title is perhaps an editorial decision as EETS were at that time engaged in publishing a series of similar titles, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* and *The Primer or Lay-Folks' Prayer Book* (Susan Powell, "The Transmission of the *Lay Folks' Catechsim*", *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A.I. Doyle*, edited by A.J. Minnis, (Cambridge: Brewer , 1994), 67 – 84, 67 f.n.7.

however, the first known vernacular manual to circulate with an Archbishop's imprimatur. In the words of Gillespie:

> Thoresby's instructions are not remarkable for their contents which are commonplace and rudimentary, but because they mark a significant stage in the evolution of the vernacular pastoral manual by conferring official approval on and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of his Latin original.[65]

Thoresby's decision is all the more interesting when one considers that only fifty years later, the use of the vernacular to catechise or instruct the laity in the matters of faith had become a contentious issue, culminating in Arundel's restrictive constitutions of 1409.

There is plenty of evidence of the continued influence of Pecham's statutes throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Wykeham of Winchester in 1385, making explicit reference to Pecham, demanded an oath from at least two of his clergy that they learn by heart the basic tenets of the faith:

> William Wykeham, "the millionaire of his age", while bishop of Winchester, the richest see in England, has provided us in his *Registrium* with an unusually valuable indication of the influence of the Lambeth constitutions after more than a century had elapsed since their promulgation. It is there recorded that the rector of St. Michael's Church in Jewry Street, Winchester, was compelled to take an oath that he would get by heart within a year the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Mortal Sins, the Sacraments of the church, etc. "prout continetur in constitucione Pecham", under penalty of a fine of 40s. This was on June 24, 1385, more than a hundred years after the Council of Lambeth under Archbishop Peckham[sic]. And under date of July 2, 1385, it is recorded that the bishop required "an oath to like effect of John Corbet, rector of Bradley."[66]

Moreover, the centrality of Pecham's syllabus to the religious formation of the laity throughout the fifteenth century is evident in the publication of those statutes by at least four other members of the hierarchy: Arundel in 1409, Stafford 1435, Neville in

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[65] Vincent Gillespie, "*Doctrina et Praedicacio:* The Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals," *Leeds Studies in English*, 11 (1980): 36 – 50, 43.

[66] Peckham, 89.

1466, and Wolsey in 1508.[67] In most of these cases, the statutes seem to have been reissued in response to times of crisis as an 'ideal' syllabus. For example, when Arundel reissued the statutes in 1409 he was responding to the growing threat of Wycliffism. The significant difference is that the statutes were then promulgated as the maximum that the laity ought to know rather than the minimum that Pecham seems to have envisaged.[68] Similarly, in 1465(6) Archbishop Neville of York reissued the statutes for the Northern Province as a possible response to the sporadic incidents of heresy, though more pertaining to sorcery than to Wycliffism, then occurring throughout his diocese.[69] Cardinal Wolsey's decision to reissue the statutes in 1518 could conceivably be perceived as a response to the discovery of a number of Wycliffite sects in the see of Bath and Wells which he held *in commendam* during that period.[70]

While the *Lay Folks' Catechism* is the only extant manual to have been commissioned in the vernacular by an Archbishop in the Late Middle Ages, it is possible that Thoresby's vernacular manual is just one in a series of similar manuals, produced and published by the episcopate throughout the country. Hudson has posited the theory that a form of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* may have been in circulation prior to the Archbishop's Injunctions.[71] She suggests that the archbishop, realising the value of educating the laity by means of the vernacular, seized the manual and commissioned Dan Gaytrige to rework the original. Such a decision could account for some discrepancies between the Latin and the vernacular forms of his injunctions.[72] Swanson has provided proof, in the form of a letter addressed to Gaytrige, that the *Catechism* was indeed

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[67] Ibid., 90 – 95.

[68] Watson claims that Arundel's promulgation of Pecham's statutes is radically different from the acts of publication of previous bishops. "Yet any suggestion that the Constitutions are simply reviving the force of earlier archiepiscopal legislation ignores a crucial difference: that here Pecham's *minimum* necessary for the laity to know if they are to be saved has been redefined as the *maximum* they may hear, read, or even discuss (828)." Watson is quite vehement in his condemnation of Arundel's Constitutions. He describes them as "one of the most draconian pieces of legislation in English history (826)."

[69] J.A.F. Thomson, *Later Lollards 1414 – 1520*, (Oxford: OUP, 1965), 197.

[70] Thomson, 50 & 90.

[71] Anne Hudson, "A New Look at the *Lay Folks' Catechism*", *Viator* 16, (1985): 243 – 58, 249.

[72] Hudson questions the differences between the Latin and English text of the Injunctions suggesting that the English translation is 'corrupt'.

commissioned by Thoresby, although the process of composition remains uncertain.[73] It is still feasible that Gaytrige adapted an already existing tract to meet the Thoresby's requirements and to match his Injunctions.

Either way, Thoresby was not the only bishop to commission a manual, but the language in which other bishops published their tracts or manuals is not always clear. Susan Powell notes that Simon Islip of Canterbury issued a mandate for a short book on the seven deadly sins and the commandments in 1361, months after Thoresby's vernacular Injunctions were circulated.[74] While the mandate survives, there is no evidence of the actual book or treatise and it is not known whether it was composed in English or in Latin.[75] Robert Rede, a Dominican Bishop of Chichester (1396 - 1415), who was possibly a University graduate as the books he left to a Dominican Priory in Hertfordshire include works on canon and civil law, has been described as "a diligent pastor and administrator".[76] Although a search of his register has not produced any commission for a manual of religious instruction, it is feasible that he commissioned such a work in order to prevent further confusion among the laity, prey to the religious questioning of the Wycliffites.[77] His will includes references to "certain *quaterni* i.e. themes of his own composition written on quires, stitched together or in copybooks."[78] Rede and Islip, like Thoreseby, were also interested in the value of books as a means of educating his clergy to educate the laity. Rede, we know, saw the value of writing, and presumably educating, in the vernacular. *Sacerdos Parochialis* could be a version of the manual commissioned by a bishop such as Islip or it could be one of the compositions of

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[73] R.N. Swanson, "Origins of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*." *Medium Aevum*, 40.1: 95 -7. Powell also argues in favour of a commissioned text. She focuses on the process of copying medieval texts and points out that the version of the translation found in the Register could have been added much later than the original commission. She says, "The Archbishop's business was copied up in batches every now and then. If we posit that the Injunctions were already in circulation when they were copied into the Register, then clearly one of the several copies made would have had to be procured and transcribed by Thomas de Aldefeld as a routine busines. (I have already pointed out that together the English and Latin form a separate quire in the Register.) Either the text was less accurate than it should have been or Aldefeld copied it inaccurately (Powell, *Transmission,* 72)."

[74] Ibid., 78. See also Pantin, 212.

[75] The mandate is found in the register of Islip in Lambeth Palace Library (Powell, 78, f.n. 43).

[76] M.J. Kitch, *Studies in Sussex Church History*, (Sussex: Leopard's Head Press, 1981), 30.

[77] Wyclifism was particularly strong in the South of the country.

[78] Dede, Cecil, ed., *Register Robert Rede: The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede O.P. Lord Bishop of Chichester 1397 – 1415*, Sussex Record Society, 8 & 11, (1908 & 1910), xxiii

Rede.[79] After all, *Sacerdos Parochialis* is a Southern composition; several of the earlier manuscripts originated in the South East of England, around Sussex.[80] A Northern scribe resident in London could arguably have copied the one Northern version of the manuscript. Alternatively, the text could have been brought to York by the cleric when he was transferred to that diocese. After all, it was not uncommon for the clergy to be transferred from diocese to diocese. It is quite feasible that it was mandatory for every curate, in the diocese of say Chichester, to possess this tract. Similarly, *Exornatorium Curatorum* was, most likely a consequence of de Wosley's republication of Pecham's statutes in 1518. The date offered by Pollard and Redgrave is tentative and based on a type that was in use from 1516 rather than any internal evidence. However, I will argue later that *Exornatorium Curatorum* is probably not the exact tract promulgated by Wolsey, but rather de Worde's opportunistic attempt to 'cash in' on the Wolsey's declarations.

Unfortunately, without further evidence, the idea of *Sacerdos Parochialis* or *Exornatorium Curatorum* as manuals commissioned by bishops or archbishops remains something of a hypothesis. However, one fact deserves further attention. *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* are not further versions of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, but rather compositions independent of the textual tradition of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. *Exornatorium Curatorum* differs considerably from the *Lay Folks' Catechism* and is a later, printed manual, and will be examined later.[81]

Sacerdos Parochialis, on the other hand, is similar in terms of framework and purpose to the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. Both treatises circulated primarily among the

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[79] The first statute in the BL MS Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* is a statute attributed to Simon Islip (see below 76).

[80] British Library MS Burney 356 and Cambridge Dd.12.69 were both written in a Sussex dialect. Oxford MS Trinity originated in or around Winchester. British Library MS Harley 4172 originated inYorkshire, but some of the material suggests Southern provenance. Bodley MS 110 has a Sussex dialect, and was owned by a cleric who was originally a canon of Chichester, but later was transferred to Cliff-at-Hoo Kent. The variant forms also show distinct Southern traits. The dialect of British Library MS Additional 10053 indicates origins of the scribe in or around the Essex area, while the Pembroke MS had some connections with an Augustinian Abbey in Essex, although the dialect is indicative of an area in or around Warwickshire.

[81] See below for a fuller discussion of the *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

clergy.[82] Both were concerned with the 'six things'. Both were emended and adapted freely. The discovery of the Latin Injunctions, in Thoresby's register before the *Catechism,* provides irrefutable evidence that this was a treatise approved of by the hierarchy. *Sacerdos Parochialis,* on the other hand, lacks any such imprimatur, although it was an equally popular manual. It is extant in seven manuscripts in its most complete form, and in four other adapted versions, all from the fifteenth century. *Sacerdos Parochialis,* like the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, played a significant role in the education of the clergy to instruct the laity at a time when even familiarity with the contents of the treatise could be deemed heretical. However, a closer look at *Sacerdos Parochialis* - its sources, its contents, its adaptations and its relationship to similar treatises of the fifteenth century – will illustrate that *Sacerdos Parochialis* emanates from a different textual tradition to that of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. The latter is a direct derivative of Pecham's statutes. *Sacerdos Parochialis* is a fuller text, derived from Pecham via William Pagula's early fourteenth-century Latin manual, *Oculus Sacerdotis*.[83]

Clerical Ignorance

Oculus Sacerdotis was Pagula's response to a problem that dogged the Church of the Late Middle Ages. Concern about the ability of the clergy to fulfil their duties was rife in the fourteenth century. The clergy were not uniformly educated; there was a tiered system. Those who attended university generally found employment either in the Chancery, at court, or in a noble household as a clerk.[84] The clergy thus employed were

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[82] "The evidence of the manuscripts shows that throughout its transmission the *Catechism* remained in the hands of priests and was preached, but it also appears in the context of private, devotional material, whether for religious or lay use (Powell, 74)."

[83] Unfortunately, an edition of Pagula's treatise does not exist. For a study of William Pagula see Leonard Boyle, *A Study of the Works attributed to William Pagula with special reference to* Oculus Sacerdotis *and* Summa Summarum. (D.Ph. diss., Oxford, 1956). For a more accessible account of Pagula and his work and a list of the extant manuscripts, see his article: Leonard Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other works of William Pagula", Rpt. in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200 – 1400,* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981). Pt. IV.

[84] Pantin's chapters on "Patronage and the use of Benefices" and "Papal Provisions" provides a well-documented account of the benefits of education for a cleric (Pantin, 30 – 75). Boyle is more optimistic about those who benefited from Boniface VIII 'Cum ex eo' licence to attend University for a maximum of seven years, even if already in possession of a licence. He believes that some did advance to more lucrative parishes, many remained in the parish that had supported them during their years of education (Leonard Boyle, "Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth Century England," *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200 – 1400,* Collected studies series, 135, (London: Variorum Reprints,

rewarded not with a salary or a wage, but with gifts of wealthy prebends or benefices. A system of absentee clericalism, whereby many of the learned or literate clergy were busier in the exercise of their temporal offices than of their spiritual duties, was thus perpetuated. These absentee clergy rented out their parishes to less-learned clergy who, *de facto,* were the ones responsible for the cure of souls. Treatises in the vernacular, such as *Sacerdos Parochialis,* and the *Lay Folks' Catechism,* would have been necessary tools for these less literate clergy. They did not have access, because of their lack of knowledge of Latin and of canon and civil law, to the more theologically weighty manuals in the keeping of the university-educated clergy.

A list of books, discovered by Prof. V.J. Scattergood, provides an invaluable insight into the reading material of a wealthy, well-educated priest.[85] The list featured in an inventory compiled to meet the debts of an erring fourteenth-century clerk, William de Walcote, engaged in the household of Queen Isabelle. It is an interesting example of the kind of material that circulated freely among the university-educated clergy, but which seems to never have found its way into the keeping of the poorer clergy. A list of buyers found in tandem with the list of books indicates that most, if not all, of the buyers were employed either at the Court of Isabelle or in the Chancery. [86] All of the books were composed in Latin, and at least five of them were decretals or collections of canons published during the second half of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth century; a period commonly referred to as 'classical period of canon law'.

There is a preponderance of canon law books found in de Walcote's collection, indicative of the high regard for law and law making held by educated clergy in the fourteenth century. Other books listed in the collection would appear to be the basic requirements for any priest such as a number of bibles, bound in leather and of varying

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1981) and Leonard Boyle, "The Constitution 'Cum ex eo' of Boniface VIII: Education of Parish Clergy," *Pastoral Care.*

[85] V.J. Scattergood, "Bibliographical Notes: Two Medieval Book Lists," *The Library*, 5th series, 22.3 (1968): 236 – 9. The list belongs to William de Walcote, one-time receiver of Queen Isabella's household and holder of many benefices including Treasureship of St. Peter's York. At the time of her death, the King pursued de Walcote for debts outstanding. Many of his goods, including this list of books, were sold to meet his debts. A list of buyers accompanies the list of books enabling us to identify and trace the circulation of one particular set of books in the fourteenth century.

[86] See Appendix 1 for a detailed account of this elite group of clergy, engaged in the household of Queen Isabella during the last years of her life.

sizes, a breviary and several missals. Of most relevance to this discussion, is the presence on the list of William Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*.

Oculus Sacerdotis, Pupilla Oculi and *Sacerdos Parochialis.*

Until an edition is produced, editors are limited in the statements that they can make about the relationship between the Latin *Oculus Sacerdotis* and the vernacular adaptations of it. William Pagula (d.1332) was vicar of Winkfield when he was issued with a *Cum ex eo* licence in 1314 freeing him from his parochial duties to attend university at Oxford for approximately seven years. Pagula studied canon law like many writers of such manuals. He wrote five works, *Summa Summarum*, *Speculum Praelatorum*, *Speculum Religiosorum*, *Epistola ad Regem Angliae Edwardum III* and the *Oculus Sacerdotis* between 1320 and 1321.[87] The *Oculus Sacerdotis* is probably Pagula's best-known work. According to Boyle, it appears in wills and in visitational records with considerable frequency.[88]

Based primarily on Pecham's statutes, the manual is divided into three parts. In British Library MS Royal 6.E.i the treatise was accompanied, in a contemporary hand, by a list of contents. The first part, the *Pars Oculi* is primarily a penitential manual. It instructs the priest on how to examine the penitent on the 'six things', including the seven deadly sins. The correct way of saying the Confiteor, of giving absolution and a list of appropriate penances is also included. A list of reserved cases - or those offences that may not be forgiven by the priest, the bishop's penitentiary or even the bishop - occupies a considerable section of the *Pars Oculi*.[89] Pagula, a canonist and a penitentialist, as Boyle suggests, would have been very aware of the authority wrongly assumed or, at times, not assumed at all, by the local clergy in this matter.

> While engaged in the office of a penitentiary, he tells us in his prologue to the *Pars*, he was appalled to find how many parish priests seemed to have no inkling where the jurisdiction that they exercised over consciences in the confessional began or ended. Some were absolving from sins and censures over which they

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[87] Boyle, *Oculus*, 96 & 98.
[88] Ibid., 94.
[89] See, for example, BL Royal MS 6.E. i ff. 63^{v} – 81^{v}.

> had no control, while others were denying absolution and referring penitents to the diocesan penitentiars when in fact the remedy was theirs to apply.[90]

The main strength of Pagula's work is that it is written from experience rather than from a heady, theological point of view. The priest as pastor, rather than as theologian, was Pagula's primary concern. The remainder of the first part of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* includes a set of excommunications, some of which are taken from the *Magna Carta* and some from the *Carta de Foresta*.[91] A list of feast days to be celebrated throughout the liturgical year according to the Sarum rite, and extracts from *De Miseria Humanae Condicionis* conclude the first section.

The second part of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* is that known as the *Dextera Pars* and is the pastoral section of Pagula's work. It begins, "Multi sunt sacerdotes et pauci sunt sacerdotes. Multi sunt nomine et pauci sunt in opere."[92] Repeating that structure, first stating the plenitude of priesthood and then the dearth, Pagula develops the idea of the ignorance of the clergy. He continues by outlining what the clergy ought to preach, "Quid sacerdos suis predicare . . .."[93] It includes the sacraments, seven works of mercy, the seven virtues, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, and a section each on tribulation and temptation. It is, in reality, an expanded version of Pecham's syllabus. The third part of the *Oculus Sacerdotis*, *Sinistra pars* also deals with the sacraments, though in a more theological and speculative manner. In the words of Boyle, it is "an excellent *summa* of basic sacramental theology."[94] It includes material that would not have been relevant to the laity.

The existence of an intermediary version of Pagula's work, *Pupilla Oculi* by John de Burgh, published in 1381 makes the task of relating any Middle English texts to Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* very difficult.[95] John de Burgh, a fourteenth-century critic of the *Oculus Sacerdotis*, chose to reorganise the lengthy *Oculus Sacerdotis*.[96] He rejected the tri-partite division of Pagula and instead included everything in the one tract.

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[90] Boyle, *Oculus,* 86.
[91] Boyle, *Oculus,* 87.
[92] BL Royal MS 6.E.i. f. 24 $^{r-v}$
[93] BL Royal MS 6.E.i. f.24^{r-v}.
[94] Boyle, *Oculus*, 92
[95] For a copy of the *Pupilla Oculi* see BL Royal 11. B.x.
[96] Boyle, *Oculus*, 84.

Moreover, it seems as if the first part of the *Dextera Pars*, the synopsis of pastoral material, seems to have enjoyed an existence of its own.[97] It occurs appended to John de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi* in British Library MS Royal 11B.x ff.173^{v} – 176^{r}.

Some idea of the complexity of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* tradition can be gained from Durham University MS Cosin V.iv.2 ff. 136^{r} – 40^{r}.[98] Raymo includes this treatise in his list of manuscripts that contain *Sacerdos Parochialis* and a transcription has been included in this edition. However, Durham University MS Cosin V.iv.2 is not strictly speaking a version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but is rather a Middle English translation of the first part of Pagula's *Dextera Pars*. The order of material is almost identical with that found in British Library MS Royal 6E1ff.24^{v} – 30^{v}. This first part of Pagula's *Dextera Pars* seems to have enjoyed independent circulation. It is included in British Library MS Royal 11B.x (f.173^{r} – 180^{v}), after de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi* as a separate treatise.[99]

It is in the treatment of the sacraments that one finds the strongest link between the Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The order of sacraments is identical: Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Marriage. It is probably the longest and most detailed section of the *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Each of the sacraments, with the exception of ordination, is defined. Practical advice about lay participation, formulae, respect for the elements involved and effects received by those who participate is included. This treatment of the sacraments avoids the more casuistical treatment of the earlier manuals and, of the third part of the *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The treatise is a rudimentary, but adequate manual of all that a cleric would need in his parochial duties.[100]

The tract on the sacraments links *Sacerdos Parochialis,* not to *Exornatorium Curatorum* as Raymo suggests, but to two other Late Medieval manuals: John Mirk's vernacular *Instructions for Parish Priests* and Caxton's printed manual, *Quattuor*

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[97] Ibid., 89 - 90.

[98] For a transcription see 284 – 301 below.

[99] I would also contend that this tract could account for the seemingly repetitious (and puzzling) structure of John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*.

[100] See the Literary and Historical notes that accompany *Sacerdos Parochialis* on 178 – 83 below for the textual closeness of the two works. While extracts of Pagula's work have been included in the literary and historical notes that accompany this edition, the editor notes that all observations are limited to her knowledge of one manuscript each of Pagula's *Oculus* Sacerdotis and de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*. The notes would have to reviewed if an edition of either the *Oculus Sacerdotis* or the *Pupilla Oculi* were to be produced in the future.

Sermones.[101] All three overlap considerably in their treatment of the sacraments. *Quattuor Sermones* tends to be more detailed in its approach, suggesting perhaps that the author worked directly from the *Oculus Sacerdotis* or a version of it, rather than from a version of the *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Mirk's *Instructions* is written in couplets and does not follow the systematic structure of *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Quattuor Sermones*, yet it contains material common to the other treatises. All three texts include a set of bidding prayers and a sentence of excommunication, neither of which is found in *Exornatorium Curatorum*. *Sacerdos Parochialis*, *Quattuor Sermones* and John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* are much more likely to have originated together than *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

A close comparative study of all three texts is beyond the parameters of this thesis. However, the similarities of the texts do establish that there was, in the South, a tradition of writing vernacular manuals of religious instruction for the clergy similar to that instigated by Thoresby in the North. The aim of the writing was to educate the clergy to instruct the laity. The *Oculus Sacerdotis* or its derivative, the *Pupilla Oculi,* provided much of the source material for the Southern vernacular manuals of religious instruction. All three texts are relatively independent of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, although Caxton's *Quattuor Sermones* does share features with it. A comparison of the three works, while greatly aided by an edition of *Sacerdos Parochialis* will be somewhat hampered by the lack of a Latin edition of *Oculus Sacerdotis*.

Choice of a Base Text

The textual similarities between British Library MS Burney MS 356, and Pagula's *Dextera Pars* partially influenced the choice of base text for this edition of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. *Sacerdos Parochialis,* in British Library MS Burney 356, begins at f.39^{v} with a set of statutes, not at f.43^{v} as indicated by Raymo.[102] These statutes, although not always correctly ascribed in the manuscript, come from various councils of the thirteenth

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[101] Gillis Kristensson, ed., *John Myrk's Instructions for Parish Priests edited from MS Cotton Claudius A.II. and Six Other Manuscripts with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, Lund Studies in English, 49, (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974). N.F. Blake, ed., *Quattuor Sermones Printed by William Caxton*, Middle English Texts, 2, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag: 1975).

[102] Raymo, 2495.

century. Their contents are commonplace instructions on: correct tithing, parishioners' contributions to church ornaments and to church repairs, solemn penance and the Sarum order of liturgical feasts. They are, in effect, an abridged form of the statutes found in the *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Pupilla Oculi*. Statutes on clerical residences and observations on fast days, included in the earlier Latin treatises are not found in British Library MS Burney 356. As such, British Library MS Burney 356 best emulates the spirit of Pagula's work, in that it too provides a particularly English collection of statutes, trawled from the vast quantity of canonical material available at that time. [103]

However, there are also more substantial textual similarities between British Library MS Burney 356 and the *Oculus Sacerdotis* not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. For example, the section on the ten commandments in all versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* is an abridged form of *Oculus Sacerdotis*. *Sacerdos Parochialis* includes the definition of each commandment in Latin, followed by a Middle English translation and a brief interpretation. The interpretation is a summary of the first few sentences on each commandment in the *Oculus Sacerdotis*. British Library MS Burney 356, however, is distinct from other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. It is the only version to include in its treatment of the ninth commandments a note from Augustine on the importance of restitution, also found in Pagula's work.[104]

British Library MS Burney 356 is also the only manuscript to include the tract on the two great commandments after the ten commandments and before the seven deadly sins as does Pagula in *Oculus Sacerdotis*. All other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* include the two great commandments just before the tract on the seven sacraments.

British Library MS Burney 356 is confusing, however, as it contains a lot of material not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* nor in *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The extra material is primarily written in Latin and consists of diagrams or schemas linking various theological points one to another. For example, there is a two-column diagram linking the ten commandments to each of the ten plagues found on ll.480 – 9 of

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[103] See Boyle on the English nature of Pagula's work. "As a whole, the catologue depends largely on the manuals of continental canonist, but the achievement of the author is none the less remarkable. For the first time, it would seem, a manual was the disposal of the parochial clergy of England in which the censures imposed by the Church in England were analysed and placed within the framework of the established classification of censures binding the Church universally (87 – 88)."

[104] See lines 525 – 6 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* on 90 below.

Sacerdos Parochialis, and on ll.572 - 602 there is schema of each of the seven deadly sins illustrating the four soldiers that work for that sin.[105] Such material is further evidence of monastic readership of this particular version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The extra material, outlined in this way, facilitates a private meditative reading experience rather than a public hortative sermon. It assumes a knowledge of Latin, not available to most users of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Moreover, it was not uncommon for basic catechetical and pastoral material to be included in works intended for religious, despite the assumption that religious would have been familiar with such material anyway.[106]

Oculus Sacerdotis, however, may have inspired one item of this extra material. In the section on the seven deadly sins in *Oculus Sacerdotis* remedies against each of the sins is included.[107] A diagram following the seven deadly sins in British Library MS Burney 356 is a three-column list, in which the seven items of each are column linked to its correspondent in the other columns by a series of decorative lines.[108] The author is attempting to link each of the seven deadly sins to the wounds of Christ and to the verbal actions of his passion. The diagram is a summary of one of the remedies against the seven deadly sins found in Pagula's work, in which the author encourages the reader (or listener) to reflect on the Passion of Christ and, in particular, his wounds as a means of avoiding sin.

Without recourse to further copies of *Oculus Sacerdotis,* however, one could argue that British Library MS Burney 356 is following but one recension of *Oculus Sacerdotis*, and the remaining versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are pursuing another. The editor acknowledges that the version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* in British Library MS Burney 356, accompanied by these schema and diagrams, is not the most widely preserved version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. There are other reasons for choosing British Library MS Burney 356 as a base text that I will now outline.

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[105] See 91 - 92 below.

[106] See Helen Forshaw "St. Edmund's *Speculum*: A Classic of Victorine Spirituality" in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age,* 39, (1972): 7 – 40 for a discussion the inclusion of didactic material in texts addressed to religious, with particular reference to chapters six to sixteen of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum Religiosorum*.

[107] BL Royal 6 E.i. f43^{r-v}.

[108] See 92 below.

Editing *Sacerdos Parochialis*

The modern editor of any medieval work is but the most recent editor. S/he joins a long list of scribes, compilers, translators and printers who are attempting to produce a 'better' text, whether that means a text that is more 'authoritative', more 'comprehensive' or more 'amenable'. Most modern editors do not deal with this reality.[109] They attempt to produce an 'authorial' version of a text, a version that supposedly represents the moment that the author declared his work complete. Derek Pearsall, among others, has argued cogently that the idea of an "act of publication on the author's part" when dealing with texts written in the Middle Ages is a misconception.[110] Eric Reiter while discussing popular Latin works of theology explains the "fluid" nature of such manuscript texts.[111] Someone copying a medieval manuscript is using the same process and materials as the "author": making notes, marginalia or revisions using pen and ink, as did the author. The personal notes then made by a medieval reader, and the changes made to a text by a medieval copyist, can be difficult to distinguish from the copy of the original 'auctor'. It can be difficult to discern the beginning of 'new' material and the end of 'old'. Scribal adjustments such as glosses, expansions and emendations can be difficult to identify, particularly when incorporated without differentiation into the text by the next copyist.

Reflecting on the scholarly work done on Langland and Chaucer, Pearsall points out that even a single author can create several different editions of one text. Consequently, each manuscript is neither an 'authorial' version or a scribal copy, it is neither a 'correct' or 'corrupt' version of the text. Instead, he claims, that each manuscript is "witnessing to a stage in the author's developing intentions for his work;"

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[109] Machan suggests that the Humanist tendency to equate the "authoritative text with the authorial" is inappropriate for Middle English texts where "authorship", and "authenticity" were often concomitant with social and institutional "authority" (94 –5). "What enabled indisputable identification of auctores were the literary qualities and the culturally and institutionally sanctioned ethical truths (*auctoritates*) of their works. . . . Auctores were those known and named writers whose works had *auctoritas*, and *auctoritas* was identified as the characteristic quality of the work of an auctor. Such circularity reflects the conservative, preemptive, and self-validating character of medieval views on authority. . . (Tim William Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 97)."

[110] Derek Pearsall "Editing Medieval Texts: Some Developments and Some Problems" *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretations*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago and London: Chicago UP, 1990), 86.

[111] Eric Reiter, 'The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Rewriting Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages", *Viator* 27, (1996): 151 – 69, 58 – 59.

that the "manuscripts record various stages of the work in progress."[112] Each manuscript deserves to be treated with all the respect of any witness to an important event. Pearsall, accepts that, for obvious reasons, one cannot represent all the manuscripts of a large text in a scholarly edition, yet he is, in theory, supportive of the idea that editors ought to be "tackling the problems of presenting a text which is 'en perpetuel devenu'."[113]

The edition of *Sacerdos Parochialis* that follows is one editor's attempt to produce several moments in the history of that text. The subtitle could be 'The Adventures of a Late Medieval Text of Religious Instruction throughout the Fifteenth Century'. It is already a text that has evolved from a sphere of higher learning, and which continued to evolve throughout the fifteenth century until it is eventually replaced by printed versions of similar texts. To return to Pearsall, he points out that the "more pedestrian kinds of composition" (referring specifically to 'popular verse romances' but the term could also apply to works of religious instruction) defy all the criteria normally applied to the critical edition:

> If we descend from these high levels of creative poetic activity to the more pedestrian kinds of composition, it becomes clear that the assumptions of which the critical edition is based - concerning the coherent and unified process of composition, the definitive textual moment, and the act of publication and authorization - are not merely difficult to apply but, irrelevant.[114]

For the text drawn from the bank of common knowledge then, the definitive moment at which the text becomes the text is ever elusive. Each rewriting of the work is in fact, a fresh creation of the text, "each act of copying was to a large extent an act of recomposition, not an episode in a process of decomposition from an ideal form."[115] This edition is an attempt to honour the culture of production in which *Sacerdos Parochialis* was produced.

This editor's intentions are less the reconstruction of an 'authorial' copy, than a showing of the various realisations of the text throughout the fifteenth century. To this

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[112] Pearsall 'Editing', 96.
[113] Ibid., 100
[114] Ibid., 100
[115] Ibid., 101.

end, British Library MS Burney 356 is an ideal version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* from which to begin. The script identifies the Burney as one of the earliest of all of the manuscripts, offering the best vantage point from which to view the adaptations and changes of the text as it wends its way through the hands of orthodox, heterodox and the ambivalent believing communities and readers of the fifteenth century. Moreover, British Library MS Burney 356 is the most comprehensive of all the versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Unlike other manuscripts, it includes everything outlined in the prologue: *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, ten commandments, two great commandments, seven works of mercy, seven virtues, seven sacraments, sentences of excommunication and a set of bidding prayers. Bodley MS 110, on the other hand, omits the tract on the seven works of mercy. The other manuscripts omit reference to the works of mercy in the introduction, but include the works in the body of the text. Oxford MS Trinity 7 omits much of the Latin after the initial rubric. British Library MS Harley 4172 is dialectically unique and Cambridge MS Dd. 12. 69 and British Library MS Additional 10036 have lost several folios each. In contrast, the comprehensive nature of British Library MS Burney 356 offers the best opportunity to compare and comment upon the adaptations of the later versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

It may have been advisable to remove the extraneous elements found in the Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. However, to do so would have been to produce an 'ideal', but non-extant version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The purpose of this edition is to show as much of the 'episodes' or 'adventures' of a fifteenth-century religious instructional manual in an era when theological works in the vernacular were deemed 'dangerous'. To the extent that they help with this act of showing, the traditional tools of textual criticism such as a list of substantive variants, literary and historical notes and a glossary have been included in the edition. These occur after the text, so as to assist rather than impose upon the reader. Occasionally, footnotes showing the omission or insertions of the scribe or of later readers have been included on the page.

Parallel texts, or complete reworkings, of versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* have been included in the edition where the variants were more than orthographic or dialectical differences. In most of these cases, complete tracts or parts of tracts replaced the sections normally found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. For example, Cambridge MS Pembroke 285

omits the *Pater noster*, and later the tract on the seven deadly sins from its usual position in the treatise and instead integrates two new tracts into the end of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

The Variations

Heterodox

Anne Hudson, in her book *The Premature Reformation*, is primarily concerned with a study of Wycliffite book production as a means of providing more substantial evidence of what Wycliffite communities were actually reading and thinking. In the course of her discussion on the problem of sources, she identifies "the 'grey area'" that exists between clear orthodoxy and outright Wycliffitism" as one area that requires further study.[116] According to Hudson, this "grey area" persisted despite Arundel's and Chichele's attempts to force believers to make a choice, to polarise believers into camps of 'orthdoxy' or 'heresy'. In her brief, but incisive, discussion on Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, she develops the concept of that 'grey area'.[117] Chaucer, and probably his readers, would have been aware of the Wycliffite concepts and language embedded in the tale. The description of the Parson as a "poor" priest in the *General Prologue*, the Parson's refusal to embellish his tale with "fables", the satire of other religious figures in the *Canterbury Tales* were identifiably Wycliffite concepts.[118] Yet, the *Parson's Tale* is itself orthodox instructing on confession, and particularly on confession to a priest:

> And this humylitee shal been in herte and in signe outward, for right as he hath humylitee to God in his herte, right so shold he humble his body outward to the preest, that sit in Goddes place. [119]

She is not suggesting that Chaucer was a Wycliffite, but that Chaucer and Wycliff were both interested in the same issues:

> What emerges strikingly in all this is the way in which 'Wycliffite' concerns coincided with the intellectual interests of the time; and authors other than

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[116] Hudson, *Premature*, 23.

[117] Hudson, *Premature*, 390 - 94.

[118] Hudson, *Premature*, 391 - 92.

[119] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*. *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition, ed. Larry D. Benson, Oxford: OUP, 1988, 323 – 24, passus x. l. 988. Cited in Hudson, *Premature*, f.n.2, 390.

> Chaucer make it clearer that such concerns also extended into the areas of social, theological and ecclesiastical questions.[120]

Similar intellectual interests engaged both Chaucer and Wycliff.

However, the publication of *De Heretico Comburendo* in 1401 and Arundel's Constitutions in 1409 set the tone for the quarrel on the matter of the vernacular as a means of educating the laity. It is not until the period after the Oldcastle's Rising of 1414 that the full extent of Wycliff's teachings and the effect it would have on the Church became obvious. It was only then that the "ecclesiastical establishment activated itself to isolate those who had sympathy with any part of the heresy from the rest of society."[121] Hudson regrets the lack of edited texts that would enable a scholar to explore the "reception of Wycliffite thought" throughout the fifteenth century.[122]

Sacerdos Parochialis is a good example of the kind of text to which Hudson refers. Stretching, as it does, from its conception in either the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, up to the last known date of copying of 1479 it provides insight into the popularity of vernacular works of religious instruction as well as the hybrid nature of many theological compilation treatises. The permutations of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, illustrate that the "grey area" of which Hudson speaks survived throughout the fifteenth century despite the censorial mechanism of the consistory courts. It also hints at the *ad hoc* nature of the enquiries and destruction of books.[123]

Much of the material that was burned or was cited in the consistory courts is very similar to the contents of any of the religious instructional manuals discussed here, such as *Sacerdos Parochialis*, *Exornatorium Curatorum*, *Instructions for Parish Priests* or

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[120] Hudson *Premature*, 393.

[121] Hudson *Premature*, 393.

[122] Hudson *Premature* 394. See also Watson, Nicholas 'Censorship and Cultural Change' *Speculum* 70 (1992): 822 – 64.

[123] Hudson notes the lack of "heresy cases" in the diocese of Chichester (*Premature*, 35). She is cautious in deriving significance from such a fact as it may indicate "the possibility of separate record books" now missing. Perhaps an area of further study could be the connection between the survival of religious vernacular from particular areas and the number of heresy cases in the same area. Is there, for example, a connection between the survival of a number of copies of *Sacerdos Parochialis* in that area and the absence of Lollard trials? One can hardly accept that *Sacerdos Parochialis* contributes to the lack of heresy in the area –a sign of a succesful campaign on the part of one episcopate. However, does the survival of so many copies from that region combined with the dearth of trial material indicate a tolerance, or a sympathy on the part of the episcopate behind the manual? Or was it mere laziness, or a dispute about the appointment of an inquisitor?

Quattuor Sermones. It seems as if they were burned solely because the laity owned them. The material cited is usually no more than the *Pater noster, Ave,* Creed, Ten Commandments and Seven Sacraments. According to Thomson, in Winchester one woman hid two English books from the authorities given to her by her husband. One of these books was a New Testament, and "the other a book containing in English the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave*, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and a treatise on Baptism."[124] In the Chilterns, another two books were cited as evidence. The first of these was of the ten plagues of Egypt, the second on the seven sacraments.[125] In Coventry, a book on the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave*, and the Creed in English is also entered into the records as evidence against another possible Wycliffite offender.[126] Any of these books could have been *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

At the same time, less orthodox texts such as those found in British Library MS Additional 10053 survived the conflagration, possibly because they were in the hands of the clergy. At least two versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* could be termed 'corrupt' in terms of textual criticism and orthodoxy. They incorporate material that looks suspiciously Wycliffite or at least, show signs of being anything but 'self-censorial'. British Library MS Additional 10053 incorporates a version of the *Pater noster* and of the *Ave Maria* found in MS Lambeth 408 that have both been described as Lollard.[127] The *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria* in the Additional manuscript are considerably more expansive than those found in the Lambeth manuscript. Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 also replaces the usual *Pater noster* with what seems to be a Lollard *Pater noster*,

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[124] Thomson, 89.

[125] Thomson, 93.

[126] Thomson, 105.

[127] See Raymo [33] "A Standard Exposition of the Pater noster" for a brief description of this treatise. He notes that the text has been described as Lollard, but that 'there is no internal evidence to support the attribution'. Raymo 'Works', 2279. The bibliography on page 2508 of Raymo includes the version found in BL Additional 10053. None of the edited versions seem to have the interpolations found in BL Additional 10053. Hudson. "A New Look" also makes mention of the Pater noster. She believes that the "auctore" of the Lambeth manuscript incorporated the Pater noster, Ave Maria and commentary after them into the *Lay Folks' Catechism* from three unrelated, but preexisting tracts (251). She cites the concluding 'Amen' found at the end of each tract, the fact that they precede the *Lay Folks' Catechism* found in Lambeth MS 408 as evidence. A textual comparison between the Lambeth *Pater noster* and the *Pater noster* as it occurs in British Library MS Additional 10053 is provided on 205 - 06 below.

although it has not been described as such elsewhere.[128] The *Pater noster* is not the same as that found in the Additional manuscript, but the treatment of the fourth petition "Give us this day our daily bread" shows a bias towards 'scripture' and 'preaching' rather than Eucharist as a means of feeding the soul. The overall focus too is on charity and on a relationship with one's fellow Christians, typical of Lollard doctrine.[129]

The remainder of the material in these treatises is highly orthodox and barely distinguishable from other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. There are, however, other similarities between the Cambridge Pembroke 285 and BL Additional 10053 manuscripts. Both manuscripts employ the collocation 'true faith' in the tract on the seven virtues and both omit references to 'heresy' under the second commandments. Bodley 110 and Cambridge Dd.12.69 also show these variants from the base text suggesting that the Additional and/or Pembroke manuscripts inherited these differences from an orthodox exemplar. The Pembroke and Additional 10053 manuscripts differ from the Bodley and Cambridge manuscripts in that the introduction to the tract on the sacraments is amplified beyond the usual introduction in the base text. Finally, both of these manuscripts contain a version of *Every Christian Man and Woman*. As already noted above in British Library MS Additional 10053 this text precedes, and was almost certainly a later addition to the manuscript with, *Sacerdos Parochialis*. In Cambridge MS Pembroke 285, the tract has been incorporated into *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

The similarities extend outside of the text to what we know about the manuscripts. As already noted, the Additional and the Pembroke manuscripts have associations with Augustinian communities; the former with Aldgate London and the latter with Ossyth, Essex. However, British Library MS Additional 10053 shows scribal spellings consistent with an Essex dialect.[130] The London scribe and Augustinian Canon, John Perry, may have originated or begun his career in Essex where he encountered an exemplum copy of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Furthermore, Essex is among the heretical communities listed by Hudson "which emerge into view from the episcopal persecution at the end of the

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[128] Notes on the Wycliffite nature of the Pembroke treatise are also included in the Literary and Historical notes that accompany that text on 255 below.

[129] Collocations such as "perfyȝte charite", and the inclusion of scriptural references translated from the Latin to Middle English are glaringly absent from the usual tract on the *Pater noster* in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. See below 222 – 26.

[130] See 56 - 57 below.

fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries."[131] The script of Pembroke would suggest a date earlier in the fifteenth century, but Hudson observes that the evidence for these communities "give every indication of being long standing."[132] Although there are inscriptions in both manuscripts, neither can be identified definitively. The links between the two texts - similar contents, scribal variants, Lollard interpolations, the connection to the Austins and to Essex - suggest that both of these treatises circulated within the one circle.[133]

The Orthodox

One of the purposes of editing compilation treatises such as *Sacerdos Parochialis* is identifying tracts that are often included in catalogues under generic titles such as 'A Tract on the Seven Seadly Sins'. *Every Christian Man and Woman* is an abridged form of Lavynham's *A Litil Treatys on the Seven Deadly Sins*.[134] Van Zutphen, the editor of the 1956 edition of Lavynham's *Treatys* does not seem to have known or noted this connection. Lavynham, the author, was a Carmelite and regarded as a strong campaigner against the Wycliffites.[135] Van Zutphen dates *A Litil Treatys on the Seven Deadly Sins* to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The treatise is, as its title suggests, an account of each of the seven deadly sins and all their branches. Each sin is defined, compared to an animal, and amplified to treat all of the branches with reference to the patristics and the scriptures. For example, the sin of pride is associated with the lion. Quoting from Jeremiah, Augustine and Gregory's *Moralia* among others, he elaborates on the eight branches of pride: presumption, vainglory, disobedience, boldness, hypocrisy and indignation, shamelessness and stubborness.[136]

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[131] Hudson, 456.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Means of distribution of texts continues to be among small circles or private groups, as was the case in the fourteenth century with de Walcote's collection of books (See Appendix 1).

[134] Van Zutphen, J.P.W.M. *A Litil Treatys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham*. Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956.

[135] For further biographical data on Lavynham, see Van Zutphen xxviii – xxxii. It is not without irony that two of the three extant copies of *Every Christian Man and Woman* are included in manuscripts with Lollard associations.

[136] Van Zutphen, 1 – 4.

One of the differences between *Every Christian Man and Woman* and *The Tretys* is the omission of scriptural references from the former. However, there is one brief reference to scripture found in both treatises. In Lavynham, under despair, one of the branches of sloth, there is an explicit New Testament reference from Matthew 12 and Luke 12.[137]

> Now endeles wanhope is the most synne þt is for it is so great synne þt as crist recordit in þe gospel Mt. 12 & Luce 12. It schal neuer be for ȝouyn in þis world ne in þt oþer.

In this particular case, the anonymous author of *Every Christian Man and Woman* expands the reference to include mention of the 'hooly goost' and a paraphrase of the gospel reference.

> This is properly the synne aȝenst þe hooly goost the wiche as Crist hym selfe seyþ but hit be eschewed, hit schalle neuer been forȝeuen in þis worlde ne in the tother.[138]

Apart from the inclusion of this solitary scriptural reference, there are other significant links between the two treatises. The branches of the sins are almost identical. Occasionally, *Every Christian Man and Woman* conflates two branches of a particular sin to keep a pattern of seven branches rather than the variable number found in Lavynham's *Treatys*.

The order of the sins in both treatises is slightly different, but generally both follow the Gregorian order (*siiagl*): superbia, invidia, ira, avaritia, accidia, gula and luxuria. Lavynham follows the order: superbia, avaritia, ira, However, there is one manuscript of Lavynham's work, British Library MS Additional 2383 that follows,

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[137] "Anyone who is not with me is against me, and anyone who does not gather in with me throws away. And so I tell you, every human sin and blasphemy will be forgiven, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven; but no one who speaks against the Holy Spirit will be forgiven either in this world or in the next." *New Jeruslam Bible* London: Longman & Todd, 1985. 1629.

[138] See 239, ll.953 – 55 below.

according to VanZutphen, "the pure Gregorian sequence *siiaagl* (Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, Covetousness, Gluttony and Lechery)."[139]

Not all interpolations in *Sacerdos Parochialis* were heterodox. Bodley MS Rawlinson D913 is certainly an orthodox re-interpretation of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[140] It follows the *Sacerdos Parochialis* quite closely, apart from some minor differences, until the section on the Sacrament of Penance.[141] Under that sacrament, like the *Sacerdos Parochialis*, it outlines the need for those who have reached the age of twelve to confess annually and the importance of receiving the Eucharist at Easter. Thereafter, it interpolates a brief note on the three things that make a good confession, "confession of mouth, contricioun of herte and satisffaccioun in dede and in werkes."[142] This is a standard treatment of the sacrament of penance. The three things necessary for confession are explained in some detail. Confession of mouth requires that a sinner reveal all his sins to the priest and the circumstances of that sin. Contrition requires sorrow of heart for offending God and losing his grace and involves dread of everlasting punishment. Satisfaction is dealt with in more detail. It outlines the requirements for making satisfaction, penance and good works. The particular emphasis on penance implies that this manual was also intended for use by a priest. Penance is to be administed at the discretion of the confessor, depending on the estate of the penitent. The discretion of the curate is to be used also when dealing with the seven deadly sins. Normally each is deserving of seven years of penance, but the confessor has permission to ease the penance if it is so required. Yet, the curate is cautioned not to forgive sins that are so serious that only the Bishop or Pope can forgive them.

The sacrament of Orders includes a little more detail than usually found in the *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The four orders are listed - acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and

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[139] VanZutphen, introduction.

[140] Bodley MS Rawlinson D913 ff. 10^{r} – 19^{r} was a complete manual of instruction. The manuscript is an assemblage of tracts and treatises not related one to another. The manuscript is an antiquarian's collection.

[141] Differences such as not including the two great commandments and the seven works of mercy after the ten commandments and some extra detail on the sin of lechery not usually found in the *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

[142] See 270 – 71 below.

priesthood - though not expanded upon. The treatment of the sacrament contains a warning to the priest to dress according to his estate. [143]

On f.16^{v} – 19^{r} of this version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, the compiler includes a final chapter on the form of confession.[144] While, I have not yet identified the source of this text, it seems to be a manual that may have circulated independently as it is a brief but comprehensive outline of what a curate engaged in the cure of souls would need to know to administer the sacrament. There is no evidence here of casuistry; it is rather a practical outline of how to effectively administer the sacrament of penance. There are directions on how the penitent ought to begin his/her confession, how the priest can assist the penitent if the penitent is too ignorant, too ashamed or in too much despair to confess. Included is a list of suitable works of penance to counter the seven deadly sins. For example, "fastynge and abstunence of metis and drynkes" are suitable works to counteract sins of gluttony. A Middle English form of the Confiteor for the penitent, and a Latin form of absolution for the priest are also included. The treatise continues with a short list of reserved sins such as counterfeiting the king's money, assaulting a man or woman of religion, infanticide or adultery. If any penitent is in danger of death, his curate may forgive him his sins, regardless of the seriousness of his offences, as long as he promises to go the bishop if he recovers. A formula is included for this particular situation. As indicated in the notes, however, the list of the sins of the heart, mouth and deed which concludes the chapter on penance in Rawlinson D913 is an extract from *Speculum Christiani.*[145] Although not mentioned at the outset, a list of the sins of omission is also included. Neither a sentence of excommunication nor a set of bidding prayers were appended to the manual.

The version of the *Sacerdos Parochialis* found in Bodley MS Rawlinson D913 is typical of many later manuals of religious instruction in including a chapter on penance at the end of the 'sexe thynges' that the laity ought to know. We find similar inclusions in other manuals such as John Mirk's *Instruction for Parish Priests*, *Quattuor Sermones* and

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[143] See 273, ll.393 – 99 below.

[144] See 274 – 80, ll.433 - 626 below.

[145] See 278 – 80, ll.567 – 626 below.

Exornatorium Curatorum.[146] The Sacrament of Penance, to be attended by the laity during Lent, was the opportunity for the curate to enquire and instruct the laity on the 'sexe thynges'. The layout of the tract suggests that the compiler was deliberate and purposeful in his selection of material. S/he, at the end of the sacrament of penance, refers to the "form of confession" that he will include at the end of the treatise. A manual like Bodley MS Rawlinson D913, containing material on the elements of the faith and on the sacrament of penance, would have provided the curate with all that he needed to know to prepare for annual confession.

Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iv. 2 is included not as an exact version or adaptation of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but as a direct Middle English translation of a section of Pagula's work, *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The introduction to the sacraments is different to that normally found in the *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The Latin rubric states that there are thirty-three exhortations.[147] The order and number of the sacraments differs from that found in the *Sacerdos Parochialis*: Baptism; Matrimony; Penance; Eucharist are included. Confirmation, Order and Holy Anointing are omitted. The order of items to be treated under the sacrament of baptism varies from that found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but many of the same points are covered. The sacrament of the eucharist includes a prayer to be recited at the elevation of the host; the usual exhortation that the wine in the chalice is just that, not the blood of Christ. The manual as found in Durham Cosin V.iv.2 continues with a sentence of excommunication and of bidding prayers not found in other manuscripts of the *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[148] Among the list found here is a sentence on tithing issued by Boniface at Canterbury. The sentence does not include a curse, but consistent with the confused nature of the rest of the treatise, concludes with a series of admonitions that were not excommunicable. The admonitions are as follows: to keep quiet in Church so as not to disturb others from their devotions; to show reverence for the name of Jesus, including a brief note on the name of Jesus usually found at the end

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[146] A discussion on the nuanced approach to the sacrament of penance in *Exornatorium Curatorum* is included in this chapter (See xlv – l, below).

[147] See 294, ll.319 – 20 below.

[148] The sentences referred to here is based on an arrangement of excommunicable offences repeated at various moments in *Oculus Sacerdotis* and included also in Pecham's 1281 syllabus. For a copy of the sentence of excommunication see Powicke and Cheney, 905 - 7. The editors of Pecham's statutes note that the sentence and list is a common arrangement, first included in Langton's constitutions published at the Council of Oxford, 1222.

of the *Ave Maria* in the *Sacerdos Parochialis*; to avoid noise or disturbance in the church or church yard, including trading, so as not to disturb any services therein; to seek permission from one's spouse if one desires to make a vow of any sort including a special warning to a husband not to grant his wife's vows as he will be bound by them; to abstain from conjugal relations three days before receiving the Eucharist; that curates are bound to read the general sentence four times in the year.[149] The final exhortation is taken directly from the first of Pecham's 1281 statutes.[150] It is a warning to ring a bell in the sanctuary at the elevation of the host so that the people in the fields or at home can offer worship and prayer. The bidding prayers, while not similar to those found in other versions of the *Sacerdos Parochialis*, are unremarkable.

Sacerdos Parochialis and *Exornatorium Curatorum*

A study of a fifteenth-century religious instructional manual would be incomplete without a brief glance at what happened to such material in the printing era.

One of the main reasons for associating *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Exornatorium Curatorum* is the opening rubric of each in which Pecham's 1281 constitutions are cited. Indeed, many scholars of religious works of instruction fail to distinguish, or to identify as the case may be, particular texts because of the common use of Pecham's 1281 constitution. The statute seems to have been used to lend authority to a genre of work that could be incriminating in an era that frowned upon the use of the vernacular as a means of instruction. By the sixteenth century, it was enough to cite the opening words of Pecham's ninth chapter. The prologue on preaching "without subtlety or fantastic text" is no longer necessary, but is implicit in the use of the words "Ignorancia Sacerdotum."

Exornatorium Curatorum does rely upon Pecham's syllabus for the earlier part of the treatise.[151] However, it goes beyond the Pecham syllabus to provide a treatise that is quite orthodox but more expansive than the syllabus outlined by Pecham. De Worde derived part of this particular manual from a work that originated outside of the English

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[149] These are remarkably like the first part of Pagula's *Dextera Pars* in the *Oculus Sacerdotis*

[150] See Cheney, 894.

[151] See 427 - 29 below for a comparison of the Latin work with the Middle English work.

church, the *Opusculum Tripartitum* by Jean Gerson.[152] *Exornatorium Curatorum* differs from *Sacerdos Parochialis* in that it, consciously (or unconsciously perhaps), moves the reader outside the controlling influences of the clergy towards a more individualistic piety. *Sacerdos Parochialis* enables the curate to prepare privately for the public act of instruction; *Exornatorium Curatorum* instructs the reader (clerical or lay) on how to prepare privately for participation in public church rites such as confession or Extreme Unction. The reader is encouraged, through this tiny volume, to meditate and contemplate in the privacy of their home rather than in the public arena of the local church.

The title-plate to de Worde's earliest edition, in which Christ is addressing a solitary figure, is of particular interest. The cracked plate places a man (possibly a monk, judging by the tonsure; although his clothes are those of a well-to-do gentleman) kneeling at the feet of Christ, his hat cast to one side on the ground beside him. Christ has one hand raised as if preaching or teaching. The young man's head lacks a nimbus, indicating that he is neither a saint nor an apostle. The emphasis is on a one-to-one means of instruction, not a group or collective experience. I do not propose that de Worde is covertly or otherwise undermining the authority of the hierarchical church in this one picture, but I am suggesting that the picture changes the emphasis on the means of instruction.[153]

The material found in *Exornatorium Curatorum* is indicative of a changing consciousness towards the power of the priest. The treatise is orthodox in content and consciously refers to official church doctrine such as Pecham's statutes and Innocent III's *Omnis Utriusque Sexus*. Yet, when considered against one of its source documents and the fifteenth-century manuals discussed heretofore there are indications of a less

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[152] A bi-lingual copy of this work is available in the British Library, at Cc.6.4498, where I first encountered the treatise. In Glorieux's multi-volume collection of Gerson's work, the *Opus Tripartitum* is not represented as a complete work. See Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres Completes*, ed. P. Glorieux, (Paris, 1960 – 73). I also found a Latin copy in Trinity College, Dublin, Press B.1.14. The Trinity College Dublin edition lacks title plates and details of a printer or a date. Its measures 140mm(h) x 95mm(w). It is bound in a marbled leather cover, with tan leather spine and corner supports. A nineteenth-century ascription to Richard Robert Madden, Dec. 1886 is visible on the inside cover. There are 32 lines of print per page, 62-3mm rotunda.

[153] Not all of the later editors of *Exornatorium Curatorum* were sensitive to de Worde's choice. Julian Notary used an image in which Christ is instructing the apostles who are essentially the first 'priests' of the Christian Church.

sacerdotal approach. Although the title suggests a work addressed to the clergy, the content is much more appealing to a lay audience than most fifteenth-century works. The treatise is quite possibly the exhortations of the clergy, but addressed to the the laity. In other words, it is a sermon (or sermons) that could be read privately; not necessarily delivered by the curate from the pulpit. The treatise cuts out the 'middle man', the priest, and directly addresses the laity. In order to perceive the changing emphases, let us consider briefly the contents of the treatise, identify the original and observe some of the 'cutting and pasting' of de Worde. In the following pages, I hope to establish that *Exornatorium Curatorum* is as much a treatise addressed to the laity as it is to the clergy. It is, in fact, a religious book of manners.

The first section of the treatise is but a translation of Pecham's statutes. For example, *Exornatorium Curatorum* begins by a discussion on baptism as the restorer of "orygynall iustyce" given by God at the beginning of time, but lost to all humanity through the disobedience of Adam and Eve.[154] There can be no salvation until that original sin is "put away and grace goten vnto to our soules" through the sacrament of baptism.[155] While I have not been able to identify a source for this particular introduction to baptism, the remaining sections are versions of the third chapter of Pecham's 1281 statutes.

As noted previously, *Exornatorium Curatorum* shows a consciousness of orthodoxy throughout the treatise. It relies on official church documents to support definitions of sacraments and impose limits on the administration of these sacraments. In the final two sections in the treatise, the 'author', seemingly conscious that the contents of this later section of the treatise goes beyond the boundaries of Pecham's syllabus, inserts a rubric over the section on Penance: "Extra de penitentiis et remissio capitulo: Omnis vtriusque."[156] The rubric appeals to a more authoritative source than that of Pecham. It lends orthdoxy or even authority to material that under Arundel had been theoretically considered beyond the remit of the laity.

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[154] l.131
[155] l.139
[156] l.181

> It had an almost quasi-official status by the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was explicitly commended by many bishops and there are extant episcopal letters requiring its use throughout the diocese of Paris (1506), Evreux (1507), Le Mans (1508) and Chartres (1531).[163]

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Only one copy of this work by Caxton survives and it is unlikely that de Worde used this as his exemplar.[167] All of the evidence indicates that de Worde had independent access to Gerson's work. The translations are quite different. Caxton's translation is undoubtedly closer to the original, making it awkward and stilted in places. Unlike Caxton, de Worde does not translate word for word, and creates a text that is essentially easier to read and more accessible to an English audience. De Worde was faithful to the overall framework of Gerson's *Opus Tripartitum*. Caxton, on the other hand, merely employed part of the text in a disjointed and eclectic collection of short religious tracts. De Worde uses the tract on the examination of conscience found in Gerson, Caxton does not. De Worde was much freer and more creative in his use of the material, producing a work that was more suitable for a private reading experience.

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[163] Brown, 116.

[164] G.R. Owst, *Preaching in the Middle Ages, 1350 – 1450.* Cambridge: Cambridge: CUP, 1926), 282, f.n.2. He cites the tract as a fifteenth-century example of a French tract addressed to the laity. It occurs in British Library MS Additional 29279, f.49b.

[165] F. Madan, *The Daily Ledger of John Dorne, 1520.* Oxford Historical Society, Collectanea. 1 (1885): 79 – 176, 141. Gerson does not appear in M.W. Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100 – 1500 A.D. including a section on the Pater Noster.* (Cambridge Mass: The Medieval Academy of America, 1979). Further research needs to be done on English interest in Gerson.

[166] Gerard Morgan, *A Critical Edition of Caxton's The Art and Craft to Know Well to Die and Ars Moriendi together with the Antecedent Manuscript Material.* D.Phil. diss. Oxford, 1973, 105 – 7.

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This still leaves us with interesting questions. Were Caxton and de Worde responsible for circulating a continental work? Or was Gerson's work already well known in England? We cannot answer these questions without further research. However, how the early printers engaged the text is of particular importance to our discussion on the development of manuals of religious instruction. Both ignore the sacramental material included in Gerson.

Like the *Opus Tripartitum*, *Exornatorium Curatorum* is composed of three tracts: *Credo* and ten commandments, a penitential treatise, and an abbreviated form of the *Ars Moriendi*. While, the *Credo* and ten commandments of the *Exornatorium Curatorum* are not based on the *Opus Tripartitum*, de Worde drew heavily on the penitential section. The examination of conscience is a particularly close translation.[168]

The examination of conscience is a series of questions to assist the penitent in preparation for confession. Such questions were quite common in manuals addressed to the clergy, but there they were designed to help the curate in the confessional to extract a complete confession without 'inspiring' the penitent to sin further. In the *Exornatorium Curatorum* as in Gerson's *L'Examen de Conscience*, the questions are for the penitent's personal use before he or she goes to confession rather than for the use of the confessor in the confessional The penitent, for example, must discern whether they have sinned through pride, wrath, covetousness and so on.[169] The translation is very close. Where there are differences, it would seem that *Exornatorium Curatorum* is more expansive than Gerson.

The penitential section of *Exornatorium Curatorum* also includes a note on the three requirements of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession and satisfaction.[170] In this passage de Worde, as Caxton did before him, was translating from Gerson.[171] The French theologian relied heavily on these three divisions when discussing penance.[172]

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[168] One can only speculate as to why de Worde did not use the ten commandments or credo from Gerson. Perhaps, he received an incomplete copy of the *Opus Tripartitum* or he wished to 'disguise' the French source of his work, and hence relied on the traditional Pecham catechism? He already had a lay-out for the ten commandments and *credo* set in type-face?

[169] See ll.207 – 347.

[170] See ll. 361 – 2.

[171] For Caxton's translation see Morgan, 105 - 07.

[172] For a discussion on Gerson's approach to these three aspects of confession see Brown, 59 – 68.

The passage is encouraging and consoling with regard to the sacrament of penance. It seeks to uplift rather than to vilify, to console rather than to reprimand, emphasising a God anxious to be merciful and loving in the light of human frailty:

> But now, to the honour of God
> and to the comforte of all vs
> that be wretchyd synners. . .[173]
>
> Dieu nostre pere tres misericordieux
> et cognoissant nostre grande fragilite
> preste et prompte a mal faire . . .[174]

Exornatorium Curatorum acknowledges the central role of the priest in the sacrament of penance, "go to your ghostly father and shewe hym all your synnes playnely without ony coloure or cloke,"[175] but it also acknowledges the anxiety experienced by many who feel themselves in a state of sin, but who are dependent merely on annual confession.

> 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 þe tyme that he be shryuen therof vnto his ghostly father and receyue this sacrament of penaunce[176]

In other words, must a person who has committed a mortal sin, say in June, live in a state of sin until the following Easter. If that were the case, the person might be in danger of eternal damnation if they were to die suddenly, without absolution from a priest. Moreover, even if they were not to die, they may not draw any benefit from good works, prayers or fasting carried out while in this state of damnation.[177] Such a view has been termed an 'Absolutionist' approach and was widely condemned by the unorthodox believers such as Lollards and later Protestants, as it places more emphasis on the power of the priest than on the individual's sense of sorrow or contrition. *Exornatorium Curatorum*, and de Worde, both grapple with this problem. Firstly, they stress the value of the sacrament of penance:

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[173] See ll. 372 – 3.

[174] The introduction to *L'Examen de Conscience* in Gerson's *Oeuvres Completes*, omits an introductory paragraph found in Jean Gerson's *Opus Tripartitum*, British Library Cc.6.4498, f.d3[a].

[175] See ll.351 – 2.

[176] See ll.373 – 5.

[177] Good works, prayers and fasting carried out in a state of Grace were known to reduce one's times in purgatory.

Better it is and more perfyte waye for a man to go to his ghostly father shortly after he haue done ony deedly synne and be shryuen therof & receyue þe sacrament of penanunce than to defer his shryft. . .[179]	. . .et qui plus souvent le fait, mieulx vaut selon l'estat de la personne . . . [178]

Then, both acknowledge that such an option is not open to the laity because,

Our mother Holy Chyrche commaundeth no laye persone to be shryuen but ones in the yere – except in dyuers causes as whan he is in perell of deth or whan he shall receuye other sacramentes[180]	Notez que on se doit confesser de rigle commune au mains une foy l'an a pasques, et quant on veult recepvoir le corps nostre Seigneur ou aulcun sacrement et quant on est en peril de mort, et quant on a la presence de celuy qui puet absoldre laquelle on ne pense jamais avoir; [181]

In the light of such circumstances, *Exornatorium Curatorum*, drawing heavily on Gerson, insists that the laity examine their conscience at least once a week

That ye ones in the daye, or ones in the weke at the leste as vpon the Sonday and other holy dayes, recyte & reken vp, betwyxe God and you in þe secrete house of your conscyence that ye haue done ony deedly synne that day or that weke, than loke that ye be sory for it, and be in wyll and purpose with the helpe of Our Lorde God no more to synne;[182]	C'est que 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 a scauoir mon s'il pronuncer les trois dessusdictes veritez: auecques purete et simplicite de cueur (*Opus Tripartitum* d7[a])

If the penitent is (i) truly sorry, (ii) has the intention to confess as soon as possible, (iii) and is resolved to never sin again then, and only then, can they consider themselves in "in

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[178] Gerson, *Oeuvres Completes,* vol. 7: 398.
[179] See ll. 380 – 83.
[180] See ll. 408 – 10.
[181] Gerson, *Oeuvres Completes*, vol. 7: 398.
[182] See ll.394 – 400.

the fauour of God and in state of saluacyon (*Ex. Cur.* ll.416 – 7)." While *Exornatorium Curatorum* is not an exact translation of Gerson, the similarity is nonetheless remarkable:

> The first that they be sory in herte for theyr synnes; the secunde that haue purpose to be shryuen therof at tyme assygned by Holy Chyrche; the thyrde that they be in wyll with with helpe of God no more to synne.[183]
>
> La premiere verite est sire iay peche ainsi & ainsi contre vostre bonte il men desplaist & men repens, pour que ie vous offense. . . La seconde verite est, sire iay bon propos & desire moyennant vostre bonne ayde moy bien garder doresnuaunt cheoir en peche: mettre peine a oster & fuyr & euiter les occasions de peche selon ma force & puissance. La tierce verite est, sire iay bonne voulente de faire entiere confession de mes pechez temps & lieu conuenable, selon vostre commandement et de notre mere saincte eglise.[184]

The penitent who can fulfil all three of these criteria is guaranteed salvation. Too dispel doubts, the consequences or rewards of exercising one's conscience regularly is spelled out clearly in both texts. Again the similarities are noteworthy.

> And if ye take these .iii. thynges with you truly and vnfeynedly though[e] your synnes that ye had done were neuer so grete, yet by this meane ye shal be in fauour of God and in state of saluacyon. And if ye happen to sodaynely withoute ony other sans that ye dyspyse not to be shryuen at conuenyent tyme than doubtless this shall be sufficient
>
> Quiconque & en quelconque lieu qu'il soit & en quelconque temps dira a dieu de cueur en pure conscience sans faincte & sans mensonge les dessusdictes veritez soit assure qu'il est en estate de grace & de salut & qu'il merite vie eternelle. . . Et si telle personne incontinent mouroit dye autres confession en l'absence du shryfte so prestre: ou en dormant ou autrement ou ou quelle fust preuenue de mor soubdaine: elle seroit finablement saluee

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[183] *Exornatorium Curatorum* ll. 407 – 10.

[184] Gerson, *Tripartitum*, f.d7[a].

for your saluacyon.[185]

Moyennant la tresaigre peine de purgatoire.[186]

Is it possible to interpret this particular approach to the sacrament of penance as a movement towards a more individualistic and less sacramental piety that would eventually facilitate the progress of the Reformation? It is clear from Gerson's treatise on penance that he was not a radical reformer. He simply believed that spiritual perfection was as available to the laity or "les simples gens" as it was to those living the vowed life. The 'contritionist' approach in the words of Brown, is "generally accepted doctrine."[187] Gerson includes in his penitential treatise instructions on the importance of a public confession and a brief list of reserved cases. He stresses the importance of satisfaction and of the resolution to sin no more. He even includes a form of absolution.[188]

De Worde is more radical. He omits all of these explicit details on the *modus operandi* of the sacrament of confession to focus, not on the actions or duties of the priest, but on the responsibilities of the penitent. Through the process of editing, the treatment of the sacrament of penance in *Exornatorium Curatorum* is less traditional than that found in Gerson and the manuals of religious instruction discussed heretofore. If we look back to *Sacerdos Parochialis*, we note a firm emphasis is placed on the power of the priest and of the Holy Church. *Sacerdos Parochialis* briefly states the appropriate age to receive confession, the consequences of not confessing regularly and how one ought to confess.[189]

Wynkyn de Worde in the *Exornatorium Curatorum* drew on another tradition than that found in the typically English manuals of the fifteenth century.[190] The end result is a little book that gives far more personal responsibility to the laity than we have seen in books such as *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

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[185] *Exornatorium Curatorum*, ll. 414 – 17.

[186] Gerson, British Library edition, f.d3.

[187] Brown, 57.

[188] Gerson, *Oeuvres*, 400.

[189] *Sacerdos Parochialis*, 95 – 98, ll. 796 – 809.

[190] De Worde was a native of Lorraine and probably travelled to England with Caxton in 1476 as his foreman (Colin Clair, *A History of Euorpean Printing*, (London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1976), 99.)

It has not been possible to establish exactly the origin of the third and final part of de Worde's *Exornatorium Curatorium*. However, the tract is clearly directed towards the laity. In this final section, advice on how to prepare for death or how to assist at the death bed of a friend is laid out in a three-fold schema: temptations and inspirations, interrogations or an examination of faith and prayers to be said in the final hours. The *Ars Moriendi*, as such treatises were known, was an immensely popular work throughout the fifteenth century.[191] *Exornatorium Curatorium* does not follow exactly any of de Worde's previous editions. However, there is an interesting correlation between the order of temptations in *Exornatorium Curatorium* and in de Worde's *The Crafte to Live Well and Die Well*. Most forms of the *Ars Moriendi* list the temptations that befall a dying person as follows: unbelief, despair, impatience, vainglory and avarice. *Exornatorium Curatorium*, Vérard's 1493 and 1503 treatises and de Worde's 1505 treatise conclude with vainglory rather than avarice, as does *Exornatorium Curatorium*,

> The .v. trouble or temptacyon at the houre of deth is pryde and vayne glor[y]e, which commeth chefely by instygacion of the deuyll. For when the deuyll perceyueth þt he can not ouercome a soule by ony of these temptacions before rehersyd, thenne he moueth hym to reioyse in hymselfe of his good dedes[192]

Unfortunately, the evidence about the origins of the form of the *Ars Moriendi* in *Exornatorium Curatorum* is in short supply.

There are moments in this third part, when de Worde, seems to borrowing from Gerson. The address to friends in *Exornatorium Curatorium* "be aboute the syke persones" advising them to "counsayle them (the sick) by time to receyue the sacramentes of the Chyrche" and offering hope in his final hours echo Gerson's address to "les vray amys d'ung malade." In both, the importance of attending to the spiritual welfare of one's friends is as important, if not more, than attending to the corporal welfare of one's friends.

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[191] As already discussed, Caxton produced an edition in 1491 and at least two others. For a discussion on the tradition of the *Ars Moriendi* see See Frances, Comper ed. *The Book of the Craft of Dying and other Early English Tracts concerning Death taken from manuscripts and printed books in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries*, (London: Longman Green & Co., 1917). See also, *RSTC* no. 786 & 789 (vol 1: 40).

[192] *Exornatorium Curatorium,* ll.544 – 6. Several Dutch editors followed a similar sequence, Peter Van Os and Peter Quentell.

For if he may be called a frende that is dylygent aboute a syke persone to mynyster vnto hym thynges necesarye for his body, whiche shall be shortely dyssolued and be meete for wormes; moche more than he is worthy to be called a trewe and a faythfull frende that is dylygent aboute a syke persone to mynystre vnto hym thynges necessarye for his soule, whiche shall neuer dye but euer indure other in ioye contynuall or ellys in payne euerlastynge.[194]

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 soient plus soigneux pour son salut et vie espirituelle et pardurable, car a ce dernier besoing voit on qui vray ami est.[193]

Again, in the concluding advice the similarity between *Exornatorium Curatorium* and Gerson again becomes apparent. Gerson actually provides prayers to God, Mary the angels and finally to "ouquel saint ou saincte il a heu plus de devocion en sa vie".[195] *Exornatorium Curatorium* does not provide prayers, but does encourage the dying to "make inuocacyon (and theyr frendes with them) vnto holy aungelles and sayntes of heuen, specyally to those which they haue had moste deuocyon vnto in theyr lyfes."[196]

Conclusion

Exornatorium Curatorium did not originate with *Sacerdos Parochialis* as Raymo suggests, neither is it a later version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. It is instead a combination of a translation of Pecham's constitutions and of a reworked version of Gerson's treatise which was in wide circulation on the continent (and possibly to a lesser degree in England) throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. *Exornatorium Curartorum*, unlike *Sacerdos Parochialis,* goes beyond the 'minimum' requirements established by Arundel in 1409, although de Worde cleverly disguises this expansion under the IV Lateran Council rubric, *Omnis Utriusque Sexus*. Unlike the earlier vernacular manuals, *Exornatorium Curatorum* is much less preoccupied with the administration of the sacraments. It is not a radical, reformist text. It works within the

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[193] *Oeuvres Completes,* 404.
[194] *Exornatorium Curatorum* ll. 427 – 32.
[195] Gerson, *Oeuvres Complétes*, 406.
[196] *Exornatorium Curatorum* ll. 610 – 11.

parameters of the orthodox teaching of the church, to promote personal responsibility among the laity in their moral and spiritual life. It is an orthodox document, but less 'conservative' or 'sacerdotal' than one finds in many popular manuals of religious instruction circulating in manuscript form in the fifteenth century. It integrated basic instruction on the fundamentals of the faith with the freedom to develop a more individualistic piety. Duffy's contention that the Church, in the period before the Reformation, was a vital institution is correct. However, I do not agree that there was not a move towards a more individualistic piety, as exemplified in *Exornatorium Curatorum*.

Duffy describes *Exornatorium Curatorum* as a "practical work modelled on Pecham's *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*."[197] This, as I have shown, is an incomplete description. *Exornatorium Curatorum* shows initiative beyond Pecham's syllabus. Similarly, some of the variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are examples of 'moderate' documents, eclectic collections of orthodox and heterodox tracts. Neither these variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis* nor *Exornatorium Curatorum* can be counted among the traditional conservative manuals despite their use of Pecham's rubric and structure.

In *Exornatorium Curatorum*, the early sixteenth-century reader had a book that was immensely practical, not overly devotional in tone yet, gentler and more encouraging either than *Sacerdos Parochialis,* or *The Lay Folks' Catechism*. Finally, if, as I suggest, material such as *Exornatorium Curatorum* erodes, almost imperceptibly, the authority of the clergy, one can understand why Arundel and Wolsey were threatened by the production of vernacular religious instructional tracts.[198] Beyond the opening rubric containing Pecham's statute lies a variety of theological statements, both orthodox and heterodox.

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[197] Duffy, 56.

[198] It is possibly worth considering also, that *Exornatorium Curatorum* seems to have been more popular throughout the Protestant regimes of Henry, Edward and Elizabeth. It seems not to have been published during the Catholic Restoration.

Part One

Chapter One
An edition of *Sacerdos Parochialis*

Editorial Principles

Every effort has been made to produce a text as close as possible to the base text, British Library, MS Burney 356. Occasionally the text has been emended from the text in other manuscripts, or from insertions over the lines or in the margins of the base text. In the case of the Latin constitutions in British Library MS Burney 356 and of *Every Christian Man and Woman* in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285, emendations were made with the assistance of a printed version of the text. Conjectural emendations are kept to a minimum; they are indicated by square brackets.

Pre-fixes have been hyphenated (e.g. y-do, a-fore, to-fore). Ampersand has been expanded silently, but all other contractions and abbreviations have been written in full and underlining indicates their expansions. þ^{e} has been written þe; þ^{u} has been expanded to þou; þ^{t} has been expanded to þat; þ^{s} has been expanded to þis; þ^{t} has been expanded to þat; w^{t} has been expanded to wit; crossed '-ll'has been expanded to 'lle', except in the case of British Library MS Burney 356 where the crossing seemed more decorative than functional. A horizontal stroke over vowel has been expanded to 'm', 'n' or in some cases to 'i' (e.g. temptation, contrition). An otiose stroke or curl above a letter was expanded to 'ar', 'er', 'ir', 'or' as deemed appropriate. 'P' with a horizontal stroke on its descender was expanded to 'pra', 'pre', 'pri', 'pro' or 'pru' as deemed appropriate. Abbreviations usually associated with Latin text were occasionally employed such as '9' in initial position to represent 'con' or in final position to represent 'us'. As with all expansions, these have been indicated by underlining. Initial double 'f' was replaced, silently, with single capital 'f'. 'Thorn' and 'yogh' were retained as were the interchangeable 'i/j', 'u/v' (sometimes 'w' was interchanged with 'u/v'). 'V' usually represented 'u' or 'v' in the initial position, while 'u' represented 'u' or 'v' in the medial position.

There are some exceptions to the above principles. In Durham University Library, MS Cosin v.iv.2, an occasional horizontal was deemed decorative rather than functional. In British Library MS Additional 10053, final long 's' was occasionally, although not always, expanded to 'es', 'is' or 'ys' as deemed appropriate. In Pembroke MS Cambridge 285, a stroke over 'h' was expanded to 'he'.

Paragraph marks were retained in all texts. Otherwise the punctuation is editorial and uses modern symbols, although it does not always follow modern rules of usage. The intention was to accommodate the meaning of the text rather than adapt the text to accommodate modern grammar rules. Capital letters were used only to indicate the beginning of a sentence and for personal names such as 'Peter', 'Christ', 'Marie'. Bold text indicates parts of the text underlined by the scribe; italics indicate a change in ink. The line numbers on the left-hand margin are editorial. Folios have also been included, in the left-hand margin, in square brackets. Where a folio number coincides with a line number, the previous line number was indicated instead.

List of Manuscripts

Manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

Y British Library Burney 356 ff.39^{v} – 55^{v}

B Oxford Bodley 110 ff.155^{r} – 167^{v}

H British Library Harley 4172 ff.1^{r} – 15^{v}

D British Library Additional 10036 ff.91^{v} - 96^{r}

C Cambridge University Library Dd.12.69 ff. 25^{r} - 34^{r}

T Oxford Trinity College 7 f. 165^{v} - 176^{r}

R British Library Royal 1A.x. f.238^{r} (extract only, the seven deadly sins).

British Library Additional 10053 ff.100^{r} – 115^{r}

Oxford Bodley Rawlinson D913 ff.10^{r} – 19^{r}

Cambridge Pembroke 285 ff.51^{r} – 72^{r}

Durham University Library Cosin V.iv.2 ff.128^{v} – 142^{r}

Manuscripts of *Every Christian Man and Woman*

Oxford MS Bodley Rawlinson A381 ff.112^{r} – 114^{v}

Description of manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis*

British Library Burney 356

This manuscript contains 218 numbered folios of parchment with 5 flyleaves, two of vellum and three of modern paper. The manuscript measures 255 x 175mm. The pages measure 250 x 160mm, written space averaging 200 x 120mm. The material is presented in single columns, and the general impression is one of care and of neatness. A double border frames each page of the manuscript, so that the whole of the page is ruled to place a book number on the top margin with two line spaces beneath it and the beginning of the text. The codex is bound in brown leather upon which the words '*Codex Burneianus*' are impressed surrounded by foliage in gold-leaf. Beneath the title is a shield, also impressed in gold-leaf, crossed through by an 'x', surrounded by the words: 'DNS Edoardvs Dering Miles et Baronettus.'[1] On the spine, in gold-leaf, is the title of the volume, '*Flos Florum Brit Mus. Burney 356*'. A notice on the inside flyleaf notes that the mansucript was bound in 1871.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1 - 5^8, 7 – 8^8, 10 – 11^8, 13 – 18^8[$4 signed]; 6^6, 9^6 12^6 [$3 signed]. There are catchwords on the following folios: 17^v; 27^v; 37^v; 43^v; 51^v; 55^v; 65^v; 73^v; 81^v; 89^v; 97^v; 105^v; 113^v; 121^v; 129^v; 138^v; 146^v; 154^v; 162^v; 170^v; 178^v; 186^v; 194^v; 202^v; 210^v; 218^v. The manuscript was composed as a complete and entire codex, the texts were not written as separate tracts and then grouped together as there is a consistency in lay-out and script.

Contents

The manuscript is composed of twenty-two books (according to the introduction there should be a twenty-third) and is generally known as the *Flos Florum* as indicated in the modern list of contents., "*Liber flos florum dictus continet tractatus que sequuntur*

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[1] This stamp is one of two "used on the covers of three of his books at the Folger" and described in Fehrenback and Leedham-Green, although British Library MS Burney 256 is not mentioned there (143 – 4). See E.S. Leedham-Green and R.J. Fehrenbach, eds., *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalouge of Tudur and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, Vol.1, (New York, 1992), 137 - 269.

querum explicationem fusionem exhibet....".[2] It is composed of devotional and religious instructional material which is written in Latin, except *Sacerdos Parochialis* which is written in Middle English and heavily rubricated in Latin. The material would seem to be of particular interest to the clergy and to religious.

(i). f.ii^{r} A list of contents in a modern hand.

(ii). f.2^{r} A prose introduction to the codex. **Incipit:** In hoc libro que flos florum iuste appellatur continentur omnes libelli sequentes per ordinem et capitula.[3]

(f.2^{v} blank).

(iii). ff.3^{r}-7^{r} A second introduction to the codex with the **heading** *Liber Primus. De oracione dominica.* **Prologue:** In hoc libro que flos florum iuste appellatur continentur omnes libelli sequentes per ordinem cum suis capitulis. In primo: Libellus compendiosus de vtiltate oracionis dominice. . . **Incipit:** Pater noster tanquam caput omnium orationum . . .

(f.7^{v} blank)

1. ff.8^{r}-20^{v} *De oracione Dominica. Pater Noster* written in Latin, including material on the seven gifts of the spirit, the seven deadly sins, the seven remedies etc. **Incipit:** Hic incipit compendiosus tractatus de vtilitate oracionis dominice qui breuiter tracta de vij. Peticionibus eiusdem videlecit. . . Bloomfield, 8834.[4]

2. ff.20^{v}-29^{v} *Templum Domini* written in Latin. Attributed to Robert Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-53). The book is here divided into two parts. The first part includes material on the seven virtues, the ten commandments, the fourteen articles of belief, the seven sins, and a list of reserved cases. The second

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[2] Pantin describes the manuscript in Appendix II of his book on the fourteenth-century English Church: "This is a remarkable compilation known as the *Flos florum*, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and containing twenty-two "books" or treatises of various dates and authorship (there was formerly a twenty-third which has now disappeared). Some of these are devotional treatises such as the Meditations ascribed to St. Augustine, St. Anselm, and St. Bernard, Innocent III's *De miseria humanae conditionis*, Richard Rolle's *Emendatio vitae*; but nine of the treatises form part of the literature of religious instruction (Pantin, 277)."

[3] The expansions in the incipits are not underlined.

[4] M.W. Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100 – 1500 A.D. including a section on the Pater Noster*, (Cambridge, Mass: The Medieval Academy of America, 1979). Hereafter, Bloomfield. The number refers, not to a page, but to the entry in Bloomfield's list.

part (f.27^{r}) is a tract on the seven sacraments. **Heading:** Templum domini sanctum est quod estis vos primum ad Corinthios iij. **Incipit:** Quamuis omnes tangat quos spiritus sanctus inhabitare . . .

Edition: Robert Grosteste, *Templum Dei,* eds., J.W. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984).

3. ff.29^{v} –36^{r} From St. Gregory 1. Book 9. Letter 113 to Bishop Augustine of Syria. A treatise, written in Latin, outlining what a priest ought to preach. The **heading**, advising priests to look first to their own behaviour, summarises the theme of the tract: Hic incipit capitulum qualiter sacerdotes qui alios regere presumunt, se ipsos primo regere debent, ad exemplum subditorum. **Incipit:** Cum sacerdotis dignitas aliis videatur dignitatibus praeminere . . . See *Patroligia Latina Database* (*PLD*) vol. 77, col. 1043 C.[5] Blooomfield, 1213.

4. ff.36^{v}-39^{v} *Directorium Sacerdotum Simplicum* or *Quinque Verba.*[6] A tract addressed to the clergy, written in Latin. **Incipit:** In nomine domini Ihesu Christi. Volentes simplicum sacerdotum ignoranciis subuenire . . .

Bloomfield, 6535.

The tract is followed immediately (f.39^{v})by a series of statutes from councils of the English church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[7] **Incipit:** Sequitur nunc aliquid videre de constitutionibus synodalibus. Precipitur in constitucionibus Iohanni Peccham Cantuariensis archiepiscopi edita apud Lambeth..

5. ff.43^{r}-55^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis.*[8] Written in Middle English with Latin rubrication, the tract is laid out as follows: f.43^{r} Latin prologue; f.43^{v} Pater Noster; f.44^{r} Articles of the Faith; f.46^{r} Ten

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[5] Accessible at http: // pld. chadwyck.co.uk
[6] See also item 20 Oxford MS Trinity College F 7.The tract is not given a heading in this manuscript.
[7] The statutes have been included in the introduction to *Sacerdos Parochialis* as the manuscript lacks a clear division between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth book.
[8] The tract is not given a heading in this manuscript.

Commandments; f.46^{r} Seven Deadly Sins; f.47^{r} Seven Works of Mercy; f.47^{v} Seven Principal Virtues; f.48^{r} Seven Sacraments; f.53^{r} Excommunications;[9] f.54^{v} Bidding prayers (i) for the living and (ii) for the dead.

At the end of f.55^{v} there is a short note in Latin on the celebrating Mass for the dead probably connected to the bidding prayers. **Incipit:** Quilibet sacerdos parochialis tenetur. . . .

6. ff.56^{r} –65^{r} *De Conuersione. The Rules of Living*, written in Latin and attributed to Richard Hampole (Richard Rolle). **Heading:** Hic est libellus, vehiculum vite uocandus, de emendacione vite siue de regula uiuendi et distinguitur in duodecim capitula. **Incipit:** Ne tardas converti ad Dominum. . .

PLD vol. 207. col. 1153 – 6. Bloomfield, 3192 and 3193.

7. (a)ff.65^{r} – 77^{r} *Iudica Me Deus*. A treatise on priestly duties with a particular emphasis on hearing confession, written in Latin by Richard Hampole. **Heading:** Hic incipit libellus Ricardi de Hampole venerabilie heremite qui intitulatur Iudica me deus. . .[10] **Incipit:** Iudica me, Deus et discerne causam meam.

Edition: J.P. Daly, ed., *An Edition of the Judica Me Deus of Richard Rolle*. Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92:14, (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut fur anglistik und amerikanistik, 1984).

(b)ff.77^{r} – 8^{r} Instructions on a how a man may use good and please God, attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091 - 1153). **Heading:** Ut homo possit amplius proficere et magis deo placere **Incipit:** Ut homo possit amplius proficere et magis deo placere. . .

PLD vol. 184, col., 11711. Bloomfield, 6213.

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[9] There are two sets of excommunications included in this version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*: (i) ff.50^{r} – 53^{v} and (ii) ff.53^{v} – 54^{v}. See Oliver Pickering "Notes on a Middle English Sentence of Cursing." *Leeds Studies in English* n.s., 12, (1981): 229 – 44.

[10] See Valerie M. Lagorio and Michael G. Sargent "English Mystical Writings" in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050 – 1500*, ed. A.E. Hartung, vol. 9 (Conneticut: Archon Books, 1993) 3049 – 3137 & 3405 – 71: 3052 & 3412. Hereafter, referred to as Lagorio.

(c) ff.78^{r} –81^{v} Meditations ascribed here (possibly incorrectly) to St. Bede (673 – 735).[11] **Heading:** De membris humanis et motibus anime que in deum distribuuntur. **Incipit:** Omnipotens deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus vnus atque trinus in natura trinus in personis solus inuisibilis. . .

PLD vol., 42, col. 1199.

(d) ff.81^{v} –83^{r} Meditations from St. Anselm(1033 - 1109) written in Latin. (i) f.81^{v} **Incipit:** Ad presbiterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Ihesu Christi in altari. . . (ii) f.82^{r} **Incipit:** Terret me vita mea namque diligentur. . .

PLD vol. 158, col. 0722B. Bloomfield, 6001.

(e) ff.83^{r} – 84^{r} **Heading:** *De eo quid sit Deus*? Meditations from St. Augustine (354 – 430) written in Latin. **Incipit:** Domine deus omnipotens pater et filius et spiritus sanctus qui es trinus et vnus qui es semper in omnibus et eras ante omnia. . . This treatise consists of extracts from Augustine of Hippo's *Confessions*. See especially chapters 6 & 10.

PLD vol. 32.

8. ff.84^{r} –93^{v} Meditations from St. Bernard of Clairvaux, on the human condition, written in Latin.[12] **Incipit:** Multi multa sciunt et semetipsos nesciunt.

PLD vol. 184, col. 0485A. Bloomfield, 3126.

9. ff.93^{v} –104^{v} A book attributed to St. Bede, written in Latin. **Heading:** Hic incipiunt versus sancti Bede super librum florum beati Augustini vocatum. Prologus in verbis / exhaustis fonte beato. Presulis aurelij / salienti gurgite lato. . . .

Incipit: Quorumdam librorum gloriosi et incomparabilis doctoris augustini tractatus percurrentes vt pigri lectores et imbecillitatis sarcina gravati. .

10. ff.105^{v} –17^{v} *Speculum Sacerdotum*,[13] written in Latin, in three parts. **Heading:** Hic incipit de officio sacerdotis et quomodo viuerent

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[11] According to a note in *Patrologia Latina*, the treatise has been variously attributed to Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Anselm and Bonaventure under equally various titles (*PLD* vol. 142, col. 1199).
[12] See also Item 14 Oxford MS Trinity F7.
[13] See also Item 5 of Oxford MS Bodley 110.

et se haberent. **Prologue:** De officio sacerdotis est breuiter pertractandum licet ex sentencia euangelica implecio mandatorum dei implicite pendeat in dileccione dei et proximi vt patet Mathi 22°, Luce 20 et Sanctum Apostolum ad Romans 13 et ad Galatas 4. **Incipit:** Primo veraciter euangeli Christi predicare debent. . . On f.112^{v}a fourth part on the ignorance of clergy is included. Ignorancia Sacerdotum quondam causa erat destruccionis Anglie sicut in tempore Willi ducis et ad hoc erit vt in vita Sancti Edwardi . . .

11. ff.117^{v} –34^{r} Innocent III (1198 – 1216), *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis* written in Latin, in three parts.[14] **Heading:** Hic incipit liber de miseria humane condicionis editus a lotario dyacono cardinali sanctorum sergii et bachi, qui postea Innocencius III^{us} pape appellatus est. **Prologue:** Domino patri, karissimo P. portuensi episcopo, lotharius indiginus dyaconus, gratiam in presenti, et gloriam in futuro. **Incipit:** Quare de vulua matris egressus sum. . .

Edition: R.E. Lewis, ed., *Lotario dei Seigni (Pope Innocent III), De Miseria Condicionis Humanae*, (London: Scholar Press, 1980).

12. ff.134^{r} – 43^{r} **Heading:** *Liber Soliloquorum beati ieronimi episcopi siue secundum alios sancti ysidori spolenti* (sic) *episcopi.* This tract is generally known as the *Animae de Peccatricis* attributed to St. Isidore of Seville(560 – 636).[15] **Incipit:** Heu anima qui est quo malum metuis.

PLD vol. 83, col.0840D.

13. ff.143^{r} –55^{v} *Compendium ad Iob* attributed to Peter Blessensis. **Heading:** Hic incipit tractatus de vita sancti iob, quem fecit magister Petrus Blesensis, ad peticionem henri vllustrissimi regis anglorum. Primo incipit epistola magister petri blesensis. **Prologue** is addressed to Henry II: Dilecto et super omnes diligendo domino suo, H. dei gratia illustrissimo anglorum regi

[14] See also item 17 in Durham Univeristy Library Cosin v.iv.2.
[15] According to the catalogue it was printed in 1601.

suus, P. Blesensis domini . . . **Incipit:** Vir erat in terra hus nomine Iob et erat vir ille simplex et rectus et timens deum ac recedens a malo.[16]

PLD vol. 207, col. 0795.

14. ff.155^{v} – 67^{r} *De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae* (uncertain author, although traditionally attributed to St. Ambrose). The **heading** reads: Qualiter ad ymaginem et similitudinem dei creatus est homo, sequitur: **Incipit:** Tanta dignitas humane condicionis esse cognoscitur vt non solum. . .

PLD vol. 17, col.10105a.

15. ff.167^{r} –74^{r} **Heading:** *Incipit Liber de conflictu viciorum atque virtutum beati Leonis Pape*(440 – 61) *quidam dicunt Beati Augustini et nota bene prologus.* **Incipit:** Apostolica vox clamat per orbem atque in procinctu fidei posetis ne securitate torpeant dicit.

PLD vol. 143, col. 0559C – 0578A. Bloomfield, 0455.

16. ff.174^{v} – 6^{r} *Latria et Dulia.* A book on the adoration of God and the use of the imagination written by Innocent III. **Heading:** Hic incipit tractatus de latria et dulia. Primus, de adoracione dei et ymaginum editus ab innocencio pape Innocent III. **Incipit:** Uniuersorum dominus et creator cuius est immensa magestas incircumscripta sublimitas et interminata potestas multas et varias habet domos. . .

PLD vol. 217, col. 0433B.

17. ff.176^{r} – 84^{r} A form and order of confession, written in Latin and generally attributed to Thomas Woborn.[17] **Heading:** De modo et ordine confessionis faciende breuiter tractamus. Primo in confessione quid sit obseruandum. De opere, capitulum I. **Incipit:** De me totum, nichil dixi, et totum dixi, captus es et cepisti me. . .

18. f.177^{r} A brief tract pertinent to confession including a prayer to be said after confession. **Heading:** Hic breuiter ostendit

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[16] The incipit is from Job 1:1.

[17] Pantin describes these two works as "a remarkable piece of writing, the work of a certain Thomas Woburn, probably a Cistercian monk of the early thirteenth century (279)." See also Richard Sharpe, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*. London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996. 695.

remedium contra qualibet peccata. Capitulum quintum.

Incipit: Ad omnia qui insurgunt vicia, disce remedium aliquod habere. . .

19. ff.184^{v} –9^{r} *Duodecim Abusione Saeculi.* A book on the twelve abuses of this age, written in Latin. The treatise is of uncertain authorship, although attributed here to St. Cyprian. **Heading:** Hic incipit liber Sancti Cipriani de duodecim abusiva huius saeculi. **Incipit:** Duodecim abusiva saeculi sunt hec: sapiens sine bonis operibus. . .

This particular incipit corresponds mostly closely to the version of this treatise attributed to Bede.

See *PLD* vol. 94, col. 0545D. Bloomfield, 1858.

20. ff.189^{v}-92^{v} *Speculum Peccatoris*, (also known as *Manipulus Curatorum*), written in Latin, attributed to Richard Rolle of Hampole. **Heading:** Hic incipit liber qui dicitur speculum peccatoris. **Incipit:** Quoniam karissime in huius via vite fugientes sumus dies nostri sicut vmbra preteriunt. Necesse est igitur corde sollicito sepius memorari quam nostra fragilitas nostra mortalis infirmitas tociens cogit obliuisci.

PLD vol. 40, col. 0983 where it is attributed to Augustine.

Bloomfield, 4918.

21. ff.193^{r}-216^{r} *Elucidarius* attributed to St. Anselm of Canterbury, written in Latin. **Heading:** Hic inipit prologus libri lucidarius vocatus. **Prologue:** Sepius rogatus a condiscipulis, quasdam questiunculas enodare. . . **Incipit liber:** Gloriossisme magister rogo vt ad inquisita mihi ne pigriteris respondere ad honorem dei et vtilitatem ecclesie. . .

Edition: Y. Le Fevre, *L'Elucidarium et Les Lucidaires*, (Paris: Bibliothèque des écoles francaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1954).

Bloomfield, 5429.

22. ff. 216^{r} – 8^{v} A treatise on how a person ought to live and come to eternal life composed from various sentences of the Church Fathers.

Heading: Doctrina qualiter homo debet viuere et quomodo se habere debet in hoc saeculo vt ad vitam perueniat eternam.
Incipit: Dei omnipotentis filius inter cetera sacre locucionis siue verba suis loquans disciplis ait. Primum querite regnum dei. Ysidorus: Primum sentencie, sciendum est deum querere deinde honestatem vite cum innocencie opere.[18]
Bloomfield, 1505.

Script and Decoration

The manuscript is written in black, running titles in red and the paragraph marks alternating between blue and red. At the beginning of some texts, there are capital letters 100mm(h) x 200mm(w). The initial letter of each text is raised, gilded with gold and surrounded by blue, mauve and red pen flourishes. The flourishes are usually bud-like leaves and trellis.

The script is a late fourteenth century, early fifteenth century *anglicana formata.*[19] The overall impression is of clarity, regularity and roundness. Its features are as follows: double-lobed *a,* slightly larger than the linear letters; hooked ascenders on *b*, *l* and *h*; the ascender of *d* is usually fused with the lower lobe, occasionally the ascender hooks outwards; *g* has an open descender; the minims have small feet and barely visible ligatures; long-forked *r* occurs throughout the text with the 2 form of *r* used after the *o*; sigma *s* is found in initial and final positions with long *s* in medial position; the right lobe of *w* descends slightly below the left lobe, resembling two looped *l*s and a *3*. The absence of diamond-shaped *s* is notable, indicating that perhaps it is an earlier rather than later *anglicana formata.*

Language

McIntosh locates the Middle English Prose of the *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Sussex.[20]
See Grid 480 122 and Linguistic Profile 5670.

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[18] *PLD* vol. 83, col. 0599B. Chapter one of *De Sapientie.*
[19] Anthony Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Arnold, 1977). See also Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600.* (London, 1990; Reprint London: British Library, 1999).
[20] Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England,* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen, UP), 277 – 79.

Provenance

The manuscript lacks evidence of original provenance. There are many features which suggest that the manuscript was composed in a professional context: the neat and ordered lay-out of the codex; the presence of a prologue at the beginning summarising the contents of each book; the use of gold-leaf in the initial letters; and the diagrams and schema throughout each of the treatises. Perhaps, the manuscript was composed by a well-educated cleric such as a member of a religious community with access to a wide variety of Latin sources. It belonged at one stage to the well-known antiquarian, Edward Dering, Baronet of Surrenden, Dering, Kent (1598 – 1644). It is not known how he came to possess the manuscript, except to note that he is a descendant of Edward Dering (1540? – 1576) described as "the distinguished preacher of Elizabeth's reign" from whom he may have inherited the book.[21] It is probably safer, however, to assume that the later Edward purchased the manuscript in the course of his book-collecting. Dering's books were not retained as one collection, but were distributed in various auctions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as manuscripts or books were discovered in the family home.[22] British Library MS Burney 356 is not listed among the "handful of Dering's books" of which the whereabouts are known.[23]

Oxford MS Bodley 110

This manuscript contains 182 numbered folios in parchment and five flyleaves, four at the beginning and one at the end of the codex. The page measures 225 x 150mm, written space averaging 155 x 110mm, written in single columns. The manuscript is bound in brown leather. Two identical marks and a slight green stain on the outer edge of the first flyleaf suggest that the manuscript was originally held shut by two metal clasps.

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[21] Fehrenbach and Leedham-Green, 138.
[22] The family home was sold in 1928 and during World War II the house was used as a refuge. On both of these occasions manuscripts were discovered and, in 1951, "several were found in the attics (Ibid., 147 – 8)."
[23] Ibid., 48.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1 - 3^8, d - f^8[$4 -(d1,d2,d3)signed] 7^8, h - r^8[$4signed], 18^8,19^{10}, 20^8, 21^8, 22^8.[24] Catchwords are found on the following ff.8^v, 16^v, 24^v, 32^v, 40^v, 48^v, 56^v, 64^v, 72^v, 80^v, 88^v, 96^v, 104^v, 112^v, 120^v. According to the catalogue, Oxford MS Bodley 110 was originally two separate manuscripts: the first two items were the basis for the first part of the manuscript; *Speculum Ecclesie* marks the beginning of the second part. I would add, however, that the first two items were not necessarily conceived together. The first item, *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* fits neatly on two quires, the final quire of which is blank except for a number of words. Moreover, the script is discernibly different from the second item, *The Meditations of St. Bonaventure*. Finally, the list of contents on the flyleaf, in a late fifteenth-century hand, does not note the presence of the *Apocryphal Gospel*; the initial entry is a reference to Bonaventure's *Meditations*, suggesting that the *Gospel* was therefore a later addition.

Similarly, it is possible that the second part of the manuscript is, in fact, a collection of treatises that did not always circulate together. A closer look at the quiring reveals that the final two treatises, *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *In Civitate Sanctificate* may have been circulated independently prior to their existence in Oxford MS Bodley 110. Moreover, the script is the same in both treatises and it was quite common for sermon material to circulate with a manual such as *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[25]

Contents

The manuscript is composed mainly of treatises of religious instructional prose or devotional material.

	f.iv^r	A short poem, in a later hand, "Cisio ianus…."
	f. iv^v	List of contents in fifteenth-century hand.
1.	ff.1^r – 16^r	*Apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus* written in Latin. **Incipit:** Factum est in anno nonodecimo imperij Tiberij Cesaris /

[24] Catchwords are missing from these final quires, hence it is difficult to be absolutely definite about the quires of this final part of the manuscript.
[25] Spencer, 211 – 2.

Imperatoris Romanorum et Herodis filij. Herodis regis Galilaea.

f.16^{v} Blank except for a brief note as follows: de cena dominum Mt. 25; Mk.14; Luc 22; John 14.

2. ff.17^{r} – 35^{v} Meditations on the Passion ascribed to St. Bonaventure, written in Latin.

Incipit: Adueniente igitur et iminente tempore miseraminis et misericordiae domini Ihesu quo disposuerat saluam facere plebem suam. . .

Edition: *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventure*, 1866.

3. ff.36^{r} – 57^{v} *Speculum Ecclesie* of St. Edmund Rich, written in Latin. **Incipit:** In nomine dilectissimi domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Incipiunt materie que tanguntur in sermone sequente ruditer dictato. . .

Edition: Helen Forshaw, ed., *Speculum Ecclesie and Speculorum Religiosorum.* (British Academy. London: OUP, 1973.)

4. ff.58^{r} –98^{v} A short lives of the Saints in the order of the Calendar. **Incipit:** Illa die habebitis festum Sancti Stephani prothomartiris Christi. . .

5. ff.99^{r} – 105^{v} *Speculum Sacerdotum* of Saint Edward.[26] **Incipit:** Sanctus Edwardus Rex et Confessor in extremitate vite sue positus per reuelacionem divinam vidit spiritualibus oculis. . .

6. ff.106^{v} – 110^{v} *Deflentis Hominis.* A moral dialogue or disputation. **Incipit:** O homo anima mea in angustijs est et cor meum in doloribus fluctuat. . .

7. ff.111^{r}- 127^{v} *Speculum Peccatorum.* **Incipit:** Fratres karissimi quam tremende est dies ill[a] in quo Christus redemptor omnium veniet cum flamma ignis. . .

De judicio extremo, III.

PLD vol. 39, Augustine of Hippo (although uncertain), Sermon 251. *Bloomfield,* 2176.

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[26] See also item 10 of British Library MS Burney 356.

8. ff.128^{r}-132^{r} A piece of advice literature to priests. **Incipit**: Verumptamen sunt sacerdotes multi et dicuntur ministri dei et non sunt . . .

f.128^{v} Blank except for a short note in a later hand.

9. f.129^{r}-134^{v} *Noctis sub silencio.* An Anglo-Latin poem of the Body and Soul debate tradition. **Incipti:** Noctis sub silencio tempore brumali . .

See E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their first Appearance in Print*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1943), 33 – 34.

10. ff.134^{v}-155^{r} *A Short Forme of Leuyng* or rule of life attributed to Richard Rolle of Hampole written in Middle English. **Incipit:** In euery man or womman þat ys bounden yn dedly synne beth þre wrecchednesses the whyche bryngeþ hem to þe deth of helle...

Edition: S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle Prose and Verse*, Early Engish Text Society, os 293, (Oxford: OUP, 1988).

See also *IPMEP* 351 & Lagorio 3420 – 21.[27]

11. ff.155^{r}-167^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis.* **Incipit:** Sacerdos parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna quatuor in anno septem peticiones in oracione dominica. . .

This treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.155^{r} Latin Prologue; (ii) f.155^{r} Pater Noster; (iii) f.155^{v} Ave Maria; (iv) f.155^{v} Credo; (v) f.156^{r} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.157^{r} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.158^{r} Two Great Commandments; (viii) f.159^{r} Seven Sacraments; (ix) f.162^{v} Extreme Unction; (x) f.166^{v} Bidding Prayers.

12. ff.168^{r}-171^{r} A sermon to be delivered on an unknown occasion, but based on Sir. xxiv.15.[28] **Incipit:** *In Civitate Sanctificata requiem ecclesiastici.* xxiiij^{to} et in epistola instantis solempnitatis. Good men and good women Oure Lord Ihesu Crist techyngge his disciplis and by hem alle cristyne þat in every good werk

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

[28] Veronica 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.

ferst godus worschep and aftur-ward hele of soule principalyche is to be desyred seyet hem in þis wyse. *Pater noster qui es in celis. . . .*

13. ff.171^{v} -181^{v} *Cronica Mirabilia.*[29] The catalogue describes this as "a later title to a Latin piece containing legends of relics such as the Holy Blood preserved at Fecamp abbey": **Incipit:** Defuncto Willelmo Rollonis filio ducis normanorum remanserit Ricardus filius suus qui post. . . This piece is in a later hand.

Missing from the manuscript is a *Memoriale* of Bishop William Wykeham of Winton which is included in the list of contents of f.iv. According to the catalogue this was missing as early as 1655.

Script and Decoration

While Oxford MS Bodley 110 displays a secretary hand throughout, there are several distinct hands discernible.

Hand A (ff.1^{r} – 16^{v}) is a later anglicana formata with secretary features written in single column over 31 lines of a page. The features are as follows: double-compartment *a* is the dominant form; the ascender of *b* has an horizontal hook unlike the ascender of *l* which has a much shorter curved hook; anglicana bow-like *d;* minims have tiny serifs and the right leg of capital *m* extends below the base line to form a horizontal stroke underneath the letter; modern *r* and 2 form *r* are both present, the former being more dominant; long *s* is more infralinear than supralinear and usually occupies medial or initial position; the secretary *s,* resembling a *c* and *b* fused together occupies the final position.

Hand B (ff.17^{r} – 127^{v}) is a hybrid secretary with some anglicana features, written in single column over approximately 30 lines of the page. The features of the script are as follows: cursive, pointed *a* is apparent alongside the double-compartment *a*; anglicana bow-like *d*; closed *e;* double-compartment, figure 8 g; minims are without feet or serifs and in clusters almost impossible to distinguish; forked *r* is the most frequent form of that letter, though modern *r* occasionally occurs. Long *s* is more infralinear than supralinear and usually occupies the medial position (in shorter words

[29] This title appears in the upper margin, above the text.

it may be found in initial position); sigma *s* is generally employed in the initial and final positions. There is a discrepancy between the number of lines to a page on ff.17^{r} – 35^{v} and on ff.36^{r} – 127^{v}, the latter using only 26 lines.

Hand C (ff.128^{r} – 134^{v}) Anglicana formata although with occasional use of secretary features such as the single compartment *a*. Both the anglicana double-compartment *a* and the secretary *a* often occur in the same word. The ascender of *b* is hooked, but open; while the ascender of *d* is looped to form the anglicana bow-like *d*. Open *e* is more prevalent than closed *e* which usually occurs just at the end of words and often represents *re*. Long *s* and *f* are infralinear rather than of double-length, their descender tapering neatly below the base line, almost touching the next row of writing. Single compartment *g* with an open tail, often running parallel to the word is the norm. Minims are tapered and linked by thin ligatures to the adjacent graphs. Occasionally modern *r* occurs after *o* or *e*, but generally forked *r* is more common. Sigma *s* is found in both initial and final position, with long *s* in medial position. The left arm of *v* extends in a hook over the letter.

Hand D (ff.134^{v} – 143^{r}), written in single column over 23 lines of the page, is a hybrid secretary. The long ascenders, generous tapering hooks and otiose extensions from the legs of *v* contribute to the 'spiky' appearance of secretary scripts. However, it is a hybrid script in that it utilises both anglicana and secretary forms of graphs. Single compartment *a* exists alongside double-compartment anglicana *a*. The looped ascender of anglicana *d* is occasionally so faint as to give the impression of secretary *d*. Open *e* is the dominat form, but there are some examples of the closed *e* at the end of words. The ascenders of *b*, *h*, and *l* are hooked, but not looped. Forked *r* is the more usual form of that letter, but modern *r* is found after *o* and *e*. *W* has hooked ascenders and a modern capital *b* shape to the second compartment, typical of anglicana scripts. The minims are barely discernible as discrete graphs when found in clusters because they are linked by short ligatures, the final ligature of each cluster being extended to connect to the next letter form. The tail of *y* is curled to the right. The script is uneven and hurried in aspect, lending it the more amateur appearance already suggested above.

Mixed Hands (ff.143^{r} – 147^{v}) The hand becomes larger and takes on more of a left aspect from **ff. 143^{r} l.6 to 144^{v}.** Some of the basic letter forms remain the same, but there is more space between the letters and the descenders on the *y* are reduced to an elaborate curl rather than the three distinct movements visible in the earlier hand.

Occasionally, another form of *s* enters the script, and is usually found in terminal position. It is like a modern *c* fused with a modern *3*. Another change in hand seems to take place on **f.145^{r}** apparent also on **f.147^{r}** in which the hand becomes softer and rounder and appears to be written with a less left aspect. End letters have more 'curlicues', the closed *e* is employed more than in the previous two hands, the descenders of *y* taper and swirl below the main line further than in previous hands. Minims often appear to have an extra leg and and lack obvious serifs or ligatures. On **ff. 145^{v} – 146^{v},** another hand is discernible. The overall impression of this hand is of a much more cluttered effect, but the graphs seem to be similar; there are 30 lines to the page rather than 26.

Hand E (ff.148^{v} - 154^{v}) written also in a fifteenth-century hybrid anglicana has some strong secretary features and is barely discernible from the hands described under C. It is written in single column over 27 lines. The double-compartment *a* is the more dominant form of that letter. While closed *e* is used frequently, there are more examples of open *e*. The long secretary *s* tapers is infralinear as is *f*. The tail of *h* descends straight down and then crosses horizontally below the word form. *G* has a similar descender, but is single compartment with a longer headstroke. The modern form of *r* is more evident than the forked form of *r*. The overall impression is of angularity rather than roundess, with hints at the 'spikiness' of later secretary hands.

Hand F (ff.155^{r} –171^{r}) at an initial glance would seem to be identical with hand C. However, the *g* of the latter hand is much less round and the descender is open, running horizontal below the word form rather than closing to form a lower compartment as in hand C. Single compartment *a* is much more prevalent than double-compartment *a*, and closed *e* is far more prevalent in this hand than elsewhere in the manuscripts. Long *s* occupies both initial and medial positions unlike in hand C, where sigma *s* usually took the initial position. Hand E is written in single column over 27 lines of the page. The descenders of *y* are shorter than in hand C also and *d* is much shorter. It is probably more rotund than hand C.

Hand G (ff.171^{v} – 182^{v}) written in single column over 22 lines of the page is a later fifteenth-centry secretary. It is distinguishable from the aforementioned secretary hands by the *d* which has a more elaborate looped, extensions. The figure 8 *s* has been replaced by sigma *s* in initial and final positions. The double compartment *a* has all but disappeared.

The whole manuscript is written in black ink with red rubric throughout, the paragraph marks are also in red ink. However, in the case of *Sacerdos Parochialis* the lay-out becomes more casual as one enters into the excommunications and bidding prayers.

The excommunications are corrected by a later hand (and different ink) - words such as 'buth' or replaced by 'be'. The thorn is occasionally replaced with a 'th' and there are some additions to the excommunications. The lay-out of *Sacerdos Parochialis* shows some differences from the original manuscript in that there are some blue initial letters as on ff.30, 36 and 38. There are also some blanks spaces to facilitate the inclusion of letters (often indicated by a tiny letter) in a more decorative style than that of the rest of the text as, for example, on ff.141^{r} and 142^{v}.

The large number of hands visible in this manuscript suggests that this particular manuscript was probably a workshop production. The provenance of the manuscript can support this contention.

Language

McIntosh, in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England*, locates this manuscript in Surrey (Vol.1, 145).[30] See also Linguistic Profile 5651 and Grid 496 137.

Provenance

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that Oxford MS Bodley 110 was a clerical commonplace book. According to a note on f.1^{r}, the manuscript was purchased from a London stationer J. Pye[31] on the tenth August 1463 by the rector of a parish in Cliffe-at Hoo in Kent: "hunc librum emit W.C. de J. Pye stacionarus London, x^{o} die Augusta a. W. Ed. iiij tercio coram Rob. paling." It is not clear how much of this manuscript was actually purchased from Pye, but the manuscript was eventually bequeathed to Camyl by Cleve according to a note on f.182^{v}.[32]

> Hunc librum libere contulit Willelmus Cleve nuper Rector ecclesie de Clyve Kant^{o} Domino Willelmo Camyl huius Cantarie capellano et successoribus suis perpetuis hic deuotius Deo confiteatur.

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[30] *LALME*, vol.1, 145.

[31] A note in BL Royal MS 5 C.III identifies Pye as the seller of another book, which also contained the *Speculum Ecclesie,* to T. Eyburhale (Forshaw (1973), 8 – 9). Cleve owned another book, a Bible, now Oxford MS Bodley Library Auct. D.3.6.

[32] A.B. Emden *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957 – 9), 437. See also Doyle, *A Survey*, note xxiv page 272).

Perhaps the manuscript inherited by Camyl was much larger than the original purchase. Either way, Johannes Huntt of Beverly (according to a note on f.128^{v}) also owned the manuscript at some stage. The manuscript was presented to the Bodleian library in 1620 by Sir Henry Savile (1549 – 1621) who was, at one time, tutor to Queen Elizabeth. He was one of the more renowned antiquarians of the seventeenth century.

While it has not been possible to identify Camyll or Huntt, we know that Cleve was a King's clerk and had a degree in Canon and in Civil Law. The first record of him appears in 1447 and he is dead by 1470. In terms of locating *Sacerdos Parochialis*, it is worth noting that Cleve was originally a Canon of Chichester from where he may have carried his copy of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

Oxford MS Trinity F.7[33]

This manuscript contains 227 numbered folios, with 2 flyleaves. The manuscript is made of parchment. A page measures 140 x 105 mm, written space averaging 115 x 85mm. There are approximately 30 lines of text to each page and the text is laid out in single columns in a single fifteenth-century hand. The text of *Sacerdos Parochialis* is contained in a single quire of 12 folios. The manuscript is bound in brown leather with the Trinity College, Oxford shield imprinted on the front cover in gold. On the spine the contents and a date for the manuscript are given as follows, 'Preces et Hymni Vita Sanctae Aethelredae etc.; Opuscula Theologica Lat. Gall. Et Angl.; Cod. Membr. Sec. XV'. The pages have been gilted. The manuscript measures 143 x 100mm.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1^{10+1}, a^{12}, b^{6}, 4^{12}, aa^{8}, 6^{12}, p^{8-1}, bb^{12}, c^{12}, d^{12}, c^{8}, k^{8}, l^{12}, m^{10}, n^{12}, aaa^{8}, o^{12}, e^{8}, f^{10-1}, g^{8}, h^{10}, i^{5}. Catchwords are found on ff.23^{v}, 50^{v}, 62^{v}; 70^{v}; 82^{v}; 94^{v}; 106^{v}; 122^{v}; 134^{v}; 156^{v}; 184^{v}; 194^{v}; 202^{v}; 212^{v}; 222^{v}. It is possible that it is a manuscript of separate tracts which were later joined to form this particular codex, as many of the tracts are separated by blank folios, and the quiring is

[33] See also Ogilvie-Thomson, S.J., *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist viii: Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries,* (Brewer: Cambridge 1991), 93 – 94.

very confused. For example, *Sacerdos Parochialis* which begins on f.164^{v} seems to be written on a quire 'o'; the next text is found on 'e'; the next on 'f' and so on. The quiring is also uneven: 'o' has twelve folios, 'g' has only 4, 'h' and 'I' have only 5. *Sacerdos Parochialis* fits on a complete quire of 12 folios, and may have circulated on its own before becoming part of this manuscript.

Contents

The manuscript was probably a priest's commonplace book as it contains prayers to be said before, during and after Mass. It also holds advice for priests and, a papal bull listing dioceses and the amount they were to pay in 'livres' and 'groats' as found on f.41^{r}.

1. a. ff.1^{r} – 4^{r} Hymns and prayers to the Blessed Virgin (Middle French and Latin).

b. ff.4^{r} – 5^{r} Bede on the Seven words from the cross (Latin).

c. ff.5^{r} – 6^{r} Prayers to be said before and after Communion (Latin).

d. ff.6^{v} – 8^{v} A number of prayers addressed to God, the redeemer (Latin).

e. ff.8^{v} – 9^{r} A series of prayers addressed to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit respectively (Latin).

f. ff.9^{r} - 10^{r} Prayers to be said at the elevation of the host (Latin).

g. ff.10^{r} – 11^{v} Prayers to Our Lady (Latin).

2. (a) ff.12^{r} –15^{v} *Life and Miracles of St. Ethelreda* written in verse. **Incipit:** Angelia virginea splendet decorata corea . .

(b) f.16^{r} *Antiphons de St. Ethelreda* with a note on indulgences attached written in Latin. **Incipit:** Ave gemma preciosa virgo decus et formosa Ethelreda.

3. f.16^{v} –19^{r} Latin Hymns to Saints (i) John the Baptist (ii) Mary Magdalen (iii) Christopher.

4. f.19^{v} –24^{r} Latin Prayers to (i) Saint Mary and St. John the evangelist (ii) Litany to Saint Mary (iii) St. Katherine and (iv) to Our lady at the time of death

f.24^{v} blank

5. f. 25^{r} Prayer to Saint Michael. **Incipit**: Sancte Michael archangele

domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui venisti in adiutorio populo dei. .

ff.25^{v} –30^{r} blank.

f.30^{v} Two lines, in an almost illegible hand. It seems to be a reference to a Latin constitution or statute.

6. ff.31^{r} The following treatise consists of various theological notes written in Latin. It includes the following material: (f.31^{r})A note on Sundays and holy days written in Latin. **Heading:** Nota de die dominica. **Incipit:** Dies dominicus dicitur primus dies dierum per excellenciam . . . (f.33^{r}) A definition of prayer. **Heading:** Quid est oracio. **Incipit:** Oracio est assensus mentis in deum. (f.33^{v}) Some notes on Mass. **Heading:** Nota de Missa. **Incipit:** Ab inicio misse vsque ad ofertorium sunt obsecraciones (f.33^{v}) A note to help people remember the words of Christ on the cross. **Heading:** Memorandum est de verbo Christi in cruce. **Incipit:** Notandum quod deus in passione sua locutus est. . . (f.34^{r})Various notes on the sacraments etc. **Incipit:** Quare benedictus est sal . . .(f.35^{r}) the seven remedies of sin corresponding to the seven sacraments. **Heading:** Septem sunt remissiones peccatorum. **Incipit:** Prima baptismus; secunda penitencia etc. (f.36^{r}) **Heading:** Hec sunt substancialia in sacramento. **Incipit:** Panis de grano frumenti et non de alio (f.36^{r}) **Heading:** Necessaria in sacramento altaris. **Incipit:** Calix argenteus vel aureus (f.36^{r}) **Heading:** Nota quod dominus in cruce incepit ab hoc psalmo. **Incipit:** Deus deus meus respice in me et cantavit illos. (f.36^{r}) A schema linking three garlands of flowers with various classes of saints: Lilies = Virgins. Roses = Martyrs. Violets = Confessors. (f.36^{r}) A note on how to make a better confession. **Heading:** Necesse est vt prius penitens in erorem habeat et postea confiteatur sacerdoti. (f.36^{v}) A brief note on the seven gifts of the spirit. **Incipit:** Septem sunt dona spiritus sancti. . . (f.38^{v}) A note on faith. **Incipit:** Tripliciter credere. Credere deo, deum, in deum. (f.39^{v}) A schema outlining five key points as follows: (i) The three things to cause death to the soul. (ii) Three

sentences on virginity. (iii) Three impediments to a good confession. (iv) Four requirements of a priest. (v) The branches of envy. (f.40^{r}) Verses on Advent in Latin. **Incipit:** Hec documenta tenes si vis vrbanus . . . (f.41^{r})A list of Peter's Pence. **Heading:** Bulla pro denari sancti petri. (f.41^{v}) A Latin prayer. **Incipit:** O dominum dicas cum patrem presbiteri oras concede ne famulos deus qui iuro ordine deus. (f.42^{r})A treatise on how long Adam and Noe lived. **Incipit:** Adam vixit annos d.ccc. et xxx quater millenis sexcentis quatuor annos nexus in inferno fuit adam crimine. . (f.42^{v}) Some notes on the canonical hours. **Heading:** De vij. Horis canonicis. **Incipit:** Predictis septenarijs xij hore canonice iungende sunt. Nam media nocte comprehensus fuit dominus. . (f.43^{r}) A schema dividing the seven cardinal virtues into two groups. Those that pertain to God and those that pertain to humanity.[34] **Heading:** Septem sunt virtutes cardinales videlicet. (f.43^{r}) Notes on the 15 signs before the end of the world. **Heading:** Signa .xv. ai te diem judicij. (f.43^{v}) Names of those are in the manorial rolls of Winchester **Heading:** Hec sunt nomina eorum qui contulerunt maneria Winton ecclesie. . . (f.44^{r}) A schema of the 7 sacraments correlated to the seven cardinal virtues.[35] **Heading:** Nota de vij sacramentis. (f.44^{r-v}) A text that comments on the various ages of Our Lady at different stages of her life and of Christ's life. It also notes her origins. **Incipit:** Sancta Maria erit annorum xiij quam peperit Christum. . . (f.45^{r}) Notes on the four evangelists. **Incipit:** Quatuor euangeliste per iiij partes. . .

7. f..45^{v} –47^{v} Form of confession (French). Examination of conscience. **Incipit:** Homme qe se uout confesser il ne doyt pays venir au confessioun breuant. . . **Colophon:** Anno domini m^{o}. ccc. lxxxix in anno regni regis ricardi secundi etc.

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[34] See lines 679 – 82 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* for an identical schema.
[35] See lines 915 – 21 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* for an identical schema.

8. f.47^{v} – 49^{r} An account of Thomas…This text is about St. Ethelred and Ely. **Incipit:** Accidit namque aput Ely predictum quod quidam Thomas . . .

9. f.49^{r} - 50^{r} A note on the 'power' of Mass. **Heading:** Magistrum Ric[ardus] de Puttes etcetera. Narracio de celebrare misse anno domini m. ccc. Lxxiij. **Incipit:** Quidam homo de Haydok in comitatu Lancastrie tenuit vnam concubinam. . .

10. f.50^{r} -62^{r} Another compilation tract which contains the following: A collection of Sentences. (f.50^{r}) **Heading:** Sentencia doctorum de sermocino ecclesiastico. **Incipit:** Augustinus: quotiens me plus dilectat cantus, quam res que cantatur. (f.51^{r})A note on how to hear Mass. **Heading:** De modo audiendi missam secundum Gregorium. **Incipit:** Pater noster dulcissimus dominus noster Ihesu Christo . . . (ff.54^{v} – 59^{r}) On the love of God. **Heading:** Informacio bona de amore dei. **Incipit:** Inter omnia in hoc mundo pensanda debes in spiritu. . (ff.59^{v} – 62^{r}) Prayers said by priest before Mass. **Incipit:** Summe sacerdos in vere pontifex . . .

11. f.62^{v} – 68^{v} The story of St. George of Cappadocia. **Incipit:** Georgius tribunus genere Capodocie quadam vice pervenit in provinciam Libie . . .

ff.64^{v} 65^{r} blank except for a note (incomplete) in the margin of each page.

12. f.69^{r} - 84^{r} Exhortation by St. Basil of Caesarea to spiritual sons. **Incipit:** Audi fili admonicionem patris tui et inclina aurem tuam ad verba mea et accommoda mihi libenter auditum tuum . . .

PLD Vol. 103. Proemium.

13. f.84^{r} –103^{v} *De Dignitate hominis.* The Meditations of Saint Bernard.[36] **Incipit:** Multi multa sciunt et seipsos nesciunt.

14. f.103^{v} –111^{r} Several verses. **Incipit:** Pregnans vexati peryegrans puer inveterati [p]auperes languentes

ff.111^{v} – ff.114^{v} blank

[36] See Item 7b of British Library Burney MS 356.

15. f.115^{r}–122^{v} Book on the sins of Adam and Eve. **Incipit:** Post peccatum ade expulso eo de paradiso. . .

Bloomfield, 3966

16. f.122^{v}–143^{r} Instructions on how to celebrate the Conception of the Blessed Virgin and various other notes. **Heading:** Qualiter festum concepcionis beate virginis fuit . . **Incipit:** Cum quidam rex Angliae Willelmo nomine audiret regem Danorum.

f144 blank except faint writing on top of f.144^{v} - Rex regnum dominus damnacium atq.

17. f.145^{r}–153^{r} Three sermons. **Incipit:** Exiit. Mt et Luc viij. Universum tempus vite presenter in quatuorum destinguitur scilicet tempus: deuiacionis, reuocacionis, peregrinacionis et reconciliacionis ...(ii) f.148^{v} Exiit qui sciant seminare semen suum etcetera viij exponitum est in textu glossa gregoria. . . (iii) f.150^{r} Exiit qui sciant seminare semen suum etceter Mt. 13 verba ista exponita

f.153^{r} blank

18. f.153^{v}–157^{r} Sermon. A Letter to the Philippians. **Incipit**: Hoc sentite in vobis quod in Christo Ihesu qui cum in formam dei esset etc. Moysi dictum est in Exodo.

PLD, vol. 181.

f.158 –164 blank

19. f.165^{r}–176^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis.* **Incipit:** In nomine patris, etc. Sacerdos parochialis tenetur per canonem docere et predicare in lingua materna. The treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.165^{r} Latin prologue; (ii) f.165^{r} *Pater Noster*; (iii) f.165^{v} *Ave Maria*; (iv) f.165^{v} *Credo*; (v) f.166^{v} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.167^{r} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.168^{r} Seven Works of Mercy; (viii) f.168^{r} Seven Vices; (ix) f.169^{r} Seven Sacraments; (x) f.172^{v} Sentence of Excommunication;

20. f.177^{r}–181^{v} *Directorium Sacerdotum* or *Quinque Verba.*[37] **Incipit:** In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi supplicium sacerdotum

[37] See Item 4 in BL Burney MS 356.

ignoranciis subvenire pauca collegimus ex patrum nostrorum doctrinis.

Bloomfield 6535.

21. f.181^{v} –190^{r} The proverbs of Solomon. **Incipit:** In multiloquium non deest peccatum, qui moderatur labia prudentissimus est.[38]

22. f.190^{v} –209^{r} A note on tithes. **Incipit:** Nota quod decime personales sunt solvende ubi percipiunt sacramenta ecclesiastica.

23. f.209^{r} –223^{r} A chapter on vices and virtues. **Incipit:** Dominus dicit in evangelio majorem caritatem nemo habet.

Bloomfield, 1761.

f.223^{r} - pages missing according to the catchwords.

24. f.225^{v} – 226^{r} A set of excommunications in Latin.

Script and Decoration

Oxford MS Trinity 7 is written in the same fifteenth-century hybrid anglicana throughout. It displays the following features: two forms of *a* both the the pointed *a* of the secretary script and the double-lobed *a* of anglicana; closed and open *e* are both apparent, although the latter is usually found in final position; ascenders and descenders do not extend far beyond the baseline; the ascenders of *b* and *d* are both looped to form bow-like formations; figure 8 *g;* the ascenders of *l* and *h* have open hooks; the minims are tapered and linked by thin serifs to the following letter; forked *r* of the secretary script is the predominant form of *r*, although there are examples of the figure 2 *r* also; long *s* is much less prominent than the closed *s* found in the initial, medial and final positions. *T* and *c* are quite distinct, the parallel stoke of *t* being more extended than that of *c*. The overall impression of this script is of squatness and cursiveness. It lacks the clarity of a more formal display script, suggesting that this manuscript functioned more as a personal notebook than a display book.

The treatise is generally written in black, in the same hand throughout, with red rubrics. Capital letters at the beginning of sections of the text are written in red and blue and occupy a space of 10 x 10mm. In the treatise *Sacerdos Parochialis*, the Latin introductory paragraph is written completely in red with blue paragraph marks. The opening 'I' is 90mm in length, written in blue and decorated with white foliage

[38] See Weber, Proverbs 16:19.

on a blue background with red descenders to the end of the page. Although the manuscript is written in one hand, there are corrections in a different hand, for example on f.174^{v}.

Language

There are a number of distinct spelling features indicating that the scribe of *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Oxford MS Trinity College 7 originated in the South of the England. A number of the unusual spelling features such as *ycluped, bythout, fram, beoþ* and *heor* suggest an area in and around Hampshire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.

The spelling features include:

her ***heor*** (22)**, *hure***
called ***ycluped*** (380)
are *beþ, boeþ* (129)
they *hii, hy, hei* (29)
which: *weche* (78), *wuche, wych*
much *muche* (104)
two *twei* (555)
is: *beo* (129)
from: *fram* (174)
I: *ich* (1036)
shall/should:*chullen* (142)
before: *tofore* (362)
take: *fong*
church *churche* (386), *chyrche, chirche, kyrke*
it *hit*(24)
them *hem* (40)
without *by thowte* (586)
not *nout, noȝt*(288), *noȝut, nauȝt, noxt*
any *eny, heny* (98)
work *werk* (309)

Provenance

On f.43^{v} is the inscription "Nomina eorum qui contulerunt maneria ecclesie wintoniensi." The Winchester influence of this text is unmistakable: there is the Life of St. Ethelred and there are prayers to be said near Winchester. Nonetheless, others have located the manuscript in Ely on account of the "rubricated memorandum of indulgences to be obtained in Ely Cathedral on St. Lambert's day, being the feast of the dedication of that Church, at the shrines of St. Etheldreda, St. Ermenelda, and St. Exburga to the amount of 42 years and 60 days in all."[39] Prof. Scattergood maintains that the dialectical forms listed above quite firmly locate this manuscript in the South

[39] Blakiston, H.E.D., "Two more medieval ghost stories" *English Historical Review,* 30 (1923): 85.

or South West, rather than in East Anglia. The Ely material could quite possible refer to a practice of making pilgrimages to Ely from Winchester.[40]

Cambridge MS University Library Dd.12.69

The manuscript is made of 95 parchment folios and six flyleaves, two at the front and four at the back of the manuscript. Hereafter, the text is in single column. It is bound in modern leather binding with the name Douglas Cockerell & Son, Letchworth, August 1963 on the inside front cover. Measuring 190mm x 125mm wide, the manuscript is small enough to be hand-held. Ff.i^{v} and ii^{r-v} are lined vertically to form two columns of approximately 29 lines, but have been left blank apart from the phrase "deus meus es tu" visible in the lower half of the page.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: a–d^{8} (c-7), e^{4}(-2), 6-13^{8}(13 –(5,6,7))[$4 signed]. Catchwords are found on the following ff.8^{v}, 16^{v}, 32^{v}, 44^{v}, 52^{v}, 60^{v}, 68^{v}, 76^{v}, 84^{v} and 92^{v} Ff. 22^{v}, f.24^{r} and 36 are blank. Ff.33 and 34 are stubs only. Ff. 23 and 35 are missing.

The difference in numbering the folios would indicate that the codex was originally two manuscripts. *Stimulus Conscience* probably originally circulated independently. *Sacerdos Parochialis* forms part of the original matrix of the manuscript.

Contents

1. ff.1^{r} – 22^{v} A text on penance and confession as well as other material of interest to a parish clerk known as *Dieta Salutis*.[41] **Incipit:** Prohemium libri qui dicitur *Dieta Salutis*. Hec est via ambulate in ea . . . Imperfect.

Edition: A.C. Peltier. *Works of Bonaventure* viii (Paris, 1866) 248 - 67.

f.23 missing.

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[40] In conversation with Prof. Scattergood.

[41] Although it was traditionally attributed to St. Bonaventure, according to Gillespie *Dieta Salutis* was composed by William de Lanicia who died sometime before 1310 (Gillespie, *The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual*. D.Phil. Diss., Oxford University, 1981, 117).

2. f.24^{v} Verses on the Articles of Faith written in Latin and added in a later hand.

3. ff.25^{r} – 34^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis* written in Middle English. Imperfect.

Incipit: Sacerdos Parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna quater in anno…

This treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.25^{r} Latin Prologue; (ii) f.25^{r} *Pater Noster*; (iii) f.25^{v} *Ave Maria*; (iv) f.26^{r} *Credo*; (v) f.26^{v} Ten commandments; (vi) f.27^{v} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.28^{v} Seven works of mercy; (viii) f.28^{v} Seven Principal Virtues; (ix) f.29^{r} Two great commandments; (x) f.29^{v} Seven sacraments.

f.35 missing.

f.36 blank.

4. ff.37^{r} – 97^{v} *Stimulus Conscience* (better known as *The Prick of Conscience*) written in Middle English Verse. **Incipit:** Þe myth of þe fader almyghti / þe wit of þe sone of wytti / And þe goodnesse of þe holigost / And god and lord of alle mythes most / be wit vs helpe and spede / Now and evere in all oure nede / . . . Imperfect.

Edition: *The Pricke of Conscience: A Northern Poem,* ed. Richard Morris, (Berlin: Asher & Co., 1863)

See Raymo [18]2268-70 & 2486 – 92 and *IMEV* 3428. No.30.[42]

ff.98 – 100 missing.

f.iv^{r} A brief account in Latin of the Yorkist march to London in June 1460 and of the battle at Towton the following Spring, after which Edward IV was crowned King. Written in a later hand.

f.iv^{v} Sequences for Advent.

Script and Decoration

There are two distinct hands apparent in Cambridge MS University Dd.12.69.

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[42] Raymo states that this manuscript is one of the 104 manuscripts containing the main version which "was composed in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire, about 1350." There is also a Southern version and a Latin translation (Raymo, 2269).

Hand A (ff.1 – 34): is an anglicana formata of the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, written in single column with 34 lines to a page. The overall impression is one of a compressed script and of a 'soft' squareness, the angularity being less pronounced in the vernacular transcripts. Most of the letters are linear, the ascenders of the supralinear and infralinear letters do not extend far beyond the baseline, lending the script a very regular appearance. The letters lack ligatures and even the graphs have been composed of separate strokes rather than linked strokes. The features of the hand are as follows: double-compartment *a*, the lower compartment of which is open; the lobe of *d* is almost equal in size to most linear letters, the ascender is short and at an oblique angle; the ascenders of all letters, even the minims, have a serif at the top; the minims have lozenge-shaped feet; modern *r;* long *s* is in the initial and medial position, although sigma *s* occupies the initial position when it is the capital letter; the diamond-shaped *s*, typical of anglicana formata occupies the final position.

Hand B (ff.37- 97): is an early fifteenth-century anglicana formata hand written in single columns with 30 lines to a page. The features of the manuscript are as follows: *a* has a double compartment with a slight ligature; the ascender of *d* has fused with the lower compartment to form a second upper compartment; open *e* is predominant, but closed *e* is found at the end of some words; *g* is like a figure 8 with the lower compartment below the line; the minims have serifs rather than feet; forked *r*; long *s* is found in initial and medial positions; sigma *s* is used for capital letters in initial position; figure 8 *s* is occasionally found in final position; the ascenders of both compartments of *w* are looped to create the more elaborate *w* of anglicana. The overall impression is of neatness and regularity.

The manuscript is written in black ink throughout. However, Hand A decorates initial letters, the latin rubric and paragraph marks in red. Crossing out is also done in red ink. The initial letters are approximately 50mm high with red ink flourishes. The capital letters of Hand B are in blue, not red, ink. The capital letters of B are usually 2 lines in depth.

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Language

McIntosh, in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England* locates the first part of this manuscript, the quire on which is found *Sacerdos Parochialis,* in Sussex.[43] See also Grid 511 118 and Linguistic Profile 5710.

Provenance

On f.2^{v} there is an erased fifteenth-century inscription which reads: "This present boke ys gevyn to the paryshe chyrche of Shermanbury by the handes of John Haynes. In nomine dei. Amen." The inscription is followed immediately by Sussex/Thomas Moore bookplate.

It has not been possible to identify with certainty John Haynes, however, Shermanbury is a small village near Chichester. The inscription suggests that the book was probably for the use of the local curate of Shermanbury. The bookplate refers to Bishop Thomas Moore (d.1714) of Norwich and after of Ely, whose library was purchased for Cambridge University Library by King George I. Thomas Moore owned 30,000 printed books and manuscripts.[44]

British Library MS Harley 4172

This manuscript contains 124 numbered folios of parchment, with 2 parchment flyleaves at the beginning. The binding and six binding leaves at either end of the manuscript are twentieth century. April 1967 is stamped on the inside cover. The manuscript measures 190 x 155mm. The page measures 180 x 130mm, written space averaging 135 x 90mm laid out in single columns. The manuscript is bound in modern, red cloth with the corner and spine reinforced in red leather. A shield, supported by two angels and surmounted with a crown, with the motto, 'virtute et fide' is embossed on the front cover in red. On the spine, the contents and title of the manuscript, '*Devotional Tracts Brit. Mus. Harley Ms. 4172*' is impressed in gold. The pages are slightly soiled and discoloured at the edge.

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[43] *LALME*, vol.1, 66.

[44] *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge.* Edited for the Syndics of the UP, (Cambridge, 1856). Vol. 1. (introduction).

This is the only manuscript of the *Sacerdos Parochialis* tradition that can be dated accurately. On f.63^{r} the date 1426 is given as follows: Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit iste. Anno domini millo cccc^{mo} xxvj^{o}.

Collation

The usual quire marks, a letter of the alphabet followed by a roman numeral in the lower right hand corner of the first folios in the quire, are not always visible because the edges of the pages were trimmed at some stage in the history of the manuscript. However, the presence of another system of quiring have helped to identify the quires of the manuscript. In the first part of the manuscript there are arabic numerals on the lower margin of the first folio of each quire. The numerals are found on ff.9^{r}; 16^{r}; 24^{r}; 32^{r}; 40^{r}; 47^{r}; 55^{r} and 63^{r} and proceed in numerical order from 'one' to 'eight'.

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: a^{8}[$4-(1,2)signed]; b$^{8-1}$ [$4signed]; c^{8}; d^{8}[$4signed]; 5^{8}; f^{8}[$4 -(1,3,4)signed]; 6^{8}; 7^{8+1}; 8-9^{8}; 10^{10}[$5signed]; 11^{8}[$4signed]; 12^{10}[$1signed]; 13^{8}.[45]

There are only two catchwords in the whole of the manuscript; they are on 66^{v}; 67^{v}. Neither of these catchwords link to the texts found on the preceding or following folios. The catch phrase on at the end of f.66^{v} reads 'require in sequenti odo solis[*sic*]', whereas the phrase at the beginning of the next folio reads, 'Augustinus dicit'. Again, there is a discrepancy between the catchword at the end of f.67^{v} which reads 'emanabitur' and between the first words of the next quire which read 'ad primam horam ferie'.

The inconsistency between the catchwords and the following material is indicative of the confused nature of this ninth quire (marked 8 by the compiler; the first quire is without a number). The first folio of the ninth quire is the final page of *De Festis Duplicibus* (f.63^{v}) and the folio on which one finds the date 1426, suggesting a termination point for the work carried out by the original scribe or for the first stage in the development of the manuscript.[46] The scribe, in fact, announces the end of the book at the end of this folio, "Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit

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[45] Quires 10 and 11 seemed to have belonged together: similar style of quiring in corner; secretary script and continuous flow of script in main body of texts. F.71^{r} has an 'a' in the top right-hand corner; f.72^{r} has a 'b' in the top right-hand corner; f.73^{r} has a 'c'; f.74^{r} has a 'd'.

[46] His hand only appears once more in the manuscript, on folio 66, one of the folios that does not correspond either with the previous catchword or the following treatise.

iste."[47] The remainder of quire nine is filled with numerous short tracts, and includes those folios with the inconsistent catch words and text as noted above. The material of the remainder of the manuscript is an eclectic collection of religious, devotional material in Latin and Middle English divisible into various booklets as follows: (2)ff.71^{r} – 76^{v}; (3)ff.77^{r} – 94^{v}; (4) f.95^{r} – 107^{v}; (5)ff.108 & 109; (6)ff.116^{r} – 23^{v}. It is, however, difficult to ascertain when these booklets or tracts became part of the current codex. The poor condition of the folios of some of the tracts suggests that they may have circulated independently before coming together to form what is now British Library MS Harley 4172. To further complicate the identification of these booklets, material in later hand(s) was recorded in various blank spaces throughout the codex, thus accounting for the numerous scripts recorded below.[48]

Contents

The original manuscript was composed of the first two texts only, *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *De Festis Duplicibus*. The remainder of the material, while also containing material suitable for a cleric repeated, albeit using different sources, some of the material already dealt within *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *De Festis Duplicibus*. There are, for example, at least three expositions on the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* each. The material varies from treatises suitable for a sermon to material to be used in parochial rituals.

f.i^{r} A note on spiritual kinship through baptism.

1. 1^{r}-15^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

Incipit: Sacerdotes Parochiales tenentur per canones docere & predicare in lingua materna quatuor in anno septem peticiones oracionis dominice. . .

The treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.1^{r} Latin Prologue; (ii) f.1^{r} Pater Noster; (iii) f.1^{v} Ave Maria; (iv) f.2^{r} Credo; (v) f.3^{r} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.4^{r} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.5^{r} The Seven Works of Mercy; (viii) f.5^{r} The Seven Principal Virtues; (ix) f.8^{r} The Two Great Commandments; (x) f.8^{v} The Seven Sacraments; (ix) f.10^{v} Set of Excommunications.

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[47] f.63^{r}

[48] The editor has not attempted to describe each and every script, just those that made a major contribution to the codex.

2. f.15^{v} –49^{v} *De Festis Duplicibus*. The text is a Latin treatise and includes the following material: (f.16^{v}) the ten commandments, (f.20^{v}) the seven deadly sins, (f.22^{r})on hearing confession, (f23^{r}) canonical material, (f.33^{r}) excommunication, (f.44^{r}) the articles of faith, (f.45^{v}) the seven petitions of the Pater Noster, (f.47^{r}) the seven virtues, (f.47^{r}) the seven gifts of the spirit, (f.47^{v}) the eight beatitudes, (f.48^{r}) the seven corporal and the seven spiritual works of mercy, (f.48^{v}) on the keeping of the Sabbath, (f.49^{r}) on the four evangelists and the animals which represent them, (f.49^{v}) on crucifixes and bells in the church. **Incipit:** De fratrum nostrorum consilio dies festos presentibus inserere duxere. . .

Bloomfield, 0685.

3. f.50^{r} – 53^{r} Sermon on the Lord's Prayer in Middle English and Latin. **Incipit:** *Pater noster*… Amonge alle þo wordes þat euere were in erthe or sayde þat is þo pater noster þo holiest for hit is stabilett of god hym selfe and commaundette for to say to alle hem þat beluen in hym. . .

See *IPMEP* 533 where this treatise is identified as similar to a fourteenth-century treatise on the Pater Noster printed in C. Horstmann, ed. *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle and his followers*. Vol. 1. (1895): 261 – 4) edited from Lincoln Cathedral MS 91 ff.209^{v} – 10^{v}.

4. f.53^{r}-63^{r} Sermon on the Ten Commandments. **Incipt:** These are þe .x. commaundements þat yche cristen mon and womon are holden for to knowe and kepe. Tho fyrst is . . .

5. ff.63^{v} A list of reserved cases. **Incipit:** Modus quod simplex sacerdos curatus potest absoluere suos parochianos. . .

6. ff.64^{r} – 65^{r} An advice poem to the clergy. **Incipit:** Viri beatissimi sacerdotes dei / Preciones altissimi lucerne diei / Claritatis radij fulgentis quod spei / Auribus precipite verba oris mei.

7. f.65[r] *Verba Malachie prophete*. **Incipit:** Labia sacerdotis custodiant scienciam et legem requirant populi de ore eius quod angelus dominum exercituum est. . .

Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum, De quo in Isidorianis, cap. 61 n.48.

PLD vol. 83. Col.1283A. Bloomfield, 2890/2891/2892.

8. f.65[v] A piece of advice literature to the clergy. **Incipit:** Quod sacerdotes cauere debeant ne oculi eorum qui iudent omnia iudenum inclinentur. . .

9. f.66[r-v] A sermon on Sunday Observance known as a Sunday Letter. **Incipit:** Epistola. Nostri Iheusu Christi de Die Dominica. Qui nescitis eum timere nec mandata euis custodire propter quod uenit ira dei super nos . . . Imperfect.

10. f.67[r] Another sermon on Sunday Observance. **Incipit:** Augustinus dicit [arans][49] malum esset in diebus dominicis arare vel fodere quam choreas ducere vel ebrietatem insistere.

11. f.67[v] **Incipit:** Magnus medicus descendit ad egetum magnas afferens medicinas faciles. . . . Imperfect.

12. f.68[r] Another piece on Sunday observance. Incomplete beginning. **Incipit:**. . .ad primam horam ferie secundam apostoliam nobis cataractas celi et multiciplicabo semen nostrum et longabuntur dies nostri et non erit fames in terra christianorum. . .

13. f.68[v] **Incipit:** Magnus medicus venit gaudeant egrociantes mana de celo descendit gaudeat.[50]

14. f.68[v] A note on how priests ought to behave. **Incipit:** Sacerdos dicitur quasi sacer dux, sacer dans, sacer docens, sacris deditus, sacris dotatus.

15. f.69[v] A note on the power of priests to save souls. **Incipit:** Nota quod omnes qui sacerdotii nomine censentur angeli uocantur.

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[49] This word is very unclear in the manuscript. It could possibly be arans, an abbreviated reference to 'arans homo' = ploughman. The attribution to Augustine is not necessarily correct. Elsewhere it is attributed to Gregory. In that quote the obscure word is 'melius' and 'malum' is omitted.

[50] There are a number of brief, disjointed passages in the manuscript possibly intended for sermon composition. Given the brevity of the passage, a title was not deemed necessary.

16.f.69^{v} *Dispone domui tue etc.* A brief note listing the various qualities of each of the four homes of humanity. **Incipit:** Nota quod 4^{or} domus hominis quibus disponere debemus. Primo domus est in utero. 2^{u} est in mundo. 3^{o} in sepulcro. 4^{r} est in celo vel in inferno.

17. f.69^{v} *In Nativitate Domini, Sermon V* by Peter Blesensis. **Incipit:** Ideo parvulus nascitur ut nos magnificet. Ideo in diuersorio natus politus ut sciamus nos esse peregrinos & aduentus super terram.

PLD, vol. 207, Col. 0577D.

18. f.70^{r} **Incipit:** In patriarchis ad celum sine errore incipientibus veritas in promisso in resurreccione. . . .

19. f.70^{r} A reflection on the Passion of Christ. **Incipit:** Pro te fui obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis.

Perhaps, *PLD* Vol. 194 Gerhohus Reicherspergensis. Ps.102. *De benedictione primitivae Ecclesiae.*

20. f.71^{r} *Christ in baptismo celum aperuit.* **Incipit:** Primo, Christo baptisato et oram te celi aperti . . .

21. f.71^{r} A note on when it is appropriate (i) to open one's mouth and (ii) to close one's mouth. **Incipit:** Os nostrum debet esse apertum. Ad confitendum per confitebor aduersum me. . .

22. f.71^{v} A prayer. **Incipit:** Oracio sit corde unde clamabat Moyses ad dominum

23. f.71^{v} Notes on flattery. **Incipit:** Adulacio que prodest et nulli uocet ne veniale est que obest mortale est. . .

24. f.71^{v} **Incipit:** Adulacio fit cum bonum habitum atollitur ultra modum. . .

25. f.71^{v} –73^{v} A treatise on the Apostle's Creed. **Incipit:** Notandum est quod de doctrina fidei exposita est sub interrogacione discipuli dicentis et respondere magistri docentis.

26. f.73^{v} –76^{v} A note on the Lord's Prayer written in Latin. **Incipit:** Volumus fratres karissimi parvam vobis admonissionem de oracione dominica facere quam rogo vt utent auribus et cordibus audiatis. . .

Bloomfield 9258.

27. f.77^{r} - 89^{v} St. Basil's books to monks on reforming their lives. **Incipit:** Quoniam homines in huius via vite fugientes sumus dies nostri.

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Speculum Peccatoris, attributed to Augustine.

PLD, vol. 40. Col.0984. Bloomfield, 4918.[51]

28. f.90^{v} *Mirabilis fuit caritas Christi.* **Incipit:** Dedit enim nobis carnem in cibum, sanguinem in potum, animam in precium vestes militibus,

29. f.91^{r}–92^{r} An unpublished work on the nature of sin by Hugh of St. Victor. **Incipit:** Quaeris quid tibi faciendum sit pro eo qui habitu religionis positus opera digna professionis tue non habeas.

For a note on this work see *PLD,* vol. 175, col. CXXXVD.

30. f.92^{r} An abbreviation perhaps of Innocent III. Chapter 5 *Opuscula.* **Incipit:** Causam, ut fiat ex caritate quia si distribuero in cibos pauperum etc.

PLD, vol. 217, col. 0753D.

31. f.92^{v} – 93^{r} A Tract on humility. **Incipit:** Humilitas in quatuor maxime consistit: primo ut spirituas teipsum.

32. f.93^{r} Meditation on the three enemies of man, attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. **Incipit:** Habemus triplicem inimicum: diabolum, mundum et carnem.

PLD, vol. 184, col. 0503B – 0504C

33. f.93^{r} –94^{v} A short tract on the importance of charity to Christian life. **Incipit:** Quoniam religiosus vel laicus plus appetitur p[*]pe tuo uiuere istam vitam. . . .(imperfect).

34. f.94^{v} From the Gospel according to Mark, written in Latin. **Incipit:** N. illo. Duxit Ihesu d. x Amen dico nobis quia quicumque dixerit huic monti tollere & mittere in mare & non hesitaverit in corde suo, sed crediderit quia quodcumque dixerit fiat fiet ei. Propterea dico nobis. Omnia quaecumque orantes petit[is]

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[51] See BL MS Burney 356 item 20.

credite quia accipietis et fiet vobis. Et cum statis ad orandum. Dimittite si quid habetis aduersus aliquem ut pater noster qui in celis est dimittat nobis peccata nostra. Quod si vos non dimiseritis neque pater noster qui in celis est dimittet nobis peccata nostra.

PLD, vol. 12 .

In a later hand, on the same page: Turres erigintur ad securittatem edificia dilectantur ad voluptatem sed mors non terretur. . .

Sum men reren castels and towres / and sum men timbren halles and bowres / comes dethe and thorogh gothe bowres and halles / ne may hym withstonde none stan walles / and he takes mon therfro qwan he lest wolde / and berieth him lowe vnder tho molde.

35. f.95^{r}–105^{r} *Twelve uses of tribulation* attributed to Richard Rolle.[52] **Incipit:** Anima tribulata et temptata tibi uerbum istud proponitur ut discas de quo tribulaciones deseruiunt. . .

Bloomfield, 0426.

36. f.105^{r-v} **Incipit:** Quorum sumum regnum dei dividitur. Ynium infernus vocatur, medium proseus mundus appellatur.

Bloomfield, 6082.

f.106^{r} Blank but for a Latin note in a later hand. **Incipit:** Aue quem [*****] testator plebs hebreorum / Obuia cum palmis tibi clamams verba salutis.

37. f.106^{v} A list of indulgences to be obtained according to Popes Urban 4th, Martin 5th and Eugenius 4th. **Incipit:** Sanctissimi in Christo Patres Vrbanus quartus, Martinus quintus et Eugenius quartus Pape cunctis Christi fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis ob sanctissimi sacramenti

f.107^{r} A single Latin sentence translated into English as follows: Neglect not thy duty...

38. f.107^{v} A form of announcing the marriage banns in Latin.

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[52] For a list of other manuscripts see *IPMEP,* 142.

39. f.108^{r} – 115^{v} from *Speculum Christiani*. (i)f.108^{r-v} The prologue **Incipit:** Magna est differencia inter predicacione et doctrinam.

(ii) f.109^{r} – 115^{v}. The first part or 'tabula' of the *Speculum Christiani* or the Latin *Cibus Anime*. **Incipit:** Prima tabula tractat de fide catholica et de articulis fidei. . . Incomplete.

Edition: Gustaf Holmstedt, ed., *Speculum Christiani*, Early English Text Society os 182 (London: Oxford University Press 1933).

40. ff.116^{r} - 123^{r} A preparation for confession including an examination of conscience based on the seven deadly sins, the ten commandments (f.119^{v}), the five wits (f.122^{v}). Imperfect at beginning and end.

Incipit: . . . shappes and of diuerse colours and ofte to be chaunged and diuersed fro oþere to be worldeli praysed and muche spoken of.[53]

End fly-leaf. A couple of lines, giving the bearer permission to take possession of the church. Unfortunately, the signature is quite indistinct.

Script and Decoration

Hand A (ff.1^{r}- 64^{v}; 67^{r-v};) is an early fifteenth-century secretary hand with some anglicana features such as occasional use of circular *e*, double compartment *g*, minims with feet, and the more complex *w* form. The script is written in single columns over 27 lines. The salient features of the script are as follows: single compartment *a;* sigma *s* in the initial position when a capital letter is required, and the long *s* in medial position and all other initial positions, figure 8 *s* in final position; *d* with a looped ascender; open *e* is the more usual form of that letter; the forked form of *r* with the modern and the 2 form are also present; the left arm of *v* runs parallel to the letter form or extends above the letter in the appearance of an upper compartment; the tail of *y* extends horizontally to the right of the word;

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[53] Listed in Jolliffe, *A Check-list*, 79. Jolliffe does not cite any other manuscripts. However, Raymo [87], lists two manuscripts (Camb. Univ. Gg.6.26 ff22^{v}-23^{r} and Trinity Hall Camb 16 f.92^{v}) that also contain a short examination of conscience in preparation for confession, although not necessarily related to that found here. I have been unable to examine them (Raymo, 2300-01 & 2524).

Hand B (ff.65^{v}- 66^{v}, 68^{r}-71^{v}, 77^{r}-94^{v}) The script changes on f.65^{v} to an more anglicana formata script, typical of the late fourteenth century, but used frequently throughout the fifteenth century in manuscripts of this kind for Latin material. The script occupies 27 lines to a page. Features include: double-compartment *a*; *d* with a short oblique ascender; the upper end of the ascenders are usually forked; minims have lozenge-shaped feet; the forked *r* is nowhere to be seen, but the modern form and the 2 form of *r* are both present; sigma *s* is used in initial position, but figure 8 *s* occupies final position while long *s* occupies medial. The overall impression is of a more compressed script caused by the lack of infralinear letters and the preponderance of linear letters. Only the ascenders of *b*, *h*, *l* and long *s* extend beyond the base line and even these extensions are limited in comparison with other secretary scripts.

On ff.68^{r} – 71^{v}, the script changes height from line to line. It appears, however, to be the same hand, suggesting that the scribe was either experimenting with various scripts or having trouble with his pen!

Hand C (ff.72^{r} – 76^{v}). While this hand is also a secretary script, it is more cursive in appearance than hand A. The infralinear letters come to an abrupt, tapered end rather than employing horizontal tails. The horizontal abbreviation strokes are less angular and slightly arched, often extending from the end letter of a word rather than being discrete strokes of an earlier script. The descender of 3 curls under the word group rather than descending vertically. The minims are barely distinguishable one from another, and are often linked by ligatures even within the letter form; they do not have the feet of the earlier script. The forked *r* is here more dominant than the 2 form of *r*. The script seems less formal than the earlier secretary of hand A.

Hand D (ff.95^{r} – 105^{v}) written in single columns over 39 lines of the page, is an anglicana quadrata with some secretary features such as the single-compartment, pointed *a*; the figure 8 *s*; the *d* with the ascender at an oblique angle. Like hand C, the overall impression is of compression again caused by the infrequency of infralinear letters, the relative shortness of supralinear *b*, *h*, and *l*. The ascenders of these letters terminate in a fork-like foot. Even long *s* is slightly curved to the right giving the impression of shortness. The minims have tiny serifs and the final leg of each letter has a more extended ligature. The script is quite small.

Hand E (ff.116^{r} – 123^{v}) is an early fifteenth-century anglicana with secretary features, written in single columns over 28 lines of the page. Features include: cursive pointed *a* is although there are occasional examples of the double-lobed *a*; all ascenders are hooked and generally fuse with the ascender to form another compartment; both circular *e* and open *e* are employed, though the latter is the more usual; two forms of 'r', the 2 form after *o* and modern form; long *s* and *f* are more infralinear than supralinear with a tapered finish, although the figure eight *s* is employed at the end of words. The minims have lozenge-shaped feet with tiny ligatures connecting to the next letter. The left leg of the *u* or *v* runs parallel to the leg itself in an elaborate hook. The tail of *y* and of *h* is usually a thin tapering oblique stroke. The overall impression is of roundness, thickness and simplicity rather than the slightly more decorative form of hand A.

There are several other hands visible in BL Harley MS 4172 which were probably later additions to the manuscript. They are as follows:

f. 94^{v} A later fifteenth-century secretary hand.

f.106^{r} An sixteenth-century humanist hand

f.107^{v} A fifteenth-century secretary hand.

f.108^{r} – 115^{v} A fifteenth-century secretary with anglicana features.

Sacerdos Parochialis and the other treatises are generally written in black ink with red ink to indicate the Latin rubric and capital letters. Blue ink denotes the paragraph marks and occasional decoration. The first page of the manuscript, which is the first page of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, is surrounded by a highly decorated border of blue and red with pen flourishes at each corner. The initial letters of the sections are usually 10mm high with some red pen flourishes. The red ink is used less frequently towards the end of *Sacerdos Parochialis* in the section on the excommunications until it disappears completely from the remainder of the manuscript. There is evidence of incomplete decoration around some of the capital letters indicated in. Normally, small letters indicate to the decorator the appropriate capital, occasionally capital letters are omitted completely, as on f.71^{v}.[54]

[54] On f.29^{v} see the 'f' in the margin.

Language

McIntosh locates this manuscript in the area of Yorkshire, West Riding.[55] See also Grid 406 408 and Linguistic Profile 496. He is referring to the first part of the manuscript, or more specifically to ff 1^{r} – 15^{r} and ff.50^{v} – 63^{v} which contain *Sacerdos Parochialis* and a Middle English Sermon on the Lord's Prayer respectively, both written in the same hand.

Provenance and Date

British Library MS Harley 4172 was most likely a clerical commonplace book. Apart from the contents of the manuscript, which would best serve the needs of a local pastor, there is also the brief note on the penultimate fly-leaf giving the bearer temporalities in that area. On the opening fly-leaf in the same hand as the marriage banns, there is a note on the spiritual relationships forbidden by marriage and a 'letter of appointment' or licence to temporalities.

There are several names to be found throughout the manuscript. At some stage a Thomas Buckley owned the manuscript, according to the signature in a later hand on f.94^{r}. On f. 106^{v} there is the signature of John Buckley, in a later sixteenth-century hand. Cartoon-like sketches of the heads of a gentleman and of a lady are found on the opening flyleaves. The text was obviously well read as there are several *nota* written in the margins and corrections to the texts throughout.

As Doyle notes, folio f.107^{v} contains two sets of marriage banns and gives some clues as to the owner (or one of the owners) of this manuscript. Unfortunately, the banns occur on the final folio of a quire and the second set of banns is incomplete. The banns are addressed to the clergy of the parish of Clifton of the diocese of London and to the parish of Southam of the same diocese. The names of the couple are Richard Smyth[56] of "parochiam meam" and Alicia Screuen[57] of "parochianam uxorem." A date at the end of the banns is for the twenty-fourth of September, 1451. Immediately below this set of banns, another set announces the intended marriage of

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[55] *LALME,* vol.1, 113.

[56] There are several entries in the Calendar of State Papers for 'Richard Smyth', the most likely candidate is a baker in London.

[57] There are at least two Alice Screvens (Skrene) identifiable in the *Rolls* series. One of those was married to William Skrene and later to Hamon Straunge of Essex and Suffolk (*CFR 1452 – 61*, 26). The second was also married to William Skrene, but later to Thomas Pygot of Rokewell, co. Essex (*CPR, 1446 – 52*, 97). If one takes account of the dates of either the deaths or second marriages, it is unlikely that either of these were the same Alice as mentioned in the marriage banns.

Thomas Swan[58] from the diocese of Clifton to Alicia Smyth wife of the late John Salmon from the parish of Haunton.[59] This entry is incomplete and without a date.

The name of the curate is not given, and the identity of the couple is at best tenuous. There is only one entry for Richard and Alice Smyth in the *Rolls* series, and this is not particularly helpful.[60] The entry, dated May 26 1474, refers to Nicholas Coveley seeking a licence to "found a perpetual chantry of one chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the parish church of Swynford."[61] Richard and Alice Smyth are listed among the benefactors. Unfortunately, the entry does not mention London, Southam or even Clifton, and Nicholas Covely is identified as "Nicholas Covely of Swyndford, co. Leicester [*sic*]." Further information is required to link with certainty the Richard and Alice Smyth mentioned in the banns to the Richard and Alice Smyth in the entry for the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

There is one clue to a possible identity of the curate. As already noted, there are too many Thomas Swans to identify with certainty the Thomas Swan named here. However, one Thomas Swan (b.1403), mentioned in the *Biographical Register of Oxford*, was a cleric of London diocese and a Canon of Beverley, Yorkshire.[62] It is quite possible that the Thomas Swan mentioned in the marriage banns is a nephew of Thomas Swan the cleric, reputed to be of noble lineage. If Thomas Swan were the owner, it would explain the Northern dialect of this version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Swan could have arranged to have the manuscript copied by a cleric or scibe in the Northern Province from an exemplar supplied from London.

Such a hypothesis only holds true if we assume that the one curate owned all of the discrete parts of this manuscript. In other words, if we perceive the manuscript as the personal collection of an individual curate, and not the gatherings of an antiquarian of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The date of the first part of the manuscript (1426) and the date of the marriage banns in this part of the manuscript (1451) are not incompatible with the date given for Thomas Swan's death, 1461. It is possible that British Library MS Harley 4172, is the personal library of Thomas

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[58] Unfortunately, there were too many Thomas Swans to make a certain identity.
[59] Alice Screven, described in the first set of banns, and Alice and John Salmon quite possibly hailed from Horndon, Co. Essex. There is an entry in the *Calendar of Inquisitions 1405 – 13,* for a 60 year old John Salmon who "carried a torch from the manor to the church for the baptism . . . ." The entry pertains to Horndonin Essex (p.116). However, that is to assume that "Haunton" and "Horndon" are one and the same place. The misspelling could be a result of aural, rather than scribal, error.
[60] *CPR 1467 – 77*, 443.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Emden, *Oxford*, 1829.

Swan, nephew of the magister William Swan. Unfortunately, the licence to hold a benefice on the end-fly leaf does not contain a name and the signature is quite indistinct.

The other signature, written two or three times in a poor hand on the same page, is that of Thomas Bonford. Unfortunately, the records do not mention him.

British Library MS Additional 100036[63]

This manuscript, composed of vellum, contains 99 numbered folios.[64] The manuscript measures 155 x 100mm. The page measures 147 x 90mm, written space averaging 105 x 64mm laid out in single columns. There is a single bounding line and there is some evidence of pricking on some of the folios, as, for example, on ff.89 - 90. The binding and six flyleaves, four at the front and two at the back of the codex, are modern. The manuscript is bound in blue cloth with a black leather spine. On the spine, the contents and title of the manuscript, *'Destruction of Jerusalem, Brit. Mus. Additional manuscript, 10.0036'* are imprinted in gold leaf. The year of purchase, 1836, is noted on the inside cover of one of the modern flyleaves together with a modern plate depicting a mirror, candle, books, ink pots, pen and artist's palette. The motto 'studeo minuete laborem' is imprinted on a tiny scroll.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows:

π; d^8[$4 signed]; e^9[$4signed]; f – n^8[$4 signed], mm^8; o^8, but o3, o4, o2 are in the wrong order and o1 is missing. Catchwords are on the following folios: ff11^v; 20^v; 28^v; f36^v; 44^v; 52^v; 60^v; 68^v; 76^v; 84^v; 92^v[does not match next folio].

Contents

	f.ii^r	Typed. A list of contents.
	f.1	In a modern hand, a list of contents
1.	ff.2-61^v	*The Destruction of Jerusalem* by Vespasian and Titus.
		Imperfect at beginning. **Incipit:** He bad hem go in eu<u>e</u>reche

[63] See also, Peter Brown *IPMEP V* and Peter Revell,. Comp. *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations: A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, No.19. (New York and London: Garland, 1975, Rpt.Brewer: Cambridge, 1988), 1-3.

[64] The pages are numbered to a hundred, but I believe that one of the flyleaves has been included in this enumeration.

londe / To preche his name þorw his. . .

Edition: J.A. Herbert, ed., *Titus and Vespasian or the Destruction of Jerusalem,* Roxburghe Club, (London,1905). See also *IMEV* 1034.

2. ff.62 – 80^{v} *The Assumption of the Virgin.* **Incipit:** In honoure of Ihesu cryst / Sitteþ stille and haueþ lyst . . .

Edition: Joseph R. Lumby, *King Horn*, E.E.T.S. (London, 1866).[65] or ff.2^{r}-61^{v} *Cursor Mundi* iv, EETS os 66 (1877, Rpt 1966), ll.20052 seq.

Cursor Mundi v p.1638 seq.

3. ff.81 – 85. *The Vision of Saint Paul.* **Incipit:** Poule and Myȝel praied to oure lord Ihesu Crist of his gret grace to schewe þe peynes to his disciple poule þat he myht declare hem in openyng to cristen peple.

Edition: E. Kolbing, "Eine bisher vnbekante ME. Version von Pauli Hollenfahrt," *Englische Studien* xxii, (1896), 134 – 39.

See also Wells Rev, 7: 646[320]; *IPMEP* 535.

4. ff.85r – 91^{v} *Of the three arrows on Dooms day.* **Incipit:** Here bigynneþ þe þre arowis þat god schal schete at domysdaie apoun hem þat schullen be dampned…

Edition: Carl Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writings*: *Richard Rolle and his followers*, 2 vols, (London: Swann and Sonnenschien, 1895 – 6, rpt. Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), 2: 446 – 48.

See also *IPMEP* 842.

5. ff.91^{v} – 96^{v} *Sacerdos Parochialis.* **Incipit:** In þe pater noster ben seuen askynges þat god him self ordeyned nedeful for lyf & soule þat eueryche crysten man is biholde to knowe & for to praie to god in þis wise. The treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.91^{v} Pater Noster; (ii)f.92^{r} Ave Maria; (iii)f.94^{r} End of Seven Deadly Sins & Beginning of Ten Commandments; (iv)f.96^{r} Seven Works of Mercy;

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[65] See also R. Morris, *Cursor Mundi*, Early English Text Society, os 66, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1874 – 93, rpt. 1966)

6. ff.96^{v} – 100^{v} The fifty-first psalm. **Incipit:**
Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.
Mercy God my mysdede / for þi mercy þat mychel ys. . .
Edition: F. T. Furnivall F.T. *Political, Religious and Love Poems*. Early English Text Society, os 15, (London, Oxford University Press,1866; rpt 1965).

Script and Decoration

The manuscript is written in the one hand throughout except for the fourth front flyleaf which has a list of contents in a nineteenth-century hand. The ink is black, although red was used for capital letters and for the initial rubrics.

The script is an anglicana quadrata probably of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The features of the script are as follows: double compartment of *a* slightly larger than the other letters; the lower compartments of *b* is slightly open at the upper end of the lobe while the lower compartment of *d* is open at the lower end of the lobe; the ascender of the supralinear letters are hooked, but form a parallel line rather than a loop; the ascender of *d* is short and at an oblique angle from the compartment; *g* resembles the figure 8; the feet of most letters have a slight angular hook; modern *r*; long *s* in medial and initial positions; figure 8 *s* in final position, both compartments of *w* are of equal size, although the right minim resembles a figure 3. The overall impression is of squareness and evenness.

Language

McIntosh locates this manuscript in Warwickshire.[66] See Grid 447 256 and LP 4063.

Provenance

Unfortunately, apart from the date, 1836, the year in which the manuscript became part of the British Library collection there is nothing at all to suggest the identity of the owners of the manuscript.

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[66] *LALME,* 100.

British Library MS Royal 1A.x

This manuscript contains 237 numbered folios and three flyleaves, one at the beginning and two at the end of the manuscript. The manuscript is composed of parchment and measures 200 x 165mm. The page measures 190 x 130mm, written space averaging 131 x 92mm laid out in double columns. Throughout the codex there is evidence of pricking, perhaps even of frame ruling as the lines at the top of the page and at the bottom of the page are heavier. There are also bounding lines. The overall impression of the manuscript is of a neatly bound, orderly codex. The binding and three binding leaves at either end of the manuscript are twentieth century, the year 1985 is stamped on the inside cover. The manuscript is bound in modern brown cloth with reinforced brown leather spine and corners. On the spine the contents and name of the manuscript are impressed in gold as follows, 'New Testament in the later Wyclifite version. British Library. Royal MS. 1A.x.' Some gold decorations – sheaves of corn and flowers are also found on the spine. On the front cover the United Kingdom shield surmounted by a crown and surrounded by the words, 'Honi sont qui ma pense.' The edges of the folios have also been gilded.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1-6^{8}, 7^{8+1}, 8-9^{8},10^{6},11-24^{8}, 25^{6+1}, 26-27^{8}, 28^{6}, 29^{10}. Each quire is carefully marked with a catchword and a quire number suggesting that the manuscript is a workshop production. Catchwords are found on ff.17^{v}, 25^{v}, 33^{v}, 41^{v}, 49^{v}, 57^{v}, 66^{v}, 74^{v}, 83^{v}, 88^{v}, 96^{v}, 104^{v}, 112^{v},120^{v}, 128^{v}, 136^{v}, 144^{v}, 152^{v}, 160^{v}, 168^{v}, 176^{v}, 184^{v}, 192^{v}, 200^{v}, 207^{v}, 215^{v}, 223^{v}, 229^{v}, 240^{v}. The text on the ten commandments and the seven deadly sins occur in a later hand, on the last folios of the last quire and not on a separate quire. The owner of the manuscript possibly added them later.

Contents

1. ff.1^{r} - 234^{r} A New Testament Bible.[67] **Incipit:** Here begynnyþe a rule þat telliþ in whiche chapitris of þe bible new law ȝe find þe epistles

[67] For a list of other manuscripts see *IPMEP*, 119 where it is included as one of the revised versions of the Wycliffite Bible.

& þe gospels þat ben rad in the þe chirche at masse aftur þe vsse of salisbury.[68]

For a list of other manuscripts see *IPMEP*, 119 where it is included as one of the revised versions of the Wycliffite Bible.

2. ff.235^{v} - 238^{r} Ten Commandments – not Wycliffite.

Opening lines illegible. . . . . the thyrd hest is thenke þou to halowe þin holy daye. Sixe dayes þou shalt wyrch and do þin owne werkes. . .

3. ff.238^{v} - 240^{v} An extract from *Sacerdos Parochialis* on the Seven Deadly Sins.[69] **Incipit:** Pride is to much love þat man have to him self and to much hienes havyng oþer men in dispitee. . .

Script

Hand A (ff.1^{r} – 234^{r}) is an anglicana script of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, written on double columns on 36 lines of the page. The usual anglicana features are evident, such as the double compartment *a*; the *d* with the short ascender at an oblique angle; the minims with feet and the long *s* in initial and final position. The general impression is one of neatness and order. The script lacks lavish ascenders or descenders and has a rather compressed, softly angular appearance. In the Gospel section of the manuscript, the initial letters of the chapters are decorated in blue with small red pen flourishes.

Hand B (ff.235^{r} – 240^{v}) is a later anglicana with secretary features. The letter forms are somewhat rounder and the extensions to the descenders are a little more otiose. Sigma *s* is present alongside the other forms of *s; d* with the looped ascender to create a bow-like effect is still in use. The minims are tapered. The overall impression is of a more fluid script than the script of the earlier Gospel section of the manuscript.

There is a noticeable absence of colour in the latter treatises on the ten commandments and the seven deadly sins. The small faint letters in the blank spaces indicate that the initial letters were probably meant to be decorated. Many of the texts

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[68] The catalogue notes an interdependence between the contents of this manuscript and those of Royal 1.A.iv.

[69] Jolliffe includes this extract in the section on "Sin & Sins" in his *Check-list*. Failing to recognise the extract as from *Sacerdos Parochialis*, he notes only one other sample, that found in BL MS Harley 4172 where it forms part of the whole of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (Jolliffe, 83) .

are accompanied by marginal pointers, written in a later hand. For example, in the *Sacerdos Parochialis* extract, each sin is noted in the outer margin.

Language

The brevity of the extract from *Sacerdos Parochialis* found in British Library Royal MS 1A.x. makes it almost impossible to create a satisfactory linguistic profile. The following spelling features are available:

it *hit* **them** *hy*

which *quych* **much** *muche*

work *werk* **church** *cherch*

not *not* **without** *wt oute*

who *quo*

Provenance

This manuscript is item 900 in the 1609 Lumley catalogue.[70] However, the catalogue does not indicate how Lumley came into possession of the manuscript. Two names are discernible within the manuscript, 'Marye Shelbery' on f.239^{v}, and Richard Hall on f.240^{r}. A record of 'Mary Shelbery' has not been uncovered elsewhere. Although there are too many references to Richard Hall to provide a conclusive identity, there is one identity worth pursuing briefly.

An entry in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429 – 36* records the presentation of William Leche "to the vicarage of Sturrey in the diocese of Canterbury, void by the resignation of Richard Halle."[71] The entry refers to 1431, a time of increased Lollard activity in the Kent area. There is no reason given for the resignation of Richard Halle and there is no further record to suggest his whereabouts after this date. Perhaps, Richard Hall was obliged to resign on account of Lollard activity, and that the Bible in Royal MS 1.A.x was originally his. Most of the suspects were arrested in the South of the County, in or around Tenterden, but there was some heretical activity in the North of the County. [72]

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[70] Jayn Sears and Francis R. Johnson, eds., *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*, (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956).
[71] *CPR 1429 – 36*, 85.
[72] J.A.F. Thomson, 173.

British Library MS Additional 10053[73]

This manuscript contains 115 numbered folios of parchment and two flyleaves of modern paper at either end of the manuscript. The manuscript measures 160 x 140mm. The page measures 180 x 130mm, written space averaging 150 x 100mm. The binding and binding leaves are twentieth century. The dating stamp, on the inside cover, indicate that the manuscript was rebound in 1967. The manuscript is bound in blue cloth with black leather reinforcing the corners and the spine. The title '*Mirour of Saynt Edmunde* etc.' and the number of the manuscript '*Brit. Mus. Ms. 10,053*' are inscribed on the spine in gold-leaf.

Collation

π^2, a-c^8[$4 signed], 5^2[$1signed], aa-dd^8[$4 signed], 10$^{8-1}$[$3 signed], f-g^8, aaa^8-bbb$^{8-1}$, 15-16^8.

On close examination of both the quiring, the contents, the signatures, and the script, it is obvious that this codex can be divided into two parts: (i) ff.3^r-84^v and (ii) ff.85^r-115^v. The first part, consisting of the first twelve quires, contains mainly devotional and contemplative texts more appropriate reading for religious rather than the secular clergy.[74] The signature of the scribe on f.83^v would suggest that this was the end of the original manuscript. The treatise *Duodecim abuciones claustralium* was included in a later hand in the remaining space of the final quire. The contents are in keeping with the monastic theme of the rest of that part of the manuscript. The division of the manuscript into two parts is further supported by the roman numerals to be found at the end of all quires of the first part of the manuscript. The numbers begin at 18, not at 1, however as one would expect, indicating that the first part of this manuscript was originally the second half of another manuscript, the first part now missing or unidentified.[75] The roman numerals numbers are found on ff.3^v; 11^v; 19^v; 27^v; 29^v; f.37^v; 45^v; 53^v; 61^v; 68^v; 76^v; 84^v. The correct order of folios 47 - 51 should be 47, 49, 48, 51, 50.[76]

The material of the second half of the manuscript, consisting of the remaining six quires, is more catechetical and doctrinal in nature. In the second part of the

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[73] See also Peter Brown *IMEP, Handlist V*, 6-10.
[74] The manuscript belonged to a Canon of St. Augustine, London.
[75] The opening tract is complete and entire contrary to what one might expect when a portion of the manuscript has been lost.
[76] A modern hand in the manuscript draws attention to this confusion.

manuscript, there are several empty spaces between texts, which usually correspond to the quiring. The script also changes with each treatise. *Euery Cristen Man and Woman* is found on the next two quires, the final folio of which is blank(f.99). *Sacerdos Parochialis* is found on the final two quires and, apart from the first two lines and two words which complete the treatise, the final folio is blank (f.115). This arrangement of material suggests that the second half of this manuscript is an *ad hoc* collection of doctrinal material, strung together by a later compiler as he or she chanced upon the treatises. It is impossible to say when and how the first part of the manuscript was separated from its original and when the later parts were added. It is apparent, however, that the extant form of the manuscript was not its original form.

Contents

The manuscript contains religious treatises of instructional and devotional material, in Middle English. The codex contains suitable reading material for a religious woman, such as the *Letter to A Maid* or *Consciens Clere*.

f.iii^{v} A list of contents in a modern hand and a brief biographical note on the birth and death of Edmund Rich.

1. ff.3^{r}–29^{r} *Speculum Sancti Edmund Archiepiscopi* (1223 – 33).[77] **Incipit:** Here begyinnyt þe sermon of Saynt Edmu[n]d of Pounteney þat ys clepyd þe merour of Saynt Edmunde and sum clepen it þe merour of holy chyrche. In the name of our swete lorde Ihesu Crist here begynnys þe maters þat bene toched in þe sermon þat folowyt here after boystysly endytyd for to fle þa̲t besynes þat lettyt me̲n to serue god.

Edition: Carl Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writings: Richard Rolle and His Followers*, (London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1895; rpt. Cambridge: Brewer, 1999).

2. ff.29^{v}–40^{r} Eight chapters on perfection attributed to Walter Hinton. **Heading:** Here begynnyþ a tretes necessarye for men þat ȝeuen hem vnto perfeccion which was foundyn in maister

[77] For a Latin edition of the Latin *Speculum Ecclesie* see Helen Forshaw, ed., *Speculum Ecclesie and Speculum Religiosorum*, (London: OUP, 1973). A note in *IPMEP* states that this is the only version of the Middle English *Speculum Ecclesie* to be translated from Anglo-Norman [800]. For a more detailed discussion of the textual tradition of the *Speculum Ecclesie* see Helen Forshaw "New Light on the *Speculum Ecclesie* of St. Edmund of Abingdon," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age*, 38, (1971): 7 – 33.

lowys de fontibus bok at cambrigge and torned into englisshe be maister water hilton chanon of thorgorton. (i) f.29^{v} **Incipit:** The ferst token of loue is þat the louer submitte fully hys wylle to the wylle of hym that louith and thys special loue....

Edition: Dorothy Jones, ed., *Minor Works of Walton Hilton*, (London: Burnes, Oates & Co., 1929).[78]

3.ff.40^{v} – 68^{v} *A Letter to a Maid from St. Jerome.*[79] **Incipit:** The first besynesse and the first studie of a mayden ought for to be for to knowe the wille of our lord and for to ensuer besili what plesed hym or what displeysed hym so that after the bidding of the appostel she might yelden hir seruice to Ihesu quemful and resonable and al that al the cours of hir lyuyng myght be ordeined after the rule of hys wordes.

For a modern edition of an extract from this treatise see: C. Kirckberger, ed., "From the Epistle of St. Jerome to Demetriades," *Life of the Spirit*, 5, (1951): 400 – 6. For a Latin edition see *PLD* vol. 30, col. 24 – 45 and vol. 33 col. 1105 – 20.

4. ff.69^{r} – 83^{r} *Consciens clere this lesson I rede þu lere.*[80] Middle English verse advising on good behaviour. **Incipit:** Almighty god in trinite / Fader and sone and holy ghost/ That is o god and persones thre/ A sothfast lord of mightes most / yeue us grace synne to fle. . .

5. ff.83^{v} – 84^{r} *Duodecim abuciones claustralium.* A tract on the abuses found within a monastery attributed by Bloomfield to Hugo de Foliet. **Incipit:** Prelatus negligens ille qui cum subdittos negligences. .. *PLD* vol. 176, col. 1058 – 86. Bloomfield, 1839.

6. ff. 85^{r} –98^{v} *Euery cristen man and woman* which is an abbreviated form of Richard Lavynham's *A Litil Tretys of the Seven Deadly Sins.*[81]

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[78] For other editions and a list of manuscripts see: *IPMEP*, 677 and Lagorio [29] 3075 – 76 & 3430 – 33.

[79] For a list of other manuscripts in which this treatise occurs see Jolliffe, "Growth in the Spiritual Life" in his *Check-list* (Jolliffe, 93). English tract begins at chapter ix of Latin.

[80] Not found in C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse*, (New York, 1943).

[81] This treatise is listed under "Sin and Sins" in Jolliffe's *Checklist* (Jolliffe, 80). Included under "*Luxuria*" is an extract from *Dives et Pauper* (chapters 16 – 18 of commandment 6. Chapter 18 is

Incipit: Euery cristen man and woman that ȝernyth to be saued hath grete nede to be ware and eschewe the fendis slyȝths. . .

f.99 Blank

7. ff.99^{r} – 115^{r} *Sacerdos Parochialis.*[82] **Incipit:** Sacerdos Parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna in anno. . .

The treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.99^{r} Latin prologue; (ii) f.99^{r} *Pater Noster*; (iii) f.102^{r} *Ave Maria*; (iv) f.103^{v} *Credo*; (v) f.105^{r} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.106^{v} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.107^{v} Seven Works of Mercy; (viii) f.107^{v} Seven Virtues; (ix) f.108^{v} Seven Sacraments; (x) f.113^{r} Two Great Commandments.

f.116 Blank

Script

The manuscript is written in a fifteenth-century script and would appear to be uniform throughout. However, on closer examination it is evident that there are four distinct hands in BL MS Additional 10053.

Hand A (ff.3^{r}-81^{v}) is fifteenth-century anglicana with distinct secretary features, written in single column on approximately 28 lines of the page. The features are as follows: single-compartment, pointed *a* with occasional use of the older anglicana double-compartment form of *a*; open *e*; double-length secretary *f*; all ascenders have looped hooks, in the case of *b* and *h* these hooks fuse with the lobes; there are two forms of *g*, the double-compartment *g* of anglicana (the more common form) and the single-compartment *g* with a pronounced headstroke; minims are tapered at their ends and are connected to the next letters from the base of the letter form; modern *r* occurs occasionally, but there is also the forked *r* and the 2 form of *r* (usually after *o*); double-length secretary *s* occupies medial and initial positions while the diamond-shaped *s* is employed in the final position; *w* is an elaborate and ornate circle with many flourishes both within and without the graph. There is occasional use of

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incomplete. See Priscilla Heath Barnum, ed., *Dives et Pauper*, vol. 2, Early English Text Society, os 280, (London, 1980), 104 - 19.

[82] *IMEP V* lists two other manuscripts as containing a version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, they are BL Royal 8. F. vii, f.41^{v}; and Oxon, Ucol 28, f.48. I have examined both manuscripts and have determined that neither version mentioned is *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The version is in BL Royal 8 F. vii. It follows *Pupilla Oculi* by John de Burgh and is related to *Sacerdos Parochialis* only in so far as both are derived from the *Oculus Sacerdotis*. Oxford College University 28 bears some similarity to *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but is not that treatise.

abbreviation forms such as the superscript *c* to represent *er* or the wavy bar to represent *ra*. The overall impression is of roundness, with a more extensive use of supra and intralinear letters. Occasionally, the scribe seems to have employed a thinner nib lending the script the impression of a change of hand. Close examination of graphs, however, has indicated that it is quite likely the same hand throughout these particular folios.

Hand B (ff.82^{r} – 84^{v}) is a late fifteenth-century hybrid secretary, diplaying both the rotund nature of anglicana and the spikier appearance of secretary. The page appears particularly crowded and the strokes are quite thin. The features are as follows: double-compartment *a* and single-compartment *a*; the bowl of *b* is often open and the ascender loops in a thin ligature back onto the shaft of the graph; looped ascender on *d*; open *e*; single compartment *g* with a long headstroke linking it to the next letter; sigma *s* is in final position; long *s* in initial and medial position; *c* and *t* are indistinguishable; the minims are tapered at their ends; the left arm of *v* or the right arm of *m* when in the initial or final position respectively displays and otiose extension above the letter.

Hand C (ff.85^{r} – 98^{v}) is an early fifteenth-century hybrid anglicana with secretary features written over 26 lines of the page. The features are as follows: double-compartment anglicana *a*; two quite distinct forms of *d*, the familiar 'bow-shaped' form of the anglicana script and the more modern secretary form with a short diagonal ascender, ocassionally decorated with a hook running parallel to the ascender; open *e*; single compartment *g* with the pronounced headstroke; clubbed ascenders; minims with feet, although the far right minim is usually extended slightly to connect to the next letter; the 2 form of *r*, although the modern *r* form also exists; both the long secretary *s* in the initial and medial positions and the figure 8 form of *s* in final position; *w* shaped like two *l*s and a 3. The overall impression of this script is of the squareness softened by slight rotundity. One of the more distinct features of this script is the hair-like terminals on the bowl or lobe of *d* not found on the bowls or lobes of other lower-compartment letters.

Hand D (ff.100^{r} – 115^{v}) is an earlier fifteenth-century secretary written in single columns over 25 lines of the page. Many of the usual secretary features are evident in this hand: the cursive, pointed *a*; the looped ascender on the *d*; the open *e* and the long infralinear strokes on the secretary *s*, *f* and on *p*; horned *g* with the pronounced headstroke; the forked *r* and the 2 form of *r*. The minims lack feet and are tapered at

the base. The figure 8 *s* occupies final position. The *w* is the simple secretary form, lacking the clubbed ascenders. Apart from the longer left ascender, both compartments are identical in size. All ascenders are clubbed and supralinear. The descenders of *y* are clubbed to the right and the occasionally *v* and *b* have left arms that extend horizontally below the graph. The hand becomes more compressed for the Latin rubrics. The overall impression is of neatness, but this script lacks the evenness of the scripts described in hands A-C.

The text *Sacerdos Parochialis* is written in black ink throughout, although the Latin running titles are either written in red ink or are underlined in red ink. The captial letters at the beginning of various sections are approximately 100 x 200mm and are written in blue ink. There is usually a faint, smaller letter to indicate where the illuminator is to insert the capital letter suggesting a workshop production. There is significant evidence of erasure (ff.101^{r} and 108^{v}), of expunction (f.107^{r})and of insertion by the scribe suggesting also that he was working from another copy. Some of the correcting seems to have been done by a later scribe, as on f. 108^{r}. F.108^{r} also indicates a slight change in script in which there is more of a left aspect to the script and it gives the impression of haste.

Language

Many of the spellings found in *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Every Christian Man and Woman* are so common as to be of little use in locating the origins of the scribe(s) who may have compiled this manuscript. Nonetheless, a number of less common spellings suggest that the scribe(s) may have come from the region of Suffolk or Essex.[83]

The more unusual spellings are:

much *mechel*(101), *mychill, mochel, muche, moche* **own** *owne, owyn*(501)

little *lytyll, littil, lytyl*(463) **it** *hit*(24)

if *yf, ȝif, ȝiffe*(210) **church** *cherche*(384)

The more common spellings of both texts are:

give *ȝeu* (427) **work** *werk* (309)

before *aforne* (365) *before* **from** *from* (176)

call *clep* (378)

die *dey* (394)

daughter *dou3tir*(721)

without *wt oute, wyth oute, wt outen* (588)

yet *3it*(243)

each *ech(*85)

they *thei, they* (30)

many *many* (90)

against *a3ens, a3enst, a3enste*(218), *agayne*

although *þou3*(197)

were *wern, weren* (132)

one *oo, on* (856)

say *sey* (505)

shall, should *shulde,*(145)

schold, schuld

them *hem*(40)

then *than* (183)

since *sithen*(40), *sith, syth*

any *any* (97)

not *nought*(288), *nou3t, nowte,*

no3t, not

Provenance

A note on a flyleaf (ii^{v}) states 'Brand Sale 1807'. The image is of a ruined church or abbey surrounded by shrubs and trees. A milestone in the lower corner states 'Jbrand &B, Coll Linc Oxon'. This manuscript was bought by the British Library in February 1836 from William Herbert, according to a note on the inside cover. The date 1779 appears beside his name on the top right hand corner of f.iii^{r}. On f. 83^{r} there is a note in a late fifteenth-century hand which suggests that the codex may have been made by the Augustinian canons of Holy Trinity, London:

> Orate pro anima dominum Iohannis Pery canonici ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis London infra Algate qui hunc librum fieri fecit cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

However, it is not clear whether only the first part of the manuscript (up to and including *Duodecim Abusiones*) or whether both parts (including *Sacerdos Parochialis*) were made for the Augustinian Canon.

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[83] The following dialectical analysis is based on the dot maps of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England.* The numbers in brackets refer to the dot maps illustrating the locations of that particular form of the word.

Cambridge MS Pembroke College 285[84]

This manuscript contains seventy-two numbered folios and four modern flyleaves, two at either end of the manuscript. The manuscript, made of parchment, is not in the original binding. The manuscript measures 260 x 145mm.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: a-e^{8}, 6^{8}(there is a glimpse of an upper serif on the right-hand corner, possibly 'f' on f.43^{r}) x^{8}, aa^{8}, bb^{8+1}. There is only one catchword, and that occurs on f.24^{v}.

Contents

f.2^{r} A Sequence to St. Osith.

f.ii^{v} The contents of the manuscript are outlined in a modern hand.

1. f.1^{r} - 47^{r}. *Speculum Christiani*. **Incipit:** Ieronimus. In principio cuiuslibet operis premitte dominicam orationem…

f.2r the first of the eight tabulae begin.

Edition: G. Holmstedt, ed., *Speculum Christiani*, Early English Text Society, os 182 (London, 1933).[85]

f.48^{r} Blank, except for a number of lines at the top of the page in a later hand.**Incipit:** Soule conscien morti sue et est. . .

f.48^{v} Blank except for the words 'In constitucione fratris Iohannis' which are the opening lines of the text on the following page. Two christian names, 'Raffe' and 'Richarde' are also visible. All of these notes are written in a later hand.

2. f.49^{v} – 72^{v} A version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* written in Middle English. **Incipit:** *Sacerdos Parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna* The treatise is laid out as follows: (i) f.49^{v} Constitutions of John Pecham of the Lambeth Council of 1281, in Latin.[86] (ii) f.51^{r} Latin prologue. (iii) f.51^{r} Ave

[84] This is the only manuscript that I was unable to see and examine personally. I am dependent here on Veronica O'Mara's description in her thesis, *A Study of Unedited Late Middle English Sermons that Occur Singly or in Small Groups*, (Ph.D. diss. Leeds, 1987) and the assistance of Kari Rand in private correspondence.

[85] This is also item 39 of British Library MS Harley 4172.

[86] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2: pt.2, 900 – 5.

Maria (iv) f.51^{v} Credo; (v) f.52^{v} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.53^{v} Seven Principal Virtues; (vii) f.53^{v} Two Great Commandments; (viii)f.54^{v} Seven Sacraments; (ix) f.57^{v} Excommunications;[87] (x) f.60^{r} An unidentified Pater Noster. **Incipit:** God oure fader þat is in heuene he chese to hym here on erþe xij aposteles and taught eche of hem many godnesses and many wisdomes and ȝaf to eche of hem and taught hem a oryson, a preyer.. (xi) f.62^{v} A sermon to be delivered on the Feast of St. Nicholas: December 6.[88] **Incipit:** *Deus time et mandata eius observa, Ecclesiastes vltimo capitulo.* The grace of almyghti god þorgh þe besechyng of his dere moder mary and of þe holy confessour…bryng vs to blis witoute endyng. Amen. My dere gostly children in cryst I fynde þat wyse poyetes by olde tyme. . (xii) f.65^{r} *Eueri Cristen man and woman.*[89] **Incipit:** Eueri cristen man & woman þat ȝerneþ to be saued haþ grete nede to be war & eschewe the fendes sleyghtes. . .

Script and Decoration

Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 is written in two distinct scripts, an anglicana formata for the Latin sections and a hybrid anglicana for the vernacular sections, but probably by the same early fifteenth-century hand. Both are written in single column on 30 lines of the page. The overall impression of the former is of a soft angularity whereas the later has the 'spiky' look typical of a secretary hand. Both share similar features such as the double-compartment *d*, the looped ascenders of the *l* and the open *e*, although the bastard secretary also has the closed *e*. Both scripts employ the long *s*, but differ in their choice of a second *s,* the anglicana using the figure 8 form and secretary using sigma *s*. The minims of the anglicana have lozenged-shaped feet while the minims of the bastard secretary have little serifs. The choice of *r* varies for both

[87] Related to the second set of excommunications found in British Library MS Burney 356 ff.53^{r} – 54^{v} and, therefore, to Pickering's Group 10 of his classification of the Sentence of Middle English Cursing. See Pickering (237 – 8).

[88] 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.

[89] Jolliffe notes that the Pembroke edition "is considerably modified". See also Oxford MS Rawlinson A381 ff.112^{r} – 114^{v} and British Library Additional 10053 ff.85^{r} – 98^{v} (Jolliffe, 80). See f.n. 68 above for further information on the relationship of *Every Christian Man and Woman* to Richard Lavynham's *A Litil Tretyse on the Seven Deadly Sins*.

scripts also: the anglicana employs modern *r* and the two form of *r*; the secretary script prefers forked *r*. *W* of both scripts is quite similar in their looped middle ascender, except that the secretary ascenders are more rotund and less angular than in the anglicana script. The secretary also extends hooks and descenders above and below the line creating the 'spiky', less formal and more cursive appearance of secretary script.

The treatise is written in black ink throughout, but the initial capitals, headings and underlinings are decorated in red ink.

Language

A number of linguistic elements locates the version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* found in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 in or around Ely or Norfolk. The following word forms were used regularly. The numbers in brackets refer to the dot maps in the *Linguistic Atlas* illustrating the frequency of their distribution.

are: *be been ben* (123, 124)
-ly: *liche*(609)
call:*clepid*(378)
any: *any, eny*
if: *ȝef* (212)
church: *chirge, chirche*(385)
work: *werchest* (311, 312)
much: *moche* (103)
from:*fram, fra* (174)
such: *suche* (74)

Provenance

The only evidence of provenance is the name Raffe Mainarde that occurs on f.69^{v} and in a brief note on f.72^{v} at the end of *Sacerdos Parochialis* stating that "Raffe Mainarde oeth this boke." Both entries are in a sixteenth-century hand.[90] Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify definitively "Raffe Mainarde'. However, Doyle notes that the sequence of St. Sitha included in this manuscript indicates a link with the Augustinian Priory in Ossyth, Essex.[91] 'Raffe' was a common name among the brothers. A well-liked abbot of the thirteenth century bore the name and it is quite possible that many of the brothers chose the name on entering

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[90] Deanesley notes that this manuscript belonged to Ralph Maynard in the fourteenth century. Margaret Deanesley. *The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions*, (Cambridge, 1920), but Doyle corrects this in his thesis (Doyle, *A Survey,* notes 11).
[91] Doyle, notes p.11.

or making vows.[92] 'Maynard' was the name of a well-to-do family in the Essex area and, quite possibly, identifies the owner of the book as a member of this family who joined the Augustinians.

Oxford Bodley MS Rawlinson D913

This manuscript contains 132 numbered folios with two flyleaves at the back and front of the manuscript. The manuscript is composed of vellum and paper. The manuscript measures 333 x 210mm. The pages vary in size throughout the manuscript. The pages of *Sacerdos Parochialis* measure 280 x 190mm, written space averaging 200 x 140mm. This manuscript is obviously an antiquarian collection of treatises culled from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and bound together at some stage. The manuscript is bound in ninetheenth-century dark brown leather. The spine and corner pieces are made of tan-coloured leather. A descriptive title 'Fragments of English and French Poetry and Prose etc. MS Rawlinson D.913,' is impressed upon the spine of the manuscript.

Collation

Due to the nature of Oxford MS Rawlinson D913, I have chosen not to include a note on the collation of the whole of the manuscript. It is an antiquarian collection of unrelated treatises and would not, therefore, enlighten us on the treatises with which *Sacerdos Parochialis* was normally circulated. *Sacerdos Parochialis* is composed of two quires of eight and four folios, although there are no obvious quiring marks apart from a catchword on f.17^{v}. The treatise is fairly clean, apart from the front and back folios indicating that it was intended for circulation as an independent tract. The treatise may never have been used, however, as it is in mint condition.

Contents[93]

Composed of discrete texts in Middle English, Latin, Anglo-Norman and some Dutch, this manuscript is an antiquarian collection of unrelated treatises from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

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[92] William Page and J. Horace Round, eds. *The history of the County of Essex*, (London: Archibald Constable & Company, 1907), vol. 2: n. 7 p. 162.

[93] Due to the poor condition of some of these treatises, I have relied heavily on the catalogue for some of the information contained herein.

1. f.2^{r} Some lyrics on Jason's search for the golden fleece. **Incipit:** Til tyme of yere whan þo shoo son/ In his space was so for upron/ þa̲t he was ypassid þo signe of somme/ And had his chare...

2. f.4^{r} – 5^{v} A version of the *Mort d'Arthur* containing the victory of the Britons over the Romans. **Incipit:** Arthurus and alle þe toþer þa̲t were þere / and seid ȝif it be wommen. .

3. f.5^{r} A short piece, partly illegible. According to Ringler, the piece consists of "two stanzas, partly effaced, of a dedication to [Henry Howard]earl of Surrey."[94]

f.5^{v} blank

4. f.6^{r-v} A poem on love. **Incipit:** Let losed to lowd to kyn lo and Iohsto for lored [. .] howll lowd canon be bated yff losed.

5. f.7^{r} –8^{v} The Creed, in Latin and Middle English in verse. **Incipit:** I byleve that cryst was borne of the vergen. Imperfect. Raymo [38] 2282-83 & 2510 –11.

6. f.9^{r-v} A religious poem which I found quite illegible.

ff.9^{v}; 10^{r-v}; 11^{r-v} blank

7. f.10^{r} –19^{r} *Sacerdos Parochialis*. **Incipit:** In this treti folowynge euery christen man and woman owȝt þerof to haue knowlich and enformacioun of her parisshe curatour in her moder langage iiij tymes in þe ȝeer the wiche tretis is devided in vij chapitirs. . . This treatise is laid out as follows: (i)10^{r} Middle English Prologue (ii) f.10^{r} Pater Noster; (iii) f.10^{v} Ave Maria; (iv) f.10^{v} Credo; (v) f.11^{r} Ten Commandments; (vi) f.12^{r} Seven Deadly Sins; (vii) f.12^{v} Seven Works of Mercy; (viii) f.13^{r} Seven Virtues; (ix) f.13^{v} Seven Sacraments; (x) f.16^{v} Form of Confession;[95] (xi) f.17^{v} Reserved Cases; (xii) f.18^{r} Sins of Heart, Mouth, Deed and Omission.

f.19^{v}, 20^{r-v}, 21^{r} blank, 21^{v} blank except for the following title: "Im for as

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[94] William Ringler, *Bibliography and Index of Middle English Verse in Manuscripts 1501 – 58,* prepared and completed by Michael Ruddic and Susan J. Ringler, (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1992),181.

[95] Jolliffe lists this short item on confession separately in the *Check-list*, under the section on "confession and penance" (Jolliffe, 17).

mvrye as I have payed"

8. ff.23^{r} - 41^{v} *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* by Geoffrey Chaucer. **Incipit:** Lyte Lowys my sone I aperceyue wel be certeyne euydences thyn abilite to lerne sciences touchynge noumbres and ...
Edition: Larry D Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), 661 – 83.
IPMEP 438.

f.42 blank

9. f.43^{r} – 44^{r} *Romance of Merlin* written in Middle English prose treatise. **Incipit:** My lyf tyme they shul have no brede to be.. Imperfect.

10. f.44^{v} Ordinances of the guild of St. George in Norwich cathedral with the name of the brethren and sisters. **Incipit:** Seynt George ȝerely on qwat day sit falle ȝerely up As thei schul kepe here dimme servise...
Edition: Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds,* 8, (London, 1870).

11. f.48^{r} – 51^{v} A long list of names.

12. f.52^{r} -54^{r} Some recipes for: 'Charlett', 'gelee de chare', 'hagys de almaygne' ; 'crustade', 'crustade in lent', 'oiles on capon forcez' in a secretary hand.

13. f.55^{r} – 60^{r} About the crowning of Richard of York. **Incipit:** Fuit diuulgata et indisact per traducione et rugromancia. Eo post pascha sequens . .

14. ff.61^{v} (i) A fragment (almost illegibile) on boasting. **Incipit:** Greuous is þe vois of bostyng and of pride. . . (ii) A fragment of a tract on pride.. identified as (i) þe pistill of saynt Machari þe Ermyte", and (ii) þe epistill of Saynt Iohann þe Ermyte"
Editions: C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle and his Followers,* (London: Swann and Sonnenschein,1895; reprint Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), 122-24. George de Liege, "Un traite inedit de l'Amour de Dieu." *Revue L'Ascetique et de Mystique* xii (1931), 349 – 439.

Both extracts are also found sequentially in Bodley Additional 33971.[96]

15. ff.62^{v} A fourteenth-century Middle English poem on the pains of hell. **Incipit:** Rede of deþ þat he elce shuld drye / For paynes þat he say wiþ his eyȝe.

16. f.63^{r} A poem about a King's coronation. **Incipit:** Now able prince þengli I be not wyse / Wel willid am I old I furst þow colde. There is a note in a modern hand on the top of the page: "About a King's coronation oath. This fragment I had of Mr. Bagford."

f.64^{r} blank

17. f.64^{v} –65^{v} A prayer. **Incipit**: I Lord God most louing and true þe I gaft and mind to seem all keping that faithfully. . .

18. f.66^{r} A list of bushels of malt delivered to people. The dates seem to be December 9th 1493 and 1495 in the reign of Henry VII.

19. f.68^{r} – 82^{v} A collection of letters to and from a certain Mr. Reede from around 1578.

20. f.83^{r} – 89^{v} The following three extracts, according to an inscription of.87^{v}, were apparently taken from the cover of a book whose inscription suggests that they belonged to a "minor friar of Canterbury."
(a) f.83^{r} Wace's *Roman de Brut* in Middle French;[97] (b) f.85^{r} Beginning of the Anglo-Norman poem of the legend of St. Brandanus; (c) f.86^{r} Anglo-Norman metrical romance of Guy of Warwick.

21. f.90^{r} – 92^{v} An unknown metrical romance the hero of which is Gandes. Edition: E. Stengel, *Zeitschrift fur Rom. Philol,* (1882).

22. f.93^{r-v} Fragments, mutilated, of Wace's *Brut* also in Anglo-Norman.[98]

23. f.94^{r} –97^{r} Fragments from *Roman de la Rose* by Guill. Lorris and Jean de Meun.

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[96] *IPMEP*, 274.
[97] For a modern edition see Judith Weiss, *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999). The two fragments (see item 22 below) are described in the introduction as "four fragments from two separate MSfS, of the late 12th and the 14th c. (xxix)
[98] See item 20 above.

Edition: F. Michel, ed., *Roman de La Rose*, 2 vols, (Paris: 1864). A modern hand has inserted the verse numbers from Michel's edition over the corresponding verses in the manuscript.

24. f.98^{r} –99^{v} A note in a modern hand, on an insert, provides information on the Dutch text as follows: "A fourteenth-century leaf from a dutch poetical text of the *Vitas Patrum* and the begin of the vita S. Hilary. The leaf should be turned around and the other edge should be bound in."

25. f.100^{r-v} "Vertues and Christian magnificence" written in Anglo-Norman.

26. f.101^{r} – 111^{v} A Year Book of Edward I written in Latin and Anglo-Norman.

27. (a)f.112^{r} A collection of legends from the lives of saints in Anglo-Norman.

(b) f.122^{r} A religious instructional manual also in Anglo-Norman. The treatise expounds on the five senses, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, seven sacraments and the dignity of priests,

Script and Decoration

Sacerdos Parochialis is written in black ink with the capital letters in blue decorated with red pen flourishes. The Latin rubric is in red and the paragraph marks are in blue. The initial uncial 'I' occupies a space of 30 x 25mm. Other uncials throughout the treatise are 20 x 15mm. Marginalia, in red ink, enumerate or note the subject matter in the same hand as the main text.

The script is a fifteenth-century hybrid anglicana with occasional secretary features such as the oblique ascender on *d*, final *s* and simpler *w*.[99] Features of this particular script are as follows: double-compartment *a*, slightly larger than the other linear letters; the open compartment of *b*; the oblique angle of ascender *d*; the figure 8 *g*, the lower compartment being slightly smaller; the supralinear letters are hooked on topped, linking with the lower compartment in *b*; the shafts of these supralinear letters are longer than the regular quadrata forms; the minims are terminate at the bottom at a

[99] Petti, plate 3.

slight angle or with little serifs; the form of *r* is distinctly modern; sigma *s* shares initial position with long *s,* the latter usually occupying medial position also; *s* in final position is more like the new secretary *s*, (a small *B* or *c* and 3 run together);[100] the left lobe of *w* is slightly smaller than the right lobe, but is more simple than the usual anglicana *w*. The overall impression is of neatness, order and a soft squareness to the letter shapes.

Language

The variety of spellings and forms found in the *Sacerdos Parochialis* of Oxford MS Rawlinson D913, makes it quite difficult to identify the origin of the scribe.

one *oo* (856)
without *wiþ outen* (588)
died *deide* (394)
life *liff* (820)
young: *ȝong* (927)
each *ecche* (85)
then *than* (183)
any *any* (97)
daughter *douȝter* (721)
call *clepe* (378)
they *þei* (30)
before *afore* (359)
yet *yit* (243)
from *fro* (175)
is *ben*
shall *shal* (145)
day *daie* (725)
are *ben* (124)
although: *þouȝ*(197)
them *hem* (40)
against *aȝenste* (222)
weeks *wokes* (560)
year *ȝeer* (925)
work *werk* (309)
many *many* (90)
not *nouȝt* (288)
if *if* (211)

A study and comparison of the dot maps indicates that the scribe of this manuscript may have originated in an area curving North from Anglia and South from Lancashire.

Durham MS Cosin V.iv.2[101]

The manuscript is composed of 171 numbered folios of paper with 3 seventeenth-century flyleaves: two in the front and one at the back of the codex. One of the folios,

[100] Petti, 14.
[101] I am heavily indebted to Veronica O'Mara for her excellent description of this manuscript in *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, (Leeds: School of English, U Leeds, 1994).

f.121, has been removed from the manuscript. The manuscript measures 207 x 145mm. The page measures 205 x 143mm, written space averaging 150 x 100mm usually laid out in single columns. However, the folios 90 - 93 are laid out in double column. The manuscript is bound in seventeenth-century brown calf, blind-tooled by Hugh Hutchinson.

Collation

The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1^{12}, 2-3^{14}, 4-9^{12}, $10^{12\,(-9)}$, 11-12^{8}, 13^{12}, 14^{8}. The manuscript lacks quire signatures, but catchwords are found on the following folios: 12^{v}, 26^{v}, 40^{v}, 52^{v}, 64^{v}, 76^{v}, 88^{v}, 100^{v}, 112^{v}, 140^{v} and 152^{v}. O'Mara notes that "false catchwords are found frequently on the rectos throughout the manuscript from f.5^{r} to f.159^{r}."[102] I would suggest that the 'original' manuscript was the *Fasciculus Morum* to which the remaining treatises were added and later bound.

Contents

1. ff.1-116^{v}. An abridged version of the *Fasciculus Morum*. **Incipit:** Hic incipiunt quedam notabilia que tractaui de libro vocata fasciculus morum.
Edition: Siegfried Wenzel, ed., *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century English Preacher's Handbook*, (London, 1978).

2. ff.116^{v} – 7^{r} "Sententiae" from Sts Isidore and Augustine. **Incipit:** Nichil deus dignius bona voluntare… Nunquam anima pacificatur..

3. ff.117^{r-v} *Novem Virtutes*. **Incipit:** Da pauperibus vnum denarium in vita tua…
See Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*, Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series 3, (New York: DC Heath & Co., 1927), 317 – 20.
This version includes only eight of the nine virtues.

[102] O'Mara, 82.

4. ff.117^{v} – 8^{v} A tract on the apostolic seats of Rome, Compostella and Ephesus. **Incipit:** Hec sunt precul dubio Ephesus scilicet que est ad dexterram…

5. ff.118^{v}-20^{r} An abridged version of the *Tractatus inducens hominem ad deuocionem* attributed here to St. Bonaventure. **Heading:** Vt habetur in littera Boneventure videmus omni ad sensum. **Incipit:** Nudenius [**] ad sensum quod arbor producis fructum . . .

f.120^{v} – 22^{r} blank

6. ff.122^{v} – 4^{v} A sermon on the observance of Sunday in the form of a letter. **Incipit:** Alle maner of men that incressys wod for to growe… Edition: Veronica O'Mara, *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, (Leeds: Leeds Texts and Monographs, 1994).

7. ff.125^{v}- 8^{v} A sermon on Sunday Observance. (Middle English.) **Incipit:** Scribitur. Ecc.12. Deum time et mandata eius obserua… Frendis ȝe sall wele vnderstand þat it ys wryttyn. Ecc.12. Drede þi god and kepe hys commandmentis… from þe begynnynge of þe worlde þe wylke he graunt ȝow and me… Edition: Veronica O'Mara, *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, (Leeds, 1994)

8. ff.128^{v}- 31^{r} York Sentence of Excommunication in Middle English followed by an excommunicatory curse in Latin.[103] **Incipit:** At þe begynyng god and haly kyrke cursys all þase þat þe franches or þe fredom of haly kyrk brekys… Edition: W.G. Henderson, *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 63 (Durham, 1875): 119 – 22.

9. f.131^{v} A prologue to the sentence of cursing similar to the Sarum sentence. **Edition:** C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, (Cambridge, 1901), 44 – 6.[104]

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[103] Pickering, 236 – 5 & 238.
[104] See also Pickering, 238.

10. 132^{v} Two brief Latin notes on (i) the keeping of pagan feasts and (ii) magic.

11. f.133^{r} An unrecorded curse or prologue to the sentence of cursing.[105]

12. ff.133^{v} – 5^{v} A manual of religious instruction with a similar framework to *Sacerdos Parochialis.* **Incipit:** In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti. Amen.

This treatise is laid out as follows: (i) *Pater Noster* (without explanation) (ii) *Ave Maria* (without explanation); (iii) *Credo* (each portion attributed to an apostle) (iv) ten commandments (v) A list of the seven deadly sins; (vi) A list of the five wits; (vii) A list of the seven works of Mercy; (viii) A list of the seven sacraments; (ix) A list of the seven principal virtues and (x) *Credo* or fourteen articles of the faith.

13. ff.135^{v} Notes on Penance and consumption of the Host. **Incipit:** Numquid requires imposicio manuum sacerdotum in sacramento penitencie…

14. ff.136^{r} – 40^{r} A manual on what a parish priest ought to teach his parishioners. This is a Middle English translation of the introductory section to the second part of *Oculus Sacerdotis*, the *Dextera Pars*.[106] **Incipit:** Hic incipiunt 33es exhortaciones optime et necessarie curatori parochianis suis festiuis diebus faciende.. The fyrst euere Curett is bond to teche…

15. ff.140^{v} – 42^{r} Bidding prayers. **Incipit:** Deprecamur deum patrem omnipotentem pro statu et stabilitate sancte matris ecclesie. Gud men and women we sall make a prayer…

16. ff.142^{v}- 47 Two treatises on Baptism. (Latin with Middle English formula.) **Incipit:** Baptismus cum omni reuerencia et magno honore celebretur…

17. f.147^{r-v} *De Miseria Condicionis.* Innocence III. Book 2, chapter 39. **Incipit:** Quidam philosophus cum in vestre contemptibili principis . . Edition: Lewis, R.E. ed., *Lotario dei Segni (Pope*

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[105] Pickering 238 – 9.
[106] For an edition of this Latin treatise see British Library MS Royal 6.E.1 ff. 24^{r} – 29^{v}.

Innocent III), De Miseria Condicionis Humanae, (Athens Georgia, 1978).[107]

18. f.149^{r} A note on Baptism connected to item 13 and a note on the purification of women. **Heading:** Non debet sacerdos parochialis esse sine crismate. **Incipit:** Crismate [*] debet quibus sacerdos parochialis a suo episcopo . . .

19. ff.149^{r} – 51^{r} Wedding formula. (Latin although the vows are in Middle English.) **Heading:** Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia.... *IPMEP,* 313.

20. ff.151^{v}- 52^{r} Wedding formula. **Incipit:** Sers we er geddyrid at þis tyme be for Almyghyty god Owr lady hys moder sant mary... Incomplete.

21. ff.152^{r-v} Baptism formula. Ordo ad cathecuminum faciendum...

22. ff.152^{v}-154^{r} Wedding formula. Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia... connected to item 16.

23. ff. 154^{r} -158^{v} Extreme Unction formula. Ordo ad visitandum infirmorum...

24. ff.158^{v} A brief tract on superstitions among the pagans. A note at the top of the page connects this tract to the feast of the Circumcision. **Incipit:** Vt scribitur in legenda sanctorum in festo circumcisionis domini prope finem...

25. ff.159^{r} – 60^{v} A form of confession for Easter Day.[108] **Incipit:** Confessio generalis die pasche. All þat sall be howsyllytt at þis messe knele downe...

26. ff.161^{r} – 65^{r} Short extracts in Latin from a sermon compilation.[109]

Script and Decoration

There are two hands discernible in Durham Univeristy Library ms Cosin v.iv.2: **Hand 1 ff.1 – 124^{v}, 145^{r} – 47^{v}, 152^{r} – 65^{r} and Hand 2 ff.125^{r} – 144^{v}, 149^{r}-52^{r}.** Both can be described as a fifteenth-century anglicana formata of an idiosyncratic nature.[110] Both share common features: closed *e*; a bow-shaped *d*; closed *g*; minims that are tapered and almost indistinguishable as distinct graphs; forked *r* and 2-shaped *r*;

[107] See also item 11 in British Library MS Burney 356.
[108] Included in Jolliffe under the section "Forms of Confession" in his *Check-list*, (Jolliffe, 67).
[109] For a more detailed account of the contents of these folios see O'Mara 90 – 91.
[110] For a fuller discussion on the hands of this manuscript see O'Mara 83 – 85.

sigma *s* is in initial and final positions; long *s* in medial position; a *w* that resembles two modern *d*s back to back. Hand 1 uses single-compartment pointed *a* unlike Hand 2 which uses the double-compartment *a*. Hand 1 is also more spacious and less secretary-like than Hand 2, in that it is less spiky.

Language

McIntosh locates this manuscripts "with the neighbourhood of Penrith and Askham."[111] The dialectician also notes that there was an Olivant family living in the Westmoreland area, although the name is common to other areas of the country. Grid 355 523. LP 389. McIntosh is referring specifically to ff.122^{v} – 42^{r}, 151^{v} – 52^{r} and 159^{r} – 60^{v}.[112]

Provenance

On f.116^{v} the name and date of the scribe, and possibly the owner, of the manuscript are noted as follows, "Anno domini 1477 12 die mensis Iuli per Thomas Olyphaunntt Capellano." The year and name of Olyphant is also noted on f.89^{v} of the manuscript. Thomas Olyphaunt was a Carmelite anchorite in Norwich at the end of the fifteenth century. This manuscript was one of seventy-eight medieval manuscripts in Bishop Cosin's library (founded in 1669). There is only one other note of ownership in the manuscript. A note on the inside cover "reveal the words: 'Geo Davenport/Donum Johannis Tempest Armigeri/1665' in a contemporary hand."[113] John Tempest was, "a local gentleman and MP for the county (1675-78)."[114] He donated three manuscripts to Davenport, a chaplain to Bishop Cosin from 1660 and Davenport who donated seventy manuscripts to the Cosin collection.[115]

Bodley MS Rawlinson A381

This manuscript contains 115 folios, with one flyleaf at the end of the manuscript. The manuscript is fifteenth century and is composed of vellum. The page measures 280 x 190mm, written space averaging 190 x 135mm. All of the treatises are arranged in double columns. The binding, white leather, is quite worn and in poor condition.

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[111] *LALME,* 87.
[112] For a discrepancy on hands see O'Mara 82.
[113] O'Mara, 86.
[114] Ibid.

The spine is worn so that the title and contents of the manuscript, written by hand rather than imprinted on the leather, are barely legible. The title seems to be, 'homilies' and the manuscript is evidently 'Rawlinson A 381.'

Collation

This manuscript originally began on f.7 of the current manuscript, but at some early stage in its development a set of excommunications and the treatise *Consideracion of man hym selfe*, was added to the beginning of the manuscript – now the first six folios or first quire. The collation of the manuscript is as follows: π^6, a – n^8[$4 signed], χ^6[$3 signed]. The quires of the original manuscript are carefully marked with a catchword suggesting that the manuscript is a workshop production, and possibly pre-ordered. Catchwords are found on: ff.14^v; 22^v; 30^v; 38^v; 46^v; 54^v; 62^v; 70^v; 78^v; 86^v; 94^v; 102^v.

Contents

1. ff1^v – 2^v Sentence of Excommunication.[116] **Incipit:** Gode men and wymen I do you to vnderstande we tha[t] haue cure of your soulles be commaundet of our ordinaries ande by the constitutions and lau of holy ch[ur]che to shew to you foure times in þe yere in eche qurter of þe yere onys whan þe peple wer moost plenerye In holy chyrche þe artycles of þe sentence of cursyng. . .

2. ff.3^r – 6^v *Consideracion of man hym selfe*. A tract on how to live the Christian life. **Incipit:** Man know þi lyf know wat þou arte. Know þi begynyng whi þu were borne in to what vse ar ende þou were goten whi þou were made of whose makinge þou were.

This treatise is a collection of three distinct tracts, although one other manuscript, BL Harley 1706 ff.90-94^v, contains all three treatises in the same sequence as found in Bodley Rawlinson ms A381.

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[115] Ibid.
[116] See Group 9 in Pickering's article on the sentence of excommunication (236). See also *IPMEP*, 122.

Edition: C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle and his followers*. (1895; reprint Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), 367 – 74.

IPMEP 335 & 481. Raymo [155] 2323 & 2536.

3. ff.7^{r} –106^{v} *Festial* by John Mirk. A collection of homilies for Sundays and other feast days. **Incipt:** This day is callid the first Sonday in Aduente that is the Sonday in Cristis comyng. Therfore this dai holichirch makith mencioun of ij comyngis.

Edition: T. Erbe ed., *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus*. Early English Text Society, es 96, (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1905).

IPMEP 734.

4. ff.107^{r} – 111^{v} A tract on the ten commandments. **Incipit:** Alle maner of men schude holde goddis biddyng ffor witouten holdynge of hem mai noman be sauyd.

Edition: W.N. Francis, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, Early English Text Soceity, os 217, (London: Oxford University Press, 1942).

IPMEP 49. Raymo [43] 2284 - 6 & 2513 – 14.

5. ff.112^{r} – 114^{v} *Every Christian Man and Woman* or an abbreviated form of Lavynham's *A Lityl Treatys on the Seven Deadly Sins*.[117] **Incipit:** Prid is rote of al vices þe whiche growiþ in mannys herte. . .

Script and Decoration

Generally written in black ink with red rubric and occasional capital letters in blue, there are four distinct secretary hands distinguishable in Rawlinson A381.

Hand A (ff.1-2^{v}) is a hybrid secretary of the late fifteenth century. Written in double columns with approximately 40 lines to the page, it shows a predominantly right aspect, although the overall impression is one of unevenness in terms of aspect and spacing. The features are as follows: double-compartment *a*, the upper compartment of which is open; *d* is present in both the double-compartment form and the single

[117] See f.n. 134 in the introduction for an edition of Lavynham's treatise and items 6 and 3 in British Library MS Additional 10053 and Cambridge, MS Pembroke 285 respectively.

compartment with the open ascender form; circular *e*; *g* has a single compartment with a long headstroke; the upper ascenders of *b*, *h* and *l* are looped; long tapered descenders on *f, p* and *s*; modern *r* with occasional use of the 2 form'; minims give the impression of haste and are lacking in feet; 'w' is also present in its simpler secretary form and older anglican form. The overall impression is of haste or unevenness and almost the distinct 'spiky' appearance of a secretary hand.

Hand B (ff.3^{r}-6^{v} and ff.107^{r} – 114^{v}): By comparison with the previous hand, Hand B is a more even, less idiosyncratic secretary with some anglicana features. It is written in double columns of approximately 40 lines. The salient features are as follows: single-compartment, pointed *a*; anglicana *d* with looped ascender; open *e*; a vertical, rather than oblique shaft on long *f* and long *s*; *g* is single compartment with a long headstroke giving the compartment the impression of horns; tapered minims with ligatures to link the following letters; modern and forked *r* ; *þ* is distinguishable from *p* by its large compartment which occupies nearly all of the descender; sigma *s* in initial and final positions; long *s* in medial position and tails of *y* and *h* are curled upwards; although *w* is simple, both compartments are closed. Both samples use Latin abbreviations in the Middle English text such as: *9* at the beginning of words to represent *com* or *con* or at the end of the words to represent *us*; the superscript horizontal bar to represent *m* or *n*; the inverted superscript *c* to represent *er*; the horizontal stroke on the descender of *p* to represent *ar* or *er*.

Hand C (ff.7^{r} – 106^{v}): Much less angular than Hand B, and more rotund and even than Hand A, Hand C is also written on double columns with approximately 39 lines to the page. It is a fifteenth-century anglicana with some secretary features, such as the single-compartment *a*. Other features include *d* with a looped ascender to fuse with the lower compartment; open *e* at the beginning of the treatise, but the more closed form of *e* eventually becomes more frequent; long *s* is in medial position, sigma *s* in initial and final positions; *f* is infralinear rather than double-length; figure 8 *g*; minims are simple and tapered at the end, lacking either feet or ligatures; modern *r*; *w* resembles two looped *l*s fused together. Hand C, also uses abbreviations more commonly found in Latin scripts such as the *9* used to denote *con* or *com* or the superscript *o* used to denote *er* or *ur*. The overall impression is of roundness and cursiveness.

There is a beautifully decorated page on f.7^{r} surrounding the first page of the manuscript which contains this hand. The capital 't' occupies a space of 40 x 35mm.

A gold-leaf background, slightly raised and a 't in blues, pinks and greens. Foliage, flowers of gold, blue, mauve, pink and green intertwine on a gold frame of the page. This is the only page of the manuscript to be decorated in this manner and was probably the opening folio of the volume.

Provenance

A note on f.i^{v} states that "John Turner is the true oner of this booke."[118]

Language

A comparative study of the dot maps found in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England* indicates that the scribe of *Every Christian Man or Woman* in Bodley MS Rawlinson A381 may have originated in or around Hereford, Worcestshire or Warwickshire. The suggested location is tentative as many of the spellings are quite common.

The more unusual spellings are as follows:

or *ar* (489)
any *any, ani* (100)
strength *strengh* (265) *strength*
many *mony* (91)
each *iche* (87)
two *twei* (553)

The more common spellings are as follows:

much *myche, miche(102), muche*
work *werk* (309)
call *clep* (378)
they *thei* (30)
although *þow* (197)
not *nouȝte* (288)
yet *yit* (243)
shall *schal, schulde* (144)
any *any* (97)
without *withouten* (588)
against *aȝen* (222)
them *hem* (40)
say *sei* (505)
such *suche* (73)
before *bifore* (361)
little *litil* (462)
high *hie* (440)
it *hit* (24)
since *sitten* (240)
then *then* (184)

[118] In a catalogue prepared for a special display of books for the 2003 *Early Book Society Conference*, I noted an incription for "John Turner" in Durham University Library Additional MS 254. Prof. Ian Doyle kindly compared the inscription in that manuscript with a facsimile copy of the inscription in Bodley MS Rawlinson A381 that I sent him. However, the two hands are not identical. The "writing of the name in our MS is an undistinguished current secretary of the late 16th or early 17th century (in private correspondence with Prof. Doyle, Sept. 9 2003)."

Sacerdos Parochialis

edited from British Library MS Burney 356

and other manuscripts

[f.39^{v}] ***Sequitur nunc aliquid videre de constitucionibus synodalibus.*** */ Precipitur in consticucionibus Iohannis Peccham Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, / edita apud Lambeth anno domini m^{o} cc lxxxj^{o} idus Nouembrum, / iudiccione iuxta pontificatus domini Martini pape iiij^{ti} anno i^{o} regni / v^{o} Edwardi Regis Anglie x^{o} in consecracioe diocesisis archiepiscopi anno iij^{o} / in titulo siue rubrica de sentencijs excommunicacionis publicando / pro quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens quater in anno hoc est semel / in quarterio siue in quolibet termino anni die vna sollempni vel / pluribus per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter hoc est in materna / lingua vt infra dicetur absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura / articulos infra scriptos vt dicetur postea.*

In constitucione / Symonis Islep Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis in titulo de modo excommunicandi / contine[n]tur sic *Auctoritate Dei patris omnipotentis et filij et spiritus sancti / et auctoritate sacrosancte sedis apostolice et Sancte Marie perpetue virginis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et omnium sanctorum et nostra denunciamus omnes / illos excommunicatos fuisse et esse qui in istis articulis culpabiles seu rei exstiterint et a liminibus sancte ecclesie Dei et communione sanctorum sequestrandos excludimus. Maledicti sint et separati de / nativitate Domini, de passione, de resurreccione, de ascensione et de Sancti Spiritus paracliti missione. Maledicti sint in cimiterio et extrat.*

[f.40^{r}] *Maledicti sint ambulando, sedendo, iacendo, dormiendo, vigilando, / manducando, bibendo, loquendo, tacendo, et meditando. / Maledicti sint in campis, villis, siluis, aquis, et in omnibus / locis. Maledicti sint a planta pedis vsque ad verticem capitis. / Eorum esca sit vermis non moriens, potus eorum ignis inextinguibilis / sit. Pars eorum cum eis qui dixerunt Deo, "Recede a nobis. / Scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus." Ponat eos Dominus vt rotam et sicut / stipulam ante faciem venti. Deleantur de libro viuencium / et cum iustis non scribantur. Veniat mors super illos et descendant / in infernum viuentes sit pars eorum cum Datan et Abyron cum Oloferno / et Symone Mago cum Iuda Traditore et cum Iuliano Apostata. / Pereant cum Daciano et Nerone. Cadat omnis virtus eorum et oraciones / eorum fiant in peccatis et sicut extinguitur lumen istud coram vobis / sic extinguantur anime eorum in die iudicij coram suppremo iudice nisi respicant*[119] *et ad condignam satisfaccionnem euenerint fiat fiat. Amen.*

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[119] MS: resipiscant

¶Item in constitucione dominum Roberti Kylwardeby Archieposcipi Cantuariensis qualiter prelati ipso facto suspencionis / vinculo innodantur continetur sic. Preceptum est in sancto synodo / *quod sentencia excommunicacionis maioris fiat in ecclesijs quatuor in anno / videlicet die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis et die dominica / in medio xl*^{e} *et in festo Sancte Trinitatis et in die dominica proxima post / festum Sancti Petri ad vincula candelis accensis pulsatis campanis / super articulis in generali sententia contentis.*

¶Item in constitucione / Stephani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi edita apud Oxoniam anno domini / m ^{o} ***cc xxij. In I*** ^{o} ***capitulo, in fine eiusdem capituli continetur sic.*** / *Hec generalis sententia excommunicationis supradicta singulis annis / in iiij*^{or} *festis maioribus videlicet nativatem, domini, pasche, pentecostem et in die / omnium sanctorum innouetur ac publice et sollempniter recitetur a singulis / presbiteris parochialibus sacris vestibus indutis pulsatis campanis / et accensis candelis presente parochianorum multitudine in lingua vulgari denuncietur.*

¶In constitucione dominum Bonefacij / archieposcopi Cantuariensis edita apud Mertonum cum consilio omnium suffraganiorum / suorum de decimis et animalium nutrimentis. Et / etiam in constitucione domini Roberti de Wynchelsee continetur / sic. *Quoniam propter diuersas consuetudines in petendo decimas / per diuersas ecclesias inter rectores ecclesiarum et parochinorum / suorum rixe[et] contenciones scandala et odia permaxima oriuntur. / Volumus et statuimus quod in cunctis ecclesijs per archiepiscopatum / constitutis vniformis sit peticio decimarum et prouentium / ecclesiarum.*

In primis volumus quod decime de fructibus non deductis expensis integre et sine aliqua diminucione soluantur vt de fructibus arborum, seminibus et omnibus herbis ortorum, nisi parochiani / volunt competentem facere redempcionem. Statuimis eciam quod decime de fenis vbicumque crescant siue in magnis pratis siue in parvis siue in cheminis exigantur et prout decet et expedit ecclesie persoluantur.

[f.40^{v}] ***De nutrimentis animalium constitucio.¶*** *Statuimus, quod pro vj agnis et infra vj oboli / dentur per decima, sed septimus agnus et supra semper detur pro decima, / ita tamen quod rector qui vij agnos receperit det tres obolos / in recompensacionem. Qui vero octauum receperit, det parochiano a / quo decimam receperit denarium. Qui vero nonum, det obolum parochiano / vel expectet rector si velit vsque ad alterum annum / donec plenare decimam possit habere. Et qui ita expectabit, semper / exigat secundum agnum meliorem vel tercium ad minus de / agnis secundi anni, similiter qui septimum dederit et*

supra pro decima / non det peiorem nec meliorem sed tercium meliorem ad minus. / Et ita intelligendum est de decima lane. Si oues alibi / in estate alibi in yeme nutriuntur, pro equali tempore decima / eque est diuidenda. Siquis in medio tempore emerit vel vendiderit / oues et certum sit a qua parochia oues ille venerint, / diuidenda est, decima sicut de rebus quibus sequitur duo / domicilia. Si autem incertum sit, habeat eciam illam totam / decimam infra cuius limites tempore tonsionis oues inueniuntur. / De vitulis volumus, si infra decem ebdomodas vendantur, quod ecclesia sibi verum valorem reseruet, si nutriantur / nulla fraude mediante pro vitulo detur ecclesie obolus vel rector / ecclesie x vitulos si maluerit expectat. Statuimus vero de lacte quod decima soluatur dum durat, videlicet de caseo tempore suo et de lacte in autumpno / et in yeme, nisi parochiani competentes pro talibus decimis voluerint / facere redempcionem, et hoc ad valorem decime et ad comodum / ecclesie.

De prouentibus molendinorum statuimus quod ecclesie decime / exigantur et fideliter et integre ad valorem prouentuum persoluantur / nisi dominus inde faciant redempcionem.

De pasturis autem et pascuis / tam communibus quam non communibus statuimus quod decime fideliter persoluantur; / et hoc per numerum animalium et dierum, sicut expedit ecclesie sed ita tum / ne deinde parochiani iustam habere possint occasionem conquerendi.

De piscacionibus autem et apibus, sicut de omnibus aliis bonis iuste adquisitis / que renouantur per annum, statuimus quod decime exigantur / sed debito modo.

Statuimus et quod decime exigantur ab artificibus videlicet de / mercatoribus et lucro negociaconis, de sutoribus, de pelliparijs, / de carpentarijs, de fabris, de textoribus, de pandoxatricibus, de / furnarijs, et de operarijs stipendiarijs nisi ipsi stipendiarij aliquid / certum dare voluerint ad lumen vel ad opus ecclesie si rectori / ecclesie placuerit.

In peticione autem principalis legati statuimus / quod consuetudo prouincie cum possessione ecclesie obseruetur, / ita tamen quod rector ecclesie siue fuerit vicarius siue capellanus / annuus, deum in peticione illa habeat pre oculis.

Sed quoniam multi inueniuntur / decimas dare nolentes, statuimus quod parochianis moneantur / i.º, et .ij.º et .iij.º, vt decimas deo et ecclesie fideliter persoluant. Quam / si non emendauerint, primo ab ingressu ecclesie suspendantur et sic / demum ad solucionem decimarum per censuaram [f.41r] *ecclesiasticam, si necesse / fuerit, compellantur. Sed tamen dicte suspencionis relaxacionem vel absolucionem / si petierint, ad ordinarios loci mittantur absoluendi, et / modo debito puniendi.*

Rectores autem ecclesiarum siue vicarij siue / capellani annui, qui predictas decimas predicto modo propter formidinem / hominum seu fauorem, dei timore postposito, cum effectu non petierint, / suspencionis pena innodentur, donec dimidiam marcam / argenti pro sua inobediencia loci archidyacono persoluerint.

Casus in quibus sacerdos parochialis non potest absoluere. In / constitucione domini Roberti de Wynchilsee continetur sic. *¶Plures sunt / casus de quibus simplex sacerdos non potest absoluere peccatorem / nisi in articulo mortis sed mittere debet ad superiorem videlicet Publici feneratores; / Incendarij domorum; Falsi testes in causis; Abiurantes; / se super sacrosancta propter lucrum vel dampnum aliorum; Sortilegi, Sorciarij; / Falsarij sigillorum et cartarum et huiusmodi; Tonsores monete; / Impedientes rationabilia testamenta; Qui incidit in sentencias latas / a canone vt percussores clericorum; Proditores; Heretici; Symoniaci; Qui / partum supponunt ad alicius exhereditacionem; Qui partum opprimunt necgligenter / siue maliciose per potaciones prius quam conceptum et animatum fuerit; propter temeritatem / delicti licet, occultum fuerit; vel suffocacio proprij partus vel quando / pueruli per negligenciam ceciderunt in ignem vel in aquam vel aliquo alio modo / per defectu custodie perierunt, propter violentam manuum ineccionem in patrem / vel matrem licet, occultum fuerit; si masculus cum bruto cohierit / vel mulier bruto se supposuerit quamuis sit occultum propter enormitatem / delicti; vel siquis prodiderit dominum suum vsque ad mortem; / vel sacrilegum faciendo vt aliquid de ecclesia furando seu quouis; / alio modo sacrilegium commitendo; pro adulterio notario et lesione / fidei manifesta ad superiorem mitti debent per absolucione optinenda. /*

Similiter si parochianus aliquis est excommunicatus ab alio quam a suo / curato mitti debet ad eum qui ipsum excommunicauit vel a superiore licenciam / petere vt eum possit absoluere.

In sentencia excommunicacionis maioris / non competit simplici sacerdoti absolucio nec potest penitas / imponere blasfematoribus dei, beate marie matris eius vel sanctorum eius / nec sortilegis nec facere commutacionem quorum cumque noto[r]y nec / pro matrimonio clandestine contractus nec co[n]tra interdictum ecclesie. / Item reseruantur episcopis penitencie omni publicorum enormium criminum; / Puta oppresciones filiorum ex proposito vel a casu; Cuiuslibet homicidij, / Falsi testimonij, Falsi iuramenti; Seu periurij intellige hoc scienter; / Incestus; Corumptores monialium; Coheincium cum brutis et omnia / hijs similia.

Ista notat Iohan de pe et re c° Si episcopus li° vi° / et de sepula c° primo predicta Will et Iohan in Clem. et plenius per Hostien c° / in ti de pe et re tamen hostus in lectia ex. de maledicti c° primo verbum / puplice tenet pro conclusione. *Quod verbi delictum publicum et notorium / est tunc ille*
casus reseruater. Si tamen esset occultum tunc simplex sacerdos / potest absoluere. ***Et hoc similiter tenet Wills in reportono / suo de pe et re, ubi sic*** [f.41ᵛ] ***dicit.*** *Breuiter dico sacerdotes omnia / posse in occulto quo ad formandum penitenciale que specialiter non sunt / in iure episcopis reseruata vel que non sunt ipsis sacerdotibus directe / vel per aliquam consequenciam interdicta.*

Item in constucione / Iohannis Peccham edita apud Lambeth in rubrica de sollempni / penitencia continetur sic. *Preterea cum iuxta sacros canones quedam / peccata sunt grauiora, vt incestus et similia, quedam que vulgatissimo / suo scandalo totam commouent civitatem vel patriam, sint / sollempni penitentia castiganda, quorumdam negligentia id agente / huiusmodi penitentia videtur quasi obliuioni tradita et excreuiste per consequens / huiusmodi audacia horrendaque quod facinora et flagicia perpetrandi*[120]*; quocirca / precipimus vt huiusmodi penitentia sollempnis decetero imponatur secundum / canonicas sanctiones. Absolutionem autem per homicidio voluntario, / tam publico quam occulto, solis episcopis reseruamus, ex mortis articulem / per quod minorem in subiectorem vel subminstrorum refrenare / intendimus audaciam et non maiorem reuerencie in aliquo / derogare.*

In constitucione Stephani de Langetoun edita apud / Lambeth in rubrica de mortuarijs continetur sic. *Quia inter ecclesiarum rectores et parochianos suos litem cupimus extinguere que frequenter ori[un]tur. Statuimus quod si decedens tria, tantummodo vel plura cuiuscunque generis in bonis suis habuerit animalia, optimo / cui de iure debitum fuerit reseruato, ecclesie sue a qua sacramenta / percepit persoluatur cum videlicet neque dolo, fraude et contradiccione / aliqua pro decimis tam predialium quam personalium necnon oblacionum / subtraccionis compensacione, ad liberacionem anime sue melius / post optimum reseruetur. Quod si duo sint tantum in bonis decedencium / animalia de mansuetudine ecclesie exactio quilibet mortuarij / nomine remittatur.*

Hoc diximus adiciendum quod si mulier viro / superstite primo obierit, ad prestacionem mortuarij minime / cogatur. Quod si post obitum mariti vidua per annum vixerit, / iuxta formam superius scriptam ad mortuarium cogatur. Hac / autem nostra constitucione laudabili consuetudini super mortuariis / in nostra

[120] MS: perpetranda

dyocesi hactenus servate nolumus preiudicium generari; / quam si decedentis huiusmodi numerum animalium non habuerint, consuetudo / ecclesiastica tunc obseruetur. Ad solucionem debiti mortuaris / alterius contradictores et rebelles, volumus per sensuram ecclesasticam / et per locorum ordinarios coartari.

Statuimus et quod, rector / ecclesie habeat omnes arbores crescentes in cimiterio et si cancellus / suus indiget reparacione ipse potest eas prosternere aliter non quae plantantur ad resistendum ventis et tempestatibus ad tuicionem / ecclesie. Et parochiani possunt eas prosternere ex licencia rectoris / ad edificacionem et fabricam ecclesie aliter nequaquam se possunt / inde intromittere ullo modo.

***Constitucio generalis domini Roberti de / Wynchelsee Cantauriensis archipeposcopi de ornamentis**. Per parochianos / inuenienium iuxta decretum diocesi domini Roberti in visitacione sua / in episcopatu Wyntoniensi post* **[f.42r]** *mortem domini Iohannis Pontigni loci diocesis iure / metropolitani interposito anno domini m. ccc. v. In primis statuit / et decreuit dictus pater quod pro parochianos inueniantur et reparentur / infra Cantauriensis nostram prouinciam: calix, missale, vestimentum principale / scilicet casula, alba, amita, stola, manipulum zona cum duabus / tuellis benedictis, velum quadragesimale, vexilla, crux processionalem, / crux pro infirmis et mortuis, de osculatorium, turribulum, campana / manualis pro mortuis, lanterna cum tintinabulo, candelabrum / cum ceres paschali, vas ad aquam benedictam, campanile / cum campanis et cordis ad easdem, fons et sera cum claui, feretrum / pro mortuis. Reparacio nauis ecclesie interius et exterius cum / ostijs, serure cum clavibus et alia ecclesie corpori necessaria tam exterius / quam interius videlicet in altaribus, fenestris et ymaginbus cum omnibus alijs ad / corpus ecclesie et clausuram cimiterij spectantibus / tam de iure quam de consuetudine patrie sive ecclesie in posterum / statuit ad eosdem parachianos predicta et singula pertinere. / Cetera autem in cancello rectori sive vicario seri loci consuetudinem / incumbit reparare.*

***Constitucio Longetoun de nutrimentis / animalium diuidend inter rectores continetur sic.** Inter / ecclesiarum rectores super decimis de animalium nutrimentis, vt / de agnis, de lana, de lacte, de caseo, et de huius propter pasturam / et amoniacionem pecorum a diuersis parochijs diuersis anni temporibus / lites nonnumquam suscitatas audiuimus. Nos finem / litis huius imponere cupimus, statuendo et diffiniendo statuimus / quod ecclesiis in quarum parochijs oues a tonsionis tempore / usque ad festum sancti Martini pascuntur continue et cubant, / decime lane casei et lactis eiusdem temporis licet*

postmodum / ab illa parochia amote fuerint integre persoluantur. / Quodsi infra predictum tempus tonsionis et festum sancti Martini / ad diuersarum parochiarum pascua transferantur, quelibet / ecclesia pro rata temporis porcione decimam percipiat,[121] *minori tum / .xxti. dierum spacio pro rato temporis minime computando. / Si vero per totum tempus predictum cubent in una parochia et continue / pascantur in alia, rector in cuius parochia cubuerint, licet ibidem caseus fiat dimidiam partem decime casei seu / lactis dum taxat percipiet, cum per aliam non modicam ex melioracione / et agnorum senciet et percipiet vtilitatem. Alia littera / habentur cum illa animalia non modicam ei melioracionem et agnorum / sciat vtilitatem. Si post festum sancti Martini ad pascua / ducantur aliena usque ad tempus tonsionis in una vel in diversis /parochijs siue in proprijs pascuis dominorum suorum siue alterius / cuiuscunque pascantur, habita ratione ad numerum ouium / et pascuarum estimentur, et secundum pascuarum estimacionem ab eisdem / dominis decima exigatur. Decima casei siue lactis de vaccis / siue capris proueniens, ubi cubant et pascantur, ibidem soluatur; / alioquin, si cubant in vna parochia et* [f.42ᵛ] *pascantur in alia, / dimid[i]etur decima inter rectores, habita ratione ad domestica nutrimenta / duximus et statuendum. Quod agni, vituli, pulli, et alij / fetus decimales, ubi educuntur et nutriuntur ibi decimentur.*[122]

Cum decime de omnibus bonis licite adquisitis divina lege debeantur, / precipimus quod de negociacione et stipendijs seruiencium, / deductis neccessarijs expensis, decime vt decime et non vt oblaciones / sed integre persoluantur; quod dum decime in specie oblacionis prestantur nonnumquam ecclesie non solum iustis sed et delicitis / et consuetis oblacionibus defraudantur.

De casibus cum quibus non postest dispensari nisi solum modo pape.

Crimina sunt quedam que spectant praesulis ad vim ¶*Nota /*
vel pape quorum tibi non datur vlla potestas. *quod quedam specialiter pertinent ad Papam. Quedam ad episcopum reseruanter de quibus / nullus potest absoluere nisi alicui specialiter committatur. Que sunt / hec generalis congregacio consilij hereticorum, restitucio episcopatorum, deposicio et eorum restitucio, episcopatorum translacio, episcopatorum resignacio, sedium mutacio, episcopatorum divisio et eorum unio. Enormitas / criminis vt est symonia, homicidium voluntarium, articulos / fidei ipse soluit, solus pape potest interpretari euangelium ab eo nullus / appellari potest.*

[121] MS: percipiet

Casus quibus solus papa absoluit

Incestum faciens, deflorans, aut homicida,
Sacrilegus, patris percussor, vel sodomita
Pontificem queras. Papam si miseris ignem, /
Si percussisti clerum, Symonve fuisti, /
Et si falsasti bullam pape, simul ibis. /

Casus quibus papa sive episcopus siue alius eorum prelate accepta absolvitur

Si qua suffocat partum, aut negligit occat
Si pater aut mater violenter leditur aut si
Quis brutale nephas facit, aut in perdicionem
Qui proprium dominum perimit; vel in ecclesia qui
Sacra ledit grauiter; vel qui mechatur; in illa
Qui matrem, cognatam polluit atque sororem,
Presulis arbitro, licet occulti subeant hij.
irregularitatis cuius absolucio vel despensacio ad papam vel episcopatum pertinet / vel nisi esset consuetudo in aliquo episcopatu vt de certis criminibus episcopus consuleret
Non scelus enorme vicij soluas sine papa
Sacrilegus, cleri percussor siue parentum
Occisor fratris, puerorum vel mulierum.
Ecclesie sancte violatorum in igne vel ense,
Aut histu coitu, duplex; incestus aut omnis adulter,
Plenius vt doceam: iugantur et hijs homicide,
Periurus: Domini in corpore, crismate turpe,
Quis faciens? Ista penas ineant grauiores.
Tales vel similes Romae vadant, nisi sexus,
Obstet femineus, aut debilis, aut senis essent
[f.43r] *Tunc dispensetur de consilio seniorum.*
Puniat ecclesia plus occulto manifestum.
Dictos qui possunt sive papa soluere, soluant.
Quidam maiorum soluant hos clave suorum.

De confessione populo confessori non facienda

Si confessorem preter te possit haberi
Non sua presbitera tibi tua confiteatur amica

Quicquid hic dividetur
hoc teneas quod sacerdos parochialis potere
de omni peccato absoluere
penitentem nisi ligatus
esset aliqua similia ex communicacionis vel

Similiter casus quibus sacerdos parochialis non potest absolvere vide supra in .ij. folio in constitucione DominiRoberti de Wynchelsee archiepiscopus

[122] MS: decimantur

De sacramentis alijs sic accipe dandis *Cantuare et cetera*

Hec sunt festa omnio obseruanda que quilibet curatus tenetur indicere parochianis suis omnibus dominicis diebus per totum annum et similiter secundum usum Sarum.

In primis sacrum diem dominicum per totius anni circulum qui per / omnibus alijs est obseruandum propter preceptum domini dicentis: memento / quod diem sabbati sanctifices. Inchoandum vero ab hora diei sabbati vespertina / non horam ipsam preueniendam ne iudaice professionis participes / videantur. Quod in omnibus festis que suas habent vigilias obseruetur et / in uigiliae Sancti Mathie Apostoli in Februrum licet vigilam non intituletur. Item festa / Natalis Domini, Stephani, Iohannis, Innocencium, Thome Martiris, Circumcisio, / Epiphanie, Purificacionis Beate Marie, Mathie Apostoli, Annunciationis Beate Marie, Pasche / cum tribus diebus sequentibus, Marci Euangliste, Philippi et Iacobi, Inuencionis / Sancte Crucis, Ascensionis Domini, Pentecostem cum tribus diebus sequentibus, / Corporis Christi, Natiuatis Iohannis Baptiste, Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, Translacionis, / Thome, Sancte Marie Magdalene, Sancti Ioacobi Apostoli, Assumpcionis / Beate Marie, Bartholomei Apostoli, Laurencij Maioris, Natiuatatis Beate Marie / Exaltcionis Sancte Crucis, Mathei Apostoli et Euangeliste, Michaelis Archangeli, / Luce Euangeliste, Apostolorum Symonis et Iude, Omnii Sanctorum, Andree / Apostoli, Nicholai Confessoris, Concepcionis Beate Marie, Thome Apostoli, / Dedicacionis Ecclesie ubicumque, et quicumque fuerit Sancti in cuius honore / dedicata est ecclesia sciliter ubicunque vel quicumque fuerit, et alia festa que / in singulis dictae prouincie diocesibus per lectorum ordinararios ex certa scientia / peculialiter inducuntur. /

Quilibet sacerdos parochialis siue curatus tenetur parochianos suos / predicare et docere in lingua materna quater in anno videlicet: */ In primis septem peticiones in oratione dominica, salutacionem beate / et gloriose virginis marie, duodecim articulos fidei et simbolo contentos, / decem precepta decalogi, septem mortalia peccata, septem / opera misericordie, septem virtutues cardinales, duo precepta euangelij, / septem sacramenta ecclesie, excommunicaciones a canone latas / videlicet maior et minor sub forma que sequitur addendo vel minuendo / in singulis suprascriptis pro vt deus inspirauerit. In fine / omni ponentur preces dominicales.*

De .vij. peticionibus in oracione dominica.

Quibbet sacerdos parochialis sine curatus tenetur parochianos suos / predicare et docere in lingua materna quater in anno videlicet: / In primis

septem peticiones in oratione dominica, salutacionem beate / et gloriose virginis marie, duodecim articulos fidei et simbolo contentos, / decem precepta decalogi, septem mortalia peccata, septem / opera misericordie, septem virtutues cardinales, duo precepta euangelij, / septem sacramenta ecclesie, excommunicaciones a canone latas / videlicet maior et minor sub forma que sequitur addendo vel minuendo / in singulis suprascriptis per vt deus inspirauerit. In fine / omni ponentur preces dominicales.

De .vij. peticonibus in oracione dominica.

[f.43ᵛ] In þe *pater nostir* beth seuene biddyngges þat god hym-sylf ordeyned / on erþe medful to manys lyf and to hys saule, þat euerich cristene / man ys y-hold to conne and ofte bydde to god in þis manere. / ¶Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum. *I peticio.* Fader / owre þat art in heuene y-halwed be þy name. Lo in þis byddy[n]gge / whe beþ y-holde to loue eche oþer ryȝt as broþer and sester þat / haueþ al o fader. Whe byddeþ þat hys name be y-halewyd in / ous þat beþ y-clyped cristenemen after Cryst and euere in hym libbe / holyche. ¶Adueniat regnum tuum. *Ij peticio.* Come he to ous þy / ky[n]gdome riche. Here whe byddeþ þat Cryst regne in ous here by / hys grace and whe wyth hym in heuene in euere-lasty[n]g blysse. / ¶Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. *Iij peticio.* Thy wille / be y-do as in heuene and also[123] in erþe. Here whe byddeþ þat as / angeles and holy saules quemeth god in heuene þat whe so / mowhe wyth hys grace queme hym in erþe noþyng to wille / a-ȝen hys wylle. ¶Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie. *Iiij / peticio.* Howre euereche dyyes bred ȝyf ous to day. In þys we byddeþ / ful sustynanse to body, and to saule al þat ous nedeþ. / ¶Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus / nostris. *.V. peticio.* And for-ȝyf ous owre geltys as whe for-ȝyfeþ / hem þat ous habbeþ a-gelt. In þys whe byddeþ þat god for-ȝyf / ous oure trespas, as whe for-ȝyfeþ hem þat haueþ y-trespassed / a-ȝens ous. And al-so in þys byddy[n]ge he desyreþ hys / owne wrethe þat wylneþ harm to hys eue[n]cristyne. ¶Et ne nos / inducas in tenptacionem. *Vi peticio.* And ne leed ous into no temptacyon. / In þys we byddeþ þat god kepe ous fro synne to comy[n]gge / þat whe be neuer ouercome þer-inne þorw fondy[n]gge. ¶Sed libera / nos a malo. *Vij peticio.* But shyld ous fro alle yuel. / Here whe byddeþ þat god kepe ous fro synne þat whe habbeþ / y-do and fro þe peyne þat whe haueþ deser[u]yd þer-to. And / here whe seyþ. Amen. I. So be hyt, so be hyt.

Salutacio beate Marie virginis: / Aue Maria gracia plena, dominus tecum, benedicta tu ¶ / in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ihesus amen. Al hayl / Marie fulle of grace, þe lord y[s] wyth þe, y-blessyd be þou amonge alle /

[123] MS: also and

wommen and þe blessyd fruyt of þy wombe, Ihesu. Amen. ¶Al-so / ofte as þys name Ihesu ys a-nemned euerech Crystene man ys y-hold / to do reueraunce þer-to and worshype. For oure lord, þe Pope Vrban þat / was þe ferþ[124] pope of þat name, 3af .xxx. dayes of pardon to alle / þat beþ clene in saule and y-shryfte of here synnes for euere-more / to endyre þat seyþ þys name Ihesu in þe ende of hys *Ave Marie*. / And after-ward oure lord þe Pope Iohn þe .xxii. of þe name 3af and / confermed þer-to oþer .xxx. dayes to alle þat seyþ þys name Ihesu / in þe ende of þe *Ave Marie* as hyt ys for-seyde. So alle þat beþ / clene y-shryfe and repentaunt of her mysdedys, as ofte as þey seyþ / þe *Ave Marie* wyþ þys word
[f.44r] Ihesu in þe ende, haueþ .lx. dayes to / pardon and for-3yfnesse of here penaunse to here mede. So ho þat seyþ / euery day Oure Lady Sawtere, þat ys þryes fifty, shal euery day / hafe to pardon .xxiiij. 3ere and .xxx. wykes, þe summe of pardon in on wyke / ys .clxxii. 3ere y-3yfe and y-graunted of þe to-fore seyd popes / for euere-more to endyre.

To wham þou shalt make þy mone

Man þat art in care y-brow3t, to Marie þou clype and grede,
Sette styfly on heere þy þow3t, þy nedes for to spede
And sey "Mercy ych haue myswro3t, Lady þou me rede."
Hee ys a frend þat fayleth now3t, synful men at nede.

Aue excludit penalitatem		Aue ys out pult al hardnesse
Gracia excludit iniquitatem		Gracia ys out pult al wykkednesse
Plena excludit vacuitatem	þorw	Plena ys out pult al barnesse
Dominus excludit servilitatem	þys	Dominus ys out pult al þralnesse[125]
Tecum includit societatem	word	Tecum ys clyped al holy felawnesse
Benedicta includit sanctitatem		Benedicta ys clyped al holynesse
Tu includit singularitatem		Tu ys vnderstonde al soþnesse

	hee ys moder of clennesse	
In þre þynges videlicet	hee ys mayd of meknesse	Maria
	And of mercy þe maystresse	

Bene Mulieres	Fecunditate quia virgo concepit et peperit
dicta Homines	Dignitatie prelaciem quia mater dei fuit
mari Angelos Propter	Officii sedulitate quia Christum lactauit
a super Terras	Fructus vtilitate quia prima fruges habuit
omnes Celos	Capacitatem immensitate quia quod totus mundus

capere non poterat illa digna fuit pepere habere et lactare dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum qui omnia habet omnia condidit et omnia gubernat in saecula saeculorum.

Hij sunt articuli quod sit deus trinus et vnus

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[124] MS: ferste
[125] A word not found in MED. There is a word 'þrallesse' meaning female slave/menial.

Articuli fidei Christo homo factus, natus, passusque sepultus,
Descendens, surgens, scandens iudexque futurus

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem qui est simbolum et domini a sui qui / est con vel simul et bolus qui est morcellus quia quilibet apostolorum / apposuit morcellum in porcionem vnam. Et ille porciones vocantur / articuli fidei. Et nota qui tria sunt simbola communia quorum primum / apostolorum fuit quo quilibet christianus vtitur et scire tenetur. Secundum / est Anastasij, Patriarche Alexandrum qui composuit contra arianos / hereticos, "Quicumque vult". Tercius qui Synodus Constantinopolitanus / composuit suerscripta illud qui cantatur in missa.

Symbolum apostolorum: *Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem.* Ych by-leue in god, fader almyȝty. / In þes wordes beþ vnderstonde fowre artycles of þe ryȝtbyleue / þat longeþ to þe godhede. ¶The furst ys þat whe shul by-leue / in o god and þre persones in trinite. ¶An-oþer ys þat þe fadyr ys / verey god wyþ-þout by-gynnygge, neuer y-bore, neuer y-makyd of / any-þyng. ¶The þridde ys þat þe sone ys verey god y-bore, euene / wyþ þe fader wyþ-oute by-gynny[n]gge. ¶The ferþe ys þat þe / holigost ys verey god, nowȝt y-
[f.44v] bore ne y-makyd, bote of þe fadyr and of þe sone euenelyche y-sent. ¶**Creatorem celi et terre**. Shappere / of heuene and of erþe. In þys word ys þe fy[f]þe artycle of / þe fey that al þe hol trinite made heuene and erþe and al þat þer-ys of nowȝt. ¶**Et in Ihesum Christum filium eius vnicum dominum nostrum.** / And in Ihesu Cryst hys sone, oure onliche lord. ¶**Qui conceptus est / de spirito sancto natus ex Maria virgine**. Þe whyche ys y-kennyd of / þe holygost y-bore of þe mayd Marie. ¶**Passus sub poncio pilato, / crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus**. Y-peyned onder Ponce pilat, / on þe rode y-nayled ded, and i-byred. ¶**Descendit ad inferna, tercia / die resurrexit a mortuis**. He went down to helle, onlyche in / saule, þe body lyggy[n]gge stille in þe sepulcre. Þe þryd day he / aros fro deþ to lyfe. ¶**Ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram / dei, patris omnipotentis**. He stey to heuene, þer he syt atte þe faderys / ryȝt syde of god almyȝty. ¶**Inde venturus est iudicare viuos / et mortuos**. Fro þen he ys to comynge to deme þe quyke and þe dede. / In þys ys vnderstonde Cristys comynge to þe day of dome / to deme þe ryȝtfulle to blysse of heuene and þe vnryȝtfulle to þe / peynes of helle wyþ-out eny ende. ¶**Credo in Spiritum Sanctum**. Y / by-leue in þe holy gost. ¶**Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam**. In holy / chirche trewe. Þes articles by-longeþ to þe godhede as ych / vnderstonde þat holychurche, wyþ here sacramementes þorw / þe halwynge of þe holygost, ys y-now to hele eche manys saule / be he nere so synneful. And wyþ out holichirche ys no / saule hele. ¶**Sanctorum communionem**. Comeny[n]gge of

halwene. ¶**Remissionem / peccatorum**. For3yfnesse of synnes. ¶**Carnis resurrecc̣io̲nem**. / Arysy[n]gge of flessh. ¶*Et vitam eternam*. And lyf wyþ-þout ende. ¶Amen. / In þis ys vnderstonde fulfuly[n]gge of holychirch in þe blys of heuene, / after þe day of dome wyþ angelis and holy halwene by-þout eny / sorw in flesh and blod, body and saule verylyche aryse togedre, and / euermore to hery god in blysse wyþ-þoute eny ende. ¶**Amen**.

	Deus pater	Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem cr[e]atorem celi et terre	Petrus	Patrem inuocabis qui terram fecit et condidit celos	Iheremiah
	Ihesu Christo	Et in Ihesum Christum filium eius vnicum dominum nostrum	Andreas	Dixit dominus ad me filius meus es tu	David
	Nativitas	Qui conceptus est de spirito sancto natum ex maria virgine	Jacobus maior	Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium.	Ysaia
	Passio	Passus sub poncio pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus	Iohannes	Aspicient omnes ad me qui crucifixerunt	3acaris
	Resurectio	Descendit ad inferna tercia die resurrexit a mortuis	Thomas	mors ero mors tua et cetera.	Osee
[f.45^{r}]	Ascensio	Ascendit ad celos sedet ad dexteram domini patris omnipotentis	Iacobus minor	Qui edificavit in celo ascensionem suam	Amos
	Aduentus ad iudicare	Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos	Philippus	Ascendam ad vos in iudicio et ero testis velox.	Saphonias
	Spiritus sanctus missio	Credo in spiritum sanctum	Bartholomeus	Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem.	Iohel
	Ecclesiam cum sancti	Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sanctorum communionem	Matheus	Inuocabunt omnes nomen domini et seruient ei.	Micheas
	ve[*]iam criminium	Remissionem peccatorum	Symon	Deponet dominus omnes iniquitates nostras.	Malachias
	[***]cicacionem omni	Carnis resurreccionem	Thadeus	Educam vos de sepulcris populem meus.	
		Et vitam		Euangelibunt omnes	

vitam eternam eternam. Amen Mathias alii ad vitam alii ad obprobia. Ezechiel

Fides

¶Ecce speculum theologie a magistro Iohanne Metensi Spes

475 In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum redemisti Caritas
me domine deus veritatis. Crystyne men shul come at here last ende
and segge: Lord in þyne hondes y by-take my gost my Lord God of soþnesse.
Oþer elles þus: Lord in hondes þyne, y by-take saule myn, Lord God of
soþnesse, þou bowȝtes me body and saule by-take y now to þe.

480 Prima rubens vnda Quia in deum non crediderunt
Ranarum plena secunda Quia nomen dei blasfemauerunt
Inde culex tristis Quia sabbata contempserunt
Post musca recenciorum istis Quia parentibus non obedierunt
Decem pla[ge] Quinta pecus strauit Quia sanctos occiderunt Causae
Egyptii Vesicas sexta creavit Quia furtis intenderunt
486 Pene subit grando Quia fornicacioni vacauerunt
Post bructum dente nephando Quia iniquia testimonia protuelrunt
Nona tegit solem Quia adulteria commiserunt
Primam necit ultima plebs Quia auariciam tulerunt

490 ***.I. preceptio.***

Non adorabis deos alienos sed Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli / serues. Þe furst of godys ten hestys ys þat þou shalt worshype / o god and hym onlyche seruy. In þys hest ys forbode alle manere mawmetrye, / ydolatrye, wychecraft, enchantementes, redyngge of metelles, / and alle
495 mysbyleue. ***.Ij. preceptio.*** **Non accipias nomen Dei tui in uanum**. / Þe secunde hest ys þou shalt nowȝt take þy god, hys name, in ydel. / In þys hest
[f.45ᵛ] ys forbode alle eresye, alle mysnene[n]ygge in onworshyp / to god or to hys halwene and namlyche in swerynggе. Þe ***.iij. preceptio,*** **Sabbata / sanctifices**. Þou shalt halwe þy holy day. By þys hest alle crystene / men beþ y-holde to
500 be as busy in god hys seruice euerech holy day / as hy beþ in wordlyche workys oþer dayes. Þe ***.iiij. preceptio***. **Honora patrem / et matrem**. Þou shalt worchype fadyr and modyr. In þys hest / þou ert y-holde nowȝt onlyche to þyn erþeliche fadyr and modyr, but / principallyche to god and holychurche and to alle men of worshyp and / namelyche of holy churche þou ert y-hold to
505 honowry. Þe ***.v. preceptio.*** / **Non occides**. Þou shalt nowȝt sle. In þys hest ys for-bode onrithful / bynymy[n]gge of any man-ys lyf, crystone oþer oncristone, wyth / dede oþer wyth worde asent oþer help, and alle manere

harmy[n]gge / of mannes body and bynymynge of hys catel oþer hys gowd loos, / hys londe oþer hys lyuelode. Þe ***.vi. preceptio.*** **Non mechaberis.** Þou / shalt do no lecherye. In þys hest ys forbode alle spowsbreche / and alle fleshelyche dedys, towchynge, lecherye by-twene man and / womman out of spowshode and alle shedynge of mannys kuynde, / slepynge or wakynge. Þe ***.vij. preceptio.*** **Non furtum facies**. Þou shalt do / no þefþe. In þys hest ys forbode alle manere bynymynge of / eny manys gowd by-þowt, hys wille þat hyt oweþ, alle wrongful / amercementys, all wrongful purchas, deser[i]tynge of herytage, / gylery and alle oþer falsnesses. Þe ***.viij. preceptio.*** **Non dices falsum / testimonium**. Þou shal no fals wytnesse bere. In þys hest ys forbode / alle falswytnesynge, bacbytynge and namelyche alle apeyrynge / of mannys loos falslyche, wher-fore he ys y-put to hys þrallage[126] oþer haþ any oþer wordlyche harme. For on þys cas hy beþ a-cursyd. / Þe ***.ix. preceptio,*** **non concupisces rem proximi tui**. Þou shalt nowth / wylny þy neyȝborys gowd hows, ne londe wrongfullyche, and al / so þou shalt nowȝt wytholde a-noþer mannys gowd. For yf oþer / manne[s] gowd may be ȝowlde, oþer þe worþy þer-fore, and ys noȝt / y-ȝowld, penawnce may non oþer be do but make satisfaccyon. / For as þe book seyþ, "*Non dimittatur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum.*" / Þe synne ys nowȝt forȝyfe but þat be restored þat ys wrongfully / by-nome. And þerfore hyt ys nowȝt onlyche dedlyche synne / for to by-neme a-noþer manys gowd, but also for to wylny / hys gowd wronfully, þe whych he wold by-nyme yf he hadde / tyme and strenþ þer to and wend hym-sylf be, wyþ-þowt bodylyche / harme. Þe ***.x. preceptio,*** **non desiderabis uxorem proximi tui**. Þow / shalt nowȝt wylny þy neyȝborys wyf, hys kyne, hys seruant, / ox, ne asse, hors ne beest, ne non oþer þynge of hys, by þe whych / he myȝth be harmyd fore. /

¶Hiis decem preceptis predictis euangelista / superaddit duo videlicet dilecc̄ionnem dei et proximi. To þees ten hestys / þat beþ by-fore, þe euangelist put þerto tweyne, þat ys to / seynge, loue god and þy neyȝthbore. **¶Vt patet in euangelio, "Dilige dominum/ deum tuum ex toto corde tuo."** ¶Þou shalt loue þy lord god wyþ al þy / hert þat no-þyng be ner þyn hert þan
[f.46ʳ] þy lord god. **Ex tota anima / tua**, wyth al þy saule þat þou suffre no synne on þy saule for / þe loue of god. **¶Ex tota mente tua**, wyth al þy mynde þat / no-þynge be so muche in þy mynde[127] as god. **¶Ex omnibus viribus tuis**, / wyth al þy myȝtes þat þou spare for noþynge to queme god. / **¶Ille enim diligit**

[126] The word 'thrallage' does not occur in MED. However, thrallinge n. does. Or þralunge. [Prob. From OE þreal, but influenced by OE þrea, þrawu; also cp. ME throu n. (2), from [ON.] Pain, discomfort. **C1225 (?c1200)** *Hmaid.* 32/518; þine þearmes þralunge [Tit: þralinge] & stiches I þi lonke & þi lendene sar eche riue, heuinesse in euch lim. See also **thraldom** a state of servitude.
[127] MS: mnyde

deum qui mandata eius custodit principaliter ex / amore et non timore pene. He loueþ god þat kepyþ hys / hestes principalyche for hys loue and nowȝt for drede of peyne. / **¶Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum hoc est vt diligas eum ad quod / te ipsum hoc est ad bonum et non ad malum**. Þou shalt loue þy neyȝthbore / al-so as þy-self in gowd and nowȝt in yuel. **¶Quo modo te ipsum / hoc est spiritualiter et non carnaliter seruuum quod dicitur carnaliter dicitur vicium.** / Rythtso as þy-self gostlyche and nowȝt fleshelyche, for fleshelyche / loue draweþ to synne. **¶Quantum te ipsum respectu temporalium vt / plus diligas omnem hominem quam temporalem affluenciam. Et vt plus / diligas animam proximi tui seu eius eternam anime salutem quam vitam / tuam propriam temporalem**. As muche as þy-self and as feruorþ in / hele and in sykeness, in wele and in woo. So þat þou shalt loue euerech / crystene man in body and in saule more þan al þys wordly / gowd and þyne eue[n]crystenes saule more þan þy howen lyf and / raþer lese þy lyf þan soffre hym do a dedlych synne in lostyng / of hys saule. **¶Qualiter te ipsum vt videlicet aliis in nececcitate subuenias / sicut velles in nececcitate tibi subueniri**. Ryth so wel as þy-self, so þat þou shalt help hym in hys nede as þou woldest in / þy nede be holp.

Decem legis mandata	*Decem vicia*	*Decem plebis abusiones*
Vnum crede deum	Contra ydolatriam	Ydola plebs fecit
Venire vana per ipsum	Contra iuramentum	Dominum iurauit namque
Sabbata sanctifices	Contra contemptores	Sabbata contempsit
Et venerare parentes	Contra inobedienciam	Proprios spernendo parentes
Non sis occisor	Contra homicidas	Sanctos occidit
Fur	Contra fures	Nouit committere furta
Mechus	Contra fornicatores	Mechari didicit
Testis iniqus	Contra iniquos testes	Est testificatur iniqua
Vicinique thorum	Contra adulteratores	Fecit adulterium
Resque caueto suas	Contra usurarios	Fuit usurarius ultra

De septem mortalibus peccatis sive capitalibus

Superbia, Inuidia, Ira, Accidia, Avaricia, Gula et luxuria. Et / quodlibet eorum habet sub se quatuor milites. Milites superbie.

Iactancia impietatis
Simulacio scientatis
Presumpcio elacionis
Resistencia correccionis

Milites superbie sunt hec:
Iacta, te simula, presume, resiste superbe.

Detraccio bonitatis
Odium prosperitatis
Susurracio malignitatis

Milites inuidie sunt hec:
Inuide, detractor, odio, sussuro, sinistra.

Sinistracio pietatis

[f.46v]Rixa contencionis
Conuicium maledictionis
Inclinacio blasphemie
Prouocacio occisionis

Milites ire sunt hec:
Rixas, conuicio, blasphemat, prouocat ira.

Furtum prodicionis
Fallacia periuracionis
Duricia obstinacionis
Auaricia retencionis

Milites accidie sunt hec:
Prodigus, et fallax periurus, duris, auaris.

Laborem in querendo
Timorem in possidendo
Horror in distribuendo
Dolor in amittendo

Milites auaricie sunt hec:
laborat, timet, horret, dolet omnis auaris.

Loquacitas infeccionis
Inmundicia diuersacionis
Ebetudo in sensibus
Fetorum in naribus

Milites gule sunt hec:
Loquax inmundus, ebes, fetens quod gulosus.

Excecacio corporal
Illaqueacio infernal
Eneruacio viscerał
Precipitacio temporal

Milites luxure sunt hec:
Excecat, illaqueat, eneruat, precipitatique

Coronam in capite superbiam vult s[*]re[*] s[*]rius super capit.
Lanceam in latere inuidiam corpus et cor affligit.
Flagellum in corpore luxuriam oritur ex carnis voluptate.
Spongiam in ore vicit gulam que oritur ex gustis dulcer et oris sui.
Clauum in manu dextra iram parata est ad percussum ¶auitis.
Clauum in sinistra auariciam parata est ad recipiendum
Clauum in pedibus accidiam sentina est omni viciorum.

De .vii. peccatis mortalibus in anglicis verbis vt patet

Þe .vij. hed synnes or dedlyche synnes beþ þes: pruyd, enuye, / wrethe, slewþe, couetyse, glotenye and lecherye. Pruyd ys to / muche loue þat a man haþ of hym-self and to muche hynesse hauynge / oþer in despyte. And þerof comeþ bostynge, prout beryng, / despysynge, scornynge, faynynge of holynesse[where] þer is non. ¶Wonde / or enuye ys sorwe of oþer mennes wele and blysse of oþer mennes / who. And þerof comeþ bacbytynge, betynge, grucchynge, / stryugynge and falsse domes. ¶Wrethe y[s] wyllnynge of veniance / and of harm doynge to hym þat he ys wroþ to; and ȝyf wrethe abydeþ / longe in hert hyt by-comeþ to hate. And þerof comeþ falsse / folwynge in dyuerse cowrtes, mysseyynge,

620 betynge, woundy[n]ge, / lesynge, manslawȝter and many oþer foleyes and so þey lesyþ godys / grace and charite. ¶Slewþe ys anoye of heuynesse of gostlyche / gowd wher-for a man haþ no lykynge in god, ne on hys seruyse, / ne hys synnes to shewe and shryue. And þerof comeþ wretchydnesse / in gost,
624 delyt in slepe and in ydelnesse, sorwe in saule, / wanhope and alle manere
[f.47r] lettynge of mannes saule hele. / ¶Couetyse ys a loue out of mesur[128] of wordlyche gowdys þat / may be meuede, as goold and selver and oþer þynges remeuable, / oþer onremeueable as lordshypes, lond, or hows; onrythfully / bynymynge, purchessynge, in bygynge, in sellynge, in metynge, / in weyȝynge of wyȝtes, in mesure of alle manere mesures; / and also in gyle, in trecherye, in
630 sacrilegye, in symonye, in þefþe, / in alle falsse wynnynge and in alle wrongelyche wyþholdynge. / ¶Glotenye ys loue out of mesure of mete and drynke in whyche/ men ofte synneþ inne; þat is to sey etynge and drynkynge lyky[n]gge / metes and drynkes to þe flessh as to muche, to late, to / erly, out of tyme as in fastynge dayes, in brekynge of fast by / shryft y-sette, oþer by a vow
635 y-made, oþer by hest of holy cherche; / hauynge metes and drynkes, lykynge to þe flessh þe whych ys ofte tyme dedlych synne as whan hyt makeþ a mannys body / [too] heuy to seruy god; oþer a-dolleþ hys whyt, oþer by-nymeþ / a man[129] hys bodylyche hele, oþer of stomake, oþer of hedde, oþer / febleþ hys lymes, oþer stureþ hys body to synne in any degre. / ¶Lecherye, in any manere
640 wyse, y-do by-twuene man and womman / out of spowshode ys dedlych synne. Þerfore holycherche for-bedeþ / þat no man suffre hys chyldren, hys seruantes, ne / non oþer man of seuene ȝere olde, or more, lygge to-gedre in / o bed for perel of þys synne of lecherye. Of þys synne hyt nedeþ / no more speke of for euereche man knowyþ hys owne doynge / and how he trespasseþ þeron as hyt
645 ys y-seyd a-fore in þe / ten comandementis.

Versus de .vij. peccatis et de .vij. penis domini.

Hec fastus: cerculus. Gula: spongea. Lancea: liuorum.
Flagra: caro. Claui tres: ira, rapinaque torporum.
In dextra: lena. Pedibus: dant prelia sena.

650 ***Septem opera misericordie spiritualis sunt hec:***

Peccanti dimittere	for to furȝyue hym þat synneþ.
Peccanti corrigere	for to a-mende hym þat synneþ.
Pro peccatores orare	for to gowlych byd for hym þat synneþ.
Ignorantem instruere	for to lere þe onkunnynge.
655 Hesitantem consulere	for to consayle hym þat ys dredful in þe byleue.

[128] MS: muser
[129] MS: a a man.

Lugentem consolare for to solace hym þat ys sory.
Infirmum supportare for to socowre or comforte hym þat ys syke.

Septem opera misericordie que in euangelo Sancti Mathi continentur:

¶Þe .vij. workys of mercy beþ godys hestes in þe Gospel of Seynt Mathew of whyche euery man shal be examyned at þe day of dome and beþ þes:

Pascere famelicum — þow shalt fede þe hungry.
Potare sicientem — 3yf hym drynke þat ys a-þurst.
Hospitere, recipere peregrinum — herborwe hym þat haþ nede.
Vestire nudum — cloþe hym þat ys nakede.
Visitare infirmum — visyte hym þat ys syke.
Consolare incarcere mancipatum — conforte hym þat ys in pryson.
Sepelire mortuos ex[o] Thobie — burye ded crystyne bodyes.

[f.47v] Escam poscenti; potum dones scicienti; "Vnde hijs qui hec
Tecta nudos; operi vagis quoque aperiri; fecerint," dicet Dominus,
Clausis solamen; egris confer medicamen "in die iudicij, venite
Quo defunctus eget non. Tua cura neget benedicti patris mei. Precipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi." **De misericorde operibus**: Wharfore to þes þat doþ þus god shal sey at þe day of dome, / "Y was a hongred and 3e fedde me, a pylgrym 3e herborwed / me, naked and 3e cloþed me, syke and in pryson and 3e vysyt me. / Þerfore 3e blessyde chyldron of my fadyr comeþ to þe ky[n]gdome / ryche þat ys a-greyd to 3ow from þe furst by-gynny[n]gge / of þe wordle."

.Vij. virtutes cardinales videlicet:

Prudencia
Fides — Iusticia
Spes Que pertinent ad Deum — Ffortitudo Que pertinent ad te ipsum et ad proximum
Caritatis — Temperancia

¶Þe seuene principale vertues beþ þes þat ys to seynge:

Feyþe, hope,[130] charite, sleyþe, ry3[t]fulnesse, strenkþe and sowburnesse./ ¶Feyþe ys ry3thful by-leue þat þou shalt by-leue / al þat holy churche techeþ and noþynge elles as hyt ys for-seyd / in þe Crede. ¶Þe .ij. vertu ys hope. Þou shalt hope to haue þe / blys of heuene in body and saule after þe day of dome by help / of þe ry3thful by-leue and of þe sacramentes of holycherche. / ¶Þe .iij. ys charite. Þat ys þou shalt loue þy god to-fore alle / þynge and þyne

[130] MS: hopee

euenecrystyne as þy-selfe. Þes þre vertues / beþ y-ordeyned to god whith-owte whyche may no saule be / y-saued. ¶Þe .iiij. ys sleyþe. Þat ys for a man to[131] kepe hym fro / harm þat ys to comynge and þat ys nedful a-ȝen fondynge of / þe fend, of þy flesshe and of þe wordle as dwde þe holy confessowrys / in dyuerse penawnse, yn whakynge, yn bedes-byddynge / and yn almysdede doynge. ¶Þe .v. ys þat a man shal haue / wyth hym ryȝthfulnesse. Þys vertu wolle þat euereche man / ȝulde to god, to man, and to hym-self euereche maner þyng þat / ys hys. Þat ys to seye, to god worshyppe, to man help at nede / by þy power, and to þy-self skylfully kepynge. And þys vertu ys / nedful a-ȝens þe vyce of couetyse of þe wordle and so dude þes / holy apostoles. ¶Þe .vi. ys strenkþe þat a man shal, wyth / strenkþe, suffre myschef for ryȝthfulnesse, þat no man suffre / his euene-crystyne synny by hys power, ne suffre hym-self / be vnderlynge to synne, ne do after þe lykynge of þe flesshe, / ne after þe fondynge of þe fende. And þus lyuede þes holy martrys. / ¶Þe .vij. ys sowbrenusse þat ys in wythstondynge of / flesshelyche lustes as in mete and drynke, in slepynge and wakynge, / in loue and hate, and in wrathe, in wele and in who. Of non of alle þes / ne take nowȝt to muche ne to lyte. And þat helpeþ a man souerynlyche / a-ȝen þe fende, a-ȝen þe flesshe, and a-ȝen þe wordle. And so / dude þes holy vyrgynes in here lyf. / **Septem Sacramenta Ecclesie**

[f.48^{r}] **Seuene sacramentes** þer beþ of holy cherche þat ys to wytynge, / fullynge, confirmacyon, shryft, howsel, elynge, ordre, / and spowshode. ¶Fullynge ys þe furst sacrament and bygynnynge / of alle oþere, by-þowt whyche may no man be sauyd. Þerfore holicherche / comaundeþ euereche crystyne womman þat veleþ here / quyk wyth chylde þat hee kepe here fro hebbynge, and fro fallynge, / and alle oþer pereyles þat myȝth by-nyme þe chyld hys lyfe; for so / myȝth þe chylde be lore boþe lyfe and saule. **¶Vt pregnantes accipiant / sacramenta ecclesie ante partum**. ¶And also þat þey come / to holycherche and take shryft and howsel by-fore here tyme of / traueylynge, for pereyl of deþ þat myȝth falle in chyldberynge. / **¶Modus et forma baptiȝandi in periculo mortis**. ¶Also holycherche / techeþ and hoteþ þat þe mydewyfe, and hy or þey þat beþ a-boute, / and seeþ þe chylde y-bore a-lyue and hyt be in pereyl of deeþ, hy shul / crystyne hym in þys maner wyse seyynge þws and non oþer: / **N.** Y crystene þe

[131] MS: for to a man kepe

in name of þe fader, and of þe sone, and of þe / holy gost. And þanne a-non cast clene water vp-pon hym and non oþer / lycure, oþer sprenge hym wyth water, oþer plonge hym in water / þryes in þe name of þe trynyte. Oþer elles sey þws yf þou canst: / ***N:*** *Ego baptiȝo te in nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti. Amen.* ¶And cast / clene water vp-pon hym, alwey hauynge þe intencion to fully / þat chyld after þat holycherche techeþ. And holycherche for-bedeþ / þat a chyld þat ys þws y-crystened be nowȝt y-crystened / eftsone, for hyt where as muche pereyl as [to] nayle Cryst eftsone / in þe roode. And yf a chyld be crystenede in þe manere / as y haue forseyde þat chyld shal be browȝt to cherche, yf / hyt be a-lyfe and vnderfonge hollyche al þe seruyse of crystenynge / saue onlyche þe puttynge into þe fonte and þe wordes / þer-wyth, þe whych shal nowȝt be do and noþer y-seyde. / **¶Quod pater et mater possunt baptiȝare proprium filium in necessitate**. ¶Þat fadyr / and moder mow crystene here owne chyld in nede by-þowt / harmynge of spowshode, as in pereyl of deeþ and non oþer, / in þe manere of seggynge, and whyth water as hyt ys a-fore / y-seyde. **¶Vt pueri nati ante festum pasche et pentecosten obsueruentur / vsque ad consecracionem fontis**. ¶Holycherche wole þat / chyldren y-bore .viij. dayes to-fore Estre eue and by-fore Wytsonday / eue be kepte tyl halwynge of þe fonte, yf hyt may wel / for pereyl of deeþ. **¶Quod compatres sunt fideiissores ante deum**. / Also godfadres and godmodres beþ borwes to-fore god for here / godchildren; and þer-fore hy beþ holde to teche hem to louye ryȝt-fulnesse, / to hold charyte, to kepe hem in chastyte, to teche hem / goddys hestes, to kepe hem fro þe seuene dedlyche synnes, / and also to-fore all þyng to teche hem here by-leue, þat ys to / sey here *Pater Noster*, *Aue Maria*, and *Credo in Deum*. **Quod sponsus / et sponsa non simul leuent** [f.48ᵛ]**puerum de fonte, nec qui leuent de fonte tenebit / coram episcopo nisi in necessitate.** Also þe howsbonde / and hys wyfe ne shul nowȝt fonge to o chyld at onys / at þe fonstone; ne he þat fongeþ to a chyld ne shal nowȝt / hold hyt atte confyrmacyon to-fore þe busshope but in nede. /**¶Ne pueri iaceant in lecto cum dormiente nec stringetur in/cunabulis nec dormient sine custode.** Also fader and moder, / ne norce, ne non oþer shal suffre no ȝong chyld lygge by / hem a-bedde þe whyle hy slepeþ, ne presse hym to fast in / hys cradel, ne lete hym nawar lygge by-þowt kepynge, / for pereyl þat myȝt falle þer-to. ***De cognacione***

spirituali. / ¶*Cognacio spiritualis est inter illos qui suscipiunt pueros de sacro / fonte et susceptos et eos quorum sunt pueri tam in baptismo quam in confirmacione / episcopi vt patet in decem modis:*

patrinos suscipientes de baptismo.
ffilios vel filias patrinorum.
uxorem patrini ab eo carnaliter cognitatam
Inter baptizatum et ante susceptum baptyzantem.
uxorem baptizantis propris ab eo carnaliter cognitam
ffilios vel filias baptizantis

Patrem *patrem*
Inter puerinos et baptizati Inter baptizantem et baptizati

matrem *matrem*

Þys ys gossybradene, as wel at þe font as at þe bysshope, [of chyldren at confyrmyngge] by-thwene ten personys þat letteþ spowshode as hyt shewt:

godfader and godmoder.
godfaders and godmoders chyldren.
godfaders wyf raþer y-ley by of hym.
By-twene hym þat ys y-fulled and hym þat fulleþ hym oute of nede.
hys wyfe þat fulleþ hym raþer y-ley by of hym.
hys shyldrone þat fulleþ hym.

hys fader
By-twene hym þat fulleþ and þat ys y-fulled.
hys moder

By-twene þe vnderfongere and þe fader of hym þat ys y-fulled. / By-twene þe vnderfongere and þe moder of hym þat ys y-fulled. ¶Alle þees puyntes towcheþ gostlyche kynredene and þer-fore y consayle euereche man be-war for eche of þees / forseyd kynredenes letteþ spowshode neuer to be makyd / and ondoeþ spowshode to-fore y-maked as hyt ys to-fore seyd.

¶**Secundum sacramentum est confirmacio.** Þe secunde sacrament ys / confyrmacyon of þe bysshop þat euereche crysteyne man and womman / ys y-holde to brynge hys chyld þerto as sone as he may, and namelyche / or he be .v. 3ere old of age, for he shal haue þe more grace / in hys lyfe, and þe more blysse after hys deþ. And ho þat be now3t / confermede ne may be vnderfonge [f.49ʳ] to non oþer sacrament. And he þat / ys confermed shal now3t be wasshe hed ne forhed wyþynne .vij. / dayes afterward atte þe reuerence of þe holy creme y-3yue by þe / bysshopes hond; þe chyld shal be brow3t to holycherche and be wasshe / wyþ a prestys hond. ¶**Forma verborum quibus vtuntur episcopi**

duplex est secundum quosdam talis est. Signo te signo crucis et confirmo / te crismate salutis. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Secundum alios talis est: Confirmo te signo crucis et crismate salutis. In nomine patris etcetera sed primus modus generalior est eo quod generalius 795 **dicantur verba priora in confirmacione.**

¶Tercium sacramentum est confessio / vel penitencia. Þe þryd sacrement ys confession, or shryfte, or / penaunce þat euereche man and womman as sone as he can / ry3thful mannes wyt vnderstonde, atte þe age of .xij. 3ere, ys / y-holde to be shryfe and y-howsled atte þe lest onys in þe 3ere, and / to be clene y-
800 shryfe to hys owne curate of alle hys synnes / þat he can by-þenke, and hys penaunce vnderfonge þerfore, and / trewlyche fulfulle hyt, and atte Hestre vnderfonge godys body. / And elles þe lawe doeþ hym out of holy cherche a-lyue and out of / crystene burieles a-deþe. Also þey þat comeþ to shryfte shulle / by-þenke hem-self of alle þe synnes þat he haueþ y-do, and / wyth
805 sorwe of hert come to cherche and mekly knely a-doun to-fore þe prest, as to hym þat ys in godys stede, and hoolyche telle / alle hys synnes: how he haþ y-do, whanne, whare, what tyme, / in what place and wyth w[h]at persone, and be in hole wylle to do so no / more and herthlyche do hys penaunce þat ys enioyned to hym / for hys trespas; and elles hys synnes beþ now3t for3yfe. /

810 **¶Quartum sacramentum est eukaristia**. ¶Þe ferþe sacrament ys godys / body in forme of bred, þat þe prest sacryþ atte þe masse, þat euereche / crystene man shal beleue þat hyt ys vereylyche godys / body þat was y-bore of þe mayde Marie and deyde on þe rode tree. / And as ofte tyme as eny crystene man seeþ þat blessyde body / atte þe masse, oþer y-bore in prestys
815 hondes to eny syke, he shal / deuowtlyche knele a-doun and in þe worshype of hys lord, bydde / hys *Pater noster* oþer what he can best. **¶Ne laici credant quod sit sanguis / que datur eis in calice.** ¶Lewede men þat vnderfongeþ godys / body ne shul now3t by-leue þat þat drynke þat þey vnderfongeþ, / after here howsel, ys any oþer sacrament bute wyn and water / for to brynge in
820 þe oste þe betere. Bote þe oste in forme of bred ys / hoollyche godys body in flesshe and blood. Þey shul now3t kowe / hyt smal, bote take hyt in as hool as he[132] may for dowt lest / any party leue a-mong þe teyþ, for in þe leste party ys hoollyche / godys body. Euereche man þat wyllynglyche desyreþ to see godys / body, he shal haue manye medys. Furst God graunteþ to / hym nedful
825 lyflode and hys ydel oþes and for3ytene synnes beþ / for-3eue. Þe suy3t of hys ey3en shal now3t be lost þat day, ne / þat day to hym shal falle no sodeyn
[f.49^{v}] deþ, ne he shal now3t / ooldy in þat tyme þat he seyþ oþer hureþ hys masse.

[132] MS: me

Euereche stap / þederward and homward shal be acountyd of angelys. Lewede / men beþ forbode to dysputy of þe sacrament for hyt ys y-now / to hem for to by-leue as holycherche hem techeþ.

¶Quintum sacramentum est extrema vncio. ¶Þe fy[f]þe sacrament ys enelynge / of syke men þat euereche man in poynt of deþ ys y-holde / to vnderfonge. For þer-wyþ beþ for-3yue venyal synnes, and þe / saule y-holp, and þe sykenesse þe lasse, and hys grace ys þe more. / Seynt Ancelm techeþ þe prest to aske of þe syke whan he ys / a-neled and ys ny ded: Broþer art þou glad þat þou shalt deye in / crystene byleue? **R.** 3e syre. Art þou a-knowe þat þou hast now3t / so wel y-lyved as þou sholdest? **R.** 3e syre. Hast þou wylle to amendy / yf þou haddest space of lyfe? **R.** 3e syre. By leuest þou þat Ihesu / Cryst, godys sone, was y-bore of þe Mayd Marie? **R.** 3e syre. By-leuest / þou þat Ihesu Cryst deyde vp-pon þe cros to bygge mannys / saule in þe Gowdfryday, and þonkest hym þerfore? **R.** 3e syre. By-leuest / þou þat þou my3th now3t be savyd bote by hys deþ and hast / þou hoollyche tryst to be sauyd þorw hys deþ? **R.** 3e syre. Buthe / hyt ys godys wylle þenk in non oþer wordles gowd bote in Cryst, / hys deþ and in hys passyon, and sey after me, "Y put Cryst, hys passyon / by-twyne me and myne euel dedys and by-twyne me and / þy wrathe. **Et dicatur tei: ¶In manus tuas commendo** ¶Lord, / in hondys þyne y by-take saule myne. Lord, as þu bow3tes / me body and saule y by-take þe.

¶Sextum sacramentum est ordo. ¶Þe sexþe sacrament ys ordre þat longeþ to men of / holycherche. So þat euereche man of holycherche þat any ordre / haþ vnderfonge, 3yf he wol haue worshyp of hys ordre, 3yf / he be a clerk hym nedeþ to haue hys crowne ofte y-shore, / hys heere y-euesyd, hys cloþes honest of shap as by-falleþ / to hys state and namelyche in holycherche now3t to be a-shamed / to bere hys crowne, þat ys hys marke, for hys loue þat bare / a crowne of þornes vp-pon hys hed for hym and for alle holy / cherche.

¶Septimum sacramentum est spousalia. ¶Þe seue[n]þe / sacrament ys spowshode, by-fore whyche sacrament þe bannes/ in holy cherche shul be þre tymes y-asked in þys whyse: / **N.** of **T.** haþ y-spoke wyth **A.** of **C.** to haue heere to wyfe, / and to ry3t lyue in forme of holycherche. 3yf any know any lette / wher-for hy mow now3t come to-gedere, as þe lawe of holy / cherche askeþ, whe chargeþ 3ow vp-pon pereyl þat may / falle to 3owre saules þat 3e knowleche hyt or þe sacrament / be do or fulfyllyd. **¶Interrogaciones ad hostiam et dicat sacerdos / in privis post bannas ibidem publice editas** ¶Who 3yfþ þys / wommon? **¶Tunc quidam amicus tradet eam ad sponsandam / et dicat sacerdos vyro. N.** hast þou wylle to haue þys [f.50ʳ]womman? / **R.** 3e syre. My3th þou loue heere and non oþer to þyn endyngday? /

R. ȝe syre. Þanne tak heere by þe hond and seye after me: Y **N.** / take þe **A.** in forme of holycherche to my weddede wyfe forsakynge / alle oþer, holdynge onlyche to the in sykenesse, in helþe, / in rychesse, in pouerte, in wele and in wo tylle þe tyme þat deþ / ows departy and þer-to y plygȝe the my trewþe. ¶**Eodem modo / dicitur ex parte mulieris addendo hoc modo**. ¶Y **A.** take þe **B.** / in forme of holycherche to my weddede spowse forsakynge / alle oþer, holdynge holliche to þe in sykenesse and in helþe, in / rychesse and in þouerte, in wele and in wo, to þe bowxsom be tylle / þe tyme þat deþ ows departy and þer-to y-plygȝe the my trewþe. / Þys sacrament spowshode ys þe seue[n]þe sacrament, and þe last / of alle, þe whyche ȝyueþ grace and by-nemeþ synne ȝyf hyt be / ryȝthfullyche y-take. So þat man and womman of ful age, hoollyche / a-corde in on, þey no trewþe be y-plygȝt, ne ne flesshelyche / dede y-do to-fore god [er] þey beþ wyfe and hosebonde. Holycherche / forbedeþ alle pryuey forwardes makynge of spowshode by-twene / man and womman, as in trewþe plygȝttynge and forwarde / makynge, wy-þowte a-sent and opene knewlege of holycherche. / For alle þat suche forwardes makeþ, and alle þat beþ þer ate, beþ in / grete pereyle.

¶**Quinque modis potest homo peccare cum propria / uxore. Primo, tempore.** ¶As in lente, ymbrefast, *quatretempore*, / *quo idem est vigylyons*, and suche oþer holy tymes. **Voluntate.** As / in oþer wylle þan to gete chyldren, oþer kepe hym-self fro synne / wyth oþer. **Loco.** As in holycherche, oþer in oþer holy place, oþer in / open stede. **Pacto.** As ȝyf a man makeþ forward wyþ a-noþer / to do so ofte, oþer legge a wager to do so muche. **Modo.** To do / in oþer manere þan þe comune use ys, for þer nys no fowlere synne / of lecherye þan a man may use whyth hys owne wyfe, ne / no worse synne þan spowsbreche. For þe dygnyte of þat sacrament / passeþ alle oþer in manere, for god hym-seelf made hyt / in paradyse and to-fore alle oþer sacramentes. And also hyt was y-makyd / by-fore any synne, and þer-fore euereche man þat haþ a / wyfe he haþ a god to queme, and a saule to kepe. And þerfore euereche / man vse hys wyfe so þat he mys-queme nowȝt god, ne / apeyre hys owne saule.

De quinque sensibus. *Quinque sunt sensus in quibus homo peccat vt patet per hunc autem: / Gustus, olfactus, auditus, visio, tactus.* ¶Fyfe wyttes / þer beþ in whych a man al day synny: ¶Tastynge, smellynge, / huyrynge, seynge and towchynge. ¶In tastynge as glotones / doeþ in to muche etynge and drynkynge. A man may synny / wyþ hys mowþe in þre maneres: ¶In etynge and drynkynge *Oris peccatum, dant esus, oscula verbum*; as / hyt ys for sayde in þe

synne / of glotanye. ¶Also a man may synny in cussynge by wylle / to do þe synne of lecherye. ¶Also in speche as yn ydel scornyng, / dyffamynge, bostynge, mysseynge and in mys swerynge. ¶Also in / smellynge, as in fayre tyre of comune wommen and in oþer in lykynge / of synne, and in swote [f.50ᵛ] smellynge of metes and drynkes for þe / whyche swote smelle shal be wel fowle stenche. ¶In huyrynge, / as for to gladlyche hure dysclawnder and opene fame and / suche now3t a-mendy. ¶In seeynge, a man synneþ in delytynge / to see fowle þynges and also oþer þynges þat beþ for-bode / as dawnsynge of wommen and oþer opene sy3tes þat draweþ / men to synne. ¶In towchynge, a man synneþ wyþ hys hond, / rafesshynge, stelynge, towchynge for-bode þynges, and also / wyþ smytynge, wyþ fote as goynge to wykkedenesse, / hym wytynge and also to for-bode þynges.

Baptismus			*Fidei*	Feyþ
Eukaristia			*Caritatis*	Charite
Extrema vnccio			*Spes*	Hope
Ordo	*Immat ad actum*		*Prudence*	Sleyþe
Confirmacio			*Constancie*	Stedfastnesse
Penitencia			*Iusticie*	Ry3tfulnesse
Matrimonium			*Temperancie*	Meknesse

Excommunicaciones maioris sententiae a canone late et debent / pronunciari in lingua materna hoc modo. Gowd men, / þees poyntes and artycles þat y shal to 3ow shewe / of corsyng or mansynge beþ y-ordeyned, and y-stabeled, and y-confermyd / of popes, herchebysshopes, bysshopes and prelates / of holycherche, hotynge and comawndynge alle þulke þat haueþ / cure of mannys saule as parsones, vicares and parsheprestes, þat þey shewe hare parshones fowre tymes in þe 3ere þes poyntes and artycles of corsynge þat þey þorw onknowynge / or defawte of techynge falle in to no corsynge. / For ry3t as swerd departeþ þe hed fro þe body ry3t so, gostlyche / to speke þorw prestes tonge þat ys god hys swerd departeþ / mannys saule þat Ihesu Cryst, godys sone, bow3t wyþ hys / derewarde blod vp-pon þe rode tree fram hym, and fram owre / lady and alle þe holy companye of heuene, and by-takeþ hym / to þe fende of helle and to hys mynystres to peyne þe wrechede / saule in þe peynes of helle as longe as god ys in / heuene. And þerfore y 3ow bydde and hotte, for þe loue of Cryst / and in sauacyon of 3owre saules, þat 3e vnderstonde wel alle / þees poyntes. And 3yf any of 3ow feleþ hym selfe gulty in / any of alle, þat he hem a-mendy by shryft and penaunse and / þat by tyme. By auctorite of owre lord Ihesu Cryst and owre / lady Seynt Marie and Seynt Petre and Paule and alle þe holy halwen / aposteles, martyres, confessowres and virgynes and alle /

[f.51^{r}] þe holy companye of heuene whe denunsyþ a-cursyd and out of / þe companye of god and of alle holycherche departeþ fort þey / come to a-mendement.

¶Inicientes manus violentas / in clericum ex. de sent. ex. c^{o} i^{o} et c^{o}. peruenit. ¶Alle þat leggeþ hond / in preste, or clerke, or in man or in womman of holycherche or / relygyon, professed or onprofessed, oþer in man or womman lewyde / or lerryde wyþynne holy cherche or cherche3erd wyllynglyche / in vyolence to do hym harm. ¶And alle þat þer-to procuryþ / oþer 3yueþ help, oþer consayle, oþer asenteþ. **¶Infringentes ecclesie / libertates.** Alle þat brekeþ þe fredom of holycherche. And / alle þat malycyowslyche bynymeþ here ry3t and beþ a-bowte / to lette oþer dysturble here fredom in any wyse. **¶Impetrantes / scienter litteras vel falsas bullas papales ex. de c^{o} fal ad falsariorium c. dura**. ¶Alle þat falseþ þe popys seel oþer hys lettres,/oþer þe kynges, and alle þat by here wytynge hem purchasseþ, oþer / manteyneþ, oþer vseþ, oþer any þynge doeþ þer-wyþ by here wytynge. / **¶In constitucione Iohannis Stratford. c^{o} Superno Dei.** ¶Alle þat dysturbleþ / þe pes of holycherche or þe pes of þe lond. ¶Also alle þat / any statues, oþer lawes, oþer vsages a-rereþ, oþer makeþ, oþer holdeþ / a-3en þe fredom of holycherche. ¶Also alle þat letteþ a ry3tful / patron to present hys cherche þat he haþ ry3t to 3yue whar-by / he leseþ hys presentacyon atte þat tyme. **¶Ex. de sent. ex. c^{o}/ noueritis.** ¶Alle þat vnry3tfullyche setteþ talages vp-pon[133] / men of holy cherche as pedages, gwydages, oþer any oþer onscylful / þraldom. Oþer werneþ lewede men to sylle hem ow3t, / oþer to bygge of hem, oþer to grynd here corn, oþer to bake here / breed, oþer to do hem any oþer seruyse and alle þat procureþ / oþer helpeþ þer to.

¶Extract de sent. ex. c^{o} quemdam li^{o} .vj^{o}. in constitucione / Oxon. Pape Clemente .v. de cens. c^{o} present c^{o} extract de nunc / c^{o} eos qui li^{o} .vj^{o}. ¶Alle þat holycherche brenneþ oþer robbeþ by / ny3t or by daye, takynge out holy thinge vnry3tfullyche. / **.Xi. qui in canone .xviij. que .iiij^{or}. omnes .xxiij. qui vlt. pessimam extract. de / sent. ex. q onest. Et c^{o} tua.** ¶Alle þat porchesseþ in any kynges / cowrt, oþer in any oþer cowrt, wryttes oþer lettres oþer atachementes / to lette, oþer to dysturble processe oþer folwynge of causes þat / ry3tfullyche shold be y-endyd in crystyne cowrt. Oþer wyþ strenkþe, / oþer by drede, oþer wyþ bost a-fereþ, letteþ any mynystre / of holychercehe to do hys ofyce and execucyon of þyng þat longeþ / to hym.

In Constitucione Ottoboni. ¶Alle þat of howse[s] / oþer of maneres, oþer of placys, oþer of any manere mannys gowdes / of holycherche, any-þyng by-nemeþ oþer a-wey bereþ wyþ-þoute / leue of þe kepere. ¶Also alle þat out-

[133] MS: vt pon

draweþ any man of holycherche, / oþer of claustre, oþer of seyntuarye þat ys y-flowe þere-to, / for to haue þe gree of holycherche, and alle þat þer to helpeþ in consayl or in dede, / and alle þat letteþ here lyflode þe whyle þey beþ / þer-
[f.51ᵛ] inne. ¶Also alle þat brekeþ or letteþ sequestracyon of any / prelate by-þowt here leue. ¶Alle þat chaseþ and honteþ men of holycherche / to make hem resygne her benyfys a-ȝen here owne frewyl; / oþer letteþ hem þat beþ y-somned to þe cowrt of Rome þat / þey ne mow nowȝt go þeder in sauynge of here ryȝt. ¶Also alle / þat letteþ any man to purchasse þe popes bulles, oþer þe archebysshapes, / oþer bysshopes lettres in defense of hys ryȝt and of holy / cherche oþer malycyowslyche letteþ here processe.

¶In constitucione / Iohannis Stratford. c° seculi principes. ¶Alle þat letteþ þe ky[n]ggys / hest to make hem þat haueþ be a-cursyd .xl. dayes to be do / in-to prysone, and þat here delyuerans onryȝtfullyche procureþ / or þat hy be boxom to holycherche as þey owede for to be. / **¶Item in constitucione Iohannis. c° quia divinis**. ¶Alle þat destruyeþ / treon, oþer gras growynge wyth-inne þe cherche walles, / by-þout leue of þe parson, or of þe vycary, oþer of hem þat haueþ / þe kepynge þer-of. ¶Also alle lewede men þat antermeteþ / of offrynges in cherche, oþer chapel, oþer in oratorye a-ȝen þe wyl of hym þat hyt longeþ to.

Also alle þat dysturbleþ þe / pees of þe lond, and alle felounes, and alle here mayntenowres, / and alle tretowres, and alle þeues, and robberes, and alle howse-breneres / in tyme of pees, and alle falsse conspiratowres, and alle falsse / sweryeres in asyses by hare wytynge, and alle bygynneres of / falsse quereles, and alle þat helpeþ þer-to.

¶Alle vsureres and alle / þat to hem a-senteþ, oþer manteyneþ leuynge goold oþer selver, / oþer sellynge any maner þynge cause þer-of. ¶Alle þat makeþ, / oþer wryteþ, þat oker shal be payd, oþer yf hyt be payd þat hyt / ne be restored, and alle þat suche statutys haueþ, bot yf hy do / hem a-wey and destruye hem. ¶Alle þat selleþ by falsse mesowres / as elne, ȝerd, busshel, halfbusshel, oþer pekke, galoun, potel, oþer / quart or pyntte, oþer by any falsse wyȝttes; and alle þat suche vseþ / by here wytynge. ¶Alle þat for hate oþer wynnyge makeþ men / lese here catel malycyowslyche by-fore any domysman in wylnynge / feniaunce.

¶Alle þat falsselyche wyth holdeþ teþes / ryȝtfullyche longynge to holycherche, oþer in wyl, oþer in wytynge / falslyche teþeþ, takynge to god þe worse and to hym-self þe / betre, a-ȝen þe ordenaunse of Bonyface sumtyme erchebysshep / of Canterbury þat ordeyned in alle þe bysshopryche o manere / askynge of teþes of alle manere fruyt: ¶of corn, sedys, herbys / in gardynes

hoolliche by-þowt any laskyng oþer any cost a-batynge; / ¶of hey, whar hyt er growe in gret mede, oþer in smale, / and as ofte tymes as hyt [is] y-mowe; ¶of norshynge, of alle / manere beestes as of lomb þe .vij. and so vpward shal be-take / to teþe, and fro .vj. and so a-donwarde for euereche on halfpenny. Bote / yf þe parson or þe vycary woolle a-byd tylle þe next 3ere and þanne / telle vp-pon þulk þat lackede, and take þat oþer best. ¶Woolle / shalle be teþed þar þat hyt ys y-growe; ¶of mylke, al þe whyle / þat hyt duyreþ, as wel in winter [f.52r] as in somere, oþer make a-gre þerfore; / ¶of fysshynge, of beon, of fenyson, and alle oþer manere gowd / þat ys ry3tfullyche y-wonne, þat neweþ by þe 3ere and as ofte / as hyt neweþ; ¶of profyte of mulles, and weres, and fysshynge, no / cost a-bated bote to þe verey valwe hyt shal be payd trywelyche; / ¶of leese, boþ of comune and also of seuerel, shulle þe teþes / be y-payd trywelyche after þe nombre of bestes þat goeþ þer-inne, / oþer after þe dayes as hyt ys most profyte to holycherche; ¶of coltes, / of calues, of pyges, of gees, of dokys, of swanes, chycones, / of pyiones, of eyron, of flex, of hempe, of beanes, of pyses, and fecches / and of alle oþer manere þynges þat newyþ by þe 3ere; ¶of werkemen, / and of chepmen, of wynny[n]gge of here craft oþer of here / chefare; ¶of carpenteres, of smyþes, of webbes, of bakeres, of / breweres and of alle maner men þat goeþ to huyre by þe 3ere, or / by þe wyke, or by þe daye shul teþe þe te[n]þe parte þat þey geteþ; / bote 3yf þey 3yfe any serteyn þer-fore to holycherche, ate þe curat / hys wylle. ¶And also of shredynge of trees and almanere vnder-wode / y-woxe oþer y-newed wyþ-inne .xx. wyntre. **¶In constitucione / Iohannis Stratford, c° quicumquam exsoluent.** ¶Alle þat hwreþ ryperes / in haruest for corn or hyt by tyþed, and alle þat teþynge steleþ, / or wylfullyche defowleþ wyþ bestes oþer wyt ow3t-elles, and alle / þat letteþ to feche teþyng oþer costomes by sckylful wey. ¶Al-so / alle þat letteþ oþer wythholdeþ offerynges or customys þat / beþ sckylful, oþer deuocyons y-vsed in oold tyme in any cherche, / whar-þat hyt be and þer-to procureþ, oþer asenteþ to turne hyt in-to / oþer vsage by-cause of hate of any man of holycherche lasse / or more pryuylyche or openlyche a-3en hys wylle þat hyt longeþ / to and alle þat þer-to 3yueþ consayle.

¶Also alle wychene and / alle þat in wychecraft by-leueþ, oþer þat doeþ þer-after or by / here consayle.

¶Also alle þat by here owen kyn of gossybrede, / oþer in any oþer de-gre þan lawe 3yfeþ, oþer wyþ sester of relygyon, / oþer mynchones professe, oþer in ordre of subdekene, / oþer a bowe beþ y-weddyd and alle þat þer to procureþ or helpeþ or / asenteþ.

In constitucione ex. Pape Clem. v. de consanguinitate. / c°. qui eos li.° vi°. ¶Also alle þat bereþ fals wytnesse in cause of / matrimonye, and alle auoketes þat fals excepcyons aleggeþ / in cause of matrymonye, and alle þat letteþ ryȝtful matrymonye. / Also alle þat pryuey weddynges makeþ in holy cherche wyþ-oute / bannes y-asked sollemnplyche, a-ȝen þe for-bode of holy / cherche, and alle þat for wynnynge of gowd, oþer for by hest, oþer /for frenshype, or for kynredene, or for loue, or for eye entrometeþ of suche wedlokes. /

Item in constitucione Iohannis de Stratford. / c°. humana concupiscencia. ¶Alle þat letteþ testamentes / in þe last wyl of a man, oþer of a womman, oþer chyld, oþer any oþer / lyfe þat haueþ gowd wher-of þey mowe [f.52ᵛ] ryȝtfullyche make / hare testament and by-queþe. ¶Alle þat letteþ þe fulfullynge / of any ryȝtful testament, and alle þat wrongfullyche wyþholdeþ, / oþer do a-wey any gowdes whar-fore þe ryȝtfulle testament may / nowȝt be fulfyllyd and alle þat þer-to asenteþ oþer procureþ.

¶Also alle / men and wommen þat de-sclaundreþ oþer fals fame bryngeþ vp-pon / any man oþer womman leerde or lewede wher-fore he leseeþ / hys gowd lose, oþer worshyp, oþer wordlyche gowd, oþer wherfor / he ys y-putte to hys purgacyon.

¶Also alle þat dysmembreþ / oþer openeþ any ded man, oþer by-trendeþ, oþer by-swweþ any / ded man in any blessyd cloþe of þe auter. ¶Also alle þo wymmen / þat here chyldron leggeþ in feeldes, or in weyes, oþer / in any oþer place y-crystyned, oþer oncrystened and goeþ þer-fro for / euere-mo. ¶Also Ion Stratford, sumtyme erchebysshop of Caunterbure, hauynge reward to grete harm of mannys saules in / fawte of deuocyon, in fylanye and in synnes þat were y-used and / y-do abowt dede bodyes lyggynge on þe beere and ȝut ys do / in many places a-bowte, er he be bore to cherche, þer as somtyme / waykynges where y-ordeyned a-bowt þe coors for holy bedes / byddynge in help of þe saule. ¶Now hyt ys forbode by / þe constytucyons, vp-pon payne of fallynge in to þe grete corsse, / þat no man vnderfonge no man in to hys howse þer dede bodyes / beþ by-waked for no manere pleyes, ne no þyng elles þere to / do, bote onlyche to pray for þe saule for drede of þe grete / corssynge; and alle þat þere any þyng elles doeþ bote praye for / þe saule, mowe dred hem sore of þe grete corssynge.

¶Alle þat / ȝyueþ, oþer vnderfongeþ, any-þyng in wey of symonye and alle / þat þer-by beþ a-vaunsedde in holycherche. ¶Also alle þat bereþ / þe ordre of holy cherche and put hem-self in-to companye of þefes, / robberys, or comune mansleeres takynge part of here robberye. /

¶Also alle þat makeþ a vow to [go] to þe holylond and afterward / turneþ þat a vow wy-þout nede.

¶Item religiosi qui ministrant / sacramenta. In constitucione ex. pape Clemente .v. de priuilegiis. c° religiosi. / ¶Also alle men of relygyon þat howseleþ, oþer spowseþ, oþer a-neleþ any man oþer womman by-þowt leue of þe curate; oþer enformeþ, / oþer makeþ to be bwryd atte any oþer stede þan atte here /owne parysshyrche. ¶Also alle þat helpeþ sarsones a-ȝen crystyndom / in wey of armes oþer in any oþer þyng. ¶Also alle þat / asoyleþ a man, *a pena et a culpa*, by-þowt special power of þe / pope.

¶In constitucone ex. Clement pape .v. c° multorum. ¶Also alle þat knoweþ / eresye, coniuracyons, nygramancye, enchaunntementes, wychecraftes / oþer any oþer false by-leue a-ȝen þe feyþ of holycherche / bote hy dystrwye hyt by here power; and alle þat beþ y-ordeyned / to enquere þer-of hyf þey leue here swte, and suffer hem. /

¶In constitucione ex pape Clement .v. de sent. excom. De coi. c° graus. / ¶Alle þat heretykes manteyneþ, receyteþ, fauowreþ, or bureþ / in crystene buryeles by here wytynge. [f.53r]

¶Ex. de sent. excom. con. c° / quicumque. li° .vi°. ¶Alle men of wordlyche power þat hoteþ here / seruauntes oþer makeþ any oþer men to sle, oþer to bete, oþer in prysone, / oþer to by-nyme wordlyche gowd of any man of holy cherche / for cause þat he porseweþ to a-corsye hem by lawe þat / beþ to be a-corsyd; and alle þo servauntes oþer what þat þey be / þat doeþ by here hest, bote þey come to amendement wyþ-inne / thwo monþes after þe doynge. And þey mowe nowȝt be a-soyled / of non oþer bote onlyche of þe pope.

¶Also loordes þat / makeþ here prestes to synge masse þer hyt shold nowȝt be; oþer / in cherche þat ys entredyted oþer in any oþer a-corsed places oþer / in tyme of entredytynge wyþ belles tyngynge, clypynge men / to masse in here chapel pryuylegyd. ¶Also alle þat forbedeþ / here vnderlynges þat beþ a-cursyd by name oþer y-do out of holy / cherche to go oute. ¶And alle þat beþ a-corsyd by name oþer y-do / out of holycherche, bote þey go out a-non and hoold hem out of / alle cherches in-to þe tyme þat he be reconsyled and come to a-mendement. / ¶Also alle þat in tyme of entredytynge bureþ any body in cherche or in cherche3erde. ¶Also alle þat bureþ any / cursyd man, oþer womman, oþer a comune vserer y-know and repreuyd, / oþer any eretyke in crystene buryeles. ¶Also alle þat by strenkþe / or by maystrye makeþ hem-seelf to be a-soylyd of cursynge, / oþer entredytynge, oþer of doynge out of holycherche by here / ordynaryes, oþer makeþ here ordynaryes wythclype ryȝthfulle / domes a-ȝen ryȝt by maystrye. ¶Also alle cursyd men / þat in perel of deþ beþ a-soylyd,

oþer in oþer pereyles of hym þat / haueþ no power by þe lawe hym to a-soyle, bote in suche / perel as sone as þey beþ rekeuered, bote þey habbe absolucyon / of hym þat haþ power hem to a-soyle þey turneþ and / lyggyþ in þe same cursynge as þey to-fore dyde, and wors / for here vnboxomnesse.

¶Ex. de sent. ex. c° ex muliere c° de cetera. et c° ea noscitur et c° quid de hiis etc. quamuis etc. eos qui li° vj°. / ¶Alle þat beþ namelyche a-cursed for lecherye, man oþer womman, / bote hy departyd here companye anon. ¶Also alle þat commenyþ wyþ / hem þat beþ a-cursyd, in etynge and drynkynge, in reseytynge, / in helpynge, in fauerynge, bote onlyche in hope to brynge / hym to amendement: owt-take howsbonde to wyfe, and wyfe / wyþ here howsbonde and ȝut conseylynge to amendement.

Hoc modo pronuncianda est excommunicacio maioris secundum vsum Sarum. / By þe auctorite of owre lord Ihesu Cryst, and of hys modyr / 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 comune consayl of alle holy cherche / of þe p[ro]uynce of Canturbury whe denounseþ and sheweþ for / [f.53ᵛ] a-corsyd and sequestred fro þe lyȝtes of holycherche.

¶Alle þat þe franchyse / of holycherche brekeþ oþer desturbleþ. ¶Alle þat beþ a-ȝen / þe pees, or þe ryȝt, or þe state of holycherche, oþer þar to a-senteþ / wyþ dede or wyþ consayle. ¶And alle þey þat holy cherche pryueþ of / here ryȝt, oþer makeþ of holy cherche lay fe þat ys y-halewyd oþer / seyntuarye. ¶Also alle þat þey þat wytholdeþ þe ryȝtes of holy cherche, / þat ys to wytynge, teþes, rentes, offrynges, oþer any oþer þyng / hem-self wytynge. ¶Also alle þey þat þe fredom of holy cherche / letteþ or brekeþ or desturbleþ, þat ys to seynge yf a man fleeþ / to cherche or to cherche-hay, ho hym owt-draweþ oþer þerto procureþ / oþer a-senteþ. ¶Also alle þey þat doeþ sacrylegey, þat ys for to take / holy þyng owt of holy place, oþer holy þyng owt of onholy place / as teþes, oþer onholy þyng owt of holy place as gowd onholy / owt of holy stede. ¶Also alle þey þat lettres purchesseþ in any lordys / cowrt, þat þe procesce of ryȝt may nowȝt be determyned ne y-iuggyd, / bote in lawe of holy cherche. ¶Also alle þey þat blod draweþ of man / or womman in vyolence, oþer eny oþer vylonye doeþ in cherche or in cherche3erd / whar-fore þe cherche or þe cherche3erd ys entredyted /or suspended or polluted.

¶Also alle þat þe pees of þe lond desturbleþ. / ¶Also alle þat beþ a-ȝen þe ky[n]gges ryȝt of þe reme. ¶Also / alle þat werre susteyneþ wrongfullyche a-ȝen þe kyng, or þe pees of / þe londe. ¶Also alle robberes, or reueres, or

mansleeres bote hyt / be hem-self in defendant. ¶Also alle þey þat beþ a-3en þe grete charter / of þe kyng þe whyche ys y-confermed by þe cowrt of Rome. /

¶Also alle þat falswytnesse bereþ or procureþ by here wytynge, and / namelyche in causes of matrymonye in what cowrt hyt be or / owt of cowrt. ¶Also alle þat falswytnesse bryngeþ forþ ry3tful matrymonye / for to desturble, or man or womman for to dyser[i]te of here / lond, or rentes, or tenementes or any oþer catel. ¶Also alle fals / avocates þat for mede putteþ forþ fals excepcyones or quereles; / whar-þorw ry3tful matrymonye ys for do oþer any oþer manere / ry3t in stede of iugement.

¶Also alle þey þat for mede or favowr / or for any oþer encheson, man oþer womman, malycyowslyche bryngeþ / owt of he gowd name in to a wykyde fame or makeþ hem / lese here wordylyche gowd or honowres or þat þey beþ y-put / wrongfullyche to here purgacyon, of whyche was no fame by-fore. /

¶Alle þat malycyowslyche desturbleþ or letteþ þe ry3t presentacyon / of a cherche, þe whyche þe verey patron shold present or / wyþ any oþer power.

¶Also alle þat malycyowslyche despyseþ / þe ky[n]gges comandement to take a corsede man þat haþ be a-corsed / .xl. dayes, and no mercy ne remedye wol seche ne asky. ¶And alle / þat here taky[n]gge desturbleþ or letteþ wyþ fals iugement or / fals enqueest, here delyuerance purchesseþ a3en þe ry3t of holy / cherche.

¶Also alle þat meede takeþ for to desturble pees, þer / loue shold be, or manteyneþ contak or stryf wyþ word or dede / and fort he haue y-3owlde a-3e[n] þe mede to hym of wham he toke hyt, / of þey mowe now3t be a-soyled.

¶Also alle þey þat ow3t of howses / maneres, grawnges or gardynes of archbysshopes, bysshopes, abbates, / pryores, abbesses, pryoresses, parsones, vycaryes or any oþer / man of holy cherche a-3en here wylle or a-3en here torney ys / wylle any manere gowd meuable or onmeuable awey bereþ / wyþ strenkþe or wronglyche a-wey draweþ or wasteþ; of whyche / corsyng þey mow [f.54r] now3t be a-soyled fort he haue y-maked satysfaccyon / to hym þat þe wrong was y-do to. ¶Also alle þey þat any / manere gowdes wyþ vyolence bereþ owt of holycherche or holy stede, / abbey or howse of relygyon, þe whyche ys y-leyd þer-inne / for warantyse, or socowre, or kepynge and alle þat þer to a-senteþ / oþer hem susteyneþ oþer þer to procureþ.

¶Also alle þey þat eresye maynteyneþ / oþer þer to a-senteþ oþer hyt susteyneþ; also alle whyshene / and alle þat in hem by-leueþ. ¶Also alle þat leggeþ hond in prest / or clerke in malyce, bote hyt be hem-self in defendant. Also alle / þey þat þe sarsones conseyleþ or helpeþ a-3en crystendome. /

¶Also alle wommen þat here generacyon of chyldron destruyeþ wyþ / drynkes or wyþ any oþer craft. ¶Also alle þey þat wrongfullyche / fadreþ here chyldron by here wytynge or here chyld wyteþ any / man for hate, malys oþer any oþer cause. ¶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.

¶Also alle þey þat falseþ þe kynges monye / or þer-to a-senteþ. ¶Also alle þat gowd monye cryppeþ or wasteþ hem / to a-fantage. ¶Also alle þat falseþ þe popes bulles oþer conterfeteþ, / or þe ky[n]gges seel, oþer any oþer mannes, for falshede. ¶Also alle þat / byggeþ or sylleþ by false mesowres or false wytȝtes, þat ys to / wytynge bygge by on, and sylle by a-noþer. ¶Also alle þat falseþ þe / ky[n]gges standard by hare wytnge. ¶Also alle þat any testament / þat ys trywe letteþ or desturbleþ or þer-to procureþ in word or dede, / wher-fore þe deþys wylle may nowȝt be fulfullyd. ¶Also alle / þat for-swereþ hem vp-pon a boke oþer by here holy dome, wyllynge / or wytynge, for mede or for hate or for-to make any man / lese hys worldyche catel or hys honowre or hys gowd name. / ¶Also alle robberes and reueres opynlyche or pryueylyche, by daye / or by nyȝt, þat any mannys gowd steleþ for whyche gowd þey / were worþy to bere iugement. ¶Also alle þat wytholdeþ any / mannys gowd þat haþ be asked in holycherche, openlyche, þryes / hem-self wytynge. ¶Also alle þefes and hare maynteynowres. / ¶Also alle false conspyratowres, and alle false sweryowres in asyses / oþer in any oþer cowrt. ¶Also alle þat any false playntes putteþ / forþ a-ȝen þe franchyse of holy cherche, or of þe ky[n]gge, or of þe / reme.

¶Also alle þey þat offerynges þat beþ y-offeryd in holy cherche / oþer in holy cherche-ȝerd, or in chapel or in oratorie oþer / in any oþer stede wyþynne [f.54ᵛ] þe prouynce of Canturbury, þat ys wyþ-holde or y-putte awey in any oþer place a-ȝen þe willes of hem þat / shold owe hyt. ¶Also alle þey þat here gowdes ȝyueþ a-wey for / drede of deth in frawd of holy cherche or for to furbarry here / dettes, and alle þey þat suche ȝyftes takeþ or þer-to conseyleþ oþer / helpeþ hem-self wytynge. ¶Also alle þey þat letteþ prelates or ordynaryes / of holy cherche for-to holde constorye, cessyones, oþer / chapyteles, for-to enquery of synne and excesse þer ned be for / helpe of mannys saule. ¶Also alle þey þat ȝyueþ any symonye / for-to take any states of holycherche; boþe þe ȝyfer and yke þe fongere. /

¶Also alle eretykes þat by- leueþ nowȝte in þe sacramente of / þe awter þe whyche ys godys owne veray body in flesh and blood / in forme of bred, and in oþer sacramentes þat towcheþ to helpe of / mannys saule.

¶Also alle false vsureres, as 3yf a man leue hys / gowd to a-noþer to take a-vantage þerby, by couenant y-made for / lenynge of hys catel.

¶Now gowde men and wommen alle þat / beþ gulty in any of þes forseyd poyntes þat y haue here rehersyd, /to 3ow þey beþ a-corsyd fro þe top of here heed in-to sole / of here fote. Þey beþ a-cursyd in towne and in feelde, etynge and / drynkynge, slepynge and wakynge, goynge, syttynge and stondynge. / And as þys candele lesyþ heere ly3t and quencheþ here in 3owre / swy3t, so be hy departyd fro þe ly3t of þe blysse of heuene tylle / þey come to amendement and make satysfaccyon for here a-cursyde / dedys. *Fiat fiat amen.*

Hic incipiunt preces dominicales secundum viros sapientes extractae et dicuntur in omnibus ecclesiis parochialibus omnibus dominicis diebus per annum sicut mos est.

Gowd men and wommen 3e shulleþ kneley a-down and bydde and / by-seche godes mercy for alle holy chrche, that god hyt / kepe in gowd state and namelyche for 3ow[r] moder cherche / of Rome. ¶For owre holy fader þe pope and alle hys cardynales.[134] / ¶For alle erchebysshopes and bysshopes, and namelyche for owre / lord þe bysshope of þys place, or of þys dyocyse þat god hym / kepe in hys holy seruyse. For þe parsone of þys cherche, for þe vycary, / prestes and clerkes þat þys cherche serueþ, and for alle men / and wommen of holycherche.

¶3e shulle also bydde for þe holy lond / þat god hyt delyuere out of foomen hond.

¶For owre liigelord / þe ky[n]gge and þe queene and alle here chyldren, þat god hem / kepe fro myssanter and 3yue hem gowd consayl and grace þer after / to worche. ¶For þe pees of þys londe, þat god hyt holde. /

¶3e shulle also bydde for þe lordes and ladyes of þys parshe and alle / here chyldren and for alle owre parshones þat beþ here or elleswhare / in water or in londe, þat god hem saue and kepe. ¶For alle trywe teþyeres, / þat god here gowd multyplye. And alle þat oþer doeþ, god hem / a-mendy. For alle leerede and lewede þat traueyleþ for owre lyflode; / and for alle trywe erþetyleres, þat god sende hem grace so to / traueyle and tylye as hyt be god to queme and best to þe peple /. ¶For þe frwytes þat beþ in erþe y-do or shul be do, þat god gyue / ham grace wel to come forþ in helpynge of mankynde; and for þe / wederynge, þat god sende suche wederynge as hyt be hym to / queme and al man kynde to helpynge.

¶3e shul also bydde for alle þat þys cherche worchypeþ wyþ boke, belle, vestyment oþer / chales, oþer any oþer ornament whar-fore þat god and owre

[134] holy fader . . . cardynales] crossed over in manuscript.

lady / and þys place ys þe betore y-seruyd and y-manteynded. ¶For palmeres / and pylgrymes and alle trywe wey-farynge men þat habbeþ y-take / þe wey to 1280 þe holy lond oþer to any oþer gowd stede, þat god / seende hem grace so to go and come as hyt be god to queme and / hem to sauacyon, boþe to lyf and to saule.

[f.55ʳ] ¶3e shul also bydde / for alle wommen þat beþ in traveyle of chylde in þys paryshe oþer in / any oþer place, þat god sende hem grace wel to be 1285 delyuered / and þe chyld to crystendome. ¶For alle syke of þys parisshe oþer of any / oþere, þat god grante hem suche hele as hyt be best to body / and to saule. ¶For alle þat beþ in prysone or in any oþer trybulacyon, / þat god saue þe gyltelyse and glady þe sory. ¶For alle þat / beþ in dedlyche synne, þat god 3yue hem grace to repenty and / a-mende. ¶For alle þat beþ in gowd lyf, þat god hem 1290 holde þer-inne / and alle þat beþ in oþer god hem a-mende.

¶3e shul also bydde for iewes, sarysones and eretykes and alle þat beþ in mysbyleue, / þat god sende hem grace to turne to þe ry3tbyleue / in sauacyon of here saules. ¶For alle þat beþ in ry3tbyleue / and in gowd lyf, þat god holde hem þer-inne. ¶For hem þat þys / day brow3t þe holy lof and þe candle þat ys 1295 Seynt Nicholas / hys charyte. ¶For hem þat furst by-gon and lengowst maynteyneþ, / for hem and for ows and for alle Crystene peple seyþ a *Pater Noster* and *Ave.*

Hic reuertat se sacerdos et dicatur psalmo: Deus misereatur / nostri ex vtraque parte chori, sive a sacerdote et suo clerico cum. / Gloria patri et sicut 1300 erat sequatuor. Kyryeleyson. Christelyson. Kyreleyson. / Pater noster. Deinde dicat sacerdos in audiencia / sed sine nota: Et ne nos. Sed libera nos. Ostende nobis domine / misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis. Sacerdotes tui inducantur / iusticiam. Et sancti tui exultent. Domine saluum fac regem. Et / exaudi nos in die qua inuocauerimus te. Saluos fac seruos tuos / et ancillas 1305 tuas. Deus meus sperantes in te. Saluum fac poplum / tuum domine et benedic[i] hereditati tui. Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in eternum. Domine fiat pax in virtute tua. Et habundancia in terribus tuus. / Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor. Dominus vo[bis cum]. Et cum spiritu tuo et cum . Oremus: / Deus qui caritatis dona peregrinam sancti spiritus tuorum cordibus 1310 fidelium / infundis da familis et famulabus tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam salutem mentis et corporis; vt te tota virtute / diligant, et que tibi placita sunt, tota dilecc̣ione proficiant, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus per Christum, dominum nostrum. Amen. /

[f.55ᵛ] *Deinde vertat se sacerdos ad populum et dicat hoc modo: /* We shulle also 1315 bydde and by-seche goddes mercy for alle þe / saules þat habbeþ be bore and

crystenede in þys londe, þat / god wole haue y-bede fore: Ershebysshopes, bysshopes, prelates, / and ordynaryes of holycherche, for parsones, vycaryes, prestes and / clerkes þat þys cherche habbeþ y-serued; for ky[n]gges saules and / queenes saules and alle here chyldren saules; for prynses saules, / duykes erles and barones; for lordes, ladys of þys parishe / and alle here chyldren.

¶Whe shulle also praye for owre faderes / saules, moderes saules, godfaderes saules and godmoderes / saules, and alle owre godchyldrenes saules, for broþer saules / for sustrene saules and alle owre kynne saules; for alle þe / saules þat haueþ y-ȝyfe to þys place rentes or londes oþer any / oþer gowd, whare-for godys seruyce ys þe fayrere and þe bettere / y-susteyned; for alle þe saules þat we haueþ any gowd of, /and alle þat we beþ in dette to bydde fore, þat god sende grace / to fare þe bettere for owre byddynge.

¶Whe sulle also bydde / for alle þe saules þat beþ in þe peynes of purgatorye,[135] þat god for hys mercy þe raþer delyuere hem owt for owre byddynge; / for þe bysshopes saule þat halywede þys cherche and þys / cherche-ȝerde, and for alle þe saules whas bones resteþ þer-inne, / and for þe saules whas muyndayes beþ y-holde here inne by þe ȝere, / and for alle crystene saules seyeþ a *Pater noster* and on *Aue.*

Hic / reuertat se sacerdos et dicatur a choro, siue a sacerdote cum suo / clerico Psalmo. De profundis sine Gloria Patri set cum Kyreleison, Christeleison, Kyryeleison. / Pater noster. Deinde dicat sacerdos sine nota. Et ne nos. Sed libera nos. / Requiem etcetera. Et lux per. A porta inferni. Eterne domine. Credo videre. In terra vi. Dominus / vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Et cum. Oremus:

Absolue quesumus domine animas famulorum tuorum pontificum regnum et animas / famulorum famularum quibus tuarum et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum / ab omni vinculo delictorum vt in resurreccionis gloria inter sanctos et electos / tuos resuscitati respirent per christum dominum nostrum. Amen. Requiescant / in pace. Amen.

[135] Purgatorye] crossed over in manuscript.

Substantive Variants[136]

1 – 315. *Sequitur . . .inducuntur*]*not* BCDTR

316 – 25. *not*D

316. *Quilibet*]*not*BCH *In nomine patris* etc.T / *siue curatus*]*not*BCHT / *parochianos suos*]*per canones*BCHT/

317. *predicare et docere*]*docere et predicare*BCH *predicare*T / *videlicet In*]*not*BCH / *primis*]*not*CH

318 - 9. *septem*].vijCT / *in*]*not*H / *oracione*]*oracionis*H / *dominica*]*dominice*H / *beate*]*not*T / *et gloriose virginis*]*not*BCH *virginis gloriose*T

319. *marie*]*not*T / *duodecim*]*quattuordecim*BCHT / *et simbolo contentos*]*contentos in cimbalo*BCH *in cimbalo*T /

320. *decalogi*]*veteris testamenti*BCHT / *septem*].*vij.*B / *mortalia peccata*]*peccata mortalia*H / *septem . . . misericodie*]*not*BCHT /

321. *cardinales*]*principales*BCHT / *sacramenta ecclesie*]*ecclesie sacramenta et*T

322. *a*]*per*T / *videlicet . . . minor*]*not*BCHT /

323. *suprascriptis*]*not*BCHT / *provt*]*prout*H / *deus*]*deus exponenti*T

324. *In. . . ponentur*]*not*BH *insert sequitur etiam*BC *vna cum*T / *preces dominicales*]*not*H / *De .vij.*]*septem*BC / *et*]*in*BC /

325. *oracione*]*oracionis*H / *dominica*]*dominica continetur sic.*BC *consuetis cum diebus festis obseruandis per constitucioni domini Simonis archiepiscopi archiepiscopi prouinciali cantuarare faciendo figura crucifixus*T

326 - 7. In þe pater noster]in þe name of þe fadir and þe sone and þe holygost septem peticiones in oracione dominica in pater nosterT / seuene]vijC / biddyngges]askyngesHD / on erþe]*not*BCHDT

327. medful]myldefullicheB myldelicheC nedefulHD / to]forBCDT / manys]*not*BCDT monH / lyf]for bodyH / to hys]*not*BCHDT / þat euerich]þe qweche ycheH / man]creatureH /

328 - 9. conne]knoweBCHDT / ofte]forDT / bydde]to praieD / manere]wyseBCHTD / *Pater...tuum*]*prima peticio pater noster qui es in*CD *not*T / *I peticio*]*not*BCHDT / Ffader owre]oure faderH

330. Lo]*not*HT / in]byT / byddy[n]gge]prayerH / oþer]man oþurT / ryȝt]*not*T

331. as broþer]as broþrynCDT / sester]sustrinTCD / byddeþ]prayenH

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[136] Where the variant form is identical in more than one text, only one form of the variant is included and all the manuscripts are listed after it.

332. in]onBC / y-clyped cristenemen]called cristen menHD y-clepyd cristyneB cristenemen y-clepedC / after Cryst]*not*C / in]onBC *not*T / hym]*not*H ihuT

333 – 4. libbe]on hym lyueBC euer in beleueH euer leue in himD beT / *Adueniat ... tuum*]*not*T *insert before secunda peticio*CHDT / *.ij. peticio*]*not*BCHDT / Come he[re] to ous þy ky[n]gdome riche]þe kyngdom come to ousB to comynge ouer þi kyngdomC to be come þi kyngdamH to comynge be þi kyngdomD to come to þe kyngrychT /

334. Here]in þys manereBCD in þisT / byddeþ]prayeH / here]*not*H / by his]wit hysBCHD wythT

335. and whe wyth hym in heuene in euere lasty[n]g blysse]*not*BCHD and we wyth hy in heuene wyth blisseT / *Fiat ... terra]not*T *insert before tercio petitticio*CHDT / .iij. peticio]*not*BCHD

336 - 7. as]*not* BCH alsoT / heuene and also in erþe]in heue and in erþeBCD in erthe as in heuenH in heuene and in hertheT

337. byddeþ]prayenH / and holy]and alle holeH / quemeth]worschyppenH þat we so]so weD so]*not*D

338. mowhe wyth hys grace]han graceH mowhe here wit his graceD / queme]to worshypeH / in erþe]here in ertheH / to wille]wyllyngBCHDT

339. *Panem ...hodie*]*not*T *insert before quarta peticio*CHDT / *.iiij. peticio*]*not*BCHDT

340. euereche]echeBCHDT / In þys]hereH / byddeþ]praye forH / ful]voulT / to body]of bodyBCHDT

341 - 2. to]*not*BCT of HD / al]and alC in alleT / *Et...debitoribus*]*not*T *insert before quinta peticio*CHDT

342. *.V. peticio*]*not*BCHDT / geltys]dettusH

343 - 4. hem]owre dettorsH / þat ous]þat han vsD *not*H þatT / habbeþ a-gelt]han trespasydBC gultD habbeþ vs agultT *not*H / In þys]hereH *not*D in þys byddyngT / byddeþ þat]prayen toH / god forgyf ous oure trespas as whe forȝyfeþ hem]god to forȝeve hem þat ous hauyth agylt as we desyryth þat god schold forȝeue ous þat hauyth a gylt hemB in þys we byddeþ ous to for ȝeve hem þat ous haueþ agelt as we desyret þat god forȝeve ous þat we hym habbet agultC to god forgyf vs owre trespas as we forgyfen hem þat trespas to vsH as we desireþ of god forȝeuenesse to vs for þat

we him haueþ agiltD for3ive hem þat habbeþ vs agelt ase we desyreth þat god for3iue vs þat we habbeþ agul hymT

345. And]*not*T / al-so]*not*HT / byddy[n]ge]prayerH / he]weH / desyreþ]byddythBT / hys]owreH / wrethe]harmC / þat wylneþ]3yf we desyrenH / harm]any wykkednysseC any harmH euelT

346 - 7. hys]owreH / *Et...temptacionem*]*not*T *insert before sexta peticio*CHDT / *.Vi. peticio*]*not*BCHDT / And... temptacyon]*not*BCD and lede vs not into temptacyonH and ne lede vs into no fondynggeT

347 - 8. In þys]hereBCHDT / byddeþ]prayenH / god]heHD / fro ...comy[n]gge]fro fondyngBD fram fondynggesT fram wykkede temptacians of þe deuelC fro alle temptacyonsH

348 - 9. whe be neuer]we ne beBDT we ne be no3thC we be neuerH / þer-inne]wit synneBCHDT / þorw]*not*BCDT / fondygge]ne fondyng here afterB ne fondyngge he þer afterT ne fondynges her afterC ne wit fondinge here afturD temptacions of þo deuel ne of owre fleshe ne of þo wor[l]deH / *Sed...peticio*]*not*T *sed liber nos a malo amen*B *septima peticio sed libera nos a malo amen*CHD / *.vij. peticio*]*not*BCHD

349. shyld]kepeH / fro alle yuel]fro al maner of euelCD fram vuele þyngT / Here]lo here. Amen.D AmenBH / byddeþ]prayenH

350. kepe ous]vs kepeD / fro synne]fro synne and deliuer vs of synneH / and fro þe peyne]and fram payneT and fram synneC and schild vs fro payneH /

351. deser[u]yd]seruedH / þer-to]thoro synneH *not*BD / and here whe seyþ Amen .I. So be hyt, so be hyt]amenBCD *not*HT

352 - 3. *beate*]*not*T / *Marie*]*not*T / *virginis*]*not*HD amenC / *Aue ...tu*]*not*T *aue maria etcetera*D

353. *in ...Amen*]*not*DT / Al]*not*BCHDT

354. Marie]þu be maryeC be þu marieHDT / þe]oureBCHDT / be þou]þu beBC

355. þe]*not*CHT þatD / blessyd]blessed beHT / fruyt]thy fryetH þe frutT / Al-so]as BCD and alsH *in nomine ihu. amen.* asT / as]*not*C / þys]þiD

356 – 7. name]wordH / euerech]echeBCH / man]mon and womonH / reveraunce þer-to and worscype]reuerence and worschepB reuerance in worschup þertoT reuerence þer-to and worshyp hitH

357 – 59. For oure. . . to endyre]*not*T

357. For]*not*T / oure]þoH *not*T / lord]faderBD holeH *not*T / þe]*not*BHT / Pope]*not*T / Vrban]*not*T þat]*not*T / was... alle]*not*T / ferþe]ferstBT

358 - 59. þat]þoH / of]toBCHD / alle]alle hemH euer to endure to alleD / þat ... more]*not*T / in saule]*not*BC of souleD / and]*not*BCH / y-shryfte]*not*H

359. of]*not*H / here]*not*H / synnes]mysdedesBCD *not*H / for]*not*BHD / euere-more]euereBCH *not*D / to endyre]*not*D / to ...*Maria*]*not*DT / name]wordDH

360 - 1. hys]herB þeCH / after-ward]afterB þer afterCD / oure lord þe]*not*B oure holi faderDH / .xxii.].xx.B two & twentyDH / of þe name]*not*BCDH / ȝaf and confermed]ȝaf et confermedC / confermed hit & gafH /

361 - 2. oþer .xxx. days]*not*BCD / to]*not*BCDEH / alle þat seyþ]*not*H / þys]*not*DH / name]wordC *not*DH / Ihesus in þe ende]*not*DH

362. *Ave Maria*]*Ave*B *not*H / as hyt is for-seyde]þer .xxxti. dayesB oþer .xxxti. dayesC *not*H / also]so þatBCD /

363. repentaunt]*not*D repentan homH / of her mysdedys. . . seyþ]*not*D / þe]*not*C / þys word]*not*D

364. in þe ende]ate nendeC / haueþ]*not* D / .lx.]sixtiBCDH / and]ofC / forȝ-yfnesse . . . penaunse]*not*H

366. shal]*not*H / euery]echeBCD *not*H / day hafe to pardon]*not*H / .xxiiij.]foure & twentyD .xx.H / and]*not*B / .xxx.]þrittiD / þe]and so þat þeC so þat þeC and so is þeD þoH / of]of þeC of þoH

367 – 488. wyke. . . *tulerunt*]*missing folios in D;*

367. ys]*not*H / c.lxxii] .slxxii.AT an hundred & syxtie & xijH / y-ȝyfe and]*not*H / to]tweyB ijC

368. euere-more]euerH

369 – 402. To wham. . . *apostolorum*]*not*BCDHT

403. *Credo ...omnipotentem*]*quatuordecim articuli fidei primum articulum credo ...omnipotentem*C *xiiij articuli fidei petrus*H *xiiij articuli fidei*T

404. þese wordes]þis wordT / artycles]of þe furste articulesBC foure þo fyrste articulesH / þe]þisB

405. The furst]I the fursteT þe furste of þese foureB þe furste of þys iiijC / ys þat]isB / shul]*not*T / o]*not* B

406. and]inBCT / þre persones]persones þreBC / in trinite]þat ys þe triniteC / An-oþer]ij that oþerT þe secunde articuleBCH / þe fadyr]þe fader of heueneT we shul byleue þat þe fader of heueneBCH

407. neuer]and neuerH / neuer]ne neuerC neHT / any þyng]nothyngBCT nonH / The þridde]iij the þryddeT tho thryd articleBH

408 - 9. þe sone]we shal bileue þat þe soneBCH / ys]*not*C / euene]*not*BCHT / wyþ]ofBCHT / þe]*not*HCT / fader]virgine maryH / wyþ-oute bygynnygge]*not*H

409. The ferþe]þe ferþe articleC iiij the ferþeT tho fourtheH / þe]we shal beleue þat ysH / now3t]neuerCHT

410. ne]noþerBC / of]*not*CHT / y-sent]comyngBCHT

411. *Creatorem ...terre*]*quintum articulum creatorem celi et terre*C *not*T / of]*not*H / word ys]*not*BC / þe]*not*BCHT

412. fy[f]þe]v^{to}C / of]isBH *not*CHT / þe fey]is þat we beleuythB þat we beleueþCH *not*T / þe]*not*B / hol]*not*H / þat]þyngBC

413. þer-ys]þerinne isB þat þer in ysC is hemH ys þer inneT / now3t]noþyngT / *Et... nostrum*]*Et in Iesum christum filium eius vnicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex maria virginis*B *sextum et septum articulum et. . . virginis*C *andreas et.... nostrum*H *not*T

414 - 15. hys. . .onliche]hys sone onliche oureBH onlich hys sone oureC there beþ vij articles þat longet to þe manhede of crist, his sone on oure lord wuch was as hir beot yset on þe crede and in Ihesu Crist his sone on oureT / *qui. . . virgine*]Iacobus *qui conceptus est*H *not*BCT

415. Þe whyche]and Ihu Crist, hys sone onliche Oure Lord, þe wecheB and in ihu crist onlich hys sone oure lord þe vcheC and in ihu crist his sone on oure lord wucheT / ys y-kennyd]was kennyd BC / was conceyuedH / y-bore]and borneH ii iboreT

416. *Passus... pilato*]*octum articulum passus...pilato*C *Iohannes Passus... pilato*H *not*T / *crucifixus... sepultus*]*not*T

417 - 8. Ponce]þe pounceC *not*H / y-nayled]ido naylydBC / *Descendit... tercia*]*nonam articulum descendit...tercia*C *thomas descendit...tercia*H *iiij*T

418. *die... mortuis*]*not*T / he went down to]he ly3t intoBCT he lyght doune intoH / onlyche]*not*BCHT / in]*not*H

419. saule]*not*H / þe body lyggy[n]gge stille]lygyng þe body stilleBCHT / þe]v þeT

420. to lyfe]*not*T to lyue IacobusH / *ascendit ... dexteram*]*decimum articulum ascendit... dexteram*H *not*T / *dei... omnipotentis*]*not*T

421. to]in toCHT / atte þe]in hysBC on hisH in þe ry3t side of god hisT

421 - 22. ry3t]*not*CT / syde]hondH *not*CT / of]*not*BCHT / god]*not*CHT / *inde...viuos*]*undecim articulum...viuos*C *philippus...viuos*H *not*T

422. *et mortuos*]*not*T / Fro þens]Ther hennT / to]*not*C / comynge]comesBH / to deme]to þe dom to demeBC

423. þys]þys articleBCH

424. deme]doB / ryȝtfulle]rightwesH / to blysse]to þe blisseBCT / of hevene]þat euer schal lesteBCH / þe]*not*C / unryȝtfulle]vnrightwesH / þe]*not*CH / of helle]*not*BCH /

425. wyþ-out eny ende]þat is wit-oute endeBC with-outen endeH for euirmoreT / *Credo.. sanctam*]*credo in spiritum sanctum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*B *Xii articulum. credo in spiritum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*C *bartholomeus Credo in spiritum sanctum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*H *vi pertinet ad deitatem*T / in]onC

426. *Sanctam... catholicam*]*not*BCHT / In holy]holyBCHT / Þes]ÞisBCT / articles]articleBCHT

427. as ych]and is toBC and toH and isT

428. y-now]suffyciauntH yneþeT / eche]euerechT / manys]cristenemannysBC / be]ne beT / he]hitH

429 - 30. nere]nonB / and]*not*T / ys]nysT / hele]ysauydC / *Sanctorum communionem*]*sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrecionem*B *xiij articulum sanctorum comunionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrecionem*C *matheus sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum Iudas Taddeus Carnis resurreccionem*H *not*T / comeny[n]gg of halwene]comenesse of alwynB comunynge of halwenC I beleue þo vsyng of halowesH biddyng of alwynT

430. *Remissionem peccatorum*]*not*BCHT

431. *Carnis resurreccionem*]*not* BCHT / arysy[n]gge]and rysyngH

432. *et...eternam*]*not*BT *xiiij articulum et...eternam amen*C *mathias et..eternam amen*H / And]*not*T / þys]þys articleBC /

434. and]and inB inH / blod]holdT / body and saule]in bodi and souleB in body and in souleCH

435. verylyche]holichBC sothelycheHT / togedre]ryse togyderHT / and]*not*BT / hery]eboue witH / eny]*not*BCHT / Amen]so by hyt amenCH *not*T

437 – 89. *Credo. . . tulerunt*]*not*BCDHT

490 - 2. *.I. Precept*]*not*BCDHT / *Non...serues*]*decem precepta veteris testamenti primum preceptum*B *hec sunt decem precepta veteris testamenti. Primum est honora dominum deum tuum*C *decem precepta ueteris testaminti honora dominum deum*D *decem precepta veteris testamenti non habebis deos alienos*H *X precepta*T

491 - 2. ten]*not*H / hestys]comaundementsH hestes þat longeþ to godT / þat]*not*H / shalt]*not*C / worshype]honoureBD honowre and worchepeC haue no god but onH / o god]*not* H

493. and hym onlych seruy]and hym only þu shalt serue and worshypH *not*BCT / hest]comaundementH / alle manere]alT

494 ydolatrye]*not*BCDHT / enchantementes]alle enchauntementesD / redyngg of metals]*not*H

495. *.Ij. ... uanum*]*non assumes...vanum*BD *secundum mandatum est non assumes...uanum*C *secundum preceptem non assumes nomen domini in vanum*H *not*T / Þe secunde]þat oþerBCD þe oþerT

496. hest]comaundementH *not*T / ys]is þatBD / take]*not*T / god hys name]goddes nameBCDH goddes name anemneT / in]onCT / ydel]idelnessH / In þys hest]in þis secunde hesteBCD in þys secunde heste hereH

497 - 8. alle eresye]al sweryng but in grete nede al heresy H *not*BC / alle]almanereBCD and alDHT / in]andBCT / in...halwene]*not*D / and]inH / to]ofBHT *not*C / god]*not*C / or]oþerBCT andH / to]*not*BT ofC

498. and namlyche]*not*BC and of all his creatures and al idulH / in]ofD / Þe .iij. *precept*]*tercium mandatum*C *tercium preceptum*H *not*BDT / *Sabbata*]*not*T / *sanctifices*]*not*T

499. Þou...day]þe þrydde heste is þat þu....daiBD þe þirdde heste ys þu...dayC tho thryd comaundement is þu...dayeH þe þrydde is þow ...dayT / hest]comaundementH ys understonde þatC / men]men and womenH

500 - 1. busy]boxumT / god hys]godesBCDH / euerech]þeBCD on þoH / day]daye knelyng deuoutely and prayng to her god þat he safe hem and kepe hem oute of dedely synneH / in...dayes]þe wurkedai to do heis wordliche werkeBCD on þo werkdaye to do her erthely werkesH

501. Þe...*patrem*]and þese þre forsaide hestis longith to god and buth hestis of þe furste table *Iiij*^{tum} *mandatum*B and þes þre for seydene poyntes longeþ to god and beþ hys hestes of þe furste table *quartum mandatum, honora patrem*C and þise þre hestes ben of þe furst table and longeþ to god honora patremD þes beot hestes of þe furst table and longeþ to godT *quartum preceptem honora patrem*H / *et matrem*]*not*BHT / Þou]þe furþe heste is þat þuBC the fourþe heste is þis þat þouD tho ferth comaundement is þuH þe ferþe heste is þowT

502 - 3. fadyr]þi faderBCDH / modyr]þi moderBDCH / In]byBCDT / in þis heste]*not*H / þou ...but]al cristene men buth iholde to worschepe fader and moder tat hem fort brouȝt, and not onliche hem butB alle cristene men beþ holde to honoure fader and moder þat hem forþ browte and noȝt onlyche for hem butC alle cristen men ben iholde to honor fader and modur þat hem forþe brouȝt in to þis worlde and noȝt onliche hem butD þat þe forthe broghten not onely wit knelyng and feyre wordes of þi mowthe but helping and releuinge hem in any mischefe þat þu wit þi gode and wit þi catell wit þi comfort and þi counseyle in payne of þi dampnacion and al þat þi power is in qwat degre under heuen wo euer þu stondes inne. and not onely hem butH

503. to]*not*BCDH / god]god þi faderBCD þi fader þu shalt loue ouer hem, and ouer al other creaturesH / and holychurche]and holicherche þi moderBCDH

504. to]*not*BCD / men of worshyp]and all men of worschepB þi gostliche fadres in alle manere of wurchepC and all þi gostlyche faderesD þyn gostlechefadir and al men of worchipeT also þu shalt worshyp and loue þi gostly fadurs and al men of worshypH

504 - 5. of holy churche]men of holy chyrche and al cristen pepul þof þei bene poore and at lower degre þen þu suppose þat þei bene more holyer and more priuey wit god þen þuH holychercheC / þou ert y hold to honowry]*not*BCH

505. Þe .v. *precept. Non occides*]and þis þe furste heste of seuene of þe secunde table and al seuene longuth to þi encristene and þys *v^tu^ mandatum* þe fifte heste is þe secunde heste of godis hestes in þe secunde table þat longuth to þin encristeneB and þys is þe furst heste of þe seuene of þe secunde table and alle seuene longyþ to þyn enicristene *quintum mandatum est non occides* þe fyfþe heste of þe secunde table ys þat longeþ to þyn euencristene and þis ys to sayȝeC and þis is þe furst heste of þe secunde table and alle seuen longen to þine euencristen non occides the fifte of godes hestes is þe secunde heste of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þyne euencristen and is þatD in þys þe furste heste of þe secunde table þat longet to thyne enecristene þe fifthe isT *quintum mandatum non occides* the fyfte comaundement byddesH / Þou...sle]sle nomanBD no scle no manC þow schalt no man sleT / hest]comaundementH

506. onrithful]al manerH / bynymy[n]gge]slaghterH / of ...lyf]*not*H / of any]ofBC of echeD eueryT / crystone oþer oncristone]*not*BCHT /

507 - 8 wyth]inH / wyth]*not*BCHT / asent... harmy[n]gge]or in wille, wit worde spekyng or hert assentyng or dede doyng in harmyngH / alle manere]alBCD euerechT / of mannes body]*not*B / and bynymynge of hys catel]bynymynge of catelT bynymyngg of mannes losDC of mannys losB bereneyng of monnes godesH

508 – 9. oþer hys gowd loos]oþer his loseT bynymyng of mannys catelBCD losyng of catelH / hys]*not*B oþerC howse or londeDH / oþer... lyuelode]or oght þat hysen is, oþer wyse þen goddes lawe wylH or any liflodeB oþer lyflodeC oþer ellis his lyflodeD / Þe ... *mechaberis*]*sextum mandatum*B *sextum mandatum, non fornicaberis*CD *sextum preceptum non mechaberis*H þe syxte isT

510. shalt]ne schaltT scalt notH / In þys hest]þis is þe syxte of godis hestis and þe þridde of þe secunde table in þys hestB þis ys syxte of godes hestes and þe þridde of secunde table in þis hesteC þis is þe sixte heste of god and þe þridde of þe secunde table in þis hesteD in þis comaundementH / alle]al manerH / spowsbreche]brekyng of wedlokeH / and]*not*T

511 - 2. towchynge]*not*BCDHT / lechery]þat longuth to lecherieBCD longyng to lecheryeT lustusH / by-twene man and womman]*not*BCDT / out of spowshode]þat may be do houte of spousod in eny wyseT þat buth or mowe be do out of spoushod many manerwyseB and oþer mo þat beþ ydo out of spousebreche in eny manere wyseD þat beþ don out of spoushod in ani manere wyseC *not*H

512. shedynge]myschedyngeBCD of]*not*B / kuynde]kynde owte of wedlokeH / slepynge or wakynge]wylfullycheT *not*BCDH

513. Þe ...*facies*]*septum mandatum*B *septum mandatum est .....facies*C *non furtum facies*D *septum preceptum....facies*H the seue[n]the ysT / do]*not*BCDHT / no þefþe]not steleBH noþyng steleCDT / In þys hest]in þis comaundementH in þys seuene heste, þat is þe furþe in þe secunde table þat longuth to þyn eucristeneB in þis seuenþ heste þat is þe fourþe of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þyn euencristeneD þis ys seuenþe heste þat ys þe ferþe in þe secunde table þat longeþ to þyn euenecristene in þis hesteC

514. bynymynge]takyngeH / gowd]þyngBCDT / by-þowt]aȝensBC

515. oweþ]oght priuyly or opunly wit threteos wit manasse wit sleghtes or wit coyntesH / alle wrongful]*not*BCDH / amercementys]*not*BCDT or ony oþer cautelsH / all wrongful]and al wrongBCDH also wrongfulT / deser[i]tyng]and disheretyngBCDH /

516 - 7. herytage]eyresBCD *not*HT / gyelry]*not*BCDH / and ...falsnesses]oþer vrongfull amercement and alle oþer falshedeT and alle maner trecherie and okeryng and amerciamentis alle fals mesurys alle fals wyghtes and al maner falshede al maner þefteB and all manere of trecherye and oker and amersement3 and all false mesurus and all false wy3tes and all manere oþer falsede and alle manere þefteC and al manere trecherie and oker and wronge amercementes alle fals mesures alle fals wy3tes alle manere oþer falsehedes and alle manere þefteD and al maner trechery and ocure in wronge amercyamentesH / Þe .*viij. precept*]*octauum mandatum est*C *octauum preceptum*H *not*BDT / *non... testimonium*]*non prohibes falsum testimonium*BCD *non falsum testimonum dices*H

517. Þou...bere]þe ei3te heste of god, þat is te fifþe of þe secunde table þat longeth to þyn encristene þat is ber þou no fals wytnesseB þe ey3teþe heste of god þe .v. of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þyn euenecristene þat ys bere þou none false wytnesseC the ei3te heste of god is þe fifte of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þyn euencristen þat is þis bere þou no fals witnesseD þou shalt bere no fals wittenesH the viiij heste is þow schalt no falswitnisse bereT / hest]commaundementH

518. fals wytnessynge]fals lesyngsBCD maner lesyngesH bili3yingT / bacbytynge]bannyngesH / and]alle fals acusans andBCD and accusyng andH *not*T / alle]inB ofC of apechynge or of D *not*H / of]*not*T

519. loos]gode los or wymmeneH / falsylyche]and hys god nameBCD *not*H / wher- fore]wer torwBC qwerthoroH for watT / he]þeyH / hys]herH *not*BC / þrallage]*not*BCDT / þrallage]purgacionBCDH

520 - 1. harme]shameD shame or harmeH / on]inBCDT *not*H / þys]þatBCDT alH / cas]*not*H / a-cursyd]acursed of god hymselfH / Þe ...*tui*]non ... tui þe ny[n]te heste of god þat is þe sixte in þe secunde table and is þatB nonum mandatum est non ...tui þe neynþe heste of god ys þe sexte of þe secunde table and þat ys þisC þe nynþ heste of god is þe sixte of þe secunde table þat of god hym selfe nonum preceptum Non ...tuiH the .ix. isT

521. Þou]þow neT / wylny]coueiteBCDH / gowd]*not*BCHT

522 - 3. hows]thyngH *not*D / ne... wrongfullyche]*not*BCDH ne londeT / and al]in þis heste is forbode alle vnskylful wyllyng of eny mannys londBCD hit is forbeden al vnresonabul wylayng of any mannes gode house or londH ne non oþer þing of hys in þis heste is furbode alT / so... gowd]mede croft wode oþer feedom of hous oþer wat

so hyt be aȝens reson and namli vnremeuable tyngBC mede croft oþer wodde oþer fredom oþer what so it be aȝens good reson and nameleche vnremeuableD maner vnskylful wyllyng of eny monnes þyngs þat vnrenmabuleT or any thyng þat hysen is ageyn gud resounH

523 - 30. Ffor yf oþer... bodylyche harme]*not*BCDHT

530 - 1. Þe ... *tui*]*non desideres proximi tui vxorem* þe tente heste of god is þe seuenþe of þe secunde table and isB *non desideres proximi tui uxorem etc. est . x. mandatum* þe tenþe heste of god ys þe seuenþe heste of þe secunde table þat ys þisC *non desideres vxorem proximi tui* the tenþe hest of god is þe seuenþe of þe secunde table þat isD *decimum preceptum non concupistes vxorem proximi tui et cetera*H the the[n]þe isT

531. wylny]desireBCD coueyteH / hys kyne]*not*BCD ne his doghterH / hys]*not*BC neiþer his seruauntD ne hisH / ox]*not*BCDH his oxT / ne]hisT *not*BCDH

532 - 3. asse]*not*BCDH / hors]*not*BCDHT / ne beest]ne hys besteCDH *not*T / ne]*not*B / non oþer þyng]is noþyng ellisBC no þinge ellisD nothyngH / of hys]þat is hysBCD þat hyssen isH / by þe.... fore]wytynne ne wytouteBCH withinne ne withoute as it is a fore seideD þat may beþ remuedT

534. *Hiiss...proximi*]*Duo precepta euangelii*BCHT

534 – 60. The tract on the two great commandments is missing completely fromD

535 - 6. To þees. . . ney3thbore] *not*BCHT

537. *Vt patet in euangelis*]notBHT / *Dilige*]*primum diliges*B *not*T / *dominum*]*not*T / *deum*]*not*CT / *tuum ex toto corde*]*not*T / *tuo*]*tuo ex tota anima tua*B *et in tota anima tua etc.*C *tuo et ex tota tua etc*H *not*T / Þou]crist in þe gospel fulfilleche al þe lawe in to hestes and seith þusBC cryst in þo gospel comprehendes al þo lawe in two comaundementes and sayd þusH crist in þe gospel fulfulleþ al þe lawe in þe twey ests þat is in loue of god and þy euencristyne on þys wyse preceptaT

538. shalt]*not*BCH / þy]*not*BCT / lord]*not*BCHT / god]god and þyn eucristene in þys wyse scal loue god wit al þynB god and þyn euenecristene in þys wyse þu schalt loue god wyt al þynC / ner]nererC / þyn]þiB in þynC / þan]oþer þanC / þy]*not*BC

539. lord god]godBCT heH / *Ex tota anima*]*not*BCH in tota animaT / *tua*]*not*BCHT / wyth al þy]þu shal loue god in þiBC in alle þeyT / þou suffre]þu do bysynes wit body and soule to plese hymH tow ne soffryT *not*C / no synne]*not*CH / on]inB abyde inT *not*CH

540 - 1. for]*not*H / þe loue of god]loue and drede of godBT gode and drede hym þu ne suffre no synne abyde in þy souleC *not*H / *Ex tota mente tua*]*in omni mente tua*B *in omni mente*C *not*HT / wyth]þu schal loue God inBC inT / þat]*not*BH / no þynge...in]euer thenkyng how þou may performe and do his wille and leue þat he forbedesH

541 - 2. þy]þysB *not*H / mynde]*not*CH / as god]*not*H / *Ex*]inBC *not*H / *omnibus viribus*]*not*H / *tuis*]*not*HT / wyth... myȝtes]þu schalt loue God wyth al þi myȝteBC in al þi myghtH

542 - 1. spare]spare neBC ne sparyT / noþyng]no myschefBCT no mischeue ne no dysese of bodyH / to queme]to kepe his byddynges and his laweH / god]þi godBC *not*H

542– 5. *Ille...* peyne]*not*BCHT

545 - 6. *Diliges*]*secundam preceptam diligas*B *secundum preceptum est [ink too faded to read]*C *secundum preceptum euangelii diliges*H *ij precepta*T / *proximum...teipsum*]*not*T / *hoc...malum*]*not*BCH *sicut te*T

547 - 8. neyȝthbore]euencristeneCHT / al-so]ryȝtC asB *not*H / gowd]godnesseB / and]butH / in yuel]in euel noþer in synneB in noþer synneC in euel no in synneT / *quo modo...ipsum*]*not*BCHT / *hoc...vicium*]*vt te*B *sicut te*T *not*CH

549. self]selue *ita vt te*T / gostlyche]gostliche and not fle gostlycheT / for fleshelyche]*not*B

550 - 3. synne]synne and þat is to hateB sinne and þat is hateT synne and þat is to be put aweyC synne, and þerfore hit is to hate, and not to loueH / *quantum ...temporalem*]*quantum te*BT *not*CH

553 - 4. As]þu shalt loue þin euencristen alsH / self]self inB souleC / and...in]*not*BCHT / hele]in heleCT in sekenesH / and in sykeness]in heleH

554. and in woo]in wooH / So þat]*corporalite vt te* euenliche to þi self so þatBC onlyche as þi self so þatH as for forth as þy sylue soT / shalt loue]loueBCHT / euerech]as echeBC ycheH / man]mon and wommonH

555. and in]andBC / al þys]*not*BCT þoH / wordly]worldesHT / gowd]wel and or catel *spiritualite vt te*B wele oþer god *spiritualite vt te*C god *qualiter vt te*T / and...eue[n]crystenes]rith as þi self gostliche, so þat þu schalt loue more þyn encristenesB ryȝt as þy self spiritualiche so þat schalt þu loue þy euencristenesC gostlyche as þi self so þat þu loue þin euencristenH ryȝt wyth þey selue so þat þow schalt prelouye þey euencristynT

556 – 7. saule]soulesH *not*T / howen]selfB *not*C / raþer]and raþerBCT *not*H / lese þy lyf]lese þi owene lifBCT *not*H / þan soffre]*not*H / hym...synne]a dely synneCT *not*H

557 - 8. in lostyng]lettyn hym bi þi powereB be do lettynge by þy powerCT *not*T / of hys saule]*not*BCHT / *qualiter.....subueneri*]*corporaliter vt te*BC corporaliterT bodylychH / *sicut...subueniri*]*not*BCHT / Ryth]*not*H / so]asBCH

559 - 60. self]als wel as þi selfH / so]bodilicheBC *not*T / þat þou]for toH / in]atH / in]*not*BCHT / þy...holp]þat he helpe þe in þi nede in þis wyse þu schalt loue god haldyng hys hestes for loue of hym and not for drede of peyneB þat he holpe þe in þys maner wyse þu schalt loue god holdyng hys hestys for loue of hym and noȝt for drede of payneC þat he halpe þe at þi nede in þis maner þu shalt loue god, holdyng his comaundementes for loue þu hast to hym and for no dred of pyne and þin euencristen as þi selfe for no rewarde agayne of hym but for he is goddes creature and his seruand and als gode in kynd as þouH in þey nede nede be y-holpe in þis wyse þu schalt louye god holdinge his hestys for his loue and noȝt for drede of paynesT

561 – 609. *Decem. . . viciorum*]*not*BCDHT

610. *De...patet*].*vii. peccata mortalia*BT .*vii. mortalia peccata*H *secuutur septem mortalia peccata*C *not*R

610 - 617. De vii. . .]*missing folios in D;*

611 - 2. Þe…þes]*not*BCHR the seuene dedliche heued sinnes beþ þesT / pruyd]*superbia*BCH *not*R/ enuye]BCH *not*R / wrethe…lecherye]*ira accida cupiditas crapula, luxuria*B *invidia ira accidia auaricia crapula et luxuria*C *invidia ira vel odium accidia cupiditas crapula luxuria*H wrethe oþer hate slewythe, couetyȝe, glotonye and lecheryeT *not*R

612. Pruyd]*superbia* prideBCH / þat]*not*H / haþ]asH / of]toBHTR

613. hym…hynesse]hyenesse of hym selfT / hauynge]qwerthoroH / oþer in despite]he desspyses oþer þat bene als gode in kynde as heH oþer men in dispiteeR / And]*not*BCHTR / þerof]þerforeH / comeþ…beryng]*not*H comeþ…beryng of sinnesR

614 - 5. despysynge, scornynge]*not*HR / faynynge...non]syninge of holyinisse þer non ysT and al oþer mysdoyng for pride is hed of alle synneB and al oþer mysdoyng, for wy prude ys moste of alle oþere sennesC pride is moder and grounde of al oþer synnesH *not*R

615 - 6. Wonde or enuye]*Invidia* enuyeBH Invidia enuye oþer ondeC EnueTR / ys sorwe]þat is sorwe þat aman hath B þat sorwe ys þat aman haþC is sorow þat a man haþR is qhwen a mon has soroweH / wele]welfare oþer of hys gladnesseB wele oþer of hys gladnesseCR vylleT / blysse]gladBCR has ioyH / oþer mennes who]hereT

616. And]*not*BCTR forH / betynge]sleing hurtyng betyngBCHR sleynge hurtyngD/ grucchynge]fei3tyngBCRD *not*H / stryugynge]chidyng pledyngBCDR chydyngH sryuiygT

617. and]*not*BCDHR / falsse domes]fals domes and oþer many harmesBCD falsdomes and many oþer harmesHR / Wrethe]*ira* wratheB *ira vel odium*CDH / wyllnynge]þat is a willyngBC þat is willyngeDR is willyngHT / doynge]and doyingeD *not*H

618. he]*not*T / to]witBCDH wit allR / 3yf]wanBCDH / abydeth]bileuth stille BDT by leuytCR leues stylleH / longe in hert]in herte long tymeB in herte longCDHT in hert still longeR / hyt]wraþeDH / by-comeþ]turnesH comethR / to]*not*T

619 – 21. And þerof. . . charite]*not*T

619. comeþ]*not*R / folwynge]wytnesse bakbytyng and fals folwyngBC monnes slaughter lesynges bakbytyng falsfolowyngH / in]toBCR intoH / mysseyynge]mansleyngBC bacbitynge mansleyingeDR *not*H

620 - 1. betynge woundy[n]ge]*not*BCDHR / lesynge]*not*H / manslaw3ter]*not*BCDH and heuynessR / and]*not*D / many oþer foleyes]and diuerise lawesH / and...godys]and to leseþ godesC and þis is lac ofH and so losse ofR

621 - 2. and charite]and fawte of chariteH / Slewþe]*accidia* slewþeBCDH / anoye]*not*DH enuyeR / of]andBCDTR *not*DH / heuynesse]is heuynesseDH / of gostlyche]*not*BC

622. gowd]werkesDHR *not*BC / wher-for]ydelnesseD qwerthoroH waretorweT / a man]þat a manBCDR manT / haþ]ne hatCT / in]*not*B / god...seruyse]god ne in his seruyseDHTR godis seruiseBC

623. ne hys synnes to shewe]ne in his synnes to schew to crystD ne to shew his synnes in shryftH *not*T / and shryue]in schriftBCDH *not*T / and]inBCR to cryst in schryftD ne...shryue]*not*T / And]*not*BCDTR / in]ofB andH / gost]gostlicheDH

624. in]ofBC and T / in]ofC *not*BTR / sorwe in saule]of souleBC in souleDR *not*H / wanhope]in wanhopeD and in wanhopeH / and]*not*T inR / manere]*not*HT

625. lettynge]lettesDTC / of mannes]of holiB ofCHTR in souleD / Couetyse]auaricia couetyseBT *cupiditas vel auaritia* couetyseCDH / a loue]loueBTCH / of wordlyche]þat a man hath to wordillicheB

626. gowdys]goudBDT / þat]*not*H / may be meuede]may be remeuydBCD may be renewedR *not*H / and]orB / and oþer]and alle oþerBD / þynges]þyngs oþerT or oþer þingusR / remeuable]*not*T

627. oþer vnremeuable]*not*CH or not remeuableR / as lordshypes]*not*HT / lond or hows]hous londBCDR and house and londH as hous and londT / bynymynge]taking of mennes godeH

628. purchessynge]purchassyng witholdyng vnryghtfullyche and þerof comes falshed in wynnygH purchasyng oþer wyt holdyng there of comyt falshede T purchasynge wit holdyng and þerof comes fals wytyngR / in bygynge]bigingB beggyngeC and byyngH *not*T / in sellynge]and sellyngBHR *not*T / in metynge]and metyngD *not*T / in]andT and inR / of wyȝtes]*not*DHT

629. in mesure....mesures]mesuresBC and metyngT *not*H / and]*not*T / also]*not*HT / in]*not*BCDHTR / in]*not*BCDHTR / in]*not*BCDHTR / in]*not*BCDHTR

630 - 1. in þefþe]and þefteBC þefteDHTR / in alle fallse wynnynge and in alle]*not*BCDHR and alle flas wynenyngsT / wrongelyche wyþholdynge]wrong wytholdyngBC and wrong wit-holdyngeDT and wrong wit-haldyng of goodsR and mone other falsnesH

631. Glotenye]*gula* glotenyeBT *gula vel crapula* glutenyeCDHR / loue]þyngT / of mete and drynke]in lykyng of mete and drynkeCDHT þat aman hath to mete and drynkeB / in whych]þatBCDR þerinneH

632 - 3. ofte synneþ]synne ofteBH / inne]þerinneB *not*HT / þat is to sey]as inBCD *not*HR / etynge and drynkynge]*not*H etynge drynkyngeTR / lyky[n]gge metes and drynkes to þe flessh as]*not*YBCDHTR

633 - 4. to muche]as in takyng to mycheH to muche to oftenR / to late]and to lateD / erly]rapeBCDTR / out...by]*not*T / as..dayes]takyng to much in fastyng dayesH / in brekynge]and brekyngR *not*D / fast]fastingeDHR / by]*not*D /

634 - 5. shryft...cherche]*not*T / shryft y sette]iset b(*sic*) schryftD schryfte enioynedH / by]*not*BCDHR / a]*not*HR / by]*not*BCDHR / hest of holy cherche]or commaunded of holy chyrcheH / hauynge]in habbyng and makyng BR in habbyng or makyngCD and also in makyng delicyousH makyngT / metes]of metesBCD / lykynge]to likyng BCD so lykyngR *not*H / to þe flessh]of fleschB of þe flescheCD fleschR

636. þe whych is]ys qwechH weche isT / ofte tyme]ase ofteT ofteBC ofte times isH soR / as whan]ofte as whenD qwenH asT / hyt]þeiH / a mannys]inT a monH / body]*not*H

637 - 8. heuy]to heuyBCH as heuyR enyT / to]esT / seruy]priuyT / god]hys godB *not*C / oþer]*not*R / oþer by-nymeþ a]*not*T berenenHR / a...oþer]*not*T / a]*not*BCDH / man hys]mannysB / bodlyche hele]hele of bodiBCDHR / oþer]*not*BC

638 - 9. of stomake]of stomak in brekyngD / of hedde]hedB febleþ his hede oþer his wittisD of his hedeH / oþer]andR / febleþ hys lymes]oþer his lymmesD or vynanyt þe body isyeld oþer feblet his lymesT / oþer stureþ hys body]oþer his body stereþD *not*T / to synne in any degre]to synne in eny manere degreD *not*T / Lecherye]*luxuria* for as myche as lecherieB *luxuria* ffor as much as lecherous dedeC *luxuria* ffor as much as lechery dedusR *luxuria* ffor as muche þat þe dede of licherieD *luxuria* for euereche lecherise dedeT luxuria lecherye is haueyng so mykil lykyng to fulfylle þo lust of his fleshe þat his witte is aheued a way from his god and his commaundementes & for lecherous dede H / in]andT ido inBR / any]ycheH / y-do]*not*BHR

640. out of]*not*TR / spowshode]wedlokH *not*T / synne]sinne þe spryng of lecherieT / Þerfore]*not*BCDHTR / holycherche]forbeddithR

641 - 3. for-beddeþ]comaundesH holy cherchR / þat]*not*D / suffre]to suffreD ne suffryT / hys seruantes ne]*not*T ne his seruandes neH / man]man ne womanDHT elderR / of...or]*not*R / in o bed]bedR *not*D / þys synne of lecherye]of synneBCHTR

643. Of þys synne]of licherieBCR Of þys synne of licherieD / hyt]*not*BCDHTR / no more]not mycheH / speke of]to spekeCDHT be spekeR / euereche]echeBCDH

644. hys owne]*not*T / doynge]dedeH *not* / and how]in what manerBR and in wat manereCD in qwatH howT / trespasseþ]has trespassedH singethT / þeron as hyt ys y-seyd a-fore in þe]as hyt ys yseyde rather in þeT *not*BCDHR

645. ten comandementis].x. hestesT *not*BCDHR

646 – 49. *Versus. . .sena*]*not*BCDHRT

650 - 57. *septem...*syke]*not*BCHDT

650 – 67. *septem. . .* bodyes]*missing* fromB

658. *Septem. . . continentur*]*septem opera misericoridie*CDHT

659. .vij.]seueneCHDT / godys]of godysCHDT / hestes]comaundyngH /

660. whyche]werches of mercyC þo qwech werkesH þe whiche werkes of mercyD / euery man]eche cristene creatureCHD / þe]*not*T / day]dredeful daieD / and beþ]*not*H / þes]þyse by reweCD *not*HD

661. *Pascere famelicum*]*not*CHDT / þow]tho fyrst is þouH / hungry]hungry...jT

662. *potare sicientem*]*not*CHDT / ȝyf]þo secunde gyfH / ys a-þurst]þursteC is a furste..ijT

663. *hospitere..peregrinum*]*not*CHDT / herborwe...nede]herborwe hym þat neue..iijT vysyte hym þat ys sykeCD þo þyrd visitte þo sekeH

664. *vestire nudum*]*not*CHDT / cloþe...nakede]clothe hym þat ys naket...iiijT herberw hem þat hat nedeCD þo ferthe herber hem þat haue nedeH

665. *visitare infirmum*]*not*CHDT / visyte...syke]cloþe hym þat is nakedCD þo fyfteclothe þo nakedH comfort hym þat is prison..ivT

666. *consolare. . . mancipatum*]*not*CHDT / conforte...pryson]þo sixte comfort hem þat bene in prisoneH bure þe cristyn body þat is dede.. viT

667. *sepelire...Thobie*]*not*CHDT / burye...bodyes]burye cristene bodyys þat but dedeC Burie þe cristen þat ben dedeD þo seuenth bery hem þat ben dedeH visite hym þat is seke.. vijT

668 - 77. *Escam…* the worlde]*not*BCHDT

678 – 82. *.vii. – temperancia*]*not*BCDHRT

683. Þe. . .seynge]*septem virtutes principales*BCHT

684. Feyþe…sowburness]*Fides spes caritas prudencia iusticia temporancia et fortitudo* trewþe fei hope and cherite þese þre virtuis longith to god and þese fower folwyng longith to þyn encristene and to þi self sliþe strengþe and sobernesseB *Fides spes caritas prudencia iusticia temperancia fortitudo* trwe feyþ and hope and charyte lo þys iij uertues longeþ to god and þyse iiij folwyng longyþ to þyn heuecristene and to þy soule sly3þe ry3fulnesse strenþe and sobernesseC *fides spes caritas prudencia iusticia fortitudo temperancia* feyth hope charite sleyth ryghtwesnes strenth soburnesseH feye charite þes longet to god slythe ry3fulnusse strengthe longeth to þyn euene cristene and to þy selueT

684 - 5. Feyþe …be-leue]þe firste vertu þat aman schal haue is trewe fei þat is þe ri3thebileueBC / tho fyrst vertu þat mon schuld haue is trewe feyth þat is ryght beleueH fides fey þat is ryht bylyue þat þow schalt byleueT / al þat]þatBT þou shalt beleue al þatH / techeþ]þe techeþC bleues and thechesH

686. noþyng]noghtH / as]but asB but ryȝt asC *not*H / hyt]þe credeBC *not*H / ys forseyd]is to forsaydT techeth herbiforeBC *not*H / in þe Crede]*not*YBCH / Þe .ij. vertu]þe secunde vertu þat aman schal haueB þe secunde vertu ys þat man schal haue þatC Tho seconde vertueH SpesT / ys]*not*T / hope]spes hopeT

687. by]withH by þeT / þe]þiH *not*T

688. and]*not*T / of]þy gude lyuyng in erth andH / .iij.]þrydde vertuBCH / ys]*not*T /

689. charite]caritas chariteT / Þat ys]þatBCH is þatT / shalt]*not*T / þy]*not*BCHT / to-fore]aboueBC / þyne]*not*H

690. selfe]self as y schal schewe in þe nixte chapter *diliges dominum deum tuum*B selue as y schal schewe her after in þe nexte capitele *diliges dominum deum tuum*C self willyng hem no more harme in body ne in soule ne in los of her godes þen þou woldes to þin selfe and ȝif þei haue nede & þou be of power help hem & soker hemH sylue, as þu schal here aftir here in þe hestys of þe gospelT / Þes þre vertues]*not*BCHT / beþ…be]*not*BCHT

691. y-saued]*not*BCHT / Þe .iiij.]þe furþe vertuB þe ferþe uertuCH *not*T / ys]*not*T / sleyþe]*prudencia* slytheT / Þat ys for]asBC isT *not*H / kepe]to kepeT is sli to kepeBC

692. hym]hem selfB / þe]*not*BCHT / harm]in harmeH / þat ys to]toT þat ys hym toC *not*H / nedful]nowtfulT / a-ȝen fondynge of]aȝens temptacions ofBC aȝens þe fondyng ofT for yche cristen mon and womon þat wil haue loue of his god and saued to þo blis of heuen moste be slee and wyse in hold strong batayle ageyne thre strong enimyes þat is ageyne þo entysyng ofH / of þy]as of þiB as þyC and þo lykyng of hisH *not*T

693. flesshe]*not*T / and of þe wordle]and þo vayne glory of þis wordH *not*T / þe]þysB / in dyuerse]inT

694. bedes]holi bedysBC in fastyng in holy bedesH / and…doynge]*not*BCHT / Þe

695. .v.]þe fyfþ vertuBCH *not*T / ys]*not*T / þat…haue]*not*H *iusticia* ryȝtfulnesse is toT / to]eche þyngeT / wyth hym]man wyth hymB *not*HT / Þys]bi þysB þatC *not*T / vertu]*not*T / wolle]*not*B is toT isC / þat]*not*BT

696. euereche]eche manBC aH *not*T / ȝulde]is iholdB / to]to do toB eche þyngT / to]and toCH andT / man]man and maryT / and…þyng]and to hym self al thyngH and þey selueT / ys hys]isB horres isH

697. þat…seye]þat isC þat is to vnderstondeH andT *not*B / to…worshyppe]worschep to godC / to]and toCT / by…power]by his powerB and loveH *not*T

698. and]*not*T / to]*not*B / þy]hymB / self]*not*CHT / skylfully kepyng]gode rewle in ryghtwes lyuyngH / And]inH / þys vertus]þatT / nedful]not fulT / þe vyce of]*not*T

699 - 700. so]*not*BT / þes]þysBC þoH þeT / Þe .vi. ys]þe sixte vertu isBCH *not*T / strenkþe]gostly strenghteH ffortitudo strengtheT / þat a man]þat is to vnderstonde a monH *not*TB

700. shal]*not*T / wyth]wer wythB most beH *not*T / strenkþe]*not*B strongeH / suffre]he schal suffreB to suffreH is in suffryngT / myschef]dyses in mischefeH in meschyfT / ry3thfulnesse]ry3twysnesseBH / þat]wol þatT

701. synny]to synne dedly ne breke goddes laweH do sinneT / by]witH / be]to beB / vnderlynge]ouercomenH / to]witH

702. do]to doC / of þe]of hysBCHT / þe]*not*BC / fondynge]entysyngH

703. And þus]*not*T / lyuede]dydenH / þes holy martrys]þe holy marteresBH and þat is not ful a3eyns þe fondyng of þe flesch and soule þe holy martirsT / Þe .vij. ys]tho seuenth vertue isH / sowbrenusse]Sobernesse þe seue[n]þe vertuB sobernesse þat is þe seuenþe uertuC *temperancia* sobernesseT / þat ys in]is inB inC þat isH is inT

704. lustes]lykyngesHT / as]*not*HT / in]andT *not*B / mete]and meteT / and]*not*T / slepynge]slepT

705. and]inBHT / and hate]*not*BCHT / and in]inB andC inH *not*T / in]andT / and in]inB andC inH andT

706. þes]*not*BCT / ne]*not*BCHT / take]takyngB / now3t]*not*BCHT / lyte]lytellH / a man]*not*BCHT / souerynlyche]mecheB suffre onlycheC / a-3en]andH /

707. a3en þe flesshe]*not*T / wordle]and þe flyeT / and a3en]a3ensB andH *not*T / And]forH / þes]þeHT

708. in here lyf]*not*BCHT

709 - 10. seuene...wytynge]*vii sacramenta ecclesie*BT *septem sacramenta ecclesie*H *Septem sunt sacramenta ecclesie*C Seuene sacraments of holy chyrche beþ þesT / ffullynge...spowshode]*baptismus confirmacio penitencia eukaristia ordo matrimonium extrema vnctio* þese buth þe seuene sacraments of holi cherche cristendom oþer fullyng of þe fonston þat is þe furste sacrament confirmacion of þe

bischop þat is þe secunde sacrament schrift or penaunce þat is þe þrydde sacrament housel is þe ferþe sacrament order is þe fifþe sacrament spoushod þat is þe sixte sacrament and þe seue[n]þe sacrament is enoyinyng bi fore þe deth spedful to eche cristene manB *baptismus confirmacio eukaristia extrema unccio ordo spousalia confessio penitencia* þese beþ þe seuen sacramentis of holy cherche cristendom oþer folled of þe vanston þat is þe furste sacrament confirmacyon þat is secunde sacrament schryft and penance þat is þe þredde sacrament housel þat is þe ferþe sacrament and þat is godys flech in forme of bred y-mad of þe prest ate masse þe fyfte sacrament ys a-noyntynge to fore deþ to alle cristene men þe sexte sacrament is holy ordre and þe seuenþe sacrament is spoushodC *baptismus confirmacio confessio eukaristia extrema vnctio ordo matrimonium* þese ben þo sacramentes of holy chyrche cristendom confirmacion shryft housel aneylyng ordur wedelokeH crystyndome confirmacion of þe bissop penance housel and last enoylyng to for deth longet to alle cristynmen order and spoushond longet to hem þat hyt vnderfongetT

710 - 1. Ffullyng]*l^um^ sacramentum* cristendome or fullyngB *primum sacramentum est* crystendom oþer fulledC *Baptismus*. Ffulleȝth oþer cristyndomeT crystendamH / ys]þat isBC / þe...sacrament]*not*T

711 - 2. and bygynnyng]and fundement and bygynnyngBC fundement and bygyniyngT and grounde and begynnyngH / oþere]*not*BCHT / by-þowt...sauyd]þat schulle be sauidBC þat shulde be saued for with outen þat sacrament may no mon be goddes chyld ne come to þo blis of heuenH by þone þat sowle ne maybe y suwetT

712. Þerfore]and þerforeBCH

713. quyk...chylde]wyth childe quykeBC wit chyldeH wit quyke chyldT / þat hee]for toB toCHT / here]her selfBCH / and]fro trauail andBC and oþer grete trauel andH strong trauel ragyngT / fro]*not*T

714 - 5. alle]fro alleBCH / pereyles]myschefysBCHT / by nyme]bereneH / chyld hys]childsBCT child H / myȝth]þen wereH / þe chylde]þat childBC hitH

715. be lore]ilostBC lestH / boþe]*not*BCHT / lyfe]bodeH / *Vt pregnantes accipiant*]*not*T vt *pregnantes accipiant*BCH / *sacramenta*]*not*T

716 - 7. *ecclesie*]*not*BT / *ante partum*]*not*CT / And]*not*HT / þat...come]*not*BCH þat hur cometT / to]*not*BCH / holy churche]cherceC / and...howsel]comaundith eueri cristene womanBCH

717. here]þoH *not*BC / tyme of]*not*B forC tyme for perel ofT / traueylynge]trauaile of childe to come to chirche and take schrift and houselBC her trauaylyng of chyld to

come to chyrche or send after a prest and take shryft in howselH *not*T / for pereyl of]*not*T / falle]by falleCT be false and oft tyme doseH

718. chyldberynge]beryng of childeBCT traueylyngH / *Modus...mortis*]*not*T / Also]and alsoB *not*T

719. holycherche]*not*T / techeþ and hoteþ]hotith and techithBC commaundes and techesH *not*T / þat]*not*T / þe]aC *not*T / mydewyfe]*not*T / and hy]*not*BCHT / or þey]and þeiBC or oþerH *not*T / þat beþ]*not*T / a-boute]wit wemmen in trauaylyng of chyld yf þeyH also yf hyT

720. and]*not*HT / þe]þatC / y-bore a-lyue]y-bore al þat beþ þer a bowteT *not*H / and hyt be]*not*H

721. hym]þat childBC þo chyldHT / maner]*not*T / wyse]*not*BH / seyynge...oþer]*not*BCHT / N.]*not*T / crystene þe]þe cristeneT

722. of]*not*BCHT / þe]*not*BC / of]*not*BCHT / þe]*not*BC / gost]gost amenH / And]*not*B / þanne]*not*T / a non]bi-spryng þe child wit water orB by-spreng þat chyld wyt waterC spreng waterH so cryis grace left sinnes, plunge þe chylde in water oþerT / cast]*not*CH tristeT

723. clene]*not*BCHT / water]*not*CH / hym]þe chyldeBH þat chyldeC / and no oþer]*not*H / lycure]*not*H lykur ase alle and wyne ne maliqo licore q** in aquaT / oþer...water]*not*BCHT

724. þryes...canst]*not*BCHT

725 - 6. **N.** *ego*...cast]*not*BCHT

726. clene...fully]*not*BCHT

727. þat...forbedeþ]*not*BCHT / þat]and ifBC yfH so þatT / a]þeB þatC þeT *not*H

728. chyld]hitH / þat ys]*not*BCHT / ys]beCH *not*T / þws]*not*BCH / y-crystened]cristened in þys manereBCH y-crystend ne be in no wyseT / be now3t]hyt schal not beBC at home hit shal not beH inT / for]at chirche forBC at þo chyrche forH / hyt]þatBCHT

729. as [to]nayle]as to nailBC as to doH / Cryst]crist goddes soneH / eftsone in þe roode]on þe rode eftsonesBCH / And]but þerofH *not*T / a]þeB þatC *not*HT / chyld]hitH *not*T / be crystenede in]*not*T

730 - 1. þe]þatC þisH *not*T / manere]*not*T / as y]IB *not*HT / haue forseyde]haue saidBC at homeH *not*T / þat chyld]hitH *not*T / shal...yf]*not*T / hyt]*not*T / be a lyfe]lyueBC to 3yf it þo byleueH *not*T / and]*not*T / vnderfonge]haueH *not*T / holiche]*not*T / al]*not*BT / þe...crystenynge]*not*T

732. saue...in]*not*HT / into...wordes]*not*T / þer-wyth]wythB *not*T / þe whych]þatBC but þo words of cristenyngH *not*T

733. shal]*not*CT / nowȝt be do]*not*T / and]*not*BCHT / noþer y-seyde]*not*T / *et*]*uel*C / *possunt*]*potest*C / *filium*]*puerri*T

734. *neccesitate*]nede as peril of dethB *necessitate* in nede as for perel of deþC *necessitate* in nede os in perel of dethH in necesse in þis wyse mayT / Þat]þoH *not*BCT / moder]þo moderH / mow]mayH *not*T

735. in nede]*not*BCH / spowshode]here spousodT her wedlokH / as in pereyl of deeþ and non oþer]*not*BCHT

736. in...manere]*not*T / of]*not*BCHT / seggynge]before saydH *not*T / and whyth water]*not*HT / as hyt ys a-fore y-seyde]I cristen þe N.H *not*T

737. *Vt*]*quod*B / *vsque*]*not*HT

738. *ad*]*not*BT / *consecracionem fontis*]*not*T / Holycherche...þat]*not*BCHT / y-bore]þat buth iboreB / .viij.]eghtHT

739. to-fore]afterB / eue]dayBCH *not*T / by-fore]*not*BCH / eue]schulleBCHT / tyl]for to thwlke tyme vncrisnedT / halwynge]þe halwyngeCH *not*T

740 - 1. hyt]þeiH / may]moweH / wel]beB wel beC by-þowteT / for]*not*T / *compatres*]*compatres et commatres*CH / *sunt...deum*]*not*T

741. Also]*not*BCHT / godmodres]and godmoderesBCHT / borowes]boroghtH / for]ofB

742. to teche]to lereB / hem]hymT her byleueH / ryȝtfulnesse]ryghwysnesH

743 - 4. hold]lyfH / charyte]in chariteH / to]and toB / hem in]hym inT *not*H / to]and toB teche]kepeH *not*T / hem]*not*HT / goddys]*not*T / hestes]comaundementesH *not*T / to]and toB *not*T / kepe hem]andT

744. fro]oute ofH / þe seuene]allT *not*BH / synnes]synneBH / and]þey beþ y-holde to teche and to lern andC / also]*not*HT / to-fore all þyng]specialicheBCH namlichT / hem]hem trwelyH by hysT / here]*not*T

745. þat ys to]*not*BCHT / sey here]*not*BCT herH / *Pater noster*]*credo þe pater nostir*T / *Aue maria*]her aue maryH / and *Credo*]and her credeH *not*T / *in deum*]*not*BCHT

746 - 7. *nec qui leuent*]*not*HT / *de fonte tenebit*]*not*T

747. *coram*]*not*BT *qui leuauit de fonte tenebit coram*H / *episcopo... necessitate*]*not*T / Also þe]anBCT ThoH / hys]hys oweneCHT

748. ne]*not*H / fonge]heueH / to]*not*H / at onys]a towysB to gyderH / þe]*not*BC / fontstone]fontestonn for gostly sybraden for ȝif þei done þei mosten al her lyfe afterlyue chast and neuer dele more to gyder fleshly dedusH *vter quod lauauerint [*sic*] de fonte tenebit coram episcopo nisi in necessitate*T / ne]alsoH *not*T / he]qhwoserH *not*T / fongeþ to]heuesH *not*T

749. a]þeB *not*T / chyld]*not*T / ne]ate fantstanB at þo fonteH at þe fanstone neT / hold]heueH / hyt]hymT / atte confyrmacyon]at þe confirmyngB at confermyngC to þo byshope at þo confermyngH *not*T / to-fore]toT / þe busshope]*not*H / in]it beB hyt be gretC ȝifH

750 - 1. nede]nede make itH / *pueri*]*puerum*B / *nec.... in*]*not*T / *cunabulis*]*not*T / *nec...custode*]*not*BT

751. Also]*not*BCHT / ne]ne noC *not*BT / shal]ne schalBC *not*H

752. suffre]letH / no]*not*T / hem]hymCT / a]inBCH / þe whyle]qwylH / slepeþ]slep for ferd of myschefe þat myght falleH / hym]hemBCH

753 -4. to]not toH / hys]herBCH / lete]soferT / hym]hemBC not hemH / nawar lygge]lige nowerBC go nowher ne lye wakyng no slepyngH in no placheT / kepyng]keperB / for... þer-to]*not*BCHT

754. *De cognacione*]*not*T / *spirituali*]*in baptiȝanti et tenentem*B *not*T / *cognacio spiritualis est*]*not*BCHT / *inter*]*not*BT

755. *illos...sacro*]*baptiȝatum et tententem coram episcopo*C *inter baptiȝatum in suscipientem et inter baptizatum et tenentem coram episcopo*H *not*BT

755 - 65. *fonte...matrem*]*not*BCHT

766. Þys]þerBCHT / gossybradene]gostliche kenredeBCT / as wel at]by fongyngB by fongyng of chyldrenCT betwene þo heuere of chylderH / þe]*not*BC / font]fant stonBCH / as...bishoppe]and þe bissopT in ten wysus and bi confirmyng of children bi-fore þe bischopB in x wyse and by fongyng of chyldren at confyrmygge by-fore þe byschepC and þo chylder and bothe kynredans in ten maners and be heuyng of chylder at þo bischopH

767. bytwene...letteþ]in ten wyse þat lettitT also ten manere and eche of þys twenti kynredys letythB al-so in ten manere and ech of þys xxti manere kynrede letteþC also ten manere and ychon of þese twenty maneres of sybraden lettirH / spowshode]matrimonyeH / as hyt shewt]not y-madBC not made and vndone þat is madeH y-maket and vndoth hyt y-maket in þis wyseT

768. godfader…godmoder]þe furste is bi-twene hem þat is fulled and hem þat fonguth þertoB þe furste is bytwyn hym þis fullyd and godfadrys þat fongeþ þertoC Tho fyrst sibraden is betwene hym or hur þat is cristende and hem þat heuen hem at þo fontstonH By twene hym þat is y-fullet godfodir and godmodirT

769. godfaders…chyldren]and here chyldryn of hem y-boreT tho secunde is betwene hem þat are cristened and þo chyld of þo heuersH *not*BC

770. godfaders…hym]þe secunde is bitwene hym þat is i-fulled and þe wif of þe holdere fleschliche i-knowe of þe vnderfongere to for þe vnderfongyngB Also betwene hem þat bene cristend and þo wyues of þo heuers a fleshely knowyng before þo heuyngH *not*C

771. Bytwene…and]*not*BCHT / hym]heT *not*BCH / þat…nede]*not* BCH

772. hys…by]also betwene þo heuers and þo moders of þoo þat bene cristend also betwene þo cristeners and þoo þat bene cristenedH *not*BC / of hym]*not* BCH

773. hys]of þe fullere hereT also bitwene hym þat is fulled and þeB Secunde ys bytwyn hym þat ys fulled and þeC also betwene hym þat is cristened and þoH / þat]of þeBC of hym þatH þeT / fulleþ hym]vnderfongereB vnderfongeresC cristenesH

774 - 76. bytwene]also bitweneBCH / hym]*not*T / þat]þat isBCH *not*T / fulleþ]cristenedH *not*T / hys]*not*BCHT / fader]god fodrisT and þe fullereB *not*CH / and hys]*not*BCHT / moder… y-fulled]and þe wyf of þe undyrfonger flechliche y-know of þe underfongere to-fore þe underfongyng all so by-twyn þe fullour and hym þat is fulledC and þo wyfe of þo cristener fyrst knowyng fleshely of þo same cristenerH

777. Bytwene]also bitweneBCH *not*T / þe]*not*T / vnderfongere]fullereC cristenerH *not*T / þe]hisT /of]*not*T hym]hitH / þat ys]*not*B y-fulled]cristenedH y-fulled also by-twyn þe undyrfonger and þe fader of hem þat is fulledC / By-twene]also bitweneBCH *not*T / þe]*not*T

778 - 9. vnderfongere]cristenerH *not*T / þe moder]moder þeC his modirT / of hym]of hemC of hitH *not*T / þat ys]*not*B / y-fulled]cristenedH fulled also bi-twene hym fulled and þe children of þe vnderfonger and þe children of hym fulled also bi-twene hym fulled and þe wif of þe fuller fleschliche i-knowe bi-fore of þe same fuller also bi-twene þe fuller and þe fader of hym fulledB fulled þat is y-fulled all so by-twyn hym þat is fullud and þe chyldren of hem fullud allso by-twyn hym þat is y-fullud and þe wyf of þe fullere flechliche y-knowe furst of þe same fulereC fullyd bytwene hym þat fulleth and þe fadir of hym þat is y-fulled and þe modir of þat his y-

fulledT / Alle…gostlyche kynredene]inter de congnacione spirituali sunt confirmatum and suscipientem coram episcopo also þer is kynrede gostliche bi fullyng fongyng to children ate confirmacion bi-fore þe bischop in ten wysus as i-saide arst þat lettyth spoushod not y-mad and vndoith spoushod y-mad and þer is gostliche kynrede bi-twene hym þat is confirmyd and hym þat holdith hym to confirmyng also bitwene hym þat is confirmyd and þe wif of þe holder bifore fleschliche i-knowe of þe same holder also bi-twene þe holder and þe fader of hym confirmyd also bi-twene þe holder and þe moder of of hym þat is confirmydB item de cognacione spiruali inter confirmatum et suscipientem and tenentem cora episcopo also þer is gostliche kynrede by[twyn]fongynge of chyldryn at confyrmyge by-fore þe bischep in x wyse as y-seyde ast þat letteþ spoushod noȝt y-mad and vndoþ spoushod y-mad þer ys gostliche kynrede by twyn hym þat is y-confyrmed and hem þat halt hym to confyrmyng also bytwyn hym þat is confyrmed and þe wyf of þe holdere to-fore flechliche y-knowe of þe same holdere al so by twyn þe holdere and þe fader of hym þat is confyrmed al-so by-twyn þe holder and þe moder of hym þat is confyrmedC tho same maner of sybraden is betwene þe partyes of confermyg þat is for to say heuy[n]g to þo bishopH *not*T

779. and]*not*BCHT / þer-fore]werfore þese poyntis touchen gostli kynredeB also by-twyn þyse poyntes tochyng gostliche kynredC qwerfore of alle þese degrees of sybradenH *not*T / y]holy chyrcheH *not*T / consayle]counseylesH *not*T euereche]*not*T / man]cristen mon and wommonH *not*T / be-war]to be warBC to be wyse and warH *not* T / for eche]þer-of ffor echeB of hemH *not*t

780. of þees]for alle þeesH *not*T / forseyd]degrees ofH *not*T / kynredenes]sybradenH *not*T / letteþ]*not*T / spowshode]wedlokH *not*T / neuer... makyd]*not*T / and ondoeþ]*not*T

781. spowshode]hitH *not*T / to-fore]*not*BHT / y-maked]þat is madeH *not*T / as]*not* HT / hyt]*not*BHT / ys]*not*BCHT / to-fore seyd]i-saide to-foreB *not*HT

782. *Secundum sacramentum*]*not*T / *est*]*not*HT / *confirmacio*]*confirmacio episcopi*C *not*T / Þe...ys]*not*BCHT

783. bysshop]bischop is þe secunde sacramenBC bishop is þatH bissop is þe oþer secunde sacramentT / euereche...womman]alle menT / ys y-holde]isB

784. hys]herBHT / chyld]childrenBHT / þerto]to doB / as sone as]sone asB / he]þeiBHT / may]mowe in eny vyseT

785. .v.]oneH feyveT/ of age]*not*BT / in hys lyfe]alyueBCT of lyfeH

786. blysse]ioieB / after hys deþ]at dethT in heuenH / ho]heB þeiH *not*T / þat be]so beBCH bote he beT / now3t]*not*T / ne may]ne may notB he ne may no3tC he ne mayT may notH / be]*not*C / vnderfonge]receyuedH

787. to]*not*C / And he þat]ne schal and he þatC he þatT shun and þei þat H / shal]ne schalBT *not*CH / hed]þe hedC

790. .vij.]seuenHT / atte þe]forBCHT / creme]crismeBC / y-3yue]*not*BCHT

789 - 95. bysshopes hond... *in confirmacione*]*holi constitucion*B *constytucion*CHT þe chyld...confirmacione]*not*BCHT

796. *Tercium*]iijB *not*T / *sacramentum*]*not*T / *est*]*not*BHT / *confessio*]*not*T *vel*]seuB *not*T / *penitencia*]*not* T

797. confession or shryfte]shcriftBCH *not*T /or]andCH *not*T / penaunce]penaunceHT is penanceT / as sone]anonHT

798. he]þeiBH / ry3gthful]*not*BH / mannys]reson vnderstonde and hau mons witH / vnderstonde]*not*H / þe]*not*CT / age]*not*T / .xij.]twelfCTH ys]he isBC þei beneH *not*T / y-holde]*not*T

799. to be...y-howsled]*not*BCHT / And]*not*BT / þe]*not*BCT / onys]ycheH / in]*not*BH / þe]aB notH / 3ere]onesH and]*not*BCHT / to]ofBCHT

800. / hys]herH / curate]pariche prestT / hys]herH *not*T / synnes]þyngsT / he]þeiH / by-þenke]bethenk hem of and take mekelyH / and]onT *not*H / hys]herH

801. vnderfonge...and]*not*H / þerfore]*not*BCT / and]*not*T / trewlyche]*not*BCT deuowtlyH / fulfulle]fulfyllH / hyt]*not*BT / Hestre]þo asterH

802. vnderfonge]receyueH / godys body]her godH / þe lawe]*not*BCH / doeþ]do isB doC be doneH dotheT / hym]*not*BH / holy]*not*H / a-lyue]lyfyngH

803. out]*not*CT / burieles]byrynesH / a-deþe]after deþeB at deþeCT qwen þei bene dedeH / Also]and qwenH / þey]þe 3oggeT / þat]beneH / to shryfte]to [s]chryfte fursteT

804. shulle]þei shulH hij schulleþT / self]*not*HT / of alle]of al þat þei haue idoBC / of þo synneH *not*T / þat]ar hy come of alle þatT / he]þerB þeyCH hijT and þat þei may bryng to mynde and]and þat þei may bryng to mynde andH

805 - 6. cherche]shryftH / a-doun]*not*BCT /to-fore]toBCHT / þe]*not*C / þat...stede]þat is godes stedeT as to hym self for he sitted þerin goddes stedeH / & to hym]*not*T

806. and hoollyche telle]*not*T / all hys synnes]*not*BCHT / he]þat heCT theyH / whanne...tyme]*not*BCHT / in...persone]*not*BCH ry3t as he hyt dedeT / and]and sgyeT / be]heBCT

807. in]*not*T / hole]fulH *not*T / wylle]nel neferT / to do]doT / so]*not*H / no]neuer noC *not*BT / more]nomoreC more trespasH / herthlyche]wit god willeT / hys]þeBCT þereH / ys]he isC þei areH hym isT

808. enioyned]y-setT / to hym]*not*BCHT / for]þerforeT / hys]horH *not*BT / trespas]*not*T / and....for3yfe]*not*BCHT

810. *Quartum*]*not* T / *sacramentum est*]*sacramentum*H *not*T / Þe]*not*BC

811. þe]*not*CT / þat]þerB

812. man]mon and womonH menT / beleue]most treuly beleueH / þat]þat þatH / vereylyche]veralyche and sothlecheT / was]*not*C

813. mayde]maydenH / deyde]hendBCHT / on]ofB / rode tree]rodeBCT crois for saluacion of mon souleH / And]*not*BCT / tyme]*not*BCHT

814 - 5. man]mon or wommonH bodiB / seeþ]*not*BC / body]etithB body seyþC / þe]*not*BCH / in]in þoH *not*T / prestys hondes]*not*T

815. to eny]to þeT *not*T / syke]*not*H / knele]falleH / a-doun]downe on his kneesH / in þe worshype]worchepCTB

815 - 17. of hys lord]hys godBCT hys lorde godH / bydde]byddyngB sayH witT / hys...*noster*]a *pater noster*T / what]what prayer þatC qhwat orysonH / can best]best canBCT has most deuocion inneH / *ne...quod*]*not*BHT

817. *sit sanguis*]*not*BCHT / *qui*]*not*BCHT / *datur...calice*]*datur eis in calice ita exponatur*C *not*BHT / vnderfongeþ]receyuenH

818. ne]*not*HT / now3t]*not*HT / þat]þeBCHT / drynke]licoure water or wyneH / þat]þe wecheB / vnderfongeþ]receyuen in þo chalesH /

819. here howsel]þei bene howseled is þe blode of cristH godis bodi on þe chalisB after godys body in þe chalesC *not*T / ys any]isB is no3t þeC for hit is noH nys noT / oþer]*not*BCHT / wyn]pure wynT / and]orBCHT / for]*not*BH / to bryng]*not*T / in]hyt inBC doun þoH hyt dryngyt hijt inT

820. þe oste]*not*BCT sacramentH / Bote]*not*T / þe oste]*not*BCHT / in]atte in þeT þei shun beleue þat in þoH / in]*not*T

821. Þey]also holy chyrche teches þat menH / shul]ne shulT / kowe]cheweBCH knoweT / hyt smal]mykyl þat blessed sacramentH þe sacrament to þe smaleT / take]receyueH bringT / in]in here body aseT *not*H / hool]holicheBC / as]*not*T

822. he]þeiBCHT / may]moweT / dowt]in þoH / lest]þatBCT / any]noBC *not*H / leue]be leueBC *not*H / among]þerofH / þe teyþ for]*not*H / in]*not*HT / þe]*not*CH / lest party]þerofH

823. man]mon and womonH crystyne manT / wyllynglyche]wit gud willeH / desyreþ]ofte desyry3tT / to see]to see oftH

824. body]body ofteBC / he]*not*BCH / manye]þeseBCH þes toT / medys]medeT / Furst]*not*BCHT / to]*not*BCHT / nedful]medefulH ene nedfullicheT

825. lyflode]fodeC *not*T / and]*not*B þatC þat dayeHT / and]*not*H / hys]herB to hamC *not*HT / oþes]specheT / synnes]othesT / for-3eue]for3euenH for3etnT / Þe suy3t]þat luk3yeC he schal not lese þe sithB þat daye her eye syghtH

825 - 27. of hys ey3en]of hyenT *not*H / shal...day]þat daiB ne schul no3t be lost þat dayC shal not be lestH schal not be forloreT / ne]*not*HT / þat day]*not*T / to...falle]schal be falle hymB ne schal hym by falleC þei shul dyeH *not*T / no sodeyn deþ]ne sodayn deth ne schal not come to hymT

827. ne]*not*BC þat dayeH þat day þat y-hered masseT / he]þeiH þat day hyT / schal not]neT / ooldy]eldiB heldenC eldH oldyt no3tT / in þat tyme]þat timeH *not*T / þat he]þat þeiH *not*T / seyþ]herithBC *not*T / oþer...masse]or seith hys masseB hys masse oþer seyC þat sacramentH andT

828. þederward]þat þei gone þider wardeH / and homward]*not*T / shal be]ysT / acountyd]rekenedH toldT

829. dysputy]disperteB spekeH / þe]þisH / sacrament]sacrementsT / for... y-now]*not*T / to hem]*not*BCT / for]*not*BHT

830. as holy cherche hem]*not*H / techeþ]by techet y now for hem alle men þat huryt ryng to þe sacryng bet y hold to worchyppe god as þey hir vere thare, and so þe pardyn þat ys þere igrantten hy schulle vndur fongeT

831. *Quintum*]vijB *not*T / *sacramentum*]*not*T / *est*]*not*HT / *extrema vnccio*]*not*T / fy[f]þe]seue[n]þeB / ys]is þe lasteT

832. enelyng]elyngBC eneylyngeT /

833. vnderfonge]vnderfonge anuntyngC takeH / for...synnes]for venyg [*sic*]sinnes beþ þer-wit for3eueT / y-holp]comforted and holpenH / and]*not*CT

834. þe]is þeCT *not*H / lasse]ly3terT esyer and þo lyghterH / hys]*not*T / ys]*not*HT / þe more]þo sonner and þo largerH / techeþ]says and techesH / þe prest]prestesH

835. syke]syke manC / he]he hym hatT / ys]*not*T / a-neled]anoyntedH eneyletT / and...ded]*not*C and negh ded þese askyngesH and axeth hym nexe þe dethT / Broþer]broþer or systerH wotherT

836. shalt deye in]shalt dyeH deyst inT / Crystene byleue]and go to god in cristen byleueH / **R.**]*respondet*B / syre]*not*T / Art þou a-knowe]knowlychest þou to godH / now3t]*not*B

837 - 8. so wel]alle so welT *not*H / sholdest]shuldest and art sory þerforeH schald r.art þow sory þerforeT / **R.**]*respondet*B / syre]*not*T / Hast...amendy]*not*CH / yf...lyfe]*not*CH

838. R.]*respondet*B / 3e syre]3e.T *not*CH / By leuest þou]loueste weT / Ihesu]notCH / Cryst]ihcH *not*C

839. R.]*respondet*B *not*C / syre]*not*T / By-leuest]*not*T / þou...Ihesu]*not*T / Cryst]godes soneBH *not*T / deyde]and for þe dethT

840. vppon]onCB / cros]rodeHT / to bygge mannys]*not*HT / saule]*not*HT / in]onCH *not*T / þe]aCT *not*H / gowd fryday]gudfryday for monkindeH / and þonkest]3e syre þonkestC and donengusT for monkynde and þat thoro his deth al cristen men and wymmen þat shul be saued were bought from euerlastyng dampnacion to euerlastyng ioy and elles þei haden bene lorne r. 3e syr thankestH / hym þerfore]þou hym þerforeBC þou hym in al þi hert þerfore H

841. R.]*respondet*B *not*CT / 3e syre]*not*T / my3th now3t]ne myt notC maynotH ne my3tT

842. hast]and hastB *not*CHT / þu]3e syre haue þuC *not*HT / hoollyche tryst]solliche trustC r. 3e syr tho qwyle þi body and þi soule bene to gyder thanke god þat he dyed for þe and haue holly tristH þe wyle þy soule is in þy body þonk god of his deth habbynd hold crist in þukke and hold wyt þukke dethT / þorw]byB *not*T / hys deþ]þat dayC *not*T / **R.** 3e syre Buthe]*respondet* 3e sireB **r.** 3e þe wyleT *not*CH

843 - 4. hyt ys godys wylle]þanneB andCH / in]onH *not*T / wordles gowd]þyngB thyng on wyfe ne on chylde howse ne lond ne on non oþer godeH noþer in wyf ne schild ne in noþer wordes godT / bote]bedeH / in]onBH holliche inT / Cryst]cristusBCHT / hys]*not*BCHT / deþ...passyon]passion and on hys dethB deth

and his passionH passion and of cryst þe wol demeT / and sey]*not*T / after me]thryes þese wordesH *not*T / Cryst]cristusBCHT / hys passyon]passionBCHT / me]þy dome and me and by-twene meT

845 - 6. euel]vueleT / dedys]werkysBCT / þy]hysB and beseche hym haue mercy on his synful seruauntH / wrathe]*not*H / *Et dicatur*]*not*T/ tei]tuB *not*T / *In..tuas*]*not*T

846. *commendo*]*dominus*B *domine*CH *not*T / Lord]and se he schal segge cryis hordT / in]I betake my soule in to þiH / hondys þyne]þyne hondysB hondesH / y bytake...myne]yche by take my gostT *not*H / Lord]þowT / as]*not*HT / þu]*not*T

847. me]me lord god of sted fasunsse and so sycurlyche passy to al myȝty godT / body and saule]*not*T / y]now IH *not*T / by take þe]betake hem to þeH *not*T

848. *Sextum*]quintumB *not*T / *sacramentum est*]sacramentH *not*T / *ordo*]*not*T / sexþe]fifþeB / longeþ]falleþH

849. So þat]soT *not*H / þat]þat hathB *not*H /

850 - 1. haþ]*not*B / vnderfonge]takenH / of hys ordre]þerofH *not*T / ȝyf]ofHT / he...have]and be knowen a seruaunt to god him nedes to haueH eny estate of clerke, hym by how yt to habbeT

851. hys]aB / ofte]*not*BCHT / y-shore]*not*BCH / hys]crist bore hysB *not*H / heere y-euesyd]her reuesidB shauen his here euesedH / cloþes]cloþyngT

852. shap]and of colowre forH / as by falleþ]isB as faleþCT *not*H / to]forHT / namelyche]manlicheT / to be]beH

853. crowne...loue]merk and crouneB mark þe crownC merke a crowneH marke þat fore hymT / a]for hymBC for hym aH þeT

854. vp-pon...holy]*not*BCT thornes he most also haue a clene conciens to his god and a meke beryng and a blessed to to his euencristenH / cherche]*not*BCHT

855. *Septimum*].vj.B *not*T / *sacramentum*]*not*T / *est*]*not*HT / *spousalia*]*matrimonium*BHT / Þe]*not*T / seue[n]þe]sixteB *not*T /sacrament ys]*not*T

856 - 7. spowshode]wedlokH *not*T / whyche]þo qwychH þeT / sacrament]sacrement of wedlokeT / in...cherche]schul be a-askyd þre tymes in holi chircheB þre tymes in holychercheC / shul be]*not*B thrius schul beT / þre tymes]thryesH *not*BCT

857 - 8. y-asked]*not*B / in þys whyse]in thre solempne dayes a werke daye or two betwene at þo lest iche daye on þis manerH / **N.**]**I.**T / of]deT / **T.**]**G.**C **D.**H **L.**T / **A.**]**N.**H / **C.**]**D.**B **E.**C **P.**H / heere to wyfe]of hire to his wifeT

858. and]*not*T / ry3t]lyue in ry3tlyueT / forme]þe formeT / any]any manBCHT / lette]eny lette of kinredyn oþer gossup oþer gossuprerdynT

859. wher-for]wiBCH wi þatT/ hy]þat hyC / mow now3t]ne moweC may notH ne ry3fullicheT / as þe . . . askeþ]*not*BCHT

860. whe]yfB *not*H / chargeþ]*not*H / 3ow]*not*HT / vp-pon]on þeT say now or neuer o payneH / þat may]ofBCHT / falle to]*not*BCT cursyngH / 3owre... 3e]*not*H

861. knowleche]seggeT *not*H / hyt]*not*H / or]here bi fore me orBC *not*H / þe sacrament]*not*H / be do]be madBC be ful y-doT *not*H / or fulfyllyd]*not*BCHT / *Interrogaciones*]*sacerdos dicat*H

862. *hostium*]*hostium ecclesie*BCHT / *et*]*not*BHT / *dicat sacerdos*]*not*T *hoc modo*H

862 - 4. *in...vyro*]*not*BCHT

864. **N.**]*not*T / wylle]ful wylleT / womman]woman to þi wifBCT womon to þi wedded wyfH / **R.**]*not*B / syre]*not*T / My3th þou]ri3towT

865. loue heere]may þou wel fynde at þi hert to loue hur and holde þe to hurH hertylyche louye hereT / and]*not*C / non oþer]*not*C to non oþerH and nout oþerT / to þyn endyngday]to 3wre lyues endeT to þi lyues endeH þe whyles 3owre twey3e liues lestþC þe wyle 3owre boþe lif lestithB / **R**]*not*BH / syre]*not*T

865 – 6. Þanne...me]*not*T / **N.**]*not*T / **A.**]**N.**H *not*T / to]forB

867 - 8. my]meT / holdyynge]and holyche holdyngC and holich takyngB holdyng me hollychH and trewlich hold y-schalT / to...sykenesse]*not*T / in helþe]and in helþeC and in heleH to þe in heleT

868. in rychesse]in seknisseT *remainder of text missing from manuscriptC* / in]and inH / pouerte]powereB / in wele]and rychesse in alle oþer welT / and]*not*B / in..deþ]in wo tyl dethBH wo fort at dethT

869. departy]to parteB / plyg3e]plithBHT / the]*not*B / *Eodem*]*et uerum eodem*T / *modo*]*not*B

870 - 4 *darare ex parte*]*in deum ex parte*B *dicat*H *ad*T / *mulieres...*þe]*mulier*BH *mulierem*T / y... trewþe]*not*BHT

874 - 5. Þys sacrament]*not*T / spowshode ys þe]*not*HT / þe]*not*H / seue[n]þe]þe seueneT sixteB / sacrament]*not*H / and þe last]*not*BHT / of alle]*not*BHT

875. þe whyche]wedlokH is spousod þatT / 3yueþ]gyff usH / by-nemeþ]departesH / hyt]þatB / be]*not*T / y-take]is y-takeT

876 - 7. So þat]ȝifH / in on]for to temeB fro þat timeH in herte by wordus acordaunt to þe tymeT / þey...y-plyg3t]and þer þat trwþe is pli3th þowB al þouh no trewth be plyghtH pey pere be no trwþe yply3tT / ne ne]noB ne noHT / y-do]be doB be doneH

878. alle]*not*H / forwardes]couenauntesH / makynge]*not*BHT / of]andT

879. spowshode]wedlokH / as in]inT

880. and...holycherche]of frendes and opun knowleche of holy chyrcheH of frendus and knoleche of holy chircheT

881. For alle]alleH *not*T / and...in]and alle þat þer buth buth inB and alle þat bene at hem bene inH oþer ellus hy beþ onT

882. pereyle]perell for her dedeH gret perel and alle þat beþ at assentT

883. – 96. *Quinque* . . . saule]*not*H

883. *Quinque...propria*]*not*T / *uxore*]*not*T / *Primo*]*not*BT

884. As in lente]in tyme as lenteB in þis fyf maners aman suuget [*sic*] dedlyche by þis ownen wyf mente tyme as lenteT / ymbrefast]ymberB / *quo idem est vigylyons*]*not*BT

885. and suche]andB *not*T / tymes]tymeBH / *voluntate*]wylleT *not*H / as in]and if þei be inB inT / to gete]keteT

886 - 7. oþer kepe]oþer to kepeB / ne]*not*BT / wyth]*not*B / As]*not*T

887 - 8. oþer..in]*not*T / open]eny oþer stedeT / *Pacto*]*pactum*BT / as ȝyf]fforward ȝyfT

888. so ofte]as moche as heB / to do so]to do asB / muche]ofte as heB ofteT

889. *Modo*]manereT / to do]as to doB / a]þeT *not*B / nys no]is noB do noT / fowlere]moreB

890. synne]*not*T / of lecherye]lecheryeT *not*B / may use whyth]to mysyseB mys vsyT / no]*not*B

891. þat]þeBT / passeþ]þat passeþT

892 - 3. manere]amarsB þe makereT / for]suffore fforT / god..hyt]god hym self hit maketeT / in paradyse]in stede for hyt was y-maket in paradysT / and...sacramentes]*not*T

893. And also]*loco in temporere* in tyme forT / y-makyd]þe furst sacrament i-maketT / by fore]*not*T / any]alB *not*T / synne]*not*T / and þerfore]and to summe forT

895. And...euereche]*not*T / man vse]vsye ry3fulnisse wytT / so]*not*T /

896. apeyre]peire notBT / hys owne saule]hys souleBT

897 – 914. *De quinque sensibus. . .*þynges]*not* BCDEHRT

915 – 21. *Baptismus. . .*Meknesse]*not*BCDEHRT

922. *Excommunicaciones maioris. . .debent*]*Excommunicacio generalis*H *Excommunicattione lateran*T / *pronunciari...modo*]*pronunciari in manera hoc modo*B a s.canoneT *not*HE / gowd]*not*TE / men]men and womenBH *not*TE / þees]*not*TE / poyntes]*not*BTE

924 - 5. and artycles]articles and poyntesB *not*HTE / þat]*not*TE / y]*not*BTE / shal]wolB shal nowH *not*TE / to ȝow]ȝowB *not*HTE / shewe]shew ȝowH *not*TE / of corsyng or mansynge]of cursyngH of manessyngB *not*TE / beþ...y-stabeled]buth i-stabled and ordaynedB ben stabled ordeynedH *not*TE

925 - 26. and]*not*TE / confermyd of popes]*not*TE / herchebysshopes]*not*BHTE / bysshopes]and bischopis]BH *not*TE / and prelates]*not*TE

926 - 27. of holycherche]*not*TE / hotynge and comawndynge]and hoteB and comaundedH *not*TE / alle]þat alleBH*not*TE / þulke]þekeB þeiH *not*TE / þat haueþ]*not*TE / cure of]*not*TE

927 - 8. mannys saule]soule to kepeH *not*TE / as parsones vicares]*not*TE / and parisheprestes]*not*BTE / þat þey shewe]*not*TE / hare parshones]hit to her paareshonesH *not*BTE

928 - 29. fowre... ȝere]*not*TE / þes poyntes]sewe þese poyntys]B *not*HTE / and...corsynge]and articulys to har parishonyrsB*not*HTE / þat þey þorw on-knowynge]lest þei for vnknowyngH *not*TE

929. or]neB and forH *not*TE / defawte]*not*TE / of techynge]*not*TE / falle]ne falleB*not*TE / into...corsynge]*not*TE / for ryȝt]*not*TE

930. swerd]þe swerdB a swerdeH *not*TE / departeþ]*not*TE / þe hed]þe lyfeB a monnes hedH *not*TE / fro...gostliche]*not*TE / to speke]*not*HTE / þorw...is]*not*HTE

931. tonge þat is]*not*H / god hys swerd]godis swerdB *not*HTE / swerd]swerd vnderstondeB *not*HTE / departeþ]þo cursynge departedH *not*TE / mannys...þat]*not*TE / Ihus cryst]cristH *not*TE / godys sone]*not*BTE

932. bowȝt wyþ hys]*not*TE / derewarde blod]fleshe and his blodeH *not*TE / uppon þe]*not*TE / rode tre]derworth rode treH *not*TE / fram hym]fro godH *not*TE / and fram owre]and owreH *not*TE

933 - 5. lady and]*not*TE / alle]fro alBH *not*TE / þe...heuene]*not*TE / and bytakeþ . . . heuene]*not*HTE /

935. and...hotte]and þerfore holy chyrche comaunded 3owH *not*TE

936. Cryst]ihu cristB almyghty godH *not*TE / and in]and oure ladi sent maria and all þe holy cumpany of hefene and inB and owre swete lady and forH *not*TE / sauacyon of 3owre]*not*TE / saules]owne soulesH *not*TE / þat 3e...alle]*not*TE

937 - 38. þees poyntes...3yf]*not*TE / any of 3ow]3eH *not*TE / feleþ]*not*TE / hym selfe]homB 3owH *not*TE / gulty in]*not*TE / any of alle]eny of alle þe poyntysB *not*TE / þat he hem]*not*HTE

938. amendy]*not*TE / by]þorwB 3ow thoroghtH *not*TE / shryft and penaunse and]*not*TE / þat by tyme]þat be tyme wit sorow of hert for and 3e dye in any of hem 3e gone to þo ay lastynge payneH *not*TE / By]bi þeBTE *not*H / auctorite...and owre]*not*H

939 - 40. Lady...Marie]*not*H / and... Petre]peterTE *not*H / Paule]seynt pouleB and paule and pouleT *not*H / and...halwen]and alle holi halweneB and holyT and alle holyE *not*H

940. aposteles...confessowres]*not*H / and virgynes]virginesTE*not*H / and alle]*not*H

941. þe...heuene]*not*H / whe denunsyþ]*not*HE / acursyd]*not*H / and out of*not*HE / þe companye]companyeB*not*HE / of God]*not*BHE

942. and of ...holycherche]of holi chercheB and alle holi chyrcheT*not*HE / departeþ]and departyd beth fram al holy chircheE *not*H / fort þey]til þaiB fert hirT for to hyE *not*H / come to amendement]*not*H

943 - 4 . *Inicientes manus violentes in*]*scienter manus viol. modis*T *not*E / *clericum*]*sacerdotum vel clericum*H *not*T / *extra de sen ex c°. i°. et c°. peruenit.*]*not*T

944. in]onH / or]oþerTE / clerke]in clerkeT / or in]or ellisB orH *not*TE / or in]orBH oþerTE

945 - 6. of holycherche or]ofBHTE / or]*not*T / or]oþerTE / oþer in]or onH *not*BTE / man...lewyde]leredesB mon or wommen leredH lewde mann oþer womanTE

946. or lerryde]or lewedesBH *not*TE / holycherche]þe bondes of holi chircheB chyrcheHTE / or]oþerTE *not*B / cherche3erde]chirche heyeT *not*B

947. wyllynglyche]by violence wyllyngT in violence wyllyngeE / in vyolence]*not*TE / And]*not*T / oþer]orB *not*H

948 - 9. 3yueþ help]assentyth oþer þerto 3euyt helpeT assenteth oþer þerto 3yueth consail helpE / oþer]*not*TE / consayle]*not*E / oþer asenteþ]bene acursedH *not*BT / *Infringentes*]*not*TE / *ecclesie*]*libertates*BH *not*TE

949. *libertates*]*ecclesie*BH *not*TE / alle...þe]*not*TE / fredom]fredamesH *not*TE / of...And]of holy chyrcheH *not*TE / alle]*not*HTE / þat malycyowslyche]*not*TE

950. bynymeþ]be ȝeuenH *not*TE / here]þoH *not*TE / ryȝt]ryghtesH *not*TE / and]orH *not*TE / beþ a-bowte]*not*TE / to lette]*not*TE / oþer]or toH *not*TE / dysturble]*not*TE

951. here fredom]þo ryghtus or þo fredames þer of H *not*TE / in any wyse]*not*TE / *Impetrantes]not*TE / *scienter litteras*]*not*TE / *vel*]*ac*B *not*HTE / *falsas bullas*]*not*HTE

952. *papales*]*not*TE / *ex. de c°.*]*not*TE / *fal ad falsorum*]*not*TE / *portionem*]*not*H / *c. dura*]*not*BTE / falseþ]conterfeteþT / hys]*not*B / Alle]*not*TE

953. by]witH *not*TE / here wytynge]*not*TE

954. oþer]orBH andTE / oþer]*not*B orH / þer wyþ]withH / by here wytyng]hem bo her wytyngH hym wetyngT wytyngeE

955. *In constitucione...Dei*]*not*HTE / alle]alle þoB

956. or]oþerTE / þe]*not*B of þe kyngesE / pes of þe]*not*E / lond]londe *In constitutione Johannis Stretford c superne dei*H londe alle þat brechat þe fredoms in eny vyse alle þat statutes of holy chirche þat suþer lyche holy chirche by-nemyth hure ryȝt other beþ a bowteT lond alle þat brekeþ þe fredomys of holy chirche þat wykkidliche holy chirche bynymeth his ryȝth oþer beth aboute to lette oþer to disturby his fredomys in any wyseE / Also alle]alleBHTE / any]oþerB *not*HTE

957 - 8. lawes]þat usagesH / oþer vsages]or lawesH / oþer]*not*TE / oþer holdeþ]wratth or holdithB or writes or conseyles or holdesH wryteþ oþer holdeTE / aȝen]þe fredom ofB / þe...holycherche]holichirche oþer þan reson isB holy chyrcheH

958. Also]*not*BHTE / a]*not*BTH / patron]patronsH chesyng of prelates of holychirche oþer lettuþ ryȝtful patronTE / hys]herH to hisT to aE / cherche]chyrchesH

959 - 60. he]þeiH *not*T / ȝyue]*not*BHTE / whar-by]qwerthoroghH / he]þeiH heE / leseþ]leuytT / presentacyon]presentementTE / atte þat tyme]*not*T / *Ex. de sent. exc. c°*]*ex. de sentencia excommunicatione de*B *not*TE

960. *noueritis*]*not*TE / Alle]alle þoB / vnryȝtfullyche]wrongfullecheB / setteþ / talages]taylagus setteþTE / vp-pon]oponB onH vpE *not*T

961. men]oþer menT / as pedages]as pondageB *not*H / gwydages]and gwydigeT oþer gwidageE *not*BH / oþer]orBH / oþer]*not*H / onscylful]vnriȝthfulE / þraldom]thraldamsH

962. Oþer]orH*not*B / werneþ... sylle]*not*B / hem owȝt]*not*BH / oþer]orBH / to ...hem]bye hemH werneth hem to grynde her corn or werneth hys men to selle hem owt oþer to bige of hemB

962 -3. oþer...corn]oþer grynde he corneT oþer grynde here cornE *not*BT / oþer...here]or to make herB herH oþer bake hereTE / breed]vitaylesH / oþer]orBH / to do]doBH seruise doT eny oþer seruyse to doE / any oþer]oþerBH *not*TE / seruyse]hemTE

964. þat]þat þer toBH þertoT þat þertoE / procureþ]to procuresH helpyt and procureþT helpeth other procureþE / oþer helpeþ þerto]or helpesH *not*BTE /

965 - 6. *Extract de*]*not*T / *sent.*]*not*HTE / *ex*]excessusH *not*TE / *c*^{o}. . .*Oxon*]*not*HTE / *Pape Clemente . . .de*]*not*T / *nunc*]*uiaunter?*H *not*TE / c^{o}. . .vj^{o}]*not*T

967. holycherche]brennen holy chyrcheH eny chircheE / brenneþ]pryuythB *not*HT / oþer]*not*T / by]hit beH

968. out]oute þer of owþerH / vnryȝtfullyche]or vnholy vnskylfullycheH oþer vnholy vntrewlycheTE

968 - 9. *.Xi. que. . .tua*]*not*TE / in]onT / any]þoH *not*BHTE

970. oþer]orBH / oþer]*not*E / cowrt]lewd courtTE *not*B / oþer]orBH *not*TE / oþer]orBH oþer enyE

971. oþer]orBH / to]*not*BTE / oþer]ofB orH

972. folwynge]folsyngH presentisE / of]and or ofB / ryȝtfullyche shold]sholde riȝthfullicheE ryȝtfullicheT / be y-endyd]in christine curtBTE / in crystyne cowrt]be endidBTE / Oþer]orBH

973. by]witBHE *not*T / oþer wyþ]ofB oþerTE *not*H / bost]*not*H / letteþ]or lettithBH oþer lettythTE / to...ofyce]to pursewe or do her officeH

974. and]inHT / þat]þat to hymB þat ryȝtfulliche to hymT þat riȝthfullicheE / to hym]to hem and to holy chyrcheH *not* BT

975. *In...Ottoboni*]*not*TE / oþer]arerT / of]*not*BE / of]eny oþerBT of any oþerH *not*E

976. placys]placeBTE / oþer]*not*B / of any]*not*H / manere]*not*BH / mannys gowdes]mannysBTE *not*H / by-nemeþ]bynemeþ or dothB takesH

977. oþer awey]aweiB or dos awayH oþer doþ awayTE / bereþ]*not*BHTE / leue of þe]har wylle þatTE / kepere]kepyng þerofTE / Also]*not*BHTE /

978. out-draweþ]drawenBTE takenH / any]*not*E / man]outBHTE / holycherche]chircheE

oþer of]orBH oþerTE/ claustre]chyrche ȝerde or of cloysterH churheye oþer cloysterT chirheȝerd oþer cloistreE / oþer]*not*TE / of seyntuarye]seyntiarieB of any priuylaged place þat is sanctuaryeH *not*TE / is]*not*H

979. y-flowe]fleenH *not*B / for to]forH *not*BTE / haue]*not*HTE / þe...holycherche]gre of holi chircheB chyrche gryche or þat beten hem or drawen blode or enprisone hem þerinneH *not*TE / and..þat]*not*TE / þer to helpeþ]helpen þer toB *not*TE

980. in consayl]*not*TE / in]*not*BTE / dede and alle þat]oþerTE / here]of hisT hisE / þe whyle]þer wyle þerB to come to hem þo qwyleH / þey]heBTE / beþ]*not*B

981. Also]*not*BHTE / brekeþ or letteþ]letten or brekenH lettuþ oþer breketTE / sequestracyon]þo sequestracionH / here]hisH

982. chaseþ]takenH taketTE / and honteþ]or huntenB and holdethTE *not*H / to make hem]and holden hem to make hemH fort hy habbeþT for to hi habbeþE / resynge]to resygneH

983. a-ȝen here owne]aȝens hereBH*not*TE / frewyl]*not*TE / oþer]*not*B orH / þat]*not*BH

984. Rome]rome or to any oþer courteH / nowȝt]*not*BTE / go]comeH / also]andB *not*TE

985. þe]*not*BHE / bulles]billesB

986. hys]herH / and]*not*BHTE / oþer]*not*T

987. processe]processe other beth vnboxum to stonde to fore here domesT oþer maliciousliche letteþ here processis oþer beþ vnbuxom to stonde to here domesE

988. *In constitucione*]*not*TE / *Iohannis...principes*]*not*TE

989. letteþ]wol nat folwyT nulle folweE / hest]comaundementHTE / make]takeHTE / haueþ be]buthBHTE / .xl.]after furtiBHTE / to be do]to doBH and doT and to doE

990. in-to]hem toBHTE / þat]all þatHTE / on ryȝtfullyche]procureþTE procureþ]vnryȝfullicheTE / or þat hy]or þeiBH fort hyTE

991 - 2. be]wolle beTE / as...to be]*not*BHTE / *Item*]*not*BHTE / *in constitucione. . diximus*]*not*TE / destruyeþ]taken or sheren hewen *not*TE

992. / treon]stoke or ston treesH / oþer]orBH / growynge]*not*H / wythinne]inBTE ofH / **993 - 4.** þe cherche walles]chirche wallesB chyrches or of chryche3erdesH churheysT chirche3ardeE / byþout]aȝensBH*not*TE / leue...parson]þe leue of hym þat hath þe kepyng parsonB þo parsones willeH *not*TE / or of þe]orB or þoH *not*TE / oþer of hem þat haueþ]*not*BHTE

994. þe...þer of]*not*BHTE / Also]*not*BHTE / alle]oþer eny]TE

995. of]hem of / chapel]*not*TE / oþer in oratorye]out þer ofT bereþ out of þerE *not*BH / þe...hym]þe wyl and leue of hymB leue and hol wille of hymH lyue and wylle of þe parsons oþer vikerus oþer of hymTE

996. longeþ]fallesH

997. Also]*not*BHTE / alle]alle þat chutteþ purces by þynne churche oþer churche heyes alle þat þe kynges pes otherT alle þat kitteþ purses wit ynne chirche oþer cherche3arde alle þat þe kynges pees oþerE / þat]þo þatB *not*TE / dysturbleþ þe]*not*TE / pees]þe peesE / lond]londe dysturbeþT kynges lond disturbeþE / and]*not*TE / alle]*not*B / felounes]louersH / and alle]andTE / here]*not*BHTE

998. mayntenowres]mentenoures of felonysBHTE / and]*not*TE / alle]þeB*not*HTE / tretowres]recetoursH *not*TE / and]*not*TE / alle]*not*HTE / þeues]þe comyne þeuesB comen theuesH *not*TE / and...and]*not*TE / alle]*not*BHTE

999 - 1000. howse breneres]house brekersH *not*TE / in...alle]*not*TE / falsse conspiratowres]conspiritturs falseTE / and...falsse]*not*TE

1000. by...wytynge]and tofore eny kynges iusti3e by here vetyngeT and to fore eny kynges iustice bi here wytyngeE / and]*not*HTE / of]and mentayners ofTE

1001 - 2. alle þat helpeþ]helpersBHTE / alle]*not*B / vsureres]ocurersH fals moneoursT false monitoursE / and alle]*not*TE / þat...asenteþ]*not*TE

1002 – 3. oþer manteyneþ]*not*TE / leuynge...seluer]þat makeþ fals mony oper clippeþ and maket ly3ter þe trew monyT þat makeþ fals moneye oþer clippeþ oþer makeþ li3tter þe trewe moneyeE / oþer sellynge]3yfyng or takyng or sellyngH Alle commne þeues and robbours and hous berners intyme of pes by here wylle Alle okererus and to hem assentiþ and menteneþ 3uyngs oþer fangynge oþer sullingsT alle comune thevys and robbores and hous brennerys in tyme of pees by here wil Alle skoreres and vsurerys and þat to hem asenteþ and maynteneth 3yuynge oþer takynge oþer sellyngeE / any maner þynge cause þer-of]þo derre be cause of loueH þe derer for þe loneT þe derer for loueE / Alle]and alleH

1004. oþer wryteþ]or writtithB or writen statutesH statuus oþer writeþTE / shal]scholde BHTE / oþer]orBH ado?T / ne be restored]shulde not be restoredH / ne schal be take a3e]ne sholde be take a3enTE / yf]*not*BHTE

1005. hy]*not*T / hem awey and]*not*H

1006. Alle]and alleH / þat]alle okerers and alle þat to hem acentith and mentaynyth ȝenyng or fondyng or sellyng þe derer by þat cause also alleB / as...busshel]mettȝerd bushelH *not*TE / halfbusshel...potel]galen potelBH *not*TE

1007. oþer]orB *not*H / quart or pyntte]quarteH *not*BTE / oþer by any]enyB or by onyH oþerT oþer biE / and]fals wyȝtesT

1008. by here wytynge]hem vetyngT hem wityngeE / Alle]and also alleB / þat]alle þat aȝens þe grete chartere of þe fredoms of engullond eny þyngs doþ by here wytyngs alle þatTE / for]*not*T / oþer]orBH / wynnynge]for wynyngH for wynnyngsT / men]eny menTE

1009. lese]to leseH lese hertage lond oþer rente oþer wyt fals sweryngs makeþ men leseTE / catel]gode or her catellH / by fore]in courtes orH / any]*not*H / domysman]domesH / in]or any oþer wise inH / wylnynge]wyllyngsT

1010. feniaunce]of vengeaunceBTE

1011. Alle]also alleB / falsselych]purchases þe kynges wryttes to owtelawe any mon in an oþer shyre þen he woneth inne Alle þat falslyB purchasyt kyngs wretus to owte lawe eny man in anoþer schyre þan he wonyþ enuye oþer is y-knowe inne alle þat falslicheT purchaseth kynges writes to outlawe eny man in an oþer shire þan he woneþ oþer is y-knowe ynne alle þat falslicheE / teþes]teþyng holichirche for bi wyl or bi wityng falsliche teþythB / ryȝtfullyche]*not*H / longynge]þat fallenH

1012. holycherche]*not*H / oþer...wytynge]oþer hem vytyngT hem wityngeE other be wille or be wittyngH for bi wil or bi wityngB / falslyche teþeþ]falsly tythesH falsliche to teþeT oþer falsliche tetheþE / takynge to]takynge E gyfyngH / and]þanT *not*B

1013. to]takyngH / betre]better and alle þat for wrath or enuye þat þei haue to her persone or to her vicare witholden any of ȝyges or any oþer profetes or deuocions or procuren any oþer to witholde for frawde or yuel wille and alle þat wythholden any maner tythe agayne þo ordenaunce of benefaceH / sumtyme]*not*H / in]þorwT þat þorwE / þe]*not*HT

1014 - 5. bysshopryche]archebisshopricheE / o...teþes]one maner paying of tythes on þis manerH schal be omaner þyngs of theþyngT sholde be on manere axynge of tethyngeE / fruyt]of fruytB fruytesE / of corn]*not*TE / herbys]*not*T / in]or inH andTE

1016. any]*not*TE / laskyng]lackyngBH lythyngeE / oþer]orBH / any]*not*E / cost a-bating]cost abatedB abatynge for any costE / of hey]in gardynes holiche wit oute of heyB ffeno of hyT / hyt er]euer hitH hit ouereT

1017 - 8. growe]be groweE / mede]medesT medowesH / oþer]orBH / in]*not*T / tymes]*not*BHTE / hyt]þeiH / y-mowe]is y-moweBTE bene mowenH / of norshynge]*nutrimentum ecclesie ageri* of norschyngeT

1018. beestes]of bestisBH / .vij.]seue[n]þeBH / and so vpward]*not*H / be-take]ȝeuenH

1019. teþe]þe teþeBHTE / .vj.]sixteB and so vpward and fro syxH / and so]andE *not*T / for]and forB beT / euereche]ichonH

1020. yf]toT *not*E / or þe vycary]*not*TE / woolle]foirchesaf toB / tylle þe next]til anoþerBH fort anoþerT for to anoþerE / and þanne]*not*BH / telle]telleTE *not*BH

1021 – 2. vppon þulk]teþT vpE *not*BH / lackede and take þat]*not*BH / oþer best]best lanaT oþer listeE *not*BH / woolle]of wolleBHTE / shalle...y-growe]tiþe þ it is y-wexeBHE þat is vexeT

1022 - 3. þat]*not*BHTE / wynter]somerB / somere]in wynterB / oþer]*not*TE / make]doB *not*TE / a-gre]bothe parisshes wold greT bute þe parishynes wolle do greeE / þerfore]þese atte churche profitT / of]piscatores of fysshyngeT / beon]beesH bonT beerE / fenyson]fowlyng of venesonH of fowlyngT fowly[n]ge of venesonE

1024. alle]of alleBHTE / oþer manere]maner oþerB oþerTE / gowd]godesH / þat ys]*not*BHTE / ryȝtfullyche]wit trewthH / y-wonne]y-geteB / þe]*not*BHE / and]orBH þat ys ryȝful to pay þe teþeT *not*E

1025. as ofte]*note* / as hyt neweþ]*not*TE / profyte]profitisTE / mulles]myllysB milnesH / and]ofBH / and]ofBHTE

1026. a-bated]*not*T / bote]*not*HTE / to...valwe]þo same valueH to fulle valueT to þe selue valueE *not*B / hyt]*not*HTE / be payd]þe tethe be payedTE / trywelyche]*not*HTE / of]pasturi and pastures of T / leese]lesus and leswyngesTE / boþ]*not*TE / of]*not*BTE

1027. and also of]and ofH andBTE / seuerel]seueralsTE / shulle]*not*H / þe]beB / teþes]teþydB / be...trywelyche]trewelicheB shal be payed trewlycheH be y-paydT be treliche payedE / after]als ofH and þat afterTE

1028. bestes]þe bestesT / þat goeþ þerinne]onduesB not T/ oþer...dayes]or dayesH oþer þe dayesTE *not*B

1029 - 1. of coltes]*not*TE / of ...chycones]of henesHB *not*TE / of pyiones]*not*TE / of eyron]*not*BHTE / of...hempe]*not*TE / of...fecches]*not*BHTE /

1031. and...oþer]*not*TE / manere]*not*HTE / þynges þat newyþ by]*not*TE / þe]*not*BHTE / ȝere]*not*TE / of]also ofBH *artificibus* alleT alle E

1032. and of]ofBH andTE / chepmen]*mercathoribus*T / of]of þeBHTE / craft]craftesH / oþer of here]*not*BH and hereT andE

1033 – 6. of carpenteres . . . wylle]*not*H

1032. chefare]of chefareB or chafereH / of]and ofB alsoT alleE *not*H

1033 - 4. carpenteres]*not*H / of]and ofB *not*HTE / smyþes]*not*H / of]*not*BHTE / webbes]*not*H / of bakeres of]*not*BHTE / breweres and]*not*H / of]*not*BHTE / alle]*not*H / maner men]oþer maner menB oþer herdmenTE *not*H

1034. þat...huyre]and werkmenTE *not*H / by...or]*not*BHTE / and]orB / by...daye]*not*BHTE / shul...teþe]*not*H

1035. parte]delBTE *not*H / þat...geteþ]of þat þei vnderfongethBT þa hi vnderfongeþE *not*BH / bote ȝyf]butB *not*HTE / þey...serteyn]*not*H / þer-fore]*not*BH

1036 - 7. to holycherche]*not*H / ate]þerfore ateB *not*H / þe]*not*BHT / curat]curatorusB parsonesTE / hys]*not*BHTE / wylle]*not*H / And]*not*HTE / also]also of koen of corn and oþer thynge þat neweþ bi þe ȝere of calves of pigges of gees of dokys of hennys of flax of hemp alsoE / shredynge]schidyngeB sheryngH / trees]geesH / and al]and of all otherB and of fallyng and of alH

1037. oþer]andH oþer isT / wyþinne xx]witinne twentiB *not*H / wyntre]ȝereT *not*H /

1038. *In constitutione*]*not*E / *Iohannis...exsoluent*]*iohannis stratteford*T *not*E / Alle]also alleB

1039. hwreþ]innen herH takeþ of hureT þat takeþ hire for hereE / in haruest]*not*H corneTE / for corn]corneH in heruestTE / or]to be borne awei orB corne or her heyH / hyt be tyþed]þey wole tethe hitE / and]*not*TE / teþynge steleþ]stelit teþyngs oþer receteþ hyt y-stole by here wytyngTE

1040. or wylfullyche]or witynglicheB alle þatTE / wyþ bestes]or etes wit bestesH teþyngs wyþ here bestusTE / oþer]orBH / wyt]*not*B in eny oþer manerT in oþer manereE / owȝt elles]by here willeTE / and]*not*TE / alle]*not*B

1041. teþyng]þe teþeBH / oþer costomes]our of here placeTE *not*BH / sckylful]rytfulweiB þe besteTE / Al-so]*not*HTE / letteþ]*not*TE

1042. oþer]orBH *not*TE / offerynges]tethes offryngesE / or]oþerE / þat]*not*BHTE / beþ]*not*BHTE / sckylful]*not*HTE / oþer]orBH /

1043. y-used]y-housedT / in]ofHTE / oold]holdT / any]*not*B / whar...be]wer hyt beB oþer lettuþ oþerTE / and]*not*TE / þer-to]þat þertoB alle þat þertoH / oþer]orBH *not*TE

1044. asenteþ]*not*TE / to turne]to chaunge in to vorse teþyngus offryngus oþer eny maner deuocionsTE *not*H / hyt in-to]*not*HTE / oþer vsage]*not*HTE / of any man]to menTE / of]pary ofH

1045. lasse]and alle þerto þat helpuþ assentuþ oþer procureþ allle þat here owen parich churches apeyryt in wyþdrawyngs of teþyngs offringes oþer eny oþer deuosion oþer vsages to pulte hit to eny oþer vse oþer place by cause of eny colour oþer vsage takynge oþer ordaynynge eny þyngs to do þer wyþTE *not*H / or more]*not*BHTE / or]oþerTE / openlyche]*not*T / a-ȝen..longeþ to]eny þyng do awey lasse oþer more aȝeyns hem þat longet toT oþer eny þynge do awey þer of lasse oþer more aȝens here wil þat hit longeþ toE *not*H

1046. and]*not*H / alle...consayle]alle þat þer to ȝeueþ consayl oþer assent oþer beþ þer wyt apayedT alle þat þer to ȝyueþ assent oþer consail þer wit apaied E *not*H

1047. Also]*not*BHE de sorcerilagereT / wychene]þat beþ wycchesTE / alle þat]oþer leueþTE / in]in enyT *not*H / by-leueþ]louen or vsenH / oþer]orB *not*H / þat]*not*BHTE / doeþ...by]eny þyng doþe þer toT eny thynge doþ þer after oþer byE *not*H/ here consayle]*not*HT

1049. Also]*not*BH *matrimonium*TE / by here]whetherH / owen]weting of here owenT wytynge in here oweneE / of]or ofB wit inne þo gre of mariage or ofH oþerTE / oþer]*not*TE / any oþer]oþerT *not*E

1050. lawe]þo laweH is y-lered by þe laweTE / ȝyfeþ]wul ȝefleueH *not*TE / oþer]orBH / sester]sustresBHTE / of relygyon]*not*TE / oþer]orB *not*H / mynchones professe]þat bene sworne chaste or wit nonnes profestH

1051. of]*not*B / oþer]orBH *not*TE / in]in <any oþer>B any monH / of]*not*E / subdekene]gode kynneT soue thekneE / oþer]andHTE / alle þat]*not*TE / or]oþerTE *not*B

1052. helpeþ]*not*B / or]*not*TE / asenteþ]*not*TE

1053. *In...consanguinitate*]*not*TE / *c. qui eos li. vi*]*c. eos qui in libro sexto et cetera*B *c. eos lib vj*H *not*TE

1054 - 5. Also]*not*BHTE / bereþ]false wytnisseTE / falswytnesse]bereþTE / and...þat]*not*H

1055. auoketes]anoketesA avocatisB *not*T / fals]any falsE *not*H / excepcyons]*not*H a-leggeþ]*not*HTE / in...matrymonye]*not*HT / and]allegethE *not*TH / alle þat]þat hynderes hit and B *not*H

1056. ry3tful matrymonye]hit þere as hit owe to beB / Also]*not*HTE / weddynges]wedlocB wedlokesTE / in holycherche]*not*H

1057. y-asked]askyngBH

1058. and]*not*E / alle]*not*T / of]*not*B / gowd]catellHTE *not*B / oþer]orH *not*B / for]ofH *not*TE / hest]be hostesH / oþer]orBH *not*T / for]*not*TE

1059. frenshype]kynredeTE / or...kynredene]oþer frenchupT frenschipE / or...eye]or for loue or for hateH *not*TE / of]hem ofTE

1060. wedlokes]priuy wedlocsBT weddyngesH priuey weddyngesE

1061 - 2. *Item*]*de testamentto*T *not*BHE / *In...stratforde*]*not*TE / *c°....concupiscencia*]*c. human concupistencia et cetera*B *not*TE

1062. Alle]also alleB / testamentes]testementBHTE / in]andBE orH / a]*not*BH / oþer]*not*B orH / of a]*not*BHTE /

1063. a woman]*not*B / oþer]orBH *not*TE / chyld]*not*TE / oþer any oþer]or of eny oþerB *not*HTE / lyfe]wyfTE *not*H / þat...gowd]of þo godeH of þa gudT oþer other of þat goodE / wher of]þatBHTE

1064. hare]ofB *not*HTE / and]orH of <oþer>anyE / Alle]and alleBHT / þe]enyE *not*H

1065. any]*not*E / and...wyþholdeþ]wit holdesH *not*TE

1066. oþer]orBH / any]hereTE / gowdes]goudTE / wharfore]qwerthoroghH warebyT / þe]hereTE *not*H / ry3tfulle]*not*BH / testament]dedes willeH / may]ne mayT / now3t]*not*T

1067. and...procureþ]and all þat þerto procures or assentesH and alle þat þerto procurethE *not*T / Also]de scandalisT *not*HE / men]maner menH / and]and alleT oþerE

1068. þat]þat enyT / de-sclaundreþ]any sclawnderHTE / oþer]orB *not*HTE / fals fame]falslyH brengethTE *not*B / bryngeþ]falslicheTE / vppon]onHT / any]any mon of holy chirche or on any oþerH eny man of holy chirche oþer eny oþerTE / oþer]orBH ofT

1069. womman]holy churche oþer wommanT man or wommanH / leerede..leseeþ]for what he last his god loosT for what he leseþE / hys]herH /gowd lose]*not*T / oþer]or enyBH his E *not*T

1070. oþer]or enyBH oþer hisTE / oþer wherfore]*not*BHTE / he]woþe þrewe his nede to beB or haue nede to beH oþer haþ nede to beT haþ nede to beE / y-putte]þulkT / hys]herH

1071. purgacyon]purgeT / Also]*not*HTE

1072. dysmembreþ]openeþ oþer desmembreþTE / oþer]orBH / openeþ]settuþ *not*TE / any]aH *not*T / ded]*not*E / man]mannes bodyTE / oþer]orBH / bytrendeþ]by wyndyþTE buryesH

1073. oþer]orBH *not*TE / bswweþ]*not*TE / any]aH / ded man]hitTE / auter]wenedT / þe]*not*B / Also]*not*HTE / alle]*not*TE / þo]*not*BHTE

1074. wymmen]*not*TE / þat]*not*TE / here chyldron leggeþ]on feldes weies or elles werB in feldes or in wayes or in oþer place H *not*TE / in feeldes or in weyes oþer]legith her childrenB*not*TE / in any oþer place]*not*BHTE

1075. y-crystyned...oncrystened]*not*TE / and]forsakyngH *not*TE / and]*not*TE goeþ..for]goyng fro*not*HTE / euere mo]hemH *not*TE / Also]*In constitutione Iohannis Stretforde*T *not*E

1076. Stratford]of stratfordH / sumtyme]for sumtymeT / hauynge reward to]seyngH / grete]mycheB mykelH þe mucheleT

1077. saules]souleBHT / in]forHT / fawte]lacBTE / deuocyon]deuocionysE / in]*not*BTE / fylanye]vilonysBT vileynes iapesH / in]*not*BHTE / synnes]synneH / þat]þerB *not*H / were]beþ nowT *not*H

1078 - 9. y-vsed and y-do]ido and usidB made and doneH y-doTE / lyggynge]þe vyle hy leggedTE / on]oponB *not*TE / þe]*not*BHTE / beere and ȝut ys do]*not*TE / in...abowte]abute in many placesB in mony placesH *not*TE

1079. er]orBH uparT vppe orE / he]þeiBHE / be]wereE / þer as]þer þatB þerTE *not*H / waykynges]þo wakesH

1080. where]abowte hem fursthiT aboute he were furstE / abowt]*not*TE / þe]*not*BHTE / coors]*not*TE / holy bedes]holyHTE *not*B / byddynge]byddyngusB prayersH / þe]*not*H

1081 - 2. saule]sowlsT / Now]nowE *not*H / hyt]*not*BHTE / ys forbode]*not*H / þe constytucyons]þei be cursyd? to harlotry and to synne þerfore holy chyrche forbedes in consticion of þo forsayde erche bishopH constitucionTE *not*B / vp pon]inH / fallynge...corsse]grete curcyngB þe gret corsyngsTE þo grete sentence of holy chyrcheH

1082. man]mon ne wommonH / vnderfonge]suffurH / no]*not*H / man]lifeBTE body to comeH / in..howse]in to here housesTE and take housesH

1083. by-waked]i-wakidBHE / for]toB to makeHTE / no]*not*BTE / manere]*not*BTE / ne no]oþer eny otherT oþer enyE / þere to]þer tiB toE *not*HT

1084. onlyche]*not*HTE / to pray]to biddeB for to prayH byddeT / for þe]*not*H / saule]sowles and þat eny oþer þyng doþ þer oþer for owt-ellus comyþ þeder þanne to bydde for þe sowlusT soules and alle þat eny oþer þyng doth þere oþer for eny oþer þyng comeþ thider than to praye for þe sowlesE deuotely for all cristen soulesH / for...grete]and ȝif þei done bothe þo iapers and receters bene acursedH *not*BTE / corssynge]*not*BHTE / and...þere]*not*HTE / and alle þat]*not*B

1085. any þyng]auȝtB *not*HTE / elles doeþ]*not*HTE / bote]þanB *not*HTE / praye]biddeB *not*HTE / for]*not*HTE / þe saule]*not*HTE / mowe]þei moweBT *not*HE / dred]*not*HE / hem sore]for to falleT falleþE *not*BH / of þe]inT in þeE *not*H / grete]*not*H

1086. corssynge]cursE *not*H

1087. Alle]alle vymmen þat feldus oþer owerelles lygyt here chyldryn y-cristned and goþ þer fro fei euer alleT alle women þat in feldes oþer weyes oþer owberellis leggeþ here children y-cristened oþer vncristned and forsakeþ he for euere alleE / þat]clercus þatTE / ȝyueþ]*not*TE / oþer]orB andH *not*TE / vnderfongeþ]takeþH *not*TE / any-þyng]buthB oghtH þatE*not*T / in wey of]beH þurweT bi hereE / and alle]takeþ any estateT /

1088. þat...beþ]oþerT oþer enyE / in]as biB and þeH ofTE / holy cherche]gyffersH / Also]andT / þe]*not*BHTE

1089. holy cherche]clerkeTE / and]þatTE / hem self]hemHTE / to]notHTE / þefes]de þeuesB / robberys]or robbersH and robbarsT / or]or intoB or of anyH oþerTE

1090. mansleeres]mordresB misdoersHTE / takynge]or takyngH / part]owth of his robbery wittyngH / Also]*not*HTE

1091. to go to]to wynneB to help to wynneHT to helpe wynneE / afterward]afterHTE / turneþ]brekenB / þat]herB hisH

1092. a vow]wylleH / wy-þout]butH / nede]nede make hymH nede alle þat helput saraȝins aȝens cristemen to armes oþer in eny oþer þyngT alle þat helpeþ sarsynes aȝens cristene men in armis oþer in eny oþer þyngeB

1093 - 4. *Item*]*not*BHTE / *religiosi...ministrant*]*not*TE / *sacramenta*]*sacramenta ecclesie*B *not*TE / *in...religiosi*]*not*TE / Also]*not*BHTE / of]*not*E / relygyon]religiousE

1095. spowseþ]weddesHE / oþer]orBH *not*E / a-neleþ]enoylyþT / oþer]orBH *not*TE / womman]*not*TE

1096. þe]hereHT hisE / curate]pariche prestT / oþer enformeþ]or makithBH *not*TE / oþer makeþ]or enformythBH oþer makeþ oþer lettuþT oþer procureþE / to be]hem to beB ony mon or wommon to beH eny man to beTE / atte]inH / any]hereE / oþer]*not*E / stede]chircheBT placysE / þan atte]but atH out ofE

1097. owne]*not*H / parrsshyrche]parisshe comme buryngeE / Also]*not*HTE / alle... a3en]*not*TE / Crysttyndom]cristne menBH *not*TE

1097 - 8. in wey of]witH *not*TE / of armes]armures or wit wepponsH *not*TE / oþer]orBH *not*TE / in any]anyBH *not*TE / Also]*not*HTE / þat]and al þat nemeþ to hem selue eny theþyng oþer offrynge þat longuþ to eny parychirche oþer wyþholdyt þat scholde ry3tfulliche paye þerto alle þatT and alle þat nymeþ to hem self eny tethynge oþer offerynge þat longeþ to eny parisshe chirche oþer wit holdeþ þat hi sholde ri3thfulliche paye þerto Alle [. . .]and oþers þatE / a]anyHTE / man]man or womanBH / *a pena et a culpa*]*a pena et culpa*B of *pene* and of *chulpa*TE

1099. power]leueB power y-grauntedE

1100. *In....c°.*]*not*TE / *multorum*]aynktorumB *not*TE / Also]*not*BHT andE

1101. eresye]heresiesH / coniuracyons]wycchecraftTE / nygramancye]enchauntementTE / enchauntementes]nigrimanceTE / wychecraftes]conuiresounsTE

1102. oþer]orBH / oþer]*not*BHTE / by-leue]belefsH

1103. by]witH / and...y-ordeyned]*not*T / to]*not*HT / enquere]*not*T / þer-of]þeronBE *not*T / hyf þey]*not*T / leue]be rechelesse or leueH *not*T

1104. here swte]þe suteB *not*T / and suffer hem]*not*BHTE

1105 - 6. *In...sent.*]*not*TE / *ex*]*not*BTE / *de communi*]*not*HTE / *c°. grauis*]*not*TE / heretykes]of any herytikeH eny heretykT eny eretik y-knoweE / manteyneþ]taketh mayntenaunceH / receyteþ]and receyuythB

1107. fauowreþ]or fauourithB oþer fauoreþTE / or]oþerTE / bureþ]buryeþ hymT / buryeles]burielBT / by]*not*H

1108. *Ex...li° vi°*]*not*TE

1109. hoteþ]bydden or mayntenenH suffreþT / oþer]orBH *not*TE / makeþ]*not*H

1110. any oþer men]eny oþer manB *not*TE / oþer]orBH / to]*not*BHE / oþer]orBH *not*TE / in prysone]to enprisonHT /oþer]orH *not*B / to by-nyme]take awayH by nemeþTE / any]*not*B

1111. cause þat]þatT *not*HE / porseweþ]he acurceth menB þe pursuen misdoeersH / to a-corsye]þat but to a-cursyngB and cursenH wyt to a-corsy/ hem]mysdowersTE *not*B

/ by lawe þat]andB and done oþer execucion of holy churcheH *not*TE / beþ...acorsyd]*not*BHTE

1112. and]alsoB/ þo]secheB hereTE *not*H / oþer...be]or wat so euer þei beB þat so doþ byT *not*HE / þat]*not*T / doeþ]so doethE / by]*not*H / here]*not*B

1113 - 4. hest]heste of seche lordisB commandementsH hestusT / bote]and boteBH / þey]if þeiB *not*T / amendement]amendement bothe þo bydders and þo doers wit inneH / after þe doynge]*not*TE / And]*not*BHTE

1114. mowe now3t]moteBTE / of...onlyche]but onelyH *not*BTE / pope]pope onliche and of non oþer manB pope and of non oþerH

1115 - 6. Also]*not*H andTE / makeþ]in makenH / to]*not*BTE / masse]oþer masses seggeT oþer masse seggeE / þer...be]*not*BHTE

1116 - 7. oþer]orBH / þat ys]*not*BHTE / oþer]orBH / in]*not*E / any]*not*BTE / a-corsed / places]place acursidBTE / oþer]orBH / in tyme of entredytynge]in tyme of entirditTE *not*H / wyþ]quosH / belles tyngynge]bellis tingingB rynges any belles bellus ryngyngeTE / clypynge]or do ony oþer seruice to draweH / men]folkeTE / to masse]to chyrche or in tyme of enterdyting or any deuocion þerto make tyl hit be halowedH to churcheT

1117 – 8. in...pryuylegyd]in þat chircheB *not*HTE / Also]*not*HTE / alle þat]oþerTE / vnderlynges]men or her tenauntesH / þat...a-cursyd]*not*H

1119 - 20. by name]*not*HTE / oþer]*not*TE / y-do out]any oþer to goo outeH to go outeTE / of holycherche]chyrcheHT*t*E / cherche...oute]to gon outB by nameTE / And]qweH *not*TE / alle þat]þeiHT *not*E / a-corsyd by name]*not*TE / oþer]andB orH / out of]*not*TE / holy cherche]chyrcheH *not*TE/ bote]ho<u>teT / þey]if þeiB *not*T

1121. alle]alle þeB holy churcheT / in to þe]tylBH *not*TE / tyme]*not*HTE / þat he]þeiH for hiijT for to hiE *not*B / be reconsyled]*not*B / and...amendement]*not*B

1122. Also]*not*BHTE / alle...of]*not*B / entredytynge]enterdytyþHTE *not*B / body]cursid bodyE *not*T

1123. in... cherche3erde]*not*TE / Also]andH *not*TE / alle...any]*not*TE / cursyd man]acursed bodyT *not*E / oþer womman]*not*BHTE

1124. oþer]orBH *not*TE / a]anyH *not*BTE / comune]*not*TE / vserer y-know]knowe vsuerer or eriterB *not*TE / and repreuyd]*not*BHTE / oþer]orH / any eretyke]or eriter namlyche enterdityþT oþer namliche outeE / in]in enyBH oþer inE

1125. buryeles]burynesseH / Also]*not*HTE / or]oþTE / by]*not*BE / to be]beT /

1126. of]*not*T / oþer]orBH *not*TE / entredytynge]enterditTE / oþer]orBH / of]inH *not*TE / by]ofBH *not*TE

1127. here]*not*TE / ordynaryes]*not*TE / oþer]alle þatH *not*B / makeþ]*not*B / here]*not*BTE / ordynaryes]*not*B / wythclype]to agayne calleH wyþ clupnyeT to reuoke oþer wit clepieB / ry3thfulle]ryghtH *not*TE / domes]wisdomeB wisedomesH / a-3en]ry3tfullych a3ensT ri3thful a3ensE

1128. ry3t]*not*H / maystrye]maistersB / Also]*not*HTE / beþ]of beþT

1129. oþer]orBH / pereyles]perelleHTE / by þe lawe]*not*H / hym to asoyle]to asoyle hemH *not*TE

1130. bote in]but ifH and y-hote toT and beþ hote toE / suche]þeiH / perel]*not*HTE / as sone as]*not*TE / þey]þeB *not*TE/ beþ]may beH *not*TE / rekeuered]recoueridB *not*TE / bote þey]*not*HTE / habbe]askeH *not*TE / absolucyon]his absolucionT here absoluciounE / hym þat]*not*H

1131. haþ...a-soyle]her curatorH hym may asoyly ry3t he ne doþ hytT hym may assoile 3if hi ne doth hit E / þey turneþ]as hy may T nas as sone as hi maye hiE / and]*not*BHTE / lyggyþ]*not*H auallyt a3enT falleþ a3en E / in þe]in to þoHTE / same]*not*TE

1132. cursynge]cursE / as...dyde]as þer to fore wereB agayne as he were by foreTE / and wors]*not*H / vnboxomnesse]vnbuxssumlycheT

1133 - 4. *Ex. . . . li*°*.vi*°]*not*TE / Alle]also alleB / namelyche a-cursed]acursid namlicheB acursed be nameH

1135. man]menTE / oþer]orBH / womman]wymmenTE / departyd]parte by tymeB / here]þeBT *not*HE / anon]be tyme þeB be tymeT /anon]*not*B / Also]andHTE

1136. alle]*not*T / and]inBH *not*TE / in]*not*TE / in]*not*TE

1137. helpynge]helpB / in]oþerTE / to]*not*B

1138. owt take]orBH *not*BTE / howsbonde]*not*BTE / to]witB wit þoH *not*TE / and]orBH *not*TE / wyfe]*not*T alle cursede men oþer wommen þat comeþ into chirche to here þe seruyse bute higo out ate biddynge of þe curatis so þat þe seruyse be let E *not*B / wyþ]*not*HTE / here]þoB *not*HTE / howsbonde]*not*HTE

1139. and 3ut conseylynge to amendement.]*not*BHTE

1141 – 1250. A separate set of excommunications not found in BHTE

1250. *Hic...extractur et*]*preces dominicales ad missam*B

1251 - 2. *dicuntur...est*]*not*B

1253 - 4. Gowd...and]in þe name of oure lord Ihu Crist and our ladi seynt marie an alle þe company of heuenye ȝe schul knele a doun and bidde ȝowre bedisB / by seche...hyt]*not*B

1254 - 5. kepe...cherche]for the stat of holichirche and for þe pees of þe lond þat god for his merci hit holde and hit mentayns pes þer it is and sende pes þer it nys*not*B / of Rome]*not*B / holy...pope]lord þe holi popeB

1256. and...cardynales]for þe patriark of ierusalem for þe cardenellisB

1257 - 59. lord...alle men]*not*B

1261 - 2. hyt...hond]for his merci hit send in cristene mannys hondB

1263 - 4. owre liige lord]*not*B / and]and forB / and alle here chyldren]for þe prinys for duk and for alle her children for erlis barons and alle oþer lordis of þis lond þat hauyth þe lond to keps and to mentayne þat god for his merci ȝeue hem such grace and strengþe so þis lond to kepe and lede in loue and in pes þat it be him to queme and þe pople to sauacion to lif and soule ffor þe erchebischop of canturburi and namliche for þe bischop of þis diocis and for alle oþer bischopis for abbetis and pore and for alle men of religion and for mynystris of holi chirche for þe parson of þis chirche and for þe wiker and for þe prestis and clerkus þat þis chirche seruyth and hauyth i-seruyd and for alle þat hauyth þe ordir of holichirche i-take and for alle þat hauyth þe stat of holi chirche to kepe and to gouerneB / hem]for his graceB

1264. kepe...after]ȝeue hom grace hit so to kepe and to mentayne þat god be wit apaid

1265. to worche...holde]*not*B

1266. ȝe shulle also bydde]*not*B / for]for alleB / and alle]and for alleB

1267. owre]oure godeB

1268 – 75. god]ihu cristB / saue and kepe]schild and saue fro alle mysawantrisB / ffor...teþyeres]*not*B / þat...helpynge]*not*B

1276 - 7. ȝe...for]for hem þat browt þis an Synt Nicolaus cherite to chirche and forB / alle]*not*B / boke belle vestyment]festement belle bokeB

1277. oþer any oþer ornament]wyt liȝth or eny þingB / whar-fore þat]wer þorwB

1278. place]chircheB / betore]beter and þe fairerB / y-manteynded]mentaynynd ffor alle þat trewliche doith her teþe to god and to holi chirche and þat ffor alle þat trewliche doith her teþe to god and to holi chirche and þat god for his merci hem ȝeld and her god multiplie and alle þat oþer doth god hem amende for pilgremesB / palmeres]trowe palmerisB

1279 - 80. and pylgrymes]*not*B / and...men]and for awei frende menB / þat habbeþ...stede]*not*B

1280. god]ihu cristB / seende hem]for his merci ȝeue hemB / go]do goB

1281. come]so to comeB / god]hymB / and hem...to saule]Ffor able lerede and lewede þat oure liflode helpith for to bryng and for alle erþe tiliers þat god sende grace so to do tilie and vptogadere as it be best to þe pople. We schul also bidde þat god for his grace sende suche wederyng as hit be hym to queme and þe pople to boteB / ȝe]weB

1283. chylde]and wit childeB

1284 – 5. in...place]*not*B / sende]ȝeueB / wel...delyuered]of fair deleueraunceB / þe]herB / chyld]childrenB / For]and forB

1286. oþere]oþer parscheB / grante]for his merci graunteB / body]þe lifB / to]to þeB

1287. oþer]*not*B / þat saue]þat god for his merci saueB

1288. alle]þeB / þe]alleB / god]god for his merciB

1289. to repenty]of repentaunceB / a-mende]her lif to amendeB / For]and forB / hem

1290. holde]holde hemB / and...a-mende]*not*B

1291. ȝe]weB / sarysones]for sarsenysB / and]forB / and]and forB / þat]þo þatB / god]god for his graceB / sende]grantB / hem]to hemB / to turne]turneB / to þe]in to

1293. For]and forB / and in...lyf]*not*B / god]god for his graceB

1294. For...þys]*not*B / day browȝt...]*not*B

1295 - 6. hys. . . mayntenеþ]*not*B / for hem]and þat it so be for hemB / seyþ a]for cheriteB

1298 - 1300. *Hic*]*not*B / *ex. . . erat*]*not*B / *Deinde . . .nota*]*not*B

1301. *Set. . . nos*]*not*B

1302. *Et. . . nobis*]*not*B

1303 - 4. *iusticiam. . . te*]*not*B

1304 – 5. *et. . .te*]*not*B

1305 – 6. *tuam. . .eternum*]*not*B

1307. *in virtute. . .tuus*]*not*B

1308 - 9. *orationem. . .clamor*]*not*B / *et. . .Oremus*]*not*B

1309 - 13. *dona. . .Amen*]*not*B

1314. *Deinde. . . modo*]*et in sine dicut sit*B

1315 - 6. alle þe]hemB / saules]*not*B / habbeþ. . . crystened]forth buth passed was bodies wereB

1316 - 7. þat. . . prelates]iboreB

1317 – 8. and ordynaryres. . . y-serued for]*not*B

1318 – 19. saules. . . saules and]*not* B

1320. and]*not*B / for lordes. . chyldren]erchebischopis, bischopis, prelatis, ordynaries of holichirche and for þe soulis of parsons, wikers, prestes, clercus þat þis chirche hath sauyd.B

1321. praye]biddeB / owre]*not*B / faders saules]fader soulB / moderes saules]and moder soule

1323 - 4. godfaderes. . . godmoderes saules]for godfader soule, for godmoder soule / and. . . saules]*not*B / for sustrene]susterB / alle]for alleB / kynne]kynnesB

1325 – 6. for. . .bydde]*not*B

1328. for]and forB / þe]þeke soules / þe]*not*B / peynes]payneB

1329 - 30. purgatorye]purgatorisB / þat]and godis merci abidith þatB / mercy]merci graunte hem grace for our biddyngB / delyuere hem owt]to come to blis / for owre byddynge]Ffor alle þe soulis þat hath bi quþe and or ȝeue in her lif eny gud heder in werfore god and oure ladi and þis place þe beter is seryud and mentaynedB

1330. þe]alle þeB / saule]soulisB / halywede]*not*B / and þys]inB

1331. cherche3erde]cherch3erde halwodeB / and for. . . þerinne]*not*B / þe]all þeB

1332. þe]*not*B / and]For þike soulis þat we haue eny gud of for þe weche we buth i-holde to bidde for þat god geue hem grace to fare þe beter. For our biddyng andB

1333 - 4. seyeþ a]*not*B / and . . *sacerdos*]*not*B / *et*]*tunc*B / *a choro. . . clerico*]*sacerdos*B / *sine. . . cum*]*not*B

1336 - 7. *Deinde. . . nota*]*not*B / *sed. . . nos*]*not*B

1337. *Et lux per*]*not*B / *insert* inferiB /

1338. *In terra vi.*]*not*B / *Et. . .oremus*]*not*B

1340. *pontificum regnum*]*regnum pontificum sacerdotum*B

1341. *tuarum*]*tuarum patrum matrum fratrum sororum parentum parachinorum amicorum benefactores nostrum*B

1343. *dominum nostrum. Amen.*]*not*B

Literary and Historical Notes to *Sacerdos Parochailis*.

1 – 315. Most manuals of religious instruction for the clergy, whether written in Latin or in Middle English, were accompanied by collections of statutes. *Sacerdos Parochialis* was no exception. The statutes, copied in Latin at the beginning of the manual, do not make for edifying reading. They are pragmatic statutes, more concerned with the financial welfare of the parish priest and the church buildings than with the spiritual welfare of the laity. They deal with such matters as tithe paying, reserved cases (sins which could only be absolved by a Bishop or Pope), the paying of mortuaries, upkeep of church property and a list of the ecclesiastical feasts to be celebrated throughout the year. The statutes at the end of the manual, written in Middle English, were a list of excommunicable offences or a set of sentences of excommunication.

In light of the influence of *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Pupilla Oculi* on *Sacerdos Parochialis,* and of the particularly English nature of the statutes found in both of these earlier Latin texts, the editor searched the copies of these texts available to her (British Library MS Royal 6 E1 and British Library MS Royal 11 B.x respectively) to see if the arrangement of provincial statutes in *Sacerdos Parochialis* was borrowed from these sources, but a corresponding arrangement was not found in either manuscript. The statutes of the two Latin manuals and of the Middle English manual show some similarity in their content. However, none of the manuals follow a similar sequence and ocassionally ascriptions vary from text to text.[137]

1-10. Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, convened the council of Lambeth which was held from 7 - 10 October 1281. The statutes from that council were published on the 1 November 1281. The Lambeth constitutions are best remembered for the didactic manual found in chapter nine containing religious instructions on how the clergy were to educate the laity in the basic tenets of the faith, at least four times in the year. The manual, although not original, was adapted and translated to provide the basis for a variety of similar Latin and Middle English

[137]The statutes common to *Sacerdos Parochialis* and *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Pupilla Oculi* are found under the list of Reserved Cases in the section on the Sacrament of Penance in both treatises (ff.12 - 21 in *Oculus Sacerdotis* and ff.64 – 81 in *Pupilla*). A set of sentences of Excommunication begins the *Dextera Pars* or second part of *Oculus Sacerdotis* (ff.24 – 27) and in the brief Latin manual appended to the *Pupilla Oculi* (ff.173^{v} – 76^{r}), but they do not correspond with those included here. The confused nature of ascriptions of Medieval legislation is a well-known fact. Legislators were not adverse to 'borrowing' or reissuing predecessors' statutes under their own name. See C. R. Cheney, "The So-called statutes of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey for the Province of Canterbury," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* vol. 12, (1961): 14 – 34.

manuals either for the clergy or the laity, including *The Lay Folks' Catechsim* (1361), *Quattuor Sermones* (1483?) and *Instructions for Parish Priests* (early 15th cent.) by John Mirk.[138] Lines 1 – 10 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* are a paraphrase of the introduction to chapter nine of Pecham's statutes.[139]

11 – 32. A form of excommunication, attributed here to Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury from 1349 – 66, but similar to the Sarum sentence of cursing.[140]

27. *Datan et Abyron* see Numbers 16:27 – 32.

28. *Oloferno* see Book of Judith 13: 1 – 10; *Symone Mago* see Acts 8: 9 – 25; *Iuda traditore* refers to Judas, the apostle who betrayed Jesus; *Iuliano Apostata* (A.D. 332 – 63) was the nephew of Constantine who, after Constantine's death, rejected Christianity and persecuted the Christians;

29. *Daciano* or Decius was a Roman Emperor (A.D. 249 – 51) and persecutor of Christians; *Nerone* or Nero was another Roman Emperor (A.D. 54 – 68) of equal disrepute among Christians.

33 – 40. Kylwardby was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1272/3 until his translation to Cardinal Bishop of Porto in 1278. To date, I have not found a statute that would correspond with that noted here although the statute is a general one indicating appropriate times for reading sentences of excommunication to the public.

41 – 48. Stephen Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1206/7 - 1228. The Council of Oxford took place on the 17 April 1222 and is often referred to "as the starting-point of English provincial legislation."[141] Like the previous statute, it is merely a general statement about when and how the sentences of excommunication ought to be read. A similar but not identical statute occurs in Langton's 1213 x 1214 collection of statutes, c.49. The c.49 refers to three solemn festivals, but omits the reference to the feast of St. Michael included here.[142]

49 – 113. Boniface was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1241/5 - 70. His statutes on tithe were very popular and concerned the tithes, or money due to the parish priest

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[138] Cheney and Powicke note that Pecham's manual of chap. 9 "is to be compared with other manuals of instruction issued by diocesan bishops in England and abroad in the xiii cent., but it is not to be traced to any single source. Copies of chap. 9 were widely diffused apart from the other canons of the council." (Powicke and Cheney, vol. 2, pt.2: 887 – 8).

[139] Powicke and Cheney, 900 – 1.

[140] See C. Wordsworth, ed., *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, (Cambridge, 1901), 44 – 6. See also the sentence of cursing from Durham University Library, MS Cosin v.iv.2 f.131^{v} – 2^{r}, transcribed below.

[141] Christopher R. Cheney, "Legislation of the medieval English Church," *English Historical Review Leeds*, 50 (1935): 193 - 224 and 385 – 417.

[142] Powicke and Cheney, vol. 2, pt.1:33.

from the profits of the parishioners.[143] The ascription to Wynchelsee (Archbishop of Canterbury 1293/4 - 1313), a common error among the later collections of these statutes, is refuted by the existence of two thirteenth-century texts. Where the statutes vary from the text edited in Powicke and Cheney, they often correspond to the variants noted in H of Powicke and Cheney's text or Bodleian, MS Hatton 109, f.55^{r}.[144] See also ll.1002 – 28 in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, for a Middle English version of this statute.

114 – 45. Cheney, in the second part of his article, notes that these statutes, concerned with reserved cases, are attributed incorrectly "in some fourteen texts, none earlier than the late fourteenth century" to Stephen Langton. Such is the case, for example, in de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi* in BL MS Royal 11Bx, f.66^{r}. While Cheney dismisses the attribution to Langton, neither does he confirm the attribution to Wynchelsee found in the set of statutes accompanying the *Sacerdos Parochialis*, stating that the origins of the statute are "unknown."[145] A similar, but not identical statute, can be found in the *Summula* of Peter Quivel or Quinel, (archbishop of Exeter 1280 – 91).[146]

146 – 54. This statute is also found in *Pupilla Oculi*, BL MS Royal 11Bx, f.64^{v}.

155 – 67. Statute 7 of Pecham's 1281 Lambeth Council, found also in the *Oculus Sacerdotis*, BL MS Royal 6E1, f.65^{r}.[147]

168 – 87. These two statutes on the payment of mortuaries are incorrectly attributed to Langton, both here and in other fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts, and by later canonists such as Spelman and Wilkins.[148] A reference to "R. predecessoris" in an earlier part of the statute, not included in our manuscript, has been identified by Cheney as Robert Bingham 1238 – 46 indicating that the statute found here originated with Bishop Giles of Salisbury, 1257 – 62.[149] The first statute here (ll.168 – 78) is c.22 of the *1257 Synodal Statutes of Bishop Giles of Bridport for the diocese of Salisbury* (Salisbury IV).[150] The second statute (ll.179 – 78) is c.23, 'De Eodem' of the same *Synodal Statutes*.[151]

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[143] For an edited version of these Boniface's canons see Ibid., pt.2:795 - 97.
[144] Ibid., pt.2:792 - 4.
[145] Cheney, "Legislation," 400.
[146] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2: 1072 – 3.
[147] Ibid., 899 – 900
[148] Cheney, "Legislation", 398 – 400. See also Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1:550.
[149] Cheney, "Legislation", 399.
[150] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1:558 – 59.
[151] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1:559.

188 – 93. This statute is not found in Langton. According to Cheney the previous statute on mortuaries and this statute, on the care of trees in cemetries, quite frequently circulated together.[152] C.14 of Exeter II is similar, but not identical.[153]

194 – 212. While the origin of this statute is uncertain, Cheney indicates that it may have been "an informal utterance of" Pecham, but may have been reissued by Winchelsey in response to needs he perceived when he conducted metropolitan visitations in 1305. From a potential classification of six groups, the introductory paragraph "*iuxta. . . m. ccc. v.*" locates this version of the statute in the third group identified by Cheney. The other manuscripts with this precise introduction are late fourteenth, early fifteenth century: Philadelphia, Pa., Free Lib. Carson 4. xv c. (f.91^{r}); Oxford, Balliol College 301. Late xiv c. (f.119^{v}); Cambridge, Peterhouse 51 (ii). xv c. (f.25^{v}).[154] Walter Reynolds (archbishop of canterbury1313 – 27) may also have issued the statutes for his diocese.[155]

213 – 39. These statutes on tithe were particularly popular and, according to Powicke and Cheney, "occur in late collections which have other tithe material under strange and improbable ascriptions."[156] They ascribe the statute under discussion here and the following statute in this collection to Bishop Robert Bingham, dating them 1238 – 1244.[157] The many copies of the statute indicate its popularity: "Salisbury IV, c.44 and thence in Wells, c.77, Winchester III, c.63, Carlisle, c.75, York II, c.75, Exeter II, c.53."[158] In his article on "The so-called Statutes of Winchelsey," Cheney notes that the Winchelsey statute (no. 9 of his groups) differs from the Salisbury version of the statutes by its use of the word 'ammoniacionem' rather than 'appulsiones' found in the Salisbury statutes, indicating that the statute found here is derived from the Wells version of the statutes (1252 x 1258).[159]

240 – 45. This statute is almost identical with c.44 of Salisbury II. Powicke and Cheney mentions one other manuscript which falsely attributes both this and the aforementioned statute (c.43 of Salisbury II) to Robert Winchelsey: Bodleian, Wood empt. 23, f.159^{r}.[160]

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[152] Cheney, "The so-called Statutes", 19.
[153] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:1009 - 10
[154] Cheney, "So – Called Statutes", 25.
[155] See Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:1387 – 88, for an edited version of the statutes.
[156] Ibid., vol.2, pt.1:365 and 382.
[157] Ibid., 364.
[158] Cheney "So-called statutes", 28.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Powicke and Cheney, 365.

246 – 91. A text identical to this, dealing with reserved cases, occurs in vol. 186 of *Patrologia Latina* where it is attributed to Robertus Pullus.[161]

292 – 315. A list of feast days to be celebrated according to the Sarum use. *Pupilla Oculi* (BL Royal 11.x) contains a longer version of this statute on f.159^{v}, although it is attributed there to Simon Islip.

316 – 25. This introduction to *Sacerdos Parochialis* is an approximate translation of the introduction to Pecham's syllabus or of the ninth statute of his 1281 Lambeth statutes.[162]

325 – 51. The *Pater noster* is not found in Pecham's statute, but was common to many manuals of religious instruction. It was compulsory material for the laity to know after the IV Lateran Council of 1215. Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln (1235 – 53) instructed his parish priests to instruct the laity on the "orationem dominicam, et symbolum, et salutationem beate virginis."[163] The tradition of dividing the prayer into seven petitions goes back as far as Augustine. Each bidding or petition is a simple paraphrase or explication of the corresponding line in the *Pater Noster*. More complicated tracts on the *Pater noster* include material on the seven deadly sins, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the beatitudes.[164]

352 – 68. The *Ave Maria* in both Latin and English followed by a note on the importance of the name of Jesus. Pope Urban IV (1261 – 64) and Pope John XXII (1316 – 34), granted thirty days indulgence to those who said the name of Jesus at the end of the Hail Mary.[165] The *Ave Maria* was also compulsory 'doctrine' for the laity after the 1215 Lateran Council, although Pecham did not include it in his catechism.

369 – 73. This short verse is not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* and, to date, has not been found elsewhere. It is a typical verse, however, addressed to Mary in her capacity as mediator on behalf of humanity to God. Woolf observes that poems "on the compassion of the virgin" belong to the later Medieval period.[166]

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[161] Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 186, col. 1097c – d.
[162] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2: 900 – 1.
[163] Ibid., pt.1:269.
[164] For a discussion on the material included in the seven petitions of the *Pater noster* see Maurice Hussey, "The Petitions of the Paternoster in Mediaeval English Literature", *Medium Aevum*, xxvii, 8 – 16.
[165] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Holy Name of Jesus" available from http://www.newadvent.org/caten/07421a.html; Internet; accessed 22 February 2003. The Lambeth MS 408 version of *The Lay Folks' Catechism* makes reference to the indulgences to be obtained from saying the name of Jesus at the end of the *Ave Maria*, but only to refute the validity of the claims made by these Popes (Simmons, 13).
[166] For a discussion on similar lyrics see chapter 7 (239 – 80) in Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

374 – 80. A mnemonic device of two columns (Latin on the left; Middle English on the right) outlining the meaning of key words of the *Ave Maria*.

381 – 3. Another short diagram outlining three qualities of Mary: cleanness, meeknes and mercy. The tradition of attributing Mary with paradoxical qualities began with the fourth century doctrine which introduced Mary as the Mother of God, *theotokos*.

384 - 91. A brief schema of three columns celebrating Mary. Here she is almost celebrated as a member of the Trinity because of her participation in the act of redemption.

Blessed	Women	in fruitfulness because the Virgin conceived and gave birth
	Men	in dignity of prelates because she was the Mother of God
Mary	Angels	in zealous duty because she breast-fed Christ
above	Lands	in usefulness of fruit because the first fruits of the earth had
all	Heaven	in immense capacity because the whole world

would not be able to receive such dignity, to make, to have and to breast-feed our Lord Jesus Christ who has everything, created everything and governs everything forever and ever. Amen.

392 – 402. In the following introduction to the Creed, the key points of Christian belief are outlined. There are three Gods in the one God. Christ was made man, born, suffered, buried, descended into hell, rose from the dead and ascended into heaven where he will judge all people. The introduction also includes a brief note on each of the three creeds (the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian) that played a central role in Christian teaching, from the fourth century. Spencer draws attention to the fact that "Grosseteste, and those bishops who borrowed from his Lincoln statutes," sought knowledge of the faith "as contained in all three creeds" from the Clergy and Laity.[167]

395 – 99. The first Creed mentioned here is the Apostles' Creed. Although St. Ambrose was the first to refer to the Creed as 'Symbol of the Apostles', the story of the formulation of the Creed is generally attributed to Rufinus Aquileus and his *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* (4th century). Augustine also wrote on this tradition in his *Sermo de symbolo*.[168] According to the tradition, the Creed was established by the apostles on Whit Sunday (Pentecost) after Jesus' ascension and

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[167] H. Leith Spencer, *Preaching,* f.n.65, 446. Powicke and Cheney, vol.2 pt.1: 268.

[168] For a brief outline of the history of the Creed see J. Neuner and J. Dupuis, eds, *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, (Maryland: Catholic Booksellers, 1972,) 1 – 31. The text of Rufinus Aquileus is available in Migne, *PL* 21 col. 335 – 86 and Augustine's treatise is available in Migne, *PL* 40, col. 1189 – 90.

before they began their preaching to the Jews and Gentiles. Starting with Peter, each apostle contributed a portion of the Creed. Curt Bühler, refuting a fixed pattern of attribution, established at least fifteen separate sequences and proposed that each locality had a preferred sequence.[169] Bowers, referring specifically to the *Fata Apostolorum* in the Vercelli Book and the *Credo in Deum Omnipotentem* in Bodley MS Junius 121, notes that the story behind the formulation of the Creed is not represented in the Old English tradition and yet, abounds in Middle English texts such as *The Lay Folks' Catechism*,[170] *Speculum Sacerdotale*, *De Festo Corporis Christi*, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt* and Stephen Scrope's *Epistle of Othea*.[171] The order of attribution followed in this version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* is similar to that noted by Bühler in *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*, Bodley MS Lat. th. C. 57, fol. 16^{v}.[172] Sr. Rita Mary Bradley, building on Buhler's work, notes that Wycliffite versions of orthodox texts such as *The Pore Caitif* reject explicitly the tradition of attribution.[173]

399 – 402. This brief synopsis of the history of the Creed refers to the controversies that troubled the fourth-century Church in their search for a 'true' declaration of Faith. The controversies centred around polytheism, and the origins and status of Christ as Saviour.[174] Arius' (bishop of Alexandria, d.336) "denied the equality of the Son with the Father."[175] At the Council of Nicene, his position was rejected in favour of the Creed of Athanasius (bishop of Alexandria, d.373) in which the Divinity of Christ, the Son, was accepted as one with the Divinity of God, the Father.[176] Despite the triumph of the Athanasian Creed, also known by its incipit *Quicumque Vult*, the controversy continued until once again a slightly adapted form of the 325 Creed was promulgated and accepted in 381 at the council of Constantinople. Not only was Christ's dual nature asserted, but the questions surrounding the status of the Holy Spirit were also addressed.[177] The Symbol of the Apostles eventually made its way

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[169] Curt Bühler, "The Apostles and the Creed," *Speculum* 44 (1953): 335 – 39.
[170] It is only the Lambeth MS version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* that includes any reference to the three creeds, and there only to reject them, "Ther be þre credys in þe chirche. Crede of þe apostelys. *and* Crede of þe chyrche. and Crede of attansy, þat was a gret doctour." (Simmons, 14). The Thoresby version is divided into fourteen articles and does not mention the apostles(Simmons, 22).
[171] R.H. Bowers, "Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles Creed," *PMLA* 70 (1955): 210 – 222.
[172] Bühler, 336 – 37.
[173] Sr. Rita Mary Brady, "The Apostles and the Creed in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitif*," *Speculum* 44 (1953): 323 – 25. See also Spencer, 226.
[174] Hans Kung, *The Catholic Church: A Short History*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2001),
[175] Neuner and Dupuis, 6.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 9.

into the Liturgy of the Western Church, with slight adaptations, where it became the standard form of the Creed.[178]

403 – 436. The Middle English version of the Creed laid out here is given in fourteen parts; it is the Apostles' Creed rather than the Liturgical/Nicene Creed.

437 – 72. A five-part schema in which the central action of each article of the creed forms the first column, and the actual words of the *Credo* in Latin form the second column. The third column links an apostle to each of the parts of the *Credo* while the fourth and fifth link a prophet and his words (not always accurately) with each article. The words in the fifth column are from the Old Testament and predict the life, death and resurrection of Christ. For a list of apostles'names see Matt 10:2-5 and Acts 1:26 in which Mathias replaces Judas Iscariot.

Only three of the manuscripts (British Library MS Burney 356; Oxford MS Bodley 110 and British Library MS Harley 4172) of *Sacerdos Parochialis* attribute a portion of the creed to the apostles. All of them follow the same sequence of attribution for the first eight apostles: Peter, Andrew, Jacobus, John, Thomas, Jacobus the younger. The Burney and Harley manuscripts share the same sequence for the next two apostles: Philip and Bartholomew. Bodley 110 introduces Bartholomew in eighth place and Mathew in the ninth place respectively and he omits Philip altogether. There is some confusion hereafter, caused by the choosing of a thirteenth apostle, Mathias, to replace Judas Iscariot.[179] Bodley 110 and Harley 4172 include both Judas and Mathias. Bodley 110 omits Philip and Harley 4172 omits Simon. Only Burney 356 replaces Judas with Mathias so that the sequence of the remaining four apostles is: Mathew, Simon, Thadeus and Mathias. Bodley 110, in a display of complete incompetence, omits Mathew and instead includes Judas twice: Judas, Thadeus, Judas, Mathias. Harley 4172 lists the remaining four apostles: Mathew, Judas, Thadeus and Mathias. The confusion throws some doubts on Curt Bühler's theory of local attribution since the order of the apostles in each of these manauscripts is hardly deliberate, but rather a result of scribal confusion or error.

The schema is found regularly in manuscripts containing pastoral material. It has been

437 – 39: "qui terram fecit" corresponds to Jeremiah 51:15

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[178] On the *filioque* issue (whether the Holy Spirit "proceeds" from the Father and the Son or just the Father) a significant cause of the division between the East and West, see Neuner and Dupuis, 10 – 11.
[179] Acts 1: 23 – 26.

440 – 2: Psalm 2:7

443 – 5: Isaiah 7:14

446 – 8: Zechariah 12.10, except that in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 'cruxiferunt' reads 'confixerunt'.

449 – 51: Hosea 13:14

452 – 4: Amos 9:6

455 – 7: Not Zephania, but Malachi 3:5

458 – 60: Joel 2: 28

461 – 3. The exact reference is unknown, the closest is Psalm 98:6. Translation: All will call the name of God, and that they may keep to him.

464 - 6. Exact reference unknown. Translation: God forgives all our sins.

467 – 9. Ezekiel 12

470 – 72. Not Ezekiel, but Daniel 12.2.

473 – 79. John of Metz was a Franciscan theologian of the thirteenth century best known for his *Speculum Theologie*. The concordance found in these lines and the concordance of the ten commandments, ten plagues and ten abuses are derived from his *Speculum*. However, these concordances were very common in manuals containing religious material. One of the best known examples is that found in *The Psalter of Robert Lisle*.[180] The concordance of the twelve apostles is found on p. 46 of the Sandler edition, f.128 of the original manuscript, although in that manuscript the apostles are listed to the left and the prophets to the right. MS 416 of the Beinecke Collection in Yale University Library also contains these concordances. On f.2^{r}, for example, the Table of 12 articles of the faith (concordance of Credo, Apostles and Hebrew Prophets) and, on f.4^{v}, Table of ten commandments, ten plagues and ten abuses is descriptive of two schemas in this manuscript.[181] The Yale manuscript was once in the possession of a Cistercian Monastery in Dusseldorf, lending strength to the argument that the Burney manuscript may also have been produced in a monastic setting.

480 – 89. The schema outlined here links the ten plagues of Egypt (Exodus 7: 14 – 11:11) to each of the ten commandments. This association dates back at least as far as Augustine.[182] For an example of a Latin, thirteenth-century rendering of the tradition

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[180] Lucy Freeman Sandler. *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library.* London: H. Miller, 1983.
[181] http:// wetext.library.yale
[182] Migne, *PL* 38, 67 – 72. Augustine *Serm* viii.

see Thomas Chobham's *Summa Confessorum*; for a version possibly contemporaneous with *Sacerdos Parochialis* see the Middle English manual of religious instruction, *Memoriale Credencium.*[183] See also p. 126 of the Sandler edition of the *Psalter of Robert of Lisle*.

First, red water	because they did not believe in God.
Second, plenty of frogs	because they blasphemed the name of God.
Then, severe gnats	because they held the Sabbath in contempt.
After these horseflies passed through there	because they disobeyed their parents.
Five, cattle died	because they killed saints.
Six, boils were made	because they intended to steal.
Soon hail followed	because they did not abandon fornication.
After, locusts with cruel teeth	because they did not bring forth truth.
Nine, he covered the sun	because they committed adultery.
Last, he killed the first of the people	because they submitted to avarice.

490 – 560. The ten commandments of the Old Testament are found in Exodus 20:1 – 17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1 – 22. The ten commandments in *Sacerdos Parochialis* are an abbreviated form of the ten commandments found in the *Oculus Sacerdotis.*[184]

515. Burney 356 is the only manuscript (including the variant forms of *Sacerdos Parochialiis* Pembroke 285, Additional 10053 and Rawlinson D913 manuscripts) to not include references to usury [oker in the manuscripts], treachery and false measures at this point. The Rawlinson D913 manuscript provides the most extensive list.

522. Burney 356 and Harley 4172 do not include the list of goods that may be withheld from a man. All of the other manuscripts, including the Pembroke 285, Additional and Rawlinson D913 manuscripts include this list.

561 – 71. A three-column schema outlining the relationship between the ten commandments, ten vices and ten common 'abuses'.

Ten commandments	**The Ten Vices**	**TheTen Abuses of the people**
Believe in one god	Against idolatry	People made idols.
To swear vainly by Him	Against swearing	They swore iniquitously by God
Keep holy the sabbath	Against the contemptuous	They dishonour the sabbath.
Honour parents	Against disobedience	They spurned their own parents

[183] F. Broomfield, ed., *Thomas Chobham: Summa Confessorum*, Analecta Medievalia Namurcensia, no.25, (Louvain: nauwelaerts, 1968), 33ff; J.H. Kengen, J.H. ed. *Memoriale Credencium.* (Nijmegen UP, 1979), 37 – 41 and nn. 237 – 8.

[184] See *Oculus Sacerdotis, Dextera Pars, De Decem Mandatis* f.33^{r} -34^{r}

You may not be of the murderers	Against murderers	They killed saints.
You may not be of thieves	Against thieves	You shall not commit theft
You may not be of the lewd	Against fornicaters	They spread lewdness
You may not be of evil witness	Against false witness	Evil is testified
You may not be in your neighbour's marriage bed	Against adultery	They commit adultery.
And from his things keep away.	Against usurers	Finally, they commit usury.

525 – 6. *non dimittat peccatum . . . ablatum.* See *Oculus Sacerdotis*, BL MS Royal 6Ei, f.33^{v}. This note from Augustine on the importance of restitution is found only in the Burney 356 versions of the ten commandments. It seems to be a popular quote; it is included in the chapter on the ten commandments in *Speculum Christiani.*[185] The quote is found several times in the patristics, but seems to have originated in Augustine's 54th letter, addressed to the Macedonians.[186]

533 – 60. The two great commandments or the two evangelical commandments as they were sometimes called are to be found in Matthew 22: 37 – 40. Only in the Burney 356 do the two commandments occur after the ten commandments; in all other manuscripts they occur after the seven principal virtues and before the seven sacraments. In *Oculus Sacerdotis*, the two great commandments follow the ten commandments and are phrased almost exactly as here. See BL MS Royal 6Ei, f.34^{r}.

572 – 602. A diagram outlining the four 'soldiers' of each of the seven deadly sins unique to the Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The schema does not have a basis in Pecham's manual, in Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* nor in de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*. The Latin of the schema does not always follow a consistent grammtical pattern, as if the scribe chose phrases from various texts and pieced them together without any consideration for smoothness of expression.

Pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, greed and lust. And which ever of them you have, you have these four soldiers. The soldiers of pride

Boasting impiety	
Pretence of knowledge	The soldiers of jealousy are these:
Presuming exaltation	Boasting, pretending, presumption, prideful resistance

[185] Holmstedt, 33 l.7.
[186] *PLD* vol.161, 803 and 804.

Resistance of correction

Detracting of good
Hate of prosperity
Stealing maliciously
Dislike of piety

The soldiers of envy are these:
Envy, the hater, murmurer, adversary

Contentious scolding
The shouting of abuse
Inclination to blasphemy
Provocation of murder

The soldiers of wrath are these:
he scolds, shouting, he swears, provokes wrath.

The lying of treachery
False swearing
Hardness of obstinacy
Greedy withholding

The soldiers of sloth are these:
Extravagant, and false swearing, obstinate, greedy

Efforts of lawsuits
Fear of taking possession
Horror in sharing
Sadness in letting go

The soldiers of greed are these:
he works, he fears, he is horrified, he sorrows of all greed

Poisonous loquaciousness
Uncleanness of diversions
Leaving of the senses
Stench in noses

The soldiers of greed are these:
loquaciousness, uncleanness, drunkeness, that stinks with gluttonous

Bodily excesses
Ensnarement in hell
Weakening of the gut
Being cut off from the world

The soldiers of luxury are these:
Excess, Ensnarement, Weakness, Ending.

603 – 09. Woolf discusses the tradition in which each of the seven deadly sins is opposed to each of the seven blood-sheddings of Christ.[187] She remarks that the strength of the analogy lay in its ability to facilitate meditation on particular moments of Christ's life, although there was an essential weakness: "there remained the [. . .] poetical problem of total lack of congruity between the pairs."[188] The pairs of opposites found here focus only on moments from Christ's passion. There is a direct relationship between each of the wounds and each of the sins. A similar analogy is found in a Middle English unprinted poem known as the *Passion section of John Grimestone's preaching-book.*[189] Woolf notes that in Grimestone's poem "a successful attempt has here been made to relate the antitheses poetically: the angry man with his arm raised to strike must remember Christ's right hand nailed to the cross; the covetous man as he snatches what he should have must remember Christ's left hand; the slothful man, who will never persevere, must remember Christ's feet nailed to the cross."[190]

Crown on the head	Pride		haughty,[191]
Spear in the side	Envy		body and heart afflicts
Whips on the body **conquers**	Lust	**that**	rises from the voluptuousness of the flesh
Sponge in the mouth	Greed		rises from the taste of sweetness and greediness of the mouth
Nail in the right hand	Anger		is prepared to fight.
Nail in the left hand	Greed		is prepared to receive.
Nails in the feet	Sloth		is the dregs of all the vices.

610 – 45. A simple treatise on the seven deadly sins in which each sin is defined and the branches of each sin are listed. The material here is so commonplace that it is difficult to establish an exact relationship between the tract on the seven deadly sins in the *Dextera Pars* of *Oculus Sacerdotis.*[192]

646 – 9. A brief schema in which each of the seven deadly sins is associated with a wound of Christ's passion.

Verses on the seven sins and the seven pains of God.

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[187] As there were only five wounds inflicted on Christ during his passion, a tradition of "seven blood-sheddings" emerged which included: the circumcision, the bloody sweat, the scourging, the imposition of the crown of thorns, the wounds in the hands, the wounds in the feet, and the spear thrust in the side." See Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 225.

[188] Woolf, 225.

[189] Ibid., 228.

[190] Ibid., 229.

[191] It was difficult to establish the writer's intent at this point in the manuscript. His expansions are ambiguous. He is obviously referring to the head, possibly speaking of haughtiness of expression

These are pride, [****](the exact word is not clear); greed: sponge, spear: of envy.
Whips on the flesh, nails three; anger, plundering and sluggishness.
In the right hand: a whore; at the foot giving battle, six at a time.[193]

650 – 57. The seven spiritual works of Mercy do not occur in Pecham's syllabus, nor in Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*. *Pupilla Oculi* includes them on f.166^{v} after the seven corporal works of Mercy. A tradition of reading Matt 25:31 – 46 allegorically existed from the time of Origen (184 - 254), but it was Augustine who first introduced the idea of two parallel forms of works of mercy.[194] The precise number of seven was not established until Thomas Aquinas. The spiritual works of mercy are not usually cited independently and are normally reserved to the clergy or religious who may not always have the fiscal means to provide corporally for the needy. They are unique to the Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Individual references can also be cited for individual works as, for example, *Peccanti dimittere*. . see Matt. 6:5; *Peccanti corrigere*. . . see Matt.18:15.

658 – 67. All seven works of corporal mercy are found in Pecham's syllabus, but there, as in *Oculus Sacerdotis* f. 33^{v}, the first six are correctly attributed to Matthew 25: 31 – 46, and the last to the Book of Tobias.[195] In most manuals of religious instruction (including other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*) the seventh work of mercy - to bury the dead - is usually integrated into the rest of the works without an explicit reference to Thobias.

668 – 77. The passage in Latin (in the right-hand column and the bottom lines) promises eternity to those who do these things i.e. the deeds of mercy. A translation is supplied in lines 673 – 7. The ideas contained therein are from Matthew 25: 31 – 46, which is usually cited as the origin of the seven works of mercy. Lines 668 – 72 are a short Latin poem based on the works of mercy:

You ought to give food to the begging; drink to the thirsty;
You ought to cover the naked, enclosing wanderers also exposed;
To the enclosed, comfort; to the sick you give medicine
so that the dead want not. Your care do not refuse because your kingdom is already prepared for you since the beginning of the world.

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[192] See BL MS Royal 6E.1 ff.
[193] The meaning "sena" in this context is unclear as there are seven, not six, vices to fight.
[194] Augustine *PL* 32, 52 – 8. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* vol. 10
[195] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:904. Thobias 12:13.

678 – 708. Seven principal virtues or the seven cardinal virtues can be divided into two groups of three and four respectively. The first group pertain to God - Faith, Hope and Charity - and have a scriptural basis, 1Cor. 13:13; the later four seem to have their origin in Greek writings on the state, such as Plato.[196]

694. Burney 356 is the only manuscript (including the variant forms Pembroke 285 and Additional 10053) to include the 'almes dede doynge' in the fourth virtue. At this point of the treatise, Rawlinson D913 manuscript differs considerably from other forms of the *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

709 – 896: The tract on the seven sacraments is primarily derived from William Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The tract on the sacraments in John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* and in Caxton's *Quattuor Sermones* is also derived from Pagula. In the following lines, I have included the appropriate reference to *Oculus Sacerdotis* (from British Library MS Royal 6E.1) and to *Instructions for Parish Priests* and *Quattuor Sermones*.[197]

709 – 10. A brief introduction to and a list of the seven sacraments. *Sacerdos Parochialis* does not distinguish between the sacraments which have universal application and those that are chosen only by some (marriage and ordination), as does Pecham in his chapter on the sacraments. Pagula and Caxton, in the *Quattuor Sermones*, follow Pecham in making the distinction between the two groups of sacraments.[198]

710 – 81. These lines are also found in *Quattuor Sermones* (37: 3 – 38:15), although *Quattuor Sermones* does not include the Latin rubric. The note on baptism in Mirk's *Instructions* (ll.77 – 84) contains some of the material on lay baptising found here, but interrupts the instructions on baptising to give 'medical' advice on what to do in the case of an emergency.[199] The advice on the ritual continues on ll.125 – 87.

718. *Modus forma . . .mortis.* Pecham, c.1 'De Baptismo', insists that the laity need to know how to baptise a child in danger of death and includes the baptismal formula in Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Latin for the purpose of lay baptism.[200] See also *Oculus Sacerdotis* BL Royal 6E.1 f.25^{r}, col.1. "Et si quis puerum ter in aqua

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[196] St. Augustine, Migne, *PL* XV 1653.
[197] Comaprison of the *Instructions* is complicated by the repetitious nature of that tract. The references are to line numbers, not to page numbers. References to *Quattuor Sermones* are to page numbers and to line numbers.
[198] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, p.t2: 905.
[199] The numbers after *Instructions* refer to the line numbers of Kristensson's edition.
[200] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:897.

merserit et dixerit in nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti . . . Et sciendus est quod forma verborum data ab ecclesia in baptismo omni modo est seruanda et non potest quid baptizari cum alio liquore quam cum aqua . . ." On the item, advising women to be shriven before giving birth, see *Oculus Sacerdotis*, BL Royal 6E.1, f.25^{v}, col. 2 where the item is included under 'Easter duty'. "Item proponere debet quod mulier pregnans confiteatur a sacerdote propter periclum quod dona sic in pariendo . . ."

733 - 4. ***Quod pater. . .necessitate.*** *Instructions* ll.135 – 40. See *Oculus Sacerdotis* BL Royal 6E.1 f.25^{r}, col.1, "Secundo proponere debet inter parochianos suos quod et non solum presbiteri verum quicumque alii clerici et laici et pater et mater absque preiudico copule coniugale in forma ecclesie . . ."

737 - 40. ***Vt pueri . . . fontis.*** Both the Latin and Middle English is missing from *Quattuor Sermones*. *Instructions* ll.141 – 8. See *Oculus Sacerdotis* BL Royal 6E.1 f.25^{r} col.1, "Trio monere debet parochianos quod pueri nati per viij dies totum ante paschum vel pentecosten minori tempore debent reseruari ad baptizandum in sabbato sancto pasche vel pentecoste et absque periculo mortis valeant reseruari . . ."

740 - 5. ***Quod compatres. . . Deum.*** Advice on the responsibilities of god parents found also in *Instructions* ll.151 – 54 and *Quattuor Sermones* 37:29 – 33. See *Oculus Sacerdotis* f.25^{r}, col.1, "Item. . .viri et mulieres qui suscipiunt pueros in baptismo sunt per illis apud deum fideissores et ideo debent semper ammonere vt castitatem custodiant, iusticiam diligant, caritatem teneant, et ante omnia, symbolum et oracionem dominicam docere . . . ."

746 – 50. See *Instructions* ll.164 – 6 for similar instructions advising godparents who have brought children to the sacrament of baptism not do so again in the sacrament of confirmation. *Quattuor Sermones* includes parents, but not godparents in this prohibition. See *Oculus Sacerdotis* f. 25^{r} col.1, "Et qui suscipiunt pueros de sacro fonte non debent tenere eos in confirmacione nisi cogente necessitate."

750. ***Ne pueri iacceant. . .custode.*** See *Instructions* ll.216 – 221 and *Quattuor Sermones* 37:36 – 38:1 for similar advice on the care of young children. See *Oculus Sacerdotis*, f.25^{r} col.1, "Item monere debet parochianos ne pueros tenellos secum in vno lecto collocent ne quilibet negligentia suffocent vel oppriment eos . . . "

754 - 81. ***Cognacione spirituali.*** *Quattuor Sermones* lists only nine ways of spiritual kinship; they differ a little from those presented here. See *Instructions* for a slightly interpretation of ll.167 – 87. The article on spiritual kinship in *Oculus Sacerdotis* is fairly close to that presented in diagrammatic form in British Library MS Burney 356.

See *Oculus Sacerdotis* f.25^{r} col.2: "Et Sciendum est quod inter .x. personas contrahitur cognacio spiritualis per baptisum videlicet inter baptizatum et illum qui eum suscipit de baptismo. Item inter baptizatum et filios suscipientes de baptismo. Item inter eundem baptizatum et vxorem suscipientis ante susceptionem carnaliter cognitam ab eodem suscipiente. Item inter suscipientem et patrem baptizati. Item inter suscipientem et matrem baptizati. Item inter baptizantem et baptizatum. Item inter baptizatum et vxorem baptizantis prius cognitam ab eodem. Item inter baptizantem et patrem baptizati. Item inter baptizantem et matrem baptizati et sic .x. mod contrahitur cognacio spiritualis per baptism et talis cognacio impedit matrimonium et dirimit post contractum.

782 – 95. ***Secundum. . . confirmacio.*** *Quattuor Sermones* 38:16 – 28. The order of instructions in *Quattuor Sermones* is not the same as here. There are other differences also: the age at which a child is to be confirmed is a year rather than the five years found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Likewise, the child's head may be washed after three days, not the seven stated in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. On the other hand, *Sacerdos Parochialis*, unlike *Quattuor Sermones*, does not include the formula for the rite of confirmation. This item, instructing the confirmed not to wash their foreheads for seven days, is not found in the opening section of *Dextera Pars*, but in the longer section on the sacraments. Instructions on the sacrament of confirmation occur later in Mirk's *Instructions* on ll.643 – 674. See *Oculus Sacerdotis*, BL Royal 6E.1, f.30^{r}, col.2, "Item nota quod confirmatus secundum vsum commendationem per vij dies debet se obseruare a locione capitis et fronte . . . Item dicit hugo de sancto victoriio seruare in capite . . ."

796 – 809. ***Tercium . . .penetiencia.*** See *Quattuor Sermones* 38:29 – 41:27 for a more detailed treatment of the sacrament of penance than that found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Innocent III instituted the sacrament of penance as an annual obligation at the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council. The treatment of the sacrament of penance is very brief, and factual, in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. It summarises the key points found in *Oculus Sacerdotis*, or in any penitential manual. The three essential components to the sacrament of penance are included in a simple, straightforward manner: contrition, confession and satisfaction. Issues such as age, frequency, and method are explained succinctly. It was not possible to establish a direct link between material on the sacrament of penance in *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

810 – 30. ***Quartum . . .eukaristia.*** *Quattuor Sermones* 41:28 – 34 and 42:6 – 25. *Quattuor Sermones* has included some details on the appropriate age at which one ought to receive the Eucharist not found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. See also *Instructions* ll.242 – 329.

816 – 23. *Ne laici credant. . . calice.* Instructions on the Eucharist including details on: Christ's presence in the wine; the nature of the consecrated bread and how the communicant must not let the host touch his or her teeth. These instructions are all present in Pecham's 1281 statutes c.1, 'De custodia eukaristie'.[201] In *Oculus Sacerdotis*, f25^{v}, col. 2, the instructions on the respect for the sacrament are almost identical to those found in Pecham and in *Sacerdos Parochialis*[202]: "Item debet sacerdos parochialis frequenter docere plebem suam vt . . . , eleuatur hostia . . . reverenter flexia genibus . . . sorbere dentium."

823 – 8. A similar passage on the benefits of receiving and seeing the Eucharist is found in Mirk's *Festial*, in the sermon "On the Feast of Corpus Christi," where the passage is attributed to St. Augustine.[203] However, I have not been able to trace the passage in Augustine. A list of the benefits of the sacrament is also included in *Oculus Sacerdotis*, (BL Royal 6E1, ff 25^{v} col. 2 - .26^{r}, col. 1), but essentially this passage is derived from Augustine. "Et ad in ducend [*sic*] parochianos ad videndum frequenter et . . . inter parochianos publicare quod qui cumque corpus christi videre desiderat hec sequat per merito habebit per Augustine in libri de *Civitate Dei*: cibaria necessans conceduntur videnti eodem die, iureamenta ignorata debitur eodem die, luminem occlorum [*sic*] non amittur eodem die, mors subitaneum non occurit eodem die, et quandum missam audierit non senestet quilibet passus videmus corpus christi . . .

828 – 30. This line is of particular relevance, at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth in the light of the Lollard's rejection of the traditional teaching on transubstantiation. The line does not occur in Pagula.

831 – 47. ***Quintum . . .vncio.*** See *Quattuor Sermones* 42:26 – 34 for an abbreviated treatment of the sacrament of extreme unction. See also *Instructions* ll.1699 – 1732. *Sacerdos Parochialis*, like the *Oculus Sacerdotis*, has incorporated a popular

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[201] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:895.
[202] Ibid.
[203] T. Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial: A collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus*. EETS, es 96 (1905): 169 – 70.

interrogatory formula used to examine the faith of the dying person.[204] The formula has been traditionally attributed to Anselm, but was commonplace among medieval manuals of religious instruction throughout Europe. See also *Instructions* 1699 – 48. The sacrament of extreme unction is not included in the introductory section of the *Dextera Pars* in the *Oculus Sacerdotis*. However, the treatment of the sacrament in *Sacerdos Parochialis* is quite obviously an abbreviation of the treatment of that sacrament as it occurs in the later part of *Dextera Pars*.

831 – 34. *Oculus Sacerdotis* f.31^{v} col.2 "Istius sacramentum extreme vnccionis quod dicitur oleum infirmorum statutum est ad remissionem peccatorum et ad corporalis infirmitatis alleuiamentum . . ."

834 – 47. f.31^{v} col. 2 "Anselmus bone [*sic*] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis dicit quod infirmus languens in extremitatis. . ."

848 – 54. ***Sextum. . .ordo.*** See *Quattuor Sermones* 42:35 – 43:39 for a much expanded version of the section found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Mirk does not expand on the sacrament of ordination. Neither the introductory section nor the main body of *Dextera Pars* is the source of the material found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Information on the sacrament of ordination was not considered necessary to the laity. See *Oculus Sacerdotis*, f.32^{r} col.1, "Sextum sacramentum est ordo . . . et quia illud sacramentum non pertinet ad laycos de hoc sacramento nullum hic tango.

855 – 61. ***Septum . . . spousalia.*** See *Quattuor Sermones* 44:1 – 23. In *Quattuor Sermones*, the treatment of the sacrament of marriage has been abbreviated to omit material that would only have been of relevance to the clergy. On the reading of the banns see *Instructions* 195 – 215.

861 - 74. Rite of marriage. ***Interrogationes ad hostium...*** This formula is not found in *Quattuor Sermones*, nor could I find it in *Oculus Sacerdotis*. However, the ritual seems to be a standard one and is similar to that found in the *York* and *Sarum Manuale*.[205]

873. The clause on 'bowxomness' or obedience is not found in the York ritual of marriage, "to have and to holde, at bedde and at borde, for fayrer for fouler, for better for wars, in sekenes and in helth, tyll dethe us departe."[206] On the other hand, the *Sarum Manuale* is not identical to the formula found here, but it does contain the

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[204] See, for example, *Manuale ad usum Sarum* in Henderson, 110*; Maskel 357 – 58 in which are found two extra interrogations not found here.
[205] Henderson, 27.
[206] Henderson, 27.

clause on obedience, "to be bonere and buxum in bedde and atte borde, tyll dethe vs departe."[207]

883 – 96. ***Quinque modis potest homo peccare.*** Not found in *Quattuor Sermones*. While an exact source for these lines is not available in either the introductory section or the main part of *Dextera Pars* of *Oculus Sacerdotis*, Pagula does include a list of offences for which "*vir tenet reddere debitum carnale*" (f.32^{v} col.1 – 2). The order of sins varies from text to text, but the content is similar. The offences in the *Oculus Sacerdotis* are: (i) *voluntate* or to 'know' his wife only for the purposes of preventing incontinence which is but a venial sin; (ii) the 'sin against nature', which is included in *Sacerdos Parochialis* under the subtitle '*modo*'; (iii) to fornicate at the 'wrong' times such as on fast days and on the eve of feast days. *Sacerdos Parochialis* deals with this offence under the subtitle '*tempore*'; (iv) to fornicate in the wrong place such as holy places, except in times of war when people may be sheltering in sacred places such as churches; (v) to practise contraception, (vi) to have sex while a woman is menstruating.

The note on the dignity of the sacrament is mentioned briefly in *Dextera Pars*, although it is not stated as explicitly here. In the introduction to the sacrament on f.32^{r} col. 1, Pagula notes that the sacrament was the first to be instituted in paradise, "*primo institutum in paradiso*."

897 – 914. ***De quinque sensibus. . .*** A common tract, warning of the sinful nature of the body, and in particular of the senses, but not found in the *Dextera Pars*, or elsewhere in *Oculus Sacerdotis*.

915 – 21. A three-column schema in which each of the sacraments is linked with one of the principal virtues, the first column of which is written in Latin, the second in Middle English.[208]

922 – 1139: Most manuals of religious instruction, particularly those intended for clergy included a set of excommunicable offences to be read throughout the year. In both *Oculus Sacerdotis* and the *Pupilla Oculi*, these sentences of excommunication are included in a number of places: (i) under the list of cases reserved to either the bishops or Pope i.e. those sins that cannot be forgiven by a 'simple priest' in both texts, (ii) at the beginning of the *Dextera Pars*, from which much of the material found in *Sacerdos Parochialis* is culled, and (iii) in a much abbreviated manual found

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[207] Henderson, 19*.
[208] A similar schema is found in Oxford, MS Trinity 7, f.44^{r}

after the *Pupilla Oculi*, but covering similar material.[209] As Pickering has noted in his study of Middle English forms of the sentence, these sets of sentences form distinct arrangements, the classification of which may assist in identifying the relationship of various texts.[210] The sets of excommunication found here are not exact replicas of the sets found in the copies of either *Oculus Sacerdotis* or *Pupilla Oculi* at this editor's disposal. However, there is enough similarity to suggest that the arrangement of the material found accompanying the *Sacerdos Parochialis* may have, at one time, been influenced by the arrangement of material found in the earlier Latin texts.

Pickering includes this form of excommunication and list of excommunicable offences under group 2 of his collection of excommunications.[211] This set of excommunications has been edited using British Library MS Burney 356 as a base text and including variants from Bodleian Library MS Bodley 110 and Bodley MS 736; Oxford Trinity College MS F.7; British Library MS Harley 4172.

922 – 42. A standard introduction to the sentence of cursing, explaining the need to instruct the people in the sentence of excommunication four times in the year, explaining the effect of excommunication on the guilty, encouraging the people to repentance and, finally, cursing those who are guilty.

943 – 74. The offences listed in these lines concern attacks on the freedom of the church, whether of its individual ministers, its property or its rights. The spirit of the statute is contained in item one, chapter ten of Pecham's 1281 Lambeth statutes, but the Middle English translation is not an exact translation.[212] The offences listed in these lines and in the following pages are supported by references to Roman Canon Law such as the *Liber Extra* and the *Clementines*.[213] The occasional references to English Provincial Legislation are not always accurate.

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[209] BL MS Royal 11 Bx ff. 174^{v} – 76^{r}.

[210] 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, 229.

[211] Ibid., 230 – 32. Pickering argues that this version of the sentence of excommunication was one source of the version of the sentence found in a manuscript of John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Cotton MS Claudius A.II. This claim, the shared passage on the Eucharist in John Mirk's *Festial* as well as the common source material from *Oculus Sacerdotis* opens up possibilities for further discussion on the exact nature of the relationship between the John Mirk's works and *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

[212] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2: pt.2: 905.

[213] The *Liber Extra* was a collection of decretals published in 1298 under the patronage of Pope Boniface VIII. The *Clementines* were promulgated by John XXII in 1317 and include decretals by Boniface VIII and Urban IV as well as by Clement V who wrote the majority of the canons contained therein (Brundage, 197 – 8).

958 – 60. The right of appointment to a benefice or temporality was a common cause of dispute between temporal and church leaders in the Late Middle Ages.[214]

965 – 8. Although the citation here points to the *Liber Extra*, incendiaries were among the list of excommunicates in Stephen Langton's 1214 statutes for Canterbury. Powicke describes these as "the earliest surviving set for any English diocese; they precede the Fourth Lateran Council."[215]

975 – 77. Cardinal Ottobuono visited England between October 1265 and July 1268. His statutes were, according to Powicke and Cheney, "the most important single collection of local law for the English Church. They were much copied and some parts were constantly cited by bishops in the course of their administration."[216] The statute is also found among Pecham's 1281 constitutions.[217]

977 – 82. The Church had licence to offer a safe haven to refugees, regardless of the latter's standing with the law of the land. This statute was very popular, found in Pecham's 1281 constitutions.[218]

988 – 90. See item 7, chapter 10 of Pecham's 1281 statutes. The church sought the 'protection' or assistance of the crown in imprisoning excommunicates.

991 - 96. The closest text to that found here is in the 1241 – 55 statutes of York, although these two statues, forbidding the destruction of trees on church grounds without permission of the local curate and interfering with the offerings for the church, are thought to be a later insertion.[219] 1306 is the suggested date.

1002 – 1010. Usury was one of the reserved cases and, as such, listed in the earliest English statutes among the excommunicable offences.[220] However, the expansion of usury to include all false business dealings seems to be a more recent invention.

1011 – 37. A very popular statute, this is an expanded translation of Archbishop Boniface(1241/5 – 70) on tithing.[221] See also the opening Latin statutes on lines 49 – 98 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

1047 – 8. Witchcraft or sorcery, like incest or burning buildings, was among the list of excommunicable offences in Stephen Langton's 1214 statutes for Canterbury.

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[214] For a fuller discussion on the dispute over the right of appointment to benefices in the fourteenth century see Pantin, 30 – 102.
[215] Powicke and Cheney, vol. 2, pt.1:23.
[216] Ibid., 739. For the statute as it appears in Ottobuono's legislation see page 764.
[217] Ibid., 907.
[218] Ibid.
[219] See Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1:484.
[220] Powicke and Cheney, vol. 2, pt.1:23.
[221] Ibid., vol.2:pt.: 794 – 7. There are numerous copies of this statute with various attributions. Pagula attributed to Boniface.

1049 – 52. Incest, or sex with nuns or clergy, was considered one of the most grievous sins and was often included in the list of reserved cases.[222]

1053 – 56. Although citing from Roman Canon Law, this statute, forbidding wrongful marriages, was common in English Provincial Legislation from the Council of Oxford, 1222.[223]

1056 – 60. Private weddings were forbidden under Canon Law. It is item 54 in Langton's 1214 statutes.[224]

1061 - 67. Those who maliciously impede the execution of wills were listed among excommunicates in Langton's statutes.[225]

1068 – 71. Slander was forbidden in English Provincial Legislation as early as the Council of Oxford in 1222.[226]

1087 – 90. Simony is included in the York statutes (1241 – 55), although it does not expressly forbid keeping company with thieves and robbers.[227]

1093 – 1097 & 1098 – 99. According to the IV Lateran Council of 1215, confession was to be made only to one's local curate unless a special licence was obtained. The statute reflects the constant tension in the late Middle Ages between local clergy and the mendicant friars over the rights to administer the sacraments.

1115 – 1128. These statutes focus on interdictment: a commandment by the Church forbidding the celebration of the sacraments in a particular church, parish or diocese. It is a further example of the tension that existed between the secular and the Church authorities on certain matters.

1133 – 39. Excommunication was a public punishment, social as well as religious. Moreover, it was considered to be contagious, making it essential for excommunicates to dress differently. G. R. Evans notes that from the eleventh-century, "that knowingly to associate with an excommunicated person (unless, as for a wife or a child, there was no avoiding it), was to become excommunicate oneself."[228]

1140 – 1249: This is a form of excommunication and list of excommunicable offences not included in any other version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. According to

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[222] See, for example, Pecham's 1281 Lambeth statute on "Solemn Penance" (Ibid., 899) or the 1287 *Summula* of Peter Quivel (Ibid., 1069).
[223] See Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.1: 107.
[224] Ibid., 34.
[225] Powicke and Cheney, vol.2, pt.2:33.
[226] Powicke and Cheney, vol. 2, pt.1: 107.
[227] Ibid., 492.
[228] G.R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 26.

Pickering, there are only two other versions of this set of excommunications to be found, one in British Library MS Arundel 130 and the other in Oxford Trinity College MS E. 86.[229] I have identified an almost identical set of excommunications in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 appended to the idiosyncratic form of *Sacerdos Parochialis* found in that manuscript, but not listed by Pickering.[230] The excommunications found in this edition are a transcript of the version found in British Library MS Burney 356 rather than an edition. **Ll.1148 – 9** are not found in Pembroke 285; **l.1183 – 4** "Also alle þat leggeþ hond in prest or clerke in malice. . . defendant" is found in **l.403** of Pembroke 285. **Ll.1135 – 84** seem to have been modelled on a set of excommunications found in both Pecham's 1281 statutes, Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*, and de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*.[231] The statutes, however, follow a different order thereafter.

1250 – 1344: A form of bidding prayers for the living, the opening lines of which are closest to that taken from *A Sarum Processional*.[232] A similar, but not identical, set is found at the end of *Quattuor Sermones*.[233]

1297 - 1326: A form of bidding prayers for the dead. A similar, but not identical set, is found at the end of *Quattuor Sermones*.[234]

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[229] Ibid., 237.
[230] Sarah Ogilive-Thompson lists the presence of the text in the Pembroke manuscript when indexing New College 292 in *IPMEP VIII*. See appendix one for a discussion on how the Pembroke sentence fits into Pickering's classification.
[231] See Powicke & Cheney, vol. 2, pt.2: 905 – 7.
[232] Henderson, 225*. See also Henderson, 123 – 7 & 219* - 6* for other forms of bidding prayers, but none of which correspond exactly to the set of bidding prayers found here.
[233] Blake, 86 – 89.
[234] Ibid., 89.

Chapter Two

The Variant Forms of *Sacerdos Parochialis*

Sacerdos Parochialis in British Library MS Additional 10053

[f.100r] *Sacerdos parochialis tenetur per / canones docere et predicare in lingua / materna in anno: septem / peticiones in oracione dominica, salutacionem beate Marie, / quatuordecim artic[u]los fidei contentos in simbalo, / decem precepta veteris testamenti, septem / mortalia peccata, septem virtutes principales, duo / precepta euangelica, septem sacramenta ecclesie, / excommunicaciones a canone latas sub forma que / sequitur addendo vel minuendo in singulis prout / Deus inspirauerit.*

Sequitur preces dominicales. / *Pater noster*. ȝe shul bileue that þe *Pater noster* þat / Crist him-silf tauȝt to alle cristen men / passith alle oþer prayers in these thre poyntis: / in auctorite, in sotelte and profite of alle holi chirche. / Hit passith in auctorite for Crist, bothe god and man / made hit for cristen men to use hit, and he (is)[235] most / of auctorite as oure bileue techith, and herefore / þe Gospell of Seint Mathew seyþ þat Criste / bade us pray þus *Pater noster*. Hit passiþ also / in sotelte for we shul vnderstonde þat in the / *Pater noster* beþ seuen askinges a-ȝenst seuen / dedly synnes forto receyue seuen giftes of / þe holigoste and bring vs to seuen maner blissis / of heuen. In þe whiche seuen askinges bith / soteliche conteyned alle þe poyntes of heuen / [f.100v]and erthe in whiche lieþ ony witte and so / shortli to comprehende so muchi witte in pleyn / wordis, hit is a sotelte of god passing [þe] witte of / man. Þe þirde point we shul suppose þat no / prayer in this worlde is more profitable to man, / se[y]þ Crist, hym-self hereþ and graunteþ alle þes / seuen askinges ȝef man haue perseuerauunse in / ful charite.

Þe first asking of þe *Pater noster* / stondiþ in these wordes, *Pater noster qui es / in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Oure fadir þat / art in heuenys halwed be þy name. Sum / men seyn þat þer beþ nyne heuenes for þe nyne / ordres of aungelis. Sum men seyn þat þer beþ / seuen heuenys for seuen maner of blisses, but / as the **Mayster of Stories** recordeþ vppon þe / first boke of holi writte, **Super Genisum,** þer beþ / but foure heuenes. Þer is an heuene þat is clepid /

[235] Inserted over the line

celum aereum, þe eir aboute us / and aboue us where þe birdis fleen as the / profite Dauid seyþ in þe Sauter Boke P°.8., "**Volucres /celi et pisses maris.**" Þe briddes of heuene and / fisshes of þe see. And Crist seiþ in þe Gospel / of Seint Luke, Luce .8,"**Aues celi commederunt /illud.**" "Þe briddes of heuen eten vp þe seede / þat a man sue." Þer is þe secunde heuen þe whiche / is clepid, n "**Celum sidereum uel ethereum**," The / clowdus and the firmanent where þe [sonne and mone] shynne / as holy writte seith, Genesis .i. "Fecit Deus duo / [f.101r]luminaria magna et posuit in firmanento celi. q" / "Almyghti god made twey bryght bodies sonne and / mone and set hem in the firmanent of heuen." / Þer is þe þirdde heuen þe whiche is clepid **celum / epireum** where angelis and holy sowles beþ in / blisse as holy writte seyth, *Genesis .i.* "**In principio, creavit** / **Deus celum et terram.**" "God made in þe bygynnyng / heuene and erthe." Þer is þe fourthe / heuen þe whiche is clepid celum super emporium / where þe holi trinite and oure ladi, Seint / Marie, beþ on hie magiste aboue alle angels. / Þus þe profite Isaye recordith þat when þe bright / Lucifer was wit oþer angels in heuen, in *celo / empireo*, he seyde þorowe highe pride, "**Ascendam / in celum et similis ero altissimo**," **Ysaie .xiiij.** "I / shall stie quod he into þe hiest heuen and I / shal be like almyghti god. In alle these heuenes / is oure lord be his rial presence þorow myght / and highe wisdom of his godhede. And þerfore / we praye þus, *Pater Noster qui es in celis. /*

Oure fadir þat art in heuene halowyd be / thy name. In whiche wordis we moten / lerne þat men worthi to be herd of god moten / be knytte in charite and mekenes of herte, / siþ þe holy trinite is fadir to vs alle and / holi chirche is [f.101v]oure modir, we shulde loue / to-geder as breþren and sustren. And sith god is so / highe in heuen a-boue al his angels and we biþ so / lowe in erthe wrappid wit so meny mischeues, / we shulde be reson be meke and buxum to þis / lord and mekely praie þat as his hie name is / holy in hym-self so be his name halwyd and / stedfast in oure soule. For whan oure soule was / made to þe likenes of þe holi trinite goddis (hy)[236] name was printid þer-inne.

In þe secunde / asking of þe *Pater noster* stondith in / þese wordes, *Adveniat regnum tuum.* / Thy rewme come to þe in-to þe blisse of / heuen. And as the furst askyng answerith / to þe sonne and to perfite hope of euerlasting / blisse,

[236] Inserted over the line.

for he is þat nobil man, as þe gospel / tellith, þat come down in-to erthe for to gete / hyme a rewme of his fadir, þe whiche is callid / holy chirche, that at the day of dome shal / go hens to heuen.

Þe þridde asking seiþ þus, / *fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.* / Be thi wille i-do as hit is falli in heuen so / be hit done in erthe. And þis þridde asking / answerith to þe holi gost and to perfite charite / for he is gode loue of þe fadir and of þe sonne. / And thow alle these askynges mote be fulfillid, / neþerless mannes sowle lift vp [in] charite / desireth to be hiȝed wit god, and [f.102r]that is a / prayer. Þus whe seyn blessed be god and oþer thyngis þat / nede mote be, þese thre askingis bith to þe holy / trinite, and therefor we shapen oure wordes onely / to god.

Þe fourþe asking of *Pater noster* is þis, / *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie.* Ȝif vs / oure eche dayes brede to-day. And thus may we / understond in thre maner wise as Seynt Austyn / seyþ, "Furst we askin our bodili fode to serue / god, oure fadir, (after)[237] we ask in þe sacrament / of þe aucter to haue mynde of oure fadir, / and aftir we askin goddis worde to fede / wit oure sowle." And for we haue nede of all þese / eche day þerfor we haue nede to askin oure / eche dayes brede and for we shulden be trewe / and et oure owne brede wit righthwisnes and / not wit wrong ete oure neyȝbores brede. Þerfor Crist techiþ us to aske of hym oure / brede. And for Crist wolde þat oure hope were / fechid in hym oure thowght and oure mynde / and oure desyre þerfore he byddyþ us aske / of hym thys mete þis day.

Þe fifte / askyng is seide in these wordis, *Et dimitte / nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimmittimus debitoribus / nostris.* For-ȝeve vs oure dettis as we don / oure dettours. Þe dettis þat we owen to god / beþ seruise that we owen to hym. [f.102v]As ofte / tyme as we fayelen we rennen in dette of / peynes. And but god forȝeve vs þe dette of oure / synne, we be not worthy to haue ought of oure (fadir)[238]. / And for god wole þat we loue oure breþeryn / he knytteth to a condicioun vnder whiche we / askyn þis loue þat he shuld forȝeue vs oure / dette as we forȝeuen oure dettours. Truste / we to oure fadir þat he wol punys vs, and / so we prayen oure highe iuge aȝens oure (owne)[239] hede. / But vndirstond we

[237] Inserted over the line.
[238] Inserted in the margin.
[239] Inserted over the line.

wel þat we may lawfulli / asken of oure breþeren dette of / erthely thyngis, but this askyng mote be / in resoun and charite and then it is for / loue and profite of oure neyȝebore. And here / we mote flee boþe rauncour and hate an[d] enuy / to oure neyȝebores wit oþer shrewyde castis. /

Þe sixte askyng of the *Pater noster* seith in / these wordes, "*Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem.*" / But oure fadire lede vs not into temptacioun. / Siþ hit is that Crist was tempted and god[240] / temptiþ man for loue. But hard it is and / greuous peyne to be lad unto temptacion whan / a man of his folie fallith into þe mire of dedly / synne rightful iugement of god wol suffre / hym to syn(c)ke in to disspeyre as seyþ **Seint / Gregory in his Morals**. And þerfore we prayen oure fadir / of his hie mercy þat he lede not vs into / temptacion leste we come neuer oute.

[f.103r] And her-fore / þe laste asking seyth in these wordis, "*Sed libera / nos a malo.* Amen." But gracious fadir delyuer vs / fro euel, þat is forto sey from the synne þat we / haue doo and fro þe peyne þat we haue deseruyd / þer-to. Þe first euel of þis worlde is wickidnes / of synne and þerfore for al þis worlde and al / þat is þer-inne shulde not a man do a dedely / synne. But sith sum synnes biþ miche worce / þan oþer, in þis last asking we prayen delyuerment / of þe worst. Þe worst is þe dedly synne / that a man dieth inne wit-outen repentaunce, / þat euer shal be punisshid and þat the gospel call / þe synne a(ȝenst)[241] the holigost. God for his grete mercy / kepe vs fro[242] þis euyl and þan shal we haue þe euer-lasting fredom of heuene. Amen for charite. /

Sequitur Salutacio Angelica / Aue Maria et cetera. Heyl be þou Marie ful / of grace. Oure lord is wit the. I-blessyd / be þou among alle wymen and blessyd be þat fruyte / of thy wombe, Ihesu. Amen. Seynt Iohann wit the / gylden mouþe seyþ þus, "Celum ridet, angeli gaudent, / mundus exultet, demones fugiunt, infernus contremestit / in salutacione angelica cum dicitur Ave / Maria." "Þe sowles of heuen lawhen for liking, / alle þe angelis biþ ioiful, þe worlde hathe mirthe / and prosperite, þe feendis fleyn from mannis sowle, / alle þe sowle(s)[243] of helle quaken for drede in the / angelis gretyng of

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[240] MS: god god
[241] Inserted over the line.
[242] MS: for
[243] Inserted over the line.

[f.103v] oure lady whenne we seyn / oure *Ave Maria*, Hayl Mari ful of grace. Seint / Ierom seiþ þat þe Archaungel Gabriel grete Marie / ful of grace, "*Quia gracia aliis sanctis per partes datur / Marie verbo simul se totam infudit gracie plenitudo.*" / "For þe holigost 3af his grace to oþer seintis but / be diuers parties of grace to Marie forsoþe he / 3af plentyuousenes of alle grace." Holy writte / telliþ þat þre persones were ful of grace, **Ihesus**, / Marie and Seynt Stephen. Ihesu is as miche for / to saye, as *saluator*, sauioure of mannis sowle. / Marie is as miche to seye after one interpretacion, / as *amarum mare*, þe bitter see, for þe bitter teris þat / she wepte for þe synne of man whan she say / hir blissyd sone die vppon þe crosse. Stephen / is as muche to sey after one interpretacion as, / "*norma vel regul(a)*[244] *recta*," "a right rule haue 3e" / þan wit Marie bitter teris and contricion of / herte. And namely for youre owne trespas, / rule 3owre-self aftir Seynt Stephen wit þe right / rule of ten comaundementis of god, so þat / 3e mow saue 3oure sowles wit Ihesu. And than / shul 3e haue plenteuousnes of grace and worthyly / grete oure lady, Marie and say "Hayle / Marie ful of grace and blessyd be þe swete / fruyte of thy blisful body Ihesu. Amen."

As / ofte tyme as þis name Ihesu is nempned, / euery cristen man is i-holde [f.104r] to do reuerens and worship / þerto. For oure lorde, þe Pope Vrbane þat was þe fourþ / of þat name, 3af thirty dayes of pardon to alle / þat beþ clene in sowele and i-shryue of here / mysdede, euer forto endure þat seyn þis worde / *Ihesus* in þe laste ende of here *Aue Marie*. And after-ward / oure lord, þe Pope Iohan þe two and twenty of / [þat] name, 3af and confermyd þerto to alle þat seyn / þis worde Ihesu in þe laste ende of here *Aue Maria* / other þirty dayes. So þat alle þat biþ clene / shriuen[245] and repentaunt of here misdedis, as ofte / as they seyn here *Aue Marie* wit þis word *Ihesus* / in the ende, þey haue sixti days to pardoun in / for-3euenes of here penaunce hem eniuned. So / þat þey seyne euery day (Oure)[246] Lady Sauter, þat ys / thries fifty shal euery day haue to pardoun four / and twenti 3ere and thirty wykes. And (so)[247] is the / summe of pardon in oo wike and hundreth 3ere / and sixti and twelve 3ife and grauntyd of / the two popes forsayde for euermore to endure. /

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[244] Inserted over the line.
[245] MS: shiruen
[246] Inserted over the line.
[247] Inserted over the line.

Sequitur Symbalum Fidei. / Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. / I beleue in god, fadir almighti, þe Maister / of Sentence seiþ, *3° s° di. 13. c° 4.* "Aliud est credere / in deum. Aliud credere deo. Aliud credere Deum." / "Sum men beleuen god, to god and in god." He / beleuyth god þat beleuyth þat god is [f.104v]lord and / maker and ruler of alle creatures in heuen and erthe / and helle. He beleuyth to god þat beleuth þat alle / þe wordes of god beth trewe in alle his lawe / olde and newe, in propheciis, in pistolis and holy / gospelis. He bel[e]uyþ in god þat louyth god ouer alle / thynge and his neyȝebore as hym-self. After þe / lawe of god what man kepyth þese thre poyntes / he oneliche may say wel, "**Credo in deum patrem omni / potentem**." "I beleue in god fadir almyȝti." Sum / beleuen god and to god, but not in god and so / beleuen alle the fendis and sowles[248] dampnyd / in helle and sum fals cristen men and wymen / here on erthe. As Seynt Iame seyþ in hys pistel, / **Iaco .2., "Demones credunt et contremescunt**." For / þow þey beleuen þat god is god and alle þe lawe / of god is trewe neuertheles, þey loue not god / ouer al thing. Sum beleuen god but (no)[t][249] to god, / neyþer in god, as Iewes and Sarasyns. For þow / þey beleuen þat god is god, þey beleuen nouȝt / that þe lawe (of)[250] god is trewe in holy gospellys / and epystolis þe whiche maken mynde of Cristis / ioiful incarnatioun, of hys peynful passioun, / and of his blessyd resurrecciouն. And so they / loued not god ouer alle thinge. Summe beleuen / neyþer god, ner in god, ner to god as Turkes / and oþer paynyns þe whyche beleuen neyther / þat [f.105r]god is maker of heuen and erthe ner / in þe lawe of god ner loue not god but worshippyd / diuerce creatures for her fals goddys. Þerfor, ȝe cristen / men, ouercomith not ȝoure neyȝbores wit myȝt and / power þat god hath sent ȝou, but spendyth ȝoure / strengthe in worship of the fadir of heuen and / releuyng of youre neyȝebores. Deseyuyth not / youre euen-cristen wit þe witte and wisdom / þat god hath lent ȝow, wit fals sleyþtys / þorow marchaundise in beying and sellyinge or / fals sotelteys of þe lawe, but counseyelith youre / neyȝebores to alle trewþe and louyth god ouer alle / thyng. And þenne shal eche of you trewely / sey to-fore god and man, "**Credo in Deum / patrem omnipotentem.**" "I beleue in god, fadir / almyȝti."

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[248] MS: solwles
[249] Inserted over the line.
[250] Inserted over the line.

In þese wordys biþ vndirstond foure thingis, / þe[251] first ariculis of þe riȝt-beleue þat / longiþ to þe godhede. Þe first is that we shul / beleue in o. god, in
185 thre persone(s)[252] in Trenyte. / Þe secunde article is þat we shal beleue þat þe / fadir of heuene is veri god wit-oute begynnyng / neuer i-bore, ne neuer i-made of eny-þyng. Þe / þird article is this, þat we shulle beleue that the / sone is verray god i-bore of the fader wit-out begynnyng. / The fourth artecul is that þe
189 holy gost / is veray god neuer i-bore ne neuere / i-mad but of the fadyr and þe
[f.105v] sone euenlyche / comyng. ***Creatorem celi et terre***. / Shapper of heuen and erthe. In thys fifþe[253] / article is closyd þat we shul beleue þat alle / þe holy trinite, fadir and sone and holy gost, made / heuen and erthe of nought, and made alle / thynge þerinne. *Et in Ihesum Christum filium eius / vnicum et cetera, Maria virgine*. And in Ihesu Crist / is sone, oneliche oure lord, þe whyche was
195 conceyued / of the holi gost boryn of þe mayde Marie. / *Passus sub poncio pilato, crucifixus, mortuus / et sepultus*. I-peyned vnder Pounce Pilate / on þe rode i-nayled deed and buried. *Descendit / ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis*. / He lyght in to helle in sowle wit / the godhede, lyyng þe body stylle in þe sepulcre, / þe þirdde day rose fro deth to lyue. / *Ascendit ad celos sedet ad*
200 *dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis*. / He stie in to heuen and þer he sitte / of his fadir ryght syde god almyȝti. / *Inde venturus est iuducare viuos et mortuos*. Fro / þenne he is comyng to deme þe quicke and / þe dede. In thys article is vndir-stonde Cristis / comyng to þe day of dome to / deme the rightful to þe blysse þat euer shal / last and þe vnryghtful to þe peyne wit-outen / ende. *Credo*
205 *in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctum et cetera, catholicam*. / I beleue in þe holi goste, holy chirche trewe. / Þis article longiþe to þe godhede and is / vndirstonde þat
[f.106r] holy chirche, wit oure seuen sacramentis, / þorwe þe halwynge of þe holy gost is i-nowe to / hele eche mannys soule be he neuer so synful and wit-owte / holi chirche is no soule hele. *Sanctorum / communionem remissionem peccatorum,*
210 *carnis resurrexionnem*. / Felewship of halewyn Cristis (body)[254] in þe sacrament of / þe aucter, in forȝeuenes of synnes and a-rysyng / vp of flesshe. *Et vitam eternam. Amen.* And / lyf wit-oute ende. In þys article is vndirstonde /

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[251] MS: þe þe
[252] Inserted over the line.
[253] MS: firste
[254] Inserted over the line.

fulfyllynge of holi chirche in þe blisse of heuen / aftir þe day of dome wit angelis and wit holy / halewen wit-oute eny sorowe in flesshe and in / blode, body and sowle soþliche a-rise to-geder, / euermore to be an hye wit god in blisse wit-oute ende, / so be hyt. Amen.

De decem preceptis veteris testamenti. / Honora dominum Deum tuum. The first of / goddys ten heestys is þat þou shalt worshipe / o god. In þis heeste is forbeden al maner mawmetrye, / wicchecrafte, enchauntementis, redyng of / dremes and al mys beleue. *Non assumas nomine / dei tui in vanuum.* Þe secunde hest is þou shalt not / take thi godes name in idel. In this byhest / is forbede al maner misdoyng and vnworship / of god as vnresonable sweryng. *Sabata / sanctifices.* Þe þirdde hest is þou shalt halwe þyne / holi day. Be þis hest al cristen men bith i-holde / to be als busy in goddes seruise þe holi / day [f.106ᵛ]as they bith þe werke day to do here ertheliche / werkes. Þese þre hestys longen to þe worship / of god and bith þre hestys of þe first / table. For as þe Mayster of Sentence recordith, *3⁰. s. d. / 34.*, when god ȝaf ten commaundementis of / hys lawe to hys peple by þe prophete Moisen in / stonen tablis, god wrote þorow þe vertu of / the holy gost þre commaundementes in one table / longing to þe knowelichyng and loue of the / holy trinite and seuen commaundementes in the / secunde table longing to þe loue of oure euen-cristen. / *Honora patrem et matrem.* Þe fourþe / hest is þou shalt worship fadir and modir. Be / þis hest alle cristen men beþ i-holde to honowr / fadir and modir þat hem forþ browght. And / not oneliche hem but principali god thy fadir, / and holy chirche thy modir, and thy gostly / faders and alle men of worship and nameliche / of holi chirche. Þe fifþe [hest] of god is þis, / *Non occides.* Ne sle no man. In thys hest / is forbode vnryght nimyng of mannis lif / wit dede oþer wit worde oþer assent oþer helpe, / and al harmyng of mannis body, benimyng / of mannis los, benimyng katel, hous oþer londe / oþer lyue-lode. Þe sixte hest of god is thys, / *Non fornicaberis.* Þou shalt do no leccherye. In / this hest is forbode all [f.107ʳ]spousebreches and al flesli / dedis þat longith to lecherie þat biþ oþer mow be / don oute of spoushode in euery maner wise, and / al maner missheding[255] of mannys kynde. The / seuenþ hest of god is this, *Non furtum facies.* / Þou shalt not stele. In this hest is forbode al maner / benymyng of mannis thing wit-oute

[255] MS: misbeding

his leue / þat hit oweth and al wrong purchas, deseriting / of eyres and al maner trecherie and oker and / wrong mercementis, alle fals mesures / al fals wiȝhtes and al maner of falshede(s)[256] and al / maner [de]seyte. Þe eyȝhte hest of god is this, / *Non falsum testimonium dices.* Þou shalt bere / no fals witnes openly ne prively to-fore eny / iuge of holi chirche (nameliche)[257] in cause of matrimone or / to promote or furþer vnskylfully eny man / or woman, ne to fore eny iuge of lawe / of lond where thorow thy neyȝgbores shulde / be deseryte oþer lese his katel, oþer be dede. In / this hest also is forbode al maner lesyng and / sclaundereful talis that may greue eny man. / Þe neinþe hest of god is this, *Non concupistis / rem proximi tui.* Þou shalt not coueyte / þy neyȝebores housse. In this hest is forbode / al maner unskilful willing of eny godis / vnmeuable, vnremeuable as lond, mede, croft, / wode oþer fredom oþer what it so be a-ȝeyn
[f.107v] / gode reson and gode a-corde. Þe tenþe hest of God (is)[258] this, / *Non concupistis uxorem proximi tui.* Þou shalt / not desyre þy neyȝhebores wif ne his childe ne hys / seruaunt ne hys best ne no-thing (els)[259] þat is meuable / and remeuable wit-oute loue and leue. /

De Septem peccatis mortalibus. / Seuen dedly synnes beþ þese: pride, / enuie, wrath, slawht, couetise, glotenye / and lecherie. *Superbia.* Pride is to muche / loue þat man hath of hym-self in to miche hienes / hauyng oþer in dispyte. Þerof comyþ bostyng and / proude beryng, despysyng, scornyng and al oþer / mysdoyng for why pride is rote and moost of al / oþer synnes. *Inuidia.* Enuie oþer hate is of sorow þat / a man hath of an-oþer mannys wele, or gladnesse / of an oþer mannys woo. Þerof comyþ bagbityng, sleyng, / hurtyng, betynge, fyȝhgtyng, chidyng, pletyng, / fals domes ȝeuing and many oþer harmys. *Ira vel / odium.* Wrathe is willyng of enimite and of harm / doynge to him þat he is wroth wit. And wan wrath / beleuyth long stille in herte, wrathe becomyth to / hate and þerof comyþ fals foluyinges in diuerse / courtes, bagbiting, man-sleying, lesyinges and / meny oþer folies and lesith goddys grace and charite. / *Accidia.* Slewþ(e is)[260] heuenes in gostly werkes þat / a man
[f.108r] hath no likyng / in god ne in hys seruise ne to shewe hys synnes / in shryft.

[256] Inserted over the line.
[257] Inserted over the line.
[258] Inserted over the line.
[259] Inserted over the line.
[260] Inserted over the line.

Þerof comyþ wrecchednes in goste[261], / delyte in slepe and in idelnes, wanhope in sowle / and al maner lette in sowle hele. *Cupiditas vel / avaricia.* Couetise is loue oute of mesure of / worldelyche gode as golde, syluer and al other / thyng remeuable and unremeuable as lordshippes, / hows and londe, vnryȝtful be-nymyng / in purchassyng, in beyng and sellyng,[262] / in metyng, in weyng of weiȝġthes, in / fals mesures, gile and trecherie, sacrilege, / symonye, þeft and wrong wit-holdynge. *Gula / vel crepula.* Glotonye is loue oute of mesure / in likyng of mete and drynke þat men ofte / synnyn inne as in etyng and drynkyng to / muche, to late and to rathe oute of tyme as / in fasting dayes, in brekyng of fasting i-sette / by shrifte oþer a wowe y-made oþer hest of holy / chirche, in hauyng and makyng of metes and / drinkes to liking of flesshe. Þe whiche is ofte / dedly synne as whan it makith a mannis body / to heuy to serue god oþer dullyþ to miche his witte / or benemyþ a mannys hele of body or of stomake / or of hede or febelith a mannys lymes or sturyeþ / his body to synne dedly in eny degre. / *Lux(u)*[263]*ria.* For as much as lecheries ded in eny / maner wise y-do by twene man and woman / oute of spousehode is dedly synne. Holy chirche / [f.108v]forbedith that none suffre his chyldren ne / his seruauntes ne noon other man ne woman / of seuen-ȝere olde or more ligge to-geder in / oo bed for perel of synne. Of thys synne / of lecherie nedith no more to speke for euery / man knowith his owne doyng and in what / maner he trespassith.

De septem operibus misericorde. / Seuen werkys of mercy euery cristen / creature shal be examyned of at the / dredful day of dom and bith these by rewe: / þou shalt fede þe hungrie, ȝefe hym drynke / þat is a-thurst, visite him þat is seke, herbrow / hym þat hath nede, cloþe hym þat is nakyd, / confort hym þat is in prison, bury cristen / bodies that bith dede. Alle these do in dede or / in wille.

De septem virtutibus principalibus. / Seuen principal vertuis longging to / mannis soule bith these: fides, spes, / caritas, prudencia, iusticia, fortitudo, / temperancia. Trewe feyth, hope, charite, / wisdom, rightwisnes, strengthe and sobernes. / Þe thre[264] furst vertuis longgen to god and / the vertues suyng longen to þy silfe and / to þyne euen-cristen. Þe firste vertu that / a man shal haue is

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[261] MS: flesshely
[262] MS: sellynge, in biggin,
[263] Inserted over the line.
[264] MS: Thre þe.

trew feyþ þat is ryȝt / beleue þat holy chirche techeþ and noþing / els but ryght
[f.109r] as thy crede techith to-fore / and the first commaundement. Þe secunde vertu þat / man shal haue is hope. Þou shalt hope to haue / the blisse of heuen in body and soule aftyr / þe day of dome by helpe of the ryȝht beleue / and of þe seuen sacramentis of holy chirche. / The thridde (vertu)[265] þat a man shal haue is charite. / Þou shalt loue god ouer al thyng and thyn / euencristen as thy-self as I shal shewe in þe / thirde chapiter here aftir. Þe fourþe vertu is / sleyth. Sley[th] [þat] is a man for to kepe hym from / harme þat ys comyng. And þat is nedeful / a-ȝens þe temptacion of the fend, of the / flesshe and of the world as dide þese holy confessoures / and maydens in diuerse penaunce, in waking and / in holy bedis bydding. Þe fifþe vertu þat a man / shal haue is rightfulne(s)[266]. I[n] þis vertu wul pat eche / man shal ȝelde to god and to man and to him-self eche maner thing þat is his, þat (is)[267] for (to)[268] sei to / god loue and worship, to man helpe at nede by þy / power and frendship and to þy-silf skilfulle / kepyng a-ȝens soules shenship. And þis vertu is / nedeful a-ȝens þe vice of couetise of þe worlde / and so wolde þes apposteles. Þe sixþe vertu þat / man shal haue is strenght. Man shal wit strength / suffre meschef for ryȝtfulnesse þat no man suffre hys euyn-cristyn synne by hys pouer (ne)[269] suffre / hym-silfe be vndirling
[f.109v] to synne ne do aftyr / likyng of flesshe ne aftyr temptacion of þe deuil[270] / and thus liued[271] the holy martiris. Þe seuenþe vertu / is sobernesse, [þat is in] witstondyng of flesshely lust as / in mete and drynke, in slepyng, in loue, in / wraþe, in wel and woo. Of noon of alle [þes] take / to muche ne to lite and þat helpyth souerenliche / a-ȝeynst þe fende, a-ȝeyns þe flesshe, a-ȝeyns / the worlde and so dide þese holy virgines. /

De septem[272] *sacramentis ecclesie.* Seuen sacramentis of holy chirche byth / these: þe furst sacrament is cristendome / oþer fulfyng at þe fontsone; þe secunde sacrament / is confirmacioun of þe bisshop; þe þird sacrament / is shrifte and penaunce; þe fourþe sacrament / is housel and is goddis flesshe and hys blode / in fourme of brede i-made of þe prest at masse; / þe fifte sacrament

[265] Inserted over the line.
[266] Inserted over the line.
[267] Inserted over the line.
[268] Inserted over the line.
[269] Inserted over the line
[270] MS: soule
[271] MS: loued

is en-noyntyng to-fore þe deþ / to alle cristen men; þe sixte sacrament is holi / ordre; and the seuenþ sacrament is spousehode. /

The furst sacrament and fundament and bygynniy[n]g / of alle þat shul be saued is cristendom or fullyng, / for wit oute þis sacrament may no man / be saued largeli for to speke. And þerfor holi chirche / commaundith eche cristen woman þat felith / hir quike wit childe to kepe hur-self from heuyng, / from leping and from alle oþer mischeuys that / myght benyme þe childes lif for so [f.110r]myght that / childe be lost lif and soule. *Vt pregnantes accipiant / sacramenta ecclesie ante partum.* And / also holichirche comaundith eche cristen woman, / to-fore trauayle of childe, to come to chirche and / take shrift and house for perel of deþ that / myȝt falle in beryng of childe. *Modus et forma / baptiȝandi in periculo.* Also holi chirche techeþ / þat a midwife, and þey þat biþ aboute, ȝif þey / se þat þe childe y-bore a-lyue be in perel of deþ / þey shul cristen þe childe in þis maner wise: I / cristen þe **N[a].** in the name of (þe)[273] fadir and (of)[274] þe sone / and (of þe)[275] Holi Gost. Amen. And þan spryng or cast / water vppon þe child and noon oþer licour. And / ȝif þe child be cristened in this maner hit shal / not be cristende efte sones at holi chirche, for / þat were as miche perel as nayl Crist efte sones / on þe crosse. And ȝif þe child be cristenyd at / home in þis maner hit shal be brought to / chirche if it lyuyth and vndirfong holiche / al the seruise of cristenyng saue onlyche þe / putting in-to the font, and þe words þer / wit þat shal not be do ne seyde. *Quod / pater et mater possunt baptiȝare proprium / filium in nesessitate.* Also in nede for perel / of deth fadir and modir mow cristen / here oune childrin wit-oute harming of / here [f.110v]spoushode in þe maner seying and water / sprynging as i-seyde to fore: I cristen þe **N[a].** / in (þe)[276] name of the fadir et cetera. In cuius figura / Sophora uxor Moysi circum[ci]dit proprium filii / sui. Exo. 4. ff. *Vt pueri nati ante pascha et / pentecosten obseruentur vsque ad consecrasionem.* / Children y-bore eght dayes to-fore / Esterday and to-fore Witsonday shul be kept / til halywng of þe font, ȝif it may be wel wit-oute / perel of deth. *Quod compatres sunt / fideijssores apud deum.* Godfadirs and godmodirs / biþ borowes to-fore god,

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[272] MS: Semptem

[273] Inserted over the line.
[274] Inserted over the line.
[275] Inserted over the line.
[276] Inserted over the line.

for here godchildrin, / and þerfore þey biþ i-holden to teche / here godchildern to loue ryghtfulnes, to holde / cherite and to kepe hem fro þe seuen dedly / synnes and specialiche to teche hem here beleue, / Pater noster, Aue Maria and Credo in Deum. / *Quod sponsus et sponsa non simul leuant / puerum de fonte nec qui leuerintt de fonde tenebit / coram episcopo nisi in nesessitate.* Also husbond / and his owne wif shul not fong to a childe / at ones atte font-stone, ne he þat fongiþ / to a childe shal not holde it [at] confermyng to-fore / þe bisshop but for nede. *Ne et pueri / iaceant in lecto cum dormiente nec stringentur / in cunabilis nec dormeant sine custode.* Fadir / ne modir, norice ne noon oþer [f.111r]shal suffre / no ȝong child lie by hem a bedde while þey slepen / ne presse hem to fast in here cradel ne lete hem / nowher lie slepyng ne wakyng wit-oute a keper.[277] / *De cognacione spirituali inter baptiȝatum et / suscipientem et inter confirmatum et tenentem / coram episcopo.* Also þer is goostli kyndrede by / fongyng of childrin at fontson in ten wise / and bi fongyng of childerne atte confermyng / of þe bisshope. Also in þe same maner and eche / of þese twenty maner kynrede lettyth spoushode / neuer to be i-made and vndoiþ[278] spoushode þat is / made. The first kynrede is bi-twene him / þat is fullyd and þe godfaders þat longiþ þerto. / Þe secunde kynrede is by-twene hym þat / is fullyd and þe childern of þe vnderfongers. / Þe þirdde by-twene hym þat is fullyd and / þe wyfe of the vndirfonger flesshele y-know / of þe fonger to-fore þe vndirfongyng. / Þe fourþe by-twene the fuller and hym that / is fullyd. Þe fifþe be- twene the vnderfonger / and þe fadir and the modir of hym that / is i-fullyd. Þe sexte by-twene hym that / is fullyd and childerne of hym þat fullyth. / Þe seuenþ by-twine hym that is fullyd / and þe wife of þe fuller first i-knowe / flesshelich of þe same fuller. Þe eght / by-twene þe fuller and þe fadir of hym / [f.111v]þat is i-fullyd. Þe nynþe by-twene þe fuller and / þe modir of him that is i-fullyd. Þe tenþe by-twene / þe vndirfonger and þe fadir of him þat is / fullyd.

Confirmacio. Þe secunde sacrament is / confirmacion of þe bisshop þat eche cristen man / and woman is hold to bryng his childe þerto as / sone as he may, and namelyche or he be fife ȝere / olde of age for the child shal haue þe better grace / aliue and the more blisse after the deth. And he / þat is not confermed

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[277] MS reads leper
[278] MS: vndir

may not be vnderfong / to noon oþer sacrament. And childe þat is confermed / shal not be wasshe hede ne forhede to-fore / the þirdde day after for reuerens of the holy / sacrament as of þe creyme by þe [constitucion].[279] /

Penitencia. Þe þridde sacrament is shrifte / and penauce þat eche man and woman / as sone as he can ryghtful mannis witte / vndirstond at þe age of .xii. 3ere, he is i-holde, / atte þe leest ones in þe 3ere, to be / clene shryuen of hys goostli fadir of al his / synnes that he can be-thenke of the whiche / he ys not shryuen. And he shal vnderfong / penaunce and fulfille it, and atte Ester / vnderfong goddis body and els he shal be / putte oute of holichirche aliue and of cristen / buriels after deth. Also þey þat comyþ to / shrifte shulleth be thenke [f.112r] hem-selfe of al þat / þey haue do and wit sorow of herte come to chirche / mekely and knele to þe prest as to hym þat is / in goddys stedde, and holiche[280] telle hym / how he hath do and be in hole wille to do so no / more and herteliche to do penaunce þat hym is / eniuned for his trespas.

Eukaristia. Þe fourþ sacrament is / goddis body in forme of brede þat / þe preest sacrith at masse þat cristen men shullith / be-leue þat it is vereliche goddis body þat was / i-bore of the blissful mayde Marie and heng on / þe rode. As ofte as eny cristen man seyth þat / blessyd body at masse or i-bore in eny prestis / honde to ony seke, he shal deuoutelichę knele / a-downe and (in)[281] worship of his lord, bid his *Pater* / *noster* or what he canne best. *Ne laici credant* / *quod datur eis sacramentum sanguinis Christi* / *in calice.* Also lewede men þat vnderfongeþ goddes / body shullith not beleue þat þe drynke þat þey / vndirfongen in the chalis is the sacrament of / Cristis blode, but only wyne and water for to / bryng hit in the better. But in fourme of brede / is holiche goddis body in flesshe and in blode. / Men shul not also chewe the sacrament smale / but take hit inne as holiche as þey may for dowte / lest any party beleue a-mong his tethe, for in / the leest partie is holiche goddis body. [f.112v]Eche / man þat wilfulliche desireth to see goddys / body shal haue þees meedes of god, as Seint Austyn / techith in a boke that he makith *De Ciuitate Dei*, of / the *Citee of God.* Furst (god)[282] grauntith to hym nedeful / lyuelode, þat day

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[279] MS: confirmacion
[280] MS: holichirch
[281] Inserted over the line.
[282] Inserted over the line.

idel oþes and forȝeten synnes / beþ forȝeue. Þe siȝghte of yen shal not be lore / þat day, ne in þat day shal hym not falle / sodeyn deth. He shal not elden while þat he / seeth Cristes body or heriþ his masse. Eche / stappe to chirchewarde shal be a-countyd of / aungels for to (be)[283] rewardid of god. Lewed men bith / forbode to dispute of these sacramaentis for hit is / i-now for hem to beleue as holi chirche techiþ / hem.

Þe fifþe sacrament is *Extrema vncio*, / and elyng of seke men þat eche man cristen / and woman in poynt of deth is i-holde to vndirfonge / for þer wit beþ forȝeue venial sinnes and the / sowle i-holpe and þe sekenes is þe lighter and his / grace is the more. Seint Anselme techiþ the / preest to aske of the seke whan he is an-elyd / and is ny dede: Brother art þou glad þat thow / shalt die in cristen beleue? **R.** ȝe sire. Be-leuist / þow þat Ihesu Crist is goddis sone i-bore of the / blisful mayde Marye? **R.** ȝe sire. Be-leust þou / þat Ihesu Crist goddis sone died vp-on the / crosse on Goode Fryday to bigge mannes sowle / and þonkest him þerfore. **R.** ȝe sire. Hast þou fulle / wille to a-mende þe ȝif þou hadist space of / lif? **R.** ȝe sire. Be-leuest þow þat þou myght not / be saued but by Cristes deth [f.113r]and hast þow hole / triste þorow þat deth to be saued? **R.** ȝe sire. / Þan þinke on noon oþer thyng neþer on wife ne / childe ne hows ne lond ne in noon oþer wordeliche / good but in Cristis deþ and in his passioun and / sey after me: I putte Cristis passioun by-twene / me and myne euyl werkis and be-twene me / and thy wrath.*Et dicatur tibi: In manus /tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum et cetera.* / Lord, in hondis þyne I be-teche sowle myne. Lord / as þou boughtest me, body and sowle I be-take / to þe.

Ordo. Þe sixt sacrament is ordre þat / longith to men of holi chirche. So þat eche / man of holy chirche þat hath vnderfong eny / holy ordre ȝif he wol haue worship of his / ordre, he most haue his crowne shore, hys / here y-euised, his cloþis honestliche shape / as fallith for his state, and nameliche in holi / chirche not to be a-shamed to bere his merke / and crowne þat bare for him þe crowne / of thornes.

Þe seuenþ sacrament is / *matrimonium,*[284] spousehode þe whiche ȝeueth / grace and benymyth synne ȝif hit (be)[285] riȝtfulliche / take. Almygty god

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[283] Inserted over the line
[284] MS: mateimonium.
[285] Inserted over line.

ordeynyd wedding / for thre skyles: for to kepe man / and woman fro dedeli
[f.113v] synne of lecherie; / for þorow bryngyng forth of children god wol / restore þe
numbre of angelis in heuen; and / for eche man and woman shal susteyne and /
confort oþer in help and in sikenes. Þese thre poyntes / bith closyd in the
460 wordes of weddyng at / the chirche-dore.

Fyue maner wise a man may / trespas wit his owne wife. *Tempore.* Oute of / tyme as in lente, ymber days and in holy / tyme. *Voluntate.* Also in (oþer)[286] wil þan to gete / children, oþer to kepe him self, oþer his wife / from synnyng wit oþer. *Loco.* Also in holi place / as chirche and chirche-haw, oþer in oþer
465 opyn / stede. *Pactu.* Also ȝif a man make forward / wit a-noþer to do so ofte oþer leie wager to do / so muche. *Modo.* Also to do in oþer maner þan / the comyn use is. Þe lawe of holi chirche / seiþ þat a man shal do moore reuerence to / his wife þat is a party of his body þorow / þe vertu of the holi sacrament þan / to an-oþer woman and þerfore he synneþ more / ȝif he do defoule her wit
470 worde or dede þan þow / he defouled eny oþer woman in þe same degre / as seyth þe lawe of holi chirche, 31.1.7 quem / ad modum s. adulterii in textu tum gli. And / þerfor þe lawe of holi chirche seith þat not / wit standing, þat hit is more synne a man / to sle his modir þan to sle his wif, neuerþeles / he shal haue
[f.114r] more þe penauns ȝyf he sle his wif / than þow he slow his modir, for loue and
475 reuerence / þat is and shulde be by-twene husbond and wife / for þe worthynes of þe holy sacrament. Vt patet / in can' 13 .ij .i. Non afferamus et 32. q. i. admonere, / And þerfor how greuous a synne is spousebrekyng. /

To-fore þe face of god a man may se by þe / dignite of þis sacrament, for þis sacrament / passyth al oþer sacramentis in foure poyntes. / For god himself
480 made þis sacrament of / weddyng to-fore al oþer sacramentis. Also / god made this sacrament in paradise and / so he dide noon oþer. Also god made / this sacrament alone to-fore eny synne of / man. Also at þis sacrament, oure lord god / wroght the furst miracle þat þe gospel / makiþ mention of whenne he turnyd / water into wine. Þerfore siþen euery man / hath o god to plese and o
485 sowle to kepe / eche man þat hath a wife so vse his / wife þat he misplese not god ne apeire / not hys sowle./

[286] Inserted over line.

De duobis preceptis euangelitis. / Crist in the gospel fulfillith al / þe lawe into hestis and seith thus, / "*Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde / tuo et*
[f.114ᵛ] *ex tota anima tua.* Þou shalt loue þy /lord god wit al thyne herte þat no thyng
490 be nerre in / þyne herte þan þy god. And þou shalt loue god wit / al thi sowle þat þow suffre no synne abyde in / thy sowle for loue and drede of god. *Ex tota / mente*, þow shalt loue god wit al thyne mynde / that no-thyng be so muche in thyne mynde / as god. *Ex omnibus viribus tuis*, þow shalt / loue god wit al thy myght þat þow spare for / no mischefe to plese god. *Diliges proximum*
495 */ tuum sicut teipsum*, þow shalt loue þyne euen-cristen right as thy-self in good manere and / not in euel manere noþer in synne. *Vt teipsum*, / right as þy-self gosteliche and not flessheliche, / for flessheliche loue drawith to synne and that / is hate. *Quantum teipsum*, as miche as thy-self / in helpe and in sekenes, in weleness (in)[287] woo. / *Equaliter vt teipsum*, euenliche to thi self / so þat þow
500 loue eche cristen man in body and / in sowle more þan wordeliche wele or gode. / *Spiritualiter vt teipsum*, right spiritualiche / wit thi-self so þat þow shalt loue thyn / euen-cristen sowle more þan thy lif and rather / lese þyne owne life þan suffre a dedely / synne be i-do, lettyng by thy power. *Corporaliter / vt teipsum*,
504 right as wel as thy-selfe / bodiliche þat þow helpe him in nede / as þou woldist
[f.115ʳ] that he helpyd þe in thy nede. / In this maner wise þou shalt loue god holdyng / his hestis for loue of hym and not for drede / of payne.

[287] Inserted over the line.

Literary and Historical Notes to *Sacerdos Parochialis* in British Library MS Additional 10053.

Apart from the treatises on the *Pater noster, Ave Maria* and *Credo* (which vary considerably from the original), the version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* found in British Library MS Additional 10053, corresponds closely to the usual form of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Occasionally, the text shows signs of scribal glossing where an extra reference to a source is included in the body of the text.[288]

The notes below attempt to provide information not already included in the notes to the main version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The information includes references to source material or significant variations from the main version of the treatise. The line numbers refer to the corresponding material in the main version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

1 – 7. Typical Latin introduction to *Sacerdos Parochialis* except that BL MS Additional 10053 mentions fourteen articles of faith rather than the twelve found in BL MS Burney 356 mentions only twelve articles.[289] See ll. 316 – 25 of BL Burney 356 above. BL MS Additional 10053 does not include a list of excommunicable offences to be taught to the laity despite including them in the opening rubric.

8 – 113. In BL MS Additional 10053 the *Pater noster*, normally found in *Sacerdos Parochialis* has been replaced by a slightly longer version found in Lambeth MS 408 and printed by Simmons and Nolloth in their edition of *The Lay Folks' Catechism.*[290] According to a note accompanying the Simmons and Nolloth text this version of the *Pater noster* is found in three other manuscripts - Bodley MS 789, Trinity College Dublin MS c.v.6 (now 245) and British Library Harley MS 2385.[291] Anne Hudson, referring to the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* found in Lambeth MS 408, notes that the three treatises are divided into three discrete tracts and all three are distinct from *The Lay Folks' Catechsim.*[292] Furthermore, Hudson believes that "the Lambeth reviser has used three preexisting tracts . . .".[293] Her observations are confirmed by the 'fuller' version of the *Pater noster* found in BL MS Additional 10053. A certain

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[288] For example, see ll. 227 –8 of the Additional text, or compare ll.423 – 5 of the additional text to ll.821 – 3 of the Burney 356 *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

[289] For a fuller explanation of the creed see the notes that accompany ll.392 – 402 of the Burney *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Oxford, Bodley MS 110, Cambridge MS Dd.12.69, Oxford, Trinity MS 7, British Library MS Harley 4172 also cite fourteen rather than twelve articles of faith.

[290] Simmons and Nolloth, 7 – 11. See also Arnold's *Select English Works of Wycliff* III (Oxford, 1871), 99 – 100.

[291] Simmons and Nolloth, 102.

[292] Hudson, "A New Look" 251.

amount of material not found in the Lambeth MS has been included in the Additional MS. In the following notes differences between the Simmons and Nolloth text and the Additional text have been included.

14 – 16. Hit passiþ . . . of heuen.]*not* Lambeth 408.

21 – 22. þes . . . charite]*not* Lambeth 408.

23 – 24. *Pater noster qui. . . tuum.*]*not* Lambeth 408.

25 – 48. Sum men . . . *in celis.*]*not* Lambeth 408.

30. Psalm 8 l. This line has been confused with the quote found on **l.32** below.

60. Answerith to þe sonne]answerys to þe fadir so þe secunde askynge answerys to þe soneLambeth 408.

83. Þe fifte askyng]The secunde part of þis askynggeLambeth 408.

96. Þe sixte askyng]The thrydde askynge of þis partLambeth 408.

101. as seyþ *Seint Gregory* in his *Morals*]*not* Lambeth 408.

105. þat is forto sey from . . . deseruyd þer-to.]*not* Lambeth 408.

110. dedly]deuelysLambeth 408

114 – 37. The form of the *Ave Maria* found in BL Additional 10053 is a much longer version than that normally found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but it does not correspond exactly to the version of the *Ave Maria* found in Lambeth MS 408. However, both texts do note that the three people imbued with grace are Jesus, Mary and Stephen.[294]

138 – 51. See *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll. 355 – 68.

152 – 82. The introduction to the *Credo* found in BL Add 10053 is more expansive than that found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. It discusses, with quotes from church authorities and scripture, the three different types of believers. While Lambeth MS 408 also has a lengthy introduction to the *Credo*, there is very little correspondence between the two texts. The Lambeth introduction does include a brief note on the three types of believers, but it is much simpler than that found in BL Add 10053.[295]

164 – 5. James 2:19.

183 – 215. A treatise on the *Credo* identical to ll.405 – 35 of the Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

217 – 60. A treatise on the ten commandments more or less identical to ll.490 – 533 of the Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The differences are minimal,

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[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid, 12 – 3. BL Add 10053, ll.126 – 37.
[295] Simmons and Nolloth, 15: 244 – 53.

usually phrasing and probably dialectical. Additional 10053 does not include 'heresy' under the second commandment. Such an exclusion might have been considered a Lollard adaptation, except that Bodley 110, Cambridge Dd.12.69 and Pembroke 285 also omit this offence. The eight commandment, however, is more expansive here (ll. 248 – 53 than any other version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (ll.516 – 20) to include specific reference to civil courts such as cases of matrimony and of "to-fore eny iuge of lawe of lond." BL Additional 10053 does not include here, the two commandments after the ten commandments as in BL Burney MS 356.

226 – 7. This reference is not included in any other version of *Sacerdos* Parohcialis.

261 – 94. A treatise on the seven deadly sins identical to ll.610 – 45 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

295 – 99. A treatise on the seven works of mercy. The Burney scribe includes material not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis,* nor in the Additional manuscript.

300 - 28. A treatise on the seven virtues identical to ll.683 – 708 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* except that the Additional scribe included the adjective 'trewe' before the noun 'feythe' on each occasion. BL Additional 10053 is but one of the four manuscripts that employs such a collocation. Pembroke 285, Oxford Bodley MS 110 and Cambridge MS Dd.12.69 also describe faith as 'trewe'. Anne Hudson, in her seminal article on the possibility of a Lollard vocabulary identifies the collocations 'trewe men', 'trewe prechours', and 'trew cristen men' as typical of clearly identified tracts, even if only "to use words of approbation for themselves and for the views they approve."[296] Although Hudson does not specifically refer to 'trewe faith', the collocation indicates that at least one of the scribes of one of the four manuscripts was somewhat conscious of 'less true faiths'.

329 – 486. A treatise on the seven sacraments quite close to ll.709 – 914 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Occasionally the Additional scribe includes scriptural references not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* nor in Pagula's tract on the commandments at the beginning of *Dextera Pars*.

329 – 35. The description of each sacrament is slightly more informative than that found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. For example, under the fourth

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[296] Anne Hudson, "A Lollard sect vocabulary?" in *So meny people longages and tonges*, ed. Michael Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), 15 – 30.

sacrament the scribe/compiler specifically states that the eucharist is the flesh and blood of God which is consecrated by the priest at Mass.

358 – 9. A scriptural reference not included in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The reference is to Exodus 4:25

423 – 5. This is the only version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* to include references to Saint Augustine's *City of God,* although the reference is included in *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The passage is a common one, it occurs in Mirk's *Festial*, for example.[297]

486 – 506. In BL MS Burney 356 (ll.534 – 60), the two great commandments occur after the ten commandments. In all other manuscripts, they occur after the seven principal virtues and before the seven sacraments.

[297] See the notes that accompany ll.823 – 8 of Burney 356 *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

Sacerdos Parochialis in Cambridge MS Pembroke 285

[f.51r] *Sacerdos Parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna quater in anno septem peticiones et oracione dominica, salutacionem* [f.51v] *beate Marie, quattuordecim articulos fidei contentos in simbolo, decem precepta veteris testamenti, septem mortalia peccata, septem uirtutes principales, duo precepta euangelij, septem sacramenta ecclesie, excommunicacione a canone latas, sub forma que sequitur addendo vel innuendo in singulis prout deus inspirauit.*

Salutacio beate Marie virginis. Aue Maria gracia / plena. Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ihesus. Amen. / Hayl be þou Marye ful of grace, oure lord is wit þe, and / blessyd be þou among alle wommen, and þe blessid / froyte of þi wombe *Ihesus*. Amen. As ofte as þis name *Ihesus* / is nempned eche cristen man is holde to do reuerence þer-to / and worschyp. For our lord þe Pope Vrban, þat was þe ferþe[298] / pope of þat name, 3af .xxx. dayes to pardoun to alle þat been / clene of soule and y-schryue of her mysdede, for euere to endure / þat seyþ þis worde *Ihesus* in þe ende of his *Aue Maria*. / And þan after þe Pope Iohann þe .xxij.ti 3af, and confermed / þer-to, alle þat sayn þis worde *Ihesus* in þe ende of his *Aue* / *Maria* oþer .xxx.ti dayes. So alle þat ben clene schryuen / and repentante of her mysdedes, as ofte as þei seyn *Aue* / *Maria* wit þis worde *Ihesus* in þe ende, han syxti dayes to / pardon and for3euenesse of here penauns in to hem enioyned. / So þat who-so seyþ euery day Oure Lady Sauter, þat is þries / fyfty, schal eche day haue to pardoun .xxiiij.ti 3ere and .xxx.ti / wekes and so þe summe of pardoun is an .c. lx. and .xij. 3ere i-3eue / and graunted of þe fore-seyde popes for euere-more to endure. /

Quattuordecim articuli fidei. **/ Credo in vnum deum patrem omni pot[en]tem.** I beleue / in god, fader almyghti. In þese wordis been / vnderstonde four of þe fyrst articles of þe ry3te-beleue / þat longeþ to þe [f.52r] godhede. The first of þese foure is / þat we schulde beleue in (o)[299] god, persones thre in trinite. The secunde / article is þat we schulde beleue þat þe fader of heuen / is verray god wit-ou3ten begynnyng, neuere y-bore, neuere / y-

[298] MS: ferste.
[299] Inserted over the line.

maked of no þyng, [. . .][300] bote of þe fader and of þe sone / euenlyche comynge. **Creatorem celi et terre**. Helper of / heuen and of herþe. In þes fyfte article [is] þat we [schulde] beleue / þat alle þe holy trinite maked heuen and erthe and al þing / þat þere is of no-thyng. **Et in Iesum Christum filium eius vnicum / dominum, nostrum qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine**. / And in Ihesu Crist his sone oneliche, oure lord þe whyche / was conceyued of þe holy gost and borne of þe mayden / Marie. **Passus sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et / sepultus**. I-pyned vnder Poncius Pilatus, on roode i-nayled ded, / and buried. **Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurexit a / mortuis**. He lyght in to helle in soule wit godhede, þe body / lyggyng stille in þe sepulcre. The .iij. day he rose fro / deþ to [ly]ue. **Ascendit 1 ad celos, sedet ad dexteram domini / patris omnipotentis**. He stye in-to heuen and he sittes on þe / faders ryȝte side of god almyghti. **Inde venturus / est iudicare viuos et mortuos**. From þennes he is comyng / to deme þe quyk and þe dede. In þis article is vnderstonde / Cristes commyng to þe day of dome to deme þe / ryghtful to þe blysse þat euere schal laste and þe vnryghtful / to peyn wit-outen ende. **Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam / catholicam**. I beleue in þe holy gost, holy chirche / trewe. This article belongeþ to þe godhede and his / vnderstonde þat holy chirge wit hure sacramentis, þorughe / þe halowyng of þe holy gost is y-now to hele eche / cristen mannes soule be he neuer so sinful. And wit-oute / holy chirche is no saule hele. **Sanctorum communionem, / remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurexionem**. Comyng of / halle hallewen[301], forȝyfnesse of sinnes, arysyng of flesche. *Et / vitam eternam. Amen.* And lyf wit-ouhȝte ende. Amen. In þis/ article is vnderstonde ful-fillyng of holy chirche in / þe blisse of heuen after þe day of doome wit angelis / and holy men halwen wit-ouȝten any soul in flesche / and in blode, bodi and soule holyche arise to-geder, euere-more / to her god in blisse wit-outen ende. So be it. Amen. /

Decem precepta veteris testamenti. I. Honora dominum deum / tuum. The firste of godes ten hestes is þat, þou schalt honour / o god. In þis heste is forbode alle maner / maumetrie, wychcrafte, enchauntementis, redynge / of

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[300] MS lacks text here, it omits the third and fourth article of the first four articles of believe.
[301] MS: hall hallewen

metinges and al mysbileue. *Non assumes nomen / dei in uanum.* That other heste is, þou schalt nouȝt / take þi godes name in ydel. In þis secunde heste is for-bode / al maner mysnemyng and vnworschyp of oþer his / halwyn and swering. *Sabbata sanctifices.* The .iij. heste / is þou schalt halow þi holy day. By þis heste alle cristen (men)[302] / ben i-holden to ben als besi in godes seruise þe holy / day as þei been on þe werkday to doon here wordlyche / werk. And þese þre forsaydes hestes longen to god / and been þe hestes of þe firste table. *Honora patrem et / matrem.* The ferþe heste is þou schalt worchyp fader / and moder. By þis heste alle cristen men beth y-holde / to honour fader and moder þat forþ hem brouȝte, and nouȝte / onelyche for hem, but principallyche god þi fader and holy / chirche þi moder and als[o] þi gostlyfader and alle men / of worchip and namyliche of holy chirche. And þis is / þe ferste[303] heste of þe secounde table of seuene, and alle / seuen longeþ to þine euencristene. *Non occides.* The / fifte is þe secunde of godes heste[s] of þe secunde table þat longeþ / to is euen-cristene, and þis is: ne sle no man. In þis / heste is for-bode vnryghtful by-nymmyng of mannes lyf / wit deed or worde assent, other[304] help and al harmyng / of mannes bodi by-nymmyng of mannes losse, by-nymmyng / of mannes catel, hous or lond or lyflode. *Non fornicaberis.* / Thou schalt do no lecherie. Þis heste is þe .vj. and þe thirde of / [þe] secounde table. In þis heste is for-bode alle spouse-breche / and alle fleschly dedys þat longen to lecherie, þat ben or / mowe be doun out of spouse-hoode in any maner wyse and / alle myschedyng of mannes kynde. *Non furtum facies.* / Þou schalt no-þing stele. In þe seuenþe[305] heste þat is þe / ferþe of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þine euen-cristene. / In þis heste is for-bode al manere bynymyng of any / mannys þyng wit-outyn his wille þat hit owt, and alle wrong / purchas and deserityng of heyres and alle manere trecherie and / okur and fals mersementes, al false mesures, al false / wheyȝtes and alle manere of falshede and alle manere / þefte. *Non dices falsum testimonium.* Þe .viij. heste is / of god, þe fifte of þe secunde table þat longeþ to þine / euencristene, bere þou no fals wytnesse. In þis heste / is for-bode all false lesynges, bakbytynges, alle / fals accusynges, and

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[302] (men) inserted in margin
[303] MS: ferþe
[304] MS: oþer þe
[305] MS: secounde

namelyche apeyryng of manis los / and his good name wher-þorogh he is put to purgacion or / hate ony worldlyche harmes, for in þat cas þei been a-cursed. / *Non concupisces domum proximi tui.* Þe .ix. heste / of god is þe .vi. of þe secunde table and is þou schalt nouȝt / couayte þi neighbours hous. In þis heste is for-bode / alle vnskylful willyng of any mannis loonde, mede, / crofte, wode [f.53v] or fredom of hous or what so hit be a-ȝeyne / go(o)[306]d resoun, and nameliche vnremevbable þing. *Non desiderabis / uxorem proximi tui.* Þe tenþe heste of god is þe / secunde heste of þe secunde table, thou schalt nouȝt / desire þi neyghbours wyfe, his seruaunt ne his beste / ne no-þing elles þat is his wit-ynne ne wit-oute. /

Septem virtutes principales: fides, spes, caritas / prudencia, iusticia, temperancia, fortitudo. / Trewe feyþ, hope and charite, lo þese þre vertues longe / to god; (and þese .iiij. suyng longen)[307] to þine euencristene, sleight, ryghtfulnesse.[308] / The .i. vertu þat a man schal han, þat is trewþe feyþ. Þat / is ryȝt-byleue; þat þou schalt byleeue þat holy cherche techeþ / and no-þing elles ryȝt as þe crede techeþ by-fore. / The .ij. vertu is þat man schal haue, þat is hope. Þou schalt / hope to haue þe blisse of heuen in bodi and soule after þe / day of dome by helpe of þe ryght byleeue and of þe sacramentes / of holy cherche. The .iij. vertue is charite / þat þou schalt loue god ouere al þing and þine euencristen as / þi self and as y schal schewe after þe next chapitre, / *Diliges dominum deum tuum.* The .iiij. vertue is sleiȝt. / Sleyȝt [þat] is [for] a man to kepe hym from harme at his comyng / and þat is needeful aȝeyn temptaciouns of þe fende of / þe flesch and of þe world, as did þe holy confessours / in diuerse penaunce and wakyng and in holy bedis biddynge. / The .v. vertue is þat a man schalle haue / ryghtfulnesse. Þis vertue wil þat eche man ȝolde to / god, to man helpe at nede by þi pouer, and to þi self / skilful kepynge. And þis vertue is nedful aȝeyns þe / vice of coueytise of þe world and so did þese holy / apostoles. The .vj. vertue is strengþe, þat a man / schal wit [f.54r] streyngþe suffer myschef for ryghtfulnes / þat noman suffre his euencristen newed by his power, ne suffer / hym self be vnderlyng to synne ne do after þe

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[306] Inserted over the line.
[307] These words are inserted in a different hand in the left hand margin.
[308] Two of the virtues have been omitted from this list - strength and soberness – although they are included later in the passage.

lygynge / of his flesch ne after fondinge of þe fende and þus lyued / þise holy martyres. Sobernesse is þi .vij. vertue in / wit-stondynge of fleschly lust as in mete and drynke, in / slepynge and wakynge, in loue, in wrath, in wele, in woo of noon / of alle take to moche ne to lytell and þat helpeþ soueraynlyche / a3eyns þe fende, a3eyns þe flesch, and a3eyns þe world / and so did þies holy virgines. /

Duo precepta euangelia. Diliges dominum tuum ex toto / corde tuo et in tota anima tua. Crist in þe gospel / fulfulleþ alle þe lawe in tweye hestes and seyþ þus, "Loue / þi god and þi euencristen." In þis wyse, þou schalt loue god wit / alle þi herte þat no þyng be nerrer þi hert þan god. / Thou schalt loue god in þi soule. Þou schalt suffre no synne / a-byde in soule for loue and drede of god. *In tota / mente*, thou schalt loue god in alle þi mynde þat / no-þyng be so ny3e in þi mynde as god. *In omnibus viribus / tuis*, thou schalt loue þi god wit alle þi my3th þat / þou schalt spare for no myschef to queme þi god. *Secundum / preceptum euangelicum,* "*Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.*" Þou / schalt loue þine euencristen ry3t as þi selfe in goode and / nou3te in euel, nouþer in synne. *Sicut te*, ryght as þi / self in hele and in sekenesse in wele and in woo. *Equaliter / te*, euenlyche to þi self so þat þou loue eche cristen man / in bodi and soule more þan worldlyche hele or[309] good. / *Spiritualiter vt te*, ryght as þi self spiritualiche so þat þou / schalt loue þine euencristen more þan þi lyfe and raþer / lese þine owne lyfe þan suffer a dedly synne and / þou may lette it wit
[f.54v] þi power. *Corporaliter vt te*, ryght / so wele as þi self bodileche þat þou helpe hym in his nede as / þou woldest þat he helped þe in þi nede. In þis maner / wyse þou schalt loue þi god holdynge his hestes for loue of / hym and nou3te for drede of peyne. /

Septem sacramenta ecclesie. Baptismus, confirmacio, eukaristia, extrema unccio, penitencia, / ordo et sponsalia. / In þese beþ .vij. sacramentes / of holy chirche. Crystendom or fullu3t at þe fonte-stone, / þat is þe furst sacrament. Confirmacyoun of þe bischop is þe / secounde sacrament. Schrifte and penaunce is þe þirde sacrament. / Housel þat is þe ferþe sacrament and is godis bodi in / forme of brede and made of þe preste at masse. The fyfte / sacrament is ennoyntyng be-for þe deþ to alle cristen men. / The .vj. sacrament

[309] MS: owre

is holy ordre and spousode is þe .vij. sacrament / *Primum Sacramentum.* Cristendom or fulluȝt þat / is þe furst sacrament and fundement and bygynnyng of alle . . .[310] þat / schullen be saued. And þerfore holy chirche comaundeþ euery / cristen womman þat feleþ hur quyk wit[311] childe to kepe her-self / fro heuyng and fro trauaylyng and fro fallyng and fro alle / other maner myschieues þat myghte by-nym þe childes / lyfe, for so myȝte þe childe be loste boþe lyfe and soule. *Vt / pregnantes a[c]cipiant sacramenta ecclesie ante partum.* Holy / chirche commawndeþ eueri cristen womman to-fore sche trauayle / of childe to come to cherche and take schrifte and housel, for perel of / deth þat myght be falle of beryng of childe. *Modus et forma / baptiȝandi in periculo.* Also holicherche techeþ þat / mydwyf and þei þat ben a-boute se þat þe childe i-bore aliue / be in perel of deþ þei mowe cristen þat childe in þis maner / wyse: **N.** I cristene þe in þe name of þe fader, of þe sone / and of þe holi gost and þan [f.55r]be-sprynge þat childe wit holy / water or caste water on þat childe and noon oþer lycour. And ȝif / þat child be cristened in þis maner hit schal nat be cristened / a-ȝeyn at chirche for þat were as moche perille as nayle efte / sones Crist on þe cros. And ȝif a childe be cristened as be-fore / seyde is, þat childe schal be brouȝte to þe chirche ȝif it / haþ lyf and vnderfonge all oþer seruise saue onliche þe / puttynge in þe fonte and þe wordes þer-wit þat schal not be / don ne seyde. *Quod pater potest baptiȝare proprium filium in necessitate.* / In nede for perel of deþ fader and moder mowe cristene / here owne childe wit-owtyn harmynge of here spousehode / wit þe maner seyyng and wit water as it is by-fore seyde. / *Vt pueri nati per octo dies ante pasche et pentecosten seruentur vsque / ad consecracionem fontis.* Children y-bore .viii. dayes to-fore / Pask day and Witsonday schullen be kepte til þe halowynge / of þe fonte, ȝif it may be for perille of deth. *Quod compatres et commatres / sunt fideiussores ante deum.* Godfaders and godmoderes / ben borwes to-fore god for her godchildren and þerfore þei ben y-holde / to teche her godchildren to loue ryghtfulness, to holde charite, / to kepe hem in chastite, to teche hem goodis hestis, to kepe hem / fram sinne deedly and also specialiche to teche hem her bileue, / *Pater noster, Ave et Credo in Deum. Quod sponsus et sponsa / non*

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[310] A clause seems to be missing here. See ll.706 of *Sacerdos Parochialis* above.
[311] MS wit quyk

simul tenent puerum de fonte ne qui leuent de fonte tenebunt / coram
185 *episcopo nisi necessitate*. And an housbonde and his owne / wyf ne schul not fonge to o child (a towes)[312] ne schal nouȝt holde it / at confermynge to-fore þe bischop but for nede. *Ne pueri / iaceant in lecto cum dormiente nec stringantur in cunabulis / nec dormitent sine custode.* Fader, moder ne nors ne noon / other ne schal suffre no ȝong childe lygge by hem in / bedde þe wyles
190 þei slepe, ne presse hem (to fast)[313] in here cradel ne let / hem ligge nowhare but
[f.55v] ȝif þei haue kepynge. *De cognacione / spirituali inter baptiȝatum et suscipientem et inter baptiȝatum et / tenentem coram episcopo*. Ther is gostly kynrede þoroghe fongyng / of children at þe fonte in ten wyse, and by fongynge of children at þe confirmyng by-fore bischop. Also in / .x. maner of eche of þese
195 twenti manere of kenrede lyttiþ / spousehode þat is naked. The first kenrede is by-twene / hym þat is fullyd and þe godfadres þat fongeþ þerto. The / seconde kynrede is by-twene hym þat is fullid and þe wyfe / of þe vnderfong to-fore þe vnderfongyng. Also be-twene[314] þe fullere and hym þat is fullyd. Also be-twene þe / vnderfonger and þe moder of hym þat is fulled and þe wyfe of / þe
200 fullere, fleschliche i-knowe ferst of þe same fullere. / Also betwene þe fuller and þe moder of hym y-fulled. Also / by-twene þe vnderfonger and þe fader of hym þat is i-fulled. / *Item de cognacione spirituali inter confirmationi / et supscipiente uel tenente.* Also þer is gostly kenrede / by fongynge of children at þe confermyng be-fore / þe bischop in .x. wyse as y seyde be-fore
205 þat letteþ[315] spousode / not y-mad and undoþ spousode y-made. There is / gostly kynrede be-twen hym þat is confermed and hym þat / halt hym to confermynge. Also be-twene hym þat / is confermed and þe wyf of þe holdere be-fore fleschlyche / y-knowe of þe same holder. Also be-twene þe holder / and þe moder of hym confermed. Also bytwene hym þat is / confermed and hym þat
210 confermeþ. Also be-twene hym þat / confermeþ and þe moder of hym þat is confermed. Also / þe poyntes towchen goostlyche kynrede. I conseyl / eueri man to be-ware for eche of þese forseyde kenrede / letteþ spoushode be-fore i-made as it is by-fore seyde. /

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[312] Inserted over the line.
[313] Inserted over the line.
[314] MS: ben-twene
[315] MS: letter

[f.56r] *Secundum sacramentum est confirmacio.* / Confirmacion of þe bischop is
þe secuunde sacrament þat eche / cristenman and womman is y-holde to bringe
his childe / as sone as he may and namelich or he be .v. 3er olde of / age, for he
schal haue more grace of lyfe and þe more / blisse of deþ[316] and he þat is nat
confermed ne may not be / vnderfonge to noon oþer sacrament. And he þat is
confermed / schal not be-wasche þe hede ne forhed wit in .vij. dayes / after, for
þe reuerence of þe holy creme by þe constitucion. /

Tercium sacramentum est confessio uel penitencia. / Schrifte and penaunce
is þe thirde sacrament þat eche / man and womman as sone as he kunne mannes
witte / vnderstonde at þe age of .xij. 3er is[317] holde, at þe leste / ones in þe 3er, to
be clene i-schrife of his owne curator / of alle [h]is synnes þat he can be-þenke
and his penaunce vndirfonge / or he reseyue godes body; and elles doþ hym
ou3t / of holy chirche alyue and of cristen berielles wen he is dede. / Also al þei
þat comeþ to schrifte sulle be-þenke hym self / of all þat þei haue do and wit
sorowe of herte come to / schrifte and mekelyche knele to þe prest as to hym þat
is in godes / stede and hollyche telle how he haþ y-do and be in hol wil / to do
so no more and hertlyche do þe penaunce þat is enyoyned for þi trespas.

Quartum sacramentum est eukaristia. / Godes body in forme of brede is þe
.iiij. sacrament / þat þe prest sacreþ at þe masse, þat eueri cristen man / schal be
leue þat it is verali goddes body þat was i-bore / of þe mayden Marie and henge
on þe rode. Als often / as ony cristyn man seeþ þat blyssyd body at þe masse or
/ y-bore in prestes hondes to any seek, he schal deuoutely / knele adoun in þe
worchippe of his lord maker and / sey hes *Pater Noster* or what he can best. *Ne*
[f.56v] *laici credant / sacramentum quod datur eis in calice.* Lewed men þat
vnderfongeþ / godes bodi ne schal nat bi-leue þat þe drynge þe wyche þei /
vnderfonge after hure housel in þe chalice nys no sacrament / but wyne oyþer
water for to brynge it yn þe bettere. / Bote in forme of brede is holy godes body
in flesch and yn / blode. Þei schulle nou3t chewe it smalle, but take it yn / as
hol as men may for doute þat eny party by leue in þe / teþ for in þe leste partie is
holyche godes bodi. Echeman / þat desireþ to se godes bodi he schal haue þese
medus. God / granteþ hym nedefulle lyflode þat day; idel oþes, for-3eten /

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[316] MS: deeþ
[317] MS: he is

synnes beþ for-ȝeue; þe siȝte of his eyen schal nouȝte be / lore; þat day schal falle hym noon sodeyne deþ; he schal / [not] holde in þat time þat he seyþ or hereþ is masse; euery steppe / to chircheward schal be a-counted of aungeles. N Lewde / men be for-bode for to dispute of þe sacrament for it is / i-now for hem to bi-leue as holi chirche techeþ.

Quintum ¶ sacramentum est extrema vncio. / Enelyng of seke men is þe .v. sacrament þat euery man in poynte / of deþ is holde to vnderfonge for þerwit beþ for-ȝeue venial / synnes, and his soule i-holpe, his sekenesse is þe / lasse and his grace is þe more. Sanctus Ancellmas. Seynt / Ansellme techeþ þe prest to aske of þe seeke when he / is anelyd and is nye ded: Broþer art þou glad þat / þou schalt deye in crysten byleue? **R.** ȝe sere. Art þou be-knowe / þat þou hast nat lyued so wel as þou schuldest? **R.** / ȝe sere. Hast þou wil to amende ȝif þou haddest space / of lyfe? **R.** ȝe sire. Beleuest þou þat Ihesus Crist was boore / of þe mayden Marie. **R.** ȝe sere. By-leuest þou þat Ihesus / Crist diede on þe cros to begge manis soule on a Goode / Friday? **R.** ȝe sere. [f.57r] Þankest þou hym þerfore? **R.** ȝe sere. / Byleuest þou þat þou myght nat be saued, but by his deþ? **R.** / ȝe sere. The wyle þat þi soule is in þi bodi þanke god / of his deþ and haue holyche treste to be saued þoroghe / his deþ and þenke in noon oþer wordelich good but in / Cristes deþ and in his passion and seye after me: I putte / Cristes passion by-twene me and my euel dedes and be-twene (me)[318] and his / wrathe. In manus tuas. Lord into hondes þine I / be-take soule myne. Lord, as þou boughtest me my soule I betake / to þe.

Sextum sacramentum est ordo. Ordre is þe .vj. sacrament þat longeþ to men of holichirche. / So þat eche man of holychirche þat ony ordre haþ vnderfong / ȝif he wolle haue worchipe of his order, ȝif he be a clerk / hym nedeþ to haue a crowne y-schafe, his her y-euesed, his / cloþes honest of schap as falleþ for [h]is astate, and namyliche / in holy chirche nat to be a-schamed to bere his mark and crowne / þat he bare for hym þe coroun of þornes.

Septem sacramentum est matrimonium. Matrymonye is þe .vij. / sacrament to-fore þe wiche sacrament þe banes thryes / in holy chirche schulde be asked in þis wyse. **N.** of **T.** haþ / spoken wit **A.** of **E.** to haue hure to wyfe and to ryght lyfe in / forme of holy chirche. ȝif any man or womman knowe ony lette / why

[318] Inserted over the line.

þei mowe not (come)[319] to-geder lawfulliche we charche 3ow / vpon peril of 3oure soule þat 3e knowleche hit or þe sacrament / be maked or full-felled. *Interrogaciones ad hostiam ecclesie / et dicat sacerdos.* N. Hast þou wille to haue þis womman **A.** to / þi wyf? **R.** 3e syre. Myghte þou loue hir ertlyche and noon / oþer to þi lyues ende? **R.** 3e sere. I **N.** take þe **A.** to my / wedded wyf to haue and to holde fro þis day forwarde for / better, for wars, for richer, for porer, in sekenes and in helþe, / to deþ vs departe, 3if holichirche hit wil [f.57v] ordeyne and þerto / y-plyghte þe my treuthe. This sacrament of spousode is þe / seuent[h][320] sacrament and þe laste of all sacramentes þe wiche 3eueþ / grace and bynymeþ synne 3if þei be ryghtfullyche taken / so þat man and womman of fulle age, ry3tfulliche a-cordeþ for þe / tyme as þou no trewþe be-plyghte ne none fleschly dede be doo / to-fore god, þei ben wyfe and housbonde. Holicherche or-bedeþ / all priue forward of spoushode by-twene man and woman as in / trouthe plyghtynge and forward makyng wit-oute assent / and open knowleche of holy chirche. For alle þat suche forwarde / makeþ and alle þat ben assente þer-to, or ben þer-at, ben in gret / perel.

Quinque modis homo potest peccare cum uxore sua videlicet. Tempore: / as in lente, ymber, and in holy time. **Voluntarie.** In oþer wille / þan[321] to gete children er kepe hem self synnyng wit oþer. **Loco.** As / in holy chirche or in oþer holi pace or in open stede. **Pactu.** As / 3if a man makeþ forward wit anoþer to do so ofte or ligge / wakynge to do so myche. **Modo.** To do in oþer maner þan comoun / vse is. For þere is no fouler synne of lecheri þan a / man may vse his owne wif (amys),[322] ne wors synne þan spousebreche, / for þe dignite of þe sacrament passeþ alle oþer in maner / and also it was made be-for ony synne. For god / hym-selfe makede hit in paradys by-fore all oþer sacramentes. / And þerfore euery man þat haþ a wyfe he haþ a god for to / queme and a soule to kepe, and þerfore euery man vse his wif / so þat he nat mysqueme God ne a-payre not his soule.

*In / prologus debet dominus *** pronunciacionem articulorum.* / Gode men þese wordes of articles þat y woll schewe 3ou / of cursyng ben i-stabled

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[319] Inserted over the line.
[320] MS:seuentene.
[321] MS: þat
[322] Insert over the line.

and ordeyned and confermed / of popes,[323] and bischoppes, and prelatus of holi chirche. And I hote þat all / þulke þat han cure of manis soule as parsons,
309 vicaries and / parische prestes, þat þei foure tyme in þe 3ere þise poyntes and /
[f.58r] articles of cursyng schewe her parischyns þat þei þorgh [un]knowynge / ne defaute of techyng not falle in to cursyng. For ryght / as þe swerde parteþ þe hede fro þe body, ryght so gostlyche / to speke þoroghe prestes tonge þat godes swerd is vnderstond / departeþ manis soule þat Ihesus Criste, godes sone, bou3te wit his dere / blode vppon þe roode tree from hym and from oure ladi and from /
315 alle þe companye of heuen to þe fende of helle and to his mynystres / to peyne þe wrecched soule in þe peyne of helle as / longe as god is in heuene. And þerfore y pray 3ow, for þe / loue of Criste and of sauacioun of 3oure soules, þat 3e vnderstond / wel alle þese poyntes and 3if eny of 3ou fele hym gilti / in any of alle, þat he hym amende þoroghe schrifte and penaunce / and þat be tymes. By
320 þe auctorite of our lord Ihesus Criste and / our lady Seynte Marie, and Seynte Peter and Poule, and Seynt / Iohan þe baptem and alle holy halowes, apostoles, martres, confessoures, / virgynes and alle þe holy companye of heuene we denounsen / accorsed and oute of þe companye of god and of holy chirch, / we departen hem til þei come to amendement.

325 **Qui et quibus / casibus sunt excommunicandi qui rei inueniutur articulorum infra superscriptorum.** Alle þoo þat þe fraunchise of holychirche breken or destroblen, / and al þat been a-3ayen þe pees or ry3te of holy cherche / or þerto assent wit dede or counsayle. And alle þo þat holychirche / priuen of her ry3te nor maken of holychirche lay fe þat is / halowed. Alle þo þat wit-
330 halden holicherches ryght þat / is to wyten tythenges, rentes, offerynges hem-self wytynge. / Alle so alle þo þat fredom of holy cherche letten / or breken or distroblen, þat is to sey 3yf a man flee to chirche / or to chirche-3erd whoso hym letteþ or witdraweþ or þerto / procureþ or assentyth. Alle þo þat doþ
334 sacrilege þat is for to / take holy þyng ou3t of holy stede. Alle þo þat lettres /
[f.58v] purchasen in any lordes court, þat no processe of ry3te may / be termyned ne iuged in holy chirche. Alle þo þat blood / drawen on man or woman in violence or eny oþer felony / in chirche or in chirche-3erde doþ, where þoroghe þe / holy place is enterdited or suspended or pollute[d]. /

[323] A word has been erased here. Sense would suggest that it is 'pope'.

Alle þo þat werne sustene aȝeyn þe kynges pees wrongfulliche. / Alle robers and reuers or man sleers but it / be hym-self defendaunt. Alle þo þat ben a-ȝeyn þe / grete chartre or charter of forest of þe kyng whyche / is confermed n by þe courte of Rome.

Alle þo þat fals / witnesse beren or procuren her wetyng, namelich̄e / in cause of matrimonye in what courte so it be or oute / of courte. And alle þat fals witnes bryngen forth / ryghtful matrimonye for to desturblen, or man or woman / for to deserte of lond, of rente, tenementes or ony other / catel. Alle false auocates þat for mede putteþ forþ / fals exceptiouns, quereles where-þorogh ryȝt matrimonye / is for do, or eny oþer manere of ryȝte, in-stede of / iugement.

Alle þo þat for mede or for fauour or for eny / oþer encheson maliciously man or woman bryngen oute / of here good fame in to wikked or doon hem lese hir / worldlyche good or put wrongfulliche in to her purgacion / of whyche was no fame a-fore.

Alle þo þat maliciously / disturblen or letten þe ryght presentment of a / chirche whiche þe verray patron schulde presente or þerto / procuren wit word or dede or wit fals enqueste or wit oþer / power.

Alle þo þat maliciously despiten þe kynges / maundementes to take a-cursed man þat haþ leye a-cursed / .xl. dayes and no remedie wol seche. And alle þo / [f.59r] þat mede taken to disturblen wit fals iugement or fals / enqueste here liueraunce, purchasen a-ȝeynes þe ryght of holy / chirche.

Alle þo þat mede taken for to destroblen pees þere / loue schulde be, or contek, or stryf mayntened wit wordes / or ded. And til þei han ȝolde a-ȝeyn þe mede to hem of whom þei / hit token, þei mowe nat be assoyled.

Alle þo þat houses, manners / or granges of parsones or vicars or eny oþer men of holy chirche / aȝeyn hur wille, eny manere good mevable or vnmeuable / a-way beren wit streyngþe or wrongfullyche a-way drowen / or wasten, of wyche cursyng þei mowe not be assoyled te(l)[324] þei / haue made restitucion and satiffaccion to whom þe wrong / his doon to. Alle þo þat eny maner go(o)[325]d wit violence berent / ouȝte of holy cherche stede, as abbey or hous of religioun,

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[324] MS: 'l' inserted in a later/different hand.
[325] Inserted over the line.

þe / wyche þat is þer-ynne y-leyde for warantise or socour or for to / kepen and
370 þo þat þerto assenteþ or procureþ.

Alle þo þat erysye / may[n]teyneþ or susteyneþ. Alle wycches and alle þat on hem / by-leuen. Alle þo þat þe sarisenes counsoyleþ or helpeþ a-ȝeyns / cristendom.

Alle wommen þat generacions of children / distroyeþ as wit drynke or wit
375 ony oþer crafte. Alle þo þat / þat her childeren wrongfulliche fadren wetyng or her children / putteþ to be fadred to any man maliciously. Alle þo þat / leye or doþ leye her children by ony crosse way or at þe chirche / dore or in ony oþer vnleful place to be founde of oþer men nat / knowynge wheþer þei be crystened or noon.

380 Alle þo þat fals / monye maken or þerto assenten. Alle þo þat good money / clyppen hem to auauntage. Alle þo þat false þe [Papys][326] / bulles or counterfeten þe kynges seel. Alle þo þat byen / or sellen by any fals mesures or fals weyghtes þat is / to wete to beyen wit on and selle wit a-noþer. Alle þo þat
384 / falsen þe Kynges standart by here wytynge. All þo / þat ony testament
[f.59v] distroblen or þerto procuren wit word or dede / werþorogh þe dedis wil may nouȝt [be] ful-felde. Alle þo / þat forsweren hem on þe holy dom willyng or wetynge for / mede or for hate or for to don eny man lesen his worldeliche / good or catell or his honour. Alle robers and / reuars opynliche [b]e[327] day or be nyght or þat eny manis / goode stelen for whiche goddes men were worþi to
390 bere / iugement. Alle þo þat wit-holden ony manis goodes þat / haþ ben asked opinliche in chirche, þries hem wetyng / and not restored aȝen. Also alle felons and here mayntenours. / Alle fals conspiratours and alle fals swere[er]s / in asyses or in ony oþer court. Alle þo þat fals playntes / putten forþ a-ȝeyn þe fraunchise of holy chirche or of þe / kyng or of þe reygne.

395 Alle þo þat offerynges þat been / offred in holichirche or in chirche-ȝerde, in chapel or in oratorie, / or in ony oþer stede þe wyche is in þe prouince of Caunterberi / þat is wit-holden or putte a-way in ony oþer place a-ȝeyn / þe parsones wille or his debyt or his parych prest in þe parych / þat is offred. Also alle þo þat here goode ȝeuen in drede of / deth for fraude of holy chirche or to

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[326] This word has been erased from the manuscript; from the sense I assume that it is pope, but am unsure of the spelling.
[327] MS reads 'de'.

for-barre her dettis / and alle þo þat suche 3iftes taken or þerto consayle and helpen. / And alle þo þat letten prelates or ordinaryes of holy chirche / for to holde cons[is]torie cession or chapitres for to inquire / for synne or excesse, þere need be, for helpe of soule. Alle þo / þat leyth honde vppon prest or clerk of ordre but it be / hym-self defendaunt. Alle heretikes þat leuen no3t / in þe sacrament of þe auter wyche is godes owne bodi / in flesche and blode in forme of bred, and in alle oþer sacraments / þat touchen hele of manis soule.

Alle vserers general as / 3if a man leue his catel to anoþer to take a-
[f.60r] vauntage be / counenaunt for leuyng of his catel, and 3if þere were ony / suche in a cite schulde ben enterdited þat masse ne matyns / ne noon sacrament schuld be doon þer-ynne til he were / put ou3t of þat cite. /

God oure fader þat is in heuene, he chese to hym here / on erþe .xij. apostoles and taught eche of hem many / g[o]odnesses and many wisdomes and 3af to eche of hem and / taught hem a oryson [or] a preyere. By whyche preyere / and oryson alle oþer oracions and preyers to ben asserued / and confermed and taught hem how þei schulde preyen it, / by þat preyere to be saued. And badde, and commawnded hem / to teche vs, how we schulden preyn hit to be saued þerby. / Þe whyche oryson and preyere ben .vij. peticions þat / is *Pater noster* and þat is for to seye askyng of .vij. 3yftes of / god whiche þei be I schal telle 3ow.

Pater Noster qui es in / in celis. Fader oure whiche þat art in heuen. Þis nys no / peticion ne askyng, but it is a clepyng þat ege man / whiche þat clepeþ to god and seyþ fader oure whyche þat / art in heuen schal be to hym swyche a sone in erþe. Þat is for / to seyne þat he leue so and gouerne hym so þat he be his sone / þat he haue perfy3te charite in hym and þat he loue god and his euen-cristene / and þat he be meke, paciente and sobur and þat he haue alle / good vertues in hym selfe. And 3if he haue þese þyng[s] / he may sauely crien and seyen, "Fader our þat art in heuen." / For þanne he is godes sone whan he doþ þe werkes of / god. But 3if þou be proude, 3if þou be spouse-breker, 3if[328] / þou be a lechoure, 3if þou be a glotoun, 3if þou be a man-slerere / wit honde or wit tonge, 3if þou be a detractour and / saw discord by-twene neighbor and neighbor, 3if þou be a / double-tonged man þat is to seyn speke fayre by-fore /

[328] MS: 3if 3if

[f.60v] and euel be-hynde, and vse suche oþer vices and euel dedes, / þan art þou nat godes sones but þou art þe sone of þe fend and / omeger to synne. Whi? For þou doste noȝt godes wille ne / is werkes for holy wiyt seyþ. "**Cuius opera facis eius filius / appellaris**." "Whose werkes þat þou werchest, his sone þou / schalt be called."

Sanctificetur nomen tuum. I-halowed be / þi name. This is þe ferst peticioun, þe firste askyng þat / we askyn of god. Nat þat his name in hym-selfe schal / ben[329] halowed more þan hit is (for holy it was, holy it / is and holy schal be and wit-ouȝten ende holy abyden), bot / we pray hym þat his name be halowed in vs. For ryȝt / as we [han] oure name taken of hym in oure bapteme þat is / cristendom to seyn (for cristenman of Criste haþ þat name) / therfore we preyen hym þat he schal halowen þat name / in vs þat it be not in vs pollutid, defouled, ne in / vs blemysched, but holy in vs abide.

The seconde / peticioun is, **adueniat regnum tuum**. Thi kyngdam schal / comyn. In þis secounde peticioun we schal preyen nat god / þat his regne schal comyn more (for in his regne he is ouer al), / but we prayen hym þat is regne come in vs, and his holinesse, / his goodenes, and his ryghtwysnesse. And þe deuel ne regne / nat in vs ne noon vikked vise ne no synne, ne þat þer be / no party in vs voyde from þe regne of God.

The þirde / peticioun is, **fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra**./ Here we preyen þat as god wille as his in heuene by-twene / angeles and archangles ryghte so to be in erþe a-monge / mankynde (þan þus ȝe knowen wel þat aungeles / ne han no wykked wille to synne ne þei coueyten / no worldly þynges as gold and syluer or oþer wordly þynges), / but eueremore þe[i] han eche to oþer good wille and euere-more / god þei worchipyn. And in þe worschypyng / [f.61r] of hym euere-more þei abyden. So prey we as god wolle / in erþe amonges mankynde as his in heuen amonges / angels, so þat amonges vs be no wikked wille ne no / wikked coueytise, but þat we mowe þynken on þat / dreedful day of doome and þe workes of god so doon þat / we mowe comyn to þat blisful place þere þe holy aungelles / ben. In þe same maner we preyn god, þat as god wille / as his amonge holy men, ryght so be amonges synful / men. For holy men and ryghtfulmen (whyche þat in holynesse / leuen and in ryghfulnesse in þe

[329] MS: ben ben, but the first 'ben' is marked for erasure.

werkes of god dedyn), / therfore in þe kyngdome of heuen þei lyuen, ryghte so / prey we þat god[s] wille be in vs synfulmen þat we mowe / turnen vs from our synnes þat we hauen doon, þat we / mowe come to verey confessioun, to almesdede 3euen, to / fastyng, to prayeres, to wepynge. So þat we may be vnbounden / and clensed of our synnes þat we han don, þat we / mowe comyn to þat blysful place where þat holy men / and ry3tful men ben.

The ferþe peticioun is, **panem / nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie**. Oure eche day brede / 3eue vs to-day. In þis worde 'brede', two þenges ben / vnderstonde in our peticioun: the oone is brede actuel, / and þat oþer brede is spirituel. The brede actuel, hit is / made of corn. But þe brede spirituel, it is a worde. For / ry3t as þe brede actuel þat is made of corn þe body / relieueþ, ryght so of þe brede spirituel þat is þe worde of / god þe soule relieueþ. Therfore we preyn hym þat / he 3euen vs oure boodly brede þat þe boody mowe leuyn / (bot more hertly preye we hym to 3eue vs our spiritual brede whereof þe soule may leue).[330] **Takyng ensample what holy doctrine techeþ vs, "Omnia sicut corpus viuere non potest sine victu et vestitu / ita nec** [f.61r] **anima potest viuere sine predicacione et verbo vite eterne.**" / "Ryght as þe body may not leuen wit-ou3te mete and dring / an cloþynge, ri3th so þe soule may not lyue wit-ou3ten / prechynge and techyng of godes word."

The fyfte peticioun is þis, **et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et / nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris**. And for-3eve vs our / dettes as we for-3euen oure dettours. In þis prayere / his ful grete peril, 3if any man haued synned a-3eyns þe / and þou wolt nat for-3euen hym his trespas. Or 3if þou / berest any wraþ on þi hert to þi neyghbour and nelle nou3t / for-3euen hit,[331] þou seyst þi prayre to þi confucion. For þou asked / of god þat þou nyst not do þi self, werfore god nys / not for-3euen þe. And þerfore in þis seyinge þou byndest sore / þi self; and beter þe were to ben doumbe and myghtest nat / speke, þan to seyn hit. For god seyþ in þe gospel, **"Si non / dimiseritis vnusque fratribus vesris de corde suo nec Pater Noster celestis / dimittet nobis peccata vostra."** "3if 3e for-3eue nat to / 3our euencristene out of 3oure hertes þe wraþe, god in / heuen wil not for-3euen 3ow. And 3if þou wilt al-gates / haldren wraþe in þi

[330] This later subclause is inserted in the text at the bottom of the page in a different hand.
[331] The following is inserted in a later hand in the margin: and þen 3if he haue outte vnri3tfulliche but þou for-3eue it.

herte and dredest for to sayn þis / peticion, þanne wost þou wil þat þou byndest þi self and chargist / þe gretly a-ȝeynes god. For þere þou knowlegest þe / vnbuxom a-ȝeyns god and ȝif þou leue þis petycioun in þi / **Pater noster** and seye it nought, alle þat oþer deele profyteþ / nouȝt. For why þou seyste it not as god seyde it / and taught hit, and god hereþ nat þi prayere for þou defraudest / his wordes. And ȝif þou leeuest alle þi **Pater noster** / by-cause þou dredest to seyn þat pe[ti]cioun, for þou woldest / holden stille wrathe in þyn herte and nat wolle for- / geuen, al maner oþer preyers þat þou ouȝt seyne / wiþ-oute þis
[f.62r] preyo(u)r þey mowe not profyten.[332] / For þis prayere to alle oþere manere prayeres / is confermed and affermed. For loke wel masse ne matyns, / euensong ne noon oþer tyde in holy chirche ne may / nat be seyde wit-outen þe **Pater noster**. And ȝeue þou / for-ȝeue to oþer þat þei han trespast a-ȝeyns þe and a-ȝeyns / eche man, þou hast good wille and eche man louest euene / wit þi self, þan prayest þou trewlyche and þan god hereþ þi / prayere.

The .vj. petici0un is, **et ne nos inducas in / temptacionem.** In þis .vj. peticioun we preyen god / þat he lede vs nat in no temptacioun and in an-oþer place. / We preyen to god þat he scholde prouen vs by temptacioun / as Dauid seyþ in þe Sauter, "**Proba me domine et tempta / me.**" "Preue Lord and tempte me." As who seyþ late, / preuen me wit temptacioun and þou schalt se for þi loue / how strongly I wil wit-stonde hem. But here hit is / good (to)[333] preyen to god þat no temptacioun come to men more / þan þei mowe wit-stonde. For þe deuel haþ power / to tempten men as he tempted þese holymen, but / more pouer he haþ to tempten vs synful men. By / þre manere wyse we ben tempted to synne: by / suggestion, be delite, and be consent. By suggestioun / whan þe deuel exciteþ vs and eggeþ vs to doon synne. / By delyte whan þe flesche delyteþ to synne, so þat / þorgh suggestioun of þe deuel and by delyte of our / flesche consenteþ comeþ and doþ þe dede and þere is dedly / synne. Of suche suggestion, delite and consente / we schal preyen god nyght and day þat he ne suffre / vs nat in þese temptaciouns to ben lad. Bote his / vertue mercie and helpe we mowe so fyghten a-ȝeyne / þe deuel þat by þe armes of ryghtwysnesse,
[f.62v] by verey / confessioun and mekenesse, by charite, fastyng and almesdede

[332] MS: mowe not profyten, mowe not proftyen.
[333] 'to' inserted over line by later hand.

ȝeuyng, and / by alle oþer goode vertues worchyng þat from al suche temptacioun as we / seyde fyrste, ne suffre vs nat lord to be lad in temptacioun.

The / .vij. peticioun is, **sed libera nos a malo.** In þis .vij. prayere we / preyen to god from alle euel deliueren vs, but principalliche of þe euel / þat eke doon in þis world by weye of synne and of þe persecutioun of þe / deuel. Nathales, þe anguysses, seekenesse or persecutioun þat god for / our trespasse sent vs here in þis world, be it in body or in bestis / or in ony oþer catel, wit goode wil mekely we schul ressey[ue] hit. / And þankyng god of his sonde þat he wil chastisen vs here and / storyn vs werþoroght to his mercy we mowe þe raþer be accepte. / And þerfore we schullen now preye þat he ne suffre vs no more / hens forward to be tempted þan þe brotelnesse of oure kynde / may wit-stonde, but deuoutely prey we to god þat he delyuere vs / fro euerlastynge euel, þat is to seyen from helle and from perpetuel fyre / of helle. Þus for his mercy defende vs he þat for vs deyde on þe rode / tree. Amen.

Deum timete et mandata eius seruate. Ecclesiastes vltimo capitulo. The grace of almyghti god þorgh þe besechyng of his dere moder / Mary and of þe holy confessour Seynt Nicholas, of whom holy / chirche syngeþ and redeþ at þis tyme, and of alle þe holy company of / heuen be wit vs and spede vs in our begynnynge, helpe vs and forþer vs / in our worchynge, and brynge vs to blis witoute endynge. Amen.

My / dere gostly chidren in Cryst, I fynde þat wyse þoyetes by olde tyme / al þei were hyuyd and nouȝte groundyd in cristen feyþ when þei / scholde make eny grete werk, þei cried to god and asked a manere / of helpe of hym. But þanne as þus, þat gretter werke more nedeful / ne more trauayle is þere noon þan þe office of prechynge / and techynge of godes worde. And more-ouer syþ þei þat knewe nouȝt / þe feyþ creyed to god in worchynge, moche more scholde we / þat schulde be saued by þe feyþ aske helpe of god as he byddyþ / in þe [f.63r] gospel þer he seyþ þus, "**Primum quaerite regnum dei et omnia adicientur vobis.**" **/ Mathi .vj.° c°.:** "Ȝoure begynnynge," he seyþ, "askeþ help of god and ȝe schal / haue al þyng þat is helpynge and nedful to ȝou." And þerfore I prey ȝou alle / at þe bygynnynge of þis schort sarmon preyeþ to god almygti in / whom alle witte and wysdom was and his and euere schal be, þat he sende / me suche grace in schewynge þat hit be hym to worchype and plesynge ȝow / to

helpe of soule and gostly lyuynge, þe deuyl and al his to schame / and ouercomyng. Also 3o schulle be-seche in 3our preyers for our holy / [fader þe Pope][334] þat god sende hym victorie and ouercomyng of alle his enemyes, / boþe bodylysche and gostlyche, and for alle men of holy chirche / and specialiche for our lord bischoppe, þat god graunte hym grace so to vicite / and to gouerne his cure and his peple þat it be god to plesynge to hym-self / and his pepil saluacioun of lyf and soule. Also for þe Kyng / of Engelond and for þe Quene and for alle þe lordes of þis lond more and / lasse þat han þe lond to gouerne and mayntene, þat god sende hem witte / and grace so to gouerne and so to doun þat hit be to his worchype and profy3te / and saluacioun to þis lond. Also for þe comouns of þis londe and / for alle þe soules þat ben in peyne of purgatorie abydynge þe mercy of / god, for hem alle and for spede of 3ow and of me at þis tyme y be-seche / of 3ow wit a good wille seyþ a *Pater Noster* and *Aue*.

Deum timete / et mandata eius seruate verbi gratia. Goode men þese wordes þat y / haue seyde in latyn to þese clerkes here, ben þus moche to sayn / in englysshe, "Drede God and kepe his comaundementes." Thre skelis, / goode men, þer ben þat a man schulde drede his god and loue [h]is god / ouer al þyng and kepe his commaundementes. On is þe vncerteyne / tyme of bodily deynge. The secounde is for þe orible doome / at þe general vprysynge. The þirde for euerlastyng body / and soule prisonynge.

Ferst y seye why þat a man schulde / drede and be a-ferde for þe vncerteyne tyme of bodyly deynge. / The (gret)[335] clerk, Seynt Bernard, spekeþ of þis mater [f.63ᵛ] and seyþ þus, / **"Nichil certius morte cum nichil incertius hora est,"** Bernardus. "Noþyng," / he seyþ, "is more syker þen deþ, ne no-þyng more vnsykyr [þen][336] / þe houre of deþ." And, for soþe, so vnsyker was neuere manis lyf / ne so frele as it is now, no neuer so sodeyn. For 3e white / wel þat now-a-dayes, þow a man lyue at euene he is dede amorwe, / and spekes to þat breþe passeþ out.[337]

And þerfore, for þe loue of god, / drede god and kepe [h]is commaundements. Þenke how he was smyten / to þe herte wit a rosti spere for

[334] There is a gap in the text at this stage. It is obvious that words have been erased. I presume it is words to do with the Pope.
[335] This word 'gret' is inserted over the line b the same hand as the main text.
[336] MS reads þat
[337] The editor suggests that there is a phrase missing here.

ȝow, no place of his fayre / body lefte hol fro þe top to þe too. Wakeþ in preyeres, doþ / almesdedes, cloþ þe nakeþ, fedeþ þe hungry, teche þe vnkonnynge, / visite þe seke, for-ȝefe þe poour dettours, leue hem / þat haþ nouht, loke þi-self be in clene lyf and waken whan / god comeþ. For god hym self seyþ, **"Beatus seruus quem cum venerit / dominus invenerit eum vigilantem." Luce .xij. c.** "Blessid be þe seruaunt," / god seyþ, "whom I schall fynde wakynge whanne I come." Parauenture, / sum þat ben here wolle aske me þis questioun, "Sir, / what myht make me to kepe me fro synne and wake as þou / seyst?" I answere þe, "Do as Salomon techeþ þe þere he seyþ þus, / **'Memoria nouissima tua et in eternum, non peccabis.'** 'Be-þenke / þe of þi laste ende and þou schal neuere haue wille to synne.'" / **"O mors quam amara est memoria tua ecclesi quadragesimo."** "O /þou deþ, hou bittur is hit to þenke on þe, þou departest allþyng, no /man may a-skape þe whan þou comest."

Who was wyser þan / Salomon oþer rycher? Who was strenger þan Sampsoun? Who / was fayrer þan Absolon? Who was more gracyous þan was / oure Kyng Edward oþer þe goode prince were somtyme? Where / ben þese now? Where ben þei be-come? Go to here berielles / and þere schalt þou se nouȝt elles but wormes mete. And þerfore, I / seyde, þat for þe vncerteyne tyme of manis doynge is princ[p]aile / and firste skille why a man schulde drede [h]is
[f.64r] god and loue / god, and kepe his comaundements.

[Þe secunde skille], þat is for þe orible doome at þe / generall vprysynge. Of þis spekeþ Seynt Ierom and seyþ þus, / **"Siue comedo, siue bibo, siue lego, siue scribo, siue quicquid aliud / facio semper, videtur mihi tuba illa auribus meis in sonare furgite / mortui venite ad iudicum." Ieronumus.** "ȝif þat y hete or drynke," / seyþ þis grete clerk, "Or what so euer I do euere-more me þinkeþ / þat y here þe last trumpe þat schal seye þus, Aryse ȝe vp þat / beþ dede and comeþ to þe general dome." Þat hit schal be a general / doome proueþ wel þe prophete Dauyd in þe Sauter Boke and seyþ þus, / "**Ad te omnis caro veniet." Psalmo sexagesimo .iiij**. "Eche man þat euer was / made schal come to þat dome in body and soule." ȝe, be my leute, / þer schal non atourney be nere, no man of lawe to plete for þe, / but euery man for hym-self. And þis witnesseþ Seynt Paule þere / he syþ þus, "**Vnusquisque onus suum portabit." Ad Galathas. vj c.**. / "Euery man," he seyþ, "schal bere his owne

burþin." Þere schal / no .xij. men go on þe queste to make þe clene as þei doon / at ȝelde alle or at Westmynster Halle. But þou schalt haue / þere þyne accusatours redi, þine angel þat kepte þe on herþe / saying þat þou woldest nouȝte do after me, and þe deuel al-redy / þere schal haue wryte all þi synnes þat euer þou dedyst seþ þou / was born. And þere schalt þou ȝelde rekenynge of all þi lyf / ȝe and of eche idel word. Þere schal þou ȝelde a-countes.

Nowe / wolde god þat ȝe wolde þinke on þis whan ȝe be at þe tauerne, / whan ȝe sytten and drynken, þere schulle ȝe swere by wouundes / and herte, body and bone of almyȝti god, and al to tere hym fram / leme to leme; bakbyten ȝor euencristen, sitten and telle tales / of horlotrie, bostynge of ȝour misdedes þe whiles ȝe schulde / here godes seruyce. God schal come þis dome in þe same / a-ray þat he was whan þe Iues duden hym on þe roode / as hit is wryten, "**Audebunt in quem transfixerunt." Apocalipsi / I⁰.ca⁰**. "Þei schul [f.64ᵛ]se hym wit his blody woundes fete and hondes / wit nayles y-rent to alle menis syȝthe." Demynge þe good (to) þe / yoye euermore lastynge, the synful and þe wykked / to dampnacion wit-outen endynge as witnesseþ þe / prophete where he seyþ þus, "**Tollatur impius, ne videant gloriam / Dei." Ysaie xx vj**. "Þe synful man þen schal be-take and / þrowen a-way for he is nouȝte worþi to se þe glorious / syght of god." Þat is þe secounde skille whi I seyde be-fore / þat ȝe schulde drede god and kepe is commaundmentis. /

The thirde skele þat y spak of be-fore, is for þe perpetuel / prisonynge at þe general vprysynge. God almyȝti at þis / general dome schal walke amonge þe synful and þe ryȝtful, / and parte þe oon fro þat oþer. How hopes þou schal he do / wit-outen drede as ve gospel seyþ, "**Hedos statue[n]t a sinistris, /agnos a dextris." Mathi xx**. "He schal sette þe [goats], / þat is for to seye þe synful on þe lefte syde, þe lambroun, / þat is for to seye þe ryȝtful men on þe ryȝt syde." And þanne / schal he seye to þe synful, "Lo, lo, þou vnkende be holde / me. Loo, what I haue suffred for þe? What hast / þou don for me or for eny of myne? Go ouȝt of my syght / to þe fyre of helle euerlastynge þat is made redi for þe and / to þe deuel and alle his angeles."

Alas þat a man þinkeþ / nouȝt to þe wordes of Iob þer he seyþ þus, "**Quia in inferno nulla est redempcio**." / "For helle ys a prison wit-oute redempcion." Þer is deþ wit-ouȝte endynge. Ther is wepynge. Þer is

sorwynge. Þer is cryenge. Þer is goulyng. / Þere is brennynge. Of alle maner of turmentynge þere / schal be. What schal be seye to þe ryȝtful? Trewleche / þat same sentense þat foloweþ wit, "Ȝe ryȝtfulle, / whan ȝe sawe me naked ȝe
[f.65r] cloþed me, whan I was / hongery ȝe fedde me, and kepte me commaundementis. Goþ in-to / my blesse euermore lastynge, ioye wit-outen endynge, / of wiche ioy and blysse spekeþ holy write and seyþ þus, "**Et / qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam eternam.**" Holy writ seiþ, / "Who-so hath wele i-kepte þe lawes of god and lyued in / trewþe, he schal haue lyfe and blisse wit þe holy companye / of seyntes in þe kyngdom of heuen, þere-ynne to / dwelle for euer-more."

To þe whyche ioy and blysse brynge / vs he þat for vs alle deyde on þe rode tre. Qui cum Deo / Patre et Spiritum Sancto viuis et regnas dominus per omnia, saecula saeculorum. / Amen.

Eueri cristen man and woman þat ȝerneþ to be saued haþ / grete nede to be war and eschewe þe fendes sleyghtes, / and namely to knowe þe .viij. principal synnes wit alle / comoun braunches þe wyche is in þis litil treteys schortly / ben entiteled to warne hem þat his unlerned how lyghtly / and in how many diuerse maners his conscience may be / caste in a dedly synne. And vnderstondeþ þat all þe braunches / of dedely synne þat bokes rehersyn, here þei beþ expressed / by name or elles reducible to þo þat here ben touched. / *Pride:* presumpcioun, vnbuxumnesse, bostfulnesse, / ypocriysie, indignacioun, boldenesse, schamelesnesse. / *Enuie:* gladnes of mischef, heuenesse of bonchef / bakbytyng, sawynge of discord. *Wrathe:* hate of / herte, malice of mouþe, wrekyng of wraþe, sternenese, / vnpacience, blasfem, mannes slauthe[r]. / *Coueytyse:* nigardschepe, ambycioun, treson, vsure, / simonye, thefte, sacrilege. *Slowthe:* slougnesse, / rechelesnesse, orwnesse, idelnesse, tendernesse, / heuynisse, whanhope. *Glotonie:* gredynesse, / iustinesse,
[65v] dronkenesse. *Lecherie:* fornicacion,[338] / avoutrie, inceste, pollucyoun, sodomye.

Pride is roote of alle vices þe wyche growit in manis herte / wit-outen skil and wit-outen mater saue onely þe ȝifte of god / wiche aren parted in þre þat is to sayn þe ȝifte of kynde, þe gifte of / fortune and ȝifte of grace. Þe gyftes of kynde ben: strengþe, / beute, eloquens, good witte, gentilnesse of blode,

[338] MS: flornicacion

nobilnesse / of kynrede, plente of children and auauncement of heritache. / The ȝiftes of fortune be: londes, rentes, gold and / siluer, tresour, cloþynge, hors, harneys, iewelles / lordischip and fauour of þe pepil. The ȝiftes of grace / ben: vertues, good happes, holy lyfe, good los, prelacye and / wisdom in gouernayle. The ȝiftes of god ben oneli be-cause / whiche a man wexed proude þer he auȝte [to] be meke and perfore / his synne is mekel þe more.

The firste branche of / pride is presumpcion in hym þat for ony of þese forseyde ȝiftes / of god setteþ þe better by hym-self and þe lasse by a-noþer; / lokynge after reuerense to sitten aboue;[339] to speken firste; / to worchyp of þe worlde passyng alle oþer; loþe to preyse ony / man and wroth but hym-self bepreysed. He schewith passyng / is a-stat, cost in cloþynge, gaynesse in disgysynge, curiousnes / in housynge [and maystries an[d] quereles vndertakyng] hawteyne of speche, hyȝe of countenawunce; / haueyne disdeyne of his hiere, dispite of his lower, and / scorn of his peres.

The secounde is vnbuxumnesse in hym / þat wit-stondeþ þe hestes of god and of holycherche, þe biddynge / of fader and moder, þe lawes of his kyng, þe ordynaunce of / his soueryne - temporal and spiritual; wilfully lettynge þat þat is commawnded / and doyng that þat is defended, and wilfully hauyng / no rewarde to resoun ne to peyn þat his lym[yt]ed in þe lawe of god / enforced hym to haue is owne wil in ryȝt and wrong.

[66r] The / thirde is bostfulnesse in hym þat bosteþ of hym-self for ony / vertue of grace þat god haþ sent hym: wetyng [h]is goode happe to þe merite / of hym-self and to his owne worþinesse and nouȝt to god; and rettyng / al is euel spede to oþer menis defauȝtes and nowȝt to his owne; / louynge flatereres and glosers þat wolen ofte rehersen is comendablen / dedes and hatynge alle þo þat in amendynge of his defautes / tellen hym þe soþe.

The fourþe is ypocrisye in hym þat scheweþ / hym self holyer, trewer, sadder, more frendely, more feyȝthfully / þat he is spekynge (of)[340] trewþe and [of][341] chastite, [and] of holynesse, to / hyde [h]is owne euel lyf þorugh lakkynge and dispreysynge of / synne; ȝeuynge almesse, fastynge, and vsynge

[339] MS: to aboute
[340] Inserted over line.
[341] MS: and

preyere and penaunse / in presence of men in entente for to be-holde good and / preysed of þe pepil.

The fyfte is indignacioun in hym / þat haþ desdeyne of is euencristene; alowynge no man but / hym-self; lakkynge oþer menis witte; dispresynge his dedis; / scornynge, iapynge, rebukynge and reprouynge pore men and / wommen; makynge borde and laughtere of sy[m]ple menis deseses / and angres; and iapyng of wommens defauȝtes; edwytynge / also is neighboure by his pore kyn, by borowynge / be daungere oyþer be ony oþer poynte þat myght turne hym to / schame.

The syxte is boldenesse in hym þat synneþ vppon / trust of godes mercye þyngkyng þat it is but lytel peril in / hijs lyfe as longe as oþer doon as euel as he or wors; dredyng / neyþer vengeaunce here ne peyne in helle, but alle / whay doþ is owne luste in hope to askapen.

The .vij. is / schamelesse[ness] in hym þat a-vaunteþ hym in harlotrie and putrie; of falsnesse / and swyche horrible dedes hauynge a likynge to here þerof; and to be / halden wikked; nouȝt sparynge for schame of þe world to speke / wit suspecte persones in suspecte places to schewen his loue / there; ne for to bene founde fals in worde ne desclaundrous in dede, / but as lief openly as priuely, [66v] doþ euyl and leuyþ a mys sparyng / for no schame.

Inuidia. / Envie is heuynisse in herte for þe welþe and prosperite þat a malicious / man or womman seþ in his[342] euencristene. Þis vice haþ / four braunches. Te firste is ioye of anoþer manis myschef / in hym þat seyth is broþer lesen his goode [or] his frendes, fallen / in sekenes or in danger, [forgo] of lordshipe, in pouerte, in desclawnder / or in ony oþer desese and is þerof glad and ioyful in his herte.

Þe / secounde is sorwe of oþer manis bonchife, and in hym þat seeþ his / broþer encrese in vertue, and in riches, in good los, in getynge of loue, / in wynnyng of worchip or in ony oþer goode happe and his heuy / in his herte þerfore castynge wheyes to hyndren hym and to appairen / his name. In þis vice also fallen þei þat hiden here cra[f]te[343] / and hyr connynge, hyr wytte and hyr

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[342] MS: his in
[343] MS: crapte

conseyle; ȝeuynge and wit-drawynge / hir socour and hyre comforte; þere þei myȝte helpen onely for / euyl wil and frowardenes of hert.

Þe þirde is bakbytynge / in hym þat preuyly appe(y)[344]reþ his broþer by way of desclaunder / be it soþ, be it fals, feynyng fals tales and berying euel tydynges; / a-boute discuryng counseyle þat schulde be hydde, and hydynge / þe trewþe þat schulde be-knowe; preysynge hym þat is vicious; / lakynge hym þat is vertuous; turnynge and expounnyng eche good word / of hym and ege good dede of hym þat he loueþ nouȝte in þe worste / entent.

Þe ferþe is discorde in hym þat wolde beste bene loued / and leste loue deserueþ; lettynge in al þat he may loue be-twixe / frendes; and tellynge of tales by excitacioun and wittynge of boþe / parties to striuynge and to wrathe, be makynge of comparison / of heyþer oþer syde; spendynge his owne catel to make / broþer and suster to lese; openly accusynge hym-self in schendeschip / of oþere and euermore mornynge and heuy til his malys / ben parformed.

Wreþ is a vice þat groweþ in hasti / manis herte þat alweye wolde haue [f.67r] wrath for wanttynge / of his wille. This vice haþ .vij. braunches. Þe ferst is hate / of herte in hym þat spekeþ litel and meneþ mekel malice, abydynge / til a leysyre come whanne he may wreke is tene; lowrynge / and chaungynge or hangynge chere; eschewynge the companye / of hym þat he hateþ and waytynge be or by lordschyppe; / or elles by streynþe of euel companye to hyndren and / to harmyn is euen-cristen in persone or in goodes; leef to pletyn / and to striuen; loþ for to accorden; and at þe laste wit a Iudas / kus scheweth loue feyned.

Þe .ij. is malice of mowþe / in hym þat is a chider and skolde[r]; rekeynynge vp in his hastinesse / al þe euel þat he can, and more lowde crienge; spytly lyinge / swarynge and corsynge; despytous names clepyng; dyffyynge, / chaungynge of color and preferynge of fyght.

Þe .iij. / is werkynge of wrethe in hym þat is redy to smyte / wy[f][345], childe or serfaunte vnskilfully; or ony oþer persone a-ȝenste / þe lawe sekynge debate and preferyng baret to / ben holden hardi and perilouse; excite oþer men to

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[344] Inserted over the line.
[345] MS: wyþ wit

smyten hym / he for to smyten aȝen; or ells in a-tente to be venged by lawe / and aske grete amendes.

¶Þe .iiij. is feersenes in hym þat is / as a wilde beste recched, neuer whom ne where he smyte / in seyntewarie or ouȝt of seyntwarie; þe gilti or vngilti / wit scharpe or wit flatte to maim; or to deþ betynge þe / feble man and þe simple, þere he dar nouȝte assayle þe hardy / and þe ryche; wrekynge his tene wit fyȝtynge and chydynge / vppon his owne meyne as ofte as he is greued and angred / in ony straunche place.

¶Þe .v. is inpacience in hym þat gruccheþ / a-ȝenste þe resonable chastisynge of his souereyne / and a-ȝeyne þe vndernymynge of his defauȝtes, þenkynges / þat al his wronge þat is (a)[346]-ȝeynste his wille; sorowynge / and repentynge of [f.67v] þat state þat he stant in; and weylynge / þat nowher of þat myghte; wreken hym of his tene euermore redi / to ȝelden a schort word for a-noþer; and ȝif hym be do ony euel turne / to do þerfore tweyne.

¶The .vj. is blaspheyme in hym þat grucched / a-ȝenste god in ony tribulacion, wit orrible oþes and wordes reyned / god and his seyntes, þinkynge þat god is vnresonable or / elles vnmyghtful for he graunteþ nought hym his wille / and demynge[347] þat he sendeþ hym more wo and lesse wele /þan he holdeþ hym self worþ[i]; he setteþ no prise by / pilgrimache to corseyntes ne to holy ymaches; he ne haþ / no trust in preyers ne in suffrages of holy chirche for as / moche as he is nought lissud of his desese as hastily as / he wolde.

¶The .vij. is manslauȝter in hym þat is a mordrere / of men; or openly castynge or waytynge how he may / bringe a man to his bodyly deþ as by enpoysen and by / smytynge, by fals dome, by fals appelynge or by fals / witnessynge in-questes. And in þis vice fallen þei alle gostly / þat wit þe stroke of here wikked tonges sleen and quenchyn / þe goode loos of here euencrystene.

Coueytise is a vice þat growit in man of an vntriste / þat he haþ to god, for drede of pouerte, wit a myslad loue / to goodes of þis world. And þis vice haþ .vij. braunches. / ¶The .i. is nygardshype in hym þat haþ y-now and spareþ nedeles. / He haldeþ hard, he spendeþ litel, he parteþ noughte / wit his sy[m]ple kyn; he haþ [no] pite on þe poore for to suetthe / good. Glad for to wynne and

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[346] Inserted over line.
[347] MS: semynge

loth for to spende, he borwit / ofte, he payeþ late to ben holde pore, he fareþ harde in / his hous, he ȝeueþ litil for godes loue. His ioye is al to / tellen gold to handelen it and here þerof is loþ to leue his / gold, and euermore grucchynge til he be payde a-ȝeyne. / He delueþ his goode in grownde, he shetteþ it vp in / [f.68r] cofers euer pleynynge of pouerte saue whanne he maybe setten / his peny to his neyghbours arme.

¶The .ij. is ambicioun in / hym þat vseth sleyghte and sotiltees to maken hym self riche: / ȝeuynge smale ȝiftes to resceyuen gretter; plesynge lordes loulyche / to ben a-vaunced hyre; flaterynge and plesynge hym þat / may make hym ryche; seruynge and trauaylynge for loue and / for lordeschyp as it semeþ; and ys al vnseched in entente / to[348] hauen a grete reward at þe laste ende. In þis vice fallen / alle þo þat wit falsede of questis and feyned lawes wynneþ / his good wit entrikynge of blynde bargaynes; begyleþ ony / man of his good; and þei also þat borowne and payen nat / by hoten and lesten; nought proferynge helpe to þe sy[m]ple man / and resceyuynge mede and fayleth hym at his nede. /

¶The þirde is tresoun in hym þat by-wreyeþ þe counseylle / of his kyng, of his reme, of his lord, of his mayster for / mede and wynnynge of worldely good, waytynge ony / harm or skathe vylenye, or hyndrynge of frendes for þank / and reward þat he opith to haue of his enemye. In þis / vice fallen alle tho that ensenseþ þe riche how he may / putten the poore out of his purchase and hynderen hym / of his profyght: disturnynge lettres Chartres and euydentes; / ordenynge pryuye lettynges for wynnynge and / mede in hynderynge of þat one partye and for perynge of / þat other. In þis vice fallen alle the fals confederatours, /conspyratours, messagers, aspies, alle vntrewe attourneys, / procuratours, enfessers and alle fals excutours / þat doon aȝeynste the dedes wil and kepynge here goodes. /

The fourþe his vsure in hym þat leneth for wynnyng / by couenaunte, priue or expresse; or elles in entente to taken / ȝiftes or present by-cause of loue, [f.68v] beynge or sellynge / the derrere for drecchynge of the payment; or makynge of / ony newe cheuysaunse touchynge hous or londe or ony / meueable catelle in entente to be payde of more þanne /he leneth. Dredeles, þe byere and þe seller, the borwer / and þe lener bothe ben a-cursed.

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[348]MS: to to

¶The fyfte is symonye / in hym that taketh or ȝeueth eyther by expresse / bargayn or by pryue entent any herthely good for / thynge þat is goostely as his gold, siluer, hous, londe / or catelle, seruyse of body, preyere of frendes, for hys / schapriches prouendres or ony other benefice; or elles for / schryuynges, howsellynge, weddynge or ordrynge or / ony oþer sacramentes of holy chirche; ouȝtake oonly / thiþes and offrynges that longeth to the chirche be lawe; / elles al þat is by coueanaunte chalanged for ony sacrament / or benefiȝ is bothe in the ȝeuer and the taker in symonye / and in synne.

¶The syxte is þefte in hym þat / is an opyn robber, or elles a pryuy mycher, to stelen / trewen mennes goodes. In þis vice fallen alle tyrauntes / and alle extorcyoners in cuntre, and bryngers vp of newe / customes of taskes and taliaches; þei al-so that kepen / to hem-self alle þat þei fynden and paye nought þat / thei borowen. Seruauntes al-so that myspenden here / maystres goodes and maken fals accountes, and / offisours al-so that wit-owȝten wittynge of þe lorde / maken distribucyons of his goode to whynne frendeschyppes / and þanke and profyȝte to hym-selfe.

¶Þe / vij is sacrileche in hym that steleth ony thynge þat / his holy oute of ony place. In this vice ben touchid / alle tho that been amede or at dede at
[f.69r] chirches, at / chapelles prestes or clerkes or ony oþer man of holy / chirche or ony holy place is robbed of ony thynge þat / is halowed as boke, chalice, oþer vestyment or eny / relyk is born aweye. Þei also þat by sleighte or by strengþe, / let ony felon drawe hym oute of seyntuare and schortly / who soo forbarreþ holy chirche or ony fredom þat hit haþ or ouȝt / for to hauen. /

Glotonye is a vice roted in luste of þe flesche þat is al / ȝeuen to superfluyte of mete and drynke vnmesurably / takynge. This vice hath thre braunches. ¶The / firste is gredynes in hym þat gredely as a beste ethiþ and / drynketh, wenynge neuer to haue y-now. In this vice / fallen thei that in tyme of fastynge wollen nouȝte / abyde the oure of noone and sytteth lenger at þe / mete and ethiþ more at þe mele thanne þei wolden / elles. Somtyme þei engroteþ hem selfe ouer euen / for drede of hungyr on þe morowe, and breken the / faste that aughte be halden as vigilles and embryngdayes / - alle Frydayes in the ȝeere, the Advent / and the Lenten. They also þat quenchen þeire / hungur with spices,

confeccions or elles with / crustynge of brede and ouermoche drynke whan / þei schulden fasten.

¶The secounde is lustinesse / in hym þat leith his lust and his lykynge in delicious / metes and drynkes, studyinge and coueityng, / curiousite in curies,[349] in diuerisite of metes dilisiously / sawsed, and spices delicatly dighte, more to aggregyne / his appetite thanne for to quenchen his hungre; / carengge at euery mele how lustely he may fare at / þe nexte; sparynge for no coste ne lettynge no goode / saule dispendid as on dere mete and drynke. /

[f.69v] ¶The (.iij. is)[350] dronkenesse in hym that pampird hym and his body wit / mete and with drynke, þat he may nought brouke / yt with help; so that he leseyth his syght, his speche and / alle his witte and the weldynge of hys lymes. He / iangeleth, he boosteþ, he proferyth to werken maystries / and þere he weneþ to say wele, he spekeþ aȝenst resoun. / Swyche ben alle these ale gooers and tauerners sitteres / that in here dronkenschype demen alle here neyboures, / discurynge alle conseyles, ekynge alle lesynges with / orible othes and cursed tales, tary forþ þe day and / the nyght in drynkynge so longe tille hire felauschype / departe with fyghȝtynge and cydynge whanne þei / hauen noo more discrecione þan[351] vnskylful bestes. / In þis vice also fallen thei that is ryot, and in reresoþeres / wasten more thanne it nedeth ouȝt of tyme and ouȝte / of mesure; distroynge vitayle and chrysten mannes / lyflode, by wyche many a poure man myght be refresched; / longe wakynge, alwey spendynge, doynge / surfet[352] and excesse by-cause of companye, of þe / wyche cometh nouȝth elles but waste of good, sekenes / of body and synne to his soule. /

Slewthe is a vice þat is roted (in)[353] hym that is vnlusti / of hym selfe to seruen god or þe world, desirynge / noon other blisse but oonly boodyly ese. This vice / hath .vij. braunches þe wyche y schal ȝow enforme / here. ¶The fyrste is slugnesse in hym that casteþ hym / eure to lyuen in reste, to slepe moche, to ligge longe / a-bedde; late comynge to his seruyse of god; slowe in / iorneys makynge; in laboure of þo world loth to swynken / for his mete and to

[349] MS: curious
[350] iiij is inserted over the line in the same script.
[351] MS: þan a
[352] MS: suffer is crossed out before 'surfet'
[353] Inserted over the line.

[f.70r] trauaylen for a frende, castynge / perill of sekenesse or wederynge of suche happes and al to esschewe / bysinesse and ligge stille in ese.

¶The secounde is / rechelesnesse in[354] hym þat slewthes his messe and / matynes and oures and doþ þe seruise of god in vntyme. / In þis vice al-so fallen tylyers, housholdres, seruauntes / and officeres þat forslouthen corun, hay, flesch and fysch, / or ony other store til þorwh for-ȝetynge or long taryenge / or chaunge of weders it is as to þe vse of mans, / lost or a-peyred.

¶The þirde is arwenese in hym þat / wil no goode purpous begynne for drede leste he scholde / neuere parforme yt as fastynge, preyer, pilgrimache, / receyuynge of ordres, enterynge of religion, and / swiche good vertues and werkes. Who-so be excited by / inspiracion of god to ony swyche purpous and haþ / noon oþer cause to leue it, but onely drede þat he / ne scholde nouȝte contynuen, he falleþ in þis vice. /

¶The fourþe is ydelnesse in hym þat loueþ noon occupacyoun / but vanite and werk with-outen profyȝte / as pleynge at the cheker, at þe ches, at tables, at dice, / and all oþer games that noon profyght ys yn. Þe / wyche who-so vseth ouȝte of mesure and in vntime, / leuynge therfore a better occupacioun, he falleþ on þis / vyce. In this vice fallen clerkes þat leuen stodye of / holy chirche and holy writte and spenden to moche of / here tyme in curioustees of geometrye and astronomye, / poysye and swyche paynymes science. Prests / al-so þat in tyme of preyer vsen fyschynge, foulynge, / huntynge and hawkynge and sweche veyne occupacions. / Religious men and whommen al-so þat in [f.70v] seruise / tyme seken occasyons to ben ouȝte of quere and cloystre / in temporal office; leuynge prayere, stodynge and holy meditacions / for a worldely besynesse; and schortly alle the leryd / and þe lewed whan thei schulde seruen god ben ydel or / elles been occupied a-bouȝte þynge þat is lesse worth to / body and to þe saule.

The fyfte is tendernesse in / hym þat[355] deliteþ in softe cloþynge and nesche beddynge; / he mote ofte been wasched, ofte bathed and ofte kepte. He / thyreþ so softely and tenderly his flesch, þat he may no / scharpnesse suffer, ne noon þynge þat is hard as is / goynge bare-foote and wolwarde; leuynge be hard mete

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[354] MS: and in
[355] MS: in þat

/ and drinke; liggynge on hard heire; ou3te of lyuen on þe / bare grownde; suffrynge [c]oold[356] on handes and fete; and / takynge of scharpe disciplines for the loue of god almyghti. / He þat chereþ so þe flesch that he may no swyche thynge / suffre he falleþ in þis vice.

935 The syxte is heuynesse / in hym that alle wey comounlyche is dul of chere; sikkynge / and mornynge for ony loos of frend, of catel / or of ony other erthely thynge or good hym / lothes to lyuen. He wyssheþ to dyen for pouerte / or for sekenesse or for suche an-nother myschyef. / Hym lifte no-thynge to be meri. He draweth hym / oute of good companye. He chargeth nat neythere / mete ne 940 drynge. He refuseth alle plesaunce. He / wexeþ wery of hym-self . He suffreth no manere / solas. He careth on noon husbondrye but lateþ / is goode for fare. He that for ony worldly gode / takeþ suche a sorowe, he synneth dedly a3enst god and / falleþ in þis vice.

944 The .vij. is whanhope in hym þat / holdeth hym-selfe so wikked that he may [f.71r] nou3t bene / amended, thenkynge þat is frelte and his febelnesse is so / grete tha[t][357] he may with stonden noo temptacion and þerfore / he lateth the fende worche and folowyth the wille of þe / flesch. And as ofte as he his temptid, he tryeþ after noo / helpe of god; he ordeyneþ nou3th to with-stoonde, but / euen demeth hym-self worthi to be dampned. He wil / nou3th schryuen hym of his 950 lyfe ne repenten hym of / his synne, leuynge þat hit is impossible and a-3en þe / ryghtwysnesse of god to 3euen hym grace and merci, / to preyen or to fasten therfore, or to doon ony almesse. / He ne halt hit but a folye and offten his tempted / to sleen hym-selfe. This is properly the synne a3enst / þe hooly goost the wiche as Cryst hym selfe seyþ, / but hit be eschewed, hit schalle neuer 955 been for3euen / in þis worlde ne in the tother. /

Lecherie is a dede perelous to wryten of for þe / reder, neuerþeles, by-cause that hit is so comoun / in the world and so odyous to almyghti god, hit / nedeþ som what to been touched. This growiþ in man / of glotonye and of slewthe, the whiche feden lechery / as brondes doun the fyre, for it wol nou3te been 960 quenchyd / butte þe broondes been wyth-drawen. This vice / hath .vj. braunches. The firste is fornicacioun by-twene / sengle man and sengle

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[356] MS: goold
[357] MS: thaþ

womman. The / seconde is a-voutrie in wedded man þat taketh a-noþere / þanne his owne wyfe. Also a wyfe þat takeþ a-noþere / man þanne hure owne wedded housbonde. The / thirde his in-ceste by-twene hem that been fleschly by / sybbe as fader and douȝter, moder and sone, brother and / suster, cosyn and cosyn, or any other maners of kynderede / libied with-inne. The ferþe degre of [f.71ᵛ] cosynage / is þe same synne. Al-so vnderstonde in eche degre of goostly / sibrede as by-twene godfader and goddouȝter, godmoder and / godsone or any of here children. This vice al-so conteneth / violacion of maydenes and of wommen of religyoun, and / generalli al manere of lecherie in man or in womman þat / ben i-bounde to chastite by solemne avow or elles be resseyayng / of ordres i-sacrid.

In þese .iiij. braunches of lecherie somtyme / a man or a womman trespaceþ dedly in wil, somtyme / in dede. In wil trespaceþ he or sche dedly þat settiþ / his herte vppon loue þat is vnlawful, mornynge and sighynge / and somtyme wexeþ seke; makynge songes of / paramours, wrytynge letteres, sendynge ȝiftes, wowynge / wit fayre flaterynge wordes; dawsynge and / syngenge and makynge ioly and nyce chiere and gay / appayrayle; and in queynte disgysynge to seme plesaunt / and amyable; also ȝif a woman make here-self fayrere, / gayere thorogh curious atyre and beaute of crafte / to sem fayrer and frescher þan kynde haþ graunted, / with nyce chiere of lokynge, of goynge, of delytable / wordes, drawynge mennys hertis to foly and to synne. / In dede, men trespasen in these thre braunches whanne / þe luste is fulfilled that by al þese forsayde menis so / hard was desyred so þat here þu myghte se þat nouȝte / only þe foule dede in hym-self but also þe wille and / þe wysshynge, þe spekynge and þe lokynge, the / clyppynge and þe kessynge, talkynge and touchynge / and nyce chiere makynge in entente of lecherie may / make bothe man[358] and womman worþi to ben dampned as for a dedely synne.

989 ȝit been there othere / þre braunges of lecherie of þe wiche I ham a-ferd to / [f.72ʳ] speken or ony thynge writen, but þe ferst is abusioun, / the secounde is pollucion, the thirde is sodomye. Þese / vices ben so foule and so horrible in þe syght of g[od] and / man, þat as Seynt Austyn seyth, "Þe self spekynge / þerof infecteth þe eyre." And also he seyþ, "Þei been so / sqweymous aȝenst

[358] man and man

kynde þat Crist hym self for shame / therof was a purpose and in poynt to haue lefte his incarnacion, / neuere to haue take flesch and blode in / saluacion of mankynde.

Abusioun is knowynge / of wommen vnmanerly aȝeynste the ordynawunce and / the cours that is lymyted in þe lawe of kynde and in / þe lawe of god, as ȝif a man vseþ is wyf as it were / his concubyne, or ȝif sche vse or entise þe man as it / were hure lemman oute of kyndely manere; or passyng / skeleful mesure more to performe luste þanne for multiplie / frute, enforsynge the freelte of þe flesche to / lykynge wit hoote metes and drynkes, with spices / and with medicines, wit idelnese and ese, with / touchynge and kessynge and chiere þat is vnchaste. / And ȝif þat ilke luste be nouȝte for-born in tyme of / naturel sekenesse and fro childe quikkynge to þe purificacion / and swiche dayes and nyghtes as oweþ to be / fasted and holden by lawe, in þis maner and in many mo / may a man wit his wyf bothe venialy and dedely fallen / in to synne.

Pollucioun is dremynge and illusyoun of / lecherie þat fallen on a man or a woman, slepynge wit / an vnclene lykynge as þow it were in dede. Þis somtytme / comeþ of febelnesse and of sekenesse and þan it is / no synne; somtyme it falleþ of þe fendes decyte for / envie þat he hath to a chaste man or a woman and þan / it is a venial synne. And somtyme it comyth of to moche / mete and drinke and to moche slepe and ese, and þan it is / a dedely synne.

Sodomye, schortly, is all maner lecherie / þat womman doþ with-ouȝte 1 man, or man wit-owȝte / woman. Of þis I sey no more for schame, but I beseche / þe þat redest þis tretieys þat þou kepest þis to conseyle / and pray god of his grace þat he kepe alle cristen / men and wommen fram þis ilke vice, neuere to weten / what it is by experience in dede.

Thys is sede of synne / of þe wyche growyth .vij. bowes wit .xli. braunches þat / that conteyneþ alle spyces of dedely synne þat ony / man or woman may falle inne. And þow many / poyntes here been touched seme venial synnes, / nathales wheteþ wele þat ȝif it be do wilfully or wit / a-visement or customably,

þe leste þat is here rehersed / is a dedly synne - from þe wiche he vs kepe þat wit / [his precious][359] blode our soules dere bouȝte. Amen. /

In [...] auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis et apostolorum / Petri et Pauli et officij, mei in hac parte michi co- absoluo. Nec ab istis peccatis per te michi confessis / et contritis et de alijs de quibus non recordaris. Oris / confessio. Cordis contricio. Operis satisfaccio. Et omnia / bona que facias, et mala que tolerabis, sint tibi pro penitencia / passio et meritum vniuersalis ecclesie sint in remissionem / omnium peccatorum tuorum. In nomine / patris. Expliciter. Expliciter. Expliciter.

[359] A large stain on the manuscript makes these words difficult to read.

Variants to *Every Christian Man and Woman* (or the supplementary tract on the seven deadly sins) found in Cambridge, MS Pembroke 285 *Sacerdos Parochialis*. The variants are supplied from British Library MS Additional 10053 ff. 85^{r} – 98^{v} (A) and Oxford, MS Bodley 381 ff. 112^{r} – 114^{v} (R).

667 - 8. Eueri...sleyghtes]*not*R

668 - 9. &...wit]*not*R / alle]alle hereA *not*R

669 - 71. comon...wyche]*not*R / is]*not*AR / in...schortly]*not*R / ben....be]*not*R

671 - 3. caste]cauȝtA *not*R / a]*not*AR / dedly....touched]*not*R

673 - 81. Pride...sodomye]*not*AR

682. roote]the roteA

683. ȝifte]ȝiftisA ȝiftsR / aren]benA beR / parted]de partidAR / þre]iijR / to]for toAR

684. þe]*not*R / ȝifte]ȝiftesA ȝiftsR / þe]*not*R / ȝifte]ȝiftesA ȝiftsR / &]and theA / ȝifte]ȝiftisA ȝiftsR

685. ben]ben theseA

686. nobilesse of kynrede]*not*R / of]biA

687. be]ben thesA be þeseR / londes]londeA / rentes]renteA *not*R / &]*not*AR / tresour]rents tresorR

688. &]and ffrendschippe andAR

689. ben]ben thesA be þeseR / vertues]good vertuesR / prelacye]*not*R / wisdom]wyseeA

690. gouernayle]gouernyngR / The]þeseA / whiche]whyA / he]himAR

691. meke]wellA *not*R

692. The]*Prima spes presumpcio est* TheR

693. a noþer]even cristenR

694. reuerense]the reuerenceA / to]to take A & to takeR

695. &]*not*R

696. He]ȝeR / passyng]*not*R / stat]state passingR

697. curiousnes]*not*R / in housynge]*not*R / [and]]excessis in ȝiftes and in festis makinge andA excesse in gifts and in fests makingR

698. hawteyne]hauntingeA hieR / hyȝe]heightA hieR

700. The]*secunda species superbie est inobediencia* þeR

701. &]orA

702. þat þat]thatA þatR

703. doyng]wilfulli doingR / &]*not*R / wilfully]*not*R

704. ne]netherA / to]to theA to þeR / lym[yt]ed]taxidR / enforced...&]*not*R /

705. wrong]in wrongeA *not*R

706. The]*Tercia species est ostentatio* þeR / thirde]iijR / for]ofR

707. happe]happisAR / merite]meritesA

708. rettyng]wittithA

709. flatereres]flateringeA / glosers]glosingeA

710 - 11. amendynge]amendementR

712. The]*4th species est ipocrice* TheR / fourþe]iiijR / in hym]*not*R

713. feyȝthfully]feythfulA feiþefulR / þat]thanA þenR

715. of]atA / &]*not*R / vsynge preyere]praier vsingR / &]*not*R

716. in presence]*not*R / in]in þeR / for]*not*AR

717. &]and to beA & to beR / The].*v. species est indignacio* TheR / fyfte].v.R

719 - 20. alowynge]louingeA luffingR / oþer]echeA icheR / menis]mannysAR / dispresynge...dedis]*not*R

720. iapynge]and iapingeA & iapyngR

722. &... defauȝtes]*not*R / neighboure]neiȝ-bursR

723. be daungere]*not*R / myght]mayAR

724. hym]hemR

725. The]*Sexta species est audacia* TheR / syxte].vj. spiceR / synneþ]synnysR / vppon]vpA inR / mercye]graace and of his mercyA

726. þyngkyng]thingeA / it]therA þerR /

729. The]*7ma species est inuerecundus* TheR / .vij.]seuendeA / schamelesse]shamlesnesA vnschamelesR / in]ofAR

730. putrie]ribaudieR

732. his loue]dislaue dislavi / for]*not*R

733. desclaundrous in]*not*R / but]but boþeR

734. doþ]to doR

735. Invidia]*not*AR / in]ofAR / welþe]helþeR / &]& þeR

736. four].vij.R / anoþer]oþerR / manis]mennisR

737. broþer]broder in myschifeR

738. desclawnder]disclaunderA sclaunderR / þerof]therforA

739. & ioyful]*not*R

741. seconde]*secunde spice*R / of]inAR / oþer]anotherA anoþerR / bonchife]bonchipR / and]*not*A

87. &]*not*AR

742 - 3. in...worchip]*not*R / oþer]*not*R / in]þerfore inR

744. þerfore]*not*AR / vice]synneR

745. also]*not*R / þei]al þoR

746. &]inAR / witdrawynge]wythdraweA / þere]wereA

747. helpen]be helpeR / onely]only nereA but onliR

748. þirde].iij.R / appe[y]reþ]emperythA

749. desclaunder]sclaunderR

750. discuryng]diskeueringR

751. lakynge]and lakkingA & lackingR

752. of hym]*not*AR / hym]thatA

753. in]toAR

754. þe]*4 species sejunctio, discordie* þeR / ferþe].iiij.A / beste]be bestAR / loue]loweA

755. al]*not*AR / be]be beA

756. & wittynge]*not*R

757. heyþer oþer]enereytherA ȝeuereR

758. & suster to]*not*AR

761. of his wille]*not*A / This]TheA / þe]*prima species odium* TheR

764. or hangynge]*not*AR

765. of euel companye]*not*R / &]arR

766. persone]bodiR / pletyn]pleseR

769. þe]*2ª species malicia* TheR / .ij.]secundeAR

770. hastinesse]heuenesseA

771. spytly]spechingA *not*R / lyinge]lixingeA

772. of]for toA toR

773. þe]*3ª species est operacio* þeR / .iij.]thryddeA þridR / werkyng]wrekyngA

775. &]orAR / baret]bateA beriþR / excite]excitinA excitingR

776. ells]*not*A

778. þe]*The 4ª species ferocitas* TheR / .iiij.]fertheA / is]*not*A / as a]asR / wilde]wilde as aR / neuer]notA

779. þe]*not*A / or]are þeR

780. wit...deþ]*not*R

783. in...place]*not*R

784. þe]*5[a] species est inpa[ten]cia* TheR / .v.]fifteA / þe]*not*R

786. þat]theA þeR / &]*not*R

788. euermore]yeuereR / to]for toA /schort]schrewdeR / hym]to himA

789. ony]anA

790. The].*vj. species blasphemia* TheR / .vj.]sixteA / blaspheyme]blasfemyngeA blasblemingR

792 - 3. vnresonable]vnrtefullA vnriȝtfull / or..vnmyghtful]*not*R / nought hym]him noughtA him notR

793. and]a noneA *not*R / wele]wellþeA welþeR

795. he...ymaches]*not*R / he]*not*AR / preyers]prayerA praioureR

796. moche]mychillA mucheR / lissud]lessidA lissidR

797. The]*7[a] species est homicidium* þeR / .viij.]seuentheA / of men]*not*R / or]andA &R

799. enpoysen]enposenyngA enpoisinyngR / &]orA *not*R / smytynge..dome]*not*R / by]are biR

800. questes]quests & in assisisR / þei alle]all theyA al þoR

801. goode loos]goodnesR / of]*not*A

803. And]*not*AR

804. The]*Prima species est paucitas* þeR / .i.]firsteA fursteR

806. on]ofR / for to]*not*R / suetthe]caccheA

807. he]andA &R / payeþ late]late paiyþR

808. loue]sakeR

809. [he]]himA / til]toR

810. delueþ]beleuethA / he]orA arR

813. The]*2[a] species ambicio* þeR / .ij.secundeA

814. resceyuen gretter]hawe grettR / plesynge]prasyngeA

815. plesynge]preysyngeA

816. & trauaylynge]*not*R / as it semeþ and ys]*not*R

817. vnseched]onlyA onliR / in entente]*not*AR

818 - 9. alle...wynneþ]*not*R / his...ony]*not*R

819. man...good] man of hys gode wyth false wyttenes and mesurys encresyth in getyng of goode *not*R / and]allR / also]*not*R

821. at]andA

822. in hym]*not*R / by wreyeþ]wreythA wrieþeR / his]þeR

824. or]*not*R / vylenye]*not*R / of]to aAR / ffrendes]frendeAR

826. how]how þatR / and]inR

827. disturnynge....euydences]*not*R

828. ordenynge]& ordenyngeA *not*R / pryuye...and]*not*R / mede...of]*not*R þat]*not*AR

829. partye...of]*not*R / þat]*not*AR / other]anoþerA *not*R / vice]sinneR / fallen]also fallythA fallen alsoR / the]*not*A þeseR

830. aspies]& aspijsA

831. enfessers]*not*R / alle fals]*not*R

833. The]*4ª species vsura* þeR / fourþe].iiij.R / in hym]*not*R

834. expresse]apperteR / in]in þeR / or]forA / of]of theA of þeR / loue]longR

835. drecchynge]for3efingR *not*A / of]*not*AR

837. of]*not*A / þanne]þatR

838. the borwer and þe lener]*not*A

839. The]*5ª species symonia* TheR / fyfte].v.R / eyther by expresse]hitR

840. bargayn...pryue]in þeR / any]of anyR / is]*not*R

841. seruyse]are seruiceR / of]areR / body]bodeliR / preyere]praiersR

842. byschapriches]*not*R / prouendres]prouendres parsonagisA *not*R / or any]anyR

843. howsellynge]ar forR / or]&A / or]ar inR

844. ou3take]ffor owtakeA ffor outakeR / oonly thiþes]tethynges onlyA / to]to þeR / chirche]chirche bi þe chircheR / be]bi þeR

845. þat]*not*R / or]or anyAR / and]& inAR /

846. in]*not*AR

847. The]*6ª species est furtum* theR / syxte].vj.R /

848. alle]*not*AR

849. in]in þeR / vp]*not*AR / new]*not*R / taskes]taxesR

851. maystres]souerayne hysA

853. his]þe lordsR

855. þe]*5ª species Sacrilegium* TheR / .vij.]seuendeA / þat]*not*AR / is holy]*not*AR / **856.** ony]holy or any thing that ys holy owte of any placeA holi ar any þing þat is holi oute of [any] holi placeR / ben touchid]fallenR / amede]at reedA at redeR / at]þatR / or]*not*R

857 - 8. chapelles]*not*R / oþer]*not*R / man]menAR / or...place]*not*R / of]arR / oþer]*not*AR

859. or eny]*not*R / relyk]*not*A

860. drawe]or draweA / of]of þeR / schortly]soþliR / forbarreþ]barriþR

861. or]ofAR / hit]heA / for]*not*R

862. þat]the wycheA

863. thre].iij.R

864. a]and hastelyche as aA & hasteli as aR

866. oure]tymeR / þe]*not*R

866 – 870. Somtyme...Lenten]*not*R

873. seconde].ijR / lust]lykyngeA likingR / lykynge]lusteAR

874. delicious]deinteuousA / and...in]*not*R / curious]curieA *not*R

875. in]andA *not*R / diuerisite of metes]*not*R / delicatly dighte]and delicately y-diȝteA *not*R

876 - 7. aggregyne]engreginA acreeseR / euery meele]meele yeuereR / at]*not*R / þe nexte....lettynge]*not*R / no]for noA / goode]*not*R

878. saule...drinke]*not*R

879. .iij.]thryddeA / pampird]pampryeR / hym]hisA so hisR / body]belyA

880. he]he neA

881. witte]wittsR / and the]&A *not*R / weldynge...lymes]*not*R

883. alle these]þeseR / and]þeseA / alle]*not*A

888. vnskylful]a vnresonableR

889. it]*not*A

890. vitayle]vitalesA *not*R / &]*not*R / mannes]mennys vittelleR / &]*not*R

893. of]to þeAR / his]þeR

894. Slewthe]*Accidia* slowþeR

896. þe...enforme here]*not*AR

897. slugnesse]sluggischenesR

898. moche]mychillA mucheR / ligge]lyeA ligR / late]and lateA / his]theA *not*R / seruyse of god]godds seruiceR / slowe]and slowA / in]*not*R

899. world]bodyA / to]for toR / and to]and lothe toA & loþe toR

900. perill]perelesAR / wederynge]wederingesAR / of]and ofA andR / to]for toA

901. ligge]lieR

902. slewthes]for sleweythA / and]*not*R

903. and]orAR / vntyme]vndew tymeA / In]In þis [þeR] falle all [*not*R]þei also that[þatR] felen [felynR] hym[hemR] selfe [selfR] in sinne and goo [goþeR] nought [notR] a noon[nonR] to schryfte[schriftR] taryeth[tariyþR] so long or [arR] they [þeiR] by schryue [schryuenR] and[&R] lette[leiseR] her[hereR] penance[penaunceR] so long[longeR] vndo tyl[til]R bothe[boþeR] the[þe] penane and[&R] the[þeR] sinne[synneR] be passed[passidR] owte[oute] of mende[mindeR] In / also fallen]fallyt alsoA / tylyers]lond tilliersR

904. and]*not*AR

906. or chaunge]or enys chaungeA / of weders]of wederingA *not*R / is as]be asA maie be asR / to þe]toR

907. or]andAR / þirde].*iij. spice*R / arwenesse]*otium*R / wil...drede]*not*R

908. leste]*not*AR / he..pilgrimage]*not*R

909. receyuynge]wolward going receuingA *not*R / of ordres enterynge]*not*R / of religion]*not*AR / and]*not*R / swiche]all sucheA *not*R / good vertues]*not*AR

910. and werkes]gode werkesA *not*R / who so..by]*not*R / inspiracion]spiracionA *not*R / of god..drede]*not*R / þat]lesteA *not*R / he]*not*R

911. ne]*not*AR / scholde...vice]*not*R

913. The...loueþ]*not*R

914. at the cheker]*not*R / at þe]*not*A / at]at þeR / at]at þeR

917. in this vice]*not*R / fallen]also fallythA *not*R / clerkes...of]*not*R / holy chirche and]*not*AR

918 – 19. holy..astronomye]*not*R / poysye]of poyseesA / and...science]*not*R / Prests]and prestsR / þat]*not*R

920. foulynge]*not*R

922. of]of theA of þeR / and]& þeR

923 - 4. office]officisA / and]inR / for...besynesse]*not*R / leryd]lewedA / þe]*not*AR / lewed]leridA / whan]þatA þat whenR

925. been]*not*AR / body]þe bodiR / to þe]toR *not*A

927. fyfte].v.R / in]himA him inR / nesche]?R

928. ofte been]be oftR / ofte...ofte]*not*R / kepte]kenidA *not*R

929. so softely]so softeA *not*R / and]and soA *not*R / tenderly...flesche]*not*R

930. as is]*not*R / goynge...wolwarde]*not*R / leuynge]and lyuyngA *not*R / be hard]*not*R

931. liggynge on]*not*R / hard]*not*R / heire]leterA *not*R / ouȝte...lynen]*not*R / bare]hardeA

932. on]ofA / and - disciplines]*not*R

933. þe]isA hisR

934. thynge]þingusR

935. syxte].vj.R / alle wey comonlyche]communli alwayA *not*R / is]*not*A

936. sikkynge]siȝhingA siyng / other]*not*R

937. thynge or]*not*AR / or]*not*AR

938. suche an nother]anyR / no thynge]notA / to be]beAR

939 - 40. hym]*not*R / good]*not*AR / chargeth]carethA *not*R nat neythere]neitherA *not*R / mete]for meteA *not*R / ne...he]*not*R / wexeþ...manere]*not*R

941 -2. on]forA *not*R / is...he]*not*R

944. holdeth]he holteA

945. thenkynge]& thinkiþA

946. he]for heA

948. ordeneyneþ]ordeynyth hymA ordenyþ himR

950. leuynge]letyngA lettingR / impossible]vnpossibleR

951. to fasten]fasteAR

952. or to]for orA / he..halt]*not*R / hit]*not*R / but...folye]*not*R

953. to]for toA

954. eschewed]suydR

955. the]thatA noR

956. Lecherie is]The .vij. is lecheriR / dede]viceAR / þe]freelte of þeA þe freilte of þeR

957. that]*not*R / so odyous]sidouusR / almyghti]*not*R

958. This]thys vyceA þis viceR / of]owte ofA / and of]andA &R

959. lechery]the lecheryA / don]*not*A / ffor]butR / wol]nelA / been]beA *not*R

960. þe broondes]theiA þese brondsR / .vj.]sexA

961. The]*prima fornicatio* TheR / bytwene]þat isR

962. seconde].ij.R / in]in aR

963. þanne]woman þanA / owne]*not*R / also]orAR / a]in aAR / man]*not*AR / þanne]*not*R

964. wedded]*not*AR / thirde].iij.R / in-ceste]incestusR / by]*not*R

966. any]in anyR / other]*not*A / libied]aliidA aliedR / ferþe].iiij.R

967. of cosynage]*not*AR / is]*not*AR / þe...synne]*not*A / Al-so]isR *not*A / vnderstonde...degre]*not*A

968 - 9. or...children]*not*R / This]In thisA / al-so]allsoA *not*R / and of]&R

970. al]in alR / manere of]manerA *not*R / lecherie]*not*R / in]*not*R / man]menR / or in]orA &R

971. womman]womenR / ben]isA

973. .iiij.]threA *not*R

974. wil]wille andA wille&R / trespaceþ]trespassyth dedelyA / dedly]*not*R / þat]þat soreAR

975. vppon]vppon onA onR

975 - 6. and...seke]*not*R

977. flaterynge]*not*AR / syngenge and]*not*AR / ioly and nyce]niseR / and]inAR

978. appayrayle]apparelingR / and...disgysynge]*not*AR

979. fayrere]queynteA *not*R / gayere]*not*A

980. thorogh]and thoruA þoroR / curious]*not*A curious ofR

981. of]andA &R

983. these]þe sameR / thre].iij.R

984 - 85. desyred...myghte]*not*R / se]welle seA *not*R / þat...wyll]*not*R / þe]*not*A /

986. the]*not*AR / þe]*not*AR

987. in]to þe

988. a]*not*R

990. writen]to writeA to wryteR / but]*not*AR / is]*not*R

991. so]*not*A / so]*not*R

992. Austyn]GregoryA / self]shold nouȝtA / spekynge]spekeA

993. þerof]þer of forA / infecteth]infectingA / þe]of theA / also]*not*A asR / he]seynt austinA Augustin

994. a]inAR / a purpose &]*not*AR

995. lefte]leteA lettR / saluacion]þe slauacounR

999. it]scheR / ȝif sche]sche ȝifR / or]&R

1000. it]heR

1003. wit]*not*AR

1003 - 4. and...vnchaste]*not*Ar / And]AlsoAR / þat]*not*AR

1005. childe]þe childeR / &]& sucheR / &]orA

1006. holden]halwydA halowidR / by]be theA bi þeR / þis maner]þese maneresA þese manerisR / and in]&AR

1009. pollucion]þe .ij. braunce is pollucion pollucionR

1010. a woman]womanR / an]andA aR / þow]*not*A

1011. of]*not*AR / sekenesse]*not*R

1012. it falleþ]*not*A / fendes]deuelisR

1013. a woman]womanAR

1014. and to]of toA & of toR

1016. Sodomye]þe .iij. is sodomyeR / schortly is]þat is schortliR / womman]manR / man]womanR / man]womanR

1017. woman]manR / I sey]sei IR

1018. tretieys þat]*not*AR / to]inA *not*R

1019. men and wommen]folkeA / ilke]*not*R / neuere]nemiA

1020. is]is þeA

1021. sede]hedeA / .xli.]on & fourtiR

1022. that]*not*AR / alle]alle þeA al þeR / or woman]*not*A

1024. wele]ye welleR / or]&AR

1025. þat]*not*A þerof þatR / is here]her isA here [is]R

1026. þat wit..precious]et cetera. / blode]hert blodeA / our...bowte]*not*R / amercy]*not*A

1027. ?auctoritate...explicite]*not*AR

Literary and Historial Notes to *Sacerdos Parochialis* Cambridge in MS Pembroke 285

On ff.49^{r} – 51^{v} written in the same hand, immediately before the version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* found here, is a Latin copy of Pecham's syllabus, *Ignorancia Sacerdotis*.[360]

1 – 7. Latin introduction similar to ll.316 – 25 of Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* except that it follows all of the other manuscripts in not including the seven works of mercy in the introduction.

8 – 24. The Pembroke version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* begins with the tract on the *Ave Maria* rather than with the tract on the *Pater noster.* An alternative tract on the *Pater noster* is included later in the treatise.

25 – 100. The fourteen articles of the faith and the ten commandments similar, although not identical, to that found on ll. 403 – 36 and 491 – 533 of the Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Where the Pembroke manuscript differs from the Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* it usually follows the Bodley 110 and Cambridge Dd.12.69 versions.

72. The Pembroke scribe eventually slips into the Pechamite tradition of differentiating between the first three and the second seven commandments. He does not do so for the first three commandments, but on line 72 he introduces the notion that this is the first commandment of the second table of seven. See Exodus 34:29 where Moses brings the ten commandments from Mt. Sinai on two tablets to the Israelites.

101 - 26. Seven principal virtues, almost identical to those found on ll.683 – 8 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[361] Note that the seven works of mercy are not included in the Pembroke copy of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

127 – 45. Two great commandments identical to those found in the Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, ll.534 – 60. In most versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* they are included here, just before the section on the seven sacraments rather than after the ten commandments as occurs in the base text, BL MS Burney 356.

146 – 304. Seven sacraments identical to those found on ll.709 – 882 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, except that the Pembroke manuscript is like the BL Additional MS 10053 here. The list of sacraments is slightly more expansive than usual. Details

[360] See Powicke & Cheney, *Councils and Synods* pt.2:900 -
[361] See the notes to line 302 of British Library Additional 10053.

about the nature of the Eucharist, for example, and who is to perform the sacraments are found in both of these texts, but not in any other copy of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

305 – 410. Pickering in his article, "Notes on the sentence of Cursing in Middle English" classifies the variant forms of the sentence of excommunication into identifiable categories. The set of excommunications found in the Pembroke manuscript was not included in Pickering's article, although it is quite close to group 10 of Pickering's classification which includes a set of excommunicable offences found in BL MS Burney 356 ff.53^{r} – 54^{v}, Oxford MS Trinity E. 86 ff.44^{r} – 47^{r} and in BL MS, Arundel 130 ff.118^{r}.[362] Group 10 stands midway between the York sentence of excommunciation and another sentence entitled 'R' by Pickering.[363] In the following notes, differences from the York and R sentences and similarities to group 10 have been noted. The Pembroke sentence is not identifiable with the York or R sentences as it does not exhibit features unique to either of those versions of the sentence. Where it differs, it usually agrees with one or all of the manuscripts in group 10.[364] The list of excommunicable offences is crossed through in the Pembroke manuscript.

329 – 31. The York sentence has a much lengthier sentence on tithing at this point in the text.[365] Pembroke is closer to group 10 of Pickering's classification in this respect.

339 – 40. Two articles on peace in the realm are missing here, probably accidentally. The Pembroke scribe has been guilty of eyeskip on more than one occasion already.

372. The Pembroke scribe omits an article on violence against clergy included in all other versions of the sentence at this point. He inserts the article on lines 403 – 4 instead.

376 – 9. This article on abandoning children is closest to the Burney article on the same subject, although the article is also included in the York sentence. It is not found in the other manuscripts of group 10, namely the Trinity or Arundel copies of the sentence.

396 – 7. As in the R and group 10 versions of the sentence, Pembroke specifically mentions the province of Canterbury in this article. The York sentence does not.

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[362] Pickering, 237 – 8. See appendix two below for a fuller discussion on the Pembroke sentence.
[363] Ibid., 236 – 7.
[364] Prof. Pickering, in private correspondence, agrees that the sentence does belong to group 10 of his classification.
[365] Henderson, 119.

404 – 5. Unlike Burney, the Pembroke sentence does not include an article on simony at this point. The Trinity and Arundel sentence also omit this article.

408 – 10. At this point, the Pembroke sentence is closer to the York sentence in its reference to the imposition of interdiction where usury is practised. The Pembroke sentence ends abruptly, without a formal curse as does the Arundel manuscript.

411 – 539. The *Pater noster* is only included in the treatise at this point. It is a much lengthier tract than that found in *Sacerdos Parochialis* and showing distinct Lollard overtones.[366]

470 – 82. The fourth petition discusses the concept of 'daily bread' but with a distinct emphasis upon scripture, teaching and preaching as spiritual sustenance. The absence of reference to the spiritual benefits to be gained from the eucharist is noteworthy and, perhaps, indicative of Lollard influence upon the text.

517 – 9. A similar note on the three manners of temptation is included in Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale* l.356. According to the note they are taken from the thirteenth-century *Summa de officio* by Robert Wetheringsett.[367]

540 – 666. A sermon on fearing/loving God not included in any of the other manuscripts of *Sacerdos Parochialis* nor, according to O'Mara, recorded elsewhere.[368] To date, it is unedited. The sermon is unremarkable in its theme and content. Structurally it consists of a prothema (in which the preacher prays for himself and his listeners), an exposition divided into three main points and a brief conclusion. According to H.L. Spencer it exhibits many features common to other sermons: the inclusion of Latin citations translated also into Middle English; a direct address to the congregation stating the spiritual nature of the relationship between preacher and congregation; a recognition of the tradition of story telling and the tension between the moral and the tale.[369] The opening scriptural line is from Ecclesiastes 12:13.

552. Matthew 6:33.

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[366] I am grateful to Ms. Frances McCormack for her assistance in identifying some of the Lollard elements in the text. Ms. McCormack describes a number of phrases in this tract as "essentialising rhetoric" of Lollardy: sone of the fend (l.433);dreedful day of doome (ll.459 – 60); very confession (l.466); confucion (l.488). According to her some of the more legalistic language of the tract would also be consistent with Lollard vocabulary: and confermed (l.414); gouerne (l.423; unbounden (l.468). For further discussion on the idea of a Lollard-sect vocabulary see Hudson's article in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges*. See also Helen Barr, *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition*, Cambridge: Brewer, 1994.

[367] See *The Riverside Chaucer*, 298 and 959.

[368] 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.

[369] H.Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. 382 n.144, 392 n.5, 405 n.133, 406 n.136, 494 n.27.

580. Although Bernard cited this line in his sermon on the dignity of the priesthood, it seems to have originated in Anselm's seventh meditation.[370]

589 – 3. A form of the seven works of Mercy inspired by Matt 25.

593 – 5. Luke 12:44.

598. Wisdom 7:40.

599 – 600. Ecclesiasticus 41.1 known as *Liber Sirach* in the Vulgate Bible.

610 - 15. From Jerome on Matthew 25. Chaucer includes this passage in *The Parson's Tale* (ll. 159 – 60).[371]

614 – 5. Psalm 64:3.

621 – 3. Galatians 6:5.

634 – 6. Revelations 1:7.

638 – 9. Isaiah 26:11.

645 – 51. Matthew 25: 33.

652 – 4. The exact reference in Job is elusive, however, the sentence is part of the Sarum Office for the Dead, third nocturne, seventh reading.[372]

657 – 63. Matthew 25.

667 – 1026. Identified by Jolliffe as *Every Christian Man and Woman*, but is, in fact, an abbreviated version of *A Litil Treatyse* by Lavynham.[373] The shorter treatise, *Every Christian Man and Woman*, has been edited here using Cambridge, Pembroke MS 285 as a base text.

Every Christian defines, and outlines the branches of each of the deadly sins in turn. Lavynham associates each sin with an animal, offering an explanation for the 'association,' and supporting his work with extensive references to the Bible, Augustine's *City of God* or Gregory's *Moralia*. *Every Christian* generally omits these references.

It is also possible that neither *Every Christian* is a derivative of Lavynham nor Lavynham a derivative of *Every Christian*, but that both are drawing from the same source. However, the textual similarity between both treatises is remarkable as the following notes will illustrate. Differences and similarities have been recorded for

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[370] For Anselm, see *PL* 158 col. 741. For Bernard, see *PL* 184 col. 0992A. See also Petrus Comestoris *PL* col. 1748c.

[371] Larry Benson, gen. ed. *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 290 – 1. For the notes, see Benson, 957.

[372] See *Horae ad Usum Sarum c.1370, The Bohun Hours, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, MS Thott 547° 4*, f.58. http://www.chd.dk/gui/thott547_OD_gui.html

[373] Jolliffe, 80.

each line. *Every Christian* is more expansive in terms of defintion or examples of sins. Lavynham often offers a simpler definition before introducing Augustine and Gregory.

673 – 5. Lavynham lists the branches under each particular sin, not in the prologue as in *Every Christian Man and Woman.* Under 'Pride' Lavynham includes 'Veynglorie' after 'Presumpcyon'; 'Boldnesse' instead of 'Bostfulnesse'; omits 'boldnesse' and instead concludes with 'sturdinesse' rather than 'schamelesnesse'.

684 – 6. Lavynham 1:33 – 35. Order of gifts a little different. Lavynham begins with 'gentilness of blode' and then returns to 'strengþe'.

685. Lavynham 1: 36 – 2:1. Lavynham does not include 'good witte'.

687 – 8. 'catell' included in Lavynham.

688. fauour of þe pepil]Worschyp & FreendschipLavynham.

688 – 90. Not listed in Lavynham.

690 – 1. The ȝiftes of god . . . more]2:3 – 5.

694 – 5. to sitten . . .alle oþer]Lavynham2:14 – 16.

695 – 99. *Not* Lavynham.

700 – 4. Lavynham 3:11 – 15. Very similar.

704 – 5. enforced . . .wrong]*not* Lavynham.

706 – 11. This third branch of Pride in *Every Christian* is 'vaynglorie' and the second branch of pride in Lavynham. See Lavynham 2:35 – 31.

707 – 9. *not* Lavynham.

712 – 17. Lavynham 4:16 – 21.

713. sadder . . feyȝthfully]better. Owtward þan he is inwardLavynham. / trewþe]*not* Lavynham

718 – 24. much more expanded than in Lavyham. Lavynham 4:32 – 35.

725 – 28. In Lavynham this is the fourth branch of Pride, not the sixth as it is in *Every Christian.* Lavynham 3:37 – 4:3. Very similar.

729 – 34. Lavynham 5:13 – 15.

729 – 31. *Every Christian* is much more expansive.

735 – 37. ***Invidia.***] is the fourth sin in Lavynham, not the second as it is here. The definitions are different, but the number and order of branches is the same.

737 – 40. Lavynham 6:18 – 21. Very similar.

741 – 44. Lavynham 7: 3 – 7.

744 – 47. *Not* Lavynham.

748 – 53. Lavynham 7:12 – 17. Very similar.

754 – 59. Lavynham 7:24 – 26, but much more expanded here.

760 – 61. This definition is *not* in Lavynham.

761 – 68. Lavynham 9:26 – 32.

769 – 72. Lavynham 10:1 – 5, but the similarity is closer in terms of 'spirit' or 'content' of material than verbally.

773 – 7. Lavynham 10:8 – 9. Not that similar.

778 – 83. Lavynham 10:16 – 19. Not very similar.

784 – 89. Lavynham 11: 8 – 10. The introductory sentence is similar in both. *Every Christian* elaborates/expands.

790 – 96. Lavynham 11:16 – 22. Very similar.

797 – 801. Lavynham 10: 32 – 38. Apart from introductory clause, this is very similar, although the sixth branch in Lavynham is the seventh here.

802 - 61. Covetousness is the second sin in Lavynham's list.

804 – 12. Lavynham 8:4 – 7 corresponds quite closely to 804 – 6. 806 – 12 is *not* in Lavynham. Nigardship is the third branch of Covetousness in Lavynham, in *Every Christian* it is the first branch.

813 – 17. Lavynham 7: 26 – 31 very similar.

817 – 21. In þis . . . at his nede]*not* Lavynham.

822 – 32. Lavynham 8: 21 – 22. *Every Christian* contains a lot more on the definition of the sin. Lavynham merely offers a sentence and then introduces exemplary material from the Gospels, Bede etc.

833 – 38. Lavynham 8: 29 – 34. Very similar.

839 – 46. Lavynham 9: 7 – 15. Very similar.

847 – 51. Lavynham 9:25 – 29. Very similar, except that Lavynham refers to 'Rauayn'.

851 – 54. Seruauntes . . . hym-selfe]*not* Lavynham.

855 – 61. Lavynham 10:3 – 10. Fairly similar, except that Lavynham includes references to Canon Law.

862 – 3. In Lavynham, Gluttony has four branches: "Greediness, Lustiness, Surfeit in eating and drinking, And curyouste of curye." *Every Christian* has only three branches.

864 – 72. Lavynham 20:10 – 18. Very similar.

873 – 78. Lavynham 20: 21 – 25 and Lavynham 21: 22 – 27. A blend of the second and fourth branch of Gluttony by Lavynham.

879 – 91. Lavynham 21: 5 – 12. Very similar,except that Lavynham refers to it as "Surfet in etyng or drenkyng."

891 – 93. longe wakynge . . . his soule]*not* Lavynham.

894 – 95. Lavynham 15: 35 – 6. Definition of sin, very similar in both texts.

896 – 98. Lavynham 16:10 – 12. Thereafter, the texts differ somewhat. As usual there is more detail in *Every Christian man.*

902 – 6. Lavynham 17: 20 – 30 where it is the fourth rather than the second branch. The texts are quite different.

907 – 12. Lavynham 18: 13 – 22. There is a similarity between the texts, but *Every Christian man* includes more examples whereasLavynham is more explanatory.

913 – 17. Lavynham 16:37 - 17: 5. Quite similar, but it is the second branch not the fourth.

917 - 26. *Not* Lavynham.

927 – 34. Lavynham 16: 20 – 28. Very similar.

935 – 43. Lavynham 19: 5 – 6, but it is the seventh branch not the sixth. The texts are quite different. Lavynham is much shorter.

944 – 53. Lavynham 18: 26 – 35. Very similar.

953 – 55. The scriptural quotation found in *Every Christian Man* at this point, is also found in Lavynham. See Lavynham 19: 3 – 4.

956 – 60. Introduction and definition *not* in Lavynham. Lavynham has eight branches.

961 – 2. Fornication. See Lavynham 22: 29 – 30.

962 – 4. Adultery. See Lavynham 22: 37 – 23: 1.

964 – 9. Incest. See Lavynham 23: 18 – 23.

973 – 88. Lavynham 23: 23 – 38. Very similar.

989 – 96. *Not* Lavynham.

997 – 1008. 'Abusioun'. Lavynham 24: 23 – 34. Very similar.

1009 - 15. 'Pollucioun'. Lavynham 24: 35 – 25:10. Very similar, except that Lavynham includes direct quotations/references to source material not found in *Every Christian.*

1016 – 17. Lavynham 25: 11 – 12, but entitled there 'Sin a-ȝen keende'.

1017 – ff. *not* Lavynham.

1027 ff. A form of absolution not found at the end of Lavynham.

***Sacerdos Parochialis* in Bodley MS Rawlinson D913**

[f.10^{r}] In this treti folowynge, euery cristene man and womman owȝt þerof / to haue knowlich and enformacion of her parisshe curatour, / in her moder langage, .iiij^{o}. tymes in þe ȝeer, the wiche tretis / is devided in .vij^{o}. chapitris. The first chapitre reherseþ and /declareþ þe **Pater noster**, the **Ave maria** and þe **Crede**. The .ij^{o}. declareþ þe .x. / commaundementis. The .iij^{de}.declareþ þe .vij^{o}. deedly synnes. The .iiij^{te}. declareþ / þe .vij^{o}. werkes of mercy. The .v^{te}. declareþ þe .vij^{o}. principal vertues. The / .vj^{te}. declareþ þe .vij^{o}. sacrementis of holi chirche. The .vij^{te}. declareþ þe / ordre and þe fourme of confessioun.[374]

Septem peticionis in oracione dominica. Capitulo primo. / In the *Pater noster* ben .vij^{o}. askingis þat god him-self ordeynede / meedefully for bodi and soule þat euery cristene man is holde to knowe / and often to praie and to bidde to god in good wise. *Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur / nomen tuum.* Oure fader þat are in heuene halowed by þyne name. Loo in / þis praier we ben holden to loue ecche oþer as broþer and sustur þat haue alle / oo fader, and sich to graunte euery cristene man parte of þis praier and þou shalt / haue part of al heris ageyn. And þere we halowe and worshipe our fader, / almyȝti god, and his name as we haue gret cause. *Adveniat regnum / tuum.*¶That we may come to þi kingdome. Ther we aske þe blis of heuene / þat euere shal laste and þat we may haue his grace hire so þat / we may deserue þat blis. *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.* Thi / wille be done in heuene as in erthe. Hire we desiren þat as aungelis and / alle holi soulis honouren god in heuene þat we mowen wiþ his grace / honourene [him] in erthe, noo-þing doinge ageyn his wille. *Panem nostrum cotidianum / da nobis hodie.* Oure ecche daies breed ȝeue vs to-daie. In þis we aske / sustenaunce of body and soule and of al þat vs nedeþ. *Et dimitte nobis / debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* ¶And for-ȝeve vs / our giltis as (we)[375] for- ȝeue hem þat han giltid ageyn vs. In þis we moten / for-give our euem-cristene al þat þei han a-giltid vs and praie god to for-gyve / hem and ellis we may noȝt desire of god to for-gyue vs our gilt and / mys-dede þat we haue doen. *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem.* Hire / we praie and bidde þat god kepe vs þat we be noȝt ouercome ne temptid wit / noo

[374] The editor considered as otiose the suspension mark over the final syllable of this word, and of a number of other words.
[375] Inserted over the line in the manuscript.

synne hire aftir. *Sed libera nos a malo.* **Amen**. But sheelde vs / fro al manere euel. Amen. Hire we praie and bidde þat [god] kepe vs fro synne þat / we han
[f.10v] doen and þat we may kepe vs fro synne here aftir and saue vs fro þe / peynes þat we haue deserued. **Amen**.

Aue Maria *gracia plena, dominus / tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ihesus.* **Amen**. / Hayle be þou Mary ful of grace, our lorde is wiþ þe, and blessid be / þou amonge alle wommen, and blessid be þe frut of þy wombe **Ihesus**. / Amen. As often as þis name **Ihesus** is nempned, ecche man is holden to doo / reuerence and worship þertoo. ¶For our holi fadir, Pope **Vrban** þe fourþe,[376] gaf / **.xxx^ti. daies** to pardoun to alle þoo þat ben clene shreuen and contrit of her / mys-deedis, for-euere, to endure þat seyen þis worde **Ihesus** in þe ende of his / **Ave Marie.** And aftir þat oure holi Fader, Pope **Iohann** þe **.xxij^ti.**,[377] gaf and / confermed þerto oþer **.xxx.^ti** daies to pardoun and for-geuenesse of her penaunce / to hem enioyned. So þat euery man þat seiþ þis worde **Ihesu** in þe ende /of his **Ave Marie**, haþ .xxiij.[378] daies to pardoun. ¶And who so euere seith / Our Lady Sawtir in þat fourme onus a daie, he haþ **.xxiiij^ti. 3eer, .xxxiiij^ti.** / wokes and .ij°. daies of pardoun. The somme þerof in a woke is **.c °. .lxxij°. 3eer and / .xxxj°. wokes.** The somme þerof in þe 3eer is **.viij^ti. .cccc°. lxxv°. 3eer .xvij°. / wokes .vj°. daies.**

Duodecim articuli fidei. *Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem.* / I beleeue in god Fader almy3ti. In this article we bileeue in oo god in / persoones þree, fader, sone and holi goost, þat euere han ben wiþ-outen / bigynnynge and shal be wiþ-outen endynge. *Creatorem celi et terre.* / In this article we beleeuen þat he made heuene and erthe and al þat is / þerinne conteyned of nou3t and al þat he susteyneþ and gouerneþ. *Et in Ihesum / Christum, filium eius vnicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto / natus ex Maria virgine.* ¶In this article we be-leeven þat Ihesu, goddis / sone, was conceyued of þe holi goost and took flesshe and bloode of maide / Marie and borne of hir bodi, and she clene maide before and aftir. *Passus / sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus.* In this article we / beleeuen þat our seide lorde, Ihesu, goddis sone aftir his manhoode / deide on þe rode tree, vnder

[376] MS: first
[377] MS: xxxij ti
[378] 'xx' inserted over the line, in the same hand.

Pounce Pilat, for þe sauacion of vs mankinde / and was buried. *Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit, a mortuis.* / ¶In this article we bi-leeuen þat þe godheede of him went / into helle and fecched out Adam and Eve and oþer holi
65 prophetis and alle oþer / þat he louede, and þe þriddde daie he roos fro deth to liff. *Ascendit ad / celos, sedet ad dexteram dei, patris omnipotentis.* In this
[f.11r] article wee / bileeuen þat he stied into heuene and sittiþ on his Fadres riȝt honde, and / sent witt and wisdome be þe Holi Goost to his disciplis hire in erthe and unto / oþer þat bileeueden riȝt-fully, and gaf unto his seide disciplis
70 and to þe mynystris / of holi chirche ful power to loose and to bynde, þat is to clense / and assoile alle synful cristene puple of her synnes be þe vertue of the / .vij°. sacrementis of holi chirche. *Inde venturus est, iudicare vivos / et mortuos.* ¶In this article we bileeuen þat he shal come on / doomes daie and deeme þe goode and þe riȝtful to þe blis þat euere shal laste, / and þe wickede and
75 vnriȝhtful to horrible peynes wiþ-outen ende. *Credo in / spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam cattholicam.* This article seiþ, I beleeue in þe / holi goost and in holi chirche. Be þis article now and þe articlis aforeseide, / we bileeue stidefastli in þe fader, in þe sone, in þe holi goost and in holy / chirche wiþ alle hir sacrementis. *Sanctorum communionem.* ¶In this article / we bileeuen þat
80 alle þoo þat ben in clene charite ben partable / of alle goode werkes and service þat is doen in holi chirche. And / alle þei þat leede clene lif hire shal leede joiful lif in þe blis of heuene / in felawshipe of holi seintis. *Remissionem peccatorum.* ¶In this / article we bileeuen þat we haue ful remission and forgyuenesse off / our synnes and mysdeedes, þoruȝ þe sacrementis of holi
85 chirche. *Carnis / resurreccionem.* In this article we bileeuen þat we shal arise / in flesshe and bloode, in body and in soule, atte daie of doome. **Et vitam eternam./ Amen.** In this article we bileeuen, þoruȝ grace of god and good life hire, / and þoruȝ þe sacramentis of holi chirche, þat we shal haue þe blis / þat euere shal laste to worshipe and preyse almiyȝte god wiþ aungles / and wiþ
90 holi seintis. So be it. Amen.

Decem mandata veteris testammenti. / Capitulo ij°. ¶Dilige dominum deum tuum. The firste commaundement / of god is þat þou shalt loue god aboue al þing. In this / commaundement is for-boden al manere of wicche-craft, mawmetry, enchauntementis / and al oþer mysbileue þat holi chirche forbeedeþ,

and þat / þou shalt noȝt sette þyne herte and þi mynde vpon noo creatures, noþer / wiff, ne children; ne vpon noo worldeli richesse, ne honoure, ne worship / so moche as vpon god. For þat þou settist moost þyne hert upon þou / makest þat þi god. *Non assumes nomen dei tui in vanum.* ¶That is / þou shalt [f.11r] noȝt take þi goddis name in idil. In þis **.ij°. commaundement** / is forboden al manere of swerynge be goddis holi membris or be his halowes. / And namely þat we shal noȝt be for-sworne for wele ne woo, for / holi writte seiþ, "Who þat swereþ moche is fulfilled of wickedness and / cursidnesse." *Sabata sanctifices.* ¶Thes **.iij^de^.commaunndement** is þat / þou shalt halowe þyne holi daie. Be þis commaundement we ben holden / to ben as busy in goddis service on þe holi daie as we ben on þe werke / daie to doo oþer worldeli werkes. And these þree commaundementis afore-seide / longen oonli to almyȝti god and ben called þe commaundementis of the / firste table.

Honora patrem et matrem. / The fourthe commaundement is þou shalt worhsipe þi fader and / thi moder þat þe forth brouȝte and helpe hem and socoure hem in / her neede, but principali god þi fader and holi chirche þi moder and also þi / goostli ffadres and alle men of worshippe. This is þe **.iiij^te^. commaundement** / þat longeþ to euery cristene man þat is þyne euemcristene and is called þe / firste commaundement of þe secunde table. Non occides. ¶That / is þou shalt slee no man. In þis **.v^te^. commaundement** is for-boden al vn-riȝtful / bynemynge of mannes lif or harmynge of his body be worde / or deede, helpinge or consentynge, or ellis bynemynge of any mannes / good name, or bynem[yng]e goodis or catel or any oþer lifloode. *Non fornicaberis.* / ¶That is þou shalt doo noo leccherye. In this **.vj^te^. commaundement** / is for-boden al manere leccherie in þouȝt or in deede or shedyng of mannes / kynde þoruȝ flessheli lust, but as lawful matrimonye ordeynede / be holi chirche requireth. *Non furtum facies.* ¶That is þou shalt / noþing steele. In this **.vij^te^. commaundement** is for-boden al manere bynemynge / of þyne euemcristenes goodis ageyne her willis and al manere of wrong / purchas, disheritynge of heyres, extorcion, trecherie, symonye, oker, / wrong mercement, alle fals mesures, fals weightis and al manere falsheed / and theft. *Non prohibes falsum testimonium.* ¶That is þou shalt bere / noo fals

witnesse. In this **.viij^te^. commaundement** is forboden alle fals[379] / lesingis, bakbitynge, fals accusynge and nameli appeyrynge of mannes / worshippe and his good name or appeyringe of his body or of any off / his goodis, for in þat caas þei ben accursed. *Non concupisses domum / proximi tui.* ¶That is þou shalt not coveite thi neighbores hous. / In this **.ix^te^. commaundement** is [f.12r] forboden al unriȝtful coveitynge off / any mannes londe, meede, woode or any oþer freedom or any-þing unmeveable / of thyne euemcristene oþer wise þanne lawe and conscience requiyreth. *Non desideres / uxorem proximi tui.* ¶That is þou shalt noȝt desire thi neighboures / wiff. In this **x^te^. commaundement** is forboden þat þou shalt noȝt desire / thi neighbores wiff, his douȝter, his servaunt nor his beest ne noþing / of his goodis meveable wiþ-inne ne wiþouten.

¶Pryde, wratthe, slowþe, envy, couetice, gloteny, lecherie. ***Septem mortalia peccata. Capitulo .iij***. *Superbia.* Pryde is to mochel loue þat a man haþ to him-self as for bewte, / strengþe, connynge, worldeli richesse and worshippe or of any oþer / prosperite, havinge oþere men to moche in dispit. And þerof comeþ bostinge, proud / berynge, dispising, scornynge, nyce array and al oþer mysdoinge. For pride / is heede of alle oþer synnes. *Invidia.* ¶Envye or haate is sorowe / þat a man haþ of anoþer mannes welfare as konnyng, riches, worshippe,/ gladnesse or any oþer prosperite þat god haþ sent him. Or ellis þat a man / be glad of anoþer mannes harme or of his shame wherof comeþ bakbitynge, / sleynge, hurtinge, betynge, fiȝtinge, chidinge, pletinge, fals / demynge / and manye oþer harmes. *Ira.* ¶Wratthe is wilnynge off / vengeaunce and harme doynge to þyne euemcristene þat þou art wroþ / wiþ. And if wratthe honge longe in þyne herte it groweþ to haate wheroff / comeþ fals wylis to harme þyne euem-cristenn as man sleynge, losinge / of mony, oþer folies and losse of goodis grace and charite. *Accidia.* ¶Slouþe / is an hevynes of goostli werkes and makeþ a man to haue noo ioie ne lykinge / in god, ne to hire his service, ne to shryue him of his synnes and / to haue wrecchednes in spirit and to haue delite in sleep and ydelnesse in soule, / wanhope and almanere lettinge of soule heele. *Avaricia.* ¶Couetice is / vnmesurable loue of worldeli richessis more þanne nedeþ of hous, londe, / goodis or catell and þerof cometh thefte, robb[e]ry, gile, forswerynge, sacrilege, / symonye, vsurye, fals mesures, fals

[379] MS: flas

weyȝtis and oþer foule wynnyngis. / *Gula.* ¶Glotenye is vnmesurable loue of
160 mete and drynk takinge / out of tyme as to erly or to late, or on fastinge daies
where þoruȝ he brekeþ / his fast þat is to him enioyned or haþ it avowed, or to
take metes / þat ben delicious to þe body wherþoruȝ he falleþ often tyme into
synne, / or in takinge to moche of mete or of drynk wiche causeþ þe body to / be
[f.12r] hevy to serve god or bynemeþ him his wittis as in dronkenes so þat / as a mad
165 man he falleþ into oþer synnes, or ellis þoruȝ þat surfeit he leseþ his / heele and
falleþ into sykensse. *Luxuria.* ¶Leccherie is shedinge of mannes kynde / in any
wise the wiche is a grevous deedeli synne wiþ-oute þat it be doen in / law-ful
matrimonye bituene man and his wiff as þei law-fully owȝten to doo. / This
synne is in manye maners wise. First is in **fornycacion**, þat is whanne / it his
170 doen bituene a man and a womman þat is sengle, but it is more grevous / if she
be widowe or comoun strumpet for happeli she haþ be somme religious /
womman or ellis somme of þi kynne or somme lepre haþ synned /wiþ hir bifore.
¶The .ij°. is callid **avowtrye**, þat is propurli whanne a man / synneþ wiþ a
womman þat is wedded to anoþer man or whanne a womman / synneþ wiþ a
175 wedded man. And þis is moche more grevous þanne þe fornycacion, / and
nameli if þei ben boþe wedded. ¶The þridde is callid **incestie**, / þat is whanne a
man or a womman synneþ wiþ her owne kynne / or wiþ her goostli kynne. The
.iiij^{te}. is callede **stuprator**, þat is whanne a man / synneth and defouleth any
mayden. The .v^{te}. is callid **sacrilege**, þat is whanne / a man synneþ and
180 defouleth any nonne or any womman of religioun or / any þat haþ avowed to
live chaast, or whanne any womman synneþ wiþ / any man beynge in þe seide
religioun. ¶The .vj^{te}. is called **rape**, þat is / whanne a man synneth or defouleþ
any womman a-geyne her wille. The / **.vij^{te}. is called synne ageyne kynde** þe
whiche synne is so grevous and so / horrible þat a man shulde noȝt speke þerof
185 ne þynke þer[vp]pon. And it is / forboden be holi chirche þat a man shulde noȝt
suffre his childrene ne / his servauntis ligge to-gidre in bedde if þei ben .vij°.
ȝeer oolde or more / for perelle of synne. It needeth noȝt to trete more of þis
manere ne of þe / synne of leccherie for euery man knoweþ his owne doynge
and in what / manere he trespaseþ. ¶And ȝe shal vndersonde þat thes synnes ben
190 / called deedeli synnes. And if a man be temptid to doo any of thes synnus / and
doeþ his wille and his entent þertoo, noȝt wiþstondinge he is lett þer froo /

ageyne his wille, ȝit he synneþ deedeli þerby, but if[380] he wiþstonde þat / temptacion þere as he myȝte doo it if he wolde, þanne it is but a venyal / synne.

Septem opera misercoride. Capitulum quartum. / The .vij°. werkes of mercy þat ben of goddis heestes in þe Gospelle off / Seint Matthew of þe whiche werkes of mercy euery cristene creature / shal ben examyned atte daie [f.13r] of doome what he haþ doen of hem to his / euem-cristene.¶**First** þou shalt feede þe hungry. The **.ij°.** þou shalt / gyve drynk to þe þursty. The **.iij°.** þou shalt visite hem þat ben sike / and helpe hem wiþ þi poer. The **.iiij°.** þou shalt herberowe hem þat ben / herberowles. The **.v°.** þou shalt clothe hem þat ben naked. The **.vj°.** þou / shalt comforte and releeve hem þat ben in prisoun. The **.vij°.** is þou shalt / helpe to burye cristene bodies þat ben dede. This as moche as helpe þyne / euem-cristen aftir þi power of þat he haþ neede off the wiche is gret merite, for / our lorde seiþ in þe Gospelle, "*Date et debitur vobis.*" ¶That is to seie, "Gife / and it shal be ȝoven to ȝow a-geyne." And **Seint James** seiþ, "Þat as water quencheþ þe fier so almesse deede quencheþ synne."

Septem virtutes principales. Capitulo .v°. / Fides, spes, caritas, prudencia, iusticia, fortitudo et temperancia. / The firste is **feith, hope and charite**. Thes .iij[e]. vertues longen oonly to / god and thes .iiij[te]. sewynge longen to þyne euem-cristene and to thy-self, / þat is wisdom, riȝt-wisnes, strengþe and sobirnesse. The first **vertue** þat / is riȝt-feith Þat is þou shalt bileeue stid[f]estly in god and in þe sacrementis / of holi chirche and as þe articlis of þe creede techiþ þee, for wiþ-oute feith / it is impossible to please god. ¶The **.ij°. vertue** is þou shalt hope to haue / the blis of heuene in bodie and soule, aftir þe daie of doome, by helpe of þi / riȝt-bileeue and be þe sacrementis of holi chirche. The þridde **vertue** is charite / þat þou shalt loue god aboue alle þing and kepe his commaundementis / more for loue of him þanne for drede of peynes, havinge þyne herte / and þi mynde on him more þanne vpon any ertheli creature or any worldeli / richesse or veyne prosperite of þis worlde. ¶And aftir þou shalt loue / þi self and þi soule, þat is desire goode vertues and doo goode deedis and flee / alle synne and vise þat þou may purchas the blis þat euere shalt laste. / And þanne þou shalt loue þyne euem-cristene as þi self, but noȝt asmoche / as þi self. For þou muste loue þyne owne soule more þanne þyne / euem-cristenes

[380] MS: and

soule, but þou shalt loue þyne euem-cristenns soule more / þanne þyne owne
225 bodie or any worldeli goodis, councellinge hem to kepe / his soule in cleene liff,
noȝt suffryinge him to doo noo synne / to þi power. ¶And also þou shalt loue
þyne euem-cristenn bodeli as / þi self. Þou shalt councelle him and helpe him
att his neede as / þou wodest he dide to þe in þi neede, and þou shalt desire none
229 of his / goodis unriȝtfully ne seie ne doo to him oþer wise þanne þou woldest
[f.13^{v}] hee / dide to þee. The **.iiij.^{te} vertue is wisdome**. And þat is oonli wisdome vnder
/ goddis drede þat techeþ a man to conceyue in his witte and in his mynde / forto
doo goode dedis and þat that may be profitable to his soule, and forto / eschewe
and forbere al synne and vise wiche shulde brynge him to euere-lastynge /
peyne. And also þere is worldeli wisdome þat techeþ a man to gete / his lifloode
235 and his sustenaunce riȝtwisly, wiþ-oute falsheede or brekinge / of goddis lawes
or his commaundementis. And if he offende þere ageynes / in any poynt, þouȝ
he purchased him al þe reaumes and þe richessis of þis / worlde, it may noȝt be
callede wisdome but wrecchednesse and foly for a / litil veyne prosperite[for]
the space of .ij^{o}. daies or .iij^{o}. to suffree aftir euere-lastinge / payne wiþ-outen
240 ende. ¶The **.v^{te}. virtue is riȝtwisnesse** þat techeth þe / to gife god and holi
chirche and þyne euem-cristenn al þat þei owȝten to haue of / the, þat is
worshippe to god, helpe to þyne euem-cristenn att his neede, takinge / no-þing
of his goodis ne of his catelle, but þat þou owȝt to / haue of riȝt. This vertue is
necessarye ageyne þe synne of couetise. The **.vj^{te}. / vertue is strengþe** þat
245 techeþ a man manfully to wiþ-stonde þe temptacioun / and þe malice of his .iij^{o}.
enemyes, þat is þe ffende, þe worlde and his owne / flesshe, and to fulfille þe
lawes and þe commaundementis of god and of holy / chirche, þouȝ he be
neuere so sore temptid to doo þe contrarye. ¶The **.vij^{te}./ vertue is sobirnesse** þat
techeþ a man to be mesurable in alle his werkes / as in mete and in drynke, and
250 be noȝt to myry ne to hevy, noȝt to hasti ne to / slowȝ, noȝt to liberal ne to
sparyng, but kepe a mesurable meene for / that is best.

Septem Sacramenta. Capitulo vj.^{to} **Baptismus, confirmacio, confessio, penitencia, / eucharista, extrema vnnctio, spousalia**. Thes ben þe .vij.^{o}
sacramentes of holi / chirche. The first is **cristendome** atte font-stone þe wiche
255 is fundement and / bigyinynge of alle hem þat shal be savid. Therfore euery
womman þat / is quyk wiþ childe is chargid by holi chirche þat she shal kepe hir

/ from gret labour and trauelle or hevinge grete birthenes be þe wiche þe childe / myȝte take deeth or he had þis sacrement of cristendome. And þat she shal / a-geyne þe delyueraunce take shrift and housille for feer of perelle of deth þat / myȝte falle. ¶And whanne she is delyuerede, if þe childe be in perelle of deeth, / þei þat ben aboute hir may cristene it in þis manere: I cristen þe **.N.** in þe / name [f.14r] of þe fader, and þe sone and þe holi goost and sprynge watir vpon it / and non oþere licoure. And if þe childe live aftir þis he shal be brouȝt to þe chirche / and haue al þe service of cristenynge, sauf he shal noȝt be putte noo / more in þe watir ne þis worde, "I cristene þe **N.**" shal noȝt be seide. And / also in perelle of deth of þe childe, þe fader and þe moder may cristene the / childe in þe forme afore-seide. ¶Also children þat be borne .vij^{te}. daies / bi-fore **Estre and Witsontide**, shulde be kept til halowynge of þe font if / it may be for perelle of deth. Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat a man þat / heveþ a childe atte font-stone shal noȝt holde þat childe atte confermyng / of þe bisshop. Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat godfadris and godmodris ben / borowes a-fore god for her goostli children. And þerfore þei ben holden / for-to techen her godchildren to live riȝt-fully, to holde charite, to kepe / hem in chastite, to teche hem goddis commaundementis, to kepe hem from / þe .vij.^{o} deedeli synnes, and also speciali to teche hem her bileeue, þat is/ her **Pater noster**, her **Ave Maria** and her **Credo**, as soone as þei be[n] of age to/ lerne it. Also it is forboden þat fader and moder, norsse and alle oþer puple / shal noȝt leye noo childe in bedde wiþ hem, while þei slepe, ne bynde hem / to fast in her cradell, ne lete hem lie slepinge ne wakinge wiþ-outen / a kepere. ¶Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat þis sacrement of cristendome / clenseth him þat is cristened from al manere [of] synne, orygenal and actuall. / Orygenal synne is þat euery cristene creature haþ of our fader, **Adam / and of Eve**, for her inobedience vnto almyȝti god. And actuell synne is / þat a man doeþ him self oþere in þouȝt, worde or dede, wheþer it be venial / synne or deedeli synne. Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat þere is goostli kyndrede / be hevinge of children atte ffont-stone **in ten manere wises**, and / in hevinge of children atte confermynge of þe bisshope in þe same manere wise. / And euerych of þis manere of kynreden letten spousheede þat is to / make and vndoeþ spousheede þat is made.¶The **firste** kynrede is bituene / him þat is hevid and þe hevere þertoo, as godfaders and godmodres atte / font-stone. The **.ij^{o}.** is

bituene him þat is hevid and þe children of hem / þat heviþ þertoo. The **.iij°.** is bituene him þat is hevid and þe wif of him / þat is heuere þertoo, flessheli knowe of þe hevere bifore þis hevinge. The / **.iiij°.** is bituene þe hevers and þe fader of him þat is hevid. The **.v°.** is bytuene / him þat heveþ and him þat is hevid. The **.vj°.** is bitue[ne] þe hevere and / þe moder of him þat is hevid. The [f.14ᵛ] **.vij°.** is bituene him þat is hevid /and þe children of him þat is hevid. The **.viij°.** is bituene him þat is hevid / and þe wif of him þat heviþ, flessheli knowe of him bifore þat tyme. / The **.ix°.** is bituene him þat heviþ and þe fader of him þat is hevid. The / **.x°.** is bituene him þat heueþ and þe moder of him þat is hevid atte font. / And ȝe shal vnderstonde þat þei stonde in þe same fourme of kynrede atte / confermynge bi-fore þe bisshope.

The .ij°. sacrement is **confirmacion** of þe bisshope þat euery / Cristene man and womman is holden to bryngen her children þertoo / as soone as þei may, and nameli or it be .v. ȝeer of age. This sacrement / is a-strengþing in þe riȝt-feith and in þe grace of the holi goost. And he / þat is confermed shal haue þe more grace in his liff and þe more blis / whanne he is deed. And he þat is noȝt confermed may noȝt be resseyued / to none oþer sacrement. And also he þat is confermed shal noȝt ben / wasshene noþer heed ne forheede wiþinne .vij°. daies aftir, be þe constitucioun, in reuerence of þat holi creem.

The .iij°. sacrement is ¶**shrift and penaunce** þat euery man and / womman is holden to doo as soone as þei can riȝtful mannes witte and / vnderstondinge, atte age of .xij. ȝeer, he is bounde atte leest oonys in þe / ȝeer to be clene shreven of his owne curatoure of alle his synnes / þat he can be-þynke him off, and take his penaunce þerfore, and fulfille it. / And on Estre daie resseyue his creature and ellis doo him out of holi / chirche and out of cristen buriellis whanne he is deed.

¶In this sacrement / ben .iij°. þingis þat is confessioun of mouþ, contricioun of herte, / and satisffaccioun in deede and in werkes. ¶**Confessioun** of mouþ is þat a man / shal shewe alle his synnes vnto þe prest, levynge noþing vntolde / ne vnshewed of þat he can **be-þynke** him off, or ellis þe shrift is / noȝt good ne complet. Also he shal telle al circumstaunce, in what / foule wise he dide þe synne. The .ij°. is **contricioun** of herte þat / euery cristene creature þat comeþ to shrift shal be sory in his herte / for his synne, and nameli first for offendyng

almyȝti god þanne for / þe lesinge of goddis grace and þe blis of heuene þe wiche is lost fro / him while he is (in) synne, and also for drede of euere-lastinge peyne / þat is dewe to him while he is in synne til he be clensid there off. / ¶The .iij°. is **satisffaccioun** in werke þat is penaunce and goode werkis / of charite þat [f.15r] a man muste doo for his synnes. And penaunce is in .iiij.or / manere wises, þat is fastinge, praier, almesse deede and pilgrymage. Fastinge / and pilgrymage is to be [e]njoyned a-geynes freelte of mannes flesshe. And / al manere penaunce is to be enjoyned be þe discrecioun of þe curatour / aftir þe astaat of him þat shal bere þe penaunce. For somme men ben / stronge of complexioun and somme men ben feble,[381] somme men ben riche / and somme men ben pore, and somme men liven in quyete and in ese. ¶And also / ȝe shullen vnderstonde þat to alle þoo þat haue or wiþ-holden any / oþere mannes good wrongfully, it is to be enioyned hem to restore / it ageyne if he may or haue wheroff. For Seint **Augustyne** seiþ, "*Non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur oblatum.*" He seith, "Þe synne is noȝt for-gyvene / til þe good or þe dette be restored." And if it may in noo wise be restored, / he þat had it muste be passinge sory in his herte and praie for hem / þat owȝt þat good and aske hem forgevenesse if he may, savinge his / worshippe or his degree.

¶Also ȝe shullen vnderstonde þat þe lawe / wole þat a man shulde haue .vij.° ȝeer penaunce for euery deedeli synne / þat he doeth, noȝt wiþ-stondinge his curate haþ poer be his discrecioun / to dispence wiþ him more esely. But a curatuore muste be waar þat / he medle noȝt wiþ none of þe poyntis þat ben reservid to þe bisshop / or to his penytanucer the wiche shal be rehersid aftir wiþ oþer poyntis þat longen to the hirynge of **confessioun** in the laste **chapitre** / of þis tretis. / The effecte of þis sacrement is for-gyuenesse of alle / his synnes þat resseyueþ it riȝtfulliche as it is afore seide. /

The **.iiij.° sacrement** is goddis body in fourme of breede þat þe / prest atte masse sacreth. Euery cristene man shal bileeue þat / it is verrey goddis body þat was borne of **Maide Marie** and deide vpon / roode tree, and euery cristene man owȝt to worshepe þat precious body, knelinge / on his knees wher-so-euere he seeth it, saying his *Pater noster* / or somme oþere good praier. Also lay men þat resseyue goddis body at / **Estre** shal noȝt bileeue þat þe wyne þat þei

[381] MS: fleble

resseyue out of þe chaleis / is noȝt sacrid, but it is wyne or watir to brynge inne þat precious / lorde þat þei resseyue. But in fourme of breede is holly goddis body, / flesshe and bloode. ¶And þei shal noȝt chewe it smal, but resseyue / it as
[f.15v] hool as þei may lest any part þerof leef amonge his teeth. For / in þe leest partie þerof is holly goddis body. Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat / who so desireþ ofte to se goddis body shal haue þis meede: god graunteþ / him needeful lifloode þat daie; and also ydel othis and forgoten synnes / ben for-ȝovenn þat daie; also þe siȝt of his eyen shal noȝt be lost þat / daie; ne him shal falle noo sodeynn deth þat daie, and if it doo it shal / stonde him for his housil; he shal noȝt waye oolde the while hee / hireþ masse; and euery steppe to masse-warde and fro masse-warde shal / ben accoumnptid of aungelis. ¶Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat lewede / puple shullen noȝt muse ne argue moche of þe sacrement of the / auter, for it is i-nowȝ for hem to belieeue as holi chirche techeþ hem. / This sacrement owȝt noȝt to be gyvene to sike men þat may noȝt / holde mete ne drynke, ne to þoo þat haue þe frenesie. The effect of þis / sacrement is for it feedeþ þe soule and ioyneth it to god, it encreseth / virtue, it doeþ awey alle venyal synnes; but who so be in deedeli synne, / he is noȝt able to resseyue it.

The **.v.te sacrement** is anoyntyng oonly of sike puple, þat / euery man in poynt of deeth is holden to reseyue. And þe preest / þat gyveth þis sacrement to þis sike shal aske him: Broþer art þou / glad to die in cristene bileeve? **R.**ȝee sire. Art þou be-knowene þat þou hast / noȝt so wel i-lived in þis worlde as þou owȝtist? **R.** ȝee sire. Art þou in / will to amende if þou haddist space of liff? **R.** ȝee sire. Bileevist þou / þat **Ihesu Crist**, goddis sone, was borne of **Maide Marie**? **R.** ȝee sire. / Bileevist þou þat **Ihesus Crist** deide vpon þe roode tree on Goode Frydaie to bey mannes soule of of peyne? / **R.** ȝee sire. Þankest þou him þerfore? **R.** ȝee sire. Bileevist þou þat þou myȝte noȝt be savid, but be his / precious deeth. **R.** ȝee sire. ¶And while þi soule is in þi body þank god / of his deeth and truste fulli to be savide þerby and þynke on none oþer þing, noþer / wiff ne childe, hous ne londe, ne none oþer richesse of þe worlde, but oonli / on Cristis deth and on his passioun and say aftir me: I putte Cristis passioun / bituene me and myne evel werkes, and bituene me and his wratthe.

Et dicatur / In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum. Lorde, in hondes thyne I putte my / soule Lorde, (as þou bowȝtist me body and soule, I take to þe. The effecte of þis sacrament / is forgyuenesse of al venial synnes and helpe to
390 þe soule, the sikenesse / shal be þe liȝtere, his grace shal be þe more. And if þe sike aske þis sacrament / devoutli, þouȝ he aftirwarde falle into a frensie, ȝit þe sacrement may be / gyvene him sauely i-nowȝ.)[382]

The **.vj°. sacrement is holi ordre** þat longen / to men of holi chirche. The
394 firste ordre is **a-colet**. The .ij°. is a / **subdeken**. The .iij°. is **deken**. The .iiij°. is
[f.16r] **presthoode** þe wiche ordres must / be resseyued be a bisshopp. And euery man þat haþ resseyued thes ordris, / or any of hem, must ben of clene liff and of honest condiciouns and to haue / his clothis of honest shappe, as longeth to a man of his ordre; and to bere / his marke of his ordre þat is his crowne. The effecte of þis sacrement / is spiritual power gyvene to him of god. /

400 The **.vij^te^. sacrement is spousehoode** of man and of womman laweful / atte chirche-dore, bifore þe wiche sacrement þe baanes muste ben asked / in holi chirche þree solempne daies be þe preest, þat if any man knewe any / impedement whi þat þei may noȝt lawefully be wedded, þat he or she shal / seie it þanne - or þe sacrement be doen - on þe perelle of his soule þat knoweþ / it.
405 ¶And whanne þei ben comyn to þe chirche-dore, þe prest shal seie to þe / man: **N.** art þou in wille to haue þis womman to þi wiff. **R**. ȝee sire. Þanne / take hir be þe honde and seie aftir mee: I take þe **N.** to my wedded wiff forsakinge alle oþere and holdinge holly to þe in sikenesse and in heele, in richesse and in / pouerte, in woo and in wele til þat deeth vs departe and þerto I pliȝte þe my
410 trouþe . Et / eodem modo dicatur ex parte mulieris. And ȝe shal vnderstonde þat holi chirche / forbedeth alle privy forwardes of spouse-hoode bituene man and womman as / trouthe pliȝtinge, or makinge contracte wiþ-oute assent of frendes and / open knowleche of holi chirche. ¶And alle þei þat suche contractis maken / oþer wise þanne þe lawe and þe fourme of holi chirche requiyreþ ben in
415 / gret perelle. The substaunce of þis sacrement is in thes wordes, whanne / man seiþ hire, "I take þe **N.** to my wedded wiff," and þat þe womman / seith in þe same fourme, "I take þe **N.** to my wedded husbonde." Thes / wordes afore-seide bynden matrimonye for þouȝ þe man seie, "I **N.** wil / take þe **N.** to my

[382] Inserted in the same hand at the foot of the page.

wedded wif," or þe womman seie þe same to þe man / thes wordes maken noo matrimonye.[383]

¶Also ȝe shal vnderstonde / þat in .v°. maners a man may synne wiþ his wiff. **Tempore:** as in / lenten, ymber daies or in any oþer forboden daies or in holi tyme. **Voluntate:** / or to comoun wiþ his wiff for any oþer wille or lust þanne to geten / childrene or to kepe him fro synne fro any oþere. **Loco:** as to doo it in / holi chirche or in oþere holi place or in open place. **Pactu:** as if a man / make couenaunt to doo it often on þe nyght. **Modo**: as forto doo it / in oþer manere þanne kyndeli. ¶For ther is noo fouler synne þanne a man to / mys-take and vse [f.16r] his wiff nor wors synne þanne spousebreche, for þe dignite / of þat sacrement passiþ alle oþere. For our lorde him-self made it / in paradis and was þe furste sacrement and was made to eschewe synne. / The effecte of þis sacrement is þat it fordoþ deedli synne bituene / a man and his wif so þei breke noȝt þe bondes of matrimonye./

Modus Confessionis. Capitulum septem.[384] / He þat wole by shreven shal mekeli come and knele doun be þe / prest and seie, "Benedicite." The prest shal seie, "Domine Christe audi nos." / Than þe synnere shal seie his Confiteor, if he can it, euery worde tyl he / come to "mea culpa" and þere he shal stynte, and þanne he shal seie in þis / wise, "I knowliche me gilti to almyȝte god and to our lady **Seint Marie** / and to alle þe holi companye of heuene and to ȝow my gostli fader, þat/ I a wrecched synnere haue breken þe **.x. commaundementis** of god and / synned also in þe .vij°. deedeli synnes, nougt fulfilled þe .vij°. werkes / of mercy, and also mys-dispended my .v°. wittis." ¶And þanne he shal / bigynne to accuse him self in þe seide .x. commaundmentes, and in þe .vij°. / deedeli synnes, and in alle her braunches in euery poynt like as he haþ / offended.

And þe prest shul mekeli and syburly hire him, and if he se þus / þe synnere can noȝt fourmabli accuse him-self, þanne he shal accuse / him and enfourme him. And if he se þat þe synnere be shamfast to / shryve him in what wise he haþ synned, þanne þe prest shal comforte / him and seie, "Broþer, it is lasse sham to þe forto knowliche þi synne hire / be-fore me þat am but a synful man

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[383] MS: ma matrimonye
[384] MS: *quintum*

as þou art, þanne speak atte daie / of doome bifore all men, aunglis and deuelis. ¶And also þouȝ þou haddest /doo as moche synne as an hundred men, if þou wol bi-shreve þeroff / and be sory þerfore and þynke neuere to falle þerinne no more as ferforþ as god wole ȝeue þe grace her aftir, and doo þi penaunce þerfore þat shal bene enioyned / to þe, þynke vereli þanne þat god doeþ forgyve þe al þat synne as / he did to **Marie Mawdeleyne** and to all oþere þat asked grace and remissioun. /

And if þe prest feele þat þe synnere be in any dispeir, or noȝt in wille to / leefe his synne, þe prest shal comforte him wiþ alle þe goode meenes / þat he can and seie, "Broþer who so deieþ in deedeli synne and wiþ-oute repentaunce / and penaunce doynge, he is in way of perpetuelle dampnacioun. And / thynke if **Iudas** þat solde and be-traien almyȝti **Ihesus Crist** to þe Iewes wolde / haue [f.17r] askede grace and forgyuenesse, he shulde haue had it atte firste / worde, but he was in so gret mys-trust and dispere þat he shylde haue his / noo grace þouȝ he wolde aske it. ¶And þat displesed almyȝti god more / þanne al his gilt and his offence."

And if þe prest may noȝt countere synnere to for-sake / his synne and to leese it aftirward, or ellis þat he be noȝt in clene charite / wiþ al þe worlde, he may noȝt enioyne him þoo penaunce ne assoile / him but ȝit he shal putte him in noo dispeyr but councelle him to doo / alle þe goode dedes þat he may of god of his grace wolde turn his herte / and his þouȝt from his wickede opyneon and synful purpos. Also if he can not / his **Pater noster**, his **Aue Marie** and nameli his **Credo**, he may noȝt enioyne / him noo penaunce, ne assoile him, but if he promise þe prest to lerne / it in al þe hast possible þat he may.

¶And if þe synnere shryve him wel / as he owȝte to doo, þe prest shal hire him til he haue al doen. Thanne / þe prest shal seie :Broþer hast þou any oþer þing in þi mynde þat þou wole / shryve þe off? [**R.**] Nay sire. Art þou sory for þi synne and þi wille neuere to / falle þerinne more as forforþ as god wole ȝeve þe grace? [**R.**]ȝee sire. Þanne / þe prest shal enioyne him his penaunce after his discrecioun. Ageynes / **pride**: werkes of mekenesse as to visite sike folke, to burye the deede, to kisse / the erthe *et cetera*. Ageynes **wratthe**: werkes of lowlynesse, as to aske forgyuenesse / kneliynge and to make amendis to hem þat hast offended. Ageynes / **envie**: werkes of charite as to praie for þyne

enemiyes to counceille hem / þat ben redelees, to teche hem þat ben unkonnynge, to doo good to / thyne euel doers. Ageynes **couetise**: restitucioun of oþer mennes goodis, to / hym þat owȝt it and to deele of þyne owne goode to hem þat haue neede. / Ageyne **slewþe**, busynes in goode werkes. And ageynes **glotenye and lecherie**: fastinge and abstynence of metis and drynkes þat ben delicious to the / flesshe and to goo wolle-warde and for open synne open penitaunce. And / to a man in advoutrie is to be enioyned suche penaunce þat his wif / haue noo suspecioun þeroff. And to a wedded wif in þe same manere wise / but enioyne hir noȝt to give noo gret almesse lest hir husbondes / goodes wole noȝt strecche þertoo. ¶And vnderstonde wel þat þe grete / part of satisfaccioun is þat þe synnere be sory for his synne.

And whanne / þe prest haþ enioyned þe synnere his penaunce, he shal make him / to seie aftir him in his moder langage in þis wise, "I knowliche me / gilty to almyȝti god and to **our lady Seint Marie** and to alle þe holi companye of [f.17v] heuene and to þe my gostli fadir þat I, wrecched synnere, haue / broken þe .x. commaundementis, and synned in þe .vij°. deedli synnes, noȝt fulfilled / the .vij°. werkes of mercy, and mys-dispended my v. wittis wiþ eyen seyne, / wiþ eris herde, wiþ nose smellid, wiþ mouþ spoken, wiþ hondis handelid, / wiþ fet mys-goen, wiþ herte mys-þouȝt and wiþ al my body synfully / i-wrouȝt. I crye god mercy and his **Moder Marie** and al þe company / of heuene and the my goostlie fader to give me penanaunce and absolucioun / for charite." Þanne seie, *Ideo peccator* and seie out his *confiteor*, if he can it, / and if he can it, noȝt seye no-more.

Þanne þe prest shal seie *Miseriatur viri etc.* aand assoile him in þis wise. "*Auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis et beatorum appostolorum Petri et Pauli et potestate mihi tradita. Ego te absoluo ab omnibus / peccatis tuis de quibus confessus es et vere contritus et omnia bona que feceris et mala / que tolleraveris de quibus confiteri et dolerus velles si memor esses fuit tibi / per penitencia et per passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi et merita omnium / sanctorem valeant / tibi ad remissionem omnium peccatorum ad vitam eternam. Amen. /*"

Also ȝe shal vnderstonde þat þer ben manye poyntis þat a parsoun / or a sengle curate may not noȝt assoile ne dispence wiþ his parisshenes / wiþ þat it

be in gret necessite or perelle of deth, but þat he mote / sende hem to þe bisshop or to his penytauncer þere to ben assoilede.

Þat / is to wite all þoo þat ben hous-brenners and suche as bere fals witnesse. / And þei þat falseli for-swere hem vpon bookes or vpon any othir / holi reliquis for wynnynge of good or for harmynge of her euem-cristene. /

¶Also þei þat doen **wicchecraft** or sorsery or counterfeete fals dedis / or seelis. Also þoo þat counterfetene þe kyngis money except þoo þat bene / ordeyned þertoo. And also alle þoo þat appeyren þe kyngis money be washinge / or clippyng.

And also alle þoo þat letten any laweful testement / so be executid aftir þe testators wille.

Also alle þoo þat leyne any / honde violentli on any **prest or clerk** wiþinne ordre, he is to be enioyned / to goo to Rome, wiþ-oute þe clerk be wiþinne age, or þat it be doo for / his lernynge or in wey of chastisment of his maistir.

¶And also / alle þoo þat ben **heretikes**, **traitours** or **symonyours**.

Also þoo þat violentli / smyten her fader or her moder, þouȝ it be doen priueli. If þei vse it / the curate muste sende hem to þe bisshopp.

Also if thi parisshens be accursed / of any oþer þanne of þi self þou muste
[f.18r] hem to ben assoylid of him þat / accursed him if he may fynde him.

Also alle þoo þat liven opynli in advoutrie / or hauntene þe synne of leccherie wiþ her owne flessheli kynrede or wiþ / her goostli kynrede openli knowen.

And also whanne ȝong children ben / perisshed in fier or in watur or by any oþer aventure þoruȝ þe neccligence of / þe fader or þe moder for defaut of kepinge, the fader and þe moder mote / goo to þe bisshoppe to ben assoiled. And also alle þoo þat ouere-lyne her / children to deeth in her beddis moten goo to þe bisshoppe in þe same wise / to ben assoiled.

Also all þoo þat geten any children vnlawefully, / in disherytinge of any oþere laweful heires moten goo to þe bisshoppe to / ben assoiled. ¶And also alle wommen þat distroien her children or / thei be borne and nameli aftir þoo seide children haue conseyued liff. And / also þoo þat violentli maken any womman to lose her burthenn þoruȝ / grete cruelte or feer.

Thes grevous poyntes afore-seide ben reservid / to þe bisshoppe or to his penytauncer wiþ-outen it be in perille of deth, / þanne a curate haþ poer to assoile þe synnere of þe seide poyntis in / a condicioun if þei turne to liff ageyne þat he shal goo to þe bisshoppe / or to his penytauncer þere to ben assoiled of þe seide poyntis. / Also 3e shal vnderstonde þat in perille of deth a straunge prest / may hire þe confessioun of him þat stondeþ so in perille and assoyle / him as wel as his owne curate savynge he may enioyne him / noo penaunce at þat tyme, but he shal seie to him, "Broþere thus moche / penaunce þou shuldest doo [if][385] þou shuldest live, but I wole enioyne / þe noo penaunce now, for þou art towardes purgatorie þere to ben / clensid of þi synnes aftir þe wille of almy3ti god, savinge if þou / rise and turne to liff ageyne þou shalt goo to þyne owne curate and / shryve the of alle thes synnes and take penaunce and absolucioun of him." / Thus shal as trange prest seie to þe sike. ¶And if it be his owne / curate þat hirith þis confessioun he shall seie to þe sike in þe same / manere, sauf he shal seie, "Sone, if þou turne to liff ageyne þou shalt / come to me and I shal enioyne þe thi penaunce for þi synne." For / ther may noo penaunce be enioyned to þe sike in perille of deth.

Forther-more / 3e shal vnderstonde þat in .iij°. manere wise a man defouleþ / him self wiþ synne, þat is wiþ synne of herte, wiþ synne of mouþ, / and wiþ synne of deede.

[f.18r] ¶Thes ben þe **synnes of the herte**: heresie; / errour; synful studie; no3t bileevinge in alle þe **articulis** of feiþ stidefastli; / foul þou3tis, assentynge to synne; eville supposinge; coveitynge; vengeaunce; / haterede; wratthe; envie; ioie of oþer mennes evilfare, and sory of her welfare; havinge noo pitee on hem þat ben in peyne or in pouerte; / dispit of pore men or of synful men for her wrecchednes; vnconuenable / loue to riche men for her richesse; ypocrisie, and plese men and to drede / hem more þanne god; wrong **intencioun**; synful coveitynge of dignytes / as benefice, office, richesse, or any oþer veynglorye of good or of kynne; / shame of þere kynne, proude of riche kynne, or gentil kynne; ioie of / evel dedis, sory þat he had no3t doo more evel þanne he dide. And þere as / he my3te or ellis þat he dide no3t þe synne þat he my3te haue doen; / pyne of penaunce, vnstable of good purpos, looth to forsake synne, / lust

[385] MS: and

no3t to hire goddis worde, nor entent to þe callinge of þe holi / goost, looth to serve god; inobedient to þe biddinge and þe ordenaunce / of goddis holi chirche; dispit of good techinge or of good councelle; / synguler witte; obstynacion in evil; ouerehope; wanhope. /

¶Thes ben / þe **synnes of þe mouþ**: outrage; and vnleefful tastinge, in etynge, or drynkinge; / idel iangelinge; wordes of harlotrie or takinge goddis name in / vayne; lesingis; fals forswerynge; sclaundrynge; scornynge; cursinge; bakbitynge; discorde sowinge; wrong vp-bryngynge; fli3tinge; manasinge / bostynge; fals wittnesse berynge; evil counceille 3evinge; flaterynge; euel / deedis preysinge; goode deedis pervertinge; almy3ti god or his wordes scornynge; / vnskilful pledinge or veyne arguynge; foli lau3hinge; proud / and presumpcuous spekinge; nysoli and iolely chauntynge, or to synge more for / preysinge of þe puple þanne of god.

¶Thes ben þe **synnes of deede**: / ydolatrie; nygromancye; tregetrie; sorserie; tirauntrie; manslau3tir; / sacrilige; robbery; theft; symonye; vsurie; raveyne; extorcionn; apostacie; / glotenye; dronkenesse; fals enditynge; wrong enprisonynge; foly fi3tinge; or any man maymynge or hurtynge in his body, or in his name, or in / his goodes, or catelle; disseit vsinge [of] fals weightis, or mesures; vnri3twisnesse, / lettynge of goodis service; or his lawes or his commaundement / or any oþere goode werkes; brekinge of vowes; misspendinge of / holi daies or wastinge of tyme; hauntynge of veyne pleies of iapis / or songes; dishonoure of fader or moder, bodeli or goostli; ensaumple of / euel lyvinge; newe gises vp-brynginge; rebelnesse ageynes goddis lawes; / and
[f.19r] ageyne þe techinge and correctioun of holi chirche; synne or any fals quarelle / witingeli or willefully mayntenynge goddis precious bodi in deedeli / synne; resseyvinge of goostli goodis; or bodeli mysspendinge to wiþ holde / fro þe body resonable sustenaunce, or takinge more sustenaunce / þanne needeþ; to 3eve occasioun to synne in si3t, in hirynge, in smellynge, / in tastinge, in touchinge, in beknynge, cou[n]tenaunce, or in 3iftis, or foleli / gisinge; to synne bodeli (or)[386] customli; to resseyve no3t þe circumstaunce off / synne - place, nombre, manere, persoone, duellinge - for this makeþe þe synne / more or lasse.

[386] Inserted over the line.

And also oþere manye **synnes þere ben of omyssioun**: / þat is of levinge of goode deedis vndoo þe wiche we shulden doo in loovinge / and preisinge and þankinge almyȝti god of his ȝiftis and benefices; noȝt / ȝevinge tent to our praiers but rablynge in hem faste, and recche neuere so thei / be seide neccligentli; noȝt confermynge our werkes and our wille vnto / goddis biddinge and his wille; nouȝt doynge alle þe goode dedis þat wee / doo in good entent; nouȝt disposinge vs to resseyue grace and ȝif we haue resseyued / it, vse it noȝt as we shulde doo, nouȝt soone for goddis sake and for / charite forȝeve hem þat vs haþ grevid; nouȝt stonding strongeli, ageyne / temptacion; noȝt peesinge hem þat ben atte debaate; nouȝt techinge / hem þat ben vnkunnynge; noȝt amende hem þat doen amys; nouȝt / holdinge trouþe stidefastli to god and to our euem-cristene to our power; / noȝt ȝevinge a good deede for anoþere; noȝt comfortinge hem þat ben in / sorowe or in sikenesse pouerte or in penaunce; noȝt amendynge vs off / our synnes hasteli but euere presomptuousli truste in mercy of god. /

Literary and Historical Notes to *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Bodley Rawlinson D913.

1 – 8. Middle English translation of usual introduction to *Sacerdos Parochialis* with the addition of a seventh chapter on the sacrament of penance.

9 – 206. The tracts on the *Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo*, ten commandments, seven deadly sins, seven works of mercy are almost identical to that found in the most versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, with the exception of a number of phrases noted below.

14 – 16. An expansion on the idea of being one of God's children, not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

28 – 29. Most versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (ll.345 – 6) place slightly more emphasis on forgiveness of one's fellow-believers.

42 – 9. The scribe of Rawlinson D913 calculated a different number of days of indulgence.

50 – 3. Here the scribe reduces the four articles to one article so that the creed is a creed of twelve articles, rather than fourteen.

64. An expansion on the harrowing of hell and the rescue of Old Testament figures by Jesus, not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

68. An expansion on apostolic authority with a particular emphasis on the sacrament of penance not usually found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

79 – 82. The conditions for salvation listed here – to be in a state of charity, to give goods, to do good deeds and to lead a clean life – are not included in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

91 – 108. The first commandment is more expansive here. All worldly things, be it family, wealth or honour, are to take secondary place to God.

98 – 102. As in most versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, heresy is not included in the list of offences against this first commandment. Moreover, the emphasis in the Rawlinson D913 text is on the offensive nature of swearing.

105 – 7. Rawlinson D913 also engages in the Pechamite tradition of dividing the commandments into two groups of three and seven.

123 – 4. The seventh commandment does not follow the Burney version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but follows the Bodley *et al* versions.

138 – 40. The Rawlinson scribe includes material on the sin of pride such as the gifts of beauty, strength and cunning. This list of gifts was a common feature under the sin of pride in tracts on the seven deadly sins. See, for example, *Every Christian Man*

and Woman appended to the Cambridge MS Pembroke version of *Sacerdos Parochialis* (ll.682 – 91.)

143 – 5. The list of gifts which may arouse envy or jealousy in another person are not usually listed in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but are included in other tracts such as *Every Christian Man and Woman.* See Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 (ll. 741 – 3).

168 – 189. The list of seven ways in which a person may fall into lechery is not included in *Sacerdos Parochialis.* The list is, however, very similar to the treatment of the sin of lechery in *Every Christian Man and Woman.* See Cambridge MS Pembroke 285 ll.960 – 72. See also *Handlyng Synne* by Robert of Brunne.[387]

205 – 7. Here, as in *Speculum Christiani* (3rd tabula), the quote has been incorrectly attributed to St. James.[388] The citation is, in fact, from Ecclesiasticus 3:33, although Holmstedt notes (probably correctly) that the author of *Speculum Christiani* encountered the quote in St. Augustine.

207 – 51. This passage on the seven virtues is generally very close to *Sacerdos Parochialis* except that the two great commandments are incorporated under the virtue of charity. There are also a number of expansions not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis.* However, the encouragement to imitate the holy martyrs, holy apostles and holy virgins is omitted here.

230 – 40. Much of the material on the virtue of 'wisdom' is not included in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis.*

252 – 315. Identical to the treatment of baptism, confirmation and penance in *Sacerdos Parochialis* except that the sacrament of penance is also dealt with in the final chapter.

279 – 84. A note on the differences between original sin and actual sin not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis.*

303 – 5. A definition of the sacrament of confirmation not found in other versions of *Sacerdos Parochialis.*

316 – 48. The extra material on the sacrament of penance included here is common teaching on the sacrament. It explains the three essential components to the sacrament: confession of mouth; contrition and satisfaction or penance. The tract

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[387] *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne,"* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, os 119 and 123, (rpt. as one volume, Millwood, N.Y.:Kraus Reprint, 1991), 234 – 38.
[388] Holmstedt, 40 ll.20 & 21.

includes a note on the need for discretion on the part of the curate when handing out penance, as well as Augustine's note on restitution as a requisite for forgiveness of the sin of stealing. The tract also includes a note on how to handle deadly sins, and on the importance of reserved cases.

349 – 432. Identical to *Sacerdos Parochialis* treatment of eucharist, extreme unction, ordination and marriage.

433 – 625. The extra chapter on the form of confession included in Rawlinson D913 is unique to this version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. It includes the following information:

433 – 56. Instructions for the priest on how to hear confesion.

457 – 65. How the priest ought to deal with despair in the penitent.

466 – 73. Cases where absolution may not be given.

473 – 93. A list of deeds of penance to counteract each of the seven deadly sins.

494 – 505. The Confiteor.

506 – 12. A form of absolution.

513 – 46. A list of excommunicable offences or reserved cases translated from those attributed to Robert Wynchilsee in the Latin constitutions in *Sacerdos Parochialis*. See notes to ll.114 – 45 above of the Burney *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

547 – 63. Instructions to hear the confession of a man or woman (no matter how serious the sin) when the penitent is in danger of death.

564 – 625. Sins of heart, mouth, deed, omission found also in *Speculum Christiani* (tabula 5).[389] According to Holmstedt, Rolle's *Form of Living* also includes a list of these sins. However, the content and order of material in the latter differs considerably from the list found in *Speculum Christiani*, and in the Rawlinson version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*.

[389] *Speculum Christiani*, 74 – 100 and 257 – 63.

The so-called *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iv.2.

[f.128r]**Causes for which the Church Curses and Excommunicates.**[390]

¶At þe begynyng god and haly kyrke cursys alle þase þat þe franches or þe fredom of haly kyrk brekys or dysturbils and alle þat is a-gayn þe pese or þe ryght or þe state of haly kryk or þer-to assentys wit dede or consell. And alle þase þat haly kyrk pryues of ryght or makys of haly kryk lay fee þat is halowyt or sanctyfyde.

¶Also all þase þat wetandly or wylfully teynds falsly and þat geuys not to god and to haly kyrk þe tende part or þe tende / peny of ilk wynnyng lefully won in marchandyse. / Or wit any oþer craft wytdrawyng onely þe exsese / and þe costage þat nedefully behouys be made a-bowt þe / thyng, þat þe wynnyng is gyttyn of; noght to tendende / þe wynnyng of a merchandyse wit þe losyng of a-nother, þai er accorsed. ¶Also alle þase þat of frute of þe erde or of þe bestialle or / of ylk thyng þat newys in þe 3er gefys nott þe tendys / haly, wit-owtyn wit-drawyn of þe costage. ¶Also alle þase þat for ille wylle of þe parson [f.129r] or vycar or parysch / prest or clerk or any oþer mynister of haly kyrke wit-haldys / tendes rentys offerands, mortuaryse, corspersandes or any oþer / dewtes or oght þat fallys to be geuyn to god or to haly kyrke.

¶Also all þase þat þe fredome of haly kryk letts or brekys or dysturbyls / þat is to say, if a man fle to a kyrke or to a kyrk-3arde / wha so hym letts or owtt-drawys or þerto procurs or asents. ¶Also alle þase þat dose sacrilege, þat is for to take halowyd thyng / owt of halowyd plase. ¶Also alle þase þat letters purches in any lordes curt þat þe proces / of ryght may nott be determyned ne iuggyd.

¶Also alle þase þat þe pese of þe land dysturbyls.

¶Also alle þase þat blode drawys of any man or any woman / in vyolens or in any oþer felony in þe kyrk or in þe kyrk-3arde / whar-for þe kryk or kyrk-3arde is enderdyte or suspende[d] or pollute[d]. /

¶Also alle þase þat ir a-gayns þe kyngys ryght. ¶Also alle þase þat were susteynys a-gayns þe kyngys pese wrangfully. ¶Also alle þase þat ir robburs or

[390] Inserted in a different hand.

reuers or man-sclaers bot if it be þam-selfe defendand. ¶Also alle þase þat er a-gayns þe gret scharter of þe kyng þe / wylk is confermyd of þe curt of Rome.

¶Also alle þase þat fals wytnes berys or procurs þame wytand / and namely in cause of matrimonye in what curt so it be /or owt of curt. ¶Also alle þase þat fals wytnes berys whar thurght ryȝtfull matrimonie is disturbyld or any man or [f.129r] woman to be / deseryd of land, of rent, tenement, or any oþer catell and / fals aduocats þat for mede puttes furthe fals excepcions / and querels whar-for ryght matrimonye is for-done. /

¶Also all þase þat for malise or for fauour or any oþer incheson / malycyusle man or woman bryngs owt of þer gude name / in tyll a wykkyd [fame] or garri þam lose þar wardly gudes or homes / or þat puttes wrangfully þam to þe purgac[i]on of þe qwylke was / na fame be-fore.

¶Also alle þase þat malycyusly dysturbyls or lettys þe ryght presentacion / of a kyrke qwylk þe verray patryn suld present / or þer-to procurs wit word or dede or wit fals in-quest or wit / other power. ¶Also alle þase þat malicyusly dyspysys þe mandment to take / a-cursyd man þat has leuyd in cursyng forty days and na remedy / wylle seke and alle þat þe takers dysturbyls wit iuggment or fals in-qwest.

¶Also alle þase þat mede takes to dysturbylle pese þer lufe / sulde be, or conteke or stryfe mayntens wit word or ded. / And tylle þai haf ȝoldyn þe mede a-gayn to þam of whan / þat þai it take þai may not be assolyd.

¶Also alle þase þat howsys, maners, (and)[391] granges of parsons or vicars / or any oþer mans of haly kyrk a-gayns þer wylle or a-gayns / þer attornys any maner of guds mouabylle or vnmowabylle / a-way bers wit strenth or wrangusly a-way / draws or wastes, of þe wylk cursyng þai may not be assoyled / to þay n haf made a sethe to þame þe wrang is done. / ¶Also alle þase þat any maner of gudes wit vylens berys owt / of haly kyrk or of howsys of relygyon þe whylke is [f.130r]/ þer-in leryd be-cause of warandyse or sucur or to kepe and / alle þase þat þer-to ascents or procurs.

¶Also alle wychens and alle þat on þame leuys.

¶Also alle þase þat lyis hand on prest or clarke in violens but / if it be þam-selfe defendand.

[391] Inserted over the line.

¶Also alle þase þat sarasyns consells or helpys a-gayns cristyn men.

¶Also alle women þat þer generacions or chyld dystrenys as wit / drynkks or any oþer craft. ¶Also alle þase þat þer chyldyr wrangusly faders þame or þer chyldyd / wyttis on any man malycyusly. ¶Also alle þase þat wykkydly sclaye þer chyld or burys þam / in felde or in tone or at kyrk-dor or in gate schadyls / or in any stranges place and fleys fra þam when þer chylder / are at vn-power.

¶Also alle þase þat fals mony makes or þerto assents. ¶Also alle þase þat gude mony clippyd þam to a-wantage. ¶Also alle þase þat falsys þe papys bullys or contyrfete þe kyngys sele. ¶Also alle þase þat byis or selys wit fals mesurs or fals weghts, þat is to say to by wit ane and sell wit anoþer. ¶Also alle þase þat falsys þe kyngys standarde þam wytyng.

¶Also alle þase þat dysturbyls malicyusly man or woman weddyd / or vnwyddyd to make þer testament þat wald make / it lawfully and alle þat lett þe excecuc[i]on of þe testament lawfully / made to be done. ¶Alsa alle þase þat forsweres þamme on þe haly dome wyllyng or / wyttyng for mede or for [f.130r] hatyredyn or for to gar any man / loyse hys wordly gudes or hys honours.

¶Also alle þase þat byrnys kyrke or howsys of any poyntis of þese in lande. ¶Also alle robburs or reuers opynly or priuali by day or by nyght þat any mannys gudes stelys for wylke he war worthy suffyr dede. ¶Also alle þase þat wythaldys any mannys gudes þat has bene askyd opynly in haly kyrke þan selfe wyttyng. ¶Also alle þat faloners and þar mayteners. ¶Also alle conspiratours and alle fals swerars in assysys / or in any oþer curte. ¶Also alle þase þat any fals planttis puttes furth a-gayn þe franches of haly kyrke of þe kyng or of þe rewme.

¶Also alle þase þat offerands þat is offeryd in haly kyrke or in / kyrk-ȝard or chapelle or in oryatory or in any stede / wit-in þis dyocese þat wit-haldys or put a-way in any / oþer plase a-gayn þe parsons wylle [or] agayns parysch prestis / of þe parysh þat it ys offeryd in bot if þai be priualeged. ¶Also alle þase þat þar guds gefs in drede of dede in fraude / of haly kyrke or to for-ber þar dettis and alle þase þat wylke gyfis takis and þer-to consels or helpyt. ¶Allso alle þase þat lettis prelets or ordeners of haly / kyrk for to hald consystory cessyn or charetes or to / inqwere of syn or of exact þer nede be for hele of soule. ¶Also alle heretykys þat [beleues] noght in þe sacrament of / þe auter þe qwylke is goddis

awn body in flesche and / dede in forme of brede and other sacrament þat towchys / hele of man soule.

[131r] ¶Also alle vsurers als if a man len hys mony to a-nother for to take a-wauntage be a gude for lennyng / of hys mony. For if þer war any swylk in acete þe sete / suld be interdyte þat na sacrament suld be doyn þer in-to þai / war put owt of þat sete.

¶Þes er þe poyntis of þe grete cursyng þat owr haly fadyrs, / papys, archbyshceps and byschopys has ordenyd and þam aght to be puplyst at þe lest thryse in þe ȝer in haly / kyrk þat is to say þe fyrst Sonday of Lentyn or in þe secunde. / And also som Sonday efter þe mandelmese or ellys be-for / as it may be-fall. ¶And also som Sunday in þe Aduente be-fore / þe ȝole and þus haly kryk vsys thurght cristyndome.

¶Si quis excomunicat excommunicamen in scriptis proferat et causam / excomunicationis / expressissime conscribat, propter quam excommunication proferatis. Exemplum vero scripture huiusmodi tenatur excommunicatio tradere infra mensem si fuerit requisitus super qua exquisicioe fieri volumus puplicum instrumentum videlicet litteras testimoniales confici sigillo autentico et signitas.

¶Quando quis qui solemniter excommunicat sic dicet

¶ Ex au[c]toritate dei patris omnipotestis et filij et spiritus sancti et sanctorum appostolorum et sanctorum canonum et nostri ministerii / excommunicamus et anethematizamus atque a liminibus sancti dei matris ecclesie sequestramus illos qui hoc mala fecerunt /vel consenserunt vt non habeant partem cum deo neque cum sanctis et nisi recipueri[n]t et ad satisfacionem uenerint sic extinguitur lucerna / eorum saecula in saeculorum, fiat, fiat. Amen.

[131v] **¶And þus says somm for þe mor raddour.**

Be þe autorite of þe power of our fadyr, god almyghty and / hys blyssyd modyr, Mary and Saynt Michaelle and by all þe / archangels of god and by þe power of Peter and Paule[392] / and of alle apostyls by alle þe postels and þe euangelyst of / god and Saynt Stephen þe martyr and alle þe martyrs of god / and saynts and

[392] MS: Paule Paule

scholars, and alle þe confessores[393] of God / and Saynt Margarete virgin and alle þe virgyns of god, we curse. / Be all þese cursyd, wakand / and slepand, gangand, standand[394], / drynkand, syttand, lygande, or any oþer thyng / do and in feld and in tone and water or land or in any stede wat / som þai be, in command and gangand we curse þam. Als ruste / enters in-to þar bowellys and so hury þat cursyng in-to þam. / And as oþer euylls in to þar bonys and þe helt a-yente þam / so entyr þis cursyng in thame and a-boute þame. And be þai / cursyd wit Dathan and Abiran wit wham þe erte alle qwylk and / qwydyr sulle sand in-to hell. And als þe lyght of þis candyll / is sclokened fra / syght of man so þer saules in to helle damnyd / be bot if þai com to amendement wit a settre makyng to god and haly kyrke. Fiat fiat fiat.

¶Gode men and women it ys ordened in þo conselle of alle haly / kyrke, first of our haly fader þe Pape of Rome and his cardenallys / and alle hys consayle sytene of alle archybysscheppys, / bysscheppys and all oþer clergy þat euere[395] a man of haly kirke / þat has saule to kepe sulde shew emang þame fowr / tymes in þe 3er þe artyklis þat ir wretyn in þe generalle sentanse / þat is for to say þe
[132r] poynt þat langs to þe grete cursyng / Primum is þe fyrst Sonday of þe Aduent. Þe thothyr is þe fyrst Sonday / of Lentyn. Þe thryd is þe next Sonday efter þe Trinite Sonday. Þe / fourt is þe next Sonday efter þe Assumptyon of owr lady.

Off / þe maner of cursyng, haly kyrke ellys, *iii q. egeltus da et ex. de exceptus / pia*, þat on is callyd þe lesse cursyng and ane othyr þe mor / cursyng. And þai þus be oppynly thaght tylle guyd man [þ]at / þai may knaw perfytely þe perylle þer-of, þat na man sulde hafe mater / to excuse hym by.

¶Whar-for 3e schalle ondyr-stande at þe / begynnyng at þis word cursyng is þis mykylle to say a partyng / fra god and fra alle gude warks. *xi. q. iii.c. ad mensam c. erudientur.*/ Þat we calle þe lesse corsyng, or of þis strenght, þat euer ilk man and / woman þat fallys þer-in it departs hym fra þe sacrament þat ir in haly kyrke / þat þei may nane of þam resayue tylle þat þai be assoiled.

¶Þe mor / corsyng is mekylle and is of þat strengt it departs a man fra / god and fra alle haly kyrke. And also fra þe company of cristyn folke / neuer to be

[393] MS: þe confessores and all þe confessores
[394] MS: standand, stand
[395] A word here that I cannot quite make out.

sauyd by þe passyon of Crist nor to be holpyn be þe sacrament þat is done in haly kyrke na to haf þart in þrayer wit na cristyn / man as wytnes Saynt Austyn in *xj. q. iij. suus cristanus*. Clerkes / says þat a chylde be-for þat he be cristynd has a wykkyd spiret dwellyng / in þe sawle *vt habetur q. di iiij siue puerum,* / in þe whylke wykkyd spyryt is coniured and castyn owt thurew prayer / of þe prest be-fore þe kyrk-dore wher he salle be cristynyd / þe whylk sacrament of baptym is grounde and begynnyng of alle þe / sacramentes as is ys verryly betakyned in þe passyon of Crist be þe watar þat ran owt of his syde when alle þe blode was
[f.132ᵛ] gane / ¶Sa þat be þe sacrament of baptim he is made goddes chylder / he resayues part of þe passyon of Crist and part of alle haly sacraments and prayers / þat ir done in haly kyrke and also he resayues part of alle þe gude / dedes þat ir done emang alle cristyn men. And if he hald to god comaunde / þat he has made and þer-for fyndis borewys to hafe a dwellyng / place and þe blys for euer-mor. ¶Bot what tyme he trespases a-gayn / þe law of god, þat he is worthy to be cursyd of haly kyrke, / þan is he departyd fra god and fro alle gud warkys. *Vt habetur .xxiiij. q. .iij. certum.* And he is delyueryd a-gayn to þe fendis power of helle for / to put hym for hys synne vn-to payn wit-owtyn ende. *Vt habetur .xi. / q. iij. c. omnis cristianus* And þer-for is no-thyng in alle þis world þat / a cristyn man aw so gretely drede as for to falle be any way / in to þe sentence of cursyng þe whylke departs hym fra God þat / is hys fader and fra haly kyrke þat is hys moder. *Vt habetur i.q. iii. il.*

¶Also cursyng is callyd þe swerde of haly kyrke. *Vt habetur iv. q. / ij. Viris .iij. in siue zig comparatur.* For ryght as þe strake of a swerd / slays and departs þe saule and lyfe fra þe body ryght so þe strake of þe / gastly swerde it departs and dose a-way god fra þe man or þe woman / whylk is cursyd þat is þe lyfe of þe saule at þai and þe warkes / er euer-mor dede eftyr. Bot if þai haf specyall grace of god for / to a-mende þame her *etcetera*. Amen.

[f.133ʳ] ¶Frends holy kyrke has horderyd þe poyntes of / generalle sentance sere tyme to be schewyd opynly to þe comon peple and for / þis cause þat þo þat ir by foly fallyng in-to any of þam sulde / knaw þam and so be þar knawlege be soner a-boute to ryse / oute of þame. And tho þat be gude men and oute of þame suld / thenke god holy of hys grace and euere Estyr be-ware wit þame. / ¶And what cursyng is and what it dose in party I schalle / declare 3ow.

¶Cursyng is departyng fra halle haly kyrke be / lefulle commonyng of cristyne peple, and it is a dampnable / sentence of euer-lastyn dede. ¶Of cursyng commes dyuers / hermes. ¶First it departs man or woman þat fallys ay in fra allemyghty / god and alle hys seyntes to þai be recounseld be satisfaccion. ¶Also it puttis þam oute of þe boke of lyfe and be-takis / þam to þe fendes and alle hys angells bodely to be wex / it. ¶Also it makis þam alienes and owtlawes fra þe kyngdome / of heuen and excludis þam fra blys. ¶Also it departis / þam in þo lyfe fra alle suffrage of þe sacramentes and excludys / þam fra þar modyr haly kyrk and so doys it in þe dede, if þai / dye vnamendyd. And it sclaes alle þe gude dedes þat er done. / And gud dedes done in þe mene tyme salle neuer ryse / wit þame to increse to þe blysse of heuen. ¶Also it for-berrs / þam þe blys of heuen and bryngs þame to aylastyng dampnac[i]on at þar laste ende. ¶For these causes it maybe / lykynde to a swerde and so it ys callyd in lawe. / ¶It may be also lykyned to þe thoner bolt and to þe clippes / of þe son. ¶First I say to a swerd, for als a swerd her / bodely departis þe body and þe saule so dose [f.133v] cursyng a-cursyd / man fra alle-myghty God. ¶ Also it ys scharpe on bothe þe / sydes and so cursyng sclaes bothe body and saule. ¶Also it ys / lyke to þe thoner bolt for it sclaes man and best and þe fyr / gose lyghlly bryngyng in to þe erthe so cursyng meschewes / body and sawle and leues þam not þat er takyn þer-in to þai be / broght in tyll þe erth to bryngyng fyr of helle. ¶Also it is / lyke to þe clepes of þe son, als clepes of þe son be goyng of þe mone euelle ys and it for-berres vs þe lyght / of þe son so it for-barres þam fro þe lyght of þe blyssyd / Trinite. And puttes þam to euer-lastyng dyrknes of helle. / Alle þis may be schewed be autorite of scryft ir, and be / Cryst hym-selfe in þe Gospell of Saynt Luke sayng, "*Il te maledicti et ignem eterni etc.*" A. begynnyng gads haly kyrke.

¶*In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.* ¶In þe name[396] of þe fadyr / and of þe son and of þe haly gaoste. Swa be it. / ¶Fadyr owrs þat is in hevywns, halowyd be þi name. Com / to vs þi kyngdwme, als in hewyn and in herd, þi wyll / be done. Owr ilkeday brede þou gyf vs þis day. And owr / dettes þou forgefe vs als we fo[r]gefe owr detturs. / And lat us not be ledde in-to temptyng but delyuere / vs fra alle thyng. Swa be it. /

[396] MS: naeme

¶Hayle Marie full of grace. God is wit þe. Blyssyde be þou / emang women and blyssyd be þe frute of þi wombe Ihesu. / ¶And blyssed be þi haly moder in
[f.133r] of whame wit owttyn / spot sprangfurth þi vergyn flessche. Swa be it. *Et cetera*. /

Peter: ¶I trow in to god þe fadyr almyghty, maker[397] / of heuen and erde. **Iohan**: and in to Ihesus Criste, hys anely sun, / owr lorde. **Iamis**: þe more þat was conceyuyd of þe haly gast, / borne of þe virgyn Mari. **Andrew**: suffirde vndyr Powance Pilate / doun on þe crosse diede and beryide. **Thomas**: he wende / to helles. **Bartholomew**: the thryd day he rase fra dede. / **Philip**: he went vp in-tylle heuenys, he sytt at þe right / hande of (god)[398] þe fadyr almyghty. **Mathew**: þeyne salle com to / deme þe whyke and þe dede. **Iames þe lesse:** I trow in to / þe haly gast. **Symon**: þe haly kyrk genernalle. **Iudas thade**: / communnyng of sayntes, forgefnes of synnys. **Mathi:** in / rysyng of flesshe and lyfe aylastande. Swa be it.

.X. precepta / ¶This ys þe ferst of þe .x. commandementis, þat I salle worshyp / in god and hym allonely salle I serfe. ¶Þe secunde is, þat I / sall not take þe name of god in vayn, nor swere not fals / nor sware noght by na part of god nar by no other crettur vnder god. / ¶The thyrd is, þat I sall kepe wele my halyday from alle vnlefulle / werke and princypally fro synne. The fort is, þat I / salle wyrschypp my fader and my moder, bath bodyly and gastely. / The fyft ys, þat I salle do ne lychery. ¶The syxt is, þat I / sall scla no man nether bodyly by dedyly in sunnes, nor gasttely, / by bakbytyng nor slawnderyng. ¶The seuent is, þat I / salle do no thefte, þat is for to say þat I salle nathyng take of / my
[f.134r] neghbore[s] gude wrangwisly, nother priualy by theft nor / opynly be robery nor by extorsyun nor by symony nor by / okyr nor by fals metts nor mesures nor weghtes nor by / no noþer deceyte nor gylery. ¶The eghte is, þat I salle ber na / fals wytenesse. ¶The neynt is, þat I sall noght couett my / neghbure wyfe, ne hys doghtir, ne hys serfuand als euense / þe men. Nor þat I salle not couet my neghtbor husband / nor hys son, nor hys seruand als euence þe womon. / ¶The x[t] is, þat I salle not couet my neghtbur ox, nor hys / asse, ne no noþer guds of hys wrangwysly. /

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[397] MS: maker of not.
[398] Inserted over the line.

Theys er þe **seuen dedely synnes** þat alle men suld kepe / þame from: pryde, wrathe, invy, glutuny, slewthe, / lechery, couetyse.

Theys er þe **fywe in wytts** þat alle / men sulde gouerne wele: towchyng, tastyng, smellyng, / seyng, heryng.

¶These or þe **.vij. werkes of mercy** þat alle / men sulde fullfylle efter þar power: fede þe hungry, / gefe þe thyrste drynke, steche þe nakyd, herber þame þat / nyst [***]herbore, wyset þam þat er seke, comforth þam / þat er in prison, bory þame þat er dede.

¶These er þe **.vij. / sacramentes** þat alle men sulde wyrschip and huse wele: cristynyng, / bushopyng, penance, howsilling, ordere, weddyng / and last enoyntyng.

¶These er þe **.vij. principall virtues** / þat alle men sulde draw to: faythe, hope, sharyte, wysnesse, / wernesse, aysurableness, strenthe & vertewes. /

¶These er þe **.xiiij. articles of þe trouth** þat alle men suld / stedfastly trowe [f.135r] and seuen pertenes to þe godhede / And seuen to þe man-hede of owr lord Ihesu Crist. ¶The / furst is for to trowe in-to a god þat is for to say þat is bot / a god. ¶The seconde is for to trow in-to þe fadyr ungyttyn / þat he is werray god. ¶The 3rd is for trow in-to þe son / all ane gettyn of þe fadyr þat he is þe same god. ¶The 4th / is for to trow in-to þe haly gast not gettyn commandyt furth / of þe fader and of þe son þat he is þe same god. ¶The fyfte is / þat bothe heuen and erthe þat is for to say creaturs þat may / noght bodely be sene and creatures þat may bodely be sene / alle was made of noght of alle þe hole blyssyd Trinyte, fador, sun, / and þe haly gayst. ¶The sixtt is þe halowyng of þe kyrke / by þe haly gayst and þe sacramentes of grace and alle oþer in þe wyke. / Commonyrs þat kyrk of Crist, þat is for to say, þat holy kyrke / wit hys lawys and hys sacramentes is remedy enoght for alle / synfull men, how synfull þat er þai be. And wit-owttyn haly / kyrk is no remedy nor na sauacion. ¶The sewynge is þe hendyng of þe kyrke be ay lostand þay in saule and body verraly to / be rayside vp. And by þe artycle is vndyrstand ay lastand dampnacion of repwyd men in body and saule. /

¶The seuene es þat pertenys to þe man-hode of owr lorde / Ihesu Crist. ¶The fyrst is þat owr lorde Ihesu Crist is þe secunde / person in þe blyssyd Trinite, was conceyued of þe vyrgyn Marie / thruge þe gyfte of the Holy Gaste. ¶The secunde is þe birth / of owr lord Ihesu Crist of þe maydyn Mary vn[*****] /¶

The thrid is þe passyon and þe dede of owr lord Ihesu Criste / vndyr þe tyrande Pounce Pilate. ¶The fourth is þe going /doune of þe saule of owr lord Ihesu Crist vnto hellys for to / spo(y)[399]le þam whoom þe body lay in þe sepulcree. ¶The fyfte / is þe werray vprysyng of owr lorde Ihesu Crist fra dede to lyfe / in body and saule. ¶The sext is þe verray vpstying of owr / lord Ihesu Crist vn to hewynnes. ¶The seuenyd is þe maste / certane abydyng of owr lorde Ihesu Crist to com on þe day / of dome to deme þe whyk and þe dede. ¶These suld ilka curate / theche oppynly to hys parochenes at þe leste four tymes / in ilka yere by hym-selfe or ellys som oþer in hys stede / to-gydder or ellys sonder in diuerse pareches oft þe ordenaunce / of owr haly fadyrs byshcoppes and prelates by þe / hale consente in þe haly gaste of þe haly clergy of Bath / þe provynce of 3orke and Canterbery etc.

[f.136r] *Hic incipunt 33es exhortaciones optime et necessarie curatori parochi suis / festuus diebus faciendi.* ¶The fyrst oure curet is bond to teche and in-forme his parochynes / these vnder-sayde poyntes for grete perelle of þar / saules in tyme commyng and saluacion of þar saules in lernyng. / ¶Fyrst and ferther-maste techyng bapty[s]m þat is to say if any / chylde be cristynd at hame to say on þis wyse: ¶Iche, Iohan / William, Katerine or Margaret, I crystyn þe in þe name of / þe fadyr and of þe son and of þe haly gaste. Swa be it. ¶And put / water on þe chylde[s] hede or duþ it in þe watyr anes or / thryse, lattyng 3ow wyt þat þys maner of crystynyng may / nott be done nother be syngne blyssyng or takenyng / bot all anely in 3owr modyr tonge. And be war þat na man / ne woman reherse þis bapty[s]me a-gayne of cristynyng for / drede of grete perelle þat langis þer-to and to saules. ¶And þat / 3e put no water apon þe chylde bot clene water and þat / 3e make þe prest a-knawyng þer-of at þe kyrke-dore to / performe þat is vndone be orysones, oyle and crème. And in þis case of necessite may alle maner of men and women, fadyr / and modyr, sister and brother performe and do þis sacrament of / bapty[s]m wit-oute impediment or lettyng of matrimonie be / auctorite of haly kyrke. ¶Also we awe to in forme þone / þat chyldyr þat er berne be-for Pasch or Whyssonday wyhit / in .viij. dayes to be ne finede vn-to [f.136v] Pasche euen or Whytson / euen and þan to be cristynyd if þai be kepyd, wit-owte perelle of sekenesse / or deth, at alle oþer tymees of þe 3er lefefull to be /

[399] Inserted over the line.

cristynyd onone. ¶Also serues we awe to informe 3owe þat alle / maner of men and women þat haldes chyldyr at þe fonte-stane, þai / er borewess be-for god for þame. And þer-for þai er bon to / monyche þam to kepe chastite, treuth and ryghtwisness and to life / charyte and con say þer *Pater noster* and þe *Aue* and *Credo*. And all þai / þat hald chyldyr at þe fontstone salle halde nane of þame at confirmyng be-for þe bysschope. ¶Also we awe monysch 3ow / þat 3e þat has dendyr chyldir wit in .iij. 3er þat þai lay þame not / in bed wit þame for drede of suffryn, ne to strene þe chyld / to strayt in þe credelle ne þe mouthe of 3our chyld to couer ne [***]/ me for perelle þat may falle. For if 3owr chylder perysshe in þis / case 3e er calde homycydes and slaers of 3our anne chyldyr. / And alle tho þat so dose be-houes to hafe solempne penaunce / and open.

¶Also we awe to moniche 3ow to ger 3owr childir / be confyrmed wit-in .v. 3er. If þe bisshop com in to towne / and who so doþe þat þay of neclegence he suld be suspende / vn-to þe time þe chylde be confyrmyd. And alle þat tyme to kepe / þe chyld nyght and day fra alle maner of of fyrer water. / ¶And also parishons we awe to informe 3ow þat alle maner of / men and women þat halde chylde at þe fant-stane or be-for bysssschop / it drawyn a-geyen frend whaar chargyt matrimonie / may not be doe ne continued. And þis is be-twex .x. persones / als we se in baptym, als in confyrmyng. ¶First be-twext hym / þat is
[137r] cristind and hym þat hald hym. ¶The secunde be-twyx hym / þat is cristynyd and þe chyldyr of hym þat haldis hym gettyn be-fore / or eftyr. ¶The thrid be-twyx hym þat is cristynyd and þe wife of hym þat haldis hym. The fourt be-twyx hym þat haldis hym / and þe fadyr of hym þat is cristynyd. ¶The .v. be-twyx þe wyfe of / hym þat haldis hym and hym þat is cristynyd. ¶The .vj. be-twyx þe moder / of hym þat is cristynyd and hym þat haldis hym. ¶The .vij. be-twix hym / þat baptyse and hym þat is cristynd. ¶The .viij. be-twix hym þat is cristnyd / and þe chyldyr of hym þat baptyse getten be-for or eftyr. / ¶The .ix. be-twyx hym þat is confyrmed and þe wyfe of hym þat is baptyse. / ¶The .x. be-twix hym þat baptyse and þe modyr of hym þat is / cristynyd. And so þes er þe gosste sybreyngs als wele in bapty[s]me / als in confirmyng.

¶Also we awe to enforme 3ow als / techyng matrimonie þat if þer be any consenting by-twyx man and woman / of þes wordis þat er present, "Here I take þe to my weddyd wyfe," / "Here I take þe to my wedded hosbande," it is be-fore

/ god and trewe matrimonie. Those þer be no noþer ne flesshly knawyng / in case þat oþer partye make any contracte efterward wit any man / or woman yaf þer be knawinge flesshly it salle haldet no feyte no strenght, bot þou salle torne to þe fyrst faythe. ¶Also als / tochyn solemn matrimonie, it awe to be done at þe
355 kyrke be-fore / thar curet and gude wytness, and .iij. days solemn a-fore askyd / in þe kirke. ¶Also we awe to informe 3owe þat if any man / or woman do whar chargit þe buth and froyte of chyld may not / procede kyndly, þai syn greuously be-fore þe face of god and er accursyd. / ¶Also serus alle tho þat wylle wed in
359 cristen man or woman suld / com a day be-fore or þai war weddyd and be clene
[f.137v] sc[h]reweyn, / lyke als þai wald do be-fore Pasch.

¶Also we awe to warne / 3ow be þe lawe of haly kyrke þat euer ilk trewe cristyn man / and woman þat is commyng to 3ers of discrecyon and may syn þat þai / salle anes in þe 3ere at þe leste be sc[h]rewyn of alle þer synnys / at þar awne curet and take worthy penance and fulfyll yt / at his power. And at Pasch
365 resayfe þe worthy sacrament / of goddis body, bot if he be conseld contrary be hys gastly fader / he salle be suspende of haly kyrk and company of trewe cristyne, / and at hys dede want cristyn mans berynes. ¶Also if / any man or woman desyre to be schrevyn at any oþer pan hys / curet for any ryghtwyscans, hym awe to aske lycense / and lefe of hys proper curet, els he stands not cleryly
370 asoyled.

¶Also we awe to monysch all women þat er wit chylde / þat þai be clene schrewyn and howslyd agayns þar dew. / And als 3e wald be agayns Pasch, for perelle þat may fall / for it is not honeste ne semly þat prest com ner 3ow / when 3e er trauellyng.

375 ¶Also we awe to teche 3ow þat / when 3e se þat precosus sacrament lyft be-twix þe prestis handes, / 3e sulde knele doun mekely on bothe 3owr knees, if 3e may and 3e þat er clerkes say these[400] words. ¶*A luce / lux mundi verbum patris hostia vera vna caro deitas / integra vero homo vel Gloria tibi domine etc.* Also alle þai þat / er singuler [***] ¶*Pater Noster, Aue Maria* and in þe same wise
380 when þai see þe prest ber þat precosus sacrament / vn-to þe seke. ¶Also we awe
[f. 138r] to informe 3ow when we ministyr þat precose sacrament on Pasch day or any oþer tyme / of þe 3er þat we gefe 3ow hoste bothe hys body and hys blode / and

[400] MS: there

þat at is in þe chales is bot pure wyne megyd wit water / to clense 3owr mouth and swalowe it done and when 3e resayfe / þe worthy lord to opyn 3our mouth wyde and breke hym not / wit 3owr tethe, and als hale as 3e may do, resafe hym.

¶Also / we awe to monyche 3aw þat 3e halde in 3owr howse no / opyn thefes man-slaers ne cursyd men opynly cursyd be name / wetyngly. ¶Also we awe to charge 3ow on goddis be-half / trewly to pay 3owr tends of all 3owr guds trewly / won or syllyn be þe grace of god owyn tent wyt. And whoso dose þe contrary þer commys mekylle ewylle þer-of. Saynt Anselm /says, "He breks þe commandment of god and stands accursyd for / wete 3e for certayn þai war neuer made be man bot be god / and hys ordynans bothe in þe ald lawe and in þe new lawe." / For who dose and gefes trewly hys tends he schall haf .iiij. / rewards þat is to say habundance of frute and hole of body, / forgefnes of synnys and lyfe euer-lastyng. And who so dose þe / contrary salle hafe grette tribulac[i]on, gret powert[e], schort lyfe / and ay-lastyng dampnacion.

And how 3e sall pay 3owr tendes / com what I salle declare 3ow [*** ***] 3ow [* ***] / þer was somtyme grete discecion be-twex curets and þer paroshyngs / in þe province of Canterbary and so mekylle þat Boneface / þe archebissop of Canterbary wit a consent and a hole wylle of hys / suffraganes [f.138v]and þe clergy of Anglande and Lameth made a / statue and ordinance thurge-oute hys clergy of askyng of / tendes. ¶And er these þat 3e salle gefe trewe tendes of alle cornes / and frute growyng on þe erth no spens layde ne costage / þe .x. part holy to god to be gewyn. ¶Of frute, of all maner of / tres, of sedes, of herbes, of gardyngis þe tende to be gewn, / bot if þai acorde wit þe curett. Of medows of hay, of harbage / als oft as it is mawyn þe hale tende to be gewyn / ¶Also of alle maner of catelle and pullayn þat is to say of whyt / mets, of calues, lambes, folles, pyggis, geese, hennes, / chekynnes, eggs, pigyons and bees, wolle, lyne, hempe, þe / hole tende to be payed; of lattyng of oxin, of fellyng of / schepe and of alle oþer catelle as it ys fyscyfyed in decreys / wrytten as þe kyrke is in dewyd be dyuers dyuysyons in /ser place. ¶Also of fowlyng, of fyshyng, of fysshgarthes, / orle, arches, lepppes or any oþer ingynes or ordynans / for fissh or fowle. Off alle man mylnys and no spense ne / costage layde ne allowed of pastures. Also wele of common / as seuerall of wod fale. ¶Of merchantis, of men, of crafte, of / byers, of sellers, of baksters, of brewers, of

herdmen, of / work-men, of laborers, and of alle oþer trewe gettyn gude / be þe grace of god, wherfor if any man knawe hym gylti / and þat case make a fethe vnto god and acede els wit 3ar/ curet in saluac[i]on of 3owr saules.

¶Also we awe to declare / 3owe vigelle ewyns, imbring days, fastyng days and festialle / dayes thurght þe 3er and 3e to kepe þam dewoutly / and trewly.

[f. 139r] ¶Also we awe to monyche alle maner of people þat / þai vse no wichecrafte ne sorcery ne charmes be dewyls / crafte to gefe neþer man nor beste for þai er chyldyr of þe / deuylle, and may do no remedy bot damp man saule in so / mekylle þat if a clarke use it þam he sulde be degradid of / hys presthode and if he war a seculer he war accursyd / of alle haly kyrke and salle want crystyng mans beryalle. /

¶Also euere curet awe to monyche alle hys parochyngis to / vse none oker ne vsury, þat is to say noþer golde ne syluer / to len ondyr þe tytylle of vsury, ne beste ne corne in same / skylle. If he war a clerrke he sulde be depriued of hys office and / hys benefice. And if he war a seculer he scu[l]de [be] accursyd / vnto þe tyme he made a worthy satisfficcion. ¶Also if any lay / man plege lands or howse for any certane somme of mony to allowe / þer ferme and þou costage whylke is in þe somme take, elles he is / proued a vsurer. ¶Also who so haldes hostyre to selle derrer to / a straunge man þan to hys neghtbore þan is sellyd in þe market / towne. ¶Also þat 3e (selle)[401] no-thyng þe derrer for þe delay of tyme / nor langer friste. For Saynt Austyn and Saynt Ambrose / says þat þai er robers and reuers and tormentors of pure men / and þai er callyd thefes and sonnes of þe deuelle not in / ryght bot in folowyng of hys werkes and his comandmentis. Crisostem / says a-bonden alle merchandys wende be þe fals okerers / for syrs it is for-boden bothe in þe ald law and in þe new lawe, / and for[402] it mai opynly [be] vsyd. Alle maner of euele suld com þer-of / and alle maner of welle suld be derer and pur men dy for hunger. / And for these and

[f. 139v] many oþer causes it ys for-bedyn in /holy kyrke for saluac[i]on of mans saule.

¶Also we awe to monyche / 3ow when 3e er in þe kyrke to kepe 3ow quiete and silence / and let not 3owr euen cristyn of þar deuoc[i]on ne make na noyse / vnhouest be-cause of þat worthy lord no mor þan 3e / wald be-fore a lord

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[401] Inserted over margin.
[402] MS: for and

herthly. ¶Also we awe to informe / 3owe when 3e here þis worthy name of Iesu whylk is / moste worthy name to mans saluac[i]oun vnder þe heuen, for / it is wryttyn þat alle maner of knees and bothe of heuen / of erthe and of helle, bowys to þis worthy name of Ihesu./ For when 3e here þis preciose name, other at masse or at / matynys or at euensong or in sermonyng, 3e sulde knele / downe or wayle 3awr hude or knok an 3owr brest / and resayfe pardon þat langs þerto. For owr haly faders Vrbane / þe .iiij. and Iohan þe .xxij. hass granted to alle þat dose / reuerens to þis name of Ihesu a .c. days of pardon. And / who so seys it at his *Aue Maria* .xl. days of pardon. / ¶Also we er bon to monych 3ow þat noþer in kyrke nor in kyrke / garth 3e make no debate ne cry ne parlament ne vayn speche / ne contake ne flytyng ne rabaldy whar-thurght dyny / ne seruace suld be dysturbled or lettyd wher shulde be / for-gefenes of syn. ¶Also þat þer be no byng nor sellyng / of temporalte ne market haldyng ne surtes ne laaws doun / of iugements ne carolles ne sarges vnhoneste where-thrught / þe kyrk ne þe kyrk-3arde myght be pollute or fylyd. /

¶Also we awe to enforme 3ow þat noþer weddyt man ne weddyd / woman [f.140r] aither be þame-selfe wyth-outyn þar bothe / consent may make na wowe of chastyte of fastyng ne pylgrimage / except to ? for þai er bothe a body and two saules / in þe lawe of god. And be war þat man consent not to þe / worde of (his)[403] wyfe for he may doyþ it if he wylle and if he / grant to þe wyfe is bon to fullfylle, it for scho has no power / of hir body bot he, ne he of hys bet scho. ¶Also we awe / to warne 3ow bothe man and woman to abstene 3ow fro / fleschly lustus at 3owr power at þe leste if 3e may gudely / .iij. days be-for 3e resayfe 3owr worthy lord and thre days / eftyr.

¶The laste of all we er ben be þe autorite of holy / kyrk to pronounce þe generalle sentance .iiij. tymes in þe 3er on .iiij. Sondays / whylk we trest to god euere man and woman wylle kepe / þame fra thurght hys grace and mercy. Amen. /

¶Also 3e sulde hafe a sayntus belle ryngyn in þe wher, and if it to / ryng, a-gayns þe leuac[i]on wher-thought þe peple in þe feelde at / þar plewes or in howses myght knele downe holdyng vp / þar handes and make þe prayers at þar myght, resayue pardon / graunt be many holy faders. ¶Also for we awe not to

[403] Inserted over the line.

mynystre / þis worty sacrament to no man ne woman but if þai be clene / schrewen and accord wit þar curett ne 3it to no noþer prechyng wit-owttyn / lefe of þer awne prest bot if he be a pyrlgime or / as be other lefull cause wretyn in decres nor to man or / woman bot if þai be confirmed of owr holyfadyr þe bisshop. Amen. /

Deprecacionem a dominum patrem omnipotentem pro statu et stabilitatis Sancte Matris Ecclesie

Gud men and women we salle make a specialle prayer to almyghty god / for þe state and þe sta[bi]lness of alle hally kyrk: for þe Pape of / Rome and hys cardinals, for archbyschoppys and bisshoppys, abbotys, / priorys, monkes and chanons, parsons, vicars, pristes, clerkis, / freres and nonnes and alle men and women of religyon. ¶Also / we salle make a specyalle prayer for þe parson and þe vicar of þe kyrk / and for alle þam þat haves 3owr saules in cure and keypyng þat Ihesu Cryst len þam grace for to reule, gowern and teche / þe lawys of alle haly kyrke þat it may be lowyng to god and / hys modir Mary and alle þe fayr curt of heuen and mendement / of þar lyfe and saluac[i]on of þer saules.

¶Also we salle make a specialle prayer for þe kyng of þis rewme of Ingland / and þe whene and alle hys wele wyllyng, and alle / hys gude gouernoures þat Ihesu Cryst len þame grace so hym for / to gouern þat it may be princypally louyng to god and hys / moder Mary and alle þe haly curt of heuen and mendement of / hys lyfe, and saluacion to hys saule and sawyng of þe / rewme.

¶Also we salle make a specialle prayer for duce3, / erlles, lordes, barons, knyghtes, swyers, 3omen, husbandes / and alle maner of commons and specyally for etc. etc. etc.

¶Also we salle make a specialle prayer for þe pese be-twix / Ingland and Scotland, Ingland and France, Ingland and alle oþer lands / and specyally for pese be-twix þe kyng and þe lordes and governours /of þe rewme, lordes and þe [141r] comoner and specyalle / emang owr parochynes þat lufe and vnite and charyte maybe / emang yowe.

¶Also we salle make a specyelle prayer for þe / crose þat godd deyd vppon þat is in haythen mens handes / þat it may com in-tylle cristyn mennes handes.

¶Also we salle make / a specyalle prayer for alle lele tylmen, for alle see-faryng / for alle lele seruandes, for alle pylgrims and palmars þat any / gude

gatis gase þat Ihesu Crist len vs grace þat we may haf part / of þar gude ganes and þay of owr gude prayers.

¶Also / we salle make a specialle prayer for þe wedirs and þe frute / þat is sawyn on þe erth and þat at is for to sawe þat Ihesu Crist send swylk wether þat it may be gyttyn to cristynmens / helpe and profet.

¶Also / we salle make a specyalle prayer for alle / owr parochenes whar some þat þai be on land or on water / þat Ihesu Crist sawe þam bothe in body and saule. And alle / þai þat ir in gude lyfe þat god of his mercy halde þame lang / þer-in. And alle þase þat ir in dett or in dedely syn þat Ihesu / len þame grace (sone to ryse up of and com)[404] to amendment. And þe tylle thurght owr prayer þat is made for þam at þis tyme. And for þame and vs / and alle cristyn folke says a *Pater Noster* and a *Ave Maria. Psalm, Ad / te leuami etc. Kirieleison, Cristeleison, kirieleison, Pater Noster et ne nos Inducas, / Ostende Nobis, Sacerdotes tui, Domine saluum fac regem, Saluos fac / seruos tuos, Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine fiat pax, Domine exaudi, / Dominus vobis et cum, Oremus ¶Ecclesie tue quamvis, Deus qui caritatis, / Deus a quo sancta etc. Per Cristum dominum.*

¶Also / we salle make a specialle prayer tylle almyghty god / and owr lady [f.141ᵛ] and alle þe fayer felychipp of heuen for alle / thase þat gewes þe offerand and þe endeȝ lely to god and alle / haly kyrke and alle þat oþer dose þat Ihesu Crist len þame grace / son to come to a-mendment and þe tyller thurght owr prayer / þat is made for þame alle þis tyme.

¶Also / we salle make / a specialle prayer for alle þase þat helpes tylle þe auters / other wit boke, vestiment, chalessse, tewell, lampe or / lyght, breche or ryng golde or siluer or any other a-nourment / thurght whyle þe awter er better mayntened / and vphaldyn. ¶Also / we salle make a specialle prayer for / alle þase þat helpes to þe kyrk werk or þe rode lyght / or to owr lady lyght or to any lyght in þis kyrk in / worshipp of any halow þat is in heuen.

¶Also / we salle pray specyally for alle women of þis parochene and alle / oþer þat er bondyn wit chylde þat Ihesu Crist len þame grace þat / þe chylde may haf cristyndome and þe woman kyrkgannyng. / Also we salle pray for alle seke of þis parochene and alle oþer / þat ir bodyn in any maner of sekenes þat

[404] Inserted over the line.

Ihesu Crist tourns / þame in-to þat way þat is most plesyng tylle hym and saluacyon / for þer saules. Also we salle pray for alle þam þat / fyndys prestes or clerkes in þis kyrke or in any oþer thurght / wylke goddes seruace is þe better mayntened and vphald yn. Also / we salle pray specyally for þam þat broght brede / to þe kyrke to make haly brede of þis day and for þam / þat fyrst be-gane and langest haldes on and for þame / and vs and all cristyn folke says a *Pater* [f142r] *noster* and ane *Aue Maria* / ane *Regina Celorum cum* [...] *famulorum* [...] *et n cetera.*

¶Also we / salle make a specyalle prayer for owr fader saules owr / moder saules for owr brether saules and owr sister saules / for owr ene saules and aunte saules and alle owr kyn / saules and for alle þe saules for þe whylke þat we er ben and haldyn to pray for. ¶Also / we salle pray for alle the saules / of þe wylk þe bones rystes in þis kyrke or kyrke-garth / or in any other haly place. ¶Also / we salle pray for / alle þe saules þat byds þe mercy of god in þe payns of / purgatory. For þame and alle oþer saules says 3our *Pater noster* and a *Aue Maria, Psalmo De Profundis et cum orationibus, Deus / qui nos patres et matres oro Quamvis Domine animabus omni benefactorum / alia oratione Animabus quamvis Domine famulorum la[**] et tuare. Oro proficiat / supplicatum vt eas et a peccatis omnibus exuas et tue redempcionis facias esse participes. ¶Fidelium Dominus [***] oro / Absolue quamvis, Domine, animas famulorum tuorum pontificum, sacerdotum, benefactorum nostrorum et omni fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinc[u]lo / delectorum vt in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electas / tuos resuscitati respiret per Cristum Domini. Requiescant etc. /*

Deus, qui nos patres et matres honorare, precipisti miserere / clementur animabus patrum et matrum, fratrum, sororum, parentum omni / eos et aliorum benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum eorum et omnia peccata dimitte / nos et eos et eterne claritatis gaudio fac videre.

Literary and Historical notes to the so-called *Sacerdos Parochialis* in Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iv.2.

1 – 99. A set of excommunicable offences identical to those found in the York manual.[405] Generally, where the Durham text varies from Henderson it agrees with the variants found in the York and Cambridge manuscripts.[406] This set of offences is also closely related to the second set of excommunicable offences found in BL Burney 356, although it does not begin with the preface found in the Burney manuscript.[407]

6 – 16. BL Burney 356 abbreviates considerably this note on tithes and payments to the church.[408]

22 – 25. The order of these two offences is reversed in BL Burney 356.[409]

36. Where our manuscript reads 'malise,' Henderson writes 'mede' and does not mention variant forms in other manuscripts. Burney 356 also uses 'mede'.

58. This item in BL Burney 356 includes the offence of assisting or being a heretic.[410]

64 – 65. This item in Burney 356 does not specifically mention infanticide, but it does expand on the offence of abandoning children.[411] It mentions the difficulty of knowing whether the child is baptised or not. It was a serious offence to rebaptise a child (see, for example, ll.349 – 54 of Burney 356 version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*).

77. BL MS Burney 356 does not include the offence of burning church's or houses.[412]

86. Where our manuscript reads 'þis dyocese,' Henderson reads 'within the province of Yorke' and Burney 356 reads 'wyþynne the prouynce of Canturbury.'[413]

93. BL Burney 356 includes a reference to simony not found in Durham V.iv.2 or, according to Pickering, anywhere else.[414]

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[405] W.G. Henderson ed. *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*. Surtees Society. vol. 63. (1875): 119 – 22. Henderson reprinted the version of the sentence printed by de Worke in 1509. He knew of the existence of two other versions, but does not include Durham University Library ms v.iv.2 among the extant manuscripts. For a list of the extant manuscripts see Pickering, 235 – 6.

[406] Cf. Henderson, 119 l.17 and Durham l.15; Henderson, 120 l.12 and Durham l.37; Henderson, 120 and Durham l.54; Henderson, 121 l. 9 & 10 and Durham ll.65 & 66.

[407] See *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll. 1140 – 249.

[408] Ibid, ll. 1151 – 2.

[409] Ibid, ll.1160 – 3.

[410] Ibid, ll. 1199 – 200.

[411] Ibid, ll. 1203 – 08.

[412] Ibid, l. 1219

[413] Ibid, ll. 1228 – 30.

[414] Pickering, 237.

96 – 99. Henderson supplies this note on usurers from the York manuscript and notes that it is added to the Cambridge manuscripts "in a later hand."[415] A slightly briefer form of the same note is found in BL Burney 356 (ll.1241 – 2).

100 – 105. Instructions on when the offences ought to be read, not found in BL Burney 356. It concludes with a Middle English translation of the sentence of cursing found on ll.106 - 119 of Durham. The note on these lines is consistent with that supplied by Henderson.[416]

120 - 35. Pickering claims that this curse of excommunication does not correspond to any of the sentences categorised in his article.[417] While the curse does contain a graphic note on 'ruste' entering 'bowellys' not found elsewhere to date, it is otherwise a parphrase of the preceding Latin sentence.

136 – 82. Prologue to the Sarum sentence of excommunication.[418]

182. Inserted in the manuscript at this point are two notes from Canon Law: (i) from Pope Zachary (741 – 52) against observations of pagan rituals (See Migne col.1368c. c.xiv. *Vol. 187 Decretum Gratiani Decreti Pars Secunda. Causa xxvi. Quaestio vii.*) (ii) An obscure note on Canon Law (See Migne col.1369a c.xv).

183 – 214. Another explanation of the effects of excommunication. Pickering refers to it as "an otherwise unrecorded Sentence."[419]

214. Luke 10: 15.

225 – 34. *Credo* in twelve parts, each part attributed to the apostles in the following sequence: Peter, John, James, Andrew, Thomas, Bartholomew, Philip, Mathew, James the lesser, Simon, Judas Thadeus, Mathew. This sequence of apostles does not correspond to that found in any of the manuscripts (See notes to ll.395 – 472 of *Sacerdos Parochialis*).

297. Inserted in the manuscript here are two Latin notes on penance and the Eucharist. O'Mara notes that the first note includes a quotation from Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* quaestio 84, and the second contains a note from canon law.[420]

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[415] Henderson, 122.
[416] Henderson, 122.
[417] Pickering, 238.
[418] For a printed version see Henderson, 86*. See also C. Wordsworth, ed. *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*. Cambridge 1901. 245 1.1 – 246, 1.30 and Pickering, 238.
[419] Pickering, 238.
[420] O'Mara, 89.

297 – 483. O'Mara, in her comprehenisve list of contents to Durham V.iv.2, notes that "the content of this manual is like that of the first half of part II of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* as described in Pantin 1955:199."[421] O'Mara is correct. The tract is not strictly the *Sacerdos Parochialis* as Raymo suggests but is a translation, albeit in a somewhat abbreviated form of the opening section of the *Dextera Pars*.[422] The tract is considerably shorter than *Sacerdos Parochialis* and there is some overlap of material, especially in the sections on baptism, confirmation and the eucharist.[423] It also differs from *Sacerdos Parochialis* in that it does not include material on the *Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo*, ten commandments or seven deadly sins found in *Sacerdos Parochialis*, but concentrates instead on the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, marriage, penance and eucharist and includes an extensive note on the sentence of excommunication.

297 – 328. Extract on baptism similar to the Latin text *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.24^{r} col.2 – f.25^{r} col.1.

329 – 47. Extracts on confirmation and spiritual kinship similar to the Latin text *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.25^{r} col.2

348 – 60. Extracts on Marriage similar to the Latin text, *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.25^{r} col. 2 – 25^{v} – col.1.

361 – 74. Extracts on Penance similar to the Latin text, *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.25^{v} col. 2.

375 – 85. Extracts on the Eucharist similar to the Latin text, the *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.25^{v} col. 2 (The note on the benefits of the Eucharist is not included in the Durham manuscript).

386 – 96. A warning not to harbour thieves.

397 – 419. Bonifiace's famous statute on tithing. See notes to ll. Of *Sacerdos Parochialis* above. They occur on f.26^{r} col. 1 of the *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1.

426 – 43. A much abbreviated version of the tract on usury and cheating in the Latin *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1 f.26^{r} col 2 – 26^{v} col.1.

444 – 50. A tract on silence and respect in the church and in the church grounds similar to that found in the Latin *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.26^{v} col.2.

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[421] O'Mara, 108 – 9.
[422] Raymo, 2494.
[423] See notes to the tract on the sacraments in *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll. 709 – 882.

461 – 70. A note, to married couples advising them not to take vows without mutual agreement, similar to that found in the Latin *Dextera Pars* in BL Royal 6E1, f.26^{v} – 27^{r}.

475 – 83. A note about ringing a bell when the host is elevated.

484 – 528. Bidding prayers to be said for the living. A similar, but not identical, set was appended to BL Burney 356 f.54^{v} (ll.1251 – 1314).

529 – 70. Latin prayers to be said after the bidding prayers. A similar set of Latin prayers is to be found at the end *Sacerdos Parochialis* ll.1315 – 1340.

Glossary

The following glossary does not attempt to include every single word found in any version of *Sacerdos Parochialis*. Instead only less familiar Middle English words and words that are unusual in terms of spelling or context, or that have a distinctly different meaning in modern English are included. The definitions have been provided from the Middle English Dictionary and in accordance with the context of the word in the text.[424] Bold letters have been employed to indicate the word found in the text in its variant forms as well as the root Middle English word. Italics indicate the meaning in modern English. Line references to each word have also been provided. Line references refer to the Burney version of the treatise, unless otherwise indicated. The following abbreviations have been included:

Abbreviations

add.	British Library MS Additional 10053
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
cp.	Compare
dur.	Durham University Library V.iv.2
ger.	gerund
imp.	imperative
l.	line
n.	noun
pem.	Cambridge MS Pembroke 285
per.	person
phr.	phrase
pl.	plural
pp.	past particple
pr.	present
pret.	Preterite
rawl.	Oxford MS Rawlinson D913
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
v.	verb
1,2,3	first, second, third person
[1], **[2]**	variant meanings to word

a-batynge ger. l.1016 *decrease or loss*; **abated** pp. l.1026 *reduced* from **abaten** v.

acorde in on phr. l.876 *agree* from **accorden** v.

actuel adj. (pem. l.472) *actual, real. ~sin: committed by one's self.*

acountyd of phr. l.828 *answered for by, accounted for by* from **accounten** v.

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[424] Lewis, Robert E. Ed. *Middle English Dictionary* Michigan: UMP Ann Arbor, 1986

adolleþ 3 pr. sg. l.638 *dulls* from **dullen** v.

aggregyne 3 pr. sg. (pem. l.876) *to make dull, insensible* from **aggreggen** v.

amercementys n. l.515 *penalties inflicted upon offenders, defaulters or tenants.*

anemned pp. l.356 *named* from **nemnen**

anoye n.l.621 *affliction, tribulation, dislike*

antermeteþ 3 pr. sg. l.994 *interferes, meddles* from **entermeten** v.

apeyryngge ger. l.518 *impairment or loss*; **apeyre** 3 pr. sg. l.890 from **apeiren** v.

a-rereþ 3 pr. pl. l.957 *institute (a law or custom)* from **areren** v.

asoyleþ 3 pr. pl. l.1098 *assoil* from **assoilen** v.

atte þe reuerence of n. phr. l.788 *out of respect for*

a-vaunsedde pp. l.1088 *advanced, promoted* from **avauncen** v.

auoketes n. l.1055 *mediators, intercessors* from **advocat** or **avocat**;

baret n. (pem. l.775) *strife, conflict*

barnesse n. l.376 *sterility, childlessness* from **barainnesse** n.

bedes byddynge n. phr. ll.694, 1080 *the reciting of prayers*

beere n. l.1078 *bier*

biddynge(s) n. (pl.) ll.326, 330, 345 *prayers*; **byddeþ** 1 pr. pl. 331, ll.334, 337, 340, 343, 347, 349 *pray*; **bydde** inf. **[1]** ll. 328, 816, 1255, *pray, say a prayer*, **[2]** l.935 *command*, from **bidden** v.

bonchife n. (pem. l.741) *good luck, prosperity*

y-bore [1] pp. ll.407, 408, 415, 720, 738, 812, 839 *born*; **[2]** pp.l.814 *borne, carried*; **bore** pp. l.1079 *carried, brought* from **beren** v.

borwes n.l.741 *sponsors, guarantors* from **borgh** n.

bowxsom n. l.873; **boxom** n l.991 *obedient*; **vnboxomnesse** l.1133 *disobedience* from **buxom** adj. *humble* and from **bou(w)en** v. *to bow*

brenneþ 3 per. pl l.967 *set fire to*; **house breneres** noun phr.l.999 *house burners* from **brennen** v.

y-brow3t pp. l.370 *to be brought into a state or condition of* from **bringen** v. *to bring*

byneme [1] inf. ll.527, **bynyme,** 3 pr. sg. ll.529, 714,1111, **bynemeþ** l.875, **bynymynge** ger. ll.514, 508, **bynome** pret. subj. ll.527 *take(s) (ing) away, remove(s) (ing)*; **by-nemeþ [2]** 3 pr. sg. l.637, 976 **bynymyngge** ger. l.506, *destroy(ing)* from **binimen** v.

i-byred pp. l.417, **bwryd** pp. l.1096 *buried, interred* from **birien** v.

by swweþ 3 pr. pl. l.1073 *sewing up* from **biseuen** v.

bytake 1 pr. sg. ll.477 *surrender, yield* from **bitāken** v.

bytrendeþ 3 pr. pl. l.1072 *encircle, wrap* from **bitrenden** v. from **trenden**

castis n. pl. (add. 95) *treacherous conduct, trickery* from **cast** n.

catel n. ll.508, 1009, 1173, 1220, 1244 *property, goods*

chefare n. l.1032 *buying and selling of their goods* from **chaffare**

chereþ 3 pr. sing. (pem. l.933) *comforts*, from **chere** n. *good cheer.*

clype n. *call, cry* l.370; **y-clyped** pp. ll.332, 378 *called, named, entitled*; **clypynge** ger. l.1119 *summoning* from **clēpen** v.

comenyngg of ger. l.430 *the fellowship or community of*; **commenyþ** l.1138 *to have dealings or associations with*; from **communen** v,

confucioun (pem. l.488) *perdition, damnation, destruction.*

conne inf. l.328 *to know* from **connen** v.

coors n. l.1080 *dead body*

cussynge ger. l.903 *kissing* from **kissen** v.

defowleþ 3 pr. pl. l.1040 *trample upon* from **defoulen** v.

degradid (Dur. l.424) *to demote someone* from **degraden** v.

derewarde adj. l.932 *excellent, worthy, noble* from **dereworthe** adj.

deser[i]tyng ger. l.515 *the act of depriving someone of their heritage*; **dyserte** inf. l.1173 *to dispossess* from **disheriten** v.

despyte n. l.613 (hauynge other in) *have a grudge, resentment against another* from **despīt** n.

dysclawnder n. l.908 *scandal, malicious gossip*; **desclaundreþ** 3 pr. pl. l.1068 *misrepresent maliciously* from **disclaundren** v.

dysmembreþ 3 pr. pl. l.1072 *cut off the members or limbs of* from **dismembren** v.

edwytynge ger. (pem. l.722) *reproaching, taunting, scorning* from **edwyten** v.

eftsone adv. ll.728, 729 *soon, immediately afterward*

eggeþ 3 pr. sg. (pem. l. 519) *encourage, urge* from **eggen** v.

engroteþ 3 pr. sg. (pem. l.867) *to eat to excess* from **engroten** v.

eyron n. pl. l.1030 *swans*

elne n. l.1006 *a unit of measure of varying length*

elynge ger. l.710, **enelynge** l.832 *anointing with oil, extreme unction*

encheson n. l.1177 *cause*

enioyned pp. l.809 from **enjoinen** *to impose*

entrometeþ 3 pr. pl. l.1059 *interfered, meddled*; see also **antermeteþ**

entredyted pp. l.1117, 1164 *banned, forbidden to enter*; **entredytynge** ger. ll.1118, 1124, 1128 *a ban of the Church, suspension of public ecclesiastical ministrations throughout a nation*

euene adj. l.408 *equal*; **euenlyche** adv.l.410; *equally*

euencristyne n. ll.346, 690, 701, euem-cristen (rawl. l.27) *fellow Christian*

y-euesed pp. l.851 from **evesen** v. *shorn, hair trimmed.*

falli 3 pret. sg. (add. l.65) *came to pass*

fawte n. l.1077 *lack of*

fecches n. l.1031 *fish* (pl.)

felawnesse n. l.378, *female associate* from **felaue**

feniaunce n. l.1010 **see veniaunce**

feruorþ (as ~ as) l.553 *as well as, in so far as,* from **ferforth** adv.

fey n. l.412, **feyþ(e)** l.684, 1102 *faith* from **faie, fei**

foleyes n. l.620 *foolish acts*

fondyngge n. l.347 *temptation*; **fondynge of þe fend** noun phr. ll.692, 702, *temptation of the devil* from **fonden** v. to put a person on trial or test

fongeþ 3 pr. sg. l.748 *received*; **fongere** n. l.1239 *receiver (of gifts)* from **fonge**

forwardes makynge n. phr. l.878, **forwarde makynge** l.880, **forwardes makeþ** l.881, **makeþ forward** l.887 *making of agreements, made agreements.*

fulleþ 3 pr. sg. ll.771; **fullynge** ger. l.709; **fully** inf. l.726; **y-fulled** pp. ll.771 from **fullehten, fulhten** v. *to baptize*

furbarry inf. l.1233 from **forberen** v. *to refuse, neglect (to pay)*

gossybradene n. l.766, **gossybrede** n. l.1049 *spiritual kinship brought about by sponsorship at baptism or confirmation*

goulynge ger. (pem. l.655) *howling* from **goulen**

grede n. l.370 *outcry, lamentation or noise*

gree n. l.979 *favour*;

grucchynge ger. l.616 *complaining* from **gruchen**

gwdages n.l.961 *fees for services of a guide*

ȝowled, y-ȝowled l.523, **ȝulde** l.696 *yield* from **yelden** v.

halwe inf. l.499 *consecrate, make holy*; **y-halwed** pp. l.329, **y-halewyd** pp. l.331, 1151 *honoured, made holy*; **halwene** n. ll.430, 434, 498, **halwen** l.940 *saints*;

halwynge ger. l.739, **halwyng** ger. l.427 *act of making holy*; from **halwen**

hebbynge ger. l.713 *cutting, chopping, hewing* from **hēven** v.

hele n. l.638 *health*

herborwe imp. l.663; **herborwed** 3 past. pl. l.674

hery inf. l.435 from **herien** v. *to praise*

herytage n l.516 *something legally inherited or inheritable*

hest ll.493 *commandment*; **hestys** n. pl. ll.492; **hestes** ll.544 *commandments*

hiȝed pp.(add. l.68) *exalted, honoured* from **heiren**

holyche adv. l.333 *in togetherness* from **hollī** *together*

hoteþ 3 pr. sg. l.719, 3 pr. pl. 1109 *command(s)*; **hotynge** ger. l.926 *commanding*;

hotte 1 pr. sg. l.935 *command* from **hoten**

howsel n. ll.710; **y-howsled** pp. l.799; **howseleþ** 3 pr. pl. l.1095 from **houselen** v. *to administer the sacrament of Holy Communion, to partake of the Eucharist*

hynesse n. l.613 from **highfulnes** n. *pride, arrogance*

y-kennyd pp. l.415 from **kennen** v. *conceived*

kowe inf. l.821 from **chough(e** v.

kuynde n. l.512 (mannys ~) from **kinde** n. *sperm or seminal fluid*

kyne n. l.531; **kyn** l.1049 *a close relative*

kynredene n. ll.779, 1059, **kynredenes** l.780 *kinship, brotherhood*

laskyng ger. l.1016 from **lasken** v. *to alleviate* (from pain or suffering)

lele adj. (Dur. 511, 512) *loyal*

lerryde pp. l.946, **leered** pp. l.1069 *educated, taught, learned* from **lernen** v.

letteþ 3 pr. pl. ll.768 from **letten** v. *to hinder, impede, to prevent*

lewede adj. ll.817 *uneducated, ignorant* from **leued**

lycure n. l.723 *liquid* from **licour** n.

lyuelode n. ll.509, 980 *livelihood, means of earning or procuring a living, food and drink*

mansynge ger. l.924 *act of excommunicating*

mawmetrye n. l.493 *superstitious practices, charms, spells.*

mede [1] n. ll.365 (to her ~) *as they deserve*; **mede [2]** n. 1017 *meadow*; **meede [3]** n. ll.1174, 1177,1188, **mede**1220 *bribe*; **medys [4]** n. l.824 *spiritual benefits*; **medful** n. l.327 *spiritually beneficial*;

metynge ger. l.628 *measuring* from **meten** v.; **metts** n. pl. (dur l.257) *measures.*

meuede pp. l.626 *moved*; **remeuable** adj. l.626; **onremeuable** adj. l.627; **meuable** adj. l.1194 *movable goods as in personal property*; **onmeuable** adj. l.1194 from **mēven** v.

meyne n. (pem. l.782) *retinue, household*

mone n. *intention* l.369

mulles n. l.1025 *mill* from **milne**

mycher n. (pem. l.847) *petty thief, pilferer*

mynchones n. l.1050 *nuns*

myssanter n. l.1266 *mishap, accident* from **misaventūre(e**

mysdedys n. l.363 *transgressions, sinfulness*

mysnenenygge ger. l.497 *calling by a bad name* from **misnamen** v.

mysseyynge ger. l.619 *slander, vilification, defamation*

myswroȝt pp. l.371 *offended, sinned* from **miswerken** v.

nawar prep. l.753 *nowhere*

oker n.l.1004 *interest on a borrowed sum of money*

onkunnynge ger. l.654; from **onconnyng**

out pult pp. ll.374 *expelled* from **outputten** v.

palmeres n. l.1280 *pilgrims*

parshones n.ll.928 *parishoners, members of a parish* from **parishen**

pedages n. l.961 *tolls, taxes.*

pekke n. l.1007 *a dry measure, esp. of grain, generally equal to ¼ bushe.*

playntes n. l.1226 *lawsuits, legal complaints, court cases* from **pleint(e**

potel n. l.1007 *a vessel*

presse inf. l.752 *constrain* from **pressen** v.

pryuey adv. l.1056 *secretly, privately*

quemeth 3 pr. sg. l.337; **queme** inf. l.338, inf. 542, 894, 1276 *please, act in a manner acceptable to*; **mysqueme** subj. l.895 *displease* from **quēmem**

quyke n. l.422; **quyk** l.713 *the living (people)*

rafesshynge ger. l.912 *theft, plundering* or *the act of carrying off a woman for the purposes of rape* from **ravishen** v.

rede 2 pr. sg. l.371 *advise* from **reden** v.

redyngg of metelles ger. n. phr. l.494 *divining, spiritual reading*

rehersyd pp. l.1245 *told, summarised, outlined* from **rehersen** v.

rekeuered pp. l.1132 *recovered* from **recoueren** v.

reseytynge ger. l.1139 *sheltering* from **receiting**

rettyng ger. (pem. l.708) *attributing* from **retten** v.

reueres n. l.1167 *thieves* from **rēver(e**

riche l.334 *kingdom* (God's spiritual kingdom)

rosti adj. (pem. l. 588) *rusty* from **rusten** v.

ryperes n. l.1039 *reapers* from **reper(e**

sacryþ 3 pr. sg. l.811 *consecrated the bread and wine at mass* from **sacren** v.

sarsones n. l.1097 from **sarasin** *heathen, pagan, infidel*

sequestracyon n. l.981 *the lawful impounding of goods associated with a vacant benefice*

seyntuarye n. l.978 *a holy or sacred place*

shappere n. l.411 *God, creator of the universe* from **shāpen** v.

shedynge ger. l.512 *ejaculating, discharging* from **sheden**

schendeschip n. (pem. l. 758); shenship n. (add. l.319) *harm, destruction*

y-shore pp. l.851 *shaved* **scheuen**

shrift n. l.358 *confession*; **y-shryfe** pp. l.362, 800, **shryfe** pp. l.799 *to be absolved, have his confession heard*; **shryue** inf. l.623 *to make confession*; from **shrīven**

sleyþe n. l.691 *prudence*

y-somned pp. l.983 *invited, called upon* from **somnen** v.

soþnesse n. ll.380 *that which accords with fact, truth; reality, actuality; also, with def. Art. Or dem. Adj.: the truth of something, the true situation, the reality; the true nature (of God, of sth.);*

souerynlyche adv. l.706 *to a great extent, very much, highly, in the highest degree, above all.*

to spede inf. l.374 *to accomplish, to have fulfilled* from **speden** v.

spowsbreche n. l.510 *marital infidelity, adultery.*

spowshode n. ll.512 *marriage, wedlock, the married state, the sacrament of matrimony.*

sprenge imp. l.723 *sprinkle* from **sprengen** v.

y-stabeled pp. l.925 *instituted, enacted* from **stablen** v.

stey 3. pr. sing. l.420 *go up, rise*

stryuynge ger. l.616 *quarrelling* from **striven** v.

stureþ 3 pr. sg. l.638 *lead* from **steren** v.

styfly adv. l.371 *unwaveringly, staunchly or intently* from **stif** adj.

sustynanse n. l.340 *that which is essential to sustaining life, a livelihood* from **sustenaunce**

teyþ n. l.822 *teeth*

tweyne l.536 *two*

tylye inf. l.1273 *to prepare land for agricultural use, till* from **tillen** v.

tyngynge ger. l.1119 perhabs from **tinken** v. Also **ting**. [Origin uncertain: perhaps imitative; cp Efris. **Tingen, tinken**.] *To emit a light, short metallic sound, tinkle.* (**c1384**) *Wbible (1)* 1 Cor. 13. 1: If I speke with tungis of men and aungels, sothli I haue not charite, I am maad as . . symbal tynkynd.

þederward adv. l.828 *on the way there, to or toward*

þralnesse n. l.377, **þraldom** l.961 *servitude*

þulke l.926 from **þilke** demonstrative adjective *pointing to a previously mentioned person or thing. Those* [contraction of **þe** def. art. and **ilke** pronoun]

vnderfonge inf. ll.731 *to receive (sacrament)*; l.786 *to come freely into the possession of*, 1082 *receive, welcome, show hospitality to*; **vnderfongere** n. l.782 *the person who receives the sacrament of Baptism*; **vnderfongeþ** 3 pr. pl. l.817 *receives (baptism, eucharist)* from **underfon**

veniance n. l.617 *retribution, punishment, revenge* from **vengeaunce**

warantyse n. l.1199 *formal assurances of the right to possession of property*

webbes n. l.1033 *a weaver* from **webbe**

wederynge ger. l.1276 *favourable weather* from **weder**

wend 3. pr. sing. l.529 *appropriates or bring into one's own possession* from **wenden**

weres n. l.1025 *weir*

weyletes n.l.1209 *a place where two or more roads meet, junction; also, a street, byway.*

wonde l.615 *envy* from **onde/ounde**

y-woxe pp. l.1037 *grown* from **waxen** v.

wrethe n. ll.345, 362; **wrathe** l.845 *anger*

wylneþ 3 pr. sg. l.345 *desires*; **wylny** inf. l.521 *desire*; **wyllnynge** l.617; **wylnyge** l.1009 *wishing, desiring* from **wilnen** v.

wytynge l.709 (þat is to ~) *it should be known*

wyȝtes n. l.628, **wytȝtes** l.1215 *weights*

y-now adj. l.428 from **inough**

ymbrefast n. l.884 *any of the three fasting days (Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday)*

following the first Sunday in Lent, the feast of Pentecost, Holy Cross Day (Sept. 14), and St. Lucy's Day (Dec. 13); an ember day. from **imbre-dai.**