

TWO MIDDLE ENGLISH PRAYER CYCLES:
HOLKHAM *PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS*
AND SIMON APPULBY'S
THE FRUYTE OF REDEMPCYON

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ABBREVIATIONS LIST

1514	Appulby, <i>The Fruyte of redempcyon</i> . Wynkyn de Worde, 1514. Cambridge, University Library, Sel 5.31 [base text for Appulby's <i>Fruyte of Redempcyon</i>]
1517	Appulby, <i>The Fruyte of redempcyon</i> . Wynkyn de Worde, 1517
1530	Appulby, <i>The Fruyte of redempcyon</i> . Wynkyn de Worde, 1530
1531	Appulby, <i>The Fruite of Redempcion</i> . Roberte Redman, 1531
1532	Appulby, <i>The Fruyte of redempcyon</i> . Wynkyn de Worde, 1532
AA	Nicholas Weydenbosch, <i>Antidotarius Animae</i>
BSR	Bridget of Sweden, <i>Revelaciones</i> , ed. Undhagen et al.
CT	Chaucer, <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> , ed. Benson
EETS	Early English Text Society
FR	Simon Appulby, <i>The Fruyte of Redempcyon</i>
HPM	Holkham <i>Prayers and Meditations</i>
ISTC	Incunabula Short Title Catalogue
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. McSparran et al.
METS	Middle English Texts Series
MLC	John of Caulibus [attrib.], <i>Meditations on the Life of Christ</i> , trans. Taney, Miller, and Stallings-Taney
MS	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Holkham Misc. 41 [base text for Holkham <i>Prayers and Meditations</i>]
NIMEV	<i>New Index of Middle English Verse</i> , ed. Boffey and Edwards
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. Matthew and Harrison
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>

OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and English Books Printed Abroad 1473–1640</i> , ed. Pollard and Redgrave
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue, dir. Pettegree



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE TEXTS AND THEIR TRADITION

This book brings together two striking but neglected specimens of late medieval devotion, the Holkham *Prayers and Meditations* (ca. 1400–ca. 1420) and Simon Appulby's *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* (1514), hereafter *HPM* and 1514. Although written roughly a century apart, under differing circumstances and for different audiences, together they represent one of the most vital and idiosyncratic strands in medieval religious culture. At root, both consist of a series of prayers based around the ministry and passion of Christ. Each leads its readers through the central narrative at the heart of the Christian faith — at least as it was understood by the later Middle Ages — and asks them to offer praise for the various benefits or sacrifices described, or to reflect on the moral or doctrinal lessons imparted. But aside from this simple structure, both are equally marked by the active, not to say interactive, position they ask their audience to assume. Rather than simply reiterating the events recorded by the evangelists, they ask readers to insert themselves into the scenes as though they are living and ongoing episodes. Their rhetorical intensity, which is designed to appeal to the full range of sensory and imaginative faculties, effectively replays the gospel episodes in the mind of the reader; the point is to make biblical history vividly present in the imagination and emotions of the meditator, and in turn to make the meditator present in the events portrayed. Both texts therefore stand on the boundary between prayer and sacred history, and between artistry and practical instruction. They use the gospel accounts not only as the basis of their own intense reimagining, but in order to stimulate the reader's own creativity and piety. Rather than being mere formulas for thanksgiving, in short, they conceive prayer as a complex psychological, emotional, and aesthetic process.

Before addressing the texts themselves, however, a little needs to be said about the tradition to which they belong. Their approach to prayer is the fruit of at least a century of contemplative activity, thought, and writing. Both cycles take their lead from the earlier Latin sequence *Meditationes vitae Christi* [*Meditations on the Life of Christ*], hereafter *MLC*, conventionally dated to the turn of fourteenth century, although more recently placed in the period ca. 1336–ca. 1360 or ca. 1325–ca. 1340.¹ It is difficult to overstate the importance of the *Meditationes* and the hold it exerted over medieval culture. Although it owes a clear debt to Cistercian practice in the preceding two centuries, it can be fairly judged “the single most influential devotional text written in the later Middle Ages.”² Most of the usual metrics for assessing the importance of texts confirm its immense and widespread popularity. It survives in over two hundred manuscripts, around twenty of which are deluxe illuminated copies, and it was translated into several vernacular languages across Europe, in some cases multiple times.³ In the centuries following its composition, versions appeared in

¹ On dating, see McNamer, “Further Evidence”; ed. McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, p. cxlvi.

² McNamer, “Origins of the *Meditationes*,” p. 905.

³ Fischer, “Die ‘*Meditationes Vitae Christi*.’”

French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as Swedish, Irish, and Catalan.⁴ It found a particularly receptive audience in medieval England. Not only were its passages on the Passion and the early life of Mary disaggregated and recompiled into separate texts, thereby extending its reach further still, but it also gave rise to at least six Middle English adaptations.⁵ The most important of these is also one of the most widely read and copied texts in fifteenth-century England, the *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* (ca. 1409) by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian charterhouse of Mount Grace in North Yorkshire. Beyond these larger monuments to the text, it also leaves numerous smaller traces throughout the culture of the period. Its influence can be seen in a wide variety of contexts across a formidable range of media, from drama to graphic art, from lyric poetry to penitential handbooks, and from sculpture to homily.⁶

Yet for all its popularity as a repository of images and ideas, the *Meditationes* had greatest impact as a blueprint, stimulating further work in the same contemplative vein. Within a few decades of its composition, it had already begun to inspire similar visionary reimaginings of Christ's life and death. Leading the pack is the *Speculum vitae Christi* [Mirror of the Life of Christ] (1374) by the Carthusian theologian Ludolph of Saxony, a text that attained a high degree of influence in its own right, and at several points directly replicates portions of Pseudo-Bonaventure's sequence. Bridget of Sweden, a further major force in the development of fourteenth-century mysticism, also shows some familiarity with the work.⁷ Its influence continues to be felt, both directly and indirectly, on many key mystical writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries working in both Latin and the vernacular, including Thomas à Kempis, Julian of Norwich, Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, and Ignatius Loyola, among many others. The text, in short, quickly served as the spur for a considerable body of emotive, speculative engagements with Christian history, one which scholarship has come to regard as a fully-fledged Pseudo-Bonaventurean tradition.

In many respects, the rapid and far-reaching popularity of the text is curious, given that its origins are almost completely obscure. Its precise authorship and the circumstances of its composition are both unknown. From an early period it circulated under the name of Bonaventure, later St. Bonaventure, the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian and cardinal-bishop of Albano. The attribution is almost certainly fanciful or erroneous: while the *Meditationes* takes a few cues from Bonaventure's devotional writing, and shows a clear foundation in peculiarly Franciscan forms of spirituality, it seems to date from at least two decades after his death. It is more likely to have originated with the Poor Clares, or Order of Poor Ladies, the female religious community founded at San Damiano by St. Clare of Assisi, an early follower of St. Francis. The text itself is usually preceded by a prologue that explicitly singles out "blessed Francis" and "your sweetest mother, blessed Clare the virgin" for praise.⁸ What this means for the origins of the work continues to be subject to debate, however. In the eighteenth century, Bonaventure's editor Benedetto Bonelli proposed another candidate as author: citing a note written by Bartholomeo da Rinonico in the 1370s, Bonelli put forward Giovanni de Cauli or Johannes de Caulibus, a friar from San Gimignano who apparently served as confessor and advisor to the Poor Clares.⁹ Giovanni's authorship has been further

⁴ See Johnson and Westphall, "Introduction," pp. 1–5.

⁵ Bonaventure (attrib.), *Meditaciones de Passione Christi*, ed. Stallings, p. 36; Moss, "Seeking Salvation," pp. 265–70.

⁶ For examples of this influence across multiple forms and genres, see Kieckhefer, "Recent Work on Pseudo-Bonaventure"; Craddock, "Franciscan Influence"; Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, pp. 49–54; Jeffrey, "Franciscan Spirituality"; Wenzel, *Art of Preaching*, p. 146.

⁷ Butkovich, *Iconography*, p. 52.

⁸ *MLC*, p. 2.

⁹ Ed. Bonelli, *Prodromus*, cols. 697–700.

endorsed by the nineteenth-century editor A. C. Peltier and the twentieth-century translators Francis X. Taney, Anne Miller, and C. Mary Stallings-Taney. More recently, however, Sarah McNamer has offered a more persuasive possibility, arguing that the work evolved in a piecemeal and cooperative way out of the contemplative practices of the sisters themselves. She sees a shorter Italian version not as a vernacular redaction of the text but its original kernel, which was later augmented into the more academic and sustained Latin sequence.¹⁰ Neither hypothesis has been accepted without reservation, however, and the precise nature of its composition seems likely to remain elusive.¹¹ For this reason, scholarship refers to its composer as Pseudo-Bonaventure, to reflect its place among other attributed works, rather than designate an individual author in the modern sense.¹²

The *Meditationes* contains over a hundred chapters, most of which pick up on specific episodes or moments from the gospel narrative. However, it is not the straightforward digest or retelling of Christ's life that its accepted title might imply. The gospel narratives have been reformulated to carry a particular set of emphases. Even a casual glance makes clear that the length of sections, and the attention they are given, is very uneven: many of the miracles and parables, such as the restoration of the widow's son (Luke 7:11–15) and parable of the wicked vine-dressers (Matthew 21:33–46), are dispatched fairly briefly while others, such as the reply to the Pharisees after the disciples picked corn on the Sabbath (Matthew 12:1–8), receive far lengthier treatment. As might be expected, the two most exhaustive sections are the Passion and the visitation to Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38–42); the former is stretched out over seven chapters, and the latter episode triggers a thirteen-chapter digression on the distinction between the active and contemplative lives, one that reads more like a self-contained treatise than a segment of a larger sequence. Given that the collection probably originated with an enclosed female order, these insertions are not as invasive as they might first appear, despite their departure from the stated design of the text.

But looking beyond this occasional inconsistency, what unites the sections is the characteristic approach they assume. The text has a theoretical and demonstrative slant from the first, offering not only a sustained example of its psychological model of prayer but setting it out as a self-conscious methodology. In the prologue, Pseudo-Bonaventure directs the reader to see his or her meditative devotion as something akin to role-play: he urges the reader to suspend their own “extraneous cares and concerns” and instead to “place yourself in the presence of whatever is related as having been said or done by the Lord Jesus, as if you were hearing it with your own ears and seeing it with your own eyes.”¹³ This intention is not confined to the prologue, but explicitly informs the contemplations that follow; reminders are scattered through the chapters that the reader should see the collection as a demonstration and a prompt for their own exercises. In a meditation on the Incarnation and Annunciation, for example, the reader is again advised to insert themselves into the scenes they are contemplating: he or she is told to “bring your attention into play here and . . . place yourself in the presence of everything that is said and done” and asked to “watch closely, as if you were actually present, and take in mentally everything said and done.”¹⁴ This program is reiterated in the final chapter, where it is extended into a full cycle of devotions. After telling the reader once again to “make yourself present in the very place where, before your eyes, it occurs to your mind that events were

¹⁰ McNamer, “Origins of the *Meditationes*”; ed. McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, pp. cxix–cxlvi.

¹¹ For one continuation of the debate, see Tóth and Falvay, “New Light”; also see McNamer, “Debate on the Origins.”

¹² See the brief discussion in Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print*, pp. 128–29.

¹³ *MLC*, p. 4.

¹⁴ *MLC*, p. 13.

taking place,” Pseudo-Bonaventure divides his contemplations into seven smaller sequences, to be parceled out day-by-day over the course of a week, no doubt to reflect the seven days of Creation.¹⁵

This emphasis on individual engagement gives rise to one of the most striking features of the text, one that might seem surprising to modern eyes. At several points Pseudo-Bonaventure gives the reader license to revisualize as well as visualize the events of the New Testament. In his prologue he takes pains to point out that the gospels seldom record circumstantial details, and that these background elements can be made accessible through careful meditation: as he writes, “you should not think that all his words and deeds that we can meditate on, were actually written down. But to make them actually stand out, I will tell you about these unwritten things just as if they had actually happened, at least insofar as they can piously be believed to be occurring or to have occurred.”¹⁶ The same point is frequently reiterated in the chapters that follow, which often instruct readers to “enlarge on the scenes more fully” while taking care to “notice every detail.”¹⁷ Pseudo-Bonaventure fleshes out the scenes himself at multiple points; in the process he popularizes several supplementary narratives that became cornerstones of medieval devotion, most notably the conference between Jesus and the Virgin Mary after the Resurrection.¹⁸ Of course, this does not mean that the meditator is free to abandon or contradict the evangelists, or to project their own inventions into the biblical narrative with complete impunity: he also stresses that meditation must at all times be trained on facts “recorded in the Gospel” and makes clear that these extra details will only crystallize in the mind “as the Lord will grant it to you.”¹⁹ Nonetheless, the work’s overall attitude towards scripture is not a fundamentalist one; it might better be called generative, since it treats the imagination as a viable resource for understanding the mystery of the Incarnation to its fullest extent.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PRAYER CYCLES

It is therefore no accident that *Meditationes* produced such a strong flow of adaptation and imitation. It actively invites such a response, not only presenting itself as a record of contemplative experiences but as a practical manual for readers to develop their own engagements with Christian history, and gives a powerful incentive for unearthing otherwise “unwritten things.” It was composed, in effect, with the full intention that readers should take up its example and engage in their own exercises. Both of the texts included here are attempts to put this program into action. Neither is a straightforward translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure in the manner of Nicholas Love, although their richly descriptive, emotionally affective language sticks closely to his recommendations; at times both pick up on specific details from the *Meditationes*, although it is sometimes unclear whether this is the result of direct contact or a consequence of inhabiting the same tradition. But they also serve to foreground the vibrancy and flexibility of the form of prayer Pseudo-Bonaventure codified. The two plot their own distinct paths, each attempting to adapt meditative worship to meet the needs of a different public and to serve distinct ends.

Although in some respects the most conventional of the two texts, the *Fruyte of Redempcyon* embodies this malleability. Written by the London anchorite Simon Appulby at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Fruyte* was evidently designed for a lay, middle-class readership. Although the work of a recluse, in

¹⁵ MLC, p. 332.

¹⁶ MLC, p. 4.

¹⁷ MLC, p. 239.

¹⁸ MLC, p. 286.

¹⁹ MLC, pp. 332, 239.

fact one of the last practitioners of anchorism in medieval England, it is a work attuned to the needs of the urban, commercial environment in which its author lived and worked. It was obviously successful in meeting this remit: it was issued in at least five distinct editions over the course of two decades and even seems to have sparked competition between rival printers.

The *Prayers and Meditations*, on the other hand, is tailored to a different, more intimate context, one that scholarship has often found difficult to access. According to its own prologue, it was written at the behest of a “religious sustir” seeking advice and guidance from another, more experienced woman, perhaps a senior member of her order. The text is therefore not merely a rare example of medieval female authorship, but an even rarer witness to a mentoring relationship between two women, of a kind only hinted at elsewhere. It is also a skillful and sympathetic composition, one that leads its reader through the rigors of meditative worship with a high degree of patience, compassion, and care.

THIS EDITION

Despite their value for scholars and general readers, this is the first time that either text has been fully edited for publication. Although each text has occasionally caught the eye of commentators, editors, and anthologists, the *Prayers and Meditations* has never been published in its entirety. As far back as the mid-1980s an edition was under preparation by William Pollard; although it was advertised in a few contemporary journals, the project sadly never seems to have reached completion.²⁰ Readers interested in the text have had to content themselves with the extracts included by Alexandra Barratt in her useful anthology *Women’s Writing in Middle English* (1992, revised 2010). Although Barratt gives an interesting and representative selection of excerpts, the nature of her compilation obviously precludes more comprehensive coverage; only a relatively small proportion of the total work is included, running to four of the fifty-four prayers and the author’s concluding remarks. The *Fruyte of Redempcyon* has fared a little better, but has also been unavailable in a fully-edited version until now. It has been appended to two valuable studies of Appulby, his world, and his text: a facsimile of the 1514 edition was included in Charles Welch’s *Churchwardens’ Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows* (1912), and a transcription of the 1530 imprint was attached to Claire Dowding’s 2014 Ph.D. dissertation. Many of the surviving copies of the *Fruyte* were also photographed in the 1930s and 40s as part of Eugene Power’s efforts to create a record of early printed books on microfilm, a project which evolved into the EEBO database in the late 1990s.²¹ While these projects have made the text accessible in its entirety, none seeks or claims to be a scholarly edition. Some in fact present severe hurdles for general or student readers wishing to engage with Appulby; the OCR transcription on EEBO is especially rife with errors and unreadable passages, some of which even make their way into the title of the book itself.

Each of the texts has necessitated a slightly different editorial methodology. In the case of the *Prayers and Meditations*, options for editing are limited by the fact that the text has only survived in a single manuscript. It must have circulated in multiple versions at some stage in its history: its manuscript is plainly not the author’s own holograph text but a presentation copy, and shows faint signs of having been corrected against a second copy.²² Nonetheless, the cycle is now only known as part of MS Holkham Misc. 41. Fortunately, the Holkham manuscript appears to be a reliable witness. It seems to have been produced by

²⁰ For two such notices, see Lagorio, “Research in Progress,” p. 82; Gioia, “Editions and Translations in Progress,” p. 246.

²¹ See Mak, “Archaeology of a Digitization.”

²² See HPM Prayer 46.1 and t-note.

a careful and attentive copyist, judging from the relatively small number of scribal errors it contains. Yet its very uniqueness raises problems of its own. Most pressing of these is the fact that there is no way to retrieve text lost through physical damage; in the absence of further copies, even surmising how much of the cycle is now missing proves difficult, if not impossible.

The *Fruyte of Redempcyon* presents a somewhat different case. Although no manuscript copy has survived, perhaps because it was written expressly for circulation in print, it exists in no fewer than five distinct editions produced across two decades. In substance, these imprints vary much less than might be expected: the basic text they preserve is remarkably consistent, a fact that is especially impressive given that each must have been reset from scratch ahead of publication. Nevertheless, they still differ from one another in a number of key details. In the first place, they were obviously prepared with differing levels of care. The 1517 and 1531 texts are especially hurried and error-prone, with the former managing to misspell both its year of publication and the name of its printer; at the other extreme, the 1530 edition is unusually assiduous, even amending a number of irregularities from the earlier versions (although occasionally introducing fresh mistakes in the process). They also show the effects of wider shifts in early modern spelling and orthography. The period in which the *Fruyte* was published saw considerable flux in writing conventions, and the later versions show an unsystematic but perceptible movement away from older Middle English forms, especially after the thirteen-year interval that separates the 1517 and 1530 texts. Owing to these factors, I have based my edition on the 1514 version; since this is the earliest imprint, it lacks the editorial modifications found in later copies. However, where subsequent editions offer plausible emendations, I have not hesitated to incorporate them or at least flag them in the Textual Notes. Since the *Fruyte* is a translation, I have also used the notes to track when and how Appulby draws on his major sources. This should give a clear sense of his practices as translator on the one hand, and mark out where he interpolates original material on the other.

In terms of presentation of the texts, punctuation and capitalization have been modernized throughout, following the general editorial principles of the Middle English Texts Series. Orthography has been similarly adapted: in the *Prayers and Meditations*, the Middle English letter-forms thorn and yogh have been replaced by their modern-day sound equivalents. Along similar lines, all *i/j* and *u/v* spellings have been regularized, and I have silently expanded the scribal and printer's abbreviations found in both texts. Where the second-person pronoun *thee* is spelled *the*, I have spelled it with a double *e* in order to differentiate it from the definite article; I have also added an acute accent to any terminal *-e* that should be treated as a syllable in its own right (i.e., *pité*, *Trinité*, *gloteiné*, *charyté*). Roman numerals have been retained and glossed in the case of larger figures, and spelled out for numbers below one hundred, using the preferred spellings of the base texts where possible; the only exceptions are Appulby's chapter divisions, where I have replaced the original Roman numeration with Arabic numbers throughout. The only other substantive modification is the introduction of exclamation points in the Holkham *Prayers* after the interjection "a" in order to distinguish it from the indefinite article.

In addition, I have also made a handful of smaller adjustments, generally for ease of reference or reading. The most extensive of these interventions is the series of headings I have added to the individual sections of the *Prayers and Meditations*. In the manuscript, the individual prayers are unnumbered and untitled: however, its scribe takes considerable pains to differentiate between sections. Primarily this is achieved by rubrication, as the concluding formulas of the prayers are systematically rendered in red ink throughout, effectively signaling where each one ends. The start of each prayer is also marked by a large colored initial in blue set on a patterned red background, usually two lines in height; the prologue and "general confession" are preceded by even larger illuminated capitals made up of multicolored vine-and-leaf designs, in the first

case partly finished with gold leaf. Blue or red pilcrows sometimes appear to pick out particular sections within the prayers, and Latin quotations are also rubricated. I have not attempted to reproduce any of this visual apparatus in the current edition, but have sought to preserve its overall function. In its place, I have allocated each prayer a number and a brief title based on the biblical episode (or episodes) with which it deals, following Barratt's precedent. If nothing else, such a system should allow individual sections of the *Prayers and Meditations* to be identified, and the scope and content of the work as a whole to be compared with similar sequences. On occasion, I have also thought it necessary to break up some of the longer sections into thematic paragraphs of the kind familiar to modern readers, but have tried to do so sparingly. Lastly, I have quoted folio numbers throughout both texts. This is not merely in accordance with standard practice in the Middle English Texts Series, but for purposes of consistency. My two base texts employ different types of numeration: page numbers have been penciled into the manuscript that contains *Prayers and Meditations* by a modern reader or librarian, and the *Fruyte of Redempcyon* contains the usual erratic signature marks used by early printers. Converting both to foliation eliminates the discrepancies that naturally arise from toggling between two different systems.

WITNESSES AND EDITIONS

Holkham *Prayers and Meditations*

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Holkham Misc. 41. Fols. 1r–49v.
- Barratt, Alexandra, ed. *The Faits and Passion of Our Lord Jesu Christ*. In *Women's Writing in Middle English*. London: Longman, 1992. Pp. 205–18. [2nd ed. 2010. Pp. 211–20.] [Includes the author's conclusion and a selection of her prayers, under the title *The Faits and Passion of Our Lord Jesu Christ*.]

Simon Appulby, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*

- *The fruyte of redempcyon*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1514. STC 22557. Cambridge, University Library, Sel 5.31.
- *The fruyte of redempcyon*. London: Wynkyn [de] Worde, [1517]. STC 22558.
- *The fruyte of redempcyon*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1530. STC 22559.
- *The Fruite of Redempcion: very profitable and moche necessary for every Christen man*. London: Roberte Redman, 1531. STC 22559.5.
- *The fruyte of redempcyon*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1532. STC 22560.
- Welch, Charles, ed. *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall, in the City of London, 33 Henry VI to 27 Henry VIII (AD 1455–1536)*. London: Private Print, 1912. [Appends a facsimile of the 1514 edition.]
- Dowding, Clare M. "‘For your ghostly conforthe that vnderstande no Latyn’: A Study of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* by Symon Appulby." Ph.D. Dissertation: King's College London, 2014. Pp. 348–74. Online at <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.677149>. [Transcribes the 1530 edition and reproduces its woodcuts.]



HOLKHAM PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS INTRODUCTION

Our first sequence of prayers is among the most remarkable specimens of the form in medieval English. It offers both an introduction to its chosen genre and an interesting and unusual composition in its own right. On the one hand, the text provides a snapshot of the richness and complexity of late medieval religious discourse in English. It deftly weaves together several overlapping traditions, sources, and lines of thought, and spotlights the dense accretion of material that had built up around the gospel accounts by the later Middle Ages. At the same time, however, it also stands as a comparatively uncommon example of its genre, taking a markedly innovative, even idiosyncratic approach to the framework it has inherited from Pseudo-Bonaventure and his imitators.

THE TEXT'S MANUSCRIPT AND SCOPE

The text is a rarity in a more literal sense too, since it only survives in a single copy. Its lone manuscript, MS Holkham Misc. 41, is currently held at the Bodleian, which acquired it from the Coke family in 1956 as part of a longer-term purchase of volumes from the Cokes's collection at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, beginning with a sale of early printed books in 1953.¹ Its current bindings are embossed with the family's curious insignia, featuring an ostrich devouring a horseshoe, and are inscribed with the signature of Thomas William Coke, first Earl of Leicester (1754–1842).² It had apparently been in the possession of the Cokes since at least the early seventeenth century, catalogued under the old reference Holkham Hall 675.³ The prayer sequence is the first of three texts in the manuscript. It is followed by a brief devotional quatrain, and an English version of the *Remediis contra temptationes* [Remedy Against Temptations] (here given the title “*Consolacio animae*,” or “Comfort of the soul”), originally written in Latin by William Flete in ca. 1357.⁴ Jessica Lamothe suggests a likely date of ca. 1430–1450 on the strength of its patterned borders.⁵ The prayer sequence itself seems to date from the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, perhaps a little after 1415. In its current form, it consists of fifty-four brief prayers ranging from fifty to over five hundred words in length. It was clearly more extensive in its original version; the condition of the manuscript makes

¹ “Medieval Manuscripts,” p. 340; Rogers, “The Holkham Collection,” pp. 255–59.

² Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 44. As Pollard details, the current binding dates from 1814–1822, when the earl had the volume cleaned and remounted. The signature itself is identical to one found on an 1824 silhouette portrait of Thomas William, now held at the National Portrait Gallery (catalogue ref. NPG D16360).

³ Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian*, 3:90.

⁴ According to Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, the Holkham copy of the *Remediis* reproduces the third Middle English translation, which survives in four further manuscripts and an early printed edition by Wynkyn de Worde (“William Flete’s ‘De Remediis,’” pp. 227–28). On the text in general, see Flete, *Remedies Against Temptations*, ed. Colledge and Chadwick; Hackett, “William Flete and the *De remediis*”; Hackett, *William Flete, O. S. A., and Catherine of Siena*.

⁵ Lamothe, “An Edition of William Flete’s *De remediis*,” pp. 99–100.

obvious that only a partial text has come down to us. While much of the manuscript is badly deteriorated by mold and damp, more serious damage occurs during prayer 36, where an indeterminable number of leaves is missing, perhaps as many as a full quire. The text breaks off when describing the Last Supper and only resumes midway through the formula “I thanke and magnifie yow,” effectively jumping to the opening line of an entirely new section (37.1).

In terms of their content, the prayers follow a structure that is immediately familiar from the larger Pseudo-Bonaventurean tradition. Each focuses on a particular episode from the life of Christ, or a set of thematically linked episodes, and asks its reader to reflect on a group of concerns or give thanks for a specific blessing as they contemplate the events in question. The driving principle is much the same as that which guides Pseudo-Bonaventure’s work, as the text uses richly descriptive and emotive language in order to restage sacred history in the imagination of the meditator: in the words of Michelle Karnes, its policy is to move Christ’s life and passion from “its historical occurrence” into the here and now, directing the reader “to suffer with Christ in order to glory with him” in a state of “spiritual intimacy.”⁶ The text itself sets out such an approach in its first prayer, describing its wish to stimulate “reverence and remembraunce” by fixing “in mende the grete dedes” that Jesus performed. This aim is made clearer still by one of the text’s most distinctive rhetorical features, its heavy use of the interjections “o” and “a.” These exclamations appear over eighty and twenty times, respectively, across the sequence; they serve not only to strengthen the emotional punch of the descriptions, but also to fix contemplation to particular ideas or images, in a manner reminiscent of the popular passion-prayers *The Fifteen Oes*.⁷ The cycle in fact seems to be responding to Pseudo-Bonaventure in more than its general approach.⁸ While the text is by no means a slavish imitation, direct knowledge of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* can be inferred at several points: prayers 4, 8, 12, 20, 29, and 47 make extensive use of Pseudo-Bonaventurean motifs, and the closing instruction “bindith not yow self to seye al ovir the preieres every day” might be a tacit rebuttal of the more regimented scheme he sets out in his concluding chapter.⁹ Although it is entirely possible that the author might have met this information elsewhere, given Pseudo-Bonaventure’s hold over the medieval literary and artistic imagination, the quantity of shared detail suggests some familiarity with this founding meditative cycle.

THE AUTHOR AND HER READER

While the sequence might draw from the main wellspring of its tradition, it is set apart from it in one crucial respect. What gives the text particular interest, not to say value, is the identity of its author. It is likely the work of a female writer, fulfilling the request of a second woman either in or about to enter religious orders.¹⁰ The first few lines of the prologue point to both of these circumstances. Not only is the reader addressed as a “religious sustir” and described as commissioner of the cycle, having supposedly “desirid” its production,

⁶ Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, p. 141.

⁷ Pollard, “Mystical Elements,” pp. 56–57. On the *Fifteen Oes*, see the discussions in ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, pp. 175–83 and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 249–56; for a recent edition of the text, see ed. Barratt and Powell, *The Fifteen Oes and Other Prayers*.

⁸ The prayers, for instance, are described as a “vernacular adaptation” of the *Meditations* in Merkur, *Crucified with Christ*, p. 34.

⁹ Further traces might appear in prayers 27, 38, 42, and 53, as well as the author’s epilogue.

¹⁰ Innes-Parker speculates that the cycle, or at least its manuscript, might have been commissioned by “a widow retiring into religious seclusion” (“Modelling of Women’s Devotion,” p. 240). The reader’s “contemplatif . . . degre” is further reiterated in prayer 37.

but the author makes apparent reference to her own gender: after asking that her reader “takith me with yow in yowre preieres,” she pleads “o myn sustir, preie my lord God the Trinité . . . have mercy and pité on me, sinful, and make me a good woman.” While this last claim might be dismissed as a narratorial device, akin to the ambiguous personae used in the *Floure and the Leafe* or Findern lyrics, there is little reason not to take the prologue at its word; after all, ironic literary games would be out of place in a practical and instructive text such as this, which presupposes a familiar, mentoring relationship between its author and reader.

The text therefore seems part of a relatively select group of medieval vernacular texts composed both by and for women. It is not completely without parallel, of course. Female readers provided a vital and avid audience for vernacular advisory literature throughout the medieval period. From the early examples *Sawles Warde* [Custody of the Soul], *Hali Meithad* [Holy Maidenhood], and the *Ancrene Wisse* [Instructions to anchoresses], through to Walter Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*, Richard Rolle’s *Form of Living*, and the *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, educational material for women comprises a major channel in Middle English writing.¹¹ Along the same lines, other prayers from the period were also demonstrably composed by women, such as the brief texts written at the convent of St. Mary in Chester in the fifteenth century; as Jennifer Summit notes, prayer can in fact be seen as “a privileged literary genre for women,” one in which women’s traditional lack of authority could be turned into self-effacement before God.¹² Indeed, meditative cycles caught the eye of other female translators and adapters, no doubt encouraged by the fact that the *Meditationes* itself evolved out of the practices of the Poor Clares.¹³ In the mid sixteenth century, Henry VIII’s sixth queen Katherine Parr composed her own sequence in the same vein, under the title *Prayers Stirryng the Mynd unto Heavenlye Medytacions*.¹⁴ Nevertheless, none of this diminishes the significance of the Holkham text. While the possibility that its voice is a fictive persona cannot be ruled out entirely, it appears to be an exceptional example of a medieval woman producing a full-scale and largely original work; it is also written with vividness and self-assurance as well as clarity and skill. It is not too much of a stretch to place it alongside the *Shewings* of Julian of Norwich and the *Book* of Margery Kempe. Like those works, it serves to deepen our appreciation of medieval female authorship and the potential forms it might assume.

Nor is the gender of the cycle’s author a cosmetic or negligible issue; it colors the text and its contents across a range of fronts. In many ways, it might be said that the text represents a customization of religious experience for women. The author often reconfigures her material to reflect a distinctly feminine standpoint, or to make it particularly suitable for women’s usage. In the first place, as scholarship has been quick to recognize, her selection of biblical and other material seems designed to reflect female concerns above all. For the most part, she is content to follow the chronology established by Pseudo-Bonaventure, albeit omitting several sections and compressing and combining others. Yet the presence of women during Christ’s ministry is noticeably foregrounded: as Pollard observes, “throughout there is an emphasis on women: Mary and Martha, Mary Magdalene, the woman of Canaan, the Samaritan woman, and any event in which Christ responds to the wishes of his mother.”¹⁵ Some of these topics attract the most sustained prayers in the sequence. By far the longest section — and the only prayer to exceed five hundred words in length — is prayer 25, which is dedicated to Christ’s interactions with Mary Magdalene and her sister Martha. Comparably extensive is prayer 29, at just under four hundred words, dealing with the woman accused

¹¹ For a thorough and useful survey of the issue, see Green, *Women Readers*, pp. 83–178.

¹² Ed. Legg, *Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, pp. 26–33; Summit, *Lost Property*, p. 111.

¹³ McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, pp. 58–85.

¹⁴ Parr, *Complete Works*, ed. Mueller, pp. 369–421.

¹⁵ Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 48.

before the Pharisees. Tellingly, both are longer than the prayer that might be expected to form the centerpiece of the sequence, number 40, dealing with Christ's agonies on the cross. Slightly shorter, although still exceeding the average length, are prayer 22 on the Samaritan woman and prayer 30 on the woman of Canaan's daughter, which weigh in at nearly two hundred and three hundred words respectively. Almost as substantial are prayers that present Christ engaging in traditionally "feminine" domestic duties: prayer 26 on feeding the multitudes is the second longest piece in the collection, and prayer 34 on the cleansing of the temple is around the same length as prayer 22. While the author may have had many reasons to single out these particular episodes, especially given the traditional prominence of Mary and Martha in discussions of the contemplative life, they provide a fair indication of where the author's interests fell.¹⁶

But the emphasis on these figures and events has still greater resonance. As Catherine Innes-Parker has shown in two important interlinked essays, the author is invariably using them as a means of signalling qualities or actions her reader should imitate in her own spiritual life. Such a purpose can be seen in the first biblical example we encounter, the woman of Canaan from Matthew 15:22–28, who asks Jesus to exorcise her daughter and is granted her request as a reward for "great faith." She appears to signpost the general effectiveness of sincere prayer, embodying Christ's amenability to "alle sinful that wole forsake here sinnes."¹⁷ The same is true of the Samaritan woman, St. Veronica, and above all the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, who each provide a different model for interaction with the divine. At the same time, as Innes-Parker also stresses, male figures tend not to be evoked in the same terms; there are only a few, anomalous cases of men playing exemplary roles, such as Longinus in prayer 44. Indeed, when men are mentioned positively, they usually stand for "the church in general" rather than representing actions individual Christians should perform, a pattern visible in the treatment of the three kings, shepherds, and apostles; moreover, when the author is looking for figures to embody "traits which the individual soul should strive to avoid," she tends to call on men such as Hezekiah, Lucifer, and the Pharisees, who stand for the dangers of pride or spite.¹⁸ Even Peter attracts this second application, as he is twice made to figure cowardice before trials of faith, in prayers 27 and 31.¹⁹ In other words, when the text seeks out examples of proper conduct or belief for the reader to emulate, it almost invariably turns to the women of the New Testament.

This intent does not only dictate the selection of material, but also creeps into the vocabulary the author employs. A key example is the use of the word "magnify" to introduce many of the prayers, a term that appears some sixty-two times in various forms throughout the text. Although reasonably common in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English, as the *Middle English Dictionary* can attest, in this context it seems to carry a particular resonance. The term is no doubt designed to recall Mary's prayer in Luke 1:46, which begins "my soul doth magnify the lord" [*"Magnificat anima mea Dominum"*]. This text is one of the most central and recognizable in medieval piety, since it forms the basis of the Magnificat, the hymn customarily recited at the daily hour of vespers; the author herself signals its importance by dedicating prayer 4 to Mary's composition of this "psalme."²⁰ The point is that by evoking this passage, Mary effectively becomes a model for all the acts of worship the author prescribes; the prayers ask that the reader commemorate, even

¹⁶ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, pp. 116–42. Compare for example the sustained discussion in *The Cloud of Unknowing*, which spans chapters 17–23 (ed. Gallacher, *Cloud of Unknowing*, pp. 48–55).

¹⁷ Innes-Parker, "Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 258.

¹⁸ Innes-Parker, "Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 249.

¹⁹ Innes-Parker, "Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 252.

²⁰ On the development of the Magnificat in connection with the daily hours, see Robertson, "From Office to Mass," pp. 302–03.

ventriloquize, Mary as she carries out her own devotions. Although the prologue makes the Lord's Prayer the template of all worship, issued by Christ himself as "the most principal preire of alle other prieris," the author's vocabulary awards the "psalme" of his mother near-equal status. Again, the same central point asserts itself: the text represents a thorough and thoughtful adaptation of the biblical narrative to draw out the presence of women for the reader to imitate.

THE AUTHOR'S READING AND SOURCES

Similar cherry-picking can be seen in the text's approach to other cultural materials. The author is relatively demure about her reading: in her epilogue she notes that she has consulted "the passion of the gospel" alongside a further undisclosed source "be revelacion of God schewid to a religious persone." Nonetheless, it is clear that she has impressive knowledge of a wide range of religious discourses. In Edmund Colledge and Noel Chadwick's assessment, she is evidently "well versed in Scripture, able in pastoral theology," and "interested in the techniques and the theory of prayer"; Pollard has likewise detected deep familiarity with English mysticism, especially the work of Hilton and Rolle.²¹ In fact, her work is so profoundly entangled in the various threads of contemporary religious thought that it can be difficult to know where she might have encountered a particular concept or motif. This is especially true of her treatment of the Crucifixion in prayers 39–42, where she is able to draw on a long and complex tradition of embellishment and amplification. As Thomas Bestul notes, when visualizing the Passion, vernacular culture took to heart Pseudo-Bonaventure's advice to "enlarge on the scenes more fully" and built up a large body of "details that have no warrant in the biblical text," many of which are freely utilized by the author.²² However, even with this in mind, her choice of material often seems slanted by her larger preoccupations. At points she shows herself particularly attuned to styles of devotion developed and deployed by her female predecessors and contemporaries. A key instance is prayer 53 on the Sacred Heart. This is notable not only for the intensity of its language but also for its pronounced debt to a particular strand of visionary literature: it is rooted in the impassioned writing that emanated out of the Benedictine convent of Helfta in the late thirteenth century and replicates many of its characteristic images and idioms.²³ Likewise, it is not difficult to find examples of the embodied forms of faith often associated with female religious writers.²⁴ Although the author does not reach the same spectacular heights as Julian of Norwich, the body and "experiential bodily effect" are noticeably present throughout her reflections and advice, as Liz Herbert MacAvoy has observed; they leave particularly heavy traces in prayers 35, 44, and 46, which are constructed around images of the weeping, bleeding, and enclosed body.²⁵

Even when the author borrows from larger traditions, the same sympathies often assert themselves. Of particular interest is the symbolic vocabulary she employs, which frequently draws on the stock of phrases and metaphors found in penitential and sermon literature. Prayers 19 and 4 make particularly conspicuous use of this material, as does the discussion of Lucifer in the epilogue, while the language of prayers 31 and 2

²¹ Flete, *Remedies Against Temptations*, ed. Colledge and Chadwick, p. 211; Pollard, "Mystical Elements," pp. 49–54.

²² *MLC*, p. 239; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 26–27.

²³ On the peculiar devotional vocabulary of the Helfta mystics, see Winter, "Die Herz-Jesu-Mystik," pp. 74–81; C. Jones, "Hostia jubilacionis."

²⁴ See N. Warren, *Embodied Word* for fuller discussion of embodied forms of faith, especially the introduction on pp. 1–18.

²⁵ MacAvoy, "Anonymous Texts," p. 165.

might also call on it. In many of these selections, there is again a clear preference for imagery with relevance to the feminine sphere. The most obvious example is her striking comparison between confession and house-cleaning. As well as forming a major component of the prologue, this idea resurfaces in prayer 34, in which Christ is depicted as both inhabitant and habitation, cleaning and demanding cleanliness from the soul. The image is a common one in penitential literature, especially in texts originating with the Dominican order: for instance, the *Ancrene Wisse* includes an account of a “povre widewe, hwen ha wule hire hus clean-sin” [poor widow, when she wishes to clean her house] in its chapter on confession, and it forms the basis of the first chapters of *Liber de doctrina cordis* [Book on the teaching of the heart], composed by either Gerard of Liège or Hugh of St. Cher in the mid-thirteenth century, and probably known to the author.²⁶ Similar selectiveness is at work in prayer 3. Here the author picks up on a further commonplace comparing Mary’s pregnancy to the operation of grace within the Christian.²⁷ Yet the important point to stress, as Innes-Parker again points out, is that in many cases she gives her imported material new inflections. In particular, she tends to sidestep “the stress on sexual sin and the dangers of the female body” often found in such imagery, disregarding its “fear and mistrust of women’s sexuality.”²⁸ Hence there is a conspicuous lack of reference to the female body as a site of corruptibility or permeability at special risk of temptation. Even when dealing with figures such as Mary Magdalene and the woman taken in adultery, the author nowhere uses them to reflect on the supposed carnality of women or their greater vulnerability to sin. Granted, there are limits to this stance. The sequence is by no means a unilateral endorsement of women’s agency, since it is still by necessity rooted in late medieval social and religious norms. There are several points at which conventional patterns of authority shine through: when she stresses the importance of auricular over general confession, for instance, the writer is also reminding her reader of the importance of submitting to the judgment of an appointed male confessor; prayer 12 likewise emphasizes obedience to paternal authority even when it is purely nominal, praising Jesus for his deference “to hym that was clepid yowre fadir, Joseph” and identifying Joseph with the “soveraynes” to whom the reader must also defer. Yet the fact remains that the author is manifestly working from — and in the service of — a female viewpoint. She not only picks up conducive strands from medieval religious culture but eliminates much of the engrained misogyny implicit in her material.

Perhaps more interesting still is the position the author establishes for herself in relation to her reader. It is generally true that advisory work written by medieval men for women cultivates a strictly hierarchic dynamic: as Susanna Fein writes, “the spiritual guidance found in these works is shaped by gender; that is, it is literature for women, and often it is specifically a learned man’s counsel going to a woman positioned as being in need of his tutelage and as gladly, passively accepting of his higher wisdom.”²⁹ However, the prayers follow a recognizably different course. While the writer’s apologies for her “lewde techinges” (*HPM* Prologue.1) are largely conventional, and comparable to Pseudo-Bonaventure’s own proclamations of “inadequacy” and “inexperience,” she shows a general tendency to disavow rather than affirm her own authority.³⁰ Her use of Latin is a case in point. It is obvious that the author knew the Vulgate well and probably had access to a glossed version of the Bible, most likely some form of the twelfth-century *Glossa ordinaria*

²⁶ Ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, p. 320; Renevey, “Household Chores,” pp. 173–75.

²⁷ See Hellwarth, *Reproductive Unconscious*, pp. 25–42.

²⁸ Innes-Parker, “Anchoritic Elements,” p. 178.

²⁹ Ed. Fein, *Moral Love Songs and Laments*, p. 14.

³⁰ *MLC*, p. 3.

[Standard Gloss].³¹ There are several points at which the language is simply too close to the Vulgate for the Latin not to have been consulted: examples include the Eight Beatitudes in prayer 23 or Jesus's words to the woman of Canaan in prayer 30, which are close, skillful, and apparently original translations of Matthew 5:3–10 and Matthew 15:26–28 respectively.³² Alongside these moments of direct rendering there is a fluent and often highly subtle incorporation of idioms from scripture, something that can be seen in the references to “gostli fruytes” and a “wikkid worm” in prayer 26 or the “wepyng valeie” and the “woful valeye” in prayers 20 and 35, which reapply phrases from as far afield as the Psalms and Pauline epistles. Yet, despite her facility with Latin, the author uses the language relatively sparingly, preferring to paraphrase or translate rather than quote biblical verses directly. The result of this approach is to avoid the technique found in other pieces of instructional literature, such as the *Ancrene Wisse*, *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, or even Langland's *Piers Plowman*; she does not install herself as an interpretive gatekeeper between her reader and the knowledge she imparts but conveys the information more immediately and invisibly.³³ As a matter of fact, when Latin is used, the author restricts her quotation to texts likely to be known to the reader. The Latin passages that appear in eight of the prayers draw from biblical texts that had themselves been incorporated into liturgy by the time the author was writing: almost all can be found among the established forms of the mass or daily hours.³⁴ This point is clear from prayers 6 and 34, which give the liturgical rather than scriptural wording of their respective texts. In short, these snippets of Latin would have already been well known to a “religious sustir”; although they retain sufficient weight to be rubricated throughout the manuscript, they are not presented as gnomic utterances that require special and authoritative explication.

Along the same lines, the author also forsakes the quasi-scholastic framework other meditative cycles often adopt, with their systematic marshalling and discussion of patristic sources. This precedent begins with Pseudo-Bonaventure, whose work is threaded with references to Bernard of Clairvaux, Augustine, Jerome, and other authorities, despite its clear desire to override “the claims of traditional authorities with the claims of the heart”; the same approach is taken up enthusiastically by Nicholas Love in his English adaptation.³⁵ The author of the prayers, however, shows much greater restraint. The closest she comes to namedropping is in the epilogue, where she gestures vaguely to an undisclosed “religious persone” as the source of “mo peynes . . . than I finde in the passion of the gospel.” By not reproducing these learned elements, the author again shows further reluctance to claim *auctoritas* for her work. Such unwillingness may be a response to contemporary advice on prayer and the optimal forms it should take, especially if Pollard is correct about the writer's familiarity with vernacular mysticism; but it also serves to narrow the gap between author and reader, placing them on close if not quite equal footing.³⁶

³¹ Ed. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 219; Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” p. 237.

³² Innes-Parker, “Anchoritic Elements,” p. 173.

³³ Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, pp. 50–59.

³⁴ See the excellent and accessible introduction given in Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 1–19.

³⁵ Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 10; Ghosh, “Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror*,” p. 29.

³⁶ *The Cloud of Unknowing* is particularly scathing on the subject of ostentatiously parading biblical knowledge, stating “somtyme men thought it meeknes to sey nought of theire owne hedes, bot yif thei afermid it by Scripture and doctours wordes; and now it is turnid into corioustee and schewyng of kunnyng” (ed. Gallacher, *Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 96).

PRAYER AND COMMUNITY

This rapport between reader and writer also finds its way into the remarks on prayer itself, where it gains even greater weight. In several respects the author's approach to prayer simply reflects contemporary advice. Her insistence on confession as a prelude to prayer, on the necessity of memorization, and the overall brevity of the prayers themselves, with the majority being around a hundred words or fewer, all reflect the preceding century's sense of "how thou schalt reule thin hert in tyme of thi preier."³⁷ The pervasive tone of self-abnegation, as the reader is asked to cultivate "a sense of utter worthlessness, not just sinfulness," mirrors a common stance perceptible in Richard Rolle's *Fire of Love* and in Margery Kempe's *Book* among other sources, even though it is finally revealed as a rhetorical posture akin to the "goostli sleighes" and "privé sotiltees" of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.³⁸ What is relatively unusual, however is the author's view of prayer as a distinctly communal enterprise.³⁹ The text does not see devotion in merely personal or private terms but as a collective experience that involves and enriches multiple souls in concert. This thinking effectively frames the collection. It first appears in the prologue, where the author requests that the reader "takith me with yow in yowre preieres," and recurs in prayer 41 with its demand that "my tunge" be used "to my even Cristen soules profitig"; it is in the epilogue, however, that it is most fully fleshed out. Here the author reiterates and elaborates her position, reflecting that "I write in divers places 'us' and 'we,' for ye schulde at swich places take youre even Cristen with yow in youre preieres." She even attaches special efficacy to this collective worship: "whan we preie for us self, it plesith God gretli that we take oure even Cristen with us. And treuli, sustir, yef we do so he of his gret goodnesse wole thanne here oure preiere the sonere." Her point is clear. Prayer and contemplation, and the "inner grace" they inspire, might be interior processes but they are not isolated in their effects. They take place within a community of believers and are for the benefit of that community as a whole. They are a cooperative project much like the "good cumpanie and holi comunicacion" pictured between Mary and Elizabeth in prayer 4, and a world away from the "individualistic . . . self-centredness" some commentators have seen in late medieval private worship.⁴⁰

As comments such as these make clear, what lies behind the text's renunciation of authority is a full-blooded model of reading and writing, one that stresses the importance of collaboration between equal partners, in which each assists the other; it sees author and reader as participants in a mutually beneficial project, rather than assuming a one-sided transmission of knowledge. It is perhaps for this reason that the author allows her voice to merge with that of the reader, bidding the reader to echo her own plea to "make me a good woman" in prayer 14 in a manner that is self-consciously "ventriloquial."⁴¹ In fact, even the reader she has in mind seems to be a corporate entity. Although the tone throughout is highly personal, even intimate, there are occasional hints that the author envisages a wider audience for her work than a single "sustir." In her prologue she asks for prayers from "yow and othere of his special children" and her epilogue refers broadly to "man or womman," stating that the author intends "to remembre bothe yow and othir" in her lessons. It is true that other medieval texts follow the same tack, also addressing a readership that is simultaneously localized and general. The text might be compared here to the *Ancrene Wisse*, which also

³⁷ "A Pistle of Preier," in ed. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, p. 48. For an accessible overview of the rhetoric of prayer, see Spence, "The Prioress's *Oratio ad Mariam*," pp. 63–78.

³⁸ Krug, *Margery Kempe and the Lonely Reader*, p. 36; ed. Gallacher, *Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 60.

³⁹ See further Innes-Parker, "Modelling of Women's Devotion," pp. 241–43.

⁴⁰ Bossy, "Christian Life," p. 148.

⁴¹ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 104.

fluctuates between advising “mine leove sustren” and “alle men i-liche,” or to the *Book of Privy Counselling*, whose dedication to a “goostly freende in God . . . in specyal to thiself” does not prevent the expectation that others “this writyng scholen here in general.”⁴² But in this instance, it seems to be part of a general blurring of the lines between the individual “Cristen” and her “even Cristen.” Much as the author exhibits a collective sensibility when discussing the effects and effectiveness of prayer, she also sees her reader as intrinsically multiple and communal. She is above all an element in a larger society of fellow believers, and this state extends even to her emotions and her “famulier speche” with Christ (Prologue.3).

PROVENANCE OF THE TEXT AND MANUSCRIPT

Of course, a piece such as this, with its teasing glimpses into its creator’s identity and worldview, only raises further questions about who exactly might have composed it. Unfortunately, text and manuscript alike offer few definite clues about the writer and her background. While they allow some information to be deduced and reasonable conjectures to be formed, they just as readily prevent definite conclusions from being reached. One point the Holkham manuscript makes obvious is that it was once a prestigious object. Not only is it carefully copied in a clear textura hand, with colored ink picking out passages of importance, especially the Lord’s Prayer, Ave Maria, and any direct quotation from the Vulgate, but each of its three main sections opens with a lavishly decorated initial. The prologue, the author’s “general confession,” and the copy of Flete’s *Remediis* are all introduced with delicate, ornamented capitals partly finished with gold leaf.⁴³ These illuminations are also complemented by delicate rinceaux borders in the same style. The presence of such features suggests that the text was intended as a gift or presentation copy to a patron or other benefactor; it is also obvious that the copyist has taken a great deal of care with the text, since only a very small number of transcription errors have crept in, mostly consisting of skipped or repeated words.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, however, there is no indication who may have been the recipient. The manuscript lacks a flyleaf or any preliminary material, launching directly into the author’s prologue and her address to her “religious sustir”: it is probable that the manuscript has always lacked a protective covering, since much of the damage, rubbing, and discoloration is concentrated on its first page.⁴⁵ As a result, there is no surface on which a dedicatory inscription might be recorded, or where any other traces of ownership might appear, such as signatures, notes, or other annotations; cropping has eliminated similar spaces at the edges of the pages, and the only written addition is a single minor correction to prayer 46. Nonetheless, whoever the manuscript was prepared for, it was “clearly intended for her private devotion.”⁴⁶ Its dimensions are ideal for such usage. Although it was trimmed down slightly by its Regency-era bookbinder, its original size would have been similar to that of a modern-day paperback: at 10.3 cm by 16.7 cm (or 4 inches by 6.2 inches), it is ideal for handling and consulting “as ye have leyser,” just as the author directs in her epilogue. Other features of the manuscript also seem tailored with this end in mind. The fact that the Lord’s Prayer invariably appears in red ink does not merely signal its importance but allows it to double as an identifiable boundary between prayers, enabling each one to be picked out for reading “summe on oon day and summe on anothir day” as the reader desires (Epilogue.5).

⁴² Ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 59, 342; ed. Windeatt, *Book of Privy Counselling*, p. 78.

⁴³ Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian*, 3:90.

⁴⁴ Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 43.

⁴⁵ Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” pp. 229–30.

⁴⁶ Innes-Parker, “Anchoritic Elements,” p. 172.

At this point, however, any further inquiry into the origin of text or manuscript can only rest on guesswork. The fullest and perhaps most appealing hypothesis is Pollard's. He associates the text with England's single Bridgettine convent at Syon Abbey in Middlesex; he even nominates Syon's second abbess Joanna North as its potential author, suggesting that she may have composed the piece at some stage in the 1420s.⁴⁷ The connection to Syon certainly has much to recommend it. From its institution in 1415 to its (temporary) dissolution in 1539, Syon was one of the wealthiest foundations in England and an important center for female literacy and learning.⁴⁸ It was also a notable site for textual production, forming an effective "axis" with the neighboring Carthusian monastery of Sheen, dedicated to the "production, circulation and transmission" of vernacular texts "primarily serving the needs of Brigittine nuns."⁴⁹ The abbey could also boast close ties to wealth and power of a kind that might generate literary gifts or patronage. Its founder was no less a figure than Henry V, who personally laid its first stone on February 22, 1415, and it continued to enjoy contact with noble benefactors throughout its early history.⁵⁰

The prayers seem to connect themselves to Syon and Sheen at a number of points. In the first place, there are definite overlaps between the author's reading and the books at the disposal of the Syon sisters. The contents of the abbey's two libraries can be reconstructed thanks to the efforts of the fifteenth-century deacon Thomas Betson, who prepared an extensive series of booklists in ca. 1500.⁵¹ Time and again works known to the author turn up in these catalogues, such as the *Glossa ordinaria*, the *Doctrina cordis*, and especially the *Meditationes vitae Christi*. Pseudo-Bonaventure's work was in fact at Syon from the first, since a copy was owned by the priest-brother Symon Wynter, one of the earliest members of the brethren.⁵² Also represented are the visions of Mechthild of Hackeborn, chief architect of devotion to the Sacred Heart: a volume called "Maud's Book" is recorded at Syon from at least 1438.⁵³ Sheen and Syon have also long been recognized for their instrumental role in disseminating the work of Rolle and Hilton.⁵⁴ The prayers, in short, might be expected to take shape somewhere like the abbey, which can be aptly called "a crucible" in which "the intelligence of European spirituality blended with the native mystical tradition."⁵⁵

There are other hints besides that might place Syon in the picture. The author's collaborative sense of spirituality would certainly be most appropriate for "women living together in a community," and prayer 37 is clearly intended for usage by an enclosed woman, with its plea "to been contemplatif as my degre askyth."⁵⁶ Likewise, Barratt and Innes-Parker see royal associations in prayer 9, reading its lengthy appeal for God to "reule and counseile oure kyng" as a set of "special supplications for the welfare of the King."⁵⁷ Further links can also be inferred at a more practical, physical level. The decorations in the Holkham manuscript are similar in style to those found in other products of the Sheen scriptorium. Its initials resemble the

⁴⁷ Pollard, "Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41," p. 45.

⁴⁸ See especially Batho, "Syon House," esp. pp. 3–4.

⁴⁹ Gillespie, "The Haunted Text," p. 140. See further Hogg, "Contribution of the Brigittine Order."

⁵⁰ Jones and Walsham, "Syon Abbey and Its Books," p. 5; Erler, "Syon's 'Special Benefactors and Friends'"; Da Costa, *Reforming Printing*, pp. 26–27, 54.

⁵¹ Bell, *What Nuns Read*, pp. 72–75; Bell, "Monastic Libraries," p. 247.

⁵² Ed. Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 213, 474; Keiser, "Patronage and Piety," p. 38. On Wynter's activities, see Johnston, "House of Bridgettines," p. 186.

⁵³ Wogan-Browne et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 288; Pollard, "Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41," pp. 45–46.

⁵⁴ Sargent, "Walter Hilton's 'Scale Of Perfection,'" pp. 189–90.

⁵⁵ Fuller, *Brotherhood of the Common Life*, pp. 216, 222.

⁵⁶ Koster, "Thys ys my mystrys boke" p. 309.

⁵⁷ Ed. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 211; Innes-Parker, "Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 249.

Hours of the Holy Trinity, now held at Exeter University Library, which even conclude with a final prayer for “the soul of King Henry our founder”; although this volume is much more ornate, with copious illumination and gold leaf, its floriated red and blue capitals are highly reminiscent of the Holkham volume.⁵⁸ Vincent Gillespie also suggests that a small device of four dots in cross formation that precedes the author’s general confession might be an example of a “distinctive Syon monogram.”⁵⁹

Nevertheless, feasible though the Syon link might be, there are a couple of points that count against it. Perhaps most problematic is a surprising lack of literary composition among the Bridgettines. There is no doubt that the sisters were enthusiastic readers, owners, and commissioners of books, who made engagement with text a cornerstone of their devotional practices. Virginia Bainbridge estimates that at least 13% of the nuns “owned books in English, French or Latin” and adaptations were produced at Syon throughout its history, from the *Orchard of Syon* and *Myroure of Oure Lady* in its first decades to John Fewterer’s translation of Ulrich Pinder a little before the community was expelled from England in 1539.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, as Tyanna Lee Yonkers reflects, there is little indication that the nuns undertook any large-scale literary projects of their own; by and large, “the pen lay dormant” at the abbey.⁶¹ In fact, if we can decisively link the prayers with Syon, it would be the lone substantial piece emanating from the sisters, whose writing is otherwise restricted to more fragmentary samples, such as the inscriptions left by “Elynor ffeteplace” and “Elisabeth Crycheley” in their books, or the corrections “Dorothe Coderynton” made to a copy of *The Tree and Twelve Frutes of the Holy Goost*.⁶² Put simply, the prayers would be an anomaly in this context, if not quite an impossibility.

Along the same lines, there is also a striking lack of material from St. Bridget herself in the prayers. Despite her unfaltering emphasis on the presence of women in the New Testament, the author makes little use of Bridget’s revelations: she does not even refer to Bridget’s lengthy spiritual biography of Mary, a vision that left a deep impression on other meditative works of the period, including Appulby’s *Fruyte*. One possible point of influence is the Bridgettine *Fifteen Oes*, a set of brief prayers that may be the model for its apostrophic interjections “o” and “a.” However, even this text is problematic. Its attribution to Bridget is doubtful, and its declarative technique not uncommon: similar interjections are also found in the thirteenth-century *Wooing of Our Lord*, for example.⁶³ The dialect of the prayers is a further potential issue. Generally, the text shows a broad mixture of East and West Midlands forms (and, in the term “beer-lepis” in prayer 26, at least one lexical item otherwise attested only in northern sources), making it difficult to identify a linguistic region with any precision. Nevertheless, the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* places many of its preferred word-forms further north than Middlesex or London, associating its morphology

⁵⁸ In the original Latin, the prayer for Henry reads “*anima Regis Henrici fundatoris nostri et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam ihu xti in pace requiescant*” [may the soul of King Henry our founder, and the souls of all the faithful dead, by the mercy of Jesus Christ, rest in peace] (Exeter, University Library, 262/2, fol. 168v). For further examples, see Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 44. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

⁵⁹ Gillespie, “Walter Hilton at Syon Abbey,” p. 57.

⁶⁰ Bainbridge, “Syon Abbey: Women and Learning,” p. 84. See also Gillespie, “The Haunted Text”; Da Costa, “Ulrich Pinder’s *Speculum passionis Christi* and John Fewterer’s *Mirror*.”

⁶¹ Yonkers, “The Spirituality of the Bridgettine Sisters,” p. 175.

⁶² J. King, “Inscriptions and Ways of Owning Books,” pp. 856–57; ed. Vaissier, *A Deuout Treatyse called the Tree and Twelve Frutes*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii.

⁶³ Meier-Ewert, “A Middle English Version of the ‘Fifteen Oes’”; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 249.

with Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, or Northamptonshire.⁶⁴ While none of these factors rule out Syon absolutely, they at least give pause. Collectively, they might suggest that the sisters should be downgraded to commissioners and transmitters of the sequence rather than its composers: the prayers may in fact have been written for one of the early sisters by an experienced meditator based elsewhere, and subsequently recopied into the Holkham miscellany during the 1430s or 40s.

A further measure of this uncertainty is that other, alternative theories have been proposed, albeit more tentatively. Hence, Josephine Koster infers some link to anchorism, arguing that “it is not . . . beyond the realm of possibility that a woman like Julian of Norwich could have written these prayers.”⁶⁵ She goes on to offer the Benedictine convent at Polesworth, Warwickshire as a likelier venue for composition, owing to its possession of a continuously occupied anchor-hold from the thirteenth century, and the fact that at least one volume from its library made its way to Holkham Hall after the Reformation.⁶⁶ This theory also has several points in its favor. For instance, it is telling that prayer 19 places “ancres” firmly at the top of its list of “alle estatis reclusid.” There was also a clear expectation that anchoresses should serve as spiritual counselors, providing that they neither “turnen ancre-hus to childrene scole” nor cease to “yemen bute Godd ane” [heed but God alone]; the famous conference between Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich shows how greatly their counsel could be esteemed.⁶⁷ However, all told, the anchoritic hypothesis is no less speculative than the Syon link. While both lines of conjecture are suggestive and attractive, the evidence must ultimately — and unfortunately — be judged inconclusive.

DATE AND TITLE

The origin of the text, however, is just one of many questions it poses. Equally difficult to ascertain is the exact date at which it might have been written. If we accept that the author or the “religious sustir” she addresses were indeed Bridgettine, it can only have been written after Syon’s foundation in 1415; but even this only fixes the earliest possible date, and any greater precision is not possible. The nature of the text means that it contains few allusions to the period in which it was composed: to echo Bruce Holsinger, it concerns itself more with a timeless “sacred history” than with “the history of kings, royalist politics, civic rule, gender relations, diplomatic exchange, [or] rural revolt” by which we usually map out the past.⁶⁸ Even the seemingly topical references that appear sporadically are difficult to interpret with any confidence. There is no hint which king prayer 9 has in mind, for instance, since its appeal on his behalf for “good lif and longe” could apply to more or less any medieval monarch. Likewise, if Barratt is correct to see prayer 28 as anti-Wycliffite, this fact does little to narrow the date; it simply confirms that the prayers must have been written after 1382, when the so-called Earthquake Synod formally hereticated Wyclif’s teachings.⁶⁹

Yet the text presents still greater interpretive challenges besides. Foremost among them is the simple question of what to call it. The manuscript itself supplies no name for the prayer cycle as a whole. This might well reflect a deliberate choice on the part of the author. The epilogue suggests that she designed her text to be read not as a single coherent piece but as a series of discrete exercises, rather like an anthology

⁶⁴ Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” p. 235; Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 52.

⁶⁵ Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” p. 237.

⁶⁶ Koster, “Theorizing in Advance of the Facts.” On the hold at Polesworth, see Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 250.

⁶⁷ Ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, p. 408.

⁶⁸ Holsinger, “Liturgy,” pp. 297, 299.

⁶⁹ Ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, p. 217.

of lyrics: she actively counsels selective, discontinuous reading, advising the reader not to “seye al ovr the preieres every day” but to dip in and out at her “leyser.” The lack of title also differs from the treatment Flete’s *Remediis* receives later in the manuscript. The Flete text is in fact named twice by the copyist: a brief incipit simultaneously translates its usual Latin title and supplies a new one, stating “these remedies of temptacions that folwen is named *Consolacio animae*.” But attempts to furnish the prayers with a title, if only for reference, have proven surprisingly contentious. When the manuscript was rebound for Lord Coke in the early nineteenth century, its binder John Jones of Liverpool chose the title *Passion of Christ*, stamping it boldly on the spine; this is obviously inadequate as a summary of the text, since the description of the Passion, while a key point of focus, comprises less than a fifth of its total length. Later titles have usually been based on a passage at the beginning of the prologue, in which the author describes being asked to write the “festis and the passion of oure lord Jhesu Crist”; most scholarship has used some variant of this phrase to refer to the text as a whole, and Barratt published her selections under this heading.

Nevertheless, understanding this statement has proven tricky, owing in no small part to the condition of the manuscript. While the prayers are not as badly deteriorated as the copy of Flete’s *Remediis*, where mold and water damage have bored coin-sized holes through the parchment and erased entire sections of text, a key letter is still obscured here. The first word of this assumed title has developed into a particular hinge of debate. Patching makes it difficult to know whether it should read “feitis” or “festis.” Colledge and Chadwick, and Barratt after them, favor the former, a rare spelling of “fet” or “fait” which is the root of the modern English “feat.”⁷⁰ Koster and Pollard propose the latter, which means “holy days,” and Innes-Parker supports their reading.⁷¹ On balance “festis” seems the likelier of the two options: the author uses the term “festes” later in her cycle to describe Christ’s ministry, and a number of prayers do evoke particular feast days in the medieval ritual year, such as Candlemas in prayer 10, Maundy Thursday in prayer 36, Ascension Day in prayer 51, and so on.⁷² Nevertheless, as a name for the cycle, neither choice adequately reflects the full scope of the text. Perhaps a more suitable title is provided by the general description the author gives of her work in both prologue and epilogue, where she refers to her “preyeres and meditacions” or “these meditaciones and preieres.” A similar title is also penciled faintly into the modern bindings, presumably by one of the nineteenth-century librarians at Holkham Hall. Although somewhat generic, this designation does at least fit the author’s apparent sense of her work. Not only does it firmly situate her text in the tradition Pseudo-Bonaventure began, but it also captures its overriding concern with the humanity of Christ, which is often seen as a central function of meditation as a devotional practice.⁷³

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE PRAYERS

While the manuscript’s disrepair multiplies the questions that surround it, it also throws light on some other issues. In particular, its current state carries some suggestive hints about the readership of the prayers after the Middle Ages. Nothing concrete is known about the text’s whereabouts before its acquisition by the Cokes.⁷⁴ It was apparently already in the collection of the family by the time of Sir Edward Coke

⁷⁰ Flete, *Remedies Against Temptations*, ed. Colledge and Chadwick, p. 210.

⁷¹ Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” pp. 234–35; Innes-Parker, “Modelling of Women’s Devotion,” p. 238.

⁷² On the ritual year in general, see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*; on these particular festive occasions, see pp. 139–45, 182–97, 277–79.

⁷³ Steinmetz, ““Thiself a cros to thiself,”” p. 141.

⁷⁴ Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 44.

(1552–1634), the Jacobean legal writer and attorney general who prosecuted Sir Walter Raleigh, Roderigo Lopez, and the Gunpowder Plotters among other early modern *causes celebres*.⁷⁵ Although it is not named on the library roll Edward compiled shortly before his death, it is probably one of the “manie Breviaries, ladies psalters, and manuells” dismissively lumped together under the heading “Popish MSS.”⁷⁶ Perhaps the strongest candidate for ownership before this point is Dr. Matthew Knightley, parson of Cossington in Leicestershire and maternal uncle to Sir Edward’s mother, Winifred.⁷⁷ Knightley owned a library that was extremely impressive, not to say expensive, and had a clear interest in contemplative literature. At the time of his death in 1561 his collection was valued at £20 (over £7000 or nearly \$9000 in 2022 money) and his will lists a copy of Ludolph of Saxony’s Pseudo-Bonaventurean meditation *De vita christi* among “my bookes.”⁷⁸ At least some of these “bookes” made their way into the hands of the Cokes, and those that did show suggestive contacts with female recluses. Still at Holkham is the so-called Knightley Psalter, which not only declares unequivocally that “thys boke ys doctor knyghtleyes” but describes how it was put at the disposal of “dame Bennet Burton, anchores off Pollesworth,” referring to Benedicta Burton, the last enclosed sister at the abbey before its dissolution in 1536.⁷⁹ Other texts at Holkham hint further at this connection: the signature “Dame Burton” also appears on an anthology of educational treatises that may also have been owned by Knightley before coming into the possession of the Cokes.⁸⁰

Needless to say, it is not possible to prove whether the prayer cycle was ever in Knightley’s collection, let alone whether he made it available to any enclosed women, no matter how persuasive his candidacy might be. However, we can find more concrete signs of early modern engagement in the damage the text has sustained. Amongst the general degradation of the manuscript are a few blemishes that seem to be the work of human rather than natural agencies. These are especially conspicuous in prayer 7 during the author’s commendation of “alle yowre schepherdes of holi chirche” where she salutes various levels of clergy. What is notable here is that the first few ranks have been purposefully scraped from the parchment, although they are still faintly visible: “the pope, and alle the cardinalis” have been neatly obliterated so that the list is now reduced to “archibisschopes, bisschopes, prelates, and curates.” Since “cardinalis” extends over the end of

⁷⁵ For recent accounts of Sir Edward’s life and career, see Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age*; Smith, *Sir Edward Coke and the Reformation of the Laws*.

⁷⁶ C. W. James, “Some Notes Upon the Manuscript Library,” p. 214. The inventory roll is 42 feet long and lists over a thousand printed works and ca. 140 manuscripts; its current catalogue reference is Holkham Hall Archives, F/LCJ 6. I am grateful to Dr. Laura Nuvoloni at Holkham Hall for information about this source and about the Knightley Psalter.

⁷⁷ The pedigree of “Mathew a prest” and his connection to the Coke family is set out in the visitation conducted by William Hervey in 1558. See ed. Metcalfe, *Visitations of Essex*, pp. 66–67.

⁷⁸ Fuggles, “Parish Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Leicester,” p. 28; Skillington, “Post-Medieval Cossington,” pp. 232–33. On the relationship between Ludolph’s text and *MLC*, see Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian*, p. 31.

⁷⁹ Holkham MS 24, fol. 173r. On Benedicta and the Polesworth community, see A. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 217; Ed. Gairdner and Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, pp. 85–86. For a fuller, more direct consideration of the Polesworth link, see Koster, “Theorizing in Advance of the Facts.”

⁸⁰ Clay, “Further Studies,” p. 80. The volume in question is a 1541 edition of *De ratione studii puerilis deque vita iuven-tutis instituenda ac moribus studiis* [On a plan of study for boys and institutions for the life of youngsters and study of good customs], originally printed at Basel in 1539 by Balthasar Lasius. Knightley’s commitment to grammar education is testified by his refounding of the free school at Brewwood, Staffordshire, in ca. 1550 (Dunkley, *Brewwood Grammar School*, pp. 13–16).

the line, the erasure is unlikely to be the result of natural weathering. It also follows patterns of defacement found in other medieval texts. It might be compared, for instance, to an edition of the St. Alban's *Chronicle* at the Folger Shakespeare Library, where the word "pope" has been systematically scored through on the contents page, or the early printed copy of John Mirk's *Festial* now held at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in which terms such as "pope," "paynes of purgatory," "an hondred dayes of pardon," and "abbottes, pryours, monkes, chanones, freres" have all been blacked over.⁸¹ Even the famous Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was not immune from such disfigurement: references to "popes," "bulles of popes," and the name of "seint Thomas" Becket were scraped away from its copies of the Pardoner's and Miller's Tales by a Tudor reader.⁸²

What makes this vandalism significant is that it allows two further questions to be addressed. On the one hand, it makes clear that the prayers attracted some level of interest in the sixteenth century, even despite the ideological sea changes of the Reformation. These deletions are perhaps best seen as attempts to make the text consistent with sixteenth-century religious norms: in their crude and haphazard way, they are attempts to update the prayers, to render them acceptable to the new culture by eliminating aspects it deemed intolerable.⁸³ They may even indicate that the prayers had some particular value attached to them, since the same process is not applied to the copy of Flete's *Remediis* later in the manuscript. At least, when Flete evokes the authority of Leo the Great to corroborate his warnings against despair, the pontiff is permitted to retain the title "Leo the pope" without molestation: the text still records that "Leo the pope seith that it fallith sumtyme that goode and rithful soules been sterid be the fend to angris, troubles, tariynges, and dredis . . . and Leo the pope seith that the fend espieth in every man in what wise his is disposid in complexion."⁸⁴ The deletions therefore show that someone had read the prayers in the Tudor period, and with sufficient attentiveness to try and "reform" their contents.

On the other hand, and more important still, this modification offers a solution to one of the most pressing questions raised by the manuscript — how much text is now missing. The current condition of the manuscript makes it impossible to know for certain how many folia are absent. Its rebinding has succeeded in eliminating any telltale gaps from the spine, and the modern pagination simply ignores any interruptions, passing continuously from page 64 to page 65. Pollard lays blame at the door of John Jones, the Liverpool bookbinder who was commissioned to clean and remount the volume in 1814–1822, and whose lengthy retention of the manuscript might indicate that he had some trouble repairing parts of it.⁸⁵ Yet it is equally possible that the missing portion might have been removed by a sixteenth-century reader. It is certainly suspicious that the absent part of the text relates to the Last Supper, the gospel episode most likely to inflame Protestant sensibilities. The remaining text appears to be veering into provocative territory by Elizabethan standards. Its final words before the lacuna address Jesus feeding his disciples "with youre precious body," suggesting that what follows must touch on the role of transubstantiation in the mass. If the author of the prayers follows the same course as other reflective prayer cycles in the vernacular, such as Love's *Mirroure* or Appulby's *Fruyte*, then her remarks may well have evoked the power of the appointed priesthood to bring

⁸¹ *Cronycle of Englonde*, Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, cs1806, fols. 2v–5v; Mirk, *The festyuall*, Cambridge, Emmanuel Library, S1.4.3, fols. 53r, 160v, 49r, 49v, 203r.

⁸² San Marino, Huntington Library, MS El 26 C 9, fols. 142v, 136v, 37. See Mosser, "Manuscript: El," section Provenance.

⁸³ Compare Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, pp. 147–70.

⁸⁴ Holkham MS Misc. 41, fols. 56v–57v.

⁸⁵ Pollard, "Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41," p. 48.

about these results, or a statement of the orthodox doctrine that “verrey cristies body that suffrede deth upon the crosse is there in that sacrament bodily.”⁸⁶ Indeed, given her overall emphasis on communing with Christ “presentli” and “bodili,” it seems more than probable that the prayer assumed such a trajectory. It scarcely needs pointing out that this thinking was anathema to sixteenth-century culture, in which transubstantiation and the ability of the clergy to effect it were central hubs of controversy: the Convocation of 1563 squarely ranks the doctrine among other “superstitions . . . repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.”⁸⁷ In short, a medieval prayer on the mass would be a natural lightning-rod for Protestant hostility, and the missing section may have fallen foul of the same treatment given to “the pope” and “cardinalis” in prayer 7. Unfortunately, even if we accept this theory, it still does not allow us to estimate how much text might be lost. Assuming that the intention was to remove the offending portion alone, it may be as little as two hundred words, the average amount of text on each leaf in the manuscript; then again, Pollard may be correct when he sees a full quire of eight leaves missing, which would raise the total to sixteen hundred words.⁸⁸ It is equally difficult to convert this figure into a number of separate prayers, however, given how variable in length they prove; it is still harder to deduce what their contents might have been. The Agony in the Garden, the Buffeting, and Scourging are obvious possibilities, especially if the author has kept up Pseudo-Bonaventure’s sequencing of the material; Innes-Parker suggests “the Last Supper, betrayal and arrest, scourging and trial” and Pollard “prayers for matins and prime and most of terce.”⁸⁹

Ultimately, the Holkham prayer cycle leaves many key questions unanswered and, in all probability, unanswerable. The identities of its author and reader are difficult to determine with any confidence, and its origin and the date at which it was composed are equally obscure. The same uncertainty surrounds its title, its ownership before it entered the possession of the Cokes, and the nature of the sections now missing from its bindings. However, none of this detracts from the value or significance of the text. What the prayers reveal about themselves far outweighs the information they withhold. The text offers a vital insight into the world of late medieval female devotion, a world that often proves frustratingly remote; it also stands as a lively and moving piece in its own right, self-confidently reimagining the gospel narrative in ways that rival the lyric tradition for power and vivacity.

⁸⁶ Love, *Mirror*, p. 151.

⁸⁷ *Certayne principall Articles of Religion*, fol. 1r.

⁸⁸ Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 48.

⁸⁹ Innes-Parker “Anchoritic Elements,” p. 180n7; Pollard, “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 52.



The Author's Prologue

- 1 [fol. 1r] Religious sustir, in as mechil as ye have desirid and preyed me divers tymes that I wolde write yow the festis¹ and the passion of oure lord Jhesu Crist, therfore now at this tyme to folwe yowre desire, aftir myn simple conyng,² I wole writin hem³ to yow, in whiche ye may usen bothe preyeres and meditacions, yef yt liken yow⁴ to folewe my lewde⁵ techinges. I make it but schortli,⁶ for I hope my lord the Holi Gost wole techin the ovirplus⁷ bettir than man [fol. 1v] can devise. And at every preiere I sette a *Pater noster*,⁸ as for the most principal preire of alle other prieris, whiche is an abcé and former⁹ of alle other orisons. And also for ye schulde whan ye seie thoo¹⁰ wordes "*Fiat voluntas tua*"¹¹ to have it deepli in mende, and alwey putte yowr wil in Godes wil in alle yowre preyeris and desiris. Oure lord that made that preiere makith alle other preieris, for be¹² his grace it is doon, and therfore of alle thing that wretin and seide, that sownith¹³ in to goode from onli be the worschepe and preysing.
- 2 And I preye yow hertili¹⁴ that [fol. 2r] whanne ye ben in soule presentli¹⁵ with yowre spouse that is Jhesu, god and man, takith me with yow in yowre preieres. O, myn sustir, preie my lord God the Trinité that for his gret bounté¹⁶ and for his endeles mercy have mercy and pité on me, sinful, and make me a good woman. For ful ofte sinne and wrechidnes withdrawith my gosteli syht¹⁷ from his glorious presence, and therfore yow and

¹ *holy days*

² *understanding*

³ *them, referring back to "the festis and the passion"*

⁴ *yef yt liken yow, if it please you*

⁵ *unlearned*

⁶ *in brief*

⁷ *remainder*

⁸ *Pater noster, the Lord's Prayer (see note)*

⁹ *guide (template)*

¹⁰ *those*

¹¹ *Fiat voluntas tua, "Thy will be done" (see note)*

¹² *by*

¹³ *leads*

¹⁴ *from the heart*

¹⁵ *in person*

¹⁶ *benevolence*

¹⁷ *gosteli syht, spiritual vision*

othere of his special children I preie to purchace me sum grace of that benigne lord in whom al grace is in.

- 3 Furthermore, sustir, much as a [fol. 2v] man may se that it is not faire ne semli¹⁸ for a gret lord to comyn into a foul hows, but first the hous muste be swepid and mad fair and clene and honestli araied;¹⁹ rith so²⁰ it is not fair ne²¹ semli for oure lord God to comyn in to oure soule, ne we to make us homly²² with him with famulier²³ speche and loving daliaunce,²⁴ yef ony spot of sinne be with inne us wilfulli, til the house of oure conscience be clene swepid be confession and maad fair be contricion, and the soule honestli arraied with meknesse and alle other gostli vertues, or ellis to stonde in [fol. 3r] good wil and desir to have alle gode vertues. And seke and preie therfore, and be the endeles mercy of oure lord God that good wil²⁵ schal been acceptid as for dede,²⁶ yef a man seke besili²⁷ ther-aftir. And whanne we may noyt have oure confessour to be confessid whiche time as we fele us defautife²⁸ with sinnes than must we make a general confession to God, the wheche general confession may be clepid²⁹ the sweping away the filthe of oure sinnes in a corner. And that with contricion wil be ful helpli³⁰ to us and sufficient, though we have do rith gret [fol. 3v] defautes,³¹ til we may be confessid and assoilid;³² and whan we of oure confession be confessid and assoilid, than is the filthe of oure corner clene swept away. And therfore, my gode sustir, at the beginning of these meditaciones and preieres with a contriyt herte and low³³ spirit, a fervent wil to amende yow of alle defautis, seith thus to God in this wise for a general confession:

- 4 O holy God, miytful³⁴ Trinité, I knoweleche³⁵ to yow that have displesid [fol. 4r] yow thorw sinne, in whiche I have fallen and sinnyd: in pride, in wrathe, in envie, in coveytise,³⁶ in gloteiné, in slewthe, and in lecherie. Myne five wittis³⁷ I have mispendid³⁸ and yowre comaundementis brokyn, and of alle thise sinnes that ye knowe me gilty, in whiche

¹⁸ *appropriate*

¹⁹ *honestli araied, properly supplied*

²⁰ *rith so, in the same way*

²¹ *nor*

²² *intimately*

²³ *as though closely acquainted*

²⁴ *communion*

²⁵ *intent*

²⁶ *as for dede, done in fact*

²⁷ *scrupulously*

²⁸ *at fault*

²⁹ *called*

³⁰ *beneficial*

³¹ *rith gret defautes, very great faults*

³² *absolved*

³³ *humble*

³⁴ *all-powerful*

³⁵ *acknowledge*

³⁶ *avarice*

³⁷ *senses*

³⁸ *squandered*

I have sinnid, in wil, word, thought, and ded, wherthorw I have offendid yow, gode lord, benigne God. I yelde me coupable³⁹ to yow, besechyng yowr mercy, and preye yow of foryevenes, and oure lady Seinte Marie and al the company of hevene. O glo|riouse [fol. 4v] Trinité, I woot⁴⁰ wel that for the grete multitude of sinnes and defautes that is in me I am noght worthi to come in to yowre presence to aske ony boone.⁴¹ But the grete multitude of yowre mercy whiche hath noon ende ne noumbre, that grauntid the woman of Caninee the preiere that sche besoughte, and to many anothir also opinli han schewid yowre mercy, and noght onli for hem, but also for⁴² alle sinful that wole forsake here⁴³ sinnes schulde trustli⁴⁴ ful hope to yowre mercy. Lord, ful of pité, this makith me hardy⁴⁵ to preie and speke to yow, putting alwey [fol. 5r] my wil to yowre wil in al myn asking. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*⁴⁶

³⁹ *responsible*

⁴⁰ *know*

⁴¹ *ony boone, any favor*

⁴² *because*

⁴³ *their*

⁴⁴ *faithfully*

⁴⁵ *boldly*

⁴⁶ *Ave Maria gratia, Hail Mary, (full of) grace (see note)*

1: Prayer for Grace

- 1 Blisful Trinité, worchepid and thankith, glorified and magnified mote ye ever be for alle yowre holy vertues, and for alle yowre worthi names, and for alle yowr willes¹ and werkis. A! goode lord, teche me and make me to thanke yow and magnifie yow in yowr festes, and mekeli to have in mende the grete dedes that ye have for al mankinde, and also the grete peines that yowr manhed² suffrede here for oure love. O Holi Trinité, in reverence and remembraunce of yow: *Pater noster.* [fol. 5v] *Ave Maria.*

¹ *wishes*

² *incarnated body*

2: The Annunciation

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, God ful of myht, that ye sente yowre gracious¹ message be the aungel Gabriel to the virgine Marie. O lady, for the grete joye that ye hadde in the salutacion whan Gabriel yow grette² and seide that Godis sone schulde be born of yow. Preye my lord the Trinité to foryeve me my sinnes, al be love and in love, and make me to lovyn al that he loveth and hate al that he hatith. *Pater noster.*

¹ *imparting God's grace*

² *greeted*

3: The Incarnation

- 1 O benigne lord, I thanke and magnifie yow, that ye toke flesche and blod of that glorious [fol. 6r] virgine Marie for manes soule redempcion. A! ladi, for the greite joyye that ye hadde at al times whanne ye, swete mayde, felt hym stere¹ in yowre precious wombe knowing wel that he was verray² Goddes sone. Preie to my lord the Trinité that he make myn soule and herte clene that I myhte fele hym stere in me be hys devine grace. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ stir

² truly

4: The Visitation

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, graciouse quene of hevene and erthe, and empresse of helle, that wente to seinte Elizabeth yow cosine¹ and tolde here goode tidinges, and sche [fol. 6v] also tolde yow here joye. And thanne ye bothyn² thankid and magnified God for his yeftis³ of grace, and ye lady madin the psalme of Magnificat at that time. O virgine, preie yowr sone, my lord hevene kyng, that he sende me alwey good cumpanie and holi comunicacion⁴ in whiche we may in gret reverence thanke and magnifie that Trinité for alle his beenfetes.⁵ *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ kinswoman

² both

³ gifts

⁴ fellowship

⁵ gifts (favors)

5: The Nativity

- 1 O blisful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yowre gloriouse birthe, whiche was clene in al pureté, and for yowre holi innocence. [fol. 7r] O dere worthi lord, graunte me grace to have clenness and pureté of bodi and soule. Putte away fro myn herte alle angres, and rancour, alle evil conseitis¹ and evil ymaginacions and coniectinges,² and make me milde³ and meke, pacient and benigne⁴ that I may vertuousli love and serve yow, Jhesu God in whom arn alle vertues. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ opinions

² fantasies

³ humble

⁴ kind

6: The Annunciation to the Shepherds

- 1 Mercyful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the song that the aungelis sungen: “*Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax.*”¹ O goode lord, have mercy and pité on alle yowre creatures of this erthe whi|che [fol. 7v] is yowre wil to be preied fore. Alle rithful liv-ers,² yeve³ hem good perseveraunce, and encres⁴ of grace and vertues; and alle sinful liv-eres, amende hem of here sinne and drawe hem to goodnesse. A! debonour⁵ God Jhesu, graunte grace, pees, and unité, love and charité among al Cristene peple, and sende perfit pees in to my soule that I may pesibeli⁶ resten in yowre bounté. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ Gloria in excelsis deo in terra pax, “*Glory to God on high and peace on earth*” (see note)

² rithful livers, *those who live righteously*

³ give

⁴ increase

⁵ gentle

⁶ peaceably

7: Adoration of the Shepherds

- 1 Myhtful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow that thorw exciting¹ of angelis the schep-herdes wentin and worchepidin yow. O goode lord, have mercy on [fol. 8r] alle yowre schepherdes of holi chirche: the pope, and alle the cardinalis, archibisschopes, bisschopes, prelates, and curates, and alle that any have to reule and to governe. Yeve hem grace, gloriouse lord God, so to governe here owin soulis, and also hem alle that thei have in governaunce, as most may be worchepe and plesing to yow, and profit to here soulis. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ direction (*urging*)

8: The Circumcision

- 1 Jesu, ful of comforte and joye, I thanke and magnifie yow for yowre holy circumci-sion. O goode lord, yong ye felt peyne. Ful yong and tendere ye were at that tyme [fol. 8v] whan ye were circumcisid, where that ye schadden¹ first yowre precious blod. A! swete Jhesu, with that precious blod and peine, clense and hele my sinful soule, and thorw yowr goodnes foryeve me alle the sinnes that I dede in my yonge age and childhood. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ shed

9: Adoration of the Magi

- 1 Glorious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow: worchepid and magnified be ye evirmore that the thre kynges presentid yow with thre presentis, in whiche was gret signifaunce.¹ A! Holi Trinité, to yow I offere alle Cristen kinges and emperoures: for yowre gret pité receive hem alle in to yowre mercy, [fol. 9r] fulfille² hem with yowr vertues and graunte grace so to reule hem self and here temys³ as most may be most plesable to yow. O myhtful God, speciali I preie yow to kepe and love, reule and counseile oure kyng: fulfille hym with yowre Holi Goost and yeve hym good sped⁴ in alle his werkes, and make hym to withstonde and eschewe al that in any wise myhte displese yow. Holy God, sende hym myht and strengthe to have the victorie of all his gostli and bodily enemys, and yeve hym good lif and longe, and graunte so to love yow that whanne he departith from this world his soule may [fol. 9v] soone be receivid in to yowre presence, where everlasting lif is and blisse. O swete lord, to yow I presente my soule, body, and herte, the king of al riches⁵ that been so free⁶ and large.⁷ Make my pore yefte riche with yowr holi vertues, make it holy and good and receive it for yowre greet curteisy.⁸ *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ *symbolism*

² *imbue*

³ *heirs (progeny)*

⁴ *success*

⁵ *splendor*

⁶ *generous*

⁷ *liberal*

⁸ *beneficence*

10: The Presentation

- 1 Jhesu ful of benignté,¹ I thanke and magnifie yow that ye were on Candelmasse day offrid to yowre holy fadir of hevene in the temple, where that seint Symeon receivid yow in hys armes, and made the psalme "*Nunc dimittis*."² O good lord receive alle [fol. 10r] oure preieris, wepinges, desires and longinges maade to yow, and alle oure assercions³ that we offre to yow, as ye were receivid and acceptid of God yowre fadir and of seint Symeon. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *kindness*

² *Nunc dimittis*, "*Now you dismiss*" (see note)

³ *declarations*

11: The Flight and Return

- 1 Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow that ye wer aftir that tyme flemid¹ in to Egypte; and whanne Herodes was deed, ye wer clepid² hom ayen of God yowr fadir be his aungel. O myhtful Trinité, whan we be flemid fro yow thorw sinne and ignoraunce, clepe us sone hom ayen to yow be wey of rithful levyng.³ *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *fled*

² *called*

³ *living*

12: The Holy Family

- 1 [fol. 10v] Merciful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for al the lowli service that ye, meke Jhesu, dede to my lady yowre blissid modir, and also to hym that was clepid yowre fadir Joseph. Also swete Jhesu, I yelde yow thankinges that ye were alwey to hym buxum¹ and debonore. O goode lord, Holi Trinité, make me ever to be lowli and buxum to yow and to my soveraynes² for yow, in wil, word, thouyt and deede. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *obedient*

² *superiors*

13: The Infancy of Jesus

- 1 Dere worthi Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle the yeres of yowre age. O goode [fol. 11r] lord, with the yeres of yowre vertuous levinge, restore and fulfille alle the yeres that I have dispendid¹ in sinne, and yeve me grace hensforth to spende every yer, day and houre vertuousli, as most may be to yow plesing. And al that fautith² in me of gostli vertues and of wel spending of tyme, youre gracious bounté fulfille it for me. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *frittered away*

² *falls short*

14: The Joys of the Virgin

- 1 O mayde and modir, blissid lady Marie, for alle the grete joyes that ye hadden here on erthe of youre dere beloved sone, and have now in hevene of his glorious presence. Lady, pray my lord the [fol. 11v] Trinité that have mercy on me, and make me a good woman, and graunte me grace that I may alwey be more preysable¹ to the siht of hym than to the siht of the peple, in reverence and remembrance, lady, of alle youre joyes. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ *commendable*

15: The Finding in the Temple

- 1 Mihtful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow that ye tauhte in the temple the maystres of the Phariseis in youre yonge age that thei alle wondrede¹ of youre wit and wisdom, for that tyme, blissid Jhesu, ye were but twelve yer old. O goode lorde ful of grace, I preie yow with my pore herte that ye yeve hem alle grace [fol. 12r] of wit and wisdom that prechin and thechin² youre word, and fulfille hem so with the goodnes of youre Holi Gost that here³ wordes mowen⁴ vertuousli entren in to the soules that hereth it, where thorw thei mowen hate synne and eschewe it, and yeve hem to good lif. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *wondered*

² *teach*

³ *their*

⁴ *might*

16: The Sorrows of Mary

- 1 A, goode lady, gloriouse virgine, than was youre herte ful woo and sorweful whan ye hadde lost youre dere swete sone three dayes, and cowden¹ not finde hym. O lady, for that sorwe, and for the grete sorwis and compassion that ye hadden of al the woo and peynys² [fol. 12v] that he in this wrechid world suffrid: have pité, lady, and compassion of alle that stonden in tribulacion and temptacions. And preie my lord the Trinité, in whom is al myht and power, to do what he wole in hevene, erthe and helle, that for his endeles mercy sende hem alleggeaunce³ of peynes and grace of victorie that thei be not overcome in here temptacions and tribulacions, and yeve hem strengthe and comfort of the Holy Gost. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *could*

² *pains*

³ *relief*

17: The Marriage at Cana

- 1 Jhesu ful of alle vertues, I thanke and magnifie yow that ye at the preiere of youre gloriouse modir [fol. 13r] turnid watir to wyn. O goode lord, for that lady love betwene whose precieuse sides fourty wikes¹ ye lay, and aftir youre birthe ful tendirli kept yow and nurschede² yow and fedde yow with swete mylke, graunte me continually youre grace and turne my vices in to vertues. O blisful Jhesu, for youre endeles mercy stable³ my mende in al goodnesse and festene⁴ my herte to yow and make me evere to liven rithfulli aftir youre wil and plesing. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ *weeks*

² *nourished*

³ *establish*

⁴ *fasten*

18: The Baptism

- 1 Benigne Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for youre holy bapteme that ye were baptisid of [fol. 13v] Seint Johnn in the water of flome¹ Jordan. A! good lord Jhesu, there the Holi Gost with hevenli lith² alihted on yow, and the voys of God the fadir seide to yow: “Thow art my dere sone of whom I am wel apaied.”³ O mihtful God, the bapteme of youre holy sone: restore oure bapteme that we have thorw sinne brokin. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ river

² light

³ pleased

19: The Temptation

- 1 Merciful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the grete fastinges that ye fourti daies fastid. And also I yelde yow thankinges, swete Jhesu, that ope¹ the time of yowre abstinence ye suffrede the fend to tempte yow whan ye [fol. 14r] were solitarie in desert, in comfort of us that been temptid. O goode lord, have pité and compassion on hem alle that wilfulli for youre love beith solitarie: ancras, reclusis, and hermites, and alle estatis reclusid.² Fulfille hem with perfiyth grace that thei may leven³ vertuousli, and yeve hem myht and strengthe to wistonde alle temptacions of the flesch, of the world, and of the feend. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ at (during)

² enclosed (cloistered)

³ live

20: The Penance of Jesus

- 1 Glorouse Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle your grete wakinges, and for alle the grete hunger, thirst, and cold and hard lyynges, and bare foot goinges that [fol. 14v] ye, debonere Jhesu, in this wepyng valeie nyht and day suffrid. A! lord Jhesu, what nede hadde ye that were so pure and good to doon penaunce? Sothli ye nedid not as for yow self, for ye agilt¹ nevere for which ye schulden don ony penaunce. But love only constreinyd yow to doon it for oure nede and helthe, for elles we hadde not be sufficient to don penaunce as we for oure sinnes deserve. Also merciful Jhesu, ye dede it to exite² us to do the same, for ye yaf³ us emsaumple⁴ to doon penaunce for your love as ye deden for oure.
- 2 Penaunce is to us ful profitable and gretli plesith yow, [fol. 15r] for holy writ seith that hevene aprochith to the penitendis. Penaunce with preiere and contricion is weye⁵ and

¹ were guilty

² inspire

³ gave

⁴ example

⁵ manner (road)

ledere⁶ to gete us grace of yow and foryenesse⁷ of oure sinnes. Penaunce discreteli⁸ doon is oure sacrificise to yow for oure misdedis, and be youre mercyful goodnesse it clensith us of oure sinnes and relesith us of grete peynes that we schulde have in purgatorie, and so the sonere to be with you in everlasting blisse. O Holi Trinité, sithin that penaunce is so plesing to yow and is weie⁹ and meene¹⁰ to bringe us to youre love, make me to do penaunce so that I may thorw [fol. 15v] youre grace make dewe satisfaction for my sinnes with preiere, penaunce, and contricion and with alle other goode dedis profith¹¹ groundid in yow. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

⁶ *guide (ladder)* (see note)

⁷ *forgiveness*

⁸ *thoughtfully*

⁹ *highway*

¹⁰ *method*

¹¹ *prove*

21: The Manners and Gaze of the Lord

- 1 Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle your holi maneres, cheres, cuntenaunces,¹ and for alle youre gracioues lokinges of youre pitable yen.² I yelde yow thankynge with myn poure herte. O myhtful Trinité, governe ever more myne maneres, cheres, cuntenaunces, and myn yen syghte³ so that it be alwey meke, devout and benigne, and yeve me grace, glorious God, so [fol. 16r] deepli to wade vertuousli in youre swete love that ye be continually in myn thowgth⁴ and I therwith evere to be glad withoutyn dissolucion,⁵ and sobre⁶ withoute hevynesse.⁷ *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ *facial expressions*

² *eyes*

³ *yen syghte, eyesight*

⁴ *thought*

⁵ *debauchery*

⁶ *temperate*

⁷ *sorrow*

22: The Samaritan Woman at the Well

- 1 Jhesu ful of benignité, I yelde yow thankynge that ye so meke and mildeli spak a good while with the woman Samaritan that come to the welle ther¹ ye sat to fetch watyr. And ye, benigne Jhesu, bad here yeve yow drinke and seide to here, who² that drank of the water of lif that ye yevin that thei schulde not thurstyn perpetueli; for the watir, ye seiden, is the welle that hem schal lede to everlastyng lif. [fol. 16v] And thus fulhomli³ ye

¹ *where*

² *whoever*

³ *in a very friendly manner*

spak with here a good while and told here her privé secrees.⁴ O good lord, come in to my soule, tel and schew me the derkhed⁵ of defaute that priveli lurkyn withinne me, suffre me not to make of vertu vice ne of vice vertu, voide⁶ fro me alle evil custumes and yeve me cler syht of trewe undirstonding and sothfast⁷ knowinge so that I may fully amende me of alle myne defautes. A! gracious Jhesu, graunte me also the water of lif that I thurste not endelesli, and make me drunke in youre swete love wherthorw⁸ I may at the laste come to ever|lasting [fol. 17r] lif. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁴ *secrets*

⁵ *darkness*

⁶ *purge*

⁷ *truthful*

⁸ *whereby*

23: The Sermon on the Mount

- 1 Blisful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle youre holy sermones, and also that ye baptised the pepil, and for ye chese youre twelve aposteles and namid hem aposteles. And at that tyme, swete Jhesu, ye deliverede hem the comaundementis of the newe lawe, and not be maner of distresse¹ or manas,² but be maner of beheste.³ And also, benigne Jhesu, I yelde yow thankinges for the eiyte blessinges⁴ that ye than yaf and seide in this wise: “Blissid be the pouere spirituels:⁵ for the kyngdom of hevene is heres. Blissid be the debonaire:⁶ [fol. 17v] for thei schal have lond — that is to saye, everlesting lif. Blissid be thei that wepin: for thei schuln be comfortid. Blissid be thei that desiren rithwisnesse⁷ as mete and drinke: for thei schal be fulfillid. Blissid be the merciabes:⁸ for thei schal have mercy. Blissid be thei that have clene hertis: for thei schul se God. Blissid be thei that been pesible:⁹ for their schul been clepid Godis sones. Blessid be thei that suffrin persecucion for rithwisnes: for the reume¹⁰ of God is heris.” O goode lord, chese me and name me for on¹¹ of youre chosin children, and graunte me these heye vertues [fol. 18r] wherthorw I may, Jhesu, yow plesin; and yeve me grace day and nyht evere to be yowre trewe servant withoutyn variaunce.¹² *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *coercion*

² *threat*

³ *petition*

⁴ *eiyte blessinges, eight beatitudes*

⁵ *pouere spirituales, poor in spirit*

⁶ *kind and meek people*

⁷ *righteousness*

⁸ *merciful people*

⁹ *peace-loving*

¹⁰ *realm*

¹¹ *one*

¹² *deviation*

24: The Conversion of Mary Magdalene

- 1 Jhesu ful of debonerté,¹ I thanke and magnifie yow that ye clepid and receyvid the seventi and two disciples, and for ye healede the pepile of ydropesies² and palsies and of rennyng blod. And speciali I yeve yow thankinges that ye, benigne Jhesu, suffrede Marie Maudeleyne whan sche was holde so sinful that sche hadde seven fendis³ withinne here to aproche to youre holy feet in the hous of the Phariseye, and ther [fol. 18v] sche wepte for here misdedis and wessch youre feet with here terys,⁴ and wipid hem with here heer. Also I thanke yow, gode lord, that ye mercyfulli foryaf here alle her sinnes. O dereworthi Jhesu, suffre me thowgh I be wikkid, werst of alle othire, to aprochin to youre holy feet, and yeve me grace there to abide and wepe for my grete misdedis, til youre merciful herte foryeve me alle min sinnes. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ kindness

² edema (painful swelling of the limbs caused by fluid retention)

³ devils

⁴ tears

25: Jesus and Mary Magdalene

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, Jhesu ful of grace, that ye have no despit¹ ne indignacion of the sinful that wele forsake here sinnes, but in gret chareté [fol. 19r] ye receyve hem to youre grace. O lord of pureté and of clenness, ye arn not skeymous² of hem thowgh thei have been fowle and al defacid³ thorw sinnes, but anoon⁴ as thei been contrit ye make hem fair and brith,⁵ and famuliarli⁶ in hem ther make youre habitacion. O lord, gret is your bounté, blissid and preisid, thankid and heried,⁷ glorified and magnified be ye evere therfore. Also swete Jhesu, I yelde yow thankinges that ye so debonerli excused Marie Maudeleyne thries there to the Phariseies whan she wepte at youre feet. Anothir time ye, meke Jhesu, excusid here what [fol. 19v] tyme here sustir Martha compleinid to yow that sche wolden not helpyn here. Ful graciously ye seiden thanne to Martha that Marie hadde chosin the betir partye, which schulde nevere be benomyn⁸ here. The thridd tyme, benigne Jhesu, ye excusid here whan Judas grucchid⁹ the precious oynement that sche spendid on yow.

¹ contempt

² disgusted

³ disfigured

⁴ as soon

⁵ bright

⁶ like a close friend

⁷ celebrated

⁸ denied

⁹ begrudged

- 2 O gode lord, yeve me grace to have perfith charité to alle myn even Cristen¹⁰ and schilde¹¹ me that I nevere have despit ne disdein of hem for senne but love the persones and hate the sinne. O charitable God, make me to folwe youre pureté and youre vertues. [fol. 20r] Jhesu myn joye and myn comfort, myn hope and al myn hele,¹² fulfille me with your goodnesse and sadli stable me therinne. Jhesu myn strengthe and myn socour, schilde me from alle bodili and gostli periles. And gracious lord, for the gret pité and mercy that ye hadde of Marie Maudeleyne and also for the gret love that sche hadde to yow here in erthe and hath now in hevene, blissid Trinité, be holde me with youre pitable yen and graunte me yowre love.
- 3 O allas, I sinful, how dar I thus holi spekin with my lord God that with his myht hevene and erthe made and alle thing of nowht?¹³ Certainli I, sinful [fol. 20v] wreche, am not worthi to speke to hym, ne to hevyn¹⁴ up myn eyen to hevene, but as a sinful worm down to the erthe, as sche that is not worthi to preise God, ne to nemine¹⁵ his name, for the profith¹⁶ seith the preising of God is not fair in a sinful mouth. O merciful lord, Holi Trinité: mercy, mercy. My sinnes putten me often tymes abake so that I dar not spekyn ne come in to youre presence, but youre mercy which hath no ende ne noumbre drawith me alwey forth and makith me to been homli and familier with yow; wherfore benigne God, I yelde yow thankinge, [fol. 21r] and thankid be ye as often as alle hertis can or may devise. And myhtful lord, I beseche yow: sithin I am not worthi to preise yow, make me worthi and able therto, and youre owyn goodnesse preise, blisse and magnifie yow in me, so that what evere I write, thinke or speke of yow and for yow, be it youre werk and not myn. And seie to me, and to alle that have forsake the world for yow, as ye seide to Martha of Maudeleyne, that we have chose the betir partye that nevere schal be benomyn¹⁷ us. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹⁰ even Cristen, *fellow Christians*

¹¹ *protect*

¹² *health*

¹³ of nowht, *out of nothing*

¹⁴ *raise*

¹⁵ *pronounce*

¹⁶ *prophet*

¹⁷ *denied*

26: Feeding the Multitudes

- 1 Myhtful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow that ye fedde the foure thouzande peple and mo¹ [fol. 21v] with five looves and to² fisschis so plenteuousli that thei lefte twelve beer-lepis³ ful of relef⁴ whan thei hadde etyn. Anothir tyme, goode lord, ye fedde a gret multitude of peple with seven looves and with lityl fissch; wherfore I yelde yow

¹ *more*

² *two*

³ *large baskets (see MED bere-lepe)*

⁴ *leftovers*

thankinges, blissid and worchepid mote⁵ ye evere ben. O Holi Trinité, ful of myht and mercy, in whom is al plenté and largenesse⁶ with youre swete love and gostli virtues and joyes in yow, fede and nurische my nedy soule that is ful ofte hungry and disolat, bare and nakid of gostli godes. A! lord, have pité on my povert and on my gret nede.

- 2 Mercy|ful [fol. 22r] God, ye knowen wel as be rith⁷ to the most poure the almesse muste be doon and ye, goode lord, mowin do no wrong. And therfore as be rith, ye muste nedis yeve it me that am the moste poure of gostli fruytes and moste nede have and hungir. Jhesu, fede me with youre presence, fulfille me al of yow, for of lesse may not myn povert passe.⁸ Jhesu God and man, arraie me with youre graciousce vertues and yve⁹ me yow in al: than have I al that I desire and al that me nedith. O allas goode lord, what have I seide? I aske to have youre almasse¹⁰ of grace and yow be rith¹¹ of my povert, [fol. 22v] and how dar I do so? I, that am a wikkid worm, a stinking careyne,¹² a sinful caytif,¹³ a wretchid sinnere ful of felonie. O merciful lord, more is in me than myn gret povert of wanting of youre grace and vertues. Ther is in me gret multitude of sinne and wretchidnes that first muste be voidid or¹⁴ than I may atteyne to so heye a yefte;¹⁵ for lord, ye arn al pureté and al goodnesse, and I am al filthe and al wikkidnesse, and how mihte thise two contrarious¹⁶ dwelle togider?¹⁷ But gracious lord, this onli comfortith me, that youre myht and mercy may in a moment of tyme clense me of [fol. 23r] al filthe of sinne and foryeve me alle offensis; it is youre rith to be merciful of sinners. Therfore glorious lord, be wey of rith of youre vertues I crave, and aske to have youre mercy and grace, and than also to have yow in al clenness and pureté in me. Dere God, graunte it me for youre grete benignité. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁵ *must*

⁶ *abundance*

⁷ *be rith, by rights*

⁸ *for of lesse may not myn povert passe, since my poverty will not pass for any less*

⁹ *give*

¹⁰ *alms*

¹¹ *be rith, on account of*

¹² *carcass*

¹³ *wretch*

¹⁴ *before*

¹⁵ *gift*

¹⁶ *contraries*

¹⁷ *together*

27: Calming the Storm

- 1 Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle the windes and tempestes that ye, swete Jhesu, apesedin¹ and cecedin² divers times, whan youre aposteles werin apoint³ in the see to plunge. O goode lord, kepe me whiles I am in [fol. 23v] this world, that weel may be likinid to the see, ful of noyous wawis,⁴ and my sinful body to a boot,⁵ my soule therinne travailid with perilous tempestis. A! debonere Jhesu, save me as ye savedin Petir in the watir from drinching⁶ that I plunge not ne perissche thorwe my malice in this trobli⁷ watir of tribulacions and temptacions. O dere lord, comforte me with youre voies and seie to me “*Noli timere*,”⁸ and lede my soule in saftee til it come to that glorious hevene ther is everlasting sekirnes,⁹ joye, blisse and reste. *Pater noster qui es in.*¹⁰ *Ave Maria.*

¹ *calmed*

² *quelled*

³ *werin apoint, were about*

⁴ *noyous wawis, hazardous waves*

⁵ *boat*

⁶ *drowning*

⁷ *troubled*

⁸ *Noli timere, “Do not be afraid”*

⁹ *security*

¹⁰ *Pater noster qui es in, Our Father who is in, i.e., the first five words of the Lord’s Prayer*

28: The Mocking of Jesus

- 1 [fol. 24r] Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle the skornis, despites, schames, wronges and reproves that ye in this world suffred. And I yelde yow thankinges, swete Jhesu, that ye ful charitabli excusid yowre aposteles whan the Phariseyes reprovid hem and accusid hem. Ones was what tyme thei token the eeres of the whete as thei wente be the wey and affrayed¹ it in here handes and etyn the greynes² on a day of Sabat.³ Anothir time ye, meke Jhesu, excusid hem whan the Phariseyes accusid hem and pleinid to yow that thei wente to mete with [fol. 24v] unwasshin handes. O goode lord, God have pité and compassion on youre servauntis of holi chirche, for many enemys, accusers and deniers thei have now in these dayes. But benigne Jhesu, excuse hem to youre holi fadir of hevene of here defautes, and yeve hem grace mekli to suffren schame, skornys, despitis,⁴ wronges and repreves when it comith to hem pureli for the love of yow. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *crushed*

² *grains*

³ *Sabbath*

⁴ *insults*

29: The Woman Taken in Adultery

1 Blisful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the myht and mercy that ye schewed in to the woman that was foundin in avow¹trie, [fol. 25r] whan the maistir of the Phariseyes browten here to yow and askid what thei schulden doon with here. For thei seiden that Moises hadde comoundid that swich she² schulde been stonid. And this thei dede for yef³ ye hadde seide stone here, thei schulde have askied⁴ yow for cruel, for the pepil that helde yow so pitous⁵ schulde have loved yow the lesse; and yef ye hadde seide let here go quyt,⁶ thei to have take yow as him that hadde doon ayens Moyses lawis. But ye, meke Jhesu, that knewe al here malice wrowhte al anothir,⁷ and whanne ye saw the woman [fol. 25v] come ye enclinid and lokid down, and wrot in the erthe for the woman schulde not be aschamid. Ye savid here also that day fro deth. A! gentil lord ful of curtesie, I yelde yow thankinges for this dede that ye, meke Jhesu, of youre gret benignité deede.

2 And thei than fersli askid yow what thei schulde doo with the woman, and ye fersli lokid on hem and bad which of hem that was withoutyn sinne schulde castin on here the first ston. And forth riht⁸ ye enclinid to the erthe anothir tyme and wrot in the erthe, and everich of hem saw there here owin sinnes, [fol. 26r] and for schame anon they stal awaei be on and on,⁹ til ther was never on in that place but ye and the woman. And thanne ful debonerli ye seide to here: “woman where been thei that accusid thee, dampnid¹⁰ thee noman.” “Noo lord,” quod sche, “noman.” And than ye, mercyable God, seide to here that ye wolde not dampne here, and bad here go and welne¹¹ to sinne nomore. O goode lord, I preye yow that alle thoo that hatin and despisen folkis of holi chirche, and beth glad to finde hem with defautes, writ in the ground of here hertis, and opne the eye of here soules that thei may here owyn [fol. 26v] sinnes and defautes see, that thei may be aschamid of here pride and, goode lord, yeve hem grace to have verray contricion of alle here sinnes and to amende hem of here misdedis. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ *adultery*

² *swich she, such as she*

³ *if*

⁴ *denounced*

⁵ *merciful*

⁶ *free*

⁷ *wrowhte al anothir, did something completely different*

⁸ *forth rith, right away*

⁹ *be on and on, one by one*

¹⁰ *condemned*

¹¹ *intend*

30: The Woman of Canaan's Daughter

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, Jhesu ful of grace, that ye chasid the fendis away and legions of fendes fro men and women. And speciali I yelde yow thankinges for the womanes douyter of Cananee, that ye chasid the fend from here at the preying of here modir. O lord, mercyable Jhesu, but first ye made daunger¹ whan ye seide to here that it [fol. 27r] was not leful² to take the bred that was ordeynyd to the children and yeven it to the houndes, and sche answerde: "lord, noo, but houndes may ete the crummes that fallin down from the lordis bord³ out of children handes." A! benigne Jhesu, it plesid yow ful mechil⁴ the meke answerde of this woman, which made yow ful myldeli to saye: "O woman, mochil is thi feith; be it as thow witt."⁵
- 2 A dere Jhesu, therfore ye made so straunge⁶ atte beginnyng of here preiere for sche schulde gete here the more mede⁷ and thanke of yow, and also yeve us exsaumple that we schulde mekli abide in preiere though firste we finde straunge|ness [fol. 27v] and have not oure preieres anoon⁸ whan we wolde.⁹ For your bounté wele not werne¹⁰ us oure preieres, and it be skilfulli¹¹ askid yef we abide mekeli therupon. O merciful Trinité, though I be most unworthi and am an hound thorw bestli condicions, and werse than an hound as in ther that I have wrethed¹² yow, yet goode lord I preie yow yeve me crumes of youre mercy and grace and the bred of everlasting life, and make me with al feith and mekenesse continualli to abide in preiere, that myne preieres mowyn¹³ been herd and grauntid of yow, as was [fol. 28r] the womanes of Cananee. *Pater noster.*

¹ *resistance*

² *lawful*

³ *table*

⁴ *ful mechil, very much*

⁵ *know*

⁶ *obscure*

⁷ *reward*

⁸ *immediately*

⁹ *would*

¹⁰ *withhold*

¹¹ *reasonably*

¹² *displeased*

¹³ *might*

31: The Transfiguration

- 1 Benigne Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for youre gloriouse Transfiguracion which was a blisful sight ful of swetnesse, whan youre gracious face schon wiht as the sunne and youre clothing wex¹ whit as snow; and there Moyses and Helie aperid and spak to yow. A! Petir, this sight was ful plesing to yow. Ye taasted a litil of this hevenli joye and made yow desiren there to have dwellid, whane ye seide to oure lord: "Sire, it is good here to

¹ *grew*

abide; yef ye welin,² we schal make here thre tabernacles, on for [fol. 28v] yow, anothir for Moyses, the thridde for Helie.” O dere Jhesu, but ye ches rather to suffre for oure redemption peynes and deth than for to abide there or in youre kingdom of blisse til ye hadde bowth³ us with youre precious blod, and therfore I yelde yow thankinges. Swete Jhesu, blissid and worchepid, glorified and magnified be ye evere therfore. And whiles ye spak with Moyses and with Helie a brith cloude come and sprad yow, and a voyes of God youre fadir cam fro the cloude and seide: “This is my dere sone, of whom I am weel plesid — herith him.” O I preie [fol. 29r] yow, goode lord, that thus were transfigurid, transforme my soule out of worldli lust and joye in gostli merthe and meledie of yow, in yow, for yow, and make me here your vois and wordes, and wel to folwe ther aftir that I be alwey to yow redi and attendaunt. *Pater noster*.

² *desire*

³ *redeemed*

32: The Raising of Lazarus

- 1 Jhesu, ful of grace, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle youre holi preieris that ye have preied to your fadir of hevene to yeven us exsample to preie, and for al the speche that ye spak on erthe. And also I yelde yow thankinges, swete benigne Jhesu, that ye rered Lazar [fol. 29v] fro deth to live, that foure dayes hadde leyn in the monument. And othir two also ye rerid to live afore that tyme, the princes dowter Jayre and the wedewis¹ sone that was born² ded on bere,³ wherfore I yelde yow thankinges. O dere lord, youre holi preieres excite me alwei to preieres, and schilde me from evil, deth and dedli sinne. And arere⁴ my soule away in to contemplacion, where that I may undirstonde, beholde, see, and fele youre swetnes and youre secres.⁵ *Pater noster. Ave*.

¹ *widow's*

² *carried*

³ *bier*

⁴ *carry*

⁵ *secrets*

33: The Entry into Jerusalem

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow Jhesu, ful of blisse, for youre riding [fol. 30r] on Palme Soneday upon the asse and here fole to the Citee of Jerusalem; and then it was fulfilid the prophecie that seit: “*Noli timere filia Syon ecce rex tuus venit super pullum asinii*.”¹ A! swete Jhesu, the peple dede yow gret worchip that day, and comyn ayenst² yow with gret processions, and leyde here clothis and palme brounchis and brounchis of olive and the weye undir the asses feet that ye, meke Jhesu, sat upon. And thei sungen songes of

¹ *Noli timere filia Syon ecce rex tuus venit super pullum asinii*, “*Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy king cometh, sitting on an ass's colt*” (see note)

² *toward*

worschip and herryng³ to yow, and as ye wittenessin yow self, but yif thei hadden don so⁴ the stones schulden [fol. 30v] have cried. O lord, mechil⁵ is youre myht. Iblissid be ye, and worchepid in alle youre miyhtful werkis. Benigne Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow also for the gret pité and compassion that ye hadden for the destruxion of that cité, for which ful tendreli ye weptin. O ye tendre hertid lord, ful of pité and compassion, that wepte so longe afore er than it fel, for Jersalem schulde been destroid speciali for sinne that schulde cause that destruccion. A! goode Jhesu, verray god and man: have pité and compassion of al holi cherche which is youre spouse, and suffre it not to been [fol. 31r] destroyed but, merciful Trinité, amende hem⁶ of here sinnes and governe hem in al grace and vertues, and alwei save hem and supporte hem in alle tymes of nede, to youre everlasting glorie and magnifyng. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

³ *praise*

⁴ but yif thei hadden don so, *if they had not done so*

⁵ *great*

⁶ *i.e., members of the church*

34: The Cleansing of the Temple

- 1 Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow, that ye divers times chacid out of the temple the beyeres and the selleres, principalli on Palme Soneday. Ye beet hem and drof hem owt of the temple for the gret jelosie¹ that ye haddyn of youre fadris hows. Also I yelde yow thankinges, swete Jhesu, that ye wolde been worchepid of innocent children [fol. 31v] which sungen before yow: "*Osanna filio David benedictus qui venit in nomine domini rex israel.*"² And there thei fulfillid the prophecie that David seide in the sauter, "*Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti.*"³ O goode⁴ us alle that ye han chosin to be youre temple, chase from us pride, coveitise and alle sinnes, and gadre⁵ alle oure wittes togedir from alle worldli vanitees and vein beholdinges, and stable it sadli⁶ in the mende of yow, and yeve us grace continuall to do worchepe and reverence to yow, as we owin to doon. And make oure soule, bodi, and herte alwei clene [fol. 32r] and able it to been youre temple, fulfille it in alle vertues that ye may reste fully and dwelle in us, and we in yow, Jhesu ful of bounté. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *fervor (devotion)*

² *Osanna filio David benedictus qui venit in nomine domini rex israel, "Hosanna to the son of David, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel"* (see note)

³ *Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti, "Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise"* (see note)

⁴ *refine*

⁵ *muster*

⁶ *stable it sadli, fix it firmly*

35: The Tears of the Lord

- 1 Jhesu ful of comfort, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle youre exercises,¹ and for alle the teres that ye fro youre blissid eyen let falle in this woful valeye, and also for alle the steppis of youre holi feet I yelde yow thankinges. O goode lord, youre holi exercises withdrawe me from alle wikkidnes, and stere² me alwey to al good, and youre holi teres scarifie³ oure teres, and youre gracious [fol. 32v] vertues and steppis lede us continuall the riht wey to yow, God ful of myht and mercy. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *hard work*

² *lead*

³ *let blood as a medical treatment*

36: The Last Supper

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, Jhesu ful of glorie, for the maunde¹ that ye madin on Scher Thorusday amoyng youre apostelis, at the which maunde ye schewedin us gret ensample of mekenes that ye so mekely whesch here feet. Also ye yaf gret ensample of charité at that soper that ye, benigne Jhesu, so famulierli eet with hem, and charitabli tauyt hem and comfortid hem, O goode lord, and fedde hem with youre precious body . . .²

¹ *the ceremonial washing of the disciples' feet*

² (see t-note)

37: The Procession to Calvary

- 1 [fol. 33r] . . . nifie yow,¹ that ye baar the hevy cros up on youre sore brousid schuldren² and woundid body. A! lord, sumtyme the cros betokenith penaunce, and sumtyme it signifieth contemplacion. O, goode God, yeve grace that I may helpe to bere youre cros, that is to say mekli to bere for your love alle hevy birthenys of charge that fallith to me, also to doon penaunce for the love of yow, as ye dede for me, and graunte me grace, blisful God, to been contemplatif as my degre askyth.³ *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ (see t-note)

² *brousid schuldren, bruised shoulders*

³ *degre askyth, vocation requires*

38: Saint Veronica

- 1 Benigne Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the [fol. 33v] prente of youre holi face that ye made to the woman Veronica, whiles Simon of Siren was maad to berith the cros that ye bar. And that prente whiche is clepid the vernicle ye yaf us as for a love tokene to havyn youre blissid visage in remembraunce. O goode lord, ful of benignité, yeve me grace continueli to havyn youre gracious visage and youre passion in mende, considering the swete love and bounté that ye have doon for me, and for al mankende. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

39: The Crucifixion

- 1 Rihtful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the gret peine [fol. 34r] that ye, meke Jhesu, suffrid at that time that youre clothis werin doon off, whan ye schulde been crucified. O goode lord, youre clothis clevid¹ to youre gracious body, for the blood of youre precious wowndes was dried and congelid therto, and therfore in the takinge away it rered² off bothe skin and flessch of youre blissid bak and sides. A! debonor Jhesu, than thei leide yow to the cros and bownde yow theron and with cordes thei drowen³ youre hondes and feet to the holes of the cros, and nailid hem therto with grete ruggid⁴ nailes. O Jhesu lord, ful of [fol. 34v] al goodnesse, that were thus peinefulli festnid to the cros for love of mankende: have mercy and pité on al youre peple that ye have bowth⁵ so dere, and race⁶ from us al wikkidnesse, and knytte us so faste to yow with a love knotte that the knot be nevere onknyt, ne we fro yow disseverid. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *clung*

² *pulled*

³ *dragged*

⁴ *blunt*

⁵ *bought*

⁶ *erase*

40: Jesus's Suffering on the Cross

- 1 Merciful Jhesu, thanked and magnified be ye for that grete peine that ye, my lord, suffrid whan the cros fel with youre blissid body, for it was not set sufficientli in the mortey-ses.¹ And thanne alle the cruel Jewis that werin there heven [fol. 35r] yow up ayen, ye and the cros nailid faste togedir, and putten the foot of the cros ayens in the morteyes so despitousli and cruely that it stoneyde, lusschede, and buschede² al youre body, and with that bresure³ alle the veynis and senwes of youre blissid body to brusten,⁴ and youre precious woundes bleddin gret foyson.⁵ O myn herte, whi ne clevist on tweyne⁶ for pité of thin lord, that alle thise cruel turmentis hadde? O, treuli I may seie that my herte is more hard than is the hard ston, for stones, lord, at youre deth to bursten and clevedin on tweine. Allas, I sinful [fol. 35v] this is a foul schame to me that I am more boystous⁷ and hard to my lord God than is the ston. O benigne God, softe⁸ my herte with youre dere love: sende to me a sparkle of the Holi Gost and anoynte my hard herte with the precious licour of youre swete blood so that love, pité, and compassion may ever abide in me.

¹ *mortises, sockets, or grooves used in carpentry to fix one piece of wood to another*

² *stoneyde, lusschede, and buschede, stunned, dashed, and shoved*

³ *buffeting*

⁴ *to brusten, burst*

⁵ *profusion*

⁶ *whi ne clevist on tweyne, why [do you] not split in two*

⁷ *churlish*

⁸ *soften*

- 2 A swete Jhesu, the aking of youre sides and the gret thirst and drinesse that ye hadde for lac of blod that was fro yow *ronnen*⁹ *reund*¹⁰ yow also ful sori. O good lord, that al this woo suffrid for me: what schal I do ayen¹¹ [fol. 36r] for yow? Nowht but love ye aske of me, for alle youre woful peynes and grevouse travailes. O alas, myn wretched herte, whi art thou so rude and unkende?¹² Whi takist thou not this deepli and langourist for love? O Jhesu king of love, make me youre love to fele, and graunte me grace to love yow with al my myht, with al myn herte, and with al myn soule. And goode lorde, reule continualli myne thouytes and dedes afir youre wil and plesing. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

⁹ *running*

¹⁰ *grieved (tormented)*

¹¹ *in return*

¹² *ungrateful*

41: Jesus's Words on the Cross

- 1 Glorious Jhesu, I thanke and [fol. 36v] magnifie yow, for alle the wordes that ye spak here on erthe, and speciali I yelde yow thankinges for alle the wordes that ye, swete Jhesu, spak whiles ye heng on the cros. O lord, kepe myn tunge from wikkid wordes and from alle thoo wordes that myhte hindren¹ or sowne² in to evil that I displese yow nowht with my tunge but make me for youre benignité alwei to saye swich wordes as most may be to youre worchepe plesing and heriyng,³ and to my even Cristen soules profiting. A! goode Jhesu, the eysel⁴ and the [fol. 37r] galle⁵ was put to youre mouth: lord, kepe myn mouth fro glotenie of mete and drinke, and yeve me grace to abstene me from alle spyces of sinne. *Pater noster.*

¹ *obstruct*

² *lead*

³ *praising*

⁴ *vinegar*

⁵ *bitter substance (bile)*

42: The Thirst of the Lord

- 1 Blisful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the grete desir that ye hadden to manes soule whan ye, debonere Jhesu, seiden: "*Sicio*."¹ Ye desired thanne ful gretli to have manes soule owt of the fendes pousté,² and fro the derknes that thei were in. For ye hadd raun-somyd hem with that precious tresor which was blod and life. O goode [fol. 37v] lord, leed my soule from derknesse of sinne, and make me to desire with love longinge to have yow alwey in myn herte, O Holi Trinité, and with al mekenesse and reverence stedfastli myn mynde in yow, with holy thouytes and goode ententes, and stable vertues in me. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ *Sicio, "I thirst" (see note)*

² *power*

43: The Harrowing of Hell

- 1 Gracious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow: blissid and worchepid be ye evirmore for your peineful deth, which desseverid your holy soule fro youre blissid body whan ye seiden “*Consummatum est*.”¹ A! goode Jhesu, thanne youre precious soule with the godhed descendid to [fol. 38r] helle and took owt Adam and Eve, and alle youre frendes that there werin, and browt hem to paradyse. O merciful dere lord, have pité and yeve mercy to alle the soules that been in the peynes of purgatorie and on hem alle that youre mercy abiden.² Speciali I beseche yow, myn gracious lord God, for al myn kin and frendes that been owt of this world passid: myn fadir and myn modir, myn godfadir and god modres, myn bretherin, myn sustren, and for myne gostli fadres that I have been confessid to. And swete Jhesu, I preie yow for alle my|ne [fol. 38v] goode doeres that been deede, the which I have been sustenid and fortherid³ by, also alle thoo that evere I hadde of comfort or ese, bodili or gostli. O myn sovereign lord myhtful Trinité, graunte hem alle comfort and reles⁴ of peynes, and bringe hem to that blisse the which is alwey enduring. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *Consummatum est*, “it is fulfilled” (“it is done”) (see note)

² *await*

³ *supported*

⁴ *release*

44: Saint Longinus

- 1 Debonere Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for that precious wounde that Longeus made with a scharp spere, and persid to youre holi blissid herte, and fro that wownde ran watir and blood. O dereworthi¹ [fol. 39r] lord Jhesu, that precious blood and water clense the blindnesse of myn gostli eyen and herte, as it dede the eyen of Longeus, wher thorw he gat his sight and myhte weel seen, so that I may have verray knowing of youre divine bounté and trewe sight, and knowing of my self and of alle my sinnes and defautes with perfith hope of youre mercy. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *precious*

45: The Deposition

- 1 I thanke and magnifie yow, Jhesu ful of benignité, for alle youre miracleful werkes and gracious dedes, and in reverence and remembraunce of hem, and for alle wowndes [fol. 39v] of youre precious body and woful peynes that ye, blissid Jhesu, for oure love suffrid, and were take doun off the cros and leyde in sepulcre. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

46: The Entombment

- 1 A! ladi seynte Marie, myn lordis dere modir, I preie yow glorious virgine, and also seint John the wangelist, and Marie Maudeleyne, Joseph of Armathe and Nichodeme, and al that holi cumpanie that was at that holi beriyng¹ of my lordes precious body, Crist Jhesu. I prey yow alle preiyeth for me to that holi God Jhesu that he take myn herte from al ertheli² [fol. 40r] thing and berie and close it spirituali in him as his blissid body was beried in the sepulcre. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *burial*

² *worldly*

47: The Appearance to the Virgin Mary

- 1 Blisful Jhesu, I thanke yow and blissid be ye of yow self. Worchepid and magnified be ye everemore of alle creaturis for youre glorious resurreccion that ye, goode lord, aroos myhtili from deth to lif on Ester day, and aperid to youre dere modir, and seide to here: "*Salve sancta parens.*"¹ O lady, for that gret joye that ye hadde whan ye saw youre dere wor-thi sone from deth to live arisen, and for the goodli daliaunce [fol. 40v] that was thanne betwen yow bothe, O gloriouse virgine, and for the fervent love that youre blissid herte was with inflamind in his blisful presence: preie my lord the Trinité that in alle vertues and rihtful levying he yeve me grace to have good perseveraunce in to myn lyves ende. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *Salve sancta parens, "Hail, holy mother"* (see note)

48: The Appearance to Mary Magdalene

- 1 Benigne Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow that ye apperid also the day of youre Resurreccion to Marie Maudeleyne, which is a gret comfort to sinners. O lady Maudeleyne, for the gret joye that ye hadde thanne of his glorious [fol. 41r] Resurreccion, of his presence and of his speche, whom ye loved so inwardli: preie myn lord Jhesu that mercifulli foryaf youre sinnes whan ye wepte at his feet that he for his gret goodnes foryeve me alle myne sinnes and make me evere to loven him parfithli.¹ *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *perfectly*

49: The Supper at Emmaus

- 1 Jhesu ful of endeles goodnes, I thanke and magnifie yow for the appering that ye apperid to Cleophas and his felawe on Esterne Moneday. And ful benigneli, goode lord, ye walkid with hem and brouht hem owt of here errour and wente with hem in to the Castell of [fol. 41v] Emaus, and there ye sattin at a bord betwen hem two and brak the bred wher thorw thei knewyn yow. O benigne Jhesu, blissid and worchepid, glorified and magnified be ye evere more for alle the comfortis that thee have doon and schal doon in to the day of Jugement to youre chosin children. *Pater noster. Ave.*

50: The Incredulity of Thomas

- 1 Merciful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle the apperinges that thee apperid aftir yowre Resurreccion. And specialli I thanke yow, good lord, for youre appering to seynt Thomas of Inde, at the which tyme ye yaf [fol. 42r] youre blissing to alle hem that belevyd in yow and never saw yow. O dere benigne God, yeve us alle grace feithfulli and continualli to have parfith beleve in yow wherthorw we may have youre blissing evir withoutyn ende. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

51: The Ascension

- 1 Myhtful Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for youre merveilous Ascension, that ye stey¹ to hevene on holi Thursday and sette yow on youre fadris riht hand, and schul come ayen and deme the quike² and the dede. O gracious lord, graunte me grace thanne to been on youre riht side and [fol. 42v] seie to me with youre children: "*Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi*,"³ that I may at that time be⁴ youre blisful bounté haven part of youre eritage, ever to love and herie yow in blisse evirlesting. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *scaled*

² *deme the quike, judge the living*

³ *Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"* (see note)

⁴ *by means of*

52: Pentecost

- 1 Glorious Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow for the sending doun of the Holi Gost to youre apostelis on Witsunday, which fulfilde with wit and wisdom and yaf hem strengthe to suffre for youre dere love peynes and turmentis and cruel deth. O blisful lord, ful of [fol. 43r] swetnesse and ful of all bounté: sende us youre Holi Gost to fulfille us with wit and wisdom, where thorw we mowe wisli governe oure self as longe as the lif is withinne oure bodies, and also to yeven us strengthe, mekeli and myghtili, to suffren peynes and disseses for youre love and to with-stonde alle vices and never to flitte¹ from yow for lif ne for deth. *Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.*

¹ *depart*

53: The Sacred Heart

- 1 A debonere Jhesu, I thanke and magnifie yow: worchepid and blissed be ye, goode lord, continueli in alle youre gracious vertues, and blissid and worchepid [fol. 43v] been alle youre holy lymes¹ and fetures, and alle youre bones and alle youre intrailles. And speciali I thanke and magnifie youre precious merciful herte. O blisful dere herte of myn lord Jhesu God: from yow comyth the brith schinyng bemes of deepe lyht of trewe understanding. O gracious herte, from yow comyth the cler knowyng and stremys of swetnesse, the whiche is joye and comforth to oure mornynge² soules. O benigne herte, that was so meke and pacient to suffre alle wornges,³ peynes and disseses that was put to yow: [fol. 44r] blissid and thankid mote ye be. O merciful herte, ful of al godnes in whom is al precious gostli oynementis⁴ to hele with oure sike soules. O herte debonere, from yow comyth al grace and vertues that is yeven to man and woman: glorified and magnified be ye evermore. O swete herte, ful of love: wownde myn herte in youre love and ravissche it al in yow. Schewe to me youre briht bemes⁵ of gostli undirstonding and streme me youre watres clere that gostli frutes may growe in me, and alwey make me lowli to receiven youre spirituel sondes⁶ and mekeli to resig[ne]⁷ [fol. 44v] it to yow. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *limbs*

² *sorrowful*

³ *injustices*

⁴ *ointments*

⁵ *rays of light*

⁶ *messages*

⁷ *entrust*

54: The Benefits of the Lord

- 1 Mihtful Trinité, ful of endeles glorie, I thanke and magnifie yow for alle the beenfetis that ye han doon to al mankende. And speciali I thanke yow that ye, gracious God, of yowre hey noblesse voucheth saf¹ to been so merciful to me, sinful. I thanke yow, benigne lord, of alle the beenfetes that ye withoutyn noumbre have doon to me, not withstanding that I am an unworthi, vicious,² wrecchid creature. Yet I finde youre goodnesse ever redy to me: therefore I beseche youre modir Lady seynt Marie, and al the cumpany of hevene, [fol. 45r] to thanke yow for my sake. O Holi Trinité, in hevene and in erthe, blissid and loved, worchepid and thankid, glorified and magnified be ye, blissid lord, continueli that lyvest and regnist in too, thre, and on,³ everlasting withouten ende. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *hey noblesse voucheth saf, exalted nobility consents*

² *predisposed to vice*

³ *too, thre, and on, two, three, and one*

The Author's Epilogue

- 1 Ithankid be oure lord, good sustir, now have I ende that ye desired. I have write alwey at the beginniges of these preyeres and meditations thankynge and hereynge to God, for we owyn ever to thanke God for alle the grete werkis that he hath doon for man, and for alle yeftes and graces that of his benigne goodnesse [fol. 45v] to us yevith and sendith; and for alle gostli and bodili victories, for be his helpe and grace it is doon. And but yef we yelde¹ thankinges to God for alle these before seide, we been unkende wherthorw we gretli displese him, as ye may pleinli se be emsample of king Ezechie that after a gret victorie that he hadde, he made no canticle² thanking God of his victorie; and therfore was God displeased and sente him to sein³ be his prophete that he schulde dien. Wherfore I counseile alwey that ye in al mekenesse and reverence thanke and herie God at alle tymes for his beenfetis.
- 2 Ferthermore, myn sustir, mo [fol. 46r] peynes I have wretin than I finde in the passion of the gospel, the whiche was be revelacion of God schewid to a religious persone. Alle the evangelistes witnessin weel in here writing that ther was more of oure lord Crist Jhesu than thei wretin of him, and therfore it may leeffuli⁴ been seide or wretin thing that hath be schewid be Godes goodnesse, al though it be not in the gospel. Also I write in divers places "us" and "we" for ye schulde at swich places take youre even Cristen with yow in youre preieres, for whan we preie for us self it plesith God [fol. 46v] gretli that we take oure even Cristen with us. And treuli, sustir, yef we do so he of his gret goodnesse wole thanne here oure preiere the sonere.⁵
- 3 I have set yow in this writing of lesse pris⁶ that I hope ye been in the syght of God, for this cause: for thoug a man or womman be never so good a lever,⁷ and though thei have never so mochil grace of God, gostli and bodili, thei schulde alwey sette lest⁸ of hem self, and holde hem self most sinful and lest worthe of alle othire. But summe ther beth that seyn that thei can not holden hem self most sinful of alle othire, for thei seye that othir [fol. 47r] han doon grete dedli sinnes that thei dede nevere. And to hem that sein so I answe: yef thei wolde opin the eye of sothfastnesse,⁹ it were ful litil maystrie¹⁰ to holden hem self most sinful of alle othir. For yef the most perfith liver that is this day on lyve,¹¹ and lest sinne hath doon, and he hadde standin in the same occasions that the most sinful man stood in, and therto he hadde had the same temptacions and that same disposicion, and the grace of God withdrawe from hym, he schulde have do as evil as he or worse. And

¹ And but yef we yelde, *And if we do not yield*

² *song of praise*

³ *say*

⁴ *legitimately*

⁵ *sooner*

⁶ *value*

⁷ *person who lives their life in a certain way*

⁸ *the least*

⁹ *truth*

¹⁰ *skill*

¹¹ *on lyve, alive*

therefore as of his owin proprete¹² he may holde [fol. 47v] him self as most sinful, for it is but only of Godes goodnesse that kepith him fro the periles that othir fallin in.

- 4 And also ther is anothir wey a man to holde him self as on of the most sinful, though he fele meche grace and vertu yoven to him, and is this: yef a man or woman for his holi levyng falle into pride beholding her vertues and goode dedis, and rejoyeth in hem self with pride, wenyng¹³ that thei be not so sinful as other been, ne doo not thoo evel dedes that othir doon, and in this deliten in hem self, and fallen thus in pride and veinglorie, [fol. 48r] wilfulli holding weel be him self, thei ben more dispisable in the siht of God than thei that have sinnid in gret owtward sinnes. For I likene hem to the Pharisé that oure lord spekith of in the gospel. The Pharisé thowhte and seide to God that he dede goode dedis and was not so sinful as the publican,¹⁴ and in this he hadde pride and reyoiced in him self; and therefore he was refusid of God, and the sinful publican for his wekenesse and contricion was receyved to grace. Lucifer also he sinnid, not in owtward fleshchli sinnes which arn most abominable and repro[v]able [fol. 48v] in the siht of man, but he sinnid in pride onli, which is most repreveable¹⁵ in the siht of God: and therefore he that was so faire an aungel for his pride become the fowlest fend of helle. O, sithin that pride is so perilous that it fadith al gostli beuté¹⁶ and gretli displesith God, it owith mechel to ben hatid and enchewid¹⁷ of every creature to be soore aferd¹⁸ therof. God, yeve us grace evere to flee therfro: and I seye yow trewli what creature that wole hatin it and eschewen it, he must evere holde him self werst of alle othir, and so I hope that ye do. But yet I write this to remembre¹⁹ bothe yow and othir [fol. 49r] therupon, and especiali to excite my self to have it weel in mynde. And I am sekir²⁰ who so holdith him self most sinful he hath neythir skorn ne hatred ne disdein of noon of evyn Cristen for eny sinne that thei do or have doon, but thei have pité and compassion of hem and hate the sinnes and love the persones; and so mekenesse — who that wole takin it — causith charité and al goodnesse.

- 5 And, sustir, bindith²¹ not yow self to seye al ovir the preieres every day, but seye summe on oon day and summe on anothir day as ye have leyser²² at tyme. And whoso that evir usith [fol. 49v] mechil to seie it schal finde therinne grace, comforth, and strengthe. I wolde²³ ye couden²⁴ the sentence withoutyn the book, for and²⁵ ye so coude ye schulden

¹² *characteristic*

¹³ *believing*

¹⁴ *tax collector on behalf of the Romans*

¹⁵ *blameworthy*

¹⁶ *beauty*

¹⁷ *avoided*

¹⁸ *soore aferd, very afraid*

¹⁹ *remind*

²⁰ *certain*

²¹ *commit*

²² *leisure*

²³ *prefer*

²⁴ *know*

²⁵ *if*

fele mochil more comfort and unyon in God, to seye it so inforth²⁶ than for to seie it be scripture. And farith now weel, myn goode sustir: God yeve us bothe grace in al thing to do as it is most to his worschep and plesing. Amen.

- 6 Syke²⁷ and sorwe deeply,
 Wepe and mourne sadly,
 Preye and thinke devoutly,
 Love and longe continually.

²⁶ *from memory*

²⁷ *Sigh*



HOLKHAM PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS EXPLANATORY NOTES

All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

in as mechil as ye have desirid. Following Innes-Parker's discussion ("Anchoritic Elements," pp. 172–73), these opening lines might be compared to the preface of the *Ancrene Wisse* [Instructions for Anchoresses], which similarly stresses that "ye, mine leove sustren, habbeth moni dei i-cravet on me efter riwle" [you, my beloved sisters, have many a day begged me for a rule] and emphasizes that the author "chulle spoken . . . with Godes grace" [shall speak . . . with God's grace] (ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, p. 59). Another point of reference might be the advisory handbook Aelred of Rievaulx composed for his enclosed sister in ca. 1160–1162. One of its two English versions begins by stating "suster, thou hast ofte axed of me a forme of lyvyng accordyng to thyn estat" and specifically mentions the importance of "Goddess servants" involving themselves "in meditacion and praier and contemplacion" (Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, pp. 1–2).

I make it but schortli. An echo of vernacular mystical tradition, which often attaches special efficacy to brevity in prayer. The group of texts associated with *The Cloud of Unknowing* repeatedly emphasize that "perfeccion" should "makith thi preier ful schorte" (ed. Windeatt, *Book of Privy Counselling*, p. 93). The issue is considered at greatest length in the *Cloud* itself, where the author recommends that prayers be expressed "in ful fewe wordes; ye, and in ever the fewer the betir," also arguing that "the werk of the spiryte" will supply the rest (ed. Gallacher, *Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 65).

Pater noster. The primacy of the Lord's Prayer in medieval devotion reflects its institution by Christ himself during the Sermon of the Mount, where it is preceded by the directive "thus therefore shall you pray" (Matthew 6:9). The gospels preserve two versions: a longer, more widely used text in Matthew 6:9–13, and a slightly shorter petition in Luke 11:2–4. In the Middle Ages the prayer was commonly known as the "*pater noster*," Latin for "our father," after the first two words of the Vulgate translation.

abcé. The ABC is not merely the alphabet, but the first "text" medieval children were likely to encounter during elementary instruction; the point is made clear by surviving educational materials, such as school primers and hornbooks. The Lord's Prayer often had a similar function, providing the first piece of Latin pupils might memorize (Orme, *Medieval Schools*, pp. 56–59). Julian of Norwich is also fond of this metaphor, including it twice in the longer text of her revelations to explain how God imparts divine truths through worldly experience:

“of which gret things He will we have knowing here as it were in one ABC; that is to seyn, that we have a litill knoweing, whereof we shall have fullhede in Hevyn” (Julian of Norwich, *Shewings*, ed. Crampton, pp. 149; see also p. 108 for a further instance of the simile).

Fiat voluntas tua. Taken from the longer version of the Lord’s Prayer in Matthew 6:10.

putte yowr wil in Godes wil. This imperative, which recurs in the “general confession” with which the author closes her Prologue, resembles other vernacular theories of prayer; for instance, it recalls Julian of Norwich’s remarks on “how we should usen our prayors . . . that our wil be turnyd into the will of our Lord, enjoyand” (*Shewings*, ed. Crampton pp. 89–90).

alle thing that wretin and seide. Compare Romans 15:4: “For what things soever were written, were written for our learning.”

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 2

Trinité. The triad of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one of the author’s favorite ways of evoking God and godhood; it recurs in nineteen out of fifty-four prayers, typically in her closing petitions. She is probably led here by the broader intellectual tradition of English mysticism, which often sets similar store in the Trinity as an object for contemplation and veneration, using the paradox of three persons in one to reflect on the divine mystery more generally: as Riehle notes, both Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich regard “the Trinity as the true goal of the mystical search for God” and lay “unmistakable emphasis on the motif” in their meditations (*Middle English Mystics*, p. 88).

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 3

first the hous muste be swepid. While confession is regularly compared to house-cleaning in medieval culture, the author is probably drawing on the thirteenth-century *Liber de doctrina cordis* [Book on the teaching of the heart]. At various points the *Doctrina* commands “now, prepare your heart just like a house, according to the great welcome Christ as your lord should receive” [*prepara ergo cor tuus tanquam domum ad magnum hospitem christum in dominum tuum recipiendum*] and stresses that “you must clean if you wish Christ to have harbor in the lodging of your heart, because through fear one expels and drives out sins, much like dirt from the lodging of the heart” [*munda ergo hospitius cordis tui si vis christem hospitem habitare, quod fit per timorem qui expelit et eicit peccata tanquam immundicias hospitii cordis*]; it also repeatedly likens confession to the “broom of conscience” [*scoba conscientie*] that sweeps out “the dirt of the house through the doorway of the mouth” [*immundicias hospitii sui per ostium oris*] (*Liber de doctrina cordis*, fols. 12v–13r). The idea of the soul being “honestli arraied” also resembles the *Doctrina*, which insists that the heart should “be equipped just as a house is equipped with necessary utensils” [*ornatus ut sicut domus ornetur utensilibus necessariis*] (fols. 22v–23r). The *Doctrina* was widely read, surviving in over two hundred manuscripts. It found a particularly avid audience in England: it was translated into Middle English as the *Doctrine of the Hert* (ca. 1400) (see eds. Whitehead et al., *Doctrine of the Hert*), and appears twice in the catalogues of Syon abbey (ed. Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 236, 253–54).

general confession. In the late medieval period, the term was applied to any emergency, informal, or provisional act of contrition made when formal confession was impossible or a confessor unavailable; a layman hearing the confession of a dying person would be one example. The particular type the author has in mind is “a ‘generic’ (‘complete’) sacramental confession, which lists all possible sins . . . to stimulate awareness of sins and help the penitent recall sins” (Sluhovsky, “General Confession,” pp. 27–28); as she makes clear, this can only be a reflective, preparatory exercise and not a substitute for full auricular confession before a priest. See Pollard “Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 47.

sweping away the filthe of oure sinnes. The imagery again recalls *Liber de doctrina cordis*, where “interrogating yourself, examining and judging yourself” [*te ipsum interrogas te ipsum examines*] is compared to “cleaning house, where first the dust and other dirt of the household is gathered into one heap, before being thrown outside the house” [*ad similitudinem mundaturi domum qui primus pulvere et ceteras immunditias hospitum in unum cumulum congregat quod eas eiciat extra domum*] (*Liber de doctrina cordis*, fol. 13r). The importance of making full confession to an appointed confessor is also stressed by other fifteenth-century works intended for a female or lay audience, sometimes in response to Wycliffite hostility to the sacrament. Pollard (“Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 47) compares this prayer to Nicholas Love’s account of Mary Magdalene, which includes a lengthy attack on “the fals opinyon of lollardes that schrift of mouthe is not nedeful” (*Mirror*, p. 90).

at the beginning of these meditaciones. The necessity of confession before any act of contemplation or prayer is repeatedly stressed in vernacular mysticism. The author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, for instance, assigns an important preparatory function to confession, stating that no one should undertake meditation “er thei have clensid their concience of alle their special dedis of sinne done bfore, after the comoun ordinaunce of Holi Chirche” (ed. Gallacher, p. 58). Comparable stipulations are also made in the related texts, *An Epistle on Prayer* and *Book of Privy Counselling*, which also make clear that the contemplative must be “lawfulich amended . . . after the comoun ordinaunce of Holy Chirche in confession” (ed. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, p. 49), and “beforetymes . . . ben lawefuly amendid of alle thi sinnes in special and in general, after the trewe conseil of holi chirche” (ed. Windeatt, *Book of Privy Counselling*, p. 81).

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 4

I have fallen and sinnyd. The list of “defautes” follows recommended confessional procedure. Many of the earliest witnesses to “a more or less standard way for the penitent to begin a confession” move through a similar sequence of provisions (Elich, “Communal Reconciliation,” p. 143). Hence an early-sixteenth-century “forme of confessyon” organizes penitence under an identical series of headings, asking the penitent to admit how they “have offended my lord god greuously and specyally in the seven deedly synnes,” “in brekyng of the ten commaundementes,” in “mysspendynge of my five wyttes,” and by “not fultyllynge of the seven werkes of mercy bodely” or “werkes of mercy spyrytuall” (*Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie*, fols. 198r–199v).

in pride . . . and in lecherie. The author's list of seven deadly (or cardinal) sins is largely conventional, following one of the major organizing frameworks of confessional and pastoral discourse (Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 43–67; Wenzel, *Of Sins and Sermons*, pp. 63–116). However, the order in which she places them is slightly unusual, awarding greater prominence to anger than it generally possesses. Most authorities, among them Aquinas and Laurent d'Orleans, tend to follow the sequence sketched out by St. Gregory, whose *Moralia in Job* (ca. 595) was the first text to identify "*septem . . . principalia vitia*" [seven principal vices]; here *ira* [anger] comes after "*inanis gloria, invidia*" [empty pride, envy] and before "*tristitia, avaritia, ventris ingluvies, luxuria*" [torpor, greed, gorging of the belly, lust] (*Moralium libri, PL*, 76.621). Nevertheless, some writers did tweak the running order to match the priorities of their intended readerships, and it may be that the author has followed suit (see Tupper, "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," p. 94; McDonald, "Singing Sin," pp. 290–91). It is certainly true that wrath is often thought to represent a special peril to the good works of a mediator. *The Cloud of Unknowing* gives the sin similar precedence, ranking "teenful [vexatious] passion and an appetite of vengauce, the whiche is clepid Wrath" even higher than pride (ed. Gallacher, p. 42), and the dangers of anger give rise to the famous allegory of the pelican in book 3 of the *Ancrene Wisse* (ed. Hasenfratz, pp. 156–57). Compare also the appeal for help against "angres, and rancour" in prayer 5.

five wittis. The need to shield the senses against external intrusion and temptation is a frequent concern in advisory literature for enclosed women. The *Ancrene Wisse* dedicates the entirety of its second book to "heorte warde thurh the fif wittes" [guardianship of the heart through the five wits] (ed. Hasenfratz, p. 95), while *Sawles Warde* (ca. 1230) pictures "monnes fif wittes" as unruly servants who will fall into "nurth" [riot] without the strict control of Wit, "the huse lauerd" [the lord of the house] (ed. Huber and Robertson, *Katherine Group*, p. 249).

yowre mercy whiche hath noon ende. An English approximation of "*quoniam in aeternum misericordia ejus*" [for his mercy endureth forever] or "*quia in omnia saecula misericordia ejus*" [for his mercy endureth in all times], a repeated refrain in Psalms 117 and 135 (or 118 and 136 in post-medieval bibles), and echoed in embedded prayers throughout the books of the Old Testament. See, for example, Jeremiah 33:11 and the prayer of Azarias in Daniel 3:89–90.

the woman of Caninee. In Matthew 15:22–28 the woman of Canaan (or "Syrophenicia" in Mark 7:26) begs Christ to aid her daughter. Although the gathered disciples tell Jesus "to send her away," her request is granted after she demonstrates her "great faith" in Christ. Prayer 30 tells her story in fuller detail.

Ave Maria. Based on Luke 1:28, which describes the angel Gabriel notifying Mary that she will carry the Messiah, this salutation is one of the central prayers in medieval devotion; it takes its name from the first two words of its opening lines in Latin, "*Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus*" [Hail Mary, full of grace: the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women]. Apparently originating in eleventh-century monasticism, it gained increasing prominence during the thirteenth century as the cult of the Virgin grew in popularity, and by the late Middle Ages was second only to the Lord's Prayer in importance and efficacy: for instance, it appears immediately after the *pater noster* in a digest of funda-

mental Christian knowledge compiled by Archbishop Thoresby of York in the mid fourteenth century (ed. Simmons and Nolloth, *Lay Folk's Catechism*, pp. 7–12). It is appended to all but four of the author's prayers, and its occasional omission is probably due to space constraints in the manuscript; its absence from prayer 41 is suggestive of this fact, since this passage deals with Christ's words on the cross, which are addressed in part to Mary (see John 19:26).

PRAYER 1, PARAGRAPH 1

alle yowre worthi names. The names of Christ are a popular theme for contemplation, owing to increased reverence of the Holy Name in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see Renevey, "Anglo-Norman and Middle-English Translations," pp. 265–76). A key example in England is Richard Rolle's *Encomium nominis Jhesu* [Praise of the name Jesus] (ca. 1340): one of its vernacular versions attaches special redemptive power to the name, instructing the "contemplatif man" to "thynke on this name Jhesu contynuly" since "it destruyes all vices and vanytes. It sawes charyté and vertus in the saul and yettes [pours] in savour of heevene and fulnes of goddis grace" (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:106). See also Hilton's *The Scale of Perfection*, which bids "thynke sum tyme on the blissid name Jhesu, which is maad comfortable and delitable to hem, that they bi the mynde of it" (ed. Bestul, p. 37).

reverence and remembraunce. The phrase recurs in prayers 14 and 45 with much the same significance.

PRAYER 2, PARAGRAPH 1

yowre gracious message. See Luke 1:26–38 and Matthew 1:18–22.

grete joye. The phrase used here, and again in prayers 3 and 14, evokes the widespread schema of the "joys of the Virgin," a model used in a variety of contemplative, devotional, and literary contexts throughout the late Middle Ages; perhaps its most famous appearance in English is among the "fyve poyntez" of Gawain's pentangle in *Sir Gawain and Green Knight* (ed. Silverstein, p. 52). While the "joys" were flexible, with different sources fixing their number at five, seven, nine, or more, the Annunciation and Nativity invariably stand at the head of the list. See Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, pp. 114–58; Sticca, *Planctus Mariae*, pp. 60–61; ed. Saupe, *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, pp. 137–46.

make me to lovyn . . . al that he hatith. Although perhaps suggested by Amos 15:5, Romans 12:9, or Psalm 96:10, the formula probably comes from medieval penitential literature. A markedly similar phrase appears in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* as a gloss on Psalm 96: the Parson explains that "to love God is for to love that he loveth, and hate that he hateth" (CT X[I]307). The origin of the phrase is unclear. It does not appear in the source Chaucer is adapting, Raymond of Pennafort's *Summa de causibus poenitentia* (ca. 1225) (Newhauser, "Parson's Tale," pp. 551–52; Petersen, *Sources of the Parson's Tale*, p. 15; Raymundus de Pennafort, *Summa*, pp. 420–21). However, a comparable statement occurs in the work of Raymond's contemporary and fellow Dominican, Humbert of Romans, who urges "love what God loves, and hate only what he hates" [*diligite, quod diligit Deus, et odite tantummodo, quod odit*] (Humbertus

Burgundus, *Commentaria in regulam*, p. 37). Another source might be Augustine's reflections on Psalm 44:8, which advise "you are a friend to God indeed, if you hate what he hates; yes, and love what he loves" [*eris enim Deo amicus, si odisti quod odit. Ita et amabis quod amat*] (*Enarrationes in psalmos*, PL 36.504).

PRAYER 3, PARAGRAPH 1

toke flesche and blod. See John 1:14.

felt hym sterc in yowre precious wombe. Aelred of Rievaulx also recommends contemplating on the sensations Mary felt when carrying Christ in her womb, arguing that these feelings provide a particularly suitable object for "maydens meditacion": hence he directs the reader to ask Mary "what swetnesse myght that be that thou were fulfilled with . . . when a blessed lord chees a bodily substaunce, verray blode and flesshe of thy body, and whan thou felist the presence of his gostly majeste in thy blessed wombe?" (*De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, p. 18).

PRAYER 4, PARAGRAPH 1

quene of hevene and erthe, and emprise of helle. Both are standard epithets for Mary in the late fourteenth century, occurring widely in English sources, often in close conjunction. Hence John Mirk describes Mary receiving the titles "quene of heven and emperryse of helle and lady of alle the worlde" (*Festial*, ed. Powell, 1:96), and a meditation attributed to the hermit John Whiterig also calls her "the terror of demons, queen of heaven, mistress of the world and empress of hell" (*Christ Crucified*, ed. Farmer, p. 119). See further Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis*, pp. 169–73.

cosine. The Middle English term carries broader significance than the modern "cousin." It is applicable to any relative, either by blood or marriage, rather than the child of an uncle or aunt (*MED*, *cosin(e)*, (n.1), sense a). Here it is equivalent to the Vulgate's similarly expansive term *cognata*, or "kinswoman" (Luke 1:36).

tolde yow here joye. See Luke 1:39–56.

Magnificat. The Magnificat is one of most important canticles in medieval liturgy, based on Luke 1:46–55. See the Holkham Introduction, pp. 12–13, for a fuller discussion.

comunicacion. The vocabulary may be influenced by Pseudo-Bonaventure here, who follows Ambrose in emphasizing that the Holy Spirit "suffused" the assembled company during the Visitation (*MLC*, p. 19).

PRAYER 5, PARAGRAPH 1

yowre gloriouse birthe. See Luke 2:6–7; Matthew 1:25.

Putte away fro myn herte alle angres. Compare Ephesians 4:31: “let all bitterness, and anger, and indignation, and clamor, and blasphemy, be put away from you.”

PRAYER 6, PARAGRAPH 1

Gloria . . . in terra pax. Although the prayer is referring to the celebratory song sung by “a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God” in Luke 2:14, its terminology looks to hymnology rather than scripture. The use of *excelsis* [“on high”] in place of the Vulgate’s *altissimis* [“most high”] shows that the author is referring to the widely-used hymn known as the Greater Doxology, traditionally attributed to Hilary of Poitiers or the second-century pope Telesphorus, and translated from Greek rather than adapted from the Vulgate (Myers, *Hymns of Saint Hilary*, pp. 70–71; Taylor, “*Capitula Extranea*,” p. 267). The hymn was incorporated into the mass by the ninth century in some regions, and by the late eleventh century was widely used on every feast day except Advent, Septuagesima, and the Feast of the Holy Innocents (A. King, *Liturgy of the Roman Church*, pp. 237–40; T. Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, p. 86).

PRAYER 7, PARAGRAPH 1

schepherdes wentin and worchepidin yow. See Luke 2:15–20.

PRAYER 8, PARAGRAPH 1

yowre holy circumcision. See Luke 2:21.

ye schadden first yowre precious blod. Several details are drawn from Pseudo-Bonaventure, especially the emphasis on Christ’s pain and his youth. In his own meditation on the Circumcision, Pseudo-Bonaventure notes that this event marks the point at which “our Lord Jesus began shedding his most sacred blood for us,” adding that he did so “very early” and having “committed no sin himself” (*MLC*, p. 30). Jacobus de Voragine also sees the Circumcision as a portent of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross, making it “the beginning of our redemption” and “first time he shed his blood for us” (*Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, p. 74).

PRAYER 9, PARAGRAPH 1

the thre kynges presentid yow. See Matthew 2:11.

signifiaunce. Allegorical significance was attached to the Magis’ gifts from the earliest days of the church. The most widely accepted interpretation, that “gold is the sign of kingdom, incense of God, myrrh of burial,” stretches back to Iraneus in the second century, and is reiterated by Ambrose, Juvenius, and Peter of Alexandria, among other patristic authorities (Ambrose, *On the Christian Faith*, trans. De Romestin, p. 205).

oure kyng. The identity of this monarch is difficult to infer from context. Not only is the prayer itself conventional and impersonal in tone, but its pleas for the king’s “good lif and longe” and protection against “his gostli and bodily enemys” could be applicable to more or less any

late medieval English monarch. The unusually long-lived Edward III (reigned 1327–1377) is the only possible exception; the reference to “temys” [heirs] might also rule out Richard II (reigned 1377–1399), who died without issue in the early months of 1400, but the evidence is hardly conclusive. See the Holkham Introduction, p. 20, for further discussion.

PRAYER 10, PARAGRAPH 1

Candelmasse day. Candlemas is the feast day commemorating Christ’s Presentation in the Temple, also known as the Feast of the Purification. Although observed some time earlier at Jerusalem, it seems to have gained popularity in the west around the seventh century (Connell, *Eternity Today*, 1:218–19). It falls on February 2, exactly forty days after Christmas; the date was computed from Leviticus 12:2–4, which requires that a woman who has given birth to a boy shall remain “in the blood of her purification” for forty days and cannot “enter into the sanctuary” during that time. Candlemas itself was an important feast in medieval English observance, since it often marked the end of the larger Yuletide season: see the final stanza of the fifteenth-century carol, “The first day of Yule” (*NIMEV* 3343), which declares “On the fourtieth day cam Mary mild / Unto the temple with her child . . . And therwith endeth Christmes” (ed. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics*, p. 168).

in the temple. See Luke 2:25–35.

Nunc dimittis. The author refers here to the Song of Simeon, taken from Luke 2:29–32, which begins with the verse “*nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace*” [now you dismiss your servant, Lord, after your will in peace]. The *Nunc dimittis* forms, along with the Magnificat and Benedictus, one of the three major canticles of the canonical hours and is traditionally recited at compline, the final daily hour of prayer (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass*, p. 24).

PRAYER 11, PARAGRAPH 1

flemid in to Egypte. See Matthew 2:13–14.

be his aungel. See Matthew 2:19–20.

PRAYER 12, PARAGRAPH 1

ye were alwey to hym buxum. Jesus’s respect for Joseph is a common topic in contemplative literature. Pseudo-Bonaventure calls attention to the way in which Jesus treated “the holy elder, Saint Joseph, with deference” and directs the reader to “pay careful attention to it, because this meditation is exceedingly lovely” (*MLC*, pp. 49–50). In his rule for recluses, Aelred of Rievaulx likewise asks, “were it not, trowist thou, a faire meditacyon to beholde hym, hou he obeyed to his moder, helping his norisshe [foster parent] Joseph?” (*De Institutione inclusarum*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, p. 19). These sources in turn draw on apocryphal traditions of Christ’s childhood. While the four canonical gospels are silent about any sort of relationship between Jesus and Joseph, many of the pseudepigraphic infancy gospels show Jesus yielding to the

admonishments of Joseph, or venerating him after his death: examples include the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, the closely related *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and the seventh-century *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 68–99, 111–17). Although denounced by early church fathers such as Hippolytus, these accounts were absorbed into tradition and freely mined by later writers. See Dzon, “Joseph and the Amazing Christ-Child,” pp. 143–46; Kauffman, *Biblical Imagery*, p. 237.

PRAYER 13, PARAGRAPH 1

the yeres of yowre vertuous levinge. Compare perhaps Luke 2:40 (“the child grew, and waxed strong, full of wisdom”), a verse which immediately precedes the Finding in the Temple, in which Mary and Joseph lose sight of the infant Jesus during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and discover him debating with the temple elders some days later. The text may also echo Pseudo-Bonaventure, whose loose speculation on Jesus’s life “between the ages of twelve and thirty” concludes that “the greatest teacher, destined to teach virtues and a way of life, began from his youth to perform virtuous deeds” (MLC, p. 56).

PRAYER 14, PARAGRAPH 1

mayde and modir. This oxymoron is a favorite epithet for Mary in Middle English religious culture, and occurs in a wide variety of devotional contexts. It forms a repeated refrain in the Wooing Group treatise *Ureisun of God Almihti* (ed. Thompson, *Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, pp. 4, 9) and in its fourteenth-century adaptation *Talkyng of the Loue of God* (ed. Westra, pp. 42–43). See also *Cursor Mundi*, lines 10861 and 24720, and lyrics 10 (NIMEV 534), 11 (NIMEV 1059), 13 (NIMEV 1367), 16 (NIMEV 2366), and 83 (NIMEV 2645) in ed. Saupe, *Middle English Marian Lyrics*.

grete joyes. See prayer 2.

PRAYER 15, PARAGRAPH 1

ye tauhte in the temple the maystres. See Luke 2:41–52.

PRAYER 16, PARAGRAPH 1

whan ye hadde lost youre dere swete sone. See Luke 2:43–46.

grete sorwis. The sorrows of Mary are a traditional schema corresponding to her joys, and prove just as variable in number and content. Generally, they begin with Simeon’s prophecy that “this child is set for the fall . . . and thy own soul a sword shall pierce” (Luke 2:34–35), although they sometimes start with Joseph’s suspicions over Mary’s pregnancy (Matthew 1:19); the Flight into Egypt and Finding are also frequent components. Scott-Stokes notes that English sources show relatively little interest in the sorrows, although she finds a few examples in books of hours intended for female use (*Women’s Books of Hours*, pp. 102–03).

PRAYER 17, PARAGRAPH 1

turnid watir to wyn. See John 2:1–11. The miracle is important not only as the traditional beginning of Christ's ministry but as a cornerstone of medieval Mariology. The story was often used to demonstrate the special power of Mary's petitions to Jesus: hence as far back as the commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria (fifth century CE), the episode shows Jesus's "reverence for his mother" and Mary's "great influence . . . persuading the Lord with an appeal to propriety" (*Commentary on John*, trans. Maxwell, 1:90). When Mary's role as intercessor was formalized during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the miracle was accepted as evidence of Mary's unique influence over Christ. For Thomas Aquinas, it signals Mary's ability "to superintend the miracle," placing her in "the role of a mediatrix" who "intercedes with her son" (*Commentary on the Gospel of John*, trans. Larcher and Weisheipl, p. 135). The author's vocabulary clearly reflects this thinking, drawing a direct line between the appeal for wine and appeals on behalf of souls, pointedly referring to "the preiers of youre gloriouse modir."

PRAYER 18, PARAGRAPH 1

holy bapteme. Innes-Parker points out that the sequencing of prayers here is designed to "cement the sacramental overtones of turning water into wine," i.e., by alluding to the transformative power of water in baptism, and the comparable transformation of wine into blood during celebration of the mass ("Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 250).

Holi Gost . . . alihted on yow. See Matthew 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32. The fact that all four evangelists portray the Spirit descending "as a dove" might account for the use of "aliht" here, since the term can describe both the action of a landing bird and spiritual illumination (see *MED alighten* (v.1), senses 2a and 3).

God the fadir seide to yow. The text follows Mark 1:11 and Luke 3:22 in having the "voys" address Jesus directly [*tu es Filius meus*]; alternatively, Matthew 3:17 describes God the Father addressing the crowd and speaking of Jesus in third person, declaring "this is my son" [*hic est Filius meus*].

PRAYER 19, PARAGRAPH 1

fourti daies fastid. See Matthew 4:2; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2.

solitarie in desert. See Matthew 4:3–10; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2–14.

of the flesch, of the world, and of the feend. An anglicized version of the Latin tag "*mundus, caro, et diabolus*" (or "*demonia*"), often used to describe the three principal enemies of humankind. Perhaps coined by Bernard of Clairvaux, the phrase is a pervasive one in moral and polemic literature, appearing in the sermons of Innocent III, Albertus Magnus, and Caesar of Heisterbach, and in works by Pierre Bersuire, Richard Rolle, John Wyclif, and Jordan of Quedlinburg amongst others (see, for instance, Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Sententiae*, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, p. 23; Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*, ed. Deanesly, p. 193; Wyclif, *De civili dominio*, ed.

Poole, p. 108; von Quedlinburg, *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, ed. Saak, pp. 164–67, 359–60). By the fourteenth century, it had been firmly absorbed into the stock of sayings used in preaching and confessional discourse (ed. Wenzel, *Fasciculus Morum*, pp. 556–57; ed. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 344).

PRAYER 20, PARAGRAPH 1

bare foot goinges. The text probably takes a lead here from Pseudo-Bonaventure, whose meditation on the Baptism similarly (and repeatedly) portrays Christ enduring the hardships of a medieval pilgrim or Franciscan, “trudging along barefooted and alone” and begging “for alms along the way on account of his love of poverty” (MLC, p. 63; compare also p. 78).

wepyng valeie. The text alludes to Psalm 83:6, which refers to the *valle lacrimarum*, literally “vale of tears.” The phrase is also incorporated into the eleventh-century Marian hymn “Salve Regina,” where its sense is expanded to describe the general pain of worldly being: “we sigh to you, moaning and crying in this vale of tears” [*te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle*]. The hymn was used in a wide variety of liturgical and devotional contexts from at least the 1130s (Miller, *Beads and Prayers*, pp. 233–41; MED *valeie* (n.), sense 3a). Compare the similar phrasing in prayer 35.

PRAYER 20, PARAGRAPH 2

hevene aprochith to the penitennis. See Luke 15:10. Innes-Parker places this discussion of Christ’s hardships “in the tradition of *Ancrene Wisse*” (“Anchoritic Elements,” p. 175).

ledere. The text might simply mean “leader,” or it may be evoking the conventional image, derived from Genesis 28:12–13, of the journey towards God as the gradual ascent of a ladder or stairway. This figure is widespread in the period, appearing as the central metaphor in Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection* and Johannes Gobius’s *Scala Coeli* (ca. 1325), and in more incidental form in the *Ancrene Wisse* (ed. Hasenfratz, p. 351) and the English translation of Catherine of Siena, which insists that one might reach “the heithe of hevene by the laddir of vertu” (ed. Hodgson and Liegey, *Orcherd of Syon*, pp. 173–74).

purgatorie. The author follows the orthodox position on purgatory. Her language, with its emphasis on cleansing posthumous penance, not only chimes with her prologue but directly mirrors the official definition set down at the Second Council of Lyon (1274): “if the truly repentant should die in charity, before they might satisfy with proper fruits of penance all they have committed and omitted to do, their souls will be made clean by a cleansing or purging after death” [*si vere paenitentes in caritate decesserint, antequam dignis paenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas paenis purgatoriis seu catharteriis . . . post mortem purgari*] (ed. Cavallera, *Thesaurus doctrinae*, pp. 710–11). On the history and development of this doctrine, the authoritative discussion remains Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 130–208.

PRAYER 22, PARAGRAPH 1

woman Samaritan that come to the welle. See John 4:13–14.

told here her privé secretes. The prophecies Jesus shares with the woman are detailed in John 4:21–26, and culminate in the declaration that he is Messiah.

PRAYER 23, PARAGRAPH 1

ye baptised the pepil. The New Testament gives no detailed accounts of Christ performing baptism; the author may be thinking of John 3:22: “Jesus and his disciples came into the land of Judea: and there he abode with them, and baptized.”

ye chese youre twelve aposteles. The calling of the first disciples is outlined in Matthew 4:19–22, Mark 1:16–20, Luke 5:8–11, and John 1:35–50. The author departs from the chronology set out by John, and by Pseudo-Bonaventure after him, since she places this prayer after rather than before the encounter at the well. Her modification may be intended to stress the Samaritan woman’s role in recruiting followers for Christ (see John 4:28–30).

newe lawe. The distinction between the “old law” of Judaism and the “new law” of Christianity was one of the major points of debate in the early church. Major discussions include: Matthew 5:17, in which Christ speaks of his ministry as fulfillment of “the law, or the prophets”; Matthew 9:17, in which he answers questions on the necessity of fasting by stating that “new wine” is not put “into old bottles”; Hebrews 8:13, where the author speaks of a new covenant “which hath made the former old”; and Romans 8:2 and Galatians 3:24–25, in which St. Paul contrasts the “law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus” against “the law of sin and of death” and describes traditional Jewish law as a schoolmaster whose regimen ended “after the faith is come.”

Blissid be the pouere spirituels . . . for the reume of God is heris. The text closely follows Matthew 5:3–10 throughout this passage.

PRAYER 24, PARAGRAPH 1

receyvid the seventi and two disciples. See Luke 10:17.

ye healede the pepile. See Luke 14:2–4.

palsies. The New Testament gives two examples of Jesus curing men stricken by palsy (*paralytica* in the Vulgate), one at Capernaum (Matthew 9:2–7, Mark 2:3–5, Luke 5:18–25), and one at Bethesda (John 5:5–9).

rennyng blod. See Matthew 9:20–22, Mark 5:25–34, Luke 8:43–48. The Gospels do not specify the woman’s condition. Matthew and Luke simply state that she suffered with “*sanguinis fluxum*” [discharge of blood] for twelve years, while Mark has “*profluvio sanguinis*” [blood

flowing forth]. The author's language suggests that she understands the illness as a form of menorrhagia, or excessive or prolonged menstruation. Near-identical phrasing is found in a number of Middle English medical treatises on gynecology: for instance, an anonymous version of Trotula treats "rennyng of blood" as a synonym for "bleedyng of the matrice [womb]" (ed. Barratt, *Knowing of Woman's Kind*, p. 107), while Trevisa's translation of Bartholomew of England refers to "rennyng blode and of menstruallis" in its chapters on the curative effects of herbs (Bartholomaeus, *Properties of Things*, 2:1023). This might explain why the author has chosen to single out this miracle, which after all shows Christ treating not merely a woman but an exclusively female disorder with care and sympathy. Less clear is why she does not identify the bleeding woman with St. Veronica, the subject of prayer 38, since this episode was the entire basis of Veronica's legend (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 214–15).

seven fendis withinne here. See Mark 16:9, Luke 8:2.

wessch youre feet. See Luke 7:37–39; John 11:2. Luke's account does not name the woman who anoints Christ's feet, merely describing her as a "*civitate peccatrix*" [a sinful woman of the city]; while John seems to identify her as Mary, he is in fact referring to Mary of Bethany rather than the Magdalene, and may be describing a different event altogether (see John 12:3). It is not clear when these three figures came to be folded into a single disciple, and when Mary Magdalene gained her "so sinful" reputation as a result, but both were accepted facts throughout the medieval period and beyond. There is some suggestion that the three women were merged as early as the second century, with Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen assuming that they were identical; however, the conflation is particularly associated with the sixth-century Pope Gregory, whose homilies on Luke did much to cement the idea. For overviews of the Magdalene's complex history, see Schaberg, *Resurrection of Mary Magdalene*, pp. 82–87; Cerrato, *Hippolytus Between East and West*, pp. 176–85.

PRAYER 25, PARAGRAPH 1

excused Marie Maudeleyne thries. See Luke 7:39–50.

Marie hadde chosin the betir partye. See Luke 10:38–42, especially 10:42, which the text is directly translating. Again, the identification of Mary Magdalene with Martha's sister Mary of Bethany is a common idea derived from patristic tradition.

ye excusid here. See John 12:3–6.

PRAYER 25, PARAGRAPH 2

even Cristen. Although it occurs elsewhere in Middle English, the term is used with particular frequency by Hilton when discussing how one should treat the Christian community at large; it occurs over thirty times throughout the two books of *The Scale of Perfection*.

love the persones and hate the sinne. A variant of the famous Augustinian maxim "*diligite homines, interficite errores*" [love the men; denounce the sins] (*Contra litteras Petiliani Donastiae*,

PL 43.259). Augustine's directive is a common refrain in vernacular mysticism, where it often features as an antidote to self-love: compare the English version of Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor*, which urges that "as anemste [regarding] oure evyn-Cristen, us auyt to hate synne in hem, and to love hem" (ed. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, p. 34). The text might also echo Hilton's *The Scale of Perfection* (ed. Bestul, p. 104): "Thou schalt love the man, be he nevere so synful, and thou schalt hate synne in everi man what that he bee." The same phrase recurs in the epilogue.

PRAYER 25, PARAGRAPH 3

sinful worm. Compare Psalm 21:7: "but I am a worm, and no man: the reproach of men, and the outcast of the people."

not fair in a sinful mouth. An allusion to Ecclesiasticus 15:9: "praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner."

alle that have forsake the world for yow. The idea that Martha represents the active life, i.e., that concerned with pastoral work and active ministry, while Mary represents dedication to monastic or eremitic contemplation, is a truism in the period. Its roots probably lie with the early Christian ascetics known as the Desert Fathers: in the early fifth century, John Cassian attributes a similar position to the Egyptian monk Abba Moses, who supposedly argued that Christ's commendation of Mary "establishes as the prime good contemplation, that is, the gaze turned in the direction of the things of God," and shows that "the other virtues, however useful and good we may say they are, must nevertheless be put on a secondary level"; a few decades earlier, one of Jerome's letters to Eustochium makes a similar point, advising "be then like Mary; prefer the food of the soul to that of the body. Leave it to your sisters to run to and fro" (Cassian, *Conferences*, trans. Luibheid, p. 43; Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. Wright, pp. 107–09). By the later Middle Ages, the identification of each sister with a distinct *via* was widely accepted and discussed: in his *Summa Theologica* [Summary of Theologies] (2.2.182), Aquinas looks at the episode closely when considering "the active life in comparison with the contemplative life," and Pseudo-Bonaventure uses it as the basis of a thirteen-chapter disquisition on the two forms of living (*MLC*, pp. 158–204).

PRAYER 26, PARAGRAPH 1

four thousand peple. See Matthew 14:19–21; Mark 6:31–44; Luke 9:13–17; John 6:10–13. The text seems confused here. All four gospels agree that "five thousand men, besides women and children" were fed with five loaves and two fish, leaving twelve baskets of "fragments." The figure four thousand is associated with the second feeding mentioned later in this prayer, when Jesus fed a multitude of followers with seven loaves.

seven looves and with lityl fisch. See Matthew 15:36–38; Mark 8:6–9.

PRAYER 26, PARAGRAPH 2

gostli fruytes. A translation of the *fructus Spiritus* of Galatians 5:22. The phrase recurs in prayer 53.

I, that am a wikkid worm . . . I am al filthe. This passage contains several verbal echoes of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, and might well be putting the *Cloud*'s advice on prayer into action. In his thirty-second chapter, the *Cloud*-author advocates total meekness before God, advising that the reader consider themselves "as a cheitif and a coward overcomen in batayle" and adding that such a position "is not elles bot a trewe knowyng and a felyng of thiself as thou arte, a wrecche and a filthe, fer wers then nought" (ed. Gallacher, p. 61).

PRAYER 27, PARAGRAPH 1

windes and tempestes. See Matthew 8:26; Mark 4:39; Luke 8:24.

Noli timere. The phrase (and its variant *Nolite timere*) is used at several points in the New Testament, most conspicuously during the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:36; Luke 8:50). However, the author probably intends to recall Luke 5:10, when Jesus instructs Peter that he will become a catcher of men after the miraculous draught of fish. The phrase is a common one in medieval liturgy: in the Use of Sarum it appears in the offertory during Advent, for example (ed. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 24).

PRAYER 28, PARAGRAPH 1

alle the skornis, despites, schames. The language here parallels one of Rolle's Passion meditations (known as *Meditation B*), which opens with a comparable formulation: "swete Ihesu, I yelde thee thankinis as I can of alle yuel wordis, sclaudris, scornis, mowis, and schames, that the Jewis seiden to thee" (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:95).

thei tokin the eeres of the whete. See Matthew 12:1–2. The author might follow Pseudo-Bonaventure, who awards special prominence to this episode; in his cycle, it triggers a lengthy meditation on spiritual nourishment (*MLC*, pp. 144–55).

unwasshin handes. See Matthew 15:2; Mark 7:2–5.

enemys, accusers and deniers. Barratt (*Women's Writing*, p. 217) sees a potential allusion to Lollardy here. This popular fifteenth-century religious movement was inspired by the writings of John Wyclif and, despite some regional variation, tended to endorse the use of the vernacular in worship and reject the redemptive value of baptism, auricular confession, pilgrimage, and cults of saints. Accordingly, it was often understood by its opponents as an assault on the authority of the priesthood above all, most visibly in Bishop Pecock's *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (ca. 1455). Similar judgments sometimes find their way into contemplative literature: the *Cloud*-author, for instance, repeatedly inveighs against "heretykes" and their "sclaundre of alle Holy Chirche" (ed. Gallacher, *Cloud of Unknowing*, p. 50), while Hilton

argues that the “heretike synneth deedli in pride” by showing undue “delite in his owen opyn-youn and in his owen seiynge . . . though it be opynli agens ordenaunce of Hooli Chirche” (*Scale of Perfection*, ed. Bestul, p. 96). The sentiments expressed here may be more conventional than topical, however, especially since the passage does not identify its “accusers and deniers” with heretics of any type.

PRAYER 29, PARAGRAPH 1

woman that was foundin in avowtrie. See John 8:3–11.

Moises hadde comoundid. The penalty for the crime of adultery is set out in Leviticus 20:10.

PRAYER 29, PARAGRAPH 2

everich of hem saw there here owin sinnes. John merely records that Jesus wrote on the ground twice (see John 8:6 and 8:8) without stipulating exactly what was written. The idea that the accusers all saw their own sins in the dust no doubt comes from Pseudo-Bonaventure, who pictures Christ “writing down their sins” and insists that his “writing was so tellingly factual that each and every one of them recognised his own sins” (*MLC*, p. 219). Other English sources also pick up on this detail, such as Play 24 in the York cycle: although incomplete, it features one of the assembled Jews declaring “he shewes my mysdedis” before bolting offstage (ed. Davidson, *York Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 164). Pseudo-Bonaventure’s stated source for this information, the colossal twelfth-century biblical commentary *Glossa ordinaria* [Standard gloss], may also have been known to the author of the prayers: the *Glossa* holds that the Pharisees “were struck by awareness of their evils” [*illi conscii malorum, percussi sunt*] when Jesus wrote in the earth a second time (*PL* 114.389). The basic idea might stem from Augustine, who holds that the gesture of writing itself revealed the deficiencies of the Pharisees, showing them “transgressors of the Law” before the divine lawmaker (Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, 3.55).

writ in the ground of here hertis. Writing on the heart is a central metaphor in medieval devotion and mysticism. For a detailed history of its development from Augustine to the later Middle Ages, see Jager, *Book of the Heart*, pp. 44–64. The particular use to which the author puts this image occurs elsewhere in Middle English contemplative writing; compare for instance a late fourteenth-century orison on the passion, which asks “love, that art so mykel [plentiful] of myyt, / Writ in myn herte that reuful syt” (ed. D’Evelyn, *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ*, p. 36).

PRAYER 30, PARAGRAPH 1

legions of fendes. The phrase refers to the exorcism of the Gerasene demoniac, in which the “unclean spirits” gave their name as “Legion, for we are many” when Christ expelled them (Mark 5:9; Luke 8:30).

womanes douyter of Cananee. See Matthew 15:22–28.

not leful . . . as thow witt. This passage is a direct and close translation of Matthew 15:26–28.

PRAYER 31, PARAGRAPH 1

glorouse Transfiguracion. See Matthew 17:2–7; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:29–36.

wiht as the sunne . . . whit as snow. The two similes are taken from Matthew 17:2.

A! Petir. This is one of the few times that the text addresses a figure other than Jesus or Mary. Its choice to evoke Peter at this point is entirely logical: not only is Peter chief among the witnesses who saw Christ's face "shine as the sun" and his clothing grow "white as snow" during his Transfiguration (Matthew 17:1–2), but the episode is later mentioned in one of the epistles that carries his name (1 Peter 1:16–18). It is also worth noting, as Innes-Parker observes, that even here Peter functions as "a negative model for the soul" whose "desire to remain on the mountain is seen as an attempt to avoid tribulation" ("Modelling of Women's Devotion," p. 252).

This is my dere sone. The text translates Matthew 17:7, rather than the slightly shorter version of this statement found in Luke 9:35.

merthe and meledie. A stock phrase for the delights of heaven in Middle English. Compare the *Stanzaic Life of Katherine* which states that its subject's "soule com to Jhesu evene / With moche merthe and melody" (ed. Reames, *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, p. 198).

PRAYER 32, PARAGRAPH 1

foure dayes hadde leyen. See John 11:1–44, especially verse 39, where Lazarus's "foure dayes" of burial cause Martha to doubt Jesus's power: she objects, "Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days." The inclusion of this detail may look back to prayer 25, reminding the reader that Martha represents the inferiority of the active life over the contemplative.

princes dowter Jayre. See Mark 5:22–23; Matthew 9:18–19; Luke 8:41–42. Although Jairus was the overseer of a synagogue rather than a political ruler, "prince" had become the standard term for a Jewish religious official by the fourteenth century (see *MED*, *prince* (n.), sense 3a). The word reflects the terminology used in Matthew and Luke, who describe Jairus as "*princeps*" and "*principem synagogae*" [leader of the synagogue] respectively.

wedewis sone. See Luke 7:11–17.

schilde me from evil. Compare Matthew 6:13.

PRAYER 33, PARAGRAPH 1

Noli timere filia Syon ecce rex tuus venit super pullum asinii. The verse is from John 12:13, itself adapted from Zacharias 9:9, whose prophecy was supposedly fulfilled by Christ's entry into

Jerusalem. The Use of Sarum incorporates the Johannine verse into the antiphons recited during Holy Week (ed. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 94–99). Following Pollard's hypothesis, this quotation might have added resonance for the author or reader, since it can be taken as an allusion to Syon and its community ("Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41").

yif thei hadden don so the stones schulden have cried. A close translation of Luke 19:40.

tendreli ye weptin. See Luke 19:41–44.

destroid speciali for sinne that schulde cause that destruccion. The text alludes here to the common belief that Rome destroyed Jerusalem in 70 CE as divine punishment for the Crucifixion. The convention was popularized by the seventh-century apocryphon *The Avenging of the Savior*, and gave rise to numerous narrative and religious works in the later Middle Ages. On the *Avenging* and its dissemination in England, see Hall, "Nathan the Jew"; for examples and discussions of the literary tradition it spawned, see ed. Livingston, *Siege of Jerusalem*, pp. 5–8, 21–24; ed. McShane and Wright, *Destruction of Jerusalem*, pp. 17–26.

PRAYER 34, PARAGRAPH 1

divers times chacid out of the temple. See Matthew 21:12–13; Mark 11:15–17; Luke 19:45–46; John 2:15–16. When taken collectively, the gospels do seem to describe Christ expelling the money-changers "divers times," since John places the event at the beginning of Christ's ministry while the three synoptic gospels set it towards the end. It is the later event that concerns the prayer "principalli," since Palm Sunday commemorates the entry into Jerusalem on the first Sunday before Easter. Much like Candlemass, it probably started life as a local celebration at Jerusalem, expanding into the west at some point in the eighth or ninth century (Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 90–91).

jelosie. A verbal echo of John 2:17, in which the disciples recall the words of Psalm 68:10: "the zeal [*zelus*] of thy house hath eaten me up."

fadris hows. In John 2:16, Jesus describes the Temple as "*domus patris mei*."

Osanna . . . rex israel. The text is quoting the antiphon that traditionally begins Palm Sunday processions; this in turn conflates Matthew 21:9 ("Hosanna to the son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord") and John 12:13 ("Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel"). See Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass*, p. 256; ed. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 94.

Ex ore . . . perfecisti. In Matthew 21:16, Jesus quotes this verse from Psalm 8:3 to silence the criticisms of the temple scribes. In medieval liturgy, the same verse forms part of the mass recited on the Feast of Holy Innocents.

PRAYER 35, PARAGRAPH 1

alle the teres. See Hebrews 5:7.

steppis of youre holi feet. Compare 1 Peter 2:21, with its directive to follow in Christ's *vestigia* [footprints]. See also one of Rolle's meditations, which calls on the reader to offer "thanke . . . for alle the steppis and pacis that thou yedist hidirward and thidirward" (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:95).

PRAYER 36, PARAGRAPH 1

Scher Thorusday. Or Sheer Thursday, an alternative name for Maundy Thursday, celebrating Christ's foot-washing during Holy Week.

whesch here feet. See John 13:5.

PRAYER 37, PARAGRAPH 1

ye baar the hevy cros. See John 19:17. Although all four gospels use the term *crucem*, whether or not they describe Jesus carrying it personally, they probably intend the crossbar [*patibulum* or *patibulum*] alone. At least, the archaeological and literary record (i.e., *Miles Gloriosus* 3:360, *Mostellaria* 3:56, and the fragmentary *Carbonaria* 5:50 in *Plautus*, ed. de Melo) suggests that only the horizontal part of a cross would be carried by condemned men and fixed on a semi-permanent upright pole (see Zias and Sekeles, "The Crucified Man," p. 26). Nonetheless, the image of Jesus carrying a fully-made cross to the site of his Crucifixion is long-established in Christian iconography by this point.

that I may helpe. See Matthew 10:38; Matthew 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23; Luke 14:27.

PRAYER 38, PARAGRAPH 1

the woman Veronica. The story of St. Veronica, and how she received a miraculous imprint of Christ's face, has a complex history. She is first attested in a group of early medieval apocryphal texts, the *Death of Pilate*, *Cure of Tiberius*, and *Avenging of the Saviour*, where she is identified with the bleeding woman healed by touching Christ's garment (Mark 5:25; Luke 8:44). In all three texts she owns a portrait of Christ (the vernicle) that cures the emperor Tiberius of chronic illness (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 213–17). By the twelfth century, her picture had become an image transferred directly on to fabric by Christ wiping his face (Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth*, pp. 115–23). Her cult was firmly established by the late fourteenth century, and reinforced by a relic at Rome that purported to be her picture of Jesus: Chaucer's Pardoner famously carries a "vernycle . . . sowed upon his cappe" to show that he has "comen from Rome al hoot" (CT I[A]685–87). The version of her story summarized here, in which Veronica's cloth is offered to Christ on the way to Calvary, is probably taken from Pseudo-Bonaventure, who did much to promote Veronica's role in the Passion; an alternative account by Jacobus de Voragine does not stipulate exactly when Veronica obtained her

image (Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, p. 212). Veronica's story features periodically in other contemplative texts, no doubt because its focus on the visual record of Jesus meshes well with imaginative recreation of the Passion: in Julian of Norwich's second revelation, for instance, she specifically mentions "the holy vernacle of Rome which He hath portrayed with His owne blissid face" (*Shewings*, ed. Crampton, p. 51).

Simon of Siren. Simon of Cyrene appears in Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21–22; Luke 23:26.

love tokene. The idea of the vernicle as "love token" is a common one in medieval English. In *Siege of Jerusalem* (ca. 1370–1390), for instance, Christ's image is "peynted prively and playn . . . for love" (ed. Livingston, p. 46). The image probably stems from the eleventh-century hymn "Salve sacra facies," otherwise known as "Oratoria ad sanctam Veronicam," and attributed variously to Giles of Rome or John XXII: this states that Christ's "whiteness of purity was impressed on a cloth, and given to Veronica as proof of love" [*impressa panniculo nivea candoris, / Dataque Veronice signum ob amoris*] (see H. Brown, "On Veronica and Josquin"). In medieval books of hours, lines from the hymn often accompany illustrations of the vernicle to stimulate contemplation of the divine presence (Kessler, "Veronica's Textile," pp. 126–28).

PRAYER 39, PARAGRAPH 1

youre clothis clevid. For the next few prayers, the author draws freely on the cluster of commonplace images that had built up around the Passion narrative by the late Middle Ages. The detail of Christ's blood-soaked garments clinging to his flesh is one such example. While the image is mentioned briefly by Pseudo-Bonaventure, it gains particular force in vernacular accounts. Richard Rolle, for instance, gives a graphic account of how the robe "clemyd faste with the blood of that harde scowrgynge to the flesch of thi body . . . and rent thi sely [blessed] skyn . . . that thei drow it of thi body pytously" (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:84). See further Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 27, 50; Dent, "A Window for the Pain," p. 224.

with cordes thei drowen youre hondes. The use of "cordes" or ropes to bind Christ to the cross is a late but fairly common addition to Crucifixion iconography, perhaps growing out of metaphors that first appear in the fourth century (Pickering, *Literature and Art*, pp. 244, 281, 300). The idea that Christ's body had to be stretched to fit the dimensions of the cross, however, is a separate invention. Again, it proves a potent component in vernacular Passion texts, taking especially vivid form in the York and Towneley Plays of the Crucifixion; it is also included in the second of the *Fifteen Oes*, and in a second meditation assigned to Rolle, which reports that "he was strekid on the croice that was laid on the erth, and drawyn oute with rapis: til make handes and fete acorde til the holes that ware made in the tree" (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:112–13). The detail probably proved attractive because it represents the central function of the Passion in miniature, as the executioners make Christ pay for their own errors in miscalculating the size of the cross. It may owe something to the legends that circulated around the wood of the cross itself, gathered together in the *Post peccatum Adae* [After Adam's sin] (thirteenth century); in some versions the tree proves extremely stubborn and uncooperative, resisting the efforts of the three hundred men to chop it down and craft it into suit-

able shape (ed. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, pp. 30–33; Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 289–349).

ruggid nails. The dullness of the nails used in the Crucifixion is also a popular theme in English Passion literature. Hence the Rolle meditations state that “the nailis, lord, weren blunte, for thei schulden tere thi skyn and bruse thi fleisch” (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:100). Analogous phrases, such as “rugged nayles thi handes rent” and “with rugged nayles the wrecches wode / Nailed him harde to the rode,” occur widely in other vernacular Passion narratives (ed. Day, *Wheatley Manuscript*, p. 2; ed. D’Evelyn, *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ*, p. 30). The detail also makes its way into the second of the *Fifteen Oes*, where “blunt nayles” are specifically employed for “the more encrease of thy peyne” (ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, p. 177).

love knotte. As Pollard observes (“Mystical Elements,” pp. 51–54), the reference to a love-knot looks back to the image of the vernicle as a love token, while the vocabulary looks forward to Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. The love-knot is itself a recurring symbol of devotion in vernacular literature. This prayer might be compared, for instance, to the thirteenth-century life of St. Katherine to which the Katherine Group owes its name, where the saint describes her union with Christ as being “the cnotte . . . icnut bituhhen unc tweien” [the knot . . . knotted between we two] (ed. Einenkel, *Life of Saint Katherine*, p. 71). The C-text of *Piers Plowman* likewise refers to the community of believers as “a love-knotte of leutee and of lele byleve” [a love-knot of faithfulness and steadfast belief] (Langland, *Piers Plowman*, p. 284). A closer analogue, however, is found in *The Cloud of Unknowing*, where the author repeatedly uses the image of the knot knitting together Christ and the reader “in goostly onheed” [in spiritual union], asking that they should “knit the goostly knot of brennyng love bitwix thee and thi God,” or “knyt thee therfore to Him bi love and by beleve” (ed. Gallacher, pp. 74, 33).

PRAYER 40, PARAGRAPH 1

the cros fel with youre blissid body. The inclusion of this detail represents one of the sharpest departures from Pseudo-Bonaventure, who depicts Christ being forced to mount a fully erected cross by means of a stepladder (*MLC*, p. 253). Nevertheless, the idea that Christ received greater pain from the cross being forced into an ill-fitting mortise is extremely popular in English sources. It is cited, for instance, by Margery Kempe, John Audelay, Nicholas Love, the *Northern Passion*, in the Passion meditations attributed to Rolle, and in a versified *tractatus* associated with William of Nassyngton (*NIMEV* 245). The description here is not unusual in emphasizing that Christ’s wounds were re-opened by the jolting motion: the last two examples also state that “at this smytyng in to the erthe all his vaynes brast” and “thi body, thurghe weghte al to-schoke / Than raue thy wondes thurghe fute and hande” (ed. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, 1:113; ed. Perry, *Religious Pieces*, p. 70). Again, this theme receives its most vivid treatment in the drama, as the mortise is a central element in the York and Towneley plays of the Crucifixion. The origin of this particular motif is not clear. Bestul finds no examples of the “mortise-drop” earlier than the mid-fourteenth century, and notes that its usage is almost entirely confined to English sources (“Passion Meditations of Richard Rolle,” pp. 53–54).

my herte is more hard than is the hard ston. See Matthew 27:51. The text might also be alluding to Ezechiel 36:26, in which God promises to “give you a new heart, and put a new spirit within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh.”

PRAYER 40, PARAGRAPH 2

thurst and drinesse. The dryness of Christ’s body prior to death, owing to heavy blood loss, is another staple detail in medieval Passion narratives. Compare the *Fifteen Oes*: “thy tendre flesshe chaunged his coloure bycause the lycoure of thy bowelles and the mary of thy bones was dried up” (ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, p. 180).

PRAYER 41, PARAGRAPH 1

wordes that ye . . . on the cros: The utterances on the cross described in the canonical gospels are traditionally numbered as seven: “Father, forgive them” (Luke 23:34); “this day thou shalt be with me in paradise” (Luke 23:43); “woman, behold thy son” (John 19:26); “my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Matthew 27:45); “I thirst” (John 19:28); “it is consummated” (John 19:30); “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit” (Luke 23:46). The author addresses the fifth and sixth in subsequent prayers. For some medieval authorities these statements offered particular insight into the mysteries of the Passion; they form an important core in Bonaventure’s *Vitis mystica* [Mystical Vine], for instance, and in the *Fifteen Oes*. Something of their importance can be judged from the *Speculum ecclesie* [Mirror of the church] by the thirteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund of Abingdon. Edmund urges careful study “of the words Jesus Christ spoke hanging on the cross, and the signs that occurred after his death” [*de verbis que locutus est in cruce pendens Christus Jesus, et de signis que contigerunt in morte ipsius*] in order to comprehend how “the author of eternal life suffered death for our love and the affection that he held for us, in order that we might live again” [*qualiter illa hora mortem passus est auctor vite eterne, pro amore nostro et caritate qua dilexit nos, ut per ipsum viveremus*] (*Speculum religiosorum and Speculum ecclesie*, ed. Forshaw, p. 92).

the eysel and the galle. See Matthew 27:34.

PRAYER 42, PARAGRAPH 1

Sicio. See John 19:28. The text might follow Pseudo-Bonaventure here, who also stresses that Christ thirsted for the cure of souls as well as thirsting in actuality (*MLC*, p. 255). One of Bonaventure’s authentic works, the *Vitis Mystica*, also builds a similar reading around the utterance *sitio*, treating it as an expression of “ardent desire for the cure of souls” [*desiderium ardentissimum salutis nostrae*] (*PL* 184.662). The *Fifteen Oes* might be another line of influence, especially since the chosen wording is similar: “O blessed Jhesu, welle of endeles pyte, that saydest on the cros of thy passion by inwardly affection of love: ‘I thirst,’ that is to saye, the helthe of mannys soule” (ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, p. 179). While the spelling *sitio* is more common, the scribe’s variant is an acceptable one, since *ci* and *ti* are often used interchangeably in Latin orthography.

PRAYER 43, PARAGRAPH 1

Consummatum est. See John 19.30.

the godhed descendid to helle. The source of this information is the second part of the fourth-century *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a pseudepigraphic work assigned to the Pharisee who “came to Jesus by night” and acknowledged him as “teacher from God” (John 3:2). The body of the text purports to be a document given to the Pharisee by two dead men, describing Christ’s descent into Hell, and his liberation of the prophets there. While never officially accepted as scripture, it exerted considerable influence throughout the medieval period; it was well-known in England from the time of Bede and translated into English multiple times between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries (Marx, “The Gospel of Nicodemus”).

PRAYER 44, PARAGRAPH 1

Longeus. Although unnamed in the gospels, the Roman soldier who “opened” the side of Christ (John 19:34) had acquired the name Longinus by the early fourth century: at this point, he becomes “Longinus the believing centurion” in the *Acts of Pilate*, an apocryphal “report” on the Crucifixion later absorbed into the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 223). During the Middle Ages, various narratives grew up around him, as he was conflated with the soldier who attests “indeed this was the son of God” (Matthew 27:54; Mark 15:39) and turned into a Christian convert and martyr. The story alluded to here is among the most popular, appearing at the beginning of Jacobus da Voragine’s life of Longinus. Jacobus records that the saint suffered from blindness owing to his “age and infirmity,” although adds that he was restored to full sight by contact with the blood “that ran down the shaft of the spear” (*Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, p. 184). The story also appears in Langland’s *Piers Plowman* (p. 323) and the York Corpus Christi Cycle (ed. Davidson, *York Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 309), among other English sources.

PRAYER 46, PARAGRAPH 1

also seint John . . . and Nichodeme. This long list of names reflects significant variation across the canonical and apocryphal gospels when describing the “holi cumpanie” present at the entombment. All four gospels agree that Joseph of Arimathea embalmed and interred the body after requesting it from Pilate (Matthew 27:59–60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53; John 19:38); Mary Magdalene is mentioned in Mark 15:47 and Matthew 27:61; Nicodemus appears in John 19:39; John and the Virgin Mary are placed at the tomb in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. See Sadler, *Stone, Flesh, Spirit*, pp. 7–24.

as his blissid body was beried. The idea is another commonplace drawn from anchoritic thought, or taken from vernacular religious culture more widely. It appears earlier in the *Ancrene Wisse*: “ye beoth with Jesu Crist bitund as i sepulcre” [you are enclosed with Jesus Christ as in a sepulchre] (ed. Hasenfratz, p. 197). For further analogues, see Price, “‘Inner’ and ‘Outer,’” pp. 196–97.

PRAYER 47, PARAGRAPH 1

aperid to youre dere modir. There is no biblical account of the risen Christ appearing to Mary, although the possibility is raised intermittently by patristic and medieval sources; the idea is alluded to, with varying levels of detail, by Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, Eadmer of Canterbury, and numerous others (Breckenridge, “Et Prima Vedit;” Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 234–35; McMichael, “Theme of Resurrection,” pp. 276–83). However, it is Pseudo-Bonaventure who first turns this hypothetical event into a cohesive narrative, defending his recourse to “pious belief” rather than the gospel record on the grounds that “it is likely that our considerate Lord visited his mother” (MLC, pp. 316, 280). The prayer seems to follow Pseudo-Bonaventure, but the unusual popularity of this particular meditation makes it difficult to say whether or not he is its immediate source (see Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 49).

Salve sancta parens. In full, “*salve sancta parens enixa puerpera regem*” [“Hail, holy mother, who brought forth in childbirth the king”]. The quotation ultimately derives from Sedulius’s biblical paraphrase *Carmen paschale* [Easter song] (fifth-century); however, it is best known as the opening of the Mass of the Holy Virgin, a function it has performed from at least the thirteenth century. On Sedulius’s poem and its medieval adaptations, see Putter, “Prudentius and the Late Classical Biblical Epics,” pp. 358–61.

goodli daliaunce. Pseudo-Bonaventure also directs the contemplator to visualize how mother and son “stayed and conversed together, mutually rejoicing” (MLC, pp. 280–81).

PRAYER 48, PARAGRAPH 1

ye apperid . . . to Marie Maudeleyne. See Matthew 28:8–10; Mark 16:9; John 20:11–17.

the gret joye that ye hadde. Again, these details are taken from Pseudo-Bonaventure, whose meditation on the Magdalene pictures lengthy conversation between “these two loving souls . . . enveloped in sweet gladness and the greatest joy” (MLC, p. 284).

PRAYER 49, PARAGRAPH 1

ye apperid to Cleophas. See Luke 24:13–31.

Castell of Emaus. The Vulgate describes the destination of Cleopas and his companion as a “*castellum . . . nomine Emmaus*” (Luke 24:13). While *castellum* has a broad meaning in classical Latin, signifying a settlement or small town as well as a fortified complex, medieval sources unsurprisingly tend to interpret it as a castle in the contemporary style (see “*castellum*” n. 1, OLD). Hence Emmaus appears as a walled stronghold — complete with towers, battlements, and gatehouse — in a ninth-century Francian ivory at the Met Cloisters, New York (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471970>), and in a tempera painting by Duccio di Buoninsegna from ca. 1310, now held at the Museo dell’Opera Metropolitana del Duomo in Siena.

PRAYER 50, PARAGRAPH 1

appering to seynt Thomas. See John 20:24–29. Thomas gained the descriptor “of India” during the first few centuries of the church, owing to an early tradition that he was sent there to proselytize when the apostles divided up the known world between them. The story makes an early and extravagant appearance in the third-century *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 439–511), and is accepted by Ephrem of Edessa, Gregory of Nazianus, Ambrose, and Jerome, amongst other church fathers (Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 19–38, 42–48).

PRAYER 51, PARAGRAPH 1

merveilous Ascension. See Acts 1:9.

the quike and the dede. See 2 Timothy 4:1. Although now associated with the Tyndale and King James versions, this idiomatic rendering of “*vivos et mortuos*” occurs elsewhere in Middle English, most notably in Richard Rolle’s vernacular commentary on Psalm 71:1: “God the fadere, gif thi dome of qwike and ded” (see Rolle, *Psalter*, ed. Bramley, p. 252).

Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. See Matthew 25:34. The verse is also used in the opening of the Mass for Holy Wednesday (Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:330).

PRAYER 52, PARAGRAPH 1

sending doun of the Holi Gost. See Acts 2:1–11.

wit and wisdom. Innes-Parker detects an echo here of prayer 15 (“Modelling of Women’s Devotion,” p. 252). The parallel is an important one, since it equates “alle . . . that prechin and thechin” (15.1) with the apostles receiving the gift of tongues.

PRAYER 53, PARAGRAPH 1

precious merciful herte. The *cor Jesu* [heart of Jesus] gained increasing importance as an object of veneration during the late Middle Ages. It received major impetus from the spiritual collaboration between the mystics Mechthild of Magdeburg, Mechthild of Hackeborn, and Gertrude of Helfta in the late thirteenth century (see Harrison, “I Am Wholly Your Own”). The prayer draws heavily on the symbolic vocabulary developed by the three women, especially their conception of Christ’s heart as a source of light and a nourishing stream. The harmonizing of the Sacred Heart with that of the contemplative is also a key element in their thought (see Gertrude of Helfta, *Herald of Divine Love*, trans. Winkworth, pp. 188–91).

gostli oynementis. See perhaps Canticles (or Song of Songs) 1:2: “smelling sweet of the best ointments. Thy name is as oil poured out.” The text also echoes one of the closing images used

by Pseudo-Bonaventure, who compares “the example of his human life” to “an ointment . . . the likes of which no pharmacist can possibly make” (*MLC*, p. 334).

wownde myn herte . . . and ravissche it. The image of the wounded heart is derived from Canticles (or Song of Songs) 4:9, and is a relatively common means of visualizing union with Christ in the period: a similar plea appears in one of the devotional lyrics attributed to Richard Rolle (*NIMEV* 1715), which asks “wounde my hert with-in, and welde it at thi wille” (*Uncollected Verse and Prose*, ed. Hanna, p. 24). Pollard (“Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 51) also compares these two sentences to the last of the *Fifteen Oes*, which bids “swete Jhesu, wounde my herte and that my soule may be fedde swetely with water of penaunce and teres of love” (ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, p. 182). The use of Canticles to express these meanings follows the lead of Bernard of Clairvaux, whose influential series of sermons treated the book’s intensely erotic imagery as an allegory of the “desperate yearning of the fathers for the presence of Christ in the flesh” [*desiderii patrum suspirantium Christi in carne praesentiam*] (*Sermones super Cantica cantorum*, ed. Leclercq, Talbot, and Rochais, 1:8). Bernard provided an important model for a number of female mystics, among them Gertrude of Helfta and Mechthild of Magdeburg, who found his sexually charged language a useful means of contemplating communion with the divine (see McAvoy, *Authority and the Female Body*, pp. 64–95). The author’s plea for ravishment obviously looks back to this thinking, as well as forward to the strikingly similar phrasing found in the fourteenth of John Donne’s *Holy Sonnets*, “Batter my heart, three-personed God” (*Major Works*, ed. Carey, p. 177).

streame me youre watres. Compare Psalm 64:11.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

king Ezechie. Hezekiah (or Ezechias in Latinized form) is the thirteenth king of Judah, whose reign is detailed in 4 Kings 18–20, 2 Chronicles 29–32, and Isaías 36–39. The text alludes here to a tradition in scriptural commentary that explains why he succumbed to illness despite triumphing over Assyria with divine assistance. The infirmity itself is described in the Vulgate as “sickening unto death,” although the original Hebrew refers to some form of boil or tumor [*shehin*]; it and Hezekiah’s treatment by Isaiah are outlined in 4 Kings 20:1, 2 Chronicles 32:24, and at greatest length in Isaías 38:1–21. The biblical accounts make no reference to the sickness as a penalty for ingratitude or impiety, however. The idea first seems to be voiced in the seventh century by a shadowy figure known as Augustine of Ireland: Augustine tentatively suggests that Hezekiah “perhaps, owing to a meagre act of gratitude, fell into a disease of most painful feebleness” [*forsitan etiam gratiarum actione exiguus, in gravissimi languoris morbum incidit*] (Augustinus Hibernicus, *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, PL 35.2187). The author of the *Prayers* could well be following Augustine here, especially since his remarks were paraphrased in the *Glossa ordinaria*, which similarly claims “he deserved to die, who in his elation, did not yield thanks to the Lord for unexpected victory” [*mori merebatur, qui elatus, Domino gratias pro inopinata victoria non reddidit*] (PL 113.624); her term “victorie” seems to mirror his *victoria*, and Augustine also adds, as here, that “the prophet Isaiah, coming to visit him in that same weakness, told Hezekiah . . . you shall not live any longer, but die the death” [*ad quem in ipso languore visitandum Isaías propheta veniens dixit . . . non vives ultra, sed morte mor-*

ieris] (PL 35.2187). Another possible source is the fourteenth-century biblical commentary of Nicholas of Lyra which, like the *Glossa*, also appears in the catalogues of Syon library (ed. Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 116, 170). Drawing perhaps on Rabbinic tradition, Nicholas also stresses that infirmity befell Ezechias “because he did not return sufficient thanks to God for smiting the army of Sennacherib” [*quod hoc contigit ex eo quod non reddiderat gratias Deo sufficienter de percussione exercitus Sennacherib*] (Nicholaus Lyranus, *Postillae maiores*, fol. 19r). See Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen*, pp. 161, 169.

his prophete. Isaiah, who advises Hezekiah to prepare for death, and cures him of his sickness with a poultice of figs.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 2

religious persone. It is difficult to establish the precise source the author has in mind. One obvious candidate is Pseudo-Bonaventure, given the text’s frequent dependence on *MLC*; Pollard suggests St. Bridget, as presumed composer of the *Fifteen Oes* (“Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41,” p. 52). In either case, the author’s reticence might suggest some doubt over received attribution. Rolle could be a further possibility. See the Holkham Introduction, p. 15, for further discussion.

Alle the evangelistes witnessin. A reference to John 20:30 and 21:25, and perhaps to 2 Thessalonians 2:14. Pseudo-Bonaventure makes the same point at several junctures, arguing in his introduction that “you should not think that all his words and deeds that we can meditate on were actually written down” (*MLC*, p.4). He later evokes Augustine’s letter to Januarius (see Augustine, *Letters*, 1:252–53) to remind the reader further that “not everything . . . was written down” (*MLC*, p. 316).

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 4

pride and veinglorie. The choice of language recalls catalogues of sin found in contemporary confessional manuals, where *vana gloria* often features as a subspecies of pride [*superbia*]. One example the author may have known is Peraldus’s *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, the main source of Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale; the *Summa* occurs several times in the Syon Abbey booklists (ed. Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 288, 301, 480). Here “vainglory” is also defined as an effect of pride’s parasitic and deceptive relationship to virtue: “that pride falsifies good things is shown by the fact that things that are like goodness in kind, when they proceed from pride, when they are done because of vainglory, are not meritworthy but indeed demeaning” [*quod autem superbia bona falsificet paret per hoc quod ea quae sunt de genere bonorum, si ex superbia procedant, ut si fiant propter vanam gloriam, non sunt meritoria, imo demeritoria*]. Peraldus likewise describes the corrosive effect pride has on virtue, and sets up humility as an antidote. He notes that “if virtues already exist in a person, the vice of pride expels them; if they do not, it does not allow them to enter; if they remain, it falsifies or debases them. Just as humility weakens all vices, and amasses and strengthens all virtues, so pride destroys and weakens all virtues” [*vitium superbie quod bona si iam sunt in aliquo, expellit: si non sunt, etiam intrare non permittit; si qua remanent ei falsificat vel inquinate . . . Sicut humilitas omnia vitia enervat: omn-*

esque virtutes colligit et roborat; sic superbia omnes virtutes destruit et enervat] (Peraldus, *Summa*, fol. 270v). Another likely source is Hilton, who draws on confessional taxonomies of sin, and also warns that “whanne thei han felid a litil grace thei wenen that it is so mykil, passand othere, that thei fallen in veynglorie and so thei leesen it” (*Scale of Perfection*, ed. Bestul, p. 61).

the Pharisé that oure lord spekith of. The author is paraphrasing Luke 18:9–14, a parable that describes a haughty Pharisee and humble tax collector entering a temple to pray, and concludes with the lesson “every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled: and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.” The story appears in a similar context in Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*, which adds that the Pharisee “yede hoom agen withouten grace as he com, and gaat right nought” (ed. Bestul, p. 52).

Lucifer. The connection between Lucifer and pride was cemented in antiquity, when a “majority view” emerged among the early fathers that *superbia* was responsible for his downfall, largely on the authority of Isaiah 14:12 (see P. King, “Augustine and Anselm on Angelic Sin,” pp. 262–63). By the later Middle Ages, homiletic and penitential discourse had made Lucifer into the “prototype of pride,” and he inevitably features in discussions of the sin (Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 109). The treatment here again parallels that of Peraldus, whose tractate on *superbia* emphasizes that this “prime example . . . was expelled on account of his pride: he that was an angel became a devil; he that was the noblest of creatures became a horse-leech, forever sucking up the blood of sin” [*primum exemplum est in Lucifero . . . deiectus est Lucifer propter superbiam suam ut cum esset angelus factus sit diabolus; cum esset nobilissima creatura factus est sanguisuga sanguinem peccati semper sugens*] (Peraldus, *Summa*, fol. 273v).

it fadith al gostli beuté. The danger of taking excessive pride in one’s good works is a recurring concern in contemplative literature. It is stressed particularly heavily by Hilton, who dedicates several chapters to avoiding the pitfalls of self-love. At one point, Hilton even posits that combating pride is the entire point of meditation on the humanity of Christ, arguing that “thorough devoute biholdynge on His manhede and His mekenesse schalt thu mykil abate the stiringe of pride” (*Scale of Perfection*, ed. Bestul, p. 51).

hate the sinnes and love the persones. See prayer 25, where the same phrase also appears.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 5

bindith not yow self. This passage seems to be a muted rejection of the tightly programmatic and regulated approach set out by Pseudo-Bonaventure. In its concluding chapter, *MLC* urges the reader to “organize your meditative cycle in terms of a week at a time,” working from the Incarnation to the Flight to Egypt on Monday, up to the Finding in the Temple on Tuesday, to Mary and Martha on Wednesday, to the Passion on Thursday, and to the Resurrection on Friday and Saturday; finally, on Sunday, the reader should “meditate on the resurrection itself up to the end of his earthy life” (*MLC*, p. 332).

seie it be scripture. Similar guidance is given by other advisory texts on prayer. Hilton, for instance, holds that prayer “oonli in herte without speche” is the third and highest “maner of

praier”; evoking 1 Corinthians 14:15, he argues that those who practice “more inward” prayer, rather than praying by “tunge oonli,” manage to “neer contynueli praie in here herte, and love and praise God withoutyn grete lettyng of temptacions or of vanitees” (*Scale of Perfection*, ed. Bestul, pp. 63–64).

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 6

Syke and sorwe deeply. While the use of lyrics in meditation is not unusual (see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, pp. 134–35, 158–61; Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, pp. 121–66), this brief quatrain provides an interesting link to the wider culture of female devotion. It appears in six further witnesses (NIMEV 3102), half of which embed it in works of meditative prose for women, often as a sort of summative postscript. It features, for instance, in British Library Addit. MS 37790 and Cambridge, St. John’s College C.21, where it precedes the epilogue of *The Myrroure of Symple Saules*, a Middle English translation of Marguerite Porète’s *Miroer des Simples Ames* (Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism*, pp. 192–93; C. Brown, *Register*, 1:420; M.R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 95); it is also appended to the copy of the *Doctrine of the Hert* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 330 (ed. Whitehead et al., *Doctrine of the Hert*, pp. xxi–xxii). However, the quatrain’s exact function here is uncertain. It is plainly intended to guide the reader in her devotions; it was also most likely added by the copyist rather than the author, given that the text makes no reference to it. But its placement in the manuscript makes it difficult to know whether it should be read alongside the *Prayers*, Flete’s *Remediis*, or the miscellany as a whole. Innes-Parker speculates that it might serve as a “bridge between the two texts” (“Modelling of Women’s Devotion,” p. 264); nonetheless, the fact that it is copied in red ink suggests that it was deliberately set apart from the material around it (Koster, “Gender, Text, Critic,” pp. 232, 236), so it was perhaps designed to be read as a condensed, standalone formula for meditation.



HOLKHAM PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS TEXTUAL NOTES

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

Religious sustir. MS begins at this point, with no title or rubric; all titles and rubrics are editorial.

festis. In MS the two central letters are concealed by nineteenth-century patching, making exact interpretation difficult. Since this statement is often treated as the title of the cycle, the letter-forms in question are a major interpretive crux. Barratt (*Women's Writing*, p. 211) and Colledge and Chadwick (Flete, *Remedies Against Temptations*, p. 210) suggest *feitis* or *faits*, a reading that has been taken up by some subsequent writers. However, *festes*, the alternative proposed by Pollard ("Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41," p. 48n7) and Koster ("Gender, Text, Critic," pp. 234–35), seems likelier, given the mention of *yowr festes* in the first prayer, the absence of *feit* at any later stage in the cycle, and the fact that Pseudo-Bonaventure also describes key events in the life of Christ as "feasts." The Incarnation, for instance, is the "foundation of all solemn feasts" (MLC, pp. 16–17). See the Holkham Introduction, p. 21, for fuller discussion.

Jhesu. MS uses the abbreviation *Ihu* here and throughout.

folwe. MS worn; the final two letters have partly flaked away.

usen. MS badly worn; a hole in the parchment has obliterated the final two letters, but the infinitive is required for sense.

meditacions. MS badly worn; a hole midway through the word makes the exact spelling uncertain, but the word itself is clear.

yef yt. MS worn; the letter-forms cannot be precisely identified.

techinges. MS worn and patched; the word can only be read by comparing the remaining traces of ink to the scribe's characteristic letter-forms.

I hope my. MS worn; exact reading uncertain, but remaining ink traces enable a best guess.

man. MS badly worn; holes and patching cover the upper and lower parts of the characters.

grace. MS damaged, partly obscuring the central three letters.

from. MS torn and patched; only the final letter is intelligible, although the author's biblical allusion makes a preposition likely.

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 2

And I preye. MS torn, obscuring much of the first word.

preie my lord. MS: *pie my lord.* On the face of it, MS is nonsensical; however, it is likely that a suspension mark was placed over the initial letter of *preie* to show elision of *re*, and was subsequently erased by wear, damp or mold. The scribe routinely abbreviates similar syllables by setting a dot over the preceding letter, and MS is severely mildewed here.

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 3

much as a. MS damaged; patching has obscured most of the first word.

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 4

wrathe. MS: *warthe*; the scribe has mistakenly transposed the central letters.

PRAYER 5, PARAGRAPH 1

make me milde. MS omits *me*, although the pronoun is required for sense.

PRAYER 7, PARAGRAPH 1

the pope, and alle the cardinalis. An attempt has been made to delete the passage, probably by an early modern reader, although the text is still partly visible. See the Holkham Introduction, pp. 22–24, for fuller discussion.

PRAYER 9, PARAGRAPH 1

yowr vertues. MS: *yow vertues.* MS is evidently in error here, since the context requires a possessive rather than nominative pronoun.

so to love. *so* is largely unreadable in MS owing to patching.

PRAYER 11, PARAGRAPH 1

ye wer. MS may read *yewe* or *yewr*; the ink is worn and the end of the word covered by a patch. However, an auxiliary verb makes better grammatical sense than a lone pronoun.

PRAYER 13, PARAGRAPH 1

vertuousli. MS: *utuuousli.* A suspension mark over the initial letter has likely been lost to mold, since the ink has flaked from the leaf in several places.

gostli. MS only partly readable owing to mold damage; *goode* may be another possibility, especially since the author uses both adjectives in her prologue when describing virtue.

PRAYER 15, PARAGRAPH 1

hereth. MS: *herieth*. Although MS makes some sense, using a common synonym for “praise” (see prayer 33), it is a poor fit for the prayer’s emphasis on language and teaching and is most likely a mistranscription. Since a line-break interrupts the word halfway through, it would be especially prone to scribal error.

PRAYER 16, PARAGRAPH 1

ye hadden. MS omits *ye*, but it has been added here for sense.

PRAYER 20, PARAGRAPH 2

weie. MS is damaged part-way through the word, which could read either *weie* or *wele*; however, the former gives the more logical reading.

PRAYER 22, PARAGRAPH 1

derkhed of defaute. MS: *derkhed defaute*. The two consecutive nouns must be an error. Barratt inserts the equally tenable *and* (*Women’s Writing*, p. 213).

PRAYER 24, PARAGRAPH 1

min sinnes. MS damaged; the initial two letters of *sinnes* have been almost entirely erased by mold, but can be approximated from context.

PRAYER 25, PARAGRAPH 1

she wepte. MS: *ye wepte*. The MS reading is clearly confused, and has probably been influenced by the second-person pronouns in the same sentence.

PRAYER 26, PARAGRAPH 2

Mercyful. A loop has been added to the final downward stroke of the initial letter; this stretches into the bottom margin before turning into a vertical column of u-shaped lines. As the ink is slightly paler than the main text, the design may be a reader’s doodle. Compare however the scribal ornamentation in the note to Epilogue.1, below.

PRAYER 28, PARAGRAPH 1

and accusid hem. MS damaged; mold has erased much of the word *hem*, but the syntax makes a repeated pronoun likely.

PRAYER 29, PARAGRAPH 1

magnifie. MS worn, causing ink to flake from several letters; however, the word is doubtless some form of the author's usual introductory formula.

PRAYER 29, PARAGRAPH 2

defautes see. MS has no verb in this clause; *see* is a best guess added for sense.

PRAYER 32, PARAGRAPH 1

evil. MS: *evid*, an error probably induced by the initial of the following word.

PRAYER 34, PARAGRAPH 1

haddyn. MS badly worn; a hole has rendered the final few characters unreadable, but the context implies an infinitive.

worldli. MS: *wordli*, a clear slip, perhaps induced by *ore* [mouth] in the preceding sentence.

PRAYER 36, PARAGRAPH 1

youre precious body . . . MS breaks off here; an unknown number of folia are missing. See the Holkham Introduction, pp. 23–24, for further discussion.

PRAYER 37, PARAGRAPH 1

. . . nifie yow. The start of this prayer is missing, although it is most likely some variant of the formula *I thanke and magnifie yow*.

PRAYER 40, PARAGRAPH 1

thise. MS: *thises*. It is unclear whether the final letter is intended as a character or an otiose flourish. If the former, it is the only time the text pluralizes the pronoun in this way, and the hooked mark in question appears in MS only rarely.

PRAYER 42, PARAGRAPH 1

hem. MS: *he*. Since the accusative is required for sense, MS is either in error or a suspension mark has been lost to damp or mold.

PRAYER 44, PARAGRAPH 1

I may have. MS: *I may have have*, an obvious dittographic error.

PRAYER 46, PARAGRAPH 1

al that holi cumpanie. The word *al* was originally missing from MS and has been inserted in a different hand above the line, perhaps by a later reader, perhaps by the scribe or their supervisor. It is the only such correction in MS, but suggests that the text was compared to a second copy at some stage during its production or circulation.

spirituali. MS: *spritualli*, a simple misspelling.

PRAYER 47, PARAGRAPH 1

myhtili. MS damaged by mold; the central characters are only partly readable.

PRAYER 49, PARAGRAPH 1

Esterne. MS: *Estene*, a slip probably caused by a line-break occurring midway through the word.

PRAYER 51, PARAGRAPH 1

Thursday. MS: *thusday* or *thurday*; the third character is affected by mold, but both potential spellings are equally problematic and suggest the scribe has overlooked a letter.

riht. MS damaged, obscuring the final two letters, but the word can be inferred from context.

regnum a constitutione. MS: *regnum constitutione*. The scribe has omitted the preposition *a*, most likely due to eyeskip.

PRAYER 52, PARAGRAPH 1

never. MS damaged by mold; the word is only partly legible.

PRAYER 53, PARAGRAPH 1

frutes. MS mold-damaged, partially deleting the first three letters; the word can nonetheless be inferred from context.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

that of his benigne. MS incorporates a curious design here, elongating the tail of the thorn of *that* into the bottom margin and intersecting it with five horizontal strokes. The purpose of this motif is unclear, and part of it may have been lost when the pages were trimmed by the nineteenth-century binder.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 4

receyved. MS worn at the margin; the final two letters are unreadable, but the perfect tense is required for sense.

neythir. MS deteriorated; a hole has obliterated the initial letter, but the word is obvious from context.



APPULBY'S *THE FRUYTE OF REDEMPCYON* INTRODUCTION

While the Holkham *Prayers and Meditations* refuses to answer many of the questions it raises, despite opening a tantalizing portal into the world of late medieval female spirituality, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* presents an entirely different case. Where the Holkham text is stubbornly silent, the *Fruyte* provides us with an abundance of information: it has a named author, a clear date of composition, and a readily identifiable set of sources. Even the circumstances in which it was written and the audience through which it circulated can be deduced with a fair degree of certainty. But it is not only in terms of such contextual detail that the *Fruyte* differs from the earlier piece. Despite being rooted in the same set of devotional practices and principles, and retelling the same basic narrative, the *Fruyte*'s treatment of the gospel material is marked by its own unique set of inflections. When set alongside the *Prayers and Meditations*, in short, the *Fruyte* makes clear the mutability and versatility of the meditative tradition to which it belongs, and the range of needs for which that tradition might be adapted.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The book also testifies to the enduring value of the devotional framework instituted by Pseudo-Bonaventure, showing that it retained its potency up to the very brink of the Reformation. The *Fruyte* seems to have been written at some point before 1514, the year in which it made its first appearance in print. It was issued by Wynkyn de Worde, the Netherlandish printer who effectively created the popular book market in England, and is in many respects typical of his output.¹ Consisting of forty-eight pages printed in octavo, with dimensions of 11 cm x 15 cm, it epitomizes the sort of compact, highly commercial text de Worde helped pioneer. It was also produced in de Worde's favorite typeface, "the most frequently found of all de Worde's types in the sixteenth century," a modified version of the textura type he imported from Paris in ca. 1497.² Duff classifies this as type 8, and Issac as type 96, although it is popularly known as English blackletter.³ The *Fruyte* obviously met with an enthusiastic audience. Four later editions have survived: it was printed again in 1517 (although its colophon gives the erroneous date "1417"), in 1530 (with the added detail that it was "fynysshed" on the twenty-first "daye of Maye"), in 1531, and finally in 1532, only two years before the Act of Supremacy declared Henry VIII Head of the Church of England.⁴ There is also some slim evidence of a sixth imprint. In his extended version of Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, the antiquarian William Herbert claims to have seen an undated copy, tersely recording that the *Fruyte* was printed "again

¹ On de Worde's likely roots in the western Low Countries, see Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit*, pp. 323–39.

² Isaac, "Types Used by Wynkyn de Worde," p. 395; Robinson, "Materials," pp. 68–69.

³ Duff, *Printing in England*, p. 168; Issac, "Types Used by Wynkyn de Worde," p. 395.

⁴ It is also possible that the *Fruyte* was issued twice in 1514 as two separate editions. As Dowding notes, subtle differences in the marginalia of the British Library and Cambridge University Library copies might indicate that they are in fact distinct imprints, despite sharing the same publication date ("For your ghostly conforte," pp. 23–24).

without date.”⁵ Herbert’s nineteenth-century editor Thomas Dibdin inferred that this version might have been issued in 1533 or later, but confesses that “such an edition has hitherto escaped me.”⁶ If this imprint did exist, it would make more sense to place it in the long gap between 1517–1530; nonetheless, since nothing resembling it has come to light, it is best judged a phantom, possibly a confused reference to a damaged copy.

On the question of authorship, however, there is much less ambiguity. All of the surviving copies unanimously assign themselves to the same figure. Each concludes with a brief postscript asking that the reader pray “of your charyté” for the writer that has “compyled this mater in Engliyshe,” and explicitly names him as “the Anker of London wall, wretched Symon.” Unequivocal though this statement might seem, the candidacy of “wretched Symon” has not gone unchallenged. At some point in early scholarship, the *Fruyte* was linked with the Bridgettine monk Richard Wytforde, presumably because Symon’s signature resembles Wytforde’s own self-description “poore wretche of Syon.”⁷ Nonetheless, the work of Rotha Mary Clay and Mary Erler has placed the identity of the writer beyond doubt, and managed to call him forward as an historical figure in some detail.⁸ Symon is certainly Simon Appulby or Appleby, the final anchorite at the church of Allhallows London Wall (now All Hallows-on-the-Wall), so named because of its proximity to the old city wall. The current building bears little trace of his hold, having been wholly rebuilt and remodeled by George Dance and Joseph Taylor in the 1760s, but it was almost continuously occupied from at least the turn of the fifteenth century; it may in fact have taken over from a thirteenth-century hold housed in the city wall itself.⁹ The first recorded inhabitant is Margaret Burre, who comes to light in her will of 1402; over the next century, she was followed by Emmota Olrun, William Lucas, a fourth figure whose name is unrecorded, Robert Lynton, and Appulby’s immediate predecessor, a male recluse known only as Giles or “Eliseus.”¹⁰

Appulby himself might have been a Londoner by birth: at least, Gary Gibbs has found a number of possible relatives living near the site he came to occupy.¹¹ He makes his first entry into the records in April 1483, and from the outset is linked with the asceticism he came to practice in later life. On this date, William de Wallingforde, abbot of St. Albans, pledged use of the “house or residence of the anchoress, built and attached to the church of St. Michael, near to the town of St. Albans” to “Sir Simon Appulby, chaplain” once it was “vacated” by its current occupant, “Lady Margaret Smythe.”¹² As well as indicating Appulby’s early enthusiasm for the anchoritic vocation, a feature he shares with many other medieval recluses, this

⁵ Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1:184–85.

⁶ Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, 2:206–07.

⁷ The *Fruyte* is accepted as Wytforde’s work, for instance, in the entry for “Whitford (Whytford, or Whytforde), Richard” in Allibone, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 3:2698. See Da Costa, *Reforming Printing*, p. 12, and Hogg’s discussion in Whytforde, *The Pye or Tonne of the Lyfe of Perfection*, ed. Hogg, 1:63.

⁸ Clay, “Further Studies”; Erler, “A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby.” See also Cooper, ODNB, “Appulby, Simon (d. 1537).”

⁹ Elmes, *Topographical Dictionary of London*, p. 11; ed. Page, *History of the County of London*, p. 587.

¹⁰ Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 21–24.

¹¹ Gibbs, *Five Parishes*, pp. 42–43.

¹² The text of William’s grant reads: “Willelmus, permissione divina, Abbas exempti Monasterii Sancti Albani, Anglorum Prothomaryris, dilecto nobis in Christo, Domino Symoni Appulby Capellano salutem . . . nobis humiliter extiterit supplicatum, ut domum, sive mansionem aedificatam et annexam Ecclesiae Sancti Michaelis juxta villam Sancti Albani, in qua Domina Margareta Smythe, Anachorissa, jam residet . . . post datam praesentium eandem de Anachorissa vacare contigerit” (ed. Riley, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, 2:257–58).

reference also allows Erler to calculate his probable date of birth. Since the record makes clear that he was already a priest or *capellanus*, and the youngest possible age for ordination was 25, he was most likely born in the mid 1450s.¹³ For whatever reason, he was never installed at St. Albans. The next cluster of references shows him performing a range of clerical duties in the capital instead. In 1505–1507 he is listed as a warden of the almshouses for elderly and impoverished priests at St. Augustine Papey, on St. Mary Axe Street; by 1509 he had become priest of the central London parish of St. Leonard Foster Lane, according to a will he witnessed that year.¹⁴

On June 26, 1513, a year before the first edition of the *Fruyte* appeared, Appulby began his life as an anchorite at Allhallows.¹⁵ The date of his entry is preserved in the register of Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London from 1506 to 1522, who authorized and presided over his commitment to the hold.¹⁶ The likely course of his enclosure can be reconstructed from the “form for those advancing to the order of anchorites” quoted in a near-contemporary version of the Use of Sarum.¹⁷ According to this primer, Appulby would have spent the days beforehand making stringent preparations: consuming only bread and water, he would have given a full and detailed confession, his confessor no doubt encouraging him to “probe his conscience, namely to see whether he seeks sanctity out of good or evil intention, and if he wishes to please God, or merely to profit or gain the approval of men.”¹⁸ On the evening before the final ceremony, he would have spent the entire night in prayer by the light of a single candle. Fitzjames’s register shows that the enclosure ritual took place at Holy Trinity Priory, a house of the Austin canons near Aldgate, and one of the oldest foundations in medieval London. After the required psalms, prayers, and mass had been read, Appulby made his formal profession before the bishop, delivering formulaic pledges to commit the remainder of his life to God; he then ratified its written copy with the sign of a cross, as custom dictated.¹⁹ Finally, a procession would have led Appulby away from the priory to the site of his hold. After Fitzjames had consecrated the space with holy water, and taken Appulby’s ceremonial taper from him, he and the rest of the assembled would have departed, leaving “he that is to be enclosed alone, entirely, finally, and continually, watching in silence as he is firmly sealed into the cell.”²⁰

Appulby remained in the Allhallows cell for the next twenty-four years. He apparently died shortly after June 6, 1537, the date on which he prepared his will. If Erler is correct in her estimates, he would have been at least eighty by this time. He certainly seems to have reached advanced age: he was already an old man in February 1532, when the alderman John Champneys raised concerns about his ability to continue as anchorite, and sought mayoral permission to name a successor.²¹ Appulby’s will itself is a final and emphatic statement of his commitment to his vocation; it also contains a few scattered hints of his feelings towards the religious and political turbulence of the 1530s.²² Much of it concerns arrangements

¹³ Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁴ Hugo, “The Hospital of Le Papey,” p. 201; Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 25.

¹⁵ A. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 24.

¹⁶ Clay, “Further Studies,” p. 82.

¹⁷ “Qualiter hij qui ad ordinem anachoritarum accedunt” (*Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, fol. 51r).

¹⁸ “Ipse devotus conscientiam suam scrutetur ac videlicet utrum bona intentione aut mala sanctitatem appetit: si Deo placere aut lucrum sive laudem humanam acquirere affectat” (*Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, fol. 51r).

¹⁹ Clay, “Further Studies,” p. 82.

²⁰ “Post hec episcopus vel sacerdos de domo exeat inclusus solus remaneat per totum summum et continuum observans silentium, et sic de foris firmiter claudatur” (*Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, fol. 54r).

²¹ Clay, “Further Studies,” p. 84; Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 33.

²² The text of the will is quoted in Erler, “A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby,” p. 239.

for his funeral. Among its provisions are payments of 8 shillings 4 pence for “bunes, chese and ale,” 2s 4d for fourteen children to serve as candle-bearers, and 20d for the poor priests of the Papey almshouses to “comme and be at my buriall.” But aside from these financial matters, it also contains a note of poignant, albeit misplaced, optimism. Although the Dissolution was well underway by this stage, with Holy Trinity itself having been relinquished to the crown five years earlier, Appulby clearly entertained a hope that his vocation would continue. He asked that his “bookes and vestimentes” be deposited in the chapel of the Allhallows hold for use by its next resident. His request was destined to go unfulfilled: instead his chamber, having fallen immediately into disuse, was granted in July 1538 to Robert Smart, sword-bearer of London, for use as a storeroom. Nevertheless, despite this final indignity, Appulby was able to retain some presence in his former home. The will also stipulates that his remains should be interred “within the tombe alredey set and made within the ankerage.” As E. A. Jones notes, it was not unusual for anchorites to make such preparations far in advance of their deaths, even at times incorporating their future graves into their devotions; at an earlier hold in Lewes, for instance, the anchoress probably knelt to hear mass in the same pit in which she was ultimately buried.²³ At any rate, the evidence is clear that Appulby fully dedicated the final two decades of his life to the strict regimen he had chosen to pursue. His burial represents the culmination of this devotion, a final gesture that submerged him and his identity into the physical structures of the hold.

APPULBY’S AUDIENCE AND COMMUNITY

In many respects, it is perhaps surprising to see a figure such as Appulby involving himself in the popular book trade. Of course, that an anchorite should engage in writing is not unusual in itself. The figures were responsible for an impressive quantity and variety of texts in the two centuries before Appulby published the *Fruyte*. The visionary works of Julian of Norwich and Richard Rolle are deservedly well known, but they are only a small part of a larger corpus: further examples include the esoteric *Compound of Alchymie* written by the Bridlington anchor George Ripley, the histories, sermons, hagiographies, and legal compilations produced by the prolific Thomas Scrope, and the colorful English-Latin wordlists composed by Galfridus Grammaticus of Lynn.²⁴ The Holkham *Prayers and Meditations* might also be added to the list, if Josephine Koster is correct in her hypotheses.²⁵ Likewise, there seems to be a general expectation that anchorites serve as advisors in some capacity. Galfridus’s dictionary evidently evolved out of his own teaching activities, and even the *Ancrene Wisse* places this function among an anchoress’s peripheral duties, despite the fact that its readers would be excluded from instruction under the terms of 1 Timothy 2:12: although the author’s “sustren” cannot allow teaching to distract them from their daily round of devotions and might not “senden leattres, ne undervon [receive] leattres,” they are permitted to act as informal mentors, “sum rihten ant helpen to learen,” and obliged to instruct their servants “to halden hare riwle” [to stick to their rule].²⁶ Nevertheless, Appulby’s appeal to a mass audience sits uneasily with the withdrawal and seclusion of the anchorhold. After all, a central tenet of his profession is that it should render him “al dead to the world,” as the *Ancrene Wisse* succinctly states.²⁷

²³ Trans. and ed. E. Jones, *Hermits and Anchorites in England*, pp. 90–91.

²⁴ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 171; Bale, *Illustrium Majoris Britaniae Scriptorum*, fol. 214r; Galfridus, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Way, 1:xiv–xvi.

²⁵ Koster, “Theorizing in Advance of the Facts.”

²⁶ Ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 408, 414.

²⁷ Ed. Hasenfratz, *Ancrene Wisse*, p. 399.

However, to make sense of this aspect of Appulby's career, it is worth recalling that he was an urban recluse above all, and that this situation powerfully shaped and conditioned his conduct. As Claire Dowding in particular has stressed, Appulby did not cut himself off from the public world, despite the rigors of his profession: on the contrary, he involved himself closely with it, "showing an awareness of and concern for issues relevant beyond the walls of his cell" in ways that "blur the boundary between the enclosed and those who enclose."²⁸ The churchwardens' accounts give a detailed portrait of Appulby's wider activity, making clear that he maintained close contact with the community he inhabited. At points, they show his participation taking a very direct form. It is clear, for instance, that he employed at least one servant to act as his agent and mediator. This figure's portfolio of duties can be inferred from an irregular payment for architectural repairs, which saw him collecting fourpence for "playstrynge of the cherche wall."²⁹ But the records have more to say about the larger benefits Appulby conferred on his parish. Alongside the prayers and alms he would have routinely performed and received, they depict him as a reliable stream of revenue for Allhallows. The accounts and inventories show him making a number of monetary and material contributions to the church, both to its ritual life and to the fabric of the building itself: in 1522 he gave a "chalys" weighing 8 ounces, in 1525 "a grett paxe [decorated plaque] wyth iij Images of sylver" (although this may have originated with his predecessor), and in 1528–1529 he contributed a total of 40s for scaffolding and other miscellaneous payments when the aisle was renovated.³⁰ In 1513 he also gave "a stande of ale . . . to the cherche," presumably for a parish ale or other festive occasion, and donated the resulting 4s 6d of "gaynes."³¹ Appulby therefore had a direct hand in the everyday life of the church and the community that centered on it, supporting its worship, its upkeep, and even the seasonal revelry it hosted.

Yet Appulby's circle of activity extended beyond these practical concerns, as he also benefited his congregation in other, more significant respects. In abstract terms, he would have lent Allhallows considerable prestige. His presence alone would have elevated it beyond being a simple local parish, both in the eyes of the wider world and in the minds of parishioners themselves, who would doubtless have drawn considerable pride from hosting "their anchorite."³² But these links also manifested themselves in more tangible ways too. As Gibbs stresses, in many respects Appulby "served as a conduit to worlds beyond the parish," helping to forge links between his community and figures outside it.³³ It was fairly usual, for instance, for city recluses to attract patronage and bequests from prominent citizens. Hence Appulby's forerunner Giles, described as "Sir Elisee the anchorite in London wall," is mentioned in the 1491 will of Richard Bodley of Billingsgate, warden of the Grocer's company, where he received "my two best rings of gold or their value in coins" along with £6 13s 4d "specifically for celebrating and praying for my soul."³⁴ Taking a wider view, Michelle Sauer reminds us that holds were a popular stop-over for pilgrims making penitential journeys to shrines or other religious sites: since these pilgrims would pay for food, lodgings, and souvenirs, the

²⁸ Dowding, "A Certain Tourelle on London Wall," pp. 53–54.

²⁹ Ed. Welch, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 53.

³⁰ Ed. Welch, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 68, 58–59.

³¹ Ed. Welch, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 52.

³² E. Jones, "Hermits and Anchorites," p. 17.

³³ Gibbs, *Five Parishes*, p. 42.

³⁴ In the original document, the bequest reads, "*item lego Domino Eliseo anachorite In muro London duos optimos anulos meos aureos aut eorum valorem in pecunia . . . item lego Domino Eliseo annachorite apud murum London ad specialiter celebrandum et orandum pro anima mea ut perfectus pro unius anni terminuum 6 li 13 s 4 d*" (National Archives PROB 11/9/28). See further Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 23–24.

location of the hold might become a “medieval tourist trap of sorts.”³⁵ If the experiences of Margery Kempe are any indication, then the promise of spiritual counsel might have drawn still further traffic, much like Margery’s extended “dalyawns” with Julian of Norwich in ca. 1413, or the “gostly communicacyon” she sought from a nameless “ancres” at York.³⁶ Indeed, Appulby’s wide range of visitors and benefactors leaves its own mark on the records. A note in 1528 characterizes a donation of 9s 3d as “the gyft of dyversse men and women of ther dewocion at dyversse tymys,” assigning the sum to several contributors rather than a particular patron or occasion.³⁷ In short, Appulby’s enclosure in no sense cut him off from the dense network of transactions that ran through the medieval city. Not only did he participate in the religious and social life of Allhallows, but he also brought his parish into proximity with a wider world, giving it cachet and magnetism as a devotional site. It might be said that he exemplifies the paradoxes and “liminalities” of urban anchorism: his withdrawal was staged on one of the most public platforms imaginable, one at the heart of his community and on the fringes of a major commercial center.³⁸

The *Fruyte* is best seen as part of these commitments. In fact, Appulby’s duties and contacts impressed themselves on his work in some immediate and conspicuous ways. The very existence of the book reflects his function as promoter of Allhallows and its reputation. Its circulation would no doubt have enhanced the standing of the church as well as affirming his own spiritual authority. Given how prominently the work identifies its author as “Anker of London wall,” its connection to the parish would be unmistakable to any prospective reader. Yet more importantly, the *Fruyte* is obviously intended to educate urban readers in their faith. Appulby makes clear that this is the primary audience for his book. His postscript commends the “devoute lytell treatyse” to any “servantes of God” unschooled in Latin, a description that, while not ruling out untrained clergy, more closely applies to curious-minded laypeople. The 1531 edition stretches this point further, adding a subtitle that declares it “very profitable and moche necessary for every Christen man.” Although this addition was probably made by an enterprising printer rather than Appulby himself, it again points to the *Fruyte* catering for a wide, predominantly secular audience. The tone of Appulby’s writing reinforces this point. In comparison to the Holkham *Prayers*, his prose is much less personalized, intimate, and emotive, even though it often shares the same vividness and intensity; it also places much greater emphasis on leading the reader through the gospel narrative, and assumes much less familiarity with the core events of Christ’s life. It is obviously intended to address a broad readership, rather than being the work of a seasoned mentor leading a “religious sustir” through her contemplations (*HPM* Prologue.1).

Similarly, despite being rooted in mystical tradition, the *Fruyte* is a squarely practical work that makes it as easy as possible “for the reader to see how they could use Appulby’s text in their daily devotions.”³⁹ It takes particular pains to highlight passages of most immediate use to the reader: marginal notes of “*Oratio*” [prayer] pick out the brief supplications scattered through the chapters, presumably so that they can be quickly located for recitation and memorization. The fundamental practicality of the book might also account for the comparative scarcity of surviving copies, despite the large number of editions produced. Only eight texts of the *Fruyte* are now extant, implying that it was repeatedly consulted and handled rather

³⁵ Sauer, “Extra-Temporal Place Attachment,” p. 192.

³⁶ Kempe, *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Staley, pp. 53, 120. See further Gunn and McAvoy, “No Such Thing as Society.”

³⁷ Ed. Welch, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, p. 56.

³⁸ Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 52–53.

³⁹ Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*, p. 57.

than carefully conserved.⁴⁰ In fact, there are other signals in the surviving copies that it was received in a primarily utilitarian spirit. Many of them were bound with other short treatises into miniature libraries of advisory literature. The 1531 edition held at John Rylands Library, Manchester, and the 1517 edition at Cambridge University Library are both preserved in such makeshift collections, and there is evidence that at least one of the British Library copies was similarly bound at an early stage in its history. The *Fruyte* is therefore above all a functional text, rather than an abstract record of individual meditation. Like Appulby himself, it is obviously intended to serve its parish and extended community, instructing laypeople in the basics of their faith, and furnishing them with materials for their own contemplations and prayers.

Appulby's writing also shows him to be outward-facing in other respects. The *Fruyte* reveals an association with Bishop Fitzjames and, through him, with the upper ranks of the early Tudor clergy. Although the full extent of this relationship is difficult to ascertain, the two men evidently knew each other from at least 1513, when Fitzjames presided over Appulby's formal profession at Holy Trinity. His presence at the ceremony is not itself remarkable: the Use of Sarum makes clear that all prospective anchorites should obtain episcopal authority before entering their cells, and expressly warns that "it is not proper to become enclosed without the decree of the bishop."⁴¹ However, it is also clear that the ceremony was but one moment of contact in a longer association, and that the *Fruyte* was shaped by the ongoing relationship between the two men. The book itself carries an explicit statement of its author's ties to the bishop. All editions conclude with a curious commendatory note by Fitzjames, writing in first person as "I Rycharde, unworthy bysshop of London." The note goes on to claim that Fitzjames had "studyously radde and overseen" the treatise before granting approval that "the same . . . be radde of the true servauntes of swete Jhesu, to theyr grete consolacyon and ghostly conforte." The bishop's signature was sufficiently important to appear in all editions of the text: it even remains in those printed after Fitzjames's death in February 1522 when he had been succeeded as bishop by John Stokesley.

At its simplest level, this statement shows Appulby enriching and enhancing the status of his parish in yet another way: here he becomes a thread connecting Allhallows with one of the highest authorities in the contemporary church. But its presence also raises more questions, hinting further at the potential aims and uses of his book. Fitzjames's note is by no means straightforward. Despite appearances, it is evidently not a formal license. It is true that a text like the *Fruyte* might require some sort of authorization, since it strays perilously close to vernacular biblical translation. An obvious point of comparison is the *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, the best-known English adaption of Pseudo-Bonaventure, written by the Carthusian prior Nicholas Love shortly before 1409, and surviving today in nearly 60 manuscripts.⁴² According to a Latin memorandum in several copies, Love was obliged to present "the original copy of this

⁴⁰ The extant copies are distributed across three libraries: three are held at the British Library (1514, 1530, 1532), two at Cambridge University Library (1514, 1517), and two at John Rylands Library, University of Manchester (1517, 1531). See Dowding, "For your ghostly conforte," pp. 23–32 for full descriptions. In addition to the texts Dowding surveys, a second copy of the 1530 edition is now in private hands. It was owned by the seminary of St. Mary's of the Barrens in Missouri until 2001, when it was auctioned at Christie's New York. The seminary had received the book in the 1950s as part of an extensive gift of medieval and early modern materials from the philanthropist Estelle Doheny (1875–1958), wife of the disgraced California oil tycoon Edward L. Doheny. See Christie's New York, *Estelle Doheny Collection*, p. 291. According to Christie's website, it fetched the sum of \$17,625 at auction on December 14, 2001, exceeding its guide price more than twice over. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

⁴¹ "Non opertet quemque inclusum fieri sine episcopi consultu" (*Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, fol. 51r).

⁴² Falls, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, pp. 1–3.

book . . . to the most reverend father in Christ and sacred lord Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, for inspection and due examination” before it could be “freely communicated.”⁴³ However, as Susan Powell observes, Fitzjames’s note appears to have a different intent in mind. Not only is its tone oddly informal for a supposedly official document, but its “unmistakable modesty topos” and “fulsome commendation” seem “more what one would expect in dust-jacket or title-page promotions of a book.”⁴⁴ The fact that it is written in English rather than Latin is similarly telling, suggesting that it was attached for the benefit of future readers rather than to record an ecclesiastic decree. Overall, therefore, it indicates a greater investment in the book on the part of the bishop than merely rubberstamping it; it seems to encourage the transmission of the *Fruyte* rather than simply permit it. In fact, Fitzjames’s involvement in the book may go deeper still. There is some slight evidence that he may have had a hand in its publication. He certainly had an existing relationship with Appulby’s eventual printer Wynkyn de Worde: at some point before 1500, de Worde printed an Easter Monday sermon on Luke 24:13 for the “*reverendum doctorem Ricardus fitz James*” [reverend doctor Richard Fitzjames], presumably while he was still bishop of Rochester or Chichester.⁴⁵ There is even a chance that Fitzjames might have prompted the composition of the book in the first place. At least, the *Fruyte* seems to give this impression: not only does it claim that the bishop had “oversene” as well as read the work, but it also gives him rather than the anchorite the final word, as though he is the ultimate “author.” Beyond these hints, however, his involvement in Appulby’s text can only rest on supposition.

Less mysterious is why Fitzjames should have wanted to put his name to the *Fruyte* and to promote it in his diocese. To his mind, it would no doubt have offered a potent remedy against the spread of Lollardy. The stubborn presence of this heresy in the capital was Fitzjames’s single most pressing concern during his tenure as bishop. Looking back a few decades later, the Reformer John Foxe branded him a “most cruell persecutor” of the movement, and attributed almost eighty accusations to his efforts, four of which ended in execution by burning.⁴⁶ While Foxe is hardly an unbiased witness, the available evidence does confirm his verdict. By the time of Appulby’s enclosure in 1513, Fitzjames had already led his first grand abjuration to root out heterodoxy from the capital, and his later conduct shows a hostility to irregularity that borders on ruthlessness. In 1514 he plowed on with the condemnation of Richard Hunne of the Merchant Taylors for heresy, despite Hunne’s controversial death in custody, and a little later even sought to indict his high-ranking colleague John Colet, the progressive Dean of St. Pauls, for his supposed Wycliffite leanings.⁴⁷ Given these priorities, a text such as the *Fruyte* would have made an attractive prospect in his campaign against Lollardy. After all, Love’s *Mirroure* had already shown how reliable a weapon vernacular contemplative literature might prove against heresy. With its sixty surviving manuscripts, it attained a resonance “few English texts of the late medieval period seem to have achieved,” obviously delivering on its stated desire to provide “edification for the faithful and confutation of heretics or Lollards.”⁴⁸ It is also likely that the reappearance

⁴³ The memorandum reads “*originalis copia huius libri . . . presentabatur Londoniis, per compilatorem eiusdem N. reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Thome Arundell, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo ad inspiciendum et debite examinandum antequam fuerat liber communicatus*” (quoted in Salter, *Love’s Myrroure*, pp. 1–2).

⁴⁴ Powell, “Evidence for the Licensing of Books,” p. 150.

⁴⁵ Fitzjames, *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche*. The book is undated, but its colophon contains a mark de Worde used between 1491–1499 (McKerrow, *Printers’ and Publishers’ Devices*, pp. 1–2).

⁴⁶ Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, pp. 90–91, 103; Gleason, *John Colet*, pp. 235–67.

⁴⁸ Falls, *Nicholas Love’s Mirror*, p. 1. The memorandum specifies “*ad fidelium edificationem et hereticorum, sive Lollardorum, confutationem*” (quoted in Salter, *Love’s Myrroure*, p. 2).

of the *Fruyte* after 1530 shows it being remobilized against the new challenges of early Protestant biblical translation.⁴⁹

For his part, Appulby would have naturally shared these concerns as a dedicated servant of the church. Having been priest of a London parish for at least four years before his confinement, he would have been acutely aware of the dangerous opinions into which urban congregations might drift. He may also have encountered the heresy at close quarters. Part of Fitzjames's register preserved by Foxe includes one "Rich. Appulby" among the "names of divers persons abjured" in 1517, conceivably a relative of the anchorite.⁵⁰ Lollardy also forms an important current in Appulby's text. It is true that Appulby is not as explicit as Love, who takes every opportunity to round against "lewede lollardes," "fals lollardes and heritykes," and even "the disciples of Anticrist that bene clepede Lollardes."⁵¹ However, parts of the *Fruyte* seem to draw on the same strategies used by Love. As Anne Hudson observes, the *Mirroir* takes care to entangle orthodox doctrine within the New Testament narrative, often to an extent that renders the two indistinguishable.⁵² Hence Love's retelling of biblical history includes passages in defense of sacerdotal power, transubstantiation, and the necessity of oral confession or "shrift of mouthe," all of which had emerged as central points of critique for Wyclif and his followers.⁵³ While Appulby is subtler in his approach, he also takes advantage of the revisionary potential of meditation to weave the official teachings of the church into the gospel accounts. Probably the most conspicuous example is his lengthy commendation of the mass at the end of chapter 13. Here Appulby not only stresses that Christ "dyd consecrate thy precyous body and blode in fourme of brede and wyne" but makes him expressly sanction "all preestes to the worldes ende to do the same." Other passages work in a comparable way: chapters 8 and 10 also champion devotional practices Lollards tended to dismiss, the former depicting the flight of the Holy Family as a prototypical pilgrimage, the latter asking the reader to give thanksgiving for being "instructe in the true fayth of thy chirche." In chapter 19 Appulby even turns to the most characteristic target of Lollard critique. Here his account of Veronica's "fayre sudary" becomes a muted defence of the use of images in worship, calling it "a pyteous pycture and a dolorous memoryall" which ought to be "depely prynted in the hertes" of all Christians.

These moments in the text show, in short, an obvious alignment between the *Fruyte* and Fitzjames's policies. Appulby evidently shared the bishop's anxieties over the persistence of Lollardy in the capital, and set out to redress it in his work, if only tacitly. Once again we can see Appulby's book taking shape in the larger environment of late medieval London. Rather than being the work of a writer cut off from external influences, it was highly responsive to the currents and conflicts around it. On the one hand, it was formed by its author's knowledge of the likely pitfalls into which inquisitive urban laymen might stumble; on the other, it was driven by the concerns of the church hierarchy, helping in its own small way to advance Fitzjames's agenda by literary rather than legislative means.

APPULBY'S SOURCES AND METHODS

However, interest in heresy is only one way in which the general climate of early Tudor London impressed itself on the *Fruyte*. Appulby's selection and handling of his material also show him to be closely attuned

⁴⁹ See Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 979.

⁵¹ Love, *Mirror*, pp. 152, 221, 236.

⁵² Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 439–40.

⁵³ Love, *Mirror*, p. 90.

to the needs of urban parishes. As J. T. Rhodes was the first to recognize, most of the book is derived from a single source, albeit one with a complicated history.⁵⁴ Broadly speaking, it is based on the Latin text *Meditationes de vita et beneficiis Jesu Christi, sive, Gratiarum actiones* [Meditations on the life and blessings of Jesus Christ, or, Acts of grace]. The author and exact date of the work are both unknown, but its first copy was printed in Cologne by Ulrich Zell at some point in the 1480s.⁵⁵ It was a modest success. Further editions appeared in German- and French-speaking states throughout the remainder of the fifteenth century: it was reprinted at Augsburg in ca. 1489, at Basel in 1489, at Heidelberg in 1495, at Strasbourg in ca. 1495, at Cologne in ca. 1498 and in ca. 1500, and at Paris in 1498 and in ca. 1500.⁵⁶ It continued to be published intermittently until the early eighteenth century, gaining a second wind in 1607 when the Jesuit scholar Heinrich Sommalius attributed it to Thomas à Kempis.⁵⁷ However, despite its longevity, this was not the version of the text that Appulby knew or used. Shortly after the Zell edition appeared, a condensed version was published by Nicholas Weydenbosch, or Nicolaus de Saliceto, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Baumgarten in Alsace. Weydenbosch embedded his version in the compilation *Antidotarius Animae* [Remedy of the Soul], a wide-ranging collection of devotional and penitential material taken from numerous authorities, including Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine.⁵⁸ As befits its incorporation into a larger volume, Weydenbosch radically compressed the text, stripping out about two-thirds of its content.⁵⁹ He also retitled it to draw out its practical applications, renaming it “most devout prayers or contemplations, with pleas of thankfulness for all the benefits given to humankind by God” [*orationes seu contemplationes multum devote cum gratiarum actionibus de omnibus beneficiis a deo humano generi impensis*].⁶⁰ Most medieval readers would have encountered the *Meditationes de vita* in this reduced form. Weydenbosch’s work quickly eclipsed the original in popularity and availability: the *Antidotarius* was printed at least twenty-eight times between 1489 and 1500, at cultural centers as far afield as Antwerp, Delft, Lyons, Paris, Rome, Cracow, and Nuremberg.⁶¹

It is this reduced version of the *Meditationes* that provides the *Fruyte* with the bulk of its material. However, Appulby’s treatment of his source is not a simple one. The level of fidelity he shows to the text fluctuates throughout, sometimes in the course of a single chapter. At points, he follows the *Antidotarius* remarkably closely. There are several passages in which he seeks to reproduce its language almost verbatim: chapters 12, 17, and 18 are three such examples, carefully adhering to contemplations 17, 25, and 26 in the original. Indeed, such is his desire to mirror his source as fully as possible that he does not hesitate to reach for obscure Latinate vocabulary when required. At least one of the terms he uses, “noblisshed” [ennobled] (*FR* 2.1), is sufficiently obscure to have no entry in *MED*. This faithfulness is not the rule, however. At other times, Appulby takes some striking liberties with his text. Although he usually retains the titles Weydenbosch gives to the individual contemplations, he freely omits passages, conflates sections, and

⁵⁴ Although they have not been published under her own name, Rhodes’s findings are reported and summarized in Erler, “A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby.”

⁵⁵ Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, 2:1:388.

⁵⁶ Richard and Campagne, *Catalogues régionaux*, p. 108; Pettegree and Walsby, eds., *French Books III and IV*, p. 1187; Günther, *Die Wiegendrucke der Leipziger Sammlungen*, p. 66.

⁵⁷ For the later history of the text, see Copinger, “On the Danger of Hasty Conclusions.”

⁵⁸ AA, fols. 18r–33v.

⁵⁹ Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 26–27.

⁶⁰ AA, fol. 18r.

⁶¹ Pettegree and Walsby, eds., *Netherlandish Books*, p. 1194; Pettegree and Walsby, eds., *French Books III and IV*, p. 1432; Spandowski, “*Antidotarius Animae* of Nicolaus de Saliceto,” pp. 180–82.

shifts boundaries around; sometimes he compresses distinct parts into a single chapter, and at others splits individual chapters into several prayers. The extent of his modifications can be seen by comparing his text to Weydenbosch's headings, which are included in this edition as an appendix.

What makes Appulby's adjustments all the more important is that they are not arbitrary, but fall into a discernible pattern. While a number of changes are difficult to account for, others show him customizing his material for a lay readership, often a specifically urban one. The very fact of his taking the text out of Latin into the vernacular already pushes it in this direction. Despite the practical drift of the *Antidotarius*, it is neither suitable nor intended for lay usage: its heavily abbreviated Latin, which makes extensive use of specialized scribal shorthand, would render its contents all but impenetrable to a reader with no formal training. But these concerns surface all the more strongly in the additions and excisions Appulby makes. When altering his text, he tends to emphasize elements in the gospel with application to all believers. This can be seen in his appeal to Christ's "humanyte" in chapter 14 and his discussion of baptism in chapter 10, both of which are original additions. While the latter passage might be intended to rebut Lollard criticism of the sacraments, it also serves as a reminder of the duties of all "Cristen man" towards the "true . . . chirche" and the place of all Christians within it.⁶²

More telling still are his deletions. Two of the most glaring omissions are the attack on the money-lenders in the temple, and the Jewish conspiracy against Jesus. These episodes receive sustained treatment in the *Antidotarius*, where they form the cores of contemplations 18 and 19. Appulby largely brushes over them, however, removing the cleansing of the temple entirely and reducing the conspiracy to a passing comment in chapter 15. While there might be many reasons for these choices, it is notable that the two missing episodes place Jesus in conflict with trade or money. In the first instance, Christ directly opposes what Weydenbosch calls "the commotion of traders buying and selling" [*tumultus negociatores emencium et vendencium*]; in the second, money again acts as antagonist, both through the silver for which Jesus is sold and through the orchestrators of the plot, who were popularly stereotyped as agents of finance and commerce.⁶³ By sidestepping these details, Appulby is most likely tailoring his material for his primary audience, who would themselves have been engaged in craft and trade; he is perhaps trying to avoid the impression that involvement with the money-based urban economy is inimical to leading a full Christian life. His text, it might be said, is an example of *burgermoraal* [citizen-morality], Herman Pleij's useful but contentious term for describing the peculiar forms of devotion that emerged in the cities of the Low Countries.⁶⁴ The *Fruyte* again shows itself a product of the space in which Appulby worked and lived. Despite its roots in mysticism, it is sensitive to the commercial, mercantile environment in which it was designed to circulate, and on which Appulby and Allhallows were reliant.

THE EARLY EDITIONS OF THE *FRUYTE*

A backdrop of money and trade colors the *Fruyte* in other, more direct ways as well. The text did not merely reflect the financial networks around it, but also participated in them. Despite its high-minded subject matter, the work was a commodity from the first. All but one of its five editions was published by Wynkyn de

⁶² Hornbeck, *Companion to Lollardy*, pp. 117–19.

⁶³ AA, fol. 22v. For a discussion of the Jewish mercantile stereotype, see Reid-Schwartz, "Economies of Salvation."

⁶⁴ The term was initially defined in Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit*, pp. 134–93, and discussed further in Pleij, "Rise of Urban Literature," pp. 62–77. For a critical assessment of the concept, see Dumolyn, "Het corporatieve element in de Middelnederlandse letterkunde."

Worde. As has long been recognized, de Worde departed from Caxton before him by approaching print as a commercial venture, producing small, cheap volumes for sale at profit rather than relying on patronage.⁶⁵ The *Fruyte* was evidently a solid investment for de Worde: the fact that he came back to it again and again over the course of two decades attests to its continued marketability. Its viability can be further witnessed by its full publication history, which also gives some interesting insight into the competitiveness of the early book trade. The only edition not to be published by de Worde was issued by Robert Redman in 1531. Redman is a rather shady figure, standing out among the first generations of English printers for his brazen opportunism. He began printing in 1525, and from the outset positioned himself as rival to and imitator of the king's printer Richard Pynson. After Pynson was forced from his first shop near the church of St. Clement Danes by threats of violence, Redman promptly took it over; from there, he vigorously challenged Pynson's monopoly on legal texts for the nearby Inns of Court, producing over 120 volumes on law in the space of fifteen years.⁶⁶ Even his printer's mark seems designed to capitalize on the resemblance between the two men's initials.⁶⁷ As might be imagined, such aggressive policies did little to endear him to his contemporaries. In an appendix to his edition of Lyttleton's *Tenures*, Pynson lambasts him as "Rob. Redman, but more correctly Rude-man, for a coarser man among a thousand you may not easily find."⁶⁸ Pynson's successor Thomas Berthelet took more material steps, hauling Redman before the Privy Council in May 1533 to prevent him from infringing on his privileges.⁶⁹ Redman's attraction to the *Fruyte* might be seen as further evidence of its popularity. Although religious instruction formed a sizeable chunk of his output, the fact that he effectively poached the *Fruyte* from de Worde, and the obvious commercial-mindedness that informed much of his activity, suggest that he saw the treatise as a lucrative prospect above all.⁷⁰ It is no coincidence that his edition gained a subtitle that deliberately plays up its appeal to the broadest possible public: the 1531 version is the only one to describe itself as "moche necessary for every Christen man."

If there was a turf war over the text, Appulby was probably oblivious to it. Despite its impressive longevity in the early book market, his involvement with the *Fruyte* seems to have ended with the first edition. At any rate, he did not take the opportunity to modify his book after the first imprint, even though he lived long enough to have done so. This is not to say that the surviving copies are wholly uniform. There are minor variations in spelling and orthography among them. The 1530 edition in particular shows some attempt to modernize the spelling, albeit in a scattershot and piecemeal way, removing some of the terminal *-es* and altering words such as "fader," "moder," and "cryste" to "father," "mother," and "christ"; it also corrects some of the misprints that occurred in previous texts, although nearly all of its amendments disappear from later versions. Nonetheless, these changes are obviously editorial rather than authorial, and more reflective of shifting preferences in written English than systematic revision.⁷¹ The same is true of changes to the structure of the text. The 1532 edition shows some attempt to recast the meditations as a weeklong program of devotional exercises, not dissimilar to Pseudo-Bonaventure's own regimen. Here the

⁶⁵ Atkin and Edwards, "Printers, Publishers and Promoters," pp. 30–31.

⁶⁶ Duff, *Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders*, p. 158; Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, pp. 77–80.

⁶⁷ Atkin and Edwards, "Printers, Publishers and Promoters," p. 33.

⁶⁸ In the original, the statement reads, "Rob. Redman, sed verius Rudeman, quia inter mille homines rudiorum, haud facile invenies" (Lyttleton, *Treatise of Tenures*, ed. Tomlins, p. xlvii).

⁶⁹ Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, p. 132.

⁷⁰ For examples of Redman's religious publications, see Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 227–48.

⁷¹ See Aronoff, "Orthographic System of an Early English Printer"; Howard-Hill, "Early Modern Printers"; Horobin, "Language of Fifteenth-Century Printed Editions of *The Canterbury Tales*."

text is divided into seven uneven sections, marked "*Die dominica*" [Lord's day] for Sunday (chapters 1–4), "*feria secunda*" [second weekday] for Monday (chapters 5–12), "*feria tertia*" for Tuesday (chapters 13–15), "*feria quarta*" for Wednesday (chapters 16–19), "*feria quinta*" for Thursday (chapters 20–25), "*feria sexta*" for Friday (chapters 26–28), and "*Sabbato*" for Saturday (chapters 29–31). This innovation is confined to the marginalia, however, and involves no alteration to the written text.

The Redman edition presents a similar case. As might be expected, this is something of an outlier. At first glance it appears to vary quite considerably from the other surviving copies, especially since it is longer than the de Worde editions by some twenty pages. Nevertheless, this extension is merely an effect of Redman's formatting. His volume is not printed in octavo like the other versions but in duodecimo, i.e., in batches of twelve pages on a single sheet of paper rather than eight. This format produces smaller dimensions than the other editions (7 cm x 10 cm rather than 11 cm x 15 cm), meaning that the book needed to be several pages longer to accommodate the full text. Redman's other modifications are similarly cosmetic in nature. Appulby's brief introduction has been excised, and the section outlining "the contentes of this presente boke" has been moved to the final pages; similarly, manicules have been added to mark the prayers and crosses to signal quotations from scripture and other authorities, no doubt to enable the reader to identify these segments more readily. There is also a rough attempt to modernize the spelling, much like the 1530 edition, although Redman seems to have carried out this program independently: he tends to replicate the errors amended in the 1530 text, and many of his adjustments are unique or eccentric (e.g., altering "crownacyon" in the heading of chapter 17 to "coronacion," or sporadically changing "not" to "nat"). Indeed, on a few occasions he manages to introduce some new misprints, such as "dololoure" for "doloure" in chapter 22, and "Joseth" for "Joseph" in chapter 28; in chapter 15 he appears to misread the noun "unhonesté" as an adjective and inserts a nonsensical ampersand after it. In short, even these changes tell us more about Redman's slapdash working practices than they do about the work itself. Again, the impression is that Appulby, having written and issued his book, took no further interest in it; any changes between editions are largely superficial.

Nevertheless, there is one area in which the printed texts differ quite considerably. Their accompanying woodcuts vary to an impressive degree.⁷² No edition has exactly the same sequence of illustrations as any of the others. This variation is already evident in the two earliest versions. The 1514 edition contains some nineteen images: as well as a frontispiece showing the Crucifixion, and a half-page image of a man in clerical vestments kneeling before Christ (probably intended to represent Appulby himself), it places smaller, incidental images in seventeen of its chapters. There is little obvious pattern to these smaller woodcuts: while they accompany the first few sections fairly systematically, they start to peter out by chapter 11, and the entire middle stretch of chapters 20–27 features none at all. In the 1517 edition they seem to have been rethought. Although de Worde retains the frontispiece and depiction of Appulby, he reduces the other illustrations to fifteen, dropping images of the Presentation (chapter 7) and Baptism (chapter 10); he also gives seven of the chapters brand-new woodcuts, replacing the Deposition (chapter 28) and Resurrection (chapter 29) among others. Practical considerations may have driven these changes, since some of the reused images show signs of wear and tear to their fragile woodblocks. However, others suggest a desire to step up the pictorial dimension of the text. Many of the new pictures, such as those showing the Temptation (chapter 11) and Entry into Jerusalem (chapter 12), are much enlarged, now occupying a quarter of the page in each case. This restlessness continues into later editions. Although the authorial portrait remains, and the frontispiece is updated with a near-identical picture, the 1530 text increases the number

⁷² For fuller discussion and information on the woodcuts, see Dowding, "For your ghostly conforte," pp. 203–50.

of incidental images to eighteen, and revises eleven of them; the 1532 version falls back to seventeen and changes six. For its part, the Redman edition tries to emulate de Worde's iconography. As well as displaying a similar Crucifixion scene on its frontispiece, it contains twelve small woodcuts: although they virtually disappear after chapter 8, most pick out the same episodes de Worde had chosen to illustrate, and employ similar imagery along the way.

While these shifts are puzzling and might appear entirely arbitrary, one thing they make clear is the importance of the visual aspects of the *Fruyte*. De Worde's indecision implies a continued and careful rethinking of the images, even an effort to find an optimal pairing of text and woodcut. Some of the pictures he includes, such as the Temptation, Deposition, and Ascension (chapter 30) go through no fewer than three revisions across his editions, indicating that the sequence was not merely thrown together in a casual or ad hoc way. Indeed, de Worde seems to have dug deep into the stock of devotional images he had accrued from printing similar works over the previous decades. All but fourteen of the *Fruyte's* woodcuts appear in other products from his press: the Crucifixion scene on the title-page of the 1514 and 1517 editions had previously appeared in his *Seven Shedynges of Blode of Jhesu Cryste* (1509); the images of the Deposition, Circumcision (chapter 5), and Flight to Egypt (chapter 8) are taken from his editions of Love's *Mirroure*, the *Vita Christi* [Life of Christ] (1517, 1525, 1530); the additions to the 1517 *Fruyte* use woodcuts inherited from Caxton's ca. 1486 edition of the *Mirroure*.⁷³ No fewer than five are taken from the series of metal engravings de Worde had acquired when preparing the *Horae ad Usum Sarum* [Hours from the Use of Sarum] (1502).⁷⁴ Even the image that purports to show Appulby's likeness appears elsewhere, occurring in both the *Remors of Conscience* (1500) and *Boke of a Ghoostly Fader* (1520). Again, it is obvious that de Worde made full use of the library of meditative and penitential images he had at his disposal when preparing the *Fruyte*. A further measure of the woodcuts' significance is de Worde's occasional willingness to sacrifice legibility to make room for striking or pertinent images. These priorities stand out clearly in chapter 7 of the 1514 edition, where the depiction of the Presentation in the Temple is slightly outsized, to the extent that it cuts into and obscures part of the text. The images are, in short, a vital part of de Worde's overall conception of the text, one he wished to foreground and which he obviously felt repaid his sustained attention.

The presence of the woodcuts, and the care with which de Worde put them together, are in many ways only to be expected. After all, they are obviously intended to help with the visualization that lies at the heart of meditation, working with the intense, descriptive language of Appulby's prose to conjure the Incarnation and Passion in the imagination of the contemplator. Indeed, using images in this way was already an accepted part of private devotion before Pseudo-Bonaventure elaborated the practice: in a famous passage "touchyngge holy ymages," the twelfth-century abbot Aelred of Rievaulx recommends that the recluse "have in thyn awter the ymage of the crucifix hangynge on the cros, which represente to thee the passioun of Crist" in order to "styre thee to fervour."⁷⁵ De Worde is doing little more than exploiting the potential of print to provide such supplements for reflection, much as his contemporaries across the continent promoted "private image ownership" in order to tap into "the increasing individualization of religious practice."⁷⁶ But the woodcuts also lead us back to the central audience for whom Appulby is writing; the

⁷³ Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 151, 166, 171, 212–13, 219, 231–33; Hellinga, *Texts in Transit*, p. 371. De Worde's three editions of the *Vita Christi* have the STC numbers 3264, 3266, 3267.

⁷⁴ Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 208–11.

⁷⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. Ayto and Barratt, p. 35.

⁷⁶ "Das verstärkte Aufkommen privaten Bildbesitzes entspricht frömmigkeitsgeschichtlich der zunehmenden Individualisierung des religiösen Verhaltens" (Körner, *Der früheste deutsche Einblattholzschnitt*, p. 39).

Fruyte's reliance on images might be seen as a further signal of its intended market. While mystic tradition promotes images as aids for meditation, it also suggests that their usefulness might be limited to inexperienced or amateur practitioners. A writer such as Walter Hilton, for instance, draws a clear line between contemplation that relies on the senses and that which requires "a litil maistrie for to doo," asking advanced meditators to remove "thi thought from thi bodili wittes, that thou take noo kepe what thou heerest or seest or felist" and to free themselves "from al ymaginyng, yif thou mai."⁷⁷ The prominence of the images in the *Fruyte* points to an intended reader still active in the world and dependent on the senses, unable or unwilling to dedicate the necessary time to "entre into thisilf" in the way Hilton advises. It shows Appulby and de Worde tailoring imaginative recreation for an unpracticed lay audience, who might need these props to undertake their mental exercises.

APPULBY AND FEMALE SPIRITUALITY

In all that we have seen so far, Appulby's work seems to take a very distinct approach to the Pseudo-Bonaventurean tradition, one that appears a world away from the Holkham *Prayers and Meditations*. Where the earlier sequence is intimate and personalized, the *Fruyte* addresses a much broader and less specialized public; it is clearly a product of the distinctive cultural currents of the early sixteenth century, especially print and the new markets it generated. However, it would be a mistake to see the *Fruyte* as completely separate from the earlier cycle. As Beth Williamson reminds us, audiences for medieval devotional works are rarely mutually exclusive, and tend not to fall into the "unhelpful binary oppositions" scholarship can often impose on them.⁷⁸ Although the contrasts between the *Fruyte* and the Holkham cycle are immediate and insistent, a great deal of common ground remains between them. At least part of Appulby's public seems to have overlapped with that of the earlier sequence, since women in regular orders were evidently making use of the *Fruyte*. Its attractiveness for this group is made plain by two contemporary references. The briefest and most straightforward occurs in a copy of the *Nichodemus Gospell* (1518) now held at the British Library. This volume is signed by one "Dame Margaret Nicollson," apparently a nun at Elstow Abbey in Bedfordshire. What makes the volume significant is the inclusion of a handwritten booklist on its flyleaf, where the *Fruyte* features among a list of fifteen tracts printed between ca. 1494 and ca. 1525.⁷⁹ It is likely that the texts named here were once bound together into a single anthology, which was dismantled some time after it was deposited at the British Museum, and rebound into the various individual volumes still among the library's holdings today. As a consequence, it makes clear that the *Fruyte* formed part of Margaret's personal library; the rest of her catalogue consists of other work that might have helped her in her devotions, such as vernacular lives of Joseph of Arimathea and the Virgin Mary, and an English translation of St. Pierre de Luxembourg's *Voyage spirituel du pelerin catholique* [Spiritual journey of a catholic pilgrim] (ca. 1386).

A second, more revealing record occurs in another work of late medieval spirituality, the *Pylgrimage of Perfection* (1526).⁸⁰ In its third book the *Pylgrimage* makes explicit mention of Appulby's work, referring to

⁷⁷ Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, ed. Bestul, p. 90.

⁷⁸ Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion," p. 1.

⁷⁹ Birrell, "Printed Books of Dame Margaret Nicollson," p. 27. The British Library's shelfmark for Margaret's *Gospell* is C.20.c.20.

⁸⁰ Rhodes, "Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications," p. 22.

a “treatise lately imprinted of the lyfe and passion of our lorde, called the *Frute of Redempcion*.”⁸¹ The context of this allusion provides a further link to female monasticism. Although the *Pylgrimage* was published anonymously, a contemporary note makes clear that it was the work of the writer and priest William Bonde.⁸² Almost all the contextual information we have about Bonde places him at the Bridgettine foundation of Syon in Middlesex, a few miles up the Thames from Appulby’s hold at Allhallows, where he formed part of the abbey’s “dynamic group of highly educated priest brethren dedicated to serving the sacramental needs of a larger body of sisters.”⁸³ Bonde’s earlier work, the *Directory of Conscience*, otherwise known as the *Devote Treatyse* or *Devoute Epystle*, expressly identifies him with the community: the first edition terms him “a devout fader of Syon,” and this is later expanded into “a Brother of Syon called Wyllyam Bonde, a Bachelar of Divinité.”⁸⁴ The *Directory* also shows that his writing was primarily intended to cater to women in regular orders: it was composed for an unnamed “devote Religyouse woman” at Denny Abbey in Cambridgeshire and put into print “at the Instance of one of her spirituall frendes.” Bonde’s link to Syon is further reinforced by an inscription in a copy of *Pylgrimage* now in the British Library. Evidently a presentation copy for one of the abbey’s patrons, it has been signed by one of the Bridgettine sisters, who asks “of youre charyté, I pray you to pray for Dame Johan Spycer in Syon.”⁸⁵ Indeed, even the note that identifies Bonde as author of the *Pylgrimage* reflects these same ties. It occurs in a text by Richard Wytforde, a fellow priest in the Syon community, who calls his colleague “a lerned man, a bacheler of divinyté, one of our devout bretherne, lately departed, whom Jesu pardon, mayster Wyllyam Bonde.”⁸⁶

Much like Margaret Nicollson’s note, Bonde’s reference provides a tangible if ill-defined link between the *Fruyte* and female devotion. Yet it also carries implications which embed Appulby’s work still deeper into a monastic setting. Bonde’s allusion to the *Fruyte* is not a casual or offhand one, since he uses the book to promote one of his central arguments. He sets up the *Fruyte* as a model of what he considers “true contemplacion” or “very contemplacion,” which is fixed on particular objects or images rather than allowing thought to wander freely: he claims that Appulby’s vivid, focused language shows “a free openyng of the eye of the soule, for to loke on suche thynges that be necessary for our salvacion” and avoids the pitfall of “distraction, or withdrawyng of the mynde” from “service of god.”⁸⁷ This advice is in turn directed at the Bridgettine sisters he served. Although the *Pilgrimage* is written for a mixed audience, with Bonde claiming that he intended to write in Latin for “every religieuse persone” before “charité” moved him “to drawe it in the Englysshe tonge,” many later passages address clerical meditators exclusively.⁸⁸ As Alexandra de Costa notes, Bonde maintains “a wide divide between the layperson living the active life and the religious person living the contemplative life.”⁸⁹ This division is reinforced by the structure of his third book: splitting it into seven “days,” Bonde states that the first five sections “perteyneth to the active lyfe of religion” while “the two

⁸¹ Bonde, *Pylgrimage of perfection*, Book 3, fol. 108v. Bonde’s pagination is slightly confusing, in that the folio numbering resets at the beginning of book 3, even though the work is bound as a single continuous volume in all surviving copies.

⁸² See Grisé, “Moche Profitable unto Religious Persones,” p. 133.

⁸³ Bainbridge, ODNB, “Bonde, William (d.1530).”

⁸⁴ Bonde, *Directory of Conscience*, fol. 2r; Bonde, *A Devote Treatyse for them that ben Tymorouse*, fol. 1r.

⁸⁵ The shelfmark of this copy is C.37.e.13, and Dame Johan’s inscription occurs on sig. A6v. See the discussion in Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, p. 142.

⁸⁶ Wytforde, *A dayly exercyse and experyence of dethe*, sig. E7v.

⁸⁷ Bonde, *Pylgrimage of perfection*, Book 3, fol. 108r.

⁸⁸ Bonde, *Pylgrimage of perfection*, Books 1–2, fol. 2r.

⁸⁹ Da Costa, *Reforming Printing*, p. 149.

last dayes" relate to "the contemplative lyfe . . . shewyng thee perfeccion and peas of the spirit and the conditions and operacions requyred therto."⁹⁰ It is in the sixth of these days, in the more exclusive section of his text, that the *Fruyte* is cited. While Bonde does not rule out its utility for all educated laypeople, therefore, he does mark it as being most appropriate for full-time, enclosed contemplators such as the sisters of Syon. In short, his reference is more than a simple commendation. It shows the *Fruyte* being actively utilized in a convent setting; not only does Bonde have knowledge of it, but he assumes that his own readers will have ready access to it, and promotes it as a guide for their peculiar devotions.

It is not surprising that the *Fruyte* had special resonance for figures like Dame Margaret and Bonde. Although Appulby's work was explicitly composed for all "servantes of God," his desire to assist readers "that understande no Latyn" (Epilogue.1) makes the book particularly suitable for women in religious orders. But his choice of sources, and above all the way in which he uses them, would have boosted the attractiveness of the book for a female audience still further. While Weydenbosch's *Antidotarius* gives him his general foundation, an important supplementary source is the work of the great fourteenth-century visionary St. Bridget of Sweden. As Erler notes, about a quarter of Appulby's material is derived from Bridget's extraordinary record of her lifelong spiritual experiences, the *Revelationes coelestes* [Heavenly visions].⁹¹ Indeed, Appulby's use of Bridget serves to shine the strongest possible light on the feminine themes in her work. His borrowing from her is highly selective. Although Bridget's work is monumental in scope and ambition, consisting of hundreds of visions, prophecies, and prayers composed over the course of nearly six decades, Appulby is only interested in a small fraction of her total output.⁹² With the exception of a few brief allusions, he hones in on one of her most influential revelations, a sequence in which Mary reveals to Bridget her early life, her experiences with her son, and her grief at his death; or, as Bridget's header states, "the words of the Virgin Mary to her daughter, giving useful doctrine by which to live, setting forth and declaring many marvelous things of the Passion of Christ."⁹³ In other words, the *Fruyte* does not only draw from one of the key figures in female monasticism, in whose name Syon and the Bridgettine order were founded, but uses her work to underscore the role of women in Christ's ministry and Passion.

However, what makes this debt all the more remarkable is the distinct way in which Appulby handles Bridget, especially when compared to his treatment of Weydenbosch. There is an obvious and radical difference in the level of respect, even legitimacy, that his two main authorities are accorded. Although the *Antidotarius* furnishes him with the bulk of his material, Appulby does not cite it explicitly at any point. In fact, he does not acknowledge at any stage that his work is based on an earlier volume. Even when describing his position as author, his vocabulary is ambiguous: in his closing remarks, he describes how he has "compyled this mater in Englysshe," using a fuzzy term that might mean composition, recital, translation, or compilation in the modern sense.⁹⁴ The overall impression he gives is one of originality; as Clay puts it, he maintains the posture of being "a simple student of the Scriptures."⁹⁵ Bonde for his part seems to have thought the work Appulby's own. Although he does not give Appulby's name, he regards the *Fruyte* as the product of its author's personal meditations, springing from his own mind and imagination rather than

⁹⁰ Bonde, *Pylgrimage of perfection*, Books 1–2, fol. 1v.

⁹¹ Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

⁹² Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden*, pp. 13–33.

⁹³ Bridget's Latin reads, "*verba virginis Marie ad filiam, utilem doctrinam, qualiter viuere debeat, ponencia et multa mirabilia Christi passionis declarancia*" (BSR, 1.10).

⁹⁴ See MED, *compilen* (v.), senses 1–3, and the discussion in ed. Diekstra, *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, p. 52.

⁹⁵ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 182.

being adapted from a pre-existing source: for him it epitomizes the state “whan contemplative persons hath gathered those artycles and poyntes and hath them so perfectly in their myndes, that they can rehearse them and revolve them in their myndes at their pleasure.”⁹⁶

The Bridgettine material, on the other hand, receives noticeably different treatment. While his debt to Weydenbosch is largely concealed, Appulby takes every opportunity to flag his borrowings from Bridget. Marginal notes mark out the exact points at which the text incorporates details from the *Revelationes*, and signal where the relevant passages are found in the original work, much like modern-day footnotes. In chapter 4, for instance, when Appulby describes Mary’s youth and her growing awareness of God, the marginalia highlight his allusions methodically and insistently, if not always accurately. Since these notes are present in all five extant editions, even in Redman’s 1531 version, there is every likelihood that they are authorial. Sometimes they can be misleading: a few suggest greater level of engagement with Bridget than is actually the case, citing “*liber x*” [book 10] even when Appulby restricts himself to the first book, and despite the fact that her revelations were generally organized into seven or eight books in the Middle Ages.⁹⁷ But the mere fact of their presence shows Bridget being treated with greater deference than Weydenbosch. She functions as an authority, to be evoked expressly by name, whose words carry weight by virtue of her having written them. In fact, Appulby’s approach as translator further underscores this reverence. As even a cursory comparison of the *Fruyte* and *Antidotarius* makes plain, Appulby’s approach to Weydenbosch is highly variable: at points he faithfully reproduces his text, and at others is remarkably loose with it. The *Antidotarius* is clearly little more than raw material for Appulby, with which he can freely do as he pleases. Bridget, on the other hand, proves much less malleable. Whenever he draws on Mary’s “words” to her, Appulby takes care to preserve their content as fully as he is able. Often his lexis and syntax reprise her constructions exactly, even at the risk of over-complexity or obscurity. The extent of his faithfulness can be seen by comparing Bridget’s Latin with a typical passage from chapter 4:

*Instante vero tempore, quo secundum constitutionem virgines presentabantur in templo Domini, affui et ego inter eas propter obedienciam parentum meorum, cogitans mecum Deo nichil esse impossibile.*⁹⁸

Whan the tyme came in whiche after the consuetude [custom] virgyns were presented in to the temple, thou were there amonge them for the obedyens [deference] of thy parentes, thynkyng in thy selfe that no thyng was impossyble to God.

Although Appulby shifts the revelation from first- to second-person, and rephrases the passage as a prayer to Mary rather than Bridget’s direct speech, his painstaking effort to recreate its language is unmistakable. While this approach is most visible in his word choice — which reaches for Latinate terms such as “consuetude,” “obedyens,” and “impossyble” to mirror Bridget’s vocabulary — his adherence to her text is equally obvious in his syntax and sentence structure. What we see, in effect, is a further degree of respect being accorded to Bridget’s words, even a sense of their value; not only is their source advertised throughout the *Fruyte*, but their content also clearly required careful preservation in Appulby’s eyes. In these moments, it becomes clear why there is such an overlap between the readership of the *Fruyte* and the *Holkham Prayers*, and why enclosed women proved an important secondary audience for Appulby.

For all their differences in construction, circulation, and intent, therefore, the *Fruyte* shares a number of similarities and family resemblances with the *Prayers and Meditations*. In fact, these parallels extend into the

⁹⁶ Bonde, *Pylgrimage of perfection*, Book 3, fol. 108v.

⁹⁷ Dowding, “For your ghostly conforte,” pp. 37–38; Ellis, “Flores ad Fabricandam” p. 179.

⁹⁸ BSR, 1.10.5.

afterlife of the text as well. There are indications that the *Fruyte* struck a similar nerve for readers after the Reformation. The copy of de Worde's 1517 edition now held at Cambridge University Library apparently underwent the same treatment as the more contentious passages of the *Holkham Prayers*; the responsible party may be the "Willm Pyslye" whose signature appears in its bindings.⁹⁹ In this copy, a woodcut accompanying Appulby's second prayer "to the holy Trynyté" has been partly obscured by a blob of faded ink, in an obvious attempt to black it over. Since this image depicts God the Father enthroned behind the crucified Son, with the Holy Spirit on his right hand in the guise of a dove, the modification is unlikely to be happenstance. It calls on iconography that was specifically proscribed by the Convocation of 1563, which moved to "disalowe . . . all kindes of expressinge God invisible in the forme of an olde man, or the holy ghoste in the form of a dove."¹⁰⁰ Much like the *Prayers*' missing account of the Last Supper, in other words, the imagery employed here was more or less tailor-made to inflame Protestant sensitivities, and duly drew hostility. For all its success in customizing Pseudo-Bonaventurean contemplation for an urban, commercial readership, the *Fruyte* was no less a victim of the sweeping cultural changes of the early Tudor period than the earlier text. Its audience, while hungry for the information it contained, ultimately proved short-lived.

⁹⁹ The shelfmark of this copy is Sel.5.35.

¹⁰⁰ *Certayne principall Articles of Religion*, fol. 1r.



The Author's Prologue

- 1 [fol. 2v] Here foloweth prayers and full devoute contemplacyons, with thankynge
of all the benefytes¹ gyven to mankynde, and specyally in the werke of our redempcyon,
of the incarnacyon and passyon of Cryste, called the *Fruyte of Redempcyon*. And fyrst it
putteth a prayer to move the mynde of man to laude² God:

¹ gifts (*favours*)

² praise

[fol. 3r] **1: A prayer to move the mynde of man to laude God**

- 1 Lorde my God, I desyre to laude thee, for I knowe my selfe to be made to laud thee.
Open my mouth in thy laude that I may synge joye to thy name. Stere my hert in thee, put
away every tedyous¹ thyng, infunde² grace, kendle³ love, take awaye wyckednesse of thy
servaunte, clense me from all unclennesse of body and soule, that I may be founde worthy
unto the honour of thy name, and therto open my lyppes. But the dygnyté of thy depe
majesté who may prayse worthely? Beholde: all the vertues of hevens and every aunge-
lyke potestaté⁴ suffyseth not to laude condyngly⁵ the magnytude of thy hyghnesse. How
moche lesse a frayle man, fylth and wormes mete, fayleth in thy con|dyng [fol. 3v] laude!
And so dooth also every creature, every oryson, every tonge, and sermocynacyon.⁶ What
now therfore, I shall cease fro laude, for I can not worthely laude thee, or elles therfore I
shall cease and holde me styll, for I knowe myselfe unclene and unsuffycient. Be it for-
bode suche ingratitude that I sholde cease to laude thee, for every creature sholde laude
thee, moost of all truly resonable man, to whome thou hast gyven so grete benefytes.

¹ wearying

² infuse

³ kindle

⁴ angelyke potestaté, *angelic power*

⁵ appropriately

⁶ discourse

2: Laude to the Holy Trynyté for hymselfe, and for the creacyon of heven and erth, of aungell and man, and for his benefytes

1 O Blessyd lorde God, fader, sone and Holy Ghost, thre persones and one god, my lorde, my God, my maker, my redemptour, my nouryssher, my defender, my swetnesse, my mercy, my refuge, my strength, my victory, my savyour, my joye, and my glorie eternall: I laude thee, I gloryfye thee, I honour and worshyp thee. O blessyd Trinité, for that thou arte in thy selfe, for thou arte the hyghest good, from whome floweth all goodnesse. Thou art gracyous eternyté, thou arte eternal felicité, thou arte the depnesse of felicité, thou arte onely God and there is none without thee. I laude and honour thee, O blessyd Trinité, that myghtfully hast made of nought heven and erthe, sonne and mone and all thynges that be in them, and for it pleased thee to make holy aungelles to laude and to use¹ thee eternally, and that they might assyst to us faythfully in this exile with [fol. 4r] hoveable² counseyles and helpynges, and to declare thy ineffable goodnesse thou madest al thyng for man, and moreover thou made man with thy propre³ handes to thyn owne ymage and symylytude onely for thee, and thou fourmed in hym understandyng and noblisshed⁴ hym with fre wyll. I laude and gloryfye thee, for that grete gyfte thou set hym in paradise, flowyng with delytes that he myght have hygh thynges in fruycon,⁵ infery-our⁶ thynges in governyng, and to possede⁷ all thynges to worshyp thee for evermore. And thou made not these noble creatures, aungell and man, for ony necessyté that thou had to them, for truly all thyng was sufficyent in thee to thyn eternall joye and glorie, but of the fervor of thy charyté thou were moved to create them that suche creatures sholde be parte takers⁸ of thyn ineffable joye and glory.

2 I laude and honour thee, good lorde, for that it pleased thee amonge all thy blessyd werkes to make me a reasonable man, and haste gyven me wysdome, reason, understandyng, and free lyberté, and hast fourmed me with all ryght lymmes and fetures of body, and hast gyven me many blessyd gyftes, spyrytuall and temporall, and also mete,⁹ drynke, cloth, and all thynges necessary whiche many a good creature that hath served thee better than I have done hath myssed; and for that thou have visite my herte many tymes with many graces and spyrytuall monycyons¹⁰ delyveryng me ofte fro many perylles, bothe of body and of soule, and fro sclaundres,¹¹ shames, and rebukes of this worlde to the whiche for my synnes I myght have fall unto; and for that also that thou hast suffred me in all myn iniquyté, malyce, and all myn horryble and abhomynable synnes pacyently alway

¹ *appreciate*

² *fitting*

³ *very own*

⁴ *ennobled*

⁵ *enjoyment*

⁶ *inferior*

⁷ *possess*

⁸ *parte takers, partakers*

⁹ *food*

¹⁰ *pieces of advice*

¹¹ *slanders*

abydyng for my conversyon and amendement, whan innumerable tymes thou myght [fol. 4v] have slayne me, and of ryght¹² have put me to eternall paynes and dampnacyon.

- 3 I laude and glorify thee, lorde God, for all thy mercy whiche alwayes thou hast shewed to synners, pacyently abydyng for them, mercifully callynge them, benygne receyvyng them, haboundauntly¹³ gyvyng grace to them, and to suche famylaryté admytting them, as though they had never synned. O mercyfull lorde and pacyent God, what shall I say to thee for all these benefytes? What laudes and thankynges shall I yelde to thee? What and all my synnes were voyded fro me, truly yet were not I worthy for the leste of thy benefytes and mercyes to gyve thee condyng laude, but as a wreched synner can in all my herte I laude thee. I thanke thee. I honour and worshyp thee, and all honour and laude be yelde to thee now and evermore. Amen. *Pater noster*.

¹² of ryght, *justly*

¹³ *abundantly*

3: Of the myserable laps¹ of man and of the mercy of God shewed to him, and of the incarnacyon of Cryst

- 1 I laude and gloryfy thee, lord God, for thy moost excellent mercy and indycyble mysericorde,² by the whiche thou dyd spare man from irreparable dampnacyon, trespassyng to thee, beyng unworthy to all thy benefytes, sendyng hym out fro the gladnesse of paradyse to do penance for his synnes. And all be it he was worthy eternall dampnacyon for his transgressyon, and sholde not have forgyvenesse, thou dyde not shewe than the rygoure of justyce but the swetnesse of ineffable mercy, puttyng to hym the burden of dyng³ penance, and after longe [fol. 5r] tyme gyvyng the oyle of indulgence whiche gretly he desyred. I laude and gloryfy thee, lorde God, creatour and redemptour of mankynde, for thy greate charyté by the whiche man mervaylously create, more mervaylously thou wolde hym refourme, and where as than we beyng thyn enemyes and wycked deth had taken lordshyp over us al.
- 2 Thou hast remembred the bowelles⁴ of thy mercy and thou hast beholde from the hygh habytacyon of thy glory unto this wepyng valey of mysery, and hast seen thafflycyon⁵ of thy people to be grete upon the erth, the grevous burden of the children of Adam. Therfore thou were touched withinforth⁶ with the swetnesse of charité and thou dyde put in thyselfe to thynke on us with cogitacyons⁷ of peas and redempcyon, for why whan that the fullnesse of tyme was come, thou came to vysyte us shynyng from above. And the desyres of prophetes by the exhybycyon⁸ of incarnacyon taken, thou dydest fulfyll it in

¹ *fall*

² indycyble mysericorde, *indescribable mercy*

³ *deserving worship*

⁴ *depths*

⁵ *the affliction*

⁶ *inwardly*

⁷ *thoughts*

⁸ *display*

apperynge god and man. Blessyd be thou therfore, O holy fader of heven, that woldest not spare thyn onely beloved sone, eternall god with thee, to sende hym downe to this myserable worlde to take flesshe and blode of a virgyn to redeme man. Blessyd be thou, o Holy Ghoost, for that thou gavest counseyle of the incarnacyon of the sone of God, and of the redempcyon of mankynde, and wroughtest the mystery of the incarnacyon of the sayd sone of God in the body of a virgyn.

- 3 Blessyd be all the Holy Trinyté in whome was one counseyl,⁹ one wyll, one charité, and one operacyon in the hygh mystery of mannes redempcyon, all be it the seconde persone in deité¹⁰ onely toke our sayd humanité on hym; wherfore, o swete sone of God, blessyd be thou that of grete pyté, compassyon, and of excellent charité enclyned thy selfe so benygely to descende from [fol. 5v] the trone¹¹ of God, and from the herte of the fader to this valey of mysery for us to be incarnate and to take flesshe and blode of the swete virgyn Mary, the Holy Ghoost gaderynge togedyr the clene and pure droppes of blode of her virgynall body, fourmynge therwith the precyous body of thyn humanyté, fulfyllinge the holy soule and blessyd body of the sayd virgyn Mary superhaboundauntly with incomparable gladnesse and exultacyon in the tyme of the holy and clene concep-cyon, and lykewyse in thy pure and chaste temporall¹² nativité. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁹ *decision*

¹⁰ *godhood*

¹¹ *throne*

¹² *worldly*

4: Of the vertue and holy lyfe of the virgyn Mary, by the whiche she deserved to be the moder of God, and of the Natyvtyé of our lorde

- 1 O Blessed vyrgyn Mary, thou arte blessyd, and ever be thou blessyd for that thou pleased God moost hyghly by moost holy and vertuous lyvyng, for anone at thy begynnyng in thy tender auge whan thou herde saye and understode that there was God, anone thou were full besy and ferefull in observacyon and kepyng of the helth of thy soule. And whan thou herdest fully that the same God was thy maker and juge of all thy werkes, inwardly thou loved him, and dradde gretely in thy mynde leeste thou sholde offende hym in worde or dede. And after that whan thou herdest that he had gyven lawe and preceptes to the people, and that he had shewed many mervayles to them, thou purposed stedfastly in thy mynde to love no thyng but hym, and than [fol. 6r] all worldely thyngs were wonderfull bytter to thee. And after this, herynge that the same God wolde redeme the worlde, and wolde be borne of a virgyn, suche charyté¹ haddest thou to hym in thy herte that thou thoughtest no thyng but God, and thou wyllid no thyng but God.
- 2 And as moche as thou myght thou withdrewest thy selfe fro the presence and speche of thy parentes and frendes, and thou gave of thy goodes as moche as thou might to the poore and nedy people, reservynge of them full lytell to thyselfe to fynde thee in scarreté mete, drynke, and cloth, no thyng pleased thee but onely God. Thou wyllid ever in thy

¹ *pity*

herte to lyve to the tyme of his nativité yf it might so happen thou myght be made an unworthy handemayde to the moder of God. I laude and honour thee, O Mary virgyn of virgyns, that hast not sene before the none lyke to thee, ne to have any suche folowyng after thee, that fyrst of all in the worlde amonge women hast vowed the vowe of chastyté and offred therby a glorious gyfte to God, whan thou had it of no creature by lernynge, ne by worde ne by example thou were not taught to do so. And thou, so ornate and beawtyfyed with that vertue of chastyté and with all other vertues, thou pleased God moost hyghly, gyvyng example of good lyvyng to all other.

- 3 And whan the tyme came in whiche after the consuetude² virgyns were presented in to the temple, thou were there amonge them for the obedyens³ of thy parentes, thynkyng in thy selfe that no thyng was impossyble to God. And for as moche as he knewe that thou desyred no thyng ne wyll no thyng but onely hym, he myght kepe thee in virgynyte if it pleased hym, if not his wyll to be fulfilled. And heryng all thyng commaunded in the temple obedyently, fulfillynge it, thou retourned home agayne. And [fol. 6v] after that, holy virgin, thou brenned⁴ more fervently and fully in the swete love of God than thou dyd before. And dayly thou were inflambed⁵ with newe ardour and hyghe desyres of love; and therefore, good lady, thou enlonged⁶ thy selfe more than thou were wonte to do fro the company of all people and were alone by thyselfe bothe day and night, dredynge gretely leest thy mouth sholde speke or eeres sholde here any thyng agaynst the wyll of thy God, or that thyne eyen sholde se any delectable thyng. Thou were dredefull⁷ also in kepyng sylence, leeste thou sholde be styl not spekyng suche wordes whiche thou sholde speke. And so, swete virgyn, thou were ofte troubled in mynde and ferefull how thou sholde ordre thy wyttes and lyvyng to the pleasure of God.

- 4 And after, whan by the aungelyke salutacyon thou were plenarely⁸ instructe that thou sholde conceyve a sone in thy wombe by the operacyon of the Holy Ghoost, whose name sholde be Jhesus, and sholde be called the sone of God, than therwith thou had a moost fervent desyre to be the moder of God; but all be it thou knewe thyselfe electe therto of God, yet thou were not therefore in mynde exalted by elacyon,⁹ but of the fulnesse of profounde humylyté consentynge unto that so hygh a mystery, thou brake out wordes of this maner, mekely sayenge: "Lo, here the handmayde of God, befall it to me, aungell, after thy worde." And this sayd, forthwith Goddes sone was incarnate in thy virgynall body of the Holy Ghost. I laude and glorifie thee, O good lady Mary, clene and pure virgyn, that broughtest forth in to this worlde by moost clene and chaste nativité the redemptour of the worlde, and shewed to the worlde his savyour of longe tyme desyred in the worlde. And in his byrth thou bare hym without sorowe and synne, in lykewyse as thou

² *custom*

³ *deference*

⁴ *burned*

⁵ *inspired*

⁶ *estranged*

⁷ *fearful*

⁸ *entirely*

⁹ *arrogance*

con|ceyved [fol. 7r] hym, in all clennes with suche exultacyon of soule and body that for thaboundaunce of joye and exultacyon thy holy fete felte not the grounde that they stode on. And whan thy swete sone our lorde Jhesu Cryste, brightnesse of the faders glory, was borne thou lapped¹⁰ hym in poore clothes reclynyng hym in a racke,¹¹ for there was none other place wherupon to laye hym. And soo the kyng of glory wolde be borne poorely, in a poore place, and of a poore virgyn, layde on hey bytwene two beestes for to bryng us to the eternall rychesse of heven.

5 And after his byrthe, good lady, whan thou behelde his pulcritude¹² and beawté thy holy soule distylled as a swete dewe for joye, thynkyng thyselfe unworthy to have suche a sone, for sothely he was so fayre and delectable that who so ever behelde hym he was confortd of ony sorowe that was in herte. Therefore many of the Jewes sayd: "Go we to se the sone of Mary, that we may fynde therby consolacyon." And al be it they knewe not that he was the sone of God, yet they receyved by the syght of hym grete and mervaylous consolacyon. And good lady, whan thou behelde and consydered the places in his fayre handes and prety fete where the sharpe nayles sholde perce through, as thou had herde by holy prophetes, thy blessyd eyen were replete with teres of wepyng, and thy virgynall herte was as cloven asonder¹³ for sorowe. And whan thy lytell swete sone behelde thy eyen full of wepyng, he was sorowfull as unto the deth for thee. And whan thou consydered the myght of his deité thou were than confortd, knowyng well that thy sone wolde have it so, and that it was expedyent.¹⁴ And than thou confourmed all thy wyll to his wyll, and so ever good lady thy joye was myxte with sorowe.

6 Blessyd be thou, virgyn [fol. 7v] Mary moder of God, for that thou nourysshed thy swete sone our lorde with the swete heavenly fode of thy pappes,¹⁵ bathyng hym, byndyng hym in swadles, enbrasyng hym thy lytell swete floure in thyn armes and virginal bosom, impressyng oftentimes to his fayre mouthe swete kysses of thy delycate mouthe. And whan thou dyde se hym suffryng the grevaunce of a yonge chylde and wepyng, thou losed his bandes, layenge thy fayre handes and holy armes over his crybbe, playenge with hym, smylyng on hym, spekyng fayre wordes to hym, and castyng the fayre lokes of thy virginal eyen on hym. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹⁰ *wrapped*

¹¹ *manger*

¹² *beauty*

¹³ *cloven asonder, split apart*

¹⁴ *appropriate*

¹⁵ *breasts*

5: Of the dolorous circumcision of our lorde Jhesu

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jesu Cryst, for that it pleased thee, obeyenge to the lawes, the eyght daye to be circumcised and anone in thy tender infancy to be kytte¹ in thy tender flesshe with a knyfe of stone, and than to begyne to shedde thyn innocent blode for us, and to be ensigned with the swete name Jesus, named fro the begynnynge by the mouth of God, and shewed by the aungell; whiche by interpretacyon is to saye, a savyour. And after the effecte of the same name thou decreved² to save us, thy people peculyer,³ from our synnes. And from thens-forth thou never lefte to werke our helthe. Swete Jhesu, I beseeche thee for the grevous payne that thou suffred than in thy tender flesshe, and for thy bytter wepyge to circumcyse me from every spotte of synne, and graunte me suche grace that in a [fol. 8r] moost swete memory of love thy holy name Jesus may be enprynted in my herte. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ cut

² ordained

³ special

6: Of the Oblacyon¹ of the thre holy kynges vnto our lorde Jesu

- 1 Laude and honoure be to thee, lorde Jesu, that so desyrably woldest be sought of thre kynges, and so to be founde of them by ledynge of a sterre, and of them humbly to be honoured whan moost devoutly they offred to thee thre precyous gyftes, golde, encens, and myrre, havynge in them dyvyne mysteryes: the golde signifienge thy regal power, the encens thy dyvyne majesté, and the myrre of thy manhode the mortalyté. Benygne Jesu, I praye thee to sende me grace spyrytually to offre these gyftes to thee: the pure golde of perfite love, the swete encens of devoute prayer, and the clene myrre of mortyfycacyon of my frayle flesshe. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ Offering

7: Of the Presentacyon of our lorde Jesu in to the temple and of the Puryfycacyon of our lady

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lord Jesu Chryst, that every thyng woldest submytte thyselfe unto the instytucyons of the lawe, and [fol. 8v] in the armes of thy moder mekely wolde be borne with oblacyons of poore men. And so thou, lorde of the temple, woldst be presented in to the temple, and under the substaunce of oure frayle flesshe offred thyselfe to God the fader a holsome sacryfyce for us, and madest the secretenesse of thy godhede to be shewed by the olde man Symeon by inspiracyon of the Holy Ghoost dwel-lynge in hym. I gloryfye thee, clene virgyn Mary, that in lyke wyse woldest humbly submytte thyselfe to the lawe of puryfycacyon whan thou were no thyng bounde therto for onely unto this lawe all the women were bounde that conceived a chylde by the sede of man. But thou, O clene vyrgyn, conceived not thy blessyd sone by the sede of man, but by inspyracyn of the Holy Ghost. And so good lady, thou were all clene, chaste, and bryght, wherfore thou had no maner necessity of puryfycacyon, but of profounde

humylyté. O clene virgyn, thou wolde be in this worlde amonge women by purifycacyon as one of them. And soo was thy swete sone among chyldren by circumcysyon as one of them. Than seen thou, meke lady, wolde be puryfied that haddest noo nede of puryfycacyon, howe moche cause than have we grete synners to be puryfied and clensed that be soo defyled and cankered¹ with synne? Therfore make us, good lady, so to be puryfied and clensed here in this worlde from every spotte of synne that after this lyfe in all clenness we may appere before the glorious face of thy blessyd sone. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *diseased*

8: Of the persecucyon of Jhesu, and of his fleyng in to Egypte, and of the holy Innocentes slayne of Herode

- 1 [fol. 9r] Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, sapyence of the fader, and vertue of the hyghe God, that woldest so perfytylly¹ take all our infyrmytees, deblylytees, and offenses on thee, exceptyng ygnorance and synne, so that thou wolde flee deth and a mortall man fro place to place. For Herode gylefully² sought thee and founde thee not, wherfore he commaunded to slee all the children in Bethleem from two yere of aage and within that he myght slee thee amonge them. But thou, the hope of pylgrymes, wente in to Egypte, and there thou dwelled in exyle unto the deth of Herode, and dyde suffre there grete penury and poverté, for they that sholde be thyn wolde not receyve thee, but anone at thy begynnyng despyed thee. And after the deth of Herode thou were called agayne from Egypte in to Nazareth. And whan thou were thyder brought thou were humbly subiecte to thy parentes. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *without corruption*

² *cunningly*

9: Of the invencion¹ of Jhesu in the temple, and of his holy hydde lyfe

- 1 I laude and honoure thee, Jhesu Cryst that beyng in aage but twelve yeres thou sate in the temple in the myddes of doctours, askyng and heryng them, and thou taught them so moche the more whan [fol. 9v] thou asked them questyons prudently. And there thou raddest² thyn owne prophecy in Ysay. And thou, blessyd sone of God, began to growe in aage and wysdome as god and man. And thyrtye thre yeres thou were as a servaunt so suffryng for our helthe, and thou were conversaunte³ amonge men, mekely, justly, sobrelly, and pacyently to gyve us example of lyvynge. I praye thee, good Jhesu, for all the vertues in whiche thou ladde thy lyfe that thou wylte graunte me thabaoundaunce of thy grace, wherby I may profyte in dayly encreasyng of all vertues to the laude and glorie of thy name. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ *discovery*

² *read*

³ *living familiarly with*

10: Of the baptym of our lorde Jhesu

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, for that thou wolde be baptised of thy holy servaunte saynt Johnn whan than for thy mekenesse the fader testyfyed that thou were his onely consubstancyall¹ sone by his voyce sayenge: "Here is my welbeloved sone, in whome I am well pleased," the Holy Ghoost also apperynge on thee in lykenesse of a dove. And this thou toke not for thyselfe but for us to halowe² therby our baptym, and to make it a holsom³ sacrament of salvacyon for us. Lorde Jhesu, I thanke thee for my baptym, wherby I am made a Cristen man, and for that it pleased thee I sholde be borne of crysten parentes, and in the tyme of grace,⁴ [fol. 10r] and for that I am instructe in the true fayth of thy chirche. And where as many tymes I have defyled my baptyme by synne and wyckednesse, good Jesu, I praye thee to clense me agayne by the sacrament of true penaunce so that after this mortall lyfe I may appere before thy glorious face in the same clenness⁵ that I was in in the tyme of my baptym. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ of the same essence

² consecrate

³ beneficial

⁴ tyme of grace, the period after the Incarnation

⁵ innocence

11: Of the fastynge of Jhesu in deserte and of his temptacyons

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jesu Cryst, that anone after thy baptym were ledde in to deserte there labourynge in bytternesse of abstynence, in hunger, in thurst, in colde, and hete, and suffred there also many other infyrmytees of man. And there thou dyde wake by nyght in prayer, and thou that arte the fode of aungell and man dyde hunge and thurst. After that thou had fasted fourty dayes and fourty nyghtes and suffred the fende¹ to tempte thee. O good Jhesu, I beseche thee for all thy holy prayers whiche thou prayed the sayd fourty dayes and fourty nyghtes, and for all orysons whiche at all tymes thou prayed for us in the syght of God thy fader, and for thy holy and perfyte cogytacyons,² wordes, and holy dedes. Sende me grace to use abstynence and vigylles,³ and make me holy and perfyte in all cogytacyons, wordes, and dedes to the laude [fol. 10v] and glory of thy name. *Pater noster. Ave maria.*

¹ the fende, the Devil

² thoughts

³ night-long acts of worship

12: Of the predicacyon¹ and holsome doctryne of our lorde Jhesu, and of his glorious sygnes, examples, and good maners, and of dyvers trybulacyons of hym in this worlde

1 I laude and gloryfy thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, for all the holy werkes that thou wrought from the daye of thy holy baptym unto thy passyon, for in that tyme thou gadred the covent² of thy dyscyples, and amonge them thou chase³ twelve apostles that by them thou might subdue to thee the proude and hygh of this worlde. And in those dayes thou opened the bosom of thy pyté and mercy to all them that came to thee, and thou preched openly to all men remyssyon of synnes, and entrynge of the kyngdome of heven. And ofte thou were fatygate⁴ and wery of journeyes and of colde, and somtyme of fervor of hete, and in all this thou suffred many persecucyons and sclaudres of the progeny of them that thou were borne of. For in theyr wordes they sayd agaynst thee, and marked wrongfully thy dedes, layenge wayte⁵ on thee by daye and nyght, coveytynge⁶ contynually thy deth, resystynge thee, and dyshonestynge⁷ thee by wordes, dedes, and blasphemés sayenge: “this man is not of God, but a synner and hath a fende in hym; he maddeth⁸ in Belzabub prynce of fendes; he casteth out devylles; he begyleth the people; he is a gloton, a drynker of wyne, and the frende of publycanes.” These and manye other blasphemés they sayd of thee, and oftentimes they wolde have stoned thee, and all this thou suffred pacyently, and behad⁹ thyselfe before them as a man not herynge, and as [fol. 11r] havynge no redargucyons¹⁰ ne contraverces¹¹ in his mouth.

2 And for as moche as they were harde of herte and slouthfull of beleve thou conformed thy wordes with tokens folowyng: In weddynges thou tourned water into wyne. Of fyve loves¹² and two fysshes thou fedde fyve thousande men. Thou walked upon the see. Before thy dyscyples Peter, James, and John thou were transfygured. Thou gavest syght to blynde men. Thou made the dombe to speke, the defe to here, the creples¹³ to goo. Thou cured lunatykes. Thou delyvered possessed of fendes. Thou reysed deed men. Thou clensed lepers. Thou delyvered a woman taken in advoutry,¹⁴ from condempnacyon of deth. Thou clensed Mary Mawdeleyn from synne. Thou heled the woman from the fluxe¹⁵ of blode. Thou gladded the woman askynge helth for her doughter. The woman

¹ *preaching*

² *group*

³ *chose*

⁴ *fatigued*

⁵ *layenge wayte, preparing to launch an attack*

⁶ *desiring*

⁷ *misrepresenting*

⁸ *is driven insane by*

⁹ *behaved*

¹⁰ *disproofs*

¹¹ *disputes*

¹² *loaves*

¹³ *cripples*

¹⁴ *adultery*

¹⁵ *discharge*

that was incurvate¹⁶ and croked eightene yeres thou reysed up ryght. Whan thou were wery of thy journey, syttyng and restyng on the welles syde, to the woman talkyng with thee thou gaveste her knowlege of thee and of herselfe. And in thy predicacyon¹⁷ thou stered the herte of a woman with thaboundaunce of thy grace that she cryed in the myddes of the people and sayd: "Blessyd be the wombe that bare thee, and the pappes that gave thee souke."

¹⁶ *warped*

¹⁷ *preaching*

13: Of the entrynge of oure lorde Jhesu in to Jherusalem and of his Laste Souper

1 [fol. 11v] Blessyd be thou, lorde Jhesu Cryste, for the moost holy teres of wepyng whiche thou wepte at the monument¹ of Lazar, and upon the cyté of Jherusalem, and for all the wepynges that ever thou wepte. And for thy humble and meke entrynge in to Jherusalem, whan thou sate on an asse before fyve dayes of Ester, for thou came as a pascall lambe to be offred the syxte daye for our synnes, whan the Hebrewe people mette with thee with floures and palmes² cryenge and saynge: "Blessyd be he that cometh in the name of the lorde." And not longe after the nyghte before thy passyon thou made thy Laste Souper with thy dyscyples, sayenge to them these wordes: "One desyre is whiche effectually I have desyred to ete this pascall souper with you, that is playnly to saye, I have fervently desyred to gyve you myne owne body and blode, and to fede you therwith before I suffre deth for you."

2 And after thou had eaten the pascall lambe with them thou dydeste ryse fro the table and puttest off thy garment, fastnyng a linnen cloth aboute thee, and full humbly thou enclyned thyselve, wasshyng thy dyscyples fete, and dryenge them with a cloth. And this done thou put on thy vesture agayn, and syttyng downe eftsones at the table thou sayd: "Knowe ye what I have done to you; I, lorde and mayster, have gyven example to you that in lykewyse as I have done so you to do the same." And among all other wordes that thou spake thou were troubled in spyryte, and protestyng thou sayd: "Truly I saye to you that one of you shall betraye me." And herynge this they began to be full sory, and all they one after an other sayd to thee: "Lorde, whether I am he." And thou sayd to them: "He that putteth his hande with me in the dysshe, he it is that shall betraye me." [fol. 12r] And the souper ended thou made a terminacyon³ of the olde testament, begynnynge the newe, whan than with thy holy handes thou dyd consecrate thy precyous body and blode in fourme of brede and wyne, fedyng thy dyscyples therwith, gyvynge them auctoryté⁴ and by them to all preestes to the worldes ende to do the same, whan thou sayd these words: "Do ye this into my commemoracyon."

¹ *tomb*

² *palm branches*

³ *end*

⁴ *authorization*

- 3 O, what excellent love shewed thou unto us, good Jhesu, in that tyme whan not onely thou wolde dye for us, but also woldest fede us dayly with thy precyous body and blode, that we sholde not hungre ne thurst for evermore. And for that we synne dayly agaynst God, and thou myght dye but ones for us; therfore in this worthy sacrament thou wolde dayly be offred by the handes of the preest to God thy fader for our cotydan⁵ synnes. And for as moche as we be in dayly conflycte of batayle with our cruell enemy the fende, thou ordeyned suche provysyon⁶ for us that the percepcyon⁷ of this worthy sacrament sholde be as a toure⁸ of strengthe for us agaynst his cruell malyce. And for that we sholde have sure truste to obteyne the kyngdome of heven, thou hast gyven us the sacrament of thy precyous body to be a pledge or a wedde⁹ to us of eternall glory, and to lede us the waye to thy glorious kyngdome. Benygne Jhesu, I praye thee to gyve me grace soo worthely to receyve thy precyous body before my deth, wherby I may attayne the kyngdome of heven, for faythfully I truste so on thy grete mercy that thou wylte not exclude them from thy heavenly kyngdome, unto whome it pleaseth thee to be knytte unto by connexyon¹⁰ of this honourable sacrament. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

⁵ *everyday*

⁶ *arrangement*

⁷ *consumption*

⁸ *tower*

⁹ *token recording a promise or debt*

¹⁰ *union*

[fol. 12v] **14: Of the prayer that our lorde made thryes on the mount of Olyvete**

- 1 Thankynge be to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, that after thou had wrought the forsayd mysteryes of consuetude¹ thou wente than to the mount of Olyvete, where before thy passyon thryes² thou made thy prayer to thy fader of heven, in whiche moost devoute prayer thou suffred in thy selfe a grete conflycte, by reason of two loves that were in thee: one was by meanes of the love whiche naturally thou had to thy humanyté, and in the other parte by reason of the fervent and charytable love whiche thou had to mannes soule, whan by knowlege of thy godhede thou called unto thy holy mynde all the horryble passyon that thou sholde suffre for man in thy tender virginall body. Wherefore suche drede was in thee by reason of naturall love whiche thou had to thyselfe that thou prayed to thy fader sayenge: "Fader, yf it be possyble, make and cause the chalyce of this bytter passyon to be taken fro me." But yet the fervor of the excellent love whiche thou had to the redempcyon and salvacyon of mannes soule exceded ferre thy fyrste natural love, and in suche maner overcame it and depressed³ it, that in concludynge thy prayer thou sayd: "Fader, not my wyll in this this petycyon, but thyn be fulfilled and done."
- 2 And after thou had prayed thus thre tymes, the dolorous passyon that [fol. 13r] thou sholde suffre was so fresshely with bytternesse prynted in thy holye mynde that for

¹ *custom*

² *three times*

³ *forced down*

anguysshe of naturall drede thou were cast in to suche an agony that for the pureté of thy complexyon thou swette blode and water so that the pure droppes of blode fell unto the grounde. And than an aungell sente from thy fader appered confortynge thee. And notwithstandinge all this in shewynge that thou loved mannes soule better than thyne owne lyfe, thou lefte⁴ not to suffre bytter passyon and cruell deth for us. O good Jhesu, for thy holy prayer, bytter agony and excellent love whiche thou shewed to us sende me grace to be devoute to thee in holy prayers, and hertely to love thee agayne⁵ for the swete love thou hast shewed to me. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

⁴ *neglected*

⁵ *in return*

15: Of the capcyon¹ of our lorde Jhesu, and of his byndynge, and how he was presented before the judges, and of his illusions²

- 1 I laude and gloryfye thee, lorde Jesu Cryste, that after thou were comforted of the aungell, voluntarily thou went to the place where thou knewe to mete with thy traytour Judas, and after that he had betrayed thee with a kysse, all thy frendes fleyng from thee, thyn enemyes violently set holde on thee, byndynge thy handes behynde thee that came to lose³ the bande of our captyvité, and thou full mekely [fol. 13v] saydest to that company: "As to a thefe ye come with knyves and staves to take me, whan dayly I was techynge in the temple, and ye dyde not holde me, but now this is your houre and power of derknesse." And the wycked persones caryed thee, moost meke lambe, as a thefe or a gylty man fast bounde and presented thee fyrst to Anna and thou, moost wysest, was there examined of thy doctryne and of thy dyscyples, as though thou had ben most vnwyse. And thou answered: "That I spake was openly sayd, therefore aske them that herde me what my words were." And thou, lorde of all thynges, were sore stryken by the handes of one that stode besyde sayenge: "Why gyveste thou suche answer to the bisshop?" And thou answered agayne mekely: "Yf I speke evyll, take wytnesse of evyll; and if I sayd well, why smytest me?"

- 2 Than Annas sente thee fast bounde to Cayphas, before whome they made thee, lorde of heven, to stande, to whome thousande thousandes of aungells assysteth in heven, beholdynge and laudyng thee. And there thyn enemyes sought and sayd agaynste thee many fals testymonyes. And thou that art the hygh trouth sayd no worde, but suffred all thynges equally, and stode there in grete pacyence and charyté, God before men, the creatour before the creature. And whan thou were asked and adjured, humbly thou confessed to be the sone of God. And they sayd that thou spake blasphemés, and that thou were worthy deth, and they smote thee cruelly on the face and on the necke with theyr handes, and behad themselfe full malyciously agaynst thee after theyr owne wyll, not

¹ *capture*

² *vilification*

³ *loosen*

onely despysynge thee, the sone of God, but they forgate⁴ in thee all compassyon of humanyté, and they began to spyte in thy amyable⁵ face in the whiche aungelles desyreth to beholde, and they defyled thee, the moost beauteous in fourme [fol. 14r] and shape before all the chyldren of men, wyth the fylth of rechynges⁶ and spytynges of theyr lothsome mouthes. And in desrysion they hyd thy moost bryght eyen that illumyneth heven and erth, and they strake thee full scornefully sayenge: "Prophecy now, and tell who he is that smyteth thee." And many other blasphemés they put to thee, and these wycked men without ony mercy sought meanes to slee thee, not sparynge to smyte thee on the face, and thus they vexed thee all the nyght with injuries, despysynges, and passyons.

- 3 And erly in the sprynge of the day the prynces and senyours of prestes⁷ came togyder, takynge counseyle how they myght destroye thee by moost shamefull deth, and they had thee before them, askynge whether thou were the sone of God and that thou sholde shewe it openly. And thou answered, confermyng that thou were the sone of God. And they sayd: "What other wytnes shal we desyre; we have herde it sayd of his own mouth." Than all the multytude rose up and ledde thee forth fast bounde and presented thee to Pylate the juge, accusynge thee and saynge that thou were a subverser⁸ and deceyver of the people, techynge over all Jury⁹ unto that cyté. Pilate herynge this caused thee to be ledde to Herode, and thou went thyder full mekely and pacyently in the wayes of our helth. And whan thou were presented before Herode thyn enemyes stode constauntly accusynge thee. And Herode asked thee many questyons, trustynge to have seen some token or myracle of thee. But thou, good Jhesu, gavest none answer and wolde shewe noo token but the sygne and token of humylyté and pacyence. And they mocked thy goodly provydence,¹⁰ trowynge thy pacyence and humylyté to be fatuyté¹¹ and ygnoraunce. Therfore Herode with all his¹² despysed thee, and in mockage¹³ they put on thee a whyte [fol. 14v] vesture in tokenynge of fatuité, and so with unhonesté¹⁴ unreverently¹⁵ Herode sente thee to Pylate agayne. And that daye bycause of thee, Pylate and Herode were made frendes that before tyme loved not other. And by the waye as thou wente Jhesu, myne onely hope, from one wycked man to an other thou were illuded¹⁶ and weryed with sore percucyons¹⁷ and strokes. Meke Jhesu, I beseche thee for all these irrysions¹⁸ and vexacy-

⁴ *neglected*

⁵ *affectionate*

⁶ *coughed-up phlegm*

⁷ *prynces and senyours of prestes, principal and high-ranking priests*

⁸ *perverter*

⁹ *Jewish people*

¹⁰ *foresight*

¹¹ *foolishness*

¹² *i.e., his courtiers or followers*

¹³ *derision*

¹⁴ *dishonesty*

¹⁵ *impiously*

¹⁶ *ridiculed*

¹⁷ *blows*

¹⁸ *mockeries*

ons that thyn enemyes dyd to thee, defende me from all myn enemyes bodyly and ghostly, and sende me pacyence in all trybulacyons and adversytees. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

16: Of the clamour of the Jewes agaynst Jhesu to haue hym crucyfied and of his expolyacyon¹ and flagellacyon

- 1 Lorde Jhesu Cryst, sone of the ever lyvyng God, I laude and gloryfy thee for all the injurys thou suffred whan thyne enemyes brought thee in to the pretory² before Pilate, and they wolde not entre in, but Pylate wente out to them and sayd: "What accusacyon brynge you ayenst this man?" And all they cryed: "Yf he were not a malefactour, we wolde not brynge hym to thee." Than Pylate wente agayne in to the pretory and called thee to hym and sayd: "Thou arte the kyng of Jewes." And thou answered agayne: "Thou hast sayd so." Than Pylate sayd to thee: "Thy people and bysshopes hath brought thee to me; what hast thou done?" Thou answered: "My kyngdome is not of this worlde; yf my kyngdom were of this worlde, my mynystres truly wolde make defence that I sholde not be yolden³ to the Jewes." Pylate sayd: "Therefore, than, thou arte a kyng." And thou answered mekely: "Thou sayst [fol. 15r] that I am a kyng; therto truly I am borne, and for that I came in to the worlde that I might bere wytnesse of trouth, and every man that is of trouth hereth my worde."
- 2 And Pylate wente out agayne to the Jewes, and sayd: "I fynde no cause of deth in this man, therefore I wyll chastyse hym and let hym go. There is a consuetude⁴ amonge you that I shall delyver you a prysoner at Ester; wyll ye that I delyver to you the kyng of Jewes?" They answered: "Nay, not hym, but Baraban." Than Pylate toke thee and made thee personally to put off thy clothes, and thou stode naked and bare, suffryng the erubescensy⁵ of nakednesse in the presence of thy moder as thou were borne of her body, and before thyne irrysors⁶ and enemyes, all thy frendes fleyng from thee. And personally thou put thy handes aboute the pyller, and thyn enemyes bounde thee fast, and the cursed tyrantes⁷ layde upon thy fayre body, tender and clene from every spotte of synne, some with whyppes and some with roddes, and thy skynne was so tender and fayre so that with the leest stroke that they coude laye on thy body the purple⁸ blode appered fresshely in syght upon the fayre beautiful skynne. And at the fyrste stroke thy sorowfull moder that stode by thee fell to the grounde as deed, and takyng spyryte agayne she behelde all thy body beten and scourged that the stremes of blode ranne downe on every syde, the bare bones appreyng of thy sydes. And this was moost bytter of all whan they drewe the knotty scourges they rent away the flesshe withall. And than, good Jhesu, thou stode all tremblyng and quakyng for anguysshe and payne, all bloody and torne, so that fro the

¹ *stripping*

² *offices of a governor*

³ *surrendered*

⁴ *custom*

⁵ *blushing for shame*

⁶ *scoffers*

⁷ *violent bullies*

⁸ *purple*

sole of the fote to the toppe of the heed in thee was no hole place where thou myght suffre
 any more betyng. Than one moved in spyryte asked [fol. 15v] whether they wolde slee
 thee not juged to dethe.

- 3 And than whan thou were losed from the pyller, thy blessyd moder behelde the place
 where as thou stode, and she sawe it replete with thy blode, and she folowyng thee knewe
 where thou had gone by the tokens and steppes of blode, for the grounde where thou had
 gone appered infuded⁹ with thy blode. And all this, swete Jhesu, thou suffred, takynge on
 thee all the wrathe whiche we deserved for our synnes. O good Jhesu, for the bytternesse
 of thy scourgyng with the whiche the tender membres of thy body were torne, and for
 the grete sorowe that entred thurgh thy body whan thou were taken from the pyller and
 clothed agayne in thyn own clothes, and for thy dredes, anguysshes, effusyons of blode,
 and for all the pryntes of woundes whiche thou toke in thy bytter scourgyng, and for the
 hony swete memory of thy blessyd passyon, I beseche thee to gyve me grace persever-
 auntly¹⁰ to bere it in the cogitacyons of my herte, and that thou wylte oversprynge¹¹ the
 interyour partes of my herte with thy precyous blode to the laude and glory of thy name.
 Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

⁹ *soaked*

¹⁰ *steadfastly*

¹¹ *moisten*

**17: Of the expolyacyon,¹ illusyon,² crownacyon,³ and persecucyons of the heed of
 Jesu**

- 1 Thankynges I yelde unto thee lorde Jhesu Cryste that the thyrde houre of the daye
 were spoyled⁴ of thy clothes by the mynystres of Pilate, and before al the company of
 thyne enemyes they clothed thee, kynge of glorye, with an olde purple clothe, that fro
 the begynnyng were circumdate⁵ with glory and honour. And settyng thee upon a stole
 they put a buystous⁶ garlonde of [fol. 16r] sharpe thornes on thy heed whiche with their
 staves they had wraythed,⁷ smytyng and pressyng it downe as cruelly as they myght
 without any mercy, soo that the blode stremed downe pyteously from thy devyne heed
 over thy face and necke, that therwith thyn eyen were blynded, thyne eers, nose, and thy
 mouth repleted⁸ with thy blode, and all dysfygured.

¹ *stripping*

² *scorning*

³ *coronation*

⁴ *robbed*

⁵ *encircled*

⁶ *brutish*

⁷ *entwined*

⁸ *filled*

- 2 And they gave thee a reede in thy ryght hande for a regall septr⁹, whiche arte kynge of kynges and lorde of lordes, and knelynge before thee they illuded¹⁰ thee, sayenge: "All hayle kynge of Jewes." And they smote thee with grete strokes that art lorde of vertue, to whome sonne, mone and every celestyall ordre¹¹ dooth servyce, and they spette in thyne amyable face, of whose pulcrynute and beauté the sonne and the mone mervayleth, and they toke the reede from thy hande which was grete and harde and smote thee therewith on the heed. O good Jhesu, for this thorny crowne whiche with many punctures wounded thy blessyd heed, and for thy myserable vysage whiche was dysfygured reed and waylful¹² by smytynges and wepynges, blacke and blewe with plages,¹³ suffused with blode, and fyled¹⁴ by spettynge: graunte my soule so amyable a face that thy clere eyen may delyte to se her. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁹ *scepter*

¹⁰ *ridiculed*

¹¹ *every celestyall ordre, class of heavenly body*

¹² *reed and waylful, red and forlorn*

¹³ *blows*

¹⁴ *defiled*

18: Of the wrongfull condemnacyon of Jhesu to the deth of the crosse

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, for the holy and devoute steppes that thou wente, goynge fro the pretory berynge the crowne of thornes and the purple vestyment whan Pilate presented thee to thyn enemyes [fol. 16v] saynge: "Beholde man" — as though he sayd, yf this man hath offended the lawe, spare hym now for as moche as ye se hym dejecte, myserable, and rewoffull¹ to beholde. And they behelde thee with terryble eyen and cryed: "Crucify hym, crucify hym." And Pilate sayd: "I fynde no cause in hym, therefore take ye hym and crucify hym." Than they cryed: "We have a lawe, and after the lawe he muste dye for he nameth hymselfe the sone of God." Than Pylate entred in to the pretory, and called thee to hym and sayd: "From whens arte thou?" And thou, sapyence² that procedest fro the mouth of the hygh God, answered no worde, for thou were so meke in all thy injuryes that the juge of iniquyté mervayled therof. And whan he sayd to thee that he had power to crucify thee and also to delyver thee, thou answered mekely: "Thou sholde not have power in me, but yf it were gyven thee from above."
- 2 Than Pylate wente out and sayd to the Jewes: "Beholde your kynge." They denyed and forsoke thee to be theyr kynge, sayenge: "We have noo kynge but Cesar." Truly Jhesu, I knowlege³ thee this day to be my God and my lorde, and playnly I joye⁴ in thee, that we have thee to be our advocate and bysshop that knowest well howe to have compassyon of our infyrmytees,⁵ and I praye thee that thou wylte knowlege me this daye before the

¹ *sorrowful*

² *wisdom*

³ *acknowledge*

⁴ *rejoice*

⁵ *deficiencies*

face of thy fader, and say this to my soule: "I am thyn onely helth." O myn onely solace, the people cryed horribly agayne on thee to the juge, sayenge: "Yf thou let hym passe, so thou art not Cesars frende." Than Pilate knowynge that for envy they had brought thee to hym, but yet wyllynge to satysfy the people, he wasshed his handes and sayd: "I am innocent from the blode of this man — ye may it se." And all the people cryed and sayd: "The vengeaunce of his blode muste fall on us and on our chyl dren." Than he delyvered to them Baraban, and [fol. 17r] juged thee, innocent sone of God, to deth. O good Jhesu, for this terryble sentence of thy dampnacyon, and for the grete humylyté, pacyence and softnesse whiche thou shewed us in all thy trybulacyons and anguysshes whiche thou suffered, goynge in and out fro juge to juge, make me humble and peasyble in all my werkes. Amen. *Pater noster*.

19: Of the berynge of the crosse to Calvary, and of the crucyfenge of Jhesu

1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, that the syxt houre of the day puttest off the purple vestymment, where than the cursed tyraunts fyersly plucked it off from thy tender body, sore wounded, whan it was cleven faste with drye blode to thy body; wherwith they drewe the skynne and the flesshe, with the whiche thy body was all to rent, rased and torne, and stremed agayne fresshely with blode. And than they clothed thee eftsones¹ in thyn owne vesture full ygnomynously, and thou were ledde bytwene two theves berynge thyn owne crosse, grete and hevy on thy sholdres, through the cyté towarde Calvary with grete wondrynge² of people — some lamentynge and waylynge³ for thee, some illudyng and scornynge thee, and some smytyng thee with sore strokes, sayenge: "Go forthe thefe, go forth traytour, go forth fals deceyver and begyler of people." And al be it thy sorowfull moder for multytude of people coude not se who smote thee, yet she myght here clerely the sowne of the violent percusions⁴ and strokes that they layde on thee.

2 And than thou were so faynte of body and so feble by meanes of so [fol. 17v] grete passions⁵ and effusyons of blode that thou fell downe to the grounde with the hevy crosse on thy backe. And than they compelled an other man to bere thy crosse to Calvary, and this they dyde for no compassyon of thee but for fere lest thou sholde have dyed without greter turmentes. And the good woman Veronyca brought to thee a fayre sudary⁶ whiche thou set to thy vysage, wherin thou prynted a pyteous pycture and a dolorous memoryall of thy passyon to be depely prynted in the hertes of thy lovyng poore servauntes in this worlde. And as thou wente in these paynfull trybulacyons, thou tourned thyselfe to the women that folowed lamentynge thee with swete wordes confortynge them, and desyred that they sholde not wepe on thee, but on themselfe and on theyr chyl dren.

¹ soon after

² moving crowd

³ wailing

⁴ blows

⁵ sufferings

⁶ cloth for wiping the face

3 And whan thou came to the place of paynes, all the instrumentes for thy crucifyenge were ordeyned there redy, whiche thy moder behelde with moost sorowfull herte, and personally there thou put off thy clothes, the wycked mynystres sayenge amonge themselves: "These vestures be ours, he may no more have them for that he is condemned to deth." And thou Jhesu standynge there naked and bare as thou were borne, one rennyng brought to thee a coverynge, wherof inwardly thou joyed, and fastenyng it aboute thy myddes⁷ mekely thou layest downe on the crosse, spredynge out thyn armes and layenge forth thy legges in length, thou offred there thy precyous wounded body on the harde crosse in sacrifice to God thy fader as a moost meke lambe for our synnes. And the cursed tyrantes cruelly nayled fyrst thy ryght hande where the hole was perced for the nayle to entre, and than with a rope fastned to thy handwrest⁸ vyolently, halyng⁹ and drawynge, they nayled thy lefte hande on the syde of the crosse where as the [fol. 18r] hole was ordeyned for the same; and in lyke maner halyng, drawynge, and straynyng they crucifyed fyrste thy ryght fote and upon the same thy lefte fote with two nayles, wherby the synewes and vaynes of thy body were broken. And by suche cruell extencyon and haylyng the joyntes of thy body were dyssolved and losed that all the bones myght be nombred, and all the woundes of thy body, and all the dolours of them therby were renewed, and the horryble payne of thy woundes entred through all thy bowells and the sharpenesse of the nayles perced the secretes¹⁰ of the marowe of thy bones and synewes, bryngynge out to us the precyous tresours of thy blode.

4 O good Jesu, for all these dolours that thou suffered goynge to thy deth, and in thy crucifyenge whan thou were strayned so on the crosse that thou coude not meve¹¹ hande, fote, ne none other membre of thy body but onely thy tongue, wherwith thou might praye for thyn enemyes, and for all the doloures that wente through all the interyour partes of thy body whan thy crosse was reysed and let fall in to the morteyes¹² with suche vyolence that all thy sore bones cracked, and for the grete charyté that made thee ascende on the crosse: I praye thee that thy charyté may brenne and consume all my synnes so fully in my soule that she may be made a moost pure myrroure in the syght of thy godhede. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁷ waist

⁸ wrist

⁹ hauling

¹⁰ interior parts

¹¹ move

¹² mortise

20: Of the blasphemés of the Jewes and of the prayer of Jhesu on the crosse for his enemyes

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, for that thou hangynge on the crosse suffred many grete derisyons and insultacions¹ of thy cruell enemyes, for why som of them sayd that thou were a thefe, and som that thou were a grete lyer, and som affermed² and sayd that none was worthyer [fol. 18v] deth than thou were. And some sayd that thou coude helpe other men but thou coude not helpe thyselfe, and some blasphemynge sayd: “Yf thou be Cryste kynge of Israell come downe off the crosse that we may byleve on thee.” And many other blasphemés they sayd of thee. And notwithstandinge all this thou had more compassyon of them, thy cruell enemyes, than thou hade of thy selfe, suffrynge so grete tourmentes so that of thy haboundaunt³ charyté thou prayed for them sayenge: “Fader, forgyve them for they knowe not what they do.” O cruelté of people of this worlde, that wyl shewe no mercy for smal offences done agaynst them, but wyl be avenged without pyté, nothyng regardyng the grete charyté of Cryste, gyvyng us example of excellent compassyon, but suche vengeable⁴ people sholde remembre this wryten: that they whiche wyl shewe no mercy, no mercy shall have. Jhesu, I praye thee for thy passyon, and for the charyté that thou shewed prayenge for thyn enemyes, gyve me grace to love my frendes in thee, and myn enemyes for thee, and gladly to forgyve them that offendeth me that thou, mercyfull lorde, wylte forgyve all myn offences wherwith I have provoked thee ofte to wrathe. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ *insults*

² *agreed*

³ *abundant*

⁴ *vengeful*

21: Of the mercy of Jhesu shewed to the thefe hangynge at his ryght syde

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, benygne Jhesu, for the grete mercy thou shewed to the thefe that henge besyde thee at thy ryght syde whan of hertely¹ contricyon and stedfast fayth he sayd to thee: “Have mynde of me, lord, whan thou comest to thy kyngdome.” And thou, lord of mercy, not onely graunted him forgyvenes of synnes but also the blisse of paradyse, sayenge to hym: “Truly I say to thee, this daye thou [fol. 19r] shalte be with me in paradyse.” Mercyful Jesu, I praye thee to graunt me so bytter contricyon for my synnes before I dye, wherby I may obteyn of them ful remyssyon, and also the blysse of paradyse with the worshypfull thefe that henge at thy ryght syde. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *heartfelt*

22: Of the words of Jesu commendynge his moder to saynt John

- 1 I laude and gloryfy thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, for the ineffable doloure whiche thou had hangynge on the crosse, beholdynge thy sorowfull moder standynge besyde thee, tourmented in soule with inestymable dolours and anguysshes for moderately compassion that she had of thee, whan she behelde thee her onely sone so pyteously extent on the crosse without offence, wounded with thousande woundes, and flesshe taken of her virgynall flesshe all to rente and torne. And for the cruell deth whiche thou suffred of the people of whose progenye thou were borne havynge no consolacyon of frende, for all were fledde fro thee, therfore thou loked to the grounde where thy dolorous moder stode, yf happely¹ she myght helpe thee — but thou had no helpe of her for she was faynt and sorowfull.
- 2 And whan thou behelde her and other that loved thee standynge by her, sore wepynge and waylynge, whiche lever² wolde have suffred that payne that thou suffred in themselfe with thyne helpe, or to brenne in hell for evermore than to se thee so crucyate³ and tourmented. And the sorowe that thou toke for thy moder and frendes waylynge for thee exceded all the bytternesse and trybulacyons that thou suffred in thy body or in thy herte, for full tenderly thou loved them. And thou commended [fol. 19v] thy moder to thy dysciple saynt John, sayenge to her: “Woman, beholde thy sone.” Jhesu, I beseeche thee that in the dredefull houre of my deth thou wylte commende me to the proteccyon of thy blessyd moder, that she may defende me fro the malyce and power of fendes, that by theyr wicked sotylté they brynge me not in to desparacyon, elacyon,⁴ ne from my fayth, but defended by her thy passyon helpynge I may obteyne the joy eternall. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ *by any chance*

² *rather*

³ *tortured*

⁴ *arrogance*

23: Of the thurste of Jhesu on the crosse and of his bytter drynke

- 1 I laude and gloryfy thee lorde Jhesu Cryste for the thurste thou suffred on the crosse by reason of ofte and greate effusyons of blode and turmentes, but more ardently thou thirsted our helth and salvacyon, sayenge thus: “*Sitio*,” “I thurste.” And thou, the fonte of the water of lyfe, tasted soure eysell¹ medled with bytter gall² by a sponge therwith fulfilled and put to thy mouth, and that thou wolde suffre and taste for mannes trespasse, tastynge the fruyte forboden hym by God. For this thurste and bytter drynke, Jhesu, I praye thee quenche in me the thurste of carnall concupyscence and the hete of worldly delectacyon,³ and kendle my desyre so to vertue and to every good werke that after this

¹ *vinegar*

² *bile*

³ *pleasure*

lyfe I may be made dronke in heven with the plentefulnesse of thy hous, and with the swete wyne of the vysyon of thy godhede. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

24: Of the grete clamour of Jesu on the crosse: “My God, my God, why hast thou forsake me?”

- 1 [fol. 20r] Laude and honoure I yelde to thee, lorde Jesu Cryst, that so myserably hengest on the crosse bytwene two theves, all wounded and pyteously rent. And for as moche as thou were best and stronge of complexyon, therfore lyfe stryved with deth in thy wounded body: for some whyles the dolours of thy membres and synewes of thy body wounded ascended to thy hert, whiche was moost fresshe and uncorrupte, whiche vexed thee with incredible dolour and passion. And some whyles the dolour descended from the herte unto the membres, lacerate and torne, and so dethe was prolonged in thee, Jhesu, with grete bytternesse.
- 2 And hangynge on the crosse in suche horryble tourmentes thou cryed to thy fader with a grete voyce, sayenge, “My God, my God why hast thou forsake me,” as though thou sayd: “O fader, have mynde,¹ why thou forsakest me in these bytter anguysshes. Therfore it is that I sholde make satisfaccyon to thee for the synne of man, and that I myght turne away thy wrathe fro them, and so reconcyled by me they may fynde grace before thy face. O my fader and lorde, I have fulfylled it with bytter passyon and cruell deth; I have made satisfaccyon to thy faderly charité with the brennyng desyre of broderly charité, and whose maker I was fro the begynnyng I am made now theyr redemptour and savyour. And the kyngdome of heven whiche I posseded fro the begynnyng by ryghtful herytage of a sone, now I am become man in this late tyme, and all bespronge with myn owne blode, that man whose broder I am become may possede the same kyngdome for evermore in herytage by broderly ryght.”
- 3 O swete Jhesu, hertely I praye thee for all the woundes of thy precyous body, and for the fervent anguysshe whiche thou suffred on the crosse to be there as a man forsaken of God, for that God sholde not forsake us eter[nally, [fol. 20v] and for the bytter wepynges whiche thou wepte on the crosse for us with dolefull cryenge for huge bytternesse of sorowes and ardent desyre of charyté. Forsake me not, meke Jhesu, at my last ende, but receyve me to thy mercy and save my soule that thou hast bought² so dere. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ have mynde, *recall*

² *paid for*

25: Of the wordes of Jhesu on the crosse: “*Consummatum est*”

- 1 Lorde Jhesu Cryste, that arte moost pureste myrroure of the Holy Trinité, whome I beholde now with the inwarde eyen¹ of my mynde, with all myn inwarde bowelles² I laude and gloryfy thee, that aboute the houre of thy deth saydest these wordes: “*Consummatum*

¹ *eyes*

² *organs (as a seat of compassion)*

est.”³ As though thou sayd: “Every thyng that hath be sayd of me by the mouthes of holy prophetes or figured⁴ of me in the lawe fro the tyme of my concepcion unto the houre of my deth now is fulfilled in me.” Lorde Jhesu Cryste, I praye thee for the vertue of these holy wordes, graunte me grace to fulfill obeyently all thy wyll in observacyon of thy holy preceptes and to ordre my lyfe after thy holy counseyles, wherby thy passyon helpynge I may obteyne eternall felycyté.⁵ Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

³ Consummatum est, “it is completed” or “it is done”

⁴ represented

⁵ happiness

26: Of the expyracyon of Jhesu, and of the myracles befallynge in the tyme of his deth

- 1 Redemptour of mankynde, Jhesu Cryst, I laude and honour thee that whan the tyme of deth was come thy blessed eyen appered all deedly, the chere of thy vysage was all waylynge and lamentable, thy mouth [fol. 21r] opened, thy tethe apperynge whyte, thy tongue all bloody, thy bely clevd to thy backe all consumed fro moystnesse as though thou had no bowelles, all thy body pale and wanne by reason of flowynges out of blode, thy handes and fete gretely swollen by straynyng and naylynge to the crosse, thy heere and berde reed with blode and clotted. And than for the greate anguysshe of deth of the partye of thy manhode,¹ thou cryed to thy fader sayenge: “O fader, into thy handes I betake² my spyryte.” Than the virgyn thy moder, herynge these wordes as moost sorowfull moder, all the membres of her body trembled and quoke; and ever after whyles she lyved, as ofte as she remembred these wordes, it sowned in her eeres as present and fresshe to her herynge.
- 2 And than good Jhesu whan deth came, wherby thy herte for vyolence of dolours sholde breke in sonder all thy body trembled, and a lytel lyftyng up thy heed thou enclyned it on thy sholdre, thy handes withdrewe themselfe a lytell from the place of perforacyon, and than thy fete susteyned moche of the weyght of thy body, thy fyngers and armes somewhat extended themselfe and strongly strayned themselfe upwarde to the tree, and with suche bytter dolours thy herte brake in sondre. And thy holy soule departed from thy blessyd body and with the godhede wente downe to hell, and brekyng up the gates of deth toke out all the holy soules whiche thou hade thus redemed, settyng them in the felycyté of paradyse. And in the daye of thyn Ascencyon thou presented them whome thou had bought with thy precyous deth to thy holy fader of heven.
- 3 And thou, good Jesu, henge on the crosse naked and so poore and nedy that thou had not wheron to reclyne thy heed, but at the last thou reclyned it on thy sholdre for foure [fol. 21v] causes. One was that thou myght gyve a kysse to thyn espouse³ Holy Chyrche, and to shewe her that all the wrathe of thy fader was mytygate and peasyfyed by thee. The

¹ partye of thy manhood, *Christ's human aspect*

² surrender

³ spouse

seconde was to aske a reclinatory⁴ in the herte of man. The thyrd thou reclyned thy heed on thy sholdre as sayenge: "What sholde I have done more for thee than I have done? Shewe me, for I am redy yet to do it for thee and to helpe thee." The fourth as though thou sayd: "Trust verily in me, for that thou can not do I may do it for thee."

- 4 And in thy deth, good Jhesu, creatures havynge no reason wayled for thee, for why, stones brake, monumentes opened, and many bodyes of holy men that were deed dyd ryse. The vayle of the temple dyd breke fro the hygheste parte unto the grounde, and the sonne, as sorowynge for thee, withdrewe his lyght that all the worlde was derke. O ingratitude of reasonable man, that can not sorowe for thy passyon, for whome thou suffred it so paynfully. For this dolorous passion and deth, Jhesu, I beseeche thee to be mercyfull to me in the dredefull houre of my deth, and graunt me right mynde and speche to the last ende of my lyfe, and that I may have more mynde of thee and of thy passyon than of the dolours and paynes that than I shall suffre, and commendynge my soule to thy blessyd handes thou wylt receyve her whome thou hast bought to the glory that hath none ende. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

⁴ couch

27: Of that the body of Cryst henge deed thre houres on the crosse, and of the openynge of his syde with a spere, and of certayne utylytees¹ therof

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, for that it pleased thee to hange thre houres myserably deed on the crosse. Lykewyse, as thou henge thre hou|res [fol. 22r] alyve in horryble tourmentes on the crosse, and that it pleased thee to suffre thy holy syde to be opened with a spere that blode and water plenteously ran out. And than were the gates of heven opened to us, whiche fro the tyme that Adam had synned to that houre were contynually sparde² ayenst us. And as our fyrst moder Eve was fourmed of the syde of Adam slepyng in paradyse, so our chaste moder Holy Chyrche, good Jesu, of thy syde — whiche arte the seconde Adam, hangynge deed on the crosse — was fourmed, and all the sacramentes of the same our sayd good moder of thy forsayd precyous wounde toke all theyr strength and vertue. And where as by the transgressyon of our fyrst parentes Adam and Eve all we were the chyldren of perdycon, soo by thee, swete Jhesu the seconde Adam, by thy passyon and the sacrament of baptym we be made the chyldren of adopcyon.³ And by the merytes of the same passyon with helpe of the sacramentes of Holy Chyrche — thy chaste espouse, our good moder — we truste stedfastly to be the chyldren of salvacyon. O swete Jhesu, hertely⁴ I praye thee that the merytes of thy precyous wounde, with the helpe of the sayd blessyd sacrament may open the gates of heven to me that after this mortal lyf I may have free entrynge there to dwel with thee for evermore. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ benefits

² barred

³ made the chyldren of adopcyon, received by God as his children

⁴ from the heart

28: Of the takynge downe of the body of Cryste fro the crosse and of his sepulture

- 1 [fol. 22v] Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryst, for that thou were taken downe off the crosse by the besy¹ labour of thy frendes Joseph and Nychodeme, and thy sorowfull moder receyved thee on her lappe with full bytter wepyng, where thou lay as a man all to-drawen and torne in every membre so pyteously dysfygured that thou were more lyke a lepre than a clene² man, and thy deed eyen were all bloody, thy mouth colde as yse, thyn armes were so styffe, colde, and spredde abroad as thou henge on the crosse that thy moder and frendes aforesayd had grete besynesse³ to brynge them downe to thy bely. And thy wofull moder wyped and dryed thy bloody woundes with a cloth, and closed thy mouth and eyen whiche were open by deth, and this done, thy wounded deifyed body was lapped in a clene sudary and dressed with odoramentes⁴ and layde and buried in the lowe place of the herte of the erth. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ careful

² without infection

³ trouble (effort)

⁴ aromatic substances

29: Of the glorious Resurreccyon of Jesu, and of his apparycyons¹

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, that the thyrde daye dyde ryse from deth gloryfyed in body and soule with thy godhede, apperynge to thy blessyd moder as we mekely may ymagyn, and also to Mary Mawdeleyn. And thou mette with the women comynge from the monument sayenge to them: "All hayle [fol. 23r] ye." And they came to thee, layenge handes on thy fete, and also the same daye of thy Resurreccyon thou appered to two dyscyples goynge to Emaus, and they knewe thee in brekyng of brede. And agayne thou entred to thy dyscyples the gates beyng shytte² and sayd: "Peas be to you, I am — drede ye not." And before them thou dyd ete parte of a rosted fysshe, and of a hony combe. And at the see Tiberiadis thou shewed thyselfe to thy dyscyples, and brede and fysshe whiche thou had taken of them thou delyvered to them, and full frendly thou comyned³ with them, and specyally with Peter that had denyed thee. And after eyght dayes agayne thou appered to thy dyscyples and gavest them thy peas. And thou comforted Thomas harde of beleve by shewynge of thy woundes to hym. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

¹ appearances

² shut

³ communed

30: Of the mervaylous Ascencyon of our lorde Jhesu

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste, for all that ever thou dyde fro the daye of thy glorious Resurreccyon, unto the daye of thy mervaylous Ascensyon, for fro that daye oftentimes thou appered to thy dyscyples, and to other thy faythfull frendes, frendly¹ confortyng them of the sorowe and hevynesse whiche they toke for thee in thy passyon, and confermyng them in thy fayth, hope and charyté. And last of all thou ascended on the mount of Olyvete, and lyftyng up thy hande thou gave them thy dyvyne benediccyon, and in the syght [fol. 23v] of all that were there thou were lyfte up in to heven where thou shewed all thy woundes and vycory to the syght of thy fader, and syt-tyng at his ryght syde coomnipotent and coeterne² thou were crowned with glory and honour. Lorde Jhesu Cryste, for the glory of thyn Ascencion gyve me grace to folowe thee by grees³ of vertue from day to day, that after this lyfe as a membre of thy mystycall body I may be knytte to thee, ye heed of the same body, in heven blysse for evermore. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave.*

¹ lovingly

² coeternal

³ stages

31: Of the myssyon of the Holy Ghost on the blessyd daye of Penthecoste

- 1 Thankynges I yelde to thee, lorde Jhesu Cryste that after ten dayes of thyne Ascencyon sendest downe the Holy Ghoost after thy promesse to thy dyscyples in lykenesse of tongues of fyre brennyng,¹ wherby they were so illumyned² with grace that with theyr mouthes in the tongues of al nacyons they preched the lawe of thy brennyng charyté, wherof all the people mervayled. And confermyng the wordes of theyr doctryne by open myracles they converted innumerable people to thy fayth, so that Peter in one day converted thre thousande from theyr erreure. Benygne Jhesu, I praye thee to sende me grace of the Holy Ghoost and his swete consolacyon in all my werkes with the blessyd gyftes of hym, wherby I may lede here an acceptable lyfe unto thy pleasure, that I may therby obteyne the joye and glory that never shall have ende. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria. Credo in Deum.*³
- 2 *Te deum laudamus,*⁴ etc.

¹ burning

² illuminated

³ Credo in deum, "I believe in God" (see note)

⁴ Te deum laudamus, "We praise you, Lord" (see note)

Epilogue

- 1 [fol. 24r] O all ye servantes of God unto whose handes this devoute lytell treatyse
shall come, yf ye fynde swetnesse or devocyon in Jhesu Cryste therby, laude ye God ther-
fore, and of your charyté praye for the Anker¹ of London wall, wretched Symon, that to
the honour of Jhesu Cryst and of the virgyn his moder Mary hath compyled this mater in
Englysshe for your ghostly conforte that understande no Latyn.
- 2 *Deo gratias.*²
- 3 Here endeth the treatyse called the *Fruyte of Redempcyon*, whiche devoute treatyse I
Rycharde, unworthy bysshop of London, have studyously radde and overseen, and the
same approve as moche as in me is to be radde of the true servauntes of swete Jhesu, to
theyr grete consolacyon and ghostly conforte, and to the merytes of the devoute fader,
compounder of the same.
- 4 Enprynted by Wynnyn de Worde, the yere of lorde God MCCCCC and xiiii.³

¹ *Anchorite*

² *Deo gratias*, "Thanks be to God" (see note)

³ MCCCCC and xiiii, 1514



APPULBY'S *THE FRUYTE OF REDEMPCYON* EXPLANATORY NOTES

All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

PROLOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

thankynges of all the benefytes. AA opens with a similar overview of its contents. See Appendix.

Fruyte of Redempcyon. The title is Appulby's own; it does not appear anywhere in AA, outside of a few allusions to the "fruitful root of Jesse" [*virga Yesse florida et fructifera*] in contemplation 9. The image of Christ as divine fruit, who counteracts the baleful influence of the tree of knowledge, is commonplace in the period in both Latin and vernacular sources (see Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, ed. Lauritis, pp. 361–67, and Play 7, "Root of Jesse" in ed. Sugano, *N-Town Plays*, pp. 70–73). The idea is probably derived from Adam of St. Victor's exegesis of Daniel 4:11 and 1 Corinthians 15:23 (Collins, *N-Town Plays*, pp. 3–9). Nevertheless, Appulby's choice of title serves to link his cycle back to the Bonaventuran meditative tradition. It is a central motif in chapter 46 of St. Bonaventure's *Vitis Mystica*, "on the fruit of our sins, or Christ, who suffered and was crucified for us" [*de fructu vitiis nostrae, seu Christi, pro nobis passi et crucifixi*]. Bonaventure refers repeatedly to Christ by means of this phrase, stating "His mother delivered him with the most beautiful flower of virginity not spoiled, just as he delivered the fruit of our redemption with the flower of strength not withered . . . O how sweet are these fruits of redemption, which were contracted under such great and bitter servitude!" [*protulit eum Mater pulcherrima flore virginali non perduto, protulit et ipse fructum redemptionis nostrae floribus virtutum non marcescentibus . . . O quam dulcis fructus redemptoris his, qui in tanta et tam amara servitute fuerant constituti!*] (PL 184.731–32).

fyrst it putteth a prayer. AA introduces its first contemplation with an identical statement.

CHAPTER 1, PARAGRAPH 1

Lorde my God, I desyre . . . so grete benefytes. The chapter as a whole is a close and direct translation of AA contemplation 1.

fylth and wormes mete. Compare Ecclesiasticus 19:3.

resonable man. The standard position in medieval philosophy is that reason is an exclusively human prerogative, elevating human beings above other creatures. The idea is derived from Aristotle, who argues that "the other animals live by impressions and experience," whereas "the human race lives also by art and reasoning" (*Metaphysics*, trans. Tredennick, p. 3).

CHAPTER 2, RUBRIC

Laude to the Holy Trynyté . . . for his benefytes. As its free-ranging header implies, this chapter merges several sections of AA, drawing elements from contemplations 2, 3, and 4. Appulby significantly reworks his source, dovetailing motifs together and expanding on them: the amount of text from the three contemplations adds up to less than a third of the chapter's total length.

CHAPTER 2, PARAGRAPH 1

O Blessyd lorde God . . . and worshyp thee. This sentence is Appulby's own invention; only its final few words echo AA's "I praise you, I adore you, I glorify you" [*te laudo, te adoro, te glorifico*].

Thou art gracyous eternyté . . . none without thee. These lines are a compressed version of AA contemplation 2, omitting and simplifying many of its epithets, such as "you are the fount and origin of all goodness" [*tu es fons et origo omnium bonorum*], or "you happy eternity; you eternal happiness" [*tu felix eternitas; tu eterna felicitas*].

made of nought heven and erthe. The material on heaven, earth, and the angels comes from AA contemplation 3.

with thy propre handes. AA contemplation 4 provides Appulby with his thanksgivings to God for making man "with your own hands" [*propriis manibus tuis*]. The remainder of this chapter is Appulby's own invention, albeit developing themes from AA.

CHAPTER 3, RUBRIC

the myserable laps of man. Appulby's title translates that of AA contemplation 4; however, he has shifted the boundaries of chapters radically. Only his first sentence draws from contemplation 4, since he has already incorporated most of its contents into the preceding chapter; his material here is pieced together from later passages of AA and from his own invention.

CHAPTER 3, PARAGRAPH 1

swetnesse of ineffable mercy. In AA, thanksgiving for God's sweet and indescribable mercy [*dulce et ineffabilis misericordia*] concludes rather than opens contemplation 4.

creatour and redemptour of mankynde . . . shynyng from above. See AA contemplation 6, which also begins by offering thanks to God as "creator and redeemer of humankind" [*creator et redemptor generis humani*], and describes the "heavy load of the children of Adam" [*grave onus filiorum adam*] in the "vale of tears and misery" [*vailes plorationis et misere*], and God's "cogitations of peace" [*cogitationes pacis*]. Close though his translation is, Appulby entirely ignores contemplation 5, despite it being one of the lengthiest sections in AA.

CHAPTER 3, PARAGRAPH 2

desyres of prophetes. AA contemplation 6 concludes with God's fulfilment "of the desire of the prophets to receive the spectacle of the Incarnation" [*desideri a prophetarum per susceptę incarnationes exhibitioneüs*]. The remainder of this chapter is Appulby's own work.

Blessyd be thou. The repetition of this formula is reminiscent of Thomas à Kempis, *Imitatio Christi*, 5.1, "on the miraculous effect of divine love" [*de mirabili effectu divini amoris*]: "I give blessings to you, Father of heaven, Father of my lord Jesus Christ . . . I give blessings and glorify you always, with your only begotten Son, and helper the Holy Spirit, forever and ever" [*Benedico te, Pater caelestis, Pater Domini mei Iesu Christi . . . Benedico te semper et glorifico cum unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu sancto paraclito: in saecula saeculorum*] (Thomas à Kempis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Pohl, 2:151).

CHAPTER 3, PARAGRAPH 3

droppes of blode. Medieval embryology tended to follow Aristotle and Galen, and held that menstrual blood was the raw material out of which the human fetus took form (see Van 't Land, "Sperm and Blood," pp. 364–67). Appulby's account echoes earlier descriptions of Christ's Incarnation in the womb, such as those of John of Capistrano and Pius II, which also stress his physical formation from Mary's uterine blood alone, without the normal contribution of spermatic substance (Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 121–24, 158–61). Nonetheless, Appulby's precise source is unclear. AA discusses the Incarnation in contemplations 8 and 10, both of which Appulby otherwise overlooks; however neither of them mention Mary's blood.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 1

O Blessed vyrgyn Mary. Although AA discusses Mary's fitness to be mother of God in contemplation 7, Appulby abandons his main source in favor of another at this point. As the marginal notes in the early imprints make clear, his lengthy description of Mary as a model of female virtue, whose dedication to poverty and rejection of the world anticipates monastic practice, is heavily indebted to Bridget of Sweden's *Revelaciones*. It and later sections are especially reliant on one of Bridget's longest and most influential visions, entitled "the words of the Virgin Mary to her daughter" [*verba virginis Marie ad filiam*], in which Mary herself tells Bridget of her early life, her experiences bearing and giving birth to Jesus, and witnessing his torments and execution (BSR, 1.10).

at thy begynnyng. This colorful account of Mary's life before the Incarnation comes directly from BSR. In Bridget's vision (1.10.1–2), Mary describes her flowering devotion, and its steady increase in step with her growing maturity and knowledge of God. She progresses from an initial awareness of the existence of God "at the beginning" [*a principio*] that drives her to "become ever concerned and anxious of my salvation and my conduct" [*semper sollicita et timorata fui de salute et obseruancia mea*], to more detailed knowledge of God's role in her life as "my Creator and judge of all my actions" [*creatorem meum et iudicem de omnibus actibus meis*], leading to still greater love that makes her "fear and ponder every hour, so as not to

offend him in word or deed" [*omni hora timui et cogitavi, ne eum verbo vel facto offenderem*]. She eventually learns of his "law and his precepts to the people" and how he "makes with them all miracles" [*legem populo et precepta sua et fecisse cum eis tanta mirabilia*] and "vows firmly in my soul to love nothing unless it be him, and worldly things became exceedingly bitter to me" [*proposui firmiter in animo meo nichil nisi ipsum diligere, et amara michi erant mundana vehementer*]. Finally, after hearing that God will be born of a virgin to redeem the world, she "became affected by such great love for him, that I thought of nothing except God, wanted nothing except him" [*tanta circa eum caritate affecta fui, quod nichil nisi Deum cogitabam, nichil volebam nisi ipsum*].

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 2

thou withdrewest thy selfe. Again, these details are taken from BSR (1.10.3), which envisages Mary removing herself "from the conversation and presence of parents and friends and all others" [*a colloquiis et presentia parentum et amicorum et omnia*], donating her goods and subsisting on "minimal provisions and dress" [*victum tenuem et vestitum*], and vowing to live to witness the time of God's birth [*viverem ad tempus natiuitatis eius*] so that she might humbly serve him.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 3

presented in to the temple. According to a longstanding tradition dating from the earliest periods of Christianity, Mary was dedicated to service in the Temple by her parents, Joachim and Anna, after an angel announced that their infertility would end and their offspring would be known the world over. The story, which obviously recalls that of Elizabeth and Zechariah in Luke 1:5–25, is developed and reiterated in a series of second- and third-century apocrypha, principally the *Protoevangelicum of James*, *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*. According to all three texts, Mary was three years old at the time of her dedication, and remained in the Temple to be "nurtured like a dove" until the age of twelve (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 60). The story might be suggested by 2 Macchabees 3:19, which mentions virgins serving as attendants at the Temple. Appulby's information comes once again from BSR (1.10.5), which emphasizes that Mary was offered in deference to her parents [*propter obedienciam parentum meorum*], reflected to herself that "nothing was impossible to God" [*cogitans mecum Deo nichil esse impossibile*], and throughout this period "desired nothing for myself unless he desired it, willing nothing unless he willed it" [*me nichil desiderare, nichil velle nisi se*].

thou retourned home agayne. See BSR (1.10.6), where Mary describes herself "returning home more greatly aflame than before with the love of God, and every day newly I was inflamed with passions and desires of love. Therefore, I withdrew myself more by habit from everyone, and became solitary night and day, most vehemently afraid, that mouth should not speak nor ear hear anything against my God, nor my eyes behold anything delightful" [*regressa domum ampliori quam prius ardebam amore Dei et nouis cotidie inflammabar estibus et desideriis amoris. Propterea plus solito ab omnibus me elongavi et fui sola noctibus ac diebus, timens vehementissime, ne os loqueretur vel auris audiret aliqua contra Deum meum, vel ne oculi mei viderent aliqua delec-*

tabilia]. This passage also exemplifies Appulby's policy as a translator, as he permits his source to influence word choice as much as narrative: terms such as "inflamed," "enlonged" and "delectable" are all cognate with Bridget's Latin.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 4

here the handmayde of God. See Luke 1:38.

without sorowe and synne. These details might also come from BSR (1.10.12), which has Mary state that "without sorrow and without sin I gave birth to him, just as I had conceived him" [*sine dolore et peccato peperimus eum, sicut et concepimus*]. Nevertheless, she is not cited in Appulby's marginalia at this point, and the information might simply be quoted as accepted wisdom. Jacobus de Voragine and Pseudo-Bonaventure both stress the painlessness of the birth, no doubt to emphasize its reversal of the Fall and the penalty imposed on Eve in Genesis 3:16, describing Christ "leaving his mother's womb without any breach or lesion . . . one moment inside the womb and the next outside the womb on the hay at his mother's feet" (MLC, p. 24; compare Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, p. 39).

thy holy fete felte not the grounde. A further detail derived from BSR (1.10.12), where Mary reports being overcome "with such exultation of soul and body that my feet for exultation did not feel the ground where they stood" [*cum tanta anime et corporis exultacione, quod pedes mei per exultacionem non sentiebant terram, ubi stabant*]. There may be an additional echo of the *Protoevangelicum* tradition here, which holds that St. Anne, after witnessing Mary take her first seven steps at the age of six months, "took her up, saying, 'As the Lord my God lives, you shall walk no more upon this earth until I bring you into the temple of the Lord'" (ed. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 59).

reclynyng hym in a racke. See Luke 2:7.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 5

swete dewe. The phrase echoes BSR (1.10.13), which also asserts that "in observing and considering his beauty, my soul melted with joy like the dew" [*Cumque conspicerem et considerarem pulchritudinem eius, anima mea quasi rorem pro gaudio stillabat*]. Again, Appulby uses English terms etymologically connected to Bridget's Latin, most obviously "pulcritude" and "distilled."

many of the Jewes sayd . . . and mervaylous consolacyon. Appulby incorporates details here from one of Bridget's later revelations (BSR 6.1.4): "therefore also many Jews said: We go to see the son of Mary, so that we can be consoled. And although they did not know him to be the son of God, still they received great consolation from his aspect" [*Ideo et multi Judei dicebant ad inuicem: Eamus ad videndum filium Marie, ut consolari possimus. Et licet ignorarent eum esse filium Dei, tamen consolacionem recipiebant magnam ex aspectu eius*]. Bridget may in turn be led by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose fifth sermon on the Nativity connects the birth of Jesus

with Isaias 40:1, “be comforted, be comforted, my people, saith your God” [*consolamini, consolamini, dicit Dominus Deus vester*] (PL 183.128).

where the sharpe nayles sholde perce. One of Bridget’s most powerful passages (BSR 1.10.13) features Mary considering the future sites of Jesus’s wounds on the cross: “when in truth I considered the places of the nails in hands and feet, which I had heard from the prophets would be crucified, then my eyes were filled with tears and my heart was nigh on torn with sadness” [*quando vero considerabam loca clauorum in manibus et pedibus, quos secundum prophetas crucifigendos audiui, tunc oculi mei replebantur lacrimis et cor meum quasi scindebatur per tristitia*].

whan thou consydered the myght. Compare again Bridget’s vision of Mary regarding the infant Jesus (BSR 1.10.14): “by considering his divine power, I was consoled again, knowing that he himself willed this and allowed it, and all my will conformed with his will. And thus always was my happiness mixed with grief” [*cum vero considerarem potenciam deitatis eius, consolabar iterum, sciens, quod ipse sic vellet et sic expediret, et omnem voluntatem meam conformaui voluntati eius. Et sic semper erat leticia mea mixta cum dolore*].

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 6

thou nourysshed thy swete sone. The closing lines of AA contemplation 11 also picture Mary giving “kisses with your delicate mouth” [*oscula sui delicati oris*], loosening the swaddling on his hands and arms in the cradle [*laxatis fasciis manus et scam brachia per cunarum*], and offering “smiling and sweet-talking” [*aridentes sibi et blandientes*]. The sequence is in turn reminiscent of Pseudo-Bonaventure, who dedicates several passages to the interactions between mother and child, also emphasizing their kissing, playing together, and mutual affection (see for instance MLC, pp. 25, 28, 30–31).

CHAPTER 5, RUBRIC

the dolorous circumcision. The chapter is based on AA contemplation 12. On the importance of the Circumcision as a foreshadowing of the Passion, see Holkham prayer 8 and associated note.

CHAPTER 5, PARAGRAPH 1

the eyght daye to be circumcised. i.e., circumcised eight days after birth, in accordance with the directives on purification set down in Leviticus 12:3.

knyfe of stone. AA makes no mention of a stone knife, simply concentrating on Christ shedding “your innocent blood for us in infancy” [*sanguinem tuum innocentem pro nobis adhuc infans effudisti*]. Appulby is perhaps indebted to Pseudo-Bonaventure here, who pictures Mary herself performing the circumcision “with a little stone knife,” perhaps to underscore the poverty of the holy family (MLC, p. 30).

enprynted in my herte. Appulby's final petition has no equivalent in AA, which concludes with the remark "and thenceforth have you never ceased to attend to our salvation" [*salutemque nostram de inceptis operari non destitisti*]. His phrasing may be more than a fanciful metaphor, since medieval and classical psychology often conceived memory as a quasi-physical process by which images were impressed on the brain or heart. See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 16–79; Jager, *Book of the Heart*, pp. 1–26, 44–64.

CHAPTER 6, RUBRIC

the thre holy kynges. Appulby has again shifted the divisions between sections; AA contemplation 13 discusses both the Oblation and Purification.

CHAPTER 6, PARAGRAPH 1

thre precyous gyftes. Appulby adds specific details about the kings' gifts and gives the traditional interpretation of their meaning; neither are mentioned in AA. On the significance imputed to the gifts of the Magi, see Holkham prayer 9 and associated note. The *oratio* that concludes this chapter seems to be Appulby's own.

CHAPTER 7, PARAGRAPH 1

shewed by the olde man Symeon. Contemplation 13 of AA concludes with this detail.

lawe of puryfycacyon. See Leviticus 12:5.

no maner necessitye of puryfycacyon. A marginal note attributes this statement to Bernard of Clairvaux. Appulby is probably thinking of Bernard's third sermon on the Feast of the Purification, which imagines Mary asking herself as she enters the Temple: "What need is there for my purification? . . . Nothing in this conception, nothing in the birth was impure, with nothing to be set aside, nothing to be cleansed: no wonder, with an offspring that is the fount of purity, and come to make purgation of faults. What can a legal obligation purify in me, who was made still more pure by that same immaculate conception?" [*quid mihi opus est purificatione? . . . nihil in hoc conceptu, nihil in partu impurum fuit, nihil illicitum, nihil purgandum: nimirum cum proles ista fons puritatis sit et purgationem venerit facere delictorum. Quid in me legalis purificet observatio, quae purissima facta sum ipso partu immaculato?*]. Bernard then adds: "truly, O blessed Virgin, truly you do not have a cause, nor need for purification of yourself" [*Vere, o beata Virgo, vere non habes causam, nec tibi opus est purification*] (PL 183.370).

CHAPTER 8, RUBRIC

fleynge in to Egypte. This chapter derives its key details from AA contemplation 14.

CHAPTER 8, PARAGRAPH 1

grete penury and poverté. The tradition that the holy family lived in poverty during their exile in Egypt again stems from Pseudo-Bonaventure. He heavily emphasizes Christ's "love of poverty" during this period, and his and Mary's willingness to subsist on begging and menial labor, no doubt to evoke the ideals of Franciscan mendicancy (*MLC*, pp. 44–46). See Dzon, *Quest for the Christ Child*, p. 71.

CHAPTER 9, RUBRIC

the invencion of Jhesu. Appulby follows AA contemplation 15 closely in this chapter; he only omits a final, formulaic tribute to the Son's place in the Trinity, "living and reigning God for ever and ever amen" [*qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto vivus et regnans deus per omnia secula seculorum, amen*].

CHAPTER 9, PARAGRAPH 1

Ysay. Isaiah, whose messianic prophecies in *Isaias* 61:1–2 are read by Christ in the Temple, according to *Luke* 4:16–20.

servaunt so suffrynge for our helthe. See *Isaias* 53:5, which is applied to Christ's coming by the apostle Philip in *Acts* 8:32–35.

CHAPTER 10, RUBRIC

the baptym of our lorde. Appulby departs from AA here to place greater emphasis on baptism and the blessings it confers, perhaps in deference to his predominantly lay readership. The episode only receives a cursory mention in AA contemplation 16; Appulby not only separates the baptism and fasting into two distinct chapters, but adds the reference to consubstantiality, the details from scripture, and a final thanksgiving for the sacrament.

CHAPTER 10, PARAGRAPH 1

Here is my welbeloved sone. The wording follows *Matthew* 3:17, in which the voice acknowledges Christ in third rather than second person, instead of *Mark* 1:11 or *Luke* 3:22.

in lykenesse of a dove. Appulby echoes *Luke* 3:22 rather than *Matthew* 3:16 or *Mark* 1:10; only *Luke* describes the Spirit assuming the "bodily shape" of a dove, rather than merely descending in the manner [*tamquam*] of the bird.

CHAPTER 11, RUBRIC

his temptacyons. The chapter takes its account of the fasting and temptation from AA contemplation 16, which it reproduces verbatim.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 1

the fode of aungell. The phrase originates from Psalm 77:25 (or 78:25 in non-Catholic bibles), where the “bread of angels” [*panem angelorum*] refers to the miraculous rain of manna that sustained the Israelites in the wilderness. Its application to Christ first occurs in the work of Augustine, who comments that “the manna signified Jesus as the true bread of heaven . . . who became flesh so that man might feed” [*verum ipsum de coelo panem quem manna significabat . . . quod ut manducaret homo, caro factum est*] (*Enarrationes in psalmos*, PL 36.995); from Augustine it made its way into broader exegetic tradition (see *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 113.969–70; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 3.80.2). The importance of the epithet was further cemented by the office for Corpus Christi, reputedly composed by St. Thomas Aquinas for the feast’s creation in 1264 (see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 185–89); the hymns “Sacris solemniis” and “Lauda Sion” both hail the Eucharist as “panis angelicus” or “panis angelorum” (Murray, *Aquinas at Prayer*, pp. 267, 271). Although a version of the phrase does occur in AA (as “*cibus angelorum*”), Appulby may have intended to echo Aquinas’s hymns in his choice of language, since they and their occasion share his emphasis on equal participation by all Christians in the body of Christ.

CHAPTER 12, RUBRIC

the predicacyon and holsome doctryne. Appulby follows AA contemplation 17 closely in this chapter, only leaving out a few minor details and phrases.

CHAPTER 12, PARAGRAPH 1

wery of journeyes. Appulby removes AA’s echo of Matthew 9:35, which shows Christ travelling between cities and towns or castles [*ambulans civitates et castella*], perhaps to avoid any implication that his ministry was confined to privileged spaces.

Belzabub. Beelzebub is the Canaanite deity described as “god of Accaron” in 4 Kings (or 2 Kings in non-Vulgate bibles) 1:2–16, but relegated to “prince of devils” in Matthew 12:24 and Luke 11:15.

frende of publycanes. The phrase occurs in Matthew 11:19 and Luke 7:34; Mark 2:16 also alludes to it when summarizing the accusations of the Pharisees. The opprobrium attached to this label can be explained by the fact that publicans [*publicani*] were Jewish tax collectors on behalf of the Roman occupiers of Judea, and so judged treacherous pariahs by their own people; Christ himself bids that anyone who “will not hear the church” should be treated the same “as the heathen and publican,” i.e., be made an outcast (Matthew 18:17). The term should not be confused with the modern sense of publican as the owner of an alehouse or tavern, since this meaning is not recorded until the early eighteenth century (*OED*, *publican* (n.1), sense 3), and probably started life as a jocular reference to the biblical term.

CHAPTER 12, PARAGRAPH 2

clensed lepers. Appulby omits a reference here to Christ curing “paralysed and withered men” [*paraliticos et aridos curasti*] derived from Matthew 9:6–7 and 12:10–13, Mark 2:9–12 and 3:1–5, Luke 5:24–25 and 6:6–10, and John 5:7–9.

Blessyd be the wombe. See Luke 11:27. AA contemplation 17 continues beyond this point, delivering a summative thanksgiving for “all of the signs and wonders and works” [*signa et prodigia et opera*] by which Christ showed his “tenderness and mercy” [*pietatis et misericordia*], before concluding with a tribute to the image miraculously imprinted on Veronica’s cloth. Appulby moves much of this material to chapter 19.

CHAPTER 13, RUBRIC

the entrynge of oure lorde. In this section Appulby radically compresses and reworks his source. Although he draws principally from AA contemplations 18 and 19, he is highly selective in his material. In particular, he strips out all passages relating to the attack on the money-lenders and the Sanhedrin’s proceedings against Jesus, most likely in recognition of his urban, commercial readership. See the Appulby Introduction, p. 101, for fuller discussion.

CHAPTER 13, PARAGRAPH 1

Lazar. Although AA places Lazarus’s name in the header for contemplation 18, it does not discuss his resurrection in any greater detail than Appulby, simply making passing reference to “the tears that you cried at the tomb of Lazarus and over the city of Jerusalem” [*lachrimas quis flevisi ad monumentum Lazari et super civitatem hierusalem*].

And not longe after. Appulby moves away from AA contemplation 18 here and skips ahead to the middle part of contemplation 19. He omits much of contemplation 18, with its account of Christ confronting the traders in the Temple, and the cures performed after their expulsion; he also ignores the first part of contemplation 19, which portrays Caiaphas’s maneuvers against Christ and Judas receiving his thirty pieces of silver. Despite these truncations, however, his rendering is faithful.

CHAPTER 13, PARAGRAPH 2

And herynge this they began. Appulby starts to elaborate freely on AA from this point. On the disciples’ response to Christ’s words, for instance, his source simply states “they were disturbed, and each doubting the others came and held fast to plead one after the other” [*illi turbati: et hesitans quis eorum eent et ceperunt singuli excusare*].

He that putteth his hande . . . shall betraye me. See John 13:26. The allusion does not appear in AA.

all preestes to the worldes ende. It is difficult not to see a response here to the Lollard movement, which often questioned priestly authority along precisely these lines. There is no comparable text in AA contemplation 19, which simply notes how Christ receives his “guests” [*discumbes*] into the bosom of his father, just as an unnamed disciple leans on Jesus’s bosom in John 13:23.

CHAPTER 13, PARAGRAPH 3

O, what excellent love. The remainder of this chapter, and its insistence on the importance of the Eucharist, appear to be Appulby’s own invention.

we sholde not hungre ne thurste. See John 6:35; Apocalypse 7:16.

toure of strengthe. See Psalm 60:4 (or 61:3 in post-medieval bibles) and Proverbs 18:10.

CHAPTER 14, RUBRIC

Of the prayer. The chapter is based on AA contemplation 21. Appulby has disregarded contemplation 20, based on John 13:34, 14:1–3, and 14:27; he also ignores the first part of contemplation 21, which gives a potted version of John 17:11–15.

CHAPTER 14, PARAGRAPH 1

by reason of two loves. The reading of Christ’s three petitions is Appulby’s own. This episode receives only brief consideration in AA: reflecting on Christ’s plea to “let this chalice pass from me,” AA merely remarks that his apprehension stemmed not from his “human disposition” [*non tuum quod humano affect*] but because he had appointed his own death “in his godhood” [*in divinitate fiat*]. It elaborates no further, moving immediately on to the significance of Christ sweating blood in Luke 22:44.

naturall love. Appulby’s discussion may be colored by scholastic philosophy, where “naturall love” carries specific meanings. Aquinas defines *amor naturalis* as the attraction between “each single thing” to “that which is naturally suitable to it,” much as a “heavy body” is drawn to the center of the world “by reason of its weight” (*Summa Theologica*, 2.1.26.1). This force is inferior to “intellectual or rational love,” which can only be attained by entities equipped with free will, such as human beings or God. See further Morgan, “Natural and Rational Love.”

Fader, yf it be possyble, make . . . this bytter passyon to be taken fro me. See Matthew 26:39.

Fader, not my wyll . . . but thyn be fulfylled and done. See Matthew 26:42.

CHAPTER 14, PARAGRAPH 2

And after thou had prayed thus. Appulby returns to AA contemplation 21 from this point and for the remainder of the chapter, albeit with a few minor adjustments.

for thy holy prayer, bytter agony and . . . the swete love thou hast shewed to me. AA looks more specifically to Matthew 26:40–44 here, giving thanks “for this, your devoted prayer, and for the threefold stirring by which you carefully encouraged your disciples so that they would be watchful and pray” [*propter hanc devotam orationem tuam et per trinam excitationem quem pie exhortasti discipulos tuos ut vigilarent et orarent*].

CHAPTER 15, RUBRIC

the capcyon of our lorde. Most of this chapter reworks AA contemplation 23; it also draws material from the first half of contemplation 24. Once again, Appulby’s treatment reflects a general lack of interest in Christ’s betrayal, since he sidesteps contemplation 22, which deals in depth with the episode.

CHAPTER 15, PARAGRAPH 1

voluntarily thou went. This part of the chapter is transplanted from AA contemplation 21 which, after the visitation of the angel, similarly adds, “by design you voluntarily went to that place where you knew by innate understanding that you would be betrayed” [*et per fortatus voluntarie ibas in locum quem sciebas cognitum esse traditori tuo*].

with knyves. Appulby’s translation is strained here: AA has “swords” [*gladiis*], following Matthew 26:55, Mark 14:48, and Luke 22:52.

And the wycked persones. Appulby omits the first part of contemplation 23, which continues to outline Judas’s betrayal; his rendering of the remainder of the chapter is faithful for the most part, however, down to the epithets “tamest lamb” [*agnum mansuetissimum*] and “creator before the creature” [*creator ante creaturam*].

Anna. That is, Annas, high priest of Judea and father-in-law to Caiaphas, whose interview with Jesus is detailed in John 18:13–24.

CHAPTER 15, PARAGRAPH 3

And erly in the sprynge. Appulby leaves out a short prayer on the face and eyes of Jesus, which bewails the disfigurement of this “flower of Nazareth” and “pearl and splendor of the angels” [*o vultus amabilis nasareni floris . . . o margarita et spendor angelorum*], and asks for protection from confusion by “the darkness of sin” [*occultis peccatis*].

And thou answered. From this point, Appulby transfers his attention to AA contemplation 24. He has also moved the boundaries between the sections of his source-text, effectively splitting contemplation 24 into two, and turning its final third into a chapter in its own right, his sixteenth. Nonetheless, despite reordering his material, Appulby’s translation remains close.

the wayes of our helth. This unusual phrase renders AA’s “*viam nostre salutis*” [the road to our salvation], which in turn echoes Acts 16:17.

whyte vesture. See Luke 23:11. AA also views the “*alba veste*” Christ is made to wear as “*signum fatuitate et ignavie*” [a marker of insanity and dishonor], perhaps calling on common color symbolism for lunacy in late medieval culture. See Parsons, “Trouble at the Mill” for discussion and examples.

Pylate and Herode were made frendes. See Luke 23:12.

for all these irrysions . . . and adversytyees. This short prayer is Appulby's own; AA does not interrupt the narrative at this point, concluding contemplation 24 with Jesus's flagellation.

CHAPTER 16, RUBRIC

of his expolyacyon. This chapter marks the reintroduction of Bridget as a major witness to the events of the Passion, effectively overriding AA's treatment of the same details. Nevertheless, up until the cry in support of Barabbas, Appulby continues his close translation of AA contemplation 24 from his previous chapter.

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 1

Thou hast sayd so. Whereas AA gives the longer version of Christ's response from John 18:34–38, Appulby favors the shorter text of Matthew 27:11–14, Mark 15:2–5, and Luke 23:3–4.

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 2

Baraban. Barabbas, the prisoner released in place of Jesus according to all four gospels; described as a “notorious criminal” in Matthew 27:16, a bandit in John 18:40, and an insurrectionist and murderer in Mark 15:7.

as thou were borne. Compare Bridget's description of the flagellation (BSR 1.10.16): “as though he had just been born, he stood and suffered the blushing shame of his nakedness” [*sicut natus est, sic stabat et paciebatur erubescenciam nuditatis sue*].

personally thou put thy handes aboute the pyller. BSR also emphasizes the voluntary nature of Christ's disrobing and submission to beating (1.10.15): “then, led to the whipping-post, he personally shed his clothing and personally joined his hands around the post, which his enemies bound without mercy” [*deinde ductus ad columpnam, personaliter se vestibus exuit et personaliter manus ad columpnam applicuit, quas inimici sine misericordia ligauerunt*]. Again, Appulby's lexis follows his source closely: his repeated use of “personally” takes a cue from Bridget's *personaliter*.

clene from every spotte. See BSR (1.10.16): “they flogged his body, clean of every mark and sin” [*flagellabant corpus eius, ab omni macula et peccato mundum*].

fell to the grounde as deed. In BSR (1.10.17), Mary also describes herself fainting at the sight of Christ's torments, even before she knows the full extent of his injuries: “at the first blow I, who

was standing nearby, was struck down as though dead, and regaining consciousness I saw his body beaten and flogged down to the ribs, so that his ribs were seen" [*ad primum igitur ictum ego, que astabam propinquius, cecidi quasi mortua et resumpto spiritu vidi corpus eius verberatum et flagellatum usque ad costas, ita ut eius coste viderentur*].

no hole place. Much of the phrasing here is dependent on BSR (1.10.18), which ascribes the same observations to Mary: "and then my son stood totally blood-stained, so totally lacerated that there could not be found any wholeness nor place yet to be flogged" [*cumque filius meus totus sanguinolentus, totus sic laceratus stabat, ut in eo non inueniretur sanitas nec quid flagellaretur*].

not juged to dethe. According to BSR (1.10.18), Mary overhears one of the assembled tormentors demand, "Surely we should not kill him so unjudged?" [*Numquid interficietis eum sic iniudicatum?*] after being "roused in his spirit" [*concitato in se spiritu*].

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 3

tokens and steppes of blode. Bridget pictures Mary following the bloody trail Christ left on the ground (BSR 1.10.19): "the place where my son's feet stood I saw totally replete with blood, and from the footprints of my son I knew his path. He had proceeded where the earth was infused with blood" [*tunc locum, ubi stabant pedes filii mei, totum repletum vidi sanguine, et ex vestigiis filii mei cognoscebam incesum eius. Quo enim procedebat, apparebat terra infusa sanguine*]. Once again, Appulby recalls Bridget in both vocabulary and imagery, his "infuded" mirroring her *infusa*.

O good Jhesu, for the bytternesse of thy scourgyng. This concluding prayer moves back to AA contemplation 24, which also ends by giving thanks "for the great severity of your flagellation, at which you were torn to pieces" [*per hanc magnam acerbitatem flagellorum qua dilacerata sunt*].

thy bytter scourgyng. Appulby ignores a short passage here in AA, commending Jesus's "lively and virginal body" that had been "held in the pure embraces of the Virgin Mary" [*tuum delicatum et virgineum corpus . . . astrictum fuit castis amplexibus virginis marie*].

CHAPTER 17, RUBRIC

Of the expolyacyon. Appulby draws here on AA contemplation 25. Almost all of the material included in this chapter is taken from AA, with only minor modifications.

CHAPTER 17, PARAGRAPH 1

mynystres. AA has "*militibus*" [soldiers].

thyn eyen were blynded. The reference to Christ's blood choking his eyes and other features is an unacknowledged allusion to BSR (1.10.23), which similarly mentions that "his eyes were

filled with flowing blood, his ears were blocked and his beard entirely stained by the pouring blood" [*sanguine fluente replerentur oculi eius, obstruerentur aures et barba tota decurrente sanguine deturparetur*].

CHAPTER 17, PARAGRAPH 2

All hayle kynge of Jewes. See Matthew 27:29; Mark 15:18; John 19:21.

blacke and blewe. AA simply has "discolored by blows" [*lividam plagas*]; Appulby inserts a common English idiom, first recorded in the fourteenth century and still in everyday use (OED, *black* (adj. and n.), phrases 2a).

CHAPTER 18, RUBRIC

Of the wrongfull condemnacyon. Compare AA contemplation 26. As with the previous chapter, Appulby reproduces his source-text very closely here, with negligible compression or elaboration.

CHAPTER 18, PARAGRAPH 1

Beholde man. See John 19:5.

Crucifyf hym, crucifyf hym. See John 19:6.

I fynde no cause in hym. See John 19:6. Compare also Luke 23:4.

We have a lawe. See John 19:7.

From whens arte thou? See John 19:9.

Thou sholde not have power in me. See John 19:11.

CHAPTER 18, PARAGRAPH 2

Beholde your kynge. See John 19:14.

They denyed. AA follows the Johannine account more directly here, quoting the supposed cry of the crowd "Away with him, away with him: crucify him" (John 19:15).

We have noo kynge. See John 19:15.

Yf thou let hym passe. See John 19:12.

for envy they had brought thee. See Mark 15:10 and Matthew 27:18.

I am innocent. See Matthew 27:24.

The vengeaunce of his blode. See Matthew 27:25.

CHAPTER 19, RUBRIC

Of the berynge of the crosse. While the heading is taken from AA contemplation 27, much of the material in this section is rooted in BSR and the stock of Passion images popularized by the fourteenth-century Yorkshire mystic Richard Rolle and his followers; it also freely incorporates elements from AA contemplation 28.

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 1

cleven faste with drye blode. The idea that Christ's flesh was torn away by his blood-soaked robe is commonplace in English Passion narratives. See prayer 39 in the Holkham prayers and the associated note. AA contains no reference to this added torment, simply declaring, "I give thanks to you, Lord Jesus Christ, stripped of the purple robe at the sixth hour of the day, and dressed in your garments by soldiers who led you most ignominiously between two thieves, carrying the crossbar of your own cross" [*gratias tibi ago domine iesu christe quod hora diei sexta exutus es purpura, et vestibus tuis reindutus a militibus qui eduxerunt te valde ignominiose in medio duorum latronum baiulantem tibimetipsi patibulum crucis*].

coude not se who smote thee. Appulby once again turns to Bridget for this supplementary information. In BSR (1.10.21), Mary also reports that the press of the crowd obscured her son from view as individual members of the mob inflicted different torments on him: "some struck him in the throat, some buffeted him in the face. And so vigorously and relentlessly was he beaten that, although I did not see the beater, I clearly heard the sound of the beating" [*alii percusserunt eum in collo, alii in faciem cederunt. Et tam fortiter et valenter percussus est, ut, licet ego non viderem percipientem, audiui tamen clare sonitum percussionis*].

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 2

an other man. The intervention of Simon of Cyrene is recorded in Mark 15:21–22, Matthew 27:32–33, and Luke 23:26. AA also imputes his involvement to the "*malignitatem*" or spite of the spectators.

Veronyca. On Veronica and the development of her story, see Holkham prayer 38 and the associated note. Veronica and her miraculous "memoryall" have been transplanted from contemplation 13 of AA, where she receives a relatively brief notice, rounding out the catalogue of "his signs, examples, and good habits." Appulby's treatment of the story is his own: AA merely states that "you willed your image to abide" [*imaginem tuam reliquere voluisti*], and Veronica receives no mention at all in BSR.

the women that folowed. Appulby switches back here to AA contemplation 27, which also contains a short reference to "the women who followed you, crying and lamenting for you, and you consoled them by speaking to them" [*mulieres quod sequebantur te plangentes et lamentantes et consolasti eas dicens*].

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 3

all the instrumentes . . . condemned to deth. BSR (1.10.21) again emerges as Appulby's main source here, as Bridget's vision is reworked almost verbatim: Mary tells Bridget, "once I reached with him the place of the Passion, I saw there all the instruments prepared for his death. And my son reaching that place, he personally removed his clothing, the officers saying among themselves: Those clothes are ours, nor will he reclaim them, for he is condemned to death" [*Cumque venissem cum eo ad locum passionis, omnia instrumenta vidi ibi preparata ad mortem suam. Et ipse filius meus veniens ibi exuit se personaliter vestibus suis, ministris inter se dicentibus: Hec vestimenta nostra sunt nec ea rehabebit, quia dampnatus est ad mortem*].

naked and bare. Bridget stresses Christ's nudity once more at this point (BSR 1.10.22), and mentions the small mercy of "one running up to him carrying a cloth with which he, rejoicing inwardly, covered his shame" [*unus tunc accurrens apportauit sibi velamen, quo ipse exultans intime velabat verecundiora sua*].

fyrst thy ryght hande. The sequence of wounds follows BSR (1.10.22–23): "first, his right hand was pinned to the crossbar, which had been pierced for the nails. And that same hand they pierced through that part where the bone was solid. Next, drawing out with a cord his other hand, they fixed it to the crossbar in a similar way. Then they crucified the right foot and the left foot over it with two nails, so that all his nerves and veins were stretched and ruptured" [*primo dexteram manum eius affigentes stipiti, qui pro clavis perforatus erat. Et manum ipsam ex ea parte perforabant, qua os solidius erat. Inde trahentes cum fune aliam manum eius, ad stipitem eam simili modo affixerunt. Deinde dexterum pedem crucifixerunt et super hunc sinistram duobus clavis ita, ut omnes nerui et vene extenderentur et rumperentur*].

the marowe of thy bones. Appulby augments BSR with material from AA contemplation 28: this also describes how "the bitterness of the nails penetrated to the secrets of the marrow of the bones" [*acerbitas clavorum penetravit secreta medullarum ossium*], liberating the "treasure of your blood" [*thesauros sanguinis tui*]. There is also some overlap with the imagery of the *Fifteen Oes*: in some versions, it is alleged that the prayers were revealed to Bridget as a fitting means of honoring Christ's sacrifice, after she wished to know the number and nature of the wounds he sustained. Appulby's language specifically recalls the eleventh prayer, which reflects on "the depnes of thy woundes that wente thurgh thy tender flesshe, also thy bowellis, and the mary of thy bones"; he might also have in mind the twelfth prayer, which directs the meditator to think on the "precious blode" emitted from "thyn innumerable peynes and woundes" (ed. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, pp. 180–81).

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 4

thou might praye for thyn enemyes. Many of the details of the prayer are culled from AA contemplation 28, which also includes a brief prayer directing its reader to state "I praise and glorify you, Jesus Christ, reaching out to your enemies on the cross, while you were not able to move hand or foot, nor any other member" [*laudo et glorifico te ihesu christe propter nimiam extensionem tuam in cruce ut nec manus nec pedes ne ullum membrum movere posses*].

let fall in to the morteys. This part of the prayer rests more on vernacular tradition than any particular source, as its description of the cross being rammed into its socket draws on one of the most pervasive ideas in Middle English popular drama and visionary literature. See Holkham prayer 40 and the associated note, where the “mortise-drop” becomes a central pivot of meditation. Neither Bridget nor AA includes this detail in exactly these terms, although the latter, when recounting “the wounding and stretching out of Jesus Christ on the cross,” does refer generally to “the great misery that passed through your whole interior when you were raised up with the cross” [*magnum dolorem quod pertransiuit omnia interiore tua quom elevatur es cum cruces*]; this might account for Appulby’s reference to the “interyour partes of thy body.”

thy charyté may brenne. Appulby takes this phrase from AA, cycling back to the conclusion of contemplation 27; its account of the procession to Calvary also concludes with a plea for “charitas” to expunge all vices [*omnia vicia*], and asks that the meditator seek to become a “most pure mirror” [*purissimum speculum*].

CHAPTER 20, RUBRIC

Of the blasphemés of the Jewes. The heading rearranges and recombines the titles of AA contemplations 28 and 29. Appulby’s overall treatment of this material waters down much of the anti-Semitism of his source, leaning more on Bridget’s more concise description of the abuse Jesus received.

CHAPTER 20, PARAGRAPH 1

thou were a thefe. See BSR (1.10.24), which also reports that the accusations against Jesus caused Mary particular agony: “At that moment I heard some say that my son was a robber, others that he was a liar, others that none deserved death more than my son. In hearing this my grief renewed” [*In tempore illo audiui alios dicentes, quod filius meus latro erat, alios, quia mendax, alios, quod nullus dignior esset morte quam filius meus. Ex quorum auditu dolor meus renouabatur*].

Yf thou be Cryste kynge of Israell. See Matthew 27:40.

O cruelté of people. From this point until the end of the chapter, Appulby heads off on his own trajectory. The AA does not commend forgiveness with quite the same intensity, and introduces a theme it will explore more fully in contemplation 31: although it stresses that Christ’s “passion and cruel death” satisfied a “desire for brotherly charity” [*passione et crudeli morte satisfeci . . . desiderio fraterne charitatis*], it uses his words to emphasize his simultaneous role as creator, redeemer, and savior from the beginning of time [*creator ab initio fui illorum redemptor et salvator factus sum*], and ends by stressing that Christ became both brother and father to humankind through the Incarnation and Passion [*frater effectus sum illud mecum possideat in eternus hereditario iure fraternitatis*]. Appulby reserves the discussion of brotherhood for chapter 24, paragraph 2.

they whiche wyll shewe no mercy. See James 2:13. The allusion does not appear in AA.

CHAPTER 21, RUBRIC

the thefe hangynge. AA does not award this episode its own chapter, but merely includes it as part of the account of the “insults of the Jews” in contemplation 29. Appulby’s decision to privilege this aspect of the Passion perhaps reflects his lay readership, for whom Christ’s extension of mercy beyond his chosen circle of disciples would have particular resonance. He may also be led by the sixth of the *Fifteen Oes*, which makes Christ’s promise to the repentant thief the basis of a separate prayer, although one that pleads for “merci . . . in the hour of my deth” rather than valorizing contrition (ed. Barratt, *Women’s Writing*, pp. 179).

CHAPTER 22, RUBRIC

Of the words of Jesu. The overall focus of this chapter broadly corresponds to AA contemplation 30, although only the first two sentences are taken directly from it.

CHAPTER 22, PARAGRAPH 2

whan thou behelde her. From this point Appulby resumes his translation of BSR, although he has slightly reordered it. Whereas Bridget describes Christ’s bloodied body immediately after the raising of the cross, he delays these remarks until chapter 26; otherwise, he follows BSR with his usual fidelity.

lever wolde have suffred . . . and tourmented. This sentence reworks BSR (1.10.30), which also stresses the willingness of the spectators to consign themselves to hell rather than witness Christ’s torments any further: “with my son encircled by these griefs, he regarded his friends weeping, who would have preferred with his assistance to have endured his punishments or to have burned for eternity in hell, than to see him so tortured” [*Cumque filius meus hiis doloribus circumseptus respexisset ad amicos suos flentes, qui maluissent illam penam in se cum auxilio eius pertulisse vel in eternum in inferno ardere quam eum sic videre cruciari*].

the sorowe that thou toke. BSR (1.10.30) also insists that Christ’s “pain for the grief of his friends” [*dolor ille ex amicorum dolore*] caused him greater agony than his physical torment “because he dearly loved them” [*quia tenere diligebat eos*].

CHAPTER 23, RUBRIC

the thurst of Jhesu. Neither AA nor its source the *Meditationes de vita et beneficiis* dedicate specific prayers to Christ’s final words; AA singles out “*Eloi, eloi, lamma sabacthani?*” in contemplation 31 but treats the rest *en masse* in contemplation 33. Appulby on the other hand considers the utterances on the cross in three separate chapters, addressing them here and in chapters 25 and 26. No doubt this more sustained and systematic treatment is influenced by other meditative cycles, since it is not uncommon for the seven utterances to function as an organizing schema: examples can be found in Bonaventure’s *Vitis mystica*, Ulrich Pinder’s *Speculum passionis Christi*, and the *Fifteen Oes*; the last is the likeliest model for Appulby. See also Holkham prayers 41, 42, and 43. Nevertheless, much of the material in this chapter is still

drawn directly from AA: compare its opening sentence, for instance, to the earlier text's "from the excessive effusion of blood and burning desire for our salvation, with your tongue sticking to your cheeks, you said, 'I thirst'" [*ex nimia effusione sanguinis et ardenti desiderio nostrae salutis, cum adhesit lingua tua faucibus tuis et dixisti 'Sitio'*].

CHAPTER 23, PARAGRAPH 1

fonte of the water of lyfe. Appulby's interpretation and language here is evidently colored by the seventh of the Bridgettine *Fifteen Oes*, which also invites meditation on the word "*sitio*." His terminology echoes the Latin text at several points; this is especially visible in the cluster of epithets "*fonte of the water of lyfe*" [*fons inexhauste pietatis*], "*thurste of carnall concupyscence*" [*sitim carnalis concupiscentie*], and "*worldely delectacyon*" [*mundane delectionis*] (*Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie*, fol. 53v).

CHAPTER 24, RUBRIC

the grete clamour of Jesu. Appulby reorders AA here. AA also allocates this episode its own contemplation (31), but places it before the other words spoken on the cross. Appulby's sequencing might reflect a debt to the *Fifteen Oes*, where prayer 9 focuses on the declaration "O my God, why haste thou forsake me?," and prayers 7 and 8 look to Christ's thirst and his drinking vinegar and gall (ed. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, pp. 180–81).

CHAPTER 24, PARAGRAPH 1

lyfe stryved with deth. Much the same idea is emphasized in BSR (1.10.28–29): "and because he had been begotten as the finest man, life competed with death in his pierced body. For whenever anguish from his limbs and the sinews of his perforated body climbed to his heart, which was most fresh and uncorrupted, extraordinary pain and suffering jolted him. And sometimes misery of the heart descended into a mangled limb: and so death was prolonged with bitterness" [*Et quia optime nature erat, vita cum morte in corpore eius perforato certabat. Nam quandoque dolor de membris et nervis corporis perforatis ad cor ascendebat, quod recentissimum erat et incorruptum, et incredibili dolore et passione vexabat ipsum. Et quandoque dolor a corde in membra lacerata descendebat et sic mortem prolongabat cum amaritudine*]. The reference to Christ's "complexyon" probably picks up on Bridget's reference to his "*optime complexionatum*" slightly earlier in her vision (BSR 1.10.27).

CHAPTER 24, PARAGRAPH 2

O my fader and lorde. From this point, Appulby turns to contemplation 31 of AA, which he translates almost in its entirety; it provides him with his interpretation of Christ's cry, and much of his final prayer.

CHAPTER 24, PARAGRAPH 3

Forsake me not . . . so dere. Appulby's concluding sentence differs from AA contemplation 31, which instead asks for strength "in all my vital parts" [*omnia viscera mea*]. His formulation is comparable to the ninth of the *Fifteen Oes*, which also pleads "by this paynefull anguysshe forsake not us in the anguisshe of our deth" (ed. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 180).

CHAPTER 25, PARAGRAPH 1

moost pureste myrroure. Although the bulk of this chapter draws, like chapter 23, on AA contemplation 33, Appulby's opening commendation comes from contemplation 32: this begins "hail, Jesus Christ, you who are the purest mirror of the holy trinity, whom I regard with my mind's eye, and most interior parts" [*ave iesu christe qui es purissimum speculum sanctem trinitatis, quem intueor oculis mentis mee, et intimis visceribus*]. Appulby probably excerpted this formula, despite making little use of contemplation 32 otherwise, for its definition of meditation as a psychological, emotional, and biological process.

Consummatum est. See John 19:30.

Every thyng that hath be sayd . . . is fulfilled in me. Appulby's interpretation follows AA contemplation 33, which also puts much the same explanation into the mouth of Christ, in the same first-person prose: "you said *Consummatum* as though to say, 'I have confirmed all the prophets in me by giving myself up'" [*dixisti Consummatum ex quasi dicens . . . consummata sunt in me qui totum me dedi prophetas*].

CHAPTER 26, RUBRIC

the expyracyon of Jhesu. Appulby's title again shows him shifting the boundaries between sections, combining the final part of contemplation 33 with the first part of contemplation 34; nevertheless, much of his account rests on BSR and its references to Christ's dying body.

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 1

thy blessed eyen apprerred all deedly. As might be expected, this intense and vivid account of Christ's final moments comes more or less directly from BSR (1.10.26): "then his eyes appeared half-dead, his cheeks sunken and his face dark, his mouth gaping and his tongue bloodied, his stomach clinging to his back, owing to the wastage of fluid, as though he had no innards, all his body pale and weak from the flow and shedding of blood. His hands and feet were extended most rigidly, and against the form of the cross were drawn and molded. His beard and hair were completely spattered with blood" [*tunc oculi eius apparuerunt semimortui, maxille eius submerse et vultus lugubris, os eius apertum et lingua sanguinolenta, venter dorso inherens consumpto humore, quasi non haberet viscera, omne corpus pallidum et languidum ex fluxu et egressione sanguinis. Manus et pedes eius rigidissime extenti erant et iuxta formam crucis cruci attracti et conformati. Barba et crines ex toto respersi sanguine*].

fader, into thy handes. See Luke 23:46.

she remembred these wordes. This detail is also drawn from BSR (1.10.31), where Mary serves as an example of the power of imaginative recollection: “on hearing that cry I, his most mournful mother, trembled through all my limbs with love and all my heart with sadness; and whenever afterwards I thought of that cry, it was as though it was present and fresh in my ear” [*hanc igitur vocem cum audissem ego, eius mestissima mater, contremuerunt omnia membra mea cum amaro cordis mei dolore. Et quociens postea hanc vocem cogitabam, quasi in aure mea presens et recens erat*].

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 2

whan deth came. See BSR (1.10.31–32): “as death approached, his heart was ruptured by the violence of anguish, then all his limbs trembled and his head raised itself a little and fell, his mouth seemed to open, and his tongue was wholly bloodied; his hands loosened themselves a little in the place where they were pierced, and the weight of his body bore down on his feet, his fingers and arms contorted, and his back was drawn tight to the post” [*appropinquante autem morte, cum cor pre violencia dolorum rumperetur, tunc omnia membra contremuerunt et caput eius quasi modicum se erigens inclinabatur, os eius apertum videbatur et lingua tota sanguinolenta. Manus eius retraxerunt se modicum de loco perforacionis et pondus corporis pedes amplius sustentabant. Digiti et brachia quodammodo extendebant se et dorsum fortiter stringebatur ad stipitem*].

thy holy soule departed. Appulby reverts back to AA at this point, although he patches together details from multiple sections rather than reworking any particular one. This specific sentence translates part of contemplation 36.

thou presented them. This detail is briefly noted in AA contemplation 38.

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 3

thou reclyned it on thy sholdre. See John 19:30. The interpretation of Christ’s final moment is taken wholesale from AA contemplation 33, which also claims that Christ could find nowhere else to rest his head on the cross [*in cruce penderes et non haberes ubi caput tuum reclinares*] and attaches four distinct meanings to his dying gesture. These meanings are in turn commonplace in visionary literature, especially the idea that Christ bowed his head to kiss his followers. Although widely misattributed to Augustine or Bernard of Clairvaux, it seems to stem from the highly charged, eccentric visions of Rupert of Deutz in the early twelfth century (Lipton, “Sweet Lean of His Head,” pp. 1175–98). In formal Passion meditation, the image is given a major impetus by St. Bonaventure, whose *Soliliquium* bids “return to this, o soul!: Christ on the cross expecting you has bowed his head as though to kiss you, sinful and impure” [*revertere adhuc, o anima!: Christus in cruce te expectans habet caput inclinatum ad te peccatricem et immun-dam deosculandam*] (ed. Peltier, *Sancti Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, 12:100).

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 4

And in thy deth . . . all the worlde was derke. Appulby loosely translates the opening of AA contemplation 34, which is in turn based on Matthew 27:51–52 and Mark 15:38. His stress on the effect of the Passion on unreasoning creatures is not found in his source, however, and may be influenced by the version of the *Treatise of Love* printed by de Worde in ca. 1498: this contains similar phrasing when describing “how many ensamples were of sorowe whan our lorde Jhesu cryst deyed,” declaring that “unresonable creatures made sorowe; the sonne wythdrewe his lyghte, hidyng his bemys and became al derke” (*This trefyde is of loue*, fol. 25v).

I beseche thee to be mercyfull. This concluding prayer is Appulby's own; it does not correspond to any of the final exhortations in AA.

CHAPTER 27, RUBRIC

Of that the body of Cryst. The title reworks the headings of AA contemplations 34 and 35, although the vast bulk of his material is taken from the former, which deals with Longinus piercing the side of Christ.

CHAPTER 27, PARAGRAPH 1

thre houres myserably deed. See Mark 15:33.

thre houres alyve. See Mark 15:25.

blode and water. See John 19:34.

gates of heven opened. Appulby takes a different track from Weydenbosch here; AA contemplation 34 does not emphasize that Christ's wound was the origin of the sacraments, instead stressing that it revealed “all the treasures of wisdom and hidden knowledge; and through the effusion of rose-coloured blood and most holy water that heat of love drew out of your side to penetrate to the depths of the heart” [*omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie absconditi; et per effusionem rosei sanguinis et sanctissime aqua quam fervor amoris eduxit de latere tuo ut penetrantes profunditatem cordis*]. The contemplation ends with a conventional appeal for Christ to inflict “unhealing wounds” [*incurabile vulneratibus*] of love and charity on the meditator.

the seconde Adam. This section builds on the Pauline doctrine of Christ as “*novissimus Adam*” (1 Corinthians 15:45), whose sacrifice repays and reverses the penalty imposed on Adam after the Fall. The idea is formulated at greatest length in 1 Corinthians 15:21–22: “for by a man came death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead. And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.” Compare also Romans 5:15.

CHAPTER 28, RUBRIC

Of the takynge downe of the body. Appulby takes his title from contemplation 36, although the chapter owes very little to AA.

CHAPTER 28, PARAGRAPH 1

Joseph and Nychodeme. See John 19:38–39. Neither are named by AA, which simply refers to “your faithful disciples” [*fideli discipulo tuo*].

thy sorowfull moder. Mary’s involvement in preparing Jesus’s body is once again taken from BSR (1.10.34), as is the graphic blazon of his corpse before burial: “I took him on my knee, resembling a leper and entirely discoloured. For his eyes were dead and filled with blood, his mouth cold as snow, his beard like fibers, his face drawn, his hands so stiffened that they could not be brought down to his stomach. As he was fixed to the cross, so I held him on my knee, like a man withered in all his members” [*Quem ego recepi in genu meum quasi leprosum et totum liuidum. Nam oculi eius erant mortui et sanguine pleni, os frigidum quasi nix, barba quasi restis, facies contracta. Manus quoque sic diriguerant, quod non possent deponi nisi circa umbilicum. Sicut stetit in cruce, sic habui eum in genu quasi hominem contractum in omnibus membris*]. The only detail Appulby omits is the stiffening of Christ’s beard; his reason for doing so is unclear.

thy wofull moder wyped. BSR (1.10.35) again supplies Appulby with these details: “afterwards they placed him in a clean cloth, and I with my own cloth wiped dry his wounds and limbs, and closed his eyes and mouth, which in death had opened” [*postea posuerunt eum in linteo mundo, et ego cum linteo meo extersi vulnera et membra eius et clausi oculos et os eius, que in morte fuerant aperta*].

CHAPTER 29, RUBRIC

Of the glorious Resurreccyon. Aside from a few small additions, this chapter closely reworks contemplation 37 of AA, which gives a similarly compressed survey of Christ’s activities between the Resurrection and Ascension.

CHAPTER 29, PARAGRAPH 1

apperynge to thy blessyd moder. As Appulby’s qualification acknowledges, the appearance of Christ to his mother is not grounded in scripture, but originates from Pseudo-Bonaventurean tradition. AA makes no mention of it. See Holkham prayer 47 and the associated note.

All hayle ye. See Matthew 28:9.

dyscyples goynge to Emaus. See Luke 24:30–31.

Peas be to you, I am — drede ye not. See John 20:19.

a rosted fysshe, and of a hony combe. See Luke 24:42.

Tiberiadis. Lake Tiberias, an alternative name for the Sea of Galilee. See John 21:1–23.

thou confortest Thomas. See John 20:24–29.

Ave Maria. AA continues beyond this point, concluding with a plea that Christ “make me and all my friends rise again with great glory and honor” [*fac me et omnis amicos meos resurgere cum magis gloria et honore*].

CHAPTER 30, RUBRIC

Of the mervaylous Ascencyon. The chapter closely adheres to AA contemplation 38. Appulby’s only substantive addition is the final sentence, on the meditator as part of Christ’s mystical body, which has no parallel in AA; it most likely reflects his intended lay audience.

CHAPTER 30, PARAGRAPH 1

fayth, hope and charyté. See 1 Corinthians 13:13.

mount of Olyvete. The location is unnamed in AA, which only states that “afterwards you ascended on the mountain, and raising your hands you granted them your divine blessing” [*postremo ascendisti in montem, et elevatis manibus dedisti eis tuam divina benedictionem*]. The addition of this detail is typical of Appulby’s subtle glossing of his source.

lyftyng up thy hande. See Luke 24:50–51.

syttyng at his ryght syde. See Acts 2:34.

coomnipotent and coeterne. The concept of a triune God, who exists in three distinct persons sharing a single essence, is found in elementary form as early as 1 John 5:7. However, the nature and extent of this union coalesced only gradually, developing in the work of the early fathers Tertullian, Novatian, Origen, Hilary of Poitiers, and Augustine, before being formally ratified at the Council of Nicea (325 CE); it was further refined by ecumenical councils over the next millennium, as heretical movements such as Arianism, Catharism, and Joachism compelled stricter definitions (see Phan, “Developments”; Fortman, *Triune God*, pp. 99–170). The language used by Appulby and AA reflects this gradual toughening of vocabulary. It echoes the terminology set down in the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which insists on the shared omnipotence and eternity of the three persons, calling them “Father and Son and Holy Spirit, certainly of three persons but altogether one simple essence, substance, or nature . . . consubstantial and coequal, co-omnipotent and coeternal” [*Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus: tres quidem personae, sed una essentia, substantia seu natura simplex omnino . . . consubstantiales et coaequales et coomnipotentes et coaeterni*] (ed. Cavallera, *Thesaurus doctrinae*, p. 330). See Robb, “Fourth Lateran Council’s Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy.”

CHAPTER 31, RUBRIC

Of the myssyon of the Holy Ghost. The chapter loosely follows AA contemplation 39, although it adds a few points, and dispenses with its final thanksgivings for the universal mystery of the mass “and for all my friends, teachers and benefactors alive and dead” [*et omnes amicos professores et benefactores meos vivos et defunctos*].

CHAPTER 31, PARAGRAPH 1

lykenesse of tongues of fyre. See Acts 2:3–4.

converted thre thousande. See Acts 2:41.

Credo in Deum. The opening words of the Apostles’ Creed, a profession of fundamental Christian belief that probably crystallized around the end of the fourth century CE (J. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, pp. 1–29, 88–99).

CHAPTER 31, PARAGRAPH 2

Te deum laudamus. Appulby echoes the opening words of an early hymn customarily recited on Sundays at the hour of matins. AA also concludes its final contemplation (41) with this formula.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 1

all ye servantes of God. Appulby’s closing exhortations are original, and replace the final two contemplations of AA.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 2

Deo gratias. Taken from 1 Corinthians 15:57 and 2 Corinthians 2:14, the verse is used as a congregational response in the Roman mass.

EPILOGUE, PARAGRAPH 3

Rycharde, unworthye bysshop of London. Richard FitzJames, Bishop of London between 1506 and 1522, and staunch defender of orthodoxy and ecclesiastic privilege against Lollardy (see Thompson, *ODNB*, “FitzJames, Richard (d. 1522)”). FitzJames’s commendation remains in all editions of the *Fruyte*, despite the fact he had been dead for at least eight years when Redman’s and de Worde’s later imprints appeared. See the Appulby Introduction, pp. 97–99.



PROLOGUE, RUBRIC

Appulby's brief introduction, like his closing statement, has no given title.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 1

lyvyngē. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelationum beate Brigitte. capitulum x. A* [The first book of the revelation of the blessed Bridget. Chapter 10. A]. The function of the letter here and in subsequent marginalia is not immediately clear. The letters do not correspond to recognizable subsections in *BSR*, or even consistently show Appulby moving between different passages within it. Since they work through the alphabet in sequential pairs, albeit with some unaccountable omissions, they are perhaps intended to help the reader piece together the quotations from Bridget into some form of ordered whole, but it remains difficult to discern any pattern or purpose. See Dowding, "For your ghostly conforte," pp. 157–59.

charyté. Marginal note: *Ibidem* [As before].

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 2

frendes. Marginal note: *Ibidem*.

wylled ever. Marginal note: *Ibidem*.

moost hyghly. Marginal note: *Ibidem. B*.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 3

dayly. Marginal note: *Ibidem*.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 4

joye and exultacyon. Marginal note: *Liber x reuelatio beatem brigitte. capitulum x. D* [Book 10 of the revelation of the blessed Bridget. Chapter 10. D]. The note is erroneous, since in its medieval form *BSR* only consisted of seven or eight books; it should refer to Book 1, but remains uncorrected in all editions.

CHAPTER 4, PARAGRAPH 5

thou behelde his. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

fayre and delectable. Marginal note: *Liber vi reuelatio capitulum primo* [Book 6 of the revelation, the first chapter].

we may fynde. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

And good lady. Marginal note: *Liber x reuelatio capitulum x. D* [Book 10 of the revelation, chapter 10. D]. The mistake has obviously been carried over from earlier in the chapter.

good lady thy. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

CHAPTER 5, PARAGRAPH 1

Swete Jhesu, I beseche thee. Marginal note: *Oratio* [Prayer].

CHAPTER 6, PARAGRAPH 1

Benygne Jesu, I praye thee to sende. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 7, RUBRIC

our lorde Jesu. 1514, 1517, 1531, 1532: *our lorde.* Although 1530 is alone here, it offers a tenable correction; across all five editions, the opening *contentes of this boke* includes Jesus's forename as part of the chapter heading even when it does not appear in the actual chapter itself.

CHAPTER 7, PARAGRAPH 1

that every thyng . . . unto the instytucyons. In 1514 the accompanying woodcut is oversized, and smudges the initial letters of *that*, *submytte*, and *instytucyons*, but the text is clear from context and from subsequent imprints.

for onely unto this lawe. Marginal note: *Leuiti. x* [Leviticus 10].

of profounde humylyté. Marginal note: *Bernardus* (i.e., St. Bernard of Clairvaux).

Therefore make us, good lady. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 8, RUBRIC

persecucyon of Jhesu. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *persecucyon of our lorde Jesu.* Perhaps a correction, although the modified phrasing does not appear on the contents page of any edition.

CHAPTER 8, PARAGRAPH 1

two yere of aege. 1514, 1517, 1531, 1532: *two yere aege.* The 1530 emendation is required for sense.

CHAPTER 9, PARAGRAPH 1

I praye thee, good Jhesu. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 10, PARAGRAPH 1

to halowe therby our bapty. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *to have therby our bapty.* There is no obvious reason for the change, since the majority reading makes equally good sense.

Lorde Jhesu, I thanke thee. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 11, RUBRIC

fastynge of Jhesu. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *fastynge of our lord Jesu*, although the header remains unchanged on the contents page.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 1

O good Jhesu, I beseche thee. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 13, PARAGRAPH 2

one after an other. 1514, 1517, 1531, 1532: *one after other.* Although *an* only appears in 1530, it is a convincing correction.

CHAPTER 13, PARAGRAPH 3

Benygne Jhesu, I praye. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 14, RUBRIC

that our lorde made. 1514, 1532: *our lorde made.* 1517: *of our lorde made.* The contents pages of all five editions make clear that 1530 is correct. This is only one of two emendations 1530 shares with 1531; the second occurs in chapter 24, paragraph 1.

CHAPTER 15, PARAGRAPH 2

worthy deth. While we might expect “of” or a similar preposition here, all copies contain the same formulation.

CHAPTER 15, PARAGRAPH 3

Meke Jhesu, I beseche thee. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 2

erubescensy of. Marginal note: *Liber reuelatio capitulum x. E* [Book of the revelation chapter 10. E]. The book number is missing in 1514; the omission is rectified in 1517 and 1532 (albeit to an erroneous *x*), although the numeral disappears again in 1530 and is overlooked by Redman in 1531.

fresshely in syght. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *flesshely in syght.* It is entirely possible that 1530 has corrected a misreading in the previous versions, but either variant is plausible.

beauteful skynne. Marginal note: *Liber x. reuelatio beatem Brigitte capitulum x. E* [Book 10 of the revelation of the blessed Bridget chapter 10. E], repeating the same dittographic error from chapter 4, paragraphs 4 and 5.

moost bytter of all. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

one moved in spyryte asked. 1514, 1517, 1531, 1532: *one moved in spyryte.* 1530 has obviously emended a recurring error caused by the page break; the alternate reading garbles the translation from Bridget. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 3

sawe it replete. Marginal note: *Ibidem. E.*

CHAPTER 18, PARAGRAPH 1

Beholde man. It is tempting to assume that an article has been missed here, and that Pilate is meant to say “the man,” but all surviving copies contain the same formulation.

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 1

thy sorowfull. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x. E* [The first book of the revelation chapter 10. E].

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 3

may no more. Marginal note: *Liber x reuelatio capitulum x. F* [Book 10 of the revelation chapter 10. F], again reprising an error from chapter 4, paragraph 5.

wherof inwardly. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

with two nayles. Marginal note: *Ibidem. G.*

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 4

O good Jesu, for all these dolours. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 20, PARAGRAPH 1

suffred many grete. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x. G* [The first book of the revelation chapter 10. G].

Jhesu, I praye thee for thy passyon. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 21, RUBRIC

mercy of Jhesu. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *mercy of our lorde Jesu.* Although the 1530 reading makes sense, it is unsupported by the contents pages.

CHAPTER 21, PARAGRAPH 1

Mercyful Jesu, I praye. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 22, PARAGRAPH 2

other that loved. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelatio capitulum decimo. H* [The first book of the revelation, the tenth chapter. H].

brenne in hell. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

bytternesse and trybulacyons. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *bytternesse of trybulacyons.* The change seems to be a simple error rather than a revision; 1514 mirrors Bridget's Latin more effectively [*amaritudinem et tribulacionem*].

in thy herte. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

Jhesu, I beseche thee. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 23, PARAGRAPH 1

For this thurste and bytter drynke. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 24, PARAGRAPH 1

And for as moche. Marginal note: *Liber reuelatio capitulum x. H* [The book of revelation chapter 10. H].

dolour and passion. So 1530, 1531, 1532. 1514, 1517: *dolour a passion.* The later editions are obviously correct; an ampersand has been confused with an article in the early imprints. Redman seems to have emended the text independently, since he usually follows 1514 or 1517 rather than 1530.

dolour descended from. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

CHAPTER 24, PARAGRAPH 3

O swete Jhesu, hertely I praye. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

and for the bytter wepynges. The British Library copy of 1514 (shelfmark C.21.c.23) has an extra (and redundant) *oratio* in the margin which does not appear elsewhere; Dowding takes this as evidence that de Worde issued the book twice that year ("For your ghostly conforte," pp. 23–24).

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 1

Than the virgyn. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelatio beate Brigitte capitulum x. H* [The first book of the revelation of blessed Bridget chapter 10. H].

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 2

on thy sholdre. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

fyngers and armes. Marginal note: *Ibidem. I.*

in sondre. So 1517, 1530, 1531, 1532. 1514: *in sondee.* The first imprint is clearly in error; each subsequent edition has recognized and emended the slip.

all the holy soules. 1514, 1517, 1531, 1532: *all holy soules.* 1530 is probably emending an earlier slip here.

CHAPTER 26, PARAGRAPH 4

wayled for thee. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *wayle for thee*, an obvious misprint.

For this dolorous passion and deth. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 27, PARAGRAPH 1

O swete Jhesu, hertely I praye thee. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

CHAPTER 28, PARAGRAPH 1

deed eyen. Marginal note: *Liber primo reuelatio ca. x. I* [The first book of the revelation chapter 10. I].

deified body. Marginal note: *Ibidem.*

CHAPTER 29, PARAGRAPH 1

ryse from deth. So 1517, 1531, 1532. 1530: *ryse from dethes*, a clear misreading.

CHAPTER 30, PARAGRAPH 1

Lorde Jhesu Cryste, for the glory. Marginal note: *Oratio.*

ye heed. An alternative reading might be *the heed*, since *y* and *thorn* are indistinguishable in blackletter type. Although the same ambiguity is present across all five editions, Redman's punctuation suggests that he read the first word as a pronoun rather than an article.

CHAPTER 31, PARAGRAPH 1

Benynge Jhesu, I praye. Marginal note: *Oratio.*



APPENDIX

Rubrics from Weydenbosch, *Antidotarius Animae*. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 150 E 23, fols. 18r–33v.

[fol. 18r] *Sequuntur orationes seu contemplationes multum devote cum gratiarum actionibus de omnibus beneficiis a deo humano generi impensis et spetialiter in opere nostre redemptionis incarnationis et passionis christi.*

1. Primo ponitur oratio excitativa humane mentis ad laudandum deum.
2. Laus sancte trinitatis propter seipsam.
3. [fol. 18v] De creatione celi et terre et omnium que in eis sunt.
4. De creatione hominis et lapsu eius miserabili.
5. De reparatione hominis et permissione adventus christi.
6. [fol. 19r] De redemptione humani generis per verbi incarnati misterium.
7. [fol. 19v] De electione gloriosissime virgis Marie in matrem divini et mirabili conceptione christi.
8. De cooperatione omnium trium personatum in divinis quo ad mysterium incarnationis.
9. [fol. 20r] De virtutibus beatem Marie virginis quibus mervit esse mater domini.
10. De nativitate et paupertate Jesu.
11. De diversis incommodis indigentiis infantilibus de quibus vagitibus: lactatione et nutritione esurentis Jesu.
12. [fol. 20v] De dolorosa circumcissione innocentis Jesu, et de nova impositione dulcissimi nominis eius.
13. De apparitione Jesu et devota sanctorum regum oblatione, purificatione beate Marie, et presentatione pueri Jesu in templo.
14. De persecutione Jhesum fuga eius in egyptum, et de sanctis innocentibus ab herode occisia.
15. [fol. 21r] De inventione Jesu in templo, et de sancta et occulta vita eius.
16. De baptismo Jesu et eius ieiunio in deserto.
17. [fol. 21v] De predicatione et salutari doctrina domini Jhesu deque gloriosis eius signis, exemplis, ac bonis moribus, variis quibus tribulationibus in hic mundo.
18. [fol. 22r] De resuscitatione laszari et humili ingressu in civitate hierusalem in die palmatorum, et ejectione vendentium et ementium de templo.
19. [fol. 22v] De consilio judeorum adversus christum, et de eius venditione de que eius cena novissima ablutione pedum et sacramenti eucharistie institutione.
20. [fol. 23r] De sermone domini Jesu habito cum discipulis post cena.
21. [fol. 23v] De oratione Jesu pro discipulis ac de egressu eius in montem oliveti, de quem pavorem eius et tristitia et trina oratione ad patrem ac sudore sanguineo.



RUBRICS FROM WEYDENBOSCH, *ANTIDOTARIUS ANIMAE*

There follow most devout prayers or contemplations, with pleas of thankfulness for all the benefits given to humankind by God and — especially useful for our redemption — on the Incarnation and Passion of Christ.

1. First is set a prayer exciting the human mind to praise for God.
2. Praise for the Holy Trinity in its own right.
3. On the creation of heaven and all that is in it.
4. On the creation of man and his wretched fall.
5. On the renewal of humanity and granting of Christ's arrival.
6. On the redemption of humankind through the mystery of the Incarnation of the Word.
7. On the selection of the most glorious Virgin Mary as mother of God and the miraculous conception of Christ.
8. On the collaboration of all three divine persons in the mystery of the Incarnation.
9. On the virtues of the Blessed Virgin Mary by which she deserved to be mother of the lord.
10. On the birth and the poverty of Jesus.
11. On the various troublesome hardships of the infant Jesus; on his cries, suckling, and ravenous feeding.
12. On the doleful circumcision of the innocent Jesus, and on the new application of his sweetest name.
13. On the appearance of Jesus and the devout Oblation of the sainted kings, the Purification of the blessed Mary, and the Presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple.
14. On the persecution of Jesus, his flight to Egypt, and the holy innocents murdered by Herod.
15. On the discovery of Jesus in the temple, and on his holy and unrecorded life.
16. On the baptism of Jesus and his fasting in the desert.
17. On the preaching and beneficial teaching of lord Jesus, his glorious signs, examples and good habits, and various tribulations in this world.
18. On the resurrection of Lazarus, and the humble entry into the city of Jerusalem on the day of palms, and the expulsion of the traders and the cleansing of the Temple.
19. On the conspiracy of the Jews against Christ, and of his selling, his Supper, the most novel washing of feet, and the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist.
20. On the conversation that was held between lord Jesus and the disciples after the Supper.
21. On the prayer of Jesus for the disciples and on his departure for the Mount of Olives, on his fear and sadness and threefold prayer to the Father, and his sweating blood.

22. [fol. 24r] De spontaneo transitu Jesu ad passionem, ipsi usquam traditione per Judam traditorem, et de sanatione servi cui abscidit Petrus auriculam.
 23. [fol. 24v] De derelictione Jesu in manu hostili, fuga discipulorum, de quam dira comprehensione alligationem et deductione eius ad Annam sacerdotem et Caypham et de percussione et conspu-tione eius.
 24. [fol. 25v] De presentatione vincti Jesu coram pylato, et de irrisione eius ab herode et exercitu eius de que improbo clamore judeorum "crucifige eum," et de expoliatione et flagellatione eius.
 25. [fol. 26v] De expoliatione, illusionem, coronationem, et percussione capitis Jesu.
 26. [fol. 27r] De injusta condemnatione Jesu ad morte crucis.
 27. [fol. 27v] De bajulatione crucis ad locus Calvarie et crucifixione Jesu.
 28. [fol. 28r] De vulneratione ac extentione Jesu Christi in cruce, et de supplicatione per inimicis suis.
 29. [fol. 28v] De obprobriis judeorum et contumeliis exhibitis Jesu in cruce, et de verbo ad latronem in crucem dicto.
 30. [fol. 29r] De compassione virginis et matris Marie, et mutua commendatione eius Johanni.
 31. [fol. 29v] De valido clamore Jesum cruce "*hely hely lamazabathani*."
 32. De tribus horis quibus pende|bat [fol. 30r] Jesus vivens in cruce, et de multiplicibus opprobriis et contumeliis ibidem passis.
 33. [fol. 30v] De siti Iesu in cruce et amaro eius poculo, de quo verbo consummationis et expiratione Jesu.
 34. De miraculis quod contigerunt in passione domini, et de dira perferatione lateris Jesu.
 35. [fol. 31r] De eo quo corpus Jesu iam mortuum tribus horis pependit in cruce.
 36. [fol. 31v] De depositione Jesu de cruce et veneranda sepultura eius, et de descensu anime Jesu ab inferna et patrum inde liberatione.
 37. [fol. 32r] De gloriosa resurrectione domini Jesu, et eius multiformi apparitione et familiari con- victu et loquela cum discipulis.
 38. [fol. 32v] De admirabili ascensione domini Jesu.
 39. De missione sancti spiritus in die sancto penthecostes.
 40. De sancto adventu domini Jesu ad iudicium et de condigna remuneratione et glorificatione justo- rum et de punitione impiorum.
 41. [fol. 33r] Graciarum actiones de singulis beneficiis particularibus alicui homini singulari a deo impensis.
- [fol. 33v] *Explicit totus processus de vita passione resurrectione et ascensione domini nostri Jesu Christi nec- non spiritus sancti missione. Omnibus quod aliis beneficiis homini a deo collatis.*

22. On the voluntary journey of Jesus to his Passion, where he was seized through the treachery of Judas, and on the healing of the servant whose ear Peter cut off.
23. On the surrendering of Jesus into the hands of his enemies and the flight of the disciples; on his dreadful arrest, accusation and delivery before Annas the priest and Caiaphas, and his being beaten and spat upon.
24. On the presentation of Jesus, bound, before Pilate, and his mockery before Herod and his affliction, and on the wicked cries of the Jews “Crucify him,” and his being stripped and beaten.
25. On the stripping, mocking, crowning, and beating of the head of Jesus.
26. On the unjust condemnation of Jesus to death on the cross.
27. On the transportation of the cross to the place of Calvary and the crucifixion of Jesus.
28. On the wounding and stretching out of Jesus Christ on the cross, and on his supplication for his enemies.
29. On the insults of the Jews and abuses shown to Jesus on the cross, and of the words he spoke to the thief on the cross.
30. On the compassion of the Virgin and mother Mary, and his commendation of her to John in return.
31. On the vigorous cry of Jesus on the cross, “*Eloi, eloi, lamma sabacthani?*” [Aramaic for “My Lord, my Lord, why have you forsaken me?”].
32. On the three hours for which Jesus hung still living on the cross, and on the many insults and derisions he endured.
33. On the thirst of Jesus on the cross and his cup of bitterness, and on the word *consummatus* and the death of Jesus.
34. On the marvels that occurred during the Passion of the lord, and on the dreadful piercing of the side of Jesus.
35. On the body of Jesus which, now dead, hung for three hours on the cross.
36. On the deposition of Jesus from the cross and reverence at his tomb, and on the descent of the soul of Jesus to hell and liberation of the patriarchs from that time.
37. On the glorious Resurrection of lord Jesus, and his multiple appearances, and intimate association and conversation with the disciples.
38. On the miraculous Ascension of the Lord Jesus.
39. On the mission of the Holy Spirit on the holy day of Pentecost.
40. On the sacred coming of the lord Jesus in judgment, and on the condign reward and glorification of the just, and of the punishment of the wicked.
41. Acts of thanksgiving, with regards to particular benefits for any particular person through the generosity of God.

Here ends the entire progression of the life, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the mission of the Holy Spirit. All of the other blessings of man by God have been discussed.



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GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS: **adj.:** adjective; **adv.:** adverb; **FR:** Appulby, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*; **HPM:** Holkham *Prayers and Meditations*; **imp.:** imperative; **inf.:** infinitive; **n.:** noun; **p.:** participle; **pa.:** past tense; **ppl.:** participial; **pr.:** present tense; **pron.:** pronoun; **subj.:** subjunctive.

abiden *pray for, await* HPM

adopcyon *state of being God's child* FR

aferd *afraid* HPM

affermed *agreed* FR

affrayed *crushed* HPM

agayne *in return* FR; see **ayen**

agilt *guilty* HPM

alleggeaunce *relief* HPM

almasse *alms* HPM

amyable *affectionate* FR

and *if* HPM

angelyke potestate *angelic power* FR

anker *anchorite* FR

Anna Annas, *first High Priest of Judea* (see FR note 15.1) FR

anoon *at once* HPM

apaied *pleased* HPM

apesedin *calmed* HPM

apoint *about* HPM

apparycyons *appearances* FR

araied (pa. p.) *supplied* HPM; see **arraie**

arere *carry* HPM

arraie (imp.) *supply* HPM

askried *denounced* HPM

askyth *requires* HPM

assercion *declaration* HPM

assoilid *absolved* HPM

auctoryté *authorization* FR

Ave Maria *Hail Mary* (see HPM note Prologue.4) HPM

avowtrie, advoutry *adultery* HPM, FR

ayen *in return* HPM

ayenst *toward* HPM

Baraban *Barabbas, prisoner released in Jesus's stead*
(see FR note 16.2) FR

be (adv.) *by, by means of* HPM

beenfetes, benefytes *gifts, favors* HPM, FR

beer-lepis *large baskets* HPM

behad *behaved* FR

behest *petition* HPM

Belzabub *Beelzebub, a devil or name for the Devil*
(see FR note 12.1) FR

benigne (adj.) *kind* HPM

benignité (n.) *kindness* HPM

benomyn *denied* HPM

bere (n.) *bier* HPM

beriyng *burial* HPM

besili (adv.) *scrupulously* HPM

besy (adj.) *careful* FR

besynesse (n.) *trouble, effort* FR

betake *place* FR

beuté *beauty* HPM

bindith *oblige* HPM

boone *favor* HPM

boot *boat* HPM

bord *table* HPM

bothyn *both* HPM

bought *paid for* FR

bounté *benevolence* HPM

bowelles *depths, the internal organs as figurative seat*
of compassion FR

bowth *redeemed* HPM

boystous *churlish* HPM

brenne (imp., inf.) *burn* FR

brenned (pa.) *burned* FR; see **brenne**
brennyng (ppl. adj.) *burning* FR; see **brenne**
bresure *buffeting* HPM
brith *bright* HPM
brousid *bruised* HPM
brusten *burst* HPM
buschede *shoved* HPM
buxum *obedient* HPM
buystous *brutish* FR

Caninee, Cananee *Canaan, the southern Levant*
 HPM

cankered *diseased* FR
canticle *song of praise* HPM
capcyon *capture* FR
careyne *carcass* HPM
Cayphas *Caiphas, High Priest and leader of the*
Sanhedrin FR
caytif *wretch* HPM
cecedin *quelled* HPM
celestyall ordre *class of heavenly body* FR
charyté *pity* FR
chase *chose* FR
circumdate *encircled* FR
clene *without infection* FR
clennesse *innocence* FR
clepid *called* HPM
clevid *clung* HPM
clevist (pr.) *split* HPM
cloven (pa. p.) *split* FR; see **clevist**
coeterne *coeternal* FR
cogitacyons *thoughts* FR
comunicacion *fellowship* HPM
comyned *communed* FR
condyngly *appropriately* FR
conjectinges *fantasies* HPM
connexyon *union* FR
conseit *opinion* HPM
consustancyall *of the same essence* FR
consuetude *customary practice* FR
contrarious *contraries* HPM
contraverces *disputes* FR

conversaunte *living familiarly with* FR
conyng *intelligence, understanding* HPM
cotydyan *everyday* FR
couden *know* HPM
counseyl *decision* FR
coupable *responsible* HPM
covent *group* FR
covetyng (ppl.) *desiring* FR
coveytise (n.) *avarice* HPM
cowden *could* HPM
creples *cripples* FR
crownacyon *coronation* FR
crucyate *tortured* FR
curteisy *beneficence* HPM

daliaunce *communion* HPM
dampnid *condemned* HPM
daunger *resistance* HPM
debonaire (n.) *kind and meek person* HPM
debonerli (adv.) *gently* HPM
debonerté (n.) *kindness* HPM
debonour, debonore, debonere (adj.) *gentle*
 HPM
decreved *ordained* FR
defacid *disfigured* HPM
defaute (n.) *flaw* HPM
defaultife (adj.) *at fault* HPM
degre *vocation* HPM
deité *godhood* FR
delectacyon *pleasure* FR
deme *judge* HPM
depressed *forced downwards* FR
derkhed *darkness* HPM
despit *contempt* HPM
discreteli *thoughtfully* HPM
dispendid *expended* HPM
dissolucion *debauchery* HPM
distresse *pressure* HPM
dredefull *fearful* FR
drinching *drowning* HPM
drowen *dragged* HPM
dygne *deserving worship* FR

dyshonestynge *misrepresenting* FR

eftsones *soon after* FR

elacyon *arrogance* FR

Emaus *Emmaus, settlement about seven miles from Jerusalem* HPM

emsaumple *example* HPM

enchewid *avoided* HPM

encre *increase* HPM

enlonged *estranged* FR

ertheli *worldly* HPM

erubescensy *blushing for shame* FR

espouse *spouse* FR

even cristen *fellow Christians* HPM

exciting *direction* HPM

exercises *hard work* HPM

exhybycyon *display* FR

exite *inspire* HPM

expedyent *appropriate* FR

expolyacyon *stripping* FR

eyen *eyes* FR

eysel, eysell *vinegar* HPM, FR

Ezechie *Hezekiah, thirteenth king of Judah (see HPM note Epilogue.1)* HPM

famulier (adj.) *as though closely acquainted* HPM

famulierli (adv.) *like a close friend* HPM

fatuyté, fatuité *foolishness* FR

fatygate *fatigued* FR

fautith *lack* HPM

felycyté *happiness* FR

fende *the Devil* FR

festene *fasten* HPM

flemid *fled* HPM

flitte *depart* HPM

flome *river* HPM

fluxe *discharge* FR

forgate *neglected* FR

former *guide, template* HPM

fortherid *supported* HPM

forynesse *forgiveness* HPM

foyson *profusion* HPM

free *generous* HPM

frendly *lovingly* FR

fruycyon *enjoyment* FR

ful mechil *very much* HPM

fulfille *imbue* HPM

fulhomli *cordially* HPM

fygured *represented* FR

fyled *defiled* FR

gadre *assemble* HPM

gall *bile* FR

good sped *success* HPM

goode *refine* HPM

gosteli *spiritual* HPM

gosteli syht *spiritual vision* HPM

gracious *imparting grace* HPM

grees *stages* FR

gretten *greeted* HPM

greynes *grains* HPM

grucchild *begrudged, complained about* HPM

gylefully *cunningly* FR

haboundaunt (adj.) *abundant* FR

haboundantly (adv.) *abundantly* FR

halynge *hauling* FR

handwrest *wrist* FR

happely *by any chance* FR

hardly *boldly* HPM

have mynde *recall* FR

hele *health* HPM

helpli *beneficial* HPM

hem (pron.) *them* HPM

here (pron.) *their* HPM

heried (pa.) *celebrated* HPM; see **herryng**

herryng (ppl.) *praising* HPM

Herodes, Herode *Herod the Great (ca. 73–ca. 4 BCE), king of Judea* HPM, FR

hertili, hertely *from the heart* HPM, FR

hevyn *raise* HPM
hevynesse *sorrow* HPM
hey *exalted* HPM
hindren *obstruct* HPM
holsom *beneficial* FR
homly *intimately* HPM
honestli *properly* HPM
hoveable *fitting* FR

illuded *ridiculed* FR
illumyned *illuminated* FR
illusyon *scorning* FR; **illusyons** *vilification* FR
incurvate *warped, bent inwards* FR
indycyble *indescribable* FR
inferyour *inferior* FR
inflamed *inspired* FR
inforth *from memory* HPM
infuded *soaked* FR
infunde *infuse* FR
infyrmytees *deficiencies* FR
insultacions *insults* FR
invencion *discovery* FR
irrysors *scoffers* FR
irrysions *mockeries* FR

Jayre *Jairus, leader of a synagogue at Galilee* HPM
jelosie *fervor, devotion* HPM
joye *rejoice* FR
Jury *Jewry, Jewish people* FR

kendle *kindle* FR
knowleche, knowlege *acknowledge* HPM, FR
kytte *cut* FR

lapped *wrapped* FR

laps *fall* FR
large *liberal* HPM
largenesse *abundance* HPM
laude *praise* FR
layenge wayte *preparing to launch an attack* FR
Lazar *Lazarus of Bethany, brother of Martha and Mary* HPM, FR
leeffuli (adv.) *legitimately* HPM
lefte *neglected* FR
leful (adj.) *lawful* HPM
lest *the least* HPM
leven (inf.) *live* HPM; see **levyng**
lever, liver (n.) *person who lives in a certain way* HPM
lever (subj.) *rather* FR
levyng (ppl.) *living* HPM
lewde *unlearned* HPM
leyser *leisure* HPM
liken *please* HPM
Longeus *St. Longinus, soldier who supposedly pierced Christ's side* (see HPM note 44.1) HPM
lose *loosen* FR
loves *loaves* FR
low *humble* HPM
lusschede *dashed* HPM
lymes, lymmes *limbs* HPM, FR

maddeth *is driven insane by* FR
manas *menace* HPM
manhed, manhood *human aspect of Christ* HPM, FR
Marie Maudeleyne, Mary Mawdeleyn *Mary Magdalen* HPM, FR
maystrie *skill* HPM
mechil *great, much* HPM
mede *reward* HPM
meene *method* HPM
merciabile *merciful person* HPM
mete *food* FR
meve *move* FR
milde *humble* HPM
mispendid *squander* HPM

miytful *all-powerful* HPM
mo *more* HPM
mockage *derision* FR
monument *tomb* FR
monycyons *pieces of advice* FR
mornying *sorrowful* HPM
morteyses, morteyes, morteyes *mortises, mortise, sockets or grooves used in carpentry to fix one piece of wood to another* HPM, FR
mote *must* HPM
mowen, mowyn *might* HPM
myddes *waist* FR
mysericorde *mercy* FR

ne *nor* HPM
nemine *pronounce* HPM
Nichodeme, Nychodeme *Nicodemus, Pharisee who speaks with Jesus (see HPM note 46.1)* HPM, FR
noblesse (n.) *nobility* HPM
noblissed (pa.) *ennobled* FR
nowht *nothing* HPM
nurschede *nourished* HPM

obedyens *deference* FR
oblacyon *offering* FR
odoramentes *aromatic substances* FR
of ryght *justly* FR
Olyvete *Mount of Olives, east Jerusalem* FR
on *one* HPM
on lyve *alive* HPM
ony *any* HPM
ope *at the time of* HPM
or *before* HPM
oversprynge *moisten* FR
ovirplus *remainder* HPM
oynementis *ointments* HPM

palmes *palm branches* FR
pappes *breasts* FR
parfithli *perfectly* HPM
parte takers *partakers* FR
passions *sufferings* FR
peculyer *special* FR
percepcyon *consumption* FR
percucyons, percucions *blows* FR
perfytylly *without corruption* FR
perseverauntly *steadfastly* FR
pesibeli (adv.) *peaceably* HPM
pesible (adj.) *peace-loving* HPM
peyne *pain* HPM
pitous *merciful* HPM
plages *blows* FR
plenarely *entirely* FR
possede *possess* FR
pouere spirituales *poor in spirit, after Matthew 5:3 "pauperes spiritu"* HPM
poust *power* HPM
predicacyon *preaching* FR
presentli *in person* HPM
pretory *governor's offices* FR
preysable *commendable* HPM
prince, prynces *principal priests* HPM, FR
pris *value* HPM
profith (n.) *prophet* HPM
profith (v.) *prove* HPM
propre (adj.) *very own* FR
propreté (n.) *characteristic* HPM
provydence *foresight* FR
provysyon *arrangement* FR
publican, publicanes *tax collector on behalf of the Romans* HPM, FR
pulcritude *beauty* FR
purpre *purple* FR
Pylate *Pontius Pilate, Roman governor of Judea (26–37 CE)* FR

quike *living* HPM
quyt *free* HPM

race *erase* HPM
racke *the manger ("praesepeum") of Luke 2:7* FR
raddest *read* FR
rechynge *coughed-up phlegm* FR
reclinatory *couch* FR
reclusid *enclosed, cloistered* HPM
redargucyons *disproofs* FR
reed *red* FR
relief *leftovers* HPM
reles *release* HPM
remembre *remind* HPM
repleted *filled* FR
reprevable *blameworthy* HPM
rered *pulled* HPM
resigne *entrust* HPM
reume *realm* HPM
reund *grieved, tormented* HPM
rewfull *sorrowful* FR
richesse *splendor* HPM
rith (adj.) *right, very, like* HPM
rith, right (adv.) *truly, justly, by rights* HPM, FR
rithful (adj.) *righteous* HPM
rithwisnesse (n.) *righteousness* HPM
ronnen *running* HPM
ruggid *blunt* HPM
Rycharde *Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London (1506–1522) (see FR note Epilogue.3)* FR

Sabat *Sabbath* HPM
sadli *firmly* HPM
sapyence *wisdom* FR
scarifien *make an incision during phlebotomy or surgery to expel blood or pus* HPM
schadden *shed* HPM
schilde *protect* HPM
schortli *in brief* HPM
schuldren *shoulders* HPM
sclaundres *slanders* FR
secrees, secrees *secrets* HPM
secretes *interior parts* FR

sein *say* HPM
Seint Johan *John the Baptist* HPM
sekir *certain* HPM
sekirnes *security* HPM
semli *appropriate* HPM
senyours of prestes *high-ranking priests* FR
septre *scepter* FR
sermocynacyon *discourse* FR
shytte *shut* FR
signifiaunce *symbolism* HPM
Simon of Siren *Simon, Cyrenian made to carry Christ's cross (see HPM note 38.1)* HPM
skeymous *disgusted* HPM
skilfulli *reasonably* HPM
sobre *temperate* HPM
softe *soften* HPM
sondes *messages* HPM
sonere *sooner* HPM
soore *very* HPM
sothfast (adj.) *truthful* HPM
sothfastnesse (n.) *truth* HPM
soveraynes *superiors* HPM
sowne (subj.) *lead* HPM; see **sownith**
sownith (pr.) *leads* HPM
sparde *barred* FR
spoyled *robbed* FR
stable *establish* HPM
stere (imp.) *lead* HPM, FR
stere (pr. p.) *stir* HPM
stei *scaled* HPM
stoneide *stunned* HPM
straunge *obscure* HPM
subverser *perverter* FR
sudary *face-cloth* FR
swich *such* HPM
syke *sigh* HPM
Symeon *Simeon, devout man of Jerusalem (see HPM note 16.1)* HPM, FR

tedyous *wearying* FR
temporall *worldly* FR
temys *heirs, progeny* HPM

terminacyon *end* FR
terys *tears* HPM
thafflyccyon *the affliction* FR
thechin *teach* HPM
thoo *those* HPM
thowyth *thought* HPM
thre *three* HPM
thryes *three times* FR
Tiberiadis *Tiberias, the Sea of Galilee* (see FR note 29.1) FR
to, too *two* HPM
togider *together* HPM
toure *tower* FR
trobli *troubled* HPM
trone *throne* FR
trustli *faithfully* HPM
tyme of grace *the historical period after the Incarnation* FR
tyrantes *violent bullies* FR

unhonesté *dishonesty* FR
unkende *ungrateful* HPM
unreverently *impiously* FR
use (v.) *appreciate* FR
utylyttes *benefits* FR

variaunce *deviation* HPM
vengeable *vengeful* FR
Veronyca *St. Veronica* (see HPM note 38.1) HPM, FR
verray *truly* HPM
vicious *given to vice* HPM
vigylles *nightlong acts of worship* FR
voide (imp.) *purge* HPM
voidid (pa. p.) *purged* HPM; see **voide**
voucheth saf *consents* HPM

wawis *waves* HPM
waylful *forlorn* FR
waylynge *wailing* FR
wedde *token recording a promise or debt* FR
wedew *widow* HPM
weie *highway* HPM
welin (subj.) *desire, intend* HPM; see **welne**
welne (inf.) *desire, intend* HPM
wenyng *believing* HPM
werne *withhold* HPM
wex *grew, became* HPM
wherthorw *whereby* HPM
who *whoever* HPM
wikes *weeks* HPM
wil, wille *intention* HPM
withinforth *inwardly* FR
witt (pr.) *know* HPM; see **woot**
wittis (n.) *senses* HPM
wolde (pr.) *would, prefer* HPM; see **welne**
wondred *wondered* HPM
wondrynge *moving crowd* FR
woot (pr.) *know* HPM; see **witt**
wornges *injustices* HPM
wraythed *entwined* FR
wrethed *displeased* HPM
wrowhte *acted, did* HPM

yaf (pa.) *gave* HPM; see **yeve**
ydropesies *dropsy, edema, painful swelling of the limbs caused by fluid retention* HPM
yef *if* HPM
yefte, yeftis *gift, gifts* HPM
yen *eyes* HPM
yen syghte *eyesight* HPM
yeve, yve (imp.) *give* HPM
yolden *surrendered* FR
yow *you* HPM
Ysay *Isaiah, Old Testament prophet* (see FR note 9.1) FR