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Private Devotion in England on the Eve of the Reformation

J. Rhodes

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ABBREVIATIONS

(Where necessary further details will be found under authors' names in bibliography II)

A & R	See Allison & Rogers
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
DA	Dissertation Abstracts
E & S	Essays & Studies
EETS	Early English Text Society (es - extra series)
EHR	English Historical Review
GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Leipzig 1925-73)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
Index	See Brown, C.
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
L & P	Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII (1862-1910)
LFMB	Lay Folks' Mass Book - EETS 71
LPME	See Owst, Literature and Pulpit ...
Med. Æv.	Medium Ævum
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N & Q	Notes & Queries
Ned. Bibl.	See Nijhoff, W. & Kronenberg, M.E.
PL	Migne, Patrologia Latina
PME	See Owst, Preaching in England

PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PS	Parker Society
RES	Review of English Studies
RSTC	Revised STC - from Bodleian typescript
STC	See Pollard, A.W. & Redgrave, G.R.
STS	Scottish Text Society
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
YW	See Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers

NOTES TO THE PREFACE

1. H.S.Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd edn. Cambridge 1969), not always to be trusted on details; F.A.Gasquet "Bibliography of some devotional books printed by the earliest English printers", Trans. Bibliographical Soc. VII (1902 - 4) pp. 163 - 89. The indispensable bibliographical tool is of course, A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave Short Title Catalogue..1475 - 1640 (cited as STC), a new edition is in preparation, the drafts of which I have consulted at Bodley (cited as RSTC). J.Ames (augmented by W.Herbert and T.F.Dibdin) Typographical Antiquities (London 1810 - 19) is still useful as are E.G.Duff's A Century of the English Book Trade (London 1905); Fifteenth Century English Books (London 1917) and Hand-Lists of English Printers (London 1895 - 6). For books printed in the Low Countries W.Nijhoff and M.E.Kronenberg Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 - 40 ('s Gravenhage 1919 with supplements) is invaluable. For printed books before 1500 the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Leipzig 1925 - 38, 7 vols, A - E all so far published); L.Main's Repertorium Bibliographicum (1826, repr. Milan 1948; 2 vols in 4 parts) and W.A.Copinger's Supplement (London 1895: 2 vols, 3 parts) may be supplemented by the catalogues of particular holdings e.g. in America, Cambridge, Manchester. The two main sources for English Recusant literature are A.F.Allison & D.M. Rogers "Catalogue of Catholic Books in English..... 1558 - 1640" Bibliographical Studies III (1956) pp. 120 - 832 and A.C.Southern Elizabethan Recusant Prose (London (1950?)).

2. A.G.Dickens The English Reformation (London 1964, repr. Fontana paperback 1967) ch. 1. on late medieval religion; P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London 1969) ch. 5 "Clerical Learning"; P. Janelle L'Angleterre Catholique a la Veille du Schisme (Paris 1935) pp. 14 - 25 etc.; J.K.McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford 1965, repr. 1968); W.A.Pantin The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge 1955) Pt.III "Religious Literature". General surveys such as F.A.Gasquet's The Eve of the Reformation (London 1900) and H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England (London 1938) include some reference to the literature.

3. The treatises of the English mystics are the only group dealt with in this study to have attracted much attention. H.C.White's The Tudor Books of Private Devotion (Madison 1951) is the most detailed survey available: L.Bouyer Histoire de la Spiritualité chrétienne vol. III and H.Pourrat Christian Spirituality vols. II - III are too general to be much use..

4. E.Underhill Worship (London 1936) ch. 9 "The Principles of Personal Worship".

5. See P. Delany British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century (London 1969); O. C.Watkins The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography (New York 1972).

6. On Primers, C.C.Butterworth The English Primers (Philadelphia 1953 repr. 1971); on medieval sermons G.R. Owst's Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge 1933) and his Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge 1926) respectively cited as LPME and PME, supplemented to the end of the sixteenth century by J.W.Blench Preaching in England (Oxford 1964) are invaluable sources of reference; to which may be added M.Maclure The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534 - 1642 (Toronto 1958). H.C. White's Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison 1963) concentrates on the mid to later 16th century, but a large number of medieval saints lives have been edited over the last hundred years, often with substantial introductions: see J.B.Severs Manual vol .II (New Haven 1970) V.Saints' legends.

7. E.Hodnett's English Woodcuts 1480 - 1535 (revised edn. Oxford 1973) is the standard work for printed book illustrations of the period. As far as the more general aspects of religious iconography are concerned, this is best studied in the medieval parish churches of England. A good deal, however, can be done by proxy and the following list indicates some of the books I have found most useful. For roof bosses C.J.P.Cave Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches (Cambridge 1948); on monumental brasses Mill Stephenson's A list of monumental brasses in the British Isles (London 1926) the reference copy in Duke Humphrey's at Bodley gives the

references for the large collection of brass-rubbings in Bodley; G.L.Remanant A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain (Oxford 1969). The numerous books by Francis Bond: The Chancel of English Churches (London 1916); Fonts and font covers (London 1908); Screens and Galleries in English Churches (London 1908); J.C.Cox Bench-Ends in English Churches (London 1916); English Church Fittings (London 1923); F.E.Howard & F.M.Crossley English Church Woodwork (1917) are still useful as are E.W.Tristram's English Medieval Wall Painting (London 1944) and English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century (London 1955). I have found the various volumes of N.Pevsner's county by county series on The Buildings of England a convenient guide, supplemented by more detailed surveys such as H.M. Cautley's Norfolk Churches (Ipswich 1949), his Suffolk Churches (London 1937) or R.Richards Old Cheshire Churches (London 1947) and local church guides. G.H.Cook's The English Medieval Parish Church (London 1954 repr. 1970) and his Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels (London 1947, revised edn. 1968) contribute other historical details while M.D.Anderson's two books, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge 1963) and History and Imagery in British Churches (London 1971) concentrate on the interpretation of imagery.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Wilkins Concilia III (1737) pp. 754 - 5, 760 - 1, 770 - 1.

2. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 772 - 3. In general, A.G.Dickens Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation (London 1959) pp. 52 - 68.

3. G.Baskerville, English Monks and the Supression of the Monasteries (London 1937) pp. 96 - 108; D. Knowles The Religious Orders in England III pp. 157 - 72, 470 and for a detailed study of a particular case, E.J.Davis "The beginning of the Dissolution: Christ church, Aldgate, 1532" TRHS[4] VIII.(1925) pp. 127 - 50.

4. Knowles op.cit. pp. 304 - 19; J.Youings The Dissolution of the Monasteries (London 1971) pp. 25 - 55.

5. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 799 - 802 and for the general visitation of the monasteries, pp. 786 - 91.

6. The main source is still M.H. & R.Dodds The Pilgrimage of Grace.... (2 vols. Cambridge, 1915) but see also Knowles op.cit. ch.25; J.D.Mackie The Earlier Tudors (London 1952, repr. 1966) pp. 386 - 93 and H.M.F. Prescott's novel The Man on a Donkey.

7. A.G.Dickens The English Reformation (London 1964, repr. Fontana paperback 1967) p. 182.

8. They included Whalley, Sawley, Hexham and Furness.

9. Christ Church, Canterbury; Rochester; Waltham Abbey.

10. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 817 - 23 cp. pp. 813 - 7.

11. Dickens The English Reformation pp. 244 - 6; Mackie op.cit. pp. 382 - 5; E.G.Rupp Studies in the making of English Protestant Tradition (Cambridge 1947) pp. 109 -14.

12. Rupp. op.cit., p. 147.

13. Wilkins Concilia III. p. 848 - 50 for the King's draft of these articles.

14. C.W.Dugmore The Mass and the English Reformers (London 1958) p. 109.

15. A.G.Dickens & D.Carr The Reformation in England (London 1967) pp 77 - 85.

16. For the Boxley Rood, PS Original letters pp. 604, 606, 609; Camden Soc. (O.S.) LXXVII p. 286; For Hales, Latimer Works PS vol. II, pp.407 - 8.

17. e.g. The destruction of statues in Winchester College: Narratives of the Reformation, ed. J.G.Nichols (Camden Soc. 1860) p. 29.

18. W.Bonde The Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f. 182^{v} - 186^{v} defends the use of images.

19. On the movement: J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards (London 1965); J.Gairdner Lollardy and the Reformation in England, vol. I (London, 1908); A.G.Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509 - 1558 (London, 1959) and Rupp. op. cit. ch. 1.

20. e.g. Thomson op.cit. pp. 251 - 3. The case of Richard Hunne's death in 1514 is probably the most notorious instance: Thomson ibid pp.162 - 70; Dickens English Reformation pp. 132 - 7. See also STC 13970.

21. Rupp. op.cit. ch. 2; W.A.Clebsch England's Earliest Protestants (New Haven) 1964.

22. T.M.Parker The English Reformation pp. 22 - 4; Dickens Lollards and Protestants p. 10; M.Aston "Lollardy and the Reformation: Survival or Revival?" History n.s. XLIX, 1964 pp. 149 - 70 espec. p. 161. c.p. Owst LPME pp. 137 - 47.

23. Aston, art.cit.

24. Quoted from Dickens and Carr The Reformation in England (London, 1967) p. 82.

25. EETS. es. 19 p. 71. M.Deanesly The Lollard Bible (Cambridge 1920, repr. 1966) is the authoritative work.

26. Dickens The English Reformation pp. 183 - 96 and in detail C.C.Butterworth The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible (Philadelphia, 1941) which includes (pp. 250 - 2) a list of English translations 1340 - 1611.

27. J.W.Blench Preaching in England (Oxford 1964) pp. 37 - 49; R.R.Williams Religion and the English Vernacular (London 1940); N.Wood The Reformation and English Education (London 1931) ch. 4.

28. R.B.Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell and A.G.Dickens Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation, London. 1959.

29. In his final confession before execution he seems to have returned to the Catholic faith: R.B.Merriman op.cit. vol.I (Oxford 1902) pp. 301 - 4 and on the general question of final confessions L.B.Smith "English treason trials and confession in the 16th Century" Jnl.History of Ideas, XV (1954) pp. 471 - 98.

30. J.K.McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford 1965 repr. 1968) pp. 135 - 42; Dickens Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation pp. 80 - 9.

31. Whitford Dayly exercyse $A1^{V}$.

32. The effect of this is among the topics discussed by E.L.Eisenstein "The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance" Past and Present XLV (1969) pp 19 - 89.

33. Whitford The Werke for housholders (ed. Wayland 1537) *3^{v}.

34. The table of Cebes the philosopher (STC 4891) A1^{v} "The Printer to the Reader".

35. England's retention of black letter types long after continental printers had abandoned it in favour of roman or italic is an obvious example.

36. Whitford Dayly exercyse D6^{v}.

37. H.S.Bennett English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd edn.Cambridge 1969) pp. 229 - 33 also F.Madan "The Day Book of John Dorne" Oxford Historical Soc. V (1885) pp 71 - 177.

38. Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde. A1^{v} - 2^{r}.

39. Osiander Coniectures A5^{r-v} "of the which coniectures many I haue communicated pryuately in wrytyng to my familyar frendes, which when they were desyered of so many, and now spred abrode, I saue that it was perell, lest any foolyshardy shuld mixe wt these my coniectures any thynge of hys own || and so vnder my name to thrust them into other mennes handes, I not knowing which thyng to anoyde, I reuoked into my handes myne owne wrytinges, litle then though they were, and mended them in some places, & in some I so enlarged them, that they thus printed, mighte do my bretheren pleasure".

40. Whitford The werke for housholders (ed. Wayland 1537) *4^{r}.

41. N.Wyse A consolacyon for chrysten people A7^{v} cp. Wilkins Concilia III. p. 736.

42. Thomas Becon chose to publish a number of his earlier works under the pseudonym of Theodore Basile, presumably for self-protection, although he always named people of some standing in his dedications which would seem to implicate them in his views. Unlike the gentleman poets of the Tudor court, those who intended to edify their readers - whether

or not they had a controversial approach - were presumably eager to get their works into print and so to reach as wide an audience as possible. Two of the conventions noted by J.W.Saunders in "The Stigma of Print" Essays in Criticism I (1951 pp. 139 - 64) pp.144 - 7 seem to have been less means of avoiding the stigma of print than general conventions. The first is the excuse of the insistance of friends, a vast number of devout treatises seem to have been written and many of them printed at the instance of friends. The second is that delay makes it less offensive to appear in print. Whitford notes in several of his works, The dayly exercyse and The Pype or Tonne that they were written some years ago, but it appears to be a fairly neutral statement and not to be used as a justification for printed editions.

43. R.Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading 1450 - 1550 (Weisbaden 1967) p. 92 He cites no sources for this statement.

44. R.Hirsch op.cit. p. 92.

45. Wilkins Concilia III p. 707.

46. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 711 - 2.

47. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 719 - 21.

48. Presumably Joye's, Rupp English Protestant Tradition p. 132; Butterworth The English Primers p. 18f.

49. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 727 - 37.

50. Wilkins Concilia III pp. 737 - 9.

51. For a convenient summary of legislation relating to the printing trade, and its failure to control the press: F.S.Siebert Freedom of the Press in England, 1476 - 1776 (Urbana, 1952) chapters 1 - 2.

52. eg. STC 10509, 10504, Declamatio in Laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae

53. The printed edition is not mentioned in the EETS 151 edition, from ms. Harl. 2324.

54. RSTC 20200.3 Part I is based on Brunfel's "Precationes Biblicae", Pt.IV on Luther's XIV Consolations.

55. RSTC 3037 translated form "Dutch" (see Ned.Bibl. 1968 - 9, 3910 - 11) by Simon Fish.

56. For convenience I have used E.G.Duff (et.al) Hand-lists of books printed by London printers 1501 - 56.

57. See Duff. Hand-lists and for Berthelet's offer of his services to Cromwell L & P Henry VIII VI.72 (25 Jan. 1533).

58. His only serious lapse seems to have been over the Image of Loue (STC 21472): H.R.Plomer, Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries (London 1925) pp. 93 - 4; N.F.Blake "Wynkyn de Worde: The later years" Gutenberg - Jahrbuch 1972 pp. 132 - 3.

59. For the former STC 10467 and another edition of 1534 - 5 (E.J. Devereux, Checklist of English Translations of Erasmus to 1700, Oxford 1968).C.29.2 and STC 10479 - 80.

60. N.F.Blake "Wynkyn de Worde: The Early Years" Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1971 pp 62 - 9, see p. 69 where Professor Blake comments that De Worde abandoned the trade monopoly he had inherited from Caxton to develop "the publication of religious works by English authors".

61. e.g. Abbaye of the holy Ghost c. 1496, c. 1500 and 1531; The xii profytes of tribulacyon (1499), 1530; Hilton Scala perfecrionis 1494, 1507, 1525, 1533; Bonaventura Speculum Vitae Christi 1494, 1517, n.d., 1525, 1530; The thre kynges of Coleyn. (1496), after 1499, 1511, 1526; Nychodemus gospell 1509, 1511, (1512) 1518, 1532.

62. See F.C.Francis Robert Copland (David Murray Lecture XXIV) Glasgow 1961, pp 9 - 11, 23, 25 - 30, 32.

63. To The Pomander of Prayer and the Tre &.xii.frutes of the holy goost given in the Handlists may be added a number of other works mentioned by F.C.Francis, especially the nine pieces published 1522 - 31 now at Blairs College, Aberdeen. In honor of ye passion/of our lorde (1522); The doctrynall of/mekenesse (1529); The tauerne of/goostly helthe (1522); a type of illustrated rosary devotions; a work on confession (1529); Ye psalter of Iesus (1529); The Ro/sarye of our lady (1531); The.xv.oos (1529); The golden letany (1531).

63A. L.B.Smith Tudor Prelates and Politics (Princeton 1953) chap.7.

64. R.Whitford, The Pype or Tonne (1532) f.25^{r}.

65. For example Robert Barnes was an Austin friar, as was Coverdale; William Roye and Jerome Barlow began as Franciscan Observants;William Barlow was an Augustinian canon, John Bale a Carmelite, and both were priors; Bilney, Tyndale and Latimer were all in priests orders.

66. One of the best accounts of this"overlap" as illustrated by the actions and opinions of bishops 1530 - 40 is L.B.Smith's Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536 - 1558 (Princeton 1953). pp 132 - 219. A.G.Dickens, The English Reformation (London 1967, paperback edn.) p. 120 sums up the position: "Observing the thirties we cannot profitably think in simple terms of a Protestant-versus-Catholic struggle, since both sides, and especially the former, show profound divisions".

67. e.g. Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy London merchant distributed Protestant works, including Tyndale's and yet made donations to the abbey of Denny, whose prioress, he alleged, had sought to borrow Tyndale's Enchiridion (A.F.C. Bourdillon The Order of Minoresses in England (British Soc. of Franciscan Studies XII) Manchester, 1926 p. 80 also A.G.Dickens, The English Reformation (ed.cit.) p. 106.

68. e.g. Sir Francis Bigod, A.G.Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (London 1959) pp 90 - 4.

Notes to Part I.

1. cp. Bennett English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 p. 65f and article by Gasquet cited p. 65 n.1. Between 1530 - 40 devotional books rarely total half the output of the religious press and the proportion of devotional works to biblical/liturgical/polemics and expositions is quite a lot lower 1536 - 40.

2. This is true of small collections like the Veray deuoute treatyse attributed to Richard of St.Victor, Caxton's Boke of diuerse fruytfull ghostly maters or The tretyse of loue as well as larger compilations like The Shepherds Calendar or the Protestant volumes Certeine prayers or Prayers of the Byble. Small additions were regularly attached to some works such as "The Six Masters" and "De patientia" which frequently precede The.xii.profytes of tribulacyon or The Golden Epistle and selected revelations of St.Bridget which follow sóme editions of A. Kempis's De Imitatione Christi or Picus of Mirandula's Rules of a christian life which followed Sir Thomas Elyot's translation of Cyprian's Sermon of mortalitie. Sometimes these additions were typographical make-weights, e.g. Erasmus' Exhortacyón to the study of the Gospell (STC.10494)i.6^{v}, but the desire to fill otherwise wasted pages with edifying passages is equally true of manuscript compilations. Indeed, manuscript books which frequently contained more than one "work", probably influenced the compilers of early printed books and encouraged the production of volumes of mixed contents. Again, even where large works have a basic structure (Dives and Pauper and The floure of the commaundmentes of god are both expositions of the ten commandments; part of Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon is divided according to the days of the week) they tend to cover such a wide range of topics and to gain so many accretions that they often seem to assume the character of a miscellany, and chapters of these longer works were frequently copied separately such as various chapters of Suso's Orolgium, or Bonde's chapter on "the cerimonyes of the masse" from the Pilgrymage of perfeccyon which was copied separately in ms Harley 494 and Bodley ms Wood 17 (see HBS.XXVII (1904) pp. 19 - 29).

3. In an age when books were still comparatively expensive one volume which catered for a variety of needs represented value for money. On book prices Bennett op.cit. pp. 229 - 234 and references.

4. e.g. K.Young" The Records of the York Play of the Pater Noster", Speculum VII (1932) pp. 540 - 6; T.E.Allison "The Pater noster play and the origin of vices" PMLA XXXIX (1924) pp. 789 - 804; E.K.Chambers The Medieval Stage vol. II pp. 106 - 148 on the diffusion of the drama.

5. Hilton, Thomas a Kempis and the Syon brethren, Bonde, Fewterer and the prolific Whitford; Simon, hermit of London wall, would have taken vows. There was also the un-named Carthusian author of The Pomander of prayer and the authors of The tree &.xii.frutes of the holy goost and The Myrroure of Oure Lady were probably religious.

6. e.g. Erasmus, Lupset, Paynell were all at some stage religious or in orders and although he did not take orders, Sir Thomas More spent some time among the Carthusians and his devotional habits suggest a strong monastic influence.

7. Becon, Coverdale, Frith, Latimer and Tyndale were all in orders.

8. e.g. K.Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic pp 32, 491.

9. Such as the"Relygyous syster" addressed in The tree &.xii.frutes or the "Relygiouse woman of Denney" to whom Bonde sent his Deuoute Epystle.

10. Among the works written for the nuns of Syon are The Myrroure of Oure Lady, The Orcherd of Syon and several of Whitford's works including The Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection and A dayly exercyse and experyence of dethe.

11. e.g. Hilton's Scala Perfectionis, Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon, The Dyetary of ghostly helthe etc.

12. A.I.Doyle A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings

in English...(unpubl. Cambridge Ph.D. 1953) and "Books connected with the Vere family and Barking Abbey" Essex Arch.Soc. Trans. XXV n.s. 1958 pp. 222 - 43.

13. e.g. Deanesly The Lollard Bible ch.IX cp. Tyndale's A Pathway into the Holy Scripture;R.R.Williams Religion and the English Vernacular (London 1940) considers the "religious experience which lay behind the desire to provide vernacular scriptures"; N.Wood The Reformation and English Education, pp. 4 - 5.

14. K.Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic pp. 74 - 7; Horton Davies Worship and Theology in England 1534 - 1603 p. 37.

15. Lyfe of prestes $C8^{r-v}$

16. op.cit. $C1^{v}$; Article 21

17. op.cit. $I1^{v}$.

18. Article 13. He gives 9 reasons why religious and clerks are bound to chastity. i) bound to it by their vows. ii) the lowest order of the heavenly hierarchy (angels) and the highest of the lower hierarchy (clerks) should be alike. iii) they are vicars of God. iv) because they are held in honour for God's sake, they should be acceptable to Him. v) they reconcile others to God and cleanse the unclean, so they should please God by chastity. vi) because they receive and handle holy things, Christ Himself in the sacrament. vii) they are the eyes of the mystical body, the Church and must see clearly. viii) they are the glass to which lay people look and must be spotless. ix) their carnality gives evil occasion to people.

19. Articles 12 - 15.

20. Articles 4, 8, 11, 22, 24, 26 - 8 all say something on the subject.

21. op. cit. $F.5^{r}$.

22. Horton Davies Worship and Theology in England 1534 - 1603 ch.XI and refs. Tyndale's reference to children making descant on plainsong is hardly complimentary (Obedience, PS p. 307) Lyfe of prestes Articles 19 - 20.

23. op. cit. Cl^{r}.

24. P.Heath English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation ch.5 "Clerical Learning" attempts to assess and explain the situation.

25. Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, EETS 31 p. 1. Among the helps for priests listed by Gasquet, "Bibliography of some Devotional Books printed by the Earliest English Printers" Trans. Bibl. Soc.VII. (1902 - 4) are Manipulus Curatorum, Doctinal of Sapience, Exornatorium Curatorum, Stella Clericorum, Cura clericalis, Pupilla Oculi. See also Pantin The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, ch.IX.

26. STC.6126 - 7 and again (STC 6128) in 1542.

27. STC 10632 - 4, two in 1530 and 1532 also STC 10628 - 31 for 1515 - 20 editions.

28. Deanesly Lollard Bible p. 196; Gasquet Parish Life in Medieval England (London 1906) pp. 214 - 7 and G.H. Russell "Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England" Jnl. Relig. History II (1962) pp. 98 - 119.

29. RSTC. 10627 - 3 A2^{r}.

30. Knowles Religious Orders In England III ch. 18 espec p. 213.

31. Venn Alumni Cantabrigiensis.

32. G.Williams, "Two Neglected London-Welsh Clerics: Richard Whitford and Richard Gwent" Trans. of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion I (1961) pp. 23 - 5.

33. e.g. the Bodleian copy of Whitford's Pype or Tonne has the name of

Elynor ffetyplace and the Blair College copy of the Jesus Psalter (R.Copland, 1529) that of Elizabeth Collie, both nuns of Syon.

34. e.g. Myrroure of Oure Lady, EETS es 19 pp. 65 - 70.

35. For further evidence A.I.Doyle op. cit.

36. E.Power, Medieval English Nunneries, pp. 246 - 55; N.Wood The Reformation and English Education (London 1931) p. 136 etc. J.W.Adamson "Extent of literacy in England in XV and XVI centuries" Library ^{4}X (1930) 163 - 93.

37. Pomander of prayer (Redman, 1531) A6^{r}.

38. Chastising of God's Children p. 156.

39. Bonde Pilgrymage f.1^{v} cp. f.215^{r} "What is it than (thynke you) in our englysshe tonge to declare & shewe in specyall this hye secrete/syth our englysshe tonge is so imperfyte & barbarous? Surely it can not be. Wherevpon I meruayle moche of some/that be not aferde to turne holy scripture in to englysshe syth (in myne opinyon) it is impossyble so to be translate in euery place worde for worde to the lettre/& to render the same sentence yt is meaned by the sense in the other perfyte tonges".

40. Myrroure, EETS es 19 pp. 7 - 8.

41. Orologium p. 325; Sir Thomas Elyot in Cyprian's sermon Of mortalitie A3^{v}; EETS es 19 pp. 7 - 8.

42. Whitford Saynt Augustyns Rule in englysshe A2^{v}.

43. See McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics pp. 138 - 40.

44. S.E.Lehmberg "Sir Thomas Elyot and the English Reformation "Archiv für Reformations Geschichte XLVIII (1957) pp. 91 - 110.

45. N.F.Blake. Caxton and His World (London 1969) ch. 7 "Caxton as translator".

46. F.C.Francis Robert Copland (David Murray lecture XXIV, Glasgow 1961) also H.R.Plomer, Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries (London 1925) pp. 189 - 93.

47. Very roughly 1520 - 40, between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ the annual output of English devotional works were translations.

47A The holy rule of saynt Benet included in STC 3305 - see EETS 120

48. Not in STC Printed by de Worde in 1510.

49. Not recorded in STC (?1510).

50. Whitford, The Rule of saynt Augustyne/bothe in latyn and englysshe $A1^{v}$.

51. Ye rule of our holy fader.s.Austen. $A4^{r-v}$.

52. Op.cit. $A6^{r}$.

53. Pt. of STC 25417 (=STC 13925). Despite separate signatures and colophon the English rule is referred to on the title page of STC 25417.

54. Saynt Augustyns Rule $A3^{r}$ cp. P.S.Allen, Letters of Richard Fox (1929) p. 87; Pt.II The Pype or Tonne.

55. The Rule of saynt Ausgustyne $S1^{r-v}$:"Alas where ben ye soueraynes of this rule? where done they dwell? In the graunges I suppose/or in ‖ theyr gaye maner places. For in the cloyster is no rule kept/and in some conuentes they haue no rule/except it be closed vp vnder locke and key/for some professed persones dyd neuer se nor here tell of ony rule/and so as they professed they wote no what/so they kepe it they wote not how. But (I tell you) the hedes & soueraynes shall make strayte account therof/& paye therfore euery peny".

56. To the translations and expositions of St. Augustine's rule is to be added The Martiloge in englysshe printed by de Worde in 1526 (HBS III, 1891 ed. F.Proctor and E.S.Dewick).

57. cp. Dayle exercyse D6^{v} where he says that he has had it printed in the same format so that it can be bound with his other works and Wayland's edition of A dialoge or communicacion bytwene the curate.... and the parochiane....For a due preparacion vnto howselynge A5^{r} where Whitford mentions "the forme of confession that we sett forthe in the other werke for housholders may serue you/hit is but lytle/and of lytle pryce/& so maye the rather be ioyned herevnto, and both bowden together and you more redely maye haue at hande: that is referred from the tone, vnto the tother".

58. The rule of saynt Augustyne D4^{v}, 6^{r}; F5^{v} etc.

59. e.g. P2^{r-v} "make of a strawe a beame/of a mote a blocke"; O3^{v}"robbe Peter to clothe Paule".

60. The Rule of saynt Augustyne D7^{r} - ^{v}, f.22

61. e.g. illustrations in The Flowering of the Middle Ages ed. J.Evans p.51.

62. References are to the ed. by H.J.Blunt. EETS es. 19.

63. EETS es. 19 p. 162

64. EETS es. 19 pp. 303 - 6.

65. EETS es. 19.pp 244 - 51, p. 252.

66. EETS es. 19 pp.313 - 21.

67. EETS es. 19 pp.27 - 8.

68. EETS es. 19.pp.32 - 5.

69. EETS es. 19. pp.39 - 65.

70. Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe. Ca.X; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.157 - 66; Ancrene Riwle end of Pt.I.

71. See Chastising of God's Children p. 65ff. espec. pp. 69 - 72.

71A. Whitford The exposicyon of saynt Augustynes rule f.67^{v}.

72. Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.2^{r}.

73. cp. The warnings at the beginning and ending of The Cloud of Unknowning; the restricted readership mentioned by Hilton Scala I: 93 and the note at the end of the longer version of Dame Julian's Reuelations and even Erasmus' condemnation of curious speculation in his Exhortacyon to the dylygent study of scripture f. 3^{v} Also Psalm CXXX1:1; Ecclesiasticus III: 21 - 2.

74. EETS es. 19. p. 68.

75. EETS es. 19 p. 70.

76. P.G.Caraman "An English Monastic Reformer of the Sixteenth Century" Clergy Review ns.XXVIII (July 1947 pp 1 - 16) says p.4 that The Pype was planned and finished in 1525 but gives no source for the statement.

77. J. Stacey John Wyclif and Reform (London 1964) pp. 38 - 9; Coulton Ten Medieval Studies (3rd. edn. Cambridge 1930) pp. 88 - 9.

78. Works such as Simon Fish's Supplicacyon for the Beggers (EETS es 13) and Sir Francis Bigod's A treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices (YAS record series 125 pp. 41 - 58) both contain incidental criticism of contemporary monasticism.

79. RSTC 3036 - 7, says that it was translated from the Dutch (or German) by Simon Fish.

80. Foundacyon ch. 17. The monk is constrained by his rule to do good works and put all his trust in them, the householder remains true to his batismal promises and under the rule of a faithful pastor he performs good works more willingly. There is, G5^{v}, the familiar complaint against monastic idleness, compared with the householder who earns his living and gives alms of his earnings.

81. cp. the criticism of Erasmus' De contemptus mundi ch. xii.

82. Foundacyon ch. 19.

83. They had not been bound by vows or unwillingly made subject to regulations and the commands of their superiors cp. Erasmus De contemptus mundi ch. xii.

84. Foundacyon G3^{r}. cp. ch.21 on cloisters of sisters.

85. Foundacyon G4^{v}. By a piece of dubious etymology he goes on to show that in Greek the word for a monk meant solitary but that religious was a Latin word meaning bound and subject.

86. Foundacyon G4^{v}. In ch.20 he comments on the life of nuns and canonesses, that all their singing cannot profit them since they do not understand the Latin, "Moche better were it for them to reade theyre houres in a langage that they vnderstode". The nuns of Syon with The Myrroure of Oure Lady to help them understand their service, were unusually well provided for.

87. "All fervour and inward worship are dead, and ceremonies wax more numerous, but have lost their efficacy. Wherefore we are come to declare to the world that outward worship must give way to inward, and that ceremonies are naught, save as a means of stirring the spirit". Quoted by Lacey Baldwin Smith, "The Reformation and the Decay of Medieval Ideals" Church History, XXIV (1955) p.217. cp. Erasmus Exhortacyon to the study of the Gospell (STC 10494) h2^{r} "We be chrysten men by tytle and name, by customes. and ceremonyes outwardly, more then inwardly in the herte and mynde".

88. He seems to imply the very early types of monasticism, the desert/ κάυρα community rather than the coenobitic monasticism of Pachomius and St. Basil which dated from the 4th century.

89. Many of his criticisms are discussed by P.G.Caraman "An English Monastic Reformer of the Sixteenth Century", Clergy Review ns.XXVIII (July 1947) pp. 1 - 16.

90. Whitford Pype or Tonne f.24^{r-v}: "I can nat deney but that monasticall religion is sore dekeyde and dothe dayly so continue/I am sory therfore. Shewe vs (saye they) one monasterie where the promyse of theyr profession is perfourmed. I can shewe diuerse of the reuerend father of the obseruauntes/the charterhouses/with other. And I myghte saye in true conscience: I haue knowen manye ‖ monasteries that haue ben noted of great negligence in kepyng of theyr rules/and yet in the same places were some that always kepte ryght well bothe theyr rule and constitutions".

91. Whitford Pype or Tonne f.19^{v}. "I dare well saye ye religion of Christe .... is better & more perfectly & precisely kepte in religion monastical: than in any of the other states". cp. f235^{r}.

92. Whitford op.cit. f.180^{v} - 81^{r}.

93. Whitford op.cit. f.181^{r} - 83^{r}.

94. Whitford op.cit. f.54^{v}

95. Whitford op.cit. f.55^{r}. The prioress of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, "Ful semyly hir wympell pynched was" and her "fair forheed", "almoost a spanne broad", not to mention her coral beads and "Amor vincit omnia" brooch would not have been approved by Whitford.

96. Biblical authority such as I Timothy II:9; I.Peter III: 3 against extravagance of dress, especially women's, was developed by medieval preachers, owsb/ LMPE pp 390 - 411; PME p. 172; Blench Preaching in England

pp. 243, 311, 330 - 1, 341 - 4. The subject of Puritan attitudes to dress are assumed rather than stated by historians, eg. Knappen Tudor Puritanism p. 437. The chapter on "Conuenyent garmentes" in Bernard's Compendius...treatise (STC 1908) declares "In the vesture of chryst seruantes & of his hand maydes shuld not be, nor yet apeare new fangelnesse, no vanite, no superfluite, nor no sygne of pryde or of vayne glorye".

97. The Augustian rule allowed for clothing to be given according to need, so that the infirm or delicate could legitimately receive warmer clothing.

98. Whitford op.cit. f.54^{v}.

99. Whitford op.cit. Pt.I. ca.XV.

100. Whitford op.cit. f.39^{r}.

101. Whitford op.cit. f.40^{r}. Some parents hope thereby to be freed from providing for them or to get provision for them or in the hope of being helped by their children or to be able to hold them in honour.

102. Whitford ibid. Because they failed to marry or after the death of a spouse, or out of vain curiosity or ignorance, not knowing what the life entailed.

103. Whitford op.cit.f.37^{v}.

104. e.g. Whitford op.cit. Pt.I. ca. xxvi, xxix, xxx etc.

105. Whitford op.cit. f.60^{v}.

106. Whitford op.cit. f.44^{v}.

107. Whitford op.cit. f.45^{r-v} cp. f11^{r} and on silence ca.xxvii. He takes care to cite the scriptural authority for all the ceremonies discussed thus answering the heretics in their own language.

108. Whitford op.cit. f.14^{r} cp. Erasmus, An exhortacyon to the diligent studye of scripture (STC 10494) $A3^{v}$.

109. Whitford, ibid. cp. fols. 4^{r-v}, 6^{r}, 7^{r}, 8^{v} etc. and for their attack on the traditional hierarchy of the Church, $f12^{r-v}$.

110. In an article "Some Early English Devotional Books from Cambray", Downside Review LVII (1939, pp. 458 - 63) Dr. D.M.Rogers mentions a late XVIIth Century ms copy of De precepto et dispensatione by St. Bernard but he does not seem to have investigated Whitford's work in sufficient detail to discover that it is included in The Pype or Tonne. It is not unlikely therefore that the work De paupertate spirituali which Rogers is unable to identify, is the second member of the third part of The Pype - although there is no sign that it is a translation. The Cambray ms. would therefore appear to be an incomplete copy of Whitford's Pype or Tonne. The work De praecepto et dispensatione is a highly detailed and technical work which is also referred to in Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) $f.80^{v} - 1^{r}$.

111. Whitford op.cit. $f.63^{v} - 64^{r}$.

112. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon $f.81^{r}$.

113. In The Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe (ed. Pepwell, 1521) the chapter on obedience also follows one on meekness which is again described as the foundation of all virtues.

114. Orcherd of Syon, EETS 258 e.g. pp. 382, 413 - 4.

115. EETS 258 p. 379.

116. The decision to support the preceding chapters by citing the Scriptural evidence was probably designed to show the heretics that the orthodox both knew and used the Bible.

117. e.g. Deuteronomy XXVIII. This correspondence between obedience to God's will and material reward, and the view that ill-fortune in God's punishment for disobedience or infidelity runs through much of the Old Testament, not least the book of Job.

118. Whitford Pype or Tonne f. 98^{r}.

119. e.g. Deuteronomy V: 33; Ecclesiasticus IV, for a list of whose profits he refers the reader to "a lytell worke that we wrote vnto housholders": see Werke for housholders (STC 25412) D3^{r}ff cp. Tyndale Obedience PS p. 168.

120. Part II notes 142 f; 366ff.

121. Whitford Pype or Tonne f.71^{r}.

122. Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man had been condemned as early as 1527 (Wilkins Concilia III p. 707) Whitford would have had little time to read it before it was banned but he may, like More, have received permission to read such heretical works in order to refute them, or he may have relied on reports of the contents.

123. Whitford op.cit. f.72^{r}: See J.W.Allen. A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (2nd edn. London 1941) pp. 157 - 68 for the establishement of the opposite view and Henry VIII's supremecy.

124. Printed by Pynson, about 1526 and dedicated to the Princess Mary. The author describes himself as a priest "and Bon home of Edyndon"— he subsequently became a bishop of Bristol, 1542-54 As he refers to Henry as defender of the Christian faith it was presumably written after 1521.

125. Bush, Extripacion A2^{v}.

126. Romans XIII: 1 - 7; I.Peter II: 13 - 17.

127. Bush Extripacion $D2^{r}$.

128. Bush op.cit. $D2^{v}$.

129. Probably a reference to the peasant's revolt in Germany, temporarily crushed in 1525.

130 Tyndale Doctrinal Treatises PS. pp. 177 - 80.

131. Tyndale PS. respectively pp. 168, 171, 172, 173.

132. Tyndale.PS. respectively pp. 199, 200, 201, 202f.

133. Tyndale PS. pp. 178 - 9.

134. Tyndale PS. pp. 186 - 7.

135. Tyndale PS. pp. 206 - 7. The part played by Cardinals and Prelates such as Wolsey, Gardiner and Pole in the manipulation and formulation of state policies was not only a Catholic phenomenon, Cranmer was an astute politician as, later, were Jewel and Parker. The Geneva of Calvin and the Zurich of Zwingli, however, involved the church in politics as surely as the Pope did the Roman Church.

136. Apart from the reference in his Werke for housholders of the child's obligation to obey his parents, Whitford discusses obedience only in a religious context and except to deny Tyndale's claims he does not consider the social or national obligations of obedience.

137. Whitford Pype of Tonne IV.ii.chaps 2 - 5, Cassian's Collations bk.4 is his source for early monastic practice.

138. Whitford op. cit. f. 178^{v}: "This point: is slakly kepte in many monasteries. Where some persones haue cofers or chistes locked/& therin money/gold & syluer/cuppes/masures/peces/saltes/spones/and other plate of syluer/gylt/& golde" cp. fols. 191^{r} - 192^{r}, 201^{r}.

139. Whitford op.cit. fols. 179^{r}, 180^{v}, 182^{r}, 184^{v}, 193^{r} etc.

140. Whitford op.cit. f.201^{r}.

141. e.g. Tyndale PS pp. 231,-236 - 9.

142. Whitford op.cit. fols 203^{v} - 205^{r}.

143. Whitford op.cit. Pt. III. iii. ca xxv fols. 228^{v} - 9^{v}. In the text the headings are misnumbered, the third being repeated.

144. One of the best known treatments is that in the second part of the Anrene Riwle, EETS 225, pp. 21 - 51 cp. also Hilton Scala Perfectionis I. lxxxii.

145. e.g. Vives The Instrvction of a Christen woman (STC 24858) f.28^{v} Longland A Sermonde (1538, STC 16796) H1^{v}.

146. e.g. Assaute and conquest of heuen (STC 862) C3^{r}; Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe (ed. Pepwell) B3^{v}; Tree &.xii.frutes ed. Vaissier pp. 147,-160.

147. Most of them are derived from or implied by the Rule of St. Augustine.

148. See n. 85 - 8 above.

149. Whitford op.cit. fols 207^{r} - v.

150. Whitford op.cit. fols 213^{v} - 217^{r} cp Ancrene Riwle (EETS 225) pp. 24f; 41f.

151. This prohibition even extended to confession, Whitford op. cit. f. 215^{v}.

152. Whitford op.cit. Pt. III. iii chaps 20 - 24.

153. Whitford reminds the lecherous of the shortness and instability of his life and the threat of Judgement which they must face (fols $224^{v} - 5^{r}$) - themes associated with the literature of death discussed in Pt. III below. He also adds two physical descriptions of the aged lecher, which make use of the traditional signs of age and death (Pt. III notes 200 - 2). On.f.226^{v} he describes "whan the body is wydred/the beauty and fourme: faded and defourmed/whan ye blode is colde/the lymmes feble/ye strength gone/the hearynge dull or deffe/the eyes holowe/dymme/or blynde/the smell/sauoure/and tast/moche varied/the handes shake/whan the mynde is obliuious and forgetfull" - and the five senses which have been so abused in life are now decayed. The other description, f.228^{r} is more closely related to the traditional signs of death: "theyr hore heres as whyt as snowe/the wryncled forhed/the rugged lene chekes/the holowe blered eyes/the sharpe droppynge nose/and all the defourmed face: more lyke vnto a stincking caren..."

154. Lechery,as one of the seven deadly sins, is of course commonly discussed in works of spiritual counsel, e.g. Ancrene Riwle, EETS 225 pp. 90f; 96; Hilton Scala Perfectionis I. chaps 1xii - iii; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.$95^{r} - v$; $100^{r} - v$; The myrroure of golde for the synfull soule (ed. 1526) where Bi^{r} shows "Howe lechery causeth many euylles" and more generally M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins indexed under lechery and lust.

155. Whitford op.cit. f. $206^{r} - v$.

156. Printed 1520, 1521, 1523?, 1527 (STC 6833 - 6).

157. The printed copies are described and discussed by Dr. J.J.Vaissier in his edition of the work(cited as ed. Vaissier) pp. xxix - xl. It is of interest that a nun of Syon, Dorothy Coderington, seems to have used one of the ms. copies (BM.Add. Ms. 24192) and to have possessed the printed copy now at Ampleforth, another Syon nun, Margaret Windesor, had the copy at Trinity College, Cambridge (C.7. 12).

158. cp. Thomas Becon's A new year's gift and his comments on the custom PS I pp. 307 - 8. Also H.S.Bennett English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 pp 48 - 9. In the Dyetary there also remains the vestige of a humility formula in the author's claim to have relied on holy doctors and not his own experience, cp. Bonde Pilgrymage (1531) ff.1^{v}, 285^{r}.

159. The desire to produce something to the reader's "ghoostely profyte" is common to these Catholic authors and to the Reformers who sought to edify their readers.

160. cp. Pt. II. n. 59, 92, 97 - 8, 101, 109 - 10 etc.

161. Dyetary ed. Pepwell $C5^{v}$ - 6^{r}.

162. Dyetary. Respectively chaps. 5 and 1. Though clearly distinguished, the chapters are not actually numbered in the text.

163. Dyetary (ed. Pepwell) $C4^{r}$.

164. Ibid. $B2^{v}$.

165. The author makes use of standard tribulation imagery (Pt. III. n. 107) : $B3^{r}$. "Vyrgynyte is golde your cel is ye furneys/temptacyon is ye desyre/ye deuyl is ye kyndeler and blower of this fyre/your body is the erthen vessell/wherin this golde is put to be proued/ whiche vessell if it be broken by ony vyolent fyre/the golde is shedde out & lost/& the vessel can neuer be repared & made hole agayne".

166. Whitford Pype or Tonne III.iii. ch. 19.

167. Dyetary (ed. Pepwell) $C3^{r}$: "as a dowue that fereth the hawke dothe comunely vse the ryuer syde/& as in a glasse dothe spye in ye water ye shadowe of ye hawke/so I wolde ye sholde do. The ryuers or waters ben ye sentences of holy scrypture/the lyfe our sauyour Ihesu cryst/ & of other holy sayntes/whiche flowynge from ye moost clere fountayne

of the dyuyne wysdome dothe shewe & dyscouer ye subtyll crafte & false suggestyon of our enemy the deuyll".

168. Whitford op.cit. f. 220^{r-v}.

169. Ibid. f.220^{v}.

170. Ibid. f.220^{v}.

171. cp. the warning of Ephesians V:16 (Colossians IV:5) "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil".

172. Tre &.xii.frutes $C3^{v}$ ed. Vaissier p. 15. Dyetary, ch. 2. "The precyousnesse of tyme/and the shortness of the same", and Golden Epistle (Whitford, STC 1913 $B2^{v}$) cp., in a rather different mood, Marvel "To his Coy Mistress", "But at my back I alwaies hear | Times winged Charriot hurrying near".

173. See the beginning of Pt. III for a discussion of these themes.

174. In St. Benedict's Rule (Western Asceticism, vol. XII, Library of Christian Classics, p. 321), idleness is described as the enemy of the soul. Whitford's exposition of St. Augustine's Rule (STC 25417 = 13925) f. 68^{r} warns the religious to flee idleness as does the humanist author, Lupset to his friend John Walker in The Waye of Dyenge well (ed. J.A.Gee p. 288f.), and Paul Bush, Extripacion of ignorancy $A4^{v}$ says that idleness is not fitting to a religious man. According to The gathered covnsailes of saincte Isidore (STC 14271) $A4^{v}$ lechery soon conquers an idle man but lust yields to labour: "Therfore beware of ydlenes, spende thy good in labour, vse some maner of busines, seke vnto the a profytable worke:wher vpon the intent of thy soule may be set".

175. Dyetary $A5^{r}$.

176. The fullest treatment of this sin is by S.Wenzel The Sin of Sloth: Acedia.(Chapel Hill 1967)cp. M.W. Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins pp 193, 242 etc.

177. Dyetary $A5^{v}$.

178. Tre &.xii.frutes $C3^{v}$; Vaissier ed. p. 16 (cp. S.Wenzel op.cit. pp. 32 - 3) The author particularly recommends Stimulus amoris,p.32.

179. There are a number of sayings about the dangers of idleness including Ecclesiasticus XXXIII: 29; Idleness is the devil's bolster etc. Benham's Book of Quotations 787^{b} - 788^{a} and from Isaac Watt's poem "Against Idleness";"For Satan finds some mischief still | For idle hands to do".

180. e.g. Wenzel op.cit. pp. 84 - 8; 137 - 142.

181. ed. Vaissier pp. 117 - 8.

182. They are given as: charity, joy, peace, patience, "suffraunce", goodness, benignity, mildness, faith, good living, continence and chastity; Bonde Pilgrymage (1531) $ff46^{v}$ - 7^{r}. They occur in the Vulgate, not the English translation of Galatians V: 22 - 3.

183. The tree planted in religion has the expectation of at least becoming "a tree of ye heuenly paradyse". This suggests some continuity between the cloister, itself a walled area dedicated to God where heavenly virtues are cultivated, and the idea of paradise, often conceived as a walled garden - e.g. R.Hughes Heauen and Hell in Western Art (London 1968) ch. 2. "A garden enclosed" and D.Pearsall & E. Salter Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World (London 1973) chapters 3 - 4.

184. Widely acknowledged as the fundamental virtue e.g. Speculum ed. Powell p. 43. For a similar figure of the tree planted in meekness cp. Orcherd of Syon, EETS 258 pp 37, 39.

185. Again meekness and self knowledge are frequently related - e.g. Orcherd of Syon (n. 175 above) and The.xii.profytes of tribulacyon ca xi.

186. e.g. In his nativity and the washing of the disciple's feet.

187. ed. Vaissier pp 17 - 8. cp. p. 134.

188. ed. Vaissier pp 3 - 5

189. What I was, what I am, what I shall be - here attributed to St. Gregory - see Pt. III n. 350.

190. ed. Vaissier pp 8, 30 etc.

191. Ibid. p. 101.

192. One of the most basic texts was Jeremiah IX:1 taken up through St.Bernard into Fewterer Myrroure or glasse $\text{H}4^{r}$; Persons Christian Directory (ed. 1607) p. 423; Pomander of prayer (1558) f. 102^{r}. Among a number of other references: Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon fols. $287^{r} - {}^{v}$; Tretyse of loue EETS 223 p. 111; Ancrene Riwle EETS 225 p. 109; Speculum Christiani EETS 182 pp 214ff; The Chastising of God's Children pp 60, 100. Pious tears were also in fashion after the Council of Trent in works such as Mary Magdalene's Funeral Tears or George Herbert's poem "Grief". H.E.White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs pp 262 - 3; L.Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (Yale paperback p 199ff).

193. e.g. Orcherd of Syon EETS 258 p. 9; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) fols. $132^{v} - 133^{v}$.

194. ed. Vaissier pp. 19 - 20.

195. Apart from the "lady sawghter of avees" the only work of meditation named is the Stimulus Amoris, p. 32.

196. ed. Vaissier respectively pp. 49 - 59 and pp. 89 - 92.

197. Even in the chapter headings, the virtue of sufferance is really only an application of the virtue of patience previously discussed. Similarly goodness and benignity, continence and chastity show considerable overlap.

198. ed. Vaissier pp. 36 - 8.

199. ed. Vaissier pp 44 - 5. They include the quenching of all desire for earthly things, desire of heavenly things, exercise of ghostly profit, meek endurance of adversity and joy in tribulation. The two latter tokens are also, of course, the fruits of patience.

200. ed. Vaissier pp 47 - 9. It covers sins, it gives wisdom, and heavenly riches and finally makes the soul love and to be loved by God.

201. ed. Vaissier p. 124.

202. Whitford Pype or Tonne fol 19v.

203. STC 278 - 81.

204. Genesis XIX: 17.

205. Each is equated with one of the Apostles who witnessed the transfiguration of Our Lord - a feast which is often rather neglected in devotional literature. Peter symbolizes obedience, James poverty and John chastity. In The treatise of perfection of the sons of God the same figure was applied in a different manner - Chastising of God's Children p. 254.

206. STC 279 $C2^{v}$.

207. STC 279 $C2^{r-v}$ offers various "proofs".

208. STC 279 C3^{r-v}.

209. STC 279 A2^{v}.

210. STC 279 E1^{r-v}. Those who wish to see in this world an example of the perfection of heaven "sholde go & se a place where perfyte relygyon is kepte by deuoute seruauntes of god" and he goes on to give a brief picture of the harmony etc. of the perfect monastery.

211. STC 279 C4^{r-v}.

212. The abbaye a3^{r-v}.

213. The work is an amalgum of two pieces, The abbey and The Charter. While there are four French mss. versions of The abbey, the Charter seems to be later and H.E.Allen, Richard Rolle p. 336 knows no French or other original. The abbey is variously attributed in mss to Gerson, Hugh of St. Victor and Richard Rolle. M.C.Spalding, The Middle English Charters of Christ p. xxxvii ff. suggests that any dependence there may be between The charter of the Abbey and the Short Charter lies on the side of the former. The Abbaye of the holy Ghost has attracted considerable attention. On the incunable editions: H.S. Bennett "Notes on two incunables...." The Library[5] X (1955) pp. 120 - 1; C.F. Bühler "The first edition of The abbey of the holy Ghost" Studies in Bibliography VI (1954) pp. 101 - 6. On the French originals of The Abbey, K.Chesney "Notes on some treatises of devotion intended for Margaret of York" Medium Ævum XX (1951) pp. 11 - 39. Also, S.Brook "The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost" MLR LIV (1959) pp 481 - 8 and H.E.Allen Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, pp. 335 - 43. The work is also discussed with reference to part of Piers Plowman, by M.W.Bloomfield Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth Century Apocalypse p. 18 and n.25. The Abbey and The Charter of the Abbey from mss. Thornton, Laud-Vernon are printed by Horstman YW I.pp. 321 - 62 also EETS 26 p. 48f and N.Blake Middle English Religious Prose (London 1972) p 88ff.

3 editions were printed by de Worde STC 13609 - 10 and another of 1531 recorded by Maittaite. Quotations are from the edition c.1496, STC 13609.

214. The Latin phrases given include "Sciant presentes et futuri", "Habendum et tenendum", Hijs testibus" "Datum apud paradisum.... Anno regni & c" and the English begins, "Knowe they that ben here & they yt ben to come yt I almyghty god in trynyte/fader/sone/& holy ghost haue gyue & graunted/& wt my worde confermed..." As the book by M.C.Spalding The Middle English Charters of Christ has shown, the use of the legal form was fairly widespread in English devotional literature, especially during the XVth century. Copies of Latin charters were sometimes made to be read to the parish (e.g. P.R.O., charter of 1256 and apparently contemporary letter asking that the charter be read to the parish - E.40/10118, 10119) but there seems to be no evidence to suggest that translations were prepared for public declaration.

215. Abbaye e.g. $a4^{v}$, $a6^{r-v}$, $b1^{r}$.

216. The printed text on several occasions alters or abbreviates the ms. version given by Horstman. For instance from the introduction of Meditation as "garnere" to the question attributed to David "A fructu frumenti....", YW.I.pp.331 - 2 is abbreviated thus in the printed text, $a.6^{r}$: "Medytacyon Garnetour for to gadre corne to gyder than men haue theyr sustenaunce. ¶ Medytacyon is thought in god/of his werkes/ of his wordes/& of his creatures/& of his paynes yt he loued vs with. For oft a good thought is better than many Indeuowte prayers. ¶ Therof speketh ye holy bysshop Denys & sayth. Whan the herte is caught with the loue of god/he may not saye the worde yt he thynketh in herte. The garner is aboue ye cellar. So medytacyon ouer deuocyon Medytacyon garnetour & deuocyon cellerer/& pyte shall be pytauncer". Gone are the references to the sacrament as well as several quotations such as the important "In omnibus operibus tuis meditabar..."

217. Abbaye $a4^{v}$.

218. S.C.Chew The Virtues Reconciled (Toronto 1947) contains chapters on the Parliament of Heaven, Truth and Justice, Mercy and Peace.

219. On the origins of the four daughters and their debate, H.Traver "The Four Daughters of God: A mirror of changing doctrine" PMLA XL (1925) pp 44 - 92 and for the later development, including the drama and the influence of the Speculum Vitae Christi, the same author's The Four Daughters of God, Bryn Mawr Coll.monographs VI (1907). For the Abbaye of the holy Ghost p. 134 f.

220. Speculum ed. Powell pp. 14 - 19 cp. The Spiritual Pilgrimage (STC 12574) p. 12.

221. e.g. Brown XVth Century religious lyrics. no. 73.

222. e.g. EETS 209 pp 44 - 5.

223 S.C.Chew The Virtues Reconciled pp 61 - 8 gives many examples also Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art I pp 9 - 12.

224. Abbaye $C2^{r}$. cp. Speculum ed. Powell p. 47.

225. Abbaye $d2^{v}$ - 3^{r} they include "a blont rough raggid nayle"; the need to extend the other hand to the nail hole by ropes "And in ye drawynge all the Ioyntes of his armes brake asondre" and the process is repeated to make His feet reach the hole. "Whan ye Iewes had nayled hym on the crosse/as men do cloth on a teyntour/they lyfte vp the crosse fro ye grounde to set it faste in ye morteys....And in theyr grete enuyous malyce ye cursed Iewes lyft it vp as hygh as they myght wt strengthe of men & lete it falle downe sodenly in to the morteys. In ye fallynge all the synewes of his body/all ye veynes/& all the Ioyntes brake euery one". cp. Pt.II n.421, 423.

226. STC 3277 - 8 All references are to the latter, 1531 edition.

227 It is tempting to wonder whether Whitford, who refers to Bonde's work in his Dayly exercyse E7^{v}, perhaps got the idea for the structure of The Pype or Tonne from Bonde's work rather than directly from Aquinas. Bonde, Pilgrymage fol. 274^{v}: "Saynt Thomas sayth that the cerimonyes of religyon be ordeyned to kepe ye thre essenciall vowes/that is chastite/obedyence/& pouerty. And these thre be ordeyned for the optaynynge & preseruyng of vertues....This/ authorite sheweth to vs the similitude of a tonne: For lyke as in a materyall vessell/the small wyckers kepeth the hopes togyder/yt they lose not/& the hopes kepeth fast the bordes of the vessell/yt they disseuer not/& holdeth in ye endes that they start not. So the wyckers/ hopes/& bordes/with the endes duly ordred & knyt fast togider/ maketh a hole & perfyte vessell apte to receyue & holde wyne. In lykewyse/who soeuer kepeth well theyr vowes/cerimonyes/obseruaunces & vertues morall/and knytteth them fast togyder/by the holy exercise of grace/vndoubted they & none other hath theyr vesselles prepared..."

228. e.g."diuyded into thre bokes/in the honour of the Trinite"; the third book divided into seven sections after the seven days of creation.

229. Quotation of Hebrews XI: 13 - 16 was common. The motif was used in works as diverse as Legrand's Book of Good Manners V:xiv; Floure of the commaundementes of God f. cxli^{v} etc. "The condycyons yt the pylgrymage of paradyse sholde haue..."; Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the life of Man; The Spiritual Pilgrimage (STC 12574); See also J.X.Evans "...Tudor Recusant Prose" Recusant History X (1969 - 70) pp. 247 - 72 espec. p. 72 also in general S.C.Chew The Pilgrimage of Man New Haven 1962.

230. Pilgrymage f2^{r}.

231. The frequency of references to St. Thomas Aquinas' works is notable - citations are unusual in other devotional books of the period. Saints Augustine, Anselm, Gregory, Bernard and Bonaventura are more often cited by other authors. Bonde also has references to Gerson,

Jordanus, Henricus de Herph suggesting that his reading was not confined only to the familiar doctors of the church.

232. In the Prologue ($f2^{r}$) Bonde warns his readers against curiosity about any "secrete doctryne of perfeccyon you take or lerne of this poor treatyse/that ye haue not herde ne knowen before in redyng other workes". Especially, they are not to question seculars, only if they cannot understand a thing may they seek help from one "whome ye suppose to be perfyte & goostly". cp. The warning of the Prologue to The Cloud of Unknowing, (EETS 218) especially p. 2.

233. Pilgrymage f 15^{v}.

234. Bonde does not attempt too elaborate a description of heaven ($f7^{v}$) he concentrates upon the honour and dignity, the physical perfection and the blessed harmony to be enjoyed there and he emphasizes particularly the assurance of eternal life and the vision of the Trinity which sustains the whole.cp.section on heaven in Pt.III.

235. See n.223 above and also I:12 where the reader is warned not to question the high mysteries of God, such as to conjecture why God did not make man so that he could stay good.

236. A far more elaborate use of the pilgrimage figure is used in The Spiritual Pilgrimage, (STC 12574).

237. Pilgrymage II:4.

238. There is another reference to Bonde's expectation of the imminent end of the world $f.41^{v}$ but his views are not explained, nor does it seem to lead to any sense of urgency - it is God's mercy and motherly kindness to His sinful people which is emphasized.

239. He cites as evidence the double convent of chaste men and women under one roof labouring ceaselessly in prayer and meditation.

240. Pilgrymage: II: 9; III day 3: 3 - 9.

241. e.g. In Benjamin Minor (STC 20972) is included "a deuoute treatyse of discernynge of spyrytes", perhaps by the author of The Cloud of Unknowing (see EETS 218 p.lxxxif.); Hilton, Scala II: 26; Chastising of God's Children chaps. 17 - 21 and pp. 61 - 5 (ed. Bazire and Colledge).

242. Pilgrymage f.66^{v}.

243. Tre. ed Vaissier pp. 9, 15, 41, 80, 81, 104, 105.

244. Tre. ed. Vaissier pp. 12, 34.

245. op.cit. p. 33.

246. Hilton Scala I: 28; Speculum ed. Powell; p. 112.

247. The Italian Relation's author was impressed by the pious behaviour of the English, Love sees beyond the outward piety, Speculum ed. Powell p. 112: "we mowe see al day many men and wommen berynge bedes with trillynge on the fyngres and waggynge the lippes/bot the sight caste to vanytees and the herte that only god knoweth/as it is to drede/sette more vpon worldely thinges", cp. Chastising of God's Children ch. 10.

248. Pilgrymage II: 27 f.65^{r} - ^{v}, cp. f.84^{r}ff.

249. Pilgrymage II: 20.

250. Pilgrymage II: 23.

251. The five points of recollection are summed up in a rough verse f.61^{r} "Recorde these fyue poyntes/as ofte as thou may| How thy lyfe is shorte/and slypper is the way |Thy deth is vncertayne/ remember the ende |Euer ioye or euer payne/the one shalte thou fynde".

252. The figure used in The abbaye was that of a convent peopled with virtues, here (f.61^{V}) the figure is a richly decorated church, the foundations of meekness, the walls of faith set with gems of various virtues and topped with charity and over all the roof of steadfast hope. The figure of the religious' rich building, contrasted with the insubstantial and inflammable edifice of the worldly man had been briefly introduced earlier in II: 16.

253. Hodnett no. 870 and pp 31 - 2.

254. Isaiah XI: 2 - 3 (Vulgate), and the days of Bk.III. where they are discussed more fully are noted.

255. I Corinthians XII: 8 - 10.

256. Bonde shows no awareness of the controversy which had raged since 1517, nine years before the publication of the first edition of The Pilgrymage, over Luther's ninety-five theses on indulgences.

257. Hodnett no. 871.

258. The list of eight Beatitudes in Matthew V is conveniently reduced to seven, because, according to St. Augustine the last comprehends all the others; f.55^{V}.

259. Pride having been used for the root and trunk the seven branches are the usual lechery, ire, envy, gluttony, avarice, sloth with the addition of vain glory to the usual list of seven, to make the extra branch.

260. From the Old Testament the most important, as far as symbolic development is concerned, were the tree of knowledge planted in the midst of Paradise which the serpent tempted Eve to eat (Genesis II: 17, III: 1 - 6) and the messianic prophecy of Isaiah XI: 1 - 3 concerning the tree of Jesse. The words of Christ in Matthew VII: 17 - 19 cp. XII: 33 and the vine imagery of John XV were probably among the most influential New Testament examples.

261. Cassian Collationes V: 10.

262. Cited by M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins p. 84.

263. A.Watson The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (London 1934) Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I p.15 - 22, and more generally, E.S.Greenhill "The Child in the Tree: A Study of the cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition" Traditio X (1954) pp. 323 - 71. [On the screen at East Harling, Norfolk, Christ is carved crucified on the vine springing from the body of Jesse, H.M. Cautley Norfolk Churches pl. 116.]

264. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 158 - 60.

265. A.Watson op.cit. plates 1 - 3.

266. A.Watson op.cit. pp. 128 - 35, plates 29 - 30.

267. In The Branches of the Appletree, EETS 223, pp. 108 - 118, xxvii - xxx. The division into seven in each case suggests the influence of the seven sins, or the seven gifts of the Spirit more often associated with the tree image.

268. ed. Hübner Archiv für Neuern Sprachen CXXVI (1911) pp. 58 - 74.

269. Revelations XIII cp. M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins pp. 85, 89, 125.

270. EETS 217. p. 93 cp. R.Tuve Allegorical Imagery p. 22f.

271. The root foretold in the Isaianic prophecy "Ther was a yerde of þe rootę of Iesse", EETS 217 p. 94.

272. EETS. 217 p. 96f.

273. EETS 259 pp. 79 - 83.

274. STC. 22407 - 23. A summary list up to 1656 is given in the edn. of the ?1518 version by G.C.Heseltine (London, 1930).

275. Pride, for instance has seventeen branches, envy thirteen, sloth seventeen and covetousness twenty.

276. The tree of vice is relatively simple, each branch bearing eight leaves, or subsiduary vices but the tree of virtue gathers to itself not only the three theological and four cardinal virtues with the subsiduary mortal virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit, but also flowers of the seven beatitudes and their fruits and finally a petition of the Pater noster.

277. The declaration of the tree of grace is not completed until the third book, and the introductory nature of much of this second book is emphasized by references to Book III e.g. in II:6, 14, 16, 33.

278. The vine was rich in biblical associations e.g. Psalm LXXX: 8; Isaiah V: 1; Hosea X: 1 and John XV as was the vineyard, e.g. the setting for parables, Matthew XX - XXI. The cultivation of the vine, the way it was made into wine and marketed, not to mention the evil effects of drink and the lure of the tavern were all widely used as images by medieval preachers and writers, and most of the images had a biblical source.

279. Pilgrymage II: 17.

280. Pilgrymage II: 15 f.47^{r}.

281. Pilgrymage II: 18 f.53^{v}.

282. Pilgrymage f.54^{v} "Example. Yf our iustyce begyn to extende itselfe so farre that it turne in to inordynate zele or rygorousnes/cutte it halfe in sonder and temper it with mercy..." The problem of immoderation, zeal and enthusiam was dealt with by a number of writers, including the author of The Chastising of God's Children pp. 54 - 61.

283. Pilgrymage fols. 54^{v} - 55^{r} cp Hilton Scala II: 14 where the proud man is a lion, the envious and ireful hounds, the slothfull asses, the lustful pigs and the covetous wolves. The association of the seven sins with various animals is set out by M.W. Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins, Appendix I pp. 245 - 9 and for discussion see his index under Animal symbolism.

284. The application of one of the beatitudes to each gift of the Spirit is consistent, but the petitions of the Pater are not actually quoted for days 3 and 5.

285. Unlike the preceding days there are no labours ascribed to it, nor, of course a cardinal virtue, one of which is assigned to each of the first four days.

286. St. Augustine's authority is quoted a number of times, some of whose views on humility are discussed by R.Arbesmann "The concept of "Christus Medicus" in St. Augustine", Traditio x see pp. 10 - 16.

287. e.g. Desert of Religion (ed. cit. n.259 above), p.60f; Dyetary of ghostly helthe ca.xxi; The gathered counsailes of Saincte Isidorie (STC 14271) $A5^{r}$; Myrrour of the chyrche (STC 967) ca. xxxi; Piers Plowman B.Passus V.570; Tre &.xii.frutes ed. Vaissier pp. 1 - 5 etc.

288. Hilton Scala Perfectionis II: 21.

289. Hilton Scala II.xxi ed. Underhill (London 1923) p. 306.

289A. Doctrynall of mekenesse $A8^{v}$ - $B1^{r}$.

290. Bonde Pilgrymage f.89^{v} - 90^{r}.

291. Bonde op.cit. f.74^{v}.

292. Joshua VI - X.

293. Bonde op.cit. III day 4 ch.5. The three cities are concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes and pride of life.

294. The cities of ghostly fear, pity and ghostly learning - the gifts, or conquests of the preceding three days.

295. Bonde op. cit. III day 1. ch. 10.

296. G.Bonner. The Warfare of Christ cp. the opening of Part III below. One of the most exhaustive treatments of the subject was Downame's The Christian Warfare, STC. 7133 cp. W.Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (Harper Torch book, 1957) p. 155ff.

297. Among other works to treat the subject were Grosseteste's La Chasteau d'Amour; the fourth part of the Ancrene Riwle; The Assembly of the Gods (pt.II) often attributed to Lydgate; Deguileville's Pelerinage de la vie humaine and, of course, Spenser's Faerie Queene.

298. There are in fact eight sins listed, not seven, and the virtues are those which are discussed under the active life, many of them in the first day, rather than the more traditional list:

Pride		Meekness	
Vain glory	(hypocrisy, disobedience, contempt)	Fear of God	(simplicity, obedience good religion)
Envy	(hatred, detraction)	Peace	(charity, charitable monition)
Ire	(forwardness, "felnesse")	Patience	(mildness, compunction)
Sloth		Ghostly Exercise	
Covetousness	(obduration)	Poverty	(mercy and pity)
Gluttony	(greediness, foolish mirth, babbling).	Abstinence	(fasting, contrition silence)
Lechery		Chastity.	

299. Bonde op.cit. II day 2 ch. 9.

300. Dealt with in more detail in the first section of Part III.

301. Pilgrymage f.146^{v}. These are nine precepts drawn from the sermon on the mount Matthew V - VII.

302. Pilgrymage III day 5 ch. 5. The soul seeks Christ in the wide streets by the ten commandments but can only venture to see Him in the narrow ways, which are the holy counsels of the Gospel, when he has the illumination of the gift of ghostly counsel. In ch. 8 the government and social structure of a city is used as an image of the various natural powers and virtues which inhabit man's soul.

303. The image of a temple is used in ch. 2 in comparing the structure of the soul raised by a religious.- the glorious second temple of Solomon, to the achievement of the worldly people, the insignificant first temple; some build no more than "a poore cosshe or small cotage". The temple of the Lord built in the soul of man is referred to again in ch. 8. where the soul enters, now purged of all worldly affections and the body conquered, and communes with God.

304. Pilgrymage f.142^{r}: "The free mason setteth his prentyse first longe tyme to lerne to hewe stones/& whan he can do yt perfytly/he admytteth hym to be a free mason/& choseth hym as a connynge man to be a mayster of the crafte/& maketh hym a setter or orderer of ye same stones/ whiche settyng of stones/though it be ferre greater connynge than is ye hewynge of stones/yet it is lesse labour & more quietnes".

305. Bonde recognizes that exceptions occur. Those like SS. Bridget and Katherine who do not take vows can still be contemplatives, while some religious such as the knights of St. John and knights of the Sepulchre who take vows, pursue the active life.

306. Pilgrymage f.153^{r} - ^{v}. cp. Speculum ed. Powell p. 162 and Benjamin Minor all based on Gregory Moralia 6.37 also used in Ancrene Riwle and Aelred's De Institutions Inclusarum.

307. Speculum ca.xxxiij. cp. Pilgrymage Bk.III day 6 ch.3 - 4. Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God in Chastising of God's Children p. 241.

308. Speculum, ed. Powell p. 160: "in this tyme manye there ben/ bothe men and wymmen/in the astate of comtemplatyf lyffe/as especially ancres/and recluses/or heremytes/that wyten litel as in effecte truly what contemplatyf lyffe is by defaute of exercise in actif lyfe....And therfore it is ful perilous and ful dredful to be in estate of perfeccion and haue a name of holynesse/as hauen specially thise recluses/bot the lyuynge and the goostly exercise of hem be accordynge therto". Once again Love shows his awareness of the dangers of hypocrisy resulting from the dissociation of outward life and inward spirituality.

309. op.cit. p. 165.

310. It may also involve prelates and other clerical rulers, in his epistle To a deuout man in temporall estate Hilton recognizes a mixed life, suitable for prelates etc. and for men in temporal estate who feel called to the contemplative life.

311. In A litle Pamphlet of Saint Augustune entituled the Ladder of Paradise (STC 937) the four spiritual degrees or steps are reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation: "Reading seketh, Meditation findeth, Prayer requesteth, Contemplation taketh the taste" Chapters are devoted to each degree, reading, as in The Pilgrymage, receiving the least attention. Chapter 6, "Signes of the holy Ghoste coming vnto the soule" is devoted almost entirely to the gift of tears, tears of inward and outward purging and tears sweet with desire for and remembrance of the Bridegroom. The author goes on to consider the sense of desolation experienced by contemplatives when the Bridegroom departs and to encourage the soul to be diligent even in the Bridegroom's absence. The work contains in simplified form much that is common to medieval teaching on the contemplative life, even much of the vocabulary, but the expression is more orderly and the language somehow calmed, without the exuberance and fervour of the earlier works.

312. Pilgrymage Bk.III day 6 ch. 40 cp. an addition made by Atkynson in his translation of A. Kempis' Imitatio Christi (EETS es. 63 p. 177).

313. Among many works to refer to devotional literature Orologium (Anglia X pp. 326, 328) and Chastising of God's Children p. 328 both comment on the large number of such books. The Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe and A dyurnall of deuoute soules both prescribe the way things are to be read while A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite C3^{r} warns that books without faith are not enough.

314. Pilgrymage III day VI, ch. 16 - 18.

315. Ibid. ch. 20 - 4.

316. Ibid. ch. 25 - 39.

317. Ibid. ch 43 - 4. On f.235^{v} the commandments are depicted in a diptych frame remarkably similar to those which survive in some parish churches from the XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries and which were probably the successors of those ordered to be supplied for ornament and edification under Elizabeth I, E. Cardwell, Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England (Oxford 1839) vol. I. p.262.

318. A useful summary of the catechetical injunctions regarding the Pater noster and its use in other devotional works as well as in drama during the middle ages is to be found in F.G.A.M. Aarts' þe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte (Nijmegen 1967) pp. cii - cxiv.

319. Speculum Curatorum, Flos florum, Mirk's Instructions.

320. Including The Crafte to lyue well and to dye well (ch. 3 etc); The myrrour of the chyrche (YW I pp. 224 - 34); The Book of Vices and Virtues, (EETS 217) pp. 1 - 9. 97 - 116.

321. Numerous references in Butterworth, The English Primers pp 3, 63, 74, 301 - 3 etc.

322.eg. A sermon of S. Cyprian made on the Lordes prayer (STC 6156) and Latimer's sermons on the Lord's prayer (STC 15284).

323. e.g. Gau The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine (STS XII, 1886 - 7); Erasmus' Exposytion....of the commune Crede (STC 10504) and Deuoute treatise vpon the Pater noster (Devereux, C.69.1 - 3); Bradford's Godly meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Belief and Ten Commandments (STC 3484 etc) The treasure of gladnesse (STC 24191 etc).

324. A summary of Old-Middle English pieces is provided by F.G.A.M. Aarts "The Pater Noster in Medieval English Literature "Papers on English Language and Literature V (1969) pp. 3 - 16; and from the 1530's STCs 16815, 16818, 16819, 16820.

325. e.g. Dives and Pauper; The floure of the commaundementes of god.

326. Bonde attacks both Wyclif and Luther over their condemnation of images f.192^{v} etc and in rather more detail he censures the Lutheran attack on the doctrine of the church, ff.223^{v} - 5^{v}. The heretics would destroy the sacraments of the church, vows of religion and veneration and images of the Blessed Virgin and the saints but Bonde sees in such opposition the opportunity for the Christian to establish and prove the truth of His faith.

327. Pilgrymage III Day 6 ch. 25 - 39.

328. The first article devotes considerable space to distinguishing between unlawful idols and lawful images and between "latria" or the worship of God and "dulia" or the veneration allowed to saints and their images. In deference to contemporary (heretical) methods he even justifies his argument by reference to the Bible, as well as the Fathers and Schoolmen and historical precedent. The saints and their images are to be worshipped with "dulia"; "But the mother of god (lyke as al other thynges yt perteyned immediatly to the persone of Chryst/as his garmentes or clothynge/or ony thynge yt touched hym/or that was dedycate in his blessed blode/as yt spere/ the nayles/the crowne of thorne" are to be worshipped with "hyper dulia" cp. Pt. II. 534 - 4. The Blessed Trinity alone is worthy of "latria". Interestingly Bonde warns his readers (f.197^{v}) not to imagine the Trinity as three men sitting on a throne, nor to

conceive of God the Father as an old man - both common representations, natural reason is limited to the comprehension of material things and God is spirit, so the unlearned reader is not to muse "how or in what maner this is/nor what these persones be/but byleue thou in a symple & meke herte" - cp.f.168^{v}.

329. The article begins by emphasizing the sinfulness of all men after Adam and why only God and man could pay the recompense and reconcile man to God. Thus the Sone of God became man, "he hyd his deite vnder the sacke or garment of thy nature & mortalite". The Devil, seeing His fastings, prayer etc. supposed Him mere man and contrived His death "The effusion of whose blode/spoyled hym of his pray/ payde the raunsom for mannes trespace/delyuered hym from captiuite/ & reconsyled to god" - a classic statement of the medieval doctrine of the Atonement. Bonde goes on to describe the benefits man receives through Christ's death. A detailed consideration of the words of this article fix the historical truth of the event, explain the extent, nature and reason for Christ's pains and describe how the humanity and the Godhead remained united even in death. Description is present, but it is subordinated to the explanation of the process of the Atonement and the reasons for Christ's death.

330. He ends the fourth article of the Creed, f.206^{v} with a personal address "Thus (deuoute soule) here I leue the in the deth & buryall of the Sone of god. But haue pacyence a lytell/and anone thou shalte heare of his gloryous resurreccyon". The example of Christ's descent into hell teaches us "to haue pite & mercy vpon our parentes & frendes/lyenge in ye fyre of purgatory" and "to praye for them yt be deed". Again a practical point is made in discussing the Judgement, f.214^{r}, "saynt Crisostom counseyleth the/ofte to recount thy conscyence and to remember wt compunccyon & sorowe of herte/thy enorme & greuous synnes/before god askynge mercy for them...." At the end of the two chapters on the Commandments f.239^{r} - ^{v}, the author recommends the reader to meditate daily on them "And there is none so symple of wyt/hauyng the vse of reason/ but he may soon knowe & lerne these two/that is/to loue god and his

neyghbour:yet/yf these examples declared be not sufficyent to make the to knowe the .x.commaundementes/‖ lerne this poore ryme folowynge/and thou shalte soone can them/and kepe them the better in mynde" and there follow fourteen lines of rough verse. Another verse to help his readers learn and remember five points is given f.61^{r} and repeated f. 240^{r}.

331. e.g. Whitford Dayly exercyse B2^{r}; Holy Instruccyons f.13 - 14. A rather fuller exposition of the qualities of faith is given in ch IX "Of the shelde" in The Assaute and Conquest of heuen.

332. This was especially true of the Sacrament cp. Pt. II n. 36, 43 - 4.

333. Pilgrymage f.187^{v}.

334. Pilgrymage f.185^{v}.

335. Whitford Holy Instrucyons f.14.

336. Pilgrymage f.186^{r}.

337. See further his exposition of Article x of the Creed on the Church, ch 37.

338. Pilgrymage III day 6 ch. 51 - 9.

339. e.g. Myrrour of the chyrche; Shepherds Kalendar; Speculum Vitae Christi.

340. Pilgrymage III. day 6 ch. 60 was copied, presumably by"B. Langforde: Preiste"in Bodley ms Wood 17 (ed. by Wickham Legg, HBS XXVII, (1904) and again in BM. ms Harley 494 a manuscript containing also The Dyurnal for deuout souls, which belonged to Dame Anne Bulkley of Syon.

341. Pilgrymage III day 6 ch. 63.

342. Ibid. ch. 45.

343. He uses the terms meditation and contemplation interchangably, f.234^{r}: "somtyme we vse these two termes/meditacion and contemplacyon/ one for an other/for so they be vsed of doctours/for it is and may be called a floure or a rose/ not onely whan it is full spred out/ but also/yf it be a budde...."

344. Bonde Ibid. f. 165^{r} cites St. Bernard Super Cantica Sermone xlvii "in fine", as the authority for this widely held view.

345. Bonde does mention St. Bernard's advice f.165^{r} "that no thought all though it be good/otherwyse than is conteyned in ye lettre/sholde be admytted in ye servyce of god", which is taken literally in Oure Ladyes Myroure, EETS es 19 pp. 22 - 3, but he chooses to allow other meditations, provided they do not distract - if that is possible, especially for the benefit of the unlearned.

346. Bonde Pilgrymage f.166^{v} - 167^{r}.

347. Tre &.xii frutes ed Vaissier p. 101.

347A. On the ineffability of the mystical experience, J.E. Milosh The Scale of Perfection (Madison & London 1966) pp 16 - 17.

348. Pilgrymage f.284^{v} - 5^{r}.

349. Among several examples from chs. 9 - 10, f. 289^{v}: "This is the wyne of loue/with the whiche they be so inebryate and replenysshed/ that they be as spiritually dronken for ioye/and so ouerflowen with suche gladnesse of spiryte/that they may not stande/but lye in langour and desyre to god/in maner/as one that were sycke for loue", and the effects of this "goostly dronkennesse of the soule", especially its physical manifestations are described ff. 291^{r} - 292^{r}.

350. e.g. C.Butler Western Mysticism; W.R.Inge Christian Mysticism; E.Underhill Mysticism.

350A. e.g. D.Knowles The English Mystical Tradition (London 1964); C. Pepler The English Religious Heritage (London 1958); P.Hodgson Three XIVth century English Mystics (London 1967); E. Colledge The Medieval Mystics of England. (London 1962).

351. H.E.Allen Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle (New York 1927) is the basic work together with various editions of his separate works.

352. The only full length study seems to be J.E.Milosh The Scale of Perfection but articles by Helen Gardner and Gerard Sitwell which he cites, are important.

353. e.g. among the mss of The Cloud three seem to be early XVIth century: Douce 262; Bodley 576 and the Parkminster ms; ms Royal 17. C.xxvii is late XVIth century and Canbridge V.L. ms Ff.vi.41 dates from the XVIIth century. Manuscripts of The Scale of Perfection, in various versions and selections circulated widely during the XVth century - see A.I.Doyle, Origins and Circulation of theological writings (unpubl. Ph.D. Cambridge 1953) pp. 243 - 76 who discusses versions and ownership of mss and printed books.

354. A number of Rolle's treatises were printed abroad in Paris, Antwerp and Cologne 1510 - 36. In England his Job was printed, again in Latin, in 1483 but the English works bearing his name which were printed by de Worde are wrongly attributed - Allen Writings pp. 9 - 14. Hilton's Scale, with or without the Vita Mixta was printed by de Worde 1494, 1519, 1525 and 1533 and by Notary in 1507 (STC 14043). The medled lyfe was also printed by Wyer c.1531 (STC.14041). The Cloud itself seems not to have been printed during the late XVth-early XVIth centuries but a number of the works ascribed to the same author were printed in A veray deuoute treatyse (named Benyamyn) of the myghtes and vertues of mannes soule/& of the way to true contemplacyon

(STC 20972) which contained Benjamin minor; extracts from "saynt Katheryn of Seenes" and "the boke of Margery Kempe ancresse of Lynne"; The Epystle of prayer; Hilton's Of the songe of aungelles; Epystle of dyscrecyon in styrynges and Of discernynge of spyrytes. For printed selections from The Book of Margery Kempe see EETS 212 pp. xlvi - xlviii.

355. Speculum ed. Powell p. 165.

356. The workes of Sir Thomas More, London 1557 p. 356.

357. EETS es. 19 p. 3.

358. Bonde Pilgrymage f. 139: "...folowe ye counseyle of Hampolle/where he sayth. Cease not fro prayer/neyther from ony other good dede for that/ne leue ony goostly exercyse/corporall ne spirituall/by ye reason of suche drynes or indeuocyon...."

359. Tre &.xii.frutes ed Vaissier p. 32.

360. EETS 212 pp. 39, 153 - 4.

361. Tudor Treatises ed. A.G.Dickens, Yorks Arch. Soc. Record Series CXXV, 1959, pp. 17 - 27, 59 - 88.

362. The phrase is used by Milosh op.cit.

363. The ladder image probably goes back to Jacob's dream, Genesis XXVIII: 12, cp. The ladder of Paradise (STC 937) and most strikingly ch. 51 of Bernard's Compendius....treatise (LIII in Latin, PL. 184, 1276) where the three degrees, secular, active and contemplative, are set on the ladder between earth and heaven cp. the ladder motif from Bishop Oliver King's dream carved on the west front of Bath Abbey.

364. For a detailed survey of the instituion - for the Sarum office for enclosing anchorites, see Clay, Appendix S pp. 193 - 98 - position

and management of such anchorages, together with other types of solitary life, see R.M.Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London 1914) also F.D.S.Darwin The English Medieval Recluse (London n.d.). Rolle spent much of his life as a hermit and Hilton himself may have lived as a solitary for sometime, while Dame Julian's anchorage was attached to a church in Norwich and Simon, Anker of London Wall, was enclosed at All Hallows, London Wall: R. M.Clay "Further Studies on Medieval Recluses" Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.[3] XVI (1953) pp. 74 - 86.

365. Hilton makes use of the figure of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Scala II: 21.

366. The continuity and gradualness of the ascent to the mount of contemplation is emphasized by the figure of the ladder, II:17 pp. 288 - 9 in the edn. of The Scale by Evelyn Underhill (London 1923). For convenience page references will be to this version.

367. The Scale I: 61.

368. e.g. Speculum ed. Powell p. 160.

369. e.g. Clay op.cit. pp. 86, 96.

370. e.g. The Rules of St. Celestine or St. Linus.

371. Printed in E.Nugent The thought and culture of the English Renaissance pp. 388 - 93.

372. The term wilderness here may echo the setting of Jesus' temptations (Mark I: 12 etc.) and/or the example of the desert fathers - cp. the title The desert of Religion; Ancrene Riwle (ed.)Salu) p. 86; Godfray version of Golden Epistle, preface.

373. H.E.Allen "Some XIVth century borrowings from Ancrene Riwle" MLR XVIII (1923) also "Further Borrowings from Ancrene Riwle" MLR XXIV (1929) pp. 1 - 15; H. Gardner "Walter Hilton and the mystical tradition in England" E & S XXII (1936) pp. 103 - 27 see p. 120; E.Colledge "The Recluse a Lollard Interpolated Version of the Ancrene Riwle" RES XV (1939) pp. 1 - 15, 129 - 45.

374. In the first and last (eighth) parts.

375. In his introduction to the Orchard Books translation by M.B.Salu (London 1955) pp xi - xiii cp. Hackett The Anchoresses' Guide in Pre-Reformation English Spirituality ed. Walsh pp 78 - 9.

376. For some of the parallels and influences: Aelred de Rievaulx, La Vie de Recluse ed. C.Dumont, (Sources Chretiennes no. 76) pp.32 - 6 also articles by H.E.Allen PMLA XXXIII (1918) p. 529 and n; XLIV (1929) pp. 653 - 60.

377. See Pt. III n. 350 etc.

378. § 28.

379. e.g. ed. cit. p. 132. "Iam nunc exulta, virgo, accede propius, et aliquam tibi huius dulcedinis portionem vendicare non differas. Si ad potiora non potes, dimitte Ioanni pectus, ubi eum vinum laetitiae in divinitatis cognitione inebriet, tu currens ad ubera humanitatis, lac exprime quo nutriaris". or p. 134: "Accurre, et suavissimas illas guttas adlambe, et pulverem pedum illius linge", or p. 140: "Tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus eius aperuit, et exivit sanguinis et aqua. Festina, ne tardaveris, comede favum cum melle tuo, bibe vinum tuum cum lacte tuo. Sanguis tibi in vinum vertitur ut inebrieris, in lac aqua mutatur ut nutriaris. Facta sunt tibi in petra flumina, in membris eius vulnera, et in maceria corporis eius caverna, in quibus instar columbae latitans et deosculans singula ex sanguine eius fiant sicut vitta coccinea labia tua, et eloquium tuum dulce".

380. cp. the editor's comment, ed. cit. p.17: "On s'interdirait la pleine intelligence de la méditation médiévale....si arbitairement on l'isolait de l'ensemble de la discipline dans lequel elle s'intègre" - the same might be said of contemplation.

381. The piece was probably written C.1348 - 9 - for mss and summary, H.E.Allen Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle pp. 256 - 68.

382. On Margaret Kirkeby, Allen op.cit. pp. 502 - 11.

383. YW I p. 8. "And what wrechednes it es, to haue þe name & þe habet of halynes, & be noght so, bot couer pride, Ire, or enuy, vnder þe clathes of Criste barnhede" cp. n. 238 - 9 above.

384. YW I pp. 11 - 16.

385. cp. Bonde n.299 above.

386. YW I pp. 43 - 4. cp. Tre &.xii.frutes ed. Vaissier pp. 44 - 5, n. 199 above and also Brown's Index of Middle English Verse, no. 2040, discussed by F. L. Utley "Chaucer's Troilus and St. Paul's Charity", Chaucer and Middle English Studies ed. B. Rowland, London, 1974, pp. 279-85 and n. 6 p. 287.

387. YW.I.pp. 10 - 11.

388. Dom David Knowles, The English Mystical Tradition (London 1964) pp. 64 - 5 does not rate it highly.

389. YW.I p. 11.

390. YW I p. 20.

391. YW I pp. 45 - 6 listed in roughly the reverse order as Bonde's.

392. YW I pp. 48 - 9.

393. YW II pp. 72 - 105 See Allen Writings p. 357.

394. YW II p. 89.

395. The subject of fear of God is dealt with in more detail in ch. C.

396. YW II p. 79. The terms fire, light, honey, wine and the sun were rich in symbolic meanings and, with the possible exception of the last, widely used in mystical writings.

397. YW II pp. 101 - 2.

398. e.g. H.Gardner "The text of The Scale of Perfection" Medium Ævum V (1936) pp.11 - 30 and "Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England" Essays and Studies XXII (1973) pp. 103 - 27; G.Sitwell "Contemplation in The Scale of Perfection" Downside Review LXVII (1949) pp. 276 - 90 and LXVIII (1949 - 50) pp. 21 - 34, 271 - 89 and "Walter Hilton" Clergy Review XLIV (1959) pp. 321 - 32.

399. e.g. G.E.Hodgson English Mystics (London 1922); D.Knowles The English Mystical Tradition (London 1964); M.Thornton English Spirituality (London 1963) and J.Walsh (ed) Pre-Reformation English Spirituality (London n.d.) Also the introductions to modern editions of the work e.g. the edition by M.Noetinger & E.Bouvet (Tours 1923) and E.Underhill (London 1923).

400. J.E.Milosh The Scale of Perfection and the English Mystical Tradition (Madison 1966).

401. It is worth remembering that whereas the modern reader will usually read right through a book from beginning to end, a medieval religious or recluse was unlikely to read for long concentrated periods (limitations of daylight, the duties of the daily office etc). It was much more likely to have been dipped into - e.g. The Scale I:93 p. 222 (ed. Underhill).

402. This is a fragment-title page, including list of contents, only - printed by Robert Wyer, preserved in Bodl. Douce Add. 142. It also includes "thyrtene degrees of Mortyfycacyon" cp. Bonde, Pilgrymage III day 7 ch. 11.

403. Milosh The Scale pp. 169 - 83.

404. Ibid. pp. 105 - 109.

405. Considerable evidence is provided by mss and printed editions of

The Scale e.g. Cambridge Trinity ms. B.15.18 was supplied with a note by James Grenehalgh who also annoted at a copy of the de Worde 1494 edn. for Joan Sewell a nun of Syon. But its circulation was not confined to religious. ms. Lambeth 472 "was maad of þe goodis of Jon Killum for a comyne profite...", subsequently it was to "be delivered to Richard Colop Parchemanere of London" and by 1493 it was in the hands of a priest, John Graunt. For detailed information on the dissemination of the various versions of the text see. A.I.Doyle, Survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings. (unpubl. Cambridge Ph.D. 1953). pp. 255 - 75.

406. Scale ed. Underhill p. 147. cp. Dyurnall: for deuoute soules B1^{v} The reader is to thank God for grace "that day to be present at his holy seruyce: and suche leysure that ye maye attende without worldly let your soules helthe: thynking yt many one in the worlde that be compelled of nede to applye theyr bodely labours/yf they myght haue suche leysure as ye haue to ensue the spyrytuall lyfe: shuld moche more profyte in vertue than ye do: and be perauenture ....moche more feruent in the loue of god".

407. Scale I:20, 59, 66.

408. Ibid. I: 18 p. 40.

409. Ibid. I:30 p. 67.

410. Pt. II n. 207 - 8, 321 etc.

411. Scale I: 35 pp. 79 - 80 .

412. Pt. II n. 328.

413. For a brief survey, including examples from Cassian, Ancrene Riwle, Rolle, Speculum Vitae Christi see Sister M. Madeleva Pearl: A Study in Spiritual Dryness (N.Y. 1925) pp. 23 - 37.

414 e.g. Job XXIII: Psalms XXII:1; XLII - III; LXIX.

415. A myrrour...for them that be syke, H4^{r} fol.

416. Complaynt of the soule (STC 5609) A2^{v}.

417. G.M.Hopkins "Thou art indeed just, Lord" based on Jeremiah XII:1.

418. Anglia X p. 334

419. Scale II: 28 p. 348.

420. Bonde Pilgrymage f.10^{r} "For in suche drynesse and lacke of deuocyon/god proueth vs" cp. EETS 218 p. 168; Anglia X p. 376 Chastising of God's Children p. 114.

421. STC 937, D3^{r} cp. Chastising p. 101.

422. STC 3275 - 6 and in an earlier edition, STC 6904.

423. Bonde Epystle (STC 3276) f22^{r}.

424. Bonde Epystle f.24^{r}: When the mother " wold haue her chylde go a lone/ she wyll set yt in a place all a lone. And she holdyng an appull in her hande/wol calle her chylde to com to her. And wyll suffer hym to declyne on this side or on yt syde & also bothe backward & forward/ but yf yt begyn to fall. Anone/& with moste dylygence she puttyth her hande vnder the chylde/& sauyth yt from falyng and hurt" A similar image, Chastising p. 98 and further applications Pt. III n. 105.

425. In chapters 2 - 4.

426 cp. The Scale II: 34 p. 382 God "is both the giver and the gift" - but the gift of formed love under discussion here is a far higher gift than ghostly comforts and sweetness, for it brings the soul to Christ, the source of the gift.

427. The Chastising pp. 109 - 110.

428. The Scale II: 21 p. 306.

429. The Chastising p. 112 - in fact translated from Ruysbroek.

430. e.g. The Scale I: 33 p. 75; II: 23 p. 317 and Chastising p. 111.

431. cp. Bonde Epystle f.23^{r} "Do youre dewty as youre helthe woll suffre to the vttermoste".and Hilton's view of meat and drink as medicine, necessary to the body's health (I:72) but that excessive fasting or penance can hinder the spirit, preventing the rest of body necessary to contemplation, I:75 and cp. Rolle's Form of Living above.

432. See the first sections of Part III.

433. Pt. IIIn.77 - 8.

434. Scale I: 42.

435. Desire for Jesus is mentioned in I: 87, 89 and especially in 91.

436. e.g. Chastising of God's Children ch. 1; Ancrene Riwle Pt.IV first sentence; YW II p. 123.

437. Scale II: 37 - 39.

438. Scale I: 64. The idea of branches might suggest a traditional tree of vices.

439. Scale II: 14.

440. e.g. Scale I: 63, 69, 71.

441. Ibid I: 55 cp. Bonde Pilgrymage (1531) f.112^{r}.

442. Ibid I. 52 p. 126.

443. Ibid I: 53 p. 128.

444. Ibid I: 54 p. 131.

445. e.g. Ibid I: 67, 68, 70, 77, 91, 92.

446. Pt. II. n. 142 etc, 378 - 83.

447. Scale II: 7.

448. cp. Speculum ed Powell p. 121.

449. Scale II: 7 p. 247; II:II p. 265.

450. Ibid e.g. I;26; II:10, 26, 29, 30, 33. Discussed by Milosh op.cit. pp. 129 - 39.

451. cp. Dives and Pauper I. i - xiii; Bonde Pilgrymage, Bk. III day 6 ch. 28, and cp. n. 319 above.

452. e.g. Scale I: 11, 35.

453. e.g. Cloud, EETS 218 pp. 86, 90ff; Hilton Scale I: 10, 11, 12; II: 29 - 30. For further similarities as well as fundamental differences between the two works: P. Hodgson "Walter Hilton and The Cloud of Unknowing" MLR L (1955) 395 - 406.

454 Scale I:26 cp II: 33.

455. Ibid I: 10.

456. Ibid II: 29 and 30.

457. Ibid II: 28.

458. Ibid I: 8.

459. Ibid II: 34 p. 381.

460. Ibid II: 37.

461. Ibid II: 42.

462. Ibid II: 42 This seems to contradict I: 15 where it was said "Reading of Holy Writ, may thou not well use", suggesting perhaps that only the advanced contemplative should have access to Scripture.

463. Ibid I: 83 is unusual, and reminiscent of the provisions of The Ancrene Riwle.

464. Ibid. II: 19, 21.

465. Ibid II 35 p. 387.

466. Ibid II: 40 Quoted below Pt. III. n. 717.

467. Walter Hilton The Goad of Love, ed. C. Kirchberger (London 1952) pp. 35, 41. Cited as Stimulus.

468. Tre &.xii frutes ed. Vaissier p. 32.

469. Stimulus ed. Kirchberger pp. 15 - 18.

470. Stimulus pp. 35 - 42 and numerous correspondences are noted by Miss Kirchberger pp. 114, 117, 121, 127, 133, 140, 148, 151, 152, 155, 156, 158, 160 - 1, 162 - 3, 177 and 178.

471. The widely used image of the mother and child cited pp. 151, 175, which also occurs in The Chastising, in The .xii.profytes of tribulaccyon and Bonde's Pilgrymage is too general to imply real connection, much less dependence.

472. Chastising ed. Bazire and Colledge. ca. xv, p. 158. 14 and note etc.

473. Cited Stimulus pp. 37, 115, 177, 178. See B.Hackett, E. Colledge, N.Chadwick. "William Flete's De Remediis Contra Temptaciones in its Latin and English Recensions..." Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp. 210 - 30, where the last three chapters of De Remediis are said to be taken from Stimulus (p. 217) and the atrribution to Hilton is discussed and pronounced groundless pp 218 - 9.

474. Stimulus ch. 16, 19, 20, 28, 29.

475. Stimulus ch. 8, pp 126 - 7. The author does not expect contemplatives or religious to go seeking Christ in the world among the poor and sick. cp. Aelred's De Institutione Inclusarum § 28 which warns the recluse against trying to exercise charity by such good works.

476. Stimulus pp. 127 - 8.

477. Ibid p. 136, (cp 135) refers to preaching, teaching and hearing confession. Ch. 22 was addressed to a priest and the sixth point is still concerned with the priest's spiritual preparation before mass.

478. Ibid ch. 31 See above n.102 etc.

479. Ibid p. 164.

480. Ibid p. 171 Based on Jeremiah IX:1 cp. note 192 above.

481. See notes 238 - 9 above.

482. Matthew XXIII: 27 etc.

483. Stimulus p. 117 cp. p. 42.

484. See Pt. III n. 103 for the Christus medicus idea.

485. Stimulus ch. 15 p. 120.

486. The simile, p. 121, that tribulations drive out fleshly lusts as wheat is driven out from chaff with strength of a flail seems to be a standard one in tribulation treatises, cp. Pt. III n. 102.

487. Stimulus p. 121f and ch. 32 cp. YW II p. 118f and Monk of Farne (ed. H.Farmer) p. 57.

488. Ibid p. 127.

489. Ibid p. 166.

490. Scale I: 6.

491. Stimulus pp 132, 144f.

492. Ibid p. 145 cp. chs. 14, 16, 17, 23, 24, 26 etc all have references to the need to love and desire God.

493. Scale I: 16 p. 34.

494. Stimulus p. 111.

495. See Pt. III. n. 439 etc.

496. Stimulus p. 119 "How might it be then but thou shouldest hate thyself? If thou bethought thee inwardly what thou hast been and what thou art..." Pt. III n. 350f.

497. Ibid p. 160 cp. Scale I: 65, p. 156.

498. Ibid p. 108 cp. p. 143 and A talking of the love of God, YW II. p. 353 and Parkyn YAS (record series) CXXV pp. 82 - 3.

499. Ibid pp 107, 117, 128, 129, 130, 145.

500. Ibid ch: 26 - 7; Scale I: 30: Orologium (Anglia X) p. 389; Monk of Farne Meditation on Christ Crucified ch. 49, 82.

501. e.g. Stimulus pp. 126, 127, 137; Scale II: 40, 41; Monk of Farne Meditation on Christ Crucified ch. 79, 81, 89, 90, and among Protestants Certeine prayers H7; Hugh Troubled mans medicine B5^{r}.

502. Orologium p. 383f.

503. The Monk of Farne ed. H. Farmer (London 1961) chs. 13, 14, 39, 40, 41.

504. cp. Pt.III. n. 105.

505. e.g. Julian Revelations chs. 65, 73, 76 - 79 cp. Scale I: 76, II: 11 - 12.

506. Ibid e.g. chs. 55, 58.

507. Scale I: 35.

508. See Pt. II n. 321, 328.

509. The Monk of Farne pp. 64 - 5 cp. Pt. III n. 495.

510. YW II. pp. 346 - 7.

511. Ibid p. 357..."in þe borwh of Bethleem.ne fonde þou no leuþe, wher in þi Bury-tyd. þou mihtest þe resten, but in a wouhles hous. a-midde þe strete, þat was a symple refuit. in so cold a tyme. Þer weore þou wounden.and swaþeled in Ragges, and after cold liche i-leyd.in a beestes Crubbe." cp. Pt. II. n.211 etc.

512. Pt. II: n. 211 - 5.

513. YW II pp 358 - 62.

514. Most of the details were to be found in descriptions of the Passion from Love's Speculum Vitae Christi to Fewterer's Myrrour or Glasse

of Christes Passion. They included the shame of His being crucified entirely naked, His sweating blood, the buffetting, scourging, the crown whose thorns pierced His brain, the way to the cross, the crucifying on the ground with the stretching of His limbs until the sinews burst and His bones are out of joint, the large blunt nails and the re-opening of His wounds as the cross falls into the mortice. To this is added the odd detail which is less common, "heo þe bounden.so egerlych & so faste, þat þe blod sprong out. at þe fynger nayles" a detail he supports by reference to the saint's writings. Some reference to the compassion of the Blessed Virgin, which follows here, was also a common feature of later Passion narratives, which are discussed in more detail in Pt. II.

515. e.g. Stimulus p 99 the crowning with thorns and nailing; p. 94 His nakedness on the cross and p. 67 - significantly in a section on compassion lists "his despiteous taking, and his sore binding his sharp scourging, scorning, spitting, buffetting....His nailing and all his pains suffering".

516. Stimulus pp 56 - 7 suggests scourging to encourage compassion and makes the mocking comparison "Why hast thou more compassion of a little pricking in thy toe, than thou hast in the hideous death of Jesus Christ?" later, p. 67 (cp. p. 56) he makes the more serious comparison, used also by other writers: "Imagine we then as mickle pain as all men might suffer, if they had been all one man, and one man had the might of all men, thus much pain and yet much more suffered Jesus in his person all alone" and His pain was intensified by seeing His Mother suffer with Him.

517. Ibid. p. 59.

518. Ibid p. 71 - the summary of chapter iv.

519. Ibid p. 60.

520. Ibid p. 152.

521. Ibid. p. 125.

522. e.g. A talking of the Love of God, YW II p. 347; Monk of Farne pp 64 - 5; 72 - 3 etc; Julian Revelations ch. 12 and even Ancrene Riwle, EETS 225 p. 180. The most obvious example of the many references in the Stimulus is the figure of the apothecary's shop, p. 52 and also ch. 5.

523. e.g. YW II pp 440 - 1.

524. Monk of Farne p. 75f.

525. Julian Revelations ch. 24.

526. The idea of Christ's wounds as wells of wisdom, mercy, grace, ghostly comfort and everlasting life, commonly associated with devotion to the five wounds (See Pt. II n. 614 etc) is similar. References to the wounds as sources of God's grace are particularly common in chapters 1 - 2, Stimulus pp 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, 70, 75, 82, 96, 97.

527. Stimulus p. 58 cp. pp 59, 76 and also 63 - 4.

528. Ibid p. 53 cp. the cognate idea and curious expression pp. 142 -3 "If thou mayst think on his passion deeply and mayst enter with thine affection into the wounds of his side, thou shalt soon then come to his heart and<then thou mayst rest thee there as in thy bedstead> "

529. Ibid chs. 32 - 3.

530. For printed editions, n. 345 above.

531. For the position of the recluse in the 16th century and the effect of the dissolution upon them, Clay, Hermits and Anchorites of England ch XIV.

532. STC 965 - 7 printed 1521, 1527 and in one undated edition by Treveris.

533. STC 6895 - 8 printed twice in 1522, 1526 and an undated edition by Pynson.

534. For further discussion of the genre see Pt. III.

535. Some of the versions are noted YW I p. 219ff. and an abbreviated "original" version is printed by E.Colledge, The Medieval Mystics of England pp. 125 - 40.

536. See Pt. II. n. 163, 250.

537. STC 965 $A3^r$ cp . $A4^r$ "My dere syster"

538. Hodnett no. 424 cp. 404, 2385.

539. cp. YW I p. 239.

540. STC 965 $F3^r$.

541. As noted above (n. 396) ms. Lambeth 472 was made for common profit as were the mss. of Pore Caitiff, mss, Harley 2336 and Bodley 938.

542. PL 184.1173 - 4.

543. Whitford introduced his translation with a short critical note (STC 1913) $A2^r$ that it was "ascrybed vnto saynte Bernarde/and put amonge his werkes/I thynke by some vertuous man/yt wolde it shulde therby haue the more auctorite"....

544. On whom see A.I.Doyle, "Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey" Library^5 XI pp. 115 - 8.

545. STC 1978.

546. Scala Perfectionis I: 65.

547. This Godfray version was also used at the end of the Redman (STC 23964) and Middleton editions of the Imitation.

548. The Whitford version stood alone more often, in edns. by de Worde and Wyer (STC 1912 - 1914). It reappeared with Cawood's edition of the Imitation.

549. The volume of Whitford's work printed by Redman, without a date (STC 25412, C.U.L. Syn. 8.53.35) has the Werke of preparacyon, followed by the Godfray version of The Golden Epistle ($G.2^{v}$ - 6^{v}) with the usual Godfray introductory matter, including the note that "it is in some bokes impryted in the later ende of the boke called in latyn Imitatio Christi..." and followed by the four chapters from Bk. VI of St.Bridget's Revelations. Then at the end of the book, $L1^{v}$, comes the usual Whitford heading and introduction, "here after foloweth a goodly treatyse: and it is called a notable lesson/otherwyse it is called the golden pystle" and after the text ($L8^{v}$) there is an explanatory note: "We haue prynted this golden pystle agayn/bycause ye other before is nat of the translation nor edicion of this auctor". Wayland's collection of works by Whitford printed 1537 (STC 25416- this number includes two separate works, The werke for housholders and A dialoge or communicacion bytwene the curate or ghostly father - but both have been slightly adapted at the beginning and the end into a rudimentary dialogue form) has a note ($L9^{r}$) "We haue prynted this golden pystle agayne/bycause the other before, is nat of the translacyon nor edicyon of this auctor" but in fact prints only the Whitford version of the Golden Epistle. Subsequent printers of the Imitation until Cawood probably printed the Godfray version because it was associated with the Imitation in its introductory matter. Cawood may perhaps have recovered the Whitford version and chosen to reprint it, through some personal connection. For Wayland see: H. J.Byrom "John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener, and Litigant" Library[4] XI (1930 - 1) 312 - 49.

550. At this point the Latin reads "Solicitudinem adhibe quantam maximam potes, ut vilitati sedulus intendas"; Betson "gyue charge as moche as yu mayst to ye well & prosperyte of thy soule" and Whitford adds: "Repute al thynges transytorie as of lytell price or valure. Gyue euer moste thought and care vnto those thynges that may profyte and promote the soule". cp. the opening sentence added in the Godfray version at the beginning of the treatise: "Therfore if thou wylt fynde his grace and be trewly solitarye....".

551. The piece circulated in ms. e.g. BM ms Addit. 37790 fols 25^{v} - 6^{v}, but I have not attempted to pursue the question of sources for the Godfray version.

552. STC. 1908 printed c. 1545? It is a translation of the Liber de modo bene vivendi, ad Sororem (PL 184. 1199 - 1306) attributed to St. Bernard.

553. The tastes and writings of Robert Parkyn, for instance, YAS record series CXXV (1959) are a salutory reminder that late medieval tastes and attitudes continued until the middle of the sixteenth century. Becon's The Prayse of Death (Pt. III. n. 314 etc.) is a classic statement of the medieval ubi-sunt quid profuit motifs. Fashions in church furniture also continued with records of payment made for benches carved with the traditional Passion motifs being made in 1560, 1568, 1578, 1583 at Braunton, Devon.

554. e.g. Betson's sentence: "The seconde is yt yu gyue thyself to god/that yu saye nor do onythynge/but only that yu verely byleuest sholde please god. And in this wyse folowyng yu mayst get grace" becomes in Whitford's version: "The seconde is/that you gyue & aplye yourselfe so wholy to god/and haue yourselfe in suche awayte that you neuer do/saye/ne thynke that you know/suppose/or byleue shulde offende or displease god/for by this meane you may sonest and moste redyly obtayne and wynne his fauoure and grace" (Quotations of Whitford's version from STC 1913, $A2^{v}$).

555. In the Latin "Orationibus cum magna devotione intendas...et quod offers in oratione, reminiscaris in corde. Et....diligenter recogita, et eorum imagineris statum, in quorum memoria haec dixeris" - translated closely by Betson - is all that is said about prayer.

556. cp. the last of the extracts from Revelations of St.Bridget (Bk. VI ch. xli) printed with the Godfray version of The Golden Epistle: The fourth thing a man travelling to pagan lands should do is "labour/to the intent that the vnfaythful men may come to the trewe catholycal faythe..."

557. Topics such as the need to avoid worldly company and idle speech and the problems of false judgement are discussed in Ancrene Riwle and Scala Perfectionis on matters such as silence and slander: Tre &.xii.frutes, Abbaye of the Holy Ghost, and The myrroure of Oure Lady.

558. Separation from the world was given physical expression by the enclosed convent or the more limited enclosure of the anchorage or cell. Not only were the things of the world to be banished (e.g. n. 83 - 8 above) but the more subtle vices of the world such as covetousness were to be subdued (e.g. n. 431 above) snd the soul's whole attention and desire focused on God. For withdrawal from worldly concerns as a condition of meditation see e.g. Pt. II n. 321, 334.

559. Pt. III n. 350 etc. and n. 368, 487 above.

560. The Latin: "Quid fuisti, quia sperma fetidum; quid es, quia vas stercorum; quid eris, quia esca vermium"; Betson: "By reason of thy body/yu were foule slyme of the erthe/& now thy body is the hous of fylte & derte/ & herafter it shall be wormes mete"; Godfray: "What thou hast ben/stynkyng corruption. What thou arte/a vessel full on donge. What thou shalte be/meate for wormes"; Whitford "Fyrst by reason of your body/you were conceyued of the moste fylthy abnomynable mater of man/shamefull to bespoken/farre more

vyle than the sluche or slyme of the erthe....And nowe (as vnto the body) you haue ben a muck hepe or dunghyll of fylthe/ more vyle than any vpon erthe if you remembre what dothe issue dayly and come forthe out of the meates of your body....What you shall be as vnto your body/you may se in experyence/wormes meate and erthe agayne".

561. Dealt with in more detail in Pt. III.

562. See n. 552 above.

563. Together with the extracts from Book VI of St. Bridget's Revelations and ch. 65 Bk. I of Hilton's Scala Perfectionis. The Hilton chapter shows how good works can be performed by good and bad alike, but only a good man can love his fellow Christian in charity, loving the man and hating his sin. The four extracts from the Revelations tell first how a pagan woman obtained graoe because of her Creator, thirdly how in time to come the devotion of infidels to the Trinity will be greater than the devotion of Christians and fourthly the way in which anyone who travels to the lands of the infidel should behave, holding fast to his faith, refusing to be contaminated by pagan customs and seeking to convert them but not by physical force or stealing their goods. While these extracts are hardly more than a few sentences the second extract is much longer, even than The Golden Epistle, and deals with the contemplative and the active life. Starting from the contrast between Martha and Mary, most of the teaching is common-place enough. The contemplative life"is the best parte". He must avoid covetousness, idleness, any form of superfluity especially of food or clothing but equally "he that fasteth muste take hede yt he be nat ouer moch enfebled & made weke by his vnresonable fasting"... and he must not joy in worldly honour or prosperity. Under the figure of five physical things necessary to a contemplative - a house to accomodate guests, clothing to cover the naked, meat to feed the hungry, a fire to

warm the cold and medicines to heal the sick - the spiritual virtues such as patience, meekness, compassion, love and desire to honour God above all else. Five things are needed for the active life which, though not as good as contemplative life is still acceptable to God.- : the true faith of Holy Church, knowledge of the commandments of God in Old and New Testament and will to perform them, restraint of tongue from all evil words, of hands from evil deeds and heart from over great desire of worldly goods and pleasures, he must meekly do deeds of mercy and finally he must love God above all things. "he that desyreth perfytely to come to the lyfe contemplatyue/must fyrst exercise him selfe well in the actyue lyfe". It is difficult to explain why these particular extracts were chosen and grouped together. Given the emphasis of the Godfray version of the Golden Epistle on the religious and solitary life, the inclusion of a passage about the active and contemplative life seems reasonable enough, but why add the other three extracts which show considerable respect for the infidel, their natural and potential goodness? The Hilton chapter on the need to love the man and hate his sin can also be applied to the Christian's attitude to pagans, but such a charitable view of the infidel does not seem to have been common in the later middle ages. Godfray may well have culled these rather miscellaneous selections from the same source as his version of The Golden Epistle some kind of common place book or miscellany collected by someone interested in the contemplative life.

564. Pt. II n. 120 etc.

565. But as Dr. Lovatt, "The Imitation of Christ in late Medieval England" TRHS^{5} XVIII (1968) pp. 97 - 121, has shown pp. 102 - 3, Book I alone circulated briefly under this title. I have accepted the main conculsions of this paper without attempting to go over the ground myself.

566. cp. Pt. III. n. 224.

567. I have not attempted to enter the debate as to whether the other translation printed during the 1530s and subsequently in numerous editions is by Whitford. But for someone who often draws his readers' attention to other works he has written and trnaslated, and who was adamant about the need for every published work to acknowledge its authorship, it seems rather curious that Whitford nowhere refers to his translation of the Imitatio Christi.

568. Lovatt, art. cit. pp. 110 - 3, 114 - 6.

569. e.g. I: 17 is entitled "Of Religiouse lyfe" in T.C. Dublin ms F.5. 8 (edited by J.K.Ingram, EETS es 63, whose edition of Atkynson's translation I have also used in this discussion) and "how a persone shulde order hym selfe to come to pease" in Atkynson's translation, but he has done nothing to alter the title of ch. xix nor the many references to the "relygious soule" in ch. xxv nor the advice to abide with Christ in the religious' cell in ch. xx book I. Lovatt art cit. pp. 116 - 7 comments that "the chapters with a traditional, monastic flavour attracted most attention" and he notes that in the Syon library catalogue it was described as "solitariis et contemplativis utilis".

570. e.g. III: xiii; xl.

571. III: xxxix.

572. Exceptions are pieces of advice like I: xx "It is moche more sure for a religious persone to byde at whome in solitarye contemplacyon" ... or "If thou be monke of the charterhouse, anker/or ankeres, as longe as thou lyuest in this lyfe, euer beware of presumed suerty..." or again "shet the dore of thy soule & calle thy lorde Iesu to the & abyde with him in thy cell, for thou shalt not fynde so great peas in no other place.." cp. III: lviii "aske a secrete place to thy contemplacyon, loue to dwell with thyselfe alone"...

573. Even a comparison such as that in I: xxv "Consyder the holy orders of relygyon, bothe of men & women, as those of the charter house/ obseruauntis/minors & minores, holy ankours & ankeres, how besily

thei labour nyght & day to plese & serue our lorde. These quicke exãmples of so great multytude shulde induce the to be ashamed to be so vndeuout & remysse in the seruyce of god" remains entirely neutral and is not used to point the superiority of the religious life.

574. eg. III: xxxvi "fewe folke be founde contemplatyue/for fewe be founde that fully sequestrate theym selfe fro erthly thinges..."

575 e.g. III. liv, lxiv cp. Hilton Scala I: xlvi - vii etc.

576. e.g. I: xiv; III:xxviii, li cp. Hilton Scala I: xvii.

577. III:V, cp. III:xxxvi (p. 226).

578. III:viii.

579. The need for meekness is as often implied as stated in A Kempis' many warnings against all manner of human and spiritual presumption and pride.

580. III: ix.

581. III: xlii

582 Hilton Scala II: 5.

583. Among a vast number of references: I:vii; II:v, vii, xi; III: ix, xxii, xxix, xxxiii, xxxvii, xlii, xlv.

584. II:viii.

585. e.g. III: liii, lviii. lix cp. Romans VII: 14 - 25.

586. II: xii.

587. I: xxv.

588. III: xx, lv.

589. II: xii.

590. II: xi.

591. III: i - ii

592. III: xi.

593. III: vi.

594. II: vi.

595. III: lii - iv.

596. III: liv

597. III: vii

598. e.g. III: xvii, xxvi, xxvii, xxxii.

599. I:v

600. I: xix

601. I: xix, lvi.

602. II: ix; III: vii, lvii

603. III: lv.

604. III:v and lxiii which perhaps has reference to some contemporary debate about the comparative merits of various saints.

605. Hilton Scala Perfectionis I: 4.

606. III: xlviii is the most obvious example c.p. H.E.Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle p. 226

607. e.g. II: ii - iv; III: xxv.

608. e.g. III: xiii, xxv.

609. e.g. Hilton Scale I: 93; Bonde Pilgrymage f.2^{r}; Cloud EETS 218 pp 1.- 2, 129 - 30.

610. H.M.Cautley, Norfolk Churches (Ipswich 1949) pp 22 - 5 plates 134 - 7.

611. H.M.Cautley, Suffolk Churches and Their Treasures (3rd edn., Ipswich 1954) pp 76, 81 and illustrated pp. 65 - 72.

612. The only extant mural seems to be that at Kirton-in-Lindsey (Lincs), G.McN.Rushforth, "Seven Sacraments Compositions in English Medieval Art", The Antiquaries Journal IX (1929) pp. 83 - 100, especially pp 93 - 4 and plate IX.

613. Surveyed by Rushforth., art.cit. pp. 83 - 93.

614. Rushforth art.cit. pp. 99 - 100; E.P.Baker "The Sacraments and the Passion in Medieval Art", Burlington Magazine LXVI (1935) pp 81.- 9.

615. e.g. Bodleian, m.s. Laud Misc. 740 (pl. LXXXVIII in Pacht and Alexander, Illuminated mss in the Bodleian Library III, Oxford 1973).

616. The best known set of woodcuts are probably the series associated with L'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir See Hodnett 493 - 9.

617. See D.L.Douie Archbishop Pecham (Oxford 1952) pp 133 - 42.

618. STC 10628 - 34 between c.1515 and c.1532.

619. For two verse examples G.H.Russell, "Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in The Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes" Jnl. Religious History. 11 (1962) pp 98 - 119 especially pp 115, 116.

620. Cura Clericalis, Exornatorium Curatorum both intended primarily for clergy. For lay people there were chapters on the sacraments in e.g. The myrrour of the churche and The Crafte to lyue well and to dye well.

621. e.g. the semi official Bishops Book (1536), its successor The King's Book (1543) and from the 1540s onwards the Catechisms of authors such as Cranmer, Becon and Nowell.

622. STC. 12799 - 12801, two editions in 1528 and one undated. It is intended primarily for the use of curates to teach their parishioners. It includes a commendation of marriage based on biblical sayings; an exposition of the manner and times of contracting lawful marriage; a discussion of fourteen main impediments to marriage which occupies over a third of the work's total length; rules for matrimony and a set of articles to be declared to the parish, which are the topics of Pecham's Constitutions. Marriage was not always dealt with so seriously, however, cp. Copland's two laments, STC 5278 - 9. There was also Erasmus' commendation, Devereux English Translations of Erasmus, c. 47 and Agrippa's STC 701 - 2.

623. Pt. III. n. 443 - 5 below.

624. e.g. Tyndale Obedience of a Christian Man, PS pp. 252 - 86 and various references in Becon's Catechism

625. Exornatorium, RSTC 10627.5, A6^{r}.

626. H.C.Lea, A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church (vols. I - II), Philadelphia 1896; O.D. Watkins A History of Penance (to 1215) 2 vols, London 1920.

627. J.T.McNeill, The Celtic Penitentials and their Influence on Continental Christianity, Paris 1923.

628. e.g. M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins pp. 97ff, 124ff Some discussion of the seven deadly sins nearly always accompanies a work intended to help priest or layman in the conduct of confession, Erasmus' Of the maner and forme of confession is one of the few not to use the seven deadly sins.

629. STC 10498 printed c. 1535 - 6.

630. Maner and forme of confession $L5^{r} - 6^{r}$.

631. Respectively STC 3288 (RSTC. 3306.5) and STC 22141.

632. Gerson, Oeuvres Complètes ed. Glorieux vol. VII no. 330.

633. Erasmus op.cit. $I.2^{v} - 4^{r}$.

634. Erasmus op.cit. $E5^{r}$.

635. cp.nn. 474 - 6, 485 etc above.

636. Erasmus op.cit. $B6^{r}$. cp. Rote ch. 3.

637. For a modern summary A. Tanquerey The Spiritual Life Tournai, 1930, §934 - 50. Two influential works on the subject were Nider's Consolatorium timorate conscientie and Gerson's Contre Conscience Trop Scripuleuse (ed. Glorieux VII no. 306) and Celuy qui est pusillanime which Glorieux does not accept as Gerson's.

638. e.g. in Whitford's Pype or Tonne $f.65^{v} - 8^{r}$ under the general heading of obedience and the soul's inability to achieve the amendment of life sought, scrupulosity is discussed generally, and with reference to ignorance and oath taking, but there is no mention of confession.

639. Erasmus op.cit. D4.

640. Ibid. $H4^{r} - 5^{v}$.

641. Ibid. D4

642. Edited from BM ms Add. 33971 by C.Kirchberger, "Scruples at Confession" Life of the Spirit X (1955 - 6) pp 451 - 6, 504 - 9.

643. cp. Hilton Scala Perfectionis II: 7. Erasmus op.cit. $G.7^{v}$ also emphasizes that the turning of the heart to God is the essential element of confession.

644. cp. Erasmus op.cit. $H8^{v}$.

645. "Scruples at Confession" (n.642 above) pp 507 - 8. cp. the third utility of Erasmus' treatise where he says the priest in confession helps to control two vices $D1^{v}$, "the one is pestilent securite or rechelesnes....the other is moche more perilous than they bothe/ despaire of the mercy of god".

646. STC. 3275 - 6. An earlier edition of another version was printed about 1527 by Laurence Andrew, STC 6904. It did not give Bonde's name, only that it was "compyled by one of the fathers of Syon".

647. This attribution seems to be in STC 3276 only.

648. Bonde Deuote treatyse ca. v.

649. Ibid $f.9^{r} - v$.

650. Ibid $f.8^{r}$.

651 More Dyalogue of comforte II: xiii.

652. Bonde op.cit. $f.12^{r}$.

653. Ibid. Bonde uses the standard tribulation imagery, referring to the proving of silver and gold in the fire, or the firing of a pot in the kiln. cp. Pt. III n. 107. For further information he refers the reader to Dr. Chubb's Conflate, which I have been unable to trace.

654. These Bonde takes from Nider's Consolatorium timorate conscientie, citing particularly pt. II. ca. ix and Pt. III ca. x.

655. More, Dyalogue of comforte II: xiv.

656. Bonde op.cit. f.13^{v}.

657. More op.cit. II: xiv the end.

658. Whitford, Pype or Tonne (Pt. III, member I. ch. 3).

659. Bonde op.cit. f.5^{v}.

660. Erasmus, Maner and forme of confession $I4^{v}$.

661. Whitford Pype or Tonne $f67^{v}$.

662. e.g. Exornatorium curatorum $A6^{r}$.

663. Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) fols. 226^{r} - 7^{v}.

664. RSTC 3306.5 dated to 1528. Quotations are from the Cambridge U.L. (Sel. 5.35^{10}) copy.

665. Boke of a Ghoostly fader $A2^{v}$.

666. This note includes a request that the reader pray "For ye soule of mayster Iames berkeley" who died on May 7th, 1514 and adds "Take. vi.the last leues & the fyrst letters of ye same: And that is truely the wryters name". In the Cambridge copy this yields no obvious name - but R.M. Clay has suggested the name Higgis

667. The seven sins, EETS 31 pp. 33 - 43; the circumstances of sin pp. 47 - 50 to which is added the section on reserved cases, the absolution and confession pp. 54 - 5. The section entitled "The remedyes ayenst ye.vii.deedly synnes" is taken from pp. 51 - 3 (but the remedy against gluttony has been left out), finally the note on the venial sins is taken from pp 43 - 4. Not only has the order of the contents been altered from the copy of Mirk's text edited in EETS 31, but the Boke of a Ghoostly fader consistently gives the sins in the order: Pride, Envy, Avarice, Wrath, Sloth, Gluttony, Lechery as against the irregular Gregorian order used by Mirk (see. M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins pp. 210 - 1 n. 42 - 3). There has clearly been some attempt to up-date the text, not only by verbal changes e.g. sib to kin (but the word "gryth" is retained) but by insertions such as the couplet added on pride, "Haste thou be proude of tenyse. playenge | of daunsynge or of barre castynge". The brief introductory or concluding lines added to a number of sections often include lines in Latin, perhaps to make the Confessor sound more learned (cp. the introduction where he says: And bycause thou arte not lerned I saye than. | I wyl helpe the and I can".) and these extra lines often remind the reader of the threat of Judgement and hell.

668. There the sins are discussed in the order Pride, Wrath, Envy, Covetousness, Sloth, Gluttony and Lechery.

669. These are: whether he has (i) doubted any article of the faith (ii) broken any of the x commandments (iii) loved God above all and his neighbour as himself (iv) tried to do the seven works of mercy (v) deserved any of the curses of the general sentence pronounced 4 times a year (cp. EETS 31 pp. 21 - 4) or (vi) committed any of the 7 deadly sins.

670. In Mirk and the Boke of a Ghoostly fader the questions are usually direct, Hast thou...? with commands like "Tell me sonne hardely". In the Exornatorium however the questions are indirect, introduced

by "Remembre whether...or whether...or whether...etc".

671. Erasmus also censures priests who demand answers about all manner of vices from all, irrespective of sex, age or disposition, Maner and forme of confession I5^{r}.

672. In Ancrene Riwle these are: person, place, time, manner, how often and the cause.

673. YW II pp. 340 - 3.

674. Given the title Serche of confession in STC 22141, in fact it lacks the first three leaves.

675. Gararde Interpretacyon III ch. 4 (i) that he hears the word of God gladly (ii) feels ready to serve God and do good works (iii) intends to sin no more (iv) repents his past sins.

676. Gararde op.cit. III ch. 26 (i) He receives the true body and is made partaker in the merits of Christ, of the Saints and all good people (ii) he receives the blood of Christ and is cleansed of his sins confessed and those forgotten (iii) He receives the soul of Christ "wherby man pourchaseth a gauge of euerlastynge lyfe" (iv) He receives life and is united with the body of Christ and thus transformed "in god" (v) He receives the divinity of Christ who abides in his soul by grace.

677. These include the fairly common categories of sins against the twelve articles of faith, sins against the twelve virtues of the Holy Ghost and six sins against the Holy Ghost. To these are added sins against the faith of the Trinity which inlcude sins against nature, against equity, any kind of incest, conspiracy, usury or simony; nine strange sins which include making others sin, doing evil for bribes, enjoying hearing of others' sins, failing to reprimand servants for wrongdoing, keeping silence when bound to

speak; four sins crying vengeance to God which are sins against nature, shedding innocent blood, oppressing the poor and withholding payment from those who have earned it.

678. e.g. ch. xii on the Beatitudes; ch. xvi - xvii on the works of mercy bodily and ghostly; ch. xxii on the three theological virtues.

679. Gararde op.cit. III. ch. x.

680. More Dyalogue of comforte II: xiv.

681. Gararde op.cit. $V3^{V}$.

682. edn. Redman, 1531 (STC 25412) $E3^{V}$.

683. Werke (ed. cit.) $E2^{V}$

684. e.g. Dunbar's "Tabill of confessioun" copied probably not long before c.1540 in BM. ms. Arundel 285 (ed. Bennett STS^{3} XXIII, 1949 pp 1 - 6) or those printed as nos. 3 and 4 in the anthology by F.A. Patterson The Middle English Penitential Lyric (n.b. general introduction and useful notes on the individual lyrics).

685. Ed. W.Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae vol. III (2nd edn. Oxford 1882) pp. 293 - 300.

686. EETS 31 pp 28 - 9, cp. EETS 119 p.xxxvi.

687. Erasmus lists the opportunity of instruction as the second "utility" of confession, Of the maner and forme of confession.

688. E.Merrill The Dialogue in English Literature (Yale studies in English vol. XLII, 1911) p. 14ff.

689. Several questions deal with the sort of categories used by Gararde e.g. sins against the Holy Ghost, sins crying before God for vengeance.

690. e.g. Patterson The Middle English Penitential Lyric numbers 10 - 38 cover a wide range of litugical/non-liturgical based poems expressing these emotions.

691. Patterson op.cit. nos. 39 - 69.

691A. RSTC 20881 . 3, 20881.7 and 20882 is dated c.1532? It is said to be a verse rendering of W.Lichfield's "complaint of God".

692. STC 1917 ca.xiv.

692A. Bonde, Pilgrymage (1531) f.244^{v} - 5^{r}: "Than let vs euermore appele to the mercy of god/& crye dyenge and dye cryenge/eyther in voyce or els in hert/or in bothe/as our infirmite wyll suffre/euermore cleuynge in sure hope to ye mercy of god/as to the indefycyent well of all goodnes & pite/ infynyte & wt out measure in depnes/heyght/brodnesse & length/whiche can neuer be mynysshed ne made empty. To this fountayne I must nedes ronne/though I synne mortally an hondred tymes in one houre/and lykewyse euery penytent and saye. O/thou well of mercy that neuer faylest: O souerayne lorde/whose charite/loue/ and pite excedeth all the synnes of ye worlde/haue mercy on me/& forsake me not lorde/for without the/I am nothynge".

693. e.g. The complaynt of the soule, see Pt. III. n. 580 etc. below.

694. Maskell op.cit. vol. III p. 303.

695. e.g. Myrrour of the churche (1521) ch. v; the conclusion of The dyetary of Ghostly Helthe; Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon f.60^{v}.

696. e.g. Erasmus, Maner and forme of confession H6^{v}; Whitford Werke (STC 25412) A6^{v} - 7^{v}.

697. e.g. Confiteor tibi Domine Iesu Christe and prayers provided for lay people to correspond with the priest's confession before the Canon of the Mass e.g. LFMB, EETS 71 p. 6ff.

698. Entries under confession or confessio indexed by Hoskins, Horae, seem to increase significantly in the second half of the 1530s. The prayer "Conditor coeli et terrae" was included in many primers of this period (e.g. Burton Three Primers (2nd edn. Oxford 1848) pp. 69, 369 or another similar general confession and plea for mercy (e.g. Burton op.cit. p. 523).

699. A brief fourme of confession (STC 11181 = 24625; A/R 143) printed by John Fowler in 1576 shows how traditional teaching was continued. The first chapter offers an introduction to confession. The penitent must recollect sins past according to their time, place, circumstance etc. He must also remember venial sins, for which various remedies are suggested including alms deeds, prayer, devout hearing of mass and taking holy water. The author goes on to define penance according to its three parts: contrition, confession and satisfaction. The second chapter provides a form to be used at confession which is similar to Garard e's and Whitford's but detailed confession of particular sins is prefaced by a more general admission of lack of perfect repentance and contrition, insufficient sorrow of heart, negligence in remedying his sins, seeking amendment and failure to complete his penance. Unlike the earlier confessions it allows some recognition of more general underlying causes for sin. However, the examination of conscience, which runs on into ch. 3 is conducted under the familiar headings of the ten commandments, the six commandments of the church, the seven sins, sin against the Holy Ghost, against the works of mercy bodily and ghostly, and the five wits. The examination concludes with a general confession and request to the priest for absolution and penance which is again similar in form to that given in Whitford's Werke.

700. e.g. H.B.Workman John Wyolif (vol. II, Oxford 1926) p. 41f and n.7; J.A.F.Thomson The Later Lollards pp 29, 31, 33, 37, 41, 44, 45, 48, 49 etc.

701. e.g. Tyndale, Obedience of a Christian Man, PS pp 260 - 73.

702. Erasmus Maner and forme of confession $N8^{v}$ - $O8^{v}$.

703. STC 1749 - 50, and extensively revised before inclusion in the folio works - the latter version printed in PS I. pp. 87 - 122.

704. Becon was quite capable of adapting some of his statements to suit the times, e.g. his two recantations: see D.S. Bailey Thomas Becon (Edinburgh 1952) pp. 15 - 17, 30 - 8. The conservative teaching of The Potation was well advised, especially since it was probably first published not long after his recantation. On the whole, however, his stated or implied condemnations of auricular confession seem more characteristic of his views e.g. PS III.4, 66, 263.

705. These, listed PS I p. 101, are reminiscent of Erasmus' list.

706. Like Erasmus, Becon notes the inadequacy of the appointed clergy as the chief abuse, op.cit. pp. 100 - 1.

707. Tyndale op.cit. p. 263 cp. Wilkins Concilia III pp 805 - 6, Items 26 - 32

708. e.g. Thomson The Later Lollards pp. 62, 65, 70, 76, 77 etc. The necessity of confession to a priest, his power to absolve and criticisms of their wealth were common features of Lollard recantations.

709. K. Thomas. Religion and the Decline of Magic pp. 154 - 9. In his article "The Conditions of Morals and Religious Belief in the Reign of Edward VI", EHR x(1895) Pocock concludes that there was a general decline in morality.

710. Tyndale PS p.262 cp. Becon PS I p. 97.

711. The word repentance almost completely replaces the word penance in Protestant writings.

712. Tyndale PS p. 267 cp Becon PS I. p. 102, Latimer PS II pp 12 - 13. and P.E.Hughes Theology of the English Reformers pp. 183 - 6.

713. e.g. R.Steele A bibliography of royal proclamations (Oxford 1910) Nos. 170, 220 - 1, 226 cp. Wilkins Concilia III p. 805 items 23, 25.

714. e.g. Isidore's Councils (YW II p. 368); Ancrene Riwle (ed. M.B.Salu[illegible], London 1955) p. 61ff; Tre &.xii.frutes ed. Vaissier pp 131 - 9; St. Bridget's Revelations ed. Godfray (RSTC 1915.5) $A7^{v}$ - 8^{r}.

715. e.g. Rolle's Form of Perfect Living, YW I pp 7, 20; Hilton Scala Perfectionis I: 75 cp. Becon (PS II) A Fruitful Treatise of Fasting ch. 19.

716. STC 24224 - 5.

717. Becon, A Fruitful Treatise of Fasting, PS II pp. 533, 537, 542 cp. Tyndale, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, PS pp. 90 - 2.

718. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism pp 436 - 7; P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London 1967) pp. 214 - 8.

719. e.g. The Shepherd's Kalendar ch. VI; Stimulus Amoris (ed. Kirchberger) ch. 35; Love's Speculum Vitae Christi (ed. Powell) the latter part of ch. 18; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) Bk. III, day 6 ch. 16 - 18. For other references see n. 318 - 324 above.

720. e.g. Erasmus' A deuoute treatise vpon the pater noster; Cyprian A sermon made on the Lordes prayer tr. Paynell.

721. e.g. Marshall's Primer, 1535 (ed. Burton Three Primers pp 53 - 66); Bradford's Godlie meditations vpon the Lordes prayer and the various treatises on the Lord's prayer printed during the later 1520s e.g. STC 16815, 16819 - 21.

722. e.g. Ancrene Riwle (pt. I); Myrrour of the churche ed. 1521 ca. v;

Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe (chs. on exercise in prayer and study and conclusion); Bernard Golden Epistle (STC 1913) B2^{v} - 3^{r}.

723. e.g. Whitford Werke for housholders (STC 25412) A3^{r} - 5^{v}, 6^{v} - 8^{v}; Dyrnall: for deuoute soules A2^{v} etc, c1 - 2 which was certainly used by (copied in BM. ms. Harl 494) and perhaps originally intended for religious.

724. The recommendations for bedtimes devotions as Whitford recognizes, could raise objections, (ed. cit.) A8^{r}: "But yet some of you wyll saye. Syr/this werke is good for riligious persones/and for suche persones as ben solitary: and done lye alone by them selfe/but we done lye.ii.or.iii.somtyme together/and yet in one chambre dyuers beddes & so many in company/if we shulde do these thynges in presence of our felowes/some wolde laugh vs to scorne & mocke vs..."

725. e.g. Becon's Pomander of Prayer and his Flower of Godly Prayers; The ordenarye for all faythfull Chrystians (STC 5200); Primer c. 1541 (Hoskins no. 162).

726. The distinction between vocal and mental prayer was widely made e.g. Hilton Scala Perfectionis I: 27, 29; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) Bk. III day 6 ch. 8; Tre &.xii.frutes (ed. Vaissier) p.18ff.

727. e.g. Bonde ibid. ch. 10, 14; Tre &.xii.frutes (ed.cit) p. 19.

728. e.g. The pseudo - Rolle Contemplations, YW II pp 92 - 3.

729. The form of confession given at the end of The dyetary is unusually detailed.

730. See F.C.Francis "Three Unrecorded English Books of the Sixteenth Century", Library^{4} XVII, 1937 pp 189 - 95. Given under Whitford in RSTC 25421.2, - .3, - .5, - .6. References are to the 1531 Redman edn RSTC 25241.5.

731. Entitled "An exortacion to the reders by a brother of Syon". The most obvious candidate is of course the best known Syon author, Richard Whitford. Some elements of style in this exhortation, notably the listing of sins which have overrun the world, are reminiscent of Whitford and certainly he would have the requisite knowledge and contacts to "cause it to be imprynted" but it seems unusual that he does not sign it, nor style himself as so often, "wretche of Syon": that style is used by the author ($A7^{r}$): "praye for me a wretche" (cp. at the end of The fruyte of redempcyon, "of your charite pray for the Anker of London Wall wretched Symon"). Of the three Syon authors whose works were printed in English during the 1530s it sounds rather more like William Bonde. There are a number of characteristic inversions e.g....."I reporte me vnto you. I do feare me to the great hurte and opressyon of the people. But very assured I am that it is to the great domage of grace...." and the doom-laden vision of the sins of the world and a God who "shaketh his terrible swerde of Iustice ouer vs" is also found in Bonde, e.g. Pilgrymage (1531) f.41^{v}; he also makes considerable use of the mother and child image echoed in this exhortation. This is not by any means to say that Bonde was the probable author of this preface, but rather to warn against ascribing it too readily to Whitford. Dr. Doyle has noted a number of literary and personal contacts between Sheen and Syon including works copied for Syon by Stephen Dodesham and William Darker monks of Sheen and James Grenehlgh, another Sheen monk, who annotated a copy of the 1494 edn. of Hilton's Scala Perfectionis for Joan Sewell, nun of Syon.

732. RSTC 6928, also notes another state 6928.5 and another edition of about 1542. It is also copied in BM. ms. Harley 494ff.6 - 19 which belonged to Dame Anne Bulkeley, a nun of Syon.

733. The title was taken over by Becon, without any explanation or reference to the earlier work ("this my Pomander of Prayer" is hardly emphatic enough), for a popular collection of prayers.

734. e.g. Becon's A newe pathewaye vnto praier or The ordenarye for all fauthfull Chrystians and from the following decade Becon's Floure of godlye prayers or his popular Pomander of prayer.

735. Pomander A8^{r} cp. Hilton Scala I: 25 and the intorductory definition of prayer in Becon's Pathway vnto prayer (PS I p. 130) - "a lifting up of a pure mind to God, wherein we ask somewhat of him". The latter phrase seems to confirm Kirk's view - K.E.Kirk The Vision of God (London 1931) p. 430ff - that Petition...is the essence of Protestant...prayer and F.L.Kelley Prayer in 16th century England (Gainesville 1966 (University of Florida Monograph - Humanities No. 22) pp. 26 - 7.

736. Pt.III n. 349 etc.

737. Pomander E3^{r}.

738. cp. the opening of the exhortation at the beginning of The Pomander; and among others Erasmus De contmptu mundi A2^{v}; Orologium (Anglia X) p. 383; Legrand, Good Manners (1507) L7^{r-v}; Becon's Praise of Death (folio edn.)f.510^{r}; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II G3^{r}; Wyse Consolation A2^{v} and various references above n. 80 - 92.

739. Pomander C7^{v} See below nn.836f,857-68.

740. Pomander E3^{r} cp .n. 96 above.

741. Pomander C8^{r}.

742. cp. n. 726 above.

743. Pomander B6^{v}.

744. Ibid. B7^{v} - 8^{r}.

745. Ibid. B8^{r-v} cp. Hilton Scala I:28.

746. Ibid. C2^{r}.

747. Ibid. C1^{v}. The biblical reference is to I Samuel I: 9 - 17.

748. e.g. n. 500 above.

749. Pomander ch. 2 cp. Becon Pathway unto Prayer ch. 32 - 4 PS I pp. 168 - 71. He does not suggest that good deeds may be reckoned as prayers.

749A. cp. A Manual of Prayers + 1^{v}.

750. Pomander F4^{v} in praying for grace that they may forsake their errors is unusually magnamous - attitudes to heretics and infidels were not often so charitable.

751. Ibid. F6^{r}.

752. Hilton Scala Perfectionis I: 33,

753. Pomander D4^{v} - 5^{r}. First all worldly business and grudges are to be put aside. Then with meekness and contrition the soul is to ask mercy for all unkindness, negligence, ill-behaviour and impatience done since he was last there. This is balanced by thanksgiving for all God's benefits and concludes with particular thanks to the Father and the Son for the redeeming work of Christ.

754. See Pt. II n. 511.

755. Pomander D6^{v}.

756. Ibid D7^{r}.

757. Ibid E5^{r} - ^{v}.

~~757A. A. cp. Whitford Pype or Tonne f.220^{v}.~~

757A e.g. Pseudo Rolle Contemplations YW II p. 92ff; Speculum Vitae Christi (ed. Powell) p. 142; Becon New Pathway unto Prayer, PS I pp. 141 - 4.

757B Pomander A6^{r} cp. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f1^{v} - 2^{r}, 215^{r} who complains at the inadequacy and barbarity of English, espécially for theology.

757C cp Whitford Pype or Tonne f220^{v}

758 cp. n. 724 above.

759 Pomander B3^{v}.

760 cp. Cloud EETS 218 p.75ff; Dives and Pauper I: 56.

761 The book, as a pomander warmed by continuing in a man's hand gives off a fragrant smell, is to be "ofte tymes loked on and red" (A.6^{v}).

762 See H.C.White Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 154 - 6.

763 Pomander B4^{v}.

764 Dyurnall (RSTC 6928) C1^{r}.

765 Ibid. b1^{r}: "and say to yourselfe woldest thou be thus occupyed yf thou shuldest dye this daye/and constrayne youre selfe with the fere of dethe to spende your tyme at euery houre to the moste profyte of youre soule"...

766 Ibid b3^{r} - ^{v} cp. Dyetary of ghostly helthe (ed. Pepwell 1521) A6^{r}.

767 Ibid b3^{v} cp Dyetary's more detailed instruction in its chapters "How refeccyon ought to be take", "Of behauynge at the borde".

768 cp. n. 174 above.

769 Dyurnall b4^{v}.

770 See M.Deanesly The Lollard Bible ch 10 - 12 etc.

771 STC 15225 (dated c.1535 in RSTC) and STC 25590 - 2.

772 A.I.Doyle Survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English (unpubl. Ph.D. Cambridge University, 1953) pp. 49 - 55 also Sister M.T.Brady, "The Pore Caitif: an introductory study" Traditio X (1954) pp 529 - 48.

773 "The Chartre of oure Heuenli Eritage" was printed as A generall free pardon (STC 19187) while The assaute and conquest or heuen (STC 862) is the same kind of piece as the "Hors or Armer of Heuene" cp YW II p. 420ff. Sister Brady also notes various parallels between Pore Caitif and Rolle, the Ancrene Riwle and also with The Chastising of Gods Children and Dives and Pauper both of which were later printed.

774 W.A.Pantin The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (repr. University of Notre Dame, 1962) ch.X "Religious and Moral Treatises in the Vernacular" gives a convenient summary of the content of many of the best known ones.

775 A.I.Doyle Survey e.g. pp. 174ff; 187; 255ff; 282 etc.

776 e.g. Love's translation of the Speculum Vitae Christi and almost certainly Whitford's Dayly exercyse written originally at the request of the abbess of Syon and addressed to the nuns.

777 STC 23876 - 7. The 1531 edition attributed to de Worde in Duff's Handlists seems to be an error; the only Lambeth copy is the 1521 edition. The French original, La fleur des commandemens was one of a number of books printed by Antoine Vérard (on whom see J.Macfarlane, Antoine Verard London 1900, bibliographical soc. illustrated monograph VII) which were subsequently translated, and printed by de Worde, these include Ordinaire des Chrétiens; L'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir; Compost et Kalendrier des bergiers.

778 On the authorship, date etc: H.F. Pfander "Dives et Pauper", Library[4]

XIV (1933) pp. 299 - 312; H.G.Richardson "Dives & Pauper" Library[4] XV (1934) pp. 31 - 7; M.M.Morgan, "Pynson's manuscript of Dives & Pauper" Library[5] VIII (1953) pp. 217 - 28. The three extant printed editions STC 19212 - 4, show a gap of over thirty years between the two fifteenth century editions and the one of 1536. It seems to have been one of a number of works first printed in the 1490s which were not reprinted again, and then usually for the last time, until the 1530s e.g. The abbaye of the holy ghost [1496], [1500] - 1531 (Maittaire); The doctrynall of dethe [1498] - 1532; The.xii.profytes of trybulacyon [1499] - 1530.

779 See Pt.IV n. 322 - 6. Discussed under the first commandment in Dives & Pauper.

780 Discussed under the second and sixth commandments respectively.

781 The author seems to have a particular fondness for natural/semi-legendary illustrations e.g. the badger and the fox VI:14; VIII:6 where flatterers and backbiters are likened to a chameleon and X:6 - 7 where the Christian is likened to a bird called a "Bernacle", on which see H.Thurston Lent and Holy Week pp 50 - 4.

782 A number of authors, including Dives and Pauper V:12 liken the commandments to a harp of ten strings e.g. William Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon f.237^{r} who cites St. Augustine's Liber de decem chordis ca.v and Thomas Becon's David's Harp PS I pp 264 - 303 which also has ten strings.

783 For notes of various humanist works produced in England during 1530s and 1540s see J.K.McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics chs. 5 - 7.

784 STC 7270.

785 STC 15394 - 99.

786 RSTC 15399.5

787 cp. Dives and Pauper VII: 24 - 8.

788 There seems, for instance, no particular reason for omitting the general moral-devotional contents of Book I.But other selections made by him e.g. Examples howe mortall synne maketh the synners inobedyentes (STC 10613) taken from The floure of the commaundmentes of god (STC 23877) often seen very random choices.

789 N.F.Blake Caxton and his World (London 1969) pp 84 - 99 and K.J. Holzknecht Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (repr. London 1966) pp 114 - 5.

790 e.g. the professions and estates for which prayers are provided in his Flower of Godly Prayers or The Pomander of Prayer.

791 C.H. & K.George The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation (Princeton 1961) pp 92 - 5; M.M.Knappen Tudor Puritanism (Chicago 1939) pp 401 - 4.

792 Another example of a work previously printed in French by Vérard - see n. 777above. In this section I have used G.C. Heseltine's edition (London 1930) of the version printed c.1518 by Julian Notary. On p. 176 he lists the extant English editions, which occurred roughly every ten years or more often, except 1528 - 1559, 1631 - 1656 from 1503 to 1656.

793 See above n. 260 - 75.

794 Some of the sins also seem beyond the range of the shepherd, such as the fifth branch of lechery, superfluity of clothing, delights or expense or the third branch of gluttony, delicious dressing of meats.

795 Shepherds Kalendar ed. Heseltine pp 80 - 1. The points are: desire to do penance; being ready to do good; to hear God's word gladly; to be sorry for any sin committed, and desire to amend. cp. n. 386 above.

796 cp. Myrrour of the churche (de Worde 1521) ca.vi. "There ben.iij. maners of contemplacyon. The fyrst maner is in creature. The ij.in scrypture. The.iij. is of god hymselfe in his owne nature!"...

797 ed. cit. p. 83. The contents of this first article are echoed in the opening chapter of Simon's Fruyte of Redempcyon.

798 ed. cit. p.84.

799 See the section on Purgatory in Pt. III below.

800 ed. cit. ch.xxxvi, p. 165. It is preceded by the verse "Man look and see|Take heed of me|How thou shalt be|When thou art dead..." This verse and others from The Calendar are discussed by Woolf The English Religious Lyric pp 353 - 5.

801 ed. cit. ch.v. The descriptions are given according to the visions seen by Lazarus - see Pt. III.n.684ff.

802 ed. cit. ch.xxxv. For this seven-fold division of the Passion narrative see Pt. II.n.163.

803 The most obvious differences between the versions is in the number and arrangement of chapters - e.g. mss Thornton (no chapter divisions) and Vernon (28 chaps) - see Y.W.I pp. 264 - 92, De Worde's edition of 1533 contains 16 chapters.

804 After de Worde's folio edn. 1494, it was printed in 4^{o} by Notary 1507; de Worde 1519, 1525, 1533 and after The New Legend of England (STC 4602) in 1516 by Pynson.

805 The only extant independent edition is an octavo volume by Wyer probably printed about 1530 - 1 (STC 14041) It has 19 chapters, like the Pynson edn. (STC 4602).

806 I have had to use the version edited by Horstmann from the Vernon ms, YW I pp 264 - 92 in this section. YW I p. 270.

807 For Martha and Mary see n. 307 above. The wives of Jacob and their offspring are the basis of the allegory of Benjamin Minor - cp. n. 306 above.

808 YW. I p. 291 cp. n. 465 above.

809 YW. I. p. 292 cp. n. 604, 606 above.

810 Ibid. cp. n. 389, 390, 392 above.

811 Ibid. p. 279.

812 Ibid ca. xii - xiii.

813 cp. Scala perfectionis II: 24.

814 The suggested topics include recollection of sins committed and acknowledgement of man's frailty and need of forgiveness; remembrance of Christ's manhood, of the saints and the Blessed Virgin, of how Christ spared sinners which should help the soul to trust God and hope for salvation; recollection of the perils of this life and the joys of heaven.

815 His is a position of authority (YW. I. p. 267) "to ruile & gouerne þin houshold, þi children, þi servauns, þi neighebors, and þi tenauntes; - yif þei do wel, cumforte hem þerin & help hem; yif þei don vuel, tech hem to amende hem, & chastise hem. And þou [schalt] also loke & knowe wysli þat þi þinges & þi worldly godes be rightly kept be þi servauntes, gouerned & trewly dispendet..." cp. p. 271.

816 YW I. p. 269. In the Scala perfectionis I: 6 the man in active life can expect to reach no higher than the lower degree of the second part of contemplation and in that work Hilton's teaching is primarily directed at those who follow the solitary way of the true contemplative. In this book the higher state, though mentioned and recognized as the best way for those who are free to follow it, is not emphasized, Hilton adapts but does not change his teaching

on the three lives; he does not, for instance, split the active life into two parts separated by contemplation, with government of others as the highest state, Speculum Vitae Christi ed. Powell p. 159f.

817 e.g. I. Corinthians XII: 12 - 31 which concentrates on the horizontal or social relationship; Colossians I: 18 and Ephesians I: 22 - 3 emphasize the vertical relationship between Christ and His Church.

818 YW. I. p. 272 - 3.

819 Stimulus Amoris ed Kirchberger ch. 16 especially pp 126 - 7 and ch. 8.

820 It is this balance which is notable, for as R.C.Petry, "Social Responsibility and the Late Medieval Mystics" Church History XXI (1952) pp. 3 - 15, has shown, contemplatives generally accepted the validity of the active life but they invariably subordinated it to the contemplative.

821 YW. I p. 283

822 e.g. collections of prayers such as Deuoute prayers in englysshe or Prayers of the Byble or Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur and the works of the earlier Protestants such as Frith, J.G. the author of The Myrrour of lokynge glasse of lyfe etc who tended to address themselves to the Christian reader.

823 Such works virtually cease after 1533. The publication of a work like Bernard's Compendius & moche fruytfull treatyse in the middle of the following decade was far from typical.

824 Between 1530 and 1537, in addition to his large work The Pype or Tonne of perfection and the separate publication of some of his works, such as his version of the Crosrowe or A.B.C. attributed to Bonaventura (RSTC 3273.6), the RSTC notes three editions each of the Preparacyon

and Dayly exercyse and ten editions of The werke.

825 He refers to it in the introduction to A werke of preparacyon (ed. Wayland A2^{r}) "Where in a lytle werke yt of late, we send forth ....vnto housholders" and in A dayly exercyse D3^{v} where he tells his reader to make the sign of the cross "after the maner that you haue/ in your boke for housholders" and again in Dyuers holy instrucyons f.19^{r} over the correction of servants or children i.e. The Werke for housholders must have been printed before these other books which cite it.

826 Werke for housholders (ed. Redman 1531, STC 25412) A2^{r}.

827 cp. Pt. III n. 215, 292.

828 cp. Pt. III n. 302

829 cp. Pt. III n. 632

830 It is perhaps surprising that Whitford does not repeat them, but allows the general context to make the point.

831 Over the length Whitford points out they are profitable to the soul and that when familiar, learnt by heart, they will be quicker, cp. n. 724 above.

832 See text between notes 91 - 2 in Pt. II.

833 Werke for housholders (STC 25412) B1^{r}.

834 See n. 682 - 3 above.

835 cp. Pt. III n. 326

836 Werke C1^{v}.

837 cp. Pt. II. n. 71 - 2, 77

838 The first of these (concerning a Mr. Barington near Stondon on the Cambridge road who went hunting on Sunday, stopped at an ale house (the story could just as well have been used to warn Sabbath-breakers) and swore by God, whereupon his nose began to bleed at which he swore again, the more he swore the more he bled, and continued to do so after he had died) is repeated - without acknowledgement of any source - by S.Bateman in The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente (1582, STC 1582) p. 418.

839 The first is introduced, Werke C2^{v} - 3^{r}: "This story that followeth I herde at Stondon a lytell vyllage.xxv. myles from London/nat farre from the hyghe way vnto Cambrydge/where for a tyme I dyd abyde/in auoydynge the great ~~the great~~ plage....where also this story was open in the knowledge of al the countrey there a boute/as done but small tyme before". The second (Werke C4^{r}): "was shewed vnto me by a bacheler of diuinite called maister George Werke/a felowe than where I was also felowe/of the Quenes College in Cambrydge/and after he was vycare of Harowe on the hyll". The third (c4^{v}): "was shewed vnto me of an honest preest of my familier acqueyntaunce that was vicar of Halywell/where saynt Wenefredes well is/besyde the abbay of Basingwerke in Flynt shyre in the borders of Wales.xiiii. myles from westchester...". The latter two offer confirmation of Whitford's place of origin (there is in that corner of Flintshire a place called Whitford) and his time as fellow of Queen's College.

840 e.g. Convocation's statement in 1538 that "Sundays are to be continued and employed in the service of God, to hear the word preached, to give thanks for the benefits which we receive daily" and in much more detail the exposition of this (in this case 4th) commandment in The King's Book (ed. T.A.Lacey, London 1932) pp 94 - 9. In no way official was the discussion of the third commandment in Dives and Pauper, which included definitions of different types of commandment, a brief look at the Jewish Sabbath and reasons for the institution of Sunday as well as practical advice on suitable occupations for the day and how far a servant should be excused work.

841 This suggests that the use of books in church was quite widespread - certainly pews were usually provided with book-rests from the late XVI^th century onwards

842 Pt. II.nn. 52 - 3, 117.

843 Suitable activities to occupy the remainder of Sunday after Church are not wanting in the Werke which counters the suggestion of W.B. Whitaker Sunday in Tudor and Stuart Times (London 1933) p. 12 that the remainder of Sunday was unprovided for.

844 Werke D5^v.

845 Ibid C7^r.

846 W.H.Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education p. 80ff cp. Knappen Tudor Puritanism p. 462; C.H. & K. George The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation p. 290ff.

847 RSTC 1967.5 A Latin version printed perhaps by Pynson c.1505 appeared under the misleading title: Epistola sancti Barnardi Abbatis clareuallensis.Vltissima & moralissima de bona gubernatione familie Omnibus xpianis valde necessaria, RSTC 1910.5 and there is a verse version from Cambridge U.L. (ms. Kk. 1.5) printed in EETS 42.

848 The closest parallel is the Israelite Wisdom literature of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, but collections of counsels such as The gathered counsailes of saynct Isodorie or Martin of Braga's Rule of an honest lyfe are an elaboration of the same kind of thing.

849 e.g. (from RSTC 1967.5) a1^v "(after ye commune prouerbe) cut your thonges: after or accordyng vnto your ledder"; a2^r "An olde prouerbe. Qui plus expendit quam rerum copia tendit. Non admiretur si paupertate grauetur". Many more sentences have a proverbial sound, such as a2^v; "The slepe of ye housbande: maketh a fatte dong hylle"; b1^v: "Make your byldynges rather for nede, than for pleasur"; b3^v: "Fyrst get and brynge in/and than spende".

850 The advice given ($a4^r$) is surprisingly tactful: "A noble herte/ and hygh gentyl mynde/wyll neuer serche of womens maters. A shrewe wyll sonerbe correctid by smylynge or laughyng/than by a staffe/ or strokes. The best way to kepe a woman good/is gentyll intrety and neuer to let her know that she is suspecte/and euer to be counceyled & informed with louyng maner".

851 e.g. (From RSTC 1967.5) $b3^{r-v}$: "For good by ye wyse man doth sende the sluggarde (for example) vnto the ant or pismere, to lerne to labour" (Proverbs VI:6); "For man sayth Iob is borne to laboure/as abyrde to flye" (Job V:7 - Vulgate); "No cofre/chyst/ne tower may be more sure to kepe treasure than is heuen" (Matthew VI:19).

852 See the opening of "The Business of Dying" in Pt. III below.

853 cp. Pt. III n. 547.

854 STC 11917. It is not the same as Whitford's translation, and among other things there are more references to God.

855 STC 10994 - 11004. This latter part included the occupations and duty of a wife, the importance of always observing due measure, some consideration of riches, the joys of heaven, the ten commandments, prayer and various difficulties, and alms-deeds.

856 STC 26069 - 75.

857 EETS 209 pp 99f; 109; 117; Owst LPME pp 414 - 25; Blench Preaching in England pp 244, 330.

858 e.g. The Crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC 792) f.112; Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC 10627.5) $A3^r$; Chastising of God's Children p. 168. Whitford n. 836, 838 - 9 above.

859 Whitford Werke (STC 25422) $C2^v$ cp. Hawes Conuersayon of swerers (de Worde 1509) $A4^v$; Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC 10627.5) $A3^r$.

860 EETS 209 p. 109; Chaucer Pardoner's Tale line 629ff (ed.Robinson)

861 Hawes op.cit. A7^{v} cp Pt. II n. 354, 356 etc on the charter of Christ and the preceding paragraphs of text for other references to letters and print associated with the image of Christ as a book.

862 Whitford Werke (STC 25422) C4^{r} - ^{v}.

863 A number of such cases were collected and reported by Edmond Bicknoll in his Swoorde against swearyng (STC 3048, 3050).

864 Hawes op.cit. A2^{v} - 3^{r} cp. Ye new Not borune mayd A2^{v}; EETS 209 p.99f.

865 See M.D.Anderson History and Imagery in British Churches p. 143 and pl. 55 One interpretation of the ambiguous "Christ of the Trades" murals is that it represents a warning to blaspemers. See J.Evans English Art 1307 - 1461 (Oxford 1949) Appendix A and E.W.Tristram English Wall Painting of the XIVth Century (London 1955) pp 121 - 5.

866 STC 1731 - 2. See PS I pp 353 - 92 cp. The Homily "Against Swearing and Perjury".

867 e.g. (STC 1732) f.32 - 33.

868 e.g. (Ibid) f.19^{v}.

869 STC 1966 - 7 = 5213 - 4.

870 STC 1967 C6^{r}f; cp A1^{v} "consydring the horryble blasphemes and innumerable synnes that be commytted daylye/in playeng at dice/cardes & other deuyllisshe playes" also E7^{r}. The work is said to be drawn out of Bernadine's book called "Christen relygion. And translated out of french in to Englisshe/at the instaunce of Charles erle of Worcester".

871 e.g. The dysclosyng of the cannon of ye popysh masse (STC 17626 - 7) or Hugh Hilaries The resurreccion of the masse (STC 13457) or The Vpcheringe of the masse (STC 17630)

872 STC 1967, E5^{r}.

873 cp various O.T. comments on idols e.g. Psalms CXV: 5 - 6, CXXXV: 16 - 17, also Jeremiah V: 21 and Mark VIII: 18.

874 Ibid.E4^{v}.

875 STC 7260 It offers nine stories of biblical characters - Noah; Lot; Holofernes; "King Cordoloamor"; Ammon; Nabal; Balthazar; Simon Maccabeus and "King Hela", illustrated with woodcuts (Hodnett 1992 - 2008) each of whom suffered, usually death, as a result of drinking and the work concludes "Therfore euery parson take hede of hym selfe & eschew & kepe hym fro drunkynnes/for therby hath many noblymen be slayne".

876 See especially Owst LPME ch. 7.

877 Discussed in Pt. III under memento mori.

878 Holy Instrucyons A2^{r}: "I wrote this worke: many yeres ago (as I sayd of ye worke of deth) & by lyke occasion..."

879 Ibid M3^{r}, interestingly he adds "Whiche boke our reuerende father confessour mayster John Fewterer, late departed (whom Iesu pardon) began to translate out of latyn in to englysshe and I haue made an ende therof".

880 Ibid e.g. C1^{v}, 4^{r}, D4^{v}.

881 Ibid E3^{r}: "Howe correccion shulde be done of them that haue charge: we shewed you in your boke of housholders".

882 Ibid F3^{v}.

883 See the first section of Pt.III below.

884 Chapter xviii. Whitford does not make use of the "vile body" type of description but concentrates on man's sinfulness in terms of the inheritance of Adam - so, L2^{r}: "Than be we fawty in all that can be done vnto vs. And no thyng can be sayde, ne layde vnto our charge: but yt we haue...deserued that & more also whiche thyng: yf we do wel consyder, and weye: may....moue and gyue vs occasion, and also may induce, lede and teache vs to suffre, & so...to lerne, and to approyche vnto pacience".

885 Chapter xx. Whitford explains it in terms of a labourer who must earn his reward and a bondman who is bound to do his lord's will but can expect no reward for doing his duty unless his master promises him a reward. Thus man is a bond-seruant to God and deserves no reward, but God has giuen man grace to earn the reward of heauen through faith in Christ.

886 Whitford does not neglect the aspect of reward - cp. chaps.vi - xii, xix and parts of xx - but he never allows it to become part of a suffering/reward equation as so many of the tribulation treatises do and he also avoids the mechanical and materialistic overtones of that type of compensatory reward cp. Pt. III n. 93.

887 e.g. op.cit. M3^{r-v}: "Syr (saye you) here you do lade vs with an heuye burthen... For we se well and do euidently perceyue: that thys lady dame, pacience is very goodly...& also muche profitable...And all we do count and desyre pacience...But Alas, [alas, We be so frayle, and inconstant that we can not atteyne..."

888 e.g. op.cit. I.4^{r} describing Christ's patience in His Incarnation: "A kynges sonne and he a kynge hym selfe: borne in a coyshe, in bytter cold and in sted of a kynges cradle: he was layde in a chrayche wrapped in hay betwene two bestes..."

889 The phrase "the lyfe of perfection", which is the subject of this piece, regularly seems to denote the religious or contemplative life, as for example in The Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection to which Whitford refers ff 49^{r}, 55^{v}.

890 e.g. Ibid N3^{v} "I put the example here of religious persons: not withstandyng: I knowe well that amonge seculare persons, be many gyuen & wholly applyed vnto godly conuersacyon".

891 e.g. Ibid N3^{r} ..."yf you be relygious..."; O3^{v} "All religious persons therfore..."

892 See above: Aelred's De Institutione Inclusarum; Rolle's Form of Living; Hilton Scala I: 22, 75 etc.

893 Op. cit. O1^{r}.

894 e.g. Tre &.xii.frutes ed. Vaissier pp 11, 110; Myroure of oure Ladye, EETS es 19 p. xxxiiif.

895 Delicate feeding, worldly amusements and the desire to follow worldly fashions in dress are, for instance, condemned in Whitford's Pype or Tonne. The "vile body" theme of the contemptus mundi outlook was an extreme reaction to this self-love.

896 Respectively impediments 1, 2, 5.

897 op.cit. R1^{r}.

898 See above n 606.

899 cp. Pt.II n. 36, 44 also above, Hilton's emphasis on obedience to the Church in Scala perfectionis.

900 For the mss. circulation see A.I.Doyle, Survey (unpubl. Ph.D Cambridge 1953) pp 171 - 4. One version is printed YW II pp.367-74.

901 Holy Instrucyons R2^{r} where he says he has translated "more after the sens and meanyng of the auctour:then after the letter, and somewhere I haue added vnto the auctour, rather than mynushed any thynge".

902 The inclusion of a piece in Lupset's collected works seems to be no guarantee of his authorship. For instance Cyprian's sermon of mortality, complete with Pico's Rules of a Christian life and dedication to "To my right worshipfull suster dame Suzan Kyngestone" is included, which was in fact done by Sir Thomas Elyot - its preface is dated 1534, after Lupset's death.

903 The two separate editions, STC 14270 - 1 have the same version as that in Lupset's works.

904 For instance in the "Lupset" version the first 6 headings are: Againste lechery; Busines in praier; Fasting and abstinence; Drinkyng; The syght; Felowshyp of women (cp. YW II p. 367f) in Whitford there is an addition at the beginning, Of yuel thoughtes, and then they read: Of chastite; Of praier; Of superfluous fedynge; Of aspecte or cast of the syght; Of the cumpeny and presence of the contrarye sexes.

905 Although Whitford's style and love of doublets tends to make every sentence longer, he leaves out some sections and sentences found in other versions.

906 For instance the section on drinking is incorporated into the previous one on fasting and abstinence and the figure of the consuming fire is emphasized and made more coherent.

907 For instance in the section on prayer the "Lupset" version says "let praier be to the a continuall armour" while Whitford extends the metaphor and uses it to weld the section together, "Let prayer be your armour harnes and defence" is related to other vaguely military words such as "violence","assayles","venquished", "ouercomen", "preuayle agaynste".

908 e.g. The sections on sickness and sufferance are replaced in Whitford by "the constancie of mynde" and "pacience in aduersite" and the two linked by the backward reference of the opening sentence of the latter "Thys sayde constancie: doth brynge in pacience" or the

sections on compassion, following of goodness and despising of praise are reduced to two by Whitford -"Pitie and compassion" and "the contempt and despisynge of worldly prayse" and linked by a similar technique "But in all your mercy, pitie and compassion: beware euer of the appetite or desyre of worldly prayse".

909 Holy Instrucyons X1^{r} "Use not to speke wt ynkhorne termes newe retrike, nor darke wordes & harde to be vnderstande...Studye not to be ouer much eloquent, nor yet in any wyse barbarous: A meane stile is most cumly, & most profetable".

910 Entitled "Alphabetum religiosorum" they were printed after the Werke of Preparacyon in both Redman edns (STC 25412, 25413) and Wayland's (STC 25416) as well as separately by de Worde in 1532 (RSTC 3273.6)

911 Although brief Whitford claims "in mystery they ben great and the very waye and werkes of perfeccyon/wherwith euery person maye outwardly be adorned and garnysshed with chrystane dyscyplyne/and good and godly behauyoure. And inwardly muche/in the herte and in the mynde be quyeted and rested/and conueyed and brought or led vnto the grounde/and begynnynge of all good perfeccyon/that is/that a person shulde dystruste hym selfe. For sake hym selfe. Dyspyse hym selfe. Frome the which grounde: he shal be taken vp/and promoted/profecte/and atteyne to the hygh here[sic] of contemplacyon..." (STC 25412. K7^{v} - 8^{r}).

912 See Pt. II n. 353 for references to A.B.C. poems on the Passion.

913 See Pt. II n. 353.

914 STC 17192.

915 "My master Lydgate, dyd applye hym sore|Fables to fayne vnto moralyte|To shewe the euyll theyr iniquyte" (sig.A.1^{r}).

916 Ibid..."..to my bedde I went|Fallynge a slepe than full ryght shortly| And in this slumbre me thought in contynent/ By an olyue tre I was full sodaynely|Where sat a Mayde complaynynge rufully..."

917 It lacks U, V and Z.

918 Two stanzas are in Latin: "Quare deo fui sic contrarius|Quare heu non ipsum amaui|Quare noluisse, cum habuerim tempus|Quare ve sic semper peccaui|Quare mundum ego frequentaui|Quare me sequetis o tu vir in vanis|Quare laboras sic mundi inanis". The other begins: "Xpī time semper potentiam|Xpī vide a quinq vulnera/Xpī tunc pete misericordiam/Xpī decem serua mandata...."

919 Ibid $A4^{v}$.

920 e.g. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon I:28; Tre &.xii.frutes.

921 In addition to the edition c1500, STC 10608 there is another undated edition printed by Julian Notary.

922 The refrains call ill tongues "...cause of grete myscheef & distroyers of gode dedys", ..."for by an ill tonge the good name is soon go", ..."il tonges be moost enmye to mankynde", "By the yl tonge al is ouerthrowe agayne", ..."yll tonges is mannes moost confusyon".

923 James III: 8 (cp. vv.3 - 12 and I: 26).

924 The fact is mentioned in his prefaces to The pype or tonne, A dayly exercyse and Dyuers holy instruccyons.

925 The rule of saynt Augustyne and The Martiloge (ed. Procter & Dewick, HBS III, 1893). If the preface to The Pomander of prayer was by Whitford that too was published before 1530 and it is possible that the earliest extant edition of A werke for housholders (STC 25422)

was not the first as its title page declares it to be "newly corrected & prynted agayne"...

926 According to G.J.Aungier History of Syon Monastery (London 1840) p. 108*she held office 1461 - 1518.

927 William Bonde's Deuoute Epystle or his Pilgrymage of perfeccyon and John Fewterer's Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion relied heavily on earlier literature in their choice of subject and manner of treatment.

928 Among other works The tree &.xii.frutes of the holy goost or A compendius & a moche fruytefull treatyse attributed to St.Bernard and apparently first printed in the 1540s - after the Dissolution of the monasteries.

929 Among popular medieval works reprinted during the 1530s were Bonaventura's Speculum Vitae Christi, Hilton's Scala Perfectionis and part of Mirk's Instructions in A boke of a Ghostly fader.

930 See K.J.Holzknecht Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (London 1966) ch. VII.

931 In fact there were only two others which are known to have been reprinted, in each case 3 times. A dayly exercyse and A werke of preparacion together with the Golden Epistle and Bonaventuran alphabets which accompanied it and which were also reprinted separately.

932 e.g. A.G.Dickens The English Reformation (London 1967, paperback edn.) p 33 describes him as among the most prolific devotional authors of the century, some of whose books were "explicitly designed to help the middle-class laity". Dom David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England vol. III. p. 214 comments that he was a prolific writer and credits him with the authorship, or at least effective editorship, of the Jesus Psalter (see Pt. II, notes 309, 307). J.K.McConica makes a number of references, several of them inaccurate, to his works, English Humanists and Reformation Politics p. 116 where he confuses

the "Godfrey version" of The Golden Epistle (which was usually accompanied by the extracts from St.Bridget's Reualations) with Whitford's translation; p. 123 n.5 Saint Bonauenture his lessons is probably the two alphabets RSTC 3273.6; there are four extant editions of The Pomander of prayer RSTC 25412.2 - 5 and there is nothing to connect The abbaye of the holy ghost with Syon; p. 129. There is only one edition of The pype or tonne; p. 173, A dialoge... bytwene the curate and the parochiane is not a new work, but another edition with dialogue introduction of the Werke of preparacion; pp 205 - 6.

933 What seems to be a far from proven attempt to illustrate Whitford's influence on St. Ignatius is made by W.A.M. Peters "Richard Whitford and Saint Ignatius' visit to England", Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu XXV (Rome 1956) pp 3 - 25. The examples on which he bases his case are rather the common-places of late medieval devotion than anything peculiar to Whitford.

934 pp. 156 - 61.

935 Pomander of prayer $B5^{v}$ - 6^{3}.

936 Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 160 - 1.

937 Knowles Religious Orders III p. 215 describes it as "something unique in Tudor England, an orthodox Port Rpyal, a key position in the religious life of the Country".

938 Although the most detailed attack on Luther, Tyndale and their followers is in the first part of The Pype of Tonne, nearly every work, in the preface if not the main text, attacks some aspect of the heretics' belief or their malpractices.

939 Dayly exercyse $D6^{v}$.

940 Monks of Syon whose work was printed during the 1530s include William Bonde, John Fewterer and Richard Whitford.

941 e.g. The Orcherd of Syon in 1519 and The Myrroure of oure Lady in 1530.

942 N.F.Blake, "Wynkyn de Worde: the later years" Gutenberg - Jarbuch 1972 pp. 128-38. suggests that de Worde had a particularly close association with Syon (pp 132 - 4) - not unnatural in view of de Worde's conservatism and obvious fondness for religious and devotional material. But although de Worde's name may occur most often, his is not the only name. Taking the works of Bonde, Fewterer, Whitford and The Myrroure of oure Lady as a sample of Syon books the names of Pynson, Redman, Middleton; Lawrence Andrewe, Peter Treveris; John Wayland, Richard Fawkes, Michael Fawkes and Robert Copland became involved as well as de Worde. But it is interesting to note that many of these printers can be related to one another, some as having successive use of the same premises and stock e.g. Pynson - Redman - Middleton and many can be related in some way to de Worde - thus Copland seems to have had books printed for him by de Worde and done some translating for him; Treveris printed a number of works for de Worde but also took over some of Lawrence Andrewe's stock. It is also worth noting that with the exception of Middleton who printed Whitford's Holy Instruccyons and Wayland who printed a 1537 edition of A werke of preparacion, A dayly exercyse and the Werke for housholders the other printers were either dead or are not known to have printed anything after 1540. Another probable indication of Syon's connection with a work is the use of the woodcut of St. Bridget - Hodnett no. 457 also 2277 and 2379.

943 e.g. A Christmas bankette (STC 1713 - 15) 1542; David's harpe (STC 1717) 1542; The golden boke of christen matrimonye (STC 1723 - 4) 1542 - 3; An inuectyue agenst swearing (STC 1731 - 2) 1543; A newe patheway vnto praier (STC 1734) 1542: The new pollecye of warre (STC 1735) 1542; A new yeares gyfte (STC 1738) 1543; Newes out of heauen (STC 1739 - 40) ? 1541 - 42; A pleasaunt newe nosegaye (STC

1742 - 3) 1542 - 3; A potation or drinkynge for this holi time of Lent (STC 1749 - 50) 1542 - 3; The right pathwaye vnto prayer (STC 1756) 1543; The true defence of peace (STC 1775 [illegible]-6) 1542 -3.

944 e.g. Bale The actes of Englysh votaryes (STC 1270 - 4) 1546 etc., An answere to a papysticall exhortacyon (STC 1274[a]) c.1548, A brefe chronycle concerning Sir J. Oldcastell (STC 1277 - 8) ? 1545 etc., A christen exhortacion vnto customable swearers (STC 1280 - 6) ? 1543 etc.. A dialoge...betwene two chyldren (STC 1290) 1549, The epistle exhortatorye (STC 1291 - 2), The image of hothe churches (STC 1297 - 1302)? 1548 etc, A mysteryeof inyquyte (STC 1303) 1545, Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe (STC 1309) 1543; Bullinger The christen state of matrimonye (STC 4045 - 53) 1541 etc; Calvin A faythful..treatyse concernynye [sic] the sacrament (STC 4410 - 3) 1549 ? etc, The mynde of M.J.Caluyne (STC 4435) 1548, Of the life...of a christen man (STC 4436) [1549], A short instruction agaynst the...Anabaptistes (STC 4463) 1549; George Joye An apologye (STC 14820) 1535, A compendyouse somme of the very christen relygyon (STC 14821) 1535, A contrarye...consultacion (STC 14822) ? 1549, The exposicion of Daniel (STC 14823 - 5) 1545 etc, George Ioye confuteth Winchesters false articles (STC 14826) 1543, The refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaration (STC 14827) 1546, A present consolacion (STC 14828) 1544, The subuersion of Morris false foundacion (STC 14829) 1534, The vnite and scisme of the olde Chirche (STC 14830) 1543; Melanchthon The epistle of...(STC 17789) 1547, The iustification of man by faith only (STC 17792) 1548, ...Both partes of the sacrament to be receyued of the lay peple (STC 17793 - 6) 1543 etc, ...Defending the mariage of preistes (STC 17798) [1541], A waying and considering of the interim (STC 17799) 1548; Works by Tyndale printed during the 1530s and 1540s included STC 24437, 24439 etc, 24443, 24444, 24445, 24447etc, 24455 etc, 24462 etc, 24465 etc, 24468 etc; Zwingli's Certeyne preceptes (STC 26136 - 7) 1548 etc, The rekening and declaration of the faith of H.Zwingly (STC 26138 [illegible]-9) cp. H.S.Bennett's note English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd. ed. Cambridge, 1969) p. 155f.

945 J.K.McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics ch.2 outlines the characteristics of Erasmianism which may be summed up (p.42) as a "blend of humanism and reform".

946 Described by H.B.Lathrop, Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477 - 1620 (Madison 1933 repr. New York 1967) p. 24 as "the only one among the earliest translators who links England to Italy and the New Learning", see also the same author's "The translations of John Tiptoft", MLN XLI (1926) pp 496 - 501, and in general R.J.Mitchell John Tiptoft (London) 1939.

947 His most substantial translation was Diodorus Siculus' Bibliotheca Historica ed. Salter & Edwards EETS 233, with introduction etc EETS 239 where there is some discussion of Skelton's humanism (pp.l - liii) also see H.L.R. Edwards The Humanism of John Skelton with special reference to his translation of Diodorus Siculus, Cambridge Ph.D. 1937 - 8.

948 On Whittington's translations of Cicero's De Officiis and De Senectute Lathrop comments, (op.cit. p. 57): "This important service of communicating this central author of the Renaissance to the English reader was very ill done" by him. His translations included Cicero's works named above and his Paradox (STCs 5278, 5292, 5313); Seneca's De Remediis Fortuitorum (STC 22216); Martin of Braga's Forme...of honest lyuynge and Myrrour or glasse of maners (STC 17501, 17502) both attributed to Seneca and Erasmus' De Civilitate Morum Puerilium (STC 10467 - 9).

949 Best known for his translation of Xenophon's Treatise of householde (STC 26069 etc) he also translated Erasmus' De immensa dei misericordia (STC 10474 - 6). For a list of editions of Xenophon's Treatise and for notes on Hervet's life, which mention his membership of Geoffrey Pole's household (for whom he translated the Treatise) and subsequently his move to Reginald Pole's service and his possible contact with Thomas Lupset see E.F. Bosanquet "Three Little Tudor Books" Library^{4} XIV (1933 - 4) pp. 178 - 206, espec. 178 - 92.

950 Taverner's translating activities varied from his revision of the "Matthew Bible" (STC 2067) and translations of Erasmus Sarcerius' Loci communes (STC 21753 = 10465), the Augsburg Confession and Menanchthon's Apologie (STC 908 - 9) to his translations of the classics, usually from the Latin of Erasmus e.g. the two books of The garden of wysdom (STC 23711a - 23716) from Erasmus' Apothegmata; Prouerbes or Adagies (STC 10437 - 41) from the Adagia, A ryght frutefull epystle deuysed by the moste excellent clarke Erasmus in laude and prayse of matrymony (Devereux Checklist C47); Mimi Publiani (Devereux C75); Flores Aliquot Sententiarum (STC 10445 - 8); Catonis Disticha Moralia Ex Catasigatione D. Erasmi (STC 4843 - 5) and perhaps An Introduction to a Christian Concord and unitie in matters of Religion (Devereux C28) See also C.R.Baskerville "Taverner's Garden of Wisdom and the Apophthegmata of Erasmus" Studies in Philology XXIX (1932) pp. 149 - 59.

951 e.g. STC 25412 ($F5^{v}$) where he says that the Epistle on The cure and gouernaunce of a houssholde by Bernard Sylvester was "put among the werkes of saint Bernarde for bycause that many done iuge & thynke it was his owne werke".

952 The standard life is still J.H.Lupton's A Life of John Colet (London 1887) and there is also J.A.R. Marriott's The Life of John Colet (London 1933). Other aspects of his thought are discussed by E.W. Hunt Dean Colet and his Theology (London 1956); S.Jayne John Colet and Marsilio Ficino (Oxford 1961); L.Miles John Colet and Platonic Tradition (London 1962) and parts of F.Seebohm The Oxford Reformers (3rd. edn. London 1887). Also D. Winstein The Place of John Colet in the Development of English Humanism (unpubl. M.A. University of Chicago 1950).

953 E.Surtz The Works and Days of John Fisher (Cambridge, Mass 1967) p 396 also pp. 3 - 5, much in chapters 8 - 9 and ch. 10 is mainly concerned with the statutes for Christ's and St.John's colleges

954 For some of Pole's Italian contacts: M.Haile Life of Reginald Pole (2nd edn. London 1911) chapters II, VII, XV and parts of V and VI., also W.Schenk Reginald Pole (London 1950) ch.1.

955 English members of Pole's household included at various times: Richard Morrison who wrote An exhortation to styr all Englyshe men to the defence of theyr countreye and An inuectiue ayenste treason (STC 18110, 18111 etc) and translated Sturmius' Epistle and Vives' popular Introduction to wysedome (STC 23407, 24847 etc); the translator Gentian Hervet; George Lily son of the first headmaster of St.Paul's school and Thomas Starkey whose published work An exhortation to the people instructynge theym to vnitie (STC 23236 - cp. L. & P. Henry VIII X no. 600 suggesting an earlier date than STC's ? 1540) has received less attention than his Dialogue (between Pole and Lupset) and letters - EETS es 12, 32.

956 On whom see J.A.Gee Life and Works of Thomas Lupset (New Haven, 1928).

957 On More's life: R.W.Chambers Thomas More (London 1935) and the three XVIth century biographers: Harpsfield (EETS 186); Roper (EETS 197); Ro: Ba (EETS 222) and More's own letters, The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More ed. E.F.Rogers (Princeton 1947) are the main authorities.

958 See P.Thomson Sir Thomas Wyatt and his background (Stanford 1964); K.Muir Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Liverpool 1963) and his Collected Poems, ed. K.Muir and P.Thomson (Liverpool 1969).

959 See S.E.Lehmberg Sir Thomas Elyot, Tudor Humanist (Austin [1960])

960 There is an enormous literature on the life and thought of Erasmus. Among the more influential works: R.H.Bainton Erasmus of Christendom (London 1970); J. Huizinga Erasmus of Rotterdam (London 1952); P.Smith Erasmus (New York 1923). Erasmian studies are also helped by two bibliographies compiled by J - C. Margolin, Quatorze Années de Bibliographies Erasmienne 1936 - 49 (Paris 1969) and Douze Années de Bibliographies Erasmienne 1950 - 61 (Paris 1963).

961 Apart from Foster Watson's books on Vives' educational treatises - (Vives: On education (Cambridge 1913); Tudor School Boy Life (repr. London 1970) and Vives and the Renascence Education of Women London 1912) - there seems to be no full length studies devoted to his life

or thought available in English - not surprisingly most of the work on him is in Spanish - but see recently C.G. Noreña Juan Luis Vives, The Hague, 1970.

962 I have found the following among the more useful works on English humanism: R. Weiss Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1941); D.Bush The Renaissance and English Humanism (repr. Toronto 1958); F. Caspari Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (Chicago 1954) and more generally P.O. Kristeller's collection of essays, Renaissance Thought I (New York 1961) and II (New York 1965).

963 e.g. D.Bush The Renaissance and English Humanism ch 1 "Modern Theories of the Renaissance"; W.K.Ferguson Renaissance Studies (University of Western Ontario Studies in Humanities no. 2, 1963) pp 24 - 6; A Renaudet Humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva 1958) p. 48f. P.O. Kristeller Renaissance Thought I ch. II "Aristotelian Tradition" shows how the Renaissance continued many of the trends of medieval Aristotelianism.

964 e.g. P.O.Kristeller, op.cit, ch. 4 " Paganism and Christianity" - p. 74 states " The view that the humanist movement was essentially pagan or anti-Christian cannot be sustained"; Renaudet op.cit. pp. 50 - 3; M.P.Gilmore The World of Humanism 1453 - 1517 (New York 1952) p. 205.

965 In his conclusion, R.Weiss Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century notes the compromise and subordination of humanism to medieval culture cp. F.Caspari Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England p. 21f. F. Seebohm The Oxford Reformers implies rather than states the continuity of Colet's, More's and Erasmus' thought with medieval Christianity, especially when contrasted with Luther's hostility to so many of the external trappings of traditional beliefs.

966 See Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanists ch 2 "English Humanism" especially pp 74 - 5.

967 e.g. Cranmer, Jewel and Hooker. See P.E.Hughes Theology of the English Reformers (London 1965) ch. 1 "Holy Scripture" especially pp. 30 - 4.

968 e.g. Thomas Becon's Anthologia Lactantii Firmiani and his Xenophontis Gnomologiae, Lyons 1558, 1559, (See Baudrier Bibliographie Lyonnaise, vol. 5, Paris 1964 pp. 25 - 6). No separate treatment of the editorial activities of the English Reformers seems to have been made.

969 J.S. Phillimore "Blessed Thomas More and the arrest of humanism in England" Dublin Review CL 111 (1913) pp 1 - 26: the view was popularized by R.W.Chambers Thomas More (London 1935) p. 379.

970 See F.Caspari op.cit. pp. 132 - 40; J.Simon Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge 1966) pp 165 - 8, and 184 - 9 and for a re-assessment of the various achievements of 1547 - 53, pp. 268 - 287.

971 J.E.Sandys History of Classical Scholarship vol. I (2nd. edn.) pp. 517f, 673 - 8 and in detail C.H.Haskins The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, Mass. 1928).

972 On whom see C.J.Webb John of Salisbury (London 1932) and H.Liebeschuetz Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury (London 1950).

973 The period was dominated by the schoolmen. See Sandys op. cit. vol. II chaps. 30 - 2 espec. pp. 590 - 4.

974 For a convenient summary: L.D.Reynolds & N.G.Wilson Scribes and Scholars (London 1968) pp. 102 - 116 and A.C.Clark "The Reappearance of the texts of the classics" Library[4] II (1921 - 2) pp. 13 - 42.

975 An easily accessible summary of Aldus' life: E.Robertson "Aldus Manutius, the scholar printer 1450 - 1515" BJRL XXXIII (1950 - 1)

pp. 57 - 73. See also Sandys op.cit. vol. III pp 95 - 105 which includes lists of the Editiones Principes of Latin and Greek authors 1465 - 1621.

976 e.g. Among printed books STC 17498 - 9, 17501 - 2 attributed to Seneca and STC 768 - 70 to Aristotle.

976A See D.W.Robertson A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton 1963) pp 356 - 7.

977 In general A.W.Parry, Education in England in the Middle Ages (London 1920); C.P.MacMahon Education in Fifteenth-Century England (Baltimore 1947) also E.R.Curtis European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London 1953) pp 49 - 57.

978 See the excellent article by R.Hazelton: "The Christianization of Cato: the Disticha Catonis in the light of medieval commentaries" Medieval Studies XIX (1957) pp. 157 - 73.

979 e.g. Palladius On Husbondrie (EETS 52, 72).

980 STC 24762 - 4 ed. EETS es. 110.

981 On which see: C.F.Bühler "Greek Philosophers in the Literature of the Later Middle Ages " Speculum XII (1957) pp. 440 - 55.

982 For three English prose versions, EETS es 74 and in verse EETS es 66. For an indication of the use made of the work by Gower, Confessio Amantis VII; Hoccleve Regiment of Princes; A.H.Gilbert "Notes on the influence of the Secreta Secretorum", Speculum III (1928) pp 84 - 8.

983 EETS 211. cp. EETS es 76.

984 Both have generated a large amount of literature. For a brief introduction on Troy - D. Bush Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis 1932) pp. 7 - 9 and in detail N.E. Griffin Dares and Dictys: Introduction to the Study of the Medieval

Versions (Baltimore 1907). On Alexander: G.Cary The Medieval Alexander (Cambridge 1956). For detailed bibliographies on both - : J.B.Severs A Manual of the Writings in Middle English I (New Haven 1967) pp. 268 - 77.

985 A few such as Apollonius of Tyre stem from pagan antiquity but many more made use of characters and situations reminiscent of classical myths - see, for instance: J.B.Friedman Orpheus in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) chs 4 - 5; L.Vinge The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the early 19th century (Lund 1967) chs. III - VIII.

986 STC 770.

987 EETS es 74 pp 121 - 248.

988 EETS es 74 pp. 5 - 6, 49 - 50; EETS es 66 p. 23.

989 EETS 211 p. 112

990 STC 6826 - 30 and n. 983 above.

991 On the same lines, although vastly extended, as the popular "Six Masters" and similar types of "Spiegel" common in the Netherlands - see Pt. III n. 33, 87 - 8.

992 EETS 211 p. 124 lines 4 - 13. The signs of death, the physical corruption of the grave, the equality of death and the uncertainty of when it will strike are common-place themes in literature on death. cp. The memento mori section of Part III.

993 EETS 211 p. 167 See Pt. III.n. 107.

994 EETS 211 p. 279.

995 ed. EETS 264.

996 See D.T.Starnes and E.W.Talbot Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill 1955) chs. 1 - 2. Elyot's Dictionary STC 7659 and in augumented editions STC 7660 - 3.

997 Discussed by M.M.Phillips The "Adages" of Erasmus (Cambridge 1964) Part I.

998 They appeared under the title of The garden of wysdome in three books - Devereux Checklist C.7, C.8 and C.1. and many were included in Sir Thomas Elyot's Bibliotheca.

999 M.M.Phillips The "Adages" of Erasmus p. 36.

1000 In the list of his works sent to Hector Boece in 1530 (Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami ed P.S. & H.M.Allen (Oxford 1934) vol.VIII no. 2283) Erasmus places most of his works in categories such as literature morality, works of piety etc. The Adagia stand on their own, as do the Epistles, between literature and morality.

1001 All included in M.M.Phillips op.cit. in translation.

1002 See nn 247, 383, 407, 577 above.

1003 M.M.Phillips op.cit. p. 296. It was translated into English and printed separately c.1541 - 2, STC 10507.

1004 A table of the more commonly cited sources is given by Lehmberg Sir Thomas Elyot p. 131.

1005 STC 7630 - 4. For comments on the work: Lathrop Translations from the Classics pp. 71 - 2; Lehmberg Sir Thomas Elyot pp. 129 - 31.

1006 For convenience I have used Lathrop's chronological list of translations op.cit. p. 311f.

1007 e.g. Alexander Barclay's preface to his translation of Sallust, quoted Lathrop op.cit.p. 82. On the changing attitudes to and interpretation of history.F.S.Fussner The Historical Revolution London 1962.

1008 His De Tuenda Sanitate, translated from the Latin of Erasmus STC 20060 - 2 (cp. STC 20073).

1009 See H.S.Bennett English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd. edn. Cambridge 1969) pp 97 - 8, 103 - 9.

1010 Lehmberg op.cit. pp. 132 - 47.

1011 For the possibility that Hervet's translation may owe something to Lupset see J.A.Gee Thomas Lupset pp. 170 - 2 STC 26069 - 75. Despite 26070 being cancelled there is a 1534 edition in the BM.

1012 Stanbridge's works STC 23140 - 99 and Whittinton's STC 25444 - 581 See also E.Pafort "A group of early Tudor School Books" Library[4] XXVI (1946) pp. 227 - 61; H.S.Bennett "A Check-list of Whittinton's Grammars" Library[5] VII (1952) pp. 1 - 14. Neither Standbridge, nor Whittinton on whose books de Worde seems to have had a monopoly, seem to have maintained their popularity after de Worde's death in 1535. They do not seem to have had any obvious successors which makes one wonder whether de Worde was either over - producing such texts or artificially maintaining the market for the traditional devotional works. Had there been a sustained public demand for Whittinton and Stanbridge another printer would surely have undertaken their publication after 1535.

1013 Horman's works STC 13807 - 12; Lily's STC 15602 - 10. The Colet & Lily Shorte Introduction of Grammar does not seem to have an extant edition before 1549 (STC 15611 - 33).

1014 For the state of Latin language teaching in mid - later XVth century, Brother Bonaventura "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England" Medieval Studies XXIII (1961) pp. 1 - 20. A. Tilley's "Greek Studies in England in the early XVIth century "English Historical

Review Llll(1938) pp. 221 - 39, 438 - 56 is really only an annotated list of those who taught and learned Greek during Henry VIII's reign, although he does comment that Greek language and literature was rarely studied for its own sake, but usually as a tool for the study of medicine, theology or civil law.

1015 STC 20057

1016 e.g E.F.Shannon Chaucer and the Roman Poets (Cambridge Mass, 1929) Shannon does not perhaps allow sufficient weight to the idea of derivative knowledge of lesser known poets such as Valerius Flaccus, Juvenal or even Catullus and while the examples given are of interest they cannot necessarily be held to prove ~~any~~ Chaucer's personal, conscious knowledge of the writers named.

1017 e.g. H.M.Cummings The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio (pr. 1916, repr. New York 1965).

1018 e.g. B.Bartholomew Fortuna and Natura (The Hague, 1966) pp 1 - 45 for a general survey.

1019 e.g. D.W. Robertson A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton 1963) pp 248 - 50.

1020 D.W.Robertson Ibid. p. 289.

1021 J.H.Fisher John Gower (London 1965) p. 285.

1022 J.H.Fisher Ibid pp. 147 - 50.

1023 J.H.Fisher Ibid. pp. 184, 193, 198, 203, 245.

1024 Confessio Amantis Bks. IV and VII respectively.

1025 See W.F.Schirmer John Lydgate (transl. London 1961).

1026 Schirmer op.cit. pp. 255 - 6.

1027 Schirmer op.cit. ch. 21, notes examples of classical mythology p. 211, of less obvious historical figures p. 216, 218 - 9 and of various poets p. 217. For printed editions of the work STC 3175 - 8.

1028 Schirmer op.cit. pp. 212 - 3. See below n. 1083 following.

1029 eg.Schirmer op.cit. pp. 48 - 9, 64, 209 - 10, 211 - 12.

1030 Edited EETS es. 72 For a summary: J.Mitchell Thomas Hoccleve (Urbana 1968 pp. 27 - 31.

1031 Like Gower, Hoccleve made use of Secreta Secretorum - Mitchell op.cit. pp. 24 - 5 (Lydgate also produced a verse translation of the Secreta: EETS es 66) and he uses a number of tales from classical history and mythology in his work although to a lesser extent than Lydgate - Mitchell op.cit. pp. 55 - 6. Although less obviously influenced by humanist learning than Lydgate, the unusual extent of the autobiographical material in his poems (on which see Mitchell op.cit. pp 1-19)might be regarded as a foretaste of the increasing tendency to self revelation found among humanists such as Erasmus, especially in their correspondence.

1032 The lyfe of our Lady (STC 17023 - 5) and his translation of The lyfe of Saint Albon (STC 256) and probably of The lyfe of Saynt Margarete ((STC 17325 - 7) were printed as late as the 1530s.

1033 Exemple of vertu (ed. 1530) $A2^{v}$; Pastime, EETS 178 pp 5 - 6, 54 - 5.

1034 The attribution of The Temple of Glas to Hawes (STC 12954 - 5A) has been dismissed by J.Schick, (EETS es 60) pp lxxv - lxxx and the work is assigned to Lydgate in RSTC.

1035 EETS 173 p. xliii.

1036 e.g. EETS 173 p. cvii.

1037 The final stanza of ca.xlv is explicitly addressed to Our Lady, but in the chapter's opening stanza spoken by Eternity she claims the titles normally associated with the Blessed Virgin "I am now doubtles|Of heuen quene/and of hell empres".

1038 See above n. 218 - 9 etc.

1039 Exemple (ed. 1530) $E6^{v}$. He is armed by Dame Sapience with the leg armour of good hope, "the habergyn" of righteousness, girded with chastity, the "plackard" of business with branches of almsdeeds, the shield of belief, the helmet of meekness and the sword of God's word cp. the discussion of The assaute and conquest of heuen at the beginning of pt. III below.

1040 e.g. Exemple (ed. 1530) $A4^{r}$. "This brytell worlde aye full of bytternes|Alwaye turnynge lyke to a ball| No man in it can haue no sykernes|For whan he clymbeth he hathe a fall..." $A6^{v}$ - Bl^{r} "...In dame fortune is no stablenes| This worlde also is but a vanyte| A dreme a pompe nothynge in stedfastnes‖ For fortune is false and full of doubleines |Whan she most flatereth she is not sure".

1041 Exemple ca. xiii. The bride Cleanness enters, her train borne by Grace and followed by Humility, Faith, Peace, Reason, Perseverance, Mercy, Contrition, Exercise, Remembrance, Restitution, Prayer, Confession Charity, Obedience and Abstinence.

1041A The original treatise purports to give Pythagorean teaching, but according to H.Dörrie (Der Kleine Pauly, III. 173) its doctrines are in fact Cynic - Stoic: an exchange possible up to the end of the first century A.D.

1042 For dates of translations and editions, H.B.Lathrop Translations from the Classics pp 46 - 8 and n.13. It seems to have been popular before translation to judge by the number of times or occurs in the day book of the Oxford book seller, John Dorne, in 1520.

1043 Cebes (STC 4891) $A6^{r}$ - 7^{v}. For a summary of Fortuna's characteristic appearance, Patch The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (repr. London 1967) See also P.Courcelle, La Consolation de Philosophie (Paris 1967) pp 127 - 39.

1044 Cebes $B6^{r}$

1045 For references to the Christus medicus idea see n. 494 above and Pt. III n. 103.

1046 See the section on hell in Pt. III.

1047 cp. n. 606 above.

1048 Cebes $B8^{v}$.

1049 Parallels between Seneca and Martin of Braga are noted by C.W.Barlow in Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia (New Haven, 1950).

1050 e.g. Whitford in his Dayly exercyse makes frequent reference to Cicero's Tusculan Disputations which do not survive in a translation earlier than the 1560s and Lupset uses Seneca's De Tranquillitate Animae in his Compendius...treatyse teachynge the waye of Dyenge well.

1051 e.g. the translations of Cicero's De Senectute and De Officiis by Whittinton (STC 5278, 5292) and the same translator's versions of pseudo-Seneca STC 17501 - 2.

1052 Plato, Republic IV: 427, echoed by most of the Stoic philosophers.

1053 But see M.W.Bloomfield The Seven Deadly Sins Michigan 1952 pp 66 - 7 etc.

1054 See R.H.Barrow Plutarch and his Times (London 1967) pp. 103 - 8.

1055 See E.V.Arnold Roman Stoicism (Cambridge 1911) pp. 87, 283 - 4.

1056 Arnold Ibid. p. 357.

1057 Arnold Ibid. ch. XIV, and p. 362f.

1058 Barrow op.cit. pp. 103 - 4 who notes that the Old and New Testaments (for example the wisdom literature and many of the words of Christ) also make use of terse aphorisms. Cicero's Paradoxa were translated into English in 1540 (STC 5313) The Myrrour or glasse of maners (STC 17502) attributed to Seneca was in reality a collection of aphorisms and moral maxims, but undoubtedly Erasmus' Adagia was the work which popularized this form of teaching in the 16th century.

1059 STC. 5275, 5292 - 3 etc.

1060 e.g. Exornatorium curatorum $B6^{r}$; Whitford Dayly exercyse $E5^{v}$; Dives and Pauper IX:12 See further Pt.III n. 447f.

1061 Included with The table of Cebes, STC 4891.

1062 e.g. the signs of age dwells on man's physical infirmities. See Pt. III notes 198 - 200 and the article by G.R.Coffman "Old Age from Homer to Chaucer" Speculum IX (1936) pp. 249 - 77.

1063 cp. Arnold op.cit. pp 377 - 9.

1064 cp. Pt. III n. 294 - 5.

1065 cp. Pt.III n. 525 and 534.

1066 cp. Pt.III n. 472.

1067 cp. Pt.III n. 711 - 12.

1068 cp.Pt.III n. 209 for the number of authors to make use of the saying "Tota vita philosophorum, meditatio mortis est".

1069 STC 5278 - 89.

1070 It was based on Panaetius' book περὶ καθηκόντων and on Poseidonius.

1071 Debts to Plato and more generally to Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca and others are noted by Surtz, The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, vol IV (New Haven 1965) pp. clvi - xv cp. F.Caspari Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England pp 58 - 62.

1072 Surtz op.cit. pp lxxv - vii.

1073 STC 17501 printed in parallel Latin and English texts with the English one, which is frequently very obscure, by Robert Whittinton.

1074 Two translations were printed by Pynson in the early 1520s. A prose version, STC 17241 and a verse rendering, STC 17242, produced by Alexander Barclay at the request of Sir Giles Alyngton.

1075 STC 17500.

1076 STC 17502 ($A4^{r}$, 5^{r-v}) - another Latin/English parallel text to which the translator, Whittinton, has added a dedicatory prologue to Sir Francis Bryan.

1077 STC. 17501, $A7^{r}$.

1078 See Pt III. n. 240, 350 - 5.

1079 STC 17502.

1079A STC 3357.

1080 Forme and Rule, STC 17501 $B5^{r}$.

1081 The word enchiridion is defined as a manual or handbook, or soldier's dagger and the translator pleads for the acceptance of the word - for

which there is no suitable native equivalent - into English. The nine impediments, for all of which some practical remedies are suggested, are: self love which hinders a straight and chaste intent to God; the wandering of the heart through love of creatures which obscures true knowledge of God, of self, of what is right; delectation of the senses and vain occupations which hinder inward peace, sensible devotion and the grace of God; pride, vain glory etc. which impede humility; bitterness of heart, hatred and impatience which hinder charity; too much confidence in their own proper wit and judgement which requires total renunciation of self will and dedication to God; a mind occupied by abstract speculations and the pursuit of knowledge rather than the imitation of Christ; negligence of the inward man and instability of heart which prevent the purity and elevation of the mind in to God; dullness which is countered by an exercise of the divine love, a meditation ofaffective devotion.

1082 STC 17500 $A3^{r}$.

1083 cp. Arnold Roman Stoicism pp 209 - 10; Patch The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature pp. 10 - 14.

1084 RSTC 18078.5

1085 H.R.Patch The tradition of Boethius (1935, re-issued New York 1970) p.110.

1086 STC 22216 ed. R.G.Palmer, Seneca's "De Remediis Fortuitorum" and the Elizabethans (Institute of Elizabethan Studies, publ. 1) Chicago 1953.

1087 An early XVth century translation of part of Petrarch's work, with a substantial introduction, is edited by F.N.M.Diekstra, A Dialogue between Reason and Adversity, Assen, 1968.

1088 See Diekstra, ed. cit. pp. 35 - 6.

1089 Seneca's De Remedies, ed. cit. p. 31.

1090 See, for example Becon's The Prayse of Death, discussed in Pt.III under "The Ubi sunt and Quid Profuit themes", which gathers together many earlier themes.

1091 e.g. Diekstra ed. cit. p. 9 the father scourging the son, the flail separating corn from chaff, the bitter purgative, the stick and the child, the physician's treatment of the invalid and the injunction to commit himself to the cure of "þe souereyne leche" can all be found in tribulation treatises cp. Pt. III nn 103, 104, 107.

1092 See Diekstra ed. cit. pp. 46 - 51 and Pt. III n. 46 etc.

1093 Although no translation seems to have been printed during the 16th century the work was clearly familiar to early 16th century authors such as Lupset, who makes use of it in his Compendious...treatyse teachynge the waye of Dyenge well cp. Pt. III. n. 544.

1094 Facsimile edition, with introduction by C.R.Baskervill, Plutarch's Quyete of Mynde, Cambridge, Mass. 1931. There is a summary of the contents in R.H. Barrow, Plutarch and his times (London 1967) pp 110 - 2. For a sound critical analysis, see P.Thomson, Sir Thomas Wyatt and his background (Stanford 1964) pp 80 - 6. An investigation of Plutarch's sources and some incidental parallels with Seneca's essay is given by H.N.Fowler, "Plutarch Περὶ εὐθυμίας ", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology I (1890) pp 139 - 52.

1095 Seneca Moral Essays, II, ed. J.W.Basore, Loeb, p. 215.

1096 D.A.Russell, Plutarch (London 1072) p. 28 notes "Quiet of Mind is a calm book".

1097 De Tranquillitate IX: 2 etc.

1098 Ibid. X: 3 - 4.

1099 R.H.Barrow op.cit. pp 108 - 9.

1100 Quyete of mynde C5^{r}.

1101 See the very sketchy summary which concludes H.R.Patch's chapter on its Imitations and Influence, The tradition of Boethius (New York reiss. 1970) pp 109 - 113. English translations available in print included Chaucer's (STC 3199) and 5068 ; John Walton's printed in 1525 (STC 3200) ; George Colville's (STC 3201) and although they were not printed Sir Thomas Wyatt made use of some metres from Book III (P.Thomson Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background pp 91 - 4) Sir Thomas Chaloner translated part and Queen Elizabeth the whole of the work. For Chaucer's version see EETS es. 5, for Walton's EETS 170, for Queen Elizabeth's EETS 113.

1102 This is made clear by P. Courcelle La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire (Paris 1967) in his discussion of the sources used in Boethius' treatment of "Le Souverain Bien et le mal" and "Les rapportes de Dieu et du monde".

1103 Not only in medieval imitators, superficially surveyed by Patch, The tradition of Boethius ch. IV, but between the Consolation and numerous earlier authors from Plato and Aristotle, through Cicero and Seneca to Neoplatonist authors such as Proclus and Ammonius and even St. Augustine.

1104 P. Courcelle op.cit., Deuxième Partie, summary p. 115.

1105 e.g. Canius. De Cons I pr.4.

1106 The advice of Philosophy II pr: 3 - 4 here echoes that of Plutarch's De Tranquillitate.

1107 De Cons I pr. 6.

1108 De Cons III pr. 10.

1109 Courcelle op.cit. p. 340.

1110 Courcelle Ibid p. 341. H.M.Barrett, Boethius some aspects of his times and work, (Cambridge 1940) ch. x - xi "the theological writings","Boethius and Christianity."

1111 Courcelle Ibid. pp. 241 - 332.

1112 Chapters on each to be found in W.H.Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance (Cambridge 1906).

1113 See S.E.Lehmberg, Sir Thomas Elyot Tudor Humanist Austin 1960; an earlier article "Sir Thomas Elyot and the English Reformation" Archiv für Reformations Geschicht XLVIII (1957) pp 91 - 110 is incorporated.

1114 STC 7635 - 42.

1115 Lehmberg, Sir Thomas Elyot ch. 5 deals with the sources.

1116 For discussion of Elyot's handling of the four virtues, see R.Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the sixteenth Century, (1929, repr. Gloucester, Mass. 1964). pp 76 - 81.

1117 See nn. 604-6 above, and for the widespread view of the uselessness of learning in the secular sphere, Kelso op.cit. p. 111ff.

1118 Kelso op.cit. pp 119 - 21. The same association between formal learning and virtue is implied in Hawe's Pastime of Pleasure.

1119 But Magnanimity, for instance, contradicts the Christian virtue of humility, Kelso op.cit.pp. 95 - 6.

1120 Kelso op.cit. p. 106f.

1121 F.L.Kelly Prayer in Sixteenth Century England (Gainesville, 1966) pp. 55 - 64 and for the limitations of Protestant and later Catholic concepts of prayer K.E.Kirk The Vision of God (London 1931) pp 430 - 1, 438 - 41.

1122 The fullest life was in Foster Watson's Vives: On Education (Cambridge 1913), (Vives probably succeeded Thomas Lupset in the University lectureship in Rhetoric at Oxford) but now see C.G Noreña Juan Luis Vives (The Hague, 1970)

1123 STC 7668 - 70.

1124 STC 24847 - 51.

1125 STC 24847, F8^{v}.

1126 See n. 606 above.

1127 STC 24847, F8^{r}.

1128 STC 5547 - 9. Also in E.M.Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance (Cambridge 1956) pp. 393 - 7.

1129 STC 5547; 4^{v} "Yf thou be religious, remembre that the due execution of true religion, is not in wearynge of the habyte:but with a clene mynde in very dede to execute the rules & ordynaunces of religion. For so it is, that to weare ye habyte, and not to execute the rule and order of religion, is rather to be demed ypocrysy or apostasy, than other wyse". On hypocrisy see further Pt. I. n.2478, Pt.II n.204 - 5.

1130 A number of prayers from Vives' Excitationes animi in Deum were included in Henry Bull's Christian praiers and holy meditations, PS p. vii.

1131 For translations and summaries of these two works, Foster Watson Vives and the Renaissance education of women (London 1912) pp 137 - 49; 241 - 50. It was his father, William Mountjoy that Richard Whitford - who also knew More and Erasmus and acted as chaplain to Bishop Fox - accompanied to Paris in 1498, before he became a monk of Syon.

1132 See Foster Watson Renaissance education of women pp 151 - 8.

1133 STC 24856 - 63. Translation and summary in Foster Watson Ibid pp. 29 - 136.

1134 Foster Watson Ibid p. 21.

1135 e.g. Ancrene Riwle, A dyurnall for deuoute soules, The Dyetary of ghostly helthe.

1136 The three books of the work are addressed respectively to the young unmarried woman, the wife and mother and the widow.

1137 It is characteristic of Elyot that his Defence of good women (STC 7658), Foster Watson Ibid pp. 211 - 39, should dwell almost exclusively on the example of virtuous pagans.

1138 Instruction ch. IV, Foster Watson Ibid. p. 54.

1139 Instruction ch. IV.

1140 On the influence of Catherine of Aragon, which he perhaps exaggerates: Foster Watson Ibid pp. 1 - 11.

1141 e.g. Richard Whitford, who knew the humanist circle of Bishop Fox, Sir Thomas More and Lord Mountjoy, suggests to the nuns of Syon that time spent in learning Latin would help to prevent idleness, check vain thoughts and enable them eventually to read the Scriptures for themselves. See notes 168 - 9 above.

1142 But even Elyot produced one devotional piece, which owes much to traditional ideas, A preseruatiue agaynste deth.

1143 For details of his life, J.A.Gee The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, New Haven, 1928.

1144 From the title page of STC. 16934.

1145 STC 16939 - 41, actually published anonymously, but for a discussion of the authorship see Gee op.cit. pp. 159 - 63.

1146 For discussion of this treatise see Pt. III, the end of the section on the ars moriendi books.

1147 Exhortacion (STC 16936) C1^{r}, Gee op.cit., p. 245.

1148 Exhortacion D4, Gee op.cit., p. 253; Charitie (STC 16939) B3 - 4, Gee ibid p. 213f.

1149 Charitie C2f, Gee ibid p. 217f; Exhortacion E6^{v} - 7^{r}, Gee ibid pp 260 - 1.

1150 Charitie C4^{r} - ^{v}, Gee ibid p. 219: "In visytynge the sycke, in clothynge the naked, in feding the hungry, in refresshyng the pore, in comfortinge the miserable, in prayinge for synfulle, in al workes of mercy, pitie, & deuo‖cion, he laboureth with pleasure, by reason of his fast loue toward god".

1151 Charitie C8^{r}. Gee ibid, pp.221 - 2. cp. Pt. III.n. 63.

1152 On Lupset's own asceticism and Erasmus' warning to him not to follow Colet's example of rigorous fasting, Gee ibid pp. 176 - 7.

1153 Exhortacion B8^{r} - ^{v}, Gee ibid pp 244 - 5.

1154 Charitie B5^{v} - 6^{v}, Gee ibid pp.214 - 5.

1155 Charitie A8^{v} - B1^{v}, Gee ibid pp. 211 - 2.

1156 Charitie B2^{r} - B3^{v}, Gee ibid pp. 212 - 3.

1157 Lupset is not known to have had a sister, Gee ibid pp 160 - 1. The dialogue between the Brother and Sister in the last third of the

treatise is probably an artistic device, but even so the personalities of the speakers are well realized.

1158 Charitie D6^{r} - 8^{r}, Gee ibid pp. 225 - 7.

1159 Charitie D8^{v} - E1^{v}, Gee ibid pp. 227 - 8.

1160 Charitie D1^{v} - 2^{r}, Gee ibid pp. 222 - 3: summed up in the precept "neuer to suffre your christen neighbour to slepe in a displeasure with you, and agayne that you neuer slepe in a displeasure with youre christen neyghbour".

1161 See n. 642 above.

1162 Vives Instruction II: v, xi.

1163 Exhortacion A2^{r}. Gee ibid p. 235. He is at More " a place of my lorde cardinals", without his customary books, which would in any case be useless for "I lye waytynge on my lorde Cardinal, whose houres I muste obserue, to be alwaye at hand, lest I be called... Wherfore, nowe that I am well satiated with the beholdynge of these gaye hangynges, that garnishe here euery wall: I wyll turne me and talke with you", Seneca, whose conversational style Lupset echoes gives similar personal details at the opening of many of his Epistulae Morales.

1164 e.g. Charitie D3^{v}, Gee ibid p. 224 refers to the Princess Mary's recent removal to Eltham and Of Dyenge describes the recent execution of Francis Philip.

1165 Exhortacion C8^{r}, Gee ibid p. 250.

1166 Exhortacion A3^{v}, Gee ibid p. 236.

1167 See Pt. III. n. 447 - 52.

1168 Charitie C6^{v} - 7^{v}; Gee ibid pp. 220 - 1.

1169 Charitie C5^{r} - 6^{r}, Gee ibid pp. 219 - 20.

1170 Exhortacion A8^{v}. Gee ibid p. 239.

1171 Exhortacion D1^{v} - 2^{r} Gee ibid p. 251 and the treatise goes on to contrast in more detail the state of mind and reputation of those who obey this order with those who break it.

1172 Exhortacion D8^ - E2^, Gee ibid pp. 256-7

1173 On obedience to the Church Exhortacion B7^{v} - 8^{r}, E1^{r}, Gee ibid pp. 244 - 5, 257. On the importance of submission to the beliefs of the Church cp. Pt. II.nn.44, 71 - 2, Pt. I. n. 111.

1174 See n. 1153 above.

1175 Exhortation D1^{v}, Gee ibid p. 251 and pp. 170 - 2 for a discussion of the connection between Hervet's and Lupset's translations.

1176 Exhortacion A5^{r-v} Gee ibid p. 237 also C1^{r-v}, Gee p. 245.

1177 Tre &.xii.frutes ed Vaissier pp. 37 - 8.

1178 Charitie C1^{v} - 2^{r}, cp. C1^{r-v} and E5^{r} - 6^{r}, Gee ibid pp. 217, 230 - 1.

1179 See Seneca's and Plutarch's De Tranquillitate Animae nn. 1093 - 4; 1096; 1099 etc above. Vives Introduction also sees "continuall quietnes, and tranquillitie of mynde" as the fruit of Christian virtue.

1180 Charitie A8^{r} Gee ibid p. 211.

1181 Charitie B3^{r} Gee ibid p. 213.

1182 Exhortacyon E6^{v} Gee ibid p. 260 cp. Lupset's translation of a sermon by St. John Chrysostom That no man is hurted but of hym selfe (STC 14639).

1183 Charitie $E3^{v}$, Gee ibid p. 229 cp. Exhortacion $B2^{v}$ - 3^{r} Gee p. 241.

1184 R.R.Bolgar The Classical Hertiage and its Beneficiaries (Cambridge 1954, repr. 1973) p. 336 cp. W.K.Ferguson Renaissance Studies (London Ontario 1963) p. 83. A large amount of work has been done on Erasmus. I have used F.Vander Haeghen's Bibliotheca Erasmiana (Gand, 1893 repr. 1961) and J.C.Margolin Quatorze Années de bibliographie Erasmienne 1936 - 49 (Paris 1969), Douze Anneés de bibliographie Erasmienne 1950 - 61 (Paris 1963) as well as bibliographies in more recent works, notably R.Bainton Erasmus of Christendom (New York 1969, repr. London 1972) and J.D.Tracy Erasmus and the Growth of a Mind (Geneva 1971).

1185 For a convenient list - Van der Haeghen Bibliotheca Erasmiana (Gand 1893 repr. 1961) 2^{e} Serie.

1186 Surveyed, for example, by J.B.Pineau Érasme sa pensée religieuse (Paris 1923) chaps. 7 - 9. J.Huizinga Erasmus of Rotterdam (London 1952) ch. 5; M.M.Phillips Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance (London 1949) pp. 31 - 9.

1187 E.H.Harbison The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation (New York 1956) ch. 3. and A.Renaudet Études Érasmiennes (Paris 1939) pp. 22 - 64. J.D.Tracy Erasmus the Growth of a Mind (Geneva 1972) parts of chaps. 5 and 7.

1188 M.M.Phillips "Erasmus and Propeganda" MLR xxxvii (1942) pp. 1 - 17.

1189 R.L.DeMolen (ed) Erasmus (London 1973) pp. 22 - 50.

1190 e.g. Archbishop Warham, Bishops Fisher and Fox and the Mountjoys.

1191 STC 10496 - 7.

1192 De Immensa Dei Misericordia (E.J.Devereux A Checklist of English Translations of Erasmus to 1700, Oxford 1968) C.38.1 translated by

Gentian Hervet, A deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster (C.69. 1 - 3) translated by More's daughter Margaret Roper.

1193 Apart from a few exceptions e.g. De duplica copia verborum, de Worde 1528 and Institutum hominis christiani in Treveris' 1514 edition of Cato's Disticha (Bibliotheca Erasmiana), whereas in France and the Netherlands vernacular editions formed a very small part of Erasmus' works. The scholarly editions of the classics and the Fathers made by Erasmus were not printed in England.

1194 e.g. Devereux Checklist C1.1, C7.1 (STC 23711A); C8.1 - 2 (STC 23713); C.75 - 77 (STC 10437, 10445, 4843,).

1195 Funus 1534; Peregrinatio religionis ergo c,1535 - 6; Epicure 1545 and perhaps also A mery dialogue, Pietas puerilis, A seraphicall dirige - See Devereux Check list pp. 7 - 8.

1196 The former ed. J.K.Sowards (Bloomington, 1968) the latter ed C.H. Miller, EETS 257.

1197 To these may be added occasional pieces such as Ecomium matrimonis and De laude artis medicae declamatio (Devereux Checklist C.47, C.37).

1198 Devereux Checklist C.26. C.27 (STC 10508 - 9) and C.38.1 - 4 (STC 10474 - 6) which seems to have been the second most popular of Erasmus' devotional works 1525 - 50, equal with the Paraclesis to judge from extant editions.

1199 The Paraphrases were ordered by Edward VI's injunctions of 1547 to be provided in every parish church and studied by the clergy.

1199A For Erasmus' development during these years: R.H.Bainton Erasmus of Christendom pp. 209 - 72; J.Huizinga Erasmus of Roterdam pp. 130 - 87; J.D.Tracy op.cit. pp. 167 - 236. Huizinga suggests he became reactionary, ibid p. 173; Tracy ibid pp. 232 - 5 suggests that his reaction to events though pessimistic was not sterile while J. Coppens "Les Idées Réformistes d'Érasme dans les Préfaces aux Paraphrases du

Nouveau Testament" Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia Ser^{3} fasc. 27, 1961, pp. 354 - 6 suggests a more general moderation of his views and a greater concern for orthodoxy. Devereux's Checklist and Bibliotheca Erasmiana indicate that of the 22 works printed in English translations 1526 - 39, 10 were first published 1521 - 6; 3 in 1532 - 6. Of the remainder 5 date from 1514 - 18 and only the Enchiridion and Adagia from earlier.

1200 This seems to support McConica's view, English Humanists and Reformation Politics chapters 7 - 8 that English humanism survived the fall of Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell and lived on into the reign of Edward VI.

1201 Devereux Checklist pp. 36 - 7. Berthelet is credited with 26 editions, Byddell and Whitchurch with 14, Wyer and Grafton with 9.

1202 On Tyndale's translation of the Enchiridion: J.A.Gee "Tyndale and the 1533 English Enchiridion of Erasmus" PMLA XLIX (1934) 460 - 471; J.F.Mozley "The English Enchiridion of Erasmus 1533" RES XX (1944) 97 - 107 and also E.J.Devereux "Some lost English translations of Erasmus" The Library^{5} XVII (1962) 255 - 9. The Paraclesis was incorporated into the preface of Tyndale's New Testament, 1536. Devereux, Checklist suggests William Roy as its translator. It was printed by Johannes Hoochstraten at Antwerp under the fictitious imprint of Hans Luft, Malborow and at about the same time as Tyndale's Obedience and Wicked Mammon - See M.E.Kronenberg "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (early sixteenth century)" Library^{4} IX (1928 - 9).

1203 STC 10488 also printed in Antwerp by Steven Mierdman under the fictitious imprint "Adam Anonimus, Ausborch". It is included in Coverdale's Works, PS I pp. 389 - 528.

1204 The whole workes (London 1573) pp. 88, 103 - 4.

1205 Ibid pp. 81, 133, 158ff.

1206 Ibid e.g. pp 131 - 2 where, among other things, he criticizes the common late medieval allegorical interpretation of the mass, where "the Priest when he goeth to Masse disguiseth him selfe with a great part of the passion of Christ..." cp. Erasmus' comment on allegorizing of eucharistic vestments in Praise of Folly (Essential Erasmus pp 156 - 7). (See Pt. II "Interpretations of the Mass and devotions to accompany it").

1207 Ibid p. 101ff.

1208 Ibid p. 134ff where he shows how priests will even make money out of human sin and misery.

1209 Ibid p. 93 and the section on the false power of the Pope.

1210 See above n. 15 etc on The lyfe of prestes.

1211 See above n. 89 etc. for Whitford's criticisms of contemporary monasticism.

1212 See above n. 606, 1126 and J.D.Tracy op.cit. p. 77.

1213 e.g. in his letter to Louis Ber, Allen Opus Epistolarum Des Erasmi VIII pp. 117 - 22. transl. R.L.deMolen Erasmus (London 1973) pp. 166 - 8 also McConica op.cit. pp. 146 7.

1214 e.g. J.K.McConica op.cit. p. 145. Against the 8 editions of the Enchiridion recorded in STC 1533 - 50 may be compared Tyndale's Obedience and Wicked Mammon each with 7 editions 1528 - 50; A Kempis' Imitatio Christi 10 editions 1515 - 45. and Whitford's Werke for housholders with 7 editions 1530 - 40.

1215 See D.F.S.Thomson "The Latinity of Erasmus" in Erasmus ed T.A.Dorey (London 1970) pp 115 - 37.

1216 In the Enchiridion the most obvious type of reference is to classical legends which are usually explained in marginal notes (all references are to the 1533 edition) e.g. Vulcan's armour C2^{r-v}; Jason and the dragons teeth C8^{r}; Prometheus D1^{v}, G7^{v}; Hercules and the serpent Hydra E4^{v}; Scylla and Charybdis B1^{r}, K6^{v}; the Sirens B5^{r}, R3^{v}; Jupiter and the giants H6^{v}; Circe H7^{r}; Venus and Cupid Q8^{v}; Croesus O6^{v}; Ticius, Ixion, Tantalus and Sisyphus G2^{r}, H7^{r}. Literary references and quotations include Aeneas' visit to hell F8^{v}; a play by Euripides M1^{v}; Aesop's fable of the fox and the goat Q5^{v} (cp. Sir Thomas More's fondness for Aesop, Pt. III n. 128); quotations from Horace L8^{v} and Terence M8^{v}. Plato is the philosopher most often referred to: e.g. Timaeus D3^{r}; Phaedo B5^{r}, the famous figure of the shadows in the cave from the Republic, L8^{r} and his use of allegory H6^{r}, 8^{v}; but Democritus M3^{r}, Epicurus M5^{r}, Pythagoras and Aristotle H8^{v}, Stoics, Cynics and Peripatetics C5^{r}, D5^{r}, N2^{r} are also mentioned. The basic point is always clear, either from the context or with the help of marginalia, but the reader with some knowledge of classical literature and philosophy would obviously get more out of the references while the more knowledgeable would probably have recognized many other echoes and indirect allusions to the classics. cp. Tracy op.cit. pp. 85 - 6; 100; 107 for notes of other classical references.

1217 See Enchiridion N2^{v}. The use of paradoxes was sanctioned by Scripture and they were also used by Stoic teachers, see E.V.Arnold Roman Stoicism (Cambridge 1911) pp. 150 - 1.

1218 Lupset Exhortacion to young men ed. J.A.Gee p. 245. In view of the date of Lupset's death, and the other classical and patristic works recommended, the reference must be to the Latin version. There seem to be no other references to, or obvious signs of the influence of the Enchiridion in English treatises of the 1530s. For references to Erasmus by later English reformers e.g. Becon and Jewel, see PS General Index which also give references for prayers taken from Erasmus' Precationes Aliquot and used in the Private Prayers...of Queen Elizabeth.

1219 McConica op.cit. pp. 58 - 64.

1220 In a letter to Botzheim, 30 June 1523, Allen Opus Epist I pp. 19 - 20 quoted by J.P.Dolan The Essential Erasmus p. 27 cp. R. Bainton op.cit. pp. 86 - 7.

1221 Allen Opus Epist III. 362 and VI 42. Johann Poppenruyter has been suggested as the recipient: O. Schottenloher "Erasmus, Johann Poppenreuter und die Entstehung des Enchiridion Militis Christiani" Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte XLV (1954) pp. 109 - 16, in preference to John of Trazegnies suggested by Allen, op.cit. I. 373 and accepted by Renaudet Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris. But on the dedication to Poppenruyter, which now seems generally accepted e.g. Bainton op.cit. pp. 86 - 7; Tracy op.cit. pp. 85, 88, 90 see note in La Correspondence d'Érasme vol I (Bruxelles 1967) p. 349 on letter 164 that this identification "semble confirmé par des déclarations ultérieures d'Érasme (LL. 359, 362, 698, 1556) mais ne s'accorde pas avec le Catalogue (i.e. Allen Ibid I pp. 19 - 20) et la préface de 1518".

1222 Allen op.cit. I p. 405. Also in letter 164, Ibid I p. 375 from the end of the Enchiridion and from letter 337 to Martin Dorp, Ibid II p. 93 "In Enchiridio simpliciter Christianae vitae formam tradidimus".

1223 Prologue to The Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe cp. The crafte to lyue well and to dye well, or the claim of The myrrour of the churche (ed 1521) to offer "medytacyons & instruccions to all maner of people/necessary & confortable to the edyfycacion of the soule & body to the loue & grace of god".

1224 Dürer's block, "Knight, Death and the Devil" executed in 1513 (on which see H. Wölfflin The Art of Albrecht Dürer (London 1971) pp. 196 - 200) might almost represent a visual summary of the Enchiridion: it too uses Renaissance technique (perspective, anatomy etc.) to depict an essentially traditional subject. Erasmus clearly admired Dürer

who drew his portrait - J.Huizinga op.cit. p. 240 and Dürer seems to have understood Erasmus' position with relation to the Reformers all too well, Ibid pp. 148 - 9.

1225 Enchiridion - STC. 10479 - For the armour $C2^{v}$ - 3^{v}; $B1^{v}$ - 2^{r} cp. Pt. III nn. 12. 13. 15; for the warfare, Enchiridion ca.1 cp Pt. III. nn. 7 - 8.

1336 See further Pt. III. e.g. nn. 30, 32, 70 etc.

1227 Enchiridion $G1^{r-v}$ and $P3^{r}$ which paraphrases Hebrews XII: 6 - 7 a quotation frequently used in tribulation treatises cp. Pt. III n. 80.

1228 e.g. Enchiridion ca. 5, $F1^{v}$ etc.cp. above n. 165; Pt. III.nn. 113, 151 etc. The contrast drawn between virginity, and chastity which has to be won through battle in The tre &.xii.frutes ed Vassier pp. 139 - 41 etc; or Milton's well-known judgement from his Areopagitica (The Students' Milton,ed, F.A.Patterson, rev. edn. New York 1933 p. 738)"He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed..."

1229 Enchiridion $F5^{v}$ cp. Pt. III. n. 39.

1230 See above, Vives Introduction to Wisedome and nn. 1179 - 80; Enchiridion $C4^{v}$ - 5^{r}, $G2^{r}$ etc.

1231 Enchiridion ca. 20 cp. Pt.IIInn. 693 - 4.

1232 cp Pt. III n. 93

1233 Enchiridion ca. 5, 14, 15 exposes some of these perverted values.

1234 Enchiridion a 3^{v}ff, cp. nn. 606, 1126 above.

1235 Enchiridion $c2^{r} - v$, $C5^{v}-C^{v}$, $L1^{v} - 2^{v}$ Pt. II n. 205 and above nn.247 - 8.

1236 Ibid $P1^{v}$.

1237 See Pt. III on "De Contemptus Mundi".

1238 Enchiridion $G5^{v} - 6^{r}$. The category of "things indifferent" was of course, to play an important part in the vestarian controversies under Elizabeth.

1239 The opposition was particularly clear in the contemptus mundi, "vile body" approach - (cp. Pt. III e.g. n. 391) Tracy op.cit. pp. 92 - 3; J.B.Payne Erasmus: His Theology of the Sacraments (1970) pp. 35 - 40.

1240 Enchiridion ca. 32 - 8: lust, avarice, ambition, pride and wrath are, of course, deadly sins.

1241 Enchiridion $C8^{v} - D1^{r}$.

1242 Ibid $D4^{v}$.

1243 Ibid $E8^{r}$.

1244 Ibid ca.xvi.

1245 Ibid $L6^{r}$ etc. $O1^{v}$ff. cp. the teaching of Vives and Elyot, as well as of Erasmus - and n. 846 above.

1246 Enchiridion $B5^{r}$.

1247 Ibid $G6^{v}$.

1248 Ibid $B6^{r-v}$.

1249 Ibid e.g. B6^{r} where he says of "Platoes secte" that "in very many sentences/& moche more in theyr style & maner of spekynge/they come very nygh to the fygure and propertye of speche vsed of the prophetes and in the gospelles" cp. E.F. Rice "Erasmus and the Religious Tradition" JHI XI (1950 pp 387 - 411) pp. 404 - 11 cp. Pt. III nn. 389, 393 on his De Contemptus Mundi.

1250 On Erasmus' christology: J.B.Payne op.cit. pp. 54 - 70. The emphasis on the need to follow Christ's example was, of course, familiar in earlier works, not least A Kempis' Imitatio Christi, where Christ was seen as the perfection of virtue.

1251 Enchiridion P8^{v}ff. cp. Pt. III n. 162.

1252 The lack of detailed, practical advice in the Enchiridion has been noted, e.g. by F.Caspari "Erasmus on the Social Functions of Chrsitian Humanism" JHI VIII (1947) pp. 78 - 106, especially p. 91. Erasmus, for example, emphasises (Enchiridion P4^{r}) the value of Scripture to combat temptation and suggests "it shall not profyte meanly agaynst al kynde of temptacyon to haue some certayne sentences prepared and redy" whereas Frith in The preparation to the Crosse provides an armoury of such sentences.

1253 Enchiridion P8^{v} "some men repete dayly the hystory of the passion of Chryst/or honour the ymage of the crosse/or with a thousande signes of it arme all theyr body rounde on euery syde/or kepe some pece of that holy tree layde vp at home in theyr house/or at certeyne houres so call to remembraunce Chrystes punysshment/that they may haue compassyon & wepe for hym with natural affection...This is not the true fruite of that tree..." but it was commonly encouraged in devout treatises - cp. Pt. II "Prayers and devotions associated with Christ's Passion" and Pt. III n. 166.

1254 Ibid M5^{r}f; C3^{v} (paraphrase of Romans VIII 35 - 9). Like the author of the Stimulus Amoris (cp. nn. 487 - 8 and 817 - 9 above) but unlike most medieval authors, Erasmus also expresses the social dimension

of Christian love through the Pauline image of the body of Christ (ca. xv) e.g. N6^{r} "Thy membre complayneth and grenneth for hunger/and thou spewest vp partryges. Thy naked brother shyuereth for colde/& with the so great plenty of rayment is corrupte with mothes & long lyeng. One nyghtes dicing hath lost the a thousande peces of golde/whyle in the meane season some wretched wench(nede compellynge her) hath set forth her chastite to sell/& is becomme a commune harlot/& thus perysshetb ye soule for whome Christ hath bestowed his lyf".

1255 STC 10474 - 6 God's mercy is, indeed, an expression of His redeeming love, and His forgiveness is most surely won in showing love and mercy to our brothers.

1256 Enchiridion L1^{v} cp. Allen Opus Epist I. p. 405.

1257 Enchiridion K5^{r}.

1258 Exhortation (STC 10494) d1^{r}. See Pt. II nn. 543 - 4, 546 and above n. 87 .

1259 Enchiridion H1^{r} - 2^{r}; 13^{r} - 4^{r}. Also mocked by Nicholas Wyse, Pt. II nn. 671 - 3.

1260 Ibid I4^{r} - 6^{v} cp. his dialogue Peregrinatio religionis ergo and Pt. II nn. 547ff.

1261 Ibid I 1^{r} - 3^{r} (cp. More's Treatise vpon the passion of Chryste Pt. II n. 39 on the need for spiritual reception of the sacrament): the same principle of inward conversion covers confession L3^{r} - ^{v} cp .Payne op.cit. pp. 133, 197 - 8.

1262 cp. Funus discussed Pt. III "The business of dying".

1263 Enchiridion b6^{r} - ^{v} e.g. c4^{v} - 6^{v} e.g. c5^{v} monks"for their aparayle and tytle I can not tell what/dothe chalenge suche holynesse to their selues that they do accompte all other in comparison of them selues no christen men at all".

1264 Ibid $c5^{v} - 6^{r}$; $I8^{v}f$, $K3^{v}f$, $K6^{r-v}$, $S8^{r-v}$ also Praise of Folly (Essential Erasmus pp 148 - 51) cp. the last chapter of De Contemptus Mundi. For a more general survey of Erasmus' early views of monasticism, Rice art cit J.H.I. XI.

1265 Ibid $c5^{r-v}$. He also makes use of historical argument in relation to the sacrament of the altar, See text Pt. II n. 40f. Also see F.S. Fussner, The historical revolution (London 1962) pp 17 - 19.

1266 Ibid $a3^{v} - 4^{v}$, Exhortation (STC 10494) $b7^{v} - 8^{r}$. and see Rice art. cit. JHI XI pp. 400 - 4.

1267 Rice art cit JHI XI pp. 398 - 9.

1268 e.g. Enchiridion $H1^{v}$, $I6^{v} - 7^{r}$, $L1^{r}$.

1269 See above n. 464.

1270 Enchiridion ca 3 cp. Exhortation (STC 10494) $f3^{r}$ and $e1^{r}$ which condemns the presumption of the ignorant as much as that of the learned.

1271 Ibid $A6^{r} - 8^{r}$ and $C7^{v} - 8^{v}$, $D7^{v}$ and ca.7 also De immensa dei misericordia (STC 10474) $F1^{r}f$ but self knowledge must be guarded against presumption, and not trusted too far (e.g. Enchiridion $F6^{v}$.) Self knowledge was regarded as one of the fruits of tribulation cp. above n. 433.

1272 While A.Hyma The Youth of Erasmus and The Christian Renaissance has probably exaggerated the specific influence of the Brethren on Erasmus' thought, R.R.Post The Modern Devotion (Leiden 1969) pp. 8 - 17, 658 - 76 seems to react too far in the opposite direction.

1273 See n. 1173 above but contrast Lupset, Exhortacyon p. 244 (ed. Gee) also C. Augustijn "The Ecclesiology of Erasmus" in Scrinium Erasmianum II (Leiden 1969).

1274 Enchiridion $b2^{v}$ - 7^{v}.

1275 Ibid $b7^{v}$ the clergy should not "vse them selfe as lordes" upon the people "but that by the example of lyfe/they shulde prouoke them to godlynesse rather than by thretynge and power" cp. Exhortation $e7^{v}$ "nor it is mete yt the prestes do exercyse & vse tyranny vpon theyr flocke"...

1276 Enchiridion $a8^{v}$ - $b1^{v}$ cp. Exhortation $e6^{v}$ which uses many of the same examples, including the use of the word Philistine for those who stop up the lively fountains of the Gospel. Over three and a half centuries later Matthew Arnold popularized the term Philistine - e.g. Culture and Anarchy chapter 3.

1277 Enchiridion ca 3 and 9.

1278 Ibid $F3^{v}$ The first point of Christian living "is that thou can discerne thynges to be refused from thynges to be accepte..."

1279 Ibid ca. 14 warns the reader to follow neither the "opynyons of the comen ley people" nor to be moved by the deeds of great men, bishops or popes, but to adhere "to the rule of Christ". cp. Lupset Exhortacyon p. 250, but earlier p. 244 he does enjoin obedience to the Church.

1280 See W.K.Ferguson "The Attitude of Erasmus toward Toleration" Renaissance Studies (London, Ontario 1963) pp. 75 - 81.

1281 A wish he shared with Sir Thomas More - J.K.McConica "Erasmus and the Grammar of Consent" Scrinium Erasmianum II (Leiden 1969).

1282 Summed up in Querela Pacis - see M.M.Phillips Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance pp. 140 - 5. One of the duties of bishops Enchiridion $b3^{v}$ is to support or to encourage peace between secular rulers.

1283 STC 10492 and RSTC 10465.5 - Facsimile edn. with introduction by W.J.Hirton (Gainesville, Florida, 1970).

1284 A playne and godly exposytion... of the commune Crede (STC 10504) S4[a]

1285 Enchiridion a7[a]

1286 Enchiridion a 7^{r-v} cp. Exhortation g $4^{r} - v$.

1287 Enchiridion F2[v] "we muste haste to that whiche remayneth/least it sholde not be an Enchiridion/that is to saye/a lytell treatise hansom to be caryed in a mannes hande/but rather a great volume"

1288 Ibid C2[r] - 4[r].

1289 The two were published together by Robert Wyer (c.1533 -4) STC 10494 and again in 1548 by Thomas Ronald and William Hill (Devereux Check-list C63.4, C65.3).

1290 Exhortacyon C2[v].

1291 Ibid b4[v].

1292 Ibid b8[v].

1293 Ibid e4[r].

1294 Ibid d2[r] cp Enchiridion I4[r] "The coporall presence of Chryst is vnprofitable vnto helth".

1295 Exhortacyon b8[r] ..."this kynde of phylosophye doth rather consyst in the affectes of ye mynde then in sōme reasons. It is a lyf rather then a dysputacyon, it is an inspyracion rather then a sy[c]ence, & rather a new transformacyon then a reasonyng"

1296 Ibid C3[r] cp e5[r].

1297 A. Renaudet Études Érasmiennes (Paris 1939) p. 27.

1298 Exhortacyon a4[v] -6[v], a8[r], 67[r] - [v], d3[v] - 4[r] but he refuses to condemn them outright, C5[v]. For a much more scathing attack cp Praise of Folly (Essential Erasmus pp 143 - 8).

1299 Exhortacyon b8[v] - c2[r]

1300 Ibid $a6^v$, $c6^r - 8^r$ when he admits SS. Paul in whom "Chryste serued in a maner newe borne", Peter and John - presumably as the authors of the most fruitful Gospel and Epistles and of the most exemplary lives to be "great authours".

1301 Ibid $b3^r - 4^r$, $e6^v - 8^r$.

1302 Ibid e.g. $g6^r$ "The monkes, freres and other relygyous men, knowen ye way to make the people by reason of theyr ceremonyes whiche be but counterfayte, to lyke well and to set by theyr professyons/and they playe theyr partes so other whyles, that the lokers on brasten forthe into wepynge".

1303 Ibid $g6^v - 7^r$ "There be nowe a dayes, certayne interludes and page-auntes played ‖ in certayne churches, whiche I do not vtterly dysalowe, of the Resurrection of Chryste, of his Ascencyon and goyng vp to heuen, of the sendynge of the holy ghoste", By his silence Erasmus seems perhaps not to approve the plays concerning the life and Passion of Christ.

1304 Ibid $g4^v - 5^r$ Where he suggests a book of teaching drawn out of the Gospels, Epistles and Creed which the preacher may read from - like the Edwardine - Elizabethan book of homilies - as better "then to moue and styre the people to lowde laughyng with folysshe/yea and somtyme with bawdy & vnclenly iestes & scoffes/whiche maner of prechyng, I wote not what wycked spyryte and deuyl ‖ hath brought in to the churche..." On preaching cp. Praise of Folly, (Essential Erasmus pp 150 - 3).

1305 Ibid $b3^3 - 4^r$.

1306 Ibid $e8^r$.

1307 Ibid $b2^v$

1308 Ibid $f8^v$ Erasmus suggests as the ideal alternative, common knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The Collegium Trilinguae at Louvain naturally received his support. See H.de Vocht History of the Collegium

Trilingue Lovaniense (2 vols Louvain, 1951 - 3) vol I pp 238 - 40.

1309 Ibid $g1^{r-v}$ and $h7^{r}$ff with the allegorical interpretations of Matthew VIII and XIV on the ship of the Church which concludes with a moving appeal for peace in the world and the Church.

1310 Ibid $b1^{v}$

1311 Ibid $g2^{r}$ cp Pt.II n. 67.7 and Enchiridion $B3^{r}$ - desire of the heart not words makes a prayer.

1312 Ibid $g2^{r-v}$ cp. $b2^{r-v}$ quoted by M.M.Phillips, Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance pp 79 - 80.

1313 Ibid $C2^{r}$.

1314 Erasmus does not argue that scholasticism should be abolished or that, provided such human learning has been studied moderately, it unfits them for the study of Scripture, Exhortacyon $\mathfrak{B}5^{v}$, $d4^{r-v}$, 5^{v} but he warns that "there was none that dyd more styfly and frowardlye withstande & resyst Chryste than suche as moste of all knewe and vnderstode those bokes, in the whiche Chryste was bothe promysed and shadowed".

1315 Ibid $b1^{r}$, $e3^{r} - 4^{r}$, $f7^{r-v}$ etc.

1316 Ibid $a8^{r}$, $c3^{r}$, $e4^{r}$, $f5^{r}$.

1317 Ibid $\mathfrak{e}4^{r-v}$; $\mathfrak{f}e8^{r}$ "The spirite of Iesu shal not be faylyng or wantyng not to any one man, purposynge & goynge about suche a thynge in his name....." cp. Becon's Pomander of Prayer PS Prayers p. 82.

1318 Ibid $f3^{r} - 4^{v}$.

1319 For a useful summary of Erasmus' hermeneutics See J.B.Payne, Erasmus: His theology of the Sacraments pp 44 - 53.

1320 Exhortacyon e3^{r-v}.

1321 Ibid c2^{r-v} The second point of Christianity, after knowledge, "is to do there after, & || to fulfyll it as nygh, as god gyueth vs grace."

1322 Ibid h1^{r} and g4^{r}. The Sermon of the chylde Iesu (STC 10509) which claims to savour, represent and breathe Christ could be an example of such a homily. The books of homilies published under Edward VI represent an official extension of such an idea.

1323 Exhortacyon g5^{r} - h1^{r} and see Payne op.cit. chapter 9, especially pp 172 - 6; Also R.C.Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance" Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought Vol X (1974) pp 200 - 64.

1324 Exhortacyon g7^{r-v}.

1325 Ibid b8^{v} "what other thynge is this doctryne of Chryste/whiche he calleth the newe regeneracyon. But a restorynge or reparyng of our nature whiche in his fyrste creacyon was good?" cp. M.M.Phillips Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance pp. 81 - 2.

1326 nn. 1193 - 99A.

1327 Although Whitford and the author of the Pomander wrote for lay people they were unable to free themselves entirely from their own monastic background, while Protestants such as Tyndale are more concerned with doctrine and ethics than with devotion.

1328 e.g. De Praeparatione ad Mortem, De contemptus Mundi (both discussed in Pt. III); expositions of the Pater and Creed; treatise on confession and a manual of practical, mainly ethical, instruction.

1329 Illustrations become fewer and even where they occur they are no longer a part of the devotion. There is a marked preference for the

compact 8^{o} rather than 4^{o} of folio volume and the size and type used tends to be smaller and more crowded.

1330 This continuity has been noted, in very general terms by H.C.White, The Tudor Books of Private Devotion ch. 2 "The Medieval Inheritance" which focuses on St.Augustine and the monastic orders. Also, perhaps less satisfactorily, from a theological standpoint by D.B.Knox The Doctrine of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII ch 3 "English Precursors of the Reformation Doctrine of Justification by Faith only".

1331 STC 21472 (the edition used in this section) and 21473. See also Trans Bibliographical Soc XV (1918) pp 163 - 6.

1332 For Lollard positions see: J.A.F.Thomson The Later Lollards (London 1965) ch. 12; A.G. Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (London, repr. 1966) p. 9.

1333 STC 21472; $B7^{v}$. Sixty was the number on the foundation at Syon, Knowles RO vol. III p. 212.

1334 See N.F. Blake "Wynkyn de Worde: The later Years" Grutenberg - Jahrbuch, 1972 pp. 133 - 4.

1335 H.R. Plomer, Wynkyn de Worde and his contemporaries (London 1925) pp. 93 - 4; A.W.Reed Early Tudor Drama (London 1926) pp 166 - 9).

1336 The "Consolation for troubled consciences" (Luther's XIV Consolations) included in Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons contrasts seven images of evil with seven blessings - the 14 images are pictures or illustrations of each state drawn from Scripture.

1337 STC 21472, $A5^{r-v}$ describing the decoration of Nature's dress: "The fowles appered so ra‖uysshyng/the beestes so cruelly deuourynge/ the flyes so defylynge herbes & floures/& takyng away theyr sauour/ the serpentes so stynging/the wormes so gnawynge & freatynge/that I am sure ye shold haue feared to put therto your hand/& specially one lytel worme frayed me moche....called the worme of conscience"

1338 The Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe (STC 11499) ca.xvii also includes a list, mainly biblical, of those who have been deceived and fallen by women.

1339 STC 21472, C1^{r-v} cp. I Cor. XII:12ff, Romans XII:4ff.

1340 cp. above nn 474 - 5, 817 - 20.

1341 See J. Tonkin The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought (New York 1971) e.g. p. 161 "The adoption of personal categories in place of impersonal ones shifts the center of attention from the Church understood in terms of ontology, substance, structure, and organization to the Church understood as a personal community in which the members are bound together by a common faith in Christ and a common love toward each other".

1342 STC 21472 C1^{r} - 2^{r}.

1343 Ibid D5^{r} - 6^{r} cp. above n.87, Pt. II 205 etc.

1344 Ibid E4^{r} - 5^{r}: "Ouyde desriued it lyke to an olde trotte with a lene face pale & wan/ye tethe blacke/a fyry tong/the mouth full of venym/the eyes hollowe/neuer lokynge ryght forth/grym & cruell of countenaunce/the brest swollen full of poyson/cruell nayles wt blody handes/& many other yll features....The tayle of the serpent detraccyon/ backbytyng or slaunder...It hath ye fete & subtylnes of a foxe/thrugh ypocrysye...it hath the bely of a dragon/yt is ydelnes full of stynkyng thoughtes & false ymagynacyons/ye brest of a lyon proude & disdaynous/the heed partly lyke deth and partly lyke the deuyll/it hath holes instede of ye eyes lyke vnto dethe/for it hath neyther loue nor fere of god/it hath the lefte eare lyke Nero redy to heare all yll/ye ryght eare chopped away lyke Malcus & stopped/yt it can heare nothynge good/the mouth wyde open lyke a graue full of careyn|| the tong sharpe as a swerde & all fyry wherof the leest sparke is able to set a hole cite on fyre/and all is venym as a cocatryce..." cp. Pt. III nn. 497, 672 - 3.

1345 Ibid $E8^{v}$

1346 STC 11499 - the Oxford and Cambridge copies are both imperfect, ending at sig. m4, which may suggest no more was printed.

1347 Between 1532 and 1546 he printed under his own name STC 3033, 5892, 15453, 15992 and 21799 and thirty-four other works were printed for him.

1348 D.B.Knox The Doctrine of Faith p. 141

1349 cp. Ymage of loue STC 21472 $B7^{v}$ - 8^{r} "Saint Paule put a glasse in to my hande/holy scripture and bade me comme out of darknes in to light .....I loked on this glasse/& I coude se nothynge but myne owne face fouly deformed with many foule spottes"

1350 STC 11499 $A2^{v}$ - 3^{r}

1351 Among the topics lost (the contents are listed in some detail at the beginning of the book) from chapters 22 - 30 are the 4 cardinal virtues, the 7 gifts of the Holy Ghost, the 7 Beatitudes, the despising of worldly things, the vexation of the soul at parting from the body and "the Inestymable Ioyes that is prepared for mankynde after this lyfe for the lytel loue/and obedeyent seruyce that he doth here for crystes sake".

1352 STC 11499 $I3^{r}$ - ^{v}.

1353 e.g. the translation of Luther's XIV Consolations, Certeine prayers (STC 20193) $H2^{v}$ (Pt. III n. 359).

1354 e.g. Simon Fish's Supplicacyon for the Beggers (EETS es 13); Robert Copland's The hye way to the Spytell hous STC 5732 and Brinkelow's The complaynt of Roderyck Mors (EETS es 22).

1355 eg. Sir Francis Byȝod's A treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices (STC 4240); J.Fyllol's Agaynst the possessyons of the Clergye.

1356 See the memento mori, Ubi sunt and quid profuit, and contemptus mundi sections of Pt. III.

1357 STC 11499 G4^{r-v}. Traditional preoccupations such as: "Brydle the affecyons of thy mynde | Subdue thy sensuall appetytes & desyres" "Byleue and truste surely in cryste Ihesu | Worshyp hym and his mother mary" "Thynke often of deth | Drede or fere the Iugement of god", "Beware of losse of tyme", "Chastyse thy carnall body" "Loue clennesse with chastyte" etc dominate the summary which contains no specifically reformed maxim. See below nn. 1512 - 3 on A boke of prayers (STC 3326+)

1358 STC 6455.

1359 See Pt. III n. 350.

1360 STC 11499, C2^{v}.

1361 Bonde Pilgrymage (1531) f.185^{r}, cp. above n 334ff.

1362 STC 11499 B3^{r} Christ "suffred his precyous and tender body to be taken in the nyght/of the scrybes and pharysees/which in contyment with great rygoure/put his moste precyous body to great paynes & tormentes (so pyteously) that from the crowne of his hedde vnto the sole of his feet/there was no place hole/but rent & brused. And wyllyngly he offred his moste precyous body on the crosse/vnto the deth for vs/which at that tyme was the moste shamphullest deth that myght be deuysed". For the widespread use of the quotation from Isaiah I:6/Job II:7 cp Pt.II n. 406.

1363 Bonde op.cit. f.185^{v}.

1364 D.B.Knox Doctrine of Faith p. 141 says "It may be regarded as one of the first if not the very first book to be printed in England which set forth the reformed doctrine of justification". During the early 1530s however the question of authority: Church v. Scripture, and criticism of the external ceremonies and institutional forms of the Catholic Church seem to be more valid tests of reformed views than the doctrine of justification. Doctrinal changes are less significant, with regard to the character of the devout treatise, than the personal, biblical and social aspects of the reformed faith.

1365 The work occurs in STC 11386, 11390, 11395. The first chapter is also printed in E.M.Nugent's The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance (Cambridge 1956) pp. 460 - 2.

1366 cp. n. 1340 above.

1367 STC 11390 $A6^{r-v}$.

1368 STC 3034 (RSTC 3036a); 3036 - 8; See Neal. Bibl 1968 - 9, 3910 - 11.

1369 See above nn. 79 - 86.

1370 RSTC 3036a $A2^{r}$.

1371 cp. the prayer of Humble Access in the Holy Communion service of the Book of Common Prayer.

1372 RSTC 3036a $D2^{r-v}$.

1373 cp. Pt.III in the section on the ars moriendi.

1374 See Pt. III nn. 433 - 7.

1375 The concept of the godly life varied according to the author's viewpoint. Here it is defined in Protestant terms: RSTC 3036a $G1^{v}$: "He semeth after the scripture that when a man or woman hath louing conuersacyon with his neyghboure, or yf they be maryed togyther in an holy loue, glad to here talke of god/gyuing wyllyngly after

theyre power for goddis sake/and are not sory or discomforted for the losse of theyre goodes/or of any other aduersite wyllyngly comfortinge the desolate and dieth in a stedfast faith and with good wyll it is not to be thought that suche a persone shulde not be saued".

1376 See Pt. III nn 419, 560.

1377 The most famous prelates of the period - Wolsey, Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Cranmer - were all statesmen. For a fascinating study of political - religious, involvement see L.B.Smith, Tudor Prelates and Politics (Princeton 1953).

1378 STC 12005 = 17788.

1379 A brief biblical summary of the office of estates (bishops, rulers, commons, husbands, wives, fathers and mothers, children, masters, servants and widows) derived ultimately from Luther, was included by Tyndale in the preliminary matter to his 1535 New Testament and appeared in the ~~1535~~ revised version of the 1535 Byddell-Marshall primer (STC 15988), thence in Gough's 1536 Primer (STC 15992) and the Redman primer of 1537 (STC 15997). A far more detailed exposition of the duties of various estates, again drawn from Scripture was included in The ordenarye for all faythfull Chrystians (STC 5200) and given the form of prayers by Thomas Becon in his Flower of Godly Prayers (PS II especially pp. 19 - 38).

1380 Watt, A worke entytled of ye olde god & the newe (STC 20527) $P4^{v}-5^{r}$. It was parallel to the views held by some Lollards e.g. J.A.F.Thomson The Later Lollards (London 1965) pp. 33, 40, 50 etc.

1380A For a study dealing mainly with later Protestant-Puritan attitudes and literature, see C.L.Powell, English Domestic Relations (1917 repr. New York 1972).

1381 RSTC 3036a ch. 23. Children must never be set a bad example, or hear bad stories, songs or language. They must be kept from social gatherings (such as weddings!) where they may hear such things. Care must be taken in the selection of their servants. Parents must instruct their children in the faith, take them to church on feast days and question them on the sermon afterwards and not go running off on vain pilgrimages. The children must learn the Pater in English and have no book except the Bible. They must be taught to give alms and the parents must be careful never to show sorrow for the loss of any earthly thing lest the children copy them. The requirement that even the richest should learn a trade expresses the Protestant ideal of useful and self-supporting labour. Clothing must not be too rich or elaborate. With sound common sense, the parents are advised to check vices in their children, but not so severely that they become rebellious, and encourage virtues.

1382 See above n.1080

1383 RSTC 3036a $M7^{v}$ where the servant should meditate thus: "Behold dere lorde God I thanke the that thou hast not made me ryche/I am well content with the state that I am in. I wyll with a good wyll for the loue of the serue all the worlde. And I thanke the that thou hast made me worthy to suffer any thing for thy loue/and that I may in this worlde be one of the lest and lest estemed..."

1384 STC 5879.

1385 Pomander ed. Redman $B4^{v}$ - 5^{r}.

1386 These are defined as (i) priests, monks etc who contribute nothing to society and spend all they receive (ii) the nobility who live off their rents (iii) old people and children who are unable to give anything (iv) men of war (who have lost their chivalrous, romantic image and are classed with) thieves and common women who again contribute nothing and spend all (v) the common Christian who labours to support himself and helps to support others.

1387 e.g. J.W.Blench Preaching in England (Oxford 1964) C.C. Butterworth The English Primers (Philadelphia 1953) W.A. Clebsch England's Earliest Protestants (New Haven 1964); A.G.Dickens The English Reformation (London 1964); C.H. Herford Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the XVIth century (Cambridge 1886); P.Janelle L'Angleterre Catholique à la veille du schisme (Paris 1935); D.B. Knox The Doctrine of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII (London 1961); J.K.McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford repr. 1968); E.G. Rupp, Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Cambridge 1947); H.C.White The Tudor Books of Private Devotion (Madison 1951) and Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison 1963).

1388 STC 21427 (repr. Arber's English Reprints, London 1871). The work and its background is discussed C.H.Herford Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany pp. 34 - 43 cp. C.W. Dugmore The Mass and the English Reformers pp. 117 - 20 and W.K.Jordan Edward VI: The Young King (London 1968) pp 136 - 43 for some later tracts.

1389 STC 20840 - 2.

1390 STC 21527

1391 e.g. Francis Bigod's Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices (STC 4240); Iack vp Lande (STC 5098); J.Fyllol Agaynst the possessyons of the Clergye (STC 11489); St. Germain's Treatyse concernynge the power of the clergye/and the lawes of the Realme (STC 21588)

1392 e.g. William of Occam's Dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke, concernynge the power spiritual and temporall (STC 12511A); A treatise wherin Christe and his techinges, are compared with the pope and his doinges (STC 14575); A Litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners (STC 19177).

1393 STC. 15453.

1394 For the charters see Pt. II nn 348, 354 etc; for the wills Pt.III nn. 422, 427 - 8.

1395 Respectively STC 6794 and 13012. For the former Pt.III nn. 427 - 8; for the medieval forerunners of the latter see Pt. II n. 354 etc.

1396 STC 14561 - 2 (4 editions) See D.B. Knox The Doctrine of Faith p. 173.

1397 STC 14562 $B4^{v}$ - 6^{r} based on Ephesians VI. See the opening of Part III for other examples of the Christian's armour; this version as might be expected of a Protestant piece particularly emphasizes the sword of the Spirit, God's word.

1398 Ibid $A8^{v}$ etc. particularly. cp. Pt. II. n. 439 etc.

1399 STC 95

1400 STC 397

1401 STC 20423 I can find no evidence of a 1536 edition of these two works (STC 397 as well) mentioned by D.B.Knox, The Doctrine of Faith p. 176. His omission of STC numbers, his habit of assigning anonymous works to authors without explanation, and an inadequate index make this a frustrating book to use.

1402 Proved by the survival of repeatedly prohibited works such as Tyndale's Obedience and his Parable of the wicked mammon.

1403 See n. 738 above and Pt. III on "De contemptus mundi".

1404 cp. above nn. 80 - 92, 739 - 40etc.

1405 STC 24218, attributed to Coverdale by D.B.Knox (op.cit) p.281.

1406 Ibid $A2^{r}$.

1407 See n. 356 above.

1408 Nicholas Wyse, A consolacyon for chrysten people (STC 26063). He has much to say about pilgrimages and superstitious honouring of saints.

1409 See for example C.K.Barrett A commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, III: 15 - 17, and the Jewish historical and eschatological associations.

1410 STC 26063, $c6^{v}$.

1411 A goodly treatise, STC 24218 $A2^{r}$ cp. the lamentations of Becon, Bradford and other Reformers, who saw the people's disobedience as the reason for the punishment and death inflicted on the faithful and on England by the Catholic Queen Mary cp. Pt. III nn. 185 - 7.

1412 STC 20521.

1413 1536 saw the publication of the Ten Articles and the First Royal Injunctions; 1539 seemed to mark a reaction against reformed doctrine in the Act of Six Articles.

1414 STC 16815, 16819 - 21.

1415 From STC 16820, $G4^{v}$ "Against the first precepts offende they, whiche in aduersitie vse charmes and wytch craftes, or at any tyme do trust in theyr helpe...They whiche abuse letters, signes, herbes, wordes, blessynges, or suche lyke. They that exercyse any kynde of wytch-crafte (as there be many kyndes) some vse roddes, some cristall stones, some clothes. And some there be that burne milke/some with charmes do dygge vp treasures...They that conferre theyr lyfe & workes to the sygnes of heuen, and to the coniecturyng of sothe sayers, puttynge obseruacyon and difference bytwyxte tyme and tyme: They that defende eyther theyr selfe, or theyr cattell, house, chyldren, or other goodes, from wolues, weapen, fyre or water, with any prescrypte, charme or superstycyous prayer..."

1416 STC 16820 Kl^{r} "These.vij.thynges folowyng sholde we haue euer in our mynde. The synnes that we dayly do. The shorte tyme that we shall abyde here. The vncertayntie of the daye of our dethe. The vnstableness and frayltie of vs. The strayte & ferefull iudgement of god. The bytter and vnspeakable paynes ordeyned for synnes. The euerlastynge losse of eternall glory".

1417 For earlier vernacular forms of Bidding see EETS 71 pp. 61 - 80; 315 - 46.

1418 STC 16009 - 11. Reprinted in E.Burton, Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. (2nd edn Oxford 1848) pp. 305 - 436. For the background of the work, C.C.Butterworth The English Primers pp. 181 - 99 and for its character and contents H.C.White The Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp 103 - 8.

1419 White op.cit. p. 104

1420 See above nn 15 - 22, 77, 92 - 102.

1421 STC 5545. An English version STC 5550 was printed c.1530 perhaps in a translation by Thomas Lupset. There is a reprint, E.M.Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance and see also G.V. Jourdan The Movement Towards Catholic Reform in the Sixteenth Century (London 1914) pp 99 - 106.

1422 STC 15286, reprinted PS Sermons pp 33 - 57.

1423 About sermons on controversial issues see J.W.Blench Preaching in England (Oxford 1964) pp 247 - 56.

1424 STC 5163 - 7 and reprinted C.Lloyd's Formularies of Faith (Oxford 1825). For discussion on the work, E.G.Rupp, Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Cambridge 1947, repr. 1966) pp. 134 - 47; D.B.Knox The Doctrine of Faith (London 1961) pp159 - 67.

1425 Wilkins, Concilia III. pp 719 - 21.

1426 STC 6813 (reprinted Arber's English Reprints London 1871)

1427 John Foxe Acts and Monuments (8th edn. 1641) vol. II. p.291

1428 Foxe Ibid p. 320 For more official negotiations between England and the Lutherans see E.G.Rupp Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition ch. 6.

1429 Foxe Ibid p. 258 and see Introduction n. 67, and on the part played by merchants generally, A.G.Dickens The English Reformation pp 104 - 6.

1430 Respectively STC 4021, 16962 - 3 etc, 21753. The Ausburg confession, STC 908 is presumably understood to contain The Apologie that is to say the defense of the confessyon of the Germaynes made by Philip Melancthon (Redman, 1536) even though bibliographically the latter is a separate work.

1431 Bucer's Latin Psalter of 1529 was the basis of Joye's translation of the Psalter (STC 2370) see further C.Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford 1946); Brunfels' Precationes Biblicae and other material was the basis of Redman's Prayers of the Byble; Calvin's Instruction of Faith was the basis of Taverner's Catechism (STC 23709); Campensis' Paraphrasis vpon all the Psalmes of David was translated by Coverdale and printed 1535 (not in STC) and 1539 (STC 14620); Capito's Praecationes Christianae was the basis of Taverner's Epitome of the Psalmes (STC 2748 = 23710) - Butterworth notes what seems to be an earlier edition, English Primers p. 195; Gnapheus was the original author of A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke (STC 17982); Pederson's Den rette vey till Hiemmerige Rige was translated as Gau's Richt vay to the kingdome of heuine STS XII (1886 = 7) see pp.xxxii - vi, lii-iv. Pederson's treatise was based partly on Luther's Betbüchlein and partly on some writings of Regius (Butterworth op.cit. p. 282), whose Comparison betvene the olde learnynge & the newe (STC 20841) was translated by William Turner and his Dialogus inter Satanam & poenitem peccatorem

was translated by Thomas Becon as The Shelde of Sauacion - possibly printed in the 1530s by Wyer, but more likely 1550s (after STC 1756). For the Strassburg preachers and Watt, see respectively STC 24238 and 25127.

1432 For the Lutheran content of the Byddell-Marshall Primers - and correspondence between their contents and Gau's Richt vay, some of the Pater books (STC 16815), Redman's Prayers of the Byble and Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons (STC 20193) (the latter two also contain translations of Luther's XIV Consolations under the title "A consolation for troubled consciences") - see Butterworth The English Primers pp. 279 - 85. For a more general survey of English-Lutheran connections see H.E.Jacobs The Lutheran Movement in England, (Philadelphia 1891).

1432A See L. Einstein Tudor Ideals (London 1921) p. 301.

1433 cp. Pt. II n. 679 also Regius, Comparison betwene the Olde learnynge & the Newe.

1434 Foxe, and presumably the contemporary authorities did not make any clear distinction between Lollards and other sacramentarians such as John Lambert.

1435 e.g. Dore of holy scripture, Lanterne of lyght see Foxe Actes and monuments (London 1563) p. 574.

1436 e.g. The dore of holy scripture (STC 3033) $A3^{r}$ was claimed by its publisher to be over 200 years old as did Wycliffes wycket (STC 25590), while A compendious olde treatyse (STC 3021) was said to have been written over a century ago. A rather later example is found in The treasure of gladnesse (STC 24191A) which "semeth by the Copy, being a very little Manuell, and written in velam, to be made above. cc. yeares past at the least. Whereby appeareth how God in oldetime, and not of late onely, hath bene truely confessed and

honored" on which see White Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 139 - 40, 187 - 8, 239.

1437 The prayer and complaynt of the Ploweman vnto Christ (STC 20036 +) A3^{r}. The preface is by Tyndale, who also mentions Hylton in his Apology and the Practice of Prelates.

1438 See H.C.White Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison 1963) chapters 5 - 6.

1439 Respectively STC 24045; 3033 on which see Deanesly The Lollard Bible p. 255ff; 20036.

1440 STC 20036; A8^{v} - B1^{r} They are (i) to love God above all and others as self (ii) meekness (iii) to stand steadfast in truth and forsake all falseness. (iv) to suffer ills and wrongs of this world without grudging (v) to forgive others whenever they trespass against us (vi) poverty of spirit but not being a beggar (vii) chastity in the sense of controlling fleshly desires.

1441 STC 15225 and EETS 151.

1442 See, in general K.B. MacFarlane.

1443 E.Deanesly The Lollard Bible p. 227 but see chapter 9 in general.

1444 STC 3021 and Deanesly op.cit. pp. 437 - 45, especially p. 438.

1445 STC 3021 A1^{r}. "Enemyes I shall haue/many a shoren crowne| With forked cappes, and gaye crookys of golde|whiche to maynteyne ther ambicious renowne|Are glad laye people in ignorance to holde".

1446 Thoresby's Catechism. EETS 118 on Rolle's English Psalter see H.E.Allen Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle pp. 169 - 92.

1447 See M. Deanesly The Lollard Bible (Cambridge 1920) chapters 2 - 4 which suggest that although not formally prohibited there was little

official encouragement for a vernacular Bible in these countries, and such translations tended to have heretical connections.

1448 See Burton Three Primers p. 223.

1449 STC 292. The background debate to this described by Foxe, Acts and Monuments (London 1641) pp 504 - 6.

1450 For a study of the relationship between Scripture and Church, which gives a brief survey from patristic times to the fourteenth century but concentrates on the fifteenth - sixteenth centuries, see G.H.Tavard, Holy Writ or Holy Church (London 1959).

1451 e.g. STC 2823 - 35; C.C.Butterworth English Primers ch.XII on Primers with liturgical Epistles and Gospels.

1452 STC 3046.

1453 See Deanesly op.cit. chaps. 10, 12, 14.

1454 For some account of these, J.Severs A Manual of the Writings in Middle English II, pt. IV, Translations and Paraphrases of the Bible, and Commentaries.

1455 e.g. the figures of prophets painted on the parclose screens at Ashton S.Devon; stained glass of St.Neot's, Cornwall includes a window with the Four Evangelists, two others depict Old Testament history from creation to God's command to build the ark and the story of Noah. The glass of Fairford, Gloucestershire depicts not only the life and Passion of Christ but Old Testament incidents including the Fall, Moses and the burning bush, Gideon's fleece, the four Evangelists and twelve prophets. Paintings and carvings of individual evangelists and prophets also occur on a number of West Country rood screens.

1456 On the type of interpretation of Scripture found in sermons see G.R.Owst, LPME ch. 2 "Scripture and Allegory".

1457 Scriptural quotation is normally given in Latin and then often translated. Modern editors usually note biblical references e.g. Bazire and College The Chastising of God's Children; Fisher The Tretyse of Love, EETS 223; Vaissier The tre &.xii.frutes of the holy goost and for a Latin treatise, Farmer's edition of The Monk of Farne. Marginal Scripture references are, however, given in Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfecyon (1531 edn.) and Whitford's Pype or Tonne.

1458 See, for example, the Penguin Classics edition of The Imitation which notes biblical references.

1459 Book I: V - EETS es 63 p. 157.

1460 This is a natural result of their concepts of the importance of the authority of Church and tradition together with Scripture. See G.H.Tavard, Holy Writ or Holy Church (London 1959).

1461 e.g. Tyndale Obedience PS Doctrinal Treatises p.303ff

1462 e.g. STC 2987 An exposicyon vpon a pece of Saint Iames espistle; 4054 Bullinger on II Thessalonians 19211 Henry Parker on Psalm 94; 21038 and 21042 Lancelot Ridley on Ephesians and Jude; 24439 - 41 and 24443 - 4 Tyndale on Matthew V - VII and the epistles of St.John; 14503 St. Jerome's exposition of Psalm L1.

1463 Leonard Cox translated Erasmus' paraphrase on Titus (STC 10503) and although probably never printed John Caius translated Jude (Devereux Checklist C64).

1464 For the various editions see C.C.Butterworth: "Savonarola's Expositions on the Fifty-First and Thirty-First Psalms" The Library[5] VI (1951 - 2) pp. 162 - 70. It is printed in Burton's Three Primers pp. 130 - 66.

1465 See. C.C.Butterworth The English Primers ch. 5 - 6; H.C.White The Tudor Books of Priuate Deuotion pp 89 - 102. It is printed in Burton, Three Primers pp. 1 - 303.

1466 Hoskins Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis p. 107ff. "The manner to live well" is summarized Hoskins Ibid pp 147 - 8 and see H.C.White op.cit. pp. 150 - 3. On the growth of English content in Primers White Ibid p. 69ff although she does not discuss the 1530 - 1 edition (STC 15966) ~~edition~~.

1467 There were English primers copied in manuscript available during the 14th - 15th centuries, see EETS 105, 109.

1468 See Butterworth The English Primers p. 279.

1469 On which see Butterworth op.cit. chapters 3 - 4.

1470. See E.Merrill The Dialogue in English Literature (Yale Studies in English XLII. New Haven 1911) p. 60ff.

1471 See Butterworth op.cit. pp. 32 - 6.

1472 Respectively RSTC 20200.3, STC 20193.

1473 STC 11686 ed. A.F.Mitchell, STS XII (1886 - 7). There are parallels between the Byddell - Marshall Preface (Admonition in 1535 edn.), the ten commandments, the Creed and the interpretation of the Lord's prayer and Ave.

1474 STS XII p. 97f (cp.pp.xxxvi - vii).

1475 STC 15992. Butterworth op.cit. pp. 129 - 30 seems not to have noticed the Luther-Gau sources.

1476 STC 16818.

1477 Butterworth op.cit. chap. 11 also Hoskins op.cit. pp.213 - 8 and for the Paradise of the Soul pp. 220 - 4.

1478 RSTC 12731 - 8.

1479 STC 21753 = 10465. See D.B.Knox The Doctrine of Faith pp. 180 - 2.

1480 Respectively STC 15179, 845 and 659.

1481 STC 14821 See C.C.Butterworth & A.G.Chester George Joye (Philadelphia 1962) pp. 200 - 1 who note that it is a translation of Ned. Bibl 1970.

1482 STC 5160

1483 STC 5160 $c6^{v}$ cp. the end of Joye's Compendyouse somme.

1484 STC 14667.

1485 STC 24218.

1486 e.g. Hamilton's Dyuers frutful gatherynges of scripture; The declaracyon and power of the Chrysten fayth; Watt's Of ye olde god & the newe (Bk. II:V).

1487 STC 24218 $B8^{r}$.

1488 RSTC 6456.5 $B7^{v}$f.

1489 STC 24218 $C1^{r}$ cp. RSTC 6456.5 $B3^{v}$ "they shall knowe this crucyfyed Iesus to be a redempcyon, satysfaccyon, reconsylyacyon, satysfyenge for all man kynde".

1490. STC 24218 $B7^{r}$

1491 cp. Pt.II nn. 695 - 7, 700; Pt. III n. 521.

1492 STC 24218 ch.3.

1493 cp. Erasmus' popular De immensa dei misencordia (STC 10474 etc).

1494 RSTC 6456.5 $C4^{v}$.

1495 STC 24238 C2^{v} cp. Milton Sonnet XII "Licence they mean when they cry libertie" and the opening paragraphs of his Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: "none can love freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not freedom but licence..."

1496 STC 24218 C3^{r}.

1497 But William Bonde in his Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (STC 3278) Bk.III ca.xxv describes what faith is and how "ye soule cannot be iustifyed before god wtout fayth"; he adds that faith directs this present life and instructs a man how to live well.

1498 STC 24218 H3^{r} expresses the soul's longing for God in a monologue reminiscent of some mystical authors, although less overtly emotional than many.

1499 STC 24218 I1^{v} - 2^{r}.

1500 See Pt. III n. 342 etc.

1501 The 1534 preface is given by Hoskins Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis pp. 195 - 6; Burton Three Primers prints the longer 1535 Admonition, pp 1 - 9 cp. Gau The richt vay STS XII pp. 3 - 5 and the preface to Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons.

1502 For Joye's Ortulus animae and its contents see Butterworth The English Primers chaps 3 - 4. A section entitled "The paradyse of the soule" which included the XV Oes and part of Hamilton's Patrick's Places was included in the Gough Primer (1536) Butterworth Ibid pp. 126 - 9.

1503 e.g. Thomas Becon's Pomander of prayer; the Reformer's made extensive use of the Speculum/mirror idea in their titles, e.g. Frith Myrrour or glasse to know thy selfe, Gnapheus' A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke; J.G.'s Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe. See Part III n. 518 for a "quoted" incipit. Some at least of such "Deceptions" were probably deliberate; ways of reaching more conservative readers.

1504 Burton op.cit. pp 1 - 9. Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.193f. uses just these distinctions and cp. Dives & Pauper on the First commandment.

1505 STC 11211; another edition 1548 - 9 RSTC 11211.2 cp. Ned Bibl.945.

1506 e.g. op.cit. $D5^{v}$ "Thou hast here...a certayn gatheryng of scriptures out of both the Testamentes which declare the most abundant mercy of god wt a clere exposicion" or $G3^{r}$ "Of the great fauour of god towardes vs/the remembraunce where of shall vehemently stirre vs agayn vnto the loue of so benygne a god and father".

1507 They follow the last chapter of The Preparation to the crosse.

1508 A 1535 edition at Lincoln, not in STC is noted by Butterworth op.cit. p. 199, another edition, STC 14620 was printed in 1539.

1509 STC 2748 = 23710. Again, Butterworth notes another apparently earlier unrecorded edition op.cit. pp. 195 - 6.

1509A Erasmus' prayer and the prayer for keeping a good name occur later (1545) in the official primer - see Burton Three Primers pp 511, 515.

1510 After STC 3326 Printed by Middleton probably between 1541 and 1543.

1511 cp. the death of Cornelius in Erasmus' Funus and the end of his Preparation to deathe.

1512 RSTC 3273.6 See above n. 1357.

1513 Included at the end of Sir Thomas Elyot's translation of Cyprian's sermon Of mortalitie STC 6158.

1514 STC 3014. There is a curious suggestion of official approbation included on the title page "With grete diligence ꝑsuien and aprouued by the inquisitorꝭ of the Christen faithe/maester Nycolas Coppijn/de

Montibus/Dean of saincte Peters and Chancheler of the vniuersite of Louen" cp. the colophon of a Lollard tract STC 3033 The dore of holy scripture ($Q8^{V}$) "Perused by doctor Taylor and doctors Barons, Master Ceton, and Master Torner. ¶ In prynted by me Iohan Gowghe... vnder the kynges gratious preuilege Ad imprimendum solum, per septiennium..."

1515 On the development the Old Testament section of the dramatic cycles and the characters and incidents contained in them see H.Craig English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford 1955) pp 63 - 74. For the iconography, E.V.Reau Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien (vol. II. i Ancien Testament) Paris 1956; M.D Anderson History and Imagery in British Churches (London 1971) ch. 3 "The Old Testament"; For misericords see Remnant, "iconographical index - Old Testament". And among woodcuts: Hodnett nos 2049, 2083 show Adam and Eve; 441, 470 Moses; 600, 632, 1369 David and Bethsheba; 781 Samuel and Saul; 1046 Abraham and Isaac.

1516 STC 3014 $A1^{V}$.

1517 Hoskins Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis pp 113, 116. The xv Oes and other prayers STC 20195 (reprinted London 1869) and a single sheet of the death bed prayers, printed by Caxton, 1483 is preserved at the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

1518 STC 20196. For the Primer versions and later history of these prayers see H.C.White The Tudor Books of Private Devotion ch. XIII "The Fifteen Oes".

1519 Deuoute prayers RSTC 20193.5 (see Pt II nn 505 - 6); Meditationes Iordani STC 14789. The translated prayers were used by Fewterer in his Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion STC 14553.

1520 Some idea of the XVth century manuscripts, devotions and prayers related to Christ's Passion may be gained from P.Revell's Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations (unpublished Diploma in Librarianship, London University, May 1955).

1521 Burton Three Primers p. 371ff.

1522 Hoskins op.cit. pp. 121 - 2.

1523 They were reprinted in the Byddell-Marshall primers, see Burton Three Primers pp. 226 - 30, 300.

1524 Respectively RSTC 20200.3, STC 2748 = 23710, STC 20200. For Prayers of the Byble see C.C.Butterworth "Robert Redman's Prayers of the Byble" Library[5] III (1948 - 9) pp. 279 - 86 and The English Primers ch. 8; for Praiers of Holi Fathers see H.C.White The Tudor Books of Priuate Deuotion pp. 134 - 9.

1525 See F.Kelly, Prayer in Sixteenth-Century England (University of Florida Monographs, Humainties no. 22)Gainesville 1966, pp 26 - 8.

1526 For a biography and description of many of his works see: D.S.Bailey Thomas Becon, Edinburgh 1952 and the three volume edition of his works edited by J.Ayre for the Parker Society (Cambridge 1843 - 4).

1527 See Bailey op.cit. pp. 135 - 6.

1528 On whom see C.H.Garrett The Marian Exiles (Cambridge 1938).

1529 STC 1710 vol. III,fols 293[r], 294[r].

1530 See Bailey op.cit. pp 23 - 8, 58 - 67; J.Simon Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge 1967) pp 187 - 9; A.G.Newell "Thomas Becon and Literary Studies" Evangelical Quarterly XXXIII (1961) p. 93ff.

1531 e.g. his Anthologia Lactanti Firmiani and Xenophontis Gnomologiae, Baudrier Bibliographie Lyonnaise V (Paris 1964) pp 25 - 6. cp. Bailey op.cit. p. 145.

1532 For Pomander STC 1744 - 8 cp. STC 933 and see Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis pp 292 - 4.

1533 See Pt. III n. 314 etc.

Notes to Part II.

1. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 598 - 605; A.G.Herbert Liturgy and Society (London 1961) pp. 115 - 7; Underhill, Worship ("Fontana" ed. 1962) pp 90 - 1, 170 - 77 and E. Bishop's comment in The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai (ed. R.H.Connelly, Texts and Studies VIII, Cambridge 1909, p.93): "it would seem that a true appreciation and exact knowledge of different types of piety as manifested in various parts and the successive ages of the Christian church, in a word a knowledge of the history of religious sentiment among Christians, is a necessary condition for understanding the origin or rise even of rites and ceremonies themselves".

2. Quoted by P.E.Hughes, Theology of the English Reformers, p.230

3. Gasquet, The Eve of the Reformation, chap.V, "Clergy and Laity" considers some of the charges against the clergy exposed in the controversy between Christopher Saint-German and Sir Thomas More during the early 1530's. For a detailed investigation of many aspects of clerical life, Peter Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation; A.G.Dickens The English Reformation pp. 138 - 47 etc.

4. In practice rather than in theory, Deanesely, The Lollard Bible pp. 370 - 3.

5. The part of the congregation was not necessarily given greater scope in reformed liturgies, Dix The Shape of the Liturgy pp. 608 - 611.

6. In the 1537 edition of the Preparaccion vnto howselyng, B7^{r}, Whitford recommended meditation upon the life of Christ or a work such as The golden letany as suitable preparation to receive communion.

7. F.Clark Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation ch.12; C.W.Dugmore The Mass and the English Reformers p. 78; J.A.Jungmann The Mass of the Roman Rite (N.Y. 1951) I. 177 - 9.

8. W.K.Lowther Clarke Liturgy and Worship (London 1964), "The Calendar" pp. 201 - 44; V.Staley The Liturgical Year (London - Oxford 1907).

9. Over twenty editions of the Festial in Latin and English are known between 1483 and 1532. Owst discusses some "sermones de tempore" PME pp. 234 - 44, and goes on to discuss "de sanctis" sets and sermons for special occasions. These collections were supplanted during the 1540s by Richard Taverner's Postils and the first book of Homilies.

10. Becon gives a detailed description of the ceremonies in The Potation for Lent, PS I.pp.111 - 6 cp. Festial EETS es. 96, pp. 115 - 6; Maynard Smith, Pre-Reformation England pp. 133 - 4.

11. For general descriptions, Maynard Smith op.cit. pp. 134 - 7; Gasquet Parish Life in Medieval England pp. 174 -84. One of the most detailed accounts of pre-Reformation ceremonies and processions is by Robert Parkyn c.1558 - A.G.Dickens "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation" EHR LXII (1947) pp. 58 - 83.

12. The reason for this is explained, Dives and Pauper (ed. 1536) I. cap. x f.19^{v}; Becon's Potation for Lent PS I. p.111.

13. H.J.Feasey, Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial (London 1897) p. 1.

14. Festial EETS es. 96 pp. 117 - 8; Feasey op.cit. pp. 84 - 91.

15. Feasey op.cit. p. 179 ff.

16. In general Feasey op.cit pp. 129 - 75. The ceremonies were of course important for the development of the drama e.g. O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages pp. 136 - 8; 139 - 77; Woolf English Mystery Plays p.7 ff; K.Young The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford 1933) vol.I. pp. 112 - 148 etc. For Easter sepulchres Anderson, Drama and Imagery pp. 26 - 9; Cook The English Medieval Church p. 170 -3; J.K. Bonnell "The Easter Sepulchrum" PMLA XXXI (1916) pp. 664 - 712.

17. From Edgeworth's Sermons, 1557, f.94. See J.W.Blench "John Longland and Roger Edgeworth, Two forgotten preachers of the early sixteenth century" RES n.s. V (1954) pp. 123 - 43.

18. For an ordinary congregation, Festial EETS es 96 pp.129 f, cp. the brief rationale of various ceremonies provided for the priest pp. 124 - 9 and rather more demanding, the Passion Week sermons of Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 101 ff which frequently explains the symbolism of the ceremonies. Dives and Pauper, the first commandment, chps 4 and 10 has something to say on the services. For religious The Myroure of Oure Ladye prepared for the nuns of Syon was probably one of the most detailed.

19. Festial EETS es. 96 p. 131; Mirk Instructions for Parish Priests EETS 31 p. 8; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 pp. 122 - 3, 126 -7; EETS 98 p. 208; Gararde The interpretacyon and sygnyfycacyon of the Masse, V2^{r} cp. the heading in Becon's Potation for Lent (PS.I p.117) "How we ought to prepare ourselves to receive worthily at the time of Easter the most blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood".

20. Thurston, Lent and Holy Week pp. 60 - 70.

21 EETS 209 pp 309 - 13.

22. Speculum Sacerdotale EETS. 200 p. 68

23. Speculum Sacerdotale pp. 54, 57; Becon Potation for Lent (PS. I.) p. 110

24. EETS 209 pp. 140 - 2; Speculum Sacerdotale pp. 49, 52 ff; Becon Potation for Lent pp. 91, 106, 107 also Hughes & Larkin Tudor Royal Proclamations I. no. 177.

25. Gararde Interpretacyon I. ca. 8 - 9, 11 - 12.

26. e.g. Lay Folks Mass Book (cited as LFMB) EETS 71 p.xxxviii - ix n. 7, p. 130; Lydgate Minor Poems EETS es 107 pp. 103, 108.

27. This was copied in the early sixteenth century, Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. 5. 31 (LFMB. p. lxix) suggesting continued interest in the work.

28. The work is taken from Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) III. vi. ca. lx but for quotation I have used the edition by J.Wickham Legg of Bodl. ms Wood 17, HBS.vol.XXVII. 1904. The meditations are also copied in the early sixteenth century compilation of Dame Ann Bulkeley, BM ms.Harley 494 ff. 63 - 75.

29. For versions of this prayer, which does not occur in the later printed versions, E.Zeeman, "Two Middle English versions of a Prayer to the Sacrament" Archiv CXCIV (1957 - 8) pp. 113 - 21.

30. In fact The Interpretacyon (STC,11549 = 11809) is a translation of Gerrit vander Goude's Dat boexhen vander missen which seems to have gone through at least fourteen editions between 1506 and 1523 (Ned.Bibl. nos. 982 - 6, 0548 - 9, 3072 - 6, 4233, 4437) and was translated into French in 1529.

31. Edited by C.Kirchberger, The Goad of Love.

32. C.H.Herford describes a number of them in ch. 2, Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century; W.K.Jordan Edward VI, The Young King pp. 137 - 8, 141 - 3.

33. References to the Schort tretys are to Powell's edition of The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Christ (London, 1908), cited as Powell:for Lollard doctrines p. 321. Also J.A.F. Thomson The Later Lollards p. 126f and ch. XII "Lollard Doctrines and Beliefs".

34. Powell p. 321.

35. The floure (edn. 1521) f.217^{v} - 23^{r} cp. the same method MS. Bodley 119 ff. 1^{r} - 4^{r} cited Blench Preaching in England pp. 248 - 9.

36. Powell p. 320.

37. See chapter III under "Judgement" for the iiij tokens. Nausea Sermon $A3^{v}$ - $B1^{v}$

38. English Works 1557, pp. 1264 - 9. This was copied by the priest Robert Parkyn in July 1555, Aberdeen university ms. 185.

39. English Works 1557, pp. 1321 - 49.

40. PL. CLXXX, 729 - 854

41. e.g. Gararde Interpretacyon $Q4^{v}$ and Nausea quotes I Corinthians X: 16 - 17 in his sermon to make the same point. For Protestant authors, P.E.Hughes Theology of the English Reformers pp. 212 - 6.

42. Erasmus Epistle $B1^{v}$.

43. Erasmus op.cit. $C2^{v}$

44. A Kempis IV, heading to ch. xviii, cp. Nausea Sermon $E^{2v} - 4^{v}$; Festial EETS es 96 p. 173; Instructions for parish priests EETS 31, p. 8; ME Sermons EETS 209 p. 126 - 7; Orologium p. 366.

45. cp. Nausea Sermon $F1^{r} - 2^{v}$.

46. cp. Erasmus 'Preparation to deathe $D2^{v}$ for similar anti-Marian criticism.

47. Erasmus, Epistle $C4^{r-v}$.

48. cp. for example Owst LPME pp. 436 - 8; PME pp. 169 - 80; for later examples see Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic pp 160 - 2.

49. The best known is that of the Italian Relation, (Camden Soc. Ser. I, Vol. xxxvii, 1847) quoted by Maynard Smith, Pre-Reformation England p. 92}

50. Nausea Sermon $C4^{v} - D1^{r}$.

51. References are to the edition of 1537 printed by John Wayland (STC 25416).

52. Becon refers to the custom of standing at the Gospel and curtsying at the name of Jesus, Displaying of the Popish Mass, PS III. p. 264 cp. p. 257.

53. Whitford Preparacion $H3^{v}$ cp. $H3^{r} - 5^{r}$, and Instructions for Parish Priests EETS 31 p. 8 - 9; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 127, Erasmus De Civilitate Morum puerilium (STC. 10468) $B5^{r} - v$.

54. cp. Instructions EETS 31 p. 8; Becon Displaying of the Popish Mass PS III. p. 275.

55. Kirchberger notes that in the Latin version the whole of this chapter, xxii referred to the priest, Stimulus Amoris p. 138n.

56. Kirchberger Stimulus Amoris p. 139.

57. A Kempis De Imitatione IV. xi. In this section I have used the Lady Margaret's translation in EETS. es. 63, p. 275

58. Lydgate "An exortacion to Prestys when they shall sey theyr Masse", EETS es 107 p. 85.

59. Lydgate op. cit. EETS es 107, pp. 85 - 6.

60. Owst PME pp.146 - 7; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 pp 53 - 75; 120 - 1 etc; Sermons EETS 209 pp.62, 66f, 140f, 158f, 278f, 310f.

61. Dyetary edn. 1521, $B1^{r}$.

62. It was reprinted in A brief fourme of confession, 1576, (STC. 11181 = 24625; A/R 143) which itself was later reprinted with editions of Vaux's Catechisme (STC. 64627 etc.). Several of More's prayers were included in the seventh chapter, prayers for use before and after receiving the sacrament, of the popular recusant work, A manual of prayers (STC, 17263 etc.). More's work is also known to have been copied by Parkyn in July 1555 - Aberdeen Univ. MS. 185, (See Y.A.S. Record Series 125, 1959, p.20).

63. An undated edition (STC. 25412 - STC 25413 may be another or perhaps the same) by Redman, probably not long after 1531 preceded the Wayland edition of 1537 (STC 25416). As with his edition of The werke for housholders also of 1537 Wayland has made some attempt to cast the Preparacion into dialogue form.

64. In the introduction to the Preparacion (ed. 1537, $A2^{r}$) Whitford says: "Where in a lytle werke yt of late, we send forth (at the requeste of deuoute persones) vnto housholders: we dyd sette forthe/a breue and short forme of confessyon/heryng and perceyuyng that ye sayde werke was thankfully and christenably receyued & supposynge that so deuoute receyuers ben well exercised/and haue

profyted therin:: we haue nowe here (for your fourthere increase of vertue) put forthe vnto you another lesson:" this time on preparation to receive the sacrament of the altar.

65. Werke ed. Redman 1531, $E2^r$ - 7^v.

66. Garde Interpretacyon $Q3^v$ cp. A Kempis IV.xii.

67. Kirchberger, Stimulus Amoris p. 138.

68. Luke I: 39 - 45.

69. See, for example, Hilton, Scala Perfectionis II: 37.

70. I Corinthians XI: 27.

71. More Treatice to receaue the blessed body of our lorde, English Works, p. 1266.

72. Nausea, Sermon $D4^r$.

73. Gararde Interpretacyon III: 27.

74. More too refers to bodily reception of the sacrament by the sinful, Works p. 1264 and briefly summarizes three manners of reception in his third lecture on the blessed sacrament in his Treatice vpon the passion of Chryste.

75. Luther comments on the fear which this threat of unworthy reception engenders in his Sermon on the Worthy Reception of the Sacrament, 1521, (Luther's Works, vol.42.i. Philadelphia 1969, p. 175 - 6) a work which attacks various aspects of contemporary Catholic belief and practice.

76. Gararde, Interpretacyon III: 28.

77 In The iiij tokens...afore the dredefull daye of Dome the second token is that love will wax cold, the third that all manners of evil will be used and the fourth that there will be wars, strife and great pestilence.

78. Genesis XIX; Exodus VII - XI.

79. A Kempis IV: iv, p. 266 cp.IV, x and Garade Interpretacyon $r.2^{r}ff.$

80. John VI: 35.

81. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy p. 169. cp. Tree &.xii frutes $E1^{r}$.

82. Gararde Interpretacyon $s1^{v}$ - $t1^{v}$.

83. Gararde op. cit. $t1^{v}$ cp. A Kempis IV: i p. 262

84. Probably derived from John IV: 14. See Mâle L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age pp. 112 - 6 and Gray Themes and Images p. 270 n. 44 also N & Q CCVIII p. 132 n. 45. Ironically perhaps The fountayne or well of lyfe (STC. 11211, Hodnett no. 2063) was a Protestant collection of biblical quotations.

85. A Kempis IV : iv p. 266 cp. the opening of IV .x, p. 272.

86. A.Kempis IV. xiv.

87. Underhill, Mysticism p. 435f. cp. J.V.Bainvel Devotion to the Sacred Heart p. 90 for the connection between the Eucharist and devotion to the Sacred Heart which often induced ecstatic trances.

88. Gararde Interpretacyon $r1^{r}$ - ^{v} cp A.Kempis IV: iv.

89. Whitford Preparacion (ed. 1537) $A2^{v}$.

90. Whitford op.cit. $A4^{v} - 5^{r}$.

91. Whitford op.cit. $A5^{v}$.

92. Whitford, op.cit. $B7^{r}$ also refers to another work, apparently on the Passion of life of Christ, by himself and one by another brother of Syon which I have not been able to identify.."We haue also set ye same forthe, at length but bycause so many haue wryten therin : we haue not cured to sende it forthe in prynt. There is also lytle werke in print yt oure reuerend father dyd put forth/yt for this mater: is moche profitable/you may haue it for i.d . & yf you se but only ye tytles you shall lyke it well..."

93. Whitford Preparacion $B1^{v}$ who cites St. Augustine's De spiritu et anima cap. 1. as the source.

94. Whitford follows the "vile body" tradition and states the standard medieval view of death, its inevitability and the need to prepare for it. In view of his fondness for referring the reader to his other works it seems most unlikely that the Dayly exercyse and experyence of dethe was available in print when the Preparacion was first printed, because the end of this passage (from the Preparacion $E5^{r}$) would have provided an excellent opportunity to recommend it: Whitford reminds man that he is not God: "a man made of nought conceyued in synne/nourisshed in your mothers wombe, wt fylthy & lothesum mater, borne in mysery & wretchydnes, & her don lyue in peyne & labours, and shal dye in feare & drede, sure & certeyne ther vnto of necesity, ineuitable & vnauoydable, and yet vnsure & vncerteyne whan, where, or how, & in what maner or state you shall dye. Perceyuynge than that dethe doth euerywhere and euer more loke, gape & wayte for you. If ye be wyse, than loke agayne euerywhere, and continually prouyde for it, and so shall ye moche lesse feare it". These topics are discussed in more detail in ph. III below.

95. Edited in EETS es 19.

96. J.A.Jungmann The Mass of the Roman Rite I 86ff, 108ff and see index for numerous references to Durandus.Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages takes Amalarius of Metz' Liber officialis, one of the earliest full allegorical interpretations of the mass, as the basis of his second essay, "The Mass as Sacred Drama", and H.O.Taylor, The Medieval Mind pp. 67 - 85 deals with scriptural allegories.

97. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy pp. 605 - 8 quotes and comments on part of the text. "B. Langforde: Preiste" whose name appears at the end of the Bodleian ms. edited in HBS, but not in BM. ms. Harley 494, is simply a copyist. It is by William Bonde and appears as Ch. 1x, f.259 in The pilgrymage of perfeccyon (ed. 1531) entitled "How in the cerimonyes of the masse/we may fynde meditacyons of the hole passyon of our lorde Iesu".

98. To the references given by Wickham Legg, HBS p. 237 may be added Gararde Interpretacyon, $i2^{v}$.

99. The Minor Poems of John Lydgate EETS es. 107, p. 94.

100. The figure was to be found in Fewterer's The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion $f.25^{v}$, in the last of the XV Oes, and in Lydgate's poem "The dolorous pyte of Crystes passioun" EETS es 107 p. 251 - for other references see Pt.III.n.102. For further references Woolf Religious Lyric pp. 199 - 202; Tuve A Reading of George Herbert p. 95 ff; G.Huelin, The Cross in English Life and Devotion (London 1972) pp. 26 - 7 and other sources are mentioned by Gray, Themes and Images p. 231 n. 27. There is an excellent summary in Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art vol.II, pp. 228 - 9 and plates 808, 810 - 12; see also Mâle L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age, pp. 118 - 22; Réau L'Art Chrétien vol.II. pp. 421 - 4.

101. Medytatyons, HBS p. 25.

102. Op.cit. p. 27. cp. The Minor Poems of John Lydgate EETS es 107 p. 251.

103. Woodcuts of the pelican in her piety occur in de Worde and Pepwell editions of the Exornatorium, Hodnett 875, 2280 who describes it as a phoenix; it is carved on misericordes at Wells and Cartmel Priory; it appears on the seal of the Charter of Christ of MS. Stowe 620, f. 11^{v} which dates from the later sixteenth century and it can be found on the bindings of the 1517 edition of Ludolphus of Saxony's Vita Christi in the Bodleian (A. 13. 2. Th). See also, Book Collector XVI, 1967, pp. 509 - 10; Gray Themes and Images p. 243 n.75, p. 294 n.3.

104. The device is included in the arms of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and is to be found as a decorative motif in the college. It is also carved in the screens passage of Durham Castle. For Jugge's devices, McKerrow Printers' and Publishers' Devices Nos. 123, 125d, B also 165, 181, 225, 228.

105. Hodnett 2034.

106. A gloryous medytacyon $A4^{r}$. The illustration and the verse are also to be found in BM. ms. Royal 17. A.XXVII, f.73, where most of the verses on the symbols and instruments of the Passion, in the printed version sigs. A3 - B1, are to be found ff. 72^{v} - 78^{v}, see EETS 46 pp. 172 - 3 cp. also BM. ms Add. 37049, f.54^{v} and EETS es 107 p. 217.

107. Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien I. 94 - 6, 106; II. 491 - 2 for the pelican, and notes 84 and 100 above for the fountain of life and the mystic wine press.

108. The first, to be said before an Image of the Blessed Virgin, carries with it a promise of 11,000 years of pardon by Pope Sixtus IV (see Hoskins, No. 31, p. 123); the second which appears in the

1494 Primer is there to be said before an Image of Pity (Hoskins, No.7, p.112); the third which carries with it a promise of 80,000 years of pardon I have not been able to identify.

109. Gararde, Interpretacyon, $m4^{v}$.

110. Gararde op. cit. $i.3^{v}$.

111. Gararde op. cit. $C.3^{v}$.

112. EETS. 71. I have used the B text and it is cited as LFMB in notes.

113. LFMB pp. 6, 16, 24, 26, 36, 40, 44, (46), 54, 56 and notes pp. 202, 216f.

114. LFMB pp. 32 - 4, 42 - 4.

115. The Minor Poems of John Lydgate EETS es 107 pp. 87 - 115.

116. LFMB pp. 4, 26.

117. LFMB respectively: pp. 6, 16, 28, 38, 48; 6, 26, 38 and 18.

118. For the elevation, however, he gives a prayer attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, "Tu rex glorie Christe", (see Wilmart Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots p. 403) the Latin sentences are followed by English translations and he uses the same method later with "O sacrum convivium.." the versicle, response and prayer (Hoskins pp. 120, 143).

119. Whitford Preparacion, $G.3^{r}$.

120. A Kempis IV: v, vii, xi for instance.

121. A Kempis EETS es 63, pp. 276, 277, 279, 280 etc.

122. A Kempis op.cit. IV. viii, p.270. cp. Woolf English Lyric p. 207 where part of Lydgate's Testament pleads for love as a return for Christ's love.

123. A Kempis op.cit. IV. xiii - iv.

124. Kirchberger Stimulus Amoris p. 139.

125. A Kempis. IV: xvii.

126. See e.g. R.R.Post The Modern Devotion pp. 238, 324 - 5, 329 - 30, 679 - 80.

127. C.E.Pocknee " The Eucharistic Prayer" CQR 1968 pp. 33 - 43 espec. p.38. Many printed Sarum Missals, eg. STC 16190, 16193 contain a woodcut of the crucifixion facing the Canon e.g. Hodnett nos. 1357, 1359, 465 as had earlier ms. missals eg. Bodl. ms. Rawl. C.142. For the custom of kissing the book/altar, Jungmann The Mass of the Roman Rite II.p142 n. 26.

128. Dives and Pauper, edn. 1536, f.14^{r}.

129. For the eucharistic sacrifice, F.Clark Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation ch. 12. pp. 243 - 68, also ch. 19; C.W. Dugmore The Mass and the English Reformers pp. 39 - 65; D.Rock Hierurgia (rev. 3rd. edn. 1892) I. 159 - 245; E.B.Pusey The Real Presence (Oxford 1857).

130. It is summarized in St. Edmund's Myrrour of the chyrche (STC. 967, E6^{r}) or in very elementary terms in the "Septem miracula de corpore cristi", EETS 98 pp. 198 - 200 which is also found in Handlynge Synne.

131. Edited in EETS. ss.1, pp. lxx - lxxxv, 58 - 89. Other miracles are to be found in popular didactic verse such as EETS 98 pp. 175 - 8, 184, 202 etc and sermons such as EETS 209 pp. 63 - 5, 129 - 30. Although he describes no miracles and reverses the usual role of Jew

and Christian, Becon's history of a Christian and a Jew in his Displaying of the Popish Mass, PS. III. 281 - 2 may well owe something to the traditional form of the eucharistic miracle story. For a more detailed treatment of the miracles, P. Browe, "Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters, Breslau 1938 and for some of their theological implications, F.Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, ch. 19, pp. 410 - 29 and C.Cutts "The Croxton Play: An anti-Lollard Piece" MLQ V (1944) pp. 45 - 60.

132. There seems to be little literature available on this subject, especially for the later middle ages.

133. Described for example in the Festial EETS es 96, pp. 170 - 1, 173; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200. p. 39 and in another version in Love's Schort tretys, pp. 312 - 3. It is carved on the reredos of the Oldham chantry (1519), Exeter Cathedral, and on the late XVth. century Kirkham Chantry, Paignton, Devon.

134. EETS 98. pp. 195 - 7; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 163 cp. Owst PME App. III, pp. 357 - 8.

135. Erasmus' De Civilitate Morum puerilium has a section "Of maners in the temple" which pays minute attention to behaviour in church. Children are warned to take off their caps and "make curtesye" to the sacrament in church, or if they see it carried abroad.

136. Mirk, Instructions. EETS 31 p. 10.

137. E. Dumoutet Le desir de voir l'hostie (Paris 1926); H.Thurston "Lifting the Host". The Tablet 1907, p. 603ff. V.L.Kennedy "The moment of consecration and the Elevation of the Host", Medieval Studies VI (1944) pp. 121 - 50, deals mainly with the origins of the elevation and offers a critique of Thurston and Dumoutet.

138. LFMB. p. 38; Becon Displaying of the Popish Mass PS III. p. 266, 270; Mirk Instructions EETS 31 p. 9.

139. Among them Cranmer, cited by Dix The Shape of the Liturgy p. 620 whose phraseology Becon, at one stage a chaplain in Cranmer's household, seems to echo before he elaborates upon the criticism Displaying of the Popish Mass PS III. pp. 270 - 1. (cp. Notes to Medytations, HBS xxv pp. 235 - 6).

140 Gararde Interpretacyon $g2^{v}$ voices the common complaint that many come into church only for that moment and push their way to advantage point where they can see the altar.

141. Prayers for the elevation are provided by the author of the Medytatyons, p. 24; LFMB. p. 40;Lydgate, EETS es 107, p. 101f; Mirk Instructions EETS 31 p. 9; Gararde Interpretacyon $m4^{r-v}$; Whitford, Preparacion (undated edn. c.1531) STC 25412, E4v. Other elevation prayers may be found in a great many primers, eg. Hoskins pp. 126 - 7, 145, 149, 150, 151 etc. See also L.McGarry, The Holy Eucharist in Middle-English Homiletic and Devotional Verse, Pt. II., ch. 2, pp. 223 - 34.

142. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers pp. 65, 70; Clark Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, pp. 56, 60 - 2, 222.

143. Gararde Interpretacyon I. xxxiii and III. xxxiii.

144. EETS 31 p. 10

145. EETS es. 96 p. 169.

146. EETS es 107, pp. 112 - 4.

147. Resurreccion of the masse, 1554, $A3^{r} - 4^{r}$, cp. Becon Displaying of the Popish Mass, PS.III p. 284. On the authorship of the Resurreccion, C.Garrett "The Resurreccion of the Masse by Hugh Hilarie - or John Bale?" Library ^{4}XXI (1940 - 1) pp. 143 - 59; R.Pineas "The Authorship of The Resurreccion of the Masse", Library^{5}XVI (1961) pp. 210 - 3.

148. PL LXXVII cols. 416 - 21.

149. Among others, EETS. 200, p. 226; EETS 15, pp. 83 - 6; Myroure of oure ladye EETS es.19, p. 29; Dietary $B1^{r}$.

150. LFMB. p. 44; Medytatyons p. 24; Gararde I: xxxiii; A lytell boke of Purgatorye $D1^{v}$ - 4^{v} gives advice on ways to help souls in purgatory.

151. Gararde, Interpretacyon I. vii. Monday's mass is in honour of Christ's arrest in the garden, praying that He will take poor souls out of purgatory; Tuesday's in honour of Christ bound to the pillar, praying that He will unbind the souls from the bonds of their debts and pains; Wednesday's remembers Pilate's unjust judgement, praying that Christ will deliver souls from the just sentence of God; Thursday's commemorates the incomparable pains Christ suffered nailed on the cross with great iron nails, praying that He will deliver souls lying bound in purgatory; Friday's remembers the 5465 wounds of Jesus, praying Him to deliver the soul from the wounds of conscience; Saturday's remembers the deposition and burial, praying Christ to deliver the soul out of the sepulchre of purgatory and Sunday's mass is in honour of Christ's resurrection, praying that He will grant the soul to rise from the pain of purgatory to reign with Him in glory. These golden masses are condemned by Gnapheus in The myrrour...for them that be syke, $G2^{r}f$.

152. Gararde Interpretacyon I:xxxiii.

153. Gararde, ibid. Similar types of comparative judgements were to be found in work associated with the name of Albert the Great and in tribulation treatises such as "The Six Masters". See W.Stammler, "Albert der Grosse und die deutsche Volksfrömmigkeit des Mittelalters", Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie III (1956) pp. 287 - 319, especially pp. 288 - 9.

154. Stow's Survey of London ed. C.L.Kingsford (Oxford 1908) I pp. 230 - 1 also Lydgate's poem, EETS. es 107, pp. 35 - 43.

155. Even where the actual date of performance was not Corpus Christi day the term Corpus Christi Play seems to have been retained as a genetic term. John Weever Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, London, 1631, p. 405. Woolf English Mystery Plays p. 68f.

156. For instance, descriptions of the harrowing of hell were largely dependent on the Gospel of Nicodemus: W.A. Craigie "The Gospels of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays" in An English Miscellany: Presented to Dr. Furnivall (Oxford 1901) pp. 52 - 61. The Ludus Conventriae plays have been shown to make use of both the Legenda Aurea and the Speculum Vitae Christi: EETS. es. 120 p.xix and notes A, B. pp.lvii - lx. Miss Woolf has pointed to contacts between the lyric complaints of Christ and the drama: English Religious Lyric p. 205; English Mystery Plays p. 261f also G.C.Taylor "The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric" Modern Philology V (1907) pp. 1 - 38; F.H.Miller "The Northern Passion and the Mysteries", MLN XXXIV (1919) pp. 88 - 92.

157. "O vos omnes", Lamentations I:xii occurs in the 3rd lesson of matins for Holy Thursday - the Lamentations were set to music by Tallis, Byrd & Whyte in the XVIth century. Lyrics which used the refrain are discussed by Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 42 - 4; it was also used in the York and Towneley plays and quoted in various devout treatises such as Fewterer's The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion, fols.1, 5 etc; The boke of conforte; STC. 14548 A dialogue between Christ and a Sinner B2^{r} and Longland uses it in his Good Friday sermon of 1536, F3^{r}. Other biblical references which were repeatedly used in Passion narratives and verses included Psalm II: 17; Isaiah I: 6 and Job II:7 which invert II. Samuel XIV: 25.

158. On which see Woolf, Religious Lyric p. 247f.

159. F.R.Johnston, The Cult of St. Bridget of Sweden in fifteenth - century England (unpublished Manchester University M.A, 1947) also EETS 178 pp. xxix - xxxviii. Translations of selected passages from the Revelations, Book VII, 50, 56, 83, 41 were printed together with a chapter of the Scala Perfectionis, I.65 with the Godfray editions of Bernard's Golden Epistle. Simon, Anker of London Wall made extensive reference to the Revelations in his Fruyte of redempcyon,. In her article on Simon, "Further Studies on Medieval Recluses", Journal British Archaeological Association[3] XVI (1953, pp. 74 - 86) p. 83 Miss Clay suggests that Richard Whitford translated the Revelations. I know of no complete translation of the Revelations ascribed to Whitford, and if, as seems likely, Miss Clay is referring to the translated extracts appearing with the Godfray editions of the Golden Epistle, it is not certain that Whitford was responsible for their translation.

160. Sister M.Bodenstedt, The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian, Washington 1944 and see also E.Salter "Ludolphus of Saxony and his English Translators" Medium Ævum XXXIII (1964) pp. 26 - 35. An English translation exists in the late XVth - century MS. BM. Add. 16609.

161. R.W.Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England.

162. Hoskins, eg. pp. 109, 150, 162 cp. EETS. 71 pp. 82 - 7.

163. For example in the Speculum Vitae Christi; EETS 223 pp. 82f; Shepherds Kalender ed. xlviii; The myrrour of the chyrche ca. xxi - vii; Fewterer's Myrrour or Glasse and Simon's Fruyte of redempcyon. In his Preparation to deathe ed.1543 D2^{v} Erasmus approves the custom "after my mynde and iudgemente, they deuised a right good and godly thynge, whiche parted the hystory of our lordes death into certayn houres...to the intente that chyldren

myght be accustomed to reherse and saye euerye daye a portion of it, with yeuynge of thankes".

164. For a rapid survey, Anderson History and Imagery pp. 109 - 24, and for more detail see Drama and Imagery index: Christ, Life of.

165. Of the Protevangelium, Gospel of Thomas and Pseudo Matthew; the latter, derivative, text seems to have been influential in the later middle ages. It includes details such as the light flooding the cave, the visit of the two midwives and the presence of the ox and the ass.

166. H.Cornell "The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ" Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1924 no. 3. chapters 1 - 2. There is also much information in Gray Themes and Images, ch. 6 "Annunciation and Nativity".

167. Dibdin II. no. 230, ed. by C.Horstman EETS. 85.

168. Luke II: 41 - 52

169. The apocryphal gospels added various more or less edifying miracles of the Child Jesus, but these do not seem to have been taken up in prose or verse treatises or the drama. However, various works such as the Speculum ca. xiii provide a "scene" of Jesus' home life.

170. John II: 1 - 11. On the artistic representation of the miracles, Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I. 162 - 86.

171. e.g. in the Stanzaic Life of Christ (EETS 166) teaching is derived from the feasts of the Church, rather than Christ's ministry.

172. Often when the Lord's prayer or the Beatitudes are listed they are not distinguished from the other numerical lists which are drawn from other parts of the Bible (Ten Commandments, Fruits of the Spirit) or compiled by the Church (7 deadly sins, 7 sacraments etc.).

173. M.Deanesly "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" M.L.R. XV (1920 pp. 349 - 58) p. 353 and The Lollard Bible pp. 321 - 5; E. Zeeman "Nicholas Love - A Fifteenth - Century Translator" RES ns VI (1955 pp. 113 - 27) p. 113; E.Ph. Goldschmidt Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print (London 1943) p. 48.

174. There was the widely known Speculum historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Speculum Ecclesiae or Myrrour of the chyrche by St.Edmund of Canterbury (not Austin of Abingdon as in the 16th. century printed versions); Speculum Sacerdotale; Dionysius the Carthusian's The mirroure of golde for the Synfull soule; Frith's A mirroure to know thyself; J.G's A lytell treatyse called or named the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe); Fewterer's The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion; The Myrroure of Oure Lady and A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke by Gnapheus. See Sister R. Bradley "Backgrounds of the title Speculum in medieval literature" Speculum XXIX, 1954, pp. 100 - 15, also notes in EETS es. 75 p. xviiif and Curtius European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (transl. Trask, London 1953) p. 336 n.

175 For the circulation and ownership of mss and printed copies, A.I.Doyle, A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English (unpublished Cambridge University Ph.D. 1953) pp. 150f, 155 - 8.

176. English Works 1557, p. 867.

177. Dyurnall (STC. 6928) $b2^{v}$ - 3^{r}. For Monday ch. xvii, Tuesday ch. xxii, Wednesday ch. xxiii, Thursday xxv, Friday xxxix, Saturday xxxiii and Sunday lxii.

178. It read (in the 1525 edition $A4^{v}$): "Memorandum quod circa annum domini Millesimum quadringentesimum decimum originalis copia huius libri scilicet speculi vite Christi in anglicis presentabatur

Londinii per compilatorem eiusdem.N.reuerendissimo in christo primo et domino domino Thome Arundel Cantuariensi archiepiscopo ad inspiciendum et debite examinandum antequam fuerat libere communicata/qui post inspectionem eiusdem per dies aliquot retrādes (sic) ipsum librum memorato eiusdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in singulis commendauit et approbauit/nec non et auctoritate sua metropolitica vt pote Catholicum publice cōicandū (sic) decreuit et mandauit ad fidelium edificationem/et hereticorum siue lollardorum confutationem".

179. In the 1530 edtition C4^{r}:"Here endeth the treatyse called the fruyte of redempcyon/whiche deuoute treatyse I. Rycharde vnworthy bysshop of London haue studyously radde and ouerseen/and the same approue as moche as in me is to be radde of the true seruauntes of swete Iesu/to theyr great consolaccion and ghostly conforte/ and to the merytes of the deuoute father compounder of the same".

180. The attempt to impose some form of control over the English press and over the importation of English books from abroad has provoked considerable discussion and various conclusions. R.Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading (Wiesbaden 1967) pp. 92 - 4 suggests earlier - by mid 1520s - and more highly organized control than most. The first two chapters of F.S.Siebert Freedom of the Press in England 1476 - 1776 (Urbana, 1952) summarizes legislation affecting printers and licensing systems. See also: A.W.Reed "The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538 "Transactions Bibliographical Society XV (1917 - 9) pp. 157 - 84; A.W.Pollard "The Regulation of the Book Trade in the sixteenth century" Library^{3} VII (1916) p. 18ff; W.W.Greg "Ad Imprimendum Solum", Library^{5}IX (1954) p. 242ff; D.M.Loades "The Press under the Early Tudors" Transactions Cambridge Bibliographical Society IV (1964 - 8) pp. 29 - 50.

181. I have used the edition of The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ ed. L.F.Powell, London 1908. For some of the variations: E. Zeeman "Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the Meditationes Vite Christi" Medium Ævum XXVI (1957)

25 - 31.

182. e.g. Powell p. 43 "..we be set as in a hygh and stronge toure of relygyon"; p. 107. ".vs that ben relygyous & haue forsaken the worlde"; p. 155... "we relygyous that ben set in goddes temple for to serue hym contynually in deuoute prayer and other ghostly exercyses"

183. Powell p. 300.

184. Powell pp. 9, 79 cp. the use of "probable coniectures" by the author of A goostly treatyse H1[r].

185. Powell p. 9.

186. E.Waterton, Pietas Mariana Britannica (London, 1879) p. 222 quotes Bede on Benedict Biscop's purchase of images in Rome.

187. For instance Hilton's "Defence of Veneration of Images", J.Russell-Smith Dominican Studies VII (1954) pp. 180 - 214 and a strong defence of them in Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (edn. 1531) fol. Clxxxxii ff where he cites St.Thomas on three reasons why images are set up in churches (i) as books for unlearned people teaching what God has done for them by his saints and thus to strengthen their faith (ii) as sensible representations the better to bear in memory the mystery and incarnation of Christ (iii) to stire simple souls to devotion. Bonde then goes on to discuss the difference between latria which is due to God alone, to Christ and the host which is the body of Christ and dulia or more general veneration and reverence cp. Dives and Pauper I: 1 - 13 and Pt I p.328

188. References are extensive on the Reformed side e.g. John Ryckes

The ymage of loue B3^{v} f; N.Wyse A consolacyon for chrysten people D4^{r} - ^{v}: The paternoster in Englysshe (STC 16815) A7^{r} f and A treatise...that pyctures & other ymages...ar in no wise to be suffred in churches (STC 24238) (a translation by W.Marshall from J. Bedrote's Latin translation of Bucer's Das einigerlei Bild) is entirely concerned with this question.

189. For instance STC 24238 above, B7^{v} declares "Let vs... haue this Iesus nayled faste vpon the crosse/set vp before the eyes of oure mynde...". Wyse complains, A consolacyon for chrysten people E3^{v}, that although many roods and crosses haue been pulled down - this in 1538 - many still remain and at about the same date The paternoster in Englysshe B1^{r} (STC 16815) is prepared to allow "that christen men maye haue a crucifixe in the churche for to brynge men in mynde of the passion of our lorde Iesu Christe that dyed for vs" and again B2^{r}: "me semeth well that christen men myght make them or portaie to them an ymage of our lorde Christ as he suffred his passion/or els as he was done on the crosse/for to brynge them to mynde of his possion (sic) and the deth of Christe" but the author is adamant that these images must not be worshipped or prayed to.

190. The impact of the Reformation on mystery and miracle plays is discussed by H.C.Gardiner, Mysteries End (New Haven 1946).

191. This debate in heaven and the four daughters of God is discussed in Pt.I:See vol I p.49 etc.

192. cp. the illustrations Hodnestt nos. 314 - 8: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration, Jesus with the Doctors. Another series from 1502 Horae (STC 15898) Hodnett 623 - 9 includes Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Gloria, Adoration, Circumcision, Flight; Pynson's 1514 Horae (Hodnett 1360 - 6) has Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Gloria, Adoration, Cicumcision, Flight. Such woodcut series suggest that the prelude of Jesus' life and His Passion were frequently illustrated by the same set of "events" whereas others, such as the massacre of the innocents or Jesus in the Temple were less regularly included.

193. E.Zeeman "Nicholas Love..." RES ns VI (1955) pp. 114 - 5.

194. Powell pp. 131, 144, 164 - 5 may be compared with relevant sections from Hilton's Scale and The tree & xii.frutes.

195. Powell pp. 78, 43.

196. Powell ca.xvii.

197. The language of tribulation used by Love, Powell pp. 144 - 5, is reminiscent of The.xii profytes and The Rote discussed in Pt.III.

198. Powell p. 30.

199. But Whitford, in writing The Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection for religious found it necessary to warn them about contemporary Lutheran heresies.

200. Powell. ca. xxxix.

201. Powell. p. 210

202. Powell p. 208.

203. Powell p. 43.

204. Powell. p. 160

205. Powell. p. 112.

206. Powell. p. 142 cp. Pomander of prayer (RSTC 25421.5) B2^{a-v} which seems to echo this passage. Also Alcock, Mons perfectionis (STC 279) B3^{a}

207. Powell. p. 12.

208. J.Ch. Didier "La dévotion à l'humanité du Christ dans la spiritualité de saint Bernard" La Vie Spirituelle XXIV, 1930 pp. 9 - 13.

209. A good example is Powell p. 83. Panofsky describes something of the same kind of tendency in the 'Madonna in humility' paintings of the master of Flemalle, only he terms it materialism, Early Netherlandish Painting, vol. I. p. 163, Cambridge, Mass 1966.

210. See also Gray Themes and Images pp. 106 - 13; Woolf English Mystery Plays. pp. 180 - 1.

211. cp. The myrrour of the chyrche (STC.967) D4^{v}; EETS 223 p. 17 - 8; EETS 85 pp. 22 - 3.

212. cp. The myrrour of the chyrche D4^{v}; Mirk's Festial EETS es 96 p. 22, 24; EETS 223 p. 18.

213. Powell. p. 47.

214. H.Cornell, "The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ", Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift no. 3, 1924 Chapter I.

215. Similar emphasis on the importance of the Feast of Christmas is found in Mirk's Festial and Legenda Aurea which also refer to the miracles in Rome.

216. Editions dated 1514, 1517, 1530, 1531 (RSTC. 22559.5) and 1532 survive.

217. On the identification of the author, R.M.Clay "Further Studies on Medieval Recluses" Journal British Archaeological Assoc.[3] XVI (1953) pp. 74 - 86. The note - XIXth century? - affixed to the B.M's copy of the 1532 edition (C.53.k.12) is of doubtful authority: "The book was written by one of the Cistercian monks who were sent by the Abbot & convent of Gerondon, in Leicestershire, to reside at the Chapel of St.James, on London Wall (Lambe's Chapel, Monkwell Street) to pray for the spiritual repose of Aymer de Valance, & Mary his wife."

218. The author refers to himself in the same way as Whitford did - "of your charite pray for the Anker of London Wall wretched Symon." Also Bonde refers to Simon's treatise in The Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) fol. CCli[r].

219. cp. Speculum Powell p. 25 etc. and The myrrour of the churche (de Worde 1521) ca. XXIX. The Primers contained many prayers such as "Auxiliatrix sis mihi Trinitas" addressed to the Trinity and the common diagramatic woodcut (Hodnett 404, 424) also found in the glass of Torbryan church, suggests a crude attempt to depict the doctrine's meaning. It is possible that the "triangle of the Trinity" removed by Francis Jessope in the mid XVIIth century (Waterton Pietas Mariana Britannica II p. 50) was a similar kind of diagram.

220. cp. Speculum Powell pp 29 - 30.

221. The reference from nativity to Passion was more common in the lyrics - but see Horstman YW II p. 124 - 5 and EETS es 19 pp. 245 - 7: Brown Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 76, 80, 84. Becon's Dialoge betwene the angel of god and the Shepherds of ye felde is set at the nativity but is mainly concerned with Christ's Passion and His redeeming work. In art, Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I p. 83.

222. Fruyte of redempcyon ed. 1530 B3[r]. cp. the corresponding section from St.Bridget's Revelations (edn. 1517, p. 36) "Quando vero

considerabum loca clauorum in manibus & pedibus, quos secundum prophetas crucifigendos audiui, tunc oculi mei replenbantur lachrymis, & cor meum quasi scindebatur pretristicia. Et cum filius meus inspexit oculus meos lacrymantes, tristatur quasi ad mortem. Cum vero considerarem potentiam deitatis eius consolabar sciens quod ipse sic vellet & sic expediret...

223. The version in STC 3295 - 6 is not identical with that in STC 14549. The latter may well be a new translation from a Latin original.

224. Dialogue (STC. 14548) $A5^{r-v}$; $B1^{v}f$; cp. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I pp. 83 - 4; II pp 196 - 7, and the De Nomine Iesu cuts, Hodnett nos. 396, 410, 411, 1339 etc.

225. Dialoge $C4^{v}$ - 5^{r}.

226. Fruyte of redempcyon ed. 1530. $A3^{r}$.

227. Ed. H.E.Allen English Writings of Richard Rolle pp. 27 - 34.

228. Ed. Dom Hugh Farmer, The Monk of Farne p. 51

229. The Shorter Catechism was later to describe the chief end of man as "To glorify God and enjoy Him for ever".

230. A deuoute Intercessyon and prayer to our sauyour Chryste, STC 14547 also thanks God for man's creation and redemption, 1^{v} - 3^{r}.

231. STC 3277 - 8. RSTC notes that STC 14571 is pt.II of 3277. Lowndes notes a 1536 edn. by de Worde.

232. STC 17544 (= Ned. Bibl. 3812 where it is dated c.1525), STC 17545 (1531) and RSTC. 17545.5 (1537) It is edited from MS. Arundel 285 by J.W. Bennett, Scot. Text Soc.^{3}. XXIII (1949) pp.xxii. 322 - 34.

233. The BM copy of STC 21318 has 9 pages of mid XVIth century ms prayers bound with it. For Latin versions Ned. Bibl. 1807, 1808 3810, 3811, 01054. Dutch 1809.

234. The 1529 edition opens: "It is to be vnderstonde that there be iii.maners of psalters. The fyrst is called Dauid psalter whiche conteyneth thryes.l.psalmes. The.ii.is called ye psalter of our lady conteynynge thryes.l.Aues. The.iii.is called the psalter of Iesu or ye inuocacion of Ihesu conteynyng.xv.pryncipal petycions which.x.times repeted make also threis.l."

235. MS versions include BM. Add.33,381 ff.181; Lansdowne 379 ff.64^{v}; Arundel 285 ff.213^{v} (ed. J.A.W.Bennett Scottish Text Soc.^{3} XXIII, 1949). It was printed by Copland, 1529 and by John Skot, 1537, (also Hoskins no.104) and again in A brief fourme of confession, 1576 (STC.11181 = 24625); for recusant edns: Southern pp. 219 -23, 253 - 6.

236. Various MS versions from the later XV - early XVIth century include Lambeth 546 (Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae (2nd edn.) Vol. III pp. 263 - 74; also Arundel 285 (Bennett, Scot Text Soc^{3} XXIII (1949) pp. 205 - 12) and Bodl. MS. Douce 42. It was printed by Copland, 1531 (STC 15707) and Skot c.1536 (RSTC 15707.5) and later in the 1576 Jesus Psalter. cp. also Hoskins p. 217 "The Litany of Jesus Christ's acts and mercy for all sinners cordially of him axing!"

237. This is referred to by Hodnett, English Wood Cuts p. 55 as a "rimed life of Jesus" and he lists the woodcuts used under De Worde's 53 x 43 series, nos. 634 - 77. In the intorduction p. 55 he says: "The ascription of some of Copland's cuts to De Worde may be erroneous" although some of Copland's cuts are undoubtedly very similar to de Worde ones. The cuts are very similar in design the the series used in the edition of the Rosarye of our lady (STC. 17544 - Ned. Bibl. 3812) printed in Antwerp, perhaps as early as 1510, or else about 1525. These might have provided models for de Worde, or else directly for Copland.

238. A traditional Latin version (RSTC. 13828.6) was printed for the English market as late as 1531. For the English version, L.A. Sheppard "The Hortulus Animae in English, 1530" The Library[5], VI (1951) pp. 109-15 and C.C.Butterworth The English Primers pp. 18 - 46. For the connection between the garden - the rose garden and the hortus conclusus - and the Blessed Virgin, E. Wilkins The Rose-Garden Game ch. 5 "The Rose in the Garden", espec. pp. 118 - 24, and less specifically R.Hughes Heaven and Hell in the Western Art, ch.2 "A Garden Enclosed", also G. Schiller Christian Iconography I plates 127 - 9.

239. E.Wilkins The Rose Garden Game pp 33 - 42.

240. Wilkins (p. 41) perhaps exaggerates the importance of the year 1475 as a turning point in the development of the rosary, cp. Thurston "The Rosary" The Month XCVI (1900) pp. 513 - 27; F.M.William The Rosary (New York, 1953) pp. 4 - 49.

241. Works by Ruysbroek lie behind The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the sons of God, versions of Suso's Orologium Sapientiae were translated into English and there were numerous versions and translations of A Kempis' De Imitatione Christi. In the sixteenth century Gararde's (Gerrit vander Goude) Interpretacyon... of the masse was popular in the Netherlands before it was translated into English, the

Meditationes Iordani (STC 14789) was also of Dutch origin and even if the question of priority is not absolutely settled the close connection between Everyman and Elckerlyc is certain.

242. E.Wilkins The Rose Garden Game pp. 25, 47.

243. E.Wilkins op. cit. pp. 52 - 3. cp. The will of Margaret Ryther, widow, made 1539 - 40 (Surtees Soc.CXVI (1908) pp. 171-2) in which she mentions "my lardgest payre of beades", "my payre of beades of blacke jette gawded with beades of syluer and gilt with awmber abowte the gardes" and "my payre of beades of syluer gawdyd with golde" See also E.Maclagan and C.C.Oman "An English Gold Rosary of about 1500" Archaeologia LXXXV (1935) pp. 1 - 22 and H.Thurston "The Rosary" in The Month XCVII (1901) pp.383 - 404.

244. They are portayed on brasses such as those of Lettys Terry (1524) St. John Maddermarket, Norwich; Elizabeth Whyte (1528) Shotesham St.Mary, Norfolk; Sir. R.Fitzlewes and his four wives (1528) Ingrave, Essex; T.Pownder and wife (1525) St. Mary Quay, Ipswich and E.Perepoynt (1543) W.Malling, Kent. They are usually carried by women and looped through the belt cp. Hodnett English Woodcuts nos. 459, 895.

245. The Italian Relation, Camden Soc. XXXVII (1847) p. 23.

246. Bodley MS Tanner 407, f48^{v} includes the following verse "Man in the chirche not idyll thow stande| but take thy bedys in thy hande |and yf thow haue here none of thyne| I pray the take these for the tyme| and seye a sauter with glad chere |in worschepp of oure lady dere" Pardons granted by two popes and release from purgatory are promised "And therfore pray with herte and mynde| and make the qwen of heuen thy frende |that yu may so stonde in hyr grace| that sche be thy shylde whanne yu schalt pace| And whanne thow wylt no lenger stonde |leue the bedys ther thow hem fonde". cp. Thurston The Month XCVI (1900) p. 526

246A. Bodley MS. Gough. liturg. 19 has on f12^{v} a drawing of white, red black and white beads together with the prayer: "Ihesu for thine holy name. And for the bitter passion. kepe vs fro synne and shame. And fro damnacion. And brynge vs to the ioy and blisse that neuer shall haue ende". Substantially the same prayer is given in ms Douce 54, f.35 and following it the significance of the colours of the beads are explained and the indulgences of Shene and Syon given.

247. F.Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers (3rd edn. 1887) pp. 416 - 8; H. Maynard Smith, Pre Reformation England pp. 161 - 3.

248. The Reformation in England ed. A.G.Dickens & D.Carr (1967) p. 83 cp. A myrrour...for them that be syke G5^{r}.

249. Book III day vi, ca liii edn. 1531. The subtitle to the Rosary in this edition says it is mentioned in III. vi. ca.xxxii - wrongly, but the chapter divisions were different in 1526 eds.

250. For division of the Passion according to the canonical hours see n.163 above, to which may be added Bonde's own exposition of the Passion according to the hours, Pilgrymage III.vi.ca.lii - ix. The seven parts of A contemplacyon...of the shedynge of the blood of our lorde (STC. 14546) have been annotated in what looks like a XVIth century hand, "A meditacion for sunday","ffor monday", "ffor tuysday" etc.

251. The greater part of each chapter is dependent upon a clause near the beginning, which means that the narrative appears to be couched in incomplete sentences.

252. Richard Rolle's Meditations on the Passion seem more methodical and the use of the first person throughout gives them greater unity - English Writings ed. H.E.Allen pp. 17 - 36. But since Bonde refers to "ye counseyle of Hampolle" in the Pilgrymage (1531) f.Cxxxix^{r} it is possible that the Rosary's emphasis on the Holy Name may be influenced by Rolle

253. A.Cabussat "La Dévotion au nom de Jésus dans l'Eglise d'occident" La Vie Spirituelle LXXXVI (1952) pp. 46 - 69 also H.E.Allen Richard Rolle ch IV, p. 72 and R.W.Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England. pp. 62 - 83.

254. In the first decade each chapter begins "Mother of god" in the second "Blyssed mother of our sauyour", in the third "Dere mother/ Blyssed mother of Iesu", in the fourth "Mother of Chryst" and finally "Moder of the kyng of glorye".

255. Rosary of our lady ed. 1537. $A2^{v}-3^{r}$.

256. Ibid. $B1^{r} - ^{v}$.

257. One of the rosary cuts (Hodnett no. 748) is used on the title page of Copland's edition and another is used on the title page of Skot's 1537 edition.

258. Not in STC described by Hodnett as "Rimed life of Christ".

259. 28 episodes are depicted and described. [illegible]

260. A verse to the heart of Jesus and to the wound of the right foot remains, with woodcuts (Hodnett 675 - 6) of the right and the left foot.

261. From cuts given by F.W.H.Hollstein, Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts V. nos. 65, 66 I had wondered if the Rosary illustrations were derived from the Little Passion of Jacob Cornelius but the reproductions in K. Steinbart's Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz von Amsterdam (Marburg 1937) show the Rosary cuts to be much more "classical" in design, nearer to the style of Dürer.

262. The Latin and English versions have the same foliation and are identical in content. The Dutch version (1533 - 4) has an extra

four leaves added at the end which contain a Dutch translation of the prayer "O intemerata" and of "Adoro te Domine Iesu in cruce pendentem..." which was also used in Gararde's Interpretacyon of the Masse, n.108 above. There is also an extra woodcut between these two prayers portraying the Greogory Mass. The copy of the English version at the BM. has nine pages of ms. prayers bound in front of it, of a mid-sixteenth century date; included are prayers from the Primers of 1534, 1539 and 1555.

263. cp. Veit Stoss's Der Englische Gruss (1517 - 18) St.Lorenz, Nuremburg - illustrated in Wilkins The Rose Garden Game frontis. see also plates 14 and XVI. In the Mystic sweet Rosary the five gauds are five petalled roses each bearing the representation of one of Christ's wounds.

264. In fact prayers to the wounds of Christ here, in the Copland tract or in Deuoute prayers in English do not attempt to describe the wounds.

265. Other illustrations which might be mentioned are those which show the infant Jesus seated on a cushion and holding a cross, surrounded by a rosary bearing symbols of the five wounds; the soldiers pulling the robe off Christ before His crucifixion - a focus for much pathetic description in the Speculum Vitae Christi and St. Bridget's Revelations; Christ being nailed to the cross on the ground; Christ treading the wine press and the Last Judgement scene.

266. D.B.Knox, The Doctrine of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII (London 1961) p. 77 claims it for the Reformers and scorns Miss Kronenberg's estimation of it as " a devotional Roman Catholic book". The most puzzling aspect of the book is the cut, sig. C.2^{v}, illustrating the temptation where the Devil X b. not only holds a rosary but appears to be dressed as a religious or hermit (but cp. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I pp. 144 - 5). There was, however, enough orthodox criticism,

especially among those influenced by humanism, of the corruptions and superstitions of religious and hermits for this not to suggest any Reformed influence - although it would be interesting to know why the Devil is thus portayed.

267. Mystic Sweet Rosary 1533, sig. $A5^{r}$.

268. op.cit. $A6^{r}$.

269. op. cit. $D2^{r}$ $F4^{r}$.

270. op.cit. $E8^{r}$ cp. $F3^{r}$.

271. op.cit. $G3^{r}$.

272. op.cit $E4^{r}$ "Geue me grace patiently to suffer thy chastising/ that I now purified by faithe in thy merits/may strayte aftye my departinge/ioye with the and loue the euerlastingly".

273. op.cit. $C3^{r}$, $D4^{r}$, $F5^{r}$.

274. op.cit $C2^{r}$, 7^{r}, $D7^{r}$.

275. op.cit. $E5^{r}$ cp. $G1^{r}$.

276. op.cit. $G5^{r}$ cp. to thirst after $B8^{r}$, $C4^{r}$, $F5^{r}$.

277. op.cit. $F6^{r}$ cp. $G2^{r}$.

278. op.cit. $E6^{r}$.

279. op.cit. $F8^{r}$ cp. Deuoute prayers in englysshe $B7^{v}$ "wounde I beseche the my hert with the speare of thy charyte".

280. Wilkins perhaps over emphasizes the feminine and the cultic principles behind the devotion, e.g. The Rose Garden Game

pp. 108 - 13, 133 - 40.

281. Several are recounted by Thurston, The Month XCVI (1900) pp. 409, 411 - 13, 417 - 8, 520 - 2.

282. Wilkins, The Rose Garden Game, plates VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII, 24, 25.

283. cp. "A prayer to our lady" at the end of The doctrynall of dethe, from 1514 Primer.

284. Her titles include Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven, Empress of the universal world and Empress of Hell, Pre-elect spouse of the Holy Ghost "assumpte in the celestyall empyre", and among other epithets: "the flourysshyng rote of Iesse", "the flourdelice and the redolent rose", "ye purple rose of Ierico", the flourishing palm, the fruitful olive, the tree of life, "the shynyng lyly of clennes", "the shynynge gemme of clene virginite", the Queen of chastity. In relation to her rôle as "specyall mediatryce for man" she is the Mother of Pity, the refuge of sinners, the well of grace, the conduit of mercy, the flower of solace, the root of consolation, "the sterre of direction to all synners in poynt to perysshe in this stormy see of temporal tribulation". Many of these figures received iconogrphic representation in the late medieval "Mary garden" pictures, e.g. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art I. pp. 53 - 4, or 1536 Horae (STC. 15987) f. 92^{r}. x̄

285. Especially in the ars moriendi books and related works.

286. Rosarye of our Lady, ed. Skot sig. C. 7^{v} - 8^{r}.

287. e.g. Hodnett nos. 2158, 748 and a similar one not recorded by Hodnett used on the title page of Skot's 1537 edition RSTC 17545.5 A quarrel of stained glass at Raby Castle, said to come from Whitby Abbey, has a similar emblatic representation of Christ's wounds x̄ii surrounded by a five decade rosary, marked by five roses. The

written description from the Reliquary, V (April 1899) p.100 does not accord with the drawing given in which there is no sign of the crown of thorn and the wounded members do not appear in the rosary roses. The Latin legend accompanying it is conventional enough, the English legend: "The greatest comfort in all temptacyon Is the remembrance of Cryst's Passion" (Index suppl. 3372.2) is more interesting. It appears in a woodcut (Hodnett no. 456) and other variants, including that noted by F.C.Francis, The Library[4] XVII, 1937 p. 191 and the cut is pasted into BM. ms Egerton 1821, an English Carthusian ms of c. 1500.

288. Thurston The Month XCVI pp. 517 - 8, 622 - 9.

289. Quoted Thurston, The Month XCVI. p. 524, from BM. ms Egerton 1821 f. 32.

290. Thurston op.cit. pp. 625 - 6 cp. p. 516 n.2 and F.M.William The Rosary (New York 1853) pp. 63 - 4.

291. Pomander of prayer, ed. Redman 1531 (RSTC. 25421.5) $D5^{v}$.

292. The use of the word golden, which occurs in a number of titles in the later Middle Ages e.g. Legenda Aurea and Bernard's Golden Epistle - might repay investigation. In the Unser Leiben Frauwen Psalter the third paternoster is golden, signifying the joy of the Blessed Virgin in heaven (Thurston art. cit. p.629) cp. Gardarde's description of the Golden Masses in his Interpretacyon...of the Masse, I. vii. In the introduction to The golden litany in MSS. Lambeth 546 and Douce 42 there is an account of Jesus' appearance to a holy woman who is given a "writing whyche shalbe named... the golden letanye. For as golde aboue all other metalles is most precious in valewe & goodness rythe so this present prayer is to be most acceptabull aboue all other prayers".

293. It frequently appears with the Jesus Psalter, Bennett STS[3] XXIII, 1949 pp. ix - x, and it was included in A brief fourme of confession, 1576 (STC.11181 = 24625) and A manual of prayers, 1583.

294. It falls short of 150 for instance.

295. The golden Letany ed. Skot. C2[r].

296. The later is copied from Copland's edition even to the woodcut on the title-page - Hodnett 349, the Skot woodcut falls outside Hodnett's dates.

297. It begins: "The holy crosse be before me/the blyssyng of God be vpon me..."

298. Golden Letany ed. Skot. a3[v].

299. op.cit. b8[v] - c1[r] "By all the labour/werynesse/sorowe and heuynesse that thou suffred from tke (sic) day of thy Natiuite vnto the houre of the departynge of thy soule fro thy body/haue mercy vpon vs".

300. There appears to be some confusion in this section, (cp. Bennett STS[3] xxiii, 1949 p. 207 and Maskell III p. 267) the Copland - Skot version reads: "By thy hugely great heuynesse that thou prayed to thy father in the yarde nye the mount of olyuete/haue mercy vpon vs. By the vertue of thy prayer that thou shedde out.iij.tymes, haue mercy vpon vs. By thy paynefull & fearfull deth, haue mercy vpon vs. By the agony that thou offered thy selfe wylfully to the deth, in obeyinge thy father haue mercy vpon vs. By the shedynge of thy bloode for anguyissh, haue mercy vpon vs" It looks as though the manuscript from which Copland's version was derived was itself miscopied, or was miscopied by the compositor.

301. Golden Letany (Skot edn.) b4^{r-v}, "By the thyrlynge of thy ryght hande, & shedynge of thy precyous bloode, lorde make vs clene from all synne, & haue mercy vpon vs. By the thyrling of thy lyft hande, and by the holy wounde of the same & thy holy bloode saue vs and haue mercy vpon vs. By the sore dryuynge of thy nayles and by thy holy fete, and by the woundes of the same, and by the precyous bloode from the sheding/purge vs & reconcyle vs to thy father & haue mercy on vs".

302. See notes 278 - 9 above.

303. Golden Letany (Skot edn.)b7^{r}.

304. op. cit. b5^{r-v}.

305. cp. The tree &.xii.frutes of the holy goost (ed.1534) A2^{r-v} where the new religious is encouraged to reflect on the weekness of Jesus in His nativity, His washing of the disciples feet and in His Passion, and also the example of Mary and the saints: "And thynke that they were meke bothe in herte, speche, and in dede, to gyue vs that ben in relygion exsample to be meke, bothe in herte speche, and dede".

306. Respectively Philippians II: 8, 10.

307. mss. include BM. Add. 33381 f.181; Stowe 16 ff.1^{v} - 2^{r} (early/mid XVth) also Worcester Cathedral F.172 (later XVth) and BM. Arundel 285 and Magdalen Coll. Camb.13. (XVIth).

308. eg. STC.14564 (c.1580); 14566 etc. A.C.Southern Elizabethan Recusant Prose (London, 1950) pp. 219 - 23, 523 - 6.

309. S.M.Sole Jesu's Psalter p. 26f. accepts the attribution to Whitford based on Antony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London 1691) vol. I. col.51; Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico - Hibernica

(London 1748) p. 765.

310. Quotations are from Copland's 1529 edition, C4^{v}: "Vnto such as haue none oportunite to say ye hole psalter to gyder/it is good that they say.v.peticions one day &.v.another day/& so in.iii. dayes they shall say ye hole. Or elles they may say ye.xv. pryncipal peticions/& eche of them.x.tymes with Pater noster/ Aue & at euery fyfth lyke as it is wryten in ye boke with Dominus noster. Pater noster. Aue maria. Credo. In nomine Iesu ..." A shortened adaptation was included in 1555 Primer (Hoskins p. 187) as "Deuoute prayers to our sauiour Iesu Christe"

311. Another piece of practical advice added to the preface in later editions (STC. 14564 etc.) is how to count the repetitions of the principal petitions: "And ye may saie them vpon your ten fingers/ or vpon ten beades/or els reade them as they be writen/and it is good for them than can not reade/to learne these inuocations without boke".

312. Jesus Psalter 1529, b6^{v}.

313. op.cit. b.8^{r-v}

314. op.cit. C3^{r-v}.

315. op.cit. a5^{r}.

316. The verses, in the same order, as in Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Xvth century no. 64; Index 1727. See also MP.XXXVI (1939) 337; Studs in Philol. XXXVI (1939) p. 469 and Bennett. Scot. Text.Soc.^{3} XXIII pp. 277 - 8.

317. It is the xvth chapter of his Deuoute Epystle...for them that ben tymorouse and fearefull in Conscience. H.C.White The Tudor Booksof Private Devotion. p. 146 thinks it "has a touch of Whitford about it" but was apparently unaware of its source.

318. Wilkins, The Rose-Garden Game pp. 77 - 9 describes the soothing, almost hypnotic effect of repeating the rosary but she seems to romanticize the action and reads too much anthropological significance into it.

319. Hilton makes this point in ca.xv., A deuoute boke...to a deuout man in temporall estate (cp. Horstman YW I. pp. 289 - 90)... "perauenture thou felest no fauour ne deuocyon...thou woldest fayne thynke on god/but thou canst not/than I hope it is good to ye that thou stryue not to moche with thyselfe...therfore I holde it moost syker to the for to saye thy Pater noster and thyn Aue or elles thy matynes/or elles for to rede vpon thy psalter...."

320. The Jesus prayer used in the Orthodox Church, sometimes recited with a form of the rosary made of knotted wool, is at once utterly simple and yet capable of leading the soul deep into the contemplative life. See. T.Ware The Orthodox Church (1964) pp. 312 - 4 ↑ 74 - 5.

321. Powell pp. 217 - 8. cp. Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon III, day 6, ch.51 "How the meditacion of the passyon of Chryst excelleth all other..." and Catharine Parr, The Lamentacion of a synner (ed. 1547, STC. 4828) C2^{r}, D5^{r} "inwardelye to beholde Christe, crucified vpon the crosse, is the best and goodlyest meditacion that can be".

322. It seems necessary to distinguish between narrative decoration, small decorative motifs of, for example, instruments of the Passion and larger pieces such as the rood or murals of St.Christopher (2 at Poughill, Cornwall) or an imago pietatis (traces survive on n. wall of Chudleigh chapel, Ashton, Devon with a¾ figures of Jesus about 4 feet high). Narratives, such as the Passion window (1469) with its English captions at St.Kew, Cornwall, or the

carved narratives of Christ's life and Passion on the Greenway Chapel, Tiverton (1517) or the Lane aisle, Cullompton (1526) were edifying as well as decorative but the numerous Passion symbols carved on West Country bench ends and in practically unseeable positions such as the pendants of the Lane aisle, Cullompton were surely no more than decorative motifs. The use of the royal arms, the Tudor rose and the portcullis seems xiii b to offer a parallel example; both were considered suitable decorative motifs and if they were held to have any meaning at all, it was probably no more than a token, general acknowledgement of devotion or loyalty. It is likely that only the rood (the base of a medieval rood, with a deep socket for the cross and plinths for SS. Mary and John, carved with skulls and xiii a bones remains at Cullompton) and larger murals or statues in fact provoked the kind of devotion described by Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.252[v]: "And where so euer thou heare the name of Iesu spoken/or the name of his blessed mother Mary/take it for a monycyon/to remember the bytter passyon of thy lorde Iesu. And also/where so euer yu be come/yf thou se ony crucifix/ymage of pite/or suche other lyke picture/in ony glas wyndowe/or other place/thynke that it is set there for a signe to put the in remembraunce/not to forgete thy meditacyon that thou consydered last in the seruyce of god".

323. e.g. Sarum Horae, 1536 (STC.15987) fol.10[v], 54[v], 63[r], 64[r] and see Hodnett, Additions nos. 2502, 2504, 2507, 2508, 2511, 2512. The prayer roll at Ushaw College (ms.29) for instance has a small painted image of pity and the prayer which follows, "Domine ihesu xpe adore te in cruce vulneratum..." is preceded by the rubric "To all them that befor this ymage of pyte deuoutely sey.v. paternoster .v. Aue maria and.i. Credo. shall haue .lij. m. vii. C. xii. yere and xl. days of pardon graunted be". R.H.Robbins "The "Arma Christi" Rolla" MLR XXXIV (1939) pp. 415 - 21 mentions indulgences granted for seeing alone, unaccompanied by prayers.

324. The woodcut also occurs in the 1530 edition by Copland of The

Pomander of Prayer at Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford. For the verse, Index 2504 and suppl. Also Speculum XXXII (1957) pp. 274 - 6 which refers to Bodl. ms. Tanner 407 and Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 389f.

325. Not only was it lengthy - about the same number of folios as the 1525 edition of Speculum Vitae Christi but whereas the latter was in 4^{o}, Fewterer's is in folio - but the text was not enlivened by woodcuts as were the Speculum or A goostly treatyse of the passyon of Christ (STC.14559): the three cuts used, Hodnett nos. 457, 1475 and 2332, all occur in the course of the Preface and Prologue.

326. Fewterer lists his authorities $K3^{r}$. See also, E.Salter "Ludolphus of Saxony and his English Translators" Medium Ævum XXXIII (1964) pp. 26 - 35. He does not cite Jordanus, although he uses the prayers of Meditationes Iordani. For the author see R.Lievens Jordanus van Quedlinburgh (Ghent 1958).

327. Hussey's Career is summarized by McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics p. 132.

328. Fewter, Myrrour $K ii^{r}$. cp. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) $f.247^{r}$.

329. Stimulus Amoris ed. Kirchberger ch. 1 - 2; Orologium (refs. to Anglia X) ca.ii.

330. e.g. St. Paul, Galatians VI:17 cp. Orologium p. 340, the prayer to the wounds of Christ's hands and feet in The mystic Sweet Rosary and Fewterer's Myrrour and Longland Sermonde (1538) $A2^{r}$.

331. Stimulus Amoris p. 56; Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) $f.250^{r} - ^{v}$; each of the seven contemplations of The.vii.shedynges; Speculum (ed.Powell) p. 237; STS^{3} XXIII pp.16, 22, 28, 39, 49. The words remember or have compassion frequently imply inward seeing or imagining.

332. Stigmatization is usually associated with a state of profound spiritual ecstasy and claims of stigmatization seem to have increased significantly after St.Francis' experience in 1224, two years before his death.

333. cp. Speculum (ed. Powell) p. 218 "makynge hym self as present in all that byfelle aboute the passioun and crucifixioun effectuously/besily/auisely/and perseuerantly" also Orologium pp. 339 - 40 cp. much of the third and fourth exercises of St.Ignatius on the Passion of our Lord.

334. cp. Orologium p. 339 - 40; Speculum p. 218; vii.shedynges a2^{r} "At the begynnynge of our prayer or comtemplacyon we must withdrawe our mynde & wyttes fro all outwarde thynges & besynes as moche as we may".

335. Fewterer Myrrour f.4^{v} - 5^{r} the passage seems to be indebted to the Orologium p. 341 cp. Stimulus Amoris p. 56.

336. Fewterer's chapter does not seem to be obviously modelled on the Stimulus but other versions of the Latin or English text might suggest some similarity.

337. Fewterer Myrrour f.12^{r} and repeated verbatim f.16^{r}, the 15th of the profits taken from Reinhardus de Laudenburg. Hosea IX: II "Effraim quasi anis avolavit" is cited by Fewterer. cp. also EETS 223 p. 118, Speculum XXXII (1957) pp. 278 - 9 and Anderson Dramat and Imagery in English Medieval Churches pp 1 - 2.

338. Vanitee of this World C6^{v} on Thomas, see D.N.B.

339. cp. The poem "Quia Amore Langueo", espec. EETS 15 pp. 182 - 3, see Woolf, English Lyric pp. 187 - 91. The figure also occurs in a poem from the by now well known BM.ms.Add.37049, see Ross, Speculum XXXII (1957) pp. 278 - 9.

340. cp. Legenda Aurea (ed. 1527) f.18^{r} "Chryst hath hydde ye hoke of his diuynite vnder ye meet of our humanite/& the fende wolde take ye meet of ye flesshe/& was taken wt the hoke of the godhede" probably derived from St.Gregory Moralia XXXIII: 7. See L.W.Grensted A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement (Manchester 1920) p. 97.

341. E.R.Curtius European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, transl. W R.Trask (London, 1953) ch. 16. "The Book as Symbol" especially pp. 311 - 12, 316, 319.

342. Fewterer Myrrour f9^{v}, cp ✠ 4^{r} where Christ is "nayled fast vnto the crosse and spred abrode on ye same as a boke open wherin we myght rede and lerne howe to do penaunce".

343. English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. H.E.Allen, p.36 and The Mownk of Farne ed. Dom Hugh Farmer pp. 76 - 7 cp. Woolf English Lyric p. 253 n.2 where she traces one version of the image back to St. Bonaventura and Gray Themes and Images pp. 129 - 30. cp. Speculum I (1926) p. 440.

344. Although the Stimulus Amoris does not seem to use the actual image it does emphasize the importance of Christ's wounds as the source of healing and salvation - they teach the same thing.

345. References are to Fisher's Spiritual Consolation, c.1578 (STC 10899, A & R 304 facs. reprint English Recusant Literature no. 11 Scolar Press 1969).

346. Spiritual Consolation E8^{r}.

347. op.cit. F2^{r} - ^{v}. cp. Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1953) p. 30.

348. M.Spalding The Middle English Charters of Christ pp. xix, xxi places MSS Sloane 3292 and Stowe 620 in mid-later 16th century.

349. Orologium p.340.

350. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.lix^{v}.

351. C.F.Hoffman "Catherine Parr as a woman of letters" Huntington Library Quarterly XXIII (1960) pp. 349 - 67; McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics pp. 200 - 34.

352. Catherine Parr, Lamentacion (STC 4828) C4^{r}, many refs. C2^{r} - D5^{v} cp. McConica op.cit. p. 230.

353. See Gray, Themes and Images p. 269 n.30, and the A.B.C. poem EETS 15 pp. 271 - 7 cp. Whitford's translation of two "opuscules" of St. Bonaventura, "The Crosrome or A.B.C." and "Alphabetum religiosorum" which concludes "yf you lerne perfectely this crosrowe: you may the better spell & do togyder/and so more redly rede. And fynally (by laboure) you may the rather fele/perceyue/ and vnderstande in the scole of Chryst ye duety a chrystiane..." (STC 3269 +,B4^{r}) See A.W.Tuer History of the Horn Book (London 1896) vol. i.ch.6: vol II cuts 129 - 31 and for later developments H.Anders "The Elizabethan ABC with the Catechism "Library^{4} XVI (1935 - 6) pp. 32 - 48.

354. The origin and development of the different versions, including editions of the main forms are discussed by M.C.Spalding The Middle English Charters of Christ. See also Woolf, Religious Lyric, pp. 210 - 14.

355. On the literary use of wills and testamentary formulae, E.C. Perrow "The Last will and Testament as a form of Literature" Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Art and Letters XVII pt.1. (1911 - 13) pp. 682 - 750.

356. Other literary charters include the Charter of Favel; Piers Plowman B. Passus ii, 74 - 113 etc, and from De Guilleville's Pilgrimage of the Soul, The Charter of Pardon, EETS es 72 pp. xxviii - xxxi. and the Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, Horstman YW.I pp. 337 - 62.

357. e.g. A proclamacyon of the hygh Emperour Iesu Christ or The copy of the commaundment Generall by the Abbot of euyll profytes.

358. Illustrated, Gray, Themes and Images pl. 5.

359. It was printed without date by Richard Lant for John Gough. The latter died 1543, Lant was made a Freeman of the Stationers' Company in September, 1537 and the work was probably printed between those dates. ~~It seems that~~ The general pardon, translated from French by William Hayward c.1571 (STC.13012, see N & Q[1] 7 p.15) is not a later edition, but a Protestant work.

360. The text is word for word that given by Spalding, p. 100f from Cambridge U.L. ms.Ff.6.34. On Pore Caitiff, Deanesly Lollard Bible pp. 346 - 7; and M.T.Brady in Traditio X (1954) pp. 529 - 48.

361. Generall free Pardon A2[r - v]. For the image of parchment being stretched cp. the Digby Burial of Christ EETS. 70 p. 180 also Archiv CLXVI, 196 - 7; Horstman YW II p. 440; Fewterer Myrrour or Glasse f.110[v] (of cloth) and Curtius op.cit. pp. 318 - 9.

362. Generall free Pardon. A4[r].

363. No note

364. Based on Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heilgen Leidens Christi by Luther (Weimer edn. II. 136 - 42) transl. Luther's Works (Fortress Press/Philadelphia, 1969) vol. 42 pp. 7 - 14.

365. It was also printed in the Bydell/Marshall Primer STC.15986 etc. See Butterworth, The Englsih Primers pp. 64, 128 - 9, 279.

366. Certaine prayers M1[r]. Gararde, Interpretacyon...of the Masse p1[r] quoted the same passage, restoring the reference to scourging

until the blood flows as does Jordanus STS[3] XXIII (1949) p. 213. See W.Stammler, "Albert der Grosse und die deutsche Volksfrömmigkeit des Mittelalters" Freiburge Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie III (1956) pp. 287 - 319, especially pp. 300,-305.

367. STC 14548, printed by John Redman for Robert Redman c.1539. It seems to be a new translation or re-working of the first dialogue in the Boke of conforte (STC. 3295 - 6).

368. cp. Orologium p. 341 shows "howe þis most profitable meditacione of mye passione shalle relese þe peyne of purgatory".

369. vii. shedynges (STC. 14546) a6[r]; Gararde Interpretacyon...of the Masse O4[r]; The Dialogue...betwene...Chryste and a synner (STC. 14548) D2[r].

370. Gararde Interpretacyon O4[r] cp. Jordanus lst profit (STS[3]XXIII p. 213) and Prologue (Cosin ms. V.V.12) There is considerable similarity between Gararde's and Jordanus' twelve profits.

371. Fewterer profit xix; The Dialogue C8[r]. Conversely a basic requirement of successful meditation is the withdrawal of the mind from all worldly concerns.

372. Jordanus profit xii and Prologue; Gararde profit xii cp. Fewterer profit x.

373. e.g. Erasmus, Doctrynall of dethe, Lytyll treatyse see Pt.III notes 493 - 5.

374. Fewterer profit xvi.; Jordanus profit iv; Gararde profit iv; The Dialogue D3[r].

375. Jordanus profit iii; Gararde profit iii; Fewterer profit xviii.

376. The Dialogue D3^{v}; Fewterer profits xiv, xv, xvii; Jordanus and Gararde profits vi, viii - ix, xi.

377. cp. Fewterer ✠ 2^{v} - 3^{r} and the Prologue to Jordan's Meditations (from Cōsin ms.V.V.12 fols 19 - 20) "Iff þou desyre perfitely to be clensed fro synne an vices. If thou desyre nobly to be made riche wt vertues. If thou desyre to be lyghtned most hiley in holy scripturys. If thou desyre to haue gloriously victory of thyn enemyes. If thou desyre to haue plentewosly consolacion in aduersites. If thou desyre to haue thy conuersacion deuoute on erth. If þou desyre to haue ofte compunccions in thy inwarde bedde. If thou desyre swetly to wepe in thy prayers. If thou desyre to haue perseuerans in good dedis. If thou desyre to be fulfilled wt spirituall ioyes. If þou desyre to be rauysshed in excese of mynde. If thou desyre to haue fruicion in the secretys of god. If thou desyre blyssedly to dye.and reigne euerlastyngly in heuen: exercise the in the lyfe and passion of ihesu crist. the sonne of god. whom the fadir of heuen sent in to the world that he schulde geue to all the example of perfite lyuyng.and to bryng all tho that be his folowers to euer lastyng kyngdom. Therfor loue thou crist.[folowe] folow thou ihesu. Beclippe þou crist crucified."

378. For the same story cp. EETS. 178 p.xxxviii; ms. Tanner 407 and Woolf English Lyric p. 204 n.2.

379. Gloryous medytacyon A2^{r}.

380. Ushaw College, Durham MS.29.

381. cp. Gray Themes and Images pp. 34, 134. For the prayer of the nails cp. Bodl. ms. Tanner 407 and Thomas, Religion and The Decline of Magic pp. 42 - 3 and Speculum XXXIX (1964) p. 277.

382. The following is written on a scroll held by an angel beneath the left-hand cross-beam of the cross on which Christ is crucified: "This cros xv.tymes moten is the length of our lord ihesu criste

and that day that ye bere it vpon you ther shal no euyl spirite haue power of yow on londe ne on waue with thonder ne litenyng be hurt ne dye in dedely synne wt owte confession ne with fyer be brent ne water be drowned. And it shal breke your enemyes power and encres your worldely goodes and if a woman be in travell off childe ley this on her body and she shalbe delyuerd with oute payn the childe cristendom & the moder purificacyon" See Speculum XXXIX (1964) pp. 274 - 5 and Thomas op.cit. pp. 30 -6.

383. Certeine prayers $M6^{r-v}$. cp. Luther's Works, XLII (i) p. 11.

384. The breaking down of the narrative into separate scenes is particularly obvious in the drama, e.g. The Chester, Towneley and York plays. The transitions tend to be smoother in verse narratives such as The Northern Passion and The Southern Passion. In prose treatises one or more scenes is usually made the subject of a chapter or article.

385. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 84 - 6, figs 305 - 13. Were it not for the signs of the wounds in hands and feet, Hodnett nos. 442, 1347 - 8, 2062 would suggest Christ in distress rather than an Image of Pity.

386. e.g. Brown XVth Century Religious Lyrics nos. 6 - 10. See also Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 247 - 65, Gray, Themes and Images pp. 136 - 9; Richmond Laments for the Dead pp. 118 - 23 ; G.C. Taylor "The English Planctus Mariae", Modern Philology IV (1906) pp. 605 - 37. cp. The lamentacyon of our lady (STC. 17537) for a prose piece which contains many parallels with the lyrics.

387. e.g. the haunting "Now gooth the sonne vnder the woode" The myrrour of the chyrche (STC. 967) $E4^{v}$ cp. Woolf Religious Lyric p. 242 and Ye new Not borune mayd vpon ye passion of cryste (See Woolf op.cit. p. 193 n.2. It is in the Huntington Library and on STC. film 520)

388. Among which may be included The Southern Passion EETS 169; The Northern Passion EETS 145, 147, 183 and the Stanzaic Life of Christ EETS 166.

389. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art II plates 19; 67, 141, 158 - 9, 185, 196, 208, 274; 117; 184, 187; 206, 323.

390. Schiller op.cit. II. p. 16. She goes on to comment on these later cycles: "The images, dissociated from the historical events, seem to make each of Christ's sufferings stand alone and appeal to human sentiment and personal devotion with an intensified expression of sorrow. The development of certain groups of devotional images and the sculptural Stations of the Cross and Calvaries which emerged during the Late Middle Ages are closely linked with the rise of devotions centred on the Passion and the veneration of Passion relics. Naturally enough, at a period when the devotional image was so important, individual scenes of the Passion often transcended their narrative function and took on the character of devotional images".

391. A random list might include the El Greco Agony, Giotto's betrayal Honthorst's trial before the High Priest, Fra Angelico's mocking of the blindfolded Christ, Bosch's crowning with thorns and Ecce Homo, Tintoretto's bearing of the Cross, the crucifying of Christ by Gerard David and the vast number of paintings of Christ on the cross which ranges from Grünewald to Rubens, and from Mantegna to El Greco, a Deposition by Roger van der Weyden, a Pietà by Ercole Roberti (a subject which was more often carved than painted in the West, while in the Orthodox Church Epitaphioi such as those at the Benaki Museum, Athens, seem to displace the pietà group: D.Talbot Rice Byzantine Art 1968 edn. pp. 498 - 9) and finally Titian's entombment.

392. Among carved altars, Hans Brüggeman's at Bordesholm - Schiller op.cit. II pl. 95 - 8.

393. Among painted altar-pieces: Lüneberg, Schiller op.cit. II pl. 121 - 4; the Passion altar of the canonical hours from Lübeck cathedral, Schiller II, pl. 307, 588; Master of St. Veronica's altar piece at Cologne, the Grossreifling Passion altar at Graz and the Kaisheim altar by Hans Holbein the elder.

394. The forthcoming book by John Phillips The Reformation of Images should provide information, and there are always the activities of Francis Jessope at Gorleston c.1650: Waterton Pietas Mariana Britannica pt.II. pp. 49 - 50.

395. W.G.Thomson A History of Tapestry (3rd edn. Wakefield 1973) pp. 245 - 9; 253, 255, 258 from Henry VIII's inventory and C.J.P.Cave Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches Also the carvings of Christ's life and Passion on the string courses of the Greenway Chapel, Tiverton, 1517 (E.K.Prideaux "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Church of St.Peter, Tiverton", Arch. J. LXXV, 1918) and (? a copy) in the same position on the Lane Aisle, Cullompton, Devon of 1526.

396. W.L Hildburgh, "English Alabaster Carvings as Records of Medieval Religious Drama" Archaeologia XCIII(1955) p. 52ff.

397. G.McN.Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery as Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Malvern (Oxford 1936); C.Woodforde, The Norwich School of Glass Paintings in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1950); J.G.Joyce The Fairford Windows (London 1872); H.Wayment The Windows of King's College Chapel Cambridge have various illustrations. There is also a Passion window with English captions at St.Kew, Cornwall.

398. Manuscripts containing a number of Passion scenes include the well known Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry and the Grimani Breviary; the French late XVth - early XVIth century Horae described in M.R.James' Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, nos. 62, 113, 118, 120 etc. and the

English ms. Bodley 850.

The scenes are more likely to be scattered and not in chronological order than the Annunciation - Flight sequence which may suggest that the Passion illustrations were devotional objects as well as illustrations.

399. K. Steinbart Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz von Amsterdam (Marburg 1937) and Dürer's Great and Little Passion.

400. e.g. Hodnett nos. (Caxton) 324 - 32, 339 - 48; (de Worde) 645 - 74; (Pynson) 1374 - 1424, 1461 - 1471.

401. A large number of liturgical books were produced in Paris for the English market - perhaps the majority of Sarum missals were printed there, but Rouen was another important centre.

402. Among others, the cuts used by Verard and his predecessors for L'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir. Verard printed the first "English" edition and the cuts were copied by de Worde and others. It is possible that the Delbecq - Schreiber Passion was the original for the cuts used by Copland in the work described by Hodnett (634ff) as the Rimed life of Christ. Again, there is clearly some connection between Hodnett nos. 465, 1359 and the full page (Te Igitur) crucifixion in the Paris missal of 1514 (STC.16193). The cut of the Agony in the Garden in Wayland's 1537 edn. of Whitford's Dialogue (STC.25416) had been used in a 1503 Antwerp edn. of Leuen Jhesu Cristi (Quaritch Catal. 1923 no. 927). Finally, works like The mystic sweet Rosary were printed in Latin, Dutch and English in the same format with the same illustrations.

403. The same overall similarity, distinguished by personal variations of style is to be found in art, cp. for example the work of the Master of Saint Veronica with the Master of the Golden Panel of Lüneburg and the Karlsruhe Passion.

404. An iconographical counterpart seems to be the blood-streaked wounds with which the naked body of Christ is covered "Al with blude his cors was cled" (YW. II p. 276) - in numerous late medieval painted cycles and woodcuts: eg. appropriate illustrations in BM. ms. Addit. 37049 and the treatment of a version of the woodcut Hodnett no. 456 (See The Library^{4}, XVII (1937) pp. 190 - 1) found in BM ms. Egerton 1821 and in the actual woodcut, Hodnett no. 2030, cp. Mâle, L'Art Religieux XIVa de la Fin du Moyen Age pp. 108 - 10.

405 Following the chapter-heading, an eight-line verse summarizing the events of the narrative and usually a woodcut of one of the events, then the biblical narrative itself followed by an exposition.

406. This quotation from Isaiah I:6/Job II:7 was used by several authors at Jesus' scourging e.g. Myrrour of the chyrche (STC. 967)E2^{v}; Bonde The Rosarye of our sauyour Iesu G2^{v}; The.vii. shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Cryste (RSTC. 14546.3) a3^{r}; Simon The fruyte of redempcyon (1530) D1^{r}; Fewterer, The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion f.94^{v}; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.254^{r}; It was also quite often used with reference to the crucifixion.

407. Fewterer The Myrrour or Glasse ff94^{r} - ^{v}.

408. Used also by Bonde, Rosarye G2^{v} who cites St.Bridget's Revelations I: x, as does Simon Fruyte of redempcyon C4^{v}. St. Bridget seems to have made considerable use of the Speculum Vitae Christi and her works were obviously familiar to the religious of Syon, which included Bonde and Fewterer while Simon was known to the same group cp. n.218 above.

409 ed. Powell pp. 229 - 30.

410. Bonde, Rosarye G2^{v} who cites Anselm; "The Reuelation of the

Hundred Pater nosters" ed. F.Wormald Laudate XIV (1936) p. 175.

411. Simon, Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) C4^{v}; The.vii.shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Cryste (a3^{r}).

412. Simon Fruyte D2^{r}; Bonde Rosarye G2^{v}; Fewterer Myrrour f.96^{r}.

413. Fewterer says that the crown was made of "Sharpe russhes of the see", while Bonde citing "Hugo Cardinalis super Ioh.XIX" says "not of ye commune thornes/but of ye moost harde and tough sharpe thornes/called the iunkes of ye see" cp. Mandeville's Travels, EETS. 153, p. 8; A.S.Rappoport, Medieval Legends of Christ, London 1934 p. 197f.

414. cp. Speculum ed. Powell p. 231, The.vii.shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Cryste a3^{v}.

414A. ed. F.Wormald, Laudate XIV (1936) p. 176.

415. Chertsey, A goostly treatyse L1^{r-v}: "Fyrst they vnclothed him and by grete derisyon shewed his naked body to all ye people. Secondly whan his garmentes dyd cleue vnto his precyous flesshe they pulled them away so rudely yt his skynne forth with dyde blede/and that his body semed newly to be scourged agayne. Thyrdely the grete colde was right paynfull vnto hym. [These three seem chronologically displaced - they refer to the crucifixion in the Speculum, ed. Powell p. 237] Fourthly he was clothed with purpure the whiche dyd cleue more greuously than any other thynge wolde haue done/and yt they dyd by derisyon for as moche as he called hymselfe kynge. Fyftly they sette vpon his heed a crowne of thorne/whiche as saynt Bernarde reherceth persed his heed and caused the blode greuously to dyscend in to his eyes/nose/mouthe/and eares.and so vpon his sholders. Syxtly by Illusyon they kneled downe before him and mocked him... The. vii. was whan they spytte in his gloryous face [No 8th given]...

The nynth was whan they beate him with the rede vpon the heed and made the thornes to entre farther. The.x.was whan they renewed his shame and payne/in pullynge so greuously his XIVb garment of purpure from him. The.xi.was whan they pusshed him so rudely towarde his crosse. The .xii.was whan they made him to bere his crosse..." cp. Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 231 - 4.

416. The.vii.shedynges a4^{r}; Fewterer Myrrour f.111^{r}; Legenda Aurea ed. de Worde, 1527, fols. 16^{v} - 17^{r}; Stanzaic Life of Christ, EETS 166 pp. 191 -6, 199 - 204. Luther, unusually, refuses to blame them, Luther's Works vol. 42.i.p.7. A useful study of anti-semitism concentrating on XIIth century is G.I.Langmuir "The Jews and the Archives of Angevin England: Reflections on Medieval Anti-Semitism" Traditio XIX (1963) pp.183 - 244.
~~Traditio XIX (1963) pp. 183 - 344~~

417. Longland A sermon (STC. 16795) A4^{r}. cp. the apparent compression and culminative effect of monosyllabic beats in "Woefully Arrayed" (Brown XVth century no. 103 - a version which includes indulgences for devout recitation) which I find more telling than the more elaborate prose descriptions.

417A. William Bond, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.254$^{r - v}$ discusses the alternative methods in more detail, naming St.Augustine and, interestingly in view of Fewterer's indebtness in the prayers of The Myrrour, Meditationes Iordani as authorities for Christ's being nailed to the cross as it lay on the ground. Bonde prefers the other method, for which he cites St.Bonaventura and St.Bridget, which he finds more agreeable to the use of the Church.

418. There is the faintest echo in Jesus' voluntary mounting of the ladder, of the kind of exultant energy of "The Dream of the Rood" (ed. Dickens & Ross) ll. 39 - 43 cp. Venantius Fortunatus "Pange, lingua" ll.16 -18. The image seems to stem from Byzantine tradition and to have been used almost exclusively by Italian

artists. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 86 - 7, and Love doubtless found the descriptions in his original. But cp. The Southern Passion EETS. 169 p. 53.

419 Speculum ed. Powell pp. 238 - 9.

420. e.g. Anderson Drama and Imagery pl. 19b, Hodnett 359, 661 etc; Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery pp 71 - 2 also Mystic Sweet Rosary F1^{v}, The Northern Passion, EETS. 145 pp. 186 - 91, Goostly treatyse M1^{r-v}; Fewterer Myrrour or Glasse ff.CX^{v}ff; Bonde Rosarye G4^{r-v} and Pilgrymage f.254^{r}. Where reference is made to the cross dropping into the mortice it may be assumed Christ was nailed to the cross on the ground.

421. Bonde, Rosarye G4^{r-v}. For the detail of the nails filling the wounds cp. "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater nosters" ed. F.Wormald, Laudate XIV (1936) p. 178.

422. Psalm XXI: 18 (Vulg) cp. Fewterer Myrrour f.111^{r}; Speculum ed. Powell p. 239; Chertsey Goostly treatyse M1^{v}; Simon Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) D4^{r}; Bonde Pilgrymage f.254^{v}.

423. cp. Bonde, Rosarye G4^{v}; Speculum ed. Powell p. 239; Fewterer Myrrour f.116^{r}; Simon Fruyte D4^{r}; Shepherds Kalender (STC. 22411) V1^{r} and Pt. i n.225

424. Perhaps most readily available in Penguin Classics ed. C.Walters pp 87 - 90.

425. Simon, Fruyte D6^{v} - E1^{r}: "whan ye tyme of deth was come thy blessed eyen appered al deedly...thy tunge all blody/thy bely cleued to thy backe all consumed fro moystues as though thou had no bowells/all thy body pale & wan by reason of flowynges out of blode/thy handes and fete greatly swollen by straynynge & naylynge to ye crosse/thy heere and berde reed with blode and clotted"...

426. Bonde, Pilgrymage f.257^{r} cp. Legenda Aurea (ed.1527) f.16^{v}, The Monk of Farne's Meditation on Christ Crucified ch.13.

427. The shedynge of the blood...vij tymes a5^{r} (STC.14546).

428. In honour of ye passion of our lorde a6^{r}.

429. The.vii.shedynges a4^{r}. cp. Stimulus Amoris, ed. Kirchberger ch.2; Julian Revelations ch.18, Longland A Sermond G4^{r}.

430. The.vii.shedynges a4^{r-v}. (STC .14546, Bodley Facs. d.9) adds in ms. "and be not wery so Qt pricke ye vpon seynge yt þou art þe cause of his intollerable peynde" cp. "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater nosters" ed. Wormald, Laudate XIV p. 177.

431. The myrrour of the chyrche (STC.967) E3^{v} - 4^{r}. It has the ring of the kind of comparison often attributed to Albert the Great.

432. See n. 157 above cp. The boke of conforte (STC. 3296) A7^{v}ff. and The Dialogue (STC, 14548) B2^{r}.

433. ed. Farmer ch. 14. pp. 44 - 5. A different list of three anguishes, in EETS 223 p. 41f.

434. de Worde's edn, 1527, fol. 15^{r} - 16^{v} cp. Stanzaic Life of Christ, EETS 166 pp. 182 - 9.

435. Longland, A sermond F4^{r} - H4^{r}. Another list, of things which failed Jesus, EETS 223 p. 50f.

436. Speculum ed. Powell p. 237; Simon Fruyte of redempcyon D3^{v}; Chertsey Goostly treatyse L1^{r}; EETS 223 p. 47. cp. the fourth reason for Jesus' pain in Legenda Aurea and Stanzaic Life - the tenderness of His body.

437. Legenda Aurea, 1527, f.16^{v}.

438. See Part III. n.639.

439. See e.g. Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 196 - 214.

440. Printed by John Skot ?1535 in the Huntington Library (STC. film 520), see Woolf Religious Lyric p. 193 n.2.

441. The boke of conforte, STC. 3295 - 6, and the Dialogue a slightly different version reprinted c.1539 STC. 14548.

441A. Longland A sermond, 1536 G3^{r} - ^{v}.

442. Dialogue B4^{r}.

443. In the Annunciation and Nativity. She also figures in the journey to Bethlehem, the Circumcision, Presentation at the Temple, the Adoration of the Magi, the flight into Egypt and later when the twelve year old Jesus is lost in Jerusalem.

444. e.g. Speculum ed. Powell ca. 2; Simon Fruyte of redempcyon ca 4 and the opening petitions of some of the rosary books cover her life up to the time of the Annunciation.

445. STC. 17025 - this too only covers the earlier stages of her life, up to Candlemas, there is no reference to her part in the Passion or her Assumption.

446. See n. 221 above and Fewterer Myrrour or Glasse f.127^{r}.

447. Speculum ed. Powell pp. 52 - 3.

448. Speculum ed. Powell pp. 74 - 6.

449. Luke II: 35.

450. Fewterer, Myrrour f. 127^{r}.

451. St. Paul had seen Christ's work as the reversal of Adam's sin, Romans V: 12 - 19; I Corinthians XV: 45, 47. and Mary was seen to stand in a comparable relation to Eve; the Angel of the Annunciation's "Ave" reversed the sin of Eva, see EETS es. 19 pp. 235 - 6.

452. The title Θεοτόκος was formally upheld at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. For a history of Marian doctrine: C.Bernard Mother of God (Dublin 1957); H. Graef Mary (London 1963) vol. I (up to the Reformation).

453. cp. R.H.Robbins, "Private Prayers in Middle English verse" Studies in Philology XXXVI (1939) pp. 473 - 5.

454. Longland A sermond 1536 B1^{r}.

455. The prose treatises tend to be theologically more correct and and far more restrained about Mary's sorrows and joys than the lyrics, many prayers, and the frequency of iconographic representations would suggest was characteristic of popular religion.

456. Speculum ed. Powell p. 227. Her petition "right}wis fader/if ye wil the redempcioun of mankynde..." etc seems to echo the Lord's prayer, Luke XXII: 42.

457. Speculum pp. 233 - 4.

458. He adds, fol. 108^{v} that the place was later marked by a chapel, "Sancta Maria}de Spasmo".

459. In primer of 1501 (Hoskins p. 119); in 1536 Horae (STC 15987) f.49^{v} etc. cp. Woolf Religious Lyric pp. 243 - 6. Even if not used as a liturgical sequence (Pfaff *op.cit* p.38 n.1) the poem was often found in Horae

460. Stimulus Amoris ed. Kirchberger p. 62.

461. Fewterer, Myrrour, article 58: fol. 126^{v} "The mother of Iesu stode by the crosse..." cp. Speculum ed. Powell p. 240. A more obvious borrowing from Stimulus Amoris occurs f.116^{r-v}.

462. Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts pp. 97 - 103. Some version of the compassion of Our Lady was usual in Horae and Primers of the 1530's e.g. STC 15987 as part of the Hours of Cross.

463. e.g. Goostly treatyse N1^{r}; The lamentacyon of our lady a4^{v}; vii. shedynges (STC. 14546) b3^{v}; Speculum (ed Powell) p. 252; EETS es 115 p. 307.

464. Speculum ed. Powell p. 240.

465. Goostly treatyse O4^{v} - N1^{v}.

466 Goostly treatyse N1^{r}. Reproach of the Jews was a common "Planctus" motif, Modern Philology IV (1906 - 7) p. 615 cp. Brown XVth century no. 10, Woolf Religious Lyric pp. 259 - 60.

466A. Modern Philology IV (1906 - 7) pp. 614 - 5. The Planctus of the Digby play, EETS es 70 begins at the cross, p.191,as does that of Tretyse of loue EETS. 223 p. 30f.

467. cp. Brown XVth Century nos. 3, 7, 8, 9.

468. Woolf Religious Lyric, App. F "The History of the Pietà" pp. 392 - 4.

469. Goostly treatyse P2^{r}. cp. Fewterer Myrrour f. 138^{v}.

470. The kissing of the wounds, excessive weeping and her refusal to allow Joseph to prepare the body for burial. He also refers to the legend that traces of her tears were to be seen still on the stone at the entrance to the church of the holy sepulchre.

471. Simon Fruyte of redempcyon E2^{v}: "thy deed eyen were all blody/thy mouthe colde as yse/thyne armes were so styffe/colde/ and spredde abrode as thou hange on the crosse" that they were folded with difficulty. Revelationes I: x is more detailed: "Nam oculi eius erant mortui & sanguine pleni. Os frigidum quasi nix. Barba quasi vestis. Facies contracta. Manus quoque sic deriguerant, quae non possent deponi nisi circa vmbilicum" but Simon does go on to translate: "Et ego cum linteo meo extersi vulnera & membra eius. Et clausi oculos & os eius, que in morte fuerunt aperta".

472. Goostly treatyse P2^{v}.

473. Speculum ed. Powell p. 252.

474. See n. 462 above. For convenience, quotations are from Blunt's edn, EETS es 19.

475. EETS es 19 p. 249.

476. cp. Speculum ed. Powell p. 259.

477. ed. Bennett, STS^{3} XXIII (1949) pp. 234 - 6; Meditationes Iordani M4^{v} - see Woolf English Religious Lyric p. 269 who does not recognize its source.

477A. The page is wanting in the unique printed copy of the Meditationes. In Durham ms. Cosin V.V.12 they begin f.73^{r}.

477B. For the Christus Medicus image see pt. III. n. 109.

478. The.vii.shedynges b2^{v}.

479. The closest parallel seems to be part of the poem, "Filius Regis mortuus est", Brown XVth Century p. 12, 19 - 20. cp. Woolf, Religious Lyric pp. 259 - 60, 261 - 2.

480. See, for example, H.Thurston Lent and Holy Week. p. 352f.

481. 1536 Horae (STC 15987) f.45^{r-v}. Woolf Religious Lyric pp. 268 - 72; Horstman YW I p. 378; BM ms Add. 37787 fol 161 ff; EETS es 107 pp 274 - 9. More generally, Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots pp. 505 - 36.

482. Horstman YW II p. 275.

483. Orologium p. 345 cp, EETS 223 p. 71.

484. EETS es.70. For discussion of the lamentations, particularly of Mary see V.B. Richmond Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative pp. 118 - 23.

485. STC. 17537 The lack of introduction or setting suggests that the lamentation might be an extract from a longer work.

486. Lamentacyon a2^{r}.

487. cp. Digby "Burial of Christ" EETS es 70. p. 188.

488. e.g. Gray Themes and Images p. 135f, Woolf, English Religious Lyric p. 273.

489. Epitomized in the behaviour of Margery Kempe

490. For example the texts edited by Furnivall in EETS 32.

491. e.g. Erasmus De Civilitate Morum puerilium (Devereux Checklist, C. 29.1 - 6 cp. C31 - 5).

492. Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love ca.18, cp. EETS 232 pp. 69 - 74.

493. Orologium p. 345.

494. EETS es 70 p. 195.

495. eg. YW II p. 277; in the Digby "Burial of Christ" and in The Lamentacyon of our lady.

496. Speculum ed. Powell p. 251; Chertsey Goostly treatyse p. 2^{v}; Fewterer f. 137^{v}; Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.258^{v}.

497. STC. 17568 and in STC 5088, $e4^{r}$ - $f3^{v}$.

498. STC. 17568 sig. $A4^{v}$. For illustrations of Mary Magdalene clasping the foot of the cross, Schiller vol II. pl. 508, 512, 517 - 8, 522 - 3.

499. STC. 5088 fol. 3^{r}. It was not unusual for the heart to be buried separately e.g. Erasmus Funus (ed Thompson p. 366) also H.W.Macklin The Brasses of England (London 1907) pp. 205 - 8.

500. e.g. Speculum ed. Powell pp. 117 - 26.

501. e.g. Hodnett 510.

502. e.g. H.M.Garth Mary Magdalene (Baltimore 1950) ch. 3 etc. Horstmann Altenglische Legenden pp 81 - 92; Legenda Aurea; Jacob's Well (EETS.115)p.185 and EETS es 98 dated about 1621. J. Szövérffy, "'Peccatrix quondam': A Survey of the Mary Magdalene Hymns" Traditio XIX (1963) pp 79 - 146 includes much useful bibliographical information on the legend and her importance in literature, art and devotion.

503. P. Janelle Robert Southwell The Writer pp. 171f; 189f.and L.L. Martz. The Poetry of Meditation (Yale U.P. paperback, 1965) pp 191 - 3, 199 - 203.

504. Simon, Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) $B6^{r-v}$.

504A. Printed separately STC.20195 - 6 but more often found in Horae,

see Hoskins and H.White Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 216 - 29 cp. EETS es 107 pp. 238 - 50.

505. See my note in The Library[5] XXVIII (1973) pp. 149 - 51.

506. See R.Lievens Jordanus van Quedlinburg in den Nederlanden (Gent, 1958) espec. pp. 13 - 9, 37 - 51.

507. STC 14789. A very free translation is to be found in MS. Arundel 285, ed. Bennett STS[3] XXIII (1949) pp. 213 - 37.

508. Referred to by Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.254[r] - Durham ms. Cosin V.V. 12. contains a Psalter and Jordan's Meditations - the prayers in Latin, all rubrics in English - which were copied in 1495 by John Cressener a brother of Syon.

509. Some of the devices are noted by J.X Evans, "The Art of Rhetoric and the Art of Dying in Tudor Recusant Prose" Recusant History X (1969 - 70) pp. 247 - 72.

510. RSTC 14546.7 ed? by Fawkes,? 1530; 14547 printed by Wyer c.1550.

511. See Pt. III. n. 233

512 The figure of Christ on the cross or the Imago Pietatis did not necessarily attempt to depict Christ's agony as vividly as Grünewald's Isenheim altar piece, but north of the Alps artists did tend to illustrate His sufferings in more realistic detail than in the calmer and more noble images of Renaissance Italy. The crucifix and Imago pietatis, especially the latter were banished by the Reformers as superstitious and idolatrous images. In their place they put "Didactic images designed to demonstrate the doctrine of the Refomation" (Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 161 - 4). The Person of Jesus, the Son of Man, was largely replaced by an abstract theological and moral redeemer. The figure of Jesus which was re-introduced

into popular art after an apparent lapse of some three centuries was not the suffering Son of Man, but the beautiful, auburn haired young man of pre-Raphaelite and later Victorian sentiment, painted for example by Holman Hunt and popular prayer book illustrators such as Margaret Tarrant.

513. Among the earliest pilgrims were Etheria and the Bordeaux pilgrim, see H. Thurston The Stations of the Cross p.4.

514. Referred to by Thurston "Our Popular Devotions: Stations of the Cross" The Month XCVI (1900) pp. 154 - 6, 157 - 60 and in general his Stations of the Cross chapter III. One of the most vivid accounts, based on the account of Felix Fabri (Palestine Pilgrims Text Soc. vol. I) is in H.F.M.Prescott's Jerusalem Journey; Guylforde's travels printed by Pynson, 1511, STC.12549 also de Worde's Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe, STC. 14081 - 3 cp. Horstmann Altenglische Legenden pp. 355 - 66.

515. STC. 17246 - 54. For some of the ms. versions EETS 153 - 4, 269.

516. Rolle's English Writings p. 31.

517. A gloryous medytacyon $A7^{r}$ cp. EETS.46 pp. 182 - 3 and Woolf Religious Lyric p. 262.

518. Fewterer, Myrrour f.109^{v} - 110^{r}.

519. Fewterer, Myrrour f.109^{v} cp. Thurston The Month XCVI p. 156 n.1. where estimates for the distance from Pilate's House to Calvary range from 450 to 1321 paces.

520. A lytel treayse the whiche speketh of the.xv.tokens, $d4^{v}$. Both the London and the Oxford copies are defective at this point.

520A. The most familiar illustration of the interest in the number of Christ's wounds in the story of the vision of the woman recluse, who in answer to her request to know the number, usually given as 5475, is told to pray a certain numbers of Paters and Aves daily, which in a year will add up to that number: A gloryous meditacyon $A1^{v}$ - 3^{v}; Bodley ms. Tanner 407 f.42^{r} etc; BM. mss. Addit. 37049 f.24; 37787 f.71; Arundel 506 f.28; EETS.178 p. xxxviii.

521. See V.F.Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York 1969).

522. Goostly treatyse p. 2^{v} - 3^{r}. Thurston, The Month XCVI p. 11 notes that fifteenth century pilgrims traversed Jesus' route in reverse, as did His Mother and companions when they returned to Jerusalem.

523. Powell Speculum p. 254.

524. It was connected with several liturgical feasts, there were several masses of the Holy Cross and the Hours of the cross were in most early 16th century Sarum Horae. It was also a prized relic of kings and abbeys throughout Europe: see H.M.Gillett The Story of the Relics of the Passion ch. 5 and 12 "The Relics in England".

525 A useful collection, Legends of the Holy Rood, EETS 46. On the composition of the cross, Mandeville's Travels pp. 6 - 8; EETS 223 p. 87. In a number of works it is said to have been fifteen yards long.

526. E.g. Hodnett nos. 448, 455, 461 - 2, 568, 1374, 2039, 2061, 2065, 2279, 2380 See also Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II. pp. 189 - 95, 208 - 11, plates 654 - 69, 715 - 20, as well as illustrations in E.Panofsky "Imago Pietatis" Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60 Geburstage (Leipzig 1927) pp. 261 -

303 and R.Berliner "Arma Christi" Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst VI (1955) pp. 35 - 152.

527 Some bench ends from Launcells, Altarnun, Kilkhampton and Mullion (Cornwall) and Abbotsham and Braunton (Devon) illustrated in J.C.D.Smith Church Wood carvings: A West Country Study (Newton Abbot, 1969). For roof bosses, Cave Roof Bosses pp. 36 - 8, plates 239 - 46; and on the bosses at Lechlade, Gloucestershire; some of the pendants of the Lane aisle, Cullompton; also painted celure of Rood Screen at Southwold Suffolk - A. Vallance English Church Screens plates 23 - 5; and the reredos of Prior Leschman's Chantry, Hexham Abbey; F.Bond Fonts and Font Covers (1908) p. 253 and for stained glass at Great Malvern, G.Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery (Oxford 1936) pp. 255 - 61, 366 - 8, 397; fragments of glass showing shields of various symbols remain at Laneast, Cornwall; Ashton and Torbryan, Devon.

528. Nearly all the West Country bench ends have the symbols on shields for instance.

529. H.M.Gillett, The Story of the Relics of the Passion.

530. Isaiah L:6. The hand grasping hair, sometimes (?wrongly) described as straws for drawing lots, is illustrated in some imago pietatis woodcuts and carved on the pulpit at Padstow and bench ends at Kilkhampton, Abbotsholm, Braunton etc.

531. Bonde Rosary of our sauyour Iesu f.302^{v} who cites Hugo Cardinalis Super Io.XIX cp. Mandeville's travels EETS. 153 pp 8 - 9 (espec. p. 8.1.16) and EETS 154 p. 28.

532. e.g. EETS 155 p. 2; Rosary of our sauyour Iesu f. 304^{r-v} (edn. 1531): VII Shedynges (STC 14546) a4^{v}. In The honor of ye passion 6^{r}.

533. EETS 155 p. 3. cp. EETS 158 p. 62, also EETS es 107 pp. 216 - 21.

534. Bonde Rosary f.304^{r} who cites St. Bridget Revelationes I: x cp. EETS. 158 pp. 38 - 9 also Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 83 - 86; G. Von der Osten "Job and Christ" Jnl. Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XVI (1953) pp. 153 - 8. A few woodcuts depict Christ after His death, bearing His wounds, His hands bound, sitting against the cross with sponge and lance - Hodnett nos. 442, 2062 cp. Schiller II. pl. 743.

535. Pt. III notes 635 - 40.

536. A lytel treatyse d2^{r}. The first section of Pt. III below deals with this doctrine of tribulation.

537. BM. mss. Royal XVII. A.27; Addit. 22029 (unillustrated Addit. 11,748) - ed. Morris EETS 46 pp. 170 - 93 also Bodley mss. Douce 1; Add. E.4 (roll). The printed version follows the order of the mss. but omits the knife of the circumcision.

538. Hodnett nos. 2030 - 47 does not list all the illustrations, such as the sword, staves, scourges, crown of thorns, column of scourging etc. The cut of the seamless coat, A6^{r} is very similar to the one in Doesburgh's XV Tokens d2^{v}.

539. The knife of the circumcision included in the mss. suggests some connection with a similar type of devotion - the seven sheddings of Christ's blood, which began with the circumcision.

540. A gloryous medytacyon A6^{v} - 7^{r} cp. EETS 46 pp. 180 - 1.

541. A gloryous medytacyon A4^{r} cp. EETS 46 pp. 172 - 3. n.b. the indulgences offered for devout seeing of these arms and brief prayers p. 192 n. 13.

542. Bonde, Pilgrymage of perfeccyon f.303^{r} cp. Mandeville's Travels EETS. 153 p. 9.

543. Fewterer Myrrour of Glasse f.2^{r}.

544. William Hughe, The troubled mans medicine I c7^{r-v} cp. Certeine prayers I.1^{r} from which Hughe may well have derived his comment.

545. A blatant example is Mandeville on the Whitethorn's "virtues" -: EETS. 153 p.8.

546. Ailred (quoted Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages p. 77) "cling to true virtues and not to pictures or images".

547. Referred to by Wriothesley I. 74; Pynet A shorte treatise of politike power (1556) K5^{r} and P.S. Zurich Letters^{3} pp. 604, 606, 609. Also F.J.Richards Notes about Boxley. Its Abbey and Church, (Maidstone 1870)

548. W.Sparrow Simpson "On The Pilgrimage to Bromholm in Norfolk" British Arch. Jnl. XXX (1874) pp. 52 - 9; F. Wormald "The Rood of Bromholm" JWCI I (1937 - 8) pp. 31 - 45 and also of interest A Cellarer's Account for Bromholm Priory, ed L. Redstone, Norfolk Record Soc. XVII.

549. Chaucer, Pardoner's Tale (ed. Robinson, ll. 651 - 2); Horstmann Altenglische Legenden pp 275 - 81; for the exposure, 1538, PS Latimer II. pp. 407 - 9 and n.5, other refs in J.C.T.Oates "Richard Pynson and the Holy Blood of Hayles" Library^{5} XIII (1958) pp. 269 - 77.

550. For a survey S.C. Chew The Pilgrimage of Life (New Haven & London, 1962)

551. Bale, for instance, seems to accept John Oldcastle's and William Thorpe's views of man's life as a pilgrimage, Bale PS. pp. 25, 99.

552. e.g. Pecock Repressor quoted by Waterton Pietas Mariana Britannica II ch.III pp. 106 - 7; See also J.A.F.Thomson The Later Lollards pp. 29, 32, 40, 126f. etc.

553. His colloquy Peregrinatio religionis ergo was translated into Englsih c,1537. H.de Vocht English Translations of Erasmus (Louvain 1928) pp. xxxvi - lviii.

554. e.g. Redeme and be not wroth ed. Arber. p. 110, Myrrour...for them that by syke E1f.

555. e.g. Latimer Remains PS pp. 363 - 4.

556. Pecock Repressor (n.552 above). cp. Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe (STC. 11499) f.3^{v}: "and when ye come where you haue vowed. Then is no wyse/suppose or thynke yt the same karued ymage or paynted pycture/wrought with mannes hande/hath any lyfelynesse or grace/or comfort no more than hath any ymage of the same sort in your parysshe churche"; Wyse A consolacyon for chrysten people $D2^{v}$ - 3^{r}.

557. Myrrour...of lyfe g.1^{v}; Latimer PS Remains pp 359 - 60.

558. Wyse, A consolacyon $D4^{v}$ - 5^{r}. PS.Latimer II p. 360; PS Becon II. p. 413; Erasmus Funus (Colloquies ed. Thompson) p. 370.

559. For Erasmus' Peregrinatio religionis as a piece of Cromwell's propaganda, McConica pp. 189 - 90.

560. There is implied criticism of vows made to undertake pilgrimages for the dying in Erasmus' Preparation to Death E 5 - 6 and more

open condemnation in A myrrour for them that be syke, E1^{v}.

561. A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke, STC 17982 (RSTC 11470.5) F4^{r}.

562. For general works on pilgrimages: S.Heath Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages (London 1911) D.J.Hall English Medieval Pilgrimage (London 1966)

563. For a convenient summary "Blood" in Hastings' Encylcopedia of Religion and Ethics

564. Angels or Ecclesia are frequently depicted receiving the blood in a chalice as Christ hangs on the cross, e.g. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II plates 424, 432, 442, 446 - 7, 450 etc. 516, 519, 529 - 31 and for the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows pp. 205 - 6. It is rare to find this Eucharistic Imagery illustrated in English printed books. Hodnett no. 1420 is the only example I have seen but see Antiquaries Jnl IX (1929) pl 7, fig 1. There seems to be a verbal reference in A goostly treatyse of the passyon of Christ 03^{r}, where with reference to the wound of Christ's side the verse reads "Out of the whiche ranne water and blode Wherof the angels toke mynystracion". The chalice is more often illustrated in the heraldic type shields of the wounds of Christ eg. Hodnett nos.* 454^{a}; 2503.

565. Doctrynall of mekenesse B2^{v} - 3^{r}.

566. Latimer PS Remains p. 364 suggests some popular beliefs about the Holy Blood of Hayles and pp. 407 - 8 for the exposure of the relic.

567. Chertsey, in the otherwise entirely traditional and orthodox Goostly treatyse of the passyon of Christ includes the rather ambiguous passage, 04^{r}: "And what shall I say to the blode of

our lorde/whyder it taryed on the erthe or nay? I beleue that all ye blode whiche was of the interite and perfeccyon of nature [sic] humayne was receyued in the resurreccyon/ but another mannes blode might haue taryed here with vs vpon the erthe. As nowe men saye the holy blode of Hayles and of Bruges". On Bruges Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age pp. 109 - 10.

568. STC. 14546, 14572; Woolf, Religious Lyric p. 225f. verses on the 7 sheddings include Brown XVth century nos. 92, 62.

569. Woolf, Religious Lyric p. 225 n.4 declares that the series always begins with the circumcision, an event included in the mss. (EETS. 46 pp. 172 - 3.) but omitted from the printed version of A gloryous medytacyon cp. EETS 223 p. 33f; The Spiritual Pilgrimage (STC. 12574) $A1^{r-v}$.

570. In the copy of STC 14546 the seven sections have each been assigned by a roughly contemporary hand - to one day of the week (cp. Bonde's Rosary of our sauyour Iesu and "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater nosters") and on $a4^{r}$ is added in ms "and be not wery so to pricke ye vpon seynge yt þou art þe cause of his intollerable peyne" which may be derived from another version similar to the "Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters" ed. Wormald Laudate XIV (1936) pp 165 - 82.

571. STC. 14546 $a3^{v}$, $a5^{v}$.

572. op.cit. $a5^{r}$.

573. op.cit. $a6^{r} - b1^{r}$.

574. The first article concludes "& so whyle the mater is fresshe in thy mynde/thou mayst begynne thy deuocyon"; the second similarly and the third: "And with as good deuocyon as yu can/lyfte thy herte & mynde to hym/& saye thy prayer".

575. The arma Christi and wounds of Christ thus portrayed are perhaps suggested EETS 223pp. 13, 15. The wounds were carved on bench ends in Laneast, Altarnun and on the pulpit ✕✕ b at Padstow; on one of the corbels of the Lane aisle, Cullompton and in the spandrels of the west door of Bath Abbey. They were portrayed in stained glass at Torbryan and Sidmouth, and on rings, Gray N & Q CCVIII p. 165; Surtees Soc. CXVI p. 171. The emblem occurs on the binding of the 1517 Paris edition of Ludolphus in Bodley (A.13.2.Th) and it was used as the badge of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Yorks. Arch. Jnl. XXI (1911) p. 108.

576. See Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts pp. 84 - 91 and Gray N & Q CCVIII p. 87.

577. Examples, including Latin and English verse prayers are cited by Gray N & Q CCVIII. pp. 50 - 1, 128, 163; Gougaud pp 83 - 7; Brown Index nos. 1011, 1684, 1687, 1710, 1711, 1753, 1759 etc.; Hoskins pp. 112, 123 cp. L.I.Guiney Recusant Poets (London 1938) p. 50.

578. Gougaud p. 81 and Bonetti p. 128ff.

579. John XX: 19 - 29. The early growth of the devotion is traced by Bonetti and J.V.Bainvel p. 127 ff.

580. The five mysteries of The mystic sweet rosary are addressed to the five wounds.

581. Tree &.xii.frutes $D1^{v}$ - 2^{r}. cp. Stimulus pp. 53, 57 - 8.

582. Ed. by Clare Kirchberger as The Goad of Love, cited as Stimulus.

583. Some borrowings and comparisons, Stimulus pp. 49, 101, 151, 178, 181, (notes) and numerous quotations from and paraphrases of Scripture.

584. Stimulus pp. 49, 52, 72 - 3, 97 - 8; also for cleansing, Gloryous medytacyon $B4^{v}$.

585. Complaynte that ye soule maketh (1532) D2^{v}. cp. Simon Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) E2^{r}; MP. XXXVI, f.337 cp. Gougaud pp. 94 - 7.

586. The myrrour of the chyrche (STC. 967) E6^{r}; Longland, Sermond (STC. 16795) I 2^{r} reverses the significance - water for purification, blood for remission of sins and L.5^{v}: "that his bloode maye washe the, that his bodye maye fede the, that his woundes maye heele ye, that his passion may saue the".

587. Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) E2^{r}. cp. Fewterer f.136^{v}; Gray N & Q CCVII p. 83; Gougaud pp. 94 - 5; cp. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 135 - 6, 158 - 61.

588. R.J.Peebles The Legend of Longinus Bryn Mawr, 1911.

589. PL. CLXXXIII 1071 - 2.

590. Stimulus pp. 51, 58, 59 cp. Rolle, Contra Amatores Mundi ed. P.F.Theiner, (1968) p. 190.

591. EETS 223 p. 13 and n. on p. 148. cp. Gray N & Q CCVIII p. 129

592. Stimulus pp. 52, 72 - 3.

593. Pt. III. n. 103 and n. 477B above cp. Stimulus pp. 57, 117.

594. Tree &.xii.frutes D2^{r}.

595. Stimulus p. 59; cp. 51, 109, 116; Gloryous medytacyon B4^{v}; A.Kempis EETS es 63 p. 274 - 5.

596. Fewterer f. 136^{r} cp. Stimulus p. 72; PL CLXXXIII 1071 - 2; Gray N & Q CCVIII p. 131.

597. STC. 23707 The verse, presumably by Copland, set at the beginning

of the treatise mentions not only the "tonnes" of wine but also the figure of the wine-press. It is a tolerably competant piece of verse and the imagery is unusually unified:

I thyrste good lord full sore
To drynke of thy tonnes fyue
Thy grace to me restore
Whyle that I am on lyue
Of all my synnes to shryue
In heuen at thy repaste
Of thy swete wyne to taste

I wote I dyde offend
By wyne in grete excesse
Good lorde I wyll amend
And all my fawtes redresse
One drop of thy wyne presse
From thy moost dulcet grape
Into my hert yu shape. Amen.

598. Canticum Canticorum II: 4; V.1 cp. Gougaud pp. 108 - 10; Gray N & Q CCVIII p. 131. The figure of the tavern is also found, with rather different meaning EETS 223 p. 119.

598A. cp. the symbolism of the door of the ark imagery, Gougaud p. 96. See J.V.Bainvel Devotion to the Sacred Heart (London 1925) pp. 143 - 4.

599. cp. Stimulus pp. 51, 59.

600. e.g. Stimulus pp. 49, 59, 60, 67, 74.

601. Tauerne of goostly helthe 5^{v} cp. Stimulus p. 51 and Bainvel op.cit. pp. 143, 148, 170 for instances of ecstatic trances.

602. Stimulus chaps. 26 - 7; Hilton Scala I. 33; II, 18, 19, 29, 41 etc; Cloud of Unknowing ch. 45 - 6, 53, 71 etc

603. Stimulus p. 143.

604. Fewterer f. 136^{r} derived from the Canticles, II: 14 and St. Bernard PL CLXXXIII: 1071 - 2.

605. Stimulus p. 53.

606. Canticum Canticorum II: 14 cp Bainvel pp. 132 - 3, 146; Bonetti pp 91, 118 - 120, 122 - 3 etc.

607. Examples might include A Kempis Imitation II.1; The remors of conscyence (STC. 20882) C3^{v}; Orologium pp. 340, 344; Chastising of God's Children p. 159. (a quotation from Stimulus); Bonde's Pylgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.294. A number of continental examples are to be found in Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1953) pp. 19, 27, 35 and K.Richstätter Medieval Devotions to the Sacred Heart (London 1925) pp. 93, 135.

608. Stimulus pp. 75, 176; Chastising pp. 213 - 4; Cyprian Of Mortalitie E4^{r}.

609. The actual figure is that of a shield, but the effect is the same EETS 223 p. 119.

610. Verse prayers invoking the aid of Christ's wounds against sins include the following:- Brown Index (& suppl.) nos. 197, 269 (Speculum XXXII. 278 - 9), 1702, 1708 (Brown XVth Century. 218 - 9); 3356; 4185 and 4200 (Brown XVth Century 227 - 8). On the wounds as remedies against sin, Gray op.cit. pp 127 - 8.

611. See Part III notes 639 - 40.

612. See Durham ms. Cosin V.V.12 f.55^{v} - 6^{v}, 61^{r}.

613. See Gray op.cit. pp. 128 - 34.

614. STC. 14550; cp. ms. Douce I; Horstman YW II pp. 440 - 1; The Five Wounds of Christ, attrib. William Billyng (Manchester 1814); Chastising of God's Children p. 213; Gray art.cit.pp. 129, 133, 163 - 6.

615. Hodnett no. 2043 cp. no. 677. In the five wounds window at Sidmouth the wounds are labelled "Well of wisdom"; "wel of mercy"; "wel of grace"; "wel of gostly comfort"; "wel of euerlastyne lif" cp. Hodnett nos. 675 - 6.

616. The seven lines stanza seems to have been remarkably popular- used by Bush, Copland etc..

617. Gray op.cit. pp. 87 - 8; Themes and Images p. 34, pl.2; also on Ushaw College ms 29 prayer roll, and illus.pp. 72, 177; Richstätter op.cit. also Bodley ms. Gough liturg.19 f.22^{r}.

618. Gray op.cit. pp. 87 - 8; Gougaud p. 89 and more generally Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic pp. 30f, 179 - 82; C.F.Bühler "Prayers and Charms in Certain Middle English Scrolls" Speculum XXXIX (1964) pp. 270 - 8.

619. V.Gurewich "Observations on the Iconography of the wound of Christ's Side" JWCI XX (1957) pp. 358 - 62.

620. e.g. J.V.Bainvel Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus pp. 141 - 73 traces the growth of the devotion from XIIIth to XVth century; B.Maréchaux "La développement historique de la dévotion au Sacré-Coeur" La Vie Spirituelle II (1920) pp. 193 - 207. Examples of earlier contental prayers and decotions to the Heart of Jesus are to be found in Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1953) and K. Richstätter Medieval Devotions to the Sacred Heart (London 1925).

621. e.g. Hodnett nos. 677, 748, 2043, *454A, 2503, 2509, 383, 1320;* 1355b; 2158; Some of the heart brasses were inscribed with the name of Jesus, e.g. at Higham Ferrers, Northants. Also on the spandrels of the W.door, Bath Abbey; above the Queen's stall St. George's Chapel, Windsor see Richstätter

Medieval Devotions to the Sacred Heart p. 54 and drawn in mss. Tanner 147; Ushaw 29 and Douce 1 f.73^{v}.

622. Deoute prayers in englysshe B7^{v}.

623. It is not unlikely that the illustrated life of Christ printed by Copland had woodcuts and verses on each of the five wounds - only two remain, Hodnett 675 - 6.

624. The number of the drops is given as "enleuen thousande and odde droppes of blode and water" - yet another instance of the fascination with numerical detail, more familiar from computations of the number of Christ's wounds.

625. Doctrynall of mekenesse C1^{r} cp. Stimulus pp 60 - 1.

626. The idea of redemptive suffering is seen in a less attractive light in the materialistic suffering - reward computation which underlies the tribulation treatises discussed in Part III.

627. Not only carved and painted in churches but also in Provost Skerne's house, Aberdeen. Numerous taperstries depicting the Passion were in Henry VIII's possession: W.G.Thomson, A History of Tapestry (3rd edn. 1973) pp. 245 - 9, 253, 255,258.

628. There are dozens of bench-ends bearing symbols of the Passion in churches like Braunton, Laneast, Launcells or Poughill. Glass bearing similar symbols still survives in fragments at Doddiscombsleigh, Torbryan and Laneast. This would be supplemented by mural paintings such as the imago pietatis at Ashton, S.Devon, by statues, rood screens and the rood group itself, also embroidered vestments and altar frontals, while outside Lantern crosses and calvaries must have been very common. In a prosperous well decorated church the multiplicity of Passion motifs must have been overpowering.

629. e.g. EETS. es 19 p. 50; Shepherds Kalender (STC. 22411) ca. xlviii, V1^{r}; cp. the function of the Preludes of St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises.

630. Pourrat Christian Spirituality III pp. 13 - 16.

631. Pourrat op.cit. III. pp. 18 - 48 and in detail J.de Guibert, La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jesus (Rome, 1953) pp. 3 - 218.

632. Allison and Rogers nos. 495 - 519.

633. A manual f.6^{v}.

634. Legenda Aurea (ed. 1527) f.17^{r} - 18^{v}.

635. Legenda Aurea f.17^{r} cp. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art vol II pp. 137 - 40 for the introduction of figures of the Virtues into the iconography of the Passion.

636. e.g. Speculum ed. Powell pp. 241 - 3; Simon Fruyte of redempcyon ca. xx - xxvii; Chertsey A goostly treatyse; Gar[illegible]arde, The interpretacyon...of the Masse n.1^{v}; The myrrour of the chyrche, (STC. 967) E5^{v}.

637. no[illegible] note [illegible].

638. e.g. Hoskins pp. 161, 192, 210, 215.

639. e.g. Bonde The Rosary of our sauyour Iesu, in Pilgrymage of perfeccyon 1531 fo. 307^{r}.

640. Whitford Pype or Tonne f.25^{r}.

641. The forthcoming book by John Phillips, The Reformation of Images (December 1973, California U.P.) should be of interest.

642. e.g. the destruction and dispersal of the monastic libraries. Coulton, Art and the Reformation in his chapter on "Renaissance and Destruction" reminds the reader that the Protestants were not the first to destroy religious art, nor was the only reason the reform of religion.

643. On the first Book of Common Prayer: G.J.Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy pp. 66 - 95; Gasquet & Bishop Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer.

644. The author of A plaine and godlye treatise, concernynge the Masse comments G3^{r}: "our new martirs teacheth yt muche praier is but lip labour, & did what they coulde to put almost by force out of mens handes prayer bokes & bedes, & set them yt coulde not reade, when they came to ye churche to gase on ye paynted scripture on the wals & at ye last of special deuocioun woulde haue pulled down al places of praiers & other meanes yt might moue deuout myndes to praier" cp. W.K.Jordan Edward VI, The Young King. p. 146. and Addleshawe & Etchells The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship pp 15 - 36.

645. e.g. Bennett English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 pp. 74 - 5; White Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs.

646. During the previous decade 5 saints lives were printed in 1520 (STC 3600, 10435, 14807, 18528, 23954), 2 in 1521 (STC. 3506, 3507) 1 in 1523 (STC.7500) 1 in 1528 (STC.21008)

647. R.R.Williams Religion and The English Vernacular (London 1940).

648. Respectively STC.15986 and 20193, quotations from the latter- On the Primer, Butterworth pp. 47 - 69.

649. In transl. Luther's Works (American edn.) vol. 42.i.pp. 7 - 14; Weimar ed. II. (130) 136 - 42.

650. Certeine prayers $M2^{v}$.

651. EETS es. 27 pp. 397, 398, 399 etc.

652. EETS es. 27 p. 399 which may be compared with Certeine prayers $M3^{r}$: "when thou seyst the nayles fastened in the handes of Christ/thynke that those sharpe nayles are thy euyll deades. When thou beholdest his brayne perced with the croune of thornes/thinke that those thornes are thy wycked thoughtes and sotle ymaginacyons. And where thou seyst Christ pricked with one thorne/remembre that thou hast deserued to be pricked a thousand folde moare of the and greuouslye".

653. EETS. es 27. pp. 398, 403.

654. Certeine prayers $M4^{v}$ cp. EETS es 27 pp. 399 - 403.

655. The idea was traditional enough cp. Orologium p. 340 and it was spelt out in Pico of Mirandula's Rules of a Christian lyfe (in Cyprian's Of mortalite - ed. 1539 - $E4^{r}$) "as often as in resitinge any temptation thou dooest withstande any of thy sences or wittes, think vnto what parte of Christes passion thou mayste applye the selfe or make thyself lyke". Thus in resisting gluttony the reader is to remember Christ's gall on the cross, against pride he is to remember Christ's humiliation on the cross.

656. Frith, Preparation to deathe (STC.11393) $M7^{r-v}$, cp. Certeine prayers $N2^{v} - 3^{r}$.

657. Quotations from 1547 edn. (STC. 4828)

658. It is in fact more a confession of errors than a lamentation or complaint in the medieval manner. The lamentations of the Dying Creature or the complaint of the soul, or even the

planctus Mariae are all far more emotional and express a deep sense of loss which is not conveyed in the first part of Catherine's lamentacion. She confesses her previous errors in the assurance that now she has the true faith salvation is her inheritance, so there can hardly be the sense of desolation, despair and near hopelessness experienced by the Dying Creature as he faces death unprepared or by the Blessed Virgin at the loss of her only Son.

659. Lamentacion $B5^{v}$.

660. P.Delany, British Autibiography in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1969) the first half is concerned with religious autobiography; W.Haller The Rise of Printanism (1957 edn.) pp. 96 - 118. Also O.C.Watkins The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography (New York, 1972)

661. About 1534 Sir Francis Bigod in the preface to his Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices is fullsome in his praise of the King who has rescued England from the tyranny of Rome (YAS record series 125 (1959) pp. 41 - 3) cp. A supplication of the Poore Commons, EETS es 13 pp. 81, 91 - 2.

662. L. Einstein Tudor Ideals pp. 197 - 210; G.R.Elton England under the Tudors pp. 160 - 5.

663. Becon's Flower of Godly Prayers, and Pomander contained prayers for various classes and callings.

664. Knappen Tudor Puritanism pp. 397 - 8; Haller The Rise of Puritanism pp. 124ff.

665. It is interesting to find in his prologue corroboration of Whitford's complaints about the dangers of anonymous works - the preface to Wayland's edn. of Whitford's Werke, STC.25416. Wyse writes $A7^{v}$, that he has caused his name to be set to the work not to win praise but "I haue herde by reporte of other

men that diuers be offended with sundry bokes, whiche beynge withoute name or aucthour haue rather troubled theyr conscyence then set it in a quyetnesse, and that many haue ben suspected to be doers therof whiche were neuer of counsell nor knowledge therin. And I maye beleue the thyng to be ye more true, for in a small piece of worke or twayne whiche I haue set forth myselfe geuynge it no certayne name, dyuers persones of dyuers men haue had ye fame & reporte to be doers of it".

666. cp. the widely held view of Edward VI as Josiah, W.K.Jordan Edward VI, the threshold of power p. 534; Becon An humble supplication, PS III, pp. 3, 4, 227.

667. Wyse Consolacyon $C5^{v}$.

668. Wyse op.cit. $c6^{v}$.

669. Wyse op.cit. $E7^{v}$.

670. Wyse op.cit. $E4^{v} - 5^{r}$.

671. Wyse op.cit. $E2^{v}$, $F2^{r}$, $H6^{v}$. cp. the widespread fear, especially later in the century, of the sturdy beggar - eg. W.K.Jordan Edward VI, The Young King pp. 177 - 8; C.Hill Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England pp. 259 - 97.

672. Wyse op.cit. $F8^{v}$.

673. Wyse op.cit. $E3^{v}$

674. Such as Pecock, n. 552 above.

675. Wyse op.cit. $D2^{v}$, $H.3^{r}$.

676. In this instance the common Protestant concern to give alms and relieve the suffering lists the seven traditional works of mercy advocated by medieval authors. See, S.C. Chew The Virtues Reconciled pp. 102 - 9.

677. Wyse op.cit. $E1^{v}$ - 2^{r}.

678. Wyse op.cit. $H5^{v}$ - 6^{v}.

679. Wyse op.cit. I. 5^{r} - 6^{r} cp. G.R.Elton England under the Tudors p. 160; M.Aston "Lollardy and the Reformation: Survival or Revival?" History n.s XLIX (1964) pp. 150 - 62 for the Reformers use of and appeal to the past in law and literature

680. Wyse op.cit. $F3^{v}$.

681. A curious echo of earlier devotion to the heart of Jesus is to be found in Thomas Goodwin's The Heart of Christ in Heaven Towards Sinners on Earth (London 1642). Christ's heart is seen as the essential nature of the Son and seat of His affections, not as a physical heart, except in the interpretation of Hebrews IV: 15 (p. 43) "this Text...speaks his heart most, and sets out the frame and workings of it towards sinners; and that so sensibly, that it doth (as it were) take our hands,and lay then upon Christs breast, and let us feele how his heart beats, and his bowels yerne towards us".

682. See e.g. W.K.Jordan Edward VI The Young King pp. 134 - 54, 182 - 7.

683. For example in the 160 folios of Fewterer's Myrrour or Glasse about 20 are devoted to Part three which covers the miracles associated with the death of Jesus, the reasons why Jesus suffered, the harrowing of hell, the Resurrection and appearances, the Ascension the sending of the Holy Ghost, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and the Last Judgement. In Simon's Fruyte

of Redempcyon only a couple of folios are given to the Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost. The proportion is higher in the Speculum Vitae Christi where about 40 of the 300 or so pages are devoted to the Resurrection and the Ascension, with which the life ends.

684. Fewterer Myrrour f.155. After blessing His Mother and Disciples they "seyng hym eleuete and lyfted vp in to heuen: fell downe prostrate and worshypped hym"is one of the more explicit descriptions, but it does not go into detail.

685. Woodcuts of the Resurrection and Ascension include Hodnett no: 668, 672, 848, 1424, 1467, 2047, 2097, 2098; the empty tomb signifying the resurrection and the Ascension are carved on various bench-ends e.g. at Launcells, and Poughill, Cornwall. On the iconographic background of the Ascension: M. Schapiro "The Images of the Disappearing Christ" Gazette des Beaux-Arts XXIII (1943) pp. 135 - 52 and cp.the treatment of the event in Joyce's Stephen Hero.

686. The characteristic English illustration of the Resurrection with Christ standing on the soldiers as He steps from the tomb is echoed in the Chester Resurrection play.

687. e.g. Gospel of Nicodemus cp. the singing of the Te Deum at the end of the Chester Harrowing of Hell. It could be argued that where a detailed description or play of the harrowing of hell preceded the Resurrection scene, the author's task was made even harder, because the joy expressed by the patriarchs, which preceded the full joy of the Resurrection tended to detract from the effect of the latter unless handled very carefully.

688. Speculum ed. Powell p. 262 "Gooth oure lorde/kyng of blisse/ and sone after yif it by youre wille cometh ageyne. for we

desiren souerenly to see youre moste gloriouse body to oure souerayn comfort".

689. It is a curiously domestic scene, the Mother and Son "bothe sittynge to gidre".

690. Love prefaces the process of the Ascension thus (Powell p. 285) "...euery trewe christen soule schulde here spouse/here lorde/ and her god in his away passynge moste wakkerly and besily take tente to/and tho thinges that bene by hym spoken and done mooste ynwardly sette in mynde.....and vtterly withdraw all here mynde in this tyme fro alle othere thinges and sette it holy vppon his spouse" - he obviously considers the subject of particular importance.

691. Speculum ed. Powell p. 296.

692. O.B.Hardison Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Johns Hopkins Paperback edn. 1969). pp. 250 - 2 outlines the principles of development for the Resurrection Play. For the dramatist's solutions to the problems of staging the Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost Woolf The English Mystery Plays pp. 274 - 5; 283 - 6. Also M.D.Anderson Drama and Imagery in British Churches pp.148-152.

693. e.g. Frith Preparation to deathe $M6^{r}$; A myrrour...for them that be syke. $L7^{v}$.

694. A myrrour. $L7^{v}$.

695. e.g. Certeine prayers $N1^{r}$; Catherine Parr's Lamentacion $C4^{r}$ - $D4^{r}$. Iconographically the Reformers often included the figure of the Risen Christ spearing Death and the Devil in their representations of Christ on the cross: Schiller Iconography of Christian Art II pp. 161 - 4, plates 532, 534 - 5, 537 - 8.

696. e.g. Hughe, Troubled mans medicine II G1^{r} - 2^{r}; To teche a man to dye B7^{v} - 8^{r}.

697. Frith Preparation to deathe L2^{v}.

698. The fact of the resurrection was one of the basic truths of the primitive "kerygma", see C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching ch. 1.

699. See Part III notes 349, 351, 357, 358.

700. A goodly treatise of faith hope and charity (1537) I. 1^{v} - 2^{r}.

Notes to Part III

1) See, for example, Erasmus Preparation to death. $C4^{v}$, Colloquies (ed.Thompson)pp. 365, 370; Chester Plays EETS es. 115pp. 432 - 3.

2) See later for prayers etc. against sudden death. The Consolatores of Ludus Conventriae try to persuade Lazarus that he will recover: EETS es. 120 p. 212

3) Romans XII: 2. In lyrics themes such as the debate between the Body and the Soul, the warning from the dead or the story of the three living and the three dead lent themselves to this kind of warning to forsake the world and repent: Woolf, Lyrics pp. 89 - 102, 312 - 32, 344 - 7. In some contexts the ubi sunt theme could be used as a warning to the living: Woolf, Lyricspp. 108 - 10; Owst PME p.344 and LMPE p.293 - 4 and the dramatic appearance of death on stage in The Castle of Perseverance, Ludus Conventriae, Everyman and the fragmentary Pride of Life reinforced the warning: Owst LMPEpp.527 - 33; Blenchpp.234 - 5 cp. laments such as The dyenge creature or A lamentable complaynt.

4) D.Martin Luthers Werke, ed.Weimar 1883, Band I p. 238.

5) Among numerous references: Bonde, A deuoute epystle $f.xx^{r}$ Certeine prayers H.ww 3^{v} - 4^{r}; A Kempis I:13,II:12; Orologium p.348 also H.C.White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrspp.9, 19, 41, 50 etc.

6) Romans VII: 15 - 20 cp. Jeremiah XVII:0; Orologium p.350 lines 22 - 8; A Kempis I:13, IV:3; Assaut...of heuen $D3^{r}$; G.M.Hopkins "The Wreck of the Deutschland" suggests the heart to be "O unteachably after evil"...

7) Old Testament examples include Psalm XCI: 4; Isaiah LIX: 17.

8) II.Cor. X: 4; I Thess. V: 8; Eph. VI: 10 - 12. See G.Bonner, The Warfare of Christ, "The Christian Combat" pp. 36 - 64. At some points the idea of Christian Soldier overlaps with the knight of chivalric romance. See Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, excursus XVIII, especially p. 536; A.B.Taylor, An Introduction to Medieval Romance ch. xi. But note R.Tuve's warning against reading Christian allegory into romances, Allegonical Imagery, pp. 390 - 408.

However, the image of Christ himself as the lover knight (Woolf, RES. XIII, 1962, pp. 1 - 16) suggests some interplay of Christian and chivalric ideals, such as that found in The boke of conforte agaynste all tribulacions (STC 3296) $A5^{v}$ in which the Sinner addresses Christ thus: "thou arte the very knyghte the whiche hathe made the felde and foughten valyaintly and borne awaye the vyctorye ageynste the great and myghty puyssaunte and ancyente enemy of mankynde the deuyll of helle...and for as moche as thou vs exaltest in oure oreysons & louest those whiche haue the dere thou arte the fyre of loue..."

9) References to St.Paul may conveniently be found in The Essential Erasmus, ed. J.P.Dolan (Mentor, 1964) pp. 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 77, 93.

10) Preparation to deathe $D2^{v} - 3^{r}$, which also includes a comparison between the Christian and the worldly soldier cp. his De contemptu mundi $F8^{r}$ and Picus of Mirandola "Rules of a Christian lyfe" translated by Sir Thomas Elyot at the end of Cyprian's sermon Of mortalitie repeatedly emphasizes the Christian's obligation to fight. Lydgate's The Virtues of the Mass, EETS. es. 107, p. 64 refers to the priest's vestments as his armour and to the priest as Christ's champion.

11) Job VII:1 quoted also by A Kempis I:13; Assaute of heuen F4[r]; Bonde's A deuoute epystle f.xi[v]; The Rote (edn.1511) H8[r]

12) The list of armour is based on Ephesians VI. The assaute, D2[v] declares that the knight's hand should always be on his dagger: "that is to saye/we muste put in effect and execute the word of god/and his comaundementes..."

13) YW II. 420-7, in part derived from Pore Caitif.

14) For Paynell, McConica English Humanists and Reformation Politics pp.138-40.

15) One is tempted to wonder whether this elaborate description of a knight's armour might not have been a little out of date and unfamiliar to the "vnlerned" audience of 1529. Its elaborateness and rich decoration is reminiscent of the world of chivalric romance. The Tretyse of gostly batayle concentrates upon the horse's harness rather than upon the knight's armour, cp.also The Minor Poems of John Lydgate EETS es.107 p.251.

16) The assaute b.3[v]

17) The use made of precious stones and various colours throughout the treatise enriches both the description of the armour and the symbolism of the allegory.

18) The assaute e.i[v].

19) Op.cit.e.3[r]

20) Purple, a colour traditionally and liturgically associated with suffering. It appears in the first chapter where

the doublet of penance is to be dyed purple by suffering. *See also, Réau I. p. 73.

21) The assaute, $b3^{r-v}$, $C4^{r}$ etc. for tribulation and $b4^{r-v}$ encourages reflection on man's creation in the "vile body" manner, and remembrance of death.

22) This section, which deals with the horse's harness is closer to A tretyse of gostly batayle, but while there is some similarity there are no real parallels.

23) The assaute, $c3^{v}$, the defensive action is likened to the helmet's visor cp. Erasmus' Enchiridion the ninth rule.

24) Pilgrimage of the life of man EETS es 77 p. 204ff. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery p. 164ff. The Spiritual pilgrimage (C.1604 - 5) lists ten provisons the pilgrim must make before setting out, $A1^{r}$-3^{r}. Note that A tretyse of gostly batayle also insists that the knight should know the purpose for which he is armed, YW II. p. 427.

25) Mary was particularly sought in times of trouble, for example in times of pestilence and at death.

26) Among scriptural warrants for this view, Matthew X: 22; James I: 12, V: 11.

27) The death-bed temptations of many ars moriendi books, which sometimes threaten to turn into a mortal struggle, are often cast in a dramatic form, helped by the standard illustrations; but even this is a static rather than a progressively developing drama.

28) See R.N.Flew, The idea of Perfection in Christian Theology, p. 160 and M.W.Bloomfield, Piers Plowman as a fourteenth century apocalypse ch.2, on monasticism and perfection.

Among many other references the following give some idea of the widespread currency of the view that the religious or solitary life was the better life: Ancren Riwle EETS 225, 1962. pp.72-5; Dionysius Carthusianus, The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule (ed.deWorde, 1522) $E2^{v}$ff; Richarde Methly A Pystle of Solitary Life in E.Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance pp.388-93; the opening of Godfrey's version The Golden epistle (STC,1911) $A2^{v}$; The Tree and.xii.frutes chap.xii and Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (ed.1531) Bk.II.ca.xxvi.

29) e.g. The Chastising of God's Children (ed.Bazire and Colledge)p.96; A Kempis I:13; Bonde's Pilgrymage (ed.cit.) II.xix; Whitford's Pype or Tonne III.pt.ii ca.ix. More's Dyalogue of comforte II.xvii. p.1210.

30) e.g. Ancren Riwle (EETS.225) pp.98-107; Scala Perfectionis I:37-9,52-60;II:14 etc; The Cloud of Unknowing ca.xxxi-iii.

31) Romans VIII:18 in A Kempis II:12; also quoted in The.xii. profytes C5; Persons The Christian Directory (ed.1607) p.443 and S.I, Two Treatises p.125.

32) Sometimes attributed to Richard Rolle, see H.E.Allen, Richard Rolle p.360 and B. Hackett "William of Flete and the De Remediis contra Temptaciones", Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn (Dublin,1961 pp.330-48) pp.332-4 and also by Hackett, "William Flete's De Remediis contra Temptaciones in its Latin and English recensions: The growth of a text", Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp.210-30 and "William Flete" in Pre-Reformation English Spirituality ed.J. Walsh pp.158-69; also A.Gwynn, English Austin Friars pp.139-210.

33) Found on its own in mss. B.M.Royal 17.A,xxv; Oxford St. John's College ms.147 and Lambeth 523 it also occured as an introductory piece to The.xii.profytes in various manuscripts and in Caxton's book Of diuerse ghostly maters (STC.3305) where it iscarelessly entitled Seven Masters, an error perpetuated in de Worde's editions of The.xii.profytes. It was also printed by de Worde after The tretyse of loue. Its authorship was attributed by Bale, Index (ed.Poole and Bateson) p.3 to Adam Carthusianus, on whom see A.I.Doyle "A text attributed to Ruusbroec circulating in England "Dr.L.Reypens - Album, Antwerp 1964. pp.153-7 and especially pp.154-6. The piece was also attributed to Gerson, M.Lieberman, "Gersoniana ii "Romania LXXVIII, 1957 pp.169-73 and E.Vansteen berghe "Les Six Maîtres qui parlent de tribulation " Revue des Sciences Religieuses (1935) pp.543-51 who thinks it is more likely to be of Netherlandish origin.

34) A translation of De Duodecin Utilitatibus Tribulationis (PL CCVII, 989-1006) by Peter of Blois, see Hauréau Notices et Extraits IV. p.128; attributed to Richard Rolle in C.U.L. ms.Mm.vi.17, see H.E.Allen, Richard Rolle pp.335-6. It circulated in many versions both French and English during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the French versions see Chesney, Medium Ævum XX,1951 pp.22-6 and for the fuller English versions see A.I.Doyle Origins and Circulation of theological writings pp.176-9. It was also included in STC.3305.

35) It was usually discussed either as part of a general moral treatise such as St.Gregory's Moralia or within a more specialized work such as St.Basil's Sermo de Renuntiatione Saeculi, St.John Chrysostom's, "Three Homilies concerning the power of demons" or Origen's De Principiis pt.III.

36) For St.Augustine: Pourrat, Christian Spirituality I pp.185-206; Butler Western Mysticism pp.23-88; Burnaby Amor Dei chapters 3-6; Battenhouse(ed) A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine p.401ff; on Gregory, Butler op.cit.pp.91-133.

37) The following references to St.Augustine's works are in no way intended to be exhaustive. De Agone Christiano; Annot.in Iob ca.vii; Enarratio in Ps.LXI.n.20;XC.n.2.

38) Enarratio in Ps.LX.n.2.

39) Contra Faustum Manich.XXII:20; De Genesi ad litt.II:vi; Enarratio in Ps.LXn.3;LXIX n.5 cp.Gregory, Moralia I:24 and The Rote ch.20.

40) Epist.CXXX,5 cp.The.xii.profytes and The Rote ch.10.

41) Sermo XCI n.4 cp.Butler op.cit.pp.36-8 and The.xii.profytes and The Rote ch.3.

42) Sermo II.n.2,3. The.xii.profytes, $B4^{V}$ and The Rote (ed.1511) $C5^{V}$ both quote "...saynt Austen seynge the connynge that cometh by trybulacyon he begynneth his prayer in this wyse. Nouerim me nouerim te..." (Solil.lib.2.cap.1).

43) Matthew XII: 26-8.

44) De Civitate Dei, XIV:28.

45) For nine years Augustine himself was satisfied with the Manichean answer to the problem of evil - a dualistic view which owed much to earlier Gnostic systems.

46) Favez, La Consolation Latine Chrétienne, and a much narrower application/definition in M.H.Means The Consolatio genre in medieval English literature.

47) The wisdom attributed to Seneca is not always his. He is cited by name in The.xii.profytes, A3^{r}, in Lupset's Of dieynge well and in Whitford's Dayly Exercyse and experyence of dethe. Among popular works ascribed to him were De Remediis Fortunae and De Quattuor Virtutibus - see Chesney, Medium Ævum XX, 1951 pp. 28 - 32. In addition to Favez, Auer, "Johannes von Dambach und die Trostbücher..." deals with Dambach's use of and sources for Seneca pp. 76 - 96, also Owst LPME p.181; Deanesly The Lollard Bible p. 439; Tuve Allegorical Imagery pp. 61 - 2 and Thomson, Classical Influences on English Prose pp. 157 - 8. Whitford's Dayly exercyse also makes much use of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations.

48) Among those who trace Boethius' influence: H.R.Patch, The Tradition of Boethius and G.B. Dolson The Consolation of Philosophy in English Literature, Ithaca N.Y. 1926 which I have been unable to see; C.S.Lewis The Discarded Image pp. 75 - 90 and in art E.Mâle The Gothic Image pp. 90 - 3. Dambach acknowledges his debt to Boethius (Auer p.63) and Petrarch's De Remediis Ultriusque Fortunae ed. F.N.M. Diekstra as A Dialogue between Reason and Adversity (Assen 1968) was heavily indebted to Boethius as well as to Seneca. It is interesting that according to his definition of the genre Diekstra classifies The.xii.profytes as a consolatio, p. 47.

49) Reason appears in The boke of conforte agaynst all tribulacions in dialogue with man, but more as a kind of Vox Dei than the voice of a reasoning intellect. The work contains another dialogue between the Poor Sinner and Jesus and it is only the English tribulation treatise to make use of this characteristic consolatio form.

50) On the Boethian consolatio, Means op.cit. pp.8-14, 17-31.

51) Favez op.cit. sums up the differences between the pagan and the Christian consolatio p.77. See also Blenche p.30.

52) Boethius, De Consolatione Lib.II. prosa ii; Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature ch.3 "Functions and Cults", ch.5 on the Wheel of Fortune - on which see YW.II.p.70-1; D.Robinson "The Wheel of Fortune", Classical Philology XLI (1946) pp.207-16; Owst LPME p.239. On pictorial representation J.Evans, English Art p.9, also illustrations to The Fall of Princes, Hodnett nos. 1954-5 and F.P.Pickering Literature and Art in The Middle Ages, chapter III,"Fortune".

53) See Auer "Johannes von Dambach..." p.295ff and Nider's Consolatorium timorate conscientie.

54) This provides the structure for The.xii.profytes and The Rote, and among other treatises The tree and.xii.frutes and, at least in part, for the far more lengthy and complex Pilgrymage of perfeccyon by Bonde and Whitford's Pype of Tonne. The familiar groups, often in lists of opposites, of the seuen virtues, the seuen deadly sins, the seuen Sacraments etc. encouraged this type of structure. See Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, excursus XV, "Numerical Composition", and N.F.Blake, Middle English Religious Prose, pp17-19, also V. F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York, 1969)

55) The Chastising, a longer and more complex work than most, includes a chapter, XXV, on the seuen deadly sins.

56) Tanquerey, The Spiritual Life §§ 7-8, 428,432-3,901-4. for a modern summary.

57) At least three points of contact may be noted between

tribulation treatises and (a) the type of general rudimentary instruction given to beginners in religion (b) the contemptus mundi literature (c) ars moriendi and literature about death.

58) Among those containing full chapters of substantial treatment of tribulation there are the various versions of Somme le Roi available in English: Ayenbite of Inwyt (EETS 23,1866) p.116-7, 167: The Boke of Vices and Virtues (EETS 217,1942) p.202: Speculum Christiani (EETS 182,1933) pp.192-200; The Orologium; A Kempis; Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon f.134, 139, 245 etc. and a work of which only the title page remains (Bodl. Douce Add.142) "Here ben conteyned fyue notable Chapytres...and after do folowe thyrtene degrees of Mortyfycacyon" must have had something on the subject. Chapter 2 showed "how that the very waye to the kyngdome of heuen/is, to take and pacyently to bere the crosse, and so to folowe Christe" and chapter 4, "How al grieuous thynges in this lyfe/are gladly to be suffered, for wynnynge of the lyfe that is to come."

59) See later notes 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 107.

60) Auer, "Johannes von Dambach" p.309 had wondered whether there might be some connection between them but did not elaborate. I am not aware that the connection has been noted by anyone else and, so far at least, I have been unable to find any manuscript source for The Rote.

61) Only the fifteenth shows any originality and this introduces the idea of tribulation equipping a man to teach others, by example and compassionate understanding, how to bear it cp. the spear in The assaute...of heuen is to stir men to live well by good example rather than by words,

62) eg. The Rote (ed.1511) B4^{r}, C6^{r}, E1^{v}, 7^{v} and H1^{v}- 2^{r} on the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

63) Only The Rote uses the word church - "to byleue as the churche of god beleueth" B4^{r}, a point stressed by both Hilton, Scala I:xxi and More. On confession, for instance, The Rote follows The.xii.profytes C2^{v} - 3^{r} and then goes into more detail on the subject C6^{r-v}. Two examples of the sort of personal devotion with a strong ascetic content, he advocates, which have no parallel in The.xii.profytes are: A7^{r} "prayers/fastynge/watchynge/almesdedes doynge/pylgrymage goynge to redynge of good bokes of vertue/of holy medytacyons/ to haue thy mynde more conteyned to god with wyll to serue hym better/whan thou felest these profytes growe in ye than yu felest our lorde goostly" and H8^{r} "Thou muste batayll with thy flesshe in tyme of helth with fastynge/watchynge/and with sharpe clothynge prayng& with grete labourynge", but cp. The boke of conforte G4^{r} - H2^{r} and The Assaute for similar teaching.

64) e.g. The Rote E2^{r}, 7^{r}, G3^{r}, 6^{r}, H.7^{r}.

65) e.g. the end of chapters 8 and 15, The Rote G1^{r-v}, H.3^{r}.

66) The phrase "Peraduenture thou wylte saye syr..." The Rote, H.3^{r} is too much of a standard formula to support the idea that the author was a priest, although Sir was a common formof address to clerics.

67) The Rote F2^{r}; C1^{r}.

68) A.I.Doyle, Origins and Circulation p.179. Among mss. of the work Corpus Christi (Oxford) ms.220 - copied from B.M.Royal 17. C. XVIII in turn derived from Bodl. Rawlinson C.894 - may have been copied for somebody connected with Markyate nunnery, Bedfordshire. Soon afterwards it passed

to a knight who had connections with various convents around London and subsequently it was in the possession of the last abbess of Lacock, Wiltshire. Bodl.Douce 322 and B.M.Harley 1706 were respectively connected with the abbeys of Dartford and, probably, Barking - see A.I.Doyle "Some books connected with the Vere family and Barking Abbey", Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions, XXV (n.s.) 1958. pp.222-43. Among lay owners Sir Lewis Clifford mentions his book of tribulation, very likely a version of The.xii.profytes, in his will 1404. M.Deanesly "Vernacular books in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", MLR.XV.1920 pp.349 - 58 and Doyle, Origins and Circulation p.176ff.

69) The Rote shows signs of having been adapted for a specifically secular audience. The author addresses men and women, $B2^{v}$, $D3^{v}$, $E1^{v}$, 7^{v}, talks of lords and ladies, craftsmen, clerks and merchants $E7^{r-v}$ and gives more emphasis to the appeal and dangers of worldy prosperity. $B3^{r-v}$, $C6^{r}$, 8^{r}, $E7^{r}$ cp. More's Dyalogue II.xvii.III,v-ix. The reference to the bear-keeper and his bears, $G8^{v}$, seems more appropriate to a secular audience.

70) The Chastising is addressed to a religious sister, p.95 cp.pp.107, 107, 217, 218. The Remedy is less obviously intended for a religious, the reader is addressed as Sister, YW II. p.109 but p.121 "O ye chyldren of holy chyrche that hath forsaken the worlde for the helth of your soules & pryncypally to please god.." suggests a religious or anchoress.

71) The.xii.profytes was printed c.1491, c.1499,1530; The Rote c.1496, c.1499, 1509 (Bennett), 1511, 1530 and The boke of conforte c.1505 and n.d.

72) E.Underhill, Mysticism (4^{th} edn,1912) pp. 239 - 78. A.Goodier Ascetical and Mystical Theology pp.139 - 61

73) The third chapter of The.xii.profytes and The Rote, with its five forms of human and material purgation (in the Caxton and de Worde texts the fifth purgation is displaced in The.xii.profytes and occurs at the end of the following chapter; it is given correctly in The Rote) is one of the most vivid. The first form is purgation of the body by "medicynable drynkynge" or by "crafty letterynge"; the second is the purging of metal, gold by the fire or iron by the fire; the third the pruning of trees; the fourth the threshing of grain and finally the pressing of grapes in a wine press. All the images are derived from Scripture and have been enriched by constant use, e.g. Gregory's Moralia III. 59; XVI.67; XX.76; XXIV.II.

74) In The assaute the helmet is the dear of God; The Rote $A3^{r}$- 4^{v} warns against over attachment to the things of this world cp. Rote $A8^{r}$, $C5^{v}$ etc.

75) Various reference in The Rote chapters 1, 2, 13, 17 cp. More Dyalogue of comforte I.ix.

76) Rote, XII Profytes Chapter II.

77) On the illuminative way, Underhill, Mysticism pp.279-318; Goodier, Ascetical and Mystical Theology, pp.162 - 85 cp. Julian of Norwich Revelations ch.27. Among references in The.xii.profytes $B4^{v}$- $C1^{r}$ and The Rote $C8^{v}$; St.Augustine is quoted from $C.5^{v}$ (Solil.lib.II.cap.i), see also chapter 4 in both treatises.

78) Assaute $B4^{r-v}$; The boke of conforte $D4^{r}$, $G3^{r}$, $H4^{v}$. There is an obvious connection between this theme and the threefold meditation often associated with the "vile body"/contemptus mundi literature.

79) XII Profytes and The Rote ch.6 cp. The boke of conforte A7 and More's Dyalogue of comforte I.viii.

80) Hebrews XII:6 (cp. Job V:17; Psalm XCIV:12; James I:12; Revelation III:19) is a key text for the doctrine of tribulation e.g. XII Profytes $D3^{v}$, The Rote $G7^{r}$; The boke of conforte $F4^{v}$; The remedy (YW.II) p.119; Chastising p.115; More's Dyalogue of comforte I.xiii

81) Colossians III.1 - 2. The.xii.profytes chapter 8: The Rote 8, 16. The quotation from Colossians ends the final chapter of A goodly treatise of faith hope and charity, which discusses "howe hurtefull the loue of the worlde is, and howe we maye despyse it". At their best the contemptus mundi authors and the tribulation treatises both encourage the reader to strive after heaven.

82) Examples: XII Profytes ch.7, 10. The Rote chs. 7, 10, 19.

83) XII Profytes and Rote ch.9. Bonde A deuoute Epystle (STC,3276) f. 12^{r}, 24^{r}ff.

84) XII Profytes $A2^{r}$ cp.$C2^{v}$, Orologium p.352, Bonde A deuoute Epystle f.12^{r}.

85) The Six Masters and the Nota de Pacienta had already been appended to The.xii.profytes in a number of manuscripts such as Bodl.Rawlinson C.894; Corpus Christi, Oxford m.s.220; B.M.Royal 17C.XVIII; B.M.Harley 1706; Bodl. Douce 322.

86) It did not usually appear on its own. C.U.L. ms.Ee.vi.7 has it in Latin and Bodl.ms.Laud misc.517 in English.

87) Auer, "Johannes von Dambach"pp.321 - 2.

88) For the text of the Six Masters YW II.p.390; Orologium p.352; More's Dyalogue I.xx.p.1168.

89) Acts XIV:21 (Vulgate). The quotation may also be found in The boke of conforte F4^{v}; Exornatorium Curatorum (RSTC.10627.5) C1^{v}; A Kempis II.12 at the end; Longland A sermond ...vpon good fryday... ...MCCCCC.xxxvj. G4^{v}; H.4^{r}; More Dyalogue of comforte I.xiii p.1155; Hughe The troubled mans medicine I. C3^{r}; Persons Christian Directory (1607) p.411

90) e.g. Rote A2^{v}-5^{r}, E7^{r}; Dyalogue of comforte I.xiii,xvi and p.1162; Chastising p.97 - 8; The crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC.792) f.52^{r}; A Kempis II.12; The boke of conforte B5^{v}.

91) Various references Rote and XII Profytes chapters 6,12 and the end of chapters 9, 10 Also XII Profytes C5^{r}; Dyalogue of comforte III.xiv p.1231.

92) The Rote E.6^{v}.

93) The Rote F3^{r} cp.E6^{v} "So one daye payne well taken shall stande for the payne of a yere in the whiche is conteyned CCC.dayes". The reverse is also true: the sufferings of the damned in hell shall be equal to their evil and voluptuous life on earth, J.Mew, Traditional Aspects of Hell p. 225.

94) The Rote, A4^{v}, C2^{r} 4^{r}, E5^{r}, 6^{r-v} cp.Chastising p.165 and note; Flete's Remedy, YW II.p.116; Speculum Christiani (EETS 182, [illegible]) p.198; The crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC.792) Gg2^{v}; the petition of the Jesus Psalter "Iesu, Iesu, Iesu, sende me here my purgatory"; More's Dyalogue of comforte I.xi.p.1152; II.xvi.p.1197; Erasmus' Preparation to deathe B7^{v}-8^{v}; Catharine Parr's Prayers or

Meditacions 1545 D4^{v}-5^{r} "To the I commit my selfe to be corrected: for better it is to be corrected by the here ‖ than in tyme to come"; Hide's Consolatorie Epistle A7^{v}.

95) Dyalogue of comforte I.xii; II.vii. For a convenient summary of the controversy over purgatory during the 1530's see Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants pp.88-94, 244, 294-5 and Dickens The English Reformation pp.18 - 20, also Fulop, John Frith, chapter 6.

96) The boke of conforte B3^{r-v}. The tone is that of a complaint of Christ - e.g. Brown XV Nos.105 - 6.

97) Taking into account the far greater length of More's work, references in it to Christ's life and Passion, mainly in I.xix, III,xvi-xviii, xx, xxiii, xxvi-vii are not significantly more numerous than in The.xii.profytes or The Rote. Martz, Moreana IV p.331 - 46 perhaps over emphasizes the dominance of the Passion motif.

98) XII Profytes B4^{v}- C1^{r} cp The Rote C8^{v}. It is interesting to note that among the benefits promised by the Mass of the Five Wounds, was relief from tribulation. R.W.Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England p.85

99) XII Profytes C4^{r}. The words in parentheses, omitted in the 1530 edition, are supplied from YW II p.400. For Christ as an exemplar of meekness, patience and obedience: XII Profytes A4^{r-v}, A6^{v} - B1^{r}, C5^{r}-6^{r}; The Rote H.7^{v}.cp. The boke of conforte C3^{r}..."for a free knyght playneth not his woundes whan he ‖ holdeth the woundes of his Lorde and of his kynge"; More's Dyalogue of comforte III.xxvii p.1261. Closely allied to this picture of the knight is one of the wounded Knight's care of his master e.g. Assaute...of heuen

F4^{r}; The Dialogue...betwene our sauiour Ihesu Chryste and a synner (STC.14548) D3^{r}; Lanterne of lyght (STC.15225) ca.xi.

100) The Rote. A7^{r}, B3^{r}, D3^{r}, E1^{v} and The xii profytes A4^{r-v}. The image of the siege occurs in connection with Christ the lover-knight in the Ancren Riwle (EETS 225) p.177f and The Tretyse of Loue (EETS 223) p.10f.

101) The Rote D1^{v}.

102) Based on John XV:1ff the image of the gardener is to be found in The xii profytes B2^{v}, The Rote C4^{v}, Flete's Remedy, YW II p.113; Coverdale's Precyouse Pearle PS. 114 - 5. The threshing of corn is referred to in Matthew III:12; The xii profytes B3^{r}; The Rote C5^{r} cp. Gregory Moralia III.59;XX.76. Coverdale op.cit.p.117. The wine-press figure derived from Isaiah LXIII:3 was a widely used symbol of Christ's Passion, but in The xii profytes and The Rote C5^{r} as in To teche a man to dye B2^{v} and Coverdale op.cit.p.115 the figure is used without reference to Christ's Passion.

103) The idea of Christ as "our lorde ye grete phesycyan", "our souerayne leche", "that hyghe greate, and excellent phisicion" is derived from verses such as Matthew IX:12 and Christ's healing miracles. For the patristic background R.Arbesmann, "The concept of "Christus medicus" in St. Augustine "Traditio X (1954) pp.1 - 28 cp. Gregory Moralia XXIV.2 and for St.Bernard's use of the figure, J.Ch.Didier "La dévotion à l'humanité du Christ dans la spiritualité de saint Bernard", Vie Spirituelle, xxiv 1930, suppl. pp.1 - 19. see p.18 and note. Among numerous examples of its use, The xii profytes A6^{v}, C3^{r}; The Rote C1^{r}, E3^{r}; The Chastising p.165 in a section derived from Cassian

Collatio VII ca. xxviii; Flete's Remedy, YW II.p.113; Hilton Scala I.xliv; A Kempis II.xii (EETS.es. 63, 1893, p.192); Langland Piers the Plowman ed. Skeat, B.Passus I.201 where the name of Jesus is said to mean health or healer; near the beginning of the Prohemium to Speculum Vitae Christi St.Augustine's De agone christiano is cited as the source for the idea that Christ was made man's medicine; The tree & xii frutes fol.xvii; The boke of conforte G3^{r} and in later works such as More's Dyalogue of comforte I.i.p.1142, II.xvi. p. 1196 - 7; A myrrour... for them that be syke D1^{v}, G4^{v}; Catherine Parr's Prayers or meditacions D4^{r}; Coverdale's Precyouse pearle PS$_{\beta}$113; A Manual of Prayers f.135^{r}; Donne's Devotions upon emergent occasions, xxii end. The idea of the sacrament as a medicine is found as far back as the eucharistic prayer of Sarapion, G.Dix The Shape of the Liturgy pp.164, 169, remained in currency during the middle ages and appears during the 1530's in Gerarde's The interpretacyon...of the Masse.

104) Dyalogue of comforte I.vii p.1147 and I.xvii. The first manner of purgation cited in The xii profytes and The Rote is of medicinal purging by bitter medicine or blood letting. Frith, Of the preparation to the crosse, ca.x, adduces Isaiah XXXVIII:21 and Ecclesasticus XXXVIII:I in support of physic and uses the presence of St.Luke amongst the early apostles to show that Christians have always accepted doctors. But although physic, as the creation and instrument of God, is not to be despised he emphasizes that it cannot cure apart from God, and faith is necessary - cp. Matthew IX:9-22. Erasmus wrote a Declamatio in Laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae which was translated and printed in English during the 1530's (C.37 in Deveraux' English Translations) but the warning against trusting doctors too far, so often found in literature connected with death, was persistent e.g.

Medicine of the soule (Bishop, p.197 on STC film 716) D4^{r}.

For a survey of medical books in print C.1525 - 1557 Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557, pp.97 - 109.

105) The xii profytes D3^{r}, cp. Bonde Pilgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.41^{v}; Coverdale's Precyouse Pearle PS.111-2 The image is also used in a variety of ways in The Chastising chapters 1, 5; the Monk of Farne's meditation on Christ Crucified chapter 40 and Julian of Norwich Revelations chapter 59. On the biblical background to Julian's use of the image, S.M.A. "God is our Mother" Blackfriars II, 1945, no.xv.p.49 - 53; A Cabassut "Une dévotion médiévale peu connue la dévotion à Jésus notre mère" Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique XXV, 1949 pp.234 - 45, also Woolf Lyrics pp.189 - 91.

106) PL.CCVII, 996; YW II.p.51 compared with p.398.

107) The image is based on biblical references such as Wisdom III: 5 -6; Isaiah XLVIII: 10; Ezekiel XXIV: 11-15; Zechariah XIII: 9; Malachi III:3 and examples of its usage seem worth quoting because of the similarity of language and application and the frequency with which it is accompanied by other images or themes associated with tribulation: Ayenbite of Inwyt, EETS 23, p.167: "Vor tribulacion: makeþ pacience... wyþoute þise virtue nonne is yproued. ne þet golde ne may by wyþ-out ver y-clensed". The Book of Vices and Virtues EETS 217, p.202: "For tribulacions proveþ & assaieþ Goddes knyghtes, þe knyght knoweþ not his strenkþe ar he haue be pressed in an hard iorneye...tribulacions purgeþ þe soule as þe ouene doþ þe gold and þe flaile doþ þe corne and as þe file doþ þe ieren, as seynt Gregory seiþ...tribulacion is þe medicine þat heleþ þe sekenesse of synne". The Chastising of God's Children p.164 "fier purgeþ goold and siluer, but man is preued bi mekenesse in chastisynge".

107 cont.] Flete's Remedy, YW II.p.109: "as fyre purge the golde and as a knyghte is proued good and hardy by batayle: ryght so temptacyons and troubles purgeth a ryght wyse soule". Hilton's Scala II.ca.xxviii: "...he has so long been twisted by the false love of the world that he cannot be striaghtened without great heat and pressure just as a twisted bar cannot be straightened without being plunged into the fire and heated. Therefore our Lord Jesus, seeing what is necessary for a perverse soul, allows it to be tried by various temptations, and well tested by spiritual difficulties until all the rust of impurities is burned out of it" (Penguin Classics edition). Bonde's Pylgrymage of perfeccyon (1531) f.134^{V}: "saynt Gregory sayth: lyke as the fyle rubbeth away the rust of ye metall/ and sheweth the bryghtnes of the same. Or as the flayle tryeth ye corne from the chaffe... so werketh payne and & tribulacyon in the rightuous persone/for it maketh hym blessed and & bryght in grace".

Bonde Addeuoute Epystle f.12^{r}: "For lyke as ye fier tryeth and & prouyth ye syluer or golde. so ye fornace of payne and & tribulacion prouith ye elect chyldren and & chosen enheritours of ye kyndom of heuen..(Marg: Eccli.II Rom V)... Tribulacion workyth pacience. Pacience hole and & vnbroken workyth profe & and profe warkyth hope. & and hope neuer confoundyth/but gyuyth such gostly strengthe to man and & knytteth his harte so fast to god. yt all payne is plesure to hym..."

Amyrrour of glasse for them that be syke D4^{V}: "Be pacyent in youre depressynge. For as golde and syluer betried in the fyre: so is man tried in the fornace of temptacion..."

Hughe The troubled mans medicine I,A8^{V}: Calamities " whiche tryeth vs as the golde is tryed in the fyry fornace beynge neuer the worse therfore, but better, & and purer"

Coverdale, Precyouse Pearle PS.115 "The goldsmith casteth a lump of gold into the oven, but to purge it from the corruption that is in it....even so is God the goldsmith, the world the

n.107 cont.] oven, affliction the fire, the faithful Christians the gold, and the filth and corruption is sin". Hide's Consolatorie Epistle (ed.1579)G.3^{r-v}: "Catholikes are in the forge vnder the workemans hande to be refined. They are in the forge not as coles that burne & turne to ashes, but as gold that is tried. The forge is the world you are the golde tri|| bulation is the fire, God is the workeman". Person's Christian Directory (ed.1607) p.421: "this rod of affliction falling vpon stony-harted sinners, mollifieth them to contrition, & often - times bringeth forth the fluddes of teares to repentance... And for like effect, it is compared also to a file of yron which taketh avvay the rust of the soule. In like manner, to a purgation that driueth out corrupt homours. And finallie to a gold-smithes forge, which consumeth avvay the refuse metals, and fineth the gold to his perfection". For the references to St.Gregory, Moralia XX,76;III. 59; XXIV.II.

108) Patience is frequently mentioned in The xii profytes and The Rote e.g. towards the end of the chapters 4, 9, 10 and The Rote 14. It is also mentioned by the second and third of the Six Masters and in the Nota de Pacientia. Meekness is mentioned in The xii profytes and The Rote chapters 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11. They received fuller treatment in numerous other treatises e.g. chapters 21, 23. The Dyetary of Ghostly Helthe; meekness is the nominal subject of Copland's The Doctrynall of mekenesse; patience of the first book of Whitford's Holy instrucyons and teachynges, fols. 1 - 48.

109) The book of Job provided the basis of Gregory's Moralia and he is referred to in The xii profytes A5^{v}, B4^{r}, D2^{r-v}, in The Rote and in More's Dyalogue of comforte I.xv-xvi. See E.Von der Osten, "Job and Christ", Journal of the Warburg

and Courtauld Institutes, XVI, 1953pp.153 -8.

110) Obedience is mentioned in The xii profytes C3^{r-v}, 5^{v} and The Rote H7^{v}, More's Dyalogue of comforte I.xix p.1167. It is frequently dealt with at length by authors of works for religious, e.g. Whitford's Pype or Tonne the first "board" of part III; The Orcherd of Syon EETS 258, septima pars, p.377f; The myrroure of oure Ladye EETS es.19, p.2 etc. The story of Occosias (4th. purgation, ch.3 The xii profytes) is used to show the importance of trust in God; in the Nota de Pacientia the story is used in its more traditional sense as a warning against pride, R. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery p.120. More raises the subject of trust, Dyalogue of comforte I.ii and the seventh chapter of Frith's Preparation to the crosse includes reactions on "The promyse of god" and "Faythe".

111) I.Corinthians X:13 ch. The xii profytes A4^{r}, C6^{r}; Orologium p.350; A Kempis I.xiii; Dyalogue of comforte I.v; Person's Christian Directory (1607) p.435.

112) The xii profytes B1^{v}.

113) Thus The Rote A1^{v} "Temporall aduersyte and trouble proffyteth nothynge to the rewarde of ye eternall Ioye but yf it be pacyentely taken" and there are repeated warnings of the dangers of "grutchynge" against tribulation e.g. The Rote C2^{r} and together with The xii profytes at the end of the first purgation, chapter 3 and the end of chapter 5;cp. Chastising chapter 7; Flete's Remedy YW.II.p.113; Dyalogue of comforte I.xix.p.1165.

114) Among many references, The xii profytes C4^{r}, 5^{r}, 6^{v}, D1^{v} and chapter 12; The Rote A1^{v}, B1^{r}, C4^{v}, 8^{v}, G3^{r} and chapter

20.cp. Petrarch's A Dialogue between Reason and Adversity ed. F.N.M. Diekstra pp33; the crest of the helmet in The Assaute ; Person's Christian Directory (1607) p.430 etc.

115) Dylaogue of comforte I.xv-xvii. The belief that suffering was sent from God and is a good thing is clearly seen in the Visitatio Infirmorum, YW II p.450f and W.Maskell Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae vol.3, 2nd ed. Oxford 1822,p.414f; also in "The Exhortation to Faith and Prayer" in The Visitation of the Sick, Book of Common Prayer 1662 . In his discussion of liberty and bondage, Dyalogue of comforte III.xviii - xx, More not only describes the world as a prison and all those within it prisoners, - a a fairly conventional view - but he makes "God" our chiefe gaylor" who imprisons men by painful diseases, p.1246. It makes God sound as unpleasant as W.Epsom's view of Milton's God (London 1961) p.242ff. The idea that God sends suffering does not seem to have been seriously challenged until comparatively recent times, e.g. Dostoyevsky's The Brothers Karamazov Pt. II. bk 5 "Rebellion" and J.A.T. Robinson, The new Reformation? (S.C.M. Paperback 1965)p.112f.

116) On the structure of The Dyalogue, L.Martz, "The Design of More's Dyalogue of comforte", Moreana IV 1967pp.331 - 46 who makes the work sound more highly wrought than is immediately apparent when reading it.

117) Dyalogue I.ix, II xiii - xiv, xv - xvi.

118) The "mery tales" occur mainly in Book II where Anthony and Vincent almost seem to compete in telling them. Their use is justified in II.i. The tales are not unrelated to some earlier sermon exempla, Owst LPME pp.163 - 8 and like many preachers More also makes use of proverbial sayings, e.g. "it is a thing right hard, to touch pitch,& neuer

fyle ye fingers, to put flexe vnto fyre, and yet kepe them fro burning..." p.1200 or "wyth tooth and nayle" p.1250. See Owst LPME pp.42 - 4; Blake Middle English Religious Prose p.22. For a more general view of More's humour A.I.Taft, The Apologye of Syr Thomas More Knyght, EETS 180, pp. lvi-lx.

119) The domestic setting is marked by the arrival of dinner at the end of the book I (cp.the end of Bk.I, Utopia and Bk.I, III Dialogue of heresyes) a detail which would have no place in medieval treatises. Of the historical setting, the Turkish threat, the ostensible reason for the dialogue, outlined in the introductions to books I and III (and incidental references III.xii - xiv), was a real enough menace to Hungary during the 1520's and 1530's: Cambridge Modern History III (Cambridge 1904) pp. 106 -9; R.W.Chambers, Thomas More (London 1934) pp. 266, 388 - 9 and M.Manzalaoni "Syria in the Dyalogue of comforte" Moreana II.1965.pp21-7. The veracity of the fiction is further maintained by the work's title: "A dyalogue of comforte...made by an Hungarien in Laten, and translated oute of laten in to frenche, and oute of frenche into Englishe". In much the same way Utopia was provided with a map and an alphabet of the Utopian language, The Complete Works of Thomas More, vol IV, Yale U.P.New Haven, 1965 pp. 16 - 19.

120) Personal interest includes, for instance, the character of the interlocutors. We learn that Anthony is old and near to death, p.1139; that he has been seriously ill, p.1169 and that he sleeps badly p.1211. Chambers EETS 186, pp.clvii - xiii comments on the style of the dialogue. Tales such as the nun and her brother (Preface to Bk.II) the scout's report of the Turkish surprise attack II.xii, The Drunkard I.xii (cp.Boethius De Consolatione lib.III. prosa 2), the lazy schoolboy II.xiv, the woodman's fiendish

wife II.xv and even the beast fable of the Scrupulous Ass, the Fox and the Wolf confessi II.xiv, all derive at least some of their interest from More's ability to make the speech, actions and psychology of the characters seem convincing.

121) More and Erasmus translated a number of Lucian's Dialouges, W.E.Campbell, Erasmus, Tyndale and More p.40 also numerous references in McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics.

122) The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More, ed.E.F.Rogers. Roper's life, EETS 197; Harpsfield's EETS 186, and Ro:Ba's EETS 222.

123) Dyalogue II.xiv.pp.1184 -5, III.xx.p.1247.

124) See Correspondence, letters no.201, 204, 218 and the closing paragraphs of Nos. 210, 211, 214. There is an almost certain reference to Margaret Clement, Dyalogue II.iv.p.1173. Harpsfield tells the same story as an example of her knowledge of physic EETS 186, pp.90 - 1. The Tercian fever is also described and given a moral application in The Chastising p.127 cp. Pricke of conscience l.2982ff. (Philological Society 1863)pp. 81 - 2.

125) For the humanist's care to make learning interesting and pleasant, W.H.Woodward Desiderius Erasmus concerning the aim and method of education, Cambridge 1904pp. 90 - 1

126) Not altogether fair to Colet who did approve of classical authors in some circumstances, L.Miles John Colet and the Platonic Tradition, London 1962pp. 22 - 9

127) Dyalogue of comforte I.i - a view possibly derived from St.Augustine, L.Miles "Patristic Comforters in More's

Dyalogue of comforte", Moreana II 1965 p.10 - 11, E.M. Routh Sir Thomas More and his Friends p.33

128) Seneca III.xviii p.1293; Martial III.x.p.1223; Pliny II.xiv p.1183, III.x.p.1222. More also cites Plato on the reasonable soul of the world III.vi.p.1219; Terence and Juvenal III.x.p.1222 - 3; Galen's De differentiis febrium II.iv.p.1173 and refers on two occasions to Scylla and Charybdis p.1185, 1195. The fables of Æsop referred to are (i) the hen which laid the golden eggs II.xvii (ii) the sheep's invitation to the wolf against the dogs. Preface bk.III (iii) how the snail got its shell, III.xxii (iv) the old hart and the bitch III.xxiv - cp. Quatuor Novissima by More, p.85 On More's enthusiasm for Æsop see letter no.206, Correspondence p.518 and for later authors' use of Æsop, D.G.Hale "Æsop in Renaissance England" The Library[5] XXVII, 1972 p. 116 - 25.

129) L.Miles "Patristic comforters in More's Dyalogue of comforte" Moreana II. 1965 p. 9 - 20 and R.C. Marius "Thomas More and the early church fathers", Traditio XXIV 1968 p.379 - 407.

130) Gerson is referred to in II.vii p.1177 and his De Probatione Spirituum is named as an authority p.1190 on what was a widely discussed topic cp. Flete's Remedy, YW II.p.118 - 21, ca. viii - ix and Bonde's A deuoute Epystle e.g. ch. 3 - 10 include many references, Gerson is mentioned f.11[r], also Pourrat, Christian Spirituality III pp. 274 - 6. More also attributes the view that pain suffered willingly on earth will stand instead of Purgatory to Gerson.
On More's respect for Boethius, Correspondence letter no.101; also H.R.Patch, The Tradition of Boethius pp.109 - 11. It is possible that he had the De Consolatione with him in prison, G.B.Dolson "Imprisoned English Authors and the Consolation

of Philosophy", American Journal of Philosophy XLIII, 1922 p.168 - 9.

131) Most of the familiar tribulation texts e.g. Acts XIV: 22; Hebrews XI:13f, XII: 5f are quoted at some point in Dyalogue I.xiii. References to Psalm XC: 1 - 6 (Vulgate) occur in I.x - xi (detailed exposition); II. xvi;III.ii, xvii, xxi, xxvii. See J.Kuhn "The function of Psalm 90 in Thomas More's A Dyalogue of comforte", Moreana VI, 1969 pp.61 - 7 also L.Martz art.cit., Moreana IV, 1967, p.340f. For examples of a refrain used more consistently at the end of most chapters, the "Da nobis Domine auxilium de tribulatione" of The xii profytes and the "Vigilate et Orate etc." of The Chastising.

132) Dyalogue III.xx.p.1247. For a biased view see Bohm, pp.146 - 7, 150 - 1.

133) Correspondence letter no. 201, the latter part of 208, 210 and 211.

134) Dyalogue I.xvi, II.iii.ff, ix - x, xi - xvii. Temptation and antidote are not closely enough defined to provide a practical guide such as is offered in Ancren Riwle (EETS 225) p.78f or Hilton's Scala II.xi, xxii - iii, xxvi etc.

135) References to confession, penance etc. in Dyalogue II.vi, vii, xvi; the sins I.iii.p.1144; to death III.xx.p.1244 cp. Eueryman (ed. Cawley) p.3f and the opening of The deynge creature. Christ's poverty is described III.xvi and His imprisonment III.xx. Descriptions of the Passion in I.xix, III xxiii, xxvii are in the traditional manner - like for example, Speculum Vitae Christi a work recommended by More in the Preface to The Confutacion of Tyndales Avnswere p.356.

136) Dyalogue II.xvi p.1201. The focus upon the visual stimulus of the image of Christ's Passion, the duty of confession, recognition of God's mercies the bewailing of human infirity and the reminder of the need to ask God for help and to trust His promises are all commonplace in devotional literature up to the 1530's. See also H.Meolon, "La Devotion chez Thomas More", Moreana V, 1968 pp. 5-10 cp. his biographers' descriptions of More's private devotion. Harpsfield, EETS, 186 pp.65 - 6; Roper, EETS 197 pp. 25 - 7; Ro: Ba: EETS. 222, pp48 - 52.

137) "A godly meditacion" written by More while in prison, 1534, Workes pp.1416 - 7.

138) Dyalogue III.v - ix, xi - xii. I.xv - xvi, III. x deal with the related topics of flattery and the legitimacy of prayers for health.

139) Matt. VI: 24. Dyalogue III.xiii - xiv.

140) Dyalogue II.xvii. p.1208.

141) Dyalogue I.xv - xvi, II.xvii cp. Rote $A2^{v}f$.

142) Representative of the traditional view are Langland and Gower according to A.B.Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham N.C., 1965) pp. 51, 56 - 7: the quotation is from p. 135. For comment on More's exchange with Fish - much concerned with social problems - and on Utopia see pp. 218 - 20, 318 - 20 also J.W.Allen. A History of Political Thought in The Sixteenth Century (London, 1941, 2nd ed.) pp. 153 - 6.

143) All references to the edition of 1607 facs. reprod. vol.41 English Recusant Literature ed. D.M.Rogers.

144) See W.T.Trimble. The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England (Cambridge, Mass.1964) pp 68 - 134. A Dialogue of cumfort by More was reprinted in 1573 by John Fowler in Antwerp whose preface "To the Reader" seems designed to apply not only to general afflictions, but also to the Protestant - Catholic conflict of the times.

145) Especially in the fourth section, e.g. pp.449 - 50, 452 - 61.

146) Directory p. 438, cp. The crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC.792) f.52^{r} which names adversity of the world and patient bearing of poverty and corporal sickness as the first of its nine signs of predestination.

147) Directory p.417. With obvious reference to the situation in England Persons shows, pp.415 - 8, that "there neuer vvanteth occasion of bearing the crosse, and suffering affliction" and that resistance is generally easier in times of external affliction than in times of peace for which some of his readers were yearning.

148) Directorypp.418 - 32.

149) Directorypp.425 - 6 uses the example of a mother who encouraged a child to love her more by making him afraid of others - a strange perversion of the common illustration of the loving mother e.g. Bonde, Deuoute Epystle f.23^{v} - 4^{r}. Persons also uses the quotation from Hosea XI. cp. The xii profytes C.3^{r}.

150) Directory p. 433 - cp. the title a A Kempis II.xii.

151) This summary from the Protestant Certeine prayers L.2^{v} seems a fair expression of the standard Catholic view from

The xii profytes to Persons. The Rote gives clearest expression to the view that the manner of suffering, and the possession of suitable virtues before the battle, are decisive, with the example of the two thieves crucified with Christ, both suffred the same afflictions "but the sufferers are not lyke/for that one hath vertue with the payne/ and that the other hath vyce" A.4^{v}.

152) De ~~Imitatione~~ Imitatione Christi I.xii. For convenience chapter references are to Atkynson's translation, EETS.es.63, ~~xxxx~~.

153) cp. De Imitatione III.xxxiv.

154) cp. De Imitatione III.xi "howe no man may be sure frome temptacyon whyles he lyueth here" and on patient endurance III.xx - xxi, Iii

155) De Imitatione II.xii.

156) The first quotation Mark VIII:34, the second Matt.XXV:41.

157) cp. De Imitatione III.xix, Iiii - v, Ixiv.

158) cp. De Imitatione III.vi - vii, xxix, Ixi. The mood is not unlike that of the Orologium where again emphasis falls upon the deep bond of love which can knit a man to God "by þe knot of loue" rather than upon any promise of reward. Again there is no attempt to equate suffering with a reward, rather suffering is taken up into love.

159) All quotations are from the 1540 edition printed by Berthelet (STC.11393). The Folger copy (STC.11392 - dated ? 1530) could hardly be before 1536 - Duff, Century p.120 - when Petyt began to print and the absence of the dedicatory preface to Cromwell would suggest a date after his fall in

1540. The Revised STC. (11393.5) suggests that it was actually printed by Nicholas Hill for Petyt c.1548. It was not until the publication of Vox Piscis, 1627 which also included A mirrour or Glass to know Thy Selfe and To teach a person willingly to die, and not to feare death that the Preparation was attributed to Frith. It was not included in The whole workes of W.Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, 1573 which raises doubts about the authorship. In the preface Richard Tracy claims to have translated it from the Latin - I have found no trace of a Latin original and it was perhaps no more a translation than More's Dyalogue of comforte. Frith may well have known Tracy - he had written a brief comment on his father, William Tracy's will (Whole workes, 1573, pp.7' - 81) - but Tracy was himself both a Reformer and a writer (see STC. 24162 - 6) who was capable of producing Of the preparation to the crosse.

160) Preparation to the crosse, $C8^{r-v}$.

161) Christ is seen as the best example of patience, EI^{v} and again at the beginning of the chapter xii and the Christian should accept God's affliction gladly "For we must be lyke the ymage of his sonne". $E4^{r}$.

162) Preparation to the crosse $G1^{r}$.

163) Printed by Godfray c.1534 according to RSTC 11211 - see Butterworth p. 78. The introduction to the Christian Reader is worth quoting: "Beholde here....the very lyueng Fountayne the celestial treasure of goddes promises/out of which do spring most fruitfull consolations for the/whan so euer thou wilt resort vnto it in thine aduersity with a thursty stomake. For here be compendiously gathered togyther/ the thynges that perauenture thou mightest seke after in the Bible a gret while. And here thou mayst soone fynde wherwith thou shalt be able/nat onely to cure thyne owne woundes/but

also to recomfort thy neyghbour being fallen into any aduersyte..." and it goes on to detail the other promises of God's word - not least its promise of eternal life.cp. Later and on a much larger scale, The Common Places of the Holy Scripture by Thomas Becon.

164) The English N.T. had been circulating illegally in England since 1525 - 6 when Tyndale's version was printed but it was not authorized until The Second Royal Injunctions of 1538, Dickens and Carr, The Reformation in England pp. 81 - 3. See also P.E.Hughes, The theology of the English Reformers pp. 9 - 44.

165) STC 13910 - 12. All references to the edition of 1546, the two parts each with separate title pages and pagination designated as Hughe I and Hughe II. The extreme earnestness of so much Protestant writing seems to have been engendered by their passionate belief in the truth of their gospel, coupled with a sense of the urgency of their mission- their zeal made them over serious. Hughe's Protestantism is tempered by reference to many classical authors who seem to have had a civilizing influence upon his writing.

166) Preparation to the crosse. $B1^{v}$.

167) Preparation to the crosse. ch.iv.cp. Hughe I. $A5^{v}$ - $B1^{r}$.

168) Preparation. ch.10 Hughe I. $D3^{r}$, like More, shows that tribulations are appointed as friendly medicines but earlier (about B6-7) he declares that since all things were created to serve man that this is true also of affliction and adverse fortune.

169) Preparation $C6^{r}$. On desperation $F5^{r-v}$.

170) Preparation ch.xii. Certeine prayers in the "Consolacyon for troubled consciences" I.$^{r-v}$ produces the rather curious idea that paine, affliction and death are the true relics hallowed by Christ which will obtain a far greater reward than touching vessels and water pots reputed to have been handled by Him. Hughe I.C7^{r-v} - quite likely derived from Certeine prayers - makes the same point rather more clearly: "we wolde be wonderfullye well con|| tente, to handle the table...the garmentes or vestures he vsed, or other lyke reliques, beyng as consecrate with his holye touchynge: muche better me thinke we ought to be apaied, to handle afflictions, as reliques whiche besydes that they were oft halowed by his most holy touchyng, be also commaunded to be fingered of vs, specially seeing yt more rewardes, & merites come by the handeling of them, than by a fore named."

171) Preparation. ch.vii.

172) In dealing with the desire the author refers his reader to the Lord's prayer as the guide to what he should desire - a great crop of books containing expositions of the Lord's prayer followed upon the First Royal Injunction of 1536.

173) Preparation. D7^{v} - 8^{r}, ch.ix,xi.

174) Among other references Preparation D4^{r}, 6^{v} - 7^{r}, F2^{r} etc. D7^{n} Faith includes the belief that God "is present with vs, ruleth and gouerneth vs, that he maye make vs safe."

175) Preparation C3^{r}.

176) Preparation G7^{v} - 8^{r}.

177) Preparation D8^{v}.

178) See T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, London 1972, pp.42 - 3.

179) Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons I.6^{r-v} and The seventh chapter of the seventh image, L6^{r} ff. cp. Hughe I. G.4^{v} - 8^{r}.

180) Preparation A4^{r}. Tracy was not alone in seeking Cromwell's patronage - see numerous references in McConica, ch. 5 -6 although he does not mention this example. The humility formula of the late middle ages was generally replaced in devout treatises of a Protestant nature, by unsolicited dedication to an influential person or by a prefatory advertisement, during the 1540's.

181) Examples of the nationalistic content of English Protestantism include Becon's A newe patheway vnto praier and The new pollecye of warre, both printed in 1542 (PS.I pp.180 - 2, 234 - 5); Hynet A shorte treatise of politke power (edn 1556) E5^{v} - 7^{v}; Bradford's preface to Chrysostom on Prayer, (PS Sermons and Mediatations p.13) and from the following century Milton's Animadversions, section iv (The Student's Milton, ed. F.A.Patterson, New York 2nd ed. 1933, p.492). Among general treatments, Einstein, Tudor Ideals (London, 1921) Part III, Sections 3 - 4 and H.Kohn "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism", Journal of the History of Ideas, I.1940 p. 69 - 94.

182) STC. 25255 - 9

183) Mainly to be found chapters 6 - 7, (PS. Fruitful Lessons pp.108 - 119) Among the similitudes he describes God as a father, a mother, a schoolmaster, a physician (cp. Bradford PS Sermons p. 431), a gardener and a goldsmith purging gold. He also describes the pressing of grapes in

the wine press, the threshing of corn and the trying of gold again and he cites the examples of Job. All these examples to be found in The xii profytes and The Rote.

184) Hide, A Consolatoire Epistle AR 395. $A7^{v}$. See Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose pp. 208 - 11. The quotation is from another edition than that given by Southern p.428, at Ushaw College, Durham. This edn. in 8^{o}, A - G in 8's but lacks A1 and G1.

185) STC. 5890 attributed to Coverdale. Bradford PS. Sermons pp. 412 - 33.

186) W.Stevens, Memoirs of the Life and Matrydom of John Bradford (London, 1832) e.g. letters nos. 87, 01, 94.

187) STC. 1716 See, for example, Becon PS III.pp.211, 216, 219.

188) The preparation to the crosse's chapter xiv suggests very much the idea behind The iiii tokens, (STC.14505) and developed later in the more explicit identification of tribulation and unnatural signs as precursors of the Last Judgement, e.g. The generall signes and forerunners of Christ coming to Iudgement, (STC. 14549) or Bateman's The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente (STC. 1582). Conjectures about the end of all things had always been susceptible to political interpretation in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic (D.S.Russell The Method and Message of Jewish Apolalyptic (London 1964) p.265 ff.); and in addition to sections like Mark XIII, epistles such as I Thessalonians and Jude, the Book of Revelation was much used for political ends, not least in the terminology of the English Protestants. Joye's translation of Osiander's The coniectures of the ende of the worlde uses Daniel, St.Paul's writings and the Apocalypse, in addition to

Jewish talmudic computations in an attempt to estimate when the end of all things and in particular Rome's tyranny, would end. See also M.Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford 1969) pp 107 f, 453 ff.

189) A list of brasses etc. of infants in swaddling clothes: M.Clayton, Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs. p. 138

190) For woodcuts showing hanging or execution Hodnett nos. 104, 758, 766, 929, 1031, 1725, 1783. See Knowles RO III p. 331 for Henry's threat against those implicated in the Northern Rising. Among others More and the London Carthusians and, even more cruelly, Robert Aske, hung in chains at York, were thus publicly exhibited. cp. the discussion between Adam and Mannoury about the corpse hanging from the gallows at the opening of The Devils by John Whiting.

191) e.g. Erasmus' Preparation to deathe (edn 1543) $C5^{v}-6^{r}$; Lupset Of dieyng well (ed.J.A.Gee) p.278;Whitford's Dayle exercyse $[illegible]8^{v}$-Di; Werdmüller's A moste frutefull...treatise p. 152. The sisters of Syon daily gathered around a bier and open grave to recite the De profundis, The myroure of Oure Ladye, EETS. es. 19, [illegible] pp.142 - 3.

192) The chapter on "Mors" in Bromyard's Summa Predicantium is one of his longest; Speculum Sacerdotale (EETS 200, [illegible]) talks about forms of burial and the office of the dead ch 61 - 2; Mirk's Festial (EETS.es.96, [illegible]) has two similar sermons, Nos. 71, 72. Owst PME and LPME also Blench see indexes under "death" for further references.

193) Among those who seem to overstress the preoccupation with death, at least so far as England was concerned: Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, (Peregrine 1965) ch.11 whose views are often applied to England; Beaty The Craft of Dying pp. 38, 46, 50 etc.; Paternoster, Thou Art There Also p. 59, who might have added that terror and disgust could be balanced by the elegaic beauty of some of the ubi sunt laments.

194) Among the most influential is Huizinga's The Waning of the Middle Ages. O'Connor's The Art of Dying Well is more concerned with the European rather than the specifically English developments of the ars moriendi, while Kurtz and Clarke on the dance of death both place England in a European context. Mâle's L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age is concerned mainly with French art and Réau's L'Art Chrétien gives very few English examples. Tenenti's La Vie et la Mort à travers l'Art du XVe Siècle like his Il Senso della Morte et l'Amore della Vita nel Rinascimento concentrates on French and Italian examples while Boase Death in the Middle Ages mingles English and European illustrations.

195) Woolf, Lyrics pp. 311, 353 cp. Gray Themes and Images pp.176, 179 - 81, Huizinga's chapter 11 over-emphasizes the physical and earthly side of death, this was only one strand of the English death-literature. He does not mention the balancing love and joy often associated with devotion to Jesus and the Blessed Virgin and so in isolating one strand of the death literature he seems to have produced a seriously distorted view. His whole thesis of the fifteenth century as a period of decline is challenged by E.F.Jacob, Essays in later medieval history, "Huizinga and the Autumn of the Middle Ages", pp. 141 - 53.

196) For example N.L.Beaty's argument, The Craft of Dying pp.50 - 3 on the virtues of the Tracatus artis bene moriendi seems to me to be misdirected because she has accepted Huizinga's estimate of the period's character (pp.37 - 48 and p.37 n 32) rather than the evidence of the work itself, which suggests a far less macabre interest.

197) A.Boinet, "Reliures à emblems macabres de la compagnie des confrères de la mort", Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1956 pp. 341 - 5 and in the xvii century Les Frères de la Mort, whose scapulars carried a death's head and whose perpetual recollection was of death, P.Helyot, Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires vol. 3. (Paris 1715) pp.341 - 5.

198) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi (ed.1533) $D7^{r-v}$ cp.Montaigne I xix (translated by Florio, p.83 in the series Tudor Translations.)

199) R.T.Davies, Medieval English Lyrics No.153 and Brown XV century Religious Lyrics No. 148 Some of the detail in the latter is derived from Maximian on whom see Woolf, Lyrics, p.103 - 5 and G.R.Coffman "Old Age from Horace to Chaucer", Speculum IX (1936) p. 249 - 77.

200) For the decade 1530 - 40 Erasmus' list seems to be the only one in devout treatises. For preachers, Owst PME pp.341 - 2; Blench pp. 234 - 5. For later examples, A New Treatise C3v (STC 24226); Jonson's Volpone at the end of Act I, scene iv, and Taylor Holy dying chapter 1 §1.

201) It was used to good effect by Chaucer in "The Pardoner's Tale", See J.M.Steadman "Old Age and Contemptus Mundi in The Pardoner's Tale", Medium Ævum XXXIII, 1964 pp.121 - 30.

202) Signs of death are listed Orologium p.363; The mirroure of golde (STC.6895) G3^{v}; Cordiale A5^{v}; More's Quatuor novissima, English Works 1557 p. 77; Werdmüller A moste frutefull piththye and learned treatyse B1^{r}; Skelton's poem Upon a Dead Man's Head; [illegible] A new treatyse C4^{r}; Parkyn p.64. Bodl. Ms Tanner 407 includes the verse from the Fasciculus morum — see Woolf Lyrics pp. 81 - 2 — with the Latin prayer added to each line: "Whan ye hed quaketh memento. whan ye lyppys blackyth confessio | Whan ye nose scharpyth. Contricio.....Whan ye eyne fylmyn. libera me domine. whan deth folewyth venitis ad iudicium." They are also to be found in Isaac Ambrose's meditation, "Deaths Arrest," The Complete Works, 1674, p. 403 and in Becon's A New Postil, 1566 fol.9^{r}, and even in James Joyce's Ulysses (London 1960) p. 140

203) STC nos. 3320, 13522, 24199 - 24207.

204) In Medieval Studies XXXII, 1970, pp.282 - 58 see also Woolf, Lyrics pp. 78 - 82, 330 - 2.

205) Quatuor novissima, English Works, 1557, pp.77, D-F.

206) Quotation from L.Martz, The Poetry of Meditation p. 137, see pp.135 - 44. St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises, Second Exercise of Death. Examples in Donne include his "Second Anniversary" and Devotions upon emergent occasions.

207) Owst LPME p.533.

208) A selection of these authorites are cited by Legrand M3^{r}, in the Cordiale a5^{r} and The mirroure of golde chapter 6.

209) Among others to quote this view— most of them attribute it to Plato (Phaedo 67D, Cicero, Tusculan Disputations I. xxx, 74)—Legrand M3^{r}; Erasmus Preparation to deathe A5^{v};

More English Works p.77c; Whitford Dayly exercyse C6^{r}; Parkyn p.64; L'Espine, A Treatise tending to take away the feare of death (STC. 15515) p.3.

210) As we shall see later the Christian content of his treatise Of Dyenge well is overshadowed by his admiration for the pagan's courage and virtues.

211) Certeine prayers. G3^{r}.

212) Isidore, The gathered covnsailes of saincte Isidore (STC. 14271) A3^{r}; Legrand M3^{r}; Whitford Dayly exercyse C8^{r}; The mirroure of golde E6^{r}; Cordiale A5^{v}. Longland, (STC. 16795) E2^{v} cp.2 Henry IV,ii.4, Doll...: "When wilt thou leave fighting o' days, and foining o'nights, and begin to patch up thine old body for heaven?" Falstaff: "Peace, good doll! do not speak me like a death's head: do not bid me remember mine end".

213) e.g. A Kempis I:xxiii; Lupset p. 287.

214) Mirroure of golde G2^{v} cp. among others Legrand M3^{r}, "For a man yt thynketh he muste nedes deye....setteth lytel by the worlde and by hym selfe/and also he is all cooled of the vanytees and of al worldely pleasaunces".

215) Whitford, Dayly exercyse A9-B2; Lupset p. 279.

216) e.g. Frith The Preparation to Deathe ch.I (I.8^{r}); A myrrour...for them that be syke I3^{v}.

217) To teche a man to dye E2^{v}-3^{v}.

218) Orologium p. 362.

219) Orologium pp. 388 - 9.

220) Hughe I.B5^{r}; Certeine prayers H7^{r}; A myrrour...for them that be syke I.8^{r}.

221) The "Consolacyon" occurs both in Certeine prayers from which I have quoted and in Prayers of the Byble (RSTC 20200.3); it is a translation of Luther's XIV Consolations.

222) Certeine prayers H.8^{r}.

223) e.g. More English Works p. 776; a brief exercise is given in a Primer of 1531 (STC.15966) A3^{r-v}; for examples in art, Weber Aspects of Deathpp. 26 - 8.

224) There is another edition at Lincoln without either printer or date, which I have not seen. Whitford says it was written "more then.xx.yeres ago" and Dame Elizabeth Gibbs, Abbess of Syon for whom he wrote it died in 1518, so the Lincoln edition could date from the earlier 1530's.

225) The sustained parallelism between Whitford's Dayly exercyse and St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercise suggested by W.A.M. Peters, "Richard Whitford and St. Ingatius' visit to England" Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu XXV, 1956, pp. 8 - 11 seems to me far from proven.

226) Dayly exercyse A6^{r}.

227) Op.cit. C6^{r}.

228) Op.cit. C8^{r}.

229) I have found no English work which portrays a death-bed scene as vividly as the Grimani Breviary (Boase, Death in the Middle

Ages, illustr. no.105). Although O'Connor lists no English xylographic ars moriendi editions, some printed abroad doubtless found their way into England and copies of the Verard death-bed scenes were used in many books printed by de Worde, e.g. Hodnett nos.501 - 4, 506 - 10.

230) Dayly exercyse D1^{r-v}; Exornatorium (STC.10630) B5^{v}.

231) Dayly exercyse D2^{r}-3^{v}.

232) Op.cit. D2^{v}. cp. The Corpus Christi Carol (Davies, Medieval English Lyrics No. 164) where the stone bears the words Corpus Christi.

233) Op.cit. D2^{v}. Versions of this popular prayer were to be found in various primers e.g. STC.15986, I3^{r}; STC 16000 E5^{v} - 6^{r}; in the Caxton Ars moriendi A3^{r}; The Dyenge creature c4^{v}; A deuoute Intercessyon (STC,14547) 4^{v}; The Dialogue ...betwene our sauiour Ihesu Chryste and a synner (STC.14548) D6^{r}; Remors of conscyence (STC.20882 - dated ? After 1532 in RSTC) B3^{v} and in an extended form, Horstman YW II p.306.

234) Op.cit. D3^{v} - 4^{r}.

235) It would have provided suitable reading for the collation before Compline, which betokens the end of man's life. Our ladyes myrroure, EETS es. 19 p. 165.

236) Op.cit. A8^{r} - B1^{r}.

237) Op.cit C5^{v} - 6^{r}, D2^{r} - 3^{v}. Marlowe's Dr. Faustus in his last desperate speech says: "See see where Christs blood streames in the firmament./ One drop would saue my soule, halfe a drop, ah my Christ"; He echoes a widely held belief, stated also in the Dayly exercyse's monologue, D2^{v}, "For I knowe well that one drope alone of that most holy sacred

blod, were sufficyent, and ynough/and ferre more than ynoughe/to wasshe and clense all the synne of the worlde/ and yet shed he all his blode euery drope".

238) Dayly exercyse $D4^{r}$ - cp. St.Paul, Philippians I: 23.

239) Op.cit $D4^{v}$ - 5^{r}.

240) Other examples may be found Golden Epistle (STC. 1911, RSTC 1915.5) $A3^{r}$; The mirroure of golde $A3^{v}$ where it is attributed to St.Bernard; Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde $A5^{v}$. Definitions of Death and the three-fold meditation will be discussed in more detail later.

241) Dayly exercyse $E3^{v}$ - 4^{r} cp. The opening of Dame Julian's Revelations, chapter 3 (Penguin Classics)pp.64 - 6.

242) Questioned by his audience on the manner of contemplation to be used in this exercise, Whitford's answer was accompanied by the modest disclaimer "althoughe you can teche me that lesson better than I you" ($D6^{v}$) which may be no more than a conventional gesture of humility but which could, perhaps, imply a lack of personal experience.

243) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi, chapter 11, especially K^{r-v}.

244) Whitford's "...so that you shall euery day (whan you wyll) be as verely deed..." ($D4^{v}$) is in marked contrast to Hilton's emphasis on the hard discipline and total dependence on God which underlies the mystic's experience, Scala Perfectionis II.xxxv.; also E. Colledge, The Medieval Mystics of England pp.8 - 9, and E.Underhill, Mysticism pp.319 - 56

245) Orologium p.362.

246) More, Quatuor novissima (English Works p. 77 D-E): "For those pictures [the Dance of Death in St.Paul's] expresse only, ye lothely figure of our dead bony bodies biten away ye flesh. Which though it be ougly to behold, yet neither the sight therof, nor the sight of al ye dead heades in ye charnel house nor the apparicion of a very ghost, is halfe so grisely as the depe conceiued fantasy of deathe in his nature, by the liuely imaginacyon grauen in thyne owne heart".

247) For examples of English memento mori medals, rings and jewels see Weber, Aspects of Death, pp. 83 - 4, 85, 91 - 2, 94 - 8 etc. for rings pp. 135 - 9, for ivories pp. 143 - 5 and jewels pp. 150 - 1. Most of his examples are from the mid-seventeenth century.

248) Tenenti, La Vie et la Mort p. 40.

249) For the Three Living and the Three Dead, E.W.Tristram English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century pp. 112 - 4 and p. 303 and for literary references Woolf Lyrics pp. 344 - 7 and Gray, Themes and Images pp. 208 - 11. Tenenti, La Vie et la mort lists known locations of the Dance of Death in England and in Europe pp. 90 - 1. For full length studies, J.M.Clark, The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, L.P.Kurtz The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature. The latter suggests that the Dance never achieved the same popularity in England as on the Continent pp. 142 - 3, 145 cp. Woolf Lyrics pp. 352 - 3 and E.C.Williams "The Dance of Death in Painting and Sculpture in the Middle Ages", Journal of the British Archaeological Association ^{3}I, 1937 pp. 229 - 57. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the verses were printed in England, Woolf pp. 352 - 3 and about the same

time the Dance was illustrated in R.Day's A Book of Christian Prayers, 1578 and in a broadside, see Gray, Themes and Images pl.12 - for discussion of the illustrations of A Booke of Christian Prayers S.C.Chew "The Iconography of A Book of Christian Prayers" Huntington Library Quarterly VIII 1944 -5 pp. 293 - 305. In the 1578 edition, The signs of the End, the xv tokens run from f.58^{r} - 61^{r}, 78 - 81^{v}, at the bottom of ff.61^{r}, 81^{v} appears a version of the Verard print - e.g. Hodnett 1516, 2225; the Dance of Death with various repetitions runs from f.82^{r} - 137^{r} with couplet verses accompanying each named figure and in the bottom of the margin; the upper and inner margins are filled with skeletons cp. the Horae margins printed in Paris by Pigouchet for Vostre 1496 - 7, A.M.Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, London 1935, Vol.II fig.429.

250) See n. 246 above and the woodcut, Hodnett no. 378 at the end of the Cordiale illustrates the legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.

251) Verses such as Job X:9, XXXIV:15; Ecclesiastes XII:7; Ecclesiasticus X:10 - 15, especially v,13 often provided a starting point for such meditations.

252) Charnel houses existed as separate buildings at Old St.Paul's, Worcester and Norwich and as part of the crypt at Glouc̃ester, Ripon, Hythe, St.Mary's Hitchin and Burford, see G.H.Cook, The English Medieval Parish Church, pp.129 - 30.

253) Their use was made obligatory in some parts of Germany, e.g. synods of Münster 1279 and of Cologne 1280. A fine XVth century example survives at Maria Saal, Kärnten Austria.

254) Fifteenth century examples include the tombs of Bishop Flemin, Lincoln; Archbishop Chichele, Canterbury; Bishop Beckington, Wells; Precentor William Sylke, Exeter; the so-called Wakeham cenotaph at Tewkesbury and Alice de la Pole Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme, Oxfordshire. There is one about the turn of the century at Hemingborough, E.Yorks and another undated one at Feniton, Devon. Sixteenth century examples include Bishops Fox and Gardener at Winchester, Canon William Parkhouse, Exeter and from the following century the Landsdowne tomb at Burford and Sir Robert Cecil at Hatfield House, See, Evans English Art p. 158 - 9, F.H.Crossley, English Church Monuments p. 182 - 3.

255) Among such monuments B.F.L.Clarke, Parish Churches of London lists ones at St. Botolph's Aldgate and at St. James', Clerkenwell Green. For lists of brasses of shrouded effigies and skeletons, Clayton, Catalogue of Brass Rubbings pp 136 - 8. An outstanding example of a shrouded skeleton upon which numerous worms are feeding (not listed by Clayton) is that of Radolphus Hamsterly at Oddington, Oxfordshire of 1500. On the manufacture and general distribution of brasses, M.L.Gadd "English Monumental Brasses of the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries", Journal of the British Archaeological Association[3] II.1937, pp. 17 - 46.

256) The dance of death occured on misericords at St.George's, Windsor and at St. Michael's Coventry (now destroyed); a skull was carved on a roof boss in the south of the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral but otherwise it is very difficult to find skulls and other macabre subjects used decoratively on funeral monuments etc. much before the seventeenth century when they become more common.

257) Certeine Prayers I8^{r} and A myrroure...for them that be syke K5^{v}.

258) Ludus Coventriae EETS 120, 1922, pp. 174 - 7 cp.Erasmus' Preparation to deathe B1^{r} "Onely death with his cruell dart,\ By thousand meanes maketh man to smart"; Everyman ed. A.C.Cawley, Manchester 1961, pp.3 - 7; Macro Plays EETS 262, 1969, pp.85 - 6 where Death carries a lance. The presence of Death is also implied by the synopsis of the incomplete Pride of Life, Non Cycle Plays and Fragments EETS ss1, 1970.

259) Dayly exercyse C7^{r} cp. Hughe, Troubled mans medicine I. A5^{r} who describes children frightened by the masks worn by their elders.

260) e.g. among Bodleian mss. Rawl. Liturg.g.3 (English 1450 - 1500) f.118^{v} contains a funeral procession while illustrations for the Office of the Dead are to be found in Bodley 850 (English xv cent.) f.42; Rawl.liturg.g.6 (English or Flemish xv cent.) f.85^{v}; Gough liturg.3 (English or Flemish 1470-80?) f.72^{v}, and a shrouded corpse being lowered into a grave is found in Rawl.liturg.g.6. f.110^{v}.

261) e.g. among Bodleian mss. Engl.poet a.1 (Vernon ms) f126^{v}; Douce 322, f.27. Two are of considerable interest in showing the juxtaposition of a man on his death-bed and Death: Douce 88 f.121^{v} shows death black and winged with a long flesh-hook reaching for a man on his death-bed, and Selden Supra 53 (English c.1430) shows an emaciated man lying in bed, a priest? beside him with an approaching skeleton brandishing a staff cp. Hortulus Animae, RSTC. 13828.6 f.12^{v} where death bearing an arrow and a scythe plucks a sick man from his bed. Tenenti notes that Death does not appear in the standard death-bed scenes of the Ars

moriendi books, Il senso della morte p.93, pl.19,33.

262) Skeletons may be found in ms. Douce 322, f.19^{v} (see Woolf Lyrics pl.3A) and ms. Douce 104 (English c.1427) at the end of Passus xvi of Piers Plowman. Skulls may be found in the Luttrell Pslater, BM ms.Add.42130 f.213.

263) e.g. Hodnett nos. 386, 605, 633, 1370, 1432 show Death spearing or arresting somebody, and The Kalender of Shepardes series, Hodnett nos. 961, 985, 1531, 2240, (2370) show Death carrying a coffin.

264) Hodnett nos. 412, 529.

265) The first English language (an approximation to English!) versions of The crafte and The Kalender were printed in Paris by Verard, 1502. See Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut II.651 - 2, 660 - 3, 729.

266) Such as those reproduced by Tenenti, La Vie et la Mort pl.10 and Il Senso della Morte pl.1, 57 or Grünewald's Damnation of Lovers in Hughes Heaven and Hell p.203

267) A copy recently acquired by the Bodleian library, RSTC 13828.6. The first cut, f.12^{v} death bearing an arrow and scythe plucks a sick man from his bed; f.1xxii^{r} shows two skeletons, one cadaver by a cross with a surround of bones and worms and thirdly f.1xxxi^{v} has monks in choir around a bier and above a soul " sum condemnatus" in the clutch of a Devil.

268) For example in the edition by Julian Notary (STC.22410) on G5^{v}, 7^{v}, M5^{r}.

269) Hodnett no. 474

270) Standing at the beginning of the de Worde editions 1505, 1506 this poem (Index, suppl.2522.5) does not appear in the French or English editions by Verard.

271) The best collection of inscriptions still seems to be Weever's Ancient Fvnerall monvments, 1631. Evans, English Art pp. 142, 146, 174 quotes several. The inscription chosen by the Black Prince to surround his tomb - see Tristram XIV Century, p.114 - reminding the passer-by that such as you are sometime were we etc. was echoed in numerous inscriptions, e.g. Weever pp. 413, 447, 497, 532, 534, 538, 545, 645, 803.

272) Examples are to be found from Anglo-Saxon times onwards e.g. "The wanderer" and "Widsith". Probably Fisher's ubi sunt passage EETS es. 27, pp. 145-6 comes nearest of the prose writers to capturing something of the sense of wistfulness for what has passed.

273) The occasion when devout treatise writers are most likely to lament the past for its superior moral virtues is when they are castigating the vices of the present age. The past is not regarded as a golden age in an ubi sunt context.

274) RSTC 15399.5, copies at John Rylands Library, Manchester and Ushaw College, Durham (imp.). It consists of books IV and V of Legrand's Book of Good Manners.

275) On whom see Coffman, art cit, Speculum IX and R.Ellis "On the elegies of Maximianus" American Journal of Philology V. 1884 pp.1 - 15.

276) Quotations are from the 1507 de Worde edition of Legrand's

Book of Good Manners L4 $^{-v}$.

277) Lists may be found - of ranks as often as of actual names - in the Cordiale a3^{v}, a5^{r-v}; The mirroure of golde E6^{v}; Dives and Pauper IX.x; Meditacyons of saynt Bernarde B2 $^{-v}$. A number of ubi sunt verses were derived, probably from the Latin version of the Meditations, e.g. Gray Themes and Images p. 188; J.E.Cross "The Sayings of St.Bernard and Ubi Sunt qui ante nos fuerount" RES ns.IX, 1958, pp1 - 7 who argues for the indebtedness of the poems to the Sayings. Also in Erasmus De Contemptu mundi D3^{r}; A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite L4^{r-v}; Hughe A troubled mans medicine I.D3^{v}; Fisher on Psalm 102 EETS es. 27, pp.145 - 6; Owst LPME p.293; Blench p.228.

278) Arrian's Life of Alexander VII 27 - 9 gives an early enc encomium of him cp. Shakespeare's Hamlet V.i.222 - 39 and Person's Christian Directory (1607) p. 501

279) In the Cordiale b2^{r-v} the only words directly spoken by Alexander are quotations from Job XVI, XIX; in Erasmus and Hughe he speaks in the first person. The opening of Alexander's speech in Hughe D5^{r}f is very similar to Erasmus' to which Hughe may be indebted.

280) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D4^{v}.

281) On the smallness of the grave, Cordiale b2^{v} talks of a "tombe of viii fote longe", also More English Works p.83 and Dyalogue of comforte III.vi; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions (Nonesuch edn. 1939) p. 510; Owst PME p. 343; Woolf Lyrics pp. 82 - 4.

282) Legrand M3^{v}. Cordiale A7^{v}, The mirroure of golde E6^{v}, Lupset Of dieyng well p. 280.

283) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D4^{v} cp. Longland (STC16795) E2^{r-v}.

284) Erasmus op.cit. D6^{r} makes the point that the word mortal carries "mors" within it, thus warning men of their death.

285) Fisher EETS es.27, pp. 145 - 6.

286) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D5^{r}.

287) Orologium p. 359 It claims to be a paraphrase of "Sapience LI" but is actually based on Sap.V: 6 - 9 which also forms the basis of the quid profuit passage in A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite L3^{v}.

288) More Dyalogue of comforte III.vi.viii - ix, xi - xii. William Thomas in The Vanitee of this world covers much the same ground as his chapter headings suggest: "That the pleasures of the body ought not to be folowed", "That Beautie is a vaine thyng", "That force and valiauntnesse is vayne", "That riches deserue not to be esteemed", "That honour is not to be sought for", "That dominion ought not to be desired", "That fame is a vaine thyng".

289) Troubled mans medicine I.D7^{v} - 8^{r}.

290) Influential biblical passages include Job VII, XIV:1 - 2; Psalm C III; much of Ecclesiastes; Baruch III; James VI. Such views were to be found also in pagan authors, especially among the Epicureans, for example a number of passages in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura.

291) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe B5^{v} cp. The crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC.792) f.C[illegible]iii^{v}f

292) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D7^{r}, 8^{r}. etc; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 279 - 80; Legrand M2^{r}; Hugh II A7^{v}-8^{r}; Frith Preparation to deathe cap.ii; Vives Introduction to Wisedome STC 24845+, 1539, E8^{r} cp. Ludus Coventriae EETS es 120 p. 218 - 9; Towneley Plays EETS es 71 p. 390; Werdmüller A moste fruteful treatyse (STC.25251) I.ch.18.

293) Mirroure of golde E6^{v}; Legrand L3^{v}, 5^{r-v}; Cordiale A3^{v}; Erasmus Preparation to deathe A5^{v}, More English Works p.80 - 1; Whitford Dayly exercyse B8^{r}; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 288 and Fisher, EETS es. 27 p. 145; Werdmüller op.cit.p.152.

294) A Kempis I.xxiii; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E1^{r}; Certeine prayers G1^{v}; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions p. 552; Werdmüller op.cit p.30 - 1.

295) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi E1^{v}; Preparation to deathe C2^{v}; Mirroure of golde E6^{r}; A Kempis I.xxiii; Cordiale B8^{r}; Werdmüller op.cit 150.

296) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D8^{v}; Hughes II B1^{r}; Whitford Dayly exercyse B6^{r}; Cordiale C4^{r-v}; Kalender of Shepardes the author's prologue. Donne, Devotions upon emergent occasions p.533 remarks that even trees live longer than man.

297) Many draw their images from biblical passages such as Psalm CIII: 14 - 6; Job XIV. Hughe II A8^{v}, B1^{r} quotes Isaiah XLV and Job; Thomas The Vanitee of this world on the vanity of beauty asks if there is anything more in it than pleasure in a new flower which is soon faded; Erasmus, De contemptu E4^{v} talks of the rose which fades once it is plucked, cp. the seventeenth-century "Moralische Pfenninge" illustrated by Weber Aspects of Deathpp.92 - 4

bearing some version of the legend "Heut Rodt Morn Dodt"; Hughe II. B1^{r}.

298) Cordiale A7^{r}.

299) Cordiale C3^{v}. The allegory is based on the Eastern legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, Gray Themes and Images p. 179; Boase Death in the Middle Ages. p. 86.

300) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D8^{v} - E1^{r}.

301) There is an optimism in Shakespeare's sonnets LX, LXIII-V, LXXIII-IV, etc. which is entirely foreign to these earlier authors, for whom there was no security in the love of anything or anyone earthly and no assurance that their writings would survive.

302) Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde B3^{r}; Legrand M4^{r}; Erasmus De contemptu mundi D8^{r}; Lupset Of dieyng well p.287 - 8; Certeine prayers G2^{v}. cp. Ludus Coventriae, EETS es 120, p. 214; Ross, M.E.Sermons EETS 209 p. 276

303) Lupset op.cit. p. 287.

304) Quotations in this paragraph are from the edition by William Middleton (STC. 23965).

305) The title of the second chapter of The dyetary of ghostly helthe.

306) cp. Erasmus Preparation to deathe D1^{r}; Lupset op.cit.p.287.

307) Erasmus Preparation to deathe C2^{v}; To teche a man to dye (STC.11390) B8^{v} - C1^{r}; Myrrour...for them that be syke also states that to desire longer temporal life is to wish for more chance to sin.

308) Whitford, Dayly exercyse (C8^{v} - D1^{r}).

309) cp. Orologium p.362 Where the Image of Death tells the Disciple "euery daye brynge me inwardly to thy mynde".

310) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe C6^{r}f gives a list of men who refused to heed the warning and died unprovided - A Kempis D8^{v}.

311) A Kempis D7^{v} - 8^{r}, f.xxix - xxx.

312) op. cit. D8^{r}

313) op.cit E1^{r}. The idea of man as a stranger and pilgrim in this world, based on Hebrews X1: 13 - 16, was, as might be expected, a popular one in the world-denying atmosphere of late medieval religion cp. Legrand's chapter "Of the state of pylgrymages" which is much concerned with the brevity of man's earthly life and Gray, Themes and Images p. 212ff.

314) Printed at the end of the third volume of Becon's Works 1563.

315) Some of the topics will be discussed at more length in later sections.

316) Works, vol III.f.513^{r}.

317) The epsiode is based on Herodotus, Histories II. 78, cp. Montaigne Essays I. xix; Weber, Aspects of Death p.6.

318) op.cit. f. 514^{r}.

319) op.cit. f.516^{v}.

320) cp. Ecclesiasticus X:13.

321) Preparation to Deathe C7.

322) Erasmus op.cit. $C7^{v}$.

323) STC 3320 and 13522 both printed by Wyer without date, but perhaps from 1550's rather than 1530's.

324) On the authorship and mss. of the work, H.G.Pfander "Dives et Pauper", The Library ^{4} XIV 1934 - 5,pp.299-312.

325) Dives and Pauper, I.xlvii - viii.

326) op.cit. ed. 1536 f.66; Whitford Werke for Housholders (ed. Redman 1531) $B8^{r}$ - C1.

327) op.cit. I.xlii f.60^{v}.

328) Among numerous prayers against sudden death, A deuoute intercessyon (STC(14547) 3^{v} and The Pater noster (STC 16820) $D1^{r}$; Garade The interprescyon...of the Masse, $f1^{v}$ and see also Hoskinspp. 124, 132.

329) e.g. To teche a man to dye (STC 24250) $E2^{v}$ff Concern to allay fear of death was not confined to Protestants cp. Whitford's Dayly exercyse.

330) The mirroure of golde $E6^{r}$; A Kempis I.i; Erasmus De contemptu mundi ca.7.cp. Person's Christian Directory Chap. IV.

331) The term used by M.W.Bloomfield, Piers Plowman: a fouteenth century Apocalypse, ch.2, "Monasticism and Perfection".

332) See, for example, the series Christianisme et valeurs humaines - La Doctrine du Mépris du Monde en occident

de S.Ambrose à Innocent III; IV.2.ed. R.Bultot, Louvain/Paris 1964. There is also D.R.Howard's unpublished thesis (Univ.of Florida 1954) The Contempt of the World: A Study in the Ideology of Latin Christendom with Emphasis on Fourteenth century English Literature.

333) PL.CCXVII. 701 - 46. It appeared in an English translation by H. Kirton, 1577 (STC 14094)

334) Hughe A troubled mans medicine. I.D8^{v}.

335) Cordiale C1^{r-v}; Rolle Contra Amatores Mundi. p. 87; Kalender of shepardes ca 13; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E5^{v}; P.Bush, The Extripacion of ignorancy (STC.4186), C2^{r} Hughe Troubled mans medicine I.E2^{v}; Persons Christian Directory (1607) p. 501 - 2.

336) Cordiale b1^{r}; The mirroure of golde E1^{r}; Hughe II. G1^{v}, Person's Christian Directory pp. 491 - 5.

337) The mirroure of golde E2^{v}; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E8^{r}.

338) A Kempis I:i; Persons Christian Directory p. 502 - 3; L'Espine A treatise (STC.15515) p. 69

339) Treatise of faith, hope and charite f72 - 3; Hughe I. D8^{v} - E1^{r}; Persons op.cit. p. 509 - 10.

340) Cordiale b1^{r}; Treatise of faith, hope and charite f 72. Persons ibid.

341) The mirroure of golde E4^{v} - 5^{r}.

342) Treatise of faith, hope and charite K8^{r-v}; The same passage is to be found in The declaracyon and power of the Chrysten fayth (STC.5160) C4^{r} which probably implies that both authors used a common original.

343) Matthew XXV: 31 - 46.

344) Thomas, The Vanitee of this world D7^{v}; Hughe I.D7 - E1; Becon Sick Man's Salve PS III p. 89.

345) Mirroure of golde E2^{v} cp. the opening of The Golden Epistle. For Anselm's total rejection of the things of this world and his implied belief that true contempt of the world was only to be achieved in the cloister, Christianisme et valeurs humaines, IV.2 ed. R.Bultot pp.105 - 9.

346) Certeine prayers H7^{r} cp. Hughe I.B5^{r}.

347) Thomas, Vanitee of this world D7^{v} - 8^{r}.

348) This is to be found in the Betson (STC.1978), Godfray (STC.1911 etc.) and Middleton (STC.23965) versions but not in Whitford's translation. Quotations in this section are from STC.23965.

349) Cordiale b4^{r} cp. Innocent PL CCXVII, 702

350) Innocent op.cit.702 "Consideravi ergo cum lacrymis de quo factus sit homo: quid faciat homo, quid facturus (futurus) sit homo", and among others: Austin (Edmund) of Abingdon The myrrour of the chyrche (STC 967) A4^{r} (YW I p.220); The gathered covnsailes of saincteIsidorie (STC.14271) A2^{r} (YW II p.367); Whitford Dayly exercyse D7^{r-v}; The Assaute...of heuen B4^{r-v}; J.G. The myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe (STC 11499) C2^{v}; [illegible] A newe Treatyse (STC 24228) - the beginning, middle and end of man's life are considered in great physical detail in Book I. Also Ross, Middle English Sermons EETS 209, [illegible] p.156.

351) N.P.Williams The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin,

Bampton lectures 1924, lecture V.

352) Bernard Meditacyons A8^{v}, cp. Lydgate, "An Holy Medytacion", EETS es 107 p. 46 - 7; [redacted] A newe Treatyse C1^{v}.

353) Ecclesiasticus X: 13 (Vulg.)

354) Medytacyons A5^{v}.

355) A Manual of prayers, 1583 C7^{v} sets out a schematized plan of the threefold meditations which relies far less on crude physical detail for its effect than did the Medytacyons:

V Ve ought continually to remember these three things: that is to saye
- Tyme
  - Paste
    - That vve house vnprofitably spent
    - That good vvhich vve haue left undonne
    - That euill vvhich vve haue committed
  - Present
    - Of the shortnes of mans lyfe
    - Of the difficultie to be saued
    - Of the small number that shall be saued
  - To come
    - Of death most miserable
    - Of the last Indgement(sic)most horrible
    - Of the paynes of hell intollerable

356) e.g. Complaynte of the soule ed.1532 A8^{r}, "thy body is but a dounghylle and a sacke of stynkynge myste"; A myrrour... for them that be syke K4^{v} describes the body as "thys fylthy sack" and Simon, The fruyte of redempcyon ed 1530, A3^{r} "a frayle man fylth and wormes meet". Longland's A sermond... vppon good fryday...MCCCCC.XXXVI (STC 16795) gives a more gruesome picture of the body's state after death than any of the treatise writers of the same period...E2^{v} The body "is but earthe, ashes, duste,& and wormes meate... Serpentes, wormes, and toodes, shall gnawe, eate, and deuoure

thy beautyfull face, thy fayre nose, thy clere eyes, thy whyte handes, thy gudly bodye"...cp. Ludus Coventiae, EETS es 120, p.177; Towneley Plays EETS es 71 p. 390 - 1

357) Mirroure of golde $A4^{r}$.

358) A myrrour...for them that be syke is unusual in its brief reference, seen 356 above.

359) Certeine prayers $H2^{v}$. Gararde, The interpretacyon...of the Masse $r2^{v}$ also mentions beggars at the church doors.

360) This in contrast to Donne, Holy Sonnet IX, Divine Poems. ed. H.Gardner, Oxford 1952, who sees a correspondence between outward form and inward virtue: "To wicked spirits are horrid shapes assign'd,| This beauteous forme assures a pitious minde".

361) Preparation to deathe cap.ii.

362) cp. n.342

363) Just the effect which love of the world, one particular sin, has upon worldly persons.

364) I. Corinthians XV:22.

365) In the "Consolacyon", a translation of Luther's XIV Consolatione, seven "images " of evil are balanced by seven concerning good things while Thomas' Vanitee of This world divides into two halves, the first on human miseries and vanity, the second on the love and goodness of God.

366) Devereux, English Translations of Erasmus notes two editions, c.1531 and 1533 and variant states of each, C.36 1 - 2b.

367) In addition to the printed editions, STC 6157 - 9, it also occurs in Bodl. MS.Tanner 118,f.24^{v} - 45^{r} together with a version of Lupset's A compendious treatise teaching the waye of dying well, f.58^{r} - 75^{r}; Fisher's Spirituall Consolation, f.87^{r} - 97^{r} and Phisicke for the Soule verye necessarye to be vsed in the agonye of deathe, f.107^{r} - 118^{r} which seems to be a version of A godly and holsom preseruatyne against dispeñcion (STC.20204 - 5)

368) Erasmus himself says it was written "whan I was scantly .xx.yeres of age", but Pineau, Érasme sa pensée religieuse gives his age as twenty-four, p.31 n.3. The book went through a dozen continental editions 1521 - 1529, Bibliotheca Erasmiana 1ère série, ~~liste sommaire et provisoire, Nieuwkoop, 1961~~, before its English translation.

369) Post, The Modern Devotion p.699 says that the twelfth chapter was not in the 1521 edition but was added in the (five) editions of 1523.

370) Respectively chapters 3, 4 and 5. cp. chapter headings of The mirroure of golde and Thomas' The Vanitee of this world.

371) The exhortation that men should rest content with that position in life to which it has pleased God to call them was reflected in works for religious in the emphasis on obedience,but it seems to have been increasingly emphasized from about 1540 onwards - see for example, Becon, PS III p. 36 - 38, p. 80; Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (2nd.edn.1941) p.134 - 6. Paynell, translator of De Contemptu mundi, seems by the end of the decade to have succeeded in his attempt to attract court patronage, McConica,p.138 - 40.

372) The plight of Everyman is also reflected in The dyenge creature and the Complaynt...of the soule. For a fuller summary of the contents of the whole work, Post op.cit.pp. 660 - 70.

373) Pineau, op.cit p. 31 n.3.

374) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi $L8^{v}$, f.88.

375) Tree&and.xii. frutes $C3^{v}$.

376) Erasmus De contemptu $G3^{v}$.

377) e.g. The Orcherd of Syon septima pars EETS. 258, 1966 p. 377f; Whitford's Pype or Tonne, the first board of the third part; Dyetary of ghostly helthe ca.xxii; The tree &and.xii.frutes $A4^{r}$.

378) Erasmus De contemptu $G7^{v}$ - 8^{v}.

379) See n.8 - 12 above; also Cyprian's Sermon...of mortalitie (edn. 1539) $B2^{r}$, $C4^{r}$. For later use of the theme by Puritan authors such as Downame, The christian warfare; William Gouge, ΤΤ ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ: the whole - armor of God; Thomas Taylor Christs combate and conquest: see W. Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (Harper Torchbook 1957) pp. 151 - 5 etc.

380) The idea behind Erasmus' Enchiridion cp. his Preparation to deathe $D2^{v}$ - 3^{r}.

381) Erasmus De contemptu $H4^{v}$ - 5^{r}; cp. A Kempis II.iii - iv.

382) e.g. Bonde's Epystle...for them than ben tymorouse and fearefull in Conscience; The Chastising of God's Children

chapter 2; The Rote ca.xix.

383) Erasmus De contemptu $K7^{r} - 8^{v}$.

384) op.cit.K.8.

385) op.cit $I.8^{v}$

386) op.cit. $K1^{v}$

387) For a useful summary, Post op.cit. chapter 8 pp.314 - 42

388) Erasmus op.cit $K1^{r-v}$.

389) Pineau, Erasme sa pensée religieuse p. 35.

390) Erasmus op.cit. $I.6^{v} - 7^{r}$; Lupset Of dieryng well p.277 - 8.

391) Erasmus op.cit.$I.7^{r}$.

392) Ibid.

393) Among other writers on the contemptus mundi and the ars moriendi to make considerable use of the classics are Lupset, William Hughe The troubled mans medicine and William Thomas The Vanitee of this world all of whom show humanist interests. No author in the Catholic medieval tradition, before or after Erasmus seems to make such extensive use of classical sources.

394) Erasmus De contemptu $I.4^{v}$, 7^{r}.

395) The keen humanist, Lupset, was the only real exception whose works were printed during the 1530's. Sir Thomas More had the knowledge but was very restrained in his use

of classical quotations etc. in his devotional and controversial works.

396) On Erasmus' classical learning, M.M.Phillips "Erasmus and the classics", Erasmus, Studies in Latin Literature and its Influence ed. T.A.Dorey, London. 1970. It was the sort of attitude found in A Kempis III. xiviii "agayne ~~vay~~ vayne & seculer scyence" which Erasmus castigated in his Anti barbarorum Liber.

397) Cyprian Of mortalitie $A3^{v}$ In this section quotation is from the 1539 edition.

398) It was probably written c.AD.252. On the transmission of Cyprian's treatises in general, M.Bévenot: The Tradition of Manuscripts, Oxford 1961.

399) Cyprian Of mortalitie $B3^{r}$.

400) e.g. Philippians I.21, 23.

401) e.g. Frith, The preparation to deathe ca.iii. (mis-numbered ii) "Two maner of deathes" and To teche a man to dye $A8^{v}$f. where the author explains the significance of Jesus' warning that the time is come, the kingdom of God draws nigh, do penance and believe the Gospel, and points particularly to the need for faith in God's promises; Hughe II.$D6^{r}$ - $E2^{v}$.

402) Cyprian Of Mortalitie $B4^{r}$. Simeon is also cited in Hughe II $B7^{v}$ to which the young man replies that Simeon was old and ready to die whereas he, like the Man in Becon's The Prayse of Death, feels aggrieved because he might have lived longer.

403) Cyprian op.cit. $B5^{r}$.

404) See n. 294 above.

405) Cyprian op.cit. $C5^{v} - 6^{r}$

406) Some of the Reformers undoubtedly felt that in sixteenth century England they too were a minority group possessed of the faith.

407) Cyprian op.cit. $C3^{v}$.

408) Cyprian op.cit. $C4^{r - v}$. Some of the images, the soldier tried in battle, the threshing of corn and earlier $B8^{v}$... "haue pacience in thine humiliyte, for as well golde as siluer be tryed with fyre" are also to be found in the tribulation treatises.

409) Cyprian op.cit. $B8^{v}$.

410) The martyr's place in the early church was more highly esteemed than in later ages (H.C.White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs, chap I.) and so even though martyrs were made on both the Catholic and the Protestant side during the sixteenth century there was not quite the same intense desire to court martrydom.

411) Lupset Of dieyng well p. 277, for instance gives the examples of the two thieves crucified with Christ, whose manner of death was the same but whose eternal fate differed according to their faith cp. To teche a man to dye $D1^{r}$.

412) Certeine prayers $G3^{v}$; Hughe II.$B4^{r}$.

413) Compare for instance their teaching on the way in which

God receives his own. Cyprian op.cit. D7^{r} "More ouer the holye goste teacheth by Salamon, that they, with whom god is pleased, be the soner taken away and deliuered from hense, lest if they shulde abyde lenger, they shulde be polluted with worldly infections. Therfore Enoch was rapte and taken away sodainly, leste sensualle appetite shoulde corrupte his vnderstandynge. For his soule was vnto god pleasynge, and therfore he hastened to bringe him out of the myddes of iniquite". In Hughe's Troubled mans medicine II C1^{v} we read: "The holye ghoste teacheth by Salamon, that they whyche please God best be quickely and rathe taken frome this world, lest they shuld be polluted with the wyckednes of the same. He was taken awaye, sayeth he, leste malice shulde chaunge his vnderstandynge, for his soule dydde please god, and he hath made haste to brynge hym from the myddes of iniquitie", Like Cyprian,Hughe then goes on to make use of Psalm LXXXIII.

414) cp. n.313 above.

415) PL IV. 603 - 24.

416) For example, To teche a man to dye, A myrrour...for them that be sycke, especially I3f; Hughe's Troubled mans medicine and Werdmüller's A most frutefull.... treatise, pt. I. chaps 15 - 23 capture something of the spirit of optimism and all stress the importance of faith and trust in God's promises.

417) See for example C.H.Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments and C.B.Caird The Apostolic Age, chap.12, "The Coming of the Lord".

418) Cyprian,Of mortalitie D8^{v} - E1^{r}: Let us "come vnto god whan he calleth, whiche sens it oughte to be done of

them, whiche be the seruauntes of god, moch rather nowe the worlde decayenge, and in paynte to falle, and also compassed with tempestes of euilles contynually assaultinge it. Also we parceyue that great myschiefe is all redy begonne, and we knowe that moche gretter is commynge: Let vs reken the grettest aduantage to departe shortelye from hense, whiche shal be for our speciall commodite". Hughe II. G2^{v} - 3^{r}: Be ready to depart when God calls us, "The whiche thynge as the seruauntes of god shulde alwayes be redy to doo, so at this tyme moost ready. For as moch as this miserable world, besette with the horrible tempestes, stormes and troublesome whorle wyndes of all kyndes of euyll, begynneth to decaye. Moreover as greuous thinges haue all redye chaunsed to nations, so more greuouse thynges are to be loked for in that synne dayly encreaseth among men more and more, prouokynge the iust ire of god. Wherefore I can not but thinke it a great gaine quikly to departe hense". Both then go on to give the examples of the house which threatens to fall and the ship in danger of foundering, from which sensible men would be eager to flee.

Other examples of Hughe's use of Cyprian include: the way in which man is besieged by sins, Cyprian B5^{r} - Hughe II D1^{r}; the idea that it is best to die young, Cyprian C6^{v}-7^{r} - Hughe II B8^{v}; the promise of the great ruler, Cyprian B6^{r} - Hughe II. B6^{v} and the description of heaven, Cyprian E1^{v} - 3^{r} - Hughe II. G3^{v} - 4^{v}.

419) Whitford, who cites St. Augustine as his authority, Dayly exercyse A2^{v}; Legrand, Good Manners L5^{v}; Bernard Sylvester Of the cure and gouernaunce of a housholde b4^{r}; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 287; Parkyn p. 63; Donne's sermon "Death's Duell" (Nonesuch edn. p. 752) and ironically in the judgement of the first advocate at the end of Jonson's Volpone, "..since thou knowest not how to live well here,

Thou shalt be learned to die well".

420) Dives and Pauper IX.x; Doctrynall of dethe C2^{v}; Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC. 10627.5) C2^{r}; Werdmüller A moste frutefull .....treatise pt. I. ch.25; Becon, Sickmans Salue, Works 1560 f.235.

421) Erasmus Preparation to deathe (edn.1543 used in this section) C4^{v}; Werdmüller op.cit. p.155; Exornatorium curatorum C2^{r} and cp.Montaigne I:19, 3 (p.74 Tudor Translations).

422) A useful survey of material dating from about the second century BC, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, to the ninteenth century which also suggests some of the ways in which the form was adapted to various literary ends is E.C.Perrow's "The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature", Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XVII, pt.1 (1911 - 13) pp.682 - 750.

423) The fantasy of the passyon of ye fox B3^{r}.

424) op.cit. B3^{v}.

425) Perrow, art cit. pp 701 - 2, 707. Text to be found in Petronii Satirae, ed. F.Bucheler (3rd edn. Berlin 1882) p. 241 - 2.

426) On babewyns in general, Evans, English Art pp.38 - 44, plates 24 b - c, see also M.D.Anderson, History and Imagery in British Churches pl. 58 for a preaching fox.

427) STC 6794 and another edn. It was printed without date by R.Jones, probably during the 1570's. not the 1550's as suggested by Perrow p. 724. Lowndes ascribes it to George Gascoine, with some reason, for the title continues, "Wher vnto is adioyned,

a Dyet for diuers of the Deuylles dearlinges, commonly called, dayly Dronkardes" and Jones printed a work by Gascoigne, "A delicate diet for daintie mouthde droonkardes" in 1576.

428) The wyll of the Deuyll A2^{r} and B3^{v}.

429) Even when allowance is made for the stereotyped formulas employed, most wills name the place of the burial, often in some detail, and in the majority the testator commits his soul to God, to St.Mary and the whole company of heaven. While most make some provision for commemorative prayers and masses for their own souls and those of kin and ancestors, some provided more detailed arrangements concerning the conduct of the funeral and burial such as those given in the will of George Talbot, Fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, no.CIV in North Country Wills, Surtees Soc. 116 (1908), where nos.XC-CXXVIII cover 1530 - 40 cp. Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc. 2 (1835) nos.LXXXI - III and G.H.Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, pp. 231 - 2.

430) e.g. M.Deanesly "Vernacular Books in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", MLR XV, 1920 pp.349 - 58 makes extensive use of the evidence to be gained from wills as does Peter Heath in The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation e.g.pp 87 - 9.

431) One of the most notorious wills of the 1530's was William Tracy's (see Dickens, The English Reformation p.139 - 40; Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, pp.107 - 9) which was published with comments by Tyndale and Frith in 1535, STC.24167.

432) A myrrour or glasse N2^{r}; To teche a man to dye B2^{v}; Becon, Sickmans Salue, Works 1560. f.235^{v} - 7^{v}.

433) A myrrour or glasse N2^{r}; Foundation and summe of Holy Scripture G1^{r}.

434) e.g. North Country Wills, Surtees Soc. 116 (1908) pp. 136, 144, 190 etc.

435) Legrand, Good maners V:6 (quotations from 1507 edn.) in A Lytell necessarye Treatyse.

436) Legrand, op.cit. M4^{v} - N1^{r}.

437) Vives, The Instrvction of a Christen Woman, edn.1541, f.131 cp. Becon, Sick Mans Salve PS III. p.125 against costly burials.

438) Lupset also cites the example of Theodore and his lack of concern for burial, Of dieyng well. p.281.

439) Dives and Pauper, I:1xiii.

440) Erasmus Preparation to deathe E1.ff.

441) Doctrynall of dethe A4^{v} allows the physician no place. Frith's Preparation to the crosse, cap.x.allows considerable scope to the physician, cp. Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII: 1 - 8 etc. Erasmus is rather more cautious, Preparation to deathe E4^{r}. In his Declamation in laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae (Devereux, C.37, c.1536 - 7) he defends medicine against superstitious practices that corrupted religion) but he is critical of its practitioners.

442) cp. Doctrynall of dethe C3^{r}.

443) Doctrynall of dethe A4^{v} cp. Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC.10627.5) C3^{r}; and J.G, The myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe, G3^{v}.

444) Frith, Preparation to death ca.xiv; A myrrour...for them that be syke. G.3^{r}f.

445) St.Barbara was particularly invoked for protection against sudden and unhallowed death and her legend gives instances of miracles in which she intervened or even raised the dead to allow them to receive the Last Rites before they died.

446) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe, C8^{r-v}, E3; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 276 - 7.

447) Ars moriendi STC 786 A1^{r}.

448) Exornatorium curatorum, B5^{v} - 6^{r}. cp. Gerson La Médicine de l'Ame (ed. Glorieux, vol.VII) p. 404.

449) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E5^{v}; Primer, 1531 (STC 15966) A4^{v}; The table of Cebes the philosopher contains a section, based mainly on classical examples. Cicero Seneca etc. on "The Maner to choose and cherishe a freende". H.R.Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, p. 74 n.3 gives a number of patristic and later references to the "Friend in need" theme.

450) Dives and Pauper IX: Cap xi. The story tells of two fools, a wise fool and a natural fool. The natural fool volunteers to go into a baker's oven to find out how hot it is, provided that the wise fool will cast a bowl of water into the oven when asked to do so. When the natural fool calls out that he is burnt to death, all the wise fool can do is laugh. The bowl of water represents the money left for almsdeeds, masses and prayers which is all too often squandered or misapplied. Some other stories of false executors are mentioned by R.W. Ackerman, p.560 in "The debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity", Speculum XXXVII (1962)pp. 541 - 65.

451) Dives and Pauper IX: cap xii.

452) See J.Conley, "The Doctrine of Friendship in Everyman", Speculum XLIV (1969) pp. 374 - 82.

453) For a description of the edition, A.F.Allison and H.M. Nixon, "Three Sixteenth Century English translations of Erasmus in a contemporary binding" BMQ.XXIII (1961) pp. 59 - 63; also the introduction to reprints of Funus and the Epicure ed. R.R.Allen (vol.3. Publications of the Renaissance English Text Society, University of Chicago Press, 1969) which text I have used. Dibdin 820 gives another edition of 1534 of which no copy is known, Devereaux C.19.2.

454) Printed in five editions in 1534 and translated into Dutch the same year and into French and English in 1538, Boleyn had asked Erasmus for such a work, Allen, Epistulae Erasmi, No. 2824. For Erasmus' notes about Boleyn, Allen op.cit.No.2315 L.129f; No.2846 L.84f and a more flattering view, No.2232 is balanced by Chapuys's estimate, Allen op.cit. 3090 L.29 - 53, also D.Mathew, The Courtiers of Henry VIII, (London 1970) p. 101 - 2. In addition to the De preparatione Erasmus had also dedicated to Boleyn, Enarratio triplex in Psalmum XXII and Explanatio Symboli, the latter having appeared in English in 1533.

455) In his Preparation to deathe $C8^{v}$ Erasmus warns against judging a soul by the manner of his death, although like Lupset he insists that no evil may be imputed where a good life went before. But the emphasis given in ars moriendi books and others to the importance of a good death inevitably encouraged people to judge whether a death was good or bad, The floure of the commaundementes of god f.223ff, $Pp2^{r}$-$Qq1^{r}$ provides a series of examples of good and of bad deaths.

456) Preparation to deathe E^{r-v} on the disagreement of physicians etc.

457) Preparation, $C8^{v}$ warns against leaving confession until a man is on his death-bed and goes on to recommend sacramental confession three or four times a year and a brief daily examination of conscience.

458) Preparation C4 - 5, in a series of comparisons declares that while it is good to bequeath money for the relief of the poor it is much better to give regularly during life to the relief of personally known poor neighbours, and a little later, $D2^{r}$ Erasmus comments: "They do deuoutly, which whan dethe draweth nere, do send to the monastery of the Carthusians, or fryers obseruauntes to praye for the sicke person, but it is a stronger comfort, if the sycke man thynketh, that the hole churche is busy and thoughtful for him, a member therof."

459) Preparation $D1^{v} - 2^{r}$. The indivisual's membership of the communion of saints is stressed by several Protestant authors, e.g. A myrrour...for them that be syke I.6f; Certeine prayers $L.3^{r}f$.

460) Fumus, $B6^{v}$.

461) Preparation $F5^{r}$ describes how people attempt to allay the fear of purgatory by remedies which Erasmus considers ineffectual: "Some dyd promyse to be sure and redemed from the fyre of Purgatory by byenge of pardons: but I feare lest this was not, to succour and comforte the syckeman, but rather a mockyng and a mere dissimulation."

462) Preparation $E4^{v}$ condemns this use of a friar's or monk's habit which is often accompanied by a vow to be professed

in that order if he recovers, "it is suffyciente, if he pourpose to chaunge his lyfe in to better" and Nicholas Wyse in his Consolacyon for Chrysten people $G8^{V}$ declares that it is not for St. Francis' sake that a man will possess the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can his holy cowl save anyone from hell. L.Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages pp.131 - 45.

463) Funus $C3^{V}$.

464) Preparation $C3^{V}$.

465) Like Erasmus, Werdmüller also warns against deferring provision for dependents and advocates the cultivation of faith in life by hearing sermons, receiving the sacrament and prayer, as well as daily "remorce of conscience".

466) Hughe, The troubled mans medicine II. $F5^{V}$f.

467) It occurs as the final piece in, The table of Cebes the philosopher (STC.4891) and separately in STC.10510 and 10464 (Devereaux C32.1 - 4. He divides STC.4891 into 2 edns. c.1545 and c. 1555).

468) Quotations etc. are from STC.4891 (Devereaux C32.4) referred to as Cebes, $H3^{V}$. cp. Werdmüller III chaps 6 - 8 on patience and Gerson, Consolation sur la mort des amis (ed.Glorieux Vol. VII p. 316.

469) Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII: 18 - 23. Wermüller III:1, p.189 mourning should not be excessive. cp. Gerson op.cit. p. 319 - 20 Foundation and Summe of holy Scripture $F8^{V}$.

470) cp. Werdmüller, III. chap. 10 "of the death of younge personnes in especiall".

471) Cebes $L7^{v}$ cp. Werdmüller III:1, p. 192.

472) Among a vast number of authors who refer to the body as the prison of the soul: Erasmus, Preparation to deathe $A3^{r}$, $C2^{r}$; The Book of the Craft of Dying, YW II.p.407; Legrand, Good Manners $L6^{v}$; Lupset Of dieyng well p.272; Whitford Dayly exercyse $A6^{r}$ ascribes the view to St.Ambrose; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II. $C4^{r}$, 8^{r}; the Primer of 1545 contained a prayer for the life to come, derived from Vives, which began: "This my body is the very dark and filthy prison of the soul". In the Exhortation Erasmus ascribes the view to Plato (Socrates), Cebes $K1^{r}$ and 3^{r} and the implied opposition between body and soul may well have a platonic origin, C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image p.25 and S.C.Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life p. 250ff.

473) Werdmüller III: chap.6.

474) cp. Werdmüller p. 182

475) Weever, Ancient fvneral monvments, 1631 p. 412 - 3.

476) cp. Exornatorium curatorum $B5^{v}$ - 6^{r}; the first exercise of Whitford's Dayly exercyse is based on the imagined experience of death and declares, $D2^{r}$, "I will now in helth-study, & exercise myselfe wt this fourme: & specially how I shal answere ye lothly best ye fende".

477) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe F6

478) O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well and in addition, for the influence of Gerson, mentioned in passing in this discussion, G.A.Brunelli, "Le traité La science de bien mourir ou médicine de l'âme de Jean Gerson" Le Moyen Age LXX (1964) pp.265 - 84.

479) Printed by Wyer, RSTC 788.1 and mentioned O'Connor p. 167 - 9. Quotations are from the fascimile of STC.786. ed.E.W.B. Nicholson, London, 1891.

480) STC.6931 - 2, printed c.1498 and 1532, quotations from the latter.

481) Printed Horstman YW II 406 - 20 and described in some detail by N.L.Beaty, The Craft of Dying, chapter I who seems to imply (wrongly) p.4 that this was the only English version of the ars moriendi.

482) PL.158.685-8.

483) Gerson's La Médecine de L'Ame also lacks a formal temptation section.

484) O'Connor op.cit. p.188.

485) For example, the xylographic ars moriendi reproduced by the Holbein Society, 1881, ed.H.Rylands or the edition reproduced as Appendix C to Tenenti's La Vie et la Mort à travers l'art du XV^{e} siècle, consists of the five temptations to unfaithfulness, desperation, impatience, vain glory and avarice each of which is illustrated and the five inspirations of the dying man's good angel, again illustrated, against each temptation. These ten full-page illustrations with their facing pages of text are prefaced by two pages of introduction and followed by one illustration and one page of text. This edition then is principally concerned with the temptations.

486) Preparation E1^{r}ff.

487) It was clearly considered important that a man should, where possible, receive the Last Rites and St.Barbara

was particularly concerned to protect men from dying without them - she appears in company with St. Lawrence, St.Katherine and St.Stephen in the xylographic edition's illustrations of the Good Angel's inspiration to patience.

488) Ecclesiastes VII:1 is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YWII p.407; Legrand Good Manners M1^{v} etc.

489) Gerson, ed. Glorieux VII. p.405 cp.Lytyll treatyse A2^{r-v} The doctrynall A2^{v} - 4^{v}.

490) cp. The Rote, ch.xv. n.61 above.

491) Lytyll treatyse A2^{r}.

492) Erasmus, Preparation F7^{v}. cp. Pico della Mirandola, Rules of a christian lyfe (STC. 6158) E4^{r}.

493) Lytyll treatyse A1^{r}; The doctrynall B1^{v}; Erasmus, Preparation E8^{r}. cp. the line "Hold thou thy cross before my closing eyes" from the hymn "Abide with me".

494) e.g. Hodnett nos. 502, 510.

495) Quoted from The boke of the craft of dying YW.II p. 410 from which it found its way into The doctrynall B4^{r-v} and The craft of deying (Scot.text.Soc. 1939, P. 169) it was also to be found in the Orologium, in Dives and Pauper, the Legenda Aurea, Fewterer's The Myrrour of Glasse of Christes Passion and A generall free Pardon or Charter of heuyn blys.

496) O'Connor The Art of Dying Well comments on the illustrations p.9, and Hind An Introduction to a History of Woodcut I. pp.224 - 30.

497) Among English illustrations Bodl. M.S.Gough Liturg. 3. (English c.1500) f.95^{v} shows a devil and an angel struggling for possession of a soul, while devils are pictured dragging souls to hell MSS.Bodley 283 (English - Dutch, XV cent.) f 87 and Bodley 883 (English 1500 - 50) f18^{v}. There is also the splendid record of expenses incurred at Winchester, 1549 which included "for screwing the nose on the Devil's face, putting a new hair on his head and glueing a bit on his tail, five shillings and sixpence" (From W.K.Jordon , Edward VI, the Young King, p.220) The visual representations were reinforced by numerous stories of souls which saw or struggled with devils on their death-bed such as two which were drawn from the Dialogues of St.Gregory and retold in the Cordiale, f.1v^{v} - 1vi^{v} and the Orologium p. 363, where the dying man is devoured or half devoured by a dragon, who may well be imagined in terms of the hell's mouth pictured in some of the ars moriendi woodcuts and used in the drama.

498) O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well pp.27 - 31, discusses some of the sources. The temptations receive some discussion or are described in The boke of the craft of dying; The doctrynall, Exornatorium curatorium; The Cordiale; The complaynt of the soule, Erasmus' Preparation to death; Whitford's Dayly exercyse; Frith in The preparation to deathe and The preparation to the crosse; A myrrour... for them that be syke; Hughe The troubled mans medicine II; A godly and holsom preseruatyue against disperacion.

499) Erasmus, Preparation F1^{r} f. cp. A godly and holsom preseruatyue D3^{v}.

500) Erasmus, Preparation F1^{v}.

501) Hughe, Troubled Mans Medicine II. F1^{v} - 3^{v}.

502) Bonde, A deuoute Epystle (STC. 3276) f.xvii^{v}. The whole of the chapter, xv, in which this passage occurs is printed anonymously in the 1583 edition of the Jesus Psalter C6^{v}f.

503) For a general survey, A.Sachs "Religious Despair in Medieval Literature and Art", Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp.231 - 56 and K.C.Brittain, " The Sin of Despair in English Renaissance Literature", DA xxiv (1963) p. 281.

504) Suicide is discussed at some length in More's Dyalogue of comforte II:xvi.

505) The boke of the craft of dying, YW II p. 409; More Quattuor Novissima, English Works p. 79; The Chastising of God's Children p. 151 ff.

506) p.153.

507) St. Peter and St.Mary Magdalene are mentioned among others in The boke of the craft of dying YW II.p. 410 and The doctrynall B4^{v} also in Bonde's Deuoute Epystle f.23^{v} and Erasmus' Preparation E8^{r}. In the xylographic editions the illustration to "Bona inspiratio angli contra desperationem" includes St.Peter, St. Mary Magdalene, the repentant thief of the crucifixion and St.Paul.

508) The Chastising ch.xiv, Bonde Deuoute Epystle ch xix.

509) His example is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YW II p. 412; The doctrynall and Erasmus' Preparation to deathe.

510) The only name to appear with this and The Preparation to the Crosse is that of the translator, Richard Tracy. The

reason for the ascription to Frith appears to be derived from its appearance, together with Frith's Mirrour of Glasse to know thyselfe in the anonymous volume entitled Vox Piscis (RSTC. 11395) printed in 1627. Tracy may well have come into contact with Frith over the matter of his father's will and so it is not impossible that the work is by Frith. The first edition Of the Preparation to the Crosse, and to Deathe (STC,11393) was printed by Berthelet in 1540 and contained a dedication to Thomas Cromwell. This dedication does not appear in STC.11392 which supports the view that it was printed later than STC 11393, after Cromwell's fall in 1540. RSTC. numbers it 11393·ɷ 5 and suggests a date about 1548.

511) To teche a man to dye seems also to have been linked with Frith's name by virtue of its inclusion in Vox Piscis; it always appeared anonymously. It was probably first printed in Antwerp about 1533 (STC 11390), it seems then to have been printed by Robert Redman about 1538 (STC24250) and later, about 1540 perhaps, to have been printed in a volume with two other pieces by Frith (STC.11386), "A letter vnto the faythfull followers of Christes Gospell" and "The Myrrour or glasse to know thyselfe". The fact that it appeared fairly regularly coupled with works by Frith suggests that if not by Frith it came from the same kind of circle.

512) M.E.Kronenberg has identified Philoponos with Hans Luft of Marburg ie Johannes Hoochstraten of Antwerp who had still other pseudonyms, "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century) "The Library[4] IX (1928 - 9) pp. 139 - 63.

513) STC.17982, printed in about 1536 by James Nicholson of Southwark is moved to RSTC.11470·ɷ 5 under Gnapheus.

For Dutch editions, Ned. Bibl.1010, 3108 dated1531 and 1532 - A Dutch edition is printed in S.Cramer and F.Pijper, Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica Vol.I 1903.

514) e.g. Becon's denunciation of holywater, holy bread etc. Sick Man's Salve, PSIII. p. 156.

515) In the edition used, STC 11393 the chapters are misnumbered, chapter two occuring twice. I have used the numbers given in the original, simply distinguishing the two second chapters as chapter 2 and chapter 2 (3).

516) Frith, Preparation...to deathe $L4^{v}$ - 5^{r}.

517) cp. The doctrynall's reference to the grace received in baptism, $A4^{r}$ and to the faith taken at the font stone, $B2^{r}$.

518) To teche a man to dye $B1^{v}$ - quotations mainly from STC 11390 (this from STC 24250). The opening of L'Art ...de bien mourir (G.W.2587) reads "Nostre dieu imperateur et createur du ciel et de la terre au commencement du temps et de toutes creatures crea toutes choses de rien". L'Art then goes on to give a detailed account of the first three days of creation to the creation of Adam and Eve, the fall of Lucifer and Man's fall and expulsion from Paradise.

519) cp. Wyse. A Consolacyon for chrysten people $B1^{v}$ff laments the false and beguiling teaching of former "crafty sole maisters" who bound the people to the traditions of Rome.

520) To teche a man to dye $C8^{r}$; A myrrour...for them that be syke $K7^{v}$f cp. Bonde's warnings Deuoute Epystle ch.xix, fol.xxv about the use of meditation on the judgements of

God, hell and damnation.

521) Certeine prayers I.8^{v} (the whole of the second chapter of the second image is mainly concerned with the two great advantages death brings for the Christian, the end of present miseries and evil and all sin, and the entry into the life of heaven) cp. A myrrour...for them that be syke K5^{r} - ^{v}.

522) Certeine prayers, the seventh image of the first table and A myrrour, B5^{v} includes "A declaration and exhortation to suffer all troubles paciently & faythfully..."

523) A Myrrour (about I 6) and Certeine prayers H7^{r}, "Here is Iesus Chryst crucifyed the hed of all christen/the capteyn of all theym that suffer" also L3^{r}ff. cp. Erasmus' Preparation where he recommends trust in the faith of the whole fellowship of the Church rather than buying up the merits of one house of religion however holy.

524) Iconographic representation of Christ's victory over death appears in a number of works by Lucas Cranach who worked in the centre of the Reformation, Wittenberg - see Schiller II. Plates 532 - 4; 537 also 535 and 538.

525) Whitford Dayly exercyse A2^{v} - 3^{r}. The extract is a good example of Whitford's tendency to over-indulge the use of doublets. The quotation from Aristotle is used among others in Cordiale A4^{v}; Erasmus Preparation A3^{r}; Certeine prayers G2^{v}; A myrrour...for them that be syke I.3^{v}; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II C5^{v}; Werdmüller A moste frutefull...treatise 2^{v} - 3^{r}; [illegible] A newe Treatyse F3^{v}.

526) His view finds confirmation in a work by a biased Protestant author of the twentieth century, O.Pfister, Christianity and Fear (English translation 1948) e.g.pp.271 - 3, 283 - 4.

527) To teche a man to dye E3^{v} STC. 24250.

528) More Dyalogue of comforte II.1.

529) The Two Books of Homilies, ed. J.Griffiths, Oxford 1859 pp. 91 - 104 and as a reminder that this type of preaching was not to the taste of every congregation, p.x.

530) Lupset Of dieyng well p. 273. Erasmus also noted that some trembled at the approach of death, not because of fear or sin or distrust but as the result of natural weakness.

531) Erasmus Preparation to deathe B1^{v}, 4^{r}; Whitford Dayly exercyse A3^{r}; Certeine prayers G.3^{r} and Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI ed. E.Arber, London 1869 p. 200.

532) Certeine prayers G1^{v}.

533) cp. The Homily of the Fear of Death which deals in its three parts with the three causes why wordly men fear death: "one, because they shall lose thereby their worldly honours, riches, possessions, and all their heart's desires; another, because of the painful diseases and bitter pangs which commonly men suffer either before or at the time of death; but the chief cause above all others is the dread of the miserable state of eternal damnation both of body and soul, which they fear shall follow after their departing out of the worldly pleasures of this present life", (ed.cit.p. 92).

534) The idea of death as a sleep probably goes back to St.Paul, I. Thessalonians IV:15, I Corinthians XV: 18 In the Dayly exercyse C2^{r} Whitford describes sleep as the image of

death, cp. the references to sleep in Donne's sonnet, "Death be not proud". Hughe, Troubled mans medicine discusses the sleep of death at the end of Pt.I - beginning Pt.II. His concern is not with the sensation of death but with the state of the soul, to show that it does not sleep after temporal death until the day of Judgement as the "doting Anaboptistes" have suggested. However he does imply, Pt.I. $H3^{r}$ that in death the body is "oppressed with slepe".

535) A myrrour...for them that be syke K8 is one of the more outspoken.

536) On the deterrent powers of hell, Walker The Decline of Hell pp. 3 -4, 40 - 2. The Cordiale $A5^{r}$ quoting St. Bernard's Myrour of monkes approves the deterrent aspect of the memento mori, saying that whoever bears the remembrance of death " in his mynde in what place soeuer he go shall neuer synne" while the author of Certeine prayers is more critical remarking that remembrance "of this one euil", death, is used that it " may feare vs from synne/make vs dispyse the world/ alleuiate oure passyons/& eyylls": he refrains from comment on the effectiveness of the threat.

537) Erasmus Preparation $A2^{r}$.

538) Erasmus, Preparation $B3^{v} - 4^{r}$.

539) A myrrour...for them that be syke. $I3^{r-v}$.

540) In addition to the printed versions in the Collected works and the separate editions of 1534 and 1541, STC 16932 - 35. a slightly abbreviated version was copied in Bodl. MS. Tanner 118 (probably early XVII century) This version begins after the pagan examples at the

beginning, with "This dienge well is in effecte to dye gladlye..." (p.271 ed.Gee) and omits the references to John Walker towards the end, but it is an otherwise close copy.

541) Walker was a member of Reginald Pole's household. For contemporary references to him L and P Henry VIII, V. No. 530; VIII No. 511; XIII (i) No.422; preferments are recorded L and P. Henry VIII. V.838 (25) cp.III.(i) 405 (ii). Although I have found no record of his having attended either university in England, he may have studied abroad or acquired the considerable familiarity with classical history, which Lupset assumes, informally in Pole's household, on which see W.Schenk, Reginald Pole (London 1950).

542) Cato the younger was famous enough, Plutarch's Lives (ed. Loeb vol.8.pp.399 - 409) and Seneca's De Tranquillitate Animae XVI:1. Catulus and Merula committed suicide in anticipation of trial and execution after the occupation of Rome by Marius and Cinna, 87 B.C. (H.M.Last, Cambridge Ancient History IX (1932) p. 264 - 5)

543) Lupset declares, p. 269, that "Euer by goddes mere goodnes man knewe what was well to be done, and what was contrarye yuelle to be done. It is a lawe written in the harte of man with the fynger of god in our creation, to be enduced by reason to praise alway vertue, and to thynke synne worthye of disprayse". St.Paul had tried to shame Jewish Christians into recognition of their sinfulness by pointing out the natural virtues of the Gentiles, e.g. Romans II: 12 - 16 (see C.K.Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans (London 1962) p. 51 - 2) and perhaps Lupset was attempting to do the same; but in its context the passage sounds more like a commendation of pagan virtue and powers of reason.

544) The stories of Theodorus and Canius, especially the latter, are virtually word for word translations of the stories of Seneca's De Tranquillitate Animae XIV: 3 - 10.

545) Who may have been the Spanish sympathizer mentioned L and P Henry VIII IV Nos. 2751, 3265, 3278 etc.

546) Lupset adds a statement on the importance of the good works charity inspires: "& faithe can not be perfect, onles there be good workes, the whiche he may stur vp and quycken in vs faythe to take a beleue, that by Christes actes our final demerites may growe to be perfecte", which suggests that Lupset ascribed to good works greater importance than most Protestants would allow.

547) cp. n.419 above.

548) Traditional warnings against riches are to be found, p.286 and include Paul's warning, I. Timothy V1:10, "The loue of ryches is the rote of all syn".

549) Lupset, pp.279, 284 - 5 cp. Exhortacyon to yonge men $B4^{v}-5^{r}$, $C4^{v}-5^{r}$. Stoic philosophy taught men to sit light to the things of this world and warned them against the fickleness of fortune.

550) Erasmus, Preparation $A4^{r}$.

551) The view was common enough in medieval works but Erasmus, e.g. Preparation $B5^{v}$, and Lupset may well have made direct use of classical sources, such as Cicero's Cato Maior de Senectute (Budé edn. Paris 1940) II.4, XIX - XX etc.

552) Lupset, p. 274, "Bloudde in his measure and temperance between cold and hotte, kepeth lyfe in the body: the which bloud by innumerable waies of chanses may be altered and

constrayned to leaue his nouryshyng, whervpon shall insue the losse of lyfe.."

553) Lupset lists living things in their hierarchical order of the great chain of being-life being defined as use of the senses and ability to move and he implies growth.

554) Lupset, Of dieyng well p.274.

555) cp. Simon, The fruyte of redempcyon (ed.1530), $A4^{r}$, "it hath pleased the amonge al thy blessed werkes to make me a reasonable man".

556) Lupset would probably not have gone quite a far as Alberti's "Men are themselves the source of their own fortune and misfortune" or Pico della Mirandola's "O supreme generosity of God the Father, O highest and marvelous felicity of man. To him it is granted to have whatever he chooses, to be whatever he wills" but that was the general direction in which his thoughts were moving.

557) cp. St.Bernard, Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini, ca. vii. PL 184, 752 - 3.

558) The passage, p.277, seems to employ a deliberate circumlocution to avoid reference to the crucified Jesus - the emotional focus of so much devotional literature. Lupset avoids reference to Christ by saying of the thieves "he at the ryght hand, and he at the lefte".

559) Erasmus, Preparation $C8^{v}$.

560) Erasmus, Preparation $C5^{v}$.

561) Lupset op.cit. p. 284. The quotation is from Seneca's

De Tranquillitate Animae XI:6 "Qui mortem timebit, nihil umquam prohomine vivo faciet".

562) For instance, Lupset's emphasis on the need for prayer is traditional enough, p. 289 - 30, "Pray euer continually without cessing you must", but he goes on to describe what prayer is: "the very praier is to be euer wel mynded, to be euer in chritie, to haue euer the honour of good in rememberance, to suffre no rancore, none yre, no wrath, no malice, no syn to abyde in your delyte, but to be in a continual good thought...& neuer perauenture you can pray better, than whan you must giue your selfe to serue your maister (Pole)". It is a noble list, but rather a summary of Stoic ideals than a distinctively Christian summary.

563) Ecclesiasticus VII:40 etc. (Vulg).

564) The Last Things are discussed, for example, by St.Thomas Aquinas (summarized U.E.Simon, The End is Not Yet, ch.5, The Doctrine of The Last Things) and they occur in Bernard of Chiny's long poem De contemptu mundi (R.C.Petry, "Medieval Eschatology and Social Responsibility in Bernard of Morval's De Contemptu mundi," Speculum XXIV (1949) pp.207 - 17 and G.J.Engelhardt, "The De Contemptu Mundi of Bernardus Morvalensis" Medieval Studies, XXII (1960) pp. 108 - 35; XXVI (1964) pp. 109 - 42; XXIX (1967) pp 243 - 72) but here as elsewhere the four last things are topics among others in a general treatment of aspects of eschatology.

565) A.Tenenti, Il Senso della Morte pp 94 - 99 on the early development by Rickel and the Cordiale.

566) A.Tenenti. op.cit. p.96.

567) Far more rigidly divided than most was Isaac Ambrose's Prima et Vltima printed in 1640 and reprinted in The Compleat Works, 1674 to which subsequent references are made. "Vltima", sub-titled "the Last Things" contains much traditional material, but Ambrose finds it necessary to expand the traditional four into six meditations, "Lifes Lease", "Deaths Arrest", "Doomes-day", "Hells Horrour", "Right Purgatory" and "Heavens Happiness".

568) e.g. Frith Preparation to deathe cap.ii (3) "Two maner of deathes" or Werdmüller, A moste frutefull...treatise ch.1. who distinguishes four kinds of death.

569) A.Michel The Last Things p.9.

570) Erasmus Preparation to deathe $C1^{r-v}$.

571) The first edition, printed without date, is given as c.1510 in STC, but the state of the device, (McKerrow No.23) might suggest a rather later date (RSTC and BM Catalogue C.1519). The other edition dated 1532 (from which quotations are given) seems to have the same pagination as the earlier edition although that was gathered in eights and sixes while the later edition is in fours. The Complainte de l'âme damnée, GW 7264 - 8, although the same type of work is in verse and the English is not a direct translation.

572) Four extant editions, 1506, 1507, 1514 and an undated edition placed after 1532 in RSTC. It is also to be found in BM.ms.Harley 1706 dated C.1475 - 1500 or perhaps a little later, A.I.Doyle, "Books connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey", Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions, XXV n.s. ii (1958) p. 230. Quotations are

from the latest edition.

573) Although written 1534 - 5 it does not seem to have been printed until c.1578 (AR 304). The piece is also included in the early seventeenth-century miscellany, Bodley ms.Tanner 118. References are to the page numbers of The English Works of John Fisher, EETS es. 27.

574) cp. the lament of the dying man in Orologium ch.5 pp. 358 - 63.

575) For earlier examples of a similar but more legalistic "trial", Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins p. 92 - 3.

576) cp. Mirroure of golde $G4^r$ - 5^r. The literature on the Body and Soul Debate is vast, e.g. Woolf, Lyrics pp.89 - 102 etc; R.Willard "The Address of the Soul to the Body" PMLA L(1935) pp. 957 - 83. For an attempt to relate the genre to popular public teaching and ecclesiastical legislation, R.W.Ackerman, "The Debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity", Speculum XXXVII (1962) pp. 541 - 65 and for its relation to English morality plays, P.J.Houle, The English Morality and Related Drama, (Hamden, Connecticut, 1972) App.II, p.169.

577) For a summary of death's (or other allegorical figures taking on a similar role) summons' in moralities, P.J.Houle op.cit. App.I. pp. 167 - 8.

578) cp. the reiterated laments of the Father in Erasmus' Comfortable exhortacion or Man in Becon's Prayse of Death that he died too young or too soon.

579) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi H6f.

580) The same image is used in the Cordiale f.$xxxii^v$ - iii^r where it is ascribed to St.Anselm.

581) Complaynt A2^{v} time exercised in virtue will lead to joy hereafter but unless the residue of his time is well spent "all shall tourne the to greate punysshement" cp. Fisher Consolacyon p.355 and one of the virtues of the mass was claimed to be restoration of time to the sinner.

582) Complaynt A3^{v}. For similar emphasis on the importance of man's reason, Simon, Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) A4^{r}, Lupset Of dieyng well p. 274 - 5.

583) Job X:1 (cp. Pety Iob, YW II p. 382) was part of the second lesson of the Dirige.

584) Complaynt B1^{r}.

585) Complaynt A2^{v}. Many of the requests for tears are based on Jeremiah IX:1 cp. the last line of G.M.Hopkins "Thou art indeed just, Lord", "Mine O thou lord of lyfe, send my roots rain".

586) Complaynt B1^{r}. The prayer begins: "O moost mercyfull lorde whiche arte the well of pyte & of grace from whome the flode of celestyall glorye dothe streme vpon all the heauenly courte..."

587) Complaynt B4^{v}.

588) cp. n.6. supra.

589) Complaynt C4^{v}.

590) Complaynt D1^{v}.

591) Complaynt D1^{v} - 2^{r}.

592) cp. Lupset Of dieyng well p. 280.

593) Fisher EETS es.27 p. 356.

594) ibid. p. 355 l.13 - 22; p. 358 l.7 - 11.

595) ibid. pp.360, 362. The same warning is also given in A Kempis I:23 and Dives and Pauper IX: 11 - 12.

596) Certeine prayers K1^{r} -v

597) Dyenge creature A2^{r}; Hamlet V.ii. "This fell sergeant, death, Is strict in his arrest..." For the widespread popularity of such dramatic summons, Owst LPME p.531 - 2.

598) For a similar reluctant condemnation by a Good Angel, The Castle of Perseverance, EETS. 262 p. 92 - 3

599) In the ars moriendi books conformity to the belief of the Church is expressed in the Interrogations and the recitation of the Creed cp. Erasmus Preparation to deathe F1^{v}; More Dyalogue of comforte I.xii and Hilton Scala II.x.

600) Everyman is forbidden any advocate.

601) Dyenge creature B2^{v}. The language is that of numerous prayers from the Primer, The Rosarye of our Lady and Copland's 1529 edition of the xvoos includes the promise of "xM. yeres of pardon" for devout recitation of the prayer "Aue domina sancta maria mater dei regina celi/ porta paradisi/domina mundi lux sempiterna/imperatrix inferni...."

602) For Mary as mediator, C.Bernard, Mother of God: a study

of Mary in scripture and tradition, Dublin 1957, chapter 12, pp. 110 - 9

603) The occasions of her tears, when Simeon prophesied Jesus' Passion, when He was lost in Jerusalem and at various times during the Passion overlap with some of the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin.

604) Dialogue existed in other treatises concerned with death: the interrogations of the Ars moriendi books provided a kind of catechetical dialogue; there is the sophistic dialogue between the Devil and the Christian reported in Erasmus' Preparation to deathe while in A myrrour... for them that be syke Tobias, Timothy and Lazarus engage in dialogue as do Philemon, Eusebius, Theophile, Christopher and Epaphroditus in Becon's Sick mans Salve. The dialogue of the morality, however, is characterized by the speeches given to abstract qualities and by a more formal delivery than that found in speech between human characters as in the two latter pieces while being less stilted and abbreviated than in the two former pieces.

605) Doctrynall (ed.1532) $B1^{v}$.

606) ed. Glorieux vol.VIII p. 406, "Royne des cieulx et mere fe misericorde et refuge des pecheurs, racordez moy a vostre filz: racommandez moy a luy: priez luy que pour vostre amour il me pardonne tout et me preigne en sa grace".

607) Lytyll treatyse $A3^{v}$.

608) Orologium p. 346.

609) Exornatorium curatorum-RSTC 10627.5, $C3^{v} - 4^{r}$. cp.Spiritus Guydonis. Horstman YW II. p.307.

610) XV.Oos (STC 20196) $B8^{v}$ - $C1^{r}$, the same prayer as that from a York Horae printed EETS 71pp. 199-200.

611) Jesus Psalter (STC. 14563) $A8^{r-v}$ "Thy blissed moder be mediatryce for me & purchase a contrite hert for yt I haue offended the".

612) Deynge creature $B1^{v}$ cp. C.Bernard Mother of God, ch.VI pp 48 - 52.

613) Dyenge creature $B2^{v}$, $C1^{r}$, $C4^{v}$ etc.

614) Waterton, Pietas Mariana Britannica, p.240 declares that there was scarcely a church in England in which an image of Our Lady of Pity was not to be found. The second part of the book details shrines, sanctuaries etc., dedicated to Mary.

615) Mark XIII: 32.

616) The Anabaptists were probably the most active millenarians of the sixteenth century, but although there are references to them during the 1530's in England their influence there was probably negligible, Dickens The English Reformation pp. 326 - 8.

617) H.S.Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd ed. Cambridge 1969) p. 118 - 20 gives several useful references.

618) W.W.Heist, The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday gives the fullest account of the history and variants of the legend, although he is not clear on which version occurs in L'Art de bien vivre. pp. 172 - 3; 198.

619) These include Cursor Mundi EETS 66, 68, pp.1282 - 99; 1616 - 20; The Pricke of Conscience (Philological Society 1863)pp. 129 - 31; "St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday", in EETS 69 p. 92; Mirk's Festial EETS es 96 pp. 2 - 3; The Chester Plays EETS es 115pp. 397 - 9; among Lydgate's poems, EETS es 107,pp.117 - 20 and The Minor Poems of Sir David Lindsay EETS 19,pp.178 - 9.

620) In his meditation "Doomes-day", Compleat Works, 1674 p. 406.

621) The introduction promises that the Fifteen signs "shall be declared by order here-after" although they are not given.

622) In The Doome warning all men to Iudgemente, 1581, Bateman indulges the fascination for unnatural, weird and bloody happenings which are gathered from all over the world spanning the time from creation to 1581. Its purpose was, like the Four Tokens, to give a general warning of God's judgement and there is surely an echo of the fifteen tokens in this quotation from p. 384: "Geue grace, most holy father, to all that shall reade the same, that they may perceiue to what end thy gracious goodnesse hath pretended this worke as a fragment among other moste holy edictions, to warne this later age, by the comming and dayly appearing of vnaccustomed prodigies, to be the onely foretoken of mans destruction for sinnes, as in the times of olde, hayles, fires from heauen, thunderinges, Eclipses, blasing starres, Elementall shewes of armies, raining of blood, milke, stones, earth, figures of dead bodyes, and instrumentes of warre, besides dreadfull voyces, after sundrye manners: On the Earth alteration of kingdomes, transmutations of religion, treasons, murthers, theefte, inceste, whoredome, Idolatrie, vsurie, reuenge, persecution, sworde, fyre, famine, hunger, death and damnation, presently

followed" - a remarkably comprehensive list of apocalpytic motifs.

623) The scene took many forms and seems to have been frequently painted over the chancel arch, A.Vallance, English Church Screens, ch.3 "The Tympanum and The Doom" cp. Tristram, English Wall Painting of the XIV century pp. 295 - 6. It was also the subject of stained glass such as the west window of Fairford and parts of the east window at Tewkesbury and York. English churches did not follow the French custom of carving the judgement over one of the porches as at Bourges, Chartres and Paris; Lincoln cathedral is unusual in having a judgement porch and Bloxham church, Oxfordshire has a doorway above which Christ is carved sitting in judgement with angels bearing symbols of the Passion on either side of him. The judgement is also carved on roof bosses at Lichfield and Norwich cathedrals and it appeared on a misericorde, now destroyed, of St. Michael's, Coventry.

624) e.g. Ruislip, Middlesex; Lenham, Kent; South Leigh, Oxfordshire.

625) It was probably more often illustrated in Horae than in any other single class of work, e.g. Bodley ms.Liturg. 186 f.38^{v} and from M.R.James' Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 1895, MSS. 51 (42); 53 (46); 56 (8). Among woodcuts Hodnett nos. 790 and 2367 (many more show the torments of souls in hell, devils etc.) and a continental cut in The mystic rosary.

626) Woolf, The English Mystery Plays pp. 294 - 9; Sister Mary Margaret Walsh "The Judgement Plays of the English Cycles" American Benedictine Review XX.pp.378 - 94

627) For descriptions of hell and judgement OWST PME pp.336 - 41; LPME pp.294 - 302, 516 - 24 etc. cp. Becon's A New Pestil, 1566, f.11^{v} etc.

628) To teche a man to dye C6^{v} cp. The Dialogue....betwene our Sauiour Ihesu Chryste and a synner D6^{v} f. where Christ blesses those who remember and fear the judgement.

629) To teche a man to dye C8^{r} - ^{v}.

630) Bonde, Deuoute Epystle fol.4^{r}.

631) Bonde op.cit. fol 25^{r}.

632) It is referred to,for example, in the Complaynt of the soule, The dyenge creature; A Kempis I:24; Cordiale; To teche a man to dye; Erasmus De Contemptu mundi and Hughe Troubled mans medicine II.

633) Cordiale fols. 37^{v}, 49^{v}.

634) Bernard Medytacyons ca.ii, A5^{v} cp. Cordiale fol. 38^{r} which refers to Bernard's fear of judgement as described in his Medytacyons.

635) EETS.26 p.16

636) EETS es 115 p. 440 cp. Mirk's Festial EETS es 96 p. 3; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 113.

637) Quotation, EETS es 115 p.428; sentence-giving ibid pp. 441 - 2. More generally, Woolf, English Mystery Plays pp 294 - 9

638) Longland: A Sermon...vpon good fryday L2^{v} - 3^{r}.

639) Longland, ibid G3^{v}. According to The craft to lyue well and to dye well (STC 792) f.Cx, a view derived from Chrysostom.

640) A lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv tokens, STC.24222, sigs. C6^{r} - D4^{r}.

641) XV Tokens D1^{r}.

642) On Frith, R.E.Fulop: John Frith (unpubl. Ph D. Edinburgh 1956) ch.6 "A disputacion of purgatorye"; For Rastell, A.W.Reed, Early Tudor Drama ch.1. pp.108 f, 217 - 23; P.E.Hughes, Theology of the English Reformers pp. 64 - 8 for rather later Protestant views. More generally, H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England pp.198 - 203 and for the origins of the belief, M. Chicoteau Studies in the Ephectic Attitude, No.IV, Exeter 1944, "Purgatory in the Eastern and Western Liturgies of Christian Worship."

643) The author of one of the pieces in this composite volume The nedyll of the fere dyuyne for to deye well in his first chapter warns against those who deny the doctrine of the purgatory and the tenth chapter of the treatise on the pains of hell, "the paynes of purgatorye", also warns against heretics who deny the existence of purgatory and say that if God forgives a man's sins his guilt is also remitted and the soul goes immediately into bliss.

644) Pomander of prayer, ed. 1531, F5^{v}.

645) English Works, 1557, pp.337 -8 quoted H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England p. 200 and A.G. Dickens The English Reformation p. 19.

646) Pomander of prayer C8^{v} - D1^{v}.

647) One of the most detailed descriptions of the pains occurs in a Revelation printed by Horstman, YW I. pp. 283 - 92 and other more general references to purgatory are to be found in various Sermon exempla, e.g. Festial EETS es. 96 p. 269 ff, Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p.224 ff. and in Van Os, Religious Visions ch. 7.

648) The pains are described $A4^{r}$ - $B4^{v}$.

649) Erasmus Preparation to deathe $F5^{r}$.

650) To teche a man to dye $C8^{v}$.

651) A.G.Dickens, The English Reformation pp.284 - 301 gives a useful analysis of the effects of the 1547 Chantries Act. For further information about the working of the chantry system K.L.Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain, Cambridge 1965, and for a more comprehensive, general survey G.H.Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, London 1968.

652) See A Revelation of purgatory, Horstman YW I p. 391.

653) See n. 489 above.

654) Festial EETS es 96 p. 269.

655) In the Lambeth sermon on Sunday, Middle English Religious Prose ed. N.F.Blake, p. 34 it is claimed that on Sunday "tha erming-saule habbeth ireste inne helle of heore muchele pine".

656) For Bisley, D.Verey, Gloucestershire: The Cotswolds, Penguin Buildings of England p.114 plate 19, and also

p. 28 for the suggestion that the porch at Aldsworth church may have held a similar light. A fine example survives at Maria Saal, Kärtnen, Austria.

657) An example of a prayer frequently found in Primers, translated in Garade's Interpretacyon...of the Masse L4^{v}f and provided with a generous pardon was "Adoro te Domine Jesu Christe in cruce pendentem..." (Hoskins p.112) This was to be said before an Image of Pity like the woodcut (Hodnett 2061) used at the end of Bonde's Deuoute xiiic Epystle and in the 1528 edition of The Pomander of prayer whose margin promised "The pardon for.v.pater nosters.v. aues & a crede wt a pyteous beholdynge of these armes is.xxxii. M & lv. yeres". Many prayers and pious acts held out to the living this kind of hope of a reduced sentence after death (e.g. Hoskins p. 126 - 7) others were of more direct assistance to the dead such as "Avete fideles omnes animae in sancta Dei pace..." (Hoskins p.117) which if said in a churchyard promised XL days of pardon and xiii lents to all Christian souls buried there who were capable of receiving pardon, or the XV.Oes (White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion p.216)

658) The Art of good lywyng & good deying (1503), 25^{v}.

659) A Kempis I:23 and n.450 above cp. Kalender of Shephardes (STC 22410) G6^{r} "Truste nat to your frendes what ye be deed rede I|Nor your executours/for fewe doth wel| But do for thyselfe or thou dye".

660) cp. A lytyll boke...of Purgatorye D1^{v} - 4^{v}.

661) Horstman YW II.pp. 314 - 22 etc.

662) BM.MS Add. 37049, f24^{v}, has a crude picture of souls

being drawn up out of purgatory in a bucket by the mass and almsdeeds.

663) Dyalogue of comforte II.1 p.1171 in English Works 1557.

664) cp. Owst PME pp.336 - 8; LPME pp.293 - 4, 298 - 9, 413, 522 - 4 and the Jesuit's sermons in Joyce's Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.

665) Christian and non-christian traditions surveyed: James Mew, Traditional Aspects of Hell, Ancient and Modern; H.R.Patch The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature ch I. "Mythological Origins: Oriental and Classical".

666) Described in "A Revelation of Purgatory", Horstman YW I p. 392.

667) Hell's mouth may be suggested Isaiah V:14, more obviously I Enoch LVI:8 and see R.Hughes, Heaven and Hell pp.175 -7.

668) e.g. A Relief at Bristol Cathedral, also illustrations 1, 16 in J.Beckwith, Ivory Carvings in Medieval England (London 1972)

669) Plate 15, Boase Death in the Middle Ages.

670) Hughes Heaven and Hell pp 178 - 88 cp. Hodnett nos. 473, 534, 872, 962, 2242.

671) Anderson, Drama and Imagery pp 127 - 9; Chambers The Medieval Stage II pp.137, 142; Wickham Early English Stages vol.I. p.246f.

672) Hughes Heaven and Hell pp. 242 - 54. Anderson Drama and

Imagery pp.171 - 7 cp. Hodnett nos. 513 - 7, 534, 2241 etc. [illegible]

673) e.g. the woodcuts illustrating Lazarus' vision of the pains of hell found in the French and English editions of The Shepherds' Calendar by Nicholas Le Rouge, Verard, Pynson, de Worde and Julian Notany (also in the Verard and de Worde editions of The crafte to lyue well and to dye well) are all closely related.

674) Cordiale $G8^{v}$, cp Mirk Festial EETS es 96 p. 238, and for the various senses of hell, EETS es 19 p.317.

675) Kalender of Shephardes $G7^{v}$, (STC 22410).

676) R.H.Charles, The Book of Enoch or I Enoch, Oxford 1912.

677) I Enoch XXXVII:1 and XL:8; XLVI:2.

678) Owt LPME p. 295 (especially n.3)ff.

679) I.Enoch LXII:12

680) E.J.Becker A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, Baltimore, 1899; H.R.Patch op.cit. ch.IV, "The Literature of Visions"; M.Voigt Beitrage zur Geschichte der Visionen Literatur im Mittelalter, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1924.

681) Respectively second, fourth and sixth century. For translations of the first two, M.R.James, The Apocryphal New Testament, for Gregory Dialogues bk.IV; PL LXXVII 384f.

682) Mirroure of golde, final chapter "Of the Ioyes of paradyse/ and paynes of hell"; Cordiale part 3.

683) Pseudo-Augustine PL XXXIX, 1929 sermo xcvi; Comester PL.CXCVIII, 1597 cap. cxvi.

684) M.Voigt op.cit. vol I pp. 1 - 42; D.D.R. Owen The Vision of Hell pp 243 - 6.

685) John XII: 1 - 2.

686) Goostly treatyse, ed 1532, $A4^{v}$ - B1.

687) Becker op.cit. respectively pp 83, 90, 89, 76, 79.

688) The section in question covers sigs. $Qq5^{v}$ - $Ss4^{v}$ in the 1521 edition.

689) Examples $A3^{r}$, $A3^{v}$, $B1^{r}$.

690) A lytell treatyse called...the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe) STC 11499. sigs. $m.1^{r}$.

691) Bernard, Medytacyons ca.vi.B.3^{v}.

692) Cordiale I.7^{v}.

693) Certeine prayers $F7^{r}$.

694) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi. $I1^{r}$.

695) Myrrour...for them that be syke about M5.

696) Marlowe The tragicall History of Doctor Faustus, ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke, The Works of Christopher Marlowe, Oxford, 1910, p.163.

697) Milton, Paradise Lost Book IV lines 18 - 24 cp. 75 - 8.

698) The Works of Thomas Becon, The Catechism and PSII.p.33.

699) On the interpretation of the Petrine verses, J.A. MacCulloch The Harrowing of Hell pp.50 - 63.

700) MacCulloch op.cit. pp.1 - 34 etc.

701) MacCulloch op.cit. chapters 5 - 6 pp.45 - 82

702) MacCulloch op.cit. chapter 9, pp.152 - 73

703) Longland A sermond...vppon good fryday...M.CCCCC. xxxvj. $K2^{v}$ - 3^{v}.

704) See Introduction to The Middle English Harrowing of Hell, ed. W.H.Hulme, EETS es 100; cp. Cursor Mundi EETS 62 pp1018 - 1060; Stanzaic Life of Christ, EETS 166 pp.266 - 74.

705) Piers Plowman B.Passus XVIII lines 249 ff. M.W.Bloomfield Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth- century Apocalypse.pp 123 - 6.

706) Woolf, English Mystery Plays pp. 269 - 72.

707) MacCulloch pp 160 - 73 summarizes and evaluates Nicodemus' version, and the Chester play of the Descent is closely modelled on the Gospel of Nicodemus.

708) Exodus III:8.

709) Cordiale $K8^{v}$.

710) Whitford, Dayly exercyse $E2^{v}$.

711) cp. Sir Thomas More in a letter written shortly before his death (No. 211, Correspondence ed. E.Rogers) "so we may reioyce and enioy ech others company, with our other

kynges folke, alies and frendes euerlastingly in the glorious blysse of heauen!"

712) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E3^{r-v}.

713) Orologium p. 389.

714) A Kempis III: 53.

715) The Goad of Love, ed. C. Kirchberger pp 212 - 3.

716) Bernard Medytacyons B4^{r}.

717) Hilton Scala Perfectionis II: 40, edn. 1533, X.7^{r}.

718) Certeine prayers H.7^{r}.

719) Catharine Parr, Prayers or meditacions, ed. 1545 A8^{v}.

720) Rolle, Ego Dormio in The English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. H.E.Allen, p.63.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. The continuity is suggested in the evidence of the lasting popularity of many of the works discussed by Dr.A.I.Doyle, A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the XIVth - XVth and early XVIth centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therin, unpubl. Ph.D thesis, Cambridge 1953.

2. See A.G.Dickens The English Reformation ch.1; P.Janelle, L'Angleterre Catholique à la veille du schisme (Paris 1935) pp. 25 - 34; H.C.White The Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 24 - 30.

3. Both Cardinal Gasquet's The Eve of the Reformation (London 1900) and H.Maynard Smith's Pre-Reformation England are too general with regard to the period covered and too selective in their choice of literary illustrations.

4. The Skot reprints include The golden letany RSTC 15707.5; The Rosary RSTC 17545.5; Nychodemus gospell STC 18570A (all 1536 - 7); there was also another edition of Cura clericalis, STC 6127 in 1537 and Dives and Pauper STC 19214 the previous year; even the number of traditional Sarum or York Horae published is dramatically reduced.

5. Traditional Latin service books re-appeared during Mary's reign as did a few Henrican authors e.g. More, STC 18076, 18082; Fisher STC 10896-7, 10908 - but none of the medieval works were apparently reprinted. The Recusant reprints were, for the most part new editions and included A & R nos. 102 (STC 1860 =17552); 128 (STC 3268/9); 304 (STC 10899); (STC 14564 - 9); The Jesus Psalter and Golden Litany were included in Manual of prayers 495 - 519 (STC 17263 (=14566) -78); 549 (STC 18083); 572 (STC 18571); The Jesus Psalter was also found in Six spiritual bookes, 766 - 9 (STC 3369, 14569 - 70); 814 - 22 (STC 23968 (= 23968 (= 23960A); 23987 - 92).

6. R.L. De Molen Erasmus (London 1973) pp. 181 - 2 (Allen Epist.Erasm. XI pp. 215 - 7)

7. These include Speculum Vitae Christi 1494; 1517, n.d, 1525, 1530 (STC 3261, 3264-7); Three Kings of Cologne (1496), c.1499, 1511, 1526 (and Duff, Handlists 1530) (STC 5572 - 5); Doctrynall of dethe, (1498), 1532 (STC 6931 - 2; The abbaye of the holy Ghost (1496), (1500), (and 1531 Duff op.cit and Maunsell's Catalogue (1595)p. 1), (STC 13609 - 10); Hilton's Scala Perfectionis 1495, 1525, 1533 (STC. 14042, 14044 - 5); Mirk's Festial 1493, 1496, 1499, (1508), 1515, 1528, 1532 (STC 17962, -5, -7,17971 - 2, -4, -5); XII profytes of trybulacyon (1499) 1530 (STC 20412 - 3); The Rote or myrrour of consolacyon (1496), (1499), 1511, 1530 (STC 21334 - 7); Wednesdayes faste (1500), 1532 (STC 24224 - 5).

8. The first two were written by the Syon brethren, Bonde and Whitford. Manuscript and printed copies of The tre bear the names of Syon nuns (see Vaissier edn. pp. xxv, xxxiii, xxxvii-viii) suggesting that it, like the Dyetary which includes woodcuts linked with Syon (Hodnett nos 457, 2277-4. 2379) may have been printed at the request of Syon.

9. R.Whitford, Pype or Tonne (STC 25421) f.19^{v}.

10. Whitford Ibid f.68^{v} - 70^{v}.

11. Whitford Ibid f.205^{v} recognizes that it can have a more general application.

12. See C.L.Powell English Domestic Relations (1917 repr. New York 1972) p. 121f.

13. For example The Chastising of God's Children and William Flete The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons.

14. For the fullest study of the remaining evidence, E.Waterton Pietas Mariae Britannica.

15. e.g. the case of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, RO III pp. 182 - 91; A. Neame The Holy Maid of Kent (London 1971).

16. cp. H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England (London 1938) p. 114 who, describing popular belief in saints says "It was a business partnership between earth and heaven, and brought this world and the next very near together".

17. See L.Stone Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages (Pelican History of Art, 1955) ch. 15.

18. Their high standards were recognized by their contemporaries and found too demanding, Knowles, RO III pp. 159 - 60.

19. See M.M. & R. Dodds The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy (2 vols, Cambridge 1915) and F.Rose-Troup The Western Rebellion of 1549 (London 1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography that follows is divided into two parts. The first covers early printed books, most of them printed before 1550, used in the preparation of this study. The order followed is that of A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed ... 1475-1640 (London 1926), to which other items - additions to STC and works outside its scope - are added in alphabetical order. Except in cases of particular complexity, I have cited fully only one edition of each work, usually the one I have used, but dates of other editions are noted for the more important items. The place of printing is London, unless otherwise stated, and the names of printers are modernised except for a few cases. In the titles, most of them given in full, contractions are silently expanded and the different varieties of type reduced to lower case characters. Where I have come across a modern reprint or edition of a work, this is noted, but I have not attempted to list reprints for every item. Cross-references, where appropriate are provided to A.F. Allison & D.M. Rogers: "A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640" Biographical Studies III (1956) - (A & R); E.J. Devereux A Checklist of English Translations of Erasmus (Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Paper 3), Oxford 1968 - (Devereux); E.G. Duff Fifteenth Century English Books, Oxford 1917 - (Duff); E. Hoskins Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, London 1901 - (Hoskins); W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 to 1540, S'Gravenhage 1923 etc (Ned Bibl) and the Bodleian typescript of the RSTC, which has been consulted where possible

rather than systematically. Errors in STC have been corrected either from my own observation or on the authority of the above works - for the dating of works printed by Robert Wyer I am indebted to Mrs Betty Tracy. Occasionally I have added a note of comment. The second part of the bibliography covers the more important secondary sources used, with books and periodicals listed separately.

BIBLIOGRAPHY I

Early printed works

STC 95

___ An heauenly acte concernynge how man shal lyue, made by our suffraine lorde God the father, God the / sonne, and God the holye goost, and al the whole clergie in heuen consenting to the same. 8°. Amsterdam, J. Peterson [?1547].

STC 193

AGAPETUS. The preceptes teachyng a prynce or a noble estate his duetie / written by Agapetus in Greke to the emperour Iustinian / and after translated into Latin / and nowe in to Englysshe by Thomas Paynell. 8°. T. Berthelet [before 1534].

STC 202

AGRIPPA, Henricus Cornelius. The commendation of matrimony, made by Cornelius Agrippa, & translated into englishe by Dauid Clapam. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1545 (anr. ed. 1540).

Dedication to Gregory, Thomas Cromwell's son.

STC 256

ST ALBAN. Here begynnethe the glorious lyfe and passion of saint Albon prothomartyr of Englande / and also the lyfe and passion of saint Amphabel / whiche conuerted saint Albon to the fayth of Christe. 4°. [St. Albans, J. Herford], 1534.

Translated by John Lydgate.

STC 281

ALCOCK, John. Mons perfectionis / otherwyse in Englysshe / the hylle of perfeccyon. 4°. W. de Worde, 1501. (Other edns 1496, 1497, [1497-8] : modernized version in E.M. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, pp. 327-33).

The work was printed "at the Instaunce of the reuerende

relygyous fader Thomas Pryour of the house of saynt Anne ye ordre of ye Chartrouse".

STC 292

ALESIUS, Alexander. Of the auctorite of the word of god agaynst the bisshop of London / wherein are conteyned certen disputacyons had in the parlament howse betwene the bisshops abowt the nomber of the sacraments and other things / very necessary to be known ... 8° [?Low Countries, ?1537]

STC 397

___ A spirituall Almanacke, wherin euery Christen man and woman may se what they ought dayle to do, or leaue vndone. Not after the doctrine of the Papistes, nor after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other Heythen Astronomers, but out of the very true & wholsome doctryne of God our almyghty heuenly father, shewed vnto vs in his worde, by his prophetes Apostels, but specyally by his dere sonne Iesus Christ And is to be kept not onely this newe yeare but contynually vnto the daye of the Lordes commyng agayne. 8°. R. Kele [?1546]

Wing A.2992

AMBROSE, Isaac. The Compleat Works Of that Eminent Minister of Gods Word Mr. Isaac Ambrose. fol. for Rowland Reynolds, 1674

STC 659

___ An answere to a letter. 8°. T. Godfray, [?1535]

STC 770

(ARISTOTLE) [The secret of secretes] 4°. R. Copland, 1528

See EETS es.74 and es.66.

STC 786 (Duff 33)

___ Here begynneth a lytyll treatyse schortely compyled and called ars moriendi / that is to saye the craft for to deye for the helthe of mannes sowle. 4°. W. Caxton [1491]

(Other edns. [1497], 1506 and by Wyer during the 1530s, RSTC 788.1. A photolithograph of STC 786 was issued, with an introductory note by E.W.B. Nicholson, by Quaritch, London (1891).)

STC 792

___ The crafte to lyue well and to dye well. fol. W. de Worde, 1505

(Other edns. [1503], [1506]. A copy of STC 792 is also in the B.M. London.)
Translated by A. Chertsey.

STC 845 (Ned Bibl 3281)

ASHWELL, John. The letters which John Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde / sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne / in the yeare of our lorde M.D.xxxvij ... 8° [Antwerp, M. de Keyser], [?1531] (Other edns. [?1527], [?1548])

STC 862

___ The assaute and conquest of heuen translated out of frenche into englishe by Thomas Paynel. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1529

STC 908

___ [The confessyon of the fayth of the Germaynes] 8°. R. Redman, 1536 (Another edn. about the same date)

The STC entry presumably includes P. Melanchthon's "The Apologie that is to say the defense of the confessyon of the Germaynes", Redman, 1536, although bibliographically it is a separate work, which might be better before STC 17788. Both works were translated by Richard Taverner at the commandment of Thomas Cromwell.

STC 937

St AUGUSTINE. A litle pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise. Very woorthy and needful to be read of euery Christian that is willing to tread the steps which lead to Heauen. 8°. for E. Aggas [?1580] (RSTC 937·3 adds an edition of 1581)

Before STC 954

St AUGUSTINE. Here begynneth ye rule of our holy fader. s. Austen yt noble doctour. 4°. W. de Worde [?1510] (Bamb.)

This may be the translation referred to by Whitford in The rule of saynt Augustyne ($A1^{v}$) as "olde / scabrouse / rough / & not of the englysshe comynly vsed in these partyes".

STC 967

St AUSTIN of Abingdon (St. Edmund) [The deuoute treatyse called the myrrour of the chyrche] 4°. Peter Treveris (n.d.) (Other edns. 1521, 1527 and see after STC 11210)

For editions of mss. versions, Horstman YW I pp 219-61 and for a modernized and abbreviated translation of the French version, E. Colledge The Medieval Mystics of England (London 1962) pp. 125-40

STC 1462

BARLOW, William. A dialoge describing the originall ground of these Lutheran faccions, and many of their abuses. 8°. J. Cawood, 1553 (Another edn. 1531: the later edn. reprinted, with introduction by J.R. Lunn, Dialogue on the Lutheran Factions, London 1897)

STC 1472

BARNES, Robert. The supplication of doctour Barnes vnto the moost gracyous kynge Henrye the eyght with the declaration of his articles condemned for heresy by the byshops. 8°.

H. Singleton, [?1550] (2 other edns c.1534: the contents are summarized by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 1582

BATEMAN, Stephen. The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente: wherein are contayned for the moste parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with diuers secrete figures of Reuelations tending to mannes stayed conuersion towardes God ... 4°. R. Nubery assigned by H. Bynneman. 1581.

STC 1710

BECON, Thomas. The worckes of Thomas Becon. whiche he hath hytherto made and published, with diuerse other newe [sic] bookes added to the same, heretofore neuer set forth in print diuided into thre tomes ... fol. J. Daye, 3 vols 1564, 1560, 1563. (Most of the works were reprinted in the 3 vol Parker Society edn of Becon's Works.)

See, in general, D.S. Bailey Thomas Becon (Edinburgh 1952)

STC 1736

BECON, Thomas. A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles, that be redde in the Church thorowout the yeare : lately set foorth vnto the great profite not onely of al Curates, and spirituall Ministers, but also of all other godly and faythfull readers. 4°(in 8's). T. Marshe, 1566

After STC 1756

BECON, Thomas. The shelde of saluacion, newly sette forth in Englysshe, to the great comforte of all faythfull penytent synners. 8°. R. Wyer [1540's] (C.15)

This is a translation of Urbanus Regius': Doctrina certissima et consolatio solidissima atque firmissima

contra desperationem propter peccata ... Item Dialogus inter Satanam & poenitentem peccatorem. The English version is virtually that printed in Becon, PS II pp.626-40, apart from the omission of the last two paragraphs of the introductory dedication.

STC 1908

St BERNARD. A compendius & a moche fruytefull treatyse of well liuynge, contaynyng the hole summe and effect of al vertue ... translated by Thomas Paynell. 8°. T. Petyt, [1545?]

RSTC 1910.5

St BERNARD. Epistola sancti Barnardi abbatis clareuallensis. Vtilissima & moralissima de bona gubernatione familie Omnibus cristianis valde necessaria. Single sheet fol. [?Pynson, ?1505] (O)

This is a Latin version of Bernard Sylvester's Of the cure & gouernaunce of a housholde, RSTC 1967.5, and despite the title, not by Bernard of Clairvaux.

STC 1911 (RSTC 1915.5)

St BERNARD. An epistle of saint Bernarde / called the golden epistle / whiche he sent to a yong religyous man whom he moche loued. And after the sayd epistle / foloweth four reuelations of saint Birget. 8°. T. Godfray [?c.1535]

STC 1912

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called / a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 23 Nov. (also at O^{10}).

This is Whitford's version. For the Latin original see PL CLXXXIV, 1173-4.

STC 1913

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle. 4°. W. de Worde [?1531]

Whitford's version.

STC 1914

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle. 8°. R. Wyer, 1531

Whitford's version.

STC 1915

St BERNARD. Here after foloweth an epistle of saynt Bernarde called the golden epistle / whiche he sent to a yong religious man whom he moche loued... 8°. T. Godfray [?1531]

Same version as STC 1911. This is part of STC 23963.

STC 1916 (Duff 41)

St BERNARD. Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde. 4°. W. de Worde, 1496 (other edns. [?1499], 1525)

STC 1967 = 5214

RSTC 1967·5

BERNARD Sylvester. Here begynneth a shorte monycyon, or counsayle of the cure & gouernaunce of a housholde / accordynge vnto policy : taken out of a pystle of a great lerned man, called Bernarde Syluestre. 8°. R. Wyer [1531] (cp.EETS 42)

For the Latin version see RSTC 1910·5. This piece is usually appended to R. Whitford's Werke for housholders.

STC 1978 (Duff 43)

BETSON, Thomas. Here begynneth a ryght profytable treatyse compendiously drawn out of many & dyuers wrytyngs of holy men / to dyspose men to be vertuously occupyed in theyr myndes & prayers. And declared the Pater noster. Aue. & Credo. in our moder tonge with many other deuoute prayers in lyke wyse medefull to religyous people as to the laye people with many other moost holsomest Instruccyons ... 4°(in 6's) [W. de Worde

c. 1500.]

Includes "Saynt Bernarde to a newe begynner in relygyon". On the author see A.I. Doyle, The Library[5] XI (1956) pp.115-8.

STC 2063

____ [Biblia the bible that is the holy scrypture] fol. ___ 1535.

Translated by Coverdale. STC suggests Zurich as the place of publication. T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, rev. A.S. Herbert Historical Catalogues of Printed Editions of the English Bible (London 1968) no.18, suggest Marburg or Cologne. They mention a possible connection with Antwerp, but it does not seem to have been noticed that most of the small woodcuts were used by an Antwerp printer, Symon Cowke, in his edition of Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur, 1536 (STC 3014), thus strengthening the claim of Antwerp.

STC 2748=23710

____ An epitome of the psalmes or briefe meditacions vpon the same, with diuerse other moste Christian prayers, translated by Richard Tauerner. 16° (in 8's). [R. Banks] 1539.

The Epitome which is based on Wolfgang Capito's Precationes Christianae is preceded by a general confession and followed by the Pater, Ave, Credo and Decalogue. With a separate title and signatures there follows The principal prayers of the Byble moste necessary for Christen men, based, like STC 2379 etc, 2996, 20200, RSTC 20200.3, on O. Brunfels' Precationes Biblicae

STC 2987

____ An exposicyon vpon a pece of saint Iames epistle to the ende of ye second chapitre, begynnynge at D. in ye same chapitre ... 8°. J. Byddell, 1536

STC 3014 (Ned Bibl 3906)

____ Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur / garnyschede with faire ymages / and with deuoute praiers / and thanck geuings vnto God. With grete diligence oursien and aprouued by the inquisitor of the Christen faithe / maester Nycolas Coppijn / de Monitibus / Dean of saincte Peters / and Chanceler of the vniuersite of Louen. 8°. Antwerp, Symon Cowke, 1536 (Copy also at M).

STC 3021 (Ned Bibl 3980)

___ A compendious olde treatyse / shewynge / how that we ought to haue ye scripture in Englysshe. 8°. Marlborow, Hans Luft [Antwerp, Johannes Hoochstraten] 1530 (Other edns: R. Banks, n.d. and repr. Arber's English Reprints vol.27, 1871. Also see Deanesly The Lollard Bible p.438)

STC 3033

___ The dore of holy scripture. 8°. John Gough, 1540-12 March. (c.p. STC 25588)

This was the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible.

STC 3034 (= an edn of 3036-41)

___ [The summe of the holy scripture] 8° [R. Redman ?1535]

STC 3036 (Ned Bibl 3912)

___ The summe of the holye scripture / and ordinarye of the Christen teachynge / the true Cħristen faithe / by the which we be all iustified. And of the vertue of baptesme / after the teaching of the Gospell and of the Apostles / with an informacyon howe all estates shulde lyue / accordynge to the Gospell. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp] 1529 (Other edns: 3 about 1535, [1547], 1548, [?1550].)

STC 3046

___ [The concordance of the new testament most necessary to be had in the handes of all soche as, (delyte) in the communica]tion of any place contayned in ye new Testament. 8°. T. Gybson, 1535. (First part of title supplied in ms)

STC 3050

BICKNOLL, Edmund. A Swoorde against swearyng, conteyning these principal poyntes. 1. That there is a lawful vse of an oth, contrary to the assertion of the Manichees & Anabaptistes. 2. Howe great a sinne it is to sweare falsly, vaynely, rashly, or customably. 3. That common or vsuall swearyng leadeth vnto periurie. 4. Examples of God's iust and visible punishment vpon blasphemers, periurers, and such as have procured Gods wrath by cursing and blaming, which we call execration. 8°. for William Towreolde, by the assent of Richard Watkins [n.d.] (Another edn. 1579)

STC 3200

BOETHIUS. The boke of comfort called in Laten Boetius de Consolatione philosophie. Translated in to englesse tonge [by J. Walton]. 4° in the exempt monastery of Tauestock in Deushyre. By me Dan Thomas Rychard ... to the instant desyre of the ryght worshypful esquyer Mayster Robert Langdon. 1525. (repr. EETS 170, earlier edn. [?1478]) (Copy also at M)

STC 3267

St BONAVENTURA. Vita Christi. 4° W. de Worde. 1530 (Copy also at M) (Other edns: [1486], [1490], 1494, [1494], [1506], 1517, [n.d.] , 1525: a modern edn. based on mss. not printed sources, L.F. Powell's The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Christ (London, 1908).

Translation by Nicholas Love of Mountgrace Charterhouse.

RSTC 3273·6

St BONAVENTURA. The crosrowe or A.B.C. Here foloweth two Opuscules or small werkes of saynt Bonauenture / moche necessarye and profytable vnto all chrystyanes specyally vnto relygyous persones / put in to englysshe by a brother of Syon Rychard Whytforde. 4° W. de Worde. 1532 (Copy at O^{10})

An earlier (1523-30) edition by Richard Fawkes is described by F.C. Francis in The Library^{4} XVII (1937) pp.184-9. The pieces were also included in the following works by Richard Whitford: STC 25412, 25413, 25416.

STC 3275

BONDE, William. A deuote treatyse for them that ben tymorouse and fearefull in conscience whiche treatyse yf yt be well red ouer and folowyd wyl brynge ye reders out of al scrupulosite of conscience & saruyle feare / & brynge them to the holy feare and loue of almyghty God. 4°. [M. Fawkes, ?1534]

STC 6904 is an earlier version of the same treatise. The other edition, STC 3276 of ?1535, adds that the treatise was sent" to a deuote relygiouse woman of Dennay. At ye instance of her spirituall frendes. And by that same frende ouerseen & deuyded in to. xx. chapitres ...". Chapter xv, "Good remedyes ageynste spirituall temptacions", was reprinted anonymously with the Jesus Psalter in STC 17263 etc.

STC 3278

BONDE, William. A deuoute treatyse in Englysshe / called the Pilgrymage of perfeccyon: very profytable for all chrysten people to rede: and in especyall / to all relygyous persones moche necessary. The auctour of this present treatyse hath added vnto it the exposicyon of the Aue and the Crede / with dyuerse other thynges. fol. W. de Worde, 1531 (Another edn. 1526 which includes STC 14571)

STC 3288 (RSTC 3306.5)

___ Here begynneth a boke of a Ghoostly fader / that confesseth his Ghoostly chylde / the whiche speketh fyrst of the. vii. deedly synnes / and after of the cyrcumstaunce that to them belongeth. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde [J. Skot for] , [?1528]

On C8^{r} "Et sic finis. Anno domini. M.CCCCC.xx.viii die mensis Martii." The main substance of the book is taken from Mirk's Instructions, see EETS 31 p.33ff

STC 3296

___ The boke of conforte agaynste all tribulacions. 4°

R. Pynson [?1510] (Earlier edn. ?1505)

See Durham Philobiblon I (March 1954) p.68. The dialogue alone was subsequently reprinted in another translation, STC 14548.

STC 3305 = 13827 (Duff 55)

___ [The book of divers ghostly matters] 4° (in 8's) W. Caxton [1491]

The contents include Ye seuen poyntes of trewe loue (Orologium sapientiae, See Horstmann, ed. Anglia X (1888) pp.323-89); The. xij. proffites of tribulacyon (see STC 20412-3): A compendious abstracte ... out of the holy rule of saynte Benet (see EETS 120)

STC 3320

___ The boke of knowledge / whether a sycke person beynge in perylle / shall lyue, or dye &c. 8° R. Wyer [?c.1556] (2 issues). (Anr. ed. c.1542)

After STC 3326

___ A boke of prayers called ye ordynary fasshyon of good lyuynge. [?8°] W. Myddylton [?1541-3]

STC 3357

___ The boke of wysdome, folowynge the auctoryties of auncyent phylosophers / Dyuydynge / and spekynge of vyces and vertues / wherby a man maye be praysed / or dyspraysed / with the maner to speke alwayes well and wysely to all folkes / of what estate so euer they be. 8°. R. Wyer, 1532 - 20 January (Other edns 1565, [?1575])

STC 3360

___ Here begynneth a lytell boke that speketh of purgatorye: & what purgatorye is & in what place / and of the paynes that be therin / and whiche soules do abyde therin tyll they be pourged of synne / and whiche abyde not there. And for what synnes a soule goth to hell / & of the helpe that soules in purgatorye may haue of thyr frendes that be on lyue: & what pardon aueyleth to mannes soule. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1533]

This is Pt IV of The Pricke of Conscience - see H.C. Schulz, Huntington Library Quarterly XXIX, 1966, 325-36

STC 3762

BRINKELOW, Henry. The complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray fryre, vnto the parliament howse of Ingland his natural cuntry for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs and cruel decreys ... 8° Savoy, F. de Turona [?Zurich: ?1550] (3 earlier issues c.1548: See EETS es.22)

STC 3943

BRUNSFELSIUS, Otto. A very true pronosticacion / with a Kalender / gathered out of the moost auncyent bokes of ryght holy astronomers / for the yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.xxxvj. And for all yeres here after perpetuall. Translated out of latyn in to Englysshe by John Ryckes preest. 8° J. Byddell (1536)

STC 4021

BUGENHAGEN, Johann. A compendious letter which Ihon Pomerane curate of the congregation at Wittenberge sent to the faythfull christen congregation in Englande. 8° ___ (1536)

STC 4054

BULLINGER, Heinrich. A commentary vpon the seconde epistle of S. Paul to the Thessalonians. In ye which besydes the summe of oure faythe, ther is syncerelye handled & set forth at large, not onely ye fyrst commyng vp & rysyng with the full prosperyte & dominion, but also the fall and vtter confusion of the kyngdome of Antichriste: that is to say of Machomet & the Byshop of Rome. 8° Southwarke, J. Nicolson, 1538.

STC 4185

BUSHE, Paul. This lytell boke contayneth certayne goostly medycynes necessary to be vsed among weldisposed people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of pestilens / thus collecte and sette forth in ordre by the diligent laboure of the religyous brother syr Paule Bushe preste and bonehome in the good house of Edyndon. 8° R. Redman [1530s].

Bushe became bishop of Bristol in 1542.

STC 4186

BUSHE, Paul. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in Englysshe / called the Extripacion of ignorancy: and it treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people / shewyng them howe they are bounde to feare god / to loue god / and to honour their prince. Which treatise is lately compyled by sir Paule Busshe preest / and Bonhomme of Edyndon: and dedicate vnto the yong and most hye renomed lady Mary / princes & doughter vnto the noble progenytour / our worthy souerayne kyng Henry the eight / kyng

of Englande and of Fraunce / & hye defender of ye christen faythe &c. 4° R. Pynson [1526]

STC 4240

BYGOD, Sir Francis. A treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices. 8° T. Godfray, [?1535] (ed. A.G. Dickens, Tudor Treatises, YAS CXXV (1959))

STC 4312 = 20510

STC 4602

CAPGRAVE, John. Here begynneth the kalendre of the newe legende of Englande. 4°, 3 pts, R. Pynson, 1516

Pt.3, Hilton's Medled lyfe, is dated 1506. Capgrave's authorship is questioned by P.J. Lucas, Library^5 XXV (1970) pp1-10

STC 4815

St CATHARINE of Siena. Here begynneth the orcharde of Syon / in the whiche is conteyned the reuelacyons of seynt Katheryne of Sene / with ghostly fruytes & precyous plantes for the helthe of mannes soule. fol. W. de Worde 1519 - 28 Sept. (An edn. EETS 258)

STC 4824

CATHARINE Parr. Prayers or meditacions, wherin the mind is stirred paciently to suffre all afflictions here, to sette at naught the vaine prosperitee of this worlde, and alwaie to long for the euerlastyng felicitee: collected out of certayne holy woorkes by the moste gracious Princes Catharine, Quene of Englande, France, and Irelande. 16° in the hous of Thomas Berthelette, 1545 [1547-53] (Another 6 edns 1545-53)

STC 4828

CATHARINE Parr. The lamentacion of a synner, made by the moste vertuous lady Quene Caterine, bewailyng the ignoraunce of her blind life: set foorth & put in print at the instant desire of the right gracious lady Caterine duchesse of Suffolke, and the ernest request of the right honourable Lord William Parr, Marquesse of North hampton. 8° E. Whitchurch, 1548 - 28 March. (Edns: 1547; 1563, and in Harleian Miscellany V, 1808).

After STC 4891 (Devereux Checklist C32.4, incl. C87.3)

CEBES. The table of Cebes the philosopher. How one maye take profite of his ennemies, translated oute of Plutarche. A treatyse perswading a man paciently to suffer the death of his freende. 16° (in 8's) in the house late Thomas Berthelettes [i.e. after 1554] (O) (Anr. edn. ?1545)

Translated by Sir Francis Poyntz at the request of his brother, Sir Anthony Poyntz, probably between 1523 and 1527)

STC 5065 (Duff 85)

___ The prouffytable boke for mannes soule // and right comfortable to the body / and specyally in aduersitee & trybulacyon / whiche boke is called The Chastysing of goddes Chyldern. fol. W. de Worde [?1491-5]. (A critical ed. of mss. The Chastising of God's Children ed. J. Bazire & E. Colledge, Oxford 1957).

STC 5098

(CHAUCER, Geoffrey). Iack vp Lande compyled by the famous Geoffrey Chaucer. 8°. for John Gough [?1550s rather than ?1540] (Jack Upland, Friar Daws Reply and Upland's Rejoinder, ed. P.L. Heyworth, Oxford 1968).

STC 5160

___ The declaracyon the power of the chrysten fayth. 8°
R. Wyer [?1542]

STC 5163

___ The institution of a christen man, contynynge the exposytion or interpretation of the commune crede of the seuen sacramentes, of the. x. commandementes, and of the pater noster, and the Ave Maria, iustyfication & purgatory. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1537. (4 other edns 1537; repr. Formularies of faith ... ed. C. Lloyd (Oxford 1825) pp.21-211)

STC 5200

___ The ordenarye for all faythfull Chrystians to leade a vertuous and godly lyfe here in this vale of miserie. Translated out of Doutche into Inglysh by Anthony Scoloker. 8°. At Ippeswych by Anthony Scoloker, 1548 (Copy also at M. which is perhaps another edition)

From part of C. van der Heyden's Corte Instruccye

STC 5214 = 1967

___ The churche of yuell men & women / wherof Lucyfere is heed. And the membres is all the players dissolute / and synners reproued. 8°. R. Pynson [n.d.] (Anr. ed. [1522]. Also entered under St Bernardinus of Siena)

STC 5278

CICERO. The thre bookes of Tullyes offyces / bothe in latyne tonge & in englysshe / lately translated by Roberte Whytinton poete laureate. 8° . W. de Worde. 1534 - 30 Sept (Anr. ed. 1540)

STC 5292

CICERO. Tullius de senectute bothe in latyn and englysshe tonge Translated by Robert Whitinton poete laureate. 8°. J. Byddell [?1535]

STC 5313

CICERO. [The Paradox of M.T. Cicero, translated by R. Whittinton] 8°. J. Redman for R. Redman [1540]

STC 5547

COLET, John. A ryght frutefull monycion, concernyng the ordre of a good chrysten mannes lyfe, very profytable for all maner of estates & other to beholde and loke vpon. 8°. R. Copland for J. Byddell, 1534 - 7 Jan.

Other edns. 1563, 1577 and modernized repr. E. Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, pp.393-7: there seems to be no evidence for the twenty editions claimed for the work before 1577.

STC 5550

COLET, John. The sermon of doctor Colete / made to the conuocation at Paulis. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1530] (repr. E. Nugent op.cit. pp.358-64)

STC 5574

___ The thre kynges of Coleyne. 4°. W. de Worde, 1511. (Other edns. [1496], [1499], 1526 and EETS 85. See Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities vol. II (London 1812) pp.167-8 for note of a 1530 edn. apparently translated by Whitford.)

STC 5606 = 20882-3

STC 5610

___ Here begynneth a lamentable complaynte that ye soule maketh of the wretched lyfe of the body. 4°. W. de Worde,

1532, (Anr. ed. c.1520)

___ Complainte douloureuse de lame dampnee. 4° (in 6's) Paris, J. Trepperel. [?1505] (For earlier edns GW 7264-8). A quite different work from STC 5610.

STC 5643 (Duff 106)

___ Prologus. At the deuoute & dylygent request of the ryght reuerende fader in god & lorde Rycharde bysshop of Dureham and lorde pryueseall of Englande / this lytell boke named Contemplacyon of synners is compyled & fynysshed. the sayd blessyd fader in god desyrynge gretly all vertue to encreace and vyce to be exyled / hath caused this booke to be enprynted to the entente that oft redynge this booke may surely serche and truely knowe the state of his conscyence. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde, 1499 - 10 July. (See STS[3] XXIII (1949) 64-169 for two ms. versions and ascription to Friar "William of Touris")

STC 5743

___ The copy of the commaundement generall by the abbot of euyll profytes. 4°. P. Treueris [?1530].

STC 5759 (Duff 110)

CORDIALE. [Memorare novissima ...] 4° (in 8's) W. de Worde [n.d] (Anr. edn. 1479)

STC 5879

COUSIN, Gilbert. Of the office of seruauntes, a boke made in Latine by one Gylbertus Cognatus and newely englyshed [by Thomas Chaloner] 8°. T. Berthelet, 1543 [not 1534 as STC] (cp. Ned Bibl 2682)

STC 5892

COVERDALE, Miles. Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of holy scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his worde. 4°. John Gough [?1539] (repr. Coverdale, Remains, PS pp.533-90)

Music is printed for each set of verses.

STC 6035a

___ The dyenge creature. 4°. W. de Worde [? after 1532] (Other edns 1507, 1514 and, unrecorded, before STC 6034, de Worde 1506, Bamb)

STC 6127

___ Cura clericalis. 8°. Thomas Petyt, 1537 (Other edns 1532, 1542)

STC 6156

St CYPRIAN. A sermon of S. Cyprian made on the Lordes prayer, that is to wytte, the Pater noster. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539.

STC 6158

St CYPRIAN. A svvete and deuoute sermon of holy saynct Ciprian of mortalitie of man. The rules of a Christian life made by Picus erle of Mirandula, bothe translated into englyshe by syr Thomas Elyot knyght. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (anr. edn. 1534)

This translation was also printed among Lupset's works, STC 16932 and copied in Bodley, ms Tanner 118.

STC 6431

DAY, Richard. A booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, vvorthy to be read vvith an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull vnto vs. 4°. J. Daye, 1590.

(Other edns 1578, 1581, 1608)

See also, S.C. Chew "The Iconography of A Book of Christian Prayers" Huntington Library Quarterly VIII (1944-5 pp293-305.

STC 6455

___ A declaracion of the seremonies a nexid, to the sacrament of baptyme, what they sygnyffie and how we owght to vnderstande them. 8° ___, 1537.

RSTC 6456.5

___ A very declaracyon of the bond and free wyll of man. The obedyence of the gospell / and what the very gospell meneth ... 8°. Imprented at saynt Albons [J. Herford], [1534-8].

STC 6794 (2 edns)

___ The wyll of the Deuyll, with his.x. detestable commaundementes: directed to his obedient and accursed chyldren, and the rewarde promised to all suche as obediently will endeuer themselues to fulfill them. Very necessarie to be read, and well considered of all Christians. 8°. Richarde Iohnes, [?c.1577] (The Huntington and Durham copies are different editions)

STC 6833

___ The dyetary of ghostly helthe. 4°. W. de Worde, 1520 - 20 Nov. (Other edns 1521, [?1523], 1527)

STC 6837

___ Here begynneth the dyfference of astronom, with the gouernayle to kepe mans body in helth, all the foure seasons of the yeare. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c. ?1556]

STC 6894 = 15531

DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The lyfe of prestes ... 8° R. Redman [?1535]

STC 6895

DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The mirroure of golde for the syn full soule. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde, 1522-29 March (Other edns 1522, 1526, n.d.)

For a modernized version of chap. 5 and for a note on the attribution of authorship to Jacobus de Gruytroede, see E. Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance pp.384-6.

STC 6904

___ [....] that be tymorous or ferfull in co [iu] cyence / compyled by one of the fathers of Syon & now put in impressyon at the instant request of another deuout religyous man &c. 4°. Laurence Andrewe [?1527] (title-page defective).

This is a slightly different (earlier) version of STC 3275-6.

STC 6928

___ A dyurnall: for deuoute soules: to ordre themselfe therafter. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1533] (Anr edn a few months later)

The piece is also copied in BM ms. Harley 494: See Joliffe, Checklist H.8/O.14.

STC 6932

___ The doctrynall of dethe. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 (Anr ed. [1498]).

STC 6933

___ The doctrynall of mekenesse. 8°. R. Copland, 1529 - 28 Sept.

STC 7137

DOWNAME, John. The christian warfare against the Deuell World

and Flesh Wherein is described their nature, the maner of their fight and meanes to obtaine victorye. fol. William Stansby, 4th edn 1634 (Other edns include 1604, 1608, 1612-9)

STC 7260

___ Here begynneth a lytyll new treatyse or mater intytuled & called The .ix. drunkardes whyche tratythe of dyuerse and goodly storyes ryght plesaunte and frutefull for all parsones for to pastyme with. 4° Rycharde banckys, 1523 - 5 Oct. (repr. English Experience vol. 504, 1973)

STC 7270

DU CASTEL, Christine. Here begynneth the booke whiche is called the body of polycy. And it speketh of vertues and of good maners / and the sayd boke is deuyded in thre partes. The fyrst party is adressed to prynces. The seconde to knyghtes and nobles: and the thyrde to the vnyuersal people. 4° (in 6's) John Skot, 1521 - 17 May (Copy also at M.) (repr. English Experience vol. 304, 1971)

STC 7630

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. The bankette of sapience. 8° T. Berthelet, 1539 (Other edns. 1542, 1545, 1557, 1564)

STC 7635

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. The boke named the gouernour, deuised by sir Thomas Elyot Knight. 8° T. Berthelet, 1531 (Other edns. 1537, 1544, 1546, 1553, 1557, 1565, 1580. Facs. repr. Scolar Press.)

STC 7668

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Of the knowledeg whiche maketh a wise man. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns 1534, [after 1548]).

STC 7672

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Pasquil the playne. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns. 1532, 1540).

STC 7674

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. A preseruatiue agaynste deth. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1545

STC 10437 (Devereux Checklist C1.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Prouerbes or adagies with newe addicions gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus by Richard Tauerner. Here unto be also added Mimi Publiani. 8° [R. Bankes], 1539 (7 other edns 1539-77: facs. repr. of 1st edn: English Experience vol. 124, 1969).

In general, see M.M. Phillips, The Adages (Cambridge 1964)

RSTC 10453.5 (Devereux C19.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. [Ye dyaloge called Funus] 8° Robert Copland for John Byddell, 1534 - 5 Jan. (Repr. The dyaloge called Funus and the Epicure, ed. R.R. Allen, Publications of the Renaissance English Text Soc. III, Univ. Chicago Press, 1969)

STC 10454 (Devereux C21)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A dialoge or communication of two persons, deuysyd and set forthe in the laten tonge, by the noble and famose clarke. Desiderius Erasmus intituled ye pylgremage of pure deuotyon ... 8° ___ [1536-7]

STC 10465 = 21753

RSTC 10465.5 (Devereux C73)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. The comparation of a vyrgin and a martyr.

8°. T. Berthelet, 1537 (facs repr, with introduction by W.J. Hirton, Gainesville, Florida 1970)

STC 10468 (Devereux C29.3)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De ciuilitate morum puerilium per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum, libellis nunc primum & conditus & aeditus. Roberto VVhitintoni interprete. A lytell boke of good maners for children ... 8°. J. Byddell, 1540 (Other edns 1532, 1534, 1554 (2), 1560)

After STC 10470 — see p.456 below.

STC 10471 (Devereux C36.2/2a/2b)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De contemptu mundi. 8° T. Berthelet, 1533. (An earlier edn c.1531, Devereux C36.1/1a and facs. repr. introd. W.J. Hirton, Gainesville, Florida, 1967)

STC 10474 (Devereux C38.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De immensa dei misericordia. A sermon of the excedynge great mercy of god / made by ye moste famous doctour maister Eras. Rot. Translated out of Latine in to Englisshe [by G. Hervet] / at the request of the moste honorable and vertuous lady / the lady Margaret Countese of Salisbury. 4°. T. Berthelet [c.1531] (Other edns [c.1525], 1533, 1547. Modernized version in The Essential Erasmus, ed. J.P. Dolan, New York 1964, pp. 222-70)

STC 10477 (Devereux C69.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster / made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus / and tourned in to englisshe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of .xix. yere of age. 4°. T. Berthelet [c.1525-6] (Anr ed c.1531)

The translation usually attributed to More's daughter, Margaret Roper. Dedicated by "Richarde Hyrde / vnto ... Fraunces S."

STC 10479 (Devereux C42.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A booke called in latyn Enchiridion militis christiani / and in englysshe the manuell of the €hristen knyght / replenysshed with mostɇholsome preceptes / made by the famous clerke Erasmus of Roterdame / to the whiche is added a newe and meruaylous profytable preface. 8°. W. de Worde for John Byddell, 1533 - 15 Nov. (Facs repr. English Experience Series vol.156: Other edns. 1534, 1538, 1541, 1544 (2), [c.1547], 1548, [c.1551-3], 1576 (2) + Coverdale's abbreviated version, 1545, reprinted, Coverdale Writings PS pp.489-528.)

STC 10489 (Devereux C49.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An epystell of ye famous doctor Erasmus of Roterdam / vnto the reuerende father & excellent prince / Christofer bysshop of Basyle / concernyng the forbedynge of eatynge of flesshe / and lyke constitutyons of men &c. 8°. T. Godfray [c.1534] (Anr ed about same date)

STC 10490 (Devereux C52)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An epistle of the famous clerke Erasmus of Roteredame, concernynge the veryte of the sacrament of Christes body and blode, whiche Epistle is set before the excellent boke, intituled D. Algeri De veritate corporis et sanguinis dominici in eucharistia ... and dedycated by hym [Erasmus], vnto the Reuerende father Balthasar bysshop of Hyldesyn ... 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1538]

STC 10492 (Devereux C47)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A ryght frutefull epystle / deuysed by the moste excellent clerke Erasmns [sic] / in laude and prayse of matrymony / translated in to Englyshe / by Richard Tauernour /

which translation he hathe dedicate to the ryght honorable mayster Thomas Cromwel most worthy counseloure to our souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght. 8°. R. Redman [c.1532]

STC 10494 (Devereux C63.3, C65.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An exhortacyon to the dylygent study of scripture [and, part of the same volume] An exhortacyon to the study of the Gospell. 8°. R. Wyer [c.1533-4] (Other edns about same date and [1548], and of Paraclesis alone, 1529, STC 10493 repr. English Experience vol.510, 1973)

STC 10495 (Devereux C41)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An exposicyon of the .xv. psalme made by mayster Erasmus of Rotherdame in whiche is full purely declared the pure and clene behauoure that ought to be in the pure churche of Chryst which is the multytude of all trewe chrysten people. 8°. J. Wayland, 1537

STC 10498 (Devereux C55)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A lytle treatise of the maner and forme of confession / made by the most excellent and famous clerke. M. Eras. of Roterdame. 8° J. Byddell for W. Marshall [c.1535-6] (repr. English Experience vol 553, 1973)

STC 10503 (Devereux C66)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. The paraphrase of Erasmus Roterdame vpon ye epostle of Saint Paule vnto his discyple Titus. lately translated in to englysshe [by Leonard Cox] and fyrste a goodly prologue. 8°. J. Byddell, [1534-5]

STC 10504 (Devereux C72.2a)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A playne and godly exposytion or declaration of the commune crede (which in the Latin tonge

is called Symbolum Apostolorum) and of the .x. commaundementes of goddes law / newly made and put forth by the famouse clarke / Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame / at the requeste of the moste honorable lorde / Thomas erle of wyltshyre: father to the moste gratious and vertuous Quene Anne wyf to our most gracyous soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .viii. 8° R. Redman [?1534] (Anr. ed. about same date)

STC 10506 (Devereux C40.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Preparation to deathe, a boke as deuout as eloquent ... 8°. T. Berthelet, 1543 (Anr. edn. 1538).

STC 10508 (Devereux C26)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon made: by the famous Doctor Erasmus of Roterodame. 8°. R. Wyer [?1533]

STC 10509 (Devereux C27)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon of the chylde Iesus made by the most famous clerke doctour Erasmus of Roterdam. To be pronounced and preached of a chylde vnto chyldren. 8°. R. Redman [?1536]

STC 10608

___ The example of euyll tonges. 4°. W. de Worde [?1500]

After STC 10608

___ [Anr. ed.] Of euyll tonges. 4°. J. Notary "at the sygne of the thre kynges" [c.1518] (Copy at M)

STC 10613

___ Examples howe mortall synne maketh the synners inobedyentes to haue many paynes and dolours within the fyre of hell ... 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [1552 or after]

This is extracted from The floure of the commaundementes of God, STC 23876-7, "Peni inferni".

Before STC 10628

___ Exornatorium curatorum. 4°. W. de Worde [?1515] (Copy at Bamb not STC 10630 : other edns [?1515], 1519, [?1520](2), [?1530] (2), [?1532])

STC 10685

___ [colophon] Thus is ended the fantasy of the passyon of ye fox / lately of the towne of Myre / a lytell besyde Shaftesbury in the dyoces of Salysbury. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 16 Feb

FEWTERER, John. The myrrour or glasse of Christes passion, See STC 14553

FIDATI, Simone de. Egregii Euangelicae veritatis enarratoris Simonis de Cassia opus in Quatuor Euangelia ... fol. [Cologne] Eucharius Ceruicornius, 1533.

One of Fewterer's sources.

STC 10891

FISHER, John. Here after foloweth a mornynge remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the noble prynces Margarete countesse of Rychemonde & Darbye moder vnto kynge Henry the .vii. & grandame to oure souerayne lorde that nowe is / vppon whose soule almyghty God haue mercy. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde 1509 (Copy also at Bamb.) (Repr. EETS es 27 pp.289-310)

STC 10899

FISHER, John. A spirituall consolation, written by Iohn Fysshe bishoppe of Rochester, to hys sister Elizabeth, at suche tyme as hee was prisoner in the tower of London. Very necessary, and commodious for all those that mynde to leade a vertuous

lyfe: Also to admonishe them, to be at all tymes prepared to dye, and seemeth to be spoken in the person of one that was sodainly preuented by death. 8°. [Thomas East c.1578] (Repr. EETS es 27 pp.349-428 also facs. repr. English Recusant Literature vol XI, Scolar Press 1969)

STC 10908

FISHER, John. This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull sayinges of Dauyd the kynge and prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalmes. Deuided in .vii. sermons, was made and compyled by the ryghte reuerente father in god Iohn Fysher douctour of diuynity and byshop of Rochester, at the exortacion and sterynge of the most excellente Prynces Margaret countesse of Richemount and Derby, and mother to our soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth. 8°. T. Marshe, 1555 (Other edns, 1508, 1509 (3)(- repr. EETS es 27 pp.1-267), 1510, 1525, 1529.)

STC 10909

FISHER, John. Here after ensueth two fruytfull sermons, made & compyled by the ryght reuerende father in god Iohn Fyssher / doctour of dyuynyte and bysshop of Rochester. 4°. W. Rastell "to sell at London in Southwarke by me Peter Treuerys", 1532 - 28 June.

STC 10996

FITZHERBERT, John. The boke of husbandry. 8°. T. Berthelet [not before 1534] (Other edns [1523], [?1525], [?1541], [?1547], 1548, [?1555], [?1560], 1562, 1568, 1598.)

After STC 11026

___ Here ben conteyned fyue notable chapytres: moche

profytable for euery man, dylygently to recorde. And after do folowe thyrtene degrees of mortyfycacyon. 8°. R. Wyer (Bodley, Douce Add.142. Title-page and list of contents only but Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities vol III p.205 would suggest some connection with AKempis.

STC 11181 = 24625 (A & R 143)

___ A brief fourme of confession, instructing all Christian folke how to confesse their sinnes, & so to dispose themselues, that they may enioy the benefite of true penance, dooing the woorthy frutes therof, according to the vse of Christes Catholique Church. Newly translated into English, and set foorth together with certaine other godly brief treatises and praiers ... 12°. Antwerp, J. Fowler, 1576

Includes Sir Thomas More's treatise to receive the sacrament, some of his prayers and meditations, some prayers from his treatise on the Passion; some prayers by Vives, The Jesus Psalter and the Golden Litany. Contents reprinted with STC 24627 etc and cp. STC 17236 etc.

After STC 11210

___ The foundement of contemplacyon, Howe a man shall contemple / and se god in creatures. 8°. R. Wyer (Bodley, Douce Add. 142. Title-page only. The list of contents shows it is drawn from The myrrour of the churche (STC 967) chaps 6, 7, 20, 28-30)

STC 11211 (cp. Nad Bibl. 945, 3034-6)

___ The fountayne or well of lyfe / out of whiche doth springe most swete consolations / right necessary for troubled consciences / to thentent yt they shall nat despeyre in aduersite and trouble. Translated out of latyn into Englysshe. 8°. T. Godfray [?1534] (Anr. ed. RSTC 11211.2, 1548-9)

Wing F.2035

FOXE, John. Acts and monuments. 3 vols. fol. for Company of Stationers, 8th edn. 1641.

After STC 11314 - in STC 19596.

St FRANCIS of Assisi. In the name of god here begynneth the rule of the lyuynge of the bretherne and systers of the order of penytentes. 4°. W. de Worde, 1510 (Copy at Bamb.) (cp. EETS 148)

STC 11386

FRITH, John. The contentes of thys booke. The first is a letter which was wroten vnto the faythfull followers of Christes Gospell. Also an other treatyse called the myrrour or glasse to know thy selfe Here vnto is added a propre instruction, teaching a man to dye gladly, and not to feare death. 16° (in 8's) ___ [?1553]

The two latter pieces also occur together in STC 11390 and 11395. The last piece was printed along in STC 24250.

STC 11390 (Ned.Bibl. 4230)

FRITH, John. [A mirroure to know thyself] 8° [?Antwerp:? 1533]

Also contains "A breffe instruccyon drawen out of holy scripture / for to teacheaperson wyllingly to dye ..." (repr. in STC 24250)

STC 11392 (RSTC 11393·5)

FRITH, John. The preparacyon to the crosse, and howe it muste be pacyently borne wyth. The preparacion to death, and howe they whiche be in poynte of deathe, shoulde be comforted. 16° (in 8's) T. Petyt [?1548]

This edition does not have the dedication to Thomas Cromwell and so is presumably after 1540.

STC 11393

FRITH, John. Of the preparation to the crosse, and to deathe, and of the comforte vnder the crosse and deathe, two bokes very fruictefull for deuoute people to rede, translated from latyn to englysshe, by Rycharde Tracy. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1540

Dedicated to Thomas Cromwell. These treatises were reprinted in STC 11395

STC 11394 (Ned.Bibl. 3044)

FRITH, John. A pistle to the Christen reader. The Reuelation of Antichrist. Antithesis / wherein are compared to geder. Christes actes and oure holye father the Popes. 8°. Marburg, Hans Luft [i.e. Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten], 1529 - 12 July.

STC 11395

FRITH, John. Vox piscis: or, the book-fish contayning three treatises which were found in the belly of a Cod-fish in Cambridge market, on midsummer eue last, Anno Domini 1626. 12°. For Iames Boler and Robert Milbourne, 1627.

Contains: A preparation to the crosse and to death, A mirroure or glasse to know thyselfe and To teach a person willingly to die, and not to feare death.

STC 11407=22559

STC 11489

FYLOLL, Jasper. Agaynst the possessyons of the clergye. Harkyn what great auctorytes shal nowe folowe / for proffe thereof. 8°. John Skot [?1530]

STC 11499

G[ough?], John. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse / called or named the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe) Expedyent and necessarye / for any Crysten man to beholde or loke in / for

comfortyng of the soule whiche desyreth the lyfe eternall. 8°. [R. Wyer. ?1531-2] (Copies O, C both imperfect. ending at sig. m 4.)

STC 11549=11809

GARARDE, Friar (Gherit van der Goude). The interpretacyon / and sygnyfycacyon of the Masse. Here begynneth a good deuoute boke to the honoure of god of our lady his mother / & of all sayntes / and ryght profytable to all good Catholyke persones / to knowe howe they shall deuoutly here masse. And how salutaryly they shal confesse them. And how reuerently and honourably they shall go to the holy Sacrament or table of our sauyour Ihesu chryste / with dyuerse other profytable documentes and oraysons or prayers here conteyned ... 8°. R. Wyer, 1532 - 14 Oct. (cp. Ned.Bibl. 982-7, 3071-6, 4233, 4437-8, 0584)

STC 11594

GARDYNARE, Germen. A letter of a yonge gentylman named mayster Germen Gardynare, wryten to a frend of his, wherin men may se the demeanour & heresy of Iohn Fryth late burned / & also the dyspycyons & reasonynge vppon the same, had betwene the same mayster Germen and hym. 8°. W. Rastell, 1534

STC 11686=19525

GAU, John. The richt vay to the kingdome of heuine is techit heir in the .x. commandis of God / and in the creid / and Pater noster / in the quhilk al chrissine men sal find al thing þat is neidful and requirit to onderstand to the saluation of the saul. 8°. Malmw / be me Ihone Hochstraten, 1533 - 16 Oct. (ed. A.F. Mitchell STS XII, 1886-7)

GERSON, Jean Charlier de. Tabula d'Arte moriendi. 4°
Strassburg, 1482

GERSON, Jean Charlier de. Gerson de remediis contra pusillanimitatem scrupulositatem contra deceptionas inimici consolaciones et subtiles eius temptaciones. 4° [?Cologne ?1470]

STC 11809=11549

STC 11917

___ A glasse for housholders, wherin thei maye se, bothe howe to rule theim selfes & ordre their housholde verye Godly and fruytfull. 8° R. Grafton, 1542.

Includes Bernard Sylvester's Cure & gouernaunce of a housholde

STC 11918

___ A glasse of the truthe. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1530]
(Anr. ed [?1531])

STC 12005=17788

GOODALE, John. A ciuile nosgay wherin is contayned not onelye the offyce and dewty of all magestrates and Iudges but also of [of] all subiectes with a preface concernynge the lyberty of Iustice in this our tyme newly collected and gethered out of latyn and so translated in to the Inglys tonge by I.G. 8°. R. Wyer [?c.1552]

STC 12006

GOODALE, John. The lyberties of the cleargy collected out of the lawes of the realme [rest of title unreadable on film] 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [?1540]

STC 12143

GOWER, John. Io. Gower de confessione amantis. fol. T. Berthelet, 1532 (Other edns, 1493, 1554).

STC 12436

GUEVARA, Antonio de. The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius emperour and eloquent oratour. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1535. (Other edns: 1536, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1553, 1557 (2), 1559, 1566 (2), 1573, 1586)

Translated from French "by Iohn Bourchier knyghte lorde Barners ... at the instant desyre of his neuewe syr Francis Bryan ..." See E. Grey: Guevara, a forgotten renaissance author, The Hague, 1973

STC 12511a

GUILIELMUS de Occam. A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke, concernynge the power spiritual and temporall. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1540] (2 earlier edns, 1 Latin)

STC 12549

GUYLFORDE, Sir Richard. This is the begynnynge / and contynuance of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde knyght-... And howe he went with his seruauntes and company towardes Iherusalem. 4° (in 6's) R. Pynson, 1511

STC 12574 (A & R 594)

H, R (Paeschen, Jan van). The spiritual pilgrimage of Hierusalem, contayninge three hundred sixtie fiue dayes iorney, wherin the deuoute person may meditate on sondrie pointes of his redemption with particular declaration of diuers saints bodies and holy places which are to be seene in the said voyage: as also sundrie deuout praiers and meditations verie healpful to the pilgrimes. 12° [Douai, C. Boscard, ?1604-5]

STC 12733 (RSTC 12731-8)

HAMILTON, Patrick. Dyuers frutful gatherynges of scripture and declarynge of [f]ayth and workes. 8°. R. Redman [?1534].

(Other edns [?1532], 1598; repr. as Patrick's Places London, for J. Hatchard, 1807; also included in Foxe's Acts and Monuments.)

Before STC 12799

HARRINGTON, William. In this boke are conteyned the commendacions of matrimony the maner & forme of contractyng solempnissyng & lyuyng in the same with the declaracion of all such impedimentis as doth let matrimoney to be made & also certyen other thingis whiche curates be bounden by the lawe to declare often tymes to theyr parishens. Emprented at the instaunce of master Polydore Vergil archedeakene of welles. 4°. John Rastell [?1512-3] (Bamb) (Other edns: 1528 (2 issues) and another)

STC 12944

HAWES, Stephen. The conuercyon of swe-rers. 4°. John Butler [c.1530] (Other edns: 1509, 1551 - RSTC 12944·5 Repr. EETS 271)

See A Morgan, "The Conuercyons of Swerers: another edition", The Library XXIV5 (1969) 44-50

STC 12947

HAWES, Stephen. Here foloweth a compendyous story / and it is called the exemple of vertu / in the whiche ye shall fynde many goodly storys & naturall dysputacyons bytwene foure ladyes named Hardynes / Sapyence / Fortune / and Nature ... 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 20 April (Other edns: [1510], [?1520], repr. EETS 271)

STC 12955a=17034

STC 13012

HAYWARD, William. The general pardon, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly confyrmed, by our Almightie Father, with many large priuileges, grauntes, and bulles graunted for euer, as it is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche, into English. 8°. By W. Howe, for W. Pickeringe, [?1560] (Anr edn: 1602)

STC 13052

___. A pore helpe, The buklar and defence of mother holy kyrke, and weapen to driue hence al that against her wircke. 8° [J. Day & W. Seres, ?1547]. (Anr. ed. printed by Wyer ?)

See The Library4 IX (1929) 169-83

STC 13377 (A & R 395)

HIDE, Thomas. A consolatorie epistle ... 8°. (Louaine, J. Lyon, 1580) (Copy also at Ushaw College, Durham: Anr ed.1579)

STC 13457

HILARIE, Hugh. The resurreccion of the masse / with the wonderful vertues of the same / newly set forth vnto the greate hartes ease / ioye and comforte of all the catholykes ... 8°. Strassburg [H. Singleton], 1554

For Bale as possible author, The Library4 XXI (1941) 143-59 and The Library5 XVI (1961) 210-3; for Bacon, J.F. Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles, p.343.

STC 13522

HIPPOCRATES. Prognosticacion drawen out of the bookes of Ipocras, Auicen, and other notable auctours of physycke, shewynge the daunger of dyuers syckenesses, that is to say, whether peryll of death be in them or not, the pleasure of almyghtie God reserued. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1556] (2 edns, anr. c.1542)

STC 13608

___ A deuout treatyse called the tre & .xii. frutes of the holy goost. 4° (2 pts) R. Copland and M. Fawkes, 1534-5. (ed. from mss. by J.J. Vaissier, A deuout treatyse called the tre & xii frutes of the holy goost, Groningen, 1960)

After STC 13608

___ A lettre fro the holy ghost: to preestes and religious persones / conceyued by ymagynacyon, With a lettre fro the Father and sone and holy ghost: dyrected to all men. And after foloweth the thre verytes. 4°. R. Wyer for R. Bankes [?1533-4] (05).

STC 13609 (Duff 1)

___ The abbaye of the holy ghost. 4°. W. de Worde 1496. (Other edns: [1500] and Maunsell, The First Part of the Catalogue, 1595, $A1^{V}$ notes a 4° edn. by de Worde, 1531, apparently no longer extant. Versions of The Abbey and The Charter are reprinted by Horstman, YW I pp.321-62)

STC 13827=3305 (part of)

After STC 13828

___ Hortulus anime recentes diuersis ac odoriferis flosculis decoratus: cum additionibus variis ... In quo quidem hortulo: fidelis anima christi amore languida: saluberrima sibi comperiet predicamenta. 16°. Paris, 1531 - 30 June. (Copy at O Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae no.86, notes an imperfect copy at L^{2})

After STC 13828

___ Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers (the which a certaine printer lately corrupted / &

made false to the grete sclaunder of thauthor & greter desayte of as many as boughte and red thez) newe corrected and augmented. 16°. Argentine, by me Francis Foxe [i.e. Antwerp, M. de Keyser], 1530

See C.C. Butterworth, The English Primers, Chaps 3 - 4

STC 13910

HUGHE, William. The troubled mans medicine verye profitable to be redde of al men wherein they may learne pacyently to suffer all kyndes of aduersitie. [pt II] A swete consolation, and the second boke of the troubled mans medicine, made and pronounced by Wyllyam Hugh, to his frynd lyeng on his death bedde. 8° (2 pts). J. Herford, 1546 - 4 June.

STC 13925=25417

STC 13970

HUN, Richard. The enquirie and verdite of the quest panneld of the death of Richard Hune wich was founde hanged in Lolars tower. 8° (in 4's) ___ [?1539.]

STC 14041

HYLTON, Walter. Here begynneth the medled lyfe compyled by mayster Water [sic] Hylton / to a deuoute man in temperall estate / howe he shulde rule hym / whiche is right expedyent for euery man / and moste in especyall for them that lyue in the medled lyfe / and it shewyth what medled lyfe is. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [1530.]

Usually printed with the Scala perfectionis, but also in STC 4602. For a repr. of two ms. versions, Horstman YW I pp.264-92.

STC 14045

HYLTON, Walter. Scala perfectionis [with "to a deuoute man

in temporall estate" added]. 4°. W. de Worde, 1533 - 27 May. (Other edns: 1494, 1507, 1525. Modern repr. of ms. ed. E. Underhill, London 1923)

After STC 14058

I, S. Two treatises, one of the latter day of iudgement: the other of the ioyes of heauen. 8°. T. Creed, 1600. (Copy at O)

STC 14083

___ [From colophon] The informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the holy lande. That is to wyte to Rome to Iherusalem & to many other holy places. 4°. W. de Worde, 1524 - 26 July. (Other edns: [?1498], 1515 and repr. ed. E.G. Duff, 1893)

STC 14094

INNOCENT III, Pope. The mirror of mans lyfe. Plainely describing, what weake moulde we are made of: what miseries we are subiect vnto: howe vncertaine this life is: and what shal be our ende. Englished by H. Kirton 8°. H. Bynneman, 1577. (Other edns: 1576 (2), 1586)

STC 14270

St ISIDORE. Here be the gathered counsailes of saynct Isodorie to informe a man howe he shuld flee vices and folowe vertues. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534. (Anr. edn. 1544 - this same version was also printed among Lupset's works, STC 16932. A quite different translation was included in Whitford's Holy instrucyons, STC 25420. For a repr. of one ms. version, Horstman YW II pp.367-74)

STC 14277

ISOCRATES. The doctrinal of princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates, & translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr Thomas Eliot knight. 8°. T. Berthelet, [?1534]. (Other edns:

about same date, [?1548])

STC 14503=?before 21790

(By Savonarola not St Jerome)

STC 14505

___ As Iheronimus, sheweth in this begynnynge, so wyll I wryte of the .iiij. tokens, the whiche shall be shewed afore the dredefull daye of dome, of our lorde Ihesu Christe, for there shall we shewe ourself yonge and olde. &c. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer, [c.1542]

"Translated out of Duche into Englysshe by Iohn Dousbrugh". This piece is extracted from STC 24222.

?STC 14539-40

(JESUS) A brife and faythfull declaration of the true fayth of Christ, made by certeyne men susspected of heresye in these articles folowyng. 8° Perme I.B., 1547. (Anr ed. same date.)

The two copies at O, (8° S.221.(3)Th. and Tanner 25[4]) have different title-pages, but both have the same date and imprint.

STC 14546 (Duff 107)

(JESUS) Here begynneth a contemplacyon or medytacyon of the shedynge of the blood of our lorde Ihesu Cryste at seuen tymes. 4°. W. de Worde [before 1500] (Anr ed. 1509 at STC 14572)

STC 14547

(JESUS) A deuoute intercessyon and prayer, to our sauyour Iesu Chryste. (8°) R. Wyer [c.1541]

STC 14548

(JESUS) [From colophon] The dialogue or communicacion betwene our sauiour Ihesu Chryste and a synner / lately

translated out of the Latin tonge into englysshe, and newly imprynted ... 8° Southwark, J. Redman for R. Redman [c.1539]

This is another, rather different translation of the dialogue in the first part of STC 3295-6

STC 14549

(JESUS) The generall signes and forerunners of Christs coming to Iudgement soundly and sincerely collected out of holy Scripture, and seruing as well to awaken the drowsie and carelesse worldling, as to comfort and reuiue the godly and afflicted Christian. 8°. By M.F., sold by H. Gosson, [?1620]

STC 14550

(JESUS) A gloryous medytacyon of Ihesus crystes passyon. 8°. Rychard Fakes, [c.1523]

For some of the corresponding mss. versions, see EETS 46 pp.170-96

STC 14552 (includes 17535)

(JESUS) In honor of ye passion of our lorde. And the compassyon of our blyssed lady moder of chryste. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1522.

? After 14552

(JESUS) _____

15 leaves with woodcuts illustrating Christ's life, accompanied by a verse couplet "Pater nr. Ave maria" Begins A2; a number of pages missing - e.g. no nativity or crucifixion, and imperfect at end. Hodnett lists it as Rhymed life of Christ

STC 14553

(JESUS) The myrrour or glasse of Christes Passion. fol. R. Redman, 1534 - 12 Dec.

Written by John Fewterer of Syon Abbey, and based, at least in part, on Ludolphus of Saxony's Vita Christi.

(see Medium AEvum XXXIII (1964) 26-35). Most of the prayers were translated from Jordanus of Quedlinburg's Meditationes (STC 14789) and Fewterer's translation of them was also issued separately as Deuoute prayers in englysshe, RSTC 20193.5.

After STC 14553

(JESUS) Here begynneth ye new notborune mayd vpon ye passion of cryste. (4°). "by Iohn Skot dwellynge in Foster lane wt in saynt Leonardes perysshe" [?1535-7].

STC 14554

(JESUS) Begins O glorious Ihesu O mekest Ihesu. single sheet fol. [W. Caxton: n.d.]

See Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae p.113 "Two devout prayers in English".

STC 14556

(JESUS) Our sauiour Iesus Christ hath not ouer charged his chirche with many ceremonies ... 8° "At Zurik", 1543 - Feb.

STC 14559

(JESUS) [From colophon] A goostly treatyse of the passyon of Christ / with many deuout contemplacions exemples / and exposicyons of ye same. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 - 6 October. (Anr. edn: 1521)

Translated from French by Andrew Chertsey.

STC 14561

(JESUS) A proclamacyon of the hygh emperour Iesu Christ vnto all his faythfull Christen. Concernynge the castell of fayth which nowe by the grace of God is lyke to be wonne in to the Chrysten mennes handes agayne. 8°. R. Redman, (1534). (Other edns: [1537], [before 1540], [1547])

STC 14563

(JESUS) Ihesus. An inuocacyon gloryous named ye psalter of Iesus. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1529. (For later edns see A & R 413-9 : a version from BM ms Arundel 285 is edited by J.A.W. Bennett, STS[3] XXIII, 1949. See also S.H. Sole Jesu's Psalter, London 1888)

STC 14566=pt. of 17263

STC 14571=pt. of 3277

(JESUS) Here begynneth the rosary of our Sauyour Iesu / gyueng thankes and prayse to his holy name / by maner of meditacion & prayer ... 4°. R. Pynson [1526]

STC 14572

(JESUS) The .vii. shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Cryste. 4°. W. de Worde, 1509.

This is a later edition of STC 14546.

STC 14575

(JESUS) A treatise wherin Christe and his techinges, are compared with the pope and his doinges. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534.

Before STC 14620 (Ned.Bibl. 3261)

JOANNES, Campensis. A paraphrasis / vpon all the Psalmes of Dauid / made by Iohannes Campensis / reader of the Hebrue lecture / in the vniuersite of Louane / and translated out of Latyne into Englyshe. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp, widow of C. van Ruremund (Endoviensis)], 1535.

STC 14620

JOANNES, Campensis [Anr. ed.] A paraphrasis vpon all the

Psalmes of Dauid, made by Iohannes Campensis ... and translated out of Latine in to Englysshe. 8°. T. Gybson, (1539).

STC 14639

St JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. A sermon of saint Chrysostome, wherein besyde that it is furnysshed with heuenly wisedome & teachinge, he wonderfully proueth, that no man is hurted but of hym selfe: translated into Englishe by the floure of lerned menne in his tyme, Thomas Lupsette Londoner. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1542. (Copy also at M. Anr. edn. 1542 and in Lupset's Workes, STC 16932.)

STC 14667 (Ned.Bibl.3268)

JOHNSON, John. An confortable exhortation: of our mooste holy Christen faith / and her fruites. Written (vnto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande) after the poore worde of God. 8°. "At Parishe / by me Peter congah" [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten] 1535 - 20 Jan.

STC 14789

JORDANUS of Quedlinburg. Meditationes Iordani de vita et passione iesu christi. 16° (in 8's) R. Pynson, 1513 - 16 March (cp. Ned.Bibl. 3272)

H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1557 (2nd ed) p.303 notes (STC 14789.1) an English translation - for which see Dibdin III p.205, but the only extant translation, RSTC 20193.5, is anonymous, with a different title. Durham ms Cosin V.V.12 has the prayers in Latin but rubrics etc. in English, while BM ms. Arundel 285 has a free translation in Scottish dialect - STS[3] XXIII, 1949, pp.213-37.

STC 14821

JOYE. George. A compendyouse somme of the the very Christen relygyon: gathered faythfully out of holy scripture: necessary for all them that rede the olde and new Testament ...

Translated by George Ioye. 8°. J. Byddell, 1535. (cp. Ned.Bibl. 1970)

STC 14842 (Devereux C57.2)

JULIUS II, Pope. The dyaloge bytwene Iullius the seconde / Genius / and saynt Peter. Reader refrayne from laughynge. 4°. J. Byddell, 1535 (An earlier edn, [1533-4], Devereux C57.1, and repr. The "Julius Exclusius" of Erasmus, translated by P. Pascal, Bloomington - London, 1968)

STC 15118

LACTANTIUS. L. Lanctantii Firmiani carmen. De passione dominica De resurrectione. De phenice. Guil. Lilii In laudem virginis deipare carmen eruditum ab Erasmo institutum christiani hominis feliciter editum. 4° _____ [?1530]

LACTANTIUS. Anthologia Lactantii Firmiani, elegantissimas sententias... complectens: recenter in locos digesta communes per Thomam Beconum. 8°. Lyons, C. Baudinus, 1558 (Dur^5).

STC 15178

LAMBERT, François. The minde and iudgement of maister Fraunces Lambert of Auenna of the wyll of man, declarynge and prouynge howe and after what sorte it is captyue and bonde, and not free ... Newelye translated into Englishe by N. L[esse]. 8°. J. Daye & W. Seres, (1548)

STC 15179

LAMBERT, François. The summe of christianitie gatheryd out almoste of places of scripture ... translatyd, and put in to prynte in Englyshe, by Tristram Reuel. 8° [R. Redman] 1536.

Dedicated by the translator to Queen Anne Boleyn.

STC 15185

___ A lamentation in whiche is shewed what ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1536.

STC 15225

___ Here begynnethe the lanterne of lyght. 8°. R. Redman [1530's] (For an edn. of ms. version EETS 151)

STC 15286

LATIMER, Hugh. The sermon that the reuerende father in Christ, Hugh Latimer, byshop of worcester, made to the clergie in the conuocation ... nowe translated out of latyne in to englyshe, to the intent, that thingis well said to a fewe, may be vnderstande of many, and do good to all them that desyre to be better. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1537 - 23 Nov. (Copy also at O. 2 other edns of same date, one Latin. Repr. Latimer's Sermons, PSpp.33-57)

LAUDENBURG, Reinhardus de. Passio domini nostri Iesu Christi predicata siue compilata per modum quadragesimalis a venerabili patre Reinhardo de Laudenburg sacre theologie lectore. 4° (in 8's) Nuremberg, 1501 - 7 April.

One of Fewterer's sources.

STC 15398

LEGRAND, Jacques. [From colophon] The boke named and intytled good maners. 4°. W. de Worde, 1507 - 10 Dec. (Other edns: 1487, 1494, [1500], [?1500], [?1515])

RSTC 15399.5

LEGRAND, Jacques. Here begynneth a lytell necessarye treatyse / the whiche speketh of the estate of the comonalte /

and of the people / and how they ought to gouerne them in good maners. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer 1531 (Copy at Ushaw College, Durham)

STC 15453

LE MAIRE, John. The abbreuyacyon of all generall councellys holden in Grecia, Germania, Italia, and Gallia / compyled by Iohn le maire de belges, most excellent hystoryographer to kynge Lowys the xij. of late frenche kynge dedycated to the sayd kyng lowys. Anno domini 1519. Translated by Iohn gowgh the prynter herof ... 8°. J. Gough, 1539

STC 15515

L'ESPINE, Jean de. A treatise tending to take away the feare of death, and make the faithfull man desire the same. Written first in french, and dedicated to the most illustrious and vertuous Princesse Iaqueline of Rohan, Princesse of Chastelaillon, &c. Newly translated out of the French. 12°. By W. I, 1619

STC 15531=6894

STC 15671

LINDSAY, Sir David. The complaynte and testament of a popinjay which lyeth sore wounded and maye not dye, tyll euery man hathe herd what he sayth: Wherfore gentyll readers haste you yt he were oute of his payne. 4°. J. Byddell, 1538. (Repr STS[3] 1, 55-90; EETS 11 etc 223-62)

STC 15707

___ The golden letany in englysshe. 16°. R. Copland, 1531 - 19 June.

STC 15707.5

_____ [Anr edn] The golden letany in englysshe. 16° (in 8's) J. Skot [?c.1536]

For different mss. versions see STS 3 XXIII (1949) pp 205-12 and W. Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae vol. III (2nd ed. Oxford 1882) 263-74. It was also included in STC 11181=24625, STC 17263 etc. and Whitford recommends it, STC 25416, B7r (cp. Ned Bibl 1346-51, 3383 etc)

STC 15966 (Hoskins no.92, Ned Bibl 1119)

LITURGIES. Hore beate marie virginis ad vsum ecclesie Sarum: cum multis ac varijs orationibus multum deuotis. 4° (in 8's) Antwerp, Christopher Endouiensis, 1530 [title-page 1531] - October.

STC 15981a (Hoskins no.109)

LITURGIES. This prymer of Salysbury vse is set out a long without ony serchyng / with many prayers / & goodly pyctures in the kalender / in the matyns of our lady / in the houres of the crosse / in the vij. psalmes / and in the dyryge. 16° (in 8's) Paris, F. Regnault, 1533 - 4 Nov.

STC 15986 (Hoskins no.115)

LITURGIES. A prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstonde not the Latyne tongue. 8°. J. Byddell for W. Marshall [?1534] (cp. STC 20193) (1535 edn. repr. E. Burton, Three Primers, 2nd ed Oxford 1848)

STC 15987 (Hoskins no.116)

LITURGIES. Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum / cum quindecim orationibus beate Brigitte / ac multis alijs orationibus pulcherrimus / & indulgentiis ... 4°. Paris, F. Regnault, 1536 [title-page 1535]- 25 May.

STC 16000 (Hoskins no.131)

LITURGIES. This primer in English for children, after the vse of Sarum. 8° _____ [c.1537]

STC 16795

LONGLAND, John. A sermond spoken before the kynge his maiestie at Grenwiche, vppon good fryday ... 4° [?T. Petyt: ? 1536]

STC 16796

LONGLAND, John. A sermonde made before the kynge, his maiestye at grenewiche, vpon good Frydaye. 4°. T. Petyt, [?1538] (Substantially reprinted by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 16815 = pt of RSTC 20200.3

LORD'S PRAYER. In the name of the Father / of the Sonne / and of the holy Ghoste. Amen. The pater noster in Englysshe. 8°. R. Redman, [?1535]

STC 16818

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster spoken of ye sinner: God answerynge him at euery peticyon. 8°. T. Godfray, [n.d.]

This piece (based on Luther's Büchlein für die Layen und Kinder or "Bedebog") was also printed in STC 11686=19525 (repr STS XII 97-101) and in STC 14503 (see before 21790)

STC 16819 (RSTC 16821·7)

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster / and Aue Crede, and .x. commaundementes of god in Englishe with many other godly lessyons ryght necessary for youthe and all other to lerne and knowe accordynge to the commaundement & iniuncyons: gyuen by thauctoryte of the kinges hyghnes: throughe this his realme. 8°. R. Redman, 1539.

STC 16820

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster, ye crede & the commaundementes

of god in englysh, with many other godly lessons / ryght necessary for youth & al other to lerne & knowe: accordyng to the commaundement & iniunctions gyuen by thauctorite of the kynges hyghnes through this his realme. 8° (in 4's). J. Byddell, 1537.

STC 16932

LUPSET, Thomas. Tho. Lupsets workes. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1546 (Anr. ed. 1560)

Contents: Treatise of charite; An exhortacion to young men; A compendious treatise, teachyng the waie of dieyng well; A sermon of Chrysostome, that, no man is hurted but of hymselfe [STC 14639]; A swete sermon of S. Cyprian of the mortalitee of man [and] The rules of a Christian lyfe made by Iohn Picus the eldre erle of Mirandula [STC 6157-8, translated by Sir Thomas Elyot]; Gathered counsels out of saynt Isidore, [STC 14270-1]

STC 16935

LUPSET, Thomas. A compendious and a very fruteful treatyse teachynge the waye of dyenge well, writen to a frende, by the flowre of lerned men of his tyme, Thomas Lupsete Londoner, late deceassed on whose sowle Iesu haue mercy. 8°. "ex aedibus Thomae Bertheleti", 1541 (Anr. ed. 1534: repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, New Haven 1928, pp.263-90. An abbreviated version is copied in Bodley, ms. Tanner 118, ff.58-75)

STC 16936

LUPSET, Thomas. An exhortation to yonge men, perswadinge them to walke in the patheway that leadeth to honeste and goodnes: writen to a frend of his by Thomas Lupsete Londoner. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1535 (Other edns, 1538, 1544 - 1st edn. repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset pp.233-62)

STC 16939

LUPSET, Thomas. A treatise of charitie. 8°. T. Berthelet,

1533 (Other edns. 1535, 1539. 1st edn. repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset pp.205-31)

STC 16962

LUTHER, Martin. A boke made by a certayne great clerke, agaynst the newe Idole, and olde Deuyll / whiche of late tyme, in Misnia shulde haue ben canonysed for a saynt. 8°. R. Wyer, (1534).

STC 16963

LUTHER, Martin. [The boke of the discrypcyon of the images of a verye chrysten bysshop ...] 8°. [R. Wyer for W. Marshall: ?1535-9]

STC 16988

LUTHER, Martin. Here after ensueth a propre treatyse of good workes. 8°. R. Wyer, [?1533-4]

STC 17000

LUTHER, Martin. A very excellent & swete exposition vpon the XXII. Psalme of Dauid called in Latine: Dominus regit me, &c. Translated oute of Hye Almayne in to Englyshe by Myles Couerdale. [Also] How and whether a Christen man ought to flye the horryble plage of the pestilence. A sermon out of the .xci. Psalme Qui habitat in adiuto. By Andrewe Osiander. Translated out of hygh Almayne into Englyshe. 8°. Southwarke, Iames Nicolson, 1538. (Anr edn. of 1st part, 1537 and anr. issue 1538. Anr. edn. of the second part, 1537, [1564] STC 18878-9)

STC 17025

LYDGATE, John. This boke is compyled by Dan Iohn Lydgate monke of Burye / at the excitacion & styrynge of the noble and

victorious prynce / kynge Henry the fyfthe / in the honoure glorie & reuerence of the byrthe of our moste blessed lady / mayde / wyfe / & mother of our Lorde Iesu Christe ... 4°. R. Redman, 1531 - 1 Nov. (2 other edns 1484 and facs repr. English Experience, vol 473, 1972)

STC 17034=12955a

LYDGATE, John. This boke called the Temple of glasse is in many place amended / and late diligently imprynted. 4°. T. Berthelet, [?1530] (Other edns: [1477-8], [n.d.], [1500] and [?c.1530] by Berthelet, STC 12955: repr. from mss, EETS es 60)

STC 17038

LYDGATE, John. The vertue of ye masse. 4°. W. de Worde [n.d.] (repr. EETS es.107, pp.87-115)

STC 17137

M, J. A breife recantacion of maystres missa, and howe she accuseth the slouthfulnesse of her chapleyns, with her lamentable departyng vnto her father the Pope. 8°. _____ 1548.

STC 17192

____ Here is a necessarye treatyse for all maner persons to reade, and hath to name, the Maydens Crosse rewe. 4°. R. Wyer, [?1543-8]

STC 17241

MANCINUS, Dominicus. The englysshe of Mancyne apon the foure cardynale vertues ... fol [R. Pynson: ?1520] (The Latin part of this work is to be found in Bodleian, Douce F.205)

STC 17242

MANCINUS, Dominicus [Anr. transl - verse] Here begynneth a ryght fruteful treatyse / intituled the myrrour of good maners / conteynyng the .iiii. vertues / called cardynall / compyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: And translate into englysshe / at the desyre of syr Gyles Alyngton knyght: by Alexander Bercley prest: and monke of Ely. fol. R. Pynson, "prynted / at the instance & request / of the ryght noble Rychard yerle of Kent", [?1523] (Anr. ed. [1570])

STC 17263 (incl. 14566) (A & R 495)

____ A manual of prayers newly gathered out of many and diuers famous authours aswell auncient as of tyme present ... 16° (in 8's) [Rouen] 1583. (For the many subsequent editions see A & R 496-519)

Contents included the Jesus Psalter and Golden Litany and prayers of S. Thomas More.

STC 17314

MARCORT, Antoine. A declaration of the Masse, the fruite ther of, the cause and the meane, wherfore and howe it ought to be maynteyned. Newly perused and augmented by the first author therof. Maister Anthony Marcort at Geneue ... Translated newly out of French into Englishe. 8°. "Wittenberge by Hans Lufte" [actually London, J. Daye], 1547 (Other edns: 1547, 1548 (2)).

STC 17326

St MARGARET. Here begynneth the lyfe of saynte.Margarete. 4°. R. Redman [?1530] (Other edns 1493 and [?c.1530] cp. EETS 13)

STC 17498

MARTIN of Braga. Seneca moralissmus philosophus de quattuor

virtutibus cardinalibus. optimo commento illustratus. 4°. W. de Worde, 1516 (Anr. ed. 1523)

STC 17500

MARTIN of Braga. The rule of an honest lyfe / wryten by the holy man Martyne, bysshop of Dumiense / vnto ye ryght famouse kyng Myto, king of Galitia in spayne. And now (beyng founde in an auncyant copy) is faythfully translated out of latyn tonge in to Englyshe. For theyr sakes that be desyrous to rede englyshe bokes onely for vtylyte and encrease of vertue. Here vnto is added a proper booke called: the Encheridyon of a spyrytuall lyfe. 8° [imperfect at end] _____ [?1538].

STC 17501

MARTIN of Braga. [Anr. transl. of 17500]. A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca named the forme and rule of honest lyuynge bothe in Latin tongue & in the Englyshe lately translated by Robert Whyttynton Poet Laureate and now newlye imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1546 - 21 July.

STC 17502

MARTIN of Braga. A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Senecae called the myrrour or glasse of maners and wysedome bothe in latin and in Englysshe lately translated by Robert Whyttynton, poet laureate. And nowe newely imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1547.

STC 17532

____ The Martiloge in englysshe after the vse of the chirche of salisbury / & as it is redde in Syon / with addicyons [transl. R. Whitford] 4°. W. de Worde, 1526 - 15 Feb. (Repr. HBS III (1893)).

STC 17535=pt of 14552

STC 17536

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. An exposicion vpon the songe of the blessed virgine Mary, called Magnificat, where vnto are added the songes of salue regina, Benedictus and Nunc dimittis. Translated out of latine in to Englysh by Ihon Hollybush. [i.e. M. Coverdale] 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538.

STC 17537

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The lamentacyon of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde [before 1519]

STC 17541

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The myracles of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 (Other edns [1496], 1514)

STC 17542

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of oure Lady very necessary for all relygyous persones. fol. Richard Fawkes, 1530 - 4 Nov. (repr. EETS es.19)

STC 17544 (Ned. Bibl. 3812)

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. Here begynneth the rosarye of our lady in englysshe with many goodly petycions dyrect to her. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp, W. Vorsterman: c.1525]

STC 17545

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. [Anr. ed.] Here begynneth the rosarye of our lady in englysshe with many goodly peticyons dyrect to her. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1531

After STC 17545

MARY, the Blessed Virgin [Anr. ed.] The rosary / with the

articles of the lyfe & deth of Iesu Chryst / and peticions directe to our lady. 16° (in 8's) J. Skot, 1537 (Copy at M)

STC 17568

St MARY MAGDALEN. [Colophon] The complaynt of the louer of Cryst saynt mary Magdaleyn. 4°. W.de Worde [?c.1520]. (Also included in STC 5088, c.1526, despite note to contrary by R. Woolf, Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of R.H. Robbins (London 1974) p.391 n.18)

STC 17626

____ The dysclosyng of the canon of ye popysh masse, with a sermon annexed vnto it of ye famous clerke of worthy memory D. Marten Luther ... (32° in 8's) "Imprynted haue at al Papistes by me Hans Littprycke" [?1548] (Anr ed [?1549])

STC 17629

____ A plaine and godlye treatise, concernynge the masse & the blessed sacrament of the aulter, for the instruccion of the symple and vnlerned people. 8°. _____ [?1557] (Anr. ed. [?R. Caly: ?1557] Dur5)

STC 17630

____ The vpcheringe of the messe. 8°. J. Daye & W. Seres [1547]

STC 17656

MATTHEW, Simon. A sermon made in the cathedrall churche of saynt Paule at London, the XXVII day of Iune ... by Symon Matthewe. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1535 - 30 July.

STC 17669

MAUNSELL, Andrew. The first part of the catalogue of English printed bookes. Which concerneth such matters of Diuinitie.

2 pts fol. J. Windet for A. Maunsell, 1595.

STC 1788=12005

STC 17792

MELANCHTHON, Philip. The iustification of man by faith only: made and written by Phylyp Melanchthon and translated out of the Latyn in to this oure mother tonge by Nicholas Lesse of London. An apologie or defence of the worde of God, declaringe what a necessary thynge it is, to be in all mennes handes, the want wherof is the only cause of al vngodlines committed thorowe the whole earthe, made by the sayde Nicholas Lesse. 8°. W. Powell, 1548 - 11 Oct.

STC 17993

MELANCHTHON, Philip. A newe work concerning both partes of the sacrament to be receyued of the lay peple as wel vnder the kind off wine as vnder the kind of bread / with certen other articles concerning the masse and the auctorite off bisshops ... newly translated out off latyn. 8°. [?Zurich ? C. Froschouer], 1543 (Other edns. [?1546] (3)).

STC 17975

MIRK, John. The Festyuall. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 - 23 Oct. (Other edns: 1483, 1486, [1491], [1493], 1493, 1495, 1496, 1499 (3), 1502, [1507], [1508], 1515, [?1520] and repr. EETS es.96)

STC 17982 (RSTC 11470.5)

____ GNAPHEUS, Gulielmus . A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke & in payne. Translated out of Dutche in English.

8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson for J. Gough, (1536)

For the Dutch edns, Ned.Bibl. 1010, 3108, repr: S. Cramer & F. Pijper Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, vol. I, S. Gravenhage, 1903.

STC 18076

MORE, Sir Thomas. The workes of Sir Thomas More knyght, sometyme lorde chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge. fol. "at the costes and charges of Iohn Cawood, Iohn Waly and Richarde Tottell", 1557 - April.

RSTC 18078·5

MORE, Sir Thomas. The boke of the fayre gentylwoman, that no man shulde put his truste, or confydence in: that is to say, Lady Fortune: flaterynge eueryman that coueyteth to haue all, and specyally, them that truste in her, she deceyueth them at laste. (4°) R. Wyer [?after 1550]

STC 18083 (A & R 549)

MORE, Sir Thomas. A dialogue of cumfort against tribulation, made by the right vertuous wise and learned man, Sir Thomas More, sometime L. chanceller of England, which he wrote in the tower of London, An. 1534 ... 8°. Antwerp, J. Fouler, 1573 (Anr. ed. 1553 and repr. Everyman's Library no.461)

STC 18414

NAUSEA, Fridericus. A sermon of the sacrament of the aulter made by a famouse doctoure called Fryderyke Nausea in Almayne and lately out of latyn translate in to englysh by Iohn More. 8°(in 4's) W. Rastell, 1533.

STC 18570a

____ Nychodemus gospell. 4°. J. Skot [?1537] (Other edns 1507, 1509, 1511, [1512], 1518, 1529[n.b. the colophon and

collation of the two Skot edns is identical, which might suggest a closer dating], 1532. (For verse versions: EETS es. 100)

NIDER, Iohannes. Consolatorium timorate conscientie / venerabilis fratris Iohannis Nyder. "Parisius per magistrum Vlricum Cognomento Gering", 1478 - 16 Decemb.

STC 18849

____ The original & sprynge of all sectes & orders by whome, whan or were they beganne. Translated out of hye Dutch in Englysh. 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson for J. Gough, (1537) (2 var. issues)

STC 18877

OSIANDER, Andreas. The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, translated by George Ioye. 8° [?Antwerp], 1548 - May.

STC 19177

____ A litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534

STC 19187

____ A generall free pardon or charter of heuyn blys / very necessary for all true christen people / wherin standeth clene remission of all our synnes / to all penytent & faythfull hertes. Not gyuen by any popysh collusyon / but by Iesu Christ / son of the lyuyng God. Compyled in our old Englyssh tong / in the yere of our lorde God. M.iii.C. neither addyng to nor dymynyshyng fro saue only some old wordes / turned into our new maner and accostomed spekyng. 8° (in 4's) R. Lant for J. Gough [1537-43]

The piece is extracted from Pore Caitiff - see M.C. Spalding, The Middle English Charters of Christ (vol. XV monograph series, Bryn Mawr, 1914) p.99 ff, who does not mention the printed version.

STC 19211

PARKER, Henry (Lord Morley). The exposition and declaration of the Psalme, Deus ultionum Dominus,[Psalm 94] made by syr Henry Parker Knight, lord Morley, dedicated to the kynges highnes. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539.

STC 19214

(PARKER, Henry). Diues and Pauper. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1536 - 16 Oct. (Other edns 1493, 1496).

For various articles on the authorship and Pynson's ms: The Library[4] XIV (1934-5) pp 299-312: XV (1935-6) pp 31-7; The Library[5] VIII (1953) pp 217-28.

RSTC 19358.5

PERSONS, Robert. A booke of Christian exercise apperteining to resolution, that is, shewing howe that we should resolue our selues to become Christians in deede: by R.P. Perused ... by Edmund Bunny. 8°. _____, 1585 (Dur[5])

STC 19371

PERSONS, Robert. The christian directory guiding men to eternall saluation. Deuided into three bookes. The first wherof teacheth how to make a good resolution. The second, how to begin well. The third, how to perseuere and end happily ... 12°. [S. Omer, F. Bellet] 1607. (This edn in facs. repr. English Recusant Literature, vol.41, Scolar Press, 1970. For other edns. of Person's Directory A & R 619-25).

STC 19525=11686

STC 19903

(PIERS PLOUGHMAN) A godly dyalogue & dysputacyon betwene Pyers plowman, and a popysh preest / concernyng the supper of the lorde / no lesse frutefull then necessarye to be noted

of al christen men specyally considering the great controuerses & varyaunces had ther in now in your tyme. 8°. _____ [?1530]

STC 20036 (Ned Bibl 3763)

(PLOUGHMAN) The prayer and complaynt of the Ploweman vnto Christ: written nat longe after the yere of our lorde .M. & thre hundred. 8°. [Antwerp, M. de Keyser: 1531]

STC 20057

PLUTARCH. The education or bringinge vp of children / translated oute of Plutarche by Syr Thomas Elyot knyght. 4°. T. Berthelet [?1535]

Dedicated by Elyot to his sister, Margery Puttenham.

Before STC 20059

PLUTARCH. Tho. wyatis translatyon of Plutarckes boke / of the quyete of mynde. 8°. R. Pynson, [c.1527] (Facs. repr. ed. by C.R. Baskervill, Cambridge, Mass. 1931: Anr transl. 1589.)

STC 20061 (Devereux C84.2)

PLUTARCH. The gouernaunce of good helthe, by the moste excellent phylosopher Plutarche, the moste eloquent Erasmus beynge interpretoure. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1556] (Anr ed (RSTC 20060·5) [1542-8]; Anr. transl. 1543; Latin ed. 1513)

POMANDER of Prayer - see RSTC 25421·3 etc.

STC 20178

POYNET, John. A shorte treatise of politike power, and of the true obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men, compyled by D.I.P.B.R.W. 8° [Strassburg?] 1556. (Facs. repr. English Experience vol. 484 (1972): Anr ed 1639)

STC 20193 (Ned Bibl 3764)

____ Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons very nedefull for euery Christen. 16°. "Marlborow, per me Ioannem Philoponon" [i.e. Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten], 1538.

Contents closely related to STC 15986 and RSTC 20200.3.

RSTC 20193.5

____ Deuoute prayers in englysshe of thactes of our redemption. 8°. R. Redman [c.1534-5]

These are the prayers of Fewterer's Myrrour, STC 14553, ultimately derived from the Meditationes of Jordanus, STC 14789.

STC 20196

____ The .xv. oos. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1529. (Anr. ed. 1491 and by Wyer, 1530's RSTC 20196.5 - but they occured in numerous Horae, first in Latin and then, as in STC 15966, 15987 etc. in English)

STC 20200

____ Praiers of holi fathers, patryarches, prophetes, iudges, kynges, and renowmed men and wemen of eyther testamente. 8° R. Grafton to be sold by W. Tylotson [?c. 1543].

The same collection, with some variations, is also found in STC 2379; 2748=23710; 2996; RSTC 20200.3, derived from Otto Brunfels' Precationes Biblicae.

RSTC 20200.3

____ Prayers of the Byble taken out of the olde testament and the newe, as olde holy fathers bothe men and women were wont to pray in tyme of tribulation / deuyded in vi partes. 32° (in 8's) R. Redman [c.1535]

The second part = STC 16815: The fourth part, a transl. of Luther's XIV Consolations also occurs in STC 20193; pts 5-6

contain Savonarola's expositions on Psalms 51 and 31 - (cp. STC 21790-9 and one or both expositions were added to a number of primers e.g. STC 15986, 15988, 15992-3, 15998)

STC 20204

____ A godly and holsome preseruatyue against disperacion at al times necessarye for the soule: but then chiefelye to be vsed and ministred when the deuil doth assault vs most fiersely, & deth approcheth nieste ... 8°. W. Copland for R. Kele, 1551 (Anr. ed. [1559]. Another version of what seems to be the same work was copied in Bodley ms Tanner 118 ff. 107-118 as "Phisicke for the soule verye necessarye to be vsed in the agony of deathe ...")

STC 20413

____ The .xii. profytes of tribulacyon. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 28 May (Other edns. [1499] and in STC 3305: repr. YW.II pp.389-406: cp. pp. 45-60.

For the original, by Peter of Blois, see PL CCVII, 989-1006, and on the ms. versions, A.I. Doyle, Survey pp.177-9.

STC 20423

PROGNOSTICATION. A faythfull and true pronostication vpon the yere .M.CCCCC.xlviii. and parpetually after to the worldes ende gathered out of the prophecies and scriptures of god, by the experience and practise of his workes, very comfortable for all Christen hertes ... translated newly out of hye Almayne into englysh by Myles Couerdale. 8°. R. Kele, (1548)

STC 20499

PUNT, William. A new dialogue called the endightmen agaynste mother messe. 8°. W. Hyll & W. Seres, 1548 - 17 Dec. (Anr. ed. 1549)

STC 20510=4312

____ A spirituall purgation sent vnto al them that laboure of Luthers errour, as touching the bodely presens of Christe our sauiour in the sacrament, and to al them that haue espyed the libertie of the gospel as touching theyr fleshe, yet seke not the lybertie to make free theyr spyrite from this afore sayde errour. 8°. H. Syngelton [?1555]

Dedicated to Sir Thomas Wyat.

STC 20521

PYLBAROUGH, John. A commemoration of the inestimable graces and benefites of God, infused through the bryght lyght of the knowlege of his holy word, in our moste dradde souerayne lorde Henry the eyght ... in erth the supreme heed next and immediate vnder Christe of the Churche of Englande, with hartye prayse and thankes gyuyng vnto God for the same, composed vppon the glad prophecy and ioyefull psalme of Benedictus dominus deus Israel &c. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1540 (Copy also at O)

Dedicated to Thomas Cromwell.

STC 20841

REGIUS, Urbanus. A comparison betwene the olde learnynge & the newe. Translated out of latyn into Englysh by Wyliam Turner. 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538 (Other edns 1537, 1548)

STC 20876=21263

____ The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons. 4°. W. de Worde, 1519 - 21 Jan. (/nr. ed. 1508, STC 21262 - repr. YW II pp.106-28

Includes "a deuoute medytacyon in sayenge deuoutly ye psalter

of our lady". On authorship see: M.B. Hackett "William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones" in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J (Dublin 1961) pp.330-48; also B. Hackett, E. Colledge, N. Chadwick: "William Flete's "De Remediis contra Temptaciones" in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text", Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp.210-30.

STC 20877

____ A remedy for sedition, wherin are conteyned many thynges, concernyng the true and loyall obeysance, that commens owe vnto their prince and soueraygne lorde the kynge. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1536.

STC 20882=5605

____ The remors of conscyence. 4°. W. de Worde, [?1532-4] (Other edns c.1510 - RSTC 20881·3 was STC 20883 and c.1515 RSTC 20881·7)

On the dating of the editions see The Library^5 XIII (1958) 199-200 and for the poem by William Lichfield on which the work is based, Anglia XXXIV (1911) 508-25

STC 20972

RICARDUS of St Victor. Here foloweth a veray deuoute treatyse (named Benyamyn) of the myghtes and vertues of mannes soule / & of the way to true contemplacyon / compyled by a noble & famous doctoure a man of grete holynes & deuocyon / named Rycharde of saynt Vyctor. 4°. Henry Pepwell, 1521 - 16 Nov.

Contents: (i) Beniamin Minor (repr. YW I pp.162-72; (ii) dyuers doctrynes ... out of the lyfe of ... saynt katheryn of Seenes; (iii) A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon ... taken out of the boke of Margery Kempe; (iv) Epystle of prayer; (v) Walter Hilton's Of the songe of aungelles; (vi) Epystle of dyscrecyon in sterynges of the soule; (vii) A deuoute treatyse of dyscernynge of spirytes. (v. repr. YW I 175-82; all except (ii) and (iii) repr. EETS 231. The whole repr. as The cell of self-knowledge, ed. E.C. Gardner, London 1925)

STC 21038

RIDLEY, Lancelot. A commentary in Englyshe vpon sayncte Paules epystle to the Ephesyans / for the instruccyon of them that be vnlerned in tonges / gathered out of the holy scriptures and of the olde catholyke doctours of the Churche / and of the beste authors that nowe a dayes do wryte. 8°. R. Redman [?1540]

STC 21042

RIDLEY, Lancelot. An exposition in the epistell of Iude the apostel of Christ wherein he setteth playnly before euery mans eyes false apostels, and theyr craftes, by ye which they haue longe deceyued symple christian people. 8°. Thomas Gybson, (1538).

STC 21260

ROLLE, Richard. Rycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull in his contemplacyons of the drede and loue of god with other dyuerse tytles ... 4°. W. de Worde, [?1520] (Anr edn. 1506: repr. YW II pp.72-105)

STC 21263=20876

STC 21305

____ Here begynneth a boke, called the faule of the Romyshe churche, wyth all the abhominations, wherby euery man may know and perceyue the dyuersitie of it, betwene the primatiue churche, of the whyche our souerayne lorde and kynge is the supreme head, and the malignant churche a sunder. 8°. _____ [?1540] (Other edns [?1549], [?1550].)

STC 21308

____ The sum of the actes and decrees made by diuerse bisshops of rome. 8°. T. Gybson, [?1539]

STC 21318 (Ned Bibl 3813)

____ The mystic sweet rosary of the faythful soule: garnished rownde aboute / as it were with fresshe fragraunt flowers / accordynge to the trwthe of the Gospel ... 8°. Antwerpe at Martyne Emprowers, 1533.

Copy also at L with 9 leaves of ? mid XVI century ms prayers bound in front. Other edns in Latin (1531-8) (Ned Bibl 01054, 3810, 3811, 1807, 1808) and Dutch, 1534 (Ned Bibl 1809), the latter having an extra gathering of prayers, also French (Ned Bibl 2117)

STC 21337

____ The rote or myrrour of consolacyon and comforte. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 23 March. (Other edns [1496], [after July 1499], 1511 (anr. copy O^{10}).)

STC 21427

ROY, William. Rede me and be nott wrothe For I saye nothynge but trothe ... 8°. [Strassburg, J. Schott, 1528] (Anr ed. 1546: repr. Arber's English Reprints, vol.27, 1871 and English Experience vol.485, 1972)

STC 21472

RYCKES, John. The ymage of loue compyled by Iohn Ryckes / bacheler in diuinite / an obseruant fryre. 8°. W. de Worde for J. Gough [n.d.] (Anr. ed. 1525)

STC 21588

ST GERMAN, Christopher. A treatyse concerninge the power of the clergye / and the lawes of the realme. 8°. T. Godfray, [?1535]

STC 21753=10465

SARCERIUS, Erasmus. Common places of scripture ordrely and after a compendious forme of teachynge, set forth with no litle

labour, to the great profyte and helpe of all suche studentes in gods worde as haue not had longe exercyse in the same ... translated in to Englysh by Rychard Tauerner. 8°. J. Byddell, 1538 - 12 Aug. (Other edns, 1553 (3 issues), 1577)

?Before STC 21790=14503

SAVONAROLA, Girolamo. An exposicyon vpon the .lj. psalme made by Hierom of Ferrarye. (?16°) (in 8's) Paris, 1538.

The exposition is entirely in English and to it are added "A deuout short prayer to Iesus" (in verse); "The pater noster / spoken of the synner / God answerynge hym at euery peticyon" (cp. STC 16818; and in 11686=19525); A prayer for the kynge, and the quene. On the various edns of the Savonarola expositions see The Library^{5} VI (1951) 162-70

STC 21790

SAVONAROLA, Girolamo. An exposicyon vpon the .lj. psalme. made by Hierom of Ferrarye. [i.e. same tp. as above but Latin-English edn with no additions]

STC 21791, however, contains expositions of both psalm LI and XXXI.

STC 22141

____ [The serche of confessyon] 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1529 - 20 Sep.

STC 22216

SENECA. Lucii Annei Senecae ad Gallioneni de Remedis Fortuitorum. The remedyes agaynst all casuall chaunces. Dialogus inter sensum et rationem. A dialogue betwene sensualyte and reason. Lately translated out of Latyn into Englyshe by Robert Whyttynton poet laureat & nowe newely imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1547 (Repr: Seneca's "De Remediis Fortuitorum" and the Elizabethans, ed. R.G. Palmer, Institute of Elizabethan Studies, publ. 1; Chicago, 1953)

STC 22410

____ Here begynneth the kalender of shepardes. fol. J. Notary [?1520] (Other edns: 1503; 1506; 1508; 1528; 1559; 1560; [?1560], [?1570], [?1580] (2), [?1595] etc: repr. ed. G.C. Heseltine, London, 1930)

STC 22559=11407

SIMON, [APPLEBY] The fruyte of redempcyon. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 21 May. (Other edns: 1514 (facs. repr. in The Churchwardens Accounts of All Hallows, ed. C. Welsh, London 1912); 1517; 1531 - RSTC 22559·5 (at M); 1532)

On the identification of the author see R.M. Clay Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.^{3} XVI (1953) 74-86. The work is mentioned in Bonde's Pilgrymage, (STC 3278) fol. CC1i.

STC 22897

SOLME, Thomas. Here begynneth a treatys callyde the Lord's flayle handlyde by the Bushopes powre thresshere Thomas Solme. 8°. Basyl by me Theophyll Emlos, [?1540].

STC 22899

SOLOMON. The sayinges or prouerbes of kinȝ Salomon / with the answers of Marcolphus / translated out of frenche in to englysshe. (?4°) R. Pynson "and be for to sell at ye signe of saynt Iohn Euangelyst in saynt Martyns parysshe / besyde Charynge crosse", [?c.1525-8]

STC 23243

____ Stella clericorum. 4°. [R. Pynson: ?1503] (Anr ed. 1531)

STC 23407

STURMIUS, Joannes. The epistle that Iohan Sturmius, a man of great lerninge and iugement. sent to the cardynalles and prelates, that were chosen and appointed by the bysshop of Rome, to serche out the abuses of the churche, translated into englysshe by Rychard

Morysine. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1538.

SUSO. Orologium sapientiae, see STC 3305.

STC 23552

SWINNERTON, Thomas. A mustre of scismatyke bysshoppes of Rome / otherwyse naming themselues popes / moche necessarye to be redde of al the kynges true subiectes. 8°. W. de Worde for J. Byddell, (1534) (Trans. J. Roberts - pseud.)

STC 23707

____ Here ensueth a lytell treatyse named the tauerne of goostly helthe. 16°. R. Copland, 1522.

STC 23709

TAVERNER, Richard. [A catechisme or institution of the Christen religion.] 8°. _____, 1539 (Copy defective)
Based on Calvin's Instruction in Faith.

STC 23710=2748

STC 23712 (Devereux C7.2)

TAVERNER, Richard. [The garden of wysedome ...] 8°. [E. Whitchurch sold by W. Telotson: ?1545] (Other edns: 1539, [c.1547], [c.1550], [?1556])

STC 23713 (Devereux C8.2)

TAVERNER, Richard. The second booke of the garden of wysedome, wherin are conteyned wytty, pleasaunt, and nette sayenges of renowmed personages collected by Rycharde Tauerner. 8°. Richard Bankes, 1539. (Other edns: 1539, [c.1547], [c.1550], [c.1556])

STC 23877

____ Ihesus. The floure of the commaundementes of god with

many examples and auctorytees extracte and drawen as well of holy scryptures as other doctours and good auncyente faders / the whiche is moche vtyle and profytable vnto all people. fol. W. de Worde, 1521 - 8 Oct. (Anr ed. 1510. The 1531 de Worde edn. noted by Duff, Handlists is not extant at Lambeth, and may be the result of confusion with the 1521 edn.)

Translated from La fleur des commandemens de Dieu ([1499], 1510, 1536 etc) by A. Chertsey. STC 10613 is a later extract of part of The floure.

STC 23963

THOMAS à Kempis. The folowyng of Christ lately translated out of latyn into Englysshe / and newly examyned / corrected / and imprinted. Also a lytell deuoute morall doctryne / called the spirituall glasse of the soule / dayly to be loked on. 16° (in 8's) T. Godfray [?1531] (With STC 1915)

STC 23965

THOMAS à Kempis. [Anr. ed.] A boke newely translated out of Latyn in to Englisshe, called the folowing of Christe, with the golden epystel of saint Barnard. 8°. W. Myddylton, [?1545]. (Copy also at O) (Other edns - for which the STC dating is not very reliable -: Atkynson's transl: 1503; [?1515], 1517 (2 issues), [1520-8], [?1525] - STC 23960a=23968 - repr. EETS es.63; ?Whitford's transl: [?1531], [?1532], [?1531], [?1540], [?1545], 1556 (2 edns), 1585. There were also later translations by Rogers, Hake and B.F [Anthony Hoskins].

The Golden Epistle with STC 23965 is the Godfray version and is followed by the usual extracts from St Bridget's Revelations.

STC 24023

THOMAS, William. The vanitee of this world. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1549.

STC 24045 (Ned Bibl 3007)

THORPE, William. The examinacion of Master William Thorpe preste accused of heresye before Thomas Arundel / Archebishop of Canturbury / the yere of ower lorde .M.CCCC. and seuen. The examinacion of the honorable knight syr Ihon Oldcastell Lorde Cobham burnt bi the said archbisshop / in the fyrste yere of kynge Henry the fyfth ... 8°. [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten: ?1530] (repr. A.W. Pollard, An English Garner, Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, Westminster, 1903, pp.97-189.)

STC 24164

TRACY, Richard. The profe and declaration of thys proposition: Fayth only iustifieth: gathered & set forthe by Richarde Tracy. 8°. [?R. Grafton: ?1540]

STC 24167 (Ned Bibl 3997)

TRACY, William. The testament of master Wylliam Tracis esquier / expounded both by William Tindall and Ihon Frith. Wherin thou shalt perceyue with what charitie ye chaunceler of worcetter burned whan he toke vp the deed carkas and made asshes of hit after hit was buried. 8° [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten] 1535

Substantially reprinted in STC 25590 etc and in STC 24436, see Tyndale, An Answer, PS pp.269-83.

STC 24191a

____ This booke is called the treasure of gladnesse, and semeth by the copy, being a very little manuell, and written in velam, to be made aboue .CC. yeares past at the least. Wherby appeareth how God in olde time, and not of late onely, hath bene truely confessed and honored. The copy hereof, is for the antiquitie of it, preserued and to be seene in the printers hall. Set forth and allowed according to the queenes iniunctions and now fyrst imprinted. 16° (in 8's) H. Denham

for J. Charlewood, 1564. (Other edns 1563, 1568, 1572, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581)

STC 24218 (RSTC 24219.5)

____ A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite necessary for all Christen men to know and to exercyse them selues ther in translated into englyshe. 8°. Southwark for J. Nicolson, 1537.

STC 24222 (Ned Bibl 2047)

____ Here beginneth a lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv. tokens the whiche shullen bee shewed afore yt drefull daye of Iugement. And who that oure lorde shall aske rekenyng of euery body of his wordis workis and thoughtes. And who oure lorde wyll shewe vs other .xv. tokens of his passion to theym that ben deyeth in dedely synne. 4°. [Antwerp] Iohan fro does borch [?1505]

STC 14505 reprints, without acknowledgement, the four general tokens from this edition.

STC 24225

____ Wednesdayes faste. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 (Anr ed [1500])

STC 24226

____ A moche profitable treatise against the pestilence, translated into englyshe by Thomas Paynel Chanon of Martin Abbey. 8°. T. Berthelet [?c.1534]

STC 24228

____ Here begyneth a newe treatyse deuyded in thre parties. The fyrst parte is to know & haue in mynde the wretchednes of all mankynde. The seconde is of the condycion and maner of vnstedfastnes, of this world here. The thyrde parte in this boke you may rede of bytter death, and why it is to drede. 4°.

R. Wyer [?after 1541]

This seems to correspond to Pts. I-III of Prick of Conscience - see art. cit. by Schulz, STC 3360 above.

STC 24234 (Duff 307)

____ This treatyse is of loue. fol (in 6's) W. de Worde [1493-4] (Repr. EETS 225)

Contents include the "sixe mayster" (H5v-6r), which precedes The xii profytes in STC 3305, 20412-3.

STC 24237

____ A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the bysshoppes of Rome, and the clergy. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1538. (Anr copy, with 2 additional leaves at L^2)

STC 24239

____ A treatise declaryng & shewing dyuers causes taken out of the holy scriptur / of the sentences of holy faders, & of the decrees of deuout emperours, that pyctures & other ymages which were wont to be worshypped / ar in no wise to be suffred in the temples or churches of Christen men ... The authours of this litle treatise ar the open preachers of Argtenyne. 8°. For W. Marshall [?1537] (Anr. ed. [?1535])

Translated by W. Marshall from J. Bedrote's Latin translation of Bucer's Das einigerlei Bild.

STC 24250

____ A treatyse to teche a man todye / and not to feare dethe. 8°. R. Redman, [?1538-9]

STC 24322

TUNSTAL, Cuthbert. A sermon of Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, made vpon Palme sondaye laste past, before the maiestie of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the .VIII ... defensor of the fayth ... and in erth next vnder Christ supreme heed of the

Churche of Englande. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (Anr ed. same date and 1633 and summarized by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 24436

TYNDALE, William. The whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England, collected and compiled in one tome togither beyng before scattered, & now in print here exhibited to the church. To the prayse of God, and profite of all good Christian readers. fol. 2 pts. J. Daye, 1573.

With the exception of the Protestation of the state of souls departed, and the two letters to Frith, all Tyndale's works included in The whole workes are reprinted in the 3 vol. Parker Society edn. of Tyndale.

STC 24625=11181

STC 24683

VERON, Jean. The huntynge of purgatorye to death, made dialoge wyse by Ihon Veron Senonoys. Newly set foorth and alowed, accordinge too the Queenes Maiesties iniunctions. 8°. J. Tysdale, 1561.

Before STC 24847

VIVES, Juan Luis. [Introduction to wisdom] 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (Copy at O) (Other edns: 1540, 1544, 1550, [?1550], 1564)

Dedicated to "Master Gregory Crumwell" by the translator, Richard Morrison.

STC 24858

VIVES, Juan Luis. A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the instruction of a Christen woman, made fyrste in latyne, by the right famous clerk mayster Lewes Viues, and turned out of lateyne into Englysshe by Richard Hyrde. 4°. T. Berthelet,

1541. (Other edns [?1529], [?1540], 1547, 1557 (2), 1585, 1592 and repr. in F. Watson's Vives and the Renaissance education of Women, London 1912.)

After STC 24879:

VORAGINE, Jacobus de. [Legenda Aurea], fol. W. de Worde 1521 (Dur^{3} - copy defective) (Other edns [1483], [1487], 1493, 1498, 1503, [?1510], 1512, 1527: repr. Holbein Society).

STC 25127

WATT, Joachim von. A worke entytled of ye olde god & the newe / of the olde faythe & the newe, of the olde doctryne and ye newe / or orygynall begynnynge of idolatrye. 8°. J. Byddell, 1534 - 15 June.

STC adds, translated by William Turner.

STC 25223

WEEVER, John. Ancient funerall monuments within the vnited monarchie of great Britaine, Ireland, and the isles adiacent ... fol. T. Harper, to be sold by L. Sadler, 1631.

STC 25251

WERDMÜLLER, Otto. A moste frutefull / piththye and learned treatise, how a Christen man ought to behaue himself in the daunger of death: and howe they are to be releued and comforted, whose deare frendes ar departed oute of thys worlde, moste necessarye for this our vnfortunate age and sorowfull dayes. 16° (in 8's) _____ [?1553]. (Other edns: [?c.1553], [1579], n.d. and repr. Remains of Bishop Coverdale, PS pp.37-132)

STC 25412

WHITFORD, Richard. [A werke of preparacyon.] 8°. R. Redman [n.d.]

This volume also includes Golden Epistle (Godfray version) and

selections from St Bridget's Revelations; Crosrowe or ABC (see RSTC 3273·6 etc); Golden Epistle (Whitford's version, with apology for printing the wrong translation earlier). Bound with it, but a separate volume is:

A werke for housholders / or for them that haue the guidyng or gouernaunce of any company. Gadred and set forth by a professed brother of Syon / Richarde Whitforde: and newly corrected and prynted agayne with an addicion of polici for housholding / set forth also by the same brother. 8°. R. Redman, 1531 - 19 Aug.

For the polici for housholding cp. RSTC 1967·5

STC 25413

WHITFORD, Richard. The contentes of this boke. A werke of preparacion / or of ordinaunce vnto communion / or howselyng. The golden pystle, an alphabete or a crosrowe called an A.B.C. and the werke for housholders with a dayly exercyce and experience of dethe all duely corrected and newly prynted. 8°. R. Redman [n.d.: ?after 1537]

The Golden pystle is Whitford's version. The dayly exercyce has a separate title-page and new series of signatures. The werke for housholders is not included.

STC 25414

WHITFORD, Richard. A dayly exercyse and experyence of dethe / gathered and set forth, by a brother of Syon Rycharde Whytforde. 8°. J. Wayland, 1537.

This, together with the contents of STC 25416, would seem to make up a composite volume similar to, and probably earlier than, STC 25413.

STC 25416

WHITFORD, Richard. A dialoge or communicacion bytwene the curate or ghostly father: & the parochiane or ghostly chyld. For a due preparacion vnto howselynge. The werke for housholders wt the golden pystle and alphabete or a crosrowe

called an ABC. 8°. J. Wayland, 1537.

The golden pystle is Whitford's although the apology for printing the wrong version from STC 25412 is included. Again, as in STC 25412, The werke for housholders follows with separate title-page and signatures:

The werke for housholders, nowe newly corrected and set forthe into a dyaloge betwene the housholder and his housholde / by a professed brother of Syon Richarde Whytford with an addicyon of pollecye for housholdynge / set forth also by the same brother. 8°. J. Wayland.

The werke is altered at the beginning and end to form a rudimentary dialogue.

STC 25417=13925

WHITFORD, Richard. The rule of saynt Augustyne / bothe in latyn and englysshe / with two exposicyons. And also ye same rule agayn onely in englysshe without latyn or exposicyon ... The translatour doth aduyse & counseyll all ye disciples of this rule to bere alway on of these bokes vpon them syth they ben so portatyue / & may be had for so small a pryce. 4°. W. de Worde, 1525 - 28 Nov. (Anr. ed. 1527)

"Saynt Augustyns Rule in englysshe alone" with separate title-page, colophon and signatures, printed as a separable part of the above.

STC 25420

WHITFORD, Richard. Here foloweth dyuers holy instruccyons and teachynges very necessarye for the helth of mannes soule, newly made and set forth by a late brother of Syon Rychard Whitforde. 4°. W. Myddylton, 1541.

Contents: the boke of pacience; a worke of dyuers impedimentes and lettes of perfectyon (an expanded translation of a work by an unknown Latin author); an instruction to auoyde and eschewe vyces and folowe good maners (a version of the Counsels of St Isidore); Of detraction (based on a sermon by St John Chrysostom).

STC 25421

WHITFORD, Richard. Here begynneth the boke called the Pype / or Tonne / of the lyfe of perfection. The reason or cause wherof dothe playnely appere in the processe. 4°. R. Redman, 1532 - 23 March.

RSTC 25421.3

____ The pomander of prayer. 4°. R. Copland, 1530 - 31 Oct. (05) (Other edns: 1528 - (See The Library[4] XVII, 1937 pp. 189-95); 1531 (at M) - RSTC 25421.5; 1532 (at M) - RSTC 25421.6.)

This work is not by Whitford but by a Carthusian of Shene, with a prefatory "exortacion to the reders by a brother of Syon" - who may or may not be Whitford.

STC 25422

WHITFORD, Richard. A werke for housholders / or for them yt haue the gydynge or gouernaunce of any company. Gadred & set forth by a professed brother of Syon Richard Whytforde. And newly corrected & prynted agayne wt an addicion of policy for housholdynge / set forth also by the same brother. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 20 Dec. (Anr. ed. with same title-page lay out and collation, de Worde, 1533 - 2 May)

STC 25424

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders ... newly corrected & prynted agayne with an addicion of policy for housholdynge. 4°. Southwark, P. Treveris [n.d.: not later than 1532].

STC 25425

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders ... newely corrected and prynted agayne with an addicion of polici for housholding ... 8°. R. Redman, 1537 - 8 Nov.

STC 25426

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders / or for them that haue the gydynge or gouernaunce of ony company. Gadred and set forth / by a professed brother of Syon.Rycharde Whytforde. 4°. R. Redman [n.d.]

STC 25590

WICLIF, John. Wycklyffes wycket: whych he made in kyng Rychards days the second in the yere of our Lorde God a M.CCC.XLV ... 8°. Norenburch [London, J. Daye], 1546. (Other edns: [?1548](2); 1612)

Includes "The testament of master Wyllian Tracie, expounded by Wylliam Tindall" see STC 24167.

STC 26063

WYSE, Nicholas. A consolacyon for chrysten people to repayre agayn the lordes temple, with certayne places of scrypture truely applyed to satysfye theyr myndes for ye expellyng of ydolatry, & to to instruct them, of loue and obedience compyled by nycholas wyse. 8°. J. Wayland, 1538 - 16 Oct.

STC 26069

XENOPHON. Xenophons treatise of householde. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1532. (Other edns: 1537: 1544; [?c.1548]; 1557; 1573)

Translated by "Gentian Heruet, at the desyre of maister Geffrey Pole", perhaps with some assistance from T. Lupset.

STC 26138

ZWINGLI, Ulrich. The rekening and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik Zwingly / bisshoppe of Zürych the cheif town of Helvetia / sent to Charles .v. that nowe is emprowr of Rome: holdinge a perlemente or cownsaill at Ausbrough with the cheif lordis & lerned men of Germanye. The yere of owr Lorde M.D.xxx. In the monethe of Iulye ... Translated & imprynted at Zijryk ... 8°. Zurich, 1543 - March. (Anr. ed. 1548).

Insert on p. 398:

After STC 10470 (Devereux C37)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Declamatio in laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae. A declamacion in the prayse and commendation of the most hygh and excellent science of phisyke made by the ryght famous clerke doctour Erasmus of Rotherdam / and newly translated out of latyn into Englyshe. 8° R. Redman, [?1536-7]

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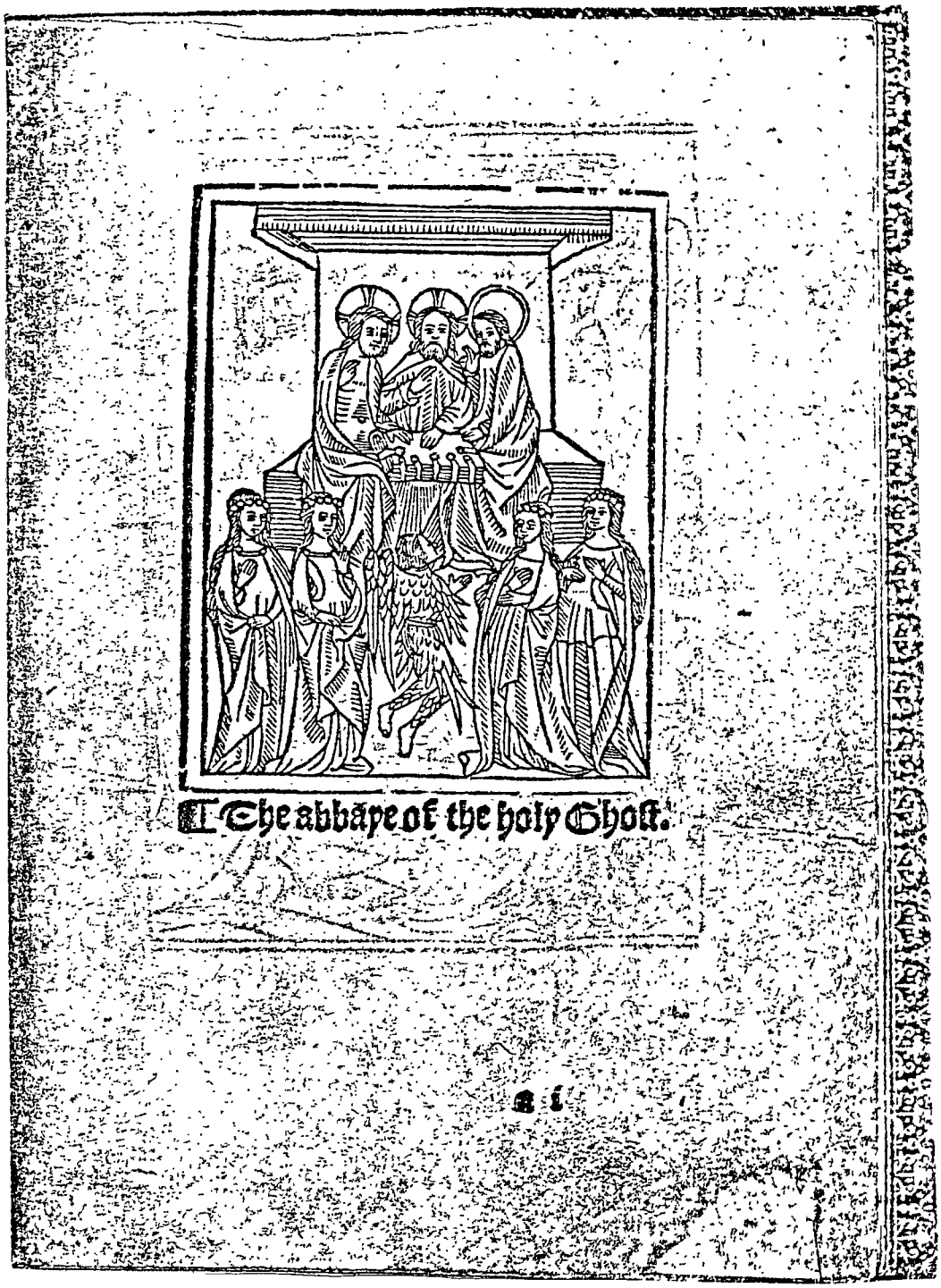


THE PARLIAMENT OF HEAVEN

From STC 13609, Hodnett 313

(See p.49)

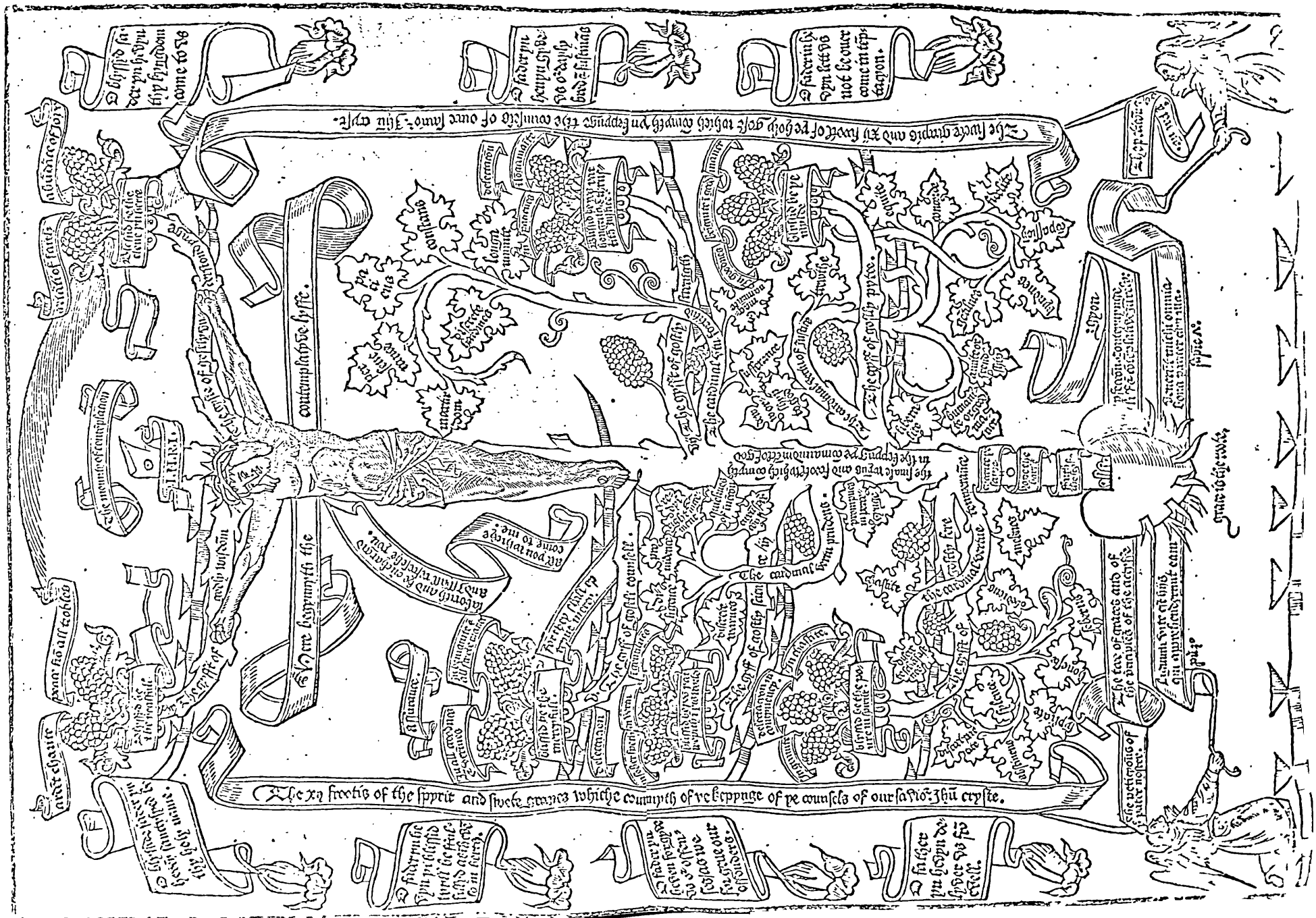
Page references following the illustrations are all to vol. I.

THE STAR OF GRACE

From: W. Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon

STC 3278, Hodnett 870

(see p 57)

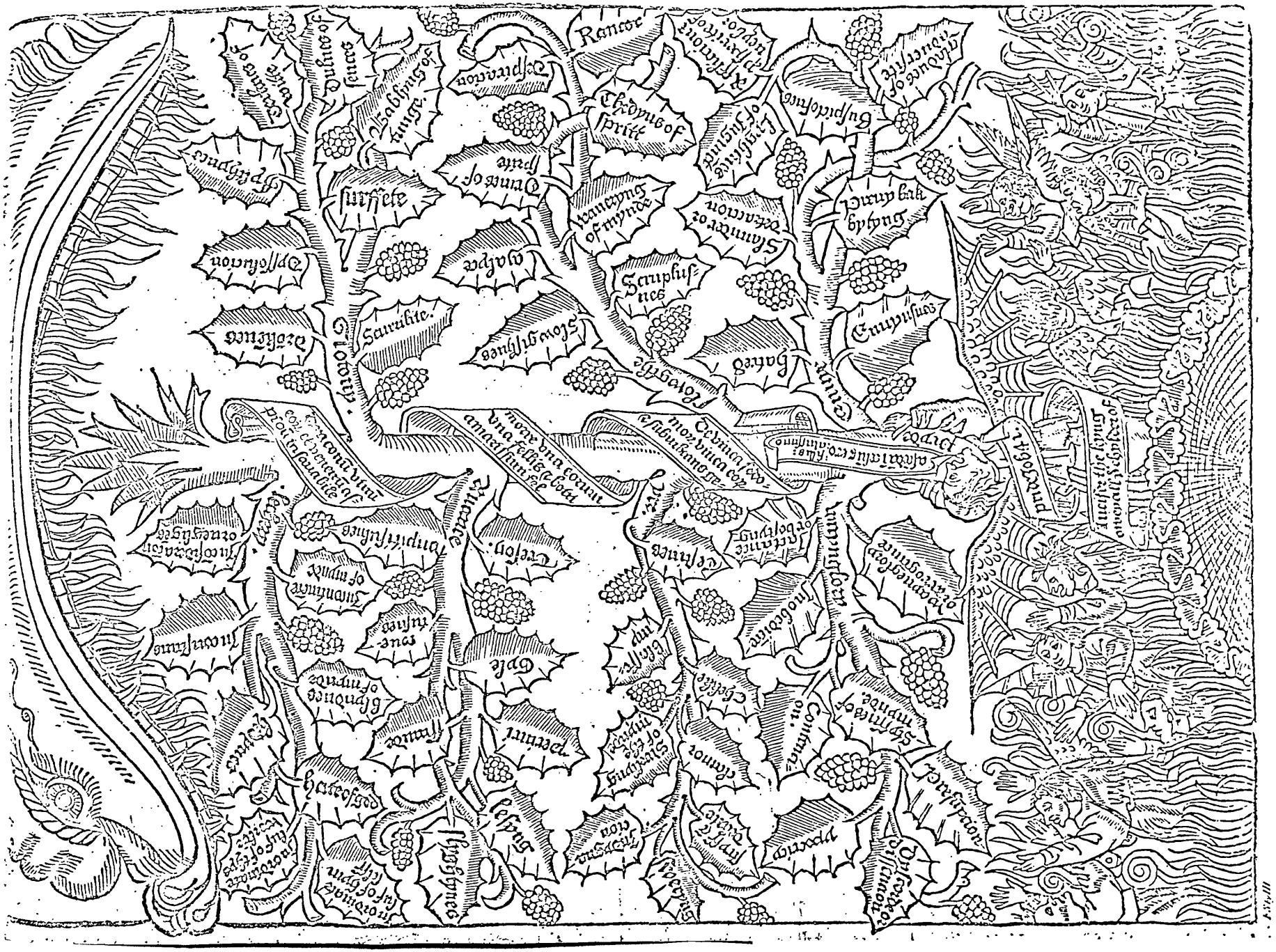


THE TREE OF GRACE

From: W. Rondle's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon

STC 3278, Hodnett 871

(see p.57)

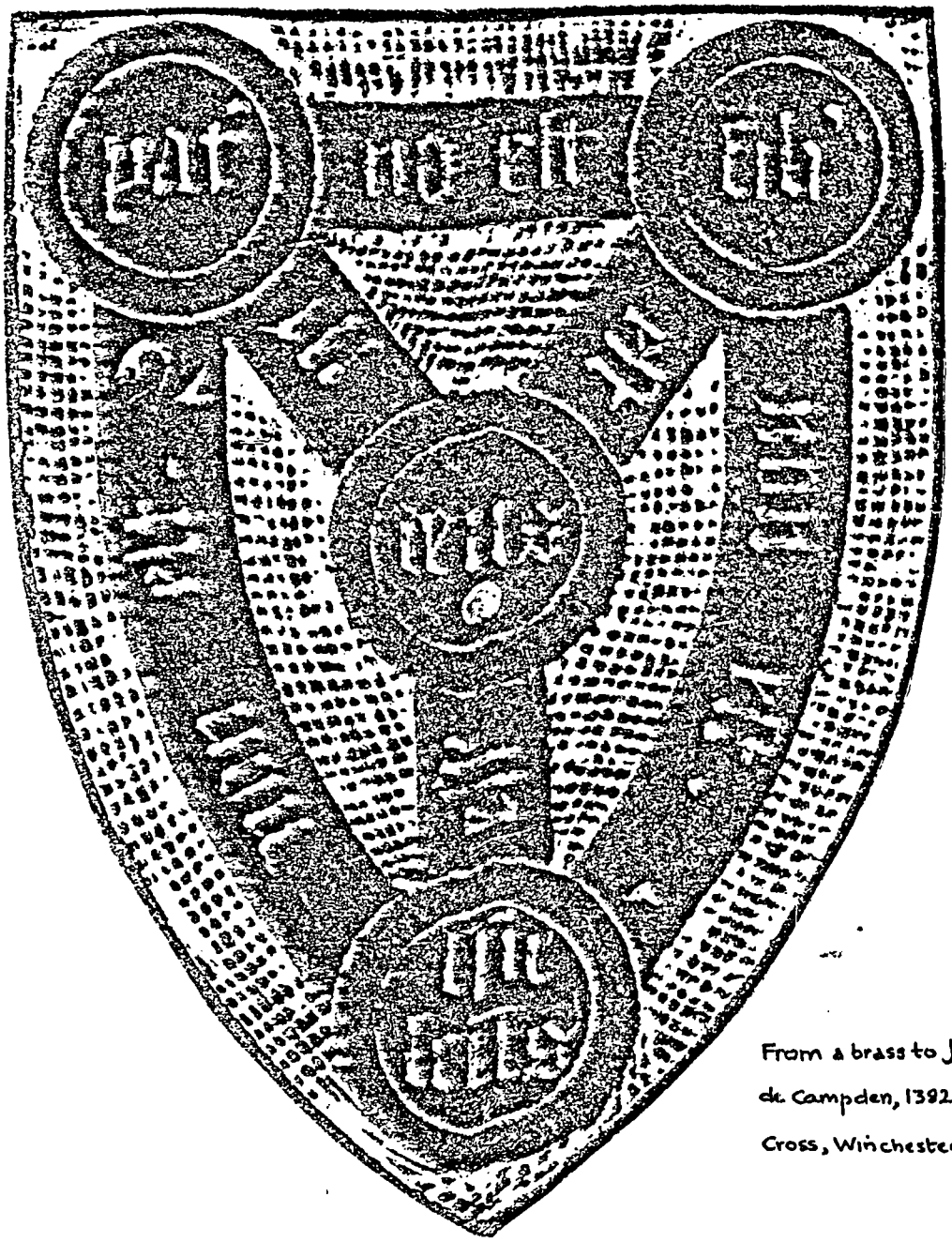


TREE OF VICE

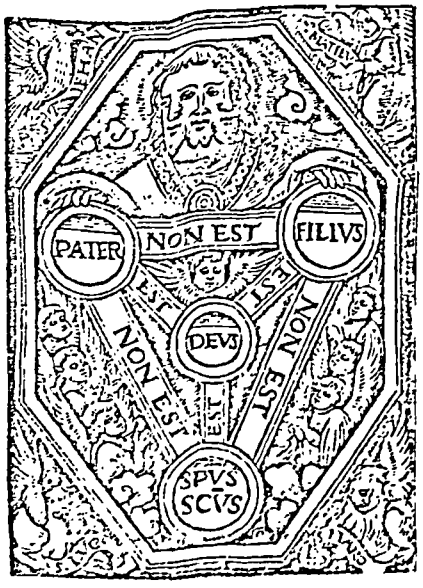
From: W. Bonde's Pilgrymage of perfeccyon

STC 3278, Hodnett 872

(see p. 57)



From a brass to John de Campden, 1392: St. Cross, Winchester



From Horae 1535-6, STC 15987

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY

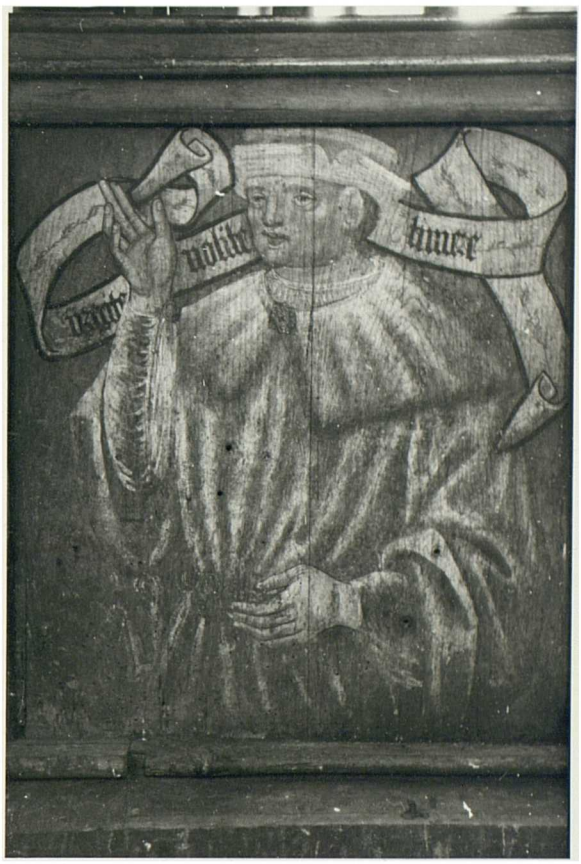
(See pp. 67, 365)

SEVEN SACRAMENTS WINDOW

E. window, N. aisle, Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon

(central figure restored)

(See p. 130)



PROPHETS FROM PARCLOSE SCREEN, ASHTON, S. DEVON

(See p. 283)

a)

¶ It was I that trode the wyn
prese all alone/and of all the fol
ke was ther not one man to help
me. Esaie. lxiij.

THE MYSTIC WINE PRESS

From The mystic sweet rosary, STC 21318 (see p. 340)

b)

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY

Kirkham chantry, Paignton, S. Devon (see p. 350)

See also XXXIII a below

a) THE VISITATION

Parclose screen, Ashton, S. Devon (See p. 358)

¶ Unto the wounde of the left fote.
¶ Hayle holy wounde of the left fote/ wherby the plantis of Vertu

¶ The saluting of the wounde of the right fote of our Lorde.
¶ All hayle holy wounde of the right fote/ whiche sweetely stepist

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318 (See p. 375)

¶All fayer art thou my frende
ly ſpouſe and ſpot is ther none in
the. ¶Come frō Libanus my ſpou
ſe come & be crowned. Canti. iiij.

a) THE RECEPTION AND CORONATION
OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
From: The mystic sweet rosary
STC 21318 (See p. 375)

¶Jeſus was ledforth into the
deſerte/to be tēpted of his aduer-
ſarye. & ce. whoſe fyerye dartis he
bore of with the buckler of holy

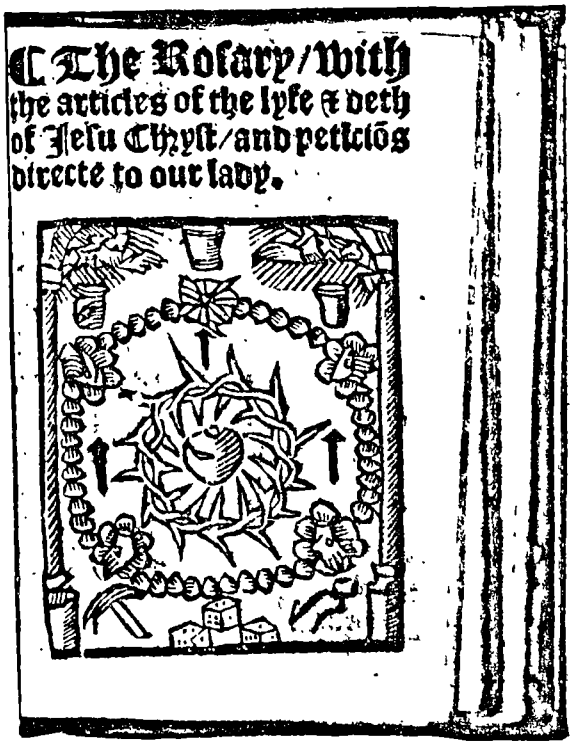
b) THE TEMPTATIONS OF CHRIST
From: The mystic sweet rosary (see p. 376, n. 266)

From: Horae, 1530. STC 15968

From: Horae, 1535-6. STC 15987

"MARY GARDENS"

(see p. 379, n. 284)



a)

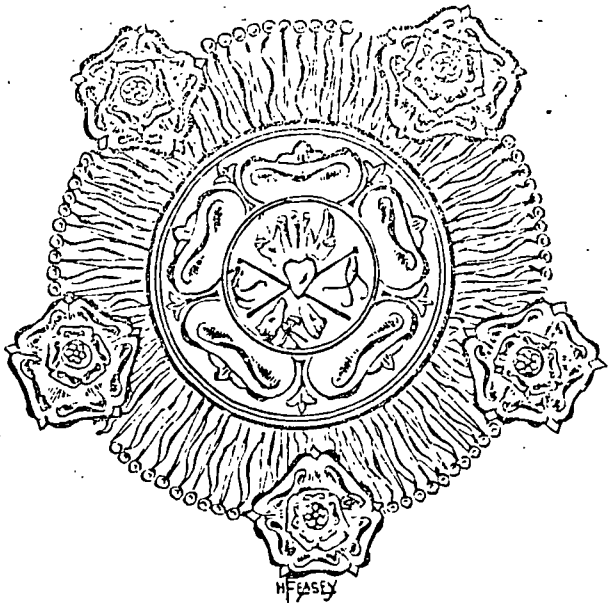
b)

THE ROSARY AND THE FIVE WOUNDS

a) From RSTC 17545·5

b) From: The Kalender of shepardes, STC 22410, Hodnett 2158

c) From: An extra-illustrated edn. of W. Fordyce's The history and antiquities of the county palatine of Durham vol. 3. (See p. 379, n. 287)



c)

QUARREL OF STAINED GLASS AT RABY CASTLE.

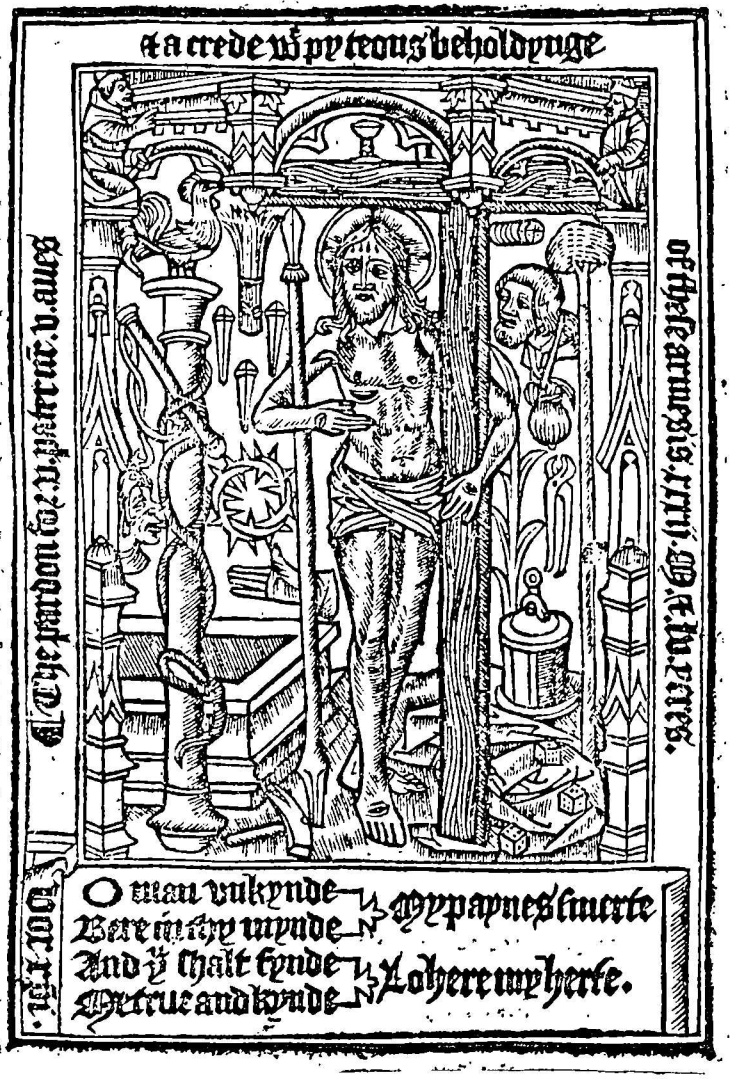
In an article in the *Reliquary* for April, 1899 (vol. v.) p. 100, on 'The Instrument of the Rosary,' there is an illustration of a quarrel of stained glass at Raby castle, which is said to have originally belonged to Whitby abbey. It is thus described :—'In the centre is seen the wounded heart of the Redeemer dropping blood, surrounded by a crown of thorns, and three nails also dripping blood. The whole of this is encircled by a chaplet of five decades of beads, each decade separated by (Tudor) roses, the hearts of four containing one of the five wounded members—the two hands and the two feet, and the fifth being simply a rose. The Latin legend which accompanied: 'Ave Piisima Virgo Maria quae es rubeus rosa et super omnem creaturam indumento divini amoris induta,' is translated, 'Hail, most pious Virgin Mary, who art a red rose and clothed with a vestment of divine love above every creature.' Below the legend runs this inscription :

'The greatest comfort in all temptacyon
Is the remembrance of Cryst's Passion.'"

(a)

(b)

(c)



a) The base of the rood, Cullompton church, S. Devon.

b) From: The Kalender of shepardes STC 22410 (For a-b see p. 390, n. 322)

c) From: Bonde's Deuoute epystle STC 3276, Hodnett 2061 (See p. 390)

a) STC 5160, Hodnett 2030
(See p. 404, n. 404)

THE SUFFERINGS OF JESUS

¶ It was cue he douteleſſe that
dyd beare our ſynnes & payne de-
we therunto. It was he that was
wounded of our tranſgreſſions &

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary
STC 21318 (See p. 406, n. 415)

¶ When they had crucified Jesus / they deuided his clothes casting for the what eche man should haue. And it was about the thir

CHRIST NAILED TO THE CROSS

a) From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318 (See p.406, n.420)

b)

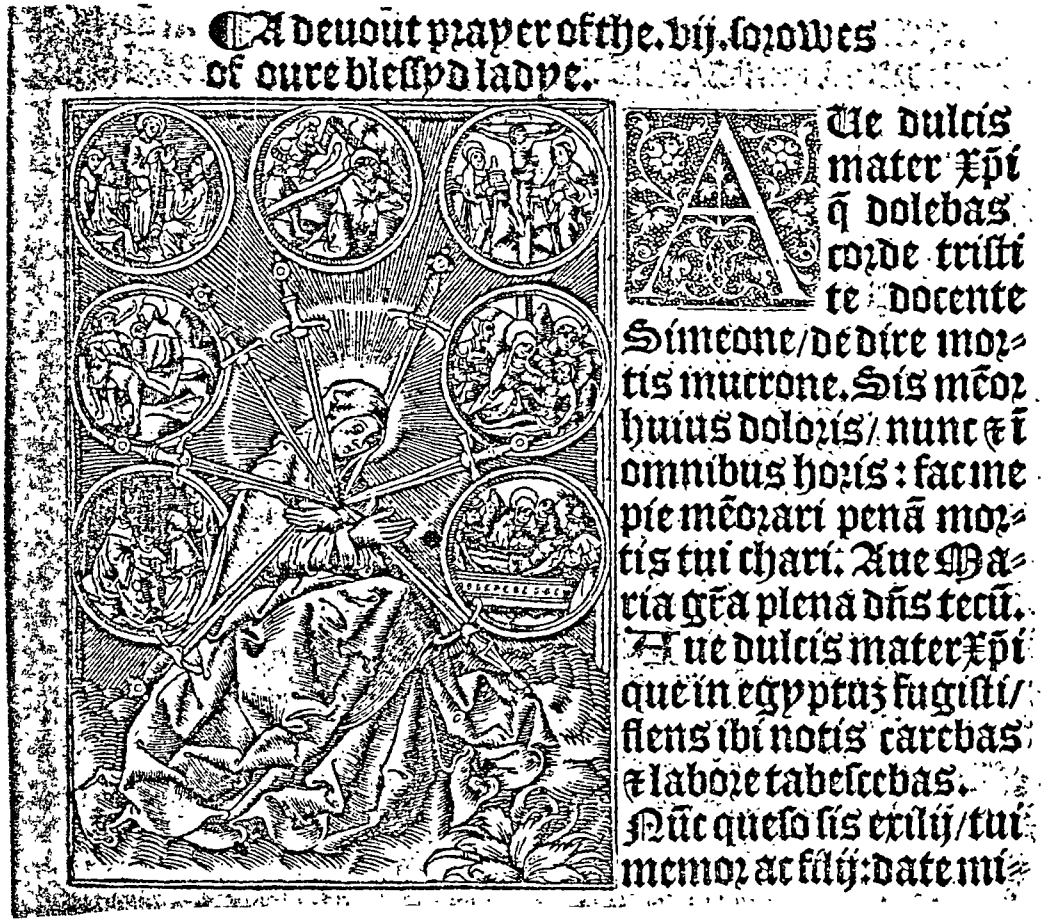
¶ Unto the wounde of Crystis herte.
The holy wounde Cristis flesshe
Heale our hertis & Vyce represse,

THE PIETA

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

c) Wives' window, St. Neot, Cornwall (See p.413)

(c)

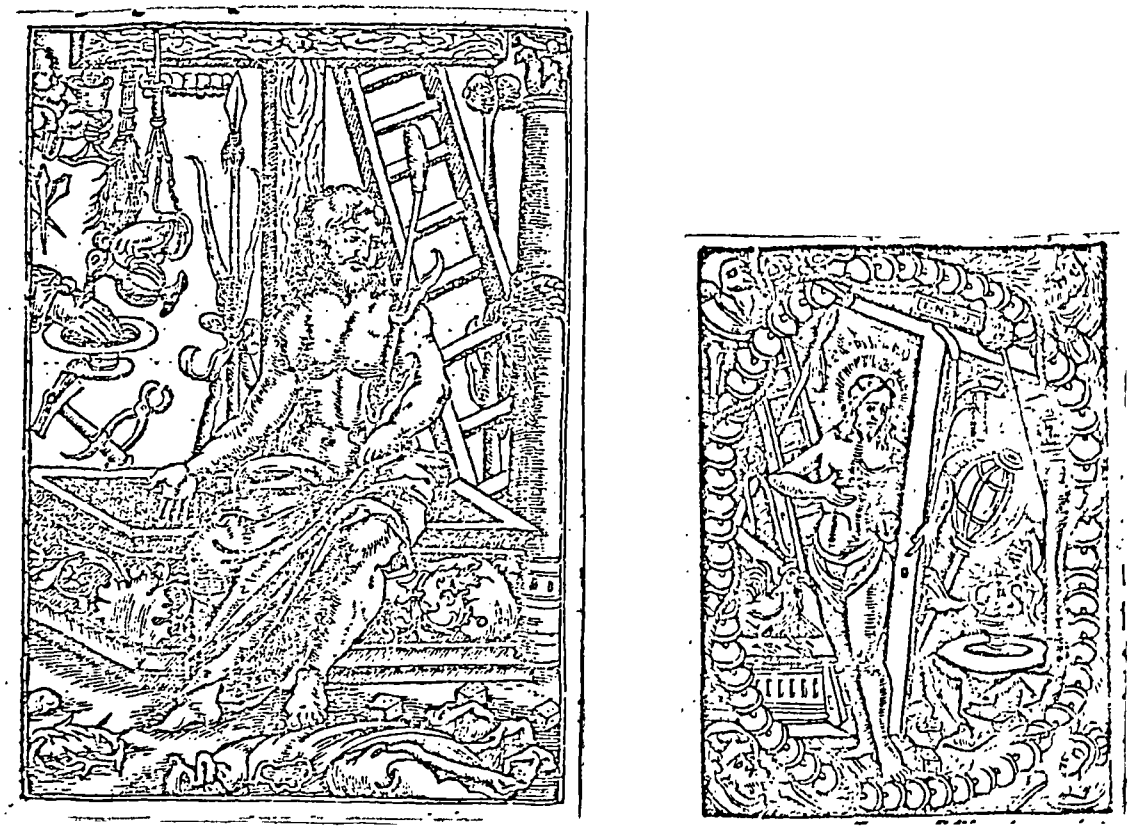


A deuout prayer of the. vij. sorowes of oure blessyd ladye.

Aue dulcis mater xpi q dolebas corde tristi te docente Simeone/ de dire mortis mucrone. Sis meor huius doloris/ nunc et i omnibus horis: fac me pie meorari penā mortis tui chari. Aue Maria gra plena dns tecū. Aue dulcis mater xpi que in egyptū fugisti/ flens ibi notis carebas et labore tabescebas. Nūc quesō sis exilij/ tui memor ac filij: date mi

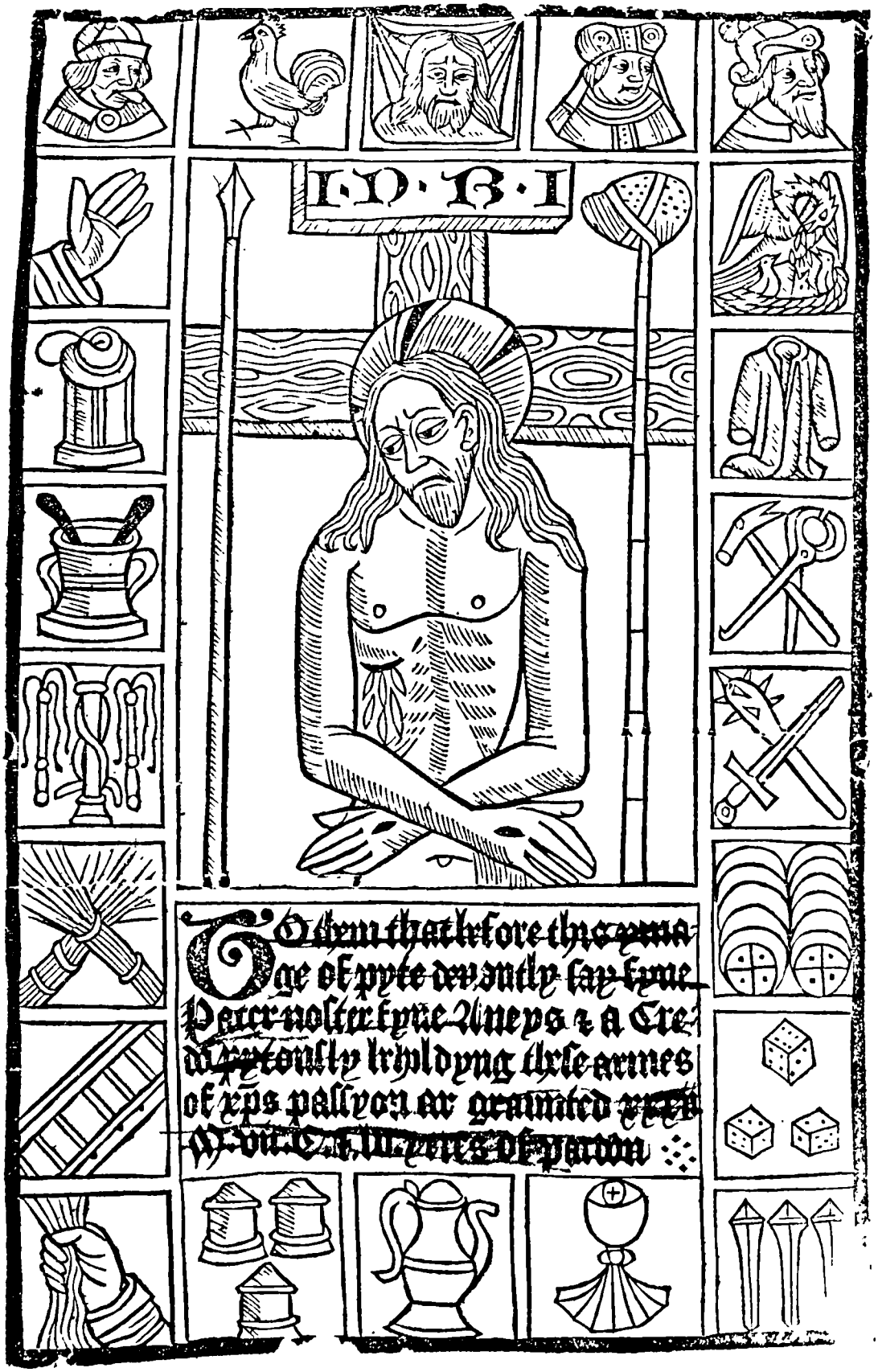
a) THE SEVEN SORROWS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

From: Horae 1535-6, STC 15987 (See p.420)



b) IMAGO PIETATIS with instruments of The Passion

From: Horae 1535-6, STC 15987 (See p.425)



IMAGO PIETATIS with instruments of the Passion and indulgence

Hodnett 2513 (See p. 425)

BODLEIAN LIBRARY 2. MS. Rawl. D. 403. f. 1 v.

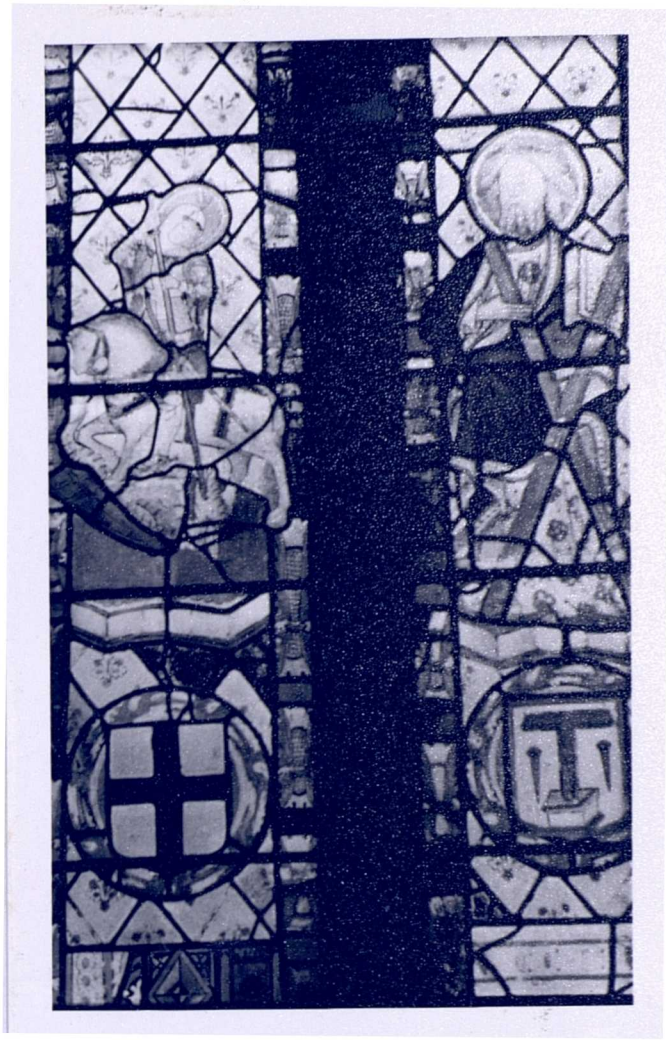
PIETA

with instruments of the Passion and indulgence

Hodnett 2512 (see p. 425)

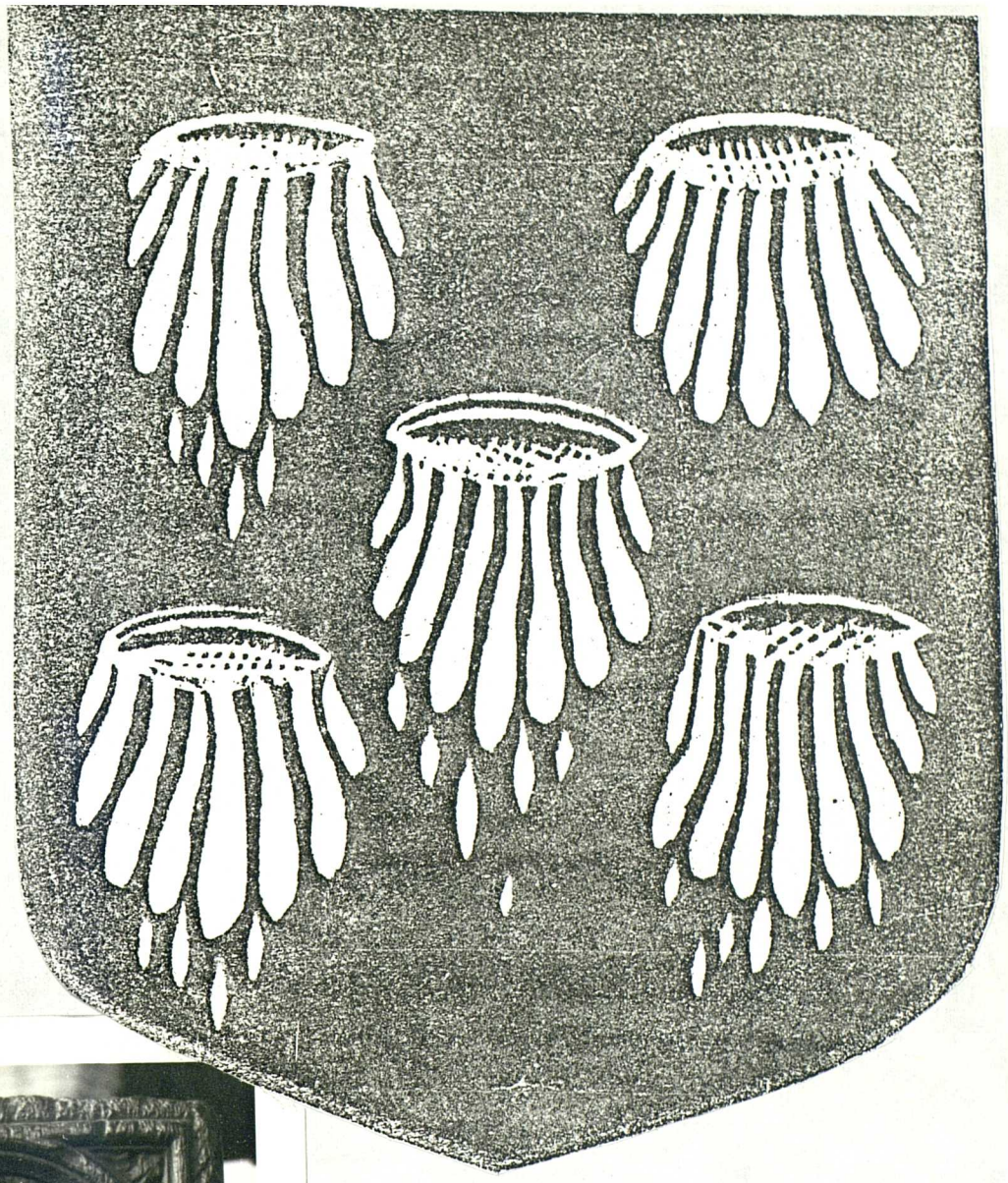
INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION

a) Pillar, rope, scourges,
Launcells, Cornwall



b) Cross and nails
Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon

c) Pincers, pillar, hammer; spear, sponge, dice
Laneast, Cornwall



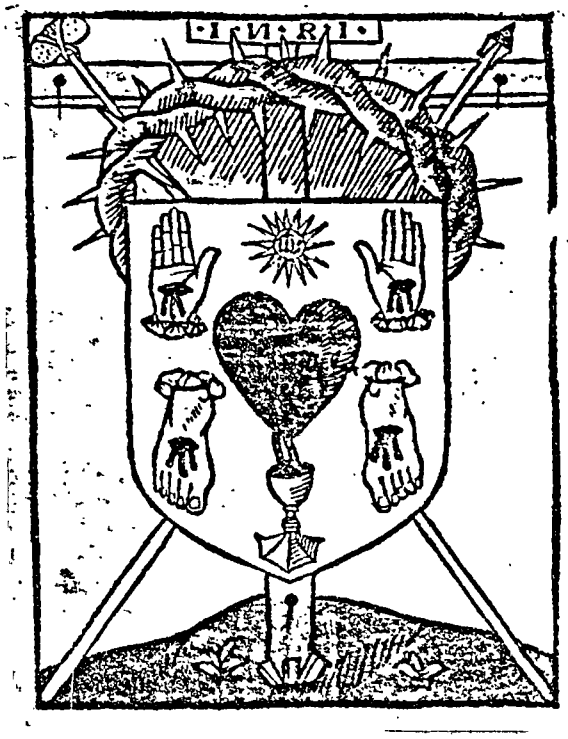
a) From a brass to Robert Hacombleyn, †1528,
King's college, Cambridge

b) Benchend, Altarnun, Cornwall

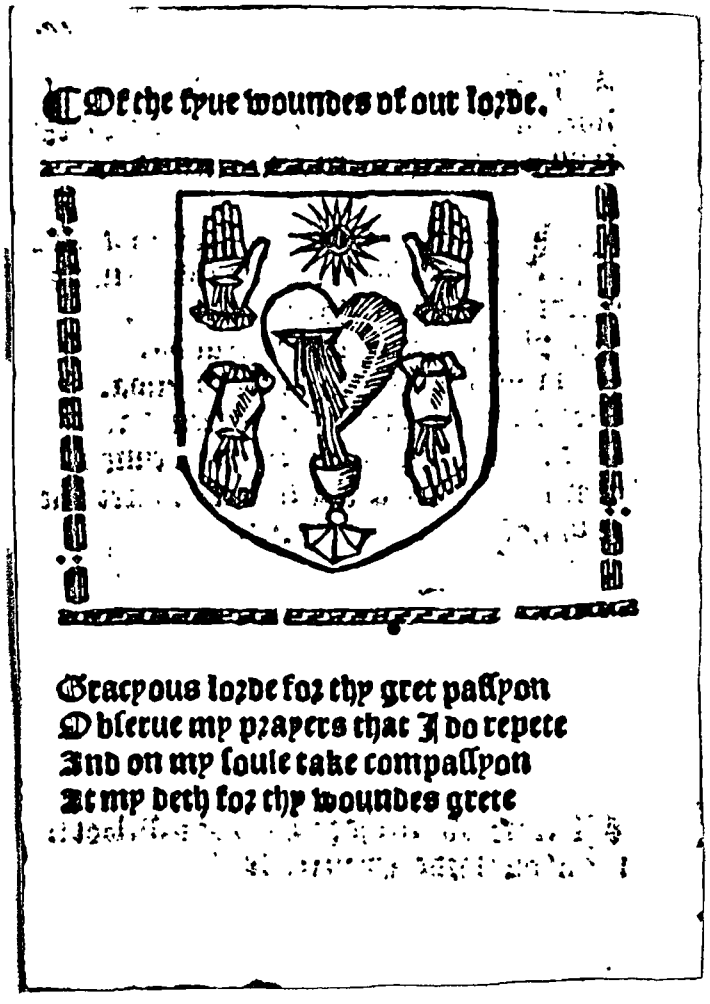
THE FIVE WOUNDS (see p.434)

(a)

(b)



(c)



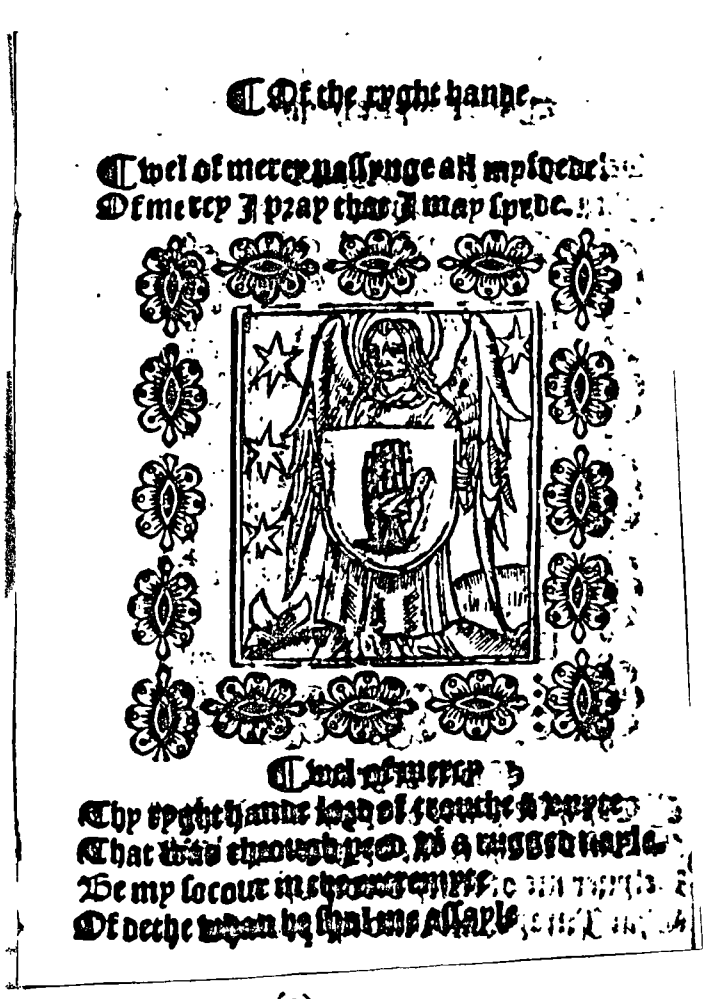
THE FIVE WOUNDS

(See p.434)

a) The Arms of Christ from Sheen Charterhouse. Hodnett #454a

b) Hodnett 2503

c) From: A gloryous medytacyon STC 14650 Hodnett 2041



(a) (b)

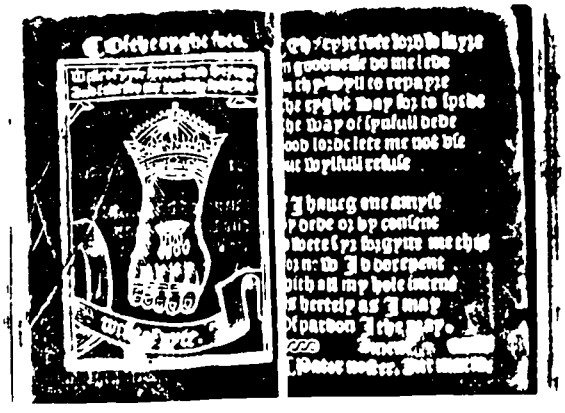
CHRIST'S WOUNDS AS WELLS

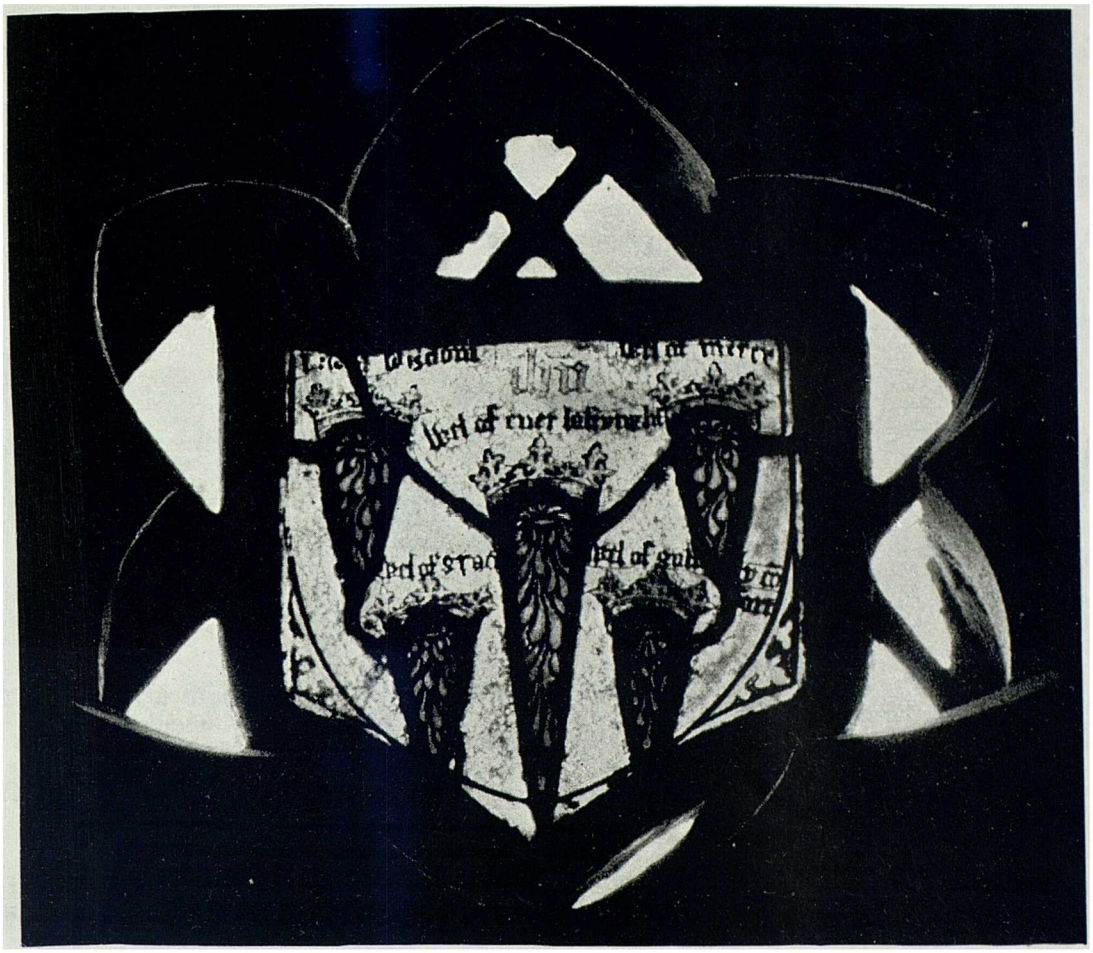
a, b From: A gloryous medytacyon, STC 14550, Hodnett 2042, 2018

c From: [Illustrated life of Christ] (?After STC 14552) Hodnett 675 (reduced)

(See p. 440)

(c)





a)

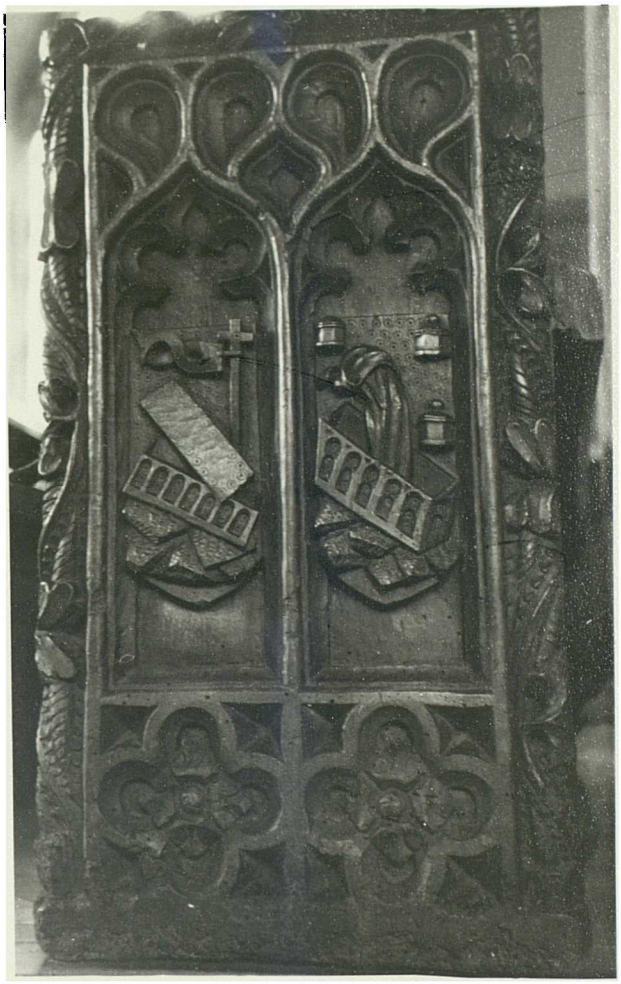
b)

CHRIST'S WOUNDS AS WELLS

(See p. 440, n. 615)

a) Five wounds window, Sidmouth parish church, S. Devon

b) From: A gloryous medytacyon, STC 14550, Hodnett 2043 (cp. 677)

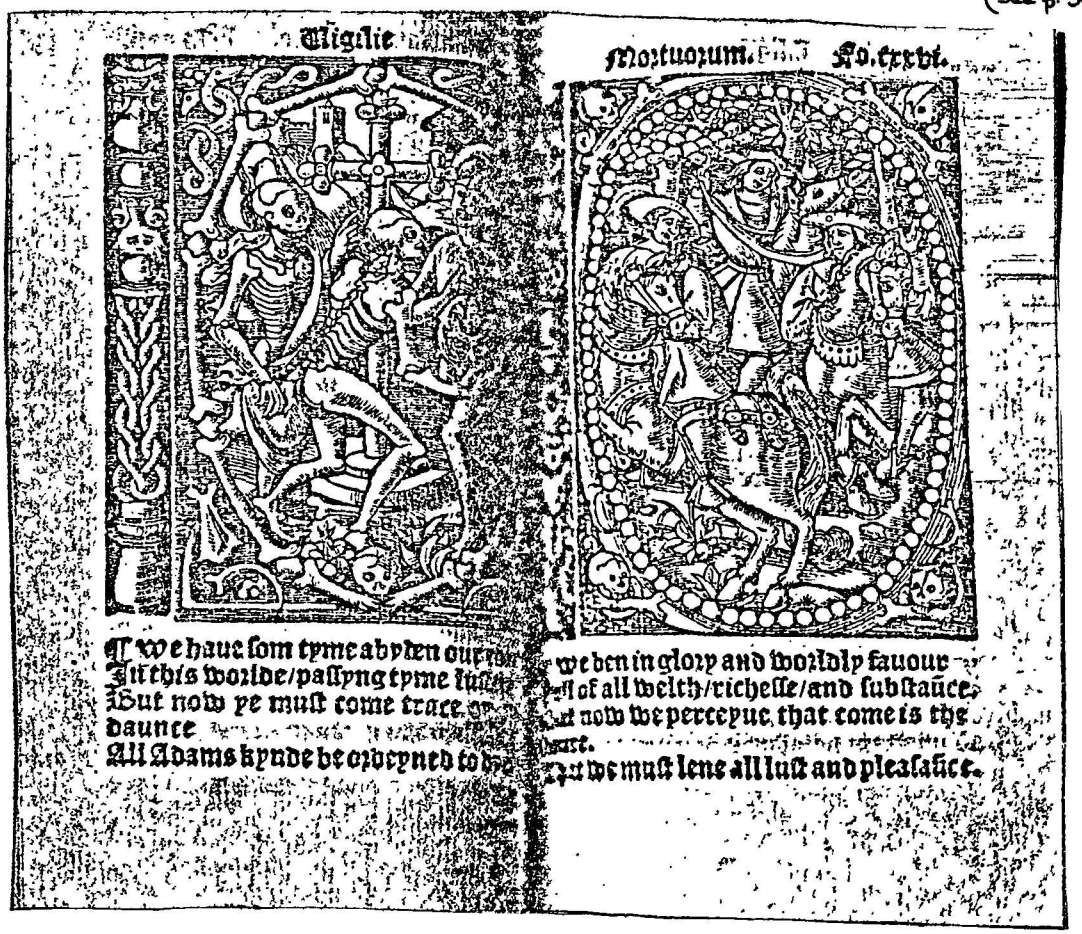


a) THE RESURRECTION

Bench-end at Launcells, Cornwall. (See p. 456)

b) THREE LIVING AND THREE DEAD

From Horae 1533 (STC 15981a) (See p. 500)



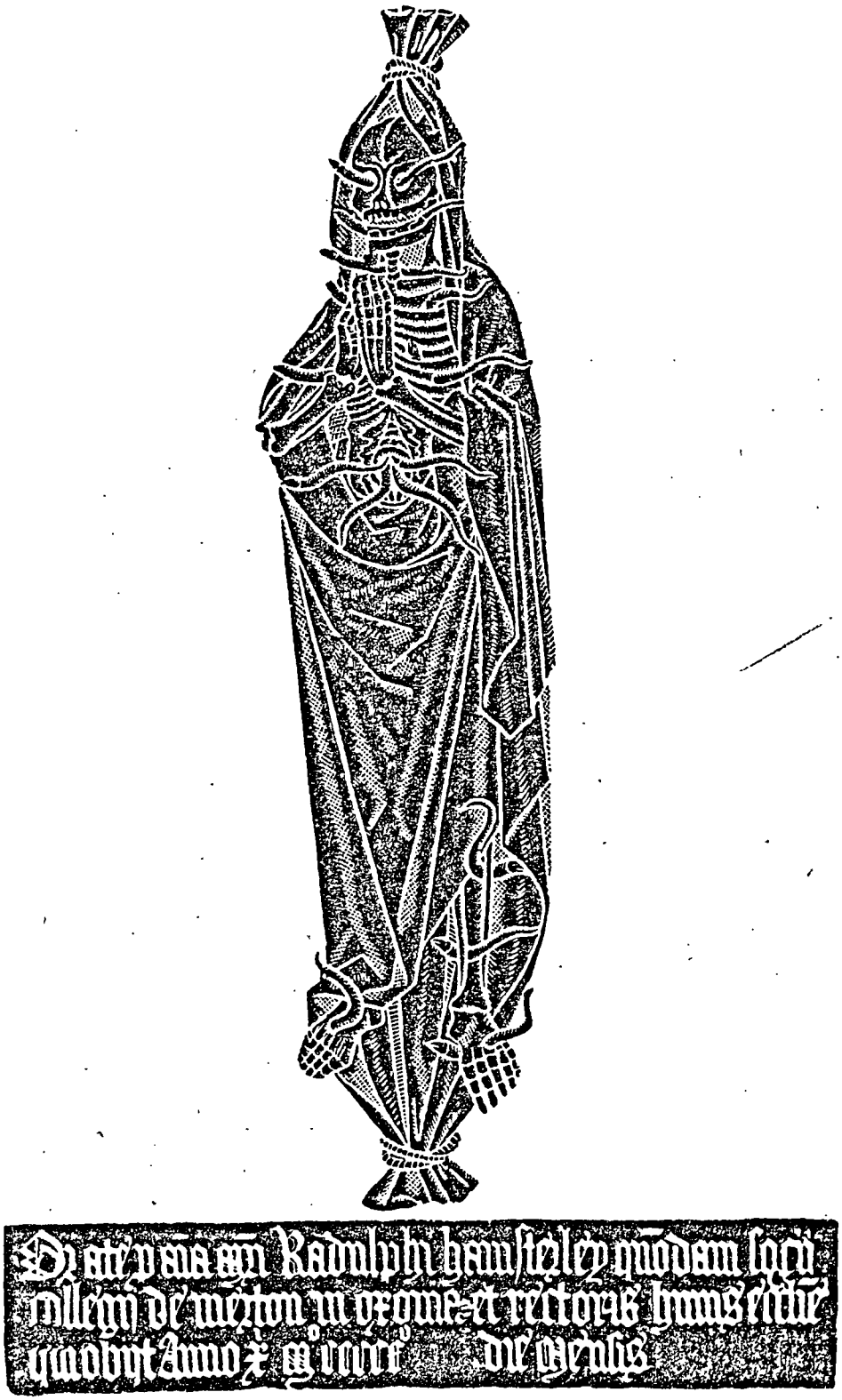
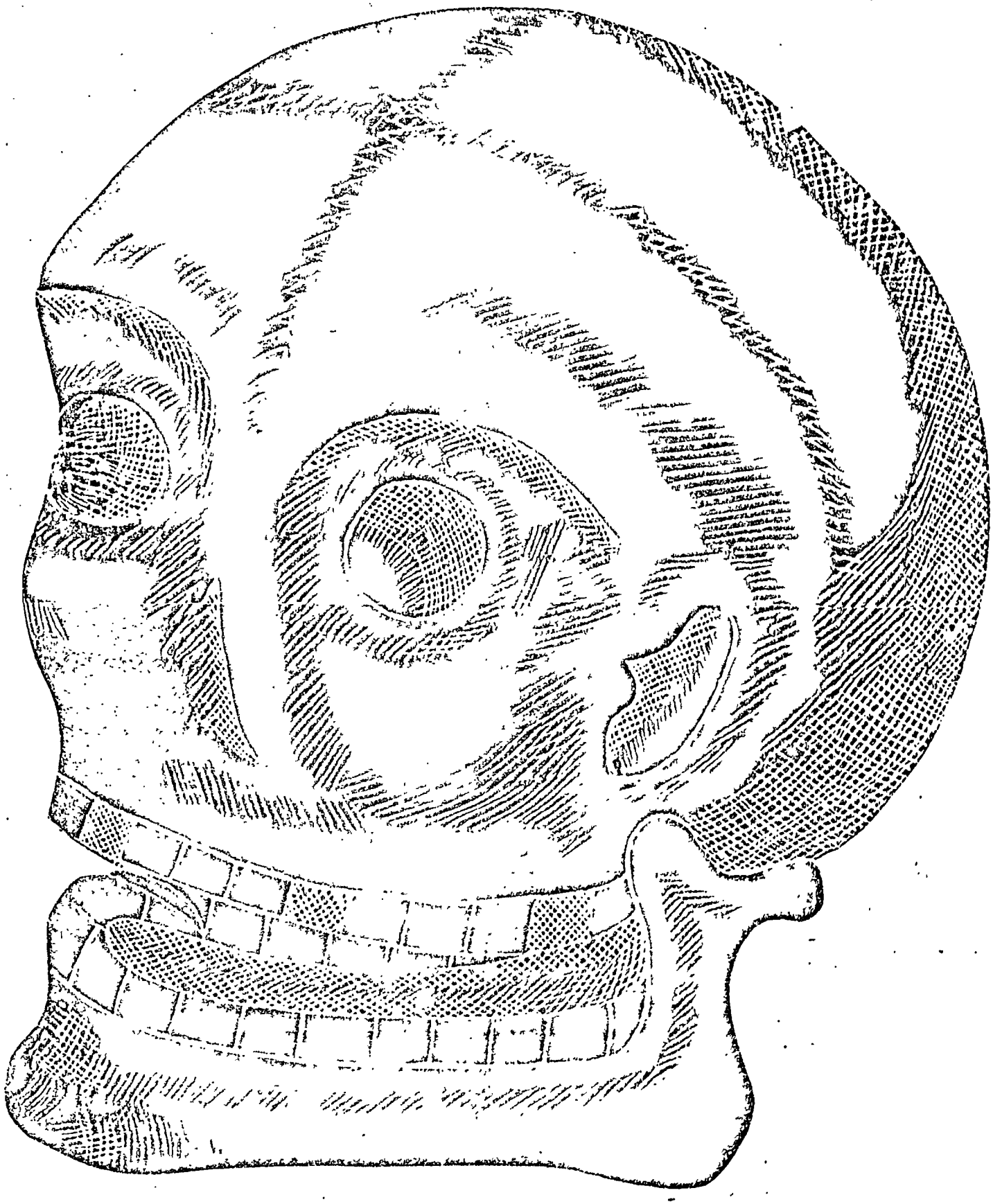


Figure 9. Shroud-brass of the Rev. Ralph Hamsterley. *c.* 1510–15. Oddington, Oxon

From: L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth 1955) p. 215.

(See p. 501)

Death's head (much reduced) from brass to John Daynes, 1527, Beeston Regis, Norfolk.



Here after folowyth a mornynge remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the noble pryncess Margarete countesse of Rychemonde & Derbye moder vnto kynge Henry the. vii. & grandame to oure souerayne lorde that nowe is/ vppon whose soule almyghty god haue mercy.

a)

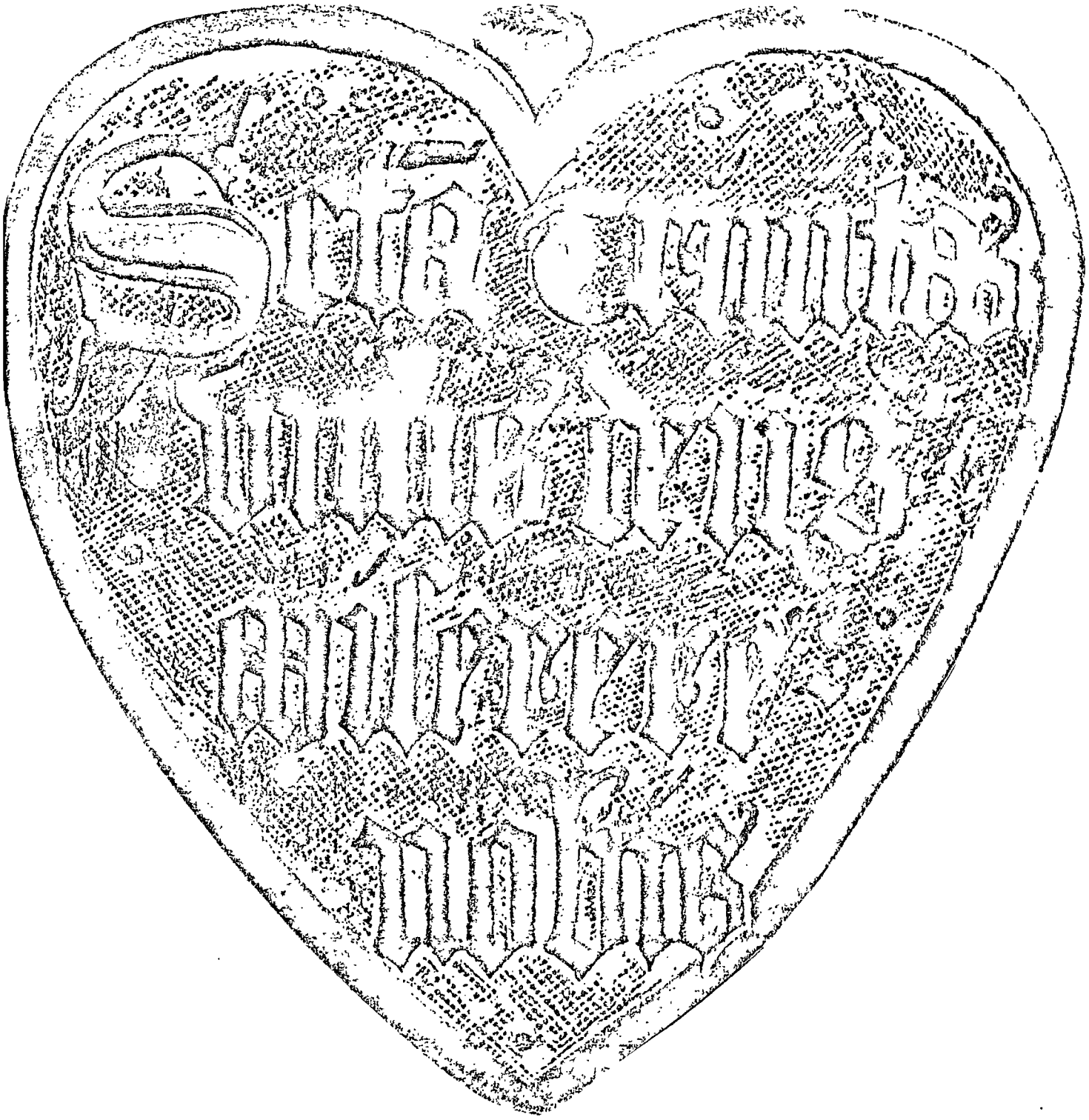
¶ A chanon the whiche at parys dyd
Ad they his seruyce in the fyre dyde
At the fourth lesson alowde he cryed
Saying I am dampned for my pryde

b)

FUNERALS (See p. 502)

a) From: STC 10891, Hodnett 895

b) From: Horae, 1533, STC 15981.5



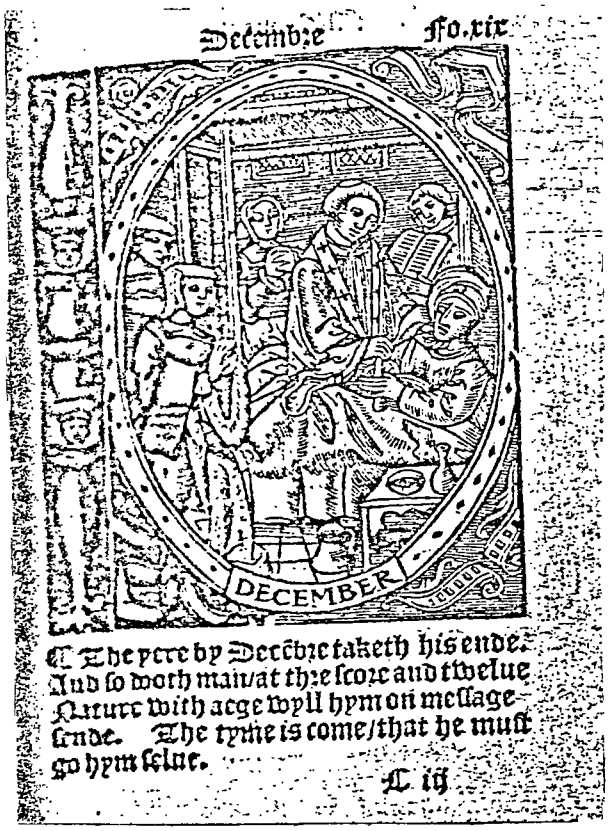
HEART BRASS (much reduced)

to Christ. Gonson et al., 1543,

Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.

(See pp. 543; 420 n. 499)

DEATH-BED ILLUSTRATIONS

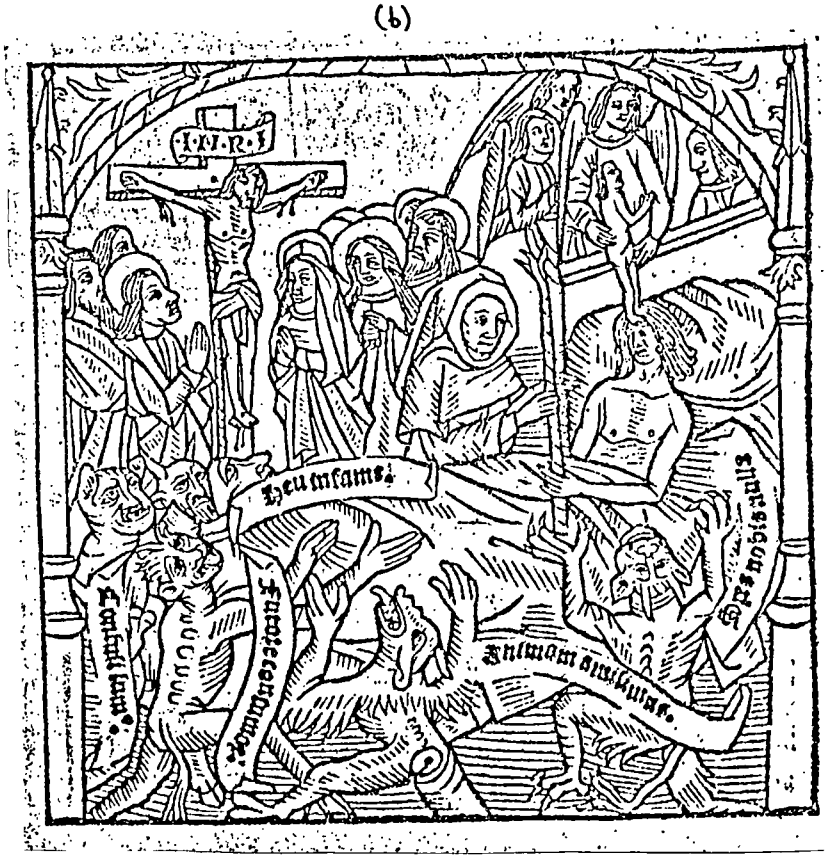


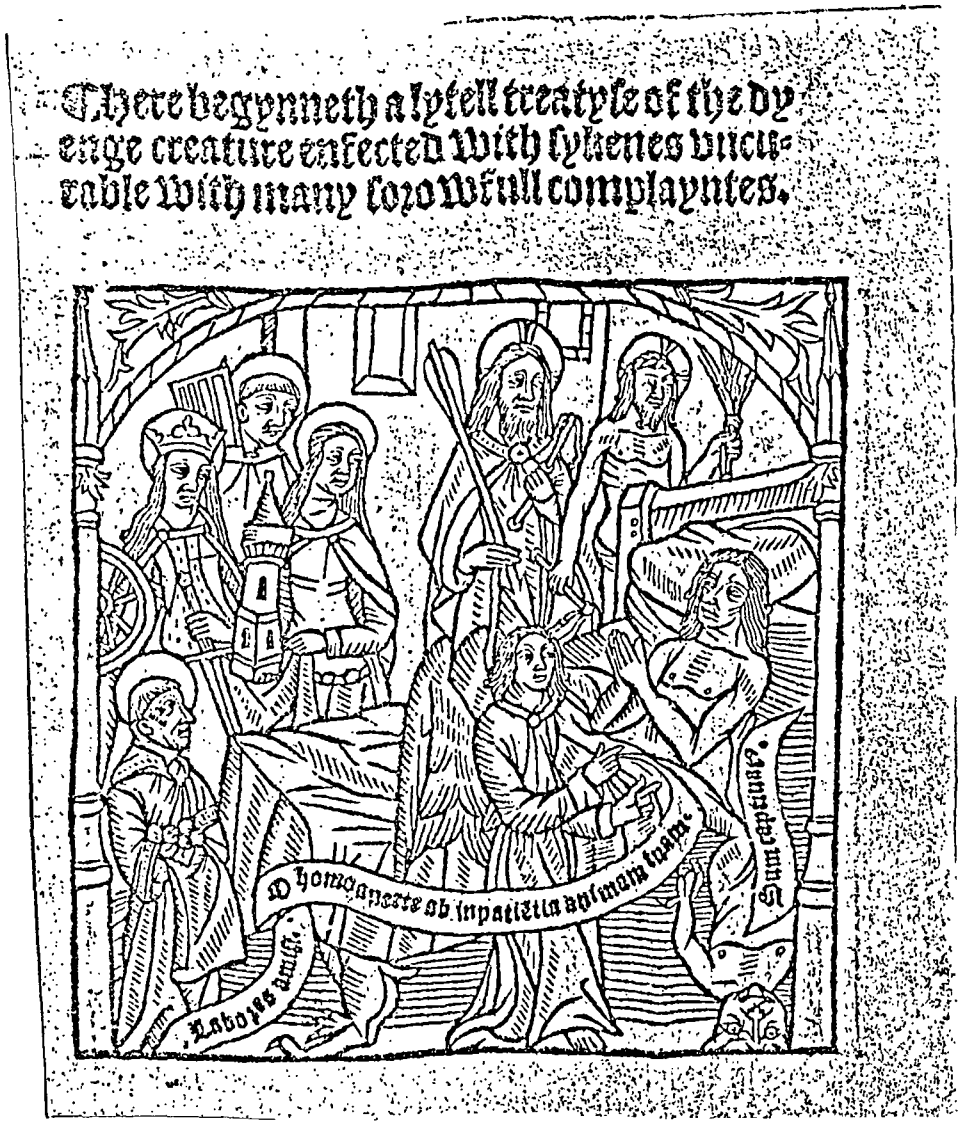
(a)

a) The Last Rites from Horae, 1533, STC 15981.5 (See p.550)

b) Salvation of a soul from The dayange creature, 1506, before STC 6034, Hodnett 510. (See p.552)

(b)


I.N.R.I.
Heu mihi!
Fac misericordiam!
Fac misericordiam!
Fac misericordiam



(a) TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE OVERCOME.

From: before STC 6034, 1506, Hodnett 507

(See p. 556)

¶ I telle you for a suertye/Hen ce forthe shall yese the sonne of man sittinge one the mightly righthande of god / and at laste

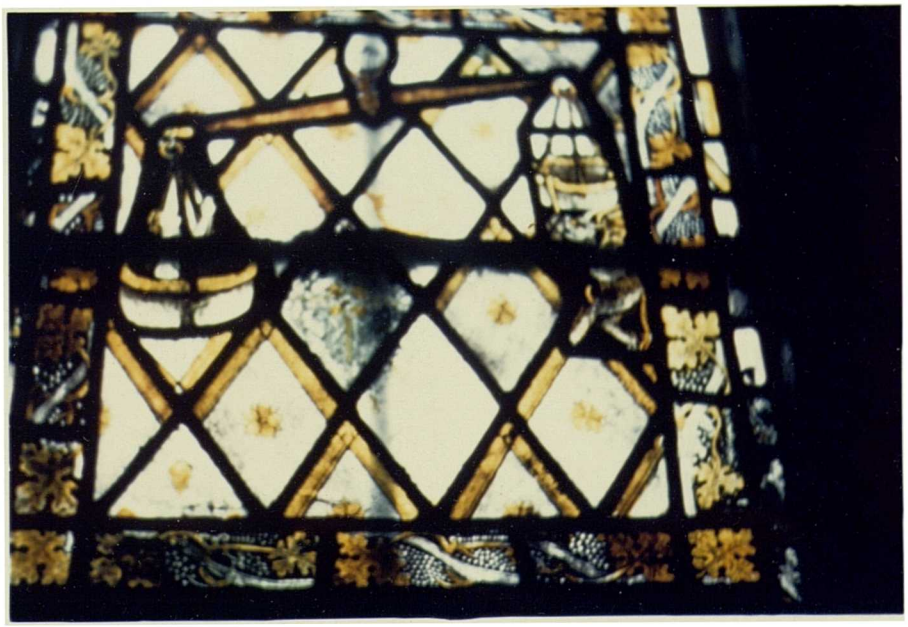
b) THE LAST JUDGEMENT

From: The mystic sweet rosary, STC 21318

(See pp. 596, 600)

S. Michael with balance, flanked by SS Christopher and Peter.
N. aisle, Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon.

THE WEIGHING OF SOULS (see p. 596)

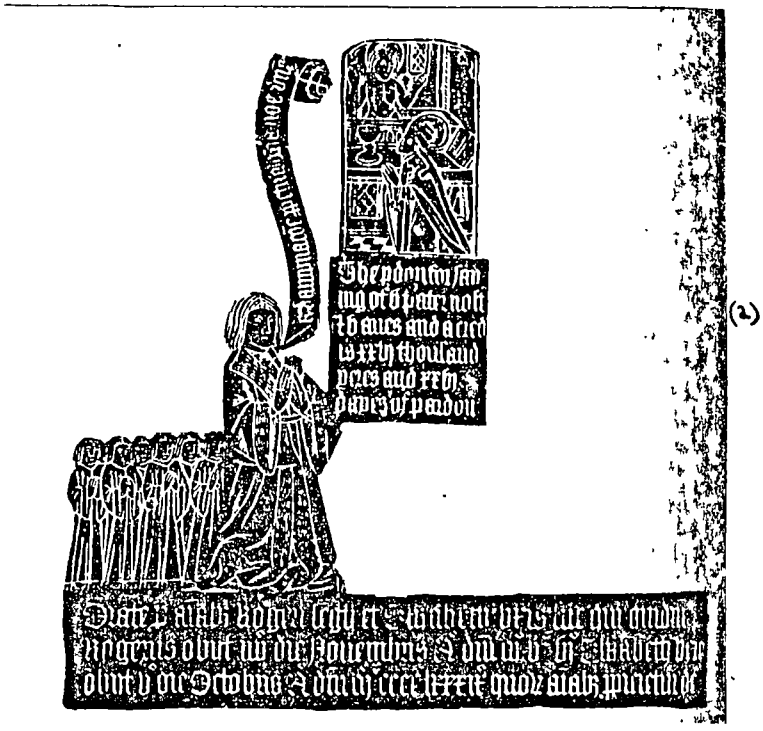


Devil weighing down the balance
N. aisle, Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire

CHRIST IN JUDGEMENT WITH EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION

Hodnett * 1356ª

(See p. 600)



(a)

a) Pardon brass (reduced) to Roger Legh †1506, Macclesfield, Cheshire. (See p. 605) See also XXV above for a similar inscription

(b)

b) Harrowing of hell. Painted woodcut from Sarum Enchiridion, 1530, STC 15965

c) Harrowing of hell. From: Mystic sweet rosary, STC 21318 (See p. 617)

(c)

In my tribylacio I cried vn to the lorde & he harde me. Euen frome the bely of helle I cried and thou hardst my prayer I sunke