MYRROR TO DEVOUT PEOPLE (SPECULUM DEVOTORUM): AN EDITION
WITH COMMENTARY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Notre Dame
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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November 2006
This dissertation provides a new edition of the *Mirror to Devout People*, which survives in two manuscripts: Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, MS 67 (ND) and Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.1.6 (C). Two previous editions of this text were completed as unpublished dissertations. Bridget Ann Wilsher’s 1956 University of London dissertation uses C as a base text and ND to fill in a lacuna; major variations in ND are noted. John Patrick Banks 1959 Fordham dissertation uses ND as the base text; major variations in ND are noted. In 1973, a partial edition edited by James Hogg was published as part of the Analecta Cartusiana series; it lacks the last one-third of the text. The present edition provides a full record of all variant readings in both manuscripts. Based on ND, it uses C to correct errors in sense and syntax, and also uses the sources to identify original readings. A glossary, which contains words that are not easily recognizable to readers of modern English, is included, as well as a complete glossary of all proper names. The full explanatory and textual notes identify for the first time almost all Latin and Middle English sources for the *Mirror*. The introduction to the edition
provides descriptions of both manuscripts and an overview of the ownership and circulation of the *Mirror*.

The author of the *Mirror* was a Carthusian, probably of the London abbey of Sheen and the female religious for whom the work was composed was probably a Bridgittine nun at the neighboring house of Syon Abbey. ND seems to have been commissioned for a secular family, John Scrope, Fourth Baron of Masham and his wife Elizabeth. The original address to a Bridgittine nun of Syon Abbey is thus transformed into an address to a pious laywoman. Appropriate to its female audience, it draws on the works of “aproued women,” such as Bridget of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, and Mechtilde of Hackeborn. As a result, the *Mirror to Devout People* provides important insights into the production of religious writing in fifteenth century England and its transmission into secular ownership.
For Richard, my father
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have many people to thank for their help in the making of this dissertation. William Watts first introduced me to medieval literature and Aron Aji taught me what it means to do rigorous scholarship. I owe a special debt of gratitude to my director, Jill Mann, who introduced me to the editing of medieval texts and acted as a meticulous reader of my work as I began to learn the field of textual criticism. Her skills as a scholar and teacher are a continued source of inspiration. Tony Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, Jesse Lander, and Maura Nolan were always available with encouragement and advice. My friends and colleagues at the University of Notre Dame all provided support and aid. Alice Wolfram’s help at a particularly difficult point in the project remains much appreciated.

Support from a Medieval Academy of America and Richard III Society of America Shallek Dissertation Grant and from the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame’s Zahm Research Travel Grant, allowed me to spend significant time at Cambridge University, the University of Oxford, and the British Library. The staff in the Special Collections Department at the University of Notre Dame consistently gave of their time to aid my research.

I am thankful for the support of my wife, Rebecca, who endures my endless interest in the Middle Ages with patience and grace. This dissertation is dedicated to my father, who raged bravely against the dying of the light.
INTRODUCTION

Part I: Contexts

The Mirror to Devout People, or, more formally, the Speculum Devotorum, is a Carthusian Middle English life of Christ written in prose and divided into thirty-three chapters, in honor of the number of years Christ lived on earth. It is preserved in two manuscripts: Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, MS 67 (ND) and Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.1.6 (C). ND is probably the earliest surviving copy of the Mirror and dates to 1430 or soon after. The armorial initial on the opening folio of ND indicates that it was commissioned by John Lord Scrope, Fourth Baron of Masham, possibly for his wife, Elizabeth Scrope.¹ C dates slightly later to around the late 1460s or early 1470s and is on paper rather than parchment. Neither manuscript was copied by the author, who probably began writing the Mirror within a few years after 1409, when the Carthusian monk Nicholas Love wrote his Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, a work of devotional instruction that survived in more manuscripts than any other religious work of the fifteenth century.² The Mirror’s author, who remains

¹ I discuss the armorial initial in more detail in the “Manuscript Description” section at p. VI. For more on the Scrope connection to the Mirror, see also A. S. G. Edwards, “The Contexts of Notre Dame 67,” in The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers, ed. Jill Mann and Maura B. Nolan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 107-28.

anonymous, identifies himself as a Carthusian when he writes that “a man of oure ordyr of charturhowse” had already translated the pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes Vitae Christi* into English (C, f. 1r).\(^3\) This reference to Love’s work differs slightly from ND’s corresponding passage, which omits the phrase “of charturhowse,” perhaps an indication of ND’s secular ownership.

A Latin colophon in both ND and C, which indirectly refers to the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen, provides further evidence of the Mirror’s Carthusian origin, and a note at the beginning of C further supports this assertion by identifying the manuscript as “liber domus Ihesu de Bethleem ordinis cartusiensis de Shene” and identifying the scribe as “Willielmus plenus amoris” (f. iii).\(^4\) This is a reference to William Mede (d. 1474), a monk at the Charterhouse of Sheen who copied a number of manuscripts, was ordained as an acolyte in 1417, spent the majority of his career at Sheen, and died as a sacrist in 1474.\(^5\)

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\(^3\) All manuscript citations will appear within the text and a distinction between C and ND will be maintained.

\(^4\) The two Latin colophons are reproduced in the manuscript descriptions at pp. iii-vii of the “Introduction.”

If the *Mirror* was originally written at Sheen, then it is probable that the “gostely sustre in Ihesu criste” (ND, f. 1r) or “relygious sustre” (ND, f. 5r) to which the work is directed was a nun from the Bridgettine Syon Abbey, located across the Thames from Sheen. In addition, the *Mirror* author states that after consulting the Prior of his Charterhouse, he expanded his original plan to include the entire life of Christ: “I haue putte to mykyll more þan I behette yow” (ND, f. 1r). The relationship, then, between the author and his intended recipient seems to be a personal one and possibly of a mentoring nature. In what way the two interacted is never clear, but the *Mirror* author does refer to the last time the two “spake togidre” (ND, f. 1r). However, as Vincent Gillespie points out, the relationship between the *Mirror* author and the “gostely sustre” is “configured as primarily textual” and it seems unlikely that they would have spent much time discussing spiritual matters together. Before a further consideration of the *Mirror to Devout People*’s place within the broader field of devotional writing, a brief overview of the two distinct manuscripts, one commissioned (ND) and one possibly requested (C), will help to underscore the very different audiences that the *Mirror* was capable of addressing.

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Manuscript Descriptions

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, MS 67 (ND)\(^7\) England, s. xv\(^1\)

ND sold at Christie’s on July 11, 2000, lot 73, to Quaritch from the collection of William and Christina Foyle. Notre Dame then acquired the manuscript from Quaritch. The lack of accessibility to ND, due to its having been located within the Foyle collection held at Beeleigh Abbey, means the manuscript has received limited scholarly attention.\(^8\)

1. ff. 1r-108r *Mirror to Devout People* or *Speculum Devotorum* begins “Gostely sustre in Ihesu criste I trowe it be nought yit from yo mynde…;” ends “To whome be all worship ioye and preysynge nowe and with oute ony endynge. AMEN.”

2. f. 108r A Latin colophon immediately follows the *Mirror*:

> Ffinito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.  
> Soluite nunc mentem pro W. H. ad omnipotentem.  
> De uita Christi libro finis datur isti  
> Paruos lactabit solidos quasi pane cibabit  
> De Bethlem pratum dedit hos Ihesu tibi flores  
> post hunc ergo statum reddas sibi semper honores

3. ff. 108r-108v *O Intemerata*. Latin prayer titled “Oracio bona et deuota ad beatam uirginem mariam matrem domini nostri Ihesu Cristi et beatum Iohannem Euangelistam;” begins “O Intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis atque incomparabilis uirgo dei

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\(^8\) P. S. Jolliffe in his *Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 225, states that he was unable to examine the manuscript. John Patrick Banks, *Speculum Devotorum: An Edition with Commentary*, unpublished dissertation (Fordham, 1959), iii, thanks William Foyle for providing a microfilm of the manuscript, which he was unable to study in person. See also Edwards, “Contexts,” 107.
O Intemerata was a popular prayer to the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. It is most commonly found in Books of Hours and originally appeared in the twelfth century. By the fifteenth century, O Intemerata was frequently found in both Books of Hours and devotional texts. The prayer’s placement following the Mirror is unique because the final chapter of the Mirror relates a number of miracles that occur from devout reading of O Intemerata in order to encourage the reader to study it diligently.

4. f. 109r A Latin colophon follows O Intemerata:

    Nos tibi uirgo pia semper commendo maria
    Nos rogo conserues Christi dilecte Iohannes.
    Virgo maria dei genetrix quam scriptor honorat
    Sis pia semper ei prout hic te sperat et orat
    Ex aliaque uice Iohannes christi dulcis amice
    Da sibi solamen cum sanctis omnibus. Amen.

    In omni tribulacione temptacione necessitate et angustia succurre nobis piissima uirgo maria.

5. ff. 109v-126r The tretise of the craft of dying (The Craft of Dying) begins “For als miche as þe passage of dethe...;” ends “by þe meditacyon of our Lorde Ihesu cryste þat is mediatour betwix god and man. amen.”

The Craft of Dying, a popular work in the ars moriendi tradition, concerns itself with the proper preparation for death. It survives in thirteen manuscripts, but does not appear in C. It initially may have been written by a Dominican in Latin at or near the time of the Council of Constance in 1418. Following its composition, The Craft of Dying was

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\textit{The Craft of Dying} is followed by three Latin colophons at 126r:

\begin{quote}
Esto memor mortis nam porta fit omnibus ortis  
Sepe sibi iuuenes accipit ante senes.

Non homo leteris tibi copia si fluat eris  
Hic non semper eris memor esto quod morieris  
Es euanebit quod habes tunc alter habebit  
Corpus putrebit quod agis tecum permanebit.
\end{quote}

Finem siste pia mortis michi virgo maria  
Es quia regina Manfeld defende ruina. Amen.

The initial two lines are the opening of a macaronic poem in Latin and Middle English, followed by four lines of which a longer version (nine lines) exists.\footnote{For the first two lines, see Albert E. Hartung, ed., \textit{A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500}, vol. 9 (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993), XXII.356; Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, eds., \textit{The Index of Middle English Verse} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 50-60 and Nancy Lee Beaty, \textit{The Craft of Dying: A Study of the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 7-53.}

Finally, the last two lines refer to Manfeld, a likely reference to William Manfeld, John Lord Scrope, Fourth Baron of Masham’s personal secretary. Scrope owned ND, and Manfeld is described in Scrope’s will, dated 18 March 1453, as “my secretar” and also designated as one of the executors of Scrope’s estate.\footnote{For the next four lines, see Walther, \textit{Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum} (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), 5892; and Edwards, “Contexts,” 121. For the longer version, see C. Horstmann, ed., \textit{Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers}, 2 vols. (London, 1895-96; repr. Rochester, N.Y.: D. S. Brewer, 1999), I:431, lines 496 ff.; and Edwards, “Contexts,” 121.}

In ND, running vertically along the right hand side of the Latin colophons in a large hand are the initials “W. M.” It is possible that

\cite{12}
Manfeld is the scribe of *The Craft of Dying*; however, the Latin lines do not explicitly state that he copied the text.

**Collation:** 1-15, 16 (viii cancelled blank). Gatherings 1-13 contain catchwords in horizontal scrolls drawn with red and blank ink. All or part of the word *examinata* is visible at the bottom of the leaf on ff. 16v, 24v, 48v, 64v, 80v, 88v, 96v, and 104v. This, along with corrections throughout the text of the *Mirror*, provides evidence that the manuscript was checked for accuracy.

**Pricking:** Prickings are visible throughout the manuscript on the outer edges.

**Hand:** There are two hands, of which the first dots his y’s. The *Mirror to Devout People* (ff. 1-108r, cursive anglicana) and *O Intemerata* (ff. 108r-108v, gothic book hand) are in the first hand, *The Craft of Dying* (ff. 109v-127r, cursive anglicana) in the second.13

**Initials:** (i) f. 1, armorial initial “G” with arms of Scropes azure, a bend or with label argent impaling those of Chaworth opens the *Mirror*; (ii) f. 108, historiated initial “O” containing image of the Virgin Mary holding baby Jesus with John the Evangelist standing nearby holding a quill and chalice opens the *O Intemerata*; (iii) f. 109, historiated initial “F” with a bishop in lower part of stave giving last rites to a man tucked into bed in the infill opens the *The Craft of Dying*. Border surrounding f. 1 matches the style of illuminations common in London scriptoria of the early 1430s, but the figures in the historiated initials are not as sophisticated and resemble illuminations found in manuscripts that date to the late 1430’s or early 1440’s.15 Paragraph marks, underlining, and erasures done in red ink. Some initials also done in blue ink.

**Binding:** Contemporary doeskin binding over wooden boards, two brass catches and pin from clasp strap, modern red morocco lettering-piece. Brown morocco-backed box.

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15 Similar illuminations survive in the Brut Chronicle in Chapel Hill, California, believed to have been illuminated in London from 1430-1440. For a description and pictures of this Brut manuscript, see Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 6 (London: H. Miller, 1996), no. 77, 223-5.
1. ff. 6v-144r *Mirror to Devout People* or *Speculum Devotorum* begins “Here begynneth a prefacyon to the boke folowynge. Gostly syster in Ihesu cryste I trowe hyt be not ytter fro 30ur mynde that whene we spake laste togyderys I behette a medytacyon of the passyon of our lorde...;” ends “to whom be all worschype ioye and preysynge now and withoute endynge. Amen. Deo gracias.”

2. ff. 144r-145r *O Intemerata*. Latin prayer titled “Oracio bona et deuota ad sanctam mariam matrem domini et beatum Iohannem apostolum et euangelistam” begins “O intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis atque incomparabilis virgo dei genitrix...;” ends “qui patri et filio consubstancialis et coeternus cum eis et in eis viuit et regnat omnipotens deus per omnia secula seculorum. amen.”

3. ff. 145r-146r Middle English translation of *O Intemerata*. Unique to C, begins with “O vndefulyd and withoute ende blyssyd syngler and incomparable vyrgyne the mothyr of god marye moste kynddest temple of god...;” ends “with hem euyrlastynge with hem and in hem lyuyth and regnyt all myghty god withoute ende. Amen.”

ff. iv (1 pastedown) + 147 + iv (wants 3, 4 pastedown). Paper; two types of paper, originating in Italy, have been used. One contains a balance type as a watermark, the other an anvil. 205 x 140 mm. Written space 146 x 92 mm. 25 long lines.

**Collation:** 1\(^{15}\), 2-3\(^{16}\), 4\(^{14}\), 5-7\(^{16}\), 8\(^{10}\), 9\(^{16}\), 10\(^{14}\). The first quire originally contained sixteen leaves, but two have been cut out. Two leaves have fallen out of the fourth quire between f. 54v and 55r leaving a large lacuna that can be recovered using ND. Supervision signs appear throughout as do words inserted between the lines after the text was written.

**Pricking:** There are typically twenty-six pricks visible down the outer edge of each page.
Hand: The hand is a loose, at times messy, fifteenth-century anglicana formata.¹⁶

Initials: Capital letters in red begin each chapter, with brown ink from a fine pen used for decoration. Paragraph marks, underlining, and erasures are done in red ink. ff. 144r and 145r contain slight decoration of the colophons and, occasionally, a scarlet finger appears in the margin to indicate an important point in the text. Small shields are also employed at certain points containing corrections or additions to the text.

Binding: Late-seventeenth or early eighteenth-century sheepskin binding with brown calf spine and slightly tooled edges. The book was given to Cambridge University Library in 1715 and the cover may be from this time, though the sheepskin could be part of the original binding.

Carthusians and the Politics of England

The *Mirror*’s association with the monastery of Sheen is not surprising since the Carthusian order was known for the production and preservation of religious writing in late medieval England. A Carthusian library contained primarily theological and devotional writings, copies of the Customs of Guigo I, the founder of the order, and the occasional secular work that was bequeathed to the order by a lay person.¹⁷ The Charterhouses were chiefly responsible for assembling their own libraries and did so through bequests and the copying of manuscripts borrowed from other monasteries. Since the Grande Chartreuse insisted on the uniformity of certain regulatory and church books, it is likely that Carthusians consistently loaned and borrowed books for the purposes of collation and correction in order to avoid any discrepancies in copies of the Carthusian rite.¹⁸ The exchange of books between the Charterhouses allowed the

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¹⁷ For more on Carthusian libraries, see Thompson, 313-34.

¹⁸ Ibid., 313.
monasteries to build impressive libraries while adhering to a fairly high level of accuracy in their texts.

Carthusians envisioned themselves as witnessing through the pen rather than the spoken word, so the accumulation of massive libraries corresponded to the order’s broad plan of providing, preserving, and correcting theological tracts for fellow religious readers. In fifteenth-century England, the London Charterhouse acted as a conduit through which books were sent out to the nine satellite houses. Carthusians maintained a tight control over the circulation of devotional texts within the order.\(^{19}\) Despite the impressive collection of devotional writings that Carthusians acquired, it seems likely that their attitude toward the distribution of texts varied little from the strict ascetic values through which they regulated their own lives. From its inception, the Carthusian order adhered to reformist principles and sought to institute a rigorously ascetic and selectively iconoclastic form of monasticism.\(^{20}\) They were an intensely closed order, adhering to an eremitic lifestyle in which each monk had a private cell from which he rarely departed. From the order’s inception, Carthusians maintained a balance between the extreme asceticism of their devotional lives and the accumulation of extensive libraries that were intended for the use of the monks and members of other religious orders. For example, the twelfth-century Benedictine abbot, Guibert of Nogent, describes the ascetic aspects of Carthusian monasticism, while highlighting the important role of books in the order:

> They take neither gold nor silver nor ornaments for their church from anyone. They have nothing with them but a silver chalice. They do not assemble in their

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\(^{19}\) Gillespie, “Haunted Text,” 135.

\(^{20}\) See Love, ed. Sargent, Intro 23-4 for a discussion of the Carthusians’ early asceticism. See also Brantley, 175, for a discussion of the prohibition of images in the early years of the Carthusian order. Brantley points out that prohibitions against decoration remained in the rules of the order, in varying forms, from the thirteenth century into the sixteenth century.
church, as we do, at the usual hours, but at others. If I am not mistaken they hear Mass on Sundays and on solemn feasts. They hardly ever speak, and if they must ask for something they do it with a sign. If they happen to drink wine it is so diluted that it loses its strength and tastes little different from ordinary water. They wear hair shirts next to the skin: otherwise they wear few clothes... Though they live in the utmost poverty, they have built up a very rich library.  

The balance Carthusians maintained between an ascetic way of life and the accumulation of extensive libraries indicates their desire to maintain a ministry through the written word. Since many Carthusian monks took a vow of silence, writing and preserving devotional works provided an outlet for a private ministry that benefited their own and other religious orders.

The materials needed for the upkeep and production of books required the Carthusians to rely to a certain extent on secular resources such as lay gifts and donations. As a result of the need to preserve and expand their libraries, and despite their ascetism and rigid habits of claustration, the Carthusians often involved themselves in contemporary political dealings. By the fifteenth century, interaction with aristocratic and royal lay people in England seems to have played a role in the normal activities of the Carthusians. Even earlier, beginning with Henry II’s founding of the first Charterhouse in England, a pattern of royal involvement with the founding of Charterhouses was established in England. The Charterhouse at Witham in Somerset was founded by Henry II in 1178/9 as penance for the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury. After early problems and an initial lack of funds, the order flourished in England and began to grow rapidly. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the need for endowments meant the order found it necessary to sustain contacts with royal, aristocratic, and lay donors. The most substantial growth by the order occurred during

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the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, with seven out of the nine Charterhouses existing in fifteenth-century England built between 1343 and 1414. Many of these additions to the order came from aristocratic and royal benefices, often as a result of the Carthusians’ interactions with influential members of the English upper classes. Among the benefactors were members of the nobility such as Edward III, his daughter Isabella, Richard II and his wife Anne, John of Gaunt, Thomas de Holland, William de Aldeburgh, Henry V, and Henry VI. Clearly, the English Carthusians were capable of obtaining endowments from the wealthiest and most important of the landed gentry in late medieval England.

The massive building projects in the fourteenth century that reflected the importance of Carthusians in English religious and political circles were funded almost exclusively by royalty. These projects spanned nearly seven decades with the building of houses such as London and Mount Grace, but reached their zenith with the construction of the Charterhouse of Sheen in 1414. Formally called the Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen, the Sheen Charterhouse was built on the royal manor of Sheen and was intended to be at the center of a nexus of religious houses located on the royal manor. As a result, it was one of the wealthiest and largest of the Charterhouses in England. Through a series of charters, Henry V granted a number of alien priories to the Carthusians and generous provisions to compensate for any seizures of the priories.

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Henry V’s generosity was not limited to land endowments. He also made a gift to the monastery at Sheen of a large collection of books in 1418. When establishing a new house, the Carthusians filled the library with books brought by monks coming from the Continent as well as the aforementioned borrowing of books from other, local Charterhouses to be copied and returned. The King’s gesture was, most likely, intended to provide a foundation on which Sheen could establish an impressive collection of books to match its extensive land holdings. Henry V’s generosity with books is not surprising, considering his reputation as a bibliophile, who actively collected and read a wide variety of texts.23 When Henry V established Sheen and sought to stock its shelves with books, he did so from a desire to see a religious house broaden its mission of writing with an extensive and well-endowed library. However, the books were never delivered to Sheen. Following Henry V’s death, the volumes set aside for the Charterhouse were lost. McFarlane speculates on their fate, but it is uncertain what finally became of them.24

Royal benefices were not the only source from which Carthusians gained resources to further their cause. With the foundation of Charterhouses in urban areas such as London and Hull, the Carthusians were able to draw on wealthy pious laypeople to sponsor individual cells in the houses. This practice became increasingly popular among the laity because it cost a great deal less than endowing an entire monastery, but provided access to the intermediary prayers of the monks. By founding individual cells, religious lay people established complicated relationships marked by a variety of

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23 K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), notes that Henry V’s “library was for his time, rank, and other tasks, remarkably well stored and, it was believed, much read” (116-7). A record survives of one hundred and ten books in the King’s possession at his death, he had twelve books on hunting copied in 1421, and his copy of Chaucer’s *Troilus* still exists. He also wrote many of the state papers and orders in his own hand, and he was known to borrow volumes and sets from his family.
reciprocities that deeply affected the relationship between the Charterhouse and the laity. Particularly, the founding of individual cells offered lay donors a sense of cohabitation and a proximity to the order that was unavailable to common worshippers. Donations were given with the primary expectation of intercessory prayers by the monks on behalf of the benefactor. Purgatory was an ongoing concern of the laity and many relied on magical charms, prayers, and the intercession of the clergy to eliminate years from their time in purgatory. As a result, ties formed between Carthusians and lay people, especially the well-endowed aristocracy, which introduced them to the order’s cultural and religious concerns not typically intended for the laity. These relationships resulted in limited access for the aristocracy to the benefits of Carthusians’ prayers and, occasionally, access to the Charterhouses. Even women, who were strictly forbidden from setting foot in the Charterhouses, endowed cells and visited their endowments. The increased access to Charterhouses proved advantageous for both Carthusians and laity by allowing the laity to experience the benefits of intercessory prayers while providing the monks with the necessary resources to maintain their ministry of the written word.

24 Ibid., 233-8.
25 For more on the founders and benefactors of the London Charterhouse, see Thompson, 68-72.
Literary Production and the Carthusian Response to Wycliffism

The limited access to Charterhouses enjoyed by a select group of aristocracy and royalty, the increased lay demand for spiritual writings originally intended for the clergy in the late fourteenth to the mid fifteenth centuries, and the increasing threat of heresy were instrumental in forcing the Church to adopt an organized response to regulate the production of late medieval English religious writing. Initially, Archbishop Arundel’s 1407-1408 Constitutions, which banned the making and ownership of English Bibles and limited vernacular preaching, provided a stringent response to the Wycliffite demands for an English Bible. Arundel’s Constitutions were followed by the Carthusian Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, a life of Christ directed to a lay audience with the purpose of countering specific Wycliffite claims, including the demand for vernacular translations of the Bible, and meeting the laity’s demand for greater access to devotional guidebooks. Despite the widespread popularity of Love’s Mirror, the Carthusians continued to work to solidify the boundaries between devotional writing and the laity; however, Love’s work indicates that while Carthusians as a whole worked to prevent devotional texts from becoming available to the public, there were exceptions to this practice. In this case, the threat of heresy combined with a systematic program by the clergy to respond to this threat prompted Nicholas Love to create a work for the laity that provided an orthodox response to the dangers of the heretical arguments of his followers.


28 For an account of the demand by the laity for works written primarily for the clergy, see Leonard E. Boyle, O.P. “The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology,” in The Popular
From its inception, Wycliffism was concerned with the proper way to read and interpret the Bible. The root of Wyclif’s complex theological arguments was a rejection of the scholastic practices that had maintained and added to an immense body of supplementary discourse on the Scriptures. Wyclif did not, however, reject outright the intellectual milieu in which he was deeply ensconced as an Oxford academic. Since the Latin Fathers formulated their views from biblical texts, Wyclif felt that all subsequent scholars should be subordinate to the Bible. He attempted to adapt contemporary academic discourse to better serve the Scriptures by implementing the scholastic practice of questioning textual authority through a hermeneutics of doubt that placed an emphasis on historical interpretation over the allegorical methods of the Latin Fathers.29 Wyclif placed great importance on an understanding of the exact words of the Bible and nearly all of his controversial teachings, including his views on the eucharist derive from his return to the first principles of the Bible. For Wyclif, the return to the original Scriptures was a matter of supreme importance since he viewed the Bible as containing the “very salvation of the faithful.”30

As Wyclif’s teachings moved from the role of intellectual academic theory to the active role of a popular, revolutionary movement, many of his most controversial opinions were put into practice by the Wycliffites, and thus took on a much greater threat to the clergy. The Wycliffites made the translation of the Bible into English a priority

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and, when the Wycliffite Bible was completed, they emphasized maintaining an accurate and pure biblical text.\(^{31}\) For Wycliffites, \textit{sola scriptura} was central to their beliefs and they persistently argued for the right of ownership of biblical translations.\(^{32}\) Many in the Church, however, saw the dissemination of a vernacular Bible as a direct attack on their authority, which furthered their distrust of the “lewede men & women” who desired greater access to contemporary devotional writing.\(^{33}\) Opposition to Wycliffism grew within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, yet little was done to curb the movement besides condemning Wyclif in 1382 for his heretical views. Overt support and interest in Wyclif’s ideas continued into the early fifteenth century.\(^{34}\)

Royal preoccupation with English heretical writings reached its apex after the deposition of Richard II and the establishment of Henry Bolingbroke as king. Following the overthrow of Richard II and his followers, Henry IV, with the help of Archbishop Arundel and the resources of the church, initiated a project to justify retrospectively the deposition of Richard II and to gain legitimacy for the establishment of a Lancastrian reign.\(^{35}\) Through the use and, quite frequently, manipulation of chronicles, supporters of Henry created evidence justifying his ascent to the throne and simultaneously worked on eliminating threats to Henry’s claim. In the years leading to Henry’s establishment as


\(^{33}\) Love, 10.


\(^{35}\) For more on the political situation surrounding Henry Bolingbroke’s ascension to the throne and subsequent construction of a number of social, religious, and political institutions and enemies designed to mask the illegitimacy of his reign, see Paul Strohm, \textit{England’s Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
king, the clergy of England were calling for a stronger response from the state to deal with the threat of Wycliffism. The increased support by the clergy for the burning of heretics may have influenced Henry IV to permit heretics to be burnt publicly by the secular authorities after an ecclesiastical trial. \(^{36}\)

Pressure from the clergy influenced Henry, but the Wycliffites’ views on dominion in law may have played a larger role in his making the proclamation that allowed heretics to be put to death. Wycliffites believed that dominion is dependent on virtue and, as an extension of this claim, they argued that the laws of priests and kings were not binding unless they furthered adherence to the laws of God. This theory could easily lead to a belief that each man was the judge of the legality of the laws in place. \(^{37}\)

For Henry IV, who had only recently attained his position in a questionable manner with the aid of figures in positions of ecclesiastical power, challenges to his and the church’s dominion were threats to be taken seriously. The controversies over Wyclif’s teachings only added to the unrest in the initial years of the fifteenth century in England, which were tumultuous and resulted in sudden change to both the political and religious climate. In 1399, Henry Bolingbroke and Thomas Arundel, each exiled to France by Richard II for different reasons, gathered a superior force and entered England. With his attention fixed on troubles in Ireland, the young King Richard II was betrayed, and Henry Bolingbroke ascended to the throne as King Henry IV. During the transition from the fourteenth-century Ricardian to the fifteenth-century Lancastrian cultures a renewed


focus on the stamping out of emerging heterodox sects in England, particularly the teachings of the now deceased Wyclif and the growing group of those following his teachings, became a priority of those in power. The Lancastrians used their newly gained power to engage in a discursive project that attempted to legitimize Henry IV’s rule by creating threats to the nation greater than that of usurpation. In order for Lancastrian rule to be successful, an appearance of stability was essential. The repeated criticisms of the Wycliffites, which called to mind the possibility of religious usurpation, were perceived as a clear danger to the Lancastrians. Consequently, Wycliffism came under direct attack in 1401 when Parliament enacted *De heretico comburendo*, a piece of legislation that empowered bishops to arrest any unlicensed preachers or translators of the Bible, and imprison them for three months, during which time proceedings were to be taken against the offenders. If they were convicted, a lengthier prison term or a fine might be instituted; if the accused refused to abjure, they were to be given over to the sheriff to be burned. On March 2, 1401, the Norfolk priest William Sawtry became the first victim of *De heretico comburendo* when he was burned at the stake for his Lollard beliefs. In 1410, Evesham tailor John Badby also succumbed to the flames for his convictions.

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38 Strohm, 32-62.


40 See Peter McNiven, *Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1987), 199-219. McNiven states that little is known of John Badby except that he was a craftsman rather than a common laborer, and that his views on religion were controversial enough to gain the attention of the authorities and eventually lead to his execution.
Archbishop Arundel followed Parliament’s cruel legislation with his own thirteen Constitutions, which set out to limit the production of Middle English Bibles and devotional texts. Arundel’s Constitutions aimed to limit all forms of vernacular religious practice including preaching in the vernacular, as well as the writing and reading of religious treatises in English without approval. In 1407 Arundel called a convocation at Oxford, one of the main targets of his Constitutions, to begin drafting the laws, and by 1409 the provisions of the Constitutions were issued. They instituted a process for licensing preachers in both the Latin and the vernacular, regulated debate on theological questions at the university, required monthly examinations of the theological views of all students in the Oxford halls, prohibited preachers from discussing the sacraments beyond the simplest of presentations, and prohibited anyone from teaching the laity how to deal with theological matters. Arundel’s Constitutions also ordered that none of Wyclif’s works be read until they were approved, and threatened anyone who would translate the scripture into English with excommunication, or worse. In other words, rather than seeking to censor specific works, Arundel sought to control the general sources and means of transmission from which heterodoxy supposedly originated.

The provisions advanced in the Constitutions demonstrate Archbishop Arundel’s understanding that to control heterodox movements one had to control the production and circulation not only of the English Bible, but of all vernacular texts. His Constitutions

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41 The Latin text of the Constitutions can be found in D. Wilkins, ed., Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, 3 vols, (London, 1737), vol. 3, pp. 314-9. For more on the Constitutions and their role in shaping English vernacular religious writing, see Nicholas Watson, “Censorship and Cultural.” Speculum 70, 822-64.

42 Only two texts were approved through the new legislation. The Bridgettine devotional guide The Mirror of Our Lady claimed to have received permission for the translated biblical passages that are placed throughout the text. Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ received an approbatio from Arundel prior to the actual ratification of the Constitutions.
identified the ownership of vernacular theological works as *prima facie* evidence of heretical leanings, but they did not put an end to theological treatises. In actuality, they facilitated a shift in the type of theological writings that were produced. Rather than long treatises that relied on scriptural translation to make points in English, compilations became the preferred style of mystical and theological authors of the period. Authors adhered to a rigorous atemporality and anonymity by harking back to numerous Christian authorities such as Augustine, Jerome, and the *Legenda Aurea* while concealing their own authorial identity. Many of these compilations were produced by the Carthusians, whose massive libraries and system of book-lending between their many English and Continental Charterhouses facilitated the kind of textual work needed to produce devotional works for religious readers. With the help of the sole English Bridgettine house, Syon Abbey, the Carthusians were responsible for the production of many religious works, original and translated. The provisions set forth in the *Constitutions* were often used to identify Wycliffite writings and to convict those who owned heretical writings. It seems that only a small, privileged circle of spiritual aristocratic readers, with familial and personal ties to religious houses of the period, especially Syon and the Charterhouses of London and Sheen, were able to commission and read vernacular texts without worry of penalty.

**The Scropes, Chaworths, and the Guild of Corpus Christi**

It was during the changes in religious literary production, which issued from the restrictive provisions found in Archbishop Arundel’s *Constitutions* and resulted in a surge of stringently orthodox writings that were intended solely for the clergy, that the *Mirror to Devout People* was initially written. Unlike Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the
Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, which was directed to lay readers, the *Mirror to Devout People* was intended for non-Latinate, female religious readers rather than a secular audience. However, at least one copy of the *Mirror to Devout People* made its way into the library of secular book owners. The opening folio of ND displays an elegant armorial initial featuring the impaled arms of John Scrope, Fourth Baron of Masham and his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth. While the opening initial and the florid border surrounding the text indicates a wealthy family concerned with the quality of the books in their library, it offers little suggestion of how this family obtained knowledge of the *Mirror* or in what way they obtained a copy of the text. A brief consideration of the Scrope and Chaworth families, though, reveals a great deal about the intersection between monastic book production and lay book ownership, reading, and collecting. The primary connection between the *Mirror* and the Chaworth family is found in the *Mirror* author’s use of several passages from Henry Suso’s *Horologium Sapientiae*. Suso’s work is an important text for Elizabeth Chaworth and her family. Her father, Thomas Chaworth, was a powerful North-East Midlands landowner with his main business holdings in Nottinghamshire and his residence at Wiverton. He was Justice of the Peace for Nottinghamshire from 1401, sheriff from 1403 to 1424, and MP from 1406-1446. As evidenced by his will, his book collection was one of the largest in Northern England, including a copy of the Middle English *Horologium Sapientiae*. It seems possible that

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44 When Thomas Chaworth died in 1459 at the age of 79, he left substantial evidence of his interests in book collecting. Most notable is his will, in Middle English, which contains numerous bequests of books. He bequeathed to his eldest son, William, a combination of pious and useful books: “a boke of
Elizabeth Chaworth’s familiarity with her father’s books, including the Middle English *Horologium Sapientiae*, influenced her and her husband’s later book-related decisions, including the commissioning of ND. Thomas Chaworth would have played an important role in shaping Elizabeth’s conception of books and book collecting. The structure of late medieval society meant that men often possessed literary skills and used them for both religious practice and entrepreneurial enterprises. This does not mean, however, that women were illiterate. Numerous examples exist of women working to advance their literary skills. Various levels of literacy existed among medieval women and it is likely that Elizabeth’s childhood within a book-owning family was, to some extent, literate. As a result, she would have been familiar with a number of vernacular religious texts contained in the books of her father’s library.

English þe which is called Policonicon [sic], another boke of Notes of Fynes…another olde Messe boke with a boke of Placebo and Dirige…the lesce Antiphoner of iii, a Graile, a Manusell, a litle Portose, the which the saide Thomas toke wit hym always when he rode, a Sauter with Placebo and Dirige, and an Hymner in the same…” His cousin, Robert Clifton, was given “a newe boke of Inglish, þe which begynneth with þe lyffe of Seyl Albon and Amphibell and other mony dyuers lyfe and thynges in þe same boke.” Another cousin, Richard Willoughby, received “an Englissh boke called Grace de Dieu.” To acquaintances outside of the family, he gave William, Archbishop of York “an English boke called Oriiogium Sapiencie” and to ‘maister Gull’ he left “a boke written in Latin called Policronicon.” J. Raine, jr., ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part II, 227.

A number of recent studies have examined both religious and lay female readers in late-Medieval England. Mary C. Erler, in *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) provides accounts of book collecting and literary skills by both religious and lay women. Her chapter on Syon Abbey (pp. 85-99) relates the reading practices of a nun at Syon and of her sister, a lay woman who became a vowess later in her life. Carol Meale’s *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) provides a number of essays that deal with women’s reading habits in medieval England. The chapters focus on religious women and the books they read and owned. Finally, Rebecca Krug’s *Reading Families: Women’s Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) takes an anthropological approach to women’s reading by claiming that women’s literary practices established a field of play within which women could “compete” with men in literate practices.

Evidence of literacy is a difficult skill to historically document. Elizabeth most likely had books read to her, could read English, and may have been able to write in English. It is unlikely she would have known Latin. There is evidence that a number of female religious and lay readers were capable of reading and writing vernacular English. Both the books they owned as well as wills and testaments reveal that a large number of women were active in the collecting and reading of books.
Not only does Elizabeth’s past suggest an interest in religious writing, but Elizabeth’s actions later in life indicate that she was involved in a variety of devotional activities. Following the death of her husband, John Scrope, Elizabeth made a commitment to the Church by taking the veil. On December 18, 1455 Richard, vicar-general, sent a commission “to John, bishop of Philopoli, to veil Elizabeth, widow of John lord Scrope of Masham.” The oath she gave reads:

In þe name of God, amen. I, Elizabeth Scrop, late wife to my worshipful lord, John newly lord Scrop and of Masham, avow to be chaste fro this tyme forward, in þe presence of you, worshipfull fadir, John be þe grace of God bishop of Philopoli, be þe auctorite þat ye have of my most reverent fadir in God, William archiebisshop of Yorc, primat of England, and legate of þe court of Rome; and I bihote to lefe stably in this avow during my life. And in wittenes hereof I with myne owne hand make this subscripcion.47

It was a common practice for lay worshippers who belonged to the elite aristocracy to make an oath similar to this one in order to protect their material interests or to avoid remarrying.48 Elizabeth Scrope also may have bequeathed the book of prayers, Cambridge, Clare College, MS 5, to a monastic house. On the last folio of the manuscript is found a Middle English poem asking the reader to keep “lady scrope” in his or her prayers:

he that lust for to loke  
or for to rede on this boke  
Be he of cyte toun or thrope  
Pray he for my lady scrope  
And thinke 3e neuir to done amys  
But þenke on hym that gaf 30w this  
For ihesu loue haue hym in mynde

Elizabeth’s association with vernacular devotional writing in the Yorkshire area, possibly indicated by the English prayer, would have been strengthened by her marrying into the Scrope family, which shared many of the same interests and had even greater connections to the most important religious book-producing centers of the fifteenth century.

The Scrope family as a whole owned numerous devotional texts. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the members of the house of Scrope gained prominence as book collectors. The house’s two distinct lines of Masham, in North Yorkshire, and of Bolton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, came into being in the fourteenth century and contributed almost immediately to the politics of the time. In the late fourteenth century the Masham line of the family reached the height of its power, but shortly after they fell to their lowest point. On August 5, 1415, Henry, 3rd Baron Scrope of Masham, Treasurer of England, was executed for treason by Henry V shortly before the king’s departure to France. This resulted in the forfeiture of much of his massive wealth, including a substantial book collection. According to Henry’s will, his mother Margaret received “all the books of the chapel” and “one Breviary, and one Missal on the use of York, and one Book of the Lives of the Saints in French.” His brother Stephen, archdeacon of Richmond, received “one book of the Homilies of Saint Gregory, and also a Book of the Homilies of Saint Remigius, and also a Book of Homilies of the Venerable Bede…and one Book of the Revelations of Saint Bridget.” Finally, to his brother John, one of the co-owners of ND with his wife Elizabeth, Henry willed “one Psalter with new

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glosses…with my Arms and the arms of my wife.” At the time of his death, in 1455, John Scrope had re-established the family’s name and begun collecting a number of religious and devotional texts. In his will he bequeathed to his daughter Eleanor “ane English boke of ye Pater Noster, glosid, with Matynes of ye Passion,” as well as some service books: “j Porthas couered in blew cloyth of damask of silver [and] j olde Masse Boke with Scrope armes in ye begynnynge.” The examples of both the Chaworth and Scrope wills indicate that when Elizabeth married into the Scrope family she was joining a family that shared the same devotion to books as her own family.

The Scropes’ and Chaworth’s involvement with the late medieval English book trade is readily apparent, and may have given them the connections necessary to acquire a work like the *Mirror to Devout People*. However, their interest in devotional books was not the only tie the Scropes maintained with those collecting and producing religious texts. Their devotional activities included membership in the York fraternity of the Guild of Corpus Christi and an apparent devotion to Mechtild of Hackeborn’s *Booke of Gostlye Grace*. In a study of the Carthusian John Blacman’s library, Roger Lovatt argues that three of the sources that appear in the *Mirror to Devout People*, Bridget of Sweden’s *Revelations*, Henry Suso’s *Horologium Sapientiae*, and Mechtild of Hackeborn’s *Booke* ______

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1905), 7. A description of the manuscript appears at pp. 7-11. See also the Index of Middle English Verse, 4104.


of Gostlye Grace, were “largely restricted to a limited, interlinked elite of Carthusian monks, Bridgettines from Syon, a well-defined group of learned and devout clergy, and a small number of the laity, often pious noblewomen.” The Scopes were a part of the small number of laity who enjoyed access to religious writings associated with the Carthusians, and their involvement in the York fraternity of the Guild of Corpus Christi surely encouraged them to continue their participation in the collection of devotional writings. The Guild of Corpus Christi was typically a lay foundation whose main purpose was to administer, provide funds for, and add prestige to the Corpus Christi procession and drama. Their exclusive nature meant the Corpus Christi fraternities tended to be focused on numerous aristocratically informed political, social, and economic interests. The York fraternity was founded in 1408 and John Scrope was admitted to the order in 1416-1417, about a year before his marriage to Elizabeth Chaworth.

Most fraternities did not have space for members of the clergy. They often hired them as chaplains but often refused them membership or denied them access to office. The Scrope’s York Guild, however, was a mixed fraternity with both laity and clergy holding memberships. The regular interaction between the two groups may have provided the laity of the York fraternity initial contact with a multitude of religious texts, including the Mirror to Devout People, not typically intended for a lay audience.

Regardless of whether membership in the York fraternity introduced the Scropes to the

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55 Ibid., 242.
Mirror, it is certain that involvement in a close-knit community of clergy and lay worshippers devoted to the adoration of the Eucharist would have fostered the pious literary interests of a family already invested in the collecting of religious writing.

The Commissioning of the Mirror and the Role of Syon Abbey

The Scrope’s membership in the York Guild of Corpus Christi may have introduced them to a range of devotional texts, including the Mirror to Devout People, but it was primarily their position as one of the most powerful families in Yorkshire, along with their devotional practices that put them in contact with the Bridgettine Syon Abbey, the location of the Mirror’s intended audience. John Scrope’s brother, Henry, had supported the project to establish the Charterhouse of Sheen and the Bridgettine Syon Abbey. In his will he left two Richard Rolle manuscripts to Henry Fitzhugh, who attempted the first plantation of Bridgettines in England, which ultimately failed. Henry Scrope also left a selection of books or vestments valued at forty pounds to Syon Abbey and he made numerous bequests to those who supported the establishment of the abbey in England.56 While John and Elizabeth Scrope’s involvement in the Guild of Corpus Christi and the book trade evidences their interest in English religious writing, it is their family’s connection to the Bridgettine Syon Abbey that offered them access to a text like the Mirror to Devout People. Syon Abbey was founded on March 3, 1415 by Henry V, and was built as part of Henry’s plan for religious satellites located around the royal manor at Sheen. It was arranged as a double monastery, consisting of sixty nuns and twenty-five Brethren, made up of twelve priests, four deacons and eight lay brethren, led

by a confessor-general who had supremacy over the spiritualities of both houses but was otherwise subordinate to the abbess. The men were separated from the nuns, with the priests taking services, preaching sermons, and seeing to the nuns’ devotional and educational needs, while the lay brothers were responsible for attending to the needs of the entire monastery. Following Syon’s move from Twickenham to Isleworth sometime after November 11, 1431 the new abbey was located directly across the Thames from Sheen. The close proximity of the two houses led to an open atmosphere of intellectual exchange that, in some instances, culminated in mentoring relationships that took the form of counseling through writing between monks of Sheen and nuns of Syon.

Despite the previously discussed Carthusian desire to safeguard their devotional writings from the laity, Carthusian works were often made available to Syon Abbey and the Syon Brethren did provide certain privileged lay worshippers access to their extensive


58 The most prominent and commented on mentoring relationship was between James Grenehalgh, a monk of Sheen, and Joanna Sewell, a nun at Syon. Grenehalgh seems to have eagerly taken on the role of adviser to Sewell and, on her profession into Syon on April 28, 1500, he presented her with a copy of Wynkyn de Worde’s 1494 printed edition of Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* to which he had added annotations. He also wrote numerous comments to Sewell that appear in other books and correspondence, so much so that his correspondence was considered excessive and Grenehalgh was eventually removed.
collection of books. The Scropes’ acquisition of ND would not be the only example of a Syon-based text being made available to a lay reader. Symon Wynter, a brother of Syon, translated a *Life of Jerome* into English for Margaret, Duchess of Clarence. She was one of Wynter’s spiritual clients and in the translation Wynter reminds Margaret “that hit sholde lyke your ladyship first to rede hit & to do copye hit for yourself & syth to lete oþer rede hit & copye hit whoso wyll.”

Vincent Gillespie highlights the significance of Margaret’s access to Syon’s books when he argues that “this is *prima facie* early evidence of textual transmission from Syon: the exemplar is to return to the abbey, but the copy made from it may itself be freely copied by whoever wishes access to it among the Duchess’s circle of friends and contacts.”

It seems likely that the Scropes were among those who, on occasion, borrowed books from Syon for the purpose of having them copied.

While any account of how John and Elizabeth Scrope acquired ND must remain speculative, the evidence of the Scropes’ connections to the book trade and to Syon Abbey, along with ND’s manuscript evidence, make possible a rough outline of how the Scropes acquired a copy of the *Mirror*. The decoration and hands in ND indicate that it was produced in the London area in the first half of the fifteenth century. The initial on the opening folio of ND portrays the impaled arms of the Scrope and Chaworth families and suggests that the book was commissioned for both John and his wife Elizabeth. John

from Sheen in 1507 or 1508. For a full account of Grenehalgh and Sewell, see Michael Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 85 (Salzburg, 1984).

Scrope almost certainly heard of the *Mirror* through his family’s connections to those involved with the founding of Syon Abbey. It seems unlikely that he went to Syon Abbey to acquire a copy of the text, but rather sent his secretary, William Manfeld, to obtain a copy of the *Mirror* and have it copied out in London. Manuscript evidence in ND makes this the likeliest scenario since the last work in ND, the *Craft of Dying*, is followed by a Latin colophon with the lines:

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Finem siste pia mortis michi virgo maria
Es quia regina Manfeld defende ruina. Amen.
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Running vertically along the outer right margin of the Latin lines are a large W. M., presumably for William Manfeld, John Scrope’s personal secretary. The *Craft of Dying* is also copied out in a different hand than the *Mirror* and *O Intemerata*. If Manfeld was dispatched to Syon to borrow a copy of the *Mirror* for commissioning, he may have then copied out the *Craft of Dying* for John Scrope, who would have been nearing the end of his life and may have desired a text that dealt with preparation for death. Since the decorations throughout ND are consistent, Manfeld may have copied out the *Craft of Dying* after the *Mirror to Devout People* and then had the manuscript decorated before delivering it to John and Elizabeth Scrope. This account is speculative and relies on the presence of William Manfeld’s signature and the second hand in ND. Though the intricacies of the Scrope’s acquisition of ND remain an estimation of the details, the fact that an influential aristocratic family owned a text intended for religious use makes the *Mirror* an important indicator of the changing nature of the book trade in late medieval England.

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60 Gillespie, “Haunted Text,” 137.
Part II: Sources

The Mirror to Devout People’s sources reveal a complex picture of the multiple resources and choices Carthusians brought to bear on their writing and collecting of medieval religious texts. Evidence of Carthusian efforts to preserve Middle English mystical texts, to correct copies of important texts, and to import Continental works of religious and mystical writing into England is contained in the sources that are harmonized in the Mirror’s thirty-three chapters. Further, the sources reveal a two-fold relationship between the Carthusian Charterhouse of Sheen and the Bridgettine Syon Abbey, which manifests itself in the sharing of intellectual and written work. The open exchange between the two institutions is embodied in a mentoring relationship that seems to have existed between the Carthusian monk writing the Mirror and the woman, most likely a nun of Syon, for whom the work was intended, and in an open exchange of books.  

The institutional arrangement between the two religious houses allowed for an exchange of books that gave Syon the means to acquire a variety of books from Sheen monastery. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the Carthusians of Sheen produced or provided many of the texts in Syon’s library. Ann Hutchison points out that one of the first English translations of the Imitatio Christi (Glasgow UL, Hunter MS 136) was written by the well known Sheen scribe, William Darker (d. 1513) for the abbess of Syon, Elizabeth Gibbs (1497-1518). Another manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 6.33) written by Darker and containing a copy of The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure, the

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61 As noted above, the Mirror author suggests he has mentored one of the Syon nuns when he writes in the Preface: “Gostely sustre in Ihesu criste I trowe it be noght þit from yo[ur] mynde þat when we spake laste togidre I behight yow a meditacioun of þe passioun of our Lorde þe whiche promys I haue
Middle English version of Bridget’s rules for her order, was also intended for a Syon audience.\textsuperscript{62} It seems likely that if books were coming into Syon from Sheen, then the monks at Sheen would likewise have had access to Syon’s extensive library. There is much evidence, including the sources used in the \textit{Mirror}, to suggest that some kind of exchange took place, and an exchange of books between the two institutions would solve several of the problems surrounding the question of how the \textit{Mirror}’s author was able to gather such a wide variety of texts. Many of the works employed in the \textit{Mirror} would not have been readily available to a Carthusian of Sheen without access to the extensive resources housed in Syon Abbey’s library.\textsuperscript{63}

An additional aspect of Carthusian involvement in the English book trade was the importation of works from the Continent. The \textit{Mirror} author’s use of works such as John of Hildesheim’s \textit{Historia Trium Regum}, Henry Suso’s \textit{Horologium Sapientiae}, and Mechtild of Hackeborn’s \textit{Liber specialis gratiae} reinforces already existing evidence of the Carthusians’ involvement in introducing German mystical works into England.\textsuperscript{64}

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\textit{noght putte fro my mynde bot by dyuers tymes by þe grace of our lorde I haue perfourmed hit als I myght. Our Lorde graunt þat it myght be to your profyte or of ony other deuoute seruaunt of our Lorde” (Pr.1-6).
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\textsuperscript{63} Thompson writes: “Of no English Carthusian library is there a complete catalogue; a few lists of some of their books are extant and a few other manuscripts known to have belonged to them exist” (316). The most complete listing of books available at Sheen is to be found in Ker, \textit{Medieval Libraries} and Watson’s \textit{Supplement} to it. The evidence is, however, incomplete and represents only a fraction of the books available to the monks at Sheen. The Sheen library contained such standard works as the \textit{Officia carthusiana} (Lincoln, Cathedral, MS 64), a Psalter (Oxford, Trinity College, MS 46), and a Bible (Paris, Mazarine, MS 34). It also held, among other works, three Richard Rolle books in Latin (Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 35; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281; Douai, Bibl. mun., MS 396), a single copy of the \textit{Speculum christiani} (London, BL, Add. MS 22121), a Walter Hilton book in English (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 354), and a copy of Bridget of Sweden’s \textit{Revelaciones} (Oxford, Magdalen College, MS lat. 77).
Since the earliest days of the order, the preservation, collecting, copying, and correction of books were central activities of the Carthusian order. Guibert de Nogent relates that Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Order, made it a priority that libraries were to be kept even in times of poverty. Guigo I, the fifth prior of the Grande-Chartreuse and compiler of the Consuetudines of the Carthusian Order, worked to initiate the collection of corrected copies of Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary on the Psalms, and the lives of John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen.

These strands of book production and preservation reveal the complexity and devotion of the Carthusians’ efforts to fulfill their mandate to preach with their hands and not their mouths. The Mirror author draws from standard orthodox works as well as “approved women,” who would have been the ideal sources to address his likely audience at Syon Abbey. In order to incorporate such a wide variety of sources, the Mirror author most likely had access to the books in Syon’s library. The importance of Carthusian book production makes the intellectual and literary exchange between the two religious houses central to the book trade in fifteenth-century England. As a result, the variety of

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64 Clare Kirchberger, The Goad of Love (London: Faber and Faber, 1952) writes “The Carthusian houses provided the ‘open door’ between Flanders and England, and it is from their libraries that come some of the mss. of Middle English translations of Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Suso, together with the Revelations of some of the German nuns” (23).


66 A Monk’s Confession, 32.
sources used in the *Mirror to Devout People*, which were available through a combination of collections at both Sheen and Syon, places the work in a prominent position within the broader context of English devotional writing.

**Establishing the Sources**

The Preface of the *Mirror* begins with a standard humility trope used to indicate the unworthiness of the author followed by a discussion of the sources and how they are appropriate for the intended audience of the text. Since the *Mirror* author was most likely writing the work for a nun at Syon Abbey, it is not surprising that he approached his Prior for permission and encouragement throughout the process of writing the work:

> Bot or I beganne þis occupacyoun, I asked counseill of spyrituell and goode men and, most in specyall, [leue] of my Pryoure. And 3it eftrewarde when I was moste in doute of all and hadde purposed to haue lefte all togidre [f. 1v] and nomore vtterly to haue done þerto, 3it I thoghte þat I wolde aske counseill of my Priour, þe whiche I specyally loued and trusted mykyl to. And I trowe I tolde hym what meved me, and he charetably conforted me to perfourme hit with such wordes as come to his mynde for þe tyme” (Pr.23-30).

The author continues by establishing a plan to provide the reader with the necessary skills and knowledge to think diligently on the humanity of Christ:

> Fforthermore, þe shall vnderstonde þat þe diligent thynkyng of our Lordis manhode is a trewe waye withouten disceyte to vertues and gostely knowyng and trewe l[o]uyng of God and swettenesse in grace to a deuoute soule þat kan deuoutely and diligently occupye hym þerin (Pr.62-5).

Through “diligent thynkyng” on Jesus’ human suffering, the reader is given knowledge accessible only to those whose lives are devoted to worship: “The ofte thynkyng of þe Passioun maketh an vnlerned man [a ful lernyd man] and vnwyse men and ydiotes it maketh [into parfite] maistres. I seye maistres noght of þat science þat bloweth man

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within bot of charite þat edifyeth” (Pr. 74-7). By focusing on Christ’s suffering, the
Mirror author provides a means by which the unlearned reader is transformed into a
person knowledgeable in the ways of salvation. The active practice of reading and “ofte
thynkyng” on Christ’s suffering offers the reader a chance to improve his or her spiritual
standing, thus making the work invaluable to the aspiring Christian reader. Not only is
the work transformative, but it is accessible to any reader unversed in Latin. The author
makes clear that he has directed his work to those who read English but not Latin:

And for þe entente of him þat dedde it was to symple and deuote soules
þat kan noght wele vnderstonde Latyn, and also for þe thynkyng of our
Lordes passioun and manhode is þe grownde and þe waye to all trewe
deuocyon, this booke may be called A Myrror to Deuote Peple (Pr.59-
62).

In creating the Mirror, the author makes clear that his “entente” is to write a work that
makes available selections from important theological works in order to aid the reader in
his or her meditation upon the humanity of Christ:

Furthermore, gostely sustre, þe shall vnderstonde þat þe grounde of þe
booke folowyng is þe gospell and þe doctores þerapoun. And specyally I
haue folowed in þis werke two doctores, of þe whiche one is comonly
called þe Maistre of þe Stories, and his booke [f. 3r] in Englissh þe
Scole Story; that other maistre, Nicholas of Lyre, the whiche was a worthi doctor
of diuinite and glosed all þe Bible as to þe letterale vnderstondyng. And
þerfore I take these two doctores moste specially as to þis werke, ffor þei
gone moste nerest to þe story and to þe letterale vnderstondyng of ony
doctores þat I haue redd. Noghtwythstondyng, I haue broght in other
doctores in diuers places, as to morall vertues, and also some reuelaciouns
of approued women. And I haue putte nothyng to of myne owne wytte bot
þat I trowe may trewly be conceyved by open reson and goode conciens,
for þat I holde þe sikereste (Pr.102-114).

This passage shows the Mirror’s context within the conservative and orthodox milieu of
post-Arundelian religious writings, dating from approximately 1410-1450, whose authors
actively resisted identification by rigorously avoiding naming themselves or fully
disclosing their source texts. Through interweaving varied sources that relied heavily on the Church Fathers such as Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome, while also looking to the more recent writings of Richard Rolle, Nicholas of Lyre, and Peter Comestor, fifteenth-century religious authors wrote their texts with a “studied and sustained atemporality and anonymity.” These post-Arundelian religious texts, removed from the constraints of authorship, moved freely within tight circles of privileged people made up of both religious readers, such as Carthusian monks and Bridgettine nuns, and wealthy and socially connected secular families who often held personal links with Syon Abbey and the Charterhouses of London and Sheen.

The *Mirror* also relies heavily on the Bible, the Church Fathers, Nicholas of Lyre, Peter Comestor, and Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*. Along with these important and widely accessible sources, the *Mirror* author drew on a number of other works of varying degrees of importance and accessibility. Below is a list of the works which appear in the *Mirror* organized into six categories:

I. **The Bible**: the Gospels; the Psalter; the Epistles of St. Paul; the Epistle of St. James the Apostle

II. **Early Church Fathers**: Pope Gregory I, *Homiliae in Evangelia* and *Moralia in Iob*; St. Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* and *Rhythmi Veteres de Vita Monastica*; St. Augustine, *De bono coniugali*, *In Iohannis Euangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, Sermons 51 and 98, and *De trinitate*; some works of St. Jerome’s, *De perpetua uirginitate Beatae Mariae aduersus Heluidium*

III. **Medieval Theologians and Mystics**: Adam the Carthusian, *De quadrripartito exercitio cellae*; the Venerable Bede, *In Marci Euangelium expositio*, *In primam partem Samwhelis libri iii*, *Opera homiletica* (selections); St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*; Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*; Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum uniuersale de apibus*;

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69 Modern editions of each source can be found in the Bibliography.

**IV. Women Mystics:** St. Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*; St. Catherine of Siena, *Dialogues*; St. Mechtilde of Hackeborn, *Liber specialis gratiae*

**V. Saints’ Lives, Legends, and Travel Narratives:** Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*; John of Hildesheim’s *Historia trium regum* [*Three Kings of Cologne*]; Mandeville’s *Travels*; *The Miracles of the Virgin Mary*

**VI. Apocryphal Gospels and Narratives:** St. Augustine (pseudo), *Liber soliloquiorum animae ad Deum* and Sermo 370; St. John Chrysostom (pseudo), *Opus imperfectum in Matthaueum*; *Libri de Nativitate Mariae* (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew)

**Narrative Sources**

Considering that one of the *Mirror to Devout People’s* main goals is to portray the life of Christ in exacting detail, the Bible and, specifically, the Gospel accounts of Christ’s life are the obvious choices to act as the main source texts throughout the entire thirty-three chapters of the work. Not surprisingly, the description of the Passion relies heavily on scriptural accounts, often quoting biblical passages in full or paraphrasing so closely that the quotations are frequently indistinguishable from the author’s words. However, such subtle inclusion of scriptural sources is not always the case. Occasionally, after using a verse to make a point about the previous meditation or lesson, the author falls into a digression. A pattern emerges as the author introduces scriptural passages into the *Mirror’s* text. Following a brief exhortation to the reader urging her to examine his words closely, the author uses a small selection of verses, often as if they
were his own, to introduce additional material upon which the reader is encouraged to meditate.

There are approximately one hundred and thirty quotations from the Bible used throughout the text of the *Mirror*. They vary in length, ranging from one or two lines up to full paragraphs and, as would be expected, most of the quotations are taken directly from the Gospel accounts to provide the framework for the *Mirror*’s narrative. All of the biblical quotations appear in Middle English with twenty of them preceded by the Latin original. More than half of the twenty passages appear in the first four chapters of the *Mirror* and all eight scriptural passages that appear in the first two chapters are in both Latin and Middle English. It is possible that the author originally intended to include each biblical quotation in Latin, but as he moved further into the portrayal of Christ’s life, the sheer volume of scripture necessary to relate the account properly became too much to include every time. More likely, however, is that the author concentrated the majority of the Latin into the opening chapters of the *Mirror* so his “lewed” readers could see the Latin alongside the vernacular and realize that the significance of the scripture is translated directly from Jerome’s Vulgate.

Quite frequently, however, other sources are used to explain names, unfamiliar customs, and to fill in the narrative gaps found in the biblical extracts. These supplementary materials make up the primary, non-biblical sources of the *Mirror*. Throughout the thirty-three chapters of the *Mirror*, three works are consistently utilized to enhance the account of Christ’s life by adding detail to the well-known story. Anecdotal selections from Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla super totam bibliam*, Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, and Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* are scattered
throughout the text of the *Mirror* to add texture to the accounts of important events in Christ’s life. The author’s aim is not to create an original interpretation of the Gospels, but rather to harmonize them into a coherent narrative that effectively relates the events that shaped Christ’s life. He does this by borrowing little known aspects of the story from the commentators, such as using Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla super totam bibliam* to give the detail that the pinnacle on which the Devil tempts Christ was, in actuality, a flat roof (13.41-2), or providing an anecdotal story concerning King Herod from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica* (9.57-79). In another instance, the *Mirror* author uses Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* to comment on how the Church of Rome honored Mary for being the first person to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection (29.54-9).

The *Mirror* was directed to a female religious reader who was unversed in Latin or had only a rudimentary understanding of the language. Nuns at Syon Abbey most likely possessed varying levels of ability when it came to Latin and English, but those that could read placed great significance on the practice and made it a part of their daily routines. The English translation of the Bridgettine Rule found in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 6.33 directs the sisters of Syon on the number of service books they are to possess: “Bookes also are to be had as many as be necessary to doo dyvyne office and moo in no wyse. Thoo bookes they shalle haue as many as they wylle in whiche ys to lernne or to studye” (ff. 62v-63r). Through their consistent practice of

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70 This is the argument put forth in Banks, lxxviii-lxxxiv.

71 Not all nuns at Syon were able to read Latin. See *The Syon Additions for the Sisters from the British Library MS Arundel 146*, vol. 4 of *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure*, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1980). In the Syon Additions to the Bridgettine Rule, it states: “They that kan not rede, schal say dayly in stede of matens, fourty Pater nostres with as many Aues and oo crede”(152). Interestingly, the *Mirror* author frequently encourages his reader to say three Pater nosters, an Ave Maria, and a crede. This could imply that the intended reader of the *Mirror* does not read Latin.
reading, the nuns would have been familiar with the story of Christ’s life and suffering. The *Mirror* relies on the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyre, Peter Comestor, and Jacobus de Voragine to present the narrative in a manner that infuses the familiar story with new and interesting details. These details would, in turn, induce the affective response from the reader that had become *de rigueur* in late medieval piety. In following the two masters of biblical exegesis and the popular collection of saints’ lives, the *Mirror* brings to the forefront a commentary on the literal meaning of the text, only occasionally relying on other reputed authorities, through direct quotation, to supply an allegorical or anagogical interpretation of the scriptural passage in question.

As the narrative structure of the *Mirror* develops, Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla super totam bibliam* emerges as a central text. The *Postilla super totam bibliam* was a popular biblical commentary and the *Mirror* author uses it for this purpose. He draws on Nicholas of Lyre for everything from a discussion of Mary’s apparent unease at seeing an angel (3.91-3) to an anecdote about the King of France being pricked by rushes in the sea that were as sharp as the thorns used on the crown of thorns worn by Christ (20.173-5). The consistent reliance on Nicholas of Lyre’s commentary places him in a position of authority within the text while providing the reader with an English translation of a number of relevant passages from the *Postilla super totam bibliam*. Another reason the *Mirror* author may have chosen Nicholas of Lyre was his position as an expert on Jewish custom and history. He was believed to have befriended and disseminated the works of important Rabbis and the *Mirror* author uses Nicholas of Lyre’s explanation of Jewish custom to explain Caiaphas’s rending of his garments at the words of Jesus, which the
high priest perceived to be blasphemous (19.219-21). It is likely the Mirror author based his choice of Nicholas of Lyre on the commentator’s biblical expertise and on the perception of his experience in Jewish customs.

Many quotations were undoubtedly taken secondhand from Peter Comestor and the Legenda Aurea. The Legenda Aurea was used by the Mirror author to provide quotations from sources such as Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Richard of St. Victor, Peter of Ravenna (also known as Peter Chrysologus), Remigius, and the Gospel of Nicodemus. In a discussion of the sweetness of the name of Christ, for example, the Mirror author writes:

This is þe name þat is so swete and confortable to þe louers of God, ffor, as Seint Bernarde seyth, it is hony in þe moueth, melody in þe yhere, and in þe herte a swetnes þat may noght be tolde. This name, as Bernarde seyth, [as oyle schynyth, iprechyd]; it fedeth, ythoughte; it eseth and anoynteth, ycallede into helpe (6.65-9).

Both passages, which are attributed to Saint Bernard, are taken secondhand from the Legenda Aurea. Another example occurs when the discussion turns to the topic of how King Herod committed suicide. The Mirror attributes the information to Saint Remigius: “After þis yhe may thenke howe Kynge Herode, for þis synne and other þat he hadde done, by þe suffrance of God sleughe hymselfe with þe same knyfe þat he parede an apple with, as Seynte Remyge seythe” (9.90-2). However, the passage derives from the Legenda Aurea. Of course, the work of Jacobus de Voragine is not used solely as a


74 Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, 1:102.
resource to expand the number of citations within the *Mirror*. Throughout the *Mirror*, the *Legenda Aurea* provides various additions to the narrative. For example, Chapter Eight of the *Mirror* offers a discussion of the Virgin Mary’s purification following the birth of Christ. It relies on a number of sources besides the *Legenda Aurea*, but the section on Mary is followed by an account of a noble lady who experiences a vision of the Virgin Mary (8.102-53), which is a verbatim translation from Latin to English of the passage that concludes the chapter on the purification in Jacobus de Voragine’s work.75

Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica* functions in a similar manner as the *Legenda Aurea* by providing references to the *Epistle of Clement*, the *Book of Rightful Men*, and, on occasion, St. Jerome. The *Mirror* relies on the *Historia Scholastica* when discussing Jerome’s account of Judas hanging himself: “and in þat he offendede God more, as Seinte Ierome seythe, þan when he betrayede hym” (20.48-9). At the same point in Peter Comestor’s commentary is found: “Dicit Hieronymus super CVIII psal. quia magis offendit Iudas Deum, quando se suspendit, quam in hoc quod cum prodidit.”76

The *Mirror* author also alludes to an otherwise unknown source when describing Mary’s choice to stay with Elizabeth until John the Baptist was born: “And, as it is redde in þe *Booke of Rightful Men*, she was þe firste þat lifte hym from þe erthe” (4.212-3). The *Book of Rightful Men* has not been identified, but a passage at the same point in a similar discussion within the *Historia Scholastica* states: “Et legitur in libro Iustorum, quod beata Virgo eum primo levavit a terra.”77 It seems that the *Mirror* author’s intention in drawing on these three main sources was to interweave well-recognized sources in a detailed and

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75 Ibid., 1:249-50.

76 PL 198.1625, Cap. CLXII.
accessible account of Christ’s life. In other words, he wished to transmit the familiar story of the thirty-three years of Christ in a way that shows fidelity to biblical sources while simultaneously emphasizing seemingly insignificant details upon which the reader may meditate in his or her adoration of Christ’s humanity and suffering. Drawing on established authorities like Peter Comestor, Nicholas of Lyre, and the *Legenda Aurea* allowed the author to cling to orthodox authorities and avoid the dangers of inventing his own material.\(^7^8\)

There are other narrative sources in the *Mirror* that are used in a similar manner as the three established authorities to provide details and fill in narrative gaps. They do not offer the same authority to the text, nor are they used to the same extent as the works of the three biblical commentators, but by being interwoven throughout the text they act to enliven the account with detail in much the same manner as Nicholas of Lyre, Peter Comestor, and Jacobus de Voragine. The details taken from the *Three Kings of Cologne* and *Mandeville’s Travels* focus on Israel and, more specifically, the city of Bethlehem, rather than on Christ’s life. In spite of the extraordinary nature of many of the accounts in these works, not to mention the many anecdotes taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, the *Mirror* author is restrained in the passages he selects. He seems to choose selections that advance a literal understanding of what is happening in the stories being related. The *Three Kings of Cologne* is used to describe Bethlehem prior to the birth of Christ as a place of little significance, known only for being the birthplace of David (5.20-65).

\(^7^7\) ibid., col. 1538B, Cap. III.

\(^7^8\) Vincent Gillespie argues in the “Haunted Text” that the *Mirror* “presents a compelling portrait of a man haunted by his own sense of textual inadequacy, an inadequacy that goes well beyond conventional generic gestures of humility and incapacity” (139).
There is nothing prior to Christ’s birth to make Bethlehem an important location for spiritual travelers.

Despite the *Mirror*’s principal use of conservative and informational passages from his more fantastical sources, he does, on occasion, include fanciful elements in his account. His retellings of the three Magi’s adoration of the Christ-child in chapter seven and of the flight into Egypt in chapter nine are filled with marvelous occurrences taken from his sources. Along with his occasional willingness to allow extraordinary elements into the narrative, the *Mirror* author also offers corrections to accounts that he sees as false or inaccurate. In a discussion of Christ’s visit to Limbo, the author turns to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, only to question its authenticity:

> What our Lorde dede þere, or what [f. 85v] wordes [he hadde] to hem or þei to hym, or what songes or preysynge þer were seide or songone in his presence it may not sikerly be seide bot if a man hadde it by speciall reuelacioun, bot 3it Nichodemes Euangelye maketh mencioun what he dede there. Bot for it is not autentike, and also for þe seide doctor Lyre preueth it euydentely fals by autorite of Holy Wryte and sayynges of other doctors, I ouerpasse it and wolle not þutte/ suche thynges here þat is so vnsiker and myghte be cause of erroure to symple creatures (28.37-44).

The author questions the authority of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* a second time in chapter thirty, finally leaving the matter to the reader: “I commytte it to þe dome of þe reder whether he woll admytte it or non[e]” (30.156-7). In the author’s unwillingness to accept the imaginations that he continually warns are a delight to carnal souls, he is attempting to prevent the “symple creatures” who may gain access to his work from believing false information about Christ’s life. The author must have had in place a guideline for what was acceptable to offer his readers and what was too marvelous for their understanding. This indicates that the popularity of certain sources and the social acceptance of narrative descriptions that seem farfetched to modern ears may have played a part in what the
author was willing to allow his readers to learn. He was, however, concerned with his readers’ ability to discern properly both visionary and material “texts” and in the next set of sources he provides his audience with the necessary tools to better understand the spiritual world around them.

**Theological, Mystical, and Devotional Sources**

Not all of the sources utilized in the *Mirror* are included to add detail. The *Mirror* author states in the passage from the *Preface* cited above that he will use other authorities along with Lyre and Comestor: “Noghtwythstondyng I haue broght in other doctores in diuers places as to morall vertues” (Pr.110-1). These works comprise the mystical and theological writers in part three of the list of sources, namely, the Venerable Bede, St. Bernard, Iohannis de Caulibus’s *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, Henry Suso, Adam the Carthusian (Adam of Dryburgh), St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Walter Hilton. For the most part these authors are used sparingly, sometimes clearly taken from a *florilegium* and applied briefly for context or to make a point about a scriptural passage. Richard of St. Victor and Peter of Ravenna are quoted second-hand and not from original texts, while nearly all of the quotations attributed to Bernard are taken from the *Legenda Aurea*. Other authors are used more extensively, such as Henry Suso, whose *Horologium Sapientiae* had gained popularity in England after being translated, abridged, and rearranged as *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom*. The *Mirror* author finds the passages he draws from Henry Suso in the Latin *Horologium* and must have translated them himself since one of the passages he uses appears only in the Latin and not in the *Seven Poyntes*. 
In the Preface to the *Mirror*, the author draws on a large passage from Suso, introducing the work as the “Oreloge of wisdom” (Pr.65-7) before providing a lengthy quotation (Pr.68-81). The *Horologium* and the *Seven Poyntes* share a great deal with the *Mirror*, such as the *Seven Poyntes*’ familiar and largely conventional preface, which relates the author’s desire to assist others in their spiritual journey, followed by doubt because of similar works that already exist, finally resolved by the resumed action of writing the treatise to fulfill the needs of those who would benefit from a variety of manuals offering spiritual guidance. Despite these and other similarities, the *Horologium* and *Mirror* differ significantly in their content and ultimate goals. Suso’s work recounts the relationship between Wisdom, who is Christ, and the Disciple, a semi-autobiographical figure. It tells, in two books, how the Disciple is led towards spiritual understanding through his relationship with Wisdom. In Book 1, Wisdom speaks with the voice of the suffering Christ and the Disciple learns to conform to his sorrows at the Passion after acquiring knowledge of Christ’s humanity. Book 2 involves an ability to see and understand God and spiritual matters. Throughout the *Horologium*, the reader follows the guidance of the Disciple whose questions and responses encourage participation in the search for spiritual understanding. The *Mirror* lacks a figure like the Disciple, but rather gives a narrative account of Christ’s life, divided into thirty-three chapters representative of Christ’s thirty-three years. The structure of the *Mirror* works as a monologue with an authorial voice leading the reader to the correct responses.

One of the most widely recognized sources used by the *Mirror* author was Iohannis de Caulibus’s *Meditationes Vitae Christi (MVC)*. This influential life of Christ was often mistakenly attributed to Saint Bonaventure. In the Preface, the *Mirror* author
makes this mistake when he displays his lack of confidence in his ability to accomplish
the task of writing the *Mirror* by referring to the *MVC*: “Also, I haue bee sterred oftymes
to haue lefte þis besynes, both for myne vnworthynesse, and also for Boneauenture, a
cardynale and a worthi clerk, made a booke of þe same matier, þe which is called *Vita
Cristi*” (Pr.19-21). Throughout the *Mirror*, the *MVC* is used in a similar manner to
Nicholas of Lyre’s commentaries and Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, as a source
to provide additional information on Christ’s life. Despite the popularity of Nicholas
Love’s widespread *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, an English translation of
the *MVC*, it appears that the *Mirror* author did not have a copy of Love’s work. He does
mention Love in the Preface when he says that he almost gave up the task of writing the
*Mirror* because “I herde tell þat a man of our Ordoure hadde turned þe same booke into
Englysshe” (Pr.22-3). However, as Vincent Gillespie argues, the *Mirror* author had “no
first-hand knowledge of Love’s book, nor does he even seem familiar with it despite its
status as a widely circulated and popular text.”79 Additionally, nearly all his references
that could be taken either from Love or the *MVC* are translated directly from the Latin or
explicitly cite Bonaventure as the source.

Another use of sources that provides a unique outcome differing from the original
texts occurs in the final chapter of the *Mirror* when the author departs from his normal
*modus operandi* in order to prepare the reader for the Latin prayer *O Intemerata*, which
follows the *Mirror* in both manuscripts. The final chapter of the *Mirror* is taken from a
sermon by Bede, a sermon by Peter Damian attributed to Bede, and a sermon by Adam

79 Gillespie, “Haunted Text,” 139. It must be noted that Michael Sargent has argued the opposite
point in “Versions of the Life of Christ: Nicholas Love’s *Mirror* and Related Works,” *Poetica* 42 (1994),
39-70. He states that the author had both the *MVC* and Love’s *Mirror* “constantly in mind in shaping his
own work” (65).
the Carthusian along with a grouping of three or four Mary legends. Following a brief
description of the Apostles’ vision of Christ rising to Heaven, the author says he will
fulfill an earlier promise made in the twenty-second chapter to recount how St. John the
Evangelist earned certain “graces” consisting of: the special love of Jesus who loved John
more than any other, the grace of virginity, access to God’s “priuytees,” and the privilege
of watching over Mary after Jesus’ death. The Mirror author spends nearly three
hundred lines relating numerous instances in John’s life which earned him the distinct
honor. He interweaves the Legend Aurea with the sermon by Bede, Peter Damian, and
Adam the Carthusian so effortlessly that they are nearly indistinguishable and, as a result,
creates a hybrid narrative voice that differs from the previous thirty-two chapters. Along
with the three sermons, the Mirror author adds the Mary legends to the mix,
incorporating them briefly near the end of the chapter to show the importance of
repeating the forthcoming O Intemerata on a daily basis. The miracles relate how
different people from varying walks of life were saved from eternal damnation or lengthy
purgatory because of their faithfulness in repeating this prayer.

Female Mystical Writings, Carthusian Book Transmission, and Syon Abbey

In the Preface to the Mirror, the reader is told that various doctors were included
for their moral virtues and “also some reuelaciouns of approued women” (Pr.109-10).
Although the works of the “approued women” mystics, St. Bridget of Sweden, St.
Catherine of Siena, and St. Mechtild of Hackeborn, are used the least of any of the
sources in the Mirror, their presence within the text reveals evidence of the Carthusians’
role in the active transmission of Continental mystical writings to England during the late
fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Works by all three of these female mystics were translated into English within a decade of the founding of Syon Abbey and they may have been translated at Syon. The connection of these women’s writings to Syon Abbey makes them an important element in exploring a broader understanding of the production and circulation of religious texts in late medieval England. By examining the use of female saints such as Bridget, Catherine of Siena, and Mechtild of Hackeborn by Carthusian authors in the *Mirror* and related texts, evidence of a narrowly focused book trade among English Carthusian houses and between these houses and, most importantly for this study, the Bridgettine Syon Abbey begins to emerge.

While the *Mirror* uses Mechtild twice and Catherine once, Bridget of Sweden is used extensively in four chapters. The author draws on Bridget’s *Revelaciones* to inform the reader of events in Christ’s life and to provide the reader with information concerning Christ’s childhood. This information is available only through Mary’s accounts of her son, as given to Bridget in a series of visions. The textual authority accorded to Bridget is one more reason for thinking that the “gostely sustre” to whom the *Mirror* is addressed was a Bridgettine, and this being so, it is unlikely that a better mystical writer than the founder of the Bridgettine order could be called upon to relate the vision of experiencing Christ’s childhood to his Passion. The *Revelaciones* are first used in the *Mirror* to give the reader detailed descriptions of the Nativity and Mary’s ease in giving birth to Christ. In the fifth chapter, Mary is portrayed as an author who relates her material to those who

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80 The life of Elizabeth of Töss is also used in the thirty-third chapter of the *Mirror*. It is taken directly from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (Vol. 2:1157) and is used as an illustration of miracles for which John the Evangelist is responsible.

81 Hope Emily Allen discusses this possibility in the introduction to *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, E.E.T.S., o.s. 212 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), lxvi.
will pass on her story. The Mirror author writes: “our Lady shewed [Christ’s birth] by reuelacioun full feire to Seinte Brigette” (5.69). However, the birth is told entirely from Saint Bridget’s perspective. She highlights the miraculous nature of the birth:

…þan þe virgyn kneled doune with grete reuerence, puttyng e hir to prayer. And forsothe she helde vp hir face to heuen, ylifte vp to þe estewarde, and þan hir handes and hir yene she lifte vp intently lokynge into heuenwarde. And she stode as þoff she had be lifte vp in ane extasye or suownynge of contemplacioun, yfillide with gostely swetnes. And as she stode so in hir prayer, I see þan þe childe mevynge in hir wombe, and anone, in a momente and þe stroke of one ye, she broughte forth a son, of þe whiche came oute so vnspakeabl[e] lyghte and brightnes þat þe sunne was noght to be lykenede þareto, ne þe candell þat þe olde man had putte in þe walle in ony manere wyse yaffe ony lyght, bot þat godly lyghte had broght to noghte þe materiall lyghte of þe candell. And þat manere bringynge forth was so sodeyne and in so shorte tyme done þat I myghte noght perceyue ne discerne howe or in what membre she broghte forthe þe childe. Neuerþeles, I see anone þat glorious childe lyynge vpon þe erthe nake[n]e and righte wyte, whose flesshe was righte clene fro all manere filthe and vnclennes. I see also þe skynne þat it came oute in, lyynge beside hym wrappede togidre and righte shynyng (5.87-103).

Not only was the child outshining the candle supplied by Joseph, but even the placenta was shining brightly. The miracle did not end there, however, for even Mary’s body is transformed through the child’s miraculous nature:

And anone þe virgynne[s] wombe, þat was before þe birthe swolle, withdrew[e] itsel[f], and þan hir body semede of merueylouse feyrenesse and dlicate. And when þe virgynne felde þat sho had broghte forthe þe childe anone she enclynede hir body and ioyned hir handes togidre and with grete honeste and reuerence she worshippede þe childe and seide to hym: “3e be welcome, my God, my Lorde, and my sonne” (5.105-10).

Her body recovers its natural state, and not surprisingly, becomes whole again, as if she, a virgin, had never given birth.

In addition to aiding Bridget through the bestowing of visions, Mary also relates the information necessary for the evangelists to give an accurate account of the story of Christ’s birth. Mary’s role as auctor is established when we are told, in Chapter Five of
the *Mirror*: “Bot our Lady kepte all wele in hir herte, happely þat she myghte þe better telle it to hem þat shulde write it afterwarde” (5.181-2). In Chapter 11, drawing on Book 6, chapter 58 of the *Revelaciones*, Bridget’s writings are employed to fill in the details of the years of Christ’s life from the age of twelve until his baptism in the Jordan River (11.21-59). These lost years, according to Bridget, were used as preparation for his later ministry. Often, she tells us, “mony folke dissesede seyden: ‘Lette vs go to Maries sone, of whome we may be confortede’” (11.27-8). This implies that Christ was performing miracles before his ministry began later in his life.

However, the most important use of Bridget’s *Revelaciones* occurs in the twenty-second chapter of the *Mirror* when the Crucifixion is described in detail. Bridget’s account vividly portrays the dying Christ and provides a focal point on which the reader can meditate in order to experience the Savior’s suffering. Small details gain significance and allow for an increasing intensification of the reality of Christ’s suffering. The reader is repeatedly told to “beholden” as Christ’s body is broken through painful detail after tortuous detail:

> And in so mykell þei streynede oute þo gloriusse membres strongly in þe crosse þat all þe veynes and senewes tobreste. And when þis was done, þei putte þe crowene of thorne þat þei hadde taken fro his hede when he was crucyfiede vpon his hede aȝene, þe whiche so strongly prikkede his reuerente hede þat his eyne were fillede anone with blode flowynge and his eres were stoppede and his face and his berde were as it hadde be keuerede and depte with þat rede blode. And anone þo crucyfyours and knyghtes mevede awey violently all þo tables þat were aboute þe crosse, and þan þe crosse bode alone and our Lorde crucifyede þeron (22.64-73).

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82 Rebecca Selman, “Spirituality and Sex Change: *Horologium sapientiae* and *Speculum devotorum*,” in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, edited by Denis Reveney and Christiania Whitehead (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) points out how this passage from the *Mirror* presents Mary in an authorial role providing the information to those who will hear and Bridget as the ideal reader whose “modes of acting and seeing, if followed by a nun…enable[ed] her to strive towards spiritual insights and understanding” (74).
Christ is blinded by his own blood while the reader is confronted with the material reality of the violence of the situation.

The continual encouragement to meditate on Bridget’s detailed descriptions allows the author to assert a level of authority by going beyond the scriptures and providing a brutal account of what occurred at Golgotha. The fidelity to source material and the encouragement for the reader to pay close attention works to instruct the reading experience and direct the focus of the reader in order to bring about the proper meditative experience. As Rebecca Selman points out, “Throughout the passage the author switches between two verbs in his injunctions to the reader, telling her not only to ‘beholden’ the scene but also to ‘thinken’ it.”83 The use of Bridget provides the reader a guide to understanding that, if followed closely, will furnish the opportunity to see in the manner of a visionary. In other words, the truth of the scriptures will be both real and accessible to the person reading the Mirror’s account of the Crucifixion.

Before the reader is provided with the opportunity to experience so vividly the suffering of Christ, he or she is instructed in the proper discernment of visions. Chapter Three of the Mirror guides the reader through the proper discernment of good and evil visions by once again relying on a female mystic. Following a long description of the Annunciation, Catherine of Siena’s Dialogo is used to guide a discussion of “howe a man or a woman myght knowe a gode visione from ane euyle and when reuelaciouns or visiones bene ‘of’ [God] or of þe ennemy” (3.86-7). A lengthy quotation from Catherine’s work provides the reader with the knowledge to recognize the initial bitterness which becomes sweet in God-given visions from those of “þe vision of þe

83 Ibid., 74.
ennemy [which] hath þe contrary, for he ȝeueth in þe begynnynge as it semeth a manere of gladnes, sikernes, or suetnesse, bot alwaye by processe drede and bitternesse growen contynualy in þe mynde of hym or hir þat seeth” (3.99-102). The advice is fairly standard and gives the reader direction in preparation for the forthcoming visions of Saint Bridget. However, the choice of Catherine as an authority to discuss the discernment of visions is an important one. Firstly, the topic of *discretio spirituum* traditionally fell to men in the Middle Ages.\(^{84}\) Allowing Catherine authority within a predominantly masculine domain makes the *Mirror* accessible to a woman in a manner that a work like Suso’s *Horologium* is not able to achieve. Simply put, texts that instruct through masculine perspectives tend to present a form of *imitatio Christi* and discussions of visions attuned to male sensibilities. A female mystic’s imitation of Christ will manifest itself in an entirely different manner from that of a male and using passages from Catherine’s *Dialogo* opens the text to a female audience.\(^{85}\) Secondly, the inclusion of Catherine in the text of the *Mirror* provides further evidence of the intended destination for the work. The *Dialogo* was completed by Catherine in 1378, two years before her death, and was widely circulated. Twenty-five Italian and sixteen Latin manuscripts survive from the time immediately following her death. Since the two earliest manuscripts containing the Middle English translation of the *Dialogo*, the *Orchard of Syon*, in British Library, MS Harley 3432 and Cambridge, St. John’s College, MS C 24,

\(^{84}\) See Rosalynn Voaden, *God’s Words, Women’s Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writings of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1999), 48 and Selman, “Spirituality and Sex Change,” 71. Voaden points out that despite the fact that women often experienced the visions that required discernment, it was the men who actually discerned the visions for the women.

date to the early fifteenth century and the Middle English Preface of Catherine’s work addresses the “Religious modir & deuote sustren clepid & chosen bisily to laboure at the hous of Syon,” it is likely the work was prepared sometime early in Syon’s existence, perhaps between the founding of Syon Abbey in 1415 and its first professions made in 1420. This early date reveals that Syon was actively collecting fairly recent religious works that were directed toward women. The inclusion of Catherine’s work in the Syon Abbey library also hints at the possibility that the Mirror’s author had access to Syon’s library and that a broader exchange of manuscripts existed between Syon Abbey and the Carthusian Charterhouse of Sheen. However, it is in the final “approved” woman that we see a close connection between Syon and Sheen as well as the affiliation of each female text in the milieu of early to mid fifteenth-century English religious writing.

Mechtild of Hackeborn is used in a short passage found in chapter twenty-nine of the Mirror that deals with the resurrection and first (apocryphal) appearance of Christ. It reads:

And at his glorious Resurreccion yhe may thenke þer was a grete multitude of aungels, for it is conteynede in a reuelacioun of Seynte Maute þat hir semede she seeghe suche a multitude of aungels aboute þe sepulcre þat fro þe erth to þe skye þei wente aboute our Lorde as it hadde be a walle (29.27-30).

The passage relates Mechtild’s vision of a wall of angels filling the sky following Christ’s resurrection and is taken from the Middle English translation of her Liber specialis gratiae, titled The Booke of Gostlye Grace in its English form. Mechtild (or

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86 The Orchard of Syon, edited by Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, Early English Text Society, o.s. 258 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1-2. For more on the translation of Catherine’s work at Syon Abbey, see pp. vi-vii.

87 See The Booke of Gostlye Grace of Mechtild of Hackeborn, edited by Theresa A. Halligan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 181.2-6. While this is the only modern edition
St. Maute, as she is called in many Middle English translations including the *Mirror*) was a popular figure in late medieval English religious writing and her work was frequently excerpted in devotional texts, often with links to Syon Abbey.\textsuperscript{88} Along with the *Mirror to Devout People*, Mechtild’s *Booke* also appears in *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, a Middle English guide to the nuns at Syon concerning the liturgy. *The Myroure of oure Ladye* contains an English translation of the Bridgettine Breviary, Hours, Masses, and Offices, along with an account, written in Latin by Bridget’s confessor Master Peter, concerning how the Bridgettine service was revealed to her by an angel. It is uncertain when the *Myroure* was written since the only surviving copy is a manuscript dating to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. It is likely, however, that the original copy of the work was composed between 1420 and 1448.\textsuperscript{89} *The Myroure of oure Ladye* contains two excerpts from Mechtild’s *Booke*: one to inform readers that they can miss confession before Mass or divine service with a legitimate reason and the second to recommend the reading of the prayers Christ gave to Mechtild.\textsuperscript{90} Not only does Mechtild’s work appear in Syon’s library, the Syon Abbey library catalogue lists seven copies of Mechtild’s *Booke*.\textsuperscript{91} Three of the books are sixteenth-century printed editions, but the other four are manuscripts that contain Mechtild’s work in varying stages of completion. Three

\textsuperscript{88} For a list of Middle English manuscripts in which Mechtild’s book appears, see Halligan, 47-59.

\textsuperscript{89} *Myroure* vii-viii and Hutchison, 220.


\textsuperscript{91} Vincent Gillespie, ed., *Syon Abbey*.  

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manuscripts are in Latin, of which only one contains a complete copy of the *Liber*; however, the fourth manuscript, titled *Reuelaciones beate Matildis in anglico*, contains the entire English translation of the *Liber*. This raises the question of how this work came into England and how its migration from the Continent illuminates our knowledge of the *Mirror* author’s access to his sources.

It is almost certain that the original translation of Mechtild’s work into Middle English originated from within Syon or Sheen. There is no sign of the *Liber or Booke* in England until the early fifteenth century, shortly after the founding of Syon Abbey. A number of the manuscripts that contain Mechtild’s *Liber or Booke* are also associated with either Carthusians or Syon Abbey. One in particular, a compilation of devotional texts in British Library, MS Lansdowne 379, includes a section of Carthusian prayers and devotional texts containing a story concerning a miracle involving Mechtild’s work. The author recounts that a monk of Mount Grace sent copies of Mechtild’s prayers to his friend who repeated them diligently. When the friend’s ox was struck down by a servant and was near death, the friend’s fervent use of the prayers brought the ox back from its near-death experience.\(^92\) If this practical use of Mechtild’s work by a friend of the Carthusians is not enough evidence, there are also the works alongside which the *Liber* and *Booke* regularly appear. Three other manuscripts that contained excerpts from or references to the work of Mechtild also contain sections of works by Bridget and Catherine.\(^93\) These are, of course, the three “approved women” that the *Mirror* author relies on throughout his text. It appears that a tradition among Carthusian and Bridgettine

\(^92\) Voaden, “The Company She Keeps,” 63-4.
texts grouped these three female mystical writings in a number of devotional texts and compilations. This particular grouping’s familiarity to both Carthusian and Syon audiences may have influenced the Mirror’s author when he chose Bridget, Catherine, and Mechtild as his female sources. Because of the highly organized library system in Carthusian Charterhouses, once these texts became associated with each other, they were sure to become widespread among the houses in England. The monk of Sheen who composed the Mirror would have been familiar with the tradition of grouping these women in compilations and surely created a text that shared the practice.

**The Holdings of the Libraries of Sheen and Syon Abbey and Their Relation to the Mirror’s Sources**

Throughout this chapter, the theme of a book trade between Syon and Sheen has been continually raised. When evidence presented itself, it has been highlighted to point out the likelihood of an arrangement between the two institutions and the importance of the Mirror and its sources in determining how the books housed at Syon were used by Sheen and vice versa. However, like all matters which cannot easily be resolved, the idea that the author gathered the majority of his sources from the shelves of Syon’s library is not the only way in which to solve the problem of the origin of the Mirror’s sources. In actuality, the assumption that most or all of the sources contained in the Mirror originated at Syon is not an entirely tenable one. The evidence of books contained in both libraries suggests that the Mirror author most likely gathered his sources from both Syon and Sheen. The nature of the fragmentary lists of surviving Carthusian library holdings does not allow for an accurate account of the location of sources available to the

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93 The manuscripts are Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 276; Manchester, John Rylands, MS 395, and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 277. Voaden gives a fuller account of these books in “The Company She
Mirror author. However, by constructing a list of the books containing the works used in the Mirror and existing within either Syon or one of the Carthusian Charterhouse libraries, it is possible to create a picture of where the sources originated.

The following list, extracted from a list originally organized by Vincent Gillespie, considers the books available at Syon Abbey pre-1450, when the Mirror was written. Each book is listed along with the relevant Syon Abbey shelf-mark. Syon and Sheen held multiple copies of the Bible and all the major patristic sources, so only post-patristic works are listed. This is in no way intended to be a complete list of each copy of a work held at Syon, but rather the works that may have been available to the author of the Mirror: Iohannis de Caulibus, MVC (M.6: SSI.739; M.7: SSI.740; erased at M.76: SS2.142); Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica (E17: SSI.323a, with Richard of Saint-Victor; erased at E.52: SS2.91); Heinrich Suso, Horologium sapientiae (O.3: SSI.945f); Nicholas of Lyre, Postilla litteralis (E.28-9: SSI.334-5; erased copies in SS2); Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea (M.9: SSI.742); John of Hildesheim, Historia trium regum [Three Kings of Cologne] (M.15: SSI.748m-n; M17:SSI.750g, in English); Walter Hilton, The Scale of Perfection (M.24: SSI.757b-c, in English; erased at M.26: SS2.127a; M.110: SS2.147; Latin translation by Thomas Fishlake is at M.25: SSI.758); Miracles of the Virgin, the contents of these collections varied greatly (O.39: SSI.981d). The “approved women” used in the Mirror were readily available at Syon Abbey as well: Bridget’s Revelaciones (M.64: SSI.797, now London, British Library, MS Harley 612, s.xv

Keeps,” 66.
Catherine of Siena (M.71: SSI.804g and through the *Orchard of Syon*). A life of Elizabeth of Töss was also available at Syon (in English and erased from the main catalog at M.20:SS2.125), though, as noted above, the passage used in the *Mirror* may have been taken from the *Legenda Aurea*.

Of the post-patristic authors, only Bede, Adam the Carthusian, and Peter Damian were not available at Syon Abbey. The *Infancy Gospel*, most likely the *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, may have been stored with the Bibles and therefore kept on a separate list. It is possible that both Syon and Sheen had a copy of the work. This leaves few gaps to be filled by Carthusian libraries, and yet, as stated above, it is nearly impossible to know the contents of collections in fifteenth-century English Charterhouses because of the lack of accurate records. The books that did survive the Dissolution may have been ones of which many copies existed. In the final chapter of the *Mirror*, the sermons attributed to Bede are a mixture of Peter Damian’s sermons and Bede’s sermons. There is no record of the sermons of Bede or Peter Damian in either Syon or Sheen, but these are works that may have been available in one of the many *florilegia* that collected numerous works together in one volume.

Of the manuscripts that did survive, one in particular that was housed at Sheen contains a work not listed in the collection of Syon: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 281 contains Adam the Carthusian’s sermon on St. John the Evangelist’s day along with works by Augustine, Rolle, and a number of other religious treatises. Adam’s sermon makes up much of the section in the final chapter of the *Mirror* that deals with St. John

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94 For the complete list with donor information, see Gillespie, “Haunted Text,” 171-2, n. 62. The shelf marks correspond to the edition of the library records at Syon Abbey found in Gillespie, ed., *Syon Abbey*. 
the Evangelist and the privileges accorded to him. Adam’s sermon runs from folios 26v to 32r in the manuscript and begins:

Sermo uenerabilis magistri Ade Cartuiensis in die sancti Iohannis apostoli et euangeliste de triplici honore quo dominus noster Ihesu eundem beatum Iohannem honorauit in uita sua et morte.

[The sermon of the venerable master Adam Carthusian about the day of Saint John the apostle and evangelist regarding the triple honor with which our lord Jesus honored the same blessed John in his life and death.]

Along with this manuscript, there are a number of books in the Carthusian libraries that overlap with the sources held at Syon. These manuscripts consist of three copies of Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 354; Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, Inc. H491 (pr. bk); Oxford, Bodleian, MS Latin theology, e.26) all of which date from between 1474 to 1494, with the exception of the Oxford copy, which has been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century with a likely date of 1440.95

Since the date of the *Mirror* is usually placed between 1430 and 1440, it is possible that the author used Sheen’s earlier copy of the *Scale* as a source. Sheen also held a copy of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror* (Glasgow UL, MS Hunterian 77) dating from 1474 to 1475, a copy of Nicholas of Lyre (Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 241), which dates to 1474, and a copy of John Chrysostomus (Chandlers Cross, Mr. W. L. Wood) that dates to 1496. It is not likely the *Mirror* author had access to any of these texts while composing his work since their date places them well after the early- to mid-fifteenth-century date of the *Mirror*’s composition. They do, however, indicate that Sheen had these texts and may have had earlier manuscript copies. Additionally, the reclusory at Sheen had one of the sources among its manuscripts: St. Bridget’s *Revelationes beate Brigitte* (Oxford,

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Magdalen College, MS lat. 77) dating to the early- to mid-fifteenth century. Obviously, the known list of books available at Sheen does not adequately depict the state of the Charterhouse library during the fifteenth century. If one assumes that an exchange of books existed between Carthusian monasteries that was able to supply books quickly from the House of the Salutation in London to the other houses when those books were needed, then a brief survey of relevant books in houses other than Sheen is warranted. The central library which supplied the other houses was at the London Charterhouse and it did contain some copies of books which appear in the pages of the *Mirror*. Three copies of Hilton’s *Scale* were located at London. The first is a Middle English copy, now Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.4.30, dating to the early- to mid-fifteenth-century while the second is tentatively dated to the early to mid-fifteenth century (British Library, MS Harley 6579). On the first leaf of the book is written a common indication of ownership: “Liber domus matris Dei Ordinis Cartusiensis prope Londonias.” The final Hilton manuscript is untraced, but was owned in the eighteenth century by a John Murray. Thomas Hearne, one of the editors of Chaucer’s works, writes of this manuscript in his *Collections*:

> Mr. Murray, being now in Oxford, told me yesterday that the old Mortuary Bill he some time since lent me was found by him in a manuscript of Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*, that since belong’d to the Charter House before the Dissolution.\(^\text{96}\)

The library at London also contained two Latin copies of Mechtild’s *Liber specialis gratiae*, one is now Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.19 and the other is untraced. Both of these books’ dates of composition are late: the Cambridge copy was made in

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1492 and the untraced copy is dated to 1513. The Charterhouse of Mount Grace owned a copy of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror* dating from the early to mid-fifteenth century (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 6578), but it seems from the lack of citation in the *Mirror to Devout People* that the author did not have first hand knowledge of Love’s work. He mentions it briefly in the Preface, but Love’s work never surfaces again within the *Mirror*. And since the copy of Love’s work at Sheen is dated between 1474 and 1475, it is likely that the earlier copy located at Mount Grace remained there and was never seen by the *Mirror*’s author. The lists of manuscripts that recorded what books were sent out from the London community to other Carthusian houses exist and give evidence of a book trade that did allow monks to transfer books to other communities.

It is certain that a book trade between Carthusian monasteries was in place at the time the *Mirror* was written, but it is nearly impossible to know what books were located at each institution and how exactly the author gained access to them. This does not, however, invalidate the information that can be gathered from the sources of the *Mirror*. Rather, through comparing the libraries of Syon, Sheen, London, and Mount Grace for books that would have aided the *Mirror*’s author, a richer understanding of how a medieval author may have gone about gathering his sources becomes available. While not every question concerning the origin of sources can be definitively answered, a workable model of collection and allocation can be presented that is credible and practical in light of the constraints of difficulty in travel and communication during the late Middle Ages. If the Carthusians and Bridgettines were practicing a free exchange of texts and intellectual

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97 See J. Ware, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca Iacobi Waraei equitis aur.* Catalogus (Dublin, 1648).
advice, then the combination of the two libraries would have made a powerful resource from which any medieval author would have benefited in the composing of his text.

Through its sources, the *Mirror to Devout People* allows the modern reader a glimpse into the medieval author’s creation of a late medieval devotional text. The choice of sources reveals the kinds of texts available to a typical monk at a Carthusian Charterhouse in the fifteenth century and discloses a great deal about the literary practices of the Carthusians and Bridgittines who, through much of the fifteenth century, became a supreme example for the collection, correction, and preservation of religious texts. Within the pages of the *Mirror* are gathered a group of fundamental medieval texts whose presence allowed the medieval reader to experience a range of texts not normally available in the vernacular and allows the modern reader to experience the kinds of texts that were stored and preserved in the late medieval English libraries of the most important religious institutions of the time.

**Part III: Editorial Concerns**

Though they share the same central text, the two manuscripts in which the *Mirror to Devout People* appears were clearly intended for different purposes. The manuscript layout of the two books provides evidence of their intended purposes. ND’s size as well as use of parchment and illuminated initials places it in a different class from the smaller, undecorated C, which is written on paper. The large size of ND and the careful attention to accuracy, evidenced by the cleanness of the page and by the word *examinatur* on the final folio of each quire, indicates a desire to create a text that is both accurate and pleasing to the eye. The coat of arms in the opening initial in ND reveals that the

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98 See Thompson, 324. Thompson provides an undated list of books of the House of Salutation in
manuscript was owned by John, 4th Baron Scrope of Masham and his wife Elizabeth Chaworth. Both John and Elizabeth came from families interested in the late-fourteenth and early fifteenth-century book trades.

C’s smaller size, on the other hand, means that it could have easily been carried and used for personal devotion. A Latin colophon on one of the initial leaves indicates that the manuscript was created at the Charterhouse of Sheen. Within the text are numerous insertions; so many that some pages have two to three insertions per line. It appears that the text was copied quickly and then meticulously corrected against an exemplar. If the book was intended to be used by a nun at Syon Abbey, or for the Abbey’s library, then the frequent insertions may represent an attempt to create an exemplar for the creation of copies of the *Mirror*. It could also be representative of the Carthusians’ concern for the accurate copying and transmission of religious writing.

The different materials used for the two books – parchment and paper – also point to a new attitude toward the production of books that began to emerge when the cheaper paper began to replace parchment as an inexpensive alternative for book production. At the turn of the fifteenth-century, paper was a rare commodity in England, by 1450 it was found in nearly twenty percent of English books, and by the end of the century nearly

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100 See my discussion at p. ii, and the Manuscript Descriptions section at pp. iii-vii.

101 I would like to thank Linne Mooney for pointing out this possibility.

102 The Carthusians were especially interested in the accuracy of texts, and editorial procedures, including multiple corrections, are visible in many of their manuscripts. See Michael Sargent, “The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976), 225-40 and S. S. Hussey, “The Audience for the Middle English Mystics”
fifty-percent of books produced in England were made from paper. A large monastery such as Sheen would have had paper on hand for the purpose of making books for everyday use. Considering the impressive output of devotional manuscripts by the monks at Sheen, it is likely that the less expensive alternative to parchment would have also been available in abundance at the Charterhouse. Further, since Syon Abbey was invested in the collection and preservation of printed books in the late-fifteenth century (when C was made), it is likely that paper could have been exchanged between brothers of the two houses.

**Base Text**

Both ND and C are very close textually and their differences consist of the type of minor scribal variation common in Middle English manuscripts. The three main categories of scribal variation between the two manuscripts are changes in word order, lexical substitutions, and grammatical changes. Two examples of the common types of changes in word order between ND and C include “thirty and thre / thre and thyrt” (Pr.11) and “may yhe / ȝe maye” (9.20). These variations do little to change the meaning of the passages in which they appear and, despite the fact that changes in word order between C and ND occur frequently, they rarely have any significance for the meaning of the text. However, in Chapter Thirteen C has “ȝe deuil of ȝe mynde” and ND has “ȝe

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In this instance it appears that the C scribe simply confused the order of the phrase. At other points in C correction marks are used to rearrange the word order (3.111; 5.132; 7.170, 179; 22.9; 23.98) and, in each instance, the corrections correspond to the order found in ND. Lexical substitutions are also prominent. Some examples include: “our Lorde / God” (Pr.4), “thynkynge / deuout thynkynge” (Pr.60), “And / But” (8.20) and “Therefore / Wherefore” (8.31). These are common lexical substitutions and are too numerous to list each individual instance. Another common example that occurs throughout the manuscripts is the ND scribe’s use of “Also” to begin sentences and the C scribe’s use of “Ferthyrmore” in its place. There are also numerous grammatical variations throughout the two manuscripts. Some common examples of grammatical variations found in ND and C include variations in tense: “maye / myghte” (Pr.14), “trusted / trust (Pr.28), “bonden / bynde” (18.250), and “drowen / drawe” (22.11). Each example cited here is representative of numerous minor variations between ND and C, and they show that for the most part there are no major differences in meaning between the two manuscripts. These minor variations provide little indication of what the author originally intended for his text.

As an editor, then, I have endeavored to create a text that makes sense in areas of content, grammar, and word order, and that conforms to Middle English language usage. To this end, I have chosen ND as the base text because it does not contain the lacunae found in C, but I have used C to identify likely errors and corruption in ND. Some readings from C that are superior to ND include an instance when the ND scribe seems to

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have replaced the correct reading with an inferior one. The ND scribe wrote: “For þe fende myght in þe adder and by þe adder, by sufferance of God, suggeste to hem wille, bot he myght noght compelle hem.” C has “euil” instead of “wille” and adds “to euil” at the end of the sentence. The sentence with C’s reading makes better sense within the context of temptation: “For þe fende myght in þe adder and by þe adder, by sufferance of God, suggeste to hem [euil], bot he myght noght compelle hem [to euil]” (1.78-9).

Another example is found in Chapter Fifteen, line 237 where the ND scribe uses the word “dryen,” but the source, Pseudo-Augustine’s Liber Soliloquiorum Animae ad Deum, cap. XVIII (PL 40.879), indicates that C’s “dyen” is a better choice. Yet another example of the source material backing C’s reading occurs in Chapter Nine, line 56 when the ND scribe states that Mary, Joseph, and Jesus lived in Egypt “eigh yhere vnto þe dethe of Kynge [f. 30r] Herode.” However, the Legenda Aurea says it was seven years, thus making C’s “vii” the better reading. Finally, at the end of Chapter Eight of the Mirror, a section on Mary’s purification includes a translated passage concerning a mass for a noble lady from the Legenda Aurea, and, at one point, lists a procession of participants. C mentions a deacon and subdeacon, while ND has these in the plural. However, the Legenda agrees with C in using the singular; thus C’s reading is substituted for ND’s (8.122-7).

In addition to using C to identify and, at times, correct error and corruption in ND, I also adhere to the principle of lectio difficultior. The principle basically states that if a scribe encounters a word with which he is not familiar or does not know, he will read it

106 The major lacuna in C occurs at the bottom of f. 54v (ND 39v-41r; pp. 64.122-67.61) where two leaves containing a lengthy passage found in ND are missing.
as something more familiar. When an editor is faced with two readings and one is clearly a more usual word or phrase, then the less usual and more difficult one is more likely to be what the author originally wrote, within reason. Of course, phrases or words that make no sense or are complete nonsense cannot be adopted into the edited text. In Chapter Ten, line 66-8, during a discussion of Joseph’s inability to admonish Christ after finding him still in Jerusalem at the temple, ND reads, “Lyre seyth, þof Ioseph was yseide our Lordes fader, neuerþeles he was noght hardy to disples hym, for he leuede hym stedfastly Godis sone.” C replaces “displese” with “vndyrneme,” meaning “to rebuke.” ND’s reading seems to miss the point of the passage, while C’s “vndyrneme” better fits the context in which Joseph’s inability to admonish Christ after his remaining in the temple, despite being in the role of Christ’s human father, is the focus of the passage.

The reading in C is a lectio difficilior because “vndyrneme” is a less common word than ND’s “displese,” but offers a superior sense.

Finally, ND’s position as the earlier of the two manuscripts is important, but was not the most important factor in choosing it as base text. However, its earlier date does places it within the intellectual milieu with which I am concerned for the purposes of this edition. Further, because of ND’s material evidence, there is much more known about ND’s history than C’s and, as a result, more can be said concerning the overall reception history of the text through ND than C. ND’s unique position as a secular manuscript containing a religious text intended for a solely religious audience makes it a useful tool

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108 See D. L. D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 40-2 for his argument that the materiality of a manuscript can be as important an indicator of the text’s uses as the text itself.
for better understanding how vernacular English writing was disseminated and put to use in the mid to late fifteenth century.

Presentation of the Text

Capitalization, word division, and punctuation correspond to modern usage as far as possible. Double-f is retained throughout the text. Initial “J” is rendered as “I.” ND often uses “y” and “þ” interchangeably (e.g., “yu” for “þu,” “ye” for “þe,” et. al.), thus confusion between initial “y” and “þ” is corrected. Otiose strokes, written commonly over final “n” (children, Iohn, burgen, man), final “ll” (Ysraell, pepill, shall, all), and medial and final “h” (which, seith, with) are ignored. In the words saluaciou, passiou, meditaciou, resurrecciou, ascensiou, et. al., the final letter could be taken as “n,” thus making the stroke otiose. However, the stroke is taken as an abbreviation for “n” and the final letter as a “u.” Standard abbreviations are expanded silently, including the ampersand. Inserted words in ND are marked by \/, while all inserted words in C are indicated in the apparatus. At times in C only part of a word is inserted, at others the entire word. If the entire word is inserted, it is simply noted in the apparatus with no mention of orthographical differences from ND. However, if letters that do not appear in ND are inserted, then the entry will appear as follows: worthynes\] worthynesse, sse inser. C. Marginal comments and corrections in C are represented in the Notes and designated as either a correction or comment.

Alterations to the base text ND are enclosed in square brackets [ ]; whole word omissions are noted in the apparatus. Readings from C are adopted when they improve defective grammar or sense. Purely orthographical variations are not mentioned. However, singular/plural variations and variations in tense are recorded. The Latin in the
text has been checked against its source. Middle English translations of the Latin are also checked against the Latin source for clarification in certain instances in which C’s and ND’s readings differ.

109 The only exception to this is when the word in C is of a different case or tense from ND.
Preface

[f. 1r] Gostely sustre in Ihesu Criste, I trowe it be noght 3it from yo[ur] mynde þat when we spake laste togidre I behight yow a meditacioun of þe Passioun of our Lorde, þe whiche promys I haue noght putte fro my mynde bot by dyuers tymes, by þe grace of our Lorde, I haue perfourmed hit als I myght. Our Lorde graunt þat it myght be to your profyte or of ony other deouute seruant of our Lorde. Bot I doo yow to wytt that by counseill I haue putte to mykyll more þan I behette yow, to more encreysing of yoour loue to God and of vertues or of ony other þat myght by þe mercy [of God] profite by þe same, as yhe may see shortly in þe table folowyng this prefacioun. For I haue devyded þe booke folowyng in thirty and thre chapeters to þe worship of þe thirty and thre þeres þat our Lorde lyued in erth. And I haue sett þe tytles of hem all in a table eftre þis prefacioun of þe booke, þat whosoever liketh to rede it may see shortly ther all þe matier of þe booke folowyng and redee [where] him lyketh beste, and þat he maye þe sonner fynde þat he desirith moste and þe better kepe hit in mynde, and also þe redyer fynde hit, if him luste to see hit æsein. Noghtwythstondyng hit were þe beste, whoso myght haue tyme and layserþerto to rede it all as hit is sett.

Also, I haue bee starred oftymes to haue left e þis besynes, both for myne vnworthynesse, and also for Boneauentre, a cardynale and a worthi clerk, made a booke of þe same matier, þe which is called Vita Cristi. And moste of all when I herde tell þat a man of our Ordoure hadde turned þe same booke into Englysshe. Bot or I beganne þis occupacyoun, I asked counseill of sprituelli and goode men and, most in specyall, [leue] of my Pryoure. And 3it eftrewarde when I was moste in doute of all and hadde purposed to haue lefte all togidre [f. 1v] and nomore vtterly to haue done þerto, 3it I thoghte þat I wolde aske counseill of my Priour, þe whiche I specyally loued and trusted mykyll to. And I trowe I tolde ðym what meved me, and he charetably conforted me to perfourme hit with such wordes as come to his mynde for þe tyme. And so on þe mercy of God trustynge, to whome is nothing impossible, with drede of myne vnkonnyng and vnworthynesse, also somewhat borne vpp by þe counseill of gostely faders and þe merites of hem þat by þe mercy of God mowe be profitede by my
symple travayle, in suche tymes as I myght by my conscience travaile
without lettyng of other excercyse and other occupacyons and lettynggs þat
myght fall in diuers wy ses, I purposede by þe grace of God to make an ende
þero f. And so at þe laste our Lorde of his mercy ysaffe me grace as I hope to
performe it. In þe whiche, 3if yhe or any other deoute seruant of God
fynde ony thynyg profytable or edyficatyfe, hit is to be redressed to þe mercy
of God and to þe merytes of hem þat mowan be profyted therby. And 3if
onythyng be founde þe contrary it is to be redressed fully to myne
vnablenesse and vnkonnyng.

And lesté ony man þat myght efterwarde rede þe booke foloweyng
shulde conceyue temptacyoun that I þat am bot a symple man shulde doo
suche a werke eftre so worthi a man as Boneaunterte was, seth he wrote of
þe same matier, hit myght be answered to þe satisfaccyoun of her
concyences thus: ther bene foure euangelistes þat wryten of þe manhode
of our Lorde and yit all writen wele and treuly and þat one leueth another
suppl[y]eth. Also þe doctures of Holy Chirche expownden þe same
euangelyes þat thei wrote diuers wy ses to þe conforte of Cristen peple, and
yit all is goode to Cresten peple and necessarye and profytable. And so þoff
he þat wrote friste þe [f. 2r] meditacions folowyng were bot a symple man
and of no reputacioun in comparisoun of so worthi a clerkere as Boneauentre
was, 3it þe meditacions, by þe grace of God, mowe be full profytable to
deuoute Cristen soules. And þerfore I hope þer woll no meke and deuote
seruant of God conceyve no mys þero f, for þoff þe werke be bot symple, 3it
þe entente of hym þat didde hit was full goode. And þerfore who so kanne
noght excuse þe werke latt him excuse þe entente.

And for þe entente of him þat dedde it was to symple and deuote soules
þat kan noght wele vnderstond Latyn, and also for þe thynkynge of our
Lordes Passioun and manhode is þe grownde and þe waye to all trewe
deuocyoun, this booke may be called A Myrror to Deuote Peple.

Fforthermore, þe shall vnderstonde þat þe diligent thynkynge of our
Lords manhode is a trewe waye withouten discyte to vertues and gostely
knowyng and trewe l[o]uyng of God and sweetnesse in grace to a deuoute
soule þat kan deuoutely and diligently occupye hym þerin. For Euerlastynge
Wysdome seyth, in þe booke þat is called Oreloge of Wysdome, to his

34 by my conscience travaile} traueyle be my conscyence C. 35 excercyse} exersysys C; occupacyons} dyuerse occupacyons C. 36 purposede} thowghth C; an} and C. 37 grace as} om. C. 40 to} om. C. 43 And} Fe[r]thymore C; booke} inser. C. 44 1 þat am bot} that C; man} inser. C. 46 same} inser. C; her concyences} his concyence C. 48 Lorde} Lorde thesu Criste C; wele} inser. C. 49 supplyeth} C, suppleth ND. 54 profytable} good and profytable C. 55 þer} t inser. C. 56 no mys} mysly C. 57 of hym} inser. C. 60 wele vnderstonde} or lytyl vn'dyr/stonde C; thynkyenge} deout thynkynge C. 63 thynkyng} inser. C. 64 gostely} to the gostly C. 65 louyng} C, lyuyng ND. 67 Oreloge} the Orlege C.
disciples thus: Be it knowe to the, that it is noght 3eue to come to be highnesse of þe godhode or vnvsedde swetnesse bot to folke idrawe by a maner meke affercioun by feyth and loue by þe bytternesse of my manhode and Passioun. And þe hyer þat ony goth, this forsleuthe, þe lower he falleth. Forsothe þis is þe wawe by þe which men gothe; this is þe gate by þe wiche ane enterying is graunted to the desyred ende. And in another place of þe same booke he seyth allso to his disciples thus: The ofte thynkyng of þe Passioun maketh an vnlernd man [a ful lernyd man] and vnwyse men and ydiotes it maketh [into parfite] maistres. I seye maistres noght of þat science þat bloweth man within bot of charite þat edifyeth; hit is a maner booke of lyfe, in þe whiche bene fonden all thinges necessarie to helthe. And forsothe þis is þe waye by þe which men gothe; this is þe gate by þe wiche ane enteryng is graunted to the desyred ende. Also, whoso woll diligently beholde þe manhode and þe Passioun of our Lorde, he shall fynde comforde in aduersite, meke[nesse] and drede in prosperite, þe perfeccioun of vertuous lyuyng, noght onely in wordes but also in parfyte werkes. And þe ofter and þe more diligently he loketh þerin, þe more grace he shall fynde. For whatsomeeuer perfeccioun may be founden in seintes and holy ffadres lyvynghe, þer may none be lykened to þat that our Lorde dide in his owne persone, ne so edificative shulde be to a trewe Cristen soule. And þerfore, whoso woll deuotely and diligently beholde our Lordis lyuyng and werkes and folowe eftre at his power, as our Lorde biddeth himselfe, saying þus: He þat serueth me lette hym folowe me and wher I am þer shall my seruant be, whosoeuer doo so, he shall fynde in his lyue grace, and eftre þis lyue ioye without ende and be with hym; as he seyth, þe which worship is aboue all worship þat a chosen soule may haue. For what maye God 3eue more to a chosen soule þen hymselfe, and to be with hym þer he is? Also, þe meditacioun folowynghe bene nought to be rede necligently and with hastynesse, bot diligently with a goode ayusement þat þe rede maye haue þe more profyte þerof; for hit is better [to] rede one chapitle diligently and with a goode deliberacioun þan thre with negligeance and hastynesse, for 3e shall nought considre how mykill 3e reede, butt how wele.

Furthermore, gostely sustre, ye shall vnderstonde þat þe grounde of þe booke folowyng is þe gospell and þe doctores þerapoun. And specyally I haue folowed in þis werke two doctores, of þe whiche one is comonly called þe Maistre of þe Stories, and his booke [f. 3r] in Englissh þe Scole Story; that other maistre, Nicholas of Lyre, the whiche was a worthi doctor of diuinite and glosed all þe Bible as to þe letarale vnderstondyng. And perfore I take these two doctores moste specially as to þis werke, ffor þei gone moste nerest to þe story and to þe letterale vnderstondyng of ony doctores þat I haue redde. Noghtwythesstondyng, I haue broght in other doctores in diuers places, as to morall vertues, and also some reuelaciouns of approued women. And I haue putte nothyng to of myne owne wytte bot þat I trowe may trewly be conceyved by open resoun and gode conciens, ffor þat I holde þe sikereste. Ffor þof þer myght haue bene putte to some ymaginaciouns þat happily myght haue bee dilectable to carnale soules, þit þat is done aifter concience is sikerer, þofþe þe meditaciouns myght haue be by such ymagynacyouns happily more comfortable to some carnale foulke.

Also I haue prayed yow in þe firste chapitl of þe boke folowyng, and by yow or ony other devote seruant of God þat may eftrewarde by þe grace of God reede þis boke, to saye thre Pater Noster, Aue Maria, and a Crede to þe worship of þe Holy Trinite, þe whiche is one verrey God, of our Lady and of all þe seintes; and for goode grace þat is necessarie in redyng of þe symple meditacyouns folowyng, and also for þe forgifnesse of þe symes of þe firste writer of hem. And þe same prayer I haue asked ayeyn aboute þe myddes before þe Passioun, and also in þe laste ende, in tokenyng þat þe Holy Trinite is þe begynnynge, þe myddes, and þe endyng of all goode werkes. To whome be all worship, ioye, and praysyng, nowe and withoute ende. Amen.

103 þe doctores| doctorys goynge C. 104 one| þat one C. 105 þe| om. C. 109 moste| om. C; to²| om. C. 111 morall| the moral C. 112 trowe| hope C. 113 conciens| conscyence, e¹ inser. C; þat| t inser. C. 114 þe| om. C. 116 sikerer| sykerest C. 119 and…120 yow| om. C. 121 þis boke| the boke folowyng C; Aue Maria| thre Aueys C. 123 þe¹| om. C; goode| om. C. 126 before| afore C; tokenyng| betokenyng C. 129 ende| endyng C.
Table of Contents

Here folowth þe chapitles of þe boke folowyng, the whiche is callede
A Myrroure to Deuote Peple.

[f. 3v] Howe man was firste made onely of þe goodenesse of God, and
what worthynesse he was in bothe body and soule, and how he loste it by
his owne wylfull synne in brekyng þe comandement of God. Capitulum
primum.

How mannes soule þat was loste by his owne synne and wretchednesse
myght be restorede aȝeine by þe mercy and þe godenesse of God. And how
þe incarnacioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste was betokende before by signes,
ffigures, and prophecyes. Capitulum secundum.

Of þe salutacioun of our Lady Seint Mary, and of þe incarnacioun of
our Lorde Ihesu Criste. And also a lytell techyng howe a man or a woman
myght knowe goode visiones from badde aftre þe teching of our Lorde to a
blyssed virgynne þat is called Katerine of Sene. Capitulum tercium.

Of þe salutacioun of our Lady and Elizabeth, and of diuers degrees of
mekenessse. And how Ioseph wolde haue lefte our Lady when he perceyued
hir with childe. Capitulum quartum.

Of þe birth of our Lorde Ihesu Criste. Of þe apperyng of þe aungells,
and of þe commyng of þe shephirdes. Capitulum quintum.

Of þe circumcisioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and of þe swete name
Ihesu Criste. Capitulum sextum.

Of þe Apparicioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, þe whiche we call þe
twelfedaye. And of þe commyng of þe three kynges with her offeryngs.
Capitulum septimum.

Of þe purifycacioun of our Lady, þe whiche we call Candelmesday.
Capitulum octauum.

Of þe goyng of Ioseph with our Lorde and our Lady into Egypte, and
of þe slayng of þe Innocentes, and of his commyng aȝeine into þe londe of
Israel. Capitulum nonum.

Of þe twelfthe yere of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and howe he was
founden in þe temple in þe myddes of doctoure. Capitulum decimum.

What our Lorde dede Þro þe twelfthe yere of his bodyly age into þe
tyme of his baptyme, [f. 4r] after þe revelacioun of Seint Brigite. Capitulum
xi\textsuperscript{m}.

Of þe baptyme of our Lorde, of mekenesse, and of other werkes þat
may be considered þeraboute. Capitulum duodecimum.
Howe our Lorde was ledde into deserte of a spirite, that he myght be
temped of the fynde, and howe he fasted, with other edificatyue maters
accordyng verto, aftre the seying of doctors. Capitulum xiii

Howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste, aftre his fastyng in deserte, wente into the
worlde and preched the kynges dome of heuen, and called his appostells, and
whiche of hem wer of his kynde as in the kynde of man. And also of his
other discipes, with other matiers that may also be considered theraboute.
Capitulum xiii

Of our Lord myracles that he wroght and other diuers werkes that he
dede in his manhode, of his goyng aboute in prechyng and techyng, of the
scribes and of the Pharieses and what they were, and why he toke mankynde,
with other matiers that longen verto. Capitulum xv

How our Lorde Ihesu, amonge other myracles that he wroght,
specyaly [arasyde] thre dede, that is to say, two men and a damesele, and
what is betokened by hem gostely. And howe the bysshoppes and the Pharieses
token her counseile togidre azenis hym, and by the counseill of
Cayphas difynede to sle hym as sone as thei myghte. Capitulum xvi

Of the sopier that was made to our Lorde in Betanye the Saturday before
Palme Sonday, that is, Palme Sonday euyn. And how in the next day that is
called Palme Sonday, he was receyved into the cite of Jerusalem. And how in
the Wednesday in the same weke folowyng, Iudas solde hym for thirty penys.
Capitulum xvii

Off the sopier that our Lorde had with his discipes on the
\Sher/ Thursday at
euyn, and of the werkes that were done perat. Capitulum xviii

Of the werkes that our Lorde didde aftre his sopere in the euene before
his Passioun. And howe he was taken in the night, and howe his discipes
forsoke hym, and [f. 4v] of the dispute that was done to hym in diuers places
that same nyght. And this is called the hour of Matynes. Capitulum xix

Of the hour of Prime and of the werkes that were done in that hour.
Capitulum xx

Of the hour of Teres and of the werkes that were done in that hour.
Capitulum xxi

Of the hour of Seste and of the werkes that were done in that hour.
Capitulum xxi

Of the hour of None and of the werkes that were done in that hour.
Capitulum xxi

Of the openyng of our Lordis syde aftre None, with other edificatyue
maters accordyng with the Passioun of our Lorde. Capitulum xxi

37 Lorde] inser. C; into deserte of a spirite] of a spyryt into theserte C. 41 heuen] god C.
42 cryste C. 50 arasyde] C, in the rysyng of ND; that is to say] om. C; a oo C. 51 what] inser.
C. 52 token] toke C. 54 before] afore C. 55 day] daye C. 56 be] inser. C; And] and
also C. 59 \Sher/] holy corr. to sher ND, hooly C. 61 before] afore C. 63 of] also of C;
Of þe takynge doune of our Lordes body fro þe crosse, þe whiche is callede þe houre of Euensonge. Capitulum xxvm.

Of þe beryng of our Lordis body, þe whiche is called þe houre of Complyne. Capitulum xxviiim.

Off the meditacioun of our Lady on þe Saterday, and þe other deuoute women and what þai deden. And also of þe appostelles of our Lorde Capitulum xxviiim.

Another deuote meditacioun howe þe soule of our Lorde, ioyned to þe Godhede, wente to helle. Capitulum xxviiiim.

Of the Resurreccioun of our Lorde, and howe he appered firste to our Lady. Capitulum xxixm.

Of þe [fyue] apperyngs þat bene conteyned in þe Gospell, þe whiche were done þe same daye of þe Resurreccioun. And of other two [that] bene tolde to haue falle also þe same daye, þat bene noght conteyned in þe Gospell, and to what persones þai [w]ere and howe. Capitulum xxxm.

Another meditacioun of þe other [fyue] apperynges þat bene also conteyned in þe Gospell þat were done eftre þe day of þe Resurreccioun, and to what persones þay were. And another þat Seint Poule telleth of in one of his pistelles. Capitulum xxxim.

Of þe Ascensioun of our Lorde, and of þe werkes þat may be considered þeraboute. Capitulum xxxiim.

Of þe comyng of þe Holy Goste and som[f. 5r]what what þe appostelles deden aftre þai had rescuyed þe Holy Goste in a ysvible sygne. And also a specyall comendacioun of þe worthi apostell Seint Iohn Euangeliste. Capitulum xxxiiim et ultimum.

Chapter One

[H]owe man was first made onely of þe godenes of God, and what
worthynes he was in, bothe in body and soule, and howe he loste it by his
wylful synne in brekyng of þe commaundement of God. Capitulum primum.

Relygiouse sustre, in þe begynnynge of thies symple meditacions, I pray
yow firste to withdrawe your thought from all other thoughtes þat myght lette
yowe, and þan to lyfte vp your hert to God and saye deuoutely three Pater
Noster, iii Aue Maria, and a Crede to þe worship of God and of our Lady,
and of all þe seyntes for grace þat is necessary to yowe and also
forþeuenesse of þe synnes of þe friste writer of thies presente meditacions.

And þan firste yhe may thynde howe in þe begynnynge almyghty God
made heuen and erthe and all þat is conteyned in hem of noght, frely of his
euerlastyng godenesse. And þe sext daye, he made þe friste man þe whiche
is called Adam. And he made hym of þe slyme of þe erthe as to þe body, as
we rede in holy wrytte in þe boke of Genyses, wher is writen thus: *Formauit
Dominus Deus hominem de limo terre.* This is to seye: Oure Lorde God
made man of slyme of þe erthe. *Et inspirauit in faciem eius spiraculum vita.*
This is to seye: And he inspirede in his face þe brethe of lyfe, þe whiche [ys]
no more to our vnderstondyng open, bot þat he made and putte in þe same
body þat he had fourmed of the erthe a resonable spirite, þe whiche is of
three myghtes, þat is to seye, of mynde, resoun, and wylle to þe lykkenesse
of þe Holy Trynite, þe whiche is one parfite God. For hit is wryten in þe
forseide booke of Ge[f. 5v]nesys thus: *Et creauit Deus hominem ad
ymaginem et similitudinem suam.* This is to seye: And God made man to his
owne lykenesse and ymage, vnderstondeth as to þe soule. And þus was
Adam þe firste man made a parfite man in body and soule, þe whiche man
God putte into þe paradyse of luste and lykyng. For it is seide, in þe forseide
boke, þat our Lorde had sette a paradyse of luste and lykyng fro þe
begynnynge, in þe whiche he putte þe man þat he had made. And þan he
sende a slepe into Adam, and while he slepte he toke oute one of his ribbes
and filled it vppe with flessh as it was before, and made þerof a woman and
brught hir to Adam. For he had seide before þat it was "noght/ goode a man

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1 Her foloweth the boke that ys called a myrowr to deuot peple C, *om. ND;  Howe*] how C, owe
ND N.  2 worthynes] worthynesse, see *inscr.* C;  his] hys owen C.  3 of] *om. C.  5 thoughtes]*
thowghtys and affeccyonyss C.  6 ðan] thanne deuoutely C;  *vp* *inscr.* C;  deuoutely] hertyly C.
7 ii Aue Maria] thre aueys C;  and?] *om. C.  8 of] *om. C;  þe] *om. C.  9 forþeuenesse* [for
fyrseuene/esse C.  10 yhe may thynde howe in þe begynnynge] in the begynnynge 3e maye thynke how C.
 11 þat] that þat C.  12 And] and in C.  13 þe] *om. C.  14 in holy wrytte in þe
boke of] in the fyrste boke of holy wryt þe whyche ys callyd C;  wher] where hyt C.  16 slyme] the
slyme C.  17 brethe] spyracle C;  *ys* C, *om. ND.  18 vnderstondyng open] opyn
vnderstandyng C.  20 thre] thre principal C.  21 wryten] *inscr.* C.  24 lykkenesse and ymage*
ymage and lyknesse C.  26 into] in C.  28 þe] *om. C.  30 it vppe] vp the place C;  as it was
before] therfore C.  31 before] afor C;  a] *om. C.
to be alone, and perchore he seide: *Latte vs make hym ane helpe lyke to hym,* and foremost he made hem lordes of other vysible creatures, þe which he had made, saying to þaim þus: *Dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus \\celi/ et vniuersis animantibus que mouentur super terram.* This is þus mykill to seye: Haue yhe lordeship of þe fission of the see, and of þe byres of þe eyre, and of all maner lyvynge creatures þat bene mevede vpon þe erh.

Nowe yhe may thynke friste how grete goyuness pryde it was of God to make man, when he was noght, frely of his euerlastyng godenesse; and þan to make hym a resonable man, þer he myght haue made hym a beeste vnresonable, as ane oxe or a kowe, a wrorme or a tode, or suche another thing, or what other he had wolde of vnresonable creatoure. Bot he made hym none of all thys, bot he made hym a resonable man and lorde of all suche creatures vnder hym, and 3it, þat that is more worthynesse, to his owne ymage and lyknesse as in soule, þe which is of thre princypall myghtes. That is to sey, of mynde, resoun, and wille, to þe lyknesse of þe Holy [f. 6r] Trinite, as I haue tolde to yowe before. Of mynde, to haue God in mynde and his comandementes stedfastely and stabely withoute ony oblyuyon or foryettyng. In resoun, to knowe hym gostely, trewly, and clerely, without ony bestely or carnale beholdyng, ignorance, or erroure. In will, [to wylle] þat God willeth, and to noght wille þat God wil noght withoute ony contrarioust of ony weywarde wille, and to luf hym clerely, ferenctly, suetely, wyelsey, and contynuallwy withoute sesynge or ony myscouetisse of ony other thinge vaynely. This worthynes had man soule by grace of þe friste makynge, þe whiche he myght euer haue had, 3if he had wolde. Bot he corrupted and defouled þis ymage of God in hymselfe and in his chi[l]dren when he wilfully brake þe comauentment of God and chese loue and lykynge in himselfe and in other creatures viciously aþes þe will of God and þe worthynesse of his owne soule.

For God bad hym ete of euere tre in paradise, oute-take of þe tre of knowynge of gode and euyll, þe which he forbad hym, saying to hym thus: *De omni ligno paradisi comede; de ligno autem sciencie boni et mali ne comedas. In quacumque die ex eo comederis, morte morieris.* This is þe Englyssh: Of iche tre of paradyse ete, bott of þe tre of knowynge of gode and euyll loke þat þu ete noght. For in what daye þu eteste þerof, þu shall dye by dethe, þat is to seye, bow shall dye in soule by lesynge of þe ryghtwysnesse þat þou ert sette in, in soule, and also þu shalte nedis \\dye/
bodily. The whiche commaundement he brak by suggestioun of þe woman, and she by suggestioun of þe adder, in þe whiche þe feindes was mevynge þe tonge of þe adder to saye þo wordes. For þe feynde was chefe auctor of þis werke, þe whiche appered in þe adder. For he had grete envye þat man was sette in suche blyssednesse and worship. For þe Wyseman seyth þus: Inuidia diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum. This is [f. 6v] [to] saye:

By envye of þe feynde dethe come into all þe worlde, þat is to saye, into all mankynde by þe trespas of þe firste man. Bot ʒit, notwithstondyng þat, þai felle bothe by here owne defaute, for þaie didde it wylfully and were noght compelled. For þe fendis myght in þe adder and by þe adder, by sufferaunce of God, suggeste to hem [euil], bot he myght noght compelle hem [to euil].

And þerfore it was her owne defaute in als mykyll as þei wilfully consented, thurgh þe whiche consentyng and afterwaerde fulfyllyng þe same [euil] consentyng in wirkyng, þaye diede firste in soule by lesyng of þe ryghtwesnesse þat þai were sette in, as it is before-sayde, þe whiche was specially in þe gostely louynge and knowyng of God by stablesnesse of mynde, clerenesse of knowyng, and feruour of blissede charite. This worthynesse þei losten by þe brekyng of þe comaundemente of God, ffor þai felle from þe stablesesse of mynde in[to] vnstablesesse of mynde and forȝettyng of God; fro þe clerenesse of knowyng þat was in resoun into þe derkenesse of ygnorance and error; and fro þe feruor of blessed loue and clene charite into couatyse and carnale affecciouns of worldly thynge, and we in hem.

Of þis fallynge of þe firste man David seyth in Sautre þus: Homo, cum in/ honore esset, non intellexit; comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis. This is in Englisshe: Man, when he was in worship, he vnderstode it noght, and therfore he loste it. He was lykened vnto vnwyse bestes, þat es, to vnresonable bestes by carnale beholdyngye, and made like to hem in beestely [o]uynge of hymselfe and other creatures viciously.

And beside all þis, an angeill, at þe biddyngge of God, drofe hem oute of paradise into þis wrecched worlde here to lyfe in trauyle and sorowe all her lyfe tyme, and afterwaerde [f. 7r] to dye bodilye, and all þat came of hem. All þis was for the firste synne of man, þe whiche is called originale, for þe whiche synne as Maistre Walter Hiltoun seith: We myght neuer haue be safe þofe we had neuer done other venyale ne dedely bot onely þis, þat is called origynale (for it is þe firste synne, and þat is nothinge elles but lesyng of

his rightwysnes he whiche we were made in) but if our Lorde Ihesu Criste by his preciouse Passioun had deluyerde vs and restorede vs azeine.
Chapter Two

How mannes soule þat was loste by hys owne synne and wretchednes myghte be restorede æȝyne by the mercy and þe godenes of God. And howe þe incarnacioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste was betokenede before by signes, figures, and prophecyes. Capitulum secundum.

[I] haue somewhat, religiouse sustre, tolde yow in þe chapitile nexte before þis of þe friste makyng of man, and \what/ worthynesse he was in of þe free endeles godenesse of God, and also what wrichednesse he felle in by his owne wilfull synne, and we in hym. Nowe it were comfortable, I trowe, to yow, or to any other deuote servuante of God to here how þe forseide man and þo þat came of hym myght be restorede æȝine to þe dignite and worthynes þat he had by þe grace of þe friste makyng, and to more, by þe mercy and godenesse of God. Nowe friste yhe shall vnderstonde þat we were also defouled and [so acloyede] in þe friste synne of our fader, Adam, þat none of vs myght helpe other. And þerfore, 3if we shulde be deliuerde, þar muste come one þat myght haue þe same kynde and noght þe synne. And so he myght make satisfaccion to God in dyinge for þe synne of mankynde, for þe propre payne for the synne of mankynde was dethe, þe whiche he owede noght to haue þat myght haue þe same kynde and noght þe synne. And þerfore, 3if he diede, he payede þat he owede noght, and so 3if he wolde frely dye [f. 7v] and paye þat he ought noght, he myght make satisfaccioun to God for þe synne of þe kynde þat he had take, 3if God wolde excepte þat manere satisfaccioun.

Right so, our mercyfull Lorde God, seynge þe wrichednesse of mankynde and þe sorowe and þe desese þat it was fallen in by his owne synne, havynge pite and compassioun þat þe kynde þat he of his endelesse godenesse friste made shulde peryssh, of þe same godenesse, by his vncircumscriptible wysdome, wolde ordyne a remedy and a waye howe þe kynde, þe whiche he mercyfully loued, myght ryghtfully be boughte æȝine from þe bondage of þe feinde to whome it was made sogette by synne. And so þe almyghty fadre, wyrynge þe hym þe Holy Goste, wolde sende his owne sonne, our mercyfull Lorde Ihesu Criste, to take our kynde, withoute þe synne, of a clene vndefoulede virgyne, and to dye in þe same kynde. And so by his precyouse dethe to deliuer vs fro euerlastynge dethe, þat right as we diede in Adam, so we myght lyfe æȝyne in Criste, as Seint Poule
witnesseth, saynge þus: \textit{Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur ita et in christo omnes viuificabuntur}. This is in Englysshe: Forsothe, right as all men diede in Adam, so shall all men be quykenede in Criste.

All þis was betokened before be signes, figures, and prophecyes, for it was worthi þat so excellente a werke shulde be betokened before. And firste by sygnes and figures in patriarke, of þe whiche I shall tell yow one to your comforte þat was shewed longe before þe lawe by þe holy patriarke Abraham and his sonne Ysaak. God bad Abraham take his owne begetyn sonne, Ysake, þe whiche he specyally louede, as we rede in þe booke of Genesis, and offer hym in sacrifice vpon ane hill þat he wolde shewe hym. And þan þis holy patriarke, at þe biddycng of God, arose be nyght and arayed his asse, takynge with hym two yonge men and his son, Ysake. And whan he had kytte wodde for þe sacrifice, he wente to þe [f. 8r] place þat God badde hym go to, and þe thirde daye he sawe þe place aferre. And þan he bad his children abide þare with þe asse, for he and his sone, he seide, wolde go thider and worship God and com aȝeine to hem. And þan he toke þe wode þat he wolde offere þe sacrifice apoun and layed it apoun his sonne Ysake, and so he bare þe wode þat he shulde be offfere vpoun. And þis in þis was betokenede þat our Lorde Ihesu Criste, þe whiche is þe one begetyn Sonne of God, shulde bere at hymselfe apoun þe whiche he shulde be offered to his Fader in heuen for þe helthe of all mankynde. For þe Gospell maketh mencion þat our Lorde bare þe crosse hymselfe vpon þe whiche he died for þe saluacioun of mankynde.

Howe our Lorde shulde be borne of a mayden, I shall tell \textit{to/} yowe another figure þat was shewed afore þe lawe was þeuen to þe seruante of God, Moyses, and by hym to all þe pepill of Israel, and þat was shewed in þe rodde of Aron þat borgenede. For God badde Moyses, as we [rede] in booke of \textit{Numery}, þat he shulde [take] of yche tribe of þe peple of Israel a rodde and write þe name of yche tribe vpon þe rodde of þe same tribe. Bot þe name of Aron shulde be in the tribe of Leui, and whome þat he wolde chese to þe preistehode his rodde shulde burgen. Now yhe shall vnderstonde þat ther were twylfe tribes of þe peple of Ysraell, oute-take þe tribe of Leui þat Aroun was of, and so þer were þirten roddes of þe whiche sex roddes were at þat oone side and sex at þat other side when þai were broughte into þe tabernacle before God. And so Aron rodde was in þe myddil, þe whiche rodde merueylously borgenede and bare frote, and by þat myracle was þe preistehode of Aron confermede. And in þat rodde of Aron was
betokenede, as Seinte Crisosteme seithe, our Lady Mary, þe whiche withoute any moystenes of þe erthe [f. 8v] broght forthe full suete frote. For she, withoute any seede of man, broght forthe a sonne, þe whiche is made þe frote of mannes helthe and by þe whiche þe verrey and euerlastyng he prestehode of Holy Chirche is confirmed.

Thies and mony other signes and figures were yshewed byfore in olde tyme þat our Lorde Ihesu Criste shulde come to þe saluacioun of mankynde. Bot thies þat I haue shortly tolde yowe here I hope be sufficient as for ensample. Also it was before-seide by prophetes, of þe whiche oone, Ysaie, þat speketh moste opynly of þe Incarnacioun of our Lorde, seide þus: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et uocabitur nomen eius emanuel et cetera.*

This is in Englissh: Lo, a maiden shall conceyve and brynge forth a sounne and his name shall be called Emanuel, þat is expoundede as þe Eu[angeliste seith, God is with vs. This and mony other were before-seide by þe forseide prophete of þe incarnacioun and þe birthe of our Lorde. And also mony other propheczyes were seide before by þe same prophete and other of þe Incarnacioun, Passioun, Resurreccioun, and Ascencioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and also of þe comynge of þe Holy Goste, the whiche were to longe to telle here. Bot þis þat I haue compendiously seide I trowe be ynough as for ensample, for it was worthi and resonable, as I haue before-seide, þat so excellente werkes shulde be betokenede before.

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Chapter Three

Of the salutacioun of our Lady Seynte Marie, and of the Incarnacioun of our Lorde Ihesu Cryste. And also a litell techynge howe a man or a woman myghte knawe gode visyons fro euyle, after the techynge of our Lorde Ihesu Criste to a blyssede virgynye þat is callede Kateryne of Sene. Capitulum tercium.

[f. 9r] When our Lorde God hadde ordeyned þe helthe of man and of mannes soule, firste in his owne euerlastyng wysedome and godenesse, and seth [before-tokenyd] it by figures and prophecies in þe Olde Lawe and before, as I haue somwhat tolde to yow in þe chapitle next before þis, and the tyme was come þat excellent werke shulde be fulfilled in trewthe, 3e may thynke howe þe anguell Gabriell was sente fro God, as the Gospell maketh mencion, into a cite of Galile whose name was Nazareth to a virgyn dispouesede to a man whose name was Ioseph, of þe menþe of Dauid, and þe name of þe virgynne was Mary. Nowe vnderstonedh firste þat Galile was a contre and Nazareth a cite of þe same contre in þe whiche our Lady dwelled, and þat she was dispouesed to a man, mervailles noght therof, for it was a grete dispensacioun of þe godenesse of God for diuers causes. One is, 3if she had be withoute a man, þe peple wolde haue seide þat tyme þat she had conceyued amys, æsenste þe lawe of God, and þat shulde haue be a grete shame to þat blessed virgyn, and by þe same lawe cause of dethe. And þarfore to exclude þat sclaundryd and perill, hit was necessary þat sho shulde be couplede to a man. Another is þat she myghte haue þe solace of [a] man to helpe hir and comforte hir and to do hir servyce, for [the] Euangelist bereth wytnesse of hym þat he was a rightfull man. And also another cause may be þat þe mysterye and priuete of our Lordes Incarnacioun myght be hidde fro þo fynge.

Nowe /han/, beholdeth deuoutely howe þe anguell entered into þe forseide cite of Nazareth, and into þat place þat our Lady dwelled in. And happly he fyndeth hir in hir prayers, for she was alwaye wele occupiede. And firste he kneledowe reuently, merueyllynge þe excellence of hir þat he salu[f. 9v]teth, as Seint Ierome seith, and þan he seide þis feire

salutacioun to hir: *Haile Mari, full of grace, our Lorde is with þe, blissed be þou amongst women.* Þat is to seye, þu erte syngulerly blessed before all women, or, þu erte more blissed þan all women. And when she herde þis salutacioun she was distroebled in þat manere speche and thoght what þat/ manere salutacioun shulde mene. And þe aungell ansuerde and seide: *Drede noght Mary [for] fforsoothe þu haste founde grace at God. Lo þu shalt conceyue and brynge forthe a sonne and þu shalt call his name Ihesu Criste.* Ihesus, ytorndede oute of Latyn into Englyssh, is als mykill to seye as Sauyour and þis is a conuenynte name to hym for þe werke þat he came fore, for he came specially for þe helthe and saluacion of mankynde.

And yhe may thendke þowe þe blissede virgyn asked hym what wyse it shulde be doo, seth she knewe no man ne noght purposede, þat is to seie, by carnale medlyng togidre, and so she was a clene virgyn both in body and soule and purpose. And þe aungell seide aæine þat she shulde noght conceyue of ony man, bot be wirkynghe of þe Holy Gost. And also for more conforte of hir, he tolde hir þat Elizabeth, hir cosyn, had conceyved a childe in hir age, þe whiche is called Seinte Iohn Baptiste, for he seide þer was nothinge impossible to God. And þat þe meke virgyn, as yhe may thynke, lyfynghe vp hir handes to heuenwarde and hir yene deuoutely to God, with a full meke herte and a lowe spirete, seide þese wordes: *Loo, þe hande mayden of our Lorde! Be it to me aftre thi worde.* Nowe beholdeth deuoutely in your ymagynacioun þe holy speche bytwene þe holy virgynye and þe holy aungell, as it is before-seide. And at þe laste þe meke consente of þe blissede virgynye, and also howe mekely she calleth hirselfe bot a servante, when she knewe hirselfe, by hym þat she shulde, by wirkynghe of þe Holy Goste, brynge forth, [f. 10r] to be Quene of Heuen, Lady of þe Worlde, and Empries of Helle. And taketh ensample by hir of hir mekenesse, ffor þif she þat was so excellently chosen before all other creatures was so wyste þan shulde we be þat bene so synfull and wretched and vnworthi ony benefete or zifte of God, sauynghe his owne fre endles godenesse and mercy.

And þan yhe may thynke when þe aungell had doo his message and herde þat consente of þat blissede lady, and Goddes sone was consevved, he

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toke his lefe of þat worshipfull virgyne and modre, our Lady Seint Mary, and wente his weye. For doctores seyne þat anone as she had seide þe words of consentynge, anone our Lorde ihesu Criste was conceyved of þe virgyne Mary, parfit God and man in soule and fless.

Nowe vnderstonethe þat right as deth entrede firste into mankynde by synne, in þe same wyse enterede lyfe by grace; ffor right as þe fende in þe adder decayuede Eue by fals suggestioun, right so þe grace of God by a gode aungell and trewe suggestioun broghte our Lady to þe consentynge to bere hym þat all our helthe shulde come of. And so our Lady, by obedience to þe grace of God and gode suggestioun, founde grace and helpe to all mankynde. Ffor Seint Austyn seyth: Eue inobediente deserued payne. Mary obediente founde grace. She in tastynge þat was forbode, acursed; þis, that is to seye, our Lady, in beleuyng þe aungell, blissede. She broght vs dethe, þis bare lyfe. And so as dethe came firste into mankynde by a woman, right so lyfe came azeine by a woman. And right as þe woman by suggestioun [desseyuyde] þe man, by þe whiche man all men diede, in þe same wyse þis virgyne broght forth a man þat all men myght be saued by.

Nowe it were gode here, I trowe, to haue some informacioun or techynge howe a man or a woman myght knowe a gode visioun from aane euyle, and when reuelaciouns or visiones bene 'of' [God] or of þe ennemy. For yhe haue herde before in þis chapet þat our Lady was distroublede or abaschede in þe speche of þe aungell, noght bot þat she had sene aungelles before, for she was kepte with aungelles from hir birthe, bot for þei were noght wente to seye suche thynge to hir. Ffor Lyre seith þere is nothing more merueylouse to a verrey meke man or woman as þe exaltacioun of hemselfe. Nowe þan, howe a man or a woman myght knowe a gode visioun from aane euyl, and when þeie bene gode and when of aane euyl spirete, our Lorde taught Katerin of Sene a profitable worde, saynge þus: Doctores þat I haue taught seyne, ande sothe it is, þat my visiounes begynnyn with a drede, bot euermore by processe þei sijfen more sykernesse. They begynyn with a maner of bitternesse bot alwaye þei wexen more swetter. þe visioun of þe ennemy hath þe contrary, for he þeueth in þe begynynge, as it semeth, a manere of gladnes, sikernes, or suetnesse, bot alwaye by processe drede and bitternesse growen continuyally in þe mynde of hym or
hir þat seeth. This is verre trewe, fför my weyes discorden fro his by þe same manere difference, fforsoth þe weye of penance and of my comandementes seme[th] in þe begynynge sharpe and harde, bot þe more a man or a woman gothe þerin, þe suetter it wexeth and þe more esy it is. Bot þe weye of vices seme[th] in þe begynynge right dilectable, bot alwaye by processe it is made bitterer and dampanyabler.

Bot I wolde geue to the another token more vndeceyuable and sikere. Haue þu for cer[f. 11r]teyne þat seth I am treuthe alwey of my visiones reboundeth in þe soule more knowynge of trewth, and for þe knowynge of trewth is moste necessarie aboute me and aboute itsel[fe], þat is to seye, þat it knowe me and itsel[fe], of þe whiche knowynge euermore commeth oute þat it dispiseth itsel[fe] and worshipeth me, þe whiche is to profite of menees, it is necessarie, þan, þat of my visiones þe soule be made more meke and more to knowe itsel[fe] and his owne vilyte and wretchednesse and so to dispise itsel[fe]. The contrary cometh of þe visiones of þe enemy, for in als mykel as he is fadre of falsennes and kynge vpon all þe children of pride and may noght zeve bot þat he hath, alwaye of his visiouns reboundeth into þe soule a manere prepe office of pride, and it abideth ybolned and yblowe with þe wynde of pride. Thou, þarfore, alwaye diligently by examynynge maiste perceyue fro whens þe visioun came, fro trewth or fro falsenes. Fför trewthe maketh alweye þe soule more meke, bot forsothe falsenesse maketh it prowde; þis same ruel yhe may take of gostely visitacions, where þei bene in knowynge or in afeccioun or in bothe, and þis is a profitable ruel and a trewe, as me semeth, of suche maner matiers.

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Chapter Four

Of þe salutacioun of our Lady to Elizabeth and of diuers degrees of menekes. And how Ioseph wolde haue lefte our Lady when he perceyued hir with childe. Capitulum quartum.

After þe angell was go, yhe may thenke howe our Lady Seint Mary arose vp fro þe reste of prayer and deuocion, þe whiche was before-goynge of all hir werkes, as þe doctour Lire seyth, and withaste, as þe Evangeliste maketh mencion, she wente into þe mountayne, for it was þe higher Galile as þe forseide doctore seithe, and in[f. 11v]to a cite of þe Iewry four myle fro Jerusalem, where, as it is seide, þat tyme Zacharye dwelled. And þan she entrede in/to/ þe house of þe forseide Zacharie and salutede Elizabeth. This Zacharie was a holy prophete and Seinte Iohn Baptiste fadre, and Elizabeth his wyfe and our Ladis cosyn, of þe whiche þe angell had made mencion to our Lady before and tolde hir howe she had conceyued a childe in hir age. And þat made our meke Lady to go visete hir for she had herde þat of hir, bothe, as some doctors seyne, to doo hir seruice, and also for she was yonger of age.

Nowe yhe may beholde þe mekenes and þe charite of our Lady, howe she gothe oute of Galile into þe forseide cite of þe Iewry. And yhe may thinke þat there was a grete weye betwene, and þat nghtwithstandyng þe lenthe of þe weye ne þe trauyle of þe iorney, and also she a tendre mayden, þat she wente thidre and þat in haste. For Seint Ambrose seyth þat þe grace of þe Holy Goste can no longe tariynges, and also she was nght wonte to be sene mykel in open, and þat made hir happily to hye þe faster and also to shewe by þat ensamle þat a virgyne shulde nght tary longe in open, ne holde no colloquies in such places.

Nowe þan beholdeþ gostely howe she entrede into þe house of þe forseide Zacharie and lowly and mekely she saluteth þe olde woman hir cosyn Elizabeth, and anone as Elizabeth herde þe salutacioun of our Lady, the childe þat she had conceyued ioyede in hir wombe. This childe was Seint Iohn Baptiste, þe whiche nght þit borne, meruelously knewe by the Holy Goste þe presence of our Lorde in þe virgynes wombe, as doctores seyne. And hym þat he myght nght þit by speche, he knowleched and worshipped by suche manere ioyynge. And also yhe may thynke þat Elizabeth his modre was fulfilled with þe Holy Goste and seide to our [f. 12r] Lady þus: Blissede be þou amonge women; þat is to seie, aboue all women. And blissede be þe frute of þi wombe, and whenys is þis to me þat
my Lordes modre shulde come to me? Lo, forsothe, anone as I herde þi salutacioun, a childe ioyede with ioye in my wombe, and blyssed be þou þat beleuedeste, ffor bo thynges þat haue be seide to þe fro our Lorde shulde be perfourmede. And þan our Lady with grete ioy in þe Holy Gost seide: Magnificat anima mea dominum. Et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo. Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones. This is to seye: Mi soule magnifieth our Lorde and my spirite hathe ioeyd in God my Saluyour. Ffor he hath graciously beholde þe mekenesse of his handemaiden. Lo, from hens forwarde all kynredes shulle seye me blissed. And so she made ane ende of þe holy psalme Magnificat, þe whiche we vse to synge and rede in Holy Chirche, specially at euensongs.

Gostely sistre, here I trowe it were gode to seye somwhat of mekenesse, for þe lowenesse þat yhe may beholde here and in other places also, of our Lady, þe which is a perfite ensample and a trewe myrour of perfeccioun to all wymmen, as our Lorde Ihesu to all men. And þarfore purposeth to folowe aftre als mykell as God woll ȝif yowe grace and konnynge, and namely \in/ mekenesse. For she seith, as yhe haue herde before, þat our Lorde graciously behelde hir mekenesse. For whosoever is wele grounded in mekenes he is able to all other vertues and wyrkynges of þe grace of God, and þarfore I woll somwhat shewe yowe of mekenes, as God woll ȝif me grace. And firste of mekenes of spirite, of þe which as of a rote all other moste come.

Nowe yhe shall vnderstonde þat mekenesse of spirite hath diuers degrees, of þe whiche foure I shal tell yowe here by rowe. The firste degree of mekenes of spirite is [f. 12v] in a gode wylle to God, withoute þe whiche alle is noght þat a man or a woman may doe. In þe whiche godde wylle a man or a woman pleiseth God, ffor God hateth all maner synnes and vyces and loueth all godenes and vertues, and so in his wille forto plese God, wolde verely be meke and [be]lyueth stedfastely all his synnes of hymselfe. And þarfore he crieth God mercy, and dothe mekely penance for hem aftre þe ordinance of Holy Chirche and byd[d]ynge of his gostely fader; þis [ys] þe firste degree of mekenes of spirite, and it longeth to beynners and þe leste chosen soule þat is.

Aftre þis, to a soule þat is chosen to more grace, oure Lorde ȝeueth a prakty[s]e in knowynge of his owne synnes and wrecchednes bothe inwarde and outwarde, and þat þei bene verely of hymselfe, and a
manere knoweynge and ane inwarde beholdyng ye of our Lordes godenesse
and benefetes frely do to hym and to other. And so of þe consideracioun of
our Lordes godenes and kyndenes by shewynge of his benefetes to
mankynde, it is sterede to loue hym and to worship hym and to desire hym
to be louede and worshippede of all other. And of þe consideracioun of his
synnes and wretchednesse, it is sterede to dispice itselfe and to desire to be
dispicede, in þat that it is so synfull and vnkynde to God. And in þis degré
þe soule hath a trewe syght of itselfe as it is by synne. And þis is þe seconde
degre of mekenes of spirete, and it is in prophetaries and suche as growen
and encrese in þe loue of God and in þe weye of vertues.

Aftre þis cometh þe thirde degré of mekenesse of spirete and þe beste.
And þat is when a man or a woman by þe grace of God trewly knoweth and
feleth himselfe as he is, noght onely by synne, bot also as he is in his owne
beynge in trewthe. And þis cometh of a gostely inwarde beholdyng of þe
endeles beynge of God, as a [f. 13r] creature may haue by þe grace of God
aftre his capacitè in þis lyfe. And it is a practyse in gostely knowynge of
God, by þe whiche it knoweth and feleth itselfe as it is in trewhte, and all
other creatures also, and it is a begynnynge of þat that shall be performede
in þe blisse of heuen. Whosoeeuer has þis mekenes verely he nedeth no
comforte in ethryl thinges vaynely, ffor he shall fynde conforte ynothe in
God and gostely thinges. And also it bryngeth a man or a woman to perfite
charite and to þe veryr loue of God as may be felde or hadde in þis lyfe.
And þis maye be called pouerte of spirite in als mykell as it maketh þe soule
pore and naked from all carnale affeccious and to noght itselfe in Goddis
sight and in his owne, as a man þat hath right noght bot is borne vpp by þe
mercy of God. And sothly he kan noght in trewthe exalte himselfe, as of
himselfe, before þe leste worrne in þe erthe, ne no creature þat euer God
made. Of þis degré of mekenesse our Lorde seith þus in þe Gospell: Beati
pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. This is in Englyssh:
Blissed be pore men and wymmen in spirite for here is þe kyngdome of
Heuen. This mekenes had our Lady when she seide: Mi soule magnifieth our
Lorde and my spirite hath ioyede in God my sauyour. Ffor Seint Austyn
seyth þat yche hye man or woman and yche proude man or woman woll be
ioyede in hymselfe and noght in God, and so þe signe of mekenes of spirite
is [ioye] in God.

The fourth degré of mekenes of spirite is when a man or a woman, for
vnsikeres þat he hathe of þe knowynge of þe rightwys domes of God and
þat we bene in in þis lyfe, beholdeth himselfe bynethe all men and women.
For þe Wyse Man seith: No man wote whether he be worthi hate or loue,

bot al thinges bene kepte vncerteyne into þe tyme þat is to come. And [f. 13v] þerfore he holdeth hymselfe in þe loweste place and [thar] noght sette hymselfe in his owne sight before ony man or woman, ne pere hymselfe to ony, bot mekely holdeth hymselfe bynethe all men and women. And 3if he holdeth hymselfe in þe nombre of chosen, he holdeth hymselfe þe leste; amonge synners, þe moste synfull. And so he kepth hymselfe in þe loweste place aftre þe techynge of our Lorde Ihesu Criste in þe Gospel of Luke, where he seyth þus: When þu erte boden to a feste go sitte downe in þe loweste place. What is þis to seye gostely bot, when þu erte bode to þe feste of Holy Chirche feyth by grace, hold þi selfe in þi owne syght bynethe al other, and kepe þe their into þe tyme þat treuthe be opynly and certeynely knowe by ioye in þe lyfe þat is to come. And so þe sikereste weye in þis lyfe is to a man or a woman þat kepeth noght to be decyued, to kepe himselfe in þe loweste place, þat is to seye, to meke hymselfe byneth all men and women.

Howe þan, may yhe seye, shulde I m[e]ke myselfe bynethe a lewe or a Sarsyn or þe moste synfull man in erthe? Fforsoth, right wele; putteth forth to ensample a lewe or a Sarsyn or þe moste [sinful] man þat yhe couthe in erthe ymagen lyuynge in a body, and preferreth yourselfe before hym. And I woll seye þat it may be þat þis man may be, by þe mercy of God, turned and become parfiter þan euer yhe were. Þan is he before yow þat yhe putte byneth yow, and þan haue yhe offended þe rightwys dome of God and exalted yourselfe before hym þat God knewe before yow. For whatsomeeuer he be now, he is suche in Goddis sight as he is to be in tyme to come. And so in þe same wyse, 3if yhe wolde preferre yow before ony man or woman, þe same þat yhe preferre yow before myght be, by þe forseide wyse, before yow. And þan/ shulde yhe offende þe rightwys dome of God and exalte yourselfe, and þat were perilouse. [f. 14r] And therfore þe sikereste weye in þis lyfe, in þe whiche we be in no sykernes, is, as is forseide, to holde ourselfe in þe loweste place. For 3if we be so in Goddis sight, we holde ourselfe as we bene. And 3if we bene hyer in Goddis sighte, at þe hardeste we be so mykell þe ferrer fro pride and exalynge of ourselfe, and so be þat to be exalted in tyme to come. For our Lorde se[y]/þe in þe same Gospell: *He þat exaltes hymselfe shall be meked and he þat meketh hymselfe shall be exalted.*

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This degree of mekenes is necessarie and profitable to iche man or woman in þis lyfe, in þe whiche we bene in no sikernes. Also in þe two firste degrees of mekenes of spirite þat I haue tolde yow of before, poffe a man or a woman holde himselle wers þan he is, hit is no harne to hym bot rather more sikernes and cause of more gode. Also, yhe shall vnderstonde þat ther is mekyng and mekenes; mekyng is þe weye to mekenes. And mekyng I calle when a man or a woman hath ony lowe consideracioun or meke felyngy, as is toforeseseide, by þe whiche he meketh hymselfe for þe tyme in his owne consideracioun. Bot afterwarde, 3if he haue ony occasion and þan falleth þerforo, þan was þat bot mekyngy and noght mekenes, ffor he bot meked hymselfe by suche a consideracioun for þe tyme, and when he had occasionioun he felle þerforo. Bot 3if he haue suche meke knowynge or felyngy, and abideth stedfastely þervpon and is not putte þerforo by none occasionioun, þan woll I seye þat he is meke, ffor he abideth stedfastely þervpon and is noght meuede þerforo by none occasionioun. Ffor our Lorde seythe in þe Gospell beforeseide: Go sitte in þe laweste place. And noght stonde ne go thidre, bot go sitte in þe loweste place. Ffor yhe wytteth wele þat when a man sitteth he casteth hym to abide, and þerefore our Lorde badde: Go sit in þe loweste [f. 14v] place, \[in/\] tokenyng þat we shulde abide stedfastely in mekenes.

This degree of mekenesse and other forseide or ony other lyke to ony of thies, in þe whiche þe vse of resoun is in gostely thynges, I calle mekenes of spirite, in als mykell as it is in gostely knowynge and vnderstondynge of God and gostely thinges within [in] þe mygh[t]es of þe soule, by resoun and vnderstondynge, and noght withoute in þe bodily wyttes. And of þis manere mekenesse it is ywrite in þe sauter thus: Iuxta est dominus hiis qui tribulato sunt corde et humiles spiritu saluabit. That is to seie: Our Lorde is negh to hem þat bene troublede in herte; þat is, for here synnes, and he shall saue meke men and women in spirite. Than of þis mekenes of spirite, þe whiche is in knowynge be dyuers consideraciones, \[moste come/\] mekenes of herte. Ffor when a soule hathe suche a meke consideracioun in knowynge, þer moste nedes folowe a meke felyngy and, þat is in herte. Than of mekenes in herte moste come meke wordes and meke werkes, as yhe may see in our Lady, howe she calleth hirselfe a handemayden, and in werkes, howe she wente to Elizabeth, and as yhe shall here afterwarde more.
Also mekenes of hert is when a man or a woman, by þe grace of God and be suche meke knowynge and fleynge as it is before-seide, kan for God mekely suffre and gladly, without grochyng, disputes, reprouynges, detraccions, or ony suche other, and is noght stirred by ony suche occacons [to] inpaciens ne evyll wille ne indignacioun to hem þat done so to hym, bot rather to pite and compassioun, to praye deuolutely for hem, and þan to shewe oute þat lownes of herte in meke wordes and lowe werkes to þe worship of God, encresynges of his merites, and gode ensample to his euen Cristen. And specially 3if 3e haue ony occasioun fro with[oute], [f. 15r] and [3]e be spoken to sharply, bostoustly, waywardely, falsly, and vnkyndely, þan to suffre pacently and to answere mekely and lowely æzeigtne or noght, neuer 3euynge one eyyll worde for ane other. Also in werkes, 3if he [be] putte to ony lowe or abiecte werke, to do it mekely and gladdely.

Also a grete token of mekenes of spirite and of herte bothe is when a man or woman mekely will leue his owne wytte and will at þe counseill of elder and wyser, and mekely aske counseill and do theraffere. And þis is necessarie and profitable to yow and to other men and women þat lyuen in religion and haue forsaken your owne wyll and holden hemselfe vnnder þe meke and siker 3oke of obedience. Whosoever be þus ouerall meke, þat is to seye, in spirite by knowynge, in herte by fleynge, and withoute in wordis and wyrynge, and is noght put þarfro by ony occasioun, bot abideth stedfastely þerin with perseveruance into his lyfes ende, I hope þat þis man or woman, whateuer he be, be perfitye meke, and shall haue a full worshipfull and a glorious crowne of God, and to be exalted full hye in þe blysse of heuen. Gostely sustre, I haue longe taried here at þis place by cause of mekeness, bot now it is tyme þat I turne æzeigtne to þe mater þat/ I beganne of.

Nowe þan/ yhe may thynke þat when our Lady had made ane ende of þat holy songe, Magnificat, sho abode stille with hir cosyn there thre monethes, seruynge hir til she broght forth hir childe. And, as it is redde in þe Booke of Rightful Men, she was þe firste þat lifte hym from þe erthe. Here yhe may beholde þe grete lownes of our Lady, as I haue tolde yowre before, for she was with hir cosyn thre monethes, noght þat another mannes
house [delitede] hir, as Seint Ambrose seithe, bot [f. 15v] þat it displesede hir to be seyne mykill in opyn. And in þat tyme, yhe may thynke, she dede hir mykill lowe seruice, and when Seint Iohn Baptist was borne she wente home aþeine into Nazareth.

Nowe here haue compassioun of ðe laboure þat she hath in goyng in and oute, and thenketh what seruyse yhe wolde haue done to hir ʒif [ʒ]e had bene presente with hir. And when she come home, Ioseph aspied þat she was with childe, and for she had be so longe oute and he wyste wele also þat she was a mayden for him, he was adrade and suspicioþ þat it had nought be ariȝht, bot he was nought syker. Ffor Crisosteme seyth þat Ioseph helde þat opynyoun of þe holynes of our Lady þat hym semed impossible to falle so. And ʒit, for he douted for þe causes afforesayde, and wolde nought make hir open to þe lawe as amysgouerned woman, he wolde haue priuely lefte hir and go fro hir. Bot þe godenesse of God wolde nought suffre þe rightfull man to erre so, ne to be ignorante of þat worthi mystery. And þerefore he sente an aungell þat appered to him in his þ[e]pe and bad hym þat he shulde nought drede to take hir, ffor, he seide, þat that is borne in hir is ðe Holy Goste, and she shall brynge forth a son and þu shall calle his name Ihesu Criste, fforsothe he shall make safe his peple frome here synnes. And þan he arose vp and dede as þe angell bad hym. For he knewe by þe wordes þat þe angell had seide to hym þat Gode shulde be borne of hir, þe whiche alone forþiffeth synnes. And þan he abode still a mayden with hir, for, as doctores seyne, bothe togidre avowede virgynite.

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Chapter Five

Of þe byrthe of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste, and of þe apperynge of þe aungels, and of the shephirdes. Capitulum Quintum.

[f. 16r] The birthe off our Lorde Ihesu Criste was in two and fouirty þere of Octouyan, þe Emperoure of Rome, as doctores seyne, þe whiche emperoure, hauynge lordship of all þe worlde, wolde knowe howe mony prouynces, howe mony cites, howe mony castelles, howe mony townes, and howe mony men were in all þe werlde. And þe/ bad þat all men shulde come oute of subarbes, townes, and villages to her chefe cite, and specially to þat þat þei drewe ony begynnyng of. This discricipcioun was firste done of þe Iustice of Sirie, as þe Euangeliste seythe, Siryne by name. Sirie is a contrey, and, as doctores seyne, it is in þe mydell of þe erthe able to be duelled, and þerfore þe seide discricipcioun was begun þere. And þan maye yhe thinke þat all maner men wolde to doo homage, yche man in his owne cite. And þan amonge all other Ioseph come vp fro Galile, fro þe cite off Nazareth, into Iury into þe cite of Dauid, þe whiche is called Bethleem, for als mykill as he was of þe house of Dauid and of þe menyhe, þat he myght do homage. And he broghte our Lady with hym, for he wolde noght leue so worthi a tresore byhynde hym þat was of þe endeles mercy of God comytted to hym.

Here yhe shall vnderstonde, as it is writen in a boke þat is drawe of þe Thre Kynges of Coleyne, þat Bethleem, as it semeth, was neuer of grete reputacioun or quantite, bot it hath a precious foundement, for þer bene mony caues 'and dennes/ vnder þe erthe, and it is fro Ierusalam eghte male myles of þat contre; and it is no grete towne bot it is called þe cite of Dauid, for Dauid was borne there. And in þat place somtyme stode þe house of Ysaye, Dauid his fader, þe whiche by another name is called also l esse, in þe whiche house also Dauid was borne and [f. 16v]noynted kyng of Israel by Samuel þe prophete. Also in þe same place, God and man was borne of þe virgyn our Lady Seint Marye, and þat place was at þe ende of þe strete þe whiche was called þat tyme þe Couserde Strete. Ffor, for grete hete of þe sonne, as it is yit þe manere there, hit was couerde aboue with blake clothes and suche other thynges. And at þe ende of þe strete was a litell cote before a denne in a rokke ymade in þe maner of a litell selere, and in þat denne Ysaye, Dauid fader, and other men afterwarde, for hete of the sonne, putte vp some necessaries. And [aftyr] Dauid was made kyng of Israel, fro þat

tyme afterwarde Ysaies hous, Dauid fadre, abode [to] þe kyngdome. But þe processe of tyme, Ierusalem and all þe londe aboute was distroyede so þat no man toke kepe of þat house, for it was fallen downe so þat nothyng abode þare but þe stone walles tobroke and fallen downe. And in þe grounde þereof brede was ysolde, betokenynge þat that place abode to þe vse of þe kyngedome. Bot in þe denne and in þe cote, treen veselles and suche manner comun thynges þat come to þe merketh and myght noght be solde were put vpp.

And when, as it is before-seide, all peple, bothe men a[nd] women, comen to doo homage yche to þe cite and towné þat he was borne of, than Ioseph with our Lady, late in þe euenynge, comen. And for it was late and also all places and innes were occupied with str[a]nge folke and gestes, and for þei weren pore folke, þei wente aboute all þe cite and no man wolde þeue þayme herbory, and specially when men seen þat our Lady was a yonge woman syttyng in ane asse, wery of þe iormey and grete with childe and nere to bryngynge forthe. And þarfore in all þe cite no man wolde receyue hir into his house ne inne. Wherefore Ioseph [f. 17r] ledde hir into þe cote and to þe denne byforeside, of þe whiche no man rought þat tyme. And in þat denne þat same nyghte God for vs was borne a man in mykle pouerte of þe virgynne, our Lady Seinte Mary, withoute ony sorowe of birthe, as it was semely, and she wrappede hym in clothes, as þe Eu[a]ngeliste seithe. And in þe cote [afore] þe forside denne 3it of olde tyme abode a crache of stone aboute ane ellene longe, and þereto tied Ioseph his oxe and þe asse þat theye broght with hem. þe asse 3e may thinke þe broghte þat our lady myght sitte vpon for she was wyth childe and myghte ful ðebely goo, þe oxe to selle and with þe price to bye hir lyuelode, for thei weren bot pore folke. And [in] þe forside crache þe blissed virgynne, our Lady Seinte Mari, in þe haye as wele as she myghte, she leyde hir childe betwyxe þe oxe and þe asse, for þeir was no place for hym in þe hospitale, as þe Euangeliste seythe; þe whiche oxe and asse worshipped our Lorde, as it is seide in þe Boke of þe Youthe of our Lorde. And yhe maye thanke also þat he was borne þe Sunday at nyghte.

Sitte more opynly howe our Lorde was borne and all þe manere þereof, our Lady shewed by reuelacioun full feire to Seinte Brigette, þe whiche she telleth þus: *When I was at our Lordes crache in Bethelem I see a feire maiden with childle, yclothed in a white mantell and a sotylle kirtell, by þe whiche I myght clereely see fro withoute þe maydenes flessh, whose wombe was full and myche arise vppe, for she was [thoo] aredy to bringe forthe a childe. With þe whiche was ane honeste olde man, and þeie had both bot/ one oxe and ane asse, þe whiche when þeie were entrede into a denne, þe olde man wente oute, þe oxe and þe asse ytiede to þe crache, and broghte to þe virgynne a candell lyghte, and stikede it in þe walle, and wente oute ayetne þat he wolde [f. 17v] noghte be presente personaly at þe birthe. And þan þe virgynne didde of hir shone and she putte of þe white mantell þat she was couerde with and she remevede þe yeyle fro hir hede and leide it beside hir; she abydyng stille onely in hir kirtell, and hir feir heers as þei had bene of golde wire yspredde abrode vpon hir shuldres, þe whiche þan toke oute two smalle lynnyn cloutes and two clene wollen clothes þat she had brought with hir to wrappe in þe childe when it was borne, and other two small lynen cloutes to keuere and to bynde with [hys] hede, and hem she layed besides hir þat she myghte vse hem in dewe tyme. Whan all þis was done þus arede, þan þe virgyn kneled doune with grete reuerence, puttyng hir to prayer. And forsothe she helde vp hir face to heuen, ylifte vpp to þe estewarde, and þan hir handes and hir yene she lifte vp intently lokyngne into heuenwarde. And as she stode so in hir prayer, I see þan þe childe mevynge in hir wombe, and anone, in a momente and þe stroke of one ye, she broughte forth a son, of þe whiche came oute so vnspekeabl[e] lyghte and brightnes þat þe sunne was noght to be lykenede þareto, ne þe candell þat þe olde man had putte in þe walle in ony manere wyse yaffe ony lyght, bot þat godly lyghte had broght to noghte þe materiall lyghte of þe candell. And þat manere bringynge forth was so sodeyne and in so shorte tyme done þat I myghte noght perceyue ne discerne howe or in what membre she broghte forthe þe childe. Neuerþeles, I see anone þat glorious childe lynnge vpon þe erthe nakede and right whyte, whose flesshe was right clene fro all manere filthe and vnclennes. I see also þe skynne þat it came oute in, lynnge beside hym wrappede togidre and righte shynyng.*
Also þan I herde aungelles songes of merueylouse softenes and grete suet[f. 18r]nes. And anone þe virgynne[s] wombe, þat was before þe birthe swolle, withdrewe itselfe, and þan hir body semede of merueylouse feyrenes and dlicate. And when þe virgynne felde þat sho had broughte forthe þe childe anone she enclyned hir body and ioynede hir handes togidre and with grete honeste and reverence she worshippede þe childe and seide to hym: 5e be welcome, my God, my Lorde, and my sonne. And þan the childe, wepyng and, as it [were], quakyng for colde and hardenes of þe pauemente þare it leye, turnede itselfe a lytell and streghte oute his lymmes, sechynge to fynde refute and fauour of þe moder; þe whiche þe moder þan toke vpp in hir handes and streyned hym to hir breeste, and with þe cheke and hir breeste she made hym hote with grete gladnes and full tendere moderly compassioun; þe whiche þan satte doune vpon þe grounde and putte hir sonne in hir lappe, and toke with hir fyngres craftely his navill, þe whiche anone was kytte awaye, ne þere came ony licoure or blode þereof. And anone she beganne to suadell hym vp diligently, firste in þe litell lynnen cloutes and aftre in wollen, streynynge þe litell body, þe legges, and þe armes with a suadelynge bonde, þe [whyche] was sowed in foure parties of þe ouer litel wollen clothe. Afterwarde, forsothe, she wrappede and bonde aboute þe childes hede þe tother two small lynnen cloutes þe whiche she redede þerfore. This ydo, þe olde man came in and felle downe to þe erthe on his knees and worshippede hym; neuerþelese, he wepte for ioye. Ne þe virgyn þan in þat birthe was chaungede in coloure or in sekenes, ne þere faylede any bodily strenthe in hir as it is wonte to be in other women when þeie bringe forthe a childe, bot þat hir wombe þat was suolle withdrewe it into þe firste state þat it was in or she broughte forthe þe childe; þan she arose vpp hauynge þe childe in þe armes and bothe togedir, þat is to seye, she and [f. 18v] Ioseph, leide hym in þe crache, and her knees ybowede þei worshippede hym with grete ioye and gladnesse.

This is Seinte Brigittes reuelacioun howe our Lady shewede hir all þe manere howe she bare our Lorde, affermynge to hir by reuelacioun also þat certeynely in þe forside maner she broght forthe hir blised sonne our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and with so myche ioye and gladnes of soule þat she felde no greuousnes when he wente oute of hir body, ne ony maner sorowe, þe which yhe maye thenke as þoff yhe were presente and see it done before yowe as she dede.
After this, ye may think, that there was shepheardes in the same contre, wakynge and kepynge their watches, by nighte vpon here flocke a myle from Bethleem, as Master of these stories seythe. To which shepheardes ye Angels of our Lorde appere and tolde hem that our Saviour was borne, and tolde hem also a token seyninge to hem thus: The shall fynde a yonge childe ywrappede in clothes and leyde in a cracche. And then ye [may] think that sodeynely pare was made with the same aungell a multitude of heuenly chyualry preysynge God and seyninge: Ioye be to God in hye thynges (that is to seye in heuenly thynges) and pese in erth to men and women of a gode wylle.

Looke, gostely sustre, this was a swete songe and a comfortable to all deouute men and women, which alwaye, by grace of God, haue a gode wille vtro hym, with which goode wylle, weyle yfolowed and perfourmed in good werkes after a mannes or a womannes powere, he maye neuere perysse and, withoute which, all is noght that we may doo.

And therfore haueth alwaye a gode wille to God, whatsumeeuer fall of that other dele, and dothe as ye may. Ande when ye forseide aungelles weren gone in/te heuen ayeine, yhe may [f. 19r] thenke howe ye shepheardes spoken togedere, seyninge this: Lette vs goo to Bethleem and se this that hath be seide to vs that our Lorde hath shewede vs. And then ye may thenke howe ye gone thider with haste, and when ye come thider, they fonde our Lady and Ioseph, and ye childe putte in ye cracche, as it was before-seide to hem of ye aungell.

Nowe beholdeth inwarde in yowre soule, [the] vspekeable charite and [the] euerylastynge mercy of God, howe [he that] is Lorde of all ye vnyuersite of creatures wolde of his incomprehensible godenesse take our kynde of that blissede virgynye, and beborne in so myche pouerte that we myght be made euerylastynge riche; and be leide in a cracche betuene two bestes, ye kynde of aungelles and jereuer of all riches, vnder ye governance of a mayden, ye governour of all creature, ye Lorde of all thynges in ye likenesse of a seruante, that we myght be made hye with aungelles. And in this consideracioun, mekely and hertly thanke hym that he wolde vouchesafe of his endeles mercy and godenesse, so worthy a Lorde, frely to take our kynde and be borne so porely for our euerylastynge helthe of that blissed holy virgynye.

After this ye [may] think howe ye shepheardes when ye seyen hym, bei knewe hym by ye wordes that ye aungell had seide to hem, and also by
he grace of God that they were lightenede with. And that yhe may beholde
howe theye lowely with myche gladnesse and reuerence worshippede hym
and happily offerede to hym suche gode as peie hadden. And all folke that
herden þereof merueyllede, þat is to seye, of þo thinges þat were seide to
hem of þe shepehirdes. Bot our Lady kepte all wele in hir herte, happely þat
she myght þe better telle it to hem þat shulde write it afterwarde. And þan
yhe maye [f. 19v] thenke howe þe shepehirdes wente ayeyne to here shepe,
glorifiynge and preysynge God of þat benefete done to all þe worlde
generally and specyally shewed to hem. In all thies thynge kepeth
yourselfe presente als þoffe yhe hadde sene all þis done affore yowe. And
ymageneth also what reuerence, worshippe and service yhe wolde haue doo
there to our Lorde and our Lady and to Ioseph, and howe hertly haue
thonked oure Lorde for his grete benefete ydo to mankynde, and also howe
gladly yhe couthe suffre pouerte and penance for his loue, þat þus myche
toke and suffrede for yow, for suche affeccions bien ryght profitable and
meritorye. And þis may be þe meditacioun of our Lordes birthe. Deo
gracias.

179 þat herden þereof merueyllede] merueyllde that herdeo therof C. 181 all wele] wel all C.
182 And þan yhe maye f 19v thenke howe] aftyr thys C. 186 hadde sene] seygth C. 188 and] to C.
189 his] thys C. 192 Deo gracias] om. C.
Chapter Six

Of þe Circumciision of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and of þe suete name Ihesu Criste. Capitulum sextum.

The Circumciision of our Lorde Ihesu Criste was þe eghte daye of his birthe, þe whiche þe Euangeliste telleth shortly þus: Aftra þat þe eght dayes were fulfilled þat þe childe shulde be circumcisede, his name was callede Ihesu Criste, þe whiche was callede of þe aungell er he were conceyuede in his modre wombe.

Firste yhe shall here vnderstonde þat þe circumciusion was ane obseruance in þe olde lawe, yȝeue firste of God to þe holy patriarche Abraham and so forthe by hym to all þe peple of Israell þat came of hym. And it was aȝeinste þe originale synne vseite amonge hem as cristendome amonge vs and, by þe whiche also, þeie were diseuerde and departede fro other peple, as we, be cristendome, fro hethen folke. And it was a full grete peyne, for it was done in a ful tendere place of a mannes body with a knyfe of stone.

Now þan thenke howe grete lowenes it was þe lorde of þe lawe to meke hymselfe to þe lawe, and namely to so peynefull ane obseruance of þe lawe, [f. 20r] and also howe grete charite, for here he [schedde] firste his preciouse blode for þe heltthe of mankynde. And in þis consideracioun haueth pyte and compassion to se þat feyre tender childe and youre louely Lorde yputte to so grete peyne so yonge. And also yhe may thenke þat for peyne of þat kytyngye he wepeth and cryeth, as þe maner of children is, for he hadde perfitely taken mankynde, in no wyse leuyngye þe kynde of God, in þe whiche he is euermore euen to þe fadre. And therfore he sufferede full myche peyne in our kynde, þe whiche is impassible in his owne, and so he sufferede in his circumciision full mykell payne and therfore haue pite and compassioun of hym and of his blissed moder. Also thenke howe grete heuynes it was to hir to se hym wepe and in so grete peyne. And þerfore yhe may thenke she conforteth hym with all þe diligence þat she kanne in wypynge þe teres fro his yene and kyssyngye hym, with other confortes as longeth to a moder to do to hir owne belouede childe. [For ther was neuyr modyr in erthe that euyr lousyd her chylde] so mykell as she lousyd hym.

And in þis meditacioun blisseth and thonketh hym of þis grete benefete and of all other frely and mercifull yshewede and done to mankynde, and bethe meke and kynde for his louve þat was þus meke and kynde for yowe. And right as he sufferede to be circumciidede for your loute, right so
circumcideth yourselfe for his loue, bothe bodily and gostely. For in two
manere we shulde [circumcyde] ourselfe, as Seint/ Bernarde seythe. One is
withoute, in þe fleshe, and þat other within, in soule. The outwarde
circumcioun stondeth in thre thynges: þat is to seye, in habite, þat it be
noght notable; in dede, þat it be noght repreuable; and in worde, þat it be
noght dispysable. The inwarde also stondeth in thre thynges: þat is to seye,
in thoghte, þat it be holi; in affeccion, þat it be clene; and in intencioun, þat
it be righte.

Also yhe shall vnderstonde þat for mony causes oure Lorde wolde \be/
circumciside, affre þe seyyng of [f. 20v] doctoure, of þe whiche I woll tell
to yowe to your conforthe gostely. One is þat he wolde shewe by þat that he
had take verrey flesse, for he wyyste wele þat þere shulde efterwarde come
heretikes þat wolde seye þat he had take no verre body, bot a fantastike. And
therefore, to destoye þat heresye, he wolde \be/ circumciseide and shede his
blode, ffor a fantastike body may shede no blode. Another is þat þe Iewes
shulde be vnexcusabile, ffor si þif he had noght bene circumciide þai myght
haue excused hemselfe and seide: Perfore we rescyeue þe nought, ffor þou
ert noght like our faders; þat is to seye, by circumciyne of þiselfe.
Another was to preve þat Moyses Lawe was gode and holi, ffor he come
noght, as he seyth hymselfe, to breke þe lawe bot to fullif it. Another is þat
he wolde shewe by þat þat he was of þe kynde of Abraham as to þe flesse,
þe whiche toke of God þe commandemente of circumcioun, and to whome
þe beheste of Criste was made, þat is to seye, þat he shulde come of his
blode. Another is þat he wolde commende to vs by his ensample [the] vertue
of obediens in kepyng of þe lawe þat he was noght bounde to.

Also, at þis circumcioun his name was called Ihesu Criste, as yhe
haue herde before of þe Eu[a]ngelists wordes. This name was ffirste yputte
to hym of þe Fader of heuen and so shewedde by an auangel to our Lady and
Ioseph, and by hem made open to other. This is þe name þat is so swete and
comfortable to þe louers of God, ffor, as Seint Bernarde seyth, it is hony in
þe moueth, melody in þe yhere, and in þe herte a swetnes þat may noght be
told. This name, as Bernarde seyth, [as oyle schynyth, iprechyld]; it fedeth,
ythoughte; it eseth and anoynyth, ycallode into helpe. Also another worthi
clerke seyth þus: Ihesu Criste is a swete name and a delectable, |a/ name [f.
21r] confortynge a synner; and a name of blissed hope; þerfore, he seyth,
Ihesu, be to me Ihesu Criste: þat is to seye, a sauyour, for Ihesu Criste in
Enlisshe is als mykell to seye as a sauyour.

38 circumcyde] C, circumciide ND. 46 whiche] inser. C, whiche childe ND. 47 to yowe]
30w summe C; comforthe gostely] gostly conforte C; he2] inser. C. 48 take verrey flesshe]
ND. 61 of] the byddynge of C. 63 before] afore; Euangelists] euangelysts C, euangelists
ND. 64 an] the C. 68 as] also as seyint C; as oyle schynyth iprechyld] C, om. ND. 72 to]
Also, it is a name of grete vertu. Wherfore another worthi clerk seyth

\[75\] hus: This is þe name þat zafe sight to blynde, to defe herynge, goynge to halte, speche to dowme, lyfe to dede men; and þe vertue of þis name drofe oute \of bodies/, ytake or besegede, all þe power of þe fende. And in þe name of Ihesu every kne be bowede of heuenly thynges, ertyly thynges, and helle, as Seynte Poule seyth. And thare is no name vnner heuene, oute-take þis, þat we may be saued by, as þe same appostell seyth.

\[80\] All þis commendacioun of þe name of Ihesu, and mykell other þat is seide and may be seide þerof, vnnderstondeth it is noght symple and barely for þis name Ihesu Criste, ywritten or spoken, but for hym þat þis worshipfull name betokeneth, þe whiche is our blessed Lorde Ihesu Criste, God and man, þe sauyour of all mankinde, to whome þis swete name [ys] specyally and trewly appropyrde, and thercfore it is so swete to þe louers of God and of so grete vertue as it is before-seide.

\[75\] to defe herynge| herynge to defe C.  \[76\] men} om. C.  \[78\] thynges and helle} and helly C.  \[79\] is| inser. C.  \[80\] same| yntake C.  \[82\] it| om. C.  \[85\] all} om. C;  ys| C, om. ND.  \[87\] it| om. C;  before-seide| forseyde C.
Chapter Seven

Of þe Apparicyon of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, the whiche we call twelfth day, and of the comynge of þe kynges with here offerynges. Capitulum septimum.

Aftre þe Circumcioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, yhe may thinke ordynately aftre þe fourme of Holy Chirche anothere feyre meditacioun of þe Apparicioun or of ðe Apperynge of our Lorde, þe whiche we calle þe Twelfe Daye. And it is called Apparicioun or Apperynge, for þat day our Lorde firste appered to þe peple þat was noght firste chosen; for þe pepill of Israel was firste chosen and to hem was þe lawe [f. 21v] þeuen, and thei were specyally called þe peple of God, and all other generally, folkes [as we calle now paynemys. And to thre kynges] of hem our Lorde wolde vochesafe þis day firste to appere, and in hem three was betokenede þe eleccioun or chesynge of all Cristen pepill, and therfore it is callede þe Apperynge of our Lorde. Wherfore it muste nedis be a solemne feste amonge Cristen peple, ffor þis day were we in thies thre men firste called to be heyres of euerlastynge heritage. And þis daye was our Lor[de] in his blissede manhode thertene days olde, bot we Englisse peple called it þe Twelfe Daye, for it is þe twelwe day fro þe birth. And þis day comen þe thre forseide kynges to Ierusalem oute of þe este in þe days of Kyngge Herode, as þe Euanegeliste maketh mençyon seying þus: Where his he þat is borne þe kyngge of Iewes? We see his sterre in þe este and we come with ȝiftes to worship hym.

Of thies thre kynges mykell thynge is writen in a booke þat is drawe of hem, of þe whiche somewhat I wolle tell yowe in þis presente chapitle, as God wol ȝiue me grace. Ffirste yhe shall ynderstonde aftre þe tellynge of þe forseide boke þat þei were thre grete kynges and of diuers kyngedomes ferre atwynne, and none of hem wiste of other, but in one tym þei were enformeade of þe sterre þat apperede in þe nyghte of our Lordes birthe, þe [whyche] was proficiede before of one heythene prophete, þe whiche is callede Balaham. And þat sterre app[er]ede apon an hill þat is callede Vaus, longe ywayted þer of twelue astromeres yordeynede therto. And þat sterre was noght made as she is paynted in þis contre, bot she hadde mony longe bemes, more brenny[n]ge þa[n] brondes. And þe bemes were ymeyede as it had be eane egle fleyngge and betynge þe [eyre], ande þe sterre had in herre þe face of a childe, \and/ aboue a sygne of a crosse. And þere was a voce herde
in þe sterre seyinge: [f. 22r] [This daye] is borne þe Kyng of Iewes, þe whiche is here abidyng and her Lorde. Gothe to seche hym and to worship hym.

And when þe forseide kynges were enformede of þe forseide sterre by astronomeres, doctoure, and prophetes suche as were amonghe hem, þei ioyede right mykell þat þei myght see in here tyme þe sterre þat was so longe prophecyede before. And þan þei made hem redy with grete araye as þai myght, feyreste and nobeleste, as þe voce fro þe sterre badde, to se[c]he þe Lorde and kyng of Iewes yborne and to worship hym. And so myche nobleloker [and] worshiploker þat þei knewe yborne an hier kyngse aboue hem, þe whiche þei purposede to seche and to worship.

And þan yhe may thinke alwaye þat howe þe sterre wente before hem and when þei wente, she wente, and when þei stode, she stode, and in hir vertue, þat is to seye, in hir brightnes she lightede al here wayes. And in all þe cites þat þai came by, þe whiche nether daye ne nyght were shytte fro grete pece þat was þat tyme it semyde daye. And afre þese glorious kynges weren kommen oute of þe costes of here kyngedomes, þei come to other [strauenge] londes and kyngedomes. And fro þat tyme forewarde þei wenten by wateres, desertes, monteynes, playnes, valeys, and horrible diches withoute ony lettyng, ffór all was to hem playne, and þat that was vnrighte and sharpe was made to hem in playne weyes, [ne] they restede day ne nyght to take ony innes, bot bothe here hostes and bestes,yll thei come to Bethelhem, aboden withoute mete or drynke. And to hem all in þe weye, it semede bot one daye.

And when eueryche of þe kynges with her hostes were two myle from Ierusalem, a thike myste and derkenesse couerde al þe londe, and in þat myste and derkenes þei loste þe sterre. And þe cause þereof was, as some [f. 22v] doctores seyne, þat thei shulde be compellede to seche eftre þe place of our Lordes birthe, so þat þei myghte be made certeyne of his birthe, bothe by apperynge of þe sterre and also by þe tellyng and asserycon of þe prophecye þat þei shulde here in þe cite of Ierusalem. For there dwellede þe scrybes and doctores of þe lawe þat couthe telle þe scriptures and þe prophecyes of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, as yhe shall here afterwarde.

And when þe thre forseide kynges neghede to þe cite of Ierusalem, the firste kyngse come beside þe Mounte of Caluarye þat ooure Lorde was afterwarde crucifiyede vpon. And beside þat hill was a place þat three weyes come togider in. And therfore, þe myste and þe derkenes and ignorance of
þe weyes, the firste kynge, þat is callede Melchior, with his company, abode and wente no ferther. And a litell aftewarde, in þe same myste and derkenesse, the secunde kynge, þat is called Balthazar, with his hoste come by a speciall weye and abode in þe derkenesse beside þe Mounte of Olyuete, in a litell towne there þat is callede Galile. And of þe same litell towne, þe Gospell speketh mykell and Holy Wrytte, þfor in þe same litell towne þe apostels and disciples, before the Resurreccioun of our Lorde and aftre for drede of þe Iewes, withoute þe cite of Ierusalem, were wonte pruelye to come togidre. Bot there is a contre, þe whiche also is callede Galile, and þat is fro Ierusalem as it were thre deyes iorneye or þere aboute.

Than when þe two forseide kynges, þat is to seye, Melchior and Balthazar, abode in þe forseide myste and derkenes a litell, þe myste and derkenes arose vpp. And when þei sene þat þei were nyghe þe cite, þan euery kynge, 3it vnwarly of other, with here hostes token þe weye to þe citewarde. And when þei [f. 23r] come to [the] place þat þe thre forseide weyes come togedre, in byside þe Mounte of Caluare, þan þe thirde kynge, þat is callede Iaspar, come with his hoste. And so thies thre gloriousse kynges with here hostes in þat threfolde weye metten togidre, and þof none of hem had seye other affore, 3it they kysten togidres. And þoffe þei were of diuers langage, 3it hem semede þat eueryche of hem spake others langage. And when þeþye had exponeþe eueryche to other þe cause of here comynge and accorde all in one, þaie were mykill þe gladder and more feruente to do þat þat þei comen fôr.

And þan þeþe maye thenke howe þei gone into þe cite and asken where þe Kynge of Iewes shulde be borne, as þe Gospell maketh mencion. For happenþe þei trowed þat so excellente a childe shulde nowrewhere be borne bot in þe chefe cite. And when Kynge Herode herde þis, he was gretyly distroblède and all þe pepyll of þe cite with hym. Ffor happenþy he drede þat þe kynge þat was newe borne shulde putte hym oute of his kyngedome, for he was bot an aliane ytornede to þe Iewes lawe and ymade here kynge by þe Emperoure and þe Romaynes. Anþer cause myght þat þei comen so sodanly vpon hem and with so mykell peple, ffor it is seide in þe forseide boke þat here hostes was so mykell þat þe cite within myght noght herborowe hem, bot for þe moste parte þei abode withoute and laye aboute þe cite as þoffe it had bene besegede.

And þan þeþe may thenke howe the Kynge Herode callede togedyr all þe prynces of prestes and the scribes of þe peple, for thei were chosen men

amonge hem, as bysshoppes and grete clerkes amonge vs in spiritualte of Holy Chirche. And of hem he askede where our Lorde Ihesu Criste shulde be borne, and [f. 23v] thei tolden hym in Bethelem as they knewe by scripture and propheye. Here yhe may vnderstonde þe blyndenes of þe Iewes, þe whiche tolden by Scripture þe place of our Lordes birthe and þitte þeye wolden noght beleue in hym, and so here knowynge, as Seinte Gregore seythe, was to hem witnessynge of dampaccioun, and to vs help of beleue. For, sethe þeye knewe þat he shulde be borne and þe place, and beleuede not in hym, it was þe more witnessynge of dampaccioun to hem. And so by here tellynge þeie opynede þe weye to vs, and by here mysbeleue þei putten þe grace of God fro here herites.

Than aftre þis yhe may thanke howe Kyngode Herode callede þe kynges priuely to hym and diligently lerneth of hem þe tyme of þe sterre þat apperede to hem, þat þitte þeie come not aȝeyne to hym, by knowynge of þe tyme and of þe place he myghte knowe where he was, and so sle hym. And þan he sende hem into Bethelem [seyinge]: Gothe ande enquereth diligently aftre þe childe, and when yhe have founde hym bryngeth me worde, þat I may come also and worship hym. This he seide bot of falsenes and deceyute þat he myghte þe lightloker deceyue [hem] and make hem to come aȝeyne to hym, as Lyre seyth, ðeþynge hymselfe to worshippe hym þat he wolde haue slane, as was opynly shewed afterwarde by slaynge of þe Innocentes, as yhe shall here by þe grace of God in þis boke in another chapitle folowynges.

Than, when Kyngode Herode had seide þe forseide wordes to hem, þay wente here weye to Bethelemwarde. And anone þe sterre þat þeye had sene in the este, and þe whiche þeie had loste in þe forseide myste and derkenes, wente before hem as she dede affore tyme til she came and stode ouer þe place where þe childe was, and when þe sene here, þei ioyede with full grete ioynge. And þan yhe may beholde howe thei entre into the [f. 24r] cote and denne þat our Lorde was borno in, by þe couerde strete of þe whiche I haue tolde yowe in þe chapele of þe birth of our Lorde, fفور our Lady and Ioseph were þere into þat tyme. And þere þei founden þe childe with his moder, our Lady Seynte Mary. And þan yhe may thenke howe they fallen downe on here knees and reuerently worshipen hym, and, here tresoures yopenede, þei offeren vnto hym golde, encense, and mirre. Golde þai offerde, eftre þe seyinge of Seynte Bernarde, to þe blissede virgyne for þe
helpynge of hir nede; encense, aȝenste þe stynke of þe stable; mirre, for þe sadlyng of þe childes membres and also to putte aweye euyll wormes. Also, Seinte Gregore seythe in þe Omelye of þis feste þat be golde þei betoken hym a kyngye; by ensence, God; by mirre, dedely, for þe helthe of mannes soule. Bot þere bene some heretikes, he seyth, þat beleuen hym God, bot þei beleuen hym noght ouerall regnynge. Thies þat beleuen þus offren hym sense, bot þei offren hym no golde. Other þere bene also þat trowen hym kyngye, bot þei denyen hym God. Thies offren hym golde, bot þei will noght offre hym ensence. And some other þere bene þe whiche beleuen hym God and a kyngye, bot þei denyen hym to haue take dedely flesshe; þies offren hym golde and sense, bot þei denye to offre hym mirre, þat is to seye, þei wollen noght beleue hym to haue take dedely flesshe for þe helthe of mankynde. Bot let ey vs, seïp he, offre to our Lorde yborne golde; þat is to seye, þat we knowleche hym ouerall regnynge. Late vs offre hym sense; þat is to sey, þat we beleue þat he þat apperede in tyme was God before ony tymes. Late vs offre to hym also mirre; þat is to seye, þat hym þat we beleuen in his godhode vnpassible, late vs beleue also to haue be in our flesshe dedely. Also he seyth in þe same Omelye folowyngene, shortly forto seye: [f. 24v] That be golde also is betokenede wysedome; by sense, holy prayer and heuenly desires; by mirre, mortyficacioun of our flesshe; and all þis moste vs offre gostely to our Lorde. Also yhe shall vnderstonde, as it is writen in þe forside Boke of þe Thre Kynges of Coleyne, þat when þei offerede þe forside ȝiftes to our Lorde he was in his manhode thirteene dayes olde, as I haue tolde yowe before in þis chapitile. And as in þe persone of man aftre his age he was somwhat fatte, as childrene bene, and leye ywrappede in pore clothes vp to þe armes. And his modre, our Lady Seynte Marye, as it is founde in mony other ensamples and bokes, was a full persone and somwhat broune. And in þe presence of þe three kynges she was clothede in a pore white mantell, þe whiche she helde closede before hir with þe lefte hande, and hir hede, saue hir face, was all wrappede aboute with a lynne clothe. And she satte aboue þe cracche, and with hir right hande she helde vpp þe childes hede. And when þe thre kynges had kyssede þe erthe before þe cracche and þe childes handes, and had also offrede deuoutely and reuerently to þe childe Ihesu here ȝiftes, þei leyden hem deuoutely in þe cracche byside þe childes hede and his modres knees. And shortly forto seye aftre þe menynge of þe forside boke, after þe kynges had worshippede

our Lorde and offrede to hym þe forseide ȝiftes and gloriously perfourmende all þat þei come fore oute of þe este, ffro thens forwarde both þei and here hostes horse and other bestes þat comen fro so ferre contrees withoute mete or drynke in here manere, and other dedely men, beganne to slepe. And all þat deye in Bethelmen and other places aboute, þei ȝaffe hem to riste and solace, and mekely tolde and expone to all þe folke in þat contrey þe cause whi þe sterre [f. 25r] had ledde hem so merueylously fro here kyngedomes.

And when þai had take an ansuere in here slepe þat þei shulde noght go aȝeyne to Kynge Herode, as þe Euangeliste maketh mencion, by another weye thei wente aȝeine into here kyngedomes. And fro þat tyme afterwarde, þe sterre þat wente before hem apperede nomore. Bot as þe þei wente aȝeine into here kyngedomes, by manere of men þai tuken here innes by day and nyghte in þe weye, and vnneth in two yhere þei myghten performe, by gides and other to expone ȝoþa/ hem þe wayes þat þei wente, to come aȝeine into her kyngedomes. And whe[n] þei come to þe hill þat is called Vaus, of þe whiche I haue tolde you before in þis chapitile þat þe sterre firste apperede vpon, þer þei maden a chapell in þe worship of þe kynge of Iewes þat þei had soghte, and worshippede and offrede ȝiftes to. And in þe town þat was bynethe þe hille þei restede of þe trauayles of here iorne. And þare, righte by one acorde, þei chesen þe place of here beriynde. And aftre þe Ascencioun of our Lorde, Seynte Thomas þe apostell come into þat contreye by þe sonde of God, and into þat tyme þai weren alyue. And þan/ Seynte Thomas, thurgh þe grace of þe Holy Goste, baptizede hem with all here peple. And þan/ þei were ionede of Seynte Thomas to preche þe worde of God, and afterwarde he made hem archebisshopes. And so aftre in gode age and holy lyuyng þei diede and were beryede at þe forseide hill as þei hadde made couenante, and fro þens þei were translatede by Seynte Helene to Constantynople, and fro þennes to þe cite of Mediolane þat Seynte Ambrose was sometyme bisshope of, and fro thens to Coleyne, and there lyen her blissede bodies into þis daye.

Forþermore, yhe shall vnderstonde þat Seynte Gregory seyth apon þat [f. 25v] texte of þe Gospell of þis same daye: Per aliam uiam reuersi sunt in regionem suam. This ȝis/ to seye: Be another weye þei turnde aȝeine into here contre. Some grete thynge, seythe he, thies kynge betoken to vs þat

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183 to hym þe\] the\] C. 184 þe\] om. C. 186 withoute\] ȝoute inser. C. or\] and C. 188 þe\] om. C. 193 into\] to inser. C. afterwarde\] after C. 194 before\] aforo C. 195 manere\] þe maner C. 197 ȝoþa\] om. C. 198 when\] whenne C, whe ND. 199 before\] aforo C; firste\] inser. C. 200 maden\] dede make C. 201 þe\] a C. 202 restede\] de inser. C. 203 accorde\] assent C. 206 thurgh\] be C; Goste\] inser. C. 207 ȝof\] to C. 208 aftre\] aftyrwarde C. 209 made\] inser. C. 212 lyen\] reste C. 214 Forþermore\] Ferthýrmore also C. 216 into\] in C. 217 thies\] these, se inser. C.
heie turnede aȝeine into here kyngedomes by another weye. And shortly
for to ende aftre he menynge of his wordes, he seythe ßat paradise is our
contreye, and we wente thennes be pride and inobedience, by folowyng of
visible thynges and be tastynge of he mete ßat was forbode vs. All ßis yhe
shall vnderstonde was in ße firste man, ßfor in hym we fel[le] in alle ße
forseide [synnys]. Bot it is nedefull, he seyth, ßat we go thidre aȝeine by
wepyng, by obedience, by dispisyng of visible thynges, and by refrenynge
ße appetite of our flessh. And ßis maye be ße meditacioun of ße
Apparicioun of our Lorde, ße whiche we calle ße Twelte Daye.
Chapter Eight

Of the purificacioun of our Lady Seynte Marie þat is callede Candelmesdaye. Capitulum octaum.

Aftre þe forseide kynges had offrede here 3iftes to our Lorde and weren gone azyeine into here kyngedomes, as it is written in þe same Boke of þe Thre Kynges, our Lady abode stille 3it a litell while in þe cote and denne þat our Lorde was borne in. Bot þe fame of hir and of þe thre kynges growynge, she wente with hir sone Ihesu into another denne vnder þe erthe ymade of a rokke, for drede of þe Iewes. And there she abode into þe daye of hir Purificacioun. And þat was þe fourty day fro þe birth of our Lorde and it is calledde Purificacioun, þat is to seye in open Englisshe, a clensynge. Not þat she was clensed of ony thynge, for she had conceyuede of no man bot of þe Holy Goste, bot for she dede of hir owne lownes þe same obsuerance þat other women dide þat had conceyuede of men. Ffor [f. 26r] it was bode in þe olde lawe þat when a woman had conceyuede of a man, and ybore a knaue childe, she shulde be vnclene seuen dayes; vnclene, þat is to seye, fro þe felishippe of men and fro þe entre of þe temple. But seuen dayes fulfillede, she was clene as to þe felshippe of man, bot 3itte as to þe enterynge of þe temple she was vnclene vnto þe [thre] and thirty daye. And þan at þe laste, fourty dayes fulfillede, þe fourty daye she enterede þe temple and offrede þe childe with 3iftes. And 3iffe she bare a woman, þe dayes were ydoublede both as to þe felshippe of men and to þe entryng of þe temple.

To þis lawe our Lady was not bounden, ffor she had not conceyuede of ony man, bot by wyrkyng of þe Holy Goste. And þerfore she was noghte bounden to þat lawe bot of hir owne lownes, right as our Lorde Ihesu wolde of his lownes b[e] circumcidede. And also happily, þat she walde not be seyne syngulere, ne þeue ony occasioun to þe peple þat was þat tyme to deme evyll and to seye þat she was inobediente to þe lawe of Moyyes. Ffor þeue she wolde haue excusede hirselfe and seide þat she conceyuede neuer of man, and þerfore she was not bounde þerto, who wolde haue leuede hir þat tyme? No man, ffor it semede impossible. Therfore it was necessarie þat she shulde conforme hirselfe to other, fortto exclude þe sclawndre and fals demynge þat myght falle, þeue she had not do so.

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Here, as me semethe, is a feire ensample to all religiouse men and
women howe gladly theye shulde obeye to þe obseruaunces of here reules
and þe byddynges of here soureyynes þat þei be bounden to, sethe our Lorde
Ihesu Criste and his blisseed modre were so obediente to þat þei weren
notbounde [f. 26v] to. And also it is a generale ensample to all Cristen
peple howe gladly [and] howe lowly þei shulden obeye to þe byddynges and
ordinances of here modre Holy Chirche. And also þis ensample of our Lorde
and of our Lady is mykel aȝeynes suche þat bene synguler and wolen not
comfoure hemselfe to other in thyngeþat þat bene not euyle, but by here
synglerte þeue oþer cause of grochynge and to speke heuely. Also þis feste
is callede amonge vs Candelmas, for þis daye we vsen to bere tapres and
wax candelles ylyghte in þe worshippe of our Lady and in betokenyng of
here clennes and þe lighte of grace þat was in hir and by hir yȝeue to all þe
worlde.

Aftre þis yhe may beholde with your gostely ye howe aftre þat þe
dayes of þe purgacioun of our Lady were fulfillede aftre þe Lawe of
Moyses, as þe Euangeliste seythe, our Lady and Ioseph bare our Lorde
Ihesu Criste into þe cite of Ierusalem þat þei myghtt presente hym in þe
temple to God, as þe manere of þe lawe was, and þat þei myghte also þeue
for hym a sacrific, as it is writen in þe lawe of our Lorde, a peire of turtures
or two chekeynes of dowes; þis was þe offerynge of þe pore peple by þe
Lawe, bot þe offerynge of þe riche folke was a lombe.

And here yhe may considre þe mekenesse of our Lady in þat that she
chese þe offerynge of pore folke and noght of riche. And in þat same tyme
ythe may thynke also þat there was a man in Ierusalem whose name was
Symeon, and þis man, as þe Euangeliste beres witnes, was a rightfull man
abydyncne þe conforte of þe peple of Israel and þe Holy Goste was in hym.
And he had taken an answere of þe Holy Goste in his deoute prayers þat
he shulde noght dye till [f. 27r] he had sene our Lorde Ihesu Criste. For he
had full grete desire to se hym, as Seynte Austene seythe in a sermone þat
he maketh of þis same feste, in þe whiche he seythe þat þis olde rightfull
man shulde seye euerye day in his prayers þus: When shal he come and
when shall he be borne? When shall I see hym? Troweste þu he shall fynde
me here? Trowest þu þat I shall dure? Troweste þu þese yen shulde seen
hym by whome þe yen of þe herte shulde be opend? This, Seynte Austyn
seythe, he seide in his prayers. And for his desire he toke an swere of þe
Holy Goste þat he shulde noght dye till he had sene our Lorde Ihesu Criste.
Than yhe may thynke how by reuelacioun of þe Holy Goste he entrede into þe temple. And when he was come into þe temple, þan yhe may beholde also howe our Lady with þe childide and Ioseph entrent into þe temple þat þei myghte do aftre þe custome of þe lawe for hym, as it is before-seyde.

And þan yhe may beholde howe þe forseide holy olde man with full grete ioye of herte receyueth hym in his armes and blissede God, thonkyng heym for þat grete benefete and seyth: Nowe Lorde, þu leueste þi seruante aftre þi worde in pees (þat is to seye, fro hense forwarde þu shalte me go out of þis lyfe in pees of herte) for myne yen haue yseyne þyne helthe; [þat ys, hym þat þu haste ordeynyd helthe] \as/ to all mankynde. Ffor Seynte Austyn seyth: *The helthe of God is our Lorde Ihesu Criste*; vnderstondeth þat he [ys] ordeynede of God þe Fadre þe helthe or þe sauyour of mankynde.

Aftre þis yhe may thenke also howe our Lady and Ioseph were merueylynge on þo thynge þat [were] seide of our Lorde þat tyme of Symeoun, and before of þe kynges, of þe shepehirdes, and of Zacharye, and of Elizabeth. And in þat same tyme also þere was an holy prophetesse, [f. 27v] Anne by name. And in þe same houre, yhe may thenke, þat this was do, she come into þe temple by reuelacioun of þe Holy Goste. And she was a deuoute wydowe and ferre gone into age, ffor the Eu[angeliste] seythe þat she had lyuede seuen yhere with one housebonde fro hir maydenhode, and aftre his deth she abode a trewe wydowe vnto foure score yhere and foure; þe whiche wente noghte fro þe temple, seruynge our Lorde in fastynge and prayer daye and nghte. And þis same wydowe knowelchede to our Lorde, thonkyng heym of so grete benefete fulfillede. And she spake of hym to all tho þat abode þe redempcioun of Ierusalem, tellynge hem þat our aȝeye-byer was borne. And when þai had performede all [that] was to be done aftre þe Lawe of Moyses, þei wente aȝeine into Galile into her cite of Nazareth. This is Galile þe contrey þat I haue tolde yow of in þe next chapitle before þis, and also in þe chapetle of the salutation of our Lady. And Nazareth is þe cite þat þe auengell Gabriel salutede our Lady in, as I haue tolde yowe in þe same chapitle.

Here I may telle yow a gode tale to your edificacioun accordyngne to þis feste, and it is writen in þe Legende þat is callede Aurea aftre þis same feste. Hit is seide þer þat ther was a noble houswyfe þat had a speciale deuocyon to our Lady, and she had belde a chapell byside hir house, and she had a
preste of hir owne, and she wolde euery day here a messe of our Lady. Bot þe feste of þe Purification of our Lady neghynge, þe preste for ane erande of his was ferre thennes, and so þat day þe lady myght haue no messe. Wherfore, when she was weyled mykell, she wente in hir owne chapell and before an autere of our Lady and laye doune prostrate. Than sodanly she was made in an extasye or a suowyng of mynde, and hir semede þat she [f. 28r] was in a feire chirche. And þan she lokede aboute, and she sawe a grete company of maydenes comyngge into þe chirche, and before hem wente a feyre virgyn ycrowned with a dyamande. And when þei were all sette downe by order, þan ther come in another company of yonge men and þei sette doune also by order. And þare come in one þat bare a grete bondell of tapres, and he ȝafe þe firste virgynne þat wente before other a tapre and after \to/ þat other vyrgyynes and yonge men also.

Afterwarde he come to þe housewyfe and ȝafe hir a tapre, þe whiche she toke gladly. þan she lokede aboute þe quere and she sawe two taperberers and a subdeken, a deken, and a preste yclothede in holy clothes, goyng to þe auter as þof þei wolde syngynge messe. And hir semede þat þe two collettes weren Seint Laurence and Seinte Vyncente, þe [dekene] and þe [subdekene] two auungelles, þe preste our Lorde Ihesu Criste. And when þe Confiteor was yseide, two feire yonge men wente into þe mydle of þe quere and begane þe ofifice of þe messe with ane hye voce and deuocioun, and þe other þat weren in þe quere folowyngge affre. And when it was comen to þe offerande, þe quene of þe virgynes and þe other virgynes, with other þat weren in þe quere, kneled doune and, as þe manner is, offrede vpp here tapres to þe preste. And when þe preste abode þe houswyfe þat she shulde offre hir tapre to hym, and she wolde not come, the quene of virgyns sente to hir by a messynger, seynge to hir þat she dede vncurtesly þat she made þe preste abide so longe. And she answered æseyne þat þe preste shulde go furthe in his messe, for she wolde not offre hir tapre to hym. Than þe quene sente another messynger, to þe whiche she answerede þat þe tapere þat was ȝeue to hir, she wolde vttterly ȝeue [f. 28v] to no man, bot she wolde kepe it of deuocyoun.

Than þe quene of virgynes bad þe messyngere þat he shulde go to hir æzene and praye hir to offere hir tapere or elles [he] shulde vviolently take it oute of hir handes. And when þe messyngere come æseyne and prayed hir
and she walde not, he seide þat he had in comandemente þat he shulde take it violently fro hir. And þan he toke þe taper with grete violence, and was aboute to take it fro hir, bot she helde it strongly, and manly defende hirselfe. And when þere had be longe stryfè bytwene hem, and þe taper was violently drawe hider and thider, sodanly þe tapere brake and þe haluendele abode in þe messyngere handes and þe tother dele in þe ladys handes. And at þis grete brekyng, sodeynly she come æsein to hirselfe, and [fonde herself besyde the autyr wher sche hadde leyde herself and] þe taper in hir honde tobroke; of þe which she meruylede gretely, and ʒafe grete thonkyngne to þe blissede virgyne þat lete hir not be withoute messe þat daye, bot made hir to be at suche an office. And þan she diligently put vp þat taper and kept it for a grete relik, and it is seyde þat all þo þat bene touchede þarwith, what sekenes þat euer þei be holde with, anone they be deliuerde. Deo gracias.
Chapter Nine

Of þe goynge of Ioseph with our Lorde and with our Lady into Egypte, and of þe sleynge of þe Innocentes and his comynge aȝene into þe londe of Israel. Capitulum nonum.

When yhe haue bethoghte yowe of þe Purificacioun of our Lady, [as] it is before-seide, than may yhe thenke a newe meditacion of þe sleynge of our Lorde into Egypte, and þat yhe may thynke in þis wyse. When þe Kynge Herode seethe þat þe kynge come not aȝene to hym as he badde hem, he trowede þat þei hadde deseuyued hym [f. 29r] by þe apperynge of þe sterre. And therfore he trowede þat þei had bene aschamede to come aȝene to hym, and so he sesede of þe sechynge aftre our Lorde. Bot when he herde telle what þe shepehirdes hadden sedyde, and what þe forseide holy man Symeon and þe holy wydowe Anne had prophecyeved of hym, he was sore adradde and thoghte hymselfe foule deceuyued of þe kynge. And þan he purposede to slee all þe children in foule Bethel, þat he myghte amonge hem slee hym þat he kneue noght.

Than yhe maye thenne howe þe aungell of our Lorde apperede to Ioseph in his slepe, and badde hym take þe childe and his moder and flee into Egypte, and be þare into þe tyme þat he warnde hym, [for] forsothe he seide in tyme to come Herode shall seche the childe to distroye hym. Than may yhe thenne howe he telleth our Lady þerof, and þan she was sore adrede and happily preyth hym þat he shulde hye faste to performe þe biddynge of þe aungell. And þan yhe may beholde howe þe gode olde man aryseth vpp by nyghte, happily for he wolde noght be aspyede and also for he wolde fulfille anone þe byddynge of God by þe aungelle. And in þis is/ trewe obedience and diligence yshewed, and therfore taketh ensale of hym and lerne to doo gladly and anone, withoute ony taryynge or grochynge, þat God biddeth yow by your souereynes.

Nowe beholdeþ þan howe þat Ioseph with all þe haste þat he may taketh þe childe and his moder, as it is before-seide, by nyghte, þfor he was sore adrede of þat he had herde of þe aungell, and goth forshe into Egypte, and þat yhe may thenne on þis wyse. Fþirste, ymage nesth as þoffe yhe were presently with hem, and þan beholdeþ howe he setteþ hir vpon [f. 29v] ane asse and þe childe in hir armes, and hymselfe gothre forthe before and happily ledeth þe bridell. And so þei gone forthe in here iornye. And as þei

wente, yhe may thynke, þei come by a palme tree, as it is seide in a litell boke þe whiche is writen [of] þe youthe of our Seuoure, vndre þe whiche our Lady for werynes desirede to reste hir. And when she seethe þat þere was fruyte þeron, she desirede to haue þerof; and at þe biddynge of our Lorde þe tree enclynede downe to our [Ladyis] fete. And so she tuke þerof what hir liste, and aftre þat at þe biddynge also of our Lorde, it rose vp aȝeyne as it was before. And at þe rote of þe same tree, as it is seyde in þe forseide boke, also at þe biddynge of our Lorde, spronge vpp a welle of clene water, of þe which þei dronken and her bestes also. And when þei hadde done they wente forthe in her iorney. In all þis kepeth yowselfe in your ymagynacioun as poffe yhe were presente, hauynge pyte of hir laboure in þis iorney, and doynge some seruyce to hem as your affeccioun woll ȝeue yow.

And so at þe laste by mykell laboure þei come into þe londe of Egipte. And in þe comynge in of our Lorde into Egipte, yhe may thynke howe all þe ydoles felle downe aftre þe prophicye of Ysaie. And as it is seide also þat right as in þe goynge oute of þe children of Israell of Egipte ther was no house ylefte in þe whiche þer ne laye dede þe frste begeten thynge, right so in þe comynge of our Lorde into Egipte þar was no temple, but þat were fallen doune ane ydole in; þat is to seye, a fals god. And þan yhe may thenke þat þei token a duellynge place in a cite þat is callede Hermoplym, and ther þei duelledde [vii] yhere vnto þe deth of Kyinge [f. 30r] Herode.

Than aftre þis turneth aȝeyne to þe story of Kyinge Herode, and thynketh howe, [while] he purposede to slee þe childrene, he was sende aftre by a pistell fro þe Emperour to answere of certeyne accusaciones þat his owne sonnes hadde accusede hym of to þe Emperoure. And so he lefte þe persecuyyon of þe Innocentes and wente to Rome to answere to þat he was accusede of. Than when þe fadre and his sonnes stryuen togedyrs before þe Emperour, it was defynede þat þe sonnes shulden obeye in all thynge to þe fader, and he shuld se leve his kyngedome to whome he wolde, ffor þerfor was here struyynge. Þan when þis was done, he come aȝeyne into his kyngedome. And of þis confirmacioun of þe Emperoure he thoghte hymselfe more sikere to do þat wyked dede þat he purposede or he wente to Rome, þat was to slee þe Innocentes, as it is present-before-seide.

Than aftre he was comed home, yhe may thynke howe in grete angre he sende forthe his menȝe and dede sla all þe children þat weren in
Bethlehem and in þe costes þereaboute fro þe space of two yhere and bynethe, aftre þe tyme þat he hadde askede of þe kynges. Ffor he hadde herde of þe kynges þat þe same day þat þe sterre aperede to hem,oure Lorde was borne, and it was a yhere while he wente to Rome and come aȝeyne.

And therfore he trowede our Lorde were a yhere olde and some dayes more, and þerfore he dede slee all þe children þat were of þat age into two yhere, and bynethe into þe children of one nyghte, þat he myghte by siker of hym, and also leste the childe þat sterres dede seruyce to myght make hymselfe nowe to seme yonger and now elder.

Bot all this wylynes profitede hym noghte. Ffor there is no wysdome æstenste our Lorde, as þe Wyse Man [f. 30v] seythe. This þat I haue seide of Kyngke Herode þe Maister of þe Storyes telleth in þe Scole Stories.

Now þam may yhe beholde with your gostely ye a pytefull syghte, howe Kyngke Herodes meyne þat weren sente forthe cruently slean þe yonge children. Ffor some happely þeye bere thurghe with here speres, and of some thaye Smyte of þe hede, and some haply þeye hewe halfe a two. And þam may yhe beholde alsoe howe þe moder s renne aftre here children, weylynge and wepyngle with here brestes open and al toterynge here heere for sorowe, and þat was a rufull sighte.

After þis yhe may thanke howe Kyngke Herode, for þis synne and other þat he hadde done, by þe suffrancce of God sleuège hymselfe with þe same knyfe þat he pared an apple with, as Seynte Remyge seythe. Than aftre þe dethe of Kyngke Herode, yhe may thanke howe þe aungell of our Lorde apperede to Ioseph æeene in þe londe of Egipte, seyinge to hym thus: Arise vpp and take þe childe and his modre and go aȝen into þe londe of Israel ffor forsothe þei bene dede þat soughte þe childes lyfe. And þam thenketh howe he taketh þe childe and his moder after the byddynge of þe aungell and gothe aȝen into þe londe of Israel.

It is sayde in þe boke þat is writen of þe Thre Kynges of Coleyne, þat in all þe weyes þat our Lady with our Lorde wente in þe goynge into Egipte and comyngæ aȝen, growen drye roses, the whiche bene callede Roses of Iericho. And hem þe Saracynes women gladly and mykel vsen. And þo roses gadren men þat bene callede þer Bedewynes, þe whiche gone aboute in þat deserte with bestes fro place to place, and sellen hem for brede in grete multytude and quantyte to folke of þat contrey and pylgrymes. [f. 31r]

And by hem þai bene solde and boren forth aboute þe worlde and þe
forseide roses grown by þe weyes þat our Lady wente by and nowrewhere elles.

Also, it is seyde in þe same boke þat þe place þat our Lady with hir childe Ihesu duelled in in Egipte is fro Betheleem twelwe dayes iorney. And therfore yhe may thenke þat theye hadden full grete trauayle in goyng to and oute. And therfore haueth pyte and compassiou of hem, and taketh ensample of here mekenes and pacyens, and lemeth to suffre mekely and pacyently all tribulacions and diseses þat fallen to yow in þis lyfe for our Lordes loue, for so deden þay.

After þis thenketh þat when Ioseph with our Lady and hir suete son Ihesu were ycomen into þe lande of Israel, and Ioseph herde telle þat Archelay regned in þe Iewry for Herode his fader, he drede for to go thider, haply leste he wolde haue pursuede our Lorde as his fader Herode dede. And so yhe may thenke þat he was in grete doute what he myght beste do. And þan he was warnede in his slepe by a gode aungell þat he shulde go into Galile, and so he wente forthe to þe parties of Galile, and there he duelled in a cite þat is callede Nazareth. This was Nazareth/ þat I haue tolde yow of in the nexte chapitile before þis, and also in þe chapetle of þe salutacioun of our Lady, and Galile þe contrey.

Chapter Ten

Of þe twelbeth yhere of our [Lorde] Ihesu Criste, and howe he was founden in þe temple Salamoun in the myddes of doctoure, sittynge disputynge. Capitulum decimum.

After þe forseide meditacioun, may yhe thenke anoþer deuoute meditacioun how our Lorde Ihesu Criste grewe vpp in body and age as þe comon course of mankynde is, þat in his godhede is euermore þe same [f. 31v] withoute ony mutabilite. And þat yhe myghte þe more conuenentely thenke þis meditacion, thenketh firste howe his moder, our Lady Seynte Mary and Ioseph, þat was trowede his fader, as deuoute folke were ywonte to go every yhere into Ierusalem in þe solempne day of Ester. Ffor Ierusalem was þe chefe cite of þe Iewry and there was þe temple of God, and þerfore thei wente thider every yhere onys after þe biddynge of þe Lawe, as it is before-seide, in þe solempne feste of Ester. Bot yhe shall vnderstonde þat Ester was noghte amonget hem as it is amonget vs. What Ester was amonget hem yhe may here in þe [xvii] chapetele of þis boke folowyng. And so in a tyme as þei wente thider aftre þe custome of þe festeful day, our Lorde Ihesu Criste, when he was twelfe yhere olde as in þe kynde of man, wente thider with hem. And when þei hadden bene þer a certeyne tyme as þe maner was, and þe deyes were fulfillede of hir abidynge there, [y]he may thenke howe theye wente home aȝeyne, and howe þe childe Ihesu Criste abode still in Ierusalem, and our Lady and Ioseph wysten noght thereof, wenynge þat he had be in þe felyshipe. As to þe vnderstondynge of thies wordes, yhe shall vnderstonde þat Lyre seyth vpon þis same texte, þat to þis solempne feste of Ester men wente in one company by hemselfe, and women in another company by hemselfe, and comen home aȝen þe same wyse, þat þei myghte þe more religiously solempne here holy day in kepynghe hem fro her wyfes. Bot children myght go indifferently, where thei wolde go in þe company of men or women. And also when Ioseph seethe noght our Lorde in þe company of men, he wende he had be in þe company of women with Mari his moder. And þe same wyse our Lady wende he had be [f. 32r] in þe company of men with Ioseph. And therfore thei soghte noghte after hym at þat tyme, bot wented forthe a dayes iorney fro Ierusalem, and wyste noght þat he abode stille in Ierusalem. And when þei weren ycomen to þe iornyeys ende þe next day aftre, thenketh howe þei soghten...
hym bothe in þe company of men and women also, and amonge her cosynnes and other of here knowlege.

And when þai founden hym noght, yhe may mekely thynke þat þaye were ryghte sory and heuy, thynkyng þ[e]mselfe bothe vnkynde and negligent þat þai hadden not take better hede to hym. And so þe thirde day þai wente all þe dayes [iorneye] priuely aȝen to Ierusalém, with grete heuynesse sechynge hym. And therofe haueth pety and commiission of hem, for theye bene in grete heuynes, and moue not be mery til þai haue founden hym. By þis ensample yhe ye may lerne þat ȝf our Lorde be absentede fro yowe for synne or ony mysgouernance of yourselfe, not to be mery til yhe haue founden hym aȝeyne by meke wepynge and sorowynge for your synnes, and other penance doynte, ffor so wol he be founden aȝeyne if he be loste for synne.

Than aftre þis yhe ye may thanke howe at þe laste aftre thre dayes þai founden hym in þe temple, not, as Lyre seyth, in þe merkett, ne in pleiynge as children bene wonte to be founden, bot in one holy place yordeyne to holy prayer and doctryne, sytynge in þe myddes of doctoures þat he myghte þe better here hem alle and aske questyones. Here is another ensample also, howe gode chylde[n]d yonge men wele ysette to Godwarde shulden drawe to holy places, and where þei myghten here holy doctryne, and in suche places þeie shulden here, aske, and lerne, and noghte teche.

Than thynketh also how all þo þat herden hym merueylede of his wysedome, for [f. 32v] þei herde neuer childe of þat age speke so wysely, and therofe þeye wondredre gretely of hym. Aftre þis, yhe ye may thanke howe aftre his moder and Ioseph were come into þe temple and lökeede aftre hym þere, þai aspiede hym sytynge in myddes of þe doctoures, as it is before-seide, and they merueylede gretely. And when he perceyuede his moder and Ioseph, he come to hem, and þen were þai passyngel gladde, ffor þe more sorowe þat thei had in sechynge aftre hym, þe more ioye þai hadden in fyndynge of hym. And þan yhe ye may thynke howe his moder seye to hym þus: Sone, whi has þu done þus to vs? Lo, þi fader and I sorowynge haue ysoghte þe. Lyre seyth, þof Ioseph was yseide our Lordes fader, neuerþeles he was noght hardy to [vndyrneme] hym, for he leuede

hym stedfastly Godis sone. Bot our lady Seynte Marie, his modre, of grete
loue þat she had to hym, dede it, for ouerpassynge loue kan [no \Lorde/].

Also, gostely sustre, taketh hede howe our meke Lady preferreth
Ioseph afore hir, seynge: Thifader and I, and noght I and þi fader
sorowynge haue ysoughte þe. Apon þis same texte, Seynte Austyn seyth
þus: Fiffirste it is not to be ouerpassed, moste for lernynge of women, oure
sistren, so holy a mesureables of þe virgyne Marye. She had yboire Criste,
and an aungell come to hir and seidte to hir: Lo, þu shalte conseuyne and
brynge forthe a sone, and þu shalle calle his name Ihesu Criste. This shalle be
grete, and he shalle be callede þe sone of hym þat is hyeste. She had
deserued to brynge forthe þe sone of hym þat is hieste, and þitte she was
ryghte meke, for she preferrede not hirselfe before hir housebonde, in so
mykyly as in þe order of name, þat she wolde seye [f. 33r] bot
she seythe þi fader and I. Shee behaldeth not þe dignite of hir wombe, but
she behaldeth þe order of mariage, ffor forsothe meke Criste, he seyth, [he/]
had not taughte his moder to be proude.

And a litell after he seyth þus: How mykel lesse, þan, shulde other
women be p[(o)ude. And thercfere by þis ensample of our meke Lady, latte
women lerne to be meke and noght to preferre hemselfe affore men in
onythynges, and namely suche as haue houbonde. Ffor our Lady is a perfite
ensample to all women, as our Lorde Ihesu Criste to all men. And þat she
called Ioseph our Lord ffader, merueyleth not þerof. Ffor she myght trewly
calle hym our Lordis fader in als myche as [he] was couplede and ioynede to
hir þat was his verrey moder, and also þe comone trowyngynge and seyingynge
was so, and thercfere she called hym as þe comone trowyngynge and seyingynge was.

Aftre þis thenceth howe oure Lorde seide aȝeyne to hir thus: Whi haue
yhe soghte me? Wiste yhe not þat I muste be in suche thynges as longen to
my Fader? This he seide of his heuenly Fader, for Seynte Austyne seythe
þat he wolde noght so be knowe hir sone, but þat he wolde be knowe God
sone also. And Lyre seythe þat he was more affectede to his natural Fader
and eruerlastynge in heuen þan to his natural moder in erthe or to Ioseph þat
was trowed to his fader. But þai vnderstonde noght þis manere speche of our
Lorde Ihesu Criste; ffor, as þe forseide doctoure seyth, þei were noght
wonte to here suche wordes of hym.

Than after þis thenceth howe mekely and lowly he went with hem
home aȝeyne to þe cite of Nazareth. And, as þe Euangeliste seyth: He was
soget to hem, both, as [f. 33v] þe forseide doctour Lyre seyth, for here

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comforte, for ðei were heueyde of his absence, and also to ðei informacioun of vs, and to ðei confusioun of our pride.

Lo, gostely sistre, here beholdeth diligently howe grete shame and confusioun it shulde be to vs ðat bene but synfull wreches to be inobediente to our gostely faders or moders, or naturale other, so ðei bidde vs not to do ony thynge ðat is æzejnste ðe will of God or contrary to our verey helthe, fför in suche thynges we shulde in no wyse obeye to hem, sethe we reden ðat our Lorde and God was sogette to his moder in erthe, and noght onely to his moder, bot also to hym ðat was trowede his fader. Fför the Êuangeliste seythe ðat he was not onely obediente to hir, bot to hem; ðat is to seye, to our Lady Seynte Marye, ðat was his verrey moder, and to Ioseph ðat was trowede his fader. *Deo gracias.*

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108 be\[i\)] inser. C. 109 so\[i\)] so that C. 111 shulde\[i\)] shul C; seythe\[i\)] syght that C. 113 to\[i\)] inser. C. 116 Deo gracias\[i\)] om. C.
Chapter Eleven

What our Lorde Ihesu Criste dede fro þe twelfeth yhere of his bodyly age into þe tyme of his baptyme, aftre þe Reuelacioun of Seint Brygytte. Capitulum xi\textsuperscript{m}.

Gostely syster, in þe begynnynge of þis chapitile 3e shal vnderstonde þat fro þe twelfeth yhere of our Lorde Ihesu Criste into þe tyme of his baptyme none euangeliste maketh mencioun what he dede. Bot þat tyme, as some doctoure seyne, he was twenty and nene yhere ful and begynnynge þe thyrty yhere, of þe whiche he hadde thirtene dayes, as Lyre seythe. Bot yhe may haue for certeyne þat he [was] syngulere holy before ony man þat euer was. Ffor he was vterly clene fro all maner synne and neuer dede ony, and so all þat euer he suffrede of his endeles godenesse in our kynde in þis worlde, it was for vs and nothyng for hymselfe, bot þat he wolde haue oure soules to be euerlastynge with hym in ioye. Þit not withston[f. 34r]dyng þat none euangeliste maketh ony mencyoun what he dede all þat tyme, our gode Lady, thought by þe mercy of God to þe comforte of deoute soules, tolde Seynte Brigette by reuelacioun somewhat what he dede. Wherof somewhat, by þe grace of God, I woll tell yowe in þis presente chapitile, ffor what was done aboute hym till he were twelfe yhere olde as in þe persone of man, and what he dede when he was twelfe yhere olde, yhe haue herde suffiçiently, I trowe, in other meditacions before.

Nowe it is to be tolde what he dede fro þe twelfeth yhere forewardre into þe tyme of his holy baptyme, aftre þe Reuelacioun of Seynte Brigette, as our Lady, þat knewe beste nexte God alone, tolde hir. Fforsothe, she seyde, when he come to more age (vnderstondeth, þan þat is seide before) he was contynuante in prayer and he wente with vs to festes yordeynede in Ierusalem and other places. Whos sighte and speche was so merueylouse and acceptable þat mony folke dissesede seyden: Lette vs go to Maries sone, of whome we may be confortede. Fforsothe he, encresynge in age and wysdome, of þe whiche he was full fro þe begynnynge, labored with his hondes otherwhile in suche thynges þat weren semely. And he spake to vs (vnderstondeth our Lady and Ioseph) separatly, þat is to sey, departede fro other, confortable wordes and worde\[s] of diuinite, so þat we were fulfillede contynuantly with vnspékable ioye.

And forsoth \when/ we were in pouerte, dredes, and difficultes, he made vs no golde nor syluer but he sterede vs to pacyence, and our necessaries comen to vs, otherwhile of compassioun of meke soules, and

\textsuperscript{m} mencioun eny mencyon C; Bot\[and C. 9 was] C, om. ND; before\] afore C. 16 somewhat by þe grace of God\] be the grace of god sumwhat C. 18 and what he dede when he was twelfe yhere olde\] om. C. 20 before\] afore C. 24 þat\] om. C; before\] afore C. 25 wente\] wente obeyedynetly C. 26 and speche\] inscr. C. 27 vs\] inscr. C. 30 in\] om. C; þat as C. 31 to\] inscr. C. 32 wordes\[?\] wordys C, worde ND; we\] inscr. C. 35 nor\] and C.
otherwhile of our owne trauayle, so þat we had our necessaries onely to our neade and noght to superfluyte, ffor we soghte noght elles bot onely to serue God.

After þis he talked homely in þe house with his frendes þat came [f. 34v] to hym of þe Lawe and of þe signyficacions and figures therof in open. Also, he dispo[í]tede with wysemen so þat þei merueylynge seynge: Lo, Iosephis sone teches maistres. Some grete spirite spekethe in hym. And in a tyme when I thoghte on his Passioun and he seghe me full heuy, he answerede to me: Beleueste not þu, moder, þat I am in þe Fader, and þe Fader in me? Were þu defoulede at my comynge in, or were þu disesede at my goynge outhe? Whi erte þu so distracte with heuynes? Fforsoth it is my Faders will þat I suffre dethe, also it is my will with þe Fader. Þat I haue of þe Fader may not suffre, bot þe flesshe, þat I haue of þe, shall suffre þat þe flesshe [of] other may be boghte aȝeyne and þe spirite sauede.

Also, he was so obediente þat [whenne] Ioseph by happe seide to hym: Doo þat or þat, anone he dede it, ffor he hidde so þe myghte of his godhode þat bot of me, and otherwhile of Ioseph, it myght not be knowe, the whiche, þat is to seye, I and Ioseph, seghe of tymes merueylouse syghtes and lyghte shynynge about hym. And we herde aungels voyces syngynge vpon hym, and we seghe þat vnclene spirites, þe whiche myght noghte be putte oute by preuued exorcistes in our Lawe, wente oute at þe sighte of þe presence of my sone. Loo, doghter; lete þies thynges be/ contynualy in þi mynde, and thonke God clenly, for by þe I wolde make open to other his youte.

These bene þe wordes þat our Lady hadde to Seynte Brigette of þe youte of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and namely fro þe twelfeth yhere forwarde, as it is write, whoso luste to see it, in þe Sexte Boke of Reuelaciouns of þe forseide holy lady Seinte Brigette, in þe fyfty and eghte chapitile, þe which I haue dravhe here in Englesshe tonge almoste worde for worde, for þe more conuenyente forme [f. 35r] and order of these symple meditaciouns, and to your edificacioun or ony other deoute creature þat kan not vnderstonde Latyn; þe which yhe may thynke by þe maner of meditacioun as I haue tolde yow of before. Ffor, þe þe it be shortly seyde here vnder a compendious maner, þit it may be drawe full longe \(\text{\`in a soule/} \) to hem þat kan deouteuely thenke and diligently beholde þe werkes of our Lorde þat bene conteynede þerein. And in suche manere thynkynge, beholde wysely and inwardely þe grete mekenes, charite, and obedience of that worshipfull Lorde, and also þe pacyence and pouerte of our Lady and
Ioseph, and so by grace of God to caste hym to folowe after in lyuynge by his powere and connynge.
Chapter Twelve

Of þe baptyme of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and of mekenes and of other werkes that may be considered þer aboute. Capitulum xiiim.

The baptyme of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, as yhe may thenke, was, after þe saynge of some doctoures, when he was twenty and nene yhere olde full and begynnynge þe thirty yhere, of þe whiche he hadde thirtene dayes, as I tolde yow in þe chapetle next affore þis. And at þis tyme of his bodily age, yhe may thenke howe he come oute of þe contrey þat is callede Galile and fro þe cite of Nazareth, to þe flode of Iordan, to Seinte Iohn to be baptize of hym. Iordan, as Seinte Jerome seythe, taketh his name of two welles of þe whiche þat one is callede "Ior" and þat other "Dan." And þies two medlede togedre maketh þis name Iordan, and it is fro Ierusalem, as Bonauenture seyth, eightene myles.

To þis flode of Iordan yhe may thenke howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste, lorde of al þe worlde, come fro þe forseide cite of Nazareth, mekely alone as for þe company of ony man. Ffor he had not þat tyme [f. 35v] callede his disciples. And yhe may beholde þat he goth happenly barefote or elles werynge sandales, þe whiche were as it hadde be soles off shone, and hem he werede vnder his fete for hete of þe erthe, ffor it is seide þat it is full hote in þat contrey, and þei were festenenede aboue þe fote with a maner of festenyng to holde hem faste.

Nowe þan beholdeþ hym wele, and in your consideracioun haueth pety and compassion of hym howe he gothe all þe weye alone, and me[r]ueyleth his mekenes and charite. The persone and lykenes of our Lorde as in þe persone of man, yhe may thinke þus, Beholdeþ hym a man of þe mydle sise and of age aforeside, and, as Seynte Bernarde seith: Meke, lowe, benynge, sobre, chaste, mercyfull, and in all clennes and holynes synguler fayre, and þe same almyghty God. And also it is ywriten in þe Legende of Symoun and Iude, yhe may thenke hym wele yede, and wele browed, and hauynge a longe face and bowede, þe whiche is a sygne of sadnes. Also, yhe may thenke hym a sanguyne man, and somwhat browne, like his moder. And beholdeþ hym vnder þis forme, þe feyreste man þat euer was, ffor it is write in þe Psalme of hym þus: Speciosus forma pre filiis hominum. This is to seye: He was feyre in forme and in likenes affore þe sonnes of men.

Also, our Lady tolde Seynte Brigette, as it is seide in þe firste chapitle of þe Eghte Boke of hir Reuelacions, þat when she norisshed hym he was [so] feire þat whosoeuer behelde hym, he was confortede of þe sorowe of
herte þat he had. Wherfore mony lewes, as she sayde also, there sayden togedyryr: *Late vs go se Maryes sone, þat we may be confortede.* And þoff þai wysten noghte þat he was God sone, neuerþeþeleþe þei rescuyeued grete conforte of þe seynge of hym. Also, his body was so clene þat ther come [f. 36r] neuer thereyppon ony louse or ony worme, ffor þe worme dede reuerence to his Maker. Ne ony knyttynge togridre, ne vnclenes was founden in his [h]ere, ne norischede.

Thies bene þe wordes þat our Lady seide to Seynte Brigette of þe feirennes of our Lorde. After þis beholdeth deuoutely in youre soule howe þis moste worthi Lorde cometh to his trewe seruanteyn seynte Iohn Baptiste there he was baptizynge at þe forseide flode of Iordan to be baptizede of hym. Than thenketh howe Seynte Iohn, seynge hym comynge to hymwarde, anone by þe Holy Goste he knewe hym. And þan merueylinge his lownes he seide thies wordes vnto hym: *Lorde, I shulde be baptizede of þe and þu comes to me?* Than thynke how our Lorde Ihesu Criste ansuereth ful mekely aȝeyne, sayynge þus: *Suffre nowe, ffor forsothe þus muste we fulfille all ryghtwysnes, þat is to seye, all mekenes.*

And here I woll telle yowe thre degrees of mekenes þat I tolde yow noght of opynly in þe fourth chapitle, where I tolde yow mykel of mekenes. Aftre þe seyninge of doctoureþ, þer bene thre degrees of mekenes. The firste is when a man or a woman is obedient to his souereyne, and þat is necessarie to verrey helthe. Ffor a man or a woman þat will be saued and wolde come to euerlastyngye ioy moste nedis obeye to his souereyne. The seconde is when a man or a woman is obedientie to his felowe or pere, and þat is more mekenes, and in þat more medefull, and it is bot of mannes fre wille. The thirde is when a man or a woman, for God and perfecconiu, is obedientie to his seruant to or to hym þat is lower þan he, and þat is moste mekenes, and so by þat moste medefull, and it longeth to perfecconiu; þis degre of mekenes fulfillede our Lorde Ihesu Criste, when he mekede hymselfe to his gode [f. 36v] seruanteyn Seynte Iohn Baptiste. And mykel perfetiel he fulfillede [it] when he so mekely and paciently toke so mykell dispite and dise of his vntrewe and vnkynde seruantes, þe cursede lewes.

Also for thre principale causes our Lorde wolde be baptizede of Seint Iohn Baptiste, as þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth: þe firste is þat he wolde appreue þe baptyme of Seynte Iohn; þe secunde is þat he wolde fulfille al mekenes, and by his ensembale teche it to be fulfilled of his perfite seruantees;
the thirde is þat he myght by þe [u]chynge of his holy body þeue to water strenthe of getynge æȝyne, þat is to seye, to halowe þe water þat it myghte afterwarde haue power, by þe worde of God, men and women to be baptizede in, and so by þe sacramente of baptyme and cristendome to be borne æȝyne of water and þe Holy Goste, and be made heyres of euerelastynge herytage.

After þis beholdeth howe þe meke Lorde dothe of his clothes and gothe into þe watere. And þan haueth pite of his tendre flesshe, for it was happily ful payneful to hym to stonde so or knele in þe colde water. And þan beholdeth also how Seynte Iohn baptizeth hym in heldynge water vpon his blissede body. Aftre þis thynketh anone after þat he was baptizede he come oute of þe water [aȝen]. And when he was comen oute of þe water, yhe may beholde a merueylouse syghte, howe heuen was openede and howe Seynte Iohn sawe þe Holy Goste comynge downe in þe likenes of a dowfe and abidynge apon hym. And also a voyce was herde fro heuen seiyng þis: *This is my welbelouede sone in þe whiche I am plesede, þat is to seye, as Lyre seyth, in þe which my will shall be fullfillede of þe helthe of mankinde.*

Here in [f. 37r] þe baptizynge of our Lorde Ihesus Criste, þy[e may vnderstonde þat all þe Hole Trinyte apperede, þat is to seye, þe Fadre in þe voyce, þe Sone in þe persone of man, þe Holy Goste in likenes of a dowfe, þe whiche Trinyte is one vere God, to whom be all worship, ioye, and preysynge now and withouten ende. Amen.
Chapter Thirteen

How our Lorde Ihesu Criste was ledde of a spiryte into deserte þat he myghte be tempede of þe fende, and how he fastede xl deys, with oþer edificatyve maters accordyng þerto after þe seyynge of doctours.

After þe baptyme of our Lorde, yhe may thynke ordynately another meditacioun, howe he was ledde into deserte of his owne spirite, þat is þe Holy Goste, þat he myghte be tempted of þe fende. And when he had fastede fourty deys and fourty nyghtes, afterwarde he hungrede. Here yhe shal vnderstonde firste þat our Lorde fastede in a deserte þat was betwene Ierusalem and Iericho, as þe Maister of þe Storyes seyth. Nowe beholdeth firste howe þe gode Lorde was ledde into þe deserte byfore-seide of his owne spirite. And þare he fastede fourty dayes and fourty nyghtes, þat, as Lyre seyth, he myghte punyssh his innocente flesshe for vs, and þat he myghte 3eue ensample to his trewe servantes. And by þat he dede suche thynges after his baptyme, he shewede to vs þat he ñat/ begynnynth a newe lyfe muste offer hymselfe to God by prayer and fastynge.

Also in þat he yaf ensample þat men þat wolde preche and teche Goddis worde shuld firste vseñ hemselfe to be mykkell alone fro þe companyes of folke, where they myghte 3eue hem conueniently to holy meditacions and prayers, fastynge, wakynge and other holy excercyces, by þe whiche, helpyng þe grace of God, þei myghte overcome vices in hemselfe and þe sotell temptacyoun of þe fende; leste 3if [f. 37v] þai do not so, þei hyndren more by here euyle lyuynge þan profite by her prechynge. Ffor it is wriyen also of our Lorde Ihesu Criste þat he beganne to do and teche, so he dede firste, and after taughte. And so wolde God all prechours walde do now a dayes. Ffor Lire seythe vpon þe same texthe þat to teche wele and lyue euyl is nothyng elles þan to dampe hymselfe by his owne voyce. And therfore it is gode þat þei do hemselfe þat þai teche other. Bot late vs go to our purpose ægein.

Than aftre þis yhe may thynke þat when our Lorde had fastede all the forseide tyme, he hungerede, bot for he wolde so of his owne godenes to shewe hymselfe by þat that he was a verre man, and to 3eue the fende occasioune to tempe hym. Than beholdeth howe þe fende comeþ to hym in a mannes lykenes, for so it is to be beleued, as þe Maister of Stories seyth. And þan thenketh howe he seyth to hym þus: 3if þu be God son, seye þat
pies stones may be loues. And þan our Lorde answereth aþeyne, seyne: A man lyueth not onely by brede but in every worde þat cometh oute of þe mouthe of God. Here vnderstondeth þat he tempeth our Lorde firste in gloteny. Bot our Lorde anserereth hym so, as Lyre seyth, þat nether he myghte perceyue his godhede ne brynge hym to glotonye.

After þis þe deylyl toke hym into þe holy cite, þat is Ierusalem, and sette hym vp on a pynnacle of þe temple. This pynnacle, as Lyre seyth, was the rofe of þe temple, þe whiche was flatte aboue. And þe entente of þe deuill berynge hym thider was, as þe same doctour seythe, þat þe peppill of þe cite shulde wene hym to haue flowen, and so he shulde haue be lyfte vpp into veyne glorye. Bot, by þe vertue of his godhode, he dede so þat no man seyth hym, ffor it was in his power to be sene and noght to be sene. And than thenketh how þe [f. 38r] fende seide to hym eftesones: 3ífe þu be þe sone of God, falle downe; as who seythe, þu maiste withoute ony perille by þyne owne vertue, and also for þe seruyce of angells þat seruen þe. And þan our Lorde seyde to hym aþeyne: Thu shalt not tempe þi Lorde God. Vpon þis texte þe forseide doctoure seyth þus: Forsothe to tempe God is to seche experience of þe vertu of God withoute vnfleable nede, and þat is synne. Ffor whensomeuere ony man hath ony thynge þat he may do afre þe waye of man to flee perille, he shall not leue þat and seche experience of God.

Therfore our Lorde Ihesu Criste anwerede to þe fende tempynge hym be þat þat he seide. Ffor when he myghte come downe fro þe pynnacle of þe temple by waye of man, þat is to seye, by þe grees þat were made thercfere in þe temple, hym ought noght to come doun e by another weye, for þat had be to tempte God. And in þis temptacioun vnderstondeth þat þe fende temped hym in veyneglory, bot by [the] anweren before-seide he auoydede þe temptacioun.

After þis yhe may thende how þe fende toke hym vp in a full hye hylle, and shewed hym all þe kyngedomes of þe worlde and þe ioye of hem, and seide to hym: All þis I wol zeue þe zif þu wylte falle downe and worship me; þan our Lorde seide to hym aþeyne: Go forthe, Sathanas, forsoth it is writen, þu shalte worship þi Lorde God and serue hym alone. Than þe deuille forsoke hym, and aungelles come and mynnystrede vnto hym. Thies bene þe wordes of þe Eu[a]ngeliste. Apon thies wordes Lyre seyth þus: Here our Lorde blameth hym, þat is, when he seide: Go forth Sathanas, and not in
other temptacions tofoare, to shewe þat a man shal bere his owne wronges, bot in no wyse he shall suffre Goddes wronge. Fforsothe, þat is do moste when þe worshipë deue to God is 3eue to þe fende, the whiche þe deuylle [f. 38v] suggestede our Lorde to do. And when our Lorde hadde 3eue hym þe fente answere, and he, ouercomen, had forsake hym, angelles come, as is before-seide, and diden hym seruyse as to there verrey Lorde.

Here yhe may vnderstonde þat he was [v]errey God and man. A verre man, yhe may vnderstonde hym, þat hungerde bot for he wolde, God, þat aungels dede service to. In þe fente temptacioun yhe may vnderstonde þat þe fende temped our Lorde in couetyse, bot ouer all he ouercome hym, and at þis tyme vterly putte hym from hym. This, as me semeth, shulde be a grete ensample of confortë to all men and women þat sufferë temptacioun, to bere it esily and pacyently, sethen here þei may heren and reden, wytnesyne þe Gospell, þat our Sauyour was temped hymselfe, happily þat we þat beleuen in hym shulde þe more esier bere our temptacions þat we suffre in þis lyfe. Ffor a trewe servaunt suffreth þe more eser his disese and tribulacioun, whateuer it be, when he hereth or seeth his meke Lorde specially for his cause disesede afore hym. And witteth for certeyne þat whatsomeeuuer temptacioun a man or a woman suffre in þis lyfe, as longe as þei be not ouercomen þerwyth, þat is to seye, nether within by wilfull consentyng, ne withoute by [euyl] wirkyng, it is no perill to hem bot rather mykell profite and grete merite. Ffor Seyntë lame þe Apostil sethy in his Pistill: *Blissede be þat man þat suffreth temptacioun, ffor after he hath be preuede, he shall take þe crowne of lyfe þat God hathe behote vnto hem þat louen hym.*

Also, gostely sustre, yhe shal vnderstonde þat Seinte Gregory seyth in þe Omely epist [f. 3r] *man, ytake vpp or into an hye hill, or into þe Holy Cite [of þe deuil], þe mynde goth ther/fro, þe eres of man dreden to here þat. When, þoffe, we knowen þese thynges not to be vnbeleuable, iff we beholde wele also other dedes in hym. Sikerly þe deuil is þe hede of all wykednes and þe membres of þis hede bene al wykkedde. Was not Pilate a memb of þe deuil? Were not þe Iewes pursuynge our Lorde, members of þe deuyl, and þe knyghtes crucifiynge hym? Therfore what wonder was it zif he suffredë hymselfe to be ledde into the hille of hym þat suffered hymselfe
also to be crucifiede of his membres? Wherefore, it was not unworthy to 
youre aseyne-byer þat he wolde be tempede, þe \whiche/ come to be slane.  
Fforsothe it was rightful þat so he shulde overcome [our temptacyonys be 
his temptacyonys, ryght as he cam to ouyrcome] our deth \by his deth/.

Bot it is to be knowe to vs þat temptacioun is do in thre maners: be 
suggestioun, in deltyntyng, and in consentyntyng. And when we be temptede 
oftymes we slyden into deltyntyng, or also in/to/ consentyntyng ffor we þat 
bene brought forthe of synne of þe flessh bere within vsselfe wherof we 
suffre struyng, þat is to \sey, eyyl styrriings/. Bot forsoth God þat toke 
flesshe in þe virgyynes wombe come into þis worlde withoute synne, and 
therefore he suffrede notheynge contraryouse within hymselfe. Wherfore he 
myght be temptede by suggestioun, þe þe delite of synne bot not his mynde, 
and þerfore all þe [temptacion] of þe fende was withoute and not within. 
Also þe same doctoure seyth, in þe forseide Omely folowyng, þat þe olde 
ennemy, þat is þe deule, lité vp hymselfe æceynste þe firste man, our fadre, 
in thre thynge. Ffor he temptede hym in glotony, veyneglory, and couetyse. 
But [f. 39v] by temptynge he overcome hym, for he made hym sogette to 
hym by consentyntyng. But by þe same maners he is ouercomen of þe seconde 
man, þat is our Lorde Ihesu Criste, by þe whiche he ioyede hymselfe to haue 
overcome þe firste man, that he, ytake, go oute of our hertes by þe same 
enterynge, by þe whiche enterynge he was ledde in and [helde] vs. Bot þere 
is another thynge, dere systre, þat þe forseide doctour seith þat we shulde 
beholde in þis temptacioun of our Lorde. Ffor, when he was temptede of þe 
fende, he answerede by biddynges of Holy Writte; and in þat he was God 
sone myghte haue drownede his tempter in þe depnes of helle, shewede 
noght þe vertue of his myghte, bot broghte onely æceyns hym þe byddynges 
of Holy Writte, þat he myght shewe to vs ensample [of] paciens þat as ofte 
as we suffre ony thynge of shrewde men, we shulde be sterede rather to 
techynge þan to vengeance.

Taketh hede how mykell þe pacience of God is, and how mykel oure 
inpacience. If we be prouokede by wronges or by ony hurtynge, anone we 
be sterede with fersnes, and so, or as mykell as we may, wenge ourselfe, or 
þat we may not doo, we threte. Lo, our Lorde sufferede aduersite of þe 
fende, and notheynge answerede hym bot worde of softenes. He suffreth hym 
þat he myght punysshe þat that myght growe hyer in þe preysynge of hym, 
3if he ouercome his ennemy, not in sleynge hym, bot inwardely sufferynge.
Thies bene þe wordes of Seynte Gregore, þe Pope, in þe Omelye before-seide. And þus I ende þis chapitle.
Chapter Fourteen

How our Lorde Ihesu Criste, after his fastynge in deserte, wente into þe worlde and prechede þe kyngedome of God, and callede his apostels. And whiche of hem were of his kynne, as in þe kynde of man, and also of his oper [f. 40r] disciples, with other matiers þat may bene considerede there aboute.

After our Lorde Ihesu Criste hadde fasted fourty dayes and fourty nyghtes, and overcome þe fende, as I haue tolde yow in þe chapitle nexte before þis, yhe may thenke how he goth forthe into þe worlde and precheth þe kyngedome of God and þe waye to euerlastynge lyfe. And yhe shal vnderstonde þat he prechede thre yhere and a halfe vnto his Passioun, as is moste comonly holde, as Lyre seyth. And in þat tyme, he callede his disciples, and wroghte his myracles to þe confirmacioun of his holy doctrine.

His twelfe chefe disciples, \(\text{he whiche/ he callede appostelles, were} \) 
þies: the firste was Symon, þe whiche our Lorde named Petre, and Andrewe his brother; Iames þe more, Zebedeus sone, and Iohn, his brother. Thies two were our Lordis cosynnes as in þe kynde of man, as yhe shal here more opynly afterwarde. Philippe and Bertholomewe; Thomas and Mathewe; Iames þe lesse, Alpheus sone; Symon and Iude, þis brethren/. Thies three also were our Lordes cosynnes, as in kynde of man. And Iudas Scarioth þe laste. This fals man betrayede our Lorde and he is callede Scarioth of þe towne þat he was borne in, þe whiche was a litell towne in þe Iury, as Lyre seyth.

Now \(\text{pan/}, \) as to þe more \(\text{open/ vnderstondynge, howe þe fife appostelles þat I haue tolde yow of before were our Lordes cosynnes, yhe shall vnderstonde firste þat sometyme þere were two holy systren, of þe whiche one was callede Emyrle and þe tother Anne. Emyrle had a doghter, þe whiche was callede Elizabeth, and she bare Seynte Iohn Baptiste and so was he our Lordis cosyn, bot not so nere as þe forseide appostelles were, for þei were our Ladies systers sonsnes. Seynte [f. 40v] Anne, þat other sister, yhe shall vnderstonde had thre housebondes, yche aftre other, of þe whiche þe firste was called Ioachym, þe secunde Cleophas, and þe thirde Salome. By þe firste she hadde a daughter, þe whiche was callede Marye, and she was compellede to a man whos name was Joseph. And þis Marye, þe which is our lady floure of all women, bydynge stille a clene mayden bare oure Lorde Ihesu Criste, þe sawyoure of mankynde. By þe seconde housebonde, þat is callede Cleophas, she had another daughter, þe whiche was namede also Marie and she was ioynede to a man whose name was Alphey. And by hym she had foure sones, þat is to seye Iames þe lesse, Symon, Iude, and Joseph his brethren. Bot þis Joseph was none of þe twelfe apostels, bot afterwarde

35 mayden] C om, a mayden ND.
he was chosen with Mathias, we rede in þe werkes of þe apostelles, to haue fulfillede þe twelfeth nowmbre aftre Iudas þat betrayede our Lorde had hangede hymselfe. And þis same Ioseph is callede also Barsabas and ryghtfull, for þe euydence of his holynes, as Lyre saythe. By the thirde housbonde, þat is callede Salome, she had þe thirde doughter, and hir also she callede Marye. And she was wedde to a man þat is callede Zebedey, and by hym she hadde two sones, þat is to seye, Iames þe more, and Iohn þe euangeliste, his brother. Here yhe may vnderstonde þat þis Iames, þat is callede þe more, was yonger þan þe other Iames, þat is callede þe lesse. But he is callede þe more by seynge of doctours ffor he was called firste to apostellhode, and for our Lorde toke more familarite with hym þan with þat other, as it semeth by þe Gospell, and [f. 41r] also for he was þe firste þat suffreda matirdome of þe apostelles. Also, þat other Iames þat is callede þe lesse is callede also Iames þe ryghtfull for his holynes, and he is callede also our Lordis brother, ffor it is seide þat he was so lyke oure Lorde in face and in all disposicioun of body þat a man shulde not wele haue knowe þe toone from þe other. And þerfore Iudas kyssede our Lorde þat by þat þe he come with hym myghte knowe hym fro Iames þe lesse. Also, þis Iames, for worthines of his lyuyng, was chose of þe other apostelles to b[e] friste Archebisshope of Ierusalem.

Here, gostely systre, yhe may firste vnderstonde by þat that is before-seide, þat our Lorde Ihesu Criste chese fyfe of his owne cosynnes as in þe kynde of man into apostelles, þat is to seye: Iames þe more and Seint Iohn his brother þe Euangeliste; Iames þe lesse; Simone and Iude his brethren, þe whiche Iude is callede also by another name, Thadee. And þis, as me semeth, is a grete and an euydent ensample howe a man or a woman shulde stere and helpe hors kynde tofore other in godenes. Also, it is þe order of charite, þe whiche firste euermore begynneth at itselde as in þe secunde bonde of charite þat longeth to hymselfe and to his euyn Cristen, and so forthe to other þat bene nexte hym [in] þe order of charite. Also, þe chief of þe apostelles, þat is to seye Petre and Andrewe, Iames and Iohn were ycallde fro fysshynge, for þei were fisshers, as þe Euangeliste bereth wytynes, and no grete lordes of þe worlde, n[e] wyse philospheres. Ffor Seint Poule seythe þat God chese þe feble thynges of þe worlde, þat is to seye, by pouerte, sympcytye, or vnkonnynge, þat he myght confounde the [f. 41v] stronge; þat is to seye, by ryches worlde, worshipe, or sotell konnyng.

Also, Lyre seyth þat ryght as our Lorde fro þe begynnynge callede some symple, as it is open in þies forseide, so \also/ he callede some lettede
fro þe begynnynge, as Nathanael and Nichodemus. Ffor 3iþ he had callede onely symple men it myght haue be trowed þat þei hadde bene deceyuede of symplecyte. Neuerþelesse, he ordeynede more symple men apostelles and prechers of þe Gospell þan lettrede men þat þe feyth of þe Gospell shulde more be redressede to þe wysdome of God þan to þe wysdome of man. Ffor happily 3iþ þe hadde be grete clerkes affore our Lorde called hem, men wolde haue redressede here wysdome to þe wysdome of men. Bot, seþen þei were so symple when our Lorde callede hem to apostelhode, and afterwarde so \wyse/, it muste nedes be redressede to þe speciall wirkynghe of þe Holy Goste.

And þis is ayeys some nowe adayes þat when þei here or rede ony thynge ydo of a grete clerke, as of a maistre of dyuynyte or a doctour of lawe, anone þei haue grete deynte þerof and comendens it gretyely. And 3iþ it were ydo of a comon letterde man or of a deuoute man not graduate, þat is to seye, noght degreede in scoles, þei dispise it or elles haue lytell deynte þerof. And 3iþ it is a sygne of more grace of God when suche a man doth a thynge þan a grete clerke, not þat þei bene blameable for þai comende þat that a clerke doth, bot for þei take not vertuousely þat a symple man doth, so þat it be withoute heresye.

Also, þat our Lorde hymselfe in þis worlde toke pouerte and chese hym a pore modre and pore disciplis, it is a grete and an open ensample to all þo þat desyrë þe state of perfeccioun to folowe pouerte and to [despyse] þe ioye of þis worlde. Ffor Seint [f. 42r] Bernade seyth yt is a grete abusioun and to grete, þat a vyle worme wolde be ryche, for whome God of Maieste and Lorde of Hoßtes/ Wolde be pore. Criste chese pouerte, and þarfore it is to be chose [of] vs; whosoever seyth other, cursede be he, þof he be an aungell of heuenne. And afterwarde he seyth þus: He chese pore disciplis and behette þe kyngedome of heuens to pore folke. Also Seinte Gregore seyth in þe Morales vpon Iob, in þe thirteyneth boke, þat ryght as our Lorde chese in his prechynge pore men, ydeoetes, and symple so þe [contrarye] þat damped man, þat is to seye, AnteCriste, þe whiche þe aungell yturnede to shrewednesse, þat is þe deuill, shall take to hym his chesen to preche his falsnes, wyly men, double \men/, and men hauynge þe konynge of þis worlde.

The twelfe appostells þat I haue tolde yow before of were our Lordes chiefe disciplis and specyally appostels. And þei, yhe may thenke, wente...
aboute with hym and seeth his holy lyuynge, herde his prechynge, and seeth also his worthi miracles þat he wroght of þe whiche, by þe helpe of þe same Lorde, yhe shull here in þe two/ nexte chapitles folowyng after þis. To thies twelfe he þafe also powere to arayse dede men, to hele seke, to clense lepres, and putt oute deuills, seynge to hem: _Yhe haue taken frely, þat is to seye, suche power; frely doth it._ Also, 'as/ yhe shall here afterwarde, he toke more familiariete with thre of hem, þat is to seye, with Petre, James þe more, and Iohn his brother, þan with other apostels. And in þat, as me semeth, he lefte to vs ensample þat we may take more familiariete with one þan with another, so his lyuynge be gode and vertuouse.

Also, beside thies twelfe þat were pryncipall he had þit other thre score and [f. 42v] twelfe disciples, as þe euangeliste Luke beres wytnes, þe whiche he seyth he sende two and two affore his face in yche cite and place wheder he was to come. And he seide to hem: _Fforsoth, þe corne is mykel bot þe werkemen bene fewe;_ as who seyth, þe peple is mykel bot ther be bot fewe prechours þat may wyrke in hem by techyne of Godes worde. _Prayeth þerfore, he seide, þe Lorde of þe corne þat he sende werkemen into his corne._ Vpon þeþe words of our Lorde y conseill yow to pray our Lorde Ihesu Criste, þat is Lorde of all Cristen peple, þe whiche is his spiritual corne, to sende werkemen, þat is to seye, prechours in wordes and in werkes into his corne, þat is to seye, amone Cristen pepill. Ffor þof þer bene mony prechours, as it semeth now a dayes, in wordes, þere bene bot fewe in werkes, as a deuoute man seyth in metre þus: _Multos habemus doctores sed paucissimos factores in vita mortalium._ This is in Englissh: We haue mony doctoure, bot right fewe doers in þe lyfe of dedely men.

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Chapter Fifteen

Of our Lordes miracles that he wroghte and other diuers werkes that he dede in his manhode, of his goyng aboute in prechynge and techenge, of hee scribes and Pharisees and what they were, and why he toke mankynde with oþer maters that longes perto.

Religious sistre, I haue somewhat tolde yow in the chapetle next before this howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste, aftre his fastyna in deserte, wente into þe worlde and prechede, and also callede his discipes. Nowe in þis chapitile and the] next aftre þis, I woll tell yowe somewhat, by þe helpe of þe same Lorde, of his worthi miracles that he wroght to þe confirmacioun of his holy doctrine, and to þe shewynge of his godhode, some in speciale and some in generale, [f. 43r] with other werkes that he dede. Fyrstte, yhe may thenke þat þere was made a weddunynge in a strete of Galile þat was callede Chana, foure myle fro Nazareth. And our Lady was þere, for it is comonly seide þat it was þe weddunynge of Seynte Iohn þe Euangeliste. And perchere our Lady was there as his aunte and a gouernoure of þe weddunynge, for als mykel as it was hir cosynnes weddunynge. Ffor Lyre seyth it is not likely þat she wolde haue come thidre but ȝif it hadde mykel longede to hir. And fro þis weddunynge yhe may thenke our Lorde callede Seynte Iohn, and made hym one of his discipes. And to hym oure Lorde shewed more and tendre loue þan to other, as yhe shall here aftrewaerde somewhat by þe grace of God, for he abode still a clene mayden. Also our Lorde was callede to þis weddunynge and his discipes. And at þis weddunynge yhe may thenke he turnede water into wyne at þe askynge of his modre when wyne fayledede, for it longede to hir to se þat nothyng fayledede there, for honeste of hir nevewe. And in þat myracle our Lorde shewed þe myght of his godhode; and this he doth gostely in mennes soules when he turnethe þe naked resoun þat was firste drye fro gostely knowynge, into þe lyght of vnderstondynge, and þe bare wylle þat was firste vnsauory fro deuocioun into brennyng loue and affeccioun.

Aftre þis yhe may thenke þat he wente forthe into þe contrey mekely on his fete, and his twelue apostels with hym. And so yhe may beholde hym howe he goth fro cite to cite, fro towne to towne, and fro castell to castell, prechynge and techenge to þe weye of eueralstynge lyfe, shewynge þe myght of his godhode, and apprevynge his techenge by open myracles, as in helynge [f. 43v] seke men, in clensynge lepres, in puttyngynge oute of deuilles, in makynge blynde men to se, of þe whiche one he helede þat had be blynde from his birthe, þat was neuer [herde] affore þat tyme. And shortly, forto

seye, he heled al maner sekenes by vertue of his godhode, as he myght doo what he wolde.

Also, he wente vpon þe water and comandede þe wynde to be stille, and þe see to sese of tempeste, and þe wynde and þe see obey to hym as to here verre lorde and maker. Also, he fedde fyfe thowsande men, ouste-taken women and children, with fyfe lofes and two fisshes, and 3it ther were fillide xii coffynnes of þe releues. Also, another tyme he fedde four thowsande men, ouste-take women and children, with seuen lofes and a fewe small fysshes, and of þe releues were fillide seuen baskets. And mony other myrcles he wroght to shewe his godhode and to brynge men to þe ryght faythe, of þe which som I haue tolde yow in generale wordes. Ffor it were to longe to make a meditacioun of yche werke þat þe euangelistes tellen of our Lorde. And als I trowe, it nedeth noght, ffor a deuote soule may, be grace of God, drawe þis þat is shortly seyde into longe meditacioun, 3if he woll and be disposede þerto be grace. Bot not 3it withstondyng, I woll telle yow some werkes þat our Lorde dede in specyale to your more comforde in hym, and þat yhe may þe better thenke other.

In a tyme yhe may thanke, as þe Euangeliste maketh menciou, Seinte Mathew, how our Lorde toke Petre, lames, and Iohn, his brother, ffor þies were most priue of his counseile, and ledde hem into an hye hille. And he was transfigured before hem, not þat he chawnged þe lynements of his body or þe figure, as Lire seyth, bot for þe immensis of the clerenes of his face. Ffor his face shone as þe sonne and his clothes [f. 44r] were made white as snawe. And Moyses and Hely apperede to hem, spekyng with our Lorde of his Passioun and dethe þat he shulde suffre withoute Ierusalem. And þan yhe may thanke how Petre seide to our Lorde, for he was moste boldeste to speke: Lorde, it is gode to vs to abide here; ʒif þu wilte lette vs make here thre tabernacles, to þe oone, Moysi one, and Hely one. He spake of no tabernacle for hymselfe and for his felowes, ffor, as Lyre seyth, he wolde haue be with our Lorde in his tabernacle, and haue had his felowes one in Moyses tabernacle and another in Helyes tabernacle.

And while he spake so, yhe may beholde a shynyng cloude boshone hym, and oute of þe cloude come a voyce seyng thus: This is my wele beloued Sonne, in þe whiche I am wele plesede. Hereth hym. And þan þe disciples, herynge þat, fallen downe flatlynge/, and were sore adradde, for þe infirmite of man myght noght bere þe presence of God. And þan beholdeþow our Lorde cometh to hem, and toucheth hem ful familiarly, swetely confortynge hem, seyng to hem: Ariseth vp and dredeth noght.
And þan þei lukede vpp, bot þei seen no man bot our Lorde alone. And as þei comen downwarde of þe hille, our Lorde badde hem tell no man þat visioun till he arose fro deth to lyue.

And when he come to þe peple aȝeine, \he helede/ a lunatyke childe at þe prayer of his fadre. Here yhe shall vnderstonde þat men þat been callede lunatyke, aþre þe seiynge of doctures, be not trauaylede so by þe vyse of þe mone, ne þe mone is not cause of þat disese þat þei suffren, as som seyne, bot it is an euyl spirite þat trauuyleth hem, as doctures seyne, to defame þe mone þat is þe creature of God; or God hymselfe þat is maker of þe mone; or elles to putte men into suche fals opynyons. Ffor it is seide in þe Gospell of Mathewe þat [f. 44v] it was deuylles þat our Lorde putte oute of þat childe þat his moder callede lunatyke, and theryfore þei synne þat defame þe mone so withoute cause.

Also, yhe may thenke þat mykel peple folowede our Lorde and come to hym in diuers places þore he prechede and helede in grete multitude byside his discipes, bot for diuers causes: some of gode deuocioun and gode wyll to here his holy doctryne; and some of curioustee to see meruayles; and some for nede to be helede of here sekenesses; and some of envye ȝif þei myghte kache hym in his wordes or werkes and so to accuse hym, as were þe fals scribes and Pharasees and here discipes. And þat yhe myght þe better knowe what þei were, and also þat i haue no nede to expresse hem ony more to yowe here afterwarde, ffor yhe shall here mykell of hem in þe meditacions folowyng, I woll telle yow what maner of men þei were aþre the seynge of doctures.

The scribes were suche men þat hadde moste letturere and were wyseste in þe Lawe and thei were ordinayre iuges amonge þe peple. The Pharisees were, as it had be, moste religiouse amonge þe peple, and thei were aboute here hedes as it had be charteres in þe manere of a crowne, and thei were written þe teen comandementes of grete lettre. Also, þai hadde [anothr ibownde abowte here lyfte arme and they hadde] prykke in þe hemmes of here clothes to prkke hem as þei wente to haue þe comandementes of God in mynde. And for þei were so diuers fro þe comoun habite of other men, þei were callede Pharisees, as þe Maistre of Stories seyth. And þis þei dede to be hadde in more reuerence amonget men, for our Lorde seyth hymselfe þat þei dede al here werkes to be see of men, and þerfore þei were fals [f. 45r] yopocrities.
Thies scribes and Pharseees were moste aȝeynste our Lorde and chefe cause þat he was dede, ffor he reprevede here vices, y pocryc, and falsenes. And þerfore þei bare hym apoun hande þat he blasphemede, for he seide þat he was Goddis Sonne, and þat he brake þe holy day, for he helede seke men therein, and also þat he turnede þe peple fro þe Lawe, for he taught hem þe weye of treuth and þe weye to euerslastynge lyfe. And þat yhe myght somwhate þe better knowe here enemmy and euyl wille aȝeinst he hym, I shal shewe yowe by two ensamples howe solelly þat þei caste to haue disceyuede hym, and ȝif þei had myght, bot trewe and euerslastynge wysdome may not be deceyuede.

In a tyme þe Pharises, yhe may thenke, takenne her counselli togedere howe þei myghten take our Lorde in his speche, for þei myght not take hym in his werkes, ffor a man is taken lightylyr in his wordes [thanne] in his werkes, as Lyre seythe. And so þei sende [to hym] here disciplis with þe Kynge Herode knyghtes, seiyng to hym by hem: Maistre, we wyten wele þat þou ert trewe and þou techeste þe weye of God in trewthe, and þu rekkeste of no man, for forsothe þu behoste [no] neste noght þe person of men. Sey vs what þe semeste: Is it lawefull money to be euene to þe Emperour or none? This þei mente of þe trybute þat þei bare to þe Romanes, for þei werë þat tyme trybuteryes to hem. Bot our Lorde knewe here falseneses wele ynoth, and þerfore he sayede to hem: Wherto tempte yhe me, ypocrytes? Ane ypocrite is he þat sheweth outewarde holynesk and is inwarde þe contrary, and seythe the one and meneth another, and so dede thies. Ffor as Lyre [f. 45v] seyth, þei putten þis questioun to hym maliciously, þat ȝif he had seide not [to] be lawfull, anone þe knyghtes shulde haue take hym as contrary to þe Emperor; and ȝif he had seide lawfull, it shulde haue semede contrary to þe fredome of þe peple and þe worship of God. And so he shulde haue had þe euyle wyll and þe malicyousenes of þe peple.

Bot all þis falsenes was not vnknowe to hym þat knewe here harters. And þerfore, þat he myght þe more conueneently answere hem, he badde hem shewe hym þe kone of the money. And þan þei toke hym a penye þat was worth teen pense amonge hem. And þan our Lorde, þat he myght þe more warely ȝeue hem a full answere, askede hem whose ymage was þat that was in þe penye and þe wrynge vpon, ffor þe ymage of þe Empereour was konede in þe penye and his name writen aboute. And thei seide: Þe
Emperoures. And þan our Lorde badde hem \(\text{v}elde\) þo thynges þat longen to þe Emperoure to þe Emperoure, and þo thynges þat longen to God to God.

Loo, gostely systre, how perfite an answeres þis was to avoyde clerely all perilles, by þe whiche þei were fully overcomen. And perfoure, when þei hadde herde þat anwere, þai merueylede þat þei hadde no wyere in hym, and so þei lefte hym and wente here waye as confoundede. Another tyme þe scribes and þe Pharasees broghte a woman ytake in spousebreke, and þei set hir in þe myddes of þe peple, and seide to our Lorde þus: Meystre, þis woman was nowe ytake in spousebreke. Moyses badde vs in þe Lawe to stoyne to deth suche a maner woman. What seyste þu þereto? This, þe Euangeliste seyth, [they seyde] tempynge hym þat þei myght accuse hym. Ffor ʒif he had seide: Naye, stoneth hir noght to dethe, þei wolde [f. 46r] haue accusede hym as rebelle to Moyses Lawe; for Moyses Lawe biddeth þat suche a woman shulde be stoned to deth. At þe tother side, ʒif he hadde seide: Stone hir to dethe as þe Lawe biddeth, þei wolde haue seide þat he dede aʒeynste his owne prechynge and wyrkynge. For he prechede pite and mercy, and dede it in wyrkynge, as yhe haue herde before, in helynge of þe sekenesse and mony oþer diseses, for he was full swete and mercyfull. And þerfore, of þe two þei trowede þat he wolde haue demede hir to be lette go, as Lyre seyth, and so þei myghte haue accusede hym as a trespasser aʒenste þe lawe.

Than yhe may beholde howe our Lorde stowpeth downe and writeth with hys fynger in þe erthe. And when þei perseuerde askynge hym, yhe may thenke howe he lyfteth vp hymselfe aʒeyne and seyth to hem: He þat is withoute synne of yow, lette hym caste þe firste stone on hir. And þan he inclynede downe hymselfe aʒeyne and wrote in þe erthe. Some seyne þat he wrote here synnes, þat by þat he myght shewe hem vnable to þe executioun of his sentence. And þan yhe may beholde howe þei wente oute one aftre another, begynnynge at þe eldeste, ffor þei were happily asshamede of here owne synnes þat þei seegh þere by the myghte of God. And so our Lorde abode there alone, vnderstondeth, as for hem þat hadde accusede þe woman, and þe woman before hym stondynge in þe myddes of þe peple þat abode þere with our Lorde. Ffor yhe may thenke þat our Lordis disciples abode with hym, and þat other peple, oute-take hem þat had accusede þe woman, for þei durste no longer abide for shame of hymselfe. And þan yhe may thenke how our Lorde lifte vp hymselfe eftesones and full mercifully seide to þe woman: Woman, where bene þei [f. 46v] þat accusede þe? Noone of
hem hath condempnede þe? And þan she seide aȝene: No, Lorde. Ne I shall not condempn þe. Go forthe and will no more to synne.

Lo, gostely sustre, what mercy þis was of our mercyfull Lorde þat þus mercyfully deluyerede þis woman þat was synfull fro þat wykkede peple, and so swetely and lowelely spake to hyr, þan loueth hym with all your herte. Ffor forsothe he is full worthi to be louede þat so mercyfull was in his domes, so holy in his lyyyne, so trewe and profitable in his techynge and so myghty in myryacles wyrkyng. Mony other diseses, waytynges, and wronges [thanne be forseyde] our Lorde suffrede ful mekely and pacyently, specyally of þe forseide scribes and Pharasees and other vnkynde peple, for þe helthe of his chosen and to ȝeue ensample of perfeccioun to his folowers. Also, yhe may thenke howe in mykel goynge aboute in prechynge and techynge he was very. Also he fastede, he wakede, he prayede, he slepte, he hongrede, he thrustede, and suche other infirmites of mankynde he suffrede. Bot all þis was for he wolde doo so of his owne godennesse, and noght aȝeynte his wyll, ffor he þat is almyghty myght not be compellede to do otherwise þan he wolde hymselfe. Bot all þis he dede to shewe hym a verre man, and þat we shulde knowe \howe/ mykyll loue and charite he hadde to mankynde, þat wolde for þe endles profite of þe same kynde take it and þerin suffre so mykell tribulacioun and dise so longe tyme, and, at þe laste, for þe same loue and charite, dye in þe same kynde.

For foure causes specyally I considre þat our Lorde wolde take mankynde. The firste is þat he wolde bye aȝeyne mankynde þat for his owne synne and wrychednes was loste, and euer shulde haue [be], but if he of his [f. 47r] endelees mercy hadde bought it aȝeyne. Ffor he seyth in þe Gospell hymselfe þus: Venit filius hominis non ministrari, sed ministrare et dare animam suam redempcionem pro multis. This is in Englyssh: The sone of þe mayden come not to be seruede, bot to serue and ȝeue his lyfe for mony. The secundye cause is þat he wolde ȝeue vs ensample of perfeccioun in his owne persone, not onely in wordes but also in perfite werkes, þat we shulde folowe hym here in þis lyfe by gode werkes, ȝeue we wolde be pertyners with hym in ioye euerlastyng. Ffor he seyth in þe Gospell: Qui \michi/ ministrat, me sequatur. This is to seye: He þat serueth me lette hym folowe me; þat is, not onely in outwarde goynge, ffor so folowede hym ludas þat afterwarde betrayede hym, bot also in mekenes, pacynes, and charite, and other uertuouse lyuynge ynyarde and outwarde. And in þe same texte folowynge also he seyth: Et vbi sum ego, illic et minister meus erit. This is


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to seye: And where I am, there shal my seruante be. The thirde cause may be for þe gode Lorde knewe before þat his chosen shulde suffre mykell tribulacioun in þis worlde. And theryfore he wolde go þe weye of tribulacyoun and disese before hem, þat þei shulde þe esier suffre tribulacyons and diseses for his loue and for [her] owne profite, sethen he suffredde so mykell for hem. Ffor he seyth in þe Gospell þus: Si mundus uos odiit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit. This is to sey: 3eue þe worlde hate yow, witte yhe wele þat he hatede me affore yow. The fourth cause is þis, þat he wolde destoye þe vice of vnkyndenes in mankynde, ffor 3eue men and women wolden considere dilygently what kyndenes our Lorde hath shewed to hem, þei shulde be ryght sory to be so vn[f. 47v]kynde as mony bene in the[s]e dayes. For þe vice of vnkyndenes is a foule vice and mykell displesaunte to God, for Seynte Austyne seythe in his Soliloquies to our Lorde of þat vice þus: I wote whele þat vnkyndenes displeseth þe, þe whiche is rote of all spirituall [euyl], and a maner of wynde driynge and brennynge all gode, stoppyng ye welle of þe mercy of God to men, by þe whiche bothe euylle thynges dede sprynge [a3en] and lyfely werkes [dyen] and noght be gete a3eyne.

Therfore, be yhe kynde to our Lorde, þat yhe may here fynde mercy and grace, and in þe lyfe to come euerlastynge ioye and gladnes, þe whiche our Lorde mercyfully 3eueth to hem þat kyndely, mekely, and trewly seruuen hym and louen hym here in þis presente lyfe.

Chapter Sixteen

How our Lorde Ihesu Criste, amonge oþer myracles þat he wroght, specially araysede thre dede, þat is to seye, two men and one damysele, and what is betokenede by hem gostely, and how þe bishhopes and þe Pharisees taken her conseyle aþenste hym togidre, and by þe consele of Cayphas diffynede to sley hym as sone as þei myght.

Amonge other myracles þat our Lorde Ihesu Criste here in erthe wroghte, yhe may specyall take to mynde howe he raysede thre dede specyally, and happily mo. Bot it is noght with out cause þat thre bene specially namede, fför somwhat þei betoken to be done in Holy Chirche. Fför Seint Austyn seyth þat mony men and women haue bodyly yene with þe whiche þei myght see ȝif a man or a woman were araysede bodyly, but mony kan not see howe men and women bene raysede fro deth to lyfe gostely. And þitte, he seyth, it is more maistrye to arayse a man or woman in soule euermore to lyfe þan arayse þe body þat shall dye aȝeynes. And theroe I woll telle you firste of thre þat our Lorde raysede bodyly, and þan what is betokenede by hem gostely. Fför Seint Austyn seyth þat our Lorde [f. 48r] woll þat we beleue þe myracles þat he dede here in erthe, ydone in treuthe as we here rede, and also he seyth he woll hem to [be] vnderstone gostely.

The firste of hem þat our Lorde araysede was a yonge damysele of twelfe yhere olde. And she was þe doughter of þe prince of þe synagoge, whose name was layre, and hir he araysede within þe house of þe same pryncne, no man beynge presente bot þe fadre and modre of þe same damesele, and thre of his disciples, þat is to sey, Petre, Iames, and Iohn his brother. By þis damesele bene betokenede men and women þat dyen in thought within here soules by wylfull consentynge to synne. Bot þe deth is within, as Seinte Austyne seyth, for þe euyl thought is not þitte ygo forthe in dede. Suche a soule, þe same doctour seyth, our Lorde bytokenyng hymselfe to [arayse], he araysede þe forseide damesell, þe whiche was not ȝit bore oute, bot she laye dede in þe house for ȝit þe synne was as it hadde be preuey.

The seconde was a wydowe sone, þe whiche our Lorde mette withoute þe ȝate of a cite þat is callede Nayme; þis cite is in þe contrey of Galile, as þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth. And þe forseide yonge mannes modre, a wydowe, folowede þe bere, and mykell peple of þe cite with hir, þe whiche when our Lorde sawe wepyng, of grete mercy, yhe may thenke, he hadde pite and compassion of hir and badde hir not wepe. And þan he wente to and
touchede þe bere, and anone þei þat bare hym stode stylene. And þan he seide
to hym þat leye dede: Yonge man, I seye to þe, arysye. And anone he þat was
dede sate vp and begane to speke. And þan he betoke hym to his modre, and
all þe peple þat seegh þis drede and magnifieþe God.

By þis man and woman bene betokenedene men and women [f. 48v] þat not
only dyen in soule by wilfull consentynge to synne, þe whiche bene
betokenede þe þe forseide damesiel, but also hem þat fullille here euyle
consentynge in dede. Ffor Seynte Austyn seythe: Fforsðte, ðife þu not
onlye haste consentede to an euyle delite, bot þu haste do also þe euyle (þat
is to seye, in wirkynges) þu haste, as it were, bore oute þe dede withoute þe
gate. Nowe þu ert withoute, and þu ertere bore oute dede. Neuerþeles, he
seith, our Lorde also araysete hym and zeldede hym to his moder, þe
widowe. 3œye þu haste synnede, he seyth also folowyng, forþynke it, and þan
our Lorde arayseth þe and shall zelde þe to þi moder Holy Chirche.

Thies bene Seynt Austyn wordes vpon þe Gospell of Seynte Iohn.

The thirde dede was Layzare, þe brother of Seint Mary Magdalene and
Martha hir sustre, þe whiche our Lorde araysete at þe prayer of his systren
aftre he hadde be foure dayes dede and beryede and a stone ylayde vpon
hym. And by þis man bene betokenedene men and women þat not onely dyen
in thoughte and dede, þe whiche bene betokenede þe þe two dede
before-seide, bot also hem þat lyen stylene in synne by lange custome. Ffor
þei bene as þei were beryede by longe and contynuante lyuyng in þe fylthe
of synne, and þei lywe as þei were stynkyngyne þe þe badde name and fame þat
aryseth of suche manere folke. Ffor it is redde also of Lazare þat he stonke.

And þe stone of euyl custome lyeth so heuy vpon hem þat vnten þei maye
aryse. But ætie þe þe myght of God, to whome nothynge is impossible, and
þe prayers of our Lady and other seyntes and þe meretes of our moder Holy
Chirche, some suche bene mercyfull araysete fro here badde custome and
become full gode and holy. Thus I haue shortlye tolde yow of þe thre dede
þat [f. 49r] our Lorde araysete bodly, and what is betokenedene by hem
gostely.

Than aftre þis yhe may thenke how mony of þe leuws þat seeth þis laste
myrracle done, as þe Eu[a]ngeliste bereth wytnes, beleude in our Lorde
Ihesu Criste. Ffor þe same Euangeliste seyth þat þere were mony of þe
lewes ycombe to Mary and Marthe to conforte hem of here brothers dethe.
And so yhe may thenke þat þei were presente at þis myrracle doynge, and

therefore mony of hem, afte þei had sene þis grete myracle, dede byleue in our Lorde, as it is before-seide. And some wente forthe to þe Pharisees and tolde hem what ourle Lorde had do, elles þat/ þei shulde beleue in hym or elles, þat that is more likeeler, þat þei shulde \\sende/ and take hym. Fôr Lyre seyth þat ryght as Gode chosen of myracles \pat þei seene bene turnede to more gode/, right so oftymes euyle be made more obdurate or harde in euyle. And \pat/ semeth of hem more, he seyth by þe lettre folowyng, where it is tolde of þe gederynge togedre of þe Pharysees to trete of our Lordis dethe, and þereof wol I tell yow nowe.

When þe biss Hopkins þat were moste of autorite amonge þe Iewes, and þe Pharysees þat semede moste religiouse, herde telle of þe forseide myracle þat our Lorde had ydo, [they] gederede here counseile togidre âzenste our Lord Ihesu Criste and seide: What shulde we doo? For his man doth mony myracles, zif we leue hym þus, all þe peple shull beleue in hym. And þan shall þe Romans come and take awaye our place (þis þei mente of þe cite of Ierusalem and þe temple, for þat was here cheefe cite and abydnyng) \and/ our peple also, þei seide. Fôr þei trowede þat zif all þe peple had beleuede in our Lorde, þe Romans wolde haue come and distroyde þe cite and þe temple, and haue take awayne þe peple and made hem thralle. [f. 49v]

And þat ȝitte felle afterwaer for here synnes and vnkyndenes ægeins our Lorde, a[s] yhe shall here in þe one and twenty chapitile folowyng.

Aftre þis yhe may thanke howe one of hem, Cayphas be name, þat was bisshop þat yhere, ȝaf hem wykked counseile and seide: Hit is spedefull to yow þat one man dye for þe pepill, and noght þat all þe peple perissh. This, þe Euangiliste seyth, he seide noght of hymselfe, bot, for he was bisshop þat yhere, he prophecyeþe þat our Lorde shulde dye for þe peple. Here we be taught, as Seynt Austyne seyth, þat otherwhile þe spirite of prophecy seyth thyngeþ þat bene to come by euill men. Wherfore, þe ȝitte of prophecy or myracles wirkyng or vysions or reuelaciouns or such other ȝitþe þat bene yeuen synglere to som, bene not mykell to be desirede, but where our Lorde wolde frely ȝeue hem withoute ony sekyng of vs, fôr þai may be had otherwhile of euyl men and women as wele as of gode, as yhe may here afore of Cayphas.

Also, our Lorde seyth in þe Gospell of Mathewe þat mony shull come to hym seyynge: Domine, Domine, nonne \in nomine tuo/ prophetauimus, et in nomine tuo demonia eicimus, et in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus? Et tunc confitebor illis quia nunquam noui uos, disc[ed]ite a me omnes qui
operamini iniquitatem. This is to seye: Lorde, Lorde, prophecyeede we nogth
in þi name, and in þi name we caste ou te deuilles, and in þi name we dede
mony myracles? And þan I shall knoweleche to hem, he seyth, I knewe yow
neuer; þat is to seye, as for my chosen. Gothe from me all þat wyrken
wykkednesse. Hereby yhe maye vndirstonde þat mony may haue þe ȝifte of
prophecye, þe puttynghe ou te deuilles, and of myracles wyrkynge, and ȝit
be repreuede. And threfore þei bene not mykell to be desired of hem þat
haue hem noght. And ȝif þei haue bene hadde, þei [f. 50r] be not mykell to
be set by withoute ouer uertues and holy lyuynge þerwith. Bot mekenes and
charite, with feyth, hope, and perseuerance in gode and all other vertues
lyuynge inwarde and outerwarde bene gretyly and contynuantly to be
desirede of yow and of all other þat \woll/ bene partyners of euerlastynge
heritage, ffôr yhe may not haue hem and be reprevedde.

Aftre þis theseketh þat when þe forseide bishopes and Pharisees had
taken her counseill toghidre, and Cayphas had þeuen hem counseill vndre þe
fourme of wordes byfor-seide, ffîro þat day þai thoght forto sle our Lorde
Ihesu Criste as sone as þei myght. Ffor \po\f/ before þai hadde wille forto
sley hym, as yhe may \here/ by þe wordes þat þei hadde when þei comen
togidre, ȝit when Caphays had þeuen hem his counsell þei fully diffyned to
perfourme it as sone as þei myght. By thies wordes yhe may vnderstonde
þat I neghe[f]e faste þe Passion of our Lorde, þe which is þe chefe cause of þis
symple laboure, as I behette yow. And threfore I besech þe same mercyfull
Lorde, for his Passioun and þe prayer of our Lady and Seint Iohn þe
Euangeliste, and all þe holy courte of heuen, so by his grace to þeue me \to/
entrete þero as it may be to hym [pleesaunt] and exceptable, to me
spedefull and meritorye, and to yow or ony other þat is by þe grace of God
to rede it or to here it, edyfycatyue and profitable. Amen.

And here I pray yow of þe same prayere þat I askedde in þe firste
chapettle of þis boke, þat is to seye, thre Pater Noster and thre Aue Maria
and a Crede.
Chapter Seventeen

Of þe sopere þat was made to our Lorde in Bethanye in þe Satterday before Palme Sonday, þat is Palme Sonday even. And how in þe nexte day after þat is callede Palme Sonday, he was receyuede into þe cite of Jerusalem. And howe in þe Wednesday in þe same weke folowange Iudas solde hym for thirty penys. Capitulum decimum septimum.

[f. 50v] Gostely sustre, I haue tolde yow in þe chapitele next afore þis howe þe bishoppes and þe Pharisees token here counsell to gide þeysuns our Lorde, and by þe counsell of Cayphas to sle hym as sone as þe myght. [Aftyr] þis yhe may thanke howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste, as þe Euangeliste Seynte Ihon bereth wytnes, sex dayes affor Estre amonge þe Iewes, þat is Palme Sonday even, come to Betany two myles fro Jerusalem. Here I woll tel yow firste what þis Estre was amonge hem, þffor yhe shall vnderstonde þat it was a grete festyuall day amonge þe Iewes, and it is als mykill to seye as a passyngye. This feste, yhe shall vnderstonde, was vsed amonge hem in mynde [of] þe grete benfete þat God shewed hem, when by hys angele he deluyerde hem oute of þe londe of Egipte fra þe orbell bondage of Kyng Pharaho. For þe nyght affore þat þei were deluyerde, þe angell of God wente by all houses of Egipte, and slowe yche fyrste begeten thynge þerin, both of men and bestes, outake \of Þe peple of Israel. And for þe angel of God wente so and smote ych firste begeten thynge in þe londe of Egipte, and saude hem, it was callede þe Passyngye of our Lorde. And so fro þat tyme forewarde, it was a solemnpe feste amonge hem by þe comandement of God, and it endurede seuen days, bot þe firste and þe laste were moste solemnpe. And þis feste was callede Estre amonge hem, þat is to seye, þe Passyngye of our Lorde.

And so sex dayes affore þis feste amonge þe Iewes, yhe may thenke, as it is before-seide, howe our Lorde come in Betany where [Lasur] hadde þe deede þe whych he raysede, as I haue shortly tolde [f. 51r] yowe in þe chapitle next affore þis. And there men of þat place made hym a sopere, and Martha, Mary Mawdeleyns systre, seruede and Lazare, hir brother, was one þat satte at þe sopere with oure Lorde. This sopere, as doctoures seyne comonly, was in þe house of a man þat was callede Symon Lepre, þe whiche oure Lorde had helede of þe lepre, bot þe name abode in mynde of

Also, yhe may thenke þat Mary Magdalene, hir sistre, toke a pounde of ful preciouse oynmente. And firste yhe may thenke she wesshede his fete and þan she wypede hem with hir heyers of hir hede, for she louede hym with all hir herte, and afterwande she anoyned hem with þe forside anoyntemente. And all þe house was fulfillede with þe savor þerof, ffor it was a full precyouse oynmente and of grete price, and hereby yhe may vnderstonde þe grete deuocyon of þat blissede lady to our Lorde.

Than yhe may beholde howe Iudas Scaryoth, þe whiche afterwarde betrayede our Lorde, [grochede] seynge: Whi was not þis oynmente solde for thre hundreth penys and þeuen to pore men? This he seyde, þe Evangeliste seyth, not þat it longede to hym of pore men (as who seyth, he rought not of hem) bot for he was a thefe, hauynge purses in þe whiche he hidde þat shulde haue be spentede in other vses. Ffor he bare þat that was þeuen our Lorde to þe helpynge of his bodyly nede and his disciples, and to be þeue to pore men. And ȝitte, þoffe he dede it falsly, our Lorde pacently suffrede hym, to þeue us ensample þat we shulde suffre pacently shrewes, ffor Seynte Gregore seyth: He was [f. 51v] neuer gode þat recoseth or forsaketh to suffre euyl. And þan mekely and lowly our Lorde answerede æȝeyne and seide in excusynge of hir: Whi be yhe heuy with þis woman? She hath done a gode werke in me, ffor forsothe yhe shall haue pore men alwaye with yowe, and when yhe wol yhe may do hem gode. Bot forsoth yhe shall not haue me alwaye þat is to seye, in dedely flesshe. By thies wordes of our Lorde, it semeth wele þat some other of þe disciples grochede as wele as Iudas. Neuerþeles, Lyre seyth, þei were sterede by Iudas. And also þei dede it of pite, bot Iudas of couetyse.

After þis yhe may thenke þat mykel peleþe of þe lewes knewe þat oure Lorde was at Betanye, þe which is two myles fro Ierusalem, as I haue tolde you affore. And therfore þai come not onely thider for our Lorde, bot also þat þei myght see Lazare þat he hadde raysede fro deth to lyfe, for þat was a grete merualie to hem. And therfore þe princes of þe prestes, þat were chyfe governors of þe peple, þought to sle Layzare also, ffor for hym mony of þe lewes wente aweye fro hem and beleuede in oure Lorde Ihesu Criste. Than
aftre þis yhe may thenke howe in þe morowe aftre, þe which we callen
Palme Sunday, myche peple þat was comen to þe forseide holy daye, when
þei herde tell þat our Lorde wolde come to Ierusalem, þei token bowes of
palme trees and comen aȝeȝynste hym. And some, as another euangeliste
seyth, strewed here clothes in þe weye. And here\by/ yhe maye
vnderstonde þe deuocyon of þe peple to our Lorde.

Þan aftre þis yhe may thenke also howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste þat
knewe all affore, when he neghe to Ierusalem at þe Mounte of Olyue, þe
whiche is myddewaye betwene Ierusalem and Betanye, he sente two of his
disciples to Ierusalem to feche hym an asse and hir colte þat stode tyede [f.
52r] at þe townes ende, þat he myght sytte vpon. This asse and hir colte
were tyede þere for pore peple þat it had none, ffor, as doctours seyne, it
was a custome at Ierusalem þat þer was an asse and hir colte ytiede at þe
townes ende, þat pore men þat hadde none myght take hem for a tyme and
vse hem for here nede. And he þat occupiede hem shulde fynde hem mete.
And when he hadde ydoþ his nede, he shulde bryngye hem aȝeyn ye þer he
fonde hem. And thies it were þat our Lorde hadde.

Then yhe may thenke howe his disciples layede her clothes apon hem,
happely for more honeste, and also þat he shulde sytte þe eslyer. And firste
yhe may thenke þat he satt apon þe colte, and afterwarde apon þe asse. And
þan yhe may beholde howe mykill pepill [þat] was comen to þe holy day, as
it is afforseide, comen aȝeȝyns hym. And some wente aforo hym, and some
come aftre hym, with grene bowes of palme trees in here hondes, in
betokenyng of gladnes. And þei þat wente affore and þeþe þat come aftre
hym seide þus: I beseche [þe]. saue. Ffor þei asked helthe of hym. And also
þei seide therwith: Yblissede be he þat cometh in þe name of our Lorde, þe
Kynge of Israel. Ffor þei wende he shulde haue reynede temperally, and
haue deliuerde hem of þe tribute þat þei bare to þe Romanyes, as Lire seyth.
And so with suche maner songes of praysynge, þei broughten hym into þe
cite of Ierusalem. Also þe euangeliste seyth þat þei come aȝeȝynste hym so,
for þei had herde telle þat he hadde arayysed Layzare fro deth to lyfe.

Than thenketh also þat þe Pharysees hadde grete indignacioun þat
suche reuereunce shulde be doo to hym. And þerfor þei seydon amonge
hemselfe þus: Yhe see þat we profite noght. Loo, all þe [f. 52v] worlde gothe
aftre hym. Noght þat all þe peple of þe worlde folowede hym, bot for mony
folowede hym, as þe comon speche is þat when mykell peple gothe, some
vsten to seye, all þe werlde gothe.

68 yhe may thenke] thynkyth C; morowe] o2 inser. C. 70 þei2] they, y inser. C. 71 another] a
C; þel C, om. ND; also þei seide] they seyde also C. 94 þe] that he C; reynede] regned, d
Than after this yhe may thenke that our Lord preche in the cite of Jerusalem, comynge and goynge in/into Tyseday at euen. And than wente he aȝeyne to Betany, where Mary Magdalene dwellede, and Martha hir sustre, and Lazare hir brother, for he louede hem, and perchore he come ofte thider. And there he abode stille and wente noght aȝeyne in/to Jerusalem than next day aftre, that is Wednesday, as he dede that other dayes affore, for Lyre seyth, he wolde seeue place to ye Iewes to trete of his dethe. And than thenth that he same Wednysday, ye princes of ye prestes and ye eldeste men of ye peple comen togydred into ye halle of ye chefe prynce, that was calledde Cayphas, that which had seeuen hem counseill affore to putte our Lorde to dethe, as yhe haue herde affore. And at this tyme, þei comen togydred aȝeyne to aske also counseile howe þei myght doo it priuely, withoute ony stryfe or debate of þe comon peple, for mony of hem beleued in oure Lorde. And perchore þei wolde noght doo it in þe holy day, lest þer shulde be stryfe amonge þe comon peple for hym.

Than yhe may thenke þat when Iudas Scarioth, þat fals tratoure, herde telle þat þei were comen togydred to trete of our Lordes dethe, he wente to hem and askede what þei wolde seeuen hym, and he wolde betraye hym to hem, as who seyth, priualy and withoute ony noyse. And þan þei were glade þerof, for hym semede þat was a conuenyente weye to taken hym by. And so þei beheten hym thirty penys, of þe whiche ilkone was worth teen penys of þe comon moneye. [f. 53r] And fro thens forwarde, he soughte laysere tymen ande place when he myght betraye hym priauly withoute noyse or stryfe of þe peple, for þer was mykill pepill drawynge to hymwarde to here his prechynge, and also for þe myracles þat he wroght. And perchore þe fals shrewes wolde take a tymne when þer was no man with hym bot his disciples alone, and þat was þe next day folowyngge at nyght, þe whiche we calle [Holy] Thursdaye, of þe whiche I shall trete by þe helpe of our Lorde in þe next chapitile folowyngge.
Chapter Eighteen

Of þe soper þat our Lorde had with his disciples on Shir Thursday at euene and of þe werkes that were do þerat.

Religiouse sustre, yhe haue herde afore how Iudas þe Wednysday aftre Palme Sondaye solde our Lorde. Now þan thenketh howe in þe next day folowyng, þe whiche we calle Shire Thursdays, and it was at euene amonge þe lewes of þe holy daye folowyng, þe whiche was here Ester, of þe whiche I haue tolde yow in þe chapitl next affore þis, both what it was and also howe longe it endured, and þin/þis euene þaye ete here Estre lombe. And þerfore yhe may thenke howe þe disciples of our Lorde come to hym and askedde hym where he wolde þat þei shulde make redy to ete þe Estre lombe. And thenketh howe aþeyne euene he sente Petre and Iohn, and baddy hem go furthe and make redy for þe sopere in þe whiche þei myght ete þe Estre lombe. And þan thenketh þat þei asked hym where. And þan he baddy hem goo forthe into þe cite of Jerusalem, and anone þei shulde mete with a man berynge a potte with water, and they shulde folowe hym into þe house [f. 53v] þat he wente in at, and bidde þe gode man of þe house ordeyne þerfor. Ffor yhe may thenke þat he was some worthi man of þe cite þat beleuede in hym and wolde doo what he baddy hym. And so he shewed hem a place conuenyente þerfore, and there þay made redy þat that shulde longe to þe sopere.

And at euene he come thider with his disciples and satte downe to þe sopere, and his twelfe apostels with hym. And when þei hadde almooste soupede, þat is when þei hadde eten þe Estre lombe (bot þitt vnderstondeth þat brede and wyne stode vpon þe borde and suche other thynges as be wonte to stonde still when men haue etene here grete metes) aftre þis beholdeth howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste arysteth vp fro þe sopere, for he wolde doo seruyce to his owne seruantes. And thenketh firste how he dothe of some of his clothes þat he myght þe better do þat he purposede. And þan beholdeth howe he taketh also a lynne clothe als a towell, and girdeth it aboute hym, and putteth water into a basyn with his owne hondes, ffor he woll wasshe his disciples fete.

And þan thenketh firste howe he commeth to Symon Petre, seynge þat he came to hymwarde to do suche manere seruyce to hym. He was sore abasshede and astonyede, and seide to hym: Lorde, wolte þu wasshe my
fete? As who seyth, þat am but a synfull man and þu Goddis sone and my Lorde. It is in no wyse semely. And þan our Lorde seide to hym aȝeine: *That I do, þu woste not now;* as who seyth, what it meneth, *bot þu shalte wytte afterwarde.* And þan Petre, seyne þat our Lorde wolde algates do it, seyde to hym aȝeine: *Thu shalt not wassh my fete withoute ende;* as whoso seyth, þu shalt neuer doo þat to me, I wolle neuer suffre it. This he seide of grete loue and reverence þat he hadde [f. 54r] to oure Lorde, ffor he loue dy hym with all his herte, and thoght, as mony men myght, þat it was no wyse resoneable or conueniente, ne to be suffrede, þat he shulde doo ony suche seruyce to ony creature. Bot our Lorde Ihesu, maistre and þeuer of mekenes and alle vertues, wolde ȝeue vs proude synfull wrecches a perfite ensample of mekenes. And þerfore thinke þat oure Lorde seide to Seynte Petre aȝeine: *But I wasshe þe, þu shalte haue no parte with me;* þis is to seye, in my ioye. And þan Seinte Petre seyde to hym aȝeine: *Lorde, not onely my fete, bot also my handes and my hede;* as who seyth, Lorde, I hadde leuer suffre þe to wasshe my body þan to be departede fro þe. And so, þoffe he were lothe to see his Lorde do seruyce to hym, ȝitte he hadde leuer suffre hym to do his swete wille þan to be departede fro hym. And so he suffrede hym to do his will. And þan beholdeþe diligently howe the Lorde of alle þe worlde kneleþe downe at a pore fissingers fete and mekely and lowly wesshet hem, and afterwarde wypeth hem with þe lynne clothe þat he was girde with, and þan he wassheth forthe other by Rowe.

Lo, gostely sustre, here considereth what shame it shulde be to vs þat bene bot synfull wrecches to forsake to do lowe seruice to our euene Cresten, or to be hye in oure owne sighte, when we may beholde þus mykll lownes in God. Aftre þis thankeþe howe he taketh to hym aȝene his clothys þat he hadde afore do of, and doth hem on aȝene. And þan beholdeþe howe he sytteth done aȝene and seyth suche maner wordes to hem: *Ye wyten what I haue do to yow? Yhe calle me Maistre and Lorde, and yhe seyne wele þerof, ffor forsothe y am so. *If y, þan, þat am Lorde and Maistre, haue wessheded your fete, mikell more þan shulde yhe wesshe [f. 54v] others feete. Ffor

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forsoth I haue seuen yow ensample þat right as I haue doo to yowe, þat yhe [doo] also in þe same manere.

Than after þis beholdeþ diligently howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste in þe sopere also ordeynede þe worshipfull sacramente of his owne precious fflesshe and blode, and commende his discipels, þe whiche he wolde be vsede in Holy Chirche in þe mynde of hym. Ffor it is of some louers þe condicions þat when þei departe bodyly, þei wol desire some memoriale or token þat þei maye þe better thenke [eueryche on othy] therby. And so our louely Lorde Ihesu Criste, when he knewe when his tyme was come, by his owne ordynaunce, þat he wolde dye for mannes soule, and afterweardes gloriouþly arse, and also merueylously [stye] vp to þe ryght honde of his Fadre, and so withdrawe þe bodyly fourme, in þe whiche he is lyke to vs, fro þe bodily beholdeynge of his discipels, the whiche þat tyme louede hym all manly, and also fro þe bodily beholdeynge of his other chosen þat were to come in Holy Chirche, þitte he wolde be presently with hem in þis worthi sacramente. Ffor he seyde to his discipels þus: *I am with yow into þe worldes ende*; þe whiche may be vnderstonde of his gostely presence, by þe whiche he is ouerall presente, and also of þis precious sacramente, in þe whiche he is bodily presente. Ffor he seyth to his discipels in þe booke þat is callede þe Orlege \*of Wysdome/ þus: *Sikerly, trewely, and withoute ony doute, I am conteynede in þis Sacramente, God and man, with body and sowle, fflesshe and blode, as I wente oute of my modres wombe, and hyngede in þe crosse, and sitte at þe ryght hande of my Fadre.*

Loo, gostely sistre, howe myght it be seide more openly? Than loueth þis moste excellent sacramente with all [f. 55r] your herte and worshippe it, ffor of all thyngeþ þat bene in þis lyfe, it shulde be/ moste comfortable to a sowle þat verely desireth and loueth God. Ffor he is there trewly presente hymselfe, as yhe haue herde affore; and þat it is do vndre þe fourme of brede and wyne, it is a grete and a mercyfull dispensacyoun of þe mercy of God for oure verrey and endeles profite. For, þeue it wer þeue vs in his owne lykenes, as open flessh and blode, or as a man or a childe, who wolde be so bolde to rescuyue it into his mouth and suolowe it downe into his body, þat he ne shulde drede and lothe it? Þerfore þat we shulde not lothe it, it is þeue vs mercyfully vnder þe fourme of brede and wyne, and also þat we myght haue þe mede of our feythe, ffor ȝif we sene it opynly affore vs as it is, what mede were it to vs to beleue it? Fforsoth, none. And therfore þat

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we myght haue þe mede of our beleue and no lothnes to receyue it, it was nedfull and spedefull to vs to receyue it vn dre suche lykenes.

Here, as me semeth, yhe myght seye: *Soth it is þat prestes þat seyne here messes receyuene our Lorde vn de[r] þe fourme of brede and wyne. Bot I þat am a woman, and other comon peple, and when we ben communede, we receyue hym vn der þe fourme of brede onely, and zit I hope and beleue þat we receyue our Lorde as wele as prestes þat receyuen hym vn der both lyknes. Soth it is, bot vnderstondeth it þus: yhe and suche other folke as receyuen hym vn der þe fourme of brede onely, beleueth forsoth and withoute ony doute þat our Lordis body is there with all þe membres, by þe vertue of the consecraicion, þe blode, þe soule, and þe godhede felawshippynge [f. 55v] þerewith by þe vertue of þe onehede, by þe whiche þai may neuer be departede. And in þe same manere it is kepe ouer the auter by þe ordynance of Holy Chirche. Bot prestes þat receyuen hym vn der both likkenes, vnderstondeth þat both þe body and þe blode bene þer by þe vertue of þe consecraicion, the soule and þe godhode felawshippynge þerwyth, þat is to sey, vnparticiable onede þerto by þe vertue of þe onehede þat may neuer be departede.

Whi þan, may yhe saye, it is not mynystrede to vs vn der both likkenes as prestes receyue it? Ffor it suffiseth to yowe vn der þe fourme of brede onely, for our Lorde is þere presently, as I tolde yow before. Another cause may be, as me semeth, ffor it may not be mynystrede vn der þe likenes of wyne so lighty and esily to þe comon peple withoute perill, for it myght lighty be shedde or some licoure þerof myght fall byside in ofte takynge fro mowthe to mowthe, and namely in suche þat receyue it seldome, amonge þe whiche also otherwhile comun some full [3onge], and so myghte lighty perill falle. And þerfore it is resonablye and wele yordeynede in Holy Chirche þat it be receyued of suche folke þat haue not þe order and dignite of prestehode vn der þat fourme, þat none suche perill, as it is before-seide, may falle in and þat may þe esylie be mynystrede to suche folke. Also Holy Chirche hathe yordeyned þat it be receyuede of suche folke þat haue not þe ordour of prestehode vn der þe fourme of brede onely, and þat is ynogh to yche meke Cresten soule.

［Also, hyt ys wryte in the lawe to put aweye the errors þat myght falle in the peple, þat ys, they myght wene þat hyt myght not be mynystryd but vn dyr bothe the lyknessys. For hyt ys suff[y]ently vn dyr þat one, and

therefore also hyt ys ordeynyd of Holy Chyrche to be rescuyyd so of the
commune peple, for to put awaye the forsyde errowwrs. But preests be
bownde to rescuyye hyt vndyr bothe lyknessys, for our Lorde ordeynyde hyt
so as to hem.]

Also, I conseille yowe not to seche mony questions aboute þis
precyouse sacramente, bot to holde yowe payede with þis litell þat I haue
seide to yow, and to putte your feyth generelly in þe feyth of Holy Chirche,
and in þat [f. 56r] feyth, when yhe receyue it, to receyue with all þe loue,
drede, and reuerence þat yhe kanne. This moste worthis sacramente is þe
worshipfull memoriale þat our Lorde hath lefte vs in þe mynde of hym and
of his holy Passioun, by þe which Passioun he offrede hymselfe a sacrafise
to his Fader in heuen for þe redemptcioun of mankynde, and so þere he ȝafe
hymselfe into oure redempcioun. And in þis precious sacramente he ȝeueth
hymselfe to vs into our gostely strente and comforth in our wy-goynge in
þis lyfe. And aftar þis lyfe he behe[te]th hymselfe to vs into our
euerlastynge heritage in þe blysse of heuen þat neuer shall ende if we trewly
loue hym and serue hym while we lyuen here. And I pray yow, how myght
he haue shewede vs more loue or kyndenes?

Also, in þis precious sacramente of his verrey flessehe and blode, he
confermede þe newe lawe, þere þe olde lawe was confermede in þe blode of
vrresonable bestes, as of kyddes, lombes, and weders, and other
vreasonable bestes, in betokenyng of þat that was to come. And so þat
was bot a figure, bot þis is treuth. This, welbelouede sistre, is þe sacramente
of Holy Chyrche þat our Lorde hath lefte vs in þe mynde of his Passioun, as
it is aﬀoreside, þat we shulde not forȝete hym. And þerfore it is contynuely
offerede in Holy Chyrche, for þe verre helthe and helpynge both of lyuynge
and dede, and in betokenyng þat we shulde haue hym contynuely in mynde
and lofe hym with all our hole hertes, myghtes and powers that þus
mercyfully and kyndely withoute oure merytes firste louede vs. And þe
same forseyde worshipfull sacramente is þe refugie, conforte and strente of
Goddis chosen soules, trauitive in þis [valeye] of wrechednes and
desirynge to come to þe heuenly Jerusalem in [f. 56v] þe whiche þei shulle
see hym clerely face to face and prayse hym in þe company of holy anguls
in riste and ioye withoute ende. And þat our Lorde wesshede his postels fetes
or he ȝafe þaiame þe worshipfull sacramente of his precious flessehe and

142 Also] Fferdymore C; to om. C; mony] maye C. 144 to[1] om. C. 145 to receyue} om. C.
146 kanne] kunne to rescuyue/ue/ hyt C. 150 ȝeueth...151 vs} ȝeuyth vs hymselfe C.
152 beheth[þ] beheth C, beheth ND; hymselfe to vs} vs hymselfe C. 153 of heuen} om. C;
shall] shal have C. 154 we} inser. C. 155 vs} om. C; loue or} om. C. 157 lawe[2]} om. C.
159 vreasonable} vreasonubyl C, vreasonable ND; þat that C. 160 welbelouede} belouyd
C. 162 it[1] om. C; aﬀoreside} forseyde C; not} inser. C. 164 haue} inser. C. 165 myghtes
172 sacramente of his precious] inser. C.
blode, it may be tokenede þerby þat we shulde wesshe our soules by
penance fro þe filthe of synne or we receythe þat preciouse sacramente, and
so in lawnes of herte and clennes of soule in þe drede of God receythe it.

Aftre þis yhe may thanke howe amongst other wordes þat our Lorde
seide at þis laste sopere, he seide ther wordes to his disciples þe which
heuede hem full sore, and no wonder: Fforsoth one of yowe shall betray me.
Not-forthi, wo be to þat man þat I shall be betrayed by. It hadde be better to
hym neuer haue be borne. Than thanketh þat þe apostelles were so[re]
astonede and drede ryght myght, and began ychone to loke on other,
doutynge who it shulde be. Than beholdeth þat þare was one of þe apostels
þat restede apon our Lordes briste; þis apostel was Seynte Iohn þe
Euangeliste, þe whiche our Lorde louede so specially þat he suffrede hym to
reste on his holy breiste and shewede hym his preuyettes, and þis was a
sygne of grete loue.

And þan thenketh þat Seynte Petre seyth þat he was so negh our Lorde
and so famyliare with hym, he thought he myght aske what he wolde. And so
he made a token to hym þat he shulde aske our Lorde preualy who it was,
ffor, as doctores seyne, ßif he myght haue knowe hym, he wolde haue slane
hym anone, so ferently he louede our Lorde. And than thenketh how Seint
Iohn askede preualy our Lorde who it was, and our Lorde tolde hym
preuely, seynge to hym þat [f. 57r] it was he to whome he toke þe brede þat
he wette, for he wette þe brede in þe wyne or in some other licoure þat stode
before hym, and toke it Iudas, 'and/ þit by þis myght none of þe other
disciples knowe who it was, ffór our Lorde tolde it to Seynte Iohn but
preualy. And þa[t] Seinte Iohn tolde it not forthe, aparty it semeth meruayle;
bot Lire seyth þat he was so astonede þat he toke no hede what our Lorde
seyde. Also some other holy men seyne þat he sawe þat tyme þe preuyettes
of God, and perfore it myght be þat he was so rauysshede þerein by loue and
knowynge þat he forgate both Petre and Iudas, in betokenyng þat men and
woman þat haue taken vpnon hem þat state of contemplatyue lyuynghe, þe
whiche was betokenede by Seynte Iohn, shulde be so besily and diligentely
occupiede in þe louynge of God þat þei shulde forȝete all worldely thynges
and other mennes dedes þat longe not to hem and tende onely therto.

C. 182 be[2] and thanne they beganne to aske of our Lorde be rowe ho hyt shulde bee C; þat]
C; of[2] inser. C.
Here yhe may also merueyle þe obstynatenes of þis reprefused Iudas, þat for all þe benefetes þat our Lorde shewede hym had no grace to turne fro his wykkednes. Ffor he wesshede his fete as he dede others, and fedde hym with þe same preciouse sacramente þat he dede to other, and also notede hym by þe brede þat he tuke hym and seyde: *Wo be to þat man þat I shall be betrayed by. It hadde be bettre to hym þat he hadde neuer be borne.* And þitte, for all þis he sesedde not of his wykked purpose. Also, at þat other side yhe may merueyle þe incomprehensible godenes of our Lorde, þat so lowly suffredede hym, and moreouer so mykell charite shewede to hym. Ffor þif it were grete lowenes and charite þat he dede to his trewe seruants, mykell more it was þat he dede to hym þat he wyster wele had solde hym and afterwarde wolde [f. 57v] betray hym.

And also þis is a grete ensample þat we þat bene bot synfull wrecches shulde mekely and pacently suffire shrewes, seth we se þat our Lorde þus mekely and pacently suffredede his treatoure. Than eftre this thanketh þat anone as Iudas had ytake þe forseide brede of our Lorde, [he] wente forthe to fette men and stronge power to take our Lorde. Bot þe tother disciples wende he hadde ygo to by þat was necessarie to þe holy day folowyng, for he bare þe purse and was our Lordis procatour. And when Iudas wente oute so, it was nyghte, as þe Eu[a]ngeliste seyth, to shewe þerby þat it was a conenynente tyme for þe trauour to perfourme his wykede purpose, and also in betokenynge of þe derkenes of synne þat was in his soule.

Aftre þis yhe may thanke howe our Lorde tolde his disciples affore þat þei shulde forsafe hym þat nyghte everychone, and þei seiden: *Naye,* for þei hadde leuer dye with hym þan forsafe hym. Bot Petre, þat was feruenter þan other, saide to hym: *And boff þei all forsake þe, I wol neuer forsake þe. Ffor I am redy rather to go to prisone with þe and to dyeth also.* This, vnderstondeth, he seide of grete loue, for he wende to haue do so sykerly. Bot he seide fals, ffor he performede not þat he seye, bot he lyede noght, for it was in his herte as he seide with his mouth. And for he was more presomptuous þan other and wende to haue do it of his owne strenthe, our Lorde ansuerede more sharply æsene to hym and seide ar þe cokke crowe twyes he shulde denye hym thryes.

Than our Lorde made a fayre sermone to hem, confortynge hem for þei were full heuy of þe wordes þat he hadde seide afore. And beholdeth also þat þei tuke god[e] hede what he seide, and specialy Seynte Iohn þe
Euangeliste, for he wrote aftewarde what he seide þere. And some of hem, then[f. 58r]keth also, askede hym questyons, firste one and aftre another, And our Lorde mekely and lowly answerede hem aȝene, and also confortede hem in þere feythe. And afterwarde preide to his Fadre of heuen, firste for hymselfe, and þan for his disciples, and at þe laste for hem þat shulde beleue in hym by her prechynge. And in þis he ȝafe vs ensample þat we shulde firste praye for ourselfe, and next for our frendes, and at þe laste for our ennemyes.
Chapter Nineteen

Of þe werkes þat our Lorde dede after his sopere in þe euene affore his Passioun. And howe he was taken in þe nyghte, and howe his disciples forsoke hym, and of þe dispite was done to hym in dyuers places þe same nyghte. And þis is callede þeoure of Matynnes. Capitulum decimum nonum.

Gostely systre, I praye yow taketh gode hede to þat that shall be seide, and kepeth yourselfe by ymaginacioun as þoff yhe were presente and sawe all þat I shal tell yowe done affore yowe. Ffirste þan yhe may thenke þat when our Lorde made þe forside sermone to his disciples in þe place þat he hadde soupede in, he seyth, as Lire seyth, þat þei were adredde of deth, both for þe tyme, for it was nyght, and also for þe place, for þei were ȝit þat tyme in þe mydle of þe cite of Ierusalem where þei hadde ete þe Estre lombe. And þerfore þei, dredynge to be take of enemyes, as it were, contynuely casten here yene to þe doreswarde, and þerfore our Lorde seide to hem: Aryste vpp and go we hens; as who seyth, lete vs go to another place more syker and preuer where yhe maye better take hede to þat I shal seye yowe. And so, thenketh he ledde hem to another place more priue, and there he endede his sermone.

And fro þat place he wente with his disciples ouer þe broke of Cedroun. Lyre seyth þat Cedron is [f. 58v] þe name of þe broke betwene þe cite of Ierusalem and þe Mownte of Olyuete. And ouer þe broke þenketh þat our Lorde wente, and his disciples with hym towarde þe Mounte of Olyuete, þe whiche is a myle fro Ierusalem. And at þe fote of þat hille was a litel town þe whiche is callede Gethsemany, and at þe townes ende was a gardyn into þe whiche our Lorde wente with his disciples. And Iudas knewe þat place wele, for our Lorde was wonte to come ofte þidre with his disciples.

Than thenketh howe he biddeth eght of his disciples sitte stille there and praye while he wente vpp into þe hille to praye. And þan beholdeth howe he taketh with hym thre of his disciples, þat is to seye, Petre, James, and Iohn his brother. And þe other eght abode still in þe gardyne, as our Lorde badde hem. And thenketh howe our Lorde \began to/ wex al heuy and sory, and seide to hem thre: Mi soule is sory vnto þe deth; as who seyth, aȝenste þe dethe þat I wote wele þat I shall suffre tomorowe. Abideth here
and wake with me. Here haueth pyte and compassioun of our louely Lorde, for whose myght see or here telle þe ioye of all chosen in his manhode sory and heuy, and not be sory and heuy also of pore pyte and compassioun?

Than beholdeth howe he goth from hem thre as it were a stones caste, and prayeth to his Fadre in heuene, þat ȝife it were possible he wolde lette þat Passioun passe ouer, for he dreedde to dy as a verre man, and also to shewe þerby þat he hadde trewely taken mankynde. And ȝitte noghtwithstondynge all þis, he commytte þe to þe will of his Fadre in heuen, to þeue vs ensample þat we shulde oueralle in al thynges desire þe wille of God to be fulfillede and noght oure owne carnale wyyle, the whiche euer[f. 59r]more seketh his owne ese and suche thynges þat is diectable. And þan thenketh howe he commeth to his disciples and fynyth hem slepynge, and þan he seyth to Petre þus: So; as who seyth, þu sheweste not so mykel ferrour nowe in þi dede as þu dideste ere while in þi worde. *Maye þu not wake an houre with me?* And þan he seide to all thre in generale: *Whi slepe yhe? Waketh and prayeth þat yhe falle noght in no temptacioun; þat is to seye, þat yhe be noght overcum with temptacioun. Be spirite is redy, bot þe flesshe is feble;* as who seyth, yhe were redy ynoghest to behete to dye with me, bot now appereth it wele ynoogh þe infrimite of your flessh.

And þan he wente aȝeyne þe secunde tyme and preyde þe same wyse þat he dede affore. And þan he come agayney þe secunde tyme and fonde hem slepynge for sorynes, and also it was within þe nyghte and hir yene were agreuede for slepe. And so, what for sorynes and what for slepe, þe[i] were almoaste overcum, and therfore haueth pite on hem, for þei were in grete sorowe and heuyynes. After þis beholdeth howe our Lorde gothe aȝeyne þe thirde tyme as he dede afore, bot thenketh þat at þis tyme he was putte in a stryf. And þis stryf, as Lyre seyth, was betwene þe sensualyte dreaded dethe, and resoun acceptynge þat thynge. For by þe uertue of God, he seyth, yche parte was suffredde to do and to suffre þat that was propre to hym. And therfore he preide þe langer, shewynge by þat that þe more nede a man hathe, þe more he shulde praye. And þis st[r]yfe was so mykell þat his swete þat came fro hym was as dropes of blode rynnynge into grownde, and in þis yhe may vnderstonde [f. 59v] what traualye and heuyynes he was in. And þan thenketh þat there come an angell fro heuen and confortede hym, and þis
was done to be confermy[n]ge of þe feyth of his disciples, þat þei myghte se þat he was God þat þe aungell dede seruycye to, and also man þat was confortede aȝeynste þe heuynes þat arose in þe sensualite. And here also haueth grete pite and compassioun to see [ʒ]oure swete [Lorde] and þe Sauyour of mankynde in þis mykel heuynes þat he myghte deliuer vs fro euerlastynge heuynes.

And moreouer thenketh þat he gladly and lowly, at þe wille of his Fadre, cheseth deth for þe sauacynoun of mankynde. And here merueleth his charite þat wolde come into all þis heuynes and cheze deth for pure loue and clene charite þat he mercyfully hadde to so vnworthi wretches as we bene. And þan beholdeth howe þe gode Lorde wipeth his face with somethynge þat he hadde aboute hym, and arysteth vp þo his prayer and goth firste aȝene to þe thre disciples þat were next hym. And þan thenketh he taketh hem with hym and cometh to þo other eght þat were in þe ga[ᵣ]dyn. And þan thenketh howe he biddeth hem all slepe awhile and reste, till he knewe þat Iudas come.

And when Iudas neghede, he waked hem, seynge to hem: _Aryse vpp and lette vs go, for he negheth þat shall betraye me._ And while our Lorde spake þus with his disciples, beholdeth howe fro þe cite of Ierusalemwarde cometh Iudas þat was oon of þe twelfe apostels, and with hym a grete company of men with suerdes, stafes, armes, and lanternes (for it was nyght) þat þei myght se. And Iudas ȝafe hem a token þat come with hym whereby þei myght knowe our Lorde, ffor ther was one of his disciples so like hym þat þei myght not elles wele haue knowe þat one fro þat other. And þis disciple is called Iames þe Lesse, of þe whiche I haue tolde [f. 60r] yowe in þe fourthtene chapitile.

Than thenketh howe our Lorde goth aȝens hem with his disciples and meteth with hem and asketh hem whome þei seken. And þei seiden aȝene: _Ihesu of Nazareth;_ ffor oure Lorde was norisshede in Nazareth, and therfore he was callede Ihesu Criste of Nazareth. And þan our Lorde seide to hem aȝene: _I am he._ And anone þei felle downe bakwarde vpon þe grounde, ffor þei myght noght bere his worde, for all here armes and wepens þat þei hadde. Here it is to be hadde in mynde of howe mykel myght his worde shal be when he shall deme all þe worlde, seth his worde was of so mykel myghte when he wente to be demede. And þan thenketh þat þei arose vp aȝene, and þan our Lorde asked hem eftesones whome þei soughte, and þei

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seide aʒene: Ihesu of Nazareth. And þan our Lorde seide to hem: I haue tolde yowe þat it is I. Than ʒife yhe seke me, suffreth thies (by his disciples) to go here waye. Ffor he wolde not þat þei shulde haue hadde ony harme.

And þan beholdeth how Iudas come to hym and kyssede hym, and þan þei þat stoden aboute setten handes vpon our Lorde forto take hym and lede hym forth. And amonge othere þer was a knafe, thenketh, þat bare a lanterne, and howe so it were, he presede nere to take our Lorde or to lyght vp þat other myght see to take hym. And Petre seegh þat and drewe oute his swerde and smote at hym, purposynge happily to haue slane hym or to haue perilously woundede hym. Bot, by þe dome of God, it felle þat he faylede of his purpose, and so he smote of his right ere. And this servantes name was Malchus, as þe Euangeliste seyth. And þan beholdeth howe our benygne Lorde taketh vpp þe ere and setthet [f. 60v] it aʒene. And so he dede gode for euyl. And þan he seide to Petre: Putte vpp þi swerde into þe shethe aʒene, ffor he þat with suerde smyteth, with suerde shall perisshe. Trowest þu noght þat I myghte praye my Fadre and he shulde eue me nowe mo þan twelfe legions of aungels? A legion is sex thousande, sex hundredeth sixty and sex. This our Lorde seide not þat he neded helpe of aungels, bot to shewe hem þerby þat he myght haue go fro hem mony wyses ʒife he hadde wolde. Also he seide: How shulde scripture be fulfillede elles, ffor þus it muste be.

And þan he seide to þe peple þat stode aboute hym: Yhe cometh to me as to a thefe with swerdes and staffes to take me. When I was euery day techyng in the temple amonge yow, yhe helde me noght. Bot þis is yourehoure and þe power of derkenes. And when he hadde seide thies wordes, beholdeth howe þe wykedede peple setten hondes on hym with fersnes and angre, as þoffe he hadde be an euyle doer and so tuke hym and bonde hym faste. And þan his disciples, seynge þat, thei forsoke hym euerychoun, and lete hym in his enemys hondes and fledde, as our Lorde hadde tolde hem affore.

And þan beholdeth howe þe wykkede peple ledde hym forth amonge hem boustously ybounde, and foule fare wyth hym. And here haueth inwardly compassioni of your suete Lorde. Ffor what deuoute creature myght se his Maker for his loue ybounde as a theefe and forsaken of his disciples, and with mykell dispite and repree ybroughte ybounde firste to Anna, withoute terys? Ffor to hym he was broghte firste, as þe Holy

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Euangeliste Seynte Iohn seyth. [f. 61r] Þis Anne was þe fader of Cayphas wyfe, and he hadde be bisshope þe yhere affore. And as þei wente to Cayphas housewarde, þei muste go affore þis Annes house. And so hem thoght it had be a vyleny bot 3if þei had broghte our Lorde into hym as þei wente for reuerence þat he was Cayphas wyfes ffader.

Now þan thenketh also þat Petre and Iohn Euangeliste folewede our Lorde aferre. Bot firste þei fledde as other disciples dede, bot afterwarde 3itt þei come aȝene and folewde hym aferre, for þei louede hym more þan other apostels dede. Bot Seynte Iohn was knowe in þe bishoppes house and therfore he was suffred to entre in with our Lorde, bot Petre stode withoute as a man vnknowe. And þan thenketh þat Seinte Iohn come oute aȝene and prayed þe damysell þat kept þe dore to lette in Seynte Petre, and so Petre was lette 'come/ in. And as he come inwarde, þe same dameseyle lokede on hym and hadde suspicioun þat he shulde be one of our Lordes disciples, for howe so it were he wente in all heuyly and dreedingly. And so she askede hym whether he were ony of his disciples, and he seide: Nay. And anone þe cokke crewe, bot Petre perceyuede it noht, for he was so mykel troublede and agaste þat he toke no hede þerof.

And þan he wente forthe vpp into þe halde and stode by þe fire and warmede hym amonge other þat stode aboute þe fire, for it was colde weder. And within a while þer come another dameseyll þat seeth hym stonde by þe fire, and anone she seide to hym: And þu were with Ihesu of Nazareth? And þan he denyede our Lorde aȝene with an othere, and seide þat he knewe [f. 61v] hym noht. And þan he beganne to drawe hym to þe dorewarde, for he was adrede to abide amonge þe lewes ony langer. And þan þe seruantes beganne to drawe aboute hym, ffor þei were sterred by the dameseyle speche and had suspicioun to hym þat he shulde be one of our Lordes disciples. An[d] anone one of hem þat was Malchus cosyn, whose ere Petre had smyte of, seyde to hym: Sawe I ye not with hym in þe gardyne? – as who seyth, ȝis. And þan Peter began to curse and suere þat he knewe not þat man. And anone þe cokke crewe aȝene. And þan thenketh þat our Lorde lokede to Petrewarde, as who seyth, now is it fulfillede þat I seide to þe affore. And þan Petre hadde mynde of þe worde þat our Lorde hadde seide to hym affore, howe he shulde denye hym thryse or þe cokke hadde crowe
twyes. And þan Petre wente oute and wepte bitterly, goynge, as þe Mayster of þe Stories seyth, into a caue, þe whiche is callede Cokkecroweynge.

Here, welbelouede sistre, it is a grete ensample to vs synful wretches howe mykell we shulde drede to presume onythynge of ourselfe, and howe sore our Lorde myght suffre vs to fall 3ïf we presume onythinge of ourselfe, seth he suffrede þis worthi apostell to fall so foule for he presumeode of hymselfe. And also, 3ïf we falle of our owne wretchednes, howe grete truste we may haue of forþeuenes if we be verre sorry for our synnes as he was and mekely aske forþeuenes, seth [after] he hadde forsake our Lorde three tymes, [he] hadde forþeuenes, and also was brought to so grete dignite þat he was our Lordes viker in erthe and prynce of þe apostels.

Than after this thenketh howe our [f. 62r] Lorde stondeth ybounde affore þe forseide Anna. And he askede oure Lorde of his disciples and of his doctryne, and our Lorde answerde hym æthere and seide: I haue spoken opynly to þe worlde; þat is to seye, to men of þe worlde. And I haue alweye taughter in þe Synagoge and in þe temple where all þe Iewes comen togider, and I haue done noothynge in prevy places, but þat was to be done in opyn. And therfore aske of hem þat haue herde me what I haue seyde, ffor þei wate what I haue seide. And when our Lorde hadde seide þe[s]e wordes, a seruantæ þat stode bysиде 3afe our Lorde a stroke, seynge to hym: Whi answeryste þu so þe bisshope? Ffor hym semede he answerde hym to shortly. And þan our Lorde anwerde hym mekely æthere and seide: 3ïf I haue spoken euyl, bere wytnes of euyl. And 3ïf I haue spoken wele, whi smytes þu me?

Aftre þis thenketh þan Anna sendeth our Lorde forthe ybounde as a man worthi deth and affore hym condemnede to Cayphas, þat was cheefe bisshope þat yhere. This Cayphas hadde weddede þe forseide Annes doughter, and he hadde þeue þe Iewes conseille to putte our Lorde to dethe, as I haue before-seide in þe [xvi] chapitle. And at his house as cheefe bysshope þat yher, þe scribes and þe Pharisees and þe oldest of þe peple were ycome togidre. And there þei soughte all þe fals witnesse þat þei myghte ægenste our Lorde Ihesu Criste, that þei myght putte hym to dethe, and þei cowthe none fynde sufficiente (vnderstonde, to putte hym to dethe) ffor-when mony fals wytnes were brought forthe. And at þe laste þer come two fals wytnes and seide: This man seide, I may distroye þe temple of
God þat was made with handes of men [and withinne three days arayse vp another not made with the handys of men]. And þan thenketh þat Cayphas arose vpp and seide to oure Lorde: Whi answeres þu not to þat that thies men seyn aȝenste þe? Bot [f. 62v] our Lorde mekely helde his pees and suffrede pacyently þat þei falsly accused hym of. And þan Cayphas seide to hym aȝene: I coniure þe in þe name of God þat þu telle vs þiþ þu be Criste God sone or none. And þan for reuere of þat name, our Lorde answerde and seide: I am. And also he tolde hem of his commynge to þe dome in þe cloudes, and þan Cayphas rente his clothes and seide þat he blasphemed. For it was þe maner amonge þe iewe when þei herde ony blaspheme aȝenste God, to rente here clothes, and so dede þis Cayphas. Ffor he wende our Lorde blasphemed, for he seide þat he was Goddes sone. And þan he seide to hem þat were aboute: Loo, yhe haue herde þe blasphemye. What semeth yowe? And þei seiden anone þat he was worthi to be dede.

After þis þan beholdeth howe þe servantes þat were aboute toke hym with haste and [angryness], and sette hym with dispite vpon a stole or some suche other thynge. And þan beholdeth diligentely howe some helyn his faire face and some spytte theron and some smyt hym and bydden hym rede who smote hym laste. And þus was þat worthi Lorde dispisede, þe which is worthi all worshipping. Here diligentely with avysemente beholdeth your swete Lorde, howe lowely and pacyentely he suffrede all þis dispite for helthe of mannes soule, and to þeue vs ensample howe gladly we shulde suffre dispite for his loue and for our owne profite þat bene bot synfull wretches and not elles worthi, seth he suffrede so mykel for vs þat is worthy all worshippe and preysynge. And haueth pite and compassioun inwardely on hym, ffor who myght see God in all þis dispite and not merueyle his mekenes, pacysens, and charite and hauue pure [f. 63r] pite on hym? And taketh diligentely ensample of þe vertues before-seide, thynkyng howe grete shame it shulde be to vs þiþ we kan not take mekely dispites and wronges of our euen Cristen, when our Lorde toke so mekely dispite and wronge of wykkede peple, þe whiche he myght haue made forto haue
sonken downe into helle 3ife he hadde wolde anone forthwith. Mikell more
than shame and confusyoun shulde it be to vs, 3ife we cannot take mekely
and pacyentely correccions rightfull of hem 3at bene aboue vs, and specialy
of hem pat correcte vs for 3at profite of our soules.

Than aftre 3is yhe may thenke 3at 3e cheef men wente here waye and
betoke our Lorde to here seruantes, 3at 3ei shulde kepe hym in faste holde
into 3e mornynge. And 3han beholdeth howe 3ei put hym in presoun or in
some suche strate kepyng, and bonden hym to [a] pilere, and ther 3ei
dispisede hym and scornede hym with suche maner disputes as it is
before-seide into 3e mornynge. And 3erfore yhe may thenke yourselfe to
haue to harde herties, bot yhe haue here pyte and compassioun of your
worthi Lorde, for all 3at nyght he was in grete tribulacioun and dispite with
disese. And also thenketh inwardly what loue and charite it was 3e Lorde of
all 3e vnyuersite of creatures for 3e sauacioun of mankynde wilfully to putte
hymselfe to so mykel disese, dispite, and tribulacioun. Bot al 3is is but lytell
in comparisoun of 3at yhe shal, by 3e grace of 3e same Lorde, here
folowynge.

243 At the bottom f. 83v, after the letter o in anone, C leaves out 12 lines; f. 84v begins And
therfore 3e maye thynke (p. 100, l. 252). In the lower margin of f. 83v is written Turne to 3e iii
le to sueche a syne. The corresponding sign appears at the top of f. 87v, where the missing
paragraph is copied C N. 245 correccions rightfull] ryghtful correccyonys C. 247 Than] om.
ND at this point; to haue] om. C. 253 herties] hertyd C; 3he] yf 3e C. 254 grete tribulacioun
and dispite with disese] myche despyte tribulacyon and dyssese C. 256 mankynde] mankynge C.
257 disese dispite and tribulacioun] despyte tribulacyon and dyssese C; 3a] om. C. 258 3at
3at that C; yhe shal by 3e grace of 3e same Lorde] be the grace of 3e same Lorde 3e/ schal C.
Chapter Twenty

Of þe hour of Prime and of þe werkþat were done in þat hour.

Nowe beholdeth howe in þe mornynge princes of þe prestes and þe
eldeste men of þe peple come togedre aþen, and tuketh her counsiel [f. 63v]
togide aþenste our Lorde howe þei myght putte hym to dethe, ðfor hem
semede þat þe wytnes þat was broughte aþenste hym þe nyght affore was
noght sufficiente ynohte to putte hym to deth fore. And þerfore þei token
her counsiele at þis tyme togide aþene to seke a sufficiente cause to putte
hym to deth fore, and by þe whiche þei myght accuse hym to Pilate as
worthi deth, þe whiche yhe shall here afterwarde.

And þan/ thenketh howe þei bidde here seruants to sette forthe þat fals
prophete and deceuyer of þe peple, and suche oþer foule words. And þan
beholdeth howe þe wykked seruants lowsede hym fro þe pilere þat he was
bounden to, and eftesones bounden hym aþene as it were a thefe, and so
ledde hym forth amonge hem as a meke lombe amonge a company of
lyouns and angry houndes. And beholdeth also howe he, withoute ony
withstondyngne or grotechyne, goth forth with hem. And þerfore he is
likenede resonably to a swete lombe in innocens, ðfor Ysaye þe holy
prophete hadde seide of hym before þus: Sicut ouis ad occasiionem ducetur;
et sicut agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum. This is
in Englissh: He shall be ledde to þe deth as a shepe, and as a lombe afore
hym þat clyppeth hym he shall holde his pees, and he shall not opene his
mouthe; þat is to seye, by grochynge aþenste hem þat dispisen hym and
scorne hym and ledde hym as a thefe. Ne he oynde not his mouth by
contradiccioun and repregynge of hem þat falsly accusede hym byfore Anna
and Cayphas, as yhe haue herde before, and also before Pilate and Kynge
Herode, as yhe shal here afterwarde, by þe grace of God. Bot all thees
wrongs, disputes, and fals accusaciuons, he mekely and pacyentely suffredre
for þe helth of mannes soule, and to þeue vs ensample of verey mekenes
and pacyens, and to shewe [f. 64r] what loue and charite he hadde [to]
mankynde.

And than thenketh how with suche manere dispite, as it is afforeside,
þei bryngen hym forthe to Pilate, þe whiche was ordeyned of þe Emperour


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of Rome iugge of þe peple of Iewes, ffor þei were þat tyme tributaryes to þe Romaynes. Wherfore þei myght putte no man to dethe by here owne autorie, and þerfore þei broughten hym ybounden to hym into þe mote halle, þe whiche was a place þat he demede in, þat he shulde putte hym to dethe. Bot þei wolde not come into þat place hemselfe, leste þei shulde haue be defoulede by þe entrynge into þe house of a paynym. And here yhe may vnderstonde þe grete blyndenes of hem þat made con'science to entre into þe house of a paynym, bot þei hadde no conscience to putte our Lorde to deth withoute cause.

Aftre þis beholdeth how Iudas þat hadde betrayede our Lorde come aȝene to þe princes of þe prestes, for hym [forthoughte] þat he hadde betrayede our Lorde and brought aȝene þe thirty penys, and seide þat he hadde synnede, for he hadde betrayede þat rightfull blode. And þan þei seiden aȝene to hym: What is þat to vs? Besee þe; as who seythe, We rekke neuer; auyse þe what þu haste soo. And þan he caste þe money fro hym and wente and hangede hym. And in þat he offendede God more, as Seinte Jerome seythe, þan when he betrayede hym.

And þan þei princes of þe peple tolke þe money and seide þat it was not lawfull to putte it aȝene into þe comon place, wherin þe offerynge of þe temple were gederede to þe reparacioun of þe temple and other necessaries. And þerfor þei token here counsyle togydredre and by a common assente þei boughte with þe same money a potters feeld re to berye pilgrimes in. Than aftre þis turneth aȝene to þe Passioun of our Lorde and beholdeth howe our Lorde stondeth affore Pilate, and howe Pilate [f. 64v] gothe oute to þe Iewes and askede hem what accusacioun þei brynge aȝenste hym, and þei seye þan to hym: Bot zif he were a mysdoer we wolde not haue brought hym to þe. And þan Pilate seide to hem aȝene: Take yhe hym þan, he seide, and deme hym after yowr lawe. And þan þei seiden to hym aȝene: Hit is not lawefull to vs to sleye ony man.

And þan þei accusede hym of thre thynges. The firste was þat þei seyden he turnede þe peple fro Moyses Lawe; the secunde, þat he forbedde, þei seyden, þe tribute to be ȝeue to þe Emperour; the thirde, for he seide he was Criste, a kyngge and Goddes Sone. And as for þe firste poyn ted þat þei
accused of Pilate rought neuer, for he was a paynym and therfore he roughte neuer of Moyses Lawe. As for the secunde, nether, for he hadde herde telle happily that our Lorde hadde boden that tribute shulde be 3eue to the Emperoure, as I haue affiore tolde yow in the fyfteneth chapitle. But of the thirde poynye, that hym thoughte was æstene that worshippe of the Emperoure, he asked hym [for] hym semede that it was æstene that worshippe of the Emperoure, that ony shulde be callede a kynge bot he. And therfore he asked hym thus: *Thou erte kyng of Iewe;* as who seyth, it is sothe that is putte on þe, that is to seye, that þou woldestake apon þe the kyngedome? And þan our Lorde seide to hym æstene: *Whether seyste þou þis of þiselfe, or haue other seide it to me?* And þan he seide æstene: *Am I a Iewe?* As who seyth, nay, and therfore, I seye it not of my selfe. Bot þi peple and thi bysshopes haue ytake þe to me, accusynge þe therof. *What haste þu doo?* As who seyth, it semeth wele þat þou erta somewhat gyly, sethe þat þat bene of thyne owne peple and [f. 65r] of so grete autorite as bisshapses haue accusede the. And þan our Lorde seide æstene: *My kyngdome is not of þis worlde;* as who seyth, 'I seche' not to regne temporaly in þis worlde, bot I am comen to dye for helth of mannes soule. And þan Pilate seide æstene: *Than erte þu a kynge?* And our Lorde seide æstene: *Thu seiste þat I am a kynge;* as who seith, so it is in treuthe. And therefore I am comen into þe worlde to bere wytnes to treuthe. Yche man þat is of treuthe hereth my wordes; þat is to seye, be obeynge to hem.

And þan Pilate askede hym: *What is treuthe?* And when he had seide þat, he wente oute 'aȝeyne' to þe Iewes and seide þat he fonde no cause in hym, þat is to sey, worthi to putte hym to deth fore. And anone he criede æstene and seide þat he sterde þe pepille, as who seyth, he trobleth þe comyn pees begynnynge fro Galile hiderto. Galile was þe contrey þat our Lorde was norisshed wpp in, and þere was Kyng Herode lorde. And therfore Pilate, when he herde telle þat he was of Galyle, he sente hym to Kyng Herode, as to þe lorde of Galyle, þat he shulde deliuer hym or damnpe hym, asþor he was at Jerusalem in those deys.

And þan Pilate seide to his cite of Jerusalem. And when he seeghe hym he was right gladde.
ffor he hadde longe desirede to see hym in als mykell as he hadde herde tell mykel of hym, and so he hopede to haue seyn hym doo some myracle afore hym. And he askede hym mony questions, bot our Lorde answerede hym rght noght aȝen, ne he wolde doo ony myracle in his presence, ffor he was vnworthi in als mykell as he desirede it bot of curyouste and not of deuocioun. And þe princes of prestes [f. 65v] and þe scribes, thenketh, stoden besyde accusynge hym. And þan Kynge Herode, seynge þat he wolde ȝeue hym none answere, he dispisede hym, and so dede his menythe also, holdynge hym bot an ydiote or a folke, and so he made hym be clothede in white clothe in scorne, ffor so þai vsede þat tyme to scorne folkes. And so he sente hym aȝene to Pilate, and for þat reuereunce þat yche dede to other, þai were made frendes, ffor affore þate tyme þai were enmyes yche to other.

Nowe thenketh, and in all þis tyme taketh gode hede, howe mekely and pacently our Lorde suffreth all þese fals accusacions, dispites, and wronges afore Cayphas, Pilate, and Herode, withoute ony grotchyngye, and neuer answere bot mekely and lowly, and þat ȝit bot seldome, and oftetymes he helde his pees. And therfore taketh ensample of hym and lerneth to suffre mekely and paciently dispites, wronges and other aduersittees in þis worlde for his loue and þe profite of your soule, þat þus mykille suffredde for yow. Bot all þat that is before-seide is bot litell in rewarde of þat that yhe shall here folowyngye, and þerfore I pray yow taketh gode hede.

Nowe þan beholdeth howe he stondeth bounte afore Pilate, and howe Pilate seyth to þe Iewes þat nether he ne Kynge Herode founde ony cause in hym to putte hym to dethe fore. And þerfore he wolde correcte hym and lete hym go his weye. Also he seide to hem þus: *Hit is a custome to yow þat I delyuer yowe one. Wole yhe þat I deliuer yow þe kynge of Iewes? And þei criede aȝene anone and seide: Not hym, bot Baraban. And þat Baraban was a thefe, þe whiche for debate and slauere ydo in þe cite was putte in prisone. As to þe more opynye vnderstondynge of þis yhe shall vnderstonde þat þe Iewes had a custome at þe [f. 66r] hye feste of Estre amonge hem to deliuer one out of prisone whom þe wolde þe whiche was worthy to be dede, in þe mynde of here deliuerance oute of þe londe of Egipte. And so for þe more fauor of þe Iewes, þe Romaynes had graunted hem to vse þat custome forthe. And þerfore Pilate askede hem whether he shulde deliuer hem our Lorde or elles þe forseide thefe. And þei askede obstynatly, by
stirrynge of þe bisshopes þat were chefe amongst hem, þe delyuerance of þe thefe and þat our Lorde shulde be putte to deth. And in þis yhe may opynly vnderstonden here malice ægenste our Lorde þat askede þe delyuerance of an opyn thefe ægenste þe comon profite and ryght also, and our Lorde withoute cause to putte to þe deth.

And þan Pilate, seynge by here cryynge þat he myght in no wyse leue hym vterly free with here pees, and on þe tother side he was lothe to sla an innocente, þerfore to satisfye hem, he made his knyghtes and other seruantes to punyssh hym, and þat yhe may thenke in þis wyse. Friste, thenke howe Pilate taketh our Lorde into his house, and þan he taketh hym to his se[r]uantes to scourge hym. And þan beholdeth diligently howe þei take hym bostously amonge hem as þoffe he hadde be a mysdoer, and drewe of angrily and fersly his clothes and \so/ strypede hym stone nakede. And þan þei bynden hym faste to a pilere with ropes or cordes. And þan happily þai done of here clothes also in[to] here doblettes þat þai myght Smyte þe sorre and noght be lette with here clothes.

And þan beholdeth diligently howe with sharpe scourgys þai betyn hym smertely, and howe his precyouse blode rynneth oute at euery stroke, ffor his flessh and skynne was tenderer and softer þan euer ony other mannnes was, for it was þe same þat he hadde mercyfull take of þe blissede virgyne, our Lady Seynte [f. 66v] Mary, and þerfore it was tenderere and sonner myghte be broken þan other mennes myghte. And also for grete tendernes it was mykell more peynefull. Bot þit notwythstondynge, thenketh þat þei haue no pite, ne compassion of hym, ne sparede not, bot angrily and sharply leyde stroke vpon stroke, and so wounde apoun wounde til þer was no hole skynne lefte on his blissede body, as Ysaye þe prophete hadde seide affore þus: Ffro þe sole of his foote to þe toppe of his heede þer was no helthe on hym. A, Ihesu Criste mercy, what man or woman myghte see his God and Lorde in þus mykell peyne for his loue and haue no pite and compassioun of hym, and merveyle þe lofe and charite þat he hadde to mannnes soule.

Nowe þan beholdeth howes his precyouse blode renneth downe on euery side, and howe þei louse hym fro þe pilere and þan þei knytte a crowne of resshes of þe see, þe whiche bene sharpe and harde as thornes. And therfore þe euangeliste[s] haply callen hem thornes for þe lykenes þat þei

hadde to thornes in sharpenes and hardnes, or lightly þei be callede so in þat contrey, ffor þe Maistre of Storyes seyth þat þei þat haue diligentely sene it seyne þat þo thornes were rysshes of þe see; and Lyre also seythe þe same. Also he seythe þat he herde of a man þat had be byyonde þe see with Seynte Lodewyke, þe kyng of Ffraunce, þat in þe brymmes of þe see he hadde felde þe prykkyng of suche maner rissshes thurgh his shone. And herby yhe may vnderstonde howe sharpe þei were. Also Maundevyle, þat was a wele trauaylede knyghte, seyth in his booke, I trowe, þat our Lordes crowne was of suche rissshes of þe see, þe whiche bene callede [f. 67r] iunkes of þe see.

And þis crowne þei putte apoun his blissede hede, as to a man þat wolde regne and myght not. And þan yhe may [ beholde] howe þe prikkes of þe crowne rynnen into his hede þat þe blode rynmeth downe by his suete face and all his hede, and þis may be a peynfull sighte to a deoute soule. And also, as for more dispite, þei toke a purpur clothe, olde and foule, and done it aboute hym. And þei take also a rede and putte it in his honde instede of a ceptre. And þan þei knele dounke afore hym and salutte hym in scorne, seiyng: Hayle, Kyng of Iewes. And þei spitte also in his worshipfull face. And þan þei take þe rede oute of his hande and smyte hym on þe hede þarwith, with þe whiche smytynge þei smyte þe forsede iunke fterther into his hede, þe whiche was passyngely paynefull. And þus þei punysshede and dispisede our worshipfull Lorde as þof he hadde be here seruante and a mysdoer.

After þis beholdeth howe Pilate goth forth to þe lewes where þei stoden, for þei durste noght come into his house, as I haue tolde yow afore, lest þei shulde haue be defoulede by þe enteryng into þe house of a paynym. And þan Pilate seide to hem: Loo, I brynge hym oute to yow, þat yhe knowe þat I fynde no cause in hym. And þan beholdeth how our Lorde cometh oute mekel on þe byddynge of Pilate with þe forsede crowne vpnon his hede and þe purpur cloth aboute hym, þat þei myght see opynly howe he was punysshede, and so þei shulde be mevede to compassioun. And þan Pilate seide to hem also: Loo, man; as who seyth, 3if he haue doo onythynge amys, he is punysshede sufficiently therfore, and more þan worthi is, and þerfore it shall [f. 67v] suffice to yowe. Nowe beholdeth deouutely howe your worthy Lorde stondeth affore all þe peple so ypunysshede and dispisede, as it is seide affore, with þe seide peynefull

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crowne on his hede and þe purpur clothe aboute hym. And þerfore haueth inwardly compassion of hym, ffor bot yhe haue pite on hym here, with þat that is seide afore, yhe may thenke youresylfe ful vndeuoute and vnkynde also.

206 on] vpon C.
Chapter Twenty-One

Of þe houre of Tierce, and of þe werkes þat were ydoo in that houre.

Capitulum xxi

Nowe þan taketh to mynde howe when þe bishoppes of Iewes and other þat were with hem seeghe our Lorde so yscourgede and scornede, as it is aforeseyede, and also perceyyuede how by þat weye Pilate wolde haue leten our Lorde goo fre whyder he hadde wolde and haue do no more to hym, þei criede and sterede other to crye also, seyynge þus: Crucifye hym! Crucifixie hym! As who seyth, þis peyne is not ynothghe to vs, but we aske þat he be putte to dethe. And þan Pilate seide to hem aþene: Take yhe hym þan and crucyfieth hym, for forsothe I fynde no cause in hym. Thies wordes he seide bot in scorne and of indignacioun, ffor þei had no powere to putte ony man to dethe, as I haue tolde yow afore in þe houre of Prime. Bot thies wordes he seide, as who seyth, 3if þe hadde powere to putte hym to dethe, þe wolde sone and withoute cause, bot I will not so.

And þan þei criede aþene and seide: We haue a lawe, and aftre þe lawe he shall dye, for he hath made hymselfe God Son. Þis þei putte vppon hym as for a blasphemye aþenste God, ffor here lawe badde þat men þat blasphemedë God shulde be putte to dethe. Bot our Lorde blasphemedë not in þat he seyde he was Goddes Sone, [f. 68r] bot he seide soth. And when Pilate herde þat he was Goddes Son he was more agaste. And þan thenketh howe Pilate wente in aþene into his house and taketh our Lorde with hym to examyne and wytte more sikerly whether he was Goddes Sonne or no, ffor he myght noghte examyne hym amonge þe Iewes, so þei cryede.

And þan thenketh howe he asketh hym of whens he is, bot our Lorde 3afe hym non ansuere aþene, bot mekely helde his pees. Ffor Pilate was a payynyme and þerfore he was not worthi to knowe of þe generacyoun of God, and also haply 3if he hadde \y/knowe, he wolde haue lette Goddes Passioun. And þan Pilate seide to hym aþen: Whi spekes þu not to me? Woste þu not wele þat I have powere to crucyfy þe, and also to lette þe go?

And þan to restreyne his boste and presumptuesnes, our Lorde answered hym aþene and seyde: Thou shuldeste haue no powere of me, bot 3if it were ȝeuen þe from above. And þerfore he þat betrayede me to þe hath þe more synne. In þis worde [was] bytokenede þat Ludas and þe Iewes synned more

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\pan Pilate, ffor Iudas was styrrede of couetysye, and \pe lewes of rancoure and malice, bot Pilate was sterede of \pe threte of man and fauour, as yhe shall here afterwarde.

And when our Lorde hadde seide \pe forseide wordes, Pilate soughte to leve our Lorde, for he seeghe wele ynoghe \pat our Lorde hadde yconUYykte hym of synne 3if he putte an innocente to deth. And \perefore he soughte occasions to deliuer our Lorde and lette hym go where he wolde.

And \pan \pe lewes, seynge \pat, \peI criede, seynge \phus: 3if \bhu leue \bh man, \bOU ert not \bHE Emperoures frende, \fFOR \Whoever maketh hymselfe a kyng, \HE doTHE a\ZENSTE \HE Emperour. And when Pilate herde thies wordes he broughte oute our Lorde and satte as for a iuge in [f. 68v] a place \pat is callede in here langage Galbata, and it was a place ypaued with stone affore Pilates place, and \pere he satte to deme. Here may yhe vnderstonde \pat Pilate durste not doo onythynge \pat semede a\zEsTe \pe Emperours worshippe, ffor anone as \peI seide, 3if \bhu leue \bh man, \bOU erTe not \bHE Emperours frende, anone he broughte oute our Lorde, and satte for a iugge.

And as he satte forto deme, thenketh howe his wyfe sente to hym, seynge by a mesyngyr \phus: Nothynge be to \bHE and to \bHE rightfull man; as who seyth, looke in no wyse \bou condempne \bHE rightfull man, bot rather deliure hym. FFOR I haue suffred mony thynge, she seide, \bHis day by vysioun for hym.

Haply \peI fend Pereceyuede \pat by \peI Passioun of our Lorde mankynde shulde be sauede, and \perefore he disesede \pe woman, stirrynge hir \pat she shulde speke tohir housbonde to deliuer our Lorde. Bot thenketh howe \HE princes of \HE prestes and \HE eldeste men cryede and sterede \HE comon peple to crye also to haue our Lorde dede.

And \pan Pilate, seynge \pat he prophetede not, and \pat \peI criede more and more \pe contrary by styrrynge of \pe prestes of here secte, he wesshede his handes afore hem all, seynge \phus: Y am innocente fro \bHE ruyghtfull 

mannes blode. Ayyce yowe. And \pan all \pe peple of \pe lewes anseruede a\ZEn and seide: His blode be vppon vs and vpon our children; \bh is to seye, the vengeaunce of his blode be vppon vs and vppon our children. And so afterwarde it felle, ffor fourty wynter aftre our Lordes Passioun, Vespacyan and Titus his sone, princes of Rome, come to Jerusalem and yttterly distroyede it. And ryght as Iudas solde our Lorde for therty penys, right so Titus, Vespacianes sone, as it is seide in \pe Legende \pat is callede Aurea, solde [f. 69r] thirty lewes alwaye for a peny. And nowe \peI lyuen in diuers

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{34 styrrede} inser. C. \textit{35 \peI threte} drede C. \textit{39 he} inser. C. \textit{40 whythyr} C. \textit{41 \pan} inser. C. \textit{42 not} inser. C. \textit{44 oute} forth C. \textit{46 may} yhe inser. C. \textit{47} Emperours worshippe worschype of the emperour C. \textit{49 a} \textit{to} C. \textit{52 looke} loke \pat C. \textit{54 fend} inser. C. \textit{56} how \pe \pat \peC. \textit{59} Pilate inser. C. \textit{60} they, inser. C. \textit{65} Vespacyan s inser. C. \textit{69} alwaye for a peny for therty pense C; \peI they, y inser. C.
\end{itemize}
places of þe worlde and kyngedomes as tributaries and wretches in thraldome, and mykell of here lyuyng, as it is seide, is by vsurye.

Now latte vs turne agayne to þe Passion of our Lorde, and thenketh when þe Iewes hadde taken all the perill vppon hem, Pilate seide to hem: *Shal I cruycyfye your kyngye?* As who seyth, it is a foule shame to yow to see your kyngye cruycyfied. And þe bysshoppes seide to Pilate aȝene: *We haue no kyngge bot þe Emperour.* Loo, howe thes wrychede men forsoke God as for here kyngye and chesen a dedely man. And þan Pilate, seynge þat þei bounden hem to perpetuell bondage to þe Romaynes, to haue our Lorde dede, he drede þat 3if he hadde forsake it, he shulde haue be accusede to þe Emperour. And þerfore, what for drede of þe Emperour, and what for fauour of þe peple of Iewes, aȝenste ryghte he ȝafe þe sentence of dethe vppon our Lorde and condemnpnede hym to dethe as þei desirde.

And þan thenketh þat þe wykkede peple made mykell ioye and gladnes þat þei hadde here wikkede entente. And þan beholdeth also howe Pilates seruantes taken our Lorde amonge hem and poulen of þe purpur clothe þat þei firste done vppon hym, and with þe powlyng of yhe may witte and thenke þat þei drewe of all þe skynne of his body and so renne all his woundes. And þis, beholdeth, þei done sharply and angrely. And þerfore nowe beholdeth howe his precious blode renneth downe by all þe places of his precious body. And þan þei make hym do on his owne clothes aȝene, þat he myghte be beste knowe in his owne clothes. And here yhe may thenke a newe payne, ffor yhe may wele wytte [f. 69v] þat he myghte not do on his owne clothes aȝene apon his body so ywoundede withoute grete payne. And þerfore beholdeth in þis consideracion howe howe your owne swete Lorde stondeth nakede affore all þe peple scornyngge and dispysynge hym as þoffe he hadde 'be/ a mysdoer. And taketh gode hede of his merueylouse charite, mekenes and pacyence, howe lowelly and pacientely he suffreth all þis dispite and peyne for þe helthe of mannes soule. And þan howe he dothe on his clothes aȝene softe and esely, for it was ful paynefull to hym. And þan beholdeth þat some of hem seegehe how þat he dede bot softly and esely, and sterte to hym fersely and drewe hem on faste and hastely.

And þan thenketh þat þei sette forthe þe heuy crosse, þe whiche, as it is seide, was fyftene fote longe, and [that] þei leide apoun his shuldes, so ybete with scharpe scourges, as it is before-seide, þe whiche he mekely
receyuede as þoff he hadde be her seruant and worthi þat peyne. Ffor as crewell and sharpe and shrewede as þei were in malice, as suete as lowely and benyng was he in pacience and charite, and mykell more withoute ony comparisoun. And than beholdeth also howe þei take two thefes oute of prisoun and ledde hem with hym to be putte to dethe also, and so was euerlastyne Trowth ycoupled to two thefes. And þit þei dede more despite and Payne to hym þan to þe thefes, ffor we rede not of hem þat þei bare ony crosses or were dispisede and bette as he was.

Nowe I pray yow, considreth diligently howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste mekely goth thurgh þe cite of Ierusalem with þe seide heuy crosse on his shulдрe, and howe þe pepill gothe aboute hym, of þe whiche some pussheñ hym and lede hym to crucyfye hym, and þat were Pilates men, Romaynes and paynymes, and some were lewes þat had [f. 70r] pursewede hym to þe dethe. And þan þei scornd hym and dispisede hym and were gladde þat þei had here badde purpose. And some wondrede apon hym, and þei were þe comon peple of þe cite. Nowe þan beholdeth deuolutely with grete [pyte] and compassioun howe our worshipfull Lorde gothe amonge all þe peple [in] so mykell dispite and peyne, as it is before-seide. And þan thnketh also how, [as] he cometh oute at some yate of þe cite, our Lady with hir feleshship metethe with hym, ffor happely she myght not mete with hym in þe cite for prese of peple. And þerfore thnketh þat Seynte Iohn ledde hir by a nere weye where he trowede she shulde mete with hym and see hym and speke with hym.

And thnketh also þat our Ladies sistres gone with hir, and Mary Mawdeleyne, and mony other deuoute wyemen þat hadde folowede our Lorde fro Galyle. And when she seege our Lorde and hir suete sone comynge amonge all þe peple, so dispitously ledde, with þe heuy crosse yppon his shulдрre, and his blyssede face defoulede with blode and foule spyttynge, and his handes and fete blody, and also ycoupled to two thefes, a, Ihesu mercy, what herte myght \holy/ thnke with how mykel sorowe and heuynes hir herte was fillde in þis beholdyng of hir suete sonne? Yhe may thnke forsothe þat she felle downe in suowne in Seynte Iohn armes, and myght nether stonde ne speke to hym for passynge sorowe and heuynes. And also þei þat were with hir, yhe may thnke, made mykel sorowe and lamentacioun, bothe for pyte and compassioun of hym and hir also. And so
doth yhe with hem, for [y]e moste thenke in your ymagynacioun yourselsefe as þoffe yhe were presente with hem and one of hem.

And þan thenketh also þat when our Lorde seeghe his modre in so [f. 7ov] mykell sorowe and care for his loue and other þat were with hir, he hadde grete pite and compassioun of hem, and specialy of his moder, þe whiche he knewe so clene a uirgyne and moste full of sorowe for hym. And so what for compassion of his moder and of other þat were with hir, and vnkyndenes of the leues þe whiche wyttyngely and wylfully hadde pursuede hym to þe dethe, and also ignorance of þe paynymes þat ledde hym and pounchede hym, and other symple peple þat wondrede on hym, yhe may mekely conceyue þat he hadde grete heynes in his herte þat neuer thoghte mys. And so yhe may thenke þat he was in grete peyne and heyneseth both inwarde and outewarde. And þerfore with our Lady and Seynte Iohnne and other deuoute folke þat were þere, haueth inwarde pity and compassioun of hym. Ffor what deuoute Cristen soule myghte see his Lorde Ihesu Criste for his euerlastynge saluacioun in all þis peyne, and our Lady so wepynge and waryllyng, and other deuoute folke þat were with hir, and not wepe with hem for pure pite and compassioun.

Aftre þis thenketh how þat þat ledde our Lorde mette ther with a manne whos name was Simon, and hym þei compellede to bere þe crosse aftre our Lorde. Ffor þei seeghe happily þat our Lorde was wery and wente bot softly, and therfore þei made hym to bere þe crosse aftre our Lorde, þat þei myghte þe sonner come to þe place þat our Lorde shulde be crucifyede in. Ffor þei were adradde leste Pilate wolde haue reuokede þe sentence. And therfore thenketh þat þei ledde hym forthe amonge hem with grete haste as a suete lombe in a company as of mony houndes. And in all [f. 71r] þis yhe may ryghtfully merueyle þe vnspekeable charite of our Lorde, þat for so vnworthy synners as we be, wolde wilfully suffre all þis peyne and dispite and myche more, as yhe shall here aftre, to deliuers þe from euerlastynge peyne and to make vs heyres of euerlastynge ioy. Wherfore, here thenketh inwardely how gladly we shulde suffre all maner aduersites, temptaciones, and disseses þat movowe fell e to vs in þis worde for his loue and for our owne profite þat þus myche of his incomprehensible charite withoute our merytes mercyfully suffredre for vs.

Aftre þis thenketh howe Seynte Iohnhe taketh vpp our Lady as wele as he may, ffor he was a ful sory man and myghte full euyle helpe hymselfe for heynes. And þitt notwithstandyngynge, [b]eholdeth þat he taketh hir vpp as wele as he may and conforteth hir as he kan. And Mary Maudeleyne also,
yhe may thenke, and our Ladyes systres and other deuoute wymmen þat were þere, confortede hir and helpede hir as wele as þei couthe and myghte. And þitte þei were all full heuy and sory, and so be yhe with hem. And ymagyneth also what seruyece yhe wolde haue doo to our Lady 3if yhe hadde be there presente with hem. And þan thenketh howe þei gone forthe aftre all togedre softely and esely as wele as þei mowne, wepynge and sorowynge. And þis may be þe meditacion of our Lordes Passioun at þe houre at Tierce.

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179 and" or C. 182 [ban] inser. C. 184 Tierce] terys, y inser. C.
Chapter Twenty-Two

Of þe houre of Sexte and of þe werkes þat were done in þat houre.  
Capitulum xxii

The houre of Sexte yhe may thenke in þis wyse: Beholdeth firste howe 
þe forseide wykkede turmentours bryngen our Lorde amonge hem with 
myche hastynes and myche dispite to the [f. 71v] place þat he shulde be 
crucyfye in, þe whiche is callede Caluary, bot in Hebrew it is callede 
Golgotha; þis was a comon place þat men were putte to deth in, and it was 
nere þe cite of Jerusalem and þer were men behede[de] þe, and þerfore in þat 
place þer leye mony bones of dede men hedes, and therfore it is callede 
Caluary. And when our Lorde was broghte to þat "foole/ place, thenketh 
howe þei drowen of his clothes a3ene and þat was a passynge grete Payne, 
ffor þe[r] renned his woundes ægæne, as þei deden firste in þe drawynge of 
þe purpur, and haply wers. And as þei hadde drowen of his clothes, yhe may 
thinke howe our Lady cometh with hir felewshiphe, and when she sawe hym 
naked and woundede, thenketh þat hir sorowe was encreasede. And as ofte 
as his paynes were encreasede, so ofte, thenketh withoute ony doute, hir 
heynes and sorowe were encreasede and made more and more. And therfore 
haue inwarde pyte and compassioun of hem bothe, ffor þei bene in grete 
sorowe and Payne.

And þan thenketh howe in þe forseide stynkynge place thei crucyfiede 
our Lorde. Howe and in what wyse our Lorde was crucyfiede þe Euangeliste 
maketh no mencyon, and therfore I woll tell yowe two maners; whiche of 
hem may stere yowe beste to deucoioun, þat taketh. One yhe may thenke in 
þis wyse. Beholdeth firste howe þei take our Lorde and leyne hym downe 
vpon þe crosse, and þan haply þei tye ropes to his armes, and so thenketh 
þei drowen hem till þe veynes bresten. And þan one taketh a grete naule and 
smythet it fersely with a hamer though his hande. And that naule, yhe may 
thenke, breketh passynge peynfully þe skynnne and þe fleshe vndernethe 
and þe veynes and synewes. And so he nayled þat hande faste to þe crosse.

And another tormentoure, þan thenketh, [f. 72r] dothe þe same to þat other 
hande. And þan þei gone to þe feete and drowen [hem] doune strate and 
myghtyly and leyden þat one vpon þe toper, and þan thurgh bothe þei 
smyten two nayles, þat one aboue that other, and þis was a passynge grete

peyne, þe whiche no man may sey with his mouthe as it was to hym þat feleede it. And þan beholdeth how þei lifte hym vpp with þe crosse, and þan þei lete it fall done \into þe mortas, and with þe fallynge downe\text{,} as some haue seide, þei braste all þe veynes and senewes in his body. And so þat shulde haue be a passyng peyne amonge all þo þat he suffred; þis is one wyse, as I trowe some deoute men haue ymagynede.

Another wyse yhe may thenke it, aftre Seynte Brygittes \textit{Reuelacioun}, and þat I holde sykerer to leve to, and þat yhe may thenke þus. Beholdeth firste an hole ykutte oute in þe Mounte of Caluary, and þe crucyfyours redy, as it is wryte in þe \textit{Reuelacioun}, to do cruelte. Bot she telleth it in hir owne persone as she seeghe it, þe whiche I tourne it into þe fourme of meditacion, not goynge, by þe grace of God, fro þe menynghe of hir wordes. Nowe þan beholdeth with þe forseide holy lady howe þe forseide tourmentours fixeþ and maketh faste strongly þe crosse in þe forseide hole, with trees myghtyly ysmyte þeraboute with a betill, þat it myghte stonde þe faster and not falle. And when þe crosse was made so faste, þei putte tables of tree theraboute in þe manere of greys vnto þe place where þe feete shulde be crucyfiede, þat bothe he and his crucyfyours myght goo vpp by hem and vpon hem stonde to crucyfy hym. After þis yhe may thenke howe þei gone vp by þe forseide greys, ledynge hym with hem with scornynge and ful mykell blamynge, þe whiche frely wente vpp as a meke lombe yledde to be sacrificyede. And when he was vpon þe tables, not compellede bot anone [f. 72v] wilfully he streghte oute his arme. And his righte hande openede, he putte it on þe crosse, þe whiche þo cruell turmentoure cruely fastenede to þe crosse and holowede it with a nayle in þat place þe bone is moste saddeste in, and in þat it was more peynefull. And þan thynketh þat þei drewen strongly þe lefte hande with a rope and nayled it in þe same wyse.

And þan beholdeth howe þei draken downe all þe body by þe crosse and putten þat one legge vpon þat other, and þan þei ioynede þe two fete togidre. And when þei were so ioynede togidre, þei naylede hem to þe crosse with two nayles. And in so mykell þei streynede oute þo glorions membres strongly in þe crosse þat all þe veynes and senewes tobreste. And when þis was done, þei putte þe crouene of thorne þat þei hadde taken fro his hede when he was crucyfiede vpon his hede azene, þe whiche so strongly prikkede his reuerente hede þat his eyne were fillede anone with blode flowynge and his eres were stoppede and his face and his berde were

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[35 feleede] suffryde C;  
[38 suffrede] ther C;  
[40 Reuelacioun] inser C.  
[44 it\text{,}] hyt doo C;  
[46 forseide\text{,}] om.  
[52 vpon hem stonde]\ stande vpon hem C;  
[54 meke] suete C.  
[65 veynes] vaynys, y\text{,} inser C.  
[69 blode flowynge] flowynge blode C;  
[his\text{,} om. C.
as it hadde be keuerede and depte with þat rede blode. And anone þo
crucyfyours and knyghtes mevede awey violently all þo tables þat were
aboute þe crosse, and þan þe crosse bode alone and our Lorde crucifyede
þeron. This is þe manere þat our Lorde was crucifyede, aftre þe Reuelacion
of Seynte Brigette.

After þis thanketh howe our Lady was there presente and seeghe all þis
done, and þerfore thanketh inwardly howe grete sorowe it was to hir to see
hir suete sone and Lorde in so mykyll peyne and dispite. And þan beholdeth
howe she wepeth and wayleth and falleth downe to þe erthe for sorowe as
halfe dede, ffor Seynte Brigette seyth in þe Reuelacion forseide þat when [f.
73r] she was fylled with sorowe and behelde þe cruelte of hem þat hadde
cruцифiede our Lorde, she seeghe also, she seythe, his heuy moder lyynghe
apone þe erthe as it hadde be quakynge and halfe dede, þe whiche Seynte
Iohn and hir systren confortede þat stoden there not ferre fro þe crosse at þe
ryght \syde/ therof. And þerfore haueth inwardly compassioun of your
worthi Lady, for she is in passynge grete sorowe and heuynes.

And þan taketh gode hede howe also þe gode Lorde prayeth for his
ennemyse and hem þat crucyfyiede hym, seyynghe to his Fadre in Heuen þus:
Fader forgeue hem, for þei wate noght what þei doo. And þan taketh gode
hede also howe þere bene two thefes ycrucyfyiede with hym, one apon þe
ryght side and another apon þe lefte syde, and our Lorde in þe mydle as
þoffe he hadde be a thiefe. And thenketh inwardly what dispite þis was to
couple þe Lorde of all þe worlde to two thieffes. And also beholdeth his
mekenes and pacience þat thus lowly suffrede all þis, and also his charite þat
so charitably prayede for hem þat so pynde and dispisede hym.

And þan yhe may thenkhe howe Pilate wrote a title and sette it vpon his
crosse, ffor it was þe manere of Romaynes, as Lyre seyth, to wryte þe cause
of þe dethe of hem þat were crucyfyiede and sette it vpon þe crosse. And þis
was þe title, Ihesu Criste Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum, þat was sette vpon our
Lordes crosse. This is in Englyssh: Ihesu Criste of Nazareth Kynge of
Iewes. And þis was writen in a scrowe grete-hande, thenketh, and þat
scrowe was nailde to a table and putte vpon þe crosse. And it was writen,
as þe Euangeliste seyth, in Grewes, Ebrewe, and Latyn, þat all maner men
þat were comen to þe holy day myghte vnderstonde it. Ffor þer [f. 73v] were
folke of diuers langages comen to þe holy daye, and therfore þe title was
wryten in þe principall langages. Ihesu Criste was his propre name;

70 þo thyke C.  71 þo thyke C.  73 þat how C.  75 thanketh] thankyth also C.  77 peyne
C. 86 howe also] also howe C.  89 also] inser C.  one apon] on\'e/ att C.  90 apon] on C.
Romany C.  98 title Ihesu Criste Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum þat was sette vpon our Lordes
crosse] tyttyl þat was sette vpon our lordys crosse Ihesu Criste nazarenus rex iudeorum C.
Nazarenus he was callede of þe contrey þat he was norysshede vpp in; Rex Iudeorum, þat is in Englysshe, Kynge of Iewes. This was þe cause þat he was putte to deth fore, as who seyth, þerfore Ihesu Criste of Nazareth is putte to dethe ffor he wolde haue bene Kynge of Iewes. This title mony of þe Iewes redde, as þe Euangeliste seyth, for þe place þat our Lorde was crucifyde at was nere þe cite, and þerfore þei myght lightly come thidre and see.

And þenketh howe the Biss Hopkins of þe Iewes come to Pilate and seide: Wryte not Kynge of Iewes. Ffor hem semede it shulde turne to her shame. Bot write, þei seide, þat he seide/ Y am Kynge of Iewes. For so hem semede it shulde not turne to her shame. And þan Pilate seide to hem ægene:

That I haue wryten, I haue written. And so by thies wordes confermede þat he hadde doo and wolde not reuoke it. After þis beholdeth howe þe knyghtes þat had crucyfiede our Lorde departede our Lordes clothes into foure partes, yche knyghte a parte, for þere were foure of hem þat had crucyfiede hym, saue þe cote, þe whiche hadde no seeme bot it was made of nette wyse. And þerfore þei seyd: Lete vs not kytte it, bot lete vs drawe loote who shall haue it. And þan thenketh howe also þe peple stondeth and abideth, and some scorne hym, wagg[ynge] her hedes vppon hym seyngenge:

Truth for þe þat seydeste þat þu woldeste distroye þe temple of God and in three days areyse it vpp ægene, saue þiselfe nowe. If þu be Goddes sone, come downe fro þe crosse. And beholdeth also howe þe princes of prestes, and þe scribes, and þe eldste of þe þe peple scorne hym and seyne: Loo, he has saude other, bot he may not saue hymselfe. If he be Kyng of Israel, [f. 74r] lette hym come downe nowe of þe crosse, and we woll beleue on hym. And in þis þei seide fals, ffor he hadde araysede Lazare fro dede to lyue, and arose vp also fro þe sepulcre, and þat was more, as Seinte Gregory seyth, þan forto come downe fro þe crosse, and ʒitt þei wolde not beleue on hym. Bot at þis tym[e he mekely fulfillede þe obedience to his Fader in heuene, þe whiche was þat he shulde dye for þe saluacioun of mankynde. And þerfore he wolde not come downe fro þe crosse and leue þe obedience of his Fadre in heuene and þe helthe of mankynde þat he come fore, ffor here blasphemyes wordes, ne moreouer to conforte his blisshed moder, þe whiche he sawe there in so myche sorowe and heuynes for hym and the whiche he louede aboue all other, ne for Seynte Iohn, ne, shortly forto
seye, for none other frende of his þat were þere presente, ne forto deliuer hymselfe oute of þe peyne þat he was in. Bot he suffrede paciently and abode obedently on þe crosse to his lyfes ende.

And in þís he ȝafe vs ensample þat we shulde not leue þe state of gode lyuyng þat we haue onys taken for his loue, be it neuer so streyte, for no temptacions of þe fende, ne for no shrewede wordes of bynde worldely men, for none affeccioun of fiadre, moder, syster, or brother, ne frendeshipe of ony worldely frende þat wolde lette vs fro þe loue of God and fro þat shulde tourne to oure euerlastyng profyte, ne, shortly forto seye, for ony prosperite or aduersite. Bot we shulde perseuere in þat gode weye of penance with discrecioun and other gode werkes into our lyues ende, þe whiche weye of penance may be called gode mostely a crosse, in als mykell as it is a punysshynge to mannese or woomannes sensualite. And ȝif we done so, we shall haue to our mede þís worthi Lorde, þat for our euerlastyng profyte perseuerede in the [f. 74v] crosse, into our lyfes ende.

Aftre þís, turneth aȝene to þe Passioun of our Lorde and beholdeth howe þat one of þe thefes þat honge on the lefte syde of our Lorde blasphemede hym and seide: ȝif þu be [Criste], ÞGoddes/ sone, saue þi selfe and vs. And þan þat other thefe þat honge on his ryghte syde blam[yde] hym, seyyenge: Dredest þu not God þat erte in þe same dampnacioun? And we be ryghtfully, he seide, for we haue desuerede it. Bot forsothe þis man hath done none euyll. And þan he seide to our Lorde: Lorde, haue mynde of me when þu comeste into þi kyngedome. And þan our Lorde seide to hym aȝene: Fforsoth I seye to þe, þis day þou shalte be with me in paradyse. Loo, howe grete charite þís was of our Lorde þat not onely forȝafe hym his synnes, bot also ȝafe hym euerlastyng lyfe, ffor he knowelichede hym þe Sone of God, when his disciples hadde forsaken hym.

Aftre þís, thenketh howe our Lady and Seynte Iohn Euangeliste and þe deuoute wymmen stonden beside þe crosse of our Lorde wepynge and sorowynge, ffor þei see hym in so myche dispite and peyne, and so dothe yhe with hem. And þan beholdeth also how our Lorde speketh to his moder as he hangeth on þe crosse, seyynge þus: Woman, loo þi sone, by Seynte Iohn þat stode þer with hir. He callede hir not moder bot woman, leste, as Lyre seyth, of tendernes of þat name of moder, ȝif it had been openede, the
virgynes soule shulde haue be þe more greude, seynge hir sonnes Passioun. 
And þan he seide also to þe disciple: Loo, here þi moder; as who seythe, be 
þu to hir servyable as to þi moder. And fro þat houre he tooke hir into his 
kepynge as his moder. And þis was a grete token of specyale loue and truste 
þat our Lorde hadde to þis glorouse apostle, when he betuke his owne 
worshipfull modre to hym and put hym in his owne stede. [f. 75r] And 
þerfore, whosoeuer loues our Lorde Ihesu Criste, he moste nedes specyaly 
loue þis holy apostle and euangeliste, þe whiche our Lorde so specyaly 
louede and so mony tokens of specyall loue shewed to, as yhe shall, by þe 
Grace of God, here in þe laste chapitle of þis booke, with other 
commendacioun of þe same worshipfull appostle.

Bot nowe lete vs go to our purpose æsene. And þan thenketh howe, as 
þe Euangeliсте seyth, þat þe Scripture myghte be fullfillede, and also what 
for þe grete peyne þat he was in and þe blode þat he hadde shedde, he wex 
ful drye and seide: Y thruste. And þan thenketh howe þat an herlote rynmeth 
forthe to a vessell þat stode there fillede with aysel and fillith full a spounge 
þerof and putteth it vpp to his mouthe with a reede, þat he shulde drynke. 
Nowe, gostely systre, beholdeth with grete pite and compassioun all þis 
pouerte, dispite, and peyne þat our Lorde suffrede for þe saluacyon of 
mankynde, and thenketh inwardly howe sore we shulde dreden to haue or to 
desire ony prosperite in þis worlde, seth our Lorde sufferede þus myche 
aduersite.

Ffor Seynte Gregory seyth in an Omely þat our Lorde wolde not haue 
prosperite in þis worlde. He suffrede, he seyth, repreues and scornes, and he 
suffrede also spyttynges, scourges, buffettes, and þe crowne of thorne. And 
for we felle fro þe inwarde ioye be delite of temporell thynge, he shewed 
vs wyth what bytternes we moste go thider æsene. What þerfore, he seyth, 
shulde a man suffre for hymselfe, ʒtif God suffrede so myche for men? 
Therfore, he þat nowe beleueth in Criste, ʒit he foloweth þe wynnynges of 
couetysye, he is lifte vp in þe pride of worshippe, he brenneth with þe 
brones of enuye, he defouleth hymselfe with þe vnclennes of lichory, he 
coueyttyhe þe prosperite of þis worlde, [f. 75v] he dispiseth to folowe Ihesu 
þat he beleueth in. Ffor he goth a diuers weye ʒif he desireth ioyes and 
delites to whome his duke shewed þe weye of bytternes. Thies bene Seint 
Gregores wordes in þe Omelye vpon þe Gospell þat is redde in þe Sondaye 
of Quinquagesyme.

Chapter Twenty-Three

Of þe hour of None and of þe werkes þat were done in þat hour. Capitolum vicesimum tercium.

In þe begynnynge of þis hour yhe may thenke firste how fro þe hour of Sexte into þe hour of None þar was made derkenes vpon all þe londe of Iurye, þe whiche endurede, after þe seynge of doctours, thre hours. For Lyre seyth þat þe mone was vmmeneable vnder þe sone thre houres, and þat was meruelous, ffor he seyth þat in naturale clyppes þe mone is contynualy mevede vnder þe sonne. And by þis yhe may vnderstonde þat our Lorde was luyynge on þe crosse thre houres [in all þat] dispite and peyne þat I haue tolde yow in þe hour of Sexte, and þat was passynge peynefull to lyue so longe in payne. And þerfore ȝif þer be ony compassion in your herte, haueth inwardly compassioun of hym.

And þan thenketh howe it draweth faste towarde þe hour of None, and howe he hongeth stille in þe crosse in all þe peyne before-seide in þe hour of Sexte. And beholdeth also his moder and other þat were with hir, waylynge and wepyng bettelyr for compassionioun of hym, and specially his moder, and wote not what she may doo or whider to turne hir for sorowe and heuynes ffor [y]e may trowe forsoth þat hir sorowe vnder þe crosse of our Lorde passede ony seyntes martyr dome þat euer was. Ffor it was meruayle þat she myghte lyue in all þat sorowe, saue þat þe myghte of God and þe beleue þat she hadde þat it was for þe saluacioun of man[f. 76r]kynde, and also þe hope þat she hadde of his Resurreccioun, for þe fethye of Holy Chirche abode þat tyme in hir alone. And þan beholdeth also howe þat other peple stondeth and wayteth when he shulde dye, and some of hem haply score hym and dispised hym. And thenketh howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste lyfteth vp his hede with mykel peyne, and firste lyeth it on þat one side and after on þat other syde, ffor þer was no place þat he myghte riste his blissededeful hede vpon. Ffor þe crosse, yhe may thenke, hadde no hede aboue, and þerfore ther was no restynge bot vpon his breste or vpon his armes, and þat was passyng peynefull.

After þis, thenketh howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste, seynge þat all was fulfillede þat was before-seide of hym by prophetis, he beganne to drawe faste to þe dethwarde. And so all þe tokens of dethe biganne to apere vpon hym, ffor his feire face bygan to wexe all pale, and his nose sharpe, and his heer to fall. And so alle þat other sygnes of deth apered in all þe
places of his body. And 

40 And than thenketh how aboute þe houre of None, he lyfte vpp his hede myghtely and with ane hye voyce deoulty and lowely he seide to his Fader in heuen: _Ffader, into þi handes I betake my spirite._ And with þe seyyng of thiis wordes, he ȝelde vp þe goste. And þan his hede felle downe vpon his breste, as it hadde þe thankyng þis Fader þat he hadde fulfyllede his obernede for þe helthe of mankynde. And so he was obiediente for vs to his Fader vnto þe deth, as þe apostle Seynte Poule seyth. And þan þe vayle of þe temple was rente into peses, and ther was also an erthequake and þe stones tobraste, in betokenyng, as Lyre seyth, þat hertes, be [f. 76v] þei neuer so herde, þei shulde haue compassioun of Cristes dyynge. And graues 

50 were/ opynede of þe erthequake, to betoken, as þe/ same doctour seyth, þat Cristes Resurreccioun was nere and other þat shulde arise with [hym]. Seynte Gregori seyth also in þe Omelye of þe Twelfe Daye þus: _In all sygnes, þe whiche were shewed when our Lorde was borne and dyed, it is to be considerede to vs what herdnes was in some Iewes herte, þe whiche nether by þe ȝist of prophicye ne be myracles knewe hym._ Fforsoth, all þe elementes baren wytnes þat here maker was comen: þe see knewe, for she ȝafe hirselfe able to be troden vnder his fete; the erth knewe, for when he dyded it shuke; the son knewe, ffor she hidde þe bemes of her lyghte; the stones and walles knewe, for in þe tyme of his dethe þai tobraste; helle knewe, for he ȝeldede hem þat he helde dede. And neuerþelese, hym whome alle insensible elementes felte a Lorde, ȝitte þe vnrewe Iewes knewe not God, and here hertes herder þan flynte wol not be broken to penance, ffor þei denye to knowe þe hym whome elementes, as we haue seide, other by sygnes or brekynges knewe God.

60 Aftre þis, thenketh howe þat one century, þe whiche was a knyghte þat hadde a hundreth knyghtes vnder hym, and þei þat were with hym keypyne our Lorde, seyne þe erthequake and þe merueylles þat were done, and þat he ȝafe vp the spirete with so grete a crye (þe whiche myghte [not] be, as Lyre seythe, by þe vertue of kynde) þei drede sore, seiyng: _Fforsote, þis man was þe Sonne of God._ And all þe other peple þat were at þis spectacle

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and seeghe þat was done, smote hemselfe vpon þe breestes, turnynge awaywarde, forthenkynge þat þei hadde pursuede our Lorde to dethe.

After þis yhe may thenke howe þe peple gothe home, bot our Lady and hir sistres \and Seynte Iohn euangeliste and Mawdeleyne/ abiden stylle there, and haply mo. And [f. 77r] þan may yhe beholde with our Lady and hem þat were with hir howe our Lorde Ihesu Criste hangeth on þe crosse so nakede þat he had no clothes vpon hym, and so dispisede betwene two thefes as þoffe he hadde bo cheeze, and so ypyndede [þat] fro þe sole of þe fote to þe toppe of þe hede þer was no hole skynn vpon hym. And also how his blyssede hede, pytefully yprikked with thornes, hangede doun vpon his breste all pale and ouerronne with blode, and his holy handes and fete torente with horrible Nayles. And þis, wele considerede, may be to yow or to ony deuoute soule a ful pitefull syghte.

And þan may ye thanke how our Lady, full of sorowe and heuynes, ayseth vpp and stondeth betwene þe thefes crosses and our Lordes, and with mykell lamentacioun she lyftede vpp her hondes, haply seeynge \
siche/ maner wordes or like: A, suete sonne, alas þat euer I seeghe þis day. [Why ne hadde I dyde er I sawght thys daye] and þe in þis plite? I wote wele, blyssede sonne, þou deserued þis peyne, ffor I am ryght syker þat þu neuer diddeste synne, ne ony myght do, ffor þu erte verre Goddes Sone, and in þat my Lorde and my God, and in þat kynde þu erte inpassible. Bot þu wolde, suete sonne, for þe helthe of mankynde [be] my sonne, and in þat that þou haste take of me þou erte passible and haste suffredé full pacyentely and mekely all þis pouerte, dispite and peyne. Bot I beleue þat it is for þe saluacioun of mankynde, and also haue full hope and truste of þi ioyfull and glorious Resurreccioun, and elles I shulde for sorowe dye here vnder þi crosse. Ffor, louely son, þu knoweste wele þat I hadde leuer dye with þe þan lyve withoute þe. And [also], sonne, þu waste wele I myghte not deliuere þe fro þis dethe þe whiche þu haste chosen for helthe of mankynde. Bot, louely sonne, I wolde stonde her vnder þi crosse and fill my soule and herte with sorowe and [f. 77v] lamentacioun, sethe y may no more do. And I wolde it were þe will of þi Fader in heuen and thyne, suete sonne, þat I myghte dye here with the.

After þis yhe may thenke howe she lyfte vp hir herte and handes to þe Fader in heuen, seeynge suche manere wordes or like: Almyghty God, Fader in heuene, þat wolde your owne Sone take flesshe ande blode of me, your almighty God, Fader in heuen, þat wolde your owne Sone take flesshe ande blode of me, your
seruaunte, for þe helthe of mankynde, and so also be my sonne, and in þat he hath take of me to suffre dethe for þe saluacioun of þe same kynde, nowe your welbelouede sonne and myne hath fulfillede þe obedience þat yhe wolde he shulde fulfille. And nowe I besche yowe with all [myne] herte þat yhe vouchesaue to sende me helpe to bery hym, and þat I maye hole withoute brekynge of his bones putte hym in his sepulcre.

And in seyynge of suche/ maner words as before-seide, or like þat may mekely be conceyuede in a deoute soule aftre þe fourme of meditacioun, yhe may thenke þat she felle doune for heuynes and sorowe, and arose vp aʒene of þe affeccioun of loue, and waylede and sorowede with habundance of mony teres for hir onely sonne, þe whiche she louede with all hir herte, myghtes and strentes. And þerfore haueth inwardely pite and compassioun of hir, ffor who myghte see þis worthi Lady and blessed virgynne in so mykell sorowe and heuynes, and not haue compassioun of hir and of hir sone and othe[r] deouute folke þat were þer also and wepe with hem? And thenketh also howe in all þis tyme Seynte Iohn Euangeliste and our Ladies sistres, with Mary Magdalene, [conforte] hir as þe[i] couthen and mowen, and zitte þei were all in grete heuynes, as no wonder was. And þis may be þe meditacioun of þe houre of None.
Chapter Twenty-Four

Of þe opynnynge of our Lordes side after None, with other edyficytufe maters accordyng with þe Passion of our Lorde. Capitulum vicesimum quartum.

[f. 78r] Affre þe houre of None yhe may thenke howe þe Iewes come to Pilate æsene and preyde hym ðat þe shenne bones of hem ðat were crucyfiyde shulde be broken, and ðat þei myghte be taken downe fro þe crosses. The cause whi ðat ðei wolde haue her shynnes broken was that þei shulde not ascape ʒif þei hadde be taken doune quykke, and þe cause þat þei wolde haue hem take downe was for reuerence of þe holy daye ðat was þe nexte daye aftre, and it beganne at the euene of þe same daye þat our Lorde was crucyfiyde in. Than yhe may thenke howe þei comen þider æsene anone after None, and Pilates knyghtes with hem. And þan beholdeth howe our Lady loketh to þe citewarde, and perceyuedeth howe þe peple cometh æsene, and when she sawe þat, thenketh hir sorowe was encreasede. And þan thenketh how she aryseth vp with mykell heuynes and lamentacioun, merueyllynge what þei wolde done now to hir swete sone seth he was dede.

And þan beholdeth howe þe peple cometh into þe place with mykel noyse and haste, and þan anone two knyghtes brake þe two thefes legses þat were crucifyde with our Lorde. And when þei come to our Lorde and perceyuvede þat he was dede, þei brakke not his shynnes, bot one of þe knyghtes openede his side with a sperre, þat þei myght be siker whether he were dede or no. And anone þer ranne oute blode and water; blode into our redempcioun, water into þe wesshyngge awaye of our synnes. Yt is to be knowe, poffe, Lyre seyth, þat þis water come oute merueylously, ffor it was not þe flemyttyke humors, as some seyne, bot it was clene water, to shewe þat Cristes body was made of trewe elementes æsene þe errour of hem that seide þat he hadde a fantasyke body, as þe Manycheys were, the [f. 78v] whiche were perlyouse heretykes some tyme æsene Holy Cherche. The forseide knyghtes name þat openede our Lordis syde was Longevs, þe whiche when he sawe þe merveyles þat were done at our Lordes Passioun, þat is to seye, the sonne when it wex derke and þe erthe quakede, he beleuede in our Lorde. And moste, as some seyne, þat when of infirmyte or of age he was allemoste bylynde, by happ e he touchede his yene with some
of þe blode þat come downe by þe spere, and anone he myghte se clerely.

And so afterwarde he was tournede and was a [martyr].

Than maye yhe thenke also, when our Lady sawe our Lordis syde openede, she myghte not bere it, bot she felle doune in suowne in Seynte Iohn armes as þoffe she hadde hadde þe same stroke hirsylfe. And thenketh what sorowe and heuynes it was to Seynte Iohn and þe deuoute wymmen þat were þere presente when þei seeghe all þis. And þerfore haueth pyte and compassioun of hem all, ffor þei bene in grete sorowe and heuynes, and zitte notwithstandingly þei confortede our Lady as wele as þei mowe.

Nowe þan here yhe may beholde a pytful spectacle howe þe worshipfull Sauyours of mankynde hangeth on þe crosse in all þe pouerte, dispite and peyne afforeseide, and his syde opynede with a spere, the whiche wounde yhe maye thenke was grete and wyde, horrible to see. And his blissede moder, a tendere mayden, moste deede for sorowe and heuenesse, and his other deuoute louers wepyng and makynge mykyl sorowe and lamentacioun both for hym and for hir also. And what deuoute Cresten soule myght inwardly beholde þis withoute haboundance of teres?

Beholdeth [f. 79r] also deuoutely with a gode auysemente and a diligente consideracioun howe þe louely Lordes hede hangede downwarde as it were to kysse, his armes yspredde on brode as to be halsede, his \fete/ haste Nayled to to abide, his suet herte yperchede with a spere in betokenynge of þe vnspeakeable loue and charite þat he hadde to mankynde. And how myghte he haue shewed more loue and kyndenes þan to dye so peynfulle a dethe for vs, with so mykell despite and pouerte, and shedde his owne precyouse hertes blode for þe same clene loue and excellente charite, and so wesshe vs fro our synnes in his owne precious blode, ffor Seynte Iohn þe Euangeliest seyth in þe Apocalipse þat he louede vs and wesshede vs from our synnes in his blode.

What loue may be lykned to þis loue? Sothly none. Ffor whatsomuer ony martyr euer suffrede or confessoure euer dede for our Lorde, it may not be lykenede to his loue. Ffor it was more charite, withoute ony comparisoun, God þat oughte not to dye, frely of his mercy in mankynde to suffre dethe for a wrecched synfull man, þan a man þat muste nedes \dye/ to suffre dethe for blessede and ryghtfull God. And þoffe it were so þat a man myghte suffre þe same penance þat he suffrede for hym or more, zitte myghte it not be likenede to his charite, ffor whatsomuer man or woman do
or suffre for God, he shall haue his mede þerfore, bot he hadde none. Ffor he frely of his incomprehensible charite and endeles mercy sauede mankynde, þat by hys owne synne shulde haue be loste foreuer bot he so mercyfully hadde boughte it æzene.

Also, ryght as þe persone was moste excellente and worthieste, so was þe charite of þe same persone moste excellente and worthieste þat euer was or myghte be. So þer was neuer charite or loue þat euer was shewed of creature to God, [or] of [f. 79v] one creature to another, þat may be likenede to þe loue and charite þat our Lorde Ihesu Criste shewed to mankynde, and right so of his mekenes, of his paciencie, of his obedience, and all vertues þat he dede here in his blissed manhode. And þerfore whatsomeuer be wryten or seide of martir, confessoure, or yrvgynne, or ony other trewe seruante of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, ther is none ensample so worthy, so prophetable, ne so edifycatyue shulde be to \\a/ Cristen soule as þat our Lorde dede hymselfe. And in þe forseide vertues and all other he perseuerede vnto þe dethe, and so in obedience and for obedience, and in charite and for charite, with þe fulnes of all other vertues, he dede. Wherfore 3if we woll be his membres and by þat come thider where he is, we moste folowe hym, after our power an[d] konnyng, in mekenes, charite, pacyence, obediens, and other vertues, and euer desire while we lyfe in þis worlde to growe and encrese in hem with perseverance. Ffor perseverance is þe vertue of a gode werke, as Seynte Gregory seyth, and oure Lorde seyth in þe Gospell þat he þat perseuereth into þe ende, vnderstondeth in gode, he shall be saue. And so, do we neuer so wele, bott we perseuerere þerin, we may not be saued.

Also, gostely sustre, thre thynges yhe may considre in þe Passion of oure Lorde, þe whiche he suffrede æzenste thre thynges þat men and wymmen setten her loues moste on \\in/ þis passyng worlde, þat is to seye, worshippes and dignites, lustes and lykynges, and worldly riches. The firste longen propperly to þe fende; the seconde, to þe flesche; and þe thirde, to þe worlde. Æzenste þe firste, he suffrede mykell dispite and repreue; æzenste þe seconde, he suffrede peyne and tribulacioun; æzenste þe thirde, he suffrede [f. 80r] mykell pouerte. All þis yhe may beholde also in all his holy lyuyng, bot moste specially and excellently in his preciouse Passioun. And þerfore here vnderstondeth howe sore we shulde drede to desire or to seche ony suche thynges in þis lyfe, 3if we shulde folowe oure Lorde Ihesu Criste and so be partyners of þe ioy þat he hath by his mercy boughte vs to. Ffor
Seynte Iohn seyth in his Pistell þat he þat seyth hymselfe to dwelle in Criste, þat is to seye, by charite, he muste go as he wente. Howe foloweth he þan our Lorde Ihesu Criste þat desireth worshippes, lustes, and richesshes, namely for þe loue of hem, for whome his Lorde suffrede so mykel dispite, payne, and pouerte? Also, who myghte beleue þat God suffrede all þe forseide payne for his loue, and not loue hym? Sothly, I trowe no man. Lette vs þan loue hym, for he firste louede vs, as Seynte Iohn seyth, and lette vs shewe þat loue in kepynge of his comandementes, þfor he seyth in þe Gospell of Seynte Iohn þus: 3if yhe loue me, kepe my comandementes. And sone aftre in þe same Gospell, he seyth also þus: He þat hath my comaunde[m]tes and kepeth hem, he it is þat lóueth me.

Now þan, our Lorde Ihesu Criste, louer and aȝene-byer of mankynde and ȝeuer of all trewe and chaste loue, so ȝif vs grace to loue hym and drede hym and serue hym and plese hym ouerall and in all thynge, þat we may come to his blys þat neuer shall haue endyng. Amen.

Chapter Twenty-Five

Of þe takynge doune of our Lordeþe body fro þe crosse, þe whiche is called þe houre of Euensonge. Capitulum xxvii.

Nowe yhe may thenke and meklely beleue þat our Lady and hir ffelysshipe wente not fro þe place þat our Lorde was cruceyfiede in vnto þe holy body was take downe of þe crosse, bot þei abode stille ther in [f. 80v] mowrynge and lamentacion, as I haue tolde yowe affore. And our Lady, yhe may thenke, full deuoutely and hertly prayeth to þe Fader in heuene þat he wolde vochesaue to sende hir helpe by some deuoute seruante of his to take doune þat blesseþe body, for she hadde no power ne instrumentes to take it downe with, and she myghte not go thens for loue til þat body þat she louede so myche were take doune.

Aftre þis yhe may thenke þat Ioseph of Aramathy, a noble courteour, wente in [boldly] to Pilate and askede our Lordeþe body to berye it worshipfully. Aramathyþe was a cite of þe Iewry, þe whiche was somtyme called þe also Ramatha, and þer þat þe holy prophete Samuel borne. And þan Pilate calleþe a century to hym. Century is a name of an office and not properly of þe man, ffór it was a knyghte þat hadde a hundreþe knyghtes vnder hym. And synche one Pilate calleþe to hym and askede hym whether he were dede or none, and when he woste of hym þat he was dede, he þaffe þe body to Ioseph. And þan Ioseph boughte a clene sendell to wynde hym in, þe whiche was a lynnþen clothþe, as Lire seyth, and þerforþe it is ordeynnde þat our Lordeþe body is not halowede in þe auter bot vpon lynnþen cloth.

After þis yhe may thenke þat Ioseph of Aramathyþe toke hylpe with hym, and when it drewe to euenerwarde, he come thider with menʒe with hym, ffór yhe may wele trouwe that suche a man as he was wente not to suche a werke alone. And þan yhe may thenke also howe Nichodemus herde þat þat Ioseph hadde geten þe body of Pilate and wolde go take it doune, and so come with hym. The whiche Nichodemus was a prynce amonge þe Iewes, and he also, yhe may thenke, [f. 81r] had men with hym. And þis Nichodemus also, afore þe Passioun of our Lorde, was a pryue discipl of his, as wele as Ioseph, bot after þe Passioun, of feruour he made hymselfe open, right as Ioseph dede. And þerfor þe seide Nichodemne broughte with hym as it hadde be a hundrede pounde of myrre and aloes ymenged to gidre in þe maner of an oynentemente, þe whiche puteth awaye wormes fro dede bodies and kepeth hem fro rotyngane. And in þis it semeth þat Nichodem, þofþe he hadde made þat oynentemente of deuocioun, þitt it semeth þophe, as
Lyre seyth, þat he hadde not full knowynge of our Lorde Ihesu Criste. Ffor it was wryten of hym in þe [Fyue[ten]the] Psalme of þe Sawter þus: Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corrumpcionem. This is in Englissh, þu shalte not 3eue þi seynte to se corrumpcioun. This is to seye in more open English: Thu shal not suffre þi seynte (þat is, þe body of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, þe which was holy and onede to þe godhode vn'de/partable) to se corrumpcioun (þat is to seye, to rote in þe erth as synfull mennys bodies done), and þeþerefor it nedeth not suche an oynemente to kepe it fro rotyng.

After þis yhe may thenke also howe þe forseide deuoute men broughten with hem instrumentes, as ladders, pynsores, and suche other þat longede to take downe þe body with. And þan yhe may thenke þat our Lady lokede vp and seeghe aferre men comynge with suche manere instrumentes as bene before-seide, and þan anone she hopedde þat þei come to take downe þat 40 
holy/ body, and with þat she was 3it confortede, and haply badde Seynte Iohn goo and mete with hem, ffor she trowede þat þei come to help hem. And þan beholdeth howe Seynte Iohn goth forth faste æzenste hem, and when [f. 81v] he sawe hem nere he knewe hem þat þei were our Lordes disciples and comen to take downe his body. And þan yhe maye thenke þat he was gladde, and welcomede hem curtasly and thanked hem of ther charite. And þan thenketh þat þai asked hym who þei bene þat bene at þe crosse, and seyth haply þat þei bene our Lady his moder, his aunte, and Mary Maudeleyne. And þan/ thenketh howe þei aske hym æzeeyne where Petre is and þe þopher apostels. And he seith to hem æzen þat þei seeeghe none of hem of all þat day. And so beholdeth þei go forth talkynge togider till þei come to þe place.

And when þei were comen þider, thinken þat þei done reuereence firste to þe body, and þan þei confortede our Lady, þe whiche she thanketh mekely of her charite and þat þei come to do þat seruyece. And þan yhe may thenke þat firste sette a shorte ladder to þe fete, and vppon þat goth vpp Ioseph of Aramathye with a feire lyn clothe vpon his shulder þat he had broghte to wynde þe body in. And þan þei sette a ladder vp to þe ryght honde, and vpon þat goth Nichodemse with a payre of pynsors in his hande to take oute as esely as he may þe nayle in þe ryght hande. And then þenketh also þat þei sette þe thirde ladder vp to þe lefte hande, and by þat 45 50 55 60 65

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goth vpp another man with a peyre of pynsors also to drawe oute þe nayle in þe lefte hande.

And þan beholdeth howe þei drawe hem oute as softely and as esely as þei may, and ȝit þei may nat doo it withoute b[ru]synge of our Lordes handes. And þan þenketh howe Ioseph supporteth þe body in comynge downe, and another, as esely as he kan or may, draweth oute þe nayles þat were in þe fete. And so vnder hem all þei brynge downe þat worshipfull body. And anone thenketh howe our Lady ryn[f. 82r]nyth to kys his handes and his mouthe, and wessheth his face with water of her eyne. And Seynte Iohn and þe deoute wymmen also stoden beside wepynge. And þan his þeuy/ moder, as it is wryten in Seynte Brigettes Reuelacions, wypede all his body and woundes with a lyn clothe, and she closede his eyne and kyssede hem. And þis may be þe meditacioun at Euynsonge tyme.

71 of] om. C; also to drawe oute] to drawe out also C. 74 may] mygth C N; brusynge] brosyng C, bursynge ND. 76 and] and thanne C. 78 anone thenketh howe] \thanne/ thynkyth þat anone C; kys] and kyssyth C. 80 also stoden] stode also C. 82 she] om. C. 83 hem] hym C.
Chapter Twenty-Six

Of þe berynynge of our Lordes body, þe whiche is callede þe houre of Complyn. Capitulum xxvi.

The beriynge of our Lordes body yhe may thenke in þis wyse. When our Lady hadde closede our Lordes yen, as it is befor-seide in þe chapitile nexte afore þis, than thenketh howe she, with þe forseide deuoute wymmen and Ioseph and Nichodeme, wynden his body in þe clene sendell þat Ioseph hadde bought for þe same cause with other lynnen clothes and spyserye as the maner of Iewes was to berye. After þis thenketh also howe nere þe place þat our Lorde was crucyfiede in was a gardyn, and in þat gardyne a newe toumbe in þe whiche was neuer man putte into þat tyme. And thider þei bare our Lordes body. And in þat beryynge yhe may beholde howe our Lady as worthiaste bereth þe hede, þe men þe body, and þat other deuoute wymmen þe feete, and so vnder hem all þei beren þat blyssede body to þe sepulcre.

The sepulcre of our Lorde, yhe may thenke ait þe seyynge of doctours, was made in þis wyse. Ther was a rownde house ykutte oute of a rokke lyyng vnde[r]neth, of so mykell heghte þat a man myghte vnnethe touche þe rofe with his hande, hauyng an enterynge at þe north side to which was putte a stone instede of `va/ dore. And that house was þe place þat our Lordes body was beryed in, ymade of [f. 82v] þe same stone, þe whiche was a toumbe of eight fete of lenthe and thre spannes hyer þan þat other pamente; þe coloure of þat same sepulcre was as þoff it hadde be rede coloure and white medlede togedyr. And ther, thynketh, þei beryede our Lordis body with myche wepyngne and lamentacioun. And when þis was ydoo, thenketh þat our Lady was passynge sory and lothe to departe fro þat body þat she louede so myche, bot 3it at þe laste, at þe prayer and counselle of Seynte Iohn and þe tother deuoute wymmen, yhe may thenke she graunte to go home.

And þan thenketh þat she with mykell lamentacioun kyssede þe body, bounde as it was, and after the sepulcre, commyttyng þat blyssede body with hir owne soule to þe Fader in heuen, hauyng full truste and hope of his glorious Resurreccioun, ffor in hir alone `a/bode þe feyth of Holy Chirche þat tyme. After þis beholdeth howe she goth homwarde, and as she gothe homwarde, she worshipith þe holy crosse, and þe toþer deuoute wymmen.
folke, þenketh, dede þe same. And þan beholdeth howe þei gone forth 
vpon þe waye togidre to þe cytewarde tyl þei comen to a certeyne place 
wher þei shulde departe. And þan thenketh howe the meke Lady full lowely 
thanketh Ioseph and Nichodeme of her charite, trauayle and seruyce ydone 
aboute our Lorde, and full mekely taketh hir leue of hem and þei of hir, and 
so þei wente home to here places. And our Lady, also yhe may thanke, 
wente to þat place in Jerusalem þat is callede Mello, þat is to seye, in 
Mounte Syon, and ther she abode, for þer was þe place that our Lorde made 
his laste soper in affor his Passioun. And in þat same place dwellede þe 
elleuen appostelles, as þe Maister of Storyes seyth. Bot þe tother disciples 
and þe wymmen dwellede þer [f. 83r] aboute in diuers innes.

After þis thenketh þat þe princes of þe prestes and þe Pharysees comen 
togedyr to Pilate, seynge þus: Sire, we haue mynde þat that deceyuer, 
Criste, seide whene he lyuede þat he wolde aryse þe thirde daye, and 
þerfore comande þe sepulcre to be kepte into þe thirde daye, leste his 
disciples comen and stelen his body and sey to þe peple þat he is arysen 
from deth to lyue, and þan/ shall þe laste errore be wars þan þe firste. 
And þan Pilate þaue hem leue to ordeyne knyghtes to kepe þe sepulcre. And 
so þei wente and ordeynede knyghtes yarmede to kepe it with stronge 
hande, seilrynge also þe stone with her seles, leste ony man myght goo in 
withoute here knowynge, as Lyre seyth. And þis may be þe meditacioun at 
Complyn tyme. Deo gracias.
Chapter Twenty-Seven

The meditacion \(\) of our Lady and other deuoute wymmen, and what \(\) dede, and also of \(\) apostels of our Lorde. Capitulum vicesimum septimum.

What our Lady \(\) dede/ \(\) Saterday \(\) Euangeliste maketh no mencioyn, and \(\) perfore yhe may mekely thenke \(\) pat she was still in \(\) pat place \(\) pat our Lorde made his laste sopere in, \(\) whiche was in \(\) pat place of Jerusalem \(\) is callede Mello in Mounte Syon, as I haue tolde yow in \(\) nexte chapitile affore. And \(\) perfore she was in mykell lamentacioun, ffor \(\) boffe she hadde ful truste of his Resurreccioun, \(\) of she myghte not be withoute mykell sorowe and grete heuynes for \(\) vnkyndenes, payne, and dispite \(\) pat she sawe done to hir suete sone \(\) daye affore, \(\) whiche wente neuer from hir mynde. Ffor \(\) pat that a man or a woman moste loueth or drede moste cometh to mynde, and also moste stedfastely abidethe [f. 83v] therin. And she louede hym vterely aboue all thynge, ffor \(\) was neuer so trewe loue betwene two as betwene hem two. And \(\) perfore, whether she satte, leye, or stode, or ony [o]ther thynge dede, contynualy it come to hir mynde howe mercyfully he wolde be borne of hir, and howe meke and lowly he was euermore to hir, [and] how holy, how blessed and perfite he was in all his lyuynge. And at \(\) laste moste soreste with grete sorowe and heuynes, \(\) horrible Passioun \(\) pat she sawe hym so mekely suffre \(\) daye affore, with mykell wronge, dispite, and reprevyng. And also howe he commyttede hir to Seynte Iohn, and at \(\) laste howe he dieede and was take downe and beryede. All \(\) pis, with mony other circumstaunces of his Passioun, and other thynge \(\) pat were done \(\) dere, come to hir mynde, \(\) whiche full sore and more \(\) may be seide, heuyede and paynede hir blyssefull herte. And \(\) perfore haueth inwardely pyte and compassioun of hir, for she is in mykell sorowe and heuynes. And \(\) other deuoute wymmen, thanketh, \(\) same Sartiday sesede of all maner of bodyly werkes and were in reste and pees at \(\) reuerence of \(\) holy daye, \(\) whiche beganne fro \(\) houre \(\) pat our Lorde was beryede in to \(\) euene of the nexte daye folowyng. In \(\) whiche holy daye it was not laweful to bye onythynge, and \(\) perfore \(\) sesede \(\) dayy tyl \(\) somne was gone done of suche maner werkes as \(\) Lawe wolde. Bot in all \(\) tyme, thanketh, \(\) confortede our Lady as \(\) myghte, and \(\) of \(\) were full sory and heuy hemselfe, purposyng when \(\) holy daye were

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1 The\[ A C; \] other\[ the othyr C.  4 \dode/\] inser. C; \(\) Euangeliste\[ euangelystes C; \) maketh\] make C. 5 mekely\[ om. C.  6 place\] parte C. 7 nexte chapitile\[ capetele nexte C. 8 perfore\] there C. 11 wente neuer\[ 3e maye thynke wente \) not/ C. 12 that\[ om. C.  15 betwene\] betuene, tuene inser. C. 16 other\[ othyr C, ther ND. 18 and\] C, om. ND; how\[ om. C. 20 so mekely suffre\] suffre so mekely C. 27 \pat\[ the C.  28 \oF\] om. C; \at \pat\] for C. 30 in \] inne into C. 31 \hei\] the C. 33 \hat\] thyss C; \hei\[ \] they C.
gone to bye spicery and ṭerof to make oynementes, and so ṭe nexte daye full hastily to go and anoynte our Lordes body.

The appostels, yhe may thenke, were disparbled abrode, yche man where he semeste beste, ffor ṭei hadde no hope of our Lordes Resurrecf. 84r[cioun, ne ṭe wymmen, bot our Lady alone, ffor in hir abode ṭe feythe of Holy Chirche ṭat tyme. And ṭerfore it is seide ṭat ṭe Satterday is approprede to hir. Whether ṭe appostels come togedre aȝeyn ṭe Satterday or no, I dar not afferm, bot ȝit notwithstondynge, it may be thoghte so, and ṭerfore yhe may thenke in ṭis wyse. Thenketh firste howe Seynte Petre come oute of ṭe caue ṭat he wente into when he hadde denyede our Lorde, ṭe whiche is callede in Englysshe Cokcrowynge. And ṭan beholdeth howe he come to ṭe place when our Lady was and Seynte Iohn and ṭe other deoute wymmen, with mykell heuynes for our Lordes deth, and specyaly ṭat he hadde so denyede hym. And when he come thider, yhe may thenke, he knokked at ṭe dore, and ṭan Seynte Iohn herde it and lete hym in. And when he come in, beholdeth howe he accused hymselfe to our Lady and to all ṭat were ṭere, with grete compuncions ṭat he had so denyede our Lorde. And ṭan thenketh ṭat she full mekely and graciously, as she was alwaye full of mercy and grace, confortede hym aȝene.

After ṭis yhe may thenke ṭat ṭe tother appostels comen ṭider also by proscesse of tyme, ychone after other, all sory men and heuy. And when ṭei were all comen togedir, thenketh ṭe dore was shette, for ṭei durste not by sene in opyn, ne be knowen togedre for drede of ṭe lewes. And ṭan ṭei cowede none other conforte bot talke togeder of ṭat that hadde falle, and wepte and made mykel lamentacioun ṭat ṭere suete maistre and worthi Lorde was so vnrightfully putte to dethe, ffor yhe may thenke for certeyne ṭat whereeuer ṭei were, ṭei were in mykell sorowe and heuynes. And ṭerfore haueth inwardly compassioun and pyte of hem alle. Ffor who myght thenke ṭe Lady of al ṭe [f. 84v] worlde, with other deoute wymmen, and ṭe princes of all Holy Chirche, in so mykll sorowe and heuynes, and not haue pyte and compassioun of hem and be sore with hem?

Aftre ṭis yhe may thenke ṭat when ṭe sonne was go downe and it was lawfull to wirke, ṭe deoute wymmen token leue of our Lady and wente to by spysery to make oynementes of, purposyng in ṭe mornynge full arly to go and anoynte our Lordes body. And in ṭis yhe may considre ṭe loue and deuocioun of thies blyssede wymmen that so diligently trauayled for her Lorde, haply with mony teres and sighnynges. And when ṭai hadde boghte ṭe
forseide spicerye, thenketh þat þei madene oynementes þerof to anoynte our Lordes body wyth, and haply our Lady helpeth to. And þis may be þe meditacioun of þe Satterday.

72 oynementes þerof] ther of vnementes C.  
73 helpeth] halpe C.  
74 of] om. C.
Chapter Twenty-Eight

Another devote meditacioun howe þe sowle of our Lorde, ionede to þe godhede, wente to helle. Capitulum vicesimum octaum.

Aftre þe forseide meditacioun yhe may thenke another/ devote meditacioun, howe þe soule of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, yonedo to þe godhode, wente to helle and fette oute þe holy faders soules þat were þerin. Here yhe shall vnderstonde friste þat þis was not helle þat damnede sowles bene in, but it was a place, after þe seynge of doctoure, ysette in þe ouerparte of hell, and þerfore it is caldele helle, and þe same place is caldele also lymbus patrum, þat is in Englyssh, þe bote of þafadres, ffor all þe rightfulle sowles þat passede oute of þis worlde into þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde wente to þat place. And it is caldele also Abrahames bosom, ffor Abraham is caldele þe fadre of our fathere. And þat place, as þe Maister of þe [f. 85r] Stories seyth, had a maner of lyghte withoute ony materyale payne, in þe whiche all predestynate soules were into the Resurreccioun of our Lorde, as it is afforseide. And into þat place wente our Lorde Ihesu Criste, as þe apostels crede maketh menicyoun, and þer was with hem into þe tyme of his gloriousy Resurreccioun.

And while he was þer with hem, thenketh þat þei were in perfite ioye ffor þe sighte of God is moste ioye þat a resonable sowle may haue, and þe soules þat were þere seeghe þe beynge of God clerely, as þe worthi doctor Lyre seyth in a tretyse þat he maketh of þe seynge of þe beynge of God of holy soules departede fro þe bodies. And þerfore þe forseide place, while our [Lorde] was þer presente with hem, \was/ caldele paradise for þe clere sighte þat þei hadde of þe beynge of God. And þerof it was þat our Lorde seide, as þe same doctoure seythe [in] þe forseide tretyseye, to þe thefe hangynge byside hym on þe crosse: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. This is in Englysshe: This daye þu shalt be with me in paradise, þat is to seye, in þe place forseide, þe whiche was caldele paradise, for þe clere sighte þat þe thefe soule hadde clerely with other soules þat were þere of þe beynge of God. Ffor paradise, as þe forseide doctor Lyre seyth, is seide in scripture in thre maners. One maner it is þat is caldele erthly paradise, oute þe whiche Adam was putte when he synnede; þe secunde maner paradise is seye þe empire heuene, þe whiche is þe place of blessed soules; the thirde manere paradise is seide þe clere sighte of God, and þis paradise it was þat our Lorde seide to þe thefe of, þis daye þu shall be with me in paradise, as is forseide.

What our Lorde dede þere, or what [f. 85v] wordes [he hadde] to hem or þei to hym, or what songs or preysynge þer were seide or songone in his presence it may not sikerly be seide bot þif a man hadde it by speciall reuelacioun, bot þit Nichodemes Euangelye maketh mencion what he dede there. Bot for it is not autentike, and also for þe seide doctor Lyre preueth it euydentely fals by autorite of Holy Wryte and sayynge of other doctors, I ouerpasse it and wolde not \\'putte/ suche thynges here þat is so vsniker and myghte be cause of erroure to symple creatures. Bot þis yhe may thanke for certeyne, þat þei were in perfite ioye in his presence, as it is afforeseide, and in more ioye þan ony dedely creature may saye. And þere he was with hem into þe tyme of his Resurreccioun, þe whiche was the Sunday in þe daynge, after þe moste seyynge of doctours.

And here considereth inwardely þe merveylouse charite of our suete Lorde, þat wolde so mercyfully and mekely in his owne persone go to helle that myghte haue seinte þider an aungell þif he hadde wolde to haue fette hem oute and presente hem to hym where he hadde wolde. Bot þe suete Lorde wolde do it in his owne persone, in betokenyng of þe excellente charite þat he hadde to mankynde, and specialy to þe holy faders þat were þere abidyng with grete desire his comfortable and ioyfull commynge, and howe myghte he haue shewed more kyndenes?

Here þerfore conceyueth deuouetely howe mykell we bene bounde to thonke and loue þis louely Lorde þat þus mykell hath do and wroghte for our kynde, and contynuayly doth withoute sesynge by his benefetes þat he euyer day sheweth vs in þevynge mete and drynke and clothe with other necessaries to our bodies withoute, mercy and grace to our soules within. And at þe laste he heteth vs euerlastyng ioy with aungels in heuen, þif we tremly serue hym [f. 86r] and loue hym whyle we lyue in þis passyng lyfe. And þerfore loueth your worthi Lorde hertely and serueth hym tremly and kepeth his comaundementes contynuayly, and þan at your laste ende yhe may seye to hym of consiens sikerly þat Seynte Austyne seyth in þe ende of a sermone þat he maketh þus: Y haue done that þu baddeste, þewe þat þu beheteste. And þis may be þe meditacioun howe þe soule of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, ionede to þe godhode, wente to helle and visitede and brought oute the holy faders soules þat were there.

37 what] C, what what ND; he hadde] C, om. ND. 38 or?] of C. 41 seide doctor] forseyde \\
Chapter Twenty-Nine

Of þe Resurreccion of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, and howe he apperede firste to our Lady. Capsitulum vicesimum nonum.

Nowe I shall [telle] yow somewhate of þe Resurreccion of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, as he wolde ȝeue me grace, þat ryght as yhe haue be heueded with our Lady and þe apostels, as I trowe, of þe Passioun and þe deth of our Lorde, yhe myghte be confortede and ioyede with hem of þe gloriusse Resurreccion. Ffor it is a meditacion of grete ioye and conforto to a soule þat verely loueth our Lorde. Ffirste vnderstandeth þat our Lorde arose myghtyly, for he arose by his owne myghte; and also merveylously, ffor þe sepulcre beyng close, ryght as aftre his Resurreccion he wente \"in/to\ his disciples þe ȝates beynge shette.

The Maistre of Storyes seyth þat þer was a monke at Rome þe yhere of oure Lorde a thousande an hundreth and ellesene, at Seynte Laurence withoute þe Walle, þe whiche merveylde gretelie of his gyrdel þat he was girde with, sodeynely vnlosede and caste affore hym. And þan þer was a voyce herde in þe eyre sayynge: _So myghte Criste come oute of his sepulcre, \it/ beyng close._

Nowe þan thenketh firste þat when þe tyme of our Lorde Resurreccioun was ycomen, as he by his [f. 86v] mercy hadde ordeyned affore, þe whiche was þe Sunday in þe dawynge, as Seynte Austyn seyth, and þat is moste comynly holden in Holy Chirche. And at þat houre thenketh howe þe soule of our Lorde come oute of helle and broughte oute with hym all þe company of chosen soules þat were þere, and come to þe blyssede body þat leye in þe sepulcre and araysede [it] vpp, and so he rose vpp oute of þe sepulcre perfite God and man by his owne myghte, þe sepulcre abidyng close, as I haue tolde yow affore.

And at þis gloriusse Resurreccioun yhe may thenke þer was a grete multitudes of aungels, for it is conteynede in a reuelacioun of Seynte Maute þat hir semede she seeghe suche a multitudes of aungels aboute þe sepulcre þat fro þe erth to þe skye þei wente aboute our Lorde as it hadde be a walle. And also the Euangeliste seyth þat þer was a grete erthequake, and þe aungell of our Lorde come and remove awaþ þe stone and satte doune therapoun, þat þe wymmen myghte se þat our Lorde was aresyne. And þe face of hym was as it had be lyghtenyng to make þe kepers agaste, and his clothyng as snowe to ȝeue conforth to þe wymmen. And for dredé of hym...
peat kepures were adredde and made as dede men, ffor ðei myghte not bere ðe syghte of ðe aungell for all here armes.

And some aftre, thenketh þat some of ðe kepures wente into ðe cite and tolde þe princes of ðe prestes all þat was done. And þan þei gaderede togedre the eldeste of ðe peple þat were cheef gouernours amonge ðe Iewes, and token her counsell togedyer, and ȝaf þe kepures plente of money and badde hem þat þei shulde seye þat our Lordes disciples come by nyght and stole hym away while þei slepte. And zif þe iuge here þerof; þei sayden, we shall suggeste to hym and make yow [f. 87r] syker ynoghan. And þan þei[i] taken þe mone and deden as þei were taughte. And so it is opynie amonge þe Iewes into þis daye, and so þei were deceuyede by þe falsenes of here princes and þe lesynge of þe knyghtes, þe whiche lesynge ȝit holdeth hem stille in here errour, as Lyre seyth.

Nowe lete vs tourne aȝene to þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde, and firste yhe shall vnderstonde þat our Lorde, after þe seyynge of þe euangelistes, apperede ten tymes after his Resurreccioun, þat is to seye, fyfe tymes in þe daye of his Resurreccioun, and other fyfe tymes afterwarde. Other thre apparicions þer bene þe whiche be tolde to haue falle þe same daye of þe Resurreccioun, bot þei be not in þe texte of þe Gospell; of þe whiche one is þat our Lorde shulde haue apperede firste to his moder, our Lady Seynte Marye. And þat is righte resonable seide to myne vnderstondynge, and þat, as it semeth, þe Chirche of Rome approueþ, þe whiche þat same daye of þe Resurreccioun haloweth a stacyoun at a chirche of our Lady in Rome, as Ianuense seyth in the Legende þat is calde Aurea. And for our Lady is þe worthieste persone of all other, and also for our Lorde apperede firste to hir as yhe may mekely beleue withoute ony doute, þoffe þe Euangeliste maketh no menycyoun þerof, ffor Ianuense seyth þat þe euangelistes wolde not write it, bot þei lefte it as for stable and certeyne, as who seyth, þei knewe it so opyn þat it neded not to write it. Ffor þei wiste wele ynoghan þat ony man or woman þat hadde resonable wytte myghte wele wytte þat he apperede firste to hyr, ffor it is no doute þat she was moste soryste for his dethe and þerfore she neded moste þe conforte of his gloriouse Resurreccioun. And also, seth he badde hymselfe þat we [f. 87v] shulde worshippe our faders and our moderators, it hadde not be conuenyente þat he shulde not haue do it in his owne persone. And þerfore y wolde sette þe apparycioun þat was doo to hir firste.

Ffirste þan yhe may thenke, as is afforeseide, þat he apperede to our Lady his blissee moder, as worthy was, and þa[t] thenketh in þis wyse.

Beholdeth firste howe the blyssede Lady sytteth alone in þe same place þat
our Lorde made his laste sopere in, þe whiche was in Mounte Syon. For
þere yhe may thence she abode stille aftre she was broghte þider on Gode
Frydaye at euen by Seynte Iohn, tille our Lorde apperede to hir ther, alwey
desyringe þe presence of hir blyssede sone with gretter desire þan maye be
seide. And as she was in suche desyringe and longynge after hym, and also
haply me[r]ueylinge þat he come not, sethen it was þe thirde daye, ffor þa[t]
a man or a woman loueth and desireth hym thenketh longe til he haue it, and
þe more þat þe desire is, þe peynefuller it is til it be performede. And þan
bethenketh þat she lokede besyde hir and sodanly she see hir lowely sone
stonde bysyde hir. And, als some seyne, he shulde haue seide þese wordes
to hir: Salve sancta parens. This is in Englyssh: Hayle holy moder.

Nowe what herte or mynde myghte fully thence what ioy and gladnes
þis worthi Lady had when she sawe hir sone arysen from deth to lyue, neuer
to dye more? Sothely, I trowe, none. After þis beholdeth deuoutely howe þe
goode Lady with more ioy and gladnes þan may be seide halseth and
yssseth hir dere sone and maketh all þe ioye þat she kan or may, askynge
hym with all hir hole herte howe it is with hym. And þan beholdeth how þe
meke Lorde full gladly suffreth hir to do and seye what she wolde, and after
þat full benyg[n]ly confortede hir. And þan thanken how þey syton togiders
doune full famylyer[f. 88r]ly, and þan our Lorde haply tellet hir howe he
hath the delyuerde the holy faders oute of hell, and what he dede þere, and also
whether he hath broghte hem for a tyme, and seyth þat when he wolde
ascende hymselfe into heuen he wolde lede hem with hym to eueerlastynge
ioye. Ffor it is to be beleuede þat þe holy soules þat our Lorde brought oute
of helle with hym come not into heuene þat is callede emprey till he
ascendede hymselfe, and þan he ledde hem with hym thider. This heuene is
callede empire, þat is als mykell to seye in Englyssh as fire, for it is rede
after þe seyynge of doctours, as fire is, and it is þe place þat seyntes shulde
see þe benye of God clerynly in. Wher þei were in þe menetyme, þat is to
seye, fro þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde into his Ascensioun, our Lorde
wote, bot certeyne it is, as Lyre seyth, þat euyer place longeth to his
lordeshipe, and þerfore he myghte be with hem where he wolde.

After þis thenketh þat our Lorde prayeth his moder to be of gode
comforte, for he shall neuer dye more. And also haply he telleth hir þat he
wolde go and appere to Mary Magdaleyne and to his disciples, and so full
mekely taketh his leue of hir. And þan yhe may thence þat she thonkede
hym lowly and prayeth hym þat he woll not tarye longe fro hir. Fforthermore, yhe may thenke and mekely beleue þat not onely our Lorde apperede to his moder at þis tyme, bot also dyuers tymes and ofte afore his merueylouse Ascensioun, and haply broughte with hym otherwhile to hir some of þe holy faders þat he hadde delyuerde oute of helle, þat she myghte see hem.

111 lowly} ful lowly C; woll} wolde C. 112 thenke and} om. C. 114 hym} inser. C. 115 þat²} t inser. C.
Chapter Thirty

Of þe fyfe apperynges þat bene conteyned in þe Gospell, þe whiche were done þe same day of þe Resurreccioun, and other two þat bene tolde to haue falle also þe same day þat bene not conteyned in þe Gospels, and to [f. 88v] what persones, where, and howe. Capitulum tricesimum.

Nowe I woll tell yow firste, by þe grace of God, shortely of þe fyfe apperynges þat were doo þe same daye of þe Resurreccioun þat þe euangelistes maken mencyoun of, and to what persones þei were and howe. And after hem other two þat bene not in þe texte of þe Gospelys.

The firste apperynge þan, yhe may thynke, was to Mary Magdalene, [as] of þo, vnderstondeth, þat bene redde in þe Gospell, and þat yhe may thenke in þis wyse. Mary Magdaleyne on Esterday, full areley in þe mornyng, thenketh, with other two Maries come to þe sepulcre to anoynhte our Lorde body as þei hadde purposede þe evene affore. And when Mary Magdeleyne sawe þe stone remevede fro þe graue and our Lorde body not therin, she wende þat it had be taken awaye, and þerfore she come rynnynge to Petre and Iohn and tolde hem þat our Lordes body was taken awhyne and she wiste neuer where it was done. And þan beholdeth howe they two renneth thider faste to see, for þei two louede our Lorde more þan other. Bot Seynte Iohn ranne affore Petre, for he was þe yonger man, and þerfore myghte he better renne þan he. And so he come firste to þe sepulcre, and Petre come folowyng after. And when þei were comen thider and founde not þe body, þei trowede þat sothe þat þe wymmen hadde seyde, þat is to seye, þat our Lordes body had be taken awhyne, and so þei wente home ægene, for þei durste not abide longe þere for drede of þe Iewes.

Bot Mary Magdaleyne þat come þyder ægene, thenketh, abode still withoute þe place þat þe sepulcre was in, wepyng. And þan she enclyned hirselsfe and lokede [f. 89r] ægene into þe sepulcre, for þe myghte of loue multiplyeth the entente of þe sekyng, as Seynte Gregorye seyth. And therofter it was not ynoghe to hir þat she hadde lokede ones or ofter, bot þit she lokede ægene eftesones ȝif she myghte see ȝit ony thynge of hym. And þan she sawe two auengels syttyngne, one at þe hede of þe sepulcre and another at þe fete, þe whiche seide to hir: Woman, why wepes þu? And she seide ægene: For þei haue taken awhyne my Lorde, and I wote neuer where

pei haue done hym. And þan she turnede hir aboute and she sawe our Lorde Ihesu Criste stondynge þere, but she wyste not þof all it were he. þe cause þat she turnede hir so bakwarde was, as Lyre seyth, for she sawe þe angels þat spake to hir aryse vpp for reuerence of our Lordes presence þat apperede þere, and þerfore she tournede hir so aboute to se who it was þat þei dede suche reuerence to. And þan our Lorde seide to hir: Woman, why wepeste þu? Whome sekeste þu? And she wende þat he had be þe gardyne, and þerfore she seide to hym: Syre, ȝife þu haue take hym aweye, telle me where þu haste putte hym, and I wolde fette hym. This she seide of passyngre grete loue, ffor she wende þat he myghte haue borne all þat blysseed body deede.

And þan beholdeth howe þe mercyfull Lorde ful suetely and famylyarly calleth hir by hir name: Marye. And þan anone she felle doune to his fete, and wolde haue kyssede hem, bot þe goode Lorde badde hir þat she shulde not touche hym as for þat tyme, for hir mysbeleue, ffor she wende þat he had not be rysen. Bot afterwarde, þoffe, yhe may mekely trowe þat he suffredre hir to haue hir entente, for hir deuocioun [f. 89v] and loue to hym. Afterwarde thenke þat he sente hir to his apostels, and so made hir þe messengere of his gloriouse Resurreccioun. And þerfore she is callede of þe apostels apostellas. And so right as a woman was þe messynger of dethe, right so a woman was þe messyngere of lyfe.

The seconde apparicioun was to þe wymmen commynge to þe seculerewarde, and þat yhe may thenke shortly in þis wyse. Mary Maudeleyne, thenketh, come when she hadde spoken with our Lorde to telle þe disciples of þe Resurreccioun as she was boden. Bot firste she come to þe two Maryes þat hadde be firste with hir, and tolde hem. And þan thenketh þat þei were right gladde of þo tydynes. Bot, for þei hadde not seene hym ȝit, þei were heuy and desirede full sore to see hym. And so þei wente forth to thegered to þe disciples to telle hem, and or þei come fully to þe cite our Lorde mette with hem. And þan thenketh þat þei felle doune and devoutely kyssede his fete, worshippynge hym as God. And þan oure Lorde badde hem goo and telle his brethren þat þei shulde go into Galile and þer þei shulde see hym. And in þis yhe may vnderstonde þe grete charite and mekenes of our Lorde þat calleth hem þat hadde firste forsaken hym his brethren, þat þei shulde not dispeyre of hym and drede to come to hym agene.
The thyrde apparicyoun was to Symon Petre, bot where or when it is not wyste sykerly. Notwithstondynge, after þe seyynge of doctours it myghte haue be when Peter wente by hymselfe alone, merueyllynge what was done of our Lorde. Ffor when þe wymmen comen to þe apostels and tolde hem as our Lorde badde hem, they helde þere wordes as fantasies, and beleued hem not. Bot Petre arose vpp, and wente rynynge to þe sepulcre to see, and when [f. 90r] he come pider he fonde bot þe shetes þere onely, and þan wente he thenes merueyllynge hymselfe of þat that was done. And þan it myghte be þat our Lorde apperedde to hym.

The fourth apparicyon was to two disciples goynge to Emaux, and þat yhe may thanke in þis wyse. Two of þe disciples of our Lorde wente þe same daye of þe Resurreccioun to [a] castell, sixty forlonges fro Ierusalem, whos name was Emaux, and þei spake togider of all þo thynge þat hadde fallen. And as þei walked talkynge togider, so thenketh howe our Lorde ouertoke hem and wente with hem in likenes of a pylgrym and þerfore þei knewe hym noght. And so at þe askynge of our Lorde þei tolde hym wherof þei speke, ffor þei spake of hym and of his dethe and how þei trowede þat he shulde haue boughte aþeine þe peple of Israell. And þan he reprevede here mysbeleue, and tolde hem also þat Cryste moste suffre þat and so entre into his ioy. And þan he beganne at Moyses and all þe prophetes, and expownde to hem in all þe Scriptures þat were of hym.

And so in suche manere commynyncacyoun, thei neghede to þe castell þat þei wente to. And he feynede hymselfe to go forth, and þan þei compellede hym, seyynge: Syr, abide with vs, for it draweth to nyghte. And so he wente in with hem, and when þei were comen in, þenketh, þei satte downe to sopere. And þan our Lorde toke þe brede and blessedde it and putte it forth to hem as he was wonte to doo affore his Passion. And it semede as þoffe it had be kutte with a knyfe, for Lyre seyth þat he brake brede so as þoffe it had be kutte with a knyfe. And anone þere yene were openede and þei knewe hym, ffor wilfully he shewede hymselfe to hem in suche lykenes as he myghte be knowe in. Neuerþeles, þei knewe þat firste by þe manere brekynge of þe brede. And anone he vanysshede fro here [f. 90v] yen, and þan þei arose vpp þe same hour and wente aþene to Ierusalem. And when þei comen thider þei foden þe elleuen apostels ygadere togider and þe toþere þat were with hem, seyynge forsothe þat our Lorde was arysen and apperedde to Symon Petre. And þan þei tolde þo thynge þat were done in the weye, and howe þei knewe hym in þe brekynge of þe brede. Bot Seynte
Thomas þe apostell nether beleued hem, thenketh, ne þe toþere, bot for a 
tyme he wente fro hem.

The fyfte apperynge was to þe disciples ygaderede togedyr, Seynte 
Thomas þe apostell beynge absente, and þat yhe may thanke þus. When 
Seynte Thomas was go fro hem, as it is afforeside, þat oþer disciples bode
stille, þenketh talkynge togedir of our Lorde. And sodanly our Lorde 
apperede amonge hem, for he come in, þe yates beynge shette, and 'saide/ 
to hem: Pees be to yowe. I am he, dredeth not. And þan þei were sore 
destroyede and adredde, and wende þat þei sawe a spirite. And þan our
Lorde seide to hem: Whi be yhe distourblede and thoghtes comen vpp
into your hertes? See my handes and my fete, for I am he. Ffeleth and se, ffor a
spiryte hath no flesshe and bones as yhe see me haue. And when he had
seide þis, he shewed hem his handes and his fete.

Also, to more open prevynge of his Resurreccioun and to more
stabelynge of hem in her feythe and vs by hem, he askede hem þif þei had
onythynge þat myghte be eten. And þei toke hym parte of fisshe yrostede
and a honykombe. And þan þe gode Lorde, þat hadde no nede to ete, [ate] 
afore hem al, to shewe þerby þat he was trewly arysen verre God and man in
þe same body þat he diede in for þe helthe of mankynde, yglyrfeide in
hym. And also he openede here wyttes þat þei myght [f. 91r] vnderstonde
Scriptures, and in þat he shewed þat he was God. For Lyre seythe, to lighte
þe myndes of hem þat can not to the vnderstondynge of Holy Writte and
sodanly, it longeth to God properly.

The fyfe apperynges were ydone þe same day of the Resurreccioun,
and þese þe preste presenteth in þe Messe, as it is seyde in þe Legende
Aurea, turnynge hym fyfe tymes to þe peple. Bot þe thirde turnynge is with
sylence, þe whiche betokeneth þe thirde apperynge þat was to Petre, of þe
whiche it is not wyste sykerly where or when it was done. Other two
apperynges þer bene, þe whiche bene tolde also to haue fall þe same day of
þe Resurreccioun, byside þat I haue tolde you afore of our Lady. Of þe
whiche one shulde haue be to lames þe lesse, þe whiche was Alpheys sone
and þe firste bysshope of Ierusalem, and þat yhe may thanke in þis wyse.
Seynte Ierome seyth þat þis lames, on Gode Frydaye, when our Lorde was
dede, made a vowe þat he wolde neuer ete brede till he sawe our Lorde
arysen fro deth to lyfe. Þan þe same daye of þe Resurreccioun, when Seynte
lames into þat tyme had not eten, oure Lorde apperede to hym, and to hem

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\[106 \text{ apostell]} \text{ apostyl, y inser. C.} \quad \[108 \text{ fyfte]} \text{ fyueth, ue inser. C.} \quad \[109 \text{ þe apostell]} \text{ inser. C.}
\[110 \text{ it]} \text{ om. C; afforeside]} \text{ forseyde C; þat the C.} \quad \[113 \text{ were]} \text{ inser. C.} \quad \[114 \text{ destroublede and}
\text{ adrede]} \text{ adrad and dystroblyd C.} \quad \[117 \text{ see]} \text{ inser. C.} \quad \[119 \text{ Resurreccioun]} \text{ gloryus resurreccyon}
\text{ C.} \quad \[120 \text{ her]} \text{ the C.} \quad \[121 \text{ onythynge]} \text{ eny thanke C; fisseshe]} \text{ a feysch C.} \quad \[122 \text{ þan]} \text{ inser. C; no}
\text{ inser. C; ate]} \text{ om. ND.} \quad \[123 \text{ was]} \text{ inser. C.} \quad \[124 \text{ in hym And]} \text{ though C.} \quad \[127 \text{ to]} \text{ inser. C.}
\[128 \text{ to God properly]} \text{ The]} \text{ properly to God. These C.} \quad \[131 \text{ turnynge]} \text{ in turnynge C; hym]
\text{ hymselfe C; turnynge]} \text{ tyme C.} \quad \[134 \text{ same]} \text{ om. C.} \quad \[137 \text{ thenke]} \text{ inser. C.} \quad \[140 \text{ daye]} \text{ inser. C.}
that were with hym he seide: \textit{L[e]yth a clothe and brede.} And after that our Lorde toke þe brede and blessed it and yaffe it to Seynte Iames, seyynte to hym: 	extit{Aryse, my brother, and ete, for þe mayden sone is rysen fro deth.}

That other is þat our Lorde shulde haue appereide also þe same day to Ioseph of Aramathye, as it is redde in þe Gospell of Nichodeme, and þat yhe may thenke þus. When þe lewed herde telle þat Ioseph had askede our Lordes body of Pylate and beryede it in his owne toumbe, þei token indignacioun æcynste hym. And þerfore þei[i] taken hym and closede hym vpp in a close place, purposynge after þe holy day to putte hym [f. 91v] to dethe. And so þe same nyghte of our Lordes Resurreccion, þe house þat Ioseph was in was drawe vp by þe foure corneres. And so our Lorde come into hym and wypede his face and kyssede hym and toke hym oute þerof, and þe seeles beynge safe, and broughte hym into his house at Aramathye.

This apperynge is redde in þe gospell of Nichodeme, as it is aforseide. Bot for it is not autentyke, as I haue tolde yowe before in þe xxviii[the] chapitle, I commytte it to þe dome of þe reder whether he woll admytte it or non[e].

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Leyeth} leyth C, lyeth ND; and brede\textit{ om. C; }\textit{hat[\textsuperscript{2}] inser. C.}
\item \textit{Aryse} aryse vp C. \textit{Pylate and} inser. C. \textit{hei} they C, þe ND. \textit{Lorde} inser. C. \textit{and[\textsuperscript{1}] om. C.}
\item \textit{it om. C.}
\item \textit{for[\textsuperscript{1}] inser. C; before} afore C; xxviiiithe eghtente ND; xxviii C. \textit{reder inser. C; none} C, nono ND.
\end{itemize}
Chapter Thirty-One

Another meditacioun of þe other fyfe apparicions þat bene conteynede in þe Gospels þat were done after þe day of þe Resurreccioun, and to what persones þei were. And another also þat Seynte Poule telleth of in one of his Pystelles. Capitulum xxxi.

Another deuoute meditacioun yhe may thenke of þe fyfe apperynges þat bene rede also in þe Gospell, bot þei were done after þe daye of þe Resurreccioun. Of þe whiche þe firste was þe eghte daye fro þe Resurreccioun to þe discyples ygaderede togedyr, Seynte Thomas beynge presente with hem, and þat yhe may thenke in þis wyse. After our Lorde hadde apperede to his discyples, Seynte Thomas beynge absente, as yhe maye here affore, and was gone fro hem, Seynte Thomas come to his felawes aþene. And þan þei tolde hym þat þei had sene our Lorde, and he seide aþene: Bot zif I se in his handes þe stykynges of þe nayles, and putte my fyngers in þe places wher þe nayles stode, and putte also my hande into his syde, I shal not beleue.

Than after eghte dayes, thenketh, þe discyples were togedyr aþeyne and Seynte Thomas with hem/. Our Lorde come into hem, þe yates beynge shette, and stode in myddes hem, and seide: Pees be to you. And after þat, he seide to Thomas: Putte in þi fynger here, and see my handes, and take þyne hande and [f. 92r] put it into my syde. And be not vnbeleful bot trewe; þat is, in þe feyth of my Resurreccioun. And þan Seynte Thomas ansered and seide: My Lorde and my God. And þan our Lorde seide to hym aþene: Ffor þu haste seene me, Thomas, þu beleueste. Blessydyde be þei þat seene not and beleuen. Thies bene wordes of grete conforto to vs þat neuer sawe our Lorde bodyly and ȝitte by his grace trewly beleuen in hym.

Here myghte some man or woman apartye merveyle why our Lorde suffredo his speyall chosyne discyples, and specialy þis disciple Thomas, to doute so longe of his Resurreccioun. Fforsoth, after þe seynge of doctours it was a grete and a mercyfull dispensacioun of þe godenes of God for þe profite of vs þat shulde come afterarde. Ffor zif þei hadde beleuede anone, our Lorde shulde neuer haue nedede to haue shewedede so mony open priue thynges of his glorieuose Resurreccioun, þe whiche when we here, what is it bot cause to vs of more stabelynge in our feyth? And þerfore [seyth] Seynte Leo þe Pope in a sermone þe maketh of þe Ascensioun of our Lorde þus: Latte vs ȝeue thonkynges to þe dispensacioun of God and to holy faders
necessarie tarynge. It was doute of hem, þat it shulde not be doutede of vs. And Seynte Gregory seyth also in þe Omely of þe Ascensioun: Seynte Thomas froze me more þat longe doutede þan Mary Mawdeleyne þat so[ne] bel[e]uede and more, ffor he touchede þe places of our Lordes woundes by his doutynge and so putte fro our hertes þe wounde of doutynge.

The seconde aparicyon after þe day of þe Resurreccioun was to seuene disciples fysshynge, and þat yhe may thenke in þis wyse. Ther were togedyr Symon Petre and Thomas and Nathanael and Zebedees two sonnes, þat is to seye, Iohn and Iames þe More, and other two of our Lordes disciples, to þe whiche all Petre seyde [f. 92v] þat he wolde go fysshse. And þei seyden æzene to hym þat þei wolde go wyth hym. And so thenketh þat þei wente forthe togedyr, and þan þei wente into a bote, bot þat nyghte þei token noght. And in þe mornynge our Lorde stode apon þe seeside, bot þei wiste not, þoffe, þat it was our Lorde. And þan our Lorde seyde to hem: *Children, haue yhe ony sowle;* þat þe seye, and þat myght be sothen and eten. And þei seyden: *Nay.* And þan he badde hem þat þei shulde leye þe nette in þe right side of þe shippe and þei shulde fynde. And so þei dede as he badde hem, and þan þei myghte vnneth drawe þe nette for multitude of fysshse.

And þan seide Seynte Iohn to Petre: *Yt is our Lorde.* And when Peter herde þat it was our Lorde, he dede on a cote and sterte into þe see of grete feruour, þat he myghte þe sonner come to our Lorde. And þ[o], as it semyth be Lyre, he wente vpon þe water, as he dede another tyme, to our Lorde. Bot þat other disciples come by bote, ffor þei wer not, as þe Euangeliste seyth, ferre fro þe londe. And when þei were comen to þe londe, þei sawe byrnyngye coles putte and fysshe þeryppon, and also þei sawe brede þer redy. Þese thynges were made of newe by þe vertue of God to þe more confermyng of þe disciples in þe feyth of þe Resurreccioun, as Lyre seyth. And þan our Lorde seide to hem: *Bryngeth of þe fysshes þat yhe haue kawghte nowe.* And þan Symon Petre drewe þe nette vnto þe londe full of grete fysshes, in noombre a hunredre fyntyre and thre. And þan our Lorde seide full suetely to hem: *Cometh and eteth.* And none of hem þat satte þere at þe dynere durste aske hym: *Who ert þu?* Not for drede, bot for sykernes [of] knowynge þat [f. 93r] þei hadde of [hym], as Lyre seyth. As who seyth, þis apperynge was so open þat it neded not to aske hym þat questioun. Ffor þe Euangeliste seyth folowyngye: *Wyttynge wele þat it was our Lorde, and*
Perfore it hadde be bot in veyne to haue askede hym þat quesitioun. And þan thenketh howe our Lorde toke þe brede and þafe hem and fisshe also.

The thirde apperynge after þe daye of þe Resurreccioun was to þe disciples in an hille þat is callede Thabor, þe whiche is in Galyle þe contreye, and it is foure myles fro Nazareth, þe cite þat þe aungell salutede our Lady in. And in þe same hille was our Lorde transfigurde, as I haue afforseide in þe fyftheneth chapitle of þis boke. And in þat hille our Lorde apperede to his disciples, as it is seide affore, and to mony mo, as Lire seyth. And þat he preueth by þat that þe Euangeliste seyth þus: Some of hem worshippede hym and some doute. By þe whiche wordes it is open, he seyth þat þer were other þan þe apostels þe whiche were certyfiede of his Resurreccioun, and also Thomas þat amonge other was moste harde to beleue.

After þis thenketh howe our Lorde lhesu come to hem þat doute, to certyfye hem also of his Resurreccioun, and seide to hem: All þe powere in heuene and erth is zeuen to me. And þan he seide to hem all: Gothe and teche all folkes, baptizynge hem in þe name of þe Fader and þe Sone and þe Holy Goste, techyng hem to kepe all þat euere I haue boden yow. And loo, I am with yow all deyes into þe worldes ende; þe whiche may be specyally vnnderstone of þe preciouse sacramente, in þe whiche he is verely and bodyly presente, and also of þe godhede by þe whiche he is ouerall presente.

The nthene apparcicyoun was to þe elleuen disciples syttyng in þe soupyngge place where he [f. 93v] repreuede her vnkyndenes and mysbeleue and þe hardnes of her hertes. The tenthe and þe laste of þo þat bene conteynede in þe Gospell was to his disciples in þe Mounte of Olyuete. Þer two laste apperynges were ydoo in þe daye of his Ascencioun, and þerfore I woll tel yowe more openly of hem in þe meditacioun of þe same worshipfull feste.

Another [apperynge] þere is 3itt þat Seinte Poule telleth of in one of his Pistels, bot where or when he maketh no mencyoun. And þat was, he seyth, to fyfe hundrethe brethren togedyr, vnnderstondeth in feyth, right as all Cristen peple beth brethren in feyth. This with þat that is seide in þat other two chapitiles affore, y trowe be ynogh of þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde. Bot in all þis yow moste kepe youreselwe in your ymagynacioun as þoff yhe were presente and see all þis done affore yow, and beholdynge inwardely our Lordes grete mekenes and charite, and howe homely he speketh with his

disciples and sheweth hem so mony open preuynge of his gloriouse Resurreccioun, both for her profite and for oures þat shulde come afterwarde, as bene forseide. And so by his grace shulde yhe conceyue ioy and gladnes with our Lady and þe appostels of his Resurreccioun, righte as yhe haue had cause affore of heuynes with pite and compassioun in þe beholdynge of his preciouse Passioun. Ffor suche maner of affecciouns bene ful profitable to a deuote servante of God, specialy in his begynnynge.

Chapter Thirty-Two

Of þe Ascensioun of our Lorde, and of þe werkes þat maye be considerede þeraboute. Capitulum xxxii[m].

The Ascensioun of our Lorde Ihesu Criste was þe fourty day fro his Resurreccion, and þat daye he apperede two tymes; [f. 94r] of þe whiche þe firste was to his disciples syttyng at mete in þe cite of Ierusalem; þe seconde was in þe Mounte of Olyuete in þeoure of his Ascencioun.

The firste was to þe disciples syttyng at mete in þe soupyng place, þat is to seye, in þat place in Ierusalem þat our Lorde made his laste sopere in, where he repreuede here mysbeleue and þe hardnes of her hertes, ffor þei beleuede not hem þat hadde seye hym to haue rysen. This may be vnderstonde in two maners, as Lyre seyth. One mane[r], not of þe apostels bot of some other þat were with hem, þe whiche not fully beleued þe apostels of þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde. Another manere it may be vnderstonde of þe apostels, not of þe mysbeleue þat was in hem þat tyme, bot of þat that was in hem afortyme, [as] it is open of Seynte Thomas, þe whiche beleued þat þe other disciples dede. And also þat other beleuede not Mary Maudeleyne, þe whiche had sene hym, ne þat other wymmen þat þad/ sene hym also. And at þis tyme he ete with hem, and when he had eten with hem, he badde hem go into þe Mounte of Olyuete, for þere he wolde appere to hem aȝene, þe whiche is [a myle] fro Ierusalem, and it is calde þe Mounte of Olyuete for þe plente of olyues þat growen þere.

And þan thenketh þat he vanysshed fro hem. And anone as þei hadde eten, beholdeth howe our Lady and þe elleuen apostels and þat other disciples and wymmen also wente togedyr into þe forseide Mounte of Olyuete, as our Lorde had boden hem. And when þei were komen thider our Lorde apperede to hem aȝene, and þis was þe seconde apperynge in þe day of þe Ascencioun. And þan thenketh þat some of hem þat were komen togedyr þer askede hym þif he shulde [f. 94v] restore aȝene þe kyngedome of Israell in þat tyme. [Thys] some doctours expounden gostely of þe kyngedome þat is to come in þe blysse of heuen, þe whiche shall be fully in all chosen, both in body and soule, after þe generall day of dome. Some vnderstonden it of þe temporele kyngedome of þe peple of Ysrael, and so
expoundes it Lire as to þe lyterall vnderstonde, for it may be vnderstonde in both maners. Ffor þe Romaynes, yhe shal vnnderstone, had ytake þe temporele kyngedome fro þe lewes and ordeynede [an] alyon kynge amongst hem. And þerfore þe disciples askede our Lorde ʒif he shulde restore æsein þe kyngedome to þe peple of Ysrael þat tyme.

And þan he seide to hem: *Yt longeth not to yow to knowe þe tymes and momentes pat þe Fader hath putte in his power;* as who seyth, yt nedeth not to yowe to knowe, ne to aske þat question. *Bot, he seide, yhe shall take þe vertue of þe Holy Goste comynge into yow;* as who seyth, þat is more necessarie to yowe. *And yhe shall be wyntesses to me in Ierusalem and in all Samarye and into þe laste ende of þe erthe.* And also, as another euangeliste seyth, he badde hem go forth into all þe worlde and preche þe Gospell to euery creature, þat is to seye, to mankynde. Ffor by euery creature, as doctours seyne, here in þis texte is vnnderstonde onely man, for as mykell as he hath somwhat of euery creature. Ffor Gregory seyth þat he hath to be with stones, to lyue with herbes, not by soule bot by grenes, to fele with bestes, and to vnnderstone with angels.

Also our Lorde seide to his disciples: *Whoso wolde beleue and be baptizede, he shulde be sauede;* vnnderstonde, ʒif he lyue þerafter. *And whoso wolde [f. 95r] not, shulde be damptede.* All þis vnnderstoned þat our Lorde badde þat þei shulde do aifter þat þei hadde rescuyede the Holy Gost in a vysible sygne. For þei were not bolde to do þat tyme, and þerfore it was necessarie þat þei shulde be conf[e]rmede by þe Holy Gost forste to doo so excellente a werke. And when he had seide þe forside wordes, thenketh howe he lefte vpp his handes and blissed hym, and so, hem seynge, he was lyfte vpp by his owne myghte, and a cloude toke hym fro here syghte. Not þat he neded þe helpe of þe cloude, bot to shewe herby þat euery creature is redy to do seruyce to his maker. And as þei stoden lokynge vpp into þe skyewarde, merueylynge of þe merueylouse ascensioun, two angels stoden besiden hem in white clothes in þe likenes of men, seynge to hem: *Men of Galyle* (for mony of hem were of þe contrey of Galile), *wherto stonde yhe lokynge vpp into heuenwarde? This Ihesu Criste þat is assumpte fro yowe into heuen, so shall he come a ene ryght as yhe haue seyn hym goynge into heuen; þat is to seye, in þe same lykenes þat yhe haue seyne hym styyng vpp into heuen, in þe same lykenes shall he come æzen

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into þe generall dome. And when þei hadde seide þe forseide wordes, þei vanished awey fro her sighte.

Nowe thanketh with a gode avysemente howe grete ioy þe disciples were fillede wyth þei sawe our worshipfull Lorde, þe whiche þei had seyne so holy, so swete, and perfyte in all hys lyuyng, and at þe laste was putte to so dispiteful full a deth, and after þat so gloryously rose, and þan so openly appered to hem and also so famlyarly spake and ete with hem, at þis tyme, so merueylously to hem al seynge, [f. 95v] [stie] into heuen. And 31f þai were fillede with mykill ioy and gladnes, with howe mykell more, trowe yhe, was þat [that] blessed Lady his worthi moder felte, þat louede moste of all other? And howe grete desyre also, trowe yhe, hadde [she] to haue go with hym? God wote alone. Notwithstondynge, it was full necessarie þat she shulde abide 3itte in erthe for þe comforte of þe disciples and also to þe enfourmyng of þe euangelistes of þe Incarnacioun and þe youthe of our Lorde, for she knewe þat beste of all other.

Than after þís yhe may beholde howe deuoutely with mony teres þe blissee Laddy with þe apostels and all þat were þare kyssede þe steppes þat our Lorde stode \laste\ in. Ffor þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth þat Supplicy, þe Bishopp of Ierusalem, seyth þat when þer shulde a chirche be beildedede in þe place where our Lordes fete stode laste myghte neuer be pauede, bot alweye þe stones wente aweye ægene as þei were layde and myght not abide þere. And also þe steppes of our Lorde bene pryntede in þat same place in þe erthe, þe which likenes þe same erthe kepeth still. And when þei hadde worshippeded þat place, thenketh howe þei wente ægene fro þe Mounte Olyuete into Ierusalem, with grete ioye abidyng þere þe comynge of þe Holy Goste. And alle þe apostels and wymmen þer were persewerynge togeder with our Lady in prayer þat þei myghte be made þe more able to þe receyuynge of þe Holy Goste, þe whiche our Lorde hadde behette hem. And þís is a grete ensample to all deuoute men and wymmen howe þei shulde deuotely 3eue hem to prayer, specyally fro þe Ascensioun of our Lorde into Wyt Sunday, þat þei myghte be þe abler to þe receyuynge of more specyal grace of þe Holy Goste.

Here yhe may also deuoutely considere þe excellente benefete of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, howe in his glorious Ascen[f. 96r]sioun he exalted our
kynde aboue all aungels. And to þat kynde, to þe which was seide in Adam:
`Erthe þu erte, and into erthe þou shall torne aȝeyne, is nowe sayde in our
[Lorde] Ihesu Criste of his Fader of heuene: Sytte on my ryghte side. And in
þat that our kynde is onede to God we bene worthier þan aungels, as Seint
Austyn seyth in his Solyloqüies þus: God is man, and man God, and not
aungell. And þerfore I shal se[y]e, he seyth, man worthieste of creatures.
Also it shall be one of þe speciall ioyes þat þe chosen of mankynde shal
haue in þe blysse of heuen þat þei shall see here kynde in God. How mykell
þan ben we bounde to loue, preyse, and thonke þis worthieste Lorde þat þus
mykel worship hath doo to our kynde.

Than in þe consideracioun of þis grete benefete of our Lorde, with
other frely and mercifully shewed and done to mankynde, may yhe falle to
prayer and deouetely with herte and mouthe seye to hym þus: Lorde Ihesu
Criste, verrey God and man, Kynge of Kynges, Lorde of Lordes, suetnes and
blyssydyner and praysynge of aungels, ffloure, ioye, and gladnes of
mankynde, worship, ioye, and preysynge be to þe with þe Ffader and þe

Fforthermore, suete Lorde, blyssede myghte þu be, þat of þe wylle of þe
Fader, wyrynghe with yowe þe Holy Goste, wolde frely and mercifully take
mankynde of þe blyssede and clene virgyne Mary, and lyue in þe same kynde
thre and thrytty wynter in mykel pouerte and penance, and at þe laste for þe
saluacioun of þe same kynde mekely and pacently [soffre] dede with mykel
pouerte, dispite, and peyne; and þan go to helle to fette oute þe holy faders
soules þat were þerin; and þe thirde day gloryously [aryse] and [aperre] to þi
Blessede Moder and other deuoute wymmen and also [f. 96v] to þi
disciples; and at þe laste, hem all seynge, merueyllously [ascende] by thyne
owne myghte and nowe sytteste at þe ryght side of þi Fadre, and shalte
come aȝene in þe same kynde to deme bothe quyke and dede.

Lorde, thies benefetes to me and to all mankynde mercifully shewed
and done, I knowleche to þe and blysse the and ponke þe with all my herte
of hem and of all other, mekely askynge of þat vnspekeable charite þat þu
woldeste do all þis for mankynde, and by þe same holy werkes forgyfennes of
all my synnes, grace of diligente amendemente of hem and of all my
lyuynge. And, gode Lorde, þat þu woldeste [vouchersaue mercyfully to] sende
þe Holy Goste þat þu beheteste þi disciples into my soule and make me þi
treve servante and meke louer. And for trewe loue and clene charite so to
be diligente in þe amendemente of my lyuynge and stable in þe wirkyng of þi wille, bothe inwarde and outewarde while it pleseth þe, þat I lyue in þis valey of wrychednes by grace, þat when I shall be departede hens I may haue þe to myne euerlastynghe herytage and gladenes in þe meke company of þi seyntes to loue þe and preyse þe by ioye withoute endynge. Amen.

142 gladnes] gladnesse, nesse insert. C. 143 þe} om. C; by} in C.
Chapter Thirty-Three

Of þe comynge of þe Holy Goste, and somwhat what þe apostels deden after þei hadden receyued þe Holy Goste in a vysible sygne. And also a speciale commendacioun of the worshipfull apostell Seynte Iohn Euangeliste. Capitulum xxxiii et ultimum.

Religiouse syster, y haue tolde yowe in þe chapitile nexte afore of þe Ascensioun of our Lorde. Now it is conuenyente þat I telle yowe in þis folowynge, also vnder þe fourme of meditacioun, of þe comynge of þe Holy Goste, and also somwhat what þe apos[f. 97r]tels dede after þai had resceyued hym in a vysible signe. Ffyrste yhe shall vnderstonde þat þe comynge of þe Holy Goste was the fyfty daye fro þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde and þe tenthe fro his Ascensioun, in þe whiche dayes, þat is to seye, bytwene þe Ascensioun and þe comynge of þe Holy Goste, Seynte Mathie þe apostel was chosen.

Than may yhe thenke firste þat when þe disciples were alle togedyr in þe same place þat Seynte Mathye was chosen in into þe dignite of apostel, þe fyfty day, as is forseide, fro þe Resurreccioun of our Lorde, ther was made sodanly a noyse fro þe eyre, as it had be a grete wynde or a thunder, and in þat maner noyse come þe Holy Goste and fullfillede alle þe house where þei were duellynge with a merueylouse clerenes. And þer apperede to hem visibly to her bodyly eyne, as it had be tonges of fyre ysparblede on brode and satte apoun yche of hem to betoken, as Lyre seyth, by þat vysible signe withoute, þe vnysible grace of þe Holy Goste yresceyued within, by þe whiche þei shulde be feruente in þe loue of God and speke in al langages to þe publicacioun of þe Gospell. And so þei were fillede all with þe Holy Goste, and begane to speke in diuers langages as þe Holy Goste ʒafecom þem.

And þat same tyme thenketh þat þer were duellynge in Ierusalem Iewes, religiouse men, þat is to sey, men þeuen to þe worshippynge of God as þe manere was of Iewes þat tyme of euery nacyoun þat is vnder heuen. And when þei herde þe forseide noyse fro þe eyre, a multitude of hem comen thyder to þe disciples of our Lorde, merueyllynge both of þe noyse þat þei had herde, and mykell more for, when þei come to hem, [they] herde hem speke þe langage þat þei were borne in. And þan [f. 97v] þei wondrede all and merueylede, seyynge togedyr: Bene not all þies þat speken þus men of Galile? And howe haue we herde yche of vs þe langage þat we were borne in? And rekenede mony of þe langages and contreys þat þei were
borne in. And some of hem scornede hem and seyde þat þei were dronken of
muste.

And þan may yhe beholde, Seynte Peter stode vpp with þe elleuen
apostels and shewede þat þei were not dronken bot yfillede with the Holy
Goste, after þe prophicye of þe prophete Ioel. And þe same day by þe
prechynge of Peter was turnede to þe feyth about thre thousands soules.
And so Peter þat firste was so weyke and ferfull þat he denyede our Lorde at
þe voyce of a woman, at þis tyme, by þe grace of þe Holy Goste, was made
so stronge þat he dreedde no deth and to preche þe worde of God openly.
And also bothe he and þat other disciples þat fyrste kepte hem close in an
house for drede of þe lewes, and durste not preche þe worde of God in her
owne langages, at þis tyme by þe myghte of God and speciale grace of þe
Holy Goste were made so stronge þat þei dreedde not to knoweleche God and
preche his worde in all langages. Ffor Seynte Gregory seyth þat þei began to
preche our Lorde Ihesu Criste in another langage þat fyrste dreedde to speke
of hym in her owne. And also when þe princes of prestes forbedde Peter and
Iohn þat þei shulde no more preche in þe name of our Lorde Ihesu Criste,
with grete constance þei seide: 3if it be ryght in þe sighte of God to here
yowe rather þan God, deme yhe. Ffor þat we haue herde and sene, we may
not bot speke. And þan þei dreedede hem and lette hem go for a tyme, ffor
þei durste not punesh hem openly for drede of the peple.

Another tyme þe prince of prestes and þe Saducees caste to [f. 98r]
take þe apostels and putte hem in open presone. The Saducees were men of
on secte in Ierusalem þat denyede þat per shulde be ony resurreccioun or
aungell or spirite; þies consentede to þe princes of prestes in þe
persecucioun of þe apostels, ffor þei prechede þe resurreccioun þat þei
denyede. Bot after þe apostels were putte in presone, þe aungel of our Lorde
ledde hem oute and badde hem go and teche in þe temple þe weye of Cristen
lyfe. And so in þe mornynge þei wente to þe temple and taughte.

After þis may ye thanke howe þe prince of prestes and þei þat were
with hym, wenyng þat þei hadde be ȝitte stille in presone, callede togedyr
here counseile þat þei myghte take avysemente what þei myghte doo with
hem, ffor þerfore þei hadde putte hem in presone þat þei shulde haue be
broughte to dome, and so þei sende to þe presone after hem. And when þe
seruantes come thyder and opende þe presone and founde hem not þerin, þei
wente aȝene to hem and seyde: We founde þe presone shette with all manere
diligence and þe kepers stondynge affore þe yates. And þan we openede it,
bot we founde no man therin. And when þe maister of þe temple and þe
princes herde þiese wordes, þei douteved greterly what was doo of hem. And than þere come one and seide: Þe men þat yhe putte in presone stonden in þe temple techynge þe peple. And þan þe maister of þe temple wente with his servantes and broughte hem withoute vioyence. And when þei hadde broughte hem oute, þei broughte hem into þe counseile, and þan þe prince of prestes seide to hem: In comaundynge we forbode yowe þat yhe shulde no more teche in his name; þat is to seye, in þe name of Ihesu Criste. And zitte yhe haue fillede Ierusalem with your doctryn.

And þan Peter and þe apostles answerd [f. 98v] and seide: We muste obeye to God more þan to men. And when þei herde þis, þei were made blynde in here hertes for angre and inpacynce, and thoughte to sle hem. And þan þere arose vp one in þe counseile whos name was Gamaliel, a doctour of þe Lawe and a worshipfull man to all þe peple, and by his gode counseile he suagede here malice æzens hem. This Gamaliel, as Seinte Clemente seyth in a pistell, was a disciple of þe apostles, and by the counseyle of þe apostels he was amonge þe lewes þat he shulde suage here malice æzens hem, as he dede. And þit at þe laste thenceth þat þei callede þe apostels and made hem to be scourgede and so lette hem go, forbëdyngge hem, as þe Maister of Stories seyth, vnder þe thretyngge of dethe þat þei shulde no more preche in þe name of our Lorde Ihesu Criste. Ffor, þoff þai were suagede of here malice by Gamaliel conseyle as for to sle hem, þitte þei were not so clerely suagede bot þat þei made hem [be] scourgede er þei lette hem go, ffor it was feyre þat he myghte suage hem so mykell. And þan beholdeth diligently howe þei wente fro þe counseile ioyynge þat þei were made worthi to suffre wronge for [the] name of our Lorde Ihesu Criste.

This, gostely systre, I haue shortly seide to yow of þe werkes of þe apostels after þe commynge of þe Holy Goste þat yhe [may] vnderstonde hereby, or ony other deoute servante of God, howe stronge þei were made by þe special grace of þe Holy Goste þat þei hadde resceuyede, þat for no wordes ne strokes ne pretyngge of dethe cesede to preche Cristen feyth. And also with so grete ioye and gladnes taken dispite and wronge for our Lordes loue, as is forgeide, þat afore his Passioun were so weyke and dredefull þat þei forsoke hym euerychone and afterwarde kepte hemselfe [f. 99r] close in a house for drede of lewes. And þis may be þe meditacioun of þe commynge of þe Holy Goste, and somewhat what þe apostels dede after
þei hadde receyuede hym. And þus I ende thies symple meditaciouns. Deo gracias.

Gostely syster, now here comeþ to mynde þe beheste þat y behette yow in þe two and twenty chapitle of þis boke, þat is, þat I wolde telle yowe more of þe commendacioun of þe worthy apostell Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, to þe worship of God and to þe encreysyng of your deuocioun or of ony other deuoute seruante of God, to God and to þe same holy apostell. Ffor I myght not tary conuenyentely to longe in þe forseide chapitle, for þe matere þat I had þer in hande of þe Passioun of our Lorde, and þerfore here in þe laste chapitle of þis boke by þe grace of God, I purpose to fulfyl and perfourme my promys as I behette yowe in þe chapitle forseide.

Iohn is expoundede þe grace of God [or] in whome grace is, or to whome grace was 3eue, or to whome a 3ifte was 3eue of God. Be þies exposic[í]ouns of þis name bene vnderstonde foure priyuleges þat were in Seynte Iohn. The firste is þe specyale louynge of our Lorde Ihesu Criste, ffór he louede hym aboue al other and g[r]etter tokens of loue and famylyarite shewed to hym. And þerfore he is seide þe grace of our Lorde, as who seyth, gracious to our Lorde. The seconde is incorrupcioun of ßlesshe, for he was chose a mayden of our Lorde, and þerfore he is seyde, in whome grace is, ffór in hym was þe grace of virgynyte. The thyrde is þe shewynge of priyutees, ffór it was 3eue to hym to knowe mony priyutees and depe thynge, as of þe godhede of our Lorde and of þe worldely ende. And þerfore he is seide, to whome grace was 3eue. The fou Byrneulege is þe recomendynge of Goddes moder, and [f. 99v] ðerof he is seide, to whome a 3ifte was 3eue of God, ffór-why a grete 3ifte was 3eue to hym of God when þe moder of God was commyttede to hym. And þis suffiseth of þe exposicioun of þe name, and þis manere exposicioun as to þe menynge is conteyned in þe Legende þat is callede Aurea, affore his lyfe.

As to þe commendacioun of þe worshipfull appostel Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, [y]e shall vnderstonde firste þat he was our Lori[s]e cosyn, in þe kynde of man, ffór he was our Lady sistre sone, as it is seyde in þe fourtene chapitle of þis boke. And when he wolde haue be weddede, as Seynte Jerome seyth in þe Prologe of his Gospell, our Lorde called hym ðerfro, and so made hym one of his disciples and kep[te] hym stille a clene virgynne. And for þe clennes of virgynyte, as doctours seyne, our Lorde louede hym affore other, and þerfore he shewed hym moste of his priyutees and moste

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109 hadde] *inser. C.*
110 [þe] *om. C.*
111 [or] *inser. C.*
112 same] e *inser. C.*
113 chapitle] h *inser. C.*
114 fulfyl and] *om. C.*
115 [þe] *om. C.*
116 behette] haue behette C.
117 3eue] our Lorde C; or*] C, *om. ND.*
118 [þi]s *these [iiii] C.*
119 exposicions] exposysyonys C, eposicouns ND; *þis lysi C.*
120 Seynte] t *inser. C.*
121 loue] loue C.
122 aboue al] afore C; gretter] grettyr C, getter ND.
123 is] y[ys] the C.
124 priyutees?] *uy inser. C.*
125 [þerof] of that C.
126 ffór-why] for tho C.
127 m[oder of God] godes modyr C.
128 worshipfull] h *inser. C.*
129 [þe] *om. C.*
130 [þe] *om. C.*
131 Lordes cosyn] lo[t/d]eys cosyn as C.
132 our Lady] *inser. C.*
133 it is seyde] I haue forseyde C.
134 wolde] schulde C.
135 of] vpon C.
136 hym2] *inser. C.*
familyarite and sygnes of specyale loue. Ffor Adam Cartusyense seyth in a
worthy sermone þat he maketh of þis worshipful apostell þat our Lorde
Ihesu Criste worshippede hym in his lyfe in thre wyse, þat is to seye, in
þeunge hym virgynyte, clennes, and famylyarite: virgynyte in body,
clennes in soule, ffmamyliaryte in suete and clene loue to hym. Of thies thre
lat vs see nowe by rowe.

The firste is virgynyte in body, ffor our Lorde chese hym a vyrgyne, as
Seynte Ierome seyth 'in þe Prologe/ vpon his Gospell, as is forseide, and
also vpþon þe Apocalips. And he þat 'so/ was chosen a mayden of God, be
ythe siker, by þe grace of God abode stille a mayden foreuer. Duble wytnes
of his virgynyte is in þe Euangelye of Seynte Ierome in þe seide Prologe.
One is þat oure Lorde louede hym affore other. Another is þat he
commyttede his moder to hym, þe whiche is an euerlastynge virgynye, when
he [f. 100r] henge vpþon þe crosse, þat a vyrgyne myghte kepe a vyrgyne.

The secunde is clennes in soule, and as þis Adam Cartusyense seyth in
his sermone þus: Whiche of vs may comprehende how mykel clennes in
herte and how mykyll clerenes in mynde he had? Fforsothe, he was a man of
mykell clennes þe whiche ouerpassede all visible thynges and also hymselfe,
and seeghe by þe clerenes of þe [inner eye] euerlastynge Goddes sone to be
in þe begynnynge and to be at God and to be God, and all thynges to be
made by hym and withoute hym nothynge to be made, and þat is made
to be lyfe in hym. Arte þu not compellede, seyth he, þe forseide doctoure, to
merueyle gretely and to wondre when þu hereste his Gospell redde, herynge
hym so propyrly and be rowe, after so longe tyme, tell þe wordes of our
Lorde to other and of other to hym, as þoffe he hadde herde hem þe same
houre? And þerfore where other euangelistes bene liknede to goynge bestes,
he, for þe senglere prerogatyue of clennes þe whiche our Lorde
af þe hym, is liknede to an egle, and not symply to an egle bot to an egle fleynge.
Ffor an egle fleynge is Seynte Iohn, vnderstondeth hem inlynke, afor other
comprehendynge by þe clennes of soule þe hye priuytees of euerlastynge
mysteryees; þis wytneseth þe merueylouse depnes of his Gospell, and þat
also cryeth þe Apocalipse, þat is to seye, þe Reuelacioun of our Lorde Ihesu
Criste. In þe whiche Apocalipse, as doctours seyne, he wrote þe notable
thynge þat shulde falle in Holy Chirche fro his tyme into þe worldes ende.
And þerfore wele and conuenentely we synge and seye of hym þat our
Lorde fedde hym with þe brede of lyfe and vnderstondynge, and 3af hym
drynke the water of helthefull wysdome.

Also, Worshipfull Bede seyth in a sermone þat he maketh of hym of
his doctryne thus: All þe [f. 100v] doctryne of Seynte Iohn semeth so

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and seeghe by þe clerenes of þe [inner eye] euerlastynge Goddes sone to be
in þe begynnynge and to be at God and to be God, and all thynges to be
made by hym and withoute hym nothynge to be made, and þat is made
to be lyfe in hym. Arte þu not compellede, seyth he, þe forseide doctoure, to
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Also, Worshipfull Bede seyth in a sermone þat he maketh of hym of
his doctryne thus: All þe [f. 100v] doctryne of Seynte Iohn semeth so
bespronge with þe salte of þe wysdome of God þat he may be seide in merite þe mouth of God, þe tonge of þe Holy Goste, a cidre tre of paradise, þe worship of þe worlde, þe bedell of heuen, þe lighte of þe erthe, þe sterre of men, þe feyrenses of anguells, a quyke stone, þe myrrrof of lyfe, the spekyng place of þe godhede, þe fourme of God, a pyler of þe temple, a maker of þe verre tabernacle þat God hath sette and not man.

Nowe of þe thirde poynyte, þat is to sey, of þe famyliaryte þat our Lorde vochedsaue to haue with hym affore other, somewhat lette vs sey. With howe mykell gladde suettenes and suete gladnes may we beclyppe hym in our aﬀeccioun, amonge all other beste belouede of our Lorde and also be belouede aﬀore other in a maner synglere famyliaryte, þis disciple seyth of hymselfe as it were of another in diuers places of his gospel þus: *The disciple þat Ihesu Criste louede.* What is betokened þerby, trowe yhe? Louede noght our Lorde other? 3is, forsothe dede he. Bot he wolde to be vnderstond þerby þat our Lorde louede hym aﬀore other, as Seynte Austyne seythe vpon hym his Gospell.

*O hye and full blessedenes,* seythe the Adam Cartusiense, to loue Criste and to be louede of Criste and to haue famyliaryte with hym. Bot howe, seythe he, was Seinte Iohn belouede of hym and famyliare with hym? When was ony of þe apostels at þe priuytees of our Lorde Ihesu Criste þat Seinte Iohn was fro? Where it befelle hym to be sende oute, to whome was it þeuen to be receyuede? (As who seyth, to none). *See hym Petre and Iames tra[n]sfigurede in þe hill, and not Seynte Iohn?* The nyghte aﬀore þe day of his Passioun, when he wente [f. 101r] to prey, toke he wyth hym Petre and Iames and toke not Iohn? Wolde he haue Petre and Iames at þe raysynge of þe daughter of þe cheife man of synagoge, and putte aweye Iohn? 3e shalle never fynde ony priuyte ycomunede to ony disciple yhidde fro Seinte Iohn.

Neuerpeles he was admettede to some thynges, and þat full famyliarly and so myche more familiarily þat it was vtyterly synglerly, þat same thynge opynly and stedfastly berynge wytnes none to be pere to hym, þat I sey not hyer, in þe loue of charyte, while no[n]e deserued to be pere with hym in þe receuyng of famyliaryte. Herfore it is þat I may brynge somwhat in open þat he restede vpon our Lordes breste in his laste sopere, makynge hym a pylowe of our Lordes holy breste. Fful lowely was þat heede to our Lorde þat he wolde suffre to rest vpon his breste, and þis was a grete familiaryte. Neuertheles, it was withoute, bot within in was mykell more, for it was inwardely. Fforsothe, withoute, Seynte Iohn hede restede vpon his
breste; bot [withinne] his hed, þat is to sey, his soule sette and restede itselfe in þe tresories of wysdome and connynge, þe whiche all bene hidde in our Lorde's breste.

Nowe what shall we seye þerto þat in þe day after his laste sopere, when he wolde dye for mankynde and it was nere þe tyme þat he wolde ȝeþe þe spirite into þe handes of his Fader, he wolde vouchesaue to commende his welbelouede moder to his bylouede disciple, þat one virgynke myghte kepe a virgyne? What telleth þis Iohn in his Gospell when he seyth our Lorde sawe his moder and þe disciple stondynge þat he louede? He seide to his moder: Woman, lo þi sone. And after he seide to þe disciple: Lo þi moder. One worship aboue all worshippe þat may be hadde in þis lyfe: [f. 101v] to be our Lordes Ihesu Criste brother and in a maner our Ladys sone, and to þis hye worship alone was Seynte Iohn specyaly choosen. To what man euer seide our Lorde Ihesu Criste of his moder, Loo þi sone, bot to Seynte Iohn Euangeliste? Or of whome to his moder, Woman, lo þi sone, bot of Seynte Iohn? A, how myche belouede was to þe an innocente lombe, suete and meke Ihesu? Howe myche was he belouede to þe to whome þou woldeste commytte to be kepte þat precyouse tresore of heuene and erthe, thy moder? Thou seydeste to þi moder, Loo þi sone, and to þi disciple, Loo þi moder. I besche þe, what meneth þis? Why byddest þu not þe disciple seyyng: Serue and wynystre and dou seruyce to hir as to þi lady and my moder? And whi seydeste þou not also to þi moder: Vse þe seruyce of my disciple as þi servante? Bot it semeth to some mykell hyer and more worshipfull þat þou seideste to þi moder of þi disciple, L[o] þi sone, and of þi moder to þi discyple, Loo þi moder. Is not þis to seye, in a maner: Into þis tyme while I was with þe, not onely I was to þe a sone in treuthe, bot also I was to þe a doute sone in obeyyngge. Now forsothe, for here, as þou seyste, I dye vpon þis crosse and so by þat go fro þe, I am not with þe. I wolde not, þoffe þou mayste not haue me at þis tyme, þat þou be wythoute a sone. Haue þis for a sone in my stede. And þou in stede of me take hir as þi moder.

Moder, amonge wymmen in þis worlde þou haste no pere. None amonge hem þat bene of þi kynde, disciple, in the worlde is aboue þe. Wherfore, it is semely þat, sethe she in þe kynde of wymmen in bodyly incorrupcioun haste no souerayne þat yhe be ioyned toge[f. 102r]dyrs. Lette a virgyne take tente to a vyrgyne, Iohn to Mary and Mary to Iohn, she by moderly affeccioun, þou by seruyce and sonely besynes.

Loo, gostely syster, howe grete a sygne of specyale loue and truste þis was of our Lorde þat he wolde commyte þus louely his worshipfull moder to þis blesseþe apostell. And þis is a worship aboue all þe worship þat may be hadde in þis worlde, fôr by þis coupledynge togeder of our Lady and Seynt Iohn, he may in a maner be caldeþe our Ladies sone and our Lordes brother, and so calleþe hym Worshipfull Bede in a sermone þat he maketh of hym, and Adam Cartusiens in his sermone, as yhe haue herde afore. And þefore lette vs loue and worship þe hym þat our Lorde so specialty louede and worshippede. Fôr þe foreside Adam Cartusiens seyth also of hym in a sermone þus: Oour Lorde Ihesu Criste worshipede hym. Wherfore it is worthy þat whosoeuer be our Lordes Ihesu Criste seruante worshipe hym. Fôr amonge men, whome þe kynge worshippeth, all þe kynes seruantes bene wonte to worship. Also, Worshipfull Bede seyth, almoþ in þe begynnynge of his sermone þat he also maketh of hym þus: Fôrsothe it is worthy þat he þat was specialty belouede of Criste affore all dedely men, also moste belouede of Cristes trewe peple.

Thus yhe haue somewhat herde by þе grace of our Lorde howe he worshippede his speycyale belouede disciple, Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, in his lyfe in thre maners, þat is to seye, in þeuyng þe hym amonge other three of his grace þe whiche he made hym ryche wyth, aftre þe seyyng of [a] worthy clerke þat is caldeþe Adam Cartusyens (or in more open Englyssh, Adam of þe Charterhouse) vyrngynyte in body, clennes in soule, and loue in clene famylyarite, or þif it be better seide so, famylyarite [f. 102v] in clene loue.

Gostely syster, for yhe haue herde afore howe oure Lorde worshippede his specyale belouede disciple, Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, in his lyfe, nowe it were gode to here howe he worshippede hym also in his dethe. And as to þis, yhe shall vnderstonde ryght as he worshippede hym thre wyse in his lyfe, right so he worshippede hym other thre wyse in his dethe, as þe forgeide Adam seyth. The firste is þat our Lorde hymselfe come to hym affor his dethe. The secunde is þat, as it is lawfull to be bel[e]uede, he ledde his holy soule to his euerlastynge ioye. The thirde is þat after his dethe þer was founde nothynge in his sepulcre bot angels brede. All þis may be seene by Rowe in his Legende almoþe aboute þe ende.

And ñas/ to þe firste, we reden in his Legende þat our Lorde apperede to his derlyng with his disciples and seyde: Com to me, my derlynge, for it is tyme þat þu eten with þi brethren in my feste. As to þe secund, we rede also þat when our Lorde hadde seide þe forgeide wordes to hym, ñhe rose vp and
began to go, and þan oure Lorde seide to hym: *On Sunday þou shall come to me.* And when þe Sunday was comen, all þe peple came togedyrr into þe chirche þat was foundede in his name, to þe whiche he prechede fro þe firste cokcrowynge, byddynge hem þat þei shulde be stedfaste in þe feythe and feruente in þe kepynge of þe comaunderements of God. And after þat he dede to be made a foure cornerde sepulcre byside þe auter and þe erthe to be caste oute of þe chirche. And þan he wente doune þerin and liffe vp his handes to God and seide: *Lorde Ihesu, I am ybode to þi feste. Lo, I come.*

*Lo, I come thonkyng þe þat þu vouchestesaue to calle me to þi feste, wyttyng [þat with] all my herte I desyre þe.* And when he had prayede, so grete [f. 103r] a lyghte shone vppon hym þat þer myght no man loke apoun hym and with þat lyghte, vnderstondeth, his holy soule wente to euerlastynge ioy. As to þe thirde poynnte, þat is to seye, þat after his dethe þer was nothyngye [founde] in his sepulcre bot aungels brede, we rede also in his *Legende* þat when þe forseide lyghte was go, þe graue was founde full of aungels brede, þe whiche in þe same place into þis day, as it is seide, is broughte fourthe þer, so þat in þe bothom of þe sepulcre it semeth to welle vpp as grauell, as it is wonte to do in welles, and þis is a grete merueyle and an vnherde.

Lo, gostely systre, howe fayre an ende þis worshipfull apostel and euangeliste hadde. Fforsoth þe I rede neuer a fayrer, ne I trowe þe herde neuer a fayrer of ony seynte. And herby vnderstondeth how mykell our Lorde louede hym þat vouchedesaue to visyte hym and calle hym in his owne persone, and þafe hym so fayre an ende and worshipede his sepulcre with so synglere a myracle þat þer was founde nothyngye þerin bot manna, and þat is calede in Englysshe aungels brede, for it was worthy, as Adam Cartusiensi seyth in his sermone, þat aungels brede shulde make fayre þe place þat þe vyrynes body wente in.

Also, Worshipfull Bede seythe, in þe sermone þat he maketh of hym, of his passyng fro þis worlde þus: *So it was worthi þe disciple belouede to þe aucter of lyfe to passe oute of þis worlde, þat so he myghte be stronge fro þe sorowe of dethe as he was alye fro þe corrupcioun of flesshe. Of howe mykel reverence, seyth he, is þis blyssede Iohn to be hadde to men, whom he maker of lyfe worshipede lyuynge in flesshe and also passyng oute of þis worlde.*

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Thus yhe haue herde shortly, welbelouede syster in God, how our Lorde Ihesu Criste worshipede his blyssede der[f. 103v]lynge, Seynte Iohn apostell and euangeliste, in his dethe also thre wyse, þat is to seye, in vysytyng hym in his dethe, in ledyng his soule to euerylastynge ioy, and in makynge feyre his sepulcre by a newe and vnherde myracle.

Nowe also it were co[n]uenyente and confortable to knowe, whoso myghte, howe our Lorde þat þus worshippede his worshipfull apostel and euangeliste in þis lyfe and in his dethe by grace, howe mykел he hath worshipede hym nowe in euerylastynge ioy. Bot þat may no man sey ne tell lyuyng in dedely flesshe, ffor þe apostell Poule seyth þat nepere [eye] hath seye, ne ere herde, ne it hath comen into mannes herties þat our Lorde hath ordeynede to hem þat louen hym. Notwythstondynge, þoffe it may not be seide as it is, ȝitte somewhat may be [conseyuyd] þerof by þe grace of God and in party be seyde. And so somwhate by þat our Lorde ȝafe his belouede disciple in þis lyfe by grace, may be [conseyuyd] in party what he hath ȝeuen hym in euerylastynge lyfe by ioy. Wherfore somewhat of þe mercy of God trustyne, I woll sey þerto þat I hope trewly may be [conseyuyd] after gode conscience and seyynge of holy doctours.

After þe seyynge of doctours, per bene two medes in þe blysse of heuen þat our Lorde ȝeuen to chosen soules. One is callede essencyable, and þat is souereyne and principalle, as is loue and konwyng of our Lorde aftre þe mesure of charite þeyuen of God to a soule lyuyng in dedely flesshe; þis mede is beste and souereyne, for it is God hymselfe, and it is comyn to all chosen soules þat shulde be saue, in what state or degre þai bene in lyuyng in Holy Chirche, more or lesse aftre þe quantyte and [mychynnesse] of her charite. And as to þis mede, I wote neuer who myghte be seide hyer in þe blysse of heuen þan Seynte Iohn Euan[f. 104r]geliste of a clene man bot our Lady alone, ffor þe synglere grace þat was ȝeue to hir afor al other. And þat may trewly be seide of Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, for þe grete clennes þat was ȝeue to hym bothe in body and soule, and þe hynesse of konwyng of þe godehede and þe priyettes of God, as wytneseth his Gospel and þe Apocalypse and also his Pistels. And it is no doute þat he þat was so specyal belouede of oure Lorde and had of his grace so hye konwyng, þat he loued hym synglerly. Wherfore, as in þat mede þat is callede essensyall, I wote neuer who mygte þat is onely of
mankynde be preferrede affore Seynte John Euangeliste bot our Lady alone, as it is forside.

Another mede þer is þat is callede accidentall, and þat is þe secondary, þe whiche our Lorde ȝeueht for a specyall gode dede þat a man dothe wylfully, ouer þat he is ybounde to. Of thre dedes specyaly doctours of Holy Chyrche mak[e] moneyon, as of martyr dome, prechynge, and madenhode. Thies three haue an excellence or worthynes afore other, and in als mykel as þei passe other þei shall haue a specyale mede þe whiche is callede an auryole. And þat is not ells bot a syngulere worshippe and a specyale token yordeynede of God in rewarde of þat specyale dede before other men þat dede not so, ouer þe souereyne mede of þe loue of God, þe whiche is [commune] to hem and to all other. Thies thre auryoles hath Seynte John Euangeliste, þat is to seye, þe auryole of martyr dome, þe auryole of prechynge, and þe auryole of maydenhode, ffor he was a martyr, a doctoure, and a vyrgyne.

A martyr is he, ffor he was putte into a tonne full of byrmynge oyle afore a gate of Rome þat is callede Latyn. And þerfore he hath þe crowne of martyr dome (þe whiche is an auryole, as is foreside) [f. 104v] for þe redynes of soule þat was in hym to suffre martyr dome when he was caste into þe forside tonne. And þerfore seys Seynte Austyn þat it is not vpere meryte of pacynce in Seynte Iohn þat suffrede not and in Peter þat suffrede passioun, ffor þoffe by þe myghte of God it myghte not greue hym, þitte he dede þat that in hym was, and þerfore it is approued and worshepede of Holy Chirche for a martyr dome. And þe day is þe sexte day of Maye and it is wryten in þe kalendare in Latyn: Sancti Iohannis ante Portam Latinam. And Englysshe peple calle it comonly in Englysshe, Seynte Iohn Portelatynes Daye. And so he hath þe crowne of martyr dome, þe whiche is an auryole, as is forside.

A doctour also he is, ffor he is one of þe apostels, þe whiche bene þe chyefc doctours of Holy Chirche. And also he is a doctoure in his wryntyng, as wytynes his Pistels, his Gospell, and þe Apocalypse. And so he hath þe auryole of prechynge. Also a vyrgyne he is, ffor he is chosen a vyrgyn of our Lorde, as Seinte Jerome seyth in þe Prologe vpon his Gospell and also vppon þe Apocalypse. And other doctours also seyne þe same. And so he hath also þe auryole of vyrgynyte. And þus yhe may openly vnderstonde by þat that is forside þat he hath thre auryoles. And ryght so as our Lorde
worshipped hym thre maners in his lyfe and thre maners in his dede, righte
so he hathe worshipped hym other thre maners euerlastyngly in heuen, in þe
accidentale mede [besyde the souereyne and princypal mede] þat he hath
þeuen hym in þe essencyle mede, and also in other states and dignites in þe
blysse of heuen þat bene in þe dome of Holy Chyrche worthyeste amongst
other, as bene patryarkes and prophets, apostels, euangelistes and conf[.105r]fessours.

In eueryche of thyes Seynte Iohn Euangeliste may be seide and haue a
meryte, and by þat þe ioy and þe mede of þe same meryte. Amonge
patryarkes he hath a meryte, ffor ryght as þe twelue patryarkes, Iacob sonnes,
were patryarkes of þe olde Lawe, right so by þe twelue apostles gostely
patryarkes of þe newe Lawe. Of þe whiche Seynte Iohn Euangeliste is one,
and therfore he may be seide a patryark. A prophete he is, as wytnesseth þe
Apocalipse, wherein it is seide þus: Blyssede be he þat redeth and hereth þe
wordes of þis prophicy and kepeth þat is wrytten þeðin.

Amonge þe apostles he is one of þe worthyeste, as is open ynoth
knowe. Wherfore seyth Worshipful Bede in his sermone of hym þus: What
is in vertues, what in merytes, in þe whiche/ blysse Iohn incomparably
ouerpasseth noght? Fforsoth, he is apostell in his Pistels, a euangeliste in
þe Gospell, a prophete in þe Apocalippes. I seye a prophete, and not
whatsomeuer, as who seyth, a symple or [of] lytel reputacioun, bot a
merueylous, and to þe likenes of that other Iohn, more þan a prophete. In
þe beholdyng, seyth, of þe beynge of þe hye godhode, he gothe affore
prophetes, he ouerpasseth patryarkes, he ouercometh apostels. Therfore by
meryte þat our Lorde louede hym affore other, he lyfte hym vpp þer and
þe other. And we, dere brethern, by our litell maner lette vs, seyth he, [stydye]
to lyfte hym vpp by worthi preysynges, lett vs worshippe hym alwey by
worthy seruyces.

Amonge þe euangelistes he is þe worthyeste, aftre þe seyynge of
doctours. A confessoure also he is, ffor he knowlechede our Lorde in ðeþyth,
in wordes and in werkes. Of marters, doctours, and vyrgynnes yhe haue
herde affore. Thus, welbelouede syster in God, yhe haue herde [f. 105v]
howe our Lorde worshipede his derlynge Seynte Iohn, apostell and
euangeliste in his lyfe, in his deth, and also somewhat in party yhe may
conseyue by þat that is before-seide howe he hath worshipede hym
euerlastyngly aftre his precious dethe in heuen, bothe in þe essencylle
mede and also in þe accidentall mede. Wherfore, lette vs loue and worship
hym þat our Lorde as mykell louede and loueth, worshipede and hath

euerlastyngly worshipede, þat we may by hys mercy and his merytes and prayers fynde in his lyfe mercy and grace, and in þat other reste and ioy withouten ende. Amen.

Gostely syster, ffor Seynte Gregore seyth þat otherwhile þe ensamples of werkes more edyfyen þe myndes of here he[r]yres þan þe wordes of doctours, perfore I wolde telle yow here by þe grace of our Lorde some ensamples þat may, by þe mercy of God, styrrre yow or ony other deuoute seruant of God to more deuocioun and loue to his worshipfull apostell and euangeliste. It is redde in his Legende þat Seynte Edwarde, þe kynge of Englonde, wolde denye nothyng to ony man askyng in þe name of Seynte Iohn Euangeliste. And so it happeped in a tyme þat a pylgryme, while the chambyrleyne was absente, inportunely in þe name of Seynte Iohn Euangeliste askede almus. To whome þe kynge, when he hadde none other thynge redy, þaffe hym a precyouse ryngge. Bot mony deys afterwarte, a knyghte of Englonde þat was byȝonde þe see toke þe same ryngge of þe same pylgryme to be borne aȝeye þe to keynge in such maner wordes: He to whome and also for whose loue þu zaueste þis ryngge sendeth it aȝene to þe. Wherfore it is open þat Seynte Iohn appe[f. 106r]rede to hym in þe lykenes of a pylgryme.

Also, it is redde in Seynte Elizabethes lyfe, þe kyngeis daughter of Hungre, þat she chese our Lady, Goddes moder, into hir patrone and mene, and Seynte Ihon Euangeliste into a keper of hir chastyte. And so in a tyme when þere were scrowes ywryte with yche of the apostels names and were putt vppon an autere and yche damesele þat was with hir by happe tuke þe scrowe þat felle to hir, she, firste praynge thre tymes, as she desirede, toke the scrowe þat Seynte Iohnes name was wryten in, to whome she hadde [so] grete deuocyon þat she woulde deny nothyng to hem þat askede in his name.

Also, it is wryten in Seynte Edmundes lyfe þe [Bysshope], and it is putt also in þe Myracles of Our Lady, þat when in a daye he was occupiede in scole, he forȝate to seyn an orysone þat he was wonte to seyn diligentely and deuoutely to our Lady and Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, þe whiche begynneth þus: O Interemara. And in þe nyghte folowyng, Seynte Iohn appe rede to hym, seyynge: Streghte oute þi hande. And when he hadde do so, Seynte Iohn thretede to smyte hym with a pamere þat he bare in his hande, þe whiche þif he had doo hym semede by þe gretenes of þe thretynge þat he shulde haue dyede of þe stroke. Bot þe blisse dyspleasede Euangeliste was sone made

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meker, and helde hym by þe hande þat [he] had bydyn hym streche oute, and badde hym famlyiarly þat he shulde no more \\forþete/ þe forseide orysoun.

Fforthermore, it is founde in þe Myracles of Our Lady þat ther was a monke þat sterrede a yonge clerke to be a monke in þe monastery þat he duellede in. Bot when he wolde not con[f. 106v]sente, he sterrede hym to sey every day an orisoun of our Lady and Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, and he toke hym þe orysoun. And firste þe childe forsoke to sey it, seyyynge þat he durste not sey þat orysoun for drede of his meister, for he compellede hym to take hede to another lessoun. Neuerþeles, at þe laste by styrrynge of þe forseide monke, he consented and behyghte to sey it. And so þe fyntenth day after he hadde begun to sey it he dyde, þe whiche not mony dayes aftre apperede to a preste, his brother and a religiouse man. And when he was askede of hym howe it stode with hym, the same childe seide to hym þat when his soule was goo oute of þe body, euyl spirites toke it and drewe it to places of peyne, þe whiche sodanly Seynte Iohn Euangeliste mette, seyyynge þat he was sende of our Lordes moder, þe whiche bade hem þat þai shulde lette goo hyr seruantes soule fre. And when þei wolde not lete þe soule goo, Seynte Iohn ranne aȝeyne to our Lady, and come aȝene and seide to þe euyl spretes þat our Lordes moder sente hem worde bot if þei wolde sone lette goo þe soule, she wolde come hirselfe and deliuer it. And þan anone þei durste no lenger wythholde it, bot lete it goo fre. And so by þe orisoun þat þe monke ȝafe hym, þe whiche he had seide fyntene deys, he was deliuerde fro þe fendes. And þan þe preste askede hym where þat orisoun was, and he seide þat he shulde fynde it at his beddes\hede/. And þan þe preiste soughte it there, and fonde it, þe whiche he tuke and come to þe chapeter of Systersiens Ordre, wher mony abbotes were comen togedyr of þat ordyr. And to hem þat were þere presente þat tyme, he told what he hadde herde of his brother and shewed hem þe orysoun, þe whiche was O Intemerata. And þan þe abbotes wrote [f. 107r] it aȝeyne and bare it to be rede into mony places.

Also, it is writen in þe same Myracles of Our Lady þat þer was a monke þat wente out of his monasterye withoute leue and luyede an euyl lyfe in þe worlde. Bot his abbot, er he wente oute, seide to hym: Sone, abide in þe monasterye and seye þi houres and other prayers. And he answerde: Not onely orysons, ne I wolle seye þe Pater Noster. And þan þe abbote seide

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Take þis orisoun þan and sey it euery daye. And þan þe monke wente oute of þe abbay and toke þe orysoun with hym, and as God wolde he seide it euery day in þat yhere. And when þe yhere was endede, þat vacabounde monke dieđe. And when þe abbott herde þerof, he wente to another monke of goode lyuynge and seide to hym: When tomorowe in þe mornynge þat þu shalte synge messe, take suche a man to mynge (and tolde his name) þe whiche nowe is deede, bot sey not his name. And so in þe mornynge when þe monke songe his messe, he toke þat dede man to mynde, bot he namede not his name. And as he lokede to þe tone ende of þe auτer, he sawe þe blyssede virgynne, our Lady, and at þe tother ende of þe auτer Seynte Iohn Euangeliste, seyyng to hym: Why names þu not suche a dede man? Weete þu for certeyne þat by our prayers for hym he hath ascapede þe euerlastynge peynes of hell. And þerfore it is to be beleued and stedfastely to be holde, as it is seide there, þat man is saude by þe preyers of our Lady and Seynte Iohn Euangeliste. The orisoun þat þe abbott toke hym, as it is wryten in þe title of þis same myracle, was O Intemerata. Wherfore, who[s] feuer haue a specyll deuocyon to our Lady and to þis worthy apostell, it is gode þat he vse to sey þat orisoun to hem, for it is a gode orysoun and a deuoute, and one acceptable to hem, as yhe may vnderstonde by þe forseide myracles. And þerfore I woll write þat orisoun after thies meditacions þat whoso liketh to sey it may fynde it hoole afte þis booke.

It is also redde in þe Boke of [Beys], and it is wryten also in þe Myracles of Our Lady, þat þer was a chanoun, þe whilk ferentely louede in his lyf Seynte Iohn Euangeliste. And so after his deth, another chanoun þat was his felawe in a vysioun semede þat he sawe suche a maner of apperynge. The same apostell wente to þe gloryouse virgyn, our Lordes moder, praynge hir mekely and þus seyyng: Loo, our frende soule is tormentede in paynes, and therfore I beseche þe come and delyuer it. Ffor, þof in his lyfe he lyuede not perfitely, for a grete partye he mendede his lyfe. And anone withoute tarynyng, þe virgyne graunteþ þe virgyne, and so þei wente both to Purgatory and fette ouþe þe soule with hem. And it is seide þere þat he bare wytnes herof, of þe whiche it is knowe þat his wytnes is sothe.

Also in Seynte Greorges lyfe, of Seynte Iohn Euangeliste relikes is wryten suche a feȝre myracle. Ther were sometyme princes þat askede of Seynte Gregore some preciouȝe relikes. And he ȝafe hem somewhat of

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Seynte Iohn Euangeliste tunycle, þe whiche þei firste rescyuede hem, bot afterwarde as vile relics þai ȝafe hem to hym aȝeyne with grete indignacioun. And þan Seynte Gregore prayede, and aȝtre he askede a knyfe and þerwith he pryked þe clothe, of þe whiche anone blode wente oute. And so it was shewed þerby, be þe dome of God, howe precious þose relykes were.

And þus I ende þis sym[f. 108r]ple booke, praynge yow here or ony other deuoute seruante of God þat is by his grace to rede þis booke or ony parte þerof, for charyte to sey þe same prayer þat I askede in þe firste chapitle of þis booke, and also aboute þe myddes, to þe worshype of þe Holy Trynyte, one, euerlastynge, verrey, and almyghty God, to whome be all worship, iøy, and preysynge, nowe and withoute ony endynge. Amen.

Ffinito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.
Soluite nunc mentem pro W. H. ad omnipotentem.

De uita Christi libro finis datur isti,
Paruos lactabit solidos quasi pane cibabit.
De Bethlem pratum dedit hos Ihesu tibi flores,
post hunc ergo statum reddas sibi semper honores.

550 Seynte Iohn Euangeliste tunycle, þe whiche þei firste rescyuede hem, bot afterwarde as vile relics þai ȝafe hem to hym aȝeyne with grete indignacioun. And þan Seynte Gregore prayede, and aȝtre he askede a knyfe and þerwith he pryked þe clothe, of þe whiche anone blode wente oute. And so it was shewed þerby, be þe dome of God, howe precious þose relykes were.

555 And þus I ende þis symple booke, praynge yow here or ony other deuoute seruante of God þat is by his grace to rede þis booke or ony parte þerof, for charyte to sey þe same prayer þat I askede in þe firste chapitle of þis booke, and also aboute þe myddes, to þe worshype of þe Holy Trynyte, one, euerlastynge, verrey, and almyghty God, to whome be all worship, iøy, and preysynge, nowe and withoute ony endynge. Amen.

560 Ffinito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.
Soluite nunc mentem pro W. H. ad omnipotentem.

565 De uita Christi libro finis datur isti,
Paruos lactabit solidos quasi pane cibabit.
De Bethlem pratum dedit hos Ihesu tibi flores,
post hunc ergo statum reddas sibi semper honores.

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Amen Deo gracias C. 564 Soluite nunc mentem pro W H ad omnipotentem2} om. C. 566 libro] inser. C.
O Intemerata

Oracio bona et deuota ad Beatam virginem Mariam, matrem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et beatum Iohannem Euangelistam.

O Intemerata et in eternum benedicta, singularis atque incomparabilis urgo, Dei genitrix Maria, gratissimum Dei templum, Spiritus Sancti sacrarium, ianua regni celorum, per quam post Deum totus uiuit orbi[s] terrarum, inclina aures tue pietatis dignis supplicacionibus meis, et esto michi peccatori pia in omnibus auxiliatrix.

O beate Iohannes, Christi familiaris amice, qui ab eodem Domino nostro Ihesu Christo urgo es electus et inter ceteros magis dilectus atque misterij celestibus ultra omnes imbutus, apostolus eius et euangelista factus es preclarissimus. Te eciam inuoco cum Maria [f. 108v] mater eiusdem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ut michi opem tuam cum ipsa ferre digneris.

O due gemme celestes, Maria et Iohannes, O duo luminaria diuinitus ante Deum lucencia, uestris radijs scelerum meorum effugate nebula. Vos estis illi duo, in quibus Deus Pater per Filium suum specialiter edificavit sibi domum et in quibus ipse Filius Patris vnigenitus, ob sincerissime uirginitatis uestre meritum, dilectionis sue confirmauit priuilegium. In cruce pendens vni uestrum ita dixit: Mulier, ecce filius tuus. Deinde ad alium: Ecce mater tua. In huius ergo sacratissimi amoris dulcedine, qua tunc ita ore Dominico uelut mater et filius inuicem conjuncti estis, uobis duobus ego miser peccator in hac die et semper animam meam et corpus meum commendo, ut omnibus horis atque momentis intus et exterioris firmi custodes et pij apud Deum intercessores pro me existere dignemini.


Nos tibi, uirgo pia semper commendo, Maria.
Nos, rogo, conserues Christi dilecte Iohannes.
Virgo Maria, Dei genitrix, quam scriptor honorat,
Sis pia semper ei prout hic te sperat et orat.

40 Ex aliaque uice Iohannes Cristi dulcis amice,
Da sibi solamen cum sanctis omnibus. Amen.

In omni tribulacione, temptacione, necessitate, et
angustia, succurre nobis, piissima uirgo Maria. Amen.

tribulacione temptacione necessitate et angustia succurre nobis piissima uirgo Maria Amen] om.
C.
NOTES¹

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSA</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Common Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td>Middle English Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVC</td>
<td>Meditationes Vitae Christi of Iohannis de Caulibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Bénédictine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Notes

72/1.  Gostely sustre: The author addresses the reader as “gostely sustre” throughout the Mirror, implying that his intended audience is a female religious, probably a nun. If the work did indeed originate at the Charterhouse of Sheen, then the “gostely sustre” is, in all likelihood, a nun of the Bridgittine Syon Abbey. See my “Introduction,” pp. II-III.

72/2.  we spake laste togidre: That the author, a Carthusian monk, had spoken with a nun of Syon implies a mentoring relationship that allowed face to face contact or, at the least, verbal contact of some kind through a confessional screen or other means of separation.

72/5-6.  or of ony other deuoute seruaunt: Vincent Gillespie argues (“Haunted Text,” pp. 146-7) that the author may be addressing the work both to a female religious reader and to the male priests and laymen working at Syon Abbey.

72/10-1.  thirty and thre chapeters: This division of the Mirror’s content and the reason for it appears to be unique to this particular devotional text.

72/20.  Boneauneture: Saint Bonaventure (1218-74 CE) joined the Franciscan Order in 1243, was made a cardinal in 1273, canonized in 1482, and declared a Doctor of the Church in 1588. He was often mistakenly credited with writing the MVC and the Stimulus Amoris.

¹ In compiling my notes, I am indebted to the notes of both Bridget Ann Wilsher and John Patrick Banks.
**Vita Cristi**: This is a reference to *MVC*. Often attributed to Saint Bonaventure, it was probably written in the fourteenth century by Iohannis de Caulibus, a Franciscan friar of San Gemigniano in Tuscany (CCCM 153, pp. ix-xi). *MVC* consists of a series of devotions that relate the life of Christ according to the gospel narrative, including a few apocryphal episodes.

**a man of our Ordoure**: Nicholas Love, Prior of Mount Grace Charterhouse in Yorkshire during the first quarter of the fifteenth century and author of *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (Love, Intro, p. 31). Love’s *Mirror* is heavily based on Iohannis de Caulibus’s *MVC* and was one of the most widely distributed works of late medieval English vernacular religious writing. Gillespie argues in “The Haunted Text” that the *Mirror* author had heard of but never read Love’s work. Michael Sargent, on the other hand, argues in “Versions of the Life of Christ: Nicholas Love’s *Mirror* and Related Works” that the *Mirror* author was familiar with the text of Love’s *Mirror*.

**Oreloge of Wysdome**: The *Horologium Sapientiae* of Henry Suso is an important source for the *Mirror* (Selman, pp. 63-79). While Suso wrote his vernacular works for nuns, the *Horologium*, written in Latin and dedicated to the Dominican Master General Hugo de Vaucemain, was intended for a male audience (Selman, p. 75). For an overview of Suso’s works for nuns and attitude toward female asceticism, see Hamburger (1989) and Bynum (*Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, pp. 85, 102-4, and 106). At some point in the late fourteenth century, an English prose version of the *Horologium* was translated into an abridged Middle English version as *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Love and Everlastynge Wisdome*. For a description of the work see Hartung, ed., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 9.XXIII.80 (pp. 3125-7). For an edition of the work see Horstmann in *Anglia* 10. See also Roger Lovatt, “Henrry Suso,” pp. 47-62.

**Be it knowe…**: This passage derives from Henry Suso’s *Horol. Sap.*, Liber I, Cap. iii (ed. Künzle, p. 388, lines 19-24): “Notum tibi sit, quod non datur peruenire ad diuinitatis altitudinem, uel inusitatam dulcedinem, nisi tracti pio quodam fidei ac dilectionis affectu per humanitatis et passionis meae amaritudinem. Et quanto hac neglecta quis ascenderit altius, tanto cadit profundius. Haec est enim uia, per quam itur, haec porta, per quam introitus ad desideratum finem conceditur.”

**The ofte thynkyng…**: Henry Suso’s *Horol. Sap.*, Liber I, Cap. xiv (ed., Künzle, p. 494, lines 10-4): “Frequens passionis huius memoria indoctum quemque reddit doctissimum, et imperitos ac idiotas facit proficere in magistros. Magistros, inquam, non scientiae, quae inflat, sed caritatis, quae aedificat. Ipsa est uelut quidam liber uitae, in quo omnia saluti necessaria inueniuntur.” This quotation supports the conjectural emendations at lines 75 and 76.

**Blissed is he…**: Henry Suso’s *Horol. Sap.*, Liber I, Cap. xiv (ed., Künzle, p. 494, lines 18-21): “Felix, qui eius studio seriose intenderit; quia proficiet in contemptu mundi et in amore Dei, cunctarumque uirtutum et gratiarum sumet incrementum.” The *Mirror* author’s translation of this passage implies that the comma should follow
“uirtutum,” making it dependent on “amore.” In Künzle’s edition, “cunctarumque uirtutum” depends on “incrementum.”


75/102-17. The works mentioned in this paragraph are discussed above in the section titled “Sources.”

75/111-2. approued women: The women to whom the *Mirror* author refers are Catherine of Siena, Mechtild of Hackeborn, Bridget of Sweden, and Elizabeth of Töss.

76/5-6. Capitulum primum: Both ND and C have numbers (ND has Arabic, C has Roman) along the outer margins which correspond to the chapter descriptions in the Table of Contents. However, in C the chapter numberings that follow each chapter summary within the text are omitted.

76/14. Katerine of Sene: Saint Catherine of Siena (1347 [1333?]-1380 CE), member of the Dominican Third Order. Her *Dialogo* is one of the sources used by the *Mirror* author.

76/33 Seint Brigite: Saint Bridget of Sweden (1303-73 CE), after receiving numerous supernatural revelations, which were recorded in her *Revelaciones*, founded the Bridgittine order in 1346 at Vadstena with sixty nuns and twenty-five monks. The monks and nuns lived in separate lodgings, but worshipped in the same church. Her order was an ascetic one that gave all superfluous income to the poor and forbade extravagant buildings; however, study was central and all inmates at the monastery were allowed to have as many books as they wanted. Henry V helped found Syon Abbey, the first Bridgittine Abbey in England, and the residence of the likely audience of the *Mirror to Devout People*.

79/1. Howe: Here, and at other places in ND, markings to direct the rubricator are visible. It appears that the initial “H” was left out by the rubricator, leaving a small “H” in blue ink meant to indicate that a capital initial was to be placed at this point.

79/3. Capitulum primum: In the outer margins of ND and C there appear “Capitulum primum” and “c<sup>m</sup i<sup>m</sup>,” respectively. In addition, ND places an Arabic numeral in the inner margin to correspond with the opening of each chapter. These numbering pratices are consistent throughout both MSS and will not be commented on further.

79/1-11/105. Much of this chapter is taken directly from Walter Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*, Book I, Chapter Forty-three (pp. 77-8).


79/20. mynde, resoun, and wylle…: This line is taken almost verbatim from Walter Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*, Book I, Chapter Forty-three. Hilton reads: “The soule
of a man is a lyf, made of thre myghtes—mynde, resoun, and wille—to the ymage and the likenes of the blissid holi Trinite, hooli perfright and rightwise” (p. 77). The idea that the mind consists of three separate parts, each with their own function, was common in the Middle Ages. See Harvey, pp. 10, 17, 38, 44-5, 52-3. Hilton and the Mirror author are most likely drawing from Saint Augustine’s The Trinity, in which Augustine discusses the relationship between the tri-partite nature of the brain and the Trinity (tr. S. McKenna, X.ii-XII.4, pp. 310-46).


79/27. a paradise of luste and lykyng: Genesis 2.8.

79/28-9. he sende a slepe…: Genesis 2.21.

80/32. *Latte vs make hym*…: Genesis 2.18.


80/63-4. *De omni ligno*…: Genesis 2.16-7.

80/68. shalte: Inserted in right margin of C.

81/74. *Inuidia diaboli mors*…: Wisdom 2.24.

81/92-4. *Homo, cum in honore*…: Psalm 48.13. This same verse is used by Hilton to make a similar point in Chapter Forty-three of the Scale (p. 78).

81/102-11/106. *We myght neuer haue be safe*…: This passage comes from Walter Hilton’s Scale, Book I, Chapter Forty-three. The Mirror author follows the quotation closely, apart from changing second person singular to first person plural. Hilton reads: “And wite thou wel, though thou hadde nevere doo synne with thi bodi deedli ne venyal, but onli this that is called origynal—for it is the first synne, and that is not ellis but the loesynge of thi rightwisenesse whiche thou were maad inne—yit schuldest thou nevere have ben saaf yif oure Lord Jhesu Criste bi His precious passioun hadde not delivered thee and restored thee agen” (p. 78).


84/42. God: The left margin of ND has “ffigura ante legem” corresponding to “God.” These marginal comments are marked with two red dots that correspond to the word or words in the main text. The use of red abbreviation marks is consistent throughout ND.

84/42-52. God bad Abraham…: Genesis 22.1-6. The author relates only the first half of the story of Abraham and Isaac.

84/55-6. For þe Gospell: The right margin of ND has “Veritas.”
84/55-7. For þe Gospell maketh mencion…: John 24.17.

84/61. For God badde Moyses: Right margin of ND has “ffigura sub lege.”

84/61-71. þe rodde of Aron…: Numbers 27.1-11.

84/69. And so Aron rodde: Left margin of C has “the rood of aaron.”

84/69. whiche: Inserted in right margin of C.

84/71-85/76. as Seinte Crisosteme seithe…: The exact source is unidentified, but the blossoming of Aaron’s rod is a common patristic figure for the virgin birth. Aaron’s rod is given as part of the second of five proofs of Mary’s virginity in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*: “Secundo per figuram, hoc enim figuratum fuit et per uirgam Aaron que sine omni humano studio floruit et per portam Ezechielis que semper clausa permansit” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 66).

85/72. oure Lady Mary: Right margin of ND has “Veritas.”


85/84-5. as þe Eu[a]ngeliste seith…: Matthew 1.23.


86/22-16/60. shulde be…creatures was: These lines comprise folio 13r-v of C, which is a single leaf of parchment inserted into the MS apparently to replace a paper leaf that has fallen out. Folio 13r begins with “de” of “shulde.”

86/30. reuerently: Inserted in right margin of C.

86/31. as Seint Ierome seith…: This is a reference to Paschasius Radbertus’s (786-c. 860 CE) *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae Virginis* (CCCM 56C, p. 123, lines 251-3): “Et ideo satis eam deuotissime primum angelus ueneratur et salutat. Miratur itaque et ipse, qualis aut quanta sit, quam salutat.” For the attribution of Radbertus’s work to Jerome, see Lambot.

87/32-62. *Haile Mari*…: This account is taken from the narrative of the Annunciation in Luke 1.28-38. The *Mirror* author follows it closely through both translation and paraphrase. He seems to adhere most closely to verses 28, 30-1, and 38.

87/36. salutacioun: C has a marginal addition that indicates “speche” should be corrected to “salutacyon.”

87/45. she: This is inserted as a marginal correction in C.
87/47. a childe: C corrects this to “a sone” in the left margin.

87/60. so meke, howe meke: At the top of f. 14r in C, the ten lines preceding these words have been crossed out, since they had already been copied on to the replacement leaf that is the present f. 13 (see note to 15/22-16/60 above). The lines read: “to make an ende therof & so att the laste our lorde of hys mercy yaf me I hope to performe hyt of the blyssyd virgyne & also howe mekely sche callyth herself but a seruant whenne sche wyste herself be hym that sche shulde be werkyng of the holy goste/ brynge forth to be quene of heuene lady of worlde & empress of helle & takyth example of her mekenesse for yf sche that was so excellently chose afore all othyr creaturys wer” (C, f. 14r).

88/69. Nowe vnderstondeth here: Right margin of ND has “Nota.”

88/69-84. Nowe vnderstondeth here...we haue take: Although Saint Augustine is mentioned as the source of this long section on the contrasts between sin and grace, death and life, and Eve and Mary, the quotation actually derives from Saint Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage’s Sermo 10: *Adversus Quinque Haereses* (CCSL 60, p. 279, lines 65-70).

88/75. Ffor Seint Austyn seyth: Right margin of ND has “Augustinus.”

88/82. *And so als mykill sorowe...by a woman*: Enclosed in a shield in the left margin of C is a phrase that has been omitted from the text: “and so as myche sorowe as we hadde fyrste be a woman.”

88/88-91. our Lady was distroublede…: The Mirror author primarily follows Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 1.29 in his reasons for Mary’s unease at being adored by Gabriel. Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC, CCCM 153, Cap. iv, p. 21, lines 52-5 contains a similar passage.


88/96-18/126. *Doctores pat I haue taught…*: This long quotation is taken from Catherine of Siena’s Dialogo. It may have come from either a Latin version or the vernacular English version, The Orchard of Syon (see “Sources,” pp. xxx-lxii).

89/103. fforsythe be weye of penance: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

89/108. Bot I wolde: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

89/111. is¹: Left margin in C has “the knowynge of ys trewthe.” This is used to confirm a correction in the text, which has “trewthe the knowynge of” with “d, a, b, and c” placed interlineally over each word respectively. This directs the reader to rearrange the order of the words, and the marginal comment affirms the corrected order.


90/11. Seinte Iohn Baptiste fadre: Right margin of C has “and th’e/ fadyr of seyint Ihon baptyste.”

90/21-5. Seint Ambrose seyth…: From Saint Ambrose’s Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam, Liber II, pp. 39-40, lines 293-9, “Discite et uos, sanctae mulieres, sedulitatem quam praegnantibus debeatis exhibere cognatis. Mariam, quae ante sola in intimis penetralibus uersabatur, non a publico uirginitatis pudor, non ab studio asperitas montium, non ab officio prolixitas itineris retardauit. In montana uirgo cum festinatione, uirgo officii memor, injuriae inmemor, adfectu uigente, non sexu, relicta perrexit domo.” Mary’s desire not to be seen in public is mentioned by Nicholas of Lyra, with Ambrose named as the source, in his comment on John 2.1.

90/34-20/43. Elizabeth his modre…: Luke 1.41-8.

91/45-6. all kynredes: This appears as an inserted correction in the right margin of C.

91/49-24/209. to seye somwhat of mekenesse…: This lengthy discussion of meekness appears to be original with the Mirror.

91/60. Nowe yhe shall vnderstonde þat mekenesse: Right margin of ND has “of þe mekenes of spirite 1.” The next three degrees of meekness of spirit are similarly enumerated in the margins.

91/71. Aftre þis: Left margin of ND has “2.”

92/82. prophetaries: This word does not appear in the MED in this form, but it appears to be a variant spelling of the word "profiter," which has an entry in the MED and is glossed "one who is making progress."

92/84. Aftre þis cometh þe thirde degre of mekenesse: Left margin of ND has “3.”

92/101-2. Beati pauperes spiritu…: Matthew 5.3.

92/104-5. Mi soule magnifieth our Lorde…: This is the opening of the Magnificat, Mary’s song of praise to the Lord found in Luke 1.46-55. It echoes Hannah’s prayer in I Samuel 2.1-10.

92/105-8. Ffor Seint Austyn seyth…: This quotation from Saint Augustine remains unidentified.

92/109. The fourth degree of mekenes of spirite: Right margin of ND has “4.”

93/114. thar: ND’s scribe misreads “thar,” a variation of “dare,” for “þere” or “there.”


93/135-6. For whatsomeeuer: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

93/142-3. in Goddis sight: Right margin of C has “in the syght of god.”


94/152. Also, yhe shall vnderstonde: Right margin of ND has “Nota of mekyng and mekenes.”


94/177. mekenes of herte: Left margin of ND has “mokenes of herte.”

95/189. in meke wordes: Left margin of ND has “mokenes in wordes.”

95/194. Also in werkes: Right margin of ND has “mokenes in werkes.”

95/213. *þe Booke of Rightful Men…*: This reference is most likely taken from the Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*: “Et legitur in libro Iustorum, quod beata Virgo eum primo levavit a terra” (*PL* 198.1538).


96/225-6. *Ffor Crisosteme seyth…*: This quotation is from the *Opus Imperfectum in Mathaeum*, often mistakenly attributed to Chrysostom in the Middle Ages (*PG* 54.632-3).

96/227-35. for he douted…: Matthew 1.19-25.

96/237-8. as doctores seyne…: There is little written on the virginity of Joseph and no general tradition exists among the Latin Fathers. Comments on Joseph’s virginity are confined to Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose. The Middle Ages saw a number of theologians expand on the Latin Fathers’ comments; among them were Bede and Peter Comestor. The *Mirror* author does not name a source for his assertion that Joseph made a vow of virginity along with Mary. However, the *Mirror* author relies on a small group of authors for his arguments and the idea of Joseph’s pledge of virginity likely derives from these sources. Saint Jerome, in his *De perpetua virginitate Beatae Mariae adversus Heluidium*, writes: “Tu dicis Mariam virginem non permansisse: ego mihi plus vindico,

97/3-19. The birthe off our Lorde…: The *Mirror* author is following Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* for the information on Octavian’s census of the people of Syria (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 63-4).

97/20-98/65. Thre Kynges of Coleyne…: This section follows John of Hildesheim’s *Historia Trium Regum*, Cap. iv, translated into Middle English as the *Three Kings of Cologne*. The *Mirror* author omits a number of details. For the Latin and English texts, see Horstmann (1886).

97/23-4. eghte smale myles of þatcontre: C reads “too” rather than “eghte.” The English and Latin texts of the *Historia Trium Regum* also indicate two miles. See Horstmann (1886), pp. 62, 234, n. 16. While the *Mirror* author follows Cap. iv of the *Historia Trium Regum* for the narrative, he takes the distance between Jerusalem and Bethlehem from Cap. xviii.

97/26. Dauid his fadre: C has a text marker in the left margin that reads: “the fadyr of dauid.”

97/26-8. in þe which house also Dauid was borne and anoynted kynge…: I Kings 14.12-3.

97/34. Dauid fader: C has a text marker in the left margin that reads: “the fadyr of dauid.”

98/36. Ysaies hous: C has a text marker in the left margin that reads: “the house of ysay the fadyr of dauyd.”

98/41. treen: Horstmann (1886) points out that one of the Middle English manuscripts (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 4.32) of the *Historia Trium Regum* has “tymbre” (p. 24) and the Latin MS Horstmann takes as his base text has: “Et postquam Daulid fuit rex effectus, extunc domus patris eius mansit ad vsus regios, et postmodum, propter destructionem terre, de ipsa domo nemo curavit, et sic fuit destructa; sed in tugurio et spelunca ligna et huiusmodi communia, que ad forum uenerant et uendi non poterant, quousque uendi poterant, obseruabantur, et asini et animalia uillanorum que ad forum peruenerant, intus et circum tugurium ligabantur” (pp. 221-2). However, I take “treen” as an adjective in the *Mirror* meaning “wooden” and modifying “vessells.”

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98/45. of, than: Right margin of C has a correction, “or toke eny begynnynge,” to be placed between “of, than.”

98/56. she wrappede hym…: Luke 2.7.

98/60. lady: Inserted as a correction in left margin of C.

98/64-5. as þe Euangeliste seythe…: Luke 2.7.

98/65-7. þe Boke of þe Youthe of oure Lorde: This is a reference to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium) Cap. xiv: “et ingressa est in stabulum et posuit puerum in praesepio, et bos et asinus genua flectentes adorauerunt eum” (CCSA 9, p. 431, lines 2-3). It used to be known as the Liber de Infantiæ or Historia de Nativitate Mariae et de Infantiæ Salvatoris (see Elliott, pp. 84-99). A similar passage occurs in the chapter on Christ’s Nativity in Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea: “Bos igitur et asinus miraculose dominum cognoscentes flexis genibus ipsum adorauerunt” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 71).

99/69. Seinte Brigette: Right margin of ND has “Reuelacio beate Brigette.”

99/69-100/132. Seinte Brigette... ioye and gladnesse: This long passage is translated directly from Saint Bridget’s Revelaciones, Book VII, Chapter 21.

99/70. When: Left margin of C has “Reuelacio beate brigitte de natiuitate domini” enclosed in a shield.

99/77. a candell lyghte…: Medieval art often depicts Joseph with a candle at the Nativity. See Silver for examples of this theme in fifteenth-century German art and Panofsky for examples of Joseph’s transition in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century art from an object of condescension to an adored Gemma mundi (Panofsky, Vol. I, pp. 70, 164). See also Roberts, pp. 120-54, for plates featuring Turino Vanni’s painting Bridget’s Vision of the Nativity and the Master of Flemalle’s Annunciation. Both paintings make use of Bridget’s image of the candle.

100/132. grete ioye and gladnesse: C reverses the order but contains correction marks showing ND’s order to be correct.


101/142. a myle fro Bethelem: The Historia Scholastica reads “Et pastores erant secundo millario a Bethlehem…” (PL 198.1540) and Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC, Cap. vi: “prope forte per miliare” (CCCM 153, p. 34, line 117).


And it was aȝeinste þe originale synne: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

with a knyfe of stone: Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC, Cap. viii has “cum cultello lapideo” (CCCM 153, p. 38, line 24).

For ther was…her chylde: ND’s omission is due to eyeskip from “belouede childe” to “her chylde.”


ffor he come noght…: Matthew 5.17.

as Seint Bernarde seyth…: Both passages that are attributed to Saint Bernard are from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, Cap. xiii: “Nomen quod secundum Bernardum est in ore mel, in aure melos et in corde iubilus; nomen quod, sicut dicit idem Bernardus, instar olei lucet praedicatum, pascit recogitatum, lenit et ungit inuocatum” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 121).


as Seynte Poule seyth…: Philippians 2.10 with the last two lines taken from Acts 4.12.
And þis day comen...: Matthew 2.1-2.

a booke þat is drawe of hem: The *Mirror* author is referring to the *Three Kings of Cologne* (ed. Horstmann). The majority of the *Mirror*'s Chapter Seven is based on the *Three Kings*.

an hill þat is callede Vaus: Chapter three of the Middle English *Three Kings of Cologne*, a translation of the Latin *Historia Trium Regum*, connects Vaus to India: “þe grettest of berthe þat were of þis progenye of Vaws com oute of ynde in to Acon” (p. 8). The same chapter in the *Historia Trium Regum* states: “extunc quidam mons nomine Vaus, qui ibidem victorialis dicitur, in Oriente fuit” (ed. Horstmann, p. 213).

And þat sterre...into þis daye: Almost all of this passage is taken directly from the *Historia Trium Regum* (ed. Horstmann) including the description of the star that leads the kings to Bethlehem (Cap. v, ix), the account of their trip to Jerusalem (Cap. x), the meeting that took place near the city (Cap. xiv), and their return trip (Cap. xxiii).

twelwe astromeres: This is taken from the *Historia Trium Regum* “et tunc xii studiosiores in astrologia et magis doctos ex omnibus terris elegerunt...et hij xii in monte Vaus praedictam stellam debebant obseruare alternatim” (Horstmann, Cap. v, p. 218).

herre: An addition to the text appears in C’s right margin: “as hyt had be.” Caret signs indicate that this is intended to follow “herre.”

And in all þe cites...: The three kings were able to move safely during day and night because at this time Rome was experiencing a period of relative peace that began in 27 BCE when Augustus Caesar declared an end to the great civil wars of the first century. The reference to the gates echoes Apocalypse 21.25: “And the gates thereof shall not be shut by day: for there shall be no night there.”

derkenes a litell: ND has a break following “derkenes,” but this seems to be a mistake and the sentence makes better sense with a comma after “litell.”

Kynge Herode herde þis...with hym: Matthew 2.3.

Herode callede togedyr...: Matthew 2.4-5.

as Seinte Gregore seythe...: This is from Pope Gregory I’s *Homily* 10: “ut ipsa eorum scientia et illis fieret ad testimonium damnationis, et nobis ad adiutorium credulitatis” (*Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, p. 67, lines 40-2).

*Gothe ande enquereth...*: Matthew 2.8.

This he seide...: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 2.8.

110/148-66. Also Seinte Gregore seythe…to our Lorde: This lengthy passage is taken from Pope Gregory I’s *Homily* 10, (CCSL 141, pp. 69-71, lines 97-133). It is also part of the Lessons for the Fourth Day in the Octave of Epiphany.

110/150-1. pat beleuen hym God: After these words in ND, “bot þei beleuen hym god” is written and crossed out with red ink.

110/170, 179. somwhate fatte / offrede deuoutely: In both these phrases, C reverses the order of the words, but uses correction marks to indicate that ND’s order is correct.

111/214. Seinte Gregory seyth…: The reference is to Pope Gregory I’s *Homily* 10 (CCSL 141, pp. 71-2, lines 134-66).


113/8-22. into þe daye of hir Purificacioun…: Luke 2.21-4 indicates that Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day following his birth. Verses 23 and 24 of this passage show that Mary followed the Old Testament law by going to the temple after the fortieth day (seven plus thirty three) to offer a sacrifice for her son. This entire passage is taken from Luke 2.21-4 and Leviticus 12.1-8 by way of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 238-9).

113/18. thre and thirty daye: The numbering in ND is mistaken here when it states “one and thirty daye.” C reads “xxxiii” and the source, Leviticus 12.4, reads “triginta tribus dies.”

114/34-47. In this passage the *Mirror* author follows the general theme of humility found in Cap. xxxvii of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 238-51). However, the discussion of how Mary’s actions are examples to other Christians seems to be original to the *Mirror*.

114/43-4. Also þis feste is callede amonge vs Candelmas…: The discussion of the origins of the Feast of Candelmas is taken nearly verbatim from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 249-51).


114/54-5. þis was þe offerynge of þe pore peple…: The idea that Mary and Joseph gave an offering associated with the poor derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*,

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114/57-62. And in þat same tyme yhe may thence also: Luke 2.25-6.


115/79-80. þat ys, hym þu haste ordeynyd helthe: While this short passage is omitted from ND, it matches the pattern of commentary on source material maintained by the author throughout the text. It was probably omitted by eyeskip.


115/86-96. an holy prophetesse…was borne: Luke 2.36-8.


115/102-46/153. þe Legende þat is callede Aurea…: This lengthy passage is taken from the chapter concerning Mary’s Purification in Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 249-51). The passage deviates from the Legenda Aurea only in that the Mirror author omits two sentences concerning the noble lady’s selling of all her possessions for her love of Mary: “uel, ut alibi legitur, omnia que habere poterat et uestimenta pro amore uirginis dabat. Vnde cum clamidem dedisset et ad ecclesiam ire non posset, sine missa illa ea die manere oportebat” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 249).

115/104. Hit is seide þer: Left margin of ND has “Narracio.”

116/120-4. Þan she lokede aboute þe quere…: “Tunc per chorum respiciens uidit duos ceroferarios, subdiaconum et diaconum et sacerdotem sacris indutos uestibus ad altare procedentes tamquam missarum sollempnia celebrare uolentes. Videbatur autem sibi quod acoliti essent Laurentius et Vincentius, diaconus et subdiaconus duo angeli, sacerdos autem Christus” (Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 249). The Legenda Aurea indicates that “dekene” and “subdekene” should be singular, thus confirming C’s reading as the more accurate of the two.

116/139-40. praye hir to offere hir tapere…: Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 249-50). Wilsher’s edition of the Mirror points out (vol. 1.140) that the candle legend is depicted in the fifteenth-century paintings found in Eton College Chapel and in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral. For pictures of the Eton College paintings, see Belozerskaya, p. 257, plate 75; see also Borenius and Tristram, pp.
44-6. For descriptions of the Eton Chapel and Winchester Cathedral paintings, see Martindale; see also James and Lyte. For images of the Winchester Cathedral paintings, see: http://dspace.dial.pipex.com/town/avenue/pd49/places/mizmaze/ladych_1.html.

118/6-15. When þe Kynge Herode seethe…: This passage corresponds to Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 98). The Legenda Aurea cites from the Historia Scholastica and much of this passage appears in Peter Comestor’s work. At times it is difficult to tell from which work the Mirror author relies, but it seems likely most of this is taken from the Legenda Aurea.


118/24-5. And in þis ȳis/ trewe obedience and diligence yshewede: Right margin of ND has “Nota Nota.”

119/35-44. a litell booke þe whiche is writen [of] þe youthe of our Seuyoure: This is a reference to Pseudo-Matthew’s Libri de Natiuitate Mariae (CCSA 9).

119/38-9. and at þe biddyng of our Lorde….: This passage derives from Cap. xx of Pseudo-Matthew’s Libri de Natiuitate Mariae, “Statim autem ad uocem eius inclinavit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariæ” (CCSA 9, p. 463, lines 1-2).

119/41-3. And at þe rote of þe same tree….: This passage derives from Cap. xx of Pseudo-Matthew’s Libri de Natiuitate Mariae, “et coeperunt per radices eius fontes aquarum egredi limpidissimi et frigidi et dulcissimi nimirum…et satiati sunt cum omnibus iumentis et hominibus gratias agentes domino” (CCSA 9, p. 465, lines 12-6).

119/48-54. all þe ydoles felle downe….: This is from Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 99).


120/80-1. …as þe Wyse Man seythe: Wisdom 21.30.
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120/90-2. …as Seynte Remyge seythe: This passage is taken from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*: “Remigius tamen in originali super Mattheum dicit quod Herodes gladio quo pomum purgabat se peremit” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 102).


120/99-121/108. þe *Three Kynges of Coleyne*…: This is based on Chapter Twenty-six of the Middle English *Three Kings of Cologne*: “And in þis wey þat oure lady seynt Marie þede in to Egipt, and in þe weye þat sche come aȝene, growe drye roses þe wich be cleped þe roses of Ierico, and þes roses growe in no place of all þe contrey but onlich in þe same weye.” (ed. Horstmann, p. 90). The *Mirror* author omits the *Three Kings of Cologne*’s anti-semitic passage, which describes how the jealous Jews made the place where the roses appeared a cursed place, and replaces it with the details relating to the Saracen women’s use of the roses. This passage appears in Cap. xvii of the *Historia Trium Regum*, of which the *Three Kings* is a translation (ibid., p. 249).

120/101. grown: C has a correction in the left margin that reads “fownde.” The correction is an error on the part of the C scribe.

120/101-2. Roses of Iericho: Left margin of ND has “Mira res.”

121/109-10. it is seyde in þe same boke…: The *Mirror* author continues to refer to the *Three Kings of Cologne* (ed. Horstmann, p. 90).

121/116-23. After þis thenketh þat when Ioseph…: Matthew 2.22-3.

121/123-4. This was Nazareth/…: The *Mirror* author is referring to Chapter Eight, p. 44, line 100 and Chapter Three, p. 15, lines 6-28, respectively.

122/8-10. …were ywonte to go euery yhere…: Luke 2.41.


122/23-33. Lyre seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Luke 2.44.

123/43. By þis ensample yhe may lerne: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

123/48-52. …not, as Lyre seythe, in þe merkett…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Luke 11.46.


123/66-53/70. Lyre seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Luke 2.48. The C reading, “for ouerpassynge loue kan no lorde,” is supported by Nicholas of Lyre’s text which reads: “quia amor excellens dominum nescit.” ND’s “kan no man shewe our Lorde” is scribal rewriting.
123/67. vndyrneme: C’s “vndyrneme” is a difficilior lectio, and ND’s “displese” seems to miss the point of the passage. C’s “vndyrneme,” (“to rebuke, chastise”) better fits the context of Joseph’s inability to admonish Christ after his remaining in the temple, despite being in the role of Christ’s father.

124/69. ouerpassynge: C is missing the abbreviation mark over “u.”

124/72-83. Apon þis same text, Seynte Austyn seyth…: This passage is taken from Sermo 51. The only change is that the Mirror author omits “fratres”: “Primo non est praetermittenda, fratres, maxime propter disciplinam feminarum, sororum nostrarum, tam sancta modestia virginis Mariae” (RB 91, p. 34, line 431-3).

124/84-5. How mykel lesse…: “Quanto minus debent superbire caeterae feminae!” (Saint Augustine, Sermo 51, RB 91, p. 34, line 441).


124/95-7. Seynte Austyne seythe…: “Non enim sic se uolebat esse filium illorum, ut non intellegereetur filius dei” (Saint Augustine, Sermo 51, RB 91, p. 34, lines 425-6)


124/100-1. as þe forseide doctour seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 2.50.

124/103-4. as þe Euangeliste seyth…: Luke 2.51

124/104-125/106. as þe forseide doctour Lyre seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 2.51.


126/21-127/59. aftre þe Reuclacioun of Seynte Brigette…: When the Mirror author claims in lines 64-5 that he has translated Saint Bridget’s Revelaciones “in Engleshe tonge almooste worde for worde,” he is being accurate. The entirety of Book VI, Chapter 58 (ed. Bergh, pp. 200-2) of the Revelaciones is translated almost verbatim.

126/23-4. Fforsothe, she seyde: Right margin of ND has “verba beate marie semper virginis.” C has, in its right margin, “þat \\ys/ our lady to seyint brygytte.”

126/27. to Maries sone: Right margin of C has “to þe sone of marye.”

127/43. Iosephis sone: Left margin of C has “þe sone of Ioseph.”

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127/69. compendious: ND reads “compendidious.” The second “di” follows a line break, meaning the scribe forgot where he was in the word and wrote “di” twice.

129/5-6. As I tolde yow in þe chapeltle next…: The Mirror author is referring to Chapter Eleven, pp. 55-6, lines 21-59.


129/9-11. as Seinte Ierome seythe…: This is a reference to Saint Jerome’s Commentarii in evangeliun Matthaiei: “et habet duos fontes, unum nomine lor et alterum Dan, qui simul mixti Iordanis nomen efficiunt” (Opera, Vol. 77, p. 139, lines 9-11).

129/11-2. as Bonauentre seyth…: This is a reference to Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC: “ad Iordanem, ubi erat Ioannes baptizans, qui locus distat a Hierusalem per septuaginta quattuor miliaria” (CCCM 153, Cap. xvi, p. 73, lines 11-3).

129/16-20. barefote or elles werynge sandales…: The Mirror author’s discussion of Jesus’ footwear derives from Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC: “pedibus nudis” (CCCM 153, Cap. xvi, p. 73, line 15).

129/25-7. and as Seynte Bernard seith…: This passage derives from Saint Bernard’s Sermo 15: “Siquidem cum nomino Iesum, hominem propono mitem et humilem corde, benignum, sobrium, castum, misericordem, et omni denique honestate ac sanctitate conspicuum, eumdem que ipsum Deum omnipotentem” (Sancti Bernardi Opera, I.87, lines 6-9).

129/27-9. in þe Legende of Symoun and Iude…: The Legend of Simon and Jude in Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea relates the story of Abgar who wished to have a portrait of Jesus. When he called a painter to make a portrait of Jesus, the radiance of Christ’s face was so intense that the painter could not make out the details of the Savior’s face. So Jesus took a linen cloth and pressed his face to it, thus making an imprint of his features. The Mirror author may have based his description of the humility of Christ’s features on the Legenda Aurea: “Fuit enim, ut ibidem dicitur, bene oculatus, bene supercilatus, longum uultum habuit et accliuis, quod est signum maturitatis” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 2, p. 1081).

129/32. in þe Psalme…: Psalm 44.3.

129/34. Also, our Lady tolde Seynte Brigette: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

129/34-130/43. first chapitlle of þe Eghte Boke of hir Reuelacions…: This passage is actually taken from Book VI, Chapter 1, lines 3-4 of Saint Bridget’s Revelaciones. The passage reads: “Vnde cum ego enutrirem filium meum, tanta pulchritudine preditus erat, ut, quicumque eum inspiceret, consolabatur a dolore cordis, quem habebat. Ideo et multi Iudei dicebant ad inuicem: ‘Eamus ad uidendum filium Marie, ut consolari possimus’” (ed. Bergh, p. 59).

130/56-64. thre degrees of mekenes: Cap. xvi of Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC deals with the three degrees of humility at great length. It quotes Saint Bernard extensively. See also Peter Comestor’s Historia Scholastica in PL 198.1555: “Est enim debita humilitas, subdere se maiori propter Deum; abundans, subdere se pari; superabundans, subdere se minori.” The left margin of ND has a “Nota bene” at the opening of this passage, then “1, 2, 3” in the margin at each of the three degrees.

130/69-131/78. …as þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth…: “Tres fuerunt causae praecipuae cur baptizatus est Iesus a Ioanne: ut baptismum Ioannis approbaret; ut omnem humilitatem impleret, et implendam doceret; ut tactu sui corporis vim regeneratiuam conferret aquis, etsi forte non statim” (Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198.1554). The word “tactu” supports the emendation at 60/73 to C’s “tuchynge” over ND’s “techynge.”

131/83-8. …after þat he was baptizede…: Matthew 3.16-7.

131/88-90. as Lyre seyth…: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 3.17.

132/5-7. he was ledde into deserte…: Matthew 4.1-2.

132/7-9. as þe Maister of þe Storyes seyth…: Peter Comestor writes, “Ieiunauit autem Dominus in deserto, quod est inter Hierusalem, et Iericho” (Historia Scholastica, PL 198.1556).

132/11-3. as Lyre seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 4.2.

132/23-4. Ffor it is writen also…to do and teche: Acts 1.1. C’s left margin has “Nota” corresponding to “Ffor.”

132/25. Ffor Lire seythe: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”


132/34-133/42. 3if þu be God son…: Matthew 4.3-4.

133/38-45. Bot our Lorde ansuereth hym so, as Lyre seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 4.3-5

133/46-50. And than thenketh howe þe fende seide to hym…: Matthew 4.6-7.
133/50-2. Vpon þis texte þe forseide doctoure seyth þus…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 4.7.

133/51. Forsothe to tempe: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

133/56-7. Ffor when he myght come downe…by þe grees: No source has been found for Christ descending the temple stairs.


133/67-8. Thies bene þe wordes of þe Eu[a]ngeliste. Apon thies wordes Lyre seyth þus: These words are omitted from C. In the left margin of C, a hand with an extended index finger, points to where these lines would have appeared. However, this could simply be an indicator of importance, similar to the “Nota bene” in ND (see next note below).

133/68. Apon thies wordes Lyre seyth þus: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

133/68-134/72. Lyre seyth þus…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 4.10.


134/95-64/109: Seinte Gregory seyth…: Taken from Pope Gregory I’s Homily 16: “Sed ecce cum dicitur Deus homo uel in excelsum montem, uel in sanctam ciuitatem a diabolo assumptus, mens refugit humana, hoc audire aures expauescunt. Cui tamen non esse incredibilia ista cognoscimus, si in illo et alia facta pensamus. Certe iniquorum omnium diabolus caput est, et huius capitis membra sunt omnes iniqui. An non diaboli membre Pilatus? An non diaboli membra Iudaei persecuentes et milites crucifigentes fuerunt? Quid ergo mirum si se ab illo permisit in montem duci, qui se pertulit etiam a membris illius crucifi? Non est ergo indignum Redemptori nostro quod temptari uoluit, qui uenerat occidi. Iustum quippe erat ut sic temptationes nostras suis temptationibus uinceret, sicut mortem nostram uenerat sua morte superare” (Homiliae in Evangelia, CCSL 141, p. 110, lines 7-19). The source confirms the correctness of C’s reading at lines 107-8; ND’s omission is due to eyeskip. Further, C’s “vnbeleuable” conforms to the Latin better than ND’s “beleuable” (63.99). This homily, as the Mirror author states, is typically read during Lent.

135/105. vnworthi: Left margin of C corrects “vnworthy” to “vnconuenyent.”

135/107-8. overcome [our temptacyons…ouyrcome]: See note to 63/55-64/109 above.

135/109. Bot it is to be knowe: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

135/113. \styrings/: Left margin of C has “þe whyche we muste be reson and vysemement wythstande.”
135/118-40. ðe same doctoure seyth…: Like the preceding passage (see note to 63/95), this is taken from Pope Gregory I’s *Homily 16* (*Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, p. 112, lines 51-69).

135/119. fadre: Left margin of C has “adam.”

135/122-67/61. ðe seconde…gostely sustre, yhe: At this point in C (f. 54v), two leaves containing this long passage are missing.


137/9-11. And yhe shal vnderstonde…as Lyre seyth: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 4.18-21.

137/14-23. His twelfe chefe disciples…: The names of the disciples are listed in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Since the *Mirror* relies on Matthew 10.1-4 for the majority of this chapter, the list is probably taken from Matthew.

137/21-3. This fals man betrayede our Lorde…as Lyre seyth: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 10.4.

137/24-67/60. Nowe \p|an\p/, as to ðe more \open/ vnderstondynge…Archebisshope of Jerusalem: This passage can be found in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 2, pp. 901-3) and Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1563.

137/40-138/43. Bot þis Ioseph…hangede hymselfe: Acts 1.23-6. Saint Joseph Barrabas was one of the two persons nominated to replace Judas as the twelfth Apostle. The disciples drew lots and the lot fell on Saint Matthias.

138/43. Ioseph is callede also Barsabas and ryghtfull: Acts 1.23.

138/44. for ðe euydence of his holynes, as Lyre saythe: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Acts 1.23.

138/53-7. Also, þat other Iames….: See Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1563.

138/71-2. Petre and Andrewe, Iames and Iohn were ycallede fro fysshynge: Mark 1.16-9.

138/73-6. Also, ðe chiefe of ðe aposteles….: I Corinthians 1.27.

138/78-139/80. Also, Lyre seyth….: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 4.18.

139/84-5. Ffor happily: Left margin of ND has “Nota optime.”
And pis is ayeys...without heresy: These eight lines are missing from C. Vincent Gillespie suggests that these lines may be referring to the brethren of Syon. If so, they seem to reveal that the monks of Sheen found the brethren of Syon to be intellectually intimidating (“The Haunted Text,” pp. 146-8).


And afterwarde he seyth þus: Since Saint Bernard often asserts that the poor will receive the Kingdom of Heaven, this passage could be taken from any number of his writings.

Also Seinte Gregore seyth in þe Morales vpon Iob...: From Pope Gregory I’s Moralia in Iob: “Nam sicut incarnata Veritas in praedicatione sua pauperes idiotas et simplices elegit, sic e contrario damnatus ille homo quem in fine mundi apostata angelus assumet, ad praedicandam falsitatem suam, astutos ac duplices atque huius mundi scientiam habentes electurus est” (CCSL 143A, Liber 13, Cap. 10, Lines 31-6, p. 676).

ND’s “contrey” probably derives from “contrare” (a variant spelling of “contrarie”), with “ar” represented by an abbreviation mark which was omitted in the exemplar or not seen by the ND scribe, so that the word was misinterpreted as “contre” (“country”).

To thies twelfe...: Matthew 10.8.

Also, beside thies twelwe þat were pryncipall...: Luke 10.1-2.

These lines derive from some rhythmic verses (incipit “Si vis esse coenobita”) edited as Rhythmi Veteres de Vita Monastica, PL 184.1327-30 at 1327: Multos habemus doctores / Paucissimos factores / In vita mortalium. According to Walther’s Initia (18079) these lines were widespread.

De nuptiis in Chana Galilee.”

Ffor Lyre seyth...: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 2.1.

Also our Lorde...: John 2.2-11.
141/25. and this he doth gostely: Right margin of ND has “Nota nota.”

141/31. fro castell to castell: ND has “fro castell to castell to castell” with the second “to castell” crossed out with red ink.

141/35-6. in makynge blynde men…pat was neuer [herde] affore þat tyme: C has “herde” instead of “heled” in the quotation. The source, John 9.32, shows that C’s reading is correct.

142/39-41. Also, he wente vpon þe water…: Matthew 14.24-33.

142/41-3. Also, he fedde fyfe thowsande men…: Matthew 14.15-21. Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

142/42-4. with fyfe lofes…children: A mechanical scribal error has caused the omission of these lines in C. The scribe’s eye skipped from “with fyfe lofes” to “with seuen lofes.” The lines have been inserted within a shield in the left margin of C (f. 57v). This, along with the numerous insertions throughout C, is evidence that the manuscript was carefully examined and corrected.

142/42-5. Also, another tyme he fedde…: Matthew 15.32-8.

142/54. In a tyme yhe may thenke: Outer margin of ND has “Transffiguracio domini,” C has “Transfiguracio domini” in its outer margin.

142/54-143/77. as þe Euangeliste maketh mencioun…: The author follows Matthew 17.1-9 closely for this account of the Transfiguration, while also including passages from Nicholas of Lyre and a phrase from Luke 9.31: “spekynge with our Lorde of his Passioun and dethe þat he shulde suffre withoute Ierusalem” (71/60-1).

142/56-9. as Lire seyth…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 17.2.

142/61. suffre: Inserted as a correction in right margin of C.

142/64-7. He spake of no tabernacle for hymselfe…: See Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 17.4.


143/79. Here yhe shull vnderstonde: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

143/84-7. Ffor it is seide in þe Gospell of Mathewe…: Matthew 17.17.

143/99. The scribes: Left margin of ND has “Quales fuerunt scribe et pharisei.”
143/103. [anothr ibownde abowte here lyfte arme and they hadde]: ND’s scribe omits these lines by committing an eyeskip.


144/113-4. for he seide þat he was Goddis Sonne: Matthew 26.63-5, 27.43; John 19.7

144/114-5. he brake þe holy day: Mark 3.1-6; Luke 6.6-11.


144/121. In a tyme þe Pharises: ND’s outer margin has “Quomodo pharisei miserunt discipulos ad capiendum Ihesum in sermone” while C’s margin has “Quo modo pharisei miserunt discipulos suos vt caperent ihesum in sermone.”

144/121-145/147. In a tyme þe Pharises…þat longen to God to God: Matthew 22.15-21, with commentary from Nicholas of Lyra intermixed throughout.

144/123-4. ffor a man…as Lyre seythe: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 22.15.

144/125. Kynge Herode knyghtes: Matthew 22.16 has “Herodians,” a political party that supported the Herod dynasty. They are also mentioned at Mark 3.6 and 12.13. In each case they are coupled with the Pharisees.

144/133-4. Ffor as Lyre seyth…maliciousely: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 22.18.

145/151-146/184. Another tyme…*no more to synne*: John 8.3-11. At line 151, the outer margin of C has “De muliere comprehensa in adulterio” marked off by four crosses. ND’s margin has “De muliere reprehensa in adulterio.”

145/163-6. And þerfore…aȝenste þe lawe: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 8.6.

146/204. For foure causes specyally: Left margin of ND has “Nota quatuor causas diuinae incarnacionis” followed immediately by a “1.” Each of the next three causes is marked by a number in the margin.


146/211. The secunde cause: Right margin of ND has “2.”
147/220. The thirde cause: Right margin of ND has “3 Nota bene.”
147/225-6. Ffor he seyth in the Gospell...odio habuit: John 25.18.
147/227-8. The fourth cause: Right margin of ND has “4.”
148/6-149/66. Amonge other myracles...by hem gostely: The opening of Chapter Sixteen recounts three resurrections performed by Christ. It relies on the gospels and two works by Saint Augustine: Sermo 98 on the raising of Lazarus (PL 38.591-5), and Tractatus XLIX (on John 11.1-54) from Saint Augustine’s In Iohannis Euangelium (CCSL 36, pp. 419-33).
148/19. The firste of hem: Right margin of ND has “1.”
148/20-1. And she was þe doughter... Iayre: Luke 8.41-56.
148/25-9. as Seinte Austyne seyth...it hadde be preuey: From Saint Augustine’s Tractatus XLIX: “sed intus est mors, quia cogitatum malum nondum processit in factum. Talem animam resuscitare se significans Dominus, resuscitavit illum puellam quae nondum erat foras elata, sed in domo mortua iacebat, quasi peccatum latebat” (Tractatus CXXIV, In Iohannis Euangelium, CCSL 36, p. 421, lines 11-5).
148/30. The seconde was a wydowe sone: Right margin of ND has “2.”
148/30-149/39. The seconde was a wydowe sone... and magnifiede God: Luke 7.11-6.
148/31-2. *þis cite is in þe contrey of Galile, as þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth: “Dum autem iret in civitatem Naim, quae est in Galilaea…”* (*Historia Scholastica, PL 198.1566*).


149/51. The thirde dede was Layzare: Left margin of ND has “3.”

149/51-4. The thirde dede was Layzare…*ylayde vpon hym*: John 11.1-45.

149/51-66. The ideas developed in this paragraph, as well as many of the expressions, are taken from Saint Augustine’s *Tractatus XLIX* (*In Iohannis Euangelium, CCSL 141*, p. 421, lines 20-41).

149/64. of: Inserted as a correction in left margin of C.


150/75-6. Ffor Lyre seyth: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

150/75-8. Ffor Lyre seyth…harde in euyle: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 11.46.


150/97-8. Here we be taught: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

150/97-9. Here we be taught…by euill men: This passage derives from Saint Augustine’s *Tractatus XLIX*: “Hic docemur etiam per homines malos prophetiae spiritum futura praedicere” (*In Iohannis Euangelium Tractatus, CCSL 31*, p. 432, lines 6-7).

151/105-151/109. Also, our Lorde seyth…*operamini iniquitatem*: Matthew 7.22-3.

151/124-5. ffro þat day…as þei myght: John 11.53.

151/136-8. And here I pray yow…and a Crede: In C, these lines appear within a decorated box within the margin. A correction mark links the text to the marginal addition.
Of þe sopere: In Iohannis de Caulibus’s *MVC*, the account of the supper at Bethany (CCCM 153, Cap. xlv, pp. 171-3, lines 1-56) contains a discussion of the active and contemplative lives. The thirteen chapters following this account (Caps. xlv-.lviii, pp. 173-216) discuss the positive and negative aspects of both active and contemplative worship in great detail. These chapters rely on St. Bernard and the Gospels as principal sources. The *Mirror* author does not address active and contemplative worship in his account of the supper.

as þe Euangeliste Seynte Ihon…Betany: John 12.1.

This feste…Passynge of our Lorde: Exodus 12.1-51.

And so sex dayes…with oure Lorde: John 12.1-2.

Martha: Left margin of C has “þe systyr of marye mawdeleyne.”

…as doctoures seyne comonly: See, for example, Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*: “Simon fuerat leprosus, et a Domino sanatus, sed tamen adhuc pristinum nomen manebat” (*PL* 198.1597). In Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla*, he comments on this when discussing John 12.2.

And þe same man…in his house: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 12.2.

Mary Magdalene, hir sistre…of grete price: John 12.3. In the Middle Ages Mary Magdalene, who had seven devils cast out of her by Christ (Luke 8.2), is often identified with Mary of Bethany (Luke 10.38-42), sister of Martha and Lazarus, and the woman who anointed Christ’s feet (Luke 7.37-50). The proximity of the verses in which the three women appear caused many of theologians to identify all three passages with Mary Magdalene. Pope Gregory I added authority to the misidentification in 591 CE when he said: “Hanc uero quam Lucas peccatricem mulierem, Iohannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus de qua Marcus septem daemonia eiecta fuisse testatur” (Homily 33, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, p. 288, lines 7-9).

Than yhe may…in other vses: John 12.4-6.

Ffor he bare…to pore men: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 12.6.


Whi be yhe heuy: Matthew 26.10-1.

Neuerþeles, Lyre seyth: See Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 26.8. See also Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*: “isti quidem propter pauperes
indignabantur, quibus forte verbis Iudae persuasum erat. Iudas vero propter lucrum” (PL 198.1598).


154/79. as doctours seyne: The source of this information regarding the colt and ass being available for the poor derives from Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxi, p. 238, lines 20-3).

154/85-155/108. Than yhe may thenke…he come ofte thider: This section concerning Christ’s entry into Jerusalem contains a mixture of verses taken from Mark 11.7-11 and John 12.9-9.


155/132. [Holy]: At this point in ND something has been erased.


156/5. euen: Left margin of C has a corrects “euyn” to “of the euyn.”


156/22-157/56. And when þei hadde almoste soupede…other by rowe: John 13.2-12.


272
This seems to be similar to ND’s “Nota.”

Ffor it is of some louers: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

Ffor he seyde to his disciples…worldes ende: Matthew 28.20. Left margin of C has “into ende of the worlde” corresponding to “worldys ende.”

Ffor he seythe to his disciples…of my Fadre: Henry Suso’s Horologium Sapientia, Liber II, “Certissime et ueraciter et absque omni dubitatione in hoc sacramento contineor, Deus et homo cum corpore et anima, carne et sanguine, sicut cum prodii ex utero matris et in cruce pependi ac sedeo ad dexteram Patris” (ed. Künzle, p. 549, lines 6-10).

Sikerly: Left margin of ND has “Nota nota bene.” The “bene” is written at an angle and may be by a different hand. C’s right margin has “Nota bene.”

I am conteynede in þis Sacramente…: This lengthy passage on the communion, beginning with the quotation from Henry Suso’s Horologium Sapientiae, appears to be original to the Mirror to Devout People.

Here, as me semeth: Right margin has “Nota.”

Whi: Left margin of ND has “Nota nota.”

Also, hyt ys wryte…so as to hem: This paragraph is inserted in the right margin of C and runs into the lower margin of the page. It is inserted into the text here because it is a natural extension of the argument, and, while it may be a scribal insertion, shows an important addition to the transmission of this text and a natural conclusion to the discussion of the sacrament.

Also: Right margin has “Nota.”

And þat our Lorde: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

Fforsoth one of yowe…haue be borne: Matthew 26.21, 24.

Than thenketh þat þe apostelles…but preualy: John 13.22-6.

bot Lire seyth…our Lorde seyde: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 13.28.

wolde: C has “schulde,” but a marginal correction changes it to “wolde.”

And also: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

Than eftre this…as þe Eu[a]ngeliste seyth: John 13.28-30.
162/228-31. our Lorde tolde...neuer forsake þe: Matthew 26.31-3.

162/231-2. Ffor I am redy...dyeth also: Luke 22.33.


162/239. a fayre serpone: The Mirror author presumably had in mind the lengthy account of Christ’s words found in John 14-16.

163/245. And afterwarde: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

163/247. And in þis: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

164/10-2. as Lire seyth...Estre lombe: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 14.31.

164/14-5. Aryse vpp and go we hens: John 14.31.

164/20-1. Lyre seyth þat Cedron...Mownte of Olyuete: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 17.1.

164/24. Gethsemany: The place where Jesus suffered his Agony. It appears in Matthew 26.36 and from this point in the Mirror to the end of the chapter, the author follows Matthew 26.36-66 for the story of Christ’s Passion. He does, however, integrate details from Mark 14, Luke 12, and John 18.

165/39. ...a stones caste...: This detail is found in Luke 22.41.

165/47-50. he commeth to his disciples...Maye þu not wake an houre with me: Matthew 26.40.

165/50-1. Whi slepe yhe...in no temptacioun: Luke 22.46.

165/52-3. be spirite is redy, bot be flesshe is feble: Matthew 26.41.

165/62. And þis stryfe: Right margin in ND has “Nota bene.”

165/62-4. And þis stryfe...propre to hym: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 22.43.

165/67-9. dropes of blood; angell fro heuen: these details are taken from Luke 22.44 and 43, respectively. The authenticity of these two verses from Luke has been called into question because of their absence from other synoptists as well as their absence from several ancient codices of Luke. See Tuckett, pp. 131-44 and Ehrman and Plunkett, pp. 401-16.
166/80. wipeth his face: This detail also appears in Iohannis de Caulibus’s MVC (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxv, pp. 255-63, lines 111-5). The MVC describes Christ wiping his body and washing himself in the river before returning to his disciples.


166/90. lanternes: This detail is taken from John 18.3.

166/92-3. ffor there was one of his disciples…one fro þat other: This passage derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 447) and, ultimately, Matthew 26.47-8.

166/96-167/108. Than thenketh howe our Lorde goth aȝens hem…: This paragraph closely follows John 18.4-8.


167/117. Malchus, as þe Euangeliste seyth: John 18.10.

167/117-8: And þan beholdeth howe our benygne Lorde: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”


167/122. A legion is sex thousande: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”


168/141-168/154. Ffor to hym he was broghte…lete \come\ in: John 18.13, 15-6.

168/142. Anne: Right margin of C has “fadyr to þe wyf of cayphas.”

168/160-72. And þan he wente for the…þe cokke crewe aȝene: John 18.17-27.

168/163. *And þu were with Ihesu of Nazareth*: Mark 14.67.

168/169. Malchus cosyn: Left margin of C has “cosyn to malchus.”


168/171-2. And þan Peter began to curse and suere: Matthew 26.74 and Mark 14.71
168/176-7. And þan Peter...callede Cokkecroweynge: “Et recordatus Petrus uerbi, quod Dominus dixerat, egressus foras fleuit amare, fugiens in caveam, quae modo Gallicantus appellatur” (Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198.1624).

169/178. Here, welbelouede sistre: Left margin of C has “Nota optime.”


169/210-170/212. This man seide...handys of men: Matthew 26.61 and Mark 14.58.

170/211-2. [and withinne...handys of men]: The biblical source suggests that ND’s scribe committed an eyeskip and left out the inserted phrase that appears in C.


170/223-4. Loo, yhe haue herde...: Matthew 26.65-6 and Mark 14.64.

170/226-30. ...some spytte theron and some smyten hym...: Matthew 26.67-8 and Mark 14.65.

170/231. Here diligently: Left margin of ND has “Nota ista subsequencis.”

171/243. anone: After the letter “o” in “anone” (at the bottom of f. 83v in C) the C scribe has left out twelve lines: f. 84r begins “And therfore ðe maye thynke” (100/252). In the bottom margin of f. 83v is a pointing hand in red ink with the message “Turne to þe iiiii lef to sueche a syne,” followed by a small marker, which is the sign for which the reader is to look. The matching sign appears at the top of f. 87v, where the missing paragraph is copied. See note to page 104/127.

171/247-9. ...þat þe shulde kepe hym in faste holde into þe mornynge: There is no biblical account of Christ being held overnight in prison. However, each of the four gospels ends the account of the evening in question with Peter’s betrayal and begins again the next morning with Christ facing his accusers. One could assume, as the Mirror author has, that Christ was imprisoned throughout the night.

172/2-4. Nowe beholdeth...putte hym to dethe: Matthew 27.1.

172/17-9. ffor Ysaye...aperiet os suum: This passage is from Isaiah 53.7 and it is applied to Christ at Acts 8.32-5.

173/42-54. Aftre þis beholdeth how Iudas...berye pilgrimes in: Matthew 27.3-7.
173/48-9. …as Seinte Ierome seythe…: This is from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*: “Dicit Hieronymus super CVIII psal. quia magis offendit Iudas Deum, quando se suspendit, quam in hoc quod cum prodidit” (*PL* 198.1625).


173/62-5. And þan þei accusede hym…Goddes Sone: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene” with “1, 2, 3” immediately below it in the margin and corresponding to each of the three accusations.


174/98-104/110. And when he seege hyem…enmyes yche to other: Luke 23.8-12.

175/123-4. And þerfore he wolde…go his weye: Luke 23.16.

175/124-7. Hit is a custome…was a thefe: John 18.39-40.


175/127. slaughter ydo in þe: At the top of f. 87v in C is a small symbol signaling the beginning of the paragraph missing between the bottom of f. 83v and the top of f. 84r. The paragraph is inserted here and runs to “cite” (104/127). At this point in C (f. 87v) is a small symbol preceding “cytee.” In the left margin is a direction with a red hand pointing toward it: “turne a en were þu leftyst & rede at sueche a syne.” This directs the reader back to f. 83v (see note to 99/243).

175/128. As to þe more opyne: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”


176/155. and þerfore it was tenderere…: At this point the C scribe commits an eyeskip and repeats the phrase “softyr \thanne/euyr eny othyr mannys was” from line 153.

176/160-2. as Ysaye þe prophete…helthe on hym: Isaiah 1.6.

176/168-177/170. And therfore þe euangeliste[s]…in sharpenes and hardnes: Matthew 27.29; Mark 15.17; John 19.2.


177/172-6. and Lyre also seythe þe same: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 27.29.
177/173-5. Seynte Lodewyke, þe kynge of Ffraunce: This story about Saint Louis IX, King of France, an unidentified man, and the crown of thorns is quoted verbatim from Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 27.29.

177/176-9. Also Maundevyle…: This is taken from Chapter 2 of *Mandeville’s Travels* (ed. P. Hamelius, vol. 1, p. 8).

177/184-5. …toke a purpur clothe…: Mark 15.17 and John 19.2.

177/185-90. And þei take also…: Matthew 27.29-30.

177/196-201. And þan Pilate seide to hem…Loo, man: John 19.4-5.

179/3-181/82. Nowe þan taketh…to dethe as þei desirede: This section of Chapter Twenty-One relates the last trial of Jesus before Pilate by closely following the narrative in John 19.6-15.


179/9. þan Pilate: C has “pylat thanne,” but uses correction marks to indicate that ND’s order is the correct one.

179/15-6. We haue a lawe…God Son: John 19.7.

179/24-5. he asketh hym…mekely helde his pees: John 19.9.


179/33. In þis worde bytokenede: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

180/50-3. And as he satte…ysioun for hym: Matthew 27.19.

180/54-6. Haply þe fende perceyuede…to deliuer our Lorde: The idea that Satan came to Pilate’s wife in a dream was widespread in the medieval period. Many of the Passion plays, including the York and N. Town plays, contained a scene with Satan influencing Pilate’s wife. In his *Postilla* on Matthew 27.19, Nicholas of Lyre relates this story. Paschasius Radbertus also relates this story in his *Expositio in Matheo*, CCCM 56B, Book 12, line 2931.

180/59-63. And þan Pilate…vpon our children: Matthew 27.24-5.

180/62. blode: C has deth, which is corrected in the left margin to “blode.”

180/63. His blode: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”
And so afterwarde...for a penny: This derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, Chapter 67: “sicut Iudei Christum XXX denariis emerant, sic et ipse uno denario triginta Iudeos uendidit.” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 457). Following four years of conflict, the Romans, led by Titus, destroyed the city of Jerusalem in 70 BCE. The Romans ransacked the city and burned the temple. Josephus provides the only eye witness account of the destruction of Jerusalem (see Josephus, *The Jewish War*).

*Shal I crucyfye your kyng...bot þe Emperour*: John 19.15.

Pilates seruantes: Right margin of C has “the seruauntes of pylat.”

fyfteen fote longe: This derives from Iohannis de Caulibus’s *MVC*: “opinio est crucem Domini quindecim pedes habuisse in altum” (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxvii, p. 268, lines 36-7).

þei take two thefes...Trowthe ycoupled to two thefes: Matthew 27.38; Mark 15.27; Luke 23.33; John 19.18.

And þan thenketh also...sorowe and heuynes: This passage closely resembles Iohannis de Caulibus’s *MVC* (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxvii, p. 269, lines 52-9.

Aftre þis thenketh...aftre our Lorde: Matthew 27.32; Mark 15.21; John 23.26.

þe whiche is callede Caluary...Golgotha: Matthew 27.33; Mark 15.22; John 19.17.

behe[de]: ND’s “behede” is not a grammatically correct contraction of the past participle of the verb bihev(e)den (to behead). Thus, it is emended to match more closely C’s “beheeddyd.”

 Howe and in what wyse...men haue ymagynede: Both the supine and upright methods of crucifixion are also mentioned in Iohannis de Caulibus’s *MVC*. However, the upright method is given preference in the *MVC* (CCCM 153) and described at Cap. lxxviii, p. 271, lines 20-4. The supine method is described at Cap. lxxviii, pp. 271-2, lines 44-7.

mencyon: Right margin of C has “in specyal but in general.”

Another wyse...Reuelacion of Seynte Brigette: This long passage on Christ’s crucifixion is from Saint Bridget’s *Revelaciones*, Book I, Chapter 10.

Seynte: Left margin of C has “the reuelacyon of seyint Brygitte.”

Beholdeth: Right margin of C has a shield containing “Reuelacio beate brigitta”.
186/41-2. Beholdeth firste an hole: Right margin of ND has “Reuelacio beate Britte.”

186/50: in þe manere of greys: In the right margin of C an alternate reading is provided, “or steyrys.”


187/88-91. And þan taketh goode hede…he hadde be a thief: Matthew 27.38; Mark 15.28; Luke 23.33.


187/96-7. ffor it was þe manere…sette it vpon þe crosse: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 19.19


188/109-11. This title mony…nere þe cite: John 19.20.


188/130-3. And in þis þei…beleue on hym: This is from Pope Gregory I’s *Homily* 21, “Plus igitur fuit de sepulcro surgere quam de cruce descendere” (*Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, p. 178, lines 128-9).

189/143. And in þis: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”


189/172. He callede hir not moder bot woman: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

And þan þenketh...þat he shulde drynke: John 19.28-9.

Scripture myghte be fulfillede: C has “myghte be fulfyld scrypture” with marks over “myghte” and “scrypture” to indicate the correct word order.

Ffor Seynt Gregory seyth: Right margin of ND has “Nota ista subsequencis.”

Ffor Seynt Gregory seyth...Sondaye of Quinquagesyme: The homily is Saint Gregory’s Homily 2 on the Gospel for the Sunday before Lent, or Quinquagesima (Homiliae in Evangelia, CCSL 141, pp.12-9).

In þe begynnynge...thre houres: Matthew 27.45; Mark 15.33; Luke 23.44.

For Lyre seyth...vnder þe sonne: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 27.45.

seynge þat all was fulfillede...drawe faste to þe dethewarde: John 19.28.

And þan thenketh...þe goste: Luke 23.46.

And so he was obediente...Seynte Poule seyth: Philippians 2.8.

And þan þe vayle...of Cristes dyynge: Matthew 27.51 and Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 27.51.

And \\graues/ were opynede...arise with [hym]: Matthew 27.52 and Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 27.52.

Seynte Gregori seyth...: Pope Gregory I’s Homily 10, Homiliae in Evangelia, CCSL 141, pp. 66-7, lines 20-35. This passage is used in the Third Nocturn of Matins for the Feast of the Epiphany.

Aftre þis, thenketh...Sonne of God: Matthew 27.54.

...(þe whiche myghte [not] be, as Lyre seythe, by þe vertue of kynde)...:

Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Matthew 27.46.

And all þe other peple...Lorde to dethe: Luke 23.48.

And þan may ye thenke...putte hym in his sepulcre: This long passage is an example of the popular planctus Mariae. Johannis de Caulibus’s MVC (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxix, pp. 276-7, lines 1-19) contains a similar, but briefer, account of Mary’s suffering. See Sticca, pp. 122-5.

lyue withoute þe: C has “withoute the lyue,” but uses correction marks within the text to align C with ND’s word order.

195/5. shenne: Right margin of C has “or leggys.”

195/7. shynnes: Right margin of C has “or leggys.”


195/20. shynnes: Left margin of C has “or leggys.”

195/23-5. Yt is to be knowe…clene water: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on John 19.34.

195/27. Manycheys: The Manicheans were a religious sect founded by the Persian Mani. They purportedly believed that Christ never existed in a physical body, but only in spirit. As a result, they denied Christ’s resurrection and the principles of transubstantiation.

195/32-196/35. …as some seyyne…: A similar account can be found in the legend of Saint Longinus in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, pp. 307-8).

196/59-61. ffor Seynte Iohn þe Euangeliste…in his blode: Apocalypse 1.5. In the Middle Ages, Saint John the Evangelist was commonly believed to be the same person as Saint John the Divine, author of the Apocalypse.

197/90. Ffor perseuerance: Left margin of ND has “Nota nota.”


197/94. Also, gostely sustre: Left margin of ND has “Nota optime.”

197/102-3. And þerfore here vnderstondeth: Right margin of ND has “Nota ex causa.”


198/113-4. ffor he seyth…*kepe my comandementes*: John 14.15.


199/12-21. Afþre þis yhe may thenke…to wynde him in: Mark 15.43-6.

199/14-5. Aramathye was a cite of þe lewry…Samuel borne: The information on Ramatha comes from Bede’s *In primam partem Samvelopis libri iii* (CCSL 119, Book 1, p. 11, lines 11-4). For the birthplace of Samuel, see also I Samuel 1.1.
199/21. …pe whiche was a lynnien clothe, as Lire seyth…: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 27.59.

199/26-34. And þan yhe may thenke…an oytentemente: John 19.39.


201/74. may?: Right margin of C corrects “maye” to “mygth.”

201/80-3. …in Seynte Brigettes Reuelaciones…: This is taken from Saint Bridget’s *Revelaciones*, Book I, Chapter 10.

202/6-8. Ioseph and Nicodeme…was to berye: Matthew 27.55, 61; Mark 15.40, 47; Luke 23.55.


202/14-21. …aftre þe seyynge of doctors…: One example is Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, in which he quotes a passage from Bede’s *In Marci Euangelium Expositio*, CCSL 120, Liber 4, Cap. 15, p. 638, lines 1680-8): “De monumento Domini dicit Beda super Marcum, quod domus fuit rotunda de subiacente rupe excisa tantae altitudinis, ut vix homo manu extenta culmen posset attingere, introitum habens ab oriente, cui magnus lapis appositus erat pro ostio. In parte eius aquilonari loculus Dominici corporis de eadem petra factus est, septem pedes habens longitudinis” (*Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1634). The details in this passage do not always correspond with the *Mirror*’s account, but they contain numerous similarities.

203/39-44. And our Lady…in diuers innes: Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1645.

203/45-54. After þis thenketh…as Lyre seyth: Matthew 27.62-6; Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 27.66.

204/12. Ffor þat that a man or a woman: Right margin in ND has “Nota.”

207/7-15. …after þe seyynge of doctoures…as þe Maister of the Stories seyth…: “Erat enim in superiori margine inferni locus, aliquantum habens lucem, sine omni poena materiali, in quo erant animae praedestinatorum, usque ad Christi descensum ad inferos, qui locus propter sui tranquillitatem sinus Abrahae dictus est” (Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198.1589).

207/11-2. And it is callede also Abrahames bosom…þe fadre of our feyth: Christ refers to Abraham’s bosom in Luke 16.22. Right margin of C, corresponding to “Abrahamys,” has “the bosum of abraham.”

207/19-22. ffors þe sighte of God…fro þe bodies: This and the following three quotations are taken from Nicholas of Lyre’s De visione divinae essentiae. The only edition of the De visione is a working edition with translation found in Michael Scott Woodward’s unpublished University of Notre Dame dissertation.

207/22-36. And þerfore þe forseide place…as is forseide: This passage derives from Nicholas of Lyre’s De visione divinae essentiae. He gives a similar explanation of paradise in the Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 23.43. The Historia Scholastica (PL 198.1631) also provides three similar meanings of paradise.


207/31-6. One maner…þe secunde maner…the thirde maner: In ND’s right margin, each of these manners is highlighted with a number “1,” “2,” and “3” respectively.

208/40. bot 3it Nichodemes: Right margin in ND has “Nota.” See Nichodemus his gospel, ed. John Warrin.

208/40-4. bot 3it Nichodemes…symple creatures: The opinion that the Gospel of Nicodemus is false comes from Nicholas of Lyra’s De visione divinae essentiae: “Confirmant autem dictum suum per Evangelium Nichodemi et Ioseph ubi hoc est scriptum. Licet autem hoc dictum prima facie ficticum uideatur, tamen ex habundanti probo ipsum esse falsum, quia si uerum esset, anima Christi rediens ad corpus in resurrectionem, et anime resurgencium cum eo, non rediissent ad corpora de inferno, sed de terrestri paradise, quod est falsum” (Woodward, 231). Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea, however, does rely on the Gospel of Nicodemus for its account of Christ’s Passion (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 336).

208/66-70: …Seynte Austyne seyth…: This derives from Saint Augustine’s Sermo CVIII, Cap. vii: “Feci quod iussisti, redde quod promisisti” (PL 38.636).

209/12. The Maistre of Storyes seyth: Right margin in ND has “Narracio.”

209/12-7. The Maistre of Storyes seyth…\it/ beynge close: “Cuidam autem monacho Sancti Laurentii Romae extra muros anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1111 miranti de cingulo suo, quo cinctus erat, insoluto et proiecto ante eum, vox in aere facta est: Sic

209/20. þe whiche was þe Sonday…as Seynte Austyn seyth: This detail actually comes from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica, PL* 198.1637.

209/27-30. And at þis gloriusse Resurreccion…hadde be a walle: This is taken from *The Booke of Gostlye Grace* (ed. Halligan), a Middle English translation of Mechtild of Hackeborn’s *Liber specialis gratiae*. Halligan lists the *Mirror* as a text that cites Mechtild’s work. See also Voaden, “The Company She Keeps.”

209/31-210/36. And also þe Euangeliste seyth…dede men: Matthew 28.2-4.

210/38-46. And sone aftre…into þis daye: Matthew 28.11-5.

210/46-8. and so þei were deceyued…as Lyre seyth: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 28.15.


210/72-211/116. Ffirste þan yhe may thenke…she myghte see hem: This apparition is similarly described in Iohannis de Caulibus, *MVC* (CCCM 153, Cap. lxxii, pp. 240-2).


211/100-3. This heuene is callede empire…. This derives from Peter Comestor’s *Sententiae in iv libris distinctae, PL* 192.80.

211/102. …as fire is…. The left margin of C contains a comment on “fire”: “vndyrstondyth in clernesse.”

211/105-6. …as Lyre seyth…. This discussion occurs in *De visione divinae essentiae* (ed. Woodward, 231).

213/25-214/47. Bot Mary Magdaleyne...as for þat tym: John 20.11-7.


214/35-9. Þe cause þat she turnede...suche reuerence to: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 20.14. At line 35, ND has “Nota bene” in right margin.

214/50-217/145. Afterwarde thenke þat...þat other: ND has a marginal comment to “Afterwarde” that reads “Nota optime.” Each of the following apparitions is numbered in the margin with “2, 3, 4, 5, et. al.” Similarly, C uses “i, ii, iii, et. al.” to number the apparitions.

214/50-2. Afterwarde thenke þat...apostels apostellas: This passage may be based on Saint Augustine’s Sermo 51: “Inde et resurgentem deum priores feminae apostolis nuntiarunt...Resurrectionem Christi apostoli erant gentibus nuntiaturi: apostolis feminae nuntiarunt” (ed. Verbraken, RB 91, pp. 25-6, lines 104-7).

214/60-5. …our Lorde mette with hem...: Matthew 28.8-10.

215/70-7. …after þe seyynge of doctours....: For example, the Historia Scholastica, comments on Luke 24.34, the basis for this information: “Petrus autem surgens cucurrit ad monumentum, ut Lucas dicit. Et tunc verisimile est, quod Dominus apparuit ei in via, et si non legatur in Evangeli” (PL 198.1639).

215/72-6. Ffor when þe wymmen...that was doon: Luke 24.10-2.


216/114. sawe: In lower margin of C, “seyin” is written below “sawgh.”

216/126-28. and in þat he shewede...it longeth to God propyrly: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on Luke 24.45.

216/129-31. The fyfe apperynges were ydone...to þe peple: This derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea, “Hee quinque apparitiones ipsa die resurrectionis facte sunt et has representat sacerdos in missa quinquies” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 363).
216/138-217/144. Seynte Ierome seyth...rysen fro deth: This derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea: “In parasecue autem mortuo domino, sicut dicit Iosephus et Ieronimus in libro de uiris illustribus, Iacobus uotum uouit se non comesturum donec uideret dominum a mortuis surrexisse. In ipsa autem die resurrectionis, cum usque ad diem illam Iacobus non gustasset, eidem dominus apparuit ac eis qui cum eo erant dixit: ‘Ponite mensam et panem.’ Deinde panem accipiens benedixit et dedit Iacobo iusto dicens: ‘Surge, frater mi, comede, quia filius hominis a mortuis resurrexit’” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 449).

217/145-54. Pat other is þat our Lorde…Aramathye: This derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea, “Alia est qua ipsa die dicitur apparuisse Ioseph, sicut legitur in euangelio Nychodemi. Nam cum audissent Iudei quod Joseph corpus Ihesu a Pilato petisset et ipsum in monumento suo posuisset, indignati aduersus ipsum eum ceperunt et in quodam cubiculo diligenter clauso et sigillato recluserunt, post sabbatum eum occidere volentes. Et ecce, Ihesus in ipsa nocte resurrectionis suspensa domo a quatuor angelis ad eum intrauit et faciem eius extersit et osculum ei dedit et inde saluis sigillis eum educens in domum suam in Arimathiam ipsum adduxit” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 363-4). Note that “quatuor angelis” has become “four corneres” in the Mirror. It is possible that the Mirror author may have misread “angelis” as “angulis.”


218/14. nayles: Left margin of C corrects “naþlys” to “naylys.”

218/33-219/36. And þerfore [seyth] Seynte Leo þe Pope…be doute de of vs: This derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea, “De hoc sic dicit Leo papa in sermone de ascensione:…Gratias agimus diuine dispensationi et sanctorum patrum necessarie tarditati: dubitatum est ab illis ne dubitaretur a nobis”” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 481).


219/42-149/72. Ther were togedyr Symon Petre…fisshe also: John 21.2-13.

219/56-7. And þ[o], as it semyth…to our Lorde: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 21.7.

219/61-2. Dese thynges were made…as Lyre seyth: Nicholas of Lyre’s Postilla on John 21.9.

220/73-5. Thabor: Mount Thabor is often named as the location of Christ’s transfiguration, and the *Mirror* author refers the reader to his own account of the transfiguration in Chapter Fifteen (pp. 71-2, lines 54-77). In this account he cites Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* as a source but calls the mountain a “hye hill” (p. 71, line 56). The *Postilla* never names the location of the transfiguration. When the *Mirror* author names Thabor as the mountain where Christ makes his third appearance, it seems more likely that the information derives from Iohannis de Caulibus’s discussion of the transfiguration in the *MVC* (CCCM 153, Cap. xli, p. 154, lines 1-5) where he locates the event on Mount Thabor.


220/77-8. And in þat hille...harde to beleue: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Matthew 28.16-7.

220/88. *techynge hem*: Right margin of ND has “Nota.”

220/92-4. The nenthe apparicyoun...of her hertes: Luke 24.30-5; Acts 1.4-5.

220/94. The tenthe and þe laste...Mounte of Olyuete: Acts 1.9-12. The Mount of Olivet is not specifically identified as the place of the ascension, the passage in Acts implies that this is where it occurred. Iohannis de Caulibus’s *Legenda Aurea* also places Christ’s ascension at the Mount of Olivet: “Et cum comedisset cum eis et precepisset ut in montem oliueti uersus Bethaniam irent, ibidem eis iterum apparuit ac indiscrete querentibus respondit et eleuatis manibus eis benedixit et inde coram eis in celum ascendit” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 481).


220/102. brethren in feyth: C’s left margin contains the following: “Ad corintheos xv: Hyt ys trowyd and lykly inowf hyt ys þat thys ys the same apperynge þat ys seyde afore in the hylle of tabor.”

222/7-10. The firste was to þe disciples...to haue rysen: Mark 16.14.

222/10-8. This may be vnderstonde...sene hym also: Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Mark 16.14.

222/18-20. he ete with hem...go into þe Mounte of Olyuete: Luke 24.30-5, Acts 1.4-5. For Mount Olivet, see note to 149/94.

222/20. [a myle]: C’s reading of “a myle” has been adopted in preference to ND’s “two myles” because it agrees with Iohannis de Caulibus, *MVC*, Cap. cv, “qui est prope Ierusalem ad unum miliare” (CCCM 153, p. 338, lines 63-4).

222/28-30. And þan thenketh...in þat tyme: Acts 1.6.

223/35. Ffor þe Romaynes: Left margin of ND has “Nota.”

223/39-44. And þan he seide to hem...of þe erthe : Acts 1.7-8.

223/44-6. And also...to mankynde: Mark 16.15.

223/46. Ffor by euery creature: Left margin of ND has “Nota bene.”


223/51-53. Also our Lorde seide...shulde be dampnede: Mark 16.16.

223/57-67. And when he had seide...goynge into heuen: Acts 1.9-11 with the exception of the detail concerning the hands uplifted in blessing, which is found in Luke 24.50.

224/86-92. Ffor þe Maistre of þe Stories seyth...erthe kepeth still: “De loco Ascensionis dixit Sulpicius episcopus Hierosolymitanus, quia ibi cum postea aedificata esset Ecclesia, locus ille in quo institerunt vestigia Christi ascendentis, nunquam potuit sterni pavimento” (Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1647). Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* also mentions Sulpicius’s comments on Christ’s ascension (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 481). In ND, the left margin corresponding to line 86 has “Nota ex causa.”

224/88. myghte: The second “in” in ND is omitted since the source suggests that it is a scribal error. (see note to 153/86-92).


224/97. And þis is a grete ensample: Left margin in ND has “Nota optime.”


225/105-8. And in þat that our kynde...and not aungell: “quia homo Deus, et Deus homo, non angelus. Et dicam propter hoc hominem esse creaturam dignissimam” (pseudo-Augustine, *Liber Soliloquiorum Animae ad Deum*, PL 40.871). The Latin “dicam” indicates that C’s “seye” is a better reading than ND’s “see.” In ND a marginal comment corresponding to “And in þat” reads “Nota deus homo.”

289
225/115-226/143. *Lorde Ihesu Christe...withoute endyne. Amen:* At the beginning of this long prayer, the word “Oracio” appears in the right margin of ND. C begins the prayer with “Oracio.” It is one of the few times in the *Mirror* that a prayer is directly addressed to Christ in a manner similar to that of prayers written by Saint Anselm and Saint Bernard.

227/11-3. *in þe whiche dayes...was chosen:* Acts 1.26.


227/20-2. *as it had be tonges of fyre... signe withoute:* Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* on Acts 2.3.

228/38-40. *And þan may yhe beholde...prophete Ioel:* Acts 2.14-21.

228/40-1. *And þe same day...thre thowsande soules:* Acts 2.41.

228/42. *And so Peter:* Left margin in ND has “Nota bene.”


228/51-6. *And also when þe princes...of the peple:* Acts 4.18-21.

228/57-229/98. *Anothyr tyme þe prince...of our Lorde Ihesu Criste:* This lengthy passage closely follows Acts 5.17-41, with the usual insertion of comments from other sources.

229/83. *more:* The left margin of C corrects “more” to “rathyr.”


229/90-3. *...as þe Maistre of Stories seyth...:* *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198.1662.

229/94. *Gamaliel:* The left margin of C contains the phrase “be the conseyl of gamalyel.”

230/121. *or to whome a ȝifte was ȝeuen:* In C, the left margin contains the following correction: “or to whome grace was ȝeue.” Omission marks appear in the text to indicate where the words should be inserted.

230/123-242/569. The remainder of the chapter in ND has marginal numbers for each of the lists of rewards, aureoles, etc. Arabic numerals are used throughout.

230/140-3. ...Seynte Ierome seyth in þe Prologe of his Gospel....: The *Prologues* of Saint Jerome were often included in copies of Nicholas of Lyra’s Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla*, together with Nicholas of Lyra’s own commentary on the *Prologues*. It seems likely that the Mirror author is quoting Jerome’s *Prologues* through the Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla*. This quotation comes from the *Prologue to St. John’s Gospel*. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson G.164, a late fourteenth-century manuscript containing Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla* and Saint Jerome’s *Prologues*. The text of Jerome’s *Prologues* is included in the edition of the Vulgate by B. Fischer, et al., *Biblia Sacra*.


231/151-3. ...as Seynt Ierome seyth...vpon þe Apocalips: The *Prologues of Jerome* to the Gospel and to the Apocalypse of Saint John, as found in the Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla*.

231/159-175. and as Adam Cartusyense seythe...euerlastynge mysteryees: Adam the Carthusian, Sermo 33, *PL* 198.301.

231/182-232/189. Also, Worshipfull Bede seyth....: This passage actually derives from Peter Damian’s Sermo 64: “Hoc autem divinae sapientiae sale ita omnis beati Iohannis uidetur doctrina respersa, ut merito dicatur os Dei, lingua Spiritus Sancti, cedrus paradise, lux ecclesiae, decus orbis, praeco caeli, lumen mundi, sidus hominum, specimen angelorum, lapis uiusus, speculum lucis, logotheta diuinitatis, fundator fidei, columpna templi, architecutus ueri tabernaculi, quod fixit Deus et non homo” (CCCM 57, pp. 385-6, lines 375-82). The CCCM edition notes that a variant for “fundator” is “forma.” The Mirror author’s phrase “þe fourme of God” at line 188 suggests that his text read “forma dei”.

232/189. *maker*: Right margin of C corrects “makar” to “makare.”


233/221. *sette*: Right margin of C corrects “sette” to “sat.”

233/231. One worship: Right margin of ND has “Nota bene.”

234/263-4. ...so calleth hym Worshipfull Bede in a sermone...: This passage actually derives from Peter Damian’s Sermo 64: “qui per quoddam adoptionis arcanae mysterium, et filius Virginis et frater est Saluatoris” (CCCM 57, p. 378, lines 108-9).

234/266-70. Ffor þe foreseide Adam Cartusiense...wonte to worship: Adam the Carthusian, Sermo 33, PL 198.300-1.

234/270-3. ...Worshipfull Bede seyth...: This passage actually derives from Peter Damian’s Sermo 64: “Dignum quipped est ut qui a Christo prae cunctis mortalibus specialiter est dilectus, a Christi quoque fidelibus permaxime diligatur” (CCCM 57, p. 375, lines 7-9).

234/284-90. And as to þis...bot aungels brede: Adam the Carthusian, Sermo 33, PL 198.306.

234/292-164/314. And \as/ to þe firste...and an vnherde: This long passage relating the three ways in which John was honored in his death follows Jabobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea, ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, pp. 95-6.

235/320-1. manna, and þat is calede in Englysshe aungels brede: Psalm 77.24-5.

235/321-3. for it was worthy, as Adam Cartusiense seyth...body wente in: “Dignum posthaec fuit et omnino conveniens ut manna venustaret locum, quem corpus intravit virgineum” (Adam the Carthusian, Sermo 33, PL 198.309).

235/324-30. Also, Worshipfull Bede seythe...: This passage actually derives from two sections of Peter Damian’s Sermo 64. The first section reads: “Sic nimirum, sic dilectum Auctori utiae discipulum transire de saeculo dignum fuit, ut tam fieret a dolore mortis extraneus quam a corruptione carnis fuerat alienus” (CCCM 57, pp. 378-9, lines 138-40). The second section reads: “Quantae igitur reuerentiae habendus est hominibus beatus iste Johannes, quem ipse auctor utiae honorauit in carne uientem, honorauit et de saeculo recedentem!” (p. 383, lines 281-3).

236/339-42. Bot þat may no man...þat louen hym: I Corinthians 2.9 reads, “sed sicut scriptum est quod oculus non udit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparuit Deus his qui diligunt illum.” The use of “uidit” shows that C’s reading of “eye” is better than ND’s “he.”

236/349-80. After þe seyynge of doctours...martyr, a doctoure, and a vyrgyne: This passage remains unidentified.
237/385. vnpere: This word is not in the MED but Saint Augustine’s *De Bono Coniugali* has “inpar” at this point. The MED lists “per” *adj*, meaning “equal.” The Mirror author has most likely formed a Middle English equivalent to the Latin “inpar” by adding the negative prefix “vn-” to the positive form “per”.

237/385-7. And þerfore seys Seynte Austyne... Peter þat suffredë passioun: “non est inpar meritum patientiae in Petro, qui passus est, et in Iohanne, qui passus non est” (ed. Zycha, *De Bono Coniugali*, CSEL 41, Cap. xxi, p. 221, lines 17-8).

237/392. Portelatynes: Left margin of C reads “the daye of seyint Ihon portelatyne.” The Porta Latina was the gate at which the via Latina began in Rome. It was part of the Aurelian Walls, which were built between 270 and 273 CE. The walls and the gate still exist today. According to tradition, the church was built in the fifth century by Pope St Gelasius I (492-6 CE). Maker's stamps on roof tiles have been dated to the end of the 5th century, so it seems likely that it was built during St Gelasius' time. It was rebuilt c. 720, and restored in 1191.

237/398-9. ...as Seinte Ierome seyth...: *The Prologues of Jerome* to the Gospel and to the Apocalypse of Saint John, as found in Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla*.

238/404. [besyde the souereyne and princypal mede]: ND’s scribe deletes this line by committing an eyeskip.

238/414-6. A prophete he is...*that is wrytten herein*: Apocalypse 1.3.

238/418-29. Wherefore seyth Worshipful Bede...worthy seruyces: This actually derives from three sections of Peter Damian’s Sermo 64. The first section reads: “Quid in uirtutibus, quid in meritis, quo beatissimus incomparabiliter non excellat? Apostolus siquidem in epistolis, euangelista in euangelio, propheta in Apocalypsi. Propheta, inquam, et non qualiscumque, sed mirabilis atque, ad similitudinem alterius Iohannis, plus quam propheta” (CCCM 57, p. 375, lines 27-32). The second section reads: “Immo in speculanda summae diuinitatis essential praecedit prophetas, supergreditur patriarchas, apostolos superat” (p. 376, lines 54-6). The final section reads: “Merito ergo qui eum ceteris plus dilexit, sublimius eum ceteris honorauit. Et nos, fratres carissimi, pro modo nostro dignis eum studeamus efferre praeconis, dignis ueneremur semper obsequiis” (p. 383, lines 306-9).

238/418-9. *What is in vertues*: Right margin in ND has “Nota.”

239/448-58. It is redde in his *Legende*...of a pylgryme: The derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*. However, the saint in the *Legenda Aurea* is Edmund, King of England, not Edward the Confessor. With the exception of the names, the story is taken almost verbatim from the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol.1, p. 96).

239/459. Elizabethes: Right margin of C has “in the lyfe of seyint ely3abeth.”

239/459-67. Also it is redde in Seynte Elizabethes lyfe...: This legend is taken nearly verbatim from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 2, p. 1157). For more on the identity of Saint Elizabeth, see Riehle, Barratt, and McNamer.

239/468-240/479. Also it is wryten in Seynte Edmundes lyfe...forseide oryson: The life of Saint Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury (c. 1175-1240 CE), does not appear in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, but it was widespread in England. A Middle English version can be found in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle and His Followers*, ed. Horstmann, pp. 219-61. For another version, see Matthew Paris, *The Life of St. Edmund* (ed. C. H. Lawrence).

239/469. *Myracles of Our Lady*: Unidentified passage. The *Mirror* author relates seven miracles associated with Saint John. Of these miracles, he attributes two solely to the *Myracles of Our Lady*, and cites the *Myracles of Our Lady* as an alternate source for two others. Only the miracle found at 169/480-507 has been identified and appears in Wilmart, pp. 485-6. The other three do not appear to be contained in any of the larger collections of miracles attributed to Mary.

240/480-507. Fforthermore, it is founde in þe *Myracles of Our Lady*...: For a text of this miracle, edited from two thirteenth-century Paris manuscripts, see Wilmart, pp. 485-6. See note to 168/469.

240/508-170/528. Also, it is writen in þe same *Myracles of our Lady*...: Unidentified passage. See note to 168/469.

240/512. *Not onely orysons*: In C’s left margin is the following comment: “that ys I wole seye.”

241/513-15. ...þe monke wente oute of þe abbay: A note in the left margin of C reads: “vndyrstondyth that thys monke was but a nouyce fo\r/ ellys he mygth not go awey so.”

241/535-46. ...in þe Boke of [Beys]...wytnes is sothe: This passage derives from Thomas de Cantimpré’s *Bonum uniuersale de apibus*, Liber II, Cap. liii, p. 498, “Vidi quemdam canonicum Cameracensis ecclesiae, qui se in religioso Cantapratensi coenobio ad ordinem transtulit regularem: Hic cum beatissimum Apostolum et Evangelistam Ioannem in uita feruentissime dilexisset, post mortem illius cuidam concanonico eius in uisione uisum est, apparitionem huiusmodi se uidere. Accessit idem Apostolus ad gloriosam Virginem matrem Christi, rogans eam suppliciter, et sic dicens: Ecce anima amici nostri torquetur in poenis. Venias obsecro et liberes eam, quia etsi in uita perfecte non uixit,
tamen uitam suam pro magna parte corregit. Nec mora, annuit Virgo virgini et ad purgatorium descendentes, animam liberatam adducunt, et secum transferunt ad superna. Cognouimus haec per illum, qui hoc uidot, et testimonium perhibuit, et scimus, quia uerum est testimonium eius.”


241/547-242/555. Also in Seynte Gregores lyfe...relykes were: This passage derives from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, “Quibusdam principibus aliquas pretiosas reliquias petentibus aliquantulum de sancti Iohannis euangeliste dalmatica tribuit. Quod illi suscipientes tamquam uiles reliquias eidem cum indignatione nimia reddiderunt. Tunc beatus Gregorius oratione facta cultellum petiit et pannum illum pupugit. De cuius punctionibus sanguis protinus emanauit, sicque quam pretiose essent reliquie diuinitus est ostensum” (ed. Maggioni, Vol. 1, p. 299).

242/564 Soluite nunc mentem pro W. H. ad omnipotentem: C does not have this line referring to the scribe “W.H.”

243/1-244/44. *O Intemerata*: For an edition of this prayer, see Wilmart, pp. 488-90. See also Wieck, pp. 94-6, and de Hamel, pp. 168-99. The *O Intemerata* appeared in nearly every Book of Hours and plays a prominent role in three of the miracles described in Chapter Thirty-Three of the *Mirror*. C has a translation, written in a different hand, following its version of the *O Intemerata*.

243/7. *peccatori*: Right margin of C has “peccatrici.”

243/21. *peccator*: Left margin of C has “vel peccatrix.”

244/41 *cum sanctis omnibus*: In C, immediately following these words is an English translation of the *O Intemerata* written in what appears to be a different hand.
GLOSSARY

This glossary does not contain words that are easily recognizable to readers of modern English and whose meaning is unchanged. When a word appears in the text under different parts of speech, it contains a separate entry for each part of speech. Words spelled in more than one way are contained in a single entry with variant spellings following the headword in parentheses. Where the variant spelling is so divergent that it might be difficult to locate the main entry, cross-references are provided. If possible, variant spellings have been conflated into a single form, with the variation indicated by brackets (e.g., affeccio(u)n). A tilde (~) represents the head word in phrases quoted within entries. Within the phrase, alternative versions are separated by a slash, optional words provided for clarification of the phrase are in parentheses, and alternative phrases with the same meaning are separated by a comma. Glosses are arranged with the most important meaning of the word listed first and, following each gloss, is a reference to two to four examples of the word in the Mirror. Citations which refer to words resulting from emendations to the text of the Notre Dame manuscript are italicised. As a rule, regular verb inflections, noun plurals, etc, are not included, but forms which are likely to cause the reader difficulty are recorded separately. Verbs are entered in the infinitive form (without the final –n), unless the infinitive does not appear in the Mirror, in which case an inflected form is given as the head word. Verbal nouns ending in –ing are not usually given a separate entry if their meaning is the same as the verb from which they originate. Unless otherwise specified “sg past” means 1 and 3 sg past. A capital, italicized N indicates an entry in the Notes section for the glossed word.

Abbreviations

adj adjective  
adv adverb  
comp comparative  
conj conjunction  
dem demonstrative  
esp especially  
fem feminine  
imp imperative  
inf infinitive  
interj interjection  
lit literally  
n noun  
um numeral  
ord ordinal  
p ppl past participle  
past past tense  
pl plural  
pr present tense  
pr ppl present participle  
prep preposition  
pron pronoun  
refl reflexive  
rel relative  
sg singular  
subj subjunctive  
v verb  
vbl n verbal noun

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Abaschede (Abasshed) p ppl, upset, taken aback 3.89, 18.34
Abide v, wait, 2.49; 8.133; wait for, 8.95, 130; remain, stay 3.120; 7.58; live, dwell 7.37; halt 7.73; survive 23.23; 27.39; ~ in persist in 4.203; ~ to belong (by right) to 5.40, be in possession of 5.36; ~ vpon persist in 4.160; pl imp abideth 19.34; sg past abode 4.211; 5.39; pl past abode 25.5; aboden 7.58; p ppl abidyng 7.37; 12.87
Abidyng vbl n, dwelling, living 10.19
Abiecte adj, humble, menial 4.195
Abode(n) see Abide
Accidentale (Accidentall) adj, incidental, secondary 33.368, 404
Acloye v, beset, harass 2.13
Adrad(e) (Adradde / Adredde) adj, afraid 4.224; 9.13; 15.71; 21.30
Aferre adv, far off 2.48; at a distance 19.148; 25.48
Affeccio(u)n n, emotion, feeling 1.70; 3.125; 4.97; 5.191; ~ of desire for 1.90
After (Aftre) prep, according to Pr.116; TC.13; 3.52; after TC.40
Aftre conj, after TC.97
Agreuede p ppl made heavy 19.58
Aȝein (Aȝeine / Aȝene / Aȝeyn(e) / Ayeyne) adv, again Pr.16; TC.8; back 9.7; seye ~ reply 25.59; answer ~ reply 4.193; 12.52; come/go ~ return 8.4; gete ~ recover 15.237; ~ write aȝeyne copy 33.506
Aȝeins (Aȝen / Aȝenis / Aȝens / Aȝeynste / Aȝeyns(e) / Ayeine / Ayeynes) prep, against TC.52; 1.59; 3.19; towards 17.71, 89; 18.11; in anticipation of 19.34; in contrast to 24.95
Aȝe(y)ne-byer n, redeemer 8.96; 13.106; 24.117
Aȝeyns prep, towards 17.89
Aȝeynste prep, towards 17.71, 98
Algates adv, nevertheless 18.38
Almus n, alms 33.452
Als adv, as Pr.4; 1.80; 4.53; ~..., as... so 3.39, 82; ~ mykell to seye, ~ mykill to seye as if to say 6.73; 17.13; 29.101; for ~ mykel(l) as forasmuch as 5.16; 15.15; in ~ mykell as, in ~ myche as inasmuch as 4.96, 170; 10.90
Alyon adj, alien, foreign 32.36
Amys adv, improperly 3.19; wrongly 20.202
Answeres v, 2 sg pr (Northern) answer 19.213
Aparty(e) adv, partly, to some extent 18.197; 31.26
Aparicyon (Apparicio(u)n / Apparycyo(u)n) n, appearance or showing TC.22; 7.1; 31.41
Appreue (Approve) v, sanction 12.71; put to the proof 15.33
Approprede (Appropryde) p ppl, attributed, assigned 6.86; 27.41
Ar conj (see also Or), before 18.237
Araye n, clothing, equipment 7.42
Araye v, saddle 2.45
Arayse v, resurrect TC.50; 14.119; raise 19.211
Arede adj, ready 5.87
Aresyne (Arysen) p ppl of Arise arisen 29.33; 87
Areley (Arly) adv early 27.68; 30.11
Auryole n, crown or halo of a saint 33.374
Autentike (Autentyke) adj, authentic, canonical 28.41; 30.156
Auter(e) (Autyr) n, altar 8.122, 148; 33.463
Auryse (Avyce / Avyse) v refl, deliberate, reflect 20.47; 21.62
Auysement(e) n, consideration, reflection Pr.98; 19.231; 24.51
Ayeyne see Aieine
Ayeynes see Aieins
Aysel n, vinegar 22.189
Bad(de) see Bidde
Bare see Bere
Be prep, by 2.38; 3.46; 4.177; 20.87
Be (By) v, be 2.78; 27.56; 1 sg pres am Pr.44; 2 sg pres ert 21.42; erte 11.47; 3 sg pres is Pr.18; his 7.20; 2 pl pres be 5.110; 3 pl pres bene 11.60; beth 31.102; bien 5.191; sg imper be 6.72; pl imper bethe 6.35; 2 sg pres subj be 33.249; 3 sg pres subj be Pr.56; 2 sg past were 19.163; 1/3 sg past was 1.1; TC.3; pl past were 24.40; weren 5.156; 1/3 past subj were Pr.52; 2.8; p ppl be Pr.116; 3.60; bene 16.116
Beclyppe v, embrace 33.192
Bedell n, messenger, herald 33.186
Before prep, above 11.9
Before-goynge n, predecessor, preliminary 4.5
Begeten (Begetyn) p ppl, begotten, born 2.42; 9.52; 17.18
Behete v, promise 19.53; 1/3 sg past behette Pr.7; behight Pr.2; behyghte 33.487; 2 sg past beheteste 28.68; pl past beheten 17.125; p ppl behette 32.97; behote 13.93
Beheste n, promise 6.59; 33.111
Beilde v, build 32.87; p ppl belde 8.105
Bere n, bier 16.33, 36
Bere v, bear, carry 2.52; 8.44; take 8.50; thrust 9.85; endure 13.70; 15.72; send, pay (tribute) 15.129; 17.95; bear, yield (fruit) 2.70; give birth to 3.73, 5.134; ~ apoun hande to accuse (someone) 15.113; ~ vp(p) support Pr. 32. 4.98; ~ witnes, witnes(se) of / to testify (to) 8.59; 14.27; give evidence of 19.198; 20.86; 3 sg pr beres (Northern) 8.59; 14.27; sg past bare 2.52; 15.129; pl past bare 21.112; 26.10; p ppl bore 16.28; boren 9.106; borne Pr.32. 4.98; ybore 8.14; 10.74
Berye v, bury, entomb 7.209; 16.53
Besche v, to beg, entreat 16.130; 17.92
Besee v refl, look to oneself 20.46
Beshine v, shine on 15.68; sg past beshone 15.68
Besily adv, busily 18.203
**Besynes n**, business Pr.19; attention 33.257

**Bespronge p ppl**, sprinkled 33.184

**Beste n**, beast 17.19; 18.158

**Bestely adj**, bestial 1.51

**Betake v**, commit, entrust 22.178; 23.42; hand over 19.248; *sg past betoke* 15.38; *betuke* 22.178; *pl past betoke* 19.248

**Bete v**, beat, whip 20.151; beat (air) 7.34; *p ppl bette* 21.112; *ybete* 21.104

**Bethenke v**, think upon, remember 29.83; *(refl)* 9.4; *p ppl/ bethoghte* 9.4

**Betill n**, hammer 22.47

**Betoken (Bytoken) v**, indicate, signify TC.9; 2.3

**Betokenynge (Betoken(n)ynge) vbl n**, *in ~ of* as a sign (of) 8.45; 17.91; *in ~ þat* as a sign (that) 18.164; 23.48

**Betuke see Betake**

**Betwyxe prep**, between 5.64

**Bidde (Bydde) v**, order, command Pr.91; 9.27; 18.16; summon 4.121; *sg past bad* 1.61; 2.42; *badde* 2.42; 4.166; 2 *sg past baddeste*; 28.67; 2 *sg pr byddeste* 33.240; *p ppl bode* 8.13; 4.121; *boden* 4.120; 20.68; *ybode* 33.303

**Bode v**, remain stay; *past bode* 22.72; 30.110

**Bode(n) see Bidde**

**Bondell n**, bundle 8.116

**Bore(n) see Bere**

**Borgene (Burgen) v**, put forth leaves 2.61, 65, 70

**Borne see bere**

**Boste n**, boast 21.30

**Bostously (Boustously / Boustoustly) adv**, roughly 4.192, 19.137; 20.146

**Bote n**, salvation 28.9

**Bot(t) (But) conj**, unless 18.47; if...not 24.72; unless 24.93

**Bowede adj**, sloping, tilted forward 12.29

**Brak(e), Brak(ke) see Breke**

**Braste pl past**, burst, break 22.37

**Breke v**, break 1.58; 8.145; infringe, violate 15.114; *sg past brak(e)* 1.69; 8.145; *pl past brak(ke)* 24.20; *p ppl broken* 20.156

**Brenne v**, burn 7.33; 15.235; 22.26

**Bresten pl past**, burst, break 22.26

**Breiste (Briste) n**, breast 18.183; 185

**Brode n**, *on ~ on every side* 33.20

**Bronde n**, torch for illumination 7.33; 22.204

**Brusynge, vbl n**, bruising, a bruise 25.74

**Brymm n**, pool 20.174

**Buffette n**, blow delivered with the fist 22.198

**But see Bot(t)**

**By(e) v**, buy 18.223; 27.31

**By that conj**, in that 13.13

**Bydyynge vbl n**, staying, dwelling 14.35

**Bynde v** bind 5.85; oblige 8.23; 28.57; *sg past bonde* 5.123; *pl past bonden* 19.250; *bounden* 20.13²; *p ppl/ bounde(n)* 8.23; 20.13¹, 121; *ybunden* 20.35
Bytokene v, signify 21.33
Bytokenynge see Betokenynge

Caste n, throw 19.39
Caste v, cast, throw 15.170; plan 15.118; 33.57; (refl) intend, plan 4.165; prepare 11.74
Century n, centurion 23.65; 25.16
Cepvre n, sceptre 20.186
Chapeter (Chapetle / Chapitle) n, chapter Pr.11; TC.1; 2.5
Chekeyne n, young bird, chick 8.54
Chese v, choose 1.58; 2.65; sg past chese 1.58; 8.57; pl past chesen 7.203; p ppl chesen 14.111; chose 33.127; chosen 3.59
Chyualry n, host (of angels) 5.147
Clene adj, clean, unsoiled 5.83; 9.43; morally pure 1.90; 6.43; chaste, pure, esp virgin 2.32; 3.44; splendid, elegant; 25.20; 26.6
Clen(e)ly adv, cleanly 1.53; whole-heartedly 11.59
Clennes n, purity 8.46; 12.26
Clense v, to purify 8.11; to heal (leprosy) 14.119
Clere adj, clear 28.23, 28, 34
Clereley adv, clearly, plainly 5.72; entirely 15.148; 33.95
Clereneses n, clarity 1.85, 88; brightness 15.58; 33.19
Clerk n, member of the clergy Pr.21; 6.70; 7.110
Close adj, closed, shut 29.26; enclosed, shut up 33.45
Cloute n, cloth 5.83, 85, 120
Clyppes n, eclipse 23.7
Collette n, acolyte 8.123
Comforde (Comforth(e) / Comforte) (see also Conforte) n, comfort Pr.83; 2.41; relief 8.60
Comfortable (Confortable) adj, consoling, comforting Pr.117; 2.8
Comfoure v refl, make oneself like 8.42
Com(m)endacioun n, praise, commendation TC.98; 6.81
Com(m)ende v, recommend 6.60; entrust 33.227; praise 14.92; 96
Commune (Comyn) adj, common 18.138; 33.354, 377
Commune v, to administer Holy Communion 18.70, 106; reveal, communicate 33.210
Com(m)ytte v, entrust 5.18; 19.43; submit 30.157
Compendiouse adj, brief, succinct 11.69
Compendiously adv, concisely, succinctly 2.90
Compunccion n, remorse, contrition 27.51
Conceyue (Conseyue / Conseyve) v, comprehend, understand 21.150; feel 31.109; conceive (a child) 2.83; 3.19; imagine 23.114; 33.343
Concie (Conscience / Consiens / Concyence) n, conscience Pr.34; have, make ~ to have scruples about 20.39, 40
Condempne v, condemn 21.52, 82
Conferme v, confirm 22.116; strengthen 32.56; endorse, sanction 2.71; 18.157
Confermyng n, strengthening 19.70; 31.62
Comfortable see Comfortable
Conforte (Conforth) n, comfort, consolation 6.30; 18.167
Confort(e) v, comfort, console 6.29; 12.36; encourage, urge Pr.29; strengthen 18.244; succour, relieve 11.28; 12.38
Conforth see Conforte n
Coniure v, charge, urge 19.216
Connynge (see also Konnynge) vbl n, knowledge 14.77; 33.222; ability 11.75
Conscience see Concience
Consciens see Concience
Conseyue, Conseyve see Conceyue
Constance n, steadfastness 33.53
Contynuante adj, assiduous, persistent 11.25; continual 16.57
Contynuantly adv, continually 11.33; 16.119
Contrary adj, hostile, disobedient 15.136; contrary 10.111; 15.137
Contrary(e) n, opposite Pr.41; 3.99; 21.69
Contraryouse adj, rebellious, refractory 13.115
Contrariouste n, animosity, rebelliousness 1.53
Contre, Contrey(e) n, country, region 3.15; 5.11; 7.32
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