DUBLIN’S HOCCLEVE: JAMES YONGE, SCRIBE, AUTHOR, AND BUREAUCRAT, AND THE LITERARY WORLD OF LATE MEDIEVAL DUBLIN

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Theresa O’Byrne

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Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Director

Graduate Program in Medieval Studies
Notre Dame, Indiana
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Abstract

by

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James Yonge, known for his Hiberno-English translation of the *Secreta secretorum*, was a legal scribe and notary in early fifteenth-century Dublin. This thesis explores Yonge’s literary works, identifies his handwriting, and uses over eighty newly-discovered documents to reconstruct his career and socio-professional circle.

In 1422, Yonge completed an English translation of Jofroi of Waterford’s *Secreta secretorum* under the patronage of James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond. The author vacillates between slavish translation and radical alteration of his exemplar, re-shaping the text to appeal to Butler, King Henry V and his court, and an Anglo-Irish audience that included the nobility, government officials, and members of the mercantile class.

One outcome of English intervention in Ireland was the dissemination of tales regarding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, where pilgrims enclosed in a small cave experienced visions of purgatory. Treatises detailing these visions circulated in England and on the Continent. Yonge was the author of the first such narrative written in Ireland. Yonge’s 1412 Latin account of the visit to the Purgatory of Laurence Rathold, a retainer of
Sigismund I of Hungary, incorporates traditional elements of earlier works such as H. of Saltrey’s *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* and the anonymous *Visiones Georgii*, and offers new literary innovations. Yonge uses the narrative to market Ireland as a pilgrimage destination and frames his work as part literary text and part notarial instrument, pitching it to a pan-European audience.

The patterns of employment and social relationships of Yonge and his circle echo those of Yonge’s contemporaries in London, especially Geoffrey Chaucer, John Carpenter, and Thomas Hoccleve. The training and careers of Yonge’s two students reveal much about scribal training in Anglo-Ireland while providing a model for scribal education applicable to other English cities. This thesis augments the canon of late medieval Anglo-Irish authors and texts by demonstrating that several texts once considered English were written in the Dublin area by Yonge’s student Nicholas Bellewe.

This exploration of Yonge and his circle is supported with editions of literary and legal documents that will further research into medieval Anglo-Ireland.
For Hugh

“O þou pacient man, O holy man …
That man was of whom Davuid sange in þe sauter:
“To giddre in oon, ryche & pouer”
– Nicholas Bellewe, O Thou Soul Myn
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INTRODUCTION:


Multicultural Ireland and Anglo-Irish Identity

Written in the margin of a Hiberno-English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis’ Expugnatio Hibernica, is the enigmatic statement, “as we byth ynglys a[n]to the yryssh so we byth yryssh onto t[he] ynglish.” The complaint originates with Giraldus’ Latin work, and it was often used by ethnically English colonists and their descendants in medieval Ireland – both in Latin and translated into Hiberno-English – as a statement of frustration.¹ The English in Ireland were encouraged to conform to English law and cultural standards, yet England’s Irish colony was chronically underfunded, and ethnically English people born in Ireland found themselves treated as second-class citizens in England.²

Late medieval Ireland was an ever-changing patchwork of conflicting territories and cultures. The English conquest and colonization of Ireland was largely incomplete,

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B.490, fol. 10r; “…sicut Hibernis Angli, sic et Anglis Hibernici simus.” Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland, 80.

² For instance, their entry into Oxford or Cambridge was at various times severely restricted, or they were excluded from the English universities and Inns of Court altogether. Brand, “Irish Law Students and Lawyers in Late Medieval England.” In 1413, the first of several acts was passed requiring all Irish-born people residing in England to return to Ireland. Cosgrove, “England and Ireland, 1399-1447,” 528–30.
resulting in political and economic instability and the emergence of several areas of shifting political and cultural allegiance. After initial successes during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the English Crown was forced to cede colonized territories to native Irish warlords; the English populations living in those areas increasingly adopted the language and cultural practices of their native Irish neighbors. By the late thirteenth century, many descendants of English colonists in Ireland, known to scholars as the “Anglo-Irish,” found themselves caught between the dictums of English law and the more familiar and sometimes more advantageous customs of the native Irish. Using strands from both cultures, they wove together their own unique and multifaceted hybrid culture. In the later medieval period, direct English control of Ireland became increasingly limited to Dublin and the emerging Pale, Waterford, Cork, part of Limerick and a few smaller cities and their hinterlands. Within these areas, English culture and language flourished. Beyond the city walls, however, especially in the marches where colonists came into daily contact with Gaelic-speaking native Irish people, a polyglot culture emerged which formed a conduit for the flow of ideas across cultural, political and linguistic barriers.

The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries saw the emergence of a group identity among the Anglo-Irish which was separate from that of the English or the native Irish. Increasingly, letters to the Crown and marginalia in literary manuscripts indicate the existence of what was occasionally termed the “middle nation.”\(^3\) For this group, the words of Giraldus Cambrensis had special resonance, expressing the unique and

\(^3\) Lydon, “The Middle Nation,” passim.
somewhat tenuous cultural and political position of the Anglo-Irish, one that was neither English nor Irish, but which was subject to competing English and Irish influences. From historical documents such as the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366, which were re-issued in 1402, we see the attempts of the English government to rein in the growing Irish elements in Anglo-Irish culture.⁴

One of the great complexities in investigating Anglo-Irish literary culture is late medieval Ireland’s multilingualism. English colonists brought England’s trilingual literary culture to Ireland and maintained it there, but the Irish language became a necessity for Anglo-Irish people who were engaged in trade or who lived at the frontiers of English-controlled areas. Within all areas of English-controlled Ireland, including such bastions of English culture as Dublin and Waterford, English was transformed through exposure to the Irish language and isolation from other English dialects into its own unique dialect, Hiberno-English, which was the language of daily commerce and social interaction as well as the language of a growing body of literary works.⁵

London as a Model for Literary Production in Dublin

A great amount of work has been done on Ricardian and Lancastrian literary circles and manuscript production in London. William Langland, Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, and Thomas Hoccleve, to name but a few, were all London-based civil


⁵ The characteristics of this dialect are defined by McIntosh and Samuels, “Prolegomena to a Study of Mediaeval Anglo-Irish.”
servants involved both in literary production and in the production of the legal documents that oiled the machinery of both the English government and the government of the City of London. They, and other similar clerks, also took on work for major landowners and households, and their literary works circulated among members of the government, the nobility, and the mercantile class. I will demonstrate that a similar situation existed on a smaller scale in Dublin in the early fifteenth century. Dublin, like London, was the seat of central government. It also had a large civil administration. In around 1400, Dublin’s population was much smaller than that of contemporary London – only approximately 6,000 people in the city itself versus London’s estimated population ca. 1377 of 45,000-50,000 – but Dublin’s government offices and their employees modeled themselves closely on their English counterparts.

The relatively small size of Dublin and the considerably more limited number of historical documents mean that a picture of Dublin’s civil service and literary production can be more easily drawn. As I will demonstrate in the final chapters of this work, the careers and client lists of individual scribes can be traced more easily within the pond of documentary evidence from Dublin in comparison to London’s ocean of evidence. There are trade-offs, of course. The fish are smaller. James Yonge made far fewer ripples in the literary world of late medieval England than his London contemporaries. Nonetheless, Yonge was important within his own Anglo-Irish pond. His interactions and his relationships with family, clients, and students provide a model that can be

6 Lindenbaum, “London Texts and Literate Practice.”

judiciously used as a framework for understanding the much larger and more complex literary-legal world of late medieval London.

There were, of course, differences other than scale. The Dublin government found itself increasingly threatened by acculturation. Some members of the Anglo-Irish community – especially those living outside of Dublin – engaged in what J. A. Watt has termed, “legal ambidexterity,” using a blend of English common law and Irish brehon law, as and when each was more advantageous.\(^8\) The Dublin administration also faced the encroachment of Gaelic-Irish culture, both through direct raids of Irish chieftains on English-controlled lands and through the more indirect forces of acculturation. The administration was only able to exert direct control over a small strip of land extending approximately from Carlingford in the north to a point north of Wicklow in the south – the emerging Pale.\(^9\) The 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny outline the march of acculturation among the Anglo-Irish; they prohibited those of English ethnicity from engaging in a number of Irish cultural practices. Although the Statutes were impossible to enforce and were largely ignored, their re-promulgation several times during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are indicative of the preoccupation of the Dublin administration and its English overseers with the issue of cultural “degeneracy.” The English language itself was under threat as more and more Anglo-Irish people began to use Gaelic as a means of communication and as a language of commerce.\(^10\) Dublin’s administrators and


\(^9\) Cosgrove, “The Emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447.”

\(^10\) Dolan and Deane, “The Literature of Norman Ireland,” 143–44.
government officials found themselves on a cultural island, a place that encouraged conformity to English standards, surrounded on all sides by Gaelic Irish law, language, and culture. The Anglo-Irish adopted a spectrum of responses to acculturation. Some members of the society embraced Gaelic Irish culture wholeheartedly, others developed a hybrid culture, and yet others sought to maintain English cultural norms. Dublin area bureaucrats, including James Yonge, were nearly universally among the latter group.

Despite these pressures, Dublin itself remained a “little England” within the larger patchwork pattern of late medieval Ireland. It remained the center of English government in Ireland and a central port for imported and exported goods. As such, it attracted more than its fair share of wealth, as Margaret Murphy and Michael Pottery note.

“Dublin, Ireland’s economic and political capital, contained a disproportionate number of the richest individuals in medieval Ireland. These nobles, ecclesiastics, government administrators, and merchants, who maintained permanent or temporary households in the city, commanded substantial annual incomes and supported large numbers of retainers and servants.”

It was exactly this group of people, Dublin’s “nobles, ecclesiastics, government administrators and merchants,” who made up the circle of James Yonge’s clients, associates, patrons, and friends. Despite being much smaller than London, Dublin fostered several separate, yet interlocked, circles of bureaucrats. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres have posited a bureaucratic circle centered on the Irish Exchequer within which the Douce Piers Plowman was created, illustrated, and annotated. I have

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discovered a similar circle based around the offices of the City of Dublin. This circle also encompassed local parishes and two newly-established guilds, the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, connected to the church of St. John the Evangelist, and the Guild of St. Anne, connected to St. Audoen’s Church; the latter counted Dublin’s wealthiest individuals among its members.¹³

During the early fifteenth century, Dublin became, like London, the heart not only of English government in Ireland, but also of Anglo-Irish literary production. Literary works such as Langland’s *Piers Plowman* and Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica* were translated into the Hiberno-English dialect for English-speaking Anglo-Irish patrons. These works joined other Hiberno-English compositions written in Ireland, such as the satirical and religious poems of the Kildare Manuscript, including “The Land of Cockaygne” and “The Walling of New Ross,” dramatic works like *The Pride of Life*, religious literature such as the sermons of Richard FitzRalph, and didactic treatises like Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and Bellewe’s *Laddre of Heuyn* to form a body of Anglo-Irish literature that drew from the conventions and traditions of Middle English literature, but which had its own distinct flavor.

Two groups were the main consumers of Hiberno-English literary works in later medieval Ireland: literate Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Irish nobles and the clerks employed by those aristocrats and by the English government. The latter were, like their London counterparts, well-educated and fluent in English and Latin. Many were also fluent in French, as it was a language commonly used for legal documents, although it had fallen

out of favor as a literary language in Ireland by the early fourteenth century – earlier than it did in England.\footnote{Dolan, “Writing in Ireland,” 209.} In London, similar scribes took part in a loosely-organized literary community which created, appreciated, and disseminated secular literary works; writers such as Chaucer, Hoccleve, and Langland were participants in this fertile culture. Civil servants working in Dublin were a major factor in the dissemination of English literature among the Anglo-Irish. The extant manuscripts indicate that the scribes tailored this literature to appeal to a local Anglo-Irish audience and its sensibilities. Prime among these manuscripts is the reformist-oriented \textit{Piers Plowman} which survives in Bodleian Douce MS 104; it was written in 1427 in the Hiberno-English dialect and was a product of the Dublin civil service.\footnote{Kerby-Fulton, “Professional Readers of Langland at Home and Abroad: New Directions in the Political and Bureaucratic Codicology of \textit{Piers Plowman}”; Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427”; Kerby-Fulton and Despres, \textit{Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman}.} Dublin civil servants, so central to England’s legal and literary presence in Ireland, sought to support English culture in Ireland by imitating English practices. In this work, I explore the writings, the career, and the circle of one of these civil servants: James Yonge.

\section*{James Yonge, His Writing, and His Circle}

Set high in the southern wall of Dublin’s Guild Hall of St. Anne are a number of small windows, or squints; each is just large enough and angled such that the single inhabitant in each of the rooms attached to the hall might peer through it to view the high
altar of St. Audoen’s Church, which adjoined the hall. In this thesis, I am offering a similar limited view through a squint. I cannot set out to write a biography of James Yonge per se. While my discovery of new evidence pertaining to Yonge has added significantly to what is known about him, very little evidence regarding his personal life is extant. What I will do is examine Yonge not as an individual, but rather as a prominent member of that scribal class whose business contacts, careers, and place in Dublin society offer us a rare glimpse of fifteenth-century Dublin and its inhabitants. Having such a large body of evidence concerning a single author’s career is an extremely unusual occurrence in Middle English literary studies. This evidence allows us not only to discern a lot about a particular individual and his circle of contacts, but it also invites comparison of Yonge’s career and circle to those of other fourteenth and fifteenth-century English and Anglo-Irish authors. It provides a model for understanding scribal behavior and culture in late medieval England. Yonge was a literate man, a scribe and legal clerk who made his living from producing the documents according to which Dublin was ordered and the documents which helped sustain and shape the relationship of Dublin to the English Crown. Yonge’s work and professional associations open the wooden door to a squint on the legal and literary world of fifteenth-century Dublin.

The evidence for the careers of Dublin civil servants such as Yonge was largely destroyed on June 30th, 1922 in the fire and explosion in the Four Courts during the Irish Civil War. Among the casualties were thousands of individual deeds and legal documents, many manuscripts, city records, the rolls of the Irish Chancery and
Exchequer, and the records from several parish churches. For instance, the records of
the parishes of St. Catherine and St. James, located just inside the western walls of
medieval Dublin, were safely stored in a case at St. Catherine’s Church when Henry
Twiss catalogued them in 1919. I was hopeful that these had survived the Four Courts
catastrophe and was elated to discover that the Representative Church Body Library in
Dublin had deeds from St. Catherine’s among their holdings. However, I soon learned
that all but one of the medieval and early modern deeds catalogued by Twiss had been
lodged with the Public Record Office just prior to the 1922 disaster. The only medieval
deed remaining with the RCB library is one dating to May 19, 1309, numbered 2 in the
Twiss catalogue, in which Thomas Slane grants a tenement in St. Francis Street to
William de Kemeseye, a glassblower.

Despite the destruction of so great a portion of Dublin’s medieval records, a few
scraps survive from the vast amount of paperwork that must have been created in
fifteenth-century Dublin. Like potsherds discovered during the excavation of Wood
Quay, these documentary fragments can be reassembled with the help of our knowledge
from other locations to produce a partial picture of what once was. Projects like the
CIRCLE Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters and the efforts of individual scholars, often

16 Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, “Memorandum on the Destruction and
Reconstruction of the Records.”

17 Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. James, Dublin, 1296-
1743,” 265.

18 A dwelling-house, usually built to be rented out.

19 RCB MS 618.5.3.1. Personal communication with Dr. Refaussé, “RCB MS 618 [e-mail]”;
utilizing the pre-1922 notes and publications of scholars of medieval Ireland, are helping to reconstruct the body of information that was lost in the work of a few moments in 1922. In reconstructing Yonge’s career, I hope that I, too, can contribute a piece, though a considerably tattered one, to the puzzle.

James Yonge has long been known as the translator of the Hiberno-English *Gouernaunce of Prynces* [a.k.a. *Secreta secretorum*], and he was also known as Dublin’s sole named author of the fifteenth century. Historically, little else was known about this early fifteenth-century author. The first part of this work explores Yonge’s literary endeavors – his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, which is carefully crafted to appeal to Yonge’s Anglo-Irish contemporaries, and his *Memoriale*, which is the first extant contribution to the popular collection of visionary texts regarding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory to be written in Ireland. The second part of this dissertation seeks to provide more information about Yonge and his personal and business contacts, using legal documents to reconstruct the world of the Anglo-Irish author.

Yonge undertook his translation of Jofroi of Waterford’s French *Secreta secretorum* on behalf of James Butler, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, creating a new work which he called *The Gouernaunce of Prynces*. “Translation,” Rita Copeland argues, “refigures, through interpretive reception and transference, what has previously been known in a different textual condition.” As a translator, Yonge engages in a reinterpretation of his French exemplar for an English-speaking Anglo-Irish audience.

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20 “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509.”

21 Copeland, “Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation in the Middle Ages,” 44.
His translation techniques place him on the continuum between between Copeland’s “primary translation” – a mode of translation that purports to present an original text without emendation – and “secondary translation” – a text that uses an earlier work, but which presents itself as an “independent textual production.” Yonge presents his English text as a translation of an older, authoritative work, yet he places his own interpretation on the text, claiming it is “entremedelid wyth many good ensamplis of olde stories, And wyth the foure cardynale vertues, and dyuers othyr good matturis, and olde ensamplis and new.” Yonge uses the occasion of translation as an opportunity to present his politico-cultural views to four main audiences: James Butler, Butler’s patron Henry V, Henry V’s court and government officials, and the people of English-controlled Ireland. He works to promote Butler’s interests against those of the Talbot faction, he promotes English cultural values, and he seeks to enhance the moral and didactic elements of his exemplar. Yonge translates his original extremely closely in places, but he also rearranges and edits his exemplar, pausing at times to add his own exempla and chapters and to insert an account of the conquest of Ireland derived from the Expugnatio Hibernica of Giraldus Cambrensis. The final result is a highly politicized text that employs the authoritative power conferred by the text’s claim to be a letter from Aristotle to Alexander to promote English culture and language in Anglo-Ireland and to bolster Butler’s reputation as a leader and as the embodiment of English authority in Ireland.

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22 Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages, 93–7.

23 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 123.
Yonge’s other extant literary work is less well-known. In 1411, Laurence Rathold of Hungary visited Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, where he experienced four visions. Yonge acted as an amanuensis for Rathold’s account, but the resulting Latin text is far more than a simple narration or report. Yonge makes use of Continental accounts regarding the visions of pilgrims in the Purgatory, but he fashions his *Memoriale* into a genre-straddling document that retains its status as a piece of visionary literature while also encouraging meditative reflection through the incorporation of sermons. Yonge’s inclusion of letters and use of legal language also gives the account the air of a history and a legal document, lending credibility to the visionary narrative and providing an internal *probatio* of the divinely inspired visions described. The second chapter explores the literary ancestors of Yonge’s *Memoriale*, suggesting that the dissemination and popularity of narratives regarding pilgrims’ visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was a result of the English conquest of Ireland and subsequent English interest in Irish saints and wonders. The third chapter deals with Yonge’s *Memoriale* directly. Yonge is aware of a potential pan-European audience for his work, and he portrays Dublin as a center for civilization and culture and as a pilgrimage destination in its own right. Furthermore, he fashions his *Memoriale* into a quasi-legal document that takes on the features of the notarized documents used across Europe, lending additional veracity to Rathold’s account, as it has been recorded by a faithful and trustworthy notary.

The final chapters examine Yonge’s career and the literary circle created by Yonge and his students, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe. My recent identification of Yonge’s scribal hand has led to the discovery of over eighty extant legal documents penned by the Dublin author, and has greatly expanded what can be known and surmised
about the career of this important Dublin literary figure. It has also led to the identification of two of Yonge’s students, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe, as well as another clerk in their circle, John Flemyng. Yonge sought to ingratiate himself with the most wealthy and powerful individuals in early fifteenth-century Dublin, and was successful to some degree in that he obtained the patronage of James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, who asked him to undertake a translation into English of a mirror for princes. Unfortunately, Yonge’s association with Butler and his vocal support of the Earl landed the author in prison when the Butler faction fell from power in 1422. Yonge’s work for the City of Dublin probably brought him into contact with Laurence Rathold, a Hungarian knight who was in the retinue of future Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund I of Hungary. Yonge wrote his Memoriale based on the account Rathold gave him of his visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. The legal documents written by Yonge demonstrate that the scribe had a varied career with a range of employers and sources of income derived from the offices of the City of Dublin, the English administration, the Guild of St. Anne, and work performed on an ad hoc basis for Dublin’s chaplains, merchants, nobles, and craftsmen. Similar patterns of employment can be seen in the careers of Yonge’s students as well as in the careers of London bureaucrats such as Hoccleve and Carpenter.

Doyle and Parkes suggest that a master-student relationship may have existed between scribes D and Δ, but Yonge and Baghill are the first pair of scribes from the English legal-literary world for which there is compelling evidence of such a
relationship.  This evidence is examined and a model emerges for scribal education that can be applied to education not only in Dublin, but also in London and in other centers of English legal activity. The career paths of both students are very similar to that of Yonge, and both clerks appear to have benefitted from Yonge’s patronage. Bellewe, as I have discovered, was not merely a legal clerk, he was the creator of at least two manuscripts. Both contain works of Richard Rolle, and the Longleat manuscript contains a copy of Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale.” What is most fascinating about Bellewe is that he, like his master, was a translator and author. He made a Hiberno-English translation of the *Mirror of St. Edmund*, he translated a didactic treatise on suffering from an unknown Latin exemplar, and he is likely the author of an ennumerative didactic text on Christian doctrine called *The Laddre of Heuyn*. Bellewe’s activities in creating manuscripts for an Anglo-Irish audience are explored, along with the role of a fourth scribe, John Flemyng. The legal documents of Yonge, Baghill, and Bellewe demonstrate a close relationship between the scribes, and reveal that Dublin’s clerks and notaries saw to the training of future generations and assisted their apprentices in gaining preferment for employment with government offices, parish guilds, and private individuals.

The picture of fifteenth-century scribal life and literary production in Dublin drawn in the course of this project is bolstered by a number of edited texts and appendices which offer additional information about Yonge and his circle. Yonge’s legal documents are edited. A new edition and translation of Yonge’s *Memoriale* is provided,

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and three previously unedited Anglo-Irish texts are offered as a preliminary to a future project exploring Bellewe’s work. Information on the hands of these Dublin scribes, manuscript descriptions, and information on the familial relationships of the scribes can be found in the appendices.

The State of Secondary Scholarship

Scholarship on the literary history of medieval Ireland has concentrated almost exclusively on Irish language materials with very little regard given to the manuscripts produced in Ireland by English-trained scribes for Anglo-Norman, English or Anglo-Irish patrons. In addition, studies focusing on Anglo-Irish literature – English-language materials produced in Ireland by Irish authors – tend to concentrate on post-sixteenth-century materials. As a result of these two concentrations, literature in English-controlled Ireland between 1200 and 1500 and the manuscripts which contain the true genesis of Anglo-Irish literature go largely unexplored. In her study of the Douce Piers Plowman manuscript, created in Dublin in 1427 by scribes closely associated with the English civil service, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton laments the lack of scholarship regarding this critical area, lists some of the reasons for the scholarly silence, and comments on its effects on her own inquiries:

Attempts to understand [Anglo-Irish literary] culture are few and far between, and the present study has had to make pioneering efforts in some areas, efforts that will doubtless be superseded as more scholarship becomes available (and I hope it will be). Scholarship has been hampered by the destruction of materials and, until quite recently, by the lack of dialect study and accessible literary editions, as well as the nearly total (and ongoing) neglect
of medieval Anglo-Irish visual arts. This study, too, has labored under these limitations.\textsuperscript{26}

Kerby-Fulton’s hopes are slowly being realized; there has been a growing interest among scholars in the unique literary culture of late medieval Ireland. Recent works on this complex area of English and Irish literary history include Kerby-Fulton’s work, Alan J. Fletcher’s \textit{Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland}, and several other recent books and articles.\textsuperscript{27}

Literary production flourished in English-controlled Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it is these centuries that have received the most attention from scholars. The trilingual Kildare Manuscript, with its satirical and religious poems, has been of particular fascination.\textsuperscript{28} In a seminal article, John Thompson explored the world of fourteenth-century Anglo-Irish manuscripts, and he has recently published on

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{26} Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 104; Kerby-Fulton and Despres, \textit{Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman}, 98.


\end{quote}
fifteenth-century manuscripts. Until recently, however, literary production in fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland has been ignored or brushed off by scholars. Terence Dolan writes:

[The Douce Piers Plowman manuscript] is certainly the most interesting of the few versions of medieval English texts (viz. three manuscripts of The Prick of Conscience and three of Rolle and other homiletic writings) which survive from the Anglo-Irish community. Nevertheless, it is significant that these Anglo-Irish compilers were content to reproduce material from the canon of English literature without, so far as can be known, composing original works related specifically to Ireland, as found in MS Harley 913.

Similarly, Alan Bliss and Joseph Long dismiss fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish literature:

… in fact after 1400 the creative spring of Hiberno-English literature seems to have run dry; not a single original work in English can be proved to have been written in Ireland during the fifteenth century. Instead, interest shifted first of all to translations, then to the mere transcription of works written in England.

Even if we were to set aside for a moment Copeland’s argument that translation is an act of cultural interpretation necessarily resulting in a new work, it is unjust to characterize James Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces as a mere translation. What is significant about Yonge’s text is that it is a new literary work employing older sources and bearing the mark of the Anglo-Irish civil service that produced it. Yonge has judiciously and significantly rearranged and emended Jofroi of Waterford’s original text, adding his own

29 “Mapping Points West of West Midlands Manuscripts and Texts: Irishness(es) and Middle English Literary Culture”; “Books Beyond England.”


interpolations and creating a work that is unmistakably Anglo-Irish. The production of literary texts did not stop in fifteenth-century Ireland. Yonge’s original Latin account of a Hungarian knight’s visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory makes great use of the texts regarding the Purgatory that were then circulating in England and the Continent. Yonge, however, creatively straddles genres and deploys multiple sources to create a new kind of Purgatorial narrative, one that is uniquely Anglo-Irish.

Nicholas Bellewe, a member of Yonge’s circle, was one of those scribes accused by Dolan of being, “content to reproduce material from the canon of English literature without … composing original works.” On the contrary, Bellewe’s manuscripts, famous for their Rolle texts and for the copy of Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” contain not only Bellewe’s own translation of the *Mirror of St. Edmund*, but also original English compositions – texts on Christian catechism and moral edification – that have their origins in Anglo-Ireland.32 The “creative spring” of Hiberno-English literature in the fifteenth century was certainly not dry. In this thesis, I demonstrate not only that literature was being produced in fifteenth-century Dublin, but also that much like London, the producers of this literature were civil servants who had connections to the most powerful men in English-controlled Ireland. They and their patrons read and appreciated English literature, but they were also busily engaged in creating literature tailored to an Anglo-Irish audience.

The evidence for Yonge’s career falls into three rough categories: the secondary scholarship written on him from the Renaissance to the present day, reconstructed

32 Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale” is on Longleat MS 29, fols. 81r-128v. Bellewe’s other manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian e. Museo 232.
primary sources based on notes and transcriptions of documents now, alas, lost to us, and primary sources including deeds and manuscripts.  

Two of the great Renaissance antiquarians and scholars of Irish history, George Carew (1555-1629) and James Ware (1594-1666), mention James Yonge in their writings. Carew, in his compilation of papers relating to Irish history known as the “Book of Howth” paraphrases Yonge’s recitation of the rights of the English Crown to Ireland and updates the list to the Elizabethan Age. The 1416 date that Carew gives to Yonge’s *Precepts of Government* – now known either as the *Secreta secretorum* or by the title Yonge gave it, the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* – is strangely early. In his 1639 work, *De scriptoribus Hiberniae* (On the Writers of Ireland), Carew’s contemporary, James Ware, lists Yonge as the author of *Monita Politica, de bono regimine* (Political Advice, on Ruling Well) – a reference to Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, and notes that he or James Butler – Ware makes the subject of his comment regarding the date unclear – came to prominence around the year 1420.  

1420 is certainly nearer the 1422 date of completion of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce*. A third date of composition for Yonge’s work was offered by Walter Harris (1686-1761), who revised and translated Ware’s *De scriptoribus Hiberniae*. In *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, Harris omits the 1420 date given by Ware and provides his own date of 1407 for Yonge’s *Monita politica*. Harris also attributes Yonge’s other literary work, his verbosely entitled *Memoriale super visitatione*

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33 Further detail on the deeds and manuscripts can be found in Appendix C.

34 London, Lambeth Palace, Carew MS 623, fols. 152v-153v. “…as [I] find noted in certain “Precepts of Government” dedicat[ed] by James Yong to James Bottler [sic], Earl of Ormond, then Lieutenant of Ireland, A.D. 1416.”

35 *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae*, II. 76.
domini Laurencii Ratholdi militis et baronis Vngarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricii
in insula Hibernie (A Record Concerning the Visit of the Lord Lawrence Rathold, Knight
and Baron of Hungary, to the Purgatory of Saint Patrick on the Island of Ireland) –
hereinafter Memoriale – to the author for the first time, giving it a fairly accurate date of
1411.36 The Memoriale was probably completed in 1412.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, there was a brief interest in James
Yonge, or rather, in his literary works. In 1898, Robert Steele published the first edition
of Yonge’s Secreta secretorum [Gouernaunce of Prynces]. It appears with two other
translations of the pseudo-Aristotelian text in a single volume published by the Early
English Text Society. An introduction was promised, but never published. In a brief
note at the beginning of the edition, Steele writes,

The third text [Yonge’s], perhaps the only lengthy work known
written in the English of the Pale early in the fifteenth century, is
so important, linguistically and historically, that Dr. Furnivall
wishes it to be in the hands of students as soon as possible.37

Given Frederick J. Furnivall’s great interest in English philology, it is no wonder that the
Early English Text Society editor found Yonge’s text so intriguing. However, Steele and
Furnivall have nothing to say about Yonge as an author or as a resident of Ireland in the
fifteenth century. An edition of Yonge’s Memoriale was published in 1908 by the
Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye.38 Delehaye’s introduction to the text focuses on its
manuscript context and on the history of medieval texts relating to St. Patrick’s

36 The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, I. 88.
37 “Secreta Secretorum,” i.
38 “Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice.”
Purgatory. Of Yonge, Delehaye states only that “…Jacques Yonge lui [i.e. Laurent de Pászthó] a servi de secrétaire” (James Yonge served [Laurence of Pászthó] as secretary); he also notes that the resulting work was not composed from the dictation of the knight, but was the outcome of several meetings between knight and scribe.\(^{39}\)

The first person to write on Yonge himself was the antiquarian and scholar St. John Drelincourt Seymour. Seymour probably first became familiar with Yonge’s work while researching St. Patrick’s Purgatory for his 1919 book \textit{St. Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland}, in which he summarizes Laurence Rathold’s journey to the Purgatory, as reported by Yonge.\(^{40}\) In 1924, Seymour read a brief paper on James Yonge, which pulls together the scant documentary evidence then in existence for the author’s life and career.\(^{41}\) Seymour localizes Yonge, formerly known as “an author of the Pale,” to St. John’s Parish in Dublin.\(^{42}\) He also uses the then recently published calendar of the deeds of St. John’s Parish to fix some dates on Yonge’s life and establish that he was a notary public, as Yonge claims to be in what Seymour terms only as “one of his works” (Yonge’s \textit{Memoriale}).\(^{43}\) Using John L. Robinson’s calendar of deeds, Seymour establishes that Yonge is mentioned in documents in 1405 (\textit{recte} 1406), 1411, 1417, and

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 42. See also Chapter 3.

\(^{40}\) \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland}, 63–72.

\(^{41}\) “James Yonge: A Fifteenth-Century Dublin Writer.”

\(^{42}\) Ibid., 48. For a reassessment of this localization see the section entitled “The Yonge Family” in Chapter 4.

When reporting on other members of the Yonge family, however, Seymour falls prey to an error made by Robinson. Seymour, relying solely on Robinson’s printed calendar, reports that James Yonge’s relative, John Yonge, was also a notary. John Yonge was actually a chaplain associated for some time with the Parish of St. John, Dublin. Seymour does admit the possibility of scribal error in this case in his later work on Yonge.

Following this list of documents referring to Yonge and his family, Seymour gives brief descriptions of Yonge’s *Memoriale* and *Gouvernance of Prynces*, positing the existence of other lost or unattributed works. He tells us that Rathold hired Yonge to record his experiences in the Purgatory “no doubt on account of his well-known literary ability.” On the contrary, there is some doubt about Yonge’s reputation as a literary author late in 1411. Yonge was, at the time, a well-known legal scribe with connections to city leadership and with a client list that included some of the wealthiest inhabitants of the Pale. He was thus established as a scribe and notary, and he may have been in the right place at the right time to volunteer to act as a secretary and amanuensis for Rathold, but given the nonexistent evidence for Yonge’s literary production prior to the completion of the *Memoriale* in 1411/12, positing any public knowledge of the legal scribe’s literary ability is, at best, conjecture.

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44 The documents referred to here are TCD MS 1477, nos. 69, 85, 101, and 110.

45 Robinson, who also occasionally erred when assigning dates to documents, accidentally wrote that John Yonge was the notary for TCD MS 1477, no. 84. In fact, this second document dating to 1411 was written and notarized by James Yonge.

46 *Anglo-Irish Literature, 1200-1582*, 135.

In his description of the *Secreta secretorum* [*Gouernaunce of Prynces*], Seymour calls on Steele’s note regarding the importance of the text, and he mentions Yonge’s interesting interpolations and exempla from Irish history. In the interest of showing students what the language of the Pale in the fifteenth century looked like, Seymour provides a short selection from chapter four of Yonge’s work, a section that happens to be one of Yonge’s translations rather than one of his interpolations. Seymour relies on Ware to provide a date and patron for the *Secreta secretorum*, stating that the work was written around 1420. Internal evidence, however, points to completion of the work in 1422, a fact which Seymour picks up on in his later work. Seymour ends his article with a desideratum. “We hope that future students will succeed in unearthing more information with respect to [James Yonge] from manuscripts stored in Dublin and elsewhere.” Sadly, the only major work to address Yonge in more than a passing way during most of the twentieth century was Seymour’s own *Anglo-Irish Literature*, published in 1929, which contained much the same information on Yonge – often presented word-for-word – as had already been provided in his earlier article, along with summaries of the *Memoriale* and *Secreta secretorum*. In the course of his Herculean task of compiling a checklist of manuscripts and deeds relating to Ireland, Richard J. Hayes dedicated a subject heading to James Yonge. He also suggests that the Hiberno-

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48 Ibid.

49 *Anglo-Irish Literature, 1200-1582*, 138. For more on the timing of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*’ completion, see the section entitled “The Date of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*” in Chapter 1.


51 *Anglo-Irish Literature, 1200-1582*, 135–41. Curiously, Seymour skips over Rathold’s third vision in the Purgatory, in which he is tempted by a devil disguised as a young woman of his acquaintance.
English Expugnatio Hibernica might have been translated by Yonge, by adding a note, “by James Young?” to his entry on Oxford Bodleian Rawlinson B. 490, a manuscript containing copies of that text and Yonge’s Secreta secretorum. The notion of common authorship for these two fifteenth-century Hiberno-English works is one that Seymour briefly argues against based on stylistic tendencies in the two texts. Recently, Caoimhe Whelan and Aisling Byrne have both assessed the evidence and concluded that Yonge was not the translator of the Hiberno-English Expugnatio Hibernica.

After the attention of the early twentieth century died down, further scholarship on Yonge awaited a renewal of interest in narratives relating to St. Patrick’s Purgatory and in English mirrors for princes. In the case of the former, Michael Haren examined Yonge’s Memoriale as part of a larger survey of Purgatorial narratives. In the case of the latter, Judith Ferster and John Thompson each examined Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces for different reasons: Ferster for what Yonge’s work says about the politics of offering advice during the reign of Henry V, and Thompson for what the work and its manuscript sources suggest about manuscript production and regional audiences in late medieval Ireland. Both Ferster and Thompson state that Yonge was a secretary for the

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52 Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization.

53 Anglo-Irish Literature, 1200-1582, 141.

54 Whelan, “Translating Cambrensis: The Late Medieval History of Giraldus’s English Conquest of Ireland”; Byrne, “Family, Locality and Nationality: The Circulation and Adaptation of the Expugnatio Hibernica in Late Medieval Ireland.”

55 “Two Hungarian Pilgrims.”

Fourth Earl of Ormond by the early 1420s. Ferster places Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* alongside similar Middle English mirrors for princes: Chaucer’s “Melibee,” chapter VII of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, and Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes*. She investigates each text for what it contributes to a “double rhetoric of deference and challenge” in which the respective authors advise those in power while remaining subservient to them.

Kathryn Kerby-Fulton has often referred to Yonge in her work on late medieval reading circles and on *Piers Plowman*. In a 1997 article with Stephen Justice, she and Justice recognize the influence of *Piers Plowman* on Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, identifying several passages used by the author to make oblique political statements. They also note the Lancastrian bent of some of Yonge’s interpolations, insertions designed to flatter James Butler and his patron, Henry V, and Yonge’s imitation of Langland in using Biblical exempla to make political commentary. Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres focused on the Douce manuscript of the C-text of *Piers Plowman* in their book *Iconography and the Professional Reader*. Oxford Bodleian Douce 104 was produced *ca.* 1427 in the Dublin area, and its scribe, annotators and illuminator were probably all participants in the civil service circles surrounding the offices of the Irish Exchequer and other Crown offices in Ireland. Yonge’s participation in similar circles and his translation and careful political re-fashioning of a much older *Secreta secretorum*.

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57 “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427,” 80–2.
for an Anglo-Irish audience a mere five years prior to the production of the Douce *Piers Plowman* merits him several mentions.  

Most of what we now know about James Yonge was gathered together in an entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Terence P. Dolan in 2004. Dolan cites the documentary evidence that Seymour discovered in the Robinson calendar of deeds from the Parish of St. John. He also quotes James Ware via Harris’ 1744 translation of *De scriptoribus Hiberniae*, correcting the erroneous 1407 date for the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. Dolan’s brief discussions of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and the *Memoriale* include listings of the manuscripts, and are derived principally from the comments of Steele and Delehaye, respectively. Thanks to the newly discovered evidence presented in the present work, Dolan’s entry can be expanded greatly, and the dates which Dolan provides for Yonge’s active career (1405–34) can be extended by half a decade to 1404–38.

Reconstructed Primary Sources and Extant Primary Sources

A second major set of sources for information about James Yonge consists of the catalogs of papers that were written prior to the Four Courts disaster. In this instance, volume thirty-five of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy; Section C*:

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Archaeology, Linguistic, and Literature looms large. In it, Henry F. Twiss offers summaries of parish deeds that would be lost a scant two years after the publication of their particulars. Twiss carefully catalogued all of the then extant deeds of the parishes of St. Katherine and St. James, located in the western suburbs of Dublin, and of the parish of St. Werburgh, located in the southeast part of the walled city. The other resources recording the gist of documents now no longer extant are the “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds” assembled by the Deputy Keeper of the Records in 1883, and the great catalogue of Irish patent and close rolls of the Irish chancery assembled by Edward Tresham in the 19th century. The latter calendar, itself rapidly becoming an endangered species, contains a precis of every entry in the rolls extant in 1828, from the reign of Henry II onwards. The CIRCLE project has recently reconstructed the contents of the rolls of the Irish Chancery by locating copies of entries from those rolls as well as deeds relating to entries in the rolls. The website contains several documents pertaining to Yonge.

If the documents listed by Twiss, the Deputy Keeper of Records, and Tresham were still extant today, it is likely that we would be able to identify many more


61 “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds (1-467)”; “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds (468-969)”; “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds (970-1453)”; Appendix to the Twenty-Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland. These were recently re-published as a single volume, edited by Michael Joseph McEnery and Raymond Refaussé: Christ Church Deeds; Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium.

62 Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium.

63 “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509.” I am grateful to Peter Crooks for keeping me apprised of the project and its status.
documents pertaining to James Yonge’s career. As I will demonstrate, we now know what Yonge’s handwriting looked like, and in the case of the parish documents, it is entirely conceivable that several of these lost documents were written by Yonge. In fact, if the documents of St. Catherine’s, St. James’, St Werburgh’s and Christ Church did not contain several items in Yonge’s hand, it would beggar belief. When considering the body of extant documents written in Dublin between ca. 1404-38 – the approximate range of Yonge’s active life as a legal scribe – Yonge’s hand is so ubiquitous that it seems unthinkable that some documents in his hand did not make it into the parish records recorded by Twiss and the Deputy Keeper of Records. Sadly, all we have now are lists of deeds with the principal names and properties listed therin. Further information on these reconstructed records and their contents can be found in Appendix C.

The primary sources relating to Yonge’s life and career fall into two main groups: deeds and other legal documents, and manuscripts containing Yonge’s literary production. The legal documents are in three major collections: Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, and Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31. A few papers are extant in other collections, such as the Ormond Deeds of the National Library of Ireland and the Pembroke Estate Papers of the National Archives of Ireland. Yonge’s Latin account of the visit of Laurence Rathold of Pászthó to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory is preserved in a single manuscript, British Library Royal MS 10.B.ix, a formulary with Cambridge or Oxford origins, compiled between 1430 and 1447.

64 See the sections on Yonge’s hand, the St. Anne’s Guild documents, and the handlist of Yonge documents in Appendices B, C, and A, respectively.
Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* had a better survival rate than Yonge’s earlier Latin work, appearing in three manuscripts from the mid- and late fifteenth century. Two of the three appear with the fifteenth-century Hiberno-English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, and it is probably the similar cultural attitudes in Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland*, the enumeration of the rights of the English Crown to Ireland in each text, and the common language of the works that precipitated their appeal to members of the Anglo-Irish governing and mercantile classes and hence their common manuscript provenance. The *Gouernaunce of Prynces* appears in its entirety in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B. 490 and London, Lambeth Palace Library Carew MS 633. A fragment survives in Trinity College Dublin MS 592. Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts are in Yonge’s hand, so nothing can currently be said with any certainty about Yonge’s book hand or publishing practices. However, given the great number of deeds in Yonge’s hand which have thus far been identified, it seems probable that more evidence concerning Yonge lies hidden among church and family records. These will, I hope, eventually come to light.\(^{65}\)

Conclusions

My research serves to expand our ideas about clerical and literary culture in late medieval English-controlled Ireland by looking at the case of one scribe and author, James Yonge, and his circle. As an author and translator, Yonge used a wide variety of

\(^{65}\) Fuller descriptions of the archival collections and manuscripts mentioned here can be found in Appendix C.
sources and deployed them in new ways to create texts that appealed to particular audiences. Yonge addresses his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* to James Butler, but he speaks to the experiences of an Anglo-Irish audience, seeking to influence their political and cultural opinions. He translates a French text of the *Secreta secretorum* written by an Anglo-Irish Dominican, rearranging elements of the text and embroidering the moral lessons the text purports to offer with his own examples, many taken from recent events in Ireland. Yonge’s *Memoriale* is in some ways even more stunning in Yonge’s use of his sources. He crafts a text designed to appeal to a broad and international audience and uses his role as a notary and legal clerk to lend veracity to a tale that is both a visionary narrative and an advertisement for Ireland – especially civilized and worldly Dublin.

I have identified the hand of Yonge, which has allowed me to draw a picture of Yonge’s professional network of contacts and to demonstrate that the scribe was known to a large segment of the wealthier members of the Dublin community. I trace a career path for the scribe that begins with the young scribe executing deeds for an extremely wide variety of clients. As his career progressed, Yonge became more selective, and towards the end of his career he seems to have been consistently employed by the Guild of St. Anne. Throughout his career, he was associated with the City of Dublin as a notary and possibly as an assistant to the Town Clerk. He was authorized to use the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin, which I argue was an official city seal with strict limitations on its use. A system of preferment was in place with the Dublin government, as Yonge’s students were also authorized to use the Seal. My identification of Yonge’s hand also allowed me to identify the hands of two of his students. The career paths of these clerks closely mirror Yonge’s. The manuscripts produced by Nicholas Bellewe are especially
interesting in that they offer new evidence for manuscript production and literary
publication in late medieval Anglo-Ireland.

The results of my research open many new avenues of inquiry. I hope that future
projects executed by myself and by other scholars will further expand our knowledge of
Anglo-Irish literary culture. A new edition of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* is a
desideratum, as is a sustained study of Bellewe’s *Mirror of St. Edmund* and other writings
that might be ascribed to him. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* appears in manuscripts
that were produced and circulated in mid to late fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland.

Preliminary research indicates circulation among merchants, government officials, and
members of the Benedictine order. More research into these manuscripts as well as
manuscripts owned by other Anglo-Irish families such as those listed in the early
sixteenth-century library list of Gerald Mór FitzGerald would add a substantial amount to
our knowledge of literary endeavor in late medieval Ireland.
PART 1:

JAMES YONGE’S LITERARY PRODUCTION
CHAPTER 1:
JAMES YONGE’S GOUERNAUNCE OF PRYNCES [SECRETAE SECRETORUM] AND
THE POLITICS OF TRANSLATION IN ANGLO-IRELAND

Introduction: Translating the Secreta secretorum for an Anglo-Irish Audience

In the Honour of the Hey Trynyte, Fadyr, Sone, And Holy gooste, Almyghti god; oure lady Seynte mary, and al the holy hollowes of hewyn: To yow, nobyll and gracious lorde Iamys de Botillere, Erle of Ormonde, lietuenaut of oure lege lorde, kyng henry the fyfte in Irland, humbly recommendyth hym youre pouver Seruant, James yonge, to youre hey lordshipp: altymes desyrynge in cryste, yowre honour and profite of body and Sowl, and wyth al myn herte the trynyte afor-sayde beshechyng e that he hit euer Encrese. Amen. Amen.66

Thus begins James Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces, completed in the summer of 1422 for James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, then Lieutenant of Ireland. The Gouernaunce of Prynces is the work for which Yonge is best known.67 In it, the clerk and author presents himself as a close and trusted advisor to James Butler, who has commissioned the work, and by extension to King Henry V of England, Butler’s patron. As ordered, Yonge translates his Gouernaunce of Prynces “out of latyn othyr Frenche in-

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67 Recent scholarship on the Gouernaunce of Prynces includes Ferster, Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England; Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427.” Aisling Byrne also addresses the Gouernaunce of Prynces briefly in her forthcoming article, Byrne, “Family, Locality and Nationality: The Circulation and Adaptation of the Expugnatio Hibernica in Late Medieval Ireland.”
to youre modyr Englyshe tonge.” Yonge instead of simply translating an earlier mirror for princes called the *Secreta secretorum*, however, Yonge takes on the role of author and editor, carefully cherry-picking and rearranging the chapters he chooses to translate from his French source. Yonge is also a compiler, adding quotations and exempla from other sources, essentially, as A. J. Minnis has argued with regard to vernacular compilation, appropriating his source texts, exploiting their authority, and conferring authority on them by his treatment and placement of them. Yonge tells Butler, “I writte to your Excellence this boke, entremedelid wyth many good ensamplis of olde stories, And wyth the foure cardynale vertues, and dyuers othyr good matturis, and olde ensamplis and new.” The “new ensamplis entremedelid” into the text of Yonge’s source are descriptions of events and quotations from several sources including most notably Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica*. Yonge also selects quotations from the Bible and from the Latin fathers, which were deployed to lend authority to the moral teachings of his mirror for princes text. While the work is ostensibly for James Butler and King Henry V, Yonge’s audience also includes literate members of the Anglo-Irish community and members of Henry V’s government and court. Yonge’s interpolations make use of recent history and the ongoing violence between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Irish, and Yonge drives his political points home by the judicious use of scriptural, patristic, and historical sources.

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69 Minnis, “Late-Medieval Discussions of Compilatio and the Role of the Compilator.”

70 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 123.
James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond was a friend and retainer of King Henry V, and had campaigned with him in France. When the king appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1420, Butler took up the reins of leadership in Anglo-Ireland with enthusiasm. At the time, however, Butler was involved in a long-standing feud with members of the Talbot family, also powerful Anglo-Irish lords. John Talbot, Lord Furnival, had expended tremendous effort in seizing Butler’s lands, claiming that Butler owed significant amounts to the Exchequer. In taking office, Butler replaced John Talbot and Thomas Talbot, who was acting as John’s deputy. Butler spent the first weeks of his Lieutenancy placing his own supporters in offices formerly held by Talbot appointees. For James Yonge, this meant appointment to the post of Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer, extra income from lands near Lucan and Saggart, and the task of translating a mirror for princes. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* was to serve as a symbolic work marking Butler’s rise to power and his role as representative of the king. It was probably largely written between late 1420 and the summer of 1422. The dissemination of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* also helped single Yonge out among Butler’s supporters when

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Butler fell from power in 1422. By January 1423, Yonge was imprisoned in Trim Castle, probably as a result of his very public support for Butler.\footnote{For more on these events, see the section entitled, “Triumph and Defeat” in Chapter 4.}

In the same way that his \textit{Memoriale} played into and interacted with a large body of English and Continental literary material, by translating the \textit{Secreta secretorum} into English, Yonge was consciously participating in a larger European literary trend. Like the narratives detailing visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, discussed in the next chapters, the \textit{Secreta secretorum} was widely disseminated across Europe, and was translated into nearly every European vernacular by the close of the Middle Ages. As the text traveled and was re-imagined for different audiences, the \textit{Secreta secretorum} gained and lost sections of text. Yonge’s translation and re-fashioning of the text brought the \textit{Secreta secretorum} to the English-speaking populace of Anglo-Ireland. Yonge was also imitating trends closer to home. He may have been aware of the mirrors for princes produced by Chaucer, Gower, and especially Hoccleve, and his presentation of a mirror for princes to the man who was acting \textit{in loco regis} in Ireland – an idea that may have originated with Butler – appears to have been in imitation of Hoccleve’s presentation of \textit{The Regement of Princes} to Henry V shortly before he became king.

While the current state of the editions of Jofroi of Waterford’s \textit{Secreta secretorum} and James Yonge’s \textit{Gouvernance of Prynces} does not allow for a thorough comparison of the texts, a preliminary comparison of Yonge’s text with edited portions of Jofroi of Waterford’s work demonstrates that as a translator, Yonge exercised a considerable amount of freedom in bringing Jofroi’s text to an Anglo-Irish audience. This, however, is
hardly surprising. As Rita Copeland demonstrates, medieval translators engaged in a considerable amount of interpretation, re-framing older texts for new audiences. In many places, Yonge follows his French original closely, rendering a text that is nearly a word-for-word translation, but he also re-ordered his original, removed chapters and entire sections, and expanded or contracted individual chapters or sets of chapters to create a work that is less a translation and more a re-imagination of Joffroi’s text.

The History of the *Secreta secretorum*

The *Secreta secretorum* purports to be an encyclopedic letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great, written by the tutor at a time when Alexander was in Persia and had requested Aristotle’s presence; due to infirmity, Aristotle was unable to comply, and he instead wrote a letter instructing Alexander in proper kingly behavior. While the core text of the *Secreta secretorum* draws on Aristotelian political philosophy, it is doubtful that Aristotle had anything to do with the original mirror for princes. The text may have originated in Greece or in Syria. From the eighth century, it circulated in the Islamic world as *Kitāb Sirr al-āsrar* (The Book of the Secret of Secrets). Sometime between 1135 and 1153, it was translated from Arabic into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis of

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73 “Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation in the Middle Ages”; *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages.*

74 Hunt, “A New Fragment of Jofroi de Waterford’s *Segre de segrez,*” 289.
Toledo; this translation was re-translated by Philip of Tripoli ca. 1234-43. This version was a medieval best-seller; there are still over 350 extant manuscripts containing the complete text or fragments of it. (One of these manuscripts is the Liber Niger of Christ Church Cathedral, which contains a short Latin version of the Secreta secretorum.) In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon edited the Secreta secretorum and added glosses to it. The text continued to circulate in medieval Europe, becoming the “quintessential secular didactic text of the Middle Ages.” Around its core – a pseudo-Aristotelian letter on statecraft – accrued precepts for healthy living, herbal remedies, including a recipe for a panacea, astrological information, texts on physiognomy, and texts offering spiritual guidance. The whole was a genre-straddling work – part encyclopedia, part didactic text offering moral instruction, and part mirror for princes – from which almost anyone could derive some sort of useful information. Again and again, Philip of Tripoli’s text was translated into Latin or into vernacular languages.

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76 Hunt, “A New Fragment of Jofroi de Waterford’s Segre de segrez,” 290.

77 Fols. 8r-16r. I have not seen this manuscript, but judging by the short text, it is probably a copy of the core text without the additions and embellishments added by translators such as Joffroi of Waterford; this core text roughly corresponds to the first 16 chapters of Yonge’s version. Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin,” 45.

78 Schauwecker, *Die Diätetik nach dem Secretum secretorum in der Version von Jofroi de Waterford, 8–10*.

79 Williams, “The Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets as a Didactic Text,” 42.


81 Williams surveys many of these texts as well as their reception in university circles from the origins of the Secreta secretorum up to 1330, *The Secret of Secrets.*
When one includes all of the various translations in Latin, French, Hebrew, Provençal, Italian, Castilian, Catalan, Dutch, Portuguese, German, Icelandic, Czech, Croatian, Russian, Turkish, Welsh, and English, there are over one thousand versions of the *Secreta secretorum* from the European Middle Ages.  

Late Medieval Mirrors for Princes in England and France

The end of the fourteenth century saw a spike in the number of translations of the *Secreta secretorum* into the various vernaculars. Each translator took it upon him or herself to amend the text for a particular recipient, this could include adding interpolations and versifying the text, as Hoccleve and Gower did. Steven J. Williams points out that each of these translations caused the text to be disseminated to an ever-wider audience. While the *Secreta secretorum* in most of its iterations claims to have a prince, king, or other ruler as its immediate audience, it seems that the central messages concerning the deportment of a ruler, the love of God, and the hierarchical ordering of

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84 “The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* as a Didactic Text,” 43.
society appealed to audiences beyond Europe’s royal courts. Of this new public for
mirrors for princes, such as Chaucer’s “Tale of Melibee,” Larry Scanlon writes:

This audience came from the newly empowered strata of the ruling
class, the gentry and the richest of the urban bourgeoisie, who
looked to the royal court as the source of cultural as well as
political authority. For this audience, the growing consumption of
vernacular literature was no less an exercise in cultural entitlement
than the growing participation in political discourse.85

The new audience for mirrors for princes used the texts as entertainment – the
exempla meant to illustrate the moral messages were the focus of the texts;86 these
exempla were carefully selected by authors, translators, and editors not only for their
moral messages, but also for their subtle and not-so-subtle political messages. In the
Secreta secretorum tradition, the texts began with a brief exchange between Alexander
the Great and Aristotle in which the tutor addresses a lengthy letter of advice to the ruler,
Alexander. The author places his ruler-addressee in the place of Alexander; he is the
wise prince who will listen to sage advice. The author/translator acts in loco Aristotelis,
dispensing timely advice with, as Judith Ferster argues, a combination of “deference and
challenge.”87 The antiquity of the pseudo-Aristotelian letter to Alexander lends the
medieval Secreta secretorum texts and their author-translators a level of authority which
allows those author-translators to place their own – often critical – advice in the mouth of
Aristotle. Thus, messages about royal policy and abuse of power that would normally be

85 Scanlon, “The King’s Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve’s Regement of Princes,”


87 Ferster, Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England, 3
and passim.
detrimen
tal or even dangerous to express plainly are rendered into wisdom that is
authoritative, ancient, and acceptable.\textsuperscript{88} Yonge, however, plays a dangerous game in
inserting exempla from recent Irish history and current politics. He steps forth from the
protective embrace of Aristotle’s letter to present his views in a forthright manner. By
exposing himself in this way, he probably did much to impress his patron, but that patron
was unable to protect his author from being thrown in prison when the Butler faction fell
from power.\textsuperscript{89}

In translating the \textit{Secreta secretorum} for Butler, James Yonge was participating in
a fifteenth-century trend. The same audience that was reading mirrors for princes were
also consumers of books of courtesy and chivalry, advice books that detailed such things
as military strategy, household management, hunting, and Christian ethics. There were at
least twelve translations of the \textit{Secreta secretorum} into English made during the fifteenth
century, including translations by Lydgate and Burgh, John Shirley, and, of course, James
Yonge.\textsuperscript{90} These reflected a growing interest in and audience for mirrors for princes. One
of the first texts owing a debt to mirrors for princes that found readership among the
rising bourgeoisie was Langland’s \textit{Piers Plowman}, in which social ills are examined, and
the moral responsibility for the redressing of the injuries done to society as a whole falls

\textsuperscript{88} For discussions of some of these political maneuvers within \textit{Secreta secretorum} texts and their
social and political import, see Watts, \textit{Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship}, 16–31; Ferster, \textit{Fictions of

\textsuperscript{89} See the section entitled, “Triumph and Defeat” in Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{90} Manzalaoui, \textit{Secretum Secretorum}; Steele, \textit{Lydgate and Burgh’s Secrees of Old Philisoffres: A
Version of the Secreta secretorum}; Yonge, “\textit{Secreta Secretorum}.” Manzalaoui offers a partial, yet
fascinating family tree of English \textit{Secreta secretorum} texts and their sources on p. xlvii.
to anyone who has authority – not just the ruler. Later, John Gower used the *Secreta secretorum* as a base text for book VII of his *Confessio amantis*, retaining much of the moral language, but rejecting most of the exempla.

English kings were frequently the addressees and recipients for mirrors for princes. Walter de Milemete prepared a copy of the *Secreta secretorum* for Edward III ca. 1326-27; Thomas Hoccleve presented his *Regement of Princes* to Henry, the Prince of Wales, in 1412, shortly before Henry became King Henry V; John Lydgate translated a *Secreta secretorum* for King Henry VI (this was completed by Benedict Burgh after Lydgate’s death in 1449). Because he was writing between the mid-1370s and 1402, during the political turmoil of the reign of Richard II and its aftermath, John Gower’s works show a shift in political views; his image of the ideal ruler changed from Richard II to Henry Bolingbroke. This shift demonstrates in particular the plasticity of the *Secreta secretorum* tradition; each new translation could be molded to suit the political exigencies and agendas of translator and addressee. In France, Christine de Pizan wrote her *Livre du Corps de policie* between 1405-07 for the young Dauphin, Louis of Guyenne. She took advantage of the literary conventions of the *Secreta secretorum* tradition to couch her message about the consequences of misrule in terms acceptable to

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91 Collett, “The Three Mirrors of Christine De Pizan,” 6–7. Collett notes that the B-text’s organization of the plowing of the half acre is an especially interesting passage demonstrating the results of good governance, depicting a society in which every member participates in his or her allotted place.


94 Manzalaoui, “‘Noght in the Registre of Venus’: Gower’s English Mirror for Princes,” 163–64.
the political establishment. Yonge also uses his translation of the *Secreta secretorum* to express a number of political messages. His relationship with his patron, Butler, and the political situation in Anglo-Ireland that was favorable to the Butler faction meant that he dared to be more overt with his advice than many of the author-translators who had gone before.

The Main Sources for Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*

Yonge was indebted to several sources for his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. The germ of an idea for such a work may have come from Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes*. Hoccleve wrote his work between 1410-12, basing his English verse work mainly on the *De Regimine Principum* of Aegidius Romanus. Scanlon argues that Hoccleve’s *Regement* sought, among other things, to legitimize Lancastrian rule. Hoccleve treated questions regarding the dynastic rights of the future Henry V as if the succession were well-settled. Hoccleve also uses his *Regement* to praise Henry V’s ancestors: Henry IV, John of Gaunt, and Henry of Lancaster. Yonge may never have known Hoccleve’s work, but the idea for creating a mirror for princes may have come from Butler, who had been active at the courts of Henry IV and Henry V, and who was likely well-aware that

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96 Scanlon, “The King’s Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes*,” 216.

97 Ibid., 232.

the London poet and Privy Seal clerk had presented a mirror for princes to the prince shortly before he assumed the throne. One of Butler’s intentions in commissioning Yonge’s translation was similar to an aim of Hoccleve’s *Regement* – confirming succession. Approximately a decade after Hoccleve presented his *Regement* to the future king of England, Yonge presented his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* to James Butler, that same king’s representative in Ireland. Butler had been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1420, and he was dedicated to retaining the position. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* sought to ensure not dynastic succession, but Butler’s continued retention of Ireland’s highest office. Moreover, by praising Butler’s father and grandfather, Yonge sought to demonstrate that Butler, too, had an inherent right to the Lieutenancy of Ireland – he and his ancestors had been fighting successfully against the “rebel Irish” for generations. Yonge’s translation was a propaganda piece meant to enhance Butler’s standing in Ireland among the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*’ secondary audience of Anglo-Irish nobles, merchants, and ruling classes. It also served to flatter King Henry V, Butler’s patron, through examples of good governance and by implying that Henry made the right decision in appointing Butler over the objections of the Talbot faction which sought to oust Butler from the Lieutenancy in favor of John and Richard Talbot.99 Butler’s patronage of Yonge for the purposes of an English translation of a French or Latin text was also a political maneuver designed to demonstrate Butler’s support of Henry V’s agenda to enhance and support vernacular literature, especially in Anglo-Ireland, where the language was threatened by increasing use of Irish. Just as Hoccleve

99 Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, 63. See also the section entitled, “Triumph and Defeat” in Chapter 4.
legitimizes Henry V in his vernacular work, Yonge does the same for Butler and for English interests in Ireland.\textsuperscript{100}

Hoccleve’s \textit{Regement of Princes} is, in part, a begging poem in which the author asks for the money owed him for his work as a civil servant. The poem is largely autobiographical, and the author places himself in the role of a counselor to the king as he uses tried-and-true advice from the mirror for princes tradition to approach and advise his superior. Like Hoccleve, Yonge places himself in his mirror for princes, but his relationship to the text and to his patron is far different. Yonge provides no autobiographical information; his own character is subsumed within his role as a trustworthy advisor, a latter-day Aristotle, who, having been asked by his “king” to translate the work, is carrying out his duty with alacrity and thoroughness. While he adopts the stance of being Butler’s “pouer seruant” – a trope common to those who assume the authorial voice in \textit{Secreta secretorum} texts – Yonge is also not as overtly deferent as Hoccleve is; Yonge places himself in a role that allows him to approach, council, and even gently chide Butler. In the capacity of close advisor, he has filled the \textit{Gouernaunce of Prynces} with both received wisdom and advice particularly tailored to Butler and to the Anglo-Irish political situation. As with Hoccleve presuming Henry V’s reading presence, Yonge assumes Butler as his primary audience, repeatedly breaking into his narrative to address Butler personally, entering into familiar conversation with him. King Henry V is in the background as a secondary reader. Yonge makes specific mention of him in the very first sentence, quoted in the introduction above, and very last

\textsuperscript{100} Scanlon, “The King’s Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve’s \textit{Regement of Princes},” 226.
sentence of his work. Yonge describes the circumstances for translating the

*Gouernaunce of Prynces* by using one of his favored sources, quotations ascribed to Cicero, indicating that Butler, like Cicero and Alexander, is possessed of great intelligence and understanding for desiring to have a mirror for princes made. Yonge then describes his charge from Butler, demonstrating his own obedience and willingness to serve by the very translation he is introducing. As Ferster points out, Yonge equates himself with Aristotle and Cicero, giving himself the permission and status he needs to advise his great lord, who is intelligent enough to need no advising, yet wise enough to take the advice of a good councillor and a learned man such as himself.  

And therfor Tully the grette clerke Sayth, “than were wel gouernette Emperies and kyngdomes Whan kynges wer Phylosofors, and Philosofy regnyd.” The whyche thynge, nobil and gracious lorde afor-Sayde [Butler], haith Parcewid the Sotilte of youre witte, and the clerney of youre engyn, And therfore I-chargid Some good boke of gouernauence of Prynces out of latyn other Frenche in-to youre modyr Englyshe tonge to translate. And for als moche as euere youe hame bounde for youre gracius kyndly gentilnesse onto youre commaundement to obey, now y here translate to youre Souerayne nobilnes the boke of arystotle, Prynce of Phylosofors, of the gouernaunce of Prynces, …  

If Yonge’s statement can be believed, Butler appears to have given Yonge a lot of leeway in choosing the text on which he based his translation. He did not specify what mirror for princes he desired, nor did he specify a particular base language, suggesting that Butler’s main aim was to have Yonge create a piece of literature specifically in English. French had died out among the Anglo-Irish by the middle of the fourteenth


century, except as a legal language, and Latin texts required a certain level of education to read. As the provision in the Statutes of Kilkenny requiring that the Anglo-Irish people learn and use English suggests, English was also losing ground to Irish. In Dublin, however, where the center of the English administration was located, English was the language of daily life and was becoming the language of government. Butler was eager to promote it in Ireland. By commissioning a text in English that was specifically designed to circulate among the Anglo-Irish population, he was creating a literary work for a linguistic community that operated to separate that community from the Irish culture that surrounded it. The *Gouernaunce of Prynces* made the Anglo-Irish community the inheritors of ancient authority, and that authority was applied to legitimate and justify the existence and actions of the English-speaking colony and its government.

Butler’s choice of English for a new mirror for princes not only demonstrated his support for the English king’s policies and enhanced the number of English texts available to the Anglo-Irish population, his patronage of a literary work in English had the further effect of downplaying the fact that the Earl of Ormond had secretaries who were able to produce documents in any of Ireland’s four languages and that he actively participated in Irish literary culture, hiring Irish poets and scribes. Part of Oxford Bodleian Laud Misc. 610 – folios 123r-146v – comprise part of a manuscript in Irish

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104 Dolan and Deane, “The Literature of Norman Ireland,” 142.

commissioned by James Butler. (The first half of the manuscript – also in Irish – was commissioned by Butler’s nephew and successor, Edmund Butler.)

The Earldom of Ormond had areas with large Gaelic-Irish populations, and along with participating in the literary culture of his neighbors and tenants, James Butler played a part in their legal culture, hiring a brehon law judge who oversaw cases involving the Gaelic-Irish population in the Earldom of Ormond. Butler was unique among Anglo-Irish lords in doing this. Butler’s employment of Yonge to translate a mirror for princes may reflect, according to John Thompson, “Butler’s genuine scholarly and political interests in both Gaelic and Anglophone legal history and literary culture.”

When Yonge was charged with the work of translating a mirror for princes, the Dublin author was somewhat limited by what mirrors for princes might have been circulating in Dublin ca. 1420. We know of at least two: a Latin Secreta secretorum that is extant in the Liber Niger of Christ Church Cathedral, and the French text chosen by Yonge. The Dublin author’s choice of a base text was quite deliberate. Rather than choosing a Latin text – and thus being able to draw on the greater authority that the Latin language conferred – Yonge chose a French text, the Secreta secretorum of Jofroi of Waterford and Servais Copale, some sections of which the Dublin author translated


107 Cosgrove, “The Emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447,” 552–53.


109 Fols. 8r-16r, Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin,” 45.
nearly word-for-word into Hiberno-English. As his name suggests, Jofroi of Waterford, was a Dominican originally from Waterford, where there was a Dominican house from at least 1226.\textsuperscript{110} The predominately Anglo-Irish population of Waterford suggests that he was of Anglo-Irish extraction, descended either from English or Flemish colonists. He spent his career in France, and appears to have had connections to the university community in Paris.\textsuperscript{111}

The French \textit{Secreta Secretorum} text was translated sometime between 1266 and 1300 with the assistance – probably largely scribal – of a Walloon, Servais Copale. The work survives in nearly-complete form on folios 248r-249v and 84r-143v in one manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 1822. It is also extant in fragmentary form – the pages of a MS were used as a temporary book cover – in London, Society of Antiquaries MS 101. Both manuscript copies date to the fourteenth century; the Paris manuscript was written around the turn of the fourteenth century, and the London manuscript was written in the first half of the century.\textsuperscript{112} While no manuscripts of this translation are known to survive from Anglo-Ireland, it appears that the Jofroi of Waterford translation circulated in France, England, and Ireland, and Yonge’s close adherence to Jofroi’s text suggests that the author had access to his exemplar for a considerable and sustained period of time. Jofroi’s Anglo-Irish origins may have been a major factor in Yonge’s choice of base text. While the translation was executed in

\textsuperscript{110} Hunt, “A New Fragment of Jofroi de Waterford’s \textit{Segre de segrez},” 291.

\textsuperscript{111} Williams, \textit{The Secret of Secrets}, 258.

France, Yonge was using as his basis a work with cultural and historical ties – however tenuous – to the Anglo-Irish community. Jofroi’s origins may also have meant that his French text enjoyed broad circulation in Dublin and other Anglo-Irish communities, and it may have been easier for Yonge to find a copy to work from.

The Jofroi of Waterford-Servais Copale text has dialectical markers of Anglo-Norman, Picard, and Walloon, leading scholars to question exactly what role Copale played in the creation of the text. Jofroi of Waterford mentions himself at both the beginning and the end of his *Secreta secretorum*, while Copale is only mentioned at the end in a standard passage requesting the reader’s prayers.\textsuperscript{113} Monfrin argues that Copale could have been either a scribe or a co-translator, whereas Hunt and Schauwecker both argue that Copale was only a copyist, adding very little to Jofroi of Waterford’s translation.\textsuperscript{114} Jofroi of Waterford was also responsible for other translations from Latin into French, Dares the Phrygian’s *De Excidio Troiae*, and Eutropius’ *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, suggesting that he may indeed have been the sole translator of his *Secreta secretorum*.

The French text is a far cry from its Latin antecedent. Jofroi of Waterford used the Latin text of Barthélemy de Messine, who was associated with the court of Manfred, King of Sicily in the mid-thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{115} The initial chapters are a close translation


of the first twenty chapters of the Latin text, but in the fourth chapter, which emphasizes wisdom and strength as the two principal virtues of a leader, Jofroi adds exempla on the justice of Zaleucus, the wisdom of Damazates, a counselor to Xerxes, and the largesse of Alexander. Yonge retains these exempla, inserting a further one of his own between those of Damazates and Alexander, asking Butler to recall how his own grandfather was victorious – by the grace of God – against the Murphys and the McMurroughs. Jofroi’s text also includes new information regarding the four virtues of a prince: Prudence, Justice, Power, and Temperance. This is derived in part from the *Formula vitae honestæ* of Martin de Braga and the *Brevioloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum ac philosophorum* of the Franciscan Jean de Galles. Jofroi’s text of the first part of the *Secreta secretorum* is also filled out with additional texts from the Bible, the *Legenda Aurea*, and Patristic authors. Jofroi departs from his exemplar after the first twenty chapters, rejecting several chapters on alchemy, magical stones and plants, a recipe for a panacea, and information on astrology; he declares these “... plus resemble fable que veritei ou philosophie. Et ce sevent tous les cleris qui bien entendent le latin.” (... are more like fable than truth or philosophy, and all clerks who understand Latin well know this.) In their place, Jofroi adds almost twice as much text as he excised, providing his audience with a tract on diet and physical hygiene derived from the *Liber dietarum*

116 Ibid., 511.
117 Ibid., 512.
particularium of Isaac Judæus and the Physiognomia of pseudo-Hippocrates. Jofroi then returns to his Latin exemplar of the Secreta secretorum for the final section of his text which deals with how a king should select good counselors, messengers, and other members of his retinue, as well as a pseudo-Aristotelian tract on physiognomy added to the text by Barthélemy de Messine. The final text is a tripartite work that focuses on:

1) The moral formation of a prince
2) The physical hygiene and diet necessary to maintain optimal health
3) How a prince should compose his entourage, including a tract of physiognomy that he can use to select the best civil servants, messengers, and other close associates

Yonge’s translation maintains this structure, but with some key differences geared toward localizing the Gouernaunce of Prynces for an Anglo-Irish audience. The Dublin author’s earlier Memoriale displays a tendency to shy away from the horrific and bizarre. He turns an account of Purgatorial visions into a didactic text that eschews the graphic details of torture that are a hallmark of its forbearers. Yonge’s preferences for the practical and instructive again shine through in his choice of mirrors for princes to translate. Instead of selecting a classic Latin version of the Secreta secretorum complete with alchemical and semi-magical material, Yonge has chosen the translation of an Anglo-Irish clerk who demonstrates that he has considered what parts of his text are original and what parts are not, a clerk who has replaced the sections which he believes to be “plus ... fable” with practical advice on diet and health.


The Date of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*

Historically, there has been some question about the exact date of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. George Carew (1555-1629) mentions the work by the title “Precepts of Government” and gives it a date of 1416 in the “Book of Howth.”¹²² James Ware (1594-1666) lists Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* as *Monita Politica, de bono regimine* (Political Advice, on Ruling Well), and gives a date of 1420, which may refer to Butler’s acquisition of the office of Lord Lieutenant, rather than the year Yonge finished the work.¹²³ In his revision and translation of Ware’s *De scriptoribus Hiberniae*, Walter Harris (1686-1761) provides a date of 1407 for Yonge’s translation.¹²⁴ John Drelincourt Seymour first relied on Ware’s date for Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, dating it to 1420 in his article on Yonge.¹²⁵ He later corrected the date to 1422 in his book on Anglo-Irish literature.¹²⁶

Internal evidence demonstrates that Yonge completed his translation of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* – at least in the form in which it comes down to us – between fall 1421 and summer 1422. Yonge refers to processions of clergy in Dublin in 1422, reacting to the incursions of various Irish families into the area of the emerging Pale.

¹²³ Ware, *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae*, vol. II, p. 76.
Butler headed campaigns to drive them away in the early- and mid- summers of 1420, 1421 and 1422, and Yonge mentions these campaigns, placing them all in 1422. 127

Documentary evidence offers the late date of September 1422 for the finishing of the Gouernaunce of Prynces. Henry V died in France on August 31, 1422. Yonge addresses his translation to the king throughout; if he had known of Henry’s death before disseminating the work, he might have attempted to revise it for the benefit of the infant Henry VI or his regents. News of the king’s death did not reach Dublin until sometime after September 22nd, as three deeds dated the 19th and the 22nd of September 1422 are given regnal dates bearing the name of Henry V. 128

The Manuscripts of Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces

Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces had a better survival rate than Yonge’s earlier Latin work, appearing in three manuscripts from the mid- and late fifteenth century. Two of the three copies of Yonge’s work appear with the fifteenth-century Hiberno-English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis’ Expugnatio Hibernica, and it is probably the similar cultural attitudes in Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces and the Hiberno-English Conquest of Ireland, the enumeration of the rights of the English Crown to Ireland in each text, and the common language of the works that precipitated their shared manuscript provenance.


128 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 189-190.
Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B. 490 preserves complete copies of both of these works. Folios 1r-28r contain the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland*, Yonge’s *Secreta secretorum* is on folios 28v-72r. The text of the entire manuscript was written in the late fifteenth century by a single scribe who employed a hybrid script with a mixture of Anglicana and secretary features. The parchment is relatively free of holes and irregularly shaped folios, but it has a suede-like quality that is shared by Irish manuscripts of the period, and this may suggest Irish origins or Irish techniques used in parchment preparation. The manuscript is from the Waterford area, according to *LALME*. It has marginal notations in at least four hands dating from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. Most of these notations are scribal and flag chapter divisions and sections in the text, but sixteenth-century notes in the *Conquest of Ireland* strongly indicate that the manuscript was once owned by a member of the Anglo-Irish community. Scribal notes in the section on physiognomy provide subject headings designed for easy reference, for instance, “Of complexcioun of fflesshe ut sequitur” on folio 63v, and notes such as “The lechurer,” “The sleper,” and “The myndefull man” on folio 65r. These notes anticipate the use of the physiognomy text in a similar way to a book of medical remedies. If the reader needed to select someone to be in his employ, he might quickly refer to the sections regarding the physical traits of a prospective hire, or he might read the section on the “myndefull man” in order to know what to look for.

129 For more information on this and other manuscripts, see Appendix C.

130 Images from this manuscript can be found in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, plates XXXVI and XLIV.

131 For more on Waterford manuscripts and the place of Waterford in Anglo-Irish manuscript production, see Thompson, “Books Beyond England,” 267–68.
note on folio 1r says that the manuscript was a gift of William Gerard, Chancellor of Ireland, who died in 1581. Gerard willed the manuscript to Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton (1536-93), Lord Deputy of Ireland.132 The manuscript’s ownership prior to the late sixteenth century is unknown, but from these notes, it appears that it may have circulated among government officials in Ireland.133

The other complete copy of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* is in a manuscript collected by Sir George Carew, now housed in London at Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 633.134 Yonge’s text is the only work in the manuscript, extending from folios 1r to 84r. It is written in a late fifteenth-century semi-cursive Anglicana with many secretary features. Carew has added a table of contents and a description of the text on a paper folio v, which precedes the text. The parchment is generally of good quality, but varies considerably in thickness. The text of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* presented here lacks the final paragraph of the Rawlinson manuscript. The dialect of the Carew manuscript is again that of Waterford, according to the *LALME*, but the manuscript appears to have traveled to Dublin by the mid to late sixteenth century. Notes on 84v-85r in a late fifteenth-century hand connect the manuscript with the Benedictine order, but no specific foundation is mentioned, and sixteenth-century notes connect it with Thomas Allen, who was a Dublin merchant whose name appears on deeds between 1555 and

132 Ibid., 271.

133 This is also noted by Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427,” 82–83.

134 For more information on this and other manuscripts, see Appendix C.
He was married to Mary Gerote, and lived in a property along Fishamble Street, which belonged to Christ Church Cathedral. He also rented property on “the walls by the gate” and “the walls and garden before St. Tullock’s” (a.k.a. St. Olave’s Church) in 1557.

This places Allen near the gate that stood across Fishamble Street where Fishamble Street meets Essex Street today, and the prime location would have given him excellent access to goods arriving by ship via the Liffey River. It appears, then, that Lambeth Palace Library Carew MS 633 had associations with a Benedictine Priory and circulated among members of the mercantile class in Dublin before it came into the hands of George Carew, who brought it to England in the early seventeenth century.

Some of the marginalia in both manuscripts is in the hands of the main scribes. It is confined for the most part to chapter headings and indications of sources. The program of marginalia is remarkably similar between the Carew and Rawlinson manuscripts, with the exception of the subject headings added to the physiognomy section of the Rawlinson manuscript; this suggests that the main program of marginalia may have originated with Yonge. Marginal notes are brief and consist mainly of chapter numbers and brief notes pointing out sections of the text, e.g. “of fredome and scarsity,” and “of larges” next to the relevant passages in chapter V. The marginal notes also point out the genealogy of Pride (but not of Humility) in chapter VI and make note of certain sources, such as Augustine and Solomon; many other sources are not indicated in the margins.

Interestingly, if the marginal notations originated with Yonge, it appears he did very little

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135 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 450, 1280, 1418.

136 Ibid., sec. 1191, 1250.
to emphasize his own interpolations. He has left it to later annotators to point out references to Ireland and Irish affairs.

The final occurrence of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* is a single page at the end of Trinity College Dublin MS 592.\(^{137}\) The paper manuscript contains the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland*, written by three scribes, all employing a mid to late fifteenth-century Anglicana with many secretary features. Folio 27r, on which the initial part of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* appears, is extremely damaged, and the entire page is glued to stabilizing paper; therefore, the verso can no longer be seen. The text is written mostly by scribe C, but lines 31-5 of the page were written by scribe B. The portion of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* written here extends down the first column and breaks off mid-sentence at the bottom of that column at: “The woch thyngs noble and gracys lord aforsayd hath perceyuet the suttylee of your wytte & the clerennesse of your engyn. And therfor me chargyt some goud boke.” The second column was never written. It appears that Yonge’s text was begun and then abandoned after less than a page. Was this an error on the part of scribe C, who may have intended only to copy the *Conquest of Ireland* and accidentally continued to copy the next text in his exemplar? Was a last-minute decision made not to include Yonge’s text? Was the exemplar suddenly no longer available? The exact circumstances around the failure to complete this text will probably never be known, but its juxtaposition with the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland* suggests that the texts may have been paired by the middle of the fifteenth century in an earlier exemplar that is now no longer extant.

\(^{137}\) For more information on this and other manuscripts, see Appendix C.
Jofroi’s *Secreta secretorum* and Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*: The State of the Editions

Scholarship on Jofroi of Waterford’s text and Yonge’s translation of it is stymied by the lack of a complete edition of Jofroi’s text, and the fact that Steele’s edition of Yonge’s text is based only on the Rawlinson manuscript (except for a short lacuna in the text provided from the Carew manuscript), is over a century old, and lacks a preface, explanatory notes, or any of the apparatus that accompanies a modern edition. A partial edition of sorts for Jofroi of Waterford’s text can be constructed from quoted text and footnotes of recent scholarly articles, but aside from being incomplete, it also lacks the critical material and textual variants required for a modern scholarly edition. Some sections of Jofroi’s text have been more thoroughly edited by modern scholars; these are skewed towards the sections concentrating on diet and health. Of these, Tony Hunt’s edition is of particular interest, as he provides Yonge’s text in the footnotes, where Jofroi’s text and Yonge’s text agree. Yela Schauwecker provides the longest sustained

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138 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum.”


140 A section on wines has been edited by Albert Henry, “Un texte œnologique de Jofroi de Waterford et Servais Copale,” 10–33. The fragment in London, Society of Antiquaries MS 101, on diet and physiognomy is edited by Tony Hunt, “A New Fragment of Jofroi de Waterford’s Segre de segrec,” 296–314.
edition of Jofroi’s *Secreta*, editing the chapters on diet and providing a glossary of all of the various plants and animals mentioned in the text.\textsuperscript{141}

Yonge as Translator

While a new edition of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and a complete edition of Jofroi of Waterford’s *Secreta secretorum* are desiderata, these ambitious ventures are beyond the scope of the current project. However, it is useful to compare the two texts in order to better understand Yonge’s role as a translator and his treatment of his base text.

One of the most obvious differences between the texts of Jofroi of Waterford and Yonge is the relative length of each work. Yonge’s translation is significantly shorter than that of Jofroi of Waterford, despite the interpolations Yonge has added. Yonge omits nearly all of Jofroi’s chapters on food and drink. He retains some general information on health and proper diet, but the specific enumeration of wines, vegetables, herbs, and animals and their ability to enhance or damage health found on folios 107r-132r of the Paris manuscript has been omitted. There may have been a couple of reasons for this. The dietary information may not have been of interest to Yonge and/or his patron. From a practical standpoint, some of the foods and wines involved were non-native imports in Ireland, and rather than trying to localize and update the information, Yonge simply omitted it. His exemplar could have been incomplete. Yonge may also have rejected the material as non-Aristotelian, though this is less likely, as the author

shows little resistance to adding to and emending the text as he saw fit. The omitted section is also near the end of Jofroi’s text, ending on folio 132v (the text ends on folio 143v), and perhaps, like a dissertating graduate student facing a thesis deadline, Yonge was under pressure to finish his translation so it could be used as a piece of literary propaganda in Butler’s struggle with the Talbot faction, and he therefore felt compelled to stop where he was and place a final paragraph on the work.

The lack of a complete edition of Jofroi’s text makes comparison of the two versions of the Secreta secretorum challenging. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Stephen Justice argue that much of the material in chapter XXVII on Justice parallels the use of the material in Piers Plowman, which was circulating in Dublin at the time. A scribe, annotator, and illuminator – likely based at the Irish Exchequer – would produce the Douce manuscript of Piers Plowman a mere five years after Yonge completed his Gouernaunce of Prynces. This chapter requires further study, however. Yonge may indeed have been working from Piers Plowman, which he might not have necessarily had to hand, but which he had almost certainly read. It is also possible, given his penchant for close translation of many portions of Joffroi’s text, that Yonge was copying carefully from exempla in his French original, in which case, an alliterative line, “ffor whan al tresure is tried, trouth is the beste,” may be a momentary interpolation by Yonge, added from memory as he wrote. The tale of the weaver’s son who became a wise man and the

142 Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380–1427,” 81–82.

143 Kerby-Fulton and Despres, Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman, 93.
king’s son who was suited only to handicrafts, which is pointed out by Kerby-Fulton and Justice as “a unique exemplum urging meritocracy” appears in other *Secreta secretorum* texts. Yonge – or more likely, Jofroi of Waterford – has moved the exemplum from its traditional location in a section on choosing councillors according to their astrological profiles – some of the pseudo-science that Jofroi rejects as being non-Aristotelian – to a new location in the chapter on physiognomy.\(^{144}\) The passage retains traces of its original context, as the advantages of astrology are described and the illustrious career of the weaver’s son is foretold by astronomers on the night of his birth. While the passage does appear to endorse a Langland-esque meritocracy (limited and controlled by astronomy and physiognomy), its sentiments – and likely its placement – are not original to Yonge.

While Jofroi’s relevant chapters on Justice and physiognomy remain unedited, a few of the chapters in Schauwecker’s edition of the dietary material of Jofroi of Waterford’s *Secreta secretorum* happily correspond with chapters in Yonge’s work, and a comparison of these sections and their titles can begin the work of understanding how Yonge approached his task as a translator.

The chart of chapter titles below demonstrates that Yonge followed his exemplar closely for the most part, but he also added extra chapters where he saw fit, for example, Yonge adds extra material on the efficacy of prayer after Jofroi’s chapter XXXII and his chapter XL. He also gives chapters XLI and LXII different names, translating the original chapter titles in the first lines of the text of those chapters. Yonge consolidates

\(^{144}\) Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427,” 82; Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, 58; Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum*,” 216–17.
chapters. For instance, Jofroi’s chapters XXXVII and XXXVIII are both translated under Yonge’s single chapter LXV. The Dublin legal clerk also excised Jofroi’s many comments about the authoritative nature (or not) of his Latin exemplar of the *Secreta secretorum*, with the exception of one note which he turns into a direct address to Butler in which the author claims he is about to fulfil promises he made in the prologue. Yonge had no compunctions about re-ordering sections of the text, placing the information on physiognomy after his discussion of prayer and of proper conduct for a ruler, and ahead of the information on health, perhaps finding it to be more important in the turbulent political world of Dublin, where Butler had recently placed his own supporters in many government posts.

The table below shows the chapter headings of several chapters common to both the French and English works. These show on a macro level the rearrangement, excision, expansion, and consolidation that Yonge did to Jofroi of Waterford’s original work.

145 “NObyll and gracous lorde, atte the begynnynge of this presente to boke I Sayde that y wolde writte to youre excellence Of the iii cardynall Vertues, Vndyrstondynge that thegh be not writte in arystotle is boke aforsayde, thy byth writte in othyr good bokis of latyne, And thay byth no lasse profitable than the beste thynge in Aristotlis boke.” Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 145.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jofroi of Waterford Chapter Number and Heading</th>
<th>James Yonge Chapter Number and Heading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXX–De la garde du cors par conseil de mires (Of the keeping of the body according to the council of leeches)</td>
<td>XXXVIII–Off the keeping of the body after the consaill of Lechis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI–Que astrenomie est necessaire a la garde du cors (That astronomy is necessary for the keeping of the body)</td>
<td>XXXIX–That Astronomy is necessari to the keping of mannys body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII–Estoires a esprover ke orison est soverainne remede en chascun tribuil (Stories to prove that prayer is the superior remedy in every trouble)</td>
<td>XL–Herre begynnyth stories and ensamplis to proue that oryson is Souerayn remedy in euery trybulacion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnumbered–De la grant vertu d’orison que Dieus mostra en ceux qui la loi Deu avoient et la droite creance savoient (Of the great virtue of prayer, which God showed to those who kept the law of God and who knew the right belief)</td>
<td>XLI–That god nath not in dispite the orisones of Paganes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XLII–Now gracious lord, to youre excellence here I write dyuers rygh good and necessary notabilitees of the vertu of Prayere, fryst in latyn and Sethyn in Englysh, aftyr dyuers moste autentike auctoritees of holy wryte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XLIII–Of dyuers ryght good and necessary nobiliteis of the vertu of orison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XLIII – LXIII – several chapters on the choosing of good counselors, how a king should act towards his subjects, how he should conduct himself in war, and two tracts on physiognomy, one of which is taken in part from a later section of Jofroi’s text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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149 I am grateful to Maureen Boulton for her assistance with these translations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jofroi of Waterford Chapter Number and Heading</th>
<th>James Yonge Chapter Number and Heading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII–Coment om doit garder santei de cors (How one ought to keep the health of the body)</td>
<td>LX–Here endyth the tretyse of Physnomye, and begynnynge the tretyce of gouernance of helthe, of the body of man, aftyre Phisike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII–Ke a garder santei de cors .II. choses sunt necessaires (To keep the health of the body, two things are necessary)</td>
<td>LXII–Of two Pryncipall thyngis that helth kepyth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV–Coment om sei doit guier du matin iusques a l'ouere de mangier (How one should conduct onself from morning until the hour for eating)</td>
<td>LXIII–Of the gouernaunce of the body of man aftyre slepe, helth to mayntene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI–De la droite heure de mangier et comment om soi doit guier al mangier (Of the right hours for eating and how one should conduct oneself in eating)</td>
<td>LXIII–Of the ryghtfull houris and tymes of ettynge and drynkynge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII–Coment om soi doit guier après mangier (How one should conduct oneself after eating)</td>
<td>LXV–Now hit is to witte of the gouernaunce of the body aftyre mette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII–Que coutume fait a garder (That custom ought to be kept)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX–Des .III.tens de l'an, et primes de ver (Of the four seasons of the year, first of Spring)</td>
<td>LXVI–Of the foure Parties of the yere aftyre hare kyndes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL–D'estei (Of Summer)</td>
<td>LXVII–Of Somer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI–D'amptone (Of Autumn)</td>
<td>LXVII–Of Herust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLII–De yver (Of Winter)</td>
<td>LXVIII–Of Wyntyr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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151 Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 195–248.

152 This and the two chapters on Autumn and Winter have their titles in brackets in the Steele edition, and are presumably provided from the Carew MS.
### TABLE 1.1 (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jofroi of Waterford Chapter Number and Heading&lt;sup&gt;153&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>James Yonge Chapter Number and Heading&lt;sup&gt;154&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XLIII—Quez choses font le cors cras et moiste et bien desposei (What things make the body fat and moist and well disposed)</td>
<td>LXX—Of thyngis that makyth the body fat, moisti, and wel dyspcsyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII—Quez choses enfoiblisent le cors et le font maigre et mallement desposei (What things weaken the body and make it skinny and poorly disposed)</td>
<td>LXXI—Of thynges that done the contrarye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the textual level, Yonge’s approach to translation is similar. Yonge follows his French exemplar word-for-word in places, but allows himself the freedom to add to or amend the text as it suits him. Below are selections from three chapters of Jofroi of Waterford’s text placed side-by-side with Yonge’s translations. I have chosen a paragraph from the chapter on Autumn from the section on the four seasons because Yonge’s version of these chapters was one of the subjects of a recent study by Jessica Cooke, who notes the uniqueness of the passage in its portrayal of the life-cycle of women.<sup>155</sup> Cooke, however, was working from other Middle English translations of the Secreta secretorum, and she claims that the references to women were Yonge’s interpolations, when they are, in fact, close translations of Yonge’s French exemplar. Yonge drops a phrase and changes the gender of “la terre” in this section, but he otherwise follows his exemplar closely. These small differences in the texts may also

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<sup>155</sup> Cooke, “Nice Young Girls and Wicked Old Witches: The ‘Rightful Age’ of Women in Middle English Verse,” 222, 245–46.
have originated with the manuscript copy Yonge was using to make his translation. The second selection is from the chapter on the efficacy of prayer, and shows where Yonge translated Jofroi’s text closely, adding an extra, pious phrase to Jofroi’s mention of the Virgin Mary. The third selection comes from the chapter that argues for the necessity of maintaining good health. In this section, Yonge makes one of his many political interpolations, breaking from Jofroi’s text to address Butler directly, dispensing with the conceit of the *Secreta secretorum* that it is a letter from Aristotle to Alexander by deleting Alexander’s direct address to Aristotle, and then returning to Jofroi’s text for the rest of the chapter. In the process, Yonge introduces a new chapter heading that did not exist in his exemplar. My translations of Jofroi of Waterford’s text are located below each section.\textsuperscript{156}

\begin{center}
[D’amptone XLI]  
Amptone comence a la feste saint Symphorian et dure jusques a la feste saint Climent.  
Donc les jors devinrent plus cours qu’il ne furent, et les nus plus longhes.  
Mais ensi cum en ver avient, equinocte, c’est a dire ovelletie de jor et de nuit, si flat en amptone.  
– Mais en ver, li jors eslongneent de l’equinocte en avant et les nuis escorchen, en amptone avient le contrary.  
En cel tens, l’air refroidist et ensechist et vente du bise souven.  
Les rivieres soi descroissen, les fontainnes amenassent, les verdes choses flesstissen, les fruis dechaïent.  
La terre piert sa beatei, les oisias quierent les chades regions, les bestes desirent lur crevices, les serpens vont a lur fosses.  
Lors resemble le monde une femme de grant eage, qui ja est refroidie, si a mestier d’estre chadement vestue poce que la jovente en est passee et la vieilhece aproche, por quoi n’est merveilhe se biatei at perdue.\textsuperscript{157}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
[Of Herust.] Capitulum Lxviii\textsuperscript{158}  
Herust begunnyth atte the feste of Seynte Symphoriane, and duryth Into the feste of Seynte Clement.  
Than wixen the dayes more shorte than thay weryn, and the nyght more longyr.  
But like as in Veere fallyth equinocciu, that is to Say, evnesse of day and nyght, So hit is in heruste, but in veere, 
the dayes longyth fro equinoccium forth, and the nyghtes shortith.  
In herust fallyth the contrary.  
In this tyme the eery wixeth colde and dry, the wynde of the Northe oftymes turnyth, Wellis wythdrawen 
ham, grene thynges fadyth, Frutes fallyth, the Eeyre lesyth his beute, the byrdys shechyn hote regions, 
the bestis desyryth hare receptis, Serpentes gone to hare dichis.  
Than semyth the worlde as a woman of grete age, than nowe wox a colde and hade nede to be hote clothyde, for that the yowuthe is Passyde, and age neghyth, Wherfor hit is no mervaile yf beute she hath loste.\textsuperscript{158}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{156} I am grateful to Maureen Boulton for her assistance with these translations.

(Of Autumn XLI
Autumn begins at the feast of Saint Symphorian and lasts until the feast of Saint Clement. Then the days become shorter than they were, and the nights longer. But just as the equinox happens in Spring, that is to say, equality of day and of night, so it happens in Autumn. But in Spring, the days lengthen from the equinox onwards and the nights shorten, in Autumn the opposite happens. In this season, the air becomes colder and dries out and the north wind blows often. The rivers subside, springs diminish, green things weaken, fruits fall. The earth loses her beauty, the birds seek the warm regions, the beasts desire their burrows, the serpents go to their holes. Then, the world resembles a woman of great age, who now is chilly, so she needs to be warmly clothed because her youth has passed and old age approaches, therefore it is no wonder that she has lost her beauty.)

Estoires a esprover ke orison est soverainne remede en chascun tribiul XXXII

Ki vuët encerchier les estoires antives puis que li mondes comencha, overtment trovera, que nulle riens que home puisse faire n’est de si grant vertu cum est orison.

Abraham le noble patriarche, si cum dist la Genesis, pria Deu por faire sa compaingne, car brehaingne estoit et passee eage d’enfanter et elle conchut Ysaac. Cil Ysaac avoit une femme brehaingne, Rebecca fu apelée. Cil pria Deu qu’il li donnast engendreure et celle conchut Jacob, le pere les XII patriarches. De ces ,iii. descendit Marie, la mere Ihesu Crist.159

(Stories to prove that prayer is the superior remedy in every trouble XXXII
He who desires to examine the ancient stories since the world began will find overtly that there is nothing that a man might do that is of such great virtue as prayer.

Abraham, the noble patriarch, as Genesis says, prayed to God to treat his spouse, for she was barren and past the age of childbearing, and she conceived Isaac. This Isaac had a barren wife; she was called Rebecca. He prayed to God that he might give him offspring, and she conceived Jacob, the father of the twelve patriarchs. From these three descended Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ.)

Comment om doit garder santei de cors XXXIII

Entre toutes choses santei est plus desiree

Here endyth the tretyse of Physnomye, and begynnynge the tretyce of gouernance of helthe, of the body of man, aftyr Phisike. Capitulum Sexagessimum.

Amonge al thynges he[l]th is moste


ne rien n’a homs, k’il ne donnast por santei avoir et maintenir. – Que vadroit avoir tot le monde et langour par enfermetei? – Certes poi ou nient: car enfermetei enfoiblist nient seulement le cors, mais tout visougetei et raison et memoire. Por ce estoit que chascuns hons – et maiement princes et grans signors cui santei et vigor est necessaire al coumun preu du peuple – qu’il soi saiche garder en santé de cors, k’il ne soit mies touz jours en garde de fiseciens, cum uns enfes en la cure son tutor. Et por ce que je t’ai enseigniet coment dois garder t’anme de visces et de mavaises mours il m’est vis que toi doi endoctriner et ensengnier coment puisses garder santei de cors, car qui est sain de cors et senez de corage dignes est de governer roaume par bontei et par vasselage.

Alixandres, savoir toi fais que tout li sage philosophe en un acorderent: que .iii. element sunt el monde dont chascune chose corruptible est fait. C’est a savoir terre, etwe, air, et feu ....  

(How one ought to keep the health of the body XXXIII

Among all things, health is to be desired above all, for a man has nothing which he will not give in order to have and keep health. What would it be worth to have the entire world and to have travail because of infirmity? Certainly little or nothing: for infirmity enfeebles not only the body, but all cleverness and reason and memory. For this reason every man – especially princes and great lords for whom health and vigor is necessary for the common profit of the people – would be wise to keep himself healthy in body, so that he not be daily in the care of physicians, like a child in the care of his tutor. And because I have taught you how you must keep your soul from vices and from wicked habits, it seems to me that I ought to instruct and teach you how you can keep health of the body, for he who is healthy of body and sensible of mind is worthy to govern a kingdom with goodness and with courage.

Alexander, I make it known to you that all of the wise philosophers agree as one: that there are four elements in the world with which every corruptible thing is made. To wit earth, water, air, and fire …)
Yonge’s Interpolations

While many of the changes Yonge made to Jofroi’s text while translating it are minor and comparatively difficult to find, on the level of individual words and phrases, some of Yonge’s interventions in his exemplar are much more overt. Chapters XLVIII and XLVIII of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* appear to have been added wholesale by Yonge. Chapter XLVIII is comprised of a series of quotations regarding the efficacy of prayer. The quotations are offered in their original Latin and then translated into English, and the chapter reads like a *florilegium*, being a patchwork of quotations from the Bible, from anonymous Biblical glosses, and from Latin fathers, such as Augustine and Isidore. Yonge’s role as author-translator in this chapter is muted. He divides the quotations up under subject headings: 1) prayer is a good work, 2) prayer should be unceasing, 3) prayer heals sickness, 4) prayer lengthens life, 5) prayer delivers one from all sorts of dangers, and 6) prayer brings victory in battle. Very few words in the chapter are actually Yonge’s until over halfway through, when it seems Yonge ran out of pithy Latin quotations to describe prayer’s power to avert danger. He then turns to exempla, but rather than telling the story behind any exemplum, he presumes that his reader knows the stories well, and he provides merely a gloss somewhat on the order of a marginal note as an *aide de memoire* for his readers. This is a common feature of Langlandian material and of monastic treatises, and it indicates that Yonge and his readers shared a certain set of well-known – largely Biblical – exempla. In one case, rather than repeating himself,
Yonge reminds the reader of an example used in a previous chapter. The section of text below contains two Latin quotations followed by the list of exempla:

And hit is to witte, that Prayer helyth Sekenys of body, as Salamon Sayth, *Fili in tua paupertate ne despicias te ipsum, Set ora dominum et ipse curabit te, “O thou Sonne in thyn Sekenesse ne dispise not thy-Selfe, but Pray oure lorde, and he shal cure the.”* Seynte James Sayth, *Oracio fidei Sanabit infyrnum,* “the Prayer of feyth shall hele the sekeman.” Also Prayer longyth a mannys lyue, like as is afor-sayde of kynge Ezechie. Also Prayer deyuerith a man fro Shame and Perill of deth, As hit did the good holy wyfe Susanna. Also Prayere deluyeryth a man fro the Power of Wickyd Prynces, as hit did Baruc and many otheres: Also fro Prison as hit did Seynt Petyr; And fro wickyd wormes, as hit did Seynt Margaret, Saynt George and the kynges doghtere;165

The text continues with a topic near to Yonge’s heart, and one he brings up in his *Memoriale:* the banishing of poisonous creatures from Ireland by Saint Patrick.166 He uses the example of the saint to return his text from lists of exempla and matters of local interest back to the main fabric of the chapter, the offering of Latin quotations and translations.

And also Irland by Seynt Patrike is Prayer is for ay delyuerit *and* clensit from al venemouse bestis: also the holy prophet Ionas by Prayer was delyuerid out of the whalis bely. Saynt Ierome Sayth, *Ieiunio Sanantur Pestes corporis, oracione Pestes mentis,* “Wyth fastynge is sawid the Sekenys of body, and wyth Prayere the Sekenesse of Sowle.” Also Prayer in bodely battaille ouercomyth and hath victori. This proueth the boke of exody, siggynge, *Cum leuaret manus Moyses, Vincet Israel,* “Whan that Moyses vprerid his handis, Israel ouercome.”167

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165 Ibid., 202.  
166 See the edition of the *Memoriale,* Edited Text 1, ll. 23-7.  
Yonge’s own voice is heard at the end of the chapter, where the author writes a short transition into his next interpolated chapter:

To Prow that Prayere hugely a-wayleth agaynes the malice of enemys, dyuers good olde ensamplis abow in this boke y han writte; But for-als-moche as good newe ensamples sholde not ben vnremembrid for lerynge of tho that arne to come, Oone of tham now her y write.168

Yonge’s authorial voice drives his next chapter, “Of dyuers ryght good and necessary nobiliteis of the vertu of orison.”169 The chapter is a compilation of recent events, beginning with a series of public processions that Yonge’s Dublin readers must have known well. In response to Gaelic-Irish incursions in many parts of the country, the clergy of Dublin staged a series of semiweekly processions in which they prayed “for the good esplaite of the forsayden our e kynge henry, than beynge in Fraunce, and for the forsayd Erle his lyeutenaunt of Irland.” In one stroke Yonge reminds both of the primary recipients of his text that they are supported by the secondary audience, the besieged Anglo-Irish community. This passage is also a thinly-veiled call to action for the Anglo-Irish, encouraging them to follow the example set by the clergy of Dublin, and to pray for and support the Earl and Henry V and his government. The Earl, Yonge tells us, was able to achieve a series of victories over the short span of three months against the Irish warlords who were threatening Anglo-Irish holdings, through the efficacy of prayer. Yonge may be conflating the campaigns of two summers – those of 1421 and 1422.

168 Ibid., 203.
169 Ibid.
Butler was involved in campaigns against local Gaelic-Irish uprisings in both years.\textsuperscript{170} In listing a series of victories, Yonge seeks to cast glory on Butler, making him into a great war leader and conqueror. These campaigns, however, were fought on the local level, and many were probably resolved after a short period of bloodshed by the payment of black rent to Irish leaders.\textsuperscript{171} As Art Cosgrove notes, “warfare was generally on a small scale, piecemeal, confused, and indecisive.”\textsuperscript{172} By combining campaigns and playing up the destruction wrought by Butler’s troops on rebel Gaelic-Irish families, Yonge, after catching the attention of King Henry V and his court by mentioning him and his campaigns in France, places Butler on equal footing with the king, emphasizing Butler’s victories, and suggesting that Butler is looking after royal interests in Ireland while Henry is otherwise engaged in France.

Hidden in this section is a challenge to Henry V. Yonge has caught the attention of the king and his followers, and he has demonstrated the support of Butler and the Anglo-Irish community of Dublin against enemies of both the Anglo-Irish and by extension, the king. There is, however, an issue of money; the Lieutenant of Ireland was under-funded. The costs for these campaigns against the Irish came for the most part out of Butler’s pocket. As Judith Ferster astutely points out, there are several places in Yonge’s \textit{Gouernance of Prynces} where the subject of money might be brought up to emphasize Butler’s support of and loyalty to the king; Yonge, however, avoids talking


\textsuperscript{171} Cosgrove, “The Emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447,” 542.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 543.
directly about the mismanagement and lack of royal funds for Ireland.\textsuperscript{173} By making much of Butler’s self-financed campaigns, though, Yonge may be asking for more money and attention for Ireland, without appearing to do so. This passage also reminds Yonge’s secondary audience – the Anglo-Irish community – of Butler’s largesse.\textsuperscript{174} Taking on the advisory role of Aristotle, Yonge lists four reasons why Butler should not be boastful about his victories. The first three reasons depend on Christian quotations, but the fourth reason stated does not actually speak against vainglory, it notes a wrong done to Butler.

The iii\textsuperscript{e} cause why that this nobill erle sholde not haue vayne glory of this forsayde proesses is, the lytill thanke that he had of ham that hym shuldyn best haue rewardid and commendid.\textsuperscript{175}

We never learn \textit{who} should have rewarded Butler, but the most obvious place to look is to Butler’s superiors: the king, his court, and Parliament.\textsuperscript{176} Quotations from Timothy and Seneca follow on the folly of failing to reward kindnesses. This is the most overtly critical passage aimed at Henry V and his government in Yonge’s entire work. The mirror for princes genre, with its conceit of being the advice of a trusted councilor to a ruler, allows a ruler to be safely criticized, provided the criticism is carefully deployed. This results in the “double rhetoric of deference and challenge” noted by Ferster in her

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{173} Ferster, \textit{Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England}, 64.
\item \textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 65.
\item \textsuperscript{175} Yonge, “\textit{Secreta Secretorum},” 205.
\item \textsuperscript{176} Parliament’s funding of the king in time of war was one of the prominent issues of the \textit{Modus tenendi parliamentum}, a document associated with the Butler faction in 1418. Kerby-Fulton and Horie, “The French Version of the \textit{Modus tenendi parliamentum} in the Courtenay Cartulary: A Transcription and Introduction,” 244–45; Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Reformist Intellectual Culture in the English and Irish Civil Service: The \textit{Modus tenendi parliamentum} and its Literary Relations.”
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
book on English mirrors for princes. Yonge deploys this strategy as well, offering criticism that may not have sat well with the king. He quickly moves on, however, addressing Butler again, and advising him to continue doing his good deeds, whether he receives thanks for them or not. The rest of the chapter returns to the *florilegium* style of the previous chapter, as Yonge attempts to demonstrate that “Prayere moche awaillyth agaynes gostely enemys.”

Most of the interventions Yonge makes in his text serve to address Butler or Henry V, and these are often on the order of a line or a sentence referring to Yonge’s “gracious erle.” The most important of these are the two paragraphs at the beginning of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and one at the end in which Yonge identifies his primary audience and seeks to establish his relationship with Butler. The first paragraph of the work is usually a dedication from the Latin *Secreta secretorum* to Guy de Vere, Bishop of Tripoli. Yonge dispenses with this and provides a dedication of his own, naming Butler in relation to Henry V, “oure lege lorde,” and placing himself in deference to Butler as “your e pouer Seruant.” After introducing the title of the book he is translating and establishing that it is Aristotle’s advice to Alexander, Yonge asserts,

> This Aristotle was Alexandyres derlynge and welbelowid clerke, And therfor he made hym his maystyr and chyfe consailloure of his royalme. For arystotle was a man of grete consaill, Of Profounde lettrure, And Percowyng vndyrstondynge, and wel kowth the lawes; he was of hey nourtoure, wel prowed and 1-

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177 Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England.*

178 Ibid., 55, n. 2.
While most of this passage is traditional material contained in the introductions to *Secreta secretorum* texts, the casting of Aristotle not as a tutor or advisor but as a clerk is a Yonge innovation. The “welbelowid clerke” Butler is meant to see behind the image of Aristotle is that of Yonge, the legal clerk whom Butler had engaged in the past to draw up legal deeds, and the clerk that Butler had recently shown favor to by appointing him Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer, by procuring an income for him from the king’s lands, and by asking him to undertake the current translation. This plays into ideas of a clerical meritocracy that were then being promoted in such texts as *Piers Plowman* and the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*. Yonge appears to have desired permanent employment in a well-to-do household. He left a unique calling card of sorts – the note “*I. Yonge scripsit* (J. Yonge wrote [this]) – on the back of a deed written for John Serjeaunt, Baron of Castleknock, and he made his services available to Dublin’s wealthy and influential, including the founding members of the Guild of St. Anne. Yonge may well have been angling for permanent employment in Butler’s household. He equates himself with Aristotle the wise clerk, both preparing Butler to take advice from his own wise clerk and asking that Butler imitate Alexander in offering Yonge a

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180 Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Reformist Intellectual Culture in the English and Irish Civil Service: The *Modus tenendi parliamentum* and its Literary Relations”; Kerby-Fulton and Justice, “Langlandian Reading Circles and the Civil Service in London and Dublin, 1380-1427.”

181 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 100 (9 Aug. 1417).

182 For more on these activities, see Chapter 4.
higher place in his “royalme.” At the end of the introductory chapter, and before a listing of the contents of the rest of the book, Yonge breaks into the translation to explain that he is not just a translator, he is an editor and author, having written a book full of old and new exempla.183

The overall effect of the opening section is to establish the close relationship between Butler and Yonge, to characterize Butler as a wise and learned ruler, and to establish that the work’s author-translator speaks with the ancient authority conferred by Aristotle, but he is sufficiently learned himself to update the work, lending it a relevance and immediacy unique among the mirrors for princes that may have been circulating in fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland. Ferster also notes that the tone of Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces differs from that of most of its brethren in that Yonge’s voice as a translator is more personable than others’. “Yonge creates the impression of an individual voice speaking to an audience he knows well.”184 Yonge may be using the mirror for princes genre to speak to Butler in a more familiar way than he normally would, but Ferster’s observation is accurate. Yonge knew Butler perhaps better than many authors of mirrors for princes knew their dedicatees. Yonge was also at the center of a large social network focused on Dublin and the civic and royal offices there; he knew his secondary audience as well as or better than his primary audience.

Butler is presented in the introduction as a man with subtlety of wit and great intellect – a man who hardly needs advice. In some places in the text, Yonge defers to

183 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 123.
184 Ferster, Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England, 55.
Butler’s intelligence, simultaneously flattering Butler and subtly reminding his readers of the Earl’s great wisdom and ability to rule established in the introduction. Rather than having the audacity to choose from two alternatives for Butler, the clerk often presents both. For instance, when speaking of the Greeks, Yonge breaks into the middle of a narrative about Xerxes to present an issue of language.

\[
\text{Wherfor some of his men sayde that the Grecans wolde not abyde to hyr tythynges of the battalle, but fle at the fryst hyrynge of hit. Otheris sayde that the grecanys (or grekis, whych you semyth beste Englyshe) ne shold not be scomfite, …}^{185}
\]

Having used one possible word for the people of Greece twice, Yonge offers the alternative term to Butler, acknowledging that there were two possible words, and that he may not have chosen the one that Butler preferred. Nevertheless, there is a sense of control here. Although Butler is presented with a choice, Yonge has already made the choice – twice – for the Earl. Yonge also struggles with language in the very brief chapter preceding the text on the four cardinal virtues. He gives the English, French, and Latin terms for the virtues, but then explains that he has chosen the Latin terms.

\[
\text{CArdynal vertues byth callid Pryncipale vertues: the fryst is callid in latyne Prudencia; the Secunde, Iusticia; the thyrde, Fortitudo; the fourthe is Temporancia. Thes byth callid in Frence, Visonge, or Purveyaunce, Dreiture, Coerance, and Temporaunce. Thes byth callid in Englyshe, Wysdom, Ryghtfulnes, Streynthe, and tempure. And for-almoche as lateyn is the moste stydfaste langage, Als ofte as in this present wrytynge of translacion shall speche of the names of this foure vertues, I putte lateyn in the stydde of Englyshe: For a man may sette dyuers Englyshe for euery of ham.}^{186}
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\[^{185} \text{Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 129.} \]

\[^{186} \text{Ibid., 146.} \]
Both of the above passages are interesting from the perspective of the fluidity or perceived fluidity of the English language in the fifteenth century. Yonge presents us with two possible words for ‘Greeks,’ and he determines Latin to be the more precise and stable language when speaking of philosophical matters, as several different possible English words can describe each Latin concept. Yonge’s clerical training comes through in the second passage, and it seems that Henry V’s and Butler’s desire for literature in English was not as enthusiastically shared by Butler’s translator.

There is a greater sense of deference to the Earl’s judgment at the beginning of chapter LIX. Yonge has just finished a treatise on physiognomy supposedly written by Aristotle. He provides a second treatise, also presumably Aristotelian: “Now gracious lorde, wylle I translate the scyence of Physnomye to you in a shorter manere, for Sum bokys of arystotiles makynge haue that scyence shortyr than othyr: And so may ye chese wych ye beste Plesyth.”

Most of Yonge’s interpolations relate to recent events in Ireland, and focus on the victories of Butler and his ancestors. Yonge augments a list of exempla supporting the assertion that wisdom and power are of paramount importance for good governance by adding a reference to Butler’s grandfather. Along with wisdom and power, a ruler must remember that his victories in battle are because of God’s blessing. To prove this, he claims that Butler’s grandfather was a virtuous man whom God favored in his battles. In particular, when he was fighting the Murphys, God intervened miraculously by keeping the sun in the sky until the battle was over. Yonge cites Sir Edward Perrers – who had

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187 Ibid., 232.
been appointed governor of the king’s wars in 1414 – to claim that Butler’s grandfather had also enjoyed a decisive victory against the McMurroughs.  Ferster claims that Yonge is referring to one of Butler’s own victories in his description of the battle against the Murphys. However, both grandfather and grandson were involved in battles against the Murphys and McMurroughs; Yonge may have selected the victories of the grandsire as a way of reminding his audience of the similar feats of the grandson, Yonge’s patron.

Yonge adds an example to prove that it is wrong for a ruler to be covetous or vainglorious which refers to members of the circle of both Butler and Henry V. Sir Stephen Scrope, Yonge tells us, was Lieutenant of Ireland during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. He made a hash of his Lieutenancy under Richard II, using the office for his own benefit, to the detriment of the people. During that time, he was unable to prevail against the Irish. When Thomas of Lancaster, the son of Henry IV and brother to Henry V became Lieutenant, he made Scrope his deputy. Scrope desired that his wife join him in Ireland, but she would not go unless he swore to amend his ways. He swore to do so and lived up to his promise; God rewarded his new-found virtue with victories against the Irish, including against the families of MacMurrogh and Walter Burke. The incident attempts to link as cause and effect Scrope’s poor and good behavior with his performance in battle. Thomas of Lancaster is seen in a favorable light here, as is the reformed Scrope under Henry IV and Thomas. For those in Yonge’s audience who are


\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{189}}}\] Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, 61.

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{190}}}\] Thompson, “Books Beyond England,” 269.
aware of recent history, James Butler himself is obliquely praised, as he acted as a deputy under Scrope during his second, more successful term. Yonge reminds his patron and readers that these events occurred within living memory, “in yowre presence tendyr of age.” (Butler was sixteen at the time and the ward of Thomas.)

Yonge is misinformed about recent history, or he changes it to add force to his exemplum. Scrope’s 1407 victory near Callan, Co. Kilkenny, against William Burke did not result in the slaying of Burke, as Yonge claims. Burke was reportedly imprisoned, but he was released soon after, and he actually outlived Scrope.\textsuperscript{191} Despite this inaccuracy, the more fascinating thing about the portrayal of the events surrounding Scrope’s victory in the \textit{Gouernaunce of Prynces} is the way in which Yonge deploys recent history to achieve his rhetorical goals. Reports of the battle at Callan cite not only a great number of Irishmen slain, as Yonge claims, but they also claim that the sun stood still so that the victorious army could march away – a miraculous event that Yonge reassigns to the victory of Butler’s grandfather over the Murphy family. Yonge is also careful to mention this incident not for past glories alone, but to bring into sharp relief a current political issue. In 1422, Butler wrote up a document in English to the king enumerating twenty-eight complaints against John Talbot, Lord Furnivall.\textsuperscript{192} The fifth entry recounts how Talbot entered into an alliance with William Burke, “that was on the most rebell of Irelond.” In 1409, after ordering Thomas Butler (James Butler’s half-


\textsuperscript{192} London Public Record Office, Chancery Miscellanies, bundle 10, file 27.
brother) to disband his troops in Kilkenny, claiming that Burke had sworn to be peaceful, Talbot armed Burke and several other Irish lords and enticed them to lay waste to Butler lands. Yonge brings up Burke, “rebelle to the kynge,” to remind his readers of not only Burke’s perfidy, but also Talbot’s. He gives Scrope credit not for capturing Burke, but for putting an end to this now deceased enemy of the king and of the Butler family. This oblique reference to one of the complaints against Talbot may have prompted thoughts of many other complaints for those in the know, and if the king had lived long enough to read both Butler’s complaint and Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces, Yonge’s work by its reference to and reinforcement of Butler’s official complaint would have served as a recommendation for Butler’s continued Lieutenancy and against the Talbot faction.

Chapter VII explains that a king must “be abow al thyngis subiecte and obeyaunte to the laue of god and al his roialme, And aftyr that lawe hym gowerne and Sustene, …” The first part of this chapter is likely direct translation from Jofroi of Waterford’s text, but the text as it is fails to provide an exemplum, so Yonge provides his own. Prompted by the advice of his exemplar, which states that a king who does not fear God will lose the loyalty of his people before losing his realm and his crown, Yonge recites a very recent instance of this, the deposition of Richard II. “This was prowde to be Sothe in kynge Richard the Seconde, sometymeoure kynge, that y wel knewe,” Yonge says. Yonge’s claim to have known Richard II well is, at best, hyperbole. Yonge likely did not know the king at all. He may, however, have been introduced to him during his visits to


Ireland in 1394-95 and 1399. Yonge was likely apprenticed to a notary and city clerk during the royal visits, and he may have been witness to one or more of the submissions of the Irish warlords.\textsuperscript{195} His claim, however, lends authenticity to the rest of his exemplum, as Yonge places himself in the position of an eyewitness. In a way, if he was present for parts of Richard II’s disastrous second visit to Ireland, Yonge was indeed a witness to scenes from the end of the king’s reign. Yonge locates the moment of disaster for the king in his marriages. He was first married to “Anne of almayne the Emperour-is doghtyr” (Anne of Bohemia), and during that marriage, “Pees he hadd of al royalmys crystyn.”\textsuperscript{196} Yonge conveniently forgets that the crisis surrounding the Lords Appellant occurred between 1386-88, during Richard’s marriage to Anne of Bohemia, and that the marriage itself was controversial, especially at the outset. After Anne died (“was cryste be-take”), Richard married “Elizabeth of Fraunce, y-callid kynges doghtyr, of nynore age.”\textsuperscript{197} Isabella of Valois was actually only seven in 1396, and the marriage was deeply unpopular because of the age of the bride and the treaty with France, of which the marriage contract was a part, which gave lands back to French control.\textsuperscript{198} Yonge writes of the discontent:

Than regnyde avoutry and lechurie in hym and his howse-maynag, that al the roialme thanne rumourt and lothit for that rousty Synne, For boldnys of this marriage, his hey allyaunce and his baronage. Thomas of Wodstoke, his owyn precious Vncle, at

\textsuperscript{195} See the section entitled “Work as a Notarius” in Chapter 4. See also Curtis, \textit{Richard II in Ireland 1394-5 and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs}.

\textsuperscript{196} Yonge, “\textit{Secreta Secretorum},” 136.

\textsuperscript{197} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{198} Tuck, “Richard II, 1367-1400.”
Calise he makyd to be Mvrderide, And rycharde the ryche ruly
Erle of Arundelle atte londone, towre hille, his hede he makyd of-
Smyte, and many othyr nobill lordis, in whom his wirchupp stode,
full ille he be-ladde. … Whyle he regnyd in this vnrule weneth thre
yeere, Into the land of Irlande he arryuete, and lyttill or noone
esploit dit.  

Yonge refers specifically to the 1397 fates of two of the Lords Appellant, a group in
which Henry Bolingbroke, future king Henry IV and father to Henry V, took part. This
event was important to Yonge as a way of ingratiating himself with the secondary
audiences for both his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and his *Memoriale*. Both texts, despite
being written for others, were also meant for the eyes of a Lancastrian king and his court.
In his *Memoriale*, Yonge laments the deaths of Woodstock and Arundel, castigates
Richard, and praises Henry IV for restoring lands lost under Richard II to their former
owners. In the *Memoriale*, Yonge seeks to impress Henry IV; in the *Gouernaunce of
Prynces*, Yonge seeks to impress Henry V by praising the actions of his father. The
author follows his comment on Richard II’s second trip to Ireland, which achieved
nothing, with the arrival of Henry, Duke of Lancaster in England, his mustering of troops,
and the capture and deposition of Richard II. The moral is clear:

But Richarde neuer aftyr that his kyngdome myght reyose, Ande
yette, hym to restore many a thowsande men loste hare lywes.
There-fore by this ensamplis and many more a man may see, that
lasse than a kynge or any othyr gouernoure of a pepill dred god,
and loue hym, and his lawe mayntene afor al thynge, he shall
faade, and fall, and honoure forgo, in a shorte tyme.  

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200 See the section entitled “Yonge’s Memoriale in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3 as well as Edited Text 1, ll. 35-40.
201 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 137.
Yonge then returns to the text of his exemplar, offering a close translation of the rest of the chapter. This interpolated section is a very overt recounting of the deposition of Richard II, and it underscores the rare nature of Yonge’s voice in his mirror for princes. While the genre requires that the person writing a particular mirror be gently critical and refer to political matters as a means of offering advice, Yonge, due to his familiarity with his patron, is able to take a tone that is less deferent than most. He speaks boldly of past political events. In his *Regement of Princes*, Hoccleve makes a veiled reference to the deposition of Richard II:

\begin{verbatim}
Me fil to mynde how that, nat longe agoo
Fortunes strook doun thraste estat rial
Into mescheef; and I took heede also
Of many anothir lord that hadde a fal (ll. 22-25)
\end{verbatim}

Yonge, however, located in Dublin another decade removed from the events of 1399, and with the Lancastrian succession firmly settled, is able to be much more overt in his citation of the case of Richard II. Instead of the deposition of Richard II being the cause of Fortune, Yonge asserts that it had far more to do with the king’s misdeeds. Yonge is able to use the events of the deposition as a negative exemplum and as a means of praising the Lancastrian kings and supporting their rise to power.

In her analysis of Yonge’s role in the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, Ferster notes that:

Yonge’s moves may have been subtle enough to flatter himself, flatter Ormonde, and flatter Henry, all at the same time and without sacrificing his freedom to carp. His power derived partly from the fact that the book was a translation of prestigious sources,

\footnote{Hoccleve, *Thomas Hoccleve: The Regiment of Princes*. For an analysis of these lines in relation to the *Regement* and the Lancastrian succession, see Scanlon, “The King’s Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes,*” 233–34.}
and partly from the fact that Yonge adapted it in a very active and sometimes assertive way.  

Yonge is able to level criticism at Butler through his English translation, but he is still careful about how he does so. One of the most famous passages from the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* is also a passage that takes Butler to task for his participation in Gaelic-Irish literary culture.

Ouer-myche to Preyse is suspecte of losengry; and ouer-myche mespryce, of felony. Thou mayst hit witnesse to verite, and not to Frenshupe: a frende is to lowe, and verite moche more. And therfore he is an onwyse man that audyence or Yeftis yewyth to Rymoris othyr any Suche losyngeris, for thay Praysith hare yeueris be thay neuer So vicious. Who-so ham any good yewyth brekyth the statutis of kylkeny, and he is acursid by a xi bisschopis, as the same Statutes makyth mencion. Sodaynly no thynge be-hete, for whan thou haste be-hote, more shalte thou yeue.

The message is clear – don’t give to rhymers, it is against the law. To Yonge’s audience, the invocation of the Statutes of Kilkenny would have made it very clear which rhymers Yonge specifically meant: Irish poets.

First issued in 1367 and re-promulgated at irregular intervals over the next century, the Statutes of Kilkenny sought, among other things, to shore up Anglo-Irish culture against the threat of acculturation and to regulate Anglo-Irish commerce and communication with the Gaelic-Irish population. The English establishment saw the adoption of Irish cultural practices among members of the Anglo-Irish community as part of the problem of erosion of English power in Ireland, and the Statutes sought to undo the


204 Yonge, "*Secreta Secretorum*," 157.
damage, threatening dire punishments – including the loss of all Irish lands – to those who did not conform to the English cultural standards laid out in the Statutes.\footnote{Perhaps in response to the sensitive nature of the status of minstrels in fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland, Kerby-Fulton and Despres note that the illustrator of the Douce Piers Plowman manuscript has left minstrels out of the program of illustrations altogether. \textit{Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman}, 31, 34, 98.} The laws proved unenforceable, but for a dyed-in-the-wool member of Dublin’s Anglo-centric populace and government, the Statutes were a symbol of proper cultural behavior. The particular statute Yonge refers to is statute XV:

\textit{XV. Item, pour ceo que les ministres Irrois venutz entre Englois espient les privities manieres et finnesses des Englois dont graundz maulx souvient en son advenuz Accorde est et defendu que nuls ministres Irrois assavoirs sfeidanes selaughes Babblers Rymers sertes ne nulle autre ministre Irrois viennent entre les Englois et que nul Englois les receivent ou faire don a eux Et que le fera et sera atteint soit pris et emprisonne sibien les Irrois ministres comme les Englois que les receivent ou donnent rien et puis soient reintees a volunte du Roy et les instruments de leur ministralitie forfaire a nostre Seignior le Roy.} \footnote{Hardiman, \textit{Tracts Relating to Ireland}, 2:54–59.}

(XV. Also, whereas the Irish agents who come amongst the English, spy out the secrets, plans, and policies of the English, whereby great evils have often resulted; it is agreed and forbidden, that any Irish agents, that is to say, pipers, story-tellers, bablers, rimers, mowers, nor any other Irish agent shall come amongst the English, and that no English shall receive or make gift to such; and that shall do so, and be attainted, shall be taken, and imprisoned, as well the Irish agents as the English who receive or give them any thing, and after that they shall make fine at the king’s will; and the instruments of their agency shall forfeit to our lord the king.)\footnote{The original Statutes are in French. The English translation is from “A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III, Enacted in a Parliament Held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, Before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.”}

And the curse of the eleven bishops comes from the final statute:

\footnote{205}{Perhaps in response to the sensitive nature of the status of minstrels in fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland, Kerby-Fulton and Despres note that the illustrator of the Douce Piers Plowman manuscript has left minstrels out of the program of illustrations altogether. \textit{Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman}, 31, 34, 98.}
\footnote{206}{Hardiman, \textit{Tracts Relating to Ireland}, 2:54–59.}
\footnote{207}{The original Statutes are in French. The English translation is from “A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III, Enacted in a Parliament Held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, Before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.”}
XXXV. Item nostre Seignior le Duc de Clarance Lieutenaunt nostre dit Seignior le Roy en Irland et le Counseil nostre dit Seignior le Roy illeques Countees Barrons & Communes de la terre suisdite a ceste present parliament assemblez ouent requisite les Ercevesques et Evesques Abbas priours et autres gentes de Religion qilz facent excoingement et exconger les persons countrevenantz es estatutz & ordinaunces avaunt dit et autres censeures de St. Eglis ou eux fulminer si ascuns par rebellitee de cuer veigne encontre les estatutz et ordinaunces suisditz.208

(XXXV. Also, our lord the duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the King, in Ireland, and the council of our said lord the King there, the earls, barons and commons of the land aforesaid, at this present Parliament assembled, have requested the archbishops and bishops, abbots, priors and other persons of religion, that they do cause to be excommunicated, and do excommunicate the persons contravening the statutes and ordinances aforesaid, and the other censures of holy church to fulminate against them, if any, by rebellion of heart, act against the statutes and ordinances aforementioned.)209

This was a document that Yonge appears to have known well. Rather than citing the punishment in statute XV, he calls on the greater threat of excommunication to drive his point home.

Ferster argues that Yonge’s objection to rhymers comes from a sense of competitiveness, and that Yonge considers himself superior to the poets, who perform a similar social function.210 The criticism the legal scribe offers here speaks, however, to a greater social and cultural issue. Yonge was not in direct competition with the specific rhymers he speaks of. Instead, Irish poets have been declared spies by the Statutes of

208 Hardiman, Tracts Relating to Ireland, 2:118–19.


210 Ferster, Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England, 57.
Kilkenny. They produce poetry in the Irish language, a language outlawed among the Anglo-Irish by the same Statutes. Irish bardic poetry produced for Gaelic-Irish and Gaelicised Anglo-Irish lords was praise poetry, meant to enhance the standing of the poet’s lord, both through the poetry’s recitation of martial exploits and through the lord’s public expenditure in hiring a poet to create such a work; it was a display of wealth through conspicuous consumption. When a Gaelicized Anglo-Irish lord paid for such a work, he was engaging in a culturally disloyal act that gave money to and encouraged the Irish “enemy.” While Yonge uses his Gouernaunce of Prynces to praise Butler and his family, Yonge’s composition goes well beyond that goal, fills an entirely different literary niche, and purports to be useful to a broad audience that included the court of Henry V as well as the Anglo-Irish, whether in centers of English control, such as Dublin, or on the marches. Butler hired Irish poets, scribes, and legal experts, and Yonge’s message here is that Butler is breaking the law, betraying his own Anglo-Irish culture, and risking excommunication in having praise poems composed for him by Irish rhymers. He presents this criticism in the middle of a chapter on Prudence, where his exemplar warns against flattery. The inference is that the poems of rhymers are empty flattery – the poets will praise their benefactors to the skies, no matter how sinful or evil they may actually be. The prudent man will eschew this empty blarney. A similar anti-minstrel message, directed against minstrels in general rather than Irish entertainers, is found in the C-Text of Piers Plowman. For instance, the Prologue states:

And summe murthes to make as mynstrels conneth,
Wolleted neyther swyneke ne swete, bote sweren grete othes,
Fyndeth out foule fantasyes and foles hem maketh
And hath wytt at wille to worche yf þei wolde. (ll. 35-38)\textsuperscript{211}

This interpolation citing the Statutes of Kilkenny is Yonge’s most overt criticism of Butler. The message is aimed directly at his patron, but Yonge expends considerable effort to soften the criticism. He hides his added passage in the middle of a chapter, and returns quickly to the translation of his exemplar after he has had his say. He also couches his criticism in general terms. Despite Butler being the intended recipient, it is not Butler who is giving gifts to rhymers, it is “an onwyse man.” Yonge briefly returns a second time to his message about rhymers, dropping a reminder into chapter thirty-one, which offers a long list of largely classical exempla demonstrating the bravery of past rulers. Into a passage warning against trusting in popular fame, Yonge drops a review of other lessons in the \textit{Gouernaunce of Prynces}, including avoiding rhymers.

“For by Speche of the Pepille, a coward may be as Prowos as Ector of troi. Natheles, as is afore in this boke declarid, in foreyne gouernaunce a prynce sholde desytre and gete good renoune, by obeysaunce to god, and in Vyse gouernance of his spece to godis wirchippe and profite of the Pepille, and for no bobaunce as dyuers men doth, whych yewyth yeftys to Rymoris whyche Praysythe Hym Beste that moste Ham yewyth.”\textsuperscript{212}

Again, the criticism is couched in general terms. The individuals engaging in boasting through rhymers are “dyuers men,” and not necessarily Butler.

Another openly critical interpolation appears in a chapter on Justice. When Yonge’s exemplar talks about God’s punishment of rulers who do not punish those of their subjects who do wrong, Yonge adds a passage about current affairs.

\textsuperscript{211} Langland, Piers Plowman: \textit{The C-Text}.

\textsuperscript{212} Yonge, “\textit{Secreta Secretorum},” 176.
That god punyshid hame that chastenet not hare subiectis, me-thynketh hit apperyth oft-tymes by dyuers Englyshe captaynys of Irland that haue bene and now byth, whos neclygence in non-Punyshynge of hare nacionys and Subiectes haue destrued ham-Selfe, har naciones, and har landis. The names of thes captaynys hit awaylyth nat, ne hit nedyth, and also hit were henyouse and Perelos to reherse. And so fore thay thre causis, I leue of that matiere, and also lest y sholde be shente in this parti, the Sothe forto telle, ffor Salamon in his proverbis Sayth, …

Of this trope of self-imposed censorship Kerby-Fulton recently wrote: “… one of the best known tropes of Langlandian constraint writing came to be … often imitated: the poet’s habit of implying that truth or justice does not lie with the authorities, but with the poet and like-minded audience members.” In her investigation of this form of authorial self-representation, she lists other texts containing this trope, such as the works of Thomas Usk, John But, the anonymous author of *Mum and Sothsegger*, and, in light of the passage above, James Yonge. She argues that these works use revelatory theology and “relevatory politics” to establish places in the text where sensitive or forbidden material can be discussed. Yonge uses the common Langlandian trope of self-imposed censorship to allow his text to be read in a number of political ways. Annabel Patterson terms this “functional ambiguity,” in which an author uses imprecise language to make a veiled statement that readers can interpret more precisely. Yonge speaks generally of “dyuers Englyshe captaynys,” but it is clear that specific ones are intended. One would

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213 Ibid., 160–61.


216 *Censorship and Interpretation*, 18, 52–127.
love to know which English “captaynys” are implied here, nevertheless, it is clear that
Butler knows, and certainly many in Yonge’s audience could think of some Anglo-Irish
lord who might be experiencing trouble with their Gaelic-Irish neighbors or their
Gaelicised Anglo-Irish tenants. It is entirely possible that this passage takes aim again at
the Talbot faction, with its many English connections and its recent fall from power in
Ireland. Yonge’s circumlocution encourages speculation and draws author and
knowledgeable reader together in the thrill of shared secret knowledge. If he was aiming
his comments at the Talbot faction, it appears that Yonge’s self-censorship may not have
been enough to protect him from retribution, as his 1423 imprisonment under the Talbot
Lieutenancy implies.

After offering two exempla – probably directly translated from Jofroi of
Waterford’s text – on Saul’s loss of his throne for disobeying God and on the fall of Troy,
Yonge gets straight to the political point he alluded to in the previous interpolation. He
addresses Butler directly as “Nobyll and gracious lorde,” and asks that

Sethyn god and our e kynge haue grauntid you Powere, do ye therof
Execucion in opyn fals enemys, traytours, and rebelle, trew men
quelleris, whan thay fallyth Into you re handys, by the thow Sharpe
eggis of youre Swerde, that is to witte by rygoure of lawe and
dyntes delynge, hauynge in mynde that I Sayde afore of the Poet,
‘withstonde the begynnynge.’ For as a Sparke of fyre risyth an
huge fyre able a realme to brente, So rysyth of the roote of an fals
enemy, appert traytoure, othyr rebellis, many wickid wedis sone
growynge, that al trewe men in londe Sore greuyth. Therfor, whan
thay fallyth into you re handis, Raase ham all out of rote, as the
good gardynere dothe the nettylle. I know welle the roote of the
nettyle, One dough O’dynicis, fadyr of hym that now is, Of whom
spronge the wedis that als myche in mi tyme haue destruuede of the
comyte of Kyldare as al Irysh men of Irland aftyr. this nettyle in
Poynte was to haue be rasid out of roote, whan ye, gracious Lorde,
the castell of Ley out of the fals nettle-is Handys wyrchiply wan.
In the yere of our e lorde Ihesu cryste, M CCC CXIII. And ye the
Yonge’s challenge to his employer asks for nothing out of the ordinary: Butler should uphold English law and see that those who are enemies, traitors, rebels and murderers receive their just punishment. What is most important about this section is Yonge’s genocidal attitude towards the Gaelic-Irish rebels. They are weeds, stinging nettles that should be plucked out by the root before they grow too large, taking over the garden and stinging anyone who should brush by them or attempt to root them out. Yonge names one of the nettles in the Anglo-Irish garden, a man safely dead who is the root of the current group of weeds beleaguering the Anglo-Irish. It is not Butler’s fault that he inherited a garden full of nettles, and it is to Butler’s praise that he was nearly able to uproot one in 1420, when he took the castle at Lea from the Irish and returned it to the Earl of Kildare. However, the strength of the weeds is such that they have sprung back, regaining their former foothold from the FitzGeralds of Kildare. In order to keep them from growing even larger, Butler is exhorted to uproot and cut back the weeds with the edges of his sword.

To reinforce his message, Yonge adds a chapter entitled, “That a prynce sholde not truste to his enemy.” It is partially from Jofroi of Waterford’s French *Secreta secretorum* and partially of Yonge’s own making. Yonge has changed the moral of a story about a philosopher and a Jew. The original moral warned that princes should not trust those who lived under a different law, but Yonge changes the moral to the title of

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217 Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 164.
The exemplum that takes up most of the chapter describes an incident in which a Christian philosopher and a Jew fall in together while traveling. Each explains his faith to the other, and the Jew asks the philosopher to prove his faith in deeds and to let him ride his mule. When the philosopher does this, the Jew rides away with the mule. The philosopher prays for Justice, the Jew falls off the mule, and the pair exchange reproaches when the philosopher comes to reclaim his property. Yonge interrupts the story to address his “nobill and gracious lorde,” advising him that his Irish enemies and their ancestors are like the Jew: they only held their peace while Butler and his father were strong; when Butler’s father died, Arthur McMurrough was quick to renege on the “grete othis that he Sware.” Yonge returns to the tale of the Jew and the philosopher. The rest of the tale has a moral contrary to the Yonge’s idea of what should be done with Irish enemies: the philosopher helps the Jew, who has broken his leg in the fall, and returns him to his people. The king of an unnamed city hears of the mercy of the philosopher and rewards him with a position as his closest advisor. This is decidedly not what Yonge believes should become of the Irish rebels, and he has foregrounded his own moral in the title and in his aside to Butler, giving it greater priority while remaining a faithful translator, retaining the ending to the tale that he found in Jofroi’s text.

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218 Ferster notes that the new moral fits the story poorly, but the original moral is also a poor fit, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, 61.

219 Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 166.
Yonge and Giraldus Cambrensis

One of the main interventions Yonge makes in Jofroi’s text in order to fashion his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* for an Anglo-Irish audience is to include material about the Conquest of Ireland. Yonge foreshadows his later addition to the fabric of the text in the chapter on fortitude. Midway through a list of platitudes about fortitude, Joffroi’s text had a list of Old Testament kings who were brave and honorable. Yonge seamlessly expands this list to include Arthur, Charlemagne, Prince Edward (the Black Prince, victor at Crécy and Poitiers), James Butler, 2nd Earl of Kildare, Maurice FitzGerald, Robert FitzStephen, Raymond le Gros, John de Courcy, “*and many otheres* of the quenqueste of Irland.” By anachronistically including Butler’s grandfather in this list of heroic leaders of Henry II’s conquering force, Yonge makes Butler the heir of the Irish Conquest. It is only right that Butler be the next Lieutenant of a conquered Ireland.

In chapter thirty-two, “Of the Pite and mercy that a Prynce sholde haue,” Yonge begins the longest of his interpolations. The author faithfully translates several gnomic statements and their exempla from his exemplar until near the end of the exemplar’s version of the chapter. Then Yonge provides the Latin and English of a quote from Cato, “*Vtilius regno, miritis adquirere amicos, that is to say, ‘More Profitable thynge is than a kyngedome, by good deservyng frendis to gette.’*” As a negative example, Yonge provides the case of Dermot Mac Murchada, King of Leinster. Yonge inexplicably names his source as “a gret Clerke, Richard Cambrensis,” rather than Gerald, an error that may represent either a fault in or a misreading of his source; both the Rawlinson and

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220 Ibid., 182.
Carew manuscripts preserve the reading “Richard.” It does seem, however, that Yonge had a copy of Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica* at his elbow as he was writing. He follows Gerald’s text quite closely.

**Dermitius itaque Murchardi, filius Lageniensium princeps, et quinte illius porcionis Hibernie rector, ...** Qui ab ineunte etate regniique sui novitate nobilitatis oppressor existens, in terre sue magnates gravi et intolerabili tyrannide desevebat.

Accessit et aliud incommodum. Ororicio namque Medensium rege remotas in partes expedicionis cutiudam causa projecto, uxor ipsius, ... a predicto Dermitio, ... captata viri absencia, rapta ....

**Sed quoniam mala fere cuncta maiora ...** mundo per mulierem constat exorta, rex Ororicius, graviter utroque permutus, longe tamen gravius dedecoris quam danni dolore percussus, totum in vindictam virus evomuit. Convocans igitur et conflans tam proprias quam vicinarum gentium vires, Connauctensium quoque principem et totius Hibernie tunc monarcham ad idem animavit et Rothericum.

Considerantes autem Lagenienses principem suum in arto iam positum et hostium cuneis omni ex latere circumspectum, dissimulatas diu iniurias altaque mente repostas vindicem ad animum revocantes, cum hostibus unaimes effecti, Murchardi filium maiiores in hac gente simul cum fortuna reliquerunt.

**Videns itaque Dermitius se viribus undique destitui et, aversa penitus constat exorta, rex Ororicius, graviter utroque permutus, longe tamen gravius dedecoris quam danni dolore percussus, totum in vindictam virus evomuit. Convocans igitur et conflans tam proprias quam vicinarum gentium vires, Connauctensium quoque principem et totius Hibernie tunc monarcham ad idem animavit et Rothericum.**

But So did not Dermot McMurgh, Prynce of leynystere, whych is the vᵉ parte of Irlande, For a gret Clerke, Richard Cambrensis that makyd the Story of the conquyte by kyenge Henry the Seconde in Irland, tellyth that this Dermot in the begynnynge of his regnacione, he was an oppressour and an extorcionere of vertues men, and a crowel Tyraunt ontollerabill, vpon the grete lordis of his londe. Anothyr myschefe hym betfell, O’rooryckes wyfe, kyenge of Mythe, by hyr owyn assente, in absence of hyr lorde, he rauysshed. And for-why that, for the more Partie al myschefe, witnessynge olde stories many, and newe also, the wiche by women began. This kyenge O’rorike, mor for shame than for the hurte hevely grewid, wox al venomously wrothe. And therfor he gaderid many strangeris, that is to say, Rourike of Connaght, that tyme kyenge of Irland, whyth his Pepill and his owyn, A-vengid to bene. Than the grete lordis of laynystere, Seynge har Prynce i-Putte to myschefe, and in euery Partie vmbesegid wyth enemys, olde wronges that he hadd done ham thay rehersid; thay rose al atte onys wyth his enemys, And So fortyne and his Pepill hym lefte atte ones. Than this Prynce Dermot, Seynge hym-Selfe on euery Side besieget, wythout helpe and fououre, and hugely ouersette with enemys, aften many Sore battaillis, to the laste remedy, he flow ouer the See into Normandy in the partes of Fraunce, to kyenge henry the Seconde afsorsaye, and hym besely besoght of Socoure. He was wirchiphullly rescwied of the kyenge, and hym his gouernaunce tolde. Whan the kyenge hadd herde the cause of his comynge, he rescwied of hym the bonde of Subiecicion, and fewtee, and hym toke his letteris of bienvoillaunce

(Diarmait Mac Murchada, prince of Leinster and ruler of that fifth part of Ireland, … From his earliest youth and his first taking on the kingship he oppressed his nobles, and raged against the chief men of his kingdom with a tyranny grievous and impossible to bear. There was another unfortunate factor. When Ua Ruairc king of Meath had gone off on an expedition to far distant parts, his wife, … was abducted by the aforesaid Diarmait, who … took advantage of her husband’s absence. …

Almost all the world’s most notable catastrophes have been caused by women … King Ua Ruairc was stirred to extreme anger on two counts, of which however the disgrace, rather than the loss of his wife, grieved him more deeply, and he vented all the venom of his fury with a view to revenge. And so he called together and mustered his own forces and those of neighbouring peoples, and roused to the same purpose Ruaidrí, prince of Connacht and at that time supreme ruler of all Ireland. The men of Leinster, seeing that their prince was now in a difficult position and surrounded on all sides by his enemies’ forces, sought to pay him back, and recalled to mind injustices which they had long concealed and stored deep in their hearts. They made common cause with his enemies, and the men of rank among this people deserted Mac Murchada along with his good fortune. He saw that his forces were melting away on all sides and that he was now in desperate straits, for Fate had completely turned her back on him, and Fortune had withdrawn her favour. So after many fierce clashes with the enemy in which the odds were stacked against him, he finally … had recourse to this last hope of saving himself.

… he received [Diarmait] with the courtesy characteristic of his innate nobility and kindly nature. Accordingly, when he had duly heard the reason for his exile and arrival at the court and had received from him the bond of submission and the oath of fe

Yonge summarizes Giraldus’ text, skipping phrases and omitting parts of Cambrensis’ more flowery descriptions. Just as he rearranged Jofroi of Waterford’s text to suit his own needs, Yonge did the same with Cambrensis’ work. After summarizing in a few sentences the invasion and conquest of Ireland by Henry II, Yonge returns to a paragraph in Cambrensis’ Expugnatio Hibernica that he had skipped earlier in creating his exemplum of the events of the Conquest, and he translates it closely – nearly word-for-word – to wrap up the story of Mac Murchada and to provide it with a moral:

Multis itaque patet rerum eventibus tutius esse volentibus quam invitis imperare. Sensit hoc Nero, sensit Domitianus, sensit et nostris temporibus tam Saxonum quam Baioariorum dux Henricus. Expedit a subditis principi cuilibet potius amari quam timeri. Expedit siquidem et timeri, dum tamen ex dileccione potius timor ille proveniat quam coercione. Quicquid enim terrenis affectibus

And therfor Hit Is more Sure to euer Prynce to comande His Pepill well willynge to hym, than ewill willynge. this felit Nero and Damaciane, Emperoures of Rome; And so filit kyng Richard the Seconde and many mo afor and Sethyn. This Clerke Cambrens tellyth in the Same story, Expedit subiectis Principi cuilibet pocius amari quam timeri, that Is to Say, “Hit is Spedful to

222 Latin text and English translation from Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland, 24–27.
(The outcome of many events in history shows us that it is safer to rule willing than unwilling subjects. Nero came to realize this, so to Domitian, and in our time Henry duke of Bavaria and Saxony. It is better for any prince to be loved by his subjects than to be feared. It is indeed good that he should be feared, providing that the fear is due to love for him rather than oppression. For it follows that whatever is loved with human love is also feared.)

Yonge quotes Giraldus’ Latin directly and cites him as the source, providing a moral that is in keeping with the rest of the fabric of the *Secreta secretorum* tradition, which relies on older authority to provide lessons for the present day. Yonge also updates the reference to modern kings who have come to understand the moral. He replaces Giraldus’ Henry, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, with someone who is much more relevant to his audience: Richard II.

After offering only part of Giraldus’ discussion on love and fear, Yonge turns to what he sees as another major problem – the tendency towards extortion shared by both Mac Murchada and Richard II. He refers to a sermon to explain that an extortioner is worse than the devil, as an extortioner injurs both the just and the unjust, whereas the devil harms only the unjust. Yonge’s *Memoriale* is peppered with material culled from sermons, and it seems that this was a favorite genre of the Dublin author.

At the end of the chapter, Yonge introduces the topic of his next chapter:

But for-almoche, gracious lorde, as I haue now her towchid of the conquest of Ireland, I shall now declare yow in Partie as y fynde in croncles written, many titles of oure lege lorde the kynge of

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223 Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 183.

Englandes ryght to this land of Irland, agaynes t[h]e errourse and haynouse Iryshmenes oppynyones, saynge that thay haue bettyr ryght.\textsuperscript{225}

Chapter thirty-three lists the rights of the English king to Ireland \enquote{aftyr the Cronyclis}.\textsuperscript{226} The first two reasons he offers – that the Irish come from Bayonne (which belonged to the king of England) and that the Irish were granted Ireland by Gurguntius, then king of Britain – appear in both the \textit{Expugnatio Hibernica} and the \textit{Topographia Hibernica} of Giraldus Cambrensis, one or both were available to Yonge as he wrote. The tale of the granting of Ireland to the Irish by Gurguntius is translated quite closely from Giraldus’ Latin.\textsuperscript{227} Yonge uses another reason offered by Giraldus – that the Irish submitted to Henry II – and expands on it, explaining that Mac Murchada’s daughter, Aoife, was married to Strongbow, and Leinster passed through her to Strongbow and his heirs. The marriage and the submission of the Irish to Henry II form the third and fourth reasons. The pope, claim both Giraldus and Yonge, owns Ireland, and he gave it to King Henry II. This was confirmed at a council in Dublin. Yonge offers as a sixth reason the decision of a council at Armagh which Giraldus records in his \textit{Expugnatio Hibernica}. The clergy at the council decided that since the Irish had sold their own people into slavery in the past, it was divine retribution that they be enslaved by the English.\textsuperscript{228} Yonge brings his list of reasons up to date by recounting the submission of the Irish lords to Richard II in 1394–

\textsuperscript{225} Yonge, \textit{Secreta Secretorum}, 183.

\textsuperscript{226} This chapter is excerpted in Dolan and Deane, \textit{The Literature of Norman Ireland}.


\textsuperscript{228} Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: \textit{The Conquest of Ireland}, 68–71.
95. “There-for,” Yonge concludes, “fro the begynnynge to the End, good is our kynges ryght to the lordshupe of Irland. And therfor hold thei ham still for shame, that therof the contrary Sayne.” These two interpolated chapters combine divine favor and historical circumstance to create an argument that, as John Thompson points out, “insists that English might equals right.” After the long interpolation recounting the history of English intervention in Ireland and fortifying Butler and the rest of his audience with arguments justifying continued intervention, Yonge returns to finish the Secreta secretorum’s advice on fortitude. The source again becomes Jofroi of Waterford’s French text.

Conclusion

Fro al manere of myschefe, almyghty god de-fende our e lyge lorde, kynge henry the Fyfte, and James the Botillere, Erle of Ormonde, his lyeutenaunt of Irlande, Whyche this boke to translate me comaundet, And graunt ham, grete god, and al hare Subiectis, in the Sewyn Vertues, grace al tymes to growe. Amen.

Yonge closes his Gouernaunce of Prynces with these words. He again names his patron and his patron’s patron. He offers the reason for his writing of the book – that he was commanded to by Butler. This information he couches in a devout prayer for protection and grace for not only Henry V and Butler, but for the subjects of the rulers,


thus embracing his English and Anglo-Irish secondary audience and the main consumers of his mirror for princes. Yonge has translated, but he has also interpolated, edited, rearranged, and expounded upon his text. He has used new sources to historicize and update the revered and popular *Secreta secretorum*, and he has placed his political agendas – covertly and overtly – into the work. The result is a unique mirror for princes tailored especially for a fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish audience, and designed to highlight the achievements of Butler and of Henry V.

Yonge’s political posturing in the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* was a short-term achievement for the Dublin clerk. The aftermath of its publication was something that Yonge could not have foreseen. Butler’s position as lieutenant expired in April 1422, and one of his supporters, William FitzThomas, took the office while Butler campaigned to be reinstated, despite the objections of the Talbots. The sudden death of the king on August 31, 1422 made the situation dire for Butler, and John Talbot’s brother, Archbishop Richard Talbot, was named Lieutenant of Ireland. As a Butler appointee, Yonge might have escaped the fate awaiting him under Talbot. His profile, though, after the creation and dissemination of his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* was perhaps a little too public for Richard Talbot’s liking. By January of 1423, Yonge was in chains in Trim Castle. It would take the return of Butler supporters to power in 1424 to see him freed and pardoned.
CHAPTER 2:
TRACING THE SOURCES FOR YONGE’S MEMORIALE: A BRIEF LITERARY HISTORY OF SAINT PATRICK’S PURGATORY

Introduction: Saint Patrick’s Purgatory in the European Imagination

From the late twelfth century onwards, a small cave on one of Lough Derg’s many rocky islands became the destination for a number of pious pilgrims. Extant records and pilgrimage accounts tell us about approximately thirty-five of these visitors; there were certainly many more. Pilgrims arriving at the Augustinian priory on Saints’ Island first went through a period of fasting and prayer. Then they were transported by a small boat to nearby Station Island, where they entered the cave known as Saint Patrick’s Purgatory and remained there for up to twenty-four hours. During that time, many pilgrims experienced visions of purgatory, hell, and heaven. The lake’s location in a remote and hilly area of County Donegal, in a distant corner of the Archdiocese of Armagh far from populous Dublin lent it a forbidding aspect. A journey to the entrance of Purgatory on the edge of the known world was not one undertaken lightly; it required a considerable sacrifice of time and money, not to mention sufficient courage and physical vigor. The rewards, however, were great. A person who successfully emerged from the

\[232\] Paravicini, Fact and Fiction, 32.
Purgatory after suffering its torments was cleansed of his sins. If he refrained from further sin, he would not have to experience the punishments of purgatory after death, but would immediately attain paradise.

During the High and late Middle Ages, the Purgatory was famed in England and on the Continent, but despite this renown and despite the Irish-language tales accounting for the red waters of Lough Derg, there are no extant medieval narrative accounts of the Purgatory itself in Irish. Irish-language accounts of visions at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory are extant, however, beginning from the sixteenth-century revitalization of the site. The first contribution to the literary tradition surrounding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory that was written in Ireland is the Latin work composed around 1412 by James Yonge, discussed in detail in the next chapter. Yonge’s *Memoriale* and its significance can best be understood within the larger context of the history of the Purgatory itself as well as the many literary texts chronicling the journeys of pilgrims to the Purgatory. Though long inhabited, the location of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was re-discovered and settled by the Anglo-Norman invaders and the new religious communities they brought with them to Ireland. The literary tradition surrounding the Purgatory grew out of Anglo-Norman settlement, and the presence of the English in Ireland likely contributed to the spread of Purgatorial literature across the European continent. Moreover, texts about the Purgatory were readily available in England and were probably also read by the Anglo-Norman and later Anglo-Irish populations in Ireland.

In this chapter, I will briefly trace the history of this important pilgrimage site, including its rediscovery and popularization by Anglo-Norman invaders and religious communities new to Ireland. I will also examine the development of the literary tradition
surrounding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, paying special attention to H. of Saltrey’s *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* and the anonymous *Visiones Georgii*, both of which which inspired Hungarian pilgrim Laurence Rathold and his amanuensis James Yonge when Yonge was compiling his *Memoriale* in Dublin in 1412. I will also note some other works which might have been most readily available to Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Irish readers.

The Origins of the Purgatory and the Rise of the Pilgrimage

As Bernard O’Donoghue points out, Lough Derg and its cave occupy a liminal space between piety and legend. As a destination where the most pious of pilgrims routinely experienced miraculous visions, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was known across Europe, and a large number of folk tales and visionary narratives sprang up around Lough Derg. Lough Derg – the Red Lake – received its color, according to an old Irish tale, from the blood of a monster that was partially slain by the famed hero-gangster Finn MacCumhaill and finally put to rest at the bottom of the lake by Saint Patrick himself.

Another etymological explanation for the name of the lake relates more closely to the feature for which it is best known. St. John Drelincourt Seymour posits that the name may have originally been Lough Dearc, the Lake of the Cave. It is certainly possible

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235 Ibid.
that the lake could be named for its purgatorial cave, but this name depends either on the notion that the cave was attracting significant notice prior to the twelfth-century settlement of Saints’ Island by Augustinian Canons, or on the idea that the Irish were so taken by the post twelfth-century visionary tradition promoted by French and English-speaking colonists that they gave the lake an appropriate name in Irish. The Fenian tale explaining why the lake is called “derg” appears to be a Patrician overlay on an older heroic *dindshenchas* (place-name story). While it is not included in the late twelfth-century *Acallam na Senórach*, it appears to be quite similar in form to many of the *dindsenchas* preserved in that work. In particular, one of the tales in the *Acallam na Senórach* explains that a destructive monster living in a lake in the Forest of the Fowling can only be killed after the arrival of Patrick. Moreover, Finn predicts that the lake will be a future site for monasticism and pilgrimage.

Lake of Fowling, abode of swans, alas without the *Fían.*
Clerics will meet there and sing sweet hymns.

... An abode it will be of pilgrims, an abode of weak and strong.\(^{236}\)

I am inclined to believe that “Red Lake” is the older etymology, although the near-homonyms “derg” and “dearc” are not to be discounted. Both meanings could easily have presented themselves to a medieval Irish speaker upon hearing the name.

Mystery surrounds not only the origin of the lake’s name, but also the history of the Purgatory itself. While there are many fictional or semi-fictional tales of visions which took place at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, there is very little medieval documentation

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\(^{236}\) Dooley and Roe, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland; (Acallam na Senórach)*, 74–5.

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regarding the site. Much of the medieval history of the Purgatory and its nearby monastic community must be reconstructed from the descriptions of contemporary historians and travelers, details found in visionary tales, and archaeological evidence.

Of the approximately forty rocky islands in Lough Derg, Saints’ Island and Station Island were the centers of pilgrimage activity. The Purgatory on Station Island was carefully guarded by the community of Augustinian Canons on Saints’ Island. According to the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, written ca. 1179-84, by a monk who calls himself H. of Saltrey (Matthew Paris would later give him the name “Henri”), it was Saint Patrick himself who built the church on Saints’ Island and gave the keeping of it and the Purgatory to the Augustinian Canons – a clearly anachronistic assertion, as the Augustinians did not have a large presence in Ireland until the early twelfth century. The archaeological record shows, however, that Saints’ Island was occupied by a monastic community long before the twelfth-century arrival of the Augustinians. Carvings from the seventh century are present, and there is evidence of an early medieval oratory and cemetery, which date from the eighth century. In addition, the circular remains of early medieval beehive huts can still be seen on the island and feature prominently in Carve’s 1650 map of Saints’ Island.²³⁷ [fig. 25] These may also be the inspiration for Giraldus Cambrensis’ enigmatic description of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory in his 1189 revision of his *Topographia Hibernica*, in which he describes the pilgrimage site as having not one, but nine pits or caves.

²³⁷ Seymour, *Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland*, 12; *Symbolum Hiberniae: Lyre, sive Anacephalaeosis Hiberniae*. 107
Pars ista novem in se foveas habet. In quarum aliqua si quis forte pernoctare praesumpserit, quod a temerariis hominibus nonnunquam constat esse probatum, a malignis spiritibus statim arripitur, et nocte tota tam gravibus poenis cruciatur, tot tantisque et tam ineffabilibus ignis et aquae variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur, ut mane facto vix vel minimae spiritus superstitis reliquiae misero in corpore reperiantur.

(This part has nine pits in it, in any of which, should someone dare by chance to spend the night, which is known to have been tried by several brave men, he is at once seized by evil spirits, and he is tortured for the entire night with such painful punishments, he is afflicted without cessation by such indescribable and various tortures of fire and water, that he is discovered in the morning with scarcely any or very little remnant of surviving spirit in his wretched body.)

In its description of the elaborate entrance rituals and in its references to previous pilgrims, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, suggests that the site had been a pilgrimage destination long before the arrival of the knight Owein, but the ascription of antiquity to the pilgrimage may be an attempt on H. of Saltrey’s part to lend credence and the distinction of long-standing tradition to a pilgrimage practice that was actually quite new. While the site had been used as a monastic site for generations when the Anglo-Normans arrived in Ireland, it appears to have borne little significance except as a local monastery and shrine. The arrival of the Anglo-Normans changed this profile.

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The Arrival of the Anglo-Normans and Continental Fame

The Augustinian Canons took up the guardianship of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory sometime between 1130 and 1140. Seymour gives an earlier date while Yolande de Pontfarcy favors a slightly later date.\(^{239}\) This take-over by one of the orders introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans probably displaced an existing Irish monastic community and placed Saint Patrick’s Purgatory under the control of the Archbishop of Armagh, the *coarb* – that is the spiritual heir – of Saint Patrick.\(^{240}\) Bringing the Purgatory under Armagh’s jurisdiction brought an end to a struggle for dominance over the site between the Archbishoprics of Armagh and Tuam, although power struggles between the Archbishopric of Armagh and Loch Derg’s local diocese of Clogher would continue in the ensuing years.\(^{241}\)

From the mid-twelfth century on, the Archdiocese of Armagh was bisected by new cultural and linguistic borders brought about by the partial conquest of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans; the *coarb* of Saint Patrick from then on oversaw an area *inter Anglicos* and a larger area *inter Hibernicos*, with the archbishop’s seat in Armagh, *inter Hibernicos*.\(^{242}\) This ecclesiastical crossing of political boundaries was a contributing factor in the rising popularity of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory – not among the Irish, in whose territory it was located, but among the Anglo-Normans and the peoples of the European

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\(^{240}\) Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, 16.


\(^{242}\) Walsh, “... *in finibus mundi*: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 47.
Continent, who gained knowledge of the mysterious site through Anglo-Norman interest in Irish saints. (This interest also manifested itself in the translation by John de Courcy of the relics of Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columba to Downpatrick in 1185, an act in which de Courcy claimed spiritual as well as temporal control of Ireland by placing the relics in lands directly under his jurisdiction.) The century of the Anglo-Norman conquest marks a significant shift in visitors to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, from local pious Gaelic-Irish to pilgrims from England and the Continent, as well as a shift from unrecorded and unremarked pilgrimages to a large body of records relating to pilgrims and pilgrimages. These patterns persisted until the early modern era before largely reversing themselves.

English and Continental pilgrims who visited the Purgatory in the High and late Middle Ages were drawn by accounts recording the visions beheld by pious pilgrims enclosed in the Purgatory. These tales were exported from England to the Continent during the latter half of the twelfth century, and were soon written, translated, or adapted into many vernaculars, Catalan, Czech, English, French, and Italian prominent among them. No accounts of visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory appear in Irish until the early modern era. In fact, despite some evidence for early pilgrimage activity at Lough

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244 Leslie, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature, xvii.
246 Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 93.
Derg, the earliest extant mention of the site in Irish records is the 1497 entry in the Annals of Ulster referring to the destruction of the Purgatory.\textsuperscript{247}

The appearance and rapid blossoming of literature related to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory in the twelfth century coincides with the development of the idea of purgatory. Prior to the twelfth century, Christian thinkers posited the redemption of sinners through spiritual testing after death. The naming of the intermediate place where this testing occurred and the corresponding development of the doctrine of purgatory emerged among twelfth century scholastics in Paris and was soon championed by the mendicant orders.\textsuperscript{248} Saint Patrick’s Purgatory became an important element in the growing significance of purgatory in medieval theological thought. Pilgrims’ tales of the Purgatory made purgatory not merely an abstract world invisible to the living and unattainable until after death; purgatory was instead a third region of the Christian otherworld, a real place that could be visited and viewed by those living men who were pious and brave enough to journey to the edge of the world and face the trials within the cave.\textsuperscript{249} H. of Saltrey’s \textit{Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii}, an account of the visions of the knight Owein, was presented as a true story obtained from the lips of a close associate of the hero. It was clinching proof of the physical existence of purgatory. Further, the accessibility of the Purgatory only to a select few made the journey an heroic

\textsuperscript{247} Walsh, “... \textit{in finibus mundi}: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher.” 65.

\textsuperscript{248} LeGoff, \textit{The Birth of Purgatory}, 1–17.

\textsuperscript{249} Picard, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory}, 7–8.; LeGoff, \textit{The Birth of Purgatory.}, 200-01.
one, echoing the Cistercian emphasis on the heroic struggle for the Faith.\textsuperscript{250} The twelfth-century advent of new monastic orders in Ireland, especially the Augustinians and Cistercians, marks the beginning of a centuries-long tradition of literature about Saint Patrick’s Purgatory and the rise of the Purgatory from a little-regarded local shrine to an internationally known pilgrimage destination.

The numbers of pilgrims which the Augustinians welcomed each year seems to have remained small. Ireland, located as it was far away from mainland Europe, and possessing a reputation for being untamed, did not have the irresistible draw of destinations such as the shrines of Saint Thomas à Becket in Canterbury or Saint James in Compostela. Physical artifacts, such as the lead pendants and figurines so popular with late medieval pilgrims as souvenirs, are not extant from the Purgatory.\textsuperscript{251} If such items were ever made, they must have been manufactured in small numbers. Nonetheless, in the wake of the Black Death, when fervor for pilgrimage seized many Europeans, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory also appears to have received correspondingly more pilgrims than it did in earlier centuries. There is a noticeable growth in the number of visionary accounts of the Purgatory (though some of these are adaptations of the \textit{Tractatus}), and of the thirty-two pilgrims known or presumed to have entered the Purgatory between Owein’s

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\item \textsuperscript{250} French, “Ritual, Gender and Power Strategies: Male Pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory,” 108–10.
\item \textsuperscript{251} In the eighteenth century, pilgrims were sold small, carved, wooden crosses as souvenirs, of which a few survive. Flynn, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Lough Derg, County Donegal}, 20.
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visit in 1153 and the initial destruction of the Purgatory in 1497, twenty-six arrived between 1350 and 1495.\textsuperscript{252}

While some of the statistical rise in visitor numbers might be attributed to the loss of earlier records, it appears that a larger number of pilgrims moved through Ireland in the latter part of the Middle Ages. In the mid fourteenth century, the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph – most famous for his anti-mendicant polemics – began to promote the significance of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory at the Papal curia at Avignon. The campaign was designed to enhance the status of the Archbishop of Armagh, and encourage pilgrimage to Ireland. The campaign seems to have had some effect. Dublin had a growing amount of pilgrimage traffic in the late Middle Ages: a building just east of the Augustinian Priory of All Saints in the open area in Dublin known as the the Steine served as a hospice for pious pilgrims awaiting favorable weather for sailing to destinations on the Continent, particularly Santiago de Compostela. A similar hospice existed in Drogheda.\textsuperscript{253} It is not unreasonable to assume that these hospices served not only Anglo-Irish and Gaelic-Irish pilgrims eager to visit holy places on the Continent, but also English and Continental pilgrims returning home from Ireland.

\textsuperscript{252} These numbers are based on the list of pilgrims compiled by Seymour, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland}, 21–24.

The End?

An early Irish tale about the origin of the red waters of Lough Derg contains a double-death. The story explains that Ireland was tormented by a witch who made poison-tipped arrows with the help of her son, a giant. The leader of the Fianna, Finn MacCumhaill, hunted the pair, catching up with them in Munster. The giant son flung his mother across his back and ran north. As the son ran away, Finn shot the old hag with an arrow. Not realizing his mother was dead, the giant ran with her to Donegal where he found his mother’s body had been ravaged by trees and other features of the landscape as he ran past. All that was left of her were her legs, arms, and spine. The giant threw them to the ground and fled. Years later, a hunting party of the Fianna came upon the bones. Despite being warned not to break the thigh-bone, Conan Maol did so. A worm emerged from the broken bone, and Conan threw it into nearby Lough Derg. At once, the worm grew to tremendous size and laid waste to the countryside. It was killed by Finn MacCumhaill, who discovered its one vulnerable spot. The blood from the worm rushed into the lake, turning the waters red.254

Like the witch-worm of the old Irish tale, the cave at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory underwent a double-death. By the fifteenth century, the Augustinians appear to have been demanding a fee from the growing number of pilgrims seeking the Purgatory.255 This fee and certain changes that shortened the entrance ritual are indicators of the


255 Walsh, “... in finibus mundi: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 63.
This smacked of simony to an unnamed monk from Eymstadt, who arrived at the Purgatory in 1494 seeking entry. As he gathered the necessary permissions, he was repeatedly asked to pay a fee. He explained that he was a poor mendicant and begged to be allowed into the Purgatory without paying. After much negotiation, the monk was admitted to the Purgatory by being lowered into a pit on a rope. Miserable and trembling in fear, the monk prayed through the night, but saw no visions. Declaring that the cave he had entered was not the true Purgatory, the monk petitioned Pope Alexander VI through an intermediary close to the pope to have the false Purgatory closed. In 1497, by order of the Pope, the cave was “broken” (briseadh).

This is the first mention of the Purgatory in Irish records. The Annals of Ulster tell us:

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Uaim Purgodoire Patraig ar Loċ-ġearg do brisead in 1 bliadain si le Gairdian Duin-na-nGall 7 le luċt-inaid espuic a n-degantaċ Loċa-hEirne, a hudaras an Phapa, im feil Padraig na’ bliadna’ sa, ar n-a tuigsin do čaċ a coitcinne ar sdair an Ridire 7 a seinlebraiβ eile načar’hi soin an Purġadoir fuair Padraig o Dhia, ge do badur cač ag gnatugad uaiti.
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(The cave of the Purgatory of Patrick on Loch-ghearg[–derg, co. Don[egal]] was broken this year by the Guardian of Dun-na-Gall and by the representatives of the bishop in the deanery of Lough-Erne, by authorization of the Pope, about the feast of Patrick of this year; it being understood by every one in general from the History of the Knight and other old Books that this was not the Purgatory Patrick got from God, although they were, every one, visiting it.)

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256 The medieval entrance ritual is described below in the section entitled, “The Medieval Pilgrim at Lough Derg.”

257 Bollandus and Carnandet, Acta Sanctorum, Martii:, t. 2:588.

258 Text and translation from Hennessy and MacCarthy, Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540, 3:416–17. The text can also be found in Leslie, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature, 63.
The pit entered by the monk of Eymstadt may not have been the true Purgatory, just as the monk claimed. Most narratives relating to the Purgatory describe the pilgrim entering by walking, although some pilgrims reported a descent by a slope or a number of stairs. The niggardly monk may well have been deceived by the community; the ruse being a clever way of getting back at a guest who was sponging off of the community and doing his best to make a nuisance of himself. In addition, the standard fifteen-day preparatory fast is not mentioned in the record of the monk’s visit.\(^{259}\) This may be an indication of changes made by new management, or a simplification of the entry ritual due to the arrival of increasing numbers of pilgrims, both of which are suggested by Michael Haren.\(^{260}\) It may also imply special circumstances. The prior sent the monk of Eymstadt to the bishop of Clogher and the “prince of that territory” to obtain permissions, perhaps as a matter of protocol, as most accounts list a number of necessary permissions required of pilgrims, including that of the prior, the bishop of Clogher, and the Archbishop of Armagh. The prior knew that the bothersome monk might be unsuccessful in obtaining the permissions, and that he could thus be convinced to abandon his pilgrimage without further discouragement. When the monk returned to Loch Derg, necessary paperwork in hand, the prior reluctantly admitted the monk. He may have dispensed with the fifteen-day fast in order to be rid of the beggar as soon as possible. Ironically, in having the pilgrim skip the long fast, the prior may have unintentionally worsened the situation, as the monk would not have been as physically and


psychologically predisposed to experience visions during his time in “Saint Patrick’s Purgatory” without the deprivation of fasting and the lingering fearful anticipation of his visit to the Purgatory. The comparative indifference with which the monk is treated, an attitude pointed out by Haren, may be a reflection of the community’s antipathy towards a stubborn and demanding interloper, and not a permanent change in the entry ritual or the community’s general attitude towards pilgrims.\textsuperscript{261}

The first destruction of the Purgatory came at the end of a period of instability during the late fifteenth century, when the bishop’s office of the Diocese of Clogher changed hands frequently and was even vacant between 1494 and 1502, and when ownership of the community at Loch Derg was disputed as well.\textsuperscript{262} Despite this initial destruction, the site was again receiving pilgrims – more than ever before – by the first years of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{263} The “Purgatory” destroyed in 1497 may have been the false pit used by the monk of Eymstadt,\textsuperscript{264} or the cave may have been rebuilt, as Haren argues, based on early sixteenth-century accounts of the cave.\textsuperscript{265} This cave was closed in

\textsuperscript{261} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{262} Hennessy and MacCarthy, Annals of Uladh: Annals of Ulster: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540, 3:416 n. 6. A fuller discussion of the late fifteenth-century ecclesiastical politics contributing to this instability can be found in Haren, “The Close of the Medieval Pilgrimage: The Papal Suppression and its Aftermath,” 192–95.; Seymour suggests that one of the prizes to be gained from control of Lough Derg was the fees paid by visiting pilgrims. Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 80.


\textsuperscript{264} Picard, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, 11–12.

1632, but was soon re-opened by local people who re-built the cave and associated buildings. The cave of the Purgatory underwent its second destruction in 1780, when the stone and clay roof over a depression in the rock of Station Island was destroyed, having become unstable and posing a safety hazard to the throngs of people visiting the site.\footnote{Picard, \textit{Saint Patrick's Purgatory}, 12. The description comes from John Richardson’s 1727 book, \textit{The Great Folly, Superstition and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland, Especially of that to St. Patrick’s Purgatory: Together with an Account of the Loss that the Publick Sustaineth Thereby; Truly and Impartially Represented}, 8.} Despite the destruction of the medieval cave, Lough Derg’s Station Island continues to be a popular pilgrimage destination, drawing thousands of pilgrims every year. The demographics of the pilgrims have shifted. The pilgrimage is no longer exclusively male, or even exclusively Catholic, and a large percentage of pilgrims are local, coming from the Republic of Ireland or Northern Ireland. The pilgrimage continues to have an international audience. Between 2000 and 2010, Lough Derg hosted pilgrims from over thirty countries.\footnote{Lough Derg, “Statement of the Yearly Number of Pilgrims who Undertake the Three Day Pilgrimage to St Patrick’s Purgatory, Lough Derg”; Roseingrave, “Number of Pilgrims at Lough Derg ‘Highest in Five Years’.”}

The Medieval Pilgrim at Lough Derg

In an insightful discussion of early Irish church rituals and the possible origins of the practice of entering a cave in the name of piety and penance, Yolande de Pontfarcy observes that the Purgatory of Saint Patrick is an outgrowth of these traditions. Eighth century penitentials recommend vigil and prayer in remote churches or cells as a
penitential act for nuns and clerics. The remains of beehive huts on Saints’ Island and the small chapel on Station Island, referred to in pilgrims’ tales suggest that Lough Derg was host to an eremitic tradition long before the Purgatory achieved international fame. Early medieval Irish Benedictine and Culdee monastic communities followed eastern monastic practices, choosing lives of hardship, deprivation, and quiet contemplation in places which were often secluded from the world. These settlements featured a central area where monks lived in individual eremitic cells around a central church. Some settlements also had one or two cells located at a distance from the community for pious men who, in imitation of the desert fathers, sought even greater seclusion. The monastic community on Skellig Michael followed this pattern, dividing itself from the world by an often turbulent ocean, and featuring a hut on the nearly inaccessible South Peak of the island. Lough Derg’s pre-Augustinian community might have been similar, with the larger part of the group living on Saints’ Island, and one or two hermits dwelling further afield on untamed Station Island. Entering into these early medieval communities was a lifelong endeavor, demanding a death to the world and an abandonment of earthly goods and relationships. Late medieval visits to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory symbolized an entrance into an anchoritic life, albeit for a twenty-four hour period – a day and a night being a “metaphor of totality,” and thereby signifying the pilgrim’s entry into a lifelong retreat from the world.

268 “The Historical Background to the Pilgrimage to Lough Derg,” 9.
270 Haren and Pontfarcy, “Introduction,” 14. The idea of a day and a night comprising the world is echoed in the popular medieval Irish tale of Aengus Óg in Tochmarc Étaine. The hero is conceived and
The pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was an exclusively male one until the early modern era. With only a couple of exceptions, the pilgrims were also noblemen. From the beginning, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory narratives portrayed their protagonists in romance terms. These men were noble Christian knights, seeking the Purgatory as a grand adventure, a foray into the wilderness of Ireland that would increase their military and spiritual glory and fame. Prior to entering the cave, the knight went through testing which proved he was worthy of taking on the challenge of the Purgatory, and he was regaled with tales of would-be heroes who had failed in their quest. Even if a knight arrived with the retinue that was his prerogative, his entry into the Purgatory was solitary. As if preparing to do battle with monsters or dragons, the lone hero faced the demons within the cave without armor or weapons, and he emerged victorious where others had failed. While the use of romance tropes made the pilgrimage narratives attractive and familiar to a lay audience, this framework also operated in an exclusionary way, barring potential pilgrims on the basis of class and gender.

The journey and its challenges were made even greater by the threat of death at the Purgatory or at the hands of the Irish of Gaelic Ulster. The Irish had a reputation

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271 French, “Ritual, Gender and Power Strategies: Male Pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.”

for wildness and savagery, due in part, to the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, but
certainly bolstered by the location of Ireland on the edge of the world, inhabited
according to long tradition by brutish, semi-human, and monstrous races. The journey of
knightly pilgrims through territory inhabited by the Irish can be likened to the journeys of
the knightly heroes of late medieval romances through wastelands inhabited by monsters
and barbarians as they quest after a nearly unattainable or mysterious prize.

Perhaps the most overt example of this trope can be found in the late fourteenth-
century *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, written in the North West Midlands dialect, a
dialect closely related to Hiberno-English, and preserved in British Library Cotton Nero
A.x. Sir Gawain enters the “wyldrenesse of Wyrale” (l. 701) and a land full of
“wormez,” “wolues,” “wodwos,” “bullez and berez, and borez,” “and etaynez” (ll. 720-
23) in search of the Green Chapel. He comes upon the magical castle of Sir Bertilak,
and undergoes testing preparatory to his meeting with the Green Knight/Sir Bertilak in
the wholly forbidding wasteland surrounding the Green Chapel (ll. 2165-88). Sir Gawain
survives his beheading, though he is not entirely unscathed, and returns from the
wilderness to the court of King Arthur, where he is hailed as a hero (despite Gawain’s
own misgivings about his imperfect performance). The outlines of the journey of Sir
Gawain can be likened to the typical journey of a pilgrim to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.
He leaves the relative civilization and safety of Dublin to enter the wilds of Ireland. The
Augustinian Canons on Saints’ Island offer him a short respite in an island of
“civilization” while the pilgrim undergoes preparations prior to re-entering the wilderness

273 Andrew and Waldron, *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir
Gawain and the Green Knight.*
of Station Island and the Purgatory. He often returns to Saints’ Island and to his home amidst much rejoicing and praise of his heroism.

Knightly pilgrims preparing to enter Saint Patrick’s Purgatory during the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries encountered an entry ritual that seems to have remained remarkably stable over a three hundred year period. After a difficult journey over roads that were probably little more than tracks, medieval pilgrims arrived at the small windswept lake nestled in the hills of Donegal. The community at Saints’ Island, located just off of the shore of the lake, welcomed them. The pilgrim’s first task was to meet with the prior, who ensured that the pilgrim had obtained the proper permissions – usually letters from the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Clogher. If these were not in order, the pilgrim was turned away until he could obtain the required letters. These permissions were also part of the anchoritic tradition, suggesting that the pilgrim entering the enclosed cave of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was entering into a state of seclusion from the world. If the paperwork was in order, the prior first warned the pilgrim of the dangers he would face in the Purgatory and did his best to dissuade the pilgrim from entering, recounting instances where previous visitors had died or disappeared altogether. If the pilgrim remained steadfast in his intention to enter the Purgatory, the prior granted his permission.

274 Medieval Irish roads are an under-studied topic. It is clear that Clonmacnoise with its bridge over the Shannon and its commanding view of the countryside was a central hub for an early medieval road network. In English-controlled areas, there was a road running from Dublin to Waterford, and presumably one from Dublin to Armagh. Once beyond the episcopal center, however, the size and condition of roads probably deteriorated rapidly. FitzPatrick, “Roads and Routes.” Art Cosgrove notes that in the fifteenth century, one would not have to travel far from Dublin to enter dangerous territory. Cosgrove, “The Emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447,” 536.

The pilgrim then entered into a period of fasting and prayer, usually lasting fifteen days, during which he ate only bread and drank only water. During the final part of the fast, the pilgrim laid as if dead on the floor of the chapel or on a black-draped bier while a Requiem Mass or the Office of the Dead was said over him. These funerary rites usually took place during the final one to five days of the fast or immediately prior to the pilgrim’s entering the Purgatory. On the day he was to enter the Purgatory, the pilgrim divested himself of head covering, belt, shoes, and worldly clothing. Barefoot, he was dressed in a white alb. A member of the community, often the prior, ferried him to Station Island in a small wooden boat described as little more than a hollowed-out log. The prior tried again to dissuade the pilgrim from entering the Purgatory, reminding him of the dire consequences others had faced after rashly entering the cave.

If he persisted in his desire to continue, the pilgrim received instruction and a talismanic phrase or prayer to be used when encountering demons. For the knight Owein, this instruction was received from a guide within the cave, and the phrase was simply the name of Jesus Christ. For most later pilgrims, this had expanded into the prayer, “Jhesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mihi peccatori” (Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy on me, a sinner), a prayer nearly identical to the prayer recited in the Divine Office at Prime after the recitation of the Psalms and before the Kyrie. In a versicle which follows, Christ is exhorted, “adiuva nos. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum” (Help us, and free us by means of your name).276 In Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, it is indeed the name of Christ which helps and frees the pious pilgrim from the terrors he encounters. The

Office of Prime also often began with the recitation of Psalm 50, *Miserere mei Deus secundum (magnam) misericordiam tuam*, a Psalm which asks God to cleanse the speaker of all of his sins, and the Office ended with the recitation of the seven penitential psalms. It is very fitting that the pilgrims’ prayer for protection in the Purgatory should come from this portion of the Divine Office which is so focused on sin, the punishment for sin, and God’s ability to free the true believer from punishment and death.

After a final blessing, the door to the cave was opened (or in the case of George of Grissaphan, stones were moved aside), and the pilgrim entered, often carrying relics or other holy objects with him. The door was closed and barred, and the prior and community members returned to Saints’ Island, leaving the pilgrim in the cave until the following day. The prior of the community arrived the next day, sometimes alone and sometimes with others, to unbar the door. If the pilgrim was found alive, he was received back into the community with great rejoicing, as if he were a conquering hero. If he was not found, the prior barred the door again and left, assuming that the pilgrim had perished in the Purgatory. Of course, all of the protagonists of medieval accounts are successful in their pilgrimages and are discovered alive when the prior opens the door.

Medieval accounts of the pilgrimage vary most widely once the pilgrim enters Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. Most tales are fairly consistent in their description of the cave that pilgrims first enter. They describe a long, narrow chamber with a low ceiling and a second smaller chamber attached at an angle to the back of the first one. The details of the cave vary, with blocking stones placed at the entrance, as in George Grissaphan’s account, or between the chambers of the cave, as in Laurence Rathold’s testimony. Some works describe a descent by a staircase or slope. In Sir William Lisle’s (1395) and
Ramon de Perellós’ (1397) accounts, this was only a few feet long. In the tales of George Grissaphan (1353) and Laurence Rathold (1411), a staircase descends for approximately two miles into the earth. As Pontfarcy observes, these differences may reflect not physical changes to the site, but the differing factual and psychological realities of pilgrims experiencing a hallucinatory state brought on by physical and mental exhaustion.\textsuperscript{277} They may also reflect the expectations of pilgrims based upon the descriptions that they had heard or read regarding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory and its mysteries. The instability of the cave’s topography further emphasizes the dreamlike stretching of space that was possible in this semi-magical place.

The emergence from the Purgatory usually has the prior discovering the pilgrim on the following morning, tired but alive, at the door of the cave. The pilgrim is brought back to Saints’ Island with great rejoicing, and much is made of his survival of the Purgatory. He usually remains with the community as a guest for a couple of weeks before returning home to tell his tale to an eager amanuensis.\textsuperscript{278}

\textsuperscript{277} “The Historical Background to the Pilgrimage to Lough Derg,” 19.

\textsuperscript{278} Due to the early modern destruction of the cave, the nature of the modern pilgrimage is necessarily different from its medieval predecessor, yet it retains many features of the medieval pilgrimage. Rather than seeking visions of purgatory in the hope of avoiding purgation after death, modern pilgrims undertake the pilgrimage as a penitential practice. Haren points out that this modern “purely penitential pilgrimage … was, in its imitation of the flight to the desert, the more authentic continuation of the early Christian history of the Purgatory,” “The Close of the Medieval Pilgrimage: The Papal Suppression and its Aftermath,” 201. Modern pilgrims spend three days on Station Island. Like their medieval predecessors, they go barefoot and engage in intense prayer and fasting. The period of fasting has been shortened to three days, beginning with a twenty-four hour vigil reminiscent of the twenty-four hour period medieval pilgrims once spent in the cave of the Purgatory of St. Patrick. “Three Day Pilgrimage - Lough Derg.”, accessed Oct. 10, 2010.
Saint Patrick’s Purgatory in the Medieval Literary Tradition: Origins – 1410

Descriptions of visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory are part of a much larger genre of medieval vision literature. The protagonists of these works are usually saints or terrible sinners, and they are most often, but certainly not always, male. In otherworldly visions, the sub-category into which the Purgatorial narratives most easily fall, the visionary experiences visions of the Christian otherworld either corporeally or spiritually through a semi-miraculous separation of body and soul. He is guided by an angel, a personal or family saint, or some other holy figure who explicates the things the pilgrim sees, often imbuing the vision with symbolic or allegorical meaning. The guide may also provide protection or healing to the visionary, or act as a charm against demons. An otherworld journey covering all of the regions of the otherworld – hell, purgatory, and heaven – usually begins in hell and ascends to heaven. Punishments witnessed in hell and purgatory by the visionary usually include fire, ice or water, and sharp implements. Heaven is often depicted as possessing a sweet smell and gentle light and music.

Upon returning to the waking world after a vision, the visionary narrates his experience to a scribe, attempting to describe in words that which is, by its nature, ineffable. These documents were enjoyed both as religious and literary pieces; they were

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279 These included dream-visions, otherworld visions, revelatory writings, prophetic, mystical, and intellectual visions as well as tracts on how to understand and determine the truth or falsity of visions – discretio spiritum. Kerby-Fulton, Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England, 20–29.

280 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante, xv–xxi.


282 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante, xviii–xix.
used for didactic purposes, and they were often translated into or written in vernacular languages. The visionary himself is rarely the author of the description, and the compilers of visionary literature take pains to communicate the veracity of the vision to their readers. They use common conventions and usually describe clearly how they came to know about the vision. In some accounts concerning Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, the scribe also seeks to provide reference to – and occasionally a copy of – the documentation surrounding the pilgrimage, often a letter of safe passage or one of the obligatory letters of permission.

Many works of medieval vision literature feature Ireland or Irishmen, and the literary tradition surrounding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory reinforces the semi-magical status of the country and its holy men. Ireland’s liminal place on the rim of the medieval *mappa mundi* made it a distant, yet attainable worldly location where it was possible to leave the real world and pass into the otherworld. Perhaps one of the most famous medieval depictions of Ireland is the satirical poem “The Land of Cokaygne” from the fourteenth-century Kildare manuscript, which equates Cokaygne with Ireland and begins by describing Cokaygne’s liminal location:

Fur in see bi west spayngne
is alond ihote cokaygne.
þer nis lond vndir heuen riche
of wel of godnis hit iliche,
þoȝ paradis be miri and brîjt,
cokaygn is of fairi siȝt. (ll. 1-6)285

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283 Ibid., xiii–xv.

284 Ibid., xiii–xiv.

285 British Library, Harley MS 913, fol. 3r.
The poem utilizes the conventions of descriptions of heaven in otherworld visions to argue that Cokaygne/Ireland is far more wonderful than paradise and to present a fantastic vision of monastic life there.

By association with the magical country, Ireland’s holy men also were given the ability to slip from one reality to another. Saint Furseus, born in Munster, appears in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (ca. 731) and in the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260). Furseus saw angels and demons fighting over the fate of his soul while he lay dying. He awoke after being struck by a demon and lived the rest of his life scarred from the injury. The popular and oft-translated *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis* (ca. 900-950) records the mystical journey of Saint Brendan in the limitless ocean west of Ireland as he seeks out the idyllic, otherworldly *terra repromissionis sanctorum*. In 1150, the Irishman Tnugdalus wrote down his otherworldly vision for an abbess in Regensburg, the tale quickly circulated, and provided a contemporary analogue for the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. Like their literary associate, the *Tractatus*, both the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis* and the *Visio Tnugdali* circulated widely on the Continent and were translated into a number of vernaculars.

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Haren and Pontfarcy could just as well have been speaking about medieval visionary literature and the prominence of Ireland in that literature:

It is clear that this type of literature fulfilled a deep need of adventure and a dream that somewhere in the far western region of the world the impossible becomes possible. It was also charged with spiritual and theological content, and in this reflects the currents of medieval thought. Above all, it presented the afterlife as a concrete reality.\(^{289}\)

Saint Patrick’s Purgatory became a microcosm of Ireland, a vital representation of the old, mysterious land that was fast fading in the light of new political realities. The Purgatory was located across the water, reachable only by boat, and only after meeting specific prerequisites. It contained its own wild demons and dangerous torments and challenges. Within the Purgatory, space could be magically stretched and molded. Those who survived the Purgatory’s perils received the spiritual healing and transformation they sought.\(^{290}\)

The Vision of the Knight Owein Miles

The first extant \textit{ur}-text which is either an ancestor or a significant influence on all subsequent medieval accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory is the English Cistercian H. of Saltrey’s \textit{Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii}. David Scotus of Würzburg wrote a

\(^{289}\) “Introduction,” 1–2.

\(^{290}\) For a specific example, see my discussion of Yonge’s portrayal of Station Island in the section entitled, “Yonge’s \textit{Memoriale} in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3.
work called *De Purgatorio Patritii*, possibly around 1120, but this is, alas, now lost.\(^{291}\) H. of Saltrey’s *Tractatus* survives in whole or in fragments in over one hundred fifty manuscripts spread across Europe. Marie de France was one of the first authors to translate the work, changing the original text considerably in her late twelfth century Anglo-Norman verse version: *L’Espurgatoire de saint Patrice.* In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, several other translations and adaptations of H. of Saltrey’s text appeared, including a number of Italian adaptations, all under the title of *Il Purgatorio di San Patrizio*, as well as Middle English prose and verse accounts such as *Owayne Miles*. Approximately one hundred fifty manuscripts containing vernacular translations of the *Tractatus* survive.\(^{292}\)

The author of the *Tractatus* identifies himself only as *frater H., monachorum de Salterea minimus* (brother H, least of the monks of Saltrey) in the opening lines of his *Tractatus*.\(^{293}\) Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica majora*, gave him the name Henri, which has been widely used by later scholars to identify the monk.\(^{294}\) However, there is no evidence to indicate what the name of this “least of monks” was. H. tells us and reminds his abbot, *H. abbati de Sartis*, i.e. Hugh of Sartis – the mother abbey of Saltrey at Wardon in the Diocese of Lincoln – that he is writing at the abbot’s behest: *Iussitis, pater*


\(^{292}\) Paravicini, *Fact and Fiction*, 8–9.

\(^{293}\) All Latin excerpts of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* are from the edition of Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 121. Translations are mine.

You ordered, venerable father, that I might send to you a composition in which I record that which I heard of the Purgatory and have related in your presence. H. then recounts the tale told to him by Gilbert of the abbey of Louth and former abbot of Basingwerk in North Wales.

The hero of the Tractatus, a knight named Owein, visited the Purgatory in the mid-twelfth century. Traditionally, the date of his visit was assumed to be 1153, but Robert Easting and Kathleen Walsh argue that the journey likely took place in 1146 or 1147. Owein told Gilbert of his experiences in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory while the pair resided at Baltinglass. Gilbert, according to the Tractatus, then made Owein’s tale more widely known upon his return to England – Owein remained in Ireland – and H. of Saltrey got the story of Owein’s journey from Gilbert and wrote the Tractatus sometime between 1179 and 1184.

Owein had been the translator for Gilbert during the two and a half years that the latter was engaged in building and founding the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass in

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295 Easting, St. Patrick’s Purgatory, 121.

296 Leslie, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature, xix; Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 17–21; Easting, St. Patrick’s Purgatory, xvii; Walsh, “... in finibus mundi: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 42.

297 There is some debate among scholars about the date of the Tractatus, with the earliest dates just after Gilbert left Basingwerk in 1179, and the latest date being around 1215, as proposed by F. W. Locke, when Henry, the abbot of Warden, became the abbot of Rievaulx (“A New Date for the Composition of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.”). Easting convincingly argues against Locke, giving a date for the writing of the Tractatus between 1179-81 (“The Date and Dedication of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.”). He later gives a date range of 1180-84 in his edition of the Tractatus (St. Patrick’s Purgatory, xvii.). Picard encompasses both ends of Easting’s date range, and postulates that the writing occurred between 1179-84 (Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, 17–18.)
Ireland. According to the *Tractatus*, Owein served an Irish king who granted land for the abbey to Gervase, the abbot of Louth. Gervase sent Gilbert and several others to the king to claim the land. Picard concludes that, based on the date and the location of Baltinglass, this unnamed Irish king was Diarmaid Mac Murchada, the Leinster king who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) and Morice Regan’s Anglo-Norman *Song of Dermot and the Earl* (ca. 1200-25), famously invited Maurice FitzGerald and Richard de Clare (a.k.a. Strongbow) to Ireland in 1169 to assist him in regaining his lost throne, thus touching off the English conquest of Ireland.298 Mac Murchada’s cosmopolitan outlook is reflected in the scene in the *Tractatus* in which H. establishes the relationship between Owein and Gilbert. When Gilbert and his party arrived at the king’s court, Owein also happened to be there, seeking permission to join a holy order. Gilbert complained that he did not know the language of that country, and the king replied, “Optimum interpretem tibi commendabo.”299 (I will entrust the best interpreter to you.) He then ordered Owein to act as an interpreter for Gilbert. Owein agreed, then advised the king to happily accept the Cistercians in Ireland, “… quoniam … in sanctorum requie non uidi homines tanta gloria preditos ut huius religionis viros.”300 (…because … in the resting-place of the saints I did not see people gifted with such glory as the men of this order.)

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298 Picard, *Saint Patrick’s Purgatory*, 72.

299 Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 149.

300 The “resting place of the saints” was one of the areas Owein saw during his journey in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. Ibid., 149–50.
This scene raises an interesting problem concerning the language and nationality of Owein. Shane Leslie argues that he is a wholly fictional Arthurian knight, analogous to Ywain in *Ywain and Gawain*.\(^{301}\) While an Arthurian association would certainly bolster the romance aspects of this visionary work, there is nothing more than the similar name to connect this Owein with the Ywain of the romances. Medieval English adaptors of Saltrey’s *Tractatus* gave the knight English origins, seeking to make the tale accessible to an English public. In *Owayne Miles*, the knight lives in Northumberland or, more generally, England.\(^{302}\) Additionally, Katherine Walsh mistakenly assumes that the Owein of the *Tractatus* is a retainer of the English King Stephen (1135-54), possibly on the strength of the early mention of that king in the *Tractatus*.\(^{303}\) However, H. of Saltrey dates Owein’s journey “*hiis temporibus nostris, diebus scilicet regis Stephani*”\(^{304}\) (in these times of ours, namely in the days of King Stephen) in order to give an approximate date and set the scene for his English audience. Despite these attempts to assign an English origin to the knight, it appears that Owein was, in fact, Irish. Near the close of the *Tractatus*, it is clear that he has close connections to the court of the unnamed Irish king. His presence at court to ask permission to join a holy order suggests that he is a high-ranking retainer to that king. Moreover, Owein knows Irish well enough to be an *optimus*.

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\(^{301}\) *Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature*, xix.

\(^{302}\) National Library of Scotland, Advocates’ MS 19.2.1 (Auchinleck MS), fol. 25vb; British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ii, fol. 92ra; Yale University Library MS 365, fol. 29v; Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 7.

\(^{303}\) “*... in finibus mundi*: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 43.

\(^{304}\) Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 126.
interpres for Gilbert. Easting further argues that Owein was a real person, an Irish knight, and not solely a literary figure invented for the purposes of the Tractatus.\textsuperscript{305}

The \textit{Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii} appears to have been put into circulation quickly. In 1185, Giraldus Cambrensis made his second journey to Ireland in the company of Prince John. Upon his return to England, he began work on what would become the first recension of his \textit{Topographia Hibernica}, which he completed in 1188 and dedicated to King Henry II.\textsuperscript{306} In it, Giraldus describes Lough Derg and its purgatory as an island containing a holy part and a part ruled over by evil spirits. The evil part of the island contains nine pits in which those brave enough to spend the night are tormented; however, those who endure a night in one of the pits will not have to suffer the pains of hell. The first recension of the \textit{Topographia Hibernica} does not supply a name for the lake or the Purgatory, but Giraldus labored all his life on improvements to the work, and by the early thirteenth century, manuscripts of the second recension of the \textit{Topographia Hibernica} contain small amounts of additional information, including the name of the place: Patrick’s Purgatory.\textsuperscript{307} The second recension was finished prior to July 1189, and in the course of further research, Giraldus probably heard about or read the \textit{Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii} which led him to append the name to his account.\textsuperscript{308}

\textsuperscript{305} “Owein at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.”
\textsuperscript{306} Giraldus Cambrensis, \textit{Giraldi Cambrensis Opera}, 5:xii.
\textsuperscript{307} Giraldus Cambrensis, “Topographia Hibernica,” 83.
\textsuperscript{308} Picard, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory}, 17.
The monk of Saltrey was writing information that he gained from personal, oral communication with Gilbert, who had, in turn, gained his knowledge from oral communication with Owein. Significantly, as Picard and Pontfarcy point out, H. of Saltrey was operating within a strong tradition of oral and written tales of the otherworld. Of particular note are the 1122 Anglo-Norman translation of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* by the Benedictine monk Benedeit and the 1149 Latin *Visio Tnugdali* written by the Benedictine monk Marcus in Regensburg.\(^{309}\) Other written influences on the *Tractatus* may have included accounts of Patrick from the *Vita tripartita Sancti Patricii*, in which the saint faced the pains of hell and the joys of heaven while on top of Croagh Patrick.\(^{310}\) Joscelin of Furness also places the Purgatory on the top of Croagh Patrick in his *Vita Sancti Patricii*, written between 1180 and 1185. The *Visio Sancti Pauli* might also have provided inspiration.\(^{311}\) These analogues may have influenced not only H. of Saltrey or Gilbert of Louth, but Owein himself.

H. of Saltrey emphasizes Owein’s knightly status, laying down the outline that later authors would color in to turn pilgrims at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory into the heroes of genre-straddling romances. Owein begins his journey as a temporal knight, bravely and resolutely facing a perilous penance:

\[
\ldots uirilis animi miles episcopi dissuasioni non consensit. \\textit{Episcopus uero quam plurimam in Purgatorio perdicionem, ut eum ab hac auerteret intentione, narravit; sed uere penitentis et uere}
\]


militis animum nullo terrore flectere potuit. Admonuit episcopus ut monachorum uel canonicerorum susciperet habitum. Miles uero respondit hoc se nulla ratione facturum, donec prefatum intrasset Purgatorium.\textsuperscript{312}

(The knight of stout spirit did not assent to the dissuasion of the bishop. Indeed, the bishop related how very many people had been lost in the Purgatory so that he might turn him from this intention; but he was unable by any terror to turn the mind of a truly penitent man and true knight. The bishop suggested that he take up the habit of monks or canons. The soldier, however, responded that he would by no means do so until he had first entered the Purgatory.)\textsuperscript{313}

Owein, the \textit{“miles uirilis animi”} (knight of stout spirit), resolves to go on a quest and face the dangers of the Purgatory. He gets permission from the bishop and prior to enter the Purgatory, and the description which follows of his preparatory rituals is perfunctory, as H. of Saltrey has already described the process prior to introducing Owein. This fast transition in narrative time from the setting of Owein’s quest to his arrival at the door of the Purgatory well over two weeks later heightens the transformation H. of Saltrey puts Owein through. The temporal warrior has become a warrior for God:

\textit{Miles autem uirilem in pectore gerens animum, quod alios audiuit absorbuisse, periculum non formidat. Et qui quondam ferro munitus pugnis interfuit hominum, modo, ferro durior, fide, spe, et iusticia, de Dei misericordia presumens, ornatus, confidenter ad pugnam prorumpit demonum.}\textsuperscript{314}

(The knight, however, bearing a strong heart in his breast, does not fear the peril that he heard had swallowed up others. And he who once, armed with iron, took part in the battles of men, now, harder

\textsuperscript{312} Easting, \textit{St. Patrick’s Purgatory}, 126–27.

\textsuperscript{313} This and all subsequent translations from the \textit{Tractatus} are mine.

\textsuperscript{314} Easting, \textit{St. Patrick’s Purgatory}, 127.
Owein boldly enters the cave and soon finds himself in a dimly lit field containing a cloister-like hall. He is greeted by the community of fifteen and instructed by the prior of the community regarding the demons that will attempt to harm him and will try to convince him to leave the Purgatory before the appointed time. The prior instructs him to remain steadfast in faith and to call out the name of Christ for deliverance from the tortures the demons will inflict. After blessing the knight, the community leaves Owein, and the passage that follows again emphasizes Owein’s new role as a spiritual warrior and Christ’s faithful retainer, protected by his royal defenses.

Miles itaque, ad noui generis militiam instructus, qui quondam uiriliter oppugnabat homines, iam presto est uiriliter certare contra demones. Armis igitur Christi munitus exspectat quis eum demonum ad certamen primo prouocet. Justicie lorica induitur; spe victorie salutisque eterne mens, ut capud galea, redimitur; scuto fidei protegitur. Habet etiam gladium spiritus, quod est uerbvm Dei, deuote uidelicet invocans Dominum Ihesum Christum, ut eum regio munimine tueatur, ne ab adversariis infestantibus superetur. Nec enim eum Domini pietas fefellit, que confidentes in se fallere nescit.\textsuperscript{315}

(Thus the knight, who once stoutly attacked men, trained in a new type of military service, is now ready to manfully struggle against demons. Therefore, fortified by the arms of Christ, he awaits whichever of the demons might challenge him to battle first. He is clothed with the breastplate of justice; his mind, as a head is covered by a helmet, is encircled with the hope of victory and eternal salvation; he is protected by the shield of faith. Furthermore, he has the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, devoutly invoking the Lord Jesus Christ, so that he might be protected by the royal fortification, lest he be overcome by

\textsuperscript{315} Ibid., 128.-29.
adversarial attacks. Nor, indeed, did the goodness of God, which
does not fail those who trust in it, fail him.)

H. of Saltrey borrows heavily here from Ephesians 6:11 and 13-17, in which the faithful
are instructed to wear the armor of God when facing the snares of the devil. 316 Owein,
the warrior of God, has been instructed and armed, and he is at last ready to face the
demonic horrors which are to come.

And come they do. With an earthquake and a thunderous roar, demons rush into
the hall and immediately threaten Owein with tortures unless he willingly turns back, in
which case he will return to the world unscathed. In what becomes a pattern for the
remainder of the Tractatus, the demons attempt to torture the knight who often
experiences pain and terror, but is freed from torment the minute he calls on Christ.
Owein is taken on a tour of purgatory by the demons. In each place, he observes sinners
being punished, and after he refuses to be led out of the Purgatory, the demons attempt to
punish him using the local torture. Each time, he is protected by calling out the name of
Christ.

The torments are described in lurid detail, and each place on Owein’s tour of
purgatory contains a new punishment for sinners, usually involving heat, sharp
implements, demons, and loathsome creatures. Owein recognizes his former companions
in a place containing varied tortures, but unlike the heroes of later accounts of Saint
Patrick’s Purgatory, he does not communicate with them. At the ninth location, Owein is

316 Induite vos arma Dei ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli. … Propterea, accipiter
armaturam Dei ut possitis resistere in die malo et omnibus perfectis stare. State ergo succincti lumbos
vestros in veritate et induti loricam iustitiae, et calciati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis, in omnibus
sumentes scutum fidei in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere, et galeam salutis adsumite et
gladium spiritus quod est verbum Dei. Biblia Sacra.
thrust into a hellmouth. After being rescued by calling upon Christ, a demon tells Owein that it is not the true mouth of hell; the entrance to hell is nearby, beneath a flaming river. Owein’s tenth and final trial is to cross a narrow bridge over the river, which he manages to do with the aid of Christ. Once across the bridge, Owein enters the earthly paradise, where two archbishops explain that the torments Owein has seen are necessary penance for sin committed before death. They further clarify the rules governing a soul’s sojourn in purgatory. One’s stay in purgatory can be long or short and is followed by entry into the earthly paradise, revealed to be the Garden of Eden, which is itself a stopover on the way to heaven. The length and severity of a soul’s punishment can be lessened by the masses, psalms, prayers, and alms of living friends and relatives. Owein is shown the gate of heaven, and is then instructed to return the way he came without fear. Indeed, the demons flee before him on his return journey to the hall where he met his fifteen instructors. These receive him with joy and congratulations, but they soon send him to the door of the Purgatory, as it is dawn and the prior will re-bar the door and count him among the lost if Owein is not there. Owein arrives at the door to the Purgatory just as the prior opens it. He is greeted with joy and remains a further fifteen days on Saints’ Island.

In the sentence immediately following the conclusion of Owein’s time at Lough Derg, we find that Owein pursues a more overtly military pilgrimage without delay. He goes crusading, returning only after seeing the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Owein’s role as a knight-pilgrim in the Tractatus elevates the significance of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory to a pilgrimage site worthy of a crusading knight. The quest to visit the Purgatory required the physical, mental, and spiritual strength valued by the chivalric
ethos, and a successful pilgrimage gave a man not only the spiritual reward of freedom from purgatory after death, it gave him temporal bragging rights.

Werner Paravicini argues that the pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was a test of chivalry in which a noble pilgrim faced and overcame fear and danger as a personal test of courage. Owein himself fulfills the role of a miles Christianus, balancing the demands of earthly valor and defense of the faith. Many of the visitors to the Purgatory who followed in Owein’s footsteps were also knights, and the Purgatory even became a place for attaining knighthood, as Ramon de Perellós knighted four of his companions there. Like the preparation of a will in some accounts, this appears to be a final act done prior to entering the Purgatory, in case Ramon should not survive. Knights who traveled to the Purgatory over land through England and Ireland often stopped off at Arthurian sites. Over time, the presence of Arthur in accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory – of whom there is no more than a hint in the Tractatus – became increasingly prominent. By the sixteenth century, some tales even claimed that Arthur himself had visited Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.

The final portion of the Tractatus serves to authenticate the account. H. of Saltrey cites his monastic source and establishes that the monk Gilbert and the knight Owein worked closely together. A fascinating contrast emerges in this section between private and public recounting of Owein’s visions. Owein told Gilbert of his adventures a little at

317 Fact and Fiction, 26.
318 Ibid., 28.
319 Ibid., 28–29.
a time over the two and a half years that the men spent together at Baltinglass: *Et quando soli simul erant familiariter alicubi, ipsius Gileberti rogatu ob edificationem hec omnia dilegentissime narrare consueuerat.*320 (And when they were alone together somewhere as friends, when asked by Gilbert himself, he was accustomed to tell all these things most thoroughly for the sake of edification.) Gilbert then seems to have made the content of these private conversations broadly known. The author states that he got the tale from Gilbert when he was relating the story to a crowd: *Hec autem omnia cum sepedictus Gilebertus coram multis, me quoque audiente, sepis sicut ab ipso milite audierat, retulisset, …*321 (When the aforesaid Gilbert was before many people, myself included, repeating everything just as he had often heard it from the knight himself, …). The public nature of Gilbert’s tale lends veracity to H.’s narrative. Owein’s story can potentially be corroborated by anyone who was in the crowd that day. The crowd scene conjured by H. also provides occasion and opportunity for the monk of Saltrey to begin imparting a potpourri of stories relating to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory and Ireland’s holy men. Challenged by a man in the crowd who doubts the truth of Owein’s tale, Gilbert argues that Owein saw purgatory and felt its pains in his body.

“*Sunt quidam,*” inquit, “*qui dicunt quod aulam intrantes primo fiunt in extasi et hec omnia in spiritu uidere. Quod omnino sibi miles ita contigisse contradicit, sed corporeis oculis se uidisse et corporaliter hec pertulisse constantissime testatur.*”322

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320 Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 150.

321 Ibid.

322 Ibid.
(“There are those,” he said, “who say that those entering the hall first are held in ecstasy and see all these things in the spirit. However, the knight denies entirely that it happened thus for him, and he repeatedly swears that he saw these things with corporeal eyes and suffered them bodily.)

Spiritual experience versus corporeal experience is an issue often revisited in subsequent narratives of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. To emphasize the possibility of experiencing otherworldly tortures in one’s earthly body, Gilbert tells the story of a religious monk who was tortured by demons. He lived for fifteen years after his savage beating, but his wounded body never healed. This tale, coming hard on the heels of Owein’s vision, may account for some later tales of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, such as that of Laurence Rathold, which mention previous pilgrims that have emerged with terrible wounds that remain with them for life.

In search of further corroboration, H. of Saltrey states that he himself sought out two Irish abbots; one man had never heard stories of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, but the other claimed he had heard many tales, all of which were true – many sought out the Purgatory, but few returned. H. also talks to a Bishop Florentianus, who claims that the Purgatory lies in his diocese. He, too has seen many people go to the Purgatory. Many died there, and others returned so weakened that they wasted away soon after. However,

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323 The bishops of Clogher during this time were, according to the Registrum Clochorense (Trinity College Dublin MS 574, fols. 1-11) were Aodh Ua Ceallaigh (1139-82), Mael Isa Ua Cerhail (1184-87), and Gillacrist Ua Muccaran (1187-93), see Lawlor, “Fragments of a Lost Register of the Diocese of Clogher,” 239. None of these bishops appear to be the Florentianus interviewed by H. of Saltrey. However, H. L. D. Ward postulates that Florentianus may be the archbishop of Armagh mentioned in the Annals of Ulster in 1185 by the name Fogurtach hUa Cerballa[\j].n. Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2:443. See also MacCarthy, Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster, Otherwise, Annala Senait: Annals of Senat; A Chronicle of Irish Affairs A.D. 431-1131, 1155-1541, 2:204–05.
those who lead good lives after exiting the Purgatory are assured of an afterlife free of purgative torment. The bishop also told H. of a hermit living in the area of Lough Derg. Demons met nightly in front of his cell to review the evil things they had done that day. The bishop’s chaplain backs up the story, claiming he has seen the hermit. The chaplain relates a further story reflecting Cistercian interests; these same devils took food from a rich peasant after he had refused to give anything to begging clerics. The final tale of the bishop’s chaplain tells about the devils tempting a priest. One devil prepares a baby girl whom the priest discovers and raises, falling madly in love with her when she grows to be a beauty. Sorely tempted to destroy the young woman’s virtue, the priest realizes he is being tempted. He castrates himself and dedicates the girl to a convent, at which point the devil who prepared the temptation is brutally punished by his demonic companions.

H. of Saltrey ends the *Tractatus* abruptly after this tale with a colophon containing a typical authorial defense. He has written the *Tractatus* to the best of his ability, as he was ordered to do, and his sources are trustworthy. His plea for the prayers of both readers and hearers evokes what has gone before, bringing the final thoughts of the reader back to the Purgatory:

> Peccator et ego precor humiliter, qui sanctorum patrum exhortationes interserens opusulum istud per capitula distinxi, caritatem uestram, uidelicet qui illud legitis uel auditis, Deum exorare, quatinus me, a peccatis omnibus in presenti purgatum et a supradictis, et se que sunt alie, penis extorrem, una uobiscum post huius mortis horrorrem transferat in prefatam beatorum requiem Ihesus Christus, …

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(And I, a sinner, who placed the exhortations of the holy fathers in this little work and divided it into chapters, humbly beg your favor, namely you who read or hear it, to entreat God so that I might be cleansed from all my present sins and that I might be banished from the punishments above and whatever others there are, and that Jesus Christ … might bring me, together with you, after the dread of this death, into the aforementioned rest of the blessed.)

H. cleverly uses language to invoke the main tale he has just told. The word purgatum calls to mind the purpose of H.’s narrative: to tell a wider world about the miraculous and mysterious Purgatory of Saint Patrick, an earthly place where one may be purged of sin. H.’s plea to readers and hearers, a standard medieval colophon, suggests that the monk expected the text to be distributed beyond the lettered community of Cistercians, and that it might be read as didactic entertainment to those who could understand Latin. Certainly, the Tractatus seems to have been an instant success, with Marie de France’s vernacular adaptation appearing within a few years and other translations and adaptations following.

The Tractatus inspired the 1206 Vision of Thurkill, and the Purgatory merited a mention in Roger of Wendover’s Flores Historiarum (1235). By 1260, Owein’s tale had reached Italy, where Jacobus de Voragine used it as a source for the material on Saint Patrick in his Legenda Aurea; in this work, the contents of the vision match the Tractatus closely, but they are heavily summarized and some of the separate punishments are mixed together, all occurring in one place. The protagonist is named Nicholas rather than Owein, and the phrase Nicholas uses to be rescued from the tortures has expanded from the name of Christ to the longer prayer, “Jhesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, Miserere mihi

325 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante, 204.
peccatori.” Nicholas is also the name given to the visionary in the 1346 Todi Fresco in Siena, which depicts Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, and adapts the punishments in the tale of the knight Owein to match the seven deadly sins. The Tractatus also served as source material for the section on purgatory in Dante’s early fourteenth-century Commedia Divina.

From Owein to William of Stranton

Accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory between ca. 1200 and 1350 are mainly re-workings of the Tractatus. Despite the early popularity of the Tractatus, new visionary narratives regarding pilgrims at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory do not appear until the mid-fourteenth century. Between 1350 and 1500, a large and growing number of pilgrims sought out the Purgatory, and accounts of their travels survive. The sudden rise in documents about the Purgatory corresponds with a fundamental change in piety which occurred ca. 1350, largely as a result of the Black Death. It featured renewed fervor for pilgrimage, and a new emphasis on purgatory and on the offering of alms and masses for those in purgatory.

Most of those seeking the Purgatory were knights or noblemen. These men often seem to have combined political or economic negotiations in Ireland with a pious journey

328 Paravicini, Fact and Fiction, 25.
to the Purgatory. Pilgrimage accounts became stereotyped, drawing on the *Tractatus*, but seeking to add veracity by including details about the letters or permissions gained by the pilgrim prior to entering the Purgatory. The greatest variations in the narratives occur once the pilgrim enters Saint Patrick’s Purgatory; the visions experienced by pilgrims were idiosyncratic. Some pilgrims, such as the monk of Eymstadt and a fifteenth-century canon of Waterford, saw nothing at all, while most saw visions analogous to those of the knight Owein.

H. of Saltrey’s account mentions that Owein recognized former companions, but little is made of this. Later visionary accounts, however, have seized upon this small detail and expanded it. One of the first expansions of this idea occurs in the vision of Ramon de Perellós, written in Catalan sometime after 1397. These later pilgrims see former friends and relatives, and many have conversations with them. The dead give messages to the pilgrim to be passed on to other named or unnamed individuals. These conversations and the resulting messages are often of political or moral import and sometimes reflect the diplomatic mission of the pilgrim or the particular concerns of the author of the vision tale. These tailored messages from the otherworld, addressed as they commonly were to public figures probably contributed to the popularity of the pilgrimage and of narratives of the pilgrimage. In the case of Ramon de Perellós, the pilgrim sees and has a short conversation with his recently deceased king, John I of Aragon. He also sees a sinful religious man that he knows and one of his kinswomen who had died while he was away on pilgrimage to the Purgatory. The messages that the reader is to derive

from the punishments of these souls are moral ones: princes should not favor one subject to the detriment of others, repentance and penance can save even the sinful man from damnation, and the time women spend in vain primping will earn them only time in purgatory. The narrative concerning Ramon de Perellós’ pilgrimage is one of many independent works regarding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory that appeared during the fourteenth century in England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. The account of Ramon de Perellós largely imitates that of the Tractatus, but Ramon’s entry into and exit from the Purgatory as well as the beginning of his vision are punctuated with natural phenomena: an earthquake causing him to slip downwards into the Purgatory, and thunder as he enters and emerges.330

William of Stranton entered the Purgatory in 1406 or 1409, and the Middle English Vision of William of Stranton also makes heavy use of the material in the Tractatus.331 The prose work is preserved in two extant manuscripts, but differences between the texts suggest that at least two other copies existed. In both manuscripts, the vision of William of Stranton appears alongside other fantastic literature or otherworldly visions.332 The Vision differs in some significant ways from the Tractatus. William prepares for the Purgatory by writing the first word of the prayer, “Jhesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, Miserere mihi peccatori” on his forehead. William also uses the prayer as a spoken talisman. Instead of meeting a community of fifteen monks in the Purgatory, William is

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330 Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 42–43.

331 Another possible influence on William of Stranton’s account is the Pilgrimage of the Soul of Guillaume de Guileville. O’Donoghue, “Lough Derg.”

guided by two saints local to William’s home in Yorkshire: John of Bridlington and Saint Hilda of Whitby. The two instruct William, who then goes deeper into the Purgatory alone. William soon finds himself in imminent danger: “for y was so aferd þat y hadde no mynde on God, ne on my praier, ne on none other thinge þat shuld me help, but only on þat noyse, and so y was negh in point of perishyng.” Saint Hilda reappears to remind him of his talismanic prayer. Both saints appear again soon after and accompany William through the rest of his journey, offering commentary on what he is seeing and experiencing. In William’s purgatorial vision, there is a strong emphasis on social ills and the seven deadly sins. Punishments are specified for sins such as vanity, swearing by God’s body, gluttony, dishonoring one’s parents, theft, murder, avarice, failing to chastise one’s children, and clerical laziness and decadence. The bridge over which Owein crosses to the earthly paradise is present in William’s Vision as a bridge over which an avaricious bishop and his retinue cross. Demons pull it down as they are crossing, and the bishop and his followers are torn apart by fiends in the black waters below. William himself waits by the water after Saint John, who has been explicating the various visions, disappears. Pursued by demons, William seeks the bridge which he has come to expect from other Purgatory narratives: “And euer I lokyde after a bryge ouer that water, weche I had harde speyke of, þat is to say, of þe bryge ful of pykys. And when I saw non I was þe more adrede.” He is rescued by Saint Hilda, and soon sees


334 British Library Additional MS 34193, as edited in Easting, St. Patrick’s Purgatory, 82. All other text quoted from the Vision of William of Stranton is also from the Additional MS.

335 Ibid., 109.
the tower of the earthly paradise. William gains entrance to this paradise via a fragile ladder with razor-sharp rungs. The ladder, like the bridge, requires navigation by courage and faith. William is aided by a rope which is lowered from the tower by a beautiful woman.

Easting wrestles with the social standing of William of Stranton. Atypically, he seems not to have been a knight, though he might have been a priest. His comments against the idle rich may indicate the prejudices of a man whose sympathies lay with the lower strata in society. However, such attacks on the rich were common in sermons, and the passages may simply reflect familiar tropes. With its broad range of complaints against both the laity and the clergy, William of Stranton’s Vision addresses a large segment of late medieval society, beginning first with the upper classes and moving on to the clergy. William himself is the author, telling his tale in the first person—a rare thing in accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, which are usually re-told from an oral account. William clearly had the freedom and the money to travel to the Purgatory, and he appears to have had enough education to read and write in English. As a scribe or a member of the burgeoning merchant class, William of Stranton might have had economic reasons to visit Ireland, and his curiosity and piety might have then occasioned a journey to the Purgatory.

Some of those being punished in William’s vision include executors of wills who don’t carry out the wishes of the deceased and those who swear falsely in court cases out of avarice. These may reflect personal concerns or grudges, but they might also reflect

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William’s dislike for or mistrust of the legal profession. There are no punishments reserved for merchants, despite anti-mercantilism being common in contemporary literature. For instance, the C-Text of *Piers Plowman* contains several attacks on merchants, especially in the confession of Avarice (VI.196-349). Chaucer presents an ironic picture of a noble, yet indebted merchant in the “General Prologue” of the *Canterbury Tales* (ll. I.270-84), as well as an image of a merchant consumed by profit who is out-traded by a monk to the detriment of his marriage in “The Shipman’s Tale”. William’s account of his journey through Purgatory with its focus on the seven deadly sins and its attendant opportunities to single out segments of late medieval society would have offered a perfect occasion for an attack on merchants’ avarice. Instead, the only merchant who is mentioned is analogous to the traveler in the parable of the Good Samaritan, he is a chapman whom William had helped after he was robbed. William is assisted in his climb to the earthly paradise by the cord which he had given to the stricken merchant:

> Then I fell on knesse and inclyned before þat fayre woman, and sayd, ‘Jhesu Crist, Goddys sone in hevyn, qwytte yow for yor gud dede and helpe and yor corde.’ Then þe fayre woman sayde, ‘Wyllyam, thys ys þe corde þat þow gaffe þe chapman for rewthe when he was robbyde of thevys, when he askyd þe sum of thy gud, for þe luffe of Gode.’

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339 Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 111.
While there is no concrete evidence, from these textual clues one may reasonably suppose that William of Stranton was a literate merchant whose business concerns drew him to Ireland’s thriving trading centers.

A Source Text for the Memoriale: The Visiones Georgii

One of the direct influences on Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, and a work that was clearly on the pilgrim’s mind as he encountered the Purgatory in the winter of 1411 is the Visiones Georgii, which chronicles the 1353 journey of the Hungarian George Grissaphan to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. The account, compiled near Avignon by a Provençal-speaking Augustinian friar, contains many philosophical and theological arguments, and was probably originally intended for a clerical audience. During the latter half of the fourteenth century, the work circulated widely in central Europe, especially in Austria, Germany, and Bohemia. There are at least twenty-four surviving manuscripts of the Visiones Georgii, including translations into German and Czech.

George Grissaphan was a knight and the son of a baron who was originally from Hungary. He and his family spent some time in Naples and appear to have been living there in the late 1340s and early 1350s. Grissaphan’s tale draws from H. of Saltrey’s account of the knight Owein, and one of the first parallels between the texts concerns the


341 Paravicini, Fact and Fiction, 9.
commission of many serious sins as the primary impetus for entering the Purgatory. Excesses committed by Grissaphan while fighting in southern Italy for Louis the Great of Hungary in 1347 and 1350 led him to pursue forgiveness for his sins. Grissaphan was seized late one night by pious regret, and after confessing at the Roman curia, he was ordered to undertake a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela. The Visiones Georgii tell us that he spent five months as a hermit near the shrine before deciding to visit Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, again on foot. The danger and difficulty of the journey Grissaphan is about to undertake is emphasized by the geographical description of Ireland and the Purgatory:

\[
...cogitauit in mente suo et decreuit visitare locum sancti Patricij in finibus mundi, videlicet in Ybernia, que est ultima mundi prouincia in parte occidentali, in cuius fine ecclesia sancti Patricij et locus Purgatorij situatur.\]

(… he pondered it in his mind and decided to visit the place of Saint Patrick on the edge of the world, that is in Ireland, which is the furthest province in the western part of the world, on the edge of which is situated the Church of Saint Patrick and the place of the Purgatory.)

Haren grapples with the issue of Grissaphan’s language ability. He certainly spoke Hungarian, and it is likely that he knew Italian or French due to his time in southern Italy and his political associations with the Angevins (Louis I of Hungary headed the major branch of the family). However, when Grissaphan is in the Purgatory,

\[\text{Grissaphan, Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII, 87–91.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 91.}\]
\[\text{Translations from the Visiones Georgii are mine.}\]
demons taunt him by calling him “purus laicus et ignarus” (entirely a layman and ignorant), suggesting that Grissaphan did not know Latin. The lingua franca at Lough Derg was probably Latin, but Haren concludes that Grissaphan probably spoke French, which he used at Lough Derg and in his communications with Archbishop Richard FitzRalph. Grissaphan’s tale was likely told to a Latin-speaking compiler, who added several details of his own, including the Latin blessing given by Saint Michael to the crowd upon Grissaphan’s emergence from the Purgatory.\textsuperscript{345}

The Visiones Georgii is authenticated by the inclusion of documentation: three letters from the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph, a letter from Nicholas, Bishop of Clogher, a letter from Paul, prior of the community at Lough Derg, and a letter from John, the prior of the Irish Knights Hospitaller. Although chronologically later, the letters of Archbishop FitzRalph are given pride of place among the documents. The letters of the archbishop reveal Grissaphan’s Hungarian origins and note that his noble family was living in Naples in the 1350s. Uniquely, they also tell us that Grissaphan himself was around twenty-four years old at the time of his pilgrimage: \textit{Venit ad nos quidam iuuenis nomine Georgius quasi xxiiij annorum, filius cuiusdam nobilis commorantis Neapoli, sed de regno Vngarie habentis originem …}\textsuperscript{346} (A certain young man of about twenty-four years named George came to us [Archbishop FitzRalph], he was of a certain noble family dwelling in Naples, but having its origin in the kingdom of Hungary …). All three of the Archbishop’s letters were written after Grissaphan returned

\textsuperscript{345} Haren, “Two Hungarian Pilgrims,” 155.

\textsuperscript{346} Grissaphan, Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII, 82.
from his pilgrimage, and the third is addressed directly to FitzRalph’s nephew, also a clergyman. The letters from the two priors and the bishop are relatively brief and attest that Grissaphan observed the usual rituals, entered the Purgatory, and saw visions there. Further, FitzRalph engages in an act of *discretio spiritum*, in which the veracity of visions is tested by an examination of the visions themselves, the circumstances of the visions, and the quality and piety of the visionary. FitzRalph asserts that the tales Grissaphan tells of his experience in the Purgatory are true.

When Grissaphan arrives at the Purgatory, he does so without the necessary permissions, and the prior sends him away. Grissaphan returns after begging for permission from the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph. FitzRalph was at the time an important and well-known figure both in Ireland and abroad. Formerly the chancellor of Oxford University, he was a litigant and a famed anti-mendicant preacher, known at the Papal curia at Avignon. He and his nephew (confusingly, also named Richard FitzRalph) appear to have been carrying out a publicity campaign for Saint Patrick’s Purgatory at the curia in Avignon. This campaign was designed to enhance the status of Armagh and its patron saint, bringing greater prominence – and revenue from pilgrims – to the Archbishop of Armagh, the *coarb* (spiritual successor) of Saint Patrick. The younger FitzRalph, in residence at Avignon at least from 1354-57, probably was the one to persuade the Augustinian compiler to write the original Latin version of the *Visiones Georgii*, and he may have also encouraged the rapid translation into French or

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348 Haren, “Two Hungarian Pilgrims,” 127.
German – in simplified form with much of the theological material edited out – and circulation of the work.\textsuperscript{349}

George Grissaphan returns to Lough Derg after getting the necessary letter of permission and undergoes the standard entry ritual with a few variations. He makes a confession and receives penance. Only after performing the penance is he allowed to begin the obligatory fifteen-day fast. After the fast is completed, George is separated from the living through an additional five days of morning and evening funerary rites. Among all of the accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, the \textit{Visiones Georgii} preserves the most elaborate form of this ceremony, placing great emphasis on its identical nature to funerary rites for the dead:

\begin{quote}
\textit{...dicitur per v dies mane et vespere pro illo officium mortuorum, ac si esset mortuus et sicut pro mortuo per hunc modum: Collocatur enim in medio chori supradicte ecclesie sancti Patricij feretrum cum panno negro coopertum, et ibidem peregrinus Purgatorium intraturus tamquam mortuus collocatur, paratis sacerdote et dyacono, subdyacono et accolitis, sicut pro mortuis parari consuerunt. Et sic paratis omnibus cum cruce, thuribulo et aqua benedicta incipitur alta voce cantando complete officium mortuorum. Quo de mane cantato statim dicitur missa de Requiem pro illo, et sicut dictum est de mane, ita dicendum et faciendum est de sero preter missam. Missa autem dicta dictus peregrinus absolvit, ac si deberet ad sepulchrum deduci, pulsando tunc campanas, sicut pro defunctis fieri est consuetum. Et iste modus pulsandi modusque cantandi missam et officium mortuorum per quatuor dies subsequentes observatur.}\textsuperscript{350}
\end{quote}

(… the Office of the Dead is said for him as if he were dead morning and evening for five days, and it is said just as if for a

\textsuperscript{349} Walsh, \textit{... in finibus mundi: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher},” 54.

\textsuperscript{350} Grissaphan, \textit{Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIIII}, 94–95.
dead man in this way: a bier covered with a black cloth is placed in the middle of the choir of the aforesaid Church of Saint Patrick, and on that very place, the pilgrim who is about to enter the Purgatory is arranged, as if dead; the priest and deacon, subdeacon and acolytes are prepared just as they are accustomed to prepare for the dead. And thus, with everyone prepared, the singing aloud of the complete Office of the Dead is begun, with cross, thurible, and holy water. After the morning singing of this, the Requiem Mass is immediately said for him, and just as it is said in the morning, thus it is also said and done at a late hour without the Mass. Once the Mass is said, the said pilgrim is given absolution, as if he were to be taken to the grave, then bells are rung, just as is usually done for the dead. And this way of ringing bells and this way of singing the Mass and the Office of the Dead is observed for the four days following.)

Once made part of the realm of the dead by the funerary rites, Grissaphan is taken to Station Island with a larger-than-usual entourage including an Irish king and his retinue.351 The author reports that the door to the Purgatory was set into the ground near the door to a small chapel. A miracle occurs at the entrance to the Purgatory, signifying Grissaphan’s status as one chosen by heaven to enter:

Super quo ostio inuenerunt tres magnos lapides, quorum quilibet ad minus erat ponderis viij quintalium vel viij, qui supra predictum ostium per triginta conpletos annos fuerant sine aliqua amocione, sicut prior sancti Patricij antiquissimus et valde deuotus asserebat. Ipsis autem admirantibus et cogitantiis super lapidum predictorum magnitudine ac eciam cogitantibus, per quem modum predicti tres lapides de isto ostio remoueri possent, tunc Georgius, seruus Jhesu Christi, a spiritu sancto et a domino Jhesu Christo totaque sanctissima trinitate confortatus, per quam omnia facta sunt et sine qua factum est nichil, premisso signaculo sancte crucis, predictos lapides leuissime et sine aliqua dificultate sic remouit, ac si nichil penitus vel valde modicum ad modum plume leuissime ponderassent. Cuius eleuacione et remocionis actus omnes astantes stupore et admiracione maxima repleuit, dicentes,

351 This may be the coarb of Termon, Magrath, as supplied by Hammerich, or a man named Macmahon, as MS attestations suggest. Haren, “Two Hungarian Pilgrims,” 133, n. 40.
sicut et sic erat, quod actus ille nullomodo fieri poterat nisi cum speciali ac singulari gracia atque fortitudine cum adiutorio domini nostri Jhesu Christi ac totius sanctissime trinitatis.\textsuperscript{352}

(Above which door, they found three great stones, the smallest of which was seven or eight quintals in weight, which had been above the aforesaid door for thirty full years without any removal, as the very old and very devout prior of Saint Patrick asserted. While they were examining the stones, thinking about the size of them and their movement – by what way the aforesaid three stones might be removed from that door, George, the servant of Jesus Christ, comforted by the holy spirit and by the Lord Jesus Christ and the entire most holy Trinity, through which all things are made and without which nothing is made, made the sign of the holy Cross, and he then removed the aforesaid stones very easily and without any difficulty, as if they weighed nothing or a very small amount, like the lightest feather. This lifting and removal filled all present with wonder and admiration; they said that that act as it was could in no way have been done without special and singular grace and strength with the assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ and the entire most holy Trinity.)

Grissaphan successfully performs a miraculous task which identifies him as one chosen by God for the task ahead of him. This action recalls the moving of the stone from the tomb of Christ, but it also has parallels in popular romances.\textsuperscript{353} Miraculous feats mark the best kings and knights. For instance, Arthur pulled the sword from the stone, and Lancelot lifted the lid of his own tomb, proving he was destined to release the prisoners

\textsuperscript{352} Grissaphan, Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII, 96–97.

\textsuperscript{353} Matthew 28:2: et ecce terraemotus factus est magnus angelus enim Domini descendit de caelo et accedens revolvit lapidem et sedebat super eum; Mark 16:4: et respicientes vident revolutum lapidem erat quippe magnus valde; Luke 24:2: et invenerunt lapidem revolutum a monumento; John 20:1: una autem sabbati Maria Magdalene venit mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent ad monumentum et videt lapidem sublatum a monumento; Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.
of Gorre.\textsuperscript{354} Grissaphan, the Christian knight, is selected as the chosen pilgrim by his public feat.

The prior unlocks the door with a key, and blesses Grissaphan. The pilgrim is dressed in a fairly typical fashion. Instead of one white alb, he wears three, but like other pilgrims, he is without shoes, head covering, and belt. Rather than being instructed in the proper prayer by a guide in the Purgatory, the prior himself gives him instruction. As he enters the Purgatory, Grissaphan descends a little way down a winding staircase and turns back to the crowd so that he can be armed with a unique relic – the Cross of Saint Patrick – which is tied onto Grissaphan’s left hand. The prior re-seals the door with key and stones (which are now able to be moved), and all return to Saints’ Island for a period of twenty-four hours.

George descends for a couple of miles down the twisting stair seeing nothing until he approaches a field containing a small white chapel at the bottom. There, in a curious reiteration of the instruction of the prior, Grissaphan receives again the talismanic formula necessary for escaping demons and their punishments, this time from three white-clad old men. Further, they teach him a formula designed to force demons to tell him the truth about themselves, “\textit{Adiuro te per deum viuum, verum et sanctum, et per meritum passionis domini nostri Jhesu Christi, vt dicas michi, si tu es ex parte paradisi vel inferni.}”\textsuperscript{355} (I adjure you, by the living true and holy God and through the reward of

\textsuperscript{354} Malory, \textit{The Works of Sir Thomas Malory}, bk. I, ch. 5; Chrétien de Troyes, Lancelot, \textit{or, The knight of the Cart = Le chevalier de la charrette}, lines 1841–1966. I am grateful to Nicole Eddy for suggesting the latter source to me.

\textsuperscript{355} Grissaphan, \textit{Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII}, 104.
the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to tell me if you are from the region of paradise or of hell.)\(^{356}\) By using this formula, Grissaphan is given the ability to discern the veracity of his own visions. Since the pilgrim is able to challenge the creatures he sees himself, the reader or hearer of the *Visiones* is reassured that the visions that are claimed to be divinely or demonically inspired are indeed as the text states. The imparting of this phrase then sets the tone for the visions which follow, in which infernal messengers attempt to turn Grissaphan from his Christian faith. After the three men leave Grissaphan, he begins experiencing visions – twenty-six in all – of purgatory, hell, and heaven. Grissaphan’s fifteenth vision is particularly important in light of James Yonge’s later *Memoriale*, which was clearly influenced by the *Visiones Georgii*. In the vision, Grissaphan is approached by the Archangel Michael, who shows him seven purgatorial punishments, each associated with one of the seven deadly sins. These punishments are modeled on those of Owein, but the *Visiones Georgii* adds the connection of each punishment with a particular sin. The Archangel remains with the pilgrim through the rest of his journey in the Purgatory.

Among those suffering in purgatory, George sees his mother and other friends and acquaintances. Grissaphan and his mother are too far away to speak to one another, but there is a touching scene in which mother and son regard one another. Grissaphan rejoices in her eventual salvation, but mourns her current suffering. The Archangel and the pilgrim move on, but not before Grissaphan recognizes three deceased kings: Robert

\(^{356}\) This formula is reminiscent in its initial phrase of Matthew 26:63: *adiuro te per Deum vivum ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus Filius Dei*. Fischer and Weber, *Biblia Sacra*, 1570.
of Anjou (d. 1343), Philip VI of Valois (d. 1350) and Alfons X (d. 1350). In the company of Michael, Grissaphan sees hell and the damned; he is guided across a narrow bridge over the pit of hell by the Archangel, and the two enter a pleasant field and an orchard. From the field of earthly paradise, Grissaphan is able to see the doors of paradise, through which he is led. In paradise, the pilgrim witnesses a procession of angels and men. Michael lifts Grissaphan up and places him on an altar in the center of paradise so that he can see every part, including the great light issuing from the sky and the palace of the Lord. Grissaphan is not allowed to remain in paradise, despite desiring to. Instead, Michael encourages him to make more reasonable requests. Grissaphan asks, among other things, to know how to shorten his mother’s stay in purgatory.

Michael explains that alms, Masses, prayers, and pious works will shorten the punishment of Grissaphan’s mother and others sentenced to purgatory; moreover, Michael grants the assistance of himself, the angels and the Blessed Virgin in shortening the mother’s punishment. The same information is imparted in Yonge’s Memoriale, but significantly, the pilgrim’s attitude is one of challenge, rather than supplication.

Grissaphan returns to the door of the Purgatory after receiving a number of messages to be given to various high-ranking people, including the Archbishop of Armagh, King Edward III of England, King John of France, Pope Innocent VI, and the Sultan of Babylon. The contents of these messages are not given. The pilgrim and the angel both exit the Purgatory when the prior, the Augustinian community, the Irish king, and his retinue return to unbar the door. The crowd recognizes Michael as an angel, but

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357 Grissaphan, Visiones Georgii, Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria A.D. MCCCLIII, 188.
they do not know his identity. They witness the pair speaking together, but cannot hear them. Michael then blesses Grissaphan and turns to bless the crowd before vanishing. Grissaphan ascends the last few stairs out of the Purgatory and is received joyfully by those gathered. Incited by the heavenly scent wafting from his clothing, the crowd tears the robes from Grissaphan in their attempt to collect relics. When he is denuded, they endeavor to pull out his hair, and are only stopped by the intervention of the Irish king, who gives his own clothing to Grissaphan to wear. The account ends rather abruptly here, with a short explanation that all was “done” (omnia facta sunt) to confirm the Catholic faith and for the praise and honor of God.

The role of the Irish king offers a much more positive image of the Irish than is typical in medieval Anglo-Irish literature. Richard FitzRalph, overseeing the culturally divided Archbishopric of Armagh, had a pragmatic approach towards the cultural differences among his flock. He had a much more lenient view of the Irish than most Anglo-Irish writers, viewing both the Anglo-Irish and the Gaelic-Irish through the lens of their common Christianity. FitzRalph may have encouraged the anonymous author of the Visiones Georgii to portray the Irish in a positive light. After all, part of his purpose was to encourage spiritual tourism, not frighten potential pilgrims away. The Irish king participates with the Augustinian community in witnessing Grissaphan’s pilgrimage, and it is he who is placed in the guise of the Good Samaritan, offering charity rather than hostility to the foreign pilgrim.

The long literary tradition surrounding the Purgatory and the conventions of that tradition had a large effect on James Yonge’s 1412 Memoriale, which recounted the visions of Hungarian knight Laurence Rathold. Two of the primary influences on
Yonge’s *Memoriale* were the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* and the *Visiones Georgii*. Yonge and Rathold worked together on the *Memoriale*, and Yonge utilized several additional sources, but the literary tradition as represented by the tales of the knight Owein and the experiences of George Grissaphan proved to be major influences on the pilgrim and his Anglo-Irish amanuensis. The *Memoriale* itself and the evidence surrounding the visit of the Hungarian dignitary to Ireland and the composition of Yonge’s earliest extant literary work are the topics of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 3:

RE-IMAGINING THE PURGATORY: JAMES YONGE’S MEMORIALE AS A NEW DIRECTION IN THE LITERARY TRADITION

Introduction: Yonge’s Memoriale as a Uniquely Anglo-Irish Innovation

Drawing on a long literary tradition surrounding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, James Yonge wrote the first extant contribution to that body of visionary works that was actually composed in Ireland. In the Latin work written in early 1412, Yonge describes himself as “an imperial notary, and the least of the citizens and scribes of the city of Dublin.” He gave this account of the Hungarian knight Laurence Rathold of Pászthó’s visit to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory the verbose title, Memoriale super visitatione domini Laurencii Ratholdi militis et baronis Vngarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricii in insula Hibernie\(^{358}\) (A Record of the Visit Made by the Lord Laurence Rathold, Knight and Baron of Hungary, to the Purgatory of Saint Patrick on the Island of Ireland).

Aside from being the earliest extant Purgatorial account of Irish provenance, Yonge’s Memoriale is unique among its literary relatives in that it can be corroborated in part by the letter of an Italian merchant, Antonio Mannini, who accompanied Rathold to the Purgatory. That this earliest extant Irish Purgatorial narrative was written in Latin by

\(^{358}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 1-2; Delehaye, “Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice,” 43.
an Anglo-Irish bureaucrat is no coincidence, given Anglo-Irish interest in the site and the connections of the Anglo-Irish community with England and the rest of Europe. While the *Memoriale* is inspired by earlier literature concerning Saint Patrick’s Purgatory for inspiration – in particular the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* of H. of Saltrey and the *Visiones Georgii* – the style of the account represents a radical departure from the conventions of the literary tradition. Rathold probably brought his knowledge of the *Visiones Georgii* to the *Memoriale*, and it was augmented by Yonge’s knowledge of H. of Saltry’s *Tractatus*, which circulated in late medieval Anglo-Ireland. Into a work purporting to be a standard narrative of the visions of a pilgrim in the Purgatory, Yonge has injected his own notarial preoccupations and training. Yonge displays an interest in establishing the veracity of his account. Towards that end, the *Memoriale* performs its own *probatio*, in which Rathold’s visions are tested and declared to be genuine. Yonge uses documents as pieces of evidence attesting to the truthfulness of Rathold’s visionary account, he inserts short sermons or meditations into the document, and he writes a colophon that is part literary colophon and part notarial eschatocol. Unlike most other literary accounts of the visions of pilgrims at Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, the pilgrim himself is given an opportunity to speak to the audience of the *Memoriale* in a letter appended word-for-word to the end of the treatise. In addition the city of Dublin and its inhabitants play a much larger role than they do in any other visionary narrative concerning Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. Yonge’s *Memoriale* acts as an advertisement for Dublin, painting a picture for its pan-European audience of a civilized city inhabited by a highly educated populace with sophisticated sensibilities. Yonge’s *Memoriale* reveals
the cosmopolitan outlook and concerns of both the Hungarian pilgrim and the Anglo-Irish scribe he employed to record his journey.

A Companion Text to the *Memoriale: Antonio Mannini’s Letter to Corso di Giovanni Rustichi*

Laurence Rathold met Italian merchant Antonio Mannini soon after the knight’s autumn 1411 arrival in Dublin. Mannini, too, desired to travel to the Purgatory, and Rathold accepted the merchant into his retinue. While Rathold’s account has only one debatable mention of Mannini, Mannini’s letter refers to Rathold several times. The letter and Yonge’s *Memoriale* are a unique pair of documents in the Saint Patrick’s Purgatory tradition, corroborating one another while offering two very different perspectives on the same events.

Ireland and Italy had long had connections, but trade between the two areas intensified in the years following the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland. Italian merchants came to Ireland and set up communities and trading relationships in major English-controlled cities such as Dublin, Cork, and Waterford. These merchants engaged in money-lending, banking, and tax collecting. They traveled frequently between Ireland, England, and Italy, and carried maps with them; their maps of Ireland often included the location of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.\(^{359}\) The popularity of the Purgatory among Italian merchants was likely propelled by the large amount of vision literature available in

Italian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Beyond the tale of the Purgatory in the *Legenda Aurea*, Italians had access to vernacular adaptations of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* as well as other literary works featuring Ireland or Irish protagonists, such as the *Navigatio Brendani* and the *Visio Tnugdali*.³⁶⁰ The Todi Fresco, painted in Siena in 1346, shows a pilgrim named Nicholas going through the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, where he is tested by torments related to the seven deadly sins. That the Purgatorial journey was chosen as the subject of a public work of art suggests that Saint Patrick’s Purgatory was a well-known literary motif.

Antonio Mannini was a Florentine merchant who spent three years in Ireland during the early fifteenth century. He was well-educated, and familiar enough with current Italian literature to quote Dante in his 1412 letter. The family owned a bank which had had close monetary ties to the government of King Richard II of England. When Richard was deposed in 1399, the bank suffered greatly, and Mannini must have already been of reduced means when he arrived in Ireland in 1410.³⁶¹ His stay in Ireland was financially disastrous. The business climate in Ireland was difficult due to political issues. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Thomas of Lancaster, left for England in 1409, leaving Thomas LeBotiller in charge. He mismanaged his responsibilities to such an extent that the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel were sent to King Henry IV in 1411 to complain.³⁶² Antonio Mannini arrived in the middle of these upheavals, and by June of

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 170; O’Donoghue, “Lough Derg.”

³⁶¹ Paravicini, *Fact and Fiction*, 17.

1411, he was nearly ruined and ready to return to England. A letter dated June 8th, 1411 and written to his friend Corso di Giovanni Rustichi, who was at that time part of the community of Italian merchants in London, indicates that Mannini intended to be back in England by Michaelmas. However, as he writes in his post-pilgrimage letter,

Io mi facea e feci più volte presto per venire: alcuna volta non c’era nave, alcuna volta non mi lasciava il vento, alcuna volta mi ritrovi senza danari ...; e quasi abbandonato da ogni uomo mi conosce, e senza niuno consiglio o conforto e speranza d’aver se non la grazia e misericordia di Dio in cui sempre sperai.\(^{363}\)

(Many times I made ready to start, sometimes there was no ship, sometimes the wind was contrary, and sometimes I was without money …; I knew myself well nigh forsaken by all men, and with no counsel or comfort or hope of anything save the grace and mercy of God in whom I have hoped.)\(^{364}\)

While his business interests languished in Ireland, Mannini did benefit from personal contacts and spiritual experiences in Ireland. He was a member of the Italian community there; despite his familiarity with the Purgatory and his desire to visit it, Mannini was dissuaded from doing so by another Italian ex-patriate:

... e non ostante ch’a questo Purgatorio avessi volontà d’andar già fa più tempo, e specialmente da po’ fui qui in Irlanda, la quale volontà mi fu tolta per infino allhora da uno gentile huomo Romano, il quale prete si chiama M’Antonio da Focha per cui già è gran tempo ti scrisse una lettera.\(^{365}\)

\(^{363}\) As edited in appendix I of Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 155.

\(^{364}\) Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 55. All translations from the Italian are Seymour’s.

\(^{365}\) Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 155–56; Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 55.
(and though I had long wished to go to that Purgatory, especially since I came to Ireland, I was dissuaded therefrom until then by a Roman gentleman, a priest called Master Antonio da Focha, by whom I sent you a letter long since.)

Of course, Mannini’s most important personal contact provided the means and opportunity for him to go on his pilgrimage. Laurence Rathold probably arrived in Ireland in late August, 1411, while Mannini was still in Dublin, waiting for an opportunity to return to England. Mannini doesn’t mention how or where he met the Hungarian knight; he states that he visited and spoke with the knight, and was impressed by his devotion. During this conversation, the merchant resolved to visit the Purgatory:

... confortato da buona speranza, mi volsi a Dio, da cui per sua misericordia spirato, deliberai e propuosi per salute dell’anima mia andare al detto Purgatorio, immaginando e prendendo speranza nella divina misericordia che forse per l’avvenire arei migliore ventura e grazia, e fine delle mie lunghe tribulazioni.

(…comforted by good hope I turned to God, and inspired by His mercy I resolved and determined for the good of my soul to go to the said Purgatory, hoping and believing in the divine mercy that perhaps in the future I might have better grace and fortune and an end to my long tribulations.)

In the opening of his letter, Mannini discusses the difficulties of the preceding twelve years (frustratingly, without mentioning specifics), and likens his sufferings to those of Job. Instead of undertaking a knightly journey as a test of faith and piety, Mannini seeks an end to his economic woes. Perhaps a pilgrimage to the Purgatory will return him to God’s good graces.

The pilgrims left Dublin on September 25th, 1411, and were gone three and a half months, although Mannini – perhaps naïvely – expected to be gone for less than three weeks; they were detained by “la via pericolose per molte cagioni” (the perilous roads and other occasions). In his expectation of a three-week journey, Mannini appears at the outset of his pilgrimage to have been unfamiliar with the standard fifteen-day fast required prior to entering the Purgatory. Indeed, he is unprepared for most of what he encounters in the weeks which follow. Further, his spur-of-the-moment decision to accompany Rathold to the Purgatory suggests that Mannini might have been enticed by a romantic fascination with the Purgatory, being unfamiliar with the very real danger and difficulty the pilgrimage posed.\(^{367}\) Dissuasion seems to have become an integral part of the entry ritual for the Purgatory, but it is usually in the course of gaining the proper letters of permission that the pilgrim is discouraged from entering. In Mannini’s case, the obligatory attempts to deter him began with the Roman priest.

\(^{367}\) I once ran into a man six miles up Longs Peak in Colorado who had been seized that morning by the idea of climbing the fourteener. Unfortunately, he was entirely unprepared for what the climb entailed. Panting in the thin atmosphere and nearly crippled by blisters from his cowboy boots, he had to be rescued by park rangers. Anyone involved in search and rescue has dozens of similar stories of enchanted, yet unprepared tourists.

Mannini and Rathold reached Saints’ Island on November 4th, about forty days after they left Dublin. Mannini describes the lake and Saints’ Island and Station Island in some detail. Upon their arrival, Mannini immediately makes his confession and begins the usual fast. His fast is cut off after three days, despite his desire to fast longer, as the prior is concerned for the pilgrims due to the cold. “...Non ostante che [da]l detto Priore ne fusi molto sconfortato,...”369 (Though the prior was very unwilling,) Mannini prepared to enter the Purgatory on November 7th. He confesses, hears Mass, and takes communion prior to being rowed about a mile across the lake by John, one of the canons of the priory. Mannini wears no shoes or hat, and has a simple tunic and doublet on. On the way across the water, Mannini and the canon see a large black bird of evil omen, known as the Corna, which greatly frightens both John and the pilgrim. Mannini’s questioning prompts John to tell a story about how the bird came to be. It is an evil spirit trapped, due to the intercession of Saint Patrick, in the bird’s body until the Day of Judgment. It lives on Station Island, but is compelled to leave when a Christian man approaches the island. Its cry presages perdition for the pilgrim about to enter the Purgatory. Luckily, Mannini did not hear its call.

Mannini displays his naïveté, his impulsive nature, and his lack of experience when John attempts to land the boat.

... il Calonacho si levò in pie’ come fa uno che vuole il suo battello conducere alla riva salvamente, onde, veggendolo levato, feci il simile, per la qual cosa io non fui prima ritto in pie’ che di subito fu’ gittato fuori del battello al mio avviso più di tre braccia di lunge; da chi si fusse non so, nè come; e col capo di sotto caddi

369 Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 156; Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 56.
nell’acqua là dov’è un sopracapo, secondo dicono, di tre fodame, che ciascuno fodame fa 3 braccia delle nostre; io me n’andai quindi giuso, e s’io hebbi paura son certo me ’l credi senza farnene saramento, e toccando il fondo e colle mani e col capo là dove trovai erba, e come a Dio piacque, mi ricordai d’una orazione che ’l Priore m’insegnò dovessi sempre dire quando io fussi in alcuno pericolo o tentazione, la quale dice così: Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei vivi, miserere mihi peccatori. La quale detta col cuore, chè con la voce non la poteva dire, di subito ritornai a ghalla in un momento come piacque a Dio e al Calonacho, che gridava ad alte boci: Euge! Euge! Porsi la mano mia destra, el quale con l’una mano tenendomi e con l’altra vogando mi condusse con gran pena in su l’ isola del Purgatorio, ...

(... when the canon stood up as a man does who wishes to bring his bark safe to shore, and seeing this, I stood up also, and had hardly done so than I was flung out of the boat as I think for more than three braccia, I do not know how or why, and fell head first into the water, where the depth as I am told is three fathoms, each fathom being three of our braccia. I found myself lying at the bottom, and you will believe that I was frightened without my oath upon it; and as I touched the bottom with my hands and head, and found there was grass there, it pleased God that I should remember a prayer which the prior had instructed me to say in moments of peril or temptation, which is as follows: Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mihi peccatori. Which having said in my heart, since in words I could not, I suddenly rose and floated on the water, as it pleased God, and the canon, who cried aloud, “good! good!” grasped my right hand, and holding me with the one hand, and rowing with the other, he brought me with great difficulty to the island of the Purgatory, ...)

Mannini appears to attribute his graceless fall into the lake to malevolent misfortune rather than his own inability to keep his balance. The pilgrim’s clumsiness could be attributed to several factors. Probably Mannini’s lack of expertise with small craft coupled with his eagerness to reach Station Island resulted in him acting impetuously.

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His rescue is the first of a string of miraculous or semi-miraculous events which Mannini experiences on Station Island. However, his tumble into the frigid waters may also be the precipitating event for Mannini’s physical decline during the rest of his time on Station Island.

The first miracle Mannini relates is his discovery that both his interior shirt and a small book in his pocket have remained dry. This incident suggests that Mannini may have read or heard other material about Ireland, Irish saints, and Irish miracles. The folklore motif of a book remaining dry or being unharmed by a soaking goes back at least as far as Adamnán’s *Vita Columbae*, in which books in which the saint has written prove impervious to soaking.371 Symeon of Durham tells a similar story about a book commonly believed to be the Lindisfarne Gospels.372

Mannini is led to the small chapel on Station Island. John attempts to discourage him, saying “… *che assai pericolo avea portato,*” (… that I had come through peril enough,)373 but Mannini is adamant about continuing. The canon acquiesces and has Mannini kneel before the small altar, which had a carved crucifix and images of Mary with the Christ Child and Saint Patrick. John removes Mannini’s outer garments and dresses him in a single white alb, blessed with holy water. The canon blesses Mannini, says many prayers, and then proceeds with funerary rites:


372 See the *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae* in *Symeonis monachi Opera omnia*, bk. II, ch. 11–13.

... e puostomi supino a giacere, come se fossi morto, mi serrò gl’occhi, e comandommi non gli dovessi aprire sino a tanto l’ufficio fusse detto; le braccia mi puose in croce, e sopra ‘l petto la croce, e detto sopra a me la vigilia e tutto l’ufficio de’ morti tre volte me segnò con l’acqua benedetta con le propie orazioni e solennità si fanno sopra un morto, nè più, nè meno.\textsuperscript{374}

(Having placed me on my back as though I were dead, he closed my eyes and commanded me not to open them till the office was over; he crossed my hands upon my breast, and having said over me the vigil and all the Office of the Dead, he signed me three times with holy water, with the same prayers and solemnity as is used for the dead, neither more nor less.)

As in the Visiones Georgii, the emphasis is on the exact duplication of the rites for the dead. In the Memoriale, James Yonge mentions that the rite of the dead was said over Laurence Rathold, but he places more emphasis on what follows – the knight’s procession to the tomblike cave of the Purgatory.

After being soaked, and then being made to lie in a thin garment on the floor of the chapel for the funerary rites, Mannini is barely able to walk. Paravicini attributes this weakness to Mannini’s terror coupled with his recent brush with death.\textsuperscript{375} However, Mannini’s lack of coordination and his uncontrollable shivering suggest that cold may have been a factor in his near-inability to stand. Victims of stage two hypothermia experience confusion, lack of muscular coordination, a stumbling gait, and extreme shivering as the body attempts to get warm. John guides Mannini around the chapel three times, saying the litany for the dead and having Mannini respond. At last, Mannini is

\textsuperscript{374} Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 159; Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 58.

\textsuperscript{375} Paravicini, Fact and Fiction, 18.
brought before the door of the Purgatory, where he is made to kneel. Again, John tries to
discourage Mannini, claiming that, “… molti s’erano trovati drento morti, e molti
n’erano stati gittati fuori morti in su l’ altre isole; e chi n’ usciva per sempre per paura
divenia smemorato.”376 (… many had been found dead therein, and many had been
thrown out of it dead upon the other islands, and they who came forth were crazed for
ever after by terror.)377 Mannini kneels before the open maw of the Purgatory, shaking
like a leaf before regaining some shred of courage. Again he is warned not to enter
unless he has an unshakeable belief in God, which Mannini insists he has. John, it seems,
had expected Mannini to back out at this point, as he has left the holy water necessary for
the pilgrim’s final blessing in the chapel. He makes Mannini wait, gazing at the dark
mouth of the Purgatory, while he fetches the water. Once returned, he blesses Mannini
with the holy water and bids him enter.

Mannini enters the Purgatory on his knees, holding a cross which John gave him
after the Office of the Dead. It may be the same crucifix or a crucifix similar to the Cross
of Saint Patrick which is tied to the hand of George of Grissaphan in the Visiones
Georgii. Before John can even close the door and return to Saints’ Island, Mannini has
his first encounter with the “demonic”:

...vidi su per lo muro del Purgatorio venire dalla destra mano
verso di me un ragnatelo nero come carbone, di grandezza più
largo non ho la palma della mano; a che di subito dicendo la detta


orazione: Domine Jesu Christe filij Dei vivi etc. di presente spari.\textsuperscript{378}

(… I saw coming towards me on the wall of the Purgatory to the right a spider as black as coal, and larger than the palm of my hand; immediately I said that prayer, Domine Jesu Christe filij Dei vivi, etc. and it disappeared at once.)

Mannini describes the measurements of the cave of the Purgatory and concludes, as the preceding funerary rites would suggest, that it is “come un sepolcro”\textsuperscript{379} (like a sepulchre). Mannini’s description is important in trying to reconstruct the historical Purgatory. He notes that the ceiling is too low for a man to stand upright, though he can kneel. This tiny cave, three feet high and nine feet long, must have provided pilgrims already weakened by fasting and frightened by tales of the Purgatory the sensory deprivation which would encourage wild purgatorial visions. Mannini is primed to experience such visions, but after kneeling and praying for some time, Mannini states that

... e così orando m’addormentai, o se in estasi l’ anima mi fu tratta dal corpo, o se pure andai col vero corpo, o come, io non te lo saprei dire; quello vidi e quello mi fu mostrato e quel feci non te lo posso scrivere per lettera, nè ’l posso dire se non in confessione; ma se mai a Dio piacerà ti rivenga, tutto per ordine ti dirò.\textsuperscript{380}

(… and as I was praying, thus I fell asleep, and whether my soul was rapt in ecstasy out of my body, or whether indeed I journeyed in my actual body, and in what way, I cannot tell you. What I saw, and what was shewn to me, and what I did, I may not write in a letter, nor can I utter it save in confession, but if ever it pleases


God that we should meet again I will tell you all things in due order.)

Whereas other narratives concerning the Purgatory spend a great deal of time recounting the visions of the pilgrim, this is all Mannini has to say about his visions. He says he may only tell what he saw in confession, but then indicates that he will tell Corso of his adventures face-to-face, should they meet again. Later in his letter, Mannini refers to “molte tentazioni e visioni”381 (many temptations and visions), but he again refuses to describe them in writing. Perhaps he has seen things that would take too long to describe or are in some way indescribable in writing; he awaits a time when he can describe his visions in person. The pilgrim may also only indistinctly remember what he saw or dreamed. When the canon, John, came to retrieve him from the cave, he found Mannini unconscious and not breathing. Moreover, all of Mannini’s limbs were ice cold. The canon rubbed Mannini’s body and managed to shake him awake; he was at first terrified, then joyful. Here, too, Mannini appears to be suffering from hypothermia. Sometime during his five hour stay in the Purgatory, he slipped into stage-three hypothermia. His violent shivering subsided, his heart rate and breathing declined, and he slipped into a stupor, out of which he had to be shaken.

Mannini is returned to the chapel, where his own clothes are returned. The canon then brings out an ancient Psalter and places it on the altar. Mannini is instructed to open the book at random and read a verse.382 Mannini does so, and is rewarded with the apt

381 Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 161; Seymour, Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland, 60.

382 This is in imitation of St. Augustine. In chapter XII of his Confessions, he opens the Bible and reads a verse at random, which offers him comfort and guidance.
verse, “*Quia misericordia tua magna est, super [m]e, et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.*” John then recites the *Te Deum*, and the pair return to Saints’ Island in the little boat; the prior and the community await Mannini on the shore and welcome him back with joy.

The final paragraphs of the letter are a miscellany of Mannini’s conclusions about his journey. He reckons that he was in the Purgatory for five hours and remarks that the prior prevented him from staying the full twenty-four hours because of the cold weather. He remarks on the extreme cold which he encountered:

*Ragiona quello luogo, cioè tutto quel lago è il più freddo paese dove fuisse mai; su le montagne di Brigha non è freddo di verno a rispetto di questo luogo. Hor pensa me quasi ignudo sì lungamente come io pote” durare? Renditi certo, Corso, fu impossibile se non per la grazia e misericordia di Dio.*

(I think that place – that is, the whole of the lake, is the coldest country in which I have ever been; the mountains of Brigha are not cold in winter compared to that place. I wonder now how I endured it so long almost naked. Be certain, Corso, it would have been impossible, save by the grace and mercy of God.)

Mannini’s comparison of the cold at Lough Derg to the northern Italian alps at Briga brings the weather he encountered into sharp focus, both for his Italian correspondent and also for the contemporary reader. Irish dendrochronological studies are still in their infancy, and very little exists otherwise to indicate that Ireland suffered a particularly cold winter in 1411. However, Mannini, having arrived in Ireland in 1410, would already

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383 Psalm 85:13. For your mercy towards me is great, and thou hast delivered my soul from the deepest hell.

have been familiar with the Irish winter, unless he arrived extremely late in that year.

The temperature might have been considerably cooler at Lough Derg than in other areas of Ireland, given the cooling effect of the water which surrounded Saints’ Island and Station Island. In the absence of other weather data, we must rely on eyewitness accounts. Mannini was clearly taken aback by the cold. This might be another manifestation of the pilgrim’s naïveté, magnified by his origins in a warmer region of Europe. However, the weather was sufficiently bitter to cause the prior concern for his visitor. We can look to the account of Laurence Rathold for further corroboration.

Rathold, too, appears to have had his fast and his time in the Purgatory cut short. Rathold changed his fifteen-day fast to five days “propter reverentiam quinque vulnerum Christi” (in honor of the five wounds of Christ.) Yonge reports that Rathold feared for the strength of his body and mind in undergoing a fifteen-day fast. This fear seems strange coming from a man who appears to be in his prime, capable of fighting in battles, and who was healthy enough in mind and body to cross the whole of Europe. Matthew, the Augustinian prior, readily agreed to this alteration of tradition. These details may be an attempt to gloss over the fact that Matthew was probably the one to suggest or insist upon a shortened fast. He may also have been the one to propose the numeric significance of Rathold’s newly prescribed fast period. Yonge’s Memoriale does not mention that the usual twenty-four hours in the Purgatory has been shortened. However,

385 Edited Text 1, l. 130-3; Delehaye, “Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice,” 48.

386 Hungary was often perceived as being at the far eastern edge of Europe. O’Donoghue, “Lough Derg.”
Yonge carefully notes the day, hour, and zodiacal position of the sun and moon at Rathold’s entry and exit from the Purgatory. Much like Mannini, Rathold spent six hours in the Purgatory, entering around noon and exiting three short winter hours past nones. Mannini further indicates that he emerged from the Purgatory marked; he showed these markings to Rathold. Again, one is left desiring more detail. It is possible that Mannini had the dark purple blisters associated with mild to severe frostbite.

Mannini closes by saying that he prayed for four graces, as instructed by the prior. He says he will not write of the first three, but the fourth was “… che io potessi recoverare mio honore e mio stato e di casa nostra quando che sia.”³⁸⁷ (… that I might recover my honour and state, and that of our house). In order to do so, he is told, he must build a church dedicated to Mary in a place called Doverano, not far from the route back to Dublin, and in doing so, his honor would return to him. It is unknown if he managed to found the church.³⁸⁸ In his letter to Corso, he asks Corso to contact Mannini’s brother, Salvestro, and to have him come to Ireland with Mannini’s wife and son. The voyage probably never happened. Mannini himself returned to Florence in October of 1413, as Salvestro notes.³⁸⁹ Before closing his letter, Mannini recommends Rathold to Corso. Rathold was to be the letter-bearer for Mannini’s account. He further asks that Corso contact mutual acquaintances so that they can tell the king of Hungary of Rathold’s good health and successful pilgrimage.

³⁸⁸ Paravicini, Fact and Fiction, 17.
Mannini’s letter was written on the 25th of February 1412, and Rathold was probably the person who delivered it to Corso in London. Corso sent the letter on to Salvestro in Florence, and it arrived there on the 12th of April, 1412. This original letter is no longer extant. What remains is Salvestro’s faithful copy of the letter, which he says is appunto (exact), and which found its way into the family papers. In the seventeenth century, these papers were bound into a manuscript which is currently housed in the National Library in Florence.\textsuperscript{390} There is some disagreement among scholars as to whether this account is exactly as Mannini wrote it. Hippolyte Delehaye claims that Salvestro’s copy is mere excerpts from Antonio’s longer letter, whereas St John Drelincourt Seymour indicates that Salvestro’s copy was embellished with Antonio’s verbal account, given after he returned to Florence.\textsuperscript{391} Eileen Gardiner, who has made a study on the visions described by pilgrims, writes off Mannini’s account as “… only a detailed description of the paperwork, interviews and permissions involved in gaining admission.”\textsuperscript{392} She may be confusing or conflating Mannini’s account with that of Laurence Rathold. Whichever account she is considering, the assessment is not a fair one. Both pilgrims provide plentiful information about their pilgrimage; Mannini gives us an intensely emotional rendering of his experiences, and Rathold and Yonge, while providing accompanying legal documents, also offer a full account of the visions Rathold experienced in the Purgatory. Seymour’s assessment is, I believe, most likely. If

\textsuperscript{390} Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale, Strozzi II, IV, 380.


\textsuperscript{392} \textit{Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante}, 249–50.
Salvestro is excerpting Mannini’s letter, he has left in many details marking it as Antonio’s personal letter to Corso. In many places, Mannini addresses Corso by name. Furthermore, he is aware of his own role as a writer. He entrusts only parts of his visions to the medium of pen and paper, suggesting that he can explain more about his adventures should they meet again. Salvestro’s voice can be heard before and after the letter. Directly after Mannini’s conclusion, he reports that the letter is an exact copy and records the date of its arrival in Florence. There are further sections before the beginning of the letter and at the end in which Salvestro records precisely that Antonio has returned from Ireland. He gives the date and some information concerning several Florentines then living in Ireland. The section preceding Antonio’s letter explains that Salvestro has recorded both the letter and what Antonio had to say when he returned.

... e proprio scriverò quello Antonio iscrisse di sua mano in questa forma, e anche ce lo disse di bocca quando tornò d’Irlanda, che tornò a di 12 d’ottobre 1413 in giovedì.  

(... and I have also written what Antonio wrote with his own hand in this form, and also said by word of mouth when he returned from Ireland, which he did on Thursday the twelfth of October, 1413.)

If, however, Salvestro has worked his brother’s verbal account into the letter, as Seymour argues, he appears to have done so seamlessly and without expunging the passage in which Antonio declines to describe his visions. I believe that the information Salvestro received verbally from Mannini is that concerning other Florentine expatriates, which he includes at the end of Mannini’s letter. When did Salvestro copy Antonio’s letter? Given

the inclusion of a 1413 date in Salvestro’s introduction, it is possible that Salvestro did not actually copy the letter until after his brother’s return, despite the arrival of Antonio’s letter in 1412. Salvestro’s final note appears to be out of place, as its final lines introduce the Purgatory and Laurence Rathold. Further study of the manuscript may bring light to some of these ordering and dating difficulties; unfortunately, such a study is beyond the scope of the current project.

In relation to Yonge’s *Memoriale*, Mannini’s letter provides fascinating evidence for the physical circumstances of the pilgrimage of Rathold and Mannini. Despite recording the events of the same journey to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, the emotional and personal tone of Mannini’s private account intended for a friend and close family members underscores the very different tone of Yonge’s legalistic account, which was created for public consumption by a broad audience both in Dublin and across Europe. Mannini’s letter and Rathold’s role as messenger also demonstrates the international connections that Rathold cultivated and highlight Yonge’s description of the knight as well-traveled. While no copies of Yonge’s *Memoriale* are extant from Italy, it seems that there was every opportunity for Yonge’s short visionary narrative to cross Europe, as the author likely hoped it would.

The Knight, Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, and Yonge’s *Memoriale*

The memoir of Mannini’s traveling companion, Lawrence Rathold is of a very different tenor. It was compiled from several sources by James Yonge, whose authorial voice is far more detached than Mannini’s. Working within the conventions established
by earlier accounts of pilgrims’ visions at the Purgatory, Yonge enhances the veracity of Rathold’s visions by giving the *Memoriale* some of the marks of a notarized public legal document. Yonge makes a document that is accessible to a broad audience of pious laypeople by including not only the visions of Rathold but also short religious reflections. Yonge’s own community of Dublin plays a newly prominent role in a document that is part travel account, part a memoir of a pilgrim’s visions, part sermon, and part notarial instrument. Edited Text 1 offers a new edition and a translation of Yonge’s *Memoriale*.

Laurence Rathold of Pásztó’s life is documented via the official records of the court of King Sigismund of Hungary (1368-1437), who was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1433. Rathold was born to a noble family with lands in Pásztó, located approximately forty-five miles northeast of Pest in the *comitatus* of Heves. The lands were given as a royal donation to Stefan Rathold in 1265. Laurence also bore the family name Tari, and the modern-day village of Tar, three miles northeast of Pásztó is home to the remains of the family’s manor-house, begun in the thirteenth century. More than a dozen records from the court of Sigismund mentioning Laurence Ratholdi de Tar are extant; they date from October 1400 to 1424, and include administrative documents relating to Pásztó and letters from the king to Laurence and his son Rupert. Most of these mention Laurence in passing.394 We do know that Laurence was the senior cupbearer (pohárnmokmestere) for Sigismund and later for his wife, Barbara of Cilli (ca. 1390/95-1451). He then appears to have become a diplomat for the court. There is some debate about when this occurred. In 1412, Rathold arrived in Venice with a letter of safe

394 I am grateful to Professor Les Domonkous for assistance with finding Hungarian documents pertaining to Rathold. Most of these can be found in Mályusz, Zsigmondkori Okleveltár.

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passage similar to the one he carried to Santiago de Compostela and Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. The letter stated he wished to visit various holy shrines as a pilgrim, but a 1413 document from Sigismund’s court suggests that this journey was a cover for Rathold’s diplomatic visit to the Signoria. Delehaye suggests Rathold could have been using the pilgrimage to the Purgatory as a cover for a diplomatic goal, but he does not give the idea much credence. What would Sigismund need from the weak provincial government of Ireland? Michael Haren, however, points out that Sigismund’s interest was focused on England. He and King Henry IV (and later Henry V) were united in their support for Rome during the Papal Schism of 1378-1417. Rathold likely used his journey to England and Ireland as an opportunity to carry messages to Henry IV and the Archbishop of Armagh, Nicholas Fleming. Rathold’s journey to Santiago de Compostela and Saint Patrick’s Purgatory also established him as a pious pilgrim, and may have provided a perfect cover for Rathold’s 1412-13 trip to Venice. After 1413, Rathold returned to court and traveled with Sigismund to the latter’s 1414 coronation as king of Germany in Nürnberg. He may also have accompanied Sigismund on his journeys to France, Burgundy, and England as he attempted to help end the Papal Schism, and he


397 Haren, “Two Hungarian Pilgrims,” 125.
likely attended the Council of Constance in Sigismund’s retinue. Documents referring to Rathold continue until 1425, and he must have died soon after 1425-26.\textsuperscript{398}

Rathold’s personality and background are evident in the \textit{Memoriale}. Much of what we are able to discern comes from the Rathold’s 1408 letter of safe passage from King Sigismund, recorded in the \textit{Memoriale}, but it also comes from the comments of Yonge, Rathold’s final letter to Yonge, and the corroborating comments of Mannini. Sigismund introduces his retainer formally, first through the offices he holds, \textit{...magister dapiferorum et supremus dispensator...} (master of the table servants and chief steward), then by his birth and upbringing, \textit{...ex generosa sanguinis propagine de senioribus regnorum nostrorum baronibus exorts et in nostra aula regia a pueritia sue etatis nutritus & cognitus...} \textsuperscript{399} (offspring of noble blood, springing from the senior barons of our kingdom, and reared and acknowledged in our royal court from his boyhood), and finally through his deeds, prior to establishing Rathold’s goals,

\textit{in nostrisque prosperis successibus & aduersis fidelis inuentus & constans, deuoconis spiritu accensus, ad beati Iacobi in Compostelis limina & Purgatorium Sancti Patricii in Hibernia visitare proponit & sue mentis pulcritudine ductus, pro actibus militaribus exercendis & augendis diuersa mundi climata perlustrare intendit.} \textsuperscript{400}

(\textit{... and found to be faithful and constant in our victories, successes, and adversities, inflamed by a spirit of devotion, proposes to visit the threshold of blessed James in Compostela and the Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, and led by the excellence

\textsuperscript{398} Walsh, “\textit{... in finibus mundi}: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 59.

\textsuperscript{399} Edited Text 1, ll. 66-9.

\textsuperscript{400} Edited Text 1, ll. 69-73.

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of his intellect, he means to wander through the various climes of the world in order to carry out and augment his knightly deeds.)

Through the letter of Sigismund, we see a noble knight, raised at court, who is given to adventure and travel, and who is well-regarded by his king.

Yonge adds to this image by mentioning that Rathold is well-traveled, *omnes mundi partes pro maiori noviter visitavit*401 (he lately visted … nearly every part of the world). Rathold is a trustworthy witness to the mysteries of the Purgatory; Yonge stresses Rathold’s faith and holy intent in visiting the Purgatory, denigrating both those who doubt the sacred nature of the site and those who travel to the Purgatory out of mere curiosity:

> Scimus enim nostro tempore dictum locum plures cursu preoptacio visitasse, paucos autem sanctitatis pretextu realiter intrasse; de quorum vero paucorum numero Laurencius prenotatus, … locum supradictum personaliter introiuit.402

(For we know that in our time many people have visited the said place on an eagerly desired journey, but few have truly entered it by reason of piety; indeed, of this small number, the aforesaid Laurence personally entered the aforesaid place.)

Antonio Mannini, too, was impressed by the true and deep faith of Rathold403 This image is further bolstered by the unrelenting faith that the knight displays in the Purgatory and his direct speech to the prior, the Devil, and the Archangel Michael. In the final sections of the *Memoriale*, Yonge further fleshes out Rathold’s character. He is modest – after all,

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401 Edited Text 1, ll. 32-3.

402 Edited Text 1, ll. 34-6, 40.

it is the citizens of Dublin, not Rathold, who desire to have the *Memoriale* written. Moreover, the knight is polite, cheerful, and extremely well-educated. Yonge’s final section betrays the notary’s admiration of his patron:

*Per omnia laudes assint semper omnium creatori qui generosum militem Laurencium Ratholdi cingulo militari, hilaritatis vultu, circumspectionis & allocucionis moderamine inter dominos & amicos, laborum commendabilium experiencia, Ebraici, Greci & Latini ydeomatibus inter alia variisque sciencii & virtutum insigniis decoravit*...

(Through all things, let there always be praise to the creator of all, who graced the noble knight Laurence Rathold with the belt of knighthood, a cheerful face, prudence and moderation in speaking among lords and friends, the experience of praiseworthy works, the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages among other varied areas of knowledge, and the marks of virtues, …)

Yonge was certainly impressed by his employer; however, some of his praise may also be an outgrowth of the patron-client relationship and a way for Yonge to augment the value of the tale told in the *Memoriale*. Yonge and Rathold wanted Rathold’s account to be readily believed, so in his description of Rathold, the notary paints a picture of a worthy and intelligent knight, a worldly man whose visions in the Purgatory were divinely inspired.

Rathold’s own letter appended to the end of the *Memoriale* confirms that he is well-read. He has heard and read about Irish shrines from many sources. He is also curious and thoughtful. One of his purposes for seeking out the Purgatory betrays at least a basic grounding in philosophy. Rathold himself demonstrates his own doubts and alludes to a personal crisis of faith when he claims,

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404 Edited Text 1, ll. 472-6.
... ego maximum errorem & dubium habui de substancia anime: quid esset, qualis res debeat esse vel fieri quia secundum philosophos dicitur esse inuisibilis, incorporea & impassibilis, 405

(…I had great uncertainty and doubt regarding the substance of the soul: what it might be, what thing it ought to be or become, because according to philosophers it is said to be invisible, incorporeal, and insensible.)

The knight uses substantia in a technical sense; he has read or discussed the philosophy of the soul enough to be conversant in some of the common jargon. This is not altogether unexpected, as the knight was at Sigismund’s court during the beginning of the Hussite controversy. Inspired by the writings of John Wycliffe, the theology of Jan Hus gained a large following at the University of Prague in the early years of the fifteenth century. Theological debates were raging in court and university circles in Prague, Krakow, and Vienna. 406 These included discussions about Hussite ideas regarding not only the substance of the soul, which Rathold mentions as his reason for visiting Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, but also the existence of purgatory, itself. 407 Rathold recognized a paradox between the unnamed philosophers’ description of the soul and the visual and doctrinal aspects of a purgatory where souls may be seen to undergo torment prior to entering heaven. Given the opportunity to travel to Ireland, it seems that Rathold decided to see purgatory for himself. Rathold claims that his journey through the Purgatory did indeed dispel his doubts.

405 Edited Text 1, ll. 456-8.


The knight also had a strong sense of responsibility to his king. At Sigismund’s castle in Buda in 1401, Rathold was wounded defending Sigismund against rebellious barons, and this incident coupled with his subsequent faithful service as a diplomat earned him a reputation for loyalty that continued well after his death.\footnote{Fejér, \textit{Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis}, vol. X, iv.330; Szende, “Buda, Pest, Óbuda; and Visegrád.”} For the knight, a journey to the Purgatory became a necessity once Sigismund had gone to the trouble of writing a letter of safe passage, and Rathold is pleased to be able to report his successful pilgrimage to Sigismund. Indeed, Mannini tells us that he sent a letter from the knight to King Sigismund through his own contacts in London and Italy.\footnote{Frati, “Il Purgatorio de S. Patrizio secondo Stefano di Bourbon e Uberto da Romans,” 162.}

The \textit{Memoriale} stands out from its literary brethren in the relationship it shows between pilgrim and scribe. The knight Owein reported his experiences orally to Gilbert, perhaps in much the same way as Rathold told Yonge about his visions in the Purgatory. However, Owein’s tale went through a public performance before being written down third-hand. Grissaphan’s vision, too, was written at a remove from the pilgrim. Conversely, Yonge and Rathold worked closely together upon the pilgrim’s return to Dublin, and the result is a second-hand report emerging from close personal contact, which is presented with an appended first-hand report. The notary worked for the Hungarian in a secretarial capacity for the space of several weeks or even months. (The knight returned to Dublin soon after spending the Christmas season in Armagh with the Archbishop, as the December 27\textsuperscript{th} date of the Archbishop’s letter attests. He may have still been in Dublin in late February of 1412.) Both Yonge and Rathold speak in Yonge’s
work. The Dublin author acts as a mediator, listening to the knight’s oral accounts and then re-casting them in writing in a manner that he deemed pleasing and edifying to his multiple audiences. Yonge adds both descriptive passages and documentary evidence to Rathold’s tale. Rathold himself chimes in at the end of the *Memoriale* in a letter that he presumably wrote to the scribe. Even after the knight left for England, Yonge appears to have continued laboring on the *Memoriale*. Rather than finishing the work after a typical colophon, Yonge adds a coda. The notary has thus far spoken in the first person and presented himself as an interviewer and compiler; he now makes a curious request of his patron and asks him to answer in writing Yonge’s questions about why he came to Ireland and whether he saw his visions bodily or spiritually. Rather than working Rathold’s answer into his existing work, Yonge appends it word-for-word, as if it were an additional legal document supporting the history recorded in the *Memoriale*. The late addition of Rathold’s own writing to the *Memoriale* suggests that Yonge finished his work after the Hungarian’s departure from Ireland, and Yonge, still invested in his relationship with the noble foreigner and continuing to work on his account, found himself having to rely on letters to answer the questions he had forgotten to ask in January and February. Sadly, Rathold has left no clue about how he felt about his assiduous employee.

From Dobor to Lough Derg: An Itinerary of Rathold’s Pilgrimage

There is some question as to when Yonge actually wrote his *Memoriale*, with possible dates ranging from late 1411 to sometime after 1416. Tracing Rathold’s journey
to Ireland and to the Purgatory can assist somewhat with the date of the *Memoriale*. Rathold’s visit is corroborated by a number of documents, not all of which are recorded in Yonge’s work. The letters preserved by Yonge were also copied into the register of the Archbishop of Armagh, but other sources, including Hungarian documents, Mannini’s letter, and the chancery rolls of Henry IV provide evidence for Rathold’s travels. What follows is a brief timeline outlining Rathold’s journey, gleaned from these diverse records.

In the summer of 1408, King Sigismund was carrying out a massive military campaign to subjugate Bosnia. Rathold was doubtless in the king’s retinue during this struggle. The campaign culminated in the capture of the fortress of Dobor. Sigismund, eager to quash any resistance, ordered the execution of most of the Bosnian nobility and had their bodies thrown into the Bosna River. Rathold may have been shocked at the bloodshed. His Hungarian predecessor to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, George Grissaphan, had embarked upon the dangerous pilgrimage as an act of remorse after killing approximately three hundred people in foreign wars on behalf of his king. Dobor may have been the precipitating event necessitating Rathold’s pious journey, which was a conscious imitation of Grissaphan’s itinerary. Chaucer’s Knight engages in a similar set of behaviors. “Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre” (l. 47). Despite his eager participation in bloodshed, “He was a verray, parfit gentil knight, … late ycome from his viage, / And wente for to doon his pilgrymage” (ll. 72, 77-8) Yonge shapes his

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411 Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*. 

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description of Rathold to present a similar image of a “parfit gentil knight” driven by piety to seek the Purgatory. Yonge glosses over Rathold’s theological doubts, but presented with them in a document from the hand of his pious knight, he finds himself compelled to record exactly what Rathold has written.

As discussed above, Rathold’s pilgrimage probably served as a diplomatic opportunity for the Hungarian king, who was able to use a man he trusted to communicate with other European leaders in the negotiations leading up to the Council of Constance. Sigismund’s letter of safe passage was written on January 10th, 1409, soon after the slaughter at Dobor. This letter appears both in Yonge’s Memoriale and in the register of Archbishop Fleming. Rathold probably visited Santiago de Compostela. There was a well-traveled sea-route between La Coruña and Dublin, as well as a hospice near the quays in the eastern suburb of the Steine that housed pilgrims going to and arriving from Santiago de Compostela.

Rathold may have taken advantage of this route to reach Dublin in the summer of 1411. Being a man of means and arriving with a large retinue, he probably did not stay in the hospice. He appears to have contacted the Archbishop of Armagh almost immediately; a letter from Archbishop Fleming dated August 1411 permits a chaplain to Rathold for the purpose of hearing his confessions during his stay in Ireland.

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Mannini and Rathold probably met sometime in August or early September of 1411, and Mannini claims they left for the Purgatory on September 25th. Mannini expected a trip of about three weeks, but they were gone three and a half months. Prior to reaching the Purgatory on November 4th, 1411 – the exact date comes from Mannini’s account – Rathold and Mannini stopped at Armagh or Dromiskin to obtain the necessary permission and a letter of introduction from the Archbishop, and at Downpatrick, where Rathold spent several days fasting and praying near the relics of Ireland’s three patron saints: Patrick, Brigid, and Columba.

Mannini fasted for three days which must have included his day in the Purgatory on the 7th of November, while Rathold fasted for five whole days prior to entering on November 11th. There is some difficulty concerning the amount of time Rathold spent in the Purgatory. Mannini baldly states that he only spent five hours in the Purgatory. In Rathold’s case, Yonge’s carefully noted zodiacal observations – a common way of marking the date on ecclesiastical documents – serve to confuse rather than clarify. Rathold entered

… die Sancti Martini ab hora quasi sexta, sole in signo Scorpionis existente ·xxvii· gradu, luna vero in signo Libre vsque ad noctis crepusculum subsequentis iugiter persistebat.416

(He remained continually there from St. Martin’s day at around the sixth hour, with the sun in the 27th degree of the sign of Scorpio, and the moon in the sign of Libra, until the twilight of the following night.)


416 Edited Text 1, ll. 198-200.
The knight exited the Purgatory *mane facto quasi circa terciam horam post nonam, sole in signo Scorpionis in ·xxviii· gradu, luna vero in Libra* \(^{417}\) (in the morning around the third hour past nones [around 6 p.m.], with the sun in the 28\(^{\text{th}}\) degree of the sign of Scorpio and the moon in Libra). The manuscript copyist appears to have made an error, either by writing *mane facto*, when *nocte facta* fits better with the time and the earlier *noctis crepusculum*, or by substituting *nonam* for another word indicating the earlier part of the day, such as *primam* or *terciam*. The former error is more likely, as it is corroborated by other phrases in the text, and ‘*mane*’ might be easily construed from ‘*nocte*’ by a hasty scribe. Substituting *mane* for *nocte* was a simple mis-reading to make, as the scribe probably took closely spaced *oc* for *a* and close spacing of *te* may have resulted in the scribe seeing an *n*. Errors like this are typical of the *Memoriale*’s copyist. The copyist’s error underscores one source of confusion – the scribe.

The circle of the ecliptic from which Yonge determines that the sun is in the 27\(^{\text{th}}\)/28\(^{\text{th}}\) degree of Scorpio has 360 degrees, while the year has 365 days. Logically, a day can encompass more than one degree on the ecliptic. Was November 11\(^{\text{th}}\), 1411 such a day? Did Rathold spend about six short winter hours in the Purgatory, or was his stay approximately thirty hours, encompassing more than the prescribed twenty-four hour period? Even if the astronomical calculations were worked out, scribal error can still account for the numeric discrepancy. One must look further for clues about Rathold’s time in the Purgatory. *Ad noctis subsequentis* could indicate the evening of the same day or the evening of the following day. Tradition dictates that Rathold should have

\(^{417}\) Corrected version in Edited Text 1, ll. 385-6.
remained in the Purgatory for twenty-four hours, but we know that Mannini’s time was severely curtailed. However, in his description of the relics Rathold carried, Yonge notes that Rathold carried with him *vnum libellum septem psalmos penitenciales continentem*, *mora sua videlicet per vnum diem naturalem & amplius spacement perdurante* 418 (a little book containing the seven penitential psalms, seeing that his stay was to last for one natural day and longer). Moreover, the Archbishop of Armagh notes in his letter that Rathold *inrauit, moram vnius diei naturalis vt moris est* 419 (entered … for the space of one natural day, as is the custom). The Archbishop’s testimony can be more easily written off, as he was not a witness to the knight’s pilgrimage, and he may have been responding to long-standing tradition. The prior of the Purgatory gives a full description of Rathold’s preparations, but he is rather cagey in his description of Rathold’s time in the Purgatory:

… Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth … nostrum locum visitauit et litteras domini Primatis Hibernie Archiepiscopi Armachani commendaticias nobis exhibuit. Et peracta parte penitencie in ieiuniis & oracionibus & aliis piis operibus, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii intrauit & audita missa de Sancta Cruce & aliis solemnitatibus observauit & omnibus circumstantiis ad predictam peregrinationem adimpletis sicut nullus in tempore nostro adimpleuit, nudus & ieiunus exceptis vestis & vno femorali cum processione & letania speluncam Sancti Patricii viriliter intrauit. Et ibi commoratus fuerat sicut eius possibilitas poposcerat … 420

(Laurence Rathold of Pásztó … visited our region and showed to us the letters of introduction of the lord Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh. And having carried out the duty of

418 Edited Text 1, ll. 189-91.
419 Edited Text 1, l. 407.
420 Edited Text 1, ll. 414-24.
penance in fasting and prayers and other pious works, he entered the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, and having heard the Mass of the Holy Cross and having observed other solemnities, and having fulfilled all of the requirements for the aforesaid pilgrimage as no other in our time has fulfilled them, naked and fasting, except for vestments and a breech-cloth, he bravely entered the cave of Saint Patrick with procession and litany. And he remained there for as long as his ability demanded …)

The phrases *sicut nullus in tempore nostro* and *sicut eius possibilitas posposcerat* stand out here. While much of the prior’s letter seems to be taken from a standard format, possibly representing a letter commonly given to pilgrims as both a proof and a remembrance of their pilgrimage, these phrases indicate that some departure from tradition may have occurred. Further evidence of a shortened time in the Purgatory comes from the date on the prior’s letter: *feria quinta post diem Sancti Martini*\(^{421}\) (on the Thursday after St. Martin’s Day), that is the 12\(^{\text{th}}\) of November. If the prior was engaged in bringing Rathold back from Station Island during the evening of the twelfth, he may have found time to write the letter, but it would have been dark and late, and the prior was hosting a pilgrim who had much to discuss. It is more likely that Rathold emerged from the Purgatory on the evening of the eleventh, and the prior waited until the next day to write his letter; Rathold, like Mannini, may have been forbidden by the prior to remain longer in the frigid cavern.

Tradition dictated that a successful pilgrim spend a further fifteen days in prayer at Saints’ Island after exiting the Purgatory. It is quite possible that this tradition was observed. We next hear of Rathold through the Archbishop, whose letter dated the

\(^{421}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 429.
twenty-seventh of December suggests that the Hungarian may have spent the Christmas season with the primate at Dromiskin. Rathold’s predecessor, Grissaphan, was also the Christmas guest of an ecclesiastical leader, Bishop Nicholas MacCathasaigh of Clogher.\textsuperscript{422} If the journey from Dublin to the Purgatory and back did indeed take three and a half months, Mannini and Rathold arrived in Dublin in early January. Mannini’s letter from Dublin was dated February 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1411, which gives us a terminus post quem of late February for Rathold’s departure from Dublin. Rathold traveled by ship from Ireland, but his interim destination was London, and it is possible that he traveled over land through England. The knight delivered Mannini’s letter to Corso in London well prior to April 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 1412, when Laurence was granted permission to leave England.\textsuperscript{423} Mannini’s letter preceded Rathold to Italy, as Salvestro notes that it was received on April 12\textsuperscript{th}, 1412. Rathold probably returned to Hungary prior to arriving in Venice to carry out his diplomatic mission under the cover of another pilgrimage in January 1413. Mannini arrived in Florence, according to Salvestro, on October 12\textsuperscript{th} of that year.

Based on the evidence above, we know that Rathold gave his tale to Yonge between early January and late February 1411, but when was the Memoriale first written down? Haren notes that the text of the Memoriale as we have it refers to Nicholas Fleming as tunc primatem. Fleming died on June 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1416, so it is possible that Yonge composed his work after that date. Haren also advises caution regarding this conclusion.

\textsuperscript{422} Walsh, “… in finibus mundi: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 60. O’Donoghue notes that Ramon de Perellós also spent Christmas with the Irish chieftain Neill Mór O’Neill. These Christmas visits echo Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. “Lough Derg.”

\textsuperscript{423} PRO C 54/261, 13 Hen. IV, membrane 17; Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry IV. Vol. 4: 1409-1413, 274.
as “it is hazardous to assert this on the basis of a single manuscript.”\textsuperscript{424} Tunc could well be the interpolation of a later scribe. Walsh adds further evidence for a late composition, explaining that our single manuscript exemplar comes from circles that were close to the Crown. Moreover, King Sigismund of Hungary visited Henry V during the summer of 1416 to form an alliance with England. Rathold may well have accompanied the king as an advisor. The writing of the \textit{Memoriale} may have been part of a publicity campaign surrounding the Hungarian king’s visit.\textsuperscript{425} Despite these details, it is more probable that Yonge wrote the \textit{Memoriale} soon after meeting Rathold. The document has a level of detail that would be difficult for someone to write based on a four or five-year-old memory. Direct quotations may be made up out of whole cloth, and Yonge may have had access to copies of the documents recorded verbatim in the \textit{Memoriale}, but it seems more likely that he was writing with his informant (and his informant’s documents) present.

One of the unique features of Yonge’s text is the inclusion of Hebrew and Greek phrases. These are quotations from the Archangel Michael. Surely, most of Yonge’s audience would be unable to comprehend these phrases. Their inclusion, however, suggests that they did indeed issue from the mouth of the Archangel; Michael might well have used the older languages of the Christian tradition. Clearly, the Greek and Hebrew passages proved a challenge even to educated scribes. Some of the words have become corrupt nearly to the point of incomprehensibility. It is likely that these phrases began as

\textsuperscript{424} Haren, “Two Hungarian Pilgrims,” 124, n. 16.

\textsuperscript{425} Walsh, “... \textit{in finibus mundi}: The Late Medieval Pilgrims to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Loch Derg, and the European Dimensions of the Diocese of Clogher,” 60, n. 91.
a close transliteration based upon Rathold’s spoken account. There is no evidence that Yonge spoke Hebrew or Greek, and it is therefore likely that he was writing these foreign words at a close remove from the speaker. Granted, it is possible that Rathold did indeed return to England before the main part of the Memoriale was written, and Yonge corresponded with him to get the details of his Memoriale correct. However, the addition of Rathold’s own letter to the end of the Memoriale, after Yonge’s colophon, suggests that Yonge would have either included additional verbatim accounts written by Rathold if he had been writing ca. 1415 without the knight present, or he would have incorporated Rathold’s letter into the body of his Memoriale. That he has done neither indicates that Rathold’s letter was an afterthought, information collected after the Hungarian left Dublin ca. February 1411. A further problem with a late date of composition has to do with Yonge’s audience. If Yonge is to be taken at his word, the diversos valentes viros of Dublin were eager to have a written account of Rathold’s pilgrimage. The visit of Sigismund to England may have been an excuse to copy the Memoriale for a broader audience, rather than an opportunity to compose it.

The Manuscript: British Library Royal MS 10.B.ix

Yonge’s Memoriale survives in a single manuscript, British Library Royal MS 10.B.ix. The manuscript is a formulary composed mainly between 1430 and 1447, written in French, Latin, and English, with contributions from approximately ten scribes.

426 Edited Text 1, l. 395.
It deals mainly with the writing of ecclesiastical and legal documents, wills, and letters.

The manuscript originated either at Oxford or Cambridge, with internal evidence favoring Oxford. By 1452, however, it was in the hands of Henry Cranebroke of Christ Church, Canterbury. Yonge’s *Memoriale* is on folios 36v-44v in the hand of one of the two main scribes. This scribe was interested in legal documents in interesting or unusual settings, and Yonge’s *Memoriale* may have appealed to him because of the letters Yonge incorporated into his text. The scribe appears to have been working quickly and to have been unfamiliar with the Irish setting of Yonge’s work. He introduces or perpetuates several errors, and misconstrues Irish names. For instance, *Cloghorensis* (Clogher) becomes something that the English scribe recognized, “cloth of raynes,” a type of French linen. The scribe also misconstrues several names of former pilgrims, suggesting that he had little knowledge of earlier narratives relating to the Purgatory.  

I have attempted to correct as many of these errors as possible in my edition of Yonge’s *Memoriale* in Edited Text 1. The manuscript also divides Yonge’s *Memoriale* into chapters, but the titles of each chapter commonly begin with “de,” and often end with “etcetera,” indicating that these rubrics may have originated as marginal annotations that provided signposts for the reader. Yonge presents his text as a quasi-notarial instrument, which would have been written without textual divisions. He may, however, have provided the original marginal notes to aid the reader in navigating an extremely long quasi-legal document; at some point in the text’s transmission, the rubrics migrated.

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427 A fuller description of the manuscript can be found in Appendix C.

428 I am grateful to John Van Engen for his assistance with these rubrics.
into the text. I have retained the rubrics as section titles in Edited Text 1 with the caveat that the clear divisions between sections of the text were likely not original to Yonge’s text.

Yonge’s *Memoriale* in its Anglo-Irish Context

Aside from having the distinction of being the earliest extant Purgatorial narrative of Irish provenance, Yonge’s account of Rathold’s pilgrimage is unique in many ways. It differs in its tone and in its matter-of-fact account of Rathold’s visions. It makes use of multiple genres, resulting in a work that is part visionary narrative, part meditation, and part legal document. It also presents a view of Ireland slightly different from the semi-magical images offered by its predecessors; this shift in outlook is the result of Yonge’s profession as a legal scribe and notary as well as his familiarity with his own country. Despite these differences, Yonge’s account displays a keen awareness of earlier English and Continental works describing the visions of pilgrims in St. Patrick’s Purgatory, especially the *Tractatus* of H. of Saltrey and the *Visiones Georgii*. Although most pilgrims who sought out the Purgatory probably passed through Dublin, Yonge’s account is also the first such pilgrimage narrative to feature Dublin and its people in any significant way. Throughout the *Memoriale*, which is presented as an unembellished description of Rathold’s pilgrimage, Yonge reveals his own concerns and preoccupations as an Anglo-Irish legal scribe.

The *Memoriale* imitates its literary predecessors in its initial paragraphs, in which the creation of the Purgatory by St. Patrick is discussed. Yonge imitates H. of Saltrey’s
initial opening in part. The Dublin scribe largely dispenses with the hagiographical narratives of the *Tractatus* which are used to describe the creation of the Purgatory. Instead, Yonge focuses on the reason for the creation of the Purgatory – *propter Hibernicorum incredulitatis cecitatem*429 (because of the blindness of the disbelieving Irish). Yonge explains that God granted Saint Patrick the means to create the Purgatory so that the Irish *quibus prius datum est sentire quam credere*430 (to whom it was given to see before believing) would not be damned upon the Day of Judgment.

The second paragraph displays Yonge’s orthodox convictions – convictions likely shared by the *Memoriale*’s hero, Rathold – and reveals the scribe’s anxiety to combat some of the challenges to medieval Church doctrine that were current in the fifteenth century. No longer are tales concerning the deeds of the saints and tales such as the one Yonge is about to tell necessarily understood to be true. Yonge argues that there is more than enough evidence to believe the stories of the saints; they and their miracles are a gift from God. Moreover, when presented with such overwhelming evidence, those who refuse to believe are – unlike the Irish whose disbelief springs from an innate character flaw – guilty of wilful heresy and treachery.

*Cum enim idem almificus, … nimirum caritatis ardore succensus, ab arce Patris descendens humane condicionis carne sumpta, tot & tanta signa dignabatur personaliter demonstrare, suosque sanctos & eorum vias & loca tot & tantis voluit decorari miraculis permansuris, quomodo non credendi quecumque de Domino nostro*  

429 Edited Text 1, ll. 10-11.  
430 Edited Text 1, ll. 15-16.
(For since this same nourishing one, … fired by the great flame of love, descending from the citadel of the Father, by taking up the flesh of the human condition condescended to reveal personally by so many and such great signs and desired to glorify his saints and their ways and places by so many and such great enduring miracles, how might anyone through treacherous schism or heretical destruction have excuse for not believing that which is contained in the sacred book concerning our Lord Jesus Christ?)

The phrase *perfida scismatica vel heretica pernicies* is likely a reference to the Papal Schism which was threatening the unity of the Church and was a major factor in European politics. There is also a veiled reference here to the heretical doctrines of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus. Rathold himself may have been quite concerned with the Schism, as it was certainly an issue which preoccupied his king. As mentioned above, Rathold may have been on pilgrimage in part to assist Sigismund in his attempts to end the Schism. Hussite teachings were also on Rathold’s mind. By his bold action in entering the Purgatory, Rathold has proven its existence and has scored a blow for orthodoxy, hence his eagerness to get his news to Sigismund and his court as soon as possible.

For those who, like the Irish, must see in order to believe, Yonge argues, God has created the island of Ireland, freed from venomous animals by Patrick, and full of many marvels, the sight of which can strengthen faith. 432 Those unable or unwilling to visit

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431 Edited Text 1, ll. 18-23.

*Europe plagam vltimam*⁴³³ (the furthest region of Europe) should find reason for faith in the tales of those who have seen Ireland for themselves, including the current *Memoriale*, chronicling the visit of Rathold. Yonge’s knight is introduced as well-traveled and utterly trustworthy, a man who *non solum locum ipsum verum eciam omnes mundi partes pro maiori nouiter visitauit* (lately visited not only this place, but also nearly every part of the world); he is also one of the few who has entered the Purgatory for pious reasons. Belief can be assured, Yonge argues, by visiting Ireland, or by reading accounts like the one Yonge is presenting, tales of living and faithful men such as Rathold. Yonge’s assurances are not only an advertisement for his *Memoriale*, they also are an enticement for spiritual tourism: “Find your faith in exotic, miraculous Ireland!” Yonge presents his *Memoriale* as a document that is part of a tradition, and one that should be read and believed, as the account of purgatorial visions comes from a worthy and faithful source.

Before beginning Rathold’s story, Yonge imitates H. of Saltrey by mentioning the time when the pilgrimage took place. H. says that his pilgrim, Owein, entered the Purgatory in the time of King Stephen.⁴³⁴ Yonge says that Laurence entered *tempore serenissimi Henrici quarti Regis Anglie post conquestum, anno regni sui duodecimo*⁴³⁵ (in the time of the most serene Henry, the fourth king of England [by that name] after the conquest, in the twelfth year of his reign). This sort of dating convention is common in the notarial documents and legal deeds that were the main source of Yonge’s

⁴³³ Edited Text 1, l. 25.

⁴³⁴ Easting, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, 126.

⁴³⁵ Edited Text 1, ll. 36-7.
livelihood.\textsuperscript{436} It serves to authenticate the account, and it suggests that what follows has the veracity of a duly written legal document. Yonge, probably quite aware that Rathold was headed to the English court, added a piece of political flattery to his date, an indication to Henry IV and his court that he is a loyal Lancastrian. Yonge presents the actions of the king with regard to Thomas de Beauchamp, one of the Lords Appellant, as a fulfilment of one of the prophecies of Merlin:

\begin{quote}
\textit{[Rex] qui post mortem strenuorum Thome filii regis Edwardi, Ducis Gloucestrie, ac Ricardi Comitis Arundelie, flebili consilio nuper Ricardi Regis Anglie indebite peremptorum, iuxta Merlini propheciam, \textit{“dispersos greges in amissam pascuam reuocabit,”} locum supradictum personaliter introiuit.}\textsuperscript{437}
\end{quote}

([The king] who, according to the prophecy of Merlin, “called the scattered flocks back into their lost pasture” after the deaths of the most vigorous Thomas, son of king Edward (III), Duke of Gloucester, and Richard, Earl of Arundel, undeservedly killed by the lamentable plot of Richard, lately king of England.)

Thomas of Woodstock, 1\textsuperscript{st} Duke of Gloucester was the uncle of King Richard II and leader of the Lords Appellant. Assisted by Richard FitzAllen, 11\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Arundel and Surrey and Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Woodstock led a rebellion against Richard II and his favored Parliamentary appointees beginning in 1386. Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV, and Thomas de Mowbray later joined the Lords Appellant. Woodstock, FitzAllen, and Beauchamp were imprisoned in 1397 for their actions against the king. FitzAllen was beheaded on Sept. 21\textsuperscript{st}, 1397. Woodstock was

\textsuperscript{436} Bodleian Douce MS 104, a copy of the C-text of \textit{Piers Plowman} that was likely copied by a scribe similar to Yonge, ends with a colophon stating the date in the same legalistic manner: “Explicit liber de Petro Ploughman Anno regni regis henrici sexti sexto …” Kerby-Fulton and Despres, \textit{Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman}, 42.

\textsuperscript{437} Edited Text 1, ll. 37-40.
murdered while imprisoned in Calais in early September of the same year, probably at the behest of Richard II. The king ordered the exile of Bolingbroke and Mowbray in 1399 for other reasons, but their participation in the Appellant crisis may have influenced his decision. When Richard denied Bolingbroke his rightful inheritance, the future Henry IV allied with the exiles Thomas Arundel, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been removed from his position by Richard II, and FitzAllen’s son, Thomas. When Bolingbroke became king, he restored Arundel to the Archbishopric and restored titles and estates to Thomas FitzAllen and Thomas de Beauchamp. Yonge equated the chaotic end of the reign of Richard II and Henry IV’s restoration of rights to the Lords Appellant and their supporters with a line in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*.


(Hunger and plague will return and the natives will lament for their empty cities. The boar of trade will arrive and call the scattered flocks back to their lost pasture. His breast shall be food for the needy and his tongue drink for the thirsty.)

The “Prophecies of Merlin” circulated in Anglo-Ireland separately from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s larger work. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 405, a manuscript made in Waterford around the turn of the fourteenth century preserves the “Prophecies of Merlin” on folios 3v-5v. It is reasonable to assume that other copies were available in Anglo-Ireland and that Yonge had access to one of them. In his 1422 *Gouernaunce of*

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438 Text and translation from *The History of the Kings of Britian: An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae)*, bk. 7, ll. 127–30, pp. 150–51. I am grateful to Nicole Eddy for her assistance with this passage.
Prynces, a translation of a French version of the Secreta secretorum, Yonge would use the same incident without the prophetic material to ingratiate himself to Henry V.\textsuperscript{439}

After establishing the date and attempting to curry favor with the Lancastrian court, Yonge abruptly moves on to the meat of his Memoriale, the pilgrimage of Rathold. The next paragraph describes Rathold’s arrival in Dublin.

Yonge faced a dilemma when describing the city of Dublin itself. Earlier authorities on St. Patrick’s Purgatory place the pilgrimage destination and the island of Ireland itself on the very edge of the world. On late medieval world maps, Ireland is little more than a fly-spot on the rim of the disc of the world, a rim that was also inhabited by monsters and half-humans on the eastern and southern edges. Part of the danger of traveling to the Purgatory, and part of the appeal of Purgatorial accounts to readers across Europe lay in its remote location and in the possibility of encounters with monsters and barbarians. Yonge, however, knew of a far different Ireland. His legal career brought him into close contact with prominent citizens, wealthy merchants, ecclesiastics, Dublin civic authorities, and officials of the English Crown. Like many city officials, Yonge imitated London practices when carrying out his official duties. The author was aware that his text might have a pan-European audience, and he was keen to show Dublin off to the world, not as a barely-civilized frontier outpost, but as a cosmopolitan city, a smaller version of London. In describing Rathold’s visits to the city, Yonge portrays Dublin as a place of rest and a bastion of civilization on the edge of an uncertain and sometimes frightening world. In Dublin, the knight finds saintly relics, rest from his journeys, and

\textsuperscript{439} See the section entitled, “Yonge’s Interpolations” in Chapter 1. Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 136.
the company of noble and learned men who urge him to participate in an act of literary creation. Yonge implies that Dublin, rather than being a dot on the barbaric edge of the known world, has much in common with the cities of England and Europe. The barbarians are to be found beyond the area of Anglo-Irish control, among the native Irish.

Rathold arrives in the capital of Ireland with his herald and a retinue befitting his noble station. We get no description of how the knight was received or what arrangements might have been made to host the visitor and his entourage. At the time, Dublin was a small city with a population of 5,000 to 6,000, and it is likely that the arrival of this foreign nobleman and his servants caused quite a stir.\textsuperscript{440} In the \textit{Memoriale}, however, the group is wordlessly absorbed into the city, as if Dublin was far more populous and the arrival of a foreign high-ranking guest was a common occurrence. The readers of the \textit{Memoriale} are instead immediately presented with a scene that underscores the piety of the protagonist and advertises the importance of Dublin as a pilgrimage destination. Upon disembarking, Rathold immediately goes to the Church of the Holy Trinity, where he devoutly adores the \textit{Baculus Iesu}, also known as the \textit{Bachall Iosa}, a crosier given to St. Patrick by Christ himself, which the saint used to banish the snakes from Ireland. (Some Patrician tales also relate that Patrick used this staff to strike the ground or trace a circle on the ground on Station Island, thus opening the way to purgatory.)\textsuperscript{441} This scene is an advertisement for Dublin. Even if the Purgatory of Saint

\textsuperscript{440} Clarke, \textit{The Four Parts of the City: High Life and Low Life in the Suburbs of Medieval Dublin}, 9.

\textsuperscript{441} Seymour, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland}, 11; Jacobus de Voragine, \textit{Legenda Aurea}, bk. III. The staff was chief among the relics brought out of Christ Church and burned in the High Street in 1538.
Patrick is too distant and too dangerous to visit, Dublin is a reachable and safe pilgrimage destination where pilgrims may venerate an important Patrician relic with connections to the Purgatory.

After venerating the *Baculus Iesu*, Rathold presents his letter of safe passage from Sigismund “to the citizens of Dublin.” Yonge gives no further detail of this event, but this was probably a formal or semi-formal presentment to the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin or to appointed representatives of the city. Sadly, the documents that would corroborate and flesh out this scene are no longer extant. It is difficult to determine when Rathold and Yonge met, but this moment in the narrative, an event covered in a half sentence, may be when scribe and pilgrim first encountered one another. At the time of Rathold’s visit, James Yonge was one of only two scribes who wrote documents bearing the Seal of the Provostship of the City of Dublin. With the seal, Yonge acted on behalf of the City of Dublin to authenticate documents. He may also have been one of the clerks in charge of keeping the city’s memoranda rolls. As a minor official, Yonge was probably present when Rathold brought his letter of safe passage “to the citizens of Dublin” by presenting it to city officials. It is also quite possible that Yonge himself entered the letter into the city record.

While Rathold’s initial arrival in Dublin the previous August had been relatively quiet, the knight’s return after his successful pilgrimage, we are told, caused some excitement. *Ibi vero a multis venerabilibus ac nobilibus prelatis, dominis & ciuibus de*

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442 Edited Text 1, ll. 48-9.
(Indeed, there he was received with honor, as was proper, by many august and noble prelates, lords and citizens, who rejoiced greatly in the success of his vowed pilgrimage).

Thanks to the surviving church and family records, a little is known about who these nobles, prelates, lords and citizens might have been. One can imagine the Hungarian receiving a series of visitors and invitations. Rathold may have become reacquainted with city officials whom he had met on his initial arrival such as the mayor, John Drake, and the bailiffs, Thomas Walleys – a young clerk who was making a name for himself in civil and royal offices – and Luke Dovedall – a member of a prominent Dublin family. He probably met with church officials such as Thomas Spark, canon of St. Patrick’s, and chaplains such as John Yonge (probably an uncle to James Yonge) and John Ingoll. Major landowners such as Richard Passavaunt and John Serjeaunt, and prominent citizens like wealthy merchants Simon Doddenale and John Lytil and their wives, Johanna and Alida, respectively, likely paid the pilgrim a visit. He might also have received former bailiff Richard Bone, and well-to-do baker John Stafford, among others.

Given the small population of the city, all of these people probably knew one another well; surviving records indicate that they were neighbours, business associates, friends, and rivals. Each of them certainly knew James Yonge, and it appears that Yonge had long-term friendships with Doddenale, Lytil, and Stafford. Yonge does not indicate where the knight and the citizens met, or where he himself conversed with the pilgrim,

443 Edited Text 1, ll. 392-4.

444 See Chapter 4 on Yonge’s career.

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but Yonge was highly mobile in carrying out his professional duties. If the citizens and Rathold met in public places rather than rented rooms, they may have met in Gardener’s Inn on Cow Lane, where Yonge is known to have drawn up legal documents. Other inns that might have attracted merchants and bureaucrats were located along Winetavern Street and Bridge Street. In the citizens’ visits with the Hungarian visitor, the topic of conversation appears to have continually turned to the knight’s pilgrimage and his experiences in the Purgatory. Yonge tells us that his Memoriale was created not at the behest of the modest knight, but at the insistence of those citizens of Dublin who visited the pilgrim:

… audita tunc ab eo per diuersos valentes viros sue expeditionis gracia, de suo peregre sepedicto placuit eis vnum memoriale de hulusmodi expeditionis gracia Latino sermone sibi fieri cum effectu. Hoc autem magis sibi fieri cupientes, cum idem miles dicta sua prout decuit domini Primatis antedicti litterarum testimonio confirmavit.\(^{445}\)

(… the favorable outcome of his expedition was heard from his lips by many powerful men, and it pleased them to have made for themselves a history in the Latin language of his aforesaid pilgrimage and of the favorable circumstances of this expedition. However, they desired this all the more when the same knight confirmed his account, as was proper, by the testimony of letters of the aforesaid lord Primate.)

It is significant that these diversos valentes viros asked for a history not in English, then the dominant vernacular in English-controlled Ireland, but rather in Latin, the language of law, of government and of the church, as well as an international lingua franca. There are practical reasons for this choice of language; Latin was likely the

\(^{445}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 395-8.
common language of conversation between the Hungarian and his Dublin hosts. It was commonly used in Buda for legal documents, chronicles, and other texts, and it was used in Ireland between Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish lords as well as between the residents of Ireland and visitors from the rest of Europe. The use of Latin for the *Memoriale* not only reflects the education and priorities of the immediate audience of the *Memoriale*, but also the background and status of the readers that either the citizens or James Yonge himself wished to garner. This was an account intended for an international audience whose members had a significant level of education. Yonge’s complex Latin style also requires that the readers of the *Memoriale* have more than a passing acquaintance with the language. His periodic sentence structure, use of rare words and complex astronomical dates (a practice borrowed from ecclesiastical documents), and inclusion of phrases in Greek and Hebrew are carefully constructed to showcase to the rest of Europe the erudition of the pilgrim Rathold and by extension the citizens of Dublin.

While there is only one extant manuscript of the *Memoriale*, written in England prior to 1460, it does seem that Yonge’s work did indeed reach a Hungarian audience. Delehaye mentions that in the first half of the nineteenth century, a manuscript containing the *Memoriale* was given by the Franciscan Etienne Magócsy to the Hungarian antiquary and philologist Gabriel Dobrentei, but this manuscript has since been lost. Whether through Yonge’s *Memoriale* or through the knight’s own oral or written reports, the tale of Rathold’s pilgrimage circulated in Hungary to such an extent that Rathold quickly

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446 Szende, “Buda, Pest, Óbuda; and Visegrád”; Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition*, 45.

earned the moniker “pokoljáró” (Hell-descender, or Hell-walker), and the pilgrim’s journey is chronicled in two sixteenth-century poems by Hungarian authors, the first written ca. 1520 by an unknown author, and the second written by Sebestyén Tinódi in 1552. Rathold’s tales of purgatory inspired King Sigismund to look after his own spiritual well-being by founding a provostry dedicated to Saint Sigismund in Buda.

The knight’s employment of Yonge as a secretary implies that Rathold was in a location where he could easily send and receive correspondence, and having a legal secretary close at hand facilitated this exchange. Considering the many visits that the pilgrim had with citizens of Dublin, this suggests that the knight found the city welcoming and well-connected enough to communicate with the rest of Europe. In January and February of 1412, Rathold was able to both relax and conduct business. The presence of a legal secretary and author in Dublin also indicates to the Memoriale’s audience that the city is not a frontier town where public and legal matters are handled on an ad hoc basis, instead, Dublin’s citizens place their confidence in the centralized bureaucratic system that supports the royal government, a system that is equipped to easily welcome noble visitors, even those from the other side of Europe. Though they were written in places other than Dublin, the letters that Yonge inserts into his text – Sigismund’s letter of safe passage and the letter of the Archbishop of Armagh confirming the success of Rathold’s journey – enjoy a public reading and reception in Dublin. The citizens even experience an increase in their desire to create a further document detailing

\[448\] I am grateful to Borbála Lovas for sharing with me some of her work on these Hungarian poems.

\[449\] Szende, “Buda, Pest, Óbuda; and Visegrád.”
Rathold’s visions when they are presented with the Archbishop’s letter. The *Memoriale* is a corroboration of both official letters. It is also a document created by a well-placed scribe and notary at the behest of an educated and curious populace that appears to thrive on formal records.

Almost immediately after presenting his letter from Sigismund to the people of Dublin, Rathold leaves Dublin in order to take the same document to Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh. Yonge, ever the legal scribe and notary, inserts a complete copy of Sigismund’s letter into his narrative at this juncture. Rathold proceeded to Downpatrick to venerate the relics of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, and to pray for a successful pilgrimage. While fasting and praying there, he had a dream one night in which Saint Patrick appeared to him and assured him of success. Despite the popularity of dream-visions in late medieval literature, Yonge spends only a sentence on this dream. He reports it, and then he continues with the narrative of the knight’s journey to the Purgatory. The knight awakens, thanks God for his dream, and in less than a sentence arrives at Saints’ Island. It seems curious that Yonge did not make more of Rathold’s dream. However, in his *Memoriale*, Yonge is creating a literary work with the flavor of a legal document. Having reported that there was a dream, and having related the messenger and the message, further embellishment is unnecessary and would be detrimental to the true accounting that Yonge purports to offer.

Rathold meets with the prior and community at Saints Island. Legal documents play a large part in this meeting, and Rathold is not received by the community until he has given the prior his letter of safe passage and letter of permission from Fleming.
Rathold is warned against entering the cave of the Purgatory, but he persists. The prior’s warning has echoes of romance literature. The prior tells Rathold:

\[\ldots \text{ tua nobilitas non ignoret quam plures tempore meo locum quem rimari proponis intrasse ac ibidem mortis angustiam subiuisse, alios autem immundorum spirituum infestacione perpetue fatuitatis maculam suscepsisse, ceteros vero cum corpore & anima vanuisse.}\]

(… your excellence should not disregard how many in my time have entered the place which you propose to explore and endured in that place the agony of death; indeed, others received the mark of perpetual madness from the harassment of evil spirits; in truth, the rest vanished, body and soul.)

The knight’s persistence in the face of these warnings is one of the few instances in the Memoriale in which Rathold appears as a hero of romance. Whereas H. of Saltrey took pains to paint the knight Owein as a hero bravely facing the supernatural and dangerous, Yonge does little to enhance Rathold’s image in this way. He emphasizes Rathold’s nobility and social role, and in several places Yonge depicts Rathold receiving a hero’s welcome, but passages such as H. of Saltrey’s comparison of Owein’s spiritual armor with his former armor of war are absent. Rathold and the prior negotiate Rathold’s fast, which is cut from fifteen days to five, probably on account of the cold, but Yonge depicts Rathold as a real man rather than a romantic hero, explaining that Rathold feared for the health of his body and mind. Shades of H. of Saltrey’s hero appear as Rathold is being prepared to enter the cave. The prior warns the knight about the dangers of the journey he is about to undertake, allowing Laurence to continue when he realizes that cor

\[450\text{ Edited Text 1, ll. 114-7.}\]

\[451\text{ See the section entitled, “The Vision of the Knight Owein Miles” in Chapter 2.}\]
militare supra firmam petram eius statuit fundamentum.\textsuperscript{452} (his soldierly heart had built its foundation on a solid rock), a phrase with strong Petrine imagery that underscores the deep and steadfast faith of the Hungarian pilgrim.

As the prior and one of the canons ferry Rathold across Lough Derg to Station Island, Yonge halts his narrative to insert a description of the Island. He refrains from inserting Patrician or hagiographical material into his description; he instead draws from and expands on the description in the \textit{Topographica Hibernica} of Giraldus Cambrensis. Yonge turns Station Island into a microcosm of Ireland in his \textit{Memoriale}, imbuing the description with symbolism that reflected both current political ideas as well as the journey of his hero, Laurence Rathold. Giraldus Cambrensis describes Station Island as having a holy and a demonic half.

\textit{Est lacus in partibus Ultoniae continens insualam bipartitam. Cujus pars altera, probate religionis ecclesiam habens, spectabilis valde est et amoena; angelorum visitatione, sanctorumque loci illius visibili frequentia, incomparabiliter illustrata. Pars altera, hispida nimis et horribilis, solis daemonis dicitur assignata; quae et visibilibus cacodaemonum turbis et pompis fere semper manet exposita.}\textsuperscript{453}

(There is a lake in the region of Ulster containing an island divided into two parts. Of which, one part, having a church of the true religion, is very pleasant and worth seeing, incomparably illuminated by the visitation of angels and the visible crowd of the saints of that place. The other part is exceedingly rough and monstrous, consigned, it is said, only to demons, which nearly

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{452} Edited Text 1, ll. 168-9.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{453} Giraldus Cambrensis, “Topographia Hibernica,” 83.}
always remains abandoned to a visible throng and procession of
demons.)

Giraldus Cambrensis’ works regarding Ireland circulated widely in English-controlled
areas of that country, and his *Expugnatio Hibernica* was translated into Hiberno-English
during or soon after Yonge’s lifetime. It is clear that Yonge had access to the *Expugnatio*
when he was composing his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* in ca. 1420-22, and it is quite likely
that Yonge had the Latin *Topographia* or parts of it to hand or in his mind while he was
working on his *Memoriale*. Perhaps inspired by Giraldus Cambrensis’ description of the
island, Yonge fashions Station Island into a miniature Ireland, voicing his own Anglo-
Irish prejudices and preconceptions in his geographic description:

> *Est ipsa quidem insula dulcis aque flumine circumcincta*
> *salmonum, trutarum ceterorumque piscium generibus habundante;*
> *nomen huius fluminis siue stagni ‘Lotherge’ Hibernice nuncupatur,*
> *Latino quidem sermone ‘Stagnum Rubeum’ quod ita sit*
> *particulariter nomen conueniens est sortitum. Est ipsa quidem*
> *insula ·CXXX· passuum longitudine mensuranda, ·xx· vero passus*
> *latitudine non excedit. Diuiditur enim in duas partes, quarum*
> *maior inter occidentem & septemtrionem optinet locum suum;*
> *‘Kernagh’ Hiberniali ydiomate nuncupata, Latino quidem sermone*
> *‘Clamoris Insula’ dici potest. Estque ipsa pars nonnullis fructuum*
> & *arborum generibus sicut acrifoliiis, dumis, rumicibus, sambucis,*
> *ceterisque spinosis arboribus obumbrata necnon auibus*
> *rapacissimis & coris, capis, coredulis, bubonibus, alisque*
> *volucribus rapacibus ibidem nidificantibus & horride garrientibus*
> *nimis plena. Est enim prout in quibusdam codicibus Hibernie*
> *reperitur, Sathane suisque satellitibus hereditario iure antiquitus*
> *attributa. … In illa quidem parte inter cetera maligna quidam*
> *demon ‘Cornu’ Hibernice nuncupatus, preter alas effigiem habens*
> *ardee dispennate, oculis plurimorum multociens intuetur; qui cum*
> *more solito vocem dederit ad modum cecinentis tubam tunc*
> *mortem alicuius prenosticat peregrini. … Minor enim pars ipsius*
> *insule angelis est dicata; Hibernice ‘Regles’, Latine ‘Regula’*

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454 Translation mine.
(That same island is surrounded by a stream of sweet water, abounding in salmon, trout, and other types of fish; the name of this stream or lake is called ‘Lotherge’ in Irish, and in the Latin tongue, “The Red Lake,” which name is particularly fitting as it is indeed so. That same island measures one hundred thirty paces in length and does not exceed twenty paces in breadth. In fact, it is divided into two parts, the greater of which occupies its place in the north and east; it is called ‘Kernagh’ in the Irish tongue and ‘The Island of Wailing’ in the Latin tongue. And this part of the island is darkened by many types of plants and trees such as holly, thorn bushes, sorrels, elder trees, and other thorny trees as well as being exceedingly full of the most rapacious birds – ravens, sparrowhawks, coredui, owls, and other rapacious birds – nesting there and horribly screeching. For, just as it is found in certain Irish books, this is allotted from antiquity to Satan and his attendants by hereditary right. … Indeed, in that part, among other evil things, a certain demon called ‘Cornu’ in Irish, having a form much like a plucked heron, with the exception of the wings, is often seen by the eyes of many; should it in its usual manner give voice much like a blaring trumpet, then it foretells the death of some pilgrim. … The smaller part of this same island is devoted to the angels; it is called ‘Regles’ in Irish, ‘Regula’ in Latin. It comprises thirty paces in length and five and a half in length between the east and south, a place greatly abundant in trees – oak, yew, and other noble trees, sufficiently full of various birds, singing a melody sweetly. The south and east region of this same part contains a restored chapel in honor of Saint Patrick, of four cubits in length and two and a half cubits in width, …)

In the Memoriale and in the Gouernaunce of Prynces, Yonge anticipates the negative stereotypes of the Irish prevalent in sixteenth-century Anglo-Irish writing. He

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455 Edited Text 1, ll. 139-51, 156-67.
populates the larger, northwest part of oblong Station Island with wild, untamed, and rapacious plants and birds, reflecting contemporary attitudes towards the Gaelic Irish then inhabiting the larger, northern and western parts of Ireland. These areas were not as heavily farmed as areas under Anglo-Irish control, and the Irish way of life with its emphasis on pastoralism rather than cultivation was identified as a negative trait as early as Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Topographia*.\(^{456}\) In his *Memoriale*, Yonge emphasizes the untamed, untilled nature of the northwest half of Station Island. Indeed, in his later *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, Yonge uses the agricultural image of uprooting noxious weeds to argue for the eradication of rebellious Irish.\(^{457}\) The peaceful, pleasant, south-eastern portion of Station Island represents the English-occupied areas of Ireland such as Dublin, Waterford, and the Earldoms of Kildare and Ormond. Yonge presents value judgments concerning the demonic and angelic inhabitants, the output of the land – useless holly and bramble in the northwest and useful oak and yew in the southeast – and the language heard in each part. The birds of prey of the Gaelic Irish portion screech, while the songbirds of the English-controlled southeast sing sweetly. Yonge later describes the location of the door of the Purgatory:

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\textit{Prior ... eduxit eum ab eadem capella per quatuor passus tendentes inter orientem & septentrionem ante vnam speluncam muratam lapidibus & voltatam foramine, introitus Purgatorii memorati existens in altera maiore parte insule sepedicte concludentis in partibus, ...} \quad 458
\]


\(^{457}\) Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum*,” 164.

\(^{458}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 175-9.
(The Prior … led him from that same chapel four paces towards the northeast before a cave walled with stones and with an opening in its face – the entrance of the same Purgatory, which lies on the other, larger side of the said island, which surrounds parts of it, …)

This passage suggests that the door of the Purgatory was located on the southeast, holy side of Station Island, while the rest of the cave, where the penitent pilgrim actually experienced his visions of purgatory, was on the untamed and demonic side of the island. In entering the Purgatory, the knight makes a journey from the safe and holy to the dangerous and demonic. In the same way, Rathold arrives in largely Anglo-Irish Dublin and makes his way into the Gaelic Irish hinterland in order to reach the Purgatory. Once on Station Island, he makes a journey in the same direction, southeast to northwest, upon entering the Purgatory. His return journey takes him back from the wild area of Station Island and the untamed region of Ireland to the blessed part of Station Island and the civilized society of Dublin. Similar fears of the northwest, Irish-controlled portion of Ireland are evident in the late fourteenth-century pilgrimage account of Ramón de Perellós, and the area is described as being inter homines minus domitos situatur (located among less civilized people) in the Visiones Georgii. However, there is no similar description of Station Island itself in either of these works.

Yonge includes a brief description of the bird “Cornu,” which is associated with the Purgatory from the earliest Irish tales. Jocelyn of Furness wrote that when Saint Patrick spent Lent on Croagh Patrick, he was assailed by demons disguised as black

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birds, which he scared off by throwing his bell at them. One escaped and was pursued to Lough Derg by Saint Patrick. The name “Cornu” may come from the medieval Irish word *coirne*, meaning ‘trumpeter,’ referring perhaps to the sound the bird made as a warning to doomed pilgrims. The prophetic creature may symbolically replace the monsters and dragons present in the wildernesses that the heroes of romances have to defeat prior to reaching their destination. Yonge does not spend much time on this mysterious creature and the folklore surrounding it, preferring instead to continue with a factual description of Rathold’s pilgrimage. Mannini’s account, by contrast, contains some of the folklore that the Italian merchant got from the canon as he was being ferried across to Station Island.

Once on Station Island, Rathold undergoes funerary rites prior to being “buried” in the cave. The prior re-dresses the knight in the simple clothing of his community, and he and his canon chant the funerary rites and the litany of the dead over him as he lies on the floor of the tiny chapel in honor of Saint Patrick. When they get to the responsory *Libera me*, the prior leads Rathold to the mouth of the cave, where he is the subject of burial rites including the sprinkling of holy water and the hymn, *Libera Me*, which describes Judgment Day and the summoning of all souls before the throne of God, is intoned. Rathold is, in a way, facing his own final judgment. The outcome of his

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461 See the section entitled “Corroborating the Memoriale” above.
pilgrimage is uncertain, and he may perish within the cave of the Purgatory, pulled from this life to purgatorial torment by the demons that haunt the tomb-like cave.

When Rathold enters the cave, he wears three albs and carries with him relics and a little book containing the seven penitential psalms. The three albs and the relics are also mentioned in the *Visiones Georgii*, whereas Mannini reports wearing only one garment when he entered the Purgatory a few days earlier. Rathold’s report of his state upon entering the Purgatory may be a direct imitation of George of Grissaphan, or it may be a result of the greater social status of the two knights in comparison to the failed banker.

The *Visiones Georgii* traveled widely, and the work was a topic of discussion at the court of King Sigismund of Hungary during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The *Visiones Georgii* and the *Memoriale* also have the distinction of being the only Purgatorial narratives which feature the Archangel Michael as a guide for the pilgrim. It is unclear whether Rathold’s meeting with Michael was due to the knight’s reverence for the angel to whom the church in his home town was dedicated or whether it was a conscious imitation of Hungarian George Grissaphan. Both motives probably played a role in what Rathold saw on his journey through the Purgatory. The Archangel Michael was commonly depicted in late medieval art as a fully armed warrior slaying a serpent or Satan. An image in the Cloisters in New York City depicts Michael slaying a demon with faces on its limbs and torso, a demon bearing a strong resemblance to some of the demons that torment Owein in the *Tractatus*. As a warrior against evil, Michael was particularly suited to be a guide through purgatory.
Once in the Purgatory, Rathold crosses himself and prays, using Psalm material from the Office of the Dead (\textit{Dominus custodiat introitum meum et exitum meum ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum})\textsuperscript{462} and the traditional prayer of pilgrims at the Purgatory (\textit{Domine Ihesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, miserere michi peccatori.})\textsuperscript{463} Yonge’s \textit{Memoriale} is denuded of the lurid scenes of torment that usually form the heart of Purgatorial narratives. Rathold had four distinct visions which resemble in their subject matter some of George Grissaphan’s visions. Gone, however, are the elaborate tortures so prominent in the \textit{Visiones Georgii} and its literary predecessor, Saltrey’s \textit{Tractatus}. Rathold’s first vision has the same vivid excitement of the visions of Grissaphan and Owein, as Rathold is seized by two demons and dragged by the feet towards the door of the cave, tearing two of his three albs. He drives them off by making the sign of the cross and meditating on the wounds of Christ. Unlike his predecessors, this is the only physical torment Rathold will have to suffer.

The narrative is interrupted here by the first of three short sermons; the first and second are in praise of the Cross, and the third warns against the sins of the flesh. These insertions fill places where the \textit{Visiones Georgii} enters into detailed theological discussions relating to the preceding vision; they may have been suggested by Rathold and executed by Yonge, who draws on his clerical training and on familiar sermon styles and material to make the content of Rathold’s visions recognizable and relevant to the lay

\textsuperscript{462} Psalm 120:8 [121:8].

\textsuperscript{463} Edited Text 1, ll. 185-6, 207-8; Delehaye, “Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice,” 50.
members of his audience. The first sermon paraphrases Gregory the Great and a pseudo-

Augustinian sermon:

\[ \textit{O Crux gloriosa, o Crux adoranda, o lignum preciosum & admirabile signum per quod demones leuiter vinci possunt. O peccator, respice vulnera pendentis, sanguinem mortem, precium redimentis, cicatrices resurgentis; caput habuit inclinatum ad osculandum, cor apertum ad diligendum, brachia aperta ad amplexandum, totum corpus expositum ad redimendum. Hec quanta sunt cogita, hec cordi tuo appende ut totus tibi figatur in corde qui totus pro te fixus fuit in ligno crucis.}^{464} \]

(O glorious Cross, o worshipful Cross, o precious wood and wondrous sign by which demons can be easily defeated. O sinner, gaze at the wounds of the one hanging there, at the blood of the dying one, the price of the one to be redeemed, the wounds of the one who shall rise again; head lowered for kissing, heart open for loving, arms open for embracing, His entire body exposed for redemption. Consider how great these things are, hang these things in your heart so that he who was nailed on the wood of the cross entirely for you is entirely fixed in your heart.)

The rhythm and language of these texts – if not the texts themselves – would have been familiar to Yonge’s audience. The author has created a space between each of his pilgrim’s visions not for theological discussion, but for meditation and prayerful reflection on the lessons of Rathold’s visions. The Sign of the Cross and the Passion were talismans that saved Rathold from the demons, and they are offered by Yonge as a

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means of solace outside the Purgatory as well. Yonge’s first mini-sermon ends with an exhortation to meditate on the Cross and the Passion as a remedy against temptation.

Rathold’s second vision is one in which the pilgrim faces a testing of his faith. The Devil, in the guise of an ancient pilgrim, claims that Christ was not divine, but was rather a deceiver of the people, and he asks Rathold to reject Christ. A similar vision created an occasion for Grissaphan to describe at great length his unwavering faith in Christ’s Passion and resurrection and the promise of heaven, but Rathold, “noluit respondere nec cum eo longa verborum prote lascione certare.” (did not wish to respond, nor did he wish to contend with him with a long, prolix discussion) Instead, the knight responds to this challenge as he did with the demons, making the Sign of the Cross and praying the prayer that he was taught. Yonge’s second mini-sermon is again in praise of the Cross. This time, he offers a shorter passage that echoes the symbolism that grew up around Ephesians 3:18, in which the height, length, and breadth of the Cross symbolize Christian faith and virtues. The passage ends with an “etc.,” which Yonge uses elsewhere to invoke various well-known Biblical passages and the pilgrim’s prayer mentioned earlier in its entirety. This suggests that the sermon was something that Yonge expected was well-known to his audience.

The knight’s third vision is unique among Purgatorial tales in that it involves sexual temptation. Only one other work in the genre features dangerous sexuality. A Purgatorial narrative by Peter of Cornwall includes a vision in which the pilgrim is enticed into having intercourse with a woman who turns into a piece of wood; demons

465 Edited Text 1, l. 235.
then torture the pilgrim as he tries to extricate himself. As with the old pilgrim, Rathold is again tempted, this time by a beautiful woman to whom he has long been attracted. Whereas a similar woman offered Grissaphan ornate clothing, this woman offers her body to Rathold, claiming, “Nunc ... locum & tempus ad nostrum desiderium expectatum graciosius invenimus” (Now we have found a place and time more favorable to our long-awaited desire). Rathold refuses her, arguing that as a pilgrim he must remain chaste. Moreover, she cannot be who she claims to be, as he left her in Hungary, far from this cave in Ireland. Confounded, the demon departs.

Yonge’s third mini-sermon is his longest. He begins with a direct address to his audience – o fratres carissimi (o beloved brothers) – followed by a reference to the eight survivors of Noah’s flood, which was brought about by desire of the flesh. Yonge then quotes Proverbs 5:3-5 on the danger inherent in a prostitute. The central portion of the sermon, in which the transitory nature of the flesh is emphasized with an ubi sunt list, is borrowed from a Hiberno-Latin sermon on the justice of a king. It is currently found only in the Leabhar Breac, but it must have once had a much wider circulation, or parts of it found their way into sermons used among the Anglo-Irish. If Yonge had been aware of the sermon’s original provenance, it is doubtful he would have used it, given his views on other Irish literature, such as the opinion he expresses – not once, but twice – against Irish

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466 Easting, “Peter of Cornwall’s Account of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory,” 414.
467 Edited Text 1, ll. 250-1.
468 Edited Text 1, l. 262.
poets in the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*.\(^{469}\) The final sentences of Yonge’s third sermon are a paraphrase of part of a sermon commonly ascribed to Isidore, although the authorship has been disputed.\(^{470}\) The overall result is a sermon that hangs together well, despite being made up of a patchwork of quotations. In it, fleshly desires, especially sexual desires, are identified as devilish tools and their empty promises are highlighted by the *ubi sunt* passage emphasizing the transitory nature of human life. Those who give themselves over to these transitory desires will garner eternal punishment.

Rathold is greeted in Hebrew by the Archangel Michael, and the fourth and longest vision commences. The knight must first ascertain that Michael is who he claims to be, and a long conversation ensues in which Michael calls upon doctrines of faith including the virginity of Mary and the divinity of Christ while repeatedly asking Rathold what he seeks in the Purgatory. Michael also establishes his connection to Rathold – he is the patron of the church in Tar. This scene demonstrates that Rathold himself questioned his visions as they were happening, attempting to ascertain whether they were divinely or demonically inspired. This narrative *probatio* augments the overall argument of the *Memoriale*, which insists that Rathold’s visions were real and that the *Memoriale* itself is an accurate record of events. When Rathold at last believes the words of the

\(^{469}\) See the section entitled “Yonge’s Interpolations” in Chapter 1; Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 157, 176.

\(^{470}\) *Vae tam tenebrosum locum, tam tenebrosam foveam, tam obscuram cavernam, tam amarum locum, tam miserrimam vitam, tam dolorosam mansionem!* O miseri, de tam parva vita tam longam mortem, de tam parva consolatione tam longam captivitatem, de tam parva laetitia tam longam tristitiam, de tam parvo lucro tam grave damnum, de tam parvo honore tam longos dolores, de tam parva jucunditate tam amaras lacrymas, tam immensa suspiria, tam luctuosos gemitus, tam magnam iram et tristitiam. Ibi non adjuvat pater ad filium, nec filius ad patrem; neque frater qui succurrat fratri. *Isidore of Seville, Opera Omnia, Appendix XII, Sermo III,* cols. 1224A–B.
angel, he asks to see the souls of his deceased relatives and friends. Michael responds that Rathold will see all that God has ordained him to see – *corporaliter, sed non in re*\(^{471}\) (bodily, but not in fact). This is one part of a continual theme in the latter part of the *Memoriale*, in which vision in the Purgatory is addressed. Rathold has proven his ability to see through the disguises of the devil, but when he at last is able to see those things which he desires to see, he finds his vision confined. His ability to see is dictated by God. Michael tells Rathold, “*Aliqua vero tibi data sunt ad videndum & aliqua non ad present.*”\(^{472}\) (Truly, some things are given for you to see, and others are not, at present).

The quality of vision is also in question. This is in keeping with earlier pilgrimage accounts in which the pilgrim grapples with the idea of whether what he saw and experienced actually happened to him bodily or whether he was granted a divine dream or hallucination. In narratives concerning the Purgatory, there was a preference for bodily seeing over seeing with the spirit only, as the act of viewing purgatory with the physical eyes gave the visions greater immediacy and trustworthiness in comparison to something that was dreamt or seen with the mind’s eye, as the imagination could deceive the viewer. Rathold and Yonge seem to have some knowledge of a theological debate concerning the divided body and soul after death. How might the soul be tormented after death? How might it be recognized without the distinguishing features of the body?

Yonge and Rathold sidestep this potential morass by explaining that while Rathold saw

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\(^{471}\) Edited Text 1, l. 308.

\(^{472}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 286–7.
things with his body, and the sights he saw were of purgatory, they were changed in order to be comprehended by the living knight:

\[ Fili mi, ignis iste purgatorium nuncupatur in quo purgantur anime saluandorum & non est aliud purgatorium, sed tamen nec me, nec ignem, nec purgatorium in re vides, sed sicut dignum & iustum est a Domino tibi datum. \]

(My son, this fire in which the souls of those who are to be saved are purged is called purgatory, and there is no other purgatory, but yet you do not see me, nor the fire, nor purgatory in reality, but you see it as it is worthily and justly given to you by the Lord.)

As the angel and the knight gaze on purgatory, Rathold asks Michael questions. He receives answers, but he is reminded repeatedly that what he sees is not in its actual form. Rathold fails to see one soul in purgatory and asks to see heaven and hell, a sight often granted to other pilgrims. The angel explains that the sight of the soul is denied him by God, and that the knight is not properly humbled to see hell and heaven. It is unclear what might be preventing Rathold’s ability to view the other kingdoms of the afterlife, but the angel claims that he has refused to abandon the transitory world.

Perhaps Rathold’s shortened period of fasting has kept the knight from achieving the spiritual separation from the world required for the journey through the Purgatory; perhaps his vision has been curtailed due to his briefer than usual stay in the cavern. Reasons are not offered, and Yonge gives an image of a knight who, despite his faith and holiness, and despite his confession and fasting, remains flawed. This curious exchange replaces the standard episode in which the faithful pilgrim crosses a narrow bridge over the pit of hell to reach paradise. At the end of the Memoriale, in Rathold’s letter to

\[ 473 \text{ Edited Text 1, ll. 326-8.} \]
Yonge, the knight has the last word on seeing and vision in the Purgatory of Saint Patrick. While he is himself unsure of what occurred, he offers a small proof that what he experienced was in fact experienced bodily.

De visionibus autem quas in dicto purgatorio vidi vtrum corporaliter eas vidi dico sicut Sanctus Paulus dixit, “Raptus fui vtrum extra corpus nescio; Deus scit.” Sed probabilius michi videtur quod corpore verius raptus fui quam extra corpus, cum ego nouem pecias cerei mei vnam continue post aliam illuminarem & cremarem quousque de spelunca loci Purgatorii exuissem.\(^{474}\)

(Regarding the visions which I saw in the said Purgatory, and whether I saw them bodily, I say just as Saint Paul said, “I do not know whether I was snatched from my body; God knows.” But it seems more probable to me that I was more truly snatched away with my body rather than out of my body, because I lit and burned the nine pieces of my candle, one immediately after another, until I had left the cave of the Purgatory.)

Like George of Grissaphan, Rathold is led to the back of the tomb-like cave of the Purgatory by Michael the Archangel. The stones which Grissaphan moved from the outside of the cave are located in the back of Rathold’s cave. It is Michael – the angel who, according to late medieval Christian tradition, rolled the stone from the tomb of Christ – who moves them aside, revealing the same mile-deep spiral staircase that Grissaphan descended almost a century earlier. At the bottom of the stairs, Rathold is met with a vast plain similar to the one Grissaphan saw, but instead of being a meadow full of wildflowers, it is a grassy meadow marred by a gash in the earth in the middle of it – purgatory itself. Yonge’s description of purgatory is curiously short. Yonge and Rathold do not take the opportunity here to fully describe the visual and auditory details.

\(^{474}\) Edited Text 1, ll. 466-70.
of demons, elaborate tortures, and wailing souls that form the core of most Saint Patrick’s Purgatory narratives including the *Visiones Georgii*. Instead, we are told only that, *Angelus … ostendit ei vallem incredibili ter perignitam flammamas perfundissimas emittendo in quo quidem torquebatur igne innumerabiles anime viuencium hominum habentes effigiem per vilissimos tortores.*

(The angel … showed him a valley extraordinarily ignited, emitting overspreading flames in which countless souls, which had the form of living men, were tortured by fire and by the vilest torturers). Rathold and the Archangel then launch into a discussion of purgatory and the eventual salvation of the souls there – material common to most accounts of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. Before the angel leads the knight to the door of the Purgatory, Rathold is given secret messages which Yonge claims the pilgrim was unable to share with him. These messages, like the ones given to Grissaphan, may have been intended for particular individuals. The 1552 poem of Sebestyén Tinódi indicates that one of these messages – a warning against corruption and lust – may have been destined for Sigismund.

Michael leads Rathold back to the entrance to the Purgatorial cave. In one of the only emotionally charged scenes in the *Memoriale*, Rathold is again deemed unworthy when he tries to kiss the feet of the Archangel, as his predecessor Grissaphan had done. The angel’s command, *“Noli me tangere,”* evokes the passage from the Gospel of John in which the risen Christ admonishes Mary Magdalene with the same words. The long-

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475 Edited Text 1, ll. 318-20.
476 Lovas, “Laurence Rathold [e-mail]”; Sebestyén Tinódi d. 1556, *Cronica Tinodi Sebestien*.
477 John 20:17.
standing medieval iconographic tradition of this scene conjures a similar image in the imagination of the reader, in which the unworthy Rathold kneels before the Archangel, reaching towards him in vain. While this passage, with its evocations of medieval art and its emotional content, is striking, it may also represent Rathold’s attempt to suborn himself in comparison to Grissaphan. While Grissaphan was allowed to touch the feet of the Archangel, Rathold is denied this privilege. The angel blesses Rathold and disappears, at which point the prior unbars the door to find the pilgrim unharmed. The knight is joyfully received back into the community on Saints’ Island.

After spending a short time after his with the Augustinian community at Lough Derg, Rathold again sought out Archbishop Fleming. Rathold’s return journey to Dublin is glossed over, however. The pilgrim exits the cave of the Purgatory, the prior rejoices in the knight’s safe return to the world, *et militem in domum suam recepit in letitia cum honore* 478 (and in joy, he received the knight into his home with honor). In the next sentence, we are told, *Cum autem miles prout placuit in celo presidente suum peregre finiuisset, ad ciuitatem Dublinensem est reuersus.* 479 (And when the knight, as it pleased the governor in heaven, had finished his pilgrimage, he returned to the city of Dublin). We must reconstruct Rathold’s itinerary from the letter of Fleming, faithfully copied into the *Memoriale* after the report of Rathold’s return to Dublin; this letter, written at the Archbishop’s manor at Dromiskin and dated 27th December 1411, suggests that Rathold spent the Christmas season with the archbishop prior to returning to Dublin. Fleming’s

478 Edited Text 1, ll. 388-9.

479 Edited Text 1, ll. 391-2.
letter acknowledges and provides a copy of a letter from Matthew, the Augustinian prior at Lough Derg, asserting that Rathold has completed his pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory successfully. Matthew’s letter may have been a souvenir of Rathold’s visit to the Purgatory.\textsuperscript{480} It appears to be formulaic in places, and – much like the compostela received by modern pilgrims who complete the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela – appears to have been a document issued to pilgrims upon the completion of their time in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory.

Antonio Mannini’s letter indicates that he and Rathold arrived back in Dublin in early to mid-January, 1412. Rathold spent a further four to six weeks in Dublin awaiting a boat to carry him to England. Mannini’s letter, dated February 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1412, was entrusted to Rathold for delivery to Corso Rustichi in London. This brief period between January and the end of February 1412 is significant in the Memoriale, as it provides the occasion and impetus for the writing of the work.

Yonge presents his Memoriale like one of the notarial instruments he produced for his Dublin clients. These documents narrated a series of events, provided fair copies of associated legal documents, and were prepared by specially appointed notaries such as Yonge.\textsuperscript{481} After setting out the major events of Rathold’s pilgrimage and faithfully recording supporting documents word-for-word, Yonge adds a colophon that, much like the eschatocol on notarial instruments, establishes the name of the notary, his credentials, the circumstances of the instrument’s creation, and the veracity of the information it

\textsuperscript{480} Seymour, \textit{Saint Patrick’s Purgatory: A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland}, 68–69.

\textsuperscript{481} For more on notarial instruments, see the section entitled “Work as a Notarius” in Chapter 4.
contains. Notarial instruments were far more commonly used in continental Europe than in England at the time, and Yonge’s choice to make his narrative bear the marks of a notarized document may have been carefully calculated to increase the international cachet of the account.\(^{482}\)

The eschatocol on a document that Yonge created in November 1411 for Simon Doddenale follows a standard legal format:

\[
\textit{Et ego Iacobus Yonge clericus coniugatus Ciuis Dublinensis et Dublinensis Diocesus publicus auctoritate Imperiali Notarius, premisis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur per supradictum Simonem agerentur et fierent vna cum prenominatus testibus presens interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri, vidi, audiui, scripsi, publicau et in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signau, rogatus et requisitus, in fidem et testimonium omni et singulorum premisorum.}^{483}
\]

(And I, James Yonge, a married clerk of the City of Dublin and the Diocese of Dublin, public notary by Imperial authority, was present together with the aforementioned witnesses while all and singular of the preceding matters were carried out by the aforesaid Simon and took place just as they are set out above, and I saw, heard, wrote, made public, and rendered in this public form all and singular thus set down, and I, invited and asked for, signed it with my usual and customary sign and name according to the faith and testimony of all and singular here set down.)

The structure of Yonge’s self-introduction near the end of the Memoriale follows a remarkably similar format; Yonge identifies himself, recites his credentials and establishes that he has put the Memoriale together after many face-to-face meetings with

\(^{482}\) Cheney, \textit{Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries}, 136–37 and passim. For examples of notarial instruments, see Edited Text 2, documents 2, 20, 21, 75, and 80.

\(^{483}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 84 (12 Nov. 1411).
Rathold. However, Yonge is also clearly aware that he is creating a document that is not only a record of events as they truly happened, but also a literary document meant to be read for edification and entertainment. The final section of Yonge’s *Memoriale*, as it was originally planned, has characteristics of both a notarial eschatocol and a literary colophon:

*Igitur ego Iacobus Yonge, notarius Imperialis, ciuitatum & scriptorum minimus ciuitatis Dublinsis predicte, huius memorialis compilator indignus coram Deo, qui militi prenotato dum commorasset nauigio supradicto scripture ministerio multis diebus & noctibus deseruuii & qui pluraliter cum eodem oretenus circa singula suprascripta tractau, ad Dei laudem necnon instanciam predictorum validorum virorum & meum proficuum spiritale, hoc ad presens memoriale prout tocius sciencie distributor michi tribuit facultatem secundum informacionem debitam militis prelibati, substancia non omissa, fideliter compilare & scribere dignum duxi, discrecion suggelici singularum hoc memoriale quodlibet visurorum quatinus eiusdem defectus benigno fauore corrigant & emendent, cum me prefatum compilatorem insufficiencia excusatum reddit pocius quam voluntas.*

(Therefore I, James Yonge, Imperial notary, and least of the citizens and scribes of the aforesaid city of Dublin, the unworthy compiler of this history before God, who served the aforesaid knight in the capacity of secretary for many days and nights while he awaited the aforementioned ship, and who many times discussed with the same knight by word of mouth individual events written above, for the praise of God and also at the insistence of the aforesaid powerful men and for my spiritual benefit, thought it suitable to faithfully compile and write this present history, as far as the grantor of all knowledge gave me ability, and according to the information given me by the aforementioned knight, leaving nothing out, and begging the discernment of whosoever will see this history, that they might correct and emend it with good will where it is defective, as I, the aforesaid compiler, offer my insufficient skill as an excuse rather than ill intent.)

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484 Edited Text 1, ll. 435-45.
What begins as a standard legal formula, in which Yonge identifies himself and recites his credentials, his employers, and his role in creating the document, slowly transforms into a standard colophon which begs for the reader’s indulgence for any errors found, and asks that those errors be corrected.

The words of the eschatocol-colophon were meant to be the final ones in the *Memoriale*. After writing his colophon, however, Yonge seems to have thought of a few questions that he forgot to ask his informant. The final section is a coda appended to the original document. Perhaps in reading other works on the Purgatory, or in discussing Rathold’s visions and his *Memoriale* with others, Yonge realized that more clarification of two issues common to all other works on the Purgatory was needed: the reason that the pilgrim sought out the Purgatory and a statement about whether the pilgrim experienced his visions bodily or spiritually. To answer these questions, Yonge appends a paragraph that was written on a single sheet by the knight himself. The style of the Latin in this section is markedly different from Yonge’s complex style, indicating that the letter was indeed written by someone other than the Dublin notary. This addition to the *Memoriale* was probably made after Rathold left Ireland for England in late February or early March of 1412. The scribe and the knight could have easily exchanged letters during the month of March 1412, when the knight was in England representing Sigismund’s interests to King Henry IV. These letters likely departed and arrived with the frequent shipments of documents across the Irish Sea, and Yonge, placed as he was near the center of Dublin’s administration, would have been able to include his personal correspondence with these dispatches. He might also have sent a complete copy of his *Memoriale* to the knight, a copy which included the appended text by Rathold.
Yonge and Rathold have labored hard to create a visionary text worthy of belief. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton argues, “Visions were serious business [in the Middle Ages], and visionary probatio (the process of testing) was literally that: a trial or test verifiable by witnesses.” The issue of discretio spiritum was a current and pressing topic in the period around the end of the Papal Schism. Yonge and Rathold react to the importance of this topic in several ways. The pair marshal several witnesses to attest to Rathold’s account. Rathold tests his own visions as he experiences them – pointing out inconsistencies that prove two of the visions to be attempts by Satan to deceive him. He questions his heavenly guide Michael at length before accepting that he has indeed been sent from heaven. God is the arbiter of Rathold’s visions in the Purgatory – all that he sees is as it is ordained for him by God. God also performs a divine probatio of the pilgrim, determining that he is unworthy to see heaven and hell and that he is unworthy to touch the Archangel. Rathold’s account is further corroborated by the letters of the prior and the archbishop. Being from trustworthy and approved ecclesiastical sources, they bear witness to Rathold’s pious and successful completion of the pilgrimage. Rathold quotes Saint Paul, and points to a physical witness, his candle, describing the nine parts of it burning away to nothing. Furthermore, the visions themselves are framed in a text that presents itself as a quasi-notarial instrument, a legal document recognized and commonly used by the Church, compiled and signed by a credentialed notary. The


eschatocol-colophon asks for the discretio of the reader as well, asking that any default be corrected and insisting that errors were made honestly and not out of any desire to deceive. As such, Yonge’s Memoriale is an “approved” text, a legal document and a visionary narrative that is theologically and spiritually sound, and one that is therefore safe to read, copy, and distribute.

Conclusion

As a representative of the medieval works describing visions in Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, Yonge’s Memoriale stands out in several ways. Destined for a pan-European audience, it demonstrates an awareness of the literary works on St. Patrick’s Purgatory that had long circulated there, but it is the first such account to be written in Ireland. It is indebted to two other members of the genre, the Visiones Georgii and H. of Saltrey’s Tractatus. Rathold’s own familiarity with the Visiones Georgii probably served as a guiding influence for the Memoriale, but Yonge appears to have been familiar himself with Saltrey’s work. The Tractatus circulated in late medieval Anglo-Ireland; for instance, it appears twice in the Liber Niger of Christ Church Cathedral, once as a fragment and later in its entirety.\textsuperscript{487} The Memoriale is not unique in its recording of documents – the Visiones Georgii also contains a record of letters and other documents relating to Grissaphan’s pilgrimage. What is different about Yonge’s Memoriale is that the documents serve as exhibits attesting to the veracity of the account and giving the

\textsuperscript{487} Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin,” f. 19 ff., no. 16, p. 45 and folio 229 ff., no. 138, p. 68.
Memoriale the flavor of a legal document. Yonge blends the legal, however, with the literary, and just as the premature eschatocol-colophon changes from one form to the other, Yonge’s account of the Hungarian knight’s pilgrimage shifts – often seamlessly – between the legal documentation of a city scribe and notary and the literary composition that results from a blending of Rathold’s oral account and Yonge’s knowledge of Christian sources. Uniquely, the Memoriale is shorter than its brethren, and it is missing the intricate theological discussions that normally attend a pilgrim’s visions. It also seeks to provide its own certification of its veracity. In addition, the city of Dublin plays a much larger role in the narrative than it does in other accounts. The final document seeks to appeal to a large audience that is Latinate and pious, but largely lay. Through his Memoriale, Yonge is addressing a devout class of potential pilgrims from across Europe, advertising his city, the island of Ireland, and the important pilgrimage sites to be found there: the Purgatory itself, the relics in Down, and the relics at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in the heart of a civilized and cosmopolitan Dublin.
PART 2:

JAMES YONGE’S BUREAUCRATIC AND LITERARY CIRCLE
CHAPTER 4:

THE SOCIAL NETWORK: THE EVIDENCE REGARDING JAMES YONGE,
YONGE’S CAREER AND THE LIVES AND CAREERS OF DUBLIN
BUREAUCRATS

Introduction: Being a Professional Writer in Dublin

In their seminal article on the scribes of early fifteenth-century manuscripts of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales and Gower’s Confessio Amantis, A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes refute earlier ideas of scribes producing literary manuscripts in dedicated workshops. They argue,

… we can find no evidence for centralized, highly organized scriptoria in the metropolis and its environs at this time other than the various departments of the central administration of government, and no evidence that these scriptoria played any part – as organizations – in the copying of literary works. We believe that it is wrong to assume the existence of scriptoria or workshops without evidence of persistent collaboration. … The careers of the scribes we have examined reveal shifting associations with other scribes, and other craftsmen involved in the commercial production of books.  

In their contribution to Paul Ruggiers’ facsimile and transcription of the Hengwrt manuscript of the Canterbury Tales, Doyle and Parkes argue that scribe B,

“… was a very proficient copyist of recent English poetry and was also familiar with Latin texts. He may also have been a professional in the sense that he earned his living at least in part by

his pen, but possibly in an ecclesiastical, administrative, or legal capacity, not necessarily as a full-time literary copyist.  

The same patterns of literary production and scribal career paths can be seen in early fifteenth-century Dublin. Clerks working in government offices were the producers of Dublin’s literary manuscripts such as the Douce Piers Plowman, which Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres argue was produced by a circle of scribes connected to the office of the Irish Exchequer.  

Dublin-based clerks, much like London’s scribe B, earned their living with their pens, but they did not primarily produce literary manuscripts; their main output and source of income was legal documents. The career of James Yonge reflects this pattern. While he wrote at least two literary works and was probably involved in the creation of manuscript copies of those works, the greater portion of his career was consumed in the writing of legal documents for a number of administrative, ecclesiastical, and private clients.

Because of the large number of extant legal deeds in James Yonge’s hand, it is possible to reconstruct the twists, turns, and milestones in Yonge’s career. James Yonge came from a well-established Dublin family of moderate means. During his career as a clerk and author, Yonge worked for both the City of Dublin and the English crown. He wrote two extant works of literature – a Latin account of the journey of a Hungarian


491 Scribe B has recently been identified by Linne Mooney as Adam Pynkhurst “Chaucer’s Scribe.” Jane Roberts, however, has seriously challenged Mooney’s identification. “On Giving Scribe B a Name and a Clutch of London Manuscripts from c. 1400.”
pilgrim to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, and an English translation with many interpolations of a French mirror for princes. On the heels of the initial dissemination of his Gouernaunce of Prynces, Yonge was imprisoned – probably for the views he expressed in that text. Throughout his career, Yonge made documents for a number of private clients – both individuals and organizations – possibly on an ad hoc basis, although it appears that he was also hired repeatedly by certain citizens and parishes.

The documents created by Yonge assisted in regulating the social structure of fifteenth-century Dublin. Yonge’s client list demonstrates the multiple official and personal associations cultivated by an individual legal scribe and author. It also describes a network of social and professional connections between Dublin’s religious establishments and members of the mercantile and ruling classes. Yonge’s career was quite varied in the number and types of offices he held. This variation reflects the many opportunities available to a skilled scribe with connections to powerful individuals, but it also indicates the tenuous nature of employment for some legal scribes in fifteenth-century Dublin. In his ca. 1412 Regiment of Princes, Hoccleve complains:

In th’eschequeer, he of his special grace
Hath to me grauntid an annuitee
Of twenti mark whyle I have lyves space.
Mighte I ay payd been of that duetee,
It sholde stonde wel ynow with me;
But paiement is hard to gete adayes,
And that me putte in many foule affrayes. (ll. 820-26)\(^{492}\)

Hoccleve must turn to other sources of income to make ends meet.\(^{493}\) Yonge, too, may have been compelled both by the short-term nature of the work he was doing and by

\(^{492}\) Hoccleve, *Thomas Hoccleve: The Regiment of Princes.*
payments which were meager or late in arriving to take on a broad range of work in order to keep the wolf from the door. Extant documents pertaining to the careers of Dublin scribes James Yonge, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe suggest that legal scribes in Dublin often took on a variety of short and long-term scribal tasks.\textsuperscript{494} This pattern of labor is also evident in the careers of London bureaucrats such as Thomas Hoccleve and John Carpenter. Both men worked for several offices and it appears that they both took on private clients as well. It seems, then, that Yonge’s career can be treated as a template for the careers of other Dublin scribes during the late medieval period, and that similar patterns can be discerned in the scribal careers of Yonge’s London counterparts.

Yonge’s Hand: A Brief Description

While they are not in his hand, the four manuscripts containing the works of James Yonge are easy to identify, as each one, even the manuscript containing only a fragment of the \textit{Gouernaunce of Prynces}, contains the name of the Dublin author. In his \textit{Memoriale}, Yonge begins his colophon with:

\begin{center}
\textit{Igitur ego Jacobus Yonge notarius Imperialis ciuium & scriptorum minimus ciuitatis Dublinsensis predictus huius memoriais compilorator indignus...}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{493} Burrow, \textit{Thomas Hoccleve}, 8–9.

\textsuperscript{494} See Chapter 5.
Yonge places his name at the beginning of his translation of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*.

In the Honour of the Hey Trynyte, Fadyr, Sone, And Holy gooste, Almyghti god; our Lady Seynte mary, and al the holy hollowes of hewyn: To yow, nobyll and gracious lorde Iamys de Botiller, Erle of Ormonde, lieutenaunt of oure lege lorde, kynge henry the fyfte in Irland, humbly recommendyth hym youre pouer Seruant, James yonge, to youre hey lordshipp …

Yonge also left his name and his unique *signum manuale* on his notarized documents, and these five documents were the key to identifying over seventy-five more extant documents penned by Yonge and more than thirty others, both extant and lost, which may have been in the scribe’s hand. James Yonge left his mark on his professionally produced documents just as surely as he placed his mark on his literary creations, but the key to discovering this mark has been hidden for centuries. The identification of Yonge’s hand flings wide the door onto literary and legal culture in fifteenth-century Dublin.

Yonge’s hand looks much like the hands of many bureaucrats of his day. As a member of the class of legal scribes, James Yonge wrote with a script that was designed to be readily legible. There is a high degree of similarity among the documentary hands of late fifteenth-century scribes, and James Yonge is no exception. A particular mark or letter form is not enough to firmly identify the hand of an individual scribe. Given the

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495 British Library, Royal 10.B.ix, fol. 43v.

496 Yonge, *Secreta Secretorum,* 121.

497 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 69, 84, and 85, and Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 343 and 374. For more on Yonge’s notarized documents, see the section entitled “Work as a Notarius,” below.
similar training of many scribes, the certain identification of a document’s hand with a particular scribe requires at least a full line of text – preferably far more – and attention to minute detail. Most hands have no single defining letter or characteristic, and a positive identification is the result of an amalgamation of individual details marking a particular scribe’s writing habits. The picture is further complicated by the existence of scribal “schools” – communities of masters and students or clerks working for the same office – in which clerks were encouraged to form their letters in similar ways. Yonge and his students, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe, constitute one such school in Dublin.

The process of identifying an individual document or manuscript with a particular scribe begins with a subjective analysis of the aspect of the writing. If the handwriting on a given document appears to be similar in size, word and line spacing, and ductus to other documents known to be written by a particular individual, then the handwriting should receive closer study – an analysis and comparison of letter forms, abbreviations, line fillers, methods of textual layout, use of language and spelling tendencies and other habits of the scribe’s art.

The legal documents written by James Yonge span a career of thirty-four years, from 1404 to 1438. The script Yonge used to create these documents is a carefully-written, evenly-spaced Anglicana with consistency in letter forms and a generally polished appearance. The lettering is comparatively large, with a minim-height averaging 2.5 mm., ascenders ranging between 2 and 3 mm. above the headline, and
descenders ranging from 2 to 3.5 mm. below the baseline. Many of Yonge’s individual letters have a high level of brokenness. The spacing between words and lines is clear, with the exception of an eschatocol that Yonge wrote early in his career and two documents written late in the scribe’s career.

Yonge uses two grades of script, a less formal, workaday Anglicana which is found on most of the legal deeds created by Yonge, and a more calligraphic, formal Anglicana utilized on documents created for high-ranking government officials, such as James Butler or the mayor of Dublin. The hand of the latter group of documents shows an increased care and precision in letter formation and spacing. The script becomes more vertical and the letters are more broken. Calligraphic elements, such as extra flourishines on suspension marks and upper case letters, are also present.

A fuller description of Yonge’s script including descriptions of both upper and lower-case letters as well as abbreviations, punctuation, line fillers, and other characteristic marks, along with images of letters from signed documents can be found in Appendix B and Table B.1, but these are the most easily distinguished markers of Yonge’s hand:

1) 2-chambered d with a diamond-shaped bowl and a pronounced ascender formed from a straight line and a curved line; this ascender often hangs over the previous letter.

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498 One document (Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31.374) has smaller writing, with the average minim height being 2 mm., and the size of ascenders and descenders being accordingly smaller, measuring 2 to 2.5 mm. for both; this notarized document contained a large amount of information including the entire text of three deeds, and the smaller handwriting may indicate Yonge’s efforts to fit all of the information onto a single page.

499 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477.69 (1406) and Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31.374 (1436) and 93 (1438). See my discussion of the effects of aging on handwriting, below.
2) 2-chambered g with diamond-shaped chambers of nearly equal size, usually without a horn

3) h with a tail on the second minim that bends back to the left, often parallel with the line of writing. This tail does not hook back upwards towards the line of writing, nor does it end in a pronounced hook to the right

4) p with a flat stroke forming the base of the bowl. This stroke nearly always passes through the stem at the baseline

5) VB-style w with ascenders that touch one another but do not usually cross, with a closed loop on the first ascender, a loop that usually closes on the second ascender, and two evenly-sized chambers on the right of the letter. The base of the first v usually falls above the base of the second v, and the first ascender is usually shorter than the second.

6) y is most commonly undotted, and y and ȝ usually end in small hooks or tail-flicks that open to the right

7) B has a long hooked approach stroke and two distinct points on the left side of the letter. These can occasionally form a trapezoidal chamber in conjunction with the approach stroke

8) I-longa has a slight shoulder and an approach stroke forming an elliptical loop at the top of the letter. The top of this loop always meets the stem at or very near the top of the stem, never below the break in the shoulder. Some late examples of I-longa have an n-shaped approach stroke and a chamber shaped like an upside-down raindrop

9) N with a straight initial descender, and a z-shaped stroke forming an angular arch and a pronounced foot

10) Initial N with a long, straight initial descender and a rounded arch

11) Initial P with a long approach stroke that nearly forms a chamber with the end of the descender, giving the impression of a letter shaped like an askew figure-

12) sigma-shaped line fillers with elongated headstrokes at the end of deeds or occasionally at the end of short lines

Yonge began many of his documents with an ‘Ihc’ written in the upper left corner. This was a scribal practice that seems to have been dying out among Dublin
Yonge uses the monogram – really a short scribal prayer asking Christ’s favor – sporadically. Other scribes use the monogram even more rarely, and by the mid-fifteenth century, among the deeds surveyed, it appears that only Nicholas Bellewe is using it with any regularity. Yonge wrote his last name in the lower right corner of several extant documents. This is a practice that seems to have been increasing among Dublin scribes. While Yonge signs his deeds only sporadically, scribes in the latter half of the fifteenth century sign their documents quite a bit more frequently. Yonge surrounds his signature with a two or three-sided frame that is always open at the top and often open on the left side. He often uses the tail of Y to create the bottom portion of the frame. The right side is sometimes drawn in a separate stroke and sometimes emerges from a dot or squiggle placed behind the e.

Yonge’s hand remains remarkably stable over the thirty-four years of his career, and if Yonge experimented with writing his letters in new or different ways, he seems to have done so in places other than the surviving legal deeds. On occasion, some of the new secretary forms that were being introduced into English scribal hands make it into documents written by Yonge. These include single-chambered a, short r, and a g with an open tail rather than a closed chamber. The most common place to find these newer forms is the eschatocols of Yonge’s notarized documents, which were written in a slightly more current hand than Yonge’s usual documentary script. In every case, these

500 John Friedman has also noted its presence in documents from the Yorkshire area. “Books, Owners and Makers in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire.”

501 For more on Nicholas Bellewe, see the section entitled “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe” in Chapter 5.
alternate forms are outliers, appearing once or twice in a document next to many examples of Yonge’s standard Anglicana letter forms.

In the final years of Yonge’s career, from about 1434-38, his handwriting undergoes a few changes. The ductus of the letters remains the same while line spacing becomes slightly more cramped and letters are executed with less precision, lending the work a tangled, almost spidery look. There is a marked contrast between the heavy vertical strokes and other, much lighter strokes, and the frequency of errors increases significantly from almost none through most of Yonge’s career to several per document among the last few extant documents. Erasures and carets are the main means used to correct these errors. Similar changes can be seen in the hand of Yonge’s student, Nicholas Bellewe in the early 1470s. In addition, Yonge’s hand gets slightly smaller late in his career. These changes are likely due to the effects of old age. Judie Walton has identified similar changes due to old age in samples of handwriting from modern subjects. Carter Revard also notes several changes in the hand of the Harley 2253 scribe over time – some due to age and some due to stylistic changes. Other studies have shown similar patterns in the hands of aging scribes. For instance, the hand of Robert Fabyan (ca. 1450-1513), a chronicler and alderman of London, appears in his printed copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle, and the notes made in the last few years of his

\[502\] For more on Nicholas Bellewe, see the section entitled “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe” in Chapter 5.

\[503\] “Handwriting Changes due to Aging and Parkinson’s Syndrome.”

\[504\] Revard, “Scribe and Provenance.”
life show shakiness that can be attributed to age.\textsuperscript{505} Figures 16-19 are images of the hands of Yonge and Bellewe at middle age and old age.

The Legal Deeds Created by Yonge and his Contemporaries

Appendix A contains lists of documents dating from \textit{ca.} 1400 – \textit{ca.} 1475 that I have ascribed to James Yonge and to his students, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe. Many other scribes were at work in fifteenth-century Dublin, but this group represents a set of closely-related and readily-identifiable hands. In attributing unsigned documents to James Yonge, Bellewe, or Baghill, I have taken a conservative approach; should a document exhibit non-characteristic letter forms or scribal practices, I have opted to place the document on a list of documents that might be in a particular scribal hand rather than attributing it falsely to a scribe. As attestations of legal documentary culture in Dublin and of scribal hands, the deeds in the lists represent merely the tip of the iceberg. Even with so many records lost, I am confident that there are many more extant records yet to be found in the hands of the three main scribes listed here; I look forward to seeing the discoveries of future scholars in this area.

One of the fascinating characteristics of these legal deeds is the lack of erasures, expunctions, and other indications of scribal error. Yonge’s documents in particular are nearly error-free until the mid-1430s, when the last few extant documents from his career bear sections of erased or inserted text. These mistakes may have been the result of

\textsuperscript{505} London Metropolitan Archive, CLC/270/MS03789; Boffey, “Robert Fabyan’s Books: London and Beyond”; Payne, “Robert Fabyan and the Nuremberg Chronicle.”
failing eyesight or some other health factor related to old age. Yonge, Baghill, and Bellewe have produced a body of documents that are perfectly or nearly perfectly copied. A clue to the successful production of error-free deeds lies in the parchment from which the seals associated with the deeds were suspended.

Seals were attached to deeds in two different ways. The first method used was to make tags for seals by making two or more horizontal cuts across the bottom of the parchment, extending from the right margin to a point half to three quarters of the way across the bottom of the deed. The first strip was usually left without a seal. Wax seals were then affixed to the inner strips. In many cases among the deeds studied, the seals and the tags they were attached to are no longer extant. It was relatively easy for the seal and the attendant strip of membrane to be torn or cut away. This method of sealing a document was slowly dying out over the course of Yonge’s career in favor of a more secure method of affixing seals. This involved folding the bottom centimeter or two of membrane at the base of a deed upwards. One or more horizontal slits were cut through both layers of membrane, and a strip of parchment approximately one to one and a half centimeters wide was threaded through the slit and folded in half. A vertical slit was then cut through both layers of the parchment strip. The bottom of both halves of the strip was fed through the hole created by the vertical slit and pulled back down. This created two reinforced twists of parchment to which heat-softened wax could be affixed and impressed.

Quite often, the strip of membrane used to make the seal tags for a document was recycled parchment from another document. The seal tag was usually folded such that any writing on the scrap parchment faced inside and did not show. In many cases, the
hand on the seal tag matches the hand of the document. Usually, these tags do not preserve enough writing to determine what the original document was, but in a few cases, it seems that the re-used membrane came from an earlier copy of the very deed to which the tag is attached. Both the deed and seal tag of National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/139, dated 25 April 1428, are in Yonge’s hand; the seal tag has the opening words of the quit-claim it is affixed to: *Pateat uniuersis per presentes* (Be it known to all by the present [deed]). In other cases, seal tags seem to have come from accompanying documents. In a property transaction, the property grant and deed of attorney were usually written on the same day, and a seal tag on a deed of attorney might have a phrase on it from the accompanying grant for the same piece of property. A seal tag in Yonge’s hand on Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 92, a grant that is also in Yonge’s hand, dated 29 November 1411, bears the phrases, “*Pateat,*” and “*isse et in loco meo pos*,” phrases from a deed of attorney: “*Pateat universis per presentes me N. attornasse, fecisse et in loco meo posuisse N.*” (Be it known to all by the present [deed] that I, N. have attorned, made, and appointed in my place N.) This may have come from a draft of Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 93, the accompanying deed of attorney, which was written on the same day as deed no. 92. The accompanying quit-claim, Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 94, dated two days later, on 1 December 1411 has a seal tag containing parts of three lines which include the names James Yonge, John Ingoll, and John Stafford. All three names do not appear on the quit-claim, but they do appear on the preceding deed of attorney. In fact, the line division preserved on the seal tag nearly matches the line division on deed 93, with the name of James Yonge above that of John Ingoll on separate lines on the left side of the document.
One of the more interesting instances of parchment recycling is on a 1406 deed onto which the seal of John Blakeney is affixed. The document is in James Yonge’s hand and also has the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin affixed to it. The tag used to affix Blakeney’s seal is re-used parchment containing the name “Iacobus Yonge” in a frame. The frame is trapezoidal, with the sides of the frame tapering towards the top and bowing slightly inwards; the general appearance of this little fragment of text is consistent with the bottom portion of Yonge’s notarial cross. It appears that Yonge may have made a notarial instrument on or just before the 20th of April 1406, which he rejected for some reason. He then used the parchment for other documents that he created at that time.

Other seal tags show clear evidence of errors – the likely reason for their use as scrap. A tag on Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 149, a deed of attorney dated 10 January 1418 is not in Yonge’s hand, but it contains fragments of text that have been crossed out. It seems, then, that legal documents were rejected and re-copied if they contained too many errors, or that an initial draft was made from which the official deed was copied. National Archives of Ireland deed 2011/1/153, written sometime around 1440 by the scribe Nicholas Bellewe, demonstrates that Bellewe may have prepared a draft prior to writing a deed. The deed of attorney is complete with the exception of blanks left for the name of an appointed attorney and the date. Unfortunately, none of the companion deeds for this property transaction survive for comparison. More

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506 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 77 (20 Apr. 1406)

507 See Appendix E, Fig. 13.
investigation into unfinished or partially finished deeds such as this National Archives of Ireland deed is necessary to determine what the exact process of creating a deed was and what level of imprecision was allowable. These factors may have also varied from scribe to scribe and from customer to customer.

There seem to have been less stringent requirements for precision in notarial instruments, as a formula existed for enumerating and acknowledging errors. This formula was part of the eschatocol and listed each error – crossed-out or expunged text and/or text inserted by use of a caret – including the word or words involved and the line number in which the mistake occurred. This listing insured against someone tampering with the document by erasing, adding, or re-writing text.\(^{508}\) Deeds detailing property transfers had no such provision for noting errors, and thus may have required one or more drafts and/or greater attention to detail on the part of the scribe. Given the repetitive nature of the legal formulae used in property transactions, homoeoteleuton must have been a problem if scribes were copying from drafts. Some method must have been used to overcome this, perhaps the deed was recited aloud by the scribe or by an assistant or witness as the scribe worked, or some physical means was used to expose only a few lines of the text of the draft at a time. Regardless of the method used, the result in the cases of Yonge and his contemporaries was a body of documents executed with few erasures and remarkable precision.

\(^{508}\) Cheney, Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 126. For an example of this, see the editions of Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 84 and Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 no. 374, Edited Text 2, nos. 20 and 80. An exception to this is a notarial instrument created by Thomas Baghill (National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/141, dated 7 May 1433) containing three erasures filled in with the c++ -shaped mark that Baghill seems to have learned from Yonge, and an et inserted with a caret. None of these are enumerated in the eschatocol.
In the deeds surveyed, four rare instances of membrane re-use occur. A deed of attorney prepared by Yonge in 1415 has the beginning phrase, “Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos” upside-down and hidden in the fold where the seal was once affixed. In an attempt to erase some of the text, and the other half of the line is now illegible. It seems, however, that Yonge gave up trying to erase the line he had written, turned the parchment 180 degrees, and started over. In most cases, Yonge appears to have rejected such parchment and re-started the deed on a clean piece of membrane. The people involved in the 1415 property transaction provide a clue as to why Yonge opted to re-use rather than replace parchment. The deed of attorney appoints James Yonge as attorney to transfer a mesuage, portico, and garden situated between the quay (now Merchant’s Quay) and Colman’s Brook (this feature now flows underground) to Edmund Yonge. From the deed, it appears that Edmund has occupied the property for some time already. Since Yonge was creating deeds for a property transfer that was essentially a fait accompli, and perhaps because he was making the documents for a relative, he may have felt less pressure to produce a pristine set of documents.

509 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 151 (26 Sept. 1415).
510 This same strategy is present on Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 198, a 1419 document written by one of Yonge’s contemporaries.
511 A dwelling-house, usually timber-framed, as opposed to stone, with attached buildings and land.
512 For more on Edmund Yonge, see the section entitled “The Yonge Family” below, and the section on the Yonge family in Appendix D.

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The membrane of a 1435 grant in Yonge’s hand also appears to be re-used or put to a different use than the one for which it was originally intended.\textsuperscript{513} It has a small amount of writing that would have once been hidden in the fold. The fold at the base has been flattened out, revealing a small “Ihc” in the extreme left margin. Yonge often began his documents with this monogram, and it seems that Yonge intended to begin another document below the text of this one, but decided against it or realized he had not left enough space for the seal fold and stopped. The other curious feature of this particular document is the presence of pricking and ruling; the pricking, made with a pen rather than an awl, runs down both margins beyond the block of text, all the way to the bottom, where the parchment is cut. Yonge’s writing follows the ruling lines, but the baseline of his text sits well above each ruled line. Yonge and his contemporaries never lay out their deeds like a manuscript page – Nicholas Bellewe’s manuscript pages are even largely free of pricking and ruling – a light line may run down the left margin, and occasionally a light line runs across the top margin. This deed appears to be written on the top half of a re-purposed manuscript page. This is not entirely unheard-of; for instance, Hoccleve did the opposite – re-using parchment laid out for legal deeds as manuscript pages.\textsuperscript{514} Yonge seems to have had access to some empty pages for a manuscript in early 1435, as a notarial instrument that addresses the same property transfer as the deed in question is also written on a page that has been framed with lines on all four margins, pricked, and

\textsuperscript{513} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 326 (13 Jan. 1435).

\textsuperscript{514} Durham, Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iii; Kerby-Fulton, Hilmo, and Olson, \textit{Opening up Medieval English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches}, 91.
ruled. The pages may have been scrap from two different manuscripts, as their measurements and layout are different. Given that this grant and notarial instrument issue from the same property transfer, and re-use of manuscript pages does not occur elsewhere among Yonge’s extant documents, it is possible that Yonge’s clients, John Ballybyn and Alicia, his wife, may have supplied him with the parchment used for these documents, perhaps receiving a discount on Yonge’s customary fee. Yonge was also retired at this time, and he thus did not have a ready supply of clean parchment for making deeds; the manuscript pages were perhaps an attempt to supply Yonge with the materials he needed. The pages could also have been provided to James as writing material because he was undertaking the work pro bono. There is evidence suggesting that John Ballybyn was a close relative to James Yonge, possibly a half-brother or step-brother.

James Yonge and the documents associated with him occupied a central place in the bureaucracy of fifteenth-century Dublin. While Yonge’s literary endeavors reflect the broader environment of political and cultural unrest in Anglo-Ireland and make use of


516 It is no longer possible to know the length of the folio used to make document 326, but it measures 255 mm. in width. The top bounding line is 20 mm. from the top of the page, the left bounding line is 30 mm. from the left side of the page, and there is no right bounding line. The lack of a right bounding line and the presence of tick marks at the very edge of the membrane suggest that the right margin may have been removed. Document 374 is 340 mm. wide, considerably wider than document 326, a discrepancy that cannot be explained solely by the missing margin on 326. The document is 405 mm. long. The size of this piece of membrane suggests that it might have originally been intended for a de luxe manuscript. The top bounding line is 28 mm. from the top of the folio, and a double bounding line runs down the right side at 25 and 30 mm. from the left edge of the document. The right and bottom bounding lines lie 20 mm. from the right side and bottom of the document, respectively.

517 For further information on the relationship of Yonge and Ballybyn, see the section entitled “The Yonge Family” below and Appendix D.
texts and genres popular across Europe – which Yonge re-fashions for an Anglo-Irish audience – Yonge’s legal documents reveal a more intimate picture of a scribe whose livelihood was tied to government offices and the wealthier members of Dublin’s ruling class. The legal documents associated with Yonge help draw a picture of his social and professional network and yield clues about the scribe himself and his family.

The Yonge Family

James Yonge came from an Anglo-Irish family that had lived in the Dublin area for almost a century – perhaps longer – prior to the ca. 1375 birth of James Yonge himself. In a search for relatives of James Yonge, I surveyed documents and catalogs of documents dating from ca. 1300 – 1600. What these reveal constitutes a partial family tree with several distinct generations. The Yonge family appears to have arrived in Ireland within one hundred to one hundred fifty years after the Anglo-Norman conquest. Several members held important positions in the civic administration of Dublin, and other members of the family held offices within the ecclesiastical hierarchy of English-controlled Ireland. I will address here only members or presumed members of James Yonge’s immediate family. More information on the Yonge family can be found in Appendix D.

Members of the Yonge family appear as Dublin citizens on deeds as early as the 1320s, and it appears that they were prominent citizens. Gerald Yonge and William Yonge witness deeds along with the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin in the 1320s, 30s, and
Gerald Yonge’s son, Maurice (fl. 1354-86), was a merchant and a prominent citizen of Dublin, even serving as a bailiff in 1365-66, during a particularly busy time, when old administrative records were being updated. He also served as a juror in an inquest case, and he and his wife Joanna owned property on St. Thomas Street, just west of the city walls of Dublin.\(^{519}\)

Adam Yonge was the father of John Yonge, whom I believe to be James Yonge’s uncle. John Yonge’s career is well-attested in the extant records. He was vicar of the church of St. ‘Molruan’ (Maél Ruain) in Tallaght in the 1390s, before becoming a chaplain at St. Audoen’s Church, located on the High Street in western Dublin, and later at St. John’s Church, located just north of the Church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church Cathedral) at the corner of Fishamble Street and St. John’s Lane.\(^{520}\) The collection of papers from St. John’s Church preserved as Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 has the bulk of the extant documents relating to John’s Dublin career. These documents can be classed into three categories: property transfers between chaplains, possibly of different Dublin parishes (though more research is necessary to determine the

\(^{518}\) McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 605, 613–14, 616, 633. Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 102 (11 Aug. 1338).

\(^{519}\) National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/55 (9 Dec. 1370); Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, nos. 100a & 100b (1366 and 1340, endorsed 1365-66), 142 (20 Oct. 1365); National Library of Ireland D.1973 (1 Jun. 1377); Ibid., sec. 649; Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 57, 93b, 126.

\(^{520}\) Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 148b. (13 Oct. 1391); National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/94 & 95 (5 & 8 Mar. 1399) and National Library of Ireland D.7222 (24 Nov. 1404); Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31 no. 797 (24 Jul. 1406).
affiliation of each chaplain), property granted to the parish by laymen, and property transferred or leased to laymen by the parish.521

Two sets of documents are the most important of these for the purposes of the current study of James Yonge and his circle. The first set concerns a substantial number of stalls and mesuages on Fishamble Street and three mesuages with gardens in Oxmantown, across the Liffey from the walled city of Dublin, which were all leased in 1413 to John Lytill, a well-to-do Dublin citizen who lived on or near Fishamble Street.522 The rent charged to Lytill was only two shillings per year, a surprisingly small sum given the large amount of property involved and typical rental rates, which often ran upwards of ten shillings per year for a mesuage within the city walls. This low rental rate may reflect an understanding, never formalized, or no longer extant, that Lytill would leave much of his property to the parish upon his death. The second set of documents concerns another 1413 property transaction, in which John Yonge appears to be selling personal property. In a pair of documents penned by James Yonge, John grants his interest in a mesuage in the parish of St. Audoen, located just inside the New Gate on the western side of the city. The recipient was a baker named John Stafford (fl. 1407-51).523 Stafford had many business dealings with members of the Yonge family and their close associates over a period spanning over forty years.524

521 For more information on these documents, see Appendix C.
522 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 88 (29 Nov. 1413).
523 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 547 & 546 (13 & 14 Feb. 1413)
524 For more on Stafford’s relationship with the Yonge family, see the section entitled “Work for Private Clients” in this chapter.
In 1414, John granted his interests in the Fishamble Street and Oxmantown properties (then held by Lytill) to two other St. John’s chaplains.\textsuperscript{525} He was preparing to leave St. John’s Church, as he had been granted several parcels of land in County Meath that belonged to William Yonge, the Archdeacon of Meath.\textsuperscript{526} Additional information on the life of John Yonge may be forthcoming in searches of records from the counties surrounding County Dublin, especially Counties Meath and Kildare.

Edmund Yonge, mentioned in the previous section, was a citizen of Dublin, and was, I believe, James Yonge’s father. Between 1415-18, James Yonge oversaw property transactions for Edmund concerning a prime piece of real estate in the parish of St. Audoen. The eight extant deeds detail three property transactions and survive in the papers of St. Anne’s Guild. The property was a parcel including a house above the quay, a portico – probably a narrow lane or other means of access – and a garden separated from the house by Colman’s Brook. The location would have been ideally situated for carrying on trade with the ships docking on the Liffey. The brook would have provided ready water for gardening, manufacturing, or household use, and the portico likely provided entry onto one of the major streets in the city, possibly Cooks’ Street or Bridge Street, both busy trading centers with easy access to both the bridge over the Liffey to Oxmantown and one of the western gates in the city walls. One of the nearby houses was made of stone rather than timber, and it belonged to a wealthy merchant, Simon

\textsuperscript{525} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 89 (10 Feb. 1414).

\textsuperscript{526} Tresham, \textit{Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium}, 207, no. 136; 210, no. 8.
Doddenale (or Dovedale), a member of a prominent Dublin family. In 1415, chaplains, probably of St. Audoen’s Church, granted the property to Edmund, but the documents indicate that Edmund already had held the property for some time at the time it was “granted.” This may indicate an arrangement similar to Lytill’s leasing of property from St. John’s Parish at an extremely favorable rate; Edmund may have deeded or agreed to deed this property or other goods to the Parish of St. Audoen at his death. In August, 1417, Edmund granted the property to two chaplains; the appointed attorneys were James Yonge and Simon Doddenale – Edmund’s near neighbor and former client of James Yonge. Edmund seems to have been aware that he was dying, as this transaction was made shortly before his death. After Edmund’s death, however, the chaplains deeded the property to Amisie Ballybyn, the relict of Edmund. Amisie may have been Edmund’s second wife. She may be the mother of John Ballybyn, who, with his wife Alicia, shows up in deeds relating to property on Cooks’ Street in the Parish of St. Audoen between 1414 and 1452. On the death of Amisie, Edmund’s quayside house and garden probably passed again to the Parish of St. Audoen, where it was divided up among other parcels from the same area which were owned by the parish.

527 See the section entitled “Work as a Notarius” below.
528 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 137, 151 & 144 (26 & 28 Sept. 1415)
529 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 141, 150 & 142 (25 & 27 Aug. 1417.)
530 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 149 & 139 (10 & 12 Jan. 1418)
531 For more on Amisie Ballybyn and her role, see Appendix D.
James Yonge played a large role in these property transactions between Edmund Yonge and the Parish of St. Audoen. He was the scribe for all eight extant deeds. One of the deeds is a rare example of Yonge’s re-use of parchment.533 James also acted as an attorney for each transaction. Edmund Yonge is the only member of the Yonge family who relied exclusively on James Yonge as both scribe and attorney for property transactions, suggesting that he was an immediate relative. James Yonge’s first notarial instrument appears in 1406. Given that notaries had to be at least twenty-five years old upon beginning their practice, James Yonge was likely born between 1370 and 1380.534 With this birth date in mind, it is quite possible to conclude that Edmund was James’ father, and James’ involvement in the legal matters pertaining to Edmund’s home are indicative of a son’s solicitous concern for him in his waning years. If Edmund was James’ father, it can be posited that James may have called the property on the quay “home” for some portion of his life.

In the latter part of his career, James Yonge wrote a few documents mentioning William Yonge, a butcher who owned or part-owned properties along the High Street and in St. Francis Street between 1422 and 1477. The deeds completed prior to James Yonge’s death ca. 1438 were all written by Yonge.535 William acquired a house in St. Francis Street in 1446, which he then granted to a fellow butcher and a clerk in 1452.536

533 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 151 (26 Sept. 1415).
536 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 115 (8 Aug. 1446), 121 & 122 (8 Mar. 1452).
This deed was witnessed by Michael Griffyn, a carpenter, and Thomas Sangwyne, another butcher. These deeds suggest that William was part of a network of craftsmen, which included several butchers. St. Francis Street seems to have been a common place for butchers to dwell and do business. Its location outside the western city walls meant that animals could be pastured on the fields west of the city or on the fair green when it was not in use as a location for the annual fair. Slaughter likely took place outside the city walls, and the meat could then quite quickly be brought into the city through New Gate to be sold on High Street at the Flesh Market [see Clarke map, fig. 20]. William may have changed careers between 1452 and 1468, becoming a baker, or he may have had a son who became a baker. A William Yonge, baker, is mentioned at Michaelmas 1468 in the surviving Dublin City Franchise Roll. William became a proctor for St. John’s Church prior to 1471, a position he held until his death sometime after 1477.

James Yonge identifies himself as a *clericus coniugatus* in his notarial instruments. If *coniugatus* does indeed mean “married,” as C. R. Cheney, Charles McNeill and A.J. Otway-Ruthven attest, William may have been James Yonge’s son. James was married prior to 1406; William was likely born ca. 1400-1405 and was a young man in 1422, when he is first mentioned in the extant records. Another potential son or grandson of James Yonge, Henry Yonge, is listed as one of the two Guardians of

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537 Dublin City Archives, Miscellaneous Roll 6, membrane 1; Lennon and Murray, *The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512*, 1.

538 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 128, 129 & 130 (separate land transactions dated 13 Apr. and 24 May 1471), 132a (5 May 1477).

539 Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, 80–1; McNeill and Otway-Ruthven, *Dowdall Deeds*. For further discussion of *coniugatus* in notarial instruments, see the section entitled “Work as a Notarius” below.
the Guild of St. Anne in the Parish of St. Audoen in 1468 and 1470, and he carried out business on behalf of the Guild.\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 362 & 749 (20 Mar. & 20(?) Jun. 1470); Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 94.}

The Yonge family continued to be active in Dublin throughout the sixteenth century. Its members included another notary, Thomas Yonge (fl. 1493), who may have worked directly for Holy Trinity Church,\footnote{McEnery and Refaussé, \textit{Christ Church Deeds}, sec. 359; Lawlor, “A Calendar of the \textit{Liber Niger} and \textit{Liber Albus} of Christ Church, Dublin,” 22.} Mighell Yonge, a merchant and warden of Dublin’s Merchant’s Guild in 1553,\footnote{National Library of Ireland D.15989 (27 Apr. 1539); Dublin City Library Gilbert MS 78, pp. 49, 51.} and Gerald Yonge, who was an Alderman of Dublin by 1594, and mayor in 1600\footnote{McEnery and Refaussé, \textit{Christ Church Deeds}, sec. 1416, 1418, 1451.} The Yonge family left one further indication of their existence on the landscape of County Dublin. A structure north of Oxfamtown called “Yonge’s Castle” appears on maps from the seventeenth century, and the Castle was a well-known landmark. Little is known about the site, but it may have been a tower house used by the branch of the Yonge family that lived in County Dublin.

In his article on James Yonge, Seymour wrote, “From recently-published deeds and registers it appears that his family was for some centuries closely connected with the civil and ecclesiastical life of the parish of St. John’s, Dublin.”\footnote{“James Yonge: A Fifteenth-Century Dublin Writer,” 48.} Given the new evidence discussed above and in greater detail in Appendix D, this statement requires qualification. The Yonge family was certainly involved in St. John’s Parish, but it
appears that they also had strong ties to the neighboring parish of St. Audoen. As I will show below, Yonge’s hand appears far more frequently in the papers of St. Audoen’s Parish – papers which became the property of St. Anne’s Guild after the Guild was founded in 1430, late in Yonge’s life – than the hand of any other scribe of the initial decades of the fifteenth century. It seems that Yonge was the parish’s preferred scribe.\footnote{See the section entitled “Work for Private Clients” below.}

The chaplain John Yonge also had ties to Tallaght and to larger areas in the counties surrounding Dublin. Unfortunately, no deeds have yet been found in which James Yonge himself granted or received property, so any attempt to identify where he lived is conjectural. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to locate the scribe in the northwestern part of the city, within easy reach of both the Parish of St. John and the Parish of St. Audoen. If Edmund Yonge was indeed James’ father, it is possible that James spent part of his life in the house on the quay next to Colman’s Brook. James may also have found lodgings with one of the parish churches, or he may have been entitled to lodgings provided by the City when he was one of the bearers of the Seal of the Provostship.

Due to their nature as instruments of property transfers, deeds can only show us one part of the picture of the Yonge family. Poorer family members who did not own or lease significant property would leave no trace of their existence in the extant documents. Women are also vastly underrepresented. Nonetheless, the extant deeds do paint a picture of several generations of a family that, despite not having the wealth and influence of the nobility, produced a number of influential people – chaplains, notaries, merchants, and holders of various public or semi-public offices, whether associated with
churches, guilds, or the City of Dublin itself. James Yonge, who held official positions for City and Crown and who worked with a number of powerful Dubliners, seems right at home as a product of the Yonge family.

Overview of Yonge’s Career

During the course of his career, James Yonge worked on a temporary or permanent basis for most of late medieval Dublin’s power structures. Yonge created documents for many Dublin parishes and at least one religious guild. He was involved in the founding of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, as well. He worked for the City of Dublin as a bearer of the Seal of the Provostship and probably as a recorder, as well. When he was appointed Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer, Yonge immediately found a deputy to fill that role while he himself labored on a translation of the *Secreta secretorum* for the king’s representative in Ireland – the Lord Lieutenant. Many private individuals were also among Yonge’s clients. These associations extended beyond the city walls into the area surrounding Dublin and beyond, into the Irish marches.

The attitudes of ethnically English people towards the Irish in late medieval Ireland varied widely; some embraced Irish language and culture while others rejected it wholesale. That Anglo-Irish acculturation was seen as a threat by the English establishment is clear when viewing some of the provisions of the Statutes of Kilkenny which prohibited ethnically English people from engaging in certain Irish cultural practices. Engagement with Irish culture by the Anglo-Irish varied from region to region and even from person to person. Located as he was in Dublin, Yonge was not faced with
the necessity of acculturation experienced by the English living in the marches. Perhaps more than many Dubliners, though, Yonge took a hard-line stance against Irish culture.

The dearth of Irish names in Yonge’s documents is not only an indicator of the economic and social status of the Irish population in the Dublin area, it also corroborates the anti-Irish views expressed by Yonge in his *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and his *Memoriale*.\(^546\)

Yonge seems to have excluded ethnically Irish people from his client list altogether.

Yonge’s client list does show great diversity in the offices held, the professions, and the relative economic means of the people for whom Yonge worked. Despite the large number of clients and their social and economic diversity, Yonge’s focus is curiously narrow. The extant evidence suggests that Yonge created a relatively small range of legal documents. The great loss of Irish historical documents in 1922 may impose an artificially limited scope on Yonge’s documents, but even when only the surviving evidence is considered, certain types of documents do not appear or appear only rarely in the body of Yonge’s work, whereas other contemporary scribes were producing these documents more frequently. Yonge’s hand does not appear on any charters. This is hardly surprising, as many of Dublin’s surviving charters probably originated in England. However, Yonge was also not involved in making fair copies of charters, as some of his contemporaries were. Statistically, indentures are also more infrequent in Yonge’s body of work than in those of his contemporaries. For instance, counting only extant documents, and excluding non-legal documents such as

\(^{546}\) “Molghur” is the one Irish name that appears in Yonge’s extant documents, quite late in the scribe’s career; he is the recipient of property on a set of documents that Yonge executed for family members. For further discussion of Yonge’s cultural attitudes, see Chapters 1 and 3.
manuscripts, Yonge’s student, Nicholas Bellewe wrote seventy-two extant documents. Of them, nine, or 12.5%, were indentures. Using the same document limitations, James Yonge wrote eighty-one extant documents, of which four, or 5%, were indentures. The rarity of other document types in Yonge’s corpus can be attributed to their overall rarity in the extant records. These include an acknowledgement of debt and a will.\textsuperscript{547} Two other documents relating to debts may also be in Yonge’s hand, but they are too damaged to make a secure identification. These rarer document types often involve individuals with whom Yonge had a long-term relationship, and they may represent special services carried out for close friends. Notarial instruments in Yonge’s hand are also rare, but they are more frequent among Yonge’s documents than in the general collection of extant documents. Only five of the eighty-one Yonge documents, or 6.1%, are notarial instruments. Notarial instruments, though, are rarer in the aggregate of extant documents. Of the one hundred thirty-five documents dating between 1400 and 1435 in the Ormond Deeds of the National Library of Ireland, only one is a notarial instrument; of one hundred twenty-eight documents dating between 1400 and 1475 in the Dowdall Deeds of the same library, only seven are notarial instruments. Notarial instruments are similarly infrequent among the deeds of the parishes of St. Olave and St. John in the Library of Trinity College Dublin and the deeds of the Guild of St. Anne in the Royal Irish Academy. Sixty-eight deeds date between 1400 and 1475 in TCD MS 1477, and of those, four are notarial instruments. The deeds of the Guild of St. Anne are more numerous, with two hundred and five documents dating between 1400 and 1475, of

\textsuperscript{547} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 95 (24 Jan. 1413) and Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31, no. 93 (20 Dec. 1438)
which five are notarial instruments. In all, excluding the Ormond Deeds, which I did not have opportunity to survey up to 1475, of four hundred and one documents written between 1400 and 1475, sixteen, or 4%, are notarial instruments.

By far the most common documents in Yonge’s corpus are those pertaining to property transfers. Lands and properties both within and without the city walls were conveyed from one individual or group to another via a series of three documents: a grant, a deed of attorney, and a quit-claim. Grants name the grantor or grantors and grantee(s), describe the property conveyed, usually in relation to other properties or to major landmarks, such as the city wall, streets, or sources of water. They are usually dated by month and day rather than by the date’s proximity to a major feast day, and the year is given in regnal years. On the same date, a deed of attorney was produced. In it, the grantor(s) appointed one or very occasionally two people to convey the property to the grantee(s). Unlike being an attorney or advocate in court, there was no educational requirement to be an attorney. It was a one-time appointment made for a specific property transfer. Individuals who were appointed attorneys were probably known to the grantor and may also have been known to the grantee. They generally appear to have been of sufficient standing in the community to own property themselves and to be generally regarded as honest citizens. James Yonge and other Dublin legal scribes were often attorneys for the deeds they wrote. This seems to have been an extra service offered by the scribes, probably for a fee. The appointed attorney then placed the grantee(s) in seisin of the property. Little is known about what this entailed, but the attorney probably ensured that the paperwork was in order and that the grantee(s) received the correct property and all of its accoutrements, which might include a garden,
a portico, or in one case the baskets built into the walls of a mesuage. The property transfer was finalized with a quit-claim, which could be dated as early as the same day as the grant and deed of attorney, or as much as three weeks later. Most quit-claims are dated between two and four days after the accompanying grant and deed of attorney. In a few cases, multiple quit-claims or duplicate quit-claims were made. These seem to be cases where unrelated people had an interest in the same piece of property, and therefore separate quit-claims were made, each one naming a different grantor; in other cases, the various grantees of a piece of property each received a fair copy of the quit-claim. In these instances, the quit-claims are dated on the same day or on different dates.

In an analysis of the extant documents penned by Yonge, several trends present themselves. These will be discussed in further detail in the rest of this chapter. The earliest extant document in Yonge’s hand is a grant dated 24 November, 1404. The extant documents from the early part of Yonge’s career suggest that Yonge found many of his private clients in the Parish of St. John and the Parish of St. Olave in Dublin. One reason for this might have been the presence of a family member – John Yonge – in the Parish of St. John. Catalogs of deeds that are no longer extant suggest that James also worked for members of the Parish of St. Werburgh, and that he may have also done some work for chaplains at the Church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church). One of the most striking patterns of Yonge’s early career is the large number of documents executed


549 See Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos 330, 353, and 390 (26 and 28 May 1419) and Ibid., nos. 116 and 367 (10 and 24 Aug. 1416).

550 National Library of Ireland D.7222.
on behalf of chaplains. Beginning approximately five years into his career, James Yonge began branching out, taking on private clients in other areas of the city, particularly the Parish of St. Audoen, and working for a larger cross-section of Dublin society. This pattern continued for the rest of his career. Yonge began working for the City of Dublin early in his career, and he also became a notary quite early. He kept these offices throughout his career. It has been suggested that Yonge worked as a secretary for James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond. Yonge’s relationship with Butler, it seems, was more sporadic than has heretofore been assumed, but Butler was nonetheless one of Yonge’s most important clients in the 1420s, and Yonge was a sufficiently ardent Butler supporter to merit a politically-motivated government appointment, the income from some of the king’s lands in Saggart, and a commission at the beginning of Butler’s Lieutenancy in 1420. Yonge was a founding member of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild in 1419. His presence on the foundation charter may stem from his work for the city, but his work for the Merchant Tailors’ Guild may have brought Yonge to the attention of the founding members of the Guild of St. Anne. Beginning just before the official foundation of the Guild of St. Anne in 1430, Yonge found regular employment with that organization. During the waning years of his life, James Yonge also created documents for large landowners in the area surrounding Dublin. The final extant document in Yonge’s hand is the will of well-to-do baker, Richard Codde, written on December 20th, 1438.


552 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 93.
Work for the City of Dublin

Many of the documents Yonge wrote have or had seals appended. Most of these are personal seals ranging in size from less than a centimeter to over four centimeters in diameter. The larger seals belonged to members of the nobility, religious institutions, or civic offices. A commonly appearing seal in the corpus of documents penned by Yonge is a large seal measuring forty millimeters in diameter. It is usually impressed in bright red wax, although the wax on some specimens has darkened considerably to a deep brick red. The center of the seal is dominated by a heater-shaped shield with the royal arms: three lions passant gardant in pale. Surrounding the central shield is the inscription SIGILLVM · PREPOSITVRE · DVBLINIE (Seal of the Provostship of Dublin). An equal-armed cross sits at the top of the seal, dividing the end of the inscription from the beginning. [figs. 21-22] The Seal of the Provostship of Dublin was used on documents that required recognition by the City of Dublin, but which did not require using the much larger official city seal. W. G. Strickland has identified several documents bearing the Seal of the Provostship that record the outcome of official arbitration in property disputes and a dispute between the City of Dublin and the abbot of St. Thomas’s. The Seal of the Provostship, however, was most commonly used on property transfer documents in cases where the seal of the grantor was not well known. It was employed as a means of authenticating a document through the auspices of the city.


554 Ibid.
The Seal of the Provostship pre-dates the 1229 incorporation of Dublin as a city with its own governing body. Before 1229, Dublin had a provost who governed at the pleasure of and on behalf of the king of England. After Dublin was granted the right to elect its own mayor, the title of provost fell to the two men who assisted the mayor. The original duties of the provosts included accounting for and delivering to the Exchequer the annual rental owed to the king, and the seal seems to have been used for these accounts. Beginning in 1292, the provosts were referred to as bailiffs. The Seal of the Provostship became detached from the office of provost or bailiff during the high Middle Ages. By at least the second half of the fourteenth century, it was used by clerks to authenticate semi-private documents.

Because the Seal of the Provostship was being used in lieu of the official city seal, some measures must have been in place to ensure that it was being used legally, correctly, and with the permission of city officials. The Seal of the Provostship and the right to use it was entrusted to certain Dublin area scribes, of which James Yonge was one. These bearers of the Seal of the Provostship were responsible for its proper use. They wrote property transfer documents for clients who needed to have the additional assurance that the Seal offered. As bearers, the scribes were also probably able to charge an extra fee for using the Seal. Deeds to which the Seal was appended are marked as such by a phrase included in the closing lines of the document. Most grants, deeds of attorney, and quit-claims use the formula “In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte mee

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555 Ibid., 163–66.
556 Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 154.
"sigillum meum apposui" (In testimony of which matter, I have applied my seal to my present record), directly before the date of the deed. When the Seal of the Provostship was used, the above phrase was followed by, "et quia sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum ideo sigillum Prepositure Ciuitatis Dublensis ad rogatum meum presentibus est appensum" (and because my seal is unknown to many, the seal of the Provostship of the City of Dublin is appended to the present letters at my request). Because this phrase was included in the text of legal documents, those documents from which the originally appended Seal of the Provostship has been lost are readily identifiable. This assists greatly in identifying the body of documents which might have been written by scribes entrusted with the Seal of the Provostship.

From the documents surveyed, it appears that the Seal of the Provostship was entrusted to only two or three scribes at any one time, as a limited number of scribal hands are associated with the use of the Seal. In the extant records, there are forty-four deeds dated between 1379 and 1475 emerging from thirty-two separate property transfers that have or once had the Seal of the Provostship appended to them. In all, sixteen different scribes contributed to these deeds. Many are unnamed, and nine hands appear only once in the surviving deeds. Unfortunately, the loss of materials means that only a partial picture can be reconstructed. There are several gaps of five to ten years in the record. The first such gap appears between 1410 and 1415, another significant gap lies

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557 A rarer, alternative form of this formula was "… ideo sigillum prepositure Ciuitatis Dublensis presentibus apponi procuraui" (… therefore I arranged that the seal of the Provostship of the City of Dublin be applied to the present letters).

558 A list of these deeds can be found in Appendix F.
between 1428 and 1435. The extant documents from the final decades of the period covered are especially sparse, averaging a document every eight to ten years. Further research is needed to determine if this is an accident of document survival or if there was a long-term trend away from using the Seal of the Provostship. Several deeds in the now-lost Christ Church deeds and the deeds of St. Werburgh’s also bore the Seal of the Provostship, according to the catalogs. Surely, many other such deeds have been lost.

Several patterns emerge from a close analysis of documents with the Seal. Certain scribes seem to have used the Seal for long periods, while others only appear a time or two. For instance, two scribes wrote the six extant documents dating between 1397 and 1401; one wrote in a small hand with a minim height of around 1 mm., and the other wrote in a larger hand with letters with a 2.5-3 mm. minim height, a hand I have termed “Hand M.”\textsuperscript{559} In 1402 and 1403, two other hands intervene. One hand is characterized by club-shaped ascenders on the ws. He wrote only one extant document. Three others in this period were written by a scribe who rested his pen between words, creating documents with many small medial dots that were not intended as punctuation.\textsuperscript{560} Between 1404 and 1406, Hand M and James Yonge were the scribes associated with the Seal of the Provostship.\textsuperscript{561} Many documents written between 1406 and 1409 are no

\textsuperscript{559} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 305 (6 Aug. 1397), 331 (20 Apr. 1401), and 503 (1 Dec. 1400) and National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/94 (5 Mar. 1399), 2011/1/95 (8 Mar. 1399) and 2011/1/104 (8 Nov. 1400). For more on “Hand M,” see the section entitled “Scribal Education and Employment in Late Medieval Ireland” in Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{560} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 675 (2 Feb. 1402) and Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, nos. 176 (24 Jun. 1402), 180 & 181 (both 28 Nov. 1403).

\textsuperscript{561} Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 182 (20 Apr. 1404), Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 72 (6 Apr. 1406), 73 (20 Apr. 1406), 75 (6 Apr. 1406), 76 (? Apr. 1406), and 77 (20 Apr. 1406), and National Library of Ireland D.7222 (24 Nov. 1404).
longer extant, but Hand M again appears on documents of 1409 and 1410. There is a gap in the records, but Yonge is again associated with the next extant deed with the Seal of the Provostship in 1415. Two unknown hands intervene in 1418 and 1420. Between 1422 and 1428, one document is in a tiny, unknown hand, but ten other documents are in the hands of Yonge and his student, Thomas Baghill. Another Yonge student, Nicholas Bellewe, joins Yonge and Baghill in 1428. Among the eight documents in the latter part of the period, dating between 1435 and 1463, Baghill’s hand appears once, in 1435, and Bellewe’s hand appears twice in 1459. They are joined by a small, unknown hand and by the hand of the notary John Bowlond.

The matrices for the official Seal of the City of Dublin were carefully guarded in a coffer under lock and key. The official seal was used only with the assent of all of the key-holders. The Seal of the Provostship, however, appears to have been allowed more

562 Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, nos. 185 (6 Jul. 1409), 189 (9 Jun. 1410), and 191 (12 Nov. 1410).

563 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 99 (12 Oct. 1415).

564 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no 405 (1 Apr. 1420) and unnumbered fragment (ca. 1418).

565 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/129 & 130 (1 Apr. 1420), Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 203 (28 Oct. 1427), and Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 282 & 283 (3 Feb. 1428), 284 & 295 (27 Jan. 1428), 290 & 344 (29 Jan. 1428), and National Library of Ireland D.1612 (1 Dec. 1428). For more on Thomas Baghill, see the section entitled “The Career of Thomas Baghill” in Chapter 5.

566 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 631 & 639 (4 Feb. 1428). For more on Nicholas Bellewe, see the section entitled “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe” in Chapter 5.

567 Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, nos. 207 (24 Dec. 1435), 209 (18 Sept. 1438), and 210 (19 Sept. 1438), National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/166 (7 Aug. 1448), Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 598 (6 Apr. 1459) and 599 (9 Apr. 1459).

flexible use. Whereas the official City Seal was used only when the Dublin City Assembly met at their quarterly meetings, the Seal of the Provostship could be used year-round. It may have been stored with some security, but the scribes appointed to use the seal were probably entrusted with a key and had ready access to the Seal. A survey of the documents, both extant and lost, that once bore the Seal demonstrates that such sealed documents were produced in every month of the year. This makes sense, as the demands of property transfers, with their grants and quit-claims often executed several days apart, would militate against a rigid schedule for the use of the Seal.

Even if the Seal of the Provostship was not guarded as carefully as the official City Seal, the users of the Seal of the Provostship had a responsibility to the City Assembly to keep careful records of when and where the Seal was used. While most of the late medieval rolls of the City administration do not survive, the single surviving fifteenth-century Dublin City Franchise Roll provides important information regarding the control of the Seal of the Provostship. The roll has a record of the individuals given citizenship between 1468 and 1512. On the dorso of the roll, in among reviews of the wills of city officials and other prominent Dubliners, fair copies of royal proclamations, and charters and memoranda of court proceedings are copies of several quit-claims pertaining to property in the city and county of Dublin. Each of these quit-claims contains the phrasing indicating that the original document bore the Seal of the Provostship. It appears that those who employed the Seal had a responsibility to present exact copies of the quit-claims on which the Seal was used to be duly enrolled in the city

569 Dublin City Archives, Dublin Corporation Records Miscellaneous Roll no. 6.
records. No fair copies of grants or deeds of attorney appear on the Franchise Roll, even though the Seal of the Provostship was also appended to these documents. The Franchise Roll instead preserves a record of property transfers that have already been completed.

Between 1468 and 1475, five quit-claims were enrolled. Again, our evidence is extremely limited, but provided this roll was the only place where quit-claims using the Seal of the Provostship were enrolled, it appears that approximately one property transfer per year required the Seal. This seems somewhat sparse when compared to the multiple transactions of the first decade of the fifteenth century. It may be that quit-claims using the Seal were commonly enrolled elsewhere or that the use of the Seal was undergoing a decline. None of the original deeds recorded on the Franchise Roll survive, and the survival rate of both deeds and rolls suggests that more than half of the records which used the Seal have been lost.

The limited number of scribal hands associated with the Seal of the Provostship, the flexibility evident in its use, and the necessity for accurate record keeping in the rolls compiled by Dublin’s civic authorities suggest that there was an official protocol or set of guidelines in place for designating certain scribes as bearers of the Seal of the Provostship. These scribes – usually only two or three at any one time – would have been the scribes available to people who needed to have the authentication the Seal offered. The scribes may have been paid by the City, but it is also likely that they derived some fee for the use of the Seal from their clients. Each transaction was probably recorded at a meeting of the Dublin Assembly either by the presentation of the original quit-claim by the grantor or recipient or by the presentation of a fair copy by the bearer of the Seal. Bearers may have been assistants to the City Clerk, who was responsible for
keeping the rolls and records. London’s City Clerk was assisted by a number of clerici; the situation in Dublin may have been similar, yet on a smaller scale, as the administration modeled itself closely on England’s. The extant evidence demonstrates that Yonge was a bearer of the Seal, and possibly a clerical assistant to the City Clerk from the beginning of his career in 1404 up to at least 1428. There may have been years when he was not so designated, and a hiatus between 1422 and 1424, when Yonge was imprisoned, is almost certain. The gaps in the surviving documents mean that one must engage in informed speculation regarding what years Yonge used the Seal; I believe that Yonge was a bearer for most of his life, perhaps giving the Seal up only in the last few years of his life – in the early 1430s.

There is additional compelling evidence to suggest that the right to use the Seal of the Provostship was an official or semi-official position. James Yonge, Thomas Baghill, and John Bowlond were all notaries, and it is possible that notaries, with their additional ability to witness and authenticate documents, may have been preferred for the position. The frequency of notaries associated with the Seal of the Provostship when they were relatively rare in the general population of fifteenth-century Dublin scribes indicates either preferment or a concentration resulting from apprentices inheriting the Seal from their masters. Similar letter-forms and notarial signa manualia identify Thomas Baghill as Yonge’s apprentice. Nicholas Bellewe was not a notary, but he shares similar letter

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570 Williams, *Medieval London, from Commune to Capital*, 95, 335; Cosgrove, “The Emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447,” 547.

571 For more on Yonge’s imprisonment, see the section entitled “Triumph and Tragedy: Work for the Irish Exchequer and James Butler,” below.
forms with Yonge, and as a young man, Bellewe was appointed to escort Yonge safely from Trim to Dublin during the former’s imprisonment. This evidence suggests that Bellewe was also one of Yonge’s students. Further, the similar letter forms in the scripts of Hand M and Yonge may indicate that Yonge was the apprentice of Hand M. The Seal of the Provostship of Dublin seems in these cases to have passed from master to apprentice, or apprentices of former bearers were given preferment when the position became open. Yonge’s appearance as a Dublin legal scribe in connection with the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin may be the result of his relationship with his master. In turn, after Yonge trained Bellewe and Baghill, their hands also appear in connection with the Seal.

Yonge’s very first extant document establishes the scribe’s connection to the City of Dublin. It is a 1404 grant of substantial lands between the Collyn and Dodder Rivers south of the City of Dublin by Thomas Spark, canon of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, to John Yonge, the vicar of Tallaght, and four chaplains. The hand is that of James Yonge, and one of the seals is the Seal of the Provostship. The witnesses to the deed included John Drake, the mayor of Dublin in 1404-05, and both of the bailiffs, Stephen Taylour and Luke Dovedale. Yonge probably received this assignment due to his association with the City of Dublin through his master, Hand M, although with his relative John Yonge as one of the recipients, he may have received some support from that quarter as well. The deed is beautifully executed, and Yonge clearly took some care in writing this document. [fig. 572]

For more on these relationships, see Chapter 5.

Robert Notte, Henry Wytteby, Nicholas Belyng, and John Taloun; National Library of Ireland D.7222 (24 Nov. 1404).
Yonge was well-ensconced as a bearer of the Seal by 1406, as several documents in his hand also have the Seal affixed to them – in these cases, without a list of illustrious witnesses.574 Yonge’s work as a bearer of the Seal of the Provostship may also have brought him one of his literary commissions. In the late summer of 1411, Laurence Rathold of Tar and Pászthó arrived in Dublin. Yonge’s account of the Hungarian’s visit reports that the knight presented a letter of safe passage that he had from his patron, King Sigismund I of Hungary, “to the citizens of Dublin.” A presentation of this sort was probably a formal event in which Rathold brought the letter to a meeting of the mayor and bailiffs or the Dublin Assembly. As a minor official, Yonge was likely present when the Hungarian presented his document. He may have been assigned the task of being Rathold’s secretary during the visitor’s stay in Dublin, or he may have seen the opportunity it presented and volunteered for the task.575 The document Yonge created recording Rathold’s journey to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory is a hybrid document aimed at a broad European audience that resembles both the pilgrimage narratives regarding the Purgatory that were popular on the Continent and the specialized notarial instruments that Yonge was trained and credentialed to produce.576

574 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 72, 74 & 75 (6 Apr. 1406), 76 (20? Apr. 1406), 73 & 77 (20 Apr. 1406).

575 For more on Yonge’s Memoriale and his relationship with Rathold, see Chapter 3.

576 See the section entitled “Yonge’s Memoriale in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3.
Work as a Notarius

The key to identifying Yonge’s hand and thus opening a window onto the career of this Dublin author and bureaucrat lies in Yonge’s notarial instruments. These documents were written and – most importantly – signed by the scribe. Close analysis of the hand of Yonge’s signed notarial documents led to the identification of the many other extant documents penned by Yonge. While the earliest document written by Yonge had the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin appended to it, Yonge’s second earliest extant document, dated March 16\textsuperscript{th}, 1406, is also important in tracing the scribe’s career, as it is a notarial instrument. It is one of five such notarial instruments that survive from Yonge’s career.\textsuperscript{577} As noted above, notarial instruments are relatively rare in the extant documents from fifteenth-century Dublin, comprising only about four percent of those documents. One of Yonge’s apprentices, the notary Thomas Baghill, wrote thirty-eight extant documents, of which four, or about ten percent, are notarial instruments.\textsuperscript{578} Over six percent of Yonge’s documents are notarial instruments. It is somewhat surprising that there are not more extant notarial instruments in Yonge’s hand, but given the piecemeal survival of medieval legal documents and Yonge’s involvement in many pursuits beyond his notarial duties, it stands to reason that they are not more numerous. The larger frequency of notarial instruments among Yonge’s documents when compared to the general body of extant documents is, however, hardly surprising, as Yonge was one of

\textsuperscript{577} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 69 (16 Mar. 1406), 84 (12 Nov. 1411), and 85 (28 Nov. 1411); Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 343 (12 Dec. 1432) and 374 (18 Jan. 1435).

\textsuperscript{578} National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/141; Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 826 (17 Apr. 1434) and 799 (20 Oct. 1436).
only a few scribes who had the training and authority to create these specialized documents.

Scribes possessing notarial credentials were relatively rare in late medieval Dublin. In 1402, a review of notaries and their credentials in the Diocese of London resulted in a list of forty-eight individuals who were allowed to notarize documents. Another thirteen men had been working as notaries, but failed to produce their credentials when required.\textsuperscript{579} With an approximate population of 50,000, this means that central London had a notary for every 900-1,000 people. Dublin’s far smaller population – estimated at 5-6,000 in the early fifteenth century – meant that the city probably only had five to seven notaries working in it at any one time.\textsuperscript{580} Even when the net is cast far wider than the Diocese of Dublin or the City of Dublin, accounting for these five to seven notaries is difficult. James Yonge was active as a notary from 1406-1435, and Thomas Baghill was active as a notary from 1431-1436. During Yonge’s career, documents are extant from the pens of Baghill and four other notaries. Two notarial deeds were created by John Jordan, a clerk of the Diocese of Meath, in 1405.\textsuperscript{581} John Glyssot, also a clerk of the Diocese of Meath produced a document in 1417.\textsuperscript{582} James Howling of the Diocese of Ossory produced a document in 1418.\textsuperscript{583} Richard Rochfort, again of the Diocese of


\textsuperscript{580} Clarke, \textit{The Four Parts of the City: High Life and Low Life in the Suburbs of Medieval Dublin}, 9.

\textsuperscript{581} National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/111; Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 67 (28 Jul. 1405)

\textsuperscript{582} National Library of Ireland D.15843 (12 Jun. 1417).

\textsuperscript{583} National Library of Ireland D.1549 (5 Jan. 1418).
Meath, produced a document in 1426.\textsuperscript{584} Of the extant documents in this period, only James Yonge identifies himself as a notary of the Diocese of Dublin and a clerk of the City of Dublin. Other notaries are mentioned in catalogues of deeds that are no longer extant. Sadly, usually only the names of these notaries survive. Appendix E lists the notaries working in Dublin and the area of the Pale in the fifteenth century and offers images of notarial \textit{signa manualia} when documents are extant.

But what exactly were notarial instruments? The \textit{Oxford English Dictionary} defines a legal instrument as,

\begin{quote}
“A formal legal document whereby a right is created or confirmed, or a fact recorded; a formal writing of any kind, as an agreement, deed, charter, or record, drawn up and executed in technical form, so as to be of legal validity; [or] a formal and duly authenticated record, drawn up by a notary-public, of any transaction.”\textsuperscript{585}
\end{quote}

This modern definition is remarkably close to the medieval conception of a notarial instrument. These instruments were commonly used to record events, review and renew documents, or otherwise make an official record of a proceeding. The notaries who drew up these documents were governed by certain restrictions which ensured their adequate training and their subservience to a civic or ecclesiastical authority. Their ability to attest to the veracity of the documents they produced rested on their credentials and their good character. They had some modicum of legal training that lent them authority when they inspected existing documents, asked questions of the parties in order to reconstruct a series of events, heard oaths, or tried to untangle sometimes complex

\begin{footnotes}
\item[584] National Library of Ireland D.15861 (14 May 1426).
\item[585] OED Online, “Instrument, n.”
\end{footnotes}

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lines of inheritance and succession governing property ownership. They also, of course, had to have the scribal ability to produce legible documents which often included complete copies of earlier documents such as wills or land grants.

In fifteenth-century Dublin, notarized documents seem to have most commonly been created in cases where some impediment or challenge arose in the normal process of a property transfer. They were usually produced after the original grant and deed of attorney had been written, but before the quit-claim brought an end to the conveyance. Dublin notarial instruments often reiterate the information contained in the grant and answer some impediment that has arisen in the course of the property transfer, often declaring that another claimant has no right to the property. They sometimes also record word-for-word an oath made by one of the parties while touching a Bible. Notarial instruments seek to restore order to legal proceedings that have gone awry, and probably helped keep cases out of the courts.\(^{586}\) Quit-claims dated soon after notarized documents were produced attest to the effectiveness of these documents.

One exception to this standard use of notarial instruments relates to the false arrest and detention of John Lytill, a well-to-do Dublin citizen, in early 1406. The dispute surrounding Lytill’s arrest by the prominent Dublin citizen and former mayor Robert Burnell appears to have been the result of a debt which Burnell argued that Lytill owed him. James Yonge was called upon to create a notarial instrument that recorded the circumstances of Lytill’s false arrest. The creation of the document and the oral review and rehearsal of events necessitated by the creation of the document chronicling those circumstances.

\(^{586}\) For more on the role of notaries and legal scribes in the legal system, see Ramsay, “Scriveners and Notaries as Legal Intermediaries in Later Medieval England,” 127.
events probably allowed Lytill and Burnell time, space, and opportunity to resolve their disagreement privately while simultaneously providing an official record of events should the case be tried in court.

Notarized documents followed strict formulæ for their opening lines in which the date, the location, and the names of the parties were listed. Each document was authenticated with the notary’s *signum manuale*, a line drawing, which was usually – though not always – in the general shape of a cross, and a formulaic eschatocol. In this eschatocol, the notary named himself, asserted his notarial authority, and swore that he had been a witness to the transaction described in the instrument. The formula began with “Ego,” or “Et ego,” and each notary developed his own version of the capital E with which his eschatocol began as well as his own *signum manuale*. Yonge’s *signum manuale* takes the form of an altar cross on a base. The cross incorporates simple ribbon interlace and stylized floral embellishment. Yonge places the abbreviation for Jesus, “IHC,” and signs his name in the voids at the base. In comparison to contemporary practice among the notaries of the York archiepiscopal records, the E with which Yonge begins his eschatocol is remarkably restrained. While it is larger than his usual capital E, it contains no extra flourishes and is only about 2.5 times Yonge’s standard o-height.587

Yonge and other Dublin area notaries would have been very familiar with notarized documents from England. The royal offices of the Chancery, Exchequer, and Wardrobe all employed notaries who were called upon to produce notarized copies of

587 See Appendix E, Figure 3; Purvis, *Notarial Signs from the York Archiepiscopal Records.*
documents as an alternative to using the royal seal on such documents. A large amount of correspondence crossed the Irish Sea, which was more often a conduit for rather than an obstacle to communication. The royal offices of the Chancery and Exchequer in Ireland certainly received a large number of documents from England. Paleographically speaking, the hands used on documents produced in the Dublin area kept pace with developments in English documentary hands, and the same is true for notarial signa manualia.

Both Yonge and his apprentice Baghill probably had many examples from which to draw inspiration when they were creating their own unique and life-long signa manualia in ca. 1405 and ca. 1430, respectively. Yonge and Baghill each created a signum manuale that reflected elements then current in English notarial marks. The simple interlace, the stepped base, and the three-lobed stylized blossoms of Yonge’s cross can be seen in the signa manualia of the 1380s and 1390s preserved in the York Archiepiscopal records. These are also features of the cross of Thomas de Spaldewyk on a 1396 certificate. The interlace and stepped base – as well as long rays similar to Baghill’s – are also part of the 1390 notarial cross of John Cossier in the Common Paper of the London Scriveners’ Guild. The small m-shaped flourishes like the ones Yonge uses are present on the signa of John de Herle, Robert de Esyngwald, and Robert

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589 See Appendix E.
590 Purvis, Notarial Signs from the York Archiepiscopal Records, 34–5.
591 Hector, The Handwriting of English Documents, 75.
While long rays such as the ones on Baghill’s *signum manuale* were in use on notarial marks as early as the 1360s, most early examples are slender and much lighter than Baghill’s. In using these in his *signum manuale*, ca. 1430, Baghill is incorporating a design element that was also current in notarial marks in England. Baghill appropriates Yonge’s m-shaped flourishes, but these are tipped with long, bold rays. This feature is evident in the notarial marks of Peter de Wynton and Robert de Scurneton in 1423 and 1424, and in the marks of John Chesham in 1417, Walter Culpet in 1423, and John Daunt in 1440. Both Yonge and Baghill use a simple and restrained E to begin their eschatocols.

Authorization to draw up notarial documents came in two forms: imperial and papal. Such permission was granted by deputies of the Holy Roman Emperor for notaries by imperial authority or deputies of the Pope for notaries by apostolic authority. Some notaries held both credentials. Cheney notes that “… comparatively few of the English notaries public of [the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries] have left any clue to the date of their appointment by either one or the other authority, while still fewer hint at the order of double appointment.” He then lists three cases of notaries who carried the double credential. Most notable among these is that of Richard son of Henry de Ganyo, a Durham clerk who was credentialed first by imperial authority, and then sometime between 1303 and 1307 he acquired apostolic authority. While Cheney did not concern

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himself with notaries of the early fifteenth century, James Yonge and Thomas Baghill each offer interesting additional evidence concerning double notarial credentials. Yonge describes himself in the eschatocols of the extant notarized documents of 1406 and 1411 as a “clericus coniugatus Cuius Dublinii et Dublinii Diocesis publicus auctoritate Imperiali Notarius” (a married clerk of the City of Dublin and the Diocese of Dublin, and a public notary by Imperial authority). He also calls himself an imperial notary and a writer or scribe (scriptor), rather than a clerk, in his 1412 Memoriale. However, in the 1432 and 1435 documents, Yonge refers to himself as a “clericus coniugatus Cuius Dublinii publicus auctoritate Apostolica et Imperiali Notarius” (a married clerk of the City of Dublin and a public notary by Apostolic and Imperial authority). This indicates that Yonge earned his second credential – and ended his official association with the Diocese of Dublin – sometime between 1411 and 1432. From his earliest extant notarized document, Baghill presents himself as “clericus Mideij diocesis auctoritate Apostolica et Imperiali Notarius” (a clerk of the Diocese of Meath and a notary by Apostolic and Imperial authority). Baghill either began his notarial career with both credentials or obtained the second one quite early in his notarial career. The differences between an imperial and papal notary are not well understood, as Cheney attests. However, Cheney does assert that notaries with papal authority were able to create documents for the episcopate and prepare and present documents for the ecclesiastical

596 For further information on the relationship of the Memoriale and notarial instruments, see the section entitled “Yonge’s Memoriale in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3.

597 Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 81.
It was a post reserved for clerks in minor orders, although there is some evidence that the occasional layman was admitted to the ranks of notaries by apostolic authority. In the latter part of his career, Yonge was a clerk tied to the city of Dublin rather than a clerk connected with a diocese; as such, it is possible that he was among these exceptions. Yonge’s status as a married man also indicates that he was a layman or a clerk in minor orders whose marriage was politely ignored by church officials. Official papal decrees forbade making anyone who was married a notary, but this rule seems to have become somewhat relaxed by the late fourteenth century. Nonetheless, there are very few known examples of married notaries. Yonge appears to be an additional example of a married notary with both imperial and apostolic credentials. Both Yonge and Baghill give importance of place to their apostolic credential, evidence further confirming Cheney’s argument that the papal credential may have been the more important or prestigious of the two certifications.

In all, Yonge produced five extant notarial instruments. Each of these sheds light on Yonge’s professional relationships as well as private legal matters and property movements in late medieval Dublin. Edited Text 2 contains the full Latin text of these documents along with English translations. Yonge’s first notarial instrument, written in the Inn of John Gardener on Cook Street, was a volley in what appears to have been a protracted dispute between John Lytill and Robert Burnell, a former bailiff and mayor of

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598 Ibid., 44 and passim.
599 Ibid., 87–9.
600 Ibid., 79–81.
601 Ibid., 86–7.
Dublin. 602 John Lytill, the son of Thomas Lytill, came into possession of his father’s lands in January 1403. 603 Lytill appears to have owed a portion of the rent from lands in Ballygriffin (now Balgriffin, Co. Dublin) to Marion Burnell. Marion died in 1403, and Robert Burnell received the rents in her name. 604 While the extant documents do not make it entirely clear, it seems that the rental payments either reverted to Robert after Marion’s death or that Robert was trying to ensure that they did. In March of 1405, Burnell seized Lytill and threw him in prison, presumably until Lytill agreed to place his seal on documents that Burnell had had drawn up. Burnell’s status as a former bailiff and mayor probably gave him enough clout to place Lytill in one of the city’s prisons. At some point, cooler heads prevailed, and Lytill was released. According to Yonge’s notarial instrument, he immediately went to the inn of John Gardener, where he called Yonge and two witnesses: the innkeeper himself and Thomas Dodde, an older gentleman who owned several parcels of property in Dublin and who may have lived on Cooks’ Street. 605 Thomas Dodde had some role in the city administration, perhaps as an alderman; his name appears as a witness on documents that were also witnessed by the mayor and bailiffs. It may even have been Thomas who assisted with Lytill’s release. The document Yonge drew up recorded the circumstances of Lytill’s false arrest, making the matter public. When we next hear from Lytill and Burnell, it is in October of 1405.

602 Bailiff of Dublin in 1350-51 and 1382-83 and mayor of Dublin in 1383-84; Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 160.

603 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 64 (19 Jan. 1403)

604 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 66 (28 May 1403).

605 A relative, Roger Dodde, was living on Cooks’ Street in the first half of the fifteenth century.
A short document by Burnell forgives Lytill all “acciones personales et transgressions” (personal actions and transgressions) from the beginning of the world to the date of the document.\(^{606}\) The dispute was not yet over, however. While there is no surviving documentary evidence, it appears that Lytill and Burnell continued to argue. When Robert Burnell died ca. 1424, it was Robert’s son and heir, John, who brought an end to the argument with a document similar to that of October 1405, in which he released to Lytill all of his personal actions.\(^{607}\)

Yonge produced two notarial instruments for Simon Doddenale, a Dublin merchant, and his wife Johanna in 1411. Both concerned the ownership of property in Oxmantown. The first instrument was created “in inferi ora refectorio fratrum predicatorum dublinii” (in the lower refectory of the Friars’ Preachers of Dublin).\(^{608}\) This would have been the Dominican Priory of St. Saviour’s, located on the north side of the bridge over the Liffey, very near the property in question. Simon and Johanna Doddenale had three mesuages and three gardens in Oxmantown that they had received from Nicholas Heitale (a.k.a. Eytall) and his wife, Alianora Comyn. Sometime after the properties had been given to Simon and Johanna, Nicholas Heitale died, and Alianora married John Lytill. Simon and Johanna wished to give the Oxmantown properties to John Lytill and Alianora Comyn, however, there appears to have been some question regarding Doddenale’s use of the property while it was in his possession. The first

\(^{606}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 70 (4 Oct. 1405).

\(^{607}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 106b (20 Mar. 1424).

\(^{608}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 84 (12 Nov. 1411).
instrument provides a record of an oath Simon took while touching a Bible; he swears that no one has any interest in the property aside from himself, nor has he rented out any of the property. A second notarial instrument, dated approximately two weeks later, suggests that a further potential impediment arose in the deeding of the property. This time, the instrument was made in Simon and Johanna’s mansion-house above what is now Merchant’s Quay in Dublin. The extant document is much-damaged, but in this case, it is Johanna Doddenale who makes an oath regarding the property. She swears that it is her will that the property be given away, and that the property is not part of her dowry. Sometime prior to the creation of this instrument, it seems that John Lytill and Alianora announced their intention to grant the property to John Stafford and John Ingoll, chaplains, probably of St. John’s Church, as Yonge lists the chaplains as the recipients of the property. The day after this second notarial instrument was created, James Yonge wrote a grant and deed of attorney concerning the Oxmantown properties. Simon Doddenale officially gave the property to the chaplains, and he appointed Yonge as the attorney for the transaction. With no further impediments, the property transfer took place quickly, and Yonge wrote a quit-claim for Simon two days later, on December 1st.

In 1432, Yonge wrote a notarial instrument for Ralph Pembroke. Pembroke was Dublin merchant and a man of some consequence, having been a bailiff of the City

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609 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no 85 (28 Nov. 1411).
610 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 92 & 93 (29 Nov. 1411), and 94 (1 Dec. 1411).
611 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 343 (12 Dec. 1432).
of Dublin in 1417-18 and 1423-24.\textsuperscript{612} The instrument was created in the large front room of Pembroke’s inn located on the quay, probably near the eastern end of modern Merchant’s Quay. The instrument concerned a mesuage located next door to Pembroke’s inn, which belonged to Walter Scurlag, a squire. Scurlag swore that he and no other owned the mesuage and that it had not been rented out to anyone else. He then granted Pembroke use of the mesuage for twenty-one and ¾ years. The instrument was witnessed by John Cruys, Thomas Boys, a Dublin merchant, and Thomas Arland, one of Scurlag’s yeomen.

Yonge’s final extant notarized document fails to mention where it was executed.\textsuperscript{613} Yonge gives an account of his own actions in preparing the documents for a property transfer in which John Ballybyn and his wife Alicia gave a mesuage in Cook Street to Walter Molghur, a Dublin citizen and a shoemaker by trade, and his wife, Johanna Dowgane. The original property transfer was done in a matter of two days in January of 1435, but some question about the transfer seems to have arisen quickly.\textsuperscript{614} Following the quit-claim for the original property transfer, comes an indenture in which the property is leased long-term to Walter and Johanna, for a single grain, due each year at Michaelmas; this is dated the day after the quit-claim.\textsuperscript{615} The notarial deed comes three days later, on January 18\textsuperscript{th}. Yonge states that as the attorney for John Ballybyn and

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\textsuperscript{612} He would be mayor twice in 1434-35 and 1441-42; Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 161–62.

\textsuperscript{613} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 374 (18 Jan. 1435).

\textsuperscript{614} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 326 & 649 (13 Jan. 1435) and 327 (14 Jan. 1435).

\textsuperscript{615} Both halves of the indenture survive. Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 648 & 779 (15 Jan. 1435).
Alicia, he conveyed the property to Walter Molghur and Johanna, as the deed of attorney ordered him to do. Yonge copies the deed of attorney verbatim into the notarial instrument. He then also includes copies of the original grant and quit-claim. Yonge records that the property, as John Ballybyn swears, is unburdened and unrented, despite the claims of certain unnamed others who claimed to have an interest in the property after the grant was completed. Unlike most notarial instruments, this instrument once had a seal. It is also considerably longer than most, containing the complete text of three other deeds. Yonge was nearing the end of his career, and his handwriting had become somewhat uneven. It becomes increasingly messy as the document goes on. There are also a number of errors in the document, which Yonge acknowledges in his eschatocol. Several words have been added in, and erasures have been made. Yonge carefully enumerates all of these, following standard notarial protocols; these were designed to ensure that the notarial instruments could not be easily amended by erasing or adding words after the notary had finished.

Yonge’s notarial instruments provide much valuable information about Yonge’s career and further information that hints at his personal life. The variety of places in which he wrote the deeds gives a clear indication of the portability of Yonge’s professional services. He probably carried with him parchment, writing utensils, and possibly even a small desk or portable writing surface. He may also have had a knife for cutting parchment for documents and seal tapes and wax for sealing documents. The places where Yonge prepares notarial instruments are also all clustered in the northwest quadrant of the walled city, or in one instance, just outside that quadrant, across the bridge in Oxmantown. Yonge may have been resident in the northwest area of the city,
and the bulk of Yonge’s later land transfer documents indicate that many of his clients lived in this portion of the city as well. While Yonge’s usual land transfer documents do not give an indication of where they were written, it seems that they may also have been prepared in private homes or semi-public places such as inns, churches, and guildhalls.616

More regarding Yonge can be extrapolated from the rules and guidelines in place regarding the creation and employment of notaries in England. Cheney cites an ordinance enacted for notaries of the Papal Chancery that required new notaries to be at least twenty-five years old before being sworn in. He explains that this was not always followed in other circumstances, including a 1349 case, in which three eighteen-year-olds were made notaries in Westminster. However, he indicates that the requirement that notaries be twenty-five was increasingly being observed, becoming quite regular among English notaries in the early fifteenth century.617 This evidence suggests that James Yonge was probably at least twenty-five years old when he was first made a notary. The first extant document notarized by Yonge dates to 1406, and the hand on that document shows some indications that Yonge had not yet settled into his clerical style. The eschatocol in particular is written in a more current manner and the entire document contains several examples of single-chambered a, short r, and a modified secretary-style g, none of which became part of Yonge’s usual legal script. Yonge’s first extant document dates to 1404. All of this indicates that Yonge was probably made a notary ca. 1405. This means he was probably born ca. 1370-80.

616 For more on places where Yonge may have worked, see the section entitled “Work for Private Clients,” below.

617 Cheney, Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 78.
Notaries received the education they needed to become a notary either through an apprenticeship in an ecclesiastical chancery or court, through study of the law at a university, or through specialized training, possibly on the fringes of a university, as Cheney has discovered at Oxford.\(^\text{618}\) In Ireland, however, there appears to have been a fourth option: an apprenticeship with an established notary. This notary, much like the instructors associated with Oxford, would have trained the student in “some basic legal principles, … some of the vocabulary of the learned law, … some useful procedural safeguards, and … the forms of notarial instruments used in ecclesiastical courts,”\(^\text{619}\) in addition, a Dublin notary-in-training might have received instruction in the notarial instruments used in civil law. It is this type of education that Yonge likely received.\(^\text{620}\)

From November 1394 to January 1395, probably early in Yonge’s apprenticeship, King Richard II resided in Dublin on his seven-month visit to Ireland.\(^\text{621}\) He secured the fealty of several Irish chieftains and had their oaths recorded on notarial instruments; several of these public oaths took place in Dublin. Richard used the services of English notaries, Thomas Sparkeford and Robert Boleyne, but witnesses included several Dublin area officials.\(^\text{622}\) As an apprentice in the service of a Dublin clerk or notary, Yonge may have been in the crowd at these public events. His portrayal of Richard II in his later writings demonstrates some grudging respect, perhaps reflecting both Lancastrian nostalgia and

\(^{618}\) Ibid., 76–8.

\(^{619}\) Ibid., 78.

\(^{620}\) For more on the training of notaries public in Dublin, see Chapter 5.

\(^{621}\) Curtis, Richard II in Ireland 1394-5 and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs, 28–9.

\(^{622}\) Curtis, Richard II in Ireland 1394-5 and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs.
Yonge’s own regard for a king who attempted to exercise his might over the Irish people, an event in which the teenaged Yonge had a small part. Prior to Richard’s 1396 marriage to Isabella of Valois, Yonge describes Richard and his reign: “… Pees he hadd of al royalmys crystyn, In heyeste Prosperite of al kynges he stode.” Yonge’s regard for Richard changes dramatically in the wake of his 1396 marriage and his 1397 executions of two of the Lords Appellant.

Yonge was a married notary, a rather rare occurrence. Unfortunately, the name of Yonge’s wife does not survive, and based on the extant evidence, it does not appear that the pair owned any property. They may have rented one of the many mesuages available in Dublin, they may have lived in rooms provided by one of Yonge’s civil or ecclesiastical employers, or they may have lived for part of their married life with Edmund Yonge and Amisie Ballybyn on the Quays. It’s possible that they had at least one child, William Yonge. Like Hoccleve, Yonge’s marriage would have made him ineligible for an ecclesiastical benefice, but both scribes made a living by using their clerical educations to produce legal documents. Yonge’s early association with the Diocese of Dublin (mentioned in his 1406 and 1411 notarial instruments) indicates that early in his career he may have trained as a clerk with the expectation of receiving a benefice. The influence of his relative, John Yonge, might have enticed him into a clerical education, and if James had remained unmarried, John might have also been of


624 For more on Yonge’s portrayal of Richard II, see the section entitled “Yonge’s Interpolations” in Chapter 1, and the section entitled “Yonge’s Memoriale in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3.

625 For more on these familial relationships, see the section entitled “The Yonge Family,” above.
assistance to him in securing a benefice. James may have also trained as a clerk and notary with the expectation of serving in the ecclesiastical courts, and it is possible that he did so for a few years early in his career. It seems that Yonge’s association with the Dublin Diocese ended sometime between 1411 and 1432, possibly as early as late 1411. In his early 1412 Memoriale, parts of which are set up like a notarial instrument, Yonge mentions his notarial credential at the beginning of his colophon, but not his role as a clerk of the Diocese of Dublin.\footnote{\textit{Ego, Iacobus Yonge notarius imperialis, civium et scriptorum minimus civitatis Dublensis”} (I, James Yonge, imperial notary and least of the citizens and scribes of the city of Dublin).} While he produced many property transfer documents throughout his career on behalf of the chaplains of Dublin area churches and on behalf of the religious Guild of St. Anne, Yonge appears to have been employed largely by civic authorities, secular offices, and private individuals. Yonge’s notarial duties were focused on the needs of the City of Dublin and its citizens.

In his study of the role of the notary in England, C. R. Cheney notes,

> The English notaries’ work for private persons has left much less trace than those activities in the service of the Crown and the Church …. Here they could perhaps find more or less permanent employment on the same terms (variable and uncertain) as other clerical assistants, with the extra advantage of being qualified to draw up public instruments when required.\footnote{\textit{Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries}, 64–65.}

The extant documents written by James Yonge indicate that he often straddled the line between public and private employment in the course of his legal career; he found work with both the City of Dublin and the Office of the Irish Exchequer. However, the documents Yonge created in his capacity as a notary all appear to have been created...
while he was working for private individuals. As such, their construction and use provide important new clues about the private employment of notaries. While Yonge was hired multiple times by Lytill and Doddenale, he does not seem to have enjoyed the permanent or semi-permanent private employment posited by Cheney. Instead, he was hired as need dictated; the income from these contracts probably supplemented Yonge’s income from public duties.

Later in his career, Yonge became a master himself, taking on an apprentice, Thomas Baghill, whom he trained to be a scribe and notary. He was probably also the master of Nicholas Bellewe, who was not a notary, but who was heavily involved in writing for private clients and for the City of Dublin. Both of Yonge’s students are discussed in Chapter 5.

Triumph and Defeat: Work for the Irish Exchequer and James Butler

A record that is no longer extant dated April 24th, 1420 appoints James Yonge as Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer. The Engrosser was responsible for maintaining the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer, on which an account of the payments paid to and due to the king was recorded. In England, the Engrosser might have had little to do with the actual writing of the Pipe Rolls, as the Royal Exchequer employed an army of clerks to perform that work while the Engrosser played the role of administrator or

overseer. The Irish Exchequer worked on a much smaller scale, and it is unclear whether
the Engrossers were responsible for creating some or all of the Pipe Rolls. Unfortunately,
the Pipe Rolls were largely destroyed in 1922, so we cannot refer to them to see if
Yonge’s handwriting is on the 1420-21 roll. Yonge’s tenure of the office, however, was
brief – he appointed a deputy, William Stokenbrick, who was in place sometime prior to
December 9, 1420.\footnote{Stokenbrick was appointed on April 25, 1420, but it appears he did not take office immediately. Ibid., Patent Roll 8 Henry V, no. 22. National Archives of Ireland, RC 8/38, pp. 104-05. Matthew, “The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship of Ireland in the Time of James Butler, Fourth Earl of Ormond, c. 1450-52,” 530.}

Why was Yonge appointed to this rather prominent office in the royal, rather than
the civic administration? He had a large-format, neat, and legible hand; he had
experience creating legal documents, and he may even have contributed to the rolls kept
by the City of Dublin. The key to Yonge’s appointment to the Exchequer lies mainly,
however, in who Yonge knew – James Butler, 4\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Ormond. The 4\textsuperscript{th} Earl, also
known as the “White Earl,” was about fifteen years younger than Yonge, having been
born in 1392. Butler was made Earl of Ormond at the tender age of thirteen, in 1405.\footnote{Matthew, “The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship of Ireland in the Time of James Butler, Fourth Earl of Ormond, c. 1450-52,” 111.} Since he was a minor, management of his inheritance was given to the son of Henry IV,
Prince Thomas of Lancaster. The prince probably was instrumental in Butler’s first
political appointment in Ireland, as Deputy Lieutenant to Stephen le Scrope from late
1407 to August of 1408. Butler campaigned with Thomas in France in 1412 and 1413,
and he may have fought with Henry V at Agincourt, although his name is not on the list
of combatants. He also participated in the Seige of Rouen in 1418-19.\textsuperscript{631} Butler’s 1420 appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was likely a direct result of the favor which the fourth Earl found with King Henry V.

At the time of his appointment, Butler was engaged in a feud with members of the Talbot family. The feud probably originated from personal dislike engendered between John Talbot, Lord Furnival, and Butler during earlier interactions in which both were working for the interests of kings Henry IV and Henry V.\textsuperscript{632} The first salvo in what was to become a vicious and extremely public argument concerned debts which Talbot claimed Butler owed to the Irish Exchequer. While Talbot’s first attempt to seize Butler properties in 1415 failed, a second attempt in 1417, which took place while the Earl was in England, was successful; Talbot, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, confiscated Butler’s Irish lands.\textsuperscript{633} The Butler-Talbot feud would continue, varying in intensity, until sometime around 1444, when Butler’s daughter, Elizabeth, was married to John Talbot’s son and heir, John.\textsuperscript{634}

Butler was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on February 10th, 1420, replacing John Talbot, but as he had to travel from Westminster to Dublin to take office, he did not assume office until the 22nd of April of the same year. As soon as he was sworn in, Butler began cleaning house, replacing Talbot appointees to various government offices.

\textsuperscript{631} Ibid., 111–13.

\textsuperscript{632} Ibid., 111–15.


\textsuperscript{634} Crooks, “Factions, Feuds and Noble Power in the Lordship of Ireland, \textit{ca.} 1356-1496,” 452.
with his own loyal supporters. Yonge replaced James Neville, who had had a lifetime appointment, as Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer. Taking place as it did just two days after Butler was sworn in, it is clear that Yonge’s new position was among these politically-motivated appointments. It seems that at the same time, Butler asked Yonge to translate a mirror for princes for him. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, translated “out of latyn othyr Frenche in-to youre modyr Englyshe tonge” celebrates Butler and his ancestors, and marks Butler’s appointment as the lieutenant of the king with a literary work that imitates similar mirrors for princes such as those composed for Edward III in 1327 and Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes* composed for the future Henry V ca. 1412.

The Irish Exchequer under Butler was more productive than it had been in prior years, taking in the statistically high amount of about £1,480 per year. Records of receipts, which had not been kept at all in the years prior to 1420, were resumed. The offices of the Irish Exchequer were a busy place. Peter Crooks has suggested that Yonge’s Second Engrosser position may have been a sinecure, thus giving Yonge a source of income – which may have been more reliable than usual, because of the Exchequer’s success in raising funds during Butler’s tenure – and time to write. A

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636 Ibid., 126.


639 Peter Crooks, personal communication, April 2011.
deputy, William Stokenbrick, was appointed for Yonge on April 25, 1420, and had assumed Yonge’s duties by December 1420. Stokenbrick was officially made Second Engrosser in 1423. The presence of Stokenbrick suggests that Yonge may have devoted himself to writing full-time by the fall or winter of 1420. He may also have retired to the countryside to do so. Yonge was granted a further source of income from the lands belonging to the Leper Hospital in Palmerstown, near Lucan, and several parcels of land owned by the king in Saggart, southwest of Dublin. These were granted on April 28th, 1420. The timing of the grant indicates that it is part of Butler’s reorganization of the Anglo-Irish government and part of the Lieutenant’s patronage of Yonge. In 1421, Yonge was paid 14s. 2d. from the rents of those lands.

The fragmentary nature of record survival means that one cannot be certain, but it appears that Yonge’s work for private clients slowed down in the period between 1420 and early 1424. Only one property transfer survives from that four-year period – one for an old client, John Ingoll, in 1422 – when most years have evidence of multiple property transfers for which Yonge acted as the scribe. From 1420, when he was appointed Second Engrosser, until late summer of 1422, when Yonge put the finishing touches on his translation of the Secreta secretorum for James Butler, Yonge was engaged in

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642 Ibid., Close Roll 9 Henry V, no. 44; Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 252b.

643 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 190 (22 Sept. 1422).
pursuits other than his usual preparation of documents relating to private property transfers. These pursuits probably included writing for Butler and, during a few weeks or months in 1420, working as Second Engrosser.

Yonge finished writing the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* in the late summer or early fall of 1422.\textsuperscript{644} James Butler’s Lieutenancy had expired in April 1422, and Butler’s supporter, William FitzThomas, the prior of Kilmainham, had taken up the reins. King Henry V died on August 31\textsuperscript{st} of that year, although the news did not reach Dublin until sometime after September 22\textsuperscript{nd}, as a quit-claim made on that day records the regnal year as being that of Henry V.\textsuperscript{645} The sudden death of the king created an uncertain situation in Ireland, especially for James Butler. Butler left for England on September 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1422, probably to make an accounting to the English Exchequer. He was unaware, it seems, of the king’s death, but he was among the first to do homage to Henry VI. Ironically, he and John Talbot were both among the ten witnesses on September 28\textsuperscript{th}, when the great seal was transferred from Henry V’s chancellor to the new temporary keeper of the chancery rolls. As a better-connected and more highly-ranked lord, Talbot was able to exert his influence on the new letters patent concerning Ireland, and Butler soon found himself and his interests at an extreme disadvantage. John Talbot made his brother, Archbishop Richard Talbot, temporary Justiciar of Ireland (an alternate title for the Lord Lieutenant), and he also saw to it that the Irish treasurer and chancellor were his

\textsuperscript{644} For more on the date of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, see the section entitled “The Date of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*” in Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{645} Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 190.
supporters. Richard got rid of many of the people whom Butler had placed in office while Butler was detained in England by John Talbot, who accused him of treason.  

Because of Butler’s reversal of fortune, Yonge and many other Butler supporters were vulnerable to the political machinations of Richard Talbot. By January of 1423, Yonge was imprisoned in chains in Trim Castle. While the exact reason for his imprisonment is not mentioned in the extant records, the timing of Yonge’s imprisonment, coinciding as it does with Butler’s fall from power, indicates that he was a target of the Talbot faction. Other Butler appointees were more fortunate, only losing their posts. Yonge, probably because his ardent support for Butler was made so public by the production of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* a few months before, seems to have been singled out for special treatment. His control of lands belonging to the king may also have allowed Talbot to insinuate that Yonge was mismanaging the lands or illegally appropriating more than his share of the assets, thus giving Talbot an excuse to imprison the author. This was not the first time the Talbots had imprisoned Butler supporters, however. In the two years prior to Butler’s first Lieutenancy, from 1418 to 1420, John Talbot imprisoned several people in Butler’s service. Yonge remained imprisoned in Trim for nine months, until October 10th, 1423. The close roll entry securing his release

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647 Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, 234b, no. 37.

explains that Yonge petitioned the king on his own behalf for his transfer to Dublin, as he had been held without trial for nine months.  

The English council in Westminster, attempting to defuse the Butler-Talbot feud, appointed Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, as the new Lieutenant of Ireland, to replace Richard Talbot. Mortimer delayed in taking office, first appointing Edward Dantsey, Bishop of Meath, as his deputy in August 1423. Butler then served as Deputy Lieutenant from May to September 1424, before Mortimer himself took up his office. Mortimer was chosen as a neutral party, and his appointment signaled another shift in Anglo-Irish power structures. Yonge’s transfer and presumably his subsequent trial took place under Dantsey. Yonge was probably low on the list of the Deputy Lieutenant’s priorities, but it seems that the terms of Yonge’s imprisonment were greatly lightened within a couple of months of Mortimer’s deputy taking office.  

According to the close roll order, Yonge was to be transferred from Trim Castle directly to Dublin Castle, where there was a prison in the late Middle Ages. Several Dublin citizens, John More, a merchant, William Sprot, John Pakerell and John Taath, offered sureties for Yonge’s safety. None of these men were clients of Yonge in the extant documents, either before or after Yonge’s imprisonment. It may be that these individuals were chosen for their neutrality and expected to ensure that Yonge made the journey to Dublin without molestation by Talbot supporters, but it may also have been

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that these were Talbot supporters who might have been plotting to harm the clerk. Yonge is not delivered into the hands of these men for transfer, but he is rather entrusted to Nicholas Bellewe for immediate relocation to Dublin Castle. Bellewe was a young clerk in his late teens or early twenties at the time, still in his apprenticeship. Many similarities between the hands of Yonge and Bellewe suggest that Bellewe was, in fact, Yonge’s apprentice until the events of 1423 forced a hiatus in his training. Yonge, then, was entrusted to a man who would certainly not do him harm.

The political winds in Dublin were shifting quickly. While Yonge may have been placed back in prison upon his arrival at Dublin Castle in October of 1423, it is clear that he had gained some degree of freedom by November of 1424, as his hand appears on a grant dated 1 November of that year. At the time, Edmund Mortimer was serving as Lieutenant of Ireland. He may have seen fit to release this political prisoner, acting as he was to defuse the Butler-Talbot feud as much as possible. However, if Yonge was released sometime prior to late September, the orchestrator of his release would have been none other than James Butler, who acted as Deputy Lieutenant for Mortimer between May and September 1424. Yonge, however, may have gained his freedom as early as March of 1424. A much-damaged release between John, the son and heir of Robert Burnell and Yonge’s old friend and client, John Lytill, appears to be in Yonge’s

651 For more on Bellewe’s hand and early career, see the section entitled “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe” in Chapter 5.
652 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 539.
653 Moody, Martin, and Byrne, A New History of Ireland: Maps, Genealogies, Lists, IX:476.
654 Ibid.
hand. However, the damage to the deed is such that a secure identification cannot be made. Yonge was finally able to put his ordeal and his questionable legal status behind him on May 10th, 1425, when a short statement in the patent rolls of Henry VI declares that he has been pardoned. This pardon is dated a mere twelve days after James Butler again regained the Lieutenancy on the 28th of April, 1425. It seems that as Deputy Lieutenant, he did not have the political will to pardon his client – indeed, none of the Talbot appointees was replaced during Butler’s Deputy Lieutenancy – but as Lieutenant, he wasted little time in clearing Yonge’s name.

James Butler’s patronage of Yonge brought the notary great success – income from the office of Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer as well as from king’s lands in County Dublin and the support and freedom to translate and publish his own Hiberno-English version of the *Secreta secretorum*. It also brought him great failure – imprisonment during the tumultuous years of 1423 and 1424. Some of the evidence from the Yonge-Butler relationship, however, falls between these extremes. With the possible exception of the years 1420 to 1422, Yonge never appears to have worked full-time for Butler. He may have been desirous of securing a position as a household clerk for the Earl, but Yonge may also have had enough obligations and clients in Dublin that he was

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655 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 106b (20 Mar. 1424). If Yonge was indeed free to practice his trade again as early as March 1424, his license to do so would have been granted him by Dantsey.


content to work for himself. Nonetheless, Yonge did write several deeds for Butler in the latter half of his career.

In November 1428, Butler granted Hugh Bavent and Thomas Whiteside, a clerk, several of his manors north of Dublin: “*Turveye, Courdoff, & Balyscadane ac Russh & medietatem manerii de Portrarne*” (Turvey, Corduff, and Balscadden and Rush and half of the manor of Portraine).658 In February 1429, Butler granted Bavent and Whiteside a further manor at Blackcastle, near Navan.659 Yonge acted as the scribe for both transactions. Hugh Bavent was a supporter of Butler, and Butler had appointed him Treasurer of Ireland upon his appointment as Lieutenant in 1420.660 The last extant document that Yonge would write for Butler granted four marks annually from Butler’s manor at Bree (located between Enniscorthy and Wexford) to Patrick Archepoll. It was written in 1432.661

Yonge also wrote a quit-claim on the first of December 1428 in which John Blakeney granted a mesuage in the Parish of St. Brigit, just south of the city walls of Dublin, to Butler. The Seal of the Provostship of Dublin was used on this document, and Yonge’s participation in the creation of the document may have stemmed from his work for the City of Dublin, although he probably collected a fee from Blakeney to create the

658 National Library of Ireland D.1615 (9 Nov. 1428).

659 National Library of Ireland D.1616 and D.1617 (both 9 Feb. 1429).


661 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/140 (12 Dec. 1432).
document and a further fee to use the Seal. This deed and the complicated relationship between Butler, Blakeney, and Yonge is discussed in fuller detail below.

The long-held assumption of scholars that Yonge was a secretary for Butler is a justified one, based on Butler’s patronage of the notary’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. However, the extant documentary evidence argues for a much more sporadic relationship between Butler and Yonge, one that was based on Butler’s political needs. Yonge seems in places in the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* to be subtly presenting himself as a candidate for a household secretary, especially in chapter fifty, in which he tells Butler what qualities to look for in a notary.\(^{662}\) Caoimhe Whelan notes that this passage refers to private secretaries, rather than notaries, in the French text that Yonge was working from.\(^{663}\) The author appears to have subtly changed the wording in the hopes that Butler might think of him when reading the work. Yonge, however, displays a peculiar lack of political subtlety in his writing and in his analysis of Irish events. He takes a hard-line stance against the Irish, and he comes close to openly chiding Butler in chapter twenty-six for hiring Irish poets, stating that it is contrary to the Statutes of Kilkenny.\(^{664}\) Yonge may be trying to impress a wider, English, and possibly royal audience with his loyalty to English law and culture, but at times it seems he fails to grasp the complexities – both cultural and political – of life on the Irish marches.\(^{665}\) Butler, on the other hand, had a good understanding of these. He was continually involved in campaigns against the rebel

\(^{662}\) Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 212.

\(^{663}\) Whelan, “The Notary’s Tale.”

\(^{664}\) Yonge, “*Secreta Secretorum,*” 157.

\(^{665}\) For more on these passages and others, see Chapter 1.
Irish in Ulster and the Lordship of Meath. He arranged for the submissions of several rebel Irish chiefs in 1424 and 1425. E. A. E. Matthew has compared these submissions to others made by Butler’s father, Richard II, John and Richard Talbot, and others, and has found that Butler was willing to grant concessions to the Irish rather than simply promising a cessation of hostilities in return for their cooperation. Butler seems to have had the attitude that the English of Ireland and the Gaelic Irish could find common ground and that peaceful relations could be obtained. Yonge’s anti-Irish attitude – perhaps deliberately amplified in the Gouernaunce of Prynces for an English audience – may have been perceived by the Earl as a hindrance, rather than a help to his political efforts. It seems that Butler employed Yonge only when it was most convenient or expeditious for him.

Work for Private Clients

Most of the extant evidence regarding Yonge’s career is comprised of the deeds that Yonge wrote for a host of private clients. Many, if not most, of these individuals were Dublin citizens, although a few lived outside the walls of Dublin. The properties exchanged are overwhelmingly in the western half of Dublin, both within and without the walls; there are particular concentrations along St. Thomas Street and St. Francis Street outside the walls, and on the High Street, Cooks’ Street, and the Quays inside of the walls. While the evidence may be somewhat distorted by the uneven survival of records

and the large amount of deeds preserved by the Guild of St. Anne, located in the western part of the city, when only non-Guild papers are surveyed, there is only a slight shift in the locations of the properties exchanged: they are largely located in the center and western parts of the walled medieval city. Aside from the deeds exchanging property in Oxmantown, only one transaction records an address east of the rough north-south line formed by the northern half of Fishamble Street, Cow Lane, and St. Werburgh Street. On some deeds, the profession of the grantor and grantee is provided on the deed, and this information is quite instructive in building a profile of the types of people whom Yonge counted among his clients, acquaintances, and friends. Almost all of these people were wealthy enough to own some property – albeit some parcels were as small as a single market stall. Many of the deeds Yonge wrote were on behalf of chaplains for the various churches in Dublin. When chaplains are excluded from the census, merchants make up the bulk of the remaining clients. Craftsmen come next; these are mainly a combination of individuals involved in preparing and selling food, notably bakers and butchers.

I will address these deeds in several groups, beginning first with the deeds that are clearly connected with the administration of properties belonging to parishes rather than to individuals. This will generally not include deeds relating to properties exchanged between individuals that at some time in their later history were left to a church, along with the accompanying deeds; these deeds will be addressed in their original context, as contracts between individuals. I will then discuss some of Yonge’s most prominent clients. These people have been selected because of their political activities, their frequency in the extant records penned by Yonge, or their potential roles as friends or
neighbors of Yonge. The final section will examine the deeds penned for Yonge’s family.

I

Deeds from the earlier portion of Yonge’s career demonstrate that the clerk was working for several local parishes. Unfortunately, the deeds of St. Werburgh’s parish and the Christ Church deeds are no longer extant, but it can be assumed that Yonge wrote the deeds of attorney for which he was an attorney and their accompanying grants and quit-claims. It is also probable that Yonge wrote a large proportion of the deeds that had the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin appended to them. The chaplains John Hothum and Walter Reske probably used the services of Yonge or of his master when they granted a mesuage in Castle Street to John Ryver, a skinner, in 1404, and again in 1406, when they rented the same mesuage to several individuals, perhaps a group of merchants or manufacturers, for 50s. per year; these deeds had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to them.667 A further deed in which the two chaplains received the same mesuage from John Herdman in 1410 also had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to it.668 Two Christ Church deeds of 1406 also made use of the Seal of the Provostship.669 Another transaction between chaplains in 1407 also had the Seal of the Provostship on the quit-claim. The


668 Ibid., no. 89 (1 Nov. 1410), p. 303.

669 These confirm two separate transactions. In the first, Maria Burnell, the widow of Thomas fitzWilliam Comyn, a knight, grants lands in Ballygriffin to the cathedral, McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 821. In the second, a mesuage on the high street is exchanged between chaplains of Holy Trinity Cathedral, McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 822.
grantors were John Ingoll and John Mole. If Yonge was indeed the scribe for these deeds, these may represent the first encounter that we know of between Yonge and John Ingoll. The first extant Yonge-penned document involving John Ingoll is from the papers of St. Olave’s and St. John’s, and dates to November 1408. John Serjeaunt, son and heir of Thomas Serjeaunt granted a mesuage on the High Street to chaplains of Holy Trinity Cathedral in 1408. These deeds also had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to them.

In a similar manner, a grant of a mesuage in Skinners’ Street from Thomas Clane to Walter Reske and John Champneys had the Seal of the Provostship on the grant and quit-claim, and thus may have been penned by Yonge.

A grant and deed of attorney in which Nicholas Fynglas grants a mesuage in Fishamble Street to Richard Fynche was probably a private transaction. John Lytill and James Yonge were the appointed attorneys, and it is highly likely that Yonge wrote the deeds and served as attorney with his friend, Lytill. In 1413, Fynche granted the same mesuage to Robert Chamer; John Blakney – who would become one of the founding members of the Guild of St. Anne in 1430 – and James Yonge were the attorneys for the private transaction. Another private transaction in 1414 produced a grant, deed of attorney, and three quit-claims. Yonge acted as attorney with William Baldewyn in a

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671 Ibid., sec. 841–43.


673 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, 846, 847.

674 Ibid., sec. 862–64.
private transaction to grant John Reynald, a smith, a mesuage in St. Werburgh’s Street.\textsuperscript{675}

Similarly, two 1411 property transfers used the Seal of the Provostship and represent private transactions; these lands and their deeds probably became the property of the Cathedral later.\textsuperscript{676} A grant, deed of attorney, and quit-claim for land on St. Patrick’s Street, south of the city walls, had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to them and represent a private transaction for which Yonge may have been the clerk.\textsuperscript{677}

Yonge may also have written a grant in 1409 in which Richard Glaswright granted to the chaplains John Mole, John Ingoll and William Ersdekyn several mesuages: one on the north side of St. Thomas Street, four shops on the south side of Cooks’ Street, and five shops on Pill Lane in Oxmantown, lying between Colcot Lane and Cow Lane.\textsuperscript{678} This grant was among the deeds of the Church of St. Catherine, on St. Thomas Street, and had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to it. The deed may not have originally represented property that went to the Church of St. Catherine, but the mesuage on St. Thomas Street might have passed to the Church along with the deed at some later date. The chaplains who received the property were associated with the churches of St. Olave, St. John, and the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and one of these religious institutions may have been the original recipients of the properties.

\textsuperscript{675} Baldewyn was a recipient of a mesuage in a 1406 deed that Yonge may have penned. Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. Werburgh Dublin, 1243-1676,” nos. 15 & 16 (4 Aug. 1414), 17 (7 Aug. 1414), 18 (8 Aug. 1414), and 19 (9 Aug. 1414), p. 287–88.

\textsuperscript{676} McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 851, 853.

\textsuperscript{677} Ibid., sec. 855–57.

\textsuperscript{678} Cow Lane was also known as Fraper Lane or Frapesawse Lane. Clarke, Simms, and Gillespie, Dublin Part I, to 1610; Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. James, Dublin, 1296-1743,” no. 7 (27 Jan. 1409), p. 273.
If the collections of deeds mentioned above were still extant, it might be possible to flesh out quite a bit more about the early career of James Yonge. Despite the loss of this vital evidence, however, one clear pattern emerges. Yonge’s early career appears to have been somewhat unfocused. The scribe created deeds for parishes and individuals across a wide swath of Dublin, both inside and outside the walls. There are, however, no deeds from the collections of St. Catherine’s, St. Werburgh’s, or the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity after 1415 that might be connected to Yonge. It seems that Yonge’s early career was marked by a lack of secure or steady employment, or that he worked more steadily for the City of Dublin, using the Seal of the Provostship, in the first decade of his career. However, as Yonge became known to the chaplains of St. John’s Church, the founding members of the future Guild of St. Anne, and to James Butler, he may have found more reliable employment. His focus shifts from a city-wide client list to one that is much more narrowly focused on the western half of the city, an area that was generally more affluent than the eastern half, populated as it was by merchants and wealthy citizens.

In the early days of his career, Yonge may have received a helping hand from John Yonge and John Lytill. John Yonge became a chaplain, probably at the Church of St. John, in the early part of the fifteenth century. John Lytill left much of his property to St. John’s when he died in 1434, and many of the deeds relating to those lands went to the church. Of the forty documents in the papers of St. Olave’s and St. John’s written between 1405 and 1424, Yonge’s hand is on over 50% (22) of the extant deeds. A similar pattern indicating Yonge’s greater focus on the western part of the city in the latter half of his career emerges here, too. Most of the deeds in Yonge’s hand date
between 1406 and 1417. The documents relating to Lytill are discussed in more detail in section II below. The first extant transaction for which Yonge wrote deeds for St. John’s Church took place in April 1406. Roger Bekeford – Bailiff of the City of Dublin in 1368-70, and mayor in 1384-85 – had given the church some stalls in Fishamble Street. John Streche, a chaplain, gave them to John Walshe and Walter Porter, also chaplains.\(^{679}\) The chaplains may have done some negotiation with the owners of the neighboring property shortly before these deeds were made, because on the same day, John Herbert, James FitzWilliam, and Walter de Howthe granted two mesuages and four stalls next to the former property of Bekeford to Walshe and Porter. James Yonge wrote all of the deeds for these transactions, and Walshe and Porter were able to group all of the properties into a single parcel.\(^{680}\) The deeds for the next extant internal property grant in the papers of the churches were also written by Yonge. In them, Walter Porter grants the combined properties in Fishamble Street – two mesuages, ten stalls, and the reversion of two further stalls which Bekeford’s widow, Katerina Bellewe, held in dowry – to the chaplains John Yonge, John Stafford, and John Ingoll.\(^{681}\) In 1411 a property transfer took place that cannot easily be categorized into a transaction on behalf of the church and its chaplains or a personal transaction. Simon and Johanna Doddenale granted three mesuages and three gardens in Oxtmantown either to John Lytill and his wife Alianora Comyn or to anyone they designated. It seems that Doddenale first tried to grant the properties to Lytill, but

\(^{679}\) Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 160–61. Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 75 (6 Apr. 1406) and 76 (? Apr. 1406).

\(^{680}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 72 & 74 (both 6 Apr. 1406), 73 & 77 (both 20 Apr. 1406).

\(^{681}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos 79 (24 Nov. 1408) and 81 (1 Dec. 1408).
two notarial instruments created by Yonge suggest that there were problems with this initial transfer. 682 The instruments established Doddenale’s ownership of the properties, and on the 29th of November, 1411, the day after the second notarial instrument was made, Doddenale granted the properties to the chaplains Stafford and Ingoll. 683 All of the instruments and deeds are in Yonge’s hand. The Oxmantown properties were managed by the chaplains, and in 1415, Yonge penned a quit-claim in which the chaplain Nicholas Nangle gives the properties to Roger Flemyng and Walter Northampton, both also chaplains. 684 This is the final transaction that Yonge worked on directly for the chaplains. The other deeds in the collection were executed for individuals and came to be in the church papers at later dates.

One other document connected with St. John’s Church bears Yonge’s name. In 1418, a charter granted license to found a Tailor’s Guild in Ireland. A year elapsed while a location was sought, and in 1419, an entry in the Patent Roll grants license for the founding of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, to be known as the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist. 685 The Guild was connected with the Church of St. John the Evangelist, where it had a chantry in the Lady Chapel. The Fraternity sought to protect its members by being an authorizing and arbitrating body for tailors in Dublin and its suburbs and by

682 Discussed above in the section entitled, “Work as a Notarius.” Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 84 (12 Nov. 1411) and 85 (29 Nov. 1411).

683 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 92 & 93 (29 Nov. 1411) and 94 (1 Dec. 1411).

684 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 99 (12 Oct. 1415).

overseeing apprenticeships. Tailors who were not members of the Guild and not citizens were barred from selling clothing in the Dublin area. The license was granted to a list of people who were influential in Dublin society. It is the only document in which Yonge appears with the Talbots. John and Thomas Talbot are listed first, since John was the Lieutenant of Ireland at the time and Thomas was acting as his deputy. The document reflects the social differences between the Talbots and Yonge and coincidentally reflects the tension between Yonge and the Talbot faction—a long list of important men separate the Talbots and Yonge, who is listed last, after the name of his client and friend, John Lytill. No documents survive from the initial years of operation of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, but it is possible that Yonge acted as a clerk or secretary for the Guild in its initial years; this work would have given him experience that appealed to the Guild of St. Anne.

Yonge’s hand is prominent among the deeds of the Guild of St. Anne, attached to St. Audoen’s Church. The earliest deed in his hand in this collection is dated December 1407, and is a grant from the chaplain John Walshe to Richard Glaswright (d. ca. 1423) and John Boys of a mesuage, stone house, and two stalls on Kisher’s Lane, just to the west of the church and its graveyard. The parcel may have belonged to St. Audoen’s

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686 Because the Gaelic-Irish could not become citizens, the rules enacted by the new Tailors’ Guild meant that the manufacture and sale of clothing in Dublin would be limited to the Anglo-Irish.

687 Moody, Martin, and Byrne, A New History of Ireland: Maps, Genealogies, Lists, IX:476.

688 These include Laurence Merbury, who was Chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Walleyes, recently a bailiff of the City of Dublin, John Passavaunt, Keeper of the Hanaper, and John Cruys, son of the former king’s escheator.Ibid., IX:504; Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 58; Connolly, Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446, 550.

689 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 292a.
Church. Glaswright and Boys probably used this land as a workshop and storefront. Glaswright also owned a tenement around the corner from this parcel in Cooks’ Street and two shops in St. Thomas’ Street. Boys owned land to the north of the High Street. Other deeds in this collection made by Yonge that list chaplains as either the grantors or the grantees include the 1416 grant made to the Church of St. Audoen by Nicholas Fynglas of two shops in Cooks’ Street near the cemetery of St. Audoen’s and subsequent documents confirming the gift. They include deeds concerning a grant of two mesuages on the north side of Cooks’ Street made by the chaplains of St. Audoen’s to John Elys, a Dublin citizen of some prominence; the mesuages had come to the church as a gift from Thomas Hert and his wife, Margerie, in 1418. While he was never mayor or Bailiff of Dublin, John Elys appears with the mayor, bailiffs, and town clerk in a list of witnesses on a ca. 1418 deed. Elys already had land adjoining the mesuages, and may have purchased this parcel to expand his holdings. Two years later, he passed it on to Richard Doughir.

690 The parcel is mentioned as a boundary landmark in Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 188 & 189 (19 Sept. 1422), 190 (22 Sept. 1422), 539 (1 Nov. 1424), 186 (18 May 1432), 185 (20 May 1432), and 187 (23 May 1432); Conlon, “Women in Medieval Dublin: Their Legal Rights and Economic Power,” 173.


692 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 655 (1 Aug. 1416), 116 (10 Aug. 1416), and 367 (24 Aug. 1416).

693 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 351 & 352 (20 May 1419) and 353 (26 May 1419).

694 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, heavily damaged unnumbered fragment dated 6 Henry V

695 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 642 (1 May 1421) and 643 (4 May 1421).
With one exception – a 1422 property transfer from John Ingoll to John Martyn, John Calsteyn, and Richard White, all chaplains, of a mesuage on the north side of the High Street – there is a gap between 1418 and 1424 in the deeds that Yonge wrote for chaplains of St. Audoen’s Church; this coincides with the time period in which Yonge was perhaps working for the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, working on the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, and languishing in prison in Trim and later in Dublin. The 1422 quit-claim may have been a special favor for John Ingoll, a long-time client of Yonge’s. The date, in late September of 1422, also falls after Yonge had put the finishing touches on his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, so he may have begun taking clients for property transfers again in the few months he had prior to his arrest.

The first deed after Yonge’s imprisonment that can be positively identified as being in Yonge’s hand also belongs to the records of the Guild of St. Anne. While the Guild itself did not yet exist, Yonge’s former good relationship with the chaplains may have encouraged them to hire Yonge at a time when his professional reputation was in tatters. In 1424, James Yonge drew up a deed in which John Walshe (d. ante 1437), who had been a bailiff of Dublin in 1410-11 and who would be mayor in 1426-27, rented from the chaplain John Christofre, a stone house on Cooks’ Street next door to the tenement owned by Richard Glaswright. This 1424 deed marks the first of many deeds executed by Yonge for the Church of St. Audoen and the Guild of St. Anne over the next decade. The Guild of St. Anne received its charter in December 1430, but it is likely that some

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696 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 190 (22 Sept. 1422).

697 The rent was 30s. 4d. per year; Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 539 (1 Nov. 1424); Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 161–62.
sort of unofficial lay fraternity existed prior to 1430.\footnote{Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 21–4.} James Yonge, it seems, was a favored legal clerk for this group and for the chaplains of St. Audoen’s Church. While his is not the only hand found in the Guild papers between 1424 and 1435, his is the main hand, appearing on approximately half of the extant documents. The other two hands that are prominent contributors to the papers of the Guild are those of Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe, both likely students of Yonge’s, who are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Yonge created deeds in 1425 that gave a tenement on the corner of the High Street and a lane that ran from the High Street to Cooks’ Street to John Burnell, his son Robert Burnell, John and Thomas Elys, Nicholas Eustace, and Robert Wood. In addition, the chaplains John Christofre, John Mole, John Walshe, Sr. and John Walshe, Jr. (neither of whom is to be confused with the John Walshe who was a bailiff and mayor), and the chaplain Richard Goldyng all received an interest in the property.\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 562 & 563 (3 Mar. 1425) and 564 (10 Mar. 1425).} The location of this tenement is of particular interest, as it lies on the site where St. Anne’s Guildhall would eventually be constructed.\footnote{See site F6 in Clarke, Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: The Medieval Town in the Modern City. Part of the map is pictured in fig. 20.} The parties involved also indicate the existence of some sort of proto-Guild of St. Anne. John Burnell, who owned several properties in Cooks’ Street, had been mayor of Dublin from 1420-22, during James Butler’s term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He would be master of St. Anne’s Guild in 1435-36, and his son Robert Burnell would be master of the Guild in 1450. Robert Wode, who would be a bailiff of

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\footnote{Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 21–4.}

\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 562 & 563 (3 Mar. 1425) and 564 (10 Mar. 1425).}

\footnote{See site F6 in Clarke, Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: The Medieval Town in the Modern City. Part of the map is pictured in fig. 20.}
Dublin in 1446-47, was a warden of St. Anne’s Guild in 1435-36. Wode and Nicholas Eustace both owned land on the High Street. The tenement, with its unusually large number of recipients, may have served as an early guildhall or as housing for the chaplains who would eventually be associated with the chapel to St. Anne within the Church of St. Audoen and the choir school that was one of the early responsibilities of the Guild.\textsuperscript{701}

Other deeds associated with St. Audoen’s include the 1426 quit-claim written by Yonge (the grant and deed of attorney are no longer extant) for a property transfer in which the chaplain John Ingoll granted a mesuage surrounded by the church cemetery, the High Street, St. Audoen’s Lane, and a mesuage belonging to the grantee to John Stafford.\textsuperscript{702} The mesuage may have belonged to Ingoll himself or more likely to the Church of St. John. Ingoll again hired one of his favored clerks, Yonge, to write up the paperwork. Stafford was a baker, but he had many property interests in the western part of Dublin, and he was a founding member of the Guild of St. Anne, mentioned by name on the 1430 charter.\textsuperscript{703} At his death, much of his property was bequeathed to the Guild for the maintenance and housing of the six chantry priests, and that is probably when this document became the property of the Guild of St. Anne.\textsuperscript{704} When Roger Dodde died in 1428, he left a mesuage on the quay to the chaplains of St. Audoen’s. Yonge wrote quit-

\textsuperscript{701} Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 33.

\textsuperscript{702} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 674 (20 Nov. 1426).

\textsuperscript{703} Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 23.

\textsuperscript{704} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 650 & 651 (4 Mar. 1450) and 568 (1 Apr. 1450).
claims from Dodde’s widow and son, granting the property to the chaplains. The final set of documents in Yonge’s hand pertaining to internal church property transfers dates to 1432 and concerns a mesuage, garden, portico, and five storefronts on the north side of High Street. This is the same property granted to John Martyn, John Calsteyn, and Richard White by John Ingoll in 1422. Yonge is again the scribe. An extant grant and quit-claim show that John Martyn gave the property to John Walshe, Sr., a chaplain. A few days after the quit-claim was made, John Walshe, Sr. granted the property back to John Martyn and to two other chaplains, John Walshe, Jr. and Philip Danyell. Yonge seems to have entered into semi-retirement in the early 1430s, and this is reflected in the few remaining deeds in Yonge’s hand among the papers of the Guild of St. Anne, which document personal transactions for a limited list of clients.

II

The evidence from Yonge’s career as a legal scribe demonstrates that he had several important and repeat clients. Yonge was probably paid by the grantors of the various property transactions that he drew up, but grantees and witnesses would also have been present, and it is likely that Yonge’s business circle was quite large. Yonge’s possible role as an assistant to the City Clerk and his use of the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin meant that he was acquainted with each year’s mayor, bailiffs, and aldermen.

705 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos 290 & 344 (both 29 Jan. 1428) and 282 (4 Feb. 1428).

706 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos 186 (18 May 1432) and 185 (20 May 1432).

707 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 187 (23 May 1432).
One of the earliest of Yonge’s important acquaintances was John Drake (d. 1433), who was bailiff of Dublin in 1383-84 and mayor of Dublin from 1401-03, again from 1404-06, and from 1411-12 (mayoral terms began at Michaelmas and were for one year). In 1402, at a time when Yonge was likely apprenticed to the Hand M scribe, Drake was involved in a military action that may have had an impact on the young scribal apprentice. On the 11th of July, 1402, Drake marched south with an army of Dublin citizens to attack the O’Byrnes near Bray. The O’Byrnes and other Gaelic Irish rebels had been raiding settlements around Dublin, and the action was designed to quash these dangerous raids. While Yonge did not write of this particular incident in his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, his antagonistic attitude towards the Irish in the emerging Pale and his praise for Butler and others who campaigned against them may stem in part from the events surrounding Drake’s successful campaign. Drake appears as a witness in the first extant deed written by Yonge, and he was a witness for several other deeds which are now no longer extant but which may have been written by Yonge. In 1408, he was the grantee of land from his son and from the merchant John Snowe; the deed is no longer extant, but it may have been written by Yonge due to the presence of the Seal of the Provostship. Drake owned property on St. Francis Street, a portion of which he

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710 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 833.
granted to a butcher named William Arthur in 1425. Yonge was the scribe Drake hired to create the deeds for the property transfer.

Early in his career, Yonge created deeds for James Byrdesale, the son of Alicia Chever. Byrdesale granted all of his properties in Rathfarnam to Margarete Toppe after the death of his mother in 1406. Margarete must have owned considerable property in her own right – a rare, but not unheard-of set of circumstances in fifteenth-century Ireland. Women gained property rights through inheritance, marriage, or direct purchase, and they were allowed to use, sell, or give away their own properties as they wished. In 1412, Margarete Toppe hired Yonge to write documents granting her properties in Skreen, Co. Meath to the chaplains John Stafford and John Lange. Stafford at the time appears to have been a chaplain for St. John’s Church, although this is the last mention of John Stafford the chaplain in the extant records pertaining to Yonge, and the chaplain may have died soon after the deed was made.

One of Yonge’s most important early clients was Richard Passavaunt. Richard was the son of Walter Passavaunt, and he may have introduced the young scribe to other members of his family. Richard’s sister, Marguerite, was married either to Thomas Serjeaunt, Baron of Castlemock, or to Thomas’ son, John. The two families produced several individuals who were important in Dublin politics. Aside from being the Baron of Castlemock, John Serjeaunt was mayor of Dublin in 1349-50 and again from 1353-56.

711 Trinity College Dublin 1477, no. 107 (4 Apr. 1425).
712 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/113 & 114 (30 May 1406).
714 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/118 (2 Dec. 1412).
John Passavaunt was bailiff in 1359-60, again from 1362-64, and was mayor from 1369-71. Nicholas Serjeaunt was mayor in 1374-75 and 1376-78. Walter Passavaunt, Marguerite Passavaunt’s father, was bailiff in 1378-79, 1381-82, and 1384-85. Another John Passavaunt was mayor in 1388-89. His son, also John (d. 1427), was a highly-regarded clerk and Keeper of the Hanaper ca. 1420. Yonge created deeds for several members of the Passavaunt and Serjeaunt families over the course of his career. The first deeds, created in 1409 for Richard Passavaunt, grant a mesuage in St. Francis Street to John Stafford, a baker who would also become a prominent client of Yonge’s. Richard appointed one of his in-laws, Edward Serjeaunt, as his attorney. The next extant set of deeds that Yonge made for a member of these families dates to 1417. In them, John Serjeaunt, the son of Thomas Serjeaunt, Baron of Castleknock, leased a mesuage adjoining other lands that he owned in St. Francis Street to the butcher Philip Hamond. Yonge acted as an attorney for the transfer as well as writing the deeds. Yonge left a unique calling card on the back of the lease. A note on the dorso of the deed in Yonge’s hand reads, “I Yonge scrispit (J. Yonge wrote [this]).” This is the only instance in Yonge’s entire extant corpus of such a note. The second deed in the set, a deed of attorney, is not signed, but this is hardly surprising, as Yonge never signs this type of document. The third deed, however, a deed in which the chaplains John Ingoll and John


717 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 467 (9 Jul. 1409) and 468 (12 Jul. 1409).

718 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 100 & 101 (both 9 Aug. 1417) and 102 (14 Aug. 1417).
Oge confirm the lease, is one of the rare deeds that Yonge signed. In placing his name somewhere on two out of the three documents associated with this transaction, was Yonge perhaps leaving his business card for John Serjeaunt in the hopes of finding permanent or semi-permanent employment with the family? Yonge routinely made himself available to those in power, as his work for James Butler and for wealthy and influential Dubliners attests; his signatures on the Serjeaunt deeds are another example of this habit.

Yonge’s attempts to secure employment with the Serjeaunt family seem to have been unsuccessful. Aside from the 1419 license to form the Merchant Tailors’ Guild, on which both Yonge and John Passavaunt are listed, the next extant document touching on a member of either the Passavaunt family or the Serjeaunt family is a 1427 grant from Walter Reske of a mesuage in Fishamble Street. Reske had received the mesuage from the grant of Thomas Broune, and it appears he then sold it to Johanna Clerke. Johanna was the widow of the Chancery clerk, John Passavaunt. The mesuage was to go to Johanna for the remainder of her life, at which time Robert Passavaunt, the son and heir of John and Johanna, would receive it.719

Another important Dubliner with whom Yonge had some dealings was John Blakeney, the son of William Blakeney. William owned several stalls in Fishamble Street, which were inherited by his son. When John gave the two mesuages and twelve stalls to the chaplains of the Church of St. John in 1406, James Yonge wrote the deeds.720

719 Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 202 (20 Oct. 1427).

720 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 77 (20 Apr. 1406).
John Blakeney owned land along the quays in the Parish of St. Audoen, which suggests that he was a near neighbor to members of the Yonge family. Yonge and Blakeney were appointed joint attorneys by Richard Fynche in 1413 to oversee the conveyance of a mesuage in Fishamble Street from Richard Fynche to Robert Chamer. Blakeney was, with Yonge, a member of James Butler’s faction. When Butler came to power in 1420, he made Blakeney the Chief Justice of the Court of the Common Bench in Ireland, a post granted to Blakeney because of his support for Butler. Blakeney was not to remain on good terms with Butler and Yonge, however. He lost his post in November of 1428 amidst a scandal involving petitions sent from the Irish Parliament to the King that were critical of many members of the administration, especially the Talbots. Blakeney may have argued in favor of Richard Talbot, and may have lost his post because of it. He was appointed Chief Justice again in May 1430, but his appointment came from Archbishop Talbot, not from James Butler. The Talbots also rewarded Blakeney’s change of allegiance with a post for his son, James, who became Clerk of the Hanaper. When the Earls of Ormond and Desmond contracted a peace and a marriage between Butler’s daughter, Anne, and James FitzGerald, 7th Earl of Desmond’s son, Thomas, in 1429, the Talbot family feared for what the new balance of power brought about by an Ormond-Desmond alliance would bring. They reacted aggressively, encouraging groups of ruffians to hold various settlements owned by the Earls to ransom. Among the people

721 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 863.
723 Ibid., 233–38.
accused of encouraging the violence was John Blakeney. Yonge’s final documented interaction with Blakeney was in 1428, just before Blakeney lost his seat and shifted his allegiance to the Talbots. In a quit-claim written by Yonge and sealed with the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin, Blakeney grants a mesuage and gardens known as “Loughtebrughesinne” in the Parish of St. Bridget, just south of the city walls, to James Butler. The list of witnesses for this deed is particularly interesting: Henry Fortescue, then Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, John Cornewalsh, then Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, Thomas Shorthals, the mayor of Dublin, and one of the bailiffs of Dublin, Thomas Benet. With this illustrious group of witnesses, one wonders if there was a court case or judgment, now lost to us, which necessitated Blakeney’s granting of the property to Butler. Could the seeds of Blakeney’s discontent be hidden within this deed? The deed may also have been executed publicly to avert potential violence between Talbot and Butler supporters. Importantly, this document also demonstrates that Yonge was acquainted with several of the people who were working for the king or his lieutenant in Ireland, and he may have executed other such documents, now lost, with or for these influential individuals. There is some evidence that despite their political differences, Yonge and Blakeney encountered one another from time to time as Yonge carried out occasional work on behalf of the chaplains of St. Audoen’s Church or the Guild of St.

724 Ibid., 240–42.
725 National Library of Ireland D.1612 (1 Dec. 1428).
Anne; Blakeney and his son were both founding members of the latter and are listed on the 1430 charter.\footnote{Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 22–23.}

Another early member of the Guild of St. Anne was John Burnell, who was elected warden of the Guild in 1435.\footnote{Ibid., 23.} The Burnell family was a fairly well-to-do family with property on the north side of Cooks’ Street. Robert Burnell was a bailiff in Dublin in 1350-51 and again in 1382-83. He served as mayor in 1383-84, and was made Baron of the Irish Exchequer in 1402.\footnote{Berry, “Catalogue of the Mayors, Provosts and Bailiffs of Dublin City, A.D. 1229 to 1447,” 160–61; Gilbert, A History of the City of Dublin, 1:296.} His son, John Burnell, was mayor from 1420-22, and a woman from the Burnell family, Maria, married into the prominent Comyn family.\footnote{Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds (1-467),” no. 271 (30 Aug. 1406).} Yonge probably first encountered Robert Burnell in the early years of the fifteenth century, when Robert and John Lytill were at odds over a debt.\footnote{Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 70 (4 Oct. 1405), 69 (16 Mar. 1406), 106b (20 Mar. 1424); For more about this dispute, see the section entitled “Work as a Notarius,” above.} Robert also acted as the attorney in a 1406 land transfer for which Yonge created the deeds.\footnote{Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 74 (6 Apr. 1406).} In 1406, Robert was at a fairly advanced age, and he seems to have died sometime just after October 1407. Robert had two sons, John and Robert, Jr., and Yonge created deeds for each of them. In March 1406, John Burnell granted a parcel of land on Rochel Street
near New Gate to John Stafford, the baker. In 1408, Yonge created another set of deeds in which Robert, Jr. granted Stafford an adjoining piece of land that abutted the town wall. John Burnell and his son Robert (grandson of the Robert Burnell who was mayor in 1383-84, and nephew to Robert, Jr.) were the first two recipients listed in the 1425 documents written by Yonge in which chaplains of St. Audoen’s Church grant a tenement to a large list of recipients that may have represented a proto-Guild of St. Anne.

Another instrumental figure in the founding of the Guild of St. Anne was John Stafford, a baker (not to be confused with a chaplain named John Stafford, who was active in the Parish of St. John until 1412). The baker is listed last on the 1430 charter creating the Guild, and he left many of his lands to the Guild at his death in 1451. Stafford seems to have dedicated himself to acquiring property when he could, and in most of the cases where he is mentioned on a deed, he is listed as the recipient. Stafford first appears in the records of the Guild of St. Anne in 1397, when he acquired a mesuage on the southwest corner of Cooks’ Street and St. Audoen’s Lane, near St. Audoen’s Arch. This would have been an ideal location for setting up a bakeshop, as the core of the city was protected from any out-of-control fires by the presence of the old city wall. Indeed, “Cooks’ Street” got its name from the various sellers of cooked foodstuffs who


733 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 558 & 559 (both 14 Dec. 1408) and 560 (16 Dec. 1408).

734 Discussed in more detail above; Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 562 & 563 (both 3 Mar. 1425), and 564 (10 Mar. 1425).

735 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 305 (6 Aug. 1397).
congregated along that street, keeping their cook fires away from the central region of Dublin. Stafford was successful, or he may have made good use of the money brought in by his wife, Johanna Richard. The next extant sets of documents mentioning Stafford are those created by Yonge in 1407 and 1408 when John and Robert Burnell, Jr. granted Stafford the properties on Rochel Street near New Gate. Soon after, in July 1409, Stafford acquired a mesuage in St. Francis Street from Richard Passavaunt. Again, Yonge created the deeds. The deed for a mesuage in Cooks’ Street that Stafford acquired in 1412 is not in Yonge’s hand.

Yonge’s hand is on two 1413 quit-claims in which the chaplain John Yonge granted a mesuage next to New Gate to John Stafford. The transfer of this third property in the New Gate area may have arisen from John Yonge’s personal relationship with James Yonge and Stafford rather than being a case where Yonge was working directly for the chaplains of St. Audoen’s or for the Guild of St. Anne. This was a private transaction: John Yonge is acting alone – in all of his other transactions he grants or receives land jointly with other chaplains, and the parcel of land in question does not appear in other deeds of St. John’s or the Guild of St. Anne until after 1451, and was probably one of those bequeathed to the Guild along with the related deeds in the will of

736 See my discussion of the Burnell family, above; Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 551 (20 Mar. 1407), 558 & 559 (14 Dec. 1408), and 560 (16 Dec. 1408).

737 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 467 (9 Jul. 1409) and 468 (12 Jul. 1409).

738 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 266 (3 May 1412).

739 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 547 (13 Feb. 1413) and 546 (14 Feb. 1413).
John Stafford. Interestingly, this is the only instance in which John Yonge appears in the papers of the Guild of St. Anne.

In 1418, Stafford acquired a property in “Brynelleslane” (Burnell’s Lane, a.k.a. Skipper’s Alley), off Cooks’ Street. Unfortunately, the deed is mostly illegible, but the scribe appears to be someone other than Yonge. In 1426, Stafford expanded his holdings on St. Audoen’s Lane, gaining a mesuage situated next to the one he already owned, and in 1427, he did the same in Cooks’ Street, purchasing the mesuage next to the one he held near St. Audoen’s Arch. The 1426 deed is in Yonge’s hand, but the 1427 deed is quite damaged, and while the hand looks like James Yonge’s, it is too faded to make identification certain. These are the last deeds that Yonge executed for Stafford before entering into semi-retirement in the early 1430s. However, Stafford may have prevailed upon Yonge to produce a will – possibly at short notice, as a phrase in the will indicates that the testator is dying – for another baker, Richard Codde, in 1438. Codde does not appear elsewhere in the extant records, but it seems he was a member of the Guild of St. Anne, as he requests to be buried in the Chapel of St. Anne in St. Audoen’s Church. The hand on this document is unmistakably Yonge’s, but it is clear that the scribe’s control has eroded, and there is shakiness in the letter forms as well as a great deal of contrast in pressure. This is the last extant document in Yonge’s hand, and it may

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740 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, fragment dated 6 Henry V.
741 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 674 (20 Nov. 1426) and 268 (20 May 1427).
742 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 93 (20 Dec. 1438).
be that the scribe himself died soon after. A codicil to the will involving the granting of land Codde held in Clane and in County Cork is in another contemporary hand.

After Yonge’s retirement ca. 1433, the next deeds in which Stafford appears again represent additions to the baker’s holdings. In 1433, he acquired a tenement in Cooks’ Street that backed onto a mill, possibly a small one on Colman’s Brook, as well as a tenement adjoining one of the properties he already owned near the New Gate. While Yonge is not the scribe of these deeds, he seems to have passed the torch to one of his students, Thomas Baghill, to assist Stafford in his acquisitions. In 1434, Baghill wrote the deeds granting Stafford land south of the city of Dublin, in the parish of St. Nicholas, near St. Patrick’s Cathedral. This is the last extant evidence for land acquisitions by Stafford. Upon his death in 1451, Stafford’s widow, Johanna, turned to another of Yonge’s students, Nicholas Bellewe, to assist her with the division of Stafford’s assets. Bellewe may have been chosen because of his relationship to Baghill and Yonge, both scribes who figured prominently in the papers of Stafford, or because Bellewe was at that time one of the favored scribes of the Guild of St. Anne, the Guild that Stafford had helped found and the entity to which he left most of his land assets. In his will, Stafford appointed Johanna and David Rowe, another early leader in the Guild of St. Anne, as his executors.

743 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 704 (14 Jul. 1433) and 548 (4 Dec. 1433).
744 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 662 (22 Nov. 1434) and 678 (24 Nov. 1434).
745 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 398 & 400 (both 6 Aug. 1451), and 399 (8 Aug. 1451).
Another of Yonge’s long-term business clients was John Lytill, a man who was not as illustrious as most of Yonge’s clients, but who was someone who may have numbered among Yonge’s friends. Lytill and Yonge’s first extant interaction was the notarized document that Yonge made, giving an account of Lytill’s false arrest by Robert Burnell.\(^{746}\) The pair may have discovered then that they liked one another, or it is possible that Lytill and Yonge knew one another from childhood. They were potentially age-mates; Lytill came into his inheritance in 1403, around the time Yonge’s career began, and he and Yonge died approximately four years apart. They also both seem to have concentrated their activities in the northwestern quadrant of the city, near Merchants’ Quay and Cooks’ Street. Moreover, when Lytill needed a notary, he called upon Yonge, who was just beginning his career. Lytill appears again and again in the extant documents written by Yonge. In 1409, Lytill and Yonge were appointed joint attorneys for a property transfer between Nicholas Fynglas and Richard Fynche.\(^{747}\) Lytill and Alianora Comyn, his wife, may have urged Simon Doddenale to hire Yonge when he needed a notary and legal scribe to complete the conveyance of his properties in Oxmantown to Lytill.\(^{748}\) In 1413, Lytill hired Yonge to write a short acknowledgement of debt – a type of deed that was not in Yonge’s usual repertoire – when William and Geoffrey Harroll of Rathfarnham borrowed 40 shillings of silver from Lytill.\(^{749}\) Indeed,

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\(^{746}\) Discussed above in the section entitled, “Work as a Notarius”; Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 69 (16 Mar. 1406).

\(^{747}\) McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 847.

\(^{748}\) Discussed above in the section entitled, “Work as a Notarius”; Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 84 (12 Nov. 1411), 85 (28 Nov. 1411), 92 & 93 (both 29 Nov. 1411) and 94 (1 Dec. 1411).

\(^{749}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 95 (24 Jan. 1413).
Lytill seems to have called on Yonge often when he was in need of a legal scribe. The one exception was when Lytill rented the large parcel of twelve stalls and two mesuages on Fishamble Street and the three houses and gardens in Oxmantown that were owned by the St. John’s Church. The scribe who drew up the rental agreement was an unnamed scribe who seems to have been favored by the chaplains of the Church – his small, broken hand with its characteristic elliptical suspension marks shows up on many of the extant early fifteenth-century documents from St. John’s in which properties are exchanged between chaplains. After Yonge’s imprisonment, it may have been Lytill who was one of the scribe’s first clients. Unfortunately, the document is heavily damaged, but Yonge’s hand may be on a short document that laid the Burnell-Lytill dispute to rest once and for all.\textsuperscript{750}

Yonge’s final act for Lytill was to act as one of the executors of Lytill’s will in 1434. In the will, which was not penned by Yonge, Lytill asked that he be buried in the Lady Chapel of St. John’s Church, near the tomb of Alianora Comyn, his deceased first wife. He left some property to his illegitimate son, John, and left his properties and their deeds to the chaplain William FitzWilliam. Thomas Elys, probably the son of John Elys who owned several properties on Cooks’ Street, received several items from the Lytill household. St. John’s Church received not only Lytill’s lands and their deeds, but also a portion of the household linens and the revenues from the remaining household goods which were to be sold by the executors. Lytill held some lands in the parish of St. Michan in Oxmantown. These, he gave to Alianora’s son, John Eytall, provided he paid

\textsuperscript{750} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 106b (20 Mar. 1424).
£20, plus 40 shillings annually, for the perpetual support of a chantry priest – William FitzWilliam is designated – at St. John’s Church, who would pray for the souls of John Lytill, his former wife Alianora, and their parents and benefactors. Lytill leaves his house, two shops, and a garden, all near Cow Lane, to Margery, for the rest of her life; on her death, the property was to revert to Lytill’s son, John. The executors, William FitzWilliam and James Yonge, each received 20 shillings. Probate of the will was granted in November 1434. Yonge and Lytill had known one another for nearly thirty years. At the time, Yonge himself was retired or semi-retired. The extant documents suggest that he was no longer available for hire, and with the exception of the Codde will in 1438, the documents in Yonge’s hand dating from 1434-38 are limited to clients who may have been family.

III

Over the course of his career, James Yonge executed several documents for family members. The documents he produced for John Yonge, possibly his uncle, are documented in Edited Text 2 and Appendix A, as are the documents with which Yonge helped secure the property of Edmund Yonge and Amisie Ballybyn, his father and mother or step-mother. There is a third set of documents, however, in which Yonge assisted John Ballybyn and his wife Alicia in securing property in Dublin. The first set of deeds dates to 1414, only about a year and a half before Yonge wrote the first of the documents securing the quay property for Edmund Yonge and Amisie Ballybyn in 1415. The final extant document concerning John Ballybyn dates to 1452. Given these dates, it seems that John may have been the son of Amisie and her former husband. It also suggests that
Edmund Yonge and Amisie Ballybyn began their relationship prior to 1414, and Yonge may have been doing work for a step-brother. In the initial 1414 documents, John and Alicia receive a tenement in Cook Street from a Dublin tailor named John Bobyntoun.\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 322 & 324 (both 21 Jan. 1414), and 323 (27 Jan. 1414).} James Yonge and John White, who was at that time a bailiff of the City of Dublin and King’s attorney, acted together as attorneys for the property transfer.\footnote{White was bailiff in 1412-13 and 1414-16 before becoming mayor in 1423-24 and was regularly appointed King’s attorney from 1413-36.} John and Alicia next appear in the extant records in 1435, when they deeded their mesuage to Walter Molghur, a Dublin shoemaker, and Johanna Dowgane, his wife.\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos 326 & 649 (both 13 Jan. 1435), and 327 (14 Jan. 1435).} James Yonge seems to have come out of retirement to make the deeds for John and Alicia. These are the only extant deeds in his hand between late 1432 and the late 1438 will of Richard Codde, discussed above. The grant, deed of attorney, and quit-claim transferring the property are all fairly standard examples, but some problem arose in conveying the property, as an indenture and notarial instrument were required to complete the transfer.\footnote{These are discussed above in the section entitled, “Work as a Notarius.”} John must have retained or regained some interest in the property. Walter Molghur granted it to William Osberne, a Dublin tailor, in 1450;\footnote{Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 357 (20 Nov. 1450) and 358 (8 Dec. 1450).} in separate grants, Osberne and Ballybyn
granted the same mesuage to Thomas Ethorp, a Dublin merchant, in 1452. The scribe for all of these later transactions was Yonge’s student, Nicholas Bellewe.

Yonge, Hoccleve, and Carpenter

With his multiple offices and sources of income, as well as his literary production, Yonge’s career echoes those of contemporary professional scribes such as Thomas Hoccleve, John Carpenter and Thomas Usk in London and Yonge’s own probable students, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe in Dublin. Yonge’s literary patron in Ireland, James Butler, was the deputy of Henry V in Ireland, and it is instructive to compare Yonge’s career with the careers of two contemporary London scribes, Thomas Hoccleve and John Carpenter, the former of whom was associated with the government of the English king.

Both James Yonge and Hoccleve produced literary and legal documents over the course of their careers. Perhaps not coincidentally, both scribes wrote a mirror for princes, making use of material from the popular pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum*. Hoccleve presented his to the future King Henry V in 1412, while Yonge presented his to Henry V’s representative in Ireland, James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, a decade later in 1422.

Hoccleve was born approximately a decade prior to James Yonge, *ca.* 1368, and died in 1426, approximately twelve years before Yonge disappears from the record.

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756 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 354 (2 May 1452) and 355 (4 May 1452) for Osberne, and 356 (4 May 1452) for Ballybyn.
Almost nothing is known of Hoccleve’s origins or early education, although he may have come from Hockliffe, Berkshire. He, like Yonge, knew Latin and French as well as English. Most of his career was spent as a clerk in the office of the Privy Seal, where he not only copied documents, but drafted them. In their writings, both Hoccleve and Yonge are firmly rooted in the cities of their employment, being known to government officials and private individuals in Westminster and Dublin, respectively. Hoccleve was granted an annuity for his work, but as he complains in his *Regement of Princes*, it was difficult to get paid, so he had to look for other sources of income, including corrodies, the drafting of a petition for John Mowbray, and manuscript copying; these and other sources yielded about £4 annually. The clerk had studied with the intent of receiving a benefice, but got married “for love” when none was granted. Yonge may have done the same, possibly waiting far less time before marrying sometime prior to 1406. Both authors suffered a major setback which threatened their careers. Hoccleve had some sort of mental break from which he found it difficult to recover his reputation, as he reports in his *Complaint*; Yonge found himself in chains after a political reversal. Hoccleve complains of the difficulty he has in reestablishing his earlier social and business relationships:

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For thogh þat my wit / were hoom come ageyn,
Men wolde it nat so / vndirstonde or take.
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With me to delen / hadde they desdeyn;
...
No wight with me / list make daliance.
The world me made / a straunge contenance, (ll. 64-66, 69-70)\textsuperscript{761}

While we have no autobiographical writing of Yonge’s to tell us how he found Dublin after his forced exile to Trim Castle, Yonge may have experienced a brief period of ostracism after his return to Dublin. One major difference between the careers of Hoccleve and Yonge is that Hoccleve remained employed with one office – that of the Privy Seal – throughout his career. Yonge, it seems, held several posts, some simultaneously, and worked for a large number of private clients. One of the most steady positions Yonge had was as a bearer of the Seal of the Provostship, which may have come with a post as an assistant to Dublin’s City Clerk.

Parallels can be drawn between the careers of James Yonge and John Carpenter, London’s City Clerk in the early fifteenth century. Like Yonge, John Carpenter came from a mercantile family, being the son of a London citizen and tradesman. He began his career within the office of the Town Clerk of London, and may have served as a clerk in one of the courts associated with the office. In 1417, he was elected to the office of Common Clerk of the City of London when his predecessor retired.\textsuperscript{762} Carpenter held the office from 1417 to 1438. He also acted as an executor for the wills of several prominent Londoners, including John Marchaunt, who was Town Clerk before him. Carpenter had a keen interest in legal history and compiled the “Liber Albus,” offering a collection of

\textsuperscript{761} The poem continues in this vein, ll. 64-98; Hoccleve, \textit{Thomas Hoccleve’s Complaint and Dialogue}.

\textsuperscript{762} Brewer, \textit{Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter}, 11.
laws, customs, and privileges of the City. He ingratiated himself to those in power, and represented the city as a member of parliament in 1436 and 1439.\textsuperscript{763} Carpenter was also associated with several religious fraternities, and was, on his death, a brother of the Charterhouse in London and part of the Fraternity of Sixty Priests.\textsuperscript{764} He also enjoyed literary pursuits. He owned many books and copied at least three extant manuscripts: two copies of Gower’s \textit{Confessio Amantis}, and a manuscript containing Chaucer’s \textit{Troilus and Criseyde} that belonged to King Henry V. In his 1441 will, he divided up his considerable personal library among his friends and benefactors.\textsuperscript{765} The library contained texts in French and Latin and displayed the reading habits of a man who was interested in classical learning, a man who was orthodox in his religious beliefs, and a man with a keen interest in legal matters and methods of record-keeping. Coincidentally, one of the books in his library was a copy of the pseudo-Aristotelian \textit{Secreta secretorum}; Yonge based his \textit{Gouernaunce of Prynces} on a French version of the text. Several of Carpenter’s books went to a lawyer, Robert Blount, and were then to revert after his death to the London Guildhall, where a library was forming, thanks, in part, to Carpenter’s donation of money from the estate of former London mayor, Richard Whittington, to the Guildhall \textit{ca.} 1425. Many of the books that were not individually distributed also went to the Guildhall library.\textsuperscript{766} While Carpenter participated in slightly

\textsuperscript{763} Parkes, \textit{Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes}, 33; Brewer, \textit{Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter}, 40–44.

\textsuperscript{764} Brewer, \textit{Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter}, 58.

\textsuperscript{765} Ibid., 131–44.

higher social circles than Yonge, the two men shared similar official duties – one in London and one in Dublin’s clone of London’s government – and they were associated with religious fraternities. Yonge and Carpenter had close relationships with those in power. Most importantly, both men had a considerable amount of learning and actively participated in the creation and promotion of literary culture in their respective cities.

The Economic and Social Life of James Yonge

Reconstructing the economic and social environment of James Yonge is fraught with pitfalls. Yonge’s extant deeds have revealed a surprising amount of information about Yonge’s clients and about property ownership and exchange in late medieval Dublin. What they do not tell us though, is how much the scribe was paid to execute these documents, what his living arrangements were, or how he chose to spend his off hours. This narrative section is largely conjectural, and is informed by records not immediately connected with Yonge and his circle.

On the twentieth of April, 1406, James Yonge awoke to the shouts of men unloading cargo on the quay. He prayed briefly before rising. As the household awakened, he shared a few quiet moments with his wife before she headed into the garden, which she was readying for spring planting. Little William clung to her skirts and shyly waved “goodbye” to his father as he followed his mother into the garden. James greeted his father, Edmund, who was just rising, before walking out of the house and into the street. He nearly ran into his neighbor, Simon Doddenale, who was supervising the loading of bundles of woolfells onto a ship bound for France. They
exchanged pleasantries, and Yonge made his way along the quays and up the hill on Winetavern Street, on his way to the Tholsel, a stone building on Skinners’ Street, where the City Assembly commonly met. The Dublin Assembly was not meeting, but at the Tholsel, he conferred with Thomas Shorthals, the city clerk, ensuring that the quit-claim Yonge had written and sealed with the Seal of the Provostship a few days earlier had been duly enrolled. Yonge also used a key to retrieve the Seal of the Provostship from its place of safe-keeping, as he had an appointment later in the day that would necessitate its use. He then made his way onto the High Street, to the stall of a tanner and parchment-maker, which was located near the New Gate. He conversed with the merchant and purchased a dozen fine skins of parchment for 1s. 3p.\textsuperscript{767} From a nearby haberdasher, he replenished his ink supply and purchased extra quills for a few pennies.\textsuperscript{768} Six pence also bought him a pound of red wax.\textsuperscript{769} Yonge returned home for a light lunch with his father, wife, and son before leaving again, this time carrying a small foldable desk and a parcel containing his new pens, ink, red wax, a skin of parchment, a knife, a ruler, a small container for heating wax, and the Seal of the Provostship. He made his way up through the odiferous fish stalls on Fishamble Street to St. John’s Church, huddled under the shadow of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

At St. John’s Church, he greeted John Walsch and John Porter, both chaplains of St. John’s, and a third chaplain, John Streche. He also greeted a group of local men: John

\textsuperscript{767} Based on the prices paid by the Irish Exchequer in 1420. Connolly, \textit{Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446}, 550.

\textsuperscript{768} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{769} Ibid.
Herbert, James FitzWilliam and Walter de Houthe. Yonge took special care to warmly greet John Blakeney, the son of William Blakeney, a young man who might be able to further his career. He set up his desk, immersed a lump of wax in a container of hot water to soften, and cut a piece of parchment from the skin for John Blakeney’s quit-claim. Working from the description of the property in the grant he had made on April 6th, Yonge wrote on the flesh side of the parchment, completing a document that gave Blakeney’s property on Fishamble Street to the chaplains Walsch and Porter. He folded up a strip across the foot of the new deed and used the knife to cut two sets of parallel cuts in the reinforced base. Yonge reached into his bag for some scrap parchment – a draft of a notarial instrument – and sliced two long strips of parchment from it. He threaded these through the slots he had cut in the base of the deed. Once the tag was threaded, he made a short cut along the length of both and turned the base of both ribbons through the hole, to create a base for the wax. Folding a blob of warm wax on the first seal tag, he asked Blakeney to impress his seal – a young man’s face in profile – into it. Yonge pressed the softened wax into the seal matrix. Once the wax was cool enough to touch, Yonge removed the matrix and returned it to Blakeney. He did the same, using considerably more wax, to personally affix the Seal of the Provostship to the document, leaving a divot on the back of the seal where he had used his finger to help pry the wax off of the large seal. On scrap parchment or in a small notebook, Yonge made


771 Ibid., 154. Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 77 (20 Apr. 1406). One of Yonge’s predecessors pried the wax off in such a way as to leave two divots in the back of the Seals of the Provostship that he appended to documents.
a record of the quit-claim for enrollment with the City of Dublin. The same process was repeated for two more quit-claims. The seal tags were cut from an earlier draft of a related document, and John Herbert, James FitzWilliam and Walter de Houthe each impressed their personal seals on separate tags for their quit-claim.\textsuperscript{772} [fig. 24] The third quit-claim Yonge completed was from John Streche to the two St. John’s chaplains.\textsuperscript{773} For each deed, he collected payment: 1-2 p. for the deed and an additional 1-2 p. each for affixing the Seal of the Provostship to the documents, plus an additional fee for the wax used on the large seals.\textsuperscript{774} Yonge put away his tools and folded up his desk, bidding his clients farewell.

It was a warm spring evening, and Yonge returned home via Cooks’ Street, where he visited the Inn of John Gardener. He and his friend, John Lytill, exchanged tokens for glasses of ale, and they sat together in a corner to converse. Lytill was still distressed about the latest incident in his ongoing feud with Robert Burnell; Burnell had seized Lytill, imprisoned him, and had tried to force him to sign documents indebting him to Burnell.\textsuperscript{775} Lytill had quite a bit to say on the subject, and Yonge listened to his friend, nodding occasionally. He soon excused himself and returned home for an evening with his family before retiring for the night.

\textsuperscript{772} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 73 (20 Apr. 1406).

\textsuperscript{773} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 76 (20? Apr. 1406).

\textsuperscript{774} Murphy and Potterton, “Investigating Living Standards in Medieval Dublin and Its Region,” 233.

\textsuperscript{775} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 69 (16 Mar. 1406).
This reconstruction is from the early part of Yonge’s career, but patterns of documents show that Dublin legal scribes at least occasionally met with several clients in one day, or they made documents for two different transactions for the same client. A day from the last decade of Yonge’s active career might have also included interactions with Yonge’s students, Nicholas Bellewe and Thomas Baghill. Yonge ceded many of his scribal duties and his client list to these students in the 1430s.

Yonge’s retirement or semi-retirement in 1432 may have been due to the scribe’s age. City law stated that city officials could not work past the age of sixty, although this stipulation was ignored in some cases, for instance, John Godyng had to plead to be released from his office in 1490, citing the ordinance. Yonge’s handwriting went through some deterioration in the deeds written between 1432 and 1438, but whether this was due to lack of practice or the trials of old age, such as the development of a tremor or failing eyesight, is unclear.

Conclusion

The career of James Yonge was extremely varied. While it was almost entirely based in Dublin – one might even argue that it was based in the western half of Dublin – Yonge’s activities and employers were quite diverse. Nonetheless, certain patterns emerge. Yonge’s clients in the early years of his career were more varied, perhaps representing the client list of a young clerk just getting started and willing to take any

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work he could get. He made important contacts early, and with the exception of deeds
made for members of his immediate family, he had a client list (and a list of
acquaintances) that included some of the wealthier and more influential members of
English society in Ireland. The positions he held probably brought him additional clients.
While Yonge never achieved the household secretary position he seems to have desired
in his relationships with the Passavaunt and Serjeaut families as well as with James
Butler, he did have sufficient influence to be present at the fringes of momentous events
in early fifteenth-century Irish history, including the arrival of foreign dignitaries such as
the knight and pilgrim Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, the rise of James Butler, 4th Earl of
Ormond, and the founding of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild and the Guild of St. Anne; the
latter would remain one of the most powerful guilds in Dublin well into the early modern
period.

Yonge’s client list reads like a veritable “Who’s Who” of fifteenth-century
Dublin, and the literary and legal documents produced by Yonge reveal the social
relationships between government officials, landed gentry, clergy, and individuals in the
mercantile class, all of whom were consumers of both legal and literary documents. At
the center of this web of interdependent relationships is the professional scribe and
author, Yonge, whose documents helped regulate and define the social landscape of the
city.
CHAPTER 5:
THOMAS BAGHILL, NICHOLAS BELLEWE, AND THE EVIDENCE FOR
SCRIBAL TRAINING AND SCRIBAL NETWORKS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY
DUBLIN

Introduction: Yonge and his Students

Like their London counterparts, Dublin scribes formed informal networks of professional contacts, and they assisted one another in education and employment. James Yonge produced his literary and legal documents within such a network of legal scribes. Exploration of Yonge’s circle not only reveals the personal and professional relationships of the author, it also has led to the discovery of another fifteenth-century Dublin author – bringing the grand total of named fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish authors to two – and it has provided important clues concerning scribal education, interaction, employment, clientele and social contacts, as well as activities outside of the scope of clerical copying and production of legal documents. The wealth of evidence for literary production within scribal circles in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century London is lacking in the case of contemporary Dublin scribes, but manuscript evidence suggests that these scribes did collaborate to produce literary manuscripts. Longleat MS 29, a miscellany containing works by Rolle, Chaucer, Hilton, and others was created by Nicholas Bellewe, a member of Yonge’s circle, and was likely the result of collaboration between the scribe and a
member of the family he served. While it is certain that Dublin legal scribes shared their professional work and contacts with those they were closest to, it is also quite possible that they were sharing their creative work within their socio-professional circle.

This chapter focuses mainly on the careers of legal scribes Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe. However, evidence regarding several other Dublin area scribes will be considered. As I will demonstrate, Baghill and Bellewe were students of James Yonge, and their careers followed paths that were roughly analogous to Yonge’s. All three scribes gained income from a variety of sources. Baghill created legal documents, was a notary, and appears to have held the Seal of the Provostship for a time. Bellewe enjoyed a long career and appears to have worked for several different employers including the City of Dublin, the wealthy and well-connected FitzWilliam family of County Dublin, and the Guild of St. Anne. In addition, he was engaged in manuscript production, being the principal scribe of Longleat MS 29 and Bodleian e. Museo 232. Both manuscripts contain copies of Bellewe’s own English translations of Latin texts: a treatise on suffering and humility called *O Thou Soul Myn* and the *Speculum Ecclesie* of St. Edmund of Abingdon, respectively. Bellewe’s distinctive hand also appears in a manuscript connected with the Dublin government and on a host of legal documents.

Scribal Education and Employment in Late Medieval Ireland

The great variation and number of employers that Yonge had demonstrates the wide range of employment possibilities for a scribe in late medieval Dublin. Yonge worked for the City of Dublin, possibly as a record-keeper and assistant to the City Clerk,
and certainly as a bearer of the Seal of the Provostship. He was employed by parishes and by private individuals, he appears to have worked for the Merchant Tailors’ Guild and the Guild of St. Anne in the formative years of both groups, he held an appointment at the Irish Exchequer, and he worked for James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond.\textsuperscript{777} One of the positions Yonge seems to have desired but never obtained was as a household secretary for one of the great land-owning Anglo-Irish families. He may have especially desired to be hired by James Butler, but, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, Yonge never worked for the Earl on a long-term basis. Other opportunities for scribes presented themselves in the Irish Chancery. Due to the loss of records, many of the major office-holders have been identified, but the individual scribes who toiled for the Irish Exchequer and Irish Chancery are unknown. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres, however, have identified a possible scribal circle focused around the offices of the Exchequer. This circle produced the Douce \textit{Piers Plowman} in 1427, and may have looked similar in many ways to Yonge’s circle, which was focused on the offices of the City of Dublin and on the Guild of St. Anne in the western half of the city. With the exception of employment in the Irish Chancery, the careers of Yonge, Baghill and Bellewe, taken together, represent nearly all of the employment options for Dublin scribes.

Dublin does not seem to have had a book trade with its own professional scribes, as places such as London and Oxford did, albeit on an informal level.\textsuperscript{778} Therefore, there may have been ample opportunity for legal scribes to produce manuscripts or parts of

\textsuperscript{777} For Yonge’s career, see Chapter 4.

manuscripts. It is evident that several literary works circulated among late medieval Ireland’s wealthier population. These works included Yonge’s own *Gouernaunce of Prynces* (and likely his *Memoriale*, though no manuscripts with Dublin provenance of this work are extant), *Piers Plowman, The Prick of Conscience*, Gerald of Wales’ *Topographica Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale” (and possibly the rest of the *Canterbury Tales*), the *Speculum Ecclesie* of St. Edmund, collections of sermons, works of Isidore, pseudo-Augustinian works, works of Richard Rolle, and “The Prophecies of Merlin” from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Dublin’s legal scribes were also often its literary scribes. Yonge almost certainly produced at least one or two copies of his literary works, the *Memoriale* and the *Secreta secretorum*. Bellewe also produced a copy of his translation of the *Speculum Ecclesie* in a manuscript that contained several other literary works as well as copies of an Anglo-Irish meditation on the Five Wounds. He may be the author of a work called *The Laddre of Heuyn*, which appears in a manuscript with texts by Rolle, Flete, and Chaucer.

Yonge’s career offers several good examples of how scribes were employed, but how were scribes trained? Who trained them and where did they receive their training? Paul Brand has observed that many Anglo-Irish lawyers went to England, specifically to London’s Inns of Court, for training. In his discussion of the training of notaries public, C. R. Cheney notes that a modicum of legal knowledge was required of notaries,

779 Brand, “Irish Law Students and Lawyers in Late Medieval England.”
and that certain instructors at Oxford taught material that was not tailored for the notary, but which was nonetheless useful, and:

must have introduced the student to some basic legal principles, to some of the vocabulary of the learned law, to some useful procedural safeguards, and to the forms of notarial instruments used in Ecclesiastical courts. Young Englishmen with this training … might make a passable showing when they applied for license to act as notaries public.\(^\text{780}\)

Once a notary had this knowledge, however, he could conceivably pass it on to an apprentice, thus obviating the need for that apprentice to receive an education abroad. It appears that, while the lawyers of English-controlled Ireland often went to England to receive their training, the colony’s legal scribes and notaries may have had the option of learning their trade at or near home. This may have been the case with Yonge and Hand M, and it was certainly the case with Yonge and Baghill.

There is remarkable similarity of letter forms, letter size, and word and line spacing on the documents written by the Provostship clerk known as “Hand M” and by Yonge. Both scribes wrote documents bearing the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin in the first decade of the fifteenth century. While these similarities do not prove a master-apprentice relationship, it seems probable that the two scribes shared such a relationship. Based on letter-form similarity, Doyle and Parkes tentatively posit a similar master-apprentice relationship for scribes D and Δ, but in the absence of a manuscript to which both scribes contributed, they are forced to explain the similarity by “the stimulus of commercial competition upon independent practitioners in the same neighbourhood to

\(^{780}\) Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 77–78.
produce similar results.” While a book-producing industry was developing in London around Paternoster Row and London Bridge, and a similar one was developing in Oxford around Catte Street, Dublin does not appear to have had such an industry. Dublin manuscripts seem to have been produced by legal scribes and civil servants instead, and whatever commercial pressure there may have been to conform to a standard script or set of scripts was slight. The standards for Dublin scribes were set instead by the lettering forms and formats of English legal documents. (One of the outcomes of this is the almost total lack of ruling in the manuscripts produced by Nicholas Bellewe – a trait shared with the legal documents he and other Dublin scribes produced.) While no manuscripts are extant with contributions from Hand M or from Yonge, the commonalities in letter forms and the fact that both scribes held the same official position in the Dublin government suggests that the pair had a close relationship.

Yonge may have learned Latin and learned to read and write as a child or adolescent either from tutors, or more likely in an ecclesiastical school. There is evidence for such a school associated with the Church of St. Audoen by the late 1430s, and there was a school attached to St. Patrick’s Cathedral by the late thirteenth century. There were certainly many other formal and informal arrangements for education that are now lost to us. Having received a primary education, Yonge and other Dublin area clerks then probably served an apprenticeship with an existing clerk. Much like apprentices in


783 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 93 (20 Dec. 1438).
any other trade, they would have lived in the households of their masters and served them for a number of years, learning to imitate the professional skills of their masters – how to take notes for a deed, how to cut and lay out deeds, how large script should be and how the letters should best be formed, what necessary legal knowledge and formulae were needed, and even “marketing” and “customer service” – how to find and relate to clients. Evidence from London apprenticeship indentures indicates that apprentices had to be at least twelve to fourteen years old, and that their indentures lasted for at least seven years. In return for food, lodging, clothing, and instruction, apprentices swore to remain with their masters for the term of the indenture, to stay out of taverns, to abstain from fornication and gambling, to keep craft secrets, and to remain unmarried.784 Dublin clerks and notaries probably received training under similar arrangements. Apprenticeship was a common means of education for Dublin clerks. The sole surviving Franchise Roll records a large number of apprentice clerks who were enrolled as citizens by the petition of their masters. These entries show a roughly even division between masters training a son in the profession and masters training unrelated individuals – including two women.785


785 The father-son apprenticeships include Richard Hyrrell, son of Philip Hyrrell (1470), Richard Boulond, son of John Boulond, William Hacket, apprentice of John Hacket (exact relationship not listed) (1487), and John Bertylmew, son of Peter Bertylmew, (Peter Bertholomew was City Clerk from ca. 1477-1493) (1491) ; Non-relative apprenticeships include Patrick White, apprentice of John Boulond (1473), Jenet White, apprentice of Peter Bertholomew, City Clerk (1481), John Eliot and Alice Englis, apprentices of Richard Nangle (1483), and John Stanton, apprentice of Thomas Bron (1485). Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512, 4, 7, 16, 17, 21, 22, 27; Clark, Doran, and Fitzpatrick, Serving the City: The Dublin City Managers and Town Clerks, 1230-2006, 31.
Yonge’s first extant document dates to 1404 and has the Seal of the Provostship appended to it.\textsuperscript{786} It was likely created with the close supervision of Yonge’s teacher, who may have been Hand M. Extrapolating from general London apprenticeship practices, this indicates that Yonge may have been as young as nineteen or twenty in 1404, but it is likely that he was a few years older, as he was a notary by 1406, an office that usually required its practitioners to be at least twenty-five before being credentialed.\textsuperscript{787} Provided this rule was adhered to, Yonge must have entered into an apprenticeship sometime in the mid-1390s.

Similarly, Thomas Baghill’s hand first appears on a document in 1419, but his hand appears in close association with Yonge’s hand in the 1419 deed and in 1422.\textsuperscript{788} He may not have been an independent scribe until sometime after September 1422, and was finishing an apprenticeship between 1419 and 1422. Since there was probably a period during which Baghill did not yet have the relevant knowledge and therefore was not allowed to write deeds, even with supervision, we can presume that Yonge took Baghill on as an apprentice sometime around 1415. Baghill’s hand disappears from the records of St. Anne’s Guild between 1423 and 1428, indicating that he may have found employment as a clerk or notary elsewhere after completing his apprenticeship.

\textsuperscript{786} National Library of Ireland D.7222 (24 Nov. 1404).

\textsuperscript{787} Cheney, Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 78.

\textsuperscript{788} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 330 & 390 (28 May 1419), 189 &188 (19 Sept. 1422), and 190 (22 Sept. 1422).
Nicholas Bellewe first appears in the extant records in 1423, when he is entrusted with the task of bringing Yonge safely back to Dublin from his imprisonment in Trim.\textsuperscript{789} His hand first appears in conjunction with the hands of Yonge and Baghill in a series of deeds produced for St. Anne’s Guild in 1428.\textsuperscript{790} Bellewe must have begun his apprenticeship sometime before 1421, just before Yonge was appointed Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer. His apprenticeship was interrupted with the political upheavals created by the Butler-Talbot feud, but Bellewe remained loyal to Yonge – this loyalty may have been stipulated in the terms of Bellewe’s indenture – and he was able to complete his apprenticeship by the late 1420s or early 1430s.

As the master of two clerical apprentices, Yonge taught both Baghill and Bellewe the legal scribe’s trade. He also secured offices for them – assisting Baghill in becoming a notary, and assisting both apprentices in gaining permission to use the Seal of the Provostship, perhaps as scribes working for the City Clerk. Yonge probably also helped Baghill and Bellewe obtain Dublin citizenship. The Dublin City Franchise Roll dating from 1468-1512 records the enrollment of several clerks and notaries as citizens. Some of these enrollments provide additional evidence for clerical apprenticeships and suggest that one path to Dublin citizenship for an apprentice of any trade was with the support of one’s master. Of particular interest among these apprenticeships is the notary, John

\textsuperscript{789} Tresham, \textit{Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium}, 234b, no. 37.

\textsuperscript{790} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 631 & 639 (4 Feb. 1428). Bellewe’s hand appears on documents dated 1411, but these appear to be copies or updates of 1411 documents made \textit{ca}. 1428 that were pre-dated to reflect the date on the original indentures.
Bowlond, who took on at least two apprentices in the latter part of the fifteenth-century; Yonge did the same in the earlier part of the century.

The close relationship of James Yonge with his apprentices, especially Thomas Baghill, implies that Dublin’s notaries and legal clerks did not need to seek training in England. Instead, apprenticeships and on-the-job training for legal scribes could be found in fifteenth-century Dublin. Yonge and Baghill worked side-by-side on legal documents associated with property transfers in 1419 and 1422, and Baghill’s appropriation of part of his master’s signum manuale indicates a further close relationship.\textsuperscript{791} Scribal training outside of the great population and governmental center of London may have been an \textit{ad hoc} process, approached much like an apprenticeship in any other manual trade. The similarity between Yonge’s hand and those of his students suggests that clerical students learned to produce script for legal documents through close imitation of a master’s hand, which was presented as an ideal standard – in size, spacing, and \textit{ductus} – for the creation of public documents. While acquiring the technical tools of his trade, the student also gained the necessary legal knowledge and the prescribed formulas for creating an array of documents. Upon completing his training, he received preferment for offices through his master as well.

\textsuperscript{791} See the section below entitled, “The Career of Thomas Baghill.”
The Career of Thomas Baghill

Thomas Baghill (ca. 1400-62) was in the final years of his apprenticeship to Yonge between 1419 and 1422. Documents in Baghill’s hand bear a strong resemblance to Yonge’s documents in script size, line spacing, and formation of many letters. Yonge used two grades of script, a workaday document hand that appears on most of his documents, and a more formal hand that Yonge appears to have used for important clients or in cases where he deemed more formality necessary. This more formal hand is similar to Yonge’s standard Anglicana, but the letters are more upright and the letter forms are more broken. Baghill’s hand is strikingly similar to Yonge’s formal script, evincing the apprentice’s close imitation of his master’s style and letter forms.

[Appendix B, Table B.2]

The most salient evidence for the master-apprentice relationship of Yonge and Baghill lies with the notarial signa manualia of the two scribes. In 1431, 1434, and 1436, notarized documents were created by Baghill; each document has a notarial signum manuale in the lower left corner, per the usual practice. The outline of the cross is identical to James Yonge’s, but the name written in the bottom void of the base of the cross is Thomas Baghill. Baghill has borrowed the ribbon interlace of the cross and the slightly scalloped base of Yonge’s signum manuale. He has replaced Yonge’s four-lobed leaf with the abbreviation for Jesus, ‘IHC’. Where Yonge’s signum manuale has the

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792 For more information on Yonge’s hand, see the section entitled, “Yonge’s Hand” in Chapter 4 and Appendix B.

793 For more information on Baghill’s hand, see Appendix B.

794 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 253 (27 Jan. 1431), 826 (17 Apr. 1434), and 799 (20 Oct. 1436). For more on notarial practices, see the section entitled, “Work as a Notarius” in Chapter 4.
same abbreviation, in the top void of the base of the cross, Baghill has written ‘xpo,’ –
Christo. Yonge’s stylized blossoms made of three dots have been replaced by fleur-de-
lys designs, echoing the shape and placement of Yonge’s blossoms. Baghill has extended
the restrained, m-shaped flourishes emerging from the points of Yonge’s signum manucale
with bold rays that sometimes extend into the text of his notarial instruments; this
echoes a stylistic element current in English notarial crosses. The remarkable similarity
between the signa of Yonge and Baghill could only have come about through the latter’s
frequent experience with Yonge’s signum manucale in his day-to-day activities. There is
little extant evidence regarding notaries who were master and apprentice, so it is unclear
whether Baghill adopted part of his master’s notarial mark as a sign of respect or as a
matter of course.

The earliest extant example of Baghill’s hand appears in the St. Anne’s Guild
papers on a copy of a quit-claim made in 1419. Yonge wrote one quit-claim, and Baghill
made a copy of it. Baghill’s hand is not yet accomplished, demonstrating variations in
size, word and line spacing, and some letter forms. Some hallmark characteristics of the
scribe’s later hand are present, however, including the initial P, an I with a slightly
lowered loop – not yet the dramatically lowered loop of Baghill’s later examples of I –
and a nearly triangular upper chamber on many examples of a. Yonge and Baghill also
worked together on a land transfer in 1422. The apprentice wrote a grant of property and
a deed of attorney, and the quit-claim for the same transaction is in Yonge’s hand and is

795 See image in Appendix E, Fig. 3.
796 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 330 and 390 (both 28 May 1419).
signed by Yonge, a rare occurrence in early fifteenth-century Dublin for this type of document. While it is not unheard-of for the documents of a single property transfer to be in different hands, it is extremely uncommon. In most cases, a scribe was employed for the entire transaction, not just for one part of it. In this case, John Ingoll, a chaplain for whom Yonge had worked before, hired Yonge and his accomplished apprentice as a unit to complete the documents for the property transfer. Baghill likely completed the first two documents – from the initial inspection of title deeds and creation of a draft through to the writing and sealing of the final documents – with Yonge closely monitoring his activities, providing reminders or instruction, if needed.

Client lists and official offices were shared between members of Yonge’s circle. In particular, his influence netted his apprentices official and semi-official positions as well as short-term employment creating deeds for clients for whom Yonge had formerly worked. There were tremendous advantages to being the apprentice of a well-connected scribe. With the benefit of Yonge’s tutelage, Baghill’s career blossomed. Baghill’s hand does not appear in the extant records between September 1422 and January 1428. During this time, Baghill may have been working for a household or perhaps for the church, which depended heavily on notaries for the production of instruments. His hand reappears in 1428 on three deeds from a cluster of documents produced by Yonge, Baghill, and Nicholas Bellewe on behalf of the Guild of St. Anne. These documents all

797 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 189 and 188 (both 19 Sept. 1422), and 190 (22 Sept. 1422).

798 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 295 & 284 (both 27 Jan. 1428), and 283 (3 Feb. 1428); other documents in the group include nos. 290 & 344 (both 29 Jan. 1428), 282, 631 & 639 (all 4 Feb. 1428).
had the Seal of the Provostship appended to them, and it seems that Yonge or one of his
two students had access to the Seal at that time. Baghill’s hand appears in conjunction
with the Seal on deeds in 1422, 1428, and 1435, and it appears that he worked for the
City Clerk or held some other official position and thus had the right to use the Seal
either sporadically or throughout his active career. In 1431, Baghill produced a notarial
instrument in the mesuage above the quay that was inhabited by Radulph Penbroke, a
Dublin citizen and former bailiff, and owned by chaplains of the Church of St. Audoen.

In the eschatocol of the instrument, Baghill declares himself, “… clericus Mideij diocesis
…” (a clerk of the Diocese of Meath), which suggests that Baghill was in Co. Meath
during the gap in Dublin records associated with the scribe. The notary caught the eye of
the wardens of St. Anne’s Guild, or he benefitted from the recommendation of his former
mentor. His hand appears on notarial and property transfer deeds of St. Anne’s Guild
throughout the late 1430s. In the 1440s, Baghill’s hand dominates the extant deeds of St.
Anne’s Guild. During this period, Thomas Baghill seems to have been the clerk upon
whom the Guild routinely called when properties within the bounds of St. Audoen’s
Parish changed hands.

Baghill also had a few private clients whose deeds passed to the Guild of St. Anne
along with the associated properties sometime after the notary created them. These
private clients include the baker, John Stafford, whom Yonge had previously assisted

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799 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/129 & 2011/1/130 (both 1 Apr. 1422), Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 295 & 284 (both 27 Jan. 1428), 283 (3 Feb. 1428), Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 207 (24 Dec. 1435)

with his property acquisitions, John Serjeaunt, son of Margaret Passavaunt, and John Blakeney, Jr. All of these private clients were former clients of Yonge, or the children of former clients of Yonge. Other professional contacts, especially those from later in Baghill’s career, such as John Baskyn, John Thundyr, and Rosie Shorthals, are clients that Baghill attracted through a route other than by the recommendation or referral of Yonge. A further client, Ismaia Perers, the daughter of Edward Perers, hired Baghill to write a notarial instrument for her in 1433. This referral probably came either through Baghill’s relationship with Yonge, or through his relationship with another Yonge student, Nicholas Bellewe. Yonge knew Edward Perers, and Bellewe worked for Ismaia, William FitzWilliam, who was her husband, and their son, Philip FitzWilliam in the 1430s and 1440s.

Unfortunately, Thomas Baghill’s hand disappears again from the extant records after 1439, indicating that Baghill had a falling-out with the leadership of the Guild of St. Anne or that other opportunities presented themselves. Baghill was successful enough to own property: a piece of land that was probably located within the triangle created by Dublin’s High Street, St. Nicholas Street, and Rochel Street (a.k.a. Back Lane). While no deeds relating to this particular property survive, the register of Christ Church Deeds uses “the land lately belonging to Thomas Baghill, clerk, on the west” as a boundary descriptor for two shops on Saint Nicholas’ Street in 1462. It is unclear whether

801 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/141 (7 May 1433).
802 For more on Bellewe and the FitzWilliam family, see the section entitled, “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe,” below.
803 McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, nos. 964–69, p. 200.
Baghill had sold or granted his property, or whether he had recently died when the deeds were written. However, the reference to Baghill’s recent ownership indicates that the clerk held the property for some time – long enough for it to be a sufficient landmark; often when properties have recently changed hands, deeds refer to them by their former owners until the new owner has held the property for a sufficient time for him to be associated with it. No new owner is mentioned in these deeds, which may be an oversight of the original compiler of the deeds’ contents, or it may indicate that Baghill’s former property was in a legal limbo of sorts, awaiting a claim of ownership or the execution of Baghill’s will after his recent death. Future scholars will, I hope, encounter more deeds written by Baghill and uncover more clues regarding the life and career of Yonge’s apprentice.

The Career of Nicholas Bellewe

The second of Yonge’s apprentices was far more prolific than the first. Nicholas Bellewe had a career spanning almost fifty years. During that time, he produced two extant manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian e. Museo 232 and Longleat MS 29. These contain, among other things, works by Rolle, Hilton, and Chaucer. Bellewe translated the *Mirror of St. Edmund* into Hiberno-English, and he probably composed other works, including the *Laddre of Heuyn*, which appears in Longleat MS 29; he also contributed to the Dublin Chain Book. Bellewe held secretarial positions with two major Dublin-area families, as well as the City of Dublin, and the Guild of St. Anne. In addition, he produced a large number of legal documents for individual private clients.
The evidence indicating a master-apprentice relationship between James Yonge and Nicholas Bellewe (ca. 1405-75) is less conclusive than that of the Yonge-Baghill relationship. There is no smoking gun like Baghill’s signum manuale to point to. Nonetheless, a number of factors exist suggesting a master-apprentice relationship. One in isolation might be considered coincidence, but when taken in their entirety, these factors strongly indicate that Bellewe was Yonge’s apprentice. These include Bellewe’s role in the dénouement of Yonge’s imprisonment, sets of deeds written in common, Bellewe’s use of Yonge’s name in updating a deed, similarities between the hands of the two scribes, and offices held in common, such as the city appointment that brought with it use of the Seal of the Provostship, and work as a secretary for the Guild of St. Anne.

As indicated above, Bellewe makes his first appearance in the extant records in 1423, transferring Yonge from Trim to Dublin. That the young man was specifically entrusted with this task, rather than any of the more prominent men who swore to Yonge’s safety in the document ordering Yonge’s transfer, suggests that the two had a close relationship. Furthermore, while Bellewe’s hand underwent some changes in the course of the scribe’s long career, early examples of his hand bear a strong resemblance in spacing and ductus to Yonge’s more informal document hand.

Nicholas Bellewe came from an Anglo-Irish family that had long been established in the Dublin area. Many of its members were merchants, and the family produced prominent politicians, including mayors and bailiffs of Dublin. As a clerk, Nicholas is perhaps an anomaly in a family so dominated by merchants and government officials.

804 For more on the Bellewe family, see Appendix D.
Yonge, however, came from a similarly well-placed family whose members were more diverse in their career paths. Nicholas might have trained as a scribe for the opportunities it gave him to participate in royal or civic government. It is unclear who the City Clerks were between ca. 1407-76, but Bellewe’s hand on two folios of the Dublin Chain Book is an indication that he held that office or was otherwise closely affiliated with the city administration.\textsuperscript{805} He may also have intended to work for the church or the ecclesiastical courts, and, when a benefice was not forthcoming, saw training as a scribe as an alternative. Bellewe’s own translation work and his choice of texts for a manuscript that looks like a personal \textit{florilegium} or a household book of pastoral care demonstrate his affinity for orthodox religious texts, an affinity that probably arose from deeply-held personal conviction, opinions apparently shared by Yonge.\textsuperscript{806}

One of the pieces of evidence linking Yonge and Bellewe is the similarity of their documentary hands. Like Thomas Baghill, Bellewe cultivated a script similar to Yonge’s. Whereas Baghill’s script appears to be much like Yonge’s more broken, formal script, Bellewe’s letter forms are more rounded versions of Yonge’s standard script. [Fig. 26; Appendix B, Table B.3] The \textit{ductus} of most letters is much the same, but Bellewe does not employ sharp breaks in his letters as Yonge does. His script also shares certain characteristics with Yonge’s, some of which were generally uncommon in the hands of other contemporary Dublin scribes; these include the formation of a horn-less \textit{g} and an \textit{h} with a descender that trails off parallel to the line of writing. Like James Yonge, Bellewe

\textsuperscript{805} See below, and Clark, Doran, and Fitzpatrick, \textit{Serving the City: The Dublin City Managers and Town Clerks, 1230-2006}, 31.

\textsuperscript{806} See the section entitled “Yonge’s \textit{Memoriale} in its Anglo-Irish Context” in Chapter 3.
had two grades of script, a formal version that tended to be more upright and calligraphic, and a workaday script with more ligatures and a tendency for the letters to lean slightly to the right. The latter grade is far more common in the legal documents penned by Bellewe. Bellewe also had a book hand, which appears in at least three extant manuscripts: the Dublin Chain Book, Longleat MS 29 and Bodleian e. Museo MS 232.

In 1428, Bellewe was approaching the end of his apprenticeship with Yonge. On February 4th of that year, a number of documents were written for the group that would become the Guild of St. Anne, of these, three survive. Two were written by Bellewe and a third was penned by Yonge. Much like the 1419 and 1422 documents on which Yonge and Baghill worked, it appears that these documents, with their two scribal hands (rather than the usual single hand) represent a transaction for which master and apprentice worked together. There is also a cluster of indentures in Bellewe’s hand that are dated 1411. These concern the same property as the 1428 documents, and they appear to be copies – probably made at the time of the 1428 transfer – of earlier documents that had become damaged or were otherwise deemed unsuitable. One indenture is particularly interesting, as the term of the indenture is for the longer of 40

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807 Dublin City Archives MS 1/2/1.
808 For more on Bellewe’s hand, see Appendix B.
810 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 382 (30 May 1411), 226 (6 Jun. 1411) and 157 (10 Jun. 1411).
years or the lives of several individuals, including James Yonge and Nicholas Bellewe.\textsuperscript{811} Bellewe would have been very young indeed in 1411, and it appears instead that Bellewe has updated the document, substituting his own name – and possibly Yonge’s name as well – for the name or names of individuals who had died since the original indenture was created.

After this first foray into the work of a legal scribe, Bellewe’s hand disappears from the record between 1429 and 1433. He may have been working outside of the Dublin area during this time, or the deeds or other records written by him have disappeared. However, after ending his apprenticeship with Yonge, Bellewe soon found permanent or semi-permanent employment as a household secretary for the prominent FitzWilliam family, who owned the manor of Dundrum, south of the City of Dublin. Bellewe’s hand appears in many of the family documents throughout the 1430s and 40s. His hand is especially prevalent in the documents and rental rolls of William FitzWilliam, his wife Ismaia Perers, and their son Philip FitzWilliam.

Just as Thomas Baghill gained private clients through his master’s business contacts, it is likely that Bellewe found work with the FitzWilliam family through Yonge’s social and scribal circle. Yonge wrote a quit-claim in April of 1428 granting William FitzWilliam lands in Cheeverstown, northwest of Dublin.\textsuperscript{812} Yonge was also likely known to William’s wife, Ismaia. Ismaia Perers was the daughter of Edward Perers, marshall of the English army in Ireland. Yonge implies in his 1422 \textit{Gouernaunce}

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{811} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 382 (30 May 1411).

\textsuperscript{812} National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/139 (25 Apr. 1428).
of Prynces that he knows Edward Perers and has spoken with him about the struggle of James Butler’s grandfather against the Gaeilc-Irish Mac Murchada family.\textsuperscript{813} A few documents relating to Edward Perers were written by Yonge’s master, Hand M, and when Ismaia needed a notary, she called on Yonge’s student, Baghill.\textsuperscript{814} She was unable to employ Bellewe for the task because unlike Yonge and Baghill, Bellewe appears never to have been credentialed as a notary. There may also have been family connections which led to Bellewe’s employment. A 1435 document written by Nicholas Bellewe grants ten marks annually to Philip, Richard, and John Bellewe for the term of the lives of Thomas FitzWilliam, the son of William and Ismaia, and Thomas’ wife, Rosie Bellewe.\textsuperscript{815} Rosie was the daughter of John Bellewe and Matilda Passelewe, who may have been Nicholas Bellewe’s parents or aunt and uncle.

In the late 1440s, Bellewe’s work for the FitzWilliam family became more sporadic, and the scribe was doing bespoke work for the Flemyng family of Kilmainham, a region about a mile west of the walls of medieval Dublin. A probable member of this family, John Flemyng, would work with Bellewe on the e. Museo manuscript. At this time, Bellewe also had the occasional client in the City of Dublin. One of his major clients in Dublin was the Guild of St. Anne, with its membership consisting mainly of well-to-do individuals and families from the mercantile class. Bellewe shared writing duties with Yonge’s student Baghill in the 1430s. Baghill disappears from the St. Anne’s

\textsuperscript{813} Yonge, “Secreta Secretorum,” 129.

\textsuperscript{814} National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/94 (5 Mar. 1399), 2011/1/95 (8 Mar. 1399), 2011/1/109 (10 Apr. 1403), 2011/1/141 (7 May 1433).

\textsuperscript{815} National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1/143 (12 Feb. 1435).
Guild records in 1439, and the Guild experienced some chaos in its legal records from *ca.* 1440-50, using four or five different legal secretaries. Beginning in late 1450, however, Bellewe assumed the role of his predecessors, Yonge and Baghill. From 1450 until 1471, when Bellewe’s handwriting begins to show signs of old age and possibly failing eyesight, Bellewe’s hand dominates the papers of the Guild of St. Anne, very nearly to the exclusion of other hands. Between 1471 and 1474, after which Bellewe disappears entirely from the record, the scribe seemed to have entered into semi-retirement, executing a few documents for old clients – the FitzWilliam family and the Flemyng family. These documents display an increasingly loose and messy script which nonetheless retains the hallmarks of Bellewe’s hand at the height of his career.

Like Yonge before him, Nicholas Bellewe had access to the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin. Among the documents penned by Bellewe, the Seal first appears on the 1428 documents that Bellewe completed with Yonge. The apprentice probably was not the one to append the Seal at that time. Yonge was a bearer of the Seal, and as the senior scribe, used it to authenticate the documents that he and Bellewe were writing. Bellewe had access to the Seal in the late 1450s, as it is appended to two documents in 1459.\textsuperscript{816} Further evidence suggests that Bellewe had some official association with the City of Dublin, possibly as the City Clerk or one of his assisting scribes. The Chain Book of Dublin (Dublin City Archives MS 1/2/1) was used between the thirteenth and early eighteenth centuries as a public record of the city’s laws and customs. Entries are in French, Latin, and English. Some of Dublin’s mayors signed the flyleaves. The

\textsuperscript{816} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 598 (6 Apr. 1459) and 599 (9 Apr. 1459).
ridings of the franchises were recorded in the Chain Book along with notes about various civic and historical events, most notably the 1498 Corpus Christi pageant lists. The book was attached to either a podium or the wall of the Tholsel during the late Middle Ages so that any literate Dublin citizen might consult it at will. Near the end of the manuscript, on folios 66r-67r, Nicholas Bellewe entered a list of taxes for murage and pavage to be collected on behalf of the Provost on goods arriving into the city for sale; the entry is a fascinating glimpse into the range of goods available in late medieval Dublin. Sadly, there is no date on Bellewe’s entry, but one can extrapolate from Bellewe’s 1459 use of the Seal of the Provostship that he may have made his contribution to the Dublin Chain Book ca. 1455-65.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Bellewe’s career – or at least the most significant for literary scholars – is the two literary manuscripts that Bellewe produced. Nicholas Bellewe is the main scribe for both Longleat MS 29 and Oxford Bodleian e. Museo MS 232. Not only did he create the manuscripts, but he is also the translator of at least one work contained in each manuscript. He probably also wrote or translated several additional works in the Longleat manuscript, but the evidence for Bellewe’s involvement with these texts is less conclusive and my investigation of the style and vocabulary of these texts is still in its preliminary stages and will be the focus of a future work. Both manuscripts are compilations containing religious works in English and Latin that might have had particular appeal to a pious layperson with orthodox tastes.

817 These have recently been analyzed by Alan Fletcher, Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland, 91–125.

818 Transcribed in Gilbert, Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, 1:243–47.
Texts written by Richard Rolle are featured in both manuscripts. There are also several other texts that are unique to these manuscripts. Longleat 29, with its inconsistency in *mise-en-page*, its multiple booklets, and its variation in rubrication, was compiled either for personal use by Bellewe himself, or, more likely, as a household book offering religious instruction. The texts it contains appear to have been selected for female readership; these include, among others, the works by Rolle and the *Fifteen Ooes of St. Bridget*. Quite soon after it was created, the manuscript made its way to England. In making the e. Museo manuscript, Bellewe must have had access to either the Longleat manuscript itself or copies of some of the works in the Longleat manuscript, as they appear again in the later manuscript, which is more organized in its format and layout, and may have been produced by commission. Each manuscript is examined below.

**Longleat MS 29 – A Household Book of Pastoral Care**

Because it contains works by Richard Rolle (1290-1349) as well as Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” the Longleat 29 manuscript has been consulted and described by several scholars over the last century.\(^8^{19}\) Hope Emily Allen briefly described the manuscript in her research on Rolle, and she was the first scholar to note a relationship between the contents of the Longleat MS and two other manuscripts, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, commonly known as the Thornton MS, and Cambridge, University Library, MS

These three manuscripts preserve unique collections of verse works ascribed to Rolle, which are used in scholarly arguments regarding the ascription of these works. Using internal evidence from the texts as well as ascriptions by manuscript scribes, scholars such as Frances Comper have argued for the inclusion of a large number of texts in Rolle’s canon, while others, such as S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, have argued for a much more restricted canon. Ogilvie-Thomson used the Longleat manuscript as the basis for her edition of Rolle texts for the Early English Text Society. She and Hanna both assert that the Longleat manuscript presents a text that is a near descendant of Rolle’s original works. They disagree on its exact relationship to Rolle’s canon, however. In her stemma of Rolle texts, Ogilvie-Thomson places the Longleat manuscript in a high position and suggests that Bellewe’s exemplar for the Rolle texts may have originated in Yorkshire during or soon after the hermit’s lifetime.

Among the texts in the Longleat manuscript that are not part of Rolle’s canon is Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale.” Because it contains a Chaucerian text, Longleat 29 is described by John Manly and Edith Rickert in their study of The Canterbury Tales manuscripts. Manly and Rickert conclude that the version of the “Parson’s Tale” in

Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Bibliography, 34–36.


Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts.


Longleat 29 is closely related to that contained in the Ellesmere Chaucer (San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL 26 C 9) and the two manuscripts may have had a common exemplar.\textsuperscript{825} While this is possible, I believe it is far more likely that the relationship between the Ellesmere Chaucer and Longleat may be a little more distant, with a copy lying between that of the common exemplar and the Longleat manuscript; Ellesmere may be a cousin or uncle to Longleat. Perhaps an early Chaucer manuscript made its way from London to Dublin in the early years of the fifteenth century. It is also entirely possible – as Manly and Rickert suggest, given that the “Parson’s Tale” is unascribed in the manuscript – that the “Parson’s Tale” arrived in Dublin as an individual tale, perhaps contained in a single quire; its inclusion in the Longleat manuscript may then be a case in which Bellewe copied an appropriate individual text rather than consciously selecting it from \textit{The Canterbury Tales}.\textsuperscript{826} This seems quite plausible when one considers Bellewe’s otherwise careful ascription of texts to Rolle and Hilton; it is possible that Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale” was circulating separately from the rest of \textit{The Canterbury Tales} without authorial ascription. If Bellewe was working from an exemplar of \textit{The Canterbury Tales}, one might also ask why he selected only the “Parson’s Tale” and not other religious tales, such as the “Second Nun’s Tale,” which might have fit particularly well with the other texts in the Longleat manuscript.

The dialect and origin of Longleat 29 has also been a topic for debate. Allen does not indicate a possible origin, but Manly and Rickert inexplicably describe the

\textsuperscript{825} Ibid., 1:345–46.

\textsuperscript{826} Ibid., 1:346.
manuscript as, “… almost certainly … made in a monastery – perhaps Christchurch, Canterbury – by a number of monks, one beginning the principal book, others adding the smaller books that precede and follow.”

This description is quite erroneous, and one wonders if Manly and Rickert had not seen the Longleat manuscript and were basing their description on another questionable description. While the Longleat manuscript does have material in three hands, two of them supply only incidental material to spaces that were left blank after Bellewe copied and compiled the main manuscript. Manly and Rickert failed to see the unity of Bellewe’s script throughout. When discussing the dialect of the manuscript, Manly and Rickert note that the original northern dialect of the Rolle texts has been obscured, and based on the dialect of the “Parson’s Tale,” “… it seems impossible to locate the scribe definitely.” They finally settle on the central Midlands.

Angus McIntosh and M. L. Samuels were the first scholars to correctly identify the manuscript’s dialect, listing it, along with Bodleian e. Museo 232 in the list of Hiberno-English manuscripts provided in their seminal dialectical study of Middle Hiberno-English. Ogilvie-Thomson, perhaps interested in establishing Longleat 29 as an authoritative exemplar closely related to a compilation that she proposes was made by Rolle himself for Margaret de Kirkby, rejects the dialectical arguments of McIntosh and

\[827\] Ibid.

\[828\] Ibid.

\[829\] McIntosh and Samuels, “Prolegomena to a Study of Mediaeval Anglo-Irish,” 4.
Samuels, placing the manuscript’s composition in the East Midlands.\textsuperscript{830} She notes that there is an inconsistency in Hiberno-English dialectical forms and argues that the Longleat scribe “had left his native country sometime before [writing the manuscript], retaining only traces of his linguistic habits.”\textsuperscript{831} Ogilvie-Thomson may also have been influenced in making this assertion by the nachleben she argues for it, which is based on the nachleben that Manly and Rickert ascribe to it, with the manuscript making its way into the hands of Elizabeth Goldwell, the daughter of John Goldwell, a London merchant, quite soon after its creation.\textsuperscript{832} Ralph Hanna disagrees with Allen and Ogilvie-Thomson, restoring Anglo-Irish provenance to both the Longleat and e.Museo manuscripts.\textsuperscript{833} Because the scribe of the manuscripts can now be positively identified as Anglo-Irish legal scribe Nicholas Bellewe, it seems clear that both the Longleat 29 and e. Museo 232 manuscripts were written in Ireland – specifically in the Dublin area – and not in England, as Ogilvie-Thomson asserts.

Bellewe’s mischsprache might be attributed to one or more factors: first, he may have been influenced by the dialect of his exemplars, second, (and I believe this is less likely) he may have been writing for a client who was not Anglo-Irish and he was attempting to adjust his own dialect to his client’s needs, or third, he may have been trying to imitate English dialectical conventions for personal or political reasons. Dublin

\textsuperscript{830}\textit{Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts,} xv and passim.

\textsuperscript{831}\textit{Ibid.,} xxxiv–xxxv.


\textsuperscript{833}Hanna, \textit{The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue,} 171,212.
bureaucrats were surrounded by examples of documents from England, and close imitation of English practices seems to have been encouraged. There is insufficient research as of yet to determine if this clerical culture of imitation might have also extended to copying the dialectical features of English-language documents, especially those of London. Furthermore, a certain amount of caution ought to be exercised in using dialectical features alone to locate a manuscript.\textsuperscript{834} The editors of \textit{LALME} astutely point out that several factors can muddy the linguistic waters. Dialects can vary at borders (which English-controlled Dublin could be argued to be), the written dialect of a given manuscript can reflect either the dialect of the exemplar, or the dialect of the scribe, or a mixture of both, scribes themselves can exhibit mixed dialects, and fifteenth-century manuscripts in particular display a wide range of spellings.\textsuperscript{835} Moreover, there are so few localizable manuscripts for Ireland (and for many areas in England) that the \textit{LALME} dot maps are extremely sparse for these areas, making an identification based upon dialect extremely difficult for manuscripts with Anglo-Irish provenance. Bellewe’s manuscripts are another example of a case where manuscript dialect does not fully reflect provenance, and the appearance of the Longleat manuscript in England soon after it was written in Dublin has added an extra challenge in locating the manuscript and its scribe.

Below is a listing of the contents of the Longleat manuscript. I have marked texts that are also in booklet 3 of the Thornton manuscript and/or in the third manuscript bound together under the shelf mark Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.v.64. There appears


to be a close relationship between the Rolle texts preserved in the Longleat, Thornton, and Cambridge manuscripts, suggesting related exemplars. Rolle texts aside, the large number of texts – most of them short – that are unattested elsewhere are of particular interest for the study of late medieval Anglo-Irish literature; these are also marked. Blank pages have not been listed. The main scribe is Bellewe. Hands B and C have contributed short filler texts. Both are late fifteenth-century Anglicana hands. I have noted their contributions where they occur. Bold lines mark changes between booklets.

#### TABLE 5.1:

**CONTENTS OF LONGLEAT MS 29**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Unique to Lt</th>
<th>Thornton MS</th>
<th>Camb. MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table of contents in English, composed by Bellewe</td>
<td>2r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Merita visionis corporis Cristi,” collection of quotations by the Latin fathers, primarily Augustine and pseudo-Augustine, but also Bernard, Anselm, Isidore, Jerome, et al.</td>
<td>2v–3r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>unique in this assemblage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaronic lyric, “When þi hede quakes” (IMEV Suppl. 4035); in hand B.</td>
<td>3r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note in Bellewe’s less-formal legal hand: “Here bygynneth a tretys that is called the laddre of heuyne in which tretys men may lerne many good vertues to clime vp to heuyn; the ronges of this laddre ben these” Rest of page is blank.</td>
<td>4v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Unique to Lt</th>
<th>Thornton MS</th>
<th>Camb. MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Laddre of Heuyn</em> (Jolliffe H.6)(^{837})</td>
<td>5r–11r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“[O] thou soul myn whi art thou sorrowful …” prose treatise offering spiritual comfort(^{838})</td>
<td>11r–16v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Veni creator spiritus” Latin hymn in hand B</td>
<td>16v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Here bene contenet ix vertues pe whiche oute lord ihesu crist shewet to an holy man” Prose text ascribed to Albert of Cologne (Jolliffe I.12.b)</td>
<td>17r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Cur mali bonis <em>habundant,</em>” a question-and-answer conversation between a student and a master</td>
<td>17r–18v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Latin quotations ascribed to Gregory, Isaiah, Daniel, Bernard and Chrysostom followed by a paragraph ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor</td>
<td>18v</td>
<td>X unique in this assemblage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation in English on the Lord’s Prayer including a litany mentioning Irish saints (21r), and followed by a similar Latin version of the same meditation.</td>
<td>19r–24v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Confessio in anglicis.” English form of confession focusing on the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments (Jolliffe C.20)</td>
<td>24v–29v, 31r–31v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin confession with prayers, unrelated to the previous English confession.</td>
<td>31v, 30r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>Form of Living</em></td>
<td>30r–30v, 32r–43v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>Ego Dormio</em></td>
<td>43v–47v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>The Commandment</em></td>
<td>47v–50v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>Desire and Delight</em></td>
<td>50v–51r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>Ghostly Gladness</em></td>
<td>51r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{838}\) This was translated by Bellewe from a Latin text. See Edited Text 6.
### TABLE 5.1 (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Unique to Lt</th>
<th>Thornton MS</th>
<th>Camb. MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rolle’s <em>Love is Life (IMEV 2007)</em>, Rolle’s <em>Jesus, God’s Son (IMEV 1715)</em>, concluded with Rolle’s <em>I Sigh and I Sob (IMEV Suppl. after 1364.5)</em>, Rolle’s <em>Thy Joy be Every Deal (IMEV 3730)</em>, Rolle’s <em>All Sins Shall Thou Hate (IMEV 200)</em>; these are all run together in one block of verse with only slightly larger majuscule initials indicating the beginning of a new text.</td>
<td>51v–55r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(does not include <em>I Sigh</em>; order of texts is different)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A poem beginning, “Ihesu swete now wil I syng” Authorship by Rolle is disputed.</td>
<td>55r–56v, 58r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poems beginning “Almyghty god fadyre of heuyn” (<em>IMEV</em> 241), “Mary of help both day and nyght” (<em>IMEV</em> 2121), and “Mary modyre wel þe be” (<em>IMEV</em> 2119), all run together as one text</td>
<td>57v, 57r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven points in Latin to avoid sin, attributed to St. Bernard, in hand B</td>
<td>57r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excerpt from Rolle’s <em>Meditation on the Passion A (IPMEP 367)</em></td>
<td>58v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short text of Hilton’s <em>Medled Life (IPMEP 147)</em></td>
<td>58v-69r</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English translation of Flete’s <em>De Remediis contra Tentaciones (IPMEP 528)</em></td>
<td>69r–73v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian Lament in English (<em>IPMEP 828</em>)</td>
<td>74r–78r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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841 Lewis, Blake, and Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. 384
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Unique to Lt</th>
<th>Thornton MS</th>
<th>Camb. MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin Bonaventuran meditation beginning “Qualiter homo debet affici vel uti ad compaciendum christo crucifixo.”</td>
<td>78v–80v</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale”</td>
<td>81r–128v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English tract of spiritual instruction addressed to a woman, begins “Loue of kynde &amp; care me byndeth lady ȝow to lere with þe witte of wisemen. Now hereby take hede I ȝow praye.”</td>
<td>131r–142r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs in rhyming couplets ascribed to Solomon beginning, “Offe witte and wisedome þe begynnynge / ys drede of god &amp; þe endynge.” (IMEV 3502)</td>
<td>Lower margins of 131r–144r, 145r–146v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Of the least ioy of paradise” (IMEV 3191)</td>
<td>142r–143r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English verse beginning “Myyghtfull mary crownyd quene” (IMEV Suppl. 2169). In hand C</td>
<td>143v, 145r, 144r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timor mortis (IMEV 3743). In hand C</td>
<td>145v–146v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer on the Passion beginning, “In seiynge of þis orisoun stynth &amp; bydeth at euery cros…” Laid out in double columns. (IMEV 1761)</td>
<td>147r–148r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation on the five wounds of Christ beginning, “O myghtful ihesu grete was þe peyne þat þe suffred whan ye were crowned with sharp prikynge þornes…”</td>
<td>148v–149r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English prose translation of the Fifteen Ooes of St. Bridget (IPMEP 489), followed without a break in text by an English prose translation of “Ave Iesu Criste verbum patris” (IPMEP 278)</td>
<td>149r–152v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

842 This tale also appears in a different form in the Northern Homily Cycle (IMEV 47).

843 This prayer is also in Bodleian e. Museo 232 in a single column.

844 The only other extant exemplar of this is in Bodleian e. Museo 232. See Edited Text 4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Unique to Lt</th>
<th>Thornton MS</th>
<th>Camb. MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English prose prayer beginning {O} Benigne ihesu \pat\ woldest suffre so many greuous peynes …‖, followed immediately and without even a line break by a prayer beginning “O banked be \pe\ holy fadyre mytful god”</td>
<td>153r–154r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English prose prayer beginning “This meditacioun is good to sey euery day erly afor oper prayers. {A}lmghty ihesu goddis son brogh \pe\ holygost conceyuet …“</td>
<td>154r</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A revelation of Purgatory shown to a holy woman recluse (IPMEP 50)</td>
<td>155r–165v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank except for signatures of John Thynne and Iohannes Goldewell</td>
<td>166r–169v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quire structure and text layout of the Longleat manuscript is somewhat haphazard. The manuscript is bound in five booklets, which include a vellum bifolium that may have served as a cover for The Laddre of Heuyn. The number of lines and the quality of the handwriting vary considerably. The proverbs attributed to Solomon appear to have been added as an afterthought where space allowed – in this case, in the lower margins of folios 131r-146v. The rubrication is also uneven and was done by at least three different rubricators: some is left out altogether, some majuscule initials are undecorated and show a lack of skill, yet others are quite accomplished, but unfinished. The inconsistency in layout, quire structure, and rubication points toward an *ad hoc* collection, perhaps made for the use of an individual or a small group. One possibility is that the manuscript was made over a period of time by Bellewe, and the booklets became

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845 This and the previous set of prayers is also found in Bodleian Lyell 30, dating to 1441.

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a repository of texts that interested him or the household he was working for and possibly included texts that Bellewe had composed or translated himself. The English tract of spiritual instruction on folios 131r-142r and the revelation of purgatory on folios 155r-165v each appear to have been in booklets on their own. Booklet two contains all of the Rolle material as well as Hilton’s *Medled Life*, an English translation of Flete’s *De Remediis*, and Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” and it forms the core of the manuscript. The overall project appears to have been a collection of texts of spiritual guidance and edification, largely copied from other manuscript sources that no longer survive. This indicates that a greater number of religious texts circulated in late medieval Anglo-Ireland than has hitherto been recognized.

A number of texts in the Longleat manuscript are unattested elsewhere. Their presence in Bellewe’s manuscript allows us to posit Anglo-Irish origins for some or all of them. These unique texts include short *florilegia*, which may be merely collections of quotations of interest to Bellewe or his patrons; they also include longer treatises such as *The Laddre of Heuyn, O Thou Soul Myn*, the text of spiritual instruction addressed to a woman, and the prayer “Almyghty Iesu.” The English and Latin meditation on the Lord’s Prayer on folios 19r-24v almost certainly has Anglo-Irish origins in its present form, as several Irish saints are incorporated into the litanies which accompany the short prayers that go with each line of the Lord’s Prayer. These Irish saints are included in both the Latin and English versions of the meditation, and the list includes both well-known saints such as Patrick, Brigit and Columba, and lesser-known saints including

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846 This text is currently being edited by Katherine Stevenson.
local saints: Finian, Canice, Brendan, Moling, Kevin, “Synok” – possibly Suibhne – Laserian, Mo Chua, Abbán, Éoghan, and Colman Bellewe’s translation efforts in the e. Museo manuscript suggest that he may have had a hand in writing or translating some of the anonymous works in the Longleat manuscript.

An initial survey of the texts indicates strongly that *The Laddre of Heuyn* is a Bellewe translation or composition, as phrasing and word choice closely match those of Bellewe’s translation of the *Mirror of St. Edmund*. For instance, Bellewe uses “as anent” to mean “regarding,” or “with respect to,” and he uses “rer(e) up” to mean “raise.” When transitioning between ideas or re-stating a major point, Bellewe uses “pat is” as a connecting phrase. The words and phrases cited here occur several times in both texts.

Bellewe had an affinity for enumerative texts of spiritual instruction. Into the Longleat manuscript, he copies *The Fifteen Ooes of St. Bridget*, the text of the nine virtues shown to a holy man, and a confession that is structured around the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments. Marginalia in the manuscript is in his hand, and often consists of numbers marking the beginning of each point of a text, for easy reference. Given his fondness for these texts, it is reasonable to assume that he might have written or compiled a similar work of his own. Further research into Bellewe’s style and translation techniques coupled with textual analysis of the Longleat texts is necessary before any other texts can be attributed to him. As an initial foray into this investigation, Edited texts 3 and 4 are editions of Bellewe’s translation of the *Mirror of St. Edmund* from the e. Museo manuscript as well as the meditation on the five wounds of Christ that is extant only in the Longleat and e. Museo manuscripts. Edited texts 5 and 6 are the *Laddre of Heuyn* and *O Thou Soul Myn*, respectively. *O Thou Soul Myn* may have originally been
written for a convent, as the text makes use of Biblical quotations that address the reader as “daughter.” Bellewe appears to have translated the text into the Longleat manuscript directly from a Latin exemplar. At one point, he forgets himself and copies a line of the Latin text into the manuscript, then crosses it out and proceeds to continue translating the text into English.

Other texts in the Longleat manuscript offer clues about the types of text circulating in fifteenth-century Dublin and about the preoccupations of Bellewe. In the florilegium on folio 3r, Bellewe has included a quotation that he ascribes to Anselm, “Aspice vulnera pendentis, sanguinem morientis, cicatrices resurgentis precium tradentis, conuicium redimendis, hoc quantum valent pensari in statera [...] appenda vt totus nobis sit fixus in corde, qui totus [...] fuit fixus in cruce.” This is a shortened and somewhat corrupt version of the same pseudo-Augustinian sermon that Yonge used to compose the first short sermon in his 1411 Memoriale. It appears that Yonge and Bellewe were working from very different sources, but the presence of this source within the same circle of scribes implies that the pseudo-Augustinian sermon or this part of it was a fairly popular text.

Other textual choices indicate that Bellewe may have considered entering into religious life or that he had concerns about the roles of religious and lay people. Hilton’s

Mixed Life offers advice to a wealthy layman who has been considering entering a religious community; Hilton advises against it and advises his addressee on how best to lead a good Christian life while remaining in the world. Bellewe supplied the few marginal notes for his translation of the Mirror of St. Edmund in the e. Museo manuscript. Most enumerate items in the text, but the most striking note is a manicule drawn in the same brown ink of the main text which points out the complaint of a religious man that he cannot provide for the poor and sick, as he is enclosed and under the power of another. The manicule points to the line, “& þerfor hit were bettre to me to be a seculer man þat I myȝt do þese werkes of mercy.” [See Appendix B, Table B.3] Bellewe’s strong affinity for religious texts, especially those which might appeal to laymen, coupled with this note suggest that Bellewe was a deeply religious man who may have been trying to reconcile his faith with his life as a secular scribe.

The Longleat manuscript, with its variable script and layout may have originally been intended for the scribe’s personal use or for the personal use of someone close to Bellewe. A large number of the texts in the Longleat manuscript address a woman or might have appealed to a religious lay woman. These include the Rolle texts, The Fifteen Ooes of St. Bridget, three short Marian texts, a text of Christian instruction addressed to a woman, and a narrative of a woman’s vision of Purgatory. One likely scenario is that Bellewe compiled the Longleat manuscript sometime between 1433 and 1445, when he was working for the FitzWilliam family, and the manuscript may have been intended as a book of pastoral care for Ismaia FitzWilliam, née Perers.

Soon after they were written, the various booklets were brought together in a single binding. At that time, Bellewe added some prefatory material including the
florilegium and a table of contents. Bellewe’s table of contents is not comprehensive, often leaving out shorter texts or lumping texts together under one heading. For instance, all of the Rolle material is listed simply as “Item, a notable tretice of Ric’ heremyte to Margaret, Recluse of Kyrkeby of contamplatif lyf.” The Proverbs of Solomon are not mentioned at all, nor are the prayer and meditation on folios 153r-154r. The table of contents could have been executed with some haste, perhaps for an English purchaser.

The prevailing theory concerning the nachleben for the Longleat manuscript places it in the hands of John Goldwell, a London merchant, prior to his death in 1466. It then passed to his daughter Elizabeth and made its way out to Wiltshire via her marriage to Richard Pole (d. 1517). Richard was the grandfather of Giles Pole, a friend of Sir John Thynne, builder of Longleat House.848 The name Iohannes Goldewell appears on folio 168r, and John Thynne’s name appears on folios 2r and 166r. Manly and Rickert and Marta Harley argue that the manuscript came to Thynne from his uncle William Thynne, who obtained the manuscript at the dissolution of the monasteries.849 However, this theory is predicated on the idea that the manuscript was created at Canterbury, possibly in a religious house, which is not the case. The “notable reuelacion of þe peyns of purgatory shewed to a deuout Woman solitary” has an internal date of 10 August 1422. Ogilvie-Thomson also asserts that internal evidence in the exposition on the Pater Noster pushes the earliest date of composition of the manuscript to 1429, and she asserts that the


manuscript was written *ca.* 1430-50.\textsuperscript{850} If the Longleat 29 manuscript was in London before the death of John Goldwell in 1466, this indicates that Bellewe wrote the manuscript between 1428 and 1466, which fits neatly with the theory that Bellewe composed the manuscript for Ismaia FitzWilliam. Ismaia died sometime soon after 1445, leaving two sons. There is no record of a daughter, and perhaps the family had no immediate use for such a religious manuscript aimed at a female audience; thus, the manuscript might have been sold or given away at the time of her death.

Communication between government offices in London and Dublin necessitated frequent shipments of documents back and forth. Dublin’s quays were also a clearing-house for trade goods, exporting Irish wool, timber, and hides, and importing wine, pottery, and fine cloth. As a merchant, John Goldwell may have had reason to travel to Dublin for the purpose of dealing in Irish goods, and he or one of his agents could have purchased the manuscript soon after it was created. Several conduits for Goldwell’s acquisition of the manuscript present themselves. Goldwell could have known members of the FitzWilliam family. If Bellewe retained the manuscript at Ismaia’s death, it might have come to Goldwell via Bellewe’s familial connections – Nicholas Bellewe’s brothers, Philip and John, were both merchants, and it is clear that Philip Bellewe was living in Dublin by 1444. Goldwell’s access to the Longleat manuscript may also have come from Nicholas Bellewe’s connections to the Guild of St. Anne between *ca.* 1434-71. The guild was wealthy and claimed many Dublin merchants among its members. If the manuscript

\textsuperscript{850} Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, xxi.
was given to or purchased by the Guild, Goldwell or one of his agents might have purchased it directly from the wardens of the Guild.

Bellewe’s Self-Publishing Effort – Bodleian e. Museo MS 232

Bodleian e. Museo 232 represents Bellewe’s later, more accomplished work. It is smaller in format than the Longleat manuscript, with a consistency in quire structure and layout missing in the Longleat manuscript. The pages are pricked, but generally unlined, possibly the mark of a scribe whose usual metier is un-ruled legal deeds. Because it contains Rolle’s Meditation on the Passion, the manuscript is described by Allen, Ogilvie-Thomson, and Hanna.851

The manuscript contains five works:

1) Rolle’s Meditation on the Passion, text B folios 1r-18r

2) A short treatise on humility attributed to saints Gregory and Bernard (Jolliffe G.19) 18r-23v

3) Bellewe’s translation of St. Edmund Rich’s Speculum ecclesie (a.k.a. The Mirror of St. Edmund) (IPMEP 799)852 24r-62r

4) A verse prayer on the Passion (IMEV 1761) 62r-65v

5) A meditation on the five wounds of Christ 65v-66v


852 See also IPMEP 800 for other English translations of the Mirror.
The last two items also appear in the Longleat manuscript. The Mirror translation is unique to this manuscript, though other English translations of St. Edmund’s Mirror exist, notably in the Thornton and Vernon manuscripts. The final meditation on the five wounds survives only in the Longleat and e. Museo manuscripts, both copied by Bellewe, which suggests that the text – if it was not composed by Bellewe himself – originated and circulated in English-controlled Ireland. Basic editions of Bellewe’s Mirror and the meditation are Edited Texts 3 and 4, respectively.

The e. Museo manuscript provides the missing link between Dublin’s legal and literary production. The only hand in the manuscript is Bellewe’s rounded Anglica book hand. Bellewe’s self-identification in his translation of the Mirror and his distinctive handwriting allows him to be identified with the legal scribe Bellewe, who signed several of his deeds. [See Appendix B, Table B.3]

At the end of the Mirror, on folio 62r, the name “Ion Flemmyn” appears in red. Because the ink matches that of the rubricated letters, and because the rubrication ceases at this point, it is likely that Flemyng is the rubricator of the e. Museo manuscript. This evidence allows another known individual to be added to the circle of Dublin scribes thus far set out. The rubrication of the manuscript is distinctive, displaying a pattern of folded leaves inside the voids created by Lombardic letters. The penwork features wave-like and leaf-shaped forms ending in trefoils. [Additional Figures, Fig. 15 and Table Add. 4]

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853 For a listing of other English Mirror translations, see Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, xxxiii.

Rubrication in a similar style appears with the late fifteenth-century entries in Trinity College Dublin MS 525, a registry of the Priory of All Hallows, and somewhat cruder designs in the same style are present on folios 74r-128v of the Longleat 29 manuscript. It is possible that all three rubricators received similar training.\textsuperscript{855}

Identifying John Flemyng poses some problems. Flemyng is a very common name in medieval Anglo-Ireland, and it appears that there were Flemyng families living in County Kilkenny, Dunboyne, Dundalk, and Dublin. If Flemyng was a legal scribe, it appears that he did not sign any extant documents. He made his mark on literary history with rubrication, so his standard handwriting is not readily identifiable. The situation has been confused by the signatures in Trinity College Dublin MS 156, a manuscript of the \textit{Prick of Conscience} written in three fifteenth-century hands – a main one and two others who occasionally contribute a few pages to the text. In the margins of folios 2v, 4r and 50r, someone has written, “\textit{Iohannes Flemming composit hunc librum}.” The hand is similar to a seventeenth-century hand that wrote an English poem on folio 1v. (Folio 1r is a 1618 Dublin deed mentioning James Ware that has been re-used as a flyleaf.\textsuperscript{856}) It is possible that both the annotations and the poem were written by Miles Symner, who wrote a much-faded note on folio 1v which reads “\textit{Milenis Symneri liber 1652}” Major Miles Symner studied at Trinity College Dublin beginning in 1626. He achieved a benefice in the Church of England in 1633 before fighting in the Protestant Army during the Cromwellian era. In 1652, the year he placed his signature in the \textit{Prick of Conscience}

\textsuperscript{855} For Flemyng’s rubricated letters, see Additonal Figures, Table Add.4.

\textsuperscript{856} Thompson, “Books Beyond England,” 274–75.
manuscript, he was appointed a professor of mathematics at Trinity College Dublin, presumably due to his activities as an engineer in the army and as a surveyor during the redistribution of Irish Catholic lands to Protestant ownership. When Symner placed his note in the manuscript, was he identifying the main scribe, perhaps with information received by word of mouth when he acquired the manuscript, or possibly received from his acquaintance, the bibliophile Archbishop Ussher? It is also possible that *composuit* may mean something akin to “bound.” Perhaps the manuscript was bound by a John Flemyng – one candidate for this John Flemyng appears as a witness in a 1594 deed.

The major initials in the manuscript might assist in identifying the scribe John Flemyng’s involvement; they are, however, undecorated, and while they bear a superficial resemblance in form to the initials of the e. Museo manuscript, without the telltale decoration and penwork, it is not possible to identify Flemyng’s work in the Trinity manuscript with any degree of certainty. In addition, paleographical comparison of the minuscule letters in the e. Museo “Ion Flemmyyn” signature and the text of the *Prick of Conscience* in the Trinity manuscript show several significant differences which could be attributed either to the very different contexts for the handwriting samples – a carefully executed signature and a more casual book hand – or to the fact that the John Flemyng of the e. Museo manuscript is not the scribe of the Trinity manuscript.

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858 Ibid., 132–33.
859 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, no. 1418.
The “Ion Flemmyn” of e. Museo 232 was likely a friend and colleague of Bellewe. In 1449, Bellewe wrote the legal deeds in which John Flemyng, the son and heir of Katherine FitzAdam, deeded his inheritance from Katherine – eight and a half acres and half a mesuage in Kilmainham – to David Cornewalshe of Dublin.860 Flemyng was commencing a clerical education. By 1463, he was a clerk and notary public, and he was enrolled in the city Franchise roll as a clerk in 28 April 1469.861 He also appears as a witness in Christ Church deeds of 1484 and 85.862 Unfortunately, no deeds known to be in Flemyng’s hand are now extant.

Judging from the appearance of the two manuscripts, the e. Museo manuscript probably post-dates the Longleat manuscript in its composition. Bellewe’s work for the Flemyng family of Kilmainham dates to the late 1440s, but this period is a little early for John Flemyng’s active scribal career. It seems most likely that the manuscript was written ca. 1460-70, when both Bellewe and Flemyng were pursuing active careers in Dublin. This pushes Ogilvie-Thomson’s provisional date for the e. Museo manuscript of ca. 1430-50 forward slightly.863

Given Bellewe’s regular employment by the Guild of St. Anne in the 1450s and 60s, it is also possible that the e. Museo manuscript was originally made for the Parish of St. Audoen, the Guild of St. Anne, or for a Guild member client. No inventory of Guild

860 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland D.430, nos. 19 & 18 (both 3 Apr. 1449).
862 McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, nos. 341–42 and 349, pp. 98–100.
863 Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, xxxiii.
property survives, but it is clear that the Guild owned a lot of real estate both within the
City of Dublin and in Dublin’s suburbs; the Guild also looked after the interests of St.
Audoen’s Church, and the textual exemplars of the e. Museo manuscript and possibly
also the Longleat manuscript could have been part of the property of St. Audoen’s
Church or on loan to the Church or Guild from a Dublin area religious institution or from
one of the Guild’s members. The presence of the meditation on the five wounds in both
manuscripts, with little variation between the two copies, suggests that the same exemplar
was employed when each manuscript was copied. This exemplar might have been
available once, meaning the two manuscripts were composed at approximately the same
time, or it was more likely a text that Bellewe had ready access to – a text owned by a
client, a patron, the Guild, or Bellewe himself. This text, extant only in the Longleat and
e. Museo manuscripts, could also be an original composition by Bellewe, and its
inclusion in both manuscripts was a means of disseminating the work. The presence of
the prayer on the Passion in both manuscripts, and the occurrence of both the prayer and
meditation in tandem also indicate a common exemplar that was available to Bellewe
twice between ca. 1435-70, perhaps a book owned by the FitzWilliam family, by the
Guild or by the parish of St. Audoen.

The nachleben of the e. Museo manuscript is more difficult to trace than that of
the Longleat manuscript. Dirt and abrasion on the outer folios of each quire suggest that
the manuscript remained for some time as separate quires before being bound together in
the current fifteenth-century binding. The works in quires 1-8 appear to be part of a
unified project, as the layout is precise and remains the same throughout. The extra
bifolium added to the end of quire eight allowed Bellewe to finish copying out the
Mirror. The ninth quire, with the prayer and meditation, has no rubrication, and appears to have been added as an afterthought. Flemyng, it seems, was not available to continue his rubrication. Errors are generally corrected by erasure rather than expunction, and the uniformity of the manuscript suggests that it was perhaps completed at the request of a specific customer.

Nothing is known about the manuscript’s whereabouts during the latter part of the fifteenth century. Folio 69r has the sixteenth-century signatures of two women, Annes Helperby (also spelled Hempperby here) and Elyzabethe Stoughten, and in 1680 the manuscript was given to the Bodleian library by Alexander Fetherston, the vicar of Wolverton and Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral. Unfortunately, clues concerning how the manuscript might have passed from the hands of Nicholas Bellewe to Annes and Elyzabethe, are not currently forthcoming. Many Dublin families had close connections with the Midlands, Yorkshire, and London, and it is quite possible that the manuscript made its way to England via a family connection, or, like the Longleat manuscript, e. Museo 232 may have traveled to England in the hands of a merchant.

Conclusion

Similar hands and similar notarial signatures in the case of James Yonge and Thomas Baghill point to a master-apprentice relationship between the scribes. Analogous career paths and shared offices and clients indicate that apprentices benefitted from the business and social networks of their masters. Extant documents provide a sample of the similar hands and the patterns of documentary evidence that emerged from the latter
years of an apprenticeship; they provide a framework that allows for the identification of Nicholas Bellewe as another of Yonge’s students. Using this framework, we can also posit a master-apprentice relationship between Hand M and Yonge. Hand M, Yonge, Baghill, Bellewe, and Flemyng were all members of a circle of scribes and notaries in Dublin. Their activities and clients were based around the offices of the City of Dublin and the Guild of St. Anne and its members. Training of new scribes took place locally, and a certain degree of nepotism is evident in the passage of certain offices and duties from master to apprentice(s). This is clear from the use of the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin among Yonge’s circle – Yonge’s master, Hand M, and both of his apprentices held the Seal at some point in their careers. Yonge also appears to have presented his apprentices, Bellewe and Baghill, to the Guild of St. Anne as promising legal scribes. Both Yonge and Bellewe were also engaged in producing literary texts for the Anglo-Irish community. Yonge’s *Memoriale* and translation of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* served as examples to Bellewe, who translated *O Thou Soul Myn* and St. Edmund’s *Speculum ecclesie* into Hiberno-English, and who was the likely author of the *Laddre of Heuyne*, among other religious and didactic works. The two extant manuscripts created by Bellewe also demonstrate the connection of this small group of scribes to others in a Dublin-based circle, such as the rubricator and notary John Flemyng; they also demonstrate that this circle was connected to the much wider legal and literary world of England. Both manuscripts contain works that originated in England, including works of Rolle, Hilton, and Chaucer, and both manuscripts found their way to England – in the case of Longleat 29, quite quickly after the manuscript was finished. In 1427, a similar circle of legal scribes based at the Irish Exchequer produced Bodleian Douce MS 104, a
manuscript containing the C-text of Langland’s *Piers Plowman*. Although Yonge and his circle cannot yet be connected to the group of scribes – possibly clerks for the Irish Exchequer – that produced the Douce manuscript, in the case of Yonge, Hand M, Baghill, Bellewe, and Flemyng, an image emerges of a circle of scribes connected to the offices of the City of Dublin and the Guild of St. Anne who were engaged in both legal and literary production. If the annotator of Trinity College Dublin MS 156 was referring to the scribe of the main manuscript when he claimed that John Flemyng “*hunc librum composuit,*” the manuscript of the *Prick of Conscience* might also be associated with the Yonge circle. While Yonge and his circle were Dublin area locals, received their training in Dublin, and worked for Dublin area clients, they were far from insular; they worked in and contributed to a much broader arena of English literary culture.

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CONCLUSION:

AUTHORSHIP AND PATRONAGE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ANGLO-IRELAND

Although it is not traditionally considered to be among the centers of late medieval European trade and cultural exchange, fifteenth-century Dublin was by no means as insular and peripheral as its geographical location, small population, and role as an outpost community subject to Westminster might indicate. In fact, despite these geographic, demographic, and political disadvantages, Dublin was a well-connected crossroads. From the Irish Sea on the east came ties to England and the rest of Europe through the interrelated elements of trade, travel, and politics. These same elements connected Dublin and the Pale to the Gaelic-Irish hinterland to the west. Competing influences of culture and language shaped the community. The community itself – especially its governing bodies – attempted to exert its own authority both on the Gaelic-Irish culture that was treated as subordinate – even as it threatened the cultural behavior and identity of the Anglo-Irish – and on the political culture and climate of the English government. Citizens and government officials penetrated into Gaelic-Irish held areas to make war, to assert control, and to trade. They also exercised influence in England, where members of the clergy, such as the Archbishops of Armagh, and powerful Anglo-Irish lords, such as the Butlers and Talbots, represented the interests of the Anglo-Irish to the English king and Parliament. Soon after the end of the period covered in the current
study, the Anglo-Irish community would exert its influence by supporting two pretenders to the English throne: Lambert Simnel (in 1487) and Perkin Warbeck (1491-97).

James Yonge’s literary productions are influenced by the author’s role as an employee and supporter of the governing structures prevalent in fifteenth-century Dublin. His *Memoriale* in particular displays Dublin’s connections to Lough Derg, located deep within Gaelic-Irish territory, and to a broad European literary community extending all the way to the other end of Europe, to Hungary and the court of Sigismund I. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, on the other hand, is less concerned with European patronage and instead focuses on the Anglo-Irish community, providing, in its recitation of the events of the Anglo-Irish Conquest, a common history for the colony. It also seeks to exert cultural control in its rejection of the Irish and their cultural practices and in its production of a work of advice literature in the English language. The *Gouernaunce of Prynces* also anticipates a court and government audience in England, and Yonge strives to demonstrate that he, his patron, and the Anglo-Irish community are supportive of the Lancastrian government and its interests in Ireland.

Much of our evidence regarding late medieval Ireland has been lost, a great amount of it catastrophically, during the turmoil that re-defined Ireland for the modern age. The national and cultural revolution of the early twentieth century did not put a stop to literary creativity; it fed it and was in turn nourished by the writings of authors such as William Butler Yeats and James Joyce. While one cannot speak of fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish literature in terms of revival or revolution, it nonetheless has a resiliency and an energy all its own. While it looks to and appreciates English literature, it re-shapes and re-imagines that literature in its own specific, Anglo-Irish milieu.
In this brief exploration of the career of James Yonge, I have shown that literature and literary endeavor in fifteenth-century Ireland was not the dry spring that Alan Bliss and Joseph Long characterize it as. Nor were the Anglo-Irish in Dublin “content to reproduce material from the canon of English literature without … composing original works related specifically to Ireland,” as Terence Dolan has argued. Literature was being produced in Dublin by legal clerks and bureaucrats, and these clerks counted some of the most powerful people in late medieval Dublin as their clients and patrons. Literary efforts continued, despite the beleaguered state of royal administration in Dublin, surrounded as it was by Gaelic Irish culture and threatened by acculturation and violence. Manuscripts containing English literary texts were produced, but original works, such as Yonge’s *Memoriale* and Bellewe’s *Laddyre of Heuyn* were also created. Yonge’s *Memoriale* in particular broke from the bonds of its literary tradition to offer a new approach to the centuries-old genre of the Purgatorial narrative. Yonge utilizes sources from the long literary tradition surrounding visionary narratives concerning Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, but he also draws on his legal training and takes advantage of his own location on the edge of the known world to create a new literary-legal text.

Translations in late medieval Dublin re-framed older, authoritative texts for a new, literate Anglo-Irish audience. Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* displays vitality in its conception and translation that springs from and speaks directly to the political and cultural turmoil of his age. Yonge’s keen sense of history and place as well as his

865 “Literature in Norman French and English to 1534,” 735.

proximity to English government officials in Ireland – especially James Butler – are key elements in his re-interpretation of Joffroi of Waterford’s translation of the *Secreta secretorum*. Yonge’s student, Nicholas Bellewe, took it on himself to write, translate, and copy didactic works, making orthodox catechetical texts available to an English-speaking lay audience. Yonge’s political sensibilities and Bellewe’s religious sensibilities both lent support to tottering English power structures in Anglo-Ireland.

Literature produced in fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland was probably consumed by many Dubliners, as the city attracted a large number of wealthy, literate individuals. Yonge’s *Memoriale* baldly states that it is these people who insisted that an account be made. Yonge made a conscious choice to render the *Memoriale* in Latin in order to make it accessible to a readership across Europe: at the very least in England, Hungary, and Italy. He includes details in his narrative meant to encourage other international travelers to come to Ireland. Yonge also writes, however, for the edification and entertainment of his immediate friends, neighbors, and clients. There is only one manuscript exemplar of the *Memoriale*, written in Oxford or Cambridge, but it is likely that copies of the *Memoriale* circulated in Dublin, perhaps as single, unbound quires or as bound manuscripts that were later lodged in the Four Courts or otherwise lost or destroyed. The people of Dublin are a collective character in Yonge’s *Memoriale*, and it is likely that Yonge’s contemporaries enjoyed his flattering portrayal of the community. Dubliners also made up one of the primary audiences for Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. While James Butler commissioned the translation, and Yonge addresses him throughout the work, the political and cultural arguments in favor of English hegemony and in favor of the Butler faction are aimed at the same circle of literate Dubliners who urged Rathold to
have an account made of his visions. The manuscripts of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces* demonstrate that the text was copied for and circulated among Dublin’s merchants and government officials well into the sixteenth century.

Because of his patronage of Yonge, James Butler stands out as an Anglo-Irish lord who entertained and encouraged literary expression in the English language. His sponsorship of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* did treble duty for him, acting as political advertising, demonstrating to Henry V that he was a loyal retainer and an ideal Lieutenant of Ireland, and promoting the use of the English language among the Anglo-Irish. Butler’s support of literature was not culturally one-sided, however. He displayed cultural hybridity in his literary patronage and political activities. Butler owned at least one manuscript in Irish that contained works of Irish literature including the *Colloquy of the Ancients* and Irish place-name tales known as *dindsenchas*, and he supported Gaelic-Irish lawyers, scribes and poets.867

Butler is just one of a number of Anglo-Irish marcher lords who participated in both English and Irish literary culture. It is my fervent hope that future scholars will investigate this important part of the puzzle of Anglo-Irish literature and literary patronage. Marcher lords held lands on the fringes of the sphere of English influence, and they often found themselves in a difficult position whereby they had little support from the Crown or its representatives in Dublin, yet were obligated to maintain their lands and uphold English culture despite being surrounded by Gaelic-Irish culture. The solution was to make the best use possible of elements of both cultures. Marcher lords

didn’t quite “go native,” but their adoption of Irish culture was great enough to alarm the English administration and lead to measures such as the Statutes of Kilkenny, mentioned by Yonge in his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*.

Anglo-Irish lords other than Butler were involved in supporting the literary arts on both sides of Ireland’s cultural divide. The earlier of Gerald Mór FitzGerald’s two early sixteenth-century library lists is especially illuminating in this regard. The FitzGerald earls of Kildare came to power in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the rental book of the Gerald Mór FitzGerald preserves two lists of works contained in a large and expanding household library. Both lists classify texts according to their language. The later one lists only the texts in English, Latin, and French, but the earlier library inventory contains a fourth list of works in Irish. Temporally located as it was on the cusp of the print revolution in Ireland, the FitzGerald library probably contained a fascinating mixture of books that varied not only linguistically but also codicologically. Aisling Byrne has recently begun a preliminary investigation of the literary patronage of the FitzGerald Earls of Kildare, and she convincingly argues that the Hiberno-English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis’ *Expugnatio Hibernica* was produced under FitzGerald patronage. The Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland* has at various times been thought to be another text produced by James Yonge. Like Yonge’s treatment of the *Secreta secretorum* in translating his *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, the anonymous translator of the *Conquest of Ireland* translated his exemplar slavishly in places and

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868 London, British Library, Harley MS 3756. This library list will be the core of my next project.

869 Byrne, “Family, Locality and Nationality: The Circulation and Adaptation of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* in Late Medieval Ireland.”
treated the text quite freely in others. The similarities between the texts stop there, however; Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* and the *Conquest of Ireland* differ markedly in style.\textsuperscript{870} It is possible, however, to posit similar circumstances for the writing of the two Hiberno-English texts. Byrne observes that the *Conquest of Ireland* re-shapes Giraldus Cambrensis’ work to favor the Kildare family even more than the original text did.\textsuperscript{871} The translation could have been produced by a legal scribe who had the patronage of the FitzGerald governor of Ireland; both Yonge and the anonymous translator of the *Conquest of Ireland* labored to praise their patrons and to promote a common Anglo-Irish political and linguistic agenda. It is not coincidental that both texts can be found together in late fifteenth-century manuscripts.

The manuscripts and writings of Nicholas Bellewe provide further evidence for literary production and patronage in later medieval Anglo-Ireland. Bellewe’s early work for the FitzWilliam family may have provided him with the support to create the Longleat manuscript, where Bellewe presents his own translations and original compositions next to other English and Latin texts of religious instruction. The female readership indicated by Bellewe’s choice of texts and use of inclusive language suggests that Ismaia FitzWilliam, née Perers, was the original owner and patron for the manuscript. The Longleat manuscript probably found its way to London in the hands of a merchant after Ismaia’s death. While it is unclear who Bellewe produced the e. Museo manuscript for, his work as a personal secretary for the FitzWilliam and Flemyng families as well as his

\textsuperscript{870} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{871} Ibid.
employment by the powerful Guild of St. Anne, with its wealthy membership and mercantile connections, offer several viable possibilities for literary patronage among the landed gentry and mercantile classes of Dublin.

Similar to the careers of their counterparts in London, the careers of Dublin authors Yonge and Bellewe demonstrate that literary production in Anglo-Ireland was inextricably intertwined with the social and legal networks of the authors. Works in English and Latin were produced for members of a literate upper class who had direct or indirect political and social connections to England and the Continent. Yonge, Bellewe, Baghill, and the rubricator Jon Flemyng constituted a clerical circle focused on the Dublin City government and the Guild of St. Anne. This circle was akin to the social and literary circles of London bureaucrats. At the time when Yonge and his circle were most active, the Douce Piers Plowman manuscript was produced in a similar Dublin-based circle focused around the Irish Exchequer. The Hiberno-English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis’ Expugnatio Hibernica was likely also produced by a member of the Anglo-Irish civil service in in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Literature in fifteenth-century Dublin emerged out of a clerical culture similar to that of London, but Dublin’s unique literature is an outgrowth of and a response to Anglo-Ireland’s distinctive political and cultural environment.
The text exists in a single exemplar, British Library MS 10.B.ix, on folios 36v–44v (MS A in footnotes). The manuscript is a formulary containing many documents, compiled between 1430 and 1447, possibly in Oxford or Cambridge. The text of the *Memoriale* is in one of the major hands of the manuscript, and is written in a small, broken secretary script. I have endeavored to retain the text as it appears in the manuscript, however, certain errors produced or perpetuated by the copyist have been corrected, and in these cases, the original text appears in the footnotes. Rubrics, although likely not original to the text, have been retained. Editorial marks are listed below.

Capitalization and punctuation have been modernized. Alterations to the text as it appears in BL MS Royal 10.B.ix are reflected in footnotes. Abbreviations are expanded in *italics*. Interlinear insertions marked by "/.". Expunged letters crossed out. *ij* silently corrected to *ii*. Added text in brackets { }. 

Postquam almificus vniiersorum creator omni carens cuiuscumque eter [37r] naliter egestate, suamque volens infinitam protendere bonitatem, mundum fecerat vniiersam, ut demum in errorem oues errantes diabolica fraude seductas, sue passionis misterio in veritatis viam dignaretur ineffabiliter reuocare; diuersa sanctorum vias & loca propter sue veritatis testem & monium vt ignorancie velamen toto depelleret orbe, variis fecit choruscare miraculis duraturis, inter que locum qui dicitur Purgatorium miraculosi confessoris Sancti Patricii Hiberniensis apostoli, virtutis sue potencia dignatus est mirabiliter operari, quem & ipse Patri Sancto Patricio propter Hibernicorum incredulitatis cecitatem, ut suis cauerent sceleribus demonstrauit. Nequando cum dominus iratus peccatorum nequicia iudicaturus venerit, suoque sedens terrifico tribunali, necnon apparuerit puteus patens inferni, a dextris infinita demonia, a sinistris omnia peccata grauiter accusancia, interius conscientia vrens, exterius totus mundus ardens, tunc inter alios damnandos miserimis dicat Hibernicis quod scriptum est, “Ve,”

Querimonia contra incredulos, et cetera.

Cum enim idem almificus, post prii primi parentis commissum, prophecie dono & deinde nimio caritatis ardore succensus, ab arce Patris descendens humane condicionis

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872 Apoc. 8:13: Et vidi et audiui vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium caelum dicentis voce magna ‘Vae, vae, vae habitantibus in terra de ceteris vocibus tubae trium angelorum qui erant tuba canituri.’ Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.
carne sumpta, tot & tanta signa dignabatur personaliter demonstrare, suosque sanctos & eorum vias & loca tot & tantis voluit decorari miraculis permansuris, quomodo non credendi quecumque de Domino nostro Ihesu Christo in sacro volumine sunt contenta, excusacionem habeat perfida per scismatica vel heretica pernicies? Quorumcumque si enim sanctorum mortuorum scripturis non credantur tunc eorum operibus adhuc durantibus fidem prestant, aut Europe plagam vltimam, videlicet insulam Hibernie, qua est locus antefatus & ex qua idem Sanctus Patricius animalia queque venenosa virtute Ihesu Christi perpetue vacuauit; vbi diuersas credendi materias oculata fide poterunt intueri, visitent & perlustrent; & si non omnes vel plures ipsius insule partes noluerunt vel non potuerunt perscrutari, tunc intrent \locum/ modo debito memoratum vbi possunt credendi materias sentire corporaliter & videre, aut fide dignorum relatibus modernorum & presertim viri nobilis Laurencii, de quo sermo subsequens est directus, qui non solum locum ipsum verum eciam, [37v] omnes mundi partes pro maiori nouiter visitatuit, hominis utriusque nobilitate commotus crudelitatis, non denegans adhibere. Scimus enim nostro tempore dictum locum plures cursu preoptacio visitasse, paucos autem sanctitatis pretextu realiter intrasse; de quorum vero paucorum numero

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873 velamine, A.
874 plustrent, A.
875 vir, A.
876 ‘hominis utriusque nobilitate commotus’ appears here in A, I have moved it down one line.
877 crudelitatis, A.
878 denegans, A.
879 intuisset, A.
Laurencius prenotatus, tempore serenissimi Henrici quarti Regis Anglie post conquestum, anno regni sui duodecimo, qui post mortem strenuorum Thome filii regis Edwardi, Ducis Gloucestrie, ac Ricardi Comitis Arundelie, flebili consilio nuper Ricardi Regis Anglie indebite peremptorum, iuxta Merlini propheciam, “dispersos greges in amissam pascuam reuocabit, locum supradictum personaliter intro\i/uit.

De aduentu militis ad ciuitatem Dublinsenem & de litteris (regis) Vngarie.

Sed antequam idem miles tante peregrinacionis loci aditus primasset, Hibernie capitaliem Dublinsenem ciuitatem in apparatu condecenti militari cum heraldo suo ceterisque sibi seruientibus prout decuit appropinquans, ibidem in Ecclesia Trinitatis sanctum reliquium, quod dicitur Baculus Ihesu, quem historiis in diuersis sanctorum

880 Rathold entered the Purgatory in the 13th year of Henry IV’s reign. However, he arrived in Ireland and commenced his journey to the Purgatory late in the twelfth year.

881 T., A.

882 Thomas of Woodstock, 1st Duke of Gloucester was the uncle of Richard II and leader of the Lords Appellant who staged a 1386-88 rebellion against the king and his favored appointees. Woodstock was assisted by Richard FitzAllen, 11th Earl of Arundel and 9th Earl of Surrey, and Thomas de Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick. Woodstock, FitzAllen, and Beauchamp were imprisoned in 1397 for their actions against the king. FitzAllen was beheaded on Sept. 21st, 1397. Woodstock was murdered while imprisoned in Calais in early September of the same year, probably at the behest of Richard II. Beauchamp remained imprisoned until he was released in 1399 by Henry Bolingbroke (King Henry IV).

883 “Redibit iterum fames, redibit mortalitas, et desolationem urbium dolebunt ciues. Superueniet aper commercii, qui dispersos greges ad amissam pascuam reuocabit. Pectus eius cibus erit egentibus, et lingua eius sedabit sicientes” (Hunger and plague will return and the natives will lament for their empty cities. The boar of trade will arrive and call the scattered flocks back to their lost pasture. His breast shall be food for the needy and his tongue drink for the thirsty.) Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britian: An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae), Bk. 7, ll. 127–30, pp. 150–51. I am grateful to Nicole Eddy for her assistance with this passage.

884 Added by Delehaye (hereafter D), “Le Pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice.”
Sancto Patricio legimus a Domino Ihesu commendatum cum quo inter nonnulla pietatis insignia pestiferum genus animalium ab Hibernia propellebat, deuocius adorauit. Quo facto, necnon exhibitis tunc ibidem ciuibus per ipsum Laurencium Christianissimi principis Regis Vngarie litteras autenticis, causam aduentus sui testantibus satis plane, versus venerabilem patrem Nicholem, Hibernie tunc Primatem, una cum familia sua sepedicta direxit iter suum. Ut autem huius operis textura non ficta plus autentica solidetur tenor huiusmodi literarum patet serius in sequenti:

50 Vniuersis & singulis, principibus, dominis, regibus, ducibus, prelatis, marchionibus, comitibus, burggrauis, castellanis, nobilibus & eorum officialibus, necnon ciuitatis, comunitatis, oppidis, villis & earum rectoribus, presidentibus, gubernatoribus, capitaneis, potestatibus, anciannis, prioribus arcium, vexilliferis, iusticiariis, magistrii cuium, proconsulibus, consulibus, scultetis, scabinis, aduocatis & quibus uis regiminibus eciam tributariis, eciam theolonariis, gabellariis, pedagliariis ponciun, passuum & transituum custodibus, amicis sui & beneuolis carissimis ad quos presentes litteras peruenire contingat, Sigismundus Dei gratia Rex Vngar\'ie, Dalmatie, Croacie, et cetera Marchioque Brambdemburgencis et cetera, Sacri Romani Imperii Vicarius [38r]

60 Generalis & Regni Boemie Gubernator, salutem & omnium bonorum votium

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885 patruum, A.
886 gubernatoris, A.
887 Sigismund of Luxemberg, 1368-1437; King of Hungary from 1387, he would become Holy Roman Emperor in 1433.
incrementum, cum serenissime principis, domine Barbare\footnote{Barbara of Cilli, 1392-1451, the second wife of Sigismund of Hungary.} Regine Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croacie, regnorum predictorum, et cetera collateralis nostrae carissime. Magnificus vir Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth, magister dapisferorum & supremus\footnote{supremus, A.} dispensator ex generosa sanguinis propagine de senioribus regnorum nostrorum baronibus exortus & in nostra aula regia a puercia sue etatis nutritus & cognitus, in nosrisque prosperis successibus & aduersis fidelis inuentus & constans, deuocionis spiritu accensus, ad beati Iacobi in Compostelis\footnote{composta belis, A.} limina & Purgatorium Sancti Patricii in Hibernia visitare proponit & sue mentis pulcritudine ductus, pro actibus militaribus exercendis\footnote{exercendis, A} & augendis diuersa mundi climata plustrare\footnote{plustrare, A.} intendit\footnote{intendat, A.}. Amicicias igitur vestras & fraternitates singulares & beneuolencias spirituales affectanter requirimus & confidenter hortando mandamus quatinus dum & quando in vestras prouincias conspectum & medium prefatum Laurencium cum sua comitancia venire contingat, ipsum gracioso & caritatiue recipientes favoribiliterque tractantes cum suis rebus & bonis vniuersis, equis, vasiliis, iocalibus, auro & argento, & aliis clenodiis quibuscumque ac deputata sua familia per districtos vestros, passus, transitus &
pontes iurisdiccionesque dominia, tam in terris quam supra aquas, die\textsuperscript{894} noctuque, ire & redire, et in eis morari facientes cum omni securitate sperata sine tributi & gabelle ac alterius solucionis vel exaccionis onere quibuscumque & alias absque omni grauamine & impedimento quocumque libere pertransire permittatis.

Et si opus fuerit eidem Laurencio Ratholdi & sui comitante cum predictis suis rebus & familia de saluo & seguro conductu dignemini\textsuperscript{895} et velitis prouidere. Sicque quod idem Laurencius sub vestris favoribus sue mentis propositum tam in peregrinacione quam \{in\} actuum militarium exercitacione\textsuperscript{896} feliciter duci valeat ad effectum. Et ob hoc, vestris amiciis, fratermitatibus favoribus & benevolenciis teneamur ad merita graciarum.

\textit{Datum} in castro nostro Sancti Georgii, anno Domini millesimo CCC\textsuperscript{m}o octauo, decimo die mensis Ianuarii, Indicione quintadecima, Regnorum autem nostrorum anno vicesimo sub appensione maioris & autentici sigilli nostre magestatis.

\textbf{De aduentu militis ad Primatem Hibernie, necnon de peregrinacione ad civitatem Dunensem\textsuperscript{897}.}

Adueniente quidem milite prenotato primatis presencia in antelati, ostensisque\textsuperscript{898} sibi huiusmodi litteris regie magestatis, necnon verbotenus aduentus sui causa [38v]

\textsuperscript{894} de, A.
\textsuperscript{895} digner’, A.
\textsuperscript{896} excerticatione, A.
\textsuperscript{897} Dublinensem, A. This appears as ‘Dublin’ twice in this passage, but the reference to the relics of Patrick, Columba and Brigid suggests that this is a scribal error, and Yonge was referring to Down.

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sagacius enodata, miles a Primate recipit ut decuit cum honore. Et sicut moris est\textsuperscript{999} peregrinorum huiusmodi, impetratis litteris a Primate super militis conversacione, miles ciuitatem Dunensem\textsuperscript{900} translatas reliquias beatorum Patricii Columbe & Brigide continentem, peregre prefectus est, ibique deuota precum & ieiunorum observacione pro salubriori itineris sui complemento per aliquot dies solicite morabatur. Interea vero dum vna {nocte} suo quiesceret in cubili peregrinacionis sue venture\textsuperscript{901} successus per beatum Patricium in quem propositi sui spiritualem anchoram infigebat ei diuinitus sunt relati.

\textbf{De aduentu militis ad Priorem Purgatorii & hortacione eiusdem Prioris, et cetera.}

Mane facto, resurgente milite sueque visionis {in}\textsuperscript{902} excelsro throno presidenti gracios cum gudio referente, quamdam insulam vocatam Sanctorum in occidentali plaga Vltonie vbi prenominatus\textsuperscript{903} Prior {in}\textsuperscript{904} suo prioratu moram facit desistebat nullatinus\textsuperscript{905} peruenire. Prospiciente siquidem Priore Primatis seriem litterarum de aduentu militis efficitur gaudiosus. Nichilominus\textsuperscript{906} Prior plurimorum commemorans interitum qui per antea locum Purgatorii memorati sine reeditu fallibiliter intrauerunt, ac formidans tanti

\textsuperscript{898} qui, A.
\textsuperscript{899} esset, A.
\textsuperscript{900} Dublinensem, A.
\textsuperscript{901} venturos, A.
\textsuperscript{902} added by D.
\textsuperscript{903} pronominatus, A.
\textsuperscript{904} added by D.
\textsuperscript{905} nullatinus, A
\textsuperscript{906} nichominus, A.
militis periculum ac temeritatis audaciam in hac parte ipsum ammouet & hortatur
solicite dicens ei, “Frater et amice carissime, tua nobilitas non ignoret quam plures
tempore meo locum quem rimari proponis intrasse ac ibidem mortis angustiam subiuisse,
alius autem immundorum spirituum infestatione perpetue fatuitatis maculum suscepisse,
ceteros vero cum corpore & anima vanuisse. Igitur dileccioni tue fraternali, diuine
miseracionis intuito, consulo pia prece, quatinus nisi Christi fidem habueris pleniorem ac
vere confessus & contritus fueris, introire locum Purgatorii non presumas.”

Cui miles inquit humiliter respondendo, “Pater in Domino reuerende, fido907 prout
Sancta Mater informat Ecclesia credo firmiter Trinitati908.”

Quo pleniter exaudito, Prior gaudens responso militis eum ulterius hortabatur, “Si
huius peregrinacionis viam velis Dei cum adiutorio perimplere, ·xv· diebus sub mensura
panis & aquae ceterisque piis operibus prout moris est aliorum ibidem canonice
intrancium tibi prius est neccessarium continere. Deinde vero confessus, contritus &
communicus ceterisque rite peractis, annuente Domino, tuam909 debes
peregrinationem910 perfinire.”

Completo siquidem sermone Prioris, miles in Domino confortatus in d respondit,
“Quanto [39r] mee fragilitate permittitur, Saluatoris fauente clemencia, tuis hortacionibus
me submitto.” Miles vero tunc debilitatem sui corporis verebatur. Et dimisso ·xv·
dierum ieiunio ne forte pre nimia cibi vel potus abstinencia sui vires animi vel sensus

907 fidem, A.
908 trinitatis, A.
909 tuum, A.
910 peregre, A.
verisimiliter vacillarent, quinque dierum spacio concurrente propter reuerenciam quinque vulnerum Christi ieiuniorum obseruanciam custodiuit. Huiusmodi quidem obseruato ieiunio dictoque milite a Priore confesso & communicto vt deberet, tam Prior cum vno canonico suo quam miles nauicalam ascendentes ac vnius miliaris spacio versus meridiem nauigantes, insulam vbi locus Purgatorii prenotati consistit protinus peruenert.

130

Descripcio Insule Purgatorii et introitus eiusdem, et cetera.

Est ipsa quidem insula dulcis aque flumine circumcincta salmonum, trutarum ceterorunque piscium generibus habundante; nomen huius fluminis siue stagni ‘Lothereg’ Hibernice nuncupatur, Latino quidem sermone ‘Stagnum Rubeum’ quod ita sit particulariter nomen conueniens est sortitum. Est ipsa quidem insula ·CXXX· passuum longitudine mensuranda, ·xx· vero passus latitudine non excedit. Diuiditur enim in duas partes, quarum maior inter occidentem & septemtrionem optinet locum suum; ‘Kernagh’ Hiberniali ydiomate nuncupata, Latino quidem sermone ‘Clamoris Insula’ dici potest. Estque ipsa pars nonnullis fructuum & arb/orbum generibus sicut acrifolis, dumis, rumicipus, sambucis, ceterisque spinosis arboribus obumbrata necnon auibus rapacissimis & coruis, capis, coridulis, bubonibus, aliisque volucribus rapacibus ibidem nidificantibus & horride garrientibus nimis plena. Est enim prout in

911 A close approximation of its name, ‘Lough Derg.’

912 rapissimis, A.

913 coridulis, A; Unidentified, Isidore of Seville lists the bird as “corelus, genus volatile, quasi cor edens.” (Coredulus, a flying species, as if heart-eating.) Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarvm sive originvm, Bk. 12, Ch. 7.34.
quibusdam codicibus Hibernie reperitur, Sathane suisque satelli\ti/bus
ereditario iure\n antiquitus attributa. Quod autem spiritus immundi existunt in inferno, terra & in aere post casum hostis antiquissimi patent versus:

150 Luciferi turba celorum regna reliquit, Infernis prima terrenis missa secunda, Aeris per gelidum concurrit tercia semper.

In illa quidem parte inter cetera maligna quidam demon ‘Cornu’ Hibernice nuncupatus, preter alas\n effigiem habens ardee dispennate, oculis plurimorum multociens intuetur; qui cum more solito vocem dederit ad modum cecinentis tubam tunc mortem alicuius prenosticat peregrini. Quem & miles Antonio\n est ibidem contemplatus. Minor enim pars [39v] ipsius insule angelis\n est dicata; Hibernice ‘Regles’, Latine ‘Regula’ nominatur. Inter orientem & meridiem in longitudine xxx\na & latitudine \n & dimidii passus tenet, locum aliquociens habundans arboribus quercinis, taxeis, ceteris pulcris arboribus, auium diuersarum dulciter melodiam resonancium satis plenum. Ipsius enim partis plaga meridialis & occidentalis capellam in honore Sancti

914 satillitibus, A.
915 A legal phrase concerning property ownership.
916 An analogue for this wasteland inhabited by evil spirits can be found in the description of Crowland in Felix’s Vita Sancti Guthlaci, Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac, chap. XXV. I am grateful to Thomas Hall for this reference.
917 nuncapatus preter alias, A.
918 octo via, A; possibly a reference to Antonio Mannini, an Italian banker who joined Rathold’s retinue in Dublin and who entered the Purgatory three days prior to Rathold, or to the knight Owein, the subject of H. of Saltrey’s Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.
919 angelus, A.
920 plena, A.
Patricii longitudinis quatuor & latitudinis duorum & dimidii brachiorum continet instauratam, in quam Prior militem introduxit ipsum admonicionibus premissis & hortacionibus admonendo ne locum introiret Purgatorii. Et quia cor militare supra firmam petram eius statuit fundamentum Prior annuit militi votum suum.\textsuperscript{921} Deinde statim exuto milite propriis vestimentis descabatisque\textsuperscript{922} pedibus, ac induto per Priorem tribus albis canonicorum vnoque novo femorali ut moris est peregrinorum huiusmodi, miles flexis genibus se prostruit illic/o super terram. Quo facto, Prior cum canonico suo letaniam mortuorum cum exequiis super militem compleuerunt. Impletis autem exequiis usque ad responsorium "Libera me Domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda quando celi mouendi sunt & terra,"\textsuperscript{923} Prior militem erexit de terra & cantando idem responsorum eduxit eum ab eadem capella per quatuor passus tendentes inter orientem & septemtrionem ante vnam speluncam muratam lapidibus & voltatam foramine, introitus Purgatorii memorati existens in altera\textsuperscript{924} maiore parte insule sepedicte concludentis\textsuperscript{925} in partibus, circumquaque cantans autem Prior cum canonico versus eiusdem responsorii, "Dies illa, dies ire calamitatis & miserie," \textit{et cetera.}\textsuperscript{926} Hostium illius spelunce\textsuperscript{927} tunc


\textsuperscript{922} This word perhaps refers to a type of light, broad-toed shoe called a \textit{scarpine}.

\textsuperscript{923} The responsory hymn used in the Office of the Dead.

\textsuperscript{924} altra, A.

\textsuperscript{925} concludentem, A.

\textsuperscript{926} Sequence used in the Requiem Mass; the hymn describes the Day of Judgment.

\textsuperscript{927} speluncce, A.
seratum aperuit & aspergens militem aqua benedicta ac vale dicens ei, {miles} 
speluncam protinus introiuit. Ipso hostio manu Prioris iterato secure serato, miles ibidem

180 vnicus remanebat. Intrante quidem milite Sancte Crucis signaculo se signauit, dicendo, 
“Dominus custodiat introitum meum & exitum meum ex hoc nunc & vsque in 
seculum,”928 cum hac oracione, “Domine Ihesu Christe, fili Dei viui, miserere michi 
peccatori.”929 Habuit enim secum miles vnum sereum quem propter stricturam spelunce 
in nouem partes diuisit quarum vnam habuit secum ardente & in collo eius quatuor 
pecias signi Sancte930 Crucis cum particulis trium tunicarum Ihesu Christi in berillo 
argento & auro ligatas ceterisque preciosis reliquias ac lapidibus, ac vnum libellum 
septem psalmos penitenciales continentem, mora sua videlicet per vnum diem naturalem 
& amplius spacium perdurante. Illius vero spelunce xicim palmas longitudine, tres lati 
[40r] tudine, {&} quatuor altitudine continet primus & introitus principalis. Secundus 
190 autem introitus versus carbam931 palmas nouem longitudine, tres latitudine & quatuor 
altitudine non excedit.


930 sanctes, A.

931 gerbinum, A.
De prima visione militis in spelunca.

Cumque miles secunde spelunce introitum peruenisset statim iacens proclius in terram cum septem psalmorum penitencialium vna cum letanie\textsuperscript{932} recitacione iterata videlicet die Sancti Martini ab hora quasi sexta, sole in signo Scorpionis ex\textsuperscript{\textit{/}}\textit{stente \textsuperscript{\textit{xxvii}-gradu, luna vero in signo Libre\textsuperscript{933} vsque ad noctis crepusculum subsequentis iugiter persistebat. Milite vero sic oracionibus persistente duo maligni spiritus inuisibiliter aduenerunt; militem usque ad portulam spelunce per pedes seriatim tribus viabus pertrahentes. Albas vero \textsuperscript{\textit{ii}-quibus miles induebatur turpiter lacerantes ipsum terrore nimio vexauerunt. Miles vero \textsuperscript{\textit{per}-terrores huiusmodi non contentus nesciensque securiorem viam tantum periculum euadendi quam ad amplexus Ihesu Christi per assiduam memoriam eius vulnerum confugere, in quibus quasi secretis cauernis petre deuote progrediens vt ab insultu diabolic abscondatur, Sancte Crucis signaculo se muniuit & in hanc oracionem deuote prorumpebat\textsuperscript{936}, “Domine Ihesu Christe,” vt supra. Diaboli vero Sancte Crucis signo nec cordi passionem Dominicam meditanti resistere non valentes confusi & recesserunt.

\textsuperscript{932} latanie, A.

\textsuperscript{933} Yonge’s use of astrological dating is reminiscent of dating in some ecclesiastical documents.

\textsuperscript{934} Li, A.

\textsuperscript{935} Added by D.

\textsuperscript{936} prorupebat, A.
O Crux gloriosa, o Crux adoranda, o lignum preciosum & admirabile signum per quod demones leuiter vinci possunt. O peccator, respice vulnera pendentis, sanguinem morientis, precium redimentis, cicatrices resurgentis; caput habuit inclinatum ad osculandum, cor apertum ad diligendum, brachia aperta ad amplexandum, totum corpus expositum ad redimendum. Hec quanta sunt cogita, hec cordi tuo appende ut totus tibi figurat in corde qui totus pro te fixus fuit in ligno crucis. Hec hodie meditare que tibi semper erunt refrigerium & solamen nec dubites quod si bene ea expresseris cordi tuo nulli temptacionum aditus apparebit.

De secunda visione militis, et cetera.

Miles autem in Domino confortatus psalmis premissis & oracionibus [40v] intendebat. Interea vero alius diabolus in effigie hominis antiquissimi peregrini barba prolixa varietate crinium ventilante appropinquans ex apposito militis apud suos ardentes cereos se vengebat militem, vt ei apparuit, dulcibus pietatis oculis iugiter contemplando, miles autem huius rei consideracione commotus, inter ipsos psalmos vnam oracionem de

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937 Cf “O crux gloriosa! O crux adoranda! o lignum pretiosum, et immutabile signum, per quod et diabolus est vinctus, et mundus Christi sanguine redemptus.” Gregorius Magnus, Opera Omnia Gregorii Magni, 78:Ad Invitatorium, col. 803B.

938 fixus fixus, A.


940 serios, A.
Incarnacione, Passione, Resurreccione & Ascensione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi
deuocius infundebat. Tunc demon sibi nequiter inuidendo ac inuidie malicia
commingando sic est militem allocutus, “O stulte miles, cum ego peregrinus existerem hac
vice tue deberem stulticie condolere, presertim cum te virum sapientem cognoscerem
variis ydeomatibus eruditum, maxime vero cum a te tanta verba friuola & illicita de
Ihesu, quem tante dignitatis excellencia supremoque\textsuperscript{941} titulo nominasti audirem proferri.
Nam ille Ihesus cuius cecam fidem tam diu dampnabiliter es secutus seductor extitit
populorum in abissum inferiorem eternaliter condemnatus. Desiste ergo carissime, a
tuis talibus nephandis erroribus illum Ihesum penitus abnegando, meisque quiescens
consiliis vitam eternam procul dubio possidebis.”

Cum autem miles hanc tantam diabolicam versuciam perceptisset suis vanis
mendaciis licet sciret noluit respondere nec cum eo longa verborum protelacione certare,
ymo pocius ipsum antiquum hostem deuincere Sancte Crucis munimini se commisit
oracionem memoratam sepius iterando, “Domine,” \textit{et cetera}. Tunc diabolus confusione
& irreuerencia vilipensus spuit in militem & recessit.

O venerabile salutiferum crucis signum semper Diaboli suggestionem deuincens
cuius latitudo signat opera caritatis, longitudo perseueranciam vsque in finem, sublimitas
supernam\textsuperscript{942} fidem ad quam\textsuperscript{943} cuncta referuntur, profunditas veram\textsuperscript{944} carnis
mortificacionem, \textit{et cetera}.\textsuperscript{945}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[941] suppremoque, A.
\item[942] supernum, A.
\item[943] quem, A.
\end{footnotes}
De tercia visione militis, et cetera.

Ego autem hoste inuido sic confuso, confestim adueniens alter se in effigiem nobilis & pulcherime mulieris cuius formam bene videbatur militi cognouisse, cautissime demonstrauit & multis sermonibus iocosis & voluptuosis militem infestabat, dicens ei, “Amice carissime, recordamini quod temporibus retroactis super omnia meis voluistis seruiiciis mancipari semper meam concupiscenciam adurento? Numquam vero oportunitatis locum ad nostrum optatum desiderium [41r] perimplendum inuenientes, nostri cordis intima variis dolorum aculeis vexabantur. Nunc autem, locum & tempus ad nostrum desiderium expectatum graciosius inuenimus.”

Miles autem hiis versuciis non credens, sed diuine Passionis misterium circumferens cordi suo ac triumphis premissis animositate suffultus, demonem hiis sermonibus confutauit, “O Sathana, veritatis aduersarie & infidelitatis amice, est tue inscrutabili versucie satis notum quod peregrinorum officio non incumbit suo peregre suis amasiis inquinari, nec illam dominam te fore repto quam pretendis cum ipsam ab Hibernia longa viarum distancia iam reliqui, sed humani generis deceptorum nuncium & inimicum te puto & repto satis bene qui cum omnipotentis Dei iuuamine, tuis falsis

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944 vera, A.
945 The exact source for this is unknown, and it may be Yonge’s own composition, but this passage echoes the symbolism common in exegesis of the dimensions of the Cross that grew out of Ephesians 3:18: ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit latitudo et longitudo et sublimitas et profundum. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.
946 credentes, A.
947 inscrutabile, A.
948 forte, A.
insultibus & simulacionibus me nequeas perturbare.” Diabolus autem hiis sermonibus irrecup erabiliter deturpatus nimia veregundia recedebat. Quo facto, miles in Domino gratulatur, qui virtutis sue potencia carnales estus in eo taliter extinguebat.

Igitur, o fratres carissimi,\(^{949}\) quantum est putride carnis voluptuositas est restringenda? Gladius Diaboli nuncupata que praeter\(^{950}\) octo animas mundum submersit vniuersum.\(^{951}\) O quantum nos admonet carnis effugere voluntatem Sapiencia Salomonis? “Fauus distillans labia mereticis, nitidior oleo guttur eius, nouissima illius amara quasi absinthium, acuta quasi gladius, biceps pedes eius descendunt ad mortem & ad inferos gressus eius penetrat.”\(^{952}\) Et o quam breuis est huius carnis gloria fragilis & caduca! O libidinose, queso dic vbi sunt imperatores, reges, principes & ceteri amatorum amatores ac ornamenta eorum qui hac turpedine delectabantur? Ipsi velut vmbra transierunt & velut somnia euanuerunt, aurum vero & ornamenta eorum ac putrida cadauera in hoc seculo remanserunt & illi eternaliter cruciantur vbi vermis eorum nullatenus\(^{953}\) morietur & ignis eorum minime extinguetur.\(^{954}\) Ve tam tenebrosam tam languidam foueam & tam

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\(^{949}\) A direct address to the audience, common in sermons.

\(^{950}\) propter, A.

\(^{951}\) 1 Peter 3:20: qui increduli fuerant aliquando quando expectabat Dei patientia in diebus Noe cum fabricaretur arca in qua pauci id est octo animae salvae factae sunt per aquam. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.

\(^{952}\) Prov. 5:3-5: favus enim stillans labia mereticis et nitidius oleo guttur eius, novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium et acuta quasi gladius biceps pedes eius descendunt in mortem et ad inferos gressus illius penetrat. Ibid.

\(^{953}\) nullatinus, A.

\(^{954}\) Cf. “Breuis est enim huius uita felicitas, modica est huius saeculi potestas, caduca est et fragilis et temporalis ista potentia. Dic, ubi sunt reges qui fuerunt ante te? ubi principes, ubi imperatores, ubi diuites mundi? quasi umbra transierunt, et uelut somnium euanuerunt, quaeruntur et non sunt …” from a homily on the justice of a king in the Irish-Latin Homiliarium; Lapidge and Sharpe, A Bibliography of
obscuras cauernas, de tam parua consolacione$^955$ tam longam captu uitatem, de parua
le ticia tam longam tristiciam, tam longas & amaras flamas de tam
parua iocunditate, vbi non adiuuat$^956$ pater filium, nec filius patrem, nec frater fratrem,
nec amicus amicum.$^957$

De quarta visione militis.

Militem consuetis oracionibus indulgentem quidam formo [41v] sus iuuenis,
viridi veste totaliter coopertus et stola rubea suis humeris inuoluta, saluta$^958$ lingua
Ebreica sic dicendo Laurenci, “Slam$^959$ alecha” quod interpretatur “pax super te,” vel
“pax tibi” & interrogando militem dixit ei, “Ad quid venisti, aut quid queris?”

Cui miles, Dei timore repletus, sagaciter respondebat, “Ego quero graciam
Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ac matris eiusdem virginis gloriose. Sed tu, quis es, qui talia
profers cum me non nosceres & me proprio nomine nominasti? Esne fantasma vel
inimicus verus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, quem quero pariter et adopto?

Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200, 565; Atkinson, The Passions and Homilies from the “Leabhar Breac,”
417.

$^955$ “ubi non audivit pater filium,” A, omitted here, as it is repeated below.

$^956$ audiuit, A.

$^957$ Cf. (pseudo-?)Isidore, “Vae tam tenebrosum locum, tam tenebrosam foveam, tam obscuram
cavernam, tam amarum locum, tam miserrimam vitam, tam dolorosam mansionem! O miser, de tam parva
vita tam longam mortem, de tam parva consolatione tam longam captivitatem, de tam parva laetitia tam
longam tristitiam, de tam parvo lucro tam grave dannum, de tam parvo honore tam longos dolores, de tam
parva iucunditate tam amaras lacrymas, tam immensa suspiria, tam luctuosos gemitus, tam magnam iram et
tristitiam. Ibi non adjuvat pater ad filium, nec filius ad patrem; ibi non invenitur amicus qui redimat
amicum, neque frater qui succurrat fratri.” Isidore of Seville, Opera Omnia, Appendix XII, Sermo III, cols.
1224A–B.

$^958$ saluta, A.

$^959$ A rough transliteration of Hebrew ‘Shalom.’
Et ait angelus eidem, “Dignum & est iustum est {quod}\textsuperscript{960} queries & optas. Aliqua vero tibi data sunt ad videndum & aliqua non ad presens. Ego enim patronus tuus Michael cuius nomine in villa tua propria et natu habes ecclesiam fabricatam.”\textsuperscript{961}

Miles autem verbis angelicis fidem credulam non prebat,\textsuperscript{962} sed hesitans ait illi, “Magis enim te credo angelum infelicem quam Dei nuncium michi missum quoniam audiui sepius malignum aliquando Dei & aliquando angelorum effigiem assumpsisse.”

Audito illo angelus sic respondit, “In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi crucifixi, cuius mater erat virgo ante partum, in partu & post partum, quem ego credo verum Deum & hominum esse, dic michi quid quereis verius in hoc loco.”

Miles autem hec verba considerans quod non esset fantasma ymo verius diuine reuelacio\textsuperscript{963} pietatis magis efficitur in Domino animosus & inquiens angelo sic dicebat, “Ego quero graciam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi eiusque matris virginis gloriose. Et si tu es patronus meus, dic michi quo nomine vocaris.”

Et angelus ait illi, “Ego sum ille Michael, prepositus paradisi, quem tu semper fideliter adorasti per quem & venisti. Dic ergo michi quid quereis & quid scire desideras in hoc loco.”

Prostratus autem miles preceps super terram humillime dixit ei, “Domine, mi pater, mi frater & custos mei hominis vtriusque rogo te pater per illam dignitatem quam

\textsuperscript{960} Added by D.

\textsuperscript{961} The Church of St. Michael still stands in the village of Tar, within sight of the ruins of the fourteenth-century Rathold family manor house.

\textsuperscript{962} prebat, A.

\textsuperscript{963} relacio, A.

429
tu habes ut michi monstrare digneris omnes animas defunctorum & benefactorum meorum quas videre iam diuicius adoptaui ut scire possim si sint in inferno purgatoriove paradiso.”

Cui angelus dixit sic, “Omnia michi precepta & a Domino michi data que dignus es videre eius gracia tu videbis corporaliter sed {non} in re. Igitur in nomine Iod he vav he, Hecados, Adonay, Alpha & O quod est Ab, Elohim, HaKadosh, sequere me.”

Tunc miles angelum est secutus vsque ad introitum predicte spelunce ibique quadrangulares latique magni lapides apparebant, quos autem, angelo eleuante, alterum foramen eminebat obscurum, in quod angelus militem introduxit per gradus circulares & vertiles vnius vero spacio miliaris. Cum autem ad finem gradium peruenissent, apparebant militi duina lux & firmamentum nebulosum ac vnum planum [42r] viivi/de pratum cuius longitudinis & latitudinis finem videre non potuit. Quo viso miles angelum iterum rogauit quatinus visionem preoptatam sibi dignaretur monstrare. Angelus autem

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964 Added by D.

965 This is the first reference to a common trope in St. Patrick’s Purgatory narratives, in which the pilgrim or his amanuensis discusses whether the pilgrim saw his visions corporeally or spiritually.

966 Iot he vaii, A; i.e. YHWH.

967 Hakkadosh – The Holy One; Adonai – The Lord.

968 Alpha and Omega – the first and the last.

969 abi, ebuy, rahot, kodes, A; this is quite corrupt. Perhaps Ab, Elohim, HaKadosh – G-D, the Creator, the Holy One. “Ebuy” may also be “My Father” in Arabic, although the phrase is more likely a corruption of an entirely Hebrew phrase.

970 Michael uses a mixture of Hebrew and Greek names for God. The Hebrew is quite corrupt and the problems may originate with Yonge, who did not know Hebrew, attempting to write down Rathold’s spoken Hebrew. The careless copyist of the Royal 10.B.ix could well have made things worse. I have attempted as best I can to untangle the result. I am grateful to Steve Molvarec for his assistance.
volens satisfacere votis suis, ostendit ei vallem incredibiliter perignitam flammam perfundissimas emittendo in quod quidem torquebatur\textsuperscript{971} igne innumerabiles anime viuencium hominum habentes effigiem per vilissimae tortores. Inter quos miles omnes defunctos suos, tam mares quam feminas, videlicet parentes, consanguineos, amicos, benefactores ac natos preter vnam animam vidit ibidem. Cum hec vidisset, miles

compassione ductus valida commotus est dicens, “Domine, qualis est iste ignis & quomodo nominatur? Video enim omnes animas quas optaui videre preter vnam in hoc igne miserabiliter cruciari.”

Et respondens angelus dixit ei, “Fili mi, ignis iste purgatorium nuncapatur in quo purgantur anime saluandorum & non est aliud purgatorium, sed tamen nec me, nec ignem, nec purgatorium in re vides, sed sicut dignum & iustum est a Domino tibi datum.”

Miles autem angelum interroga inquit dicens, “Domine & pater mi, qui sunt isti tortatores turpissimi qui miserimas istas animas tormentant & turpiter cruciant?”

Angelus autem dixit, “Demones sunt cum quibus in regno celorum primum bellum decertaui & ipsos cum eorum principe Lucifero in abissum deieci. Ipsos autem in eorum forma videre non potes, sed velut est desuper tibi datum.”

Voluit autem miles animam\textsuperscript{972} dilecti sui cuius visio extitit ab eo singulariter tunc celata videre, ideo intuitus ipsius anime necnon inferni ac paradisi peciit sibi ab angelo demonstrari. Respondens angelus concorditer prenotato sermone dixit ei, “Animam illius videre non potes cum visus eius tibi pro presenti sit a Domino sequestratus. Infernum

\textsuperscript{971} tortores, A

\textsuperscript{972} anime, A.
autem vel *paradisum* tibi modo videre non licet cum ad tantam visionem intuendam humilitatus hoc taliter non venisti."

Tunc vero miles trepido vultu interrogans ait illi, "Domine, nonne confessus, contritus & armatus fide prout sancta Sancta docet Ecclesia hoc veni?"

Et respondens angelus dixit, "Licet confessus, contritus & armatus fide prout dicis hoc venires, tamen ad presens illa videre non potes cum tu mundum transitorium derelinquere noluisti."

Item angelo dixit miles, "Domine, rectum iudicium iudicasti," & vltierius inquirens angelo loquebatur, "Possuntne quos hac video eternaliter condempnari?"

Angelus respondebat, "Dampnari non possunt cum non sit desperacio in hoc loco sicut est in inferno vbi redempcionis expectacio propensius est sopita. Istis autem animabus interim Dei adiutorium elargitur."

Et inquit miles, "Si tibi placuerit & michi datum sit a Domino, vellem scire quod est illud adiutorium quod tu dicis."

Et angelus dixit ei, "Omni septimana duabus vicibus *videlicet* die Dominica quando Dei filius Deus et homo natus est & in die veneris secundario quando idem Dominus Deus propter peccatores dignatus est mori [42v] ad ipsas venio confortandas dicens eis, 'In breui miserebitur vobis Deus,' et dicit vnanimiter conclamantes, 'Ihesu *Christe*, fili dei viui, miserere nobis; sicut vis & sicut scis ita miseraris' 973, *quia* maior est

973 miseriaris, A.
misericordia quam iniquitas nostra licet magna sit. Benedictus qui venisti in nomine Domini, osanna in exelsis & in terra.\textsuperscript{974}

Hiis auditis stupore magno miles interrogabat angelum sic dicendo, “Quomodo hoc potest esse quod tot missarum solemnniis, tot elemosinarum largicionibus, totque ceteris pietatis operibus pro defunctis meis premisiss tam per me quam per alios elargitis non obstantibus in hac parte omnes earum animas quas infra viginti annos nunc elapsos ab hoc seculo reuocare dignabatur Clemencia Salvatoris, hic video ignibus cruciari?”

Et ait angelus dulciter respondendo, “Tua non debet discrecio tot ipsarum cruciatus admirari, cum tu in arcano\textsuperscript{975} Sancti Ioannis Euangeliste\textsuperscript{976} scriptum sepius perlegisti, ‘Opera enim illorum sequuntur\textsuperscript{977} illos.’\textsuperscript{978}

Et angelo inquit miles, “Quomodo possunt istarum pene cius mitigari?”

Et respondens ait illi, “Omnibus bonis operibus & presertim celebritate {misse}\textsuperscript{979} possunt ab earum penis celerius liberari.” Hiis itaque & nonnullis aliiis secretis negociis & reuelacionibus dicitis & per angelum tunc peractis, que huius operis compositori per militem non licuit enarrari, sed quibus angelico mandato per militem sunt narranda. Sic

\textsuperscript{974} Cf. Psalms 117:26 and the Sanctus hymn: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth, / Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua. / Hosanna in excelsis. / Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.”

\textsuperscript{975} archano, A.

\textsuperscript{976} Euuangeliste, A.

\textsuperscript{977} secuntur, A.

\textsuperscript{978} Apoc 14:13.

\textsuperscript{979} added by D.
an
gelus militi est locutus, “Sequere me & ducam te ad tuum exitum econuero. Secutus
est autem miles angelum preeuntem & ambo in speluncam concito peruenerunt.

Miles vero flexis genibus & eleuatis manibus contra celum, multiplices graciarum
acciones trino Deo & simplici eiusque matri Marie interemerat virgini necnon beato
Michaeli beato Patricio omnibusque\textsuperscript{980} sanctorum ciuibus referebat. Quoniam Deus
eternus sue inexhauste bonitatis plenitudine, tante peregrinacionis periculum ad sue fidei
reintegrationem & maximum incrementum fecit ipsum incollemem pertransire. Et ex hiis
dictis miles voluit pedes angelicos osculari & dixit angelus, “Noli me tangere.\textsuperscript{981} Non es
dignus.” Stans autem angelus ad modum prelati dixit, ‘Adiutorium nostrum in nomine
Domini qui fecit celum & terram. Sit nomen Domini\textsuperscript{982} nostri Patris & Filii & Spiritus
Sancti benedictum, ex hoc nunc & vsque in seculum.\textsuperscript{983} Et benedicens militi sub hac
forma, “Benedicció Domini Dei omnipotentis, Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti maneat &
descendat super te semper. Amen.”\textsuperscript{984} Disparuit & celos tunc feliciter petuiit.

Nocte facta,\textsuperscript{985} quasi circa terciam horam post nonam, sole in signo Scorpionis in
\textsuperscript{xxvii} gradu, luna vero in Libra, anno Domini millesimo CCC\textsuperscript{mo} xi\textsuperscript{mo} existente, Prior
veniens ad speluncam apertoque per ipsum hostio, miles speluncam exiuit [43r]

\textsuperscript{980} omnibus que, A.
\textsuperscript{981} John 20:17.
\textsuperscript{982} “benedictum” A, omitted here, as it is repeated below.
\textsuperscript{983} “Adiutorium … seculum,” a common prayer, used as an Episcopal blessing as well as in the
Mass, in the Hours of the Virgin and in other devotions.
\textsuperscript{984} “Benedictio … Amen,” a common benediction used in the Mass, in the Hours, and in other
services.
\textsuperscript{985} Mane facto, A. I have altered this to ‘nocte facta,’ as the third hour past nones would be
around nightfall.
incolumis & iocundus. Viso milite, Prior multum in Domino \est/ gavisus & militem in
domum suam recepit in leticia cum honore.

**De audentu militis ad Ciuitatem Dublinensem.**

Cum autem miles prout placuit in celo presidenti suum peregre finiuisset, ad
ciuitatem Dublinensem est reuersus. Ibi vero a multis venerabilibus ac nobilibus prelatis,
dominis & ciuibus de votuiis successibus suis multum gaudentibus vt decuit honorabiliter
est receptus. Interea vero dum miles in Dublinsi ciuitate pro nauigio commorasset,
audita tunc ab eo per diuersos valentes viros sue expeditionis gracia, de suo peregre
sepedicto placuit eis vnum memoriale de huiusmodi expeditionis gracia Latino sermone
sibi fieri cum effectu. Hoc autem magis sibi fieri cupientes, cum idem miles dicta sua
prout decuit domini Primatis antediti\(^{986}\) \textit{letterarum testimonio confirmavit}, quarum tenor
sequitur in hunc modum:

**De littera Primatis Hibernie.**

Vniuersis & singulis fidelibus presentes \textit{letteras visuris vel auditoris}, \textit{Nicholus}\(^{987}\),
permissione diuina, \textit{Archiepiscopus Armachanus Hibernie} Primas, \textit{salutem} in Domino
sempiternam. Vniuersitati \textit{vestre} notum facimus \textit{per} presentes \textit{quod} nobilis vir,
Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth, \textit{magister} ut refert dapiferorum regalium Vngarie ac

\(^{986}\) anteditc, A.

\(^{987}\) Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh, 1404-16.
supremus\textsuperscript{988} dispensator eiusdem, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii in nostra prouincia situatum, circumstanciis omnibus & singulis illius peregrinacionis per eum penitus\textsuperscript{989} obseruatis, deuide intrauit, moram vnius diei naturalis vt moris est, veraciter penitens ac vera fide armatus, \{se\} traxerat in eodem sicut ex relacione fide dignorum ac per litteras testimoniales dilecti nobis in Christo filii fratris Mathei canonici regularis Ordinis Sancti Augustini\textsuperscript{990} eiusdem loci Prioris sumus veraciter certificati. Tenorem vero ipsarum litterarum prefati Prioris presentibus fecimus annotari, qui talis est:

\begin{center}
Omnibus Christi fidelibus has litteras visuris vel audituris, Frater Matheus, Prior Purgatorii Sancti Patricii, Clochorensis\textsuperscript{991} diocesis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Nouverit vniuersitas vestra \[43v\] quod magnificus vir Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth magister dapiferorum reginalium Vngarie ac supremus dispensator\textsuperscript{992} eiusdem, nostrum locum visitauit et litteras domini Primatis Hibernie Archiepiscopi Armachani commendaticias nobis exhibuit. Et peracta parte penitencie in ieuniis & oracionibus & aliis piis operibus, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii intrauit & audita missa de Sancta Cruce & aliis solempnitatibus observuatis & omnibus circumstantiis ad predictam peregrinacionem adimpletis
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{988} suppremus, A.
\textsuperscript{989} pennitus, A.
\textsuperscript{990} The Order of St. Augustine oversaw St. Patrick’s Purgatory beginning in the twelfth century. Matthew was prior from at least ca. 1409-1412, as he is also mentioned in the ca. 1409 purgatorial narrative of William of Stranton, ll. 9-10, Easting, \textit{St. Patrick’s Purgatory}, 78–9.
\textsuperscript{991} Clothof Raynes, A – probably a scribal attempt to make sense of the Irish place name.
\textsuperscript{992} dispensatos, A.
sicut nullus in tempore nostro adimpleuit, nudus & ieiunus exceptis vestis\textsuperscript{993} & vno femorali cum processione & letania speluncam Sancti Patricii viriliter intrauit. \textit{Et} ibi commoratus fuerat sicut eius possibilitas poposcerat & penas immundorum spiritum, sicut nobis datur intelligi, sustinuit. \textit{Et} reuelaciones diuiunas vidit & audiuit in eadem spelunca in qua fuerunt Sanctus Nicholaus ac Georgius filius Grifani, militis de partibus Vngarie,\textsuperscript{994} & Eugenius dictus Obrian de Anglia\textsuperscript{995} sustinentes tormenta ac penas inmundorum spirituum. In quorum omnium premissorum testimonium sigillum quo vtimur presentibus est appensum. \textit{Datum} in Insula Sanctorum, feria quinta post diem Sancti Martini, anno Domini millesimo CCC\textsuperscript{mo} xi\textsuperscript{mo}.

Et nos vero litteras prefati Prioris Purgatorii supradicti presentibus duximus exemplificandas easque ad pleniorem fidem in premisis faciendam, nostri appensione sigilli fecimus communiri. \textit{Datum} in manerio nostro de Dromeskyn, \textit{\textordmasculine}xxvi\textit{\textordmasculine} die Decembris, anno Domini supradicto & nostre consecracionis octauo.

Igitur ego Iacobus Yonge, notarius Imperialis, ciuium & scriptorum minimus ciuitatis Dublinensis predicte, huius memoriais compilator indignus coram Deo, qui militi prenotato dum commorasset nauigio supradicto scripture ministerio\textsuperscript{996} multis\textsuperscript{997}

\textsuperscript{993}rosetis, A.

\textsuperscript{994}Nicholas is the pilgrim who enters the Purgatory in the \textit{Legenda Aurea’s Vita Sancti Patricii}; Jacobus de Voragine, \textit{Legenda Aurea}, 321–25. Hungarian George Grissaphan entered the Purgatory in 1353; Grissaphan, \textit{Visiones Georgii}.

\textsuperscript{995}This is probably an error stemming from a mis-reading of ‘Owein’.

\textsuperscript{996}misterio, A.

\textsuperscript{997}militi\textit{s}, A.
435 diebus & noctibus deserviui & qui pluraliter cum eodem oretenus circa singula
suprascripta tractau, ad Dei laudem necnon instanciam predictorum validorum virorum & meum proficuum spiritale, hoc ad presens memoriale prout tocius sciencie distributor michi tribuit facultatem secundum informacionem debitam militis prelibati, substancia non omissa, fideliter compilare & scribere dignum duxi, discrezioni supplicans
440 singulorum hoc memoriale quodlibet\textsuperscript{998} visurorum quatinus eiusdem defectus benigno fauore corrigant & \textbackslash e/mendent, cum me prefatum compilatorem insufficiencia excusatum reddit pocius quam voluntas.

\textbf{De questione compilatoris huius memorialis ad militem et cetera.}

[44r] Postquam ego prefatus huius memorialis compiler omnia & singula
445 superius annotata\textsuperscript{999} scrissem, militi memorato cum instancia supplicauui quatinus sue
generositati placet michi principales aduentus sui causas ad predictum Purgatorium ac
si visiones pretactas corporaliter videret vel spiritualiter\textsuperscript{1000} dignaretur sue manus
scripture testimonio reserare. Qui me vnus cedule scripture taliter informauit:

\textit{Ego Laurencius, miles Vngarie, tribus de causis Hiberniam visitaui.}

450 Primo & principaliter pro eo quod audirem, tam per relaciones hominum quam
scripture, quod simqu dubium aliquod de fide Catholica haberet & locum
Purgatorii Sancti Patricii in Hibernia debito modo intraret ibidem posset omne

\textsuperscript{998} quolibet, A.
\textsuperscript{999} annota, A.
\textsuperscript{1000} spiritu, A.
dubium inde videre particulariter vel in toto. Et quia ego maximum errorem &
dubium habui de substancia anime: quid esset, qualis res debeat esse vel fieri quia
secundum philosophos dicitur esse inuisibilis, incorporea & impassibilis, ideo
locum Purgatorii intraui in quo Dei gracia de dubio predicto meram inueni
veritatem. Secunda causa fuit quod dicerem serenissimo principi domino meo
Hungariorum regi me visitasse locum Purgatorii sepedicti. Vnde idem dominus
meus suas honorabiles litteras sub sigillo sue magestatis prebebat. Tercia causa
fuit ad videndum mirabilia & sanctorum miracula Hibernie, quia multum audui
de ipsis mirabilia & miraculis de quorum diuersitate numerosa de pluribus sum
expertus.

De visionibus autem quas in dicto purgatorio vidi vtrum corporaliter eas
vidi dico sicut Sanctus Paulus dixit, “Raptus fui vtrum extra corpus nescio; Deus
scit.”

Sed probaliius michi videtur quod corpore verius raptus fui quam
extra corpus, cum ego nouem pecias cerei mei vnam continue post aliam
illuminarem & cremarem quousque de spelunca loci Purgatorii exiuisset.

De commendacione Dei & militis et cetera.

Per omnia laudes assint semper omnium creatori qui generosum militem
Laurencium Ratholdi cingulo militari, hilaritatis vultu, circumspectionis &
allocucionis moderamine inter dominos & amicos, laborum commendabilium
experientia, Ebraici, Greci & Latini ydeomatibus inter alia variisque scienciis & virtutum
insigniis decorauit & nobis huius operis materiam ministravit. Et laudes assint
inscrutabili sapiencie Dei summi qui presens memoriale ad finem perducere dignabatur.

Qui [44v] pios inde legentes corporis & anime tribuat sanitatem, regnans per omnia secula seculorum Amen.
The Visit of Laurence Rathold of Tar and Pászthó to St. Patrick’s Purgatory as told to James Yonge, Dublin notary

Prologue. A record of the visit made by the lord Laurence Rathold, knight and baron of Hungary, to the Purgatory of Saint Patrick on the Island of Ireland.

After the nourishing creator of the entire world, eternally free from every need, however small, desiring to show his infinite goodness, made the entire world, so that finally by the mystery of his passion, he deemed the sheep wandering into error and led astray by diabolical deceit worthy to be called back ineffably to the path of truth; he made the various paths and places of saints – according to the testimony of his truth – shine forth with various enduring miracles so that the veil of ignorance might be driven from the entire world, among them he deemed the place which is called the Purgatory of the most marvelous confessor Saint Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, worthy of working wondrously by the power of his virtue, and which place the Father himself showed to Saint Patrick because of the blindness of the disbelieving Irish, so that they might beware of their sins, lest when the Lord, angered by the wickedness of sinners, comes to judge, sitting on his terrible throne of judgment, and when the pit of hell lies open, from the right innumerable demons, from the left all gravely accusing sins, conscience burning within, the whole world burning without, then among the other condemned, he might say to the wretched Irish – to whom it was given to see before believing – that which is written: “Woe, …” et cetera.
Complaint against disbelievers, etc.

For since this same nourishing one, after the crime of the first parent, by the gift of prophecy, and then fired by the great flame of love, descending from the citadel of the Father, by taking up the flesh of the human condition condescended to reveal personally by so many and such great signs and desired to glorify his saints and their ways and places by so many and such great enduring miracles, how might anyone through treacherous schism or heretical destruction have excuse for not believing that which is contained in the sacred book concerning our Lord Jesus Christ? Indeed, if any of them might not believe in the writings of the deceased saints, then they may give faith to their still-enduring works, or to the furthest region of Europe, that is the island of Ireland which is the aforesaid place, and from that same place Saint Patrick, by the enduring power of Jesus Christ, drove the venomous animals of every kind, where those seeking belief will be able to see various things with a faithful eye, let them visit it and wander through it; and if they do not wish to or are unable to investigate all or many parts of the same island, then let them only enter the aforesaid place, where they may feel bodily and see means for believing, or let them not refuse to consult the narratives of modern men worthy of faith, especially that of the noble man Laurence, upon whom the following work is focused, who, driven by the nobility both of birth and of belief, lately visited not only this place, but also nearly every part of the world. For we know that in our time many people have visited the said place on an eagerly desired journey, but few have truly entered it by reason of piety; indeed, of this small number, the aforesaid Laurence personally entered the aforesaid place in the time of the most serene Henry, the fourth king of England {by that name} after the conquest, in the twelfth year of his reign, who,
according to the prophecy of Merlin, “called the scattered flocks back into their lost pasture” after the deaths of the most vigorous Thomas, son of king Edward (III), Duke of Gloucester, and Richard, Earl of Arundel, undeservedly killed by the lamentable plot of Richard, lately king of England.

**On the knight’s entry into the city of Dublin and on the letter of the king of Hungary.**

But before the same knight prepared for entry into the great pilgrimage location, drawing near to Dublin, the capital city of Ireland, equipped as becomes a knight, with his herald and the rest of his servants, as is proper, in that same city, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, he devoutly adored the holy relic which is called the ‘Staff of Jesus,’ which, as we read in various histories of the holy fathers, was given to Saint Patrick by {our} Lord Jesus, and with which, among several signs of piety, he drove the poisonous class of animals from Ireland. When this was done, the original letters of the most Christian prince, the King of Hungary, attesting clearly the reason for {the knight’s} arrival, were then shown to the citizens at that time by the same Laurence; he then directed his journey together with his aforementioned retinue towards the venerable father Nicholas, then Primate of Ireland. Moreover, so that the structure of this factual work might be made more firmly authentic, the tenor of this letter lies below as follows:

To all and singular, to the princes, lords, kings, dukes, prelates, marquises, earls, burggraves, castellans, nobles and their officials, and also to the cities, communities, towns, villages, and to their leaders, presidents, governors, captains, rulers, senators, priors of citadels, standard-bearers, justiciars, city magistrates,
proconsuls, consuls, sheriffs, judges, advocates, and also to the officers of any sort of tributes, toll-gatherers, tax-collectors, toll-collectors of bridges, the guardians of passes and crossings, to his friends and to dear well-wishers to whoever the present letters may happen to reach, Sigismund, by the grace of God, King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., and the Marquis of Brandenburg, etc., Vicar General of the Holy Roman Empire, and Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, together with our beloved, the most serene princess, the lady Barbara, Queen of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, the kingdoms aforesaid, etc. give greeting and wish for the growth of all goods. The noble man, Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, master of the table-servants and chief steward, offspring of noble blood, springing from the senior barons of our kingdom and reared and known in our royal court from his boyhood and found to be faithful and constant in our victories, successes, and adversities, inflamed by a spirit of devotion, proposes to visit the threshold of blessed James in Compostela and the Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, and led by the excellence of his intellect, he means to wander through the various climes of the world in order to carry out and augment his knightly deeds. Therefore, we desire to ask for your friendship and singular brotherhood and spiritual benevolence, and asking with assurance, we order that where, while, and when it happens that the aforesaid Laurence with his attendants comes into your provinces, into your presence, and into your midst, you receive him kindly and charitably, treating him favorably along with all his property and goods, his horses, ornaments, treasures, silver and gold, and other jewels of whatever sort, as well as his esteemed retinue, allowing him passage through your
districts, passes, crossings and bridges, and dominions under your jurisdiction, on land as well as on the waters, by day and by night, to come and go, and to stay in them with all hoped-for safety, without tribute and tax and without any other burden of payment or exaction, and you will otherwise allow him to pass through freely, without all burdens and impediments of any kind. And if the same Laurence Rathold and his attendants with the aforesaid property and retinue should have need of safe and secure conduct, may you desire and condescend to provide it. And thus, by your goodwill, the same Laurence may be able to favorably carry out his intention, both in pilgrimage and in the practice of military acts. And on account of this, we may be held to a debt of goodwill for your friendship, fraternal goodwill and benevolence.

Given in our Castle of St. George in the year of our Lord one thousand, four hundred eight, on the tenth day of the month of January, in the fifteenth indictment, and in the twentieth year of our reign, under the application of the greater and authentic seal of our authority.

On the journey of the knight to the Primate of Ireland, and also on his pilgrimage to the city of Down.

Then, the aforesaid knight, arriving in the presence of the previously mentioned Archbishop, showed him these letters of his royal majesty, and he also made the reason for his arrival more plainly clear in conversation; the knight was received by the Primate with honor, as was fitting. And, as is the custom of these pilgrims, the knight, having obtained letters from the Primate regarding the knight’s conduct, set out for the city of
Down, which contains the translated relics of the blessed Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, and he remained there for several days in devout observation of prayers and fasting for the favorable completion of his journey. During this period, while he rested one night in his bed, the outcomes of his upcoming pilgrimage were divinely revealed to him by Saint Patrick, in whom the knight had fixed the spiritual anchor of his intention.

On the knight’s visit to the Prior of the Purgatory and the exhortation of the same Prior, etc.

In the morning, the knight arose and with joy he gave thanks to the governor on the high throne for his vision; he did not pause at all in reaching a certain island called the Island of the Saints in the western region of Ulster, where the aforementioned Prior made his home in his priory. Accordingly, the Prior, having read through the letters of the Primate concerning the arrival of the knight, is made most joyful. Nonetheless, the Prior, remembering the destruction of many who previously had misguidedly entered the aforementioned Purgatory never to return and fearing the danger to such a knight and the daring nature of his recklessness, approaches him in this way and anxiously exhorts him, saying to him, “Brother and dear friend, your excellence should not disregard how many in my time have entered the place which you propose to explore and endured in that place the agony of death; indeed, others received the mark of perpetual madness from the harassment of evil spirits; in truth, the rest vanished, body and soul. Therefore, with pious prayer and consideration of divine mercy, I appeal to your fraternal goodwill, that unless you have total faith in Christ and unless you are truly confessed and penitent, you must not dare to enter the place of the Purgatory.”
The knight responded to him humbly, saying, “Revered father in the Lord, I believe steadfastly in the Trinity, having faith just as Holy Mother Church teaches.”

When this was fully heard, the Prior, rejoicing at the response of the knight exorted him further, “If you desire to complete the path of this pilgrimage with the help of God, it is first necessary for you to sustain yourself for fifteen days on a ration of bread and water and to do other pious works, as is the practice of others entering the same place, according to church teaching. Then, indeed, confessed, penitent, and having taken communion, and with other requirements duly carried out, with the Lord’s favor, you may complete your pilgrimage.”

When the Prior’s words were finished, the knight, taking courage in the Lord, responded, “As much as my frailty will allow, and supported by the compassion of the Savior, I submit myself to your counsels.” For the knight at that time feared for the weakness of his body. And foregoing the fifteen days of fasting lest by chance the strength of his mind or sense might be truly weakened by too much abstinence from food or drink, he observed a period of five consecutive days of fasting in honor of the five wounds of Christ. And so, he completed this period of fasting and the said knight was confessed and received communion from the Prior, as was proper; and so the Prior with one of his canons and the knight boarded a little boat, and, sailing for about a mile towards the south, they presently arrived at the island where the place of the aforesaid Purgatory stood.
Description of the Island of the Purgatory and the entrance to the same, etc.

That same island is surrounded by a stream of sweet water, abounding in salmon, trout, and other types of fish; the name of this stream or lake is called ‘Lotherge’ in Irish, and in the Latin tongue, “The Red Lake,” which name is particularly fitting as it is indeed so. That same island measures one hundred thirty paces in length and does not exceed twenty paces in breadth. In fact, it is divided into two parts, the greater of which occupies its place in the north and east; it is called ‘Kernagh’ in the Irish tongue and ‘The Island of Wailing’ in the Latin tongue. And this part of the island is darkened by many types of plants and trees such as holly, thorn bushes, sorrels, elder trees, and other thorny trees as well as being exceedingly full of the most rapacious birds – ravens, sparrowhawks, coreduli, owls, and other rapacious birds – nesting there and horribly screeching. For, just as it is found in certain Irish books, this is allotted from antiquity to Satan and his attendants by hereditary right. Moreover, the fact that evil spirits dwell in Hell, on earth, and in the air after the fall of the most ancient enemy is clear from the verse:

Lucifer’s mob left the kingdom of the skies,
Sent first to the depths, second to the terrestrial plain,
Sent third through the cold air, the multitude charges endlessly.

Indeed, in that part, among other evil things, a certain demon called ‘Cornu’ in Irish, having a form much like a plucked heron, with the exception of the wings, is often seen by the eyes of many; should it in its usual manner give voice much like a blaring trumpet, then it foretells the death of some pilgrim. It was seen in that place by the knight Antonio. The smaller part of this same island is devoted to the angels; it is called ‘Regles’ in Irish, ‘Regula’ in Latin. It comprises thirty paces in length and five and a half
in breadth between the east and south, a place greatly abundant in trees – oak, yew, and
other noble trees, sufficiently full of various birds, singing a melody sweetly. The south
and east region of this same part contains a restored chapel in honor of Saint Patrick, of
four cubits in length and two and a half cubits in width, into which the Prior led the same
knight, having already admonished and exhorted him, advising him not to enter the place
of the Purgatory. And seeing that his soldierly heart had built its foundation on a solid
rock, the Prior granted the knight his desire. Thereupon, the knight at once cast off his
own clothing and removed his shoes from his feet, and, dressed by the Prior in three
canons’ albs and a new breechcloth, as is the practice of such pilgrims, the knight,
bending his knees, prostrated himself on the ground in that spot. When this was done, the
Prior with his canon intoned the litany of the dead with the funeral rites over the knight.
When the funeral rites were completed up to the responsory, “Deliver me, Lord, from
eternal death on that terrible day when the heavens and the earth will be moved,” the
Prior raised the knight from the earth and, singing the same responsory, led him from that
same chapel four paces towards the northeast before a cave walled with stones and with
an opening in its face – the entrance of the same Purgatory, which lies on the other, larger
side of the said island, which surrounds parts of it, and around which the Prior went with
his canon, singing the verse of the same responsorial hymn, “That day, the day of wrath,
of calamity and misery,” etc. He then opened the sealed entrance of that cave, and
sprinkling the knight with holy water and bidding him well, the knight immediately
entered the cave. The same door was again securely sealed by the hand of the Prior, and
the knight remained alone in that place. Upon entering, the knight signed himself with
the sign of the Holy Cross, saying, “May the Lord protect my entry and my exit, now and

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forever,” with this prayer, “Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy on me, a sinner.” The knight had with him a candle which he cut into nine pieces on account of the tightness of the cave, and of which he had one piece with him, alight, and he had tied around his neck four pieces of the wood of the Holy Cross along with pieces of three tunics of Jesus Christ in a crystal reliquary trimmed in gold and silver, and other precious relics and stones as well as a little book containing the seven penitential psalms, seeing that his stay was to last for one natural day and longer. The first and principal chamber of the cave is eleven hands in length, three in breadth, {and} four in height. The second chamber, extending towards the northeast, does not exceed nine hands in length, three in width, and four in height.

On the first vision of the knight in the cave.

And when the knight had reached the entrance to the second cavern, he immediately lay reclined on the ground and repeatedly recited the seven penitential psalms together with the litany. Indeed, he remained continually there from St. Martin’s Day at around the sixth hour, with the sun in the twenty-seventh degree of the sign of Scorpio, and the moon in the sign of Libra until the twilight of the following night. While the knight thus continued in these prayers, two spiteful spirits invisibly approached the knight; three times in a row, they dragged the knight by his feet to the small entrance of the cave, horribly tearing two of the albs which the knight had put on, and they plagued him with great terror. However, the knight, unhindered by terrors of this kind, and not knowing a more secure way of evading such great danger than to flee to the embrace of Jesus Christ by the persistent memory of his wounds, in which, as if devoutly
entering the secret caverns of a rock so that he might be concealed from diabolic assault, he fortified himself with the sign of the Holy Cross, and he devoutly poured forth this prayer, “Lord Jesus Christ,” as above. Then the demons, thrown into disorder, were unable to withstand the sign of the Holy Cross and a heart meditating on the Lord’s Passion and withdrew.

O glorious Cross, o worshipful Cross, o precious wood and wondrous sign by which demons can be easily defeated. O sinner, gaze at the wounds of the one hanging there, at the blood of the dying one, the price of the one to be redeemed, the wounds of the one who shall rise again; head lowered for kissing, heart open for loving, arms open for embracing, His entire body exposed for redemption. Consider how great these things are, hang these things in your heart so that he who was nailed on the wood of the cross entirely for you is entirely fixed in your heart. Meditate today on these things which will always be refuge and solace for you, nor should you doubt that if you impress them on your heart, you will have no opportunity for temptation.

**On the second vision of the knight, etc.**

Then the knight, comforted in the Lord, persisted in the aforementioned psalms and prayers. While he was doing so, another demon in the guise of an extremely aged pilgrim with a long beard with forked locks approached him from nearby, he anointed himself with the knight’s burning candle-wax, gazing upon the knight, as it seemed to him, with eyes of kind pity. The knight, however, moved by this sight, devoutly poured forth among the psalms a prayer concerning the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, Jesus Christ. Then the demon, wickedly envious and threatening...
with spiteful malice, spoke thus to the knight, “O, witless knight, seeing that I am a pilgrim, I ought to pity this foolish plight of yours, especially seeing as I find you a wise man, learned in various languages, and especially when I hear issuing from you so many worthless and illicit words concerning Jesus, whom you named with the superiority of great dignity and the highest title. For that Jesus, whose blind faith you have damnably followed for so long, proved to be a seducer of the people; he is eternally condemned in the lowest pit. Beloved one, cease therefore from these wicked errors of yours, thoroughly rejecting that Jesus, and accepting my counsel, you shall possess eternal life without a doubt.”

But when the knight perceived this great diabolical cunning, although he understood his empty lies, he did not wish to respond, nor did he wish to contend with him with a long, prolix discussion; instead, to conquer the ancient enemy, he constructed the fortification of the Holy Cross, repeating many times the aforementioned prayer, “Lord,” etc. Then the demon, denigrated by confusion and disrespect, spat upon the knight and retreated.

O venerable, salubrious sign of the Cross, conquering always the counsel of the Devil, whose breadth signifies works of charity, whose length signifies steadfastness unto the end, whose height signifies heavenly faith towards which everything is drawn, whose depth signifies the true mortification of the flesh, etc.

On the third vision of the knight, etc.

However, as soon as this malignant enemy was thus upset, another, coming without delay in the form of a noble and beautiful woman whose appearance seemed
well-known to the knight, very cautiously appeared, and it plagued the knight with many
playful and pleasant words, saying to him, “Dear friend, do you recall that in past times
you desired above all to surrender yourself to my service, burning always with carnal
desire for me? Indeed, never finding an opportune place to fulfill our desired pleasure,
the inmost parts of our hearts were troubled by diverse barbs of pain. Now, however, we
have found a place and time more favorable to our long-awaited desire.”

The knight, however, disbelieving these cunning words, yet wrapping the mystery
of the divine Passion around his heart, and bolstered by the courage of his former
triumphs, refuted the demon with these words, “O Satan, enemy of truth and friend of
faithlessness, it is well-known to your unfathomable cunning that it is not
incumbent upon the duty of pilgrims for one to be defiled on his pilgrimage by his lovers,
nor do I think you are that woman whom you pretend to be, seeing that I have now left
her behind a great distance from Ireland, but rather I deem you to be an envoy of the
deceivers of the human race and an enemy, and I certainly think that with the help of all-
powerful God, you will be unable to trouble me.” The demon, indeed, was irrecoverably
discredited by these words, and left with great shame. When this was done, the knight
rejoiced in the Lord, who by the power of His virtue had thus extinguished carnal desire
in him.

Therefore, o beloved brothers, how greatly must the desire of foul flesh be
restrained? It is called the sword of the Devil, which submerged the entire world, except
for eight souls. O how much does the Wisdom of Solomon admonish us to flee the will
of the flesh? “The lips of a whore are a dripping honeycomb, and her neck glistens with
oil, but her end is bitter like absinthe, sharp like a sword, and her two feet descend to
death and her steps penetrate the infernal regions.” And oh, how short is the fragile and
tottering glory of this flesh! O lustful one, tell me, where are the emperors, kings, princes
and the others who loved concubines and their decorations, who took delight in this
shameful thing? They have passed away like shadows and they have vanished like
dreams; their gold, however, and their ornaments and their rotten corpses have remained
in this world, and they are tortured eternally, where their worm will never die and their
fire will not be extinguished. Alas for such a dark and spiritless pit and such shadowy
caverns, from so little consolation comes such a long captivity, from little joy, such long
sorrow, such enduring and bitter flames from so little pleasure, where the father does not
help his son, nor the son his father, nor a brother his brother, nor a friend his friend.

On the fourth vision of the knight.

A certain handsome youth entirely covered in a green robe, and with his shoulders
wrapped in a red stole, greeted the knight, who was devoting himself to his accustomed
prayers, thus saying to Laurence in the Hebrew language, “Shalom alecha,” which is
interpreted, “Peace be upon you,” or “Peace be with you,” and questioning the knight, he
said to him, “For what have you come, or rather, what do you seek?”

The knight, full of the fear of God, responded perceptively to him, “I seek the
grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and of his glorious virgin mother. And you, who are you
who speaks such things and who calls me by my proper name when you do not know
me? Are you not a phantom or a true enemy of our Lord, Jesus Christ, whom I both seek
and desire?”
And the angel said to him, “That which you seek and desire is right and just. Truly, some things are given for you to see, and others are not, at present. For I am your patron, Michael, in whose name you have a church built in your own native village.”

The knight, however, did not give his confident faith to the angel’s words, but hesitating, he said to him, “Indeed, I believe you more likely to be a wicked angel than a messenger of God sent to me, for I have heard that evil has frequently assumed the form sometimes of God and sometimes of angels.”

Having heard this, the angel thus responded, “In the name of our crucified Lord, Jesus Christ, whose mother was a virgin before birth, during birth, and after birth, whom I believe to be true God and man, tell me what you truly seek in this place.”

Then the knight, considering with these words that he was not a phantom, but was in truth a revelation of divine goodness, is made more bold in God and speaking to the angel, he thus said, “I seek the grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ and his glorious virgin mother. And if you are my patron, tell me by what name you are called.”

And the angel said to him, “I am that Michael, the overseer of paradise, whom you have always faithfully honored, and through whom you have come. Now tell me what you seek and what you desire to know in this place.”

The knight, prostrated headlong on the ground, most humbly said to him, “Lord, my father, my brother, and protector of my humanity, I ask you, father, by that authority which you have that you might deign to show me all the souls of my deceased kin and benefactors which I have long desired to see so that I might know if they are either in hell, purgatory or paradise.”
The angel responded to him thus, “All that I am instructed to show you and all that is given to me by the Lord that you are worthy to see by his grace you shall see bodily but not in fact. Therefore, in the name of Yahweh, Hakkadosh, Adonai, Alpha and Omega, who is Father, The Creator, The Holy One, follow me.”

Then the knight followed the angel to the entrance of the aforesaid cave, and there great quadrangular and broad stones were visible which, when the angel had rasied them, revealed another dark hole, into which the angel led the knight for the space of a mile by circular and turning stairs. And when they had reached the end of the stairs, a divine light and a misty firmament appeared to the knight, along with a level green meadow, the limit of which, in breadth and length, he was unable to see. When he had seen this, the knight again asked the angel if he might deign to show him his desired vision so far as he was able. Indeed, the angel, desiring to fulfill his promises, showed him a valley extraordinarily ignited, emitting overspreading flames in which countless souls, which had the form of living men, were tortured by fire and by the vilest torturers. Among these, the knight saw there all of his dead, both male and female, including his parents, kin, friends, benefactors and children, except for one soul. When he had seen these things, the knight, urged on by powerful compassion, was troubled, saying, “Lord, what is this fire and how is it named? For I see all of the souls that I desired to see, except for one, miserably tortured in this fire.”

And responding, the angel said to him, “My son, this fire in which the souls of those who are to be saved are purged is called purgatory, and there is no other purgatory, but yet you do not see me, nor the fire, nor purgatory in reality, but you see it as it is worthily and justly given to you by the Lord.”

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Then the knight, asking the angel spoke, saying, “My lord and my father, who are those most vile torturers who torment and repulsively afflict those unfortunate souls?”

And the angel said, “They are demons with whom I battled in the first war of the kingdom of the heavens, and I threw them down into the abyss with their leader, Lucifer. You are not able to see them in their own forms, but just as it is given to you from above.”

The knight however desired to see the soul of his beloved, the sight of whom remained singularly hidden from him, therefore he entreated that the angel might show him a sight of this soul and of hell and paradise. Responding, the angel in accordance with his aforesaid words said to him, “You are not able to see that soul because that view is hidden from you at present by the Lord. Moreover, you are not allowed to see hell or heaven because you have not come here humbled in such a way for seeing such a vision.”

And then indeed the knight, asking with with trembling voice, said to him, “Lord, have I not come here confessed, penitent and armed with faith, just as the Holy Church teaches?”

And responding, the angel said to him, “Although you have come here confessed, repentant and armed with faith just as you say, nevertheless, you are not able to see those things because you refused to abandon the transitory world.”

Likewise, the knight said to the angel, “Lord, you have adjudged with the right judgment,” and asking the angel further he said, “Can these whom I see in this place be eternally damned?”
The angel responded, “They are not able to be damned because there is no despair in this place as there is in hell, where the expectation of redemption is more inclined to sleep. Moreover, in the meantime the assistance of God is bestowed upon these souls.”

And the knight said, “If it pleases you and if it is given me by the Lord, I would like to know what this assistance you speak of is.”

And the angel said to him, “Two times in every week, namely the Lord’s day when the son of God, God and man, was born, and a second time on Friday when the same Lord God deigned to die for sinners, I come to these souls to comfort them, saying to them, ‘In a short time, God will have mercy upon you,’ and they, shouting as one, say, ‘Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy on us; as you wish and as you know, may you thus have mercy, as your compassion is greater than our iniquity, though it be great. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, hosanna in the heavens and on earth.’”

Upon hearing these things, in great stupefaction the knight asked the angel, saying, “How can this be when, notwithstanding so many solemn masses, such lavish almsgiving and so many other pious works given both by me and by others for my departed loved ones, I see here all of those souls which in the past twenty years the mercy of the Savior deigned to call from this world tortured here by fires?”

And the angel, gently responding, said, “Your discernment should not be surprised at the sufferings of so many, since you have often read what is written in the mysterious text of Saint John the Evangelist, ‘Their works will follow them.’”

And the knight said to the angel, “How might the punishments of these souls be more quickly alleviated?”
And responding, he said to him, “They can be more quickly liberated from their punishments by all good works and especially by the celebration of masses.” Accordingly, these things and a few other secret messages and revelations were said, and were done at that time by the angel, which things the knight was not permitted to tell to the composer of this work, but only to those to whom the angel ordered that they be told. Thus, the angel spoke to the knight, “Follow me and I will lead you back to your exit.” The knight then followed the angel, who preceded him, and both rapidly reached the cave.

Then the knight, bending his knees and raising his hands towards the heavens, rendered many times over his thanks to God, triune and one, and his mother, Mary, unstained virgin, and also to Blessed Michael and Blessed Patrick and all of the people of sanctity. Since eternal God, with the fullness of his unexhausted goodness, allowed him to pass through the danger of such a great pilgrimage for the restoration and great development of his faith. And as a result of these words, the knight desired to kiss the angelic feet, and the angel said, “Do not touch me. You are not worthy.” The angel, however, standing in the manner of a prelate, said, “Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made the heavens and the earth. Blessed be the name of our Lord, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, now and forever.” And he blessed the knight in this way, “May the blessing of Lord God almighty, Father and Son and Holy Spirit remain and descend upon you forever. Amen.” He then departed and joyfully sought the heavens.

In the evening, around about the third hour past Nones, with the sun in the twenty-eighth degree in the sign of Scorpio, and the moon in Libra, the year of the Lord one thousand four hundred and eleven, the Prior came to the cave, and the door having
been opened by him, the knight exited the cave safe and exultant. Seeing the knight, the Prior rejoiced greatly in the Lord and in joy, he received the knight into his home with honor.

On the arrival of the knight in the City of Dublin.

And when the knight, as it pleased the governor in heaven, had finished his pilgrimage, he returned to the city of Dublin. Indeed, there he was received with honor, as was proper, by many august and noble prelates, lords and citizens, who rejoiced greatly in the success of his vowed pilgrimage. While the knight waited in the city of Dublin for a ship, the favorable outcome of his expedition was heard from his lips by many powerful men, and it pleased them to have made for themselves a history in the Latin language of his aforesaid pilgrimage and of the favorable circumstances of this expedition. However, they desired this all the more when the same knight confirmed his account, as was proper, by the testimony of letters of the aforesaid lord Primate, the tenor of which follows in this way:

On the Letter of the Primate of Ireland.

To all and singular faithful who will see or hear the present letters, Nicholas, by divine permission Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, sends perpetual greetings in the Lord. We make it known to all of you by the present letter that the noble man, Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, master of the royal table-servants of Hungary, as he reports, and chief steward of the same, thoroughly observing all and singular of the circumstances of that pilgrimage, devoutly entered the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, located
in our province, for the space of one natural day, as is the custom, truly penitent and
armed with true faith, he carried himself in the same just as we are truthfully ensured by
the faithful report of worthy men and by the testimonial letters of our beloved brother in
Christ, Brother Matthew, canon regular of the Order of Saint Augustine and Prior of the
same place. The tenor of the same letter of the aforesaid Prior we caused to be recorded
in the present document, which is thus:

To all faithful in Christ who will see or hear these letters, Brother
Matthew, Prior of the Purgatory of Saint Patrick of the Diocese of Clogher, sends
eternal greeting in the Lord. Be it known to all of you that the noble man,
Laurence Rathold of Pászthó, master of the royal table-servants of Hungary and
chief steward of the same, visited our region and showed to us the letters of
introduction of the lord Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh. And
having carried out the duty of penance in fasting and prayers and other pious
works, he entered the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, and having heard the Mass of the
Holy Cross and having observed other solemnities, and having fulfilled all of the
requirements for the aforesaid pilgrimage as no other in our time has fulfilled
them, naked and fasting, except for vestments and a breech-cloth, he bravely
entered the cave of Saint Patrick with procession and litany. And he remained
there for as long as his ability demanded, and he sustained the punishments of evil
spirits, as we are given to understand. And he saw and heard divine revelations in
that same cave in which Saint Nicholas and George, son of Grissafan, one of the
knights of Hungary, and Eugenius, called Owein of England, sustained torments
and punishments of foul spirits. In testimony of all of the above, the seal which
we use is appended to the present letters. Given on the Island of Saints, on the Thursday after Saint Martin’s Day, in the year of the Lord one thousand, four hundred eleven.

And indeed, we thought to copy the letters of the aforesaid Prior of the aforementioned Purgatory, and to produce greater faith for them in the preceding, we have caused it to be strengthened by the appending of our seal. Given in our manor at Dromiskin on the twenty-seventh day of December in the aforesaid year of the Lord, and the eighth year of our consecration.

Therefore I, James Yonge, Imperial notary, and least of the citizens and scribes of the aforesaid city of Dublin, the unworthy compiler of this history before God, who served the aforesaid knight in the capacity of secretary for many days and nights while he awaited the aforementioned ship, and who many times discussed with the same knight by word of mouth individual events written above, for the praise of God and also at the insistence of the aforesaid powerful men and for my spiritual benefit, thought it suitable to faithfully compile and write this present history, as far as the grantor of all knowledge gave me ability, and according to the information given me by the aforementioned knight, leaving nothing out, and begging the discernment of whosoever will see this history, that they might correct and emend it with good will where it is defective, as I, the aforesaid compiler, offer my insufficient skill as an excuse rather than ill intent.

On the questions of the compiler of this history to the knight, etc.

After I, the aforesaid compiler of this history had written all and singular recorded above, I beseeched the aforesaid knight earnestly, to whatever extent it might be pleasing
to his generosity, if he might deign to reveal to me the principal reasons for his visit to
the aforesaid Purgatory, and if he saw the aforementioned visions bodily or spiritually, in
a deposition written by his hand. He informed me thusly on one written sheet:

I, Laurence, knight of Hungary, visited Ireland for three reasons. First and
foremost on account of that which I had heard – both through the reports of men
and through written reports – that if anyone had any doubt about the Catholic faith
and he entered the place of the Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland in the
appropriate manner, then he might understand all doubts, singly, or in their
entirety. And because I had great uncertainty and doubt regarding the substance
of the soul, what it might be, what thing it ought to be or become, because
according to philosophers it is said to be invisible, incorporeal, and insensible, I
therefore entered the place of the Purgatory in which, by the grace of God, I found
the pure truth regarding my aforesaid doubt. The second reason was because I
said to my most serene lord prince, king of the Hungarians, that I would visit the
aforesaid place of the Purgatory. Whence my same lord provided his honorable
letters under the seal of his majesty. The third reason was to see the wonders and
the miracles of the saints of Ireland, because I had heard much regarding the same
wonders and miracles, the manifold diversity of which I learned about from many
sources.

Regarding the visions which I saw in the said Purgatory, and whether I
saw them bodily, I say just as Saint Paul said, “I do not know whether I was
snatched from my body; God knows.” But it seems more probable to me that I
was more truly snatched away with my body rather than out of my body, because
I lit and burned the nine pieces of my candle, one immediately after another, until I had left the cave of the Purgatory.

On the praise of God and of the knight, etc.

Through all things, let there always be praise to the creator of all, who graced the noble knight Laurence Rathold with the belt of knighthood, a cheerful face, prudence and moderation in speaking among lords and friends, the experience of praiseworthy works, the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages among other varied areas of knowledge, and the marks of virtues, and who gave us the material for this work. And let there be praises to the inscrutable wisdom of God on high who has seen fit to bring the present history to its end. Let him who reigns forever grant health of body and soul to pious readers. Amen.
Edited Text 2:

Documents Written by Yonge with Translation of Select Documents

Editing Marks:
All expanded abbreviations are in italics.
u and v are retained as written.
j at the end of words and numbers has been changed to i.
Conjectural text is supplied in brackets (ma)
Missing text is represented by square brackets:
   An ellipsis surrounded by spaces ([ … ]) indicates a lacuna of one word or more
   Dots not surrounded by spaces ([..]) indicate individual missing letters
Uncertain letters in bold.
Punctuation and capitalization have been modernized.
Latin names have not been altered.
Certain English or French names have been placed in single quotes, e.g. ‘le tounwalle’ in no. 16.
Letters crossed out by the scribe have a line through them, e.g. ċ in no. 17.
Slashes mark interlinear insertions, e.g. \Heitale/ in no. 20.

1) National Library of Ireland D.7222; 24 November 1404; 305 mm. wide x 95mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; 2 seals: 1) A large, calligraphic T in a circle 18 mm. in diameter, 2) Seal of the Provostship of Dublin.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Thomas Spark, Canonicus Ecclesie Catholice Sancti Patricii Dublinii, dedi, concesssi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Iohanni Yonge, vicario de Taulagh, Roberto Notte, capellano, Henrico Wytteby, Nicholo Belyng, & Iohanni Taloun, capellannis, omnia mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditos & seruicia cum omnibus suis iuribus & pertinentibus quibuscumque in Meonesrath,

(Let those present and future know that I, Thomas Spark, canon of the Catholic Church of Saint Patrick of Dublin, have given, relinquished and confirmed by this, my present paper, to John Yonge, vicar of Tallaght, Robert Notte, chaplain, Henry Wytteby, Nicholas Belyng, and John Taloun, chaplains, all dwellings, lands, tenant rents and services with all their rights and appurtenances, however small, in ‘Meonesrath,’ ‘Londenyslond,’ {and} ‘Ferkayth’ near the Collyn and the water of the Dodder.  To have and to hold all of the aforesaid dwellings, lands, tenant rents and services with all of their aforesaid rights and appurtenances for the aforementioned John Yonge, Robert, Henry,
Nicholas, and John Taloun, their heirs and assigns according to the chief lords of the fees by the services thus owed and accustomed by law in perpetuity. And indeed I, the aforesaid Thomas and my heirs will warrant and quit and defend forever all of the aforesaid dwellings, lands, tenant rents and services with all of their appurtenances, however small, to the aforesaid John, Robert, Henry, Nicholas, and John Taloun, their heirs and assigns, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs. In testimony of which matter, I have applied my seal to the present [deed]. And because my seal is unknown to many, I have arranged that the seal of the Provostship of the City of Dublin be applied to the present [deed]. With these witnesses: John Drak, then mayor of the City of Dublin, Stephen Taylour and Luke Douedale, Bailiffs of the same City, William of Tenby and many others. Given the 24th day of November in the sixth regnal year of King Henry IV.)

2) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 69; 16 March 1406; 168 mm. wide x 291 mm. long; writing area: 135 mm. wide x 260 mm. long; no seals – notarial instrument with signum manuale of James Yonge.


1005 The owner of the Inn was John Gardener.
presencia prosequitur constitutus discretus vir Iohannes Lytill, ciuis eiusdem Civitatis declaravit, dixit, ac protestatus fuit quod ipse adtunc extitit arrestatus per sectam honorabilis vir Roberti Burnell & per huiusmodi arrestum ibidem adtunc in prionsa detentus pro ea causa quod dicitus Iohannes Lytill vt ipse tunc effectualiter asseruit nolebat facere & sigillare prefato Roberto certa munimenta & scripta ad voluntatem ipsius Roberti et pro nulla alia causa. Acta sunt hæc prout superscribuntur & recitantur sub anno Domini, indiczione, pontificatu, mense, die, & loco superscripto presentibus discretis viris Thoma Dodde & Iohanne Gardener, Ciuis Dublinii, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

✠ Et ego Iacobus Yonge clericus coniugatus Ciuis Dublinitii & Dublinitii Diocesis publicus auctoritate Imperiali notarius premissis omnibus & singulis dum sic vt premittitur agerentur & fierent vna cum prenominatis testibus presens interfui eaque omnia & singula sic premissi vidi, audiui, scripsi, publicauit & in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque & nomine meis solitis & consuetis signauit rogatus & requisitus in fidem & testimonium omni & singulorum premissorum.

(In the name of God, Amen. Through this present public instrument, let it be evidently clear to all that in the one-thousand four hundred and fifth year after the Incarnation of the Lord, according to the course and computation of the church of England and Ireland, in the fourteenth indiction of the most holy Pope in Christ, our Father and Lord, lord Innocent VII, pope by divine providence, in his second year, in the month of March, on the sixteenth day, in the hall of the inn of the distinguished man, John Cardener [recte Gardener], citizen of Dublin, below the City of Dublin in the Street
of the Cooks and the Parish of St. Audoen. Placed in the presence of myself, a notary public, and of the witnesses listed below, the distinguished man, John Lytill, a citizen of the same City described in detail, declared, said and testified that he himself had at that time been arrested through the suit of the honorable man Robert Burnell and by this arrest, he was at that very instant then held in prison because the said John Lytill, as he himself asserted in set legal terms, would not make and seal certain muniments and writings for the aforesaid Robert at the will of the same Robert and for no other cause. These things were done just as they are written and recited above in the year of our Lord, indiction, pontificate, month, day, and place written above, in the presence of the distinguished men Thomas Dodde and John Gardener, citizens of Dublin, called and requested particularly as witnesses to the preceeding.

And I, James Yonge, a married clerk of the City of Dublin and the Diocese of Dublin, public notary by Imperial authority, was present together with the aforementioned witnesses while all and singular of the preceeding matters were carried out and took place just as they are set out above, and I saw, heard, wrote, made public, and rendered in this public form all and singular thus set down, and I, invited and asked for, signed it with my usual and customary sign and name according to the faith and testimony of all and singular here set down.)

3) Trinity College Library MS 1477, no. 75; 6 April 1406; 270 mm. wide x 123 mm. long; writing area: 235 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; 2 seals: 1) 13 x 9 mm. seal with cross and peaks, 2) Seal of the Provostship of Dublin; deed is heavily damaged, hand is Yonge’s, and deed appears to be related to no. 76 (no. 4 here).
4) Trinity College Library MS 1477, no. 76; April 1406; 166 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 235 mm. wide x 68 mm. long; 1 seal: 1) 13 x 9 mm. seal with cross and peaks, as in no. 75 (no. 3 above).

Nouerint viuersi per presentes me Iohannem Streche Cap{ellanum} r{eni}misse relaxasse & omnino pro me & heredibus meis inperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Walsch & Waltero Porter [ … ] heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & iuris clamei in […]e habui habeo seu habere potero in […] seldis cum sui{s per}tinentibus ins{uper} edificatis in Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dublinii inter mesuagium Abbatisse del Hogges ex parte vna & seldas quondam Willelmno Blekeney ex parte altera quas vero seldas quondam hab{ui }[…e]x dono & feoffamento Rogeri Bekeford. Ita {quod nec} ego predictum Iohannes Streche, nec heredes me{i}, nec alicui a{lius} nomine mee seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in {predictis seldis cum pertinentibus} in aliqua parte e{o}run{dem e}xigere vel vendicare [ … ] poteruit quouismodo in futurum, set ab omni actione iuris & clamei in predictis seldis cum suis pertinentibus & in qualibet parte […] & […] exclusus & exclusi imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius {rei} testim{on}ium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum […] die April{is}, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti septimo.

5) Trinity College Library MS 1477, no. 72; 6 April 1406; 300 mm. wide x 104 mm. long; writing area: 245 mm. wide x 53 mm. long; 4 seals: 1) negative impression of an eagle, 2) negative impression of 8-petaled flower, 3) small seal of a hand grasping an uprooted plant, 4) Seal of the Provostship of Dublin.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Iohannes Herbert, Iacobus FitzWilliam, & Walterus de Ho{wth}e d{edimu}s, {concessimu}s & hac present{i c}arta nostra confirmauimus Iohanni Walsch & Waltero Porter, capellanis, duo mesuagia &
quatuor[ ... ]em edificata in Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dublinii inter seldas quondam
Rogeri Bekeford ex parte vna et [ ... ] ex parte altera. Habenda & tenenda predicta
mesuagia & seldas cum suis pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Walsch & Waltero Port{er}
heredes & assignatis dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita & de iure consueta. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostrae sigilla
 nostra apposuimus. Et quia sigilla nostra pluribus sunt incognita, sigillum Prepositure
{Ciuitatis} Dublinii ad nostrum rogatum huic presenti predicte carte nostre est appensum.
Datum sext[o] die Aprilis, anno regni {Regis Henrici quarto} septimo.

6) Trinity College Library MS 1477, no. 74; 6 April 1406; 300 mm. wide x 104 mm. long; writing area: 220 mm. wide x 48 mm. long; 2 seals: 1) negative impression
of 8-petaled flower, 2) small seal of a hand grasping an uprooted plant.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos Iohannem Herbert, Iacobum FitzWilliam, &
Walterum de Houthe attornasse, fecisse & {in loco} nostro posuisse Robertum Bernen,
ciu{e}m Dubl{ini}i attornatum nostrum ad ponendum & deliberandum Iohanni Walsch &
Waltero Porter, capellanis, plenam [ ... ] duobus mesuagiis & quatuor seldis cum
pertinentibus adinuicem edificatis in Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dubl{inii} inter [ ... ] Bekeford
ex parte vna & mesuagium Patricii Brynell ex parte altera. Habenda & tenenda predicta
mesuagia & seldas cum pertinentibus {prefatis} Iohanni Walsch & Waltero Porter
hereditibus {& assignatis} imperpetuum secundum vim, formam, & effectum cuiusdam
carte nostre eisdem Iohanni Walsch & Waltero Port{er} {[ ... ]e confec{t}e. Ratum &
gratun habentes & habituri quicquid prefatus Robertus nomine nostro fecerit in
premissis. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra sunt appensa. Datum sexto
die Aprilis, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti septimo.

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Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos Iohannem Herbert, Iacobum FitzWilliam, & Walterum de Houthe remisses, relaxasse & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamass{e} Johanni Walsch & Waltero Porter, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius nostrum & iuris clamei que habuimus habemus seu habere poterimus in duobus mesuagiis & quatuor seldis cum suis pertinentibus adinuicem edificatis in Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dublinii inter seldas quondam Rogeri Bekeford ex parte vna & mesuagium Patricii Brynell ex parte altera. Ita quod nec nos predicti Iohannes Herbert, Iacobus FitzWilliam, & Walterus de Houthe, nec heredes noster, nec aliquis alius nomine nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in predictis mesuagiis & seldis cum suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem exigere vel vendicare poterimus seu poterint in futurum. Set ab o{mni} actione iuris & clamei in predictis mesuagiis & seldis cum suis pertinentibus & in qualibet parte eorundem simus & sint exclusi imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra sunt appensa. Datum Vicesimo die Aprilis, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti septimo.
8) Trinity College Library MS 1477, no. 77; 20 April 1406; 300 mm. wide x 125 mm. long; writing area: 255 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; 2 seals: 1) small seal with young man’s head in profile, 2) Seal of the Provostship of Dublin, recycled seal tape on seal 1 preserves part of Yonge’s signum manuale; deed much damaged, with large hole on right side.

9) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/113; 30 May 1406; 290 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; writing area: 245 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; 1 seal, much damaged.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Iacobum Byrdesale filium & heredem Alicie Cheuer remisisse, relaxasse & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Margarete Toppe heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & iuris clameum que habeo habui seu quouismodo habere potero in omnibus mesuagiiis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum suis pertinentibus in Cheuerstoun & Ballyfynche in parochia de Rathfarnan. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in predictis mesuagiiis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorumdem exigere vel vendicare potero seu poterint aut poterit in futurum. Set ab omni accione iuris & clamei in predictis mesuagiiis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum suis pertinentibus & in qualibet parte eorumdem simus exclusi imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iacobus & heredes mei omnia predicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, pascua, & pastura cum pertinentibus prefate Margarete heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus acquietabimus & imperpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum tricesimo die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti septimo.

10) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/114; 30 May 1406; 280 mm. wide x 150 mm. long; writing area: 245 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; 1 seal, much damaged, a W.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Iohannem Byrdesale, filium Alicie Cheuer, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse
Margarete Toppe heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & iuris clameum que habeo, habui, seu quouismodo habere potero in omnibus mesuagis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum suis pertinentibus in Cheuerstoun & Ballyfynche in parochia de Rathfarnan. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in predictis mesuagis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem exigere vel vendicare potero seu poterint vel poterit in futurum. Set ab omni accione iuris & clamei in predictis mesuagis, terris, tenementis, pratis, pascuis, & pasturis cum pertinentibus & in qualibet parte eorundem sui sint & sit exclusus & exclusi imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes & heredes mei omnia predicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, pascua, & pastura cum pertinentibus prefate Margarete heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum tricesimo die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti septimo.

11) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 551; 20 March 1407; 275 mm. wide x 105 mm. long; writing area: 240 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; no extant seals.

Nouerint vniuersi pro [sic] presentes me Iohannem, filium & heredem Roberti Burnell, ciuis Dubliniti remississe, relaxasse & omnino pro me et heredibus meis imperpetuum {quietum clam}asse Iohanni Stafford, ciuii Dublinii & heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & iuris clameum que habui, habeo, seu quo{uis}modo in futurum habere potero in quadam terra cum edificiis & pertinentibus suis infra Nouam
Portam ciuitatis Dublinitii. In illa terra idelicet que iacet inter terram quondam Elye de Asshebourne ex vna parte & terram quandam Thome Sparke ex a]itra [sic] vt in latitudine. Et extendit se in longitudine a Vico Anterius [sic] vsque ad terram eiusdem Elye posterius [...].


12) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 292a; 22 December 1407; 285 mm. wide x 135 mm. long; writing area: 270 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; no extant seals.

Ihc Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Iohannes Walshe, capellanus, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Ricardo Glaswright, ciui Dublinitii, & Iohanne Boys vnum mesuagium in ‘Kyssherslane,’ ciuitatis Dublinitii, vna cum vna domo lapidea & duabus celdis [sic] cum suis pertinentibus in cornerio de Kyssherslane predicto insimul iacentia in longitudine a venella qua itur ad ecclesiam sancti Audoeni versus austrum vsque ad paruam celdam [sic] quondam Roberti Stakeboll versus aquilonem. In latitudine vero iacet a venella de ‘Kyssherslane’ predictus versus occidentem vsque ad terram quondam Edwardi Sergeaunt quod nunc factum est simiterium Sancti Audoeni versus orientem. Habenda & tenenda predicta mesuagium, domum lapideam, & celdas

(Let those present and future know that I, John Walsh, chaplain, have given, relinquished and confirmed by this, my present paper, to Richard Glaswright, citizen of Dublin, and Johanna Boys a mesuage in Kyssher’s Lane, of the City of Dublin, together with a stone house and two selds with their appurtenances, on the corner of the aforesaid Kyssher’s Lane, lying together, in length from the lane that leads to the Church of St. Audoen on the south, up to the small seld formerly of Robert Stakeboll on the north. In breadth, it extends from the aforesaid lane of Kyssher’s Lane on the west to the land formerly of Edward Sergeaunt which has now been made into the cemetery of St. Audoen’s on the east. To have and to hold the aforesaid mesuage, stone house, and selds with their aforesaid appurtenances to Richard and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Richard in perpetuity according to the chief lords of the fee by the services thus owed and customary. And indeed I, the aforesaid John Walshe will warrant, quit and defend the aforesaid mesuage, house, and selds with their appurtenances to the aforesaid Richard and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Richard on behalf of me and my heirs in perpetuity. In testimony of which matter, I have applied my seal to this, my
present deed. Given the Thursday next after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, in the
ninth regnal year of King Henry IV.)

13) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 79; 24 November 1408; 234 mm. wide x
118 mm. long; writing area: 210 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; 1 seal, round with a
large bird, possibly a stork, on a nest.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Walterus Porter, capellanus, dedi, concessi, &
hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Iohanni Yonge, capellano, Iohanni Stafford, capellano,
& Iohanni Ingoll, capellano, duo mesuagia & decem seldas vna cum reuersione duarum
seldarum quas Katerina Bellewe, quondam vxor Rogeri Bekeford, tenet in dotem. Que
quidem mesuagia & selde insimul edificantur in Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dublinii inter
mesuagium Patricii Brynell ex parte australi & mesuagium Abbatisse del Hoggles ex
parte boriali & habenda & tenenda predicta mesuagia & seldas vna cum reuersione
dictarum duarum seldarum cum omnibus suis pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Yonge,
Iohanni Stafford, & Iohanni Ingoll, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum, de
capitalibus dominis dominis [sic] feodi illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego
vero prefatus Walterus & heredes mei omnia predicta mesuagia seldas cum reuersione
predicta prefatis Iohanni Yonge, Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Ingoll heredibus &
assignatis suis pro nobis & heredibus nostris warantiæabimus, acquietabimus, &
imperpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimoniunm huic presenti carte mee sigillum
meum apposui. Datum vicesimo quarto die Nouembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti
decimo.
14) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 81; 1 December 1408; 255 mm. wide x 125 mm. long; writing area: 235 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; 1 seal, round with a large bird, possibly a stork, on a nest.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Walterum Porter, capellanum, remissete,
relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni
Yonge, capellano, Iohanni Stafford, capellano, & Iohanni Ingoll, capellano, totum ius
meum & iuris clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in duobus mesuagiiis &
decem seldis vna cum reuersione duarum seldarum quas Katerina Bellewe tenet in dotem
reuersione inde michi spectante. Que quidem mesuagia & selde insimul edificantur in
Vico Piscarie ciuitatis Dublinii inter mesuagium Patricii Burnell ex parte australi &
mesuagium Abbatisse del Hogges ex parte boriali. Ita quod nec ego predictus Walterus,
nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in
predictis mesuagiiis & seldis cum suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem exigere
vel vendicare poterimus, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sit
extinctum imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Walterus & heredes mei
predictis mesuagiiis & seldas cum reuersione predicta & suis pertinentibus prefatis
Iohanni Yonge, Iohanni Stafford, & Iohanni Ingoll heredibus & assignatis suis pro nobis
& heredibus nostris warantiaabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per
presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum primo
die Decembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti decimo.
15) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 558; 14 December 1408; 260 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; writing area: 230 mm. wide x 55 mm. long; no extant seals.


16) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 559; 14 December 1408; 280 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; writing area: 230 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 seal, round with a shield bearing a bend dexter over a rampant lion, surrounded by the motto: SIGILLUM ROBERTO BURNELL.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Robertum, filium Roberti Burnell, ciuis Dublinii, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo posuisse Ricardum Wood, ciuiem Dublinii, attornatum meum ad ponendum Iohannem Stafford, ciuem & pistorem ciuitatis Dublinii in plenariam seisinam terre mee cum edificiis & pertinentibus suis infra Nouam Portam dicte ciuitatis. In illa scilicet terra que iacet inter ‘le tounwalle’ ex vna parte & terram

17) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 560; 16 December 1408; 315 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 65 mm. long; no extant seals.

Nouerint vniuersi pro [sic] presentes me Robertum, filium Roberti Burnell, ciuis Dubliniti, remisses, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Stafford, ciui & pistori Dubliniti, totum ius meum & iuris clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in quadam terra cum edificiis & pertinentibus suis quam idem Iohannes habet & tenet ex dono & feoffamento meo infra Nouam Portam Dubliniti, et que iacet inter ‘le townwalle’ ex vna parte & terram quandam Thome Sparke ex altera parte vt in latitudine. Et in longitudine a Vico Anteriori vsque ad terram quam Walterus Tyrrell modo tenet. Ita quod nec ego predictus Robertus, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in predicta terra cum edificiis & pertinentibus suis, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem exigere vel vendicare poterimus, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sit extinctum imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Robertus & heredes mei predictam terram cum edificiis & pertinentibus suis prefato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes
warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum sexto decimo die decembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti decimo.

18) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 467; 9 July 1409; 285 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; no extant seals.


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19) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 468; 12 July 1409; 280 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 255 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; no extant seals.

Ihc Noverint vniuersi per presentes me Ricardum, filium & heredem Walteri Passauaunt, quondam ciuis ciuitatis Dublini, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis meis [sic] imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Stafford, ciui & pistori predicte ciuitatis, totum ius meum & iuris clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum suis pertinentibus iacente in Vico Sancti Francisci suburbio predicte ciuitatis inter terram Sancti Iohannis extra Nouam Portam eiusdem ciuitatis versus boream & terram quondam Ade Englysshe versus austrum et extendit se a dichto vico versus orientem vsque ad terram Nicholi Fynglas versus occidentem. Ita quod nec ego predictus Ricardus, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine mei seu nostro aliquid iuri vel clamei in predicto mesuagio cum pertinentibus exigere vel vendicare poterimus set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sit extinctum. Et ego vero predictus Ricardus & heredes mei predictum mesuagium cum suis pertinentibus prefato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantiȝabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum duodecimo die Iulii, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti decimo.

Yonge

20) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 84; 12 November 1411; 205 mm. wide x 262 mm. long; writing area: 180 mm. wide x 225 mm. long; no seals – notarial instrument with signum manuale of James Yonge.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno Domini millesimo CCCC vndecimo, indiczione quinta pontificatus
sancissimi in Christo Patris & Domini Deum noster Iohannis diuina prouidencia pape
vicesimi tertii anno secundo, mensis Nouembris, die xii, in inferioura refectorio Fratrum
Predicatourum Dublini infra domum suam ibidem situatur. In mei Notarlii publici &
testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitutus discretus vir Simon Doddenale,
mercator Dublinii, concessit feffare Iohannem Lytill, ciuem Dublinii, & Alianoram
Comyn, vxorem eius, vel quoscunque alios quos idem Iohannes & Alianora vellent de
tribus mesuagii & tribus gardinis cum pertinentibus in Oxemanestoun in suburbio
ciuitatis Dublinii, habendis & tenendis eis & hereditibus suis imperpetuum. Quo peracto,
ide Simmonem iurauit tacto sacru libro quod nullus homo habet aliquem statum cum
eodem Simonis in predictis mesuagii & gardinis cum pertinentibus, quodque nec inde
concessit alicui aliquem oneris redditus, et quod nec ipse a mesuagii & gardina cum
pertinentibus obligauit aliqua obligacione statuti stapule vel mercatorum seu aliqua alia
recognitione. Forma vero iuramenti prefati Simonis supradicti talis est: “In Dei nomine,
Amen. Ego, Simon Doddenale, mercator Dublinii, iuro per hunc sacrum librum per me
corporaliter tactum quod nullus homo habet aliquem statum cum in tribus mesuagii &
tribus gardinis cum pertinentibus iacentibus in Oxemanestoun in suburbio ciuitatis
Dublinii, que quidem mesuagia & gardina cum pertinentibus quondam habui ex dono
Nicholi Heytale & Alianore Comyn, vxoris sue. Item iuro per istum sacrum librum per
me corporaliter tactum quod non concessi alicui aliquem oneris redditus de predictis
mesuagii & gardinis, nec ipsa mesuagia & gardina cum pertinentibus obligauit aliqua
obligacione statuti stapule vel mercatorum, nec aliqua alia recognitione.” Actus sunt hec
prout superscribuntur & recitantur sub anno Domini, indicione, pontificatus, mense, die,
& loco predictis, presentibus discretis viris Stephano Taillour & Stephano Casse, 
Ciuibus Dubliniti testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

† Et ego Iacobus Yonge, clericus coniugatus Ciuis Dublinitii & Dublinitii Dioecesis
publicus auctoritate Imperiali notarius premissis omnibus & singulis dum sic vt
premittitur per supradictum Simonem agerentur & fierent vna cum prenominitatis
testibus presens interfui eaque omnia & singula sic fieri, vidi, audiui, scripsi,
publicauit, & in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque & nomine meis solitis &
consuetis signauit, rogatus & requisitus, in fide & testimonium omni &
singularum premissorum. Non noceat interlinearis illius verbi Heitale inter xi &
xii lineas a capite huius instrumenti descendendo.

(In the name of God, Amen. Through this present public instrument, let it be
evidently clear to all that in the one-thousand four hundred and eleventh year of our Lord,
in the fifth indiction of the most holy Pope in Christ, our Father and Lord, John XXIII,
pope by divine providence, in his second year, in the month of November, on the twelfth
day, in the lower refectory of the Friars Preacher of Dublin, located beneath the dwelling
house of the same friars, the distinguished man, Simon Dodenale, merchant of Dublin,
having been placed in person in the presence of myself, a notary public, and of the
witnesses listed below, conceded to place John Lytill, citizen of Dublin, and Alia nar
Comyn, his wife, or whoever else the same John and Alia nar should choose, in legal
possession of three mesuages and three gardens with their appurtenances in Oxmantown,
in the suburb of the City of Dublin, the right to have and to hold going to them and their
heirs in perpetuity. When this was done, the same Simon swore, while touching the Holy
Book, that no person had any legal status with the same Simon in the aforesaid mesuages and gardens with their appurtenances, nor had he granted to anyone any part of the rent from them, nor had he himself bound any part of the mesuages and gardens with their appurtenances by any pledge of the statute staple or the statute of merchants or any other obligation of debt. And the form of the aforesaid oath made by the aforementioned Simon is thus: “In the name of God, Amen. I, Simon Dodenale, merchant of Dublin, swear by this sacred book which I am bodily touching, that no person has any legal status with me in three mesuages and three gardens with their appurtenances lying in Oxmantown in the suburb of the City of Dublin, which mesuages and gardens with their appurtenances I formerly had of the gift of Nicholas Heitale and Alianora Comyn, his wife. I also swear by this sacred book which I am bodily touching that I have not granted to anyone any part of the rents from the aforesaid mesuages and gardens, nor have I bound any part of the same mesuages and gardens with their appurtenances by any pledge of the statute staple or the statute of merchants nor by any other obligation of debt.”

These things were done just as they are written and recited above in the year of our Lord, indiction, pontificate, month, day, and place written above, in the presence of the distinguished men Stephen Taillor and Stephen Casse, citizens of Dublin, called and requested particularly as witnesses to the preceeding.

◆ And I, James Yonge, a married clerk of the City of Dublin and the Diocese of Dublin, public notary by Imperial authority, was present together with the aforementioned witnesses while all and singular of the preceding matters were carried out by the aforesaid Simon and took place just as they are set out above, and I saw, heard, wrote, made public, and rendered in this public form all and singular thus
set down, and I, invited and asked for, signed it with my usual and customary sign and name according to the faith and testimony of all and singular here set down. The interlinear inclusion of this word, ‘Heitale’ between lines eleven and twelve, counting from the top of this instrument, does not harm {the legal force of this instrument}.

21) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 85; 28 November 1411; 185 mm. wide x 295 mm. long; writing area: 150 mm. wide x 260 mm. long; no seals – notarial instrument with signum manuale of James Yonge, much damaged.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis apparet euidenter quod anno Domini millesimo CCCClvdecimo, indiccione quinta pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Iohannis diuina prouidencia pape vicesimi tercii anno secundo, mensis Nouembris, die vicesimo octauo, in domo mansionis Simonis Dodenale, Ciuis Dublinii, super keyam ciuitatis Dublinii. In mei Notarii publici & testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constituti discreta mulier Iohanna, vxor Simonis supradicti, fatebatur quod sponte & mera voluntate sua dicitus Simon, maritus suis, dedit, concessit, & carta sua confirmauit Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Ingoll, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum tria mesuagia & tria gardina cum pertinentibus in Oxmanestoun in suburbio ciuitatis Dublinii. Quo peracto, prefata Iohanna, tacto sacro libro corporale, prestitit iuramentum quod nunquam imposterim [sic] ratione cuiuscumque dotis sibi contingentis per mortem dicti Simonis neque ratione alicuius alterius iuris tituli seu possessonis dicte Iohanne contingentis seu spectantis de dictis mesuagis & gardinis cum pertinentibus per seipsam neque per aliquem alium nomine suo vexabit, molestabit, implicabit, nec impetet prefatos Iohannem & Iohannem,
capellanos, heredes nec assignatos suos de predictis mesuaginis & gardina prefata. Vero
Iohanna iurauit d{i}c{tum} iuramentum sub hoc tenore verborum: “Ego Iohanna, vxor
Simonis Dodenale, Ciuis Dublennii, iuro per hunc sacram librum per me corporaliter tactu
quod numquam imposerim ratione cuiscumque dotis michi contingentis per mortem
S{imonis Do}de{nal}e mariti mei neque ratione alicuius alterius […]ro q[…] seu
possessionis michi contingentis seu spectantis de tribus mesuaginis & trib[us g]ardinis}
cum pertinentibus in Oxmanestoun in suburbio ciuitatis Dublennii […]q[...]ndo
mesuagia & gardina dictus Simon nuper de[…] Iohannem & Iohannem, capellanos, heredes nec
assignatos f[…] n[…] ab m[…] Iohannem & Iohannem, capellanos, heredes nec
assignatos f[…] n[…] ab m[…] Iohannem & Iohannem, capellanos, heredes nec
assig[n] m[…] Iohannem & Iohannem, capellanos, heredes nec
PRETEREA EGO predicta Iohanna iuro per hunc sacram librum […] itate iuramentun &
dem[…]untate & absque quacumque cohercione. Actus sunt hec prout
super{sc}ribuntur & recitauit s{ub anno Domini, indiccione} pontificatus, me{nse},
die, & loco pre{dictis, presentibus} honorabili{s & discretis} viris Ricardo Bone, nuper
ballino, Stephano […] {Ci}uibus {D}ublinii, Thoma, famule […] oridon […]mula
Simonis supredicti testibus ad […] (Traces of Yonge’s notarial signum manuale
remain, but the eschatocol is heavily damaged and largely missing.)

(In the name of God, Amen. Through this present public instrument, let it be
evidently clear to all that in the one-thousand four hundred and eleventh year of our Lord,
in the fifth indiction of the most holy Pope in Christ, our Father and Lord, John XXIII,
pope by divine providence, in his second year, in the month of November, on the twenty-
eighth day, in the mansion house of Simon Dodenale, citizen of Dublin, above the quay

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of the City of Dublin, placed in person in the presence of myself, a notary public, and of
the witnesses listed below, the distinguished woman, Johanna, wife of the aforesaid
Simon, stated that by her pure and voluntary will, the said Simon, her husband, gave,
granted, and confirmed by his deed to John Stafford and John Ingoll, chaplains, and their
heirs and assigns three mesuages and three gardens with their appurtenances in
Oxmantown in the suburb of the City of Dublin in perpetuity. When this was done, the
aforesaid Johanna, while bodily touching the Holy Book, offered her oath that never in
future would she herself or anyone in her name by any sort of right of dowry through the
death of the said Simon, nor by any other right of law, title, or possession or
consideration touching on the said Johanna with regard to the said mesuages and gardens
with their appurtenances would molest, bother, seize or demand from the aforesaid John
and John, chaplains, and their heirs and assigns any part of the aforesaid mesuages and
aforementioned gardens. Indeed, Johanna swore the said oath in this form: “I, Johanna,
wife of Simon Dodenale, citizen of Dublin, swear by this sacred book which I am bodily
touching, that never in future [will I or anyone in my name] by any right of dowry
pertaining to me by the death of Simon Dodenale, my husband, nor by any other sort of
right … of possession or consideration touching on me regarding three mesuages and
three gardens with their appurtenances in Oxmantown in the suburb of the City of
Dublin, [which] mesuages and gardens the said Simon lately [ … ] {molest, bother, seize,
or demand from} John Stafford and John Ingoll, chaplains, and their heirs and assigns
{any part of the aforesaid mesuages and gardens} in any way. Moreover, I, the aforesaid
Johanna swear, by this sacred book {which I am bodily touching that Simon, my
husband, granted the aforesaid mesuages and gardens by my pure will and without any sort of coercion."

*The remainder of this instrument is too damaged to provide a translation.*

22) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 92; 29 November 1411; 260 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; writing area: 240 mm. wide x 50 mm. long; 1 seal: 8 mm. wide x 13 mm. high P with sheaves of grain sprouting from the serifs, seal tag is re-used parchment in Yonge’s hand, appears to be from a deed of attorney; significant damage to left side of deed.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Simon Dodenale, mercator Dubliniti, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Iohanni Stafford, capellano, & Iohanni Ingoll, capellano, tria mesuagia & tria gardina cum pertinentibus in Oxmanestoun in suburbio ciuitatis Dubliniti. Habenda & tenenda predicta mesuagia & gardenia cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Ingoll, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum de capitalibus dominis fe(o)di illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego vero predictus Simon & heredes mei predicta mesuagia & gardina cum per{tinentibus} prefatis Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Ingoll heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabim{us}, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui.

Dat{us} vicesimo nono die Nouembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti terciodecimo.

23) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 93; 29 November 1411; 220 mm. wide x 74 mm. long; writing area: 200 mm. wide x 40 mm. long; no extant seals; deed is much damaged in center and on right side.

Pateat vniuersis per presente{s me} Simonem Dodenale, mercatorem Dubliniti, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo {posuisse} Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dubliniti [ … ]

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coniunctim & diuisim attornatos meos ad deliberandum & ponendum Iohannem

Stafford, capellanum, & Iohannem) Ingoll, capellanum in plena(m & pl) pacificam

seisinam trium mesuagium & trium gardinorum & p[ ... ] Dublindii. Habenda & tenenda

(predicta) mesuagia & gardina cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni

(Ingoll) [ ... ] prout in carta mea sibi {inde con}fecte plenius continet Rat[ ... ] habent’

& habitur’ quie [ ... ] mei conjunctim & diuisim fec{eri}nt se[...] alter eorum fecerit in

premissio [ ... ] [In] cuius rei testimonium p{resentibus} [ ... ]. (Datum) vicesimo nono

die Nouembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti terciodecimo.

24) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 94; 1 December 1411; 285 mm. wide x 85
mm. long; writing area: 255 mm. wide x 55 mm. long; 1 seal: 8 mm. wide x 13
mm. high, seal damaged and unreadable; seal tag in Yonge’s hand, possibly from
earlier draft of TCD MS 1477, no. 93 (no. 23 above).

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Simonem Dodenale remisisse, relaxasse, &

omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum {clam}asse Iohanni Stafford,
capellano, & Iohanni Ingoll, capellano, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum totum
ius meum & iuris clameum que habeo, habui, {seu} habere potero in tribus mesuagis &
tribus gardinis cum pertinentibus in Oxmanestoun in suburbio ciuitatis Dublinii. Ita quod
nec ego predictus Simon, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro
aliquid iuris vel clamei in predictis mesuagis & gardinis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua
parte eorumdem decetero exigere vel vendicare poterimus in futurum, set quod totum ius
nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero
predictus Simon & heredes mei predicta mesuagia & gardina cum pertinentibus prefatis
Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Ingoll heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes
warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum primo die Decembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti terciodecimo.

25) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/118; 2 December 1412; 360 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; writing area: 325 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; 1 extant seal: small oval with three stalks of wheat and a sleeping lion.

Ihc Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Margareta Toppe, filia Iohannis Toppe de Scryne, & Willemus Wylde, capellanus, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Iohanni Stafford, capellano, & Iohanni Lange capellano, omnia mesuagia, terras, tenementa, reditos & servicia nostra cum pertinentibus in Scryne & in Baronia de Scryne. Habenda & tenenda omnia predicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, reditos, & servicia cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Lange, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominius feodi illius per servicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predicti Margareta & Willemus & heredes nostri omnia predicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, reditos, & servicia cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Stafford & Iohanni Lange, heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostrae sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum secundo die Decembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quarto quartodecimo.

26) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 95; 24 January 1413; 215 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; writing area: 195 mm. wide x 50 mm. long; 2 seals affixed to strips cut across bottom of deed, both are I flanked by four-petaled flowers.
Ihc Pateat vniversis per presentes nos Willelm Haroll de Rathfernane & Galfridum Haroll teneri & vtrumque nostrum per se in solidis firmiter obligari Iohanni Lytyll, ciui Dublinii, in quadraginta solidis argenti soluendis dicto Iohanni, heredibus vel executoris suis ad festum pasche proximum sequens. Datum presenti siue vltiori dilatatione. Ad quam quidem solucionem bene & fideliter [...]ciend’ obligamus nos et vtrumque nostrum per se in solidis heredes & executores nostros ac heredes & executores vtriusque nostrum per se per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum vicesimo quarto die Januarii, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti quartodecimo.

27) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 547; 13 February 1413; 325 mm. wide x 140 mm. long; writing area: 285 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; 1 extant seal: E surrounded by illegible inscription.

Ihc Pateat vniversis per presentes me Iohannem Yonge, capellanum, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Stafford, ciui & pistori Dublinit totum ius meum & clameum que habeo, habui, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinit, prout iacet in parochia Sancti Audoeni infra & iuxta Nouam Portam in latitudine inter terram vocatam ‘Sparkeslond’ versus orientem & terram quondam Elye Asshebourne versus occidentem & in longitudine iacet a Vico Anterius versus versus [sic] aquilonem vsque ad terram quondam eiusdem Elye versus austrum. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes Yonge, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in predicto mesuagio cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero exigere vel vendicare potero, poterimus, aut poterint seu poterit in futurum, set quod totum ius
May it be known to all by the present deed that I, John Yonge, chaplain, on behalf of myself and my heirs have remitted, relaxed, and forever quit claim to John Stafford, citizen and baker of Dublin, all of my right and claim that I have, had or will have in one mesuage with appurtenances in the city of Dublin, as it lies in the parish of St. Audoen below and next to the New Gate; in breadth, it lies between the land called ‘Sparkeslond’ on the east and the land formerly of Elys Ashbourne on the west, and in length, it extends from Back Lane to the north to the land formerly of the same Elys to the south. Thus, neither I, the aforesaid John Yonge, nor my heirs, nor anyone else in my name or our name, will henceforth be able to alienate or sell in the future any right or claim in the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances, nor in any part of them, but all our right and claim is henceforth entirely extinguished by the present deed. And indeed I, the aforesaid John Yonge, and my heirs will warrant, discharge, and defend the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances for the aforesaid John Stafford and his heirs and assigns against us and our heirs in perpetuity by the present deed. In testimony of which matter, I
have applied my seal to the present deed. Given the thirteenth day of February, in the
year of our Lord 1412, and in the fourteenth regnal year of King Henry IV.)

28) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 546; 14 February 1413; 320 mm. wide
x 145 mm. long; writing area: 265 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; 1 extant seal: a
helmet in profile of a crest of the head of a bird of prey.

Ihc Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Yonge, capellanum,
remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse
Iohanni Stafford, ciui & pistori Dubliniti totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo,
seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dubliniti, prout iacet in
parochia Sancti Audoeni infra & iuxta Nouam Portam eiusdem ciuitatis in longitudine a
Vico Anterius versus aquilonem vsque ad terram quondam Elye Asshebourne versus
austrum et in latitudine iacet inter terram quondam ipsius Elye versus orientem & terram
quondam vocatur ‘Sparkeslond’ versus occidentem. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes
Yonge, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel
clamei in predicto mesuagio cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero
exigere vel vendicare potero, poteruit, vel poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius nostrum
& clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus
Iohannes Yonge & heredes mei predictum mesuagium cum pertinentibus prefato Iohanni
Stafford, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra nos & heredes nostros warantijabimus,
acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium
presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum quartodecimo die Februarii, anno regni Regis
Henrici quarti quartodecimo.
29) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 322; 21 January 1414; 355 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; writing area: 120 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 extant seal: a crowned W; seal tape is in Yonge’s hand and appears to be from a quit-claim.


30) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 324; 21 January 1414; 335 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; 1 extant seal: a crowned W.

Ihc Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Dauid Bobyntoun, ciuem & scissorem ciuitatis Dublinii, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo posuisse Iohannem White, narratorem, & Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, coniunctim & diuisim attornatos meos ad

31) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 323; 27 January 1414; 330 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 290 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; 1 extant seal: a crowned W; seal tape is in Yonge’s hand.

Ihc Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Dauid Bobyntoun, ciuem & scissorem ciuitatis Dublinii, remississe, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Ballybyn, ciui Dublinii, & Alicie, vxori sue, ac heredibus & assignatis ipsius Iohannis, totum ius meum & clameum que haberem, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitatie Dublinii in Vico Cocorum & parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis, prout iacet in latitudine inter tenementum Patricii Burnell ex parte orientali & tenementum Iohannis Walshe ex parte occidentali. In longitudine vero iacet a Regia Via versus aquilonem vsque ad terram
quondam Willelmi Sergeaunt versus austrum. Ita quod nec ego predictus Daud, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero exigere, habere seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit in futurum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Daud & heredes mei mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni & Alicie ac heredibus & assignatis ipsius Iohannis contra nos & heredes nostros warantijabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo septimo die Ianuarii, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti Primo.

32) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 424; 7 February 1415; 355 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; writing area: 320 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; no extant seals; deed very faded.

Sciant presentes {&} futuri quod ego Iohanna Dardys in pura & legitima viuitate mea dedi, concessi, & hac presenta carta mea confirmaui Radulpho Penbroke, ciui Dublinii, duas seldas cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii in ‘le Rochelstrete’ & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis, prout ia{c}ent in longitudine a Via Regali Anterius versus aquilonem vsque ad murum dicte ciuitatis versus austrum, a latitudine a terra Thome D{o}nghir quondam {versus o}ccide{ntem} [ … ] terram Cecilia Heygrene versus orientem. Habendas & tenendas seldas predictas cum pertinentibus eidem Radulpho, heredibus & assignatis suis[ … ]. {De} capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego vero predicta Iohanna & heredes mei seldas predictas cum per{tinentibus} [ … ] {Radulp}ho
heredibus & assignatis suis contra nos & heredes nostros ac heredes Roberti Tanis
warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & {imperpetuum defen}demus per presentes. In cuius
rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. Datum septimo die
Feb{ruarii, anno regni Regis} Henrici quinti secundo.

33) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 425; 9 February 1415; 325 mm. wide x
100 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 55 mm. long; no extant seals; deed
very faded and left side missing.

Pateat {v}niuersis {per} prese{ntis quod ego I}ohannam Dardys in pura &
legitima viduit{ate mee re}misisse, relax{a}sse, & om{nino} pro me & heredibus meis
{imper}petuum quietum clamasse Radulpho Penbroke heredibus & assignatis suis totum
ius meum & clameum que haberem, hab{ui, seu habere poter}o {in} duas seldis cum
 pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii in ‘le Rochelstrete’ & in parochia Sancti Audoeni
eiusdem ciuitatis, prout iacent in long{itudine a Via Regali Anterius vers}us aquilonem
{v}s{que ad murum} dicte ciuitatis versus austrum, et in latitudine a terra quondam
Thome Do{nghir versus o}cciden{t}em vsque ad {terram} Cecilie Heygrene vers{us
orie}ntem. Ita quod nec ego predicta Iohanna, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in
nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut c{la}mei in seld{is cum pertinentibus} [...]dem
decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit in futurum sed quod
totum i{us meum} & clameum [...] penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et
go vero predicta Iohanna & heredes mei seldas predictas {s} cum pertinentibus prefatis
Radulpho heredibus & assignatis suis contra nos {&} heredes nostros ac heredes Roberti
Tannis warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & {im}perpetuum defendemus per presentes.
{In} cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum nono die Februarii, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti secundo.

34) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 537; 10 August 1415; 290 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; no extant seals; deed somewhat faded.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannam Cruys, quondam vxorem Willelmo Asshebourne, in pur[a] & legitera v[duit]ate mea, remisses, relaxasse, & omnino pro me imperpetuum quetum clamasse Iohanni Walshe, ciui Dublinit, heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & clameum que haberem, habeo, seu habere potero in vno celario quod idem Iohannes tenet in ciuitate Dublini in Vico Tabernaranum eiusdem ciuitatis ac eciam in omnibus celdis [sic] seu shopis {cum} pertinentibus quas [ ... ] Iohannes de nouo fecit in parochia Sancti Michaelis & in Vico Cocrorum eiusdem ciuitatis. Ita quod nec ego predicta Iohanna, nec aliquid aliis in nomine meo aliquid iuris & clamei in celario, seldis seu shopis predictis, nec in aliqua parte earundem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero in futurum, sed quod totum ius meum inde penitus sit extinctum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum decimo die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti tercio.

35) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 137; 26 September 1415; 305 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; writing area: 270 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; 1 extant seal: h with an I above it and an m inside the bowl.

Ihc Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Henricus Marleburgh & Iohannes Mole, capellani, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Edmundo Yonge, ciui Dublinit, vnum mesuagium, vna cum vno porticu & vno gardino
lidem mesuagio annexis, in ciuitate Dublinii, prout ipsa mesuagium, porticus, &
gardinum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis, ex parte
orientali mesuagii Iohannis Fysshewyk, & prout idem Edmundus hucusque illa
mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum tenuit, a [sic] prout idem gardinum iacet super ripam
de ‘Colmanesbroke.’ Habenda & tenenda mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta
cum pertinentibus prefato Edmundo hereditibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum, de
capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predicti
Henricus & Iohannes Mole ac heredes nostri mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta
cum pertinentibus prefato Edmundo hereditibus & assignatis suis contra nos & heredes
nostros warantijabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In
cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum
vicesimo sexto die mensis Septembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti tercio.

(Ihc May all present and future know that we, Henry Marleburgh and John
Mole, chaplains, have given, relinquished, and by this, our present record, have
confirmed to Edmund Yonge, citizen of Dublin, one mesuage together with one portico
and one garden attached to the mesuage, in the city of Dublin, just as the same mesuage,
portico, and garden lie above the quay and in the parish of St. Audoen of the same city,
from the eastern part of the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, and as the same Edmund has
held that mesuage, portico, and garden up to this time, and as the same garden lies above
the bank of Colman’s Brook. The right to have and hold the aforesaid mesuage, portico,
and garden with their appurtenances goes to the aforesaid Edmund, his heirs and assigns,
in perpetuity, according to the chief lords of the fee by the services thus owed and
customary. And indeed, we, the aforesaid Henry and John Mole and our heirs will warrant, discharge, and defend the aforesaid mesuage, portico, and garden with their appurtenances for the aforesaid Edmund and his heirs and assigns, against ourselves and our heirs by the present deed. In testimony of which matter, we have affixed our seals to this present deed. Given the twenty-sixth day of the month of September, in the third regnal year of King Henry the fifth.)

36) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 151; 26 September 1415; 320 mm. wide x 115 mm. long; writing area: 270 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 extant seal: h with an I above it and an m inside the bowl; seal tape in Yonge’s hand; deed is palimpsested – Yonge began writing, erased part of the writing, then turned the parchment upside-down to hide writing in the bottom fold.

Haber [sic] Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Henricum Marleburgh & Iohannem Mole, capellanos, attornasses, fecisse & in loco nostro constituisse Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, attornatum nostrum ad deliberandum & ponendum Edmundum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, in plenam & pacificam seisinam vnius mesuagii vna cum vno portico & vno gardino eidem mesuagio annexis in ciuitate Dublinit, prout ipsa mesuagium, porticus, & gardinum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis, ex parte orientali mesuagii Iohannis Fysshewyk, & prout idem Edmundus hucusque illa mesuagum, porticum, & gardinum tenuit, ac prout idem gardinum iacet super ripam de ‘Colmanesbroke.’ Habenda & tenenda mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta cum pertinentibus prefato Edmundo heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum, prout in carta nostra ei inde confecta plenius continetur. Ratum & gratum habentes & habituri quicquid idem Iacobus attornatus noster fecerit in

(Ih{c} Be it known to everyone through the present deed that we, Henry Marleburgh and John Mole, chaplains, have attorned, made, and appointed in our place James Yonge, citizen of Dublin, our attorney for consulting and placing Edmund Yonge, citizen of Dublin, in full and peaceful seisin of one mesuage together with one portico and one garden joined to the same mesuage in the city of Dublin, just as the same mesuage, portico, and garden lie above the quay and in the parish of St. Audoen of the same city, from the eastern part of the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, and as the same Edmund has held that mesuage, portico, and garden up to this time, and as the same garden lies above the bank of Colman’s Brook. The right to have and to hold the aforesaid mesuage, portico, and garden with their appurtenances goes to the aforesaid Edmund and his heirs and assigns in perpetuity, just as is clearly contained in our deed lately completed for him. Holding now and in future as good and acceptable whatever the same James, our attorney, shall do concerning the aforesaid. In testimony of which matter, we have affixed our seals to the present document. Given the twenty-sixth day of the month of September, in the third regnal year of King Henry the fifth.)

37) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 144; 28 September 1415; 335 mm. wide x 135 mm. long; writing area: 290 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; no extant seals.

Ihc Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Henricum Marleburgh & Iohannem Mole, capellanos, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & hereditibus nostris
imperpetuum quietum clamassem Edmund Yonge, citizen of Dublin, and his heirs and assigns all our right and claim that we have, had, or will have in one mesuage together with one portico.

(Ihc) May it be known to all by the present deed that we, Henry Marleburgh and John Mole, chaplains, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs have remitted, relaxed, and forever quit claim to Edmund Yonge, citizen of Dublin, and his heirs and assigns all our right and claim that we have, had, or will have in one mesuage together with one portico...
and one garden attached to the same mesuage in the city of Dublin, with appurtenances, as the same mesuage, portico, and garden lie above the quay and in the parish of St. Audoen of the same city, on the eastern side of the mesuage of John Fysshewyke, and as the same Edmund has held that mesuage, portico, and garden up to now, and as the same garden lies above the bank of Colman’s Brook. Thus, neither we, the aforesaid Henry and John Mole, nor one of us nor our heirs or the heirs of either one of us, nor anyone else in our name or in the name of one of us, shall henceforth be able to have, alienate, or sell in the future any right or claim in the aforesaid mesuage, portico, and garden with their appurtenances, nor in any part of them, but all our right and claim is henceforth entirely extinguished in perpetuity by the present deed. And indeed we, the aforesaid Henry and John Mole and our heirs will warrant, discharge, and defend the aforesaid mesuage, portico, and garden with appurtenances for the aforesaid Edmund and his heirs and assigns against ourselves and our heirs in perpetuity by the present deed. In testimony of which matter, we have affixed our seals to the present deed. Given the twenty-eighth day of the month of September, in the third regnal year of King Henry the fifth.)

38) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 99; 12 October 1415; 360 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; writing area: 320 mm. wide x 45 mm. long; 1 extant seal: Seal of the Provostship of Dublin; seal tape in Yonge’s hand, appears to be from a quit-claim.

Patea vniuersis per presentes me Nicholem Nangle, capellanum remississe, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Rogero Flemmyng & Waltero Northamptoun, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo seu habere potero in tribus mesuagis & tribus

39) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 655; 1 August 1416; 315 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; writing area: 265 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; no extant seals. Ihc Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Nicholem Fynglas, ciuem Dublinitii, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo posuisse Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dublinitii attornatun meum ad deliberandum & ponendum Rogerum Flemmyng, capellanum, Galfridum Shale, capellanum, Iohannem Ingoll, capellanum, & Ricardum Ectot, capellanum, in plenam & pacificam seisinam duarum shopparum cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinitii, videlicet illarum que iacent in parochia Sancti Audoeni & Vico Cocorum ciuitatis predicto inter tenementum Iohannis Flayage versus orientem & tenementum Abbatis & monachorum Beate Marie Dublinitii versus occidentem, prout in latitudine et extendunt se a vico

Datum primo die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti quarto.

40) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 116; 10 August 1416; 305 mm. wide x 130 mm. long; writing area: 260 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; no extant seals.

me dictum Iohannem Moll, capellanum, in plenam & pacificam seisina{m ips}orum
Rogeri, Galfridi, Iohannis Ingoll, & Ricardi Ectot de shoppis predictis cum pertinentibus
remisses, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse
predictis Rogero, Galfrido, Iohanni Ingoll, & Ricardo, heredibus & assignatis suis totum
ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo seu quouismodo habere potero in shoppis
predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eatundem decetero habere, exigere, seu
vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit in futurum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum
inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. In cuuis rei testimonium
presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum decimo die Augusti, anno regni Regis
Henrici quinti quarto.

41) Royal Irish Academy, MS 12.S.22-31, no. 367; 24 August 1416; 305 mm. wide x
125 mm. long; writing area: 255 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; no extant seals. This
deed is a copy of the deed no. 116 (no. 40 above) with the exception of the date.

42) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 100; 9 August 1417; 335 mm. wide x 130
mm. long; writing area: 305 mm. wide x 105 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 22 mm. in
diameter, a quartered shield with a bend surrounded by a semicircle of mountains
and surmounted by two hop flowers or pinecones, inscription reads: SIGILLUM
THOME SERIAUNT. Note on back in Yonge’s hand reads “I Yonge scrispsit.”

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Iohannes, filius & heres Thome Seriaunt Baro de
Castrocnok, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea indentata/ confirmaui Philipo
Hamond, carnifici, vnum mesuagium cum pertinentibus in Ciuitate Dublinii, prout iacet
in Vico Sancti Francisci suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis, in longitudine a vico predicto
anterius versus orientem vsque ad terram I{acobus} Passauaunt versus occidentem & in
latitudine inter terram Iohannis Drake versus aquilonem & terram Ricardi Herebert

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versus austrum. Habendum & tenendum mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefato Philipo, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim idem Philipus, heredes & assignati sui, michi prefato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis meis duos solidos argentis ad duos anni terminos, videlicet Pasche & Sancti Michaelis, equis porcionibus pro omni alio servicio, exactione, & demanda. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte seu in toto a retro existere non solutum ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum tunc bene liceat michi prefato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis meis in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus distingere & districiones nobiscum abducere & retinere quousque nobis heredibus seu assignatis nostris de redditu supradicto vna cum arreragio eiusdem plene fuerit satisfactum. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte vel in toto a retro existere non solutum post aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum per tres annos integros tunc bene liceat michi prenominato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis meis in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus reingredi, reintrare, & rehabe in pristino statu nostro dimissione, concessione, aut donacione aliqua premissa inde concessa non obstante. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes & heredes mei mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefato Phillipo heredibus & assignatis suis in forma predicta contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee indentate sigillum meum apposui. Datum nono die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti quinto.

(Let all present and future know that I, John, son and heir of Thomas Serjeaunt, Baron of Castleknock, have given, relinquished, and by this, our present indenture, have
confirmed to Philip Hamond, butcher, one mesuage with its appurtenances in the City of Dublin, just as it lies in St. Francis Street in the suburb of the same city, in length it fronts onto the aforesaid street on the east and extends to the land of James Passavaunt in the west, and in length it extends between the land of John Drake on the north and the land of Richard Herebert on the south. The right to have and to hold the aforesaid mesuage with its appurtenances goes to the aforesaid Philip, his heirs and assigns, in perpetuity. Thereupon, the same Philip, his heirs and assigns, are to pay me, the aforesaid John, and my heirs and assigns, two shillings silver annually in equal portions at two times of the year, specifically Easter and Michaelmas, for all other service, exaction, and charge. And if it should happen that the said rent in part or in whole should be in arrears and not paid at any term of the aforesaid times, then it will please me, the aforesaid John, my heirs and assigns, to distrain in the aforesaid mesuage with its appurtenances and to carry off distraints with us and retain them until which time the aforesaid payment together with the arrears of the same shall be fully paid off to us and our heirs or assigns. And if it should happen that the said payment in part or in full should be in arrears and unpaid after any term of the aforesaid times for three full years, then it will please me, the aforesaid John and my heirs and assigns, to go into the aforesaid mesuage with its appurtenances again, to reenter it, and to take it back in the original state of our granting, conceding, or giving, anything previously thus given notwithstanding. And indeed I, the aforesaid John and my heirs will warrant, discharge, and defend the aforesaid mesuage with its appurtenances in the aforesaid form to the aforesaid Philip and his heirs and assigns against all others by the present deed. In testimony of which matter, I have
affixed my seal to this, my present deed of indenture. Given the ninth day of August, in the fifth regnal year of King Henry the fifth.)

43) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 101; 9 August 1417; 265 mm. wide x 145 mm. long; writing area: 235 mm. wide x 105 mm. long; no extant seals.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem, filium & heredom Thome Seriaunt, Baronem de Castrocnok, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo posuisse Iacobum Yonge, Ciuem Dublinii attornatum meum ad deliberandum & ponendum Philipum Hamond, carnificem, in plenam & pacificam possessionem & seisinam vnius mesuagii cum pertinentibus in Ciuitate Dublinii prout iacet in Vico Sancti Francisci suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis, in longitudine a vico predicto antieus versus orientem vsque ad teram Iacobi Passauaunt versus occidentem, et in latitudine inter terram Iohannis Drake versus aquilonem & terram Robertum Herebori versus austrum. Habendum & tenendum mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefato Philipo, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim idem Philipus, heredes & assignati sui michi prefato Iohanni, heredibus & assignatis meis duos solidos argenti ad duos anni terminos, videlicet Pasche & Sancti Michaelis, equis porcionibus pro omni alio servicio exaccion & demanda. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte seu in toto a retro existere non solutum ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum tunc bene liceat michi prefato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis meis in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus distingere & discricciones nobiscum abducere & retinere quousque nobis heredibus seu assignatis nostris de redditu supradicto vna cum arreragio eiusdem plene fuerit satisfactum. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte vel in toto a retro existere non solutum post aliquem

44) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 102; 14 August 1417; 270 mm. wide x 170 mm. long; writing area: 225 mm. wide x 138 mm. long; 2 extant seals: possibly a cow’s horn on a loop of cord, and the second possibly of a stone with a long-tailed bird perched on it with three stalks of wheat behind the bird.

assignatis suis, duos solidos argenti ad duos anni terminos, videlicet Pasche & Sancti Michaelis, equis porcionibus pro omni alio seruicio, exaccione, & demanda. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte seu in toto a retro existere non solutus ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum tunc bene liceat prefato Iohanni, filio Thome, heredibus & assignatis suis in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus distingere & districciones cum eis abducere & retinere quousque eis heredibus seu assignatis suis de redditu supradicto vna cum arreragio eiusdem plene fuerit satisfactum. Et si contingat dictum redditum in parte vel in toto a retro existere non solutum post aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum per tres annos integros tunc bene liceat prenominato Iohanni heredibus & assignatis suis in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus reingredi, reintrare, & rehabe re in pristino statu suo dimissione, concessione, aut donacione aliqua premissa inde concessa non obstante. Prout in carta supradicta inde confecta plenius continetur.

Noueritis nos predictos Iohannem Ingoll & Iohannem Oge seisinam statum, possessionem ius & titulum que dictus Philipus habet in mesuagio supradicto cum pertinentibus eidem Philipo, heredibus & assignatis suis confirmasse, ratificasse & [ … ].

Et nos vero prefati Iohannes Ingoll & Iohannes Oge ac heredes nostri mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prenominato Philipo heredibus & assignatis suis in forma predicta contra nos & heredes nostros warantizabimus imperpetuum per presentis. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum quartodecimo die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici predicti supradicto.

Yonge
Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Edmundus Yonge, ciuis Dublinii, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Iohanni Mole & Willelmbo Ballylog, capellanis, vnum mesuagium vna cum vno porticu & vno gardino eidem mesuagio annexis in ciuitate Dublinit, prout ipsa mesuagium, porticus, & gardinum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis ex parte orientali mesuagii Iohannis Fysshewyk, & prout ego dictus Edmundus hucusque illa mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum tenui, ac prout idem gardinum iacet super ripam de Colmanesbrok.

Habenda & tenenda mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni & Willelmo, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego vero predictus Edmundus & heredes mei mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni & Willelmo, heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo quinto die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti quinto.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Edmundum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, attornasse, fecisse & in loco meo posuisse Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, attornatum meum ad deliberandum & ponendum Iohannem Mole & Willelmum Ballylog, capellanos, in plenam & pacificam seisinam vnius mesuagii vna cum vno porticu & vno gardino eidem

47) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 142; 27 August 1417; 320 mm. wide x 115 mm. long; writing area: 290 mm. wide x 65 mm. long; 1 seal: shield with saltire surmounted by a cross.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Edmundum Yonge, ciuem Dublinii, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Mole & Willelmo Ballylog, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio, vno porticu, & vno gardino cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii, prout ipsa meusagium, porticus, & gardinum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis ex parte orientali mesuagii Iohannes Fysshewyk, & prout ego dictus Edmundus illa mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum nuper tenui, ac prout idem gardinum iacet super ripam de Colmanesbrok. Ita quod nec ego predictus Edmundus, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio, porticu, & gardino
predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorumdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Edmundus & heredes mei mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni, Willelmo, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantijabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo septimo die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti quinto.

48) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 149; 10 January 1418; 260 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; writing area: 225 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 seal: reversed pall flanked by h and w.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Iohannem Mole & Willelum Ballylog, capellanos, attornasse, fecisse & in loco nostro constituisse Simonem Dodnall & Iacobum Yonge coniunctim & diuisim attornatos nostros ad ponendum Amisiam Ballybyn, relictam Edmundi Yonge, in plenam & pacificam seisinam vnius mesuagii vna cum vno porticus & vno gardino eidem mesuagio annexis in ciuitate Dublinii, prout ipsa mesuagium, porticus, & gardinum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis ex parte orientali mesuagii Iohannis Fysshewyk, & prout idem Edmundus illa quondam tenuit, ac prout idem gardinum iacet super ripam de Colmanesbrok. Habendum & tenendum mesuagium, porticum, & gardinum predicta cum pertinentibus prefate Amisie, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum, prout in carta nostra ei inde confecta plenius continetur. Ratum & gratum, habentes & habituri quicquid diciti Simon & Iacobus attornati nostri coniunctim & diuisim fecerint seu alter

49) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 139; 12 January 1418; 245 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 220 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; 1 extant seal: reversed pall flanked by h and w.

Pateat unius per presentes nos Iohannem Mole & Willelmum Ballylog, capellanos, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse Amisie Ballybyn, relicte Edmundi Yonge, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius nostrum & clameum que hauimus, habemus, seu habere poterimus in vno mesuagio vna cum vno porticu & vno gardino eidem mesuagio annexis in ciuitate Dublinii, prout ipsa mesuagium, porticus, & gardenum iacent super keyam & in parochia Sancti Audenii eiusdem ciuitatis ex parte orientali mesuagii Ioannis Fysshewyk, & prout idem Edmundus illa quondam tenuit, ac prout idem gardenum iacet super ripam de Colmanesbrok. Habenda & tenenda dixa mesuagium, porticum, & gardenum cum pertinentibus dicte Amisie, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum. Ita quod nec nos predicti Ioannes Mole & Willelmus, nec heredes nostri aut alterius nostrum aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio, porticus, & gardo incum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorumdem decetero habeere, exigere, seu vendicare poterimus, sed quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et nos vero predicti Ioannes Mole & Willelmus & heredes nostri mesuagium, porticum, & gardenum predicta cum pertinentibus prefate Amisie heredibus & assignatis suis contra nos & heredes nostros imperpetuum warantijabimus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium
presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum duodecimo die Ianuarii, anno regni Regis
Henrici quinti quinto.

50) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 352; 20 May 1419; 360 mm. wide x 95
mm. long; writing area: 325 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 3 extant seals: 1) head of
Januarius with round cap; 2) griffin surmounted by 3 plants; 3) crowned T.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Phil{ipum} Charl{es}, Nicholus Walshe,
Walterus Reske, & Iohannes Champeneys, capellani, dedimus, concessimus, & hac
presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Iohanni Elys, ciui Dublinii, duo mesuagia in ciuitate
Dublinii, prout iacent in Vico Cocorum eiusdem ciuitatis & in parochia Sancti Audoeni
inter terram predicti Iohannis Elys versus orientem & terram quondam Thome Beke
versus occidentem, quorum quidem mesuagiorum vnum, videlicet illud propinquius ad
occidentem, iacet a vico predicto anterius versus austrum vsque ad Colmanesbroke
versus aquilonem, alterum vero mesuagiorum, videlicet illud propinquius ad orientem,
iacet a vico predicto versus austrum vsque ad terram Rogeri Dodde versus aquilonem,
que quidem mesuagia quondam habuimus ex dono & recognicione Thome Hert, ciuis
Dublinii, & Margere, vxoris sue, {per vn}am finalem concordiam factam in Curia
domi Regis apud Dublinium a die Sancti Michaelis in tres septimanas, anno regni Regis
Henrici quinti sexto coram Iohanne FitzAdam, Iohanne Bateman, & Thoma Seys,
institutis ipsius domini Regis de Communi Banco in terra sua Hibernia, & aliis ipsius
domi Regis fidelibus ibidem tunc presentibus, prout in predicta finali concordia
pl{enius} continentur. Habenda & tenenda mesuagia predicta cum pertinentibus prefato
Iohanni Elys, hereditibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum. De cap{italibus} dominis feodi
ill{iu}s per servicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predicti Philipus, Nicholus,
Walterus, & Iohannes Champeneys & heredes nostri mesuagia predicta cum
pertinentibus prefato Iohanni Elys, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra nos & heredes
nostros warantijabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In
cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum
vicesimo die Ma(ii), anno regni Regis Henrici quinti septimo.

51) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 351; 20 May 1419; 265 mm. wide x
110 mm. long; writing area: 220 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; 4 extant seals: 1) figure in a gown holding an object in left hand, 2) head of Januarius with round
cap; 3) griffin surmounted by 3 plants; 4) crowned T; seal tapes re-used
documents in Yonge’s hand.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Philipem Charles, Nicholem Walshe, Walterum
Reske, & Iohannem Champeneys, capellanos, attornasse, fecisse & in loco nostro
posuisse Iacobum Yonge, ciuem Dublinitii, attornatum nostrum ad deliberandum &
ponendum Iohannem Elys, ciuem Dublinitii, in plenam & pacificam seisinam duorum
mesuagium in Ciuitate Dublinitii, prout iacent in Vico Cocorum eiusdem ciuitatis & in
parochia Sancti Audoeni inter terram predicti Iohannis Elys versus orientem & terram
quondam Thome Beke versus occidentem, quorum quidem mesuagiorum vnum, videlicet
illud propinquius ad occidentem, iacet a vico predicto anterius versus austrum vsque ad
Colmanesbroke versus aquilonem, alterum vero mesuagiorum, videlicet illud
propinquius ad orientem, iacet a vico predicto versus austrum vsque ad terram Rogeri
Dodde versus aquilonem que quidem mesuagia quondam habuimus ex dono &
recognitione Thome Hert, ciuis Dublinitii, & Margerie, vxoris sue, per vnam finalem
concordiam factam in Curia domini Regis apud Dublinitium a die Sancti Michaelis in tres
septimanas, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti sexto coram Iohanne FitzAdam, Iohanne

52) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 353; 26 May 1419; 375 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; writing area: 330 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; 4 extant seals: 1) crowned T, 2) griffin surmounted by 3 plants, 3) head of Januarius with round cap, 4) figure in a gown holding an object in left hand; seal tapes re-used documents in Yonge’s hand.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Philipum Charles, Nicholom Walshe, Walterum Reske, & Iohannem Champeneys, capellanos, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Elys, ciui Dublinii, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius nostrum & clameum que habuimus, habemus, seu quouismodo infutura habere poterimus in duobus mesuagiiis in Ciuitate Dublinii prout iacent in Vico Cocorum eiusdem Ciuitatis & in parochia Sancti Audoeni inter terram predicti Iohannis Elys versus orientem & terram quondam Thome Beke versus occidentem quorum quidem mesuagiorum vnum, videlicet illud propinquius ad occidentem, iacet a vico predicto anterius versus austrum vsque Colmanesbroke versus aquilonem, alterum vero mesuagiorum, videlicet illud propinquius ad orientem, iacet a vico predicto versus austrum vsque ad terram Rogeri Dodde versus aquilonem, que
quidem mesuagia quondam habuimus ex dono & recognicione Thome Hert, ciuis Dublinii, & Margerie, vxoris sue, per vnam finalem concordiam factam in Curia domini Regis apud Dublinium a die Sancti Michaelis in tres septimanas, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti sexto, coram Iohanne fitz Adam, Iohanne Bateman, & Thoma Seys, Instituti ipsius domini Regis de Communi Banco in terra sua Hibernia, & aliis ipsius domini Regis fidelibus ibidem tunc presentibus, prout in predicta finali concordia plenius continetur. Ita quod nec nos prediciti Philipus, Nicholus, Walterus, & Iohannes Champeneys, nec aliquis nostrum nec heredes nostri aut alciuis nostrum, nec aliquis alius in nomine nostro seu alciuis nostrum aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagis predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorumdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare poterimus, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et nos vero prediciti Philipus, Nicholus, Walterus, & Iohannes Champeneys & heredes nostri mesuagia predicta cum pertinentibus prefato Iohanni Elys heredibus & assignatis suis contra nos & heredes nostros warantijabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum vicesimo sexto die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti septimo.

53) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 330; 28 May 1419; 380 mm. wide x 85 mm. long; writing area: 350 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; no extant seals; no. 390 of the same MS is a copy made by Thomas Baghill.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Hokenell, ciuem Dublinii, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Elys, ciui Dublinii, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui,
habeo, seu quouismo modo infuturum habere potero in duobus mesuagiiis in Ciuitate
Dublinii, prout iacent in Vico Cocorum eiusdem ciuitatis & in parochia Sancti Audoeni inter terram predicti Iohannes Elys versus orientem & terram quondam Thome Beke versus occidentem quorum quidem mesuagiorum vnum, videlicet illud propinquius ad occidentem, iacet a vico predicto anterius versus austrum vsque ad Colmanesbroke versus aquilonem, alterum mesuagiorum, videlicet illud propinquius ad orientem, iacet a vico predicto versus austrum vsque ad terram Rogeri Dodde versus aquilonem. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes Hokenell, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagiiis predictis, nec in aliqua parte eorundem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes Hokenell & heredes mei mesuagia predicta cum pertinentibus prefato Iohanni Elys heredibus & assignatis suis contra nos & heredes nostros warantijabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposi. Datum vicesimo octauo die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti septimo.

54) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 190; 22 September 1422; 330 mm. wide x 160 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; 1 extant seal: crowned IP.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Yngoll, capellanum, post mortem Iohannis Walshe, capellani, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Martyn, capellano, Iohanni Calsteyn, capellano,
& Ricardo White, capellano, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu quocumque modo habere potero in vno mesuagio cum omnibus suis pertinentibus in Alto Vico ciuitatis Dublinii ex opposito alte pipe, ibidem continens in anteriori parte duos frontes & in posteriori parte tres frontes cum vno gardino infra dictum mesuagium contento ac vno porticu ducente a mesuagio predicto versus Vicum Cocorum. In quo vero mesuagio Rogerus Bekeford, quondam ciuis ciuitatis predicte, dum vixit manebat, et quod mesuagium dictus Iohannes Walshe & ego habuimus ex dono & feoffamento Roberti Logh, capellani, & Iohannis Streche, capellani. Quod quidem mesuagium cum gardino & porticu predictis & suis pertinentibus iacet in latitudine inter mesuagium & gardinum Luce Douedale ex parte occidentali & mesuagia & gardina Willelmi Yonge, Ricardi Wode, ac nuper Ricardi Glaswryght & Marione Snowe ex parte orientali. In longitudine vero extendit se ab Alto Vico predicto versus austrum vsque tenementum nuper predicti Ricardi Glaswryght versus boriam. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes Yngoll, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio, gardino, & porticu predictis cum omnibus suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem decetero habere, exigere, vel vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes Yngoll & heredes mei dictum mesuagium cum gardino et porticu predictis cum omnibus suis pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Martyn, Iohanni Calsteyn, & Ricardo White, heredibus & assignatis suis, pro me heredibus & assignatis meis contra omnes gentes warantiżabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium
presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo secundo die Septembris, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti decimo.

Yonge

55) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 539; 1 November 1424; 280 mm. wide x 130 mm. long; writing area: 240 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; no extant seals; deed very faded.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me […..] C{ri}s{to}fre, c{apellanum}, dedisse & concesse[..] Iohanni Wal{sh}e, ciuii Dublinsi, tr{edec}im solidatos & quatuor denaratas re[...]us annualis [...]d percipiend, [...]lenand, redditum predictum prefato Iohanni Walshe heredibus & assignatis suis de vna domo lapidea continente in s[….] celarii, v{num} s{o}larium, [...] vnum supersolarium vocatu ‘le Wolhowse’ in ciuitate Dublinii prout situatur in Vico Cocorum [...]tis predicte & in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter te{nementum} quondam Ricardi Glaswright in parte & gardinum Iohanni{is} Ingoll in parte versus occidentem & [...] {T}hom{e} Graunte versus orientem prout [...] in lo{ni}tudinem [...] ver{sus}[...] {I}ngoll versus austrum, annuatim ad duos anni terminos vide{lice}t ad festa Pasche & Sancti Michaelis equis porcionibus quousque dictus Iohannes Walshe, heredes & assignati sui, habuerint perciper[..]t & leuauerint de domo pre{d}icta decem libras [...] dantem & concedentem prefato Iohanni Walshe heredibus & assignatis [...]am tenere present’ potesta[...] in domo predicta pro redditu predicto & arreragiis eiusdem {m} quociens {cum}que dictus redditus {in part}e vel {in} tot{oj}is[...]ro fuerit non solutus ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum & dis{tri}ciones secum adduce[... ] & retine[...] quo{v}sque [...] de dicto redditu & arreragiis eiusdem plene [...] {s}atisfactum. In cuius rei
testimonium presentes {sigillum} meum apposui. Datum primo die Nouembris, anno
{regni} R{egis} Henrici {sex}ti te{rcio}.

56) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 562; 3 March 1425; 365 mm. wide x 85
mm. long; writing area: 320 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 extant seals: 21mm in
diameter, perhaps a bird on a nest.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Iohannes Streche, Willelmo Balylogge, &
Iohannes Wyntyr, capellani, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra
confirmauimus Iohanni Burnell, Roberto filio Iohannis Burnell, Nicholo Eustace,
Iohanni Elys, Thome Elys, Roberto Wood, ciuibus Dublinii, & Iohanni Christofre,
Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe senior, Iohanni Walshe iunior, & Riccardo Goldyng,
capellanis, vnnum tenementum cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii, prout iacet in
parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter cimiterium Ecclesie Sancti Audoeni
iuxta scalare eiusdem cimiterii ex vna parte, & viam que ducit ab alta pipa illius ciuitatis
vsque ad eandem ecclesiam ex parte altera. Habendum & tenendum tenementum
predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Brynell, Roberto, Nicholo, Iohanni Elys,
Thome, Roberto, Iohanni Cristofre, Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe, Iohanni Walshe, &
Ricardo, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius
per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predicti Iohannes Streche, Willelmo &
Iohannes Wyntyr, ac heredes nostri tenementum predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis
Iohanni Burnell, Roberto, Nicholo, Iohanni Elys, Thome, Roberto, Iohanni Christofre,
Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe, Iohanni Walshe, & Ricardo, heredibus & assignatis suis,
contra nos & heredes nostros warantiamus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum

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defendemus *per presentes*. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte *nostre* sigilla
*nostra* apposuimus. *Datum* tercio die Marcii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti tercio.

57) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 563; 3 March 1425; 360 mm. wide x 70
mm. long; writing area: 315 mm. wide x 45 mm. long; 3 extant seals: 1) 21mm in
diameter, perhaps a bird on a nest, 2) 20mm in diameter, perhaps a squirrel, 3)
small, perhaps a stag.

Nouerint vniuersi *per presentes* nos Iohannem Streche, Willelmum Balylogge, &
Iohannem Wyntyr, capellanos, attornasse, fecisse & in loco *nostro* posuisse Willelmum
Power attornatum nostrum ad deliberandum & ponendum Iohannem Burnell, Robertum
filium Iohannis Burnell, Nicholum Eustace, Iohannem Elys, Thomam Elys, Robertum
Wood, ciues Dublinii, & Iohannem Cristofre, Iohannem Mole, Iohannem Walshe
seniorem, Iohannem Walshe iuniorem, & Ricardum Goldyng, capellanos, in plenam &
pacificam seisinam vnius tenementi cum *pertinentibus* in ciuitate Dublinii, *prout* iacet in
parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatibus inter cimiterium Ecclesie Sancti Audoeni
iuxta scalare eiusdem cimiterii ex vna parte & viam que ducit ab alta pipa illius ciuitatibus
vsque ad eandem ecclesiam ex parte altera. *Habendum* & tenendum tenementum
predictum cum *pertinentibus* prefatis Iohanni Burnell, Roberto, Nicholo, Iohanni Elys,
Thome, Roberto, Iohanni Cristofre, Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe, Iohanni Walshe, &
Ricardo, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum, *prout* in carta *nostra* sibi inde
confecta plenius continetur. In cuius rei testimonium *presentibus* sigilla *nostra*
apposuimus. *Datum* tercio die Marcii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti tercio.
Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Iohannem Streche, Willelmum Balylogge, & Iohannem Wyntyr, capellanos, remississe, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Burnell, Roberto filio Iohannis Burnell, Nicholo Eustace, Iohanni Elys, Thome Elys, Roberto Wood, ciuibus Dublinii, & Iohanni Cristofre, Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe seniori, Iohanni Walshe iuniori, & Ricardo Goldyng, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius nostrum & clameum que habemus, habuimus, seu quoquismodo infuturum habere poterimus in vno tenemento cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii, prout iacet in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter cimiterium Ecclesie Sancti Audoeni iuxta scalare eiusdem cimiterii ex vna parte & viam que ducit ab alta pipa illius ciuitatis vsque ad eandem ecclesiam ex parte altera. Ita quod nec nos predicted Iohannes Streche, Willelmus, & Iohannes Wyntyr, nec heredes nostri, nec aliquis alius in nomine nostro aut alicuius nostrum aliquid iuris aut clamei in tenemento predicted cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare poterimus, poterint, aut poterit, set quod totum ius nostri & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et nos vero predicted Iohannes Streche, Willelmus, & Iohannes Wyntyr ac heredes nostri tenementum predicted cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Burnell, Roberto, Nicholo, Iohanni Elys, Thome, Roberto, Iohanni Cristofre, Iohanni Mole, Iohanni Walshe, Iohanni Walshe, & Ricardo, heredibus & assignatis suis, erga nos & heredes nostros warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium
presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum decimo die Marcii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti tercio.

59) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 107; 4 April 1425; 290 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 22mm in diameter, shield with a chevron flanked by three roses.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Drake seniorem, civem Dublinii, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Willelmo Arthure, ‘bowcher,’ heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in quattuor seldis seu shopis cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii, prout iacent iacent [sic] insimul in Vico Sancti Francisci in suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis inter terram Philipi Hamond versus austrum & terram meam versus aquilonem, ac dictum vicum versus orientem & terram predicti Willelmi versus occidentem. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in seldis seu shopis predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte e{ius}dem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, sed quod totum ius meum & clameum ac nostrum inde pe{nitui}s sint ext{racta} imperpetuum per presentes. Et [ … ] predictus Iohannes & heredes mei seldas seu shopas predictas cum pertinentibus prefato Willelmo heredibus & assignatis suis erga nos & heredes [ … ] warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo quarto die Aprilis, anno regni Regis henrici sexti tercio.
Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Ingoll, capellanum, remississe, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Stafford, ciui & pistori Dublinii, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus iacente in ciuitate Dublinii inter cimiterium Ecclesie Sancti Audoeni versus occidentem & venellam vocatam Venellam Sancti Audoeni versus orientem, prout in longitudine & in latitudine inter mesuagium ipsius Iohannis Stafford versus aquilonem & Viam Regiam versus austrum. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes Ingoll, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris vel clamei in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius meum ac nostrum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. In cius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo die Nouembris, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti quinto.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Walterus Reske, capellanus, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Iohanne Clerke, nuper vxori Iohannis Passauaunt, clerici nuper Hanaperii, vnum mesuagium iacens in Vico Piscarii ciuitatis Dublinii cum pertinentibus. Quod quidem mesuagium haberem ex dono & feoffamento Thome Broune. Habendum & tenendum mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefate Iohanne ad terminum vite sue. Ita quod post mortem predicte Iohanne mesuagium
predictum cum pertinentibus remaneat Roberto, filio & heredi predicti Iohannis


62) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 290; 29 January 1428; 300 mm. wide x 170 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 115 mm. long; no extant seals.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Ricarduni, filium & heredem Rogeri Dod,
remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Cristofre, Waltero Northamptoun, & Ricardo Goldynge, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clamem que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinit, prout iacet super keiam in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter terram Walteri Scurlag anterius & terram Iohannis Wellis posteriorius versus orientem & terram Iohannis Blakeney anterius & terram Iohannis Blumley posteriorius versus occidentem, et inter keiam predictam in parte & terram Iohannis Corner in parte versus aquilonem & terras Iohannis Elys & Ricardi Donogh versus austrum. Ita quod nec ego predictus Ricardus, filius & heres Rogeri Dod, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero habere,

exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius meum & clamem ac nostrum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Ricardus, filius & heres Rogeri Dod, & heredes mei mesuagium predictum cum
pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Waltero & Ricardо Goldynge, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Et quia sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum ideo sigillum Prepositure Ciuitatis Dublinitii ad rogatum meum presentibus est appensum. Datum vicesimo nono die Ianuarii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti sexto.

63) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 344; 29 January 1428; 330 mm. wide x 125 mm. long; writing area: 290 mm. wide x 70 mm. long; 1 extant seal: small oval with palm leaf on left, crowned letter on right.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Andream Vyncent, relictam Rogeri Dodde, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Cristofre, Waltero Northamptoun, & Ricardо Goldynge, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinitii, prout iacet super keiam in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter terram Walteri Scurlag anterius & terram Iohannis Wellis posterius versus orientem & terram Iohannis Blakeney anterius & terram Iohannis Blumley posterius versus occidentem, et inter keiam predictam in parte & terram Iohannis Corner in parte versus aquilonem & terras Iohannis Elys & Ricardi Donogh versus austrum. Ita quod nec ego predicta Andreas, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio predicto cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, sed quod totum ius meum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predicta Andreas & heredes mei

64) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 282; 29 January 1428; 310 mm. wide x 180 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 130 mm. long; no extant seals, once had Seal of the Provostship of Dublin.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Ricardum, filium & heredem Rogeri Dod, Andream Vyntcent, relictam Rogeri Dod, Nicholum Alger, & Iohannem Mole, capellanos, remississe, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Cristofre, Waltero Northamptoun, & Ricardo Goldyne, capellanis, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum totum ius nostrum & clameum que habemus, habuimus, seu habere poterimus in vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii. Quod quidem mesuagium quondam fuit predicti Rogeri Dod & iacet super keiam in parochia Sancti Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis inter terram Walteri Scurlag anterius & terram Iohannis Wells posterius versus orientem et terram Iohannis Blakeneie anterius & terram Iohannis Blumlei posterius versus occidentem, et inter keiam predictam in parte & terram Iohannis Corner in parte versus aquilonem & terras Iohannis Elys & Ricardi Donogh versus austrum. Ita quod nec nos predicti Ricardus, filius & heres Rogeri Dod, Andrea, Nicholus, & Iohannes Mole, nec heredes nostri, nec aliquis alius in nomine nostro aut alicuius nostrum aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio predicto
cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eiusdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare poterimus, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum nostrum ius & clameum inde penitus sint extinta imperpetuum per presentes. Et nos vero predicī Ricardus, filius & heres Rogeri Dod, Andreas, Nicholus, & Iohannes Mole ac heredes nostri mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Cristofre, Waltero, & Ricardo Goldynge, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantiʒabimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Et quia sigilla nostra pluribus sunt incognita, ideo sigillum Prepositione Ciuitatis predicte ad rogatum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Datum quarto die Februarii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti sexto.

65) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/139; 25 April 1428; 295 mm. wide x 110 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; 3 extant seals: 1) illegible, 2) shield in quatrefoil, 3) crowned A; seal tag on seal 1 is in Yonge’s hand and appears to be recycled quit-claim.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Rogerum Ceuyr, Ricardum, filium eiusdem Rogeri, & Nicholum, filium dicī Rogeri, remisses, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredes nostri imperpetuum quietum clamasse Willelmo, filio Iohannis fitʒ William de Dundrom, heredibus & assignatis suis totum ius nostrum & clameum que habuimus, habemus, seu habere poterimus in omnibus terris & tenementis cum pertinentibus in Cheuyrestoun. Ita quod nec nos predicti Rogerus, Ricardus, & Nicholus, nec heredes nostri, nec aliquis alius in nomine nostro aut alicuius nostrum aliquid iuris aut clamei in terris & tenementis predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare poterimus, poteruit, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum

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ius nostrum & clameum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et nos vero predicti Rogerus, Ricardus, & Nicholus ac heredes nostri omnia terras & tenementa predicta cum pertinentibus prefato Willelmo, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantisabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum vicesimo quinto die Aprilis, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti sexto.

Yonge

66) National Library of Ireland, D.1615: 9 November 1428; 320 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 63mm. in diameter seal of James Butler: a shield with a chief dancetty, topped by a helm with a crest of a falcon, wings spread, rising from a coronet, the whole is surrounded by acanthus leaves growing from small cups on either side of the base of the shield.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Hugoni Bavent & Thome Whiteside, clericis, manoria nostra de Turveye, Courdoff, & Balyscadane, ac Russh, & medietatem manerii de Portrarne cum pertinentibus. Habenda & tenenda maneria ac medietatem manerii predictus cum pertinentibus prefatis Hugoni & Thome, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum. De capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predictus Comes & heredes nostri maneria ac medietatus manerii predictus cum pertinentibus prefatis Hugoni & Thome, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantisabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei

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testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum nono die Nouembris, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti septimo.

Yonge

67) National Library of Ireland, D.1612: 1 December 1428; 2 extant seals: 1) small round seal with an E, 2) Seal of the Provostship of Dublin.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Blakeney remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me et heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse nobili domino duci Iacobo le Botiller, Comiti Ormonie & domine Iohanne, vxor eius Countisse Ormound, ac heredibus & assignatis ipsius Countisse, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vnmesuagio cum gardenis eidem mesuagio annexis, iacenti in parochia Sancte Brigide in suburbio ciuitatis Dublinii. Quod quidem mesuagium vocatur ‘loughteburghesinne’. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio & gardenis predictis cum pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, sed quod totum ius meum & clameum [ ... ] inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes Blakeney et heredes mei mesuagium {&} gardina predicta cum pertinentibus prefatis Comiti et Comitisse ac heredibus et assignatis ipsius Comitisse erga me et heredes meos waranti{3a}bimus, acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Et quia sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum, ideo sigillum Prepositure Ciuitatis predicte ad rogatum meum presentibus est appensum. Hiis testibus Henrico Fortescu, Capitati Iustico de placea domini Regis

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Hibernie, Iacobo Cornewaleys, Capitali Ba{ronis} [...]ii domini Regis, Thoma Shorthals maiore Ciuitatis predicte, Thoma Benet Ballino eiusdem Ciuitatis et multis aliis. Datum primo die Decembres, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti septimo.

68) National Library of Ireland, D.1616: 9 February 1429; 320 mm. wide x 85 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 50 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 63mm. in diameter seal of James Butler: a shield with a chief dancetty, topped by a helm with a crest of a falcon, wings spread, rising from a coronet, the whole is surrounded by acanthus leaves growing from small cups on either side of the base of the shield.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Iacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Hugoni Bavent & Thome Whiteside, clericis, manerium nostrum de Blakecastell cum pertinentibus. Habendum & tenendum manerum predictum cum pertinentibus preflatibus Hugoni & Thome heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero prefatus Comes ac heredes nostri manerum predictum cum pertinentibus preflatibus Hugoni & Thome heredibus & assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum nono die Februarius, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti septimo.

Yonge
69) National Library of Ireland, D.1617; 9 February 1429; 320 mm. wide x 80 mm. long; writing area: 265 mm. wide x 40 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 63mm. in diameter seal of James Butler: a shield with a chief dancetty, topped by a helm with a crest of a falcon, wings spread, rising from a coronet, the whole is surrounded by acanthus leaves growing from small cups on either side of the base of the shield.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Iacobum le Botiller, Comitem Ermonie, attornasse, fecisse & in loco nostro posuisse Mauricium Aignell & Iohannem Carll

70) Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 206; 29 January 1432; 340 mm. wide x 150 mm. long; writing area: 295 mm. wide x 95 mm. long; no extant seals.

Ihc Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Ricardo Aylmer, Prepositus ville de Tassagard & eiusdem ville Burgenses ex vnanimi assensu nostro dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra indentata confirmauimus Iohanni Stauntoun vnam vacuum placeam terre cum pertinentibus in villa predicta, prout per certas metas & bundas eidem Iohanni assignatur & perambulatur. Habendam & tenendam placeam predictam cum pertinentibus prefato Iohanni, heredibus & assignatis suis imperpetuam. Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Iohannes, heredes & assignati sui prefatis, nobis Preposito &
Burgensibus, heredibus & successoribus nostris vnum denarium ad quodlibet festum Pasche durantibus duobus annis, proximo sequenti dat’ confectionis presencium et extunc annuatim quatuor denarios ad duos anni terminos videlicet ad festa Pasche & Sancti Michaelis equis porcionibus durante decem & octo annis proximis tunc sequenti et extunc annuatim duodecim denarii argenti ad terminos supradictos equis porcionibus imperpetuum. Et si predictus redditus duodecim denarii a retro fuerit non solutus per vnum mensem ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum & sufficiens districcio in placea predicta pro eodem redditu reperiri non poterit, tunc bene liceat nobis dicitis Preposito & Burgensibus ac heredibus & successoribus nostris in placea predicta cum pertinentibus intrare & rehabere donacione predicta non obstante. Et nos predicti Prepositus & Burgenses ac heredes & successores nostri placeam predictam cum pertinentibus predicto Iohanni heredibus & assignatis suis contra quoscumque warantizabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium parti huius carte nostre indentate penes predictum Iohannem remanenti sigillum nostrum Communem apposuimus alteri vero parti huius carte penes nos residenti predictus Iohannes sigillum suum apposuit. Datum decimo nono die Ianuarii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti decimo.

71) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 186; 18 May 1432; 290 mm. wide x 160 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 140 mm. long; no extant seals.

Hic Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Iohannes Martyn, capellanus, dedit, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Iohanni Walshe, capellano minori, vnum mesuagium cum omnibus suis pertinentibus in Alto Vico ciuitatis Dublinii, ex opposito alte pipe ibidem continens in anteriori parte duos frontes & in posteriori parte nuper tres

72) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 185; 20 May 1432; 325 mm. wide x 160 mm. long; writing area: 290 mm. wide x 120 mm. long; 1 extant seal: crowned IM.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Iohannem Martyn, capellanum, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse Iohanni Walshe, capellano minori, heredibus & assignatis suis, totum ius meum & clameum que habui, habeo, seu habere potero in vno mesuagio cum omnibus suis pertinentibus in Alto
Vico ciuitatis Dubliniti ex opposto alte pipe ibidem continens in anteriori parte duos frontes & in posteriori parte nuper tres frontes modo factos in vnum cum vno gardino infra idem mesuagium contento ac vno porticu ducente ab eodem mesuagio versus Vicum Cocorum in quo quidem mesuagio Rogerus Bekford, quondam ciuis ciuitatis predicte, dum vixit {mane}bat et quod mesuagium ego Iohannes Martyn predictus, Iohannes Calsteyne, & Ricardus White, capellani, habuimus ex dono & feoffamento Iohannes Ingoll, capellani. Quod quidem mesuagium cum gardino & porticu & suis pertinentibus iacet in latitudine inter mesuagium & gardinum Luce Douedale ex parte occidentali & tenementum Willelmi Yonge in parte, tenementum Roberti Wode in parte, & tenementum quondam Ricardi Glaswryght in parte, ac tenementum quondam Marione Snowe in parte, nunc Nicholi Eustace, ex parte orientali. In longitudine vero extendit se ab ab Alto Vico predicto versus austrum vsque tenementum nuper predicti Ricardi Glaswryght versus boream. Ita quod nec ego predictus Iohannes Martyn, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius in nomine meo seu nostro aliquid iuris aut clamei in mesuagio, gardino, & porticu predictus cum omnibus suis pertinentibus, nec in aliqua parte eorumdem decetero habere, exigere, seu vendicare potero, poterint, aut poterit infuturum, set quod totum ius meum & clameum ac nostrum inde penitus sint extincta imperpetuum per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes Martyn & heredes mei mesuagium, gardinum, & porticum predicta cum omnibus pertinentibus suis predicto Iohanni Walshe, capellano minori, heredibus & assignatis suis, contra quoscumque warantizabimus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti decimo.
73) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 187; 23 May 1432; 295 mm. wide x 185 mm. long; writing area: 255 mm. wide x 145 mm. long; 1 extant seal: lamb with a cross.

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Iohannes Walshe, capellanus minor, dedi, concessi, & hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Iohanni Martyn, capellano, Iohanni Walshe, capellano maior, & Philipo Danyell, capellano, vnum mesuagium cum omnibus suis pertinentibus in Alto Vico ciuitatis Dublinii ex opposito alte pipe ibidem continens in anteriori parte duos frontes & in posteriori parte nuper tres frontes modo in vnum factos cum vno gardino infra idem mesuagium contento ac vno porticu ducente ab eodem mesuagio versus Vicum Cocorum. In quo quidem mesuagio Rogerus Bekford, quondam cius ciuitatis predicte, dum vixit manebat, et quod mesuagium ego dictus Iohannes Walshe, capellanus minor, habui ex dono & feoffamento predicte Iohannes Martyn.

Quod quidem mesuagium cum gardino & porticu & suis pertinentibus iacet in latitudine inter mesuagium & gardinum Luce Douedale ex parte occidentali & tenementum Willelmi Yonge in parte, tenementum Roberti Wode in parte, & tenementum quondam Ricardi Glaswright in parte, ac tenementum quondam Marione Snowe nunc Nicholi Eustace in parte ex parte orientali. In longitudine vero extendit se ab Alto Vico predicto versus austrum vsque ad tenementum nuper predicti Ricardi Glaswright versus boream.

Habenda & tenenda mesuagium, gardinum, & porticum predicta cum omnibus pertinentibus suis prefatis Iohanni Martyn, Iohanni Walshe, capellano maior, & Philipo, heredibus & assignatis suis, imperpetuum. De capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego vero predictus Iohannes Walshe, capellanus minor, & heredes mei mesuagium, gardinum, & porticum predicta cum pertinentibus prefatis Iohanni Martyn, Iohanni Walshe, capellano maior, & Philipo, heredibus &
assignatis suis, contra nos & heredes nostros warantijabimus imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo tercio die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti decimo.

74) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/140; 6 December 1432; 320 mm. wide x 100 mm. long; writing area: 280 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; 1 extant seal: 63mm. in diameter seal of James Butler: a shield with a chief dancetty, topped by a helm with a crest of a falcon, wings spread, rising from a coronet, the whole is surrounded by acanthus leaves growing from small cups on either side of the base of the shield; deed damaged and faded.

Pateat vniuersis per pres{entes} nos Iacobum le Botiller, Comitem Ermon{ie},
dedisse & concessisse Patri{cum} Archepoll qua{tuor} marcatas annualis redditus. Habendum & percipie{ndu}m & de omnibus terris & tenementis nostris cum pertinenti{bus} in manerio nostro de Bree cum pertinentibus [...] O[.]d[.]nrte annuatem ad duos anni terminos videlicet ad festa Pasche & Sancti Michaelis equis porcionibus. Habendum & tenendum redditum predictum {pref}ato Patricio heredibus & assig{natis} suis quousque idem Patricius heredes seu assignati habuerint [...]cipuit & leuauerint in & de term[...] tenementis predictis cum pertinentibus viginti & vnum marcas argenti dant’ & [...]d[.]t’ prefato Patricio heredibus & assignatis suis plenam [...]ore presencium potestatem distingend [...] terris {& t}enementis predictis cum pertinentibus pro redditu predicto & omnis arreragiis [...] dem redditus in parte seu in tot{o} a r{etro} fuer{it non solu}tus ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum & districciones secum [...] & retinend’ quousque sibi de redditu p{l}ene fuerit satisfactory. In cuius rei tes{imonium} sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum sexto die Decemb{ris, anno regni Regis} Henrici sexti vndecimo.
In Dei nomine, Amen. *Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis apparent euidenter quod anno domini millesimo quadrangentesimo tricesimo secundo indicione vndecima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Eugenii diuina prudentia pape quarti anno secundo, mensis Decembris, die duodecima, in anteriori & principali camera discreti & reuerendi vir Radulphi Pembroke, ciuis & mercatoris Dublinitii, infra hospicium sui super keiam eiusdem ciuitatis. In mei notarii publici & testium subscriptorurn presencia personaliter constituti discretus vir Walterus Scurlag, armiger, optima voluntate sua propter veritatis testimonium prout effectualiter asseruit, & nullam aliam causam, fide sua iurauit & promisit prefato Radulpho quod ipsemet Walterus & nullus alius fuit adtunc seisitus in dominico suo vt de feodo simplici de vno mesuagio cum pertinentibus iacente super dictam keiam inter hospicium predictum versus occidentem & mesuagium Iohannis Well versus orientem prout in latitudine & in longitudine iacet inter keiam predictam versus aquilonem & terram predicti Radulphi versus austrum. Iurauit eciam predictus Walterus in forma predicta quod predictum mesuagium non est obligatum aliquo statuto aut recognizione stapule seu oneris redditu. Hiis autem dictis, iuratis, & factis per predictum Walterum, idem Walterus tunc concessit prelibato Radulpho mesuagium predictum habendem eidem Radulpho, heredibus et assignatis suis, ad terminum viginiti vnius annorum & trium quarteriorum vnius anni postea vero videlicet terciodecimo die mensis predicti & anno predicto prefatus Walterus accessit in mesuagium predictum & dedit, concessit, & dimisit predicto Radulpho mesuagium predictum & inde plene seisunt per factam suum
indentatum eundem Radulphum, habendum & tenendum mesuagium predictum prefato
Radulpho heredibus & assignatis suis durante termino supradicto ac recognouit dictum
factum indentatum esse suum factum illudque sponte deliberauit dicto Radupo. Actus
sunt hec prout suprascribuntur & recitantur sub anno Domini, indiczione, pontificatu,
mense, die, & loco supradictis presentibus adtunc ibidem discretis viris. Iohanne Cruys,
Thoma Boys, mercator Dublinii, ac Thoma Arland, valetto predicti Walteri, testibus ad
premissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

✠ Et ego Iacobus Yonge clericus coniugatus Civis Dublinoi publicus auctoritate
Apostolica & Imperiali notarius premissis omnibus & singulis dum sic vt
premittitur agerentur & fierent vna cum prenominatis testibus presens interfui
eaque omnia & singula sic fieri, vidi, audiui, scripsi, publicaui & in hanc
publicam formam redegi, signoque & nomine meis solitis & consuetis signaui
rogatus & requisitus in fidem & testimonium omni & singulorum premissorum.

(In the name of God, Amen. Through this present public instrument, let it be
evidently clear to all that in the one-thousand four hundred and thirty second year, in the
eleventh indication of the most holy Pope in Christ, our father, lord Eugenius IV, pope by
divine providence, in his second year, in the month of December, on the twelfth day, in
the foremost and principal room of the distinguished and venerable man, Radulph
Pembroke, citizen and merchant of Dublin, below his inn above the quay of the same
city. Placed in the presence, personally arranged, of myself, a notary public, and of the
witnesses listed below, the distinguished man, Walter Scurlag, Esquire, by his right
desire, by means of testimony of truth, as he effectively alleged, and for no other cause,
swore by his faith and promised to the aforesaid Radulph that Walter himself, and no other, was at that time seized in his dominion, that is by fee simple, of a mesuage with appurtenances lying above the said quay between the aforesaid inn on the west and the mesuage of John Well on the east in latitude, and in longitude it lies between the aforesaid quay on the north and the land of the aforesaid Radulph on the south. In addition, the aforesaid Walter swore in the aforesaid form that the aforesaid mesuage is not bound by any statute or recognition of the staple or burden of rent. While these things were said, sworn and done by the aforesaid Walter, the same Walter then granted to the aforementioned Radulph the aforesaid mesuage to be had by the same Radulph, his heirs and assigns, for the term of twenty-one years and three-quarters of a year afterwards, that is to say on the thirteenth day of the aforesaid month and the aforesaid year, the aforesaid Walter entered into the aforesaid mesuage and gave, relinquished, and released the aforesaid mesuage to the aforesaid Ralph, and thus clearly seized it by the deed of indenture of the same Radulph, with the right to have and to hold the aforesaid mesuage to the aforesaid Ralph, his heirs and assigns, enduring for the above term, and he recognized that the aforesaid deed of indenture was his deed, and that he had given it of his own will to the said Radulph. These things were done just as they are written and recited above in the year of our Lord, indiction, pontificate, month, day, and place written above, in the presence of the distinguished men John Cruys, Thomas Boys, merchant of Dublin, and Thomas Arland, servant of the aforesaid Walter, called and requested particularly as witnesses to the proceeding.

❖ And I, James Yonge, a married clerk of the City of Dublin, public notary by Apostolic and Imperial authority, was present together with the aforementioned
witnesses while all and singular of the preceding matters were carried out and
took place, and thus I prepared, saw, heard, wrote, made public, and rendered in
this public form all and singular thus set down, and I, invited and asked for,
signed it with my usual and customary sign and name according to the faith and
testimony of all and singular here set down.)

76) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 326; 13 January 1435; 255 mm. wide x
120 mm. long; writing area: 220 mm. wide x 75 mm. long; 1 extant seal: crowned
P flanked by palm leaves; membrane may be re-purposed MS page; ‘Ihc’ upside-
down in lower right corner – hidden behind fold for seal.

Ihc Sciant presentes & futuri quod nos Iohannes Ballybyn, ciuis Dublinii, &
Alicia, vxor mea, dedimus, concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus
Waltero Molghur, ciui Dublinii, & Iohanne Dowgane, vxori eius, vnum mesuagium cum
pertinentibus in ciuitate Dublinii, prout iacet in Vico Cocorum & parochia Sancti
Audoeni eiusdem ciuitatis in latitudine inter tenementum quondam Patricii Burnell versus
orientem & tenementum Iohannis Walshe versus occidentem, et in longitudine inter
vicum predictum versus aquilonem & tenementum Iohannis Blakney versus austrum.
Habendum & tenendum mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis Waltero &
Iohanne ac heredibus & assignatis ipsius Walteri imperpetuum. De capitalibus dominis
feodi illius per seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et nos vero predicti Iohannes Ballybyn
& Alicia ac heredes nostri mesuagium predictum cum pertinentibus prefatis Waltero &
Iohanne ac heredibus & assignatis ipsius Walteri contra omnes gentes warantijabimus,
acquietabimus, & imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic
presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum terciodecimo die Ianuarii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti terciodecimo.

77) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 649; 13 January 1435; 280 mm. wide x 90 mm. long; writing area: 250 mm. wide x 60 mm. long; 2 extant seals: 1) bird perched on the back of a lion?, 2) crowned P flanked by palm leaves.


78) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 327; 14 January 1435; 285 mm. wide x 165 mm. long; writing area: 265 mm. wide x 130 mm. long; 2 extant seals: 1) bird perched on the back of a lion?, 2) crowned P flanked by palm leaves.

Pateat vniuersis per presentes nos Iohannem Ballybyn, ciuem Dublinii, & Aliciam, vxorem meam, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro nobis & heredibus nostris

† Et ego Iacobus Yonge supermemoratus notarius & attornatus premisis omnibus & singulis dum sic vt premittitur agerent & fierent vna vna cum prenominitatis testibus presens interfui eaque omnia & singula sic fieri, vidi, audiui, scripsi, sigillavi sigillo meo, publicau, & in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque & nomine meis solitis & consuetis signau rogatus & requisitus.
(In the name of God, Amen. Through this present public instrument, let it be
evidently clear to all and through the present letters let it be made more clearly known
that I, James Yonge, a married clerk of the city of Dublin, a public notary by Apostolic
and Imperial authority, and lately the attorney of the distinguished man John Ballybyn,
citizen of Dublin, and Alicia, his wife, for consulting and placing Walter Molghur, citizen
of the same city, and Johanna, his wife, in full and peaceful seisin of a mesuage with
appurtenances in the aforesaid city in the parish of St. Audoen and in Cooks’ Street of the
aforesaid city, the right to have and to hold the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances to
the aforesaid Walter and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter in
perpetuity, just as is clearly contained in the letters attorney of the same John and Alicia,
duly finished, sealed, recognized and resolved for me, by virtue and authority of which
letters I consulted and placed the aforesaid Walter and Johanna in full and peaceful seisin
of the aforesaid mesuage, with the right to have and to hold going to them in the aforesaid
form and according to the force, form, and effect of the same letters and one charter thus
made for them by the same John and Alicia. The tenor of which letters attorney here follows and is thus: “May it be known to all by these presents that we, John Ballybyn, citizen of Dublin, and Alicia, my wife, have attorned, made, and appointed in our place James Yonge, clerk, as our attorney for consulting and placing Walter Molghur, citizen of Dublin, and Johanna Dowgane, his wife, in full and peaceful seisin of one mesuage with appurtenances in the city of Dublin, whereas it lies in Cooks’ Street and the parish of St. Audoen of the same city, extending in length between the tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell on the east and the tenement of John Walshe on the west, and in breadth from the aforesaid street on the north and the tenement of John Blakeney on the south, the right to have and hold the said mesuage with appurtenances to the aforesaid Walter and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter in perpetuity, just as is more fully contained in our deed duly made for him. In testimony of which matter, we have affixed our seals to the present letters. Given the thirteenth day of January, in the thirteenth regnal year of King Henry the sixth.” And thus finishes the true tenor of the aforesaid letters of attorney. Indeed, once the aforesaid Walter and Johanna were truly seised of the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances by me, the said James, attorney, according to the given form of law and following the form and effect of the letters and aforesaid deed, the aforesaid John Ballybyn and Alicia sealed, gave and delivered to the aforesaid Walter and Johanna the aforesaid deed and recognized that it was their deed. The tenor of which is thus: “Let {those} present and future know that we, John Ballybyn, citizen of Dublin, and Alicia, my wife, have given, granted, and by this our present deed have confirmed for Walter Molghur, citizen of Dublin, and Johanna Dowgane, his wife, a mesuage with appurtenances in the city of Dublin, whereas it lies in Cooks’ Street and the parish of St.
Audoen of the same city, in breadth between the tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell on the east and the tenement of John Walsh on the west, and in length between the aforesaid street on the north and the tenement of John Blakney on the south. The right to have and hold the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances to the aforesaid Walter and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter in perpetuity. According to the chief lords of the fee the services thus owed and customary in perpetuity. And indeed we, the aforesaid John Ballybyn and Alicia and our heirs will warrant, acquit, and defend the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances for the aforesaid Walter and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter against all people by the present deed. In testimony of which thing we have affixed our seals to this, our present deed. Given the thirteenth day of January, in the thirteenth regnal year of King Henry the sixth.” And thus finishes the aforesaid deed. All and singular of the aforesaid were enacted as is laid out above, the aforesaid John Ballybyn and Alicia sealed and delivered to the aforesaid Walter and John a deed of release and quit-claim for the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances, and they recognised that that writing was their deed. The tenor of which deed follows and is thus: “Let it be known to all by the present letters that we John Ballybyn, citizen of Dublin, and Alicia, my wife, have remitted, relaxed, and forever quit claim to Walter Molghur, citizen of Dublin, and Johanna Dowgane, his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter all of our right and claim which we had, have, or will have in a mesuage with appurtenances in the city of Dublin, whereas it lies in Cooks’ Street and the parish of St. Audoen of the same city, in breadth between the tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell on the east and the tenement of John Walshe on the west, and it extends in length between the aforesaid street on the north and the tenement of John Blakeney on the south.
Thus, neither we, the aforesaid John Ballybyn and Alicia, nor our heirs, nor anyone else in our name or in either of our names will henceforth be able to have, alienate, or sell in the future any right or claim to the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances in the future, but all our right and claim is henceforth entirely extinguished in perpetuity by the present deed. And indeed we, the aforesaid John and Alicia and our heirs will warrant, discharge, and defend the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances for the aforesaid Walter and Johanna and the heirs and assigns of the same Walter against all people in perpetuity by the present deed. In testimony of which matter, we have affixed our seals. Given the fourteenth day of January, in the thirteenth regnal year of King Henry the sixth.” And thus finishes the tenor of the aforesaid quit-claim, by which all and singular as it is written above, was done, carried out and managed. The aforesaid John Ballybyn, asserted in set legal form, by his public faith according to the truth of the testimony and according to many other causes, {and} swore that the many who were coming forward did not have right, title, nor claim in the aforesaid mesuage with appurtenances except for the aforesaid Walter and Johanna, and that the aforesaid mesuage is not burdened nor is there any obligation of rent on it, neither by the statute staple or by any other legal obligation. These things were done just as is written and rehearsed above on the eighteenth day of the month of January in the aforesaid year of our Lord, 1434, according to the course and computation of the church of England and Ireland, in the thirteenth indiction of the most holy Pope in Christ, our Father and Lord, lord Eugenius IV, pope by divine providence, in his fourth year. Performed in the presence of the distinguished men Henry Bernebale, Esquire, John Stafford, baker, Richard Doughir, merchant, and various others deserving of faith, called and requested particularly to the preceeding.
And I, James Yonge, the aforementioned notary and attorney, was present together with the aforementioned witnesses while all and singular of the preceeding matters were carried out and took place just as they are set out above, and I saw, heard, wrote, confirmed with my seal, made public, and rendered in this public form all and singular thus set down, and I, invited and asked for, signed it with my usual and customary sign and name according to the faith and testimony of all and singular here set down. The interlinear inclusion of this word, “Yonge” between lines eight and nine, shall not harm {the legal force of this instrument}, nor of this word, “tenor” between lines fifteen and sixteen, nor of these words, “cum pertinentibus” between lines eighteen and nineteen, nor the erasures made in these words, “cum pertinentibus” except in the thirty-seventh line which interlinear erasure I, the said notary, did not make faulty, and in addition, the erasures made in these words, “et diversis aliis testibus fide dignis ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis” which interlinear {addition} and erasure I, the same notary, approve and confirm.)

81) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 93; 20 December 1438; 235 mm. wide x 540 mm. long; writing area: 200 mm. wide x 450 mm. long; interlinear notes in another hand – possibly that of an executor – possibly that of an executor – mark each debt owed and owing, these are not reproduced here.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Inuentarium omni bonorum Ricardo Codde, ciuis & pistoris Dublinii, factam ibidem die Sabbati proximi ante festum Nativitatum Domini, anno eiusdem millesimo CCCC xxxviii. In primis in pecunia munerata, iii libri. Item vnnum maser, vnnum notte & quatuor pecie argenti, prec’ iii libri. Item xii cocliaria

Iohannes White super keiam, taillour, super vnam loricam & vnum dowedd iii, solidi.


mentis & sane memorie licet egor [sic] in corpore videns michi mortis periculum

imminere condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Deo, Beate Marie & omnibus sanctis, corpusque meum sepiliendum [sic] inter pueros meos

subtus ‘le groundesill’ Capelle Sancte Anne in Ecclesia Sancti Audoeni Dublinii. Item

lego rectori eiusdem ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis, vi solidi viii denarii. Item lego vni

presbitero celebraturo pro anima mea per vnum annum, vi marci. Item quatuor ordinibus
quod dictis Walterus honeste se gubernauerit. Et huiusmodi mei testamenti dictos
Iohannem Chillam & vxor em meam \meos executores/ ordino & constituuo per presentes.
Hiis testibus Thoma Squyre, capellano, Hugone Chillam & aliis. Datum die & anno
supradiictis. [In another hand, not Yonge’s:] Item lego [……..]onia messuagia terras &
tenementa quas habeo in villa de Clone & allibi in communitate Corke Waltero filio
Thome Cogde, fratris mei habenda & tenenda sibi & heredibus suis imperpetuum.

Note on back in a hand other than Yonge’s notes that probate was granted January 12th,
1439.
The text exists in a single exemplar, Oxford, Bodleian e. Museo 232, on folios 24r–62r (MS M in footnotes). The manuscript contains several religious works, including the B-text of Rolle’s *Meditation on the Passion*, a text containing quotes from Saints Gregory and Bernard on meekness, and prose and verse meditations on the Passion. The manuscript was created in the Dublin area by Nicholas Bellewe. John Flemyng was likely the rubricator. All of the texts are in Bellewe’s rounded Anglicana book hand.

Capitalization has been left as it is in the MS, except that the initial letters of some sentences have been silently capitalized.

Punctuation has been modernized. Where Bellewe uses his distinctive ?-style graph for a pause, I have substituted a comma, semicolon, or colon, as appropriate; I have also inserted a comma for a medial point, where appropriate. Bellewe commonly uses a medial point at the end of sentences; occasionally a dot-slash or a double-slash is used (///). I have silently inserted periods in all of these places. The scribe has also marked places for paraphs with double-slashes (///). Most of these have been provided with a paraph mark by Flemyng. I have retained these.

Bellewe occasionally runs the indefinite article together with a following noun without a space. I have silently added spaces in these instances.

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1006 The prose meditation, *The Laddre of Heuyn*, and *O Thou Soul Myn* may also be original compositions and translations by Bellewe. See Edited Texts 4-6.

1007 For recent descriptions, see Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 170–71; Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, xxxi–xxxiv. See also Appendix C.
Abbreviations are expanded in italics.
Interlinear insertions marked by \/. 
Expunged letters crossed out.
Added text is in brackets { }. 
ij has been silently changed to ii.
Marginal notes are in Arial and surrounded by square brackets. All notes are in 
Bellewe’s hand.
Latin phrases are underlined in the MS and in this edition.
Uncertain letters are in bold.
IN þe name of our swete lord ihesu crist here begynnen matires the wheche ben touched in þe tretis folwyenge rudely endited to shou curiosite, þat noman leve of inward holynesse, for outward curiouse speche. A{n}d þese ben þe matirs

Fyrst how a man shal beholde his owne state.  

What is to lyve perfitly & whate is þe wille of god.  

What þynges maken a man holy & how a man shal lyve to knowelech of hym self in body & soule.  

Of þe benefetes of oure lord god  

How a man shal spend his tyme –  

How a man shal haue contempleacioun of ḡod/ in euery creature.  

How a man shal se þe wil of god in holy w{r}itte.  

Of þe vii dedly synnys & har spices.  

Of þe vii vertues of þe gospell  

Of vii yiftes of the holy gost  

Of the x comaundement3  

Of feith hope & charite  

Of þe xii articles of þe feith  

Of þe vii sacrementis of holy chirch  

[24v] Of iiiii or cardynal vertues  

Of þe vii workes of mercy  

Capitulum primum – I  

Capitulum – ii.  

capitulum . iii.  

capitulum iii.  

v.  

capitulum-vi.  

Capitulum vii.  

viii.  

capitulum ix.  

capitulum x.  

capitulum xi.  

capitulum xii.  

capitulum xiii.  

xiii.  

Capitulum – xv.  

capitulum xvi.  

1008 correction in margin.
¶ Of þe vii dowers in body & in soule & of þe peynes of helle in body & in soule xviii.
¶ Of contemplacioun of god in his manhed xix.
¶ Of þe natiuite of crist & of his takynge at matyn tyme. capitulum – xx.

25 ¶ Of his illusioun & resurreccioun at prime xxii.
¶ Of þe scourgynge & his sendynge. & of þe comynge of þe holy gost at tierce xxii.
¶ Of his encarnacioun & crucifixiuon at sixt or at mydday. capitulum – xxiii.
¶ Of his deth & his ascencioun at none xxviii.

30 ¶ Of his soper & his takynge doun of þe cros at evynsonge. capitulum – xxv.
¶ Of his blody swote & his buriynge at Complyn tyme. capitulum – xxvi.
¶ Of contemplacioun of god as to his godhede. First how god wold nat al fully shew hym

self neþer al fully hide hym. & in how many maneris first he shewed hym to

man. And how man first come in to knowlech of his god & how god is without

¶ How god is in substance oo god & thre in persons. & how þe first persoun is cald fadyr,
þe second soun & þe þrid þe holy gost. And also how myght is apropred to þe
fadyr, wysdome to þe sone & goodnes to þe holy goste. capitulum – xxviii.
¶ Of þre degrees of contemplacioun xxix.

40 ¶ What is to lyve wyrshipfully, frendly & humbly. Capitulum – xxx.

1009 Off, M.
1010 hts, M.
Incipit liber etcetera – Capitulum i.

How a man shal behold his owne state

Videte vocacionem vestram. Se your callynge. These wordes of pe apostle pertenen to yow religious men. He seith: “See to whate þynge ye bene called.” And þe apostle seith þis, to stirre yow to perfeccioun. And þe for what so euer housre I thynke of my self by nyght or by day, of þat oon half I haue grete ioye & on þat oþer half gret sorow. Ioy I haue for þe holy religioun, Sorowe & confusioun for my conuersacioun. And þat is no wondre for I haue grete cause. For seynt Eusebius seith in a sermoun, “To [25v] come to religioun is heye perfeccioun, & nat lyve perfity is hey dampnacioun.” And þe for þou þat lyuest in religioun or in congregacioun, lywe þou þe wey of perfeccioun. And if þou wilt þy saluacioun, leue al þynges þat bene in þis world & al þat to hit pertenen & þat þy diligence to lyve perfity.

What is to lyve perfity & what is þe wille of god. capitulum ¶ .ii.

To lyve perfity as seynt bernard vs techeth, is: to lyve umbly, frendly & wyrshipfully. Humbly, as anent þy self. Frendly, as anent þy neghbore. And wyrshipfully, as anent god. So þat þou put al þyn encioun to do þe wil of god, þat is to sey in al þynges þat þou shalt þynke with hert, or speke with mouth or do in dede by any of þy v wittis: as with syght of eye, hyrynge with eere, tastynge with tongue, 

1011 1 Corinthians 1:26: videte enim vocationem vestram fratres quia non multi sapientes secundum carnem non multi potentis non multi nobiles. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.
smellynge with nose, touchynge with handes, goynge, standynge, sittynge or liggynge, bethynke þe alwey þat þat be þe wille of god; do þan aftyr þy powere. And if hit be nat þe wil of god, do hit nat to suffre deth. Bot now sum man aske of me, “What is þe wil of god?” I sey þat his wil is & no noþer þynge, bot youre halwynge. [26r] For so seith þe apostle to vs, “This is þe wil of god, youre halwynge.”

¶Whate þynges maken a man holy & how a man shal lyve to knowlech of hym self in body & soule. Capitulum iii.

Two thynges maken a man holy with out faller. Þat is to sey, thoughte & loue, that is thynkynge of trouth & verite, and loue of goodnesse. Bot to knowleche of god the whoche is trouth þou may nat come, bot by knowyng of thy self. Neþer to þe loue of god þe which is goodnes may þou come bot by loue of þy neghbore. To þe knowynge of þy self may þou come, by oft bethynkynge. To þe knowlech of god may þou come by pure contemplacioun. To þe knowlech of þy self þou may come in þis manere. Bethynk diligently & ofte: what þou art, what þou was & what þou shalt be. Fyrst as anent þe body & aftyr as anent þe soule. As anent þe body thynk þat þou art fouler þan a dynge hepe. Þou was get in somych stynch þat hit is shame to name & abhominable to þynke. Þou was bore in grete syn. Þou hast led þy [26v] lyf in grete wretchednesse & aftyr deth, þou shalt be yeue to todys, wormys & oþer foul bestes for to ette þe & deuoure the. What þou was or what þou art now as anent þy soule þou shalt þynke. Bot whate þou

1012 1 Thessalonians 4:3: *haec est enim voluntas Dei sanctificatio vestra*. Ibid.
shalt be þou may nat wel witte. Bethynk þat þou hast done mych harme & many. And
how þou hast lefte mych good vnlo & many. Bethynk þe how longe þou hast lyved &
what þou hast receyuet & how þou hast spend hit & þy tyme. For whi euery houre þat
þou þoght nat on god þou haste loste & þou shalt yeld acounte & of euery ydel word.
And so þou hast nat oo heere of þy hede bot þat shal be glorified if þou be saued; so þer
shal none houre of tyme skape vn accompted. O mercy of god, yf al þis world were fulle
of smale puluere, who were so wise þat myȝt1013 deme euery1014 smal minut by hym self &
deperste euery fro other? Sothly none. Bot sothly a soul is a thousandfold more þan al þe
world, & thegh þe world were more þan hit is. ¶And if a soule were ful of dyuerse
thoughtes & afflicciouns & desyres, who myȝt þan serche his hert to knowe or to thynk al
þat þer in bene. Dere brother, we seth how þou hast grete nede to haue knowlech of þy
[27r] self; therafter take hede what þou art now as anent þe soule. How þou hast power.
For alwey nyȝt & day þou desirest tho þynges þat profiten nat to þe. And oft þou
forsakes þo þynges þat mowen the myche availle. Thou art ful oft discyuet, now by
ouer myche sorow, now by inordynat loue, now by indiscrecioun & vnmesure, now by
vaynglory, now þou art vexed by dread, now þou art enhaused with mystrust. On þat
oþer syde þou art so chaungeable þat what þou wilt to day, þou wilt nat to morow, & oft
langynge aftyr many thynge & turmented if þou haue ham nat. And aftyr þou hast ham
at þy wille, þan þou art of ham hogily trowblet & with noy turmented. Thynk also on þat
oþer syde how lyȝt þou art to be tempted, how burtill to withstond & how redy to

1013 initial þ corrected to m.
1014 minim rubbed out between u and y.
consente. Of al þese wrenchednesse þy spouse & þy god ihesu criste hath deliuered the, & euery day deliuereth more & more. For whan þou was nat, þan he fourmet þe \in to/ a soul to his propre lyknes & symilitude, & shope þy body of so foul & so stynkynge þynge þat hit is abhominable þer on to þynke, & þy wittys & þy lymmys so noble & so fayre, þat noman [27v] myȝt dispose ne ordeyne ham bettre. Be thynk now diligently & with effect þou þat louest þy fleishly frendes so tenderly, wharfor þou louest ham so dere & so gretly? If þou say þat þou louest þy fadyr & þy modyr for þou art of har fleishe & engendred of har blode, thay bene wormys þat of ham ben bore fro day to day. Of þat other syde þou hast no soul of ham ne body, bot of god by ham. Thy fadyr & modyr broȝt þe to syn, therfor what wer þou yf þou abode þat same þat þou had of þy fadyr & modyr whan þou was engendred of ham in stynche & in syn. On þat oþer syde, if þou loue þy brothyr or þy sustre or anoþer of þi kyn for he is of þe same fleishe & blode þat þou art, by þat resoun I shold loue a pece or a gobet of fleishe of my fadyr or modyr þat were kut awey fro þe body & wel more. If þou saist þat þou louest ham for þay haue in fleyshe a fygur & a lyknes of man & for þey haue a soule as þou hast, þan þy fleishly brother is no nerrer to þe þan another, bot for þou & he hadden your be gynnynge of þe fleishe/ of oo fleishely broþer, þe whoch is a lytel of stynch & rotyn & burtel. Therfor loue þou hym of whom comeyth al thy [28r] fayrnesse, & loue þou euery man spirituely & ces fro hens forward to loue charnely & so certeynly þou sholdest do.

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1015 his, M.
1016 initial þ corrected to y.
1017 correction in margin.
Of þe benefetes of our lord god. Capitulum iii.

Ouer that if þou þynk wisly of the goodnes þat god hath oft do to þe, & alwey more & more doth, thou woldes loue hym inly. For as I seid at þe begynnynge, whan þou were nat, þan he made þe of noȝt. And whan þou were pershed, þan he soȝt þe. And whan þou were lost, þan he fond þe. And whan þou were sold in syn, þan he ayeyn boȝt þe. And whan þou were dampned, þan he saued þe. And whan þou were bore in syn, þan he fulled þe. Aftreward whan þou synned so foulych & so oft, þan freely & paciently hel/ & suffred þe & how longe abode þe, þerafter swetly receyuet þe & put þe in his swettest couent. And euery day whan þou dost amys, þan he correcteth þe. And whan þou synnest, þan he foryeueth þe. Whan þou errest, þan he amendeth þe. And whan þou doubtest, þan he techeth þe. & whan þou has hungre, þan he fedeth þe. & whan þou purstest, þan he drynketh þe. & whan þou hast cold, þan he heteth þe. & whan þou has heet, þan he keeleth þe. Whan þou wakest, þan he saueth þe. And whan þou slepest, þan he kepeth þe. Whan þou risest þan he susteneth þe. Whan þou goost, þan he arrayeth þe. Whan þou sittest, þan he holdeth þe. Whan þou stonest, þan he supporteth þe. Whan þou gost he ledeth þe. Whan þou turnest he dresseth þe. Whan þou comest to hym he receyueth þe. & whan þou gost fro hym, he ayeynledeth þe. Whan þou gost out of þe way, he ayayn calleth þe. And alwey whan þe is ille, he conforteth the. These goodes & many othyr þy spouse ihesu criste & þe leder of þy hert hath done to þe.
How a man shalle spende his tyme. Capitulum v.

For þese goodes & many others thou shalt alwey þynk of god & speke. And euery day thank hym & prayse & ðat aswel by nyȝt as by day if þou sawyre any þynge of his loue. And þerfor whan þou riseste erly or at mydnyȝt, bethynke anone how many thousand men ben pershet in ðat nyȝt in body & in soule: some in fyre, some in watyre, some in see, some in lond & in many oþer maneres. As some spoylet & [29r] woundet, in perill islawe & sodeynly dede, without confessioun, the which gone down to perpetuel dampnacioun. Bethynke also how many thousand men haue falle in perille of soule & in dedly syn as in glotony, lechery, coueitise, manslaghre & many other folies & of al these harmses thi sweete spouse hath denyuered the without1018 thy deserte or meryte. Whate seruice has þou do to hym for which he hath so kept þe & many others hath suffred pershe? For if þou diligently tak hede how myche goode he hath do to þe in euery syde þou shalt fynd hym so occupied1019 about by profite, as he did none oþer þynge bot ðat he wold tak hede to þe oonly & to thy heele. And þou shalt se hym so bysy for to kepe þe & so curiouse, as he had foryet al þis world to tak hede only to þe. And whan þou þynkest þus, rere vp þy handes & þank þy lord god of these & al oþer goode in this manere.

Lord ihesu crist I thanke þe that me þyn vnworthy servaunt N. in þis nyȝt hast kept defendet & visited saf & sound \&/ in to þis houre hast made me come. & for al þy other benefetes ðat þou hast yeve me of þy oonly goodnes. Þat lyuest & regnest god world without end. Amen.

1018 'out' written as a correction in the margin.
1019 initial sigma-s corrected to o.
[29v] This same prayer & in þe same manere þou shalt sey when þou risest erly & whan þou gost to bed bot only where þou seist in mydnyȝt, sey “to þe begynnynge of þis day.” And at eue, sey “to þe end of þis day.” And whan þou hast do so, þou shalt inly & bisily thynke, how þou hast spend þy tyme fro erly þat þou rose into euyn that þou goo to bedde. And also whan þou risest fro þy bed, þou shalte þynke how þou hast spend þy tyme fro euyn tyl erly, & ask foryeuenesse & mercy of þy god of harmes þat þou hast done or of goodes þat þou hast lefte vndone in þat nyȝt or in þat day. And do no thynge in to þe tyme þou commend þy self & al þy frendes quyk & dede in to þe handes of þe duke þy lord god ihesu crist. & sey in this manere for þy selfe & for ham:

IN to þy handes lord & in to handes of þy holy angell I commend in þis nyght my soule & body, my kyn & breþerþen & sustres, frendes, seruauntes & neghbores & almy good doers & alle cristen peple. Lord kepe vs in þis nyȝt, throught merites & besechynge of blessed mary mayde & al halowen, fro vicis and fro foul lustes, fro syn & temptaciouns of þat þe Deuyl, fro sodeyn & vnavysed deth & fro þe peynes of hell. Lyghtne my hert of þe holy gost & of þy holy grace make me alwey obey to þy comandementes, & suffre nat me neuer world with out end be deperted fro þe. Pat lyuest & regnest with god þe fadre in vnite of þe holy gost, god, world without end. Amen.

¶And whan þou risest erly, there as at eue þou seidest “in þis nyȝt,” sey þan “in þis day.” ¶And if þou haue þis manere, þan þou shalt haue verray knowlech of þy self. For so seith a holy man, “If þou trist on þy own self, to þy self þou shalt be deleyuered. And if þou trist in god, & trist nat in þy self, to god þou shalt be commendet.” & þis
maner of consideracioun is called meditacioun. & þerfor in þis manere þou may come to knowleche of þy self & to knowleche of god by pure contemplacioun.

¶How a man shal haue contemplacioun of god in euery creature. {Capitulum} vi. Thre manere of contemplacioun þer bene. Þe first is in a creature, þe second in scripture, þe þrid is of god in his nature. Contemplacioun in þe first manere is non oþer þynge bot þe syght of god in his creaturis. [30v] & þat may þou see in þis manere. Thre þynges ben in god. Þat is to sey, myght, wisdome & goodnesse. Myȝt is apropred to god þe fadyre. Wisdome to þe sone. Goodnes to þe holy gost. By his myght al þynge he fourmed & mad, by his witte al wondirfully ben ordeyne d, & by his goodnesse euery day þay ben multiplied. The myght of god þou shal see by þe fourmynge of al þynge & by har magnitude. His wisdome þou shalt see by har feyrenses & har dispositioun. His goodnes by har vertue & multiplicacioun. The magnitude of creatures may þou see by har foure diuisions. Þat is to sey by har heght, by har leynth, by har brede & by har depnesse. The wisdome of god may þou see if þou wel tak hede how he yaue to many creatures oonly beynge, as to stonys. To others he yaue beynge & lyf, as to trees & plantys. To others beynge, lyf & fredynge, as to bestis. To others beynge, lyf, fredynge & vndrestondynge as to men & angells. For stones bene, bot þay lyve nat, neþer freden,
ne vndrestonden. Trees & herbes bene & lyven, bot þay freden nat, neþer vndrestonden. Bestes bene & freden, ly [31r] uen & nat vndrestond. Men bene with stonys, lyven with trees, freden with bestes & vndrestonden with angels. Here þou shalt diligently þynk þe dignite of mankynd how hit passeth euery creature. Þerfor seyth seynt Austeyn, “I wold nat haue place with an angel, yf I myght haue þe place þat is ordeyned for man.” Be thynke also þat þat man is worthy grete confusioun, þat wil nat lyue aftre his degre & condicioun. For al creatures þat ben in þis world, \[bene\] made only for man. Good creaturs bene made to man for thre thynges. To help vs in trauaille, as oxen & hors. To clothe vs & to heet vs for cold & heete, as wol & flex & ledyr. To feede vs & sustene vs as bestes, cornes of þe erth & fysshes of þe see. ¶Ille creatures be þay neuer so noyouse. Herbes & venymous bestes bene made for þre þynges. Þat is to sey for our e chastisyng, For oure amendement, & for oure lernynge. We ben punshed & chastised, whan of ham we ben hurt or douten to be hurt or dreden. & þis is þe grete mercy of god, þat he wil chastise vs temperaly, þat we be nat punshed euerlestingly. We [31v] bene correct & amendet whan we þynk þat al þat cometh to vs \[is\] for oure syn. For whan we seen þat so smale creatures may noy vs, þan þynk we of oure freelte & we bene humblet. We bene taught & larne for þat we seen in suche creatures þe wondreful workes of oure makere. For more auailleth vs þe werke of a nettrecoppe as to oure edificacioun þan þe streyth of a lyon or of a berre. And as I haue seid of bestes, so vndrestond of herbys. ¶Whan þou beholdest so god in his creatures, rer vp þyn hert to þy maker & þynke how

1023 corrected from s.
1024 correction in margin.
mych is his myght to mak suche þynges of noght & yeve to ham his beynge, and how mych is his wisdome, to ordeyne þese þynges in such fayrnesse, and how grete is his goodnesse, to multiplie þo euery day to oure profite. O gret mercy of god þat we bene so vnkynd. We mysysen al þese creatures, & he refourmeth ham. We confounden ham, & he gouerneth ham. We destruen ham, & he multiplieth ham. Therfor sey to hym in þy hert, “For þou art, þerfor þay ben. For þou art fayre, þay ben faire. [32r] And for þou art good, þerfor þay ben good. þerfor al þy creatures by ryght & law praysen þe, wyrshipen þe & glorifien þe.”

O blessed trenite.

¶O blessed trenite, al þy creatures by ryȝt praysen þe, for har goodnesse, by ryȝt wyrshipen þe, for har feyrnesse, by ryȝt glorifiene þe, for har profite. Of whose myght al þynges bene fourmed, by whose wysedome al þynges ben gouernet, in whose goodnesse al þynges bene multiplied, honure & glory be to þe in to world of worldes. Amen.

¶How a man shal see þe wil of god in holy writte. ¶ vii.

Now þou hast matire how þou mow se god in euery creature & þis is þe first degre of contemplacioun. þe second is in scripture. Bot now by hap þou þat art simple of habature askest of me, “How shal I euer come to contemplacion of god in holy writte?” Now swetly tak hede to me & by hap I shal sey somwhat þat is written in holy writte þat may be told to þe. Yf þou can nat vndrestond al þat is writte, þou shalt blethly hyre al good þat is seid to þe of wise & lettrted men. And whan þou hirest eny þyng in holy [32v] writte in comyn sermoun & in priue talkynge, tak hede if þou hirest eny
thynge þat may avail þe to edificacioun of þe soule & to hate syn & to loue vertue, to
drede peyne & to desyre ioy, to despise þis world, & to hastyn to þat oþyr, what is to be
left & whate to be done, how myche hit lyghtneth þyn intellect in to knowleche of trouth.
And how myche hit enflaumeth þy wille in heete of charite. For why of þese goodes þou
shalt knowe what þynge is writte preue or apperte. ¶Out of holy writte þou shalt drawe &
knowe whiche bene þe vii dedly synnys, and vii vertues of þe gospel, vii yiftes of þe
holy goste, x comandementes, xii articles of feith, vii sacrementes of holy chirche,\textsuperscript{1025} vii
vertues, vii workes of mercy, þe vii peticions of þe pater noster, þe peynes of helle & þe
ioyes of heuyn.

¶Of þe vii dedly synnys & har spices. \textit{capitulum} viii.

There bene vii deedly synnes. As is Pryde, Enuy, Wreth, Sleuth, Couetise,

Glotony & Lechery. Pryde is loue of a manns owne heynesse. Of whom risen these vii
vices, þat is to say, Inobedience anent god & his souereyn, þat is to leue þat [33r] þat is
commandet & do þat þat is forbode. Þat oþer spice is boste, whan a man bosteth hym &
prideth of good þat he hath of anoþer man, or of ille þat he hath of hym self. Þe þrid
spice is ypocrisy, whan a man feyneth hym to haue þe goodnes þat he ha
th nat, or hideth
þe ille þat he doth. The ferth spice is despite of oþer, whan a man dyneuseth oþer men
goodnesse þat he hym self appere þe bettre. The v spice is arrogance, whan a man
maketh comparisoun betwix his il dedes & þe il dedes of anoþer man, þat his il dedes
mowe appere þe lasse. Þe vi spice is vnshame, whan a man hath no tokne of shame of

\textsuperscript{1025} chrche, M.
opyn syn. Þe vii is elacioun, whan a man ioyeth of his owne il dedes. And here þou shalt witte þat þer ben þre þyngis for whiche a man is proout. Þat is for good of kynde as feyrnesse, streynth, inwitte, gentry & kynrede. Þat oþer is good of fortune, þat is þat a man getteth, as witte, vertue, grace, good fame & dignite. Þe þrid is temperal good as met & drynk, clothyn, hous, rent, possessions, meynye, rydynge & lyk honure of þe world. ¶Of envy riseth ioy of oþer men harme, doloure [33v] of oþer mennys good. And þat may be in hert by affliccioun, or in mouth by detraccioun, othyr in werk by withdrawynge of good or tysinge of harme. ¶Of wreth risen scorne, stryf, bollynge of hert, shrewed wordes, dedeyne blasphem. ¶Of sleuth risen malice, rancour of hert, dispeyre of mercy, negligence about þe commandementʒ of god, roilynge of þoght about vnleeful þynge. ¶Of Auarice arisen gile, Forswerynge, vnreste, violence & hardnes of hart ayeyns þe mercy of god. ¶Of glotony rysen vnclene gladnesse, lechery, vnclenesse, myche spech & feble intellect. Of lechery rysen blyndnesse of hert, vnstablenesse of prayer, woodnesse, feblenesse, loue of hym self, hate of gode wil \of\ þis present lyf, abhorrnygne & dispeyre of þe lyf to come. These ben þe vii deedly synnys & wel ben seid deedly. For þe þre first spoylen þe wreched synner & persones,1026 þe ferd hym beteth, þe v hym spurneth, þe vi hym begileth, the vii bryngeth hym in to bondage. Pryd bereneth hym his god, Enuy his neighbore, Wreth hym self, Sleuth hym turmenteth, Auarice hym [34r] spurneth, Glotony begileth, And lechery now to allerfoulest bondage hym putteth.

1026 r corrected to s.
Of þe vii vertues of þe gospell ix.

REmedies ayeyne these vii vices.

Our lord in þe gospelle putteth vii vertues & seith in þis manere, “Blessed bene þo pouere of spirite, for har is þe kyngdome of heuyn.” And þis is ayeys pryde the which bereueth a man his god. “Blessed bene meke men,” (þat is anent his neighbore). “For þay shalle brouke þe erth.” Þat is euerleystynge, & this is ayens enuy, þat taketh fro a man his neighbore. “Blessed ben þo þat weyllen, for þay shal haue solace.” & þis is ayens wreth þat bereueth a man hym self. “Blessed bene þe mercyfulle,” (þat is þat haue mercy of others) “for þay shal haue mercy of god.” & þis is ayayns auarice the whiche hath of no man mercy ne pitte. “Blessed ben þo þat hungeren & þursten ryȝtwisnesse,” (þat is aftre ryȝtwysnesse) “for þay shal be fulfilled.” & þis is ayens sleuth & negligence. “Blessed ben þo in clene hert, for þay shal se god.” & þis is ayeys glotony þe which alweye ioyeth [34v] of þe fleishe &/ of superfluite. “Blessed ben pesible men, for þay shal bene called þe sonnes of god.” & þis is ayayns lechery, For lecherouse man may neuer haue pes in hert or rest in þoȝt. Also ayayns pride a man shal haue in hert, word & werk verray meknesse. Ayayns wreth a man shal haue pacience & tholmodnesse.

Ayeys slouth, lyghtnesse of hert & of body in þe servicie of god & other good workes.

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1027 //, M.
1028 ayeys, M.
1029 ‘ioyeth’ added in the margin.
A yeyns enuy, ioy of oþer men good & dolour of oþer men harme, & to be frendy with euery man. Ayens avarice, largnes þat he yeue of his goodes to pouer men with good hert aftre þat he may. Ayeyns lechery, is to haue mesure in hym self of met & drynk & namely of drynk. For þrogh ouermych drynk many faire yonglynges haue pershed, & many virgines haue left har maydenhode & also many good men & wommen haue lost chastite. Dropsey, feuere, gout & postioun, totheache & dyuers oþer infirmitie þat I can nat name oft tyme comen of superflyyte of drynke. Þese ben þe vii remedies ayens þe vii venymes. Þe forþer take [35r] þese holsome medicyns ayeyns þe forseyd deedly infirmitiees.

¶Of þe vii yiftes of þe holy goste. capitulum x.

NOW þou hast þe infirmites & har medicines. Þeraftyr cometh þe leche & taketh þe medicyns & heleth a man of þese vii sekenesses & hym confermeth in þo vii vertues by yiftes of þe holy goste the whiche bene þese. Þe spirit of wisdome & vndrestondynge. Þe spirite of consaille & of streynthe. Þe spirite of connynge & of pitte. And þe spirite of drede of god. By these vii our e lord god techeth a man what soeuer þynge is necessarie to actif lyf & to contemplitif lif. And first see how a man shalle leue ille. & þat techeth þe spirite of þe drede of god. Aftre þat to do good & þat techeth þe spirite of pite. And for þer bene two thynges þat letten a man to do wel, þat is prosperite & aduersite of þis world. Prosperite disceyueth by flostrynge. Aduersite by hardnesse & duressse. & þe forþer þou shalt despice þe prosperite of þis world þat þou be nat despised & þis techeth þe spirit of connynge & strongly þou shalt [35v] suffre his aduersitees þat þou be nat overcome by ham. & þat techeth þe spirite of streynthe. And þese foure suffisen to actif
lyf; the other thre, pertenen to contemplatif lyf. For þer ben thre maneres of contemplacioyn, oon in creatures & þis techeth þe spirit of intellect & vndrestondynge. Þat oþer in scripture where þou may see what to do & what to leue & þis techeth þe spirit of consaille. Þe iii manere is in god & þis techeth þe spirit of wisdome. Now see how bisy & redy is oure lord ihesu crist about oure halwynge.

¶Of þe x commandementes. xi.

Aftre þis þou shalt witte whiche bene þe x commandementes. The first commandement is such: “þou shalt nat wirship fals goddis.”\(^{1031}\) Þat is, þy lord god þou shalte wirship & hym only þou shalt serue. Þat is wirship god by trew feith, & serue hym only by good worchynge. For euery man shold with grete mekenesse & deuocioun serue oo only god & hym trewly wyrship, the whoche god made angelles, heuyn & erth of noȝt. And þou shalt beleue stidfastly as þe deth, þat fadyr, son & holy goost bene þre persons & oon god. [36r] Here þou shalt bethynk þe, if þou hast trewly wirshiped þy god, if þou hast kept to hym þy hestes, if þou hast trewly fulfilled þy penaunce. And what þou behete hym in þy fullaght, if þou hast trewly kept hit, by þat commandement a man is ordynet to his fadre almyghty. ¶The second comandement is: “þou shalt nat take þy goddes name in vayne.”\(^{1032}\) Noman shal take his godis name in vayne in swerynge, bot as

\(^{1031}\) Exodus 20:3: *non habebis deos alienos coram me.* Ibid.

\(^{1032}\) Exodus 20:7: *non adsumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum nec enim habebit insontem Dominus eum qui adsumpsit nomen Domini Dei sui frustra.* Ibid.
seynt paul seith, “Your word shal be, ‘ye, ye, nay, nay,’ without oth.”\textsuperscript{1033} Nathelles a man may swere wel trewly to his kynge & to other men \textit{hat} trouth be sauet & falshede be dampned, & \textit{hat} is in dome, in riȝtwisnesse & trouth. In his comandement is forbode lesyne, falshede & othes & by \textit{hat} a man is ordeyned to god \textit{he} son, \textit{he} which seith, “I am \textit{he} wey, trouth & lyf.”\textsuperscript{1034} ¶ The \textit{hir} comandement is such: “Bethynk \textit{he} to halow \textit{by} halydayes,”\textsuperscript{1035} \textit{hat} is to hold holy euery fest \textit{hat} is stabel by holy chirche in rest & quyete of body & soule. For euery cristyn man is bound to kepe [36v] sabbat dayes \textit{hat} ben in \textit{he} newe testament, \textit{hat} is sondayes & festes of seyntes & \textit{oper} grete festes ordeyned & stabel by holy chyrche to be wyrshiped. Now for \textit{he} loue of god tak hede & tak hit for non ille & I shal tel \textit{he} how \textit{you} shalt kepe \textit{by} holy dayes. Yf \textit{you} haue \textit{by} hele, rise erly fro \textit{by} bed & leue for no cold ne for no slepe ne\textit{per} for swote. For \textit{he} more \textit{hat} \textit{you} be greued to do \textit{his}, \textit{he} more \textit{bank} \textit{you} art worth if \textit{you} do hit with good wille. \textit{Derafter} go to chirche & deuoutly sey matyns or swetly without ianglynge hyre ham & masse & al hours of \textit{he} day. And aftir \textit{hat} if \textit{per} be eny prechoure purposynge to sey \textit{sermoun} \textit{you} shalt swetly hyre \textit{he} word of god & take good heed \textit{per} to & fulfille hit indede. And whan \textit{you} art at mete of \textit{he} goodes \textit{hat} god hath lent \textit{he}, frely deperte to pouer men. And aftre mete thank god of al hys benefetys. And aftreward \textit{you} shalt nat goo to tauernes, to wrastlynge, ne to karoll, ne to \textit{oper} vayne playes. For oft of such comen infortune & dedly synnes, bot rather \textit{you} shalt visite seke men & mysaise, & so \textit{you} shalt end \textit{by} [39r]

\textsuperscript{1033} Matthew 5:37: sit autem sermo vester est est non non quod autem his abundantis est a malo est; 2 Corinthians 1:17: cum hoc ergo voluissem numquid levitate usus sum aut quae cogito secundum carnem cogito ut sit apud me est et non. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1034} John 14:6: dicit ei Iesus ego sum via et veritas et vita nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1035} Exodus 20:8: memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices. Ibid.
halyday in þe service of god. This commandment ordeyneth a man to receyue þe holygoste. These þre commandements enfourmen a man how he shal haue hym anent þe treinite to whose similitude a soul is made. Bot þe oþre vii techen a man how he shal haue hym anent his neigbour. Þe first of ham & þe ferth commandement in ordre of second table is, “Wirship þy fadyr & modyr fleisly & spirituel,”1036 & þat in þre maners, þat is þou shalt help ham aftre þy powere in al þynge þat þay nede, þat þou be þe lenger on erth of lyvynge men. If þou desire to be of longe lyf & euerlestynge, hit is ryȝt þat þou wirship ham by whom þou hast þy temporal lyf. For who wil nat wyrship ham by whom he is, hit is nat riȝt þat he be more þat þynge þat is. ¶The v commandement is such, “Þou shalt nat slee,”1037 þat is to sey man. Here þou shalt witte þat manslaghtre is in/ dyuers maneres. Manslaghtre is with hond, with tongue & with herte. Manslaghtre with hand is whan a man sleeth another with his propre hondes & whan he putteth hym in to a place of deth as in to prison or in to anoþer place þat [37v] may be occasiou[n] of deth. Manslaghtre of tonge is in two maners, þat is by commandement & by entisement. ¶Manslaghtre of hert is also in two maners, þat is whan a man coueiteth & desireth þe deth of another, or whan he suffreþ a man dey & wil nat delyuer hym fro deth if he had powere. ¶The vi commandement is, “Þou shalt do no fornicacioun,”1038 hit is worpy. Who wil haue lyf without corruptioun in þe ioy of heuyn, hit behoueth hym þat he kepe lyf

1036 Exodus 20:12: honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus super terram quam Dominus Deus tuus dabiti. Ibid.

1037 Exodus 20:13: non occides. Ibid.

1038 Exodus 20:14: non moechaberis. Ibid.
without corrupcioun of body in þis world. The vii commandement is, “Do no stelth,”\textsuperscript{1039} & þat is ryȝt. For who wil kepe þe lyf of another, he shal nat take awey þat shold sustene his lyf. ¶The viii commandement is, “Þou shalt nat ber fals witnesse ayens þy neighbore,”\textsuperscript{1040} þat is with ham þat wolden slee hym or in any maner noy hym. Þou shalt nat consent to hym & þat is resoun. For who so wil do no damage to his neoghbore by hym self, neþer shold he consente help ne consaille yeve to anothere þat wold do damage to hym. Þe ix comandement is, “Þou shalt nat desyr [38r] þy neoghbore wyf.”\textsuperscript{1041} In which is vndrestond þat no man shold desyre his neoghbore wyf, ne servuant, ne non other womman. & econtra, no womman shold desyre any man of þe world with fleshly loue.

¶The x commandement is, “Þou shalt\textsuperscript{1042} nat desyre þy neghbores þynge.”\textsuperscript{1043} These two last comandementes accorden\textsuperscript{1044} to þe other two goynge afore. Þat is, “Þou shalt do no lechery,” & “Þou shalt do no theft.” For who hath ille wille & il intencioun in his hert, he may nat longe abstene hym fro ille worke. And þerfor if þou wilt do no lechery, desyre no womman, ne womman man, with il intencioun of hert. And if þou wilt nat stelle, coveyt nat anoþer mannys good in þyn hert. These ben þe x comandementþ þat god yave to Moyses in mount Synay. Of þe which þe þre first pertenen to þe loue of god, & þe oþer vii to þe loue of þy neighbore.

\textsuperscript{1039} Exodus 20:15: non furtum facies. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1040} Exodus 20:16: non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1041} Exodus 20:17: non concupisces domum proximi tui nec desiderabis uxorem eius non servum non ancillam non bovem non asinum nec omnia quae illius sunt. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1042} shaslt, M, with lt corrected from h.

\textsuperscript{1043} Exodus 20:17, above.

\textsuperscript{1044} n corrected from m.
Of þe þre vertues feith, hope & charite. xii.

Ovir þat þou shalt wiþte which bene þe vii vertues, þat is feith, hope & charite, wisdome, rightwisnes, temperaunce & streynth. These vii vertues & þe x comandementþ bene of oon matier [38v] & þis þis/ þe difference: þat þe x comandementþ vs techen what we shold do, & these vii vertues vs techen þe manere of doynge. The þre first vertues, þat is feith, hope & charite vs ordeynen how we shal lyue as anent god. Þe oþer foure vs enfourmen how we shal ordeyne oure lyf in þis world þat þay vs brynge to þe ioyes of heuyn. Thou shalt welle witte þat we bene al made to oone ende, þat is to know god, to haue & to loue. Bot þre þynges ben necessarie to come to a good end, þat is, þat we witte wodyr we shal goo, & þat we desyre brennyngely to come, & þat we stidfastly beleue to come þedre. For gret foly hit were to a man to begyn a werk þe which he myȝt nat mak an end. On þat oþer syde if any man wille wel do, he most haue þese þre: konynge, myght, & wille. Þat is, þat he can do wel, mow do welle & wille do welle.

And for we haue nat konynge, power & wille of oure self, þerfor god haue yeve vs feith to fulfille þe defaut of oure knowleche, hope to fulfille þe defaut of oure powere, Charite to ordeyn oure wille to oon & oþer. Feith hath ordeynet vs to god þe son, to [39r] whom is appropred wisdome, hope to god þe fadyr to whom is appropred power, loue & charite to þe holy goste, to whom is appropred goodnes. And þerfor feith maketh vs haue þe knowlech of god. And þat knowleche showeth to vs þat god is wondre liberale þat in suche a manere & so largely to vs yeveth of his goodes, & of þis cometh hope. And of þat same knowleche þat seith to vs þat he is wel good, cometh þe þrid vertue þat is seid charite or loue. For euery þyneȝ kyndly loueth good.
¶Of xii articles of þe ferth. capitulum xiii.

Here, þou shalt know which bene þe xii articles of feith & þe vii sacramentis of holy chirche. And witt þou þat þe first article is, þat fadre soun & holy goste[¶primus articulus] bene oo god & thre persons, & þat same god þat is oon in beynge & þre in persons is & was without begynynge & shal be without end, the which god with worde made heuyn & erth & see & alle þat is in ham, þat is to sey made ham of noght. [ii] þe second article is þat þe soun of god was incarnated, þat is toke fleishe & blode of mayd mary & of þe same mayd was [39v] bore verray god & verray man. The þrid article is, [iii] þat þat same ihesu crist þe son of god & of þe blessed mayd mary suffred passioun, was crucified, dede & honestly iburied. Dis passioun frely suffred of his owne good wille to by vs fro þe bondage of helle. His soul went down to helle with þe godhede, þe body abydyng in þe sepulcre, & drew out with hym soules þat here in erth didde his wille. [iii] ¶þe ferthe article is, þat þat same swet ihesu crist verray god & verray man þe þrid day rose fro deth to lyve, in fleishe glorified, & oft appered to Mary Maudleyn, to þe apostles & dissiples & with ham spake & eete. And by his resurrexioun with þe same body þat we haue in þis world we shal rise fro deth to lyf. [v] V articulus is þat þe same ihesu criste verray god & verray man steyed vp to hevyn & by hym we shal steye to heuene if we be take out of dedly syn fro þis world. Fro heuyn sent his holy goste to his apostles. And þat day of dome fro þens he is to come to deme quyke & dede to receyue in har manhode after har werkes. The oþer vii articles þat [40r] folwen ben þe

\[1045\] correction written in margin.
vii sacramentes of holy chirche which be remedies to a man ayens Original syn, dedly syn & venyal syn.

¶Of þe vii sacramentis of holy chirche. ¶ xiii.

The first sacrament of holy chirche is fullaght. Oure lord ihesu crist did hym self be baptised in flum iordan to halowe þe sacrement of fullaght. By þe vertue of þe wordes of fullaght þe deuyl is fesed fro þe childe, his original syn is put away þat he tok of his perentes & grace of fullaght is in shed. And if a child be bore & in perille of deth & may no prest be hadde, þan a lewed man or a womman shal sey to hitte, “I fulle þe in þe name of fadyr, soun & holygost amen.” & he or sho shal putte watyr vpon þe child & yeve hit a name. & þat suffiseth to salvacioun of þe childes soule. And if a child be found þat

ne1046 wot nat wheþir hit be fullet or no þan þe prest shal sey to þe child, “Yf þou be nat fulled, I ful þe in þe name of fadyr, soun & holy goste.” Thay þat holden þe child at þe fant-stone bene bound to teche þe pater noster & his beleue. For þer may [40v] no man be sauet bot by fullaght & feith & let nat þe prest put þe child ayeyne in watre, [du]1047 if hit was first baptised of a lewed man or womman, þat he be nat reguler & þe child also aftyr þe decree. [ii]1048 ¶Þe second sacrament is confirmacioun, þe whiche conformeth & kepeth þe holy gost in a man baptised, & with in xi1049 yere at þe leest aftre þe child is bore hit shold be confermed of þe hond of þe bisshop. And if he passe þat tyme by
negligence he falleth in to deedly syn & he shold be confessed at he be conferred. His fadyr & modyr shold kepe ham bat pay ham self hold nat har child to be conferred of þe Bisshop. ¶The þrid sacrament is þe sacrament of pennaunce bat doth away actuel syn, dedely syn & venial syn. This sacrament ordeyned þe son of god þe whiche fro heuyn to erth comynge humbly did penance, Nat for hym self bot for saluacioun of his peple. & seynt John Baptist preched pennaunce in remyssioyn of synns. For pennaunce with contricioun of hert, confessioun of mouth & satisfaccioun in dede & humilite putteth away þe enemy fro þe hert of [41r] hym bat is sory & destruït deedly syn, & draweth a man ayayne to his makere & ledeth þe soule to myche ioy & clernesse. [iii] The iiiis is þe sacrament of þe autere which confermeth þe sory for his syn & conforteth bat he hold nat, & fal ayayne in to syn & hym reconcileth & susteneth. Whan our e lord ihesu had souped with his derward disciplys he ordeynet þis sacrament in mynd of his passioun & perfor euery cristyn man at þe lest ons a yer shold receyue communioun at estre with grete deuocioun. [v] ¶The v sacrament is yevynge of ordres by þe ordinarii to do office to make þe sacrament. For our e lord almyghty god yave powere to prestes & prelatis of holy chirche to help oþers & to teche ham in þe feith, to bynd & to bynd & to louse, bat is fro syn, & to mynistre to ham þe sacramentis & namely þe sacrament of þe auter þe whiche is made by vertue of wordes of a trew prest pronounced. For vertue is in þre þynges: bat is in stonys, herbes & wordes. [vi] The vi sacrament is matrimony, þe which excludit deedly syn in þe werk of generacioun betwix [41v] man & woman. God þat is

1050 W corrected from O.
1051 written by non-authorial hand in black ink over an erasure.
al good & al wise ordeyned matrimony in paradise treste betwix Adam & Eue.

Matrimony betwene man & womman is a knot so stronge þat þay may nat be departed bot by holy chirche or by deth. God also hath ordeyned matrymony for generacioun of childre & for kepyng of chastite. Nathelies weddet men & wommen shal with grete diligence observe houre & tyme. ¶The vii sacrement is the laste ellynge the which rereth sekemen in perille of deth from bodily peyne & spirituel. And þerfor aftyr þat any man hath receyuet þat sacrement he shold be þe more bysy in contemplacion of god.

¶Of þe foure cardinal vertues. xv.

Aftyr þat þou shalt witte þat þer bene iii cardynal vertues, by whiche alle manmys lyf is gouernet & in þis world is kept, & þese bene þo: Wisdome, Riȝt wisnesse, Temperaunce, & Streynthe. Of these iii seith þe holygost in þe boke of wisedome that no thynge is mor profitable þan þese to a man in al þis world1052 & see for what cause.

For what man wold do welle, first hit is nedeful þat he [42r] can chese good fro ille, & of þre þe beste. & þis techeth wisdome. And whan þou hast chose good fro ille or of þre good þe beste, þan þou shal leue harme & do goode. & leue þe lasse good, & do þe more good. & þis vertue is called ryghtwisnesse. And for þer bene two thynges þat destourben & letten a man to do good & shou harme þat is, prosperite of þis world for to deceyue hym by fals softnes, and aduersite of þe same to oppresse hym by oft sharpenesse, & þerfor ayayns prosperites þou shal haue mesure & discrecioun þat þou be nat to heye

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elated. And þis vertue is called temperance. And ayeyns aduersite þou shalt haue
hardynesse of soule þat þou be nat þrowe doun. & þis vertue is cald Streynth.

¶ Of þe vii werkes of mercy. xvi.

Folwynge þou shalte witte whiche bene þe vii workes of mercy. The first is, fede
þe hungry, þe second, drynk þe þursty, þe þrid, clothe þe naked, þe ferth, herbrow
pilgrymes & weygoers, þe v, visite prysoneres, þe vi, to confort seekemen, þe vii is to
bury deedmen. These ben þe workes of mercy þat pertenen to þe body. [42v] Bot þou
myghtest sey to me, “I þat am in religioun, I haue no power to yeve mete & drynk ne
cloþynge ne herbrow, for I haue nat wher of I myȝt do þat, neþer I may nat visite
prisoners neþer confort seeke men neþer bury deedmen, for I am put vndre þe wyl of a
noþer, & þerfor hit were bettre to me to be a seculer man þat I myȝt do þese werkes of
mercy.” [Nota1053] Bot broþer be nat begelit. For hit profiteth more to haue pitte &
compassioun in þy hert of a wrecch suffrynge desaise, þan þou haddest al þis world to
yeue for charite. For þat is more worth without comparisoun þat þou art, þan þat þat þou
hast. Þerfor yeve þiself & þou yevest more þan þou yavest al þe world. Bot þou
myghtest sey in þis manere, “Soth hit is þat bettyr is to a man to yeve hym self þan of his
good, bot hit is more worth to yeve þat on with þat oþer þan þat oon without þat oþer.” I
sey hit is nat so, wheþer is hit bettre be cald a lord þan a seruaunt. þou wost wel þat hit
is bettre be cald a lord þan his seruaunt. For our lord ihesu crist calleth ham þat suffren
hungre, thurst, cold, defaut & oþer wrecchednes for god he calleth ham hym self; for he

1053 Appears with manicule. Both note and manicule appear to be in Bellewe’s hand.

590
“What so euer ye done to oon of þe leest of þese in my name, to me ye done hit.”

On þat oþer syde wheþer is hit bettre to deme or be demet.

Thou woste wel þat bettre is to deme. And þat done pouer men. For pouer men shal deme, as crist seith in þe gospel, “Ye þat haue lefte al þynges & haue folwed me, whan goddis son shal come in þe sete of his mageste, ye shal sit apon xii trones demyng þe xii tribʒ of Israel.”

On þat oþer syde wheþer is hit bettre to haue þe ioy of heuyn in possessioun, or inn behost. Soth hit is þat bettre hit is in possessioun, & so haue pouer men. So seith crist in þe gospel. ¶“Blessed bene pouer in spirite, for har is þe kyngedome of heuyn.”

Ther he seith nat þat har shal be, bot har is þe kyngedome of heuyn, þat is, þat pouer men may be as sure of þe kyngedome of heuyn, as of a thynge þat þay haue in har hande. Þerfor seith seynt barnard in þis manere, “pouere men haue no þynges in erthe, ne ryche men haue no þynges in heuyn. Þerfor if ryche men willen haue eny þyng þer, of pouer men þay most by hit here.”

Now I knowe wel þat þou desirest myche to knowe who is pouer & whoo is nat pouer, & who is verray ryche & who \is/ nat. ¶Now hyre with deuocioun. Some þer bene þat haue richesses & louen ham; & suche bene nythynes & coueytous men of þis world. Others þer bene þat haue no richesses, natheles þey louen ham & wold fayne haue hame, & suche bene beggers of þis

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1056 Matthew 5:3, see above.
world & wreches & ille religious men. And þese bene as ryche as þe other or more. And suche ben þo of whom crist speketh in þe gospel, “Hit is more lightre brynge a camel þrow þe eygh of a stele nele, þan a ryche man to entre in to þe kyngedome of heuyn.”

Bot some þer bene þat haue richesses, & louen ham nat. Natheles þay wil brouke ham & haue ham, þese bene good men of þis world þat holden bot litel to ham self. Oþers þer bene þat haue no richesses neþer louen ham neþer desyren to haue ham. Þese bene holy religiouse men & þese bene verray pouer & har is þe kyngedome of heuyn. So seith crist in þe gospel, “Blessed bene pouer in spirit, for har is þe kyngedome of heuyn.”

This is the blessynge of pouer men. Perfor riche men [44r] mosten haue þe grace of þis blessynge. And perfor if pouer men in spirit bene blessed, for har is þe ioye of heuyn, þan I may sey of ryche men in þis maner, “Cursed ben þe riche men of spirit, for har is þe peynes of helle.” Richemen ben þo þat han richesses & louen ham or þat haue no richesses bot yit þay louen ham & coueitously desyren to haue ham. Pouer men bene þo þat haue pouerte & louen hit, or haue richeses & louen pouerte & despisen richesses.

¶Of þe vii peticious of þe pater noster. Capitulum xvii.

Here aftyr þou shalt witte whiche ben þe vii peticious of þe pater noster þe whiche beren away al harme, & procuren al goodes. These vii peticious or prayers ben contened in þis swete prayer, Pater noster, the whiche our lord ihesu crist taght his
disciples, that pay shold witte how pay shold pray god the fadyr. & he seid to ham in his manere, “Whan ye prayen say þus,

_Pater noster._ ‘Our fadyr þat art in heuyn I-halowed be þy name, thy

kyngedome come hit to vs, thy wil be in erthe as in heuyn. Oure day by day [44v] brede yeve vs today. And foryeve vs our dettes as we foryeven our detoures. & lede vs nat in to temptacioun, bot deliyuer vs fro harme.’”  

Amen, so be hit.

This prayer passeth al of prayer in dignite & in profite. In dignite, for god hym self made hit. And þerfor he doth grete diswyrsip & grete vnreuerence to ihesu þe son of god, þat taketh wordes of ryme & of curiouste, & leueth þat prayer þat he made þat knoweth al þe wil of god/t he fadyre and þe whiche prayer gretyly pleseth hym, and for whiche we wrecches haue grete nede to preye. For as I seid afor, he al oon knowethe al þe wil of þe fadyr & al our necessite. Therfor an hondret þousand men ben begiled by many prayers. For whan þay wenen to haue deuocioun, þay haue a foul fleishely affeccioun. For euery fleeshly soule kyndly deliteth in suche curiouse speche. Þerfor be þou wise & discrete. For sothly I sey to yow þat hit is a foul lechery to delyte in such þynge. On þat oþer syde seynt Austeyne & seynt Gregory & other seyntes prayeden afthyr har affeccioun. I blame nat har prayers, bot I reprove ham þat leuen þat þat prayer þat he god made, & taken a prayer of [45r] a symple seynt þat þey fynden writte. Þerfor


1061 correction in margin.

1062 n corrected from m.
seith oure lord in þe gospelle, “Whan ye wil praye, pray nat by many wordes, bot pray in þis manere. Oure fadyr þat art in heuyn”\textsuperscript{1063} &cetera. On þat oþer syde þis prayer passeth al other prayer in sufficiencie. For in þis prayer bene contened al þynges þat we neden in þis lyf & \textsuperscript{1064} þat oþer lyf. For in hit we prayen god þe fadyr þat he deluyer vs fro al harmes, & þat he yeve vs al goodes, & þat he make vs suche þat we neuer do harme & þat we neuer fail of good. And considre how al ille þat vs greuen, oþer hit is il þat is past, or il þat is to come, or il þat we Suffren now. Of il þat is past we prayen oure swet lord, whan we seyn, Et dimitte nobis. “And foryeve vs oure dettis as we foryeven to\textsuperscript{1065} oure dettoures.” For il to come we prayen whan we seyn, Et ne nos. “And led vs nat in to temptacioun.” For il þat is now present we prayen whan we seyn. Sed libera nos.

“Bot deluyer vs fro harme.” ¶Ouer þat al good þat is, ethir hit is temperal good, or spirituel good, or euerleystyne good. Temperel good we esken whan we seyn, panem nostrum &cetera. “Yeve vs to day oure day by dayes brede.” [45v] Spirituel good we asken whan we seyne, Fiat voluntas. “Thy wil be fulfilled in erth as hit is in heuyn.” Euerleystynge good we asken whan we seyn, Adueniat regnum, “thy kyngedome come hit to vs.” The confirmaicioun of al þese we asken whan we seyne, Sanctificetur nomen tuum. “Halwed be þy name.” These bene þe vii peticionys of þe gospelle, the whiche oure lord ihesu crist taght his disciples & frendes. Also þou shalt witte þat þese forure wordes afoore, þat is, pater noster qui es in celis, oure fadur, þat art in heuyn, enfourmen

\textsuperscript{1063} Matthew 6:9-13, see above.

\textsuperscript{1064} correction in margin.

\textsuperscript{1065} t written over o.
vs how we shal prey & whate we shold be in prayers. Fourþynges we shold haue in euery prayer, þat is, perfite loue to hym whom we prayen, and certeyn hope to haue al þat we asken, & stidfast beleue in hym in whom we beleuen, and verray mekenes for of our e self we haue no goode. Perfite loue is contened in þis word: Pater – Fadyr. For euery creature kyndly loueth his fadyr. Certeyne hope is contened in þis word: Noster – Oure. For if he be oure, þan we may boldly hope in hym & sey þat he is bound to vs.

Stidfast feith is knowleched in þis word: [46r] qui es – þat art. For whan we seyn “þat art,” þan we beleuen & knowlechen þat god is, whiche we saw neuer, & þis is trewe feith. Feith is non other þynge, bot beleue þynge þat may nat be sey. Verrey mekenes is tokened in þis word: in celis – In heuyn. For whan we þynken þat he is on heighe, & we on lowe, þan we humblen vs. And whan we haue þese foure þynges in our hertes stidfastly I roted, þan we mowe hardly pray & sey with al our e affeccioun, Sanctificetur nomen tuum – halowed be þy name. Þat is to sey, conferme þy name in vs, þou þat art oure fadyr, þat we be so þy sones & doghtres þat we do no þynges ayayns þy welwillynge, & þat we do alwey al þyng þat is acceptable to þe, & þat þat aperteneth to þy praysynge. And for þat we may nat do hit perfıtly while þat we bene in þis wretched world, perfor we asken, Adueniat regnum tuum – Þy kyngedome come to vs, þat þou regne in vs in þis lyf by grace & þat we regne in þe in þat oþer lyf by glory. And in þis same peticoun we prayen for ham þat bene in purgatory. And for þat we may neuer haue ioy with þe in heuyn [46v] bot we do þy wil in erth. Perfor we asken, Fiat voluntas tua &cetera – Þy wil be fulfilled in erth as hit is in heuyn. Þat is yeve vs grace to do whatsoeuer þou commaundest, & to leue vndo whatsoeuer þou forbedest, & þat aswel in erthe as in heuyn. Þat is to sey þryȝteuyn as Mychael, gabryel, raphael, al holy angels &
archangels, patriarches, prophetes, apostles, euangelistes, martires, disciples, confessours, virgyns & al chosen men done þy wille in heuyn, so mowen al ordres þat bene in erth. As oure lord þe pope, Cardynales, Archebyshhopes, bysshopes, Abbotes & Abbesses, priours & priouresses, & al har subgetȝ, Archedekenes, denes, parsons & al holy ordres, kynges, princes, Erles, barons, pouer men & ryche, lered & lewed & al þat ben predestinat to euerlestyng ye lyf, in euery kyngedome, in euery nacioun, in euery ordre, & in euery age. And for þat we mow nat do þy wille whil we lyven in body bot þou sustene vs; therfor we seyn, Panem nostrum &cetera – Oure day by day brede yeve vs to day. Þat is, yeve vs streynth of body & of soule & helth of bothe. ¶ Wherfor hit is to witte þat þer is þre manere of brede, þat is: bodyly brede, as fode & cloþynge, spirituel brede, as doctryne of holy writte, and brede of þe sacrement to confort both þe kyndes, þat is of body & of soul. Bot for we ben nat worþy to haue eny good while we dwellen in syn, perfor we asken, Dimitte nobis &cetera – Foryeve vsoure deth as we foryeven tooure dethours. Þat is, foryeve vs what so euere we haue synned ayeyns þe in þoȝt, speche & werk & þat as we haue foryeven to ham þat done il to vs. And for hit auailleth vs litel to haue foryevenesse, bot if þat we kepe vs forward fro syn, perfor we shal pray þus, Et ne nos &cetera – And lede vs nat in to temptacioun. Þat is, suffre vs nat be ouercome of temptacioun of þe fend, þe fleishe or of þe world. And nat only fro temptacioun, Sed libera nos a malo. – Bot delyuere vs fro harme. Þat is fro harme of body & soule, fro harme of peyn & of blame, now & to come. Amen. And for oure lord ihesu crist seith in þe gospel, “What so euere ye aske þe fadyr in my name he shal yeve

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1066 //, M.
yow, "\textit{perf}or sey at \textit{pe} end, \textit{Per dominum nostrum ihesum christum} [47v] \textit{filium tuum} \\
\textit{&cetera} – by oure lord ihesu crist \textit{by} son \textit{pat} lyuest & regnest, world \textit{with} out end. ¶This 
\textit{is} \textit{pe} prayre \textit{pe} which oure lord ihesu crist vs taght in \textit{pe} gospel. And \textit{vndrestond} nat \textit{pat} \\
\textit{pou} shalt sey al \textit{pat} \textit{with} mouth \textit{pat} is hiddre to writte, bot only sey blotly \textit{pe} \textit{lettre} \textit{with} \\
mouth, \& thynk in \textit{py} hert \textit{vp} \textit{pat} \textit{pat} I haue exponed of euery word by hitself. Ne\textit{per} \\
charge nat to sey oft \textit{pater noster} or many \textit{pater noster}. For bettre hit is to sey ons \textit{pater} \\
\textit{noster} \textit{with} intellect \& good intencioun, \textit{tan} a \textit{þousand tymes} \textit{without} intellect & \\
deuocioun. For so seith seynt paule, “I wold rather sey v wordes deuoutly in my hert, \textit{tan} \\
sey v \textit{thousand} with mouth \& nat \textit{vndrestond} ham." In \textit{pe} same \textit{maner} \textit{pou} shalt sey \\
\textit{by} \textit{seruice} in \textit{chirch} as \textit{pe} \textit{prophet} seith. “Synge ye,” he seith wisly, \textit{pat} is synge & \\
\textit{versifie} wisly. Wysly to synge is, \textit{pat} \textit{pat} a \textit{man} saith \textit{with} mouth, wisly \textit{þynke} hit in \\
hert. For if \textit{by} \textit{body} be \textit{in} \textit{pe} \textit{quere}, \textit{by} lippis in \textit{pe} \textit{psauter}, \& \textit{by} \textit{hart} in \textit{pe} \textit{market}, ful \\
wretchedly art \textit{pou} dyuided in \textit{by} \textit{self}, ne\textit{per} \textit{pou} shalt nat be herd of \textit{by} \textit{god}. And for \\
oure lord ihesu crist seith in \textit{pe} gospel, “First ask ye [48r] \textit{þe} \textit{kyngedome} of \textit{god} \& al \textit{þese} \\
\textit{þynges} shal bene yeue to \textit{yow}.” \textit{Dat} is, \textit{whatsoeuer} ye nedeth of \textit{temperal} goodes shal 
be yeve to \textit{yow} \textit{without} askynge. \textit{Per}for ye shold wit whate ye haue in \textit{pe} \textit{ioy} of \textit{heuyn}. 

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1067 John 15:16: \textit{non vos me elegistis sed ego elegi vos et posui vos ut eatis et fructum adferatis et} \
\textit{fructus vester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis Patrem in nomine meo det vobis}. Fischer and Weber, 
\textit{Biblia Sacra}. 

1068 1 Corinthians 14:19: \textit{sed in ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui ut et alios instruam} \
\textit{quam decem milia verborum in lingua}. Ibid. 

1069 Matthew 6:33: \textit{quaerite autem primum regnum et iustitiam eius et omnia haec adicientur} 

597
Of þe vii dowers in body & soul & of þe peynes of helle in body & soule. xviii.

IN heuyn þou shalt haue vii dowers in body & vii in soule. In body þou shalt haue fayrnes without deformorte, lyȝtnes without out heste or heuynesse, Streynth without feblenesse, liberte without bondage, delectacioun without noy, softnes without infirmite, longe lyf without end. In soul þou shalt haue wisdome without dulnesse, Frendship without enemYTE, cord without discord, Streynth without feblenesse, wyrschip without diswirship, seurtee without drede, & ioy with out doloure. ¶Sothly bondmen, þat is wreches þat bene put in helle shal haue al þynges contrary to þese in body & in soule. Þat is deformite without fayrnnes, Feblenesse without streynth & so forth of al þat oþer. Therfor þou sholdest put al þy powere & al þy dilygence þat þou [48v] myȝtest brouke þat ioy. ¶For þer is so mych ioy & so myche swetnesse, that if þou myȝtest haue lyved fro þe begynnynge of þe world in to þe end, & haue al delytes at þy wille, yit of ryȝt al þo þou woldest leue to be oon day in þat ioy of heuyn. ¶Here is endet þe second manere of contemplacioun, þat is contemplacioun in scripture. Of þe whiche if þou take good heede & hold hi{t} in þy hert, hit shal be lyȝt to þe to holde euery word. And of þat oþer syde here þou hast matier of spekynge to clerkes be þay neuer so wise, & also to lewed men be þay neuer so rude. And whan þou spekest to wiser þan þy self, meue some of þese matiers & aske hym humbly. Also whan þou spekest to sympler þan þy self, enfourme ham lely & swetly. For here þou hast sufficiently where of to þynke & speke & how þou shalt gouerne þy lyf & amend anoþer manes lyf.
Of contemplac{ioun} of god in his manhede. xix.

The þrid dege of contemplacioun is of god. And þis may be in þre maners.

Outward in his manhode & inward in his blessed godhede. For [49r] seynt Austeyne seith thus, “Therfor god become man, to make al mankynd be blessed in hym self,” so þat aswel for þe inre\textsuperscript{1070} as for þe vttre man alwey he shold fynd foode in his makere, within forth, by contemplacioun of his godhede, without forth by consideracioun of his manhode. ¶Of his manhode þou shalt þynke þre þynges, þat is mekenesse in his incarnacioun, Swetnesse of his conversacioun, & charite of his passioun. Bot for þou maist nat do þis fully in oo tyme, þerfor I haue dyuydet hit by þo vii houres of þe day whiche ben songe in cloistre or in chirche, þat nooure shal escape þe, bot þat þou maist in hit swetly occupie þy hert. And to do þis þou shalt witte þat euery houre of þe day hath double meditacioun: oon of þe passion & an oþer of anoþer raysoun.

¶Of þe natuiute of our {lord} & his takynge at matyn tyme. capitulum xx.

AFor matyns first þou shalt þynk of þe birth of our lord, & aftreward of his passioun. Of his byrth þou shalt diligently þynk tyme, place &oure in whiche oure swete lord ihesu crist was bore. Þe tyme was in þe myd of þe wyntyr whan aller [49v] most cold was. Þe houre was in myd þe nyght, þe which is aller hardest houre, þe place was in myd þe way in a hous with out wallys, þe which is called a dyuersory or comyn place. For þedre gaddred þe peple for rayne & for tempestes. In þe which house, he aller pouerest was wrapped with clothes, & bound with a swathyn bonde & put in to a crache

\textsuperscript{1070} Indre, M.
before an ox & an asse, for he had noon oþer place in þe dyuersory. ¶Here þou shalt
þynk of þe bysy cure of oure lady mary about hir child ihesu, & of ioseph hyr spouse how
he had grete ioy. Þynk also of þe deuocioun of þe heerdes & of þe swete compaynye of
angells. & rer vp þy hert to god & synge with ham, “Gloria in excelsis deo,” &cetera.
¶Of his passioun þou shalt þynke how in such an hour of þe nyght he was betrayed of
his disciple Iudas, as a traytour I-take & bound as a thef & led forth as wyked man.

Thynk also inly how frely he yaue hym self to Iues & sarceyns & how he kiste Iudas his
traitour & called hym by his name & called hym hys frende. ¶How he forbade his
disciples þat none of hame shold swerd out draw. How he [50r] heled Malchus eere þe
which petre hadde kytte, & how his disciples leften hym & þe cursed Iues toke hym,
helde hym & bonde hym & þan led hym first before Annas & þer he was examyned &
bofeted, for he answered a yayns har wille. And aftre ward þay led hym befor Cayphas
wher seynt petre forsoke hym þryse for þe wordes of a cursed damysel.

¶Of his illusioun & resureccioun at prime. capitulum xxi.

Afore prime þou shalt þynke of his passioun & resureccioun. Of his passioun
þynke how þe Iues led hym in to har consaille & bar fals witnesse ayeyns hym & put on
hym þat he blasphemet & þat he seyde þat he myȝt destrue þe temple of god & in þe
dayes bille hit ayeyn & þat he went about þe contre fro galile in to Ierusalem turynyng
þe peple & begylynge ham, & began to ly on hym in dyuers maners. Thay spette in his

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1072 Anne, M.
blessed face, fouler þan on a dogge. Aftre þat þay helled his fayre eyne & buffeted hym & asked of hym, sygyngne, “Who smyteth þe?” And of al þese þat our lord ihesu suffred, he seid never ones, [50v] “Why done ye so?” Bot as a lambe amonge wolfes Ilad to be slawe or before þe sherer held his pees. & so he had hym continually þat he wold speke no worde. Many oþer þynges þay didde to hym þan, þat were longe to declare. ¶Of his resurrexiouþ þou shalt þynke þat in suche an hour our e lord rose fro deth to lyf aftyr he had destroyed helle, & delyuere al holy soules fro powere of þe enemy. Here þu shalt þynke of þe grete sweetnesse of his werkes, how he appered v sythes in þat same day & v sythes aftreward. First he appered to Mary Magdelen, whan she wen he had bene a gardener. Anoþer tym he1075 appered to hyre & to other wommen in þe way whan he salied ham sygyngne, “Auete.”1076 – Alhail, þat is, god saue yow. Þe þrid tyme he appered to seynt petre, bot of þis we haue nat þe manere how he appered to hym. Þe iiii tyme whan he appered to þe two desciples goynge toward þe castel of Emaus, whan þay supposed hym a pilgrym, & þan þay knewe hym in brekynge of brede. The v tyme to þe x apostles whan seynt Thomas [51r] was nat with ham, & whan he stod in myddis of ham & seid to ham, “pax vobis.”1077 – pees to yowe. & he showed to ham

1073 þay þay, M.


1075 erased s at beginning of word.


his hondes & his feet, for þay supposed hym haue bene a spirite. The vi tyme he appered ayayne to þe apostles whan seynt Thomas was present, & whanoure lord seid to hym, “Put þy fingere in to þe place of þe nayll, þat is in<sup>1078</sup> hondes & feete, & put þy hond in to my syde, & be nat out of feith bot trewe.”<sup>1079</sup> Þe vii tyme he appered to seynt petre, seynt James, seynt John & to Nathaniel<sup>1080</sup> whan þay fysshed in þe see, þe whiche see þe gospel called mare tyberiadis, where he eete <i>with</i> ham & asked þrise of seynt petre if he loued hym more þan opers. The viii tyme he appered in þe mount of galilee whan he comaundet ham to goo in to al þe world & preche þe gospel to euery creature, & fulle al peple in þe nam of fadyr, soun & holy goste. And he seid to ham þat he was with ham alwey in to þe worldes end. Þe ix tyme he appered to ham on ascencioun day whan þay were at mete, & reproued har mysbyleue & þe hardnes of har hart. The<sup>1081</sup> [51v] x he appered to ham þe same day whan he led ham out of þe cite in to þe mount of olyuete & bade ham to abyde in þat cite in to þe tyme þey were cloþed <i>with</i> vertue fro aboue & yaue ham his swet benysoun & went fro ham & steyed in to heuyn & sitteth at his fadyr ryght hand.

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<sup>1078</sup> in in, M.


<sup>1080</sup> Nathaeli, M.

<sup>1081</sup> The The, M.
Of his scourging & his sendyng & comyng of þe holygost at tierce. ¶ xxij.

Afor tierce þou shalt þynke of his passioun & of whitsonday. Of his passioun þou shalt þynk how our lord ihesu crist was in suche an houre spoylet & al naked & in pilates hous to a pillere I-bound & so cruelly scourget þat fro þe crowne of his heede in to þe solles of his feete was no hoole perte I-lefte. Þynke also how pilate sent hym to herode, & how herode left hym & scorned hym & held hym a foole & sent hym ayeyne to pilate, & pilate purposed to deluyer hym, bot first he wolde chasty hym aftre þe manere of þeues þat shold be giltes deluyered. And knyghtes toke hym & gadderet al þe peple to behold hym & put about hym a mantyl of [52r] purpur, & yave hym a bat of a rede in stid of a ceptre & put a crowne of þornes on his heede & befor hym þey kneled & in scorne began to saly hym. Bot yit for al þese, þe Iues wolden nat suffre ðy hym scape. And pilate willyng to plese ham deluyered to ham a thef Baraban by name & yave ham crist with out cause to be crucyfied. ¶Of whitsonday þou shalt þynke, þat in such an houre of þe daye our lord ihesu crist sent þe holy gost to his disciplis & in þat same place I-gadred in lyknes of fyre & of tonges þat þay shold be plenteuous in sermoun, & bernynge in charitee. & so was þe ryghtwise wisdome of our lord god. For in two maneres come þe fend to deceuye man in paradise, þat is, by il entisement of his tonge, & by cold of his venyme. And þerfor come þe holy gost in tonge agayne þe entisement of þe deuyl, & in fyre to destrue þe cold of his venyme.
Of hys incarnacioun & crucifixiou at sixt or at myddaye. capitulum ¶xxiii.

Afor mydday þou shalt þynke of his annunciaciou & passiou, of þe mercy

of oure \lord/ god for he wold become man & sufre deth for vs in his manhede, sethen he myght haue boȝt vs in a noþer manere. & al þis he didde to vs to drawe oure loue to hym. And if oon were oure fourmere & a noþer oure byere, þan we wold loue more oure ayeyn byere þan oure makere. And þer for he wold be oure makere, oure ayeynebyere & oure sauyoure & sufere in oo body al oure doloure to by so al oure loue.

Of þe passiou þou shalt þynke þat in suche an hour ihesu was crucified betwix two theues, On on þe ryght hand, a noþer on þe lyft hand as he had bene har maistre. ¶Here I wot nere what I shal sey. For if al þe sekenesse & desaises of þis world were of oo man, & if þat oo man myȝt conceyue so myche anguyshe & so myche dolour as al þe men þat ben in þis world, hit ware bot litel or noȝt in comparisoun to þe dolour þat he suffred for vs in oon oure of a day. And so þegh I myght lyve an hundred thousand wyntre & in euery day dey a thousand tymes for hym, þat same deth þat he deyed bot oons for me, hit wer noȝt in comparisoun to þe doloure þat he had in hym. Than som man may sey [53r] to me þat þe peyne þat ihesu suffred in þe cros for vs was more þan þe peyne of helle in so lange tyme. Soth hit is & for þis cause. No creatur myȝt suffre þe peyne of crist in so lange tyme. I say nat þis certeynly for þe concience of ihesu, sethen þer had none in hym self so myche of vertue. Bot a noþer creatur myȝt sufere þe peyne of helle in euerlestynge fyre. þerfor hit semeth þat þe peyne of helle be lasse þan þe peyne of crist in so lange tyme. I say nat þis certeynly for þe concience of

\[1085\] //, M. 604
some men. For why our lord seid of hym self by Ieremy þe prophete, “O ye almen þat passen by þe way tak hede & see if þer be eny dolour lyk to my dolour.” Certes swete ihesu þer is non ne neuer was dolour in þis world lyk to þy dolour. ¶Here þou shalt þynke of þe swete virgyn mary with how myche anguyshe was she fulfilled when sho stode on hir swete son ryȝt hand & receyuet þe disciple for maistre, & how she had grete doloure when she receyued þe servaunt for lord, þe son of a synnere for þe son of an emperoure. Iohn þe son of ȝebede, for ihesu þe soum of god.Þerfor she myȝt sey of hyr self þat þat seyde [1086] “Sey me nat þat I am ful fayre, [53v] bot fro hens forward cal me bittre. For with bittrenesse & grete dolour almyghty lord haþ filled me.” Also she myȝt sey þat þat is in þe songe of loue, “Haue no wondre þat I am discolowred & pale, For þe son hath discolowred me.” Þerfor an english man meved with pitte seid,

“Nowe goth þe son vndre wodde,
me reweth mary þy fayre rodde.
Now goth þe son vndyr tre,
Me reweth mary þy son & þe.”

O þou fayre maybe now verrayly þou hast experience of þe sharpe poyn of þat swerd þat Symeon made mencioun to þe of in þe day of þy purificacioun. And now þou has receyuet þe behoste þat Anna þe prophetasse behete þe.

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1086 partial blank line in MS. 605
Of his deth & his ascencioun at none. xxiii.

Afor none þou shalt þynke of his passioun & his ascencioun. Of his passioun þou shalt þynk þat in such an hour deyet þe makere of lyf for oure loue. ¶Here þou shalt þynke on þe vii wordes þat he spake on þe cros, & of foure sygnes þat felle in his deth. ¶

De first word þat he seid was þis, “Fadyr foryeve ham har syn, for þay wot nat whate þay done.” 1088 [54r] De second was such, “Sothly I sey to þe for þis day þou shalt be with me in paradise.” 1089 Þis word he seid to þe good penitent þef. The iii was þis, to his modyr & to Iohn in suche manere, “Womman loo þy son,” þerafter he seid to þe disciple, “Loo þy modyr.” 1090 The iii was þis, “hely, hely, lamazabatham.” 1091 Þat is “my god, my god, why hast þou lefte me?” 1092 The v was þis, “I thirst.” 1093 Þat is, al prophecy is now fulfilled. The vii was, “Fadyr in to þy handes I commend my spirite,” 1094 & bowet down his hede & yelded goste. ¶The toknes were

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1087 //, M.


1090 John 19:26-7: cum vidisset ergo Iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat dicit matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus, deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua et ex illa hora acceptam eam discipulus in sua. Ibid.

1091 Mark 15:34: et hora nona exclamavit Iesus voce magna dicens Heloi Heloi lama sabacthani quod est interpretatum Deus meus Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me. Ibid.

1092 John 19:28: postea sciens Iesus quia iam omnia consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura dicit sitio. Ibid.

1093 John 19:30: cum ergo accepisset Iesus acetum dixit consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. Ibid.

these: Al þe erth began to quake & erth dyn or erth quaw was as wyde as þe world. The veyl of þe temple was kut & felle. Stonys brake & monumentes were opened & dede men rose & þe son wax drik & withdrow his lyght fro mydday in to none. Wherfor seid denys Ariopagita, beyng in fere perties fro Ierusalem, “Eþer þe auctour, or þe makere of kynde suffreth passioun, or þe world is at an end.” ¶Of his ascencioun þou shalt þynke þat in suche an houre oure lord [54v] ihesu crist went into þe mount of Olyuete & seynge his swete modyr & his disciples fro þens he steyed vp to heuyn, sitteth at his fadyr ryght hand. & his disciples turned ayeyn in to þe cite, & þer þay was in fastynge & prayere in to þe comynge of þe holy gost. For þey were gadderred into oo hous about xii persons abydynge þe comynge of þe holy gost as oure lord bade ham.

¶Of his sopere & his takynge doun fro þe cros at euyn songe tyme. Capitulum xxv.

Afor euynsonge þou shalt þynke on oure lorde sopere, & of his takynge doun fro þe cros. Thou shalt þynke how Ioseph of Armathy asket þe body of ihesu of pilate. And how knyghtes come to þe cros of ihesu & brake þe þeyes of þe ii theues. & how oon of þe knyghtes opened þe blessed syde of ihesu with a speere, & anoon went out bloode & watyr. Blode in tokne of oure redempcioun, watyre in tokene of foryeuenesse of al synnys. Ioseph toke hym fro þe crosse for þis cause þat no body shold abyde vnburied in so grete & so heye a day as shold be on þe morowe folwynge. ¶Of þe sopere þou shalt þynk, [55r] how in such an houre oure lord yave his body & his blode to his disciples in

1095 wor-, M.
fourme of brede & wyne. ¶Here þou shalt witte þat in þe sacrement of þe autere bene þre þynge, þat is, lyknes of brede & wyne the which whiche we sene bodyly. Þe second is verray fleyshe & blode of oure lord ihesu crist, the which we mow nat see with oure bodily eye. The þrid is spirituel grace þat we receyuen whan we worþyly receyuen þat holy body & þat holy blode. We sene þe lyknes of brede & wyne, bot þe substance of brede & wyne abydeth nat aftre þe consecracion. And we beleuen stidfastly þat þat lyknes conteneth in hym þe verray body & blode of oure lord ihesu crist. Nathelies þe lyknes of fleish & blode we may nat se. For why as anent þe body we wold abhore & haue drede to ette raw fleishe & drynke blode of man, & þerfor oure lord yaue vs his body & his blode vndre þe fourme of brede & wyne to comfort oure bodyly witte & suche mette as we were wonet to se & durst eete & to edifie oure feith, for þis þat we seen oo thynge, & by [55v] leuen a noþer. And þerfor whan þou shalt neye þe autere to be comyned, so receyue þat sacrement as verrayly & trewly his body & blode þere as þou saw hit flow out at his syde.

¶Of blody swote & his byriynge at complyn tyme. xxvi.

Afor complyn tyme þou shalt þynke how Ioseph & Nichodemus wond þe body of crist in fayre linclothes & in clene syndon, & enoynted hit with preciouose oynement & put hit in þe sepalcur & wheluet a stone vpon þe mouth of þe monument. And Iewes put har seeles vpon þe stone & ordeyned knyghtes to kepe þe sepalcre. The second þat þou shalt þynk here is howe oure swete lord ihesu crist þe day of þe sopere. Aftre he had souped went with his disciples in to a gardeyne where he prayed his fadyre. And for
sorow of deth he swet so, þat dropes of blod droped fro his blessed face anone to þe erthe.

¶Of contemplacioun of god as to his godhede. First how god wold nat al fully shew hymself neper al fully hyde hym, & in how many maneres fyrst he shewed hym to man. And how man first come in to knowlech of his god & [56r] how god is without begynnyge & without endynge, & how god is called god. ¶xxvii.

Now þou hast matier & manere to þynk of god in his manhode. Aftreward þou shalt witte how þou shalt þynk on hym in heye godhede. To þis þou shalt vndyrstond þat god so tempred his knowleche in begynnynge of mankynde þat he wold nat al show hym to man, neper al hid hym fro man. For if he had al shewed hymself, than feith had be no þynge worth, & vntrouth had belyf. For feith is of a thynge þat may nat be sey, & þan if I se any þynge per is no feith of hit. And if he hadde al to giddyre hid hym, þan feith were nat, but vnfeith were excused. And per for god wold in perty shewe hym & in perty hyde hym. In iii maners he wold shewe hym to man, two maners with inforth & two maners withoutforth. Withinforth by reuelacioun & by reisoun, withoutforth by scripture & by creature. By reuelacioun, whan god sheweth hym to a noþer peple by inspiracioun or by miracle. By reisoun, god come in to knowleche of man in suche a maner. Euery [56v] man may wel see in hym self, þat he is, þat is to sey, þat he hath beynge & þat he was nat alwey. And of þis he wot wel þat som tym he had begynnynge. þan hit folweth þat somtym was in which he was nat. Bot whan he was nat þan in no maner he myght nat make hym self. And þis seth a man in euery creature. For euery day a man seth some creatures goo & som come. And for al þynges ben, & ben nat of ham self, per for hit
most be of nede þat oo þyne be þat yeveth beynge to al þynes, þat is of whom al thynges ben. And of þis of nede hit is conuyet þat he by whom al þynes bene, be without begynnynge & without endynge. And if he shold haue begynnynge hit most ned be þat he haue hit of a noþer. And if he had begynnynge of a noþer, þan were he nat þe first auctoure & first begynnere of al þynes. And þerfor hit beheueth of nede þat he by whom al þynes bene, be afor al þynes, & no þyne afor hym. And if no þyne be befor hym, þan he come nat of none oþer, & if he came nat of a noþer, þan he was alwey with [...]1096 begynnynge. For as I seid first, al {þyn}ge1097 [57r] þat hath begynnynge of any þyne, he hath hit. No þyne þat is nat, may nat yeve to hym self beynge. And þerfor hit behoueth in alwise þat a þyne be, þat had neuer begynnynge. And whan a manys resoun seth of nede þat hit may no noþer wise be, þan hit begynneth to beleue þat oo þyne is without begynnynge, þe which is auctour, makere, & gouernoure of al þynes þat ben in þe world, & þat þyne is called god for þis resoun. For þis word ‘deus’ come of a name of grue þat is called ‘theos,’ þat is as mych to sey as ‘noryshe’ or ‘make,’ & þis we calleth þe first begynnynge1098 of god, for he made al þynes & al þynes norshed; for þis seith þis word ‘deus,’ ‘god.’ In þis manere a man first cometh to þe knowleche of god, þe which is al goodes, & of whom is1099 al good.

1096 erasure.
1097 letters partially rubbed out.
1098 begynnynge, M.
1099 is is, M.
How god is in substance oon & thre in persons. And how þe first persoun is called fadyre, þe second, soyn & þe þrid holy gost. And also how powere is appropred to þe fadyr, wisdome to þe son, & goodnes to þe holy ¶goste. xxviii.

Þeraftyr1100 cometh resoun of man & seth þat he god was [57v] oo only god & nat many goddis. For if þer were two goddis, of þis nedly sholde folow þat both goddis were superflue & seuerel to giddre \\ atons/.1101 For þe first shold be superflue, & þe second shold suffise, oþerwyse he were nat god. And by þe same reisoun shold þe second be superflue & þe firste shold suffise. And of þat other syde euery of ham were seuerel for þis cause, for euery of ham shold fayl fro þat oþer. For non of ham were þat oþer, bot euery of ham were ful good, and shold fail good fro al bothe & so in euery of ham both were depertynge, or seueraltee. And so if þer were two goddis, in both goddis were superfluite & seuerelte to giddre & at ons. And þan nedly hit behoueth þat þer be nat bot oo only god. ¶On þe þrid syde, no good may faille fro god. Bot forwhy solace of felewship is swete & good, þerfor god myȝt nat be without þe good of felewship, & þan nedly hit behoueth þat pluralite of þe persons be in þe ful good god. And for felewship may nat be betwene fewer þan between two, þerfor hit behoueth at þe leest þat þer be in god two persons. And for [58r] felewship is litell worth, þeras is no nurture ne loue, þerfor hit behoueth þat in god be þe þrid persoun, þat be nurture & loue betwix tho two oþer persons þerfor seþen vnite is good, & pluralite also, nedely hit behoueth þat euery of ham be in god. ¶By suche resoun a man cometh to þis knowlech of god, þat he is oo god

1100 Pherafty, M.
1101 correction in margin.
in hym self & in his substance & þre in persons. This same seeth a man in hym self, for he seeth wel þat alwey fro þe begynnynge a man had in hym self myght or powere, & aftre powere, witte. & þan begyneth he to knowe openly, þat he hath in soule powere & of þat powere cometh witte, & of bothe cometh loue. And whan a man seeth welle þat hit is so in hym self, of þis he vndrestondeth wel þat shold be in god, þe whiche is aboue hym. He seeth þat in god is powere, & of þat powere cometh wysdome & of ham bothe come forth loue. ¶And for of þe first persoun come þe second & of bothe come forth þe þrid, þerfor þe first persoun is called ‘Fadyr,’ þe second ‘son’ & þe þrid holy goste. And for hit is wonet to be amonge men so, þat þe [58v] Fadyr is febler þan þe son for age, and þe son lasse witty þan þe fadyr for1102 yongth þat no man shold ortrowe þe/ so of god; þerfor, myght & powere is appropred to þe fadyre, witte & wisdome to þe soun. And for þis word holy gost sowneth in steernesse, þerfor to þe holygoste is appropred swettnesse & loue & goodnesse. ¶In þis manere a man cometh first to knowleche of god his makere, þat is to sey, how he is without begynnynge & howe he is called god. And how he is oon in substance. & þre in persons. And how þe first person is called fadyre, þe second soun & þe þrid þe holy goste. And how powere is appropred to þe fadyr, wisdome to þe soun, and goodnesse & loue to þe holy goste. In suche maner þou shalt knowe þy god. And þis maner of knowleche is þe fonndement of contemplacioun.

1102 fo, M.
Of þre degrees of contemplacioun of þe soule. Capitulum xxix.

Therfor er þat þou so stabil þy hert in ryȝt feith, stidfast hope & perfite charite, 
920  
rene vp þy hert in to þe highest contemplacioun of our e creatoure. Bot þy soule wold in hope se god by contemplacioun in hys kynd, & hit [59r] mow nat, and þan hit turneth to hym self & maketh of hym self degrees by þe whiche he myȝt ascende to þe contemplacioun of god. So þat first he myȝt se & behold his inly natur, & aftreward þe natur þat is aboue hit. And if his þoght be I-sparpelet dyuersly by bodily ymaginaciouns, þan he may nat serche hym self in his owne propre kynde. For with how many il þoghtes þat soul is ledde, so many il lettynges hit is lette. þe first degre of contemplacioun of þe soule is, þat þe soule turne & gaddre hym al to gyddyr with in hym self what hit is, se 
925  
whan hit is so gaddered. The þrid degre is þat a soule rere hym aboue hym self & coueit to behold his degree in his inly nature. Bot to þe knowleche of hym self hit may nat come, til þat hit be lerne to refreyne euery bodily ymaginacioun, erthly ymaginacioun & heuynly. And whan þer cometh to þe hert any delectacioun of syȝt, of hyrynge, of taste, 
930  
of smyllynge, touchynge1103 or any of þe other bodyly wittis, hit shold refreyne þat delectacioun & put doun, that hit see hym suche, as hit is [59v] without body. Therfor tak hede bysily how a soule is wonderful in hit self. For hit is oon in his kynd, & doth many dyuers workes. For hit self seeth by eyne, hireth by eers, tasteth by tonge & mouth, 
935  
odoureth by nose & toucheth & feleth by al lymmes. ¶Aftre þat þynke how gret is a soule, þat with oo only thoght maye knowe heuyn & erthe & al þat is in ham al if þey

1103 touchyge, M.
were a thousand fold more than they benefit, which may not be. And if a man's soul be so great & noble what no creature in his life may perfectly understand it, how noble & how mighty shall he be that so noble a thing made of nothing? ¶ He is above all things, under all things, within all things, & without all things. Above all things government, under all things supporting or holding up, within all things fulfilling, & without all things overseeing. Such a contemplation gendreth in a man steadfast faith & certainty.

¶ After that you shall think how he is large, and this you may see in many manners. First see how large he is in temporal goods. For as well he yields them to good as to ill, in all things that you see here in earth. Therefore see how large he is in forgiveness of sins. For if only one man had done so many or as many sins as all the men of the world, yet is he our Lord Jesus Christ a hundredfold readier to forgive & to have mercy, than he the wretched sinner is to ask forgiveness & mercy. ¶ The third you shall think how he is large of spiritual goods, what is of virtues. For who has of the gift of God what he has all. ¶ The fourth you shall think how he is large of every greatest good to him all that rightly will ask. How may he warn that he himself will ask much to eschew. For he says, "Pray me that I yeve you and I will yeve you temperel good without asking." & on that other side much prayer will he yield, for his that we will ask rightly wisely. Such contemplation of his large gendreth in a man certain hope. ¶ Afterward you shall think of his great goodness of God, sweetness & fairness. And to do this you shall diligently take heed of his great fairness,

1104 thousand, M.
1105 al alpyng, M.
goodnesse & swetnesse [60v] hat is in a bodily creature, how many þynges ben þer þat
deliten þe eygh, by har fayrnesse, þe taste by swetnesse, þe nose by odoure & so of other
wittes. How myche fairnesse, swetnesse & goodnesse should be in a spirituel creature
þat neuer shal haue end. And aftreward how myche goodnesse, swetnesse & fairnes is in
a þynge þat to day is in þis lyf, & to morow is passed away. And of myche stronger
reisoun without compariso þer shold be more feyrnesse, swetnesse & goodnesse in al
har makere. This manere of contemplacioun gendreth in a man loue of his makere. ¶At
þe laste whan þou hast so rewarded our swete fourmre by consideracioun of his
creators, put out of þy hert al maner bodily ymaginacioun, & let þy blot intellect flee
aboue al mannys reisoun in to heuyn & þou shalt fynd so myche swetnesse & so many
pryuetees þat no man may witte bot he þat hath hit by experience. If þou wilt know hyt
by techynge, goo to hym þat hit hath provued by experience. And þegh I wrecche haue
prouet hit al, yit I may nat declare hit. For how myght I tel hit by mouth, þat I may nat
thynke with hert? For þat is so [61r] priuee þat hit passeth al þoght. And for þis hit
behoueth & is ryght þat I do hit & nat tech hit by tonge bot in werk by grace. ¶Now þou
hast þre degrees of contemplacioun: oon in creature, anoþer in scripture, & þe þrid in þe
swete nature of god.

¶What is to lyue honurably, ffrendly, & mekly. xxx.

IF þou lyve aftre þis doctrine, þan þou lyvest honurably, & þat is þe first perty of
oure sermoun þat was touched at þe begynnynge. Aftreward þou shalt study to lyve

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1106 consideracioun, M.
frendly as anent þy neghbore. ¶To fulfil þis þou shalt put al þy diligence to loue & be
loued. Thou shalt loue al men in god, & þat is oonly for goodnes & nat for feyrnesse of
body, neþer for songe, ne for no suche þynge as streynthe or suche oþer bodily vertue þat
may be louet without god. & for þis to loue a man in god, is non oþer þynge bot to loue
hym for such a þynge þat may nat be louet without god, as for goodnesse, for
ryȝtwisnesse or for truth. For such vertu þou may nat loue a man bot þou loue god.
And þerfor whan þou louest for goodnesse, ryȝtwisnesse or trouth, þan þou louest hym
in god. For god is [61v] goodnesse, rightwisnesse & trouth. For if þat we bene good, we
shold haue no frend bot good, ne enemy bot for ille, & for þis cause we shold loue good
men, for þay ben good, & also we shold loue il men, for þay may be good. & in þis
maner loue no þynge bot goodnesse. And if þou wilt be louet, showe þy self louely. And
if þou wilt be louely, take & kepe þese þre wordes without forytynge. Do þat þat me
comaundeth þe & bisyly prayeth. Take without gurchynge, and kepe what me yeueth þe.
Suffre paciently what so euer a man sey to þe. If þou lyve so trewly, þan þou lyuest
frendly. ¶At þe last þou shalt study þat þou lyve humbly. And for þis þou shalt wit þat
þer ben two maner of mekenesse: þat oon cometh of trouth, þat oþer of charite. Þe first
manere þou may haue by knowlech of þy self. For in noo manere may þou see þy self
what þou art, bot þou trewly be humblet. In Þe second manere þou may haue, if þou
þynke oft of þe mekenesse of oure lord ihesu criste, how he humblet hym þat neuer didde
syn. And suche mekenesse come clenely of charite. Now þou know [62r] est what is to
lyue wirshipfully, frendly, & mekely. And þat is to lyve perfitly. Oure swete lord ihesu

1107 For for, M.
crist so graunt vs god to wyrship,oure neghbore to loue,& oure self to humble, ðat we may for oure wyrship be wyrshiped, for oure loue be louet & for oure mekenes be exaltet to þe ioy of heuyn ðat for vs is ordeyned fro þe begynnynge of þe world. Amen.

Her is endet þe tretice of seynt Edmond of ponnterney\textsuperscript{1008} ðat is called þe “Myrrour of Holy Chirche,” translated by Nicholas Bellew,\textsuperscript{1009} whose non konnynge haue ye excused. Ion Flemymyn.\textsuperscript{1110}

\textsuperscript{1008} St. Edmund Rich (1175-1240) was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1234-1240. He was buried at Pontigny Abbey in Burgundy.

\textsuperscript{1009} Nicholas Bellewe (ca. 1400-74), Dublin scribe and author, responsible for this manuscript, Longleat MS 29, and many extant legal deeds.

\textsuperscript{1110} This signature in red ink likely belongs to the rubricator, Dublin clerk and notary John Flemyng (fl. 1463-85).
EDITED TEXT 4:

ANGLO-IRISH MEDITATION ON THE FIVE WOUNDS OF CHRIST, POSSIBLY

BY NICHOLAS BELLEWE

The text exists in two exemplars, Oxford, Bodleian e. Museo MS 232 (folios 65v-66v) and Longleat MS 29 (folios 148v-149r). The e. Museo manuscript (hereafter MS M) contains several religious works, including the B-text of Rolle’s Meditation on the Passion, a text containing quotes from Saints Gregory and Bernard on meekness, Bellewe’s translation of the Mirror of St. Edmund and verse meditations on the Passion.1111 Longleat MS 29 (hereafter MS L) is also a miscellany of religious texts, featuring several Rolle texts, Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” a vision of purgatory shown to a holy woman, a version of Hilton’s Mixed Life, an English translation of Flete’s De Remediis contra temptaciones and several other prose and verse works in Latin and English.1112 MS M is entirely in Bellewe’s hand, with rubrication by John Flemyn. MS L is almost entirely in Bellewe’s hand, with insertions by two other near-contemporary hands, probably added after Bellewe completed the manuscript. Rubrication is mainly

1111 For the Bellewe Mirror, see Edited Text 3.

1112 The most accurate descriptions of this manuscript are Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue, 208–12; Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, xvii–xxx. The manuscript has also been described, with errors, in Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Bibliography, 36–7; Manly and Rickert, The Text of The Canterbury Tales: Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts, 1:343–48. See also Appendix C.
inexpertly done by several rubricators, possibly including Bellewe himself. Some initial letters are more competently executed, notably in the “Parson’s Tale.” The manuscript was composed in the Dublin area, possibly as a household book of pastoral care for Ismaia FitzWilliam. The manuscript found its way to England shortly after its completion. The main script of both L and M is Bellewe’s rounded Anglicana book hand.

I use M as the base manuscript for this text, supplying corrections from L, as warranted. L commonly uses y instead of M’s ȝ at the beginning of words such as “you,” and “your.” These differences in spelling are not noted in the edition. Other differences in spelling are noted – these comprise most of the differences between the two exemplars. Commonly y, i, and ȝ are interchangeable; e may or may not appear at the end of a word; 3rd singular endings can be –ed or –et; th and þ are interchangeable; ei and e are both used in words like “fle(i)shely”. Different combinations of the phrase, “Pater noster. Ave Maria” appear at the end of each section. These varied according to the space left on the line and/or the whim of the scribe.

Capitalization has been left as it is in the MS, except that the initial letters of some sentences have been silently capitalized.

Punctuation has been slightly modernized. Bellewe commonly uses a medial point at the end of sentences; occasionally a double-slash is used (//). He also often leaves a space at the end of a sentence and begins the new one with a capital letter. I have silently inserted periods in all of these places. Where Bellewe uses a ?-like mark, I have substituted a comma.

Added text in brackets { } – indicates an unrubricated guide letter.

Abbreviations are expanded in italics.

Interlinear insertions marked by \/. 
[65v] {O} Myghtful ihesu grete was þe peyne þat 3e suffred whan 3e were
crownet\textsuperscript{1113} with sharp prikynge þornes with s\textsuperscript{a}t/aues hit was smytten doun on 3oure
hede\textsuperscript{1114} þat þe poyntes perced ryȝt to 3our brayne þe blode ran by 3oure face. O lord
ihesu I pray 3ow for þat peyne haue pitte & mercy on me & forȝeue me al þat I haue
offendet 3ow fro my birth in to þis day & kep\textsuperscript{1115} me fro þe syn of pride & þeue\textsuperscript{1116} grace
hens forth\textsuperscript{1117} alwey to haue þe vertu of perfite mekenesse. In honour\textsuperscript{1118} of þis
wounde\textsuperscript{1119}. \textit{Pater noster} Aue\textsuperscript{1120}.

{O} Merciful\textsuperscript{1121} ihesu gret\textsuperscript{1122} was þe peyne þat 3e suffred whan 3e were scourget
with hard knotty scourges hit rased both [66r] skyn & fleishe of 3our blessed body þat þe
blode stremys\textsuperscript{1123} ran al about 3ow. O good lord for þat peyne saue al my body from al
fleshely\textsuperscript{1124} lustes of vnclennesse\textsuperscript{1125} of syn. And þeue me grace euer to haue þe vertu\textsuperscript{1126}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1113} crowned, L. \\
\footnote{1114} your hode, L. \\
\footnote{1115} daye & kepe, L. \\
\footnote{1116} yeue me, L. \\
\footnote{1117} hennes forþ, L. \\
\footnote{1118} honoure, L. \\
\footnote{1119} wound, L. \\
\footnote{1120} Aue mar, L. \\
\footnote{1121} Mercyful, L. \\
\footnote{1122} grete, L. \\
\footnote{1123} stremes, L. \\
\footnote{1124} fleishely, L. \\
\footnote{1125} vnclennes, L.
\end{footnotes}
of clennesse\textsuperscript{1127} & chaste in body & soule. In wirship\textsuperscript{1128} of þis wound\textsuperscript{1129}. Pater\textsuperscript{1130}.

Aue.

\{O\} Benigne ihesu grete was þe peyne þat ye suffred whan ȝoure handes & feet weren naillet\textsuperscript{1131} with bustious ragged naill. O good lord ihesu for þat peyne & for þat wonde of ȝour riyt\textsuperscript{1132} hand kep\textsuperscript{1133} me from þe syn of wreth & þeue me grace contynuely to haue ful charite to al myn euyncristen\textsuperscript{1134} In\textsuperscript{1135} wyrship of þis peyne & wunde\textsuperscript{1136}. Pater\textsuperscript{1137} noster. Aue maria.

\{O\} Blesful ihesu for þe wound of þi lifte\textsuperscript{1138} hand kep me from þe syn of envy\textsuperscript{1139} & þeue me grace alwey to haue þis vertu & bounte þat of al myn\textsuperscript{1140} euyncristen welfare.

\textsuperscript{1126} vertue, L.
\textsuperscript{1127} clennes, L.
\textsuperscript{1128} wyrship, L.
\textsuperscript{1129} wounde, L.
\textsuperscript{1130} pater noster, L.
\textsuperscript{1131} nailed, L.
\textsuperscript{1132} riyt, L.
\textsuperscript{1133} kepe, L.
\textsuperscript{1134} euyncristyn, L.
\textsuperscript{1135} in, M.
\textsuperscript{1136} wound, L.
\textsuperscript{1137} pater, &cetera, L.
\textsuperscript{1138} þy lyfte, L.
\textsuperscript{1139} Envy, L.
\textsuperscript{1140} almyn, L.
& profite gostily\textsuperscript{1141} & bodily \textit{per} of to be\textsuperscript{1142} as glad \textit{riȝt}\textsuperscript{1143} as of myn owne. In wirship\textsuperscript{1144} of his wounde\textsuperscript{1145}. \textit{Pater} \&cetera

\{O\} Glorious \textit{ihesu} for \textit{þe} wound of \textit{þoure} \textit{ryȝt} fote kep me from \textit{þe} syn of fals couetise\textsuperscript{1146}. \textit{Þat} I couet\textsuperscript{1147} no maner ðynge \textit{þat} be contrarie to \textit{þoure} wille & ðeue me grace euer to haue the \textit{vertu}\textsuperscript{1148} of freenes with discreetiou. In wirship\textsuperscript{1149} of his wounde. \textit{Pater noster}. Aue\textsuperscript{1150}.

\{O\} Gracious \textit{ihesu} for \textit{þe} wound of \textit{þoure} lifte foote kep\textsuperscript{1151} me from \textit{þe} syn of glotony & ðeue me grace continuely to haue \textit{þe} \textit{vertu} of abstinence \textit{þat} I may absteyne me from al manner of spices of syn. In wirship\textsuperscript{1152} of his wounde. \textit{Pater noster}. Aue maria.

\{O\} Good lord \textit{ihesu} crist for\textsuperscript{1153} \textit{þe} wound of \textit{þoure} precious syde \textit{þat} was \textit{perc}ed\textsuperscript{1154} to \textit{þe} hert \textit{with} a sharp sperre, kep\textsuperscript{1155} me from \textit{þe} syn of sleuth. And ðeue me

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\textsuperscript{1141} goostly, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1142} ben, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1143} ryȝt, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1144} wyrship, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1145} wound, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1146} syn of Coueitise, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1147} coueit, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1148} \textit{þe} \textit{vertu}, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1149} wyrship, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1150} Aue maria., \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1151} kepe, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1152} wyrship, \textit{L}.
\textsuperscript{1153} For, \textit{M}.
grace continually to have alway in mynde\textsuperscript{1156} & with grete reverence & meke hert euermore to loue sowe welle desyrynge perfitly soure dyvyn\textsuperscript{1157} wille. In wyrship\textsuperscript{1158} of his wounde. \textit{Pater noster.} Aue.

\textsuperscript{1154} per cet, L.
\textsuperscript{1155} kepe, L.
\textsuperscript{1156} mynd, L.
\textsuperscript{1157} perfytly & youre dyuyn, L.
\textsuperscript{1158} wirship, L.
EDITED TEXT 5:

*THE LADDER OF HEUYN* – POSSIBLY BY NICHOLAS BELLEWE

The text exists in Longleat MS 29 (fols. 4v-11r). Longleat MS 29 (hereafter MS L) is a miscellany of religious texts, featuring several Rolle texts, Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” a vision of purgatory shown to a holy woman, a version of Hilton’s *Mixed Life*, an English translation of Flete’s *De Remediis contra Temptaciones* and several other prose and verse works in Latin and English.\(^{1159}\) The manuscript is almost entirely in Bellewe’s hand, with insertions by two other near-contemporary hands, probably added after Bellewe completed the manuscript. The manuscript was composed in the Dublin area, but may have found its way to England shortly after its completion. The script is Bellewe’s rounded Anglicana book hand.

There is no rubrication in this section of the Longleat MS. Guide letters are included without markings. Missing guide letters are provided in square brackets. Capitalization has been left as it is in the MS, except that the initial letters of some sentences have been silently capitalized.

Punctuation has been modernized. Where Bellewe uses his distinctive ?-style graph for a pause, a comma is substituted; commas are also inserted for medial points, where appropriate. Bellewe commonly uses a medial point or *punctus elevatus* at the end

\(^{1159}\) The most accurate descriptions of this manuscript are Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 208–12; Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, xvii–xxxi. The manuscript has also been described, with errors, in Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Bibliography*, 36–7; Manly and Rickert, *The Text of The Canterbury Tales: Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, 1:343–48. See also Appendix C.
of sentences; occasionally a double-slash is used (//). Periods are silently inserted in all of these places.

Bellewe occasionally runs the indefinite article “a” together with a following noun without a space. Spaces are silently added in these instances.

Abbreviations are expanded in *italics*.

Interlinear insertions are marked by \/. 

Expunged letters crossed out.

ij has been silently changed to ii.

Marginal notes are in Arial and surrounded by square brackets. All notes are in Bellewe’s hand.

Uncertain letters are in **bold**.
[4v] Here begynneth a tretys that is called the laddre of heuyne in which tretis man may lerne many good vertues to clyme vp to heuyn; the ronges of this laddre ben these.  

[5r] [T]he first ronge of þis fulholy laddyr e ryght feith with the workes of ryghtwisnesse; that is to sey, þat we perfityle beleue in þe fadyr, in þe son & in þe holygoste. In þe holy Trinite that we know on god & þat we wyrship the the holy trinite & the indyuisible oonhed in on god. And that we knowlech goddis son euerleystyng & euynlyk to þe fadyr & þe holygoste. For who beleueth nat in goddis sou, he shal nat se lyf, bot the wreth of god shalle dwelle vp on hym. [ii gradus]

[T]he second dege or ronge of this laddre is stidfast hop in god; þat is eueryman put his hope in god of euery þynge as wel þo þat bene now as þo goodes þat bene to come. And what soeuer goode/ man þynke or do, haue he/ trust of god to be rewardet. And þat he haue hep of his synmys to haue foryeuenesse, if he be trewly converted to god by penauence. Dispeyr e is worst of al synnes, for hit echeth þe syn. [iii gradus]

[T]he þrid is perfite charite, & þat is ful necessary; þat is, that god be louet of al þe hert, of al þe soule, of al vertue. In perfite witte, in good wille, in clene þoȝt in wordis of god & in workes plesyng to god. And þat we loue our e neyghors as our e self. For charite hideth & doth awey/ þe multitude of synnes. Verray charite is of god. Therfor

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1160 The rest of fol. 4v is blank.
1161 ‘crist’ written above ‘his’ and ‘hope.’
1162 Ad, L.
whoso lowseth or vnbyndeth hym fro charite, he deperteth hym fro þe kyngdom of god.

For what so euer þynge is without charite, hit is il. Thegh \\so be þat/ fastynge, almesdede, prayere, offrauns, humilite & oþer suche ylyke semen good, without charite þay may no thynge profite. For no thynge is good without charite. Wo to hym þat putteth charite away [5v] For þat man putteth god away from hym.

[iii] [T]he iii ronge is verray paciens; þat is, that whansoeuer & how soeuer turment or desais we suffre of god, or temptacioun of oure old aduersarie þe deuyl, or persecuciouns & wronges of oure neghbor, In no maner take we ne ask we vengeaunce, bot suffre we paciently in praysinge to god & alway þanke we hym. For verray paciens is to bere euynly other men il dedes done to hym. & be he nat bitte \in concience/ with doloure agayne hym þat doth harm to \hym/ for verray paciens is þat loueth hym þat hym bereth. If any man do þe harme, wreth nat w\ith hy\m. bot raþer be sory for hy\m, for god is wroth w\ith hym.

[v.] [T]he v' ronge is holy lownes; that is, that in thoght & in al maneres & speches, stondynge, sittynge, wandrynge & in clothynge alway lownes \& humilite/ be shewed.

Lownes is þat when þy broþer \þat is/ þyn euyncristen synneth in þe, ar he ask foryevenesse foryeve þou hym. For al laboure without lowneses is bot vanyte. For who so is here foule & vnworthy by lownesse, he is grete befor god. Ber ye alwey sham in your chere hauynge mynd of your trespass. Powder ye ben & in powder ye sytten. Askes ye ben, & in askes ye lyven. In hey wyrship, hey lownes be to vs.

[vi] [T]he vi' ronge is mekenes; þat is, þat ye be mek & humble of hert & þat ye fulfille al your workes in softnes & þat ye be meke to hyre & to vndrestond his word þat
is abowt to show þe wey of god. For as þe day stere shyneth in heuyn, so [6r] shyneth a meke soule befor god. [vii]

[T]he vii ronge is forþeuenesse; þat is, if þou offre þyn offrynge to þe autere & þer þou hast mynd þat by brother þat is þyn euyncristen/ hath som þynge agayns þe, leue þere þyn offrynge befor þe autere & go frist & make pees with þy broþer & than com & offre þyn offrynge. For if þe foryeuen to men hare synnes & trespasses don to yow, god þe fadyr þat is in heuyn shalle foryeve yow your synnes. Therfor cristen peple þe sonnes of god with paciens support ye euery oþer, yeuynge your self euery to oþer. If any haue accioun, or quarel ayeysns any, as ihesu crist foryave yow, so foryeue ye. Nat yeldynge il for il, neþer cors for cors, bot þe contrarie. For to þat ye ben called, to brouke blessynge by heritage. Euery man shal receyue suche foryeuenes of god, as he yeveth to his neighbore. For who so foryeveth that trespasseth to hym, with outdout he doth almydede.

[T]he viii ronge is compuncciou[n] to criste, [viii] sorow of hert; þat is, mynd of wikednesse paste, consideracioun of þe pilgrimage of this wrecched lyf, Mynd of þe peyns to come, Desyre of þat hey contre. And þat he myȝt hastily come to þe presens of Crist in his fairhede. Blesset & verreyly blest is he þat hat compuncciou[n]. Compuncciou[n] \is/ helth to þe soule. Compuncciou[n] is foryeuenes of synnes. Compuncciou[n] inledeth the holygost to hym & maketh hym haue crist in hym.

[T]he ix ronge or grese is prayer; þat is, þat ye be bysy [ix] in prayere, Alwey praynge in spirite, & wakynge in al bisynesse, þat ye be had worthy to shon al harmes

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1163 compuncciou[n], L.
1164 correction in margin
[6v] þat bene to come & surly stond before þe domus sete of crist. For whil we prayen, we reducen to mynd oure trpas. And whan we ben visy in prayere, we shold wepe & make sorow, hauynge in mynde how greuous ben oure wykednesse & þat we haue done. Prayere shold be for oure self & for al trew cristen peple for frendes, for neghebores, for enemyes & for ham þat pursuen vs & for ham þat prayen for us & for ham/ þat shoven þe word of god to vs. For a clene prayere ouercometh þe dartz of þe deuil, & ouercometh vnclene spirits ¹¹⁶⁵ & byndeth fendes.

65 [x]  [T]he x ronge of þis laddyr is pure confessioun. For þat he hid nat his wykednesse he shal nat be dresset. And who is confessed & leueth his syn, he shal haue mercy of god, & our lord shal clene hym fro al his wykednesse. Tym of confessioun is nowe. Therfor confesse yow of þat þat ye haue done in word, what in dede, what in nyȝt & what in daye. Confessioun justifieth, confessioun yeveth foryeuenesse of syn. Therfor confesse yow now to oure lord & to holy prestes, þat worthy & clene ye mow be worth to appere afor þe dome of criste.

70 [xi]  [T]he xi ronge is worthy penaunce; þat is, that ye tary nat to conuert yow to god. & differre hit nat fro day to day, bot leue of youre synnes. For almyghty god is redy to receyue penaunce of synnes. Therfor cesseth euery man now for to syn. For he is fer ynow fro þe feith þat abideth þe tyme of his age to do penaunce. Therfor hit is to hast to euery man to conuerte to oure lord by penaunce doynge, for only ¹¹⁶⁷ penaunce doers

¹¹⁶⁵ Bellewe uses the Latin abbreviation 'spc' here.
¹¹⁶⁶ of of, L.
¹¹⁶⁷ long space between words here.
god helpeth with his mercy. Hereafter we travaillen nat bot resoun of oure workes we putten befor god & his halowes. Þan hit shal be rewardet to eueryman aftre his.

[xii] [T]he xii ronge is abstinen. Þat is, Þat workes euery man abstren hym, &cetera. “Blessed is he Þat hungreth & thrusteth ryghtwisnesse.”¹¹⁶⁸ For he Þat absteneth hym fro met & drynke, & doth ille, he nurssheth deuell; he abstineth hym fro met Þat Þursteth [7r]

riȝtwisnes of god, & fro il dedes & fro worldly delectaciouns fasteth. Hit profiteth no þynge to vs to torment oure fleish with abstinance, if we amend nat oure thoghtes fro vices.

[T]he xiii ronge is dred; Þat is, Þat euery cristen man [xiii] put or haue befor his eyne alwey dred, And alwey haue he in mynd al thynges that god comauandet, And also haue in mynd how the despisers of god fallen in to helle for har syn, & in uolie he euer in his sowle the euerlestynghe lyf Þat is arayet to tho Þat dreden god & kepe he hym self euer fro synnes & vices of thoght, of tonge, of eyne & handes & fete. Suppose he hym self euer of god be despised & suppose he al his dedes euery houre fro god in heuyn to be sey & of his angels euery houre to be renouncet. Wherfor hit is to yow to enchue, that ye encline nat into ille, lest almyghty god make no sorow for oure mysdedes bot do we alwey Þat Þat is good, Þat he glad with vs & Þat we glad mow be worth to regne wit hym.

[xiii]

[T]he xiii ronge is virginite. For virgynes wheþer þey be men or wommen if þay perseuere in chaste virginite, þay ben mad lyke to angels. For þer as is virginite of thoght & body, þer dwelleth our lord god. For virginite of body profiteth no thynge, þer


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as corrupcioun of thoght worcheth. For large chastite is a folowere of virginite, wherfor who is mayd thoght & chaste in body vnpolut, thanke be almyghty god, & study he with al deuocioun to a byde in the same virginite in to his end. And who so knoweth virginite poluted in hym self, Make he sorow & dele & turne he aveyne by penaunce to holnesse of thoght & body, þat he myght be felewed with virgynes & angels.

[T]he xv ronge is rightwisnesse; þat is þat þou dispose no thynge agayns noman vnrightfully neþer with thoght ne dede. And by euery cristen man witte þou hym þy neghbore & thy brothyr. [7v] Wherfor what þou wilt nat be do to the, do þou to non oþer [xvi]  
[T]he xvi ronge is mercy the which shold be fychet in youre hertes, & the which fycye ye in þe rote of youre herte, noȝt turnynge the word of god. For he seith “Blessed be mercyful men, For þay shal haue mercy.”1169 & to euery cristen man he commaundeth & seith “Be ye mercyful, as youre fadyr is mercyful.” Be benygne & mercyful. Cloth ye your bowell of mercy. For blesset is þe soule & blesset is þe man in whose brest mercy is kept. To do mercy & dome, more plesynge is to god than sacrifice of offraunce. For the mercy of god may nat haue mercy of me, þat was nat mercyful my self. Nether he shal noght get or purchace by prayer of þe pitte of god, that wold nat yeve hyrynge to þe prayer of the pouer man. Wherfor if eny amonge yow fal out of the wey, ye þat stonden in þe ryght wey, enfourme ye hym in a meke & softe spirite diligently considerynge your burtelenesse, leste also þat ye fal nate. Be ye so meke in oþer men defautes as in youre owne & non otherwise thinke of oþer men, but so deme ye oþer men as ye desiren to be

1169 Matthew 5:7: Beati misericordes quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Ibid.
demet.\textsuperscript{1170} When we beren our burdenes to gyddyr, ooure agayne stryuer the deuyl we confounden & ouercomen & ooure lord god þat is in heuyn we wyrshipen.

[xvii] [T]he xvii ronge is almusdede, of whose vertu crist seith, “yeue ye almusded” seith he, “& lo al thynge ben clene to yowe.”\textsuperscript{1171} Whoso doth almusdede & rightwisnesse in þe heghest gree, þay shal be repleted in euerleystynge lyf. For as watyre quencheth brennynge fyr, so almusdede withstonde þyn synnys. Two maner of almisdede þer bene: þat on is bodily, as to yeve to [8r] þe nedy what so euer þou maist, þat oþer is spirituel as to foryeve ham þat haue hurt þe, And to accorde þe þat bene at debate. For who so loueth his enemy and who so perteth & conforteth by compassioun to þe nedy þat is brok away fro prisoun or fro enemy, or yeueth eny maner of consaille to ham þat nede hath, with out dout he yeveth almusdede. Therfor þer is no man þat may excuse hym by pouernte, bot þat he may do almusdede. Wherfor whil we haue tyme do we goode to almen.

[T]he xviii degre or ronge is hospitalite, [xviii] the whoche he god hym self so mych pray þat he witnesseth hym self to be receyuet as a gift. Wherthrogh in þe day of þe grete consaille þat is at þe day of dome he shal sey to ham þat done hospitalite, “I was a gift, & ye toke me vp.”\textsuperscript{1172} We redyn also in holy wyrt þat ooure lord/ god & also holy angels come in lyknesse of men to take herbrowe.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1170} Matthew 7:1: no\textit{lite iudicare ut non iudicemini}. Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{1171} Luke 11:41: \textit{verumtamen quod superest date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis}. Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{1172} Matthew 25:35: \textit{esurivi enim et dedistis mihi manducare sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere hospes eram et collexistis me}. Ibid.
\end{itemize}
[T]he xix is worship of fadyr & modyr. For the old testament seith & the new

140 gospell [xix] Oure lord by his owne mouth seith. “Wyrship thy fadyr & modyr & hit \
shal/ be wel to þe & þat þou be the lenger vp on þe erth.”

1173 For who so dredeth god, he wyrshippeth his parentes. An il loss is to hym þat leueth his fadyre, & he is cursed of god that wret his modyr. Therfor euery cristen man wyrship he his fadyr & be he subiect to hym, & þe child foryet he nat the modyr. Natheles if þay forbede vs to go to þe/

145 seruitude of ihesu crist, we ben nat hold to bury ham. O ye fadres be þe wise, & prouok nat youre souymes to wreth, bot teche ye ham in softe techynge & correccioyn of god.

For [8v] þe wyrship of þe fadyr is wyrship of þe son. And þe wyrship of þe souyn is wyrship of þe fadyr.

[xx] [T]he xx ronge of this laddyre is mesuret silence\for þe wysman/. In mych speche syn may nat enchue. Wherfor cristes peple hyre & vndrestond þe doctrine of criste ar þou speke, lerne hastily what tyme þou shalt speke. Considyr whan þou shalt speke.

150 Speke in congrue tyme. In congrue tyme be stil. A man of mych spech is nat wise, for þe wise man vseth few wordes, þe wise man maketh short sermon, & þe fool man myche clattreth. Mesure be in word, þat þy word be I weyed. The word of euery cristen man be hit mesured. Speke þe cristen man no þynge bot wordes profitable & mesured & wordes of edificacioun. Who so kepeth his mouth, kepeth his sowle.

[xxi] [T]he xxi ronge is good consaille; þat is, mak þis end þat aftre þe dede ye forthynke nat. A cristen man with a good cristen man & with a religious man trete he his cause & his necessite. Of il I-wilte haue ye youre consail discreet & stable. In al werk

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1173 Perhaps a paraphrase of Mark 7:10: *Moses enim dixit honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam et qui maledixerit patri aut matri morte moriatur.* Ibid.
pat ye þynke diligently examyn ye & if hit be ryghtful afor god, do hit. And if hit be found contrarie, kut hit away fro youre soule.

[xxii]  [T]he xxii ronge is rightful dome, of þe which he witnesseth & seith, “Deme ye nat, þat ye be nat demet. For in what dome ye demen, ye shal be demet.”

Rightful dome deme ye. Wherfor ye þe sonnes of god hold fast þis ronge of þis holy laddyr & condempne ye no dome of his bot raþer deme youre self. Bynd nat youre self in þe dome of othermen, befor þe domus sete of criste, bot euery of yow considerynge youre self deme youre self. For euery man hath in hym self sufficiently & more þan nedeth to deme & to condempne.

[9r]  [T]he xxiii ronge is good ensample, that ye yeve good ensample to al men that consideren yow in wordes, in maneres, in conuersacioun, in charite, in feith & in al goodnes. Therfor euery man þat wil stey vp to þe hede of this blessed laddyr, he shalle yeve hym self in ensemple of al good workes. [xxiii]

[T]he xxiii ronge is visitacioun of sekmen, þe whiche sothly almyghty god in tyme of his dome befor his angels so mych commendet, that he witnesseth hym self be visited in þe persoun of a sek man, siggynge þus, “I was seke & ye visited me.”

Also he seid, “What so euery ye didde to on of þe leste of myne in my name, to me ye didde


1175 ensample, L.

1176 Matthew 25:36: nudus et operuistis me infirmus et visitastis me in carcere eram et venistis ad me. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.
hit.”1177 Wherfor dere frendes *with* al bysynesse visite ye sekmen & *comfort* ham, & crist is visited of yow in þe sekman, þat crist visite þow, þat is þat he vouchsauf to yeve help of euerleystmage blessednesse. [xxv]

[T]he xxv ronge is ofte visitacioun of seyntes of god & of holy places, in which resten holy men. And þis we reden in þe holy gospel þat oure lord þat neuer did syn ne neuer was gylt found in his mouth ofte & ful ofte didde þe same. Ihesu went in to þe holy Cite of Ierusalem in to þe holy temple for to pray nat for his nede, bot sothly for vs & to yeve vs ensample of his dedes. Therfor haunt we goddis seyntes & har places halowed of god. For if he lord þat was nat occupied *with* eny trespas by cause of prayere so oft visited the temple, Mich more shold we haunt holy chirche *with* al oure stody & deuocioun þat bene Inuoluet *with* dyuers crimes & synnes In fastynge, wakynge & praynge & besechynge þe holy halowes, þat with har holy prayers besech almyghty god þat oure synnys be foryeve [9v] & þat euerleystmage felicite be yeve to vs.

[xxvi] [T]he xxvi ronge is offrauns or ryȝt oblacoioun halowed to god. Riȝtful offrauns is odure of softnes of allerheighest god & þe sacrifice of a ryȝtful man is accepted & god foryeteth nat the mynd of hym. Wherfor offre ye to god worthy thynges, For deth tarieth nat. Offre ye nat il yiftes, for god receyueth ham nat. Sothly who offreth sacrifice of þe substance of þe pouer man, is as he þat doth sacrifice of þe son befor þe syȝt of þe fadyre. *Per*for a grete purgacioun of synnys is bysynes of good dedes & of sacrifice.

Therfor clense ye yow of al filthhed of vices of bodies & of thoghtes, that ye be made worthy to offre youre yiftes to al myghty god.

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1177 Matthew 25:40: *et respondens rex dicet illis amen dico vobis quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis*. Ibid.
[xxvii] [T]he xxvii ronge is to pay to god tethynges, of which god in his gospel proclaimeth siggynge “dispose ye or monstre ye al youre tethyng.” And in another place by the prophet commaundyng he seith thus, “Bere in al youre tethyng in to my berne, pat hit be met in my house.” Lo dere bretheren tethynges ben the ramiccioun of nedy sowles. And if pat ye yeue trewly youre tethynges, ye shal receyue nat only plenteth of frutes, bot also helth of body & sowle. God nedeth nat ne asketh nat the mede, bot þe wyrship. Almyghty god pat voucheth sauf to yeve vs al þe good þat we haue, he voucheth sauf to ask ayeyne tethyng of vs nat to his profit bot to ooure without eny dout. Therfor who desirret to by hym/ meede, or desireth to serue to haue foyreuenesse \of his syn/1179, yeld he tethynges of al his substance. And also study he to do almusdede of þe ix perties of his goode.

[10r] [T]he xxviii ronge is witte & wisedome. Wysdom [xxviii] is to drede god & to withdraw hym self fro ille1180 þe second wisdom is to do wel. Eueryman þat is wise as anent god, is blesset. Oure lord loueth no man, bot hym þat dwelleth with wisdome. Wherfor hold ye this halowed ronge of blessed wisdome with strone honde & in al loue stryue ye to haue hit. For who loueth wysdome loueth god, & by that lyf he shal enherite the erth. [xxix]

[T]he xxix ronge is good wille. Good wil is if we hold anothar manmys aduersitees & harmes as oure owne. Deny oure help & socoure to noman, þat we desiren

1178 Malachi 3:10: *inferte omnem decimam in horreum et sit cibus in domo mea et probate me super hoc dicit Dominus si non aperuero vobis cataractas caeli et effudero vobis benedictionem usque ad abundantiam.* Ibid.

1179 correction in the margin

1180 half a line erased here.
to be do to vs. The necessite of thy neighbore nat only aftyre þy streynth þou shalt socoure, bot also þou shalt wille to profit & socoure hym ouer þy streynth. There is no man bot þat [he]1181 myȝt \ascende/1182 þese holy ronges by þe stappes of ryghtwisnesse2 to ascende, if þat he wold. For sothly al þese ronges or grees, sukynge childre, yonge men & old men & wommen & men of al ages now oft ben to ascende. We knowen also þat ryche & pouer may haue this ronge, þat is good wille & also þe pouerest man þat is, aswel as þe myghtyest ryche man. Pouer men hauynge no richesses solace þay ham self. Richemen \& miȝty/1183 flowynge in richesses transcende þay with har good wille. For no þyng is swettyre þan good wille. God asketh noght of vs bot good wil & perfite werke.

[xxxiv]

[T]he xxxiv ronge of this fulblessed laddyre is perseuerauce in good. Of þe whicheoure lord in þe gospel witnesseth siggyng þus: “Who abydeth & perseuereth here in to þe end, shal [10v] be sauf.”1184 For þan our e conuersacioun pleseth god, whan we fulfilleth þe good þat we haue begon abydyng ðat we haue begun abydynge without ende. For in cristyn men ben nat asket þe begynnynge, bot þe end. Sothly in veyn good is done, if hit be lefte of afor his lyf tyme. Euer in þe lif of man, good ende is asked. For almyghty god taketh non hede whate we haue bene afor, bot whate we bene about oure lyf ende. Oure lord shal

1181 erased
1182 correction in margin.
1183 correction in margin.
deme euery man in his end, noȝt of þe lyf þat is paste. For of his end euery man shal be justified or condempned.

[L]o bretheren, ye haue herd whiche ben þe ronges of this glorouse laddre. Now I beseche yow tak hede to þe stronge & stiddefast sydes of the same laddre in which þe forseid ronges ben vprered & sustenened. Therfor þat one syde of þis laddre is þat holy sacrament of goddys body with þe which our[e] body & our[e] soule we shold array & conferme þat we myȝt vp sty\by/ þe forseiden ronges without eny maner of impediment or lettyng. That oþer syde of this forseid \holy/ laddre is mynde of þat holy abrenunciacioun or forsakyng þe whiche we didde afor our[e] baptisme the which we shold haue diligently \in/ mynd, in thoght, in speche, in syȝt, in hyrynge & in dede doynge. Sothly what so euer he be þat fastneth nat these two sydes of þis heuynly laddre in hym self, þat is to sey nat worthily receyuyen the body & þe blode of our[e] lord ihesu crist, or hath nat in mynd the mynd of þat holy renunciacion in fyghtynge agayns the deuyl, Without dout þay forseid ronges ben void to hym & vpnprofitable. For þer is no thynge in which þe seiden ronges may be contened or infyched, if þe sydes laken. Wherfor ful dere frendes [11r] rer vp your[e] thouȝt to þe kyngedome of heuyn & be nat slowe ne recheles to rer vp þe sydes of þis laddre & to fastne þe ronges. bo\t/ trustynge in þe help of almyghty god. Rere vp þe blessed laddre \&/ þe ful myrry laddre by which ye mow be worth to stey to þe blessed kyngedome & to þat glorious lord. Despise ye nat the lord almyghty. Despise nat þe gospell of crist. Despise nat þe holy angell & oþer seyntes of god. Despise nat ne lese nat your[e] self. Know your[e] self bethynkyng what ye bene now & whate ye shal be. Now ye bene men & wommen fleshely & burtel dedely & askes to deye & aftre deth rotten & wormes & ful of al meschif & desaise. Those
youre bodies suffren. Thynke ye þese & suspire ye in youre hertes drawynge vp þis blessed laddre/ to almyghty god, that ye mow ascende blessedly to his kyngedome.

1185 in in, L.
EDITED TEXT 6:

_O THOU SOUL MYN_ – TRANSLATED FROM A LATIN TEXT BY NICHOLAS BELLEWE

The text is in Longleat MS 29 (fols. 11r-16v). Longleat MS 29 (hereafter MS L) is a miscellany of religious texts, featuring several Rolle texts, Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale,” a vision of purgatory shown to a holy woman, a version of Hilton’s _Mixed Life_, an English translation of Flete’s _De Remediis contra Temptaciones_ and several other prose and verse works in Latin and English.\(^{1186}\) The manuscript is almost entirely in Bellewe’s hand, with insertions by two other near-contemporary hands, probably added after Bellewe completed the manuscript. The manuscript was composed in the Dublin area, but may have found its way to England shortly after its completion. The script is Bellewe’s rounded Anglicana book hand.

There is no rubrication in this section of the Longleat MS. Guide letters are included without markings. Missing guide letters are provided in square brackets. Capitalization has been left as it is in the MS, except that the initial letters of some sentences have been silently capitalized.

\(^{1186}\) The most accurate descriptions of this manuscript are Hanna, _The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue_, 208–12; Rolle, _Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts_, xvii–xxxi. The manuscript has also been described, with errors, in Allen, _Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Bibliography_, 36–7; Manly and Rickert, _The Text of The Canterbury Tales: Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts_, 1:343–48. See also Appendix C.
Punctuation has been modernized. Where Bellewe uses his distinctive -style graph for a pause, a comma is substituted; commas are also inserted for medial points, where appropriate. Bellewe commonly uses a medial point or punctus elevatus at the end of sentences; occasionally a double-slash is used (///). Periods are silently inserted in all of these places.

Bellewe occasionally runs the indefinite article “a” together with a following noun without a space. Spaces are silently added in these instances. Abbreviations are expanded in italics. Interlinear insertions are marked by \/. Expunged letters crossed out.

Final j has been silently changed to i.

Marginal notes are in Arial and surrounded by square brackets. Notes are usually “Ihu,” marking quotations. They may be in Bellewe’s hand or in a later hand. Uncertain letters are in bold.
[O] thou soul myn whi art þou sorowful & why trowblest þou me? Why art þou prow doun so with doloure & gastnes vnlowsable? O blynd soul & incensible, rere þe voice of þy desyre to god þy spouse, þy fren þy neigbore & þy brother & aboue these þy benigne fadyr. Cry to hym & he shal hyre the, helpe þe & delyuer the. He shal command þe wyndes of temptaciouns of þe deuyl & þaye shal cesse & by the mercy of god & his wondreful goodnesse þou shalt be delyueret fro his powere, þe which maliciously ben vset in the, & thay shal be cast in to þe depnes of þe see þat is in to helle. And þou shalt by pesibilite of thoght þat a thousand shal falle fro þy syde & ten thousand fro þy ryghthand þat bene temptaciouns of þe deuyl & deceytes. And whate noy & desaise this myn [11v] aduersarie didde to me, sothly I know hit of þe grete goodnes of þe mercy of god to be turned to me in to mede. For I knowlech the word of the apostle to be trewe. Vertu in sekenes & aduersite is made perfite. That knyght is nat prouet ne is nat worthy victory, that was neuer in perille. To glade vs tempted in tribulaciouns of this lif, Iob seith thus, “Alle oury lyf is temptacioun & tribulacioun.‖ Iames apostle seith thus. “My bretheren trow hit al ioy whan ye fallen in to dyuers temptaciouns & tribulaciouns. Wit ye þat þe proef of youre feith is paciens; paciens hath perfite werke.”1187 And also austeyn seith [Ìhesu] thus, “O thou man if þou be out take fro the turmentry of temptaciouns tribulaciouns & sekenesse, þou shalt be outtake of þe noumbe of þe sonnes of god.” For who hath no temptaciouns here, shal haue no


1188 tribulaciouns, L.
consolaciouns in tyme comynge. O wyked deuyl, what availeth now þy gile? Thou dost no damage to me, bot I wot wel þat þou arayest to me a croun. Do hastilyer what þou maist do. For þou sholdest haue no powere vp on me, bot if hit were suffred of god. Thou tormentest me here, & þou wost nere þat þou makest clene my soule in þe forneyes of þis fyre; & in þe day of dome the mercy & þe passioun of crist helpynge me þan þou shalt haue no powere in me. Thou pursuest nat me, bot þou pursuest my lord ihesu crist in his ymage. And þe perf of þe ryȝtwysedome of god, þou shalt be crusshed & peyned without end in þe blases of þe fyre of helles. And I beleue trustily þat my lord ihesu crist in his mercy shal defend me fro al myn enemyes, As þe prophet seith of hym thus, “He is defendoure [12r] of al men trustynge in hym, & he is made refut of pouer men an helpere in nede in tribulacioun.” And almen þat knew þy name shal trust in the. For þou lord/ leuest ham þat asken or sechen the? O þou my soule be þou conforted in þe wondreful swetnesse of þe mynde of þe/ name of ihesu. For hit is with the by his grace, by feith, hepe & charite, by humilite & pacience in temptacioun & tribulacioun. Cry by desyre to thy god with the holy man lob siggynge thus, “If we haue receyuet goodes of ourlوردes hand, why take we nat illes. God yaue hit god toke hit/ a wey, & as hit pleset to god so hit is done, be þe
name of god blesset.”\textsuperscript{1193} O þou pacient man, O holy man & ful of god þat lost sonnes seruauntes ethly substance & sate\textsuperscript{1194} in a donghep ful of shabbes alwey praysynge god, that is in aduersite & prosperite. That man was of whom dauid sange in þe sauter, “To giddre in oon ryche & pouer.”\textsuperscript{1195} [Ìhesu] O soul myn ren to þis philosophoure to lerne wisdome of þe verray Salomon þat is of þe pacient man, þe which is proved & found trewe. [Ìhesu] O soul myn kele þy hungre with brede of þis pacience, þat þou lerne to blesse god in altyme. Hit is nat hard to blesse god in prosperite\textsuperscript{1196}, bot hit is a maistris of grete cunynge to preise god in aduersite. Do wel in temptacioun & fail nat in tribulacioun. Bot þou soul myn, why bostest þou nat suche wordes in þy thoght? Thegh þou be yit feble fro deucioiun, cold fro þe knowlech of trouth, yit for this ly nat as dede to þe erth. Trist in god, […] For if þou wandre in þe middel [12v] of temptacioun & tribulacioun he shal quyke the & he shal streche hand vpon þe wretch of thyne enemes, & his \riȝt/ hand shal make the sauf. [Ìhesu] Soule myn say to hym tristily, “My lord god shal reward for me. Lord þy mercy is without end. Lord despise nat me thyn owne hand werke. Lord I shold be troublent if þat I knewe nat þy mercy. Thou seidest, ‘I wil nat þe deth of þe synnere, bot rather þat he be conuertet & þat he lyve.’\textsuperscript{1197}” And if a synner

\textsuperscript{1193} Job 2:10: \textit{qui ait ad illam quasi una de stultis locuta es si bona susceptimus de manu Domini quare mala non suspiciamus in omnibus his non peccavit Iob labiis suis:} Job 1:21: \textit{et dixit nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae et nudus revertar illuc Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit sit nomen Domini benedictum.} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1194} large space between words here.

\textsuperscript{1195} Psalm 48:3: \textit{tam filii Adam quam filii singulorum simul dives et pauper.} Fischer and Weber, \textit{Biblia Sacra.}

\textsuperscript{1196} prospite, L.

\textsuperscript{1197} Ezekiel 18:23: \textit{numquid voluntatis meae est mors impii dicit Dominus Deus et non ut convertatur a viis suis et vivat.} Fischer and Weber, \textit{Biblia Sacra.}
converte hym fro the erroure of his il wey, wheþer he be Iue or heretike & if he sorow & be penitent & in ful wille to be ryghtwise, god seith. “I wil nat record his wykednesse, ne his erroure. Thou spouse myn,” þat is, “þou soul, Thou hast done fornycacioun with many ful foul louers. Natheles turne ayeyne to me, & I shal vp take the & I shal make þe gloriousse in my kyngedome. Thou hast synned, yet leue of & I shal foryeve al þy synnes. Drede þe nat ouermyche thegh þou be al defoulet with syn, & thegh þou haue offendet me in al þy lymmys. I in al þe lymmes of my body was turmented for þy synnes & al synnes of mankynde. And thegh þou synned with hondes & feete, I for the was fyched on the crosse hondes & feete with hard nayll. If þou synned with þy hede, My hede for thyne was thurlet with ful sharp thornes. If þou synned with þyn eyne, Myn eyne weren knyt with a towail & helled. If1198 þou synned with þyn eers, myn eers for the herd blaspemyses & fals wittnes. And if þou synned with thy tonge, my tonge was for the with [13r] stronge aysel & galle I chappet & I kutte. If þou synned with hert, al my body was scourget & turmented for the. So þat fro þe sol of þe fote into þe heghest pert of my hede appered none hole place.” Lo my doghtre & my spouse, here þou hast fulle & sufficient remedy agayne al þy synnes & oþer men synmys also. [Ihesu] What shold I do more for the & I didde nat, I am mercyful & suffrynge vp on malice. Turne to me by desyre & thoght & shew to me the face of thy loue, & I shal show to the þe face of my grace. For I cam nat for ryȝtwysmen, bot I come to calle synners to penance.1199 Who

1198 added in margin.

 hath eers of hert \\
\vndrestondynge hyre he this. For lo I haue made my self opyn to the \nworld? & yit hit taketh none hede to my wordys.”  [Ihesu] “O israel,” \bat is, “O thou \nsoul seynge me by feith & reysoun, hyre \bou \be wordes of lyf, & write ham in the table \nof \byyn herte. More ioy is in heuyn vpon a synner doyynge penaunce, \ban vpon nyne & \ynyty ryȝtwyse \bat neden no penaunce.\textsuperscript{1200} This I speke to yow doghtres myn, that is to \nsoules \bat I haue boȝt, noȝt w\ith corruptible gold or syluer, bot with my \precious boide. \nThat ye be nat gastned ne a dred for your \nhelth for \be multitude of synnyys, I haue suffred \n\ndeth for ham & I haue wosshe yow of al youre wykednesse in my boide. Turne to me \n\n\textit{with al youre} hert, & kyndely I shal vptake yow. For \textit{in what soeuer} houre \be \synner \nmaketh sorow & forthynketh his syn, he shal be sauett. O dogltre of ierusalem know thy \name. I am Ihesu,” \bat is, “sauyoure, helth & \by redempcioun. I cam to seche \be that \nwas lost, & to lede \be agayne into my floke fold.\textsuperscript{1201} I shal ra\ber do away \be syn of men, \ban any men myȝt [13v] thynk. In my name al maner of synnes ben foryeue & al \bynges \n\ben sentefied & renewed. \textit{Et ideo peto a me confidenter} [Ihesu] And \ber for trustily \n\naske of me \bath \bat is hele of sowle. Who asketh receyueth, & who secheth shal fynde & \n\n\nhit shal be opened to hym \bath knokketh at \be yate.”\textsuperscript{1202} 

\text{O wordes ful of al swetnes, O wordes sownynge ioyes of heuyn, solace of angell & men! Whate sowle hireth \bese wordes \bath is nat gladet? What thoght thynke \bese, \bath \n
\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1200} Luke 15:7: \textit{dico vobis quod ita gaudium erit in caelo super uno peccatore paenitentiam habente quam super nonaginta novem iustis qui non indigent paenitentia.} Ibid.


\end{footnotes}
sone is nat turned in to certeyne hope? O myche wondreful flowyn of þe mercy of god, 
þat so swetly calleth þe synner to hym. And raþer foryeueth oure synnes, þan we asken 
foryeuenesse. [Ihësu] As dauid witnesseth, “For whi lord þyn ere herde þe forcast of 
hare hert,” 1203 þat is, of synners criynge to þe. O lord þy mercies ben many, & of þi 
mercies is none nombre. For þy mercy is aboue al þy werkes. þou þat called 
penaunce/ þe publicane, þe womman of Canane, Ma{ry} Mawdeleyne & þe thef 
hangynge in þe crosse. & tokest to grace petre þat wept for þe denynyng of þe þrise. O 
Fadyr of mercies & god of al solace, thynke on me synner þat þou has boȝt with thy 
precious blode. God to whom is alwey propre to haue mercy & to spare & receyue þou 
my prayer & \in/ þe mercy of þy pitte assoille me þy wrecched vnworthy seruaunt I-
bound with the cheynes of syn, & dresse þou me & myn dedes in þy good wille, & teche 
me do þ{y} wille. And put away al my wykednesse, & defende me in þy vertu agayns al 
myn enemys þat in þy name I mow be worth in good thoghtes & clene wille & ryȝtful 
werkes to profite the, and þat þou vouche sauf to sette me with out end aftre þis burtle lyf 
betwix þy seyntes & chosen men in [14r] þy kyngdome. [Ihësu] O my god I shal trist in 
þe & I shal nat be confoundet for euer. For in thy mercy & in thy word þou hast do awey 
al my synmys. As I hyre þe 1204 prophet sey of the my god, “My soule hath be sustenened in 
his word, & my soul hath tristed in þe lord.” And þe prophet addith þe cause of þe grete 
spírituel ioy in hart of man whan he seith, “For mercy is at þe lord, & redeṃpcioun is

1203 Psalm 9:38 [10.17]: desiderium pauperum audit Dominus praeparasti ut cor eorum audiat 
auris tua. Ibid. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.

1204 þe þe, L.
Austeyn vpon these wordes seith, “That þer shold noman dispeyre, for þe multitude of his synnys. For why if any man be oppressed with \his/ synnes, the wondreful depnes of þe mercy of god is at hym, þat anone with out abydyng putteth awey al synnes. For þe mercy of god is more þan oure wrechednesse.”

Bot by hap þou seist now, “I haue done many greuous synnys.” What þegh, yit dred nat, For the apostle seith, “There as is mych syn, þer is wel more grace,”¹²⁰⁶ as hit was fulfilled in mary Maudeleyn, the whiche as the gospel witnesseth she had with in hyr vii legions of deuell. A legioun conteneth \vi\⁹⁶ vi\⁶ lx & vi. Thynk on paule þat was a pursuere of cristen peple & pursuet holy chirche. Thynk on petyr þat for drede of deth forsoke criste þrise. Also þynk on dauid þe kynge, þat fel in to auoutry & manslaghtre.

Loo brother how mych syn was in these at þe begynnynge, bot natheles affectuously take hede to har ende. For as Ysidre seith, “God demeth no man of þe lyf þat is past, bot of his ende.” And the seith þe wisman, [14v] “Al praysynge in þe end is proued.” Mary Maudeleyn aftre she had fulfilled hir penaunce, was mad felewe to the apostles & a techere or a showere of goddis miracles. Paule was made a verray doctoure & \va/ gaderer to gydder of the chirche of god. Petre is made prince of apostles & portere of heuyn yate. Dauid is made a prophete þat endited þe salmes of þe psauter, Of whos generacioun ihesu criste is bore to vs. Loo a hundred fold the mercy of god is more, than is oure syn.


¹²⁰⁶ Romans 5:20: lex autem subintravit ut abundaret delictum ubi autem abundavit delictum superabundavit gratia. Ibid.
Therfor fro hens forward noman mystrust nat for his grete syn, thegh hit seme to hym greuous. For there as syn is grete, grace is wel grettere. And only for this cause crists ihesu come in to þis world for to by & to saue synners. Perfor mystrust nat of þy saluacioun, for þou art a synner. For the god come in to þis world & toke þy kynde, And deyet for the, to deleyuer the fro euerleystynge deth. He a lonly is without syn, to weshe vs synners of oure synnys & redeyme vs. [ihesu] Austeyn seith thys, “Drede noȝt man to go to god for no trespas ne wikednes þat þe hast don, bot only goo to hym with ful hert & leue þou of to do þat wykednesse þat þou were woned to do afor.” [ihesu] And let no man sey þat “Wykednes is nat foryeve me, for I was nat verray contrit for hit, ne fully confesset, For whiche I am nat worthy to haue foryeuenesse of my synnys.” Say nat þat, for hit is fals. And by cause þat þou wenest þat þy syn is nat foryeve, þou turnest þe nat to god, & þy syn is nat foryeue the. And þat is only for þou trustest nat in god.

And perfor god seith to þe & to al opers. [ihesu] “Son trust in me & þy synnes ben foryeve.” Lo by only feith in þe sacrementes of holy chirche al syn is foryev [15r] without whiche no man may plese god. For evyn as feith profiteth nat without good werkes, In þe same maner good werkes without feith avaylleth nat. [ihesu] As þe apostle witnesseth siggynge thus. “By feith we bene mad sauf.” 

And our lord seith to vs. “If þou may beleve, to the þat beleuest al þynes ben possible.” Answar now to hym a none & sey with al þe wil of þy hert, “I beleue in the lord & in al þy wordes.

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1207 For for. L.

1208 Ephesians 2:8: gratia enim estis salvati per fidem et hoc non ex vobis Dei enim donum est. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.

1209 Mark 9:22 [9:23]: Iesus autem ait illi si potes credere omnia possibilia credenti. Ibid.
Help myn incredibilite.” Trust in god. And þegh þou be vnworthy by thy syn, netheles þou art worthy by his grace & his redempcioun. Drede nat for þou art in derknes & in þe depnes of þis exile. Fro derkenes cri to god & he shal graciously hyre thy voys. And sey, “Lord if þou obseruest wykednesse, lord who shal withstond þy face? Lord I abyde þe lawe þat þou yave to me.” Þat is, “Foryeve þou to vs oure dettes as we foryeven to oure dettours.” “Lord god mynd þou nat oure old wykednesse bot hastily þy mercies put þay ham a wey for we ben made ful pouer. Lord þat art oure hele help vs, & lord god for þe wyrship of½½½½ by name delyuer vs fro oure enemyes & tribulaciouns.

O good ihesu þou allone hast proued & knowest me. Thou knowest my sitynge & my agayn rysinge.” [½½½½] Austeyn seyth, “He sitteth, þat holdeth humilite & hath þe sharpnes of his þoȝt stabile in god. And al dorkenes of errour fer put awey fro verite of thoght by þe worchynge of þe grace of god.” Also he seith þat, “He risith, þat leueth his synnys & is rered in to hep of euerlestynge lyf.” [ihesu] Ouer þat þe prophet seith in þe sautere, “Rise ye aftre ye sitten, ye þat shal ette þe brede of doloure.”½½½½ Þe brede of doloure eten men sory for hare syn, & þay þat seyne, “My teres weren to me brede nyȝt & daye.”½½½½ Bot what is þis þat he seith, “Rise ye aftre ye sitten?” I sey þat he seith hit For commendacioun of humilite, þat [½½½½] is begynnynge & endynge of al vertues & graces. Hit is begynynge, For without hit no vertue may be gat. And hit is end, for without hit no vertue may be kept. [ihesu] Of whiche gregory seyth, “Al þynge þat is done is spilt

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1210 of of, L.

1211 Psalm 126:2 [127:2]: frustra vobis est de mane consurgere postquam sederitis qui manducatis panem idolorum sic dabit diligentibus se somnum. Fischer and Weber, Biblia Sacra.

1212 Psalm 41:3 [42:3]: fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panis per diem ac noctem cum diceretur mihi tota die ubi est Deus tuus. Ibid.
& lost, if hit be nat kept with humilite.” Bot now þou askest. “What humylite is þat?” I sey hit is nat knowe by exposicioun of wordes, bot by experience. Bot yit a litel I shal showe yow, as I fynd in writynges thegh I haue ‘noȝt/ experience of hyt. Two ben degrees of humilite, þat is to sey, The lower & the herrre. Þe lower is comyn mekenes & imperfite. And þat is whan aman \\{e}/holdeth hym self despiseable, fowlest & vnworthyest of al oþer synners \a/ verrayly & trewly by þynkynge of his þoȝt. And to þe lest werk of god fredeth hym self vn able. He thynketh al men bettre þan hym self & he demeth no man for no syn, bot only he thynketh on his owne synnes. And he putteth almen aboue hym as wel synners as oþer men in wyrrhipynge ham & louynge ham nat feynyngely, bot verrayly by þynkynge of þoȝt & spech of mouth. And holdeth no rancoure agays anyman of no maner of enuy, wreth or malice. Bot al stirrynges of pride, Ire & envy & fals dome of oþer men werkes, asmych as in hym is, he destrueth & putteth awey. [Ihesus] The herrer degre of humilite is called, perfite humilite & spirituel, For hit is graunted bot to ful few & to ful special. And this is hit: Whan the thoȝt & þe mynd at al is turned in wysdome by meditacioun in to one, þat is, inly ficheth al his thoughtes and wille in to only god his creatoure & by knowlech & loue abideth & resteth in hym. Al maner of trowble & extraccioun of worldly & fleshly affeccioun at al excludet fro his [16r] soule, whose wille is yeve to god, whose knowynge mynestreth to god, Whose wisdome is about god, whose thoȝt treteth tho þynges þat ben of god, whose mynde alwey myndeth þo þynges þat ben goode. This soule thus rauyshed in to god by loue, almost hit foryetteth hym self & also al his dedes goode & ille. For he

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1213 knowyge, L; suspension mark may have been trimmed off.
enclineth hym self strongly to god þat is wey, trowth & lyf, al good & aller heghest mede. Þer is stirrynge rebelle agayns hitte, bot al he tempreth to hit whan hit is tempred to god. If hit frede eny vnlawful stirrynge, hit consenteth nat, bot anone withstondeþeth.

[Ìhesu] And wit þou for soth as bernard seith & Gregory also, “Be the thoȝt neuer so foul hit defouleþet nat þe soule, whan resoun þerto consenteth nat.” For if þou fredest an il styrrynge, & þou consentest nat to hit, hit is peyn to þe, for þou suffrest hit. Bot hit is no syn to þe for þou dost nat in dede þat same ille, bot hit trauailieth hym withstondeþyng & crowneth hym ouercommyng. For þe deuyl is ouercome & slawe, whan man consenteth nat to his stirrynges. As þe apostle seith, “Withstonde ye þe deuyl & he shal fle fró yow.”

[Ìhesu] Than if þou wílt ouercome þe deuyl & his suggestions, take to þe þis remedy. Haue ìhesu þy lord in þy thoȝght & bow to hym al þe vertue of þy soule trustynge trustily in hym, & prayse hym bysily in prayers & good werkes. In þe which if þou perseuere trewly, god shal yeve to þe stablenesse of thoȝt þroþh ìnfuþiouþn of his grace. And labour þou to get þe þis perfite humilitie of which I spake of, & god shal kep þe & he shal fyȝt for þe & defend þe of al þyn enemyes. For in whose þoȝt humilitie regneth, god holdeth place þer by his grace. [Ìhesu] And þis apereth soth by his word where he seith, “VERRIDE whom [16v] shal my spirit reste.”

Bot vp on hym humble, contrite & dredynge my wordes, Therfor be humble & meke & be nat exalted in
APPENDIX A:
LISTS OF DEEDS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY JAMES YONGE,
THOMAS BAGHILL, AND NICHOLAS BELLEWE

Below are three tables listing the deeds and other documents in the hands of Yonge and his two students, Baghill and Bellewe. Deeds listed in catalogs and no longer extant are in italics. Letters that are unclear are in bold. I have made short notes regarding surrounding properties, if they are listed in the deed, as well as notes regarding the extant seals. ‘Provostship’ indicates that the deed has or had the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin appended to it. A capital initial in the seal description indicates a small personal seal bearing that particular letter. These were usually round or ovoid seals approximately 1 cm. in diameter. The professions and status as citizens of grantors, grantees, and witnesses are listed in parentheses; ‘Dub cit’ indicates that the individual is listed as a Dublin citizen on at least one deed. This information is not necessarily listed on every deed in which an individual is mentioned. Almost all documents are dated according to regnal year. I have adjusted dates to reflect modern dating, with the year beginning on January 1st.
TABLE A.1:
LIST OF DEEDS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY OR PERTAINING TO JAMES YONGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Property and Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 Jan. 1404</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 84[1217]</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Hothum and Walter Reske (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Ryver (skinner, Dub cit)</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master M or James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Castle St., formerly of Henry Ferour, surrounded by waste land of Mariota Bolas (Boys?), waste land of Prior of St. John without the New Gate, and mesuage of John Allesley</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: Thomas Cusak (mayor), John Philpot and Richard Clerk (bailiffs), Wolfran Broun, John Passelewe, Thomas Shorthals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Nov. 1404</td>
<td>NLI[1218] D.7222 (1)[1219]</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Thomas Spark (canon of St. Patrick’s Church)</td>
<td>John Yonge (vicar of Tallaght), Robert Notte (chaplain), Henry Wytteby, Nicholas Belyng and John Taloun (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>All mesuages and lands in “Meonesrath, Londenyslond, and Ferkayth” next to the Collyn and the Dodder Rivers</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship; T Witnesses: John Drake (Mayor of Dublin), Stephen Taylour and Luke Douedale (bailiffs), William de Tenbegh and many others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1217] This and all other references to St. Werburgh are from Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. Werburgh Dublin, 1243-1676.” These deeds are no longer extant


[1219] Numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding document number in Edited Text 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
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<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Property and Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb 1406</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 85 &amp; 86</td>
<td>indenture, both halves</td>
<td>John Hothom and Walter Reske (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Tynbegh, Stephen Tynbegh, William Baldewyn, Patrick Forstall, and Nicholas White</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master Mor James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Castle St., formerly of Henry Ferrou, surrounded by waste land of Mariota Bolas (Boys?), waste land of Prior of St. John without the New Gate, and mesuage of John Allesley; Rent: 50s silver yearly</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: John Drake (mayor), John Philpot and Walter Tyrrell (bailiffs), Robert Callan, John Callan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Mar 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.69 (2)</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>John Lytill</td>
<td>Robert Burnell</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>false imprisonment – possibly over the same lands that the receipt (TCD 1477, no 65) is for</td>
<td>notarized by Yonge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Apr 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.75 (3)</td>
<td>damaged, probably a grant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship, 3 others Deed is in poor condition &amp; illegible; related to TCD 1477.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Apr 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.72 (5)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Herbert, James FitzWilliam, Walter de Howthe</td>
<td>John Walsch, Walter Porter (both chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 4 stalls in Fishamble St., next to property formerly belonging to Roger Bekeford</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship, negative impression of eagle, negative impression of 8-petaled flower, hand grasping an uprooted plant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1220}\) Trinity College Dublin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
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<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Property and Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 Apr. 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.74 (6)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Herbert, James FitzWilliam and Walter de Houthe</td>
<td>Robert Burnell (Dub cit) to place John Walsch and Walter Porter in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 4 stalls in Fishamble St., next to stalls formerly belonging to Roger Bekeford and the mesuage of Patrick Brynell (Burnell?)</td>
<td>Seals: 8 petaled flower, hand grasping an uprooted plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20?) Apr. 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.76 (4)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Streche (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Walsch and Walter Porter (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Stalls in Fishamble St., a gift from Roger Bekeford, between a mesuage belonging to the Abbess of Hogges and the stalls formerly belonging to William Blakeney</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship, cross Related to TCD 1477.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.73 (7)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Herbert, James FitzWilliam and Walter de Houthe</td>
<td>John Walsch and Walter Porter (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 4 stalls in Fishamble St., next to stalls formerly belonging to Roger Bekeford and the mesuage of Patrick Brynell (Burnell?)</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship, negative impression of eagle, negative impression of 8-petaled flower, hand grasping an uprooted plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 1406</td>
<td>TCD 1477.77 (8)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Blakeney, son and heir of William Blakeney</td>
<td>John Walsch and Walter Porter (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 12 stalls in Fishamble St between property of Abbess of Hogges and the mesuage of Patrick Brynell (Burnell?)</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship, young man’s face in profile Scrap parchment showing part of James Yonge’s notarial cross used as seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 May 1406</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/113 (9)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>James Byrdesale, son and heir of Alicia Cheuer</td>
<td>Margarete Toppe</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>All of the grantor’s mesuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, and grazing-lands in “Cheuerstoun and Ballyfynche” in the Parish of Rathfarnan</td>
<td>Seals: one, now illegible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 May 1406</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/114 (10)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>James Byrdesale, son and heir of Alicia Cheuer</td>
<td>Margarete Toppe</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>All of the grantor’s mesuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, and grazing-lands in Cheuerstoun and Ballyfynche in the Parish of Rathfarnan</td>
<td>Seal: large H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Aug. 1406</td>
<td><em>Christ Church Deed</em> 222 271</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Maria Burnell, widow of Thomas FitzWilliam Comyn (knight)</td>
<td>Holy Trinity Church</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master M or James Yonge</td>
<td>‘Clogbanagh’ in Ballygriffyn, opposite lands of Ballygriffyn Church, between the road from Ballygriffyn to St. Dulek’s, a small meadow, and the Glynd pasture</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: John Drake (Dublin Mayor), Walter Tyrrell and Robert Gallan (bailiffs), Thomas Cusak, Nicholas Woder, and Thomas Schortals (city clerk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1221 National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds.

1222 This and all other references to Christ Church are from McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*. These deeds are no longer extant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Oct. 1406</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 820</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>John Walsch and Robert Bryan (chaplains)</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum and William Poddyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master Mor James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with High St. on the south and the land of Holy Trinity Church on the other 3 sides</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: John Drake (Dublin Mayor), Walter Tyrrell and Robert Gallan (bailiffs), Thomas Cusak, Nicholas Woder, and Thomas Schortals (city clerk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Oct. 1406</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 821</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Walsch and Robert Bryan (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Thomas Newton to place Henry Marburgh, John Hothum and William Poddyng (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master Mor James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with High St on the south and the land of Holy Trinity church on the other 3 sides</td>
<td>Associated with Christ Church deed 820, which may have had Provostship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Oct. 1406</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 822</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Walsch and Robert Bryan (chaplains)</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum and William Poddyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master Mor James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with High St on the south and the land of Holy Trinity church on the other 3 sides</td>
<td>May have had Provostship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Mar. 1407</td>
<td>RIA 1223 12.S.22-31.551 (11)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Robert Burnell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Land with buildings near the New Gate, between land once belonging to Elye de Asshebourne and land once belonging to Thomas Sparke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1223 Royal Irish Academy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 Oct. 1407</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 827</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Ingoll and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Edward Barry to place Henry Marburgh, John Hothum and William Poddyn (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>no longer extant, possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>6 shops in Oxmantown in the Parish of St. Michan, between the highway on the front and east, the land of Thomas Serjeaunt held by John Fychet (dyer), and St. Michan’s churchyard</td>
<td>Associated with Christ Church deed 828, which may have had Provostship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Oct. 1407</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 828</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Ingoll and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum and William Poddyn (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>6 shops in Oxmantown in the Parish of St. Michan, between the highway on the front and east, the land of Thomas Serjeaunt held by John Fychet (dyer), and St. Michan’s churchyard</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: William Wade (Dublin mayor), Robert Gallan and Nicholas Woder (bailiffs), Thomas Cusak, Robert Burnell and Thomas Schorthals (city clerk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Dec. 1407</td>
<td>RIA 12.8.22-31.292a (12)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Walshe (chaplain)</td>
<td>Richard Glaswright (Dub cit) and John Boys</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage, stone house, and 2 stalls in Kyssherslane lying between the lane, St Audoen’s Church, the stall formerly belonging to Robert Stakeboll, the land formerly belonging to Edward Sergeaunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Jun. 1408</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 833</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Drake, Jr., John Snowe (merchant), and another</td>
<td>John Drake, Sr.</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Fragment – cataloguer unable to describe land</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: Mayor of Dublin, Nicholas Woder and Robert Gallane (bailiffs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 Nov. 1408</td>
<td>TCD 1477.79 (13)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter Porter (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Yonge, John Stafford and John Ingoll (all chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 10 stalls along with the reversion of 2 other stalls which Katerina Bellewe, once the wife of Roger Bekeford, holds in dowry in Fishamble St., between the mesuage of the Abbess of Hogges and the mesuage of Patrick Brynell (Burnell)</td>
<td>Seal: bird on nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec. 1408</td>
<td>TCD 1477.81 (14)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Walter Porter (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Yonge, John Stafford, and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages and 10 stalls along with the reversion of 2 other stalls which Katerina Bellewe, once the wife of Roger Bekeford, holds in dowry in Fishamble St., between the mesuage of the Abbess of Hogges and the mesuage of Patrick Brynell (Burnell)</td>
<td>Seal: bird on nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dec. 1408</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 841</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Thomas Serjaunt</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum, and William Poddying (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with High St on the south and the land of Holy Trinity church on the other 3 sides</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: Thomas Cusake (Dublin mayor), Thomas Schortals and Richard Bone (bailiffs), Geoffrey Parker, Nicholas Woder, and John Morvyll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dec. 1408</td>
<td><em>Christ Church Deed 842</em></td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Thomas Serjaunt</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum, and William Poddyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>6 shops in Oxmantown in the Parish of St. Michan, between the highway on the front and east, the land of John, son of Thomas Serjeaunt held by John Fychet (dyer), and St. Michan’s churchyard</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: Thomas Cusake (Dublin mayor), Thomas Schortals and Richard Bone (bailiffs), Geoffrey Parker, Nicholas Woder, and John Morvyll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dec. 1408</td>
<td><em>Christ Church Deed 843</em></td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Thomas Serjaunt</td>
<td>Henry Marburgh, John Hothum, and William Poddyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>2 ½ shops in Oxmantoun in the Parish of St. Michan, previously granted to grantees by John Ingoll, John Hore, John Yong (Yonge), and John Oge; between the highway on the east, the land of John, son of Thomas Serjeaunt held by John Fychet (dyer), land formerly of Richard Barret, and land of St. Mary’s Abbey</td>
<td>May have had Provostship Witnesses: Thomas Cusake (Dublin mayor), Thomas Schortals and Richard Bone (bailiffs), Geoffrey Parker, Nicholas Woder, and John Morvyll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Dec. 1408</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.558 (15)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Robert, son of Robert Burnell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Land with buildings near the New Gate, lying between the town wall, land formerly belonging to Thomas Sparke, and land formerly belonging to Walter Tyrrell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Dec. 1408</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.559 (16)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Robert son of Robert Burnell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints Richard Wood (Dub cit) to put John Stafford in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Land with buildings near the New Gate, lying between the town wall, land formerly belonging to Thomas Sparke, and land formerly belonging to Walter Tyrrell</td>
<td>Seal of Robert Burnell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Dec. 1408</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.560 (17)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Robert son of Robert Burnell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Land with buildings near the New Gate, lying between the town wall, land formerly belonging to Thomas Sparke, and land formerly belonging to Walter Tyrrell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE A.1 (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Property and Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 Jan. 1409</td>
<td>St. Catherine&lt;sup&gt;1224&lt;/sup&gt; 7</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Richard the Glazewright</td>
<td>John Mole, John Ingoll, and William Ersdekyn (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Thomas St. bounded by the land of Roger Elys, land formerly of John Cornewalshe, bounded on the south by the King’s highway; 4 shops with solars (upper stories) and a porch in Cook St., Parish of St. Audoen, surrounded by stone house of Luke Douedale, a stone house with a watery cellar, Cook St. on the north, and the land formerly of Roger Bekeford; 5 shops in the lane leading from Ostmantoun to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin lying between Frapesawse Lane on the west and Cuccow Lane on the east, lane to the monastery lies on the north, land formerly of Nicholas Scurlagge, and now of Geoffrey Gallane to south</td>
<td>Provostship Twiss notes deed was ‘much decayed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1224</sup> This and all other references to St. Catherine’s are from Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. James, Dublin, 1296-1743.” These deeds are no longer extant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Grantor</th>
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<th>Property and Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Jul. 1409</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.467 (18)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Richard, son and heir of Walter Passavaunt</td>
<td>Appoints Edward Sargewaunt (Dub cit) to place John Stafford (Dub cit, baker) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St Francis St. between the land of St. John outside the New Gate, land once belonging to Ade Englysse, and the land of Nicholas Fynglas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jul. 1409</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.468 (19)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Richard, son and heir of Walter Passavaunt</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St Francis St. between the land of St. John outside the New Gate, land once belonging to Ade Englysse, and the land of Nicholas Fynglas signed by Yonge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Dec. 1409</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 846</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Nicholas Fynglas (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Richard Fynche (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with cellar, loft, and garden in Fishamble St., Parish of St. Olave, with the street on the west, surrounded by land of Sir Christopher Preston (knight), tenement formerly of Richard Chamerlayn, and ‘Hynkleyslonde’ Rent: 6s 8d per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Dec. 1409</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 847</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Nicholas Fynglas (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints John Lytill and James Yonge (both Dub cits) to place Richard Fynche (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with cellar, loft, and garden in Fishamble St., Parish of St. Olave, with the street on the west, surrounded by land of Sir Christopher Preston (knight), tenement formerly of Richard Chamerlayn, and ‘Hynkleyslonde’ Rent: 6s 8d per annum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Nov. 1410</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 89</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Herdman</td>
<td>John Hothom and Walter Reske (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Yonge Master Mor James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Castle St., formerly of Henry Ferrour, surrounded by waste land of Mariota Bolas (Boys?), waste land of Prior of St. John without the New Gate, mesuage of John Allesley Rent: 50s silver yearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Oct. 1406-1410</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 13</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>William Deyer of Cargreff, co. York</td>
<td>Nicholas Ardoun (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages in the Parish of St. Werburgh, which Deyer has from Alice Sutton, daughter and heir of Thomas Sutton (former Dub cit), surrounded by the highway on the west, the garden of John Foyle, the tenement of Robert Sutton (canon of St. Patrick’s Cathedral), and the tenement of Nicholas Ardoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jan. 1411</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 851</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Nicholas Hardon</td>
<td>Thomas Fanyng and Margaret his wife, daughter of Nicholas Hardon</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Vacant place in Parish of St. Werburgh between tenement of Nicholas Hardon, lane to the prison, the highway, and a garden that was once St. Martin’s churchyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>20 Jun. 1411</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 853</td>
<td>quit-claim?</td>
<td>John, son of John Bathe, formerly lord of Rathfegh</td>
<td>John Passelewe</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Lands formerly granted by John to Simon Passelewe in Rathfegh, previously held in dower by Nesta Staunton, wife of John Bathe, Sr., and assigned by Simon Passelewe to his brother John Passelewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>TCD 1477.84 (20)</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>Simon Doddenale (Dub merchant and cit)</td>
<td>John Lytill (Dub cit) and Alianora Comyn (his wife)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown, gotten from Nicholas Heitale and Alienora Comyn, his wife. Simon swears on a Bible that no one but he has any claim to the property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 855</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Thomas Dodde (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Hugh Herdman (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Land in St. Patrick St. in the Parish of St. Patrick, formerly belonging to John Forster (tanner), between the highway, the land of William Heyford, land formerly of John Sexton, Jr., and land of William de Tynbergh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 856</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Thomas Dodde (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints Richard FitzEustace to place Hugh Herdman (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Land in St. Patrick St. in the Parish of St. Patrick, formerly belonging to John Forster (tanner), between the highway, the land of William Heyford, land formerly of John Sexton, Jr., and land of William de Tynbergh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 857</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Thomas Dodde (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Hugh Herdman (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Land in St. Patrick St. in the Parish of St. Patrick, formerly belonging to John Forster (tanner), between the highway, the land of William Heyford, land formerly of John Sexton, Jr., and land of William de Tynbergh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>TCD 1477.85 (21)</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>Johanna, wife of Simon Doddenale</td>
<td>John Stafford and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown; Johanna swears she has no right to dower in properties, which seem to have been assigned to the chaplains by Lytill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>TCD 1477.92 (22)</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Simon Dodenale (Doddenale) (Dub merchant)</td>
<td>John Stafford and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Nov. 1411</td>
<td>TCD 1477.93 (23)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Simon Dodenale</td>
<td>Appoints James Yonge to put John Stafford and John Ingoll (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec. 1411</td>
<td>TCD 1477.94 (24)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Simon Dodenale (Doddenale)</td>
<td>John Stafford and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dec. 1412</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/118 (25)</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Margarete Toppe, daughter of John Toppe of Scryne, and William Wylde (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Stafford and John Lange (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services of the grantors in Scryne and in the barony of Scryne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Jan. 1413</td>
<td>TCD 1477.95 (26)</td>
<td>acknowledgement of debt</td>
<td>William Haroll of Rathfermane and Geoffrey Harroll</td>
<td>John Lytill (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>40 shillings in silver, payable at Easter next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 Feb. 1413</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.547 (27)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Yonge (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen, below and next to the New Gate, surrounded by land once owned by Elye Asshebourne and land called ‘Sparkeslond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Feb. 1413</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.546 (28)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Yonge (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen, below and next to the New Gate, surrounded by land once owned by Elye Asshebourne and land called ‘Sparkeslond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Dec. 1413</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 862</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Richard Fynche</td>
<td>Robert Chamer (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with cellar, loft, and garden in Fishamble St., Parish of St. Olave, with the street on the west, surrounded by land of Sir Christopher Preston (knight), tenement formerly of Richard Chamerlayn, and ‘Hynkeyslond’ Rent: 6s 8d per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Dec. 1413</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 863</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Richard Fynche</td>
<td>Appoints John Blakney and James Yonge to place Robert Chamer (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with cellar, loft, and garden in Fishamble St., Parish of St. Olave, with the street on the west, surrounded by land of Sir Christopher Preston (knight), tenement formerly of Richard Chamerlayn, and ‘Hynkeyslond’ Rent: 6s 8d per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>28 Dec. 1413</td>
<td>Christ Church Deed 864</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Richard Fynche</td>
<td>Robert Chamer (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with cellar, loft, and garden in Fishamble St., Parish of St. Olave, with the street on the west, surrounded by land of Sir Christopher Preston (knight), tenement formerly of Richard Chamerlayn, and ‘Hynkleysonde’ Rent: 6s 8d per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Jan. 1414</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.322 (29)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>David Bobyntoun (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit), Alicie (his wife)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St. and Parish of St. Audoen between the tenement of Patrick Brynell (Burnell) and the tenement of John Walshe, extending from ‘Via Regia’ to the land once belonging to William Sergeaunt (Seriaunt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Jan. 1414</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.324 (30)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>David Bobyntoun (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Appoints John White (advocate) and James Yonge (Dub cit) to put John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia (his wife) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St. and Parish of St. Audoen between the tenement of Patrick Brynell (Burnell) and the tenement of John Walshe, extending from ‘Via Regia’ to the land once belonging to William Sergeaunt (Seriaunt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 Jan. 1414</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.323 (31)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>David Bobyntoun (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit), Alicie (his wife)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St. and Parish of St. Audoen between the tenement of Patrick Brynell (Burnell) and the tenement of John Walshe, extending from ‘Via Regia’ to the land once belonging to William Sergeaunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mar. 1414</td>
<td>NLI D.1530</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>James Butler, Earl of Ormond</td>
<td>Thomas Harbrigge</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Deed is in French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aug. 1414</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 15</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Reynald (Dub cit, smith)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Werburgh’s St. surrounded by street on west, land of John Foill, land of Martin Scolthorpe and tenement formerly of Thomas Fanninge, now of Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aug. 1414</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 16</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints William Baldewyn and James Yonge attorneys to place John Reynald in seisin</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Werburgh’s St. surrounded by street on west, land of John Foill, land of Martin Scolthorpe and tenement formerly of Thomas Fanninge, now of Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>7 Aug. 1414</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 17</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Reynald (Dub cit, smith)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Werburgh’s St. surrounded by street on west, land of John Foill, land of Martin Scolthorpe and tenement formerly of Thomas Fanninge, now of Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Aug. 1414</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 18</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Roger Plumber and Nicholas Ketynge</td>
<td>John Reynald (Dub cit, smith)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Werburgh’s St. surrounded by street on west, land of John Foill, land of Martin Scolthorpe and tenement formerly of Thomas Fanninge, now of Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Aug. 1414</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 19</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Thomas Fannynge and Margaret, his wife</td>
<td>John Reynald (Dub cit, smith)</td>
<td>Probably James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St. Werburgh’s St. surrounded by street on west, land of John Foill, land of Martin Scolthorpe and tenement formerly of Thomas Fanninge, now of Nicholas Ardon alias Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Feb. 1415</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.424 (32)</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Johanna Dardys, widow (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Radulph Penbroke</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 stalls in Rochel St. and in the Parish of St Audoen lying between ‘Via Regali’, the city wall, the land of Thomas Donghir and the land of Cecilie Heygrene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Feb. 1415</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.425 (33)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Johanna Dardys, widow</td>
<td>Radulph Penbroke (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 stalls in Rochel St. and in the Parish of St Audoen lying between ‘Via Regali’, the city wall, the land of Thomas Donghir and the land of Cecilie Heygrene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Aug. 1415</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.537 (34)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Johanna Cruys, widow of William Asshebourne</td>
<td>John Walsh (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Cellar held by John Walshe in Winetavern St., as well as all the stalls built in the Parish of St. Michael and in Cook St. by John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Sep. 1415</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.137 (35)</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Henry Marleburgh and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>Edmund Yonge (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage, portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St. Audoen surrounded by mesuage of John Fysshewyk and Colmanesbroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Sep. 1415</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.151 (36)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Henry Marleburgh and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint James Yonge to place Edmund Yonge (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage, portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St. Audoen surrounded by mesuage of John Fysshewyk and Colmanesbroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 Sep. 1415</td>
<td>RIA</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Henry Marleburgh and John Mole</td>
<td>Edmund Yonge</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage, portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St. Audoen surrounded by mesuage of John Fysshewyk and Colmanesbroke</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.S.22-31.144 (37)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(chaplains)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1415</td>
<td>TCD</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Nicholas Nangle</td>
<td>Roger Flemmyng</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>3 mesuages and 3 gardens in Oxmantown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1477.99 (38)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(chaplain)</td>
<td>and Walter Northamptoun</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Northeamtoun)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(chaplains)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Nov. 1415</td>
<td>TCD</td>
<td>obligation of debt</td>
<td>William Brayne (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Lytill (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>20 pounds of silver, payable at John’s will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1477.98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Dec. 1415</td>
<td>St. Werburgh</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Thomas Clane</td>
<td>Walter Reske and John Champneys</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St., Parish of St. Werburgh, surrounded by the land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints near Dublin, land of John Passavaunt (Dub cit), the street, and the lane behind the church of St. Nicholas (formerly called Shoemakers’ Street) May have had Provostship Witnesses: Thomas Cusake (mayor), Thomas Shorthals and John White (bailiffs), Roger Foyll, Stephen Sale, David Randolf (tailor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>Property and Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Dec. 1415</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 143</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Thomas Clane (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Walter Reske and John Champneys (chaplain)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St., Parish of St. Werburgh, surrounded by the land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints near Dublin, land of John Passavaunt (Dub cit), the street, and the lane behind the church of St. Nicholas (formerly called Shoemakers’ Street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aug. 1416</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.655 (39)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Nicholas Fynglas (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints James Yonge to place Roger Flemmyng, Galfrid Shale, John Ingoll, and Richard Ectot (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 shops in the Parish of St. Audoen in Cook St. between the tenement of John Flayage, the tenement of the Abbey and monks of Blessed Mary, and the cemetery of St. Audoen’s Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Aug. 1416</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.116 (40)</td>
<td>quit-claim?</td>
<td>John Moll (Mole) (chaplain) confirms that Nicholas Fynglas (Dub cit) has given 2 shops for life to recipients</td>
<td>Roger Flemmyng, Galfrid Shale, John Ingoll, and Richard Ectot (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 shops in the Parish of St. Audoen in Cook St. between the tenement of John Flayage, the tenement of the Abbey and monks of Blessed Mary, and the cemetery of St. Audoen’s Church</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>24 Aug. 1416</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.367 (41)</td>
<td>quit-claim?</td>
<td>John Moll (Mole), chaplain, Nicholas Fynglas (Dub cit) has given 2 shops for life to recipients</td>
<td>Roger Flemmyng, Galfrid Shale, John Ingoll, and Richard Ectot (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 shops in the Parish of St. Audoen in Cook St. between the tenement of John Flayage, the tenement of the Abbey and monks of Blessed Mary, and the cemetery of St. Audoen’s Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>TCD 1477.100 (42)</td>
<td>Indenture</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Thomas Seriaunt, Baron of Castrocnok (Castleknock)</td>
<td>Philip Hamond (butcher)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St Francis St., surrounded by land of John Passavaunt (clerk, keeper of the hanaper in 1420), John Drake and Richard Herebert, Rent: 2s per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>TCD 1477.101 (43)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Thomas Seriaunt, Baron of Castrocnok (Castleknock)</td>
<td>Appoints James Yonge to place Philip Hamond in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St Francis St., surrounded by land of John Passavaunt (clerk, keeper of the hanaper in 1420), John Drake and Richard Herebert, Rent: 2s per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>TCD 1477.102 (44)</td>
<td>confirmation and ratification</td>
<td>John Ingoll and John Oge (chaplains) ratify agreement of John son of Thomas Seriaunt and Philip Hamond (butcher)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in St Francis St., surrounded by land of John Passavaunt (clerk, keeper of the hanaper in 1420), John Drake and Richard Herebert, Rent: 2s per annum</td>
<td>Seals: hunting horn (?); stone with bird perched on it (?); Signed by Yonge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.141 (45)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Edmund Yonge (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Mole and William Ballylog (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St Audoen, between the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, garden above Colmanesbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.150 (46)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Edmund Yonge (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints James Yonge (Dub cit) to place John Mole and William Ballylog (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St Audoen, between the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, garden above Colmanesbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Aug. 1417</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.142 (47)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Edmund Yonge (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Mole and William Ballylog (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St Audoen, between the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, garden above Colmanesbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jan. 1418</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.149 (48)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Mole and William Ballylog (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Simon Dodnall (Doddenale) and James Yonge to place Amisie Ballybyn, relict of Edmund Yonge in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St Audoen, between the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, garden above Colmanesbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Jan. 1418</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.139 (49)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Mole and William Ballylog (chaplains)</td>
<td>Amisie Ballybyn, relicte of Edmund Yonge</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with portico and garden above the quay in the Parish of St Audoen, between the mesuage of John Fysshewyk, garden above Colmanesbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May 1419</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.352 (50)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Philip Charles, Nicholas Walshe, Walter Reske, John Champeneys (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys and land formerly of Thomas Beke, one lying between the street and Colmanesbrook, and the other lying between the street and the land of Roger Dodde; mesuages gotten by gift of Thomas Hert (Dub cit) and his wife Margerie in the previous year by court judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May 1419</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.351 (51)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Philip Charles, Nicholas Walshe, Walter Reske, John Champeneys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint James Yonge (Dub cit) to put John Elys (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys and land formerly of Thomas Beke, one lying between the street and Colmanesbrook, and the other lying between the street and the land of Roger Dodde; mesuages gotten by gift of Thomas Hert (Dub cit) and his wife Margerie in the previous year by court judgment</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.353 (52)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Philip Charles, Nicholas Walshe, Walter Reske, John Champeneys (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys and land formerly of Thomas Beke, one lying between the street and Colmanesbrook, and the other lying between the street and the land of Roger Dodde; mesuages gotten by gift of Thomas Hert (Dub cit) and his wife Margerie in the previous year by court judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.330 (53)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Hokenell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys and land formerly of Thomas Beke, one lying between the street and Colmanesbrook, and the other lying between the street and the land of Roger Dodde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Jul. 1419</td>
<td>CIRCLE Pat. 7 Henry V, no. 67</td>
<td>Charter</td>
<td>John Talbot (knight, Lord Furnivall) Thomas Talbot (knight, John’s brother), Laurence Merebury (knight), Hugh Burgh, Roger Hakenshawe, John Wyche, John Eland, Thomas Walleys, Reginald Snerterby, John Coryngham, John Passavaunt, Thomas Aase, John Cruys, John Hynton, John Kyrkhham, David Rendyll, William Baret, William Rodiard, John Lytill, James Yonge</td>
<td>License to form a tailors’ guild called the fraternity of St. John the Baptist; fraternity to accept men and women and be governed by a master and two wardens; fraternity will have a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary in the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Dublin; fraternity will have the power to inquire into abuses of the tailors’ craft in Dublin and its suburbs, to hear complaints, to regulate apprenticeships, and to punish those found engaging in the tailor’s trade without license to do so obtained from the guild and without Dublin citizenship(^{1225})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 Apr. 1420</td>
<td>NAI RC 8/38, p. 104</td>
<td>roll entry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Appointed Second Engrosser of the Exchequer of Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Apr. 1420</td>
<td>NAI RC 8/38, pp. 104-05</td>
<td>roll entry</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>William Stokenbrick</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yonge appoints Stokenbrick his deputy in the office of Second Engrosser of the Exchequer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Jul. 1421</td>
<td>Close Roll 9 Henry V\textsuperscript{1226}</td>
<td>roll entry</td>
<td>John Blakton, clerk of the Irish Exchequer</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td></td>
<td>Order to pay Yonge 14s 2d for a tally he has</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1226} Printed in Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, 252, no. 44; “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509.” Tresham mis-labels this roll as 9 Henry VI.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Property and Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 Sep. 1422</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.190 (54)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Yngoll (Ingoll) (chaplain) after the death of John Walshe (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Martyn, John Calsteyn, and Richard White (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in the High St opposite the high pipe, containing in the front two storefronts and in the back three fronts with a garden, and a portico leading to the mesuage from Cook St, which mesuage Roger Bekeford (Dub cit) occupied while living, and which John Walshe and the grantor received from Robert Logh (chaplain) and John Streche (chaplain); mesuage lies between the mesuage and garden of Luke Douedale and the mesuage and garden of William Yonge, Richard Wode, and recently Richard Glaswryght and Marion Snowe, and extends from the high street to the tenement recently owned by Richard Glaswryght</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IP Signed by Yonge Recycled seal tape containing a large letter from a chirograph Yonge appears to have taken over from Baghill who did the first two deeds in this series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Oct. 1423</td>
<td>Close Roll 2 Henry VI</td>
<td>roll entry</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>James Yonge to be moved from prison in Trim Castle where he has been held in chains for ¾ of a year to Dublin Castle. His safe journey to Dublin is assured by John More (merchant), William Sprot, John Pakerell, and John Taath of Dublin; Yonge is to be given to Nicholas Bellewe for safe delivery to Dublin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Mar. 1424</td>
<td>TCD 1477.106b</td>
<td>release</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Robert Burnell</td>
<td>John Lyttell</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Releases all previous personal actions to John Lyttell</td>
<td>Deed very damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Nov. 1424</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.539 (55)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>(John?) Cristofre (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Walshe (Dub cit)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Stone house known as ‘Le Wolshe[,]se’ containing a cellar, and a terrace above on Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the tenement once owned by Richard Glaswright and the garden of John Ingoll, and land owned by Thomas Grant Rent: 30s 4p per year</td>
<td>very faded Seems to be an indenture, but deed is cut like standard grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Mar. 1425</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.562 (56)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Streche, William Balylogge, and John Wyntyr (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Burnell, Robert son of John Burnell, Nicholas Eustace, John Elys, Thomas Elys, and Robert Wood (all Dub cit), and John Christofre, John Mole, John Walshe Sr, John Walshe Jr, and Richard Goldyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Tenement in Parish of St Audoen, between the church cemetery, near the stairs of the same cemetery, and the lane that leads from the high pipe, up to the church on the other side</td>
<td>Seal: possibly a bird on a nest. This property appears to be the location for the future Chapel and Guild House of St. Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mar. 1425</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.563 (57)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Streche, William Balylogge, and John Wyntyr (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint William Power to place John Burnell, Robert son of John Burnell, Nicholas Eustace, John Elys, Thomas Elys, and Robert Wood (all Dub cit), and John Christofre, John Mole, John Walshe Sr, John Walshe Jr, and Richard Goldyng (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Tenement in Parish of St Audoen, between the church cemetery, near the stairs of the same cemetery, and the lane that leads from the high pipe, up to the church on the other side</td>
<td>Seals: branch and nest(?); large seal with squirrel(?); stag(?) This property appears to be the location for the future Chapel and Guild House of St. Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Mar. 1425</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.564 (58)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Streche, William Balylogge, and John Wyntyr (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Burnell, Robert son of John Burnell, Nicholas Eustace, John Ely, Thomas Ely, and Robert Wood (all Dub cit), and John Christofre, John Mole, John Walshe Sr, John Walshe Jr, and Richard Goldyng (chaplains)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Tenement in Parish of St Audoen, between the church cemetery, near the stairs of the same cemetery, and the lane that leads from the high pipe, up to the church on the other side</td>
<td>Seal: large seal with squirrel(?); stag(?) This property appears to be the location for the future Chapel and Guild House of St. Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1425</td>
<td>Patent Roll 3 Hen. VI, no. 45</td>
<td>roll entry</td>
<td></td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pardon of James Yonge for all treasons, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Nov. 1425</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.798</td>
<td>will</td>
<td>John Streche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>probate on back may be in hand of James Yonge or Thomas Baghill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Nov. 1426</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.674 (60)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Ingoll (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage between cemetery of St. Audoen’s and St. Audoen’s Lane between mesuages of John Stafford and the Via Regia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Property and Location</td>
<td>Notes, incl Seals</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 May 1427</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.268</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Margery Dunlonan (widow)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit, baker)</td>
<td>Possibly James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage formerly belonging to Hugh Donlonan in Cook St in Parish of St. Audoen, between the mesuage of John Stafford and the mesuage of the Abbess of Hogges, extending from the street to the cemetery of St Audoen’s church and the mesuage formerly belonging to William Seriaunt</td>
<td>Very faded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Oct. 1427</td>
<td>TCD 1207.202 (61)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter Reske (chaplain)</td>
<td>Johanna Clerke (widow of John Passavaunt (former Chancery clerk)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Fishamble St, which Reske received from a grant of Thomas Broune; mesuage is Johanna’s for life, reverting to Robert, son and heir of John Passavaunt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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</table>
| 4 Feb. 1428  | RIA 12.S.22-31.282 (64) | quit-claim   | Richard, son and heir of Roger Dod(de), Andrea Vyncent, relict of Roger Dod, Nicholas Alger and John Mole (chaplains) | John Cristofre, Walter Northamptoun, and Richard Goldyne (chaplains) | James Yonge | Mesuage above quay in Parish of St. Audoen, between the land of Walter Scurrall, the land of John Wells, the land of John Blakeney, and the land of John Blumley, lying between the quay and the lands of John Corner, John Elys, and Richard Donogh | Seals: once had Provostship  
Recycled seal tape in Yonge’s hand (tapes survive, seals do not) |
| 25 Apr. 1428 | NAI 2011/1/139 (65) | quit-claim   | Roger Ceyr, Richard and Nicholas, sons of Roger Ceyr | William son of John Fitz/William de Dondrom | James Yonge | All of the grantors lands and tenements in ‘Ceyrrestoun’ | Seals: one illegible; shield in quatrefoil; crowned A  
Recycled seal tag  
Signed by Yonge |
| 9 Nov. 1428  | NLI D.1615 (66) | grant        | James Butler, Earl of Ormond                      | Hugh Bavent (clerk, treasurer of Ireland in 1420-21) and Thomas Whiteside | James Yonge | Manors of ‘Turveye, Courdoff and Balyscadane and Russh and Portrarne’ | Seal: Butler seal [fig. 28]  
Signed by Yonge |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
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<th>Property and Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec. 1428</td>
<td>NLI D.1612 (67)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Blakeney (chief justice of the common bench in 1420)</td>
<td>James Butler, Earl of Ormond</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage with gardens in the Parish of St. Brigid known as ‘Loughteborghesinne’</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship; E Witnesses: Henry Fortescue (Justiciar), James Cornewaleys (Chief Baron of the Exchequer), Thomas Shorthals (mayor), Thomas Benet (bailiff) and many others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Feb. 1429</td>
<td>NLI D.1616 (68)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>James Butler, Earl of Ormond</td>
<td>Hugh Bavent and Thomas Whiteside (clerk)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Manor of ‘Blakecastell’</td>
<td>Seal: Butler seal Signed by Yonge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Feb. 1429</td>
<td>NLI D.1617 (69)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>James Butler, Earl of Ormond</td>
<td>Appoints Maruce Aignell and John Carlell attorneys to place Hugh Bavent and Thomas Whitesite (clerks) in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Manors of ‘Turveye, Courdoff, Balystadane, Russh, Blakecastell, Portrarne’</td>
<td>Seal: Butler seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Jan. 1432</td>
<td>TCD 1207.206 (70)</td>
<td>indenture grant</td>
<td>Richard Aylmer (Provost of the vill of Tassagard (Saggart?)), burgesses of the same vill</td>
<td>John Stauntoun</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Empty land in the vill Rent: 1p for 2 years, 12p per year thereafter</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 May 1432</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.186 (71)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Martyn (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Walshe, Jr. (chaplain)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in High St in the Parish of St. Audoen, opposite the high pipe containing two shopfronts in the front and three in the back, with a garden and a portico leading to Cook St. which Roger Bekford (former Dub cit) occupied while living, and which John Martyn, John Calsteyne and Richard White (chaplains) had from the gift of John Ingoll (chaplain), the mesuage lies between the mesuage and garden of Luce Douedale and the tenement of William Yonge, the tenement of Robert Wode, and the tenement once belonging to Richard Glaswryght, and the tenement once belonging to Marion Snowe, and which now belongs to Nicholas Eustace</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>20 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.185 (72)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Martyn (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Walshe, Jr. (chaplain)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in High St in the Parish of St. Audoen, opposite the high pipe containing two shopfronts in the front and three in the back, with a garden and a portico leading to Cook St. which Roger Bekford (former Dub cit) occupied while living, and which John Martyn, John Calsteyne and Richard White (chaplains) had from the gift of John Ingoll (chaplain), the mesuage lies between the mesuage and garden of Luce Douedale and the tenement of William Yonge, the tenement of Robert Wode, and the tenement once belonging to Richard Glaswyght, and the tenement once belonging to Marion Snowe, and which now belongs to Nicholas Eustace</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 May 1432</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.187 (73)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Walshe, Jr. (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Martyn, John Walshe, Sr. (chaplain), and Philip Danyell (chaplain)</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage on the High St. opposite the high pipe, containing 2 shopfronts on the front and recently having 3 in back, but now having one with a garden and portico leading towards Cook St.; mesuage was owned by Roger Bekford (Dub cit) while he lived; John Walsh Jr got it from the gift of John Martyn; mesuage lies between tenement once belonging to Richard Glaswright and tenement once belonging to Marion Snowe, but now belonging to Nicholas Eustace</td>
<td>Seal: lamb with a cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Dec. 1432</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/140 (74)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>James le Botiller (Butler) (Earl of Ormond)</td>
<td>Patri[ck] Archepoll</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>4 marks annual rent from the grantor’s lands and tenements in the manor of Bree</td>
<td>Seal: Butler seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Dec. 1432</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.343 (75)</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>Walter Scurlag (esquire)</td>
<td>Radulph Penbroke</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>In the front, main room of the inn of Radulph Penbroke (Dub cit, merchant) above the quay; Scurlag asserts ownership of a mesuage above the quay to the west of the inn and the mesuage of John Well to the east, between the quay and the land of Radulph Penbroke, and gives it to Radulph Penbroke for 21 years</td>
<td>Notarized by James Yonge Witnesses: John Cruys, Thomas Boys (Dub merchant) and Thomas Arland (yeoman of Walter Scurlag)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>30 Mar. 1434</td>
<td>TCD 1477.110</td>
<td>will</td>
<td>John Lytill and his second wife Margery</td>
<td>John Eytaul (illegitimate son), Sir William FitzWilliam (chaplain), Thomas Elys; executors: William FitzWilliam and James Yonge</td>
<td>House on Cow Lane with garden east of house, 2 shops on the north side of house; household goods; money</td>
<td>Witnesses: Thomas Laweless (canon from Limerick), James Power, William Oswald (clerk), Thomas Elys, citizens of Dublin; Probate granted by Robert Dyke, Archdeacon of Dublin at St. Patrick’s Cathedral, 5 Nov. 1434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Jan. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.326 (76)</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Walter Molghur (Dub cit) and Johanna Dowgane, his wife</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St and Parish of St. Audoen, between tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell, tenement of John Walshe, and the tenement of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: crowned P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Jan. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.649 (77)</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Appoint James Yonge (clerk) to place Walter Molghur in seisin</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St and Parish of St. Audoen, between tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell, tenement of John Walshe, and the tenement of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seals: bird on top of a lion surrounded by 3 hop plants(?) ; crowned P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Jan. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.327 (78)</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Walter Molghur (Dub cit) and Johanna Dowgane, his wife</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St and Parish of St. Audoen, between tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell, tenement of John Walshe, and the tenement of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seals: one illegible; crowned P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Jan. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.648 &amp; 779 (79)</td>
<td>two halves of an indenture</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Walter Molghur (Dub cit) and Johanna Dowgane, his wife</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St and Parish of St. Audoen, between tenement formerly of Patrick Burnell, tenement of John Walshe, and the tenement of John Blakeney Rent: single grain of corn due yearly at Michaelmas</td>
<td>Seals (survive on 779 only): DE; 7-wedged circle surrounded by dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Jan. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.374 (80)</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Walter Molghur (Dub cit) and Johanna Dowgane, his wife</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
<td>Repeats the wording of 326, 649, and 327; Yonge claims he put Walter and Johanna in seisin, as contracted, and no others, except Walter and Johanna have any claim to the property</td>
<td>Notarized by Yonge Once had a seal On re-purposed MS page Yonge’s hand getting increasingly small, with uneven pressure on pen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE A.2:
LIST OF DEEDS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY THOMAS BAGHILL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.390</td>
<td>duplicate copies of quit-claim</td>
<td>John Hokenell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys and land formerly of Thomas Beke, one lying between the street and Colmanesbrook, and the other lying between the street and the land of Roger Dodde</td>
<td>Copy of RIA 12.S.22-31.330, written by Yonge Writing starts small and gets larger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.642</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Richard Doughir (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys, land formerly of Thomas Beke and now belonging to Radulph Penbrok; one lies between the street and Colman’s Brook, the other runs from the street to the land of Roger Dodde</td>
<td>Seal: shield w/ cross flanked by I and E Recycled seal tape in another hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.643</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Elys (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Richard Doughir (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St in the Parish of St. Audoen between the land of John Elys, land formerly of Thomas Beke and now belonging to Radulph Penbrok; one lies between the street and Colman’s Brook, the other runs from the street to the land of Roger Dodde</td>
<td>Seal: shield w/ cross flanked by I and E Recycled seal tape</td>
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### TABLE A.2 (CONTINUED)

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<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Apr. 1422</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/129</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Drake, Sr (Dub cit), William Ballylog and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>William Archdekyne, John Champneys, Richard Lawele and Henry Nangle (chaplains)</td>
<td>Probably Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>40 acres in the ‘Scallethull,’ within the liberties of the city of Dublin, formerly of William, son of Richard FitzWilliam</td>
<td>Once had Provostship Deed very damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Apr. 1422</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/130</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Drake, Sr (Dub cit), William Ballylog and John Mole (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Thomas Schorthals (Dub cit) to place William Archdekyne, John Champneys, Richard Lawele and Henry Nangle (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Probably Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>40 acres in the ‘Scallethull,’ within the liberties of the city of Dublin, formerly of William, son of Richard FitzWilliam</td>
<td>Once had Provostship</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Sep. 1422</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.189</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Yngoll (Ingoll) (chaplain) after the death of John Walshe (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Martyn, John Calsteyn, and Richard White (chaplains)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in the High St opposite the high pipe, containing in the front two storefronts and in the back three fronts with a garden, and a portico leading to the mesuage from Cook St, formerly occupied by Roger Bekeford (Dub cit) while living, and which John Walshe and the grantor received from Robert Logh (chaplain) and John Streche (chaplain); mesuage lies between the mesuage and garden of Luke Douedale and the mesuage and garden of William Yonge, Richard Wode, and recently Richard Glaswryght and Marion Snowe, and extends from the High Street to the tenement recently owned by Richard Glaswryght</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IP Recycled seal tape Related to RIA 12.S.22-31.190, written by Yonge</td>
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<tr>
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| 19 Sep. 1422 | RIA 12.S.22-31.188 | deed of attorney | John Yngoll (Ingoll) (chaplain) after the death of John Walshe (chaplain) | Appoints Thomas Shorthals to place John Martyn (chaplain) in seisin | Thomas Baghill | Mesuage in the High St opposite the high pipe, containing in the front two storefronts and in the back three fronts with a garden, and a portico leading to the mesuage from Cook St, formerly occupied by Roger Bekeford (Dub cit) while living, and which John Walshe and the grantor received from Robert Logh (chaplain) and John Streche (chaplain); mesuage lies between the mesuage and garden of Luke Douedale and the mesuage and garden of William Yonge, Richard Wode, and recently Richard Glaswyght and Marion Snowe, and extends from the High Street to the tenement recently owned by Richard Glaswyght | Seal: crowned IP  
Recycled seal tape  
Related to RIA 12.S.22-31.190, written by Yonge |
B surmounted by triangle |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 Jan. 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.284</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Nicholas Alger and John Mole</td>
<td>Appoint Roger Waltyr to place John Cristofre, Walter Northamptoun, and Richard Goldynge (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage above the quay in Parish of St. Audoen between the lands of Walter Scurlag and John Wells, and the lands of John Blakeney and John Blumley, and between the quay and the lands of John Corner, John Elys and Richard Donogh</td>
<td>Seals: once had Provostship; B in circle; B surmounted by triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Feb. 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.283</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Nicholas Alger and John Mole</td>
<td>John Cristofre, Walter Northamptoun, and Richard Goldynge (chaplains)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage above the quay in Parish of St. Audoen between the lands of Walter Scurlag and John Wells, and the lands of John Blakeney and John Blumley, and between the quay and the lands of John Corner, John Elys and Richard Donogh</td>
<td>Seals: once had Provostship; B in circle; B surmounted by triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Jan. 1431</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.253</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>Nicholas Alger and John Mole</td>
<td>John Cristofre, Walter Northamptoun, and Richard Goldynge (chaplains)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>In the mesuage belonging to Radulphe Penbrok (Dub cit) above the quay, chaplains swear that they did not give the mesuage formerly belonging to Roder Dodde to anyone else until they gave it to the three recipients</td>
<td>Notarized by Baghill Witnesses: John FitzRobert and Richard Eustace (Dub cits) and Walter Rewe</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>7 May 1433</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/141</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>John de Cotenhiam, son of James de Cotenhiam; Thomas de Euerdoun (clerk), William de Tynbegh and Nicholas Whelok; John de Stanley (knight)</td>
<td>Thomas de Euerdoun (clerk), William de Tynbegh and Nicholas Whelok; William Shorthals, Walter Okheirst and Philip Water (chaplain); Edward Perers (knight); attorney for 1402 trade Richard Bacoun (Dub cit);</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Ismaia, daughter of Edward Perers (knight), and wife of William FitzWilliam requests record of 7 deeds; made in the church of the Augustinian brothers of Dublin; deeds pertain to a mesuage, watermill, arable land, pasture, and meadow in ‘Bagotesrath’ in the liberty of the city of Dublin, dated 1400, 1402, and 1403</td>
<td>Notarized by Baghill Witnesses of original deeds: Thomas Chornok (chaplain), Henry Blakeburn (chaplain), Richarde Kyrtylyngtoun, John Briggs and James Laweless; Walter Euere, Roger Pynket, Thomas Broune (clerk), John Passavaunt (clerk) One of original deeds had Provostship Witnesses for notarial instrument: Reginald Sueterby (Baron of ____), Thomas, son of Reginald Sueterby, John Bernevale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Jul. 1433</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.704</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of Nicholas Fynglasse</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Tenement in Cook St. and Parish of St. Audoen, in which John Gallan once lived; stretches from street to mill/bakery behind, and from the tenement once owned by Richard Charletoun (chaplain) and the lane that goes towards the quay</td>
<td>Seal: I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<td>Notes, incl Seals</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Dec. 1433</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.548</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Seriaunt, son and heir of Marguerite, daughter and heir of Walter, son of Roger Pasuaunt (Passavaunt) (Dub cit, merchant)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Tenement below the New Gate, between the tenement of John Stafford and the tenement of the Prior and brothers of the hospital of St. John the Baptist outside the New Gate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1433-34</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.402</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>John Mole (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Barret (Dub cit) and his wife Johanna, and Richard, son of John Barret</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage on the High Street in the Parish of St. Audoen, between the land once belonging to Luce Dovedall and the land of James Dovedall, for the term of 18 years</td>
<td>Significant damage to left side of deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Apr. 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.826</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>Agnes Wadlok, widow of William Moenes, lord of Moenesrath</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>in the hall of Robert Gallane (Dub cit) in Cook St., Agnes swears that in the time when William Moenes was dying, Robert Moenes, lord of Grenek came to William and asserted that he was his heir, which William denied, naming the daughter of his uncle Richard Moenes as his heir</td>
<td>Notarized by Baghill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.426</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Mole and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint ___ Elys to place Alexander Hunter (chaplain) in seisin</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage with stone house and garden in ‘Vico Rupelli’ in the Parish of St. Audoen, lying between the tenement lately owned by Robert Flode, Sr., now owned by Radulph Pembroke, and the land belonging to the Hospital of St John outside the New Gate, extending from the street to the city wall</td>
<td>Seal: S Damage to top and right side of deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 May</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.338</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Seriaunt, son of Margaret Passavaunt, daughter of Walter Passavaunt, sr. (former Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Blakeney, Jr.</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen between the church, land formerly belonging to Robert Hynkeley, land formerly belonging to Thomas, son of John Seriaunt, and land formerly belonging to William, son of Henry Seriaunt, now of John Blakeney, Sr.</td>
<td>Impression of a ring, partial seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Jun.</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.778</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Seriaunt, son of Margaret Passavaunt, daughter of Walter Passavaunt, sr. (former Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Blakeney, Jr.</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen between the church, land formerly belonging to Robert Hynkeley, land formerly belonging to Thomas, son of John Seriaunt, and land formerly belonging to William, son of Henry Seriaunt, now of John Blakeney, Sr.</td>
<td>Seal: shield surmounted by cross, initials in the shield, perhaps IBO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 Nov. 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.662</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Robert de Irland (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Garden above ‘the Coume’ in the Parish of St. Nicholas, below the church of St. Patrick, between the land of Nicholas Tynbogh, the Via Regia and the hospital of St John Baptist outside the New Gate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Nov. 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.678</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Robert de Irland (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Stafford (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Garden above ‘the Coume’ in the Parish of St. Nicholas, below the church of St. Patrick, between the land of Nicholas Tynbogh, the Via Regia and the hospital of St John Baptist outside the New Gate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Oct. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Peter Abrey (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Richard White (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage and garden in Kilmainham, between the ‘Regia Strata’ on the north, the land formerly of John Coke on the south, ‘Austeyneslake’ on the east and the tenement formerly of John Coke on the west</td>
<td>Seal: crowned I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Oct. 1435</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.594</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Peter Abrey (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Richard White (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage and garden in Kilmainham, between the ‘Regia Strata’ on the north, the land formerly of John Coke on the south, ‘Austeyneslake’ on the east and the tenement formerly of John Coke on the west</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 Dec. 1435</td>
<td>TCD 1207.207</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Robert de Irland (Dub cit) and his wife Amia Montgomery</td>
<td>John Nicholl (Dub cit and goldsmith)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinner Row, aka Bothe Street below the walls of Dublin, formerly owned by Thomas Dod(de), (Dub cit) and surrounded by land of the Archbishop of Dublin, Abbey of Hogges, and the stone wall of the Church of the Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Once had Provostship</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 Mar. 1436</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.Berry 101</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Burnell (master of St. Anne’s Guild), Robert Wode and David Rowe (Wardens)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage with stone house and garden in Rupell St. in Parish of St. Audoen, surrounded by tenement formerly of Robert Flode, Sr. now Ralph Pembrok, land of St. John’s Hospital, street and city wall; another mesuage between that formerly of William Asshebourne, now James Douedale’s, stall formerly of Luke Douedale, High St., and old city walls; a new building with hall and shop with portico where there were formerly 3 shops in a mesuage between mesuage of James Douedale, tenement John Barret occupies and tenement recently of Richard Charlton (chaplain), Cook St, tenements of John Burnell, and tenement formerly of John Bathe, now of John Stafford; also a mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen near high pipe, extending from the highway (called Bulrynge) to land owned by St. Audoen’s church, and between tenement of John Burnell, Thomas Schortals and his wife Ellen Duncrefe, and lane to the church</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
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<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 Mar. 1436</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.644</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>John Burnell (master of St. Anne’s Guild), Robert Wode and David Rowe (Wardens)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage with stone house and garden in Rupell St. in Parish of St. Audoen, surrounded by tenement formerly of Robert Flode, Sr, now Ralph Pembrok, land of St. John’s Hospital, street and city wall; another mesuage between that formerly of William Asshebourne, now James Douedale’s, stall formerly of Luke Douedale, High St., and old city walls; a new building with hall and shop with portico where there were formerly 3 shops in a mesuage between mesuage of James Douedale, tenement John Barret occupies and tenement recently of Richard Charlton (chaplain), Cook St, tenements of John Burnell, and tenement formerly of John Bathe, now of John Stafford; also a mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen near high pipe, extending from the highway (called Bulrynge) to land owned by St. Audoen’s church, and between tenement of John Burnell, Thomas Schortals and his wife Ellen Duncrefe, and lane to the church</td>
<td>Faded and nearly illegible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Oct. 1436</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.799</td>
<td>notarial instrument</td>
<td>John Martyn and Philip Danyell (chaplains)</td>
<td>Galfrid Calfe and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>In the home of Richard Eustace (Dub cit) next to the high pipe, Martyn and Danyell recognize that a grant is theirs; grant concerns a mesuage in the Parish of St. Audoen in the High St between the lands of Thomas Newbory and Margaret, his wife, formerly belonging to Luke Dovedall on the west, the lands of Robert Wode, John Boys and John Curteys on the east, the land of John Curteys, John Boys, Thomas Newbory, and Margarete on the north, and the street on the south; dated 17 Oct. 1436; grantors swear that they received the property from Thomas son of Richard Bertenagh, lately a citizen of Dublin, who died without issue</td>
<td>Notarized by Baghill Witnesses: Thomas Shorthals and Robert Wode (Dub cits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 Oct. 1436</td>
<td>RIA</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Martyne and Philip Danyell (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Richard Eustace and Robert Wode (Dub cit) to place Galfrid Calfe, Alexandre Hunter, and David Taillour (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St. Audoen, between land of Thomas Nowbery and his wife Margarete, formerly belonging to Luke Dovedall surrounded by the lands of Robert Wode, Johanna Boys and John Curteys, and the High Street</td>
<td>Seal: a woman in a quatrefoil with a child next to her – BVM or St. Anne?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jul. 1437</td>
<td>RIA</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Henry Nangle (chaplain)</td>
<td>John, son of John Walshe (former mayor of Dublin)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, and tenements formerly belonging to John Walshe (former mayor) in Dublin</td>
<td>Seal: blob of wax with no impression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Feb. 1438</td>
<td>PRONI</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Rosia Shorthals</td>
<td>David Cornewalshe (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in Kilmainham lying between the land of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, the Via Regia, the ‘common street,’ and the water called ‘Camok’ Rent: 2s yearly for the life of the grantor; grantee to keep property in good repair</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 Jun. 1439</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.342</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Richard Walshe (carpenter) and Alicia, his wife</td>
<td>Walter Northamptoun (chaplain)</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage above the quay in the Parish of St. Audoen, between the land of Walter Scurlag, the land of John Wellis, the land of John Blakeney, the land of John Blumley, the quay, the land of John Corner, the land of John Elys, and the land of Richard Donogh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jul. 1439</td>
<td>PRONI\textsuperscript{1227} D430.16</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John, son and heir of John Baskyn</td>
<td>Appoints Walter Rolley to place John Thundyr in seisin</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>½ acre of meadow and a garden known as ‘le Perȝarde’ in Kilmainham, the meadow lying next to ‘Le Iryndam’ between the land formerly of Richard Talbot and the land of John Carter; the garden lying between the land of John Carter, the land of Thomas Sangyne, the ‘Regia Strata,’ and the ‘Via Regia’</td>
<td>Seal: I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1227}Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Jul. 1439</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.277</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter Northamptoun (chaplain)</td>
<td>Radulph Pembrok</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St. Audoen above the quay between the land of Walter Scurlag and John Wellis, the land of John Blakeney, the land formerly of John Blumley, the quay, the land of John Corner, the land of Thomas Elys and the land of Richard Donogh</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Jul. 1439</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.223</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Walter Northamptoun (chaplain)</td>
<td>Appoints Edward Barry to place Radulph Pembrok (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St. Audoen above the quay between the land of Walter Scurlag and John Wellis, the land of John Blakeney, the land formerly of John Blumley, the quay, the land of John Corner, the land of Thomas Elys and the land of Richard Donogh</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Jul. 1439</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.278</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Walter Northamptoun (chaplain)</td>
<td>Radulph Pembrok</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St. Audoen above the quay between the land of Walter Scurlag and John Wellis, the land of John Blakeney, the land formerly of John Blumley, the quay, the land of John Corner, the land of Thomas Elys and the land of Richard Donogh</td>
<td>Seal: shield surmounted by a cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 Jul. 1439</td>
<td>PRONI D430.15</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John, son and heir of John Baskyn</td>
<td>John Thundyr</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
<td>½ acre of meadow and a garden known as ‘le Perȝarde’ in Kilmainham, the meadow lying next to ‘Le Iryndam’ bewteen the land formerly of Richard Talbot and the land of John Carter; the garden lying between the land of John Carter, the land of Thomas Sangyne, the ‘Regia Strata,’ and the ‘Via Regia’</td>
<td>Seals: two small ones, both with I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE A.2 (CONTINUED)
**TABLE A.3**

**LIST OF DEEDS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY OR PERTAINING TO NICHOLAS BELLEWE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-dated copy of deed dated 30 May 1411, written <em>ca.</em> 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.382</td>
<td>indenture for rental</td>
<td>Thomas Harte and his wife Margery Hyncley</td>
<td>John Hokenell, Sr. (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>2 mesuages in Cook St. in St. Audoen’s Parish between the land of John Elys and Thomas Beke, and the other between Colmanesbrook and the land of Roger Dodd Term: for the lives of John Drake, John Morvyll, Nicholas Woder, Thomas Walleys ( usher of Exchequer in 1420), John Cusake, John Brown, John Blake, Richard Owyn, James Yonge, and Nicholas Bellewe, or for 40 years Rent: 10s per year</td>
<td>Chirograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-dated copy of deed dated 6 Jun. 1411, written <em>ca.</em> 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.226</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Thomas Harte</td>
<td>John Hokenell, Sr. (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>For 10 marks payable at the will of John Hokenell, relating to indenture above</td>
<td>Chirograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pre-dated copy of deed dated 10 Jun. 1411, written ca. 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.157</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Richard Wode (Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Walshe(?) (Dub cit, merchant), Robert Wode</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Annual payment of 2 marks relating to property in Cook St. in Parish of St. Audoen, between land of David Bobyngtoun, the mesuage of John Walshe (Dub cit, merchant) for the term of the lives of John Walshe and his wife Isabelle Baret(?)</td>
<td>Chirograph, Deed is damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Feb. 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.631</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Radulph Penbroke (Dub cit)</td>
<td>David Rowe (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St in Parish of St. Audoen between mesuage once belonging to John Hyncley, and mesuage once belonging to Nicholas Fynglas, extending between the street and Colman’s Brook, mesuage to come with the baskets built into the walls</td>
<td>Once had Provostship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Feb. 1428</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.639</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Mole and Walter Northamptoun (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Thomas Elys to place David Rowe (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St in Parish of St. Audoen between mesuage once belonging to John Hyncley, and mesuage once belonging to Nicholas Fynglas, extending between the street and Colman’s Brook, mesuage to come with the baskets built into the walls</td>
<td>Provostship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE A.3 (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf Mark</th>
<th>Type of Deed</th>
<th>Grantor</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.593</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Joanna Barry, widow</td>
<td>Peter Abrey (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage and garden in Kilmanham between Regia Strata, the land of John Coke, ‘Austeyneslake,’ and the tenement of John Coke</td>
<td>Seal: no longer legible recycled seal tag in Bellewe’s hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.743</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Mole (chaplain)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Tenement formerly belonging to Richard de Charlton (chaplain) in Cook St. in the Parish of St. Audoen, surrounded by tenement of John Burnell, tenement formerly owned by John Bathe and now belonging to John Stafford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.431</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Mole and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage with stone house and garden in ‘Vico Rupelli’ in the Parish of St. Audoen, lying between the tenement lately owned by Robert Flode, Sr., now owned by Radulph Pembroke, and the land belonging to the Hospital of St John outside the New Gate, extending from the street to the city wall</td>
<td>Seals: crowned quartered circle; crowned IP recycled seal tags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.172</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Moll (Mole), John Cristofer, John Ingoll, and John Wyntyr (chaplains)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage between the mesuage formerly of William Asshebourne, now of James Dowdale (Douedale) and the shop formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale (Douedale), extending from the High Street to the old wall of the city; a newly-built building containing a hall and shop with a portico where there were formerly 3 shops, lying between the mesuage of James Douedale, and the shop and tenement formerly of John Barrett; these were had from the gift of John Bacoune and Walter Talbot</td>
<td>Seals: quartered circle; crowned R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.744</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Mole (chaplain)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Tenement formerly belonging to Richard de Charloun (chaplain) in Cook St. in the Parish of St. Audoen, surrounded by tenement of John Burnell, tenement formerly owned by John Bathe and now belonging to John Stafford</td>
<td>Seal: crowned cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.718</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Mole and John Ingoll (chaplains)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage with stone house and garden in ‘Vico Rupelli’ in the Parish of St. Audoen, lying between the tenement lately owned by Robert Flode, Sr., now owned by Radulph Pembroke, and the land belonging to the Hospital of St John outside the New Gate, extending from the street to the city wall</td>
<td>Seal: quartered circle with crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1434</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.171</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Moll (Mole), John Cristofer, John Ingoll, and John Wyntyr (chaplains)</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage between the mesuage formerly of William Asshebourne, now of James Dowdale (Douedale) and the shop formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale (Douedale), extending from the High Street to the old wall of the city; a newly-built building containing a hall and shop with a portico where there were formerly 3 shops, lying between the mesuage of James Douedale, and the shop and tenement formerly of John Barrett; these were had from the gift of John Bacoune and Walter Talbot</td>
<td>Seals: crowned I; crowned R; crowned IP; P with palm leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
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<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Feb. 1435</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/143</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrom and Ismaia, his wife</td>
<td>Philip, son of John Bellewe (knight), Richard Bellewe, and John, son of John Bellewe</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 marks annual rent from grantor’s lands and tenements in ‘Lestornane,’ for the lives of Thomas son of William FitzWilliam and Rosie Bellewe, his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1439</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/147</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrome</td>
<td>John Lange, Richard Barrett and Stephen Whithede (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manor of ‘Dondrome,’ 15 mesuages and 120 acres of land in ‘Donabroke,’ and all of grantor’s lands, mesuages, and tenements in ‘Oweynestoun,’ next to ‘Rabo’ Seal: I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1439</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/148</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrome</td>
<td>Appoints Edmund Tankard to place John Lange, Richard Barrett and Stephen Whithede (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manor of ‘Dondrome,’ 15 mesuages and 120 acres of land in ‘Donabroke,’ and all of grantor’s lands, mesuages, and tenements in ‘Oweynestoun,’ next to ‘Rabo’ Seal: I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1439</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/149</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrome</td>
<td>John Lange, Richard Barrett and Stephen Whithede (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manor of ‘Dondrome,’ 15 mesuages and 120 acres of land in ‘Donabroke,’ and all of grantor’s lands, mesuages, and tenements in ‘Oweynestoun,’ next to ‘Rabo’ Seal: I flanked by palm leaves Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. 1439</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/150</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrome</td>
<td>Appoints Edmund Tankard to place John Lange, Richard Barrett and Stephen Whithede (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td></td>
<td>All of grantor’s lands, tenements, rents, and services in ‘Lastornane’ in Co. Meath Seal: I flanked by palm leaves Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 1440</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/153</td>
<td>deed of attorney, incomplete</td>
<td>Stephen Whithede and Richard Barret (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint [blank] to place William son and heir of John FitzWilliam and his wife Ismaia in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Manor of Lestornane</td>
<td>Drawn up with blank space for the name of the attorney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Oct. 1440</td>
<td>TCD 1207.211</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Sprot (chaplain)</td>
<td>Appoints John Tankard (Dub cit) to place Nicholas Hille (clerk), Nicholas Byrford, Walter Northampton, and William Bathe (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuages, lands and tenements together with a water-mill in ‘Personestoun’ in Co. Kildare and a water-mill in ‘Tomloge’ in Co. Dublin</td>
<td>Seal: crowned I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 1445</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/159</td>
<td>rental roll fragment</td>
<td>Ismaia Perers</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Lists quantities of wheat and malt owed to Ismaia by Dawke of Dondrom, Gawrey, Patrick Iunous’ son, Jeffroun Yonge, Morice Roth, Roys Tankard, Slan Duff, Thomas White, Gilpatrick, John Milward, Brene of Dondrom, David McNowr, the cotoner’s wife, William Walsh, John Ogesson, the tailor of Dondrom, and John White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Oct. 1446</td>
<td>TCD 1477.116</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Richard, son and heir of Henry Bron</td>
<td>William Lawles and John Sprot (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Empty land outside gate of St. Mary del Dam, bounded by the land of St. Andrew’s Church, road to the King’s Mill, King’s Way, and a stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Oct. 1446</td>
<td>TCD 1477.117</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Richard, son and heir of Henry Bron</td>
<td>Appoints Nicholas Bellewe to place William Lawles and John Sprot (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Empty land outside gate of St. Mary del Dam, bounded by the land of St. Andrew’s Church, road to the King’s Mill, King’s Way, and a stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Oct. 1446</td>
<td>TCD 1477.118</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Richard, son and heir of Henry Bron</td>
<td>William Lawles and John Sprot (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Empty land outside gate of St. Mary del Dam, bounded by the land of St. Andrew’s Church on the east, road to the King’s Mill on the west, King’s Way on the north, and a stream on the south</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 May 1447</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.514</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Alexander Hunter (chaplain)</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thomas Norreys, and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage on the high street in St. Audoen’s Parish, between the lands of Thomas Newbery and his wife Margaret, formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale, the lands formerly of Robert Wode, Johanna Boys and John Cortey, the lands formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale and the High Street</td>
<td>Seal: crowned T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jul. 1447</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/162</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Philip FitzWilliam (advocate)</td>
<td>Appoints Richard Bron (yeoman) to place William FitzWilliam in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Lands of ‘Dondrom,’ ‘Donaghbrok,’ ‘Oweyneston’ and ‘Fynneston’ in Co. Dublin, and ‘Listornane’ and ‘Rahalyne’ in Co. Meath</td>
<td>Seal: II flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jul. 1447</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/163</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>William FitzWilliam of Dondrom</td>
<td>Appoints Henry Lange (tailor) to receive in his name lands from Philip FitzWilliam (advocate)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Lands of ‘Dondrom,’ ‘Donaghbrok,’ ‘Oweyneston’ and ‘Fynneston’ in Co. Dublin, and ‘Listornane’ and ‘Rahalyne’ in Co. Meath</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Jan. 1448</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/165</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>William, son and heir of John FitzWilliam</td>
<td>Appoints John Mykyn to place William Lawles and John Bernard (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Manors of ‘Listornane’ and ‘Rathalyne’</td>
<td>Seal: I flanked by palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Apr. 1449</td>
<td>PRONI D430.19</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Flemynge, son and heir of Katherine FitzAdam, daughter and co-heir of John FitzAdam</td>
<td>David Cornewalshe</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>8 ½ acres lately belonging to John FitzAdam in Kilmainham together with the reversion and property of ½ of a mesuage in Kilmainham lying between the land of the prior and brothers of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland, the Via Regia, the ‘Common Street’ and the water called ‘Camok’ on the north</td>
<td>Seal: shield with W Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Apr. 1449</td>
<td>PRONI D430.18</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Flemynge, son and heir of Katherine FitzAdam, daughter and co-heir of John FitzAdam</td>
<td>Appoints Simon Begge (chaplain) to place David Cornewalshe (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>8 ½ acres lately belonging to John FitzAdam in Kilmainham together with the reversion and property of ½ of a mesuage in Kilmainham lying between the land of the prior and brothers of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland, the Via Regia, the ‘Common Street’ and the water called ‘Camok’ on the north</td>
<td>Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Nov. 1450</td>
<td>NAI 2011/1/168</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter, son of John FitzWilliam of Dondrom</td>
<td>Walter Savage, John Sprot, and William Lawles (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Manor of ‘Lestornane’ in Co. Meath</td>
<td>Seal illegible</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Nov. 1450</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.357</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter Molghure (Dub cit, cordwainer)</td>
<td>William Osberne (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen on Cook St, between the land formerly of Patrick Burnell, the land formerly of John Walshe, the street, and the land formerly of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: T Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Dec. 1450</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.358</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Walter Molghure (Dub cit, cordwainer)</td>
<td>William Osberne (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen on Cook St, between the land formerly of Patrick Burnell, the land formerly of John Walshe, the street, and the land formerly of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: T Signed by Bellewe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Feb. 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.523</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thomass Norreys and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Thomas Wolton (London cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage on the high street in St. Audoen’s Parish, between the lands of Thomas Newbery and his wife Margaret, formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale, the lands formerly of Robert Wode, Johanna Boys and John Corteys, the lands formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale, and the High Street</td>
<td>Seals: a stag; a face within a quatrefoil; T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb. 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.524</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thomass Norreys and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Appoint Nicholas Bellewe (Dub cit) to place Thomas Wolton (London cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage on the high street in St. Audoen’s Parish, between the lands of Thomas Newbery and his wife Margaret, formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale, the lands formerly of Robert Wode, Johanna Boys and John Corteys, the lands formerly belonging to Luke Dowdale, and the High Street</td>
<td>Seal: a stag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 May 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.414</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Johanna Woltoun, lately the wife of Thomas Balle (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints John Woltoun to place Thomas Woltoun (London cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services in ‘Carpenterstoun’ in the Barony of Castroknok (Castleknock)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Aug. 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.398</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Johanna Richard, lately wife of John Stafford of Dublin (Baker) and David Rowe, both executors of John Stafford</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thomas Norreys, and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>2 mesuages with 2 gardens in the Parish of St. Kevin. One lies between the land of the vicars of the church of St. Patrick, the land of the chapel of St. Mary of the same church, the Via Regia, and the land formerly of Galfridus Hortoun; the other mesuage between the land of the same vicars, the land formerly of Roger Clane, the Via Regia and the great ditch</td>
<td>Seal: R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Aug. 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.400</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Johanna Richard, lately wife of John Stafford of Dublin (Baker) and David Rowe, both executors of John Stafford</td>
<td>Appoint William Grampe (Dub cit) to place Thomas S prvyer, Thomas Norreys, and David Taillour (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>2 mesuages with 2 gardens in the Parish of St. Kevin. One lies between the land of the vicars of the church of St. Patrick, the land of the chapel of St. Mary of the same church, the Via Regia, and the land formerly of Galfridus Hortoun; the other mesuage between the land of the same vicars, the land formerly of Roger Clane, the Via Regia and the great ditch</td>
<td>Seal: DR in oval Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Aug. 1451</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.399</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Johanna Richard, lately wife of John Stafford of Dublin (Baker) and David Rowe, both executors of John Stafford</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thomas Norreys, and David Taillour (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>2 mesuages with 2 gardens in the Parish of St. Kevin. One lies between the land of the vicars of the church of St. Patrick, the land of the chapel of St. Mary of the same church, the Via Regia, and the land formerly of Galfridus Hortoun; the other mesuage between the land of the same vicars, the land formerly of Roger Clane, the Via Regia and the great ditch</td>
<td>Seal illegible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb. 1452</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.781</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Radulphus Pembroke (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer, Thopas Norreys, Nicholas White, and John Waas (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages and tenements inside and outside of the city of Dublin</td>
<td></td>
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TABLE A.3 (CONTINUED)
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1452</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.354</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>William Osberne (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Thomas Ethorp (Dub cit, merchant)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St Audoen on Cook St between the land lately of Patrick Burnell, the land of John Walshe, the street, and the land formerly of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: crowned T, applied backwards, Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May 1452</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.356</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Ballybyn (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Thomas Ethorp (Dub cit, merchant)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St Audoen on Cook St between the land lately of Patrick Burnell, the land of John Walshe, the street, and the land formerly of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: crowned T, applied backwards, Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May 1452</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.355</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>William Osberne (Dub cit, tailor)</td>
<td>Thomas Ethorp (Dub cit, merchant)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in the Parish of St Audoen on Cook St between the land lately of Patrick Burnell, the land of John Walshe, the street, and the land formerly of John Blakeney</td>
<td>Seal: crowned T, applied backwards, Recycled seal tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Oct. 1455</td>
<td>TCD MS 1207.218</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John White de Kylmatalwey (‘hosbanman’)</td>
<td>Appoints Martyne de Clonelaue (husbandman) to place Patrick Yonge of Kylbryde in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, tenements and lands of the grantor in ‘Kylmatalwey’</td>
<td>Seal: shield with large W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (recte 23) Sep. 1457</td>
<td>St Werburgh. 25</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Margaret Harroll, widow of John Reynold (smith)</td>
<td>William Lawles and Martin Broun (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage between land of William Sutton, land of the late Robert Chamber, an unnamed street, possibly St Werburgh St., and a path given to William Sutton by Margaret Harroll</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 Sep. 1457</td>
<td>St Werburgh. 26</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Margaret Harroll, widow of John Reynold (smith)</td>
<td>Appoints Nicholas Bellewe (clerk) to place William Lawles and Martin Broun (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage between land of William Sutton, land of the late Robert Chamber, an unnamed street, possibly St Werburgh St., and a path given to William Sutton by Margaret Harroll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Sep. 1457</td>
<td>St Werburgh 27</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Margaret Harroll, widow of John Reynold (smith)</td>
<td>William Lawles and Martin Broun (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage between land of William Sutton, land of the late Robert Chamber, an unnamed street, possibly St Werburgh St., and a path given to William Sutton by Margaret Harroll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Apr. 1458</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.251</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Guardians of the Guild of St. Anne</td>
<td>John Gryffyn, smith</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage below the New Gate between the land of the prior and brothers of St. John’s Hospital, the land of the Guild of St. Anne, currently held by Reginald Walshman, the ‘Regia Strata,’ and the land of Nicholas Dowdable Rent: 7s per year; term: 40 years Grantee to keep property in good repair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Aug. 1458</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.494</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Cornell (Dub cit), son of John Cornell and Amia, his wife</td>
<td>Appoint Richard Heynot (Dub cit) to place Thomas Squyer and Thomas Norreys (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen above the quay, surrounded by the land of James Blakeney, Colmanesbroke, the land of Thomas Woltoun and his wife Katherine, the quay, and the land formerly of Radulph Pembroke</td>
<td>Seals: crowned W; crowned T</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 Aug. 1458</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.133</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Cornell (Dub cit), son of John Cornell and Amia, his wife</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer and Thomas Norreys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen above the quay, surrounded by the land of James Blakeney, Colmanesbroke, the land of Thomas Woltoun and his wife Katherine, the quay, and the land formerly of Radulph Pembroke</td>
<td>Seals: crowned W; crowned T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Aug. 1458</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.493</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer and Thomas Norreys (chaplains)</td>
<td>John Cornell (Dub cit), son of John Cornell and Amia, his wife</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Parish of St. Audoen above the quay, surrounded by the land of James Blakeney, Colmanesbroke, the land of Thomas Woltoun and his wife Katherine, the quay, and the land formerly of Radulph Pembroke (Provision that land passes to John’s legitimate offspring, should he die without issue, the mesuage will revert to William ____ the son of John Cornell; should William die without issue, the mesuage should go to support pious works)</td>
<td>Seals: crowned W, two intertwined letters: T and M(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Feb. 1459</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.61</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Ismaya Vale of Dublin, William Frankhome of Swords and his wife Katerina</td>
<td>John Geydoun of Dublin (miller)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>3 shops, a portico, and a garden in Cook St. in the Parish of St. Audoen, bounded by Colmanesbroke, the land formerly of Robert Gallane, some shops, and the street Term: the longer of the lives of Thomas Bellewe, John Bellewe, Galfrid Sale, John White, John Blake and John Broun, or 30 years Rent: 4p per year Grantees to keep property in good repair</td>
<td>Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Apr. 1459</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.598</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Audeley (butcher) son and heir of Galfrid Audeley (butcher), lately of Dublin</td>
<td>Thomas Newbery (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, tenements, meadows and pastures in Kilmainham</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship; seal with W Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Apr. 1459</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.599</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>John Audeley (butcher) son and heir of Galfrid Audeley (butcher), lately of Dublin</td>
<td>Thomas Newbery (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, tenements, meadows and pastures in Kilmainham</td>
<td>Seals: Provostship; seal with W Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>10 Jul.</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.435</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Robert Burnell (knight, master of the Guild of St. Anne), Thomas Molghane and Mathew Brenane (guardians of the same guild)</td>
<td>John Moltry (glover)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>2 shops and adjoining gardens in St. Francis St. between the street, the land lately of Walter Plunket, land of the guardians and brothers of St Francis, and the land of the prior and brothers of the Hospital of St. John</td>
<td>Seal: two intertwined letters, one is a T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1465</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 151</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Walter Molghane (corviser, Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Sprot and Thomas Laundeys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St. between land of John Heigham and his wife Juliana, land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints, the street, and a lane, formerly le Sutteres Lane, now called Behynd Street</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Feb.</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 153</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Walter Molghane (corviser, Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoints Nicholas Bellewe (clerk) to place John Sprot and Thomas Laundeys (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St. between land of John Heigham and his wife Juliana, land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints, the street, and a lane, formerly le Sutteres Lane, now called Behynd Street</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Feb.</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 152</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Walter Molghane (corviser, Dub cit)</td>
<td>John Sprot and Thomas Laundeys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St. between land of John Heigham and his wife Juliana, land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints, the street, and a lane, formerly le Sutteres Lane, now called Behynd Street</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Oct. 1466</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 104</td>
<td>bond</td>
<td>John Tany (merchant, Dub cit)</td>
<td>William Sutton, Walter Baldewyn, John Vale, William Cornell, Nicholas Bellewe (clerk)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bond for £20 silver, owed if Tany should disturb the proctors of St. Werburgh’s or their successors by the gift, alienation or title made of a mesuage formerly belonging to John Coryngham in Castle St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.410</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Robert Botiller, Thomas Launder (chaplains), and Robert, son of John Walshe (lately Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bourke (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Bridge St., surrounded by the street, the old city wall, the land lately of John Seriaunt (knight), and the land of the prior and convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Seals: crowned I; crowned RH; crossed chevrons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Robert Botiller, Thomas Launder (chaplains), and Robert, son of John Walshe (lately Dub cit)</td>
<td>Appoint Richard Newman (merchant) to place Nicholas Bourke (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Bridge St., surrounded by the street, the old city wall, the land lately of John Seriaunt (knight), and the land of the prior and convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Seals: crowned I; crowned RH; crossed chevrons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.409</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Robert Botiller, Thomas Launder (chaplains), and Robert, son of John Walshe (lately Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bourke (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Bridge St., surrounded by the street, the old city wall, the land lately of John Seriaunt (knight), and the land of the prior and convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Seals: crowned I; crowned RH</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.406</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Robert Botiller (chaplain)</td>
<td>Robert Walshe, son of John Walshe, Sr., (recently Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, and tenements which grantor has from the gift of John Walshe, Sr. inside and outside the city of Dublin</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IHC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.407</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Robert Botiller (chaplain)</td>
<td>Appoints Stephen FitzEustace (Dub cit) to place Robert Walshe, son of John Walshe, Sr., (recently Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, and tenements which grantor has from the gift of John Walshe, Sr. inside and outside the city of Dublin</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IHC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Apr. 1467</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.408</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Robert Botiller (chaplain)</td>
<td>Robert Walshe, son of John Walshe, Sr., (recently Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>All mesuages, lands, and tenements which grantor has from the gift of John Walshe, Sr. inside and outside the city of Dublin</td>
<td>Seal: crowned IHC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May 1468</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.528</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer and Thomas Norreys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Master and guardians of the Guild of St. Anne</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage above the quay which grantors along with Nicholas White (chaplain) and John Waas (chaplain, recently deceased) had of the gift of Radulph Pembroke (lately Dub cit)</td>
<td>Seals: intertwined T and S or R; stag, applied backwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May 1468</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.530</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Thomas Squyer and Thomas Norreys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Master and guardians of the Guild of St. Anne</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage above the quay which grantors along with Nicholas White (chaplain) and John Waas (chaplain, recently deceased) had of the gift of Radulph Pembroke (lately Dub cit)</td>
<td>Seals: intertwined T and S or R; stag, applied backwards</td>
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<td>20 Jan. or 20 Jun. 1470</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 154</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Thomas Laundey (chaplain)</td>
<td>Richard Herford, John Mestaylle and Robert Boys (chaplains)</td>
<td>Possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St. between land of John Heigham and his wife Juliana, land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints, the street, and a lane, formerly le Sutteres Lane, now called Behynd Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Jan. or 20 Jun. 1470</td>
<td>St. Werburgh 155</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Thomas Laundey (chaplain)</td>
<td>Appoints Nicholas Bellewe to place Richard Herford, John Mestaylle and Robert Boys (chaplains) in seisin</td>
<td>not extant, possibly Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Skinners’ St. between land of John Heigham and his wife Juliana, land of the Prior and Convent of All Saints, the street, and a lane, formerly le Sutteres Lane, now called Behynd Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Jan. 1470</td>
<td>PRONI D430.26</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>John Forster of Swords (mariner)</td>
<td>Robert FitzSymoun (merchant, Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Grant of an annual rent of 7s from all of the grantor’s lands and tenements which he has in Swords and Kilmainham near Dublin for the period of grantor’s life</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Mar. 1470</td>
<td>RIA 12.S.22-31.362</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>Nicholas Bourke, Master of the Guild of St. Anne, Thomas Norreys (chaplain), and Henry Yonge, guardians of the Guild</td>
<td>Johanna Roche of Dublin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St. and a mesuage in ‘Burneissland’ which Thomas Dowlyne inhabited, said mesuages granted for the life of the grantee; grantees is to keep them in good repair</td>
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| 20 Jun. 1470 | RIA 12.S.22-31.749 | indenture    | Nicholas Bourke, Master of the Guild of St. Anne, Thomas Norreys (chaplain), and Henry Yonge, guardians of the Guild | Janyco de Markys (Dub cit)    | Nicholas Bellewe | Cellar or wasteland in Winetavern St., surrounded by the street, the old city wall, the land of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, currently held by Thomas Fitzsymon, and the land formerly of Thomas Newby, knight, now held by John Dansey  
Term: 40 years  
Rent: 4s per year  
Janyco is to build a house of oak with a stone roof on the property | Deed very faded |
| 20 Jun. 1470 | St. Catherine 12 | grant        | William Fowler (chaplain)                                              | Maurice Segyn (Dub cit) and Moline, his wife | Probably Nicholas Bellewe | Mesuage in St Thomas St, Parish of St. Catherine, surrounded by the land of Roger Elys, former land of John Cornewalshe, and the King’s highway | |
| 20 Jun. 1470 | St. Catherine 13 | deed of attorney | William Fowler (chaplain)                                              | Appoints Nicholas Bellewe (clerk) attorney to place Maurice Segyn (Dub cit. and Moline, his wife, in seisin) | Probably Nicholas Bellewe | Mesuage in St Thomas St, Parish of St. Catherine, surrounded by the land of Roger Elys, former land of John Cornewalshe, and the King’s highway | |
| 1 Sep. 1470  | RIA 12.S.22-31.783 | indenture    | Johanna, Abbess of St. Mary del Hogges                                 | Richard Berkelane?             | Nicholas Bellewe | Shop lately held by Richard ____ , with a garden in Cook St.  
Rent: 8s per year | Deed very faded |
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<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes, incl Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Jul. 1471</td>
<td>RIA</td>
<td>indenture</td>
<td>Thomas Mayowe (chaplain), John Burnell (Dub cit)</td>
<td>William Brodoke (Dub cit) and his wife Margareta</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>Mesuage in Cook St., surrounded by the street, Colmanesbroke, the land lately of James Dowdale, and the land of Henry FitzEustace Term: 40 years Rent: a grain of corn yearly at Michaelmas, and 3s 6p for the next two years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Oct. 1471</td>
<td>NAI</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>Anna Cruys, gentlewoman, lately wife of Stephen FitzWilliam</td>
<td>Appoints Thomas Wodloke, James Wodloke (gentlemen), and Robert Whyte (yeoman) to receive lands in her name from Robert Lawles, Simon Gower, Nicholas Emon, Thomas Warynge, and Thomas Lynge</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>1/3 of all mesuages and lands which Anna Cruys, late wife of James FitzWilliam, mother of Philip, died seised of as dower, and all mesuages and lands owned by Stephen FitzWilliam to the value of 6 marks per annum, in ‘Myryonge,’ ‘Ballybothyr,’ and ‘Smothescourt’; if the lands do not make 6 marks per year, the chaplains are to make good the amount from lands that Stephen held in Fyngall and elsewhere in Co. Dublin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Shelf Mark</td>
<td>Type of Deed</td>
<td>Grantor</td>
<td>Grantee</td>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes, incl Seals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nov. 1473</td>
<td>PRONI D430.27</td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>John Prestoun and his wife Katerina Fernyngo, daughter and heir of Richard Fernyngo</td>
<td>Robert FitzSymoun (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>5 mesuages and a stone house and 2 ½ acres of arable land in Kilmainham, surrounded by the land of the hospital of John of Jerusalem, and the rivulet of ‘Canoke,’ the land of the prior of the said church and the ‘Common street.'</td>
<td>Seal: quartered circle surmounted by cross Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nov. 1473</td>
<td>PRONI D430.28</td>
<td>deed of attorney</td>
<td>John Prestoun and his wife Katerina Fernyngo, daughter and heir of Richard Fernyngo</td>
<td>Appoint Robert Hancoke attorney to place Robert FitzSymoun (Dub cit) in seisin</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>5 mesuages and a stone house and 2 ½ acres of arable land in Kilmainham, surrounded by the land of the hospital of John of Jerusalem, and the rivulet of ‘Canoke,’ the land of the prior of the said church and the ‘Common street.'</td>
<td>Seal: quartered circle surmounted by cross Signed by Bellewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Mar. 1474</td>
<td>TCD 1207.236</td>
<td>quit-claim</td>
<td>Marguerite Lytill, widow, sister and heir of Richard Herbard, late, of Swords</td>
<td>Richard Stanyhurst (Dub cit)</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
<td>‘Pomerium’ in St. Francis St., surrounded by the street, the land lately of John White, the land of John Seriaunte (miller), and the land of the Hospital of St. John Baptist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B:

PALEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF YONGE’S HAND, KEY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YONGE’S HAND AND THE HANDS OF BAGHILL AND BELLEWE

Scribal Schools and the Process of Identifying Documents

There is a certain art to the process of identifying the legal documents written by a particular scribe. I began by getting to know the hands of Yonge, Baghill, and Bellewe through documents which they had signed or notarized. I made close studies of their handwriting: letter size and formation, word and line spacing, document layout, abbreviations, spelling conventions, line fillers, and punctuation. While each scribe exhibits some variation in all of these elements, I found that each of them has a set of patterns that constitute typical scribal behavior. For instance, Yonge has a tendency to spell *sed* with a ‘t’, he has several versions of *I*-longa, but uses one version predominantly, and he never uses the abbreviation *rr*’ for *regn*ii, as other contemporary scribes did. The shared training of the scribes means that some habits of document production are common to Yonge’s school. For instance, the hornless g and the large size and generous spacing of the scripts are shared by all three scribes. Minute study of the hands of signed documents enabled me to produce a list of key similarities and differences between the hands.
When presented with a new document, the initial analysis is subjective: does the deed generally look like it might have been written by a scribe from Yonge’s circle? If the size of the script and the layout of the text appeared to bear a resemblance to known deeds of Yonge, Bellewe, or Baghill, I then subjected the document to more thorough analysis, examining the text for typical (or atypical) spelling and abbreviations, and examining individual letters. If, for instance, a document appeared to have many of the hallmarks of a Baghill document, yet had a B that was formed in an atypical way, I made note of it and began looking for other indicators that the document before me was not that of Thomas Baghill. My approach was to be exclusionary rather than falsely identifying documents with a scribe erroneously. As a result, the tables in Appendix A contain several deeds listed as “possibly” or “probably” those of Yonge, Baghill, or Bellewe. The sections which follow are a detailed description of Yonge’s hand and shorter descriptions of the hands of Baghill and Bellewe; the latter are mostly lists of differences, as the size, spacing, and ductus of many letters are shared by all three scribes.

Yonge’s Hand: A Paleographical Description

What is described below is based on Yonge’s less-formal script, as there is little change in ductus between the formal and the informal scripts. Important differences between standard and formal letter forms are pointed out. The lower-case letters are described first, followed by select upper-case letters; like most fifteenth-century scribes utilizing Anglicana, Yonge did not always make a distinction between lower-case and upper-case forms. This description of Yonge’s hand is based mainly on letter forms from documents signed or notarized by the scribe. Table B.1 is a “sampler” of Yonge’s hand,
with representative letters taken from documents that can be firmly attributed to James Yonge via a signature or *signum manuale*. I have cross-referenced my descriptions of each letter with the examples in the figure. The letters and numbers in brackets refer to this figure.

Yonge’s *a* {1} is usually two-chambered, with the top chamber often the same size as or slightly smaller than the bottom chamber, unlike the *as* of some of Yonge’s contemporaries, which tend to have a larger top chamber. The chambers are elliptical or slightly raindrop-shaped. The top of *a* usually falls about half a minim height above the headline. The letter is formed of three strokes, a straight stroke with a slight curve at the top and a foot at the bottom forms the stem. The top bowl is formed by a c-shaped stroke, and the bottom bowl is formed by a stroke which begins at the bottom left side of the top bowl and curves around to meet the stem near the foot. This bottom bowl on early examples of Yonge’s *a* is raindrop-shaped, with the stroke meeting the stem at or near the place where the top bowl joins the stem {1A}. Yonge’s more formal hand has both a standard *a* and a more broken version, with points at the top, bottom, and center left of both bowls. Yonge occasionally uses a single-chambered *a*. This is formed of two strokes – the stem and a raindrop-shaped bowl which begins at the top of the minim and ends just above the baseline – and usually has a foot.

Yonge’s *b* {2} undergoes a few changes over the course of the scribe’s career. It begins as a pointed o with an ascender that begins with a hairline beginning at the point where the top of the bowl meets the stem and running obliquely up to the right before hooking back to the left and then down, to form a straight-backed ascender {2A}. By 1413, Yonge’s *b* is no longer based on an *o*; it is formed of three strokes: a slightly
sinuous stem that curves to the right at top and bottom, a second stroke forming the headstroke and closed ascender, and a curved stroke that forms the top, right side, and bottom of the bowl {2C-H}.  e {3} is made of two strokes: a flat headstroke, and a stroke forming the lower part of the letter that is usually oblique, with a slight curve upwards at the right side.  This curve ends in a very light line that often connects with the next letter.

Yonge’s d {4} is one of the more distinctive letters of his hand.  Slightly shorter than most other letters with ascenders, d is two-chambered and appears to be executed in a single stroke without any lifting of the pen.  Beginning just below the headline, this stroke first forms the left sides of a diamond-shaped bowl, then continues in a fine, straight line up to the right.  The line breaks at the headline and curves upwards and to the left to form an elongated ascender that often extends over the preceding letter, this stroke then finishes by coming back towards the right in a straight, downward-sloping line, closing the top of the bowl and creating an upper chamber that is either sharply pointed or rounded.  Yonge uses two forms of e {5}, an open e and a round one.  Yonge’s open e is formed from an oblique stroke which begins just below the headline and extends to the right towards the baseline, turning upwards at the end, and a stroke, which can be either curved or pointed, that forms the bowl.  The round e is formed from a single stroke creating an ovoid or diamond-shaped chamber with an oblique stroke passing through the middle.  This stroke can curve slightly upwards or downwards, but it almost invariably passes through the oval from upper left to lower right at an angle that deviates about 20° from vertical.  Round e is markedly less frequent in examples of Yonge’s more formal hand.
Three strokes make up the \( f \) (6): a straight, dagger-shaped stroke forms the stem and descender, the headstroke is formed from a slightly oblique straight stroke that finishes on the right with a slight hook, and the cross-stroke is a horizontal line usually placed at a point about halfway between the baseline and the headline. In some instances, a hairline connects the hook on the headstroke with the left side of the cross-stroke. Long \( s \) (18) is formed in the same way, but without the cross-stroke. The angle of the headstroke on \( f \) and long \( s \) varies considerably, forming angles with the stem of between 45° and 90°. In more formal examples of Yonge’s hand, the stem of long \( s \) breaks slightly to the right at the top, forming a small shoulder.

One of Yonge’s more distinctive letters is his \( g \) (7), which in most instances does not have a horn, a characteristic that helps distinguish Yonge’s hand from the similar hands of his contemporaries. Yonge’s \( g \) looks like a pointed figure-eight, being formed of two diamond-shaped chambers. The top chamber is usually slightly smaller than the bottom one, and it can sometimes be rounded, especially on the right side. The bottom chamber is usually slightly more pointed on the left side. In some cases, this point is exaggerated. Each chamber is formed separately in the same manner as the \( o \) is formed, with two strokes that are mirror images of one another. One stroke forms the upper and lower left sides of the diamond, and the second stroke forms the right sides. In cases where the bottom chamber of \( g \) is pointed, Yonge executed the bottom portion of the letter with one stroke, starting at the upper part of the lower chamber, where the lower bowl meets the upper one, bringing the pen obliquely to the right, then sweeping it back to the left to form a bottom line that arches slightly upwards before ending in the point. The \( g \) is finished with a very light line back up to the waist of the letter. In the few cases
in which Yonge employs a single-chambered g, this final hairline is omitted, and the line forming the bottom of the g is lengthened. These can be seen in Yonge’s notarial signature on Trinity College Dublin 1477, no. 84 (1411) {not pictured} and in Yonge’s signature on Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31, no. 547 {56C} g often stands alone, without a ligature with subsequent letters. In a few rare instances, Yonge uses an extra stroke to add a small horn at the top right of the letter {7D, 7G}. Most of the instances in which g connects with the following letter occur in places where g is followed by a letter with an approach stroke, e.g. m or n. In these cases, the g connects to the next letter with a fine line that emerges from the waist or the right-hand point of the upper bowl. This line usually follows the angle of the lower right portion of the bowl and appears to be an extension of that line.

The h {8} is formed of two strokes that are nearly mirror images of one another. One stroke forms a straight back with a pronounced foot at the baseline and a large hook to the right at the top. This hook angles back towards the line of writing and is occasionally closed with a hairline that extends back to the left; h is usually left open. The arch looks somewhat like a large elongated comma. The stroke starts at the headline, curves slightly to the right, and finishes by trailing off to the left. This tail on h can be quite short or very long, extending beneath a previous letter or two below the baseline; it runs parallel to the line of writing, only very rarely curving back up towards the text, a trait in Yonge’s hand which differs from many of his contemporaries. From time to time, the tail will end with a minuscule tail-flick formed as Yonge lifted his pen or – especially on earlier documents – a larger hook opening to the right. A simple minim with a small approach stroke and foot forms the i {9}. For words in which it may be difficult to
distinguish between several letters formed of minims, Yonge dots his i with small upward-curving hairline dashes that usually fall slightly to the right of the letter; these can be nearly parallel to the line of writing, or they can be more perpendicular and look like an elongated italic c. Like h, k \{10\} is formed from a straight stem with a large foot at the baseline and a hook at the headline which extends at an oblique angle to the right and often ends just above the following letter. In the formal script, the foot is formed with a separate stroke. The bowl and crossbar of k are formed by a 2-shaped stroke which begins at the headline and ends just above the foot. l \{11\}, too, has a straight stem and a pronounced foot. The foot is usually, though not always, formed from a separate stroke. The stem and closed ascender are formed by a single stroke, with the top chamber formed from an oblique stroke to the right, emerging from the top of the stem and then curving back to the left in a hairline stroke that meets the stem just below the headline.

m and n \{12, 13\} are formed from a series of minims. These letters usually have a short approach stroke, and appear with or without feet. The minims are parallel, showing no tendency towards pinching or splaying. In Yonge’s more formal script, each minim in m and n has a foot. In both the formal and the standard script, the final minim of a word ending in m or n will also often have a foot. The approach stroke for both is somewhat lengthened if the letter is the initial letter in a word; this approach stroke occasionally is quite long, beginning at the baseline. With the exception of pronouns and other short words, most words beginning in m have a more complex form of the letter. Yonge’s initial m \{12B-E, H\} is formed in two or three strokes. The first stroke is c-shaped and outlines three sides of a diamond-shaped chamber. The second stroke is a minim closing off the fourth side of the chamber and forming the second leg of the m.
The third stroke connects to the foot of the second minim with a hairline running back up to the top of the headline then forming a third minim with a line that curves to the right as far as the baseline; this line then curves back to the left, leaving a tail that, like the tail on h, trails off beneath the letter parallel to the baseline.

Two chevron-shaped strokes, one pointing to the right and the other to the left, form the o {14}, which can be slightly rounded or broken, with an elongated diamond-shaped chamber. The top of the o often has a small point. p {15} begins with an I-longa-shaped stroke which begins at the baseline with an approach stroke, has either a rounded point or a broken shoulder at the level of the headline, then comes down to form a dagger-shaped descender that is either straight or curves slightly to the left. The bowl is usually formed of two strokes, a horizontal cross-stroke at the baseline, which begins at the left of the stem and continues across the stem to the right, and a curved stroke which begins below the shoulder of the I and curves up to the headline and back down to meet the right end of the cross-stroke. An I-longa without the approach stroke, but with a curved or broken shoulder begins the q {16}. The bowl is completed by a separate c-shaped stroke which starts at the top of the stem and ends below the break or curve in the shoulder, between the headline and the baseline, forming a rounded or diamond-shaped bowl.

Yonge employs two versions of r {17}. Long-r is executed in a single stroke beginning with a short approach stroke near the headline. In Yonge’s formal hand, this approach stroke breaks at or just below the headline to form a shoulder. The descender is usually straight and ends in a dagger-like point. Long-r is finished with a hairline stroke that emerges from the stem at or just below the baseline to form a ligature with a
following letter. After letters that have a bowl on the right side, such as o and round e, Yonge uses a z-shaped r composed of two slightly sinuous horizontal lines joined by a hairline. This is executed in a single stroke. On occasion, this short r is embellished with a long tail which emerges from the lower left corner of the z and forms a hook opening to the right well below the baseline. Yonge employs short r on a couple of occasions, but instances of short r in Yonge’s work are extremely rare.

Long s {18} is Yonge’s most common s and is described above in the section describing f. Yonge also uses a sigma-s and a kidney-shaped s. The sigma s appears both at the beginning and end of words. It has a narrow, diamond-shaped bowl, and the head-stroke usually runs horizontally at or just above the headline. Sometimes the headstroke ends on the right with a minuscule downward hook or barb. Kidney-shaped s appears only at the ends of words. It has two distinct chambers and looks like a small B, with the top chamber being of equal size or slightly smaller than the bottom chamber. This appears to be executed in a single stroke, starting with an oblique line that begins just above the baseline and extends down to the baseline before rising to form the two curved bowls of the s, followed by a straight stem which returns to a point just to the right of the starting point.

Yonge’s t {19} has a straight back and a foot that is usually pronounced. In Yonge’s formal hand, the stem breaks just above the baseline, as the stroke turns to the right to form the foot. The cross-stroke is horizontal and falls just below both the top of the stroke forming the stem and the headline. There is usually a discernible cross at the top of t, and it is thus readily distinguishable from c. Occasionally, a hairline connects the end of the stem/foot stroke and the right side of the cross-stroke. While the foot often
touche the next letter, \( t \) forms a ligature with following letters by a slight extension of the cross-stroke to the right. Most instances of \( u \) \{20\} are indistinguishable from \( n \) and can appear with or without a foot on the second minim. However, Yonge occasionally forms \( u \) with straight minims and a clear foot on the first minim that connects to the second minim just above the turn of its foot. This style of \( u \) invariably has a foot on the second minim.

\[ \text{v} \] \{21\} appears only at the beginning of words. In cases where consonantal \( v \) appears in the middle of a word, \( u \) is used. Several forms of \( v \) are present. These fall into two main categories: a \( v \) with an approach stroke that extends below the baseline, ending in a pronounced hook that opens to the right, and a \( v \) with an approach stroke that arches up to the right, over the letter, at a level even with or slightly below the ascender line. The first minim of \( v \) varies considerably, being at times an oblique stroke, and in other examples of the letter a stroke that curves sharply, creating a backwards c-shape before turning back to the right, forming a break exhibiting anything from a slight point on the left side of the letter to an exaggerated point. This break usually falls slightly below the midpoint between the headline and the baseline. All versions of \( v \) are finished with a stroke shaped like a backwards c that usually barely closes the top of the letter to create a chamber. This stroke begins at a point just below the headline and curves down to meet the bottom of the first minim. The base of \( v \) can be pointed or rounded.

One of Yonge’s most distinctive letters is his \( w \) \{22\}. This letter always extends in height from the ascender line to the baseline. It is a VB-style \( w \) with two ascenders hooking to the right. These ascenders can be distinct from one another or can impinge on each other slightly. In most cases, the loop of the first ascender touches the second
ascender. The loop on the first ascender almost invariably comes back to meet the stem, forming a closed chamber that is nearly circular in shape. The second ascender either forms a loop with itself, as the first ascender did, or it hooks to the right and trails off, remaining open. At the base of the \textit{w}, the first \textit{v} usually falls just above the baseline, while the second \textit{v} falls slightly lower, sitting on or below the baseline. The stems of the first two ascenders can appear with or without a break just above the baseline. \textit{w} finishes with a B-shaped back with chambers of even size.

The \textit{x} \{23\} has two closed chambers and is formed from two strokes. The top of the \textit{x} is even with the headline, and the bottom hangs below the baseline, but it does not extend as far below the baseline as most descenders. The first stroke in \textit{x} is an oblique stroke from upper left to lower right with an approach stroke that hangs nearly vertical. This stroke ends below the baseline and can appear with or without a tiny foot. The second stroke of \textit{x} is a backwards s-shaped curve that begins well below the top of the first stroke, at a point just above the midway point between the headline and the baseline. It ascends towards the headline, where it curves smoothly back around to the left and crosses the first stroke at a point just above the baseline before continuing to the left to a point that is usually even with the approach stroke of the first stroke and curving around smoothly back to the right to just touch the bottom of the first stroke. The lower chamber is usually slightly larger and more elongated than the upper chamber. The \textit{y} \{24\} looks much like an \textit{x} with a foreshortened initial stroke. However, the s-shaped stroke can be quite elongated to form a long tail that hangs down to or below the average descender line. The final hook opening to the right can be large and sinuous, as it is in \textit{x}, or it can
be a small, tight hook. A few examples are dotted, but these only appear early in Yonge’s career.

Yonge’s 3 {25} begins just above the baseline. A stroke runs from this point up to the right, breaks to make a short top that slopes slightly downward, then breaks again and returns to the baseline, forming a triangular chamber. From this same point, the bottom of 3 is formed by a line that runs parallel with the baseline to a point even with the right point of the upper chamber, then curves down to create a descender. This descender can end without a hook, with a tiny tail-flick opening to the right, or with a slightly more pronounced rounded hook, again opening to the right.

Yonge makes no distinction between lower-case and upper-case K, L, M, U/V, and W. He indicates a capital F by writing a double f. A {26} has two chambers, both of which are usually closed. A late version of A has a loop creating the top chamber that starts and ends higher than usual. For most instances of A, a hairline approach stroke begins in the center of the letter and curves up and around to the right to make the stem with a thick sinuous stroke that ends in a foot. The upper chamber is elongated and forms a shape like an inverted raindrop. The larger lower chamber is formed from a stroke that begins where the stroke for the upper chamber began – at a point in the center of the stem. It extends obliquely to the left turning 90° to meet the baseline before curving back up towards the letter. This stroke meets the stem just above the foot. This lower chamber can be rectangular or nearly triangular in shape, and Yonge occasionally creates the lower chamber with pronounced breaks rather than curves.

B {27} is often quite angular and is characterized by extended points at the top and bottom of the stem and a long approach stroke that ends below the baseline in a hook
opening to the right. The approach stroke hangs from the top point of the stem, and the lower point occasionally juts so far out as to meet the approach stroke, forming a triangular chamber at the left side of the letter. The bowls are generally equal in size. The upper bowl is triangular in shape, while the lower bowl is more rounded. B begins with the approach stroke, which turns just below the ascender line to form the stem with an angular backwards c-shaped stroke. The upper chamber is formed by a hairline stroke that begins at the central point of the stem, goes up to a level slightly higher than the top of the first stroke, turns to make a thick short stroke obliquely to the right, then returns to its starting point. The lower chamber is formed from a stroke beginning in the same place that curves right and only slightly downward to a point even with the furthest right point of the top chamber. It then curves around to the baseline and finishes with a sinuous stroke that curves up towards the center of the letter and then back out and down to the left to form the lower left point. B is occasionally finished with a vertical line that passes through both bowls.

C \{28\} is often only slightly taller than the minim height, and is marked as an upper-case letter by a central dot or vertical stroke through the middle. The letter begins with an oblique stroke that begins at the center left side of the letter, just above the halfway point between the headline and the baseline. This stroke goes down to the baseline and curves slightly back up to the right. The top of C is formed from a hairline stroke beginning at the same point as the initial stroke. This stroke goes up obliquely to the top of the C and ends with a thick stroke that ranges from horizontal to an angle of about 30° from the horizontal. C is completed with a central dot or a horizontal stroke...
running from the top point to the center of the bottom stroke, only very rarely extending beyond the letter.

Yonge used several forms of D {29} that were common to the Anglicana hand before he settled on a form of D that remained stable for the rest of his career. Documents from the first decade of Yonge’s career have three forms of D, one of which is the type that will persist. Yonge’s most commonly used form of D, and a version which appears in most of his documents throughout his career, is a slightly larger broken version of his lower-case D, with pronounced points at the lower corners of the bottom bowl. The earliest form of D {29A} to disappear is rounded and shaped somewhat like a b or a sigma-s. It begins with an approach stroke that starts at a place above the following letter and curves back to the left, down to the baseline, and back up to the right to close a circle. The letter is finished with a line inside the chamber that runs from upper left to lower right and bends towards the upper left. This type of D disappears almost entirely in Yonge’s documents by 1410. The second type of D {29B} is similar to the type that survived, except that the ductus of the ascender is reversed. A small loop forms the lower bowl before coming up at an oblique angle from lower right to upper left and then curves back towards the right above the back of the letter. The ascender chamber can be left open or be closed by this line coming back to meet itself near where the stroke that makes the back of the letter begins. Some forms of this D {29C} have a second, smaller bowl above the first which is formed by adding an extra c-shaped arc to the top of the stroke that forms the bowl.

E {30} and G {31} are formed in a similar way to the C. Yonge adds a horizontal cross stroke to the center of the vertical line of C to form an E. G is formed by the
addition of an extra slightly curved vertical stroke that attaches to the lower right point of
the base of the C. G is then finished with a vertical stroke, like the C. Yonge’s H {32}
differs little from his lower-case h. It can, however, be slightly larger than its lower-case
counterpart, and Yonge often forms a broken foot at the base of the stem. The tail of H
can also be slightly longer.

Like D, Yonge’s I-longa {33} also has a standard form and some variations. The
most common form has an approach stroke beginning at a point midway between the
headline and the baseline. This arcs up with a hairline stroke up to the ascender line,
creating a line that bows to the left; at the top, the pen creates a rounded or broken
shoulder before coming downwards in a long, straight, dagger-shaped stroke that ends at
the descender line. The overall effect is an I-longa with a closed elliptical chamber at the
top. Variations include making this chamber smaller or rounder. The length of the
downward-sloping shoulder at the top can also vary considerably in length. The top of
the initial loop on I-longa never joins the stem at a point very far below the top of the
stem, a trait of the I-longa of other scribes.1228 Early in his career, Yonge does employ an
I-longa {33A} that begins as his usual one does, but the initial arc of the approach stroke
comes out further to the left, and a downward-curving stroke connects the top of the
approach stroke and the top of the stem. This may have been in imitation of the I-longa
of a scribe (Hand M) who probably had a hand in training Yonge. It is a somewhat rare
form that largely disappears in Yonge’s hand by 1415. The most interesting form of I-
longa {33F-H} is one that Yonge seems to have developed himself. It is most often used

1228 See the discussion of Thomas Baghill’s hand below.
in initial lines and in Yonge’s eschatocol, and the presence of this I-longa is often an
initial indicator that a particular document might have been written by Yonge in the latter
half of his career. The approach stroke of this I-longa begins with two squiggles along
the baseline that look like a miniature n – the height of this feature never extends above
the midpoint between the headline and baseline – the tail stroke of this n then angles up
until it meets the stem, then turns to angle up towards the left. The top and stem are
completed by a sweeping, rounded stroke back to the right and then straight down; there
is no breaking. The result is a large I-longa that extends from a point at or above the
ascender line to the descender line. Its chamber is shaped like an upside-down raindrop.
The first extant instance of this I-longa appears on Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no.
107 in 1425, but beginning as early as 1417, the enlarged raindrop-shaped chamber is
present in the first lines of documents.\textsuperscript{1229}

Some of the very earliest documents penned by Yonge have a rounded N with a
rounded approach stroke, round arch, and horizontal feet at the bottom of each leg.\textsuperscript{1230}
This early form soon gave way to an N that Yonge would use for the rest of his career.
This N \{34\} is sharply angled. It begins with a straight descender. The pen was turned
in the creation of this descender, making a wider line high on the stroke that narrows to a
hairline at the base. The arch and second leg of N were made in a single z-shaped stroke
that began at the top of the initial leg. This stroke extends in a slightly sloping line to the
right, changes direction abruptly to create a hairline stroke to the left, and changes

\textsuperscript{1229} e.g. Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 101 and 102.

\textsuperscript{1230} Examples can be seen on National Library of Ireland D.7222 (1404) and Trinity College
Dublin MS 1477, no. 74 (1406).
direction again to the right to finish the second leg with a nearly horizontal foot that falls at or just above the baseline. O \( \{35\} \) is slightly diamond-shaped, with a distinct point at the top, a rounded base, and sides that can be rounded or pointed. Some examples may have been executed with a single stroke beginning at the top of the letter, arcing slightly to the right before turning towards the baseline with a hairline stroke. The bottom and lower left side is formed from a broader stroke, and a hairline stroke forms the upper right. Yonge completed O with a vertical stroke bisecting the letter. Q \( \{37\} \) is formed from an O, and has an extra stroke creating a horizontal cross-stroke that extends from the lower right side of the letter well above the baseline.

Yonge’s P \( \{36\} \) is often a larger version of his lower-case p, but on occasion, the straight stroke that forms the bottom of p arches upwards, creating a slight point at the lower right side of the chamber. R \( \{38\} \) has a long approach-stroke that usually begins just above the base of the letter and arcs up to the ascender line before turning back downwards to make a thick stem that finishes in a foot that can be rounded or broken and oblique or nearly horizontal. The chamber is formed from a second 2-shaped stroke that begins well below the top of the stem, comes up and arcs back around at a place below the top of the stem. It meets the stem just below the center of the letter. R is finished with a horizontal stroke across the stem just below the midpoint.

Yonge uses a sigma-s for his upper case S \( \{39\} \). This letter forms a chamber that is somewhat flattened and curved, describing a curved raindrop or rectangle shape. S is executed in a single stroke that begins between the ascender line and the headline. It comes straight down very briefly before making a sinuous stroke to the right, curving back around to the left near the baseline, ascending in an arc back to the top of the letter,
and finishing with a stroke to the right that curves slightly downward. Two forms of T {40} are used. The letter extends only a little above the headline, and both forms are based on a C-shaped bowl. The difference between the two Ts is in the headstroke. In the more common version {40D, G}, the headstroke extends horizontally across the top of the bowl to a point to the left of the letter. A hairline stroke descends down and to the right to a point below the letter before turning back up to create a vertical line that extends through the center of the bowl and often emerges out of the top of the T crossing the headstroke. The other version of T {40F} utilized by Yonge has a headstroke that crosses the top of the bowl obliquely, often at an angle of 30° or 40° from the horizontal. It ends with a hairline stroke that hangs almost straight down on the left side of the letter and finishes in a hook that opens to the right. A separate stroke creates a horizontal line through the bowl of the T. Yonge’s Y {41} is indistinguishable from his y, with the exception of occasionally being slightly larger. The approach stroke can also occasionally be exaggerated.

Yonge’s system of abbreviations and punctuation marks is typical of legal scribes in the early fifteenth century. Yonge’s & {42} is either z-shaped or +-shaped. In both cases, the letter is the same height as the minim-height, but both forms of & have a hairline approach-stroke that extends slightly below the baseline. The approach-stroke extends down from the left side of the headstroke of the z-shaped & or to the top of the minim in the +-shaped version and ends in a small hook opening to the right; in the latter version, this approach-stroke often crosses the left side of the cross-stroke. The body of the z-shaped & is formed from three slightly oblique lines creating sharp points. The bottom line is usually slightly sinuous, forming a graceful base. The body of the +-
shaped & is formed from a minim with a curved foot. Sometimes a hairline stroke connects the end of the foot and the right side of the horizontal cross-stroke. The cross-stroke is often longer than the minim.

Abbreviations are formed from the standard set of Tironian notes, but several abbreviations unique to the legal trade are also used. The –er or –re {43} abbreviation looks much like the ascender on d, but it is confined to the space above the letter and does not extend into the space above the previous letter or space. The ductus is also reversed, with the lower right to upper left diagonal formed first. This curves around at the ascender line to finish with a curved stroke that often touches the top of the letter that it surmounts. Per/Pre {45} is formed from a standard p with a straight crossbar on the descender that tilts up slightly to the right. Pro {46} is formed from an extension of the bottom stroke of the bowl. This stroke extends well to the left of the letter, often beyond a point even with the approach-stroke. It then turns back to the right and angles slightly upward as it crosses the descender and trails off at a point even with the right side of the bowl. 4-shaped –rum {44} begins with a 2-shaped stroke that attaches to the preceding o at a point just above the break on the right side. It curves up and back around to the left, coming to a point at the baseline just below the preceding o before finishing with a straight line that runs horizontally or angles slightly upwards. The second stroke of –rum is a long vertical line with a small approach-stroke and foot. This can be either vertical or slant towards the right.

-que {47} is formed from a standard q with a 3 attached to it. The top of 3 is rounded, and the bottom chamber is nearly triangular, as the stroke forming it extends straight out from the q horizontally at a point just above the baseline before curving back
to the left to form a long hairline descender that crosses the descender of the q and often ends in a tail-flick, sometimes well below the average descender line. –us {49} is formed from a small c-shaped loop that often falls just above the headline, and a separate stroke that forms a long descender. This stroke closes the fourth side of the c, then breaks before arcing down below the baseline and ending either with no tail or with a tail that forms a sharp point before hooking to the right.

The ends of words are the most commonly abbreviated items in Yonge’s documents. His suspension marks for –n or –m {52} vary considerably and can be slightly arched, arrow-straight, or recursive, being formed from a hairline extending up from the final stroke of the letter beneath the suspension mark and curving to the left before returning to the right with the heavy stroke of the suspension mark. In some of his more formal documents, Yonge begins his suspension marks with a small circle on the left side before the line continues horizontally to the right. The suspended a-shaped mark of –ra/-tur {48} is usually shaped like a single-chambered a, with a foot that extends in an arc up over the a before trailing off near the top of the preceding letter. A less-common form of this abbreviation is a single-chambered a with a pronounced foot {48B}. This foot often arcs up to meet a horizontal line that creates a chamber with a flat top and extends out to the right, often for a considerable distance so that the abbreviation mark hangs over the empty space between words.

In Yonge’s legal documents, many words are shortened, especially those in well-known formulae and words that have been spelled out in full earlier in the document. For example, Yonge often spells out tenementum in the initial description of a property. Here, the only abbreviation is a suspension mark above the u. Later in the document,
tenementum is spelled ten°, with a small loop or suspension mark standing in for the missing letters. This loop {50} is usually triangular in shape and extends from the top right of the final letter. It is formed of a horizontal line to the right that turns to angle up and back to the left before extending vertically downward to meet the initial line. In cases where the loop is attached to t, it is formed between the minim and the cross-bar, emerging as a hairline from the base of the foot; the ductus of the loop is reversed in this case so that the vertical side is formed first, then the horizontal side of the loop extends back across the minim to form the t.

Whenever a word is shortened creating a fragment ending in a d {51}, Yonge abbreviates the word by drawing an arcing stroke that usually passes horizontally through the upper chamber of the d. This stroke arcs up and to the right, heading slightly downwards as the pen is lifted. Another form of this abbreviation begins the stroke at the outer right side of the d. This then extends down below the baseline before ending in a hook that opens to the right. Both forms of this abbreviation can be seen in words like quod and heredibus.

Most legal documents followed a strict formula, so there are only a very few letters that get used as initial letters. These are In, N, O, P, and S. Yonge’s notarial deeds begin with a large In {53G-H}. The I {53G-H} extends down the left margin, and can be anywhere from three to six lines long. It usually has a loop at the top that ranges from elliptical, extending down the stem of the letter, to nearly circular. The base of the stem of I hooks out to the left, well into the margin. The n which follows is twice the minim height of the other letters. It attaches to the right side of the stem of I, and is rounded, with each leg arcing down to just above the baseline, where it ends in a sharp
point with a pronounced and sinuous foot. \textbf{N} \{53A-B\} begins with a straight descender extending down the left side, usually for two to three lines. The arch is formed by an arcing stroke, like the \textbf{n} of \textbf{In}, that ends just above the baseline and has a pronounced foot. \textbf{O} \{53D\} is, like its upper-case counterpart, formed of two strokes, with a third vertical stroke bisecting the chamber. The left side of \textbf{O} can be quite pointed, while the right side of \textbf{O} can be pointed or rounded. \textbf{P} \{53C, E\} is formed from two strokes: the first creates an \textbf{I}-shaped loop and descender, which extends down the margin for two to three lines, the second begins at or near the base of the descender, and creates an arc up the left side of the letter; at a point even with the top of the initial \textbf{I}, it angles down to the right to cross the \textbf{I}, then creates a round or slightly oval bowl by arcing back up to meet the top of the \textbf{I}. In Yonge’s later documents, the approach-stroke to the \textbf{I} can sometimes disappear, creating a letter that looks somewhat like a slightly askew figure-8. Yonge’s \textbf{S} \{53F\} is merely a large two-line version of his upper-case sigma \textbf{S}.

Yonge’s punctuation includes a double-slash \{54A-C, D\}, which is often written very lightly using hairline strokes, a dot-slash \{54D, H\}, with a medial dot and a hairline slash, a medial dot \{54A, E-F\}, and a hyphen-like dash \{54G-H\}. These are used interchangeably and are usually applied at the end of a complete section of a document, e.g. between the description of a property and the formula terminating the grantor’s rights to that property or between the body of a document and the final phrase providing the day and regnal year.

In many cases, Yonge employed line fillers to mark the end of a document in cases where the document ended with most of a line left blank, or in cases where a large space was left at the right side of a line in a document. Yonge usually employed a string
of one to four sigma-§ shapes with lengthened head-strokes to fill or partially fill an open line \(55\text{B-E, H}\). These sometimes were left open, forming a c-shape. Final lines did not have to be filled in all the way to the margin. It seems that a short line-filler was sufficient to indicate the end of a document. Spaces within a document, left either inadvertently or by an erasure were filled in with a ++ mark\(55\text{G}\). This is a habit shared by other scribes such as Thomas Baghill\(^{1231}\) and may have been employed as a way of indicating that this small space was a scribal error and not the result of tampering or subsequent erasure.

Yonge began many of his documents with an ‘Ihc’ written in the upper left corner \(57\). This was a scribal practice that seems to have been dying out among Dublin scribes. Yonge uses the monogram sporadically. Other scribes use the monogram rarely, and by the mid-fifteenth century, among the deeds surveyed, it appears that only Nicholas Bellewe is using it with any regularity.\(^{1232}\) Yonge wrote his last name in the lower right corner of several extant documents \(56\text{B-E}\). This is a practice that seems to have been on the increase among Dublin scribes, although no scribes sign their deeds as a matter of course until the end of the fifteenth century. Yonge signs his deeds only sporadically. He surrounds his signature with a two or three-sided frame that is always open at the top and often open on the left side. He often uses the tail of \(Y\) to create the bottom portion of the frame. The right side is sometimes drawn in a separate stroke and sometimes emerges from a dot or squiggle placed behind the e.

\(^{1231}\) For more on Thomas Baghill, see below.

\(^{1232}\) For more on Nicholas Bellewe, see below.
Key Differences between the Hands of Yonge and Baghill

There are several differences between Yonge’s hand and Baghill’s hand that assist in distinguishing the work of the two scribes.\textsuperscript{1233} The top chamber of Yonge’s a is usually round or slightly squared, while Baghill usually closes the top chamber of a with an oblique stroke creating a nearly triangular chamber. The second minim on Yonge’s h usually curves back to the left and trails off parallel to the line of writing. The apprentice scribe puts a hook on h which opens to the right. Yonge has several forms of I-longa, but none of them have a loop which starts and ends in the center of the upright. Baghill has two major forms of I-longa, one of which has a loop in the center of the upright; the other is identical to Yonge’s most commonly used form. Baghill favors Yonge’s style of I-longa, especially on notarial instruments, but the presence of the I-longa with the lowered loop is a key indicator of a Baghill deed. Yonge uses two slightly different forms of a VB-style W. In each, the bottom of the first v is usually higher than that of the second v, and the second ascender is usually only slightly higher than the first. One version tangles the ascenders and has no break at the bottom of the first v, the other breaks at the bottom of the first v and the ascenders are often distinct or just touch one another. In both cases, the ascenders are usually closed loops. Baghill employs a w in which the ascenders hook to the right and are entangled with one another; the second ascender is left open and trails

\textsuperscript{1233} Table B.2 is a sampler of Baghill’s hand.
off to the right. The *et* abbreviation in Yonge’s hand usually has no descender or a very light one, whereas Baghill’s *et* has a heavy descender hooking to the right.

Key Characteristics of Nicholas Bellewe’s Hand

Characteristics of Bellewe’s hand include a flat-backed, two-chambered *a*, a hornless *g*, usually with a flat or slightly curved vertical line forming the right side of the top chamber and a rounded or teardrop-shaped bottom chamber, rather than the broken one used by many contemporary scribes, a tendency for the descender of *h* to trail off beneath the letter parallel to the line of writing rather than curving or hooking back up towards the baseline, a round *o* with a point at the top, a *p* in which the base of the bowl is made by a horizontal line at the baseline which clearly crosses the stem, and a fist-like *w* with four distinct chambers that was often executed without lifting the pen.\textsuperscript{1234} The minim-height is large compared to other legal scribes, often about 3 mm. Bellewe also tended to cut his pen slightly finer than his contemporaries. Like James Yonge, Bellewe had two grades of script, a formal version that tended to be more upright and calligraphic, and a workaday script with more ligatures and a tendency for the letters to lean slightly to the right. The latter grade is far more common in the legal documents penned by Bellewe.

Bellewe’s hand appears in at least three extant manuscripts: the Dublin Chain Book,\textsuperscript{1235} Longleat MS 29 and Bodleian e. Museo MS 232. A few differences exist

\textsuperscript{1234} Table B.3 is a sampler of Bellewe’s hand.

\textsuperscript{1235} Dublin City Archives MS 1/2/1.
between the script Bellewe used for his legal documents and that which he used in these manuscripts. Bellewe’s book hand employs a pen with a slightly broader nib, thus creating more shading than is present in his legal hand. The letters are also broader than those of his legal documents. Bellewe places feet on all of the minims of m and n. He also employs open e in his book hand, whereas he uses round e almost exclusively in his lower-grade legal script. Words ending in –s usually end in a sigma-s on legal documents, while Bellewe uses a B-shaped s in his book hand. These differences are all reflective of the more formal nature of manuscript production.

Bellewe’s legal and manuscript hands underwent remarkably few changes in the course of his long career. The letters on legal documents become slightly narrower over time, giving the letters an elongated, spindly aspect. Bellewe’s manuscript hand does not change from manuscript to manuscript. Late in the scribe’s career, the effects of advancing age can be seen in Bellewe’s legal documents. The letters appear to be executed with a slight tremor, and the letters have a blotchy, uneven character due to small ink blots. [fig. 17]
TABLE B.1:

YONGE'S HAND: EXAMPLES FROM SIGNED OR NOTARIZED DOCUMENTS

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BAGHILL’S HAND: EXAMPLES FROM NOTARIAL INSTRUMENTS

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BELLEWE'S HAND: EXAMPLES FROM SIGNED DOCUMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS

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APPENDIX C:

DESCRIPTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS, AND
HISTORICAL EDITIONS OF NO-LONGER-EXTANT MATERIALS

This section seeks to provide fuller descriptions of the primary and secondary materials used in reconstructing the careers of James Yonge and members of his circle. Part I provides descriptions of the major manuscripts referred to in this work. Part II deals with archival collections of deeds and other documents, and part III lists details pertaining to Yonge in editions of deeds and legal papers.

Part I: Manuscript Descriptions

_Dublin, Trinity College MS 592_

A fragment of Yonge’s _Gouernaunce of Prynces_ is at the end of Trinity College Dublin MS 592. The manuscript was bound in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and the current binding conceals the quire structure. A catchphrase on folio 18v suggests that the structure may be a quire of 18 folios followed by a quire of 10 folios. These are now flanked by two early modern flyleaves, the outer recto of each is marbled. The paper pages of the manuscript have suffered quite a bit of damage, and folios 1, 4, 5, 9, and 26, 26a, and 27 show extensive repair. The damage to the outer pages of this manuscript suggests that it may have been unbound for some time, but there is little else
in the manuscript providing concrete clues about its ownership and circulation. The foliation is regular until folio 26a, which has no number. Folio 28 is labeled 27. I will refer to the unmarked folio as folio 26a. The pages measure 195mm. wide by 285 mm. high, with the exception of the final folio, 27, which is slightly shorter than the others, measuring 255 mm. in height. The main text is the Hiberno-English Conquest of Ireland translated from the Expugnatio Hibernica of Giraldus Cambrensis, which is written in a single column layout on folios 1r-26v.\textsuperscript{1236} There are three main hands; all employ a mid to late fifteenth-century Anglicana with many secretary features. Scribe A has written folios 1r-5r. Scribe B wrote folios 5r-12r in a more compact and current script than that of scribe A. Scribe C began his stint in a neater hand than that of scribe B on folio 12r and continued to the end of the manuscript. Rubrication is present throughout the manuscript on letters beginning new sections of text and in chapter headings. Other initials are occasionally touched in red. From time to time, an entire line will be executed in red ink, such as the top line on folio 21r; this is especially prevalent in the work of scribe C. Two green initials appear on folio 23r, another is on folio 26v, and a green paraph mark appears on folio 26av. The first large initial on folio 26r was not rubricated. Each scribe appears to have been responsible for his own rubrication, as the style of rubrication changes with the changes in scribe. Most of the marginalia was added by the scribes and includes chapter headings and a few flags for particular subjects, or simple “\textit{Nota}” remarks. A couple of notes are in a hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth

\textsuperscript{1236} Aisling Byrne offers a description of this manuscript as well as the others containing the Hiberno-English Expugnatio and explores the implications for patronage of this text in her important new article “Family, Locality and Nationality: The Circulation and Adaptation of the Expugnatio Hibernica in Late Medieval Ireland.”
century, and someone has also added a few notes in a very current hand of the
seventeenth century. Scribes B and C make a few doodles in the margins, including
stepped pyramids, checkerboard patterns, and a sketch of a church (folio 9v), now largely
gone due to damage to the paper. Another hand, probably not any of the scribal hands,
has added root-like lines to some of the descenders on the bottom line of folios 24v and
25v.

Folio 27r, on which the initial part of Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* appears,
is extremely damaged, and the entire page is glued to stabilizing paper. Therefore, the
verso can no longer be seen. The page is laid out for two columns rather than the single
column of the preceding text. However, the dimensions of the outer framing lines on the
page are the same as those on the preceding pages. All of the pages were prepared with
framing lines, but there are no guidelines for the text. The text of folio 27r is written in
the main by scribe C, who also executed the large red initial which begins the work.
Lines 31-35 may have been written by scribe B. Marginalia includes “Ihus” and “Ihe” in
the upper left corner of the page in the hand of scribe C. Two later hands have written
“ihuc mercy” and “Ihe maria” in the same area. The hand of the latter matches the hand
of four lines of marginalia at the bottom of the second column that is difficult to read, but
begins, “Gode gywe my Ryght that ywonse myght com to the port of pees…” The
portion of the *Secreta secretorum* written here extends down the first column and breaks
off mid-sentence at the bottom of that column at: “The woch thyngs noble and gracyous
lord aforsayd hatth perceyuet the suttyltee of yowr wytte & the clernesse of yowr engyn.
And therfor me chargyt some goud boke”. The second column was never written, nor
was a framing line for the next column drawn in. It is interesting to note that scribe C
uses an older, Anglicana-style w with closed loops at the tops of the ascenders, with an overall VB shape for the first few lines of this text. He then returns to his usual secretary-style open w. This change in the style of lettering coupled with the new two-column layout suggests that the scribe may have been closely following his exemplar. That exemplar, judging from the VB-style w was written in Anglicana. James Yonge employed a VB-style w exclusively, and it is a possibility, albeit remote, that scribe C was working from an exemplar penned by Yonge himself. A mystery remains concerning this manuscript. It appears that Yonge’s text was begun and then abandoned after less than a page. Was this an error on the part of scribe C, who may have intended only to copy the *Conquest of Ireland* and accidentally continued to copy the next text in his exemplar? Was a last-minute decision made not to include the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*? Was the exemplar suddenly no longer available? The exact circumstances around the failure to complete this text will probably never be known, but its juxtaposition with the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland* does suggest that the texts may have been paired by the middle of the fifteenth century in an earlier exemplar that is now no longer extant.

*London, British Library, Royal MS 10.B.ix*

The sole manuscript exemplar of Yonge’s ca. 1412 *Memoriale* is British Library Royal 10.B.ix. It is a paper manuscript with pages 210 mm wide and 290 mm high. It is bound in red leather, and the front cover is dated 1757. The original quire structure has been destroyed by the eighteenth-century binder, who cut the quires apart and mounted
each folio on a stub of paper. The manuscript contains 259 folios with a single flyleaf at the front and two at the back. Folio 259 is a scrap of parchment containing several sketches of plants and scrolled catchphrases in a secretary hand on the recto and part of a document which appears to be a listing of presentments and the names of officers in an Anglicana hand on the verso. Royal 10.B.ix is a formulary containing many models in French, Latin, and English. At least ten scribes have contributed to the manuscript. Many of them write in secretary hands or in Anglicana hands with secretary features. The manuscript appears to have been assembled between 1430 and 1447. There are several models of formal letters, wills, and other documents, many of which relate to university life; these include documents referring to places in Oxfordshire and satires possibly aimed at the masters and students of Oxford colleges. There are also sections devoted to legal terms, law tracts, and the art of rhetoric. It is likely that the manuscript was originally composed at Oxford or Cambridge, with internal evidence favoring Oxford. The manuscript’s current arrangement does not reflect the original arrangement, and the manuscript may have been rearranged several times during and after its composition. The manuscript was acquired from J. Hynder by Henry Cranebroke, a monk at Christ Church, Canterbury in 1452, according to a note on folio 1r. Cranebroke added to the manuscript between 1452 and 1461. The codex passed to Archbishop Cranmer, and became the property of John Lumley in the seventeenth century prior to becoming part of the collection of the British Museum.


1238 Ibid.
Large sections of the manuscript were written between 1430 and 1447 by two scribes who appear to have worked in concert: B and G. G’s contributions to the manuscript often appear directly after sections written by B. Scribe B writes in a neat and unadorned secretary *cursiva media*, while scribe G uses the same script but incorporates elaborate decorated initials. B’s script is very vertical; G employs heavy backs on long s, and the letters lean decidedly to the right. Both scribes produce neat, well-ordered pages with writing that adheres closely to guide lines. B allows more space between lines than G, while G’s writing is tight and controlled to the point where his right margins are nearly as straight as his left margins. B is responsible for folios 1r-11r, 13r-124r, 129r-132v, 168r-174v, 178r-195v, and 254r-256r. G wrote folios 11v-12v, 57r-60r, 90v, 121r-v, 124v-126r, 127r-128r, 132v-139v, 174v-177v, 195v-201v, and 256r-258v.

James Yonge’s text appears in the hand of scribe B on folios 36v-44v. Scribe B copied standard models of documents, such as the text on folios 13r-17r on making a will, but the scribe also seems to have enjoyed presenting the dry material of letter and document composition with a bit of whimsy. Folios 32v-33v contain a letter of Prester John to the whole earth, which satirizes those in powerful positions. The cataloguer for Royal 10.B.ix has concluded that this may be a satire on the members of Canterbury

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1239 I am using the scribal designations provided by the British Library catalog of Royal MSS. However, some of the scribes identified by a single letter in the catalogue actually represent a group of scribes writing at roughly the same time. Conversely, scribes represented by two letters are actually the same scribe writing in different languages or genres. Scribes A and B are the same scribe, whom I call B here, and some of the material attributed to scribe E is actually the work of scribe G.

1240 I am using the naming conventions of M. Julian Brown.
College in Oxford. Another letter on folio 173 begins “Lupus ad pastores salutem” (The Wolf [sends] greeting to the Shepherds). Probably the most striking collection of this type, also in hand B, is a set of letters on folios 129r-132v, which reflects correspondence between various mythological and allegorical figures including Bacchus, Neptune, Aeolus, and Sapientia. Yonge’s Memoriale appears after a copy in hand B of the constitution of the Council of Constance. Laurence Rathold was a retainer of Sigismund of Hungary, one of the European leaders who helped arrange for the council that ended the Papal Schism. Yonge’s text may have appealed to scribe B both for its inclusion of a letter of safe passage from Sigismund as well as the unique setting in which that letter and two others appear.

Scribe B has, however, introduced or perpetuated several errors. He may have been working quickly and was not paying much attention to his exemplar. Moreover, some of his errors demonstrate a lack of familiarity with the Irish setting of the Memoriale. The name Cloghorensis, describing the Diocese of Clogher, is construed into something that the English scribe recognized, a type of French linen. The scribe also confuses Dublin and Down, construing Dun- as Dublin-. The scribe appears to have had little knowledge of narratives regarding Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, as he misconstrues

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1241 Wright, “Manuscript Description of Royal 10.B.ix in the British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.”
1242 See the section entitled, “The Knight, Laurence Rathold of Pászthó” in Chapter 3.
1243 For more on the contents and composition of the Memoriale, see Chapter 3.
1244 Edited Text 1, l. 385
1245 Edited Text 1, ll. 88, 92.
several names of former pilgrims. In Yonge’s description of the bird Cornu, he notes that another pilgrim had seen the bird. The scribe has written octo via. This may have originally been either Antonio, referring to Antonio Mannini, or Owein, referring to H. of Saltrey’s pilgrim. A later reference to Eugenius dictus Obrian in the letter of Prior Matthew may actually be a misconstrual of Owein, with a vB-style w being mis-read.1246 Other smaller errors occur throughout the text. I have endeavored to correct as many as I could identify in Edited Text 1.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 633

One of the two complete copies of Yonge’s Secreta secretorum is in a manuscript collected by Sir George Carew, now housed in London at Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 633. It has the usual 18th century binding found on many of the Carew manuscripts in the Archeopiscopal library. The front and back covers are marked with a W and a shield with three lions. The spine bears the shelfmark. The manuscript has five paper flyleaves at the front and back. There are 85 membrane folios. The parchment is generally of good quality, but varies considerably in thickness. The quires consist of 8 folios, and the quire structure is regular except for folio 13, which was folded just short of the inner edge and tipped in at the central fold of quire 2, between folios 12 and 14, introducing a folio and a cancel which lies between 13v and 14r. Yonge’s Gouernaunce of Prynces is the only text in the manuscript. On folio v recto, Carew has added a table of contents and a description of the text, in which he erroneously attributes it to John


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Yonge: “This booke was written in the tyme of King Henry 5, by John Yonge, servaunt to James Butler Erle of Ormond, and dedicated to his sayed lord and master.” The main text of the Gouernaunce of Prynces extends from folio 1r to folio 84r and is in a late fifteenth-century semi-cursive Anglicana with many secretary features. The text presented here differs from the text of Bodleian Rawlinson B. 490 in that it is complete, lacking the lacuna in the Rawlinson manuscript; however, the Lambeth manuscript does not have the final paragraph of the Rawlinson manuscript, ending rather abruptly after an explication of the things to avoid in order to ensure good health. The extra paragraph of the Rawlinson manuscript is presented in Steele’s edition.\textsuperscript{1247} Chapter headings and Latin phrases are rubricated. Some of the major initials have also been rubricated, but many have been overlooked. Marginalia is in the hand of the main scribe and is confined for the most part to chapter headings and indications of sources. The program of marginalia is remarkably similar to that of the Rawlinson MS. The scribe has written in an omission in a very current hand at the bottom of folio 39v. A sixteenth-century current hand has added some marginalia between folios 64v-65v. Another sixteenth-century hand has underlined some passages and written “Nota” in the margins occasionally. An eighteenth-century hand, probably that of Carew, has added notations pointing out names of historical figures in the sections in which Yonge discusses historical events in Ireland. The final folios – 84v-85v – contain a number of pen trials in brown and black ink, many of which appear to date from the Tudor age. There is also a sketch of a man wearing a round cap with a feather and a doublet with leg-of-mutton sleeves, slashes in the sleeves

\textsuperscript{1247} “Secreta Secretorum,” 248.
and torso to allow the fabric of the undertunic to show through, a skirt made of petal-shaped pieces of material, and a codpiece. This type of doublet was particularly fashionable in the 1530s. A cruder sketch of a face is also present. The verses “Tyme past can neuer be called againya / My tyme here spent encreaseth my payn” and “Farewell adue I must nedes goo hens / My labour is lost I gett no pens” are written several times in a small, pointed hand on 84v-85r. The first couplet is joined in places by a bracket after which is written “per R. W.” On 85v, the macaronic verse “Gratia nulla perit nisi gratia Blakmonachorum / Est et semper erit litill thanke in fine labouring” appears repeatedly, once appearing with a bracket on the right side, after which is written “per me R.” Also on 85v is a verse that echoes the verses on the previous folio, “Adue farewell I wolle depart / valeta good fellowes. ye greve my hart” These are joined by a bracket after which is written “per vt supra.” Below it, “per me Robart Rawson of Carr[...]” is also written in a pointed, sixteenth-century script. The names “Thomas Allyn” and “Edward” also appear here.

Thomas Allen witnessed property grants in Dublin 1555 and 1562, and is described as a “gentleman” in the latter deed. A note dated 1607 on the verso of a 1594 deed describes him as a merchant and identifies his wife, Mary Gerote. In 1542 and 1557, Thomas Allen was listed as one of the tenants of properties belonging to Christ Church along Fishamble Street, which lies to the north of Christ Church Cathedral; the same document notes that Allen also held “the walls by the gate” in 1542 and was “tenant

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1248 McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 450, 1280.
1249 Ibid., sec. 1418.
of the walls and garden before St. Tullock’s” (a.k.a. St. Olave’s Church) in 1557. This places Allen near the gate which stood across Fishamble Street where Fishamble Street meets Essex Street today, and the prime location would have given him excellent access to goods arriving by ship via the Liffey River. Clues about the identity of Robert Rawson are less forthcoming, but the verses above Robert’s name favor the Benedictine Order, and suggest that a previous owner may have been a member or supporter of that order. It appears, then, that Lambeth Palace Library Carew MS 633 may have circulated among members of the mercantile class in Dublin and may have had associations with a Benedictine Priory before it came into the hands of George Carew, who brought it to England in the early seventeenth century.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, e. Museo 232

Bodleian e. Museo 232 represents Bellewe’s later, more accomplished work. It is smaller in format than Bellewe’s Longleat manuscript, with the pages measuring approximately 160 x 110 mm. The layout is consistent. The writing area on each page is approximately 125 x 85 mm. and consists of twenty-six lines per page. Each page has a line across the top margin and the left margin. Prick marks are evident, but very few of the pages are ruled. This is also true for the Longleat manuscript, and the inconsistency in ruling can be attributed to a scribe whose usual metier is un-ruled legal deeds. The foliation is vii + 70 with the final quire (folios 67-70) being a re-used thirteenth-century manuscript that contained the Decretals of Gregory IX. The quire structure is regular,

1250 Ibid., sec. 1191, 1250.
with quires of eight folios; many of the quire signatures survive, with only a few lost to trimming. Quire eight has ten folios, with the final two folios consisting of a bifolium tipped in at the end of the quire. The binding is likely original with white leather over boards. An original clasp has been lost. Because it contains Rolle’s *Meditation on the Passion*, the manuscript is described by Allen, Ogilvie-Thomson, and Hanna.\textsuperscript{1251}

The manuscript contains five works:

1) Rolle’s *Meditation on the Passion*, text B folios 1r-18r

2) A short treatise on humility attributed to saints Gregory and Bernard (Jolliffe G.19) 18r-23v

3) Bellewe’s translation of St. Edmund Rich’s *Speculum ecclesie* (a.k.a. *The Mirror of St. Edmund*) (IPMEP 799)\textsuperscript{1252} 24r-62r

4) A verse prayer on the Passion (*IMEV* 1761) 62r-65v

5) A meditation on the five wounds of Christ 65v-66v

The last two items also appear in the Longleat manuscript. The *Mirror* translation is unique to this manuscript, though other English translations of St. Edmund’s *Mirror* exist, notably in the Thornton and Vernon manuscripts.\textsuperscript{1253} The final meditation on the five wounds survives only in the Longleat and e. Museo manuscripts, both penned by Bellewe, which suggests that the text – if it was not composed by Bellewe himself –


\textsuperscript{1252} See also *IPMEP* 800 for other English translations of the *Mirror*.

\textsuperscript{1253} For a listing of other English *Mirror* translations, see Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, xxxiii.
originated and circulated in English-controlled Ireland. Basic editions of Bellewe’s *Mirror* and the meditation can be found in the section of edited texts in this work.

The e. Museo manuscript provides the missing link between Dublin’s legal and literary production. With the exception of the signature of the rubricator, the only hand in the manuscript is Bellewe’s rounded Anglicana book hand. Bellewe’s self-identification in his translation of the *Mirror* and his distinctive handwriting allows him to be identified with the Dublin legal scribe Bellewe, who signed several of his deeds. [Table B.3] The manuscript is rubricated through the end of Bellewe’s translation of St. Edmund’s *Mirror*, and the initials are usually 2-3 line blue initials with red scrollwork. Red and blue paraphs have also been added to the text by the rubricator. At the end of the *Mirror*, on folio 62r, the name “Ion Flemmyn” appears in red. Because the ink matches that of the rubricated letters, and because the rubrication ceases at this point, it is likely that Flemyng is the rubricator of the e. Museo manuscript. The rubrication of the manuscript is distinctive, displaying a pattern of folded leaves inside the voids created by Lombardic letters. The penwork features wave-like and leaf-shaped forms ending in trefoils. Rubrication in a similar style appears with the late fifteenth-century entries in Trinity College Dublin MS 525, a registry of the Priory of All Hallows, and somewhat cruder designs in the same style are present on folios 74r-128v of the Longleat 29

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1254 See Edited Texts 3 and 5 and Appendix A.


1256 See Additional Figures, Table Add.1.
manuscript. [Additional Figures, Table Add.1] It is possible that all three rubricators received similar training.

Folio 69r has the pen trials and names of two women: Annes Helperby (also spelled Hempperby here) and Elyzabethe Stoughten. The hands appear to be from the sixteenth century. These surnames may be derived from place-names. Helperby is located in Yorkshire, near Ripon, and Stoughton is located near Leicester. Prior to 1680 – when it was given to the Bodleian library, according to a note on folio ii$^v$ – the e. Museo manuscript was in the hands of Alexander Fetherston, vicar of Wolverton and Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral. If Elyzabethe Stoughten or her family did not venture too far from Stoughton, the closer proximity of Stoughton to Wolverton and Lichfield suggests that the manuscript may have spent parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the English midlands.

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 490*

Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B. 490 preserves complete copies of both the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland* and Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. Folios 1r-28r contain the Hiberno-English *Conquest of Ireland*, entitled “Of the conqueste of Irland by engyshmenn.” This text was edited by Frederick Furnivall in a facing-page edition which presents both this manuscript and Lambeth Palace Library Carew MS 633.1257

Yonge’s *Gouernaunce of Prynces* is on folios 28v-72r.\textsuperscript{1258} The 74 folios of Bodleian Rawlinson B. 490 measure 280 mm. long by 200 mm. wide and are flanked by two paper flyleaves at the front and back of the manuscript. The text of the entire manuscript was written in the late fifteenth century by a single scribe who employed a hybrid script with a mixture of Anglicana and secretary features including indiscriminate use of single-chambered and double-chambered \textit{a}, \textit{d}, and \textit{g}, and use of both Anglicana and secretary \textit{w}, with four distinct variants. The parchment is relatively free of holes and irregularly shaped folios, but it is rather stiff and has a suede-like quality that is shared by Irish manuscripts of the period, and this may indicate Irish origins or Irish techniques used in parchment preparation. The quires of Rawlinson B. 490 are regular quires of eight folios each for the first six quires (folios 1-48). Quire seven has only six folios. A bifolium appears to be missing between folios 54 and 55, and there is a lacuna in the text here. Quires eight and nine are regular, with eight folios each. The final quire appears to have originally consisted of four folios. The first two folios, 71 and 72, are still extant, but the final two folios were cut out at some time in the manuscript’s history. Before the manuscript was given its current binding, a bifolium of finer, paler parchment was placed in the fold where folio 72 meets its cancel.

The initial page of text has decorated initials in red and blue, and the first four folios contain unadorned red letters at the beginning of each section, but these soon disappear and only guide letters and places for three-line initials exist until folio 25r – at the beginning of quire four – when major initials are rubricated and boxes are drawn

\textsuperscript{1258} Images from this manuscript can be found in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, plates XXXVI and XLIV.
around the planned marginalia. The first three initials for Yonge’s *Secreta secretorum* are drawn in blue with red penwork. Major initials are again missing in quires five through eight. Red initials with penwork in the same color as the text are again present on folios 70v-72r. Rubrication of the text continues throughout the manuscript. In general, chapter titles and Latin phrases are rubricated. In places where rubrication has been forgotten, the brownish-black ink of the text is underlined in red.

The manuscript has marginal notations in at least four hands dating from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. Most of these notations are in the scribe’s hand. The greater part of these notes flag chapter divisions and sections in the text (e.g. “Descripction Maurici fiʒ geraud” and “De morte comites Richardi” in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* and “Of fredome & scarsite” and “De Prudencia” in the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*). A sixteenth-century hand has added a few notes to the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, and has written several verses and maxims on folio 72v. This annotator appears to have paid little attention to the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*. One of the most interesting of these notes appears on folio 10r next to the text of the *Conquest of Ireland* and repeats the words of the text next to it, drawing attention to an ongoing social and cultural issue facing the Anglo-Irish community: “as we byth ynglys a[n]to the yryssh so we byth yryssh onto t[he] ynglish.” A note in this same hand on folio 72r refers to an important religious site in Downpatrick: “Hic Iacet [sic] in Domino tumulo tumultantur In vno brygida patricius atque columbarius [sic]” (Here lie buried in the Lord in one burial mound Brigid, Patrick, and Columba).1259 The discovery and translation of Ireland’s three

1259 *Columbarius* may indicate the annotator’s confusion of Sts. Columba and Columbanus.
most famous saints by John de Courcy is related in the *Topographia Hibernica*, section 3.18.1260 These notes suggest that one of the original owners of this manuscript was a member of the Anglo-Irish community in Ireland. Another marginal hand has placed x marks next to many chapters in the table of contents of the *Gouernaunce of Prynces*, and has underlined key phrases, usually maxims. The final set of annotations is in an eighteenth-century hand which generally provides place names and marks locations in the text where England and Ireland are discussed. The manuscript once belonged to Sir Thomas Rawlinson (1647-1708), and a note on the initial flyleaf notes that it was received by an unnamed prior owner as a gift from Lord William Gerald (recte Gerard) (ca. 1520-81), chancellor of Ireland.1261 This entry explains how the manuscript made its way to England, and suggests a date for the gift of 1576-81, the period of Lord Gerard’s chancellorship. The manuscript may have accompanied the chancellor back to England when he returned there due to failing health in 1580.1262

*Wiltshire, Longleat House, Longleat MS 29*

Longleat MS 29 was written almost entirely by Nicholas Bellewe. The contents are listed in Chapter 5. Bellewe appears to have compiled the manuscript in several booklets, possibly over some length of time. The quire structure and text layout of the Longleat manuscript is somewhat haphazard. Its current binding dates to the nineteenth

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century, and two paper flyleaves flank the manuscript folios. Folios measure approximately 210 x 147 mm. The writing area varies, between 163 x 115 mm. and 155 x 105 mm. The manuscript is bound in five booklets comprising folios 1-18, 19-130, 131-46, 147-54 and 155-69. Folios 1-3 are single leaves that may have been added to an earlier, finished work. Ogilvie-Thomson notes that the vellum of the bifolium comprising folios 4 and 16 is thicker than that of the other bifolia; it may once have served as a cover for The Laddre of Heuyne. Between folios 4 and 16 is one quire of four bifolia (folios 5-12), one bifolium (folios 13-14) and a single leaf (folio 15). Folios 17 and 18 are single leaves. The quires in the remaining booklets are more regular, usually consisting of four bifolia making eight folios. One bifolium, comprising folios 30-31, was bound in backwards, and a single leaf, current folio 57, may have originally been bound after folio 130. The fifth booklet consists of a quire of four bifolia with an extra leaf added to the beginning, and a short quire of two bifolia. The number of lines and the quality of the handwriting vary. While thirty-two lines per page appears to be the average, Bellewe varied the lines per page between thirty-one and thirty-seven. His handwriting becomes noticeably looser towards the end of the manuscript. The proverbs attributed to Solomon appear to have been added as an afterthought where space allowed – in this case, in the lower margins of folios 131r-146v.

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1263 Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, xviii.

1264 Ibid.

1265 For a more thorough analysis of quire structure, see Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue, 208–11; Rolle, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, xviii.
The rubrication is also uneven. Some rubrication is left out altogether, as is the case for the *The Laddre of Heuyne*. Some majuscule initials are undecorated, as in the treatise on the *Pater Noster*. Several of these initials demonstrate a lack of skill, and may have been done by someone unaccustomed to rubrication, possibly the scribe himself. For instance, the O of the Latin meditation on the Lord’s Prayer that begins on folio 22r has an odd bulge in the lower left side; other majuscule initials that follow show similar lack of precision. Folio 58v has a 5-line red G with ‘IHC’ written in the void. It, too, may have been executed by the scribe or by someone with little experience in rubrication. A change in the rubrication begins on folio 68v, which has a blue initial surrounded by red penwork. Again, this initial and the ones which follow were perhaps executed by an amateur or an apprentice. A different rubricator worked on Chaucer’s “Parson’s Tale”; the text begins with a blue and red six-line O. Much of the rubrication in this section was drawn in lavender ink but was never finished by tracing in red ink. Other large red and blue initials appear in this section. Smaller text breaks are marked by two-line majuscules with red penwork and plant-like forms filling the voids of letters. These letters show more control than similar rubricated letters earlier in the manuscript. The less-skilled rubricator begins again on folio 129r. In some places, as in the prose meditation on the five wounds of Christ, there is no rubrication.
Part II: Archival Collections

_Dublin, Trinity College MS 1477_

Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 is a collection of over 200 separate deeds from the parishes of St. John and St. Olave (a.k.a. Olaf or Tullock), which were both located on Fishamble Street, north of the Church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church Cathedral) within the walls of Dublin. The parish of Saint John absorbed the parish of Saint Olave shortly before 1558. The deeds of St. John’s Parish were lodged with Trinity College in 1852. This collection, long housed in a few folders, is currently undergoing conservation work in which the documents will be cleaned and likely will be given individual protective cases. Most of the deeds concern properties surrounding the two parish churches, but the deeds indicate that the parishes owned other lands outside of the immediate environs of the churches, across the Liffey River in Oxmantown and outside of the western city walls along St. Francis Street. Many of the deeds which date prior to 1434 originated in the course of the business dealings of the Lytill family of Dublin. In 1434, John Lytill, a fairly well-to-do citizen of Dublin willed many of his properties to the church of St. John. With the properties came all of the deeds pertaining to them, a collection dating back to 1233. Further deeds concerning lands belonging to the parishes were added to the collection, with the last deed dating to 1704. Many of

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1267 Preservation Department, Trinity College Dublin, “TCD MS 1477 [e-mail].”

these documents still retain their original seals. Forty-seven deeds, numbered 67 through 114, date from the period of Yonge’s career. Of these, twenty are in Yonge’s hand, and another five might be in Yonge’s hand, but because of fading or other damage certain attribution cannot be made. Other documents in this collection, including the will of Lytill, refer to James Yonge or to members of his family.

Dublin, Trinity College MS 1207

Trinity College Dublin MS 1207 is, similarly to Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, a collection of deeds. These, however, are far less localized than the deeds of MS 1477. The 320 individual deeds date from 1246 to 1691 and mainly concern properties belonging to the Essebourne, Meones, and Stanihurst families of Dublin. These properties were located within the walls of Dublin, in the extramural suburbs, and in the surrounding countryside. The deeds came to the library of Trinity College in 1745 as part of the collection of manuscripts bequeathed to the library by John Stearne, bishop of Clogher. They have recently undergone extensive conservation in which the fragile deeds, many of which retain their original seals, were stabilized and given protective covers.1269 Within this set of documents, twenty-eight date to the period of Yonge’s career, and three of them were written by the Dublin scribe.

1269 Trinity College Dublin, “Conservation Projects - Parchment Deeds.”
The collection of documents offering by far the largest number of deeds in Yonge’s hand comes from the Guild of St. Anne, attached to the parish church of St Audoen, in the western part of Dublin. Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 is a collection of 747 documents, mostly vellum deeds, contained in thirteen boxes arranged by regnal years. There are two further associated boxes of paper deeds and other documents related to the Guild and its papers.\textsuperscript{1270} Early numbering of the documents by James Goddard was not in chronological order. When Goddard catalogued the deeds in 1772, there were 841 in total.\textsuperscript{1271} When Henry F. Berry cataloged them, he appears to have been unable to locate many of the documents, and he presumed they were missing; his catalogue contains only 160 entries.\textsuperscript{1272} Ludwig Bieler catalogued them more completely in a typescript which was unfortunately never published.\textsuperscript{1273}

St Anne’s Guild was founded in 1430 and became quite wealthy and powerful through the donations of its affluent members. The original charter for the founding of the Guild contains the names of some of the most prominent members of Dublin society, including knights, esquires, merchants, and wealthy tradesmen.\textsuperscript{1274} This was a pattern of membership which would continue throughout the history of the Guild. Through the

\begin{thebibliography}{1274}
\bibitem{1270} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.32-33.
\bibitem{1271} Royal Irish Academy, “Royal Irish Academy Manuscripts Catalogue 12 S 22-31.”
\bibitem{1272} Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740.”
\bibitem{1273} Ibid.; Bieler, “MS 12.S.33(a).”
\bibitem{1274} Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen’s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 22–3.
\end{thebibliography}
bequests of its members, St. Anne’s Guild soon controlled many properties in the parish of St. Audoen and beyond. As it acquired properties, the Guild also came into possession of title deeds relating to the properties; these date back into the 13th century. The bulk of the surviving documents were written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The deeds dating to Yonge’s career are filed between pieces of folded paper – some bearing the pre-printed name and address of nineteenth-century Irish historian John T. Gilbert – in boxes three and four of the Royal Irish Academy collection. Many of the documents retain some or all of their original seals. Most of these deeds were repaired and stabilized by the Academy in the 1940s. There are fifty documents in Yonge’s hand, with a further five which may be in Yonge’s hand, but which differ in small ways from Yonge’s standard professional script. Yonge is not the only early fifteenth-century scribe represented. Documents in his hand appear alongside documents in several other hands, four or five of which appear with some frequency. By the 1440s and 1450s, the deeds of the Guild are dominated by two scribes, both students of Yonge, Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe.

Other Collections: National Library of Ireland and National Archives of Ireland

Deeds in Yonge’s hand also appear infrequently among other collections of deeds. Primary among these are the Ormond deeds housed in the National Library of Ireland.

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1275 For a complete list, see Ibid., 21–2.

1276 For more on these scribes, see my discussions of the careers of Thomas Baghill and Nicholas Bellewe in Chapter 5.
These include a single deed, D.7222, dating to 1404, and two pairs of deeds: D.1615 and D.1612, dating to late 1428, and D.1616 and D1617 dating to 1429. Contrary to what has generally been assumed about the nature of the relationship between James Yonge and James Butler, the scarcity of Yonge’s hand in the Ormond deeds suggests that Yonge may have worked only intermittently as a secretary for Butler, rather than enjoying any sort of permanent employment with the fourth Earl of Ormond. Yonge did sporadic work for other families in Dublin, as well. Deeds in his hand are among those preserved in the Deeds of the Pembroke Estate at the National Archives of Ireland. The fifteenth-century deeds in this collection concern the FitzWilliam family, who owned considerable interest in lands in the counties of Dublin and Meath. Yonge wrote documents for the family in 1412, 1428, and 1432, and he is probably also the scribe of two sets of documents written in 1406 and 1422.

Part III: Historical Editions

Since so many records were destroyed in the explosion and fire in the Four Courts on June 30th, 1922, we must rely on the notes and editions made by historians prior to the disaster. J. S. Gilbert’s Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin and Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland serve as a starting point, but they do not provide evidence specific to Yonge. However, several catalogues of deeds include edited deeds or summaries of deeds that might have been written by Yonge.

Henry F. Twiss reports that the deeds of St. Catherine’s and St. James’ numbered thirty-seven in 1919, and they ranged in date from 1296 to 1756. Of them, four – deeds 7
through 10 – date between 1404 and 1438. One is dated 1409, and three are dated 1434. Yonge himself is not mentioned, but document number 7, which was dated 27 January 1409, bore the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin.\textsuperscript{1277} Access to this Seal was restricted to a very few scribes – usually no more than two or three at any one time – who may have been assistants to the City Clerk.\textsuperscript{1278} In 1409, Yonge was one of the scribes authorized to use the Seal of the Provostship. In 1406, three scribes’ hands, including Yonge’s, are associated with the Seal. By 1410, the extant documents that retain or once had the Seal are in two hands: the hand of James Yonge, and a somewhat similar hand belonging to Hand M.\textsuperscript{1279} Hand M disappears from the extant records in 1410. There is thus at least a one in three chance and likely a one in two chance that Yonge was the scribe for this 1409 document. It is also possible that Yonge penned deeds eight through ten, as they were put together for John Ingoll, a chaplain for whom Yonge often worked. The association with Yonge here, though, is more tenuous, as Ingoll was known to employ scribes other than Yonge as well.

The deeds from the Parish of St. Werburgh were more numerous than those of St. Catherine’s and St. James’ when Twiss catalogued them. The calendar lists 160 deeds dating from ca. 1273-74 to 1715. Of these, twenty-three – labeled 13-23, 84-89, and 142-48 – were written between 1404 and 1438. In deed 16, James Yonge is named by

\textsuperscript{1277} Twiss, “Some Ancient Deeds of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. James, Dublin, 1296-1743,” 273.

\textsuperscript{1278} A fuller analysis of the use of this seal and those designated to carry the seal can be found in the section entitled, “Work for the City of Dublin” in Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{1279} For more on Hand M, see the section entitled “Work for the City of Dublin” in Chapter 4 and the section entitled “Scribal Education and Employment in Late Medieval Ireland” in Chapter 5.
Nicholas Ardoun *alias* Sutton as one of two attorneys to give seisin of a mesuage in St. Werburgh’s Street to John Reynald, a smith.\(^\text{1280}\) There are four other documents associated with the deed: the original grant, (deed no. 15, dated, like deed 16, 4 August, 1415), and – unusually for most property transfers – three quit-claims (nos. 17-19), instead of one. These are all dated 7\(^\text{th}\) and 8\(^\text{th}\) August, 1414. In every other case in which Yonge acts as a designated attorney in land grants, he is also the scribe for the accompanying grant, deed of attorney, and quit-claim(s). Therefore, it is extremely likely that deeds 15-19 in the collection from St. Werburgh’s Parish were all in James Yonge’s hand. Deed 13, written sometime between 1406 and 1410, was witnessed by the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin. It seems that there was no seal on the document by the time Twiss catalogued it, but it is highly likely that this deed bore the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin. While the extant deeds from Dublin indicate that the use of this seal did not require that the mayor and bailiffs of the city be on hand to witness the deed, the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin was almost invariably employed if the mayor and bailiffs were present as witnesses. The few exceptions to this pattern occur when the grantor is a major landowner and/or a high-ranking official.\(^\text{1281}\) Since Yonge was one of the few scribes designated to use the seal, this makes it quite likely that Yonge penned the document. Other deeds which might have borne the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin


\(^{1281}\) The exceptions are Trinity College Dublin MS 1207 nos. 154, 156, and 167, detailing land grants among members of the powerful Passavaunt family, who owned considerable estates in County Dublin, and whose members included a high-ranking Chancery official and a mayor of Dublin, and Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 no. 266, a quit-claim granting land to John Stafford. This latter document has some additional irregularities, including two seals sharing the same seal tag.
and thus might have been written by Yonge are nos. 84 (1404), 85 (1406), 89 (1410), and 142 (1415).

The “Calendar to Christ Church Deeds” lists 1,453 deeds, bulls, leases, and other documents dating from 1174 to 1684. All of these were lodged with the Public Record Office in 1872. 116 of them, numbers 270-86 and 819-919, date between 1405 and 1435. Like the other lost deeds, many of these may have been in James Yonge’s hand. The names of people for whom Yonge worked on other property transfers appear; Thomas Dodde, Richard Ectot, Roger Flemyng, Richard Fynche, Nicholas Fynglas, Richard Glasewright, John Ingoll, John Mole, Walter Northampton, Richard Passavaunt, Thomas Serjeaunt, John Stafford, John Walsch, and John Wyntyr are all names associated with extant deeds in Yonge’s hand. The Christ Church calendar of deeds tells us that James Yonge acted as an attorney in deeds 847 (dated 1409) and 863 (dated 1413). It is very likely that the accompanying grants of property (nos. 846 and 862), the quit-claim for the 1413 grant (no. 864) as well as the deeds of attorney were penned by Yonge for the reasons stated above in the discussion of the Twiss catalogs. Unfortunately, the compiler of the catalogue of Christ Church deeds did not comment on any of the affixed seals, if they survived. Since the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin witnessed several deeds, it is likely that the Seal of the Provostship of Dublin was on several of them. It can be surmised that Christ Church deeds 271 and 820 (dated 1406), 828 (dated 1407), 833 and 841-43 (dated

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1408), and 851, 853, 855, and 857 (dated 1411) originally had the Seal of the Provostship affixed to them, and there is a strong chance that James Yonge, as one of the designated carriers of the seal, was the scribe for some of these grants and their accompanying deeds of attorney and quit-claims (nos. 821-22, 827, and 856).

Edward Tresham’s calendar of entries in the patent and close rolls offers some fascinating evidence for James Yonge’s life beyond the extant legal documents he has left behind. Moreover, the evidence offered by the rolls adds a personal dimension to Yonge’s story. Tresham’s calendar is now included in *A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, c. 1244-1509*, also known as CIRCLE. A project headed by Peter Crooks, CIRCLE seeks to reconstruct the Chancery rolls lost in the Four Courts explosion by bringing together several print and manuscript sources.\(^{1283}\) Tresham’s calendar provides three entries mentioning James Yonge, and CIRCLE adds four more. A record appearing in CIRCLE, but not in Tresham is from the patent roll of the 7\(^{th}\) year of Henry V in which James Yonge is listed as one of the founding members of the Merchant Tailors’ Guild attached to the Church of St. John on July 16, 1419.\(^ {1284}\) CIRCLE also reports that Yonge received the control of lands held by the king near Saggart on July 28, 1420. This was clearly connected with Butler’s patronage of Yonge. It corresponds with Butler’s rise to power as Lieutenant of Ireland, and CIRCLE also records Yonge’s appointment as Second Engrosser of the Irish Exchequer and his subsequent appointment of a deputy to

\(^{1283}\) The complete site became available May 1, 2012 at [http://chancery.tcd.ie](http://chancery.tcd.ie). “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509.”

\(^{1284}\) Ibid., Patent Roll 7 Henry V, no. 67.
The first record preserved in Tresham’s calendar regards the rents from the lands held by Yonge and orders that Yonge be paid 14s. 2p. from the rents to satisfy a tally he has. The second record from the Tresham calendar is from the verso of the first part of the close roll from the second year of the reign of Henry VI, and was issued in Dublin on the 10th of October, 1423. The entry reports that James Yonge has argued that he be returned to Dublin after nine months of imprisonment in Trim Castle “in ferris et in magna duricia” (in chains and in great hardship) in order to face trial, as he has been detained and has not been brought to court. Several Dubliners, including the merchant John More are to ensure Yonge’s safety, and the entry orders that “corpus eius Nicholo Bellewe, usque castrum Dublinium ducendum, liberet indilate” (his body be released without delay to Nicholas Bellewe, to be brought to Dublin Castle). A brief epilogue to this tale of imprisonment appears in the patent roll of the 3rd year of the reign of Henry VI, and was entered in Drogheda on the 10th of May, 1425. A single line in the calendar states that Yonge has been pardoned. From these entries, it appears that Yonge got into some political and legal trouble in 1423, probably in conjunction with Butler’s fall from power and the rise of the Talbot faction. Yonge was left to rot in

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1285 Ibid., Patent Roll 8 Henry V, nos. 21, 22 and 44.

1286 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 252b, no. 44; “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509,” Close Roll 9 Henry V, no. 44. CIRCLE notes that Tresham has mis-dated this roll to the 9th year of the reign of Henry VI.

1287 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 234b, no. 44; “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509,” Close Roll 2 Henry VI, no. 40. For more on Nicholas Bellewe, see the section entitled “The Career of Nicholas Bellewe” in Chapter 5.

prison in Trim until Butler supporters returned to power; they oversaw Yonge’s transfer and pardon.\textsuperscript{1289}

\textsuperscript{1289} For more on these documents and their implications, see the section entitled “Triumph and Defeat” in Chapter 4.
APPENDIX D:

THE YONGE FAMILY CA. 1300-1600; THE BAGHILL NAME; THE BELLEWE FAMILY; YONGE AND BELLEWE FAMILY TREES

The Yonge Family, ca. 1300-1600

James Yonge came from a long-established family in the Dublin area. Due to the nature of medieval spelling conventions, the name “Yonge” varies on the extant documents, usually appearing as “Young,” or “Younge,” “Yong,” “Jong,” or “Yonge,” and occasionally “Yung.” These variant spellings occur between and even within documents describing the same individual(s). For the sake of simplicity, I have standardized all of the spellings to “Yonge” – the way James Yonge always spelled his name. Documents surviving from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries make reference to people known as “the Young.” Because “young” is an easy adjective to apply in a variety of circumstances, it is difficult to determine if these individuals – Elias the Young (fl. 1358), Roger the Young (fl. 1358), and Thomas the Young (fl. 1358) – were members of the family. However, Elias the Young and Thomas the Young appear on the same document, suggesting that “the Young” had, in this case, become a

1290 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 72, nos. 1 and 10; McNeill, Registrum de Kilmainham: Register of Chapter Acts of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in Ireland, 1326-1339, 15.
There is also evidence for several Yonges living in Counties Kildare, Limerick, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Meath. While these individuals may be related to the Dublin Yonges, it is the branch of the family living in the Dublin area that is of most interest in investigating James Yonge. It should be noted, however, that there were several prominent Yonges in this group from outside the Dublin area. William Yonge was the archdeacon of Meath during the first half of the fifteenth century. National Library of Ireland deed 1679, dating to 1437, names a Walter Yonge as reeve of “Feleriston,” possibly Villierstown in Co. Waterford, and Patrick Yonge owned large amounts of land in Kilbride and “Kilmetalwey” in Co. Meath in the 1450s and 60s.

The earliest extant evidence for a member of the Yonge family living in Dublin city itself comes from the no-longer-extant deeds of Christ Church Cathedral. In the 1320s and 1330s, a man named variously as “Gerald Yonge” or “Gerald le Yonge” appears as a witness alongside the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin for several property transfers. Gerald’s near-contemporary was William Yonge, a Dublin citizen who, like Gerald, appears as a witness along with the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin in a land grant of 1338. William also leased some lands in 1346, paying sixteen shillings per year.

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1291 Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, 72, nos. 1 and 10.
1292 Ibid., 200, 207, 210, 242b, 250b, 255b, 224b, 250b, and (mistakenly listed as Walter Yonge) 213. See also the discussion of the career of the chaplain John Yonge, below.
1293 Trinity College Dublin MS 1207 nos. 164 (26 Mar. 1462), 218 (12 Oct. 1455), and 223 (1462).
1294 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 605, 613–14, 616.
1295 Trinity College Dublin MS 1207 no. 102 (11 Aug. 1338).
1296 McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 633.
Gerald Yonge’s son, Maurice, appears on several deeds between 1354 and 1386. A record of a 1370 inquisition identifies him as a merchant and the son of Gerald Yonge.\textsuperscript{1297} The earliest extant record of Maurice Yonge dates to 1354, when he acted as a witness to a land grant along with the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin.\textsuperscript{1298} He also appears in an entry that was on the back of the patent roll for 1355, where he is identified as a Dublin citizen and a merchant.\textsuperscript{1299} In 1365/6, Maurice served as one of the two bailiffs in the Dublin city administration. As bailiff, he witnessed certain property grants; his name is listed as a witness on an indenture of October 1365.\textsuperscript{1300} During his tenure, it appears that the City undertook a project to ensure that earlier city records were enrolled on the Domesday Roll of the City of Dublin. Two surviving deeds from 1336 and 1340 bear endorsements by city officials, including Maurice, that certify that the deeds were duly enrolled.\textsuperscript{1301} After his time in office, Maurice appears to have remained active within the administration of the city. On December 9\textsuperscript{th}, 1370, he served as a juror for an inquisition taken at Dublin before Roger de Hakenshawe, escheator of the king. The inquest found that William son of William Bagot, knight, conveyed a mesuage, mill, and two carucates of land in ‘Bagotesrath’ – an area east of the modern St. Stephen’s Green and south of Merrion Square – within the liberty of the City of Dublin to Walter, son of Richard Passavaunt, a citizen of Dublin. The property was wrongly taken into the king’s hands

\textsuperscript{1297} National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/55 (9 Dec. 1370).
\textsuperscript{1298} McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 649.
\textsuperscript{1299} Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 57.
\textsuperscript{1300} Trinity College Dublin MS 1207.142 (20 Oct. 1365).
\textsuperscript{1301} Trinity College Dublin MS 1207 nos. 100a and 100b (1366 and 1340, endorsed 1365-66).
by the previous escheator, John Cruys, who had presumed that Bagot had died seised of
the property and without heir; it was ruled that the property be returned to Passavaunt.\textsuperscript{1302}
Maurice held property himself, and in 1371, he granted a mesuage in St. Thomas Street,
just outside the western city walls, to John Passavaunt, a citizen of Dublin. The patent
roll of 1375 identifies Maurice’s wife, Johanna, when George Wafre was released in a
suit they pleaded concerning a debt. Unfortunately, either the patent roll itself or
Tresham’s catalogue does not preserve Johanna’s maiden name.\textsuperscript{1303} The final record
referring to Maurice Yonge appears on the patent roll of the ninth year of the reign of
Richard II. In January 1386, Maurice appeared on behalf of John Lumbard in an entry
almost identical to the 1375 patent roll entry.\textsuperscript{1304}

No extant records exist in which a member of the Yonge family claims to be the
son of Maurice. However, it seems that there were two men in Dublin who might have
been sons of this merchant and city administrator. A single record dating to 1377 refers
to Thomas Yonge, a chaplain; Thomas may have been a brother or son of Maurice.\textsuperscript{1305} A
man named Adam Yonge may have also been a son of Maurice. Adam, however, is
unattested in the extant records except as the father of John Yonge.\textsuperscript{1306} Adam might also
have had another son, Edmund.

\textsuperscript{1302} National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/55 (9 Dec. 1370).
\textsuperscript{1303} Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 93b; “CIRCLE: A
\textsuperscript{1304} Tresham, \textit{Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium}, 126.
\textsuperscript{1305} National Library of Ireland D.1973 (1 Jun. 1377).
\textsuperscript{1306} National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/94 & 95 (5 & 8 Mar. 1399).
John Yonge’s career is well-attested in the extant records. In 1391, the archbishop of Dublin presented him as the vicar of the church of St. “Molruan” (Maél Ruain) in Tallaght.\textsuperscript{1307} In 1399, during his tenure as vicar of Tallaght, John and a chaplain, William Martyn, received property in “Skallethull” on behalf of the church from the FitzWilliam family; in 1404, John received for St. Maél Ruain’s lands in “Meonesrath, Londenyslond, and Ferkayth” – an area in modern Rathmines, located between the Collyn and Dodder rivers\textsuperscript{1308} – from the Church of St. Patrick, south of the city walls of Dublin.

It appears that John had ties to churches in the City of Dublin in the early years of the fifteenth century. Beginning in 1402, John is named as a chaplain in several deeds concerning Dublin churches and properties. He seems to have left his post in Tallaght and moved permanently to Dublin between 1404 and 1408, becoming a chaplain first at St. Audoen’s Church, located on the High Street in the western part of the city, and later at St. John’s Church, located just north of the Church of the Holy Trinity (now Christchurch Cathedral) at the corner of Fishamble Street and St. John’s Lane. As a chaplain of St. Audoen’s Church, John received 6d. 8p. from Alice Beke when she divided her estate among several churches and religious houses in her 1406 will.\textsuperscript{1309}

Several extant documents dating between 1408 and 1418 name John as a grantor or grantee of lands on behalf of the parish of St. John’s. The collection of papers from St.


\textsuperscript{1308} National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/94 & 95 (5 & 8 Mar. 1399) and National Library of Ireland Deed 7222 (24 Nov. 1404).

\textsuperscript{1309} Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31 no. 797 (24 Jul. 1406).
John’s Church preserved as Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 has the bulk of the extant documents relating to John’s Dublin career. These documents can be classed into three categories: property transfers between chaplains, possibly of different Dublin parishes, though more research is necessary to determine the affiliation of each chaplain, property granted to the parish by laymen, and property transferred or leased to laymen by the parish.

Of the deeds mentioning John Yonge, the first type – property transfers between chaplains – is the most common. John’s first identification as a chaplain, rather than as the vicar of Tallaght, occurs in two 1402 documents of this type. John is listed with the chaplains John Mole and John Streche as the recipients of a tenement in the “venella” of St. Audoen from Robert Logh, also a chaplain.\textsuperscript{1310} This property appears to have been located on a lane that was little more than an alley or access route running next to the Church of St. Audoen. In 1410, John Yonge and John Mole granted their interests in the tenement to John Streche.\textsuperscript{1311} In 1412, John Yonge and fellow chaplains John Ingoll and John Oge leased property in Oxmantown located south of Oxmantown Green to John Streche.\textsuperscript{1312}

Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 nos. 79, 80, and 81, dated in November and December of 1408, represent a complete set of documents – a grant, deed of attorney, and quit-claim. These documents convey what must have been a large section of commercial

\textsuperscript{1310} Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31 nos. 670 & 675 (2 Feb. 1402).

\textsuperscript{1311} Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31 no. 673 (1 Feb. 1410).

\textsuperscript{1312} Dublin City Library, Gilbert MS 80, p. 99.
and residential property on Fishamble Street – two mesuages and twelve stalls – from the chaplain Walter Porter to three chaplains: John Yonge, John Stafford, and John Ingoll. Two of the stalls were held in dower by Katerina Bellewe, the widow of Roger Bekeford. Katerina granted these stalls to the three chaplains in January 1409.\footnote{1313} The same properties appear again in a quit-claim dated 1411. It appears that a stall has been subdivided, as the number of stalls in this deed has grown to thirteen. Nonetheless, the two mesuages and thirteen stalls are in the same location as the property described in the 1408 and 1409 deeds. In this 1411 deed, John Yonge grants his interests in the properties to the chaplains John Stafford and John Ingoll.\footnote{1314} The properties are again the subject of a transfer in 1413. John Ingoll grants the Fishamble Street properties to the chaplains John Yonge, Roger Flemyng, and Walter Northehamtoun, along with three mesuages and three gardens located in Oxmantown, a suburb of Dublin located on the north side of the Liffey River.\footnote{1315} In 1413, both parcels of land were then leased to John Lytill, a well-to-do Dublin citizen who lived on or near Fishamble Street.\footnote{1316} The rent charged to Lytill was only two shillings per year, a surprisingly small sum given the large amount of property involved and typical rental rates, which often ran upwards of ten shillings per year for a mesuage within the city walls. This low rental rate may reflect an understanding, never formalized, or no longer extant, that Lytill would leave much of his property to the parish upon his death.

\footnote{1313} Date is by modern reckoning. Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 no. 82.
\footnote{1314} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 no. 83 (1 Sept. 1411).
\footnote{1315} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 nos. 90 & 91 (4 & 6 Nov. 1413).
\footnote{1316} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 no. 88 (29 Nov. 1413).
In another 1413 property transaction, John Yonge is named as a chaplain, but he appears to be operating alone, and the property involved may be personal. In a pair of documents penned by James Yonge, John grants his interest in a mesuage not in the parish of St. John, but rather in the parish of St. Audoen; this mesuage was located just inside the New Gate on the western side of the city. The recipient was a baker named John Stafford (fl 1407-51).\(^{1317}\) The extant deeds indicate that Stafford had many business dealings with members of the Yonge family and their close associates over a period spanning over forty years. Chaplains usually are represented in groups of two or three when conducting business involving property on the behalf of a parish. John Yonge’s independent role in these deeds suggests that “\textit{capellanus}” describes John’s profession, a fairly routine piece of information included in deeds, but the lack of co-grantors implies that he was not working on behalf of either St. John’s parish or St. Audoen’s.

In 1413, John Yonge and three other chaplains – John Serjeant, John Ingoll, and John Oge – leased a house on St. Francis Street, just outside the western walls, to Philip Hamound, a butcher who had property interests in St. Francis Street from at least 1413-25.\(^{1318}\) Hamound’s lease was for thirty years at twelve shillings per year, and this is the first extant record pertaining to Hamound’s properties. The last extant document from St. John’s Parish that refers to John Yonge dates to February of 1414. In it, John grants his interests in the parcels of property in Fishamble Street and Oxmantown to two other

\(^{1317}\) Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 nos. 547 & 546 (13 & 14 Feb. 1413)

\(^{1318}\) Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 nos. 86, 87 & 96 (27 Dec. 1413).
chaplains, Roger Flemyng and Walter Northeam tum. It seems that John was preparing to leave St. John’s Church. John’s whereabouts after February 1414 and the reason for his departure becomes evident in a pair of entries in the calendar of Irish Chancery rolls. On the 29th of March, 1414, an entry in the calendar reports that John Yonge, chaplain, has been granted several parcels of land in County Meath, which formerly belonged to William Yonge, the Archdeacon of Meath. The lands are “Personestoun (now Parsonstown Demesne) Grange, Colinestoun (also listed as Colmestoun, possibly Collinstown, Co. Westmeath), Godan (unidentified), and Ballyrath (now Balrath).” John was also the recipient of lands in “Bothom (unidentified), Balinacarryk (Ballynacarrick, Co. Kildare) and Netilbed (unidentified)” from John Burnell of Ballygryffyn (Co. Kilkenny). The date of this latter grant is uncertain, as the grant is recorded in a review of land grants dated 22 January 1506. Nonetheless, it appears that John was still active in December of 1418, as a lease of lands in Lucan from John White and Johanna Broune to Robert Chamber was made for the term of the lives of several people, including John Yonge. Additional information on the life of John Yonge may be forthcoming in searches of records from the counties surrounding County Dublin, especially Counties Meath and Kildare.

1319 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 89 (10 Feb. 1414).
1321 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 272b, no. 8; McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 384.
1322 McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 878.

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A record in the calendar of Irish Chancery rolls refers to a Henry Yonge, who held ten acres called “Myryvaleslond” near Kingston, south of the City of Dublin in 1420. Of this individual, nothing more is known. Another record in the same calendar refers to a Walter Yonge of County Dublin, who had interests in a mesuage and lands near Kilkenny in 1424. Walter is, thus far, unattested elsewhere. Geffroun Yonge of County Dublin is listed in a ca. 1445 rental roll of Ismaia Perers, also of County Dublin; Geffroun owed her a small amount of wheat. Nothing further is known about him.

An interesting group of deeds dating from 1415-18 concerns Edmund Yonge, a citizen of Dublin. Eight deeds detailing three property transactions survive in the papers of St. Anne’s Guild. All of the transactions concern a prime piece of property in the parish of St. Audoen. The property included a house above the quay, a portico – probably a narrow lane or other means of access – and a garden separated from the mesuage by Colman’s Brook. The property would have been ideally situated for carrying on trade with the ships docking on the Liffey. The brook would have provided ready water for gardening, manufacturing, or household use, and the portico likely provided entry onto one of the major streets in the city, possibly Cooks’ Street or Bridge Street, both busy trading centers with easy access to both the bridge over the Liffey to Oxmantown and one of the western gates in the city walls. One of the nearby houses was made of stone rather than timber, and it belonged to a wealthy merchant, Simon

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1323 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 223b, no. 2b; “CIRCLE: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, ca. 1244-1509,” Close Roll 1 Henry VI, no. 5.

1324 Tresham, Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium, 231b, no. 29b.

1325 National Archives of Ireland 2011/1/159.
Doddenale (or Dovedale), a member of a prominent Dublin family. In September 1415, Henry Marleburgh and John Mole, chaplains, probably of St. Audoen’s Church, formally granted the property to Edmund Yonge. However, a small phrase in these documents indicates that Edmund already held the property at the time it was “granted” to him by the chaplains. “Prout idem Edmundus hucusque illa mesuagium porticum et gardinum tenuit …” (As the same Edmund [Yonge] has held that mesuage, portico, and garden up to this time …). This may indicate an arrangement similar to Lytill’s leasing of property from St. John’s Parish at an extremely favorable rate; Edmund may have deeded or agreed to deed this property or other goods to the Parish of St. Audoen at his death. Two years later, in August of 1417, Edmund granted the property to the chaplains John Mole and William Ballylog; the appointed attorneys were James Yonge and Simon Doddenale – Edmund’s near neighbor and a former client of James Yonge. Edmund seems to have been aware that he was dying, as this transaction was made shortly before his death. After Edmund’s death, however, the chaplains deeded the property to Amisie Ballybyn, the relict of Edmund. Amisie’s role is somewhat unclear. Presumably, she is the wife of Edmund. However, in the Dublin deeds of this period a distinction seems to be made between a widow and a relict. Widows who are grantors or grantees in property transactions are usually described as “N. in pura et legitima viduitate” (N. in pure and legitimate widowhood). Relicta is used rarely, and its use in

1326 See the section entitled “Work as a Notarius” in Chapter 4.

1327 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 137, 151 & 144 (26 & 28 Sept. 1415)

1328 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 141, 150 & 142 (25 & 27 Aug. 1417.)

1329 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 149 & 139 (10 & 12 Jan. 1418)
these documents may indicate that Amisie is a second wife of Edmund or that she and Edmund had an arrangement that was not sanctified by the sacrament of marriage. It is also possible that Amisie was already the “pure and legitimate” widow of a former husband. She may be the mother of John Ballybyn, who, with his wife Alicia, shows up in deeds relating to property on Cooks’ Street in the Parish of St. Audoen between 1414 and 1452. The January 1418 property transfers are the only extant deeds among those surveyed which mention Amisie and are the last ones to describe the property of Edmund Yonge and Amisie Ballybyn. It is possible that on the death of Amisie the property passed again to the Parish of St. Audoen, where it was divided up among other parcels from the same area which were owned by the parish. Several later transactions concern properties above the quays, but they no longer feature the unique combination of a mesuage, portico, and garden above the banks of Colman’s Brook. Colman’s Brook becomes a boundary between properties in later deeds, flowing between properties fronting onto Cooks’ Street and properties fronting onto the quay.

James Yonge played a large role in the property transactions between Edmund Yonge and the Parish of St. Audoen. He was the scribe for all eight extant deeds. One of the deeds, Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 no. 151, dated 26 Sept. 1415, is one of the rare examples of Yonge’s re-use of parchment. James also acted as an attorney for each property transaction. In January 1418, when the property was granted to Amisie

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1330 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 322, 324 & 323 (21 & 27 Jan. 1414), 326, 649 & 327 (13 & 14 Jan. 1435), 648 & 779 (15 Jan. 1435), 374 (18 Jan. 1435), and 356 (3 May, 1452); for more on John Ballybyn, see the section entitled “The Yonge Family” in Chapter 4 and Appendix D.

1331 See the section entitled “The Legal Deeds Created by Yonge and His Contemporaries” in Chapter 4.
Ballybyn, James acted as an attorney alongside Amisie’s near neighbor, Simon Doddenale. Edmund Yonge is the only member of the Yonge family who relied exclusively on James Yonge as both scribe and attorney for property transactions, and he may have been a close relative. James Yonge’s first notarial instrument appears in 1406. Given that notaries had to be at least twenty-five years old upon beginning their practice, James Yonge was likely born between 1370 and 1380. With this birth date in mind, it is quite possible to conclude that Edmund may have been James’ father, and James’ involvement in the legal matters pertaining to Edmund’s home may be indicative of a son’s or close relative’s solicitous concern for him in his waning years. If Edmund was James’ father, it can be posited that James may have lived there for some portion of his life.

In the latter part of his career, James Yonge wrote a few documents mentioning William Yonge, a butcher who owned or part-owned properties along the High Street and in St. Francis Street between 1422 and 1477. William first appears in the extant records in 1422, when he and Richard Wode, one of the Aldermen of the City of Dublin, are mentioned as the owners of a mesuage and garden on the north side of the High Street in a land grant concerning the mesuage and storefronts located just to the west of their property. William is again mentioned in documents penned by James Yonge in 1432, when the same property next to that of William and Richard again changed hands. A


1333 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 nos. 189, 188 & 190 (19 & 22 Sept. 1422).

1334 Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31 nos. 186 & 185 (18 & 20 May 1432).
series of records pertaining to William Yonge in the deeds of the Parish of St. John are mentioned by Seymour in his article on James Yonge.\textsuperscript{1335} It appears that William Yonge acquired a house in St. Francis Street in 1446 from John Bossard and his wife Marion Chamberleyne.\textsuperscript{1336} William granted the house to a fellow butcher, John Bertrame, and a clerk, James Power, in 1452. This deed was witnessed by Michael Griffyn, a carpenter, and Thomas Sangwyne, another butcher.\textsuperscript{1337} These deeds suggest that William was part of a network of craftsmen, which included several butchers. St. Francis Street seems to have been a common place for butchers to dwell and do business. Its location outside the western city walls meant that animals could be pastured on the fields west of the city or on the fair green, when it was not in use as a location for the annual fair. Slaughter likely took place outside the city walls, and the meat could then quite quickly be brought into the city through New Gate to be sold on High Street at the Flesh Market [see map, fig. 20]. Philip Hamond, a butcher, leased a mesuage in St. Francis Street from the chaplains of St. John’s Parish in 1417,\textsuperscript{1338} and William Arthur, another butcher, was granted four shops just north of Hamond’s mesuage in 1425.\textsuperscript{1339} Furthermore, Johanna Tankard, the daughter and heiress of John Tankard, yet another butcher, granted all of his houses and tenements in St. Francis Street and St. Thomas Street – a road approaching the New Gate from the west that intersects with St. Francis Street near the New Gate – to the clerk


\textsuperscript{1336} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 115 (8 Aug. 1446).

\textsuperscript{1337} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 121 & 122 (8 Mar. 1452).

\textsuperscript{1338} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 100, 101 & 102 (9 & 14 Aug. 1417).

\textsuperscript{1339} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 107 (4 Apr. 1425).
James Power in 1451. William may have changed careers between 1452 and 1468, becoming a baker, or he may have had a son who became a baker. A William Yonge, baker, enrolled his apprentice, Richard Calfe, on 21 October, 1468 in the surviving Dublin City Franchise Roll.

William must have done quite well for himself, as sometime prior to 1471, he became a proctor for St. John’s Church, and the last deeds to mention him list him as a grantor on behalf of the Church. The final extant deed bearing William’s name dates to 1477. It lists him as a yeoman, but he is acting on behalf of the parish of St. John, as he appears in a list of grantors which includes the proctors of St. John’s Church; the deed also confirms that the grant is being made with the consent of the parishioners. James Yonge identifies himself as a clerus coniugatus in his notarial instruments. If coniugatus does indeed mean “married,” as C. R. Cheney, Charles McNeill and A.J. Otway-Ruthven attest, William may have been James Yonge’s son. James was married prior to 1406; William was likely born ca. 1405 and was a young man in 1422, when he is first mentioned in the extant records. Another potential son of James Yonge,

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1340 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 119 & 120 (17 & 20 Jun. 1451).

1341 Dublin City Archives, Miscellaneous Roll 6, membrane 1.

1342 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, nos. 128, 129 & 130 (separate land transactions dated 13 Apr. and 24 May 1471).

1343 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 132a (5 May 1477).

1344 Cheney, Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 80–1; McNeill and Otway-Ruthven, Dowdall Deeds. For further discussion of coniugatus in notarial instruments, see the section entitled “Work as a Notarius,” in Chapter 4.
Henry Yonge, is listed as one of the two Guardians of the Guild of St. Anne in the Parish of St. Audoen in 1468 and 1470, and he carried out business on behalf of the Guild.\textsuperscript{1345} Another William Yonge was active in Dublin at the turn of the sixteenth century. He is listed as a Dublin merchant on a rental roll, no longer extant, of Grange Gorman, dating to 1496-97.\textsuperscript{1346} William also appears in a list of lay witnesses on a 1516 *examinatio* of deeds.\textsuperscript{1347} Several other members of the Yonge family were active in Dublin in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Richard Yonge, listed as a yeoman, first appears in 1473 acting with John Eustace as an attorney for Richard Mareward, a knight and Baron of Skryne (Co. Meath) and Thomas Norreys, chaplain; he was to place the chaplains Robert FitzWalter, Robert Roche and Philip Lacy in seisin of messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services in Ballymon (now Ballymun) in the demesne of Sauntreff (Santry, north of Dublin).\textsuperscript{1348} On 26 April 1513, Richard Yonge leased a mesuage in Fisher’s Street in Oxmantown from the prior and convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church Cathedral). A rental roll of ca. 1537 lists Richard Yonge and Thomas Wylder in possession of the same property.\textsuperscript{1349} James Yonge was not the only notary produced by the Yonge family. A no-longer-extant Christ Church deed dated 10 October 1493 lists Thomas Yonge, notary public, among the

\textsuperscript{1345} Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, nos. 362 & 749 (20 Mar. & 20(?) Jun. 1470); Berry, “History of the Religious Gild of St. Anne, in S. Audoen´s Church, Dublin, 1430-1740,” 94.

\textsuperscript{1346} McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 1105.

\textsuperscript{1347} Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 256 (29 Oct. 1516).

\textsuperscript{1348} Trinity College Dublin MS 1207, no. 232 (27 Mar. 1473).

\textsuperscript{1349} McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, sec. 1121, 1165.
witnesses to a judgment against Dalvaticus Otole (O'Toole). Unfortunately, I have thus far been unable to identify any other documents mentioning Thomas or notarized by him. From the catalogued document, it appears that Thomas may have worked directly for Christ Church Cathedral.

Yonge family members active in the sixteenth century included Mighell Yonge, who is listed in a 1539 document as a merchant. Mighell leased a mesuage and tenement from James Dovedale on St. Thomas Street, just outside the New Gate. This property was therefore probably located near the junction of St. Thomas Street and St. Francis Street. Mighell was also a warden of the Merchants’ Guild of Dublin in 1553 and was still a prominent member of the Guild in 1556. Another John Yonge, a painter, was proctor of St. John’s Parish and acted on behalf of the parish in a property transfer dating to 1545. John was deceased by 1575, as he is listed as such in a property transfer of that year. Arguably, Dublin’s second most famous Yonge of the late Middle Ages was Gerald Yonge. In June, 1592, Gerald received from the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity Church a piece of park land in St. Francis Street, located in the Parish of St. Nicholas. This would have been located on the southern stretch of St. Francis Street, in an area to the southwest of the walled city. On the 6th of June, 1592, the day after receiving the

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1350 Ibid., sec. 359; Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin,” 22.

1351 National Library of Ireland D.15989 (27 Apr. 1539).

1352 Dublin City Library Gilbert MS 78, pp. 49, 51.

1353 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 158 (30 Sept. 1545).

1354 Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 172 (14 May 1575).

1355 McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, sec. 1405.
land, Gerald acted as a witness to a lease by the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity Church. Gerald pursued a political career with the City of Dublin. By 1594, he is listed on deeds as an Alderman of Dublin, and in 1600, Gerald was mayor of Dublin.

The Yonge family left one further indication of their existence on the landscape of County Dublin. Bernard de Gomme’s map of Dublin, drawn in 1673, shows a landmark called “Yonge’s Castle” north of Oxmantown on Church Street near Abbey Green. The structure was located outside of the liberties of the City of Dublin, and far enough from the city center that it was not within the boundaries of John Speed’s 1610 map of the city. By 1756, when John Roque made his incredibly detailed map of Dublin, the castle had disappeared, and a hillock marked the site, which might have then been merely a pile of overgrown rubble. A 1674 lease describes property located on the street leading to Yonge’s Castle. In 1677, Yonge’s Castle is used as a landmark on a list of fees for cartage of goods from the quays to locations in Dublin and Oxmantown. It cost 2s. per ton to haul goods as far as Yonge’s Castle. Thus far, nothing more is known about the site. It may have been one of the tower houses ubiquitous in Ireland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Dublin Yonges may have used it, but its location north of the city

1356 Ibid., sec. 1406.
1357 Ibid., sec. 1416, 1418.
1358 Ibid., sec. 1451.
1361 Dublin City Library, Gilbert MS 78, p. 27.
suggests that the tower may have been occupied by the branch of the family who lived in County Dublin, possibly including William Yonge of Grange Gorman, who was active at the turn of the sixteenth century.

The Baghill Name in Dublin

The name Baghill, so far as I have been able to determine, is unknown in Dublin records before or after Yonge’s apprentice worked as a clerk there. Documents in London’s Public Record Office indicate that there was a Baghill family living near Pontefract, Yorkshire from the late thirteenth to late fifteenth centuries, and Thomas Baghill or his parents may have come from Yorkshire. This indicates that there may have been ties between Dublin and Yorkshire as well as the ties already established between Dublin and the cities of London and Bristol. Another possibility is that Baghill is a place-name, and Thomas was from Ballyboghill, an area northwest of Swords in County Dublin, and an area – perhaps not coincidentally – in the Diocese of Meath, of which Baghill was a clerk for part of his career.

The Bellewe Family

Nicholas Bellewe came from a prominent Anglo-Irish family that had long been in the area of County Dublin. Nicholas had siblings or cousins who were close in age to

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1362 London, Public Record Office E 40/5779 (1276 bond from Pontefract), C 241/106/5 (1336 record of debt), C 1/41/157 (15th c. Chancery pleading regarding property in ‘Fedirston’)

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him. His father may have been Michael Bellewe, who was a lawyer for a case involving a dispute over rent in 1414.\footnote{McEnery and Refausé, Christ Church Deeds, 865 (11 May, 1414), pp. 186–87.} Nicholas may also have been a son of John Bellewe and Matilda Passelewe (fl. 1424), who owned land in Rathfeigh, near Drougheda, and were parents to Philip Bellewe and John Bellewe.\footnote{Ibid., no. 892 (4 Jun. 1424), p. 191.}

The earliest record of John, Jr. and Philip Bellewe comes from a 1435 document in which they receive, along with a Richard Bellewe, ten marks per annum from the lands of William FitzWilliam; this may have been related to the recent marriage of Rosie Bellewe to FitzWilliam’s son, Thomas.\footnote{National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/143 (12 Feb. 1435).} John Bellewe, Jr (fl. 1435-82), a merchant, was enrolled as a citizen of Dublin on April 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1469. On October 27\textsuperscript{th} of that same year, he had his apprentice, John Begge, enrolled as a citizen.\footnote{Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512, 2–3.} John received substantial lands in “Kilclene,” also known as “le Newtown” and Clondalkin from William FitzEustace of Craddockstown, Co. Kildare, in 1475.\footnote{McEnery and Refausé, Christ Church Deeds, no. 892 (4 Jun. 1424), p. 191; Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512, 50.} He is listed as a deceased former mayor of Dublin when his son, James, was enrolled as a citizen on January 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1490; John’s term of office may have been from 1462-63 or 1473-74.\footnote{Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512, 25.} Late in his life, John leased a mesuage on the High Street and an adjoining garden on...
Rochel Street, and at the time of his death, he was living in a tenement surrounded by St. Michael’s Lane, Rowen Lane, Trinity Lane, and the churchyard of St. Michael’s.  

Philip Bellewe (fl. 1435-68), a merchant, and mayor of Dublin from 1455-56, leased from the Church of the Holy Trinity the property that his brother John Bellewe, Jr. would eventually inhabit in 1444; the parcel already contained two mesuages with adjoining shops, but Philip promised to build onto one of the mesuages, “a hall and a house with oak wood and covered with stone tiles,” and onto the other, “a house with oak wood and covered with stone flags.” Philip was also a lessor of the mesuage on the High Street and the garden lying between Rochel Street and the city wall that John would later lease. He also leased a large garden framed by Wood Quay, Scarlet Lane and Preston’s Street in 1451. Philip appears to have owned a tenement on the north side of the High Street as well; this he granted to two chaplains of the Holy Trinity Cathedral in 1463. Philip had his apprentice, John Cotrell, enrolled as a citizen on October 21st, 1468. A property on the High Street similar to the one owned by Philip and in roughly the same location was owned by a Nicholas Bellewe in 1515; this Nicholas may be the


1370 Moody, Martin, and Byrne, A New History of Ireland: Maps, Genealogies, Lists, IX:553; McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds, 939 (1 Sept. 1444), p. 196.


1373 Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512, 1.

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son or nephew of Nicholas Bellewe the scribe.\textsuperscript{1375} Robert Robynnesson, apprentice to the merchant Thomas Bellewe (\textit{fl.} 1452-81), was enrolled in the Franchise Roll on July 20\textsuperscript{th}, 1481. Little is known of Thomas. He is listed with John Bellewe, Jr. and others in leases granting property for the lives of a list of people or for 40 years, whichever is longer, but records referring to property he owned or leased have not thus far been forthcoming.\textsuperscript{1376}

The women in Nicholas Bellewe’s immediate family married well. Katerina Bellewe was married to Roger Bekeford, a Bailiff for the City of Dublin from 1368-70, and mayor from 1384-85. Bekeford owned a large section of property on Fishamble Street – two mesuages and ten stalls – and Katerina owned a further pair of stalls in her own right, which she granted to the Church of St. John in 1408.\textsuperscript{1377} When she died in 1415, she held a tenement and two houses in Fishamble Street and a garden called “Dromnagh.”\textsuperscript{1378} Elizabeth Bellewe married Thomas Bennet, a merchant and the son and heir of John Bennet, who was mayor of Dublin in 1456-57.\textsuperscript{1379} Thomas himself became a Bailiff in 1485-86 and then was mayor in 1491-92.\textsuperscript{1380} Rosie Bellewe married Thomas FitzWilliam from the prominent FitzWilliam family, who owned large amounts of land in


\textsuperscript{1376} Ibid., 952 (20 Dec. 1452) \& 957 (26 Jun. 1454), pp. 198--99.

\textsuperscript{1377} Trinity College Dublin MS 1477 no. 75 (6 Apr. 1406), 76 (Apr. 1406), 79 \& 80 (both 24 Nov. 1408) and 81 (1 Dec. 1408).


\textsuperscript{1379} Moody, Martin, and Byrne, \textit{A New History of Ireland: Maps, Genealogies, Lists}, IX: 553.

\textsuperscript{1380} Lennon and Murray, \textit{The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512}, 59; Moody, Martin, and Byrne, \textit{A New History of Ireland: Maps, Genealogies, Lists}, IX: 553.
County Dublin, and for whom Nicholas Bellewe worked for several years as a household secretary.

In the family trees that follow, solid lines indicate relationships confirmed by historical documents. Dotted lines indicate presumed relationships.
Figure 1: Yonge Family Tree
Figure 2: Bellewe Family Tree

Other members of the Bellewe family:
- Katerina Bellewe (fl. 1380s-1415) — m. Roger Bekeford (fl. 1368-85)
- Richard Bellewe (fl. 1435)
- Thomas Bellewe (fl. 1452-81)
- Elizabeth Bellewe (fl. 1485) — m. Thomas Bennett (fl. 1485-92)
- Nicholas Bellewe (fl. 1515)
APPENDIX E:

NOTARIES PUBLIC MENTIONED ON FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DUBLIN AREA DOCUMENTS WITH SIGNA MANUALIA

A ✡ symbol after a notary’s name indicates that the notary’s signum manuale is extant. Images of extant signa manualia are in alphabetical order and are located after the list of notaries.

Allen (Allyn, Allon), Richard – fl. 1470-93 (TCD \(^{1381}\) 1207 no. 227; Franchise \(^{1382}\) pp. 29, 71)

Arilton, Thomas – fl. 1463 (Albus no. 41.3 and 6) \(^{1383}\)

Baghill, Thomas ✡ – fl. 1419-39 (see the list of documents in Appendix A, Table A.2)

Bowlond, John ✡ – fl. 1448-86 (NAI \(^{1384}\) 2011/1/166, NAI 2011/1/191; Albus no. 13, Niger \(^{1385}\) no. 11; CC \(^{1386}\) 298-9, 304, 308, 314-7, 327, 1076; Franchise pp. 7, 52, 54)

Browne (Broun, Bron), Thomas – fl. 1485-95 (Albus no. 40; CC 359; Franchise pp. 21, 61, 69-73)

\(^{1381}\) Trinity College Dublin

\(^{1382}\) Lennon and Murray, The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512.

\(^{1383}\) Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin.”

\(^{1384}\) National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds

\(^{1385}\) Lawlor, “A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin.”

\(^{1386}\) McEnery and Refaussé, Christ Church Deeds.
Bryis (Bryce), John – fl. 1421-26 (Albus, no. 6, no 61; CC 276)

de Bueken alias de Ligno, William, Cloyne Diocese – fl. 1463-95 (Albus nos. 41.8, 42, 43)

Fleming, John – fl. 1449-85 (PRONI\textsuperscript{1387} D.430, nos. 18 & 19; Franchise p. 2; Twiss, no. 20\textsuperscript{1388}; CC 341-42, 349; Oxford, Bodleian e. Museo 232)\textsuperscript{1389}

Glyssot, John, Meath Diocese ♠ – fl. 1417 (NLI\textsuperscript{1390} D.15843)

Howling, James ♠ – fl. 1418 (NLI D.1549)

Jordan, John, Meath Diocese ♠ – fl. 1405 (NAI 2011/1/111; TCD 1477 no. 67)

Kylte, Walter, Meath Diocese ♠ – fl. 1443 (NLI D.15892)

Lang, Thomas – fl. 1477 (NLI D.15927)

Lettres, William – fl. 1470 (TCD 1207.220)

Lyn(ne), Robert – fl. 1476-1500 (Albus nos. 40, 59; CC 359; Franchise pp. 10, 71)

Milton, Thomas – fl. 1472 (Niger no. 41)

Mulghan, John ♠ – fl. 1474-1505 (Albus nos. 47, 59, 60, 61, 62; NAI 2011/1/201; Franchise p. 8) – Mulghan appears to have certified several deeds of an earlier date \textit{ca.} 1500

Ollonogan, John, Armagh Diocese ♠ – fl. 1439 (NLI D 15880-81)

Peynton (Painter), Thomas fl. 1406-26 (Albus, no. 6; CC 272-73)

Rochfort, Richard, Meath Diocese ♠ – fl. 1426 (NLI D.15861)

Savage, John, Armagh Diocese ♠ – fl. 1442 (NLI D.15885)

Skyret, Robert – fl. 1495 (Albus no. 44)

\textsuperscript{1387} Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

\textsuperscript{1388} Twiss, "Some Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. Werburgh Dublin, 1243-1676."

\textsuperscript{1389} See the section entitled "Bodleian e. Museo MS 232" in Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{1390} National Library of Ireland
Sta(u)nton, John – fl. 1485-1502 (*Albus* nos. 40, 41.8, 44; CC 359, 366, 1110; *Franchise* pp. 21, 72, 73)

Walsh, Thomas – fl. 1495 (*Albus* no. 44; *Franchise* p. 71)

Yonge, James ♦ – fl. 1404-38 (see the list of documents in Appendix A, Table A.1)

Yonge, Thomas, Ferns Diocese – fl. 1493-96 (*Albus* no. 40; CC 359; *Franchise* p. 70)

Figure 3: *Signum manuale* of Thomas Baghill, Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 253 (27 January 1431)
Figure 4: *Signum manuale* of John Bowlond, National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds 2011/1/166 (7 August 1448)
Figure 5: *Signum manuale* of John Glyssot, National Library of Ireland, D.15843 (12 June 1417)
Figure 6: *Signum manuæle* of James Howling, National Library of Ireland D.1549 (5 January 1418)
Figure 7: *Signum manuale* of John Jordan, Trinity College Dublin, MS 1477, no. 67 (28 July 1405)
Figure 8: *Signum manuale* of Walter Kylte, National Library of Ireland, D 15892 (29 April 1448)
Figure 9: *Signum manuale* of John Mulghan, National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds 2011/1/201 (23 February 1505)
Figure 10: Signum manuale of John Olonnogan, National Library of Ireland, D.15880 (24 February 1439)
Figure 11: *Signum manuale* of Richard Rochfort, National Library of Ireland, D.15861 (14 May 1426)
Figure 12: *Signum manuale* of John Savage, National Library of Ireland, D.15885 (5 April 1442)
Figure 13: Signum manuale of James Yonge, Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 343 (12 December 1432)
APPENDIX F:

EXTANT DEEDS HAVING OR FORMERLY HAVING THE SEAL OF THE PROVOSTSHIP OF DUBLIN APPENDED

TABLE F.1:

LIST OF DEEDS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SEAL OF THE PROVOSTSHIP

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¹³⁹¹ Trinity College Dublin.

¹³⁹² Royal Irish Academy.

¹³⁹³ National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds.

¹³⁹⁴ National Library of Ireland.
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<td>1 December 1428</td>
<td>James Yonge</td>
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<tr>
<td>TCD 1207.207</td>
<td>24 December 1435</td>
<td>Thomas Baghill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCD 1207.209</td>
<td>18 September 1438</td>
<td>Hand I</td>
</tr>
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<td>TCD 1207.210</td>
<td>19 September 1438</td>
<td>Hand I</td>
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<td>7 August 1448</td>
<td>John Bowlond</td>
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<td>6 April 1459</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
</tr>
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<td>6 April 1459</td>
<td>Nicholas Bellewe</td>
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<td>1463</td>
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APPENDIX G:

15TH-CENTURY ANGLO-IRISH MANUSCRIPTS AND LEGAL RECORDS

Below is a listing by location and library of major fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish manuscripts and legal records. It is not exhaustive, but it represents a starting place for literary and historical research on fifteenth-century Anglo-Ireland. Volume III of J. T. Gilbert’s *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* preserves images of several fifteenth-century documents and manuscripts that are now lost.\(^{1395}\)

Belfast

*Public Record Office of Northern Ireland*

D 430 – papers of the Flemyng, Taylor and Bellewe Families, 1336-1718  
D 3078 – papers of the FitzGerald Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster, *ca.* 1370-1900  
DIO/4 – Armagh Diocesan Registry Papers, 1356-1977

Bridgwater

*Bridgwater Corporation*

1475 letter from mayor of Youghal

\(^{1395}\) *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland.*
Canterbury

_Canterbury Cathedral_

- Christ Church Letter 78 – 1430 letter written in Dublin by James Cornwalsh, chief baron of the Exchequer
- Christ Church Letter 88 – _ca._ 1435 letter written in Kilkenny by the Earl of Ormond

Dublin

_City Library_

- Dublin Chain Book – book of statutes and other writings relating to the City of Dublin, mostly 14th c. with additions dating from the 15th-18th c.
- Dublin City Charters – 1171-1727
- Dublin Corporation Records Assembly Roll 1 – record of Dublin Assembly, 15th c.
- Dublin Corporation Records Miscellaneous Roll 6 – Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512
- Liber Albus – 13th-17th c. copies of deeds and charters relating to Dublin
- RG 1 – Deeds of the Guild of St. George, beginning 1426

_National Museum of Ireland_

- 1961/8-56 and 1963/89-91 – Smarmore, Co. Louth slates, with Hiberno-English and Latin inscriptions

_National Library of Ireland_

- Dowdall Papers – papers of the Dowdall family, 13th-17th c.
- Ormond Papers – papers of the Earls of Ormond, 12th-19th c.
- D.1435 – strip of vellum with two 15th c. Hiberno-English poems, once part of Ormond MS of Kilkenny Castle
National Archives of Ireland

Pembroke Estate Papers, 2011/1 – papers dating from ca. 1240-1968

Royal Irish Academy

MS 12.S.22-31 – Deeds of the Guild of St. Anne, 1270-1740

Trinity College Library

MS 80 – Breviary, possibly from Kilmoone, latter half of the 15th c.
MS 156 – Hiberno-English Prick of Conscience, 14th-15th c.
MS 158 – English Prick of Conscience, with Latin additions, 15th c
MS 178 – Vita Sancti Patricii by Joscelin of Furness, Vita Sancti Malachiae by Bernard, 14th c. with 15th c. glosses
MS 189 – Hiberno-English works of Richard FitzRalph, 15th c.
MS 190 – Hiberno-English works of Richard FitzRalph, 15th c.
MS 201 – Hiberno-English postills for several feasts and fasts, 15th c.
MS 576 – Martyrology of Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 15th-16th c.
MS 583 – Pembridge Chronicle of Irish History, mixed parchment and paper, mid 15th c.
MS 592 – Hiberno-English Expugnatio (ff.1r-27v), fragment of Yonge’s Secreta Secretorum on back fly-leaf (fol. 27r), late 15th c.
MS 1207 – papers relating to Essebourne and Passavaunt families, 1280-1691
MS 1477 – papers relating to the Parish of St. John, Dublin, 1233-1704

Kilkenny

Kilkenny Tholsel

Kilkenny Borough Council Civic Archive, Liber Primus Kilkenniensis, 13th-16th c. city records, Hiberno-English poem on fol. 1
London

**British Library**

Additional 40674 – Hiberno-English *Expugnatio* (ff. 67-end), owned by the D’Arcy family at Platten, Co. Westmeath in 1482

Cotton Charter IX – Hiberno-English memorandum to Richard, Duke of York, Naas, 1454; reproduced in Gilbert III.40

Cotton Cleopatra B.ii – miscellany of vitae and other religious writings, 15th c.

Cotton Titus B.xi – Latin, French and English collection of records pertaining to Ireland, 13th-17th c.

Egerton 89 – Medical MS in Irish, owned ca. 1500 by FitzGerald family

Harley 3756 – FitzGerald Rental Book, Latin and English, late 15th-16th c.


**Lambeth Palace**

Carew 598 – Hiberno-English *Expugnatio* (ff. 1r-31r), 15th c.

Carew 622 – Latin *Expugnatio* (ff. 73r-146v), 15th c.


**Public Record Office**

C47/10/25-7 – chancery miscellanea relating to Ireland and the Earls of Ormond, 15th c.

E 28/54/43 – 1432 Hiberno-English appeal, Limerick

E 30/1558-73 – records of submission of Irish chiefs to Earl of Ormond, 15th c.

E 101/247 – Irish Exchequer Accounts, 15th c.

E 101/248 – Irish Exchequer Accounts, many 15th c.

E 101/691 – Miscellaneous accounts, several relating to Ireland, 14th and 15th c.

S.C. 1/44/84 – Hiberno-English letter from Dean of Dublin to Earl of Ormond, mid to late 15th c.
Wellcome Historical Medical Library

MS 406 – medical recipes, two poems in Hiberno-English, early 15\textsuperscript{th} c.

Manchester

Chetham Library

MS 8008 – Hiberno-English \textit{Prick of Conscience}, end 14\textsuperscript{th} c.

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Douce 104 – C-text of \textit{Piers Plowman}, 1427

e. Museo 232 – Hiberno-English \textit{Meditations on the Passion} by Richard Rolle and \textit{Mirror of St. Edmund} by Nicholas Bellewe, copied \textit{ca.} 1430-1470 by Nicholas Bellewe

Laud Misc. 526 – Annalistic material relating to Ireland, fragment of Hiberno-English \textit{Expugnatio} (final folio), 16\textsuperscript{th} c.

Laud Misc. 610 – Books of Pottlerath and Carrick, in Irish, made for Edmund and James Butler, 15\textsuperscript{th} c.

Rawlinson B 490 – Hiberno-English \textit{Expugnatio} (ff.1r-28r), Yonge’s \textit{Secreta Secretorum} (ff. 28v-72v), 15\textsuperscript{th} c.; reproduced in Gilbert III.36

Univ. Coll. 90 – copies of rentals and deeds relating to the estates of the Earl of Ormond, copied \textit{ca.} 1480 by William White

Wiltshire

Longleat House

MS 29 – Miscellany of Latin and Hiberno-English works copied by Nicholas Bellewe, \textit{ca.} 1430-60
San Marino

*Huntington Library*

MS HM 129 – *Northern Homily Cycle* in Hiberno-English, early 15th c.
ADDITIONAL FIGURES

Figure 14: Jon Flemyng’s Signature, Bodleian e. Museo 232, fol. 62r

Figure 15: Jon Flemyng’s Line Fillers, Bodleian e. Museo 232
TABLE ADD.1:

JON FLEMYNG’S CAPITALS FROM BODLEIAN E. MUSEO 232

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## TABLE ADD.1 (CONTINUED)

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<td>S, fol. 2r</td>
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<td>U/V, fol. 25r</td>
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Comparison of Hands of Yonge and Bellewe at Middle and Old Age

Figure 16: Yonge’s hand at middle age. National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate Deeds, 2011/1/139 (25 April 1428)
Figure 17: Yonge’s hand in old age. Royal Irish Academy 12.S.22-31, no. 93 (20 December 1438)
Figure 18: Bellewe’s hand in middle age. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland D430.18 (3 April 1449)
Figure 19: Bellewe’s hand in old age. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland D430.27 (5 November 1473)
Figure 20: Map of Medieval Dublin, by H. B. Clarke\textsuperscript{1396}

\textsuperscript{1396} Clarke, Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: The Medieval Town in the Modern City.
Key (limited to places mentioned in this work)

A1 Christ Church (Holy Trinity) Cathedral
A3 St. Audoen’s Church
A4 St. Bridget’s Church
A6 St. John’s Church
A9 St. Michael’s Church
A14 St. Olave’s Church
A17 St. Werburgh’s Church
B8 St. Savior’s Priory (Dominican)
E1 Bridge Gate
E5 Dam Gate
E7 New Gate
E11 St. Audoen’s Arch
F6 St. Anne’s Guild House
F8 Tholsel
J3 Burnell’s Inns
K2 High Market Cross
Figure 21: Seal of the Provostship of Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 12.S.22-31, no. 599 (1459)
Figure 22: Drawing of the Seal by H. V. Crawfurth Smith\textsuperscript{1397}

\textsuperscript{1397} Strickland, “The Ancient Official Seals of the City of Dublin.”
Figure 23: Yonge’s Earliest Extant Document, National Library of Ireland D.7222 (24 November 1404)
Figure 24: Quit-Claim Penned by Yonge, Trinity College Dublin MS 1477, no. 73 (20 April 1406)
Figure 25: Carve's 1650 Map of Saints' Island

1398 Symbolum Hiberniae: Lyre, sive Anacephalaeosis Hiberniae.
Figure 26: Comparison of the Hands of Yonge and Baghill
Figure 27: Sample of Bellewe's Hand with Characteristic Letter Forms Indicated
Figure 28: Seal of James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, National Library of Ireland D.1615 (9 November 1428) and D.1616 (9 February 1429)
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