

## UNEDITED MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE IN RYLANDS MANUSCRIPTS

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### The Index of Middle English Prose

Manuscripts in the Rylands Library have recently been surveyed for the *Index of Middle English Prose*, a project of international collaboration by which it is planned ultimately to locate, identify, and record all extant Middle English prose texts composed between c. 1200 and c. 1500.<sup>1</sup> A first stage towards the achievement of such a goal is the production of a series of *Handlists*, each of which will record all relevant texts in the manuscripts of a major library or group of libraries, and give descriptions of each item, with identifications and bibliographical information. All the *Handlists* will contain indices of the *incipits* and *explicit*s of texts, authors, titles, subject matter, and rubrics, which, when all the *Handlists* have been completed, will be consolidated into the *Index of Middle English Prose* itself.<sup>2</sup> The first two *Handlists* are now in print, the second of which is of the Rylands and Chetham's Libraries in Manchester.<sup>3</sup> The investigation of the Rylands material has focused attention on the relatively small number of unedited texts, which in the present article it is proposed to describe and discuss. The term 'unedited' is used here of texts which, as far as I am aware, do not appear in

<sup>1</sup> The fullest description of the project and its background is in *Middle English Prose: Essays on Bibliographical Problems*, eds. A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall (New York and London, 1981), esp. pp. 23-41.

<sup>2</sup> A complementary initial publication will be an *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, by N. F. Blake, A. S. G. Edwards and R. E. Lewis, now at an advanced stage of preparation, which will record all relevant printed texts, from the earliest editions to the most recent (excluding abbreviated texts and selections).

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Hanna III, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist I: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Henry E. Huntington Library* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1984). G. A. Lester, *Handlist II: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the John Rylands University Library and Chetham's Library, Manchester* (Woodbridge, 1985).

any printed form;<sup>4</sup> brief texts are excluded here on the grounds that they are adequately dealt with, and in some cases fully transcribed, in the published *Handlist*;<sup>5</sup> and, in keeping with the procedures of the *Index of Middle English Prose*, no consideration is given to documentary material, such as indentures and deeds.

### Manuscripts containing unpublished Middle English prose

**Eng. 83** (Described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969-1983), iii. 407-408). s.xiv xv.

This pocket-sized volume of edifying texts contains one unedited section, ff. 146-153. *Inc*: The wrappe of God is turned into merci to men þat forsakiþ synne. Seche as þe peple is, siche is þe preste; *expl*: It is moche profitabler þat a gilty man eende bodili lyf bi cruelist peyne temporal þan in hirtinge his broþer he desire deef of soule. Moral maxims, including quotations from the Bible, in twenty-nine short sections, each with a space for a heading which was not written in. These are preceded on ff. 5-145v by The Book of Proverbs and a selection of passages from the Old Testament, both from the later version of the Wycliffite Bible, but the maxims and quotations in this item are not taken directly from that source; with the first compare II Maccabees 8:5:<sup>6</sup> 'For the wraththe of the Lord was conuertid in to merci'.

**Eng. 85** (Ker, iii. 409). s.xiv/xv.

This is one of a sizeable group of manuscripts of religious instruction. It has aroused particular interest, and two articles on

<sup>4</sup> I.e. no distinction is made between 'edition' and 'transcription'. Relevant theses are regarded as 'editions' since most of these are now readily available on loan or microfilm.

<sup>5</sup> Short texts given in full in the *Handlist* are: the alphabet, paternoster, ave maria, creed, and blessing, Eng. 85, f. 2rv; a gloss on the Book of Daniel, Eng. 89, f. 50rv; a scientific note, Eng. 404, f. 46; a charm, Eng. 404, f. 46; an extract from the *Speculum Christiani*, Lat. 341, f. 82. Other short texts excluded here (fragments, additions in margins or on flyleaves, etc.) are: medical recipes, Eng. 206, f. 102v; Eng. 404, ff. 36, 46v; Lat. 109, f. 127; Lat. 201, f. 164; Lat. 228, ff. 136-139v; culinary recipe, Lat. 228, f. 137; recipes for ink, Eng. 404, f. 46; medical notes, Eng. 404, ff. 3v, 34v, 44v-45v; a travel note, Lat. 228, f. 79v; legal note, Lat. 228, f. 119; charms and superstitions, Lat. 228, ff. 60, 140; devotions, Eng. 87, f. 120; a sermon fragment, Eng. 109, f. 17v.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederick Madden, *The Holy Bible ...* (Oxford, 1850), iii, 870.

it have been published in this journal. In the first of these A. L. Kellogg and Ernest W. Talbert attempted to relate this manuscript and Eng. 90 to the background of Wycliffite commentary by which both were influenced; in particular they concentrated on the treatises on the Paternoster and on the Ten Commandments, printing an edition of the latter from Eng. 85, f. 2v.<sup>7</sup> In the second article C. A. Martin took issue with Kellogg and Talbert over their treatment of the treatise on the Ten Commandments, and offered a revised classification of the manuscripts "according to textual and structural, or architectonic, principles".<sup>8</sup>

The Middle English manuals of religious instruction belong to a tradition which goes back at least to Gregory the Great's *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* (c. 590), which was translated by, or upon the instructions of, King Alfred, as early as the 890s, and of which multiple copies were distributed under the name *Pastoralis* or *Hierdeboc*. A more formal commitment to the education of clergy and laity was made at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and in England in the canons issued after the Council of Lambeth in 1281 by Archbishops John Pecham of Canterbury and John Thoresby of York. The manuals form a highly complex and interrelated group and are badly in need of study as a whole, although any attempt will be difficult until the *Index of Middle English Prose* has revealed the number and whereabouts of the many relevant manuscripts. Meanwhile, a start has been made with C. A. Martin's "Middle English Manuscripts of Religious Instruction",<sup>9</sup> which lists thirty-five manuscripts in five groups: 1. Manual as predominant text, or alone 2. Manual and liturgical or homiletic texts 3. Manual and devotional or moral texts 4. Manual and meditative texts 5. Manual extracts and other texts. Eng. 85 belongs to the fourth of these groups, along with Bodleian MSS. Laud Misc. 23, Lyell 29, Rawlinson C. 209, and Tanner 336.

Only two of the twenty-two texts in Eng. 85 have not been edited. These are:

<sup>7</sup> "The Wycliffite *Pater Noster* and *Ten Commandments*, with Special Reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin*, lxiv (1959-60), 345-377.

<sup>8</sup> "The Middle English Versions of *The Ten Commandments*, with Special Reference to Rylands English MS 85", *Bulletin*, xlv (1981-1982), 191-217.

<sup>9</sup> In *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, eds. Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 283-298.

1. ff. 16-18v, *The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost*. Printed in full below. This is part of a sequence which treats the seven Deadly Sins, the Five Outward Senses, the Five Inner Senses, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Bodily Works of Mercy, the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy, and the Seven Sacraments; most of these are little more than lists.<sup>10</sup> A version of the *Seven Gifts* with the same title in Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23, f. 44, is much shorter than that of Eng. 85, and appears not to be closely related.<sup>11</sup> More relevant to the Rylands text is a work entitled *The Three Goods*, found in the Laud manuscript, f. 43, and also in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 220 (lacking the title), Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.21 (601), f. 12, and Edinburgh University Library 93, f. 25v.<sup>12</sup> This has several passages which agree almost word-for-word with the *Seven Gifts* in Eng. 85—a common feature in this type of text, in which borrowing, substitution, and reshaping of material are often found. The points of agreement between the Edinburgh and Rylands texts are indicated in the footnotes to the text printed below.

2. ff. 25v-37. *Inc*: The þridde tyme it is to speke sumwhat of loue. Charite is a loue þat we shulden haue to God, for as moche as he is almyzti; *expl*: to dwelle wip him þat is lord of vertues, with him to reste aftir trauel in ioie and blis withoute eende. Amen. *The Eight Degrees of Love*, with the running title in the manuscript: *Of diuerse degrees of loue*. The text deserves publication but is too long to print here, especially since three other manuscripts are known (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 221, Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.21 (601), f. 12v, and Durham Cathedral A.IV.22, p. 105), and adequate collation of texts is obviously desirable. The contents are: a brief exposition of

<sup>10</sup> The versions of the Five Outward and Inner Senses, and of the Seven Virtues edited by Donald J. Lloyd, *An Edition of the Prose and Verse in the Bodleian Manuscript Laud Miscellaneous 23*, Yale University Ph. D. Thesis, 1943, pp. 88-92, differ from the Eng. 85 versions only in that Biblical quotations are included; the others, as edited by Lloyd, are virtually identical.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Lloyd, pp. 98-99. Other works only remotely related are Richard Rolle's "þe seuene gyftes of þe haly gaste", ed. C. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers* (London, 1895-1896), i. 196-197, and two others by Rolle on the same theme, ed. Horstman, i. 45-46 and 136.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Lloyd, pp. 94-96; also C. A. Martin, *Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 93: An Annotated Edition of Selected Devotional Treatises with a Survey of Parallel Versions*, Edinburgh University Ph. D. Thesis, 1978, pp. 172-193.

charity; "hou þou shalt loue God"; "whi we shulden loue him best wipout noumbre"; the grace of God "to wille lerne to loue him"; the need for order in love; the eight degrees, or points, of love which Christians ought to observe:

þe first poynt is þis: þou shalt loue þi fleish oonli þat it be susteyned; þe secunde, þat þou loue þe world to no superfluite; þe þridde is: þou shalt loue þi neizbore for God; þe ferþe, þat þou loue þi freendis for her good lyuyng; þe fifþe, þat þou loue þin enmye for þe more meede of God; þe sixte, þat þou loue no vice with vertu; þe seuenþe is þat þou dispose and leue al yuel custom; þe eiztþe, þat þou sette not litil bi synne, wheþer it be litil or moche.

Each of these is repeated at the head of a section of text, after which a short conclusion asserts that

al Goddis lawe and al declaracioun þerof ... is not ellis but to brynge mankynde to two þingis: oon is to loue God and drede God and his lawe aboue alle opir þingis in heuene and in erþe, and þe secunde is to brynge man to loue his euencristen in goodnesse as himsilf.

Eng. 109 (Ker, iii. 418-420). s. xv<sup>1</sup>.

The manuscript is in three sections, of which the second, ff. 18-36v (modern pencil foliation), is in Latin. Two sections are therefore relevant here:

1. ff. 4-17. A collection of eight sermons, written in two hands (changing at the beginning of f. 10v), imperfect at the beginning and left incomplete at the end. These form part of a sequence, known also in other manuscripts as detailed below, which is a derivative of the Wycliffite cycle.<sup>13</sup> Versions of the sixth, seventh, and eighth have been edited by Woodburn O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons* (London, EETS.OS.209, 1940), pp. 288-303. The others are:

i. f. 4rv. *Inc* ... hert when þou kepes it clene fro syne, and so þou schalt see God almyghty; *expl*; þat sufferd for mankynde payn and passioun on þe crosse and dyed on Gode Fryday. Amen. An acephalous sermon on Matthew 22:37, found complete in

<sup>13</sup> See Anne Hudson (ed.), *English Wycliffite Sermons* (Oxford, 1983), i. 98-123. Dr. Hudson also kindly gave me additional help with this material. I am also very grateful to Helen L. Spencer for making available a copy of her relevant article "The Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle in the Later Fifteenth Century" in advance of its publication sometime in 1986 in *Mediaeval Studies*.

MSS. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 74, f. 194 and Cambridge University Library Gg. 6.16, f. 8.

ii. ff. 4v-6. *Inc*: Estote prudentes et vigilate in orationibus, i<sup>a</sup> Petri 4<sup>o</sup>. þe help and þe grace, et cetera. God[e] men and women, euere Cristen man is holden to here Cristes worde; *expl*: to þat ioye he bryng us þat with woundis on Gode Frydaye boght us. Amen. A sermon on I Peter 4:7; a slightly later hand in the margin ascribes it to Rogations and the Sunday within the Octave of Ascension. There is a brief introduction and prayer (shortened in this manuscript), but no formal protheme. Found also in Sidney Sussex 74, f. 196 and Gg. 6.16, f. 12.

iii. ff. 6-8. *Inc*: Sana animam meam, Domine, quia peccavi tibi, Psalmo xl<sup>o</sup>. Gode Cristen men and wymen, þre causes mouen me to preche to zou; *expl*: þat saued mankynde with þe blode of his herte vppon þe rode tree. Amen. A sermon on Psalm 40:5 (Vulgate), ascribed in the margin to Rogations. The peroration, based upon no specific Biblical text, extends to f. 6v. Found also in Sidney Sussex 74, f. 198 and Gg. 6.16, f. 15v.

iv. ff. 8-9v. *Inc*: Hodie in domo tua oportet me manere. þe helpe and þe grace et cetera. At þe begynnyng, with Goddus grace, I purpose me to kepe þe byddyng of God and tell zou þe gospell; *expl*: to þat blisse he us bryng þat boght us with his precius blode. Amen. A sermon on Luke 19:5, with a protheme on Mark 16:15 extending to f. 8v, ascribed in the margin to the first [Sunday] in Advent. Found also in Sidney Sussex 74, f. 200 and Gg. 6.16, f. 18v.

v. ff. 9v-12. *Inc*: Mortuus viuet, Iohanni xj<sup>o</sup> capitulo. Dere frendes in God, as seynt Anselme seys in his Sentence, of all þingis þat men may do for þe dede þe fyrste and þe principall is to pray for hem; *expl*: to þis blysse he us bryng þat dyed on þe rode tre. Amen. A funeral sermon on John 11:25, ascribed in the margin to the sixth Sunday after Pentecost. The peroration, based upon no specific Biblical text, extends to f. 10. Found also in Sidney Sussex 74, f. 202; Gg. 6.16, f. 22; and Bodleian Library, Bodley 95, f. 107.

In all of the above the text is repeated in the course of the sermon with a heading of comparable size to that at the beginning; in Sidney Sussex 74 the repeat is often marked with a marginal note *iteracio thematis*, but without enlargement of the script for the text.

2. ff. 54 (misbound), 37-126v. *Inc*: M[any men þer ben þat]

haue will to here rede romance and iestes þat ys more þenne ydelschip, and yt y will þat all men wite hit; *expl*: þe ioie þat he hase ordent to us in heuen, þe whilk no tong may tell ne no ere here ne eigh of worldely man se. Amen. *The Mirror*, a collection of sermons translated from the Anglo-Norman *Miroir* ascribed to Robert of Gretham. It has been partially edited by Thomas G. Duncan, who is currently working on a complete edition.<sup>14</sup> The Rylands text is written in two hands (both different from those in 1), the first to f. 78v, and the second from f. 79 (with an overlap of text); the date 1432 is given in the final rubric. It is defective in many places, having lost at least twenty-seven leaves, eight of which are now Norwich Cathedral 5, ff. 1-8. The sequence consists of mainly dominical sermons, as follows: two prefaces (imperfect in the middle); first to fourth in Advent; Epiphany (imperfect in the middle); first to third after Epiphany; fourth after Epiphany (ending imperfect); Quinquagesima (beginning imperfect); first in Lent (imperfect in the middle); second in Lent (ending imperfect); fourth in Lent (beginning imperfect); Passion Sunday; Palm Sunday; Easter Sunday; first after Easter (ending imperfect); third after Easter (beginning imperfect); fourth and fifth after Easter; Ascension Day; Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension; Pentecost; Trinity Sunday (ending imperfect); third after Trinity (beginning imperfect); fourth to eighteenth after Trinity; nineteenth after Trinity (ending imperfect); twenty-first after Trinity (beginning imperfect); twenty-second and twenty-third after Trinity; twenty-fourth after Trinity (ending imperfect); feast of the Annunciation; sermon on "In principio"; "De apostolis"; "Vnius martiris"; "Vnius confessoris"; All Saints; "Epistola Pauli"; "Ad uincla sancti Petri"; Advent; the Second Coming; the Signs of Doomsday; Nativity; Purification; Assumption; "De angelis"; the dedication of a church (ending imperfect); the Paternoster (beginning imperfect); the Last Judgement; the Ten Commandments.

Eng. 288 (Ker, iii, 423-424). s. xv<sup>2</sup> (after March 1482)

This legal miscellany, mainly in French and Latin, begins (ff. 1-23) with formulary. proceedings at a court leet. Though

<sup>14</sup> *A Transcription and Linguistic Study of the Introduction and First Twelve Sermons of the Hunterian MS. Version of the 'Mirror'*, Oxford University B. Litt. Thesis, 1965.

predominantly in Latin, there are some sections which contain English, namely:

1. ff. 1-14v. *Inc*: In primis preceptum factum balliuo per senesca[llum]; *expl*: sub pena quilibet eorum vjs leuanda ad opus domini et cetera. Proceedings of a court leet presided over, according to the heading, by "Thomas B, capitalis senescallus excell[entis]simi domini domini Archiepiscopi Cantuarii"; the text gives the location as Plumstead [Kent], on the Monday after St. Augustine, 22 Edward IV. English is used randomly in proclamations, oaths, some of the explanatory text, and for two of the heads, viz: f. 2, "The charge of the courte. Firste, ye good men that be here sworne at this time ..."; and f. 4v, "The charge of the lete. Firste, as for the lete ye shal enquiry by othes that ye haue made ...".

2. f. 21. *Inc*: The steward shall bidde the baylly say in this wise and bid hym make an "oyes"; *expl*: and God saue the Kyng, quod I. B. Proclamation of an assize of bread, headed: "Modus qualiter balliuus vel bedellus qui seruiet curiam debet vocare assisam panis et seruicie quando curia cum visu totaliter finitur".

3. ff. 21-22v. *Inc*: To whome the steward shall say and bidde hym laye his hand vpon the booke; *expl*: And bid hym kysse the booke and leye down jd or ijd as þe custume is, et cetera. Oaths of a constable, etc., headed: "Modus diuersorum iuramentorum officiorum et aliorum iuramentum constabulariorum et huiusmodi aliorum".

**Eng. 404** (Ker, iii, 424-425). s. xv<sup>2</sup>, with additions of s. xv/xvi.

This is a rather random collection of medical recipes, notes, and charms, in English (predominantly) and Latin, in eleven different hands or more. The first scribe set down a series of recipes, ff. 4-26v; a variety of others added further recipes to f. 33 and a very imperfect table of contents, ff. 1-3; and some of these and others added text extending to f. 46v. None has been published, except in as much as certain of the individual recipes are comparable to some of those in standard editions of medical collections, such as G. Henslow, *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1899) and Warren R. Dawson, *A Leechbook Collection of Medical Recipes of the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1934). For a complete list of texts see the *Handlist*. There are three substantial texts:

1. ff. 4-33. *Inc*: For swellyng. Take watir cresses and crommys of brede, and bowle hem well in faire watir, þan take hem vp and



stampe hem togedir; *expl*: and a plaster þerof lefte þerfor good helap. Probatum. A collection of about 250 medical recipes, written in a number of hands, as described above. There seems to be no principle of organization, such as the common *a capite ad calcem* one, even for the part written by the original scribe. Some recipes are almost identical with those printed by Dawson, but the correspondence is random and does not extend to sequences of recipes; e.g., f. 4: "For cornys in the feet. Take vnslecled lyme and make small poudir þerof and a quantite of blacke sope, and medill hem togedir so it be a party harde, and pare of þe cornys to þe quycke flesche, and lay þeron ..." (cf. Dawson, p. 70); f. 4v: "For the falyng evyll. Take verveyne and [t]he cloot and browne fenell and boyle hem in a galon of good stale ale till half be sodyn inne, and geve to drinke" (cf. Dawson, p. 120).

2. ff. 37-42v. *Inc*: Mugwort and modyrwort is ... [*page torn*] this helpyth to conseyue child, clansyth þe modyr, and doyth a woman to haue hur floures; *expl*: and wete coten and lay þerto tyle it be hole et cetera. A herbal, in a hand of s. xv/xvi. The twenty-four sections describe: "mugwort and modyrwort"; "henban"; "[d]ragance"; "vysmalue and holyhocke"; "gyngren and howseleke"; "popy"; "betis"; "hounystong"; "garleke"; "wormode"; "smerewort"; "savyn"; "leke"; "fenell"; "cherfeyle"; "mynt"; "coryaundre"; "scabious"; "lylye"; "pyony"; "selendeyne"; "zerd cressen"; "saueyn"; and "reue". Most begin by indicating the degrees of heat, cold, moisture, or aridity of each plant. Following "leke" a sequence of nineteen medicinal recipes occurs which is not directly connected with the list of herbs. This text is not the English translation of *Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum*,<sup>15</sup> though some of the plant descriptions and recipes are amost identical; e.g. f. 38v: "Take wormode or is rote and þe seede of rewe, salt, and pepere, and stampe hem and tempere hem with wyn, and seth hem, and dryng hem for to dystreie raw humouris of þe stomak" (cf. Frisk, pp. 61-62). On the whole the text is briefer than that of *Macer* and resembles a summary of this and other sources.

3. ff. 42v-44v. *Inc*: Wryne is seid whay of blode, for as þe whay comes of þe mylke so comys þe vryne of þe blode; *expl*: vryne of a man þat is whit and ful of bran is tokyn of þe morfewe et cetera. A tract on the colours of urines, incorporating material on the

<sup>15</sup> Ed. G. Frisk (Uppsala, 1949).

elements, the humours, and the seasons, in the same hand as that of 2. This is of common type (cf. Eng. 1310 below); there are no diagrams, nor is the text based upon explanations of jordan (urine flasks), as is sometimes the case. For other manuscripts with a similar subject range see Rossell Hope Robbins, "Medical Manuscripts in Middle English", *Speculum*, xlv (1970), 398-400.

Eng. 412 (Ker, iii, 425-426). s. xv in.

These nine gatherings from a larger manuscript contain tracts from *Pore Caitif*, *The Mirror of Sinners*, *Meditacio Sancti Augustini*, an extract from a Wycliffite sermon, and four unpublished works. All are written in a single hand, and may have formed part of a medieval preacher's *vade mecum*. The unpublished texts are:

1. ff. 39v-42. Printed in full below. A tract, possibly a sermon, on the duties of Knighthood, with the title: "De Officio Militis". I have not been able to locate any other copy. The subject matter, however, is broadly familiar; general statements on the duties of lords in the moral guidance of their inferiors occur in the Wycliffite tract "A schort Reule of Lif",<sup>16</sup> in the Wycliffite tract "How Religious Men Should Keep Certain Articles",<sup>17</sup> in the *Lanterne of Ligt*,<sup>18</sup> and in a text called "Of Lords and Husbandmen" which is found in three manuscript manuals of religious instruction.<sup>19</sup> Both this last and "De Officio Militis", though they are not close in other respects, incorporate slightly differing versions of an English translation of the pseudo-Augustinian *De Salutaribus Documentis* or *Epistola Beati Augustini ad quemdam Comitem Julianum*, a work associated with the early stages in the development of the Wycliffite Bible.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Anne Hudson<sup>21</sup> points out that further signs of a Wycliffite background are: the stress upon lords and knights as "vikeres of

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Thomas Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wycliffe* (Oxford, 1869-1871), iii. esp. pp. 206-207.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. F.D. Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted* (London, EETS.OS. 74, 1880, revised 1902), pp. 230-235.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Lilian M. Swinburn (London EETS.OS. 151, 1915), pp. 69-71.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. Martin, *Thesis*, pp. 229-252.

<sup>20</sup> An English version is edited by Sven L. Fristedt, *The Wycliffe Bible* (Stockholm, 1953-1973), ii. 1-60; on the associations with the Wycliffite bible see Fristedt, ii. xi-xix. The incorporated text is indicated in the transcript below.

<sup>21</sup> In a letter of 12 November 1984.

Cristes godhede", the linking of "pore" with "feble", "blinde", and "lame" as three, not four, categories,<sup>22</sup> the condemnation of strong begging, and the interest in the theory of war.

2. f. 42rv. Printed in full below. A short tract, possibly a sermon, on the birth, life, and death of John the Baptist, with the text: *Iohannes est nomen eius*. I have not been able to locate any other copy. The item with the same text in Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS. B. 14.50, f. 8, is not the same.<sup>23</sup> The Lollard associations are slighter than in 1 above, but the vocabulary is reminiscent, as is the condemnation of preaching "lesynges ne poysies ne fables, as þese peni prechoures don and pardoners", and in the insinuation of homosexuality in the clergy.<sup>24</sup> There is also a general similarity to the gospel sermon for Midsummer's Day in the Wycliffite cycle.<sup>25</sup>

3. ff. 50-72. *Inc*: [*M*]emorare nouissima. Ecclesiastici 7<sup>o</sup>. þe help and þe grace of oure Lord ihesu Crist, þat for þe loue of mankynde spradde abrod his bodi vpon þe crosse; *expl*: haue in mynde þese foure laste þinges, þat we moun see with þe seyntes þe sizt of þi face. Amen. *A Sermon of Dead Men*, partly a funeral sermon, partly a discourse on the Four Last Things.<sup>26</sup> It is also found in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 751, f. 1. The arrangement of material is highly schematised. After the text, a prayer, and a rehearsal of the three purposes of the funeral service, the theme of the Four Last Things is introduced. Each is given multiple subdivision, and there are digressions on the armour of God, the arguments by which the fiend can be defeated, and the symbolism of the seven knots of the scourge which will be used on the Day of Doom. There is a brief concluding prayer.

4. f. 72rv. *Inc*: [T]hou shalt loue þi lord God with al þin herte, with al þi soule, with al þi þougt; *expl*: for þat is oon of þe moste

<sup>22</sup> For this see Margaret Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics and Disendowment", in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Barrie Dobson (Gloucester and New York, 1984), p. 70, n. 22.

<sup>23</sup> I am grateful to Dr. A. I. Doyle for the reference, and to Dr. T. D. Hobbs for comparing the texts. Dr. Hudson tells me that the Trinity text consists of sermon notes, and is not a sermon proper.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. "Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards", in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Cambridge, 1978), esp. p. 25. The observations on the Lollard associations are Dr. Hudson's.

<sup>25</sup> Ed. Arnold, i. 364-365; cf. also ii. 1-13.

<sup>26</sup> An edition is in preparation for the Early English Text Society by Gloria Cigman of the University of Warwick.

sotel craft of þe deuel for to deceyue men wiþ [catchwords] whanne he ... A fragment of a commentary on the two New Testament commandments, which is also found in MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 155 (C. 5.7), p. 69 and San Marino, Huntington Library HM 148, f. 206.<sup>27</sup> The Rylands fragment covers love for God with the whole heart, then, at greater length, love with all the soul, quoting St Augustine and St Paul, shortly after which it breaks off.

Eng. 895 (Ker, iii, 426-427; see also F[rank] T[aylor], "A Recently Acquired Middle English Manuscript", *Bulletin*, xxi (1937), 18-19). s. xv med.

Ff. 1-110v. *Inc*: ... lete hym go þus alyue, he wolle turne al þe peple to hym. It is good to vs to shape how we mowe best take hym and do hym to þe deþ; *expl*: þese fallyng þinges, whiche buþ lyght and short, whiche woundeþ and sleep oure hertes, [catchwords] and wiþ all ... *The Passion of Christ*, a paraphrase of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, incorporating additional material from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the Vulgate, and elsewhere. It possibly once formed a single work with the abridged prose translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* which follows on ff. 111-125, but two leaves have been lost between ff. 110 and 111, with the result that the evidence is missing. The two texts also appear together in MSS. British Library Egerton 2658, f. 1 and Stonyhurst College 43, f. 21; in the former, which Dr. A. I. Doyle believes to be in the same hand as that of Eng. 895,<sup>28</sup> they appear as two distinct pieces, separated by a concluding message and by a formal colophon on f. 15v; in the latter the concluding message occurs, ff. 82v-83, but not the Latin colophon, and the reader is left uncertain as to whether the *Passion* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* are to be regarded as separate in that manuscript. Furthermore, in Eng. 895 the *Gospel* translation has an early (and probably original) sequence of foliation (for which the manuscript is pricked and ruled), which the *Passion* section does not have, and which is, therefore, an additional indicator of separateness. A. W. Holden, who edited

<sup>27</sup> For a description of the complete text see Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography* (New York, 1927), pp. 366-368.

<sup>28</sup> This is noted in Ker, iii, 427.

the translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (from the Egerton manuscript, collating Eng. 895), expressed the view that "probably the best and simplest way of regarding the relationship between the *Passion* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is to see the latter as an appendix to the former, a fuller treatment of certain themes in it".<sup>29</sup>

The Rylands text is defective at the beginning, as well as at the end; reference to the Stonyhurst manuscript, which alone preserves the complete text at the beginning, shows that probably three or four initial leaves have been lost. The Rylands text is divided into sections by the use of large, decorated initials and (at some but not all of these points) by spaces, which have been left possibly for additional rubrication, decoration, or pictures. The present contents and sections are: f. 1: the eve of Palm Sunday; the anointing of Christ's feet by Mary Magdalene; [space]; f. 2v: the entry into Jerusalem; the three occasions when Christ wept; the cleansing of the temple; the debate with the Jews; Judas's offer of betrayal; Jesus' plans to keep the Passover in Jerusalem; f. 12: the first part of the Last Supper; [space]; f. 14v: the Last Supper continued; [three or four folios, conjugate with those missing at the beginning, are missing after f. 14v]; the agony in the garden; Christ's prayers [Latin words in red ink, translated into English in brown ink]; the archangel Michael comforts Christ [Latin words again in red]; the kiss of Judas; Jesus arrested; Christ before Annas and Caiaphas; Peter denies Christ; prayers of the Virgin for her son; [space]; f. 33: Christ before Pilate; the devil and Pilate's wife; judgement by Pilate; Judas hangs himself; the Scourging; [space]; f. 40v: the crown of thorns; Seth and the history of the Holy Rood Tree; Christ carries the cross; the Virgin distraught; [space]; f. 46v: the Crucifixion, with details of how Christ was stretched to fit the bore holes; the Seven Last Words; marvels at the time of Christ's death; [space]; f. 58v: the soldiers come to break Christ's legs; blind Longius; [space]; f. 62v: Joseph asks for Christ's body; the lament of the Virgin; the Deposition; [space]; f. 66: the body prepared for burial and wrapped in the shroud; [space]; f. 69v: the Burial; more sorrows of the Blessed Virgin; f. 73v: Joseph imprisoned; Peter's shame; the women prepare ointments; [space]; [at this point there is a note, in

<sup>29</sup> *An Edition of the Middle English Prose Version of The Gospel of Nicodemus*, London University M. A. Thesis, 1951, p. cxiii.

the near-contemporary hand which also made extensive marginal notes to the text: "Here endep þe processe of þe Passioun and bygynneþ þe Resureccion"]; f. 80: Christ releases the souls from Limbo; he appears to the Blessed Virgin; the visit of the women to the sepulchre; Christ appears to Mary Magdalene; the joy of the released souls in Paradise [Latin hymn in red]; the road to Emmaus; Christ appears to the disciples; doubting Thomas; Christ eats with the disciples; more appearances [space]; f. 100: Christ instructs the disciples; the Ascension; meditations on the major festivals of the church; Pentecost; final exhortatory message, ending imperfectly. Not all is narrative: there are, for example, digressions on the four wills of Christ (f. 26), the reasons why Christ kept his wounds open (f. 95v), and the timing of the Crucifixion ("pulke day at none by Adam we were dampned, and pulke day at þe same oure we were ayenbought by mercy of Criste in þe crosse", f. 57v). The Latin passages on ff. 18, 22v, and 23v, are taken directly from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.<sup>30</sup>

Eng. 1310 (Ker, iii. 427-428). s. xvi in.

This manuscript was one of those transferred from the main Manchester University Library following the amalgamation of 1972. Although it has been in Manchester since at least 1904, when it was owned by the Medical Society,<sup>31</sup> it is not well known, and no description of it was published before Ker's. There are two texts, in the same hand:

1. ff. 1-13v. *Inc*: Blac vryn hath evermore a swartnesse and a dymnes the which accordith most to blacnesse, and furþymore it is like a shyning horn and sumtyme like a ravenys fether; *expl*: put therto hony and the jus of fetherfuy and sauron, and make a confection therof, and vse it often. A medical tract on the diagnosis of urine by colour, viz. "blac", "bloo", "whyte", "glauk", "mylkye", "karapos", "pale", "citrine", "rufe", "subruf", "red", "rubicunde", "ynopos", and "greene". There are twenty-two diagrams of urine flasks. In each section of the text there is a general discussion of the characteristics of each colour, followed by more specific instructions for diagnosis, of which the diagrams form part. In the majority of cases the

<sup>30</sup> As ed. Sister M. Jordan Stallings, *Meditationes de Passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae Attributae* (Washington, 1965), pp. 99-101.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. correspondence now kept with the manuscript.

"circulus", which the text describes as "the over part of thurin", is marked on the diagrams above the level of the urine in the flask, with "residens" at the base, and with characteristics specific to the colour in question noted to the left and right. Quite frequently throughout the text the following authorities are cited: "Avicen", "Egidius", "Galen", "Gilbertus", "Gordianus", "Theophilus", "Tholomeus", "Walterius", and "Ysaac"; the latest of these is "Gordianus", i.e. Bernard of Gordon, master of medicine of the University of Montpellier, whose works date from 1294 to 1308.<sup>32</sup> The text appears to have been put together from the authorities cited. Ker notes that the colours are in the same order in British Library MS. Sloane 568, f. 201. See also Eng. 404:3 above.

2. ff. 13v-21. *Inc*: Ther ben iiij regiouns in a mannys body vrin according to the iiij regions of mannys body (Gordianus); the first conteyneth membra animata; *expl*: the bladder is scabby and tokneth long siknes or deth; uryrn blac and watry in a fat man mortes significat. A medical tract on the properties of urine. The subjects covered are: the regions, "the circule", "ampulla", "granum vel granula", "nubecula", "spuma", "sanies", fatness, thinness, oiliness, sediments, "bloode", "arena", "pilus", "squame", "bren", "crinoydes", "cineres", "sperma", "ypostasis", "sintilla", and signs of death. Ker notes that there is a similar Latin text in British Library MS. Harley 1612, f. 4v, *inc*: Regiones urine sunt quatuor; this is one of several works by Bernard of Gordon entitled *De Urinis*,<sup>33</sup> and seems to be the source of the Rylands incipit, though it is only one of the several authorities drawn upon in the tract as a whole (as in the case of item 1). See also Eng. 404:3 above.

**Lat. 228.** (A typescript description by the late N. R. Ker is now in the Rylands library). s. xv ex. and xv/xvi.

A commonplace book in Latin, French, and English, in a variety of hands. From internal evidence it appears that the main scribe was writing in the area of Richmond, Yorkshire, perhaps partly before and partly after the Battle of Towton in 1461; the

<sup>32</sup> See "Bernard of Gordon", in C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register* (London, 1965), p. 25; also Luke E. DeMaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon: Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto, 1980).

<sup>33</sup> See DeMaitre, p. 196.

English contributions were added later by a number of different people. The English prose material consists of seventeen items, comprising two historical notes, an itinerary, a memorandum on masses for the dead, a note on interpreting dreams, and twelve (mainly herbal) medical items, some merely single recipes added in blank spaces. For further details see the *Handlist*. Five medical items are of more substance than the rest:

1. ff. 120-123. *Inc*: Auance is ane herbe þat is hote and moste, and it auances all herbes at it is don to. It heles þe parlesy dronkyn in white wyne; *expl*: walworte is hote and drye and knyttes broken bones dronken in wyne with the litill consaute. This is headed: "A tretise of vertuse of many gode herbes, the whilk Ypocras and Eclipius made in þer elde to helpyng of poure men of diuers yuels þat migt nozt cost to by thaym spicerye". Eighty herbs and their properties are listed in eighty-one approximately alphabetical paragraphs (one herbal name is repeated), as follows: "Auance", "Ameros", "Alexandere", "Arage", "Akeferne", "Betoynge", "Bugle", "Byrdestonge", "Celydoyn", "Clare", "Centure", "Camamell", "Coliandre", "Cresse", "Cale", "Cerfoile", "Cletis", "Columbyn", "Comfery", "Calamyne", "Dytane", "Dogfynkell", "Dentalion", "Daysy", "Egremoyne", "Eufrase", "Fleworte", "Feuerfewe", "Fyueleue", "Houndestonge", "Herbe Water", "Herbe Robert", "Horshale", "Hemblokes", "Ludworte", "Ysope", "Rewbarbe" [this is out of alphabetical sequence, and the name is repeated (though with a different description) below; probably a mistake for "Iubarbe"], "Loueache", "Henbayn", "Lauawndre", "Lorer", "Molayne", "Mandrage", "Matfeloun", "Mader", "Marygolde", "Mynt", "Nedergrys", "Oxtonge", "Orpyn", "Pysane", "Prymrose", "Puyne", "Pytory", "Peleitre", "Pelipody", "Pople", "Pulyall Ryall", "Puliall Delamontaigne", "Rybworthe", "Roos of þe See", "Rames", "Reubarbe", "Sorell", "Senvay", "Senecle", "Saffron", "Sauyne", "Sawge", "Scabious", "Sprigonell", "Tansay", "Threlefe", "Terbentyne", "Waybred", "Wodrofe", "Wormode", "Veruayne", "Wynedrope", and "Walworte". The herbs are described as hot, cold, moist, or dry, but not, as elsewhere, by "degrees" of these. Medicinal properties are given for each. After "Veruayne" three Latin verses are included which give additional virtues of that herb.

2. ff. 123v-124. *Inc*: þe fyrst vertue. Take þe floure of þe herbe, bynde it in a clene lynnyn clothe, and put it in clene watre; *expl*: and bray þaym in a mortere, and anoynte þe cancre and it shall



fle fro the oynement. This is headed: "Thes er þe vertuse of Roesmaryne, þe wich er contened in þe lefe and chapitre next folwyng, gedred oute of bokes of philosophres and of oper wyse clerkys þat trete of þe vertuse of herbes". Medical recipes using rosemary, in seventeen numbered paragraphs. Although this lacks horticultural information, it is possibly related to the treatise on Rosemary by Friar Henry Daniel, which in three manuscripts is found without its sections on horticulture.<sup>34</sup>

3. f. 124v. *Inc*: Betayne is hote and dry, and who drynketh it oftsythes hym thar nozt drede the stane, for it shal passe in small sand; *expl*: it is gode for al yuels in þe brest; it makes cler voice and dose many odre godnes. "The vertuse of Betayne" [and "Centaurea"], the former in two paragraphs, the latter in one. The betony part is related to *Macer Floridus*; for example, the second paragraph reads: "A gret philesophre þat is calde Plenius says þat whooso wol make a sercle and do a neddre þerin, he shall nozt remew oute of it for tene, bot bete hymself with his tayll to he be dede. Anoper gret philosophir þat is caled Melacus consels all men þat will kepe þaymself saue from inprisonnyng do poudre of betayne in þer mete and þay shall neuer be inprisoned".<sup>35</sup> The centory part begins: "Take þe erbe in þe moneth of July, bete into poudre, and bole þat poudre in hony", which is not like anything in *Macer*.

4. ff. 125-126. *Inc*: The fyrst watre. Take fenell, rew, veruayne, eufrase, endyue, betayne, sormontayn, red ros, capillus veneris, of ylkane ylike mikell, and stampe þaym in white wyne; *expl*: of all waters þit euer was made þis is a souerayne water and a precious for þe sight and for hedewarke. A translation of a section of the *Liber de Oculo* of Petrus Hispanus (i.e. Pope John XXI, d. 1277), beginning at part 49, and headed: "Maistre Pers Espainell made vj precious waters, als is declared hereaftre, for diuers yuels, whilk he sent from fer contre to a Quene of Ynglonde". The same text (parts 49-55) is found in San Marino, Huntington Library MS. HM 64, f. 103. Sections in Latin from the *Liber de Oculo* apparently circulated separately under the title *De Duodecim*

<sup>34</sup> See John H. Harvey, "Mediaeval Plantmanship in England: The Culture of Rosemary", *Garden History* i (1972), 14-21, esp. p. 19. Other prose texts on rosemary are listed in Robbins, p. 401n.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Frisk, p. 109. Also, with the incipit cf. Frisk, p. 105. For a list of manuscripts with prose texts on betony see Robbins, p. 401n. Cf. also Hanna, pp. 50-51.

*Aquis*.<sup>36</sup> The reference in the heading to a Queen of England is perhaps a confused allusion to Philippa (d. 1369), queen of Edward III, whose name is commonly associated with a treatise on rosemary.<sup>37</sup>

5. ff. 126-136v. *Inc*: To make flesh for to growe. Take waybrede and stampe it and tempr it with womans melke, and it is a gode medycyne to do away werke of a wounde; *expl*: bynde it faste perto and it shall make him solible and wele to make wattere. A well-ordered series of about 82 medicinal recipes, mainly herbal. They follow 4 above without heading or other break in the manuscript.

Lat. 395 (Described in A.I. Doyle, "The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham", *Bulletin*, xxxix (1956-57), 308-312). s. xv<sup>2</sup> (after 1475).

Ff. 122v-123. *Inc*: The first clerk said þat and if any maner thyng in þis worlde had ben than [*sic*] tribulacion vnto mankynde; *Expl*: the mede of the euerlastyng blisse of hevyng, to the which God bryng vs alle. Amen. A version of *The Six Masters on Tribulation* in a distinctive and possibly unique version. Comparison with the more common version printed in Horstman, ii. 390, shows that the Rylands text is essentially the same in its overall form, but that many differences in wording occur which can be attributed partly to carelessness and partly to the deliberate alteration of words, phrases, and syntax. For example, the heading in the manuscript is: "Vj vertuous questions and thanswers ensuyn, the which vj holy and wyse clerkes, assemblid togedyr in þe courte of Rome, which was asshid and asshid and and [*sic*] answerd by eueryche to othir". The first is described as "clerk", but the others as "maister". Typical differences are: (Rylands) "Mary, Goddes moder, and all þe seyntes in hevyn" for "the modir of God and alle halewis of heuene"; "ouercomyth" for "quenchip"; "techith" for "lerneb"; and "ken" for "knowe". The Rylands text ends with a short summary paragraph which the published text does not have.

<sup>36</sup> S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in The Wellcome Historical Medical Library* (London, 1962-1972), i. 431, 436-437.

<sup>37</sup> See Robinns, p. 401; Harvey, p. 14.

### Transcriptions of Selected Texts

Eng. 85, ff. 16-18v: *The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

*þese ben þe seuene ziftis of þe Hooli Goost þat Isaie þe prophete rehersip in his book.*<sup>38</sup>

The spirit of wisdom and of vndirstonding, þe spirit of counsel and of strenkþe, þe spirit of kunnyng and of pitee, and þe spirit of dreed of þe lord. And so þe first gift of þe Hooli Goost is þe spirit of wisdom, þat mouep a man euer to chese more and charge more heuenli þingis þan worldli. þe secunde is þe spirit of vndirstonding, þat makip a man bisili rede what is in his soule, makinge it clene and fair to se God. þe þridde is þe spirit of counsel, þat mouep a man [f. 16v] euer to chese þe beter; and þat excludip auarice, þe which is an vnordynat loue to haue more þan nedip. þe ferþe is þe spirit of strenkþe, þat makip a man strong azen synne and temptaciouns, and þis excludip glotony and lecherie, þe whiche ben an vnordynat loue of fleshli lustis. þe fifþe is þe spirit of kunnyng, þat excludip sleuþe, þe which is a discunfort and a dulnesse to do wel. þe sixte is þe spirit of pitee, þat makip a man meke, not grucchinge azens God ne man, and þis excludip wrap, þe which is an vnskilful stiryng of herte, and also enuye, þat is sorwe of anoþer mannes welþe. þe seuene gift of þe Hooli Goost is a louedreed of God, þat castip out of a man pride and makip him glad to be meke and pore of spirit, forsakinge al prosperite þat is azens Goddis will.

And þerfore, for Goddis loue þat bouzte þee deer wiþ [f. 17] his hard passioun, eþer for dreed of bittir peine eþer for loue of heuenli blis, forsake and dispise þi synne and kepe truli Goddis heestis.<sup>39</sup> And be not ashamed to be scorned of foolis for to bigynne to be a good man, but be ashamed tofore þi conscience to be preisid and borun up of þe world and to dwelle stille in þi synne.<sup>40</sup> For Crist seiþ in þe gospel: Whoso shameþ me and my wordis bifore men I shal shame him bifore my fadir þat is in heuene. If þou seiþ liztli þat it is hard to kepe Goddis heestis, knowe þou wel þat þi meede is þe more in heuene, and þi tyme is

<sup>38</sup> Isaiah 11:2.

<sup>39</sup> "for Goddis loue ... Goddis heestis": cf. *The Three Goods*, ed. Martin, *Thesis*, p. 183/16-22,

<sup>40</sup> "be not ashamed ... in þe synne": cf. *ibid.*, pp. 183/27-185/3.

but short, and God and alle hise halowen wolen helpe þee if þou zyue fulli þi will þerto. And if þou seie ligȝtli, as þe fals world doiþ, Goddis heestis mai I not kepe ne leue alle grete synnes, but I put me in Goddis merci, here I warne þee þat þou triste so in Goddis merci þat þou [f. 17v] drede his riztwisnesse, for in what synne riztwisness fyndiþ þee deed yn he wole þee fast bynde, as seynt Greger seiþ and seynt Bernard also. And þe lenger þat God abidiþ, þe harder he deemeþ, if we amende us not. And seynt Austin seiþ<sup>41</sup> þat God zyueþ not merci to man til he dispose him to make an eende of his synne. And as sum men ben lost for wanhope, so many men ben bigilid bi ouerhope to Goddis merci, withoute worþi fruyt of penauce, þe which fruyt is meke and trewe knouleching of þi synne in þin herte to God<sup>42</sup> wiþ herti sorwe þerfore, and vtirli to forsake it for euere bi þi will. And take þi counsel herof at a trewe prest þat knowiþ Goddis lawe, lest þou be disseyued, and wiþ þese þingis oonli haue stidfast hope of Goddis merci of forȝifnesse of al þi synne.<sup>43</sup> For bi þese menes God himsilf forȝyueþ al synne wiþoute peny or [f. 18] halpeny. Peter and Poul and Maudeleyn and Daudid, with many oþer also, oonli bi þese menes hadden forȝifnesse of her synnes. Certis wiþout þese menes, þouȝ a man zyue al his good to pardoners and to pilgrimagis and to worldli prestis or freris, it doiþ not awei his synne. And so gold and siluer ben vnpertynent to gete pardoun<sup>44</sup> of God, for he zyueþ goostli þingis freli to veri contryt men as he zyueþ freli ligȝt of sunne and moone. And marchauntis of goostli goodis for worldli þing ben Symound Magus felowis and hise maistris bi sutilte of craft.

Here þou hast bifore þee good and yuel, soure and swete, lyf and deep, vertues and viciis, ioy and peyne, nyȝt and dai. Chese þe good part while þou hast tyme, and preie to God þat þou lyue truli after his heestis and putte awei al stynkyng synne, þe which preueli bryngiþ yn deep to mannes soule.<sup>45</sup> [f. 18v] Ihesu graunte þat it so be. Amen.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Augustinus: Arguam te nescis*, ed. Matthew, p. 281/21.

<sup>42</sup> "If þou seie ... in þin herte to God": cf. *The Three Goods*, p. 185 4-27.

<sup>43</sup> "and wiþ þese þingis ... al þi synne": cf. *ibid.*, p. 187 1-4.

<sup>44</sup> In the margin: "þat is forȝifnes", in the hand of the text.

<sup>45</sup> "Here þou hast ... mannes soule": cf. *The Three Goods*, p. 187 4-11.

Eng. 412, ff. 39v-42: *The Duties of Knighthood*.

*De officio militis.*

[S]eþþe no man mai come to blisse but if he plese God, and he may not plese God but if he performe and do trueli þe office þat he haþ taken of God, it were nedeful to euery man to knowe his office, and principalli lordes and kniztes, whom God haþ zeue power to iustifye boþe clerkes and comyns, seþen þei ben, as Seint Austen seiþ, *De Questionibus Noue et Veteris Legis*,<sup>46</sup> vikeres of Cristes godhede. And for þis cause þei haue receyued of Crist, þat is cheef lord, her lordschipes, for which þei shal rikene in her ende as baylifis accountable, as þe gospel telleþ, Luce xvj<sup>o</sup> [:2]: *Redde rationem villicacionis tue iam non poteris villicare*. þat is þe office of alle cristen lordes and kniztes trueli to serue God and kepe his maundementes in mayntenynge and defendinge his lawe vnto þe deþ, for elles þei ben not worþi to haue þe blisse of heuene, seþen þei louen more her fleschli lyf þan þei doon her God. And þerfore seiþ Crist in þe gospel, Luce xiiij [:26]: Who þat comeþ to me and hateþ not his fader and moder, suster and broþer, 3ea and his owne lyf (þat is to seie, loueþ it lasse þan Crist) is not worþi to be Cristes disciple.

And lordes and kniztes office is to do þe werkes of mercy to pore feble men, pore blinde men, and pore lame men. For þis biddeþ Crist, Luce xiiij [:13]: *Voca pauperes debiles cecos et claudos*, and not stronge and mizti beggeres, ben þei monkes, preestes, chanouns, freres, or any opere faitoures, for beggyng of suche men is azens al Goddes lawe. In þe lawe of kynde [f. 40] man was beden of God to trauele for his lyuyng, Genesis 3<sup>o</sup> [:19]: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo*. In þe lawe 3ouen to Moyses seide God þus, Deuteronomii xv [:4]: *Omnino indigens et mendicus non sit inter vos*. And in the newe lawe seiþ þe apostle, prima Thessalonicenses 4: *Operemini manibus vestris vt nullius desideretis aliquid*, and in anoþer place, Thessalonicenses vltimo: *Qui non laboret non manducet*.<sup>47</sup> Also in þe lawe ciuile is strong beggyng forfended. To þese lawes shulde lordes and kniztes take hede in helpinge of pore men of þe gospell þat ben defrauded of mennes almesse bi suche stronge beggeres, and also in sauynge of her

<sup>46</sup> Presumably *Quaestionum Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, xxxv (Paris, 1841), cols. 2213-2416.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. I Thess. 4:11-12 and II Thess. 3:10.

tenautes for such priuee spoylyng, and amende suche defautes þat þei parte not with hem in her synne. For not oneli synnen alle suche beggeres in her beggyng, for whiche þei shul be harde peyned, but also þo þat consenten and nurischen hem þerynne, for Poule seiþ, ad Romanos iº: *Non solum qui talia agunt digni sunt morte sed omnes qui illi consenciant*,<sup>48</sup> and seint Jame [4:17] seiþ: *Scienti bonum facere et non facienti peccatum est illi*.

Gostli werkes also þei shulden do to alle men, but specialli to her maynee, for Poule seiþ, prima ad Timotheum 5 [:8]: *Si quis autem suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet fidem negauit et est infideli deterior*. þe werkes of gostli merci ben þese: teche, counceile, chastise, counforte, forzeue, suffre, and preye. Eche housholdere shulde teche his maynee þe maundementes of God and goode maneres. He shulde counceile hem to fle vices and zeue hem to vertues. He shulde vndername and repreue [f. 40v] hem of synne, and chastise hem bodili, but if þei wolde amende. For Poule seiþ, ad Romanos 12: *Non sine causa gladium portat ad vindictam malefactorum laudem vero bonorum*.<sup>49</sup> And if þei ben obstinat and wole not leue her synne þei shul ben voyded of her seruice, were þei neuere so profitable in worldli wynnyng. And herfore seiþ Crist in þe gospel, Matthei v [:29]: *Si oculus tuus dexter scandalizet te erue eum et proice abs te*. Bi þis iʒe, seiþ Crisostom, mai be vnderstonde eueri vicious seruauant or frende þat is profitable in worldli þinges þat shulde be caste awey for he sclaunderþ his maister bi his euel liuyng. He shulde also counforte alle þo þat ben goode and cherische hem in her goodnesse. He shulde forzeue iniuries don to his owne persone and venge þe iniuries of God, for God seiþ, Deuteronomii 32 [:35]: *Mihi vindicta et ego retribuam dicit dominus*.<sup>50</sup> He shulde suffre mekeli aduersite, as sikenesse or opere diseses if ani come to him, seyinge with þe hooli man Job 2º [:10]: *Si bona suscepimus de manu domini mala autem quare non suscipiamus? Dominus dedit dominus abstulit; sicut placuit domino ita factum est. Sit nomen domini benedictum*. He shulde also preie deuoutli for himself and his frendes, and eke for his enemeyes. As Crist biddeþ, Matthei 5[:44]: *Orate pro calumpniantibus et persequentibus vos*, as he dide himself in deede, Luce 23 [:34]: *Pater, et cetera*. þus shulde þese lordes and kniʒtes

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Romans 1:32.

<sup>49</sup> Actually Romans 13:4 and I Peter 2:14.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also Romans 12:19 and Hebrews 10:30.

bisili do þese gostli werkes of mercy and wiþ al her miȝt, witte, and good wille bisie hem niȝt and day to destrie synne boþe in hemself and in alle oþere, [f. 41] but principalli in her owne maynee. And þis lessoun tauȝt seint Austen an erl þat was cleped Julian,<sup>51</sup> writynge to him in þis manere: I praye þee, my broþer, I praye þee þat þou shewe vnto alle þi suggetes of good wille þat ben in þin hous, fro þe leste vnto þe meste, þe loue and þe swetness of þe kyngdom of heuene and more bitterli þe drede of helle. Be þou waker and bisi of her soule heele, for þou shalt zelde rikenyng to þe lord of þi sugetes þat ben in þin hous. Telle to hem, bidde, comaunde, and meue hem þat þei kepe hem fro pride, fro bacbityng, fro drunkenesse, fro fornicacioun, fro lecherie, fro wrappe, fro swering, fro coueitise, þat is roote of alle eueles. þe coueitous man hap his soule in sale if he fynde tyme þat he desirþ of any mannes gold or seluer or feire cloþes or ani womman feir of face. He for nouȝt doþ manslauȝter, and as a man þat shedeþ watir into þe erþe so he shedeþ þe blood of his neihebur. Manie soul haue ronne into perel of deþ for coueitise, and manie for it han ben stoned to deþ bi bidding of God. And for coueitise king Saul was forsaken of God and at þe laste deposed of his kyngdom and slayn of hys enemyes. And of manie miȝte I seie manie þinges, but vnto a wise man fewe sufficien.<sup>52</sup> Hec Augustinus. Also lordes and kniȝtes ben holden bi goddes lawe to mayntene and defende her tenauntes in al riȝtwisnesse and suffre no man to do hem wrong, neþer bodili ne gostli, in as muche as þei mai lette hit. But oo gret mischef as me þinkeþ is among þe sely housbandes þat tilien þe erþe, for þei haue non help to do her traueile but if þei wolen zeue þe [f. 41v] more del of her good vnto her seruaunt; and zet vnneþe shal þei fynde ani, for eche man sleþ þis traueile and draweth him to idelnesse, eþer to be a courtiour, or clerk of religious, or a man of craft; and so to þe plowȝ wol no man come ne no man take heede to helpe þis mischef, neþer kyng ne lord ne kniȝt ne squier, al if it be þe cheef sustinaunce of al þe liuyng of lordes, clerkes, kniȝtes, and comyns, and principal comodite of rewmes. O goode Goddes, men fynden writen in manie cronicles þat sumtyme heþene kniȝtes

<sup>51</sup> I.e. *De Salutaribus Documentis*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, xl (Paris, 1845), cols. 1047-1078.

<sup>52</sup> "I praye þee ... fewe sufficien". As described above, the same passage (cf. Fristedt, ii. 20), either translated directly from *De Salutaribus Documentis* or taken from a pre-existing translation of it, is also incorporated in "Of Lords and Husbandmen" (ed. Martin, *Thesis*, p. 244).

wolden spende her goodes and putte her bodies and her lyues in perel of deþ to saue þe rizt and profite of a comyntee, but it semed þat cristen kniztes nowadaies ben cowardes in þis. But þe defaute of al þis is þat Goddes lawe in not kept; for, and it were knowe and kept, it shulde lette bastarde braunches to growe, and þenne shulde erþe tilieres haue seruantes ynowe. Here shulde lordes awake her wittes and helpe to amende þis oppressing of her tenautes, for as holi writt seiþ, Exodi 3, wrong oppresyng is oon of þe four synnes þat anon as þei ben don crien veniaunce to God.<sup>53</sup>

And no doute þe iustifying of þis longeþ more to þe office of lordes þat bodili fizten, al be<sup>54</sup> it lefful in sum caas. Soþ it is þat batayles with duwe circumstaunces ben lefful. Wherefore if men be neded to go to batayle take þei heede to þese þree: þe cause, foorme or manere, and to þe ende; þe cause, þat it be riztful and for defence of þe feiþ, and not for doinge of temporal goodes; vnto þe manere, þat it be do wip [f. 42] good auisement, first fiztyng with resoun and wisdom and alle goode meenes, drawinge to vnitee and acord if it mai be; þenne take þei heede to þe ende, which is charitee to mesure discretli þe maner of doyng and sufferinge, þat is to seiþ þat þe fizter loue him bi charitee þat he fizteþ with and euere be redi to leue þis weye if his enemy wole acorde and take resoun of þis. þenne it foleweth þat no man sholde fizte but bi charitee, and þis lessoun tauzte John Baptist þe kniztes axinge what þei shulden do to serue þe blisse of heuene, Luce 3[:14], when he saide: Smit 3e no man, ne makeþ no fals chalenge, and be 3e apaid of 3oure soutes. In þis he forfendede oppresyng and assailing out of charitee; also he forfendede hem to moue men to fiztyng; and þridde þat þei grucche not for wantyng of temporal goodes wherewith þei mizte be so lely and realli arayed, but mekeli reste and quiete hem in charitee, holdinge hem apaid of þat þat God sendeþ hem.

Of þese fewe wordes may trewe cristene lordes and kniztes knowe in partie what is her office and how it stondeþ principalli in þe foreseid seruice of God and not in bodili fiztyng, iusting, or opere pompes and worldeli liuyng. And God, in whom is al power, mizt, al wisdom and witte, and al grace and goodnesse, for his grete mercy 3eue power, wisdom, and good wille to alle lordes,

<sup>53</sup> Especially Exodus 3:7-9.

<sup>54</sup> "be" marked, possibly for reversal with "it".



clerkes, and comynes to knowe her office and do hit in deede, þat þei may come to þe blisse euerlastinge. Amen.

Eng. 421, ff. 42-43: *The Birth, Life, and Death of John the Baptist.*

[No rubric]

[*Iohannes est nomen eius.*<sup>55</sup> Manie men han þis name Iohn, but þei wanten þat it bitokeneþ. Iohn is to seie þe grace of God, þe whiche was fulli shewed in him, for he was [f. 42v] wonderful in his birþe, vertuouus in his liuyng, and glorious in his dying.

Firste in his birþe he was wonderful for Elizabeth his moder was bareyne, *vt patet de conceptione et partu*, Luce primo. It was wonderful also for þre þinges: oon was for his name was told bifore of þe aungel fro heuene; anoþer whan Iohn in his moder wombe in a manere welcomynge his lord ioyed; and þe þridde for þe fader wolde not trowe to þe aungel was doumbe til to þe writyng of his name he hadde his speche azen. And þus he hadde þe grace of God and was wonderful in his birþe, and þus Iohn is his name.

Also he was vertuouus in his liuyng, for in tender age he, dredynge þe world, fledde into desert *ne leui saltem maculare vitam fame possit*. Of þre þinges to oure lord was Iohn vertuouus: in liuyng; anoþer in sharp cloþing; þe þridde in trewe preching. For þe firste shulde glotouns be aschamed þat vsen so glotonie al þe nizt *et cetera*; for þe secounde shulde proude men be adrad. Iohn was also trewe in preching: *Erat Iohannes in deserto predicans baptismum penitentie, et iterum; penitentiam agite, appropinquavit regnum celorum.*<sup>56</sup> Sharply he blamede synne, boþe in grete and in smale, *vt patet Luce 3 [:3-14]*. He prechede not lesynges ne poysies ne fables, as þese peni prechoures don and pardoners *et cetera*.

Seint Iohn was also, as I seide, glorious in his dying, *nota causam passionis eius, vt patet Marci vj.*<sup>57</sup> Wolde God prechours wolden þus sharpli blame synne! But manie nurischen synne and mayntenen horedom, incest, and auoutrie, and God graunte þei be not cause of sodomye. Iones heued was smiten of and [f. 43] baptized in his owne blood. *Subdit collum velut agnus mansuetus gladio.*<sup>58</sup> And so he diede out of þis world, prechour, maide, and

<sup>55</sup> Luke 1:63.

<sup>56</sup> Mark 1:4 and Matt. 3:2.

<sup>57</sup> Mark 6:17-28. The MS. reading appears to be *Matthei vj.*

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Jeremiah 11:19.

martir, and þerfore hap he þrefold croune in þe blisse of heuene, *certa ter denis alios coronant et cetera*. And for þis grete grace þat he hadde Iohn was his name.

Whoso wole suen seint Iohn him oweþ to se þre þinges: oon is þat he be not rud weued with þe wynde þorou3 pride, ne voide withynne þorou3 auarice, ne rooted in þe fen bi lecherie. Alle þese weren fer fro Iohn, as witesseþ þe gospel, *vt patet Iohannis i<sup>o</sup> et Matthei ii<sup>o</sup>*. And an aungel of God he was clepid, *vt patet Matthei ii<sup>o</sup>*,<sup>59</sup> a lanterne brennyng þorou3 charitee and shynyng þorou3 vertues as a brizt sterre, Iohannis v<sup>o</sup>[35]. And þerfore Crist comendeþ him and seiþ on þis wise: *Inter natos et cetera*. Iohn was more þan a prophete shewing Crist with his fynger, and an aungel of God makinge redi his wey.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> This and the preceding reference should be to Matt. 3.

<sup>60</sup> I have been generously assisted by many people in the preparation of this article, both directly and through their help with the *Handlist*. In the present context I wish specifically to thank Mr. Brian Donaghey, Dr. A. I. Doyle, Professor Linda Voigts, and especially Dr. Anne Hudson, whose help included the checking of some of my transcriptions and the interpretation of some difficult readings in Eng. 412.