

Journal of the Early Book Society
for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History



Edited by Martha W. Driver
Volume 20, 2017

- Reichardt, Paul F. "Several Illuminations, Coarsely Executed': The Illustrations of the *Pearl Manuscript*," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997), 119–142.
- Roberts, Jane. "The Hand and Script" (by permission).
- Sandler, Lucy Freeman. *Omne Bonum: A Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge, British Library MSS Royal 6 E VI–6 E VII*. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller, 1996.
- Saxon, Elizabeth. "Art and the Eucharist: Early Christian Art to ca. 800." In *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, 93–159. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Scott, Kathleen L. *Later Gothic Manuscripts: 1390–1490*. 2 vols. London, Harvey Miller, 1996.
- Smith, Kathryn A. "The Drawings of Rylands French 142: Techniques, Creator Date, Iconography and Relationship to the Text." In Denis Piramus, *La Vie saint Edmund le rei*. Edited by D. W. Russell, 41–64. Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013–2014.
- . "Margin." *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 29–44.
- Snow, C. L. *Job 1–21: Interpretation and Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2013.

An Introduction to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247

MARLEEN CRÉ AND RAPHAELA ROHRHOFER¹

On Wednesday, May 21, 2014, a newly discovered manuscript of *The Chastising of God's Children* that was part of the Marquess of Londonderry's art collection (in its turn auctioned on May 22 and 23, 2014)² was sold at Christie's in London. Lot 11, "The Chastising of Godde's [sic] Children, and other mystical treatises, in Middle English,"³ was acquired by the Bodleian Library. In this essay, the manuscript, which is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247, is described in detail, the "other mystical treatises" are investigated, and the text of *The Chastising* in this newly discovered attestation is compared to the versions in the eleven known manuscripts and in Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition.

Description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247 (henceforth D), written on vellum and in a nineteenth-century brown calf-leather binding, measures 170 millimeters by 125 millimeters, with a writing area of 130 millimeters by 80 to 85 millimeters and twenty-three lines to the page in one column.⁴ The pages have been cropped, as can be seen in the loss of some letters in marginal annotations and the loss of some complete annotations of which traces remain in the upper margins of folios 71r, 86r, and 98r. Strips of vellum have been cut away from folios 21, 93, 94, and 95. There is a hole in the vellum in the lower-right corner of folio 1, and on folio 32 the text is written around a hole in the page. Holes in the vellum were sewn up on folios 9, 13, 14, 71, and 90, probably before the text was written on them.

In each of these cases the thread has gone, but the tears and needle marks around them remain. Folio 61 has a cut running down the outer edge of the text from line 13 to line 22. This cut seems to have been made at a later stage, possibly during the rebinding process.

D is written in what looks like one hand, in Textura rotunda. The scribe varies spellings throughout the manuscript, but consistently remains within a limited range of varied spellings. The pages have been ruled, and prickings are visible (e.g. on fol. 22), though often they have been cropped. D can be roughly dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. It does not have any internal dates in the text nor medieval ownership marks that would help the exact dating process.⁵ D is written in a southeast Midlands dialect, but some of the rarer forms in the text also occur in the North. The most likely placings of the text are west Norfolk or east Suffolk.

D divides into two units. Unit 1, folios 1 to 14v, presents part of a compilation made up of the final section of the Middle English *IX Poyntes* (a text that incorporates translated passages of James of Milan's *Stimulus amoris*), a passion meditation sequence that also derives from *Stimulus amoris*, and an excerpt of Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*, lines 267–486 in S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson's edition. These borrowings are followed by a hortatory conclusion. The compilation lacks its opening, and it is difficult to tell how much of *IX Poyntes* it originally included. Unit 1 at present collates as 1⁸ [lacks 1, 2] 2⁸ and has regular catchwords. Signatures were most likely lost through cropping. The text is divided by infrequent red paraphs and red-slashed capitals and looks plainer than unit 2.

Unit 2 contains *The Chastising of God's Children*,⁶ which through loss of a quire after folio 70 lacks the passage from Chapter 18 at 169/21 to Chapter 20 at 180/19 and breaks off incompletely in Chapter 27 (the final recapitulatory chapter) at 223/6.⁷ This unit collates as signatures 3–9⁸ [missing quire] 10–13⁸. As in many professionally produced copies of *The Chastising*, the text is written in black ink, divided by red paraphs, with chapter headings and two-line initials in red, and biblical and patristic citations underlined in red, yet D lacks the use of blue ink for some paraph marks and lombards embellished with red penwork common in many of the other manuscripts in which the text survives. Again, regular catchwords remain, and signatures are absent, probably through cropping at the rebinding stage. In its southeast Midlands dialect, D resembles the majority of *Chastising* manuscripts.⁸

It is hard to tell whether the units were presented in this order before D's nineteenth-century rebinding, and whether the loss of the quire between the ninth and tenth quires of D happened at the rebinding stage or before it. The darkening of the vellum on folios 101v to 102v suggests that the closing quire (and most likely part of the binding of the manuscript) had been lost for some time before it was rebound.

D has some drawings, which, apart from the trefoils on folios 3r, 8v, 13v, 54v, 62r, 85r, 87v, and 88r, do not seem to have been used to mark meaningful passages and seem to be random scribbles rather than intentional drawings of recognizable objects.⁹ All but two of the trefoils are medieval; on folio 54v two trefoils are added in a later hand, that is, the hand of postmedieval annotator 1 (see below).

At various stages in D, annotations are written in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand in black ink and with a pen that results in a thickly set script. This first hand (postmedieval annotator 1) leaves a first quatrain on folio 14v. The third line of this annotation is hard to read, but this represents what can be deciphered:

The time of youthe sore
yere spent membring home
y ?? it so spente gere
my lorde god omnyotent.

On folio 25v, in the lower margin, the same hand writes: "The vi condycion / Of this obligacyon." This annotation is boxed, in hastily drawn lines. On folio 43v, in the lower margin, the annotator writes: "The condiecyon." On folio 47v, the phrase written on folio 25v and—in part—on folio 43v is repeated, "The condiecyone of thes obliegacion of," with a flourish underneath the phrase. In these cases the annotator closed the volume before the ink of the inscription had dried properly, as traces of ink can be found on the facing pages (see fols. 48r and 55v). On the basis of script and the traces of ink on the opposite page, Cré believes that this annotator is also responsible for the marginal annotation on folio 26v:

is in gost
li leuyng
he schal
with alle
mekenes
and glad
nes of spirit

Though at first this annotation seems contemporary with the scribe, none of the medieval annotations in this manuscript are this long. Moreover, this annotation is not cropped but seems to have been written after the manuscript was cropped. Also, the form of t at the end of the word "spirit" closely resembles the t-form of postmedieval annotator 1, who may here have been imitating medieval script (and doing a good job).

The annotation “Cudes god” in the lower margin of folio 34r also seems to have been made by this annotator, as do the annotations on folio 54v, underneath the trefoils that we will argue later are added in this hand. The same hand also seems responsible for three words—also on folio 54v—that are hard to read (“per me nes?”), followed by Psalm 50 (51):17:

Domine la
bia mea a
peries
et os
me meum

This is written next to “þat ferst amendith a man and purgith hym here be scharp chastisynge . . . from euerlastyng turment” (cf. Bazire-Colledge 148/12–14). Again, it is striking that this annotation has not been cropped, so it must have been made after the manuscript was cropped, and some centuries before it was rebound in the nineteenth century.

On folio 46v, again in the lower margin, we find the phrase “The time of ?an” followed by flourishes or initials (“IN”?). Though this annotator (post-medieval annotator 2) forms the letter t in the same way as postmedieval annotator 1, this might be another annotator altogether. The phrase seems written with a different pen (one with a fine nib), and in different ink. Whoever wrote this phrase may also have written the pen trials in the lower margin of folio 7r. Yet this hand seems different still from a third sixteenth- or seventeenth-century annotator who identifies himself as “Anthonye Trolloppe.”

The following annotations all seem to be written by this third hand (post-medieval annotator 3), who writes a neat and careful script and uses ink that has faded to brown (or brown ink) and a pen with a fine nib. This hand seems responsible for the name “Sampson” written in capital letters in the lower margin of folio 31r. The name written underneath (possibly “Trallop”) has been lost in cropping. On folio 50v, written across in the left-hand margin, the same hand has entered a four-line prayer of which the first line has been cropped, followed by an ownership inscription placed to the right of the prayer written in tercet form, which seems complete:

to speicke to the o lord vouchsayf
to heare my dolefull voice with
with vniforme accorde

Anthonye Tralopp
ys my naime and with my hand
I wrote this saime

On folio 53v, in the lower margin, “Anthonye Trolloppe” signs his name again. The quatrain written at the page foot of folio 55v seems in the same hand:

When hope and healthe and lyfe
and welthe ar heyeste
Then woe and wracke disease
and lacke ar neyeste

The first line of this poem on the fickleness of Fortune is repeated at the foot of folio 56r: “When hope and health and lyf.”

Ralph Hanna and Vincent Gillespie have suggested that D came to the Marquesses of Londonderry through Anne Vane-Tempest (1800–1865). A descendant of the recusant Tempest family,¹⁰ she was the second wife of Charles William Stewart (1778–1854), the third Marquess of Londonderry, whom she married on April 3, 1819. It is unclear what the relationship of the Trolloppe gentleman was to the Tempest family and if or when D came to be owned by the Tempest family. It is a plausible scenario, however, that a manuscript like D came to be owned by a recusant family after the Act of Supremacy and Dissolution of the Monasteries in Henry VIII’s reign or slightly later under Elizabeth I. Though any links between the Tempest family and a man called Anthony Trolloppe or Tralopp would need to be investigated further, the annotations betray religious interests on the part of the annotators.

D’s Envisioned Audience

In its present form, D provides no explicit links to a specific medieval religious house or contemporary individual, nor are there any comments by the scribe or compiler explaining the choice of material. The absence of any concrete evidence concerning the manuscript’s place of origin (beyond the results of the dialectal analysis), and the anonymity of the guiding hand(s), commissioner(s), scribe, and target audience requires the consideration of relevant clues in the texts themselves.

The Chastising is the only text in D that is not acephalous, and it retains its address to a “[r]eligieuse sustir” (fol. 18r, ll. 1–2; cf. Bazire-Colledge 95/1), which would support the hypothesis that the manuscript was originally written as a work of spiritual guidance for a single religious or for a convent. *The Chastising* circulated widely in religious houses in the fifteenth century. While the “schort pistil” (fol. 18r, l. 2; cf. 95/1) enjoyed great popularity among a female readership, it also achieved great success in male monasteries and with lay readers, facilitated by the reference to either men or men and women throughout the treatise. All but one of the copies discussed in the Bazire-Colledge

edition retain the address to a "sister."¹¹ Even manuscripts owned by houses of male religious kept these references, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C57, which was given to the Sheen Carthusians,¹² and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 505, which belonged to the London Charterhouse of the Salutation of St. Mary the Virgin¹³—although it has to be taken into consideration that these manuscripts' known provenance does not necessarily have to coincide with their initial audience. Not every readership approved of the female form of address, as customization in the copy of *The Chastising* in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125 exemplifies. In this manuscript, "f(r)end"¹⁴ replaced the original address, which was scraped off.¹⁵

We may conclude from these manuscript witnesses that in many cases the address to a religious sister at the beginning of *The Chastising* came to accommodate any of its readers' gender identities and thus functioned as a catchall term that was not perceived as inappropriate enough to warrant contemporary or later modification. At the same time, the female appellation was not treated as sacrosanct and could be adjusted to oblige the preferences of a different audience, as MS Pepys 2125 demonstrates. Finally, as Joyce Bazire and Edmund Colledge point out, the religious sister to whom *The Chastising* appeals may have been nothing but a literary invention allowing its author to frame the text on other devotional treatises that depicted the spiritual advisor's enlightening of his charge.¹⁶ D's early readership does not seem to have perceived the gendered dedication as a hindrance to their engagement with the text.

Four further pieces of internal evidence contribute to the illumination of the manuscript's target audience. A segment from *The Form of Living* quoted in Ogilvie-Thomson's edition reads "Men þat comen to þe, praise þe, for þei see þi gret abstinence, and for þay se þe enclosed" (14, ll. 460–461), and Herford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 9 (henceforth Hf),¹⁷ whose close textual connections to D are explored below,¹⁸ renders this phrase: "þei preisen þe for þei seen þe enclosed" (fol. 146r, l. 34).¹⁹ However, D records: "men and women paraunter preiseþ þe for þou hast y bounde þe to religion" (fol. 13r, l. 323). This denotes an alteration of Margaret Kirkby's state of living—she was the epistle's original recipient, and her enclosure in the anchorhold of Richmond occasioned Rolle to compose *The Form*.²⁰ D's modification extends the intended audience to individuals in religious orders eager to adhere to monastic laws and devote their lives to their faith, but not necessarily living in enclosure. This phrasing could also suggest that the manuscript may have been intended to address a vowess or a community of vowesses.

As discussed below, the major part of D's hortatory conclusion that is appended to its first part is unique to the manuscript. In it, the narrative voice as the spiritual guide refers to the reader as "my leue frende" (fol. 14r,

ll. 346–347) and "dere frende" (fol. 14v, l. 358). Even though the latter appears in the passage that agrees with the final part of *The Form* in Hf (D, fol. 14v, ll. 358–361; Hf, fol. 150v, ll. 34–38; discussed below), "dere frende" is only recorded in D. These forms of address, embedded in passages that were either explicitly written for the original audience or copied from preexisting material directly to appeal to the reader's consciousness, may not shed light on the initial audience's gender, but they do testify to the discourse of spiritual friendship that D's scribe or compiler was trying to establish. When he counsels that his audience not forget the lessons imparted to them, he is reacting to the preceding collection of contemplative material's concern with introducing a beginner on the spiritual path to the contemplative life. The hortatory conclusion gives evidence that the arrangement of texts was presented in this form with the aim of edifying a spiritual beginner who was not yet perceived as stable in his or her faith: "for diuerse occupacions and lettyngs þat þou hast in þe worlde, þou fyndest no gret sauoure þer in atte þe begynnyng" (fol. 14r, ll. 348–349; note that the reference to "þe worlde" may denote the secular world or the present life in contrast to the next, and does as such not necessarily narrow down the target audience beyond the already stated).

Neither do the "spouse" references in the hortatory conclusion limit the original audience, because they could both allude to female religious or to the neutral soul spiritually married to God or Christ. In the absence of further evidence that would reveal their intended referential meaning, they remain gender-neutral expressions of love, such as when the audience is cautioned to give up "unclene loue" (fol. 14v, l. 356) to be granted intimate spousal bliss: "And þanne schalt þou ben his spouse, dwellyng with hym in þe blisse of heuen endlich" (fol. 14r, ll. 356–357). Another reference to spiritual wedlock establishes that the addressee has already chosen God or Christ as a "spouse þat þou hast take þe to" (fol. 14v, l. 361), but future spiritual growth relies solely on the "grace of god," "þat is verrai loue and comfort of his loueris," and may thus "kepe þe fro euyl, and bryng þe to þi spouse . . . þe wich is euerlastyng god" (fol. 14v, ll. 359–361).

A further noteworthy piece of internal evidence pertaining to the envisioned readership is a variation in the *Stimulus* passage. While the corresponding segment in the Peltier edition²¹ appeals to the readers to direct their prayers to God the Father, Christ, the Virgin Mary, "et beati Francisci, et omnium sanctorum merita" (Pt. I, ch. 2), D replaces any reference to Saint Francis with "þe meritis of alle holy seintes" (fol. 6v, l. 148). The significance of this omission is, however, contestable, because, as mentioned above, there are numerous omissions and several additions throughout the text that are witnesses to the *Stimulus*'s fluid nature of circulation. Hf does not contain a reference to Saint Francis either, even though it is of Franciscan origin. The

omission of Saint Francis as an intercessor in D, therefore, does not exclude Franciscan houses from the intended audience altogether.

While the only available evidence for D's target audience is written into the text, the frame of reference is not defined enough to allow conclusions that would locate D in a specific religious house or in the hands of a particular individual, and it would be unwise to suggest anything more definite at this point. The results of the dialectal analysis may invite further research, but they are not diagnostically conclusive at the moment. What can be posited when weighing the probabilities is that D was intended for circulation in religious houses or for personal use of a religious not leading an enclosed life.

D's First Unit and Its Relationship to the Second Unit

The following is a list of the texts in D:²²

Unit 1

[Text 1] fols. 1r–1v: final section of *IX Poyntes* [IPMEP 11;²³ Jolliffe 1.26];²⁴ D most probably contained a full copy of *IX Poyntes*, but the manuscript as it stands lacks the first two folios; the full text is printed in Horstmann 375–377.²⁵ *IX Poyntes*²⁶ translates and expands passages from the *Stimulus amoris maior*, Part II, chapter 1²⁷ (but will henceforth still be referred to as *IX Poyntes* and *IX Poyntis* in D and Hf respectively).

[Text 2] fols. 1v–6v: excerpts from the *Stimulus amoris maior* Part II, chapter 8 and Part I, chapter 1.²⁸

[Text 3] fols. 6v–14r: Richard Rolle, *The Form of Living*, an excerpt corresponding to 9–15, ll. 267–486 in Ogilvie-Thomson's edition.²⁹

Unit 2

[Text 4]: D's second part contains *The Chastising of God's Children* (fols. 18r–102v), preceded on fols. 15r–17v by a table of chapters.

A single scribe³⁰ wrote D's two units in a hand of great regularity, but the absence of a linking catchword raises the question of whether they were intended to circulate together or whether they were joined at a later date. An accidental combination seems unlikely for the following reasons: they share the same master plan—the same script, scale of the writing area, size of ruling, and a regular collation. The units' mise-en-page displays a substantial degree of similarity, and, therefore, formal relations compensate for the missing catchword. The sequence of the units' production, however, cannot readily be established: they were most likely written over a relatively narrow period of time with the intention to complement one another. However, the lack of consecutive quiring could also indicate separate campaigns of copying.

On a textual level, the two units are related as well. Literary analysis³¹

demonstrates that the segments forming D's first part were combined to reinforce each other. The first unit's omission of the emotive and imaginary apexes of contemplative longing (expounded in the excluded parts of the *Stimulus* and *The Form's* "Amore langueo" section) established a shared argumentative foundation between the first part and the more self-disciplined and austere *Chastising*, creating fluid connections between texts whose argumentation would otherwise at times run the risk of reversing each another. Thus there is compelling reason to suggest that the two parts of the manuscript were always intended to circulate together in their time.

Quite apart from shared formal features, it is D's thematic consistency that distinguishes the codex from a haphazard and more randomly organized miscellany³² and identifies it as a carefully selected and purposefully coordinated collection of contemplative material.³³

In terms of taxonomy, the first part of the codex therefore classifies as a compilation: a quarrying of texts from unacknowledged authors, with only minimal distinctions between them, which form a new text and condition a different reading experience.³⁴ The categorization of the whole manuscript, however, is far from a simple issue, especially because the missing folios at the beginning may have comprised an index, a table of contents, or an attribution to authors: indeed, these missing pages may have given some information on the guiding principle behind D.

A Comparison of D's First Unit with the Text in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 9

D's first part is intimately connected to the second manuscript bound into Hf. The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME) locates the latter's dialect to Worcestershire,³⁵ and it is written in Anglicana formata, in contrast to D's southeast Midlands dialect and Textura rotunda script.

Hf was owned by the Franciscan brethren of Oxford and has variously been dated to the second half of the fourteenth³⁶ or to the fifteenth century.³⁷ It is the only other known manuscript that contains the same texts as D's first unit, albeit in a different *ordinatio*, and with complete copies of *The Form* and *IX Poyntis* where D has extracts.

The following list summarizes the contents of Hf:

[Text 1] fols. 141r–150v: *The Form of Living*, complete copy.

[Text 2] fols. 150v–151v: *IX Poyntis*, complete copy.

[Text 3] fols. 151v–153r: excerpts from the *Stimulus amoris maior* Part II, chapter 8 and Part I, chapter 1.

Previous scholarship maintained that Hf's as yet unassigned excerpts on folios 151v to 153r were a single treatise unique to the manuscript.³⁸ These

passages, however, were actually quarried from the *Stimulus amoris*, a highly influential guide to the contemplative life.³⁹

An important witness to D's textual transmission history, Hf may be the older manuscript according to paleographical analysis, but cannot have been D's direct source. Although much of the evidence (including the temporal sequence, Hf's inclusion of complete texts where D has extracts or acephalous texts, and the fact that the same combination of texts is found in both manuscripts and nowhere else) seem to suggest that Hf is D's direct ancestor, the pattern of variants⁴⁰ reveals a more complicated history of transmission.

The most significant evidence that irrevocably refutes the possibility of D directly deriving from Hf is found in D's *IX Poyntes*, which in addition to Hf is also recorded in complete copies in British Library, MS Harley 1706 (henceforth Har)⁴¹ and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.39 (henceforth Tr).⁴² D's *IX Poyntes* contains a passage that Hf omits but Har and Tr retain (fol. 153r, col. 1, l. 14–col. 2, l. 6, and fol. 171v, ll. 12–15, respectively):

For godis loue take hede. 3if þou art aschamid for to do a dedly synne be fore thyn euencristen, þe wiche is frele and sinful as þou art *and* may noȝt greue but þi bodi, moche more scholdest þou be agast to synne bi fore thi god þat neuere trespased and schal be þi domesman at þe dai of dome. (fol. 1r, ll. 4–7)⁴³

The analysis of the variants reveals neither Har nor Tr to be direct derivatives of D or Hf, and indicates that the opposite is unlikely too.⁴⁴ Har and Tr are closer to each other than to the latter two manuscripts. For example, they omit "and how he hath taken thi kynde and suffred for thi loue despites deth," which D (fol. 1r, ll. 11–12) and Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 21–22—minor variations) record (see Appendix B). Where D reads "he lieth on the auter atte masse" (fol. 1v, l. 19, also present in Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 29–30), Har's rendering is "þou seeste þe holy sacramente of Crystys body at þe masse or on þe auter" (fol. 154r, col. 1, l. 17–col. 2, l. 1), and Tr's version is "þou seest þe holy sacrament of cristis bodi at masse or on þe autir" (fol. 171v, ll. 26–27). On the basis of these data, the following hypotheses can be proposed:

1. There is no direct lineage from Hf to D.
2. The manuscripts were copied from a close ancestor or ancestors, no longer extant.
3. D and Hf must be cognate copies. They are horizontally related at some degree.
4. There must also have been separate and more complicated strands of transmission for *IX Poyntes*, which strongly indicates the existence of more than the four surviving copies.

While D and Hf are undoubtedly related at some remove, D's erroneous readings in the form of omissions of letters (and confusion of letters with ascenders), words, and phrases result in several deficiencies in the first part (see Appendix A), in contrast with Hf's more accurate text, most of whose very few errors have been corrected. Examples of these patterns are when D reads "whom" (fol. 6r, l. 132) instead of "wisdom" (Hf, fol. 153r, l. 18), or when D records "and þe mende for hym euermore he dwellyng fresch in my herte" (fol. 6v, l. 156) instead of Hf's "and þe munde of ham euer be dwelling freschliche in myn herte" (fol. 153r, ll. 43–44). Moreover, D breaks off the following sentence "And forþermore hit schal quike þi saule þe more able to perfeccion and trauail and make þe holde litel be þi self, and in thynkyng worchyng schal make þe parfit in þe loue of" (fol. 9r, ll. 84–87; Hf lets it end with "god" (fol. 152v, l. 13). Erroneous readings in Hf are few, and the scribe supplied missing letters, short words (such as *þat*, *3if*, *in*, or *þe*), and phrases from above the line or in the manuscript's margin (e.g., "3if," fol. 144r, l. 11, "sorewe," fol. 145v, l. 7, or "mete *and* drinke," fol. 146r, l. 15).

Moreover, Hf's *Stimulus* extract is closer to the Latin because it contains material that D omits, as discussed below. Further points at which the two manuscripts diverge are the transposition of phrases and doublets, the addition of material in both manuscripts (and additions in D not attested elsewhere), the substitution of some items in *The Form's* lists, and D's occasional use of the singular in instances where Hf uses plural variants. The sum of these features leaves no doubt as to the derivative character of the texts assembled in D, and the fact that most of these idiolectal scribal features in D's first unit are similar to those found in the second unit strongly suggests that they were introduced by the scribe at the time of copying. The somewhat less convincing counterhypothesis one could entertain would be that in addition to *IX Poyntes*, the *Stimulus* extracts, and *The Form*, D's lost exemplar could also have contained *The Chastising*, whereby D's scribe copied his exemplar somewhat faithfully.

In addition to issues of scribal competence, D invites questions of intention and accident. Uncorrected errors constitute only one aspect of its first unit, and its pertinently inserted additions, which are not found in Hf, could have been introduced as editorial playing on its ancestor at the time of copying—penned by the scribe or compiler or borrowed from other sources—or may have already existed in the parent manuscript.

In terms of *ordinatio*, the placement of red paraphs, red-slashed capitals, and two-line unfleurished lombards of the same color that divide D's first unit into parts does not correspond in most instances to Hf's division of the text through its program of decoration. In the segment in Hf corresponding to D's text, the decoration consists of blue initials with red flourishings and paraphs alternating in red and blue. D's two-line red lombards are the only

features of design that indicate the beginnings of the segments that were quarried from different sources (and various parts of the *Stimulus*). Conversely, Hf refers to the (supposed) authors at the beginning of the texts ascribed to them: *The Form* is glossed as “informacio sancti ricardi de hampull scripta margarete incluse de hampull” (fol. 141r),⁴⁵ and an inscription next to a manicule that signals the beginning of *IX Poyntis* announces: “hic incipit doctrina ffratris henrici Chambernoun magistri in uiam perfeccionis” (fol. 150v). Henry Chambernoun was a Franciscan, “associated with Oxford in 1382”;⁴⁶ six of his sermons are extant in other manuscripts.⁴⁷ Reflecting upon the addition of references to Chambernoun (as evidence for his alleged authorship) in the context of other manuscripts, Wenzel suggests that he was “a well-known preacher whose name became easily attached to sermons of different origin.”⁴⁸ The fact that the *Stimulus* was a Franciscan text may have caused the attribution to Chambernoun. Little more than this speculative hypothesis can be proposed as to why Hf ascribed *IX Poyntis* to him.

Applying Ralph Hanna’s suggestion that the inscription mentioning Chambernoun in Hf’s second part is possibly in the same hand as a table of St. Francis’s miracles on folio 140v, the last folio of the first part,⁴⁹ all indications are that the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditatio vitae Christi* on folios 1r to 93r and Bonaventura’s *Vita et miracula Francisci (legenda maior)* on folios 93v to 140v⁵⁰ were read alongside Hf’s complete copy of *The Form* (including the “Amore langueo” passage), *IX Poyntis*, and the *Stimulus* excerpts from the time of annotation.

There remains the possibility that the wanting pages at D’s beginning contained a reference to authors and sources too, or offered a rationale for the selection and arrangement of the material. As the only formal divisions in D’s first unit, the two-line red lombards mark the beginning of the sections that originated from various source texts, and the constituent parts were thus combined to form a single text whose composite origins were obscured. The need to introduce and distinguish the segments could have diminished if the manuscript were intended for circulation within a restricted milieu that would have been able to offer oral instruction as to the codex’s perusal (see “D’s Envisioned Audience” above).⁵¹

Marginal finding aids and annotations in English and Latin appear as structuring and mnemonic devices in Hf, as do the numbers added next to *The Form*’s comprehensive lists to promote memorization of their various items (see Appendix B). Folio 145r, for example, contains the following marginal annotations that correspond to *The Form*’s structure: “synnes of moup” (l. 8) “synnes of dede” (l. 22), and “synnes of omission” (l. 37). These finding aids display an eagerness to render the text more accessible, facilitate quick reference, and help readers to learn its contents by rote. Annotations of this kind can also be read as the report of the text’s close analysis and

projected readerly engagement, whereby the internalization of the sins and their parent categories qualifies the readers to discern their transgressions.

In its present state, there is no evidence that D’s first unit was furnished with annotations comparable to those in Hf, but it is possible that they were cut off when the pages were trimmed from their original size. The first part of D as it now stands contains a nota on folio 3r and two short marginal annotations that insert missing text on folio 10r, one of which is partially cut off (see Appendix A, note 10, and “Signposting, Corrections and Annotations in D”), and a later annotation on folio 14v (see “Description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247”).

In what follows below, the individual segments that make up D’s first unit are discussed in further depth, exploring the significance of its variations when compared to other witnesses.

The IX Poyntes Segment

The Middle English text known as *IX Poyntes* is actually a reworking of selected passages from Part II, chapter 1 of the *Stimulus amoris* (All references to the *Stimulus* in the *IX Poyntes* segment refer to Part II, chapter 1). *IX Poyntes* expands on the Latin extracts, and instead of the Latin third-person present subjunctive employs a second-person present indicative. Coupled with the addition of second-person personal and possessive pronouns (so highly recurrent that they will not be enumerated in the list below), this alteration integrates the reader more fully into the text and heightens the text’s subjective immediacy.

As it now stands, D opens halfway through the eighth of the nine points with an elaboration on the *Stimulus* that is also attested, with minor modifications, in Hf, Har, and Tr (fol. 151v, ll. 13–16; fol. 153v, col. 1, ll. 4–14, and fol. 171v, ll. 9–12 respectively):

For godisseruant scholde neuer more thenke, ne speke, ne do bote as he wolde in þe presence of his lorde. For certenli al þat þou spekest and dost god seye as uralich as þou wer in his presence þer oure ladi sit in heue[n]. (fol. 1r, ll. 1–4).

Cf. The *Stimulus*: Deum tamen semper actu in corde habeat, et nihil aliud quam honorem suum in omnibus actualiter, seu habitualiter intendat: ac ad hoc præcipue nitatur, ut sic semper præsentem Deum intelligat, ac si ipsum qui ubique est præsens in sua videret substantia et essentia.

D elaborates on the *Stimulus*'s "actu," "actualiter," and "habitualiter" with "thenke," "speke," and "do," and also introduces the image of the Virgin.

This is followed by the passage "For godis loue," which in addition to D and the *Stimulus* is attested only in Har and Tr (quoted in full on p. 146). Intriguingly, D reinterprets the *Stimulus*'s "eum [Deum] timeat, et revereatur, et immenso amore in ipsum feratur," which is an exhortation to relate to God with a combination of reverent dread and boundless love, as "For godis loue take hede," and in the ensuing lines recasts love and holy dread as profound terror and shame to be experienced if sinning against the fellow faithful, but, most significantly, against God—to whom the reader will be held accountable on Judgement Day (fol. 1r, ll. 4–7).

IX Poyntes's ninth point translates the *Stimulus*'s tenth, with the following pertinent variations and additions:

fol. 1r, ll. 7–8: D's "in cas þat þou myzt come to þe perfeccion of þis poyntes" rewrites the *Stimulus*'s "ut si praedicta assequi potest"; Hf speaks of perfection as well (fol. 151v, ll. 16–17).

fol. 1r, ll. 8–10: D expands on the *Stimulus*'s "esse magna Dei beneficia recognoscat" with another reference to perfection that is achieved through the *donum gratia gratis data*: "þou knowlech þat hit is a grete grace of godis goudnesse þat he wil woch saue to zeue þe so muche grace of perfeccion"; also recorded, with minor modifications, in Hf (fol. 151v, l. 18).

fol. 1r, l. 10: D's "oft be thenke þe" (cf. Hf, fol. 151v, l. 19) exhorts the reader to call to mind divine grace repeatedly, while the *Stimulus*'s "secundum quod potest reminisci" is more vague.

fol. 1r, ll. 10–11: Where the *Stimulus* reads "quod sua eum voluit imagine insigniri," D gives weight to God's love for the soul by rendering "voluit" as "worschipped þi soule": "how [he] hath worschipped þi soule be enpreynting of his owene ymage"; cf. Hf (fol. 151v, ll. 20–21).

fol. 1r, l. 12: Compared to the *Stimulus*'s "et se pro ipso morti tradere," D's "suffred for thi loue despites deth" again appends a reference to love and further emphasizes Christ's sacrifice by adding "despites"; Hf speaks of "despitous deþ" (fol. 151v, l. 22).

fol. 1r, l. 13: D's "wil be þi ioie and thi blisse in an oper lif" emphasizes future gifts, whereas the Latin model references Christ's self-sacrifice: "[voluit] in gloria in praemium tribuere semetipsum"; Hf expands on the Latin (fol. 151v, l. 23).

fols. 1r–1v, ll. 14–15: "þat þou myzt not [MS: "now," see discussion below] sen hem in his godhed whiles þou art in þis worlde" rewrites the *Stimulus*'s "Et quia nondum assecutus est eum in praemium" to

ensure consistency with the arguments made before about divine grace bestowed freely; Hf advances the same argument in another phrasing (fol. 151v, ll. 24–25).

fol. 1v, l. 15: D adds "hongyng for þe" to the *Stimulus*'s "aspiciat eum in patibulo," which identifies the reader as the cause for Christ's agony; Hf reads "honging in þe cros" (fol. 151v, ll. 25–26).

fol. 1v, ll. 16–21: D's "haue sorwe and compassion" expands on the *Stimulus*'s "compatiatur," and several lines down another doubling, "fede me and fulfille me with þe," further develops the *Stimulus*'s "ita me de te satiare dignare" (Hf, fol. 151v, ll. 26–32).

fol. 1v, ll. 16–17: D's appeal to feel "his [Cristes] wondes and his paynes in þi bodi" (cf. Hf, fol. 151v, l. 27) centers on physical pain where the *Stimulus* privileges spiritual agony as a result of compassion: "omnia ejus vulnera in suo corde sustineret."

fol. 1v, ll. 17–18: D references the sinner's individual interior sorrow—"be inward sori þat þou myzt not fele in þe be þe paynes þat he suffred for þe, synful wrecche" (cf. Hf, fol. 151v, ll. 27–29—with minor variations), but the *Stimulus* posits the reader's distress as a result of seeing his fellows being deprived of God's grace: "praecipue dolere debet, quod tot videt frustrari beneficio tam immense."

fol. 1v, l. 18: D prepends "þe thoghtes ofte haue in mynde" to "Cernat eum denique," thereby endorsing continual reaccessing of the exhortations to come; so does Hf (fol. 151v, l. 29).

fol. 1v, l. 19: D adds "atte masse" to the *Stimulus*'s "Cernat eum denique in altari exhibitum"; so does Hf (fol. 151v, l. 30).

fol. 1v, l. 19: D streamlines "in ipso toto affectu delectatus clamet, et dicat" as "say to hym in this manere"; cf. Hf (fol. 151v, l. 30).

fol. 1v, l. 20: to the *Stimulus*'s "qui es panis vitae" D appends "þat cometh out of heuene"; see Hf (fol. 151v, l. 31).

fol. 1v, l. 22: D adds "with þi bloude and of thi loue" to the *Stimulus*'s "ita me de te inebriare digneris"; see Hf (fol. 151v, l. 33).

fol. 1v, ll. 22–24: The final lines of D's IX Poyntes segment condense its message: "Lorde hold so faste my soule and my loue to þe þat for non opere loue ne for synne ne be neuere departid fro me"—cf. the *Stimulus*'s "Tene, Domine, mentem meam, ne interueniente umbra terrae."

Fittingly, the substitution of "soule and my loue" for the *Stimulus*'s "mentem" as well as the concrete menace of a rivaling love and spiritually destructive sins—which are the ultimate failure to love—replace the poetically threatening (but vague) "umbra terrae"; see Hf (fol. 151v, ll. 33–35).

Leading right into beatific-vision territory, what can be classified as one of the most blatant errors in D's first unit occurs on folios 1r–1v (ll. 14–15 in Appendix A): "And for encheison þat þou myzt now sen hem in his godhed whiles þou art in þis worlde." Both Har and Tr record "no" instead of "now," and Hf negates the possibility of direct perception of God in this life too (fol. 154r, col. 1, l. 3; fol. 171v, l. 21; and fol. 151v, l. 24 respectively; cf. the *Stimulus*: "nondum," Part II, chapter 1). Such a grave mistake in D was no doubt caused by an innocent memorial slip, but it is an exemplary case for the first unit in that it is not only evidence of haste in production but also illustrative of a lack of recension. Much like the occasional confusion of s/l and h/b respectively, such an obvious error betrays the fact that there was a lack of time, care, or expertise in production, since otherwise these misspellings could have been spotted easily and corrected or would not have occurred in the first place. Some further conspicuous errors in D's first part include "For encheson þat loue may alle do with any mysdo" (fol. 1v, ll. 25–26, which Hf renders as "without," fol. 151v, l. 36) or "3if þou loue many metys þat men vsen . . . þou dost wel" (fol. 12v, l. 308; Hf reads "leue" instead of "loue," fol. 146r, l. 17). D's "Allas þe folly of men þat chesep for to dwel in þe worde, in þe flesch, and in þe places þat ben vnclene" (fol. 6r, ll. 135–136) is recorded as "in þe world" in Hf (fol. 153r, l. 22). Apart from two further problematic renderings on folio 4v (l. 101) and fol 12r (l. 300), other errors in D's first part are restricted to grammar and spelling and stay clear of doctrinal controversies.

The Stimulus amoris Segment

Falk Eisermann's comprehensive study of the *Stimulus* draws on Claire Kirchberger's and Ian Doyle's previous scholarship to elucidate the ways in which restructuring, extraction, abridgement, addition of further material, and vernacular translations shaped the *Stimulus* in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England.⁵² The extracts in D do not derive from *The Prickyng of Love*, a Middle English translation of the *Stimulus*, but from an independent translation of extracts from the *Stimulus amoris maior's* Part II, chapter 8 and Part I, chapter 1. Some pertinent longer discrepancies between D and Hf include:

- fol. 2r, l. 32: Where D gives "Loue makeþ man, for he maketh frende and þe seruant child," Hf presents the following addition after D's "man": "god and god man. Þe heizest he makip lowist and þe lowest heizest" (fol. 151v, l. 43–fol. 152r, l. 1). Omitted in D, Hf's lines are a direct translation of the *Stimulus's* "Deum facit hominem, et hominem facit Deum . . . et imum excelsum constituit" (Pt, II, ch. 8).
 fol. 4r, ll. 86–87: D's "in thynkyng worchyng schal make þe parfit in þe

- loue of" rewrites "affectus tuos tam in cogitatione, quam in locutione, ac etiam operatione regulabit" (Pt. I, ch. 1). Thus, whereas the *Stimulus* speaks of regulating the *affectus*, D posits the perfection of love as the final goal. Hf's reading is again closer to the Latin. It adds "and spekyng" and "after þenkinge" (fol. 152v, ll. 12–13).
 fol. 5r, ll. 114–116: D appends "and speke" to a list of activities performed when in communion with God: "Pere I wil reste, and slepe, and ete, and drinke, rede, and synge, and praye, and alle my nedes tret and speke." "And speke" is probably a slip that occurred by jumping ahead to the next sentence, which begins with "Pere I schal speke" (l. 116). Compare the Latin "ubi volo quiescere, dormire, videre, bibere, comedere, legere, orare, et omnia mea negotia pertractare. Ibi loquar," which contains a reference to seeing but omits singing (Pt. I, ch. 1). Note also the change from "negotia" (matters, troubles) to "nedes," which is more in tune with the series of preceding infinitives. Hf alters the Latin text by adding "and speke" and "singe," while omitting "videre," too (see fol. 152v, ll. 44–45), which means that these alterations must have been present in D and Hf's exemplar(s).
 fol. 5r, l. 116: D modifies the *Stimulus's* reference to speaking to Christ's heart ("Ibi loquar ad cor ejus," Pt. I, ch. 1) as the narrative voice speaking "with swete hert"; Hf, on the other hand, stays faithful to the Latin (fol. 152v, l. 45).
 fol. 5v, ll. 121–122: It is a short omission, but when D fails to record "non"/"nought," Hf is again closer to the Latin: while the text in D reads "onlich I wil apeere I crucified with hir son," Hf gives it as "nought onli I wol apeere" (fol. 153r, ll. 5–6); cf. the *Stimulus's*: "Et non solum apparebo" (Pt. I, ch. 1).
 fol. 5v, l. 122: D's, "I wil go to chirche" is more removed from the *Stimulus's* "ad praesepe [crib] rediens" (Pt. I, ch. 1) than Hf's "I wol gon to þe crache" (fol. 153r, l. 6).
 Additional examples of how D's text is further detached from the Latin *Stimulus* than Hf: where the *Stimulus* reads: "passio ignominiosa glorificat," Hf retains "þe passion shameful makeþ vs glorious" (fol. 152v, ll. 18–19), whereas D stops after "passion" (fol. 4v, l. 92). The *Stimulus's* "et mihi faciam unam dulcissimam potionem" is present in Hf's "and make me a noble drinke" (fol. 153r, l. 8) but not in D (f. 5v, l. 124; references to the *Stimulus* are to Pt. I, ch. 1).
 There is a curious case of translation in D and Hf where the two manuscripts reference different parts of the *Stimulus*, which is another indication that D cannot derive from Hf directly: D rephrases the *Stimulus's* "tamen hoc lenius, suavius, delectabilius, seu opportunius" as "þe wiche were more bettre and more delettable"

(fol. 3v, l. 78), whereas Hf records: "albehit þat þis wer lizter and esier"; see Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 3–4).

Some longer additions and alterations in D when compared to the *Stimulus* include:

fol. 1v–2r, ll. 25–29: D adds:

For encheson þat loue may alle do with any mysdo, and loue is þe rote of perfeccion of alle vertues, and þe more þou hast of god loue, þe betre þou art, and þe more liche to god, and nere to blisse. For all þe mesure of goud loue schalle zeue þe mesure of blisse in heuen, and þere fore þer is non bettre to man oþer woman þan for to studie how he may in god loue.

Also found in Hf (fol. 151v, ll. 36–41), with the addition of "and fruit and þe" after "rote." (The following references to the *Stimulus* pertain to Pt. II, ch. 8 until indicated otherwise.)

fol. 2r, l. 33: An addition in D reads: "and þe sori ioious"; also attested in Hf (fol. 152r, ll. 2–3).

fol. 2r, ll. 35–36: D adds: "As witnesseth þe deuout saule in þe boke of loue spekyng to god in þis manere"; also attested in Hf (fol. 152r, ll. 3–4). Where the *Stimulus* in the following gives "anima mea liquefacta est, etc," D and Hf supply the full quotation from the *Song of Songs*: "An[y] saule meltiþ atte þe speche of hym þat I loue" (D, fol. 2r, l. 36; Hf, fol. 152r, l. 5).

fol. 2r, l. 38: D's "how am y so muche loued of þe" (see also Hf, fol. 152r, l. 7) modifies the *Stimulus*'s "tibi tantae charitatis vinculo colligatus" and thereby emphasizes the narrative voice's amazement caused by the fortunate bestowal of divine love.

fol. 2v–2r, l. 39: "O brennyng of trewe loue, moche is þi mizth," also recorded in Hf (fol. 152r, l. 8), alters the *Stimulus*'s "O ardor amoris, qui intima mentis in Deum infundis," again prioritizing affective wonder.

fol. 2v, ll. 40–41: "O goud loue, what may I zeue the þat þou woldest euere more dwelle with me?" (see also Hf, fol. 152r, ll. 10–11) renders the *Stimulus*'s "O amor, quid tibi tribuam, qui me fecisti diuinum?" with a stress on the process- and future-oriented character of the bond with divine love.

fol. 2v, ll. 41–42: D's "Ffor wondurful is þi uertu þat turnest me in to god and god in to me," also found in Hf (fol. 152r, ll. 11–12), appends

five words to the *Stimulus*'s "Inenarrabilis est virtus tua, o amor, qui lutum in Deum transfiguras!" The change from "lutum" [dirt, mud] to "me" makes the addition possible and emphasizes the reciprocal nature of love.

fol. 2v, ll. 43–48: D adds:

Certis no thyng. Þou bindest god to þe piler. Þou puttest þe croune of thorne vp on his hede. Þou heng hym opon þe crois and nailedest hym þer to. Þou opinidest his blissed hert with þe scharpe spere, out of þe wiche com water and bloude in remission of mannys trespas. Wasch wel thi saule in þat bathe and þanne schalt þou haue with þe vertu of brennyng loue.

This is not attested in Hf, nor in the *Stimulus*, though Hf retains "Certis noþing" (fol. 152r, l. 13.)

folio 2v, l. 51: D adds: "For at a louelich worde of þe my saule is molt in me" to the *Stimulus*; also attested in Hf (fol. 152r, ll. 15–16).

folios 2v–3r, ll. 53–62: A longer extract is added in D that urges the reader to cultivate the fire of love by thinking about the Passion of Christ, divine love, and human malice:

Certes no tonge may telle, and þere fore, zif þou wilt be parfite, lerne for þe quike to feer in thyn herte, and ther fore thou schalt vnderstonde þat aman þat is colde becomyth hoot in diuers maneris: be clothyng of many clothis, be goyng to þe fier, be trauaillyng of body, hoot spices, and strong drynke. So gostlich, zif þou wilt wer hoot in þe loue of god, do on many clothes of vertu, for vertu is clothes to mannys saule. Ho so lakkeþ o vertu, his saule is naked in o partie, and þer fore zif þou wilt be hoot, alle a boutte clothe thi saule with many vertues, so þat non lakke to þe. And sit ofte bi þe brennyng fier of loue þat crist aqueked in his brennyng and betir passion, and thenke ofte on þe loue of god and charite toward man, and of blyndnesse and þe malice of man toward god.

Also attested in Hf (fol. 152r, ll. 18–29). This addition seems to have been inspired by two passages in D's *Stimulus* segment on folio 4v: "he naked cloped vs with vertues" (l. 93; see also Hf, fol. 152v, l. 20),

which loosely translates the *Stimulus*'s "nudens existens virtutum vestimentis ornat" (Pt. I, ch. 1) and "He desireth to hange naked on þe croce with his lorde, and in þat he is clothed with clothyng of vertues" (ll. 102–103; see also Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 30–31), which rephrases "Vult secum in ligno sine vestimentis frigescere; et nimio amoris ardore accenditur" (quotations from the *Stimulus* henceforth refer to Pt. I, ch. 1).

folio 3v, ll. 67–69: "What wodnesse is in þat man þat makeþ hym cloose his herte to god, and openeth hit to wrecchidnesse, likyng to þe deuille, to þe worlde, and to þe flesch" (cf. Hf, fol. 152r, ll. 33–36) adds to the *Stimulus*'s "Quae vesania animae, quod hoc negligit et potius vult stercorebus adhaerere," by expounding "vesania" (madness, frenzy) and "stercorebus" (filth, manure) and paraphrasing the latter.

folio 3v, l. 73: D's "euere haue his saule to god bi loue and contemplacion" is a rendering of the *Stimulus*'s "et semper se exigit ad divina" that localizes the place of human love in the soul and elucidates the methods of communion with the divine; Hf records this phrase with minor modifications (fol. 152r, ll. 38–39).

folios 3v–4r, l. 79: D's "Certes þey a saule were worse þanne a best" (see also Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 4–5) modifies the *Stimulus*'s "Certe si anima non esset pejor omni animali" and thus paints the human soul in a more negative light. D's sentence continues in much the same tone: "zit he scholde loue god to whom he is liche, for eche thyng loueþ kendlich þat is liche to hym" (fol. 4r, ll. 79–80; cf. Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 5–6) and slightly reworks the *Stimulus*'s "Deum, cui similis est, deberet super omnia diligere." In D and Hf's version, the soul is ennobled through divine love and love that it directs towards the divine.

folio 4r, l. 82: D adds "and payned withoute mesure greuoulich"; cf. Hf (fol. 152v, l. 8).

folio 4r, ll. 83–84: D records "for þe meditacion of cristes passion rerith manys saule and his mende to heuene, and techiþ what he schal do, and he schal þenke, and speke" (see also Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 9–11), adding "saule and his mende to heuene" and substituting "speke" for the *Stimulus*'s "sciendum et sentiendum."

folio 4r, l. 85: D's "quike þi saule þe more able to perfeccion and trauail," also given, with variations, in Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 11–12), renders the *Stimulus*'s "te demum ad ardua inflammabit" with an emphasis on the soul as the place from which love springs and pertinently paraphrases "ardua" as "perfeccion and trauail."

folio 4r, ll. 85–86: "make þe holde litel be þi self" (see Hf, fol. 152v, l. 12)

is a shortening of the *Stimulus*'s "te vilificari, et contemni, et affligi faciet" that lessens the demand to debase onself.

folio 4r, ll. 89–90: D adds: "sorwe þat gladeþ"; also found in Hf (fol. 152v, l. 16).

folio 4r, l. 90: As a fine example of the affective heightening that the translation of the *Stimulus* effects, D's "þe openyng of his syde heuyth oure herte to his hert" (cf. Hf, fol. 152v, l. 16) adds possessive pronouns to "apertio lateris cor cordi conjugat."

folios 4r–4v, l. 92: D adds "þe well dried more welletþ þe passion"; also found in Hf (fol. 152v, l. 18).

folio 4v, l. 95: D adds "to hym. Be þe way of loue and goude werkes and"; also recorded in Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 22–23).

folio 4v, ll. 95–96: D's "he enspireth gostli lif in to oure soule" (cf. Hf, fol. 152v, ll. 22–23) emphasizes the soul yet another time when compared to the *Stimulus*'s "emittens spiritum vitam inspirat."

folio 4v, ll. 97–98: After "O passion meruailous þat makest hym þat thenkyþ oft on þe nozt onlich euen with anges," which corresponds to the *Stimulus*, D adds "bot passe anges," thereby augmenting the meditant's kinetic energy; see also Hf (fol. 152v, l. 25).

folio 4v, ll. 100ff.: A string of alterations and additions accentuates Christ as the reader's envisioned target of love: D reads "with his lorde" (l. 100) instead of the *Stimulus*'s "secum," adds "as his lorde" (l. 101), appends the adjective "endless" to the phrase "ioie endless" (l. 102), adds "with his lorde" (l. 103), "with crist" (ll. 103–104), "and crist" (l. 104); these insertions are also found with minor variations in Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 27–31).

folio 4v, l. 103: D's "he is clothed with clothyng of vertues" (see Hf, fol. 152v, l. 31) refers to clothing imagery, where the *Stimulus* reads "et nimio amoris ardore ascenditur." This potent change reflects the first part of the sentence, which illustrates the desire of the individual who meditates on Christ's Passion to "hange naked" (l. 102; see also Hf, l. 30) with him, where the *Stimulus* records "frigescere" instead. Moreover, this alteration provides a link to D's previous addition, which compares virtues to clothing for the faithfuls' souls (fols. 2v–3r, ll. 53–62, quoted above).

folio 5r, ll. 106–107: D adds "The sorwe of cristes in man other woman torneth hym to gladnesse and þe payne to ese"; also found with slight alterations in Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 34–35).

folio 5r, l. 108: An addition in D reads "and suffre þat he suffred"; see also Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 36–37).

folio 5r, l. 109: D adds "and clippeth [MS: clippeth] as his owene brother and childe"; Hf adds these lines, too (fol. 152v, ll. 37–38).

- folio 5r, l. 111: D's text excises reference to "Joseph ab Arimathia" and privileges the relationship between the narrative voice and Christ: "Danne mizt I haue deyde with hym"; see also Hf (fol. 152v, ll. 40–41).
- folio 5r, l. 113: D adds "and entre in to hym"; cf. Hf (fol. 152v, l. 42).
- folio 5r, l. 114: to better anchor the affective stirrings it tries to elicit, D's text alters the *Stimulus*'s reference to Christ's side ("latere") and substitutes "hert" instead; Hf adapts the *Stimulus* in the same way (fol. 152v, l. 43).
- folio 5r, l. 115: D's list of activities performed when contemplating Christ's Passion transposes two items and adds the reference to singing: "reste, and slepe, and ete, and drinke, rede, and synge, and praye." The *Stimulus* reads: "quiescere, dormire, videre, bibere, comedere, legere, orare; see also Hf (fol. 152v, l. 44).
- folio 5r, ll. 116–117: D represents a more pragmatic viewpoint when it reads "alle þat me nedip" (cf. also Hf, fol. 153r, l. 1) instead of the *Stimulus*'s "quod voluero." D furthermore appends "alone" to the end of the sentence, which now reads "y schal purchase of hym alone"; see Hf (fol. 153r, l. 1).
- folios 5r–5v, ll. 117–118: D adds "þer may non enemy me greue ne disese, and þer fore wil I abide and dwelle for euer more" to the *Stimulus*. This is an addition also found in Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 1–2).
- folio 5v, l. 123: D adds "meke and innocent as a lombe," as does Hf (fol. 153r, l. 7).
- folio 6r, l. 130: "and in frut" is another addition to the *Stimulus* that D shares with Hf (fol. 153r, l. 16).
- folio 6r, ll. 135–136: "Allas þe folly of men þat chesep for to dwel in þe wor[l]de, in þe flesch, and in þe places þat ben vnclene, wrecchid, and sinful" is a less poetic but more theologically precise paraphrase of "O stulti et tardi corde, qui ad possidendum aliquod vanum per incerta foramina introitis"; this corresponds to Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 21–23).
- folio 6r, l. 138: D's addition "hauyngge inwardlich mende þere on" to the text of the *Stimulus* is not attested in Hf (fol. 153r, l. 25).
- folios 6r–6v, ll. 142–145: D adds the following passage to the *Stimulus*:

Be holde þe wondes of hym þat hangyth, þe bloude of þe innocent, þe pris of þe diggere. His hed he hath enclined þe for to kysse, his armes he hath spred þe for to clippe, his syde he opened þe for to loue, and alle þis for to drawe mannys saule for to loue hym.

- Also attested in Hf, though instead of the last part of the second sentence in D (from "and alle" to "hym"), Hf records: "so þat he al be fichid faste in þin herte þat for þe was nayled to þe cros" (fol. 153r, l. 31).
- folio 6v, l. 146: D adds "And for to come to þi desire" to the *Stimulus*'s text; also found in Hf (fol. 153r, l. 32).
- folio 6v, ll. 149–150: the phrase "myn hert be euermore brennyng in þe fuer of loue" adds "myn hert" to the *Stimulus* and modifies "tuo amore semper sitiam," presumably to follow the recurrent previous references to the conceptualization and experience of divine love as fire and burning; this quote is also attested in Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 36–37).
- folio 6v, l. 150: D adds "in alle þyng and alle my workes desire þi worschippe" to the *Stimulus*; see also Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 37–38).
- folio 6v, ll. 152–153: Another addition in D is "In nothyng be my ioie bot in þe and for þe, and with alle myn herte I beseche þe"; see also Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 39–50).
- folio 6v, ll. 153–156: The following passage was added to the *Stimulus*: "ffor þe wich þe sonne suffred painful deth and despitous. Louelich lorde and spouse ihesu crist, write in myn hert so þat I mowe rede þi loue towar[d] me and þi sorwe for me, and þe mende for hym euermore he dwellyng fresch in my herte"; see also Hf (fol. 153r, ll. 41–44).

The above list demonstrates that an accurate and faithful translation of extracts from the *Stimulus* was coupled with pertinent additions in D. Some of these must have already been present in D's ancestor, because they agree with Hf (more on this below). The *modus agendi* of the additions to the *Stimulus* is one of adaptation of the Latin text, and many of the alterations are evidence of an affective heightening that prioritizes meditation on the Passion. In their effective operation, the modifications evoke the reciprocal love between the reader and God.

The Form of Living Segment

Most variations between D's first unit and Hf occur in the *Form* segment, and they are all listed in Appendix B, so a few examples quoted here should suffice. D, for instance, reads: "ffor þai schul be breþeren and felawes in his maieste" (fol. 8r, l. 186), whereas Hf adds after "felawes": "wiþ angeles and holi men, preising, seinge and hauyng þe kyng of ioie in his fairhede and schinyng" (fol. 144v, ll. 4–5). Where D reads "werinesse and sorynesse of lif" (fol. 7r, ll. 165–166), the doublet in Hf is reversed: "sorynesse and werynes of þi lif" (fol. 144r, l. 22). A similar transposition occurs between D's

"vncertayne and vnknowe" (fol. 7v, l. 174) and Hf's "vnknowe and vncerteyn" (fol. 144r, l. 30). Not only does the length of the *Form* extract give rise to most additions, transposition of words, and omissions, but the text's lists of sins repeatedly lend themselves to adaptation and are as such particularly malleable⁵³—see, for instance, D's "for pride, for aray of oure body, oþer for any oþer vanite" (fol. 10r, l. 244), which Hf omits.

Concrete textual evidence demonstrates that D's target audience was either a house of religious or an individual not living an enclosed life. The text consequently ensures that the sins on which the *Form* extract elaborates are compatible with the daily practices and needs of this spiritual milieu, while at the same time exhibiting great caution not to overwhelm its audience by engaging them in matters evidently considered too worldly and unfitting. An example of such processes of thought is D's (or its parent manuscript's) omission (fol. 10r, l. 237) of "defendynge of synne, creiynge in lauztre, mowe makynge on any man, to singe seculer songes and loue ham," found in Hf (fol. 145r, ll. 19–21), which is also recorded in Ogilvie-Thomson's edition (12, ll. 361–362). More conspicuous still is Hf's "to hurte any man in his bodi, or in his good . . . , þefte, rauyn, vsur, deseit . . . , ȝiue to harlotes" (fol. 145r, ll. 25–27, also recorded by Ogilvie-Thomson, 12, ll. 367–369), which is not mentioned in D (fol. 10r, ll. 242–244). Processes of careful adaptation to the audience's needs and/or requests may have governed the choice of material in this section—assuming the selection was not already predefined in D's exemplar.

The final part of D rises to a hortatory conclusion that is attested neither in Hf nor in Ogilvie-Thomson:

and as saith seynt James, "hit were bettre noȝth for to knowe þe lawe of god þenne knowe hit and do noȝth þere after." And þer fore, my leue frende, y consaille þe þat þou forsake noȝth and dispise liztlich þis lore and doctrine, alle be hit þat parauenture for diuerse occupacions and lettyngs þat þou hast in þe worlde, þou fyndest no gret sauoure þer in atte þe begynnyng. For as ich haue saide afore, hertlich loue of god and goudnesse of lif wil noȝt be geten with oute grete trauail and long continuaunce, bot whanne hit is hadde, hit is ful of lykyng of swetnesse. And þere fore, whanne þe holi gost sendeþ þe eny sauour to loue god, forsake hit noȝt, bot kepe hit stille. And after þe grace þat he ȝeueþ þe, parforme hit and encrece hit, and ȝif þou dost þus, I drede noȝt þat þou schalt forsake alle unclene loue þat

is noȝth to his worschippe for his loue. And þanne schalt þou ben his spouse, dwellyng with hym in þe blisse of heuen endlich. (fol. 14r, ll. 345–357)

However, the final lines of the added hortatory conclusion to the *Form* extract in D also largely correspond to the closing lines added to the complete version of *The Form* in Hf:

And if hit be so, dere frende, þat þis schort lesson do þe goud, þanke god þere of and pray for me. The grace of god almyȝtti, ihesu verrai god and man þat is verrai loue and comfort of his louteris be with þe, and kepe þe fro euyl, and bryng þe to þi spouse þat þou hast take þe to, þe wich is euerlastyng god. Amen. (D, fol. 14v, ll. 358–361; see also Hf, fol. 150v, ll. 34–38)

Conclusions

Based on the preceding comparison between D's first unit and Hf, the following hypotheses can be proposed:

1. The longer sections in D that do not correspond to Hf either could have been added by D's scribe or compiler (penned by him or sourced from elsewhere) or may have been inherited from D's exemplar.
2. If these passages were already present in D's parent manuscript, this would indicate that either:
 - a) D and Hf did not share the same source but are related at some remove; or
 - b) Hf excised these passages.

The variations in D exemplify the ways in which the scribe (or his model) altered the text creatively. A genuine interest in catering to the needs of audience members who were at the beginning of their spiritual careers and eager to intensify their relationship to the divine underlies the longer added passages that are unique to D (the graphic Passion meditation on fol. 2v [ll. 43–48] and the conclusion on fol. 14r [ll. 345–357]), as well as the omissions in *The Form*'s list of sins. See, for example, the narrative voice's adoption of a spiritual advisor's earnest tone of exhortation in the conclusion: "hertlich loue of god and goudnesse of lif wil noȝt be geten with oute grete trauail and long continuaunce, bot whanne hit is hadde, hit is ful of lykyng of swetnesse" (fol. 14r, ll. 350–352).

The guiding hand(s) behind D's production seem(s) to have had a fairly

clear idea of the kind of work they wanted. Complementing *IX Poyntes*, the passages from *The Stimulus*, and the extract from *The Form*, the longer additions in the manuscript's first part oscillate between the poles that these texts embrace: they instruct the readers in God's love and the love of God and to this end provide a template on how to cultivate meekness and extensive scrutiny of the self in the face of their sinful past, present inadequacy, and inevitable inclination to sin again.

The hortatory conclusion references the scope of D's entire first part and expresses a carefully considered commentary on the ensuing spiritual efforts expected of its audience. As an exhortation appended to the other texts, it betrays a deliberate effort to produce a more accessible and effective work.

D's Second Unit: A New Copy of *The Chastising of God's Children*

The Chastising of God's Children is a treatise in twenty-seven chapters on how to deal with temptations in the advanced religious life, most likely written between 1391 and 1408.⁵⁴ The text is a devotional compilation: it is composed by the placing together of fragments from existing texts, including *Quandoque tribularis*, a Latin compilation of material from *Ancrene Wisse*, Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, John Ruusbroec's *Spiritual Espousals*, James of Milan's *Stimulus amoris*, and Alphonse of Pech's *Epistola solitarii ad reges*, which are interspersed with the compiler's own comments and biblical and patristic references.⁵⁵ The *Chastising* compiler translates his sources from Latin source texts and addresses the treatise, which he calls "a short pistle," to a "religious sister" (Bazire-Colledge 95/1), who is presented in the text as a woman responsible for her own spiritual life and that of others. It is a remarkably cerebral text that places great stress on knowing and knowledge, teaching the sister about the various guises in which temptations can manifest themselves so that she can recognize and remedy them in herself and others. This instruction is combined with performative passages and occasional, quite beautifully translated descriptions of the joys experienced when the contemplative feels God's presence in the soul.

The manuscripts and an early printed edition in which *The Chastising of God's Children* survives are the following:

- A:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 41 (second half fifteenth century)
- Add:** London, British Library, MS Additional 33971 (middle or second half fifteenth century)
- B:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 505 (Sheen Charterhouse, first half fifteenth century)
- D:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247 (first half fifteenth century)

- H:** London, British Library, MS Harley 6615 (second half fifteenth century)
- Ha:** London, British Library, MS Harley 2218 (middle or second half fifteenth century; chapters 24 and 25)
- He:** Yale, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn fa46 (*olim* Taunton, Somerset Record Office, MS Heneage 3084; first half fifteenth century)
- J:** Cambridge, St. John's College, MS E.25 (fifteenth century, probably not before 1450)
- L:** Liverpool, University Library, MS folio 4.10 (second half fifteenth century)
- P:** Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125 (first half fifteenth century)
- R:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 57 (given to Sheen Charterhouse by John Kingslow, the first Sheen recluse, early fifteenth century)
- T:** Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19 (first unit first quarter fifteenth century)
- W:** Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition (*ca.* 1493)

Sixteen of *The Chastising's* twenty-seven chapters have been borrowed in the compilation *Disce mori*, which survives in two manuscripts:⁵⁶

- Je:** Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39 (between 1453 and 1464)
- La:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 99 (after 1470, around 1500?)

Disce mori, in its turn, was one of the sources for the compilation known as *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, extant in one manuscript:

- E:** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57 (between 1453 and 1464)

Though all manuscripts but one keep the address to the religious sister,⁵⁷ the text also seems to have been read in houses of male religious—B, He, R, and T have links to the Carthusians. On the whole, the instruction in the text is not gendered, as its advice is relevant to both male and female religious and laypeople who want to devote their lives to God. It is unknown who wrote the text and for whom. Though Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 923, a manuscript owned by Sibilla de Felton, abbess of Barking from 1394 to 1419, mentions *The Chastising* as a text known at Barking, none of the manuscripts in which *The Chastising* survives has been linked to the abbey.⁵⁸

D's Place in the Manuscript Tradition of *The Chastising*

D has been compared against the text and variants offered in Bazire and Colledge's edition as well as the variants of He, a manuscript unknown at the time of the Bazire-Colledge edition.⁵⁹ In addition to variant readings occurring in the manuscripts and early printed edition listed above, variants by the correctors of He (Hec), P (Pc) and T (Tc) have also at times been recorded.⁶⁰ Rather than readings from Bazire-Colledge, which was based on a manuscript in a different group (BHeJeLaTc) from the one D belongs to, the variants were transcribed from D, with the corresponding reading from the edition given between brackets.⁶¹ Readings from the BHeJeLaTc group occur only occasionally in what follows, as D only occasionally shares variant readings with them.

In the *stemma codicum* offered by Bazire and Colledge, D belongs in the group AddJP. Whenever Add, J, and P (J and P in the chapters that Add lacks at its beginning)⁶² share the same reading, D coincides with these readings. In forty-one instances, Add, J, D, and P (J, D, and P where Add lacks the beginning) agree against all other manuscripts. In a first group of variant readings, the AddDJP manuscripts lack words or phrases present in the other manuscripts, but without greatly affecting the meaning:

DJP: is more delitable to the soule (cf. Bazire-Colledge 102/22–23: is more delitable to *þe body and þe soule*);

AddDJP: þei be most traueylid þat do her besynes (cf. 117/17: þei bien most traueiled þat *most* do her besynes)

AddDJP: so it semyth whan a man wielfulli gruchchip (cf. 118/23: so it semeþ *wel* þat whan a man wilfulli gruccheþ)

AddDJP: his goostli childryn whiche haue forsaken hem self (cf. 122/14–15: his goostli children whiche *vttirly* han forsaken hem self)

AddDJP: of eche leuyng *and* comyne of eche matier (cf. 126/13–14: of eche lyueng; *þei wol* comune of eche matier)

AddDJP: sche zaf hooli to hym þat alle goudnes sent (cf. 137/16: she zaf *al* hooli to hym þat al goodnesse sent)

AddDJP: he berith hom his sceip þat first was lost (cf. 151/19–20: he berip hom *azen* his shep, þat first was lost)

AddDJP: owre tyme of turnyng, for yn þe lest moment of an howre (cf. 152/11–12: oure tyme of tournyng, *neiper long ne short*, for in þe leest moment of an hour)

AddDJP: or to one or twei oper to gostli lyuers (cf. 155/17–18: or *ellis* to one or twayne oper gostli lyuers)

AddDJP: as owre holi fadris saide (cf. 166/18: as oure hooli fadirs in *old tyme* seiden)

AddDJP: for þei fiende nat grace or ellis þowh þai fiend grace (cf. 188/1–2: for þei fynde nat grace *or see it nat*, or ellis, þou3 þei fynde grace)

AddDJP: whan a man felith eny steryng (cf. 204/24–25: whan a man *or womman* feelip ony stiryng)

AddDJP: ensawmple of manye which nyed nat to reherse here (cf. 222/7–8: ensample of many *seintis*, which neden nat to reherse)

In two instances, the omissions are longer and are arguably the result of eyeskip in a common source for AddDJP:

AddDJP: for þei thyng wilfulli be her owne worchyng (cf. 140/3–4: for þei *þenke if þei diden any* þing wilfulli bi her owne wirchyng)

AddDJP: yn reisyng of dede men, speche to dombe men (cf. 181/6–8: in reisyng of deede men, *in zeuyng* sizt to *blynde* men, *heeryng* to *deef* men, speche to domb men)

In the same vein as the shorter omissions, the AddDJP manuscripts have words or phrases not present in the other manuscripts:

DJP: þat hit semyth *to* a man ynwardli (cf. Bazire-Colledge 102/20–21: þat it semeþ a man inwardli)

DJP: receiuyng of his *graciouse* ziftes (cf. 105/6–7: receyuenge of his ziftes)

AddDJP: þis rest men mowe fynde *and haue* be verray kynde (cf. 131/2–3: þis rest men mowen fynde bi verrei kynde)

AddDJP: and þat þei haue god yn her spiriet (cf. 141/9–10: and þat þei haue god þeir spirit);

AddDJP: and þei had *gret* plente of water (cf. 185/4: and þei had plente of watir)

AddDJP: with *smytyng* on *þe brest* and crossing þe forhed (cf. 202/13–14: wiþ crossing on þe forhed *and brest*)

AddDJP: and such *oper* passyng thynges (cf. 209/12: and suche passyng þinges)

Other readings in AddDJP substitute one word for another, in some cases synonymously:

DJP: *suche* gostli science (cf. Bazire-Colledge 95/18–19: *that* goostli science)

DJP: alle *maner* knowlechyng (cf. 110/13–14: al *oper* knowlechyng)

AddDJP: Bot as of power of *wicked* spiritis (cf. 162/11–12: But as of power of *yuel* spiritis)

AddDJP: a *goud* spede (cf. 164/22: a *grete* spede)

AddDJP: þat 3e wil nat say 3owre psawter (cf. 221/23–24: þat 3e wil not use 3oure sautier)

In some instances, the substitutions change the meaning of the sentence but still make sense. When DJP read “for what euere he *desire*” in comparison to “for what euere he *deserue*” (105/19) in the other manuscripts, both readings are meaningful in context: contemplatives will receive plentiful gifts from God and have to respond to them with meekness. These gifts can be desired as well as deserved. The AddDJP sentence “And greteli it is to drede: y vnderstonde þei be messengeris of antecrist” works as well as “and greteli it is to drede þat in *auenture* þei be messangiers of antecrist” (144/9–10), though AddDJP assert more strongly that the people described are the heralds of Antichrist, whereas the other manuscripts posit this as a possibility to be feared.

The substitution of “neydful” for “profitable” in the following variant reading reflects the exchange between “nedeful/neydful” and “medeful” (here rendered as “profitable”) that repeatedly occurs in the manuscript tradition of *The Chastising*, as shown below:

AddDJP: and suche chastisynges be *neydful* as y saide be fore (cf. Bazire-Colledge 151/11–12: and such chastisynges bien *profitable*, as I seide bfore)

These meanings also seem closely connected. In order to be rewarding, the chastising of God’s children is indeed necessary, so even though the error is letter- or word-based, the erroneous reading sticks because it not without its merits.

Small, momentary shifts in the understanding of how the spiritual life is lived occur when AddDJP has “to vse *beides* and mekenes” instead of “to use *deedis* of mekenesse” (Bazire-Colledge 207/5), adding the saying of prayers as a remedy against pride to the deeds of meekness described in the text. Even though the AddDJP reading here is not the better one, it does not jar with the rest of the text. When AddDJP has “as fer forth as y *knowe*” instead of “as ferforth as I *feele*” (Bazire-Colledge 220/27) in a comment on the necessity of saying the prayers of the office attentively, this may not be the better reading to be followed by “and as I haue lierned”—logically it makes more sense for a feeling to be confirmed by what one has learnt. Yet the speaker’s assertion of “knowing” the importance of saying the prayer attentively does not jar with the phrase that follows, and “y knowe” comes

across as decisive and confident. In addition, it is in keeping with the text’s repeated stress on knowledge.⁶³

In one instance we can see how a variant reading was caused by the misreading of a word (either turning one word in two, or the opposite):

AddDJP: withoute eny desire or *besechyng* to god (cf. Bazire-Colledge 134/14–15: wiþout any desire or *besi seekyng* to god);

In two instances the AddDJP reading is grammatically slightly different from the reading found in the other manuscripts. In the first an indicative verb is rewritten as a past participle, and in the second a different modal auxiliary is used. Again, both versions work without a major shift in meaning:

AddDJP: be amendid and *profitid* yn vertw (cf. Bazire-Colledge 123/20: and bien amendid and *profiten* in uertu);

AddDJP: þat ladi wil nat put me awei (cf. 159/22–23: þat ladi *may* not putt me away)

This cannot be said of the instances in which AddDJP readings are clearly erroneous:

AddDJP: and sey with þe *mowth* (cf. 158/19: and seie wiþ þe *herte*)

AddDJP: bot his power is *euer* rizthful (cf. 160/23: but his power is *neuer* rizthful)

AddDJP: Also 3if a man or woman louyth his neyghbor (cf. 201/16–17: Also if a man or woman loueþ *nat* his neizbor);

AddDJP: þowh he be rizth *stable* of complexion (cf. 213/6: þou3 he be *fieble* of complexion)

In two instances the AddDJP manuscripts coincide with W, the early printed edition placed in relation to the same group by Bazire and Colledge, but neither of these is significant.⁶⁴ Similarly, in the six instances in which the members of the group AddDJP do not agree, the differences are minor (omissions, minimally varying vocabulary) and do not affect the meaning of the text.⁶⁵ In all the instances in which Add and J present unique readings, D agrees with all the other MS, including P, against AddJ.⁶⁶

The complex manuscript tradition of *The Chastising* shows in the many instances in which members of the group AddJDP share readings with manuscripts from other groups. These readings, often as a result of minor changes and thus not significantly different, seem to occur across groups without any clear pattern emerging.⁶⁷ More significant overlap might be concluded from the instances in which manuscripts from group AddJDP share readings with

manuscripts from the group ALRT. As is the case with most of the variant readings between attestations of *The Chastising*, the changes are minor and as such testify to a faithful and mostly uniform transmission of this text.⁶⁸

Some of these variants, however, result in interesting readings. In the refrain at the end of each chapter, the ADJLPRT manuscripts have “wakith and praith þat 3e *falle* nat in to temptacion” rather than “wakeþ and preieþ, þat 3e *entre* nat into temptacion” (Bazire-Colledge 96/12–13), which renders the Latin “ut non intretis in temptacionem” more closely. In ADJeHPRTW the four erroneous opinions and their resulting heretical and sinful behavior described in chapters 9 to 12 are announced as “fowre maner sektis,” whereas the other manuscripts describe them as “foure maner sikenessis” (130/2–3), a choice of word still deriving from the preceding descriptions, in chapters 7 and 8, of the dropsy and the four fevers befalling those who “vnskillfulli and vnresonabli bien enclyned to lustes and eesis of þe bodi” (126/7–8). The “sektis” reading, on the other hand, is forward-looking and the better reading. Indeed, in chapter 10 the word is used in all manuscripts to refer to types of erroneous living.⁶⁹

Another substitution we have come across earlier is AAddDJLRT’s “þe werkis whiche god werkith *be hem* be more noble and *neydful*” for “þe werkis þat god worchþ bien more noble and *medeful*” (142/21). In addition to the added emphasis on the person in which God works his good works, the AAddDJLRT manuscripts stress the necessity of the works in order to be deserving of the reward rather than the reward they bring.

The AddDJLRTW sources stress the readers’ capability for discernment when they have “But for as mych as 3e se euyrmore þat many perelis fallith to gostli lyuers be þei neuer so holi” instead of “But for as moche as I see” (187/5–6), which favors the authoritative position of the compiler. Another pronoun shift occurs when the AddDHHeJJeLPW sources have “Clepe me yn þe day of tribulacion: for y schal delyuere þe and y schal worschipe *þe*” when the last phrase should read “and þou schalt worship me” (203/14) in the translation of Palm 49:15 (“Et inuoca me in die tribulationis, eruam te et honorificabis me”). Obviously caused by repetition of the sequence “y—þe” in the preceding phrase, the shift has the effect of switching speakers. As the phrase “and y schal worschipe þe” needs to be spoken by the reader to “our lorde” (203/11), the psalm verse becomes a short dialogue between the reader and God, rather than a speech by God to the reader by way of the psalmist—an unintended but intriguing momentary effect of a copying error.

The shared readings between members of the groups AddDJP and ALRT might be significant in particular because it might be enlightening with regard to the quality of the text version and the superiority of the readings members of these two groups share over other readings, even when the variations are only minor. It is outside the scope of this essay to reassess

Bazire and Colledge’s editorial decisions—in particular their decision to choose B as their base manuscript, which seems an odd choice given the many instances in which B disagrees with all other manuscripts.⁷⁰ Yet it would be worthwhile to check whether the readings the AddDJP manuscripts have in common with RT especially (two manuscripts that, like B and He, have a Carthusian connection and hence have been subject to correction in keeping with the Carthusian preoccupation with good-quality texts),⁷¹ do not present a better reading (i.e., possibly closer to the *Chastising* compiler’s) than the equivalent readings in B.

Within the group AddDJP, D is closest to P and diverges from Add and J, as pointed out above. D and P share unique readings in nineteen instances, of which some are significant in that they are not just omissions of words, the use of synonyms, or small grammatical alterations. D and P have “þat askid not to be forsake *oueral*” when all other manuscripts have “þat asked nat to be forsake *at al tymes*” (Colledge-Bazire 99/1–2), stressing place rather than time, and read “þus fel adam *owt of paradise*” when all other manuscripts have “þus fel adam *in paradise*” (136/19), with D and P presenting the more accurate reading. When D and P read “and to fowre maner sieknes” rather than “and to foure maner sectis” (187/4), they repeat the word “sieknes” from the earlier “to þe gostli seiknes” (cf. 187/3) but lose the distinction made earlier between the dropsy and fevers discussed in chapters 7 and 8 and the four sects of men discussed in chapters 9 to 12. In this case, D and P do not make the distinction, making this reading the poorer one.

D’s and P’s distance from Add and J also shows in that D shares twenty-five readings with P and other manuscripts but not with Add and J.⁷² However, the fact that D, as is the case with all extant copies of *The Chastising*,⁷³ is an independent copy the immediate model of which does not survive is shown by the instances in which D differs from P and agrees with all other manuscripts against P, often because of omissions in P, as in the following examples of omission through eyeskip:

- D: whan þei fiel hem not tempted (P omits) (cf. Bazire-Colledge 97/21)
- D: 3euyng obedience to no man neipir to pope (P: omits “to no man neipir”) (cf. 140/20–21)
- D: Also it is a grete fredom and liberte whan a man is delyuered of þe seruage of þe deyuyll (P omits) (cf. 153/23–24)
- D: to þis me thenkith eche man may se and feile þat he schal thynke hym self able to receyue mercy (P omits) (cf. 154/16–17)

That D cannot have been the direct ancestor of P or another manuscript in the AddDJP group is shown by omissions as a result of eyeskip unique to D:

- D: þis men yn her own sizth þei be* verrei futyuys be cawse þei haue
rwn away and fled far fram god / and as þai be fled. from god :
so hit is neydful þat alle men fle away from hem as from a gostly
enemy. (*left out: ful contemplatif, but in goddis sizth þei bien;
cf. Bazire-Colledge 139/5–9. This is also an omission in **HeJeLa**,
otherwise unrelated to D)
- D: For þai be passid þe trauayl* for to be dischargid of vertwis þan for
to gete hem. (*left out: of excercises, as þei seien, and dischargid
of alle vertuse. Alsswa þai say þat a man nedip more to traueile; cf.
140/16–19)
- D: þer fore þei trowe þat þei mowe no more encrece yn vertwis.* and.
þat þei mowe no more synne yn as myche as to her own sizt (*left
out: and þat þei mowe disserue no more mede; cf. 141/6–8)
- D: zif we turne to hym* cleirli: and with a symple meke hert (*left out:
he takeþ us into grace. Þe pite of god is so grete þat he dispiseþ
neuer penaunce where it is offrid up to hym; cf. 152/12–15)
- D: owr lorde gladli takip hym and louyngli beclippith hym* azen
to his first state (*left out: and bi his mercy reformeþ hym; cf.
152/16–18)
- D: and for we be bownde be þe precept of* god we schul loue owre
neyhbor (*left out: god to loue oure euencristen. We shuln also
loue hym þat is nat oure enemy bi kynde, for he is a man, and bi
þe precept of; cf. 196/9–12)

In addition, D has a large number of unique readings, most of which are too minor to discuss here. The scribe does have a tendency to intensify the text with small additions that could be interpreted as adding emphasis:

- D: take hym yn to mercie (cf. Bazire-Colledge 154/25: take hym to
mercy)
- D: howeuer hit schall falle of me (cf. 159/12: what shal fal of me)
- D: what euyr thei wil (cf. 190/24: what þei woln)
- D: myche more þanne þat noble and soothfast fadir (cf. 207/24–
208/1: moche more þat noble and soþfast fadir)
- D: bodeli penawnce owtward with preier (cf. 218/2: bodili penance
wiþ preier)

Another group of unique readings testify to the scribe's deliberate or, rather, intelligent interaction with the spiritual content of the text. Thus, asking advice is understood as a way to humble oneself, and meekness is seen as a means to purify rather than prove a person—a subtle qualification:

- D: aske oft *consail to meke* hym (cf. Bazire-Colledge 155/18–19: and
aske oft *conseil, and to meke* him)
- D: bot man ys *purid* be meyknesse (cf. 164/12: but man is *preued*
bi mekenesse)

The text as rendered in D also distinguishes between the cause of an action and its aim where the other manuscripts do not, and characterizes fasting and keeping vigils as physical works:

- D: for þe loue and to þe worschip of god (cf. Bazire-Colledge 191/22:
for þe loue and worship of god)
- D: sum opir bodeli traueyle (cf. 213/1: sum oper traueile)

The substitution “medeful”/“nedeful” is revisited here as well, though here D focuses on the spiritual reward brought by affliction rather than on the necessity of affliction for the purity of the soul and on the rewards of mortification rather than its needs.⁷⁴

- D: and opir gostli meide (cf. Bazire-Colledge 214/10: and oper
gostli nede)
- D: it is a meydful riwle (cf. 214/17: it is a nedeful rule)
- D: it is only meydful to refreyne (cf. 215/1: it is nat oonli nedeful to
refreyne)

The scribe's occasional lapses in concentration show in D's second unit in forty-odd erroneous readings, some of which are obviously nonsensical, and all of which remain uncorrected.⁷⁵ Whether the scribe of D uses different words or phrases with the same meaning as the other text versions, whether he chooses different pronouns, puts singular nouns in the plural or vice versa, or repeats articles after “and” or “or,” whether he more significantly adds words for extra emphasis or introduces variants that change or intensify the spiritual content or import of a passage, the unique readings he brings to D illustrate his active engagement with the text. He does not just copy his model passively, or not always, at any rate. Thoughtful attention while copying, either by the scribe of D, or by the scribe of his model copy,⁷⁶ also shows in the playful transpositions of sentence elements and in doublets, which are frequent enough to be significant.⁷⁷

Signposting, Corrections, and Marginal Annotations in D

Some of the marginal annotations in D, written in red ink in the same hand as the main text and the rubrics, signpost dropsy in chapter 7,⁷⁸ the four fevers in chapter 8⁷⁹ and the seven deadly sins in chapter 25,⁸⁰ as well as—somewhat randomly—the names of Heliseus and Balthasar in chapter 18.⁸¹ The structural signposting of the illness, fevers, and seven deadly sins also occurs in other *Chastising* manuscripts. The Add manuscript signposts the seven deadly sins in Latin from folio 50v to 54r,⁸² R marks them in English (fols. 45r–47r). B (fols. 23r–25v and fols. 76v–81r) and P (fols. 6v–7v and fols. 23v–25r) signpost both the illnesses and the seven sins in the same way as D. Though structural signposting may have been a scribal decision independent of the exemplar used, it seems likely that these marginalia were deemed integral to the text and were passed on from one copy to the other. D shares this form of signposting with P, the manuscript it is closest to, and with Add, another member of its group. Through shared ancestors, this type of signposting also links D to R and B, manuscripts outside its group, which might again be taken to show the complex textual relationships between the copies of *The Chastising*.

D has been little corrected. Erroneous readings mostly remain unspotted by the corrector (who was most likely the scribe)⁸³ and the annotator(s) contemporary with the scribe. Three marginal additions and one interlinear correction were made to the text.⁸⁴ In none of these instances is the resulting reading listed in Bazire and Colledge's apparatus of variants.

Marginal annotations contemporary with the work of the scribe and made by the scribe or, judging from the different color of ink, by subsequent readers, are relatively few:

folio 10r: "of þy fle[sch] next to "The synnes beth þise: Glotonye. Lecherie. Symonie. Wichecraft."

folio 37r: "[?] to þis" next to "Eche suche man þat hath þis perfeccion and come to þis lownesse and parfite sufferaunce is first schapli thretnyd"

Five different shapes of *notae* can be distinguished. The first *nota* in the margin occurs on folio 8v; it is larger than all others in D and has been written in the same ink as the trefoils (see below), next to "þat þou be riȝt dispoused boþe for þi saule and for þi bodi, þou schalt vnderstande foure thynges" (fol. 8v, ll. 206–207.).

A second type of "*nota*" is made in a small script with a small circular-shaped abbreviation mark. This form of annotation marks occurs on folios 48r, 49v, 57r, 64r, 66v, and 101r, with the forms on folio 49v and folio 66v somewhat smaller and hence possibly by a different reader:

folio 48r, right-hand margin: "*nota hic*" next to "and alle owtward vertwis" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 138/12).⁸⁵

folio 49v, left-hand margin: "*nota*" next to "ȝif here bodeli kiend coueytiþ or be sterid to eny lust or lykyng so ferforth þat þe sperit hath not his fredom" (cf. 141/12–14).

folio 57r, right-hand margin: "*nota bene*" next to "þat a man schulde neuyr mystrust þowh he be not turned to þe last ende" (cf. 152/2–3).

folio 64r, right-hand margin: "*nota*" next to "þe wil of þe deiuele is alwei wicked" (cf. 160/22–23).

folio 66v, left-hand margin: "*nota*" next to the opening of chapter 17, "Ful holi men for liȝth defawtis haue be take bodeli to þe wicked spiritis" (cf. 164/6–7).

folio 101r, right-hand margin: "*nota*" next to "Many men repryeue it to haue þe psawter and matyns and gospels or þe bible in englich" (cf. 221/8–10).

A third form of "*nota*," with a distinct abbreviation mark (two linked minims and an upward curving stroke), occurs only once, on folio 56r:

folio 56r, right-hand margin: "*nota*" next to "It is meydful to riȝthful men and holi men" (cf. 150/13–15)

In two instances, the "*nota*" has a larger abbreviation mark. These annotations may have been made by a fourth reader:

folio 68r, right-hand margin: "*nota*" next to "Of þis we mowe se ful many of ensawmplis" (cf. 166/9–10).

folio 78r, right-hand margin: "*nota bene hic*" next to "þis men beth so blendid yn here saule" (cf. 190/12–13).

In a fifth form, "*Nota*" is written with a capital N, which looks scribal:

folio 85r, right-hand margin: "*Nota*" next to "þer fore what euer temptacion a man haue wheþir hit be of feith" (cf. 201/8–9).

If we can take these "*notae*" as signs of interest on the part of the readers and/or as pointers they left for future readers, it is interesting to note that they express interest in the same themes. The first "*nota*" on folio 8v marks a passage that teaches conversion from a sinful life in the world to the conforming of the will to God's. The annotations to *The Chastising* mark passages warning against spiritual error and giving messages of reassurance.

The second type of "*notae (bene)*" marks passages warning against spiritual error (fols. 48r, 49v, and 66v) but also passages of reassuring patristic teaching by Isidore of Seville (fol. 57r) and Gregory the Great (fol. 64r). In particular, the saying by Isidore, which teaches that it is never too late for a sinner to repent and be saved, represents the spiritual optimism that in spite of its stress on temptation and tribulation, is at the heart of *The Chastising*. Intriguingly, this annotator also marks a passage pointing to the objections many contemporaries had to the use of English for prayer and religious instruction (fol. 101r), showing the compiler's (and this annotator's) engagement with the controversies surrounding Wycliff's Bible translation, which led to Arundel's 1409 Constitutions.⁸⁶

The third type of "*nota*" highlights a passage that details the necessity for righteous and holy people to learn from adversity (fol. 56r). The fourth type of "*notae*" (with the larger abbreviation mark) points to two passages in which models are held up to the reader. The first passage (fol. 68r) shows the devil at work when he torments people on their deathbed who have always led a good and religious life. The second passage (fol. 78r) discusses the people who hold the errors signaled in passages marked earlier (fols. 48r and 49v). The scribal "*Nota*" (fol. 85r), like the comforting messages marked by the first annotator, points to a passage that is reassuring and positive: when a man has doubts about points of the faith, he does not sin when he regrets his doubts.

Several trefoils serve the same highlighting function. In the right-hand margin on folio 3r, there is a trefoil next to "so gostlich, zif þou wilt wex hoot in þe loue of god, do on many clothes of vertu, for vertu is clothes to mannys saule" (fol. 3r, ll. 57–58), a passage in praise of a virtuous life. In the left-hand margin on folio 8v, a trefoil has been drawn next to a passage urging moderation in abstinence: "I holde þe neuer of þe lasse merite zif þou be nozt in lo abstinence as were sum tyme holi men and women a fore vs" (fol. 8v, ll. 201–203). In the left-hand margin on folio 13v, a trefoil occurs next to "for only wrecchidnesse hap non enemy in erthe. Ffor to drawe vs þat we conforme our wille to godis wille þar bep þre thynges: on ensample of holi men and wommen" (fol. 13v, ll. 329–331), again, a passage that points to the necessity of conforming one's will to God's. On folio 54v in the left-hand margin, three trefoils occur in descending order of size and each of them drawn closer to the text. The two lower trefoils, drawn in black ink, and with a pen that results in a thickly-set line, seem to have been added by postmedieval annotator 1. Marking "ffor epyr . . . hym be his mercy" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 148/6–11) and reinforcing the passage underlined in red "ffor epyr . . . of holi chirche" (cf. 148/8–10), they draw attention to a passage commenting on the way a sinner may be punished for his misdeeds. God may punish the sinner in this life or, everlastingly, in the next. The sinner

may also punish himself through his own devotion or because the Church tells him to do penance, and in these cases God will withdraw his rod.

In the right-hand margin on folio 62r, a trefoil marks a passage that announces a prayer that can be used to chase the devil away: "to his confusyon for he . . . and set at nawth" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 158/19–21). The trefoil next to "Also yn eche temptacion or tribulacion bodili or gostli it is ful cownfortable to thynke on þe wordis þat god saith be þe prophete" (cf. 200/21–23) in the right-hand margin on folio 85r serves the same function, as do the ones in the left-hand margin on folio 87v, next to "Also I rede how owre ladi tawht seynt Bride" (cf. 204/17–18), and in the right-hand margin on folio 88r, next to "þat þe dyeuele may knowe what a man saith to his schame and confusion yn þis manere. Almizthti god fadre yn heuene" (cf. 204/26–28). Thus the trefoils signpost the reader to themes ranging from virtue, moderation, conforming one's will to God, and remedies against sin to effective shaming of the devil.

D illustrates both scribes' and readers' creative interaction with texts in Unit I, which reorders, deletes from, and adds to material grouped together in Hf, and scribes' and readers' reverence for the integrity of texts such as *The Chastising*, copied in its entirety without deliberate or major alterations in Unit II. With the Bodleian Library's acquisition of D, the scholarly community has access to yet another fine and unique example of the devotional books that proliferated in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century in England, an anthology of thematically similar texts aimed at helping their audience shape and live a life of prayer and contemplation.

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to Vincent Gillespie, Ralph Hanna, Michael Sargent, Jeremy Smith, Elizabeth Solopova, and Daniel Wakelin for sharing their knowledge and their research of this manuscript, and to Martin Kauffmann of the Bodleian Library for allowing them to work with the manuscript. The sections "Description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247," "D's Second Unit: A New Copy of *The Chastising of God's Children*," "D's Place in the Manuscript Tradition of *The Chastising*," and "Signposting, Corrections, and Marginal Annotations in D" were written by Cré as part of the Swiss National Science Foundation project, "Late Medieval Religiosity in England: The Evidence of Late Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Devotional Compilations," carried out at the University of Lausanne. The research of this new manuscript was made possible by a Cost-Action Short Term Scientific Mission Grant, awarded to Cré by Cost-Action IS-1301, "New Communities of Interpretation: Contexts, Strategies and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," coordinated by Profesor Sabrina Corbellini at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

NOTES

1. Marleen Cré wrote the sections "Description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247," "D's Second Unit: A New Copy of *The Chastising of God's Children*," "D's Place in the Manuscript Tradition of The Chastising," and "Signposting, Corrections, and Marginal Annotations in D" of this essay. Raphaela Rohrhofer wrote the sections "D's Envisioned Audience," "D's First Unit and Its Relationship to the Second Unit," and "A Comparison of D's First Unit with the Text in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 9." Rohrhofer also provided the transcription and variants of D's first unit in Appendices A and B of this essay.
2. An article on the sale appeared in the *Telegraph* on March 30, 2014. It does not mention the manuscript. See "Sale of the Century as Aristocrats Auction Heirlooms," *Telegraph*, March 30, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/artsales/10732013/Sale-of-the-century-as-aristocrats-auction-heirlooms.html>.
3. A reference to the sale can still be found on Christie's website; see "Sale 1550/London: Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books, 21 May 2014," Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/print_sale.aspx?saleid=24630&lid=1.
4. The description of the manuscript is based on the description by Ralph Hanna and Vincent Gillespie. The authors are grateful that Gillespie and Hanna made their description available to them (in private correspondence).
5. Hanna dates D to the mid-fifteenth-century, though both Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin suggest—on the basis of its resemblance to early *Pore Caitif* manuscripts as regards size and layout—that it might well be an early fifteenth-century book (in private conversation). Both hypotheses will have to be tested in further research of the volume.
6. For the edition of the text see Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge, eds., *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957).
7. Quotation from *The Chastising* is by folio and line numbers in D, followed by reference to page and line numbers in the Bazire-Colledge edition.
8. To briefly summarize the evidence, nine of the twelve *Chastising* manuscripts have been located to the southeast Midlands: L (Soke of Peterborough, eLALME, unnumbered Linguistic Profile (LP) for *The Scale of Perfection* in this manuscript), R (Norfolk, eLALME, LP 4648), T (Suffolk, eLALME, LP 8420), P (southeast Midlands, Bazire 1957), D (west Norfolk or east Suffolk), B (Cambridgeshire, eLALME, LP 4773), He (southeast Midlands, Sargent 1977), H (southeast Midlands, Bazire

- 1957), and Ha (Lincolnshire, eLALME, unnumbered LP for Hand B). A is written in a west Midlands dialect (Staffordshire, eLALME, LP 243 for *The Prick of Conscience* in this manuscript). Add and J are northern copies: Add (northern, Bazire 1957) and J (Yorkshire, North Riding, eLALME, LP 203). This suggests that *The Chastising* had a strong early circulation in the southeast Midlands and traveled further afield (to the north and west) in the second half of the fifteenth century. Je is written in a southeast/central Midlands dialect, and both La and E may have a London/Middlesex basis. (See below for the identification of the sigla used here.) Joyce Bazire, "The Dialects of the Manuscripts of *The Chastising of God's Children*," *English and Germanic Studies* 6 (1957):64–78; and Michael G. Sargent, "A New Manuscript of *The Chastising of God's Children* with an Ascription to Walter Hilton," *Medium Aevum* 46 (1977):49–65, at 57. On L, also see Michael G. Sargent, "Bishops, Patrons, Mystics and Manuscripts: Walter Hilton, Nicholas Love and the Arundel and Holland Connections," in *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift Dedicated to Toshiyuki Takamiya on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney (York, UK: York Medieval Press, 2014), 159–177, at 168. On Je, La, and E, see E. A. Jones, ed., *The "Exhortacion" from Disce mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39* (Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006), xxvi–xxvii.
9. On folio 18v lower margin, left-hand corner: a drawing of what looks like a purse or jug, with letters (four minims) written inside it. On folio 35r right-hand margin: vague drawings or pen trials. On folio 37v lower margin: a drawing of two parallel horizontal lines connected by four lines curving inward to the center (two from the left, two from the right). On folio 80v lower margin: scribble (unintended?).
10. See A. G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1982), 176ff.
11. Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 95, l. 1.
12. Ibid., 8; Catherine Innes-Parker, "The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*: Translations, Adaptations, Influences and Audience, with Special Attention to Women Readers," in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Yoko Wada (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 164.
13. Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 4.
14. Ibid., 95. Contemporary modifications in this manuscript appropriated the text to a male audience (7–8).
15. Ibid., 95.
16. Ibid., 41.
17. Hf also contains a manuscript that consists of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditatio vitae Christi* on folios 1r–93r and Bonaventura's *Vita et miracula*

- Francisci (legenda maior)* on folios 93v–140v; R. A. B. Mynors and R. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 69. In the following, reference to Hf pertains to the second manuscript bound into Hf (fols. 141r–153r).
18. In the Christie's sales catalogue, Emilio Donadoni first posited a link between D and Hf on the basis of the shared presence of a "Treatise on Love" (which is actually an excerpt from the *Stimulus*); Emilio Donadoni, "The Chastysing of Godde's Children," *Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books: Sale 1550; 21 May 2014* (London: Christie's, 2014).
 19. Ogilvie-Thomson gives the following variant for "enclosed" in MS Pepys 2125: "holdeþ þe holy and hyze and þat passyng oþer and preyseþ þe and wurshepiþ þe þerof"; Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS (o.s.) 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 111, l. 461.
 20. For more information on Margaret Kirkby, see Hope Emily Allen, ed. *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 82–83.
 21. Saint Bonaventura, S.R.E. *Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae ex ordine minorum episcopi Albanensis, eximii ecclesiae doctoris, opera omnia*, vol. 12, ed. by Adolphe Charles Peltier (Paris: Vivès, 1868).
 22. This is an expansion of the list containing the manuscript's source texts written by Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna and kindly made accessible to Rohrhofer and Cré, who have made additions.
 23. Robert E. Lewis, Norman Francis Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985).
 24. P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974).
 25. Carl Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole: An English Father of the Church and His Followers*, vol. 2 (London: Sonnenschein, 1895–1896).
 26. In addition to D and Hf, IX Poyntes occurs in London, British Library, MS Harley 1706 (henceforth Har; the text printed in Horstmann) and in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.39 (henceforth Tr): see Jolliffe, *Check-List*, 111. For references to other texts using the nine-points scheme, see Valerie Edden, *Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist XV: Manuscripts in Midland Libraries* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 27.
 27. See note 21.
 28. Following a hint from Vincent Gillespie, Ralph Hanna, and Michael Sargent, Rohrhofer identified this passage in D as a translation from the *Stimulus amoris*.

29. Rolle, *Prose and Verse*.
30. The authors are grateful to Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna for this information.
31. As the present essay defines itself as an introduction to D, Rohrhofer plans to publish in-depth results of the literary analysis in the future.
32. For discussions on miscellanies and anthologies, see, e.g., Julia Boffey and John S. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 279–316; Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).
33. See Julia Boffey, "Short Texts in Manuscript Anthologies: The Minor Poems of John Lydgate in Two Fifteenth-Century Collections," in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 73–74; see also the other essays in the same volume; Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies," 279–316.
34. See, e.g., Elizabeth Dutton, *Julian of Norwich: The Influence of Late-Medieval Devotional Compilations* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 3.
35. Angus McIntosh, Michael Benskin, and M. L. Samuels, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English: County Dictionary*, vol. 4 (Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 250.
36. Mynors and Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, 69; Edden, *Index of Middle English Prose*, 28; Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter, UK: Exeter University Press, 2010), 66.
37. Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (New York and London: D. C. Heath and Oxford University Press, 1927), 261.
38. Ibid., 261. See also Edden, *Index of Middle English Prose*, 28; Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, 66; Mynors and Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, 69; Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 131.
39. The *Stimulus amoris* circulated in several versions, and the *Stimulus amoris minor*, the Latin urtext composed by the Franciscan James of Milan at the end of the thirteenth century, received considerable expansion, forming the *Stimulus amoris maior I* and *II*, in Eisermann's terminology: Falk Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris: Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzung, Rezeption* (Tübingen, Germany: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001), 4–5. Michael Sargent counts 130 manuscripts of the

Stimulus amoris maior, ninety containing the *Stimulus amoris minor*, and a further 150 codices incorporating fragments, in Michael Sargent, "Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature," in *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, vol. 2, *Analecta Cartusiana* 106, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983–1984), 159. Eisermann increases the number of complete and fragmentary *Stimulus* witnesses to five hundred, of which thirty were circulating in England. The work's reception history in England included its circulation in Latin versions, Walter Hilton's translation into the vernacular, and its incorporation into new contexts; Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris*, 227–229, 521.

40. See Appendix B.

41. Ralph Hanna dates this part of Harley 1706 to the second half of the fifteenth century; Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, 98.

42. James dates Tr to the early fifteenth century; M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 233.

43. Line numbers in D refer to the transcription in Appendix A.

44. The fact that Tr and Har contain full copies of IX Poyntes is not part of the argument on lineage, because the date when D lost its first pages remains elusive.

45. Mynors and Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, 69, attribute this Latin ascription to the hand of John Foxholes OFM, archbishop of Armagh in the first half of the 1470s, who is referenced on 154r.

46. Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, 67–68; see also Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 125–131; and Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1997), 165.

47. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 125.

48. Ibid., 131.

49. Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, 66.

50. See note 17.

51. See Vincent Gillespie, "Lukynge in haly bukes': Lectio in Some Late Medieval Miscellanies," in *Looking in Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England*, Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 3 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 136; Ralph Hanna, "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England," in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 37; Marleen Cré,

Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, MS Additional 37790, Medieval Translator 9 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), 20.

52. Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris*, 236–238; see also Ian Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1954), 207; Claire Kirchberger, ed. *Introduction to The Goad of Love, attributed to Walter Hilton* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 13–46.

53. See the variant readings Ogilvie-Thomson provides for ll. 329–484; Rolle, *Prose and Verse*, 104–113. Rolle builds on Hugh of Strasbourg's *Compendium theologiae veritatis* in this section; see Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, 265; and Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*, Studies in Medieval Mysticism (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 142.

54. See Annie Sutherland, "The Chastising of God's Children: A Neglected Text," in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 353–373, at 354–358.

55. On *The Chastising* as a devotional compilation and contemplative text, see Rosalynn Voaden, "Rewriting the Letter: Variations in the Middle English Translation of the *Epistola solitarii ad reges* of Alphonso of Jaén," in *The Translation of the Works of Saint Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars*, ed. Bridget Morris and Veronica O'Mara, The Medieval Translator 7 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 170–185; see also Marleen Cré, "We Are United with God (and God with Us?): Adapting Ruusbroec in *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* and *The Chastising of God's Children*," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England VII*, ed. E. A. Jones (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 21–36; and Marleen Cré, "Take a Walk on the Safe Side: Reading the Fragments from Ruusbroec's *Die geestelike brulocht* in *The Chastising of God's Children*," in *De letter levend maken: Opstellen aangeboden aan Guido de Baere bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, ed. Frans Hendrickx, and Kees Schepers, *Miscellanea Neerlandica* 39 (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2010), 233–246. Also see Marleen Cré, "Ze han desired to knowe in comfort of 3oure soule': Female Agency in *The Chastising of God's Children*," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 42.2 (2016): 164–180; and Marleen Cré, "Spiritual Comfort and Reasonable Feeling: Annotating *The Chastising of God's Children* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 57," in *Emotion and Medieval Textual Media*, ed. Mary C. Flannery (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, forthcoming).

56. On the manuscripts of *Disce mori* and *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, see Jones, "Exhortacion," xv–xxiii. For a list of the chapters from *The Chastising* that occur in *Disce mori*, see *ibid.*, xl.
57. As pointed out above, P addresses the text to a "dere f(r)end" (over an erasure; see the variants listed in footnote in Bazire-Colledge, p. 95), and Bazire and Colledge point out that the work of the corrector of P "consists not so much of textual improvements and emendations as of manipulations of the text to make it appropriate for reading in a house of male religious"; Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 7–8.
58. *Ibid.*, 36; and Sutherland, "Chastising," 356–357.
59. These variants are listed in Sargent, "New Manuscript."
60. Cré follows Michael Sargent in the naming of the correctors, deviating from Bazire and Colledge's practice of referring to them using Greek letters. See Sargent, "New Manuscript," 62, n. 49.
61. Abbreviations have been silently expanded, and all italics in the analysis of the variants listed below are Cré's. For the groups of manuscripts that Bazire and Colledge distinguish, see Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, 32.
62. The text in Add starts halfway through ch. 4, at Bazire-Colledge 110/17.
63. Cré, "3e han desired to knowe."
64. The AddJJPW sources have "yn to mynystracion" instead of the erroneous "into my mynistracion" (Bazire-Colledge 197/15)—caused by repetition of the initial letters of "mynistracion"—found in the other manuscripts. They also read "and accusith *his* rizthwisnes," an abbreviation of the longer "accusith *þe* rizthwisnesse of god" (199/13). Yet D agrees with all manuscripts against AddBJPW when it has "and aboue al *vertwis* werkis" (cf. 139/16) rather than "aboue all *uertus* werkis."
65. DJP against Add: in alle þyng *mot* be fulfilled (cf. Bazire-Colledge 112/17: in al þinge *euer mote* be fulfilled; Add has "myght"); DJP: þat *blissidful* ladi fond grace azenst pride (cf. 137/9: þat *blissful* ladi fonde grace azens pride); ADHLRTW against AddJP: also *y trowe* not 3e desire as for 3owre self (cf. 152/19: also *I suppose* 3e desiren it nat as for 3oureself; Add omits "I suppose"); DJP against Add: þat we leue owre goude wurchyng (cf. 157/7–8: þat *if* we leue oure goode worchyng; Add omits "þat if"); DEJeLa: erroneous "a priuat a temperal ioye" against AddJJPW: a *priue* temperal ioye (cf. 183/17–18: a *priuat* temperal ioie); DJP against Add: for as saith seynt augstyn þere ech synne is not wilful is no synne. but þan it be wilful þat is to saye no deidly synne (cf. 201/19–21: for as seiþ seint austyn, þat eche synne þat is nat wilful is no dedeli synne; there is eyeskip here in Add, which omits "is no dedeli synne. But al be it suche temptacions bien no synne þat bien nat wilful"). That this was a difficult sentence with which many scribes had problems can be seen in the many variant readings (cf. Bazire-Colledge 201, n. 20).

66. All these instances are recorded in Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*. D agrees with the majority of manuscripts whenever they disagree with the BHeJeLa group and whenever they disagree with a unique reading in another manuscript or W, unless listed in the variants in this essay.
67. The only variant reading that is not the omission or substitution of an article, demonstrative or possessive, is the following: AddDHaJPW: þat is trauelid with eny *spice* of pride (cf. Bazire-Colledge 207/4–5: þat is trauelid with ony *spirit* of pride). The AddDHaJPW sources have the more common reading here, but when "spirit of pride" means "the urge to pride" (see *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. spirit (n.), meaning 4c(b)), the text also makes sense.
68. The differences are of the same kind as the ones discussed earlier between AddDJP and the other manuscripts: omissions and additions of single words, use of synonymous words, and small grammatical changes such as the use of singular or plural forms of nouns and pronouns and the use of different verb forms. On the significance of the uniform transmission of texts, see Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3–10 and 43–53.
69. The phrase "the secwnde sekt of contrarios leuyng" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 134/10) is the one instance in which the word returns. The other three chapters simply speak of people who live contrary to virtuous living: "which lyue contrariosli to all maner vertwis" (cf. 130/11); "he leuyth yn al maner contrariete to haue þe loue of god" (cf. 138/17); "Opir men þer be of contrarios leuyng" (cf. 142/14).
70. Bazire and Colledge choose B on the basis of its superior readings—of which they give three examples (Bazire and Colledge, 33)—and because it is a copy "for which it can be justly claimed that it is physically perfect, whereas other good and careful manuscripts, such as A, Add and J are not"; *ibid.*, 33. Thus, rather than editing T as corrected by corrector Tc on the basis of He, they choose to "present readers with the most nearly perfect manuscript, and to emend that where emendation seemed necessary and warrantable"; *ibid.*, 34. Bazire and Colledge do not always emend the B reading when it disagrees with all other manuscripts, probably because they do not consider the variations significant enough.
71. Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 78–81. Also see Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic, Analecta Cartusiana* 85.1–2 (Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984).
72. Of these twenty-five, the following are the most significant: ADJeLaPR: *Now we schul knowe* þe presence of owre lorde ihesu (cf. Bazire-Colledge 105/5: *How mowen we haue* þe presence of oure lord iesu crist); DPRW: whan þere was but litil eny congregacioun of monkis (cf. 162/15: whanne

per were but fewe monkes); DLPRT: to *vexe* hem soor (cf. 163/15: to *trauele* hem soore); DHLPTW: bot be *stereyng* of anoþer (cf. 164/14: but be *strengþe* of anoþer); DHLPTW: for brekyng of behest of *deedli* thyng (cf. 89/12: for brekyng of biheeste of an *erpli* þing).

73. A direct link between two *Chastising* manuscript is lateral, as T and He were corrected against each other. All corrections by Tc derive from He, and He has indeed been corrected against a manuscript from the LRT group. Hec also left corrective notes in T. See Sargent, "New Manuscript," 59.
74. Indeed, in this passage, the opening of chapter 26, D shares readings with all other manuscripts against P, which has clearly erroneous readings:

D: þat þat is leifful (P: "vnleful," with "vn" erased) (cf. Bazire-Colledge 214/19)

D: þat þat is leifful (P: "vnlieful") (cf. 214/22)

D: þynges þat beþ leifful (P: "vnlieful") (cf. 215/2)

It is a *meýdful* riwle in general ordir of louyng to a man or woman which hath do vnleiffulli: þat he refrayne hym self / from þat / þat is *leifful* ¶ In þis refreynyng we most holde twe þyngis / þat is to seie: þe maner of satisfaccion / and þe neyd of purgacion ¶ þe maner of satisfaccion is : þat after þe trespas refreynyng of þat þat is *leifful* / be mesurid be auctorite of holy churche / þat aftir þe wordis of seynt John: we mowe do worthi fruytis of penawnce / bot þis maner of satisfaccion longith to hym to knowe þat hath cure of saule / as it is write yn holi chirche lawe / to zow it nedith nat to knowe þer fore y passe ouyr of satisfaccion. ¶ Bot now to schewe zow of þe nyed of purgacion of þe saule: ze schul vndirstonde þat it is onli *meýdful* to refreine fram þynges þat beþ *leifful* for satisfaccion bot also to vse afflictions or trauayl in gostli werkyng owtward to put a wai possessions or make hem lasse which we haue yn custom / for y trowe eche man and woman hath som traueyl with oo þyng more þan with an oþir / and þat traueyl we clepe a passyon. (D, fols. 95v–96r)

cf. Bazire-Colledge 214/17–215/7:

It is a *nedeful* rule in general ordre of livyng to a man or womman which haþ do vnleiffulli, þat he refreine hymself for þat whiche is *leeful*. In this refreyneng we musten holde twei þinges: þat is to seie, þe maner of satisfaccion, and nede of purgacion. The maner of satisfaccion is þat aftir the trespas, þe refreyneng of þat þat is *leeful* be

measured bi auctorite of holi chirche, þat aftir þe wordis of seint joon, we mowe do worþi fruytes of penaunce; but þis maner of satisfaccion longiþ to hym to knowe þat haþ cure of soule, as it is writen in holi chirche lawe. To zow it nedith nat to knowe: þerfor I passe ouer of satisfaccion. But now to shewe zow of þe nede of purgacion of þe soule: ze schul vndirstonde þat it is nat oonli *nedeful* to refreine of þinges þat bien *leifful* for satisfaccion, but also to use afflictions or trauaile in goostli werkyng outward to put awey passions, or make hem lasse, which we han in custom; for I trowe eche man and womman haþ sum trauaile wiþ oon þing more þan anoþer, and þat trauel we clepen a passion.

75. The two most obviously nonsensical errors are D: to his *costly* fadre (cf. Bazire-Colledge 111/8: to his *goostli* fadir); and D: to mennys *cwoieng* (cf. 119/15: to mennys *knowynge*). In two instances, the scribe ends copying in mid-word: D: azens such *tempta* (cf. 151/15–16: azens *suche temptacions*); and D: þe *chasti* þat he sufferith (cf. 199/6–7: þe *chastisyng* þat he suffriþ).
76. On scribes' making and thinking, see Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 3–10.
77. Some examples should suffice: D: I haue rehersed schortli here (cf. Bazire-Colledge 99/15: I haue rehersed heere schortli); D: þat fulli he is beclupid (cf. 102/21: þat he is fulli beclipped); D: yn his blisse be his merci (cf. 148/22: bi his merci in his blisse); D: cownseile and cownfort opir (cf. 150/11: counceil oþer and comferten); D: god hath zif me and put in me (cf. 155/3–4: god haþ put in me and zoue me); D: al ordynaunce and obseruawnce (cf. 192/11–12: alle þe obseruaunces and ordenauncis); D: myekli to suffre with wte eny gruchchyng (cf. 199/14–15: mekeli wiþout gruchchyng to suffre); D: remedies azenst dredful goostli temptacions (cf. 205/12–13: remedies azens goostli dredful temptacions).
78. Folio 38v, left-hand margin, bracketed, in red: "of þe dro/pesie" next to "wexe seke for colde þanne þai falle yn to þe dropsie" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 125/16–17).
79. Folio 39v, left-hand margin, cropped, bracketed, in red: "[þis i]s þe coti/[di]ane fe/[u]yr" next to "This is a cotidian fyure" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 126/20), and "[?] þe feuyr / [ter]cian þat co/[my]th of an / [h]ete" next to "þe secunde feuyr is clepid a terciā" (cf. 127/3); fol. 40v, left-hand margin, cropped, bracketed, in red: "[?] þe terciā / [fy]euer þat is / [ca]wsid of colde" next to "þe secunde fieuer of vnstabilnes is cawsid of colde" (cf. 128/12); fol. 41r, right-hand margin, cropped, bracketed, in red: "Of þe quar[t]/yn fyue[er]" next to "In some men þe quarteyn fyueyr is cawsid of þis vnstabilnesse" (cf. 129/10–11).
80. Folio 89r, right-hand margin, cropped, in red: "Pri[de]" next to "azenst

- Pride" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 206/12); folio 89v, left-hand margin, cropped, in red: "[C]oueytise" next to "Azenst coueytise" (cf. 207/11); folio 90v, left-hand margin, cropped, in red: "[W]rathe" next to "Azenst wrathe" (cf. 208/20); folio 91r, right-hand margin, cropped, in red: "Enuy[e]" next to "Azenst enuye" (cf. 209/10); folio 92r, right-hand margin, cropped, in red: "Slewt[h]" next to "Azenst slewth" (cf. 210/12); folio 93r, right-hand margin, cropped, in red: "Gloteny[e]" next to "Azenst glotonye" (cf. 211/15); folio 93v, left-hand margin, in red: "Lecherie" next to "Azenst lecherie" (cf. 212/11).
81. Folio 70v, left-hand margin: "helyseus" next to "helyseus" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 169/16) and "balthasar" next to "balthasar" (cf. 169/17–18).
 82. Folio 50v: contra superbiam; folio 51r: contra auariciam; folio 52r: contra iram; folio 52v: contra inuidiam; folio 53r: contra accidiam; folio 53v: contra gulam; folio 54r: contra luxuriam.
 83. This often seems to have been the case. In Wakelin's survey of the corrections in manuscripts from the Huntington Library, "the overall results show a clear tendency for correcting to be done by the people who do the copying itself." Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 72ff.
 84. Folio 10r: marginal correction "wych" to be inserted instead of the crossed-out words in "takyng away any mannys name or fame ȝif ȝe spekyng oþer"; folio 18r: marginal correction "þe tym" and caret (at *) in the text in "in to * þat hit pleise god for his grete pite to cownfort hym be grace"; folio 68r: marginal correction "many," and caret (at *) in the text in "Of þis we mowe se ful * of ensawmplis" (cf. Bazire-Colledge 166/9–10); folio 72r: interlinear correction "man and woman" in "euery * scholde mekeli drede visions" (cf. 182/11–12); folio 90r: marginal addition "Xihu" and caret (at *) in the text in "for eiþer he wil ordeyne for hem þat * neydith (cf. 208/3–4); folio 99r: marginal correction "ȝe" and caret (at *) in the text in "þat * falle not yn to temptacion" (cf. 219/18–19).
 85. Next to the chapter opening, another hand has erroneously written "ca xij."
 86. See Sutherland, "Chastising," 355–357.

WORKS CITED

Manuscripts

- Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125.
 Cambridge, St. John's College, MS E.25.
 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19.
 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.39.
 Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 9.
 Liverpool, University Library, MS F.40.10.

- London, British Library, MS Additional 33971.
 London, British Library, MS Harley 1706.
 London, British Library, MS Harley 2218.
 London, British Library, MS Harley 6615.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 41.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 505.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 923.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 99.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C57.
 Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39.
 Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition of *The Chastising of God's Children*.
 Yale, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn fa46 (olim Taunton, Somerset Record Office, MS Heneage 3084).

Primary Texts

- Bazire, Joyce, and Eric Colledge, eds. *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957.
 Saint Bonaventura. S.R.E. *Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae ex ordine minorum episcopi Albanensis, eximii ecclesiae doctoris, opera omnia*. Vol. 12, ed. Adolphe Charles Peltier. Paris: Vivès, 1868.
 Horstmann, Carl. *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and His Followers*. Vol. 2. London: Sonnenschein, 1895–1896.
 Rolle, Richard. *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson. EETS 293. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Secondary Texts

- Allen, Hope Emily, ed. *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
 ———. *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography*. New York and London: D.C. Heath and Oxford University Press, 1927.
 Bazire, Joyce. "The Dialects of the Manuscripts of *The Chastising of God's Children*." *English and Germanic Studies* 6 (1957): 64–78.
 Boffey, Julia. "Short Texts in Manuscript Anthologies: The Minor Poems of John Lydgate in Two Fifteenth-Century Collections." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, 69–82. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
 ——— and John S. Thompson. "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production

- and Choice of Texts." In *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, 279–316. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Cré, Marleen. "Spiritual Comfort and Reasonable Feeling: Annotating *The Chastising of God's Children* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 57." In *Emotion and Medieval Textual Media*, ed. Mary C. Flannery. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, forthcoming.
- . "'Ze han desired to knowe in comfort of zoure soule': Female Agency in *The Chastising of God's Children*." *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 42.2 (2016): 164–180.
- . "Take a Walk on the Safe Side: Reading the Fragments from Ruusbroec's *Die geestelike brulocht* in *The Chastising of God's Children*." In *De letter levend maken: Opstellen aangeboden aan Guido de Baere bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, ed. Frans Hendrickx and Kees Schepers, 233–246. *Miscellanea Neerlandica* 39. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2010.
- . *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, MS Additional 37790*. Medieval Translator 9. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.
- . "'We Are United with God (and God with Us?):' Adapting Ruusbroec in *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God and The Chastising of God's Children*." In *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England VII*, ed. E. A. Jones, 21–36. Cambridge, UK: Brewer, 2004.
- Dickens, A. G. *Reformation Studies*. London: Hambledon Press, 1982.
- Donadoni, Emilio. "The Chastising of Godde's Children." In *Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books: Sale 1550; 21 May 2014*. London: Christie's, 2014.
- Doyle, Ian. "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1954.
- Dutton, Elizabeth. *Julian of Norwich: The Influence of Late-Medieval Devotional Compilations*. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2008.
- Edden, Valerie. *Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist XV: Manuscripts in Midland Libraries*. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2000.
- Eisermann, Falk. *Stimulus amoris: Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzung, Rezeption*. Tübingen, Germany: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001.
- Gillespie, Vincent. "'Lukyng in haly bukes': Lectio in Some Late Medieval Miscellanies." In *Looking in Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England*. Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 3. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011. 113–144.
- Hanna, Ralph. *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive*

- Catalogue*. Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Exeter, UK: Exeter University Press, 2010.
- . "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, 37–52. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Innes-Parker, Catherine. "The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*: Translations, Adaptations, Influences and Audience, with Special Attention to Women Readers." In *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Yoko Wada, 145–173. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003.
- James, M. R. *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1900.
- Jolliffe, P. S. A *Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974.
- Jones, E. A., ed. *The "Exhortacion" from Disce mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39*. Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006.
- Kirchberger, Claire, ed. *Introduction to The Goad of Love, attributed to Walter Hilton*. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.
- Lewis, Robert E., Norman Francis Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. New York: Garland, 1985.
- McIlroy, Claire Elizabeth. *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*. Studies in Medieval Mysticism. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2004.
- McIntosh, Angus, Michael Benskin, and M. L. Samuels. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English: County Dictionary*. Vol. 4. Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1986.
- Mynors, R. A. B., and R. Thomson. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1993.
- Nichols, Stephen G., and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Sargent, Michael G. "Bishops, Patrons, Mystics and Manuscripts: Walter Hilton, Nicholas Love and the Arundel and Holland Connections." In *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift Dedicated to Toshiyuki Takamiya on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney, 159–177. York, UK: York Medieval Press, 2014.
- . *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic. Analecta Cartusiana* 85.1–2 (Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984).
- . "Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature." In *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*. Vol. 2. *Analecta Cartusiana*

- 106, ed. James Hogg, 145–176. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983–1984.
- . “A New Manuscript of *The Chastising of God’s Children* with an Ascription to Walter Hilton.” *Medium Aevum* 46 (1977): 49–65.
- Sharpe, Richard. *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1997.
- Sutherland, Annie. “*The Chastising of God’s Children*: A Neglected Text.” In *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison, 353–373. Medieval Church Studies 4. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.
- Voaden, Rosalynn. “Rewriting the Letter: Variations in the Middle English Translation of the *Epistolasolitarii ad reges* of Alphonso of Jaén.” In *The Translation of the Works of Saint Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars*, ed. Bridget Morris and Veronica O’Mara, 170–185. The Medieval Translator 7. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000.
- Wakelin, Daniel. *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

APPENDIX A:

Transcription of the First Booklet of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 247

Method of transcription: to replicate D’s text as closely as possible, the original word division has been retained, which means that parts of compound words that have been written separately in the manuscript have not been joined in the transcription. Equally, forms that were written together have also been recorded as such.

D’s scribe uses *v* in word-initial position in all but six cases, where he wrote *u*, and his spelling is reflected in the following pages. Abbreviations have been expanded in italics in accordance with the majority of unabridged forms, punctuation has been modernized to make the text more readable, and capitalization has been regularized to agree with the editorial decisions on punctuation.

Most of the incongruencies and omissions have not been corrected in the text, because the reader will be able to resolve these erroneous readings readily by referring to the variants in Appendix B. As a rule, notes are only used in cases where reference to the variants would not result in clarity, and editorial alterations to the text are marked with square brackets.

Only extant in four manuscripts, the *IX Poyntes* extract in D has been compared to London, British Library, MS Harley 1706 (Har, as printed in

Horstmann), Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.39 (Tr), and Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. IX (Hf). From the start of the *Stimulus amoris* segment in line 25, the variants refer to Hf only. In the variants section (Appendix B), abbreviations have been expanded silently, and marginal additions have been identified with an asterisk.

- [fol. 1r] [extract from *IX Poyntes*] in thi list. ¶ For godisseruant scholde neuer more thenke, ne speke, ne do bote as he wolde in þe presence of his lorde. For certenli al þat þou spekest and dost god seye as uralich as þou wer in his presence þer oure ladi sit in heue[n]. For godis loue take hede. 3if þou art aschamid for to do a
5 dedly synne be fore thyn euencristen, þe wiche is frele and sinful as þou art and may no 3t greue but þi bodi, moche more scholdest þou be agast to synne bi fore thi god þat neuere trespassed and schal be þi domesman at þe dai of dome. ¶ The ix poynt is, in cas þat þou my 3t come to þe perfeccion of þis poyntes, þat þou knowlech þat hit is a grete grace of godis goudnesse þat he wil woch saue to 3eue þe so muche grace of
10 perfeccion. Natheles oft be thenke þe of oþer many benfait 3 of god how hath worschipe þi soule be enpreynting of his owene ymage, and how he hath taken thi kynde and suffred for thi loue despites deth, and how hath grauntes to be þi fode in þis lif and wil be þi ioie and thi blisse in an oþer lif.

- And for encheison þat þou my 3t [fol. 1v] now sen hem in his godhed whiles
15 þou art in þis worlde, oft þe fore beholde hym in his manhode hongyng for þe on the crois, and haue sorwe and compassion hym, as þou haddest and suffrest alle his wondes and his paynes in þi bodi. And be inward sori þat þou mi 3t not fele in þe be þe paynes þat he suffred for þe, synful wrecche. Be thoghtes ofte haue in mynde and speciallich wanne he lieth on the auter atte masse, and say to hym in this manere:
20 ‘Lord ihesu crist, þou þat art bred of lif þat cometh out of heuene, so fede me and fulfille me with þe, so þat I haue non hongur after no thyng bot þe. And so make me drynke with þi bloude and of thi loue þat I be nou 3t a perst bot after þe. Lorde hold so faste my soule and my loue to þe þat for non oþere loue ne for synne ne be neuere departid fro me. Amen.’

- 25 [Stimulus extracts and additions] For encheson þat loue may alle do with any mysdo, and loue is þe rote of perfeccion of alle vertues, and þe more þou hast of god loue, þe betre þou art, and þe more liche to god, and nere to blisse. For [fol. 2r] all þe mesure of goud loue schalle 3eue þe mesure of blisse in heuen, and þere fore þe is non better to man oþer woman þan for to studie how he may in god loue.
30 Certis wonderful is þe vertu of loue, for hit enclineth god to erthe and rereth¹ mannys saule to heuen, and god and þi saule knytteþ to gedre in ioie and in blisse. Loue makeþ man, for he maketh frende and þe seruant child. The abhominable he makeþ glorious and þe sori ioious. Be colde he makeþ hoot, and þe derke he makith bri 3th, and þe harde he makith nesche.

- 35 As witnesseth þe deuout saule in þe boke of loue spekyng to god in þis manere: An[y] saule meltiþ atte þe speche of hym þat I loue. O worde amable. O worde dilettable. I vnworthi wrecche þat am not worthi be clepid on of godes

creatures, bot how am y so mucheloued of þe þat my hert meltith at þe speche of þe. Obrennyng of trewe loue, moche is þi miȝth. Ffor hertoformyn herte was as drie and
 40 as harde as [fol. 2v] ston. And now thorw þe uertu of my saule is multen in me. O goud loue, what may I zeue the þat þou woldest euere more dwelle with me? Ffor wondrousful is þi uertu þat turnest me in to god and god in to me.

What is more myȝtti, or swettere, or gladdere, or noblere þan þou? Certis no thyng. Þou bindest god to þe piler. Þou putttest þe croune of thorne vp on his hede.
 45 Þou heng hym opon þe crois and nailedest hym þerto. Þou opinidest his blissed hert with þe scharpe spere, out of þe wich com water and bloude in remission of mannys trespas. Wasch wel thi saule in þat bathe, and þanne schalt þou haue with þe vertu of brennyng loue.

O blissful loue, þou makest me morne, and loue lonyng after oure spouse
 50 ihesu crist, and desire hym alone. O loue desirous þat fulfillest þe hongri of soueraigne delites. For at a louelich worde of þe my saule is molt in me. O þou swete saule, ȝif þou art milte at o swete worde of þi spouse, what likyng were hit to þe ȝif he wolde klippe and kisse þe. Certis no tonge may telle, [fol. 3r] and þere fore, ȝif þou wilt be parfite, lerne for þe quike to feer in thyn herte, and ther fore thou
 55 schalt vnderstonde þat aman þat is colde becomyth hoot in diuers maneris: be clothyng of many clothis, be goyng to þe fier, be trauaillyng of body, hoot spices, and strong drynke. So gostlich, ȝif þou wilt wer hoot in þe loue of god, do on many clothes of vertu, for vertu is clothes to mannys saule. Ho so lakkeþ o vertu, his saule is naked in o partie, and þer fore ȝif þou wilt be hoot, alle a boutte clothe thi saule with
 60 many vertues, so þat non lakke to þe. And sit ofte bi þe brennyng fier of loue þat crist aqueked in his brennyng and betir passion, and thenke ofte on þe loue of god and charite toward man, and of blyndnesse and þe malice of man toward god.

For ȝif hit is so þat godis sone wolde one² to hym mankynde withoute departyng, how muche more schulde oure saule one hym self to god, and euermore
 65 cleue to hym withoute departyng? Certis ȝif goddes sone wolde of so brennyng loue one hym a sonys to mankynd, moche mores schulde man [fol. 3v] open his hert for to receyue hym to dwelle þere ynne. What wodnesse is in þat man þat makeþ hym cloose his herte to god, and openeth hit to wrecchidnesse, likyng to þe deuille, to þe worlde, and to þe flesch. For certis goddis sone toke noȝt mannys flesch for a man
 70 scholde loue lykyng of his flesch, bot as he dwellyng and beyng in flesch punished and³ painde his flesch, and left þe likynges of his flesch. And his saule was euer cleyuyng to god be loue. So a man dwellyng in flesche scholde leue and destroeie þe likynges of his flesch and euere haue his saule to god bi loue and contemplacion.

¶ Allas muche his þe blyndnesse of man þat is made of bodi and saule. And þe
 75 saule with oute comparison is better þanne þe bodie. Natheles, alle his tyme he spendeþ aboute his likynges and thenges þat longeþ to þe bodi, and a boutte his saule hath he non besenesse for to fede hym, for to norische hym, ne for to resten hym in god, þe wiche were more better and more delectable with outen comparison.

¶ Cer[fol. 4r] tes þey a saule were worse þanne a best, ȝit he scholde loue god

80 to whom he is liche, for eche thyng loueþ kendlich þat is liche to hym. And þere fore my saule, ȝif þou wilt algate loue flesch, loue no flesch bot cristes flesch, þat for þe and almankynde hangyd on tre and payned withoute mesure greuouslich. Here on þenke continualli for þe meditacion of cristes passion rerith manys saule and his mende to heuene, and techiþ what he schal do, and he schal þenke, and speke. And
 85 for þer more hit schal quike þi saule þe more able to perfeccion and trauail and make þe holde litel be þi self, and in thynkyng worchyng schal make þe parfit in þe loue of.⁴

O passion desirous. O deth wonderful. What is more wonderful þan deth þat quiketh, þan wondes þat helen, þan blod þat maketh whit and clenseth, þan sorwe þat
 90 gladeþ? Þe openyng of his syde heuyth oure herte to his hert. Bot ȝit sese noȝt for to wondre, for þe sonne wanne he was derke schyned more briȝth, þe fier aquaynt more heteþ, þe well dried [fol. 4v] more welletþ þe passion. And certes ouer wonderful hit is þat crist in þe croce thurstyng made drynke, he naked cloþed vs with vertues, his hondes nayled to þe tre vnbyndeþ oure hondes, his feet⁵ nailid to þe croce makeþ vs
 95 renne to hym. Be þe way of loue and goude werkes and out sendyng his saule, he enspireth gostli lif in to oure soule.

O passion meruailous þat makest hym þat thenkyþ oft on þe noȝt onlich euen with angeles bot passe angeles to þe liknesse of almiȝtti god. Ffor he þat dwelleth in meditacion be cristes turment and wondes takeþ non hede of hym self, bot his god
 100 paynid for hym. He desireth [to] bere þe croce with his lorde, and in þat he berith hym, he berith heuene and erthe. He desireth to be coronnyd with thornes as his lorde was, and in þat he is coroned with hope of ioie endless. He desireth to hangenaked on þe croce with his lorde, and in þat he is clothed with clothyng of vertues. He wil with crist drynke of his betir drinke, and crist hym drynkesse with soueraigne wyne of [fol. 5r]
 105 swetnesse. He wol be paynid with hym on þe croce, and in þat angeles hym worshipping and oure ladi hym taketh as here owne sone. ¶ The sorwe of cristes in man other woman torneth hym to gladnesse and þe payne to ese, and whanne a man desireth to hange on þe croce with crist and suffre þat he suffred, criste hym takeþ, kisseþ, and clippeth⁶ as his owene brother and childe.

110 O passion amable and delectable. ¶ Allas, allas, whi naddy ben don on þe croce with hym, and honde and foot nayled to hym? Þanne miȝt I haue deyed with hym and be beried with hym, and neuere haue departid from hym. And þere fore certes ȝif I ne may noȝt do þus bodelich, I will do thus gostlich and entre in to hym, and in hym I wil me þre dwellynges. On is in hondes, on is in feet, þe þridde in hert. Þere I wil
 115 reste, and slepe, and ete, and drinke, rede, and synge, and praye, and alle my nedes tret and speke. Þere I schal speke with swete hert, and alle þat me nedip y schal purchase of hym alone. Þer may [fol. 5v] non enemy me greue ne disese, and þer fore wil I abide and dwelle for euer more.

And in þis manere schal I folowe þe stappis of his swete modre, whas saule þe
 120 swerd of sorwe parced in the tyme of his paynful passyon. To her I wil speke sekerlich and to what thyng me likeþ I schal encline her, and onlich I wil apeere I

crucified with hir son, bot also I wil go to chirche and bicom a litil childe *with* my lorde, meke and innocent as a lombe. I schal medle þe moderis milke *with* þe childes bloude þat schal quenche al þe mislikyng of my flesch and of my saule.

- 125 O swete woundes of oure lord ihesu crist. O þe blyndnesse of man þat haþ no mende ne no reward to his wondes þat beþ þe gates of paradis opend for I go in. Ne knowe I now 3t þat crist is þe ioie and þe delites of hem þat bein in blisse. Whi þanne be þai slowe for to entre in to hym be þe opon gates of his wondes? Be holde how þe gates of paradis beþ iopened with o scharp swerde. Be holde þe tre of lif boþe in
130 braunche [fol. 6r] and in frut, fulle of holis oueralle. In wiche holis bot þou sette þi foot of þi loue, þou schalt neuer take þe fruyt of þe tre. Be holde now on is openyd þe tresour of godis whom *and* of endeles delites. Of þat I ne hadde be in þe stede of þe spere þat wente in to cristes syde and yn to hys herte. Certes I wolde neuer haue comen out be my wille. Bot y wolde haue sayde: 'Here is my reste for euer more.
135 Here I wil dwelle, for I haue chosun þis place'. Allas þe folly of men þat cheseþ for to dwel in þe worde, in þe flesch, and in þe places þat ben vnclene, wrecchid, and sinful, and for to haue goddess sone þat is souereyn goudnesse, ioie and blisse, ne wil entre in to hym be his open woundes, hauyngge in wardlich mende þere on.

- O my saule þou art maked to þe liknesse of god. Ho mute holde þe *with* þi
140 self. Lo how þi swete spouse is wonded for þe oueral and desireth for to clippe þe and kysse þe. Be holde how for grete loue he hath opened his side to þe, and profered to þe his hert. Be holde þe wondes of hym þat hangyth, þe bloude of þe innocent, þe pris of þe diggere. His hed he hath enclined þe for to [fol. 6v] kysse, his armes he hath spred þe for to clippe, his syde he opened þe for to loue, and alle þis for to drawe
145 mannys saule for to loue hym.

- And for to come to þi desire, say þis orison: 'Lorde almy 3tti god, fadre of heuene, for þat largesse and þi sonnesse passion *and* for me suffrede deth, and his *and* his^r moder excellent holynesse and þe meritis of alle holy seintes, graunte me synful and vnworthe creature for to loue þe alone, so þat myn hert be euer more brennyng in
150 þe fuer of loue, *and* þat I mowe in alle þyng and alle my workes desire þi worschippe, and euer more haue þi passion in myn herte, and verray knowlechyng of my wrechidnesse and vnworthinesse. In no thyng be my ioie bot in þe and for þe, and *with* alle myn herte I beseche þe þat for no þyng be I disesed, ne sori bot for synne, ffor þe wiche þe sonne suffred painful deth and despitous. Louelich lorde and spouse ihesu
155 crist, write in myn hert so þat I mowe rede þi loue towar[d] me and þi sorwe for me, and þe mende for hym euer more he dwellyng fresch in my herte. Amen.

- [extract from *The Form of Living begins*] Atte þe firste begynnynge torne enterelich [fol. 7r] to þi lorde ihesu crist. Þis turnyng is now 3t ellis bot þe turnyng from alle coueytise and likyng and ocupacions, and besinesse of þis wordlich þynges,
160 and fleschlich lustes, and vayn loue. So þat þi thou 3t þat was al way downward in to þe erthe wiles þou wer in þe worlde now be vpward as fier sechys þe heest place of heuene ri 3t to þi spouse þere he sittip in his blisse. To hym þou art turnyd wanne his grace ledeth þyn hert, and forsakest alle vices, and conformest hit to vertues, and to

goud þewys, and to alle manere bonerte and meknesse. *And* þou maist leste and wex
165 in goudnesse, for þou hast be gunne *with* oute eny slownesse *and* werinesse *and* sorynesse of lif.

- ¶ Ffour thynges þou schalt haue in thi þou 3t for to þou be in parfit loue. For whanne þou art comen þer to, þi ioie and þi desir wil al wey be hyngyng in ihesu crist. On is of þe mesure of þi lif her þat so schort is þat vnnethes hit is ou 3t. Ffor we ne
170 leue bot in o poynt þat is þe lest thyng þat may be, and trewlich oure lif is [fol. 7v] lasse þanne o poynt 3if we likne hit to þe lif þat lastip euer.

- An oper is an vncerteinesse of oure endyng, for we wetip neuere whanne we schul dye, ne where, ne how, ne wheder we schul gonewhannewe be ded. And god wille þat þis be vncertayne and vnknowe for we schulde euer more be redi to dy and
175 go.

- ¶ The bridde is þat we schulle answere to fore þe ri 3twis iuge of alle þe tyme þat we han here ben: how we haue here lyued, what oure occupacions han here ben, and what goud we my 3t haue donne whanne we han here ben idel. For þe profit saith: he þat clepeth þe tyme a 3ens me þat euerече day he hath lent vs here for to spende
180 hit in godesseruise, and in penaunce, and in goud vse. 3if we lese hit *and* wast hit in erthli loue *and* vanites, ful greuousli schalle we be demed and punished þer fore. Hit is on of þe most sorwe þat may be, bot we enforce vs mi 3thli in þe loue of god al þat we may the while oure schort tyme lasteth. For þat we þenkeþ not on god we [fol. 8r] may counte as þyng þat we haue lost.

- ¶ The furthe is þat we þenke how moche is þe ioie þat þai hanne þat lastip in godes loue in to here endyng, ffor þai schul be breþeren *and* felawes in his maieste, þe wiche si 3th schal be mede *and* mete, and alle delites þat any creature may thenke, and more þan any man may telle to alle his louers *with* outen ende. Hit is mochel to cum to þat blis þanne to þenke hit oper telle hit. Also þenke what sorwe and what
190 payne and what torenement þai schul haue þat loue nou 3t god ouer alle oper thengis þat men seie in þis worlde bot feyneth here body and here saule in lust and in vnclennesse of þis lif, in pride, and in coueytise, and in oper synnes. Thay schul brenne in þe fier of helle *with* þe deuelis wham þai serue as long as god is in heuene *with* his seruantes, þat is euer more.

- I wolde þat þou were clene brennyng al way to ihesu cristward, and encressyng þi lif and þi seruise in hym no 3th as foles doth, for þai begynyth in þe hiest degre and [fol. 8v] cometh doune to þe lowest. Isay no 3t 3if þou haue begunne vn skilful abstinence þat þou holde on, bot for many þat were brennyng atte þe begynnynge and able to þe loue of ihesu crist for ouer muche penaunce þai han lettid
200 þam self and made hem so feble þat þai mowe no 3t loue god as thai schulde. In þe wiche loue þat þou be euer more and more is my desire and couaytise. I holde þe neuer of þe lasse merite 3if þou be no 3t in so abstinence as were sum tyme holi men and women a fore vs. But souereynlich loke þou sette al þi þou 3t how þou my 3t loue þi spouse ihesu crist more þanne þou hast doon.

- 205 *And* dar I lay þat þi mede waxing, where fore þat þou be ri 3t dispoused boþe

for þi soule and for þi bodi, þou schalt vnderstande foure thynges. The first is what fowleþ⁸ a man. The secunde what makþ hym clene. The thridd what holdith hym in clenness. The ferthe what thyng draweþ hym for to ordeyne his wille alto godis wille.

- 210 Ffor the ferste wer þou wil þat we synne in þre thynges þat [fol. 9r] makeþ vs fowle,⁹ þat is with herte, mout, and dede. The synnes of hert beth thies: euyl thouztes, euyl delites, assent to synne, longe abydyng, and likyng, and vnclene þouztes, desire of werk, euyl suspencion. 3if þou let þyn hert any tyme idel withoute ocupacion of þe loue and of þe preisyng of god, eny drede, euyl loue, error, fleschlich affeccion to thi frendes, ioie of eny mannis euil fare, wether thai be enemy oþer non, despit of poure oþer synful men, honoure riche men for here riches, sorwe of loste of thi wrecchid catelle, dout what is to do and what for ech manne o way to be siker, and what he schal do, and what he schal leue, obstinacion in euylle, anoi to do goude, anger to do goude, sorwe þat he dede no more euyl, or he did nozt þe wille and þe lust of his flesh, þe wich he myzt haue don, gladnesse in thenkyng in euyl þat þou hast [done], vnstabilnesse of þouzt, pyne of penaunce, ypocrisie, loue to please men for hem selue, schame of goude dedis, ioie of euil dedis. Singular [fol. 9v] with, couaitise of honour, or of dignite, or to better þanne oþer, or fairer, or to be more dred, vayn glorie of goudis of kynde hope oþer of grace, schame of poure frendes, pride and bost and of
- 215 220 225

- riche kyn or gentel. Ffor alle riche and poure we ben liche gentel and fre a for godis face, bot of oure goud dedis make vs any bettre or worse þanne oþer, despite of goud consail and goud techyng.
- ¶ The synnes of thi mouth beth pise: Ofte sweryng, forswere, sclandre of crist or of any of his halowen, nemne his name withoute reuerence, striwyng azens sopnesse, grotchyng azens god for any anguysche, or any tribulacion, or disese þat may falle in erthe, to say godis office in deuoutable and with oute reuerence, flateryng, cursyng, disesyng, bakbityng, chidyng, diffamyng, makyng discorde or debat, fals witnesse, euyl consail, scornynge, vnboxumnesse in worde to þis ouerayn, turne goude dede to euyl for to make hym be holde euyl þat doth hym noye, for we ben holde for to tourme owre [fol. 10r] euencristen in to þe best, excityng any man to wreche to vnderneme in any oþer þat he doth hym self, faynspeche, moche speche, idel speche, oþer wordes þat beth needful. Preysyng or mayntenynge of euyl dedis, synge or prai more for drede or for praysyng þanne for þe loue of god.

- The synnes¹⁰ beth pise: glotonye, lecherie, symonye, wichecraft, brekyng of the holidai, receyue godes bodi in dedli synne, brekyng of a vowe. Apostasie, dissolucion in godis seruise, brekyng of licence many place þat is forbode, euyl ensauple 3euyng, takyng away any mannys name or fame, 3if 3e⁺⁺ spekyng oþer¹² vnclennesse oþer blethlich heryng, custom ofte for to falle in to þe same synne be sleuthe, desire more goud for pride, for aray of oure body, oþer for any oþer vanite þanne we haue nede of, for to seme to vs self holier, cumnyng, wiser þanne we ben. To desire any degre cumnyng oþer worschip þat we be nozt worthi to, to desire vertues nozt for hym self bot for worschip þat comyþ þer of, and þanne þat scholde 3oure
- 240 245

- principal cause of 3oure loue and of 3oure lowe [fol. 10v] nesse toward god [be]¹³ cause of vnkyndenesse, hate, and vnboxumnesse, rebelle to oure soueraynes, dispisyng or nozt charchyng þe lawes and þe hestes of oure religion, dispisyng hem þat ben lasse þenne we, mislokyng, euyl heryng, vnclene touchyng or handlyng.
- And in alle synnes of dede 3e most haue and charge þe circumstances, þe wich beth thise: þe tyme of place, þe manere, þe noumbre, þe parsones, þe dwellyng, þe cunnyng,¹⁴ þe condicion, þe age. Pise makeþ þe synne more oþer lasse to conuert¹⁵ to synne or constrayne ony to synne.
- 250 255

- Oþer many synnes þer beth of omission, þat ben leuyng goud un do þat scholde be do: nozt þenkyng on god, ne louyng, ne dredyng, ne preisyng hym, ne þonkyng hym of þe benefices, do nozt alle þat we schulde do for godes loue, be nozt sorie for synne as we schulde be, dispose vs nozt to receyue grace, and, 3if we haue take grace, to vse hit nozt as we owzt to done, to turne nozt to inspiracion of god, to confourme nozt þi wille to godis wille, to 3eue nozt thyn entent to þi preieres and to þyn offys [fol. 11r] bot rebelle out faste and rekke neuere bot þat þai be sayd for to do negligently þat we be holde to do be a vowe or heste, or eniunid¹⁶ in penaunce, haue no ioie of oure euencristen profit as of oure owen. Sorwe nozt for here euyl fare, stondyng nozt azen temptacions, for 3euyng nozt hym þat hap don vs harme, pesyng nozt striues to hem þat beþ vnkunnyng, conforte nozt þam þat ben in sorowe, oþer sekenesse, oþer pouerte, penance, or any oþer disese. Thyse synnes and many mo makyn men foule.
- 260 265

- The þynges þat clensith vs beþ þre azens þis þre manere of synnyng. Þe ferst is sorwe of herte azens þe synnes of þowzt of hert, and þat þou most haue fulle wille neuere to synne more, and þat þou haue sorwe of alle þi synnes, and alle þi ioie and alle þi solace be on god, and yn god, þat he be nozt put out of þyn herte. Þat oþer is schrifte of mouþe azeys þe synnes of mouthe, and þou schalt be hasted withoute tareyng, open withoute excusing, and hole with oute departyng. As for to telle o synne to o prest and an oþer to þe secunde, þou most telle alle þat þou hast in þy mynde, or [fol. 11v] þou art þou nozt schreuyng. The þridde is satisfaccion azens þe synnes of dede. And he hap þre parties: fastyng, praiere, and almosdede. Nozt onlich to 3if mete and drynke to poure men, bot for to 3if hem þat doþ vs wrong and pray for hem, and enforme hym how þai schuld do þat kenneþ nozt so welle as we. Ffor þe þridde thyng þou schalt wel weten þat clenness be houeth be kepte in hert, in mouth, and in warke. Clennesse of herte þre þynges kepen. On is wakir þogzt and stable in god. An oþer is besynesse to kepe þi fyue wittes, so þat alle wikked steryng of hem be kept and closed out of þi flesch. The þridde is honest ocupacion and profitable.
- 270 275 280

- Also þre thynges kepith clenness of mouth. On is þat þou be þynke þe or þou speke. An oþer is þat þou be nozt muche of speche til þin hert be stabled in þe loue of ihesu crist, so þat þe beseme þat þou lokest alway on hym wheþer þou speke or nozt. Bot suche a grace myzt þou not haue in þe first dai, bot with grete trauail, and grete besynesse to loue ihesu crist, and with custom þat þe eyze of þyn [fol. 12r] hert be
- 285

290 euermore vpwarde. And þus þou schalt com þer to. The þridde is þou schalt for
nothyng ne for no meknesse lye in any manere, ffor ich lesyng is synne, *and* euyl, *and*
displeysyng to god. Hit be houep no 3t þat þou say alle þe soþe, bot be no ways sai non
lesyng. 3if þou sayst o þinge of þi self þe semeþ þi praisyng *and* saist hit to þe
295 3if þou wilt haue eny thyng preue, telle hit to non bot to hym þat þou wost wel wille
no 3t schewe hit bot onlich to þe praisyng of god, of whom is alle goudnesse. Ffor god
3if hym o special grace no 3t onlich for hym self, bot also for hem þat willeþ do wel
for here ensample.

Clenesse of werke þre þynges kepeþ. On is continual þo 3t on deþ, for þe
300 wiseman seiþ: 'þynke on þyn endyng and þou schalt neuer dye'. An oþer is þis: fle fro
euyl þat 3eueþ more ensauple to loue þe worlde þanne god, þe lustes of body þanne
clenness of saule. Þe þridde is temperaunce *and* discrecion in mete and drynke, þat
hit be no 3t to muche ne to litel for substance of þi body, for boþe [fol. 12v] comeþ to
on endyng, outrage *and* of ouer moche abstinence, for noþer is godis wille, *and* þat
305 wil no 3t manye wene, for no 3t þat man can say. 3if þou wilt take þi substaunce of
suche as god sendeth at tyme *and* sted what hit euer be, I take out no mete no drynke
þat cristen men vsith *with* discrecion and mesure, þou dost wel, ffor so dede criste
hym self and his apostelis. 3if þou loue many metys þat men vsen, no 3t dispysyng þe
mete þat god haþ maked to mans helpe, bot for þe þenkeþ þou hast no nede pere of,
310 þou dost wel. 3if þou se þat þou art strong to serue þi god, and þat hit breke no 3t þi
stomak, for 3if þou haue brokun hit with ouer muche abstinence, and þat hym lakke
appetit to mete, oft schalt þou be faynt as þou schuldest 3if vppe þi gost. *And* wete
þou wel þat þou synnest in þat dede and for þat þou my 3t wete sone for þyng be a 3ens
þe or *with* þe. Pere fore while þou art 3ong, I rede þat þou ete þe betre and werte
315 as hit comeþ þat þou be no 3t be gylid, *and* after [fol. 13r] ward, whanne þou hast
sayd manye þinges, and ouercome many temptacions, *and* knowest þi self and god
betre þan þou dost now, þanne if þou seyst hit be to done, þan þou my 3t take þe to þe
more abstinence. *And* þer whilbe þou my 3t do preuy penaunce þat alle þer of no 3t
weten.

320 Ri3twynesse is noþer in fastyng ne in etyng, bot þou art ri3thwis 3if hit alle
yliche to þe: despite and praysyng, pouert and riches, hongur *and* delites, nede
and plente. 3if þou take þise *with* a þo 3t of god, I holde þe blissed and childe of ihesu.
Meny men and women paraenture preiseth þe for þou hast ybounde þe to religion,
bot no wisman wil no 3t prayse þe so li3tlich, for o 3t þat be sei3t þe don *withouten*
325 forth. Bot 3if þi wil be conformed enterlich to do gods wille, and recche no 3t of
mannys praisyng no blamyng, and take non hede 3if þayspeke lasse goud of þe þanne
þay dede afore, bot onlich þat þou be more brennyng in godes loue þanne þou were.
Ffor o þyng [fol. 13v] werne I þe þat I trowe þat god hath non parfite seruant in erthe
withouten enemye, for only wrecchidnesse haþ non enemy in erthe.

330 Ffor to drawe vs þat we conforme oure wille to godis wille þar beþ þre
thynges: on ensample of holimen *and* wommen þe wiche were bese ny 3t and day to

serue god and drede hym *and* loued hym. And we folowe hym in erthe, we schul be
with hym in heuene. A noþer is þe goudnesse of oure lorde þat desspiseth non bot
gladlich receyue alle þo þat comyth to his mercy and is more homlich to hym þanne
335 his broþer, or suster, or eny frende þat þay most loue or tristen. The þridde is þe
wondurful ioie of þe kyngdom of heuene þat is more þanne tong may telle. For ri3th
as in helle no man leue may for muche payne, bot godis mi3t suffred hit no 3t for to
deye. So þe ioie of þe si3t of ihesu in godhede is so muche þat þai most deie for ioie,
3if ne were his goudnesse þat he wil his loueres be euer more leuyng in blisse, as
340 [fol. 14r] his ri3thwisnesse wille þat alle þat loueþ not hym be euermore leuyng in
fure þat is orible any man to þenke. Loke þanne what hit is to fele, bot for as moche
as þai wil no 3t þenke hit now ne drede hit, þayschulle suffre hit euer more *with* outen
ende.

Now hast þou harde how þou my 3t dispose þi lif and rule hit to godes wille,
345 [hortatory conclusion begins] and assaith seynt James, 'hit were bettre no 3t for to
knowe þe lawe of god þenne knowe hit and do no 3t þere after.' And þerfore, my leue
frende, y consaille þe þat þou forsake no 3t and dispise li3tlich þis lore and doctrine,
alle be hit þat paraenture for diuerse occupacions and lettyngs þat þou hast in þe
worlde, þou fyndest no gret sauoure þer in atte þe begynnynge. For as ich haue saide
350 afore, hertlich loue of god and goudnesse of lif wil no 3t be geten *with* oute grete
trauail and long continuaunce, bot whanne hit is hadde, hit is ful of lykyng of
swetnesse.

And þere fore, whanne þe holi gost sendeþ þe eny sauour to loue [fol. 14v]
god, forsake hit no 3t, bot kepe hit stille. And after þe grace þat he 3eueþ þe, parforme
355 hit and encrece hit, *and* 3if þou dost þus, I drede no 3t þat þou schalt forsake alle
undeneloued þat is no 3t to his worschipe for his loue. *And* þanne schalt þou ben his
spouse, dwellyng *with* hym in þe blisse of heuen endlich.

And if hit be so, dere frende, þat þis schort lesson do þe goud, þanke god þere
of and pray for me. The grace of god almy3tti, ihesu verrai god and man þat is verrai
360 loue *and* comfort of his louteris be *with* þe, and kepe þe fro euyl, and bryng þe to þi
spouse þat þou hast take þe to, þe wiche is euerlastyng god. Amen.

NOTES

1. MS: strereth.
2. "one" has been scraped off, but faint traces remain.
3. MS: and and.
4. Whereas in D this sentence is left incomplete, in Hf it ends with "god."
5. MS: fert.
6. MS: clipprth.
7. Crossed out.
8. MS: folweþ.
9. MS: folwe.

10. Inserted in the right margin: "of þi fle[sch]" (cut off).
11. Crossed out, "wyth" inserted in the right margin.
12. MS: written twice, abbreviated the second time.
13. MS: is.
14. MS: cumyng.
15. MS: couert.
16. MS: eininid.

APPENDIX B:

Variants

- 1 list] syzte Har, sizt Tr, sight Hf godisseruant] ne add. TrHf
- 2 bote] bote (te added above the line) Hf wolde] do add. HarTr
- his lorde] god Har
- 3 al] as HarTr þat þou] þenkeste add. Har, þenkist add. Tr,
- þenkest and add. Hf and] or Har seye] yt add. Har, it add.
- Tr as þou] as þou3 þou HarTri
- 4 oure ladi sit in heue] as he syttyþ in heuene Har, as he sittip in heuene
- Tr For] and for HarTr
- 4-7 For... dome] om. Hf
- 5 is] ben Har
- 7 is] þat add. HarTrHf
- 8 þat] om. Har þis poyntes] þese poins her bifor Hf knowlech]
- welle add. Har, weel add. Tr
- 9 grace] benefice Hf he] om. Hf woch saue] for add. Hf
- of] and HarTrHf
- 10 benfaitz] benefices Hf, benefetys Har, benefitis Tr how] he add
- HarTrHf
- 11-12 and how he hath taken thi kynde and suffred for thi loue despites
- deth] om. HarTri
- 12 despites] despitous Hf how] he add. Har grauntes]
- graunted HarTri, granted for add. Hf þi] mede and þi add. Hf
- 13 and thi blisse] om. Hf lif] þat haþ non ende add. Hf
- 14 þou] ne add. Hf now] not HarTr, om. Hf sen hem]
- him se Hf
- 15 þis worlde] þe wei toward þi contrei Hf oft þerfore] om. Hf,
- þerfore oft Har for þe] om. Hf on] vpon Har, in TrHf
- 16 compassion] of add. HarHf, on add. Tr as] þou3 add.
- HarTri suffredest] feledest Hf
- 17 his] om. Har þou] ne add. Hf þe be] þi body TrHar, þi bodi
- Hf
- 18 wrecche] wrche (crossed out in red ink) Tr þe] þese HarHf

- thoghtes] poyntys Har ofte haue] haue ofte Har in] þi add. Har
- 19 he lieth on the auter atte masse] þou seeste þe holy sacramente of
- Crystys body at þe masse or on þe auter Har, þou seest þe holy sacrament
- of cristis bodi at masse or on þe autir Tr and] þan add. Har, þanne add.
- Tr to hym] om. Har
- 20 þou] om. Har so] to Har and] to add. Har
- 21 so] graunte me add. Har I haue non hongur] me ne hungre Hf
- no] eny Har bot] oonly after add. Har, aftir add. Tr
- 22 I be nouzt a þerst bot after þe] me þirste noþing bote þe Hf so] om.
- Har
- 23 þat for] for om. Tr ne be] y Har, I Tr neuere]
- be add. HarTr
- 24 me] þe Har, þee Tr
- 25 Line 25 marks the start of the *Stimulus amoris* segment. The variants
- compared below refer to D and Hf.
- 25 with] withoute
- 26 rote of] rote and fruit and þe add.
- 28 schalle] be add.
- 29 oþer woman] om. may] encrece add.
- 30 strereth] reryþ *amor facit mirabilia hic (the asterisk
- denotes a marginal addition)
- 31 and in] in om.
- 32 man] god and god man. Þe heizest he makip lowist and þe lowest
- heizest add. for] þe fo seruant] he makip add.
- 33 he makip] om.
- 34 he makith] om.
- 36 an] ani
- 38 bot] om. at þe] þe om.
- 40 harde as] a add. of] þe add.
- 42 me in to god and god in to me] god in to me and me in to god
- 44-48 þou bindest... brennyng loue] om.
- 49 þou] þat me] vs
- 52 O þou] þou om.
- 53 3if] and klippe] þe add. þe] om.
- 54 quike to feer] tende þe fur of loue
- 55 in] in (inserted above the line)
- 58 vertu is] vertues ben to] of to mannys saule] of mannys
- soule and
- 59 alle a boutte] om.
- 61 aqueked] atende
- 62 and of] þe add.
- 66 hym a sonys] himself to alles of mankind

68 likyng to þe deuille] and
 69 goddissonne] ne add.
 70 and beyng] om.
 71 and and] and flesch, and] and om.
 74 Allas] wondir add.
 76 saule] ne add.
 77 hym, for to] for to om.
 78 þe wiche were more better] albehit þat þis wer lizter and esier
 82 and] for add. on tre] was on þe cros
 84 techiþ] him add. do, and] what add.
 85 quike] tende þe more able to] to workis of and trauail] and of
 trauail add.
 86 thynkyng] and spekyng and add.
 87 of] god add.
 90 heuyth] oneþ hert] om.
 91 wanne he was derke] derkid
 92 passion] schameful makeþ vs gloriouse add.
 92–93 hit is] om.
 95 loue and] of add.
 97 thenkyþ oft] ofte þenkiþ
 99 be] in turment] tormentes takeþ non hede of hym self] ne
 sezet nouȝt himself
 101 hym, he] hym þat
 102 to] om. on] in
 103 croce with] cros as
 104–105 drynkesse with soueraigne wyne of swetnesse] drynkeþ with
 wyn of souereine swetnesse
 105 paynid] and scornid add. hym] crist on] in
 106 sone] child cristes] passion add. in] a add.
 107 other woman] om.
 108 desireth] for add. on þe croce with crist] with crist in þe croce
 109 kisseþ, and clippirþ] clippiþ and kisseþ
 110 passion] an deþ add. and delectable] om. Allas] O allas
 on] in
 112 þere fore] om.
 114 wil] make to add.
 116 with] to his
 117 þer fore] þer add.
 119 schal I] I schal
 120 paynful] om.
 121 her, and] nouȝt add. apeere I] I om.
 122 chirche] þe crache

123 childes] sonis
 124 bloude] and make me a noble drinke add.
 125 man] men haþ] han
 126 I] scholde add.
 127 I] hei
 129 gates] zate swerde] spere
 130 braunche] braunches
 131 schalt neuer] ne miȝt nouȝt
 132 whom] wisdom Of] O
 136 worde] world þe places] oþer places
 137 wil] nouȝt add.
 138 hauyngge in wardlich mende þere on] om.
 139 mute] myȝhte
 140 is wonded for þe] for þe is wondid ('is' inserted above the line)
 141 kysse þe] þe om.
 143 diggere] bugger armes he hath] haþ om.
 144 he] om.
 144–145 and ... hym] so þat he al be fichid faste in þin herte þat for þe was
 nayled to þe cros
 147 þat] þi and for] þat for
 147–148 and his and his] and his om.
 148 graunte] to add.
 150 of] þi add. þyng and alle] þynges and in alle
 152 ioie] and in gladnes add.
 153 þyng] ne add.
 154 þe] om. þe sonne] þi sone deth and despitous] and despitous
 deþ
 156 euermore he] euer be
 157 þe firste] om. torne] þe add.
 159 alle] þe add. and] þe add. and] þe add. and] þe add.
 wordlich] wordles
 160 lustes, and] lustes and (d inserted above the line) to] om.
 161 þe worlde] þe (inserted above the line) world sechys] seching of] in
 163 ledeth] lighteþ
 164 manere] of add. And] ȝif add. (inserted above the line)
 165–166 werinesse and sorynesse of lif] sorynesse and werynes of þi lif
 167 to] te * nota quattuor meditanda
 168 hyngyng] brenyng
 169 is of] of om. *.1.
 172 an] om. *.2.
 174 vncertayne and vnknowe] vnknowe and vncerteyn for we scholde
 euere more be] to vs for he wole þat we be alwey

- 176 to fore] bifore * .3.
 177 occupacions han here] here om.
 178 here] om.
 179 he [pat] he hap
 180 hit and] hit or
 181 loue and] in add.
 182 mizthli] nameli
 184 counte] hit add.
 185 is [pe ioie] [pat pe ioie is * .4.
 186 felawes] wiþ angeles and holi men, preising, seinge, and hauyng [pe kyng of ioie in his fairhede and schinyng add.
 188 man] om. mochel] lighter add.
 190 tornement] [pat add.
 191 feyneth] fileþ
 192 vnclennesse] lecherie in coueytise] in om. in oþer] in om.
 193 deuelis] deiul
 195 clene brennyng al way to ihesu cristward] alwey clymbing to ihesu ward
 196 * .contra indiscretam abstinenciam.
 197 noȝt] for I wolde [pat add.
 198 on] hit add. [pe] om.
 201 desire and couaytise] coueityng and myn amoneisting
 202 so] muche add.
 202–203 as were sum tyme holi men and women a fore vs] om.
 203 souereynlich loke] om.
 205 And] panne lay] sey mede] is add. waxyng] and nouȝt wanyng add.
 206 * nota quattuor hic
 207 folweþ] fileþ The secunde what] [pat oþer what þing
 207–208 * .1.2.3.4.
 210 wer] wyte * .1.
 211 folwe] foule herte] and add. * .synnes of herte. thouȝtes] þouȝt
 212 longe abydyng, and likyng, and vnclene þouȝtes] om.
 213 of] euil add. werk] wikkid wille add. suspencion] indeuocion add.
 214 eny] euil errour] and add.
 215 frendes] oþer [pat þou louest add.
 216 richesse] vncouenable ioie of any worly vanites add. thi wrec-
 chid] [pe worldes
 217 dout what] noȝt add. o way] oweþ and] om.

- 218–219 anger to do goude] anger to serue god
 219 wille and [pe lust] lust or [pe wil
 220 gladnesse in thenkyng in euyl [pat þou hast] om.
 221 for hem selue] drede to displese ham
 222 euil] ydul
 223 dignite, or to] behold add.
 224 kynde] or of add. and bost and] om.
 225 riche and poure] om. gentel and] om.
 226 bot of] bot ȝif
 227 and] of add.
 228 Ofte sweryng] swer oftесиþes * .synnes of mouþ.
 229–230 striwyng azens soþnesse] aȝeyn seȝenge and striuwyng soþfastnes
 230 or any] or noy or or disese] om.
 232 chidyng, diffamyng, makyng discorde or debat] defamyng, chiding, sowing of discord, treson
 233 to [pi souerayn] om.
 234 ben holde for] owe
 235 euencristen] neyȝbur dedis best] nouȝt in to [pe worste add. (r inserted) excityng] of add. wreche] wrapþe
 236 idel] foul
 237 oþer] ydul wordes] or wordes add. [pat beth] nouȝt add. Preysyng] of glosinge wordes, defendyng of synne, creiying in lauȝtre, mowe makyng on any man, to singe seculer songes and loue ham add. or mayntenyn] om. or prai] om.
 238 drede or for] om. praysyng] of men add. for [pe loue] om.
 239 synnes] of dede add. lecherie] drinkenes add. * .synnes of dede.
 240 holidai] sacrilegie add. vowe] owes
 241 brekyng of licence many place [pat is forbode] om.
 241–242 euyl ensauple ȝeuwyng] to ȝiue ensauple of euil
 242–244 takyng away any mannys name or fame ... sleuthe] to hurte any man in his bodi, or in his good, or in his fame, þefte, rauyn, vsur, deseyt, sulle riȝtwisnes, here euil, ȝiue to harlotes, wiþhold necessities fro pi bodi or to ȝiue hit outrage, to bigynne þink [pat is ouer mizht, custome to synne or falling ofte in synne
 244 for pride, for aray of oure body, oþer for any oþer vanite] om.
 245 to vs self] om. cunnyng] or connynger, or
 245–249 To desire ... rebelle] to holde [pe office [pat we suffise nouȝt vnto, brynge vp newe gyses, to be rebel
 250 dispisyng or noȝt charchyng [pe lawes and [pe hestes of oure religion] om. despisyng] defoule
 251 we] in seying, in hering, in smelling, in touching, in handling, in

swolewing, in wiztes, in weyes, in signes, to receyue þe circumstanses of synnes, þat is to sey add.

253 of place] þe stede parsones] person
254 cumyng] cunyng þe condicion] þe eelde makeþ
þe] þe om. oþer] or

255 or] be temptid to add.

256 ben] is of * synnes of omission

257 do] þat is add. on] in ne louyng] om.

258–259 be noȝt sorie for synne as we schulde be] to sorewe nouȝt for synne as he scholde do vs] him

259 we] he

260 we owȝt to done] he ouȝt to done to kepe hit nouȝt noȝt to] nouȝt atte

261–262 and to þyn offys] om.

262 þat] þat (inserted above the line)

263 we be] he is be] þorow heste] comandement or] is
add. penaunce] to drawe along þat scholde be do sone add.

264 oure euencristen] his neȝbur oure] his Sorwe]
om. * sorewe here] his

265 vs] him harme] keping nouȝt trewe to his neȝbor as
he wolde þat he dude to him and zeldyng him nouȝt a good dede for an
oþer ȝif he may, amending nouȝt him þat synneþ bifor his eyzen

266 to hem] teaching hem nouȝt oþer] or in

267 oþer] or in pouerte] or in prison add. penance, or any
oþer dise] om. mo] om.

269 * vs clenseþ þre þinges .2.

270 of hert] om.

270–271 most haue fulle wille neuere to synne] haue in wille neuere to
singe

271 þat] þat (inserted from above) haue] haue (e inserted)

272 be] only add. he] om. * the

273 þou schalt be hasted] þat schal be hasti

274 tareyng] delay open] nakid

275 to þe secunde] synne to anoþer

275–276 þou most telle alle þat þou hast in þy mynde, or þou art þou noȝt
schreuyng] om.

276 satisfaccion] þat add.

276–277 aȝens þe synnes of dede. And he] om.

278 to ȝif mete and drynke to poure men] ȝeue pore men mete and drinke
doþ vs] don þe

279 hym] hem kenneþ noȝt so welle as we] beþ in poynt to
perische

281 kepen] kepib *.3. hou clenness schal be kepib.

282 in] of alle] þe add.

283 kept and] om.

285 þre thynges kepith clenness of mouth] clenness of mouþ kepib þre
þinges be þynke þe or] pynke þe bifor ar

286 is] om. til] bot of lytel semliche alwey forte

287 crist] om. þe beseme] þou þenke

288 in] on with grete] wiþ long

290 euermore] euer is] þat

292 displeisyng to god. Hit be houeþ noȝt þat þou say] nouȝt at godis
wille. Þou þarst nouȝt telle alwei soþe] ȝif þou wilt add.

292–293 bot be no way sai non lesyng] bot alle lesinges hate

294 some] god saist þe soþe] spekist soþfastnes

295 to hym] such on

295–296 wost wel wille noȝt schewe hit] wer siker þat he scholde nouȝt
be schewid

296 goudnesse] and þat to some bettr þan to oþer

296–297 Ffor god ȝif hym] and ȝeuiþ ham

297 hym] hem

299 continual] assiduel

300 endyng] endinges dye] synne þis] om.

301 god] erþe þan heuene add. þe lustes] fulþe

303 noȝt to mucche ne] neyþer to outrage ne þat hit be substance]
sustinance þi] þe

304 of] om. abstinence] fasting

305 wil noȝt manye] manie wol nouȝt can] may substaunce]
sustinance

306 at] þe add. and] þe add. euer] om. mete no

drynke] no maner * mete and drinke

308 loue] leue

309 þenkeþ] þat add.

310 strong] stalworthe þi god] þi om.

311 þat hym lakke] þe is bynome

312 faynt] in quopes schuldest ȝif vppe] wer redi to zelde

313 for þat] þat om. myȝt] nouȝt add. for þyng] weþir

þin abstinence

314 ete] and drinke werte] þe worse

317 seyst] see þat done, þan] do þe] om.

318 þer whilbe] þe while myȝt] maist alle] men add.

þer of noȝt] men þarnouȝt

320 hit] om.

- 321 yliche] be add. hongur and] nede as add.
 delites] and deintebes add.
 322 and plente] om. þoʒt] þonkyng childe of] heyed bi for
 323–324 Meny ... wil] Men þat comeþ to þe þei preisen þe for þei seen þe
 enclosed, bot I ne may
 324 be seiʒt] I see
 325 forth] om.
 326 no] ne of her take] pou add.
 327 a fore] om. onlich] om.
 329 enemye] enemys of some men in erthe] om.
 330 * .4.
 331 on] is add. bese] and ententif add. * .1.
 332 loued] loueden folowe hym] folewe ham
 333 hym] ham * .2.
 334 þo] om.
 335 loue or] most add. * .3.
 336 For riʒht] Hit is so
 337 no man leue may] miʒht noþing liue bot] þat add. for] om.
 338 of] in in] his add.
 339 ne were] hit newer wil] þat add. euer more leuyngel
 lyuyng euer
 340 not] om. hym] nouʒht add. euermore] euere
 341–342 as moche as] om.
 342 now ne] and drede hit] now add.
 344 hast þou] hast ou
 345–357 and ... endlich] om.
 358 And if hit be so, dere frende, þat þis schort lesson do þe goud] ʒif hit
 do þe good and profit
 358–359 þere of] om.
 360 fro] al add.
 361 euerlastyng god] euer lyuyng god wiþ oute ende

Nota Bene: Brief Notes on Manuscripts and Early Printed Books

Highlighting Little-Known or Recently Uncovered Items or Related Issues

Unnoticed and Unusual: An Illustration in a Manuscript of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*

SONJA DRIMMER

An historiated initial on the opening page to a manuscript of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Chicago, Newberry Library MS 33.3) has escaped notice and is not mentioned in any published descriptions of the manuscript (Fig. 1).¹ As A. S. G. Edwards's devoted scholarship shows, the manuscript history of Lydgate's verse is a long work in progress, which has been and continues to be written in increments as new fragments surface and important discoveries are made.² The purpose of this article is to supplement these labors by recording the presence of this historiated initial and by drawing attention to some of the larger issues regarding the illumination of Lydgate's works that this representation raises. This initial is the single surviving representation of a figure at a desk—whether reading or writing—at the beginning of any Lydgate manuscript, and as such is a remarkable addition to our knowledge of the visual apparatus that accompanied manuscripts of his works.³

The manuscript is an elegant mid-fifteenth-century volume that contains only John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. The decorative features of the manuscript localize it to London, and both these ornamental elements, which appear to have been executed by a single illuminator, and the hybrid anglicana and secretary hand of the single scribe who copied the text suggest a date close to 1450, but certainly within the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Throughout the manuscript, each stanza's rhyme scheme is denoted by red brackets, and apparently the same pigment used to create the brackets was also used to underline proper names and chapter summaries and to provide