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Imagining Doomsday: Aspects of the Last Judgement in Late-Medieval English Vernacular Devotional and Manuscript Culture,
c. 1300-1500
Vol. 1
Daniel Christopher Devry Smith

Venite benedicti patris mei
London, British Library, Harley MS 1706, f. 114v
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To mum and dad, who gave their complete and unquestioning support to all of my decisions in life that have led me here. None of this could have been done without them, and it is to them that I dedicate this thesis, because it is entirely a product of their ceaseless hard work and devotion.
Introduction:

Vtinam saperent & intelligerent, ac nouissima prouiderent, that is: Wolde
god þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden, and purueieden for the laste
thynges!¹

The Myrour of Synneres, Deuteronomy 32:29

The appeal made by the author of the fourteenth-century treatise, the Myrour of Synneres, quoted above, encapsulates the essence of the material contained within this thesis. This author, like so many others, implores his audience to keep the novissima – the Last Things – ever in mind and to prepare for them always. This anxiety over the inevitability – and imminence – of the Last Judgement is a consistent preoccupation of the late-medieval English ‘Doom-genre’. It is a constant reminder that Doomsday will arrive when we least expect it, that we cannot know when this will be, that it will be too late to make amends when the trumpets have sounded, and so now, in this life, is our only chance to prepare ourselves to meet the Judge with a clean conscience. Throughout the material examined by this thesis, a repeated emphasis is placed upon the role played by the ecclesiastical authorities in providing access to salvation; properly administered shrift and penance are the keys to the gates of Paradise once the Judge arrives. This, in turn, underlines one of this thesis’s central propositions, that the Doom was utilised and wielded as a pastoral tool in an attempt to compel people into contrition, penitence, and redemption, without which salvation is simply unattainable. Thus, the development of this material in the later Middle Ages is contingent, like so much other contemporary devotional material, upon the ‘pastoral revolution’ and ecclesiastical reform taking place in England from the late-thirteenth century onwards.

Simultaneous to this, this thesis will propose that the Doom should assume a place of prominence alongside the central axis of late-medieval English devotion, Christocentric contemplation of the Passion. The Doom becomes Christological, or, more appropriately, the wave of Christological devotion that occupies the minds and materials of late-medieval English Christianity appropriates the Doom. Emphasis is placed upon the central – literally,

in iconographical terms – player of the Last Judgement: the ‘Domesman’ or ‘Demester’. The Judge in these texts increasingly becomes the bloodstained, bruised, and broken figure of the crucified Christ. However, he is no longer a pitiable figure – it is not the Man of Sorrows who shall confront us – but a righteous, indignant, majestically-enthroned arbiter, returned not with mercy in his heart, but vindication. The Judge, wounded, bleeding, and crowned, accompanied by the instruments of his torment, which are now become the tools of his Doom, has returned to reap vengeance upon all those individuals who ignored his sacrifice upon the Rood. For those who did not accept Christ’s offer of redemption, who ignored his suffering, it is now too late; we are to face the Judge in all his wrath and accept our consignment to everlasting torment.

The tone of this material on the Doom aligns itself with the vein of late-medieval Christocentric meditation: it is visually stimulating and evocative. In these texts we are confronted by the wrathful Domesman, who harangues us for ignoring his suffering, for slaking his thirst on the Cross with ‘aysell’ and ‘bitter gall’; we are actively complicit in his cruel death. As with contemporary meditations on the Passion, in which we are instructed to imagine ourselves present, as witnesses – with our ‘mind’s eye’ – to the violent events leading up to the Crucifixion, so too are we now compelled to truly visualise the Judge right before us, bleeding afresh, chastising us for our failure to repent. In this vein of Doom-related material, the only protection against this unsettling fate is total dedication to the Passion, to acknowledge and empathise completely with Christ’s inestimable suffering. Only through this can we ensure our safe passage through the gauntlet of Judgement at the end of time.

So, throughout this material, we are frequently confronted with the multiple advents of God – first in wrath, second in love, third in judgement. Each advent is contingent upon the previous, but special emphasis in this regard is placed upon the second and third. As such, this thesis will propose that the material investigated establishes a firm theological corollary between these two comings of Christ. Thus, Doom texts draw our attention to the Passion, and Passion texts direct our attention to the Doom; the two are mutually dependent, forming a singular, overarching soteriological narrative. We regularly encounter the Last Judgement

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3 We are typically familiar with referring to the Last Judgement as Christ’s second coming, which, in fact, it is, being the return of Christ as the Messiah. However, it is the third coming of God and is, therefore, referred to as such frequently in this material. God’s interaction with the Jews as recounted in the Old Testament is considered the first coming; the Incarnation, when Christ is born of the Virgin, is the second; and Christ’s return to judge at the Doom is the third.
and the Passion aligned closely together. It is in Chapter Three that we shall address this issue fully and establish an alternative function of the Doom as a meditative device akin to the late-medieval fixation on meditation upon the Passion. It is through Christ’s sacrifice, and through this alone, that we can attain salvation at the Assize.

All of this leads us to the central argument of this thesis regarding the nature of the Last Judgement in late-medieval English religious culture. It was not a one-dimensional subject, but a multifarious tool, with diverse applications. It had the potential to be wielded in various ways and for numerous purposes. Hence, we arrive at the proposition of this thesis that Doomsday in English medieval textual devotional culture was multi-dimensional, it was not a singular narrative of fear and threat. Interpretation of the Last Judgement as a devotional theme is not as straightforward as has been traditionally implied. As a subject, it is almost universally recognisable; famous examples, particularly of its visual representation, abound and are familiar even to most lay people. Michelangelo’s frescos adorning the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the countless sculpted stone facades of French cathedrals, the quintessential Doom painting on the chancel arch of English parish churches. These are widely known, and the presence of the Last Judgement in these contexts is treated as a self-explanatory universalism, employing, as they usually do, the typical repertoire of visual vocabulary that is often instantly recognisable as a representation of the Doom. However, it is this perceived ubiquity of the Last Judgement that has contributed to its persistent defiance of closer scholarly scrutiny. Precisely because it is such a familiar and recognisable subject, its presence and purpose are not unpacked any further. But, as a devotional subject, the Doom contains a wealth of socio-religious connotations that are waiting to be revealed. Indeed, this absence of scholarly attention is even more pronounced in textual culture, where, despite the Doom’s enormous proliferation, it is almost totally underappreciated.

Thus, in the somewhat obligatory and universal introductory justification for the production of a particular line of scholarly inquiry, we have the resulting thesis. The Last Judgement is a colossally prevalent source in late-medieval English vernacular textual culture. The sheer volume of available material has shaped this thesis into the somewhat amorphous product that it, at first, appears to be. For instance, the first chapter of this thesis delves into the nature of Doomsday in the enormous fourteenth-century vernacular poem, the Cursor Mundi. It could as easily have performed the same type of analysis on the not dissimilar – and more prolific – Prick of Conscience, or the Elucidarium, upon which the
Cursor Mundi relies heavily. But scholarship on the Cursor Mundi is almost completely bereft of any kind of close textual analysis, and for the subject of Doomsday as a whole, such an exercise is almost certainly without precedent. Therefore, this chapter endeavours to offer a close-reading of the Doom in a largely neglected, but very significant, text, and to assess and dissect its multi-faceted functionality. This chapter will demonstrate the raison d’être of this thesis, that the utility of the Doom was enormously diverse. The Last Judgement in the Cursor Mundi is emblematic of the Doom’s role in the wider pastoral objectives of the Church. In this context, it is utilised as an extremely valuable didactic tool with the aim of adjusting people’s behaviour in order to promote contrition and penance. Most importantly, it aspires to do this not simply by terrifying its potential audience, it is not purely spiritual blackmail, but by also encouraging, informing, and reassuring. The account of Doomsday in the Cursor Mundi offers the carrot as well as the stick.

The second chapter, then, which attempts to unravel a complex and heretofore under-studied conglomeration of texts known as The Three Arrows on Doomsday, might feel dissonant compared with the content of the first, which is a close textual analysis, while the second focuses on textual and codicological patterns and relationships. The Three Arrows and its relevant companion material (such as the Myrour of Synneres, quoted above), has a significant manuscript footprint, spanning some thirty separate surviving codices. Scholarly output on the subject, however, is negligible. The research potential within this nodule of texts and manuscripts is enormous; a full study of the Three Arrows on Doomsday would merit a multi-volume, inter-disciplinary project by itself. Indeed, every manuscript containing a copy of the Three Arrows and its companion texts is worthy of a thesis dedicated to its explication. Therefore, its presence here, and the proportion of attention it receives in relation to the wider thesis must be justified. It is proposed that the seemingly dissonant chapters that comprise this thesis are, in fact, stitched together by a series of continuous, unifying threads. At the heart of this is the investigation into the Doom’s utility in a wider late-medieval English devotional context. The discussion of the Three Arrows, akin with that of the Last

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4 Rather interestingly, by the close of the fourteenth century, the Cursor Mundi was perhaps considered somewhat old-fashioned, as the scribe of London, British Library, Additional MS 36983 replaced the Cursor’s account of Doomsday with a long extract from the Prick of Conscience. See Sarah M. Horrall, “‘For the Commun at Understand’; Cursor Mundi and its Background”, in Michael G. Sargent, ed., De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), p. 106.

5 Except for the soon-to-be-published work of Ralph Hanna, which was made public after the chapter on the Three Arrows within this thesis was already complete. Professor Hanna was, however, generous enough to offer the author a preview of his initial paper on the subject, and the research within that paper has been incorporated into this thesis accordingly. This will be elucidated fully in Chapter Two.
Judgement within the Cursor Mundi, attempts to assess the employment of the Doom by these texts as a pastoral tool. Just as the Cursor Mundi wields the Last Judgement as a didactic instrument, so too does the Three Arrows and its accompanying texts. This has already been witnessed in the elaboration of the quotation with which this introduction began: The Three Arrows, like its companion, the Myrour of Synneres, and like the Cursor Mundi, employs the Doom as a means of promoting better, more diligent Christian behaviour in its prospective audience.

Each chapter of this thesis, then, attempts to offer a separate perspective on this same theme: the first is a close-reading of the Doom in a microcosmic example, the Cursor Mundi; the second is an assessment of the transmission and physical utilisation of the Doom within a codicological context, taking the Three Arrows and its manuscripts as its case study; finally, this mission is compounded by the third chapter, already alluded to above, which is an assessment of the Last Judgement’s role in later medieval English devotional practice and its prominent position within this, utilising a broader spectrum of materials that were investigated throughout the entirety of this thesis’s research activities.

So, although it may appear that there is an air of arbitrariness in the selection of materials that comprise this thesis, like many major research projects the final structural outcome is due in no small part to happenstance. It is the product not of a priori hypotheses but of source-led research; strands of investigation that were expected to be brief – such as that into the nature of the Three Arrows – proved to become substantial. As such, there is not a standard literary review included in this thesis. Such an exercise proved futile because of the sheer variety of material that this thesis engages with, including sermons, drama, devotional literature, poetry, theology, and visual culture. An attempt at producing a synthesised review of the relevant scholarship would have simply been a hotchpotch amalgamation of literature from across these numerous disciplines, such as vernacular textual theory, patristic theology, homiletics, pastoralia, poetry, and linguistics, most of which would have been found, ultimately, not to directly correspond with the objective and actual content of this thesis. Usually, one must sift through the indices of these broader studies to find isolated references to the Doom, and these tend to be merely constituent pieces within greater historical syntheses on the subjects noted above. In spite of the subject’s enormous proliferation, there is a dearth of sustained research that focuses directly upon the Last Judgement. There are no particularly ‘canonical’ studies to which one can turn when beginning an investigation into the Doom.
So, what this project has instead tried to accomplish is to forge a central spine from which emerges each of these runaway research tangents, but which keeps them anchored to a core thesis, i.e., that the Last Judgement acts as a viable case study of broader late-medieval English religious culture and devotional behaviour. In so doing, this thesis straddles multiple disciplines, attempting to produce a synergised conclusion in which the combined value of each chapter’s findings is greater than the isolated treatment of each individual case study. It is acknowledged that there are flaws inherent to such an approach, and this is something that was often wrestled with throughout the production of the thesis. It might be argued that the resulting product of this approach does not produce a centralised, coherent outcome. However, it is contested that the results of this approach are defensible on the basis that the focus on Doomsday as a theme spanning a range of overlapping material is unique and makes a worthy contribution to the wider study of devotional culture in late-medieval England. This thesis seeks to highlight just how much research potential lies in the subject of Doomsday within this wider context. Accordingly, it is proposed that this thesis underscores the fact that the Last Judgement is one of the most untapped resources in the field of English medieval religious culture, across multiple disciplines.

However, there are certainly noteworthy examples of scholarly forays into this eschatological material across the disciplines referred to above, which are certainly worthy of acknowledgement and comment, even if only to reinforce the point that sustained examination of the specific subject of the Last Judgement itself remains elusive. Perhaps the most obvious of these fall under the umbrella of art history, wherein the Doom is arguably at its most prolific in the surviving source material. In 2004, in a collective publication on medieval eschatology proceeding from the contributions to the 12th Harlaxton Symposium on Medieval Studies, Nigel Morgan (in an essay only indirectly relevant to the Last Judgement) appropriately observed that, ‘surprisingly, no systematic study has ever been made of […] English Last Judgements’. To this author’s knowledge, this remains the case, in spite of the English artistic Last Judgement’s remarkable proliferation: ‘No other picture can have so much affected the thoughts and feelings of medieval Christians’, claims A. Caiger-Smith; a sentiment with which this author certainly agrees, as do many other art historians, who routinely acknowledge the significance of the Last Judgement in the visual arts, particularly

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in mural painting. Perhaps most poignantly, The Doom even outnumbers the Crucifixion as a scene in English mural painting, which should reinforce the argument for the Last Judgement’s severely underrated significance that this thesis is proposing.

Indeed, the original research premise of this thesis was inspired by the profligacy of the Last Judgement as a subject in the visual arts of the Middle Ages, and the intention was to compile a survey – of the type whose absence Nigel Morgan was lamenting – of Doom imagery across England, cataloguing the Doom’s iconographical patterns, measuring regional dispersion, documenting chronological development, and so forth. The obvious dissimilarity between this concept and the current thesis is evidence of the incredible vastness of material pertaining to the Doom. Such is the array of sources ripe for scholarly inquiry that the project rapidly shifted from one underdeveloped medium into another, which was even more sorely underrepresented, the Last Judgement in textual culture. The Cursor Mundi’s original relevance to this project, for example, was to act as a textual comparative to contemporary Doomsday visual iconography. It swiftly became apparent, however, that this text by itself was an extremely fecund source for exploring the concept of the Last Judgement in the English medieval imagination. Thus, focus on the visual vocabulary of the Doom was replaced with an investigation into the verbal vernacular, rendering the original idea of a macro-survey of artistic representations of the English Last Judgement still embryonic. Any

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7 ‘The grandest in size and the most fundamental in theme of all the traditional subjects represented in wall-paintings was the Last Judgement […] No other picture can have so much affected the thoughts and feelings of medieval Christians […] Except for images of St Christopher, the Judgement was by far the most frequent of the themes of wall-painting: it almost always occupied the most arresting position in churches, the space over the chancel arch, and its characteristic features were the most vivid and memorable of all the pictures presented to medieval parishioners’, A. Caiger-Smith, English Medieval Mural Paintings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 31; ‘Although there is a great variety both of subjects and their treatment in medieval mural paintings, certain subjects tended, in course of time, to be assigned to recognised positions. Of these the two principal, at any rate in the 15th century, were the Doom over the chancel arch and St Christopher opposite the main entrance’, H. Munro Caulfield, Suffolk Churches and their Treasures (Ipswich: The Boydell Press, 1982, 5th Edition), p. 194; ‘Wall paintings of the Doom [are among] the most striking and memorable images of the Middle Ages […] [Doom] paintings were usually the largest single painting in the church’, Roger Rosewell, Medieval Wall Paintings (Botley: Shire Publications, 2014), p. 41. These observations only cover the single medium of mural painting, but the Doom is prolific across all the major visual media of the Middle Ages, in manuscript illumination, ivory carving, stone and alabaster sculpture, enamel, metallurgy, and so on. Indeed, a very recent exhibition (February-May 2017) at the Met Cloisters in New York, ‘Small Wonders: Gothic Boxwood Miniatures’, which this author happened to encounter, revealed numerous examples of the most delicately exquisite carvings of the Last Judgement – variously with ‘oost of aungelis & of seyntes for to deeme þe quyke and þe deede’ (from the T-V of the Three Arrows), and the dead rising from their graves, all in splendid miniature form – in wooden prayer beads, truly the most micro of visual media imaginable (See Appendix 3.13).

8 ‘The number of pictures of the Doom […] far exceeds even the number of Crucifixions; and this fact will assume even greater importance when we have examined one or two Dooms in detail, and have seen how large and full of figures these pictures are – each being large enough to employ several painters for a considerable time, and complex and difficult enough to demand some sort of professional artists,’ Frank Kendon, Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages: An Introductory Essay on the Folk Influence in Religious Art (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd, 1927), p. 120.
broad discussion of the visual arts in medieval England is incomplete without an
acknowledgement of the Doom, particularly in mural painting, and, crucially, broad strokes is
all the subject has received. The Doom remains a severely under-mined resource, which this
thesis has attempted to rectify in at least one of the subject’s many lacunae.

Conversely, the literary and artistic manifestations of the Book of Revelation have
been the subject of numerous dedicated studies. In particular, the series of illuminated
Apocalypse manuscripts, predominantly originating in England and France and rising in
popularity from the mid-thirteenth century, has attracted significant and ongoing scholarly
interest for the last century. The Book of Revelation in general has been the subject of
numerous studies devoted to its impact not only on art, but on virtually all aspects of
medieval culture, from liturgy to social unrest, particularly in the works of Bernard McGinn
and Richard K. Emmerson. At this juncture, a crucial distinction must be clarified: the
Apocalypse and the Doom, despite regular conflation, must be treated as separate thematic
entities. The Judgement is undeniably a constituent scene in the Apocalypse sequence, and it
features accordingly in textual accounts and visual representations of the narrative. However,
the Doom as a standalone subject exists exclusive from the wider Apocalypse sequence and
very rarely makes reference – visual or verbal – to key criteria that define the scene as
described in the Book of Revelation. Instead, the Last Judgement as an isolated subject is an
interpretation of the contents of the gospels, particularly of Matthew 25 (with the exception
of Apocalypse 20:11-15, concerning the resurrection of the dead and their confrontation with
the Judge).

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Allowing for the fact that the Book of Revelation is one of the most controversial, intriguing, and ambiguous books of the Bible, and its cultural reach is extensive, it is not surprising that it has received such attention. However, when the volume of primary source material pertaining to the Apocalypse is compared to that of the Last Judgement, there is a significant disparity in their respective receipt of scholarly attention. In the visual arts, the Apocalypse is rare, while the Doom is rife;11 in literature, the Apocalypse is reserved for sophisticated treatment among elite theological circles, while the Doom is an omnipresent feature in homiletic, pastoral, and devotional material. This thesis would again contend that it is the seeming ubiquity of the Last Judgement in text and image in the Middle Ages which has allowed it to defy closer scrutiny. Moreover, there is perhaps a perceived simplicity to the Doom as a subject. There is no lack of praise for the eloquence, grandeur, and, in many cases, abject horror of medieval descriptions and representations of the Last Judgement, embodying so effectively the cataclysmic moment of Christ's return and the final moments of life on Earth as we know it, but this tends to be where analysis ends. And, of course, this thesis wishes to challenge these perceptions and open the subject up to much closer investigation.

It must be noted, however, that the Last Judgement has not been entirely neglected. In 1995/96 Professors Pamela M. King and Meg Twycross directed ‘The York Doomsday Project’, which sought to connect all of the evidence surrounding what is probably the most famous cycle of the surviving fifteenth-century York Mystery Plays, that of Doomsday. King, Twycross, et al., explored the various social and religious aspects of these performances, seeking to demonstrate the fascinating links between the fanfare of typical Last Judgement iconography and contemporary drama.12 A particularly interesting observation by Twycross explains that ‘records of props and costumes provide evidence that the fifteenth-century York Mercers were attempting to recreate the traditional Doomsday iconography as a stage picture.’13 Publications emerging from this investigation can be found in the proceedings of

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11 ‘While the Apocalypse was a rare subject for monumental representation, the Judgement appeared in countless churches in the later Middle Ages.’ Meg Gay, ‘Monumental Apocalypse Cycles of the Fourteenth Century’, unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of York, Centre for Medieval Studies, September 1999, p. 7.
the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium, described above. In this, King and Twycross discuss the concept of ‘Doomsday as Hypertext’, in which they suggest that,

[A] Doomsday image can work by a series of hyperlinks. Any Doom image, text or representation functions in this way because of the underlying narrative properties of the account in Matthew XXV.14

Such a reading allowed for a worshipper to make an individualised response to an image or text, controlled by their own education and experience, encouraging the reader ‘to make imaginative connections outside the frame of the immediate text, verbal or visual, in order to enrich their personal response to the subject matter of that text.’15

The works of Caroline Walker Bynum within this area are certainly worthy of comment, too. Firstly, her monograph, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336, is a good example of a focused foray into this material. It is, however, by definition, only indirectly related to the Last Judgement, as it concerns itself primarily with the concept of bodily resurrection through Christian metaphor and theological treatment over the duration of its stipulated timeframe.16 It is not only the universal resurrection at the Last Judgement with which Walker Bynum engages, but the broader concept as a whole, including the resurrection of Christ.17 Walker Bynum clarifies her mission: ‘The story I tell is thus a story of ideas about body, placed against the background of persecution and conflict, gender and hierarchy, and of norms and rituals for the care of the dead.’18 It is, nevertheless, particularly pertinent to some of the discussion which takes place in Chapter One, as the Cursor-poet concerns himself greatly with explicating the intricacies (and the incredibility) of the corporeal resurrection. The array of material contained within Walker Bynum’s work clearly demonstrates the much wider fascination – and controversy – that this subject continually garnered throughout the Middle Ages. Furthermore, she acknowledges the significance of beliefs pertaining to the afterlife and the end of time in their relevance to ideas

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16 '[a prefatory anecdote] also reflects one important constant in theological discussions of resurrection from the early church to the late twentieth century: the resurrection of the body is always connected to divine power'; ‘The seed is the oldest Christian metaphor for the resurrection of the body.’ Caroline Walker Bynum, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336 (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 2, 3.
about the body.  \(^{19}\) Secondly, there is Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages, which Walker Bynum co-edited with Paul Freedman. This, though, is once again a broad treatment of the wider subject of eschatology.\(^{20}\) The majority of the papers contained within this volume conform to the above-described paradigm of assigning far more time to the infrequent representations of the Apocalypse in medieval sources than to the profligate representations of the Doom. Ultimately, therefore, we are still operating without significant precedent when undertaking a focused investigation of the Last Judgement on a scale as large as this.

Elsewhere on the theological aspects of judgement, Rachel Fulton has provided what might be argued to be the closest thing to a monograph on the Doom. In her 2003 publication, From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200, Fulton explores the prominence of devotion to the crucified Christ and his grieving mother through the lenses of liturgical performance, private prayer, doctrine, and art. The relevance of this text is discussed further in Chapter Three, particularly in relation to Fulton’s proposed explanation for the perceived transition from the awesome Judge to the human Christ at the Crucifixion in western Christianity. Christ’s failure to return after the first millennium precipitated, in Fulton’s view, a necessary revision of liturgical practice and devotion as a result of this apocalyptic disappointment. Overall, Fulton’s main concern is to explain changes in devotional behaviour across this period, a highly pertinent topic, but one which still distances itself sufficiently from the event cited in her title, the Judgement, to warrant this thesis’s observation that the Doom itself, and its many proliferations, remains under-researched.

Studies pertaining to the processes, practices, and beliefs surrounding death and dying in the Middle Ages are certainly a viable resource to refer to when hunting for scholarly discussion of the Last Judgement. Paul Binski dedicates the final chapter of his 1996 work, Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation, which is cited frequently throughout this thesis, to ‘Death and the Afterlife’, which encompasses some extensive discussion of the Last Judgement’s role within this topic. Binski’s primary concern is the evolution of theological handling of the afterlife and the subsequent effects of this on real-time beliefs and practices.

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\(^{19}\) ‘Since resurrection must also be understood against the background of changing assumptions about the afterlife, the soul, and the end of time, it will be useful to summarize these briefly here.’ Walker Bynum, The Resurrection of the Body, p 13.

Within this, the Last Judgement is largely discussed in its function as servicing the wider doctrines on Heaven, Hell, and particularly Purgatory. Binski cites numerous Last Judgement images, but their utilisation in his discussion is often in relation to developments in the depiction of sin and punishment, and of the heavenly/infernal denizens surrounding the Judge. Nevertheless, Binski’s discussion of the afterlife certainly represents a sound starting point when investigating the wider context of the Last Judgement and its role in later medieval belief and practice. In particular, it is useful for its discussion of the bodily resurrection preceding the Last Judgement, and use is made of Binski’s discussion of this controversial subject in Chapter One, as is his exploration of the ultimate heavenly reward that awaits the saved, the Beatific Vision. Binski’s premise is, primarily, art-historical theory and its alignment with late-medieval theological development, and the Last Judgement still only represents a smaller component within his wider treatment of the broad subject of medieval death.

In archaeology (of death, at least), we encounter the same references to the Last Judgement as we do in other disciplines. In her 2012 publication, Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course, Roberta Gilchrist dedicates chapter five to the cemetery, exploring the afterlife, burial, and rituals associated with these. A particularly interesting point that Gilchrist raises relates to the prominence of the Last Judgement in the parish church:

> The parish church was perceived as a microcosm for all of Christian cosmology. Its topography encompassed the central eschatology of medieval Christianity, deriving from the parable of the sheep and the goats […] The concept of Doomsday dominated the space and imagery of the parish church, with the pivotal point marked by the chancel arch and rood screen.21

Gilchrist’s study pertains to the physical layout of the spaces that defined medieval life, and the Last Judgement played a significant role in the organisation of those spaces. Indeed, following on from the quote above, I would draw attention to a powerful piece of symbolism that this layout gives rise to, which has not been fully unpacked in scholarship: the threshold created by the rood screen between chancel and nave, loomed over by the crucified Christ, would often have been directly beneath or adjacent to a Doom painting (given that the chancel arch is the most prominent location for such a device), with a mirror image of Christ, now enthroned as the Judge, displaying the very same bloody wounds. In order to transition

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from the secular nave – representing earthly life – to the celestial chancel – paradise – one must pass beneath this dualistic Christological image, echoing the moment of the Last Judgement itself when one is confronted by this very same figure.\footnote{This concept is touched upon further in Chapter Three, as the symbolism of the crucified is discussed in relation to the manifestation of this same bloodied, but now-majestic figure, in the person of the Judge.} The potential for investigating the physical spatial alignment of representations of Christ at his first and second comings is something which this thesis will pay heed to in Chapter Three, but which is still largely unacknowledged in scholarship. To reinforce the point – admittedly a little facetiously – being made throughout this brief literature review, the cover illustration on the hardbound edition to this publication is a segment of the well-known Wenhaston Doom, painted on boards, c. 1500, in the church of St Peter, Wenhaston, Suffolk. Such a selection implies that a pivotal point in the medieval life course is death, and, more importantly, final judgement before Christ. The selection of Last Judgement imagery in this manner is commonplace, as many depictions of the Last Judgement are undeniably arresting, and they regularly represent some of the most famous surviving images across all of European medieval art. However, it is precisely this universality of the subject’s usage that, this thesis contends, has precluded deeper, more meaningful investigation of its significance. Another publication regularly cited throughout this thesis, particularly in Chapter One, is Eamon Duffy’s 2005 survey, \textit{The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580}, which dedicates seventy pages to the Last Things. Duffy’s approach to the novissima aligns with the intention of this thesis to revise the perception of the medieval Last Judgement as being solely terrifying and morbid.\footnote{‘The influence of the cult of the dead was ubiquitous. Yet it would be a mistake to deduce from its ubiquity that late medieval English religion was morbid or doom-laden’, Eamon Duffy, \textit{The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 302.} Despite such an extensive discussion of the final aspects of medieval life, Duffy dedicates no specific portion of these seventy pages to the Last Judgement. Death, Purgatory, and indulgences all receive sub-headings, but the Last Judgement does not. Perhaps the closest Duffy comes to this is in the discussion of the Works of Mercy, which do directly pertain to Doomsday, given that they are the key criteria by which Christ will decide the fates of individual souls. So, once again, the Doom features as a supplement (whose significance is apparently already self-explanatory) to a wider discourse on devotional practices and the afterlife that is consistently more interested in the process of death and the final destination of the soul, rather than with the pivotal moment in Christian salvation at which that destination is decided.
Ultimately, this is the nature of investigating the Last Judgement, one must trawl through the indices of scholarly publications across a broad range of genres for keywords, such as ‘Doomsday’, ‘death’, and ‘the afterlife’, in order to find passing comments on the prominence of the Last Judgement as a topic in the Middle Ages, but which ultimately utilise it as an accessory to discussions of other aspects of medieval life, death, and belief. Most of this scholarly inquiry into the Doom takes place in the form of sub-headings, as constituents in broader studies across various disciplines, such as mural painting, devotional behaviour, death, manuscript study, etc. In art, for example, instead of being relegated to sub-sections – which consistently claim its prominence – the Last Judgement is worthy of a singular study dedicated to its myriad representation. It is yet to receive any such focused attention across these disciplines.

There is, frankly, almost no end to the amount of material that potentially could have held relevance to this thesis. Every one of the sources investigated in its production proliferates almost limitless potential research connections. In no instance is this more apparent than in the preliminary research conducted into vernacular sermons that address the subject of the Last Judgement. In the appendices at the end of this thesis can be found detailed transcriptions of several examples of these sermons, as well as a table containing information on over one-hundred vernacular sermons that pertain to the Doom in some respect. The most frequent liturgical occasion for a sermon to take the Last Judgement as its subject is the Second Sunday in Advent. The first Sunday in Advent was also popular, as was Septuagesima. The latter takes as its gospel reading Matthew 20:1-16, which describes the parable of the workers in the vineyard. The moral purpose of this tale was easily rendered into an explication of the Last Judgement. Advent, meanwhile, makes for a fairly obvious place to discuss the Last Judgement, since, as has been mentioned, the Doom frequently falls under discussion of the multiple advents of God. Furthermore, the gospel reading for the Second Sunday in Advent is Luke 21:25-33 (Erunt signa in sole, etc.), which is overtly connected to the coming of Christ in Judgement. All of this quantitative data is ripe for qualitative analysis, but would, once again, fill the covers of another thesis.

As noted in the appendix, these examples were compiled exclusively from the Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons, and they are all the instances within this four-volume production that make explicit reference to the Last Judgement. Punctuating these examples, however, are several that are not described by the Repertorium as pertaining to the Doom, yet this author has adjudged that they are, indeed, relevant. Consequently, there are
undoubtedly others that slipped through the net because of the Repertorium’s chosen system of classification. Furthermore, even this extensive sample, compiled as it is from the meticulous resource that is the Repertorium, is far from exhaustive. It does not, for example, consider the equally significant corpus of Latin and Old English sermons that pertain to the Last Judgement. The simple fact that of the 1481 total sermons contained across the Repertorium’s four volumes, over one-hundred in some way pertain to the Last Judgement, demonstrates the sheer quantity of material that is related to the Doom in late-medieval devotional culture.

Thus, the Last Judgement was an extremely popular and highly amorphous subject that was moulded, manipulated, and utilised in a number of different ways. It was used as a pastoral tool, as a prophylaxis against sin, and as a warning to repent (particularly in promoting the value of the ecclesiastical sacraments in this regard). It is versatile and multidimensional not only in its practical applications but in its very significance to worshippers. To read a textual description of the Doom or to view a Last Judgement painting has a completely subjective effect upon an individual dependent upon their own personal perspective. The state of one’s own conscience determines one’s reaction – whether positive or negative – to the threat of inevitable judgement by Christ. So, this thesis, most importantly, attempts to overturn the typical perception of the medieval Doom as a one-dimensional onslaught of terror. The Last Judgement, as the first chapter of this thesis will demonstrate, presented significant opportunity for pleasure and comfort; to the benevolent, it represented the onset of a new, greater reality.

24 For example, St Bernard’s prominent sermon on the Last Judgement, discussed in Chapter Two. See also, for example, Veronica O’Mara, “Go ye curselynges, to euerlasting fier”: Doomsday in Middle English Prose Sermons, in Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom, pp. 277-291. O’Mara’s article provides a useful starting place for pursuing the Doom into Old English homiletic material: ‘Even the most casual student of Old English is immediately struck by the prevalence of judgement as a topic in the literature’, p. 278. See the citations on this page for O’Mara’s references to this material.
This extract from the Cursor Mundi, an English vernacular poem dating to the turn of the fourteenth century, relays the ruination that Christ’s second coming will unleash upon the earth, grinding life to a halt and forcing humanity to its knees to face the Divine Judge. The earth and everything upon it will be incinerated in a terrifying display of God’s power, returning it to the nothingness from which it was created. This is the typical perception of the medieval Last Judgement: a cataclysmic moment of fear and destruction, with the majestic Judge enthroned, utterly inexorable, implacably dividing men, women and children into the chosen and the rejected, rewarding them with or condemning them to their eternal fates. In this light, one might easily view the Last Judgement in the Middle Ages as the embodiment
of a kind of spiritual blackmail, a powerful tool in the hands of the clergy, utilised for the singular purpose of coercing people into better Christian behaviour. But something which is too frequently overlooked, often in favour of a fascination with the morbid fate of the damned, is that the Last Judgement offered salvation to those willing and ready to receive it; the above extract does not only promise doom, it also provides hope. After the destruction of this ‘mide erth’, there is the promise of renewal and the construction of a better world; there is the guarantee of justice, divinely and incontrovertibly conducted, which will right the countless wrongs in this life; there is the chance of a second existence, with assurances of limitless vitality (which the Cursor-poet details with relish), endless happiness, and replenished youth; there is the prospect of reunification with loved ones, all whilst being restored to physical perfection in God’s image. To understand the medieval Last Judgement as simply a horrifying spectacle of punishment and terror, therefore, is to ignore its potential meaning to many in a medieval audience. To those who had followed Christ’s laws and lived benevolent lives, Doomsday represented the implementation of a new, superior world order. It was undoubtedly utilised as a tool, but not just for inspiring fear; it could also inspire hope, comfort and reassurance; it was used to edify and to enlighten, to entertain and to satirise. Thus, it is the intention of this chapter to elucidate the multiple faces of the medieval Doom within the Cursor Mundi, exploring their usage and analysing their effect.

The Cursor Mundi in Context

The Cursor Mundi is an English vernacular poem, comprising about twenty-five-thousand lines of verse, which are almost entirely in rhyming couplets.\(^\text{26}\) It was composed, according to Sarah M. Horrall, 'by an unknown poet in the north of England about 1300.'\(^\text{27}\) The poem details scriptural history from Genesis to the Last Judgement, while in some versions it is seasoned with apocryphal content dedicated to the Virgin and a typically post-Lateran IV pastoral rendition of the Catholic catechism, describing penance, the Deadly Sins, Absolution and Cursing, and so forth.\(^\text{28}\) The poem is an astonishing linguistic and literary achievement; it is complex, comprehensive, and a riveting tour de force of Middle English poetry. The Cursor Mundi is, in the words of Horrall, ‘the longest, the most widely copied,
and indeed the most intellectually sophisticated of the Middle English biblical paraphrases’, by which knowledge of scripture and scriptural exegesis was transferred de cella ad seculum.29

Cursor Mundi, when translated literally, can be understood as the "Runner of the World", but the poem's title is best interpreted idiomatically, perhaps, as "the course of world (i.e., biblical) history". The title in the vernacular, as supplied by some of the poem's surviving copies, is informative in this regard: 'þis is þe best boke of alle, þe cours of þe werlde men dos hit calle', 'Here bigynneþ þe boke of storyes þat men callen cursor mundi'.30 These headings provide some insight into contemporary classification of the Cursor Mundi as a text, particularly the latter's description of the poem as a "boke of storyes", which perhaps reveals to some extent how the poem may have been perceived and used. This description is all the more revealing when considered in relation to the poet's own comparison of his text with other popular contemporary 'rimes' and 'romans', which will be examined in more detail later.31 The poem's intent is probably best summarised, though, by the poet himself, who, in the prologue, describes it thusly:

In crist nam our bok be-gin,

Cursur o werld man aght it call,

For al mast it ouer-rennes all.

Tak we our biginning þan

Of him þat al þis werld bigan.32

The poet clearly anticipated that his magnum opus would encompass the entirety of world history, from God's creation of the world to its conclusion at the Last Judgement.

Unfortunately, the original text of this colossal undertaking is not extant, and none of the existing copies are holographs. In the one-hundred-and-fifty years following its creation, though, the poem was copied numerous times, and so it has reached us in multiple versions, contained in nine different medieval manuscripts.33 The oldest of these, according to John J.

29 Sarah M. Horrall, ““For the Commun at Understand”, p. 97.
30 Taken from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS. 14, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 3. 8. Punctuation is mine.
31 From ll. 1 and 2.
32 Ll. 266-270.
33 These are: Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, s.xiv; London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A.III, s.xiv; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek, Cod. Theol.107, s.xiv; Oxford,
Thompson, 'can be dated on palaeographical evidence to the first quarter of the fourteenth century'.

All three of the earliest manuscripts were probably written around this same time, and they present features of dialect associated with the West Riding of Yorkshire. The next three are later fourteenth-century productions, two of which likely herald from around Lichfield, whilst the third has been associated with Lancashire. The final three copies date from the fifteenth century, one of which was produced in the North Riding of Yorkshire, another from Bedfordshire or Warwickshire; the provenance of the last is unknown, but it was likely later owned by a nun at Syon.

From these manuscripts, the Cursor Mundi has long been accessible through Richard Morris’s seven volume edition, published between 1874-1893 and produced for the Early English Text Society, in which Morris and his colleagues presented parallel transcriptions of four of the surviving versions of the poem. Most subsequent analyses of the Cursor Mundi have relied upon Morris’s transcription, as well as, according to Horrall, his ‘sketchy, inaccurate critical apparatus’, which, understandably, is now ‘completely out of date’. Appropriately, then, Horrall led a team from the University of Ottawa in the task of expanding the poem’s reach and updating its critical analyses. Her team’s edition of the Cursor Mundi focused on the so-called ‘southern version’ and its affiliated manuscripts, in order to challenge Morris’s earlier decision to dismiss these texts as having been excessively bastardised, and therefore too far from the original poem to be relevant. Horrall’s research endeavoured to revise this conclusion, arguing that the adapted southern version of the text does, in fact, ‘preserve several original readings which are lost in each of the northern versions’.

Indeed, Horrall explains, the southern version of the Cursor Mundi was not

Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS 14 (SC 3894), s.xiv.ex; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.8 (588), s.xiv.ex; London, College of Arms (Herald’s College), Arundel Press LVII, s.xiv.ex; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 416, s.xv.med; London, British Library, Additional 36983, s.xv.med; London, British Library, Additional 31042, s.xv.med. See John J. Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1998) for the most up-to-date and thorough index of these manuscripts, as well as codicological information. For the purpose of writing this chapter, only Cotton MS Vespasian A.III was consulted physically; the justification for this selection will be clarified below shortly.

35 Thompson, ibid., p. 14.
36 Richard Morris, Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century, 7 vols. (London: Published for The Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1874-1878). In fact, much like the recent edition of the Pricke of Conscience by Ralph Hanna et al., the Cursor Mundi is in need of an updated, authoritative edition, utilising the contextual work of the likes of Thompson, as well as a synthesised textual version from across all of the surviving manuscript copies.
38 Horrall, ibid., vol. 1, p. 12.
simply a corrupted rendition of the northern poem, 'but a new poem, substantially changed in language and scope from its original'.

The field of scholarship on the Cursor Mundi is notably barren. So, in terms of the poem’s broader context, it is to the work of John Thompson that we turn. Thompson’s relatively recent monograph examined the Cursor Mundi’s socio-literary milieu, its prospective audience(s), its manuscript and textual history, its sources, and the general context of the poem itself. Regarding Doomsday, the poem’s account is largely based on biblical and legendary details derived, according to Thompson, ‘from three different but broadly related sources, all of which directly influenced the manner in which a huge range of medieval Latin and vernacular writers dealt with similar topics.’ These three key texts, Thompson explains, are the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis, the De Ortu et tempore antichristi by Adso Dervensis, and an anonymous short ‘Old French-type’ account of the Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday. The Cursor Mundi’s version of the Signs ultimately derived from ‘the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman poem that is the earliest known representative of the “French-type” tradition.’ The details of the Signs themselves are usually associated with the ‘Comestor-type’ Latin rendition of the legend, from Comestor’s Historia scholastica. The Elucidarium, which served ‘for over three hundred years as a general work of reference and instruction’, played a dominant role in the Cursor-poet’s outsourcing. The poet’s borrowings largely derive from books I and III of the Elucidarium, the latter of which focuses on the Last Things. Indeed, lines 23195-704 of the Cursor Mundi, which comprise a bulk of the content to be discussed in this chapter, are influenced significantly by book III of the Elucidarium, from which the poet borrows details on ‘the nature of hell and its nine pains, the sorrows of purgatory, the joys of heaven, and the

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40 To quote Horrall, ‘in the hundred years since Haenisch [see note below] wrote, articles on the sources of the Cursor have appeared at a rate of one every thirty years or so’. Horrall, ‘“For the Commun at Understand”’, p. 98.
41 For anyone interested in the broader sources used by the Cursor-poet, it is also worthwhile visiting Dr Haenisch, Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi, EETS 101 (Trubner for the Early English Text Society, 1893). Although dated, and certainly in many respects supplanted by Thompson, Haenisch’s inquiry is nevertheless comprehensive, and acts as a solid foundation for further investigation into the poem’s content.
42 Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 159. It is also worth visiting Horrall’s paper, ‘“For the Commun at Understand”’, which precedes Thompson in discussing the sources of the poem: ‘In all, the Cursor-poet can be shown to have used at least twenty-four different texts as sources, nineteen of them Latin and five Old French’, p. 104.
43 Thompson, ibid., p. 159.
44 Thompson, ibid., p. 169.
45 Thompson, ibid., p. 170.
46 Thompson, ibid., p. 160.
47 Thompson, ibid., p. 161.
renewed state of the world after Doomsday’.

A lot of Thompson’s discussion in this regard, subsequent to this, is focused on the Cursor Mundi’s borrowings from Elucidarium I, on Creation and Genesis. So, ultimately, appraisal of the context for the poem’s discussion of Doomsday is rather limited, and it does not appear that Thompson has scrutinised the actual textual content of this portion of the poem in any great detail.

Most interest in the Cursor Mundi, including Thompson’s, has revolved around an investigation into its manuscripts (their filiation, dialect, provenance) and the poem’s contextual quandaries. The sheer enormity of the poem has perhaps contributed somewhat to its tendency to defy closer textual analysis on a smaller scale, which might otherwise elucidate its literary content. This chapter cannot offer a grand breakthrough in that respect; it will not offer a literary critique of the poem beyond its treatment of Doomsday, but hopefully this will provide some means of extrapolation for understanding the tone of the Cursor Mundi as a whole.

So, in spite of some of the modern criticism aimed at Morris’s edition, this chapter will adhere to his transcription of London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A iii, leaf 2 (MS C), since, for the purposes of this research, all that is necessary is an accurate transcription. Morris and his colleagues offered only negligible appraisal of the poem’s sections on Doomsday specifically, so his flawed ‘critical apparatus’ will have little bearing. Therefore, the decision of choosing a manuscript was essentially an arbitrary one. Some justification can be offered, though, since the use of this manuscript is essentially following scholarly tradition. Though this offers little merit per se, it should be noted that MS C has regularly attracted the most attention because it is one of the earliest and most intact northern versions of the poem. According to Horrall, C is ‘the extant MS which is closest to

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48 Thompson, ibid., 162. Thompson makes two references to the Cursor Mundi using the Elucidarium as a source for ‘the sorrows of purgatory’, which is concerning, as the poem does not discuss the nature of Purgatory in the section on Doomsday. Having only consulted the Cursor Mundi’s discussion of Doomsday thoroughly, this author cannot state categorically that the torments of Purgatory are not mentioned elsewhere in the poem, but Thompson is referring specifically to the lines dedicated to the coming of Antichrist through to the renewed state of the world after the Doom when he states that book III of the Elucidarium is the source of this material. So, this does bring into question to some extent the relationship, suggested by Thompson, between the Cursor Mundi and the Elucidarium, or, at least, the extent to which Thompson examined the full contents of the text itself in making this assertion.

49 Despite her criticism of Morris, Horrall confirms that his ‘transcriptions are reasonably accurate’, and that the edition would simply have benefited from the inclusion of a list of errata. Horrall, Southern Version, vol. 1, p. 23.

50 The same can essentially be said for Thompson and Horrall as well, whose intent was not, as discussed earlier, to analyse the literary content of the poem in any major detail.
the poem actually written by the mediaeval poet’.\textsuperscript{51} Thompson has also observed that when compared to other manuscripts, C most closely matches ‘the poem’s contents given in the Cursor Mundi prologue’.\textsuperscript{52} The use of C for this chapter, then, appears to be an apt enough choice.

With regards to choosing MS C over the other three versions that Morris transcribed, though, it is worth highlighting that the different texts vary mostly in orthography, rather than content or semantics. A brief demonstration may suffice to vindicate the decision to adhere to MS C as a safe, and ultimately arbitrary, one. What follows are extracts taken from three of Morris’s four transcriptions, representing the same moment in the poem:

```
Þe first day sal i of rede,
Ful mikil it es al for to drede,
(BL MS Cotton Vesp. A iii)

Þe first dai I salle of rede.
Ful mikil hit is for to drede.
(Fairfax MS 14, Bodleian Lib.)

Þe furste day þat we of rede
Muche hit is for to drede
(MS R. 3. 8., Trinity Coll., Camb.)
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Out of these three examples, only the Trinity College manuscript offers any noticeable deviations from the other two, but it still conveys a virtually identical meaning. Other than sporadic moments in each version where the text or manuscript is incomplete, it can be seen that the textual content itself does not differ enormously, at least not in the manuscripts presented by Morris. A comparison between the northern versions chosen by Morris and the southern version as presented by Horrall – something which Horrall herself invited upon a reading of her edition – is perhaps something that might be pursued by future scholars, as this would be a significant stride forward in understanding the transmission of this major literary

\textsuperscript{51} Horrall, Southern Version, vol. 1, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{52} Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 20.
work. For now, though, MS C can be considered a reasonable choice through which to examine Doomsday in the Cursor Mundi.

It is to the text itself that we now turn, beginning with the poet's description of the fifteen signs preceding Doomsday. From there, we shall proceed through the Cursor Mundi's account of Christ's second coming, examining the text in search of various themes. These will be broken down into the following: education, entertainment, fear or terror, and pleasure or comfort (these concepts will be expanded upon momentarily). These themes should not be considered intrinsic to the text itself, but are headings supplied for the purposes of this chapter to compartmentalise the poem’s multi-dimensional account of Doomsday. In this manner, we can investigate the poet's utilisation of the subject of the Last Judgement in order to further his ultimate goals as outlined in the prologue. The Cursor Mundi's objective, as stated by the poet himself, is to present this scriptural history to an English audience who cannot understand French or Latin.

Efter haly kyrc state

Pis ilk bok is es translate

In to Inglis tong to rede

For the loue of Inglis lede,

Inglis lede of Ingland,

For the commun at understand.

Frankis rimes here I redd,

Comunlik in ilk[a] sted,

Mast es it wroght for frankis man:

Quat is for him na frankis can?54

This outlines the poet's 'official' justification for producing his ambitious work, as he claims to have been endorsed by the Church to spread the Word in the vernacular. It also highlights a

53 Horrall, Southern Version, vol. 1, p. 13. Thompson also dedicates some time to this endeavour; see chapter 2, 'Chapters in the History of the Cursor Mundi Texts'.
54 Ll. 231-240.
more personal, pseudo-nationalistic purpose for the poet's decision to write in English. But such an approach must be taken with caution, since, in such a polyglot society, ‘the commun’, as Thompson observes, is ‘probably best read as part of the poet’s ambitious formal claim to have prepared an English version of universal scriptural history for as wide a range of prospective listeners and readers as it was possible for him to imagine.’ Horrall does inform us, at least, that all but one of the nine extant Cursor Mundi manuscripts were in lay hands.

One particular caveat should be addressed at this point: it is with hesitation that these oft-cited lines (231-40) are quoted here, since, not only does this section of the prologue act as somewhat of a honey-trap for scholars of the medieval English vernacular, but also because this type of phraseology is regularly a beacon of controversy in Middle English literature. To what extent do we accept the poet's claim that he is writing for the uneducated layman with no grasp of French or Latin? The frequency with which this construct is employed in other contemporary texts suggests that we should not immediately trust it as a literal indication of the poem's audience. In the opening lines of the prologue, the poet alludes to numerous contemporary ‘romans’, those which recount the deeds of Arthur, Alexander the Great, and Charlemagne, with which he presumes his audience will be familiar. Thompson provides a deft observation on this matter:

But who were these 'people' that the poet here has in mind? They were hardly simply the common folk of the English nation who did not understand French since, at the time the lines were composed, nearly all of the identifiable epic and romance texts so economically alluded to in them were almost certainly written in French or Anglo-Norman.

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55 John Thompson discusses this hint of nationalism: 'This concept of a “foreign” French influence shaping his English writing […] is presumably related to the poet’s reference to the idea of “Inglan the nacion” (line 241) […] [according to Thorlac Turville-Petre] the Cursor Mundi preserves the earliest extant Middle English reference to the idea of an English nation.' John J. Thompson, 'The Cursor Mundi, the “Inglis tong”, and “Romance”', in Carol M. Meale, ed., Readings in Medieval English Romance (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 99-120 (pp. 107-108).

56 Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 9. See also Thompson, ‘The Cursor Mundi, the “Inglis tong”, and “Romance”’, p. 108.

57 Horrall, “‘For the Commun at Understand’”, p. 105: ‘Only Laud misc. 416 belonged to Anne Colville, a nun of Syon Abbey.’ Horrall suggests a mercantile owner for BL MSS Cotton Vespasian A. iii and Additional 36983, while BL Additional 31042 was copied and owned by Robert Thornton.

58 Thompson advises such caution: 'The information in this passage [lines 231-50] should not automatically be accepted at face value, however, since it forms part of a much larger rhetorical strategy.' Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 8.

59 Li. 1-20.

60 Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 10.
Therefore, the nature of the Cursor-poet's true intentions, especially regarding a prospective audience, is far more cryptic.  

Some of the poet's more personal admissions, though, do at least indicate the role that he saw himself, and his text, performing. For example, in order to emulate and ultimately surpass the list of epic romances that he so blithely recalls, the Virgin Mary acts as the poet's muse; he devotes numerous lines to her, his 'paramour' (l. 69), dedicating his work to her 'fayrnes', 'godnes' and 'treuthede'. The poet claims that such 'rimes' should laud the Virgin, rather than any woman of this transient world:

\[
\text{Off s voluptuous and suiled a mater take,} \\
\text{Crafty that can rimes make;} \\
\text{Of hir to mak bath rim and sang,} \\
\text{And luge hir suette sin amang.} \\
\text{Quat bote is to sette trauell} \\
\text{On thyng that may not auail,} \\
\text{That es bot fantum of this warld,} \\
\text{Als thee have sene inogh and herd.}
\]

The final line here implies that the listener has heard too many songs of 'fantum' ladies already, and so the Cursor Mundi promises to outshine them all with its tale of scriptural history, all in the name of the greatest woman who ever lived, the Virgin Mary.

Furthermore, the Cursor-poet considered himself to be the most qualified person to tell this story. The poet places himself directly among the congregation of Christ's chosen:

\[
\text{He has us chosen for vr mede,} \\
\text{His hali folk all for to fede;} \\
\text{Amang that a hirdes am i an[]}
\]

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61 For more on the poem's audience, see Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, pp. 7-14.
62 Ll. 95-97.
63 Ll. 85-92.
64 Ll. 23879-81.
He is not only among the 'sheep', as it were, but is, in fact, one of the shepherds, educating the flock for their spiritual benefit. Thompson aptly summarises this:

He [the poet] characterises himself... as an evangelising member of the English clergy, legitimately and enthusiastically engaged in the important educational work of the church.65

The poem's purpose was didactic, to enlighten his prospective audience regarding the principles of the Christian faith and the course of salvation history:

Notful me thinc it ware to man
to knaw him self how he began,
How [he] began in werld to brede
How his oxspring began to sprede,
Bath of þe first and o þe last.66

Therefore, the overriding objective of the Cursor Mundi was to inform its audience of the tenets of Christian belief. As such, from here we can clarify the first of the four themes mentioned above, that of education.

As has already been touched upon, the Cursor Mundi’s desire to educate is palpable throughout the text, including in its description of the events of Doomsday. In its treatment of the Last Judgement, the poem closely imitates many aspects of the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis, the purpose of which was axiomatically to enlighten and inform.67 In borrowing from the Elucidarium, the Cursor-poet demonstrates a similar aspiration for his work to be didactic and to act almost as a reference tool. An intriguing example of this taking place can be found in MS C, which contains several genealogical diagrams that are directly incorporated into the text. These occur on ff. 10v, 14v, 44r, and 51v, depicting the progeny of Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, and David, respectively. The first of these diagrams takes the general shape of a ‘family tree’, while the others are essentially a list in order of descent.68 What is perhaps most interesting about these diagrams is their apparently

66 Ll. 225-229.
68 Unfortunately, the easiest way to convey these illustrations would be through photography, but this is not permitted for this particular manuscript.
deliberate incorporation into the text itself. Each of these visual aids, included to clarify the admittedly complicated descriptions of the progeny of the Old Testament Fathers, is incorporated into a designated gap in the text; they are not post-hoc annotations, but are seemingly the work of the main scribe as s/he copies the actual text, which picks up again immediately after the pictorial digressions. The same is true for one of the handful of ‘doodles’ that occur in this manuscript (incidentally, Cotton Vespasian A.III is seemingly the only copy of the Cursor Mundi to contain any kind of pictorial accompaniment in this fashion), that of the Tower of Babel. 69 On ff. 12v, 13v, 14r, and 36v there are small – and fairly crude – images of Noah’s Ark, a ‘T-O’ map of the world, the Tower of Babel, and an especially basic depiction of the Decalogue in the form of a diptych. The image of the Tower of Babel (‘turris babilon[n]ie’ accompanies it) features in a clear break in the text to accommodate the drawing. It is a deliberate inclusion, not an afterthought, and once again the handwriting certainly appears to be that of the main scribe. The potential extrapolations to be made for the manner of this text’s copying as a result of these doodles is especially intriguing. Moreover, the fact that the other ‘doodles’ are not incorporated into the text is potentially equally revealing about the text’s subsequent usage: they are very crude pictorial accompaniments to the relevant passages in the text occurring simultaneously on the page. The image of the Ark appears, inevitably, below this story; the map of the world – with Asia at the top, Europe in the bottom left, and Africa in the bottom right – depicts the ‘Divisio terrarum’ among the fraternal sons of Iapheth; and the doodle of the Decalogue appears directly alongside God’s revelation of the Commandments to Moses. Also quite intriguing on this folio is a tiny manicula pointing directly at the First Commandment: ‘Trou þou in na god bot in an’ (line 6471). This is an obviously crucial tenet of Christian orthodoxy, worthy of emphasis.

Moreover, this didactic objective of the poet is identifiable in the poem’s very structure, with Thompson having observed that the layout of the prologue is reminiscent of ‘a formula usually associated with the academic prologues found in the medieval schools and universities’. 70 Thompson succinctly summarises the significance of this approach:

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69 Although Horrall explains that Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek theol. MS 107r was very elaborately decorated and is ‘one of the very few remaining Middle English manuscripts of the fourteenth century to contain scenes to illustrate its text.’ See Horrall, ‘“For the Commun at Understand”’, p. 105.

70 Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, p. 8. According to Thompson, the poet outlines the contents (materia), structure (ordo), nature (modus), title (titulus), reasons for writing (intentio), and its potential impact (utilitas).
In the minds of non-scholastic but nevertheless informed English readers, the Cursor-poet’s implicit use of a rhetorical strategy that was an everyday part of academic life presumably established a formal “educational” reason for the very existence of the Cursor Mundi itself.\footnote{Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, pp. 8-9.}

This sentiment captures the quintessence of the Cursor-poet's modus operandi, his work arguably being a direct effect of the thirteenth-century Church's new 'pastoral revolution'.

Thus, this didactic approach of the Cursor-poet is better understood within the greater context of thirteenth-century Church reform. In 1215, Pope Innocent III convoked the Fourth Lateran Council, a congregation of several hundred senior churchmen from across Christendom, in order to address the current state of the Catholic Church. The ensuing pronouncements of this ecclesiastical assembly are described by John Shinners as 'a watershed in the pastoral history of the Middle Ages', which outlined the 'basic religious duties required of all Christians and established procedures for the administration of the Church at the local levels of the diocese and parish'.\footnote{Shinners, Medieval Popular Religion, p. 7.}

The Council’s decrees reverberated across Europe, stimulating change with an emphasis on revitalising the hierarchical Church down to its bottommost ranks. Canon 10 of the Council stipulated the following:

Among other things that pertain to the salvation of the Christian people, the food of the word of God is above all necessary, because as the body is nourished by material food, so is the soul nourished by spiritual food.\footnote{Shinners, Medieval Popular Religion, p. 7.}

Disseminating the content of the Bible to all Christians was clearly of paramount importance to the Council. Indeed, Leonard Boyle points out, although the problem of the Holy Land occupied the ‘last and longest constitution of the council, the other seventy constitutions are,
in one way or another, taken up with aspects of the pastoral care." The thirteenth-century Church wished to address the concerning level of ignorance not only amongst parishioners, but amongst the clergy also. The consequences of this sentiment rippled throughout the following century, fertilising endeavours to espouse the Catholic catechism to the widest possible audience. And this grand endeavour manifested itself in an array of manuals on confession, summae of moral teaching, expositions of the Ten Commandments, compendia of vices and virtues, collections of sermons and sermon exempla, and general manuals of pastoral care, in Latin and in various vernaculars. According to Shinners,

In the decades following the Council a flurry of episcopal legislation and handbooks meant to better train the parish clergy for their pastoral duties circulated across Europe.

Similarly, such 'manuals' purportedly aimed at the laity flourished, too, leading to an explosion of competing vernacular 'theologies' and handbooks in the late-thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

In England, the production of instructive manuals and process of sacerdotal reform accelerated under the archiepiscopate of the 'Franciscan controversialist', John Pecham. During the provincial Council of Lambeth in 1281, 'a schema of instruction for the laity' was compiled, De informacione simplicium, commonly referred to as Ignorantia Sacerdotum, in accordance with the text's opening lines. The content of this proclamation is as follows:

Four times a year, that is, once in each quarter of the year, on one or more holy days, each priest presiding over the people, himself or through another person, shall explain to the people in their everyday language, without the

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75 Boyle, ‘The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology’, p. 31. And, incidentally, this is the precise nature of the material – described below – regularly appended to copies of the Cursor Mundi in an effort to supplement the poem’s didactic value with these canonical pastoral materials.
76 Shinners, Medieval Popular Religion, p. 7. Also, Boyle, ‘The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology’, p. 31: ‘One important consequence of this new awareness of the cura animarum was a vast literature of the pastoral care, a literature to which, for want of a better or more generic word, I may assign the term pastoralia’.
77 The competitive nature of these texts is perhaps exemplified by the Cursor-poet's emphasis on his decision to write in English, because 'Selden was for ani chance / Praised Inglis tong in france' (lines 245-6).
fantastic web of any kind of subtlety, the fourteen articles of the faith; the
ten commandments of the Decalogue; the two precepts of the gospel,
namely, the twin sisters of charity; the seven works of mercy; the seven
capital sins with their progeny; the seven principle virtues and the seven
sacraments of grace.\textsuperscript{80}

The Cursor Mundi’s intended content, as outlined in the prologue,\textsuperscript{81} indicates that the poem in
its original form did not plan to address these components of the faith, as set out by Pecham.
However, the poem’s reliance on the Elucidarium strongly implies its objective of meeting
educational requirements. Furthermore, the fact that such components of the catechism, as
outlined by the Ignorantia Sacerdotum, were increasingly appended to the poem in its
descendent versions illustrates the contemporary perception of the Cursor Mundi as
performing a ‘pastoral’ role.\textsuperscript{82} Likewise, the Fourth Lateran Council’s particular emphasis on
regulating and reinvigorating the sacrament of confession helps to explain the poem’s
frequent underscoring of the value of shrift in avoiding damnation.\textsuperscript{83} Therefore, the Cursor
Mundi fits comfortably into the vein of vernacular literature of the late thirteenth and
fourteenth centuries, concerned with the care of souls through enlightenment of the Christian
faith; it is an example of the new wave of literary ‘pastoralia’, an attempt to combat the
shortcomings of the English Church and people. Its overriding task was to educate its
audience.

This leads us to the second of the four themes arrayed above: what better way is there
to educate, than to entertain simultaneously? As with all of these ‘themes’, identifying their
occurrence within the Cursor Mundi’s account of Doomsday is a rather subjective process.
This is especially true of what might be considered ‘entertaining’; it is undoubtedly a
challenge to decide whether, if at all, certain moments in the poem were deliberately light in
nature, judged from our perspective so many centuries later. As such, this theme will be less

\textsuperscript{80} Ingrid J. Peterson, \textit{William of Nassington: Canon, Mystic and Poet of the “Speculum Vitae”} (New
York: Peter Lang, 1986) p. 4.
\textsuperscript{81} Ll. 133- 220.
\textsuperscript{82} Including MS ‘C’, one of the earliest surviving manuscripts containing the text. See Horrall, \textit{Southern
\textsuperscript{83} The most important and influential constitution of the Council, according to Boyle, known by its opening
words, Omnis utriusque sexus, directly concerns this reform of the confessional sacrament: ‘By this constitution
the council endowed both the penitent’s act of confession to a priest and the priest’s role as confessor with a
public and a definite identity for the first time ever in the history of the Church. All parishioners were ordered to
confess all mortal sins once a year privately to their respective parochial priests and to no other. All confessors,
on the other hand, had to be discerners of souls and not simply dispensers of absolution and penance.’ Boyle,
prevalent, as the entertaining nature of certain sections is implied more by the vivid language employed. There are certain principles by which we can abide, however. The poem’s use of wordplay, alliteration, rhyme, and superlative are examples of poetic play which might be construed as possessing a lighter intent.

Indeed, the very decision to compose this scriptural history as a poem is a testament to this possibility; the Cursor Mundi mimics the Elucidarium in content, but not in style. The latter possesses the qualities of a scholastic treatise, presenting its content as a dialectic between master and student. The Cursor Mundi, on the other hand, subtly allies itself with the epic romances that it refers to scoldingly in the prologue. Whilst the poet may seem to be gently chiding his audience for enjoying such rhymes and romances, he then proceeds to emulate and, in his opinion no doubt, surpass them with his own epic story – the greatest ever told. As discussed above, the Cursor Mundi is dedicated to the woman unto whom all such works should be devoted, the poet’s ‘paramour’, the Virgin Mary. His story will overshadow all of the other favourites, and in addressing these texts directly the poet is aligning his own work with this genre of enormously popular, successful tales. Eamon Duffy has observed that the growth of lay literacy contributed to this ‘direct competition’ between entertaining secular literature and religious instruction.84 Duffy draws attention to another example, the fourteenth-century didactic poem Speculum Vitae, which warns its audience from the outset that it will not speak of the vain deeds of romantic heroes as do ‘mynstrels and gestours’, but, just like the Cursor Mundi, makes explicit reference to several of these famous figures.85 The Cursor-poet, though, clearly knew how to engage the attention of his purported audience from the outset by mimicking such literature. Indeed, such a partnership between entertainment and education was not a unique approach by the Cursor-poet; Robert Mannyng’s famous early fourteenth-century manual, Handlyng Synne, according to Duffy, combined the two by ‘providing vivid and often amusing exempla as illustrations of [its] serious points’.86

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84 Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, p. 69.
86 Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, p. 69. Also see pp. 69-77, in which Duffy discusses several manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which partner material of a religious and devotional nature with that of a domestic and popular one. Such examples elucidate the late medieval practice of conflating edification and entertainment.
Another prominent caveat must be introduced here, however, as the subject of audience for the Cursor Mundi – indeed, for many such vernacular texts – is highly debated. The manner in which texts such as this would even have been delivered to an audience, if at all, is still quite mysterious; it is unwise to make too many assumptions on this matter. However, the elements of poetic play alluded to above do hint at an oral performance, in which their delivery would be most effective. Duffy claims that such didactic treatises were 'originally intended for reading aloud to the laity by clerics'; taking the parallel example of the Speculum Vitae, mentioned above, Duffy argues that it was 'designed to be read piecemeal to gatherings of unlettered lay people'. Though it must be observed that the diagrams included within Cotton MS Vespasian A.III, described above, do potentially shed some light on this issue with regards to this specific manuscript, and might contradict Duffy’s argument somewhat. These illustrations are, arguably, more indicative of personal usage than of public delivery. The diagrams, particularly of the Old Testament genealogies, are more like visual aids to an individual reader, to clarify the contents of the text, while the ‘doodles’ would indicate personal usage. However, the ‘doodles’ are apparently by the main scribe and so might only indicate interaction during the original copying process, rather than engagement by a subsequent user. Likewise, as the text progresses, there is an increasing number of annotations in the form of numbers and markers, akin to those found in texts probably designed for some form of oral delivery, and the manicula described above, emphasising the First Commandment, would certainly be a useful oral aid. Ultimately, though, this is all conjectural, and the issue cannot be resolved definitively here. What we can perhaps take as an operating principle, however, is that the poem was quite possibly read aloud (while also studied individually), but to whom and under what circumstances is ambiguous. In lines 23-26 of the prologue, the poet states:

Sanges sere of selcuth rime,

Inglis, frankys, and latine,  

to rede and here Ilkon is prest,

De thynges þat þam likes best.

Here the poet at least implies that other such contemporary texts were both read and heard.

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Having proposed the potentially entertaining nature of the Cursor Mundi, we turn to the third theme. Despite the objective outlined in the introduction to this chapter, which intends to challenge the idea that the Last Judgement was regarded singularly as a terrifying event, the presence of fear in such a text is irrepresible and must be included in the discussion. Elements of horror in accounts of the Last Judgement are inevitable; the destruction of the world and inescapable submission to an omnipotent deity is a frightening prospect, after all. So, in spite of the poet’s comparably ‘liberal’ approach to Doomsday in many respects, his text is not without some of the frequently encountered terrors of medieval Hell and the impending Day of Doom. This section of the poem, concerning the Last Judgement, undoubtedly offered an opportunity for the poet to explore some of the truly dreadful aspects of the end of Christian ‘history’. The Cursor Mundi’s account of Doomsday does not neglect the chance to recount the moments of fear and trepidation which surround Christ’s second coming. Such efforts can seemingly have served little more of a purpose than to stimulate guilt through sheer dread, with the hope of provoking contrition and repentance. Although it will be argued that many such moments, through their superlative language and vivid descriptions, are pushing on the boundaries of entertainment. It can be argued, also, that the use of such ‘scaremongering’ arguably furthers the poet’s objective of enlightening his audience, better preparing them for this inevitable tribulation.

Approaches to Hell and its torments, both visual and literary, seemed to offer more of a playground for artistic licensing and creativity in the Middle Ages; medieval visions and representations of Hell are far more frequent than their heavenly counterparts. Conversely, therefore, this is what makes the Cursor Mundi’s account of the Last Judgement intriguing; the poet’s treatment of the subject is, at times, surprisingly tame and mollified, actively seeming to favour a positive outlook on the Doom. The poem’s description of Doomsday and the afterlife frequently contains flavours of pleasure, comfort, and reassurance. Some of these are rather passive-aggressive, invoking sadistic, even voyeuristic, undertones at times,

88 ‘Where Heaven represents order and harmony, Hell represents disorder; again, it is an anti-representation, premised upon a binary opposition of order and disorder that constitutes yet another aesthetic principle in medieval art, whose metaphysical roots lay in Neoplatonism. And in some ways it is a representational sphere that offered to medieval writers and artists vastly greater scope than the calm aesthetic numbness of Heaven.’ Paul Binski, Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 172.
89 Though caution might be advised here in claiming too strongly for the Cursor Mundi’s innovative nature, since a rigorous comparison has not been conducted between it and its likely source material, such a claim remains relatively safe due to the poem’s status as one of very few ‘encyclopaedic’ works in the vernacular at the time of its composition. As Ryan Perry has pointed out in conversation, for Middle English audiences in the early fourteenth century, at least, the Cursor Mundi’s innovation in this respect was particularly valuable to those who could not access equivalent didactic literature in French or Latin.
as the saved are encouraged to enjoy the suffering of the damned. Mostly, though, contrasting the usual perception of the Last Judgement, much of this content engenders pleasure and joy at the prospect of Christ’s second coming. There are moments of very charming, heart-warming happiness, in which the poet appears to relish, as he valiantly attempts to describe the reality of an eternity spent in Heaven. The significance of this theme will become apparent once we begin to engage with the text proper, which we may now do.

**The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday**

We now turn to the poem’s account of the Last Judgement, beginning with the fifteen signs before the Doom.90 This apocryphal account was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, occurring frequently in religious literature, as well as finding its way into artistic representation on more than one occasion.91 Medieval commentators usually attributed the origin of these signs to St Jerome, who supposedly discovered them in the ‘book of the Hebrews’ (‘annalibus ebreorum’, according to one mid-fifteenth century sermon, or ‘þe bok o Juus’, in the words of the Cursor-poet).92 The poem’s inclusion of this legendary material falls in line with the ‘precedent set by a number of other earlier biblical writers’, who included a version of the Signs in accounts of the Last Things.93 The legend exists in at least four main textual traditions, represented in numerous different Latin and vernacular versions,

90 See p. 169 of Thompson for more detail on this topic. Thompson also acquires most of his information on the subject from William W. Heist, The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952). Also, see Manual, IX, pp. 3047-8.

91 The most well-known of which is probably the stained-glass window of All Saints Church, York. See, for example, Sue Powell, ‘All Saints’ Church, North Street, York: Text and Image in the Pricke of Conscience Window’ in Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom, 292-316. Likewise, the Signs feature prolifically in contemporary Middle English sermons, examples included in the appendices of this thesis are London, British Library, Additional MS 40672; London, British Library, Claudius MS A.II; London, British Library, Harley MS 2247; London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.XIII; London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 108; Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180; Salisbury, Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103; Warminster, Longleat House MS 4. A rendition can be found in the works of John Lydgate, for example in London, British Library, Harley MS 2255, ff. 117-118v, for which see The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS, Extra Series 107 (1911), pp. 117-120. Furthermore, the Liber Exemplorum, in the mid-fourteenth-century Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV.19, makes the usual reference to Jerome as the source of the Signs: ‘Jerome found in the annals of the Hebrews that there are fifteen signs which will herald the Last Judgement’, in David Jones, Friars’ Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 131. The legend of the Fifteen Signs has a prolific record in late-medieval England.


93 Thompson, ibid., pp. 168-9.
all of which, according to Thompson, ‘are known to have circulated widely in late medieval Europe.’

The Cursor Mundi’s version derives from the ‘French-type’ textual tradition.

This section of the poet’s account of Doomsday is dominated by a sense of awe and terror. It conveys some very ominous, unsettling information, which would likely have evoked fear. It is surprising, however, that this section is almost completely bereft of any comforting notions, since it might also have provided an opportunity to reassure people, informing them that salvation was finally imminent. We might consider an extract from Luke 21:25-28, a regular feature in Last Judgement sermons, which says the following:

And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves; Men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world. For the powers of heaven shall be moved; And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud, with great power and majesty. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads, because your redemption is at hand.

Verse 25 highlights that there is a biblical precedent for the otherwise apocryphal signs, several of which relate to the cosmos. Meanwhile, Verse 28 illustrates the potential for there to be comfort in accounts of the Last Judgement, since the occurrence of these frightening events means that salvation is approaching. Indeed, death itself should be greeted with joy, for it is the most important step on the path to eternal bliss. When the King of Scotland was overcome with grief at the funeral of St Hugh, for example, the chronicler recounting the anecdote comments, ‘if his sorrow had been less intense he would have realised that he had more cause for rejoicing’. The unrestrained joy to be felt by the blessed at the coming of

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94 Thompson, ibid., p. 169.
95 Thompson, ibid., p. 169.
96 Catholic Bible: Douay-Rheims Bible Online, <http://www.drbo.org/> [accessed 4 June 2014]. Henceforth all biblical quotations will be derived from this source.
97 Indeed, the Prick of Conscience establishes a direct relationship between this biblical passage and the legendary signs before Doomsday, as the author of the Prick quotes it in full as a preface to the Fifteen Signs. See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Richard Morris’s Prick of Conscience: A Corrected and Amplified Reading Text, EETS O.S. 342 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 130, l. 4690 onwards.
98 The Sermon of Dead Men, c. 1400, echoes this sentiment: two of its ‘good things’ that it describes in its funeral sermon are the joy each individual will feel and the communal joy that the saved will feel at the coming of the Last Things. See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al., ed., The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 255-8.
Christ to judge is perhaps encapsulated best by Tertullian, in his second-century De Spectaculis:

But what a spectacle is already at hand – the return of the Lord, now no object of doubt, now exalted, now triumphant! What exultation will be that of the angels, what glory that of the saints as they rise again! What the reign of the righteous thereafter! What a city, the New Jerusalem! Yes, and there are still to come other spectacles – that last, that eternal Day of Judgement, that Day which the Gentiles never believed would come, that Day they laughed at, when this old world and all its generations shall be consumed in one fire. How vast the spectacle that day, and how wide!100

It does come as a surprise, then, that the Cursor-poet did not seize upon this idea and adumbrate it in his text: imminent death and judgement are – to true believers in the mechanisms of divine salvation – cause for celebration.

However, whether or not the impending judgement is comforting, the events that will precede it are no less frightening, for the saved and the damned both. The earth itself will be shattered and torn asunder; everything will be destroyed, and everybody will die. It is a terrifying scenario, compounded by the anxiety presumably induced by the prospect of confronting the Judge himself, face-to-face, with your every deed laid bare. As the poem demonstrates, even the saints and angels of the heavenly court tremble at the thought of God’s impending judgement. Consequently, then, little solace can be taken away from this section.

Nevertheless, the poet does not fail to arm his audience with as much information as he can regarding these events. The poet cites authority in a pseudo-scholastic manner, in order to provide authenticity and credibility to his account; he raises issues and asks questions of practicality – will the signs be consecutive? will they be daily? if not, how long will the intervals between them be? Equipping his audience with the necessary information so that they might prepare for these events is crucial to the poet. Equally, the subject matter of this section lends itself to entertainment. The poet increases the drama for every successive sign, each described as far more terrible than the previous, forging a crescendo of destruction. The frequency with which these signs are encountered in Middle English literature perhaps

highlights an audience’s potential familiarity with them (and a preacher’s: in one sermon for advent, we see that the preacher clearly knew the signs by heart. There is an interjection in the middle of the text, ‘narrate de xv signis’, which, aside from evidencing the use of this particular manuscript in oral delivery, demonstrates that the orator is supposed to recite the signs at this juncture, but does not require them to be written down. Such an example highlights the probably regular occurrence of preachers going ‘off-piste’, expanding upon a theme through use of their own knowledge).\textsuperscript{101} The Cursor-poet’s challenge, then, is to have his own version excel in excitement. And, when the Cursor Mundi’s rendition of the Signs is compared with others, it is certainly arguable that he successfully overcame this challenge. John Lydgate’s version, for example, although well-written and engaging with some vivid imagery, is notably drier when compared with the Cursor-poet’s embellishments.\textsuperscript{102} The Cursor-poet appears to relish in describing such chaotic events. The language used can be charming and exciting, painting vivid images through the poet’s choice of words, hopefully providing a colourful realisation of the events for an audience’s imagination. Finally, the very last lines of this section, which form the opening quotation to this chapter, are the only indication of possible hope and renewal; the signs preceding the Last Judgement are a sequence of horrors that must be endured by all, but at their conclusion salvation can be attained. These events are the first of many great storms before the eternal calm.

**Terror**

We begin, then, with the sense of terror that this section emphasises. The signs are repeatedly described as ‘sorful’, ‘cruel’ and ‘kene’;\textsuperscript{103} they are to be dreaded by all: ‘þe first dai sal i of rede, / Ful mikil it es al for to drede’, and they will be ‘ful griseli’ to look upon.\textsuperscript{104} The signs will indicate God’s wrath to the wicked: ‘Gret signes sal vr lauerd make, / For to

\textsuperscript{101} This takes place on f. 169r of London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII. See Appendix 1.4.e., and footnote 834.

\textsuperscript{102} See The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, pp. 117-120. Similarly, those versions contained within Middle English sermons are notably more perfunctory (although, perhaps it is worth allowing for an individual preacher’s own personal oral embellishments and ability to deliver the Signs by heart, as exampled in the footnote above, no. 101), as is that contained within the fourteenth-century Liber Exemplorum: ‘On the first day, the sea will rise by forty cubits above the height of the mountains and stand erect like a wall […] On the fourth, the sea and the waters will burn […] On the fifth, the grass and trees will give a bloody dew’, and so on. See David Jones, *Friars’ Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 131. The difference is abundantly clear when the fifth sign from the Liber is compared to the equivalent in the Cursor Mundi: ‘For þar sal fall dun fra þe lijft / A blodi rain, a dreri drift, / Þe erth sal be al rede of heu, / Ne sagh i neuer suilk a deu!’ Ll. 22461-4.

\textsuperscript{103} Ll. 22427-30.

\textsuperscript{104} Ll. 22459-60; 22506.
sceu þe wic his wrak',
when the Lord will show his might, no felon will be spared.

Those outside of God’s grace will receive no mercy, but will know God’s wrath; they will never again feel joy:

A! lauerd ful waa sal be þat man
Pat ne sal haue na merci þan.
To þam þat he his wreth sal kyth [show]
Ne sal þai neuer fra þan be blith [joyful].

The signs are to demonstrate the might of God, and the wrath that he will unleash upon the wicked and upon the earth itself. Salvation history is nearing its zenith, so the earth in its current state is no longer required.

The signs themselves encapsulate this process, as they represent the destruction of the earth to the full extent of chaos that a medieval mind could imagine. On the first day, a bloody rain will cascade from the sky, soaking the earth and rendering it ‘al rede of heu’.

On the second day the stars will fall down from the heavens, followed by the descent of the moon on the third, after it has turned as red as blood. The stars and the moon will flee and hide in terror, ‘Thoru dred of him was don on rode.’

The stars will run around upon the earth in confusion, ‘Wepand, als þof þai men war’.

The moon will run and hide in the sea in order to flee the ‘dai of au’.

On the fourth day the sun will turn ‘Dune and blak sum ani hair’, becoming ‘ful vnfair’ to look upon; it will turn so black that none will see a ray of light.

The fifth day will be ‘uggeli’, wherein all dumb beasts under the sky will lift up their heads and cry for mercy with loud voices, each one as loud as ten or eleven men, ‘All for

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105 Ll. 22437-8.
106 Ll. 22447-50.
107 Ll. 22515-18.
108 Ll. 22461-4. It is worthy of note that the signs described by the Cursor-poet are distinctly different to those in the Prick of Conscience. In the latter, the signs are (briefly summarised): (1) the sea will rise higher than mountains (2) the sea will be so low (3) the sea will be back to normal again (4) the fish of the sea will come together and make a hideous outcry (5) the sea will boil from sunrise to sunset (6) a bloody dew will appear on grass and trees (7) buildings, great castles, and towers will collapse (8) rocks and stones will strike together (9) there will be a great earthquake (10) hills and valleys will be levelled (11) men will emerge from caves, witless, unable to speak (12) the stars will fall from the sky (13) dead men’s bones will be set together and they will rise from their graves (14) the quick will die; the dead will rise (15) the entire world will burn. See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, pp. 132-133, ll. 4758-4815.
109 Ll. 22498.
110 Ll. 22484.
111 Ll. 22503.
112 Ll. 22505-14. Compare with Joel 3:15: The sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars have withdrawn their shining (Sol et luna obtenebrati sunt, et stellae retracted splendorem suum).
dread of his coming’. On the sixth day there will be catastrophic earthquakes, levelling hills and valleys; towers and towns will all be cast down, as no building or wall is so strong that it will not collapse. On the seventh day the earth will shake and the trees will burst, there will be nowhere for anyone to take refuge and so ‘pan behoves all folk to dei’. On the eighth day the sea will rise up to the sky, bursting over dale and hill, drowning everything. Moving on to the eleventh day, the winds will blow against each other so violently that the earth will be ripped open, and ‘þe deuels vte sal be fordriuen’ from the earth into the sky. On the thirteenth day all of the stones under the sky across this broad world, above and beneath the earth, ‘Sal smitt togedir wit sli maght, / Als thoner dos wit firen slaght [as thunder does with lightning]. The fourteenth, and penultimate, day is so chaotic, that it is worth quoting here in full:

De dai fourtend sal be ful il,
Til al þe werld it sal be gril;
A stormi dai, a strete of au,
Bath o frost, and hail, and snau.
Pan sal þar cum bath thoner and leuin [lightning],
And drone [drown] al that es vnder heuin;
De cludes to þe se sal rin
For to hid þam þar-in,
For to fle þat dai sa breme [fierce],
Pat vr lauerd sal [come to] deme.

This is followed by the fifteenth day, the description of which was quoted at the opening of this chapter, wherein everything will burn away to nought, all of the seas and the lands will

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113 Ll. 22519-30.
114 Ll. 22531-44.
115 Ll. 22545-60.
116 Ll. 22561-6.
117 Ll. 22627-38.
118 Ll. 22679-80.
119 Ll. 22689-98.
revert to nothingness, 'Als þai war first, ar al was wroght'. This day 'sall ending be of all', comprising a terrifying series of cataclysmic events.120

To convey the horror of this effectively the poet employs several dramatic constructs, which he repeats throughout his account of Doomsday. These concepts are, in fact, frequently found in other Middle English discussions of the Last Judgement. During the bloody rainfall of the first day, the prospect of the imminent Doom is so terrifying that even unborn babies, still in their mothers' wombs, cry out in anguish to God for mercy, imploring him that they not be born into the world:

Childer in moder wamb to lij,
Wit-in þair wambs sal þai cri,
Wit hei not[e] and lude steuen [voice],
"Merci nu lauerd king of heuen, 
For to be born ha we noght mint, 
Dou do it lauerd us for to stint; 
Quar-to suld we be born to dai, 
Quen al thinges sal turn to wai?"
Gretnand [weeping] þai sal calle on iesu, 
"Lauerd ha merci on all nu."121

This is an unsettling notion, which serves to enhance the sense of dread felt at the prospect of Doomsday, especially among pregnant women, no doubt. Christ's imminent judgement is so frightening that, as we have seen from the discussion of the signs themselves, even those normally incapable of speaking, such as animals and infants, howl for protection from God's wrath. It is interesting to compare this sentiment with Luke 21:23:

But woe to them that are with child, and give suck in those days; for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people.122

120 Ll. 22699-710.
121 Ll. 22465-74.
122 Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus! erit enim pressure magna super terram, et ira populo huic.
We encounter this theme again in Luke 23:29:

For behold, the days shall come, wherein they will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that have not borne, and the paps that have not given suck.  

In these verses, we can perhaps witness some of the inspiration for so disturbing a concept. Moreover, this theme is not exclusive to the prenatal, but extends to those already alive who are so terrified of the Judge that they desperately wish they had never been born at all. In a certain meditation for one to say by oneself (discussed further in Chapter Two), there is a prayer which propounds this lament: ‘[…] And i, þis wrecchide erthely worm, þe mooste vyleste synnere of alle, haue in so much deserued þe streitnesse of þi riȝtwys doom, þat but ðef þow helpe me þeuyng me þi mercy, it weere bettere to me neuere to haue been bore’.  

Indeed, in the midst of his suffering, Job, too, laments his own entry in this world: ‘Why did I not die in the womb, why did I not perish when I came out of the belly?’ And, in Matthew 26:24: ‘The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man shall be betrayed: it were better for him, if that man had not been born.’  

Another, more frequently employed construction, serves more of a dramatic purpose. On several occasions, the poet demurs from attempting to describe the dreadful extent of certain events, instead explaining that they are beyond the ability of a mortal person to express. The events of the fifth day, for example, will be uglier ‘þan ani tung can sai’. On the eleventh day, when the winds will rise and blow against one another with brutal force, once again, ‘þar es na tung’ that may convey the severity of this event. Just as on the thirteenth day, the sorrow of the events are ‘Mar þan man wit tung mai tell’. This motif, which is regularly encountered in other descriptions of Hell and Doom, demonstrates the limits of the medieval – or even the human – imagination; there are no conceivable examples in reality to which the calamity of Christ’s second coming can be compared in order to fully do justice to such a description. How does one describe the indescribable? Or imagine

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123 Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt, et ubera quae non lactaverunt.
125 Job 3:11: Quare non in vulva mortui sum? Egressus ex utero non statim perii?
126 Filius quidem hominis vaddit, sicut scriptum est de illo: vae autem homini illi, per quem Filius hominis tradetur! bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.
127 Ll. 22520.
128 Ll. 22632.
129 Ll. 22672.
the unthinkable? Throughout the account of Doomsday, the poet does not fail to remind us that God's power is ineffably limitless, so to describe his actions is undoubtedly a challenge. By using this construction, the poet allows his audience to imagine the full extent of the horror of these events for themselves. This is an effective narrative technique, since refusing to offer a description simply invites the imagination to substitute one of its own. An attempt by the poet at expressing it himself might never satiate the expectations of awe that Christ's second coming is supposed to bring - that which is left unsaid is perhaps more frightening and disturbing.

A third motif, in which the denizens of Heaven itself are described as being afraid of Christ's coming, truly emphasises the terror that should be felt at the prospect of the Last Judgement. Again, this construction is found in other Middle English accounts of Doomsday.\footnote{For example, in a sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, ff. 7r-8v, it is stated that the angels will tremble in fear at the Judge. See Appendix 2.77.} On the tenth day, according to Jerome and Gregory ('pape o rome'), 'heuen self it sal be ferd / Gain him þat wroght middelerd '.\footnote{L. 22591-6.} The account continues:

\begin{verbatim}
De self angels sal quake vnqueme [unpleasantly]
For dute of him þat all sal deme;
For þan sal quak sant cherubin,
And alsua sal do seraphin;
Na creatur sal þan list plai,
Saint Petre sal be dumb þat dai,
Þat he a word ne sal dur speke,
For dute o demester þe wreke.
For heuen he sal se part in sundre,
And he sal here it cri to wonder,
Bath cri and brai for dute and drede,
"Ha merci! lauerd! for nu es nede."
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{Ll. 22597-608.}
If the faultless residents of Heaven itself are petrified at the prospect of Christ's judgement, then how should mortal humans feel? This concept puts Christ's awesome power into perspective for an audience who might otherwise feel that they need not be too afraid, so long as they are compliant with Christ's laws. If the angels, the embodiment of heavenly perfection, and the saints, the epitome of earthly obedience and infallibility, are trembling with anxiety at Christ's awe, then no person, however benign, can relax until the judgement is finished. This construction achieves a similar effect to the previous two, as it amplifies the intensity and horror of the Last Judgement, which the poet would otherwise struggle to fully articulate. All three of these motifs serve the purpose of illustrating the terror of the Doom, when the poet's ability to describe their severity is exhausted.

This third notion is especially pertinent for the sinful. If the angels are frightened of Christ's wrath, then what hope can the wicked have? The Cursor-poet captures the essence of this point:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Quen all thinges draus ðus-ga til end,} \\
\text{De angels ðat in heuen sal be} \\
\text{Sal knele dun befor cristes kne,} \\
\text{And sal cri merci to ðair king} \\
\text{Þat ðai se bun [obey] til all thing.} \\
\text{For ðat rethnes [uproar] sal ðai be radd [afraid],} \\
\text{Þai se oueral ðe werld sa stadd;} \\
\text{Quen angels sua sal dred ðat pas,} \\
\text{O sinful quat sal worth, allas?}^{134}
\end{align*}
\]

This is a very powerful concept, as the saints and angels are considered authoritative and indomitable; they are Christ's most honoured companions, but even they are terrified of his wrath on Doomsday. This is an unsettling notion, as how awful must the process of judgement be for Christ's own trusted servants to be afraid? How much worse, then, must it be for those found in a state of sin? The intention can only be to encourage repentance now,

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134 Ll. 22662-70.
before it is too late and one is faced with this incomprehensibly frightening ordeal. This extreme emphasis on terror will hopefully provoke remorse and repentance:

\[\text{Par es nam \{no man\} in erth sa fell,}\\
\text{Pat herken herteli wil \{his\} spell,}\\
\text{O \{his\} wretched werlds end,}\\
\text{Pat he ne his liif agh to mend.}\]

So, the terror of the events leading up to Doomsday, and the moment of judgement itself, is so great that if any person listens to the poet's message, they will repent immediately, lest they face the indescribable wrath of Christ whilst in a state of sin. Thus, we are witnessing in the use of such rhetorical devices in this section of the Cursor Mundi the poem’s intrinsic pastoral value, as it aspires to induce repentance and contrition in this life, in adherence with the poet’s own professed objective, as well as the fourteenth-century Church’s overt purpose in engaging the laity in the vernacular.

**Education**

The urgency placed upon this message leads us fittingly to what is arguably the poet's primary concern - to prepare his audience for the moment of judgement. As much as the events taking place in the days preceding Doomsday are frightening, by describing them in detail the poet is informing his audience and equipping them with the foreknowledge necessary to be ready for the ghastly trials ahead. As observed above, the abject horror of the signs actually assists in reinforcing the vital message that one must be prepared for the end at any given time; fear of damnation – especially under such horrible circumstances as are discussed in this section – is a strong incentive to take heed and repent accordingly. Lines 22433-6, quoted above, exemplify this notion, since the poet is convinced that no person could possibly learn about these horrors and subsequently forget them. He reiterates the message in lines 22655-8:

\[\text{Pat es na man in erth wroght}\\
\text{Pat agh to lat it vte o thought,}\]

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135 Ll. 22433-6.
And for to mend his lîjf þe mare,
To iesu þat vr leuedi þar.\textsuperscript{136}

It is obviously of paramount importance in the poet's opinion that no person ignores the inevitability of all that he describes. Indeed, this sense of preventative preparation perpetuates across the Doom-genre, where emphasis is continually placed upon keeping the Doom in mind at all times. The essence of a Doom-text (and image, for that matter) is to force the subject into the forefront of a worshipper's mind, so that awareness of the Doom's inevitability is inescapable. If one accepts this fact, then one will confess and repent appropriately, thus making one ready at all times for the sudden eruption of destruction that the poet describes after the blast of the trumpets. A certain (paraphrased) quotation attributed to St Jerome attests to this perfectly: whether I am eating or drinking, or doing any other task in life, I will forever have the sound of the trumpets in my ears.\textsuperscript{137} We must accept the Doom's inevitability if we are to be prepared for it.

 Appropriately, then, immediately before commencing his account of the Fifteen Signs, the poet calls upon all God-fearing Christians to pay attention, so that they may not be caught unawares when the Day of Judgement finally arrives:

\textit{Hider nu I bidd þam drau,}
\textit{All þai þat of him standes au,}
\textit{And herken sua þat i sal sai,}
\textit{Pat he wenid noght he fles awai.}\textsuperscript{138}

This is an incentive to continue listening to or reading the poem, as it is by doing so that one will be convinced that it is absolutely necessary to maintain a state of spiritual readiness for this day, whenever it may come. Indeed, in order to truly persuade his audience that diligence is necessary, the poet elaborates upon issues of practicality, endeavouring to be as informative as possible. He does not, however, attempt to answer these questions until the following section, but by raising these issues early on he makes his audience aware that they will be considered:

\textsuperscript{136} Ll. 22655-8.
\textsuperscript{137} Sive comedam, sive bibam, sive aliquid aliud faciam, semper michi videtur illa tuba resonare in auribus \textit{meis}, "\textit{surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium}". This quotation is discussed extensively in Chapter Two.
\textsuperscript{138} Ll. 22451-4.
Als Jerome sais þat man wel truus,
Sais he fand in þe bok o Juus,
Queþer þai sal hal on rau bitide,
Or enterval bituix þam bide,
Þat vndos he us nour-quar,
Þof he was mikel cler o lare.\textsuperscript{139}

What the poet also does here is lend his work authority by citing the Church Fathers, in this case St Jerome; he employs this technique throughout the account of Doomsday, reinforcing the validity of his message. When describing the ninth sign, the poet calls upon St Augustine for assistance: 'I drau to warand saint austine, / þat spekes hu þis werld sal fine'; for the tenth sign, the poet calls upon St Jerome again, as well as St Gregory, 'pape o rome', and 'Sant Paule'.\textsuperscript{140} Interestingly, the reference to St Paul precedes the poet's description of the fear felt by the saints and angels at the prospect of Christ's second coming. Perhaps the poet felt that this particularly incredible concept required the support of some patristic authority. By deferring to auctoritates in this pseudo-scholastic manner, the poet demonstrates his eagerness to validate his account and prove that he is a reliable source of information to his audience. The utilisation of names such as Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine lends the poet's work the necessary gravity to convince his audience to believe him. Otherwise, if they ignore him, he cannot persuade them to repent.

**Entertainment**

As we have seen, through the means of terror and assurances that his account is bona fide, the poet is able to inform his audience of the necessity of vigilance and repentance. The poet is adamant that no person should ever let these events leave their thoughts; Doomsday should always remain at the forefront of a diligent Christian's mind. The horrifying nature of these events might help to ensure that people remember them, but in order to maintain an audience's attention throughout the account, there is probably no better way than to describe

\textsuperscript{139} Ll. 22441-6.
\textsuperscript{140} St Augustine, Ll. 22583-4; Sts Jerome and Gregory, Ll. 22595-6; St Paul, l. 22612.
the signs in the most dramatic, exciting and compelling way possible. So, it is to an examination of this section's potential to entertain that we turn next.

There is an unmistakably dramatic tone throughout the description of the fifteen signs, which the poet generates through the use of hyperbolic language. This can be witnessed repeatedly as the account ascends numerically through the series of events, where each is consistently described as being more dreadful than those which have come before. This effect creates a dramatic crescendo, swelling until the world bursts altogether on the final days. This process begins at the very outset, with the second sign being 'well war' than the first.\textsuperscript{141} The following signs are all 'ful griseli', but once we reach the seventh sign, it is described as more sorrowful 'þan sex þat i ha neuend.'\textsuperscript{142} Then, the eighth sign has 'Nan forwit o sa mikel wrak'; none of the preceding signs possess such great wrath or vengeance.\textsuperscript{143} Once again, the ninth sign will be so 'cruel and kene', that 'Was nan suilk o þaa forwit sene' – nothing like it has yet been seen.\textsuperscript{144} The fourteenth and fifteenth days, already quoted in full earlier, bring the sequence to a climax. The penultimate day will be 'ful il' and cruel to the whole world, all of the elements will seemingly conspire to destroy the earth, whilst the fifteenth day will simply be an 'ending of all'.\textsuperscript{145} These progressively dramatic events hold an audience's attention, anxiously anticipating the epic climax, which is reached in the outright chaos of day fourteen and the almost mournful events of day fifteen.

The language used to describe each sign further increases the drama, as the poet never shies away from superlative language when recounting the events of each day. The list of descriptors used to outline the terror of each event, recounted earlier, could just as well exemplify the poet's use of hyperbolic language for the value of entertainment. The events are repeatedly described as 'ful il', 'ful griseli', 'uncuth', 'cruel and kene', and so on.\textsuperscript{146} Such extreme language adds to the dramatic effect – these events are worse than anything that anyone in the audience has ever encountered. Indeed, the poet's hyperbolic lexicon literally reaches its limits, as he employs the aforementioned technique of simply claiming that no human tongue could possibly muster the necessary vocabulary required to describe these events. So, whilst this construction was earlier described as a means of enhancing the terror

\textsuperscript{141} Ll. 22476.
\textsuperscript{142} Ll. 22546.
\textsuperscript{143} Ll. 22562.
\textsuperscript{144} Ll. 22579-80.
\textsuperscript{145} Ll. 22689-90; 22702.
\textsuperscript{146} Ll. 22689; 22506; 22494; 22579.
of the signs, it also lends itself conveniently to the purpose of entertainment, since, once again, the poet cannot do absolute justice to such incomprehensible happenings, so the audience is left to fill the void with their own imaginations. In fact, we can witness this dramatic exaggeration in all three of the constructions discussed earlier. What greater superlative for expressing the spectacle of Christ’s coming could there be than to have the saints and angels themselves quivering with anxiety? Such a concept is not only frightening but is also a powerfully dramatic image. As is, equally, the idea of unborn children in their mothers’ wombs pleading not to be born. These moments are excellent examples of the poet’s tendency to hyperbolise in order to unnerve but also to excite.

The very awesomeness of the events could be considered entertaining, as reality itself is inverted. The most outlandish and impossible things are occurring, and the laws of nature are in disarray. There will be bloody rain, which turns the earth red; the glittering stars will fall down from heaven; the moon will turn as red as blood and descend upon the earth; the sun will turn as black as any hair; animals will cry out for mercy and flee in terror; hills and valleys will be levelled; the sea will rise into the air; sprawling towns and grand towers will crumble to dust as the earth quakes more violently than ever before. These spectacular events represent the world as people know it bursting at the seams as reality is turned upside down. From the safe vantage point of an audience member, these are exciting and awe-inspiring moments. To compound these moments of awe, there are also moments of triumph. During the events of the eleventh day, once the winds have split open the earth and the demons of Hell have been driven out from its core, they are cast back down by Christ, who will ‘dump þe deuls þider in […] And sal þam bidd to hald þam þar / Abouen erth to cum na mar.’147 This is a victorious moment, a moment of satisfaction in which the tormentors of Hell are banished permanently from the earth, and one can imagine such a triumph being narrated with relish.

Aside from being exciting, though, some of these events possess an air of farce, which might well be considered humorous. On the second day, the stars do not simply plummet and crash onto the earth, but they ‘on erth rin her and þar’, weeping as though they were human.148 On the following day, when the moon descends to the earth, it does not tarry (‘Bot þar ne sal it nawight lend’), but runs to the sea and hides there (‘Bot to þe see þan sal it rin, / And þar sco sal hir hide þar-in’).149 On the fifth day, ‘All bestes dumb vnder þe lift’ raise

147 Ll. 22640-6.
148 Ll. 22483-4.
149 Ll. 22500-502.
their heads and cry out for mercy, louder than ten or eleven men.\textsuperscript{150} On the fourteenth day, the clouds also run to the sea to hide ‘þar-in’, in order to flee the ferocity of the Doom.\textsuperscript{151} Some of the imagery evoked in these examples is farcical, and the idea of these intangible, inanimate, and non-sentient things behaving so irrationally is bordering on the comical. These objects and animals are anthropomorphised and utilised to demonstrate the disorder that Doomsday will unleash; normality is skewed and chaos reigns.

The poet’s use of expressive, engaging language is the final component which lends this section an entertaining character. Much of the poet’s account of the signs is not just drily informative (like the parallel examples mentioned earlier, John Lydgate and the Liber Exemplorum), but is complemented by the use of rich and vibrant language. As the blood-red rain falls on the first day, for example, the poet compares the effect to a glistening morning dew:

\begin{quote}
For þar sal fall dun fra þe lijft
A blodi rain, a dreri drift,
Pe erth sal be al rede of heu,
Ne sagh i neuer suilk a deu!\textsuperscript{152}
\end{quote}

Returning to the second day once again, the stars ‘wit þair leman leuen [glittering light]’ are described as falling down from Heaven ‘Ful saddli’, as none is so well fastened (‘wel fest’) ‘þat it ne sal dun þat dai fall’.\textsuperscript{153} The image that this creates of the stars being securely fastened to the sky is undeniably poetic. It is these comparisons which bring the events imaginatively to life, as the bloody rain is compared to morning dew, and the stars which have lost their light become ‘al black sum ani cole’.\textsuperscript{154} The rhymes employed by the poet embellish each event with additional descriptive imagery. For example, the fourth sign describes the sun as it loses its light:

\begin{quote}
Pat þe sun þat es sa bright,
And seruis al þis werld o light,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{150} Ll. 22521-30.
\textsuperscript{151} Ll. 22695-7.
\textsuperscript{152} Ll. 22461-4.
\textsuperscript{153} Ll. 22477-80.
\textsuperscript{154} Ll. 22488-9; 22510.
It sal becum þan ful vnfair,
Dune and blak sum ani hair;
Quen it es þe fairest on to loke,
At middai time, als sais þe bok,
Blacken it sal þat ilk time
Pat nan þar-wit sal se a stime [ray of light].

The rhymes used here are vivid and imaginative, painting an image of the sun undergoing this unnatural transition. The same can be said about the description of the events of the seventh day:

Pe tres for-casten sal þam pain
For to right þam up again,
Dun þe croppe, vpward þe rote,
O murthes þan es nan to mote;
Vnquemfulli þan sal þai quak,
Þat all þe erth it sal to scak;
Noght a leif o þam sal last
Quen þat þe gret of þam sal brast.

There is an unmistakable tempo to these lines, particularly from ‘Dun þe croppe, vpward þe rote’, which provides the means for a riveting oral narrative.

These examples demonstrate the ways in which the poet delivers his account in an exciting, fast-paced, engaging manner, hopefully assisting in maintaining an audience’s attention. By doing so, the poet ensures that crucial information regarding Doomsday is not easily missed. His words are exciting and memorable, which serves the purpose of better arming his audience to prepare for these events. As such, in this section the elements of horror, awe, entertainment, and education intertwine to create a compelling narrative which is

155 Ll. 22507-14.
156 Ll. 22547-54.
hard to ignore or forget. In order to conclude this section examining the Fifteen Signs, attention should be drawn to the final lines, which offer a glimmer of hope among the embers of a shattered world, as ‘Heuen and erth’ are ‘to be mad neu’. This spark of reassurance hints at events to come and their potential for comfort and even pleasure. First, however, the most important moment of all must take place – Christ’s judgement of humankind on Doomsday itself.

**What Shall Happen on Doomsday**

We turn now to the poem’s account of Doomsday itself, and the events that take place thereon. This section of the narrative, which comprises nearly five-hundred lines, is dominated by didactic content, as the poet attempts to convey as much information about the Last Judgement as he possibly can. The event to which the poet devotes much of his attention is the general resurrection of the dead preceding Christ’s judgement of humanity; this is a contentious theological issue, which, judging by the Cursor-poet’s obvious concern with explicating it, clearly not only garnered confusion, but even scepticism. The medieval mind, says Paul Binski, was ‘prone to concrete belief’, and so this doctrine required substantial clarification.

Discussion of this moment in the Cursor Mundi, therefore, occupies a substantial portion of the account of Doomsday. The poet, like others before him, is clearly endeavouring to illuminate this perplexing and challenging doctrine for the benefit of a less theologically sophisticated audience – he acknowledges that it is a difficult notion to comprehend, but he explains how faith in it is entirely justified nevertheless. Just as with his treatment of the Fifteen Signs, the poet calls upon patristic authority to reinforce his argument and to validate the more incredible concepts that this event raises. In addition, the poet employs an extensive exemplum to further elaborate upon the intricacies of the bodily resurrection. Both of these techniques remind us once again of the Cursor Mundi’s scholastic pretensions.

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157 L. 22709.  
158 Binski, Medieval Death, p. 200. According to Binski, Book Four of Peter Lombard’s Sentences, of the mid-twelfth century, was a ‘standard reference-point for the difficulties the idea [of bodily resurrection] raised’, p. 200. See pp. 199-203 for Binski’s discussion of this issue in its theological context.
Besides its treatment of the general resurrection, there is a broader educational tone throughout this section, as much of the poet's discussion of the events of Doomsday itself centres on the processes and practicalities of Christ's judgement, touched upon in the account of the Fifteen Signs. The general ideas of when, where, and how Christ will come to judge are accompanied by explanations of who will be standing where, how they will appear and feel, and what will happen to them. This description of the 'assize' creates an image that is very much concerned with the spatial coordination of its main protagonists, which is a common theme across the wider genre. A sermon for the First Sunday in Advent, for instance, employs a trope in which a sinner on Doomsday is accosted from all sides:

> Per schal be dyuers accusoures a boven hym, wit inne hym, on eyþer sydes him and vnder hym þat he schal us wayschape. A boven hym schal be cst’ ihu’ hys domus man so wroght þat þer con no tonge telle for he dede no mercy. Wythinne hym hys owne conscyens, accusing hym of þe leste þoght þat euer he dede amys. Hys angel on þe right syde tellyng hym redly where whenne and how ofte he hath don amys. On þe oþer syde fendus chalangyng hym heres as by ryght for hys wyked dedes. Vnder hym helle ʒonyng and galpyng to swolewe ham þat ben evel and spyttyng out fyre and stennch þoo þat ben fond evel þat day þer schal ben in payne and woe wit out ende.¹⁵⁹

The biblical emphasis (Matthew 25:32-3) on the separation of the good and the wicked onto Christ's right- and left-hand sides, respectively, which is the archetypal arrangement of Last Judgement imagery and the focal point of Doom-texts, probably stimulates this concern. Overall, then, this section is awash with information, and its intent is palpably pedagogic; this

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¹⁵⁹ London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, f. 5v. This trope is encountered frequently, in numerous sermons and other Doom-texts, for example in Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, ff. 127v-133r; Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 103, ff. 179r-181v. It also features prominently in a vernacular version of Anselm’s ‘meditation to stir up fear’, which is discussed further in Chapter Two. The Prick of Conscience takes this concept even further, describing ‘fiften maneres of accusours sere’, including one’s conscience, sins, devils and angels, martyrs, and so on (See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 150, l. 5423 onwards). Moreover, the frequent mention of the Doom’s taking place at the Vale of Josaphat, the fixation with the attendees of the Judgement – such as the hosts of angels and saints accompanying Christ, the poor who will judge the rich, and the similitudes made between the Assize and a legal setting, are staples of this concern with practicality. Indeed, the same sermon, in Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, invokes these latter two tropes as well: ‘Pat day of dome pore men schul sytte in dom wit crist and deme þe rich for þe woo and þe desee þat pore mon hau ys by rych mon for þagh þey hau mych wrong þay mowe geten non a mendes tyl þay come to þat dome, þer þey schul haue alle hure owne wylle of ham for whom þey hau wronge þey may gete non amendes but pray to god ful hertefuly to quyte ham at þe day of dome and so wold he ful well and trowlly for god seyth keputh ʒowre vengeans to me and y wol quite.’
information is often supplied with relative objectivity, as the poet attempts to inform his audience and explain as much as possible.

Such an approach is seemingly taken at the expense of entertainment, since it has proven more difficult to isolate as many moments of drama and charm that frequently punctuated the previous section. Although there is less identifiably entertaining content in this section, some attention will be given to the exemplum, mentioned above, which arguably possesses a humorous nature. Moments with a potential for drama (and Doomsday has plenty) are delivered more drily; the emphasis is placed on being informative instead. Aside from this, there are a handful of moments which noticeably fit the criteria, outlined earlier, to be considered entertaining. The poet’s attention to detail once again provides much of the intrigue and excitement.

Despite an overwhelming effort to elucidate in this account of Doomsday, the poet does not neglect the feelings of fear and anxiety inevitably engendered by the prospect of Christ’s judgement. As with the signs preceding the Doom, it would be difficult to describe these events without conveying some sense of awe and dread. Undergoing the process of judgement face-to-face with Christ, under the invigilation of the heavenly court, is a truly daunting prospect. For those with an unshriven soul (the poet, as is common across the Doomsday genre, frequently stresses the importance of confession and repentance), the idea of being under the scrutiny of Christ and the saints, with your every deed exposed, must be a truly terrifying one. There are, then, probably as expected, undeniable moments of horror throughout this section, as the poet takes a particularly hard-line approach toward the sinful. Indeed, one especially disconcerting example is the poet’s ruthlessness with regards to stillborn or aborted babies: without baptism, they will never have any share in the bliss of heaven.

Nevertheless, it is in this section that we are first greeted with overt moments of pleasure, comfort, and reassurance about the events of Doomsday, notions which are perhaps not expected in an account of the Last Judgement. More importantly, these ideas are not just meagre traces, predominantly surpassed by the feelings of dread and awe, but are palpable throughout this section and the poem’s account of Doomsday as a whole. Considering that it is humanity’s final judgement under discussion, the poet treats this subject relatively liberally; his account is not at all biased toward a vitriolic condemnation of the sinful, but provides plenty of comforting moments for the benevolent. The arrival of Christ and the events of
Doomsday would be awful for some, but surely delightful for others, as it is the beginning of an eternity in bliss if one is found deserving. A pertinent example of this is the poet's detailed exposition of the perfect physical state in which the blessed will return after the bodily resurrection; disabilities, maladies and deformities will all be removed after this event, an undeniably comforting prospect. So, it is in this section that we start to witness the Cursor Mundi's diverse approach to Doomsday, highlighting its rejection of a one-dimensional, fear-mongering narrative.

**Comfort and Reassurance**

Since the poem's account of the Fifteen Signs lacked such positive notions, it seems pertinent to begin the discussion of this section with these ideas of comfort and reassurance, as they are arguably the most intriguing. Firstly, although all things stand in awe at the sight of the 'demester' coming to judge, when the 'blast o beme [trumpet]' is heard, the poet states explicitly that it is the sinful who will be of 'sorful chere' when they are 'be-for þe face o þat Kaiser'. Indeed, it is the sinful alone who will be confronted with the horrifying visage of the Domesman, looking as he did when crucified, chastising them terribly for their negligence of his suffering and his behests. A unique text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodle MS 789 (discussed extensively in Chapter Three), attests to this, having the Judge berate the damned on Doomsday. So, too, does the second-century Apocalypse of St Peter, which explains, ‘as for the elect who have done good, they will come to me and not see death by the devouring fire.’ Likewise, in the Prick of Conscience, it is made abundantly clear that the blessed will delight in seeing Christ’s form on Doomsday, while the damned will be confronted with the Domesman in all his terror and be desperate to flee. Christ’s visage will be so dreadful, that the wicked would prefer to still be in the depths of Hell than face him:

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Bot þe snyful þat sal rise þat tyde
Bynethe on þe erthe sal Crist abyde
In drede and sorow charged with synne,
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160 Ll. 22711-12; 22755-7.
161 Discussed fully in Chapter Three.
For þai may nourwhare away wynne.

Þam war lever be depe in helle þan,

Þan com byfor þat domesman.

Þai wald fayne fle, if þai myght,

Or hide þam fra þat domesman sight

[...] Crist ful awsterne þan sal be

Agayn synful men þat him sal se.

Dredful and hydus, als says þe boke,

He sal be to þam, when þai on hym loke,

And ful delitable unto þe sight

Of ryghtwyse men þat lyffed here ryght.\textsuperscript{163}

The implication is that Christ has come to condemn the wicked and to liberate the good. This juxtaposition is realised unequivocally later in the Cursor Mundi’s account, when the poet, discussing the likely timing of Doomsday (‘On pask dai [Easter Day] sai santes sum’), explains that Christ will come to bring the faithful into bliss: ‘þat ilk time sal cum þe king / His lele vn-to his blis þou bring’.\textsuperscript{164}

Indeed, the reassurance of this statement is compounded by the poet’s direct addresses to the saved on several occasions. Lines 22997-8, for example, say the following: ‘þar sal we mete wit him [Christ] to lend [dwell], / For euermar wit-vten end’. The use of the first-person plural here seems to suggest that the poet not only envisions himself among the blessed, but also whomever he is addressing in his audience. A few lines further on, in fact, the poet implores his audience to ‘truus hali kirc and we’ on these matters. Since, as outlined earlier in this chapter, the poet considers himself an obedient and legitimate servant of the Church, he appears to also believe himself to be virtually pre-elected to the ranks of the saved.\textsuperscript{165} To support this division, in addition to this apparent display of self-assurance, the damned are

\textsuperscript{163} See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 140, ll. 5054-61, and p. 145, ll. 5235-40. Indeed, the damned are denied perhaps the most divine experience possible: they only see Christ in his ‘manhede’, and not in his ‘godhede’; they will see Christ as he appeared hanging from the Rood, ‘alle bla and blody als he þan was’, ‘For þai sal noght se of his godhede’, p. 146, ll. 5259-70.
\textsuperscript{164} Ll. 22953; 22961-2.
\textsuperscript{165} Ll. 23004.
then referred to as an external group with the employment of the third-person, in contrast to
the use of the first when discussing the blessed: ‘Pe wicked, þat dred noght his au, / Here dun
þai sal be dempt lau, / Þai sal na might haf þider to win, / Sua heui carked o þair sin’.166

In this manner, the poet demonstrates his desire to emphasise the reward that awaits
the good, rather than only stressing the grisly fate of the damned. The good are those people
who did not seek excessive wealth and who shared what ‘catel’ they did have with the ‘pouer’,
who with glad and willing hearts did the bidding of ‘hali kirc’, and who amended their errors
and truly believed at the end.167 These are the men and women who will be rewarded on
Doomsday, and who can derive solace from this account; to these people Christ will speak
‘ful suetli’, and ‘Ful light sal be þair lott’ at the Last Judgement.168 Indeed, the poet quotes the
prophet Joel as explaining that on Doomsday Christ will break the bonds of the good, and
offer them ‘comforth and solace’.169 This comforting promise is followed by a rendition of the
Seven Works of Mercy, recited by Christ directly to the saved, to which these ‘blisced folk’
have adhered and lived their lives dutifully, earning themselves a share of heavenly bliss, to
last ‘for euer and a’, ‘þat ihesu crist mot bring vs to’.170 The saved, then, can expect genuinely
pleasant treatment on Doomsday. So, here we are presented with the positive face of the
Doom - for the people who have lived their lives appropriately, Christ’s coming has the
potential to be comforting, since his arrival immediately precipitates the commencement of
eternal bliss for those who are deserving of it.

A slightly different notion of comfort is also detectable in this section, one which
would have arguably provided a rather touching reassurance to relevant audience members.
This can be found in the poet's extensive discussion of the bodily resurrection, a subject upon
which he expends a significant amount of ink. In discussing the minutiae of the general
resurrection, the poet elaborates upon the concept of the physical perfection in which the
blessed shall return to life. He actually aims this subject directly at those people, arguably in
his envisioned audience itself, that have lived their lives on earth with maladies, disabilities,

166 Ll. 22999-23002.
167 Ll. 23069; 23070; 23074.
168 Ll. 23079-80.
169 Ll. 22967-8.
170 L. 23081; 23098-99, note here once again the poet’s use of the first-person plural with ‘vs’; he cannot resist
the temptation to include himself among the saved on Doomsday. Despite examples of positive notions in this
section, it does also deal significantly with the simultaneous fate of the damned, which will be examined as well.
However, in forthcoming sections the poet frequently cannot resist elaborating upon the joys of the saved, rather
than obsessing over the punishments of the damned, highlighting his interest in the pleasurable aspects of the
Doom.
and infirmities. In so doing, the poet offers comfort and hope to those who have struggled in this life by promising them renewal in the next. To fully appreciate the effect of the poet’s reassurance, it is well worth quoting an extensive extract here:

And if þat ani her liuand
Was wemed, or on fote or on hand,
Or hefd, or bak, or brest, on side,
Als we se chances oft betide,
On muth or nese, or elles-quar,
Or bote apon his bodi bar,
Cripel, croked, or turnd o baft,
Or limes ma gain kindli craft,
Thoru ma or less o lim haf last,
At þis vprising þat sal be last.\footnote{These sentiments trigger questions about the subject of disability in the Middle Ages, which is an increasingly popular topic for research in recent years. The value of these passages from the Cursor Mundi to this subject is, I think, noteworthy, particularly in imbuing the concept of disability in the Middle Ages with a religious sentiment in its association with the restoration of the body at the Last Judgement. See Irina Metzler, A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment (New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2013); Joseph Eyler, ed., Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverbrations (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Patricia Skinner, Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).}

All þaa þat godd has chosin til his
For to be broght into his blis,
Quat-sum þai in þis luf has bene,
It sal na wem [blemish] o þam be sene,
Ne naking thing bot all fair-hede,
Als we in hali scripture rede.
All sal haue right limes þar
Þai aght to haf, ne less ne mar;
Bot take tent quat I sai to þe,
O fair stature quat it sal be,
And o þair eild o þam i mele,
Pat crist tas for his aun lele.\textsuperscript{172}

Whatever such people have undergone in this life, not a blemish will be seen upon them in the next if they are part of Christ's faithful.

The potential for controversy on this issue was significant. For instance, the practice of funerary bodily division and evisceration, rife among the elite strata of medieval society, was extremely frowned upon by the Church. It fell into the wider logical quandary – along with the preponderance of disembodied martyrs and saints, whose cults revolved around the reverence of corporeal objects associated with them (not to mention the bodily relics of Christ himself) – of the restoration of one’s body in full at the general resurrection. Paul Binski discusses this issue and, rightly, draws attention to the valid concerns of ‘the medieval horde of amputees’.\textsuperscript{173} The Cursor-poet, then, arguably dispels these concerns, explaining that laypeople with disabilities, deformities, amputations, and so on, will be ‘made whole’ (as it were) at the resurrection, no matter what. This is a heart-warming piece of poetry, offering solace to those who have suffered in futility in this life. It is not spiritual blackmail, it is not fearmongering to compel redemption; this is positive encouragement to have faith and live a good Christian life, to follow the tenets of the Church and abide by its teachings, as the ultimate reward is promised to you after the Last Judgement if you do. It is a positive incentive to simply be a good Christian and not lament over your lot in this life, because if you are found deserving, your lot in the next will be perfect bliss.

The poet contrasts this plausurable outcome with the juxtaposing fate of the damned, whom he again isolates as an external group. Rather pointedly, in only a few lines he categorically states that ‘þaas oþer’ will have no share of this joy and perfection.\textsuperscript{174} Then, to conclude his treatment of the bodily resurrection, the poet reiterates that we need not have

\textsuperscript{172} Ll. 22823-844. The Prick of Conscience presents a similarly positive future for the disabled or maimed: ‘And if any lyms be here unsemely / Thurgh outragiouste of kyn namely, / God sal abate þat outrage thurgh myght / And make þa lyms semely to sight.’ See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 139, ll. 5009-12. As does the Elucidarium: ‘And in such wyse those the whiche haue ben croked or lame and yll-formed, or whoso hath had ony faute in ony member shall be ryght and perfyte entylerly.’ Stephen Morrison, ed., The Late Middle English Lucydarye, Textes Vernaculaires du Moyen Age, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 69.

\textsuperscript{173} See Paul Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 66-68.

\textsuperscript{174} Ll. 22845-8.
concerns about how Christ will accomplish such an astonishing feat. Just as a potter who breaks a new vessel is able to make another which is 'Wel fairer þan þe first was wroght', 'Right sua sal crist, ne dut ye noght', when on Doomsday he will 'Mak a wel fairer licam [body]' from that which was lame. The message here is a clear and comforting one: have no doubts about the process of bodily resurrection, as no matter what has happened to your body on earth, on Doomsday God will reunite it, in perfect form, even better than it first was. Such a reassuring notion is aimed by the poet directly at those who will hope to be among the saved. This is the positive face of the doom in which all rights will be wronged and justice will be delivered to those who deserve it.

**Terror**

So, what about those who do not deserve it? Or, more appropriately, those who deserve the sterner side of divine justice. As demonstrated, there are positive veins throughout the poet's account of the events of Doomsday, but there is also a consistent dichotomy, which contrasts the fate of the saved with that of the damned. The latter similarly need to understand exactly what awaits them should they not make amends. Much like many of the events comprising the account of the Fifteen Signs, the day of Doom itself will be awful to endure; indeed, it will be worse than anything that has happened since the Creation:

\[
\text{Pat sin þe werld it first bigan}
\]
\[
\text{Was neuer sene sa sorful tide,}
\]
\[
\text{Als þat dai sal be for to bide.}^{176}
\]

Furthermore, the poet again employs the familiar hyperbole that we encountered in the previous section, as he informs us that 'Bath heuen and erth for him sal dred', and that 'It es na cleric mai write wit inc, / Ne muth to mele, na hert to thinc,' as to just how awesome Christ's coming will be. The reiteration of these constructs reminds us that the day itself is finally here. The anticipation that was cultivated in the account of the Fifteen Signs, which, through the use of such superlative, inspired awe at Christ's power, is now becoming a reality. All of the fear felt in the previous section was on account of dread for the coming of Christ. Now,

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175 Ll. 22937-952.  
176 Ll. 22734-6.  
177 Ll. 22743-6.
with the blast of the trumpets, he is finally here; it is too late to repent and there is no escape. Faced with this prospect, it is the wicked who must recognise the peril of the situation: 'Allas! quat sal þe sinful sai […] Quen all þai sall þaa trumpes here'. This is a wakeup call for those who are not in a state of shrift, whilst perhaps passively reassuring those who are.

The sinful, much like the saved, will be sub-divided into two groups (‘þair parti to be delt in tua’): the wicked, guilty of deadly sins, and the not-so-wicked, guilty of venial sins. The poet heaps vitriol onto the former of these two parties: they are 'wreches', woefully arrayed, 'lath and stincand' (loathsome and odious), and pathetic to look upon. Their ranks are comprised of unbelievers ('wreches mistruand'), deniers, traitors and frauds ('þat renaid ar traiturs and fals'), murderers and perjurers ('murthereres and monsuorn als'), who through cursing or 'oþer plight' have lost their right to bliss. They are those who in this life were wont to lie in 'hordom and in lecheri', who followed 'al þair flexsli will', who sinned wickedly without remorse or 'will to mend', dying in a state of deadly sin, 'vn-scriuen war þai at þair end'. The scorn that the poet pours upon these people is unsettling. The message is stern but clear: confession and absolution of your sins is pivotal in attaining salvation, as there is no turning back once the trumpets sound. The poet underlines this point in stating unsympathetically that there will be no need for Christ to judge these people, 'for þai war dempt ar þai com þare' – they brought their doom upon themselves ('þair dom apoin þam self þai bare'). This raises an important issue that is reiterated several times throughout this section, that of the emphasis placed by the poet on the role of the Church in obtaining salvation. Dying unshriven results in immediate and irreversible damnation, it is only through the sacraments that one can be saved from such a fate.

The poet further displays his disdain for the damned, channelled through Christ's own voice, in the juxtaposing (and abbreviated) rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy, which these people failed to perform in their lives. Christ addresses the wicked as he did the good, but this time 'Wit mikel wret and awful chere':

"Dos fles hephen, yee maledight!"

178 Ll. 22750, 22755-6.
179 Ll. 23106.
180 Ll. 23104-108.
181 Ll. 23110-14.
182 Ll. 23117-23.
183 Ll. 23124-6.
Vn-to mi rike [kingdom] ha yee na right,

Oft i was wit malisce mette,

Bot for yow was me neuer bett;

In hungri and thirst oft sagh yee me,

Bot þar-of had yee na pite.

Gas to þe deuil, þar sal yee ga,

For to well þar-in his wa,

Euer wit-in his wa to well,

Wit him and his þar-in to dwell.**¹⁸⁴**

This visceral chastisement, delivered by Christ himself, is a truly terrifying spectacle; the fate of the wicked is made absolutely plain as they are peremptorily dismissed without appeal, receiving the full venomous wrath of the Judge.

What is perhaps the most frightening of all to an audience in this account, though, is that, in the same ruthless manner, the poet not only addresses the fate of the truly wicked, but also that of those who are guilty of light sins. He is unequivocal in doing so: they are doomed to hell along with the most sinful, there is no middle ground ('Bot þai þat has bot sinnes light […] / O feinds sal to þe dai be ledd').**¹⁸⁵** These are the people who have not upheld God's laws ('þat crist laghes wil noght hald'), who spare little for the poor ('bot littel beris þe pouer a-wai, / Þai er sa gnede þat þai ne mai spare'), who have lived in envy, anger and lechery ('in nith and enst and licheri'), and who make no amends despite being counselled to do so ('ne for na consail mendes mak').**¹⁸⁶** To these false Christians ('falsli es he cristen calld') the poet explains clearly:

*Wijt yee for-soth all þat er slik

þai sal be dempt al wit þe wick[.]***¹⁸⁷**

**¹⁸⁴** Ll. 23157-168.
**¹⁸⁵** Ll. 23021-3.
**¹⁸⁶** Ll. 23127-52.
**¹⁸⁷** Ll. 23153-4, emphasis is mine.
On Doomsday there will be no opportunity to purge venial sin, it is already too late; if you have not repented for your errors then your only destination is Hell for eternity.

Once again, though, the poet emphasises the fact that the Church and the sacraments are the crucial remedy against such a fate. People who 'þat þan in sinnes light war' but 'penance þar-of don has nan' are they who will find themselves in trouble at the Last Judgement. The sin itself is not the only crime; most importantly, it is through the neglect of shrift and penance that such people are doomed:

Vnnethes [scarcely] sal man find an in lede [people]
   Pat wel will scriue þam o þis sake [guilt],
   Ne for na consail mendes mak. 189

It is folly to ignore this counsel and to refuse to make amends, as it will condemn you to Hell on Doomsday. Even if you are guilty of only minor transgressions, this sentiment is a keen incentive not to disregard the role that the Church must play in your attainment of salvation. At Doomsday there is no longer the opportunity for absolution through post-mortem cleansing in Purgatory. Neither the prayers and alms of relatives and friends, nor grandiose gestures of piety to accrue indulgences can save you at the Last Judgement. Only the sacraments of the Church, performed by one of its legitimate representatives in this lifetime, can help you at the very end. The message is abundantly clear: take heed of this advice and make good on your trespasses immediately to save your soul for eternity. As the eponymous protagonist in the late-fifteenth-century morality play, Everyman, corroborates, shrift is the mother of salvation. 190

If, however, some further encouragement were required to compel a person to undertake a spiritual makeover, the poet is quite explicit in explaining that 'penance sal haue na noþer pine [i.e., motivation]' than 'dred o þe wiþer win' – dread that the fiend will win. 191

188 Ll. 23029–30.
189 Ll. 23150–2.
190 G. A. Lester, ed., Three Late Medieval Morality Plays (London: Methuen Drama, 2014), p. 86, l. 552. See Eamon Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, p. 310: 'Everyman finds his good works too weak and feeble to help him when he calls on them to accompany him to the grave. His soul is saved not by them, but by the grace of repentance, mediated through the Church’s sacramental system, confession and penance, anointing and viaticum.' Likewise, in a sermon for the First Sunday in Lent, in London, British Library, Harley MS 26, 60v-61v, an exemplum recounts the case of a man who confessed but did not complete the penance. When confronted with the Devil, who has recorded all of the man’s sins, the man summons a priest and is confessed once more to remove the Devil’s power. The ecclesiastical sacraments, conducted properly, are the most potent ward against damnation.
191 Ll. 23031–2.
That dread should be 'sua vn-mete [immense]' that it shall overcome all such imperfections ('it mai all sli plightes be[te]') and act as the only incentive that one requires to cleanse one's soul.\textsuperscript{192} Fear is used as a tool for provoking repentance: the dread will be so overwhelming that it can overcome sin. A point of interest here is that, unusually in this account of Doomsday, it is the Devil whom the audience are advised to fear, whereas normally it is 'him was don on rode' that is the focus of such immense dread.\textsuperscript{193}

This provocation of spiritual shame through terror, combined with reiterations of the role that the Church must play in absolving such guilt, is epitomised in the poet's brief but acerbic explication of the fate of aborted and stillborn babies ('þe childir þat es abortiues, / þaa þat er not born o-liues').\textsuperscript{194} Initially, the impression given is a comforting one, as the poet explains that such children 'sal rise in thritte winter eild' – at the age of thirty winters (a concept reminiscent of the late fourteenth-century Pearl poem,\textsuperscript{195} in which a grieving father is actually comforted by the knowledge, presented through a dream, that his infant daughter is in heavenly bliss, metamorphosed into a beautiful young maiden).\textsuperscript{196} Any assurances of a joyous reunion are swiftly dismissed, however, as the poet explains that the children shall have 'na part o bliss' and that they 'mai sauved be on nakin wai'; they are doomed to an eternity of woe, to live in 'merckenes for euer and a'.\textsuperscript{197} This is a threatening warning against the abortion of an unborn child as, through this deed, the infant is condemned to eternal

\textsuperscript{192} Ll. 23035-6.
\textsuperscript{193} L. 22498. Chapter Three will demonstrate this in more detail, as it is clearly the prospect of facing the almighty Judge with which we are frequently threatened, rather than having to confront the Devil in Hell. In sermon material the threat of the Devil appears more regularly, though.
\textsuperscript{194} Ll. 22849-50.
\textsuperscript{195} The late-fourteenth century Pearl survives in only one location, the endearingly illustrated London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A.x, which also contains Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. For the Pearl poem, see Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, eds, The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 5\textsuperscript{th} edition reprint (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), pp. 12-16, 53-111.
\textsuperscript{196} L. 22851. The age of thirty or thirty-three was usually cited in accordance with the age at which Christ died and resurrected, thus making it the 'perfect age'. ‘Do you find it a cause for wonder that the resurrection should bring into being the perfect age of man in infants and in the very old, when man was made from the mire and clay, complete and perfect, without any of the stages of growth associated with the ages?’ Saint Jerome, Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum, Section 32, cited in Roberta Gilchrist, Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), p. 200. The Prick of Conscience describes the situation thusly: ‘þan sale alle ryse in þe same eld þan, / þat God had fully here als man, / Namly, when he up rayse thurgh myght / Fra dede, als says saynt Austyn ryght. / þan was he of threty yhere elde and twa / And of thre monethes þarwith alswa.’ See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 138, ll. 4983-88. And the Elucidarium: [Master] ‘And we all shall be of þe aege as oure Lorde was whan he dyed on the tree of the crosse, that is to vnnderstande, of xxxiiij yeres.’ Stephen Morrison, ed., The Late Middle English Lucydarye, Textes Vermaulaires du Moyen Age, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 67.
\textsuperscript{197} Ll. 22854-8.
damnation without any hope of relief. But it is also a more heartless notion for any grieving mothers, the death of whose infants was out of their control.

In a similar vein, the archaeological evidence compiled by Roberta Gilchrist regarding burial practices highlights the widespread stigmatisation of this defenceless demographic:

In contrast, the corpses of unbaptized infants were regarded ambiguously – they were liminal creatures that carried the taint of Original Sin. Without the cleansing sacrament of baptism, newborns were perceived as fearful objects that might return from the dead […] Unbaptized infants were among the stigmatized groups that were excluded from burial in the consecrated grounds of the churchyard, along with suicides and murderers.  

In reality, much like with contradictory attitudes towards the bodily resurrection, popular practice bypassed this religious stigmatism. Gilchrist explains,

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that, in reality, more humane practices prevailed in local communities. There are several excavated examples of women who died in childbirth having been buried in the church together with their stillborn baby, in direct contravention of clerical ordinances. 

It is clear, then, that this assault on unbaptised infants is not unique to the Cursor-poet, and popular responses to this stigmatisation were not positive.

It is important to clarify, however, that the children the poet is discussing here are those that were 'noght baptis iwiss [truly]', so, indirectly, he indicates precisely how this fate can be avoided. Once again, the instrumental role played by the Church and the sacraments is stressed: through baptism, an infant can be spared this harsh sentence. The poet is always keen to underline the fact that without adherence to the Church's stipulations, one cannot achieve salvation. In order to attain joy on Doomsday one must have included the Church and its representatives at the appropriate ceremonies in this life. The function performed by the clergy in keeping you and your loved ones safe from eternal darkness is aggrandised. The vehicle by which the poet realises this point is a fearsome one, as it targets an emotionally

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198 Roberta Gilchrist, Medieval Life, p. 209.
199 Roberta Gilchrist, ibid., p. 209.
200 L. 22853.
sensitive issue, but this probably serves to enhance the effect of the message: there is no salvation without the Church.

We can place all of this into more historical context. The poet refers specifically to children who are not born 'o-liues' – those that have died before they have actually been born. This was evidently a sensitive issue, as how can infants who have died without being given any chance at absolution from Original Sin deserve to suffer the pains of Hell for eternity? In many cases such a notion would probably have been excruciatingly painful for parents undergoing this tragedy. Accordingly, it was addressed directly by the Church in the edicts of Lateran IV. In the very first Canon, no less, the Council stipulated that the sacrament of baptism might be performed 'by anyone whatsoever', so long as it adhered to 'the form prescribed by the church'.\footnote{Shinners, Medieval Popular Religion, p. 8.} The inclusion of this issue in the very first Canon highlights its pertinence in contemporary society. It is especially poignant as this Canon succinctly outlines the unbending doctrine of the Catholic Church, so to sacrifice the exclusivity of the sacraments, allowing one of them to be performed by someone not 'ordained in accordance with the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors', is a significant moment indeed.\footnote{Shinners, ibid., p. 8.}

Furthermore, this was clearly an accepted practice by the Cursor-poet's lifetime. William of Pagula's early fourteenth-century Oculus Sacerdotis, a popular manual of religious instruction, 'provided a programme of instruction for lay people in essential religious knowledge', including how to 'baptize babies in case of emergency'.\footnote{Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pp. 54-55.} In a collection of medieval 'ghost stories', compiled c. 1400 by an anonymous Cistercian monk at the Abbey of Byland, we encounter an example of this emergency baptism in the extreme. We are offered the account of one Richard Rountree, who, while on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, witnesses an apparition of the dead. One of these spirits, a newborn baby, confronts Richard, and turns out to be Richard's own son whom his wife aborted without Richard's knowledge. The midwives, the babe explains, buried him without baptism and so he has been confined to post-mortem limbo. Richard then performs, to quote J. C. Schmitt, 'a sort of wild emergency baptism'.\footnote{Jean-Claude Schmitt, Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 145. The Monk of Byland’s tales are recounted in full in Andrew Joynes, Medieval Ghost Stories: An Anthology of Miracles, Marvels and Prodigies (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 166-174.} The baby immediately jumps for joy as, presumably, it is
now free to enjoy paradise. This concern over unbaptised infants was clearly prolific, as Schmitt refers to a widespread contemporary practice of taking babies to ‘sanctuaries of grace’, wherein it was hoped that a child who had died at birth could be resuscitated, if only for an instant, so that baptism could be performed.\(^{205}\) The Cursor-poet’s chastisement, then, is aimed not at the infants, but at the parents – the mother most likely bearing the burden of the poet’s accusation – who prematurely abort a child, condemning it to damnation because of a lack of baptism.

Clearly, the clergy did not expect to have exclusivity in performing the sacrament of baptism. This is quite a striking instance of medieval pragmatism in which a concession was made by the Church in response to an emotional issue. It is a practical acknowledgement of the fact that baptisms needed to be performed quite urgently in a society with high rates of infant mortality. Likewise, in an analogous example of clerical surrender of the sacraments under practical exigence, at the height of the first outbreak of the Black Death, the bishop of Bath and Wells reminded his flock that even confession could be performed by a layperson in case of absolute emergency.\(^{206}\) In such a time of crisis, with mortality rates soaring, it is an obviously practical decision to relent on the clerical exclusivity of the sacraments. We might perhaps expect the usually rigid dogma and hierarchy of the Church to preclude such compromises taking place. Instead, a humane decision was made to permit lay incursion into the holy sacraments, allowing countless souls to be rescued from the flames of Hell.

Returning to the Cursor Mundi, in this seemingly cruel explanation of the fate of unbaptised children we can witness once again the poet’s recapitulation of the crucial importance of the sacraments in attaining salvation on Doomsday. The use of such an emotionally sensitive subject is powerful and acts as a strong incentive to involve the Church in your life; it is made clear that the Church is instrumental in saving the souls of you and your loved ones. We have seen in this section that this effect is achieved largely through the perpetuation of fear, with the poet ruthlessly detailing the irreversible fate of the damned, particularly emphasising the fact that any sin left unshriven, whether venial or deadly, will result in damnation on Doomsday. Indeed, it is with the ‘stincand stang o fire’ that the poet concludes his section on the events of Doomsday – a poignant reminder that it is the promise


of punishment, not of reward, that the poet wished to emphasise at the end. Nevertheless, we have been consistently reminded that the cure for all of these dreadful things lies within the doctrine of the Church, demonstrating the way in which the Cursor-poet intertwines edification with all that he discusses regarding Doomsday. In doing so, the poet aligns his text with other such pastoral works which achieve their goal of being informative whilst simultaneously entertaining or frightening. Robert Mannyng's Handlyng Synne, for instance, repeatedly emphasises the pivotal value of 'shryfte of mouþe' and 'penaunce smerte' in overcoming sin. So, despite a tendency to fearmonger in his discussion of the Last Judgement, the Cursor-poet remains pastoral in his overriding objective to equip his audience with the necessary information required to avoid the grisly fate that he describes.

**Education**

This leads us to the most prominent of the four themes detectable in this section, that of education. At the very opening to this section the poet begins by highlighting his didactic mission, announcing that he will explain precisely in what manner the events of this day will take place: 'in quatkin forme i sal yow scau'. We are then reminded, in a gently chastising way, that all of us ought to believe – even Saracens and Jews ('We trou, and all agh for to trou, — / Bot it be sarasin or Iu') – in the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Following the resurrection, Jesus came to the apostles ('Pat efter his resurrecciun, / Þe hei dai of þe assenciun, / Com iesus til his freindes suete'), showed them that he had risen, and afterwards ascended to heaven ('siþen vp til heuen him stei'). This little aside to reiterate the events of salvation history establishes its intrinsic links with Doomsday – the second coming of Christ is a direct corollary of the first. The connection is emphasised between the image of the crucified Christ, forlorn and broken upon the cross, and the 'demester', whose same wounds

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207 L. 23191.

208 Robert Mannyng (of Brunne), Handlyng Synne, in F. J. Furnivall, ed., Robert of Brunne's "handlyng synne", (London: published for the EETS, 1901), p. 5, ll. 111-112. Like the Cursor-poet, Mannyng used his work to remind his audience that the importance of confession cannot be understated. Lines 587-606 provide an example which is notably cognate with some of the Cursor-poet's sentiments: 'ȝyf þou trowyst synne shal be forȝeu / withouté répentaunce & shryue, / As sum of þys lewed men seys, / "God of heuene ys so curteys, / þat he shal on domysday certeinyly / Forȝye þe synne of lechery; / lechery ys but lyght synne, / he wyl haue mercy on al þerynne:" / þus sey þey þat can no gode, / And þouȝ þe certeiny wylt lere, / þyn forgeynes mote be here; / yn þe touȝer worlde þer we shul come / þere ys but ryȝtfulnes of dome; / þere ys al ryȝtfulnes at þe last ende; / Aske mercy or þou þedyr wende, / Elles gest þou no forgeynes, / Here ne þeré, more no lesse. / God ȝyue vs grace, or we be went, / To kepþ þys fyrst comaundment.'

209 L. 22714.

210 Ll. 22715-24.
are now displayed as potent symbols of triumph. The form that Christ took on earth when he bore the cross is how he will appear on Doomsday.\textsuperscript{211} The link between this description and the iconography of contemporary Last Judgement imagery is noteworthy and will be touched upon further in Chapter Three. The poet then elaborates upon the two comings of Christ, the first of which was characterised by 'mekenes', being both secret and concealed ('þat com was bath dern and hidd'); the second coming will be the opposite, in it Christ will reveal himself to the whole world ('His oþer cuming sal he scau / Kithli til þis werld at knau').\textsuperscript{212} The poet has attempted to explain the position of Doomsday within the greater theology of salvation, establishing it as an inevitable conclusion to the events set in motion by Christ's life, death, and resurrection.

This section of the poet's account is also padded with numerous pieces of purely practical information, at which the poet hinted in his discussion of the Fifteen Signs. We are informed of the timing of the arrival of Doomsday, which will likely be on 'pask dai'; fittingly, since Christ himself rose up on this day, 'He will us rais þat ilk wise'.\textsuperscript{213} He will judge at midnight ('He sal deme at mid-ward þe night'), that same time that he quelled the folk of Egypt and that he harrowed Hell – 'þat ilk time sal cum þe king'.\textsuperscript{214} Next, the poet discusses the location where Doomsday will take place, 'þe stede o dome quar all sal mete'.\textsuperscript{215} All people will be gathered in the 'wale o Iosaphat' where Christ will give his judgement.\textsuperscript{216} The poet elaborates upon the meaning of the 'Vale of Josaphat', as many men do not understand this.\textsuperscript{217} Josaphat is found under the 'mont of olie[t]' and it 'bitakens godds Iugement'; it can directly signify the Lord's judgement.\textsuperscript{218} Several key moments in Jesus' life took place on the Mount of Olives, including his ascent to Heaven, which underlines the relevance of the poet's earlier discussion of the Ascension; the events of Christ's first coming directly foreshadow those of his second. In this location, the lord will descend down to the clouds which are high in the sky, aloft in the air he will show himself and his might for all to know.\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{211} 'þat ilk forme cum sal he þar, / þat he in erth his croice bar, / Sua sal he cum,' ll. 22731-3.
\textsuperscript{212} Ll. 22737-42.
\textsuperscript{213} Ll. 22953-6.
\textsuperscript{214} Ll. 22957-61.
\textsuperscript{215} L. 22963.
\textsuperscript{216} L. 22969.
\textsuperscript{217} Ll. 22972-4.
\textsuperscript{218} Ll. 22977-90.
\textsuperscript{219} Ll. 22993-6.
The poet discusses further practical elements of the Judgement, explaining that there is no man so wise that he can state for certain how long Christ's judgement will take ('Bot es naman sa wis can tell / Hu lang at dom þat crist sal duell').\textsuperscript{220} Men call it the 'day' of doom, but whether it will last for more or less time than this nobody can say. It should be understood simply that on this 'day' all humankind will be judged, whether 'it last scort quil or lang.'\textsuperscript{221} A lot of this content most likely would have been common knowledge, and it is frequently encountered in discussions of Doomsday. However, it demonstrates a keen interest in disseminating the necessary information required for a basic understanding of the Doom. The almost banal nature of this information probably helped to make such an incomprehensible event seem more tangible.

Just as in the account of the Fifteen Signs, the poet again reinforces his work with references to patristic and scriptural sources. We are assured that such information heralds from 'hali scripture' and the authority of 'santes sum'.\textsuperscript{222} More specifically, we are referred to 'sant gregori', 'Ierom', 'sant paule', and 'saint austin', all of whom are utilised to corroborate the practical information discussed above.\textsuperscript{223} The discussion of the Vale of Josaphat hails directly from 'Ioel þe prophet': 'Let them arise, and let the nations come up into the valley of Josaphat: for there I will sit to judge all nations round about.'\textsuperscript{224} This technique lies at the heart of the poet's didactic approach, as he validates his own work by deferring to the well-known and trusted voices of ecclesiastical authority.

A crucial issue of practicality which consumes the majority of the poet's attention in this section is that of the bodily resurrection preceding Doomsday. He devotes a significant proportion of the discussion to this matter, and once again calls upon authority to furnish his case. The level of effort and detail with which this subject has been explained arguably implies that the doctrine was the focus of confusion and even doubt, and so the Cursor-poet deemed it worthy of a lengthy discussion. Such confusion was apparently rife. According to Roberta Gilchrist, archaeological evidence suggests that efforts were made to keep the body intact after burial.\textsuperscript{225} Justifying such measures, Gilchrist continues:

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\textsuperscript{220} Ll. 23005-6.
\textsuperscript{221} Ll. 23013-18.
\textsuperscript{222} Ll. 22838; 22953.
\textsuperscript{223} Ll. 22888; 22987; 22992; 23011.
\textsuperscript{224} L. 22964; Joel 3:12.
\textsuperscript{225} Roberta Gilchrist, Medieval Life, p. 205. She cites 'the provision of coffins and grave-markers, the planning of grave rows, the low incidence of intercutting and the practice of translating burials before new building work.'
\end{flushright}
These practices are consistent with the Christian belief in the material continuity of the body from conception through to death, decay and resurrection. Later medieval theologians argued that the entire body could be resurrected at Doomsday from the tiniest particle that might survive. However, the evidence of burial practice reinforces the view that ordinary Christians adhered to an extremely literal belief in the resurrection.\(^\text{226}\)

Such an approach was endorsed by the views of Roger Bacon, who argued that the living should maintain moral and physical intactness in preparation for the Last Judgement.\(^\text{227}\)

However, such concerns over a literal interpretation of the doctrine of the final resurrection were not enough to impede aristocratic (and clerical) participation in the fashionable trend of funerary bodily dismemberment, which not even a papal bull could perturb (mentioned earlier).\(^\text{228}\) Such conflicting interpretations – some distrusting, some disregarding – are testament simply to the controversy and outright confusion that the doctrine of the final resurrection evidently bred.

John Arnold relays a specific example of this confusion, recounting the instance of a certain Guillaume Austatz, a village official in southern France, who ‘was in extreme doubt as to whether the body would ever be resurrected.’ While watching a new grave being dug in the churchyard at Ornolac, older bones were being brought to the surface by the gravediggers (as the recycling of graves was common practice), and Guillaume expressed concern to his companions, ‘[i]t is said that the souls of the dead return in the same flesh and bones as those in which they once were in […] And how is it possible that the souls that were formerly in these bones can return there?’\(^\text{229}\) Guillaume was investigated for these doubts by the Inquisition in 1320:

Asked if he had ever believed that human bodies could not be resurrected, he said yes, for almost all that day, because of the aforesaid words he had said [on seeing

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\(^\text{226}\) Roberta Gilchrist, ibid., p. 205.

\(^\text{227}\) See Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 67-8.

\(^\text{228}\) Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull, Detestendae feritatis abusus (an abuse of horrible savagery), in 1299, in an effort to curtail this practice: ‘we have thought it fit to abolish that abuse of detestable savagery which certain of the faithful imprudently practise in accordance with a horrible custom, lest this abuse should continue to lacerate human bodies and stir the minds of the faithful to horror […] for the aforesaid faithful, intent upon this vicious and reprehensible custom, at the death of any one among their kinsfolk who may be illustrious for nobility of race or dignity of rank (especially if he have paid the debt to nature beyond the limits of his own country), when he has chosen to be buried in his own parts […] truculently disembowel him, divide him limb by limb or gobbet by gobbet, and seethe him down in a cauldron.’ The bull was completely unsuccessful, even popes indulged in the practice in the fifteenth century. See Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 67-68.

the bones dug up], but, as he said, he did not believe this at other times, as to its possibility, as he said, for about two years, after he had heard from his mother, amongst other things, what the said heretic Pierre Autier [a Cathar] had said to her, that human bodies would not be resurrected, he was in doubt and doubted if the bodies of dead men would be resurrected or not [...] at some times he believed that there would be no Resurrection [...]230

Vacillating between outright disbelief and doubt, Guillaume exemplifies the intricate complexity surrounding the doctrine of the final resurrection and its sceptical reception amongst the laity.

It is no great surprise, then, how much ink the Cursor-poet dedicates to the explication of this subject, to combat the incredulity of the likes of Guillaume. The poet even addresses this apparent dubiousness directly: 'O þis trout hard es trouth to find'.231 All who will be at the judgement, the poet explains, will rise up whole ('Al hale þam-self'), renewed, and reunified in body and soul ('In bodi and saul, al on neu wise'), all through the might of God. We are instructed that such flesh as we have now, we shall bear then.232 The doctrine appears to contradict common sense ('For qui it semis al again kind'), in that a human, who is nothing but flesh and bone, can supposedly be returned to life once their body has rotted after death.233 But the poet assures us that there 'es na nede' to doubt ('mistrou') the validity of this matter, and he will explain why – 'Herken qui, i sal þe nu rede.'234

The poet endeavours to explain the resurrection as fully as possible to dispel any uncertainties which might surround it. He offers a comparison of the event with God's creation of man in Genesis; if we are to believe in God's power at the beginning of time, then there is no reason to doubt it at the end:

Quen godd will sua, þat vp-bers all,

Pat mans flexs to mold se fall,

Ne moght he not þam al wit his main,

231 L. 22789; the wordplay in this and the preceding line is noteworthy: 'pat oþer trous, o trouth er blind. / O þis trout hard es trouth to find' (i.e., it is difficult to find believers of this truth).
232 Ll. 22781-86.
233 L. 22790.
234 Ll. 22795-6.
O þat ilk erth mak flexs again?235

He who made the flesh in the first place can make it again from nothing at his will, just as he who turns flesh lame may once again make it whole. God made the world from nothing, therefore there is nothing that he cannot do if he wills it; nobody should doubt this, but should believe it swiftly ('Ne dut right naman in þis dede, / For trout sal do man best to spede').236

There is evidently a presumption that people will be dubious of this event, but the poet presents a forceful argument, as it is clearly outlined that to question the legitimacy of the bodily resurrection is to dispute God's omnipotence.

Evidently the feeling of confusion was exacerbated by the apparent contradiction that each person will be resurrected in a state of physical perfection (something which they probably never possessed in the first place), whilst also being composed of the same flesh that they had whilst alive. Accordingly, the poet devotes additional time to explicating this issue. Firstly, we are told that everybody, whether great or small, old or young ('þat littel and mikel, ald and ying'), will arise as though they had died at the age of thirty ('Haf deied in eild o thritte yere'), the same age as Christ at his death ('þat eild þat crist had at his ded'). This is all according to 'Sant paule', which vindicates the poet's words.237

Secondly, anybody who has suffered some form of handicap or disability in this life will rise again without ailment at the resurrection; whatever imperfection somebody has borne in this life, if they are among Christ's chosen on Doomsday, it will be non-existent in the next. There will not be a blemish upon them and they will be 'all fair-hede'.238 This issue was discussed earlier in terms of its ability to comfort, since it is emphasised by the poet that the damned will 'ha fairhed nan'.239 This exemplifies the way in which edification is intermingled with other themes throughout the account.

The poet does not rest there, but continues to combat any misgivings about the bodily resurrection. The subject of doubt is addressed directly once again, as the poet points out that there are many people 'þat er vnwise' who do not believe that such individuals who are beheaded or hanged as a result of 'þair sin and þair feluni' can ever rise again whole ('þat þat flexs hale suld neuer rise'). These people claim that to believe such a notion is folly. The poet,

235 Ll. 22797-800.
236 Ll. 22803-10.
237 Ll. 22816-22.
238 Ll. 22823-38.
239 L. 22845.
however, will explain why these individuals are incorrect: 'Nu i sal ye sum resun rede'. Essentially, the poet argues that it is against all reason to question God's power: 'Vte of all skil it es, and right, / For to mistru in godds might'. Man cannot possibly comprehend how God made the entire universe from nothing. The poet asks if anyone can explain to him how one individual seed can generate hundreds more ('Qua can sai me hu of a side / He dos an hundret for to brede?'); a tree which grows from that seed sprouts leaves and flowers, followed by fruit, all taking place at a specific time of year. This is a process which most people accept willingly, so should we seek reason, the poet asks, for every wonderful thing that God has created? In essence, the poet is deploying a theological get-out-of-jail-free card in arguing that we simply cannot fathom God's machinations; men who presume that they can truly understand God's power and what he can or cannot do are foolish. The poet beseeches his audience to consider the fact that God created heaven, earth, and everything in them, so should his ability to reunite disparate body parts on Doomsday really be that unbelievable? If we question the bodily resurrection, then why should we not question so many other things in the world whose processes are mysterious? Equally, if we believe that God is powerful enough to make these things happen, then why should the resurrection be treated differently?

To compound his lengthy explication further, the poet employs an exemplum: 'A sample sal i sceu yow þar-bi'. He uses this story to reinforce his arguments in favour of believing in the bodily resurrection, assuring his audience all the more by claiming to have "found" it in 'sant gregori'. St Gregory was in a 'stede sum-quar', when a crafty but learned cleric asked him a question involving a wolf, a lion, and a man. The man is walking through a wooded way, where he is ambushed and devoured by a greedy wolf. As soon as the wolf is finished consuming the man, a hungry lion appears, searching up and down for his prey. Since the lion can find no other victim, he kills the wolf and eats it entirely, leaving not even

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240 Ll. 22859-66.
241 Ll. 22867-8.
242 Ll. 22875-6; 'Vte of þe herd tre to spring / First þe lef and siþen þe flur, / And þan þe frut wit his sauur, / Ilkin frut in his sesun.' 22878-81.
243 Ll. 22882-4.
244 Ll. 22887-8. Actually, the poet has lifted it second-hand from the Elucidarium. See Horrall, "‘For the Commun at Understand’", p. 104, who cites L’Elucidarium et les lucidaires, ed. Yves LeFèvre (Paris, 1954), 'For yf a man were eten with a wolfe, and that wolfe of another, and the other of a lyon, yet sholde he ryse in his owne body enterly without that that there shall fayle ony thynge vnto the perfeccyon of nature.' Morrison, The Late Middle English Lucydarye, p. 67. However, as David Jones rightly observes, the credibility of an exemplum depended in no small part upon ‘the authority which a preacher could claim for his story’; St Gregory certainly represents such an authoritative figure. David Jones, Friars’ Tales, p. 18.
a morsel. Later, the lion dies and his corpse rots away into nothingness. The sly cleric asks Gregory the following:

\[\text{"Quar nu sal þis man be soght?} \]
\[\text{For i mai tru on nakin wise} \]
\[\text{Pat þis man mai to liif vprise,} \]
\[\text{Sin nan es, als i wene, þat can} \]
\[\text{tuin þat erth þat com o man} \]
\[\text{Fra þat erth þat es bredd o best."}^{245} \]

The cleric's haughty query embodies the precise feeling of doubt that the poet has been attempting to combat – how can God resurrect the flesh of a man that has passed through the digestive system of two different animals and then decayed into dust?

Gregory's response is intended to silence all such doubters, as he gives 'ansuer honest' and provides 'quik resun' as to how this man will face the 'demstere' at the resurrection 'wit all his limes hale and fere'.^{246} Even if the man's body had been burnt and the powder scattered across the earth, God could gather it together again and renew it at his will; all of the flesh that once belonged to the man shall be raised on Doomsday, whilst all the remains of the lion and wolf will be left behind.^{247} God can distinguish between them with ease ('Wel bituix þam can he schade') and so the man will rise whole – not a single hair will be missing, nor a single fingernail ('þam sal noght want a hefd hare, / Ne noght a nail o fote ne hand').^{248} Although they are comprised of the same material as they were in life, those hairs and nails might not be exactly where they were before. But, just as when a potter breaks a new vessel and makes another from the remnants, so will God reconstruct people's bodies at the resurrection. The potter does not distinguish between which piece was which, but makes another of the same kind, which is even fairer than the first. The pieces are the same as they were the first time around, but they have been reassembled slightly differently, in an improved form. Thus, God

\[\text{---}^{245} \text{The exemplum begins at l. 22889.} \]
\[\text{---}^{246} \text{Ll. 22914-20.} \]
\[\text{---}^{247} \text{Ll. 22921-7.} \]
\[\text{---}^{248} \text{Ll. 22929-33. Cp. Luke 21:18, 'But a hair of your head shall not perish' (et capillus de capite vestro non peribit), which the Elucidarium cites in explaining the phenomena of the bodily resurrection: 'For as the holy scripture sayyth: "Capillus de capite vestro non peribit." That is to saye, that "he shall not lose one onely here of his heed," but that there shall be all entyerly.' Morrison, The Late Middle English Lucydarye, p. 69.} \]
will do the same ('Right sua sal crist, ne dut ye noght') on Doomsday, reuniting us all with our former bodies, but as an idealised self, made in the image of Christ.  

Such an extensive explanation of this subject implies that the doctrine of the bodily resurrection was frequently confusing and quite probably doubted in many instances. Indeed, the presence of a 'doubting cleric' in the exemplum reflects this contemporary state of mind. Interestingly, though, the cleric is not described as ignorant or foolish, but 'wis o lare', albeit 'crafti'. So, scepticism was perhaps widespread and not only found amongst the ill-informed. Accordingly, then, the poet has dedicated a significant amount of time toward elucidating this contradictory subject, illustrating the point that his objective is fundamentally a didactic one. The overriding goal of his work is to inform people of what they can expect, to appropriately prepare them for it, and to help them to understand it. Above everything else, the poet wishes for his audience to take heed of these events and not let them slip out of mind. To be caught unawares when Doomsday finally arrives will lead to nothing but sorrow, and so the poet implores his audience to be wise and to always keep the Last Judgement in the forefront of their minds:

> A! lauerd, quat he war wijs þat moght
> Stedfast hald þis dai in thoght!
> To forget þat dai neuermar
> To quils þat he liuand war.  

**Entertainment:**

This final theme will not be dwelt upon in this section, since many of the entertaining features detailed in the discussion of the Fifteen Signs recur throughout the whole account of Doomsday. The aforementioned exemplum, however, is appropriate for some discussion with regards to this theme, as it possesses features which might well be considered comical or satirical. Firstly, there is the absurdity of the tale, as the man is consumed by a wolf, which, almost no sooner has it finished eating, is itself devoured by a lion, which then proceeds to die and decay immediately afterwards. Being an exemplum, the purpose of such a tale, ipso

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249 Ll. 22934-46.
250 Ll. 23175-8.
facto, is to deliver an informative message; but this objective undoubtedly benefits from such hyperbole and levity, in order to make its point with maximum efficacy. As David Jones has expressed, an exemplum served the function of making a sermon more palatable to an audience:

The essential function of the exemplum was to seize and retain the attention of a preacher’s congregation, and the lesson imparted in the narrative was an important part of his strategy to teach his hearers to be better Christians […]

Preachers used exempla not only to condemn inattention, but to combat it by making the sermon more palatable […] It was perhaps partly with this in mind that from the thirteenth century onwards some preachers tended to group most of their exempla together towards the end of the sermon, where their punchy, memorable stories would be best placed to underline the preacher’s final exhortations.251

This exaggerated series of events recounted by the Cursor-poet serves this purpose, then, as it is amusing and possesses a hint of irony with the potential for comic delivery as the insatiable wolf is in turn devoured by the even hungrier lion.

A further source of amusement in the form of satire might be found at the expense of the tale's narrator, the 'crafti clerc'.252 What is interesting here, in relation to the idea of entertainment, is that the subject of satire is the cleric himself. The description of the cleric as 'wis o lare' but 'crafti' is worthy of expansion. The Middle English Dictionary suggests several possible interpretations of 'crafti'. There are two options that are most pertinent to this discussion: 'skilful, clever, learned' or 'sly, cunning, tricky, deceitful'.253 For the former, the MED supplies two examples from the Cursor Mundi itself which deploy the term in this context.

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251 David Jones, *Friars’ Tales*, pp. 14 and 26. Though, considering the content of the Cursor-poet’s exemplum, I must disagree with Jones on a subsequent comment: ‘They also show which subjects most concerned [the preacher] and, because the exemplum had above all to be credible, they can be taken as an indicator of what preachers thought their audiences would believe and understand.’ Such a notion is somewhat of an insult to the common sense of a medieval audience, particularly as it has been shown that copies of the Cursor Mundi were in the hands of elevated persons, including merchants, a nun, and the scribe, Robert Thornton. So, perhaps the credibility of an exemplum is less important than its ability to deliver a memorable message, which, considering the amusement value of the Cursor-poet’s exemplum being argued for here, is a reasonable assertion. However, as always, the caveat must remain that humour is enormously subjective, and especially so across major periods of time and social epochs.

252 L. 22890.

context. The first of these, from line 5898, refers to the incident from Exodus 7 in which Aaron faces off with the Pharaoh's magicians ('enchaunturs'), whom the Cursor-poet describes as the craftiest ('craftes') of the Pharaoh's 'iogulurs'. The second, from line 8753, details the achievements of King Solomon, whom nobody surpassed in wisdom nor was ever 'crafter in werc of hand'. For both of these examples we can probably infer a definition of 'skilful'. Returning to the cleric in the exemplum, we might take 'crafti' to signify that he is both 'clever' and 'wis of lare'. This, however, does not fit with the purpose of the exemplum, which is to reiterate the validity of the doctrine of the bodily resurrection. This is achieved by having somebody so intellectually informed as the cleric attempt to undermine the doctrine, only to be promptly corrected by a figure whom we can trust far more, i.e., St Gregory. The fact that the cleric is 'wis o lare' is only relevant in so much as it demonstrates that even when somebody who may appear wise attempts to challenge the doctrine of the resurrection, their knowledge is nothing in comparison to the wisdom of the Church Fathers and of Scripture. This reinforces the poet's message on this subject that it is foolish to persist in scepticism aimed at the bodily resurrection in the face of assurances from those who are truly wise.

Therefore, it is by being crafty in the sense of 'cunning' and 'tricky' that the cleric has the audacity to attempt to outfox Gregory with his tale of the man, the wolf, and the lion – his arrogance is the butt of the joke. Indeed, Humour at the expense of the clergy was not uncommon. Duffy details two jests, albeit from the late Middle Ages, which aimed to expose the shortcomings of some parish clergy. So, the exemplum presents a caricature of a wily, conceited cleric, who believes that he can outwit St Gregory the Great and cast doubt over the theology of the bodily resurrection. At the conclusion of the tale, the cleric issues a direct challenge to Gregory: 'Quar nu sal þis man be soght?' As though his argument is irrefutable, the cleric claims that he fundamentally cannot believe that this man can rise again whole.

254 Both are also taken from Cotton MS Vespasian A. iii.
255 I would be inclined, however, to challenge the MED in the first example, since the Pharaoh's magicians are likely also 'crafti' in a deceitful sense; their magic is inferior to Aaron's, whose rod is imbued with the power of God, so their performance of the same enchantment is mere trickery. Furthermore, Morris, in his glossary to the CM, equates 'iogulur' to a 'juggler' or 'buffoon'; clearly, the Cursor-poet is scathing of these 'enchaunturs' and would not bestow them with the honour of being the most 'skilful' of the Pharaoh's magicians, but would instead class them as his most cunning - they are not skilled enchanters so much as they are tricky performers.
256 Duffy describes two examples, both taken from the early Tudor book, A Hundred Merry Tales, one of which mocks the ineptitude of an unlearned 'country curate' who proceeds to say a Mass for God's soul when he cannot remember the appropriate service for Easter eve, whilst the other ridicules a priest who falls asleep in the middle of administering Confession, due to overzealous celebration on Shrove Tuesday. Taken from Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pp. 43 and 61; Duffy cites P. M. Zall, ed., A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jest Books of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 135 and 139.
257 Ll. 22908-13.
The cleric's impertinence should be risible to us, as Gregory dismisses his cynicism with ease and, in true saintly fashion, gives 'ansuer honest', revealing the truth clearly 'wit quik resun'.258 We are encouraged to take Gregory's side in the debate, treating the cleric's scepticism with derision. Having heard this exemplum, to doubt the validity of the bodily resurrection would be to side with the wry cleric and to challenge the wisdom of St Gregory.

This discussion awakens the ever-lurking phantom of audience as, we might ask, who in a prospective audience might derive humour from the misplaced haughtiness of such a cleric? The jocular anecdotes relayed by Duffy both display ridicule aimed at ignorant clergymen from the perspective of the laity; the cleric in the exemplum, however, is apparently well versed in theology. Unfortunately, the reality of this question is that it is simply too big to answer here, as we are faced not only with the open-ended question of the Cursor Mundi’s audience, but also the potentially broad audiences of exempla. So, whatever the answer to this conundrum may be (and, indeed, Sarah Horrall does make reference to some owners of copies of the Cursor Mundi, which might be illuminating in this regard),259 the exemplum itself nevertheless displays inclinations towards absurdity and satire that might reasonably be deemed humorous. This tale certainly meets Alan E. Bernstein’s criteria that exempla reflect ‘the clerical calculation of popular concerns’, which, in this instance, is the hotly-debated issue of bodily resurrection.260 As such, we might return to the account of Guillaume Austatz, recounted earlier, who could represent just such a dubious – and certainly malleable – mind. Guillaume’s doubts about the possibility of the final resurrection were fuelled by his own experiences of reality, which, in line with common sense, starkly juxtaposed with the teachings of the Church on bodily re-formation. The means by which this exemplum evokes a kind of anti-common sense, then, was clearly a requirement in order to combat these very real, pervasive doubts amongst the laity. Indeed, Guillaume was clearly open to persuasion, as he admitted to his interrogator that he vacillated between belief and disbelief, but that his old priest, Guillaume de Alzinhac, who had sometimes been a guest of his mother’s, explained to him as a young boy that there would be such a resurrection of dead

258 Ll. 22914-20.
259 Horrall, “‘For the Commun at Understand’”, p. 105.
men and women.\textsuperscript{261} The laity had their doubts, but a genuinely ‘crafti clerc’ had the means to waylay them.

**Description of Hell and its Nine Pains**

The description of the events that shall occur on Doomsday itself culminates in the final destinations of the good and the wicked: Heaven and Hell. So, it is to the aftermath of the assize that the poet turns next, beginning with the ‘stincand stang o fire’,\textsuperscript{262} his description of Hell and its Pains. All of the following sections – the Pains of Hell, the Pleasures of Heaven, and the State of the World after Doomsday – are, according to Thompson, heavily indebted to book III of the Elucidarium.\textsuperscript{263} The poet’s treatment of the punishments awaiting the damned comprises only one-hundred-and-fifty lines, rendering it a relatively perfunctory account. We are perhaps expectant of a medieval writer or artist to guiltlessly indulge in the horrors to be forced upon the wicked in Hell, but the Cursor-poet defies this expectation.\textsuperscript{264} Indeed, his description of the pains of Hell is mechanical, adhering stiffly to the structure of the enumerated format, reeling off the list of torments in a somewhat formulaic, or standardised, manner. The significance of this is readily realised when contrasted with the subsequent account of Heaven and its rewards for the saved, which is notably longer and more complex.

This unexpectedly cursory account, though, is still expectedly dominated by an overriding sense of terror. A description of Hell and its many torments would be near-impossible to convey – especially in a text as vivid and as imaginative as the Cursor Mundi – without some sentiment of dread, and the poet does not fail in realising the horrors that await the damned after Doomsday. The poet presents a variety of tortures, ranging from blistering heat to numbing cold; relentless fire and blinding darkness; bindings and beatings; fell, ravenous beasts devouring and cacophonous demons ceaselessly tormenting. The poet’s account of these fiendish punishments constantly portrays Hell as a totally synesthetic experience. The damned will endure a completely overwhelming sensory assault. And,

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{261} Arnold, Belief and Unbelief, p. 228.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{262} L. 23191.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{263} See Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, pp. 159-172.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{264} The Prick of Conscience’s account of these Pains is far more detailed.}
critically, the poet emphasises the permanence of this suffering throughout: there is absolutely no escape once the Judge has cast his verdict.

One particularly interesting punishment that the poet describes is the feeling of abject shame that the damned will experience, their every deed laid bare in a showcase of endless humiliation. This shame will not just be apparent to those other unfortunate souls suffering alongside them but will be exposed to all of the blessed residing in Heaven above. Herein lies the somewhat surprising element of pleasure to be found in this section; a rather sadistic, almost voyeuristic pleasure, as the Cursor-poet explains that the saved will be able to imperviously spy upon the damned writhing in their torment as we might watch fish in water (‘als we se fixs in water suim’).\footnote{L. 23231.} In being able to observe these punishments, the poet informs us, the bliss experienced by the saved will be enhanced because they will have a constant reminder that they are free from that sorrow. Even in the portion dedicated to explicating the punishments that await the damned, the poet cannot help but to exploit this to amplify the pleasure and comfort that will be the rewards of the saved. Once again, the Cursor-poet cannot resist placing himself and his audience among the blessed, as he utilises first-person pronouns when referring to those who will be in Heaven. Of course, this section is absent of overtly comforting content, as it is a warning to those who would ignore the Church’s teachings in this life. However, this rather twisted reward being offered to the saved clearly provides a fascinating window into the possible pleasure that could be derived from even the darkest aspect of the Doom.

As ever, this section is not without didactic value, and the poet is – as usual – clear that his primary mission is to equip his audience with the information required to avoid this fate, not merely to delight in the horrors that await the sinful. Indeed, in typical fashion, the poet commences this section in an instructional tone, offering to elaborate upon the description of Hell as a ‘stincand stang o fire’ (‘And qui it stincand stang es cald / Þar es resun, qua sum wil hald’).\footnote{Ll. 23195-6.} The punishments are enumerated in a clear format, reminiscent of a homiletic style, which is adhered to rigidly. Then, once the list of torments is complete, the poet elaborates upon the reason as to why there are nine Pains. This section also contains the familiar constructs and rhetorical techniques with which we have become familiar thus far. It has the usual deference to authority, real-world analogies and metaphors, and moralisation. The poet’s instructions do not relate only to the prospective damned who wish...
to avoid this grisly fate, but also to those who will be among the saved, as he explains how these blessed souls should conduct themselves with regard to the wicked suffering beneath them.

Then, finally, all of these themes are entwined with hints of levity and excitement, lending this section a potentially entertaining dimension, as the poet delivers his account of these horrors with the usual linguistic flair. This potential for entertainment again arises out of the poet’s use of language, as he vividly paints frightening and exciting images of this dark nether region. The poet employs creative metaphors, relatable analogies, imaginative and stimulating descriptions, and hyperbolic rhetoric, all of which help to create a lively narrative that is not simply dry and informative. The account is imbued with a sense of awe and mystery as the poet attempts to drive home the terrifying fate that lies in store for those who do not repent in this life. Thus, he delivers his important pastoral message in this section by once again utilising a multi-pronged approach.

**Terror**

It is appropriate to begin this section’s analysis with an exploration of its most overt and prominent theme, that of terror. As explained above, an account of the Pains of Hell would hardly be possible, nor complete, without such horrifying content. Perhaps the most frightening concept of all, it could be argued, and one which the poet persistently recapitulates, is the finality of this fate. Once the assize has been conducted by the Judge, there is absolutely no opportunity for reconciliation for the damned: ‘He þat es duked ans dun, / Cums neuer mare o þat prison; / Þe fire þat þar es for to brin, / Neuer mare ne mai it blin.’

He who is once led down to that prison never again emerges from it; the fire that burns there will never cease. Indeed, this is one of the first things that the poet emphasises in this section: ‘Alsua þe pine of hell pine / It es sua depe, wit-vten fine, / Þat end ne best þar apon […]’.

Furthermore, at the conclusion of the list of nine specific punishments, the poet explains that this is something that torments the damned more than any of the horrors he has

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267 Ll. 23203-6.
268 Ll. 23199-23201.
just described, that these pains will have no end and the sufferers will never again be able to make amends:

Bot a point es þar þam pines mare,
Þan elles al þair oþer  fare,
Pai wat þair pine sal ha nan end,
For þai mai haf na might to mend.\textsuperscript{269}

Respite from these punishments can only be attained through proper, clerically-administered amendment in this life. The frightening message is very clearly conveyed: you will be abandoned to this suffering if you have not made appropriate repentance while you live. Those who live and die in sin will endure these pains without end (‘Ai wend þai here to liue in sin, / Þar sal þ ai dei witvten blin’), forever enduring death but never succumbing to it (‘Deiand ai and neuer ded, / For ded sal fle þaim als þair fede’).\textsuperscript{270}

The majority of this section is structured around the poet’s explication of the titular ‘Nine Pains’, and he adheres to this enumerated format rigidly.\textsuperscript{271} The first pain, according to the poet, is fire that burns so intensely that it cannot be extinguished, even if the world’s oceans were to be poured upon it:

\begin{quote}
Þe first it es þe fire sa hatte,
Pat al þe mikel se sa wate,
Pof þat it casten war par-in,
Suld it neuer þe less brin[.]
\end{quote}\textsuperscript{272}

\textsuperscript{269} Ll. 23261-4.
\textsuperscript{270} Ll. 23311-2; 23313-4.
\textsuperscript{271} Contrastingly, the Prick of Conscience lists fourteen pains: (1) fire so hot it cannot be slaked (2) cold that no fire may overcome (3) filth and stink stronger than anyone could comprehend (4) sharp hunger (5) burning thirst (6) great darkness (7) the horrible sight of devils (8) great vermin gnawing on the sinful (9) being beaten by devils with red-hot iron mauls (10) the internal gnawing of one’s conscience, biting like vermin (11) boiling hot tears that scold the skin as they fall (12) shame at one’s sin that will never fade (13) bonds of fire, binding foot and hand (14) the despair that will forever be in the hearts of the damned. See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 180, ll. 6553-78.
\textsuperscript{272} Ll. 23209-12. The Prick of Conscience makes the same analogy: ‘þat fire es swa hate and ay brynnes, / þat if alle þe waters þat standes or rynnes / On erthe, and alle þe sese withoute, / þat encloses alle þe erthe oboute, / Suld ryn intil þat fire swa hate, / Yhit myght it noght it sleken ne abate, / Na mar þan a drope of water shire, / If alle Rome brend, muht sleke þat fire.’ See Hanna and Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, pp. 181-2, ll. 6603-10.
Moreover, the poet elaborates, fire on earth is no more comparable to this hellfire than would be the intensity of flames painted on a wall when compared with our own fire:

\[
\text{Sua þat vr fire ne mai namare} \\
\text{Again þat fire þat brin þar,} \\
\text{Þan painted fire gain vrs moght,} \\
\text{Þat apon awagh war wroght[.]}^{273}
\]

Interestingly, the Prick of Conscience uses this exact same analogy:

\[
\text{For þe fire of helle, þat es endeles,} \\
\text{Es hatter þan þe fire here es,} \\
\text{Right als þe fire þat es brinnand here} \\
\text{Es hatter and of mare powere} \\
\text{þan a purtrayd fire on a waghe,} \\
\text{þat es paynted, outhere hege or laghe,} \\
\text{With a rede coloure til mens sight,} \\
\text{þat nouther brynnes ne gyfes light} \\
\text{Ne on other manere avales ne ders.}^{274}
\]

This is a wonderful metaphor, grounding the concept of hellfire in a real-world analogy but simultaneously establishing that its nature is beyond our understanding. It is explicated through comparisons with the familiar but separated from earthly fire and presented as something awesome and unimaginable. So, the poet employs his characteristic method of utilising the comprehensible to convey the incomprehensible.

To compound this, the poet concludes this first pain by stating that this fire burns forever, day and night, but it never emits any light whatsoever (‘Euer it brennes dai and ni
/ Bot neuermare it castes light’).^{275} This is a truly terrifying notion, further removing this hellfire from the realm of the familiar and imbuing it with supernatural power. It is a truly

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\[^273\text{Ll. 23213-6.}\]
\[^274\text{See Hanna and Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 182, ll. 6611-19.}\]
\[^275\text{Ll. 23217-8.}\]
unsettling and frightening notion, to be ceaselessly incinerated but in total darkness. This is a completely disjointed idea, and one which is unfathomable, a fire burning with an intensity beyond imagination yet producing no light. It is a very striking and potent image with which to commence the poet’s exposition on the Pains of Hell.

The second Pain that the Cursor-poet introduces follows a similar vein to that of the first. It is a familiar concept packaged as a naturally impossible one, and the poet once again employs an analogy that utilises our understanding of this world to amplify the awesomeness of the next. The second pain, like the first, constitutes a basic element of nature – cold – that is exaggerated in its intensity:

\[
\text{Pe toþer paine is cald sa kene,} \\
\text{Pat mans muth it mai noght mene[.]}^{276}
\]

The poet repeats the construct with which we are very familiar at this point, that the nature of a concept he is describing is beyond the human ability to do so. However, he still attempts to present it in a comprehensible manner to his audience anyway, making use of another quotidian metaphor:

\[
\text{Pat þof a fern fell war made,} \\
\text{And thoru a chance þar-in it glad,} \\
\text{Quils þou moght turn þi hand abute,} \\
\text{It suld worth to yse wituten dute.}^{277}
\]

The correct translation of this analogy is uncertain, as Morris’s annotations contradict my own understanding of this passage. I would propose that ‘fern’ should translate to ‘skin’, or ‘hide’, while Morris suggests ‘hill’; each of these possible translations occurs in Morris’s glossary, however.\(^{278}\) The overall sense of this metaphor (in this author’s opinion), though, appears to be that even if one were clad in a fiery hide, as quickly as one might turn one’s hand over it would have become ice, such is the intensity of the cold in Hell.

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\(^{276}\) Ll. 23219–20.

\(^{277}\) Ll. 23221–4.

\(^{278}\) The MED produces no similar results for either interpretation of ‘fern’, suggesting that it is a dialectically specific term. However, perhaps the Prick of Conscience is illuminating on this matter, as it once again employs the same analogy, but specifically says that were all the world’s ‘mountayne’ set ablaze and placed amidst this cold, they would freeze and turn to ice. See Hanna and Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 183, ll. 6635–40.
As with the dark fire of the first pain, the immeasurable cold of the second defies the logic of reality; it is something familiar but is extended into incredibility. The burning fire is equalled by the icy cold, which can instantly freeze flames. This is an awesome concept, and a somewhat contradictory one, but this climate of extreme duality in Hell is by no means uncommon and is, in fact, well-established. Indeed, the freezing coldness of Hell was initially more prominent than its now perhaps more familiar flames. In Paul’s Apocalypse, the deepest pit of Hell is a place of extreme cold, in which the visionary sees ‘men and women who were gnashing their teeth in the cold’; Paul’s angelic guide explains that there is nothing in this place but cold and snow, and even the sun itself could not warm them against the extremity of this temperature.\textsuperscript{279} The seventh-century vision of Drythelm, recounted in Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica, describes a valley ‘of infinite length’, with opposing sides of dreadful flames and violent, freezing hail and snow.\textsuperscript{280} The fact that many of the pains of Hell described by the Cursor-poet are somewhat quotidian in their nature is particularly pertinent looking ahead to the pleasures of Heaven, for which he consistently fails to provide metaphors of equal efficacy in aiding comprehension. It will be argued – and hopefully become apparent – that the pains of Hell are substantially easier to imagine and relate to our own world than are the infinite pleasures of Heaven, which are persistently arcane and intangible.

The third pain that the Cursor-poet describes is another feature of Hell with which we are likely familiar:

\begin{verbatim}
De third pine es hard to drei,
O wormes þat sal neuer dei,
Fell dragons and tades bath
Pat ar apon to lok ful lath,
Ful wlatsum on to here or se,
Ful wa es þam þat þare sal be[.]\textsuperscript{281}
\end{verbatim}

This array of devouring beasts is a staple of infernal iconography and visionary literature. In the Prick of Conscience, these pestilential parasites are described in detail as the eighth pain:

\textsuperscript{279} Gardiner, Visions of Heaven & Hell, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{280} Gardiner, ibid., p. 58.
\textsuperscript{281} Ll. 23225-30.
86

‘pe aghтенd payne, als þe buke says us, / Es þe horribel vermyn venemus’. 282 These creatures – worms, dragons, toads – are particularly common, and their parasitic nature is strongly reminiscent of iconography found in contemporary funerary culture, which is discussed further in relation to the Myrour of Synneres in Chapter Two. These gorging parasites are as apt as inclusions to the landscape of Hell as they are to morbid monuments, where they can be found devouring the mouldering corpses of the deceased. Just so, in Hell, these necrophages are feasting on the flesh of the damned, which is spiritually as rotten – corrupted as it is by sin – as is the physical flesh of the dead in their graves. 283 They are a recurring feature of the poet’s description of Hell, as they reappear – with the introduction of adders to the mix – on several occasions throughout this section. Worms are mentioned again on line 23281 (‘Þar wormes sal pain vnder wrote / In bale wit-vten hope and bote’), as are dragons, along with the aforementioned adders, on line 23304 (‘O nedders bath and of draguns’).

The fourth pain receives only a single couplet, with no further elaboration: the stench of Hell is so awful that no man may comprehend it (‘Pe ferth paine it es o stinc, / Þat mai naman sa mikel thinc’). 284 This is symptomatic of the Cursor-poet’s rather routine exposition of the pains of Hell, suggesting a lesser concern for them than he expresses towards the rewards of Heaven, which are consistently more elaborate. Most of the pains of Hell described in this section are done so curtly, with minimal discussion or explication. The fifth pain receives three couplets, the sixth and seventh only two, the eighth is a little longer with four, while the ninth is once again only two. Such a cursory rendition is extremely interesting when it is contrasted with the pleasures of Heaven. And, equally, when it is compared with the account of Hell’s pains in the Prick of Conscience, in which the wretched stench of Hell is the third pain. The author of the Prick devotes twenty-three lines to this punishment, and even cites St Jerome in corroborating its awfulness. The flames of Hell themselves, the Prick explains, will emit a foul odour, and, since the sinful delighted for so long in the stench and filth of their lechery, it is only fitting that they endure the same for eternity in Hell. 285 The stench of Hell is regularly attested to by the Church Fathers; the Apocalypse of St Paul, for instance, describes the Pit of Hell, which lies beneath a well, as releasing ‘a hard and very

282 See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, p. 189, ll. 6891-2. The Prick also refers to the usual culprits: ugly dragons, keen adders, and hideous toads.
283 There is, according to Strickland, a ‘well-entrenched association between physical abnormality and sin’, which extends to the connection between outward, physical corruption and inward, spiritual baseness. See Debra Higgs Strickland, Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 17, 49, 50, 53, 66.
284 ll. 23233-4.
evil stench’ when opened. Indeed, this nasal assault ‘surpassed all the other torments.’

And, in the vision of Drythelm, the visionary describes ‘an insufferable stench spread[ing] with the vapours and fill[ing] all those dark places.’

The fifth pain – which involves the damned being beaten – uses another quotidian analogy to vivify the enormous blows that the wicked shall receive:

De fifte es vndemnes dint,  
Pat þai wreches þare sal hint,  
Als it war dintes on a steþi  
Pat smythes smites in a smeþey.  
Paa dintes ar ful fers and fell,  
Herder þan es here irinn mell.

This pain will be huge blows against these wretches, alike to a blacksmith’s hammer striking an anvil. The Cursor-poet again invokes wonderful imagery through his use of language, particularly the alliteration, as his metaphor brings to mind the metallic chime of every great strike of a blacksmith’s hammer against a ‘steþi’, demonstrating the fierceness of the blows that will be rained down upon the damned. These beatings in Hell will be greater than those of an iron maul (‘irinn mell’) in this life.

The sixth pain, despite its brevity, is particularly captivating, as it echoes the primordial fear of darkness evoked by the black hellfire of the first punishment:

De sext paine es noght to scape,  
Es suilk mercknes men mai it grape,  
Sua wonder thick þar sal it be,  
Pat nan ne mai on ōger se.

This pain is an inescapable darkness that is so thick it can be groped; not one person will be able to see another in this impenetrable ‘mercknes’. Once again, the Cursor-poet’s language

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286 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven & Hell, p. 43. See also le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, pp. 35-38.  
288 Ll. 23235-40  
289 Ll. 23241-4.
is extremely evocative, it is highly sensuous, providing a concept which an audience can truly process in their imagination. The Prick of Conscience again makes an identical analogy, describing this ‘over-mykel myrknes’. ‘þat swa thik es þat men mught it grape, / Fra whilk þe synful sal never eschape.’ In contrast to the Cursor-poet’s brevity on these Pains, the Prick of Conscience provides abundant detail; forty-four lines are dedicated to the explication of this ‘myrknes’. Drythelm, in his vision, similarly describes the darkness of Hell in this manner: ‘when I entered the darkness, it gradually grew so thick that I could see nothing except the darkness and the shape and garment of my guide.’ This darkness, then, is well established and has long-standing precedents, as both the Apocalypses of Peter and Paul attest to it. This is a haunting idea, especially when it is imminently combined in our minds with the eighth pain, which describes the inevitable demons of Hell darting back and forth, torturing at will. This is a horrifying thought to be vulnerable to this in the blindness of pitch blackness.

The seventh pain of Hell as described by the Cursor-poet presents a slightly more abstract concept than do the previous punishments so far explicated, and would be particularly acute to any audience member with a guilty conscience:

De seuend scenscip al for þair sinn,
Ai scam lastand þat neuer sal blin,
For þar-till sal ilkan ha sight
To se scenscip on oþer plught.293

Each damned soul will experience an overwhelming sense of shame for their sins, a humiliation that will – predictably – never end. Moreover, each individual will be able to see every other’s shame and their own too will be laid bare to all.294 This significantly heightens

291 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven & Hell, p. 58.
292 ‘But the unrighteous, the sinners, and the hypocrites will stand in the depths of darkness that will not pass away’; ‘I looked and there was no light in that place, only darkness and sorrow and sadness, and I sighed.’ Gardiner, ed., Visions of Heaven & Hell, pp. 5, 36.
293 Ll. 23245-8.
294 A similar notion is detectable in the Three Arrows on Doomsday, in which the sinner is described as being inundated with accusations by his own conscience and all the creatures of the world, laying bare all of his shame: ‘And perfore seip seynt Bernard þus. Cum peccator accusatus fuerit, et consciencia propria testimonium contra eum prohibuerit et omnis creatura dei in surrexit contra eum in vindictam grauis vt sagittas erit vox domini ad sustinendum. pat is whanne pe sinful caift schal be accusid and his owne conscience schal bere witnesse aþens him and euer creature of god schal rise aþens him in veniaunce greuous as an arowe wounds,
the vulnerability implicit in the total darkness of the previous pain: you are deprived of sight, yet you are completely exposed and defenceless, both physically and spiritually, your deepest shame revealed in never-ending disgrace. This notion provides a taste of the pervading sense of voyeuristic sadism that courses through this section, which will be unpacked further shortly.

The eighth pain, as alluded to, is another staple of the quintessential hellish landscape. Perhaps appropriately, it receives more lines than most of the other punishments so far described, as the Cursor-poet, like so many contemporary authors and artists, indulges in describing the Devil’s many minions. However, he still only dedicates four couplets to this crucial component of Hell, in contrast to contemporary visual and literary sources which can be fixated upon the bestial, protean, amorphous nature of demons. The Cursor-poet describes them as follows:

De aghtand pine it es ful grise,
To se þaa warlaus in þat wise,
Strang paine es it on þam to loke,
And namli light vntil þair crok;
Þat dreri din þat balful bere,
Þat þai wit-vten stint sal here,
O þaa wepand in þat waa,
Þat sal þam last for euer and ai.295

It will be horrible to see those devils in that form, it is painful to look upon them and especially to be caught in their crooks.

Particularly interesting here – and throughout – is the poet’s repeated emphasis on more than one physical sense; the damned will be assaulted through sight, smell, sound, and touch. Not only are the demons painful to look upon, the raucous noise they make is also a great sorrow being inflicted upon the tortured souls. Indeed, the horrid noises of demons is fundamental to their wickedness. The distinct contrast between hellish cacophony and

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295 Ll.23249-56.
heavenly serenity is well established, particularly in visual representations of angels and
demons. The disharmonious nature of demons coincided with their dismorphic physical
appearance, just as angelic physical perfection was embodied in their serene singing and
playing of musical instruments. In the vision of Drythelm, the visionary aptly describes
this contrast between heavenly harmony and hellish din:

When we had passed those mansions of blessed souls and gone further on, I
discovered before me a much more beautiful light and there heard the sweet
voices of people singing, and so wonderful a fragrance proceeded from the place
[...]

This extract encapsulates the synesthetic nature of the afterlife, as the sights, sounds, and
smells of Heaven directly oppose those of Hell. The Cursor-poet entwines the aural
disharmony of the demonic with the failure of the damned to listen, in their own lives, to the
righteous words of God: ‘And ðai þat wald na spelling [preaching] here / O godd ne of his
laghes lere, / For-þi þan sal þai here þe suns / O nedders bath and of draguns, / þat reuful
bere, þat waful cri, / þat wa es þam es sted þar-bi.’

Furthermore, in the total darkness that the poet has already established for his
topography of Hell, these awful sounds must be all the more acute. The Cursor-poet’s Hell is
a synesthetic bombardment, a sensory assault. Besieged by the impenetrable darkness the
damned are deprived of their sight; their ears are overwhelmed by a cacophony of demonic
shrieks and deafening blows; their sense of touch overloaded by simultaneously being
burned, frozen, and gnarled upon by foul creatures; they must endure an unbearable and
endless stench; and they will at all times be pricked from within by their own guilty
consciences and forced to endure their own and others’ shame. The ninth and final pain
serves only to corroborate this synesthetic barrage, as it describes the damned having their
limbs manacled by fiery bonds, further adding to the physical sensations of these torments.

296 ‘Hellish sounds are also suggested in pictorial imagery by means of wide open and contorted mouths. So
demons are portrayed shrieking while weighing souls in a detail from the famous Last Judgment tympanum
situated on the west front portal at the cathedral of Saint-Lazare in Autun.’ Debra Higgs Strickland, Saracens,
Demons, & Jews, p. 68.

297 ‘In medieval literature, the sounds of hell contrasted sharply with those of heaven. Heaven was believed an
emphatically musical place, comprised mostly of angels constantly singing the praises of God.’ Debra Higgs
Strickland, Saracens, Demons, & Jews, p. 68.

298 Gardiner, Visions of Heaven & Hell, p. 60.

299 Ll. 23301-6.

300 The ninth pain is described in lines 23257-60. The same feature is described in the Prick of Conscience, as
the thirteenth pain.
The punishments of Hell, then, according to the Cursor Mundi, are utterly disorientating, and, to reiterate their endless nature, the poet concludes that the damned will forever be dying but never die, for death shall flee from them (‘Deiand ai and neuer ded, / For ded sal fle þaim als þair fede’),\textsuperscript{301} referencing Revelation 9:6, which states,

And in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and they shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them.

**Pleasure**

It is apt to follow these frightening torments with the potential pleasure and comfort that might be derived from them. This lies in the somewhat sadistic twist that the Cursor-poet frequently applies to the punishment of the damned. Because, while the damned are undergoing their eternal torment, we are assured by the poet that the blessed will rest in bliss, their reward infinitely increased in the knowledge that the damned are suffering, and even that they can witness and derive comfort from this suffering. As ever in this chapter, this notion is presented speculatively, as an interpretation of such feelings is clearly open to debate, but there certainly appear to be several examples of the aforementioned voyeuristic pleasure that can be derived from the Doom in this section. The audience is promised that they – if they are among the saved – will get to enjoy the punishment of the wicked, no doubt offering a welcome sense of justice and vindication for the many wrongs suffered in this world at the hands of sinners.

This sadistic tendency is implicit throughout the punishments described by the poet, as the absolute vulnerability of the damned is consistently portrayed, as we have seen. Indeed, this voyeurism is specifically apparent in one of the individual punishments relayed by the poet, pain number seven, which sees all of the innermost secrets and transgressions of the damned revealed to everyone around them in endless shame. This is a very thinly veiled threat to any audience member withholding something potentially embarrassing from their confessor; the knowledge that everybody else around them will see their shame forevermore is a sinister warning and presses very effectively on a person’s guilty conscience.

There are also undeniably explicit examples of this notion in parts of the poem’s elaboration of these torments. In describing the third pain, which consists of loathsome

\textsuperscript{301} Ll. 23313-4.
worms, dragons, and toads devouring the damned, the poet also lays the foundations for the voyeuristic enjoyment of this suffering on the part of the saved:

Als we se fixs in water suim,
Sua liue þai in þat lou sa dim.\(^{302}\)

Just as we look down upon fish swimming in water, so shall we see the damned writhing in that dim blaze. Note, again, the use of the first person, which has not been employed at all in describing the actual punishments of the damned, but is utilised here, as before, when the perspective of the blessed is being addressed; the damned are always an external, third-person group.

After the poet completes the list of punishments that await the damned, though, this sentiment is compounded fully:

De rightwisemen sal se þaa pines
Apon vr lauerd wiþerwines,
Pat þair blis mai be þe mare,
Pat þai er scaped o þat care.\(^{303}\)

The righteous will witness these punishments being doled out to the lord’s adversaries, so that their own bliss may be all the more because they have escaped that suffering. This extract represents the crux of this point, that the Cursor-poet reassures his audience that a significant part of the joy to be derived from the Last Judgement comes from an undeniably sadistic – and self-righteous – enjoyment of the suffering of the damned. As far back as the second-century Apocalypse of St Peter, this notion is espoused: ‘They [the blessed] will see justice carried out on those who hated them.’\(^{304}\) Likewise, according to Binski, Thomas Aquinas, too, proposed this idea (without the sadistic undertones, however): ‘Aquinas in his Summa Theologiae said that one of the pleasures of the blessed was to regard the suffering of the damned, not for its own sake, but in order to rejoice at the spectacle of God’s justice.’\(^{305}\)

Unlike Aquinas’s more reserved proposition of this idea, Tertullian, in his second-century De

\(^{302}\) L. 23230-2.
\(^{303}\) L. 23319-22.
\(^{304}\) Gardiner, ed., V i sions of Heaven & Hell, p. 10. See also le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, pp. 21, 24, 33-34.
\(^{305}\) Binski, Medieval Death, p. 175.
Spectaculis, indulges shamelessly in the joyful experience of watching the damned be incinerated:

What sight shall wake my wonder, what my laughter, my joy and exultation? as I see all those kings, those great kings, welcomed (we were told) in heaven, along with Jove, along with those who told of their ascent, groaning in the depths of darkness! And the magistrates who persecuted the name of Jesus, liquefying in fiercer flames than they kindled in their rage against the Christians! those sages, too, the philosophers blushing before their disciples as they blaze together, the disciples whom they taught that god was concerned with nothing, that men have no souls at all, or that what souls they have shall never return to their former bodies! And, then, the poets trembling before the judgement-seat […] of Christ whom they never looked to see! And then there will be the tragic actors to be heard, more vocal in their own tragedy; and the players to be seen, lither of limb by far in the fire; and then the charioteer to watch, red all over in the wheel of flame; and, next, the athletes to be gazed upon, not in their gymnasiums but hurled in the fire – unless it be that not even then would I wish to see them, in my desire rather to turn an insatiable gaze on them who vented their rage and fury on the Lord.306

The Cursor-poet is decidedly restrained in comparison with Tertullian’s disturbingly gleeful description of the suffering of the damned and the sense of schadenfreude to be derived from this by the saved.307 There is a profound hint of social justice within this sentiment: it demonstrates the power of the Doom to balance the social scales. We can rest assured that all of the abuses witnessed in this life – especially by those in positions of power – will not go unpunished, and, indeed, we shall be able to actually see the penalties meted out.

Even this, however, is not the full extent of the inverted comfort that can be derived from the Doom, as the poet continues in this vein:

307 I feel that the late rationalist and religious-cynic, Christopher Hitchens, encapsulates this questionably sadistic attitude of certain Christian apologists quite aptly: ‘One of the very many connections between religious belief and the sinister, spoiled, selfish childhood of our species is the repressed desire to see everything smashed up and ruined and brought to naught. This tantrum-need is coupled with two other sorts of “guilty joy” […] First, one’s own death is cancelled – or perhaps repaid or compensated – by the obliteration of all others. Second, it can always be egotistically hoped that one will be personally spared, gathered contentedly to the bosom of the mass exterminator, and from a safe place observe the sufferings of those less fortunate.’ Christopher Hitchens, God is not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything (London: Atlantic, 2008), p. 57.
The wicked will also be able to see the good in their games and glee, significantly increasing their own sorrow as they have foolishly lost these joys. There is a well-established biblical precedent for this reciprocal spectatorship, to be found in the parable of justice of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16):

And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham’s bosom. And the rich man also died: and he was buried in hell. And lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom: And he cried, and said: Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, to cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame. And Abraham said to him: Son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime, and likewise Lazarus evil things, but now he is comforted; and thou art tormented.

Although the biblical parable offers no suggestion of enjoyment at this reversed status quo, it surely would have provided some rather twisted delight for those in the Cursor-poet’s audience who were confident that they would be among the saved: not only can they observe the suffering of their oppressors taking place below them, but they can delight in the knowledge that the wicked will suffer all the more in witnessing the bliss enjoyed by the saved.

Most importantly, we are forbidden from feeling pity for those condemned to eternal suffering, we must not feel any guilt nor desire for clemency:

Bot þof þai se þam, wijt you wele,

O þaim þai sal noght reu a dele,

If fader sagh his sun þare,

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308 Ll. 23323-6.
Or sun his fader in þat care,
De wijf hir man or man his wijf,
Or freind he luued als his lijf;
For þair misfar suld þai not murn,
Ne ans for þair skathes skurn,
Bot suld þai haf a gret delite,
To se þam setlid in þair site,
Als we haf here on sunni dai
To se fixes in a water plai;
For qui þe right-wis blith sal be
Quen he sal wrak on sinful se.³¹⁰

The saved should absolutely not mourn for the misfortune of the damned but should instead derive great delight from their sorrow. Even if our parents, our children, our spouse, our friends, are among the damned, their suffering is as inconsequential to us as watching fish in a stream on a sunny day. The fourth-century Apocalypse of St Paul makes several references to this idea that the saved must not mourn the damned for their suffering, and Paul is chastised by his angelic guide for doing so: ‘I sighed and wept and said, “Woe to humanity! Woe to the sinners! To what end were they born?” And the angel answered and said to me, “Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who has established the judgment and left everyone to choose good or evil of their own will and to do as they please?”’ ³¹¹ Thus, to mourn for the damned is to question the righteousness of God’s judgement.³¹² The Three Arrows on Doomsday (the principal subject of Chapter Two) makes a similar assertion:

³¹⁰ Ll. 23331-44.
³¹¹ Gardiner, Visions of Heaven & Hell, p. 42.
³¹² Lisa Wade addresses this: ‘Within it [divine justice], the blessed in heaven will have neither emotional nor sense experience of evil, nor the misery of punishment. Before it, the viewer acts as a witness to this grandiose machine in motion, but he will not derive any pleasure from the horrors of eternal punishment. Any sympathy that the viewer might feel will always be tempered by a Christian awareness that the sinful must receive their penalty as it befits God’s own sense of justice.’ Lisa Wade, ‘Representations of the Last Judgement and their Interpretation’, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Art History and Theory, University of Essex, 2001, p. 75.
An extract from the Psalms that this quote from the Three Arrows prefaces encapsulates this notion: ‘The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge: he shall wash his hands in the blood of the sinner.’

Evidently, as far as the Cursor-poet is concerned, comfort and pleasure are to be derived from this undeniably sadistic omnipotence experienced by the saved, somewhat reminiscent of the macabre pleasure to be derived from witnessing a capital punishment. The torments unleashed upon the damned redress the balance of society in the same way that a capital punishment publicly conducted might glut the popular appetite for violence, assuage seditious sentiments, and alleviate social tension. The Doom, in its inexorable levelling of the social hierarchy, acts as the valve through which the steam of social injustice is released. This same message unmistakably resonates throughout contemporary artistic representations of the Last Judgement. An almost invariable staple of Doom iconography is the presence of representatives from across the social spectrum – knights, monks, bishops, popes, and kings – being divided accordingly by the Judge, often consigned to the insatiable flames on his left. Indeed, the Cursor-poet, before indulging in this sadistic tangent, outlines those people who will be subjected to these torments based on their behaviour in life. They are the covetous, who forever chased chattel (‘In catel wit couetise to win / To-quils þai in þis werld war’, ll. 23272-3); the strong who ruled with wickedness (‘And þaa men þat sa starck war her, / Stitli þair wickedhed to ster’, ll. 23275-6); those whose hearts were consumed with envy and hate (‘Þai þat war fild wit enst and hete, / Þat ipenli þair hertes ete,’ ll. 23279-80); those who indulged in wanton lechery (‘And for þai her war wonto li / In þair stincand licheri,’ ll. 23283-4). The demography of the damned, according to the poet, clearly comprises the rich,

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313 London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, f. 69r.
314 Psalm 57:11, Laetabitur justus cum viderit vindictam; manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris.
315 The sculpted tympana of the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris immediately spring to mind as an example of such iconography, but instances of this are innumerable. Also worth noting here is an example that comes from the Life of St Hugh of Lincoln. The Life details an occasion before the Romanesque Last Judgement sculptures formerly at Fontevrault, involving Hugh and King John: ‘Then the bishop pointed to the left hand of the Judge, where kings in their regalia were being consigned to damnation […]’ The bishop turned to his companion and said, ‘A man’s conscious ought continually to remind him of the lamentations and interminable torments of these wretches. One should keep the thought of these eternal pains before one’s mind at all times […]’ Let the memory of these pains remind you how severe will be the charge against those who are set up for a short time to rule others in this world, but fail to govern themselves […]’ He said that images like this were very rightly placed at the entrance of churches. For thus the people going inside to pray for their needs were reminded of this greatest need of all.’ From Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 178-180.
the powerful, and the greedy; their selfishness in life will result in their eternal punishment in death.

Doomsday is the provider of this social justice, hence humanity’s ongoing obsession with the world’s demise. The Doom represents the divine promise that all will be balanced, wrongs will be righted, and your poor lot in this life will be redressed in the next just as your abuser’s advantages will be snatched away from them. Within this lies the precise need for eschatological religion, as it provides justice for crimes that would otherwise go unpunished.\textsuperscript{316} It provides comfort for the oppressed that there will be some kind of fairness in the afterlife, despite the injustices of this world. The Cursor-poet’s description of the damned as the rich and powerful, coupled with the familiar presence of high-status individuals burning in the flames of Hell in contemporary art, strongly resonates with this desire to represent the Doom as a social leveller and as a source of comfort to the meek, benevolent, dutiful Christian.

**Education and Entertainment**

For this section, these two themes have been amalgamated for brevity, since, as usual, they complement one another effectively. They are also less prominent in the poet’s description of Hell. But this portion of the poem is not without didactic value, and the poet endeavours, as usual, to accompany his lively rhetoric with explication; he does not only convey the horrors that await sinners but attempts to equip his audience with the information necessary to understand and avoid them. The punishments that await the damned are relayed clearly in a numerical format, which makes them more organised and memorable. Most importantly, once the pains themselves have been described, the Cursor-poet explains the reasons behind them: why are there these punishments? The poet’s description does not merely highlight these horrors but moralises them within a pastoral framework. The Church holds the key to salvation; properly conducted shrift and penance are vital if one wishes to avoid this grisly fate.

As for entertainment, it is arguable that some sense of delight can be derived from the vividly described torments that await the world’s sinners. This is especially pertinent

\textsuperscript{316} On this question of divine justice, see Wade, ‘Representations of the Last Judgement and their Interpretation’. Wade observes that the doctrine of Augustine on the Last Judgement ‘presents us with a grand judicial machine – the divine manifestation of God’s own law’, p. 75.
considering that the damned are consistently portrayed as an ‘other’, an external group, ripe for derision and disdain. The poet’s employment of lively and imaginative metaphors and analogies, complemented by his usual linguistic alacrity, lend the section its air of levity and excitement, stimulating an audience’s imagination and curiosity. The sadistic pleasure described above no doubt provides an element of enjoyment as ‘we’ – the saved – can relish in witnessing the suffering of the damned from our perspective of bliss and safety. This epitomises the voyeuristic pleasure to be derived from the Doom and is reminiscent once again of the analogy with capital punishments and the morbid entertainment implicit in this. So, the poet’s educational mission is enhanced again by his use of an engaging narrative, vivid language, powerful imagery, and relatable analogies.

 Appropriately, then, this section commences in the poet’s typical didactic tone, offering an immediately explanatory note on the nature of Hell:

\[
\text{And qui it stincand stang es cald} \\
\text{Par es resun, qua sum wil hald;} \\
\text{Stang als men sais es vmstund} \\
\text{Sua depe þat þar-on es na grund,} \\
\text{Alsua þe pine of hell pine} \\
\text{It es sua depe, wit-vten fine,} \\
\text{Pat end ne best þar neuer apon,} \\
\text{A stank it calls for-þi sant Iohn.}^{317}
\]

Hopefully this explanation would be relevant to a contemporary audience, but it is somewhat obscure to a modern English-speaker. Ultimately, the reason he describes Hell in this fashion is because Saint John does too, demonstrating the familiar deference to authority. But, the MED describes a ‘stang’ as, figuratively, a ‘sting’ or a ‘pain’; though the literal sense of an actual sting or snake bite, considering the vile inhabitants of Hell that the poet will imminently describe to his audience, would not be out of place either. ‘Stincand’ essentially conveys what we might expect: a foul, offensive odour; putrefaction; moral corruption.\(^{318}\) ‘Stincant’ as a noun can also directly represent the stench or fumes of the burning sulphur of

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\(^{317}\) Ll. 23195-202.  
\(^{318}\) MED, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>. 
Hell. Once again, considering the Cursor-poet’s later reference to the overwhelming malodour of Hell, this is particularly pertinent.

Similarly, the poet concludes the section in a didactic tone. Once the list of pains is complete, the poet addresses why they are such:

   And qui þar es þaa paines nene,
   Here nu þe skil of ilk pine;
   Nine orders of angels þai forsook,
   Quen þai þaim to þe warlau tok,
   Par-for sal þai pined be,
   Wit þaa pines sex and thre.\textsuperscript{319}

Besides the admirable poetic charm to this explanation, it is also a very succinct and comprehensible justification for there being nine specific punishments. Because there are nine orders of angels who forsook God for the ‘warlock’ – the Devil – so there are nine pains (‘pines sex and thre’). Moreover, there is the simple but effective method of enumerating the pains in a clear list, in homiletic fashion. The repeated use of the format of nine will aid memorisation and provide easier reference to a reader.

Then, there are the numerous metaphors and analogies employed by the poet to most effectively convey the nature of these punishments. This technique allows the Cursor-poet to present his material at a comprehensible, relatable level, as concepts that can be understood through reference to our own reality. The details of several examples of these analogies were explicated earlier in this section, so the purpose here will simply be to reiterate their presence and significance but in direct relation to the poet’s educational mission. The first pain includes two of the most visually striking analogies of this section in its description of the flames of Hell, which are so intensely hot that all the world’s oceans could not douse them. Likewise, the poet explains, comparing the might of fire on this earth to hellfire would be akin to comparing that of painted fires on stone walls to real flames.\textsuperscript{320} The second pain uses a similarly relatable construct to amplify the biting frigidity of Hell, wherein a flaming hide

\textsuperscript{319} Ll. 23265-70.
\textsuperscript{320} On lines 23209-12 and 23213-6.
wrapped around you would turn to ice as quickly as you could turn over your hand.\textsuperscript{321} The fifth pain invokes the wonderful analogy of a blacksmith striking an anvil to amplify the fearsome beatings that the damned will suffer in Hell. This extract is worth quoting again because of its striking alliteration and the vivid image that it conjures, lending it some potential to entertain as well:

\begin{quote}
De fifte es vndemnes dint,
Pat þai wrecches þare sal hint,
Als it war dintes on a steþi
Pat smythe smittes in a smeþey.\textsuperscript{322}
\end{quote}

This type of didactic construct continues throughout the poet’s description of the pains, ever endeavouring to make these preternatural concepts relevant and comprehensible to an audience familiar with the physical workings of this world. In delivering his message on the punishments that await the damned in Hell, the poet is always restricted by, but nevertheless attempts to stretch, the limits of his audience’s imagination by invoking concepts with which they are familiar in their own lives.

Once the list of punishments is complete, the poet takes a more moralistic approach, explaining who will be subjected to these pains and why. They are the covetous who sought only chattels, the strong who ruled with wickedness, the envious and the hate-filled, and the lecherous.\textsuperscript{323} There is an echo of the Seven Deadly Sins to this list recital, though perhaps not strong enough to be a deliberate choice. Next, and more importantly for the poet’s educational mission, it is explained more specifically why these people will be punished. The poet emphasises that their damnation is not so much due to their specific sins – be it lechery, envy, or covetousness – but because of their failure to be good Christians. The poet lambasts these contingents of the population who failed to abide by the basic tenets of the faith:

\begin{quote}
And for þai wald na discipline
Thole for luue of vr drightin,
Pai sal be beft wit-vten houe,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{321} Ll. 23221–4.
\textsuperscript{322} Ll. 23235–8.
\textsuperscript{323} Ll. 23271–86.
Ne merci nan to þair behoue.
And for þai wald noght þe light,
Þat gis of sothfastnes þe sight,
Þat es godd self at vnderstand,
Þai sal haf mircknes ai lastand[.]

These people knew no discipline and would not suffer for love of the Lord so they will suffer beatings without mercy; they knew not the light of God so instead they shall have eternal darkness.

Most importantly of all, the vital role of the Church in attaining salvation is absolutely stressed here. It is not because of their envy, their lust, or their greed, that these souls will be damned; it is because they failed to comply with the Church’s stipulations of necessary Christian conduct. The poet continues,

And for þai wald noght scriue þer sake,
Ne fore þair ending mendes make,
Ilk an sal se wit sight o scam,
Quat blenck on oþer es to blam.
And þai þat wald na spelling here
O god ne of his laghes lere,
For-þi þan sal þai here þe suns
O nedders bath and of draguns,
Þat reful bere, þat waful cri,
Þat wa es þam es sted þar-bi.325

Because they would not shrive themselves, nor make amends before their death, they will forever be stained by their shame; they would hear no preaching nor learn of God’s laws, so they will instead hear the woeful sounds of adders and dragons. The ultimate importance of

324 Ll. 23289-95.
325 Ll. 23297-306.
obeying the Church’s doctrines of shrift and penance, of attending mass and hearing preaching is presented. This is why they will be met with the list of punishments the poet has just outlined, for not conforming to the Church’s own salvific structure. The Cursor-poet is essentially implying that the administration of salvation is the sole prerogative of the Church. It alone holds the keys to the gates of Heaven. Interestingly, this is somewhat in contrast with several other texts examined by this thesis, particularly those in Chapter Three, in that the Cursor-poet places no special emphasis on the Christocentric path to salvation, i.e., that devout recognition of and dedication to Christ’s death and suffering are the keys to attaining eternal paradise. The Cursor-poet, on the other hand, consistently shows himself to be an ardent proponent of the Church’s unique role in administering salvation, rather than advocating humble meditation on Christ’s Passion. Moreover, it is valuable to remind ourselves of the catechetical material often found appended to the Cursor Mundi, further demonstrating the perception of the poem’s efficacy in advancing the Church’s pastoral role by promising that salvation lies only through the Church’s rules and officiations. The Cursor-poet was clearly – and self-confessedly – an agent for the Church’s greater pastoral mission and evidently viewed his didactic objective to be to properly inform his audience of this fact.

We can draw the discussion of this section to a close with a review of its entertainment value, which, as outlined earlier, typically intertwines with the poem’s educational content. Smatterings of this theme can be found throughout the section and are best understood as acting in conjunction with the other themes, as is the case throughout the poem’s account of Doomsday. As usual, we must be cautious not to anachronistically assign a sense of farce to the description of these punishments, as their intended gravity is subjective in accordance with numerous cultural factors. Likewise, though, perhaps we are also guilty of too readily bestowing unthinking credulity upon a medieval audience; it is not unreasonable that this section’s content could achieve an effective blend of levity and gravity. The components of this section to be discussed for their potential to entertain will comprise the usual literary constructs of alliteration, hyperbole, dramatic delivery, evocative and visually striking language, and metaphor.

This section opens with an alliterative construct characteristic of the Cursor-poet’s style, in that Hell, which he will be describing for us, is referred to as the ‘stincand stang’, an immediately catchy and memorable device.\textsuperscript{326} Likewise, a few lines further on, the poet first

\textsuperscript{326} L. 23195.
mentions the punishments of this infernal prison, playing with the dual meaning of words as he has done on many previous occasions: ‘Alsua þe pine of hell pine, / It es sua depe, witvten fine’. 327 Another memorable alliteration occurs towards the end of the list, in the description of the eighth pain, as the poet explains the raucous noise that the damned will be subjected to: ‘Þat dreri din þat balful bere, / Þat þai witvten stint sal here’. 328 A wonderful rhyme is achieved in the very briefly presented fourth pain, which consists only of a single couplet, but which in and of itself is a memorable concept for its very relatable sensory stimulation: ‘Þe ferth paine it es o stinc, / Þat mai naman sa mikel thinc.’ 329 The stench of Hell is beyond any person’s comprehension; it is certainly arguable that there is an innate sense of farce to this notion. 330 This general playfulness is complemented by the poet’s typically dramatic delivery; midway through introducing the Pains themselves, the poet interrupts himself with an ejaculation of despair:

Vijj paines principale es þar,
Crist lat us neuer þider far!
Þe first it es þe fire sa hatte […] 331

The poet’s mournful plea to Christ to keep us from ever faring thither immediately disrupts the rhythm and prevents the text from devolving rapidly into a lethargic list. It retains the poem’s sense of urgency, and its potential for dramatic delivery – especially when allowing for an oral performance – keeps an audience’s attention engaged.

327 Ll. 23199-200.
328 Ll. 23253-4.
329 Ll. 23233-4.
330 The possible featuring of this in contemporary drama would make for a fascinating inquiry. Are the Heaven and Hell of medieval plays presented in this synesthetic fashion? Drama would be a ripe medium for presenting the cacophonous din made by rampaging demons (whose racket is readily attested to in text and image), the heavenly harmony of angels, or the vile stench and fragrant odour of Hell and Heaven, respectively. It seems only logical that dramatic representations of such settings and characters would incorporate these sensory components. It certainly appears that there is evidence for the aural aspects of this concept: ‘Actual aural experience of these [demonic] voices presumably would have been provided by actors portraying devils in later medieval mystery plays’; ‘[…] and actors dressed as angels sang and played instruments in the mystery plays.’ See Debra Higgs Strickland, Saracens, Demons, & Jews, p. 68; Richard Rastall, ‘The Sounds of Hell’, in Clifford Davidson, Thomas H. Seiler, eds, The Iconography of Hell (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1992), 102-31; Richard Rastall, ‘The Musical Repertory’, in Clifford Davidson, ed., The Iconography of Heaven (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1994), 162-96; the nature of angelic singing is also described by Walter Hilton in Of Angels’ Song, for which, see Fumio Kuriyagawa and Toshiyuki Takamiya, eds, Two Minor Works of Walter Hilton (Tokyo: privately printed, 1980).
331 Ll. 23207-9.
The imaginative metaphors that punctuate this section, which have been referred to in detail already for the preceding themes, are also especially pertinent here for their potential to enliven the poem and entertain an audience. Again, one can imagine these analogies being pronounced with relish, as they are so vivid and so hyperbolic. These begin with the first pain, which describes the fiery heat of Hell and its comparison to earthly fire. The flames of Hell are so intense that all of the oceans of the world could not douse them; they are akin to comparing earthly fire with flames painted on walls. The evocative metaphor of the fifth pain, which describes the almighty blows that the damned shall receive, comparing them to a smith striking an anvil in a forge, contains arguably one of the poet’s finest examples of wordplay in his account of Doomsday: ‘Þat smythes smittes in a smeþey.’332 Once again, for the sixth pain, the language used by the poet is highly evocative, as he describes the darkness of Hell as being so thick that the damned may grope it; in a world without the ease of electrical lighting, such impenetrable darkness constitutes a formidable concern, and the choking gloom of Hell must surely have been one of its more frightening prospects. The language used by the poet to bring these horrors to life contributes significantly to their memorability and therefore the efficacy of the poet’s overall objective, to arm his audience appropriately for Christ’s coming to judge.

Finally, after the list is complete and the poet begins to draw this section to a conclusion, he includes a passage that has very distinct iconographic resonations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Þai sal be sett in þair prison,} \\
\text{Vpward þair fete, þair hefdes dun,} \\
\text{Þair backs til ward oþer bete,} \\
\text{Wit pine on ilk side vm-sete.}  \\
\end{align*}
\]

This is the final fate of the damned, trapped in this prison forever, death fleeing them, mockingly hung upside down and beset with pain on every side. The poet’s language generates a typically visually striking image, reminiscent of the carnivalesque contortions of the damned in many a contemporary image. Overall, the poet’s vivacious language contributes significantly to the desired effect of his text, and, particularly in this section, to the generation of a sensory assault in an audience’s imaginations, bringing the inevitable

332 Ll. 23235-8.
333 Ll. 23315-18.
pains of Hell to life and presenting them in line with familiar concepts in reality. Such hyperbolic and exciting language is a clear component of the Cursor-poet’s modus operandi: the lively lyrics and poetic wordplay, imaginative metaphors and exaggerated images all contribute to the efficacy of the other themes in tandem. The poet’s efforts to provide some portion of entertainment in his work makes it all the more memorable, thus enhancing the underlying educational message.

**Heaven and the Seven Gifts of the Blessed**

As alluded to previously, this section is characterised by its lack of structural rigidity, which is especially apparent when contrasted with the highly mechanical rendition of the Pains of Hell that precedes it. The description of Hell’s punishments is one-hundred-and-fifty lines; the description of Heaven’s rewards is three-hundred-and-one lines. This is a stark—and surprising—difference in the treatment of these subjects. However, this enthusiastic verbosity in discussing the pleasures of Heaven creates a different problem for the Cursor-poet: unlike the formulaic nature of the previous section, this one feels clumsy and somewhat resembles a disorganised stream of consciousness. Like the Pains of Hell, The Gifts of the Blessed that the Cursor-poet describes in this section are influenced by the Elucidarium, which also addresses the joys that await the saved.334

Despite the poet’s (repeated) claim that he will present not just the seven Gifts hinted at in the section’s title but, in fact, ‘fourten blissed hedes’, seven in body and seven in soul,335 none of the pleasures thereafter described are enumerated as the Pains of Hell are.336 Any sense of an ordered rendition is abandoned immediately, as the poet dives straight into a long, general description of the sweetness of Heaven’s rewards for the saved. On occasion throughout the section, the poet appears to realise that he has erred from the numerical pattern and attempts to reiterate it. On line 23477, one-hundred-and-twenty-five lines after

334 Although the Middle English version, the Lucydarye, which this thesis has utilised for simple comparisons, only shares the Beatific Vision and the shining bodies of the saved with the content of the Cursor Mundi, there is no suggestion that the Cursor-poet would have used a vernacular version of the Elucidarium, let alone an English one, so the parity of content between the two texts is likely far more marked in the Latin version. See Morrison, The Late Middle English Lucydarye, p. 71.

335 Ll. 23370-72.

336 Unlike the Prick of Conscience, which maintains an organised enumeration of the Gifts. See Hanna and Wood, eds, Prick of Conscience, where the account of the joys of Heaven commences on p. 207, l. 7530. There is an initial preamble, describing the general joys that the saved will experience, before the specific blisses – of which there are fourteen, seven in body and seven in soul, in addition to seven ‘schendschepes in hel allswa’ – begin on p. 216, l. 7872.
commencing the description, he tries to return to the enumerated structure: ‘Þe bodi has seuen, þe saul has seuen, / O þaim nu neist es for to neuen.’

‘Now I shall name them’, the poet states, despite having devoted over a hundred lines already to their nature; and, unsurprisingly, even after this interjection the description still does not follow a structured pattern. Any attempt at enumeration is abandoned again immediately. By line 23613 the naming of the Gifts is complete, and at no point has any one Gift been assigned a number in the list of fourteen bodily and spiritual pleasures. The entire description has taken place off-piste, representing more of a gleeful effusion than an informative, regimented account, as is the case in the preceding description of Hell’s punishments.

The contrast between this section and the preceding one is absolutely striking, and why this would be the case is open to interpretation. Whether the poet enjoys discussing one more than the other, and the follow-up questions of which and why, are simply subjects for speculation, since there can be no definitive answer. But this thesis would conjecture that this imparity is partially a result of the fact that the pleasures of Heaven are just too obscure for the human imagination to effectively conjure. The concept of ultimate, absolute, ceaseless divine bliss lies beyond the bounds of human experience, which, in a fashion, is what the poet is attempting to convey in his description of Heaven’s Gifts, since they are frequently explained as being superhuman, angelic abilities. Ultimately, the poet attempts to explain that anything one dreams of will be possible for the saved in Heaven. Such an approach does not lend itself well to vivid description, but this perhaps highlights the intrinsic flaw in what the Cursor-poet is knowingly trying to do: it is simply impossible for humanity to envision God’s infinite power. Ultimately, the interpretation of the Cursor-poet’s disparate treatment of these two subjects might be a fruitful subject for further research from a different perspective, but lies beyond the boundaries of this thesis. Nevertheless, it does conclusively reinforce a particularly pertinent strand of this thesis, in that the Cursor Mundi clearly acts as an example that bucks the trend of a medieval fixation with the punishments of Hell and the suffering of the damned when contemplating the novissima. The Cursor-poet is apparently equally, if not more, concerned in conveying the sublime rewards that await the saved.

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337 Ll. 23477-8.
338 It is worth noting, though, that the Prick of Conscience regularly expands much further on the Pains of Hell than does the Cursor Mundi.
Pleasure and Comfort:

An individualised discussion of each theme to be examined in this section in the introduction would be superfluous, since only one will be pertinent: pleasure. The explanatory sentiments found within this section echo the techniques employed by the poet throughout his treatment of the events of Doomsday. By this point in the chapter, it would be unnecessary to reiterate these. Moreover, much content that might be considered didactic is – because of the rather singular focus of this section on the pleasures of Heaven – relevant first and foremost to the notions of comfort and reassurance. Throughout this discussion, though, repeated references will be made to the poet’s continued emphasis on shrift and the Church’s role in salvation, as well as his use of edificatory metaphors. The same can be said for entertainment, which for this section is simply intrinsic to the poet’s animated descriptions of the wonders themselves and the repeated use of hyperbole throughout. This section, with its lack of restraint by mechanical enumeration, allows the poet to embellish and diverge more frequently, as he attempts to fully convey the awesomeness of the rewards that await the saved.

So, as it is the rewards of Heaven that are now under the microscope, it is an obvious decision to begin with – and singularly focus upon – the comfort and pleasure intrinsic to this. The section begins with two couplets that immediately echo a visual image that is entirely familiar in contemporary Last Judgement iconography:

Quen þe demester has done,

Iesus crist wit-vten hone,

Wit his felauscip sa fre

Sal wend in-til his fader cite.  

These lines instantly evoke the classic medieval image of Heaven, the bejewelled city of Jerusalem (Apocalypse 21), as well as the many instances in artistic representations of the Doom that depict the blessed wending their way up through crenelated towers and staircases.

339 “The extent of confession before 1215 is a matter of some debate, but by the end of the twelfth century theologians and canonists were already placing a new emphasis on individual contrition and stressing the importance of addressing the needs of the faithful by imposing penances on a case-by-case basis. In the thirteenth century, confession played a central part in the “re-evangelisation” of the laity […],” David Jones, Friars’ Tales, pp. 14-15.
340 Ll. 23351-4.
into miniature heavenly cities.\textsuperscript{341} And the name of that ‘cite’, according to the Cursor-poet, is the ‘high kingrike of heuen’, there ever shall they dwell with him in bliss and peace.\textsuperscript{342} Thus does the poet commence the section with an immediately – and expectedly – upbeat tone. We have traversed the worst that Doomsday shall bring; the Judgement is complete, the terror and foreboding have passed, and we are now one of Christ’s chosen and proceed alongside him to God’s dwelling to live for eternity in grace.

The description of these rewards begins without any reference to their specific number, but with a general indulgence in their perfection:

\begin{quote}
Of alkin gladnes es þar gleu,
And þat es euer ilike neu,
Pair blis it sal be sua parfite,
Pat þai sal wijt o nankin site,
Of alkin site be quite and care,
Ful we les him mai won ai þare.\textsuperscript{343}
\end{quote}

There are all kinds of joy, each forever renewed; those who dwell in this perfect bliss will know no kind of sorrow and will be utterly free from all kinds of grief and care. In body they shall have sweetness, freedom, strength, and everlasting health; in soul they shall have wisdom and friendship, concord, power, wellness and joyful rest.\textsuperscript{344} The poet actually alludes to the numbered Gifts very early on – from line 23369 – but, as mentioned already, this attempt at implementing an order alike to that for the Pains of Hell is abandoned immediately after introducing it. Then, one-hundred-and-twenty lines later, there is a second effort to

\textsuperscript{341} For example, the Doom murals at Wenhauston, Suffolk (though, admittedly, not technically a mural), c. 1480, with naked souls on the far-left climbing a staircase and entering a door into a windowed building, representing Heaven; at Broughton, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, 15\textsuperscript{th} century, which shows the Heavenly city as a crenelated, towered building; at Great Harrowden, Peterborough, 15\textsuperscript{th} century, in which a queue of naked, behatted souls are shown through a doorway into a stone building, complete with ribs springing from a column capital, extending into what would presumably have been a vault; at Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire, 15\textsuperscript{th}/16\textsuperscript{th} century, wherein St Peter once again greets a line of naked souls at the doorway to a stone, crenelated building; and at South Leigh, Oxfordshire, 15\textsuperscript{th} century, which shows, yet again, St Peter clutching his keys, greeting a queue of saved souls, in front of a quite detailed building, replete with windows, towers, and crenellations.

\textsuperscript{342} Ll. 23355-8.

\textsuperscript{343} Ll. 23359-64.

\textsuperscript{344} Ll. 23373-9: ‘In bodi, suetnes and fairhede, / Fredome and strength ai lijf to lede, / Liking als wit lastand hele; Pe saul als has als fele, / Sal haf wisdom and frencip, / Concord, pouste, and wirsicp, / Sekernes, and ioiful ro’.
reiterate their numbered format, but this too is instantly neglected after its reintroduction.\textsuperscript{345} The number of these Gifts seems almost to be an afterthought, as the poet in no way abides by this structure. Much like the many horrors that have been described previously, however, the poet does employ the same construct with which we have become very familiar (and is, indeed, highly typical of the wider genre), expounding that no eye may see, ear may hear, nor heart think of the many joys that Christ has prepared for his own that are ordained into the bliss of Heaven.\textsuperscript{346}

Despite his neglect of any kind of organised presentation of these pleasures, the poet nonetheless appears to delight in recounting them. Indeed, this may be the very reason for the lack of a rigid structure: the Pains of Hell are reelled off formulaically, while the Gifts of Heaven allow for absolute freedom of the imagination, anything one can imagine is possible. The first such delight that the poet describes is the ability of the saved in Heaven to have unbridled swiftness:

\begin{quote}
In suiftenes þou sal be sa suift,
Pat als suith som þou mai lift
Þine eie up þe lift to se,
Als suith þar þan sal þou be;
And als suith als sunn mai fest
Fra est his lem vnto þe west,
Als suith mai þou cum þider,
Al at þi wil or elles quider,
Nu at þe erth nu at þe lift,
Or hu sumeuer þou will þe scift.\textsuperscript{347}
\end{quote}

The blessed will be so swift that as soon as one may lift their eyes up to the sky, as quickly might they be there.\textsuperscript{348} The poet does, as with his discussion of the Pains of Hell, attempt to

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{345} Ll. 23477-8.
\textsuperscript{346} Ll. 23365-8: ‘Nan ei mai se, ne ere mai here, / Ne hert mai think þaa ioies sere, / Þat iesus crist has dight til his, / Þat weirrded er vnto þe bliss.’
\textsuperscript{347} Ll. 23381-90.
\textsuperscript{348} In the Prick of Conscience, this is the second bliss: ‘For in les while þan a man may wynke, / þai sall mow flegh he whider þai will thynk’. Hanna and Wood, Prick of Conscience, p. 218, ll. 7931-2.
\end{footnotes}
use relatable analogies to make these wonders somewhat more comprehensible to an audience. Hence, we are instructed that as the sun may make its way from east into west, as easily may we move hither and thither at our will, now on the earth, the next moment in the sky. The Prick uses this same analogy: ‘For als þe lyght of þe son thurgh strenthe / May fleghe fra þe est tyll þe west on lenthe, / Ryght swa þai may, whyder þai will fleghe, / In a schort twyndellyng of at ege.’ Even more impressively, we shall equal the angels themselves in this ability: ‘Þat ilk þan mai þe angels do / Þat þou sal euening þan be to.’

Next, we are told that the saved will be as fair as the sun is bright; the sun itself will be seven times brighter than it is now. Their bodies will be subject to no kind of restriction, offering total freedom:

De freedom sal be at vnderstand,
Di bodi bind sal nakin band,
All þat wit-standand þe es
Thoru sal þou thrill it wit þi wiss,
It es na creatur þat mai,
Lette þe for to far þi wai.

You – note, again, the continued use of the second person to address the audience when discussing the blessed – will pierce through anything that stands in your way. Furthermore, just as the grave could not hold our Lord’s body when he freely rose from death, so too will your body be completely unbound.

Several of the pleasures that the poet describes are in this vein of uninhibited superhuman physical prowess. We shall have such strength that with our feet we can leap over a mountain – or even the earth itself should we desire – as easily as we might now look with our eyes:

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350 L. 23391-2.
351 L. 23393-6. In the Elucidarium: ‘The bodyes of the saued shall be clere and shynynge as the sonne’, Morrison, The Late Middle English Lucydarye, p. 71. In the Prick, it is the first bliss: ‘þe first blys es bryghtnes cald / þat þe saved bodyse sall ay hald. / For be þair bodyse never swa dym her, / In heven þai sall be fayre and clere / And mare schyneand and mare bryght / þan ever þe son was tylly mans syght.’ Hanna and Wood, Prick of Conscience, p. 217, ll. 7906-11.
352 L. 23409-14.
353 L. 23415-22.
Furthermore, they shall be so nimble and mighty that should they will to make another earth or heaven, they might do so as easily as they might speak it:

Mikel sal þar be þair might,
Þat in þat weltht sal be sa wight,
Sua mightili þair might to fill,
Þat if it sett þam in to will
To mak anoiper erth or heuen,
Þai moght it mak als þai wald neuen.355

Thus, not only are the blessed akin with the angels, but are also Christ’s heirs: ‘airs all wit crist’ and ‘godds airs’, included in his company – ‘his buwist’ – to use this might as is now their right.356

As with the pains of Hell, the poet’s description of the Pleasures of Heaven frequently invokes the senses, involving joyful sights, sounds, and smells. We are told that – as was hinted to in the earlier section on the events of Doomsday itself – we shall have physical perfection, along with our radiant fairness. The women will be ‘fair for to be-hald’, clad in clothing of ‘riche fald’.357 We shall see beautiful buildings and towns (‘To se bigginges and fair tunes’), and hear all kinds of joyous melodies and sounds (‘O serekin gleues to here þe sunes’).358 And, most importantly, we shall hear God speak: ‘And here god talkin for to tell’.359 There will be ‘suete spiceri to fell and smell’, which to handle is ‘smeth and soft’ (interestingly, a sermon for the First Sunday in Advent employs the same phrase, ‘spysery’,

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355 Ll. 23549-54.
356 Ll. 23555, 23557, 23556, and 23558.
357 Ll. 23451-2.
358 Ll. 23453-4.
359 L. 23455.
as well as ‘mynstralsi’, to invoke a sensory analogy – olefactorial and aural – for the experiencing of divine bliss\(^{360}\); these gifts will indulge all of ‘þin wittes fiue’ and offer ‘lastand elth […] wit-vten seke or sare’.\(^{361}\) This continued reliance on an audience’s understanding of physical sensations also serves to demonstrate the challenge of expressing concepts that extend beyond human sensual comprehension. The poet, like many other contemporaries, is incapable of fully imagining and relaying the true pleasure of divine bliss (and even of infernal sorrow). He struggles to completely emphasise this limitless freedom without the Gifts he describes coming across as somewhat mundane. They are repetitive and, despite the grandeur that they promise, a little underwhelming in their presentation.

Ultimately, these Pleasures, unlike the Pains of Hell, which are consistently grounded in an audience’s tangible reality, are abstract and arcane, and the hyperbole that the poet employs implies a desperation to impress that is simply unachievable due to the constraints of human imagination.

Indeed, this intangibility becomes far more immediate in several of the other Gifts that the poet describes, which are especially arcane. One such reward is perhaps the epitomol heavenly gift that the saved receive and the damned are denied, to look upon God first-hand:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pat es vr lauerd self to sai} \\
\text{Pat þou sal se on euer and ai.} \\
\text{Dof þat þou euer apon him se,} \\
\text{Of him sadd sal þou neuer be.}\end{align*}
\]

This is perhaps the most marvellous prospect that the blessed can look forward to, the endless Beatific Vision, to gaze upon God in his splendour forever. The Prick of Conscience is explicit in this regard: ‘All þir ioyes er þare generall, / Bot þe sight of Godes bryght face; / Þat passes all other ioyes and solace. / For swa mykell may na ioy be / Als es þe syght of þe Trinite’.\(^{363}\) The Sermon of Dead Men (c. 1400) expounds a similar sentiment: ‘The fourthe good thing in whiche prinsepaly that blisse shal stoned inne shal be the glorious sight of the Trinite, bothe in his godhed and in his manhed […] This sight of God in his godhed and

\(^{360}\) London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII, f. 90r. See Appendix 1.4.c.
\(^{361}\) Ll. 23456-7; 23463-5.
\(^{362}\) Ll. 23433-6.
\(^{363}\) Hanna and Wood, Prick of Conscience, p. 216, ll. 7856-61.
manhed togider the aungels desiren ever to biholde therin, as the apostil Peter witnessith in his pistil. Likewise, in a sermon for the First Sunday in Advent:

O lord þi grace is a fayre sight and a faire bryghtenes [...] [the brightness of the many saved souls shall] be but as a shadow to þe bryghtnes of goddes blessed face, loo what seynt austyn’ seis, Et est in libro de ciuitate dei, he seis þer þat þe angels in heven þan be many fold bryghter þan þe sonne and no mans herte may þenke how muche þat þei desire to see goddes blessed face þat is so bright and all þe swetnesse and likynge of metis and drynkys or spysery or mynstralsi þat anny man or angell may þenke þe shall haue in þe sight of þe blessed trinite þe wiche shall last euer wit owten ende.[7]

This quintessential component of heavenly bliss, however, was persistently riddled with theological controversy. The crux of the problem lay in the timing of the Vision: was it at the moment of death, or only after final judgement? The Church Fathers were divided. Augustine, according to Binski, followed an ‘essentially Neoplatonic’ line of thought on the Trinity, ‘in which the Beatific Vision of God appears only after the Last Judgement’, available only to the resurrected and blessed. Saints Ambrose and Gregory, on the other hand, argued that the Vision was directly accessible to the saints immediately upon death.

Another school of thought, that of the faculty of theology at the university of Paris, stated in 1241 that the Vision was accessible after the cleansing of Purgatory but before the Last Judgement: it was reserved for glorified souls but not bodies. Not until a Bull issued by Pope Benedict XII in 1336, known as Benedictus Deus, was the final opinion on this issue enshrined into dogma; contrary to Benedict’s predecessor, John XXII’s, preaching on the issue—which, perhaps not only due to its unpopularity, but also to John’s own sense of impending demise and imminent – hopefully – reward, he retracted on his deathbed369), it was cemented that the Vision occurred to the just before the Last Judgement. Of course, as Binski observes, this undermines the momentousness of the Last Judgement: ‘if the blessed

364 The Sermon of Dead Men, in Wogan-Browne, The Idea of the Vernacular, pp. 255-8, no. 3.11.
365 London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII, ff. 89v-90r. See Appendix 1.3.c.
366 Binski, Medieval Death, p. 212. For Binski’s full discussion, see pp. 204-214.
367 Binski, ibid., p. 212.
368 Binski, ibid., p. 212.
had already been chosen and admitted to God before even the Resurrection, the Last
Judgement could offer no more than a stamp of approval; it became a formality.\textsuperscript{371}

As Alan E. Bernstein rightly points out, ‘it is an error to assume a uniform theological
consistency throughout the whole social fabric’, and the popular outlook was often divergent
(regularly irreversibly so, as with the case of aristocratic funerary bodily division) from the
finely-honed arguments of theological writers.\textsuperscript{372} Indeed, John XXII’s declaration that the
Vision could not be attained until after the reunification of body and soul at the general
resurrection proved resoundingly fractious among popular, political, and royal circles. So, as
with the problems surrounding the credibility of the bodily resurrection, the Cursor-poet
essentially sidesteps this problem, presenting it to his audience in a simple fashion and
focusing on the experience of the average Christian, not of the saintly, who would already
have experienced this wondrous reward. This reminds us, once again, that the Cursor
Mundi’s approach to this material is concerned not with a sophisticated theological
explanation, but with an accessible and comprehensible presentation of these ideas for less
advanced audiences (be they lay or clerical), solely in order to educate.

The lines that follow this revelation are particularly abstract and difficult to decipher.
They explain that if a ‘glouand iren’ were ‘scoit into þi hefd’ and there ‘belieued’, glowing
‘thoru þi limes all’, you would have joy in both body and ‘wit-vte’; no man needs any
more.\textsuperscript{373} This notion is cryptic and is emblematic of the poet’s explanations for many of the
Pleasures he describes. The poet returns to this notion of deific revelation towards the end of
his description of the Gifts, reiterating once again the mesmerising nature of this reward. The
saved will themselves become the worshipped, as angels and saints will honour them
(‘Angels sal þaim mensk þan dere, / And santes als þof þai godds were’), and Christ will
reveal himself to them clearly: ‘Pat crist him kythes to þaim clene!’\textsuperscript{374} This is a particularly
impressive reward, as the blessed are elevated to saintly status and are to be eternally revered
amongst the holiest of company. The connotations of this are quite egotistical and do to some
extent tie in to the poet’s occasional references to the sinful nature of the wealthy and
powerful, as such a reward must be particularly appealing to those on the lower strata of

\textsuperscript{371} Binski, Medieval Death, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{372} Bernstein, ‘Heaven, hell and purgatory’, pp. 210-211.
\textsuperscript{373} Ll. 23437-43.
\textsuperscript{374} Ll. 23579-83.
society who, only through proper shrift and penance, will find themselves sharing a platform with those very figures that they themselves have worshipped dutifully in life.

Another of the Gifts that the poet describes starkly contrasts one of the more prominent punishments of the damned. Along with access to a kind of divine omniscience (‘O þe well o wite þai drau, / Wisdome, þat dos þam all to nau, / Þat was and es and ai sal be, / Þai se it [all] in þe trinite’),\(^{375}\) the saved, the poet explains, will also know the deeds of all the denizens of Heaven and Hell:

> Of alkin men in heuen and hell,
> 
> Bath nam and dede þai sal cun tell,
> 
> And all þe dedis þat þai did,
> 
> Þai sall be to þe santes kid;
> 
> Ne sal nathing fra þam be hidd,
> 
> Þat sight o godd has euer emidd.\(^{376}\)

All past deeds committed by those in Heaven and Hell will be known to the blessed; nothing will be hidden from them. However, unlike the damned who will forever endure shame for this same knowledge, the saved will know no such blemish. The poet continues,

> Þai sal nau bath dede and thought,
> 
> Bot þarfor vnderstand þou noght
> 
> It sal þe turn til ani scam,
> 
> Ne namar o blenc ne o blame.
> 
> Haf neuer þi sin sa lath bene,
> 
> Þat þou was her-of sriuen clene,
> 
> And dreied penance here o care,
> 
> For þaim ne sal þe scam na mar,

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\(^{375}\) Ll. 23481-4: ‘From the well of knowledge they draw, / Wisdom, that is theirs to know, / Of what was, is, and ever shall be, / They shall see it all in the Trinity.’

\(^{376}\) Ll. 23485-90.
Your sins will be more loathsome to you than ever before, and you will feel no blemish or blame for them, because you were shriven clean and endured penance here. Note, again, the repeated emphasis on sacramental shrift and penance as the means of becoming one of the saved. The poet expands on this point again after the lines quoted above, and explains that nothing else can forgive a man’s sins than to ‘bete it quils we liue’; the poet’s emphasis on the pastoral role of the Church is, throughout the entire section on Doomsday, consistently marked. No deed can escape God’s omniscience, who knows all that is, was, and shall be, so there is no other recourse to avoid damnation – in the Cursor-poet’s eyes, in contrast to many of the other texts discussed throughout this thesis – than to repent for one’s sins now, while there is still time.378 This exigency in promulgating the significance of the penitential sacraments recurs throughout the poet’s treatment of Doomsday and, indeed, across the wider Doom-genre, in which the immanency of the Judgement and, therefore, the urgency with which one needs to repent, is repeatedly conveyed.

The poet also employs two of his trademark explanatory metaphors, convincing us that the blessed will feel no more shame for their past misdemeanours than if a man were told today what he did when he lay in the cradle or if he were wounded coming from a battle and those injuries were fully healed. Thus, unlike the damned, who will suffer in eternal shame, the blessed will bask in total innocence and spiritual cleanliness. Indeed, the subsequent gift embellishes this reward yet further. We are told emphatically that the saved will have neither shame nor sorrow, but only great joy that they are redeemed (‘Ne sal þou noþer scam ne soruu, / Bot haf gret ioi þat þou ert boru’).379 They will have everlasting fellowship with God

377 Ll. 23491-504.
378 Ll. 23505-10: ‘Nan oþer thing es mans sin for-giue, / Þan for to bete it quils we liue, / For-giuen er þai and neuer less. / Godd, þat all wate þat es, / Es or was, or be sal euer, / Vte of his witernes be þai neuer[...]’.
379 Ll. 23511-2.
as his own children; they are one with him and he with them (‘Þai won wit him, he wit þam wons’) and he will love them as his own sons.\textsuperscript{380}

Ultimately, the poet draws his exposition of the Gifts that await the blessed to a close by asking perhaps an inevitable question (and, considering the ongoing struggle to do justice to these marvels, a pertinent one): ‘Þai ioi, þair gladdscip, qua can tell?’\textsuperscript{381} The answer to this, the poet continues, is nobody:

\begin{verbatim}
Naman for-soth in flexs and fell;
  For to be-hald þat trinite,
  Hu he es an-fald godd in thre,
  Face wit face þat god to se,
  Þat euer was and ai sal be,
  Þai sal ha ioi wit-in and vte,
  And on euer-ilk side a-bute,
  Ouer and vnder and aiquare;
  Þr lauerd vs giue vr woning þar.\textsuperscript{382}
\end{verbatim}

Interestingly, the poet ends this not in a promise that the Church can provide this bliss to its followers, but in a simple plea that God bestow this dwelling upon us. The reiteration once more on the incomprehensibility of the Beatific Vision demonstrates its position as the central reward that awaits the saved in Heaven. This constitutes the end of the poet’s – disorganised – list of these Gifts, as he states comprehensively that these are the blisses, among many others, that God has given to those who will dwell with him (‘Þir er þe blisses and mani elles, / Godd gis to þaim [þat] wit him duelles’).\textsuperscript{383}

However, this is not the end of the section pertaining to the rewards of Heaven. The poet concludes with thirty-four lines of couplets directly contrasting the fate of the good with that of the wicked. This is arguably the most effective method of amplifying the rewards that await the saved, considering the fact that the poet’s description thus far has somewhat

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{380} Ll. 23513-6.
\textsuperscript{381} L. 23603.
\textsuperscript{382} Ll. 23604-12.
\textsuperscript{383} Ll. 23613-4.
\end{footnotes}
underwhelmed in this regard, rendering the section a little arcane. To truly appreciate the freedom that salvation offers, we must consider it in direct comparison with the ceaseless suffering that awaits the damned. The poetic merit of these seventeen couplets is significant, as they are engaging and succinct. The poet arguably achieves his objective more concisely here than in his efforts throughout the sections on Hell and Heaven entirely. These lines are worthy of quotation in full, and can be found in Appendix 1.14, but for brevity a handful of examples will be presented here which demonstrate the efficacy of these couplets in emphasising the contrasting fates of the two sides:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pir sal be fair and doghti bath,} \\
\text{Pai sal be grisli and lath [...]} \\
\text{Pir sal liue in fredom fre,} \\
\text{Pai sal liue euer in caitiuete [...]} \\
\text{Pir lagues in ioi \text{par} \text{p}ai \text{er lend,}} \\
\text{Pai wepe in soru wit-vten end[.]}^{384}
\end{align*}
\]

The use of ‘these’ and ‘those’ for the saved and the damned, respectively, is consistent throughout these lines, reiterating one final time the ‘otherness’ of the latter, alienating them from the poet’s own audience. Finally, the poet ends these couplets, and this section, with one last plea to Christ to keep us free from the sorrow and grief of Hell, and to grant us the grace to do what must be done here in this life so that we may rest in peace with him in Heaven (‘Fra \text{pat} \text{soru} \text{and} \text{fra} \text{pat} \text{site,} / \text{Iesu} \text{crist} \text{he} \text{mak us} \text{quite,} / \text{And giue vs grace sua here} \text{to do,} / \text{Pat} \text{wit his} \text{we mai rest in ro’ȝ}).^{385} With this, the poet offers one final emphasis on the fact that measures must be taken now, while we are alive, in order to achieve bliss; it is not a forlorn appeal purely to Christ’s mercy to spare us – in the vein of Anselm’s ‘meditation to stir up fear’, for instance\(^{386}\) – it is another subtle nod to the role of the Church in providing salvation.

The Gifts of Heaven are consistently arcane and intangible, unlike the Pains of Hell, which, despite the poet’s efforts to relay their incomprehensible extremity, still remain

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\(^{384}\) Ll. 23619-20; 23625-6; 23647-8.
\(^{385}\) Ll. 23649-52.
accessible to human experience. The Gifts, on the other hand, rely entirely on stretching one’s imagination to the limits of possibility; they represent incredible promises of superhuman, angelic ability, unhindered by anything imaginable, yet in their ultimate presentation they fall short and appear rather mundane and unexciting. Try as the poet might to make these Gifts seem astonishing and extraordinary, they are decidedly ordinary. It is perhaps the poet’s keenness to convey to his audience the awesomeness of God’s power that results in this section’s proximity when compared with that on the Pains of Hell. Though there does appear to be a detectable relish in the poet’s conveyance of these superhuman impossibilities, stretching the medieval imagination to its most outlandish understanding of the physical limitations of this life, ultimately, they are simply not as memorable as the preceding punishments of the damned. However, as we move now into the conclusion of this chapter it is worth reiterating the significance of the poet’s effort to portray the unending pleasures of Heaven more strenuously than he does the eternal pains of Hell. As such, we are reminded of a major argument being proposed by this thesis, which the Cursor-poet has helped to propagate. The Doom is not a one-dimensional display of terror and oppression, it has a positive side to it that the Cursor Mundi demonstrates distinctly. Readers and listeners can take solace from the Cursor Mundi’s description of Doomsday, knowing that these infinite rewards await them if they are good Christians and pay heed to the repeated emphasis placed by the poet on abiding by the rules of the Church.

**Conclusion to Doomsday in the Cursor Mundi**

Overall, then, this chapter has sought to provide a close-reading of not only an under-appreciated – despite its significance in the wider vernacular literary milieu – text but also a largely overlooked portion of that text. Indeed, the subject of Doomsday has not been specifically analysed in this manner at all. Ultimately, this chapter has isolated a number of recurring themes throughout the Cursor Mundi’s treatment of Doomsday which should be extrapolated and applied across the wider Doom-genre. The Doom was demonstrably a didactic tool, and the Cursor Mundi exemplifies this utilisation of it in this manner as a part of the wider pastoral revolution taking place from the thirteenth century onwards. The poet’s undeniably overriding objective is to arm his audience with the knowledge necessary to be a diligent Christian, to avoid the grim fate that he describes in his account of the Pains of Hell. And, most importantly, he aligns this warning with the teachings of the Church: it is only
through the application of the sacraments, by an ecclesiastical official, and adherence to the Catholic catechism, that one can attain salvation and the rewards that the poet describes. The appendage of the type of catechetical material outlined in the Ignorantia Sacerdotum to several of the surviving copies of the Cursor Mundi is extremely demonstrative in this regard. Clearly, regardless of the poet’s actual intentions for his text, it was perceived to be an invaluable instructive tool by its subsequent users.

Secondly, although not as fully as might be possible, this chapter has at least to some extent demonstrated the potential for such a text – and for an account of the Last Judgement – to be entertaining. Most important in reinforcing this proposition is the simple fact of the Cursor Mundi’s structure. It is, unlike its major influence, the Elucidarium, organised in the manner of the very romances that the poet lambasts his audience for enjoying in his introduction. It takes as its muse the Virgin Mary, much as the romances the poet cites take other women of legendary beauty as theirs. The sheer immensity of the poem’s rhyming scheme is extraordinary, and the vivid language, lexical levity, hyperbole, playful metaphors, and exciting imagery all contribute to the poem’s potential to entertain an audience and thereby reinforce the underlying edificatory message. The dramatic crescendo of the Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday, for instance, lends itself perfectly to this purpose, not to mention the poet’s frequent excited ejaculations that punctuate the narrative. Throughout the poet’s account of Doomsday, he intertwines awe, excitement, shock, and reassurance to deliver his message of enlightenment. No person, upon hearing this account – as the poet testifies to himself – should be capable of sinning nor of ignoring their duty to shrive and repent. The poem’s account of Doomsday does its utmost to prepare its audience for the inevitable moment of Doom so that they might prepare their souls for appraisal and not be found wanting.

Finally, in spite of all of the terror intrinsic to such an account of the Last Judgement, the Cursor Mundi embodies the antithesis to the typical perception of the medieval Last Judgement as being a purely one-dimensional performance of horror. The Doom, as the poem demonstrates, is not simply destruction and punishment; it is renewal and rebirth, a fresh start with the potential to be part of God’s chosen company. We, the audience – the good – need only listen to the poet’s advice and we can achieve pleasure beyond our comprehension. Throughout, the poet’s account of the events of the Last Judgement persistently maintain a glimmer of hope among the embers of a scorched earth.
 Appropriately, then, the poem’s account of Doomsday finishes on an extremely positive note; the lasting effect of this narrative on an audience is one of significant optimism. This is because, following the description of Heaven’s rewards, there is one final, fifty-line section on ‘The State of the World After Doomsday’ (borrowed from book III of the Elucidarium).\(^{387}\) This epilogue draws the events of Doomsday to a very calm, tranquil, and uplifting conclusion. The landscape of the earth will be fully cleansed and made new (‘And þan sal haue a scape al neu […] þan sal þai all clenged be’); the earth that was once stained red with the blood of saints will now be filled with many colourful, sweet-smelling flowers (‘And for it was quilum mad red, / Wit blod o santes þar-on scede, / It sal be fild wit mani flurs, / Smelland suet wit sere colurs’); the earth that was cursed for the sins of our elders will now be blessed, and free of labour, sorrow, and care (‘Þe erth, þat first was maledight / To thorns for vr eldrin plight, / Þan sal it blisced be and quit / O labur, and o soru, and sit’).\(^{388}\) We are presented with a verdant, peaceful, serene pasture of uninterruptable bliss, rendering the forerunning moment of cataclysmic destruction a distant memory; it is a paradise reborn after an almighty storm that seemingly never happened. The ordeal that Christian salvation history has been building to forever is complete, all of the suffering will have been a part of the plan and is replaced by endless joy. Thus, this thesis’s first objective is underlined, as the Cursor Mundi’s account of the Day of Doom demonstrates wholeheartedly the multi-valent nature of the Last Judgement and its usage in late-medieval English religious culture.

\(^{387}\) The full passage is provided in Appendix 1.14.  
\(^{388}\) Ll. 23659 and 23662; 23691–4.
Chapter Two

Of Pre Arowis bat Schulen be Schot on Domesday: The Doom in a Micro-Manuscript Context

The theme of Three Arrows on Doomsday has largely evaded close scrutiny, despite the fact that it appears in over thirty manuscripts, which predominantly date to the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth (at the latest) centuries. The elusiveness of the Three Arrows in scholarship is likely a result of the fact that it is not one singular text but is actually a repeated concept that can be found in multiple, notably distinct, vernacular variations. As such, tracing the historical context of the Three Arrows via the usual bibliographic indices is a confusingly circular exercise, due to either a conflation of the different versions or a lack of awareness as to the existence of more than one adaptation of the theme. Although most sources appear to be aware, and have observed accordingly, that there are two separate textual versions of the Three Arrows, there are, in fact, at least three different redactions of the theme.389 This chapter intends to embark upon some key research into these hitherto under-studied texts, and, in so doing, to clarify some of the scholarly conundrums that have accompanied previous discussion of the Three Arrows.

The theme of Three Arrows on Doomsday generally manifests itself as a moralising treatise on the consequences of unshriven sin come the Last Judgement. Christ will come to conduct the great assize and he will shoot three arrows (in the third version of the Three Arrows it is implied that this is done directly from the bow, i.e., the rainbow, upon which the Judge is often described as sitting on Doomsday) at the sinful. The wounds inflicted by these projectiles are usually allegorical and the texts’ overriding purpose is to encourage introspection and repentance before the arrival of the Judge on Doomsday, when, of course, it is too late. The first version (enumerated in no order of precedence) is partnered with a preceding affective meditation on Christ’s Passion, after which follows the Three Arrows on Doomsday. This redaction of the theme has intermittently been associated with Richard Rolle. Although this connection has now been dismissed fairly unanimously, this chapter will offer some revision of this controversial question, suggesting that the Hermit of Hampole may still have had a hand in authoring this version of the Three Arrows. The second version of the theme contains substantially more diverse content, representing a fuller treatise than

389 Karl Horstmann, for example, in discussing the version which is preceded by a Meditation on the Passion, explains: ‘A later treatise on the theme of the 3 arrows, sometimes ascribed to Wicliff, is contained in many southern Mss.’, YW, vol. I, p. 112.
that found in the first. It includes a long preamble on the three advents of God, which are explained through an astrological metaphor, and a brief debate between a soul and its sinful former body (though it is more of a chastisement of the latter by the former than it is a debate). These scenarios are not encountered in the other two versions. Moreover, version two makes numerous references to patristic sources, some of which are very obscure, suggesting the involvement of a reasonably sophisticated agent in the compilation of this version and its offspring.\(^{390}\)

The third version of the Three Arrows identified by this thesis is only contained within a singular vernacular sermon and, in fact, does not adhere closely to the common structure of the Three Arrows as found in the other two versions at all.

The first version of the Three Arrows can be found in only two manuscripts but has received the most scholarly attention by far. The second version survives in twenty-one manuscripts, yet has received little study; this version has also spawned several redactions that incorporate its take on the theme of Three Arrows. For instance, a mid-fifteenth-century text known as A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle, which is extant in seven manuscripts, has adopted the second version of the Three Arrows into its structure, as have two unrelated vernacular sermons. The third version of the Three Arrows also appears in a sermon of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, though its rendition of the theme is not a reverberation of version two, as with the other two sermons just mentioned. All three detectable versions of the Three Arrows are notably distinct, and they should by no means be understood as imitations of one another; such an interpretation in previous scholarship has largely hindered progressive research into this wide-reaching theme. Version three is arguably a bastardisation of the theme of Three Arrows altogether, and its content is distinctly different to that of the other two. Versions one and two, however, are likely connected more closely to one another than they are to version three. It will be argued in this chapter, contrary to previous assessment, that version two is probably the leading surviving text, since it has clearly been borrowed and adapted to suit other treatises, and so it is plausible that it has also sprouted the other versions of the Three Arrows. However, what seems most likely is that all three

\(^{390}\) Including one to Eusebius of Caesarea, who is, to quote Ralph Hanna, ‘not exactly your household name’. Indeed, Hanna has addressed the compilation of this version in detail, and his forthcoming publication on the subject will offer a significantly more comprehensive understanding of the codicological recension of this redaction of the Three Arrows. Professor Hanna was generous enough to share the original draft of this paper that was delivered on the 1\(^{st}\) April, 2016, at the Late Medieval Devotional Compilations in England International Conference, at the University of Lausanne. Although this chapter had essentially been completed by this point, Professor Hanna’s paper provided the opportunity to make several revisions to this thesis’s understanding of the second version of the Three Arrows. Naturally, when Professor Hanna’s paper reaches publication, many of the observations in this chapter will be subject to further revision.
versions are reliant upon a shared ancestral text(s), which is no longer extant, but which spawned the disparate versions of the Three Arrows on Doomsday. What this chapter will reveal, though, is that there are numerous scriptural references to the notion of divine retributive arrows, which are metaphorically, if not literally, associated with Judgement on Doomsday. It is most probable, then, that the surviving vernacular versions of the Three Arrows have converged on their respective interpretations of the theme through a shared textual conduit, perhaps the product of an – as yet – unidentified patristic (St Jerome, for example, is quoted extensively in relation to the Doom, as is St Bernard).  

The Three Arrows, then, and particularly version two, has a significant manuscript imprint and an undeniably complex textual history, and so its lack of previous investigation needsremedying. Such research should reveal that this under-studied and ambiguously represented node of texts has a substantial bearing on late medieval literary devotional practices. This chapter will be unable to conduct this endeavour to its full extent, since a complete analysis of the Three Arrows would require a close textual and codicological appraisal of every single surviving manuscript, in order to illustrate as reliably as possible the intricate genetics of these texts and the books in which they are contained. Such an exercise would be superfluous to the overall objective of this thesis. Indeed, an entire thesis could have been dedicated to each manuscript that contains one or other version of the Three Arrows, since these books are all worthy of individual study, being typically organic, idiosyncratic examples of late medieval devotional ‘miscellanies’. As such, this chapter will explore notions of textual and codicological composition, possible compiler logic, and scribal practices and innovations across the range of surviving Three Arrows material, hopefully coalescing many of the overarching themes of this thesis.

**Version One: the ‘Meditation-Version’**

The first version is the only to have been accorded any dedicated scholarly attention. It is combined with a Meditation on the Passion; the two are entwined as a singular treatise, with the evocative description of the Passion moving directly onto the Doom
and the Three Arrows that will be unleashed thereon. The Manual summarises this text as such:

The Meditations [sic] on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday 
(about 3,300 words) is an affective reliving of the Passion, Crucifixion, 
Death and Resurrection, reinforced by thinking on the parousia and Last 
Judgment, with the aim of turning the soul from sin to the love of God.\textsuperscript{393}

This version - henceforth the Meditation-Version (M-V) - has warranted interest for two principal reasons: its erstwhile putative Rollean authorship, and its inclusion in a larger compendium, known as Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei.\textsuperscript{394} Either the M-V originated in the Holy Boke, being the innovative work of the compiler of that treatise, or it was borrowed by the Boke from an earlier, independent source. This dilemma will be addressed in due course.

The majority of attention that the M-V has received has been refracted through an interest in the Holy Boke.\textsuperscript{395} The Boke survives in four English manuscripts of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are either fragmentary or incomplete;\textsuperscript{396} indeed, the full-length treatise does not survive in any manuscript, the whole text having been pieced together from the shrapnel.\textsuperscript{397} This 31,600-word devotional compilation contains four tracts: On Grace, Our Daily Work, On Prayer, and Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday. The M-V has survived in only one of these manuscripts, London, BL Arundel MS 507,\textsuperscript{398} dated to c. 1400, according to Horstmann and the Manual, but before 1389.

\textsuperscript{393} Manual, IX, p. 3134.
\textsuperscript{394} IPMEP, no. 502, p. 175; Manual, IX, no. 85, pp. 3133-4, 3469-70; Jolliffe, Check-List, I.29, p. 112.
\textsuperscript{395} Even in the works of Thomas H. Bestul, who has intensively examined medieval Passion narratives, the M-V is not discussed. Bestul makes only an indirect reference to the M-V, showing that he is at least aware of it, citing ‘several other English prose meditations on the Passion from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries’, after which he cites Horstmann’s edition of the M-V and other meditations. See Thomas H. Bestul, Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1996), n. 224, p. 215. In his earlier Speculum article, however, he does make a direct reference to the M-V when discussing the graphic detail with which the blood bursting from Christ’s fingernails is described: ‘the same detail is used in a prose meditation on the Passion, sometimes attributed to Richard Rolle, that is found in two fifteenth-century manuscripts[...]’ Thomas H. Bestul, ‘Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation’, Speculum 64.3 (July, 1989), 600-619 (611).
\textsuperscript{398} However, both Hope Emily Allen and Sr Mary Luke Arntz give the impression that an additional Holy Boke manuscript actually contains the M-V: San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 148 (formerly the Ingilby manuscript). This cannot be categorically dismissed without viewing the manuscript itself, but it is probably safe to challenge this notion on the grounds that the Manual, the IPMEP, and Jolliffe do not include this manuscript when describing the M-V. The Manual even states that the Holy Boke in Huntington 148 is ‘complete except for the final section of the “Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday”’; whether this means that the M-V in Huntington is either atelous (which Arntz and Allen seem to imply) or absent entirely is
according to the British Library catalogue. The latter is the more acceptable proposition, as Ralph Hanna also suggests the likelihood of about 1390 for the date of Arundel 507, based on the evidence of its probable compiler/scribe, a Durham monk, Richard Segbrok, who wrote an inventory of his belongings on fol. 93v.

Horstmann, who was the first to edit the constituent parts of the Holy Boke, failed to notice their conformity as a single treatise, believing that Rolle was probably responsible for each individual piece. This mistake was rectified first by Matthias Konrath, who identified the probable unity of the works in a review of Horstmann. Then, Hope Emily Allen confirmed that the texts were indeed the components of a singular treatise. Allen, however, also argued against Rolle’s authorship of the Holy Boke, despite the objections of Geraldine Hodgson. This question was later addressed by Mary Luke Arntz, whose meticulous analysis cogently all but eliminated the Holy Boke from Rolle’s canon:

In conclusion, it can be stated that the results of this study of Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei argue against assigning the treatise to Richard Rolle. There is no positive external evidence for doing so and little internal basis for such an ascription. Though the literary style of the piece shows some resemblance

ambiguous, though. See Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle and Materials for His Biography, ed. Hope Emily Allen, Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927) p. 286; Arntz, Richard Rolle and Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei, p. x; Manual, IX, no. 85, p. 3469. See also C. W. Dutschke, R. H. Rouse, et al., Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (San Marino, 1989),<http://vm136.lib.berkeley.edu/BANC/digitalscriptorium/huntington/HM148.html> [07/03/16], which explains that MS HM 148 ‘retains the introduction, the first part and all but the conclusion of the second part.’ In Arntz’s description of the Holy Boke’s contents, the M-V appears to be towards the end of this ‘second part’, seemingly confirming its absence from the manuscript. Indeed, although Arntz is somewhat ambiguous, it is acceptable to dismiss the M-V’s presence in the manuscript based on her description combined with the information above: ‘MS H [HM 148] gives the longest portion of Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei and is of prime importance in proving the essential unity of the treatise. The Huntington scribe preserves in continuity what is found separated in the other manuscripts: the so-called sections on “Grace,” “Prayer,” “Our Daily Work,” and the “Meditation on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday.” Without warning, however, he breaks off at the end of the “secunde thynge” that is needed by each man and omits the third point entirely’, Arntz, p. x. The interruption of the text at this ‘secunde thynge’ cuts off the M-V, which is one of its final components.


See the Manual, IX, p. 3133.

Allen, WAR.

Allen, WAR, p. 287; Geraldine E. Hodgson, ed. and trans., Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle with the Privity of the Passion by S. Bonaventura (London: J. M. Watkins, 1923); for a similar summary of this debate, see Manual, IX, 3133.
to that found in the works of the Hermit of Hampole, this evidence, inconclusive in itself, is invalidated by the presence of compositional techniques almost foreign to Rolle’s authentic works. A culminating piece of evidence against the Hermit’s authorship is the absence from this present work of Rolle’s characteristic type of affective writing which could scarcely have been kept in abeyance throughout a treatise of this length. The final conclusion is that Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei should be removed from the canon of Richard Rolle to take its place in the vast body of medieval anonymous writings.  

By extension, then, the logical conclusion to this discussion would be that the M-V, as part of the Holy Boke, is also not a work of Richard Rolle.  

However, herein lies the persistent problem with previous discussions of the M-V: it is treated as being inextricable from – and even synonymous with – the Holy Boke, which is an oversimplification of this text’s history. This is problematic, because the author/compiler of the Holy Boke is not necessarily the author of the M-V; indeed, this chapter will imminently demonstrate that within this version of the Three Arrows there are, in fact, two sub-versions, which further obfuscates the debate. To Horstmann, the M-V was ‘certainly a work of Richard Rolle’, ‘written in his best style, in his peculiar rhytmical prose’.  

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404 Arntz, CVIII-CIX; George R. Keiser corroborated Arntz’s argument, see Manual, IX, 3133.  
405 Hanna, following Allen, omits the Holy Boke and the M-V from his list of Rolle’s works. This is justifiable, as Arntz very cogently dismissed the Holy Boke from Rolle’s canon. However, it is interesting that Allen’s fairly cursory judgement of the Holy Boke and the M-V is probably responsible for the dearth of scholarship on the M-V and even the Holy Boke, by disassociating them from Rolle. Hanna even indirectly supports this notion: ‘the study of Rolle has been a seminal force in the scrutiny of Middle English manuscripts and has often been central to the most intense and wide-ranging studies’; conversely, then, non-Rollean works might have suffered as a result. See Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle, p. xvii (and pp. xviii-xix for Rolle’s canon).  
406 To complicate this problem further, it should be noted that the compiler of the Holy Boke (assuming it is not Rolle, following Arntz’s conclusion) is not even necessarily the author of its component parts and may well have borrowed them all. A pursuant examination of the sub-versions of the M-V will show that he/she most probably borrowed the text from an external source, but innovated upon its content, adapting it to suit the context of the Holy Boke. Indeed, Hope Emily Allen expressed a similar sentiment, observing that the author of the Holy Boke ‘was not notable for originality’, considering the large amount of the Boke that can be traced to other works, such as the Ancren Riwle. Allen continues: ‘The Meditation [the M-V] in question may be one of the original parts of his [the Holy Boke author/compiler] work, or he may have borrowed it. There is a good deal of unevenness in the work [the Holy Boke], and some parts of the sections printed by Horstmann as separate tracts seem by their successfully colloquial style almost to suggest Rolle. It is possible that scraps of lost works of his have been drawn on; the sections on Grace, Prayer, and Daily Work suggest him more than the Meditation, though there is nothing in the latter that makes his authorship impossible.’ (Allen, WAR, pp. 286-7). Keiser also notes that the Holy Boke compiler was prone to borrow freely from other works: ‘[the Holy Boke] is apparently the work of a very skilled prose stylist who had read widely in vernacular prose writings, from which he borrowed freely […];’ ‘[the treatise is] made up to a very great extent of borrowings from other vernacular writings.’ Keiser, ‘Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei’, p. 289.  
407 Horstmann, YW, vol. I, pp. 112 and 104 respectively.
Hodgson agreed with Horstmann, echoing his analysis: ‘It [the M-V] is undoubtedly Rolle’s, is one of his most characteristic writings, a great example of his rhythmical prose.’\textsuperscript{408} However, Frances Comper elected to remove the M-V from Rolle’s canon, considering it incongruent with Rolle’s typical style.\textsuperscript{409} This interpretation was seconded by Allen, who comprehensively revised the catalogue of works attributed to Rolle. Allen discusses the M-V specifically, although limitedly, arguing against Rolle’s authorship:

Horstmann prints the work from two manuscripts, in both of which occur genuine works of Rolle; neither ascribed the Meditation to him, and in general there seems no reason to do so. It is more colourless than the Meditations which bear his name [...] The rhythmical prose is not more pronounced than is found in many works of the time.\textsuperscript{410}

Allen is ultimately ambiguous, though, placing the M-V among Rolle’s doubtful works, but not entirely excluding the possibility of his authorship, explaining that, though unlikely, there is nothing in the M-V that makes Rolle’s authorship impossible.\textsuperscript{411} It appears a reasonable conclusion at this juncture, then, that Rolle probably did not create the M-V.

However, this is not entirely satisfactory, due to the continuous conflation of the M-V with the Holy Boke in scholarship, which is a misrepresentation of this text’s history. This problem is highlighted by the fact that the M-V can also be found in another manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 285. Crucially, MS Rawl. is not an edition of the Holy Boke. Ralph Hanna has conducted a thorough case study of MS Rawl., which he describes as a ‘fairly anonymous book of Middle English religious prose.’\textsuperscript{412} The manuscript, according to Hanna, is the product of four separate scribes, as well as two other hands that have added materials to leaves probably left blank originally.\textsuperscript{413} Horstmann allocated the manuscript’s production to the beginning of the 15th century, but Hanna’s more detailed examination of MS Rawl. allows for more precision.\textsuperscript{414} Three of these scribes write in various

\textsuperscript{408} Hodgson, Minor Works, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{410} Allen, WAR, p. 286.
\textsuperscript{411} Allen, WAR, p. 286; see footnote 406.
\textsuperscript{412} Hanna, Book History, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{413} Hanna, Book History, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{414} Horstmann, vol. I, p. 104; Horstmann’s dating agrees with William D. Macray, who comments ‘saec. xv.’, in Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus secundus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, J. C. D., codicum classem tertiam, in qua libri theologici atque miscellanei, complectens; accedit in uniuscujusque classis codicum contenta index locupletissimus, (Oxford, 1878), pp. 123-
forms of Anglicana, ‘from just around 1400 or slightly earlier’, but Hanna believes the fourth scribe to have been working a quarter-century later, as he exhibits some of the hallmarks of Secretary script. Even more specifically, the second scribe, who was responsible for the copy of the M-V, appears to Hanna to be slightly more ‘advanced’ than the first or third, and so is perhaps writing ‘legitimately post-1400’. Thus, we have a fairly defined date for this edition of the M-V, probably post-dating that found in MS Arundel by at least a decade. In addition, Hanna has identified the geographical locale of each scribe, following LALME’s survey, but also localising more precisely. Scribes one, two and three exhibit a dialect that is cognate with the west half of the North Riding of Yorkshire, perhaps Wensleydale or Swaledale; scribe four does not share this northern heritage, probably heralding ‘from somewhere just south-west of the Wash, perhaps the Ely-Norfolk border.’ This disparity in the fourth scribe’s location, as well as the staggered chronology of the manuscript’s component booklets, exemplifies the dynamic compilation and transmission of such books, bringing the question of scribal or patronal objectives and desires to the fore. In addition to the M-V, MS Rawl. contains books one and two of Walter Hilton’s Scale of Perfection; Richard Rolle’s Form of Living; extracts from Gregory, Hilton, Rolle, inter alia; and a collection of prose treatises, one of which is the M-V. The manuscript is divided into four booklets, the first and fourth containing books one and two of The Scale respectively (book two being the later addition of scribe four), the second and third Rolle’s Form of Living and the other devotional texts. This sequence of texts appears to be another devotional miscellany; on the surface, to quote Hanna, MS Rawl. ‘looks like chaos’, with ‘blank leaves, later hands, [and] materials bound in.’ But Hanna’s case study convincingly argues for the possible motives behind creating such a manuscript, which progressively combines the particular texts that it does, as he observes the overlapping nature of the scribes’

415 Hanna, Book History, p. 61.
416 Hanna, Book History, p. 70.
417 Hanna, Book History, p. 67.
418 Hanna, Book History, pp. 62-3, 64, 75.
419 See Horstmann vol. I, p. 104; Macray, Catalogu codicum, pp. 123-4; See Hanna, pp. 62-3, for the most proficient breakdown of MS Rawl’s contents. Horstmann transcribed and edited most of the contents of both MSS Arundel 507 and Rawl. C 285 in the first volume of YW, so it is from this source that both editions of the M-V can be studied in parallel form.
421 Hanna, Book History, p. 78.
selections. Hanna proposes a narrative of the manuscript that involves the contemplation of virtuous behaviour, and ultimately the ‘repelling [of] ignorance and eternal death’. It is worth observing that this interpretation has connotations intrinsically associated with Doomsday material and the self-reflection that it tends to encourage. Indeed, interestingly, at the end of the first scribe’s rendition of book one of Hilton’s Scale (ending on fol. 39r), there is leftover space that the same scribe saw fit to fill. Into this vacuum the scribe inserted a brief poem, which William D. Macray described vaguely as a ‘condemnation of the wicked at the day of Judgment’. Both Macray and Horstmann (who transcribes the verse) failed to identify this poem correctly, but Hanna has recognised it as an extract from The Prick of Conscience, which details the retribution that awaits sinners on Doomsday. In addition to this, immediately following the excerpt from the Prick is a two-line Latin versus, in the same scribe’s hand, reading:

Mortis vel vite breuis est vox: “Ite, venite”.

Aspera vox, “ite”; vox est iocunda, “venite”.

The allusion is to Matthew 25, verses 34 and 41, probably the most frequently cited biblical Last Judgement passages in all of the material relevant to this thesis. In the former, Christ invites the saved into the kingdom of Heaven: venite benedicti; in the latter, Christ banishes the damned into the eternal fires of Hell: discedite maledicti.

A perusal of the text of Hilton’s Scale on this folio makes it readily apparent that the subject at hand is sin and conscience, which the scribe, having finished copying the text, evidently saw fit to elaborate upon. The text of the Scale here is mostly implicit regarding the consequences of unfulfilled penance, and so the scribe clarifies with the excerpt from The Prick of Conscience, which resolutely confirms the fate of those that disobey God’s laws. The

423 Macray, Catalogi codicum, p. 123.
424 Horstmann, YW, vol. 1, p. 129.
425 Hanna, Book History, pp. 61, 62, and 64. Hanna posits that the excerpt is from lines 6071-6113, but a comparison with Richard Morris’s edition of the Prick (the revised version {2013} of which, incidentally, was co-edited by Hanna) reveals significant disparity between the extract in MS Rawl. and the poem itself. Either the scribe in MS Rawl. adapted the verses, or he was copying from a different version of the poem; considering the enormous proliferation of the Prick, the latter is highly likely.
426 “The word of death and that of life are both brief; “depart, come”: the harsh word is “depart”; the happy word is “come”,’ Hanna’s editing, Book History, p. 64. The verse is not original and can be found in Hans Walther, Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum, 2nd edn (Göttingen, 1969), no. 11312; There is a further notation on this folio following the verses just described, which is the same scribe’s ‘sign-off’ (Hanna, Book History, p. 61), relating to Christ’s Passion, enhancing the notion discussed in Chapter Three, that of the interconnection between the Passion and the Doom.
scribe then follows this with the abovementioned Latin versus, which further expands upon the nature of the Doom. In a way, this folio encapsulates the multiple dimensions of Doomsday, as Hilton’s text edifies on the nature of sin, charity, and penance; then, the extract from the Prick reminds readers of the interminable sorrow of God’s judgement of the wicked; but the Latin verse offers a glimmer of encouragement: Christ’s words at the Doom can be bitter or sweet, and to experience the latter a reader is urged to heed the message of Hilton’s text, which will help to ensure that they are among the benedicti.

This folio is a microcosm of scribal interaction and practice, highlighting a fascinating chain of thought and exemplifying scribal dynamism. It is clearly the prospect of Doomsday that is on the scribe’s mind after finishing Hilton’s text, inspiring him or her to complete the picture. The scribe is obviously familiar with the text of the Prick (or, upon thinking of the Doom, has consulted the poem for a suitable extract, which also has implications for the types of resources on hand, for reading habits, and for the existence of well-equipped libraries), as well as the Latin versus, and has decided to utilise them both to complement the text of the Scale.\textsuperscript{427} The scribe’s individual interpretation of this passage from the Scale is to reflect upon the Last Judgement, a message that he passes on to future readers, thereby organically adapting the devotional value of the manuscript. The apparent miscellaneity of these manuscripts is questioned when they are exposed to closer scrutiny, and we witness the pervasiveness of Doomsday material, but also the vibrancy of scribal practices, as various texts are actively intertwined. To the individual compiler/scribe or reader there was a centralised logic to the layout and contents of a seemingly haphazard manuscript; interaction with these books was guided, but ultimately it was personalised by an individual’s own predilections and knowledge.

Returning to the M-V itself, it is now important to reflect upon the possible relationship between the manuscripts containing the two surviving copies, Arundel 507 and Rawlinson C 285, which will reopen the issue of authorship. On this matter, Hanna claims that the M-V found in MS Rawl. ‘has fairly certainly been extracted from […] Þe holy boke gracía dei.’\textsuperscript{428} This would appear logical, since – as we established earlier – the edition of the M-V in MS Rawl. post-dates that found in Arundel by a decade or so. Furthermore, at face value the two renditions are mostly alike; they are certainly two copies of the same version of

\textsuperscript{427} Alternatively, the scribe’s exemplar also contains these accompanying texts, but this does not affect the underlying point.

\textsuperscript{428} Hanna, Book History, p. 81.
the Three Arrows. However, a much closer comparison of the two texts produces a different possible interpretation: they are analogous, not homologous, being sub-versions of the same text, but not directly related; they are cognate, but not filial – they are cousins, essentially.\footnote{In other words, the two texts have not converged on the same theme from separate exemplars but have diverged from the same ancestor along different lines of recension. In the true evolutionary sense from which this language is borrowed, the two copies are ‘homologous’, as they do, I believe, ultimately derive from the same source, the original M-V, which is no longer extant. But, for the sake of understanding their textual relationship, it is beneficial to describe them in this pseudo-biological way to best illustrate their immediately indirect association.} The two copies of the text, in MSS Arundel and Rawl., share an ancestor (the original M-V, no longer extant), likely from the fourteenth century, but have descended along alternate paths. The original author/compiler of the Holy Boke borrowed from and adapted the ancestral M-V, from which strain Arundel has derived. MS Rawl., however, is perhaps a purer witness to the original M-V. This theory is, of course, dependent upon a subjective interpretation of the evidence resulting from a close comparison of the two texts, which will be detailed below.

Firstly, it should be stated that, despite their apparent similitude, the two texts are notably different throughout. Even if the above theory is found to be unsubstantiated, the consistent disparity between the two texts would preclude an immediate relationship between them anyway, implying some form of interim copy at the very least. The situation is not ameliorated by the dual presentation of the texts in Horstmann’s edition, as they have been either compressed or stretched (depending on perspective) to occupy an equal amount of page space, which, upon perfunctory inspection, gives the impression of parity. Under close scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that the two texts are not directly dependent upon one another. Overall, MS Rawl. is regularly more verbose, Arundel frequently more tacit; both, however, on different occasions, alternately offer passages that the other is lacking altogether. Moreover, there are even examples of distinct deviation in subject matter between the two, with Arundel describing Christ’s ascension to Heaven, as well as the Harrowing of Hell, neither of which is included in Rawlinson. The most substantial aberration between the two can be found at the conclusion of the whole text, at which point Arundel expands significantly; indeed, this instance, to be detailed in due course, is the crucial piece of evidence upon which the abovementioned theory rests.

Fairly simple incongruities in phrasing are frequent from the outset; indeed, the opening line in each text is rendered differently:
Now open þi hert wyde to thynke on Oppyn þi hert with sighings sare til þink þase paynes þat Cryst for þe thoolede[.] on þe pynes þat Ihesus Crist suffred[.]

[MS Rawl. C 285] [MS Arundel 507]

Evidently the sentiment has not been altered but the syntax, as well as the orthography and dialect, is quite clearly different, and this is consistent throughout the texts. For example, in Christ’s address to humanity at the Judgement we witness this again:

ffor-þi þe bihoues now nedely schewe For-þi nedli bihoues þe til schew:
qwat þou has thooled or done for me. what þou haues done or tholid for me;
For now rightwysnes wil þat ilke ane haf ffor now mi rightwisnes wil: þat i als þai haf seruede, outhire to dwel in schape til ilk man his mede
payne or in blysse, for euer and ay. to dwelle in pyne or in ioie for eauer
after he has seruid.431

[MS Rawl. C 285] [MS Arundel 507]

In much of this example, the content is identical but for word order and orthography. Such inconsistencies by themselves would not prohibit the kind of manuscript relationship proposed by Hanna, i.e., that the two texts are closely related, separated only by missing interim copies. These examples are merely the tip of the iceberg, though, as the two texts exhibit considerably more drastic deviations throughout.

MS Rawl. is typically more verbose, frequently including additional descriptive clauses that MS Arundel omits. An excellent example of this can be found at the beginning of the discussion of Doomsday, when God’s arrival to judge all Christian souls is described thusly:

And als gladfull als his come sal be vnþo & als gladful as is come is to þe gode:
his chosyn childer, als grymly and als als auful & grisly sal it be to þe ille.432

430 All quotations for both versions are taken from Horstmann’s parallel edition, YW, vol. I, pp. 112-121 (p. 112).
This extract clearly highlights the potential disparity between the two texts. At this juncture, though, it is worth attending to a possible explanation that might be posited for the prolixity of MS Rawl. versus the laconicism of MS Arundel. It is well attested that MS Arundel 507 contains a condensed version of Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei, as George R. Keiser vindicates: ‘preserved in Arundel 507 appears to be an intelligently abbreviated version of the entire treatise [the Holy Boke]’.\(^{433}\) Therefore, it might be argued that the differences in content between these two copies of the M-V are due to the frugal practices of the Arundel scribe/compiler, who chose to condense the entire Holy Boke, presumably including the M-V in that exercise. In turn, this would allow for the theory that MS Rawl. is still derived from the Holy Boke, but from a non-abbreviated copy, which would explain its seemingly fuller account when compared to MS Arundel.

However, this argument does not withstand closer scrutiny and should be dismissed, as MS Arundel, although consistently more terse, sometimes embellishes further than does MS Rawl.; the two frequently alternate in this practice. This pattern is particularly noticeable in the texts’ Latin quotations and references to auctoritates. For instance, in a reference to Simeon’s prophecy to Mary, Arundel includes the Latin extract while Rawl. does not:

\(\text{Þan was þe worde fulfillede of Symeone, Þen was fufillid þe worde of Simeon: Tuam} \)

\(\text{þat to hir sayd: “Þe swerd of sorow sal} \quad \ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, Þat is: \)

\(\text{stycke thurgth þi hert”.} \quad \text{“Þe swerd of sorugh sal thorugh-stike þi} \)

\(\text{saule”.}^{434}\)

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\(^{433}\) Keiser, ‘Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei’, p. 290.
This occurs repeatedly, as the two often differ in the wording of quotations, whilst Arundel also tends to expand on interpretations more than Rawl. Sometimes Arundel provides a translation where Rawl. does not; sometimes they both translate; and sometimes neither does. A prominent example of these deviations occurs at the announcement of the three arrows that God will fire on Doomsday.

Til þase god sal say: Congregabo super
eos mala: Et sagittas meas complebo in eis:
“And I sal schote”, says god, “thre scharpe
arrows at þaim, þat sal smyte þaim þat þai sal
neeuer couere”.

For god thretis þe yuel with .III.
arrowes / & sais: Congregabo super
eos mala & sag.III. com. in eis, þat is:
“I sal hepe on þaim alkyns yuel & wa,
& mi .III. sharpe arowes sal i in þaim
feste: þat sal wounde þe sinful / þat
he sal neuer couer”.

Clearly the differences between the two manuscripts cannot be explained by MS Arundel’s abbreviated form, as it frequently expands further than MS Rawl., which these extracts exemplify. In addition, not only is MS Arundel’s translation more embellished, but there is a fascinating scribal error taking place here in both texts, worthy of brief tangent.

The correct scriptural quotation, as rendered in MS Rawl., is ‘sagittas meas’, which the Arundel scribe has presented somewhat ambiguously as three vertical minims. Horstmann has footnoted this incident in Arundel’s text, suggesting that the minims be read as an ‘m’, i.e., ‘meas’. However, the translations in both versions of the text clearly state that God will not shoot my (i.e., his) arrows (as a correct translation of the passage would demand), but three arrows – a detail that the Scripture does not include. Either the Arundel scribe has not recognised the abbreviation of ‘meas’ in his exemplar, and has instead rendered it as a numeral, or the quotation had long been corrupted to closer fit the treatise in which it is contained, i.e., The Three Arrows on Doomsday. The Rawlinson scribe, on the other hand,

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There are numerous examples of this, too many to include in this discussion.
has – despite providing a correct rendition of the quotation – ignored the pronoun, ‘meas’, and inserted ‘thre’ in its place in his translation. Both texts demonstrate a certain freedom when translating the Latin, happily embellishing it, but, more importantly, might we be witnessing the possible origin of the Three Arrows trope? The scriptural passage itself clearly represents a precedent for the concept of divine projectiles rebuking the wicked, and this ambiguity between an abbreviation for ‘meas’ and a numeral three when copying the passage might have inspired the various accounts of The Three Arrows on Doomsday.\footnote{A similar confusion actually takes place in a manuscript containing version two of the Three Arrows, London, British Library, Additional MS 22283. The text’s rubric on f. 117r (a) was originally written as ‘Of þe arwes þat schullen be schot on doomes day’, but ‘þe’ has had a superscript ‘r’ added, transforming the word into ‘þr’. This change would appear to be a correction, as the ‘r’ is accompanied by an arrow beneath, demonstrating that it is an insertion to the existing word, rather than the superscript letter merely being a space-saving device. This manuscript is late-fourteenth-century, making it one of the earliest representatives of version two of the Three Arrows, which allows it to potentially be a trendsetter; the addition of the ‘r’ transforms the text from ‘the arrows’ to ‘three arrows’. There are, of course, numerous possible interpretations of such scribal actions, but it is nevertheless an intriguing detail.}

No doubt the origins of the Three Arrows trope is considerably more complex, but this seemingly insignificant scribal corruption provides some fascinating revelations about possible scribal practices, about human error and misinterpretation, as well as the level of autonomy exercised by scribes, as both texts appear to have slavishly copied an incorrect translation that presumably was originally twisted to suit the nature of the treatise itself. Perhaps neither scribe was Latinate, and both were obliviously following exemplars that had provided a rather liberal translation of the original Scripture. The exact nature of this incident is difficult to comprehensively explain, but it certainly demonstrates a hint of creativity when translating from Latin into the vernacular, that offered scribes the freedom to enhance and enrich a text.

Returning to the discussion at hand, though, the above extract augments the growing number of discrepancies that exist between MSS Rawl. and Arundel. These inconsistencies in the rendition of Latin quotations are numerous, with frequent examples of discontinuity between the two texts. However, there are examples that even more effectively illustrate the imparity of the two texts: MS Arundel contains passages that are entirely missing from MS Rawl. Following the Deposition and Lamentation, the scribe of MS Rawl. moves directly on to the Resurrection, but the scribe of MS Arundel offers a passage describing the Harrowing of Hell before reaching the ‘vprisyng’:
Think after of his wendynge til helle; / what conforte þai had: þat abade so lange his comynge þase in so mirke stede; what sorugh & drede / sighing & gnastinge þe wode fendes of helle had þat tyme; how he bande Sathan so þat he might neauer harmer ne fande þe folke after / as bifoire.438

[MS Arundel 507]

This account is completely absent from MS Rawl. So, too, is the brief description of the Ascension found in MS Arundel:

Think after how he steie til heuen with oure manhede, & sette it on þe right hand of al-mighti god his fader; & swa festenid oure kynd in him: þat þai sal neuer twyn[.]

[MS Arundel 507]

It is arguable that these additions – the Harrowing and the Ascension – are evidence in support of the theory that this comparison is attempting to establish, i.e., that MS Rawl. is not derived from the Holy Boke. The original author/compiler of the Holy Boke might have decided to include these passages to his adaptation of the original M-V in order to supplement the text: they are not integral to the Passion narrative, but they are certainly relevant extras. On the contrary, it could be contested that MS Rawl., in copying from the Holy Boke, has elected to omit these sections. This is possible, but surely less likely; why would the scribe choose to excise this relevant content, especially when the copy found in MS Rawl. is so frequently more longwinded in its account? To add these passages, as the Holy Boke author seemingly did, is beneficial to the text, to remove them would be pointless, considering the otherwise fuller nature of MS Rawlinson’s text. This is all the more pertinent when we consider the fact that it is MS Arundel that is supposedly a condensed text, and yet it still retained these sections on the Harrowing and the Ascension, deeming them appropriate to the narrative.

The sensible inference to be made here is that these passages are not present in MS Rawl. because they were additions made to the Holy Boke stemma of the M-V, and MS Rawl. does not derive from this. The wide range of deviations exhibited by these two copies of the M-V, when taken individually, might not undermine the theory that MS Rawl. is borrowed

from the Holy Boke. When they are viewed together, though, they paint a picture of irreconcilable variation, which is only consistent with the argument that they possess divergent lineages. The fact that MS Arundel is supposedly an abbreviated form of the Holy Boke, and by extension the M-V, and yet still contains numerous passages that are entirely missing from MS Rawl. suggests their distance from one another. MS Rawl. is not derived from the Holy Boke, the two texts represent different recensions of the original M-V, long since lost. To finalise this theory, we can address the most significant discrepancy between these two sub-versions.

The argument being made throughout this comparison is most demonstrable through an examination of the two texts’ endings, which differ significantly and underpin the distinction between the Holy Boke recension of the M-V and that which we witness in MS Rawlinson. It is MS Arundel that once again expands, providing a substantially longer ending to the treatise. Both texts recount the pains that await the damned in Hell in a largely similar fashion, albeit with some expected deviations in each version, before continuing to the joy that awaits the saved. MS Rawl. brings the treatise to a close with only a few lines on this subject:

Bot goddis childir, þat here haf done his wille, with aungells sal be lede till heeuene, in Ioy and blysse to dwelle euer withoutene ende. To þe whilk Ioy he brynge vs þat bogth vs. Amen. Amen. Amen.440

MS Arundel, on the other hand, elaborates quite extensively, dedicating an additional two-hundred words or more to the joy that will be experienced by the saved, to a recap of the Passion and its meditative value, and – most interestingly – to the subject of grace. Firstly, MS Arundel’s ending describes the superlative bliss of Heaven:

So grete is þat ioie, as þe apostle tellis: þat na hert mai it thinke / ne iee it se. If man might be in þat ioie / halfe an houre & felid þat heuenli likynge / & ware broght agayn til þis middel erth: so strange payne it ware til him til life here-inne, / þat, of al þe welth of þis werld ware at his wille, he wold his bodi ware dalte in a thousand pecis / til wynne þat ioie agayn þat he come fra.441

This embellishment is entirely absent from MS Rawl., and we are reminded once again that, despite being an abbreviated version of the Holy Boke, it is significant that MS Arundel should have such extensive additions not found in MS Rawl., undermining the theory that MS Rawl. is derived from the Holy Boke recension of the M-V.

Following this in MS Arundel is a reiteration of the treatise’s overall meditative theme, invoking a reflection on Christ’s suffering and death in the name of humanity’s redemption. The reader is reminded that they are implicitly guilty for Christ’s anguish and that they were present throughout his Passion: they should ‘be awondird’ that God would endure such torment on their behalf and thank him for ‘þe woundes þat he for þe tholid / & haue him eauer i mynde’. The text then sheds its mystical visage and provides a more direct, practical set of instructions to the reader, explaining that all of this should not be contemplated at one time, ‘bot now on ane / now on ane oþer’. The concluding tone of the M-V in MS Arundel is pastoral and catechetical, all of which is absent from MS Rawl.:

Þus mani woundes suffird god for man kynde: ffyue thousand & foure hundreth & sexti & fiftene. And if þou sai ilk dai of þe þorie fiftene: þou sal sai als many pater nostres in þe hale þore.

It is during this instructional address that the crucial moment in this comparison occurs. The reader, as shown above, has been taught not to think upon all of this together at once, but to alternate at various times, ‘as þou felis þat god þe steris / thorugh his dere grace’. This passage, absent from MS Rawl., reconnects the M-V in MS Arundel to the larger work in which it is contained, Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei; we are reminded that it is the grace of God that guides us in these devotional endeavours. The author/compiler of the Holy Boke, in his adaptation of the original M-V, appears to have consciously synergised the text of the M-V with his broader treatise.

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442 Horstmann, YW, vol. I, p. 121. The complicity of man in Christ’s suffering was a popular trope in ‘many of the best and most popular meditations [on the Passion]’, according to Thomas H. Bestul. See Bestul, ‘Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation’, p. 607.

443 Horstmann, YW, vol. I, p. 121. Interestingly, the total number of Christ’s wounds given here contrasts with the usually suggested amount, which is 5,490, according to Thomas H. Bestul. See Bestul, Texts of the Passion, pp. 58-59: ‘The late medieval fascination with the physical particularities of the suffering of Christ is everywhere apparent, perhaps nowhere more prominently than in the section on the exact number of wounds received by Christ in his Passion, said to be 5,490, according to a revelation of a pious woman recluse. Devotion to the wounds of Christ, accompanied by concerns to know their exact number, is common in fifteenth-century piety.’

As with elsewhere, we can address the counter-argument to this interpretation, that MS Rawl. has deliberately omitted this ending, deeming it irrelevant. Firstly, as has been repeatedly emphasised, it is MS Arundel that is an abbreviated form, so why would MS Rawl. – consistently verbose where MS Arundel is concise – dispose of this passage? It might be proposed that the theme of grace was not pertinent to the compiler of MS Rawl., and so he omitted it from his copy of the M-V. However, this sentiment – being steered in your devotion by God’s grace – is germane in a generic devotional sense; it is simply enhanced within the context of the Holy Boke, outside of which, although stripped of its intrinsic intention, it is still valuable. This ending and its subtle reference to the overarching theme of the Holy Boke is an addition made to the Holy Boke recension of the M-V, rather than a conscious excision by the scribe of MS Rawl. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that MS Rawl. is not derived from the Holy Boke and to conflate the analysis of the two is a myopic oversimplification. Both copies of the M-V are significantly different, indicating their divergent lineages; both are descended from a shared ancestor, of which MS Rawl. is a closer witness, and which the Holy Boke author/compiler innovatively modified to correspond with his own larger treatise.

To wrap up this comparison, we might briefly reopen the contentious conundrum of authorship, bearing the above hypothesis in mind. Having concluded that there are two distinct recensions of the M-V, it is further deductible, then, that the author/compiler of the Holy Boke did not invent the text, but copied and adapted it from elsewhere. So, although Rolle has been convincingly dismissed as author of the Holy Boke, this does not preclude him from having written the original, ancestral text of the M-V – the two are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, in beginning this comparison, we opened with a quote from Hanna asserting that the M-V in MS Rawl. had ‘fairly certainly’ been extracted from the Holy Boke. In making this assertion, Hanna also describes the M-V as ‘one of the most “Rollean” of texts assuredly not authored by the Hermit of Hampole’. Horstmann, too, as we have seen, described the M-V in MS Rawl. as ‘certainly a work of Richard Rolle’, ‘written in his best style, in his peculiar rhythmical prose’. Even Hope Emily Allen conceded that ‘there is nothing in the [M-V] that makes [Rolle’s] authorship impossible’, even if she considered it

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446 Unabbreviated copies of the Holy Boke recension of the M-V would presumably have contained even more detail on this subject.
447 See footnote 406.
448 Hanna, Book History, p. 81.
unlikely.\textsuperscript{450} If the M-V is so typically Rollean (according to some), then why can it not simply have been authored by Rolle? The crucial distinction lies once again with the separate renditions of the M-V found in MS Rawl. and MS Arundel – the latter is a copy of the Holy Boke, the former is not. Arntz, upon whose evidence Hanna’s judgement of the M-V’s authorship is founded, proscribes Rolle’s authorship of the Holy Boke, and by extension the M-V, based on manuscripts of the Boke, which, as demonstrated, are distinct from the text of the M-V found in MS Rawlinson. Allen, too, was simultaneously discussing the Holy Boke and the M-V in her analysis, ambiguously oscillating between the two. Horstmann and Hanna, on the other hand, who recognised the Hermit’s handiwork in the M-V, were both unquestionably examining the text found in MS Rawlinson, a demonstrably more reliable witness to the ancestral version of the M-V. Thus, Rolle might tentatively be put forward as the author of the original M-V, now lost, which the Holy Boke author/compiler borrowed and adapted, but which also begat a purer recension, a descendent of which is MS Rawlinson, making the copy of the M-V found in MS Rawl. a Rollean text.

What has become readily apparent is that a discussion of the Three Arrows, particularly the M-V, is persistently hindered by an inherent conflation of the text with Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei in scholarship. The IPMEP exemplifies this confusion as, in its entry on the M-V, it only lists the text’s occurrence in MS Rawl., failing to mention MS Arundel. Compounding this confusion, the IPMEP further states that this text should be compared with entry 502, which is the Holy Boke, ’into which it [the M-V] is incorporated’.\textsuperscript{451} But, as has been pointed out, MS Rawl. is not an edition of the Holy Boke and its rendition of the M-V exists in an independent manuscript context. Therefore, to omit MS Arundel, but to compare MS Rawl. with the Holy Boke is glaringly fallacious, representing a misunderstanding of this version of the Three Arrows. Inadvertently, the IPMEP is possibly correct in not directly associating the two copies of the M-V found in MSS Rawl. and Arundel, considering their discrepancies; it also corresponds with the argument above that the M-V of MS Rawl. is incorporated into the Holy Boke (albeit not through MS Rawl. specifically, on which the IPMEP is ambiguous), rather than the reverse. However, it is almost certainly underrepresenting the complexity of these relationships. To omit MS Arundel from the entry on the M-V is an error, since it is the same version of the Three Arrows as that found in MS Rawl., despite their disparity. Furthermore, by not including MS Arundel in this entry, a

\textsuperscript{450} Allen, WAR, p. 286.

\textsuperscript{451} IPMEP, no. 480, pp. 167-8.
reference to the Holy Boke is misleading, since MS Rawl. is not a copy of the Holy Boke. To compound this confusion, in its entry on the M-V, for which it only lists MS Rawl., the IPMEP supplies the date of ‘s. xiv’, which demonstrates its confusion on the matter. MS Rawl., as we’ve seen, is dateable to the early fifteenth century; therefore, if the IPMEP is treating it separately to MS Arundel, and implying that MS Rawl. is the only manuscript containing this text, then surely it must utilise the dating of MS Rawl. This, of course, would be erroneous, since MS Arundel pre-dates this, which only serves to underline the ambiguity taking place within the IPMEP in its treatment of the M-V.

In his Check-list, to which the M-V’s entry in the IPMEP refers, Jolliffe, who uses the incipit from Arundel 507, as opposed to the IPMEP, which uses MS Rawl., cites both manuscripts as containing this version of the Three Arrows, further amplifying the problems with the IPMEP. Even if not as a result of error, the IPMEP’s conflation of the text in MS Rawl. with that in the Holy Boke is, at least, a misleading oversimplification of the manuscript tradition of this version of the Three Arrows, implying that it is entirely synonymous with the Holy Boke. So, the IPMEP’s entry on the M-V should echo Jolliffe’s, outlining that this text exists in two manuscripts, not just in MS Rawl. and copied into the Holy Boke, but representing two examples of the same version, found in different manuscript contexts: they are sub-versions of the same treatise. This pattern appears in several reference indices – the IPMEP is not alone in perpetrating this conflation – that tend to refer a reader to information on the Holy Boke when listing the M-V of the Three Arrows when fifty per cent (to labour the point) of its surviving copies are not actually found in a copy of the Holy Boke at all. This misappropriation becomes all the more misleading when we now consider the other main version of the Three Arrows, largely unrepresented in scholarship, which is not directly related to the Holy Boke, but is still regularly conflated with the M-V and its association with the Boke.

**Version Two: The ‘Treatise-Version’**

Hence, we move on to the second of three principal versions of the theme of the Three Arrows on Doomsday. As with the M-V, we can simplify our discussion of this particular

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452 Jolliffe, Check-List, I. 30, p. 112.
453 Again, until the publication of Hanna’s work.
454 I would again like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Hanna for sharing his paper with me. This portion of the chapter is the most indebted to Ralph’s paper, whose investigation into this recension of the Three
version by applying a relevant handle, which in this case will be the ‘Treatise-Version’ (‘T-V’). This is not to imply that the M-V is not a treatise, but for the purposes of identification the M-V is simply differentiated by its combination of the Three Arrows with a meditation on the Passion. The T-V actually displays the characteristics and the tone of a sermon, only lacking a dedication to a specific liturgical occasion. Therefore, it would have been designated the ‘Sermon-Version’, were it not for the fact that the third distinguishable version of the Three Arrows is, in fact, contained within an affirmed vernacular sermon, and so it instead must receive that moniker. Sermon literature is notoriously difficult to classify, as G. R. Owst testified to:

Even for so short a period as that chosen out for our particular study of the subject [1350-1450], there will have to be considered under the heading of sermon material much that might justly seem irrelevant at first sight. So, although this text could comfortably have been used in the manner of a sermon, since the numerical division of the text is symptomatic of medieval mnemonic devices for oral delivery, the T-V is excluded from this category purely through the necessity of differentiation and, ultimately, because it lacks any identification of a specific occasion or biblical theme for its address (though it does at its core share the passage from Deuteronomy 32:23 – Congregabo super eos mala, etc. – with the other two principal versions. This, says Hanna, ‘is apparently a verse from a familiar ferial canticle’). In fact, this sentiment is supported by Hanna, who has highlighted the text’s ‘conventional tripartite structure recommended to preachers for sermon development’; Hanna has even identified the Latin sermon from which this version of the Three Arrows derives. Furthermore, it should be

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Arrows goes above and beyond what this chapter offers, providing substantially more detail on the codicological relationships of the surviving copies of this text.


457 ‘Numerical structure such as we find described here was, as N. F. Blake has shown, one of the principal methods used by writers of Middle English religious prose to arrange their materials.’ Keiser, ‘Be Holy Boke Gratia Dei’, p. 294; he references N. F. Blake, Middle English Religious Prose (London: Edward Arnold, 1972), pp. 17-19.


459 Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 1. Hanna explains that he has not yet found this sermon independently in manuscript, but that it is extant in a compilation of preachers’ commonplaces, Alexander Carpenter’s Destructorium victorium, completed in 1429, ‘a thoroughly unoriginal encyclopaedic compilation’.

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noted that the theme of the Three Arrows (adhering to the structure found in the T-V), in addition to the distinct third version, also appears in two other sermons, confirming its obvious compatibility with such preaching material.

As aforementioned, the existence of this version has not gone unnoticed, nor are its copies mistakenly identified as additional editions of the M-V (for the most part); it is recognised as a standalone treatise, separate from the M-V. However, there does, once again, appear to be some confusion in the reference material, particularly the Manual, which is littered with red herrings regarding the Three Arrows. Firstly, as discussed, when investigating the M-V, we are simply directed to the Holy Boke, thus overlooking the text’s occurrence in MS Rawl., which is not an edition of the Boke. Secondly, although Raymo’s ‘Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction’, in Vol. 7, does clearly refer to the T-V as a standalone work, we are nevertheless directed to Lagorio and Sargent’s ‘English Mystical Writings’, in Vol. 9, wherein can be found the mention of the M-V, which duly guides us to the entry on the Holy Boke. The same mistake occurs in Talbert and Thomson’s ‘Wyclif and His Followers’, in Vol. 2, where the T-V is mentioned as another English work sometimes ascribed to Wyclif and his circle, whence we are again instructed to see Lagorio and Sargent, in Vol. 9.460 Both of these examples would appear to demonstrate a conflation of the T-V with the M-V in the Manual; both Raymo and Talbert and Thomson direct us to Lagorio and Sargent’s discussion of the M-V, which would act as an effective point of comparison if the T-V had its own catalogue entry, but it does not. The result of this is that information on the manuscript history of the T-V is nowhere to be found in the Manual. The Manual does admit, however, that its collection of works is imperfect pending the completion of the Index of Middle English Prose.461 Likewise, Jolliffe, presumably for his own reasons of selection rather than through error, does not include the T-V in his Check-List either. A more recent conflation occurs in Hanna’s Descriptive Catalogue of Rollean MSS. For two manuscripts containing the T-V, Hanna has essentially described the text as the M-V, ‘The passion and three arrows on Doomsday’, but supplied the IPMEP reference for the T-V.462 The two manuscripts being described (N and U, below) certainly contain the T-V rather than the M-V, and Hanna’s reference to the correct entry in the IPMEP demonstrates that the error is in name only; he is obviously aware of the distinction between the two texts. Nonetheless, these

461 ‘No complete listing of prose meditations can be undertaken before the completion of the Index of Middle English Prose…’ Manual, IX, p. 3098.
462 Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle, nos. 40 and 103, pp. 76 and 188, respectively.
mistakes highlight the ambiguity with which the Three Arrows is still shrouded, even as recently as 2010. To compound the confusion, both Margaret Connolly and Arntz have made similar mistakes. Connolly has referred to the T-V in MS I as ‘The Meditation of the Three Arrows’, seemingly conflating the titles of the two versions. The semantics of a ‘meditation’ can be debated and perhaps the word can be applied to the T-V, but this is not the text’s rubric in this manuscript and Connolly is almost certainly confusing the title with the more familiar M-V. Likewise, Arntz, who actually makes one of the only attempts to specifically differentiate between the Three Arrows in all of its forms, is prone to similar misperception.

So, in the midst of this confusion, it is to the IPMEP that we must turn for the relevant information on the T-V. Despite its ambiguity on the M-V, the IPMEP is especially helpful with regards to the T-V, listing twenty-two manuscripts containing this version of the Three Arrows, and describing it as a ‘devotional treatise’ from the 14th century. The IPMEP does, however, appear to have misidentified one manuscript, London, British Library, MS Harley 2385, which does not actually appear to contain the T-V. This manuscript is – typically – quite a hotchpotch, with vernacular tracts – purportedly by Wyclif – interspersed with Latin. The last leaf of the first quire contains Latin text in a hand different to the preceding Middle English, and so has seemingly been used for the sake of rebinding. The vernacular tract at the end of this quire is unfinished; there is a catchword that does not match the opening of the following quire, where the text changes to Latin, and so the rest of the vernacular texts are no longer in situ. Perhaps the T-V originally followed these (also hinting at its frequently suggested Wyclifite connections) but was separated. Although this is possible, it certainly cannot explain the IPMEP’s error, since, according to a notation on the final flyleaves, the manuscript’s most recent foliation was in February 1909; evidently, the current structure of the manuscript long antedates the production of the IPMEP, obfuscating the reason for error. Furthermore, the Catalogue of Harleian Manuscripts, compiled 1808-12, makes no mention of the Three Arrows appearing in this manuscript. Contrastingly, in its entry on MS Harley 2388, which contains an acephalous copy of the T-V, the Catalogue does not identify it as

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464 Arntz, Richard Rolle and Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei, pp. LVI-LVII.
465 IPMEP, no. 842, pp. 283-4.
466 This manuscript has in fact been discussed by several critics. See Ann Hudson, The Premature Reformation: Wyclifite Texts and Lollard History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), and ‘A New Look at the Lay Folks’ Catechism’, Viator 16 (1985), 243-258.
such, but does list it as ‘Part of an old Discourse upon the Last Judgement’. The Catalogue’s failure to identify the T-V in MS Harley 2385, even misleadingly, as in Harley 2388, strongly implies that the IPMEP is guilty of error regarding MS Harley 2385; we would expect to see a similarly ambiguous reference in the Catalogue of Harleian Manuscripts if Harley 2385 contained even a fragment of the T-V.

Thus, although we are relying on the invaluable information that the IPMEP provides for this version of the Three Arrows, evidently some measure of caution is advisable. The IPMEP provides the rubric ‘Of Þree Arwes Þat Schullen Bee Schot on Domesday’, by which name the T-V is introduced in most of its manuscript copies, but it is worth noting that this is usually followed by the specific target of these missiles, ‘to hem þat þere schulen be dampned’. The IPMEP utilises Oxford University College MS 97 as its example, presenting the incipit from that particular manuscript:

who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued with dreede to flee fro synne as þe wise man biddeth his sone

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Some of the contents of this manuscript, including the T-V, have also been transcribed by Horstmann, hence its precedence in usage. Horstmann states that OUC MS 97, ‘written at the end of the 14th century’, is the ‘leading Ms.’, but he does not allude to why this would be the case. Since numerous manuscripts containing the T-V (many of which were likely unknown to Horstmann at his time of writing) also herald from the late fourteenth century, there is no obvious reason why this manuscript should take pre-eminence at this time. The manuscripts containing a rendition of the T-V are as follows:

A. Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, late fourteenth or early to late (second half) fifteenth century.
B. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 53, fifteenth century.
C. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. 2. 38, mid-fifteenth century.
D. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. 5. 45, early fifteenth century.

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468 This assessment has also been corroborated by Hanna, who explains that the IPMEP’s manuscript list for this version of the Three Arrows includes one ‘ghost’, British Library, MS Harley 2385, which does not contain a copy of the text. Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, endnote 1.
469 IPMEP, p. 283; the extension of the rubric is taken from BL Harley MS 2339, f. 63r.
470 OUC 97, in IPMEP, p. 283.
There are, then, twenty-one known copies of this version of the Three Arrows. Interestingly, though, the structure of the Three Arrows as it is in the T-V actually features in a handful of other texts. There are (at least) two vernacular sermons that utilise the theme of the Three Arrows (distinct from version three, to be discussed later) as it appears in the T-V. Furthermore, the T-V of the Three Arrows was incorporated into an allegorical text known as A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle, extant in seven manuscripts, all dating to the mid-late fifteenth century. Gostly Batayle employs most of the T-V, redacting it in places and embellishing it
in others, but it largely maintains the core features of the T-V. MS J, above, actually contains a copy of Gostly Batayle as well as its copy of the T-V, which is intriguing, as the Three Arrows content is similar enough in both texts to render their combination somewhat a superfluity. All in all, then, this version of the Three Arrows survives in some thirty copies (a count supported by Hanna), a testament to its very wide circulation and evident underappreciation in scholarship.

In his very recent investigation into this version of the Three Arrows, Ralph Hanna has identified five sub-versions (with the caveat that not all of the manuscripts have yet been examined). Incidentally, in Hanna’s analysis, they are ‘versions’, not ‘sub-versions’, since his treatment of the Three Arrows concerns only what this thesis has identified as the T-V; he offers no comment on that version found in the M-V. Such a separate treatment is perfectly reasonable, as the two have distinctly divergent manuscript traditions and textual content, but this thesis does propose that the two share more of an affinity than Hanna’s isolation of them allows for. Nevertheless, these sub-divisions provide a vital insight into the codicological recension of the T-V. Hanna’s identified versions are as follows:

**Version 1, the ‘original’**: MSS R, S, U, N, J, C, F

**Version 2**: MSS H, P (conflated with the original), I, M (conflated with the original), L, E

**Version 3**: MSS T, Q, G, O

**Version 4**: Shrewsbury School, MS 3

**Version 5**: The 7 manuscripts of A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle

The manuscripts of Hanna’s first and second sub-versions are delineated simply by their extension of certain of the Latin citations and the accompanying provision of fuller vernacular translations. Version three is distinguished, according to Hanna, by an effort to

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476 MS J, though, is another typical hotchpotch manuscript, comprising various booklets that formerly existed separately. The repetition of the Three Arrows in this manuscript raises more questions about the practice of compiling booklets into manuscripts – how attentively was this done? Or is the repetition of the Three Arrows intentional, with the compiler recognising the parity of the two texts and accordingly combining them? See Hanna, Descriptive Catalogue, no. 49, p. 97, for a detailed evaluation of MS J.


478 Hanna, ibid.

479 One of the aforementioned sermon-manuscripts that utilises the theme of the Three Arrows.

480 Hanna has detailed these distinctions with far more precision, and it seems appropriate to allow his forthcoming publication on this topic to provide this rather than to attempt to merely echo it here.
appeal to ‘a somewhat less sophisticated audience than the original’ and is typified by two major intrusions to the original text. These additions, explains Hanna, are not ‘exceptionally inspired’, presupposing an audience that requires further clarification. The fourth is simply the insertion of the T-V into one of the earlier mentioned sermons, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, courtesy of ‘a late fifteenth-century Cheshire preacher [who] recycled a paraphrased version of the text as a formal Advent sermon’. And Hanna’s fifth sub-version is the seven manuscripts containing the Tretyse of Gostly Batayle redaction of the Three Arrows, including the well-known Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322. Hanna eloquently summarises the tendency to recycle this text:

All these variously derivative examples show the text of ‘The Three Arrows’ as persistently subjected to the very act that had created it in the first place, compilation, the rather impersonal gathering and citation of diverse materials deemed authoritative.

Such a sentiment quite aptly describes the practices of textual and codicological compilation in the late Middle Ages.

A significant issue at this juncture is that concerning the nature of the relationship between the T-V and the M-V. It has been implied more than once that the former is dependent upon the latter; Horstmann, for instance, describes the T-V as ‘an imitation’ of the M-V, it being 'a later treatise on the theme of the 3 arrows’. This sentiment is echoed by John A. Alford, who argues for the same imitative relationship: ‘Also worth noting here, since it imitates the above fragment [the M-V] of the same name, is the short treatise Of Three Arrows of Doomsday (Horstmann 1896, 2: 446-448), extant in at least eight MSS.’

Printed only a year before the publication of the IPMEP, Alford underestimates the proliferation of the T-V, perhaps vindicating the earlier comment that Horstmann was probably even more unaware of the number of surviving copies of this text, hence his confidence in claiming that OUC MS 97 is the leading manuscript. Furthermore, not only is Alford probably basing his judgement upon Horstmann’s appraisal of the T-V as an

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482 Hanna, ibid., pp. 5-6.
483 Hanna, ibid., p. 8.
484 Hanna, ibid., p. 8.
485 Hanna, ibid., p. 8.
‘imitation’, but he also exhibits the type of confusion concerning the Three Arrows that is emblematic of our discussion so far. Alford’s brief discussion of the Holy Boke and the M-V contained therein suggests that he identifies the tract on the Passion and that on the Three Arrows as separate treatises: ‘these pieces [the other component texts of the Holy Boke], combined with The Meditations on the Passion, and Of Three Arrows of Doomsday […]’488 This ambiguity might further suggest his reliance on Horstmann, whose title for the M-V might have been misleading: ‘Meditation on the Passion; and of three arrows on doomsday.’489 This implies that Alford is unfamiliar with the texts, and he perhaps assumes that the M-V and the T-V are identical in content (which they are not), justifying his adoption of Horstmann’s opinion that the T-V is an imitation of the M-V. This would appear, then, to be another example of the confusion that surrounds discussion of the separate versions of the Three Arrows.

Both Horstmann and Alford offered their appraisals of the T-V without knowing the full extent of this text’s manuscript proliferation. But, as we can see from the manuscript chronology above, there is no obvious antecedent between the T-V and the M-V, as many copies of the former are contemporary with the surviving copies of the latter. Of course, the existing examples of the Holy Boke are probably not its earliest representatives, but there is no reason why the T-V could not have had equivalent predecessors, now also lost. An examination of the texts of these two versions of the Three Arrows, which will be demonstrated in detail later, shows that they are markedly different; one is certainly no slavish aping of the other. They are possibly two distinct treatises, derived from the same independent source, or one has perhaps innovatively adapted the other. Either of these interpretations is possible (for the moment), but if we pursue the latter idea, then it seems more probable that the M-V has adapted the T-V – not because it is an uninventive imitation, but precisely the opposite: its similarities suggest inspiration, but its differences innovation. The T-V survives in significantly greater numbers, generally exhibiting minor deviations between manuscripts, implying that it has been copied in a formulaic manner, highlighting its utility in conveying a particular sentiment; it is organised rigidly, akin to a sermon, establishing its premise and achieving this methodically throughout the text. The M-V, on the other hand, is an innovation on this relatively dry, repetitive theme, as it incorporates this warning of the Last Judgement with an emotive meditation on Christ’s Passion. The author of

the M-V has seized upon the concept of Christ’s final coming and has united it with the Doom’s theological predecessor, the Passion, Christ’s previous coming; by doing so, the author of the M-V is explicitly reiterating the link between Christ’s efforts at redeeming mankind and the ultimate assessment of our response to these efforts at the end of time. The M-V is a more considered text, addressing not only the dreadful fate of sinners, but also the euphoric joy of the saved. The M-V generates a more reflective, affective atmosphere, provoking compunction and introspection, in contrast to the T-V’s mechanical relaying of the theme in the typically didactic manner of a sermon. The formulaic nature of the T-V suggests that it is the standardised, core version of the theme, from which the other versions have branched, creatively tinkering it to produce a more refined, emotional treatise. More substantive evidence for this interpretation will be presented in a close textual comparison at the end of the chapter.

Such discussion raises the inevitable question of authorship. As with the M-V, Rolle has unsurprisingly been proffered as a possible author of the T-V; in the catalogue of Laudian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, for the entry on MS S, H. O. Coxe supplied the notation, ‘by Hampole’, following the description of the T-V contained therein. Another frequent candidate has been Wyclif, to which the copy of the T-V found in MS D testifies, as the text is accompanied by an attribution to Wyclif in a modern hand. Suggestions of Rolle’s authorship are perhaps due to a conflation with the M-V, whilst Wyclif’s claim to the text might lie in the fact that the T-V frequently appears alongside numerous other tracts ascribed to him, such as in MSS T and O. For the copy of the T-V contained within MS G, the more reserved comment of ‘Unknown Author’ is volunteered. It is probably best to adopt this last stance, a choice with which Horstmann agreed, placing his transcription of the T-V, from MS U, under ‘Works wrongly attributed to R. Rolle’: ‘The 1st [The myror of synneres] and 5th [T-V] have been ascribed either to R. Rolle or to Wicliffe […] but belong probably to neither, being – with the rest of the tracts – the works of a southern author of the end of the [fourteenth] century.’ Though this individual will have to remain anonymous, it is worth

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491 Charles Hardwick, et al, ed., Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 5 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1856), II, p. 405; the reference is actually found in the entry on CUL Ff. 2. 38, despite it being CUL Ff. 5. 45 that contains the annotation; accessed via <https://archive.org/details/catalogueofmanus02cambuoft> [12/02/15].

remarking that Ralph Hanna has tentatively praised his ability as an author/compiler, commenting on his ‘learned insertions’, knowledge, and obvious wider reading, as he includes several patristic citations in Latin, one of which is to Eusebius of Caesarea who – to quote Hanna – is ‘not exactly your household name’.\textsuperscript{493} So, our compiler for the T-V was clearly a literate figure with access to ‘a full Latin source and a library’.\textsuperscript{494} Essentially, the T-V (and the M-V) should be viewed as one of the multiplicity of vernacular theological texts to arise out of the educational reforms of Peckham and Thoresby; it is likely another fragment from the explosion of devotional treatises and instructional manuals to be produced in the fourteenth century, designed to guide the work of the clergy and the everyday lives of the laity.\textsuperscript{495} The tracts that accompany the T-V in so many of its manuscript copies are testament to this, as they offer advice on living a diligent Christian life, the nature of sin, how to avoid it, and the ultimate consequences if one does not.

**The T-V Manuscript Context and Accompanying Texts**

What is perhaps most striking about the range of manuscripts containing the T-V is the significant overlap in textual content, hinting at the habits and objectives of compilers. At this stage, it is probably premature to prioritise one manuscript containing the T-V over any of the others; indeed, because there is a reasonable number of manuscripts containing the text, it is beneficial to treat them as a whole, allowing us to extract some mechanical data and infer about the general usage of this text. What becomes apparent through such an exercise is the frequency with which the Three Arrows is utilised as a component of a wider theme within these manuscripts, a theme that is regularly pastoral and didactic.

The vast majority – over 80 per cent – of T-V manuscripts contain texts of a catechetical nature in some form. There are repeated occurrences of tracts detailing the fundamental lessons of basic Christian worship, providing the essence of pastoral education. These include expositions on the Ten Commandments; on the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Eucharist; the Twelve Articles of the Faith; the Seven Bodily Works of Mercy and the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy; the Five Bodily Wits and the Five Ghostly Wits; the

\textsuperscript{493} Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{494} Hanna, ibid., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{495} The Manual’s isolated reference to the T-V attests to this evaluation, as the Three Arrows is suggested as a component of ‘manuals blending the elements of the faith with meditative texts […] in order to direct the readers’ thoughts to the Last Day’, Manual, VII, p. 2273.
Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues contrary to these; the seven Sacraments, and so forth. In addition to this, many of these texts are components of the larger, widely spread Pore Caitif, a ‘popular, late fourteenth-century manual of doctrine and devotion’, comprising some 40,000 words.\textsuperscript{496} The Pore Caitif is a compilation – its author was open about the treatise’s indebtedness to other works – intended, according to Sr Mary Teresa Brady, ‘for the use of the laity.’\textsuperscript{497} Ten out of the twenty-one T-V manuscripts contain The Pore Caitif, three of these are complete or substantially-complete, whilst the others are a mixture of extracts, fragments, and variations.\textsuperscript{498} Of the total volume of Pore Caitif manuscripts this is minor, but of the pool of T-V manuscripts, it is significant, comprising almost 50 per cent; evidently, the Three Arrows was considered to be a sensible companion to this popular didactic manual.

This version of the Three Arrows, then, is consistently placed alongside texts of a catechetical nature, hinting at the T-V’s perceived utility by compilers. Indeed, the frequency with which it can be found incorporated into anthological manuscripts with such a centralised theme is testament that it was clearly considered to be a relevant cog within the larger pastoral machine; the Three Arrows is another tool in the arsenal for equipping the average Christian with a holistic understanding of doctrine and devotion. In addition to its occurrence in manuscripts with catechetical overtones, though, the T-V can also be found in codices compiling texts that address other subjects. Some alternative examples include compilations that contain multiple texts concerned with the Passion, with death, and with sin and salvation.

Death and sin are quite overtly connected to the Three Arrows, as the T-V inevitably explores mortality and judgement, as well as the retribution that awaits sinners; the Passion, however, is perhaps a less obvious choice of accompaniment. Nevertheless, we frequently see Passion-related texts alongside the T-V, including multiple meditations (Chapter Three will elaborate on this phenomenon). Several of these are derived from the pseudo-Bonaventuran tradition (MSS A and R), another concerns the five wounds of Christ (MS U), and another is a verse meditation written in prose (MS A; NIMEV 1761). MS A best represents this theme in action, as it almost opens and closes with texts on the Passion: the second item in the compilation is the pseudo-Bonaventuran translation, and the final item is ‘four requests of Mary to Christ at the time of the Passion’, whilst in between there is various other such Christological material, including an eight-line Latin verse dialogue between Christ on the

\textsuperscript{496} Manual, IX, p. 3135.
\textsuperscript{498} These are: B, G, H (complete or substantially-complete); D, E, F, J, O, Q, and T (extracts, fragments, and variations); see Manual, IX, no. 87, pp. 3470-3471.
cross and the Virgin. In a way, this positioning bookends the manuscript with considerations of the Passion, which is also intermittently revisited throughout. It must be acknowledged that it is tenuous to propose that MS A entirely revolves around the Passion, as it contains a rich variety of texts. Furthermore, closer study of the manuscript, as performed by Hanna, demonstrates that it is a compilation of ‘two probably originally separate MSS’, not to mention its division into multiple booklets. Such an appraisal somewhat undermines any interpretation of an originally intended, overarching theme. Nevertheless, the proliferation of Passion-related material certainly hints at its prominent position within such anthologies, as well as its perceived relevance to eschatological material, such as the T-V. Indeed, the Three Arrows obviously triggered some connection with the Passion, as the M-V, of course, is literally fused with a meditation on Christ’s crucifixion.

Death and eschatology appear to have preoccupied the compilers of certain other manuscripts containing the T-V – these are themes into which it is hardly surprising that the Three Arrows was incorporated. MS J, across its several booklets, contains multiple texts concerned with death, dying, and Doomsday. These include a ‘Pety Iob’, with its connections to tribulation and death; ‘The book of crafte of dying’; ‘Complainte of the dying creature’; three couplets beginning ‘Looke before the how thi lyfe wastych’; as well as the ‘Myrrour of Synneres’ (discussion of this text will follow shortly) and the T-V. Once again, though, according to Hanna, this book is two separate MSS, so this does have a bearing on extrapolations that can be made about its contents. But it is worth observing tentatively that, regardless of their original compilation, these texts have still been amalgamated into the same codex, implying that any subsequent user will have viewed this material in conjunction, which allows us to conjecture as to the combined themes of the manuscript. Furthermore, this material pertaining to death is spread across both originally separate manuscripts, perhaps suggesting a very deliberate combination of the two due to their cognate material. MS S hints at a similar interest in the novissima, containing an exposition on Psalm 36:19, Non confundentur in tempore malo, beginning 'In yuel tyme that is on domys day’; ‘A schort reule of lif for ich man in general and for prestis and lordis in special how ich man schal be sauyd

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499 A focus on the lament of Mary during Christ’s crucifixion was a commonplace of late medieval Passion narratives as far back as the meditations of St Anselm. See Bestul, Texts of the Passion, pp. 36-37, 50-51, 52-53.
500 For a detailed description of MS A, see Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle, no. 4, pp. 8-13.
501 This concept will be explored in further detail in Chapter Three, since there is a consistent connection between the Passion and the Doom across the material examined for this thesis.
in his degr’; rules for confession of sin; a meditation of Saint Anselm ‘to stir up fear’, a staple of medieval Doomsday material; and the Mirror of Sinners and T-V, once again.

As with the treatment of the Passion, it would be specious to label these subjects the central ‘theme’ of their respective manuscripts, as each book contains a wealth of other material, highlighting the seemingly impenetrable miscellaneity of these manuscripts. But, once again, the consistent appearance of these themes attests to some kind of compiler logic, even if it is defiantly idiosyncratic or inconsistent. There is an overarching predominance of didacticism within these anthologies, whether it is lessons on the tenets of daily worship, on the nature of sin and appropriate shrift, or on salvation and preparation for Doomsday. The Three Arrows is fundamental to such didactic anthologies because Doomsday is the decisive moment in Christian theology – inevitably, all roads lead to the Last Judgement.502 Indeed, Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, in expounding the notion of ‘devotional cosmopolitanism’, highlight the frequency with which such manuscript anthologies are ‘interwoven with literature dealing with preparation for death and final judgement, paralleling a common (and clearly artful) tendency in devotional manuals to reflect on eschatology in their final gatherings.’503

Ultimately, then, these subjects coalesce very effectively to produce devotional manuals geared towards educating, preparing, and warning the average Christian about the necessities of appropriate devotion. As such, these manuscripts are insights into common compiler objectives, preferences, and predilections. They represent a vibrant culture of textual transmission, an organic pick-and-mix, with recurring popular favourites as well as individual choices, reflecting personal tastes. Many such choices were likely affected by the availability of certain materials, and a more nuanced investigation of regional differences might reveal variations in the range of literature available for selection dependent upon local deviations in reading, copying, and compiling activity. Ultimately, though, with regards to the T-V of the Three Arrows, we can extrapolate that it was an integral component of this text-trading, being an obviously noteworthy choice with thirty surviving manuscript appearances. The T-V is a constituent of this material, seemingly employed for didactic

502 Christ’s passion and resurrection are, of course, the other pivotal events of New Testament Christianity, which makes the fusion of these subjects with the Doom – as mentioned in the note above – all the more pertinent.

purposes, alongside a rich variety of frequently overlapping contents; the Three Arrows was a valuable part of the wider genre of pastoral manuals that attest to a great hunger for devotional guidance and instruction.

**The T-V Textual ‘Node’**

A preoccupation with salvation and Doomsday is undeniably a major stimulus for much of the contents of these books. The T-V exists in many manuscripts with an emphasis on ‘clean living’, on the punishment of sinners, on the nature of Doomsday and the ‘Domesman’, and on achieving salvation. Intriguingly, as a result, we can observe a gathering of texts that consistently accompany the T-V in several manuscripts; this version of the Three Arrows frequently finds itself as a core part of a textual ‘node’, featuring several texts addressing similar issues, which has on several occasions been transferred between books. This implies a level of compiler autonomy in identifying literature with a shared theme and combining it, synergising the individual texts to enhance their overall efficacy. Likewise, subsequent compilers have clearly shown a propensity to borrow such a ‘node’ wholesale and copy it into their own codices, content with importing multiple texts in conjunction and then adding further materials to the group as they saw fit.

This node of texts that accompany the T-V revolves around spiritual hygiene – the maintenance of a clean soul in the face of worldly temptations, all in preparation for Doomsday, when one’s catalogue of misdeeds will be appraised. They generally share themes of contempt for this world and chastisement of sinners; they condemn but also lament the foolishness of a sinner who does not repent through the mechanics of the Church, constantly emphasising the value of shrift. The existence of this node of texts is palpable when we observe the T-V’s most consistent companion, the Myrour of Synneres, a mid- to late-fourteenth-century text, which, according to Horstmann, is ‘an abridged, free translation of the Speculum Pecatoris, ascribed to St. Augustine […] St. Bernard, and R. Rolle’.

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504 ‘In this maner of thenkyng the soule conceuyeth forthenkyng, fforthenkyng bryngeth forth confessioun, and confession norisscheth amendyng and ful asseth making […]’ All extracts from the Myrour are from Horstmann’s transcription of MS U, in YW, vol. II, pp. 436-40 (p. 438).

505 Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 436; see also IPMEM, n. 213, p. 73; Jolliffe, Check-List, F. 8, p.81; the Myrour does not appear to have an entry in the Manual. Hanna corroborates Horstmann’s assessment of the Myrour’s origins in his paper on the Three Arrows (Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 9). We are again reminded of a perennial problem when examining these texts, that of their frequent Latin derivation. Investigation into the vernacular can be easily undermined without an appropriate understanding of this Latin material.
Horstmann has once again transcribed this text from MS U, from which he also edited the T-V.\textsuperscript{506} Both Jolliffe and the IPMEP list twenty-two surviving manuscript copies of the Myrour, sixteen of which also contain copies of the T-V; so, out of the twenty-one surviving copies of the T-V, over seventy-five per cent exist alongside the Myrour – a significant concurrence rate.\textsuperscript{507} This figure is striking, clearly indicating a perceived affinity between the two texts, despite their independent nature. Although not always, the two texts regularly appear consecutively (‘cheek by jowl’),\textsuperscript{508} which more strongly implies their consistent existence in a ‘node’.\textsuperscript{509} For example, in MS K, the rubric preceding the T-V contains the explicit for the Myrour as well as the incipit for the Three Arrows: ‘here eendi þe myrrour of synners, and bigynneþ anoþir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday, to hem þat þere schulen be damnned.’\textsuperscript{510} Indeed, the frequent concurrence of these two texts has even led the British Library catalogue entry for MS J to mistakenly combine them: ‘The Mirror of the Sinners and the Three Arrows (ff. 106r-114v)’.\textsuperscript{511} This is an unjustifiable mistake, however, as the rubric on f. 106r of MS J only pertains to the Myrour, it does not stipulate that this will be followed by the T-V, which might otherwise have vindicated their perceived conflation. Likewise, the Myrour’s explicit on f. 110r and the T-V’s rubric on f. 110v only refer to their respective treatises. Whether the books’ medieval compilers sometimes considered the two to be combined is moot, but the manuscript evidence does not regularly suggest such a conflation, as each text is normally introduced separately. Evidently, though, the two texts were considered to be highly compatible, and a more detailed appraisal reveals that they are indeed thematically cognate companions.

The Myrour is preoccupied with the ‘freelte’ of ‘this failyng lyf’, introducing itself as a ‘sentence ful good and profitable to rede’, in order to prepare for the novissima.\textsuperscript{512} It is, in Hanna’s words, ‘fairly standard issue contempt of the world, learn to die material’.\textsuperscript{513} The

\textsuperscript{506} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, pp. 436-40.
\textsuperscript{507} Those that do not also contain the Myrour are MSS B, C, I, L, and M.
\textsuperscript{508} Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{509} The frequency with which the two texts are contiguous is difficult to confirm, as the IPMEP does not provide folio numbers for the surviving copies of the T-V, and Jolliffe, who does provide folio numbers for the Myrour, does not include the T-V in his Check-List. Therefore, to do so would require direct examination of every T-V manuscript, which is beyond the current scope of this thesis, or the piecing together of very disparate catalogue information, which would likely prove futile.
\textsuperscript{510} London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, f. 62v.
\textsuperscript{512} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 436.
\textsuperscript{513} Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 10.
text’s first direct scriptural reference is to Moses, Deuteronomy 32:29, which advocates preparation for the Last Things:

Utinam saperent & intelligerent, ac nouissima prouiderent, that is: Wolde god þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden, and purueieden for the laste thynges!  

This plea acts as the text’s mantra, frequently repeated throughout with the hope that all might appropriately equip their soul in time for Doomsday. The correlation between the Myrour and the T-V is already abundantly clear, and their accompaniment in such a high proportion of manuscripts appears sensible: the Myrour is a highly appropriate prelude to the actual punishments described in the T-V for those who do not ‘purueieden for the laste thynges’. To avert these impending perils, the Myrour implores its reader directly – ‘My deere brother, i. prey þee vnderstond wel what þow redist’ – to understand its sentiment, for to do so is to precipitate the ‘distruccion of pruyde, quenchyng of enuye, medicyne of malice, dryuyng away of licherie, voidyng of boost and of vanytee, informacion of leernyng, perfeccion of hoolynesse, and reparation of euerlastynge heelthe’.  

The Myrour is a warning to sinners, a reminder of the fragility of one’s eternal soul; it is also a threnody for the unrepentant and the ignorant, who know not of their own infirmity and corruption, nor of the inevitable pains of Hell: ‘But allas, allas! for al to fewe […] sauouren þis heelful sentence[…].’  

For those who do not understand and take heed, the T-V subsequently explains clearly the ultimate outcome. To further compound this affinity, Hanna has observed that the scriptural text utilised at the core of the Myrour (Utinam saperent, etc.) is from Deuteronomy 32:29, only 6 verses after the passage found at the heart of the Three Arrows theme, Deuteronomy 32:23 (Congregabo super eos mala, etc.).  

The Myrour also shares other affinities with the T-V, on occasion utilising the same or similar scriptural references, as well as structure. The very first scriptural reference in the T-V is to the ‘wyse man’, who  

byddyth hys sone: Memorare nouissima tua et ineternum non peccabis; that ys:  

Haue mynd of the last þinges, that ys þe day of doom, & þat schall kepe þe from synne.  

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518 London, British Library, Harley MS 1706, f. 110v (MS J).
Around halfway through the Myrour this very same quotation is offered, but the Myrour more specifically informs us that these are the words of the Holy Spirit through ‘Salomon’. The extract is Ecclesiasticus 7:40 – ‘In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis’ – and it is equally cognate with the Myrour as it is with the T-V, highlighting their semantic affiliation. Both are concerned with preparation for the Last Things and the prevention of individual damnation. The Myrour, though, it should be noted, frequently refers to preparation for individual death rather than to universal judgement at Doomsday, hence its demonstrable affinity with funerary culture, which will be elucidated shortly.\(^\text{521}\)

Another example comes from the opening line of the Myrour, which refers to the evanescence of life: ‘For þat we been in the wey of this failyng lyf ande oure dayes passen as a schadewe’.\(^\text{522}\) A similar sentiment is expressed in the T-V, as it quotes the Book of Wisdom, chapter 5, which addresses ‘[t]he fruitless repentance of the wicked in another world [and] the reward of the just’ – clearly a pertinent topic. Wisdom 5:9 is the segment that is particularly relevant to this discussion, which states: ‘Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrunt’.\(^\text{523}\) As MS M translates it, ‘what haþ pride profitid to vs or þe boost of rychesse, what haþ it brouȝt to vs, alle þise þinges hau passid as a schadewe, & we forsoþe movse schewe no tokene of holynesse.’\(^\text{524}\) A prevailing sentiment of Wisdom 5 is that of the transitory nature of life, as it laments the passing of a ship through the waves that leaves no permanent trace in its wake; a bird that flies through the air leaves no mark of its passage; or once an arrow is fired, there is no sign of its path in the air.\(^\text{525}\) These notions

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\(^{520}\) ‘In all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin.’ Ecclesiasticus 7:40.

\(^{521}\) Indeed, the novissima that the Myrour envisages are arguably those to do with personal – or particular – rather than general judgement. For example, the Myrour describes a scene of death extremely reminiscent of images frequently found in Books of Hours or in the later artes morienti. In these depictions, the moribund is usually bedridden, pallid, and making the necessary preparations – both spiritual and pragmatic – for death; the room in which this is taking place, however, is often inundated with all manner of demons, deviously attempting to derail the dying’s journey toward a ‘good death’. The Myrour’s description of such a moment is as follows: ‘And ouer al his behold in this myrour how þat in the laste horrible & dreadfull hous, whan thi wrecchide soule schalle passe fro thi body, anoon þeer schullen be reedy & present a greet & an horrible multitude of wykked spirites, mynistrates of the foule feend of helle, rjst as it weeren as meny lyouns rorynge for to chase thy soule as for here pray.’ This, along with further examples detailed below, implies the Myrour’s affinity with late medieval mortuary and funerary culture.


\(^{523}\) ‘All those things are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runneth on’, Wisdom 5:9.

\(^{524}\) London, British Library, Additional MS 10036, f. 89r.

\(^{525}\) Wisdom 5:10-12.
are certainly cognate with the fleeting umbra that is life on earth, which the Myrour addresses in its opening line.

A small clarification is worthy of brief digression: it should be noted that those copies of the T-V examined so far all include an extract from Wisdom 5:3, usually beginning from ‘hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, etc.’. A minority (thus far) of MSS, though, continue the quotation extensively, paraphrasing through verses 3-13. This means that several of the T-V MSS omit the crucial sentiment of the shadow that is worldly vanity. Therefore, evidently a conscious decision has been made by a certain scribe or scribes to either contract or expand this extract significantly. This quotation, then, would make for an excellent trail to follow when examining the entire corpus of T-V manuscripts, as it could provide a trace along which a chain of recension has developed. The variations in the rendering of this quotation might indicate a moment of deliberate mutation by a scribe, which was subsequently copied by others, providing a dividing branch of the T-V stemma. This minor detail might represent another example of organic text adaptation, whereby one particular scribe, when copying the T-V, selectively alters some of the text’s content to suit his or her own preferences. Either this extract from the Book of Wisdom was considered too prolix and was abridged, removing its connection to the transience of life, or it was extended to incorporate this additional sentiment, undeniably relevant to the text. Whichever, this was then copied by subsequent scribes/compilers, possibly establishing a new redaction.

Returning to the Myrour and its affinities with the T-V, there is one other intriguing connection. The two texts share a common ending phrase:

[t]o þe whiche blisse god brynge vs, To þe whiche kyngdom and ioye
that boughte vs with his precious blood. he brynge vs þat bouȝte vs with
Amen.\textsuperscript{527} his precious blood. Amen.\textsuperscript{528}

The Myrour The T-V

This is not an uncommon explicit, so should not be over-interpreted, but nevertheless indicates a connection. Incidentally, the copy of the M-V in MS Rawl. C 285 also shares this ending: ‘[t]o þe whilk Ioy he brynge vs þat bogth vs. Amen. Amen. Amen.’ The M-V in

\textsuperscript{526} These are they, whom we had some time in derision’, Wisdom 5:3.
\textsuperscript{527} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 440.
\textsuperscript{528} MS U, Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 448.
\textsuperscript{529} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 121.
MS Arundel, however, does not, which perhaps harbours some hints about the relationship between the various versions of the Three Arrows.

There is a further link between the Myrour’s closing sentiments and the T-V’s opening. During one final recapitulation of the transitory vanities of the world, the Myrour makes a last appeal to the unrepentant sinner to ‘amende þee now, whiles tyme is of mercy, so þat þow be not dampned in the dreadful day of goddes greete vengeaunce.’ The relevant phrase is ‘whiles tyme is of mercy’, as this notion is extremely cognate with the introductory portion of the T-V. At its beginning, the T-V explains the advents of God through astrological signs: the comings of God are like the course of the Sun, which moves from the sign of the lion into the sign of the virgin, and from the virgin into the sign of the balance. The first pertains to the vengeful God of the Old Testament, as wrathful as a lion; in the third, on the Day of Doom, God will weigh the words and works of all in the balance, distributing just desert to all; but the second stage, during the sign of the virgin, is Christ’s incarnation on earth, in which time ‘was he maade moore redy to doo mercy, þan euere he was to doo vengeaunce’. Thus, the closing sentiments of the Myrour acutely presage the introduction of the T-V, as the former indicates that we are currently in this time of mercy, when God is prepared to receive contrition and to forgive. But, as the T-V explains, once this time has passed and Doomsday arrives, it will be too late to repent; again, the two texts coalesce effectively.

Not only is the Myrour cognate with the T-V, but it is also highly appropriate within many of its wider manuscript environments. It has been noted above that many of the manuscripts containing the T-V – as well as the Myrour – contain numerous meditations. The Myrour, although not outright a meditation, utilises language on several occasions that is reminiscent of such texts. The Myrour frequently encourages the reader to inwardly contemplate and visualise the concepts that it describes with their ‘mind’s eye’: ‘fful fewe there been þat setten bifore þe eijen of here mynde þe knowynge of here owen infirmyte’; ‘and þef þow wolt sette the sodeynte of deeth bifore þe eijen of þi mynde’; ‘And þerfore bryng it ofte to thi mynde, that dreedful day of thy passynge’. The Myrour also employs some particularly interesting analogies, the descriptions of which are easily imaginable – the visualisation of these analogies is very suited to the concept of the ‘mind’s eye’:

To this heelful sentence loke þat þow biholde, and that nouȝt passyngly, but with greet studye & riȝt good auysement: ffor riȝt as encens smelleth not but þef it be put in to the fuyr, so no sentence of hooly scripture may sauoure to the redere ne to þe herere þeeroft but þef it be i.-boyled in herte with bisy and brennyng studye of it.533

And:

For the flesch of a man is moore vyl than the skyn of a schepe. For though a schepe dye, sum profit cometh þeerof: the skyn is take fro the flesch, and on it men writen in both sydes; and whan a man dieth, alle dieth with hym the flesch, þe skyn & þe boones.534

This type of language connects the Myrour to many of the other texts in the T-V node, which will be expanded upon later – it is symptomatic of late medieval piety, inviting meditative, imaginative, immersive contemplation.

The Myrour focuses substantially on the fugacity of this life and this world, and therefore the easily-underestimated fatality of unshriven sin for the eternal soul. It is reiterated that this life is ‘passyng, al bilapped in wrecchednesse, soietyt [subject] to alle maner of vanytee, defouled with filthes of synne, corrupt with couetise, and þat it schal perisshe with-ynne short tyme’.535 As such, this ephemeral world – this ‘vaale of weepyng’ – should be held in contempt, as we entered this life naked and made of ‘eerthe’, thus shall we exit it; we are but ‘an outlawe, a gest, and a pilgrym heer in this wrecchide lyf, a freel man and a feble, and lutele while abydyng vpon þis eerthe.’536 The Myrour is extremely penitential, imploring its readers to understand that we are all mortal, spiritually sick, and sentenced to endure the woes of this life before we can progress to paradise; it is only through heeding and understanding the Myrour’s message that we can avoid damnation: ‘Oo brother, ful wel schal þee be ȝef þowe sauoure & vnderstoande thise thynces þat i. telle þee, and þef þow wolt write hem in thyn herte as in a book’.537

534 Horstmann, ibid., p. 439.
535 Horstmann, ibid., p. 437.
536 Horstmann, ibid., pp. 437 and 438.
537 Horstmann, ibid., p. 437. Another reference to books in the Myrour comes in a more condemnatory form: ‘Be a-schamed, þow proude man, bee aschamed! thow þat hast moore likynge to leerne & to reede on the bokes of vanytees than on the bokes of holy writ!’ Horstmann, YW, vol. 2, p. 439. It is somewhat ironic, then, that some of the manuscripts containing texts like the Myrour, also include various romances. MS C, although not
To most effectively present this urgent message, which – the author clearly believes – is fundamental for eternal salvation, the text employs the familiar construct, obviously indicated by its title, of a mirror, into which we all must gaze, contemplating the reflection:

Be-hold now, freend, how profitable a myrour it is for synneres, the inwardly biholdyng of this highe sentence […] For þef þow ofte biholde thi-self in this myrour, and þef þow bisily studye to sette thus þi-self before thy-self, doutelees, thow schalt be strengere þan Sampson, moore waar þan Dauyd, and wiser than Salomon.\textsuperscript{538}

In utilising this concept, the Myrour echoes themes that are frequently encountered in late medieval funerary and death culture. For example, this morbid mirror is effectively paralleled in the transi tomb of John Baret (d. 1463), which resides in the church of St Mary, Bury St Edmunds. The inscription on Baret’s tomb, organised in rhyming couplets, opens with the following:

He that wil sadly beholde one with his ie

May se hys own merour and learne for to die[.]\textsuperscript{539}

In the Myrour, we find this sentiment similarly expressed:

For whan a man bigynneth to wex seek & his seeknesse groweth […] the flesch widerith, and alle the beaute is turned in to filthe and corruptioun; whan the body is buried, it falleth in to powdir, & is turned alle in to wormes. Bihold now, brother, this is an horrible siȝt; but it is a ful profitable myrour.\textsuperscript{540}

This extract from the Myrour could easily be used to describe some of the more gruesome cadaver monuments that were beginning to emerge in Europe at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, of which John Baret’s tomb is a relatively tame example.\textsuperscript{541} In both Baret’s inscription and the Myrour, we are entreated to view an

\textsuperscript{538} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 437.


\textsuperscript{540} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 439.

\textsuperscript{541} ‘In the last years of the fourteenth-century, a new and strikingly different type of sepulchral monument, the transi tomb, appeared in several places in Northern Europe.’ Cohen, Metamorphosis, p. 1. See also Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 139-152.
unpleasant sight, the grim corruption of mortal flesh, but we are implored to do so in order to
learn; although the corpses we envisage – in Baret’s effigy and in our mind’s eye when
reading the Myrour – are not our own, they should act as a mirror in which we can view our
inevitable future. From these mirrors – these ‘horrible sights’ – it is imperative that we must
learn the lesson of our own mortality and reflect upon the state of our souls. After the above
extract, the Myrour continues:

O ful happy is he þat bisily biholdeth hym-self in this myrour: ffor þeer is no
craft, medicyne, ne techyng, þat so soone distruyeth vice, & plaunteth vertewes,
as doth þe inwardly biholdyng thus of a mannes laste thynges.542

There is no remedy more effective for a person’s salvation than contemplating this mirror and
the Last Things. The message of a transi tomb is equally clear: they are a stark warning that
death is inescapable and adequate spiritual preparations must be made. The parallels between
these two mirrors – one visual, the other literary – are striking, both endeavouring
(superficially, at least, in the case of transi tombs) to edify the viewer/reader through this
construct.543

Indeed, there are further similarities between the Myrour and this funerary culture. As
mentioned, the above extract from the Myrour would be an apt description of a transi tomb,
but this comparison can be extended further. The author of the Myrour was likely familiar
with the contemporary fashion for the macabre, as he frequently refers to the decay of this
world and the ash to which we all must return. But he also describes the moulderng body as
turning into ‘wormes’. This image that the Myrour conjures is strongly reminiscent of the
iconography of and language associated with transi tombs. Worms, according to John Aberth,
‘were naturally associated with plague-ridden or decomposing bodies’; they are mentioned in
inscriptions on the tombs of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1443, buried at
Canterbury Cathedral, the tomb itself dates to c. 1425), and Richard Fleming, Bishop of
Lincoln (d. 1431, buried at Lincoln Cathedral), among others:

I was a pauper born, then to Primate raised
Now I am cut down and ready to be food for worms [...]
You will be like me after you die

All horrible, dust, worms, vile flesh.\(^{544}\)

Furthermore, for a visual example, on the tomb of François de la Sarra (d. 1363), buried at La Sarraz, Switzerland, worms, accompanied by indeterminate amphibians, crawl over and infest the naked effigy.\(^{545}\) Likewise, in London, British Library, Add. MS 37049, a ‘Carthusian miscellany’, there is contained a vernacular poem of the mid-fifteenth century, known as the Disputacione betwyx the Body and Wormes, in which a recently deceased noblewoman attempts to argue, increasingly desperately, with the worms that are devouring her corpse.\(^{546}\)

In a prefatory illustration to the text (f. 32v), we see the tomb of a clearly important lady, beneath which is depicted the shrouded cadaver in the grave, swarming with voracious vermin. The Disputacione’s incipit also makes reference to the corruption of the body into worm’s meat, as well as the lesson that is to be learned by the reader who pays attention to the text.\(^{547}\) Also, incidentally, the third pain of Hell, according to the Cursor Mundi, is to endure ‘wormes þat sal neuer dei, / Fell dragons and tades bath / þat ar apon to lok ful lath’.\(^{548}\)

These examples demonstrate the interconnections of the Myrour with familiar tropes in funerary culture. Just as the Disputacione’s incipit establishes the text as didactic, so too is the message of a transi tomb in its utilisation of the mirror motif; hence, we are returned to the presiding objective of the Myrour of Synneres, to warn the reader about the inevitability of death and the fragility of eternal salvation. This connection with contemporary death culture is encapsulated by the following extract from the Myrour:

Cast awey thi pruyde, fflee fro vanytee, and taak to the this heelful techyng of amendement, lest þow perissche. Be -hold in this myrour and see what þow has been, what þou art, and what thow schalt bee [my emphasis].\(^{549}\)

This motif is prevalent in a profusion of paintings, tombs, and texts, all proclaiming the dangers of clinging on to pride and vanity in the face of mortality, which keep us from

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\(^{544}\) From the epitaph on the tomb of Henry Chichele, in John Aberth, From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 214; for the quotation of Aberth above, ibid., p. 248.

\(^{545}\) Aberth, From the Brink of the Apocalypse, p. 248; see also Cohen, Metamorphosis, pp. 77-78.


\(^{547}\) See Cohen, Metamorphosis, pp. 78-83, for an exploration of the iconographic trope of worms, frogs, etc.

\(^{548}\) Cursor Mundi, Ll. 23226-228.

repenting for our sins before Death is knocking at the door. The penultimate line of the inscription on John Baret’s tomb is directly cognate with this message: ‘For such as I am: right so shelle ye al be.’ The Myrour propounds this message (one which is so prominent in late medieval death culture), imploring its readers to take heed; if they do not, then the fate described in the accompanying T-V of the Three Arrows awaits them.

Hence, we can return to the Three Arrows and its role within this node of texts alongside its frequent companion, the Myrour. The T-V is the conclusion to the problem addressed by the Myrour – your spiritual negligence will not go unpunished: ‘He synneth withouten eende, that deserueth peyne withouten eende’, states the Myrour. This unending pain will be delivered to sinners on Doomsday, as the T-V clearly informs us. The author of the Myrour strains to convey the message that contemplation of the Last Things is the most effective route to willing repentance. However, if the reader’s imagination is struggling to envisage this, or the mirror that the Myrour presents is not incentive enough, then the T-V will appropriately fill in the blanks, reiterating its suitability to accompany the Myrour. To proceed from the Myrour, though, and to expand into the other texts that can be found frequently accompanying the T-V in this node, it is apposite to utilise one final extract from the Myrour, which appropriately relates to the overall theme of these texts:

Viue deo gratus, mundo toto tumulatus, Crimine mundatus, semper transire paratus, that is: “Lyue thankful to thi god, buried al to the world, Maad al cleene of synne, & reedy euer to goon henne”.

The phrase ‘Maad al cleene of synne’ provides an excellent link to the other texts in this node, effectively capturing their nature.

Another – relatively minor – text in the node encapsulates this concept perfectly. This text has no immediately obvious title, but is rubricated as ‘a ful good meditacion for oon to

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550 Hieronymus Bosch’s famous Death and the Miser immediately springs to mind: the titular Miser is torn between demonic temptation to preserve his worldly wealth and angelic insistence that he pay attention only to the light of God emanating from the window above in the form of the crucified Christ. All the while, Death looms in the doorway, poising to pierce the Miser with his dart at any moment.

551 Cohen, Metamorphosis, p. 91.


seie by him-self al-oone’, and for which the British Library catalogue has coined the reference ‘Meditation to say alone’. This meditation opens with the following incipit:

ʿEf þou coueite to be maad cleene in soule as it may be heere, of al þe stathel of synne the which wol alweies leeue in þee after þi confession be þow neuer so besy, so þat þow mowe by þat clennesse bee maad able to receyue þe special grace of god in encresynge of þi perfection [...]"555

We can see that this text is an excellent representative of the topic of spiritual hygiene, invoked by the Myrour. Following the Myrour’s instruction to bury oneself to the world and to cleanse oneself of sin, this ‘meditacion’ is an ideal accompaniment, as it provides a means by which a person might accomplish these things. This meditation equips the reader with various invocations that can be uttered to cleanse the soul of the ‘stathel’ – residue – of sin left behind after confession. Once again, the importance of shrift is emphasised, but so too is the fallibility of humanity, as we are loathsome and wretched, and cannot possibly remember every single sin that we have committed, since they are so numerous: ‘for my synnes been as þe soond of þe see, þe whiche for multitude mowen not be noumbred’. Therefore, this meditation insures the soul against trespasses left unshriven by normal confession, and ensures security on Doomsday, when these otherwise forgotten sins will all be revealed. Indeed, the T-V emphasises this very point, explaining that on Doomsday everybody will be confronted with the book of their own conscience, which has recorded every misdeed, ‘wrytten wit her own handys’. This construct is lifted from William Peraldus’s Summa de viciis, Hanna informs us, ‘where it is the 19th reason to fear Last Judgement, inspired by Apoc. 20:12’.558

This meditation, like the Myrour, is interested in perfecting the state of one’s soul, it is an additional security measure after confession: ‘ffor, þat [þe] smythes file dooth to þe rusty iren, þe saame goostly doth a sorweful and a deep-fet sighynge to a synful herte’. A deep, introspective contemplation can erode the sin from one’s soul just as a file does to

This text is another address to the average sinner, who does not readily acknowledge the peril that their eternal soul is in; it is, like the T-V and the Myrour, a lament for the insignificance of this life and the importance of the next: ‘And i, þis wrecchide erthely worm, þe mooste vyleste synnere of alle’, have abandoned Christ, ‘þe welle of euerlastynge goodnesse[,] for a fewe foule stynkyng flechishly delytes of þis wrecchide lif’. We shall all be in need of Christ’s mercy on Doomsday, and so this text, like the Myrour, is penitential, imploring the sinner to surrender their soul to God. This meditation also ends in a fashion similar to the Myrour and the T-V: ‘[…] whiche þow hast bouȝt with thy precious blood AmeN.’ These three texts are directed at the repentant sinner, decrying their loathsomeness and imploring that they reject the world and all of its vanities; if a sinner contemplates this and embraces Christ’s mercy, then they will be spared the eternal punishment as outlined in the Three Arrows. So, once again, we see the compatibility of the various texts in this node.

Furthermore, the manuscript evidence for this private meditation bolsters this point considerably, since it would appear to be heavily dependent upon the T-V and the Myrour. The meditation survives in seven manuscripts, six of which contain a copy of the T-V (MSS A, B, I, N, S, and U) and four of which contain copies of the T-V and the Myrour (MSS A, N, S, and U). This is a concurrence rate of eighty-five per cent between this meditation and the T-V; indeed, it exists almost exclusively in T-V manuscripts.

The same is true for another regular component of the node, ‘a good meditacion, the which seynt Anselme maade’. According to Horstmann, this is a translation of ‘St Anselmi Meditationum II’; likewise, the IPMEP refers to the text as a translation of ‘St Anselm’s Meditatio II’, from the fourteenth century. However, in Benedicta Ward’s translation of and commentary on Anselm’s prayers and meditations, she refers to this text as Meditation 1, rather than 2, implying some contradiction; that which Ward refers to as Meditation 1 is certainly the same as that described by Horstmann and the IPMEP as Meditation 2, known as ‘a meditation to stir up fear’. Although this is somewhat misleading, Ward does suggest

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560 Horstmann, ibid., p. 442.
561 Emphasising the theme of spiritual hygiene is another text that occurs in two T-V manuscripts, both of which also contain the ‘Meditation to say alone’. The text begins ‘A þou sely sowle if þou wilte aske of owre lorde ihesu criste any thynge aske clennes’, in Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 55. Clearly the ‘Sely Sowle’ was deemed compatible with the ‘Meditation to say alone’ and its connection with the T-V. For the ‘Sely Sowle’, see Jolliffe, I. 7Ȝcȝ, p. 105.
that it may have been joined to Anselm’s Meditation 2 (or Meditation 1 for Horstmann and the IPMEP), the texts having been described as ‘the two halves of a dyptich’. \(^{564}\) Conflicting nomenclature aside, the text found in the T-V node is that which begins ‘My lif fereth me soore’. Ward describes the meditation as

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\text{[A] sober and searching consideration of the state of the soul before God, passing from the image of the barren tree to the more dramatic picture of the Last Judgement with its terrifying echoes of the Dies Irae.}^{565}\]

This meditation, then, is palpably cognate with the Three Arrows and its textual node, delivering the same recurring message to the unrepentant sinner: make amends before it is too late. According to the IPMEP, this vernacular translation of Anselm’s Meditatio survives in four manuscripts, all of which contain the T-V (MSS I, N, S, and U). So, in all of its occurrences, this meditation on the Last Judgement is accompanied by the Three Arrows on Doomsday. They are undeniably compatible companions.

The text, Ward explains, is a soliloquy, intended to provoke repentance. Its language is distinctly akin to standard axioms of the Doom-genre:

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\text{Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur, that is to seyn: “Ecery tree þat bereth not good fruyt schal be kut doun and cast in to þe fuyr”}.^{566}\]

This phrasing is reminiscent of the omnipresent Last Judgement reference to Matthew 25, encountered time and again. Similarly, the metaphor of the unfruitful tree or the unproductive worker, purged by fire at the Doom, is a staple of this literature and is reiterated throughout the meditation: ‘A þow druye and vnprofitable tree worthy to euerlastyng fuyr’. \(^{567}\) Once again, this meditation promulgates contempt for this life and shame at the miserable, wretched sinners, ‘moore vile þan a beste, and worse þan a careyne […] I am soore a-schamed for to lyue, and dye dar i. not.’ \(^{568}\) It laments the apathy of sinners, who delay in taking action to remedy the sorry state of their eternal soul: ‘What does þow, þou bareyne soule? Whi art þou so slough, þow synful soule? Þe day of þi doom cometh, it is riȝt neiȝ and

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\(^{564}\) See Ward, Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm, p. 74.
\(^{565}\) Ward, ibid., p. 74.
\(^{567}\) Horstmann, ibid., p. 444. This is an extremely recurrent theme in Last Judgement sermons. The parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16), which is the usual reading for Septuagesima, is nearly always infused with a Last Judgement theme. See the table of Middle English Sermons in the appendices.
\(^{568}\) Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 444.
The meditation threatens the unrepentant sinner with the unthinkable horror of Doomsday, ‘a day of wrath’, ‘a day of trouble & of anguyssch’, ‘of caare and of wrecchednesse’, ‘of myst and of derkenesse’, and so on, echoing and arguably surpassing the typical descriptions of the terrors of the Last Judgement.\textsuperscript{570} The text even refers to ‘\(\text{þat bitter voys}\) of the Lord in judgement, which is discussed in great detail in the T-V, being the wound of the second arrow, which will reprove all false Christians.

This meditation is a relentless assault on the conscience of a sinner, shaming them for not appropriately preparing their soul for death and judgement. It would appear to be this Anselmian text that established the frequently encountered trope, particularly in sermons on the Doom, of the sinner being inundated on and scrutinised from all sides:

\begin{quote}
O \(\text{þe anguyssches and þe annuyes þat schullen þanne bee: For on þat oo syde schullen bee synnes accusynge, on þat oother syde streit rjstfulnesse soore afferynge; bynethe, þe opene derkenesse of helle, aboue, þe wrathful domesman; withinne, a smertynge concience, and withoute, þe brennynge world.}\textsuperscript{571}
\end{quote}

This concept is echoed in multiple vernacular sermons, sometimes adapted to include devils and angels on either side.\textsuperscript{572} Despite preaching the horrors of Doomsday, however, this text concludes in a manner that makes it particularly pertinent to this thesis, as it reverses its verbal laceration of the sinner and begins to offer reassurances of Christ’s ineffable mercy:

\begin{quote}
A who is he \(\text{þat schal delyuere me fro þe hoondis of wratthed god}\)? […] Ceertes, it is Ihesu, he him-self is \(\text{þe iuge whom i. dreede so soore. Looke vp þerfore a\(\text{þen now, þow synnere, bee of good hope and dispeire not.}\})\textsuperscript{573}
\end{quote}

The meditation recommends total surrender to Christ and to praise his name (in the manner familiar in many late medieval devotional sources), the ‘sweete’, ‘delitable’ name, ‘naame of comfort to synneres and of blessede hope.’\textsuperscript{574} The lesson of this meditation, then, is abundantly clear: repent while there is still time or you will be faced with unthinkable terror on Doomsday. Equally, though, comfort is offered in the form of Christ’s endless mercy for

\textsuperscript{569} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 444.  
\textsuperscript{570} Horstmann, ibid., p. 444.  
\textsuperscript{571} Horstmann, ibid., p. 445.  
\textsuperscript{572} Examples include London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A. ii, ff. 4r-6r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, ff. 127v-133r; Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 103, ff. 179r-181v.  
\textsuperscript{574} Horstmann, ibid., p. 445.
those who willingly ‘fle to him’.\textsuperscript{575} Once again, this text is an excellent companion to the T-V – and the rest of the node – as the Three Arrows further adumbrates the consequences of unshriven sin. Moreover, this text being a meditation, it perfectly sets the tone for the T-V, which, in MS U, immediately follows. Anselm’s Meditatio provokes spiritual introspection, through which most readers will likely find that they come up short; redress in this matter should be inspired by the fearsome description of Christ’s sharp arrows on Doomsday to follow.

To conclude discussion of this textual node, it is worth highlighting the manuscripts that appear to best represent it. MS U is perhaps the best example of the node in context, although this perspective is aided by the fact that Horstmann utilised the manuscript heavily, transcribing most of the texts in this node together. Following expositions on the Pater Noster and the Creed – reinforcing the catechetical connection – begins the Myrour, which commences the node in this manuscript. Succeeding the Myrour is a meditation on the five wounds of Christ,\textsuperscript{576} which have consistent connections to the Doom (see Chapter Three), accompanied by Rolle’s Form of Living, which deals with the notion of transitory pleasures in this world versus the eternal reward of the soul in the next, thus relating to the theme of spiritual hygiene that percolates through the node. Following these are the Meditation to say alone and the Anselmian meditation ‘to stir up fear’. The node culminates in the T-V, bringing the ultimate demise of the sinner at Doomsday to the fore.\textsuperscript{577}

MS N, on the other hand, arguably represents a more concentrated form of the node, containing the relevant texts in direct succession. The Meditation to say alone begins on f. 116r (a); this is followed by the Anselmian meditation on 116v (a); next is the T-V of the Three Arrows on 117r (a), which leads to the Myrour on 117v (a). Significantly, at the conclusion of the Myrour, there is an untouched space on the folio, left blank; following this, on f. 118v, in a very different layout, begins a series of ‘Proverbs of Prophets, Poets and Saints’, in French. This would appear to clearly delineate the texts of the node from these

\textsuperscript{575} Another meditation, attributed to St Augustine (wrongly, according to Horstmann), also features in three manuscripts containing the T-V (MSS H, J, and R). This meditation similarly expounds the idea that no sinner should fall into outright despair, since God is merciful. Interestingly, this meditation occurs in manuscripts that do not contain Anselm’s Meditatio, perhaps mirroring this text’s positive counter to the usual doom and horror of Doomsday texts. In other words, where a compiler was utilising texts such as the T-V and the Myrour, which are largely uncompromising in their assault on the unrepentant sinner, perhaps they deemed it necessary to offer some positive reassurance, therefore deciding to include the pseudo-Augustinian meditation, which the Anselmian meditation achieves by itself in other compilations.

\textsuperscript{576} Transcribed by Horstmann, YW, vol. I, pp. 440-1.

\textsuperscript{577} The actual order of these texts needs reviewing, as Horstmann’s notes contradict Coxe’s catalogue.
succeeding tracts, demonstrating their existence in this manuscript as a self-contained unit. Once again, though, the texts of the node in MS N are not necessarily in the ideal order, as the T-V precedes the Myrour, highlighting the fact that even this gathering of demonstrably cognate texts appears to defy the application of any consistent logic in their compilation.

MS B is another good example of the core texts of the node coexisting, albeit lacking the Myrour, although it does instead contain the Pore Caitif, reinforcing the themes of spiritual cleanliness and didacticism. Had this manuscript contained the Myrour it would have arguably represented the best example of the node in action, as it contains relatively few texts, all of which appear to correlate to the identifiable themes of the T-V node. What is all the more revealing is that part one of the manuscript contains the Pore Caitif, whilst part two is the T-V node, emphasising the decision made by a compiler to combine the two themes, underlining their corresponding natures. Likewise, MS S contains what is arguably the core quartet of texts that comprise the node: the Anselmian meditation, the Meditation to say alone, the T-V, and the Myrour. Once again, they appear to be grouped together in consecutive order; the frequency with which this happens would serve to strengthen the argument that this gathering of texts was deliberately joined, and subsequently copied, together. Of the four surviving copies of the Anselm meditation, three occur alongside the T-V and the Myrour, whilst all four feature the Meditation to say alone. As demonstrated earlier, the Meditation to say alone has an extremely high concurrence rate with the T-V, and to a lesser extent the Myrour. This kind of analysis appears to highlight the centrality of these four texts to the node; the T-V seems to regularly occur alongside some variation of this combination of texts.

Finally, MS I is worthy of comment. This manuscript contains the Meditation to say alone, the Anselmian meditation, and the T-V; again, the Myrour is missing. Already, despite the omission of the Myrour, this manuscript represents another strong example of the textual node. According to Margaret Connolly, these items – in addition to a treatise on the nine virtues – are provided with the title ‘Fervor Amoris’ in MS I. Connolly observes that ‘[t]his heading is used elsewhere as a title for the text more familiarly known as Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God’, which follows the node in MS I.\(^{578}\) Either this is a mistake on behalf of the scribe, Connolly continues, or it is, ‘as seems more likely […] evidence of an attempt to compose a new work altogether, possibly re-writing Contemplations in the

\(^{578}\) Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 57.
process.’579 Was this, then, an attempt to consolidate the T-V node, which perhaps the scribe/compiler had encountered elsewhere and recognised its utility, into another treatise – Contemplations – and to re-brand both of them? Considering that MS I is chronologically relatively late, dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century,580 this appears to be a plausible and intriguing notion. The majority of T-V manuscripts, and therefore those containing the node, are earlier than this, allowing for the scribe/compiler of MS I to extract the texts from the existing node and to apply them to his own creation. Both Connolly and Jolliffe have observed the tendency for the texts in MS I to deviate from their counterparts in other manuscripts: ‘the text of each work [in MS I] has been subjected to extensive revision […] [t]he result is that the texts within [MS I] differ significantly from their other witnesses elsewhere’; ‘[t]he texts of these pieces differ considerably from those extant in other manuscripts.’581 This is highly reminiscent of the possible practice of the scribe/compiler of the Holy Boke, discussed earlier, who perhaps borrowed the core material of his text but innovated on it significantly to generate a new treatise. It is also interesting to note that the so-called Fervor Amoris features in MS J, which contains copies of the Myrour and the T-V. MS J is a similarly late manuscript (1474-1524) and is the only other book extant that contains the Fervor Amoris as well as the T-V. Could this perhaps be further testament to – or the inspiration for – the evolution of the node into the ‘new’ Fervor Amoris’ that the scribe/compiler of MS I was trying to create? The scribe/compiler of MS I appears to have attempted to re-brand the T-V node into the existing compilation of the Fervor Amoris.

It is apt to conclude this section on such an intriguing notion. The manuscripts examined here display an enormously eclectic mixture of texts, but what has also hopefully been demonstrated is that the T-V occurs in books that consistently share overlapping themes and similar texts, with detectable patterns in selection and composition. They appear to be attempts at holistic compilations dedicated to providing didactic and contemplative material for the reader. It has been argued that such seemingly miscellaneous manuscripts can, when scrutinised, begin to reveal some kind of internal logic in their compilation, albeit with

579 Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 57.
580 Connolly, ibid., p. 57.
581 Connolly, ibid., p. 57, and Jolliffe, Check-List, p. 98, respectively. I would contend, however, that the copy of the T-V in MS I does not deviate dramatically from those others viewed in the undertaking of this thesis, aside from perhaps the ‘corrections to individual words and phrases’ that Connolly mentions. This suggestion of significant difference is further hampered by Connolly’s probable error in conflating the T-V with the M-V, as mentioned previously, referring to the text as ‘The Meditation of the Three Arrows’. Thus, Connolly’s assertion that none of the first five items in MS I – which includes the T-V – are complete is certainly erroneous, as the copy of the T-V is complete; this error is likely inspired by the aforementioned conflation, leading Connolly to believe that the text is missing the ‘meditation’ component found in the M-V.
consistently obdurate idiosyncrasy. This type of mechanical analysis can paint a broader picture of textual interaction: there are works that appear almost exclusively alongside the T-V, for instance, and others that are clearly frequent partners. Thus, there is a recognisable connection being established between these texts in the compilation of manuscripts; they were clearly identified as highly cognate. Such investigation into an individual text and its manuscript occurrence can perhaps act as a microcosmic example of the wider context of manuscript anthologies. However, it is appropriate to underline the fact that every one of these manuscript compilations is worthy of extensive individual study, as such a broad approach is not entirely representative. For instance, if overlooked, the distinct booklets into which many of these anthologies are divided can produce misleading interpretations as to textual concurrence and interaction. Existing manuscripts become vehicles for newer texts, as items are appended, excised, and edited over time, and so the contents alone do not effectively illustrate the intentions of an original patron or compiler. Some of the manuscript’s construction will have been deliberate, some happenstance, some sheer practicality, as loose texts are bound together for security. Nevertheless, the recurrence of devotional themes in conjunction is likely no coincidence and the repeated combination of catechetical, meditational, and didactic material is significant, clearly indicating the habits, preferences, and choices of compilers, as well as hinting at a vibrant culture of text-exchange. The fact is that these manuscripts are extremely complicated and highly organic, a problem that is exacerbated further by the fact that we possess only a portion – perhaps only a modicum – of the total original material, and so we are attempting to construct a puzzle without all of the pieces. More detailed study of individual manuscripts would allow for more reliable extrapolations, but to do this for each manuscript containing the T-V lies beyond the capacity of this thesis.

**Version Three: The ‘Sermon-Version’**

The final version of the Three Arrows appears to have flown under the radar of scholars who have taken any interest in the other two; indeed, no reference to it at all has yet been encountered. This rendition of the Three Arrows is seemingly unique, occurring in only one sermon in a single manuscript.⁵⁸² Hence, it is dubbed the ‘Sermon-Version’ (henceforth, ⁵⁸² So far. It would not be surprising to encounter the text elsewhere, but this thesis’s research into sermon material has relied heavily on the Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons, and so the omission of material – either in the production of the Repertorium or in my own use of it – is highly plausible.
There are two other sermons that contain the Three Arrows, but these both adhere to the structure of the T-V. The content of the S-V, on the other hand, is distinctly unlike that of the M-V and the T-V, and a comparison between all three versions will take place shortly to conclude this chapter.

The S-V features in a largely unremarkable manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 806, dating to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The manuscript contains a ‘cycle of fifty-seven temporale sermons starting at the First Sunday in Advent and ending with the Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity’; the exposition on the Three Arrows occurs in the second sermon, dedicated to the Second Sunday in Advent (the most frequent liturgical occasion for the topic of Doomsday, according to data compiled from the Repertorium). The sermon addresses the passage from Luke 21:25 – Erunt signa in sole et luna et in terris – a popular Doomsday topic. It utilises several themes common to Doomsday material: the three comings of Christ; the Three Arrows; an abridgement of the Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday; and the notion discussed earlier from the Anselmian meditation ‘to stir up fear’, where the sinner is persecuted from all sides during judgement. According to the Repertorium, the collection of sermons within Bodley 806 was ‘influenced by the Wyclifite cycle.’ Without venturing too much further into the question of authorship of the Three Arrows, this Wyclifite connection is another worthy of further research. The sermon in its entirety runs from ff. 3v-6v, and its treatment of the Three Arrows begins on f. 4r and finishes on f. 5r.

An objective that lies at the heart of this chapter is to elucidate as far as is possible the relationship that exists between the different versions of the Three Arrows. To achieve this, it is pertinent to conduct a close comparison, which will attempt to illumine the connections (and distinctions) that exist between all three versions. To do this, it will be productive initially to separately examine the M-V and the T-V in relation to one another, before introducing the S-V. This is because – as will be shown – the content of the S-V is absolutely disparate from that of the other two, whilst the M-V and the T-V share numerous parallels with one another. The exposition of the Three Arrows in the S-V is arguably alien to the

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583 These are discussed further in the introduction to the T-V.
584 For a description of the manuscript, see Repertorium, vol. 3, pp. 1700-1701. Ralph Hanna has also drawn attention to a forthcoming edition on the full set of sermons contained within MS Bodley 806, for which, see Elena Sasu, ‘Les sermons moven-anglais du manuscrit Bodley 806: édition et étude’ (unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Université de Poitiers, 2014).
theme of Three Arrows on Doomsday altogether, representing an entirely different approach
to the concept of divine projectiles. Whereas the M-V and the T-V follow roughly the same
pattern and are solely referring to Doomsday when discussing the Three Arrows, the S-V is
addressing a separate notion entirely; the arrows of the S-V are not explicitly connected to
Doomsday until the final arrow is fired. The sermon in which the S-V of the Three Arrows is
contained is endeavouring to explain the nature of the three advents of God, which it
explicates through several metaphors, one of which is the concept of three arrows – one for
each coming of God. Therefore, a sensible place to begin the comparison is with the basic –
but paramount – question: what are the respective three arrows in each version? This exercise
will quickly demonstrate the disparity between the S-V and the other two versions.587

In both the M-V and the T-V the three arrows are each of a similar nature, possessing
only subtle deviations, but in the S-V they are entirely different. In the M-V and the T-V the
first arrow is virtually the same, it is the calling to the Doom:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Þe first arrow es when he sal bide} & \quad \text{The first arrow shall be of calling to} \\
\text{þaim rise \& come til þe dome[.]} & \quad \text{þe dome[.]} \\
\text{M-V} & \quad \text{T-V}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the description of events precipitated by the first arrow is distinctly different in
each version, with both supplying details that are absent from the other. For example, the T-V
explains that at this summoning the soul will return to the body and chastise it for its sins in
life:

- Thanne þe wrecched damned soule schal come to þe body, and seye to hit: ‘[…]
- Cursid be þow, þow wrecched careyne; for in pyne of þi synnes, þi delices, and þi
wykkednesses, sith i. passide fro þee i. haue besyly brend in helle […]’588

The M-V does not include this interlude, but instead describes the terror of this moment in
other ways.

587 Selecting manuscripts to represent each version in the comparison is problematic. For the M-V, it seems
appropriate to use MS Rawl., as transcribed by Horstmann, since it has been demonstrated that the copy in MS
Arundel is adapted to suit the Holy Boke recension of the text, meaning it has been altered to fit within the
unique context of that treatise. As for the T-V, it has not yet been established if there is a dominant manuscript
copy, so it seems sensible to use MS U, as this has been transcribed by Horstmann.

As with the first, the purpose of the second arrow is largely the same in both the M-V and the T-V but is presented with deviations in each. In the T-V, the second arrow ‘schal be an arwe of scharp repreuynge of alle fals cristene men’, followed by a rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy with which the sinful have failed to comply.\textsuperscript{589} In the M-V, the second arrow ‘sal smert þaim ful sare: when god sal reyne þaim of al þat þai haf done sen þai war borne, þat fell to syne.’\textsuperscript{590} There is no direct recounting of the Seven Works of Mercy in the M-V, though a possible allusion to them will be discussed later in the comparison. The third arrow is, in principle, the same in the M-V and the T-V, reaching the seminal moment in any exposition on the Last Judgement, the words of Matthew’s Gospel: ite maledicti in ignem eternum. Again, though, both treat the issue differently, and there is no overt connection between the two versions at this point. The M-V diverts into a detailed description of Hell’s pains, whilst the T-V simply emphasises the eternity of damnation. The third arrow, according to the T-V, will wound the sinful so grievously ‘þat alle þe lech is, phisiciens & surgiens, ne þet alle þe creatures in heuene & in eerthe, schullen not mowe heele þe wounde of it.’ There is no rendition of this sentiment in the M-V. It is clear, then, that the three arrows of the M-V and the T-V are labelled similarly and follow the same structure at their core, but the extended description of each arrow’s effects is significantly different.\textsuperscript{591}

The arrows of the S-V, however, are entirely unfamiliar to the other two versions. The three arrows of the S-V are described as ‘sorowe’, ‘loue’, and ‘condempnacoun’ – distinctly unrelated to those of the M-V and the T-V. The first arrow, sorrow, was fired as a punishment for mankind’s disobedience, wounding them with ‘hounger’, ‘þurste’, ‘coolde’, and ‘oþer many myscheues’ (there is perhaps a connection here to the Seven Works of Mercy). Essentially, this is chastisement for mankind’s misdemeanours before the Incarnation, which the second arrow, love, will absolve. Christ was compelled to descend to earth because of mankind’s suffering, wending into ‘þe wombe of a mayden and into a gibet of þe cros’.

Undermining the notion of Three Arrows altogether, the S-V describes other, more unspecific arrows: combined with the arrow of love is the arrow of pity, fired to ‘meue vs more spadely to loue hyme more and more, and þese arowes he sente out to wounde oure herts wit loue’. Indeed, the S-V describes multiple ‘sub-arrows’, outside of the three that it outlines earlier; Christ sent out an additional arrow whilst on the cross to smite the Devil, for example. There

\textsuperscript{589} Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 447.
\textsuperscript{590} Horstmann, YW, vol. I, p. 118.
\textsuperscript{591} These differences will be examined more closely in due course and will be used to advance a theory as to the possible relationship between these two versions.
are, then, three arrows in Christ’s second coming alone – love, pity, and vanquishing the Devil. Then, finally, those that are not wounded by Christ’s arrows of love will be ‘smyton’ by ‘arrowes of perdicoun’ in the third coming; the words of Matthew’s Gospel are, expectedly, iterated: ite maledicti in ignem eternum. In this culmination of the treatment of Christ’s arrows, the S-V actually refers to ‘fowere forseyde arowes’, defying the concept of the Three Arrows altogether. Ultimately, then, the three arrows – or more – of the S-V are simply not the Three Arrows on Doomsday, they are metaphors for the three comings of God. Evidently, it is increasingly unlikely that the S-V is an adaptation of one of the other two versions of the Three Arrows. What it appears to be, instead, is an entirely unique and alternative approach to the concept of heavenly-fired arrows. Therefore, it is acceptable to dedicate some time to examining only the first two versions, because of their apparent similitude in many aspects, before reintroducing the S-V to the overall comparison.

**A sub-Comparison of Versions One and Two**

Earlier in this chapter, at the first introduction of the T-V, some lip service was paid to the possible relationship between it and the M-V. Horstmann described the T-V as ‘an imitation’ of the M-V; this analysis was echoed later by John A. Alford, who was probably following Horstmann’s assessment. As discussed earlier in the chapter, this thesis wishes to dismiss this interpretation, and a much more detailed explanation as to why can now be presented. Firstly, the notion that the T-V is an ‘imitation’ of the M-V will be swiftly exposed as spurious. Following this, an alternative theory will be propounded – hinted at earlier in the chapter – that suggests a complicated affinity between the two texts, but which ultimately recommends that the T-V be considered the core text and the M-V as the copier. The reason for this, though, is not that the latter is an unoriginal imitation of the former (just as is the case vice versa, contrary to Horstmann and Alford), but that the M-V is a much more pensive, considered text, whilst the T-V is somewhat prolix and less refined. The M-V delivers its message with energy and precision, whilst the T-V is more ponderous. Additionally, there are occasions when the M-V appears to demonstrate knowledge that the T-V lacks; on several occasions the T-V misses a reference to authority that the M-V supplies. Throughout the M-V there are phrases and sentiments that allude to the content of the T-V, but they have been adapted and condensed to suit the text of the former, which endeavoured to coalesce the theological companions that are the Passion and the Doom. In
such a text, the extra content of the T-V would have been superfluous, and the M-V has seemingly performed an efficient truncation of the former and incorporated the core of it into its own treatise – it borrows the concept of Three Arrows from the T-V, but innovates upon the content.

Firstly, though, to expel the notion that the T-V is simply an ‘imitation’ of the M-V, we can list a number of significant differences between the two texts, which would severely undermine any suggestion that they are similar enough for one to be a mere duplication of the other. The M-V, as is obvious, is combined with a meditation on the Passion, the T-V is not; furthermore, it should be emphasised that the M-V is not simply a text on the Three Arrows adjacent to one on the Passion – the two are fused together to form one treatise. The M-V in MS Rawl. has a significant number of rhyming couplets, whilst the T-V is entirely prosaic. The T-V contains a lengthy preamble on the three advents of God, which is explained through an astrological metaphor (this will be addressed in further detail later on, as in this respect the T-V shares an affiliation with the S-V); the M-V omits this entirely. Likewise, the extensive interlude at the first arrow of the T-V, in which the soul returns to its body at the resurrection and berates it for its sins in life is absent from the M-V. The T-V includes several other tangential sections that are not present in the M-V: examples of this are its extended description of the terrifying voice of Christ, which, during the Incarnation, ‘þrewʒ to þe grounde so meny steerne men of þe Iewys’; and the distinction between God’s ‘wratthe’ and his ‘woodnesse’ – the former entailing the temporary punishment of sinners in Purgatory, the latter the permanent condemnation of sinners to Hell. 592 In addition to these deviations in content are the consistent aberrations in the use of scriptural and authoritative Latin quotations: differing passages are regularly used in each text and those that are employed in both are often translated and analysed contrarily.

Such a list of deviations profoundly undermines the sentiment that the T-V is any kind of imitation of the M-V. It might suggest that the T-V has taken the core of the Three Arrows from the M-V but has dramatically expanded upon the concept. This thesis intends to argue otherwise, but whatever outcome might be true, the suggestion that the T-V has imitated the M-V is surely the least plausible. These two versions of the Three Arrows are, undeniably, distinctly different texts, with varying agendas and probably contrasting audiences – they should not be mistaken for being the same treatise (though they often have been). However,

592 Horstmann, YW, vol. II, pp. 448 and 447, respectively.
when they are compared closely, it is possible to find evidence for the theory described above, which argues that the M-V has borrowed from the T-V, but not slavishly. There are hints throughout the M-V that the author was familiar with the text of the T-V and that he extracted the relevant details, sometimes innovating upon them further. Much of the content of the T-V is entirely absent from the M-V, as the latter combines the concept of Three Arrows on Doomsday with the Last Judgement’s theological predecessor, the Passion. There are, however, frequent allusions to the content of the T-V throughout the text of the M-V. The M-V appears to echo the content of the T-V on numerous occasions, but does so in a more concise manner, redacting the core sentiments into its own treatise. It is arguable, then, that the M-V has followed the skeleton of the T-V but has fleshed the bones with its own interpretation of the Three Arrows.

Our opening example of this takes place immediately at the first arrow. Despite it being the same sentiment in both versions (the calling to the Doom), each text employs a different Latin quotation for God’s announcement of this moment. The T-V has Christ’s own explanation from the Gospel: ‘venit hora ut omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem filii dei, et procedent qui bona egerunt in resurreccionem vite, qui vero mala, in resurreccionem iudicii’. This is a paraphrase of John 5:28-29, which the T-V then duly translates. The M-V, however, employs a different phrase entirely: ‘surgite mortui & venite ad iudicium’. These are the very words that Christ himself will proclaim at the announcement of the assize. However, this phrase is not scriptural, but is attributed to St Jerome (MS Arundel names ‘Ierome’ directly, while MS Rawl. only refers to ‘þe haly man’), and the M-V swiftly follows this extract with the full reference:

\[Siue commedam siue bibam siue aliiquid aliud faciam, semper michi videtur quod illa vox terribilis intonat in auribus meis: Surgite mortui & venite ad iudicium.\]\[^{593}\]

Whatever one does in this quotidian life, these words are inescapable: the Doom is coming and all will be held to account. As the M-V explains, because the ‘haly man’ dreads these harrowing words, they will ever ring in his ears and ‘com neuer fra his hert’, and so the sinful, too, should ‘haf þaim in mynde, to make þaim affered þat þai fall in no syne.’[^{595}]

[^{595}]: Horstmann, ibid., p. 117.
is the prick of the first arrow: a startling call to the living and the dead that the moment of
government has finally come.

There is no immediately apparent connection between this reference to Jerome and
the T-V’s choice of John 5:28-29. The phrase, surgite mortui, etc., was seemingly very
prolific, occurring in a range of material both Latin and vernacular. For example, it features
in the Prick of Conscience:

Bot we suld mak us redy alle,
Als þe day of dome tomorn suld falle,
And thynk ay on þat dredeful dome,
Als þe haly man dyd, Saynt Jerome,
Þat ay þaron thoght, bathe nyght and days,
And þarfor þus in a boke he says:
Sive comedam, sive bibam, sive aliquid
aliud faciam, semper michi videtur illa
tuba resonare in auribus meis, ‘surg-
gite mortui, venite ad iudicium’.
He says ‘Whether I ette or I drynk,
Or oght elles do, ay me thynk
Þat þe beme þat blaw sal on domsday
Sounes in myn eres, þat þus says ay:
“Ryse yhe þat er dede, and come
Unto þe grete dredful dome’’. 596

Likewise, in Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale:

For as Seint Jerome seith, ‘at every tyme that me remembreth of the day of doom
I quake; for whan I ete or drynk, or what so that I do, evere semeth me that the
trompe sowneth in myn ere: “Riseth up, ye that been dede, and cometh to the
juggement.”’ 597

Further afield, in Boccaccio’s expositions on Dante’s Divine Comedy:

596 Hanna and Wood, Prick of Conscience, ll. 4665-4680, pp. 129-130.
[Commenting on Inferno, Canto VI, Ll. 94-99] ‘From here until the sound of the
angelic trumpet,’ from now until Judgment Day when an angel sent by God shall
come and call out in a loud voice, almost like a trumpet, ‘Surgite, mortui, et
venite ad judicium’[.]

No doubt the phrase would have been encountered in any number of sermons and other
treatises, and even in art. Most importantly, Jerome’s words are quoted by Saint Bernard in
his sermon for the second feast after the First Sunday of Lent (Quadragesima), which
corns the Last Judgement; the sermon’s opening line is the omnipresent words of
Matthew’s Gospel, discedite a me maledicti, etc. The relevant quotation occurs in article
three, wherein Bernard discusses the judgement of the saved and of the damned. After
explaining the nature of the divine fire that Christ will unleash at Doomsday, Bernard
paraphrases 1 Thess. 4:15 to elucidate the next event:

Et in voce Archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo: quae tuba erit vox
Christi dulcissima justis, sed terribiliter contra reprobos intonantis, et dicentis:
Surgite mortui, venite ad judicium […]

The trumpet will be the voice of Christ, sounding ineffably sweet to the righteous, but all the
more terrible to the sinful; then, at this crucial moment, the words uttered by this voice will
be surgite mortui, etc. Following this in his commentary, Bernard then supplies the full
reference to Jerome: siue commedam, etc. Bernard, then, is associating the phrase, surgite
mortui with the sentiments of 1 Thessalonians, 4:15.

Nothing yet connects this intimately to the extract from John 5 used in the T-V.
However, in his commentary on Paul’s first epistle to the Thessalonians, Thomas Aquinas,
when explaining the significance of the voice of 1 Thess. 4:15, refers directly to John 5:28,
audient vocem filii Dei, which he then follows with the familiar phrase of Jerome once again,

598 Giovanni Boccaccio, Boccaccio’s Expositions on Dante’s Comedy, trans. and ed. by Michael Papio (Toronto;
599 A woodcut, c. 1499, appears in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 403, f. 3v, which portrays Christ, displaying
his wounds, seated upon the rainbow, accompanied by angels blowing trumpets. Adorning the image is the
inscription, ‘Surgite Mortui + Uenite ad Judicium’. Rather fittingly, a cadaverous, personified Death threatens a
tonsured man, kneeling in prayer, with an arrow, an iconographical feature typical of representations of Death in
this manner. See <http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/records/XYL-19.html> [accessed 01/12/2015]; see
Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, fig. 100.
600 St Bernard of Clairvaux, Sancti Bernadini Senensis Ordinis Seraphici Minorum Opera Omnia, Synopsis
Ornata, Postillis Illustrata, Necnon Variae Tractatibus, & Eximiis, Praecipue in Apocalypsim, Commentariis
surgite mortui, etc. So, in his sermon on the Last Judgement, St Bernard connects surgite mortui with 1 Thess. 4; in Aquinas’s commentary on this epistle, he fuses surgite mortui with John 5:28. Thus, a nuanced but direct connection is established between the extract employed by the T-V, John 5:28, and surgite mortui used by the M-V. If we return to the theory outlined earlier, that the M-V tends to adapt the content of the T-V, then this association could be interpreted as support for this. The author of the M-V has strongly alluded to the T-V and its reference to John 5:28 without directly copying it. Such an interpretation demands that the author of the M-V be well-versed in the commentaries of patristics and theologians (although, considering the proposal earlier in this chapter that Richard Rolle might well be responsible for this text, perhaps this is not too adventurous a supposition), enabling him/her to make these supra-scriptural connections through Bernard, to Jerome, to Paul, and to Aquinas. Of course, this does not require the author of the M-V to literally progress through these respective treatises, but simply that he be familiar enough with them to recognise the connotations of John 5:28 and to supply additional commentary to this moment in the Doom narrative. This is a fascinatingly subtle connection between these two versions of the Three Arrows, which appears to uphold the aforementioned theory, and which suggests a highly erudite author for the M-V (perhaps further supporting the Rollean argument).

This interpretation might, however, be considered tenuous, and it is undeniably complex. To demonstrate, then, that this is not too subtle a reading of this occurrence, we might examine this moment in the two texts just a little further. Significantly, the quotation used in the T-V, John 5:28, refers to all those who are in tombs (omnes qui in monumentis sunt) rising and proceeding to the judgement. The Latin used by the M-V (the extended extract from Jerome, siue commedam, etc.) does not mention this, but the text still explains that ‘all þat deed eer sal qwycken to life, and tounge of marble and of brasse sal al to-ryue, to lat out þe bodys þat In þaim war lokyne.’ There is no basis for this description in the Latin authorities used by the M-V, and it is clearly reminiscent of the passage in John 5:28, used by the T-V directly. Considering the demonstrable erudition of the author of the M-V, he would certainly be familiar with the content of John 5 pertaining to the Last Judgement, so why not quote this directly? Instead, he appears to be playing with the text of the T-V, plucking particular components and, rather than replicating them directly, expanding upon

them. The T-V’s translation of this passage simply presents monumentis as ‘graves’, whereas the M-V has elaborated by vividly painting the picture of corpses rising out of contemporary marble and brass tomb sculptures. It seems plausible that the author of the M-V was familiar with the text of the T-V, was inspired by it, but creatively adapted it. By echoing the T-V’s use of John 5:28 and twisting it into the vernacular, the author of the M-V is arguably displaying his recognition of the scriptural reference in the T-V but taking it a step further, still conveying the sentiment of John 5:28 but embellishing it with additional references to the patristics, as detailed above. Supporting the abovementioned theory, the author of the M-V appears more knowledgeable and creative, reinforced on several occasions as he ascribes several extracts to the correct authority, when the T-V has not.

To compound this argument, this playfulness on behalf of the M-V is made manifest in other instances. Not needing to depart far at all from the introduction to the first arrow, we see additional examples. The extended quotation from Jerome, used by the M-V, siue commedam, etc., is not only an expansion on the nature of the resurrection, but pertains to the voice of Christ himself – Jerome could not escape the utterance, surgite mortui, etc., ever ringing in his ears: semper michi videtur quod illa vox terribilis intonat in auribus meis. In the T-V, a distinct portion of the text is dedicated to elucidating this ‘terrible voice’ of Christ that we shall all be confronted with on Doomsday. After the announcement of the second arrow and the rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy, the T-V explains the fear that this voice should provoke:

And no wonder þou þis voys schal bee dreedfulle in þe day of doom, sitthe we reden in þe gospel þat Crist, whan he koom in fourme of a seruaunt for to bee deemed of þe false Iewes, seide to hem þat souþen for to take hym: ‘I am he’: and anoon þei þeeden abak and fallen to þe eerte […] a fer moore feerdful voys schal he haue whan he schal come vn deedly with his oost of aungelis & of seyntes for to deeme þe quyke and þe deede, euery man after þat he hath deserued.

To cement this notion, the T-V provides a quote – supposedly – from St Bernard:

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603 A scene that can be found in many an actual painted picture on church walls, ivory carvings, or in illuminated manuscripts, where the dead – tomb coverings ajar – stir and sit up at the angels’ trumpets. Once again, this is a further testament to the more colourful text of the M-V, as it is perfectly plausible that the author had such an image in their mind – or literally in front of them – when writing their treatise.

This voice will be as grievous as an arrow to endure. This quote presents another possible thread of inspiration (others will be discussed below) for the nature of Three Arrows altogether, and it points again to a Bernardine source, much like the M-V’s use of surgite mortui. It is all the more interesting that the quotation chosen by the M-V at the first arrow, in which it makes mention of the vox terribilis, has Bernardine connotations also, perhaps suggesting that the M-V, by extracting the sentiments of the T-V but excising much of the tangential material, has carefully managed to retain its variety and flavour, as its reference to John 5:28, its echoes of the discussion of the vox terribilis, and its expansion on the Bernardine connection, all support some direct affiliation with the text of the T-V.

To drive this argument home, we might quickly address a handful of other brief allusions in the M-V to the text of the T-V. Following the discussion of Jerome’s dread for the words of Christ in the M-V, God’s wrath on Doomsday is then compared with the ferocity of a lion: Sicut fremitus leonis, ita ira dei.605 These words are attributed to Solomon, and they are an adaptation of Proverbs 20:2 – Sicut rugitus leonis, ita et error regis (As the roaring of a lion, so also is the dread of a king). The M-V explains that the lion terrifies all beasts with his ‘romying’, but though ‘his noyse be hidouse til all bestes, yhet it comfortis his awene whelpis’. So should Christ’s coming at Doomsday be understood: as wrathful as he will be unto the wicked, lovely and ‘wynly on to loke’ will he be to the saved.606 In the T-V, prefacing the discussion of the Three Arrows, is an explanation of the three advents of God. In the first of these, before the Incarnation, God was like a lion:

The lyoun is a strong beast and a fel, & in þis signe was Crist pe sonne of riȝtwisnesse bifer þe incarnacioun; ffor þat tyme he was so fel þat what man þat braake hisi biddynge, anoon he schulde bee deed […]607

Although the positioning and context of the reference are slightly different, the sentiment is extremely similar and supports another possible echo between the two versions.
Furthermore, both texts employ the crucial scriptural quotation from Deuteronomy 32:23 to introduce the concept of divine projectiles at the Doom; the contradictory translations of this extract have been discussed above. In addition to this biblical justification for the concept, both versions commence their treatise on the Three Arrows in similar fashion; the wording is disparate but the sentiment is extremely familiar:

Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreadful  
and thynke þan on þe dreadful day of dome:
day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued   
whene god allmyghty sall come all cristene
with dreede to flee fro synne [...]  
sauls forto deme and gif til ylke ane

T-V  after þai haf seruede, ille or gude.608

M-V

Likewise, the endings in each version are cognate, as both repeat the familiar phrasing found throughout the texts in the T-V ‘node’:

To þe whiche kynge dom and ioye he   To þe whilk Ioy he brynge vs þat bogth
brynge vs þat bouȝte vs with his precious vs. Amen. Amen. Amen.609
blood. Amen.  

M-V

T-V

Interestingly, the M-V in the Holy Boke (Arundel 507) has abandoned this closing phrase, perhaps suggesting that it is one step further removed from the Three Arrows of the T-V, being, as was argued earlier, an offshoot of the original M-V, of which MS Rawl. is a truer representative. There are several other such minor reflections between the two versions, some of these – including those described above – are potentially generic, and simply adhere to the relatively typical Doomsday narrative, but it is not overly tenuous to suggest that the number of shared features does support a reasonably strong affiliation between the M-V and the T-V. A final few such comparisons will serve to lead us to a conclusion on the nature of the possible relationship between the M-V and the T-V.

The abovementioned theory is arguably visible again in the second arrow. The principle meaning of the arrow in the M-V and the T-V is similar, but is presented with subtle

differences. As described earlier, in the T-V, the second arrow ‘schal be an arwe of scharp repreuyng of alle fals cristene men’, followed by a rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy with which the sinful have failed to comply. In the M-V, the second arrow ‘sal smert þaim ful were: when god sal reyne þaim of al þat þai haf done sen þai war borne, þat felle to syne.’

There is no direct recounting of the Seven Works of Mercy in the M-V; however, the idea that Christ will ‘arraign’ the sinful – the ‘false Christian men’, as the T-V puts it – is cognate with the T-V, as the M-V has Christ accuse the damned of withstanding his ‘biddyng’, i.e., the Seven Works. Moreover, in the M-V, the sinful are accused of rewarding Christ’s thirst with ‘aysell’ and ‘bitter gall’; this notion is relevant to the Passion narrative, which Christ is reiterating at this point in the M-V, but it is also reminiscent of the Seven Works of Mercy, when the sinful are accused of ignoring Christ’s hunger and thirst. It is plausible that the author of the M-V has again creatively adapted the content of the T-V to suit his own treatise, particularly because the M-V has taken this pivotal moment in the Doom narrative – the reiteration of the Seven Works by Christ – and reconnected it with the account of the Passion, reinforcing the overall purpose of the M-V.

Another incident of this nature occurs again in both the M-V and the T-V. At the conclusion of the first arrow, we are told in both texts that the appearance of Christ will be so dreadful to the wicked that they will cower in fear. The M-V explains that ‘þe synfull wricches sal seke hooles þaim Inne forto hid, þat þai se nogth his dredful face þat feres þaim out of paire witte’. The T-V agrees:

thei [the wicked] schullen seche for to entre in to þe creuys of stones, and in to þe swelwys of þe eerthe, fro þe dredful face of oure lord. Thanne schullen þei preie monteynes to falle vpon hem, and hulles to huyden hem, so woo þei schullen be on euery syde.

This notion of hiding from the terror of Christ’s visage can be found in Isaiah 2:19, which the M-V makes reference to and quotes directly:


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The T-V, on the other hand, does not refer to Isaiah to justify this notion, but to the words of Christ – ‘as Crist seith in þe gospel’.\(^{613}\) This is probably referring to Luke 23:30 (‘Then shall they begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us; and to the hills: Cover us’), although it could also relate to Apocalypse 6:15-16. Since the T-V claims to be quoting Christ’s own words, though, Luke 23:30 is more likely to be the source, as this is Christ’s direct speech to the weeping mourners when en route to Calvary, whilst Revelation is the account of St John. However, there is something peculiar taking place with the T-V’s explanation of this notion, as the first sentence, referring to ‘crevices of stone’ and ‘swells of the earth’ is practically a verbatim duplication of Isaiah 2:19; neither Luke nor Revelation directly mention these features or that the purpose is to hide from the face of Christ, whilst Isaiah explicitly states both. So, despite only referring to Christ’s words in the Gospel, the author of the T-V is clearly using the passage from Isaiah as well, then chooses to complement this with the extracts about the mountains from the Gospel. The M-V only employs the passage from Isaiah, which it quotes directly in Latin, as above, making no reference to the mountains of Luke 23:30.

In this example, the theory expounded earlier is arguably inverted, as it is the T-V that has expanded upon the quotation used directly in the M-V. The T-V seemingly does this, though, with an element of ignorance, apparently unaware that it is also quoting Isaiah. This perhaps implies that the author of the T-V was copying blindly from another, lost text pertaining to the Three Arrows, but not from the M-V, since the latter – in both MSS Rawl. and Arundel – refers to Isaiah in this passage. So, although the argument that the M-V might have been inspired by the T-V is not watertight, there are certainly enough indications between the two texts to undermine the opposing suggestion, made by Horstmann and Alford, that the T-V is simply an ‘imitation’ of the M-V. We might still apply the above theory and argue that the M-V has corrected the T-V’s mistake in this instance, providing the correct scriptural quotation and reference to Isaiah. However, we would expect, then, for the M-V to embellish this content further, but it has neglected the extra content concerning the mountains. It is probably safer to propose that there is not a direct, close relationship between the T-V and the M-V at all, as – in spite of their many similarities – they do display multiple disparities. Once again, a more tentative argument must be made and the likelihood is that the two versions share a connection via a lost exemplar of the Three Arrows. Somewhere along the line of recension, though, the author of the M-V has possibly corrected the original text

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\(^{613}\) Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 447
and cited Isaiah for this extract, whilst the author of the T-V and its successive copiers have not realised the omission.614

Although this proposition of a more distant relationship between the M-V and T-V is more tenable, there still remain some tantalizing connections between the two texts. As if to fully compound the confusion arising from the use of the Isaiah extract, both texts then appear to follow this with a reference to St Anselm. In the M-V, immediately after the quotation of Isaiah, the author refers directly to ‘saynt Ancelyne’ and begins to recount the oft-encountered notion in Doomsday literature, which heralds from Anselm’s ‘meditation to stir up fear’, that the sinner will be inundated on all sides when faced with the Judge. In this instance, the M-V is more expansive again, and it directly refers to Anselm; The T-V, though, only subtly hints at this allusion – indeed, it could well be an unintentional hint. The T-V, at the end of its amalgamated description of Isaiah 2:19 and Luke 23:30, briefly explains that those same sinners, hiding in fear, will be besieged by woe on every side: ‘so woo þei schullen be on euery syde’ – a subtle reference, but, considering the frequency with which this Anselmian concept is encountered, not an entirely oblique one. So, the T-V has merged the sentiments of Isaiah, Luke, and Anselm into a single passage, and has seemingly missed the significance of two of these (this is certainly arguable, since the T-V rarely fails to identify and defer to a scriptural or theological authority where necessary throughout the text). Contrarily, the author of the M-V has recognised both and expands upon them accordingly, including the direct scriptural reference of Isaiah as well as a fuller description of the Anselmian concept. Such an interpretation would allow us to cautiously return to the theory that the M-V has borrowed from the T-V but innovated upon it. Likewise, though, the safer suggestion that both have derived from a shared ancestor is still preferable, as the author of the M-V (or the author of some interim text from which the M-V is derived) could still have recognised these references and expanded upon them, whilst the author of the T-V has unwittingly copied them without alteration.

**Reintroducing the S-V**

The S-V is likely not directly related to either the M-V or the T-V, nor is it truly a representation of the Three Arrows on Doomsday. It is, however, another utilisation of the

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614 An interesting exercise would be to examine this extract in every surviving manuscript copy of the T-V, in order to see whether another scribe recognised the passage from Isaiah and dutifully expanded the text.
concept of divine projectiles of retribution, which still pertains to Doomsday in its discussion. Furthermore, there are some cognate features between the S-V and the other two versions, despite the probability of their divergent origins. For example, the focus of the sermon in which the S-V is contained is the multiple advents of God, and the idea of three arrows is only one of the text’s metaphors used to commentate on this. There is a strong connection to the T-V in this, which prefaces its account of the Three Arrows with an astrological explanation of God’s comings, not unlike the S-V in nature: God’s first coming is vengeful, his second merciful, and his third is the Last Judgement. Thus,

The sonne holdynge his cours passeth out of þe signe of þe lyoun in to þe signe of þe virgyne, and out of þe signe of þe virgyne in to þe signe of þe balaunce.615

The sign of the lion is God’s interaction with humanity before the Incarnation: since the lion is a ‘strong beest and a fel’, in this time God was righteous and vengeful. After this, God moves into the sign of the virgin, when he ‘took mankynde’ – the Incarnation – and ‘þanne was he maade moore redy to doo mercy, þan euere he was to doo vengeaunce.’ But, ‘certes’, out of the sign of the virgin, God will pass into the sign of the balance, ‘at þe day of doom’, where ‘he schal weye alle oure þouȝtes, oure woordes, and oure werkes in euene peys of his riȝtwisnesse’. The nature of these advents, then, is explained in the same way as in the S-V, but simply through an alternate metaphor: God moves from sorrow at mankind’s disobedience, to forgiveness at the Incarnation, and to condemnation at the Doom. So, both the T-V and the S-V are concerned with this popular subject of Doomsday literature, and both have connected these advents with the concept of arrows. This feature in the T-V is superfluous to the core of the treatise, which is the description of the Three Arrows on Doomsday, yet it has been maintained in every manuscript copy viewed thus far. The author and subsequent copiers clearly considered the two concepts to be strongly connected, as did the author of the S-V, who literally fused the two together – the arrows and the advents. Indeed, perhaps this testifies to the T-V’s possible usage as, or even inception within, a sermon, conjectured earlier in the chapter, as it possesses a similar structure and mind-set to the S-V. Despite the disparity between the natures of the arrows themselves, this connection between the S-V and the T-V is significant, supplying the precedent for a version of the Three Arrows that perhaps combined the themes of the two texts. The M-V omits this notion entirely.

The S-V shares another similarity with the T-V, this time in the description of the third arrow (the arrow of condemnation at Doomsday, in the case of the S-V, which is essentially its third arrow, too). As mentioned, in its description of this arrow, the T-V states that its wound is so grievous that all the leeches, physicians, and surgeons in the world could not heal it. The S-V offers a similar sentiment, explaining that the ‘arowes of perdicoun’, fired during Christ’s third coming – i.e., Doomsday – will cause wounds that ‘schulen neuere be helud’. 616 So, once again, the content is cognate, but presented differently in each text. The S-V, however, justifies this notion with scripture, paraphrasing Psalm 7:13:

Gladium suum vibrabit, arcum suum tetendit [he will brandish his sword: he hath bent his bow]. 617

The psalm itself continues:

And in it he hath prepared the instruments of death, he hath made ready his arrows for them that burn [Psalm 7:14].

The author of the S-V, though, has interposed the subject of his metaphor – three arrows – onto the scripture, substituting ‘he hath made ready his arrows for them that burn’ with ‘he schal brau[n]dische his / swerde and he schal bende his bowe and schete þe fowere for- / -seyde arowes and dryue to helle his enemyes’. 618 Although the mention of ‘fowere’ aforesaid arrows is a principal moment of severance from the theme of Three Arrows on Doomsday, the S-V here illustrates an important precedent between scripture and the concept of retributive arrows from God.

Indeed, Psalm 7 is palpably understandable as a commentary on Doomsday. The psalm itself concerns David trusting in the justice of God against his enemies. Though in its essence it is a plea for protection against persecution, much of the content of this psalm would be pertinent to a medieval Christian contemplating the Last Judgement. Verses 9, 10, and 12 exemplify this, describing God as Judge, weighing iniquity against innocence, and bringing sinners to justice. These verses precede the extract employed by the S-V, Gladium suum, etc., which the author of this text clearly interpreted as being relevant to Doomsday, even though the psalm is not explicitly so directed. These passages, then, connect the notion of God as Judge with the use of retributive arrows (arcum suum tetendit […] sagittas suas

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616 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, f. 5r.
617 Bodley MS 806, f. 5r.
618 Bodley MS 806, f. 5r.
ardentibus effecit [Psalm 7:13 and 14]), providing a substantial connection between, and scriptural inspiration for, divine arrows and Doomsday. It is reasonable to conjecture that this psalm played a significant role in inspiring the concept of arrows on Doomsday altogether.

Moreover, there is another example from the Psalms, employed by both the T-V and the S-V, which compounds the suggestion that the Psalms are a major inspiration for the concept of retributive arrows at the LastJudgement. However, there appears to be some peculiar confusion taking place in the T-V, which will shortly be elucidated. The S-V paraphrases Psalm 37:3: Sagitte tue infixae sunt in me; it then follows this with a paraphrase of Job 6:4, Sagitte tue in me sunt, quarum indignatio ebibit spiritum meum.\(^{619}\) It is the extract from Psalm 37, though, with which we are concerned here (the reference to Job is so far unique in Three Arrows texts, but it does provide yet another scriptural justification for the concept). The T-V quotes a scriptural extract that it describes as being from ‘þe first psalme of penaunce’ (i.e., Psalm 6:2): Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me.\(^{620}\) However, this very same passage – verbatim – is also found in Psalm 37:2, meaning that it directly precedes the extract utilised in the S-V, Psalm 37:3. Psalm 6 makes no reference to arrows, whilst Psalm 37, as shown by its use in the S-V, clearly does; therefore, the use of this passage in the context of Psalm 37 is surely more compatible with a text directly concerned with arrows. Could this be an occasion of authorial mishap here in the T-V? Perhaps the compiler of the T-V relied upon another version of the Three Arrows, now lost, which utilised this passage but did not specify that it was from Psalm 37, and so he assumed that it was from Psalm 6. Indeed, this could be employed to further the speculation that the T-V is in some way predicated upon an oral context, since many such texts did not tend to write out scriptural quotations in full but relied upon the knowledge of the orator to supply the rest of the relevant passage. The T-V makes no mention of the passage used in the S-V, referring to the arrows of God, but instead continues to employ Psalm 6, as it paraphrases verse 4: Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum.\(^{621}\) The S-V, on the other hand, shows no interest in the preceding verse of Psalm 37, Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, etc., as it is – understandably – more interested in the notion of divine arrows, which, we might imagine, the T-V should be as well. What is more intriguing is that only half of the sample of T-V manuscripts viewed specifically preface this passage with the explanation that it is from the first penitential psalm; the others (MSS I, L, and M) simply refer either only to

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\(^{619}\) Bodley MS 806, f. 4r.  
\(^{621}\) Horstmann, ibid., p. 447.
David or to an unspecific psalm. So, there is clearly some discrepancy within copies of the T-V as to which psalm precisely is being referred to – 6 or 37; the latter is more appropriate, given its direct reference to sagittae Dei. Perhaps the scribes of MSS I, L, and M had copied from an exemplar that had noticed the confusion and had instead expected this extract to be from Psalm 37, given its relevance to the theme of Three Arrows.

Whatever the solution to this problem might be, there is undoubtedly a subtle overlap between the T-V and the S-V here. Once again, we have a scriptural precedent – from the Psalms – that describes the use of divine arrows, Psalm 37:3. To further emphasise the importance of this passage, we can turn to but a mere sample of illustrated psalter manuscripts, which provide examples of an artistic interpretation of Psalm 37:3. For instance, in what is probably the most famous illuminated manuscript of the late Middle Ages, the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, we find, accompanying the opening of Psalm 37, on f. 67v, a depiction of David transfixed by divine arrows, gazing up to God.622 Taking a more local example, London, British Library, Harley MS 603, which dates to the first half of the 11th century and was produced in Canterbury, at Christ Church Priory, also depicts the Psalmist, guised as a leper, assaulted by arrows, on f. 22, accompanying Psalm 37 once again.623 Further investigation would no doubt supply additional examples. The presence of the notion of divine arrows, not only in the Psalm itself but regularly illustrated in psalters, establishes a prominent precedent for the theme of Three Arrows. Furthermore, Psalm 37 is entitled ‘a prayer of a penitent for the remission of his sins’, which could easily be used to generate the explicit connection with Doomsday. When this passage from Psalm 37:3 is combined with the extract from Psalm 7:13 and the passage from Job 6:4, both used by the S-V, and with the prominent extract from Deuteronomy 32:23 (Congregabo super eos mala, et sagittas meas complebo in eis), used in both the M-V and the T-V, we begin to see multiple threads within the Bible that point toward the origins of the various Three Arrows texts. Twining all of these together, synchronising the use of punitive arrows with Doomsday, is Christ’s descent to judgement on the ‘bow’, exemplified in the S-V, which discusses the tripartite nature (in line with its elaboration on the three advents of God) of this rainbow before the explication of the

Three Arrows: ‘þre arewes dyuerse ben sente out of þis boue’. 

Hanna, too, was intrigued by this use of the ‘bow’ in this manner, which he describes as a pun on the Latin:

God’s relationship with man, the arguments runs, is like an arcus: as a rainbow, the sign of the covenant with Noah, it reflects God’s ongoing interest in and merciful intentions for man; as a sign of wrath, it is a bow that shoots out God’s destructive judgement.

So, if we recall the S-V’s earlier employment of a passage from Psalm 7, which references the ‘gladium’ and the ‘arcus’, we can suppose that to the author of the S-V, at least, the rainbow closely associated with Christ at the Last Judgement also serves this dual function as a servant of divine retribution in its firing of these punitive arrows. Moreover, in Hanna’s opinion, the compiler of the T-V ‘was clearly stimulated by that rainbow in the sky’ and manipulated it into a new metaphor for ‘God’s changing relations with man through salvation history,’ the Three Arrows (in addition to the tripartite astrological metaphor for the advents of God that the T-V utilises, mentioned earlier).

Thus, inspiration for the Three Arrows on Doomsday may well have stemmed from an amalgamation of such scriptural references to divine projectiles of retribution. Whether there were interim texts, from which the extant versions have been filtered, is impossible to state, but it seems probable, suggesting once again the likelihood of the convergent development of these three versions from a common textual ancestor. Indeed, the isolated reference to St Bernard by the T-V, which has Bernard describe punitive arrows from God on Doomsday, might be just such an exemplar. The various versions of the Three Arrows were likely not formed directly from scripture, but through such theological and patristic conduits as Sts Jerome, Anselm, and Bernard, whose names recur frequently in these vernacular treatises. That being said, the origin of the concept of Three Arrows specifically is likely lost, since there is still a distinct transition that must have taken place between passing references to divine arrows and the formalised explication of these projectiles that we encounter in the surviving versions of the Three Arrows.

624 Bodley MS 806, f. 4r.
626 Hanna, ibid., p. 3.
**Conclusion to The Three Arrows**

In concluding this chapter, it is apt to outline the additional avenues of research that this thesis could not address, but which would further contribute to our understanding of the history of the Three Arrows on Doomsday. Firstly, as the closing sentiments of the above comparison make clear, this chapter has been unable to posit a direct source of inspiration for the notion of Three Arrows, but the works of patristics and theologians such as Jerome, Anselm, and Bernard would likely be the most fertile points at which to begin such an investigation. The relationships between each surviving version of the Three Arrows are such that it is improbable that they are directly related to one another. There are intriguing similarities between the M-V and the T-V, and, if one had to claim a close connection, the evidence arguably alludes toward the former evolving from the latter, but it is perhaps more appropriate to suggest that there were interim texts that more overtly synthesised the treatment of the theme of Three Arrows, from which the surviving versions took their lead. Perhaps this missing link was a more sophisticated, possibly Latin exemplar, but equally there may well been several vernacular (albeit equally sophisticated) developments of the theme before it reached its form in the surviving versions.

Secondly, pursuant to the first point, our understanding of these textual genetics would be enhanced further by a close analysis of every single manuscript that contains the Three Arrows, since there are identifiable discrepancies between versions that might, when traced fully, elucidate a more precise stemma for these texts. An examination of the manuscripts containing the T-V would be particularly valuable in this regard, as this version has the most significant diaspora, spanning some thirty manuscripts when its off-shoots in sermons and the Tretyse of Gostly Batayle are taken into consideration. Such research would be extremely valuable and would contribute significantly to the reappraisal of the history of the Three Arrows. Until such an investigation has been conducted, the findings of this thesis must remain tentative and subject to revision.

However, in spite of this necessity for further research, this chapter has nevertheless intended to precipitate a re-evaluation of this under-represented theme. Several identifications have been made of discrepancies in existing scholarship that require revision with regards to the Three Arrows. A keen effort has been made to disambiguate not only the respective versions of the Three Arrows, but also between these texts and the larger contexts in which they are sometimes found; most prominently in this respect, this chapter has striven to
disassociate the M-V and the Holy Boke when discussing the copy of the former in MS Rawlinson C 285, as opposed to that found in MS Arundel 507. Likewise, much time has been dedicated to emancipating the T-V from mere footnotes in the shadow of the M-V, in order to establish its importance; a text found in some thirty manuscripts warrants far more attention than it has hitherto received. The conflation of these various facets of the Three Arrows has been challenged and, accordingly, the discussion of these texts in major bibliographical indices must be revised. The Manual, the IPMEP, and Jolliffe are guilty of aligning the M-V too closely with the Holy Boke, and of omitting the T-V entirely. The IPMEP’s manuscript list for the T-V has proven questionable to some extent, and a full reassessment of this list should be conducted with expediency. Similarly, Ralph Hanna’s conflation of the M-V and the T-V in his Descriptive Catalogue must also stimulate revision of the contents of these manuscripts to ensure that the correct version of the Three Arrows is recorded. The redaction of the theme of Three Arrows as found in the S-V needs further attention, as it has eluded scrutiny entirely; its origins and recension are even more shrouded than those of the other two versions, though it undoubtedly pertains to the common explication of Christ’s multiple advents in homiletic literature.

Furthermore, the question of authorship has been revisited, most prominently in discussion of the M-V. By disambiguating the M-V and the Holy Boke, the question of Richard Rolle’s authorship of the former can be engaged with once more. Although this chapter proposes the Hermit’s responsibility only by extension of the comments made by other, more informed commentators on his style, the suggestion that the M-V might be readmitted into Rolle’s canon is certainly worthy of further pursuit. Equal attention might be turned to the Wyclifite connections of the T-V, which, when applied in conjunction with a complete manuscript appraisal of this text, might produce similarly significant implications as per Rolle’s involvement in production of the M-V.

It would appear that arrows are a consistent feature in discussions of the novissima, and the numerous scriptural references to such retributive projectiles are a testament to this. Many of these biblical extracts pertain to the wrath of God and the punishment of the sinful, and so it is arguable that there is a longstanding association between the Last Judgement and arrows – particularly vindicated by the fact that it is a ‘bow’ upon which Christ will descend to judge humanity at the end of time. The Three Arrows is seemingly a product of this enduring association, and the surviving versions of the theme were likely not taken directly from this biblical material, but were derived from existing treatises that elaborated on this
connection between arrows and judgement. To compound this sentiment, we might turn our attention to the frequent examples in art of Death personified wielding an arrow (sometimes a spear), or the numerous occasions on which death is referred to as an arrow. Examples abound for Death depicted with an arrow, threatening the living: a famous example might be Hieronymus Bosch’s late fifteenth-century Death and the Miser, in which Death is shown peering menacingly around the door of a dying man’s chamber, readying himself to hurl his malevolent projectile. An English example, not long pre-dating the probable inception of the surviving Three Arrows versions, can be found in the Macclesfield Psalter, made in East Anglia in the 1320s, which shows Death surmounting a bedridden man and plunging an arrow into his chest. 627 Frequently in accounts of the Black Death in Europe, documented by Rosemary Horrox, the sudden death brought about by the disease is compared to ‘sharp arrows’. 628 This omnipresence of deathly arrows is encapsulated by two additional images, both of which are particularly pertinent to the Three Arrows on Doomsday. Firstly, directly associating these arrows with the Last Judgement is a woodcut depicting the resurrection of the dead in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 403, described in footnote 593, which bears the inscription ‘Surgite Mortui + Uenite ad Judicium’, a phrase discussed extensively earlier; Death stalks the bottom of this scene with an arrow in hand. Secondly, in MS Harley 1706, which contains the T-V (MS J), on f. 19v, appears an image of Death personified wielding an arrow/spear.

The theme of divine arrows of punishment, then, is a recognisable and even omnipresent feature of medieval discussion and representation of the novissima, and the surviving versions of the Three Arrows are additional outlets of this concept. This literary rendition of these retributive projectiles was clearly successful enough to spawn multiple versions across dozens of extant manuscripts. The direct origins of the Three Arrows on Doomsday remain elusive, but the sentiment of such divine darts is clearly traceable to numerous biblical sources and is seemingly profligate in eschatological imagery and literature. As has been expounded above, the Three Arrows is in need of still further research to truly illumine its full history, but there is no doubt that these texts are highly significant as representatives of late medieval compilational and devotional practices. The texts of the

628 ‘Throughout the epidemic, the onslaught of plague was described as arrows fired at the victims’, The Black Death, trans. and ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 97. See the account of Gabrielle de’ Mussis, a lawyer of Piacenza who died in 1356, whose Historia de Morbo makes several references to arrows of death brought on by the plague (pp. 15, 16, and 17, for examples).
Three Arrows are emblematic of so many of the issues that surround the vernacular manuscript culture of the late Middle Ages, demonstrating the versatility and adaptability of book compilers, and the free transmission of such material across a wide spectrum of sources.
Chapter Three

The Passion and the Doom: Doomsday as a Devotional Aid

For it was not to wreak disaster that He willingly endured the cross, death, blows, spitting and every torment, but in order to deliver humankind from it.629

Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 9th-century homily.

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate a trend that progressively revealed itself while conducting research into this thesis, that is, a consistent and palpable alignment of Doomsday with the Passion of Christ. In other words, through examining the use of Doomsday in its textual and codicological context, it becomes apparent that the subject of the Last Judgement regularly finds itself affiliated with its soteriological predecessor, the Passion. The partnering of these two subjects takes place both in the organisation of manuscript compilations and within individual texts; this chapter will discuss examples of both. At the heart of this discussion lies the proposition that these two subjects are deliberately united together to form an overarching salvation narrative.

The examples to be examined will demonstrate that these two subjects were often inextricable, as Christ’s passing of judgement at the second coming was firmly predicated upon the response of every person to his suffering and death during the first. The two were deployed as a theological corollary, mutually dependent upon one another for the complete fulfilment of their respective purposes. Christ’s death will have been in vain without the performance of judgement at the end of time, while the Judgement itself would merely be a formality (we are all doomed) without the redemptive potential of Christ’s death during the Incarnation. As the opening quote above demonstrates – in addition to highlighting the longstanding and widespread nature of this theme – the route to salvation lies in recognising Christ’s sacrifice at the Passion, which he underwent solely for the redemption of humanity. Those who will be damned on Doomsday are they who do not acknowledge this truth. The

two narratives are theologically co-dependent and clearly some contemporary authors and compilers utilised this by fusing the two subjects together to better explicate their significance. Indeed, these authors and compilers, by consciously combining the Passion with the Doom, were enhancing the devotional efficacy of their texts and books, since the arrangement of these two subjects together is a highly effective means of evoking compunction, and, subsequently, repentance in a diligent, spiritually-minded reader. The Doom and the Passion are woven together to emphasise the redemptive value of meditating on Christ’s suffering as a means of attaining salvation, as it will be shown that the Judge himself repeatedly confronts the reader directly, arraigning them for their neglect of his human suffering. It is clearly advertised that protection from the wrath of the Judge comes from proper devotion to the Passion and so the two subjects are mutually supportive.

A key example of this practice in codicological form to be examined extensively is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, which, through the ordering of its textual items, guides a reader through a deliberately salvation-oriented process. It employs a series of texts that explicate personal sin and culpability, as well as correct contrition; the Passion of Christ and its role in expiating this sin and the reader’s ultimate responsibility to reflect on this and repent accordingly; and the consequences of failing to do this when Christ returns to judge at the end of time. The items in this manuscript are ordered in such a way that the devotee is borne through this soteriological journey smoothly and succinctly. MS Bodley 789 is an overtly Christocentric manuscript, and this chapter will contend that, alongside the Passion, the Doom is a major component of this Christological material. Likewise, this chapter will examine individual texts that act as microcosms of this unified narrative. Indeed, two items that will come under particular scrutiny for their representation of this trend are found in Bodley 789 itself. Both, however, are emblematic of multiple texts within the Doomsday genre that consistently evoke the events of the Passion to better convey the significance of the Last Judgement: it is through dedication to the former that one can achieve a favourable outcome at the latter.

As such, both narratives are vital constituents of medieval Christological piety, since the appearance of the crucified Christ will be directly reflected in the Judge at the end of time. Indeed, an image of Christ either being crucified or displaying the marks of his crucifixion should possess a dualistic symbolism, representing to a contemporary Christian not only Christ the Redeemer but also Christ the Judge. Icons typically associated with Christ’s Passion and death should also be understood simultaneously to represent God’s
future judgement, in which they will feature prominently, as shown by their near omnipresence in Last Judgement imagery and texts. The Rood and other symbols of the Passion, along with the wounds inflicted by them (particularly the principal five), are also intrinsically symbolic of the Last Judgement; the cross was not only the instrument of Christ’s death, but will act as the instrument of his assize, and the Domesman will accuse the sinful with the very wounds sustained upon it.

Indeed, the Rood itself is frequently referred to as the Judge’s ‘banner’, clearly instilling this Christological icon with the dual symbolism suggested above. The Cursor Mundi invokes this image, describing the Cross as the Judge’s ‘baner’, borne before him by angels, shining ten times brighter than the sun. The fourteenth-century Liber Exemplorum echoes this, describing Christ’s arrival to the Judgement thusly:

For the Lord will appear in the sky above the place where He ascended and before Him there will be the instruments of His Passion like a triumphant banner – the Cross, the nails, the lance. And the marks will be seen on His flesh so that they may see Whom they pierced [...]

Similarly, a vernacular sermon in London, British Library, MS Harley 2276 likens Christ’s second coming to a regal procession:

For as whan a kyng comeþ to any of his owen citees, þe hoost goeþ be fore beryng sygnes & þe kinges baners, & wit goyng aboute of araiyng & wit armes shewyng, þat þe kyng is incomyng, so oure lord descendyng from heuen & comyng to his doom. Þe oost of angeles & archangeles shuln go be fore, & þei beryng þat signe of þe holi cros a baner of victorie upon here hiʒ shuldres, shuln shewe to quakyng folk for feer, þe godlich yncomyng of here heuenlich kyng.

The Rood, so overtly representative of Christ’s death at the first coming, is incontrovertibly a central prop in the drama of salvation at the second. To a medieval Christian familiar with iconography of, and literature on, the Last Judgement, these icons – the Cross, the arma

630 ‘Sorful bes þan þe sinful chere, / Quen all þai sall þaa trumpes here / Be-for þe face o þat Kaiser / Angels sal his baner bere, / Pat es þe rode he was on spredd, / Pat he wit us to lijf has led, / Ouercummen þe feind wald al forfar, / Es na baner he dredis mare. / Was neuer sumn scinand sa clere / Þe tend part als þat baner!’ Cursor Mundi, II. 22755-22768.
631 David Jones, *Friars’ Tales*, p. 131. Again, this presents the Judge as the wounded (though now majestic) Christ of the Crucifixion, replete with wounds which will accuse the sinful, implicating the reader directly in the persecution of Christ once more.
632 London, British Library, MS Harley 2276, f. 5r.
Christi, the wounds – should be contemplated simultaneously as symbols of Christ’s death and of his Parousia. They are as inseparable from the Last Judgement narrative as they are from the Passion, making them not only instruments of Christ’s torture but also the instruments of his Doom. John C. Hirsh has touched upon this dual role played by the arma Christi:

[…] showing the instruments with which Christ’s passion was accomplished leads to a consideration of the reason he undertook it, and that consideration in turn leads the spectator back into recollection.633

For an image or text on the Doom to most effectively encourage repentance, the Passion is evoked to induce compunction, which ultimately instigates contemplation of Christ’s suffering and its effects on the outcome of one’s own salvation at the Last Judgement. Having the Judge himself iterate this to the future damned on Doomsday is a profoundly effective means of inducing a viewer or reader to self-reflect. Accordingly, the Judge is the crucified Christ, as the Cursor Mundi once again reinforces: ‘þat ilk forme cum sal he þar, / þat he in erth his croice bar, / Sua sal he cum [to the Doom]’.634

The diffusion of this trend is significant and extends well beyond textual and codicological milieu into contemporary visual culture, where it is remarkably prolific. An investigation into this lies beyond the boundaries of this thesis and would ultimately be tangential, but it is a vastly under-investigated phenomenon and is palpable in contemporary Christological art. This chapter will merely scratch the surface of the potential material that exhibits this fusion of the Passion and the Doom. However, it is also worthwhile addressing here a fundamental caveat to this discussion: in spite of the enormity of this trend, it is also not ubiquitous. Not every meditation on the Passion references Christ’s return at the Doom, and not every exposition on the Last Judgement pays heed to Christ’s Passion and death. Not every devotional manuscript compilation – even those with a particularly Christological flavour – generates this melded soteriological narrative; these subjects – the Passion and the Doom – were extremely popular and essential to contemporary worship, and so their frequent occurrence, whether concomitantly or independently should not be over-interpreted. Indeed, the majority of such texts and manuscripts do not necessarily conform to this argument. The examples to be discussed in this chapter are quite probably exceptions. There is nothing

634 Cursor Mundi, ll. 22731-3.
revelatory about the conjunction of these two subjects in theological terms, either, as they are the first and the inevitable second comings of God. However, despite being theologically appropriate to fuse the two events, it is arguably more striking that the combination of them is not universal, as it highlights a deliberate and conscious decision to do so within those examples that do fuse the two together. Therein lies the justification for this chapter, to illumine this trend whereby certain authors, artists, and compilers have seized upon this concept and deliberately united these two Christological moments to enhance the devotional efficacy of their work.

Moreover, it appears that this phenomenon has been somewhat overlooked in scholarship and the function of this fusion has not been thoroughly explored. To justify this, we might pre-emptively visit one of the items to be discussed later as an example of this trend having eluded scholarship to some extent. Within MS Bodley 789 is a unique textual address by Christ the Judge to the damned on Doomsday. This text has been commented on by Ryan Perry, who appears to have been struck by its apparent combination of Christological and eschatological motifs:

Perhaps the most extraordinary text in this section is a unique work that blends eschatology with reflection on the Passion. In it the crucified Christ speaks directly to an audience of the damned on Judgement Day, displaying his wounds to the hell-bound, as he castigates his listeners for choosing sin in spite of his pain on their behalf [...] 635

Though this particular text, as Perry has pointed out, is unique, the tendency to merge together these two soteriological moments is not. The text is indeed ‘extraordinary’ in the praiseworthy sense, but not in the literal sense that it lies outside of the norm. MS Bodley 789, as will be shown, is an exceptional embodiment of this trend, but this chapter intends to further demonstrate that it is, in fact, only a constituent piece of a much larger devotional pattern that consistently and palpably aligns the Passion with the Doom.

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Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789

To begin, we shall examine the contents of MS Bodley 789 – a miscellany of so-called ‘vernacular theology’ – more fully.636 This manuscript is a compilation of twenty-two items, predominantly in Middle English, though four are in Latin.637 Based on dialectical evidence, Bodley 789 might have been produced in the West Midlands,638 and it probably dates to the first half of the fifteenth century. By the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century it was in the hands of lay readers.639 To Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, the blend of vernacular and Latin content within the manuscript signals its multi-functional nature, typical of such collections,640 and it has been described by Hirsh as a ‘reasonably complete religious vade mecum’.641 More specifically, Perry has suggested that Bodley 789 is characterised by a ‘particular Christological focus’, labelling it “Christ-themed”.642 It opens with a Middle English translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes de Passione Christi (one of a number of such translations), which immediately inserts the Passion into the devotee’s mind.643 This is then maintained by the continued focus on Christ’s suffering throughout the manuscript; the pseudo-Bonaventuran translation is only one of a number of items in Bodley 789 that centres on the Passion. According to Kelly and Perry,

Christ’s suffering becomes the nexus for a variety of differing pious applications in the volume, including the penitential “Seven Sheddings of Christ’s Blood”, the catechetical “ABC on the Passion”, and the invocationary prayers focusing on Christ’s holy name and Bede’s prayer on the last seven words spoken by Christ from the Cross.644

639 Kelly and Perry, ibid., p. 367; according to Kelly and Perry, portions of writing at the book’s rear indicate its possession or use by a lay audience, see p. 367, no. 9.
642 Ryan Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies’, p. 129.
643 For discussion of the version of this found in MS Bodley 789, see Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, pp. 368-9.
Then, in the latter portion of the manuscript, Perry explains, ‘these Christological texts are interwoven with literature dealing with preparation for death and final judgment’.\(^{645}\) Such a design is common, as devotional manuals of this ilk tend to reflect on eschatology in their final gatherings.\(^{646}\) It is this tendency in Bodley 789, though, that makes it a particularly viable example of the fusion between Passion and Doom outlined above. The textual unification of Christ’s first coming with his second cements the shared Christological nature of both Doom- and Passion-based material. Indeed, one particular text, which we shall address shortly, exemplifies this by directly merging eschatology with reflection on the Passion in a singular item.

Hirsh has produced an appropriate ‘reading’ of the series of devotions and meditations that occupy the latter portion of Bodley 789, in which a worshiper using the manuscript is taken on a meditative voyage in order to better prepare their own soul for the inevitable Judgement at the end of time, underlining the deliberate merging of Passion and Doom. Beginning with the ABC of Aristotle,\(^{647}\) the reader is entreated to find a private place for prayer, free ‘from alle manere noyse’, and is reminded of ‘his guilt for his (unnamed) sins, and of God’s abiding mercy.’\(^{648}\) Following this introduction, ‘the reader is directed to turn away from himself to the image of Christ suffering’, as he is led to contemplate in his imagination the events of the Passion from the perspective of the participants. A description of Christ’s torments is provided that is intended to induce compunction: ‘and i trowe þou schalt wepe for þat deelful siȝt.’\(^{649}\) In contrast, when we are faced with the Judge, appearing in the exact same guise, he is no longer pitiable but dreadful: ‘as a gret clerke Barnard seyþ þat þe dampned had leuer be in hell witowte ende þan ons loke hym in þe face’.\(^{650}\) Afterwards, the reader is taken to a petition (still forming a part of the ABC) to God for salvation, which ‘turns [him] away from his meditation on Christ’s Passion, and directs his attention to his own salvation.’\(^{651}\)

This shift in the ABC prepares the reader for the next devotion, a poem of four quatrains (IMEV, no. 241), which redirects the reader away from ‘the introspective

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\(^{645}\) Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies’, p. 129.
\(^{646}\) Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, p. 371.
\(^{647}\) Manual, IX, no. 31, p. 2972.
\(^{648}\) Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 57.
\(^{649}\) Bodley MS 789, f. 142, in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 58.
\(^{650}\) The damned will rather spend eternity in Hell than to gaze even once upon the face of God, according to Saint Bernard. From a sermon for the Second Sunday after Trinity, in London, British Library, Royal MS B.XXIII, f. 60v (see Appendix 1.4.b).
\(^{651}\) Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 59.
identification with certain aspects of Christ’s Passion and the self-abnegation that the ABC had required’, to a request for mercy as the reader is placed ‘among those that seek salvation.’ The poem is a plea to the Holy Trinity to pray for mercy from God the Father; having paid heed to Christ’s death on the Rood in the first stanza, the third directly invokes the Trinity’s protection at the Last Judgement:

Holi goost þou ȝiue me grace
Wiþ suche werkis mi liif to lede.
þat i mowe see god in his face.
At domys day wiþouten drede.

Consecutive pleas for mercy are made to each representative of the Trinity, imploring them for protection against God’s ultimate judgement, invoking Christ’s death and the love intrinsic therein as a token of mercy at one’s own death. Therefore, the poem acts as its own microcosm of progression from Christ’s merciful sacrifice at his first coming to the consequences of this at his second. The concluding lines of the poem outline its ultimately salvific – even apotropaic – function: ‘Almiȝti god of merci moost. / Lord þou haue merci on me. Amen.’ The apotropaic role played here by the Holy Trinity at the Last Judgement acts as somewhat of a preview for an item to be discussed later on in this chapter, in which an image depicts an individual on their deathbed, as their recently-departed soul pleads to the Trinity for mercy.

So far, then, Bodley 789 has carefully led its reader from an introspective reflection on one’s own sin, to a meditative contemplation of the Passion, and now to an appeal for salvation. The consecutive conjunction of these themes would be particularly potent to a conscientious worshipper. Hence, however, things become even more interesting, as this poem is followed immediately by the special text hinted at earlier, which takes the form of an address given by Christ the Judge to the sinful on Doomsday. Suddenly, the reader is shifted from the comfortable position of the saved to the unenviable perspective of the damned, being directly confronted and accused by the Domesman, who is no longer the sympathetic human Christ but the divine Judge in majesty.

655 Edited fully in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 60.
The rubric of this text reads: ‘Here men mai biholde a dreadful sentence þat crist schal speke at þe doom to men þat schulen by dampned.’ This rather bluntly underlines the transition from individual introspection to the vivid consequences that await those who fail to do this effectively. The text invokes what will be demonstrated to be the familiar image of the ‘Domesman’ at the Last Judgement, appearing as he did when crucified, wounds on display, sometimes bleeding afresh, accompanied with the instruments of his torments; the Passion-themed overtones of the conventional Doom vocabulary/iconography are unmistakable. The text does not disappoint in presenting the desperate situation in which the sinful will find themselves in this dramatic moment. Just as earlier texts in Bodley 789 have encouraged the reader/listener to imagine herself as an eyewitness to the events of the Passion as they unfold – a common motif in the genre of Passion meditation – so, too, does this exposition on the Doom urge the same response. Hence, the focus on the Doom in this particular text continues in the same devotional vein as preceding texts on the Passion have done, the worshiper being taken on an affective journey through the salvation narrative. It is worthwhile quoting the text extensively, since it so fittingly represents the theme of this chapter:

Bi þenk we what drede schal be. whanne crist schal schewe his signes of woundis and þe þirlinge of nailis in his owene bodi. Biholdinge alle aunglis men and deuelis. & whanne he schal sei to synful men and repreuable […] þou disposedist mi comaunderenatis and deseruedist dampnacioun of deep. I hauynge merci on þee took fleisch. þat is bicam man. See þe woundis þat I took for þe. See þe hoolis of nailis bi þe whiche I was þiȝt on þe cros. I suffride foule wordis and betyngis forto deluyere þee. I receyueden buffetis and spetyngis forto ȝelde to þee þe sweetnesse of paradys. I vnderfeng þi sorwis for to hele þee. I suffride peyne for to ȝiue glorie to þee. I suffride deep. þat þou schuldist haue heritage of liif. I lai hid in þe sepulcre. þat þou schuldist regne in heuene. What schulde i do gretter þinges þan þese. Where is þe fruyt of mi woundis so gret. Where is þe fruyt of mi wrongis so greete. Where is þe priis of mi blood. þat i ȝoure soulis. Where is ȝoure servise þat ȝe han doon to me for þe priis of mi blood. I hadde ȝou aboue mi glorie. Aperinghe man whanne I was god. And ȝe han maad me foulere þan ony of alle my þinges. For whi ȝe han loued moore þe foulest þinge of erþe þan mi riȝtwisnesse and feiȝ. þerfore mi riȝtwisnesse mai deme noȝt elligis. but þat ȝoure werkis han deserued. Holde ȝe þat þat ȝe han chosen. ȝe han dispisd þe ligt of

656 Bodley MS 789, f. 146v, in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 60.
treupe. Haue ȝe þe derknesses of peynes. ȝe han loued deþ. go ȝe in to dampnacioun. ȝe han sued þe deuyl. go ȝe wiþ him in to euerlastynge fiir.657

Christ the Judge is presented clearly as the same figure who died on the cross, stress is placed on the symbols of his Passion, as those very wounds and instruments will hold the damned to account. Christ emphasises the magnitude of his own suffering and sacrifice, all of which he endured on behalf of humanity’s spiritual guilt: ‘I suffride deep. þat þou schuldist haue heritage of liif’. He mourns the sinners’ rejection of his commandments and their failure to respond appropriately to his death: ‘Where is þe fruyt of mi woundis so greet. Where is þe fruyt of mi wrongis so greete. Where is þe priis of mi blood.’ Ultimately, the text clarifies, those gathered before the Judge in this moment did not pay heed to Christ’s sacrifice on their behalf while there was opportunity, and now it is too late. Like most material in the Doom-genre, at its simplest, it is a potent reminder of one’s own iniquity and insufficiency. To such an individual who finds him/herself wanting in this regard, though, it is arguably more sophisticated. The text does not explicitly refer to shrift and penance as being the remedy to this shortcoming, but instead directs the sinful down a different route to salvation: devotion to and remembrance of the Passion. In so doing, this text, and others in this chapter, offers a deeper justification for contrition, for to ignore one’s duty to the sacramental steps to salvation offered by the Church and its representatives is to directly disregard the debt owed by every person to Christ’s inestimable suffering on our behalf.

This joint utilisastion of both the Passion and the Doom in propagating this sentiment is echoed by John Lydgate, who, unlike the author of the text in Bodley 789, explicitly advises keeping the Passion ever in mind as a stimulus to make amends for spiritual transgressions which might cost one a place in paradise. Lydgate emphasises once more the exigence of undertaking this repentance before it is too late:

Thi passioun be emprinted in my thought,

The chefe resort my fleschly foo to chase;

On hit to be remembred well y aught,

Which may me mende, whyll y hauve tyme & space.658

657 Bodley MS 789, ff. 146v-147v, in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 60.
Furthermore, in his rendition of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (a text explicitly pertaining to the Last Judgement), Lydgate directly references the function of Christ’s Passion in achieving salvation at the Doom: ‘As this doctor setteth the emprise / Of this mateer, God graunte, as I wisse, / Afor this day that al men been so wyse / Thorugh Cristes passioun, that they may come to bliss.’ In this, Lydgate is explicitly stating that through Christ’s Passion alone one may achieve bliss at the Doom. This underscores the value of the purposeful arrangement of the items in Bodley 789, which repeatedly brings the Passion to the forefront of a reader’s mind before confronting them with the ultimate consequences for failing to do so. The visceral manner in which the Judge confronts the reader in the above-mentioned item in Bodley 789 starkly highlights the significance of an individual’s penitential response to Christ’s suffering during his first coming in their attainment of salvation at the second. The Passion, then, is consistently attributed with this apotropaic value, especially so in Doom-texts that specifically expound it as the key criterion against which the Judge will measure every soul’s individual worth.

So, in order to optimally encourage spiritual introspection in the reader and ultimately to instigate repentance, the text in Bodley 789 invokes the most powerful affective tool in the arsenal of late medieval piety, the suffering of Christ, which is all the more acute in the reader’s mind having just envisioned these very torments at the behest of earlier texts in the sequence. How this text increases its emotive potency, though, is what is most striking. It does not rely entirely on stirring up fear at the prospect of the dreadful Judge, but attempts to stoke feelings of personal guilt and contrition in the reader. Christ endured all of this torment and asked for so little in return. By not repenting, the reader has rejected God’s love and mercy and must instead face his justice. By contrast, then, all one must do to escape this grisly fate is adhere to the message of the Judge – prophetically revealed in this text – and truly devote oneself to forging a spiritual and affective link with Christ’s death and the love that this represents. Preceding items in the manuscript equip a diligent reader with everything they require in order to achieve this, effectively synthesising the significance of Christ’s first coming with his second. Thus, this text demonstrates the Doom’s nuanced ability to be pastoral. In order to convert a sinner to repentance before their damnation at the Last Judgement, dread alone is not the most efficacious means of persuasion. By having the Judge return to the very purpose of salvation and to recapitulate his sacrifice on the Cross provokes

659 John Lydgate, The Fiftene Tokyns aforn the Doom, from London, British Library, MS Harley 2255, in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, p. 120.
compunction. By not repenting, the reader is outright rejecting Christ’s death and his purchase of mankind’s sin. This emotional engagement is more valuable than attempting to provoke fear alone.

Just so, an exposition on the Passion might not engender the desired response through empathy alone. Therefore, to heighten the significance of Christ’s sacrifice, a Passion text can also incorporate the Doom into its account of salvation. We need not look far for an item that implements this method: a precise example of it takes place in Bodley 789, four items after Christ’s address to the damned on Doomsday. Beginning on f. 152r is a version of the ABC on the Passion, usually in verse form but in this instance rendered in prose. F. J. Furnivall has edited a rendition of the ABC from London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, and – as we might expect – the text is overtly concerned with the Passion. The ABC commences with a metaphorical image of a book representing Christ: ‘Wrout is on þe bok with-oute, / .V. paraffys grete & stoute / Bolyd in rose red; / Þat is set with-outyn doute, / In tokenyng of cristis ded. // Red letter in parchemyn / Makyth a chyld good & fyn / Letrys to loke & se. / Be þis bok men may dyuyne / Þat cristis body was ful of pyne / Þat deyid on rode tre.’

The ABC then progresses through an account of the events of the Passion, including the presentation of Christ before Caiaphas, Herod, and Pilate, and the flagellation. Throughout, though, it forges the connection between these events and mankind’s eventual salvation: ‘Loue made crist fro heuene to comyn, / Loue made hym with man to wonyn, - / As clerkys in bokys rede, - / Loue made hus hert to bledyn, / With hus blod oure soulys to fedyn, / To bryngyn vs to oure mede’, ‘Y for I, in wryt is set. / Cryst for vs on croys was knet, / Nalyd on þe rode: / Out of thraldom he vs fet, / Þat we þoru syn hadde get, / And bout vs with hys blode.’ These references to ‘oure mede’ and the purchase of mankind’s salvation are overtly connected to the Last Judgement. Christ died to cleanse humanity of Original Sin, which was otherwise preventing the possibility of any soul reaching paradise – the ultimate ‘mede’. Such a notion is directly relevant to the future Judgement, during which this ‘mede’ will be meted out to those deserving of it. Likewise, the theme of Christ purchasing humanity’s salvation is a frequently-employed metaphor in Doom texts. In Contemplations of

661 ABC on the Passion, in Funirvall, ibid., p. 271, ll. 7-18.
662 ABC on the Passion, in Funirvall, ibid., p. 274, ll. 105-110.
663 ABC on the Passion, in Funirvall, ibid., p. 276, ll. 171-176.
the Dread and Love of God, an English text of ‘popular spirituality’, we encounter it: ‘and þan [Christ] suffred at þe last his glorious herte to be stonge wiþ a scharp spere, for-to þeue his herte-blod to bye man bodi and soule into ioye wipouten ende.’ Sometimes referred to in contemporary texts as the ‘ayenbying’ (with variant spellings), the Last Judgement is the second transaction being conducted by Christ for the salvation of humankind.

Thus, in its description of the Passion, the ABC is orientating itself towards the soteriological implications of these events at the end of time, paving the way for its gradual transition into a – relatively – brief account of the Doom, which concludes the text:

& is to seyn, god is ded, / Of hys blod hys body is red. / He ros on estryn morwe; / to helle he þede with-outyn abod, / For to stroyñ þe fendys wod, / To sauyn vs fro sorwe. // Loke þat we ben seker & kende [let us remember this], / And kepe þis apece in oure mende, / Þan sekere be we of blys with-outyn ende / In tyme quan we xul dey; / Afterward men xal vp-ryce, / And wende for, boþe fol & wyce, / To Iosaphat sekerly […]

Essentially, let us keep these events of Christ’s first coming in mind in order to attain bliss without end at his second. For salvation at the Doom we must forever think on Christ’s Passion; the first and the second comings are inextricably connected and are deployed together in this fashion to heighten the devotional and penitential response that might be elicited from a reader.

At its conclusion of the Passion narrative, the ABC flows into an explanation of the events that will take place at the Parousia. These two salvific moments are clearly presented as being intrinsically connected. The Passion here acts as a distinct prelude to the Last Judgement:

665 Connolly, Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, pp. 4-5.
666 A sermon on the Doom in London, British Library, Harley MS 2276, for example, repeatedly invokes this metaphor of purchase when describing God’s actions at the Doom: ‘for þis is þe ayenbiyng þat our lord spekeþ of: youre ayenbiying neþeþ ful fast, and þei shul be felawes of þis ayenbiying þat dispiseden þe glorie of þis world and putten no þyng to fore crist and þat þe world is to be dispised and […] louyd oure ayenbiþ’, f. 5r. This transactional metaphor is extremely rife: in the York Play of the entry into Jerusalem, Christ is greeted as the ‘rawnsomer of synfull all’; in a vernacular hymn, ‘Al þis peyne he suffride, Fro deeþ to bie us alle’. See R. Beadle, ed., The York Plays (London: Arnold, 1982), p. 219, and Eleanor McCullough, “Penke we sadli on his deeþ”: The Hours of the Cross as a Short Passion Meditation’, in Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ’s Life, ed. Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, Medieval Church Studies, 31 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 385-404 (403), respectively.
And west, nort, & south, / Evry man, boþe fremyd & kouth [friend and stranger],
/ Xul comyn with-outyn ly. / Þer xal be gret asyce / Be-forn ihesu, þat hey
Iustyce, / With woundis al blody [...]

The familiar image of the bloodied Judge, displaying the unmistakable marks of his first
advent, is deployed by the ABC, in line with other Doom-texts.

Quan mannus soule hat in mynde / Þe blod þat cryst let for mankinde / With terys
& woundis smerte, / Man fynde þou non vnkyndnesse / Quan þe wey of suetnesse
/ Wyl entryn in-to þin herte; // Sey, “a, ihesu! quat hast þou guylt? / Qwy art þou
for my syn spylt, / Flour of lowenesse? / I am a thef, þou for me deyist, / I am
gylty, & þou abseyst / For my wykydnesse; // So gret raunsom for so wyl [vile]
thyng! / Quat hast þou wonne with þi peynyng, / Þou hey in blysce aboue? / Gret
godnesse hat þe makyd / For to hangyn on rode nakyd / For mannus soule loue! //
But, lord ihesu, I kan no more / But þe besekyn with al my myth, / Þat I mote
wepyn sore / Thyn harde peynus day & nyth, / And þat loue mote also faste / In-
to myn herte stykyd be, / As was þe spere in-to þin herte / Quan þou suffrydyst
ded for me. Amen.667

The salvific significance to a worshipper of these two events is here indicated: who keeps in
mind the blood and tears that Christ shed at the Passion should be incapable of sinning, as
this voluntary sacrifice was conducted purely in the name of expiating mankind’s guilt (note
the employment of the purchase metaphor once more: ‘So gret raunsom for so wyl thing!’).

This ending to the ABC perfectly compounds the fusion between the Passion and the
Doom. It flits back and forth between the emotive moments of Christ’s suffering and their
consequences for the worshipper’s soul at the Last Judgement, distinctly cementing the
connection between the two narratives. It invokes several motifs that are familiar to the
Doomsday trope: this event must be kept ever in our minds; ‘bliss without end’; the Vale of
Josaphat; the bloody wounds of the Domesman; and the metaphor of purchase. The reader
must constantly keep in mind the blood that Christ shed for humanity, in order to receive

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of the ABC in Bodley 789 is actually far more concise than that in Harley 3954, but it nevertheless maintains the
transition between the Passion and the Doom: ‘man at domes dai schal arise. and bringe forþ boþe foolish and
wise. to ebron sikerli. and þere schal be grete assise. god of heuene oure iustise; wit woundis al blodi. ihesu
merci’, from Ryan Perry, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789’, Geographies of Orthodoxy, <
http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/?section=manuscript&id=88> (last revised
01/06/2010; last visited 17/05/2016).
salvation at the Judgement. So, this text ostensibly aimed at explicating the Passion is blended with an account of Doomsday, clearly fusing the two events into a singular soteriological narrative to better induce a penitent response from a reader. The value of this fusion for inducing repentance is illustrated well by the sentiments of Walter Hilton in book II of his Scale of Perfection: ‘If thou trow þat þe passioun of oure Lord is so precious and his mercy is so mikel þat þer schal no soule be damned – and namly of no cristen man, do he neuer so hille – as summe foles wenen, soþly þu erres grely.’ Hilton, in this context, was professing on the nature of universal salvation and, as Nicholas Watson explains, he is contesting the view that ‘God’s mercy will extend to all Christians, or even all souls’. However, it demonstrates the salvific and affective value of uniting the Passion with the Doom, as one’s fate at the latter is dependent upon a penitent response to the former. Salvation is not a certainty for all Christians, according to Hilton (‘go in þe mene and hald þe in þe middes, and trowe as holy kirke troweþ’), and so the need for pro-active penance – within the boundaries of the Church – in response to an evocative text on the Passion was exigent. Thus, the effect of merging the Passion with the Doom to fully explicate the requirements for salvation is to more acutely encourage this spiritual introspection in a reader.

MS Bodley 789, therefore, is a compilation that demonstrates a succinct association between Christ’s suffering at the Passion and the dispensation of justice at the Doom. The way in which the manuscript guides the reader’s devotion progressively through the salvation narrative clearly underlines this blend. Moreover, the two texts described in detail above make the connection explicitly: on Doomsday, when the unrepentant are faced with the Judge, he will starkly remind them of their failure to respond appropriately to his suffering at the Passion, literally displaying these torments on himself and reiterating their significance. Likewise, the ABC on the Passion instructs us that the only defence against condemnation at the Last Judgement is solemn devotion to Christ’s Passion and sacrifice. By keeping the events of the Passion in mind, we are reminded of the criteria for attaining God’s mercy at the Doom: salvation comes only through Christ’s death on the cross, hence its absolute significance for the Final Judgement. By keeping the Doom ever in mind – as we are frequently encouraged to do in moralising texts – we are directly reminded of the importance of the Passion through the Judge’s statements and appearance. The two events forge a

mutually dependent devotional system. Christ’s first and second advents are a theological corollary, entirely reliant upon one another: without the Doom, Christ’s Passion and death are meaningless and futile; without Christ’s sacrifice at the Passion, the results of the Doom are a foregone conclusion. The salvific significance of the Passion is inseparable from the enforcement of this redemption at the Last Judgement, it is in this moment that Christ’s death on behalf of mankind’s sin is avenged against the unrepentant.

**‘The Carthusian Miscellany’, London, British Library, Additional MS 37049**

These trends are viewable in another fifteenth-century English manuscript: London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, dubbed the ‘Carthusian Miscellany’. Additional 37049, like Bodley 789, exhibits a distinctly Christological theme throughout; much of its content is palpably Christocentric and it is littered with Crucifixion scenes and devotions to the Five Wounds and the Holy Name (which will later be shown to pertain to the Doom). A cursory perusal of the manuscript reveals no fewer than seventeen images of Christ displaying his wounds in some form, often crucified, though not always. These are regularly graphic, sometimes grotesque (albeit also rudimentary), in their portrayal of Christ’s suffering; these images frequently equate to the description in many meditationes of Christ as a ‘leper’ when enduring the torments of the Passion, as he is covered in flecks of blood and gore from the flagellation. Jessica Brantley aptly describes one such Crucifixion on f. 67v:

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671 For a full list of the contents of Additional 37049 and accompanying reference material, see Jessica Brantley, Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England (Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 307-325. The manuscript’s catalogue entry can also be viewed online via the British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_37049>, last accessed 15/02/16.


673 See Bestul, Texts of the Passion, pp. 41, 44, 47, 49, 64, 151, 156, 158. ‘Christ suffers “from the sole of his fot to the top of his head,” in the words of Isaiah (Is 1:6), and the bruised and wounded flesh of his naked body make him look like a leper covered with open sores, appearing thus literally to fulfill Isaiah’s prophecy that Christ would be thought of as a leper, “quasi leprosum” (Is 53:4). The literalization of this phrase, “quasi leprosus,” usually applied to Christ’s appearance after the scourging, as here, becomes a commonplace in later
In an example of the intense blood-piety widespread throughout the manuscript, Christ is covered with wounds, and blood streams copiously from the five primary ones.\textsuperscript{674}

Such a description could be applied to several of the depictions of Christ throughout Additional 37049.

Intermingled with this array of Christological material are several Doom-themed texts and images, which are similarly Christ-themed in their content. For example, running from folios 16v to 18r is a text lacking a rubric, but which Brantley has labelled a ‘Prayer on the Last Judgment’, beginning ‘Almyghty god for þi gret godenes. hafe mercy of cristen pepyll’ (transcribed in Appendix 1.13.a).\textsuperscript{675} The text is a plea for Christ’s mercy at the Doom, which encourages all ‘cristen pepyll’ to ‘consyder inwardly’ the inevitable Judgement and subsequent punishment for sinners. It utilises a metaphor of winter and summer halls to represent the Church and the bliss of Heaven, respectively, citing Psalm 91:14 as its inspiration for this: ‘Plantati in domo domini. in atriis domus dei nostri florebunt.’ The text makes no overt connections to Christ’s Passion other than in its concluding lines:

\begin{quote}
Also scriptur says Qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam eternam, qui vero mala in ignem eternum, þai þat has done gode þynges sal go in to euerlastynge lyfe, & þai þat has done ylle þinges wit outen þai hafe grace of amendment or þai dye sal go in to euerlastyng fyre, fro þe whilk our mercyful lord Ihc crist þat sched his blode opon þe cros & dyed for vs safe vs all Amen.\textsuperscript{676}
\end{quote}

Not only does the author of this passage make a subtle amendment to the ‘scriptur’ in his translation, incorporating the caveat that those who have done wicked things but ‘hafe grace of amendment’ – emphasising the role of the Church in attaining salvation – might still avoid the second fate (somewhat diluting the black and white message of the Creed on this issue), he also concludes his exposition on the Doom with a direct reminder of its intractable

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{medieval Passion treatises, and as James Marrow has shown, it provides the textual underpinning for a standard iconographic commonplace of the visual arts as well.’ Bestul, Texts of the Passion, p. 44.}
\textsuperscript{674}Brantley, Reading in the Wilderness, p. 271.
\textsuperscript{676}London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 18r.}
\end{flushright}
affiliation with Christ’s death on the cross. Such an overlap is especially pertinent in the context of this manuscript. Having paid heed to this text on the Doom and its closing sentiments, whenever the reader subsequently encounters one of the numerous Crucifixion scenes that punctuate this manuscript, they should not only contemplate Christ’s death in the light of his visible suffering but also with respect to his return to give judgement, at which time these torments will be avenged.

Moreover, this message is driven home by the almost full-page Last Judgement scene that is situated in the middle of this prayer, on folio 17r, which cements this connection to the Passion (Appendix 3.11.a). This image occupies the upper two thirds of the folio, as the prayer continues beneath it. In it, the Domesman is perched on a rudimentary rainbow in the upper centre of the scene, with his feet resting on the Orb; the five wounds are prominently displayed, freshly bleeding, and the bloody crown of thorns rests on his head. The dead rise naked out of their graves directly below, their necks craning up to the Domesman and their hands clasped in prayer. The saved enter and ascend a crenelated archway on Christ’s lower right, while the damned are swept into a fiery Hell-Mouth on his lower left. Accompanying Christ along the rainbow are arrayed indeterminate haloed faces, whilst on either side of the Judge are angels blowing the trumpets and bearing the arma Christi. The figure on Christ’s right brandishes the spear, the vinegar-soaked sponge on a stick, and the Rood, which is impaled with the three nails; the figure to the left of the Judge is much less prominent, as the angel blowing the trumpet is given primary position, but he nevertheless holds up the flagellum. Two scrolls issuing from the Domesman contain the usual invocations from Matthew 25 to the respective congregations in the scene below, on this occasion in the vernacular.677 The parallels between the Passion and the Doom, invoked in the reader’s mind by the combination of text and image here, should be clear. A Last Judgement image such as this has explicit Christological connotations; in the context of MS Additional 37049, this image of the Domesman is simply another iteration of the Christocentric devotion that defines this codex. The profusely bleeding wounds of the Judge tie in succinctly with the Christological haemophilia that occupies other portions of the manuscript, underlining the crossover between the Domesman and the crucified Christ of the Passion in the mind of the reader. These wounds are as much symbols of Christ the Judge as they are Christ the Man. To the viewer, this blending of Passion and Doom stitches together the greater salvation narrative: it is for our redemption that Christ died and this redemption can only be attained

677 ‘[Come] ye blyst in to þe kyngdom of my fader’; ‘Go ye cursed in to euerlastyng fyre’.
when he returns again, bearing the marks of his torment, at the Judgement. The Doom, then, in this regard, is a logical extension – and, indeed, a key constituent – of the Christological devotion found throughout Additional 37049.

There is a selection of other Doom-themed items in MS Additional 37049, one of which immediately precedes the prayer on the Last Judgement, described above. Running from ff. 11r-16v is an extract from the Pseudo-Methodius (‘incipit liber methodii episcopi ecclesie paterensis martiris’), which Brantley has labelled, ‘Of þe Begynynge of þe Warld and of þe Endyng’, from the text’s introduction.678 The latter portion of this text commentates on aspects of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement; after the death of Antichrist, the Doom will take place:

wher þowsande of þowsande & ten tymes hundreth þowsande of archangels cherubym & seraphym sal be þer. And þer sal be comenys of saynts, of patriarchs, prophets, apostils, martyrs, confessors, virgyns & of alsaynts […] And þe rightwismen sal be departed fro þe wykidmen […] þe rightwismen sal lyf euer & wit þe kyng of heuen sal ioy wit outen ende. And wikkyd men wit outen end sal be ponesched.679

The manner in which this text concludes, with the respective fates of the blessed and the damned, acts as a perfect conjunction with the opening of the prayer on 16v, which, almost in response to this preceding account, begins with a plea to God for mercy.

Then, immediately following the prayer, on f. 18r, begins another Doomsday text, titled ‘of þe cumym of þe day of dome’ (transcribed in Appendix 1.13.b). This prose text outlines the build up to the Last Judgement, beginning, ‘The ordyr of þe dome sal be swylk. In þe day of dome  oure lord cumyng to þe dome fyre sal go before hym wit þe whilk þe face of þis warld sal be byrrnte’.680 The text is informative, reminiscent in several ways of the account of Doomsday in the Cursor Mundi. It is seemingly pedagogical in its aim: the earth and the heavens will be scorched along with evil men and women; this fire will purge the necessary shortcomings in good people and will ignore the perfect entirely, then they shall be

679 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 16v.
taken by angels to Christ in the air as the sun and moon darken. Straight after this item is a verse text on the Doom, on f. 18v (transcribed in Appendix 1.13.c).⁶⁸¹ Brantley has treated the two as different items, which they likely are, but the lack of a new rubric preceding the verse and the similar nature of their content implies that they have been deliberately combined in this context and that the prose acts as an introduction to the verse. Cameron Louis has printed both of these texts from Additional 37049 and describes the poem as ‘a complement to [the] preceding prose description of the Last Judgement’.⁶⁸² The verse begins, ‘When þe day of dome sall be, / It is in gods pryuyte’, and ends, ‘þerefore gracios god þat alle goodenes hasse / Gyf vs þi mercy here or we passe’, and, like the prose preamble, it is explanatory and informative, outlining the nature of the Doom.

Louis describes the poem as ‘a didactic exhortation for the reader to keep his last end continually in mind,’ again reminding us of this frequently uttered ethos of the Doom-genre.⁶⁸³ This summary is particularly apt, as there is a full-page deathbed scene on the following folio, which explicitly underscores the message of the preceding Doomsday texts to bear this inevitable end in mind (see Appendix 3.11.b). In this scene, the deceased, whose soul has just exited his body, is surrounded by an angel, a demon, Death wielding a spear, Christ on the cross, the Virgin bearing her breast, the Holy Spirit, and God the Father enthroned. Each participant is accompanied by a banderole of speech, usually a rhyming couplet, which outlines their role in this struggle for the soul’s salvation. The demon stakes its claim to the soul while the angel pleads on behalf of its benevolence; the soul itself speaks directly to the Virgin for her intercession, who, in turn, displaying her breast, beseeches Christ to forgive the soul on account of her suckling the saviour as a child (a motif occasionally encountered in Last Judgement images, for example the fifteenth-century wall painting at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry). Christ then intercedes up the chain to God the Father, asking for him to grant his son the power to pardon the soul on account of the Virgin’s plea, and the Father willingly obliges: ‘Son ale þou byddes sal al be. No thyng wil I denye þe.’⁶⁸⁴

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⁶⁸² Louis, ‘Two Middle English Doomsday Poems’, 44.
⁶⁸³ Louis, ibid., 44.
⁶⁸⁴ London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 19r.
This image concludes a block of material, then, which encompasses a didactic account of Doomsday and its position in the salvation narrative. The fact that none of these Doom-themed texts overtly describes the appearance of the Judge in the manner of Christ at the Passion is negated because he is presented unequivocally in this form right in the middle of the textual accounts in the eye-catching, almost full-page illustration. The presence of the wounds and the arma Christi in this scene fuses text and image to complement one another. The fact that this eschatological overview is actually at the beginning of the compilation is particularly intriguing, even if apparently counter-intuitive. This grouping of texts and images establishes a precedent for a reading of the manuscript as described earlier: the wealth of Christological material that follows – focusing on the Passion, Christ’s wounds, and the Holy Name – can be viewed within the framework of eventual salvation at the Last Judgement. In the mind of a reader, it provides a benchmark against which to contemplate the subsequent Christocentric devotional matter. The images especially support this analysis, as the busy Last Judgement scene on 17r clearly places the Judge in line with this Christological material, his bleeding wounds foreshadowing the many images of the crucified Christ throughout the rest of the manuscript. Indeed, this dual role of the crucified Christ is directly cemented a handful of folios later, when we encounter the deathbed scene in which Christ, who plays a major part in judging the fate of the newly-deceased individual (in what is arguably a depiction of the Particular Judgement taking place, as it is deciding the fate of the soul immediately after death, rather than at the end of time), is shown bleeding on the cross. So, we should clearly expect to be confronted by Christ and the Rood at the time of death and judgement. Indeed, a fourteenth-century poem, An Orison of the Passion, echoes the scene unfolding on f. 19r of Additional 37049 and calls upon the assistance of the crucified Christ at the author’s own dying moments,\(^{685}\) for that same connection between the Passion and individual death and judgement: ‘Ihesu þat wer wiþ loue so bounde, / þat suffred for me deþ wounde, / At my deyinge so visite me / And make þe fende a-way to fle.’\(^{686}\) In the mind of a

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\(^{685}\) As does another vernacular devotional poem on the Five Wounds, arguably even more directly: ‘Gracious lorde for thy bitter passion / Accepte my prayers that I do repe, / And on my soule take compassion / At my deth for all thi wounds grete.’ The Five Wounds of Our Lord, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 1, in Douglas Gray, ‘The Five Wounds of Our Lord’, Notes and Queries, 10 [208 of continuous series] (1963), 50-51, 82-89, 127-134, 163-168 (50). This poem, in fact, consistently attributes the wounds with a powerful apotropaic function against damnation after death: ‘Of the right hande. / Wel of mercy passing al mysdede, / Of mercy I pray the I may spede. / The right hand, lorde, of throught and unite, / Thorough perced with a rugged nayle, / Be my socoure in the extremite / Of deth whan he shal me assayle.’ The final line truly adumbrates this theme, as it appears to call upon the protection afforded by Christ’s suffering at the Passion against assailment by the Judge.\(^{686}\) An Orison of the Passion, ll. 87-90, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Add. E. 4, in Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ from British Museum Addit. MS. 11307, Charlotte D’Evelyn, ed., EETS O.S. 158 (Oxford: OUP, 1921), pp. 62-63.
reader, then, who is perusing this manuscript from the beginning, the many subsequent
images of the bleeding and crucified Christ will be directly reminiscent of these depictions of
the Judge, of the post-mortem ordeal, and of personal salvation, just as much as they are of
the torments of the Passion. Thus, MS Additional 37049 is a compilation that, like MS
Bodley 789, represents the merging of Passion and Doom material to forge an overarching
synthesis of salvation.

**The Passion and the Three Arrows on Doomsday**

The investigation by this thesis into manuscript compilations containing the Three
Arrows on Doomsday, particularly those of the most prominent version, the ‘T-V’, has
revealed other such examples of this codicological crossover between the Passion and the
Doom. Frequently occurring alongside the T-V in its many surviving manuscript copies are
Passion-related texts, including multiple meditationes, which meld these two Christological
subjects together. It is Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125 that best represents
this trend amongst the surviving Three Arrows manuscripts. Compiled between the end of the
fourteenth and the mid-fifteenth centuries, Pepys 2125 contains several items that are unique
to its pages.\(^{687}\) The compilation is bookended with considerations of the Passion and the
subject is intermittently revisited throughout. Pepys 2125 opens and closes with texts on the
Passion: the second item in the manuscript is a Middle English translation of the Passion
section of the pseudo-Bonaventuran Meditationes Vitae Christi, unique to this manuscript,
and the final item is ‘four requests of Mary to Christ at the time of the Passion’.\(^{688}\) There is
various other such Christological material throughout, including an eight-line Latin verse
dialogue between Christ on the cross and the Virgin, and a verse meditation on the Passion
(NIMEV 1761).\(^{689}\) The pseudo-Bonaventuran meditatio in Pepys 2125, a sole-surviving
branch of the Vitae Christi, strengthens belief in the purpose of Christ’s Passion, due

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\(^{687}\) Mayumi Taguchi, ‘The Pepysian “Meditation on Christ’s Passion”’, in Perry and Kelly, eds, Devotional
Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe, 487-509 (p. 487).

\(^{688}\) For a full description of the manuscript, including its contents, see Ryan Perry, ‘Cambridge, Magdalene
College, Pepys MS 2125’, Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ,
1350-1550 <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/?section=manuscript&id=68> (last
revised 01/06/2010; last visited 24/08/2016). For a thorough discussion of the Pepysian meditatio, see Mayumi
Taguchi, ‘The Pepysian “Meditation on Christ’s Passion”’; and Allan F. Westphall, ‘Meditation on Christ’s
Passion (MS Pepys 2125)’, Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ,
1350-1550 <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/?section=corpus&id=13> (last revised
November 2010; last visited 31/07/16).

\(^{689}\) A focus on the lament of Mary during Christ’s crucifixion was a commonplace of late medieval Passion
narratives as far back as the meditations of St Anselm. See Bestul, Texts of the Passion, pp. 36-37, 50-51, 52-53.
contemplation of which provides salvation for the individual soul. Relevant to this, then, is that the aforementioned Christological material is punctuated in places with eschatological items, including a combination of the Mirror of Sinners and the Three Arrows on Doomsday (ff. 126r-128v and 128v-130v, respectively), and Thomas Wimbledon’s well-known sermon, ‘Redde racionem villicationis tue’, in English (ff. 65v-73v; IPMEP 560). In his description of this manuscript, Ryan Perry highlights its ‘marked focus on Christological piety, [it] incorporates a number of texts on the Life and Passion, prayers to Christ, to the arma Christi, and to the Holy Name of Christ.’ Further to the relevance of the arma and the Holy Name to the Last Judgement, this chapter would also encourage the addition to this list of the above Doom material, as its focus on the Judge is distinctly Christological.

It must be acknowledged that it is tenuous to propose that MS Pepys 2125 entirely revolves around the Passion, as it contains a rich variety of texts; it is, to quote Mayumi Taguchi, ‘a particularly interesting example of the diversity and individuality of late medieval devotional compilations.’ Furthermore, closer study of the manuscript, as performed by Ralph Hanna, demonstrates that it is a compilation of ‘two probably originally separate MSS’, not to mention its division into multiple booklets. Such an appraisal somewhat undermines any interpretation of an originally intended, overarching theme, although it does perhaps demonstrate the deliberate combination of these booklets based on this theme later on, as well as allow for a potential ‘reading’ of the manuscript that fuses these two crucial subjects. Regardless, the proliferation of Passion-related material certainly hints at its prominent position within such anthologies, as well as its perceived relevance to eschatological material, such as the T-V.

The fusion of these two soteriological subjects, though, is actually even more directly visible within the theme of the Three Arrows, which obviously triggered some connection with the Passion, as the other major version of the theme, the ‘M-V’, is literally merged with a meditation on Christ’s crucifixion. So, although we cannot pursue other individual manuscripts that represent this trend as rigorously as we have with MSS Bodley 789 and Additional 37049, we can instead explore some individual texts, which, like Christ’s address

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693 For a detailed description of MS Pepys 2125, see Hanna, The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle, no. 4, pp. 8-13.
to the damned and the ABC on the Passion in Bodley 789, demonstrate this fusion. The M-V’s most obvious innovation on the Three Arrows theme is its partnering of this warning on the Last Judgement into an emotive meditation on Christ’s Passion. The author of the M-V has seized upon the concept of Doomsday and Christ’s final coming, and has united it with the Doom’s theological predecessor, the Passion, Christ’s previous coming; by doing so, the author of the M-V is explicitly reiterating the link between Christ’s efforts at redeeming mankind and the ultimate assessment of our response to these efforts at the end of time. There is no break between the two subjects, the text moves directly from the Passion to the Doom, exemplifying the corollary, just as in the ABC on the Passion in MS Bodley 789. To a reader, this direct flow is significant, as it cements the association between the suffering just described and its inevitable repercussions for humanity. Moreover, in the Three Arrows portion of the text, just as in MS Bodley 789, Christ the Judge recapitulates the story of the Passion, further underlining this association:

I lighth doune in til þe erth and toke þe kynd of þe, whare-In I myght for þi gilt sare pyned be. In þat kynd I toke many a dispyte, I tholde vilany in word and dede, and for þe was bogth & salde […] þe iewys buffeted me and spittid in my face, and with scharpe thornes þay corouned me, and with knotty skourges þai bete me – al þus for þe was I digth […] and for þe þus was I threlled bath fote & hand and naylled on þe tre, and opend my syd with a spere to make my hert bledde for þe.\(^\text{694}\)

He then proceeds to arraign the sinful, explaining the direct significance of this suffering for the assize that he is now conducting:

Now vndirstand þou vnkynd man, lift vp þi heeued & loke to me, bihald my syd, fote & hand, how I am digth for þe. Þus am I digth nogth for my gylt bot to heele þi wondis þat war so sare, and þi gilt on me I toke þat þou suld luf me þe mare […] ffor-þi þe bihoues now nedely schewe qwat þou has thooled or done for me. For now rigthwysnes wil þat ilke ane haf als þai haf seruede, outhire to dwel in payne or in blysse, for euer and aye.\(^\text{695}\)

As with the address to the damned in MS Bodley 789, it is fascinating that this explication of the Passion and its significance comes from the Judge on Doomsday. Likewise, it is a truly

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immersive description; we are quite literally confronted and berated by the wrathful Judge. Immediately beforehand in the text, we have been meditatively witnessing the violent torture of Christ at the Passion, from which we are dragged forward to the end of time to find ourselves directly facing this same, bloodied figure, but this time in divine majesty, chastising us for not accepting the salvation offered by the very sacrifice we have just observed with our ‘mind’s eye’. The effect of this transition on a reader should be enormous: we are shown the awful suffering of Christ at the Passion, then subsequently shown how we shall be punished if we do not respond properly to that suffering. The obvious thing for the worshipper to do after reading this text – if they wish to avoid the wrath of the Domesman – is to ensure that they are up-to-date on their devotion to the Passion. This transformation from the pitiable, crucified Christ to the vengeful Domesman, bearing the same marks of spite, is perfectly demonstrated to the reader here; in an account of Doomsday we have a lengthy description of the Passion (and vice versa), the events of which are the crucial justification for the judgements passed at the Doom. So, this text goes one step further than that in MS Bodley 789, as it not only aligns Christ the Judge with Christ of the Passion by having the former reiterate the torments of the latter in a direct address to the damned, but it also unquestionably establishes the theological corollary between the Passion and the Doom by prefacing the account of Doomsday itself with a full Crucifixion narrative.

Another individual example comes in the form of a small tract found in London, British Library, MS Harley 2339, entitled ‘how crist schal appere at domesa day’, which also demonstrates this ongoing merging of the Passion and the Doom. In a text overtly concerned with Doomsday – just as is the M-V and the text in Bodley 789 – it proceeds to discuss the Passion at length. According to a sermon by St Augustine, the text begins:

Crist in þe doom schal schewe to alle biholdynge þe woundis and prickyngis of nailis in þe same bodi wipoute doute, which was woundid for oure synnes[…]

The sentiment here is unequivocal: the Domesman will assume the same body that was pierced with wounds at the Passion, just as contemporary images demonstrate. As in our other examples, Christ then addresses the congregation of the damned:

“After I hadde merci on þee, and took fleisch, I dwelte in erþe among synneris, I suffride dispisyngis and betyngis for þee, for to delyuere þee. I resseyuede

buffetis and spetyngis forto þeue to þée þe swehtnesse of paradijs. I drank vynegre wip galle, I was crowned wip þornes for þée. I was nailid to pe cros and peersid wit a spere […] þerfore þou vnpiteus man knowe what þingis I suffride for þée. Lo þe woundis whiche I resseyuede for þée. Lo þe hoolis of naylis bi which I was nailid and hangide in þe cros […] Lo now my riȝtfulnesse mai euer oper þing deeme, no but þat þat ȝoure werkes disseruen. þerfore holde ȝe þat þat ȝe haue chosen, ȝe haue dispisid lyjt, weelde ȝe derknessis.” What moornynge, what anguysch schal be, whanne þis sentence schal be seid aȝens vnpiteuous men.697

Once again, to justify the damnation of the sinful, Christ recites his suffering at the Passion, clearly demonstrating to any spiritually-diligent reader that devotion to the Passion is by far the most potent ward against damnation at the Doom. This brief text absolutely underpins the current argument that in order to convey the significance of Christ’s presence at the Doom we are rebuked with an affective rendition of his torments at the Passion. It epitomises the mindset that Christ at the Second Coming will be Christ as he was at the First.

An additional example occurs in another meditation on the life and Passion of Christ, this time found in London, British Library, MS Additional 11307, from folios 7r-87v, and edited by Charlotte d’Evelyn.698 D’Evelyn has suggested that this particular text might be labelled ‘a compendium of the lyric themes of Middle English religious poetry’, as it is ‘a collection of [such themes] loosely bound together’; its content has, according to d’Evelyn, been ‘incorporated into the present text with little or no change, from other writings, both Latin and English.’699 D’Evelyn has dated Additional 11307 to the first half of the fifteenth century.700 She considers the text itself to probably be a production of the second half of the fourteenth century, based upon a terminus a quo of 1349 – the death of Richard Rolle, some of whose passages appear in the meditation – and a terminus a quem of the first half of the fifteenth century, which is the likely provenance of the manuscript itself.701 Moreover, d’Evelyn explains, the meditation ‘makes use of another poem, An Orison of the Passion, which is not found in MSS earlier than the second half of the [fourteenth] century’.702
The meditation itself is an extensive account of the Incarnation, the Passion, and Christ’s life, and expounds the appropriate love of God. Importantly, though, this resoundingly Christological text still dedicates some of its content to the Doom and Christ as Judge. The Passion, then, is still irrevocably associated with our salvation at the Doom, and this particular example has an especially eschatological vibe. This meditation makes several invocations to the Virgin Mary as intercessor at the Last Judgement: ‘And at þy swete comauandement / He wol relese his iuggement. / Þerfore, lady, we praye to þe / Oure help to him þat þou wolt be. / ffor at þat ilke dredful stour / Þou alone art oure socour’. 703 The text later compounds this Christological affinity with Doomsday fully, once again through calling upon Mary as a ward against the Domesman’s wrath:

Perfore, moder of mercy,
Herkene to oure carful cry;
ffor al oure trust on þe is lent,
And but þou helpe, we ben y-shent [destroyed, brought to grief].
On þe is al oure trust y-set;
Þou most ben oure a-voket,
At þe dredful domes-day
Help vs, lady, as þou wel may.
Whan þi sone sit on his se
Wiþ woundes as he died on tre,
ffor to deme vs alle ful blyue
After oure desert in oure lyue[.].704

This text once again exemplifies the blend between Passion and Doom in such Christological material: when the Judge descends to earth on his ‘se’ – a familiar motif in Last Judgement visual scenes, wherein the rainbow is not, in fact, ubiquitous – bearing the same wounds that

703 D’Evelyne, ibid., p. 57, ll. 2171-2176.
704 D’Evelyne, ibid., p. 58.
The Holy Name and the Development of Christological Devotion

We might begin to draw this chapter to a close by exploring the possible developments behind this trend in English vernacular texts and, indeed, in wider late-medieval devotional culture. Such an association between the Passion and the Doom should not be particularly surprising, since it is entirely theologically apt and, at its simplest, is fairly ubiquitous in the primary source material. That the advents of Christ are linked might be considered a statement of the obvious, but apparently the extent of this relationship between the Passion and the Doom has not been fully expounded.\(^{705}\) So, although the origins of this fusion are likely broad and far-reaching – indeed, the question is arguably a moot one, since the answer lies at the foundations of the Christian salvation narrative – there are some observations that could be made on its presence in late medieval English devotion.

One such avenue worth exploring further is the development of Christological worship, in light of the Doom’s proposed compatibility with this. Rachel Fulton has conducted a relatively recent inquest into the largely obscure issues of why and when the shift in Christian devotion to a focus on Christ’s humanity emerged.\(^{706}\) Much of this discussion centres on the significance of Christ as Judge:

To understand the development of the devotion to Christ in his suffering humanity […] we must first understand what was at stake in that devotion: the placation – and repayment – of the all-powerful, all-seeing crucified Judge.\(^ {707}\)

Fulton highlights the anxiety surrounding the prospect of the Parousia at the first millennial mark of Christ’s death as being central to the shift in Christocentric worship.\(^ {708}\) To simplify Fulton’s extensive assessment, as time progressed, the increasing disappointment at the

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\(^{705}\) The resonation of this trend in visual culture, which is beyond the remit of this thesis, is enormous and very strongly mirrors the fusion of these two subjects taking place in textual sources.


\(^{707}\) Fulton, ibid., p. 64.

\(^{708}\) Fulton, ibid., p. 64.
failure of Christ to reappear in judgement eventually enabled the shift from Judgement to Passion; God’s continued absence ignited a desire to instead understand and engage with his humanity. However, as her title implies, Fulton presents this ‘emergence’ of Christological devotion as a transition – an evolution from Judgement to Passion. A different interpretation can be strongly contended in contrast to this: concern with the Last Judgement clearly does not recede in exclusive favour of the human suffering of Christ. Interest in the Judge demonstrably persists, as can be seen in the sheer volume of Doom-related materials surviving from the High to Late Middle Ages and the palpable desire to understand God’s Judgement that is detectable throughout the sources presented by this thesis. What does happen, as the texts above reveal, is that the human suffering of Christ is fused with this preoccupation to ‘placate the Judge’, as Fulton puts it. The evidence discussed so far in this chapter clearly demonstrates that in order to comprehend God’s Judgement, one must meditate deeply on his Passion, and that to understand the Passion and Christ’s suffering, one must acknowledge the inevitability of the Doom. Thus, the emergence of Christological devotion as Fulton describes it is not a shift from Judgement to Passion; the former is a direct extension and component of this burgeoning Christocentric worship. In many ways – and several of the above examples testify to this – the Last Judgement is appropriated by this renewed focus on Christ’s suffering, as emphasis is increasingly placed on the wounds and the arma Christi, and the Judge himself repeatedly laments his endurance of these torments to the sinful at the Doom in an emotive attempt to inspire reflection and penitence in the reader/listener.

This Christological fusion of Judgement and Passion is perhaps embodied nowhere better than in the ‘cult’ of the Holy Name of Jesus. According to Rob Lutton, ‘devotion to the Holy Name had very deep roots in the medieval West’, beginning with St Augustine and St Ambrose, and there is a long tradition of patristic and monastic Latin devotional writing on the Name. Devotion to the Name was given ‘fresh impetus and literary articulation at

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Fulton has analysed this shift in great detail and proposes numerous key figures who were at the heart of precipitating it, such as St Anselm.

several points throughout the Middle Ages’, particularly through the works of St Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as in the formation of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the thirteenth century and the recognition of the cult by the second council of Lyon in 1274.\textsuperscript{711} Richard Rolle was, according to Lutton, ‘England’s greatest late medieval champion of the Holy Name’, and, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, ‘verse and prose prayers, hymns, lyrics and didactic treatises that were associated with or focused on the Holy Name of Jesus can be found in increasing numbers in manuscripts and early printed books.’\textsuperscript{712}

The Holy Name, then, represents a fundamental Christocentric devotion, which developed as part of the burgeoning focus on the humanity of God.\textsuperscript{713} It is very arguably predicated upon anxiety about the Doom, its raison d’être being, according to Lutton, largely apotropaic.\textsuperscript{714} The Name is called upon as a protective device, and the thing from which a medieval, Christologically-minded worshipper most needed protecting was God’s wrath at the Last Judgement. Of course, the Name is used in an array of contexts and does lend itself to protection from all manner of things, including such threats that are far more quotidian than God’s vengeance at the end of time. However, one of the great sources from which devotion to the Name emerges is St Anselm. According to Lutton,

\begin{quote}
The use of the name ‘Jesus’ emphasised Christ’s humanity and so kinship and solidarity with humankind and the redemptive effectiveness of his death on the cross for the sins of humanity in accordance with the soteriology of St. Anselm.\textsuperscript{715}
\end{quote}

In his well-known Meditation ‘to stir up fear’, a reflection on the Last Judgement, Anselm invokes the Name repeatedly in a call for mercy: ‘Jesus, Jesus, for your name’s sake, deal with me according to your name.’\textsuperscript{716} In this text, the great theologian sets a precedent by calling upon the Name directly as a means of protection against the Doom; this absolutely

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{711} Lutton, “‘Love this name that is IHC’”, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{712} Lutton, ibid., pp. 125 and 119.
\textsuperscript{713} Lutton, ‘Looking for Jesus: Evidence for the Cult of the Holy Name in Late Medieval English Religious Manuscripts’, paper delivered at the University of Kent, Canterbury, 12/11/15.
\textsuperscript{714} Lutton, ‘Looking for Jesus:’.
\textsuperscript{715} Lutton, “‘Love this name that is IHC’”, p. 120. Lutton also cites Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{716} The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm, translated by Sr Benedicta Ward, p. 224. The relevant meditation begins on p. 221; I have discussed it in more detail in the chapter on the Three Arrows, alongside which the Meditation’s vernacular descendants frequently appear.
\end{flushright}
Christological device, therefore, is fused with anxiety about the Last Judgement: ‘But it is he himself, he himself is Jesus. The same is my judge, between whose hands I tremble.’

This apotropaic function of the Name manifests itself in many other places. For example, we might return to MS Additional 37049, as it was earlier mentioned that this compilation contains frequent references to the Name, some of which lend themselves to this association with the Doom:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Þe luf of god who so will lere} \\
\text{In his hert þe name of Ihesu he bere,} \\
\text{For it puts oute þe fende and makes hym flee,} \\
\text{And fils a man with chariye.} \\
\text{Þerefore to purches þe ioy þat euer shal laste,} \\
\text{Devoutely in Jesu ʒo ur herte ʒe caste.}
\end{align*}
\]

Another example, which further supports the association between the Passion and the Doom, can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 54:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jhu for thy holy name} \\
\text{And for thy bytter passyon} \\
\text{saue vs from syn and schame} \\
\text{And from endles damnacion […]}
\end{align*}
\]

And another, which directly correlates pleas to the Name with a petition for salvation at the Doom, from the T-V of the Three Arrows (MS T):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Forþi merciful Lord, for þin hooli name helpe me now in þis lijf and schewe to me here þi greet mercie, puyrgyinge me here with diuerse tribulaciouns aftir my}
\end{align*}
\]

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718 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, cited in Lutton, “‘Love this name that is IHC’”, p. 130. See also Brantley, Reading in the Wilderness, pp. 146 and 189.
719 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 54; IMEV 1703 and 1704; cited in Lutton, “‘Love this name that is IHC’”, p. 131. See also R. H. Robbins, ‘Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse’, Modern Philology, 36.4 (1939), 337-350.
These instances barely scratch the surface of material dedicated to the Holy Name, but they indicate that its function is regularly salvific, showcasing how this absolutely Christological form of devotion partners itself with consideration of the Doom.

Why, then, are these subjects paired together like this? What is the function of Doomsday when utilised alongside the Passion as in the manner described in this chapter? It is – quite literally – therapeutic, designed to spiritually cure; or, to provide a strong incentive by which one can cure oneself, within the mechanisms of the Church. The salvific qualities of contemplating Christ’s Passion in particular are duly represented in contemporary texts, as the act of Christ’s death itself is imbued with therapeutic value: ‘I vnderfeng þi sorwis for to hele þee’, proclaims the Judge in the unique text in MS Bodley 789. This concept has been addressed in scholarship, as Daniel McCann, for example, has drawn attention to the ‘therapeutic significance and psychosomatic mechanics’ that meditation upon texts of the Passion rendered unto a worshipper: ‘throughout the Middle English Lives of Christ, the reading of the Passion is parsed as a therapeutic act, one designed to heal the reader.’

Although McCann’s investigation is into the physical medicinal qualities putatively possessed by texts on the Passion, the remedial effects of such devotion can easily be extended – and, arguably are more relevant – to the notion of spiritual cleansing. Indeed, McCann does unpack this problem deftly, as he extends the medieval definition of health beyond simply an absence of illness or disease and recognises its spiritual dimension:

Such sophistication is reflected in the very word used throughout the period to denote the concept of health – salus. The Latin word itself a complex of signification, meaning not simply ‘health’ but also ‘salvation’. There is, therefore, an inseparable theological component to the medieval understanding of health which endows it with a salvific character and agenda, with all therapy being directed towards furthering the goal of salvation.

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721 Daniel McCann, ‘Heaven and Health: Middle English Devotion to Christ in its Therapeutic Contexts’, in Kelly and Perry, Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe, 335-362 (pp. 337-8).
Therefore, these well-established remedial qualities putatively possessed by texts on the Passion comfortably encompass spiritual hygiene. This notion is also corroborated by Ryan Perry:

Certainly, ‘to þenke on þe passion of crist Iesu’ is a prescription frequently advised by the author of the Chastising [of God’s Children] to salve a number of spiritual ailments that might affect his readership, and The Prickinge of Love also advises frequent meditation on the Passion.723

The ultimate aspiration of any ‘healthy’ Christian is immunity against diabolical persecution and damnation, and clearly diligent meditation on the Passion provides the spiritual vaccine required to achieve this. Contemporary authors clearly espoused this notion: ‘Mynde of Cristes passion’, according to John Mirk, the late fourteenth-century Augustinian canon and preacher, is the ‘best defence aȝeyns alle temptacions of þe fend’.724 An English version of a fourteenth-century hymn dedicated to the Cross corresponds with Mirk’s sentiment: ‘Þenke we sadli on his deeþ. / Pat shal saue us from helle.’725 Evidently, dedicated devotion to the Passion is the antidote for damnation at the Doom.

To expand this one step further, it has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis that the Doom was employed in a similar function to the Passion in this respect, in that contemplation of the Last Judgement is frequently recommended as an exercise in spiritual self-cleansing, as it is put forward as a preventative device against sinning. The Myrour of Synneres, for instance, which forms part of the textual node discussed in relation to the Three Arrows on Doomsday, centres upon Deuteronomy 32:29: Utinam saperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent, which the Myrour translates as ‘Wolde god pat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden, and purueieden for the laste thynges!’726 Contemplation of the end in this manner, the Myrour assures its reader (‘my deere brother’), extirpates sin:

723 Ryan Perry, “‘Thynk on God, as we doon, men that swynke’: The Cultural Locations of Meditations on the Sapper of Our Lord and the Middle English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Tradition’, Speculum 86.2 (2011), 419-452 (445).
725 Eleanor McCullough, “‘Penke we sadli on his deep’”, in Kelly and Perry, Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe, 385-404 (p. 403).
For þe bisy vnderstondyng of this sentence is distruccion of pruyde, quenchyng of enuye, medicyne of malice, dryuyng awey of licherie, voidyng of boost and of vanytee, informacion of leernyng, perfeccion of hoolynesse, and reparaylyng of euerlastynge heelthe […]\textsuperscript{727}

Keeping the novissima ever in mind through textual devotion is clearly attributed with the same therapeutic properties as is contemplation on texts of the Passion described above. The Myrour even makes direct reference to the benefits that such contemplation provides for one's 'everlasting health'. Therefore, a reader who pays heed to the Myrour’s message understands that reflection on the Doom is directly effective in preventing personal damnation, as a keen comprehension of Christ’s judgement to come should steer any conscientious individual away from sin.

It would seem, then, that contemplation on one’s eventual judgement at the mercy of Christ is strongly encouraged as a preventative measure against sinning. However, ultimately, it is reflection on the Passion that is the true vaccine against damnation, as the Judge himself repeatedly outlines in our texts. Only through recognition of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross and subsequent penitence can one actually be spared the Judge’s wrath. In light of this, the fusion of Passion and Doom appears to be very appropriate, since both subjects are advertised as antidotes to sin and damnation. Therefore, the salvific value intrinsic to a text such as the M-V of the Three Arrows, which so seamlessly blends these two soteriological moments into a singular narrative is enormous. The message of this text is unmistakable: an awareness of both of these events is crucial in avoiding damnation, because they are completely mutually dependent. Judgement will be meted out by Christ in accordance with each individual’s response to his sacrifice during the Passion; there is no more important criteria than this, and diligent reflection on his suffering and an awareness of the consequences of failing to adhere to his laws when the Doom arrives are the ultimate defence against damnation. Reflection on the Doom and its frightening consequences for sinners should prevent any conscientious individual from sinning, while an understanding of the salvific significance of Christ’s death on the cross and the implications of this at the Last Judgement provide the individual with protection from the Judge on Doomsday, who will predicate his justice upon just such a response to his sacrifice during the Passion.

\textsuperscript{727} Ibid., pp. 436-7.
Conclusion to the Doom-Passion

In order to conclude this chapter, it is worth introducing one final textual example, the Old English poem, Dream of the Rood, which provides a significantly earlier demonstration of the merging of Passion and Doom material, perhaps establishing a precedent for this fusion within an English vernacular context, as it exhibits the same trends that we have been examining thus far. The most complete text of the Dream survives in the so-called ‘Vercelli Book’, a tenth-century manuscript of the cathedral library at Vercelli, in northern Italy, which contains Old English poetry and prose along with other legendary and homiletic material.\footnote{728} The poem relates a dream experienced by the author, ‘while humankind were sleeping in their beds’;\footnote{729} in it, the dreamer is confronted with a vision of ‘the glorious tree of victory’ – the Rood.\footnote{730} The Rood itself speaks to the visionary, recalling its role in Christ’s Passion: ‘It was long past – I still remember it – / that I was cut down at the copse’s end, / […] Strong enemies there took me, / Told me to hold aloft their criminals’.\footnote{731} The Rood describes Christ’s crucifixion from its own perspective, mirroring the wounds of Christ himself: ‘They pierced me with dark nails; / The scars can still be clearly seen on me, / The open wounds of malice.’\footnote{732} Its description is in stark contrast with the visceral details of later medieval accounts of the Passion. There is no harrowing recollection of the flagellation, the buffeting, or the profuse bleeding and agony so rife in later affective meditations; instead, the Rood recalls the ‘young hero’ willingly climbing up the ‘lofty gallows-tree’ to redeem mankind.\footnote{733} After its account of the Crucifixion, Deposition, and burial, the Rood orders the dreamer to reveal this vision to mankind (lines 109-110) to remind them of God’s suffering for their sins, and of the Resurrection and Ascension. From this account of the Passion, the Rood then moves seamlessly onto the relevance of these events at the end of time:

[…] And the Lord Himself, Almighty God and all His angels with Him,

\footnote{730}{Hamer, ibid., ll. 30-33.}
\footnote{731}{Hamer, ibid., ll. 53-55.}
\footnote{732}{Hamer, ibid., ll. 43 and 45.}
Will come onto this earth again to seek
Mankind on Doomsday, when the final Judge
Will give His verdict upon every man,
What in this fleeting life he shall have earned.\textsuperscript{734}

The Rood tells the dreamer how all humankind will be held to account for this suffering upon the Cross, of which they will be afraid, ‘and few will know what they may say to Christ.’\textsuperscript{735}

The visionary then prays to the Cross with ‘joyous heart’ (line 134), as he muses upon his own salvation in light of the Rood’s account:

\[\text{[...]} \text{ and I wait each day}\]
\[\text{For when the cross of God, which here on earth}\]
\[\text{I formerly beheld, may fetch me from}\]
\[\text{This transitory life and carry me}\]
\[\text{To where there is great bliss and joy in heaven,}\]
\[\text{Where the Lord’s host is seated at the feast,}\]
\[\text{And it shall set me where I afterwards}\]
\[\text{May dwell in glory, live in lasting bliss}\]
\[\text{Among the saints [...]}\textsuperscript{736}

It is through the Cross – the instrument of Christ’s suffering – that salvation can be attained at the Doom: ‘But there need none be fearful if he bears upon his breast the best of tokens.’\textsuperscript{737}

So, another – much earlier – text that narrates the sequence of events at Christ’s Crucifixion merges this with musings on final judgement, salvation, and the eternal fate, highlighting once again that God’s Judgement on Doomsday is predicated entirely upon the individual’s response to his suffering during the Passion. This tendency to combine contemplation on the Passion with eschatology internally within a text mirrors the same trend, described by Kelly and Perry, taking place in devotional manuscript compilations. The

\textsuperscript{734} Hamer, ibid., ll. 117-122.
\textsuperscript{735} Hamer, ibid., ll. 128-129.
\textsuperscript{736} Hamer, ibid., ll. 147-155.
\textsuperscript{737} Hamer, ibid., ll. 129-131.
much earlier date of composition of the Dream – possibly as early as the eighth century – makes it a fascinating English antecedent to the texts described earlier in this chapter. The Rood, the icon of Christ’s Passion, is also the centrepiece of the drama of the Last Judgement, demonstrating its intrinsically dualistic symbolism.

In the mind of a worshiper, then, the theological corollary being represented in these texts and manuscripts is marked: Christ the Judge will return looking exactly as he did when crucified to impose justice upon those who have not sought absolution for their shared role in his death. This sentiment is consistently reinforced by textual accounts of the Doom, which regularly stipulate that the Judge will appear in that same form in which he underwent his Passion, and that the very act of judgement is predicated upon the response of every individual to Christ’s death on the cross. The frequent reiteration of this suffering by the Judge himself is testament that humanity will be measured against this specific criterion. It is only through due reflection – which subsequently produces contrition – on the Passion that one can be saved at the Doom, and, inversely, through studying the Doom one is constantly reminded of the significance of the Passion for the events that will unfold.

Alongside the Passion, then, this thesis would argue that the Doom lies at the heart of late medieval Christian worship. Both moments are crucial to Christological worship and ultimate salvation. They are the two heavyweights of late medieval English devotion, clearly occupying the minds of late medieval Christians greatly and subsequently fuelling their textual appetites, as both are staple components of devotional manuscript compilations. Without the Parousia, Christianity’s worldview remains unverified – until Christ returns, he is not truly vindicated as the Messiah. The conscious fusion of these two moments arguably reveals something about the anxiety of medieval Christians, who (not unlike their modern descendants – indeed, this concern is ostensibly a human one) are persistently preoccupied with The End because its occurrence validates their faith and vindicates the divinity of Christ. Indeed, the anticipated return of Christ is the domineering anxiety of Christianity and, consequently, the Doom is the fulcrum of the faith, since, without the Last Judgement, Christ’s messianic duty remains ultimately unfulfilled. The arrival of Doomsday eradicates the need for faith and provides certainty; it acts as vindication for the believers and reproach for the doubters. The fusion of these two subjects in the manner demonstrated in this chapter, therefore, is especially pertinent, because it offers verification – both visual and verbal – on this issue. The Doom and the Passion are mutually dependent in this respect, as the former validates the events of the latter and confirms Christ’s divinity. It unquestionably proves the
truth of Christ’s first coming, of his Passion, and of his resurrection, as the Judge will return looking precisely the same as he did previously, triumphantly displaying the wounds earned on the cross in full majesty.
Conclusion

The prospects for future research into the subject of the Last Judgement are significant, and this thesis has attempted to establish a means by which such inquiry can be conducted. By overcoming the obstacle of the Doom’s daunting ubiquity, which often precipitates the broader, universalised commentaries on its nature and history that are commonplace, it has instead sought to mine deeper into the subject by focusing on microcosmic examples, from which wider extrapolations can be made, not only about the Last Judgement per se, but about wider medieval religious and devotional phenomena, which, in the case of this thesis’s material, concern codicological and compilational behaviour, and devotional practice in English manuscript culture. Taking individual texts and pursuing their leads across the broader textual landscape of medieval English vernacular devotion has allowed for much more sincere and precise analyses to be compiled regarding the subject of the Last Judgement. It is hoped that this approach will in some way pave a course for replication, facilitating an investigation into additional strands related to the study of Doomsday.

In particular, I wish to take this opportunity to identify some specific topics that are especially worthy of such future inquiry, which were perpetual questions loitering in the wings of this project, but which could never be introduced to centre-stage. These are, firstly, research into the use of Doomsday in the conflicting circles of heterodoxy and orthodoxy, with a particular emphasis on the ‘Lollard Doom’; secondly, again centring on heterodoxy versus orthodoxy, research into the theology of universal salvation as it aligns with the Last Judgement. These two extensions of the subject of Doomsday frequently arose as problems in this thesis’s exploration of the ‘use and abuse’ of the Last Judgement in English vernacular devotional culture, but could not be adequately addressed, since they are themselves expansive subjects with their own textual and social micromilieu.

Regarding the former, an argument for the fertility of such an inquiry is readily available in the array of homiletic material appended to this thesis. London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, dating to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, contains the ‘Wycliffite Sermons’, fourteen of which this thesis has recorded as pertaining in some manner to the Last Judgement (numbers 19-32 in Appendix 2). For a description of this manuscript, see Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon, eds, English Wycliffite Sermons, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), I, pp. 55-57.
wedding feast (Matt. 22:1-14), a Last Judgement allegory (‘For many are invited, but few are chosen’, Matt. 22:14), features on the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; the Second Sunday in Advent has the typical reading of Luke 21:25-33, erunt signa in sole, etc.; there is the parable of the tares (Matt. 13:24-30), with appropriate Last Judgement commentary; the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) for Septuagesima, again with accompanying Doom commentary; on waiting for the Lord with girded loins (Luke 12:35-39); the parable of the virgins with the oil (Matt. 25:1-13); a sermon on the form of the Last Judgement, describing Christ’s arrival in his humanity to divide the sheep and the goats (Matt. 25:31-46); and a further commentary on the portents of the end of the world (Matt. 24:1-51), including the Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday.

Most importantly, even a cursory examination of the meta-description of these sermons in the Repertorium reveals their potential for the Doom to be wielded for the advancement of a heterodox agenda, such as that of the Lollards. Sermon numbers 23, 24, 27, and 28 (as per the table in Appendix 2) all contain anti-clerical – and especially anti-papal – sentiments. In sermon 24, for the Common of Many Martyrs, successive popes are attacked for pretending to know the date of Doomsday and for presuming to hand out pardons reducing the punishment of sinners by however many thousands of years. Sermon 28 decries those in positions of social elevation, the ‘kings and lords’, who are ‘in danger because they use the religious to extort money from their tenants and imprison their people, contrary to the works of mercy.’ Such assaults on the more privileged members of medieval society are strikingly cognate with the representation of these same figures of the social hierarchy who are almost ubiquitously featured in visual representations of the Doom. This social polemical angle of the Doom has been touched upon but is yet to be fully unpacked, and the connection between this fascination with depicting the elites of society engulfed in the flames of damnation with the theology and social agenda of Wycliffism is surely an extremely ripe avenue for further investigation. Likewise, how such texts compare with Doom-advocates of pro-clerical orthodoxy, such as the Cursor Mundi, the

739 Repertorium, vol. 1, p. 566.
740 Repertorium, vol. 1, p. 682.
741 It is worthwhile harking back to the particularly noteworthy and demonstrative example from the Life of St Hugh of Lincoln, which was referenced in Chapter One, to underscore this point, in which Hugh explains the moral significance of such figures of high social status depicted among the damned to King John. See Binski, Medieval Death, pp. 178-180.
742 “The condemned are a mixed bunch and include villainous kings, fraudulent beggars, ale-wives who lead men astray in their “devil’s school-houses”, selfish misers, and other wretched characters”, Rosewell, Medieval Wall Paintings, pp. 41-42.
Elucidarium, Mirk’s Festial, and Wimbledon’s Redde Racionem Villicacionis Tue, is an equally viable direction for prospective research to pursue. Similarly, regarding the topic of universal salvation, measuring the contrasts in the utilisation of the Last Judgement by its adversarial proponents – the likes of Walter Hilton and, again, Wycliffe – would be basis for another potentially revealing scholarly inquiry.

In addition to these, further investigation could be aimed towards explaining the contrast between the Cursor-poet’s (as an example representative) emphasis on the instrumental role played by the Church in providing salvation, and the range of texts examined in Chapter Three, which consistently promote devotion to Christ’s Passion as the source of salvation. This distinction is certainly noteworthy and could support the suggestion of an increasing individualism in devotional behaviour as the Middle Ages progress, as the Christocentric material of Chapter Three tends to promote the importance of introspection as a means of recognising one’s spiritual deficiency. This is probably not an entirely satisfactory explanation, though, since the material examined throughout this thesis represents a significant period of time but does not obviously cohere to such a chronological divide. It is possible to attempt some further interpretation of this discrepancy here. The texts consulted in Chapter Three promote reflection on Christ’s suffering and death as a trigger for individual spiritual self-assessment. Hence, one could (and should) find oneself lacking in dedication to Christ’s sacrifice and therefore in need of correction. To fix this imbalance, one must address one’s own sinful behaviour, which so flagrantly violates the very purpose of Christ’s death, for which amends must be made, and this, as the Cursor Mundi so vehemently argues, is best conducted through the machinations of the Church. Therefore, the Christocentric focus and individual introspection promoted by the texts of Chapter Three are but the first step towards salvation, which cannot be completed until appropriate action is taken through the agency of the Church and its officials. This is, however, only an interpretation of absent material, since neither group of texts makes explicit reference to the alternative focus for salvation – either the sacramental significance of the Church that the Cursor-poet promotes or the salvific importance of Christ’s suffering that the Christocentric texts of Chapter Three propound. Considering the number of factors that differentiate the contexts of these various texts, a combination of different reasons should be proposed, including an increasing spiritual introversion among medieval Christians, but also a burgeoning Christocentrism, and the possibility of distinctive traditions and textual sub-cultures. These issues are akin to the kind
of chronological developments that Rachel Fulton has pursued and are certainly avenues ripe for further investigation.

These are issues that this thesis has not been able to address, but they are discussed here, conversely, to demonstrate what this thesis’s methodology has achieved, and, therefore, what it could achieve in the future if extended further. This thesis has attempted to highlight how the use of a central theme – the Last Judgement – as a kind of tracer across a large corpus of material can produce both micro and macro extrapolations. In the case of religious textual cultures, this has allowed the identification of patterns of transmission, of devotional interaction with objects, of scribal and compiler behaviour, and so on. Recently, there has been a concerted scholarly effort to map the array of Pseudo-Bonaventuran lives of Christ and texts on the Passion. This enterprise comprised numerous scholars conducting precise, surgical research on individual resources, allowing for acute analysis to be produced, which, when combined with the findings of others working within the same nexus of materials connected by this central theme, produced significant results across a broader context. This collaborative work on the Passion and Christocentric devotion in English and European religious culture provides an excellent model for the kind of research that the subject of Doomsday is overdue. This type of approach is precisely what the Doom requires in order to fully map its history in late medieval Europe and to fully realise its impact and significance upon the religious culture of the Middle Ages. As this thesis has contended, the Doom is, alongside the Passion and Crucifixion, absolutely a devotional heavyweight of medieval Christianity, percolating into virtually all artistic, theological, homiletic, performative, and literary media. So, it is only through such collaborative efforts that the Doom can rightfully take its place alongside the Passion in this crucial stratum of late-medieval Christological devotion.

Therefore, to demonstrate the value of this methodology as presented on a micro-scale by this thesis, it is apt to revisit and summarise the more significant contentions of this thesis, its conclusions, and its extrapolations from the materials examined. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, this thesis sought to justify an appraisal of the Last Judgement as ‘multi-dimensional’, that is, not purely a terrifying cataclysm of horror and destruction. The Cursor Mundi (and the Cursor-poet is not alone in this) clearly contradicts this traditional perception of the Doom as serving only a singular purpose of inducing fear and anxiety among the masses. The poem acts as a fundamentally didactic resource, educating its audience on what to expect and how to prepare. Indeed, this description can be applied to a great swathe of
Doom-related literature: The Three Arrows and the Myrour of Synneres, for instance, both propagate preparedness as the best defence against damnation. A pertinent quote in relation to this, referenced when discussing the Myrour in chapter two, that of Ecclesiasticus 7:40, in omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis, is the keystone of the Doom-genre. The Doom is not purely a polemic against sinners – though this constitutes an undeniable part of its modus operandi – but a plea to avoid sin by keeping these novissima ever in one’s mind; it is a prophylactic cure for sin. Ultimately, the Last Judgement, as exemplified by the Cursor Mundi, is pastoral. It is not just a threat, it is not purely an attempt at spiritual blackmail; it is also a reassuring promise that broken bodies will be mended, loved ones will be reunited, and the scales of justice will finally be balanced. The very first sermon tabulated in this thesis’s appendices corroborates this firmly: the gospel tells everyone to behold and to lift up their heads in order to instil fear into the wicked and to comfort the good (His autem fieri incipientibus, respicite, et levate capita vestra: quoniam appropinquat redemptione vestra, Luke 21:28). The benevolent, therefore, should rightfully look forward to the blast of the trumpets that will signal this grand overhaul of society. The Doom forever operates as an equaliser: in its inexorable levelling of the social hierarchy, it acts as the valve through which the boiling steam of social injustice is released.

Next, this thesis’s in-depth study of the Three Arrows corpus has revealed numerous ideas and observations that have wider significance. Not least of all among these, particularly when measuring the scholarly gravity of a subject by the volume of research dedicated to it, is the proposed reassessment of the Rollean textual canon. This thesis claims neither that Rolle was or was not the author of the M-V of the Three Arrows, but this chapter’s efforts to disambiguate the various versions of the Three Arrows, particularly in distinguishing the M-V from the Holy Boke, provide a footing with which to engage with this question once more and with a fuller picture of the evidence. Furthermore, the proposed relationships between each version (particularly as supported by the research of Professor Hanna) of the Three Arrows and its nexus of regular textual accompaniments, demonstrate its value as a representative of late medieval literary devotional practices, encompassing many of the issues that pervade the study of vernacular manuscript culture, such as compilational and scribal behaviour, and the transmission of material across a network of codices. This chapter should represent merely the beginning of investigation into the Three Arrows on Doomsday, as there

is undoubtedly a significant number of further extrapolations that can be achieved through the undertaking of future research into this invaluable corpus of material.

Finally, the third chapter, detailing the extensive relationship between the first and second comings of Christ, opens the doors to a pantheon of materials that align these two pivotal moments in the Christian salvation narrative across visual and verbal evidence. In this chapter, it is demonstrated that the Doom acts alongside the much more widely recognised corpus of Passion texts as a preventative cure against spiritual malaise. The implications of this concept, particularly in the visual arts, which this thesis could not delve into, are significant, as it can be investigated on a pan-European scale across virtually all disciplines. Each of these chapters, it seems, are merely tips of proverbial icebergs whose full implications are still waiting to be uncovered, and this thesis has sought to demonstrate the value of pursuing such research in adherence to a singular theme and extrapolating from its many iterations. Scholarship on the Cursor Mundi requires a modern overhaul; Thompson’s contextual work on the poem is only the foundation for research that this text is overdue. The poem requires a grand textual and codicological comparison, in the manner of this thesis and Professor Hanna’s work on the copies of the Three Arrows, since there is still a great deal to be revealed through close codicological scrutiny alongside focused literary analysis. Likewise, the Three Arrows manuscript diaspora is worthy of a complete investigation, the findings of which would be undoubtly rich.

And so, the flaws inherent within the arrangement of this thesis do simultaneously serve to highlight its most important achievement, in that it illuminates the magnitude of the subject of the Last Judgement as a devotional, pastoral, didactic device in late medieval English religious culture (and the potential for a geographical expansion of this approach should be apparent). It is a prolific subject across a range of disciplines within medieval studies; its frequency is openly recognised but it remains hugely under-analysed. Its most famous examples – particularly in the visual arts – are well known, their contents are readily recognisable, and the perceived purpose of the subject at its most basic level, in both art and literature, is regularly addressed in broad terms. But none of this recognition has amounted to a cohesive undertaking of scholarly inquiry, coagulating these numerous tributaries that comprise what is surely the most recognisable scene and topic in Christian text and image after the Crucifixion. The Doom is the crowning pinnacle of Christian salvation theology: it is the implementation of the final stage of the cycle that was instigated by the Incarnation and Crucifixion. Without the second coming, the first is irrelevant; salvation is not cemented until
Christ fulfils the promise to return and brings an end to this world. The two salvific subjects are, as this thesis has presented, equal parts of a mutually-dependent corollary, and the Last Judgement’s status in medieval religious practice must be recognised in accordance with this.

The end of the world has always held, continues to, and likely always will hold a place as an obsessive feature of the human religious psyche. The enigmatic Book of Revelation is still widely known and continually referenced; it is a constant feature of popular culture. Late medieval England was no different: civilisation’s demise in the form of Christ’s return to judge represented a perpetual concern for the spiritually-conscientious. This thesis has attempted to provide a preliminary step in the direction of unravelling this religious phenomenon and its cultural significance to devotion in the Middle Ages. The potential for expansion in this field is enormous, as the Doom remains a largely untapped yet astoundingly fertile area for scholarly investigation.
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Appendix 1: Transcriptions

(1) London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A. ii, 15th century

(a) ff. 4r-6r, sermon for the First Sunday in Advent

4r. Thys day ys kalled þe furst sonday yn þe / aduent þ[a]t ys sonday in crystes comy[n]g. W-/her fore þe day holy chyrch makyth me[n]cy- / -on of two comy[n]ges of cst’ þe furst comyng / of estes’, some of heue[n] was, to bye monkynd / out of þ[e] deles [sic] bondage and to bryng alle / gode doers, in to þe blysse þ[a]t eu[er] schal last. And of hys oþer / comy[n]g þ[a]t schal ben at þe day of dome, for to deme alle wykked / doeres, in to þ[e] put [sic] of helle for eu[er] more. But þ[e] furst /comy[n]g of cst’ in to þys world, brogh ioy and blysses w[i]t hym, þ[e]r for holy chyrch vseth sum[e] songes of melody as alliu’[?] / [and] oþ[er]. And for þe secunde comy[n]g of crist to þ[e] dome schal be so cruel / and so yrns [sic; or ‘yrus’], þ[a]t no tonge may telle þ[e]r for holy chyrch layth dou[n] som[m]e / songes of melody and of m[ir?]th,745 as te d[eu]m[?]746 laudam[us], gl[or]ia in excel[s]is. And / also weddyng for aff[ur] þ[a]t day schal neu[er] weddyng ben more, þus holy / chyrch leyth dou[n] songes of melody by fore in token[y]g[n]g of vengia[n]s, / þ[a]t schal come aft[ur]. Pen of þe furst comy[n]g of cst’ in to þ[i]s world, bus / seth senct austy[n] þer ben hee sely þ[e] hyngys, þ[a]t ben ryvot[?] in þ[i]s wor-/ld burth, travel and deth þys is þe testame[n]t þ[a]t adam our[e] fadur ma- / -de to al hys ofspryng aft[e]r hym þ[a]t ys to be boren in seknes, for to / ly nou in trauayl, and for to dyen in drede. But crest blessed be / he come to be executo[ur] of þys testame[n]t and was boren trauayled / [and] dyed. He was bore for to bryng men out of seknes in to er-/ / -lastyng hele. He trauayled to bryng men to erlastyng rest. He / was ded to bryng men in to erlastyng lyf, þ[a]t neu[er] schal haue en-/ / -de. Þis was þe cause of þe furst coming of cryst. þ[e]r for he þ[a]t / wol voyde þ[e] perel and þe myschyf of þe secu[n]de comy[n]g to þe dome / he mot legge dou[n] al man[er] of p[r]ide and hyghnes of hert and kno-/ / -w hym self a wret[c]h and slym of þ[e]r, and so holde mekenes

4v. in hys herte. He mote trauayle hys body in gode workes / and geten hys lyfloode w[i]t swynk of hys body, and put a-/ / -way al ydulnes and slowth for he þ[a]t wol not trauayl hire

744 Non-rubricated Latin, presumably a hymn, but difficult to decipher.
745 Abbreviation is obstructed by descender from ‘y’ in above line. ‘m’, ‘t’, and ‘h’ appear fairly clearly, though ‘m’ could be another combination of minims, rendering the word uncertain.
746 Written as either ‘dm’ or ‘dni’, so unclear whether ‘deum’ or ‘domini’. ‘Deum’, as an accusative, is appropriate in apposition to ‘te’ and preceding ‘laudamus’. 
And for drede of deth he mot maken hym redy to / hys god when he wol sende aftur hym, þ[a]t ys to saye stry- / -ve hym of alle his syn[n]es þ[a]t ben in hys concyens, not for to a by- / -de fro þer[e] to þere but also sone as he feleth himself in syn- / -ne748 stryve hym and mekely take þe dom of hys stryffad[ur],749 þe[n] / schal he haue at þe day of dom750 gret worschep for right, as a knyght, / schownet þe wondes þ[a]t he hadde in batel, in mo[o]ch come[n]diyng / to hym. Ryght so alle þe sy[n]nes þ[a]t a mon hath stryuen hym / of and taken hys pena[n]s, fore schul ben þ[u]s schewet to mo[o]ch / hono[ur] and worschep to hym and mo[o]ch confucyon to þe fynd. And / þyke[?] þ[a]t he hath not stryven hym of schul ben schewet to / al þe worde [sic] in gret confusyon and schame to hym.751 Þys ys seyde for þe furst comyn[?]g of cryst in to þe worde [sic]. / The secu[n]de comyn[?]g of est’ to the dom schal be so752 cruel fere-[?] / -ful and orribul þ[a]t þ[e]r schal come by fore [before] fyftene tokenes, / of gret drede so þ[a]t by euedrons [sic; i.e., evidence?] of þe tokens, kom[y]n[?]g, / by for[e] a mon may knowe in p[riv]ity[?]753 þe grede horriblyte / and drede þ[a]t schal come at þe dom aftur. Þe furst day as / seth seyn754 Jerom þe see schal ryson up in harrel[?]755 stude þ[a]t / þe wat[ur] schal ben herr[er][?]756 þen any hul by fowrty kubytes. / stondy[n]g757 stylle in hur[er][?] stude as hyt were 758 a wal. Þe secu[n]day þe see / falle a doun aeyn so þ[a]t onneth[?] heo schal ben seyn. Þe þry- / -dde day alle þe see swy[n][?] [and] gloppes759 of þe see schul stondyn on þe see / and makyn a roryng[?] [and] a noyse so hydewys þ[a]t no mon may / telle hyt but god. Þe fythe day trees and herbes schul760 swete / blod and all foules schul come toged[ur] [and] neyb[er] ete ne drynk /

747 I.e., he who does not make amends in life among mankind will have to make amends with the fiends of Hell.
748 I.e., do not just wait to confess annually, but do so as soon as you have sinned. Particularly interesting in light of the prominent mandate of Lateran IV that confession must be made at least once a year. Moreover, it is striking how much emphasis is placed on repentance within the mechanisms of the Church: salvation at the Doom, according to this sermon (and hardly an uncommon sentiment), can only be attained through orthodox, clerical involvement, not through the kind of introspective meditation that we encounter in other Doomsday texts.
749 ‘shrive father’, or confessor.
750 ‘day of’ inserted above the line.
751 I.e., any sin of which a person has not been shriven will be shown to the whole world in shame.
752 Inserted above the line.
753 ‘pty’ and an abbreviation on the ‘p’ is clear, therefore ‘privity’ is a context-based guess.
754 Indeterminate letter(s) at the end of the word.
755 Air?
756 Higher?
757 End of word damaged, ‘stondyng’ is inferable.
758 Inserted above the line.
759 To be afeared; to weep.
760 Inserted above the line.
For drede of þe dom coming. Þe forth day þe see [and] all wate- / -res schal bren. Þe sexte day alle byldyng[us] and castell[us] schul / fallen down to gronde [and] a[n] horribly schal bren. Þe sev[enth] day alle stones [and] rockes schal behon’[?] breken / ob[ur] [and] bete to gedur w[i]t an hydewys noyse þe which noyse / god himself schal know [and] vndurstond. Þe eghte day Þe erpe schal quake so orrybuly þ[a]t þ[e]r schal no mo[n] stonde on761 hyt but / falle to gronde. Þe ix day alle hullus [and] þe erpe schul be ma- / -de playne [and] euen. Þe x day mo[n] schul gou out of hure- / -dene762 [and] gou as þey were myndles [and] neu[er] on schal speke to ob[ur]. / Þe xi day all þe bones of dede men schul ryse [and] stonde upon / hys g[r]ae [and] þ[a]t alle g[r]aues schul open. Þe xii day sterres / schul falle from heu[n] [and] scheten out of ham bren[y]n[g] bemes [and] / also bestes schal come in to þe feldes roryng [and] cryng [and] schal / neyp[er] ete ne drynke. Þe xiii day alle me[n] schal dye for to / ryse w[i]t ham763 ben dede by fore. Þe xiii day heu[n] [and] erpe schal bren / so orribuly þ[a]t no mon may telle. Þe xv day heu[n] [and] erpe schul be / made new and alle men wy[m]me[n] [and] chyldr[en] schul ryse764 vp in þe age of / bryte þere [and] come to þe dome. Pen schal ihu’ cst’ very god [and] mo[n] / come to þe dome w[i]t hys angeles [and] schewe hys wondes fresch [and] / new bledyng as þ[a]t day þ[a]t he dyed on þe cros. [and] þ[e]r schal þe cros be / al blody þe spere þe scorges, þe nayles [and] alle þe instrume[n]tes of / hys passyon. Þe[n] sory may þey ben þat hau be wond [sic] to swere by / hys hert [and] op[e]r lymes of god. Þ[a]t schal ben a grete repryf / gret confusyon to ham but þey ben me[n]ded þ[e]r of in þi[s] world.765 Pen lo / cst’ schal heygly þonken ham [and] prayson ham Þ[a]t hau don m[e]rcy to hur[e]767 / euen c[ri]ston [and] wol saye to ham þ[u]s. My fadyr blessed chylderen co- / -meht[?] to me reseyveth þe kyngdom of my fad[u]r þ[a]t ys ordeynot to ow / fro þe by gy[n]n[y]g for whe[n] y was hongery 3e fed me,769 when y was þursty 3e 3eue me drynke [and] 

5v: so alle þe work[us] of m[er]cy, for when 3e dude to any of myne 3e dide / to me, [and] þ[i]s for my loue 3e dide yt to me. For when 3e dide to þe lest of / myne so dide to me, þe[n]
schal he horybuly rebuke rych me[n] þ[a]t hau don / no m[e]rcy [and] say to ham spytusly þus, go þe cursed leftes in to þe pey-/ne of helle for whe[n] y was hungery þe þaf me no mete [and] c’[?] ut in e-/ua[n]gelio þe[n] was may þey ben þ[a]t cst’ ihu’ þ[u]js schal rebuke, þ[er] schal no / pledur helpe ne no gold ne selid [sic] ne no[m] op[ur] 3yftes, but as a mo[n] / hath don he schal haue. Þ[e]r schal bee dyu[er]s accusoures a boven hym / w[i]t inne hym, on eyþ[e]r sydes him [and] vnd[e]r hym þ[a]t he schal us way-/schræpe. A boven hym schal be cst’ ihu’ hys dom[us] man so wroght / þ[a]t þ[e]r con no tonge telle for he772 dede no m[er]cy. Wythinne hym hys o-/wne co[n]sciens, accusing hym of þe leste þoght þ[a]t eu[e]r he dede / amys. Hys angel on þe right syde telly[n]g hy[m] redlyly where w-/wenn he hath don amys. On þe op[e]r syde fendus chalan-/gyng hym heres773 as by ryght for hys wyked dedes. Vnd[e]r hym he-/llye 3ony[n]g [and] galpy[n]g to swolewe ham þ[a]t ben evel [and] spytty[n]g out fyre / [and] sten[n]ch þoo þ[a]t ben fond evel þ[a]t day þ[e]r schal ben i[n] payne [and] woe w[i]t out ende. / P[a]t day of dome pore me[n] schul sytte in dom w[i]t cste [and] deme þe rich’ for þe / woo [and] þe desee [sic]774 þ[a]t pore mo[n] hau ys by rych’ mo[n] for þagh þey hau mych’ / wrong þay mowe geten no[n] a me[n]des tyl þay come to þ[a]t dome, þ[e]r þey / schul haue alle hur[e] owne wylle of ham for who[m] þey hau wronge þey / may gete no[n] ame[n]des but p[r]ay to god ful hertefully to quyte ham at þe / day of dome [and] so wold he ful well [and] trowly for god seyth keputh 30-/wre vengea[n]s to me [and] y wol quite. Þ[e]r for whyl þe ben here makes / ame[n]d[us] fore 3owre evel ded[us] [and] makes ham 3owre frendes þ[a]t schal be / 3owre dom[us] me[n] at þe day of dome [and] trust not to ham þ[a]t cometh aft[e]r 30w / lest þe ben by gyled dredeth þe peyne þ[a]t schal last eu[e]r w[i]t out ende. / Seyn775 bede tellth þ[a]t þ[e]r was an husbond mo[n] here in englon þ[a]t fel seke / [and] lay as ded, fro þe even tyde tyle þe morwo, þe[n] he a roos [and] dep[ar]ted / hys gode776 in þre p[ar]tees [and] hys þ[a]t he 3af to pore mo[n] and 30de [and] was ma-/ked a monk in an abbey, þ[a]t stod vpon a wateres syde in to þe wech / 6r: wat[er] vch nyght he 3ede were hyt neu[er] so cold [and] þ[e]r in lo-/ng tyde of þe nyght [and] wha[n] he was asked why he put hy[m] / self in to so much’ peyne, he sayde to

770 I.e., an advocate, pleader, disputant; to contend legally, debate, argue in court.
771 I.e., shilling.
772 Inserted above the line.
773 I.e., theirs.
774 Possibly ‘disease’, which carries numerous nuances of meaning according to the MED.
775 The same unusual spelling as for Saint Jerome previously.
776 I.e., goods, chattel.

(b) ff. 110v-111v, Feat of St Michael (29th September)

110v: Suche a day 3e schul haue seynt Michael day goddys holy archangell. 3e / schul knowon þ[a]t holy chyrch’ makuth mencion þ[a]t day of alle goddys holy / angelus for þe grete helpe and seruise þ[a]t man kynde hath of hem. But speci- / -aly he makuth mynde of seynt michaell, for þre prerogatius þ[a]t he hath be for / alle other. For he is wondurfull in appering, he is mervelus in miraculs wy- / -ching and victorius in hys fyghtyng. He is wondurful in appering, for os / seynt Gregory say[e]th when god wol worchyn any wondurfull dede, þen he / sent forth’ seynt mychael as hys howne baner’,781 and he beruth hys schelde / and syne of hys armys, þ[er]ine is þe syne of hys cros, where fore he was sent / w[i]t moyses and aaron in to egypte to worche þer’ merveylys þ[a]t þer’ weron782 / done, for þogh þe syne were in moyses þ[a]t myght of þe worchyng was done / be mychael. Also he departys þe rede see and hulde þe watur on tweyon[?]783 / whyl þe pepul of isr[l]784 3ode þorogh þe see drye fotte, he ladde hem fourety / 3ere in deserte, he broght hem oure from jordayne and helde þe watyr / æseyne so þ[a]t þe watur rebounded æseyne lyk to a grete hull

777 Scribal error, word omitted.
778 To well or surge up and down.
779 Possibly a ‘broche’, i.e., a skewer or spit.
780 I.e., brimstone.
781 I.e., ‘banner-bearer’.
782 Obscured in the gutter by tight binding.
783 Obscured in the gutter by tight binding.
784 I.e., Israel.
whyl pepe- / -pul ʒode ou[e]r drye fott, and he broght hem in to þe londe of be heste. Also / he kepeth paradise and takuth in þe soules þ[a]t ben send þidur he schal / sleyne ante criste in þe monte of oliuete, he schal bydon alle þe dede ryson / at þe day of dome, he schal bryngen to þe dome þe crosse of c[ri]ste, þe nayles / þe spere þe croune of borne, and alle other instrument[es] of hys passion / to schewen how rythewysly heo schul ben dapnyd.785 þ[a]t þei þ[a]t setteth noghte / be cristes passion þus sent michael apperuth wondurfully. [etc.]786

(2) London, British Library, Harley MS 2276, mid-15 century

(a) ff. 3v-5v, Sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent, Luke 21:25

3v: Þer shullen be signes yn sonne [and] moon [and] sterris [and] yn er- / -þe pressure of folk for confusiou[n] of sonne of þe see [and] flodes men / wexyng drye for drede [and] long abidyng þ[a]t shullen come to al þe / world, for vertues of heuene shul be mouyd[?] [and] þei shul se mannnes so- / -ne coming yn a cloude w[i]t gret vertu [and] w[i]t mageste but þese þynges / begynnyng þus to be doon, loketh forþ [and] lift vp youre hedes for youre / redempciou[n] ny3 ful faste. Se he seide þe fig tree [and] al oþ[er] trees wha[n] / þei bryngen forþ fruyt of hem seluen, ye weten wel þ[a]t somer is ny3 / and on þe same maner whan ye seen þes forseid þynges be doon we- / -te ye wel þ[a]t 787 kyngdom of god is ny3. Certenli I say to yow þ[a]t þis ge- / -neraciou[n] shal not passe a wey to þ[a]t al þes þynges forseid be doon, / heuen [and] erþe shul passe a wey but my wordes shul not passe away. / Þou3 eu[er]y sc[ri]pture enspirid of god be p[ro]phetable for to teche, for to / oharli[?] vnder nyme,789 for to confort, [and] for to eseli amoneste,790 neþeles / þe doctryne of þe euangelie is myȝtyer to þis þan al þe to[p]er sc[ri]p[tures] / -ures [and] more p[ro]phetable for þer ben yoner[?] conseqe what þyng is / to be chosen, and also commanndementes what þyng is be be791 / holden, þer ben esie792 monestynges what is for to be doon, and also for- / -bedynge what is to be left, þer ben also confortynge þ[a]t maken / soft a mannys hert, and also

785 I.e., damned.
786 After this point the miracles of St Michael are described, none of which have particularly relevant details regarding Doomsday. On 111r there is mention of the Apocalypse and Michael’s role in slaying the dragon, followed by details of demons and their misbehaviour.
787 ‘Þe’ is omitted, though there is an arrow beneath the line indicating that it was intended to be inserted in correction.
788 Repetition, scribal error, struck through in red.
789 Verb, ‘undermimen’: to receive (tidings, the Sacramental Bread), accept (a religion, teaching, etc.), have (faith in someone’s words); to undertake; etc.
790 I.e., ‘admonish. Verb, ‘amonesten’: to remind, urge; exhort; encourage; warn, admonish; etc.
791 Repetition, scribal error? Not struck through.
792 Inserted above the line.
behestes þ[a]t drawen hit to lust of / vertues, þer ben pretyngs [and] feryngs þ[a]t w[i]tdrawen
vs from / euyl dedis, hit is a conseil þ[a]t was yseid to a man: if þ[o]u wilt be p[ar]-
and selle al þyngs þ[a]t þ[o]u hast, hit is a co[m]anndeme[n]t þ[a]t is / seid yn a noþ[er]
place. Loue ye youre enemies, hit is an esey / monestyng þer as he seip þus: be ye wislich
war as serpe[n]- - -tes, hit is a forbedyng whan he seip on þis maner: takeþ beseli / hede þ[a]t
youre[?] hertis be not ou[er]chargid w[i]t ou[er] moche etynge and / drynyngge [and]
bisynesses of þis world, hit is a comfortyng where / thorow som good þyng is be hiȝt, as
whan our’ lord seip, co- - -me to all þ[a]t trauelen [and] ben ychargid [and] I shal
refresshe /

4r: yow, hit is a bihest þ[a]t is seid yn a noþ[er] place: many shullen come fro / þe eest [and]
þe weest [and] þei shullen sitte w[i]t abraham Isaac [and] Iacob yn / þe kyngdome of heuene,
hit is a þreyng[?] þ[a]t anon folweþ aft[er]: but / sones of þe kyngdom shuln be cast out in to
feryngs þ[a]t be littel / [and] littel putteþ vs away fro loue of þe world as ben þo þyngs þ[a]t
we ha[u?] / yherd yn þis euangelie to day. Þer shul be signes yn sonne [and] moon / [and]
sterris, þees signes as þei ben ytold before of our’ lord: so w[i]t ou[n] / doute þei shul shewe
openli be fore his second’ comyng to dome. / Wher for hit is yseid bi þe p[ro]phet ioel: þe
sonne shal be turned yn / to derkenes [and] þe moon yn to blod be fore þe grete [and] open[?]
day of our’ / lord come. And also of þees signes sible þe ful wise womman p[ro]- / -phecies a
mong oþ[er] þyngs yn þis man[er] wordes: a kyang þ[a]t is to / comynn[g] shal come from
heuen yn to world, þ[a]t is to say present yn / flessh for to deme þe world, [and] þan shal be
weilyng [and] all wicked / shul gnast w[i]t þe teep, þe clerines of þe sonne shal be take a /
wey, [and] companyes of sterris shul falle a down, heuen shal be / al ou[er]welmyd, [and] þe
shynyng of þe mone shal dwyne away. / Þis kyng shal make coppid hillis to be cast low,
[and] he shal make / valeis ful hiȝ from her’ lownes. And not oonli þis signes but / also oþ[er]
mo shullen go be fore þe last day of iuggeme[n]t, of which / hit is not now for to telle eche’ bi
hym self, neu[er]þeles for we hau / not yit seen þees signes be fore seid, nor we suffise to
know be / fore whan euen þei shul come her’ aft[er] 793: it is to vs þe more to / be aferd, [and]
also þe more for to puruey vs bi fore, lest þe day of / our’ lord in þe man[er] of a þeef cacche

793 The oft-encountered contradiction of Doom texts: the author admits that nobody knows exactly how these
signs will appear, as nobody has ever seen them, but he indulges himself in describing them anyway. It is an
innate fascination with the end of the world. Similarly, though, it serves a pastoral purpose in preparing
everybody to recognise the signs that will precipitate the Last Things, in order to not be found unready. So,
although there is some relish in relaying the awesomeness of these signs, the technically superfluous account
still serves a didactic purpose.
vs to gedre, [and] þ[a]t as god for / bede he fynde vs vnredi [and] vnworthi þe blis eu[er]lastyng, for þ[a]t / day shal be day of tribulaciou[n] [and] angwissh, day of gret chalen-/gyng [and] mysese, day of derkenessis [and] of þik myst, day of heuy / cloudynes [and] of whirlewynd, day of ferdful trumpynyng and of / strichyng w[i]t trumpe. But now also goostli þees forseid signes / mowen be referried to cristes first comyng, þer shul be signes in / þe sonne, þ[a]t is to say in crist þ[a]t is sonne of riþtwisnes and þes / ben þe signes of which he spekiþ in a noþ[er] place; he shal be taken[?] / to þe heþen folk for to be scornyd, for to be spet, for to be schorgid, for to / be crucified, for to be slayne, [and] þe prid day he shal a rise ayen, h[i]t / was also a ful grete signe þ[a]t be his dying he destroied deþ, þ[a]t / he spoiled hell [and] þ[a]t he bi his own vertu ascendid in to heuen. / þ[er] was a gret [and] a riþtworderful [sic] signe in þe mone, þ[a]t is to say / in holi chirche, þ[a]t hit had so greyt a bigynny[n]g of vntau[t] men / in letterure [and] ydiotis, [and] so grete a m[u]ltitude of heþen folk was / so sone conuertid [and] beleued in to crist, and þ[a]t hit hit aboied[?] all / 

4v: þe ceremonyes of þe olde lawe [and] also þe worshepyng of fendes, and þ[a]t / hit a bod stil w[i]t out ou[er]comy[n]g, hit fol- / -wiþ ferþ[er] in þe tixt. And in sterris, þ[a]t is to say in seyntes, whos lif / shyneþ as sterres, wheþ[er] riþt gret signes wern not in seyntes þ[a]t / þei definseden for crist þe glorie of þis world, þ[a]t þei w[i]tstoden so / strongli for crist her’ pinsuers, þ[a]t þei shineden w[i]t so many myra-/cles [and] vertues, þ[a]t þei drad not deþ nor tormentis, hit folweþ ferþ[er]. / And in þe erþe pressure of folk, be segid of vices. Of þis ouer- / -thryntyng seiþ oure lord in an oþ[er] place: I cam not796 for to send pees but / swerd, þ[a]t is for to say gode batail þ[a]t euel pees be taken a wey, for / þis swerd kuteþ aseye what so eu[er] vicious þyng is in vs, [and] ou[er]comþ / þe powers of þe eir[?]?, þ[a]t is to say euel spiritis, w[i]t whom hit longeþ / for vs wrastle, he ioyneþ to þe cause of þ[re]ssure [and] seiþ: for confusi- / -ou[n] of sonne of þe see [and] of fodes, he cleþþ þe see þis world þ[a]t is / p[er]lous as þe see [and] bitt[er], þe fodes: mouynge of þis world [and] diuers / happes of þyngs, which whil þ[a]t eche man riþt inwardli be holdeþ / he is a stonyed yn hym self for shension of þees chaungeable þyn-/ -ges, [and] for drede of þ[re]sent eueles, [and] abidyng of þynges to comyng, is ang- / -wisshid w[i]t gret pressures of þouþþis, [and] þis is þ[a]t is yseid aft[er]. Men wex-/ -ynge drie for drede [and] abidyng þ[a]t shullen come vpon al þe world, þ[a]t / is to say in þe tyme of antecrist, for þan shal be such [and] so grete t[ri]- / -bulaciou[n] in holi chirch, wich [and] how moche was not

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794 Inserted above the line
795 Inserted above the line.
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siþ þ[a]t folk be / g[y]nnen[?] to be vpon þe erþe, [and] in so moche þe defert of þat ful / dampnable man shal haue þe maistrie[?], so þ[a]t þo þ[a]t ben y chosen / if hit may be brouȝt in to errour, for þouȝ þ[a]t w[i]t many maners / he shal be ful redi to deceyue þe peple, neþeles w[i]t þre þynges / speciali he shal cast heldyng in to errour cristen men þ[a]t he shal / fynde þanne som sikerli w[i]t feryngs [and] pretyngs as pore men / som w[i]t yeftes [and] plesyng speche as myȝt3i men, some w[i]t signes [and] / gret wondres as religious men [and] wise. And þis is þ[a]t þe apostle / seiþ: þ[a]t he shal come here aft[er] [and] worche aft[er] þe worchemyng of þe fend / in vertu in signes of lesyng in al begilyng, hit / folweþ ferþ[er]. And vertues of heuene shul be mouyd, þees þynges / [and] oþ[er] þ[a]t folwen ben ful wel referred to cristis second coming, for / þanne vertues of heuene þ[a]t is to say þe ix ordres of aungeles / shul be mouyd, þ[a]t is to say þei be for to come to þe doom. Wherfor / Iob seiþ on þis maner: þe pilers of heuene tremblyn to gedre [and] / wexyn aferd at his comyng. And so hit is not to mervayle þouȝ / in þe abidyng of þis streit doom þei shul wex drie for fere þat / floressheden here in þis world erne[?]. þouȝ þ[a]t feiþ shal wax drie / þ[a]t w[i]t out gode werkes semes to florish her': siþ vertues of heue-/ -nes þ[a]t is to say pouers of aungeles tremblyn at þe siȝt of þe / 5r: iugge [and] of þe doom folwyng aft[er]. And þanne þei shul see mannes sone co-/ -myng in cloudes, þat is þo þat shul be dam摒ned shul see mannes sone / in þ[a]t forme þ[a]t he suffried ynne [and] was ycrucified, and also þ[a]t cros briȝt[er] / þanne sonne, þ[er] shal be shewid, þ[a]t þorouȝ þe siȝt þ[er]of þei þ[a]t shul be / da[ȝ]nped be þe more aferd [and] confundid, for as whan a kyng comeþ to any / of his own citees, þe hoost goþ be fore beryng sygnes [and] þe kynges / banere, [and] w[i]t goyng aboute of araiyang [and] w[i]t armes shewyng, þ[a]t þe kyng / is in comyng, so our’ lord descendencyng from heuen [and] comyng to his / doom, þe oost of angeles [and] archangeles shuln go be fore, [and] þei beryng þ[a]t / signe of þe holi cros a ban[er] of victorie vpon her’ hiȝ shuldres, shuln she- / -we to quakyng folk for feer, þe godlich yncomyng of her’ heuenlich / kyng, wherfor hit folwiþ aft[er]: w[i]t gret power [and] w[i]t mages, as if þe / euangelist seid, þei shul see hym þanne in gret power [and] mages, who[m] / þei wold not heren her’ meke bi his manhed. But þees þyngs begyn- / -nyng þus to be doon, bi cause þ[a]t þyngs biforn be seid ayn þe re- / -proued peple, anon þe wordes now aft[er] ben turned to þe confo’tyn / of þe chosen peple, to whom hit is seid, look forþ and lift vp youre / hedes, þ[a]t is to say make your’ hertis merye, for your’ ayenbiyng ne- / -y3eþ ful fast, for now whil þe world is endid, to whom ye wern not / frendes, þe ayenbiyng þ[a]t ye souȝten is maad to yow ful nyȝ, for / þanne shul we stonde
bifore þe hiȝ doom of crist, þ[a]t eche man rece-/ -yue as he did in bodi wheþþ god þ[a]t shul be da[m]ned, but / naþeles þees shul be departid in to foure, þe first ordre is of þe / p[ar]fite þ[a]t dem[eþ w[i]t god almyþti [and] shal not be demed, of whom also / crist seiþ hym self: ye shuln sitte vpon xii sete demyng þe xii / kynredes of isrl’. A nop[er] ordre also is of þe chosen, to whom hit is / seid: I hungrid [and] ye yau me for to ete, þeys certeyyn shul be demed / [and] regne, also þ[e] ben ij ordres of hem þ[a]t shul be dampned. oon is / of hem þ[a]t shul be founden out of Þe bileue of holi chirch’, þeys / shul not be demed but þei shul p[er]issh, of whom also seide [???] / wikked men shul not arise ayen in doom. A nop[er] ordre is of þe / reþrouyng of hem þ[a]t shul be demyd [and] shul797 p[er]issh, to whom hit shal be / seid: I hungrid [and] ye yau me not to ete, go ye cursid in to þe / feir euerlastyng, þeys / moche þe reþrouyng of þe yuell / is for to be drad [and] eschewid: so moche þe chesyn [and] þe glorify[n]g / of þe gode is for to be desired, for þis is þe aynbiyng þ[a]t oure / lord spekeþ of: your aynbiyng neþþful fast, and þeis shul / be felawes of þeis aynbiyng þ[a]t dispiseden þe glorie of þis world / [and] putten no þyng to fore crist and þ[a]t þe world is to be dispised [and] / not lound our’ aynbier w[i]t a ful wel ordyned ensaumple shewiþ / whan he saiþ aft[er]: bihold ye þe fig tree [and] al op[er] trees whan þei / 5v: bryngen forþ fruyt of hem self ye wite wel þ[a]t somer is nyȝ, as if þe e-/ -uangelist seyde: riȝt as hit is know þ[a]t somer is nyȝ of fruyt of þe799 trees, / riȝt so þe800 kyngdom of god is knowne to be nyȝ of þees meschefs þat þe / world shal falle down w[i]t, and wel is þe kyngdom of god likned to / somer, for þanne þe derk cloudes of our sorowe shul passe away / [and] eu[er]lastyng days of lif shul begynne to shyne w[i]t clerenes of / þe sonne of riȝtwisnes. And þ[a]t no man shold doute of all þeys / þyngs he confirmeþ þat þ[a]t [sic] he behiȝt bifo[and] seþþ: certeyynly / I say to yow þis gen[er]aciouþ shal not passe away to þ[a]t all þeys / þyngs beforþ seid be doon, þ[a]t is to say all þyngs þ[a]t I haue be / hiȝt to my trewe s[er]uantes, and bi cause þ[a]t he is trewe þ[a]t beho-/ -tiþ þes þyngs, þ[er]for hit folwiþ aft[er]: heuen [and] erth shul passe / away, þ[a]t is to say þei purged bi fier shul be chansid [sic] in to bett[er]. / bi my wordes shul not passe away, þ[a]t þei ne shul falle as / þei ben bifo[and] seid of me. Neu[er]þeles here we now shortliche of / which heuen þis is seid, for hit

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797 Inserted above the line.
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is not the firmament that is clepid an heuen wher ynne the fast stikyng sterris goon a boute / neyber the heuen that is clepid etheren', wher ynne pure and quyete ful of the light of god, men supposen the vii sterris to be bore[n] / a boute, but hit is the heuen that clerkes clepen celum aerium that is / next the erth, that we wat[er] lost som tyme, when the flodes weren de- / stroied upon erthe, and pis heuen the fier of the last doom wex- / yng be the space of the same mesure shal destroy hit / hit in to bett[er] stat as hit is seid be fore, the whiche wordes for / certeyn we owen not to feynyngli for to ou[er]passe. For as the / apostle seip the abidyng of the doom to comyng is ful ferdful, / also the folwyng of the fier that not oonly shal consume wikked / but also hit shal brenne the elementes of the world in to a no[p]er / state, thefor si[p] we han yherd to byngs that crist verray treup / haþ warnd us of, drede we the euyl that he haþ biforn seid, loue / we for the good that he behoteþ, do we that he commau[n]ed / flee we that he shal sleep vs, sette we at little that that passeþ / awey, the we mown deserue to haue that shal dwell for euer / more amen.

(3) London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160, mid-15th century

(a) ff. 25r-29v (selected extracts), Sermon for the First Sunday in Advent

26v: Frendys this is the text / of the gospel of this day, the whiche is rad in / holy chirche twyes a yer’. ones a yens the comynge / of our' lord in to mankynde, and a noder’ comyng’ / to his deth, and the thirde to the jugement wher’ / he shal deme al mankynde […]

28v: The thirde I seyde he shal come / to deme al mankynde, that dome shal be / dredful for thanne shal he be rehersed to us / alle the dedys, that eu[er]e we dede ye and all[e] / the thoutes that eu[er]e we thou, that day / shal be so dredful that al the creatures / that eu[er]e were made shul be ferde in heuene /

29r: in erthe, and in helle. Quia dies illa dies ire [etc.]. / For that day shal be a day of wrethe and of ven- / -aunce to he[m] that hath ben trespassours. And / not kept the Comaundement of our’ lord’, that / day y[o]u mysdoer’ shal be ther’ thin acusers if y[o]u /

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801 Inserted above the line.
802 Inserted above the line.
803 Matthew 21:1-9, Christ’s entry into Jerusalem.
804 I.e., coming of Christ.
805 Scribal correction: ‘he’ struck through, ‘be’ inserted above the line.
806 ‘Irae’, the typical English habit of dropping the ‘a’.
wilt wete who, shal acuse the, seynt Bernard’ / seith, Quod totus mundus te acusabit, that al / the worlde shal acuse the, alle the creatures of heuene- / ne shal acuse the, and alle the deuels of helle shal / acuse the, seyenge to the luge in this wyse. Quuis[?] / sime[?] index indica / is807 iss[t][m] esse meu[m]. [etc.]. y[o]u evenest / luge y[o]u rightful domes man, deme this / wretched / soule to be myn and not thur[?] thyn he was be / makynge and myn808 be seruyng, thin he was be / co[ue]naunte[?] but thi s[er]uyse he lefte, and serued me / y[o]u yaf hi[m] clothinge of clennes, the whiche he / for soke, and defowled, and he809 is comyn hedyr’ / in clothinge of myn a ray, thin he h lafte, and / myn he toke, to the rebel, to me obedient, and / buxome, y[o]u seydest, Qui bona egerunt ibunt in / uitam eternam, qui uero mala in ignem / et[er]- / -nu[m]. I aske this soule of right to be myn, and w[i]t / me in fyr’ of helle to brenne / with’ outyn ende, / alas, alas, wo is that soule that shal here this / pleynte810 up on hi[m], to the / luge wrothe, al the worlde / brenne a bowte he[m], helle open the deuel redy / to drawe / hi[m] in. Bonu[m] erat ei si natus non / fuisset. hit had been good for hi[m] that he had / neu[er]e / be born’, thanne shal the wretched soule be /

29v: rightful jugement be delyu[er]ed to the [or]mentours of helle / in fyr to brenne with / outyn ende, be cause he wolde / not in this worlde leuynge, loue s[er]ue ne kepe the co[m]- / -maundementes of our’ lord’. Than shal the blessed / Jugge be trewe jugement, releue and / co[n/m]forte, his chosy[n] / s[er]u[a]u[n]t[es], that hi[m] loued and s[er]ued, in this worlde, and / kept his co[m]maundementes, thanne shal he reward / al tho that lefte her’ synnes whil / thei wer’ here / and made a mendys or thei passed out of this / worlde, and in goodnesse / made her’ ende, what sy[n]ne / that eu[er]e thei dede be fore, so that thei shul haue / the / kyngdome of heuene to her’ heritage, lyf and / joye with outyn ende, to the whiche joye and / blisse eu[er]e lastynge brynge yow and me, qui / cu[m] patre et spiritu sancto, uiuit et regnat / deus p[er] infi- / -nita secula Amen.

(b) ff. 29v-34v, Sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent, Luke 21:25-33

29v: Erunt signa in sole luna [et] stellis [etc.] luce / 21. Gracious lord’ god, for thi goodnesse / take us / to thi m[er]cy, and worshipful syres and damnes / theise wordes that I spake now, / arn wretyn / in the gospel of this day, arn thus mekyl to / seyn to your’ vnder’ stondynge.

807 Struck through, scribal error.
808 Inserted above the original word, which is hard to decipher, but which has been struck through.
809 Scribal error, struck through.
810 I.e., ‘complaint’; invoking legal imagery, as is frequently encountered.
Ther shal be / signes and tokens in the sonne in the mone / and in the sterres, whanne our’ lord ihu’ sat a / monge his dissiples, and tawte he[m] the wey / to the kyngdome of heuene, thei asked of /

30r: hi[m] what knowynge thei shulde haue of the ende / of the worlde. Thanne answerd he and seyde, Erunt signa in sole [etc.]. thanne seyde our’ lord / ther’ shal be signes in the sonne jn the mone, and / in the sterres and in erthe a monge the peple / pressur for confusiou[n] of noys of the se and of / flodes men wexynge drye for ferdnesse and drede / and exp[ec]taciou[n] the which shal come sodenly, to / alle the worlde whi[?] : for al u[er]tues of heuene / shal be meued. Thanne shul thei se the sonne of / man comynge in the clowdes, of heuene with / gret power’ and mageste, whenne ye se theise / tokenys be gynne lyfte up your’ hedys, be holde / and se your’ raunsome and reward shal sone payed / be. and be example, be holde the figge treis / and alle oder’ treis that bere frute, whenne ye / se the frute is rype ye knowe wele that it is / ny heruest. right so whanne ye she [sic] the tokenes / be gynne leueth wele the worlde endyth and / the kyngdome of heuene is ny. I lete yow / wete for sothe, this gen[er]aciou[n] shal not passe / til all be come. heuene and erthe shal passe / and my worde shal eu[er]e a byde. this is the p[ro]cesse / aft[ur] the lett[ur] of the gospel of this day. The ho- / -ly doctor seynt Gregory seith in the same / gospel that our’ lord ihu’ desirynge to fynde /

30v: us al wey redy in clennes, sheweth us be scriptur[es] / tokens of the ende of the of the [sic]811 worlde, ageyn / the dredful day of jugement that we wil not / for loue ne for awe, ne for techinge with drawe / us from synne, for dredrede of soden sorowe, / that is comynge a geyn the ende of the worlde / for to be warr[e][?] For seynt jerome seith In an- / -lib[us] ebreor[um] writeth tokens xv, that shal fal / a geyns the day of dome the whiche tokenes / whedy thei shul falle su[m] on yer’, and su[m]me a / noder’ or eche yer’ or day, aft[ur] oder’, he writeth / not. But the holy doctor seynt Gregory seith / that many of hem ben comyn. Signes in the / sonne he seith, haue we sen. Signes in the mone / and in the sterrys, haue we sen: pestilence a / monge the peple, we haue in on place or in / oder’, al wey hunger’ we hau had, quakynge of / the erthe we hau feled, werres be twene remes / al wey is in on p[ar]ty or in a noder’, pressur’ of / treachery, of falshed and of couetyse a monge / the peple is. al wey hinderers and distroyers / of holy chirche more now than eu[er]e ther’ wer’ / so that hi[m] thinketh wele that may be eny col’[?] / haue godys of holy chirche or eny man of holy /

811 Uncorrected scribal error.
chirche in daunger’, so that al theise tokens arn / comen and the toder’ we drede wil not be longe. / Of signes of noyse of the se and of flodes we her’ / not of yit, theise ben the wordes of the forseyde / holy doctor seynt Gregory, seynt Austyn /

31r: de u[er]bis domini, seith he the sonne is vnder stoned, / the sonne of rightwisnesse our’ lord of heuene / al myty. Be the mone the worlde that is defawty, / and be the sterres the peple that is vnrewly, / this blessed so[n]e sheweth us tokens to make / us warr[e], that is syknesse, disse, tribulaciou[n], los / of worldes godys, los of good name, pestilens, / and oder’, lo theise arm tokens, of the sonne, that / is to seye of our’ lord god, shewed to the to make / the war[e]. For if y[o]u se eny of theise tokens in thin / eni[?] cristen be right wele war[e] and a mende thi / lif, for as myty is our’ lord god, for to sette his / tekyn on the, as on a noder’. If y[o]u se a man in / disese in syknesse in losse of catel, or take with / pestilens, haue rewthe of hi[m] and helpe hi[m] to thi / power’ what þ[a]lt y[o]u may, and thenke wele y[o]u wete it / neu[er]e how some y[o]u mytest be takyn with the / same. For whi’ we stonde her’ ful vn sekyrly as / the holy aple’ poule seith. Ad philipenses vir[os]. / Qui se existimat stare uideat non cadat. / If it seme to the that y[o]u stondist sekyr, be wele / warr[e] that y[o]u falle not, for thow y[o]u be neu[er]e so stronge, neu[er]e so hole, neu[er]e so wele at ese. / In twynlynge of an je hit may with drawe / and the sonne on the may sette his tokyn’ / and ther’ fore in thi leuynge be al wey redy / for y[o]u stondist vnsekyrly. Est paratus ne cu[m] / uen[er]it domus inuenerit te dormientem.\footnote{Possibly the Homilies of Saint Gregory. Cf. Mark 13:36.}

31v: Beth redy seith our’ lord god, that whenne thi lord / cometh y[o]u be not founde slepynge, that is for to / sey, be redy in good leuynge, that in dedly synne / y[o]u be not founde, slepynge, lest that the sonne of / rightwisnesse, set on the his tokyn. The seconde / I sey, be the mone I vnder stonde the worlde, þ[a]lt / is defawty, fals and vntristy. Patet ad oculu[m], / hit is shewed to thi sight al day. For it fareth be / the worlde as it dothe be a whole, that þ[ur]neth rou[n]de / a bowte, the whiche whole hath’ vii spokes. The / whole that is al wey voluble is vnder stonde / just ablenesse. The first spoke is labo[ur], the seconde / is sorow, the thirde disseyte, the iiiij extorciou[n], / the v oppressiou[n], the vi lamentaciou[n], / the vii falshed. The signes of this wele / of this worlde / is bustable[?], For now y[o]u art wele, and now y[o]u / art wo, now y[o]u art in ese, now in disese, now in / hele now in syknesse, so that in this worlde is / no stabilnesse. The first spoke of this wele is labo[ur] / ful herde labo[ur] y[o]u takyst up on the for to haue / the plesaunce of this whele, In drye in
wete / In som[er] in wynter‘, in hete in colde, what herde / trauel y[o]u puttest thi body to, y[o]u genest ner[er][?] / tale to haue the worlde at thi wille. The seconde / spoke I sey is sorow in getynge of worldes godys / herde care and study, how y[o]u myte come ther’ / by gret care how y[o]u shalt kepe it and gret / care how y[o]u shalt part fro it. v’p’[?]. Diues diu[i]cias non congregat absq[ue] labore, /

32r: non tenet absq[ue] metu non deserit absq[ue] dolore. / this is the seconde spoke. The thirde is disseyte / redy for to disseyue thin eni[?]cristen for to plese / the worlde with byenge with sellynge with tre- / -chery with wyles, with fals othes, with colos[?] of / thi mouthe goth ful smethe in disseytes, feith / with the is ther’ non. Qui his dieb[us] iam t[ra]ns factis nulla fides est in pactis, videte, mel / in ore u[er]ba lactis fel in corde, fraus in factis, / cauete. This day is seith the doctor, In co[ue]nau[nes] / feith is ther’ non, taketh hede; hony in mouthe / worde as mylke, galle in herte, disseyte in dede / be warr[e]; this I seyd: the thirde spoke is disseyte / The fourthe I sey is extorciou[n], be offys, be strenk- / -the, be lordshipe, be ferdnesse, haue the pore man[es] / gode, so that he may not thryue, he may not / up, so gret extorciou[n]s ben done to hi[m], but feyr / to plese his enmy[sic], for to by his pes. The v is / opressio[u]n. oppresse the pore, to haue his good, to / haue his s[er]uyse, and for his s[er]uyse, yexe hi[m] ly- / -tel as ellys right nowte, he dar not say, a- / -geynst the, the veniaunge of god shal reste / up on the ther’ fore. The vi is I sey, lamen- / -taciou[n] if eny disese fal to the, the syknesse tri- / -bulaciou[n], blynde or lame y[o]u makest sorow, / ther’ fore, grotchest813 a yens our’ lord god, / ther’ y[o]u shulde it haue gret mede if y[o]u suf- / -rest it mekely y[o]u purchest thi self damnaciou[n] /

32v: with thi grotchinge814 and with thi lamentaciou[n] / hast y[o]u sorow here, and with thi blasfemynge ge- / -tynge p[ur]chase, to the peyne with outyn ende. The / vii I sey is falshed, a ihu’ s[er][?] su[m] tyne men sha- / -med with falshed, now it is so ryue a monge / the peple that vnethe eny man is a shamed ther’ / of a good s[er] what is the cause truly for men / arn now fals to our’ lord god, art y[o]u fals to / our’ lord god, ye, truly, and that I shal p[ro]ue / madist y[o]u not co[ue]naunte, whanne y[o]u toke thi / cristyndome at the prestys honde, for to be / trewe christen man and kepe our’ lordes / lawe, and his co[m]maundementes, yis truly, se / now thi self wher’ y[o]u hast kept thi co[ue]naunte / or nowte, and I trowe y[o]u shalt wele fynde / that y[o]u hast ben fals to our’ lord god how, / shuldest y[o]u thanne be trewe to

813 Possibly from ‘grucchen’, v., to murmur, grumble; complain; moan; lament; protest. I.e., you are purchasing damnation for yourself by moaning about your suffering, as to do so is to protest God’s will; you should suffer it meekly and you will be rewarded.

814 As above.
thi neyb[ur] whan / y[o]u art fals to our’ lord god, lo theise arn the / vii spokes of the whole of this worlde [etc.] / The thirde I say is vnder stonde be the sterres / the peple that is vnrewly and of dyu[er]se conu[er]sa- / -ciou[n] as seynt poule seith in this pistel, ad / corintheos xv.

Stella differt a stella in cla- / -ritate sic erit in resurrexione mortuor[um]. / That is for to sey, to your’ vnder stondynge / that on sterr[e] is briter’ than a noder’ in cler- / -nesse and in britnesse. Right so shal it be at the dredful day of dome in the resur-

33r: -recciou[n] of dede men, su[m]me of he[m] shul be bryte / and clere in the sight of god, thow we han dyed / out of this worlde in feith beleue and stabil- / -nesse of holy chirche and out of dedly synne / and in p[ar]fyte loue and charite a yens god and / a yens his neybo[ur]s

Vnde sacra scriptura dicit / fulgebunt iusti sicut sol’. 815 and su[m]me shal be / dy[m]me and dusky, in that tyme the whiche wer’ / slowe in good werkes wyrkyng, and mout ha- / -ue don many good dedys, and dede not for- / -slouthe of he[m] self Vnde scribit fides sine816 op[er]ib[us] / est mortuu[m] sine aia[m] ita fides sine bonis op[er]ib[us] / est mortua. 817 That is for to sey, feith with out / good werkes is as an ymage of deth for right / as a body with out a soule is ded. Right so feith / and bylewe818 with out good werkys is ded, and ther’ / fore her’ soules arn derker and dy[m]mer than / oder’ ben whiche hath don many good dedys / in her’ lyf ther’ fore ye shal vnder stonde that / ther’ are iiij kyndes of sterres, that is for to sey. Stella ducens ad [Christum]. Stella p[re]ferens [Christum] / stella adornans celu[m], et stella cadens in ter- / -ram. Stella ducens ad [Christum] est gra’. Stella / p[re]ferens [Christum] est virgo maria. Vnde sicut / sidus radiu[m] p[re]fert virgo filiu[m] [etc.] Tertia / stella est celu[m] ad ornans ut sci’, vnde in / ecclesiastico gl[or]ia celi est splendor stellar[um]. / Quarta stella est cadens sup[er] terram. /


816 Interesting scribal interaction. Original text, which is part of this rubricated section, appears to read ‘sue’. An insertion, likely of an ‘i’, has been made above the word but in black ink, suggesting an error in copying originally. Perhaps the exemplar was ‘si[n]le’, which our scribe interpreted as ‘sue’, but later either amended it or was himself corrected.
818 The word is a little garbled. The scribe evidently made an error and had to squeeze the final letters in.
saviour’, to saue mannes soule / The thirde sterr[e] that honowreth heuene. The / iiiij sterr[e] is that falleth dou[n] in to erthe, that / sterr[e] ledith mannes soule in to heuene thurgh / the grace of god thurgh the whiche g[ra]ce no / man is possible to come ther’ with out his / grace and m[er]cy. hit fareth be the g[ra]ce of god / as dothe the sonne, that shineth in to thi hous / for if y[o]u spare thi dores and thi wyndowes / and stoppe out the lyʒt mekyl derknesse is in / the hous that the sonne of grace may not / enter’, that is to sey, if y[o]u spare with inne / thi soule and thi hert synne and wikkednesse and / wil not shew it to thi gostly fader, be trewe / confessiou[n], the sterre of g[ra]ce and rightwisnesse / may not entr’[sic] in to thi soule be cause of wik- / -kednesse of synne that is in thi soule, and / ther fore if y[o]u wilt haue g[ra]ce duellynge in /

34r: thi soule, y[o]u must voyde synne, be trewe confes- / -siou[n] and penaunce doynge, and that costly sterr[e] / shal brynge the to criste. The seconde sterr[e], the / whiche is shynynge be tokeneth our’ lady seynt / mary, the whiche shewed her’ dere sone crist ihc’ / to the kynges of coleyn’, and thei offred to hi[m] / golde, mirr[e], and Encens, that is to sey to your’ / vnder stondynge that he is very god and man / be the Encens is vnder stonde devout preyers / with meknesse, be the mirr[e] is vnder stonde mor- / -ticaciou[n] of flessh, that is to do bodily penau[n]ce / for synne. The thirde sterr[e] is honowrynge he- / -uene as holy men don, that is for to sey pa- / -triarkes p[ro]fetys aples’ uirgyns marters and819 con- / -fessones [sic] and oder’ holy men to come to heuene, / and ther’ fore I may wele sey that eu[er]ly cristien / man is a sterr[e] honowrynge heuene. The fourth / sterr[e] is fallynge in to erthe as lucifer fel / out of heuene in to helle, for the soule sy[n]ne / of pryde and envye, that folwand hi[m], al so ther’ / are iij kyndes of sterres, on is brennynge, / and shynynge, and more clere than oder’, and / that tokeneth good men and wom[m]en that / are in p[ar]fyte loue and charite, echon with oder’ / and shewynge in good werkys wirkynge, and / good dedys doynge. The seconde sterr[e] / shal be bren- / -nynge and not shynynge that be tokeneth / hem that are in charite and in he[m] self /

34v: wyrynge no good werkys to the plesaunce of / god, nor helpynge to her’ eni cristien Et ides / docet[ur] in euan[n]gelio sit luciat lux u[est]ra coram / ho[min]ib[us] [etc.]. That is to sey, hit is not I now a / man to be in charite in hi[m] self, but al so to / shewyn the werkes of charite in example / to oder’ men. The thirde sterr[e] is noder’ shynyng / ne brennynge the whiche geueth no lyʒt and / that be tokeneth wikked men and wo[m]me[n] / that ledyn her’

819 Inserted above the line.
lyues in malys, wrath and envy, and debates a monge the peple and geue shrewed ensample of wykked leuyng rader’ than of good leuynge and ther’ fore the tresour vn to hem shal be the peyne of helle eu[er]e lastynge. And ther’ fore eu[er]y man couetyng to come graciously to / the lyte of heuene eu[er]e lastynge, wake besily / and kepe the wisly from synne and lede thi / lyf in loue and charite, and good werkys / wirkyng, and thanne he shal come to þe / joye and blisse eu[er]e lastynge, to the whiche / blisse he brynge us that up on the crosse / dyed ihc’ xpe’. Amen.

(4) London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B. xxiii, mid-15th century

(a) ff. 56r-57r (selected extracts), Sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, Matthew 22:1-14

(The gospel story of Matt. 22:12, the parable of the wedding feast. The feast is described and explained, the king is compared to God the Father. Then the comparison is made to the Day of Doom.)

56v: But be ware I counsell þe þat / þou come not to þe feste þat is to þe dome dredefull but þou haue /

57r: oon þe leveree of clennes of þat weddynge leste þat oure lorde ihu’ when þat / he co[m]meþ þe þat / þe repreue þe not and to ordeyne þe to be putt in to / eu[er]y lastynge peyne for þin evill lyvyng Seyinge on þis wyþe ffrends / how co[m]meþ þon hyd[er] as I seid at þe begynnynge In þis wyþe ðone / I haue told þe þe kyngedome of heven is like to a kyng þ[a]l ordeynt wed- / -dyngg[us] to is sonne Þu s[I] counsell all man[er] of men fully to þenke on / þis dome for seynt Ierome se[iþ]e þat he Ete drynke or slepe or what / eu[er] els þat he dothe it semeþ hym se[iþ] he þat þe angels trompe sowneþ820 / in is eere seyinge þus ryse þe dede men and com to þe dome I concell / and I preye eu[er]ichon of yon to conceyue [and] knowe þat oure lorde god at þe / day of dome shall shewe ryght w[i]toute m[er]cye full rygorysly full sturnely / and also of vs howe þat we haue spende þe vii verkes of m[er]cye as þe / gospell wittenes but for asmuche as en[n]ly man [and] wym[m]an shall þeue / a countes of þe vii werkes of m[er]cye [er] fore I purpose fully to teche þou / wiche ben þe vii werkes of bodely m[er]cye and of goostely bothe The vij / werkes of bodily m[er]cye ben þese: Fede þe hongery. Þeue drynke to þe þirsty. / Clothe þe naked [and] nedye. Herbowre þe

820 This oft-cited passage is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.
howslesse. Comforte þe seke. / Visite þe vij verkes þou arte bondon? to fulfil by verke [and] dede, ʒiff þi powere be or els by þi good will ʒiff / þi powere faill in payne of eu[er]lastynge dampnacion ʒiff þou repente / not for of þese werkes of m[er]cy cste’ shall speke inspeciall of at þe day of / dome. I praye eu[er]liche of yon to haue þis in mynde. And þe vij verkys / of goostlely mercy ben þese. Teche men þe trouthe howe þei shuld / come to heven. The seconde counsell men besely to hold w[i]t cstes’ lawe. / The þride chastysse synners by moderate rep[re]vynge in charite. The 821 / Comforte sorowfull men w[i]t cristes passion. The v for3eue wronges / done to þi selfe as þou wolte bejeue of god. The vj suffre mekely / rep[re]ves for þe ryght of goddess lawe. The vij preye hertely for frend / and for foo þese verkes ben of goostely m[er]cye þe wiche also þou arte / bond to knowe [and] to fulfill hem in dede ffor and þou volte þenke hertely / of þe dredfull dome þan þou shulteste eu[er] be besyd w[i]t þou3th worde / and dede to plese god [and] to fulfil þise verkes of mercye as þou wolte / þat god haue m[er]cye on þe and þan ʒiff god assk þe at þe day of dome / Fренде hoewe entereste þou hidr[er], þan þou maiste seye lorde I haue / on þi leu[er]ee and I am þi man and as þi man I entred’ where fore / I preye þe late me reiøyse þe kyngedome of heven þat þou haste / ordeynt for þi seruauntes. To þe wiche ioye and infinite blisse / brynge vs ourw swete lorde ihe’ Amen. 822

(b) ff. 59v-60v, Sermon for Twenty-Second Sunday after Trinity

59v: Si iniquitates obseruaueris d[omi]ne d[omi]ne quis sustinebit. / Frendes in god bothe men and wym[m]en in þe lawe of god þat is holy writte / þe holy p[ro]phette dauyd takeþ to hym an hiʒ contemplacion and endeþ / it by a manere of question seyinge þe wordes of my teme, Lord ʒiff þou kepe / vp wikkednesse lorde who shall suffre it. As who seþ þe knowe well / lorde þ[a]t þou haste made vs of noʒthe [and] oure soule to þe likenesse of þe moste / blyssed t[r]nite þre p[er] sons [and] oo god also þou haste endewed vs w[i]t þre man[er] / of goodness þat is to seþ þe goodes of kynde þe goodes of forteyne [and] þe goodes / of grace ffor þ[er]more þou haste ordeynte to vs by þi hyʒe influence of þi / moste blessed dette to receyue þe sac[ru]mente of Bapteme by þe wiche we / be called cristen men aft[ur] in selfe blessed

821 Scribe has omitted the enumeration of this one through error.
822 This is an interesting sermon. It isn’t to terrify, but to protect. It implores the listener to take heed and follow these instructions. It comes across in a manner that suggests a genuine attempt at pastoral care, i.e., “please listen and do this in order to keep your souls safe at the end”. It reads like a practical set of instructions, a manual on preparation for the Day of Doom. There is also a general encouragement to charity and benign behaviour; for example, in the seven works of spiritual mercy, the listener is encouraged to moderately rebuke sinners.
savio[ur] cste’ ihe’, by þe wiche lawe / of þe lord we shuld lyffe [and] be gou[er]ned [and] chese vertew [and] leue synne [and] / wretchednesse for þou blessed lord toke flessh [and] blode for vs. and þou suffred / harde peyne [and] passion [and] bledeste þin own’ herte blode to make vs saued / þat for adam I synne were reste [and] spilte þan af[ur] þat þe fourtye days / þou styeste up to heven takynge w[i]t þe mankyend [and] madeste it hyȝere / Þan anany angell in heven þan þou sendeste downe þe holy gooste and / grace to all þoo þ[a]t dothe aske þe w[i]t meke herte [and] þ[e]r af[ur] by þe wiche / grace en[er]y man [and] wy[m]man may so gou[er]ne hyme þat af[ur] te dethe he / may com to þe blisse þis þou haste ordeynd for vs þe wiche is a blessed / ordynaunce but we as vnkynd creatures loue þe gou[er]nuance of v[e]rtew / þe wiche þi law techeþ vs [and] þeueth vs to curssednes of synne not / withstondynge we knowe well þat þin ryghtwisnes shall rygorisly / be shewed to vs at þe day of dome w[i]t owte anny m[er]cye [and] þere / fore I may sey as I seid in þe wordes of my teme, “lorde ziff þou kepe / vp oure wickednesse who shall suffre itt.” As who sey oure synn[us] / ben so many and þi dome so ryghtfull þat no man oþ[er] but fewe / shall mowe com to heven noþ[er] suffre þin Angure at þ[a]t day savyng / þi m[er]cy But þe p[ro]phett telleþ sewyng a pon’ who shall suffre hyme / none but he þat is sory for is [sic] synne [and] he þ[a]t will haske mercy w[i]t / a co[n]trite herte [and] a meke [and] þis is in twey weyes I shall suffre þe seyþ / þe p[ro]phett for I wote well þat þou arte mercyfull and for þi lawe / is mercyfull I haue suffred þe. Quia apud te p[ro]piciacio est [etc.] So þa[n] / þis is grett ioye to vs aȝeyn to þenke þat he is m[er]cifull and is [his] lawe / also þ[er]fore lat vs hasked here in þis worlde for af[ur] redely it is to late / as all holy writ wittenesse it Now god þeue vs grace to vse kyndnes / aȝeyne [and] loue hyme þat so many signes of loue haþ shewed to vs / all oure lorde ihu’ cste’ In þe begynnynge [etc.] / Si iniquitates [etc.]. Frendes in god þe wordes of my teme ben writt’ / in holywritte and in þe office of þe masse of þis daye [and] þus moche /

60r: to youre vndyrstondynge. Lorde ziff þou kepe vp wickednesse who shall suffre itt. / Sir here þou myȝthes askke me why I take nott my teme of þe pistell or / þe gospell as comon vse is Sir I sey for ij skilles, on ys to make þou / knowe þat eu[er]ly place of goddess lawe þat is holywritte is of like grete / auttorytes to take a teme of and þat oþ[er] shuld knowe also þe goodness / [and] p[ro]phite of oþ[er] place of holywritt as well as þe gospel oþ[er] þe pistell / for c[er]teynly þe leste worde of scripture þat is anny resone of holywritte / is teme I noȝth to

823 Propitiatio.
anny man to take is teme of þis is redely sothe þan / I sey þus, “lord ȝiff þ[o]u kepeste [etc.] In þis teme ben conteyned too questions / þe firste is wheþ[er] þat god will þenke opon all þe wickednes þat men don / [and] kepe hem vn to þe daye of is Iugemente, [and] þe toþ[er] question is in what wyȝe / þat is wraþe may be suffred at þe day of Iugemente. And þese too questions / ben þe gronde [and] þe substaunce of my s[er]mon. As to þe fyrste I sey þat god shall / kepe vp eu[er]y man[er] of wickednes þat anny man or wy[m]an dothe levynge / in þis worlde [and] not all lonly þe wicked werkes but all wicked [and] ydell wordes / [and] vnclene þouȝthes not oon lefte behynde redlyly, þis wittenesse holywrytte, / De om[n]i verbo otioso q[ue]cumq[ue][?] locuti fu[er]i[n]t ho[m][i]n[es] reddent racio[ne]m in die Iudicij,825 / of eu[er]y man[er] ydell worde what eu[er] it be þat men or wy[m]en speken þei / shall þeue acountes þ[er] of at þe day of dome þis shall be a strete rekenynge / seþ þ[a]t eu[er]y man shall haue þ[er] even ryght [and] no grace, þey sir [and] by goddess lawe / a man þat dothe deadly synne is worthy for eu[er] to be dampned þ[er] fore / lat eu[er]ichon of vs remembr[e] hym in how many synnes þat he is gylty / in [and] in good feȝythe it is no merveyll þan þoþ þat he drede hym in all / þe veynes of ys herte here þou may aske me Syr þoþ god kepe vp / all oure wickednes [and] synnes vn to þe day of Iugement [and] we be shryven / þ[er] of þan shall no man noþ[er] angell ne þe devell knowe how cursed / þat I was a levere’ in þis worlde. I hope þus to god Syr þis question / asskeþ a deo datus as seynt austyne in ys elucidaris c[er]teynly seyþ þat all / angels all seyntes þe devels ne all þe world shall not knowe all þe / ne dede[us] þat euer[e] þai[o]u dydeste þiff826 þ[o]u haue be shryven of hem [and] contryte / but Sir þis knalage shall be no shame to þe þiff þ[a]t þ[o]u be saued, but raþ[er] / a wurshippe ryght as we rede of þe dedes of mary magdaleyne to hur[e] / wurshippe [and] not to hur represse827 and also ryght as þiff a man had be in / þe tempestes of þe see [and] were scaped þ[er] fro all men wold prese hym / þiff he told þ[er] of so on þe same wyȝe þe seyntes in heven whe[n] þ[a]t þei / see þ[a]t þou arte passed þ[a]t cursed liff þei will co[m]mende þe [and] neu[er] adell blame / þe þis is ys answere as to þe fyrste question þan þus I haue tolde þe / now, þat god þenkes vppon all oure wyckednes [and] kepes hem vn to / þe day of Iugemente [and] at þat tyme all þe worlde shall knowe itt / to good

824 Omitted and squeezed in above the line.
825 Cf. Matthew 12:36.
826 What looks like ‘yoj’ is above this word.
827 Significant emphasis placed upon shrift once again. I.e., we should not be ashamed of all of these deeds being made public so long as we are shriven, just as we do not judge the earlier deeds of Mary Magdalene after she repented.
[and] to wurshippe [and] to þe evyll to grett shame [and] represe, þan as to þe / þe evell may be in no veye be hold hym he shall seme so cruell 3e sir he shall be / to hem as styborne as a wode man so far forthe as a gret clerke Barnard / seyþ þat þe dampned had leu[er]? be in hell w[i]towe ende þan ons loke hym / in þe face830 p[er] fore davyd preyeþ in holywryte [and] seyþ lorde rebuke þ[ø]u not / me at þ[a]t tyme when þou shalte seme wode nop[er] chastise me not in ði wraþe831 / For sothe þat chastismente is full harde þ[er] as shall be euerelastynge peyne / w[i]towe anni reste oþ[er] ese Syre þou may asse why god woll suffer men / to leffe ill þat ben c[ri]sten [and] so to des[er]ue peyne Syr I may sey þe for / to shewe is lordeshippe [and] þat he ys lorde of all þe worlde þan in þat þat / he is lorde. Quia d[omeni]us [???] tu es þan it longeþ to hym to be right- / -wisse þat is to sey to zelde goode men good þinges [and] to ewyll men evyll / pis longeþ to ryghtwynes he moste also suffre men to done yll to shew / ys m[er]cy þe wiche is chefe of þe verkes as dd’[?] seyþ for 3iffe men trespa- / -sed not þei neded not to haske m[er]cy so þan for right, [and] for m[er]cy [and] fore / oure beste he suffers vs to don evyll for [and] we amendes þan oure ioye / shall be encresed 3e Syr [and] take hede how gentilly [and] how frely he ordeynþ þp / for vs, he ordeynes vii sac[v]artes in holy churche þe wiche shall esely / brynge vs to þe blisse ziff we be of goode gouernaunce. In oure 3onge / Bapteme þat clenseþ men of þe fyrste synne þat we hade of oure elders / [and] 3eves gret g[ra]ce to vs þat ben purgett The seconde 2 sac[ra]mente / is confermynge of þe bishoppe by þe holygooste afermeþ man / þat is christened. The pride sacrament is penaunce when þ[a]t we / com to age of discrescion þis sac[ra]ment dothe avey all man[er] of synne / actuall venyall [and] dedeliche The fourte ys þe sac[ra]mente of þe / aut[er] c[ri]ste[us] very body þat confermeþ penaunce [and] 3eueþ strenghs / to man, þat he fall not a3eyn to Synne The v ys þe order’ / of prestes where by þ[a]t þei haue powere to mynystr’ þe sac[ra]menteis / The vj ys mat[ri]mony þat defendeþ Deadly synne in generaco[n] / of children be twyx man [and] wy[m]man The vj ys anoy[n]tinge w[i]t holy oyll where w[i]t seke men ben anoyntes in pill of dethe / for allegyaunce of peyne

825 Scribal error, repetition.
826 Inserted above the line.
830 The damned will rather spend eternity in Hell than to gaze even once upon the face of God, according to Saint Bernard.
831 Cf. the Three Arrows, which also utilises this passage.
in body [and] soule so þ[a]t all þise sac[ra]mentis / ben ordeynt to helpe vs from synne [and] to brynge vs to ioye at our / goyinge henn[us] So þan þiffe god kepe vp oure ooure wickednes hoo / shall suffre itt. trewly none but þei þat bene predestynate to þe / ioye þat ben þoȝ þat dyen w[i]toute dedely synne þise alony may suf- / -fre hym at þe daye of dome for op[er] may not suffre hym þ[er] but in þe / peyne of hell fro þe wiche de[yu][er] he vs [and] brynge vs to þi ioye þ[a]t / on þe crosse died for vs oure lorde ihc’ cste’ Amen.

(c) ff. 88v-90r [selected extracts], Sermon for the First Sunday in Advent

89r: [The Deadly Sins] þise slee þin þe sowle and þ[er] fore a rise for nowe / is tyme for to amend ffor now is þe day sterre vpe as a vise clerke / seiþ Surge miser a vicijs nam oritur[ur] stella dei A rise wrecche he / seis oute of þin synnes [and] p[ra]ji god m[er]cy for þe day st[er]re is vpe I vndur-/ -stond by þe day sterre no þinge els but þis tyme þ[a]t is now tyme / of g[ra]ce iffe had oon man doon all þe synnes þat all þe world myght / do [and] he wolde repente hym [and] amend hym he shuld haue grace but aft[er] /

89v: þis tyme when þi bodie is ded had a man as mucho repentauence as / all þe world myght haue but he amend hym or þ[a]t he die els he shall / ne[uer] haue g[ra]ce w[i]towten ende and þ[er]fore whils þat þe haue tyme / ryse owte of þe werkys of derkenes [and] clothe yon in goddes armes / as I seid afore w[i]t clennes almsgude mekenes wakynge [and] holy p[ra]ere / stedfast beleve hope of cstes’ m[er]cy also w[i]t charite [and] op[er] vertees [and] iff þe / clothe yon in þis wise than may þe securly abide goddess co[m]ynge of / is burthe when þ[a]t he toke oure keend of þat blessed mayd marie þus / make youre sowles clene aȝeyns goddess co[m]ynge now [and] so abide stede-/ -fastely vn to is last co[m]ynge þat is to þe dredefull dome when þe an-/ -gell shall blowe afore god þ[a]t all þe world shall rise whe[n] cste’ shall sey / þise wordes, Surgite mortui venite ad iudiciu[m]. þ[a]t is to sey arise þe dede / men [and] co[m]ynge to þe dome þ[er] shall no ma[n] askape w[i]t no meynp[ri]se ne / for no drede ne favo[ur] of lorde shine ne for no mede for þ[er] shall noon be / saved but þoo þ[a]t be owte of dedely synne for and þ[o]u be þan fow[n]don in anny / dedely synne, þoo oure ladie [and] all þow þe seyntes þ[a]t been in heven prey / for þe þei shall not be herde, why for þan þe tyme of g[ra]ce [and] of ame[n]deme[n]t / is þan paste [and] þ[e]r fore for goddes love beþen[n]ke þe now or þ[a]t þ[o]u die what / þ[a]t þ[o]u arte [and] what þ[o]u shalte be aft[ur] þe dreadful dome þ[e]r 3e shall apere like / as 3e be in þis world as Iob Þe holy man wittenesse well Quem / visurus su[m] ego ip[s]e et no[n] alius suche as I am now
suche I shall apere / be for god [and] noon’ open [and] so shall iche of yon be 3e seme. Vbi te invenio / ibi te iudico þ[e]r as I fynde þe þ[e]r I deme þe yiff þ[o]u die in dedely synne / ðan þ[o]u shalld be dampfned in hell bothe bodie [and] sole [and] yiff þ[o]u ende in / good liff þan þ[o]u shalte to heven bothe bodie [and] sole even as þ[o]u arte here / but þi bodie shall þan be glorified what is þ[a]t þ bi bodie þ[a]t is nowe so hevy / [and] so hoge it shall be þan as bright as þe sonne, iusti fulgebunt sicut sol. / O lord þi g[ra]ce is a fayre sight [and] a faire bryghtenes þan whe[n] þ[e]r shall be / mo bodies gadered to þeð[e]r þan is sterres on heven or gr[a]weyll in þe / see [and] eu[er]lyche of hem so bright þan þ[e]r will be a glorious sight 3iu[?] shall / þat be but as a shadow to þe bryghtnes of goddes blessed face, loo 
/ what seynt austyn’ seis, Et est in libro de c[iuitate dei, he seis þ[e]r / þ[a]t þe angels in heven þan be many fold bryghter þan þe sonne [and] no / mans herte may þenke how muche þ[a]t þei desire to see goddes blessed /

90r: face þat is so bryght and all þe swetnesse [and] likyngg[es] of metis and drynkys / or spysery or mynstralsi þat anny man or angell may þenke 3e shall / haue in þe sight of þe blessed t[ri]nite þe wiche shall last eu[er] w[i]t owten ende / [and] þ[e]r for’ for is loue haue mynde of hym [and] wakeþ [and] ryse owte of synne / for now is þe tyme of g[ra]ce [and] make you redie [and] clene þat 3e may savely / passe owte of þis world when þ[a]t god co[m]meþ [and] calles þou to þe dredefull / dome þan heven [and] erthe shall tremull for drede þ[a]t 3e may be of þe nowmb[ur] / þ[a]t shall be saved in þe blis of heven to þe wiche [etc.]

(d) ff. 112r-114r [selected extracts], Sermon for Palm Sunday

112r: Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, Mat. 21. The helpe and þe / grace of almyghty god be w[i]t vs now and euer. Amen. Frendes / pise wordes þat I haue seid in Latyn þei are wrynten in þe / gospell of seynt mathewe and ben þus muche to sey to youre vndirston- / -dyme on englis tounge, “Blessed mot he be þat co[m]meþ in þe name / of oure lorde.” 3e shall vndirston þat as wittenes well holy writ / and doctours also seyn þat þer be ij co[m]ynes of oure lord in godhed / in manhede here in erthe þe wiche we awʒ gretely to blisse The / first co[m]yne of cst’ is in þe godhed [and] manhode toþeþeþ [ur] [and] þ[a]t was

832 Although I would conjecture a possible error has been made and that it is instead intended for the Second Suday in Advent.
833 Guide letter ‘b’; 3-line space left blank for decorated initial.
tyme / when he was borne at cristemasse of is blessed mod[ur] oure ladie seynt / marie 
han he for þe gret yele [and] loue of man shewed hym selfe / nowthe as lord [and] god of all 
þinge but as a pore childe boned in a / cribbe be twix a nox [and] a nasse but take hede of is 
co[m]mynge at þat / tyme þe wiche eu[er]c[r]isten man [and] wo[m]man oweþ for to blisse 
for he / losed vs owte of þe þraldam of þe fende [and] made vs able to com to þe / blisse of 
heven here to acordeþ þe holy apostell, Ad romanos 6 / seyinge on þis wïe, Nunc autem 
liberati a pcco’ , serui aute[m] t[a]c[t]i deo /

112v: be þe co[m]mynge [and] þe tyme of cste’ burthe we be delyverd from synne [and] 
made / þe seruant[es] of oure lord god. Sethen þan þ[a]t ill is so þat aforn cste’ co[m]mynge 
/ we were vnabull for to come to þe blisse of heven [and] he in ys co[m]mynge mad[e] / vs 
abull þan aw3 we well to worshippe [and] bliss hym as oure savio[ur] seyning / to hym þe 
wordes þ[a]t I toke to my teme, Blessed mot he be þ[a]t co[m]meþ in þe / name of oure lord 
[...] þ[a]t afore cste’ co[m]mynge þ[e]r myght no man com to / heven wher[e] fore he 
raunsomed vs for þe wiche me thyne þ[a]t ichman / is grettely beholden to velcom[e] hym in 
ys co[m]mynge seyning þe wordes / þat I seid att þe begynnyng, þat blessed mot he be, þ[a]t 
co[m]meþ in þe name / of oure lord [...] 

113r: Anoþ[er] co[m]mynge shall be of cste’ / both in godhode [and] in manhode [and] þat 
shall be at þe dredefull day of dome / when þ[a]t he shall sitt as a ryghtfull iustice for to deme 
bothe þe good / [and] þe ill, but p[er]aventure þ[o]u þ[a]t arte a lewde man þ[o]u wold witt 
when / is þis co[m]mynge [and] when þe day of dome shall be [and] also where It shall834 / 
be, in erthe or on heven or els beneþ þe erthe ffor sothe ffrendes where / it shall be I shall tell 
þe as holy writ seþ þ[and] also Þe maist[ur] of sentence / he seþ þ[a]t itt shall be in þe vale 
of Iosaphate [and] þ[a]t vale is beside ierliu835 / welny3 by þe place where oure ladie seynt 
marie was buried. þ[e]r / shall be þe dome here to acordeth holy writ by þe p[ro]phete Ioell 
t[er]cio[?] / þere he seiþ þus Congregabo om[n]es gentes et deducam eas in vale Io- -saphat. 
I shall gadere to geþ[ur] all man[ur] of nacions’ seþ þgod [and] brynge / hem in to þe vale of 
Iosaphate so þ[a]t I sey forsothe þ[a]t þe day of dome shall / be in þe same place but trewly 
what tyme [and] when it shall be [and] wheþ[ur] / nyght or day þ[e]r is no clerke in erthe ne 
aungell ne postell ne seynt / in heven þat can tell þ[a]t day [and] þis I may p[ro]ve 
be cste’ own’ wordes / where þ[a]t he seys þus, de die illa u[e]l hora nemo scit nisi solus pat[er], / 
[and] jitt he seþ more dies d[omi]ni sicut fur in nocte i[t]a veniet but vndir / stond what þat 

834 ‘loc[us] Iudiciij’ is inscribed in the margin at the end of this line.
835 I.e., Jerusalem.
holy wrihte seyþ þe day of dome shall com ryght as / a theffe, how co[m]meþ a theffe forsothe
or þ[o]u be ware of hym for sothe / on þe same man[er] shall com þe day of dome [and] þ[e]r
fore seyþ holy scriptur[us]. / Estote parati q[ua] nescitis diem neq[ue] horam, þ[e]r fore be
redie for 3e knowe /

113v: not what tyme ne what houre. In þe wiche dome þ[e]r shall goy no mede nere / no gyle
but alone ryghtwisnes ffor god hym selfe shall 3eue þe dome [and] he is / all ryghtfull [and]
as clerkes seyn þ[e]r buthu[?] ix orders of au[n]gels ryght so god / þitt shall putt holy soules
some w[i]t aungels some w[i]t arghaungels [and] so / aft[ur] hure lyvynge hathe ben in erthe
so shall be þ[e]r revarde in þe blisse of / heven. Ryght so þei þ[a]t shall be dampned in hell
shall haue dyvers peynes / [and] þ[t]urmentynge som w[i]t smale devels [and] som’ w[i]t grett
devels so beyinge / in sorowe [and] care w[i]t owten ende [and] som shall brenne in þe grett
flameþ / of fyre þe wiche is ix tymes hott[er] þan is any fire in þis world. 3e / [and] som
shall be hangged be þe necke [and] devels w[i]t owte nowmb[ur] shall all / to drawe hur[e]
ly[m]mes in sondre [and] shall smyte here bodies thorowe w[i]t / fury bronndes’ þo be all
þise proude men þ[a]t falsely robben ð[er] me[n] in þis / world to make hure wretched bodies
gaye [and] hur[e] eres ryche [and] som / shall be hanged be þe tougne [and] devels I now to
turment þ[a]t memb[ur] [and] þo shall / be þese bacbyters [and] þise false spekers of here
even c[r]isten [and] þise false queste- / -mongers836 þat for a litill money or els for a good
dyn[er] will saue a theffe / [and] dampne a trewe man [and] 3itt [and] he be wrouthe w[i]t it is
neyþbore [and] co[m] to asyse / he will for aperyre of gloves of vi pens put hym from is londe
he þat / vsep þus is tou[n]ge þ[e]r god haþ 3even hym for to preyseþ hym w[i]t [and] he vse /
it to suche falsehed[e] he shall be hanged in hell þ[e]r by for is falsehed[e] withe- / -owten
ende. Som shall also be draven in to þe fyre [and] fendes w[i]t owte[n] / nowmb[ur] I now
abowte hym [and] here bowelles shall be draven owte of / here bodies as Iudas was þ[a]t be
trayed cst’ for covetyse of good[es] [and] so / shall be þese false covetyse men þat more
settes here hertes in þe vele / of þis world[e] þan þei do on god, but trowe þ[o]u well þoo
þ[a]t god suffur’ þe / to haue þi will here in þis world þ[a]t he will not punysche þe þ[e]r fore
in / a noþ[er] world ffor þi grett rychese I sey be þ[o]u neu[er] so grett in þis world [and]
þ[o]u / loue not þi god more þan þi good leve well þ[a]t þ[o]u shalte haue sorowe / þ[e]r of
[…][Hereafter follows an exemplum of such a rich man who puts his goods before God]

836 One who profits from an inquest or a trial, esp. by initiating an unjust action or giving false evidence or a
false verdict for pay; profiting from an inquest.
[the last few lines make mention of Christ’s purchase of mankind’s freedom, again want to relate it to ‘ayenbiyng’] caste we / awey sey þe apostell þe werkes of dirkenes [and] be we glade w[i]t þe armo[ur] / of light þat is to sey putt we avey from vs all ewell dedis [and] euell spekyng[es] / [and] euell thow3tes [and] all suche vices þ[a]t displayseþ oure lorde god [and] lat vs / do suche werkes þe wiche mowe brynge vs to þe blisse þ[a]t cst’ in is co[m]mynge / bowthe vs vn to. To þe wiche blisse brynge vs he þ[a]t for vs died on rode tre.

(e) ff. 168r-169v [selected extracts], Sermon for Advent, Apoc. 1:8, Venturus est Omnipotens

168r: Frendes for a p[ro]cessse 3e shull vndirstond þ[a]t I fynde in holy writ iij co[m]myng[es] of our[e] / lord. The first was qwen þ[a]t he co[m] to make man. The second was qwhen he / co[m] to bie man and þe iij shall be qwen he shall com to deme man […]

169r: I seid also þ[a]t þe þrid man[er] of co[m]myng shall be at þe day of dome qwe[n] he / shall deme man [and] 3e shall vndirstond þ[a]t pise ij first were helpynge vn to ma[n]kend / but þe iij shall be to som joyfull [and] helping [and] to som ful dredefull [and] grisly / þ[e]r fore spekeþ seynt barnard of þis co[m]myng in synneful mens p[er]sons [and] seyþ Et e’ / in s[er]mone de adventu iudicis ubi sic semp[er] in quod diem illu[m] ex [???] confiderines[?] / toto corp[er]e [???] Alwey whe[n] I thonke on þe last day for drede my bodie / quakeþ for I can not fynde oon frend to stond at þ[a]t day for me but my synne [and] my wickednes æyeþs me [and] þ[e]r shall no ma[n] pray for oþ[er] but godd[es] oune choson / children shall be rauoshed vp in þe ayr [and] þei þ[a]t shall be dampned þe erthe / shall swalow hem c[er]teyn’ seys Saynt Barnard like as þe clowde letþ / þe liȝtthe of þe sonne þe refletþ þiit may not shyne vppon þe Erthe Ryght so þer shall / be a clowde of synneful mans dedis be tweyn’ god [and] hem þ[a]t þei shall not / see þe blessed face of god [and] þ[a]t þis is dredefull narrate de xv signis.\(^{837}\) þe planet[es] / of þe fermant shall taken æyeþ her liȝtthe moche more liȝtthe þan þei / haue now ffor þe p[ro]phete isaie seyþ yse xxx, Erit lux lune\(^{838}\) sic[u]t ia[m] [?] lux solis /

\(^{837}\) I.e., ‘narrate the fifteen signs’. Interestingly, the signs are not then written out, arguably evidencing the use of this specific text in oral delivery. Apparently, they are known by heart, demonstrating the possibility that a preacher – whoever it might be – could call upon their own knowledge when necessary in order to expand upon a theme, highlighting education or at least a strong familiarity with this type of content. See footnotes 101 and 102.

\(^{838}\) I.e., ‘lunae’.

86v: now as þe gospell seythe þe leste her’ of owr’ hede / schall nott p[er]lysche. Now then þe / whyll þ[a]t we bythe / men her’ [and] havyth wytt [and] wysdom and a fre / wyll [and] mow / chese whedyr’ we wyll be good or / evyll : good hytt were me semytho to leve so her’ / now þe whyle þ[a]t we bythe þere me[n] þ[a]t we myȝthe / have joy [and] reste when we schall / cu[m] ellys where / and t[ur]ne aegyn to men. Now hit semyth þ[a]t meny / þat bythe þere yn þys world takythe lytyll hede / of þ[a]t lyfe þ[a]t ys to cu[m] þe whych þ[a]t folowyth þere / þere own’ wyll Sinne yn prouwd leuyn by techyn[g] / of þe fende jn wraþe [and] yn envy / and su[m] by / covytyse of wordely godyth settythe nowte by / trowthu. And su[m] leuynþe / aff[ur] þe lekyng of þe flesche / as yn Slewthe, Gloteny and lechery [and] settythe / but lytyll by holynys nor of þe lyfe þ[a]t ys to cume / for’ þe devyll blyndythe þem so þ[a]t þey / wenyth / nevyr have o[er] lyfe ne geve a rekeny[n]g of þ[e]r / evyll dedys þ[a]t þey doþe / her[e]. Now whan þey843 beste / trystythe to hym [and] to þe welle of þ[i]s world son[n]yst / þey bythe by glyld be þey neu[er] so prouwd þ[e] / for[e] me semyth þat hit were good þe / whyle / þat we bythe þere to take hede of þe lyfe þ[a]t ys to / cu[m] [and] for sake vycys [and] syn[n]ys [and] putt vs to meke- / -nes [and] v[er]tuys and eu[er] have mynd as y seyd / fyrste wynwardly y[n] þyn hertt þ[a]t þ[o]u were axyn’ / and to axyn’ þ[o]u schaltte t[ur]ne aegyn. Meme[n]to [etc.] /

87r: And now yn þe begyny[n]g of þys holy tyme make vs clene / of syn [and] putt vs to / p[ra]yers and fastyng [and] op[er] good ded[es] þ[a]t / we may leve yn reste when we hens wend. Now yf / we wyll do by consell whyle þ[a]t we bythe here a lyfe we / mow have joy y / now yn þ[a]t op[er] lyfe when we schall gon’ / hense butt þen we muste do as ama[n] dyd / þ[a]t wrothe by / consell […]

843 þey’ is omitted from the line but has been added at the end, in the margin, with a mark indicating its intended position in the text.
(6) London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, The Three Arrows on Doomsday (T-V)

(a) ff. 63r-72v, ‘here eendiþ þe myrrour of sy[n]ners; [and] bigy[n]neþ anöpir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday, to hem þ[a]t þere schulen be damned’

63r Who so wole haue i[n] mynde / þe dredful day of doom, / so þ[a]t he may be moued wîþ dre- / -de to fle fro synne, as þe wise / man biddiþ his sone. memorare nouissima tua; et i[n]ternu[m] / non p[e]ccabis. þat is, haue myn- / -de of þe laste þingis; þ[a]t is þe / day of doom, [and] it schal kepe þe / fro synne. here þe mou[n] fynde / su[m]what writen þerof, how o[u]re / lord spekiþ bi ysaie þe p[ro]pheþe / seiynge þus; egredietur d[e]us / de loco suo, vt visitet iniquita- / -tem habitator[um] tre’ [terrae?]. þat is, oure / lord schal wende out of his pl[a]- / -ce for to visite þe wickidnesse of / 63v hem þat enhabiten þe erþe. Cer- / -tis þis doom schulde be soue- / -reynly dred. for as myche as he / doiþ now merci; so myche schal he þa[n]ne do greit vengable w[i]t / wiísnesse. For it is of god i[n] lyk- / -nesse as it is of þe su[n]ne. þe su[n]ne / holdynge his cours, passiþ out / of þe signe of þe liou[n] into þe sig- / -ne of þe virgin, into þe sig- / -ne of þe balau[n]ce. þe liou[n] is a / strong beest [and] afel. And in þis / signe was sent þe su[n]ne of / riȝt- / -wysnesse, bifoþ þee incarnaciou[n]. / For he was þa[n]ne so fel, þ[a]t wht / man þat brak hise biddyngis; / 64r anoon he schulde be deed. For / as it is seid. Aman was doon / to þe deep, for he gaderide stick- / -ks on þe ssaboth day. But out / of þis signe of þe liou[n]; he þas- / -side into þe signe of þe virgyn, / wha[n]ne he took mankynde, and / was born of þe virgyne mane. / And þa[n]ne was he maad more / redi to do merci, þan eue he w[a]s / to venia[n]ce. þanne it bigan, [and] / zitt it lastiþ, þ[a]t he þ[a]t seide wha[n]- / -ne he was i[n] þe signe of þe liou[n] / Anima qu[a]e peccauerit ip[s]a mori- / -etur, þat is, þe soule þ[a]t synneþ, / it schal die. Now wha[n]ne he is i[n] / þe signe of þe virgyn, seip þus. / 64v Nolo mortem peccatoris; set / magis vt convertatur et viuat. / þ[a]t is, I wole not þe deep of a sy[n]- / -ere; but more þat he be turned / þ[er]fro [and] lyue. But certis out of þe /signe of þe virgyn, he schal pas- / -se into þe signe of þe balau[n]ce, / at þe dai of doom, where he sch[a]ll / we zig alle oure þourþis, wordis / [and] oure werks in euen peys844 of / his riȝtwiþnesse, þ[a]t he may þelde / to evey man aftþ þe truþe of his / deseert. And what he schal þa[n]ne / dom heere þou, what he seip now / bi þe þ[ro]phete. Congregabo super / eos mala; et sagittas meas com- / -plebo in eis, þat is, I schal heþe[n] / 65r vpon he[m] her yuelis; [and] I schal / dispende alle myne arowis vp- / -on hem. þre scharpe arowis /

844 The scribe places a mark over ‘y’, to distinguish it from ‘þ’.
schulen be schott of oure lord in / þat day vpon he[m] þ[a]t ye schulen / be dampned. þe firste arowe / schal be of cleepinge to þe doom, / wh[a]n ne as hi[m] silf se[þ]. venit ho- / -ra vt omnes qui i[n] monume[n]tis / sunt audient vocem filii dei, et / p[ro]cedent qui bona egerunt in / resurrectionem vitæ, qui vero ma- / -la, in resurrectionem iudicii. þat / is. Tyme schal come that al- / -le þo þ[a]t ben i[n] graues schule[n] hee- / -re þe vois of þe sone of god, [and] so passe forþ to doom. þa[n] ne þe / 65v wrecchid dampned soule schal / come to þe bodi and seie to it. / Arise þou cursed caiffait careyne; / fro þis tyme forþ wiþoute ony / eende, to be felowe to þe deuel / [and] enemye to almyȝty god. Now / þi ioie schal be turned into woo, / þi deliȝt into bittirnesse, and þi / lauȝtir i[n] þe book of her consciences / boþe lewid and lerid [and] reden it / hem silf. And if þou seist þat le- / -wid men can not rede, I seie þ[a]t / þ[e]r is noon so lewid, þat he ne / can rede þe letter of his owne / wrytynge, þa[n]e þei schullen se þe / domesman as he were wood / for wraþed ægens he[m]. Of þis / woodnesse and þis wraþ spe- / -kiþ þe p[ro]phete in þe firste salme / of penau[n]ce where he preieþ to be / delyuerid of hem boþe seiynge / þus. Domine ne in furore tuo / arguas me; neq[ue] in ira tua cor- / -ripias me. þat is, lord in þi wood- / 67r -nesse overcome me not w[i]t skil- / -lis, and chastise me not in þe wrap- / -pe.845 No man þenke þat wrappe / or woodnesse or ony sich trou- / -blid ma[n]nes passiou[n] may be in / god. But herfore þei ben sett in / scripture for þe werkis of god i[n] / ponyschinge [and] vengynge of sy[n]- / -ne; schal take effect of siche pas- / -siou[n]s as ben wrappe [and] wood- / -nesse i[n] alle sy[n]neris, þat ouþir / schulen be chastisid bi peyne þ[a]t / schal haue an eende, as is pur- / -gatorie, þe which peyne is cle- / -pid here þe wrappe of god; or / elsis þ[a]t schulen be peyne by / veniu[n]ce i[n] þe horrible peyne / 67v of helle þ[a]t neuere schal haue en- / -de,

845 This could be wraþþe.


\textit{\(\text{þe which is clepid here \(\text{þe woodnesse of god. \(\text{Al \[\text{þis \[\text{þe p[ro]phete / dauiþ siþ in spirit, and} \text{þefore / he in p[er]soone of ane sy[n]neris fe- / -lynge hi[m] vnmyztys to bere euer / eiþir first askiþ to be delyuerid / of helle, [and] siþen of purgatorie / seiynge \[\[\[\[\text{þus. Domine ne in fu- / -rere etc. As if he seide \[\[\text{þus to oure / vndirstondynge. lord I biseche / þee \[\[\text{þ[a]t in \[\[\[\[\[\text{þe dredful day of doom, / where ßou schalt schewe ßee to / sy[n]neris as a man \[\[\[\text{þ[a]t were wood / sparynge no ßing; ß[a]t ßou ouer- / -come me not wiþ skillis i[n] final / conclusiou[n], so ß[a]t I be not co[n]uyct / / / / 68r \[\[\text{for euere [and] be ateynt in a scha- / -meful inco[n]uenient of euerlasty[n]- / -ge reprof [and] ß[er]føre I seie arguþe me not.}^{846} \text{For arguyng as cler- / -kis knowe, is oon to ou[er]come / anoþir w[i]t skillis. But \[\[\text{þeue me / grace good lord so to argu [and] to / ouercome wiþ skillis of ßi lawe / ße errouris of my blynd conscien- / -ce here in ßis liif whilis tyme is / of mercy; ßat I may hertily for- / -penke he[m], [and] cleeþer confesse hem / [and] lawfulli amende hem bi ensau[m]- / -ple of new clene lyuyng to / men, feruent in preier to god, [and] by / discreet chastisement of my liif / here whilis I lyue; so ß[a]t ß[o]u haue / no wille to chastise me i[n] ßi wrappe / 68v aftir ßis liif in purgatorie. And / ß[a]t it be ßus. Miserere mei d[omi]ne / qu[on]i[am] infirmus su[m]. Hauve merci on / me lord for I am syk [and] v[n]myztys to / bere euer eiþer. ß[a]t is to seie, ßin ar- / -guynge in ße doom, ne ßi chas- / -tisement i[n] purgatorie but if it so / be ß[a]t ße up born wiþ ßi mercy; / o, ß[a]t dредful day of oure lord, / ßa[n]e schulen alle wickeide men / se he[m] sitte in ße doom wiþ ßrist, / whom ßei han disipisd here, and / in ßis liȝt be troubled wiþ an hor- / -rible drede, seiynge ße word of / ße wiseman. Hii sunt quos ali- / -quando [habuimus] in derisum etc. / uos in sensati etc. ßat, is, ßese / 69r ben ßo ße whiche sumtyme we / hadden in scorn [and] dispiit, we / vnwitty wrecchis hee[lde]n her liif / woodnessse, [and] her eende wiþoute / honour, but lo now hoþi be[n] / acountid among hoþi sones of god. / ßa[n]e among al ß[a]t multitudes ßei / schal not fynde oon ß[a]t schal ha- / -ue compassio[n] of he[m], but alle / schulen be glad [and] content with / god, i[n] her iust dampnacioun / aft[ir] ße word of ße salm seiy-n- / -ge ßus. letabitur iustus cu[m] vi- / -derit vindictam.}^{847} \text{þat is, \(\[\text{þe riȝt- / -wiþisman schal be glad wha[n]e / he schal se ße ve[n]iau[n]ce, ßane as / crist seix in ße gospel, ße schule[n]/ 69v seke for to entre into creueys of / stoonys, and i[n]to ße swolowis of / ße erþe, fro ße dreadful face of o[ur]e / lord. ßa[n]e schulen ßei preie moun- / -teyns to falle vpon hem, [and] hillis / for to hide hem, so woo ßei schule[n] / be on euery side. And ßis is the }

\footnote{\text{846} \{[and] ß[er]føre I seie arguþe me not\} is in the margin, having been omitted from the main column, indicated by a mark.}
\footnote{\text{847} Psalm 57:11: ‘Laetabitur Justus cum viderit vindictam; manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris’; ‘The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge: he shall wash his hands in the blood of the sinner.’}
woun[n]- / -de of þe firste arowe. þe secu[n]de / arowe schal be an arowe of scharp /
rep[ro]uynge of alle fals cristen men, / wha[n]ne he schal seie to hem þus. / I was an hungrid;
[and] 3e 3auen me / no mete. I was a þirst; [and] 3e 3auen / me no drynk. I was nakid; [and] 3e
/ 3auen me no clooþ. I was a gest / [and] 3e 3auen me no herbole. I was / syk [and] in
p[ri]sou[n]; [and] 3e visitide[n] me n[o]t, / 70r ne dice me no comfort. O, wh[a]t / þis vois
schal be dredful, wha[n]ne / it schal be seid to hem. þat as ofte / as þei diden not þese þingis
to / ony þ[a]t nede hadde in his name, / so ofte þei diden hem nouȝt to hi[m]. / And no
wonder þouȝ þis vois / schal be dredful, at þe day of doo[m]; / siþen we reden in þe gospel
þ[a]t crist / wha[n]ne he come in forume of a / seruau[n]t for to be deemed of þe fal- / -se
iewis; seide to hem þ[a]t souȝte[n] for / to take hi[m], I am he. And anoon þei / ȝeden abak
[and] fellen to þe erȝe. If / he þ[a]t wha[n]ne he was deedly [and] cam / to be deemed hadde
so feerful a / voise, þ[a]t wiȝ his […] word þrewe to / 70v gronde so manye steerne men /
of þe iewis. Afer more feerful / voise schal he hauve, whanne he / schal come vnvededly wiȝ
his oost / of au[n]gelis [and] of seynthis for to deey- / -me þe quyke and þe deede, ech / man
aftir þ[a]t he þaþ discerned. / And herfore seiþ loþ. Cum vix / paruam stillam sermonem cuiis
/ audire non possunt possu[m]848 toni- / -tru[m] magnitudinus eius quis po- / -test sustinere.
þat is, siþ ma[n] mai / vnnenþis heere alitis drope of hise / wordis; þe greete þundir of his /
doome whal schal mowe heere or / suffre, as who seiþ noon. And þ[e]r- / -fore seiþ seyt
Bernard þus. Cum / 71r peccator accusatus fuerit, et con- / -sciencia p[ro]pria testimoniu[m]
contra / eu[m] p[ro]hibuerit et om[n]is creatura dei / in surrexit contra eum i[n] vindicta[m] /
grauis vt sagittas erit vox d[omi]ni / ad sustinendum. þat is wha[n]ne / þe sinful caitif schal be
accusid [and] / his owne conscience schal bere / witnesse aȝens him [and] euery crea- / -ture
of god schal rise aȝens hi[m] in / ve[n]iau[n]ce greuous as an arowe woun[n]dis, / schal
ha[n]ne be þe vois of god to / suffre. And þe þ[e]p[ro]phete Ieremye seiþ. Sagitta vulnerans
lingua eius. / þat is, þe tu[n]ge of hi[m] schal be as / an arowe woun[n]dynge. And þis is þe
secu[n]de arowe. þe þridde arowe / 71v schal be an arowe of endeles / dampnaciou[n] of alle
wickide me[n]. / whanne he schal seie to hem. Ite maledicti in ignem eternu[m] qui p[ræe] / p[ar]at[us]
diabolo et angelis ei[us]. þ[a]t is. / Go ȝe cursid wirtis[?] into eueras- / -tyne fier, þe
which is ordeyned / to þe feend and to þe au[n]gelis of / hi[m]. þis arowe schal woun[n]de
he[m] þ[a]t / þat falliþ on so greuously, þ[a]t alle / þe lechis fisicians and surgyns, / ne ȝitt alle
þe creaturis i[n] heuene / [and] in erþe schal not mowe heele þe / woun[n]de of it. þa[n] ne
schal þe ope[n] / erþe swolowe he[m] dou[n] into helle / where þe þe schal be turmentid w[i]t/

848 Scribal correction.
feendis eu[er]more wiþouten eende. / 72r but alas þe’ ben i drede ful / manye þ[a]t neuere wolen bileue / þese þingis or þei fele hem. Of / whom seïþ seynt Eusebie þus. / ve ve quibus est datum priuïs / hoc sentire qui credere. woo woo / be to he[m], to whom it is 3ouen ra- / -[þ]er[e] to fele þese þingis; þan to bi- / -leue hem. And þis is þe wou[n]de of þe þridde arowe. But þa[n]ne / schal crist turne to he[m] þ[a]t schulen / be on his riȝtside [and] seie þus to he[m]. / venite beneficïi patris mei þ[er]ci- / -pite regnu[m] quod vobis paratu[m] / est a patre meo ab origine mundi. / þ[a]t is. Come to me, þe þ[a]t ben þe / blessid children of my fadir [and] be / 72v þe þarþ[e]nþ[e]s of my ioie i[n] þe kyng- / -dom þat was ordeyned for you / by my fadir fro þe bigy[n]nyng / of þe world. To þe which kyng- / -dom and ioie he brynge us, / þ[a]t bouȝte us wiþ his precious / blood. Amen. Here eendiþ þe / tretis of þre arowis. And here / sueþ anoþir mater, how ech ma[n] / [and] wo[m]an may lerne to loue [and] / serue god ech i[n] his degree, taky[n]- / -ge ensaumple bi þre foolis. / Respice volatilia celi.

(b) ff. 2r-3r, ‘An orisoun in mynde of Christ’s Passion’

2r Deus qui voluisti pro redempcione mundi etc. Lord ihu crist þat woldist for þe æzenbiynges of þe world be repreued of þe ieweis, and be killid / 2v of Iudas þe traitour, and forto be / bounden wiþ boondis, and as a meke lombe for to be led to cleynge of sacrificse biforn þe siȝt of annas, and caiphas, and erode, vnsemyngly for to be offrid, and for to be accused of false witnesssis, and for to be […] wiþ betyngis and reproues, and for to be crowned wiþ þornys, and for to be bispit wiþ spotil. and for to be bete wiþ buffetis, and for to be peersid wiþ scharpnes of naylis, and for to be reisid up in þe cros bitwyx two þeeues, and for to be ȝouen to drynde galle and aysel, and for to be wounded 3r wiþ a spere. Þou lord þòruȝ þese moost holy peynes, þe whiche I unworþi wretche reherse, and þòruȝ þin hol[i] cros, þat is þi passioun, deleyuere me fro þe peyne of helle, and I vouche þou saak to leie me wiþ þee into paradiis wh[…][[849]] þou leddist þe þeef; þe which was crucified wit þee, þere to be wiþ þin holly aungels wiþouten eende amen.

(c) ff. 38v-41v, how crist schal appere at domesday


[849] MS damaged.
i[n] þe same bodi wiþoute doute, which was wou[n]did for oure sy[n]nes, and þus he axynge sy[n]neris schal seie, man I fourmede þee of þe slym of 39r þe erþe wiþ myn hondis and I haue sett þee in my p[ar]adijs, which you disseruedist not, but þou dispisynge me and my mau[n]dements, haddist leuere to sve þe disseuyor þ[a]t is þe deuel. wherefore thow dampned bi in a pryson […]850 deyned to þe turmentis of helle. aftir I hadde merci on þee, and took fleisch, I dwelte in erþe among synneris, I suffride dispisyngis851 and betyngis for þee, for to delyuere þee. I resseyuede buffetis and spetyngis, forto 3eue to þee þe sweymes of p[ar]adijs. I drank vynegre wiþ galle. I was crowned wiþ þornes for þee. I 39v was nailid to þe cros and peersid w[i]t a spere. for þee I was putt in seupulcre. I 3ede doun to hellis; for to bri[n]ge þee a3en to p[ar]adijs. I wente to derknessis of hellis; þ[a]t þou schuldist regne in heuene. þerfore þou […]852 vnpiteus men knowe what þi[n]gis I suffride for þee. se þe wou[n]dis whiche I resseyuede for þee; lo þe hoolis of naylis bi which I was nailid and hangide in þe cros. I resseyuede þi sorowis for to heele þee; I resseyuede peyne, forto 3eue glorie to þee. I took deep, þat þou schuldist lyue wiþouten eende. I lay hid i[n] sepulcre, þat þou schuldist regne in heuene. I suffride alle þese þi[n]gis 40r for 3ou, grettere þan þese what ouȝte I do to 3ou and I dide not seie 3e to me now, or schewe 3e what 3e suffriden for me 3oure lord; or what good 3e han doon to 3ou lii, wha[n]ne I was god invisible and vnpassible, I wolde suffre for you wilfully, for 3ou I was maad man, wha[n]ne I was riche, I was maad nedi for 3ou, but 3e euere forsakynge me my mekenesse and myn heestis sueden more þe disseyuour, þat is þe deuel, þan me. lo now my riȝtfulnesse mai noon op[er] þi[n]g deeme; no but þat, þ[a]t 30[ur]e werks disseruen, þ[er]fore holde 3e þ[a]t, þat 3e haue chosen, 3e han dispisid 40v liȝt; weelde 3e derknessis, what moornynge, what anguysch schal be; whanne þis sentence schal be seid aȝens vnpiteuous me[n]. þa[n]ne to yuele men schal be hard departynge fro þe sweymes of felowschipe of seynt[is] and þa[n]ne vnpiteuous men 3oue[n] into power of feendis; schullen go in þe same bodies wiþ þe deuel into euerlastynge turment and schulen dwelle euere wiþouten eende i[n] moornynge and weilynge and þei fer excilid fro blisful p[ar]adijs, schulen be turmentid in euerlastynge peyne neuere to seyne liȝt, neuere to 41r getynge ketynge but bi þousanidis of þousand 3eeris, schule[n] be turmentid in helle and neuere[r] schulen be deleyuerid þens w[i]touen eende, where he þat turmentiþ is neuere maad feynt, and he þat is turmentid, schal neuere[r] die, for fier waastiþ so þere; þat it reseuer euere, so turmentis ben doon; þat eue[r] þei be newid, vp þe maner of sy[n]ne, ech man schal

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850 MS damaged.
851 A correction in the margin: ‘and blood’?
852 MS damaged again, reverse of earlier.
suffer the pain of hell, for then no thing shall be heard; no but weeping and dreading of pene, then schal be doon opir comfort, then flawmes and dredis of peynes and 41v þe wrecchis schulen bre[n]ne euer in euerlastynge fier into worldis of worldis.

(d) ff. 116v-117v, þese be[n] þe .vij. deedly syn[n]es þ[a]t suen

116v Pride is heed of al kyns sy[n]ne / It makiþ ma[n]nys soule fro god to twy[n] / To wickide hiþnes he wole ay / 117r And loueþ to myche his owne noblay / Hi[m] siful he preisip in his þour[t] / And oþe[r] men he settip at nou[r]t / Enuye folowip p[r]ide comou[n]ly / Whan[n]e me[n] faren weel he is sory / Whan[n]e me[n] fare[n] yuel he.ioiþ w[i]ty[n]e[n] / he lauþeþ neuere but at synne / Wraþþe vnto þese two is knytt / To take ve[n]iau[n]ce is al his witt / To sle to suryte to þe p[ro]cure woo / To warie folk to sclaudre also / The coueito[us] ma[n] know[s] no skille / For al þis world mai hi[m] not fille / The worldis weelþe he willþ ay / wiþ riþt or wrong gete wheþ[er] he m[a]y / Gloteny haþ greet appetite / To eþe eech plate853 is his delite / 117v He loueþ no mesure of etinge / And ay he wole be drinkynge / The sixte synne is leccherie / To manye a soule it worship noie[?] / But men it leue and he[m] amende / In fier of helle þei wole be bre[n]de /Slownes is a cursid þing / For it is eue[r] weri of weel doy[n]g / Good werk he loþiþ to bigynþ / And liþth þ[er]of he wole blynne / These ben þe synnes seuene / þat reuen men þe blis of heuene.

(e) ff. 117v-118v, þe .vij. v[er]tues aþe[n]s þe .vij. deedli syn[n]es

117v Wiþ scharpe þornes þ[a]t were[n] ful heue854 / My[n] heed was crowned þe mou[n] wyl seue / The blood ran dou[n] albi my cheke / þou proud man þ[er]lore be meke / 118r Iff þou be wroþ be wroþ and wolt take wrecke / Biholde þe lessou[n] þat I þee teche / þorúþ my riþthond þe nail it goþ / þerfore forþeue and be nou[r]t wroþ / In al my þirst upon þe rode / Me[n] zauen me dri[n]kis þ[a]t were[n] n[o]t gode / Eysel[?] and galle for to drynke / Slotou[n] þeron I rede þee þenke / Of a clene maiden I was born / To saue mankynde þ[a]t was for lorn / To suffre deþ for ma[n]nys synne / Lecchour þ[er]lore of lust þou bly[n]ne / Thorúþ my lifthond a nail was dryue / þenke þou þ[er]on if þou wolt lyue / And helþ þe pore wiþ a þat was ful grill / 118v Myn herte was

853 Best guess, ink is faded.
854 Ink is increasingly faded.
p[er]sid, it was my wil / For loue of man þat was ful dere / Enuyous man of loue þou lere / Arise up unlust out of þi bed / And biholde my feet þ[a]t are forbled / And nailid faste upon þe tree / þanke me þ[er]fare al was for þee / Ihu for þi woundis fyue / þou kepe hem weel in al her lyue / þat þese lessou[n]s ouer wole rede / And þerwip her soulsis fede.

(7) London, British Library, Arundel MS 197

(a) ff. 7r-10r, The Three Arrows on Doomsday (T-V)

7r Who so wille haue in my[n]de þe dreadful day of dome, where by he / may be þe bett[er] ware to leue synne. take hede of þes wordis þ[a]t þe wyse / man techeþe his sone. momorare [sic] nouissima tua et inet[er]nu[m] no[n] p[ec]cabis. haue / my[n]de of þe last thy[n]gys, þ[a]t is ve day of dome, [and] y trowe h[i]t shalle saue þ[e] fro / sy[n]ne. here þ[o]u maiste fynde su[m] what wretyn of how owre lorde spekeþe / by ysay þe þro[ph]ete seyng þ[us]. eg[r]ediet[ur] d[omin]us de loco suo, ut visitet iniquitate[m] ha- / bitatoru[m] terr[a]e. owre lorde shal we[n]de out of his place, for to besete þe / wyckyndes of the[m] þ[a]t dwellethe a po[n] þe erthe. truly þis dome shulde sorely855 / be dradde, for as myche as he dothe m[er]cy now, so myche shal he þen do straye ve[n]geabul rightwisnes, for why it is of god, in lyke wyse / 7v as it is of þe syne. The syne holding his coursepasseþe out of þe balo- / ne in to þe vi[r]gynne, and out of þe vi[r]gy[n]ne in to þe bala[n]ce. The lyon is a / stro[n]ge beste [and] a felle. and in þis syne was þe sone of rightwisnes, owre / savyo[ur] criste by fore his incarnacou[n]. For why […] was the[n] so sharpe of / his co[m]maundeme[n]tis, þ[a]t what ma[n] it was þ[a]t breke his lawe, a no[n] a shulde / dye, for as it is red. a man was done to dethe, for by cause þ[a]t he gad- / -ryd stickys in þe haledy. But þen out of þis lyon he passyd in to þe vi[r]gyn. / whan he toke ma[n]kynde and was borne of þe vi[r]gyn mary, and þen was he / made more redy to do m[er]cy. þen eu[er] a was to do ve[n]gence. then h[i]t by gan / and

855 Afer ‘sorely’, ‘souereynely’ has been struck out. In Harley MS 2339, transcribed above, this passage uses ‘souereynely’, so there is some kind of scribal error taking place here. Clearly ‘souereynely’ is superfluous after ‘sorely’, hence its erasure, but evidently somewhere along the line of this recension a corruption has taken place which has resulted in this confusion. This minute detail is precisely the kind of scribal evidence required to trace the development of a text such as this through its manuscript recensions. Copies that use ‘sorely’ in contrast to those that use ‘souereynely’ will clearly represent a branching off in the text’s manuscript descent, offering a potentially vital piece of evidence for establishing a convincing stemma for this version of the Three Arrows. Such a miniscule detail is extremely worthy of future pursuit.

856 This should be the sign of the ‘lion’, but the scribe appears to have conflated it with the sign of the ‘balance’, which is the third in this sequence. The text proceeds to discuss this sentiment as though it were ‘lion’, so it is likely a scribal mistake. It is possible that this error occurred as a result of homoeteleuton, i.e., the scribe accidentally copied ‘balance’ instead of ‘lion’ through mixing up the lines he was currently copying.
genist the[m] þ[a]t were his e[ne]miis, and of þis wodenes [and] wreþe spe- / -kethe þe p[ro]phete in spalmo [sic], where he p[r]ayethe to be delyvred of the[m] bothe, / seyng þ[us]. D[omi]ne ne in furore tuo arguas me, neq[ue] in ira tua corripias / me. lorde in þi wodenes y beseche þe ou[er] come me not, [and] chastes me not / w[i]t þi wret, lo me[n] wolde wene þ[a]t wret the or wodenes or any suche / trochul of ma[n]nis passyon shulde not by founde in god, but here þei bethe / sette [and] shelvyd in sc[r]ipt[ur], for þe wyrkys of god, in ponisssh[y]n]g [and] ve[n]gynge / of sy[n]ne, þ[a]t shal take effecte of suche passyonis, as bethe wret the [and] wode- / 8v –nes in alle sy[n]neris, þ[a]t op[er] shal be chastysyd by payne þ[a]t shal haue [an] ende, / as in p[ur]gatory, þe whiche payne is callyd here þe wretate of god, or / ellis þei shal be paynyd by ve[n]ge[n]ce in oreble payne of helle þ[a]t neu[er] shal / haue ende, þe whiche is callyd here þe wodenes of god. Alle þis þe p[ro]phete / dauyd sawe in sperete, and therfor he in p[er]son of alle sy[n]neris fely[n]g / himself vn mighti to bere eyþ[er] op[er], þ[er] for first he askethe to be delyvred / of helle, [and] aft[ur] of p[ur]gatory seyng þ[us]. D[omi]ne ne in furore tuo ar etc. / As if he sayde þ[us] to owre vndre standy[n]g, lorde y beseche þe þ[a]t in þe / dredeful day of dome, where as þ[o]u shalt be haue þe to sy[n]neris as a / man þ[a]t were wode [and] w[i]t owte mercy þ[a]t þ[o]u the[n] ou[er] come me not w[i]t / causis in final co[n]clusyo[n], þ[a]t y be not co[n]uicte w[i]t[er] sy[n]ner[is] and so to be fou[n]de / [and] take a fore þe a false tyt[?] a te[n]le for eu[er] more, and here for y say, / argu me not, for arguy[ng] as clerkys know[e]t welle is one to ou[er]come / a noþ[er] w[i]t skelis. But y be seche þi m[er]cy gode lorde so to argu [and] to ov[er] / come w[i]t þi lawe þe errors of my bly[n]de co[n]ye[n]ce here in þis lyfe why-/ -le tyme is of m[er]cy, þ[a]t y may hertely forthy[n]ke the[m], [and] clere li858 co[n]fesse the[m], [and] / lawfully a me[n]de the[m] while y am here w[i]t newe clene levy[n]g þ[a]t it may / be acceptabul to þi g[r]ace [and] to my saluacou[n] whe[n] y come þ[er]. And ferve[n]t / p[r]ayowre to god, w[i]t discrete chastisme[n]t of my self whyle y leue here al-/ -so þ[a]t þ[o]u haue no wylle to chastys se, w[i]t þi wret the aft[ur] þis life in p[ur]ga- / -tory, and þ[a]t it may be þ[us]. Miserere mei d[omi]ne, q[u]oniam infirmis [sic] su[m] etc. / Haue m[er]cy on me gode lorde for y am vn mihty to bere eyþ[er] op[er], þ[a]t is / to say, þine arguy[n]g in þi dome, and þi chastisme[n]t in p[ur]gatory, but if it / so be þ[a]t y be borne up by þi m[er]cy, O þ[a]t dreefulle day of owre lorde for / þen shalle alle wyckyd me[n] se alle suche pepul sitty[n]ge w[i]t c[r]iste þe whice / 9r þ[o]u dispysed in by fore whe[n] þ[o]u were here in þis worde

858 Written above the line, with an indicator that it has been missed out; this makes it difficult to distinguish the letters as it is close to the line above, but it does look like ‘li’.
and in his sighte / þei shal be trobelyd w[i]t [an] oreble drede, seyy[n]ge [sic] þe wordis of þe wyse ma[n], / Hii su[n]t quos aliqua[n]do h[ab]uim[us] in derisu[m] etc. Nos ince[n]sati etc. Thes / by[n]ne þei þe whiche su[m] tyme we had in g[r]ete dispyte [and] in g[r]ete scorne, for / we vn wytty wrecchis countyd þ[er] lyfe but wodenes, [and] þ[er] ende w[i]t out / honowre, but nowe we se how þei bethe a vaunced [and] a mo[n]ge þe nu[m]bur / of þe rightful chyldryn of al[mi]ti god. The[n] a mo[n]ggyste alle þ[a]t co[m]pany, þei shal / not fynde one þ[a]t shal haue co[m]passyon of þem at þ[a]t day, but alle shal be glad / [and] co[n]sente in here iuste da[m]pnacou[n], a cordy[n]g to þe wordis of þe p[ro]phete daueth’. / Letabit[ur] iustus cu[m] uiderit uindicta[m]. Then as c[r]iste sethe in þe gospelle, / they shal seke for to ent[ur] in to hillis [and] stonis, and in to þe swalwys of / þe erthe to hyde þem fro þe dredeful face of owre lorde,859 and also þei shalle / wysshe [and] p[r]ay moynteynys to fal a po[n] the[m], [and] hillis to hyde the[m] so wo / þei shal be in eu[er]ly syde, and þis is þe wounde of þe firste arowe. The se- / -co[n]de arowe shal be [an] arowe of sharpe rep[re]uy[n]g of alle false c[r]istyn me[n], / whe[n] a shal sey to þem þ[e]s [an] hu[n]ged [and] ye gaue me no mete, y / was a thirste [and] ye gaue me no drynke, y was nakyd [and] ye gaue me / no clopis, y was a geste [and] ye gaue me no herborowe, y was seke / and in p[re]- / -son [and] ye vysyetd me not nor dede me no co[n]forte. O þ[a]t þis voyse shal be / dredeful, when h[i]t shal be sayde to the[m], þ[a]t as ofte as þei dide not thes / thy[n]ge, to the[m] þ[a]t nede hadde in his name, so ofte þei dide not the[m] to hym, / and no wo[n]dur þough þis voyse shalbe dredeful in þe day of dome, for / we rede in þe gospelle þ[a]t c[r]iste whe[n] he come in þe furme of a s[er]uant, for / to be demyd of þe false Iewys, and þen sayde to þem þ[a]t soste [sic] for to take hy[m], / y am he, and a no[n] w[i]t þe same worde, þer yede a backe [and] fille to þe erthe, / yf he þen þ[a]t whe[n] a was dedely, [and] come in to þis worlde to be demyd had / 9v so fereful a voyse, þ[a]t w[i]t his one worde threwe to þe grounde so many ster- / -ne me[n] of þe Iewys, a welle more fereful voyce shal he haue þen, when / he shal come vn dedely w[i]t his ooste of [angels]860 [and] of seyntis for to deme þe / q[u]icke [and] þe dide eu[er]y ma[n] afo[ur] his des[er]uy[n]g and here fore seyde lobe. Cu[m] / vix p[ar]ua stillam s[er]monu[m] eius audire no[n] possu[n]t, tonitruu[m] magnitudiis / ei us q[u]is poteste sustinere. That is so say, syn ma[n] may not here a litul / drope of his worde þe g[r]ete thu[n]d[ur] of his dome þen who shalle suffur [and] / a byde, al so sethe none and þ[e]s fore seyde sent barnarde þ[us]. Cu[m] p[e]cc[at]or ac- / -cusatus

859 Reminiscent of the Fifteen Signs, with people cowering in caves.
860 The spelling is bizarre: ‘a[ng]lus’, with an abbreviation over the ‘u’.

(8) London, British Library, Harley MS 1706

(a) Extract from the calendar for the month of December

Ayenst ourde lordes hys secunde aduent / Att domysday that we be schent / O lorde lhu’ to the we now cry / Whom we offendyd w[i]t synnes allas / haue mercy on vs for thy moder mar[y] / and for the loue off seynt Nycholas / as trewly lorde as thy moder was / kepte from synne in her holy conception / Wasshe vs from synne w[i]t thy swete passyon / Saue lorde thy spouse all holy chyrche / Fro errours and heresyues that now doth spry[n]ge / And teche vs thy Feyth trewly to wurche / W[i]t seynt lucye thy oune derlyng / Graunte vs in herte to ioye and syng /
w[i]t all other seyntes in thy presence / Thy worthy swete songe [...] sapience / Kepe all thy peple that ben a lyue / hem in specyall that I haue in mynde / And all sowles w[i]t thy woundes fyue / When hit pleased the fro peynes vnkynde / And graunte vs all to synge w[i]t seynt [?] / a careles carall in thy crystmasse / Cryyng nowell when we schall passe / A[?] now ys come the gloryous feste / The holy natuyyte of crystoure lorde / Steuen make vs vs all most [and] lest / w[i]t seynt John’ invertues thacorde / That we may sytte att Innocentes borde / w[i]t seynt Thomas of cauntyrburyoure frende / Now saue vs fader w[i]t thy flessh thy worde / and that seynt Syluester be at oure last ende / Amen

(b) ff. 110v-114v, Three Arrows on Doomsday (T-V)

110v[A] Heer begynneth atretye of iij / arowes that schullen be schot / at domesday to hem that there / schullen be damped.

[Begins with a flourishing initial ‘W’] Who wolde haue in / mynde the dredful / day of doom, so that / he mowe be mouyde wyth drede / to flee fro synne, as the wyse / man byddyth hys sone. Memora- / re nouissima tua et internu[m] no[n] / peccabis. that ys. Haue mynd / of the last þinges, that ys þe / day of doom, [and] yt schall kepe þe / from synne. Heere ve mowe fynde / sumwhat wrytten ther of. Howe / oure lorde spekyth by ysaye þe / prophete, seyynge thus Egrediet[ur] / d[omin]us de loco s[anc]to suo vt visitet / iniquitatem habitator[um] terr[a]e þat / ys. Ower lorde schalle wende out of hys place, for to vysyte / the wyckednesse of hem þat in / in [sic] habyeten the erthe. Certiþ þis / doome schulde souereynly bee / [B] for as muche as he dothe nowe m[er]cy / so myche shall he then do streyte / vengeable ryþtwysnesse. For yt ys / god in lyknesse. As yt ys of þe sone, the su[n]ne holdynge hys cours / passyth oute of the þe syngne [sic] of / the lyon, in to the syngne of þe / vi[r]gyne, [and] oute of the signe of / the vi[r]gyne, in to the sygne of / the balaunce, the lyon ys a stro- / -nge beste [and] a felle, [and] in thys syg- / -ne was cryste the sunne of ryþtwysnesse, before the incar- / -nacion, for he was than so felle / that what man that brake hys / byddynges, a noon he schuld be / dede. For yt ys seyd, a man / was doon to dethe, for he ga- / -dered styckys on the sabothday, / but oute of he signe of the / lyon, he passyd in to the signe / of the vi[r]gyne, when he toke / mankynde vpon hym, and / was borne of the vi[r]gyne / 111r[A] marye, and than he was ma- / -de more redy to do mercy, tha[n] / eu[er] he was to do vengaunce, / than yt be ganne and þite yt / lastyth, that that [sic] he sayde / whanne he was in the signe / of the lyon. A[n]i[m]a qu[a]e pecca- / -verit ip[s]a moriretur [sic]. þat ys / the soule that synnyth
that / shall dye. Now whenne he / ys in the signe of the vi[r]gyne / he seyth thus. Nolo morte[m] / peccatoris s[et] v[ ] magis conu[er]ta- / -tur et viuat. that ys. I / wolle not the deth of a syn- / -ner, but that more he be / turnede therfro [and] lyfe. But / certys oute of that signe of / the vi[r]gyne, he schalle passe /in to the signe of the bala-/ -unce, at the day of doom, / wher he schalle wey3e alle / oure þouȝtes, oure wordys, / and oure workys, in euen / [B] payse of hys ryȝtwysnese, þat / he may ȝelde to eu[er]y man aft[ur] / the trewyth of hys deserte, / and what he schalle thanne / doo here nowe þ[o]u what he / seyth by the þ[ro]phete. Congrega-/ -bo super eos mala et sagittas me-/ -as complebo in eis. thatt ys / I schalle hepe vpon hem her yu- / -els, and I schalle dyspende all / myn arowes vpon hem, þre scha-/ -re arowys schullen be schotte / of oure lorde in þat day, vpon / hem that ther schullen be damp-/ -ed. The fyrste arowe schalle / bee of clepyng to the doom. / Whanne as hym sylfe seyth. / Venit hora vt om[n]es qui in / monumentis sunt audient / vocem filii dei. Et procedent / qui bona egeru[n]t in resurrex-/ -cionem vite. Qui vero mala / in resurreccionem iudicii. þat / ys. Tyme schalle come þat alle / 111v[A] that alle [sic] þoo þat been in graues, / schullen heere the voyce of the / sone of god, and so passe forth / too the doom, thanne the da[m]p-/ -ned wrecchyd soule schalle come / to the body and seye to yt. / Aryse þ[o]u cursed caytyf careyne, / fro thys tyme forthe wythout / eu’ ende too bee felawe too þ[i]s / soule, and enimy to allmyty god. / Nowe thy ioye schalle be tur- / -ned in to woo, thy delythe in / to bytternesse, and thy laȝȝer / in to wepynge, nowe thy wre-/ -chyd schorte luste schalle pa- / -sse in to euerlastynge sorowe, / nowe yt ys fully fallyn fro / the, what so þou desyreste to / haue had. Nowe ys come to / the, all that þ[o]u dredyste, nowe / yt ys a go, alle that þou loue-/ / dyste, and nowe yt ys come that / alle that þ[o]u hatedeste, cursed be / þ[o]u, þ[o]u wrecched careyne, for in / [B] peyne for thy synyns, thy / delyces and thy wrecchydnesses / sythyn I passyde fro the I / haue bysyly brent in helle, / cursed be / þ[o]u helle brond, or-/ -deneyd to the fyer of helle / that neuer schalle be quenchyd, / cursed be the tyme, in the / myche fyrste I was coupled / to the, for nowe I may not / leue the, ne thy cursede co[m]- / -pany, I may not eschewe / wylle I or nylly, I am co[n]strey-/ / nyd to be knyte aȝen to the / Goo we therfor to gydre byfore / the dredefule domysman, ther / to here oure euerlastynge da[m]p-/ -acyon. thanne schullen all / the wycked men see the iuste / cause of her owen dampnacyon / wrytten w[i]t her owen handys / in the boke of her owen co[n]cyence / booth leeryd and lewde, and / yt hem sylfe, and yf þ[o]u seye / that lewde men ku[n]ne not rede / 112r[A] I seye that ther ys noon so / lewde that he ne kan reede / the lettyr of hys owen wry-/ -tynge, thanne they schullen see the domysman, as he / were woode for wrappyd aȝens / hem. Of thys woodnesse [and] / thys wraaþe, spekyth the pro-/ / phete in the fyrste psalone of / penaunce, wher he prayeþ to / be
delyuered of hem boþe sey-/inge thus. D[omi]ne ne in furore / tuo arguas me neq[ue] in ira tua / corripias me. Ŵat ys. Lorde i[n] / thy woodnesse ouercome me / not wyth skyles, and chasty-/se me not in thy wraþe. No-/man Ŵenke that wraþe or / woodnesse, or ony suche troub-/led mannen passyon may be / in god, but herfore they / been sette in scripture, for Ŵe / workes of god in punyschynge / [B] [and] vengyne of synne, schullen / take effecte of suche passyons / as been wraþe and woodenesse / in all synnes, Ŵat eyþer sch-/ullen be chastysed by peyne / that schall haue an ende as / ys purgatorye, the wych pay-/ne ys clepyd here the wraþe / of god, or ellys that schulle[n] / be paynyd by vengeaunce in / the horrible peyne of helle / that neuer schall haue eende, / the wych ys clepyd here Ŵe / woodnesse of god. Alle thys / the prophete Dauid sawe in / spyryte [and] therfor he in the / persone of all synners fey-/lynge hym vnmyätty to bere / euer eyþer fyrste askyth to / be delyuérlyd fro helle [and] siþen / of purgatorye seyynge thus. / D[omi]ne ne in furore tuo arguas / me etc. As yf he seyd thus. / 112v[A] to oure vndirstondynge. Lorde / I be seche the that in the / dreedfule day of doom, wher / Ŵou schalte haue Ŵee to synner-/is as a man that were woode / sparynge no tynge, that Ŵou / ouercome me not w[i]t skyles in / fynalle conclusyon, so that I be / not conuycte for euer and be / a teynte in a schamefulle in -/ -conuenient of euer lastynge re-/ -prefe. And therfor I sey arg-/ue me not, for arguynge oft / as clerkys knownen welle, ys / to ouercome a noþer wyth skyles, / but Ŵeue me grace good lorde, / so to argue and for to ouercome / wyth skyles of Ŵi lawe, the / erroures of my blynd co[n]science / here in thys lyfe whylty tyme / ys of mercy that I may her-/tyly forþenke hem by and / cleanly confesse hem, and law-/ [B] –fully amend hem, by / ensample of newe cleene / lyuynge to men, feruent / prayer to god, and by dys-/crete chastysment of my-/ -sylfe heere whyles I lyue / so that Ŵou haue no wille / to chastyse me in thy wra-/ - Ŵhe aftyr thys lyfe in pur-/ -gatorie and that yt be / thus. Miserere mei d[omi]ne / quoniam infirmus sum. / Ŵat hys. Haue mercy on / me lord for I am syke [and] / vnmyʒtty to bere euer ey-/ / ther, that ys to say, Ŵine / arguynge in thy doome / ne thy chastyment [sic] in p[ur]ga-/ -torye, but yt so be, that / I be vppe born wyth Ŵi / mercy. O Ŵat dreedfule / day of oure lorde, then / schulle alle Ŵe wycked / 113r[A] men see hem sytte in the doo-/ -me wyth cryste, wom Ŵe/i / hauve dyspysyd here. And i[n] / thys syȝte be troubled wiþe / a horrible drede. Seyynge / the wordys of the wysman / Hii sunt quos aliquando ha-/ -buim[us] in derisum etc. Nos / insensati etc. Ŵat ys Ŵese / been Ŵoo the wych sume / tyme we hadden in skorne / and dyspyte, we vnwytty / wrecchys heelden her lyfe / woodnesse, and her ende wy-/ /-thouten honoure. But loo / nowe howe they been acoun-/ted amonge the sonnes of / god, thanne a monge alle / Ŵat multytude Ŵei schullen / not fynde oon Ŵat schalle / hauve compassyon of hem / but alle
þei schullen be glad / and contentwyth god in / [B] her iuste dampnacyon. Aftyr / the wordys of the psalme / seyynge thus. Letabitur / iustus cum viderit vindicta[m]. / þat ys, the ryȝtwyse man schall / be glade whanne he schalle see / vengeaunce, thanne as cryste / seyyth in the gospele they / schullen seche for to entre in / to creues of stones, and in to / swolowes of the erthe, fro þe / dредfule face of oure lorde, þan- / -ne schullen they prayer mown- / -teynes to falle vpon hem [and] / hylles for to hyde hem, so / woo they schullen be on euery / syde, [and] thys is the wounde / of the fyrste arowe. The / secunde arowe schalbe an aro- / -we of scharpe reprenynge of / false crysten men, whanne / he schalle seye to hem þus / I was an hunred and ye / 113v[A] Þau me noo mete, I was a þriste / and ye Þau me noo drynke, I / was naked [and] ye Þau me noo eclo- / -thes, I was a geste and ye / Þau me noon herberwe, I was / syke and in pryson, and ye vysy- / -tyden me not ne dyden me noo / conforte. O what thys voyce / schalle be dредfule, wanne yt / schalle be seyd to hem that as / ofte as they dyden not þese þing- / -es to ony that nede hade in hys / name, so ofte they dyden hem not / to hym, and no wondyr þouȝ þis / voyce schalle be dредful in the / day of doome, sînen we reden / in the godspelle [sic] þat cryste wh- / -anne he come in forme of a ser- / -uaunt for to be demyd of the / false iewes, seyd to hem that / souȝten to take hym, I am / he and a noon they eden a bake / [B] and fellen to the erthe, yf he / that when he was dedly and come to be / demed hadde so ferdfule a voyce / that wyth hys oo worde þrewe / to the grounde so many sterne / men of the iewes, a fer more / ferfule voyce schalle he haue / whanne he schalle come vnđeed- / -ly wyth hys ooste of aungels / and of seyntys, for to deeme / the quicke and the deede, eche / man that he haþ deserued / and therfore seyth Iob. Cum / uix paruam stillam sermonu[m] / eius andire non possunt toni- / -tru[m] magnitudinis’ eius quis / potest sustinere, þat ys. Syþ- / -en man may vnneþis heere a / lytyle drope of hys wordys / the greete þunder of hys doo- / -me who schalle movwe suﬀre / as who seip noon. And þ[er]for / 114r[A] seyth seynthe Barnerde thus. / Cum peccator accusatus fuerit / et consciencia p[ro]pri[a] contra eum / testimoniu[m] […]buerit861 et om[n]is / creatura dei insurrexiu[n]t contra / eum in vindictam grauis vt / sagitta erit vox d[omi]ni ad sustine[m] / d[omi]ni[n]. þat ys, whanne the / synnefule caytyf schalle be ac- / -used and hys owen co[n]science / schalle beere wyn[n]e aȝens / hym, and euery creature of / god schalle ryse aȝens hym / in vengaunce, greuouse as an / arowe schalle thanne be the / voyce of god to suﬀre. And þe / prophete seyth Ieremye seip / Sagitta vulnerans lingua ei[u]s / þat ys, the tunge of hym sch- / -alle be as an arowe

861 The first letters look like ‘perlr’, but they are ambiguous; it appears to be different to the other versions in this, and the ‘p’ does not seem to be abbreviated for ‘pro’.
woundynge / and thys ys the wounde of þe / secund arowe. The þridde / arowe schalle be an 
arrowe of eendeles damnynge of alle / [B] wycked men men [sic] whanne he schal / sey to 
hem. It e maledicti in / ignem eternu[m] qui p[re]paratus est / diabolo et angelis eius. þat ys / 
Goo ye cursed wrechys in to euer / lastynge fyer, the wych is ordey- / -ned to the fende and to 
the au- / -ngelys of hym, thys arowe / schall wounde hem that yt fal- / -lep on so greuously 
þat alle þe / lechys physcyens and surgenes / ne 3yt alle the creaturyys in / heuene and in 
erthe schullen / not mowe heele the wounde of / yt thanne schall the erthe / opene and 
swolowe doun in too / helle, wher they schullen be / turmented wyth fendys euer- / -more 
wythouten eende. But / alas ther been I dreed fule ma- / -ny that wollen neuer bele- / -ue þise 
þinges eere þey feelen / hem, of hem seyth seynte Eu- / -sebye thus. Ve ve quibus / 114v[A] 
datum est hoc p[r]ius sentire […] / credere, þat ys, woo woo be / to hem to whom yt ys 30- / -
uen rather to feele theyse / þinges thanne to be leue hem. / And thys ys the wounde of the 
þrydde arowe. But / thanne schalle cryste turne / to hem that been on hys / ry3te syde and 
seye thus to / hem. Venite benedicti p[at]ris / mei percipite regnu[m] quod vo- / -bis paratum 
est a p[at]re meo ab / origine m[n]i[di], þat ys, comeþ / to me þe that been the bly- / -sed 
chyldern of my fader. and / be þe partyners of my ioye / in the kyngdoome that was / 
ordeyned for þou by my fa- / -der fro the beginynge of þis / worlde to the wych kyng- / -dom 
and ioye he brynge vs / that bouʒte vs wyth hys / precyouse bloode. Amen. 

[B] Here endyth the þree arowes.

(9) London, British Library, Harley MS 2388

(a) ff. 1r-4r, Three Arrows on Doomsday (T-V)862

1r cleping of þe dom, where of crist spekith in his / gospel seying þus: venit hora ut om[n]es 
qui in mo- / -numentis sunt audient vocem filij dei et p[ro]cedent qui / bona egerunt in 
resurexione[m] vite, qui v° [vero] mala in resu- / -reccione[m] iudij863. þat ys to say, þe 
hour[e] comeþ in wh-/ -iche all men, þ[a]t ben in buriellys shullen here þe / voys of goddys

862 This copy of the text is acephalous, it begins with the ‘cleping of þe dom’, after the announcement of the 
second arrow. This explains the Harleian Catalogue’s failure to identify it as the Three Arrows. Ff. 3r, 3v, and 4r 
are also missing some of the text due to damage: portions of the top corner of these folios have been torn away, 
having been replaced with blank parchment. It recurs from ff. 3-6, with the shape of the tear identical 
throughout, indicating that all were shorn together, for whatever reason.

863 ‘iudicii’? There are no visible abbreviation marks, so it is possible the scribe has copied the Latin incorrectly. 
There is also an annotation on the left-hand-side of this line, perhaps ‘oon.v’, though it is faded.

864 Difficult to decide whether these are abbreviations or otiose strokes.
þ[a]t ys, lord haue m[er]cy on me for I am / vnmytty to ber’ eu[er] eyþ[er], þ[a]t ys to say, I am vnmytty to bere þin[e] arguing in dom’, eyþ[er] þi chastisement in / purgatory, but yt so be þ[a]t yt be vp born’, eyþ[er] supported / w[i]t þi m[er]cy. O þ[a]t dredful day of oure lord, þenne / shullen all wykkid men, se him sitt in doom w[i]t criste / whom þey hau here, dispisid, and in þis siþt be troubled / w[i]t an oryble drede, seying þe word of þe wyseman


Þ[a]t ys: þese ben þoo þe which[e] sumtyme, we / haddon in to scorne, and in to likenes of shenshippe

we vnwytti wrecchis hilden her liff wodenes, and her / ende w[i]t owten honour’, but so now how þey ben a cou-/ -nted, a mong þe sones of god, and a monge þe seyntis / of god, þe lot of hem ys, þ[er]fore we haue erred fro / þe weye of treuþe, and þe liȝt of ryȝtwisnes, hathe / not shine to vs, and þe sonne of vn-dirstondigyng haþe / not sprong to vs, we ben made wery in the wey of / wykkidnes and p[er]dicion and we hau gon hard weyes, / for þe weye of þe lord, we knew not, what hath[e] / pryde p[ro]seted to vs, or boost of riches, what hath[e] / yt breȝt to vs, alle þese þingis hau passide, as a / schadowe, and we for soþe mou[n] schewu tokene of / holynes, for we ben wasted in oure wykkidnes. / Than a monge al þ[a]t multitude of seyntes, þey shulle[n] / not finde oon, þ[a]t shal haue compassiou[n], of hem, but / all shulle[n] be gladde, and consente w[i]t god, in her iust / dampnacou[n]. As þe p[ro]fete dauyþ wyttenseshith seying / þus:

letabit[ur] iust[us] cu[m] vid[…] vindictam. þ[a]t ys þe ryȝtwysman, shal be gladed when he shall se veniaunce / þan as cristi seyth him selfe: þey shullen seche / for to entrin in to creves, of stones, and in to swo-/ -lowes of þe erþe, for þe dreedful face of our’ lord / þanne þey shullen prayen’ monteynys, for to falle / vp on hem, and hillis for to hide hem so wo þey sh- / -ullen be in eu[er]y side, and þis ys þe wou[n]de of the first / 3r arowe. her […] [page

865 Annotation on the left margin, ‘sap’, presumably referring to the Book of Wisdom, the source of this quotation.
866 This is notably more expansive than in other versions of the text.
867 Harm; destruction; ruin; trouble; misfortune.
868 Manuscript stained, obscuring the word, but presumably it is ‘viderit’, inferring from other versions.
The seconde aro[...]/ alle fals cristyin[...]/ þus. I was a hongrid[...]
was a þriste and þe þaffe me [...] and þe þaffe me no clothis. I was a [...] / me no herborwe.
I was sike and in þ[e]rion and þe [...] / ed not me neyþ[er] deden me eny confort. And[?]
what / þis voys shal be dredful, whanne yt shal be seyde / to hem, þ[a]t as ofte as þey deden
not þese dedes / of m[er]cy, to eny of his þ[a]t nede hadde, so ofte þey / deden not to him.
And no wondir þou þis voys / shal be dredful in þe day of dom, siþen we reden’ / in þe
gospel, þat wan crist come in þe forme of a / seruaunt to be demed of þe fals iewes, he seide,
þ[a]t / þou ten to take him: I am he. A a non þey þeden / a bak, and fellen downe to þe erpe.
If he þ[a]t whan he / was dedly and com’ to be demyd, and hadde so fereful A / voys, þ[a]t at
his oo word þrew to þe grou[n]de so ma- / -ny men, of þe iewes. A feer more ferdful voys / shal he haue, when he shal come vndedly, w[i]t his / oost, of holy auengeles, and of seyntes for
to deme / þe quyk and þe dede eche man aft[er] þ[a]t he hath de- / -s[er]ued, and her’ fore
seyþ Iob: Cum vix paruam stilla[m], nob[is]869 / sermonu[m] eius audire possunt tonitruu[m]
magnitudinis / eius quis poterit intueri. þat ys: Sithen man / 3v [Reverse of damaged folio]
[...] wordis þe / [...] hal mow be holde / [...] And þ[er]fore seith / [...] þe sin[n]eful caytiffe
shal / [...] conscience[?] shal be wyt / [...] him, in veniau[n]ce pf venons as a / arowe, shal
þan be þe voys of god, to suffre, and / her’ for’ seyth þe þ[e]r[ro]fete Ierome þus: Sagitta uul- / -nerans lingua eius. þat ys þe tonge of him, shal / be as a arow wou[n]dyng, and þis ys the
wounde of / þe secounde arowe. þis ys þe þridde arowe.870 The þridde arow shal be of
endeles damnyng / of alle wykkid men, when he shal say to hem / þus: Discidete a me
maledicti in ignem et[er]nu[m], q[ui] / p[rae]parat[u]s est dyabolo871 et angelis eius. þ[a]t ys:
Departe / 3e fro me cursid wrecchis in to eu[er] lastyng fir[e] / þ[a]t ys made redy to þe devel
and his au[n]gelis, þis arowe / shal wounde hem, þ[a]t yt fallyþ on’ so greuously, þat / alle
leches fisisseens, and surgiens, ne þit alle þe / creaturis of heven ne in erþe shal not mowe, / hele þe wounde of hitt, þan shal ve erþe opene / his mouþe, and swolow hem downe in to
helle, wer’ / þey shullen be turmentid w[i]t fendys eu[er] more w[i]t / outen ende. But alas
þ[er] ben, I dred ful many / þ[a]t neu[er] wolen byleue þese þingis, or þey fele / 4r hem [...] 
[damage again] / quib[us] datu[m] [...] / wo be to hem, [...] / fele þese þingis, [...] / þe
wounde of þe þryde [...] / crist turne to hem þ[a]t ben on [...] / to hem þus: Venite benedicti
patris mei [...] / paratu[m] vobis regnu[m] a constituc[i]o[n]e mu[n]di etc. þ[a]t ys / to seye
come 3e þe blassid childrin of my fader / take 3e in possesion þe kyngdom’ made redy, to /

869 This has been added to the right of the line, so an afterthought/correction.
870 Has ‘III’ marked in the margin, in red, to the right; a useful guide to a reader.
871 Possibly transitioned back into English by accident!
Out from the making of the world, for you hungered and I stisted and you seue me drink, I was herborwles and you herbouwed me, I was nakyd and you helyd me, I was sike and you viseted me / I was yn p[ri]soun and you come to me for as ofte / as you deden these thingis to the leste of myne 3e / deden hem to me. To that blessid honour and kyngdom and joye eu[er] lastyng, bring vs ihu crist that bou test / man w[i]t pi p[re]cious blode. Amen etc.

(10) London, British Library, Additional MS 22283

(a) ff. 117r-117v, Of þe872 arwes þat schulle[n] be schot on doomes day.

117r (a) Ho [the H is illuminated] so wol haue in mynde, þe dredful dai of dom, so þ[a]t he mowe be meued w[i]t dreede to fle fro sinne. As þe wise mon biddeþ his sone. Memorare nouissima, et in eternu[m] non peccabis. þ[a]t is, haue mynde on þe laste þinges. þat is þe dayy of doom: and hit schal kepe þe fro synne. heere 3e mowe[n] fynde wu[m]what writen þ[er] of, how vre lord spekeþ bi ysaie þe p[ro]phetet seiinge þus. Egriedetur d[omi]n[u]s de loco suo ut visitet iniq[u]itatem habitatorum terre. þ[a]t is to seie, vre lord schal wee[n]de out of his place: forto visyte þe wikkednesse of he[m] þ[a]t enhabiten þe eorþ. Certes þis dom shulde souereynly be drad. For as muche as he nou doþ merci, so muche schal he þanne do streit vengeable rihtwysnesse. For hit is of god in liknesse: as hit is of þe sonne. þe sonne hodi[n]ge his cors, passeþ out of þe signe of þe lyoun: in to þe signe of þe virgyne. And out of þe signe of þe vi[r]gine: i[n] þe to þe signe of þe balance. þe Lyon is a strong beest: and a fel, And in þis signe was crist, þe sonne of rihtwysnesse, bi fore þe incarnacion. For þat tyme he was so fel, þ[a]t what mon þ[a]t brak his biddynges; a non he schulde be ded. For as hit is seid. A mon was don to deye, for he gederede stikkes on þe sabat day. But out of þis signe of þe lyoun, he passede in to þe signe of þe virgyne, who[m] he tok mankuynde, and was born of

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872 I have presented the superscripted ‘r’ here because there is a small upwards arrow between the thorn and the ‘e’, indicating a supposed missing letter, which has been added above the line in the form of the ‘r’. Either the original forgot to include the ‘r’, referring to the text as ‘the arrows that shall…’ rather than ‘three arrows that shall…’, and then somebody (or the original scribe himself) later added the ‘r’ and the arrow because they knew the text’s real name; or, it was deliberately included and superscripted, but somebody else thought it was an error and so added the arrow to indicate the ‘r’ belonged to the word; or the scribe deliberately did both (the point being though that I don’t see why he’s bothered with the arrow, as I doubt he will have done when superscripting elsewhere). This could prove very interesting in the discussion of the Congregabo quote, which is translated as ‘three arrows’, when in fact it is just ‘the arrows’. Did the original scribe expect the text to just be about ‘the’ arrows on Doomsday, and somebody later added the ‘r’ because they knew it was supposed to be ‘three’; or the scribe himself did this once he continued copying the text and realised it was about ‘three’ arrows on Doomsday.
viri Marie. And thanne was he maad more redi, to do merci, 
\[\text{pe}\] eu\[\text{er}\]e he was to 
do vengeau[n]ce. Panne hit bi gon, and zhit hit lasteþ, þat 
he þat seide, who[n]ne he was in þe 
signe of ve lyoun. Anima que peccauerit cito 
mortetur, þat is to seie. þe soule þ[a]t synneþ, a 
non hit schal dye. Now whon he is in þe 
signe of þe virgine, seif þus. Nolo mortem 
peccatorsis, sed magis ut conu[er]tat[ur] et viuat. þ[a]t 
is to seie, I wol not þe deþ of a synnere, 
but more þ[a]t he be þ[ur]ned þ[er] fro, and liuen. But 
certes out of þis signe þus of þe virgine, 
he schal passe in to þe signe of þe balau[n]ce 
at þe day of doom. Where he schal weye, alle 
vre þouþtes, vre wordes, and vre werkes, in 
euene peis, of his rihtwisnesse; þat he may 
yelde to eueri man, aftur þe trouþe of his 
dissert. And what he schal þanne do, heere 
þ[o]u, what he 
þaþ nou, bi þe p[ro]phete. Congregabo sup[er] 
eos mala, et sagittas meas complebo in eis. þat 
is to seie, I schal hepen vppon hem heore 
eueles, and I schal dispe[n]de alle myne arewes, 
vppon hem. Preo scharpe arewes 

schullen beo schot of vre lord in þat day vppo[n] he[m] þat 
þ[er]e schullen be damned. Pe furste arwe, 
schal ben of clepynge to þe doom. Whon as 

him self seiþ Venit hora ut om[n]es q[u]i in monume[n]tis 
u[n]t, audient voce[m] filij dei, et 

p[r]ocedesent qui bona egeru[n]t in resurreccione[m] vite, qui vero mala in resurreccione[m] 

judicij. þat is to seye, Time schal come, þat alle þo þ[a]t 

ben in graues, schulle[n] here þe vois 
of þe sone of god, and so passe forþ to þe 
doom. Penne þe wrecchide dampnede soule 
schal come to þe bodi and seye to hit. arys 
cursede caityf careyne fro þis tyme forþ, w[i]t outen en 
eende, to be felawe to þe deuel, and enemi to al mihti 
god. Now þi ioye, schal be þ[ur]ned in 
to wo. þi delyt: in to 

to weopinge. Nou þi wrecchide schorte lust, 
schal [b] passe in to euerlastynge sorwe. 

Nou hit is fulliche falle[n] fro þe, what so þ[o]u 
desyrdest Now hit is com[m]en to þe: al þ[a]t þ[o]u 
dredest. Nou hit is ago: al þ[a]t þ[o]u 

louedest. And nou hit is comen, al þat þ[o]u 
hatedest. Cursed beo þ[o]u, þow wrecchide 
careyne, for i[n] pyne of þi synnes, þi delices, 
and þi wikkedneses, siþþe I passede fro þe, I 
haue bisyli brend in helle. Cursed be þ[o]u helle 
brond, ordeyned to ve fuir of helle, þ[a]t 

neu[ur] schal beo quenched. Cursed beo þe 
tyme in þe whuche I furst was coupled to þe, 
for nou i mai not leue þe. þi 
cursedede cu[m]paignye I mai not eschuwe, I am 
constreyned to beo 

knot aþein to þe. Go we þ[er]ore to gidere bi forþ 
þe dredful domes mon, þ[er]e forte heere 
oure eu[er]lastynge dampnacioun. þenne 
schulle[n] alle þe wikked men seþ 
þe iuste cause of 
heore oune dampnacion, write[n] w[i]t heore owne 
hondes, in ve bok of heore consciences, 
boþe ler[ed], and lewed, and reden hit hem 
self. And þif þ[o]u seiþe þat lewedede men 
ku[n]ne not rede: I seie þ[a]t þ[er] is non so 
lewedede, þ[a]t he ne con rede, þe 

lettre of his oune 

writynge. þe[n]e þei schullen se þe domes man, as he 
weore wood: for 

wraþþed aþeines 

hem. Of þis woodnesse, and þis wraþþe: spekeþ þe 
p[ro]phete, in þe furste 
salme of
pena[n]ce. Where he preisþe to beo dilyu[er]ed, of hem boþe: se[i]ng þus. Domine ne i[n] furor tuo arguas me, neq[ue] in ira tua corripias me. þat is to seien, Lord in þi woodnesse ou[er]come me not w[i]t skiles, and chastise me not, in þi wraþþe. No mon þenke, þ[a]t wraþþe, or woodnesse, or eny such troubles manes passion mai beo in god, but herfore þei ben set in scripture. For þe werkes of god, in punisschinge, and venginge of synne: schulle take effect of suche passions, as ben wraþþe, and woodnesse in alle synneres: þat ouþur schullen beo chastised bi pyne þ[a]t schal haue eende, as i[n] purgatorie. þe whiche pyne is cleped heere, þe wraþþe of god. Or elles þ[a]t schulle[n] beo pyned bi vengeau[n]ce in þe horrible peyne of helle: þ[a]t neu[er] schal haue[n] ende. þe which is cleped here, þe woodnesse of god. Al þis þe p[ro]phete dauid seiþ i[n] spirit. And þ[er]forespone, he in p[er]son, of alle synneres, felyng hi[m] vnmihti to bere euer eiþer: forst asket to be diliu[er]ed of helle, and sþpen of purgatorie: seinge þus, D[omi]ne ne in furor tuo. As zif he seide þus to vre vnurstondynyng. Lord I beseche þe, þ[a]t in þe dredful day of doom, where þ[o]u schalt haue þe to sinneres, as a mon þ[a]t weore wood, sparyng no þing þ[o]u ou[er]come me not w[i]t skiles, in final conclusion: so þ[a]t I beo not conviukt for eu[er], and beo ateynt in a schameful inconuenient of euerlastinge repreue, and herfore i seye, argue me not. For arguenge as clerkes knowen wel, is to ou[er]come a noþur w[i]t skiles. But zif me grace goede lord so to argue, and forte ou[er]come w[i]t skiles of þi lawe þe erreours of my blysde conscience, heere in þis lyf, whiles tyme is of merci: þ[a]t I mai hertyl forþinke he[m], and clerly confesse hem, and lawefulli amende he[m], by ensau[m]ple of newe cleene lyuynge to men, feruent preyer to god; and bi descr et chastiseme[n]t of my self heere, whiles I liue, so þ[a]t þ[o]u haue no wil to chastise me in þi wraþþe after þis lyf, in purgatorie. And þ[a]t hit beo þus, Miserere mei d[omi]n[i]ne qu[on]i[am] i[n]firmus sum. þat is. haue merci on me lord, for i am vnmiþti to bere euer eiþer. þat is þin arguyng in þi doom; ne þi chastisme[n]t in purgatorie, but hit so beo þat I be vpborne w[i]t þi merci. þat dredful day of vre lord, þenne schulle[n] alle wikkedene men beo hem sitte in þe doom w[i]t crist, whom þei haau heere dispysed, and in þis siht be[n] troublet w[i]t an horrible dreede, seyinge þe word of þe wyse mon. Hii sunt quos aliquando habuim[u]s in derisu[m] etc. Nos in sensati etc. þat is. þeose ben þo, þe whuche su[m] tyme we hedde[n] in scorn, and dispit. We vn witti wrecches heolde[n] heore lyf wodnesse, and heore eende w[i]t oute[n] honour, But lo now, hou þei ben a cou[n]ted a monges þe persones of god. Þan[n]e, amonges al þ[a]t multitude þei schullen not fynde on, þat schal haue co[m]passion of hem, but alle schulle[n] ben glade and consent w[i]t god in heore iuste dampnacion. Aftur þe wordes of þe psalme seiinge þus. Letabitur iustus cum uiderit vindictam. þat is. þe rihtwis man schal be glade, whon he schal seo þe
vengeance. þe[n]e as c[r]list seiþ i[n] þe gospel, þei schullen seche forte entre in to creues of stones, and in to þe swolwe of þe eorþe, fro þe dredful face of vre lord. þe[n]e schulle[n] þei preie mou[n]taynes to falle vpon hem, and hulles to huyen hem, so wo þey schullen beo on eueri syde. And þis is þe nou[n]de of þe furste arwe. þe secou[n]de arwe schal beo an arwe of scharp repreyung of all false c[r]istene men, whon he schal seye to hem þus. I was an hunged: and þe[þ]e eeeue me no mete. I was a þurst: and þe[þ]e eeeue me no drinke. I was naked: and þe[þ]e eeeue me no cloþes. I was a gest and þe[þ]e eeeue me non herborwe. I was seek, and i[n] p[r]isu[n]: and þe[þ]e eeeue me not beo. And þis voys schal beo dredful: when hit schal be seid to he[m] þ[a]t as ofte as þei duden not þise þinges to eny þat neode hadde in his name: so ofte þei duden he[m] not to hi[m]. 117v [a] And no wonder þouh þis vois schal beo dredful, in þe dai of doom, seþþe we reden in þe gospel, þ[a]t c[r]ist whon he com in fourme of a serua[n]t forte beo deemed of þe false Iewes: seide to hem, þ[a]t souhte[n]e forte take him: I am he. And a non þei þeden a bac, and felle[n] to þe eorþe. jif he þ[a]t whon he was dedly, and com to beo deemed, hadde so ferful a vois, þ[a]t w[i]t his o word falde to þe grou[n]de so mony steorne men of þe lewes; a feor more ferful vois schol he auhe, whon he schal come vndedly w[i]t his oost of auangelis, and of seintes, forte deeme þe quike, and þe dede, eu[er]i mon, after þ[a]t he haþ deserued. And herfore seiþ Iob. Cu[m] uix paruam stillam sermonu[m] eius audire non possu[n]t: tonitruum magnitudinis eius quis potest sustinere. þat is. Siþþe mon mai vnneþes heere a luitel drope of hise wordes: þe grete þundur of his doom, who schal mowe suffre. As hose seiþ none. And þ[er]fore seiþ seint B[er]nard þus. Cu[m] p[e]c[ca]tor accusatus fuerit et conscience p[ro]pri[a] contr[a] eu[m] testimoniu[m] p[ar]iberit[?] et om[n]is creatura dei insurrexerit contr[a] eu[m] in vindictam, grauis ut sagitta erit vox d[omi]ni ad sustine[n]du[m]. þat is. whon þe sinful caytif, schal be accused, and his oune conscience schal bere witnesse a þeines him, and eueri creature of god schal rise a þeines him in vengeau[n]ce: greuous as an arwe schal þanne beo þe vois of god to suffre. And þe p[ro]phete Ieremye seiþ. Sagitta vulnerans lingua eius. þat is. þe tunge of him: schal be as an arwe wou[n]de. And þis is þe secou[n]de arwe. þe þridde arwe schal be an arwe of endeles dampanyng of alle wikkede men, whon he schal sei to hem. Ite maledicti in ignem eternu[m], q[u]i p[rae]paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. þat is. Go þe cursede wihtes in to eu[er]lastynge fuir, þe which is ordeyned to þe feend, and to þe aungelis of him. þis arwe schal wou[n]de hem þ[a]t hit falleþ on so greuo[u]sly, þ[a]talle þe leches, phisiciens, and surgiens, ne þite alle þe creatures in heuene and in eorþe, schullen not mowe hele þe wou[n]de of hit. þenne schal þe opene eorþe swolwe hem doun in to helle, where þei schulle[n] beo t[ur]me[n]ted, w[i]t feendes eu[er]more w[i]t outen ende. But allas þ[er] ben i
drede ful monye þat neu[er]e wollen bi leue þis þinges, er þei feelen hem. Of whom seïp seint Eusebij þus. Ve. Ve. quib[us] est datu[m] hoc pr[jius sentire, quoniam[?] credere. þat is, Wo. Wo. beo to hem, to whom hit is þeuen raþer to feele þese þinges, þen to beleue he[m]. And þ[us] eendeþ þe þridde arwe. But þan[n]e schal c[r]ist t[ur]ne to he[m] þat ben on his riht half and seye þus. Venite benedicti patris mei per[ci]pite nobis regnu[m] quod vobis paratu[m] est a patre meo ab origi[n]e mu[n]di. þat is. Comeþ to me, 3e þ[a]l beon þe blessed children of my fader, and beoþ partiners of mi ioie in þe kingdom þ[a]t was ordeyned for you bi my fader, fro þe biginnyng of þis world. To þe whiche kyngdom and ioye he briel[n]ge us þat bouhte vs wiþ his precious blod. AMEN.

(11) London, British Library, Additional MS 10036

(a) ff. 85r-91r, Here bigynneþ þe þre arowis þat god schal schete at domysdaie apon hem þat schullen be damned

85r Who so wol haue in mynde þe dredful daie of dome so þat we mowe be moued with drede to fle fro synne. as þe wise man biddiþ his sone seyynge þus: Memorare nouissima et in eternum non peccabis. þat is haue mynde on þe laste þinges þat is þe daie of dome and hit schal kepe þe fro synne. Here we mowe fynde sumwhat writen þ[er] of, how oure lord god spekiþ bi Isaie þe p[ro]phete, seyynge þus: Egrediet[ur] d[omin]us de loco sancto suo ut visitet iniquitatem habitator[em] tre’. þat is oure lord schal wende out of his place to visite þe wickid. 873 85v –nesia of hem þat enhabiten þe erþe certis þis dome schulde sou[er]eynli be dradde. For in as myche as he now doþ m[er]cy, so myche schal he þan do streyt veniable rytwisnesse. For it is of god in liknes, as it is of þe sonne, þe sonne holding his cours, passiþ out of þe signe of þe lioun i[n] to þe signe of þe vi[r]gine, and out of þe signe of þe vi[r]gine in to þe signe of þe balaunce. The lioun is a stronge beest and a fel, and in þis signe was crist þe sone of wiþtswisnesse, bi fore þe incarnacioun. For he was þan so fel þat what man þat brak his biddinge, anone he schulde be dede. For it is writen in holi writ, how a man was dou[n] to þe deth bi godes comau[n]dement, for he gaderid stickis on þe sabot daie, and dide no grett trespass. But out of þe signe of þe lioun, he passid in to þe signe of þe vi[r]gine maria, and þan he was made more redi to do m[er]cy, þan he was to do veniaunce. 86r þanne it bigan and þit it lasteþ þat he þat seide when he was in þe signe of þe lioun: Anima que peccau[er]it sito

873 ‘Isaie’ in the margin.
morietur; ðat is þe soule þat synneþ anone it schal deie. Now when he is in þe signe of þe vi[r]gyne he seiþ þus: Nolo mortem et horis sed ut magis conu[er]tat[ur] et viuat; ðat is I wol noþt þe deþ of a synner, but more ðat he be tu[r]ned awai and lyue. But certis out of þe signe of þe vi[r]gyne he schal passe in to þe signe of þe balaunce at þe dai of dome, when he schal þanne weie alle oure þouȝtes, wordes, and oure werkes i[n] euþe þous of his riȝtwisnesse ðat he may þelde to eche man after þe treuþe of his desert. And what he schal þan do here now what he seiþ bi moises his p[ro]phete: Congregabo sup[er] eos mala et sagittas meas complebo in eis, ðat is I schal hepen apon hem here yuelis, and I schal dispende alle myn arowis apon hem. þre scharpe arowis schullen be schot of oure lord in þat daie 86v apou[n] hem þat schullen be damned. The furst arowe schal be of clepinge to þe dome, where of crist spekeþ in þe gospel seiyng þus: venit hora ut omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem filij dei et p[ro]cedent qui bona egerunt in resurrectionem vite qui vero mala in resurrectionem iudici, þat is to seie þe houre comeþ in whiche alle men þat ben in graues, schullen here þe vois of godes sone, and þei ðat haue dun good þinges schullen go in to aegen risynge of lyf, but þei þ[al]t haue doun yuele þinges in to aþen risynge of dome þat is to be demed. þan þe wrecchid damnden soule schul come to þe bodi and seye to it: arise þou cursyd caitif careyne fro þis tyme forþe w[i]t oute any ende, to be felow to þe deuel and enymy to almyȝtgi god. Now þi ioie schal be þ[ur]ned in to wo, þi delite in to bitt[er]nesse and þi lawȝt[er] in to wepinge. Now wrecchid þi schort lust schal passe in to eu[er]lasting sorwe. Now hit is fulli ifalle to þee, what so eu[er]e þou desirist to haue had. Now hit is passid fro þee al þat þou louest, and now hit is komen al þat þou hatidist. Cursid be þou wrecchid caitif careyne for in payne of þi synnes and þi delicis and þi wickidnesses, fro þat tyme siþen I passed fro þee, I haue bisily brent in helle. Cursid be þ[o]u helle brond, ordeyneyd to þe frye of helle þat neu[er]e schal be quenschid. Cursid be þe tyme in whiche I was furste complid [couplid] to þee, for now I mai nouȝt leue þee, þi cursid company I may noȝt eschewe woll I or nyle I. I am constreyneyd to be knyt aȝen to þee. Go we þ[er] fore to gidre bi fore þe dredful domesman, þ[er] for to here oure eu[er]lasting damncioun. þan þe wrecchid alle wickid men se þe iuste cause of here owyn damncioun, writen w[i]t here owyn hondes in þe boke of here conscience, þe whiche boke boþe lerid and lewid schullen rede it he[m] self 87v and if þou seie þat lewid men conne nouȝt rede, I seie þat [folio torn, obscuring word] is none so lewid, þat he ne can rede þe lett[er] of his owyn writing. þan þei schulle se þe domysman as he were wood for wrâþe aȝens hem. Of þis woodnesse and of þis wrâþe spekib þe p[ro]phet dauyd, when he p[r]aiþ to be delyu[er]ed of hem boþe seiyng þus: Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neq[ue] in ira tua corripias me, þat is lord in þi
woodnesse ou[er]come me not w[i]t skillis, and chastise me not in þi wraþe. No man þenke þat wraþe or wodenesse or any suche troublid man[en]es passioun may be in god. But þ[er] fore þei ben sette in sc[r]ipture for þe werkes of god in punyschinge and veniaisance of synne in alle synners þat ben worþi to take suche passiou[n]s of punyschinge as ben wraþe and wodenesse, þat is eiþ[er] þei schulle be chastisid bi peyne þat schal haue an ende as is purgatorie, þe whiche is callid 88r here þe wraþe of god, eiþ[er] ellis þei schullen be peyned þorw veniaisance i[n] þe horrible peyne of helle, þat neu[er]e schal haue ende: þe whiche is callid here þe wodenesse of god. Al þis þe p[ro]phete dauyd seþ in spirit, and þer fore he in þe p[er]son of alle synners, felyng him vnmyþti to bere eu[er] eiþ[er] furst askiþ to be deliu[er]ed of helle and aft[er]ward of p[ur]gatorie seiynde þus: Miserere mei d[omi]ne qua[on]i[am] infirmus sum, þat is lord haue m[er]ci on me, for I am vnmyþti to bere eu[er] eiþ[er], þat is to seie, I am vnmyþti to bere þine arguynge in þe dome eiþ[er] þi chastisment i[n] purgatorie, but if it so be þat I be upborn eiþ[er] supportid with þi m[er]ciy in þ[a]t dredeful dai of oure lord. þan schulle[n] alle wickid men se hem sitte in þe dome with crist whom þei had here despid, and in þis siþt ben troublid with an horrible drede, seiynde þe worde of þe wise man: Hii sunt qu[ios] aliqu’ in derisum habuim[us] et in simili- 88v – tudinem imp[ro]perii nos incensati uitam ip[s]or[um] estimabimus[us] saniam et finem illorum[um] sine honore. Quomodo […] computati sunt int[er] filios dei et int[er] s[an]ctos sors illorum[um] est, ergo erauimus[us] a viia v[er]itatis et iusticie lumen non luxit nobis et sol intelligencie non est ortus nobis et soli lumière no[na] consumpti sum[us], þat is þe ben þo, þe whiche so[m]me tyme we hadde in to scorn, and in to liknes of schensche, we vnwitty wrecches helden here luf wodenesse, and here ende w[i]t outen hono[ur]. But lo now how þei hem acountid amonge þe sones of god and amonge þe seyntes of god, þe lote of hem is, þ[er] fore we haue errid fro þe waie of treuþe, and þe 89r liþ of ryþwisnesse hath noþt schyned to vs, and þe sone of vndirstondinga haþ noþt sprung to vs, we ben made weri in þe waie of wickidnesse and of þe sone of vndristondinga, and we haue gone harde waies, for þe wei of þe lord we knowe nouþt what haþ pride p[ro]fitid to vs or þe boost of rychesse, what haþ it brouþt to vs, alle þis þinges han passid as a schadewe, and we for soþe mowe schewe no tokene of holynesse. For we ben wasted in oure wickidnesse, þan among alle þat multitude of seyntes, þei schullen noþt fynde one þat schal haue compassioun of hem, but alle þei schullen be glad, and consente with god in here iuste damnpacioun as þe
p[ro]phete dauyd witnesseþ seiynge þus: Letabit[ur] iustus cu[m] viderit vindictam, þat is þe riȝtwisse man schal be gladdid, when he schal se veniaunce, þan as crist seiþ him self, þei schullen seche for to entre i[n] to creues of stones, and in to swolewis of þe erþe, fro þe dredful face of oure 89v lord, þanne þei schullen p[r]ai mounteyns’ to falle apou[n] hem, and hilles for to hide hem, so wo þei schullen se on eu[er]ly side and þis is þe wounde of þe 

furst arowe. The secunde arowe schal be of scharp rep[r]iuynge of alle false c[r]isten men, when he schal seie to hem þus: I was an hungred, and 3e 3yue me no mete, I was a þurst, and 3e 3yue me no drinke, I was naked, and 3e 3aue me no cloþes, I was herboreles and 3e 

herboreden noþt me, I was sike and in p[r]ison and 3e visitid not me ne deden me any comfort, and what þis voice schal be dredful, when it schal be seide to hem, þat as ofte as þei 
diden not þis deedes of m[er]ci to any of his þat nede hadde, so ofte þei diden it not to him, and no wondre þou3 þis voice schal be dredful in þe dai of dome, siþen we rede in þe gospel, þat when c[r]ist cam in þe forme of a seruaunt to be demed of ve false Iewis, he seide to hem þat souðt to 90r take him, I am he and anone þei 3eden a bak, and felle to ve erþe. If he þ[a]t 

whan he was deedli and cam to be demed, hadde so ferful a vois, þat w[i]t his oo worde þewe to þe grounde so many sterne men of iewis, after more ferful vois schal he haue, when he schal come vndedli with his oost of holi aungelis and of seytis for to deme þe quyk and þe dede. Cu[m] uix p[ar]uam stellam sermonu[m] eius audire possunt tonitruu[m] 

magnitudinis eius quis pot[er]it in terru[m] eius audire. 874 þat is siþen man mai vnneþes here a litel drope of his wordes, þe grete þondre of his dome who schal mow suffre, as who seiþ none, and þ[er] 

fore seiþ seynt Bernard þus: whenne þe synful caitif schal be accusid and his owyn conscience schal bere witnesse aþens him, and eu[er]ly creature of god schal arise aþens him in veniaunce greuous as an arowe schal þan be þe vois of god to suffre, and herfore seiþ þe 

p[ro]phete Ieremye þus: Sagitte 90v vuln[er]ans lingua eius, þat is þe tunge of him schal be as an arowe wou[n]ding and þis is þe wounde of þe secunde arowe. þe þridde arowe schal be of endeles dampnacioun of alle wicked men, when he schal seie to hem þus: Discedite a me maledicti in ignem et[er]nu[m] qui p[ra]paratus est diabolo et angelis eius, þat is to seie 

dep[ar]te þee fro me cursid wrecchis in to eu[er]lastinge fire þat is made redi to þe deuyl and to his aungelis, þis arowe schal wounde hem, þat it falleþ on so greuousli þat alle lechis ficysiens and surgiens, ne 3it alle þe curaturus [sic] of heuene ne in erþe schal mowe hele þe 
wounde of it, þanne schal ve erþe opene his mouþe and swolewe hem dou[n] in to helle, where þei schullen be t[ur]mentid w[i]t fendes eu[er] more w[i]t owten ende. But alas þ[er]
ben I drede ful many þ[a]t neu[er] wolle[n] bileue þise þinges, or þei felen hem of whom seynt Eusebe seiþ þus: 91r Ve quib[us] datu[m] est hec p[r]ius sentire quia credere noli, þat is wo be to hem to þe whiche hit is 3yuen raþ[er] to fele þise þinges, þan to bileue hem, and þis is þe wounde of þe þridde arowe. But þan schal crist t[ur]ne to hem þat ben on his riþ honde and seie to hem þus: Venite benedicte p[at]ris mei possidete paratu[m] uobis regnu[m] a constituc[i]one[m] mu[n]di etc. þat is to seie, come 3e þe blessed children of my fader, take 3e in possessioun þe kyngdom made redi to 30w, fro þe makynge of þe worlde. For I hungred and 3e fedden me, I þristed and 3e 3aue me drinke, I was herborles, and 3e herboriden me, I was nakid and 3e cloþed me, I was sike and 3e visitid me, I was in p[r]isou[n] and 3e camen to me. For as ofte as 3e diden þise þinges to þe lest of myn, 3e diden to me. To þat blessed hono[ur] and kyngdom and ioie eu[er]lastynge bringe vs ihu cryst þat bou þist man with þi precious blode mercyful god, amen. Here endiþ a tretice þ[a]t is callid þe iij. arowes.

(b) ff. 93r-94r, An incomplete text regarding the Seven Deadly Sins; it is certainly acephalous, as the folio begins abruptly, and the previous catch-word does not connect to f. 93r

93r Sleynge, hurtyng, fiþtyng, chiding, pledynge, fals domes, and op[er] many harmes. Ira vel odiu[m]: Wraþe þat is willynge of veniaunce and of harme and doynge to hym þat he is wroþe […] and when wraþe bileueþ stille in hert loneþ, wraþe bicomeþ to hate, and þ[er]of comeþ fals folwynge in to diu[er]se courtes, bacbitynge, man sleynge, lesynge, manye op[er] folies and so he lost godes g[r]ace and charyte. Accidia: Sleþe is heuynes of gostliche werkes, ydnellesse þat aman haþ no likynge in god ne in his seruyse, ne in his synnes to schewe to cryst in schryft, þ[er] of comeþ wrecchednesse in gostliche delite in slepe, and in ydnelnesse in soule in wanhope and al man[n]e lette in soule hele. Cupiditas vel auaricia: Coueitise is a loue out of mesure of worldliche good þat may be remened as gold and sylu[er] and alle oþher renuiable oþher vnru[n]e, as lordschipes house, lond, vnriþful brynmynge, purchasyng, in biggyng in sellyng and metynge in weyʒinge in mesure of alle man[er] of mesures, and also gile trecherye, sacrilege, symonye, þefte, and wrong w[i]tholdynge. Gula vel crapula. Glotenye is loue out of mesure in likynge of mete and drynke þat men often synneþ inne, as in etynge and drynkynge to muche and to late, to raþe oute of tyme, as in fastyne daies, of fastinge iset b schryft oþ[ur] abow ymade, oþ[ur] herte of holi churche, in hauynge or makynge of metes and drinkyes to likynge of þe flesche
The whiche is dedliche synne ofte, as when it makiþ a[m]nes bodi heuy to seruþ god, ᵀ[op][u[r] dullip his wit, ᵀ[op][u[r] byueineþ aman his hele of bodi, ᵀ[op][u[r] of stomak in brekyng ᵀ[op][u[r] febleþ his hede ᵀ[op][u[r] his wittis ᵀ[op][u[r] his lym[m?]es ᵀ[op][u[r] his body stereþ to synne in eu[er]ly man[er]e wy[lo][s?]e ydo bitwene man and woman out of spousehode is dedliche synne holi churche forbiddeþ no man to suffre his children his seruauntes ne none ᵀ[op][u[r] man ne woman of seuen Ȝere olde ᵀ[op][u[r] more ligge to gidre for peril of þis synne licherie. Of þis synne of licherie nedeþ no more to speke for eche man knowiþ his owyn doynge and in what man[er]e he trespaseþ.

(12) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806

(a) From ff. 4r-5r, the Three Arrows on Doomsday (S-V)

4r In þe þridde / comynge he schalle deme þe quicke and þe dede and þe worl- / -de also by fyer he schal deme, þere is þe fyren coldwre[?] / and þre arewes dyuere ben sente out of þis boue of so- / -rowe of loue and of co[n]dempna[n] to oure former[e] fadris / Oure lorde bende his bowe whanne he seyde In quocu[m][que] / die comeder[i]s et exes morte morier[i]s;875[i[n] whiche eu[er]l[e day þ[o]u / etust of hit w[i]t deþ þ[o]u schalt dye bot þey not dreadyng / eeton þer of and oure lored þanne his bowe anon and schet / to hem an arrowe of sorowe and þ[i][s][?] w[i]t wondide mankynde / w[i]t myscheues hou[n]g[er] þurste and coolde and ᵀ[op][er] manys- / -cheues þ[a][t] now mankynde ȝut felîþ and so he smeet w[i]t / þat arewe þe wou[n]de de of deep to ma[n] wherefore he cry- / -eþ and seip: Sagitte tue i[n]fix[a]e su[n]t i[n] me et iob dit sagitte / tue i[n] me me sunt quare i[n] dign[…] abibit sp[iritum] meeu[m], þine / arewis ben styked i[n] me and iob seip þine arewis bene / yne me þe i[n]di[n]gacou[n] of whom drýniþ up my spirit / man þ[u]s wou[n]ded and trauelid of þe fend whe[n] he miȝt / 4v not be saued of hyme sîlfe he schete up arrowes or sent / messu[n]gerus of loue æþen i[n] to heuene þ[a]t is to seie pr[a]yeris / terus and sykynges þe whiche perched þe planets and won- / -dirly wo[n]ded þe hiȝe kynge of heuene. So þ[a]t he was co[m]- / -pelled to come a dou[n]ne to vs p[e]rer schinge his heuenu[us] oute / off þe place of heuene to helpe vs wou[n]ded wrecchis / wherefore c[r]ist seip þe þe chirche i[n] þe book of songes / vulnerati cor meeu[m] i[n] vno oc[cl]or[um] [sic] meor[um],876 pou hast wou[n]- /

875 Genesis 2:17.
876 Song of Solomon 4:9, altered.
my herte in one of myne y\[e\]n þ[a]t is i[n] onhede off / charite and god þ[u]s wou[n]ded se\[i\]þ þorou þi loue: I am com- / -pelled, I schalle weende dou[n] i[n] to helle my wou[n]did / puple and so he bente his bowe a\[a\]n w[i]t þ[e] stryngle of pi- / -tee, and schotte ful swetely to vs þ[e] arowis of his so- / -ne, þ[a]t ben þe leueful swete wordes of his heuenely / techynge to meue vs more spadely to loue hymne / mor[e] and more and þese arowes he sente out to wou[n]de oure herts w[i]t loue c[r]ist þ[a]t bis bowe bente upon þe / cros sende out an arowe i[n] his secou[n]de comynge w[i]t / þe whiche þe deuele was smyte w[i]t þ[e] fyre of his / god hede þ[a]t is w[i]t þreu\[877] nayles and sperre oure enemy / is ou[er]come and knitted a\[e\]n to hym or ellis wanne / a\[e\]n to hy[m]ne þ[e] loue of mankynde þorou þese þreu a- / -rowes, bot þese arowe he undue weren i[n] c[r]istis fleische / undue[?] þe arowe hede of his godhede w[i]t nine was hid / to þe fende þ[a]t he schulde be disceyued by þe arowhede / of þe nayles apperide[n] i[n] his fleysches þ[a]t mankynde schul- / -de be bouȝte and zif þe fayrenesse of ma[n] or wo[m]an / biholdynge wolde raiomsche a longynge herte as it wer[e] / wou[n]ded w[i]t loue so þ[a]t for þe loue of heme þey leuen her [their] / bodly frende and wordly [sic] godes ne is[?] not þan[n]e þe face of / ihu c[r]iste and his fairness passynge þe fayrenesse of any / creature as it was schewed i[n] his t[ra]nsfiguracou[n] [?] as / þe gospel telleþ whefore [sic] doutelles zif we enterly by hoel- / -de hymne, w[i]t þ[e] y\[e\]n of oure herte we schulde[n] so be / wou[n]ded w[i]t þ[e] arowe of loue, þ[a]t non erþely þinge / schulde sauere or plese vnto vs bot we schulde rab[er] [?] / wille to suffre for his loue alle man[e]r wordly noyes / þa[n] one to offende hymne as steuene þ[a]t sau[?] þ[e] face / 5r of c[r]ist: lapides torrentes illi dulces fueru[n]t, þ[er]fore weren þe / scharpe stones harde ful swete vnto hymne wherefore pa- / -risyence [?] se\[i\]þ þus ardis ei[m] dileccios’ absorbet guttar[?] carnal’ affeccconis’ þe breneyng sopely of loue souper[?] þe drapus of / fleyschely affeccconu[n] and as þe smyttynge tendiþ þe hete of þe fire / w[i]t drop[us] of watur so doip þe watur of t[er]ibulacou[n] þ[e] fyre of / lowe where it is grete Bot sum[m]e me[n] and wyne[n] ben so ar- / -med þ[a]t w[i]t þ[e]sse forseyde arowes þey may not be persched / […] any sparce of þe fuyr[e] of loue may entre w[i]tynne he[m] and / þ[er]fore þey þ[a]l i[n] þis pr[e]sent lyfe ben not wou[n]ded w[i]t c[r]istes a- / -rowes of loue i[n] þ[e] þridde comynge þey schulen be smyttynge / w[i]t arowes of p[er]dicou[n] whe[n]ne hit schal be seyde to hem / Ite maledicti i[n] igne[m] eternu[m], weende þe waried wrecchis / i[n] to þ[e] fyre eu[er]lastynge þanne as þe

\[877\] Or ‘yren’, i.e., ‘iron’.
sawter seip: Gladiu[m] / suu[m] vibrabit arcu[m] suu[m] tetendit\(^{878}\) he schal brau[n]dische his / swerde and he schal bende his bowe and schete þe fowere for- / -seyde arowes and dryue to helle his enemyes and þoo wou[n]des / schulen neu[er]e be helud p[a]t w[i]t þese arowes schulen be smyto[n] / , bot pynynge and dyinge among þe fendes and þut þei schule[n] / neu[er]e fully dy3e for as þe apocalips seip […] desiderab[un]t mori et fugiet mors ab eis\(^{879}\) þan[n]e þei schulen desire to dye bot deþe schal flee fro heme and ægens þ[a]t daye seip c[r]ist i[n] þe / gospel: Erunt signa i[n] sole etc. tokenes schulen be i[n] þe sonne [etc.; end of Three Arrows portion]

(13) London, British Library, Additional MS 37049

(a) ff. 16v-18r, Prayer on the Last Judgement


\(^{878}\) Psalm 7:13.

\(^{879}\) Apocalypse 9:6.

\(^{880}\) Psalm 91:14.
Sothly þai sal flo- / -resche i[n] þe hygh su[m]mer halle, of o[ur] lord god. For trowthe / sal be fully turned i[n]to lyght of knawyng, w[i]t oute[n] vyayle / of myrknnes, and luf of god sal fully kepe [or lose] be felydy, w[i]t oute[n] / mellyng of op[er] affeciu[n], and þa[n] sal al fygures of sac[ra]ment[es] / cesse. For sothfastnes sal opynly be sene, and so sal þai flo- / -resche i[n] ioy & blys, lastyngly. He þ[a]t is not planted i[n] þe / wyntyr halle þ[a]t is holy kyrk, for defawte of trowthe, / as ar paynyms [pagan/heathen/non-Christian], iewes & herytykes. Or els if he be plan- / -tyd be fayth i[n] yt, nerþeles he is not whykkynd for de- / -fawte þat he has no charite. As ar þe luffers of þe warld, / þ[a]t trowes vnschaply i[n] god & holy kyrk, & lygges i[n] dedly syn, / þai sal not floresche i[n] þe so[m]mer halle þ[a]t is i[n] þe blys of / heuen. Many rightwys men her before has bene planted / be trowthe & rotefelt be charyte i[n] þe hows of holy kyrk, / as þe apostyls, martyr[s, & holy v[er]gyns, and al op[er] / rightwis men w[i]t oute[n] moymer þorow þe grace of god, / þ[a]t floresches now i[n] þe hyghe kyrk of heuen. And 3it / is it not al dome for why Adhuc multiplicabu[n]t[ur] i[n] sen[ec]ta / vberi, & b[e]n[ec] pacie[n]tes eru[n]t, vt a[n]nu[nie[n]t.881 jït sal þal be multi- / -plyed i[n] plentyvos elde, & wele sufferyng sal þai be, þ[a]t þai / may schewe. the elde of holy kyrk is þe last ende of / þis warld, and þat ende sal be plentifuls. For jitt sal / chosyn saules be multyplyd i[n] þe eld of holy kyrk be fulnes / of gyftes of grace, als plentifulosly as þai wer at þe begy[n]ny[n]g / ffor grace of god was neu[er] bett[er] chepe þa[n] it sal be jitt, and þ[a]t / is not for þe worthynes of mens desert[es], bot for þe endles / godenes of god. For as men waxis wayke for frelte of þai[m]- / -selfe, right so more abu[n]dantly falles grace to þai[m] wher / o[ur] lord vowtchessafe. Holy kyrk began w[i]t m[er]cyes, & so it / sal ende, & þat plentifulosly, for charite sal abownde i[n] þai[m] / þat sal be m[ar]tyrs, more þa[n] it was i[n] op[er] before, for it sal be / more nede, þis sal falle i[n] þe tyme of þe last p[er]secucou[n] as / holy docto[ur]s says. Bot nerþeles or þat tyme cu[m] grace sal no / dye, bot it sal multyply prernely i[n] me[n]ns herts, & kyndvl / 18r þe desyres of þai[m] þorow brynyng luf, & make saules / redy & gredy agayn þ[a]t tyme cu[m]. It sal drawe sodanly / chosyn saules fro al þe luf of þe warld to þe serves of / god, and þan sal þai be wele sufferyng þ[a]t þai may schewe, / þ[a]t is þ[a]t þai sal be made myghty i[n] faythe & bryn[yng] luf, / so fully þ[a]t þai sall þyrste for to dye þ[a]t þai myght se god. / And so sal þai pacyently & gladly suffer bodely deth, for / luf of hy[m] þ[a]t þai moste couettyd. And þa[n] may þai schewe / þe gret mercy of god done specially to þai[m], before al op[er] / saules, & […] þ[er]fore eu[er] creature take hede & dispose hys / lyfe to gods

881 Psalm 91:15.
lofyng & co[n]syder how some deth ravesches / mans lyfe fro hym, & whyd[er] he sal he go
he is vnterne- / -tayne. Ner[?] þe hos[?] saynt Austyn says, Q[u]i b[en]c[e] vixit no[n] / male
morit[ur], he þ[a]t wele has lyfed, dyes noth ylle. / Also script[ur] says Q[u]i bona egeru[n]t
ibu[n]t i[n] vita[m] et[er]nam, q[ui] þat has done
gode þyng[es] / sal go i[n] to eu[er]lasyng lyfe, & þai þat has done ylle / þing[es] w[i]t
oute[n] þai hafe g[ra]ce of amendme[n]t or þai dye / sal go i[n] to eu[er]lasyng fyre, fro þe
whilk o[ur] m[er]cyful lord / Ihc crist þ[a]t sched his blode opo[n] þe cros & dyed for vs /
safe vs all Ame[n]

(b) ff. 18r-18v, Of þe cu[m]ym of þe day of dome

18r The ordyr of þe dome sal be swylk. In þe day of dome / oure lorde cu[m]ynge to þe dome
fyre sal go before hy[m] w[i]t / þe whilk þe face of þis warld sal be byrntte, heuene[n] / heuens
& erthe sal p[er]resche noght aftyr þe substance, / bot aft[ur] þe kynde, heuen þ[a]t is to say
þe ayre, & noþt þe / ethere wher þe sternes ar. For so hyghe sal þe fyre i[n] / þe dome ascende
vp, as watyr dyd at noye flode, / and þe fyre sal be þe wastynge of yll men & women / þ[a]t ar
þan fon whylke, and i[n] gode men & women, þ[a]t / thynge þ[a]t is to be purged or clensyd
i[n] þai[m] sal be clensyd / by þat fyre. To oþ[er] p[er]fyte gode men & women it sal / noþt
noye. Bot as sayn austn says, þ[a]t sal be þe / byrnyng of þe warld, þ[a]t is to say as þat
chymnay / of babylon was to þe tre child[er]. Fro þence sal þat / gret voyce w[i]t þe whylk,
alle ded men & wome[n] sal ryse be / And […][word destroyed] þorow angel mynystracou[n]
þai sal be takyn and / […] vnsto criste i[n] þe aere. And o[ur] lord cu[m]ynge vnsto þe / […]], þe
son & þe mone ar sayd to be made dyrke, noþt / […]outen þe puttyng away of lyght, bot for
clernes cu[m]ynge / of more lyght, & þe v[er]tewes of heuens & angels sal be / […]], noþt þe
w[i]t mofyng & trobyll, bot by mynystrynge, / 18v of þoes thynges þe whilk þai sal se
before þe day of dome.

(c) f. 18v, There is no new rubric, the verses begin immediately after the above text

When þe day of dome sall be,
It is i[n] gods pryuyte
For al þe p[ro]phete þat men may neuen
And al þe halows & angels of heuen
Myȝt neu[er] none wytt þ[a]t preuyte
What tyme þat day of dome sal be
For god wil þ[a]t none before wytte
Bot hym selfe þat ordand it
Þ[er]fore crist to his dyscypyls says þus
As þe boke of þe Apocalips schews vs
Non e[st] v[est]r[v]u[m] nosce tempora & mome[n]ta
Que pater posuit in sua potestate
It fals not ȝow to knawe þe tyme of þ[r]iuyte
Þat þe fader has sett i[n] his powste
Þ[er]fore no man suld aske ne say
How mykil we hafe to domesday
Ne we suld not desyre it to lere
To wytt whedyr it war far or nere
Bot we suld make vs redy alle
As þe day of dome to morne suld falle
And þinke ay on þe dreyful dome
As þe holy man sayd saynt Ierome
Þ[a]t ay þ[er]opon thoght nyght & day
And þ[er]fore þus i[n] a boke gan he say
Siue comeda[m] siue biba[m] siue aliquid
Aliud facia[m] se[m]þ[er] m[e]i videt[ur] illa tuba
sonare i[n] aurib[us] meis, surgite mortui\textsuperscript{882}

He says whed[er] I ete or drynke
Or oght els do ay me thynke
Þat þe beme þat blawe sal at domesday
Sowndes i[n] myne ere & þ[us] says ay
Ryse þe vp þat ar ded and come
Vnto þe gret dredful dome
Now m[er]cyfull god þ[o]u graunte vs here
Grace of gode lyfyng þ[a]t we may appere
By fore þi face to oure saluacyon
At þe gret dome before ilk nacyon
Now lord þi grace þ[o]u schews be meny ways
Þerfore þe p[ro]phet dauyd says
Þe erth he says is full of gods m[er]cy
d[Pan] may men here it fynde plentyfully
And he þ[a]t has m[er]cy or he hence wende
Sal fynde criste at þe gret dome his frende
Wher rightwysnes onely sal be hawntyd
And no mercy þan be graunted
þ[er]fore gracios god þat alle goodenes hasse
Gyf vs þi mercy here or we passe.

\textsuperscript{882} ‘venite ad iudiciu[m]’ has been added beneath the line, completing the passage. Another interesting incident of scribal interaction, in which either a later user added the phrase to complete the quotation, or the original scribe did so as an afterthought.
(d) f. 20r, A text on Christ’s wounds with an image of a graphically bleeding Christ, stretching his side-wound and displaying the others. On a banderole are the words: ‘þis woundes smert bere i[n] þi hert & luf god aye, / If þow do þis, þ[o]u sal haf blys w[i]t owten delay.’ Below this, on a symbolic heart with the five wounds is two further lines. It is highly pertinent to affective devotion, providing meditative sustenance to help a reader with visualising not only the wounds themselves but also their devotional significance: ‘þis is þe mesure of þe wounde þ[a]t our / Ihc crist sufferd for oure rede[m]pco[n]’.

Querela divina

O man vnkynde
Hafe i[n] mynde
My paynes smert
Beholde & see
Þat is for þe
Percyd my hert
And jitt I wolde
Or þan þ[o]u schuld
Þi saule forsake
On cros w[i]t Payne
Scharp deth agayne
For þi luf take
For whilk I aske
None oþ[er] taske
Bot luf agayne
Me þan to luf
Althyng a bofe
Þow aght be fayne
Responsio humana
O lord right dere
Þi wordes I here
With hert ful sore
Þ[er]fore fro synne
I hope to blynne
And grefe no more
Bot i[n] þis case
Now helpe þi g[r]ace
My frelnes
Þat I may eu[er]
Do þi pleser
With lastyngnes
Þis grace to gytt
Þi moder […]
Cu[m] be pr[y] proue
Þat we may alle
In to þi þat halle
With ioy cu[m] sone
Amen
(e) 30r, verses on Christ’s wounds as a remedy for sin

Wyth scharp prones þ[a]t beth kene
Mye hede was crowned þe may sene
Mye blode rarn down be mye cheke
Thow prowde man þ[er]fore be meke
Wyth a spere þ[a]t was fulle grylle
Mye harte was perchyd yt was my wyl
For luf of ma[n] þat was my dere
Envyouse man of luffe thow lere
In al my þriste upon þe rode
Men gaffe me dry[n]ke þ[a]t was not gode
Ayselle and galle for to drynke
Gloton þ[er] on I rede thow þinke
Offe a clene mady[n] I was borne
To saue mankynde þ[a]t was forlorne
And sufferde deth for ma[n]nes sy[n]ne
[Manuscript damaged, eradicating most of the lines and any marginal annotation]
lustes þ[e]r offe
Iffe þ[o]u be wrothe & wolde take wretethe
Be holde þe lesson þ[a]t I þe teche
Thorow my þy[t] hande þe nail it gothe
þ[e]rfore forþe þe and be not wrothe
Aryse up unlusty oute of þi bed
And be holde mye fote þ[a]t ben y bled
And nailed faste to the tre
Thanke me þ[e]rof al was for þe
Thorow my left hand a nail was dryue
Thynke þ[e]ron 3ef þ[o]u wylle lyue
Helpe þe pore w[i]t almys dede
And þ[o]u in heue[n] schal hafe mede
Ihu for thye woundes fyue
Thow be […] wele in al þ[e]r lyue
That þis lesson euer wyl rede
And þ[a]i mot here þere saules fede

(f) 45r, Prayer by the Pains of the Passion

Thy myghty m[er]cy kyng of blis
My syn & me be þ[o]u ay betwyx
For i[n] al my care my moste co[m]forth is
Þe co[n]seyt I hafe of þe crucifix
Þe cros & þe kyng I behold
In fyg[r]a[?] of þe blissed passion
I am fed w[i]t ioy many fold
For þis co[n]ceyt & þis reson
For wele I wote to mak vs bold
Þi hede is ay i[n]clyned downe
Redy to here what þ[a]t we wold
Whe[n] we p[r]ay þe w[i]t deuocione
Now gode god þ[o]u here my oryson
And at þi blissed mod[er] renau[n]ce
In þi luf grau[n]t god co[n]clusione
To þine hono[u]r laude & plesau[n]ce
Þi myghty m[er]cy þ[o]u kyng of blis
My syn & me be ay betwyx
For i[n] al my care my co[m]forthis
Þe trest I hafe i[n] þe crucifix
Þine armes brode I se displayd
W[i]t lust & delectacou[n]
For to embrace redy arayed
Þe folke of þi rede[m]pcou[n]
Sen þ[o]u þ[us] lord as I hafe sayd
To take vs art ay redy bowne/bolkne
Of my saule þorow syn affrayd
To þe I make my oblacou[n]
Now gode god þ[o]u here my orison
Þi fete festynd to þe tre
Þat has þis signyficacou[n]
[next column]
Þat þ[o]u lord wil not fro vs fle
And lefe vs here in oppression
Sen þ[o]u w[i]t vs list stabil to be
In welthe & i[n] o[u]r tribulacou
I pray þe lord for þi pyte
W[i]t me þ[o]u make þi mansion
And gode god þ[o]u here myne orison
Alle open now I se þi syde
W[i]t pyte & co[m]passione
Redy to gif & noght to hyde
Þi hert for folke here i[n] presson
Sen þ[a]lt þ[us] þ[o]u list opyn so wyde
Þi syde to hald for o[u]r rede[p]cou
I pray þe make it w[i]t to abyde
Þi grace & þi luf & þi beneson
And gode god þ[o]u here myne orison
Mary moder mayden so fre
And þ[o]u saynt i[n] heue[n] abowue
To whome we oft crye for 3ou[r] pyte
And for þe luf & þe gret co[m]passion
Hafe vs always i[n] 3ou[r] co[m]mendacou[n]
And I pray 3ow two to pray for me
Þat crist be my saluacou[n]
And þat 3e here my oryson
And at al þe saynts rendence
Hys luf he grau[n]t me i[n] co[n]clusion
(g) 67v, Complaint of Christ on the Cross, Take gode hede wele of pis medytacou

Herkyn wordes swete & goode
Lofely speche w[i]t mylde mode
When ihc crist hang on þe rode
Sewed vn to man
W[i]t paynes felt whe[n] he fro hell
Oure saules wan
Þou synful ma[n] þ[a]t by me gase
A while to me turne þ[o]u þi face
Behold & se i[n] ilk a place
How I am dyght
Al to rent & al to schene
Man for þi plyght
Behold þe crowne of þorne kene
Þe Iewes set on my hede for tene
Two þefes hang þai me betwene
Al for dispyte
Þis sorow & wa þ[o]u sees me ta
Man[?] I þe wyte
A whyle by me stande þou þitt
Behold my handes behold my feete
How þay ar knaghed w[i]t nayles wete
Vn to a tree
Þis sorow & care w[i]t woundes sare
Þole I for þe
Behald & se w[i]t ropes toghe
How Iewes fell my ly[m]mes out droghe
For no sum was mete ynoghe
Vn to þe bore
Þer strang stowndes & depe wowndes
Þole I þe fore
Hertly behald vn to my syde
Þar may þ[o]u se a wounde ful wyde
Made with a spere unryde
Vn to my hert
Þis sorow & care þir wounde sare
Þi syns it gart
And þ[er]fore undirstand þ[o]u sall
In stede of drynke þai gaf me gall
Aysell ay with all
Þies Iewes felle
Þis sufferd I for to by
Þi saule fro hell
Me rewed on mary my mod[er] mylde
Þat gret for me sore hir childe
When sche sawe me þ[us] revyled
In alkyn þinge
Schuld as a tyke & þefe lyke


Þir er þe blisses and mani elles,
Godd gis to þaim [þat] wit him duelles.
Bot als þir godds freindes sall
Wirscip haf o-mang þam all,
Sua sal þe wreches haf for þair sak,
Be-stad in pine wit-vten slak.
Þir sal be fair and dughti bath,
Þai sal be grisli and lath;
Þir sal be light als fuxul to flei,
Þai sal be dil wit wa to drei;
Þir sal be selcut strang and wight,
Þai sal be weck wit-vten might.
Þir sal liue in freedom fre,
Þai sal liue euer in caitiuete;
Þir sal euer liue in delite,
Þai sal euer in soru and site;
Þir sal in hele liue euer mare,
Þai sal euer be seke and sare.
Þir sal be euer in lastand lijf,
Þai sal and ded be euer in strijf;
Þir sal ha wijt þair wil to wise,
Þai sal be fild wit all folise,
For if þai oght mai wijt þare,
It es o noght bot site and care.
Þir sal o suete frenscep be traist,
Þai sal of alkin fredom fraist;
Wit alkin thing sal þire acorde,
Wit alkin scaf þai sal discord;
Þir sal haf weldnes of all wale,
Þai sal vnweldid be wit bale.
Þis sal wirscip all creatur,
Of alle þai sal haf mishonur;
Þir er four traistes blith and gladd,
Þai quak for care sa ar þai radd;
Þir laghes in ioi þar þai er lend,
Þai wepe in soru wit-vten end.
Fra þat soru and fra þat site,
Iesu crist he mak us quite,
And giue vs grace sua here to do,
Þat wit his we mai rest in ro.
Appendix 2: Sermon Data

This table was compiled from the data contained within the four volumes of A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons, ed. By Veronica O’Mara and Suzanne Paul. It is entirely reliant on the Repertorium’s system of sermon classification. As such, it is highly probable that sermons pertaining to the Last Judgement might have been overlooked and are not represented here. Equally, if the editors of the Repertorium decided not to flag a certain item as being relevant to the Last Judgement even though it is arguable that it does, indeed, pertain to the Doom – of which there are several examples included below – then such items will likely have been overlooked in the compilation of these data. For example, numerous sermons which relate to sin, Deadly Sin, the Works of Mercy, death, Hell, the afterlife, etc., could all make reference to Doomsday; it is an extremely prolific topic and the data collected below perhaps only scratches the surface of the total possible material. Moreover, any material that is not covered by the Repertorium at all is absent from this table. Therefore, it is by no means exhaustive and relies exclusively on the extensive work conducted by O’Mara and Paul in compiling the Repertorium. More material of a similar nature is undoubtedly still awaiting similarly efficient cataloguing. In essence, these quantitative data are included simply to provide a general idea and are relatively specious for the above reasons; they do not address the total available data, nor are they an entirely flawless composition of the data that is available.

Repertorium Vol. 1:

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<th>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</th>
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<td>Cambridge, CUL, Additional 5338, 70r-73r (p. 6)</td>
<td>Fifteenth century (first half)</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Dominica Secunda, Respicite et leuate capita vestra (Luke 21:25-33)</td>
<td>The gospel of Luke 21:25-33, concerning the signs of the last days; reap what you sow. Signs of the coming of the day of judgement will be seen in the sky, on earth, and in the sea. The gospel tells people to behold and to lift up their heads in order to instil fear into the wicked and comfort the good. One</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 357 (p. 55)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth century</td>
<td>Quinquagesima</td>
<td>contains a version of Thomas Wimbledon’s Redde racionem villicacionis tue. see Wimbledon’s Sermon: Redde rationem villicationis tue: a middle English sermon of the fourteenth century, I. K. Knight, BX 890 Main Collection, this edition is based on the text found in CCCC MS 357; N. H. Owen, &quot;Thomas Wimbledon', Mediaeval Studies 24 (1962), 377-81.; N. H. Owen, 'Thomas Wimbledon's sermon: &quot;Redde racionem villicacionis tue&quot;', Mediaeval Studies 28 (1966), 176-97</td>
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<td>Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 285, 62v-65r (p. 77)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>St Nicholas (6th December); Deum timete et mandata eius servate (Ecl. 12:13)</td>
<td>At the general judgement there shall be no juries of 12 men deciding your fate: a man’s accusers will be the angel who guarded him on earth and whom he refused to obey, and the devil who will have written down all of his sins (&quot;[64r] At the general judgement “þere schal no xii men go on þe queste to make þe clene as þei doon at þe elde alle or at Westmynster halle”&quot;). ‘[…] People should remember this when they are in the tavern drinking, swearing, and boasting of their sins. God will come to the judgement, looking as he did when crucified [64v] with his bloody wounds, and will sentence the sinful to eternal damnation.’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 74, 111r-114r (p. 85)</td>
<td>Early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Lent; II Cor. 6:2</td>
<td>In the future the dreadful day of doom will come, the signs are given, nobody knows when, one should always be ready. It will be as it was in the time of Noah’s flood. No person on earth nor angel in heaven knows when it will be.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.45, 24r-v (p. 120)</td>
<td>Thirteenth century</td>
<td>Unidentified occasion</td>
<td>The idea of being prepared again, unless proper penance is conducted in the present, it will be too late when the day of doom arrives.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.45, 41v-42r (p. 121)</td>
<td>Thirteenth century</td>
<td>Unidentified occasion; Matt. 12:36</td>
<td>At Doomsday every idle word will be accounted for.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 10r-11r (p. 140)</td>
<td>Thirteenth century</td>
<td>Advent</td>
<td>Advent – the first and the second: the first has happened, the second is to come at Doomsday; everyone looks forward to the second; Matt. 25:34 and 25:41</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 34r-37v (p. 156)</td>
<td>Thirteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Lent</td>
<td>David admonishes people to save themselves before Doomsday; Christ will reward the righteous with eternal life and the wicked with eternal punishment; the sinful will be angry with themselves for not amending their ways when they had the chance; if confession and repentance are undertaken now, then there is no need to be afraid; emphasis on confession; the usual gospel references: Matt. 25:33, 25:34, 25:41, etc.</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 69r-71v (p. 182)</td>
<td>Thirteenth century</td>
<td>On the Dead (de defunctis)</td>
<td>Three sorts of death: of the body when the soul departs; of the soul when the body commits sin; body and soul on Doomsday if they have not repented their sins (this last one is final and eternal). The third death is that which</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 45r-47v (p. 225)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Erunt signa in sole et stellie (Luke 21:25)</td>
<td>When Christ was here bodily he spoke several times of the Day of Doom – there shall be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars; Luke 21:25-33; the righteous are told to rejoice when the time comes, those who do not rejoice are worldly and enemies of God; the tribulations of the world now are nothing compared to those of Doomsday; the thought of this day ought to stir all Christians to abandon sin and change their lives.</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 102r-103v (p. 261)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Third Sunday after Easter</td>
<td>The emptiness and transience of earthly wealth that will disappear at the day of judgement; on the Day of Doom, Christ will come as king and shepherd and divide the sheep from the goats; many people behave as though this day will never come; all should think on the brevity of worldly life.</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 103v-106r (p. 262)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Fourth Sunday after Easter</td>
<td>All people should live each day as if it were their last; when one’s soul leaves one’s body, devils and angels will dispute and examine one’s thoughts, words, and deeds; souls that have been purged through penance and prayer will enter paradise, those that have not will be taken to Hell.</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durham University Library, Cosin V.iv.2, 125r-128v (p. 287)</td>
<td>Late fifteenth century (c. 1477)</td>
<td>On Sunday Observance; Deum time et mandata eius obserua (Ecl. 12:13)</td>
<td>The importance of Sunday: long list of scriptural reasons, including the world will end on a Sunday, and God will judge mankind on a Sunday. Very threatening</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Source</td>
<td>Date Range</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 280, 112r-115r (p. 326)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>The subject of multiple advents again: the first was Christ’s fleshly life; the second was Christ’s coming to Jerusalem to suffer and die; the third is the Day of Judgement ‘when Christ’s wounds will bear witness against the Jews who killed him and false Christians who do not keep his commandments.’ The works of mercy of Matt. 25:42-45; those who have not carried these out will not be numbered among the sheep; the first two advents have happened, in order to prepare for the first, one should live righteousness.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 133, 98r-101r (p. 346)</td>
<td>Mid-late fifteenth century</td>
<td>Unidentified occasion</td>
<td>Timor mortis conturbat me; an exemplum of the Castle of wisdom – a philosopher constructed a castle with three gates, each with a shield above. On the first is L I F, on the second is D E T, on the third is D O M (life, death, doom). On the third the letters stand for ‘dredfull’, ‘opon’ and ‘myghtfull’, describing God’s judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 36791 (p. 376)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Exemplum – A sinful cleric, who was devoted to Mary, dies. Mary intervenes on his behalf to the Archbishop of Rome, who wants to bury the cleric outside the churchyard, explaining that the cleric has been saved on account of his devotion to her. Not specifically</td>
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<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 36791 (p. 455)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Conception of Mary (8th Dec.)</td>
<td>Marian intercession.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 37677, ff. 57r-61r (p. 459)</td>
<td>Early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Easter Week</td>
<td>Uses contemporary political language as a metaphor for God’s second coming: the king (God) summons a parliament, the writs have been sent out, etc.; the judgement will take place, the traitors will be placed on the left, the chosen on the right; the king will show his wounds; the seven works of mercy (Matthew 25 again, mainly). Worms and adders in Hell.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 67v-68v (p. 490) (Wycliffite Sermons)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14</td>
<td>The parable of the wedding feast: those who repeatedly rejected Christ’s invitations to bliss throughout their lives will be damned; those who are within the folds of the Church but still sinful will be more harshly dealt with than those who never entered the Church at all; Song of Songs 6:7-8.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 73r-74r (p. 499)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Erunt signa in sole, etc. (Luke 21:25-33)</td>
<td>Prophecies and signs of the last days: then Christ will be seen coming from heaven to judge those on earth; ‘He comforts his children, telling them that these signs mean only that their bliss is near at hand’; Christ’s words are more stable than heaven and earth, as he is above both; the sun is Christ, the moon, the Church, and the stars, saints. The prophecies of Christ’s third coming should drive people from sin towards virtue; if they were</td>
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<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 82r-83r (p. 512)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>to face judgement tomorrow, they would prepare; therefore, remember that the day is coming, but its timing is uncertain, one should be prepared for it at all times; ‘Thus one should contemplate the day of judgement when one must face Christ’s judgement naked and dumb.’</td>
<td>346</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 83r-84r (p. 514)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Fifth Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; Matt. 13:24-30 The parable of the tares, with commentary and interpretation. Christ, the sower, sowed the good seed of God’s word in the field of the Church, etc.; the time of reaping signifies the day of judgement; the true Christians will be gathered into the barn (heaven); Christians should not fight against sin but combat it with patience and charity.</td>
<td>347</td>
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<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 125r-126v (p. 560)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16 The parable of the labourers in the vineyard, with commentary and interpretation; the seven ages of the Church are compared with the labourers’ hours of working in God’s vineyard; the workers are summoned at the end of the day (the day of judgement).</td>
<td>347</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 130v-132r (p. 566)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Common of Many Martyrs; Luke 21:9-15 The perils that will happen before and after the day of judgement; the seven perils to come; seems to have an anti-papal undercurrent; fittingly, the sermon deals with martyrdom.</td>
<td>348</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 125r-126v (p. 560)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Common of Many Martyrs; Matt. 24:1-3 The portents of the destruction of the temple; popes are blamed again for pretending to know the date of Doomsday, by presuming to hand out pardons for however many thousands of years of penance; God kept</td>
<td>348</td>
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</table>
the time of Doomsday hidden, therefore, people must remain vigilant and free of sin; always be prepared; nobody should seek to know the exact date, as we have been given an adequate amount of information by which to prepare.

London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 138r-139v (p. 575)  
Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century  
Common of a Confessor and Bishop; Luke 19:12-26  
The parable of the nobleman and the ten talents, explaining how people should live; against materiality.

London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 144r-146r (p. 582)  
Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century  
Common of many Confessors; Luke 12:35-39  
On waiting for the lord with girded loins; how people should live by Christ; more on the uncertainty of the time of Judgement Day, and how each man should be ready; Christ will knock on the door and enter only unto those who are awake and ready for him.

London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 149r-150v (p. 588)  
Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century  
Common of a Virgin not a Martyr; Matt. 25:1-13  
The parable of the virgins with the oil; as a person is comprised of body and soul, so the Church is made up of actives and contemplatives; anti-clerical again; Christ will come in the middle of the night; the cry is the warning of angels that will sound on the last day; the wise virgins and the foolish virgins will have to be prepared to answer their charges.

London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 207r-v (p. 682)  
Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century  
Feria 2 in Week 1 of Lent; Matt. 25:31-46  
The form of the Last Judgement; Christ will come in his humanity, he will divide the people into sheep and goats; commentary and interpretation – these parables are repeatedly analysed in contemporary language and understanding – kings, juries, shepherds, etc.; ‘Those who are damned
| London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 218r-v (p. 713) | Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century | Feria 5 in Week 4 of Lent; John 5:17-29 | The father would give all judgement to the son; the coming of the Day of Judgement when the dead will be summoned; the division of the good and the bad. | 29 |
| London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 234r-v (p. 756) | Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century | Feria 2 in Week after Pentecost | A good source related to the idea of horror versus pleasure when considering the Last Judgement: this sermon posits that Christ’s Second Coming will be to save the world rather than to condemn it; John 3:16-21: Christ’s coming at doomsday to judge the world will be to make it better; to save the world rather than to damn it. | 30 |
| London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 3v-5r (p. 805) | Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century | Third Sunday in Advent; 1 Cor. 4:1-5 | God’s final judgement cannot be reversed; on that day nothing will be hidden from God; all people’s deeds, both good and evil, will be revealed. | 31 |
| London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, 185r-196r (p. 884) | Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century | Of mynystris in the chirche; Matt. 24:1-51 | On the portents of the end of the world; the Fifteen Signs. | 32 |
| London, British Library, Additional MS 41321, 8v-23v (p. 890) | First half fifteenth century | Second Sunday in Advent; Luke 21:25 | Erunt signa in sole luna et stellis, etc. | 33 |
| London, British Library, Additional MS | First half fifteenth century | Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16 | The parable of the vineyard again. | 34 |
**Repertorium Vol. 2:**

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<th>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Liturgical Occasion</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, 4r-6r (p. 925)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>The multiple comings of Christ theme. In this instance two comings: the first to bring the good to bliss, the second to condemn the wicked to hell; in the first coming Christ was born, worked, and died for humankind; to avoid a horrible fate in the second coming, sinners must repent; followed by the Fifteen Signs, which will precede the second coming, according to Jerome; Christ will come, accompanied by angels and the instruments of his passion; the souls will have accusers on all sides: Christ above, their consciences within, angels on the right, devils on the left, Hell below; the poor will sit in judgement on the rich; Matt. 25:34-35; Matt. 25:40; Matt. 25:41-42; Rom. 12:19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, 110v-111v (p. 1027)</td>
<td>First half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Feast of St Michael (29th September)</td>
<td>Commemorates all angels, but especially St Michael; Michael is Christ’s own banner, carrying a shield bearing the sign of the cross; he will slay the antichrist and will carry the cross and the instruments of the Passion at the Last Judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Harley MS 26, 60v-61v (p. 1082)</td>
<td>Fifteenth century (early and first half)</td>
<td>First Sunday in Lent(?)</td>
<td>Sins should be remembered and written in one’s heart like a song; forgotten sins will be written down by the devil (has an exemplum in which a man confessed his sins but did not complete the penance. The devil</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
recorded his sins on a roll. The man sent for a priest and is confessed so that the devil may hold no power over him; proper confession can wipe out sin); a reeve or steward must give reckoning to his lord once a year and is careful about the accounts to avoid punishment; people are afraid of bodily suffering, despite this life being transient; they should be frightened instead of God’s reckoning; souls will be judged according to their works; all should make full confession and adhere to the appropriate penance.

| London, British Library, Harley MS 2247, 5v-7r (p. 1099) | Fifteenth century (second half) | First Sunday in Advent | [This sermon, on Christ’s second coming, is derived from the second part of the corresponding Festial sermon; see BL/Claudius A.ii/001 for a full summary] The second coming of Christ; fifteen signs preceding the Doom, according to Jerome; Matt. 25:34-36; Matt. 25:40; Matt. 25:41-42; [This sermon may actually be for the Second Sunday in Advent. Two of the festial manuscripts employ this material on Jerome’s fifteen signs in a sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent, see Bodl/Douce 108/001]. |
| London, British Library, Harley MS 2276, 3v-5v (p.1227) | Mid-fifteenth century | Second Sunday in Advent; Luke 21:25-33 | There shall be signs in the sun and moon and stars; signs of Christ’s second coming; signs which should increase people’s fear and make them prepare for the Last Judgement; these signs can also be interpreted as signs of Christ’s first coming; those who are damned will see Christ as he was at the crucifixion and his cross brighter than the sun (cp. Cursor Mundi); As an army carries banners before a king to show his power, the angelic host will carry signs of the cross; the saved should rejoice at his |
coming; four groups at Doomsday: the perfect who will judge alongside Christ; those judged and saved; those who do not believe in the Church who will perish without being judged; those who are judged and damned.

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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Harley MS 2383, 85v-88v (p. 1333)</td>
<td>Second half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Ash Wednesday</td>
<td>Christians know they will turn to earth again when they die, but that they will live again at the last day either in joy or in pain; it is best to live in the world so as to ensure joy in the hereafter; no one may know when this life will end, so performing the corporal works of mercy acts like an insurance policy – they are like riches that can be sent on ahead to help you on the last day.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 56r-57r (p. 1388)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14</td>
<td>The parable of the wedding feast; everyone should think of the Last Judgement when God will show righteousness without mercy, asking people how they have performed the works of mercy; i.e., one should not come to the wedding feast unless in wedding clothes – therefore, when God asks at the Day of Doom what works a person has performed, he will be able to say, “Lorde, I have on þi leuere [livery] and I am þi man”</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 59v-60v (p. 1391)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity</td>
<td>Will God remember people’s wickedness until the last judgement? And how will he show his wrath at the last judgement? God will remember all the sins committed and there will be a strict reckoning; as St Augustine says in the Elucidarium, everyone will know about everyone else’s sins but no shame will be attached, if one is saved; the good will have infinite</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 88v-90r (p. 1416)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>joy but the evil will be unable to look at God’s face.</td>
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<td>London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 112r-114r (p. 1437)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Palm Sunday 383</td>
<td>The two comings of God: the first in his humanity at his birth; the second coming will be at the Last Judgement; you would know the when, where, and how, etc.; it will take place in the Vale of Josaphat near Jerusalem; no clerk, angel, apostle, or saint knows when it will be (Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32); on Doomsday only righteousness will prevail; describes the torments of the damned in Hell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 117v-121r (p. 1442)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Third Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>Not listed as Last Judgement, the topic is more concerned with judgement in general, but there are references to the Last Judgement; no one can attempt to judge private sins until the Last Judgement; it is best to wait to allow the Creator of the world to judge.</td>
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883 One suspects that this is supposed to be the Second Sunday in Advent.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth</td>
<td>Advent;</td>
<td>'The three comings of Christ – when he came to make man; when he</td>
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<td>MS 18.B.xxiii, 168r-169v (p.</td>
<td>century</td>
<td>Venturus est</td>
<td>came to ransom man; when he shall come to judge man. ‘St Bernard</td>
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<td>1467)</td>
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<td>omnipotens</td>
<td>says that when he thinks of the Last Judgement, his body quakes. No</td>
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<td>(Apoc. 1:8)</td>
<td>one will pray for anyone else. As a cloud hides the sun, so the cloud</td>
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<td>of wicked deeds will be between the sinful and God.’ Quick reference</td>
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<td>to the Fifteen Signs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS 3160, 25r-29v (p. 1486)</td>
<td>century</td>
<td>Advent</td>
<td>21:1-9, 12-13; Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of</td>
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<td>the temple. This account is read twice a year, in Advent, signifying</td>
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<td>Christ’s coming to the world, and coming up to the commemoration of</td>
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<td>his death; it also signifies his coming in judgement. Christ will</td>
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<td>come to judge humankind; on that day all deeds and thoughts will be</td>
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<td>revealed; Bernard says the whole world will accuse each person;</td>
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<td>devils will claim souls as their servants and take them to hell; it</td>
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<td>would be better for these souls not to have been born; for not</td>
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<td>keeping God’s commandments they will burn eternally; the judge will</td>
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<td>comfort those who kept his commandments and those who have made</td>
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<td>amends for their sins will be rewarded with eternal bliss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Sloane</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth</td>
<td>Second Sunday in</td>
<td>Christ showed signs so that Christians would be ready for the day</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS 3160, 29v-34v (p. 1488)</td>
<td>century</td>
<td>Advent; Erunt</td>
<td>of judgement; Jerome lists 15 signs at the end of the world but</td>
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<td>signa, etc.</td>
<td>Gregory states that many of them have already been seen; analysis</td>
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<td>(Luke 21:25-33)</td>
<td>of the sun, moon, and stars; avoid sin, live in charity and do good</td>
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<td>London, Lambeth Palace</td>
<td>Late twelfth to</td>
<td>Septuagesima</td>
<td>works if you want to get to Heaven.</td>
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<td>No reference to Last Judgement in summary notes, but it is</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Liturgical Occasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 4v-6r (p1629)</td>
<td>Second half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Third Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>Judgement – not final – included here because Advent has emerged as being a relevant occasion for sermons on the Last Judgement, so perhaps this is an extension of the theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 24r-26v (p1644)</td>
<td>Second half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima</td>
<td>The subject is not the Last Judgement, but the day’s Gospel is Matt. 20:1-16. This sermon makes quick reference to this then it moves on to another topic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley</td>
<td>Second half fifteenth century</td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
<td>Last Judgement. The second person of the Trinity, who is wisdom as the father is</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS 95, 29v-32r (p1648)</td>
<td>power. He has inscribed mercy for humankind in his hands, feet, and side so that he will not forget his people. He shall come again to judge the living and the dead, and all should fear this judgement. Since the time of judgement is unknown, all must be ready. All should repent while they can and keep this judgement in mind. Christ’s voice will comfort the saved but terrify the damned, as the voice of the lion comforts its cubs but is fearsome to other beasts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 105r-107r (p1693)</td>
<td>Two days must be noted: the day of wrath and the day of salvation. The day of wrath is the day of judgement on which the wicked who will not amend themselves will be condemned to eternal pains. This day is also the day of salvation for those who cleanse their souls in this world. Those who are damned may, like Job, curse the day that they were born and the days that they have wasted in sin. Thus, all should amend their sins.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 3v-6v (p. 1703)</td>
<td>This Gospel speaks of Christ’s coming in judgement. His first coming is compared to dew but his second is like lightning and thunder – sudden and striking the damned with destruction. Christ is signified by the rainbow which appears to be three colours mixed together, bright and fiery and signifies his three comings. It is actually Christ’s third coming, according to this, in which he will judge everyone with fire. The three arrows to be fired from the bow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 23v-25v (p1718)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany</td>
<td>The main theme is marriage. The everlasting marriage will take place at the day of judgement between Christ and all clean souls. John says that the saved will be invited to the everlasting wedding feast of the lamb (Apoc. 19:9). Marriage in the Church prefigures this everlasting marriage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 31v-33v (p1724)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima; Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias (Matt. 20:1); Matt. 20:1-16</td>
<td>The parable of the workers in the vineyard. Extensive interpretation in the usual manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 55r-57v (p1745)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth century/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Easter Day</td>
<td>Seems to be analysing Mark 16:1-7 in terms of the Last Judgement. The three Marys visit Christ’s tomb and find it empty. He told them not to be afraid but they were stunned at his appearance; how much more afraid and stunned will people be when the crucified Christ comes in judgement with power and majesty?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 57v-59v (p1747)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday after Easter</td>
<td>The Four Dowers. This explains what human bodies will be like after the final resurrection, once they are reunited with their souls. John 20:19-31, Christ’s appearances to the disciples after the resurrection. On Christ’s second appearance to the disciples, they should all gather together to meet him in judgement; then he will</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 78r-80r (p1763)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday after Trinity; Luke 14:16-24</td>
<td>The parable of the man hosting a supper. Many were invited, few came. The hour of this great feast is the end of the world; as it comes nearer, one should not waste the time of grace that has been given. “‘Trewe men’ who preach God’s word will see the wicked being judged at the day of judgement.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 108, pp. 5-13 (p1823)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>John Mirk’s Festial. There will be fifteen terrible signs on the days before the Last Judgement. It lists the 15. It gives a detailed account of the day of judgement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 92v-97v (p1857)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Ninth Sunday after Trinity; Quid hoc audie de te redde racionem villicacionis tue (Luke 16:2)</td>
<td>In today’s gospel, Christ asks people to prepare to account for all the goods that God has given them. Being mindful of the coming day of judgement is the best way to divert one’s love from worldly things. At the day of judgement, all Christians must answer to God. All came into the world naked and will face judgement naked.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity; Beati oculi qui vident</td>
<td>At the day of judgement all people must come before the judge and their own consciences and actions will accuse them. Those sinners...</td>
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<td>Manuscript Details</td>
<td>Date/Style</td>
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<td>Relevant Bible Verses</td>
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<tr>
<td>180, 111r-114v (p1864)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>que vos vidistic (Luke 10:23)</td>
<td>who have not repented will be sent into the eternal fire. However, all those who have repented and done their penance and good works will be invited into the Kingdom of Heaven.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 127v-133r (p1869)</td>
<td>Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity; Luke 7:11-16</td>
<td>The raising from the dead of the widow’s son. All creatures must die and four aspects of death should be contemplated: the physical death, the day of judgement, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven. At the last judgement Christ will ask all people to account for their lives and they will pass either to pain or joy. Sinners must stand with the judge above, their sins on the right and devils on the left, the world behind and angels in front, and their conscience within.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 165v-171v (p1880)</td>
<td>Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 9:18-22</td>
<td>The raising to life of the ruler’s daughter and the healing of the woman with a haemorrhage. One must put one’s trust in God and fear him, thinking always of the Last Judgement. Three aspects of the Last Judgement must always be kept in mind: the uncertainty of the time of death, the pains of death, and the terrible sight of devils at the moment of death. As St Thomas says, at the Last Judgement, Hell will open up before sinners and their consciences will burn inside them. Sinners will be sent to eternal damnation while the virtuous will be summoned by Christ to everlasting joy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent; Matt. 21:1-9</td>
<td>Christ’s entry into Jerusalem. The exemplum of the castle with three shields again. To enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, one must remember</td>
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<td>359</td>
<td>the three shields of the exemplum: the shields of life, death, and the day of judgement. The shield with its trumpets signifies the Last Judgement. It will be quick and all Christians will come. It will be terrifying because God will curse the damned to eternal punishment. If anyone tries to beg for mercy, he will curse them again with the words of Matt. 25:41. Sinners may now unbind their souls from sin and receive God’s mercy but once life is over, all will receive God’s judgement. Judgement will also be according to what one deserves; the righteous will be invited into everlasting bliss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 185v-190r (p1886)</td>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 185v-190r (p1886)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Erunt signa, etc. (Luke 21:25-33)</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>Christ’s prophecies about the second coming. This gospel speaks of the signs and wonders that will occur before the Last Judgement. For those who have lived virtuously, this will be a comfortable and profitable day; for all others it will be cruel and terrible. As Bernard says, on that day sinners will have no friends and nobody to pray for them. Those who have been true will bless the day they were born while those who have been sinful and false will curse the day of their birth. The terribleness of this judgement can be proved by the signs that will come before it. Jerome gives fifteen signs which will occur on the fifteen days before the Last Judgement. The signs are given. Then on the fifteenth day, Christ will come in judgement. Archangels will blow trumpets to summon the</td>
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people. The sun and moon will shine again much brighter than before. Bodies and souls will be joined together again and all Christians will appear before God.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 236r-241v (p1902)</th>
<th>Mid-fifteenth century</th>
<th>Fifth Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; Matt. 13:24-30</th>
<th>The parable of the wheat and the tares. On the day of the great harvest (Last Judgement), the wheat will be put into the barn of heaven and the weeds cast into eternal fire. Therefore, Christians should remove all evil thoughts from their hearts now. Those who lead clean lives and trust in God will be taken into God’s barn to share endless joys with God and his saints.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 242r-247v (p1903)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-8</td>
<td>Parable of the workers in the vineyard, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 247v-251r (p1905)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Sexagesima; Luke 8:4-15</td>
<td>The parable of the sower. At the day of judgement God will curse those who produce only briars and thorns. No excuses will be accepted. As an unscrupulous man cannot escape paying a craftsman since he has written the debt in his book, so the sinner’s wickedness cannot be overlooked by God; for every sin a note is recorded in the sinner’s conscience. Sinners can give no answer and they will be sent to eternal damnation. Those who have produced the fruit of good works will be invited into God’s kingdom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fifteenth century (mid- to second half)</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent; Matt. 21:1-9</td>
<td>Christ’s entry into Jerusalem. The three advents of Christ again. In his first coming, Christ became human to</td>
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<td>Greaves MS 54, 26r-29r (p1929)</td>
<td>suffer in order to redeem humankind. In his daily coming, Christ teaches people’s souls how to love him by keeping his commandments. The third coming will be at the day of judgement to condemn sinners. It will be so dreadful that they will ask the hills to fall on them. A great fire will burn the earth, the sun will lose its light and the virtues of heaven will move.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Greaves MS 54, 34r-v (some missing) (p1936)</td>
<td>Fifteenth century (mid- to second half)</td>
<td>Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The parable of the workers in the vineyard, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 96, 66v-68v (p2023)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>St Michael (29th September)</td>
<td>Connects Michael directly with the subject of the Last Judgement. As scripture says, St Michael was given power over the souls of men in order to bring them to paradise. Before the day of judgement, he will defeat antichrist and drive him to hell; he will also blow the trumpet to wake the dead and bring out the instruments of Christ’s Passion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 5v-7r (p2048)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>The topic is not directly related to the Last Judgement, but it is mentioned, and worth noting here because of its occurrence in Advent, as well as its employment of a gospel passage that has been seen already to have utilised the Judgement. Matt. 21:1-9, Christ’s entry into Jerusalem. The main relevant reference is that those in power should take care that they are not hostile toward the Church and that they care for the poor; otherwise they will face</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 7r-8v (p2050)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Erunt signa, etc. (Luke 21:25-33)</td>
<td>a ‘grettur turnament’ at the Last Judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 23v-24v (p2067)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima</td>
<td>Does not have Doomsday references, but it is the standard Matt. 20:1-16, workers in the vineyard parable. I include it here, despite its lack of Doom connotations, to demonstrate that this passage was not always utilised in the same way. Therefore, it can show that when it is used as such, there’s a conscious decision taking place, not merely following suit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 72r-74r (p2112)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Eighth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 7:15-21</td>
<td>Christ’s warning against false prophets. See what reward these false prophets will receive. At the day of judgement, the Judge will see the good deeds of every individual. Though all people will want to show their good deeds, God will also see their evil deeds and judge one against the other. As the gospel says, people will be judged by their fruits, that is, their good deeds. Therefore people should look carefully at their actions and words, their will and their life; it is sinful to do good in order to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 128r-v (p2157)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent (?); Ecce deus veniet et omnis sanctius cum eo et erit in die illa lux magna</td>
<td>The lord will come and separate the good from the wicked; the good he will send to eternal joy and the wicked to hell. Christians should make themselves clean through contrition, confession, and satisfaction, and do as many good works as they can during their short time on earth. All owe God service here since he worked to win heaven for humankind. All must strive to ensure that they are amongst the fishes in Christ’s net and the sheep in his flock. Matt. 25:34; Matt. 25:41.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 128v-129r (p2158)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent (?); Erunt signa, etc. (Luke 21:25)</td>
<td>God offers a warning in the gospel of the signs of the day of judgement. Scripture says the sun will turn black, the moon red, and the stars will fall from heaven; those who see this will have great fear.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 130v-131r (p2162)</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century</td>
<td>St Michael (29th September)</td>
<td>Those who are now devils used to be angels; now they try to entice people into sin and try to prevent the fellowship of angels being restored to its original number. When this number is reached, the day of judgement will come and these devils will endure greater pain. Good angels, like St Michael, are sent to earth to help good people resist these demons. They rejoice when sinners repent and all humankind should love them.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library,</td>
<td>Late fourteenth or early</td>
<td>Unidentified (but one suspects)</td>
<td>It is the end of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. There is no direct reference to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manuscript, Date, and Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Liturgical Occasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holkham Misc. MS 40, 131r-v (p2163)</td>
<td>fifteenth century</td>
<td>Septuagesima; multi sunt vocati set pauci vero electi (Matt. 20:16)</td>
<td>the Last Judgement, but the nature of this verse holds strong connotations of judgement. Many are called but few are chosen. One must forsake sin and do good works in order to come to heavenly joy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 471, 131v-133v (p2179)</td>
<td>Second half thirteenth century</td>
<td>Sexagesima; Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias (Matt. 20:1)</td>
<td>Matt. 20:1-16, the parable of the vineyard is given. It is not interpreted along the lines of Doomsday in this instance. No direct references to this parable’s significance with regards the Last Judgement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C.751, 1r-25v (p2197)</td>
<td>Early fifteenth century</td>
<td>For the Dead</td>
<td>The Sermon of Dead Men. The four last things: death, judgement, hell and heaven. Covers a lot of issues to do with death in a very interesting way. Also deals directly with the Last Judgement. It’s too detailed to note down here.</td>
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<th>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Liturgical Occasion</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, University College MS 28, 86r-88r (p2249)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Unidentified; Intra in gaudium domini tui (Matt. 25:21); Ecce, venio cito reddere unicuique iuxta opera sua (Apoc. 22:12); Matt. 25:14-30, the parable of the talents</td>
<td>The lord who entrusted his talents to his servants signifies Christ who will ask his servants on the day of judgement to account for the gifts that he has given them. Those who have been slothful and not performed good deeds or repented of their sins will be cast into darkness; those who have done good deeds and repented will be invited to enter heaven. Mentions Vale of Josaphat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, University</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>On Burial</td>
<td>Augustine says that there are three types of death. The first is physical death, the second is the</td>
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<td>Manuscript Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>College MS 28, 88r-90r (p2251)</td>
<td>Early to mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Death of the soul (both of these are elaborated upon in the sermon, including a useful summary of purgatory), the third is the death of both body and soul. These latter people will be damned at the day of judgement. Christ will appear with his wounds and shoot three arrows. He will command the dead to rise up. He will accuse the damned of not carrying out the seven works of mercy. He will banish them to hell. Therefore, all Christians should repent and do penance so that they are ready for the last days.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, University College MS 97, 162-170r (p2269)</td>
<td>Early to mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Author: John Gregory OSA. The sermon is predominantly about blood. There is one reference to the Last Judgement in the summary, on f. 166v: apparently there are three types of blood, according to scripture, the third of which is pain, by which is meant the pain of the Last Judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 89v-92r (p2356)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>On Obstinacy of the Heart, Mouth, and Deeds</td>
<td>A scathing appraisal of people’s unwillingness to worship God. One should think how the Last Judgement will be a day of wretchedness and the reminder of this will make a person cold as frost, and this cold fear will chase away the flies of impious words.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 179r-181v (p2421)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>On Fear of Punishment</td>
<td>The fifteen signs of the Last Judgement are listed. Three books will be opened against the person who is out of charity: that of the passion, the conscience, and the book of life. St Augustine says that the person to be damned will have a dreadful time: the Judge will be above, Hell beneath, sins on the right, devils on the left, the conscience within, and about him the burning world.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 213r-214v (p2449)</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century</td>
<td>On the Windlass, Rope, and Bucket</td>
<td>The windlass is contemplation of death, judgement, and hell, the Church, and Heaven. The rope for this windlass must have three links: steadfast faith, hope, and charity. The bucket hanging on the rope is the desire for goodness. One should think of the dreadful Judgement. Let the rope of belief be wound down with the windlass of the mind to this dreadful Judgement so as to believe that anyone in deadly sin will be cursed by God into endless fire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury School MS 3, 67v-73r (p2468)</td>
<td>Late fifteenth century</td>
<td>Octave of Epiphany (?)</td>
<td>All should fear the Last Judgement when Christ’s mercy will be replaced by justice. As the sun passes from the sign of the lion to the sign of the virgin and then into the sign of the weights, so Christ was strong and righteous before his incarnation, merciful on earth, and will be just when he weighs the thoughts, words, and deeds of each person. Christ will shoot three sharp arrows on that day of judgement. The first will be the summons when the voice of the son of God will call the ‘cursyd caytyffe caryon’ to judgement. The wicked will write the just cause of their own damnation in the book of their consciences with their own hands and read it themselves. Then they will come before the Judge. The wicked will see the saved who are borne up on the day of judgement through God’s mercy. When the Jews came to arrest Christ, they shrank away in fear at his voice; how much more terrifying will his voice be when he comes in majesty and judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury School MS 3, 73r-75r (p2470)</td>
<td>Late fifteenth century</td>
<td>First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany</td>
<td>As Christ says, many are called but few are chosen because many ignore his call. As people prepare for an appearance in court when</td>
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<td>Type of Gospel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 1v-3r (p2485)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>The sermon addresses the multiple comings of Christ: his incarnation, to each Christian soul, in death, and in judgement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 3r-4v (p2486)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Second Sunday in Advent; Erunt signa, etc. (Luke 21:25)</td>
<td>This gospel speaks of a dreadful warning for sinners, the wonderful coming of the righteous judge, and the joy for all those who hate sin. The signs in the sun, moon, and stars show the elements mourning the fate of sinners and show how terrible the coming of the Last Judgement will be. Jerome describes fifteen signs that will occur on the fifteen days before the Last Judgement. God gives people time to amend and they waste it in fear and doubt. All people will see Christ coming in judgement with his humanity glorified, accompanied by angels and saints. A cloud will hide his majesty from the damned (interesting, as normally the most threatening thing to sinners is that they will come face to face with the Judge. However, the threat here is that the damned will never bask in the Theophany.) The earth, sea, and heaven will be purged by the fire that precedes Christ’s coming in judgement (cp. Cursor Mundi).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 25v-27v (p2508)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16</td>
<td>The parable of the workers in the vineyard, but without a Doom interpretation, other than the intrinsic ones associated with this parable – eternal joy at the end of the working day.</td>
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<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 82r-84v (p2559)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Ninth Sunday after Trinity; Luke 16:1-9</td>
<td>The parable of the unjust bailiff. In this gospel Christ teaches Christians to be aware of their status in the world, of the account they must give at the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 95v-98r (p2571)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity</td>
<td>Last Judgement, and of the need to make friends who can help them at that time. God will call everyone at the moment of death to give an account of how they have used their soul, body, and temporal goods. There are no excuses when accused by one’s own conscience and no opportunities to repent. Since this judgement is so hard, one must be aware of one’s own weakness and have friends for support. One should give alms to all the needy but particularly to those poor men who follow Christ in voluntary poverty and who will be judges with him in heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 106v-109r (p2581)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14</td>
<td>At the day of judgement all will rise at the age of thirty-two (this seems to vary regularly, from thirty to thirty-three usually), the age at which Christ died, whether or not they reached that age and height in their lifetime. Matt. 6:24-33, Christ’s teaching on trusting in God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 111v-113v (p2586)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 18:23-35</td>
<td>The parable of the marriage feast. Although the people refused God’s first two invitations and killed his messengers, he persisted in his goodness, sending messengers to the roads to summon both the good and the wicked. It is only at judgement that he will separate them. On earth there is the opportunity to decide whether to head towards Heaven or Hell. At judgement sinners who cannot answer the Judge’s questions will be cast into the further darkness of Hell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 106v-109r (p2581)</td>
<td>c. 1409-1413</td>
<td>Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14</td>
<td>The parable of the dishonest steward. At the Last Judgement the king will ask his servants to give a reckoning of all their actions. At the Last Judgement Christ will say to the sinner the words that the lord said to his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
servant. These words show the power of prayer in gaining forgiveness. Now Christ speaks words of comfort but at the judgement he will be sternly righteous in asking people to give back what they have taken from God, what they owe, and what they have borrowed.

| Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 113v-115v (p2588) | c. 1409-1413 | Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:15-21 | Christ’s teaching on paying tribute to Caesar. At the Last Judgement Christ will ask all people whose name and image is on their souls. Those who bear the image of the Emperor of Heaven will enter Heaven; those who bear the image of the devil will be sent to Hell. All should be aware that they will be weighed in the balance; they must be silver (pure in intention), not copper (hypocritical); they must be whole (full of love), round (persevering in goodness), shiny (chaste), and new (repentant). God will accept the tribute paid by those who are good and truthful and they will enter heaven. Boethius says that the image of God is replaced in the souls of sinners by images of lions (proud), pigs (lecherous), bears (gluttonous), snakes (covetous), wolves (greedy), and dogs (backbiters). | 101 |
Appendix 3: Images

(1) London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A. ii

(a) f. 4r
(c) f. 4r, detail, initial

(d) f. 4v detail, initial
(e) f. 4v detail, gutter
(h) f. 5v, detail, gutter

(i) f. 5v, detail, initial
377

(j) f. 6r
(n) f. 110v, detail, gutter
null
(2) London, British Library, Harley MS 26
(a) f. 60v, detail, bottom half
385

(d) f. 61v
(e) f. 61v, detail
(3) London, British Library, Harley MS 2276
(a) f. 3v
(b) f. 3v, detail

(c) f. 3v, detail, guide letter

(d) f. 3v, detail
(g) f. 4v, detail, top half
(4) London, British Library, Harley MS 2383
(a) f. 85v, detail, bottom half

(b) f. 86r, detail, top half
(c) f. 86r, detail, bottom half
(d) f. 86v, detail, top half

(e) f. 86v, detail, bottom half
(f) f. 87r, detail, top half

(g) f. 87r, detail, bottom half
(j) f. 88r, detail, top half

(k) f. 88r, detail, bottom half
(5) London, British Library, Harley MS 2339
(a) f. 2r
(b) f. 2v

of Judas pe tranour. 7 for to be bolden wip booudis. and as ameke lombe for to be led to sleunge of sacrifies before pe list of annas. 7 raphas. and cronde. vnservingly for to be offred. and for to be arrisid of false witnesses. 7 for to be hid wip betyns and herones.

7 for to be curised wip porps.
7 for to be bulbret wip hout.
7 for to be dere wip bussins.
7 for to be preshed wip charpnes of wyches. 7 for to be must wip pe crogh breute two pears.
7 for to be zowen to drynke galte and syser. 7 for to be wound
wip a aspere f pou lord porz pele moost holy peynes pe
wincze j vinwzrpi ivetthe ve
here. and porz pin hau rons. pat is pi padion. dehyere me
sto ye peyne of helle. t vouche
you laaf to led me usp yee ito
padus. when pou leddis pe
peef yee which was crucified yee
pee. pere to be usp pin holy au
gas uspoutes send e neveA
seunt ausyn ye doctour ma
de yis otrton pat bolowsy

Dumne ihi xhe qui hue
unedi t e lord xhi cust
pat comest too pe boli of ye
dur into yis 1world; for us syners.
(d) f. 38v

...that be forsaken; which shilde...weddyngis for foule lustis of flesh, and if it offride oure erety ping to holy churche to pore men. It dide for pis eende, to have more plente of woorldy goodis. This ferv nibauns upon ather/how crist thal appere at domesday. Fiustyn in ye book of hire servois, m alerno qui pat bigynep pus in pis present lyf/Crist i pe doom thal scheue to alle bitholdynge pe woundis p' pricyngis of natti pe came body wyoute doute whi...
pe erpe wis wyn hondis. 7 I ha
we sett pe in y proudis which
you dismounted nor, but you dis-
pulled me to my commandments,
yaddist lenere to the pe duleyd
p° is pe devet, wherespe thou
summed bi null
deyned to pe tormentis of hell
after I hadde mete on pe. and
took flesh e. dwette in erpe a
among syneris. I suffrede dispu
lyngis 7 betyngis for pe. for to
deluyere pe. I reluyede buf
fens 7 cyngis; forto zene to
pee pe luyetude of prouis /f
drum vynegre wis galle /f is
rowned wis poruus for pe. /
was naide to pe nos 7 pe exude alspere/sor pee 3 was put in sepul
cre/3 rede down to helus; for to be
ge pee xzen to padus/1 beunt to
deknetis of helus; yt poun shul
dist regne in heune/renale poun
zuentz e m nowe what yis
3 suffride for see/lo pe wondys whi
the 3 restynede for see; to pe hoo-
lis of nayhus bi which 31 was naide
3 hangide in pe aos/3 restynede
pi sorossis for to heele see; 3 re-
teynde peyne forecasts zene gilne
to see/3 took deep; pat pou shul
dist lyne wiponten sende/3 lay bid
3 segnitae; pat pou shulde regne
in heune/3 suffride alle pelen pigns
fozoun/ grettere pan yele wist
ounte fdo tozoun f I dide not/
terie to me now. qi scheghte
what ze suffrendem for mezouren
tord; qi what good ze han doen
tozoun lif:/ whâne fI was god in
tisible f unpassible; f wolde lif
fie forzoun wuldly. fozoun fI was
maad man/ whâne fI was riche;
fI was maad nedf furzoun/butze
eucte sylakynge my mektielle
f myn heettis; fucen worfe pe dis-
syonour. pat is pe deuel pan me/
lo now my riztfulnete man nou
of piz deeme; no but pat. ptzoe
werke disteruen/ pÏôre holdeze p:
patze han cholesn ze han dispitid
A stanza from a medieval manuscript.
getyng kehyng/but bi you
candis of yowland zealz.schul
tc be turmcnd in helle; t neye
schulen be dethycnd pens wth
outen ende/where he pat tur-
menty.18 neyere maad seynt;
the pat is turmcnd. schal ne
the die/for tiler wraety lo pere;
pat it reserva erere/so turmcn-
tis ben doon; pat eue pere be
newid/wy pemaner of syne;
eth man lchal suffre ye peye
of helde/f02 ye no pfg lchal be
hewd; no but wepige 2 wethge
7 guakyng of trep/ye lthal be
noon oyn comfort; panlaus-
mes 7 dews of peynes; and
Ye wreathis schulen biene eure
m everlastynge fier into worldis
of worldis/her we wol leerne how
schul go w⁄ of enempe./how we le
who eure countrypes ye a
pouland paseys/go pon wip hi
opn twyne/Soyeth zeue pon
to hi pat assy of pee;/tunne yt
not aubei so hi pat wole hale
we of pee/opn twyne/2ot p'
pon go m feer; be redy m soute
for m cister storie//which is ao
toyne; no lich pung is tooden to
be doon of leynis or of ye lord
hi lif;/sypen almost alle plans
von tyndust hem to have ber
to suffre wip patent soule.
(k) f. 62v
Who so wolde have the mynde
ye dredefull day of doom.
do se he may be woned upp drede
to the tro slyne, as ye usle
man biddyn his fone. Temo
zare now aima tua; t ieteruii
non peabis pat is haue unynde
de of pe laste wyngeis; p is ye
day of doom. t it schal kepe p e
pio slyne, hizze zoith tynde
liuwhat wroten perof. howe ye
lord spekyng bi plaie pe zphere
cejuge yus. Egenderian dus
de loco suo., ut vitter miquita
tem habutos tre./ p is. oure
lord schal wende out of his pla
to to visite pe wickidness of
Here pat enhabiten pe erpe, certis pis doom schride be love, treuyly drede for as myche as he dow now man; so myche that he pane do drete vengable an wylknele; sikor it is of god. In kne as it is of pe line, pe line holdynge his cours, passyn out of pe ligne of peuon into pe ligne of pe virginu, and out of pe ligne of pe virginu into pe ligne of pe balanue. Peuon is a strong beat at sel. And in pe ligne was est pe line of wyllneste. Before pe mariage, sikor he was pane to sel. Ysfhit man y't hral hile biddynge.
anoon he schulde be deed/for
as it is said/Aman was done
to pe deep./for he grantide Luc-
kas on pe laboth day./But out
of his signe of pe liou; he pas-
side unto pe signe of pe virgyn.
whane he took mankynde/and
was born of pe virgyns mane.
And pain was he made more
redi to do mete/peu eiehe was
to bemaunce/pawne it bign.
Set it lastip./he spede wha-
ne he was in pe signe of pe liou
Arma que permanet ipa mori-
cetur/pa ris./pe soule pe synnep.
it that die/now whane he is in
pe signe of pe virgyn./rip suis.
Nolo mortem pereant: se
magis ut conretatur + vult
et is. Wole not pe day of this
here; but more pat he be tamed
pse + lyue. But certis out of pe
tigne of pe purgyn. He shal pas
se unto pe tigne of pe balaur
at pe day of doom. Where he lay
were alle our pouzis. Words
+ oure werkis me enche pres of
his utwunyelle. Pe he may sa to every man after pe trupe of his
desert. And what he shal ynu
do. Yere pou what he lay now
bi pe phete Congregado qui
con mala; et sagraus mens com
plebo mens. patris. filio hept
Upon he her puyn that I schal
uf-ynde alle myne arwys up
on hem pre scharpe arwys
schulen be schort of oure lord on
par day upon he yt ye schulen
be durned ye turte arwys
shal be of clepping to ye doom.
whāne as in litel ley béuer ho
za ye oures qui j monnueis
lunt undan voom láy der t
paddle qui bona egerunt in
resürmoune vte qui bero ma
la. in resürmouen midiai pat
is préne schal come that at
le po ye ben i gruus i schul he
re pe voos of ye foue of god.7
lo part sory to doom, pāre pe
and are ye sori peyne of ye
sine ye delus y ye wond
wellis lip I passide in pce. I
hawe buik brent in helie Cur
did be you helie brood ordered
to ye ser of helie yt neuer stial
be quenched Curled be ye tymne
yn ye which 3 was first conplaid
to pce. for now 3 was not leuen
pce. ye cured amounpaye 3 may
not elsewise voide 3 or nyde. 3 am
converted to be putt azen to ye
so we shere togidere before ye
erd ong domela. ye stoa bec
ome everlastinge damnacion
yne shulen alle wickide me se
ye mæ cause of her owne damag
(s) f. 66v

Haad wi ten wi herowse hou
dis m pe book of her constanc
bope lewed and lewed t reed
hen lif / And if you last par-lew
wid men can not reed.

It is noon so lewed pat he ne
Can reed ye lettre of his owne
wrtyng / pâne pat he lewde le p
dowlesman as he were wood
for wrappid azen he / Of pis
woodnesse and pis is wrappe he
lup ye wherit in ye irte some
of penance where he prey to be
delyuerd of hem boye sainge
pis / Homme ne m furde no
argues me / ney / in mati co
ripus me / pat is lord in pis wo
(t) f. 67r
of helle pr neuer lchal hau en
de pe whish is erud in pe usad
nuude of god F

Al pis pe where
damp he in spirit and payse
the wipplone or fun syns &
lynge of vuynyy to be cur-
cupir first any to be deuynd
of helle. 4 syns of

saynse pis/ Donnne ne will
towe + 3 As if he said pis to 4

understondynge lord 7 buethe
pee pr in pe dresful day of toow.
where you shalt shewe you to
syns as aman pr were usu-
ly aynge no ping. pr you are
come me not wy thow thow 7 final
conclusion. so pr - th be not cony.
(v) f. 68r

...the estate in that maketh movenement of everlastyng reprof for argyng as dyr...as grace good lord so to argue and to overcome with suit of praiseful...where is it well is there of never had her...and doth condense them...of never alone bynge to...unto fyr to god by...divert chastement of my lif...here where is thyne; lo y have no wise...
aestris licet in pugnantia
per it ut be pus/antecore me duce
cuiusque munus tu/hane merito
me lord for iam hunc tymptw
tere ete cap. pr is to sac. pr ar
gruuge tu pe doom. ne pr chat
sitement i purgatore but fiend
be pr te be up bown wp pr men
o. pr dreadful day of our lord
pene scheid alle vitade meng
se ye sitte mi pe doom wp crud.
whom pei han dispud here and
mi pris sit be troubl wp acli
able drede. seynge pe word of
pe wiseman. hy sunt quos ad
quando hinni m densus et
nos m densus et pat. 16. pele
ven po. pe whiche limynte we
hadden in storn & disput. we
vnnity wrecis heeldē her hit
woodenette. & her ende wipoure
hounour but to now now pe be
awumid among pe iones of god
pane among al pt multitude pe
shall nor synde oon pt shall ha-
ue compassion of he. but alle
shullen be glad & concert with
god. Ther wst damuandum
att ye word of pe clam feyn
ge pus/letabur manus ai in
der vendicam. yat is. ye zt
wysman shal be glad whan
he shal be veiuer. pane as
ust leyn in pe gospel pe stynē
sche for to cutte into manye of
stooynes and into pe fowles of
ye cerye. Sio pe dereful lare of ow
lord i pare schulen pe pe mon
teyns to selle upon hem. I holms
to hide hem. To woo yekhull
be on every side. And pis is pe wo
de of ye first arouse. Pe londe
arouse schall be an arouse of thyn
repaynge of alle fals men
whanne he schall see to hem pis
I was an hungrid. 7 szezaun me
no mete. I was aynt. 7 szezaun
me no dryn. I was nakhid. 7 sze
szezaun me no slope. I was age
7 szezaun me no herboce. I was
sylly 7 m plo. 7 sze vulnde men.
we dide me no comfort. D. ush
pis vois shal be dreedful. wha
er shal be lend to hem, pat as oft
as pei diden uot pele prugis to
ony p’t nede hadde in his name.
so oft pei diden hem nowxt to hi!
and no wondr pour pis vois
shal be dreedful. at pe day of doo:
ypen we reden w’ pe gospel p’t
wha ne he come w’ forme of a
servant for to be deemed of pe sa
le vis: shide to hem p’t souz’ for
to take hi. I am he. and nnoon pei
reden abak + fallen to pe crye / p’t
he p’t wha ne he was deedly ran
to be deemed hadde to ferdful a
bois. p’t wip his o.ward pruse to
(Ac) f. 71r

Paniter accusatus fuerit. et con

demn in re iuris constitu

cui prudenter et omnis creatura de

in suscipit contra eum et vindicta

gamus ut satis est vox de

ad luctuendum patris whan

pe syrul rant shall be accused

his owne consacie shall vere

wytelle azens hym & every crea

ture of god shall rise azens hi in

violante gruous as an arouse woudi

shall yane be ye voys of god to

systre &nd ye where fermye say

Sagmas vulnerans linguas eius

pat is ye rige of hi shall be as

an arouse woudinge &nd pis is

ye leunde arouse & pe frinde arouse
(Ad) f. 71v

'cvtis be an arrowe of eneyses
damnatiou of all euride me
whanne he shal dic to hem
maledicd in igni eterni quia
apat? diabolo et angeli cs
per
To ze currind wizus into emerac
thyngs tier. pe which is ordyned
to pe faynd and to pe angels of
his pis arrowe chtal wonde he p
et fally ou so gresously. pr alle
pe lemys tliciuns and lynciuns.
ne zzt alle pe acrums theone
7 therpe chtal not mouwe here pe
wonde of it. pane chtal pe onc
therpe livorowe he don unto helle
where per chtal be turneund is
trendis cunmore wipouen cender
But alas ye ben 1 drede ful
wande ye 2 newere wolde bileue
pele pyngis ou pei felse hem 2f
whom cefy cefut Cusebic pus
ve ve quibz est datum pyns
hor centre cun corder 26 2oo wod
be to he to whom it is zouen m
je to felse pse pyngis pan to bi-
leue hem And pyns ye woside
of ye pynde arwive But pane
chal cast turne to he ye 24 schulen
be ou his moltide 2 lec y 2 to he
bene sue benedict patres mei pa
pne regni quod vosis partrt
est apate med ab orgine mundi
ye 2s come to me ye ye ben pe
blessed children of my fader z be


The text is a medieval manuscript written in Latin.

Verbatim transcription:

"I present of my love to the king
who was ordained for you
in my father to begin the
of the world. So which king
who and love he by your us,
who bought us with his precious
blood. Amen. Here is the
creeds of the apostles. And the
sleep among your mother, how much
woman may love to love
true god and this degree and
be established by the sacred
Respiscite volans ad
Let us see the son of
women for to have may
love. How per herdes love god
In erpe ben pre degrees of cot."
not we of which ye looked yde
And to ye radour ye the ennemate
Scheusist ye wondis yet on yow
How schulde ye of ye mere myde
Pere ye s manye helpers be hade
Now thow lord ye wert us wyle
And yhil we yse sich gyk us lond
But we nowe bids wy pryblie
Wy angels wyld wyld wyld wyld
Pat to ye chosene ordefned is
Mere thys wole amende Tames
Here bythynyn pe ye argumen
Tis ye deluel wil pyn to now
In his digne
He fyrste argumen pat he
Wole make is pis poise
Hast doon mayse grete roode
(Ah) f. 101r

From your number, to the time that you could come into your day and now you have no hope to do satisfaction for the same. For in the last hour and God is not forlorn nor partly done be vouchsafed. Wherefore by goddis rest with me you must redeem. There be war of ye land seend and little by not why ye sleep to come up in his days mercy. But is of the word of God come out then and in his manner. I put it before and his face speakid red. To day and night, yet God as you last is astil, but his eye passup
And first, for ascertaining the identity of the person named, let us look to the will, for an example of what we have here: and now let us see, with him, what we have here, and what we have here, what we have here, and what we have here. For all these things, if I have said what we could have said, I should have been, and he shall never do me harm. For the same argument, pat he wole make his pis. I was doomed as you wold wot the way by some al souly, and you both, as hym's unsoundable, as are none of more generous, and you were, pat pane of god wole do me, pat dide but only a true, and some pee pat hast do som the whole nedis be unsound, which
will not be/when/ne by Goddis unto
wuschisse you must nedis be dumped
ved first hole him out at pe point
and ansiverse him in pis next cur-
and send pe hymne pat you did sire

didst it of pis owne grete maler

without only ope strange and pe
hymne pat y done did it at weynge
of ye erous sent pat yong
gift in awate night and day upon
me for grete cause pat you had
pat y shold resore pe place y gave
false and also at pe change of
my flesh the which I may not fle
away and also at pe change of
world pat is sure to face my pe-

sen and the yis cause pe blessed and
mercyful lord azeu whom I ofte

dide took my kynde to saue me

and neuer my kynde to saue ye.

And pus / hope of his meri, to be

saue for alle my synnes / he as

you ariet fedd. shalt be dumpt

ved for pat son shunt pe yud

de argument pat he wole make

is yis I was pe brete stigl in

heuwe / and knews pe pe justi-
es of god / and pere z knew to

fors who schulde be dumpted / 7

who schulde be saued / 7 among-
ove / knews pat you schulde be

dumpted / and pat pe is before

ordyneyed of god may not be

chaung / wherfore you muste
nedis be damned. But take God to ye help, and soorde on in pis battle. and hode in at ye swerdeis point, and pone you shall not faile to have pe better, and cle to hym in pis maner, and fis send pis hayume be ye culum. Why lesyngys to tuggle man, as Crist usnelly of ye, you an shore and sabir of lesyngys, for why ye lesyngys you disencedist ome ait nce in nades, and why ye lesyngys you vold not have disenced of lord. And Crist. Perfore I wonde not pouz you why ye lesyngys wordist nucame me. Still fad.
It is your best where you last, yet you knew no one who
should be saved, and who should be damned for you knew
not ye your own damnation
and if you knew not ye your own damnation why the more
you knew not my soul and so for all your aside teachings. I hope
to be men of God. Ye shall never be men to despise
as you would and yet shall overcome him into my peace. Now
of yestrate he shall turn
his hand and the and heart is
evermore and thus shall
have religious virtue of
(Ap) f. 116r

As I sit, I take the hope and desire of God to redeem me and for you to be unitive of the world in the kingdom of this. I pray that God grant us all to be big that we may see the commandments of God. You shall be wise, God's knowledge and wise. This is the way of life, to be wise and good. If you do good and worship God, you shall be blessed. And you shall live in peace and rest.
In utroque word ne verbica.

Tu sit ultra helle penezobons pug.

Si gale ne muen ne wisgu haldig.

Hou salt in heke fals unnesig.

In word ne dete make no lestig.

Hi nezebors ho losene ynon.

Ne viumole te pug-sted ne ton.

Hi nezebors wiy delere ynonz.

Sennunt ne duzt ne dy pung onzt.

Hede ben ye hezus ten.

Dat good comandry to alle men.

Who so wole to heene go.

Repe he alle brexe noon of po.

Pele beg wery delyt hines pru.

Pride is heed of al kyus hine.

P takey merys soule flo god way.

Wusude lyttes he wole ap.
And lo them to mythe his owyne noblay
Hick he preyde in his pouzt
And open he satte at mouzt
Sunne solowyd piz comoly
Whane we faren we he is corp
Whane we fare puel he wole p wynne
He lanzez nede but at summe
Wrappe into pese two is knydt
To take velenice is al his witt
So tie to knydt to nurse 1800
So wane folk to slaundre all
She confort ma know no skille
She al his world man his not fille
She worldis weelwe he wille ay
Wynnut 02 wrong gete 13e he wille
Slovenhe may gret appete
So ete certe 18 his delte
He loued womannes of lovese
And as he wolde bedrinkinge
She his sone re lechere
To wende a soul in Worthy nor
But wen it leue the ameule
Jusst out of helpe pe sone be yere
Stouwes is awchid ping
Sfor it is ye ye wer of weel doute
Good Dryk he lopy to ymage
And lysthe sone he wolde blisse
These ben pe sones blisse
pat renen men pe was of blisse
pe wy. blisses azes pe wy. deh fyns
Wy styncke sones wy. werd hede
ys heede is ownede se man wele synge
The blisse morth ell in my shekes
pound man, pe blisse
If you be wise, take wisdom, behold, ye lesson pat ye see the best way. My mouth ye nail it good, therefore so piece be you not be wise. In all my trust upon ye rode, one zazen me deus, x ist u. God, ycel, galle for to drinke. Sotou peril y rode y see puer.
Where is my soul? It is my will,

For love of man, pat was till the

Cruel and rough man of love you left

Take up unless out of pi bed

And whold me my feet are spoyled

And nai and taste upon ye me

Panke me place at was for ye

Thou for pi wounds thyse

Pou kepe hem well in all her lyne

Pat peset lewde over woledre

And pervip her lousy stede

Peset be ye wyn werkus of thi bodi

Sent poui pe apostle? say be

How ale zour werkus thame

For werk of merci anly noi

But it in charite be wrouzt

With thi discretion + good wil.
you liete ye breeed pe hungre til
The netesful pote ye mat ri chvysike
pat pase zene peen of ye dzmike
On straige ned men pon wynne
and harknow he pi sho livwe.
On netesful naid you cauf ye lyst
and hop ye he as yu misst.
The pater brete ca in dyke
wherin comfort hem to prese.
Lod sed po yat in wyson ehe
you wondere hem in alher care.
G me po brede yat yete han
so dre tone pat hlyy men.
Thelwen po use lis dwene
mis vege he p trede hame ben.
pele ben pe wy werkus of wn goth.
Take sch men wap charter.
So kepe goddis hevest busi to be
do contace ech man wiht inside same
so take y* web y* ledyn to heaven
now chastise men bi word * dre
par shynen * letten verbi undre
omisort alle men i trustis lawe
par yrhis zok love pnu to drawe
hozene * veriane rake ynu nouzt
helpe heth to god * thá to y* ins wurt

c sustynge man in el disele
And charge nouzt pounz me * dypele
And the for ech man krenz * so
ve gospel liddyn ynu (chat * do
of yve werkis gostli erl * sii aple
whane he his doom chat dene * dre
yve ben ve leune lacunchs y* shon
these ben ve launcenius sheron
(Ax) f. 120r

pet pat pet am to lob cho the
Sal tweer in pis wer to heune
if pen wey sap trave love warthe
For pay han been to to bille
Grace pat pet signe fe
affue position be of me eto
im dene Gue if pat he die
Giff le sinter op isting
pet of the line he is fater ene
pet of pet ser oginal fe
ge spes pa in my me quyt the
Giff le santer un fermyg pan
en lye schip en ange stid
if le hoge sa cene cam
pet by sper en teared
che m. sinter is neather
pet dey anuer al actue! Giff
(Ay) f. 120v

Hope venal + death is souvereign
And we know the case ness y
The satisfaction of plaint is present
First so of base + impis
Crisis bokt blood here fore
So sirkpe nad goth szempen
The tipe is aire of present
But which s he of go poes
So mon the from the othe
And the go the city where
The y. sacrament is pleshe
Wesker shat is leid in her shen
So later say thousands to go shen
And so he was of great maye

Anciently may holde me
In pace sleep whenever
His expected for sone past
Thee that here me goodnesse shewe,
And not out of straunge euyl to drawe.

A thinge that may not more be drawn
But of the birth of men.

Thee that here me goodnesse shewe.

Thee that here me goodnesse shewe.
(Ba) f. 121v

pat esse men schulden rule unyue

esse ben pe sune Seven Goodes

Hane mynd ep bis puentie schal sliche

et ou grett peyue p+ sones schal sliche

Volere p+ goodes vnne be wounz

p+ delechun will de leter et wounz

Rute pe ep bi restoinz

isse po p+ be und yee aff p+ mynt

wundode goodes kydenes f+ men

And yee azen p+ vnkynde foul

magyn to alle men goodes

magyn no wrongue falle

of sune seynt pe rulere p+ p+

pat helpen awar to heuen e blis

esse ben grand tofne mer

Emzyn God to meztual

In seduce you make us restonable
To serve thee here
And yet to Lord you make us able
To be fed at your heavenly table
With all plentiful in here amen

This pat didst on pe rode
To feed many's soul in heaven rode
And now hast fed us here
You make us able pe to serve
Pat thesele higur we neve serve
This list of pi face to clear

And y'pas bone grund may be
See we apater under tau awe
Pat Lord pou us defende
His fat be of pe world to find
And freines of pe flesh to hant
And freines of pe feende/aum
Sineas afose foper

That pat brede brak at pe top selire
Wis he apostis twelve
Wele our brede and our ale
And ye we have thawe shale
And seue us wip him self
And grante us grace of our lord
Of brede of luf pat is so goode
So seue us wip our soules amen.

Sineas afose foper

Lord we pley susynouce
Zewe us good contynuance
Pre heestis for to keepe
And weie astir to do amys
In whiche we mowe lese pley
Pat he to hawe oure soule
And pte pley bone wint wode
Sewe oure auster wole an owe.

455

(Bc) f. 122v
(b) f. 1r, detail

(c) f. 1v, detail
not be the space; we pray for company I may not it of that ye, while y or while ye am compound, to be long, a vessel to ye: God woe to God! he is so more holy, and so more holy of holy man to her o'nce. So raising sampan and pan. shall be alle dy still men. So ye just cause of her o'nce dampan. to done alle the o'nce bound. m ye holy of her o'nce compound. the which fetches both loved & lead. shall be her sit from sol. and if y say, yo love in son time not rede of sat y yo, then to lead. if ye can red. of her of his o'nce don't more pan pay shall be. so to do more, as he did dead for drugs a zero her. of pan doth anise & pro, drag. to the ye, in the, am. & pay shall be sold. of her both payng. pu. We mean for the two annuals me new in 14th, com and the great ye land, in pi od & ese. if come no not. of stay to that is done not in pi, drap. we mean. payng or drap. or done in the troubled path out of, am. finds. may be in, but more. we been set in Scripture. for ye devotion of God. in punishing & vengeance. of him in alle sinners. if don't worry to take such a punishment, of punishing as be lawful & good. nest. if ye say, pry shall be chastised, be say, if shall have a odde, as ye pitty. if which ye slay, here is drap of God. or else pry shall be say, and no drap in ye ombre say of hole. just shall be
ende. pe quod est chaotic herpe omnem of god. al
pro pecte danny securum spirit, and fove in po pone
of alle fitch piners, felung hun selice venimmaty. to
hore od oys first astith to be delind of golor. A
a word of ptratory seynst ym quaeseven me die
and iusurit that of vs. lord shawe mey on me for am
venimmaty to hore od oys yys to say. y am venimmaty
to hore pin argumint in dom. oys ym chapise mont in
ptratory. but yt be fast bye lord. oys suprorted
at pricacy. o f riestful day of our lord. comme
shullen all verted me ife. he him fast in dom et
cristos othem posb ban hore. Ays 3 e in pos fast be turckode
et an oryble doede. seynst pe word of ys dysomen
he fit spes aliqui multum habritiel et in altitudine
in accor roset of seitas vita rapor. Armamentum fama
et sine allooe sine honore. Quoqui egeo cepit inhi
ficius de tere socr yd alle est. Ego exarmia ma
zravitat. et existinct. cum ad luxit. nobis et salutell
fremce non et otrus nobis lassati sunt. in viribus et
ediocione. et amblarum modo difficilis oda ante
din ignorantam]. Eum nobis specth suphia. ant dim
vax nots ana mae nobis contilli. Transcendit oda illa
tangyr ambra. er virtutis mundi multii signi valce
in sектere in malistante autem nostra confirmari
simil, et yu repese ben pae ym obseth simi tymo. De
haddin in ro frunve. e m to rihed of shoufrusea
(f) f. 2r, detail
We anthyn dierchis bliske her head, deduced a here
ende de alten bonum, but he now hed pay ben a con
tron, a mong ye sones of god, a mong ye seynitu
of god. ye lot of hem ye, before we hano sorred fie
pe aye of trempe. pe lot of vyre, this ha
to, to w. pe some of understanding hap
not sroge to w. pe pe some of understanding hap
not sroge to w. we ben made down in the aye of
divtindue. pe god, and pe we had good hand, doyes.
for pe aye of pe land, de thing not, what hith
ygh be afeeted to w. or heest of nichers. what hith
be heest to w. alle pe se yng w han pasides. as a
chardoe. te de for pype mon schales no tobes of
holynesse. for we ben dasted, monye divtindues.

Than a monge al of multitude of seynities, pey shule
not frise a cy. pey shule noTES, and w. ha
sone compassion of howes, but al
shula be gladde. te consente a god. te con
ygh unter gynastion. as pe gys to dampe wyne, unter byying
yn debet na, unter conditium, te forgul
ysman. pey shula be gladde. w. ha w.
shula be gladde. te gys to gremame to
pyn as czyst putc him selfo te pey shula be dohos
for to enyyn m to rysbey. of sone. in to sna
des of roemes, for pe deathful fate of om de
name pey shula beo prayed monye praye. pe te fall,
up on hem. te hilsed for to hide howe, fe pe psy
alan in myn side. te pe ye po unside of the fyr
The second ann.
also falsly spyn
prof. of was a houndrid c,
was a presto i je faste me
i je faste me no clothys. i was a l
me no herbendy. i was fete i madon c
not me mouse. goden me any confort. i what
i was noto shall be ducful. shamanent shall be seyde
to hym. as ente as i was ducen not yo se ducen
of mey. to any of his y no se hadde. so ento yo
sead not to hym. And no elonu myz prd noyo
shall be ducful in pe day of som. sehe the noden
in yo gospex. pat dean ent in pe formes of a
formanent to bo somed of yo fals rodeos. he fend:
pepton to take hym i am ho. a now payen a
a bise fallen adone to pe orde. if he prihan ho
was body com to be thamy. e hadde b poweful a
noy at his adove powd to po gnide som
my mon of pe reedt. a pow mo ro poweful noyo
that he hand. when he shall come endy. in his
rest of holy diengcolte of porites for to somo
pe quid e pe dode eio man after he hath be
spend. a now pow poyp redom now patronstilla. qod
fervant ent andre sesint temtrid mismindtis
and qud poternt notther. pat yo eithen man
(l) f. 4r
(7) London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B. xxiii

(a) f. 56r
(d) f. 56v
(h) f. 57r, detail

(i) f. 57r, detail

(j) f. 57r, detail
(m) f. 59v, detail

(n) f. 60r, top half
(o) f. 60r, bottom half

(p) f. 60r, detail
(q) f. 60v, top half

[r] f. 60v, bottom half
(s) f. 60v, detail

(t) f. 60v, detail
(u) f. 89r, bottom half
(v) f. 89v

[Text from the image]
[Handwritten text from the image]
(8) London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160

(a) f. 26v, top half
(e) f. 29v

(f) f. 29v, detail
at what knowledge the first came of the end of the world, therein answering he and saying,
sumnia signa in fi die tribui faga and party that shall he signed in the same for the none and in the penned and in other a monte the secondly for confusion of men of the se and of
those men convergint they of the ferndness and there and redemption the signe the shall come fencies to all the world the end for
understanding of heathen
shall be mined. Time shall then be the same of
men converging in the churches of heathen earth
that passed and many the signe ye be the
tokens be time of he a gone beyond. He holde
and be your name fame and reason and shall none pass
be, and be example be hold the figure twice
and all else twice that there anhe se be ye of
the figure in rape ye knowe well ye that it is
my heareth might be signe ye be the tokens
be time length while the woode endeth and
the symbole of heathen as many I late great
were for these two generatons that not passe
the little time heathen and earth tale pass
and my earth be still side a kene thousand the of
off the land of the gospel of this day. The ho
Doctor report Egresry sette in the same
gospel that one lest the reginge to fande
ne al daye rode in thennest hrenstynge in no be the sriptynge
tolene of the ene of the of the seofte a meny
the sorwful day of jurnement that we wil
for nose we for nose we for tenetynge cern se
from Rome for the seofte of feint repro
that we cernynge a meny the ene of the seofte
for to be daye the repert Jerome rith in
his elborc scertext toke me ce that that
a meny the day of Rome the seofte toke me
bede ther shul fall for on god and stone a
mowed or the god or day. and other he cernynge
not that the holy dror repert Gregory sent
that many of them ben compayd Simeon in the
same he sent. shewe ese nere signed in the done
and in the pense. shewe ese nere forpensen a
mowde the people ese shewe ese on done or
order al enenangers ese han how. quailynge of
the ege ese han feld ye nel. cerved he secon vere
al ege esa on the. or in a mowde pressynge of
tristy of fixed and of cernynge a mowde
the people ese al ege simeonese and suppor
ture than one they cern
so that the thynkyn
ese mowe of holy thynkynge on any man
thynkynge in simeynge. so that al these tolene and
wixen and the toved ese sene esel not be cernynge
of simey of menu of the. and of fleshe ese by
not of yet these ben the seofte of the first
holy dror repert Gregory repert shuyne.
Se tribus signis sit inveniendus ponendus
ratio intersum inveniendus et sorte intersum
multa. In hoc modo, che est quod invenire
et 

(i) f. 31r
(k) f. 32r

tron tenet arip metin non se ort zuper folage

This is the providence. The third is dissay
ved for to diseigne the contynent for to plese
the worlde with heigne and faylunge. With the
two other contynents, the fourthe, the poverle
and the fyfte newe. Am bis hef eam in
this partis Ville Face est m partis, visites wel
more usa lantig fel in sorde frans in partis.

Sanctet. This say is pert the same. In Adam
saint is the now takeht rede. He yng in monte
sorde as mylke. Talle in heute. Difere in rede
be sanet/30:14). And the third spoke to disayte
the fourthe. Say is eceution. he uppe, ake younge
the se longsape be sef and he have the poverle
and he may not thrynge. He may not
up so met eceution ben done to th. But the op-
question appeas the pover. to have his good to
have his mylke and for his mylke yeste he be
ful or else right noster. He car not se ne
brut the the temporal of god and we re
tainot if any disayt ful to the fesinpe tur.
their fire. first he face a yeste and first and
kept it. makes 23. true est the full sampansh.
version of sedemem sine of te pend su brite
and there in the first of god were she span with de out of the world; in fest helene and phub-
nud of holy rever and out of the se
and in phute song and chartre; a pend god and
a pend hel mond bene para percuta sunt
nushawnt miji frunt fort and pend shal be
shune and supen in that time the rever sev
more in good sevked lynge and mont sa-
ne son many good seyed and sede not for
lunte of te pend suske muntil site the quid
of morn hide and inu hide sine good ysh
et mortua: that is for to say fest expe out
good sevked is on y imag of iseg for upp
ad a body move out a pouke to sed. Right it fro
and hyd fort out good sevked is in sed. And the
five thed poude are seker and susen than
ser bo se rever white son many good seyed
in sed lift thed are ye sual in the hous that
ther are my bound of sunde that is for to
et Stella Susan end be dir; Stella Mterend be
Stella susan end be dir; et Stella susiss in ter-
Orian; Stella Susan end be dir; et Stella
Mterend be dir; et suiss susa suisse
and supen de fent vinga sit et su Stella
susa et dir; et susa end suisse et suisse
susa end be dir; suisse et suisse
Stella sitens ab aeth. Stella quaevis ab aeth. Stella omnia ad aeth. et stella cadens inter
rum. Stella sitens ab aeth. Stella quaevis ab aeth. est cum Stella
miserum radin acers sunt. Sibi Stella sitens ad aeth. omnia
et sinistre in est et caelestis Stella est splendor stella
quarta stella est cadens in terram.
(p) f. 34r

501

Five hundred men be there content.

This pride I must ordre. I me kepe conses-
ion and penannou voyaige of that seyd sep-
ion and penannou voyaige and that seyd sep-
ion and penannou voyaige the to trippe. The seond se thy se-
me that was to shynge be taken over the sea by
ourt may the seynt be the seynt be saved one. drift the
to the Eynose of gentle, and the offred to the
me shynge that is to say to some under wunder
that he is seyn and man
be the shynge in under wunder. be crossed
with me shynge the shynge is under wunder. mer-
tification of fletth that is to be hodly penanci
for shynge. The third shynge is hondourous he-
ne so holy men be that is for to say and
trawles sate the said mynyng masters, con-
followed and other holy men. to come to hene
and they for may also be. say that ene written
shynge is a fletsh hondourous hene: The
faynt shynge is to either. as knifed ful
out of hene. to hede. for the faynt shynge
of pryde and shynge that folde th. all hunded
are my named of pereved. on is hene and
shynge. and more the than other. and
that taken to good men and women that
are in this tone and shynge. shynge with other
and shynge in good seynt. shynge. and
good sedge voyaige. The seond shynge is given
them that are in shynge. and in the reff.
And if any one shall not submit to the precept of good and holy men to keep the commandments of God and the holy Scriptures, let him be stung with the fear of God and the terror of death. For who is able to stand before God, who is not afraid of death? And if a man be in charity in his self and in his words, the example of charity in example to godly men. The third shall in manner shewing in remembrance the sainete, the death of the soul in lust and that he takeneth-world at men and abomination made of lust and of lust of the people and none shewed example of shewed lust and lust and lust than of good remembrance. And they fore the torment in to them shall be the payne of he of the sinfull man. And the fore only man soneth to come gracioustly to the hate of henene. Ende sauffe, Ende sauffe and kepe the sauffy from sinne and seed the self in love and charity and good sauffy sauffe and sauffe. And shane he shal come to yere and bringe ende sauffe. The self he bringe no that up on the crok.
(9) London, British Library, Additional MS 10036  
(a) f. 85r

[Image of manuscript page]

Image description or transcription would be here.
nesse of hem pat enasabiten pe erpe
certis pis dome schuld so neyest se
deadd: for w as myche as he not
ryt dve, so ryt lseal se pan do
streng venable rytvisnesse: for it
is of god in skinet, as it is of pe
some: pe some holds his tours.
pasip out of pe signe of pe homi
i to pe signe of pe bisme: out of pe
signe of pe bisme in to pe signe of
pe balseame. pe hom is a trons
test: fer in pis signe was aust
pe some of rytvisnesse: bi foce pe in
curunlem. for he was pan so sel
pat what man pat beak his bid
done: anone he schulde le dere: for
it is written in soh wirt. now anan
was don to peders bi godis commit
ement, for he schulde stichis on pe
sabot dave. y dide no streff trespas
but out of pe signe of pe homi he
paasid in to pe signe of pe bisme un
ria. y pan he was made more red to
dy rynge: pan he was to do venamec.
(c) f. 86r
(e) f. 87r
And if ye sete pat leyd men come not to rede. I sete pat is none so leyd. Pat he ne can sete pe lef of his oryn 18 rit mo pame pei schul be penymsman as he were iusned for ibrape azens hem. Of pis iusnese of pis iusnese spekyn pei spekyn damyd. when he preip to be deluyed of hem hope seruise pis. Domine ne m’furdetuo argus me. ne m’tau ieriudat me. pat is lord in pis iusnese out ofme no iusnese. F chastise me not in pis
ibrape. No man peake pat iusnese or iusnese or any iusnese trubled
pienes passioun may he in god. But for hei iusn sete in iusn sete for ple
ibles of god in iusnset. dervant of yonne a all somere
pat len troppi to take suche passioun of iusnset as len iusn ei
iusnese. pat is ene pere ene stude a ches
tred bopine pat iusn sete an cur
as is iusnset. pe iusnese is culled

(g) f. 88r

Sere pe trape of god. cys ellis per
schulcen be ferued por se bemananc i
pe horoble trone of helte: pat netie
shal shane ende: pe tis tiche is califsid
here pe rordeysse of god. As pis pe
pse tre damod ses pe spirt. and pe
pes be in pe pse of alde synners.
Shenge hym vumytri to xere cui epis
first asteel to be delyvred of helte f
afterward of phenore syngere pis.
Difere moedice qui infernum sum: pat
is lond same mop on me: for 4 am un
mythi to xere cui epis. pat is to seke-1
an vumytri to xere sine argyns
pe dyme epis pe chastiment i pur-
sator. But if it so se pat is se erkorn
ly supposid with pe nigth i la
det dan of oure lorde. Than shulde
the isterd men se hem nude in pe
ame 138600 rist 18000 pei had here
1.

fem pis fyf ben twelved
with an horoble dyer. serospepe
word of povyrse man: tym sunt 15
aliue in diuini natuure.
...nulla, ut nos intensus tunc
poposse sitam sum...
heit of rightwisse hath nost shyned to vs. The sonne of understanding hau
nost strugge to vs. We an made ever in pe war of trevidunse T of ydioun.
Fie haue gone harde waies for de wer of pe lord we knoue not what hap pride apsind to vs or pe
gest of recheesse. What hap it broyn to vs. Alte pis pinges ran pasid as
schadive. Fie for some image scheibe and testen of holywisse. For we ben
warred in our wickidunse pain among al pe multitude of sejntes. Per schul
len nost finde one pat seial muine com passion of hem. But alte per schullen
be sped. Consente with god in here
wise sumpnaneous as per splete dann
testeyn servys ye pis: Lest seit instas
nder vndertaim: Pat is pe sytlysse
man schal be staddid: wenen he schal
be manncene: pat as erst selis hym
pat. Per schullen seece for to encel to
wreles of stone. Pat is to solevond
of pe yere: fro pe dreadful face of our
Donne, same per schullen the mountains

to satye upon hem. Tis tis for to hie

dr. Is pis 18 te monye of pe first

of the seconde array of scharp &bepnus of alle falso

esten men. When he sith se te hem

pis 17 pis was angued. Tis same

me no mete & pis was puri. Tis same

me no drenke & pis was naked. Tis same

me no eges. Tis was herkosten

etje herkosten noyt me & pis was she

et me son. Tis visstid not me neder
den me any confort. Tis what pis vo
tice schalt be dethful. When it schalt be

seide to hem. Pat as ofte as pest diden

not pis dedes of men to any of his

pat nede hadde. So ofte pis diden it

not to hem. And no xevondre pivoz

pis voice schalt be dethful in pe dus

of domne. Supen ise rede in pe ioz

et when et ame in pe forme of a

ferventuto to be drode of pe false se

lous. Tis sere te hem pat sere to
Take him; 'tis the worse for you a
full. I sate to re one, if he se 
saw he was dead. Fama se avow'd, had he
so fearful a vow; yet not his as would
receive to re wounds, so many sterne
men of science. After more fearful vows,
such as he swore; when he shall come
vindict with his most of holy amulets
of science for to demise and quail
for pede. Than pone penam fer
morn emy audire possunt to intrin
magnitudinis emus que magnum potitus.
pat is siren man mat vanepes here:
alert drove of his words, he pretends
poure of his done who shall more
suffer, as who serv none, and is for
servit Bernard pus. Is seieque
pe sinful cannot shall he accitus tol
olyn constancies shall be reitustesse
agens hum. Tell me nature of god:
such arise agens hum in venera
brevens as an arise seial pate
be boio of god to suffer, and hence
fore ehere, servem ere pus.
hans linguam: pat est pe tumse
of him schal se an aroube iround
fis is pe ibound of pe secund: aroube
pe pridd: aroube schal s e of enid: se
dampnaum of alte wicte men.
is wenne he schal se to hem prud.
Discredite si maledicti in ignem
et iniqui paratus est diabolus in
angelus eum: pat est to se: deiste pe,
se furo me susid 16: echsis in to ei
last nige fire pat is made red: to pe
drum: f to his anigels: pis aroube
schal ivonide hem: pat it fallipon
sogernosti pat atte lechis firs
ens 6 surges: ne zit atte pe cuix
turns of Henone ne m erpe schal
moipe hele pe wound of it: Janne
schal pe erpe opne his moupe: pe
prosle he ondon in to helte where
per schulent se twented ist sent: do
cui niore 18: outen ende: ist alag:
 John is drede ful many: thew trente
silence pise pinges: d: per felen
hem of tosum seint: ensel se imper
Cursus datu est hic tunc foret qui
creare soli: pat is work to heu to pe
while the sit is joruc cap to sell fere
inge: pan to silenc seu: t pis is pe
wonde of pe pride arvice. But pan
shall ast the to hem pat sau on the
sit hende: t see to hem pis: vemi:
 schede t pis me posse dare paine
nobil resid a constituendie mundi s.
pat is to see. Some se pe blessed thi:
den of me sader: tachte se in possession
pe kingdom made rode to sow: se pe
halfhouse of pe world: for: s hundred
he fedden me: t prested: t se Nine
the drinke: I was her dorset: t se her
bedden me: I was unkind: I se stope
den: I was stike: t se visited me: I was
in: t se amien to me: for as: he
as se didedip purses to pe cest of
me: se dided to me: To pat blessed
Bhose: pe kingdom t 1000 edibre in
wise vs: s he arst pe constent man
God: amen. Here endis a tresta:
Is callid: se me: arouve.
Sleyng. fals duces. Tof manu har
mes. In ver odat. Vcape pat is
vulnage of remannce. Tof haruine
lapus to hynu pat he is trepe IB.
and when trepe tlienes, stike in
ser lous. Vcape blemes to hite.
and is of vong. fals folupsne in
ty duse courtes. Bacbtinge. unu
sleung. sesung. manu of solus
tso he gest godes stet charite.

[Redia:] Slepe is heumasse of gost
ichwerked. vdelinse pat am au
hap no likinse in gode ne in his se
wpe. en his symes to schewe to
crist in christ. Is of vong warched
isef in gostliche deite in slepe. In
vdelinse in soule in manskepe + ad
manelette in soule hel. Tupiditas
veterina.

Touenise is a tone out
of mesure of worldliche good pat
may be remedied as told I. sinus +
alle of punge remuable op. nur
unable as God shpird nons-land. en
rustful by numonge, purchasurse.
ul bigge ouse in selinge & metting,
in weizunge in mesure of alle man
of measures t also sale treherde.
sacreme, somowe, peste. t wrouc.
lythholdinge: Tiska vel rimulac.
folcmen is lone out of mesure in
likunge of mete & dronke pat men
este somere & nue as in etunge &
drunkinge to muche: t to late to
cape oute of sume: as in fastinge,
daled of fastinge. cet to schrixt op
& avowt made. of hope of soli chur-
che. in halyngre or maulung of mete
& dronke to likunge of peste &
pe which is dedliche sume oste. as
when et maist, amandes Godi hev
to seru god. op Jussur. his wif. op.
Gruenig aum an his child of god. op
of stoninc in dredinc op sefolc.
his gate of his wittis of his neme
of his body strecet to hym in eir
(10) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806

(a) f. 3v

(b) f. 3v
(11) London, British Library, Additional MS 37049

(a) f. 17r, Last Judgement
(b) f. 19r, Deathbed Scene
(13) Prayer Beads, from ‘Small Wonders: Gothic Boxwood Miniatures’, at the Met Cloisters, New York, February 22\textsuperscript{nd} – May 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2017

(a) Rosary of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, boxwood, Netherlandish, 1509-26, from the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement
(b) Prayer Bead with the Last Judgement and the Coronation of the Virgin, boxwood, with traces of later gilding, Netherlandish, early 16th century, The Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto
(c) Prayer Bead with God in Glory and the Last Judgement, boxwood, with traces of later paint, Netherlandish, early 16th century, Musee du Louvre, Departement des Objete d’art, Paris
(d) Prayer Bead with God in Glory and the Last Judgement, boxwood, leather case, Netherlandish, early 16th century, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts
(e) Prayer Bead with the Last Judgement and Death at a Feast, boxwood, later gilded silver case, Netherlandish, early 16th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.328)