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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

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and  
Early Modern Studies

The University of Kent

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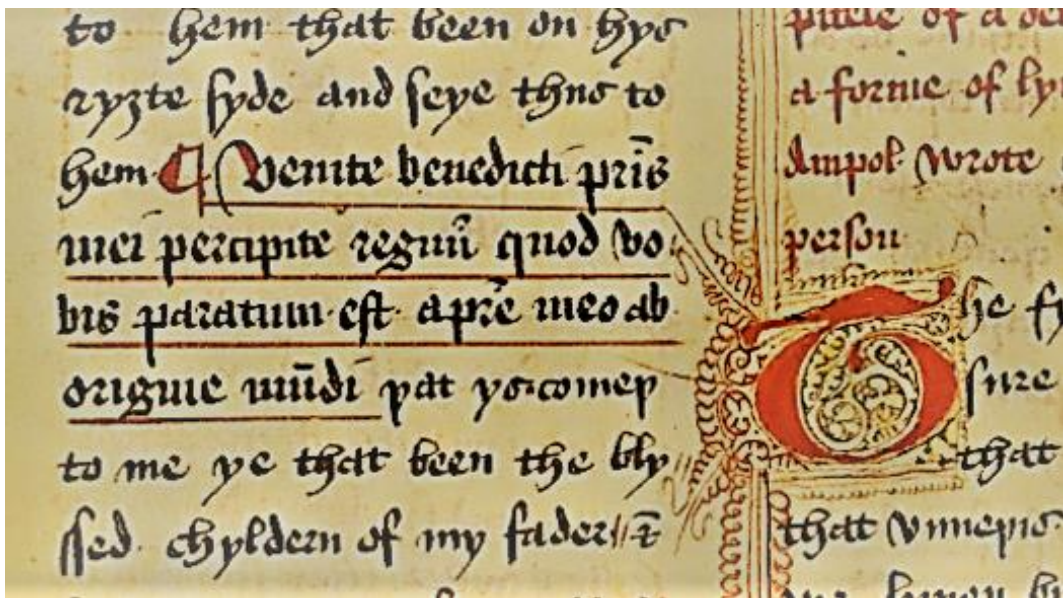
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Imagining Doomsday: Aspects of the Last Judgement in Late-Medieval English Vernacular Devotional and Manuscript Culture,

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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## **Introduction:**

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

The *Myroure of Synneres*, Deuteronomy 32:29

The appeal made by the author of the fourteenth-century treatise, the *Myroure 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,

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church and his Followers* (London; Leipzig printed: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895-9), 2 vols, vol. II, p. 436, (henceforth referred to as YW).



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’;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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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<sup>2</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 understudied 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 *Myroure of Synneres*, quoted above), has a significant manuscript footprint, spanning some thirty separate surviving codices. Scholarly output on the subject, however, is negligible.<sup>5</sup> 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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<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *Myroure 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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'.<sup>6</sup> 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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<sup>6</sup> Nigel Morgan, 'The Torments of the Damned in Hell in Texts and Images in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, p. 260.

in mural painting.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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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<sup>7</sup> '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 15<sup>th</sup> century, were the Doom over the chancel arch and St Christopher opposite the main entrance', H. Munro Cautley, *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures* (Ipswich: The Boydell Press, 1982, 5<sup>th</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> '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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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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<sup>9</sup> Beginning with the trendsetting work of Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer at the turn of the twentieth century, research into these priceless manuscripts has received continued attention right into the twenty-first century. Significant contributions include the work of George Henderson, R. Freyhan, Nigel Morgan, David McKitterick, and the inimitable M. R. James, in addition to many others. See L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'apocalypse en français au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1900/01); George Henderson, 'Part I: Stylistic Sequence and Stylistic Overlap in Thirteenth-Century English Manuscripts', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), pp. 71-104; G. Henderson, 'Part II: The English Apocalypse: I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), pp. 104-137; G. Henderson, 'Part III: The English Apocalypse: II', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968), pp. 103-147; R. Freyhan, 'Joachism and the English Apocalypse', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18 (1955), pp. 211-244; Nigel Morgan, *The Douce Apocalypse: Picturing the End of the World in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006); David McKitterick, ed., *The Trinity Apocalypse* (London, 2005); M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: published for the British academy by H. Milford, Oxford university press, 1931).

<sup>10</sup> Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1992); Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Richard K. Emmerson and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (University of Washington Press, 1981); Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen, eds, *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988).

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;<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.'<sup>13</sup> Publications emerging from this investigation can be found in the proceedings of

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<sup>11</sup> '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.

<sup>12</sup> Meg Twycross, Pamela M. King, eds, 'The York Doomsday Project', <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/depts/yorkdoom/intro.htm>, 1995/96.

<sup>13</sup> Meg Twycross and Pamela M. King, 'Doomsday as Hypertext: Contexts of Doomsday in Fifteenth-Century Northern Manuscripts', in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XII (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2004), 377-403, p. 379.



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.<sup>14</sup>

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.’<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.’<sup>18</sup> 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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<sup>14</sup> Twycross and King, ‘Doomsday as Hypertext’, p. 392.

<sup>15</sup> Twycross and King, ‘Doomsday as Hypertext’, p. 377.

<sup>16</sup> ‘[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.

<sup>17</sup> Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Walker Bynum, *ibid.*, p 13.

about the body.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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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<sup>19</sup> '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.

<sup>20</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, eds, *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

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.<sup>21</sup>

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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<sup>21</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), p. 176.

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.<sup>22</sup> 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, *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.<sup>23</sup> 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.

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<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> ‘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, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 302.

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.<sup>24</sup> 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 multi-dimensional 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.

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<sup>24</sup> For example, St Bernard's prominent sermon on the Last Judgement, discussed in Chapter Two. See also, for example, Veronica O'Mara, "'Go 3e curselynges, to euerelasting 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.

## Chapter One

### Doomsday as a Pastoral Tool: A Close-Reading of the *Cursor Mundi*

Men sais and soth al be mai fall,  
 Pai it sall ending be of all.  
 Bis midel erth, ful wail wai!  
 Al to noght sal brin awai,  
 The see that vmlukes þe land,  
 And watres all that rinnes in strand,  
 Al sal turn again to noght,  
 Als þai war first, ar al was wroght,  
 Heuen and erth to be mad neu,  
 Pat euer sal be þan lastand treu.<sup>25</sup>

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

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<sup>25</sup> London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A iii, leaf 2, lines 22701-710. For bibliography see Robert R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', in Albert E. Hartung and J. Burke Severs, eds, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, 11 vols to date (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), VII, chap. xx, pp. 2503-7 (henceforth, *Manual*); Julia Boffey, Anthony S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005), No. 2153, p. 144; 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. 267-71.

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 ‘midel 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.<sup>26</sup> It was composed, according to Sarah M. Horrall, ‘by an unknown poet in the north of England about 1300.’<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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,

<sup>26</sup> It is only the somewhat anomalous section on the Passion that defies this structure. The figure of 25,000 is quoted from Sarah M. Horrall, “‘For the Commun at Understand”, p. 97.

<sup>27</sup> Sarah M. Horrall, ed., *The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi*, 4 vols (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1978- ), vol. I, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> For a detailed breakdown of the poem’s structure, refer to Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, pp. 24-5.



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*.<sup>29</sup>

*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'.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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 almast it ouer-rennes all.  
 Tak we our biginning þan  
 Of him þat al þis werld bigan.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> The oldest of these, according to John J.

<sup>29</sup> Sarah M. Horrall, "For the Commun at Understand", p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Taken from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS. 14, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 3. 8. Punctuation is mine.

<sup>31</sup> From ll. 1 and 2.

<sup>32</sup> Ll. 266-270.

<sup>33</sup> These are: Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, s.xiv; London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A.III, s.xiv; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Theol.107<sup>i</sup>, s.xiv; Oxford,

Thompson, 'can be dated on palaeographical evidence to the first quarter of the fourteenth century'.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup> 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'.<sup>37</sup> 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'.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Horrall explains, the southern version of the *Cursor Mundi* was not

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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.

<sup>34</sup> Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> 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'.<sup>39</sup>

The field of scholarship on the *Cursor Mundi* is notably barren.<sup>40</sup> So, in terms of the poem's broader context, it is to the work of John Thompson that we turn.<sup>41</sup> 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.'<sup>42</sup> 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*.<sup>43</sup> 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.'<sup>44</sup> The details of the *Signs* themselves are usually associated with the 'Comestor-type' Latin rendition of the legend, from Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> The poet's borrowings largely derive from books I and III of the *Elucidarium*, the latter of which focuses on the Last Things.<sup>47</sup> 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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<sup>39</sup> Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>46</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 161.

renewed state of the world after Doomsday'.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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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<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> Despite her criticism of Morris, Horrall confirms that his 'transcriptions are reasonably accurate', and that the edition would simply have benefitted from the inclusion of a list of *errata*. Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, p. 23.

<sup>50</sup> 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'.<sup>51</sup> Thompson has also observed that when compared to other manuscripts, C most closely matches 'the poem's contents given in the *Cursor Mundi* prologue'.<sup>52</sup> 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:

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

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

De furste day þat we of rede  
 Muche hit is for to drede  
 (MS R. 3. 8., Trinity Coll., Camb.)

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

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<sup>51</sup> Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, p. 20.

work.<sup>53</sup> 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  
 Dis ilk bok is es translate  
 In to Inglis tong to rede  
 For the loue of Inglis lede,  
 Inglis lede of England,  
 For the comun 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?<sup>54</sup>

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

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<sup>53</sup> 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'.

<sup>54</sup> Ll. 231-240.

more personal, pseudo-nationalistic purpose for the poet's decision to write in English.<sup>55</sup> 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.’<sup>56</sup> Horrall does inform us, at least, that all but one of the nine extant *Cursor Mundi* manuscripts were in lay hands.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> 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 “Inglad 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).

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

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> Ll. 1-20.

<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup>

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'.<sup>62</sup> The poet claims that such 'rimes' should laud the Virgin, rather than any woman of this transient world:

Off suilk an suld ʒe [mater] take,  
 Crafty þat can rimes make;  
 Of hir to mak bath rim and sang,  
 And luue hir suette sin amang.  
 Quat bote is to sette traueil  
 On thyng þat may not auail,  
 Pat es bot fantum o þis warld,  
 Als ʒe haue sene inogh and herd.<sup>63</sup>

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:

He has us chosen for vr mede,  
 His hali folk all for to fede;  
 Amang þaa hirdes am i an[.]<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> For more on the poem's audience, see Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, pp. 7-14.

<sup>62</sup> Ll. 95-97.

<sup>63</sup> Ll. 85-92.

<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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.<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> What is perhaps most interesting about these diagrams is their apparently

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<sup>65</sup> Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup> Ll. 225-229.

<sup>67</sup> Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, pp. 159-62.

<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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'.<sup>70</sup> Thompson succinctly summarises the significance of this approach:

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<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup>

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 Shinnars 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'.<sup>72</sup>

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.<sup>73</sup>

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,

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<sup>71</sup> Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>72</sup> John Shinnars, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader* (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997), p. 7. See also, John Shinnars and William J. Dohar, eds, *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*, *Texts in Medieval Culture* 4 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998); Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981); Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker, eds, *Text and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett* (Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2009); Nicole R. Rice, 'Lay Spiritual Texts and Pastoral Care in Two Fifteenth-Century Priests' Collections', in Nicole Rice, ed., *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 149-177.

<sup>73</sup> Shinnars, *Medieval Popular Religion*, p. 7.

in one way or another, taken up with aspects of the pastoral care.’<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> According to Shinnars,

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.<sup>76</sup>

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.<sup>77</sup>

In England, the production of instructive manuals and process of sacerdotal reform accelerated under the archiepiscopate of the 'Franciscan controversialist', John Pecham.<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup> 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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<sup>74</sup> Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 30-43, p. 30.

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> Shinnars, *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*'.

<sup>77</sup> 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).

<sup>78</sup> Pecham was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 until his death in 1292. Benjamin Thompson, 'Pecham, John (c.1230–1292)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21745>>.

<sup>79</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 53.

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.<sup>80</sup>

The *Cursor Mundi*'s intended content, as outlined in the prologue,<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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

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<sup>80</sup> Ingrid J. Peterson, *William of Nassington: Canon, Mystic and Poet of the "Speculum Vitae"* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986) p. 4.

<sup>81</sup> Ll. 133-220.

<sup>82</sup> Including MS 'C', one of the earliest surviving manuscripts containing the text. See Horrall, *Southern Version*, vol. 1, pp. 24-25.

<sup>83</sup> 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, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', pp. 31-32.

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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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.'<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 69.

<sup>85</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 69; for the *Speculum Vitae* Duffy references A. I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries', Cambridge Ph.D thesis, 1953, p. 78. Also, J. Ullmann, *Englische Studien*, VII, 1884, pp. 468-72.

<sup>86</sup> 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'.<sup>87</sup> 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 manicule 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,  
 Be 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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<sup>87</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 68-9.

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 irrepressible 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.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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,

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<sup>88</sup> '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.

<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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).<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> The legend exists in at least four main textual traditions, represented in numerous different Latin and vernacular versions,

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<sup>90</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> 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.

<sup>92</sup> London, British Library, Sloane MS. 3160, fol. 30v. Line 22442 of the *Cursor Mundi*. See Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, p. 169.

<sup>93</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, pp. 168-9.

all of which, according to Thompson, ‘are known to have circulated widely in late medieval Europe.’<sup>94</sup> The *Cursor Mundi*’s version derives from the ‘French-type’ textual tradition.<sup>95</sup>

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.<sup>96</sup>

Verse 25 highlights that there is a biblical precedent for the otherwise apocryphal signs, several of which relate to the cosmos.<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> 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’.<sup>99</sup> The unrestrained joy to be felt by the blessed at the coming of

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<sup>94</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>95</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>96</sup> *Catholic Bible: Douay-Rheims Bible Online*, <<http://www.drbo.org/>> [accessed 4 June 2014]. Henceforth all biblical quotations will be derived from this source.

<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup> *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.

<sup>99</sup> Cited in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds, *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 98.

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!<sup>100</sup>

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

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<sup>100</sup> Tertullian, Minucius Felix, *Apology. De Spectaculis. Minucius Felix: Octavius*, trans. T. R. Glover, Gerald H. Rendall, Loeb Classical Library 250 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 297.

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).<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> 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';<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> The signs will indicate God's wrath to the wicked: 'Gret signes sal vr lauerd make, / For to

<sup>101</sup> This takes place on f. 169r of London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII. See Appendix 1.4.e., and footnote 834.

<sup>102</sup> 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 exemplified 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.

<sup>103</sup> Ll. 22427-30.

<sup>104</sup> Ll. 22459-60; 22506.

sceu þe wic his wrak’;<sup>105</sup> when the Lord will show his might, no felon will be spared.<sup>106</sup> 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].<sup>107</sup>

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’.<sup>108</sup> 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.’<sup>109</sup> The stars will run around upon the earth in confusion, ‘Wepand, als þof þai men war’.<sup>110</sup> The moon will run and hide in the sea in order to flee the ‘dai of au’.<sup>111</sup> 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.<sup>112</sup> 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

<sup>105</sup> Ll. 22437-8.

<sup>106</sup> Ll. 22447-50.

<sup>107</sup> Ll. 22515-18.

<sup>108</sup> 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.

<sup>109</sup> Ll. 22498.

<sup>110</sup> Ll. 22484.

<sup>111</sup> Ll. 22503.

<sup>112</sup> 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 retraxerunt splendorem suum*).

dred of his cuming'.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> On the seventh day the earth will shake and the trees will burst, there will be nowhere for anyone to take refuge and so 'þan behoves all folk to dei'.<sup>115</sup> On the eighth day the sea will rise up to the sky, bursting over dale and hill, drowning everything.<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup> 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]'.<sup>118</sup> 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 stret 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;  
 Þe 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.<sup>119</sup>

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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<sup>113</sup> Ll. 22519-30.

<sup>114</sup> Ll. 22531-44.

<sup>115</sup> Ll. 22545-60.

<sup>116</sup> Ll. 22561-6.

<sup>117</sup> Ll. 22627-38.

<sup>118</sup> Ll. 22679-80.

<sup>119</sup> Ll. 22689-98.

revert to nothingness, 'Als þai war first, ar al was wrought'. This day 'sall ending be of all', comprising a terrifying series of cataclysmic events.<sup>120</sup>

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,  
 Þou do it lauerd us for to stint;  
 Quar-to suld we be born to dai,  
 Quen al thinges sal turn to wai?"  
 Gretand [weeping] þai sal calle on iesu,  
 "Lauerd ha merci on all nu."<sup>121</sup>

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.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ll. 22699-710.

<sup>121</sup> Ll. 22465-74.

<sup>122</sup> *Vae autem praegnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus! erit enim pressura 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.<sup>123</sup>

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 ri3twys doom, þat but 3ef þow helpe me 3euyng me þi mercy, it were bettere to me neuere to haue been bore'.<sup>124</sup> 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?'<sup>125</sup> 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.'<sup>126</sup>

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'.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> Just as on the thirteenth day, the sorrow of the events are 'Mar þan man wit tung mai tell'.<sup>129</sup> This motif, which is regularly encountered in other descriptions of Hell and Doom, demonstrates the limits of the medieval – or even the human – imagination;<sup>130</sup> 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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<sup>123</sup> *Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt, et ubera quae non lactauerunt.*

<sup>124</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. 2, p. 442.

<sup>125</sup> Job 3:11: *Quare non in vulva mortuus sum? Egressus ex utero non statim perii?*

<sup>126</sup> *Filius quidem hominis vadit, sicut scriptum est de illo: vae autem homini illi, per quem Filius hominis tradetur! bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.*

<sup>127</sup> Ll. 22520.

<sup>128</sup> Ll. 22632.

<sup>129</sup> Ll. 22672.

<sup>130</sup> Indeed, also in descriptions of the joys of Heaven from the fourteenth-century *Liber Exemplorum*, in David Jones, *Friars' Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 118.



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.<sup>131</sup> On the tenth day, according to Jerome and Gregory ('pape o rome'), 'heuen self it sal be ferd / Gain him þat wroght middelerd '.<sup>132</sup> The account continues:

Pe 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."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> 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.

<sup>132</sup> Ll. 22591-6.

<sup>133</sup> 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:

Quen all thinges draus þus-ga til end,  
 Þe angels þat in heuen sal be  
 Sal knele dun befor cristes kne,  
 And sal cri merci to þair king  
 Þat þai se bun [obey] til all thing.  
 For þat rethnes [uproar] sal þai be radd [afraid],  
 Þai se oueral þe werld sa stadd;  
 Quen angels sua sal dred þat pas,  
 O sinful quat sal worth, allas?<sup>134</sup>

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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<sup>134</sup> 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:

Par es nam [no man] in erth sa fell,  
 Pat herken herteli wil þis spell,  
 O þis wreched werlds end,  
 Pat he ne his liif agh to mend.<sup>135</sup>

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:

Pat es na man in erth wrought  
 Pat agh to lat it vte o thought,

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<sup>135</sup> Ll. 22433-6.

And for to mend his lijf þe mare,  
 To iesu þat vr leuedi bar.<sup>136</sup>

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.<sup>137</sup> 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:

Hider nu I bidd þam drau,  
 All þai þat of him standes au,  
 And herken sua þat i sal sai,  
 Pat he wenid nocht he fles awai.<sup>138</sup>

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:

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<sup>136</sup> Ll. 22655-8.

<sup>137</sup> *Sive comedam, sive bibam, sive aliquid aliud faciam, semper michi videtur illa tuba resonare in auribus meis, "surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium"*. This quotation is discussed extensively in Chapter Two.

<sup>138</sup> 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 enterwal bituix þam bide,  
 Pat vndos he us nour-quar,  
 Þof he was mikel cleric o lare.<sup>139</sup>

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'.<sup>140</sup> 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

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<sup>139</sup> Ll. 22441-6.

<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> The following signs are all 'ful griseli', but once we reach the seventh sign, it is described as more sorrowful 'pan sex þat i ha neuend.'<sup>142</sup> Then, the eighth sign has 'Nan forwit o sa mikel wrak'; none of the preceding signs possess such great wrath or vengeance.<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> 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'.<sup>145</sup> 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.<sup>146</sup> 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

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<sup>141</sup> Ll. 22476.

<sup>142</sup> Ll. 22546.

<sup>143</sup> Ll. 22562.

<sup>144</sup> Ll. 22579-80.

<sup>145</sup> Ll. 22689-90; 22702.

<sup>146</sup> 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.'<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup> 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').<sup>149</sup> On the fifth day, 'All bestes dumb vnder þe lift' raise

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<sup>147</sup> Ll. 22640-6.

<sup>148</sup> Ll. 22483-4.

<sup>149</sup> Ll. 22500-502.

their heads and cry out for mercy, louder than ten or eleven men.<sup>150</sup> On the fourteenth day, the clouds also run to the sea to hide ‘þar-in’, in order to flee the ferocity of the Doom.<sup>151</sup> 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:

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!<sup>152</sup>

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’.<sup>153</sup> 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’.<sup>154</sup> 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:

Þat þe sun þat es sa bright,

And seruis al þis werld o light,

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<sup>150</sup> Ll. 22521-30.

<sup>151</sup> Ll. 22695-7.

<sup>152</sup> Ll. 22461-4.

<sup>153</sup> Ll. 22477-80.

<sup>154</sup> 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].<sup>155</sup>

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:

Þe tres for-casten sal þam pain  
 For to right þam up again,  
 Dun þe crophe, vpward þe rote,  
 O murthes þan es nan to mote;  
 Vnquemfulli þan sal þai quak,  
 Pat all þe erth it sal to scak;  
 Noght a leif o þam sal last  
 Quen þat þe gret of þam sal brast.<sup>156</sup>

There is an unmistakable tempo to these lines, particularly from ‘Dun þe crophe, 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

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<sup>155</sup> Ll. 22507-14.

<sup>156</sup> 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’.<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup>

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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<sup>157</sup> Ll. 22709.

<sup>158</sup> 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 bee dyuers accusoures a boven hym, wit inne hym, on eyber sydes him  
and vnder hym þat he schal us wayschape. A boven hym schal be cst' ihu' hys  
domus man so wrought 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 redyly 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 3onyng and galpyng to swolewe ham þat ben evel  
and spyttyng out fyre and stench þoo þat ben fond evel þat day þer schal ben in  
payne and woe wit out ende.<sup>159</sup>

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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<sup>159</sup> 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: 'þat 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 hertefully to quyte ham at þe day of dome and so wold he ful well and trowly for god seyth keputh 3owre 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'.<sup>160</sup> 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, Bodley MS 789 (discussed extensively in Chapter Three), attests to this, having the Judge berate the damned on Doomsday.<sup>161</sup> 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.'<sup>162</sup> 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:

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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<sup>160</sup> Ll. 22711-12; 22755-7.

<sup>161</sup> Discussed fully in Chapter Three.

<sup>162</sup> St Peter's Apocalypse, Eileen Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven & Hell before Dante* (New York: Italica Press, 1989), p. 5. See also Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Gold (London: Scolar, 1984), pp. 21, 24, 33-34.

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.<sup>163</sup>

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'.<sup>164</sup>

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.<sup>165</sup> To support this division, in addition to this apparent display of self-assurance, the damned are

<sup>163</sup> 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 bloody als he þan was', 'For þai sal noght se of his godhede', p. 146, ll. 5259-70.

<sup>164</sup> Ll. 22953; 22961-2.

<sup>165</sup> 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 noht his au, / Here dun þai sal be dempt lau, / Þai sal na might haf þider to win, / Sua heui carked o þair sin'.<sup>166</sup>

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.<sup>167</sup> 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.<sup>168</sup> 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'.<sup>169</sup> 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'.<sup>170</sup> 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,

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<sup>166</sup> Ll. 22999-23002.

<sup>167</sup> Ll. 23069; 23070; 23074.

<sup>168</sup> Ll. 23079-80.

<sup>169</sup> Ll. 22967-8.

<sup>170</sup> 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.<sup>171</sup>  
 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;

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<sup>171</sup> 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 Eyles, ed., *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Patricia Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).



Bot take tent quat I sai to þe,  
 O fair stature quat it sal be,  
 And o þair eild o þam i mele,  
 Þat crist tas for his aun lele.<sup>172</sup>

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'.<sup>173</sup> 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 pleasurable 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.<sup>174</sup> Then, to conclude his treatment of the bodily resurrection, the poet reiterates that we need not have

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<sup>172</sup> Ll. 22823-844. The *Prick of Conscience* presents a similarly positive future for the disabled or maimed: 'And if any lym be here unsemely / Thurgh outragiouste of kyn namely, / God sal abate þat outrage thurgh myght / And make þa lym 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 coked or lame and yll-formed, or whoso hath had ony faute in ony member shall be ryght and perfyte enterly.' Stephen Morrison, ed., *The Late Middle English Lucydarye*, Textes Vernaculaires du Moyen Age, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 69.

<sup>173</sup> See Paul Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>174</sup> 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 wrought', 'Right sua sal crist, ne dut ye noght', when on Doomsday he will 'Mak a wel fairer licam [body]' from that which was lame.<sup>175</sup> 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:

Þat sin þe werld it first bigan  
Was neuer sene sa sorful tide,  
Als þat dai sal be for to bide.<sup>176</sup>

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 clerlc mai write wit inc, / Ne muth to mele, na hert to thinc,' as to just how awesome Christ's coming will be.<sup>177</sup> 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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<sup>175</sup> Ll. 22937-952.

<sup>176</sup> Ll. 22734-6.

<sup>177</sup> 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'.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> 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.<sup>180</sup> 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.<sup>181</sup> 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'.<sup>182</sup> 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').<sup>183</sup> 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 aful chere':

"Dos fles heþen, yee maledight!

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<sup>178</sup> Ll. 22750, 22755-6.

<sup>179</sup> Ll. 23106.

<sup>180</sup> Ll. 23104-108.

<sup>181</sup> Ll. 23110-14.

<sup>182</sup> Ll. 23117-23.

<sup>183</sup> 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 thrist 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."<sup>184</sup>

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').<sup>185</sup> These are the people who have not upheld God's laws ('þat crist laghes wil nocht 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').<sup>186</sup> 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[.]*<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Ll. 23157-168.

<sup>185</sup> Ll. 23021-3.

<sup>186</sup> Ll. 23127-52.

<sup>187</sup> 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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup>

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.<sup>190</sup>

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.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Ll. 23029-30.

<sup>189</sup> Ll. 23150-2.

<sup>190</sup> 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.

<sup>191</sup> Ll. 23031-2.

That dread should be 'sua vn-mete [immense]' that it shall overcome all such imperfections ('it mai all sli plighes be[te]') and act as the only incentive that one requires to cleanse one's soul.<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup>

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').<sup>194</sup> 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,<sup>195</sup> 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).<sup>196</sup> 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 sauued be on nakin wai'; they are doomed to an eternity of woe, to live in 'merckenes for euer and a'.<sup>197</sup> This is a threatening warning against the abortion of an unborn child as, through this deed, the infant is condemned to eternal

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<sup>192</sup> Ll. 23035-6.

<sup>193</sup> 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.

<sup>194</sup> Ll. 22849-50.

<sup>195</sup> 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<sup>th</sup> edition reprint (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), pp. 12-16, 53-111.

<sup>196</sup> 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 als wa.' 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 vnderstande, of xxxij yeris.' Stephen Morrison, ed., *The Late Middle English Lucydarye, Textes Vernaculaires du Moyen Age*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 67.

<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup>

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.<sup>199</sup>

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 'nought baptis iwiss [truly]', so, indirectly, he indicates precisely how this fate can be avoided.<sup>200</sup> 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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<sup>198</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 209.

<sup>199</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>200</sup> 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'.<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup>

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'.<sup>203</sup> 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'.<sup>204</sup> The baby immediately jumps for joy as, presumably, it is

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<sup>201</sup> Shinnars, *Medieval Popular Religion*, p. 8.

<sup>202</sup> Shinnars, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>203</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>204</sup> 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.



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.<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup> 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

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<sup>205</sup> Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, p. 145. Schmitt cites P. Paravy, ‘Angoisse Collective et Miracles au Seuil de la Mort: Résurrections et baptêmes d’enfants mort-nés en Dauphiné au XVe siècle’, in *La Mort au Moyen Age*, colloque de l’Association des historiens médiévistes français (Strasbourg, 1975).

<sup>206</sup> Cited in Jupp and Gittings, *Death in England*, p. 98. Jupp and Gittings cite Rosemary Horrox, ed., *Black Death*, pp. 271-2.

of punishment, not of reward, that the poet wished to emphasise at the end.<sup>207</sup> 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.<sup>208</sup> 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'.<sup>209</sup> 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 sarazin or Iu') – in the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Following the resurrection, Jesus came to the apostles ('Þat 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').<sup>210</sup> 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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<sup>207</sup> L. 23191.

<sup>208</sup> 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: '3yf þou trowyst synne shal be for3eue / withoutē répentance & shryue, / As sum of þys lewed men seys, / "God of heuene ys so curteys, / þat he shal on domysday certeynly / For-3yue þe synne of lechery; / lechery ys but lyght synne, / he wyl haue mercy on al þerynne;" / þus sey þey þat can no gode, / And þou3 þey hemself vndyrstode. / 3yf þou þe certeyn wylt lere, / þyn for3euenes mote be here; / yn þe touper worlde þer we shul come / þere ys but ry3tfulnes of dome; / þere ys al ry3tfulnes at þe last ende; / Aske mercy or þou þedyr wende, / Elles gest þou no for3euenes, / Here ne þerē, more no lesse. / God 3yue vs grace, or we be went, / To kepē þys fyrst comaundment.'

<sup>209</sup> L. 22714.

<sup>210</sup> 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.<sup>211</sup> 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').<sup>212</sup> 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'.<sup>213</sup> 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'.<sup>214</sup> Next, the poet discusses the location where Doomsday will take place, 'þe stede o dome quar all sal mete'.<sup>215</sup> All people will be gathered in the 'wale o Iosaphat' where Christ will give his judgement.<sup>216</sup> The poet elaborates upon the meaning of the 'Vale of Josaphat', as many men do not understand this.<sup>217</sup> Josaphat is found under the 'mont of oliue[t]' and it 'bitakens godds Iugement'; it can directly signify the Lord's judgement.<sup>218</sup> 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.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> 'þat ilk forme cum sal he þar, / þat he in erth his croice bar, / Sua sal he cum,' ll. 22731-3.

<sup>212</sup> Ll. 22737-42.

<sup>213</sup> Ll. 22953-6.

<sup>214</sup> Ll. 22957-61.

<sup>215</sup> L. 22963.

<sup>216</sup> L. 22969.

<sup>217</sup> Ll. 22972-4.

<sup>218</sup> Ll. 22977-90.

<sup>219</sup> 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').<sup>220</sup> 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.'<sup>221</sup> 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'.<sup>222</sup> More specifically, we are referred to 'sant gregori', 'Jerom', 'sant paule', and 'saint austin', all of whom are utilised to corroborate the practical information discussed above.<sup>223</sup> 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.'<sup>224</sup> 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.<sup>225</sup> Justifying such measures, Gilchrist continues:

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<sup>220</sup> Ll. 23005-6.

<sup>221</sup> Ll. 23013-18.

<sup>222</sup> Ll. 22838; 22953.

<sup>223</sup> Ll. 22888; 22987; 22992; 23011.

<sup>224</sup> L. 22964; Joel 3:12.

<sup>225</sup> 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.'

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.<sup>226</sup>

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.<sup>227</sup> 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).<sup>228</sup> 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?’<sup>229</sup> 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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<sup>226</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>227</sup> See Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 67-8.

<sup>228</sup> 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.

<sup>229</sup> Cited in John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), p. 227.

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 [...] <sup>230</sup>

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'.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup> 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.<sup>233</sup> 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'.<sup>234</sup>

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,  
 Þat mans flexs to mold se fall,  
 Ne moht he not þam al wit his main,

<sup>230</sup> Cited in Arnold, *ibid.*, pp. 227-8.

<sup>231</sup> L. 22789; the wordplay in this and the preceding line is noteworthy: 'þat 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).

<sup>232</sup> Ll. 22781-86.

<sup>233</sup> L. 22790.

<sup>234</sup> Ll. 22795-6.

O þat ilk erth mak flexs again?<sup>235</sup>

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').<sup>236</sup> 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.<sup>237</sup> 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'.<sup>238</sup> 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'.<sup>239</sup> 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,

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<sup>235</sup> Ll. 22797-800.

<sup>236</sup> Ll. 22803-10.

<sup>237</sup> Ll. 22816-22.

<sup>238</sup> Ll. 22823-38.

<sup>239</sup> L. 22845.

however, will explain why these individuals are incorrect: 'Nu i sal ye sum resun rede'.<sup>240</sup> 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'.<sup>241</sup> 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.<sup>242</sup> 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?<sup>243</sup> 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'.<sup>244</sup> 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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<sup>240</sup> Ll. 22859-66.

<sup>241</sup> Ll. 22867-8.

<sup>242</sup> 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.

<sup>243</sup> Ll. 22882-4.

<sup>244</sup> 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 entyerly without that that there shall fayle ony thyng 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;

["] Quar nu sal þis man be soght?

For i mai tru on nakin wise

Þat þis man mai to liif vprise,

Sin nan es, als i wene, þat can

tuin þat erth þat com o man

Fra þat erth þat es bredd o best."<sup>245</sup>

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'.<sup>246</sup> 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.<sup>247</sup> 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 nocht want a hefd hare, / Ne nocht a nail o fote ne hand').<sup>248</sup> 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

<sup>245</sup> The *exemplum* begins at l. 22889.

<sup>246</sup> Ll. 22914-20.

<sup>247</sup> Ll. 22921-7.

<sup>248</sup> 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 sayth: "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.<sup>249</sup>

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 thocht!

To forget þat dai neuermar

To quils þat he liuand war.<sup>250</sup>

### **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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<sup>249</sup> Ll. 22934-46.

<sup>250</sup> 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.<sup>251</sup>

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 cleric'.<sup>252</sup> 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'.<sup>253</sup> For the former, the MED supplies two examples from the *Cursor Mundi* itself which deploy the term in this

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<sup>251</sup> 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.

<sup>252</sup> L. 22890.

<sup>253</sup> Frances McSparran, et al., eds, *The Electronic Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan), <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=35970649&egdisplay=open&egs=35976778&egs=35986759>> accessed on 03/10/14, (henceforth *MED*).

context.<sup>254</sup> The first of these, from line 5898, refers to the incident from Exodus 7 in which Aaron faces off with the Pharaoh's magicians ('enchanturs'), 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'.<sup>255</sup> Returning to the cleric in the *exemplum*, we might take 'crafti' to signify that he is both 'clever' and 'wis o 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.<sup>256</sup> 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.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Both are also taken from Cotton MS Vespasian A. iii.

<sup>255</sup> 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 'enchanturs' 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.

<sup>256</sup> 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.

<sup>257</sup> 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'.<sup>258</sup> 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),<sup>259</sup> 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.<sup>260</sup> 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 Alzin hac, 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

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<sup>258</sup> Ll. 22914-20.

<sup>259</sup> Horrall, "For the Commun at Understand", p. 105.

<sup>260</sup> Alan E. Bernstein, 'Teaching and Preaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century Paris', in A. Ferreiro, ed., *The Devil, Heresy, and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden, 1998), 111-130 (p. 118).

men and women.<sup>261</sup> 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’,<sup>262</sup> 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*.<sup>263</sup> 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.<sup>264</sup> 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,

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<sup>261</sup> Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, p. 228.

<sup>262</sup> L. 23191.

<sup>263</sup> See Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, pp. 159-172.

<sup>264</sup> 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').<sup>265</sup> 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 / Par es resun, qua sum wil hald').<sup>266</sup> 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

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<sup>265</sup> L. 23231.

<sup>266</sup> Ll. 23195-6.

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.'<sup>267</sup> 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, / Ðat end ne best þar neuer apon [...]'.<sup>268</sup>

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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<sup>267</sup> Ll. 23203-6.

<sup>268</sup> 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,  
 Þai wat þair pine sal ha nan end,  
 For þai mai haf na might to mend.<sup>269</sup>

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 þai dei wivten blin'), forever enduring death but never succumbing to it ('Deiand ai and neuer ded, / For ded sal fle þaim als þair fede').<sup>270</sup>

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.<sup>271</sup> 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:

Þe first it es þe fire sa hatte,  
 Þat al þe mikel se sa wate,  
 Þof þat it casten war par-in,  
 Suld it neuer þe less brin[.]<sup>272</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Ll. 23261-4.

<sup>270</sup> Ll. 23311-2; 23313-4.

<sup>271</sup> 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.

<sup>272</sup> 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 rynnnes / On erthe, and alle þe sese withoute, / þat encloses alle þe erthe aboute, / 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, mught 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:

Sua þat vr fire ne mai namare  
 Again þat fire þat brin þar,  
 Þan painted fire gain vrs moght,  
 Þat apon awagh war wroght[.]<sup>273</sup>

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

For þe fire of helle, þat es endeles,  
 Es hatter þan þe fire here es,  
 Right als þe fire þat es brinnand here  
 Es hatter and of mare powere  
 þan a purtrayd fire on a waghe,  
 þat es paynted, outhur heghe or laghe,  
 With a rede coloure til mens sight,  
 þat nouthur brynnes ne gyfes light  
 Ne on other manere auales ne ders.<sup>274</sup>

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 night, / Bot neuermare it castes light').<sup>275</sup> 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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<sup>273</sup> Ll. 23213-6.

<sup>274</sup> See Hanna and Wood, eds, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 182, ll. 6611-19.

<sup>275</sup> 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:

De toþer paine is cald sa kene,  
 Pat mans muth it mai noght mene[.]<sup>276</sup>

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:

Pat þof a fern fell war made,  
 And thoru a chance þar-in it glad,  
 Quils þou moght turn þi hand abute,  
 It suld worth to yse wituten dute.<sup>277</sup>

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.<sup>278</sup> 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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<sup>276</sup> Ll. 23219-20.

<sup>277</sup> Ll. 23221-4.

<sup>278</sup> 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.<sup>279</sup> 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.<sup>280</sup> 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:

De third pine es hard to drei,  
 O wormes þat sal neuer dei,  
 Fell dragons and tades bath  
 Þat ar apon to lok ful lath,  
 Ful wlatsum on to here or se,  
 Ful wa es þam þat þare sal be[.]<sup>281</sup>

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:

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<sup>279</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 43.

<sup>280</sup> Gardiner, *ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>281</sup> Ll. 23225-30.

‘þe aghtend payne, als þe buke says us, / Es þe horribel vermyn venemus’.<sup>282</sup> 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 *Myroure 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.<sup>283</sup> 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 (‘Par 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 (‘þe ferth paine it es o stinc, / Þat mai naman sa mikel thinc’).<sup>284</sup> 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.<sup>285</sup> 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

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<sup>282</sup> 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.

<sup>283</sup> 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.

<sup>284</sup> Ll. 23233-4.

<sup>285</sup> See Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood, eds, *Prick of Conscience*, pp. 183-4, ll. 6671-94.

evil stench' when opened. Indeed, this nasal assault 'surpassed all the other torments.'<sup>286</sup> And, in the vision of Drythelm, the visionary describes 'an insufferable stench spread[ing] with the vapours and fill[ing] all those dark places.'<sup>287</sup>

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.  
 Þaa dintes ar ful fers and fell,  
 Herder þan es here irinn mell.<sup>288</sup>

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 oþer se.<sup>289</sup>

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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<sup>286</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 43. See also le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 35-38.

<sup>287</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 59.

<sup>288</sup> Ll. 23235-40

<sup>289</sup> 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.’<sup>290</sup> 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.’<sup>291</sup> This darkness, then, is well established and has long-standing precedents, as both the Apocalypses of Peter and Paul attest to it.<sup>292</sup> 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 plight.<sup>293</sup>

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.<sup>294</sup> This significantly heightens

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<sup>290</sup> See Hanna and Wood, eds, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 187, ll. 6795-6 (6793-6837 for the full sixth pain).

<sup>291</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 58.

<sup>292</sup> ‘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.

<sup>293</sup> Ll. 23245-8.

<sup>294</sup> 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 þerfore seiþ 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. þat is whanne þe sinful caitif schal be accusid and his owne conscience schal bere witesse azens him and euery creature of god schal rise azens him in veniaunce greuous as an arowe woundis,

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;  
 Pat dreri din þat balful bere,  
 Pat þai wit-vten stint sal here,  
 O þaa wepand in þat waa,  
 Pat sal þam last for euer and ai.<sup>295</sup>

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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schal þanne be þe vois of god to suffre.' London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, ff. 70v-71r. See Appendix 1.6.a.

<sup>295</sup> Ll.23249-56.



heavenly serenity is well established, particularly in visual representations of angels and demons.<sup>296</sup> 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.<sup>297</sup> 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 [...]<sup>298</sup>

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 þai 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.’<sup>299</sup>

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.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> ‘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.

<sup>297</sup> ‘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.

<sup>298</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 60.

<sup>299</sup> Ll. 23301-6.

<sup>300</sup> 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'),<sup>301</sup> 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

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<sup>301</sup> 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.<sup>302</sup>

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:

Þe rightwismen sal se þaa pines  
 Apon vr lauerd wiþerwines,  
 Ðat þair blis mai be þe mare,  
 Ðat þai er scaped o þat care.<sup>303</sup>

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.'<sup>304</sup> 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.'<sup>305</sup> Unlike Aquinas's more reserved proposition of this idea, Tertullian, in his second-century *De*

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<sup>302</sup> Ll. 23230-2.

<sup>303</sup> Ll. 23319-22.

<sup>304</sup> Gardiner, ed., *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 10. See also le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 21, 24, 33-34.

<sup>305</sup> 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.<sup>306</sup>

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.<sup>307</sup> 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:

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<sup>306</sup> Tertullian, *Apology. De Spectaculis. Minucius Felix: Octavius*, p. 300.

<sup>307</sup> 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.

De wicked alsua þe gode sal se

Wit-in þair gammen stad and gle,

Pat þai þe sorfuller sal be

Pat losen folili has þat le[.]<sup>308</sup>

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.<sup>309</sup>

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 nocht reu a dele,

If fader sagh his sun þare,

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<sup>308</sup> Ll. 23323-6.

<sup>309</sup> Luke 16:22-25.

Or sun his fader in þat care,  
 Þe 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 fixs in a water plai;  
 For qui þe right-wis blith sal be  
 Quen he sal wrak on sinful se.<sup>310</sup>

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?”’<sup>311</sup> Thus, to mourn for the damned is to question the righteousness of God’s judgement.<sup>312</sup> The *Three Arrows on Doomsday* (the principal subject of Chapter Two) makes a similar assertion:

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<sup>310</sup> Ll. 23331-44.

<sup>311</sup> Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven & Hell*, p. 42.

<sup>312</sup> 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.

panne among al þat multitude þei schal not fynde oon þat schal haue compassioun  
of hem, but alle schulen be glad and content with god, in her iust  
dampnacioun[.]<sup>313</sup>

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.’<sup>314</sup>

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.<sup>315</sup> 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,

<sup>313</sup> London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, f. 69r.

<sup>314</sup> Psalm 57:11, *Laetabitur justus cum viderit vindictam; manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris.*

<sup>315</sup> 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.<sup>316</sup> 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

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<sup>316</sup> 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:

And qui it stincand stang es cald  
 Þar es resun, qua sum wil hald;  
 Stang als men sais es vmstund  
 Sua depe þat þar-on es na grund,  
 Alsua þe pine of hell pine  
 It es sua depe, wit-vten fine,  
 Þat end ne best þar neuer apon,  
 A stank it calls for-þi sant Iohn.<sup>317</sup>

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.<sup>318</sup> ‘Stinc’ as a noun can also directly represent the stench or fumes of the burning sulphur of

<sup>317</sup> Ll. 23195-202.

<sup>318</sup> *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.<sup>319</sup>

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.<sup>320</sup> The second pain uses a similarly relatable construct to amplify the biting fridity of Hell, wherein a flaming hide

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<sup>319</sup> Ll. 23265-70.

<sup>320</sup> On lines 23209-12 and 23213-6.

wrapped around you would turn to ice as quickly as you could turn over your hand.<sup>321</sup> 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:

De fifte es vndemnes dint,  
 Pat þai wreches þare sal hint,  
 Als it war dintes on a stepi  
 Pat smythes smittes in a smeþey.<sup>322</sup>

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.<sup>323</sup> 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:

And for þai wald na discipline  
 Thole for luue of vr drightin,  
 Pai sal be beft wit-vten houe,

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<sup>321</sup> Ll. 23221-4.

<sup>322</sup> Ll. 23235-8.

<sup>323</sup> Ll. 23271-86.

Ne merci nan to þair behoue.  
 And for þai wald nocht þe light,  
 Þat gis of sothfastnes þe sight,  
 Þat es godd self at vnderstand,  
 Þai sal haf mircknes ai lastand[.]<sup>324</sup>

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 nocht 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.<sup>325</sup>

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

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<sup>324</sup> Ll. 23289-95.

<sup>325</sup> 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.<sup>326</sup> Likewise, a few lines further on, the poet first

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<sup>326</sup> 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’.<sup>327</sup> 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’.<sup>328</sup> 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’.<sup>329</sup> 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.<sup>330</sup> 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 [...] <sup>331</sup>

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.

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<sup>327</sup> Ll. 23199-200.

<sup>328</sup> Ll. 23253-4.

<sup>329</sup> Ll. 23233-4.

<sup>330</sup> 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).

<sup>331</sup> 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: 'Pat smythes smittes in a smepey.'<sup>332</sup> 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:

Pai sal be sett in þair prison,  
 Vpward þair fete, þair hefdes dun,  
 Pair backs til ward oþer bete,  
 Wit pine on ilk side vm-sete.<sup>333</sup>

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

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<sup>332</sup> Ll. 23235-8.

<sup>333</sup> 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.<sup>334</sup>

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 blisced hedes', seven in body and seven in soul,<sup>335</sup> none of the pleasures thereafter described are enumerated as the Pains of Hell are.<sup>336</sup> 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

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<sup>334</sup> 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.

<sup>335</sup> Ll. 23370-72.

<sup>336</sup> 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 hell 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.’<sup>337</sup> ‘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.<sup>338</sup> 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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<sup>337</sup> Ll. 23477-8.

<sup>338</sup> 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,<sup>339</sup> 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.<sup>340</sup>

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

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<sup>339</sup> ‘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.

<sup>340</sup> Ll. 23351-4.

into miniature heavenly cities.<sup>341</sup> 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.<sup>342</sup> 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:

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.<sup>343</sup>

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.<sup>344</sup> 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

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<sup>341</sup> For example, the Doom murals at Wenhaston, 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<sup>th</sup> century, which shows the Heavenly city as a crenelated, towered building; at Great Harrowden, Peterborough, 15<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>342</sup> Ll. 23355-8.

<sup>343</sup> Ll. 23359-64.

<sup>344</sup> Ll. 23373-9: ‘In bodi, suetnes and fairhede, / Fredome and strength ai lijf to lede, / Liking als wit lastand hele; Þe saul als has als fele, / Sal haf wisdom and frenscip, / Concord, pouste, and wirscip, / Sekernes, and ioiful ro’.

reiterate their numbered format, but this too is instantly neglected after its reintroduction.<sup>345</sup> 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.<sup>346</sup>

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 reeled 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:

In suiftenes þou sal be sa swift,  
 Ðat als suith som þou mai lift  
 Ðine 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.<sup>347</sup>

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.<sup>348</sup> The poet does, as with his discussion of the Pains of Hell, attempt to

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<sup>345</sup> Ll. 23477-8.

<sup>346</sup> Ll. 23365-8: ‘Nan ei mai se, ne ere mai here, / Ne hert mai think þaa ioies sere, / Ðat iesus crist has dight til his, / Ðat weirrdd er vnto þe bliss.’

<sup>347</sup> Ll. 23381-90.

<sup>348</sup> In the *Prick of Conscience*, this is the second bliss: ‘For in les while þan a man may wynke, / þai sall mow fleghe whider þai will thynk’. Hanna and Wood, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 218, ll. 7931-2.

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 twynkellyng of ane eghe.’<sup>349</sup> 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.’<sup>350</sup>

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.<sup>351</sup> Their bodies will be subject to no kind of restriction, offering total freedom:

De freedom sal be at vnderstand,  
 Ði 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.<sup>352</sup>

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.<sup>353</sup>

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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<sup>349</sup> Hanna and Wood, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 218, ll. 7942-5.

<sup>350</sup> Ll. 23391-2.

<sup>351</sup> Ll. 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 here, / In heven þai sall be fayre and clere / And mare schyneand and mare bryght / þan ever þe son was tyll mans syght.’ Hanna and Wood, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 217, ll. 7906-11.

<sup>352</sup> Ll. 23409-14.

<sup>353</sup> Ll. 23415-22.

Pou sal ha strength for-soth i tell,  
 With þi fote to ouercast a fell,  
 Or al þis erth if þe gode thought,  
 Als lighteli ouerturn þou moght [...] <sup>354</sup>

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. <sup>355</sup>

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. <sup>356</sup>

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'. <sup>357</sup> 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'). <sup>358</sup> And, most importantly, we shall hear God speak: 'And here god talkin for to tell'. <sup>359</sup> There will be 'suede 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',

<sup>354</sup> Ll. 23423-6, and 27-28. The third bliss of the *Prick*: 'þe thred blys es strenthe and myght / þat þe ryghtwise bodyse sall have thurgh ryght.' Hanna and Wood, *Prick of Conscience*, p. 218, ll. 7956-7.

<sup>355</sup> Ll. 23549-54.

<sup>356</sup> Ll. 23555, 23557, 23556, and 23558.

<sup>357</sup> Ll. 23451-2.

<sup>358</sup> Ll. 23453-4.

<sup>359</sup> L. 23455.

as well as ‘mynstralsi’, to invoke a sensory analogy – olfactorial and aural – for the experiencing of divine bliss<sup>360</sup>); these gifts will indulge all of ‘þin wittes fiue’ and offer ‘lastand elth [...] wit-vten seke or sare’.<sup>361</sup> 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 epitomal heavenly gift that the saved receive and the damned are denied, to look upon God first-hand:

Þat es vr lauerd self to sai  
 Þat þou sal se on euer and ai.  
 Þof þat þou euer apon him se,  
 Of him sadd sal þou neuer be.<sup>362</sup>

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’.<sup>363</sup> 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

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<sup>360</sup> London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII, f. 90r. See Appendix 1.4.c.

<sup>361</sup> Ll. 23456-7; 23463-5.

<sup>362</sup> Ll. 23433-6.

<sup>363</sup> 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.<sup>364</sup> 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 likyngges of metis and drynkys or spysery or mynstralsi þat anny man or angell may þenke 3e shall haue in þe sight of þe blessed trinite þe wiche shall last euer wit owten ende[.]<sup>365</sup>

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.<sup>366</sup> Saints Ambrose and Gregory, on the other hand, argued that the Vision was directly accessible to the saints immediately upon death.<sup>367</sup> 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.<sup>368</sup> 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 deathbed<sup>369</sup>), it was cemented that the Vision occurred to the just before the Last Judgement.<sup>370</sup> Of course, as Binski observes, this undermines the momentousness of the Last Judgement: ‘if the blessed

<sup>364</sup> *The Sermon of Dead Men*, in Wogan-Browne, *The Idea of the Vernacular*, pp. 255-8, no. 3.11.

<sup>365</sup> London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B.XXIII, ff. 89v-90r. See Appendix 1.3.c.

<sup>366</sup> Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 212. For Binski’s full discussion, see pp. 204-214.

<sup>367</sup> Binski, *ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>368</sup> Binski, *ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>369</sup> Alan E. Bernstein, ‘Heaven, hell and purgatory: 1100-1500’, in Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, eds, *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4, ‘Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500’ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 200-216 (p. 211).

<sup>370</sup> Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 212-214.



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.<sup>371</sup>

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.<sup>372</sup> 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 ‘beleued’, glowing ‘thoru þi limes all’, you would have joy in both body and ‘wit-vte’; no man needs any more.<sup>373</sup> 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: ‘Ðat crist him kythes to þaim clene!’<sup>374</sup> 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

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<sup>371</sup> Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 214.

<sup>372</sup> Bernstein, ‘Heaven, hell and purgatory’, pp. 210-211.

<sup>373</sup> Ll. 23437-43.

<sup>374</sup> 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, / Ðat was and es and ai sal be, / Þai se it [all] in þe trinite'),<sup>375</sup> 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,  
 Ðat sight o godd has euer emidd.<sup>376</sup>

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 nocht  
 It sal þe turn til ani scam,  
 Ne namar o blenc ne o blame.  
 Haf neuer þi sin sa lath bene,  
 Ðat þou was her-of sriuen clene,  
 And dreied penance here o care,  
 For þaim ne sal þe scam na mar,

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<sup>375</sup> 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.'

<sup>376</sup> Ll. 23485-90.

Þan þof a man þe tald to-dai  
 Quat þou did and in credel lai;  
 Na mar scam sal þe think þare,  
 Þan if þou cummen o batel ware,  
 Wit wondes þat þou þar had tan,  
 And þou war heleid o þam ilkan.<sup>377</sup>

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 quilts 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.<sup>378</sup> 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').<sup>379</sup> They will have everlasting fellowship with God

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<sup>377</sup> Ll. 23491-504.

<sup>378</sup> Ll. 23505-10: 'Nan oþer thing es mans sin for-giue, / Þan for to bete it quilts 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[...]'.  
<sup>379</sup> Ll. 23511-2.

as his own children; they are one with him and he with them (‘Ðai won wit him, he wit þam wons’) and he will love them as his own sons.<sup>380</sup>

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): ‘Ðai ioi, þair gladdscip, qua can tell?’<sup>381</sup> The answer to this, the poet continues, is nobody:

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,  
 Ðat euer was and ai sal be,  
 Ðai sal ha ioi wit-in and vte,  
 And on euer-ilk side a-bute,  
 Ouer and vnder and aiquare;  
 Vr lauerd vs giue vr woning þar!<sup>382</sup>

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 (‘Pir er þe blisses and mani elles, / Godd gis to þaim [þat] wit him duelles’).<sup>383</sup>

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

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<sup>380</sup> Ll. 23513-6.

<sup>381</sup> L. 23603.

<sup>382</sup> Ll. 23604-12.

<sup>383</sup> Ll. 23613-4.

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:

Dir sal be fair and dughti bath,  
 Pai sal be grisli and lath [...]  
 Dir sal liue in fredom fre,  
 Pai sal liue euer in caituete [...]  
 Dir laghes in ioi þar þai er lend,  
 Pai wepe in soru wit-vten end[.]<sup>384</sup>

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 þat soru and fra þat site, / Iesu crist he mak us quite, / And giue vs grace sua here to do, / Pat wit his we mai rest in ro’).<sup>385</sup> 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<sup>386</sup> – 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

<sup>384</sup> Ll. 23619-20; 23625-6; 23647-8.

<sup>385</sup> Ll. 23649-52.

<sup>386</sup> Discussed in Chapter Two. See *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm*, translated by Sr Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

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 prolixity 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*).<sup>387</sup> 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 clenget 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 bliscet be and quit / O labur, and o soru, and sit').<sup>388</sup> We are presented with a verdant, peaceful, serene pasture of uninterrupted 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.

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<sup>387</sup> The full passage is provided in Appendix 1.14.

<sup>388</sup> Ll. 23659 and 23662; 23691-4.



## Chapter Two

### *Of Pre Arowis þat 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.<sup>389</sup> 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

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<sup>389</sup> 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.<sup>390</sup> 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

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<sup>390</sup> 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<sup>st</sup> 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).<sup>391</sup>

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 needs remedying. 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.<sup>392</sup> 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

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<sup>391</sup> St Bernard is particularly prominent in the material that has been examined by this thesis, especially in sermons, wherein he is referenced regularly. One of Bernard’s own sermons – which will be addressed later in this chapter – also specifically focuses on the Last Judgement.

<sup>392</sup> That is until Ralph Hanna’s efforts into investigating the second version were made public in 2016.

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.<sup>393</sup>

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 *Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei*.<sup>394</sup> 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*.<sup>395</sup> The *Boke* survives in four English manuscripts of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are either fragmentary or incomplete;<sup>396</sup> indeed, the full-length treatise does not survive in any manuscript, the whole text having been pieced together from the shrapnel.<sup>397</sup> 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,<sup>398</sup> dated to c. 1400, according to Horstmann and the *Manual*, but before 1389,

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<sup>393</sup> *Manual*, IX, p. 3134.

<sup>394</sup> *IPMEP*, no. 502, p. 175; *Manual*, IX, no. 85, pp. 3133-4, 3469-70; Jolliffe, *Check-List*, I.29, p. 112.

<sup>395</sup> 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).

<sup>396</sup> See George R. Keiser, 'Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei', *Viator* 12 (1981), 289-318 (pp. 289-90 for manuscripts of the *Holy Boke*).

<sup>397</sup> See in particular Sr Mary Luke Arntz, *Richard Rolle and Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei: An Edition with Commentary* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1981).

<sup>398</sup> 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.<sup>399</sup> 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.<sup>400</sup>

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.<sup>401</sup> Then, Hope Emily Allen confirmed that the texts were indeed the components of a singular treatise.<sup>402</sup> Allen, however, also argued against Rolle's authorship of the *Holy Boke*, despite the objections of Geraldine Hodgson.<sup>403</sup> 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 *Pe 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

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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 Pe 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 *Pe 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 thyng" that is needed by each man and omits the third point entirely', Arntz, p. x. The interruption of the text at this 'secunde thyng' cuts off the M-V, which is one of its final components.<sup>399</sup> *Manual*, IX, p. 3469; Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 132; British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1657&CollID=20&NStart=507>> [07/03/16]

<sup>400</sup> Ralph Hanna, *Introducing English Medieval Book History: Manuscripts, their Producers and their Readers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 82; For a full description of Arundel 507, consult Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), no. 45, p. 85; and Hanna, ed., *Richard Rolle: Uncollected Verse and Prose, with Related Northern Texts*, EETS, O.S. 329 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>401</sup> See the *Manual*, IX, p. 3133.

<sup>402</sup> Allen, *WAR*.

<sup>403</sup> Allen, *WAR*, p. 287; Geraldine E. Hodgson, ed. and trans., *Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle with the Privy 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 *De 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.<sup>404</sup>

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.<sup>405</sup>

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;<sup>406</sup> 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 rhythmical prose'.<sup>407</sup>

<sup>404</sup> Arntz, CVIII-CIX; George R. Keiser corroborated Arntz's argument, see *Manual*, IX, 3133.

<sup>405</sup> 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-Rolleian 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).

<sup>406</sup> 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 Riwe*. 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, 'De Holy Boke Gratia Dei', p. 289.

<sup>407</sup> 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.’<sup>408</sup>

However, Frances Comper elected to remove the M-V from Rolle’s canon, considering it incongruent with Rolle’s typical style.<sup>409</sup> 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.<sup>410</sup>

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.<sup>411</sup> 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.’<sup>412</sup> 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.<sup>413</sup> Horstmann allocated the manuscript’s production to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but Hanna’s more detailed examination of MS Rawl. allows for more precision.<sup>414</sup> Three of these scribes write in various

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<sup>408</sup> Hodgson, *Minor Works*, p. 161.

<sup>409</sup> Frances M. Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle: Together with an Edition of his English Lyrics* (London: Dent, 1928), p. 133.

<sup>410</sup> Allen, *WAR*, p. 286.

<sup>411</sup> Allen, *WAR*, p. 286; see footnote 406.

<sup>412</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 59.

<sup>413</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 61.

<sup>414</sup> Horstmann, vol. I, p. 104; Horstmann’s dating agrees with William D. Macray, who comments ‘saec. xv.’, in *Catalogi codicum manusccriptorum 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’,<sup>415</sup> but Hanna believes the fourth scribe to have been working a quarter-century later, as he exhibits some of the hallmarks of Secretary script.<sup>416</sup> 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’.<sup>417</sup> 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.’<sup>418</sup> 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.<sup>419</sup> 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.<sup>420</sup> 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.’<sup>421</sup> 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’

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4, accessed via <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/rawlinson/rawlinsonCLD.html#rawlA> [June 2015].

<sup>415</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 61.

<sup>416</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 70.

<sup>417</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 67.

<sup>418</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, pp. 62-3, 64, 75.

<sup>419</sup> See Horstmann vol. I, p. 104; Macray, *Catalogi 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.

<sup>420</sup> Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Books of Religion’, in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Albert Pearsall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 317-345 (p. 327); also Hanna, *Book History*, p. 79.

<sup>421</sup> 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’.<sup>422</sup> 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’.<sup>423</sup> Both Macray and Horstmann (who transcribes the verse<sup>424</sup>) 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.<sup>425</sup> 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 brevis est vox: “Ite, venite”.

Aspera vox, “ite”; vox est iocunda, “venite”.<sup>426</sup>

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

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<sup>422</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, pp. 83-4.

<sup>423</sup> Macray, *Catalogi codicum*, p. 123.

<sup>424</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. 1, p. 129.

<sup>425</sup> 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.

<sup>426</sup> ‘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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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*.<sup>427</sup> 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 [...] *Pe holy boke gracia dei*.'<sup>428</sup> 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

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<sup>427</sup> Alternatively, the scribe's exemplar also contains these accompanying texts, but this does not affect the underlying point.

<sup>428</sup> 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.<sup>429</sup> 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:

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<sup>429</sup> 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.

Now open þi hert wyde to thynke on  
base paynes þat Cryst for þe thoolede[.]

[MS Rawl. C 285]

Oppyn þi hert with sighings sare til þink  
on þe pynes þat Ihesus Crist  
suffred[.]<sup>430</sup>

[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  
qwat þou has thoolede or done for me.  
For now rightwysnes wil þat ilke ane haf  
als þai haf seruede, outhire to dwel in  
payne or in blysse, for euer and ay.

[MS Rawl. C 285]

For-þi nedli bihoues þe til schew:  
what þou haues done or tholid for me;  
ffor now mi rightwisnes wil: þat i  
schape til ilk man his mede  
to dwelle in pyne or in ioie for eauer  
after he has seruid.<sup>431</sup>

[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 vnto  
his chosyn childer, als grymly and als

& als gladful as is come is to þe gode:  
als aful & grisly sal it be to þe ille.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>430</sup> All quotations for both versions are taken from Horstmann's parallel edition, *YW*, vol. I, pp. 112-121 (p. 112).

<sup>431</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 119.

<sup>432</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, pp. 116-17.

agthful sal it be til þase wryckched

[MS Arundel 507]

caytifs þat has led þaire lif in lust and

likynges of þaire flesshe and in dedely

synne, and walde nogth amend þaim

bot ended þare-Inne.

[MS Rawl. C 285]

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 *Pe 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*]’.<sup>433</sup> 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:

Þan was þe worde fulfilledde of Symeone, Þen was fulfillid þe worde of Simeon: *Tuam*

þat to hir sayd: “Þe swerd of sorow sal *ipsius animam pertransibit gladius*, þat is:

stykke thurgth þi hert”.

“Þe swerd of sorugh sal thorough-stike þi

[MS Rawl. C 285]

saule”.<sup>434</sup>

<sup>433</sup> Keiser, ‘Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei’, p. 290.

<sup>434</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 115, the scriptural quote is Luke 2:35.

[MS Arundel 507]

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.

<p>Til þase god sal say: <i>Congregabo super</i>  <i>eos mala: Et sagittas meas complebo in eis:</i>          “And I sal schote”, says god, “thre scharpe          arrows at þaim, þat sal smyte þaim þat þai sal          neeuer couere”.</p> <p>[MS Rawl. C 285]</p>	<p>For god thretis þe yuel with .III.          arowes / &amp; sais: <i>Congregabo super</i>  <i>eos mala &amp; sag.III. com. in eis</i>, þat is:          “I sal hepe on þaim alkyns yuel &amp; wa,          &amp; mi .III. sharpe arowes sal i in þaim          feste: þat sal wounde þe sinful / þat          he sal neuer couer”.<sup>435</sup></p>
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[MS Arundel 507]

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.<sup>436</sup> 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,

<sup>435</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 117, Deuteronomy 32:23.

<sup>436</sup> 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*.<sup>437</sup>

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 disparity 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 ‘*vprisung*’:

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<sup>437</sup> 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 ‘þ<sup>r</sup>e’. 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.

Thinke after of his wendynge til helle; / what comforte 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 neuer harmer ne fande þe folke after / as bifore.<sup>438</sup>

[MS Arundel 507]

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

Thinke 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[.]<sup>439</sup>

[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

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<sup>438</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 116.

<sup>439</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 116.



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 eeuer withoutene ende. To þe whilk  
 Ioy he brynge vs þat bogth vs. Amen. Amen. Amen.<sup>440</sup>

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 likyng /  
 & 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.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>441</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 121.

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 in mynde'.<sup>442</sup> 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'.<sup>443</sup> The concluding tone of the M-V in MS Arundel is pastoral and catechetical, all of which is absent from MS Rawl.:

Pus mani woundes suffird god for man kynde: ffyue thousand & foure  
hundreth & sexti & fiftene. And if þou sai ilk dai of þe zere fiftene: þou sal  
sai als many pater nostres in þe hale zere.<sup>444</sup>

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 / thorough his dere grace'.<sup>445</sup> 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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<sup>442</sup> 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.

<sup>443</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>444</sup> 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.'

<sup>445</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 121.

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,<sup>446</sup> 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.<sup>447</sup> 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’.<sup>448</sup> 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’.<sup>449</sup> 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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<sup>446</sup> Unabbreviated copies of the *Holy Boke* recension of the M-V would presumably have contained even more detail on this subject.

<sup>447</sup> See footnote 406.

<sup>448</sup> Hanna, *Book History*, p. 81.

<sup>449</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, pp. 112 and 104.

unlikely.<sup>450</sup> 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'.<sup>451</sup> 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

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<sup>450</sup> Allen, *WAR*, p. 286.

<sup>451</sup> *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*.<sup>452</sup> 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,<sup>453</sup> 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*.<sup>454</sup> As with the M-V, we can simplify our discussion of this particular

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<sup>452</sup> Jolliffe, *Check-List*, I. 30, p. 112.

<sup>453</sup> Again, until the publication of Hanna's work.

<sup>454</sup> 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.<sup>455</sup> 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.<sup>456</sup>

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,<sup>457</sup> 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’).<sup>458</sup> 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.<sup>459</sup> 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.

<sup>455</sup> Version two is not as much of a meditation as version one, nor as much of a sermon as version three. See Bestul, ‘Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale’, for an unpacking of ‘meditacioun’.

<sup>456</sup> G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: an Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge: CUP, 1926), p. 222.

<sup>457</sup> ‘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, ‘De Holy Boke Gratia Dei’, p. 294; he references N. F. Blake, *Middle English Religious Prose* (London: Edward Arnold, 1972), pp. 17-19.

<sup>458</sup> Ralph Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, a paper delivered at the University of Lausanne for the conference ‘Late Medieval Religiosity in England: The Evidence of Late Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Devotional Compilations’, 31<sup>st</sup> March to 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2016, paper given on Friday 1<sup>st</sup> April 2016, p. 1.

<sup>459</sup> 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 viciorum*, completed in 1429, ‘a thoroughly unoriginal encyclopaedic compilation’.

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.<sup>460</sup> 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*.<sup>461</sup> 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.<sup>462</sup> 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

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<sup>460</sup> *Manual*, II, p. 358.

<sup>461</sup> 'No complete listing of prose meditations can be undertaken before the completion of the *Index of Middle English Prose...*' *Manual*, IX, p. 3098.

<sup>462</sup> 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.<sup>463</sup> 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.<sup>464</sup>

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 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>465</sup> The *IPMEP* does, however, appear to have misidentified one manuscript, London, British Library, MS Harley 2385,<sup>466</sup> 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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<sup>463</sup> Margaret Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses? The Oddities of Arundel 197, with special reference to *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*’, *British Library Journal*, 20 (1994), 55-64 (p. 55).

<sup>464</sup> Arntz, *Richard Rolle and Pe Holy Boke Gratia Dei*, pp. LVI-LVII.

<sup>465</sup> *IPMEP*, no. 842, pp. 283-4.

<sup>466</sup> This manuscript has in fact been discussed by several critics. See Ann Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite 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’.<sup>467</sup> 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.<sup>468</sup>

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’.<sup>469</sup> 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  
[...]<sup>470</sup>

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 14<sup>th</sup> century’, is the ‘leading Ms.’, but he does not allude to why this would be the case.<sup>471</sup> 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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<sup>467</sup> William Hocker, *et al.*, eds, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London: The British Museum, 1808-12), vol. 2, Harley MS 2388.

<sup>468</sup> 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.

<sup>469</sup> *IPMEP*, p. 283; the extension of the rubric is taken from BL Harley MS 2339, f. 63r.

<sup>470</sup> OUC 97, in *IPMEP*, p. 283.

<sup>471</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436.

- E. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. 6. 55, end of the fourteenth century.
- F. Coughton Court Throckmorton MS / London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3597, 1465-1500.
- G. Glasgow, Glasgow University Hunterian MS 496, between 1299 and 1399.
- H. Glasgow, Glasgow University Hunterian MS 520, between 1299 and 1399.<sup>472</sup>
- I. London, British Library, MS Arundel 197, third quarter fifteenth century.
- J. London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, 1474-1524.
- K. London, British Library, MS Harley 2339, c. 1400.
- L. London, British Library, MS Harley 2388, fifteenth century (acephalous).
- M. London, British Library, MS Additional 10036, first quarter fifteenth century.
- N. London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, late fourteenth century.
- O. Manchester, Manchester Rylands English MS 85, end of fourteenth or beginning of fifteenth century.
- P. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 3, early fifteenth century.
- Q. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 13, fourteenth century.
- R. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 23, fifteenth century.
- S. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 174, fifteenth century.
- T. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 336, beginning fifteenth century.
- U. Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College MS 97, end of the fourteenth century.<sup>473</sup>

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.<sup>474</sup> 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.<sup>475</sup> *Gostly Batayle* employs most of the T-V, redacting it in places and embellishing it

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<sup>472</sup> The *Manual* lists both of these Glasgow MSS in its entry for the *Pore Caitiff*, providing them with a date of c. 1400, which seems far more acceptable: *Manual*, IX, no. 87, p. 3470.

<sup>473</sup> This list, despite the error discussed above, is borrowed from the *IPMEP*; dates provided are based upon the approximations of the relevant catalogues for each institution, some accessed online, others in print.

<sup>474</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College MS 28, ff. 88r-90r, see *Repertorium*, vol. 4, p. 2251; and Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School MS 3, ff. 67v-73r, see *Repertorium*, vol. 4, p. 2468.

<sup>475</sup> For the list of manuscripts, see *Manual*, VII, pp. 2331-2332, and no. 173, p. 2540.

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.<sup>476</sup> All in all, then, this version of the *Three Arrows* survives in some thirty copies (a count supported by Hanna),<sup>477</sup> 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<sup>478</sup>:

**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<sup>479</sup>

**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.<sup>480</sup> Version three is distinguished, according to Hanna, by an effort to

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<sup>476</sup> 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.

<sup>477</sup> Hanna, 'The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled', p. 1.

<sup>478</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*

<sup>479</sup> One of the aforementioned sermon-manuscripts that utilises the theme of the *Three Arrows*.

<sup>480</sup> 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.<sup>481</sup> These additions, explains Hanna, are not ‘exceptionally inspired’, presupposing an audience that requires further clarification.<sup>482</sup> 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’.<sup>483</sup> 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.<sup>484</sup> 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.<sup>485</sup>

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’.<sup>486</sup> 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.’<sup>487</sup> 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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<sup>481</sup> Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 5.

<sup>482</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>483</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>484</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>485</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>486</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446, and vol. I, p. 112.

<sup>487</sup> John A. Alford, ‘Richard Rolle and Related Works’, in A. S. G. Edwards, ed., *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), p. 47.

‘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* [...]’<sup>488</sup> 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.’<sup>489</sup> 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

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<sup>488</sup> Alford, ‘Richard Rolle and his Related Works’, p. 47.

<sup>489</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 112.

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.<sup>490</sup> 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.<sup>491</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> [The myror of synneres] and 5<sup>th</sup> [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.'<sup>492</sup> Though this individual will have to remain anonymous, it is worth

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<sup>490</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Laudian Manuscripts*, Quarto Catalogues, 2, reprinted from the ed. of 1858-1885, with corrections and additions, and an historical introduction by R.W. Hunt, (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1973), pp. 158-9; accessed via [http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/diDisplay.do?vid=OXVU1&docId=oxfaleph011718317](http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/diDisplay.do?vid=OXVU1&docId=oxfaleph011718317) [12/02/15].

<sup>491</sup> 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].

<sup>492</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436.

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’.<sup>493</sup> So, our compiler for the T-V was clearly a literate figure with access to ‘a full Latin source and a library’.<sup>494</sup> 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.<sup>495</sup> 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

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<sup>493</sup> Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 2.

<sup>494</sup> Hanna, *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>495</sup> 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.<sup>496</sup> *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.’<sup>497</sup> 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.<sup>498</sup> 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

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<sup>496</sup> *Manual*, IX, p. 3135.

<sup>497</sup> Mary Teresa Brady, ‘The “Pore Caitif”: An Introductory Study’, *Traditio* 10 (1954), pp. 529-548 (p. 529).

<sup>498</sup> 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.<sup>499</sup> 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.<sup>500</sup> 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.<sup>501</sup>

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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<sup>499</sup> 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.

<sup>500</sup> For a detailed description of MS A, see Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, no. 4, pp. 8-13.

<sup>501</sup> 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 degree'; 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.<sup>502</sup> 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.'<sup>503</sup>

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

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<sup>502</sup> 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.

<sup>503</sup> Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, 'Devotional Cosmopolitanism in Fifteenth-Century England', in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies*, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 363-380 (pp. 370-71).

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.<sup>504</sup> The existence of this node of texts is palpable when we observe the T-V’s most consistent companion, the *Myroure of Synneres*, a mid- to late-fourteenth-century text, which, according to Horstmann, is ‘an abridged, free translation of the *Speculum Peccatoris*, ascribed to St. Augustine [...] St. Bernard, and R. Rolle’.<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>504</sup> ‘In this maner of thenkyng the soule conceyueth forthenkyng, fforthenkyng bryngeth forth confessioun, and confession norisscheth amendyng and ful aseth making [...]’ All extracts from the *Myroure* are from Horstmann’s transcription of MS U, in *YW*, vol. II, pp. 436-40 (p. 438).

<sup>505</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436; see also *IPMEP*, n. 213, p. 73; Jolliffe, *Check-List*, F. 8, p.81; the *Myroure* does not appear to have an entry in the *Manual*. Hanna corroborates Horstmann’s assessment of the *Myroure*’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.<sup>506</sup> Both Jolliffe and the *IPMEP* list twenty-two surviving manuscript copies of the *Myroure*, 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 *Myroure* – a significant concurrence rate.<sup>507</sup> 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’),<sup>508</sup> which more strongly implies their consistent existence in a ‘node’.<sup>509</sup> For example, in MS K, the rubric preceding the T-V contains the explicit for the *Myroure* as well as the incipit for the *Three Arrows*: ‘here eendip þe myrrour of synners, and bigynneþ anopir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday, to hem þat þere schulen be dampned.’<sup>510</sup> 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)’.<sup>511</sup> This is an unjustifiable mistake, however, as the rubric on f. 106r of MS J only pertains to the *Myroure*, it does not stipulate that this will be followed by the T-V, which might otherwise have vindicated their perceived conflation. Likewise, the *Myroure*’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 *Myroure* 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*.<sup>512</sup> It is, in Hanna’s words, ‘fairly standard issue contempt of the world, learn to die material’.<sup>513</sup> The

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<sup>506</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 436-40.

<sup>507</sup> Those that do not also contain the *Myroure* are MSS B, C, I, L, and M.

<sup>508</sup> Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 9.

<sup>509</sup> 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 *Myroure*, 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.

<sup>510</sup> London, British Library, Harley MS 2339, f. 62v.

<sup>511</sup> The British Library, ‘Digitised Manuscripts’, Harley MS 1706, <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_1706](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_1706)>, [accessed 21/07/15].

<sup>512</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436.

<sup>513</sup> 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:

*Vtinam saperent & intelligerent, ac nouissima prouiderent*, that is: Wolde god þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden, and purueieden for the laste thynges!<sup>514</sup>

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 *Myroure* and the T-V is already abundantly clear, and their accompaniment in such a high proportion of manuscripts appears sensible: the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure* 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, medycyne of malice, dryuyng away of licherie, voidyng of boost and of vanytee, informacion of leernyng, perfeccion of hoolynesse, and reparaylyng of euerlastyng heelthe'.<sup>515</sup> The *Myroure* 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[...]'.<sup>516</sup> 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 *Myroure* (*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.).<sup>517</sup>

The *Myroure* 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.<sup>518</sup>

<sup>514</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436.

<sup>515</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436-7.

<sup>516</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 437.

<sup>517</sup> Hanna, 'The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled', p. 10.

<sup>518</sup> London, British Library, Harley MS 1706, f. 110v (MS J).

Around halfway through the *Myroure* this very same quotation is offered, but the *Myroure* more specifically informs us that these are the words of the Holy Spirit through ‘Salomon’.<sup>519</sup> 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 *Myroure* as it is with the T-V, highlighting their semantic affiliation.<sup>520</sup> Both are concerned with preparation for the Last Things and the prevention of individual damnation. The *Myroure*, 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.<sup>521</sup>

Another example comes from the opening line of the *Myroure*, 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’.<sup>522</sup> 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 percurrens*’.<sup>523</sup> As MS M translates it, ‘what haþ pride profitid to vs or þe boost of rychesse, what haþ it brouzt to vs, alle þise þinges hau passid as a schadewe, & we forsoþe mowe schewe no tokene of holynesse’.<sup>524</sup> 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.<sup>525</sup> These notions

<sup>519</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 438.

<sup>520</sup> ‘In all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin.’ Ecclesiasticus 7:40.

<sup>521</sup> Indeed, the *novissima* that the *Myroure* envisages are arguably those to do with personal – or particular – rather than general judgement. For example, the *Myroure* describes a scene of death extremely reminiscent of images frequently found in Books of Hours or in the later *artes moriendi*. 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 *Myroure*’s description of such a moment is as follows: ‘And ouer al þis bihold in this myroure how þat in the laste horrible & dreedful houre, whan thi wrecchide soule schalle passe fro thi body, anon þeer schullen be reedy & present a greet & an horrible multitude of wykked spirites, mynistres of the foule feend of helle, rizt 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 *Myroure*’s affinity with late medieval mortuary and funerary culture.

<sup>522</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 436.

<sup>523</sup> ‘All those things are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runneth on’, Wisdom 5:9.

<sup>524</sup> London, British Library, Additional MS 10036, f. 89r.

<sup>525</sup> Wisdom 5:10-12.

are certainly cognate with the fleeting umbra that is life on earth, which the *Myroure* 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.*’<sup>526</sup> 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 *Myroure* 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 ioeye
that boughte vs with his precious blood.	he brynge vs þat bouzte vs with
Amen. <sup>527</sup>	his precious blood. Amen. <sup>528</sup>

The *Myroure*

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.’<sup>529</sup> The M-V in

<sup>526</sup> ‘These are they, whom we had some time in derision’, Wisdom 5:3.

<sup>527</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 440.

<sup>528</sup> MS U, Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 448.

<sup>529</sup> 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 *Myroure*'s closing sentiments and the T-V's opening. During one final recapitulation of the transitory vanities of the world, the *Myroure* 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 dreedful day of goddes greeete vengeaunce.'<sup>530</sup> 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'.<sup>531</sup> Thus, the closing sentiments of the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure* 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 *Myroure* – contain numerous meditations. The *Myroure*, although not outright a meditation, utilises language on several occasions that is reminiscent of such texts. The *Myroure* 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 eizen of here mynde þe knowynge of here owen infirmyte'; 'and 3ef þow wolt sette the sodeynte of deeth bifore þe eizen of þi mynde'; 'And þerfore bryng it ofte to thi mynde, that dreedful day of thy passynge'.<sup>532</sup> The *Myroure* 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':

<sup>530</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 440.

<sup>531</sup> MS U, Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446.

<sup>532</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 437; 438; 438.



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

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.<sup>534</sup>

This type of language connects the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure* 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, soiet [subject] to alle maner of vanytee, defouled with filthes of synne, corrupt with couetise, and þat it schal perisshe with-ynne short tyme’.<sup>535</sup> 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 lutel while abydyng vpon þis eerthe.’<sup>536</sup> The *Myroure* 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 *Myroure*’s message that we can avoid damnation: ‘Oo brother, ful wel schal þee bee ȝef þowe sauoure & vnderstonde thise thynges þat i. telle þee, and ȝef þow wolt write hem in thyn herte as in a book’.<sup>537</sup>

<sup>533</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 437.

<sup>534</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>535</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 437.

<sup>536</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, pp. 437 and 438.

<sup>537</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 437. Another reference to books in the *Myroure* comes in a more condemnatory form: ‘Be a-schamed, þow proude man, bee aschamed! thow þat hast moore likyng to leerne & to reede on the bokes of vanytees than on the bookes of holy writ!’ Horstmann, *YW*, vol. 2, p. 439. It is somewhat ironic, then, that some of the manuscripts containing texts like the *Myroure*, 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 myroure it is for synneres, the inwardly biholdyng of this highe sentence [...] For 3ef þow ofte biholde thi-self in this myroure, and 3ef þow bisily studye to sette thus þi-self bifore thy-self, doutelees, thow schalt be strengere þan Sampson, moore waar þan Dauyd, and wiser than Salomon.<sup>538</sup>

In utilising this concept, the *Myroure* 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[.]<sup>539</sup>

In the *Myroure*, 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 corrupcioun; whan the body is buried, it falleth in to powdir, & is turned alle in to wormes. Bihold now, brother, this is an horrible sȳt; but it is a ful profitable myroure.<sup>540</sup>

This extract from the *Myroure* 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.<sup>541</sup> In both Baret's inscription and the *Myroure*, we are entreated to view an

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containing the *Myroure*, has a wealth of the typical catechetical and devotional material, but also accommodates a host of romance texts.

<sup>538</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 437.

<sup>539</sup> See Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, California Studies in the History of Art, 15 (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1973), p. 91.

<sup>540</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 439.

<sup>541</sup> '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 *Myroure* – 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 *Myroure* continues:

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

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.<sup>543</sup>

Indeed, there are further similarities between the *Myroure* and this funerary culture. As mentioned, the above extract from the *Myroure* would be an apt description of a transi tomb, but this comparison can be extended further. The author of the *Myroure* 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 mouldering body as turning into ‘wormes’. This image that the *Myroure* 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 [...]

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<sup>542</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. 2, p. 439.

<sup>543</sup> It should be noted that the outward intentions of cadaver monuments are arguably disingenuous (and at the very least ambiguous), as Cohen observes: ‘[t]he summary dismissal by so many modern writers of transi tombs as mere memento mori for the living is both inadequate and superficial.’ Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, p. 4.

You will be like me after you die

All horrible, dust, worms, vile flesh.<sup>544</sup>

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.<sup>545</sup> 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.<sup>546</sup> 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.<sup>547</sup> 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’.<sup>548</sup>

These examples demonstrate the interconnections of the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure 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 *Myroure*:

Cast away thi pruyde, fflee fro vanytee, and taak to the this heelful techyng of amendement, lest þow perissche. *Be-hold in this myroure and see what þow has been, what þou art, and what thow schalt bee* [my emphasis].<sup>549</sup>

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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<sup>544</sup> 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 214; for the quotation of Aberth above, *ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>545</sup> Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse*, p. 248; see also Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>546</sup> See Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 144-145; Jenny Rebecca Rytting, ‘A Disputacioun Betwyx þe Body and Wormes: A Translation’, *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 31.1 (2000), 217-232.

<sup>547</sup> See Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 78-83, for an exploration of the iconographic trope of worms, frogs, etc.

<sup>548</sup> *Cursor Mundi*, Ll. 23226-228.

<sup>549</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 439.

repenting for our sins before Death is knocking at the door.<sup>550</sup> 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.'<sup>551</sup> The *Myroure* 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 *Myroure*. The T-V is the conclusion to the problem addressed by the *Myroure* – your spiritual negligence will not go unpunished: 'He synneth with-outen eende, that deserueth peyne withouten eende', states the *Myroure*.<sup>552</sup> This unending pain will be delivered to sinners on Doomsday, as the T-V clearly informs us. The author of the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure* presents is not incentive enough, then the T-V will appropriately fill in the blanks, reiterating its suitability to accompany the *Myroure*. To proceed from the *Myroure*, 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 *Myroure*, 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".<sup>553</sup>

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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<sup>550</sup> 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, poised to pierce the Miser with his dart at any moment.

<sup>551</sup> Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, p. 91.

<sup>552</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 438.

<sup>553</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 437.

seie by him-self al-oone’, and for which the British Library catalogue has coined the reference ‘Meditation to say alone’.<sup>554</sup> This meditation opens with the following incipit:

Ȝef þou coueite to be maad cleene in soule as it may be heere, of al þe stathel of synne the which wol alweies leue in þee after þi confession be þow neuer so besy, so þat þow mowe by þat clenness be maad able to receyue þe special grace of god in encresynge of þi perfection [...]<sup>555</sup>

We can see that this text is an excellent representative of the topic of spiritual hygiene, invoked by the *Myroure*. Following the *Myroure*’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’.<sup>556</sup> 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 owen handys’.<sup>557</sup> This construct is lifted from William Peraldus’s *Summa de viciis*, Hanna informs us, ‘where it is the 19<sup>th</sup> reason to fear Last Judgement, inspired by Apoc. 20:12’.<sup>558</sup>

This meditation, like the *Myroure*, 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

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<sup>554</sup> <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_22283](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_22283)> [accessed 11/08/2015]. Likewise, Hanna titles the text ‘The meditation alone’, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, no. 40, p. 76. Connolly, on the other hand, has referred to it as *The Stathel of Sin*, in ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 55.

<sup>555</sup> Horstmann once again has transcribed this text from MS U: Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 441-443 (p. 441). See *IPMEP*, no. 336, p. 119; Jolliffe, *Check-List*, I. 18, p. 109.

<sup>556</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, 441.

<sup>557</sup> Extract from MS J, f. 111v (b).

<sup>558</sup> Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 1.

rust.<sup>559</sup> 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 *Myroure*, 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 euerlastyng goodnesse[,] for a fewe foule stynkyng fleschly delytes of þis wrecchide lif’.<sup>560</sup> We shall all be in need of Christ’s mercy on Doomsday, and so this text, like the *Myroure*, is penitential, imploring the sinner to surrender their soul to God. This meditation also ends in a fashion similar to the *Myroure* and the T-V: ‘[...] whiche þow hast bouzt with thy precious blood AmēN.’ 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.<sup>561</sup> 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 *Myroure*. 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 *Myroure* (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.<sup>562</sup> However, in Benedicta Ward’s translation 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’.<sup>563</sup> Although this is somewhat misleading, Ward does suggest

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<sup>559</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 441-2.

<sup>560</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 442.

<sup>561</sup> 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 wylte aske of owre lorde ihesu criste any thyng 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. 7(c), p. 105.

<sup>562</sup> The text is transcribed in Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 443-445, using MS U. See *IPMEP*, no. 462, pp. 162-163.

<sup>563</sup> *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm*, translated by Sr Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 73 and 221.

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 dyptych'.<sup>564</sup> 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

[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*.<sup>565</sup>

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:

*Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur*, that is to seyn: "Euery tree þat bereth not good fruyt schal be kut doun and cast in to þe fuyr".<sup>566</sup>

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'.<sup>567</sup> 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.'<sup>568</sup> 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 ri3t nei3 and

<sup>564</sup> See Ward, *Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm*, p. 74.

<sup>565</sup> Ward, *ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>566</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, pp. 443-4.

<sup>567</sup> 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.

<sup>568</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 444.



swift in his comynge.’<sup>569</sup> The meditation threatens the unrepentant sinner with the unthinkable horror of Doomsday, ‘a day of wrath’, ‘a day of trouble & of anguysch’, ‘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.<sup>570</sup> The text even refers to ‘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:

O þe anguysches and þe annuyes þat schullen þanne bee: For on þat oo syde schullen bee synnes accusynge, on þat oother syde streit riztfulnesse soore afferynge; byneth, þe opene derkenesse of helle, aboue, þe wrathful domesman; withinne, a smertynge concience, and withoute, þe brennyng world.<sup>571</sup>

This concept is echoed in multiple vernacular sermons, sometimes adapted to include devils and angels on either side.<sup>572</sup> 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:

A who is he þat schal delyuere me fro þe hoondis of wratthed god? [...] Ceertes, it is Ihesu, he him-self is þe iuge whom i. dreede so soore. Looke vp þerfore aȝen now, þow synnere, bee of good hope and dispeire not.<sup>573</sup>

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 blessedde hope.’<sup>574</sup> 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

<sup>569</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 444.

<sup>570</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>571</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 445.

<sup>572</sup> 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.

<sup>573</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 445.

<sup>574</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 445.

those who willingly ‘fle to him’.<sup>575</sup> 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 *Myroure*, which commences the node in this manuscript. Succeeding the *Myroure* is a meditation on the five wounds of Christ,<sup>576</sup> 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.<sup>577</sup>

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 *Myroure* on 117v (a). Significantly, at the conclusion of the *Myroure*, 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

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<sup>575</sup> 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 *Myroure*, 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.

<sup>576</sup> Transcribed by Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, pp. 440-1.

<sup>577</sup> 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 *Myroure*, 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 *Myroure*, although it does instead contain the *Pore Caitif*, reinforcing the themes of spiritual cleanliness and didacticism. Had this manuscript contained the *Myroure* 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 *Myroure*. 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 *Myroure*, 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 *Myroure*. 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 *Myroure* is missing. Already, despite the omission of the *Myroure*, 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.<sup>578</sup> 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

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<sup>578</sup> Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 57.

process.<sup>579</sup> 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,<sup>580</sup> 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.’<sup>581</sup> 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 *Myroure* 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

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<sup>579</sup> Connolly, ‘Public Revisions or Private Responses?’, p. 57.

<sup>580</sup> Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>581</sup> 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.<sup>582</sup> Hence, it is dubbed the 'Sermon-Version' (henceforth,

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<sup>582</sup> 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.

‘S-V’). There are two other sermons that contain the *Three Arrows*, but these both adhere to the structure of the T-V.<sup>583</sup> 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.<sup>584</sup> 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*).<sup>585</sup> 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.’<sup>586</sup> 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. 3<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>, and its treatment of the *Three Arrows* begins on f. 4<sup>r</sup> and finishes on f. 5<sup>r</sup>.

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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<sup>583</sup> These are discussed further in the introduction to the T-V.

<sup>584</sup> 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 moen-anglais du manuscrit Bodley 806: édition et étude’ (unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Université de Poitiers, 2014).

<sup>585</sup> *Repertorium*, vol. III, pp. 1700 and 1703.

<sup>586</sup> *Repertorium*, vol. III, p. 1700.

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.<sup>587</sup>

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:

Þe first arow es when he sal bide  
þaim rise & come til þe dome[.]

M-V

The firste arwe schal be of clepyng to  
þe doom[.]

T-V

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 dampned 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 [...]'<sup>588</sup>

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

<sup>587</sup> 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.

<sup>588</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446.

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 repreuyng of alle fals cristene men’, followed by a rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy with which the sinful have failed to comply.<sup>589</sup> 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.’<sup>590</sup> 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 lechis, phisiciens & surgiens, ne 3et 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.<sup>591</sup>

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 ‘oper 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

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<sup>589</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 447.

<sup>590</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 118.

<sup>591</sup> 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 'arowes 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 forseide 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, ‘þrew<sub>3</sub> to þe grounde so meny sterne 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.<sup>592</sup> 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,

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<sup>592</sup> 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 resurrectionem vite, qui vero mala, in resurrectionem 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*'.<sup>593</sup> 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 comedam siue bibam siue aliquid aliud faciam, semper michi videtur quod illa vox terribilis intonat in auribus meis: Surgite mortui & venite ad iudicium[.]<sup>594</sup>

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.'<sup>595</sup> This

<sup>593</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446; vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>594</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>595</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 117.

is the prick of the first arrow: a startling call to the living and the dead that the moment of judgement 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 Ierome,  
 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, 'sur-  
 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"<sup>596</sup>

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 drynke, 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."<sup>597</sup>

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

<sup>596</sup> Hanna and Wood, *Prick of Conscience*, ll. 4665-4680, pp. 129-130.

<sup>597</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 'The Parson's Prologue and Tale', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, ll. 158-160, pp. 290-291.

[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 iudicium’[.]<sup>598</sup>

No doubt the phrase would have been encountered in any number of sermons and other treatises, and even in art.<sup>599</sup> 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 concerns 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 iustis, sed terribiliter contra reprobos intonantis, et dicentis: Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium [...]*<sup>600</sup>

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,

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<sup>598</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Boccaccio’s Expositions on Dante’s Comedy*, trans. and ed. by Michael Papio (Toronto; Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 316.

<sup>599</sup> 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 Iudicium’. 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.

<sup>600</sup> St Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernadini Senensis Ordinis Seraphici Minorum Opera Omnia, Synopsibus Ornata, Postillis Illustrata, Necnon Variis Tractatibus, & Eximiis, Praecipue in Apocalypsim, Commentariis Locupletata, Opera et Labore*, ed. R. P. Joannis de la Haye (Venetiis: In aedibus Andreae Poletti, 1745), p. 45.

*surgite mortui*, etc.<sup>601</sup> 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 toubmes of marble and of brasse sal al to-ryue, to lat out þe bodys þat In þaim war lokyne.'<sup>602</sup> 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

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<sup>601</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Saint Paul's First Letter to the Thessalonians and the Letter to the Philippians*, ed. and trans. by F. R. Larcher and Michael Duffy (Albany, N.Y.: Magi Books, 1969), accessed via <<http://dhspriority.org/thomas/SS1Thes.htm#42>> [last accessed 10/11/2015].

<sup>602</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 117.

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.<sup>603</sup> 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 comedam*, 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 þou3 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 sou3ten for to take hym: 'I am he': and anoon þei 3eeden abak and fellen to þe eerthe [...] a fer moore feerdful voys schal he haue whan he schal come vndeedly with his oost of aungelis & of seyntes for to deeme þe quyke and þe deede, euery man after þat he hath deserued.<sup>604</sup>

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

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<sup>603</sup> 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.

<sup>604</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 448.

*Cum peccator accusatus fuerit & consiencia propria contra eum testimonium perhibuerit et omnis creatura dei insurrexerit contra eum in vindictam, grauis vt sagitta erit vox domini ad sustinendum[.]*

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*.<sup>605</sup> 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.<sup>606</sup> 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 beest and a fel, & in þis signe was Crist pe sonne of riȝtwisnesse bifore þe incarnacioun; ffor þat tyme he was so fel þat what man þat braake hise biddynges, anoon he schulde bee deed [...]<sup>607</sup>

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.

<sup>605</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>606</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>607</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446.



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 dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued with dreede to flee fro synne [...]	And thynke þan on þe dredful day of dome: whene god allmyghty sall come all cristene sauls forto deme and gif til ylke ane after þai haf seruede, ille or gude. <sup>608</sup>
T-V	

## 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 kyngdom and ioie he brynge vs þat bouzte vs with his precious blood. Amen.	To þe whilk Ioy he brynge vs þat bogth vs. Amen. Amen. Amen. <sup>609</sup>
T-V	M-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

<sup>608</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 446, and vol. 2, p. 116.

<sup>609</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 448, and vol. 2, p. 121.

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 sare: when god sal reyne þaim of al þat þai haf done sen þai war borne, þat fell 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’.<sup>610</sup> 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.<sup>611</sup>

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:

[A]ls Isaye þe prophete says: *Introibunt in speluncis* [read: *speluncas*] *petrarum et in voragines terr[a]e a facie formidinis domini, cum surrexerit percutere terram.*<sup>612</sup>

<sup>610</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 118.

<sup>611</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 447.

<sup>612</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 118.

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’.<sup>613</sup> 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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<sup>613</sup> 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.<sup>614</sup>

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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<sup>614</sup> 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 holdyng 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.<sup>615</sup>

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 þou3tes, oure woordes, and oure werkes in euene peys of his ri3twisnesse'. 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.

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<sup>615</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 446.

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’.<sup>616</sup> 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].<sup>617</sup>

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’.<sup>618</sup> 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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<sup>616</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, f. 5r.

<sup>617</sup> Bodley MS 806, f. 5r.

<sup>618</sup> 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 Last Judgement. 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*.<sup>619</sup> 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 penance’ (i.e., Psalm 6:2): *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me*.<sup>620</sup> 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*.<sup>621</sup> 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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<sup>619</sup> Bodley MS 806, f. 4r.

<sup>620</sup> Horstmann, *YW*, vol. II, p. 447.

<sup>621</sup> Horstmann, *ibid.*, p. 447.

David or to an unspecified 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.<sup>622</sup> Taking a more local example, London, British Library, Harley MS 603, which dates to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>623</sup> 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

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<sup>622</sup> Timothy Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the ‘Belles Heures’ of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 132-133.

<sup>623</sup> The British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18402&CollID=8&NStart=603>> [accessed 21/10/2015].



*Three Arrows*: ‘pre arewes dyuerse ben sente out of þis boue’.<sup>624</sup> 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.<sup>625</sup>

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,’<sup>626</sup> 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*.

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<sup>624</sup> Bodley MS 806, f. 4r.

<sup>625</sup> Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, pp. 2-3.

<sup>626</sup> 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 be 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.<sup>627</sup> 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'.<sup>628</sup> 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 Iudicium', 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

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<sup>627</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 1-2005, f. 235v.

<sup>628</sup> '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: Domsday 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.<sup>629</sup>

Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 9<sup>th</sup>-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 Domsday with the Passion of Christ. In other words, through examining the use of Domsday 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 Domsday are they who do not acknowledge this truth. The

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<sup>629</sup> *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. Cyril Mango, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), Homily XI, pp. 194-195, in John C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 128.

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.<sup>630</sup> 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 [...]<sup>631</sup>

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 hiȝ shuldres, shuln shewe to quakyng folk for feer, þe godlich yncomyng of here heuenlich kyng.<sup>632</sup>

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*

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<sup>630</sup> '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 sunn scinand sa clere / Þe tend part als þat baner!' *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 22755-22768.

<sup>631</sup> 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.

<sup>632</sup> 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.<sup>633</sup>

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]’.<sup>634</sup>

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

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<sup>633</sup> Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith*, p. 129.

<sup>634</sup> *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 [...] <sup>635</sup>

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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<sup>635</sup> Ryan Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies: One Volume “Collections” and their Contexts’, *Queeste*, 20.2 (2013), 119-133, (p. 130).

**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.<sup>636</sup> This manuscript is a compilation of twenty-two items, predominantly in Middle English, though four are in Latin.<sup>637</sup> Based on dialectical evidence, Bodley 789 might have been produced in the West Midlands,<sup>638</sup> 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.<sup>639</sup> 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,<sup>640</sup> and it has been described by Hirsh as a ‘reasonably complete religious *vade mecum*’.<sup>641</sup> More specifically, Perry has suggested that Bodley 789 is characterised by a ‘particular Christological focus’, labelling it “Christ-themed”.<sup>642</sup> 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.<sup>643</sup> 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.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Nicholas Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion: Universal Salvation and Vernacular Theology in Pre-Reformation England’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27.2 (1997), 145-87 (p. 146).

<sup>637</sup> For a full description of MS Bodley 789, see either Ryan Perry, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789’, *Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, 1350-1550* <<http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/?section=manuscript&id=88>> (last revised 01/06/2010; last visited 17/05/2016), or Ryan Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies’, p. 128.

<sup>638</sup> Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, p. 368, no. 13.

<sup>639</sup> 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.

<sup>640</sup> Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, p. 367.

<sup>641</sup> John C. Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England: MS Bodley 789’, *Medium Aevum*, 48 (1979), 55-66 (p. 56).

<sup>642</sup> Ryan Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies’, p. 129.

<sup>643</sup> For discussion of the version of this found in MS Bodley 789, see Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, pp. 368-9.

<sup>644</sup> Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, p. 370.

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’.<sup>645</sup> Such a design is common, as devotional manuals of this ilk tend to reflect on eschatology in their final gatherings.<sup>646</sup> 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*,<sup>647</sup> 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.’<sup>648</sup> 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 sizt.’<sup>649</sup> 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’.<sup>650</sup> 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.’<sup>651</sup>

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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<sup>645</sup> Perry, ‘An Introduction to Devotional Anthologies’, p. 129.

<sup>646</sup> Kelly and Perry, ‘Devotional Cosmopolitanism’, p. 371.

<sup>647</sup> *Manual*, IX, no. 31, p. 2972.

<sup>648</sup> Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 57.

<sup>649</sup> Bodley MS 789, f. 142, in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 58.

<sup>650</sup> 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).

<sup>651</sup> 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.'<sup>652</sup> 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 ʒiue me grace

Wiþ suche werkis mi liif to lede.

þat i mowe see god in his face.

At domys day wiþouten drede.<sup>653</sup>

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.'<sup>654</sup> 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.<sup>655</sup> 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.

<sup>652</sup> Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', p. 59.

<sup>653</sup> Bodley MS 789, ff. 146r-146v, in Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', p. 59.

<sup>654</sup> Bodley MS 789, ff. 146r-146v, in Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', p. 59.

<sup>655</sup> Edited fully in Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', p. 60.

The rubric of this text reads: ‘Here men mai biholde a dreedful sentence þat crist schal speke at þe doom to men þat schulen by dampned.’<sup>656</sup> 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 seie to synful men and repreneable [...] þou dispisedist mi comaundementis 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 piȝt on þe cros. I suffride foule wordis and betyngis forto delyuere þee. I receyuede buffetis and spetyngis forto ȝelde to þee þe swetnesse 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 þingis þan þese. Where is þe fruyt of mi woundis so greet. Where is þe fruyt of mi wrongis so greeete. Where is þe priis of mi blood. þat i ȝoure soulis. Where is ȝoure seruice þat ȝe han doon to me for þe priis of mi blood. I hadde ȝou aboute mi glorie. Aperinge man whanne I was god. And ȝe han maad me foulere þan ony of alle my þingis. For whi ȝe han loued moore þe fouleste þinge of erþe þan mi riȝtwisnesse and feiþ. þefore mi riȝtwisnesse mai deme noȝt ellis. but þat ȝoure werkis han deserued. Holde ȝe þat þat ȝe han chosen. ȝe han dispisd þe liȝt of

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<sup>656</sup> Bodley MS 789, f. 146v, in Hirsh, ‘Prayer and Meditation’, p. 60.

treupe. Hauē 3e þe derknesses of peynes. 3e han loued deþ. go 3e in to dampnacioun. 3e han sued þe deuyll. go 3e wiþ him in to euerlastynge fiir.<sup>657</sup>

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 deēþ. 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 greeete. 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 utilisation 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 haue tyme & space.<sup>658</sup>

<sup>657</sup> Bodley MS 789, ff. 146v-147v, in Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', p. 60.

<sup>658</sup> John Lydgate, *Deus In Nomine Tuo Saluum Me Fac*, from London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A II, in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, pp. 10-11.

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 / Thorough Cristes passioun, that they may come to bliss.'<sup>659</sup> 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

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<sup>659</sup> John Lydgate, *The Fiftene Tokyns afor 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.<sup>660</sup> 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; / Pat is set with-outyn doute, / In tokenyng of cristis ded. // Red letter in parchemyn / Makyth a chyld good & fyn / Lettrys to loke & se. / Be þis bok men may dyuyn / Pat cristis body was ful of pyne / Pat deyd on rode tre.'<sup>661</sup> 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',<sup>662</sup> 'Y for I, in wryt is set. / Cryst for vs on croys was knet, / Nalyd on þe rode: / Out of thraldom he vs fet, / Pat we þoru syn hadde get, / And bout vs with hys blode.'<sup>663</sup> 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*

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<sup>660</sup> *Political, Religious, and Love Poems from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS No. 306, and Other Sources, with a Fragment of the Romance of Peare of Provence and the Fair Maguelone, and a Sketch, with the Prolog and Epilog, of the Romance of the Knight Amoryus and the Lady of Cleopes by John Metham, Scholar of Cambridge, A.D. 1448-9*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS, O. S. no. 15 (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1866, re-edited 1903), pp. 271-277.

<sup>661</sup> *ABC on the Passion*, in Furnivall, *ibid.*, p. 271, ll. 7-18.

<sup>662</sup> *ABC on the Passion*, in Furnivall, *ibid.*, p. 274, ll. 105-110.

<sup>663</sup> *ABC on the Passion*, in Furnivall, *ibid.*, p. 276, ll. 171-176.

*the Dread and Love of God*, an English text of ‘popular spirituality’,<sup>664</sup> we encounter it: ‘and þan [Christ] suffred at þe last his gloriouse herte to be stonge wiþ a scharp spere, for-to 3eue his herte-blod to bye man bodi and soule into ioeye wipouten ende.’<sup>665</sup> Sometimes referred to in contemporary texts as the ‘ayenbyng’ (with variant spellings), the Last Judgement is the second transaction being conducted by Christ for the salvation of humankind.<sup>666</sup>

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 3ede with-outyn abod, / For to stroyn 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, / Pan 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:

<sup>664</sup> Margaret Connolly, ed., *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, EETS, no. 303 (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p. xviii.

<sup>665</sup> Connolly, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>666</sup> 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 oure lord spekeþ of: youre ayenbiyng ney3eþ ful fast, and þei shul be felawes of þis ayenbiyng 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 ayenbier’, 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 deep to bie us alle’. See R. Beadle, ed., *The York Plays* (London: Arnold, 1982), p. 219, and Eleanor McCullough, ‘“Denke we sadli on his deep”: 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, / Euery man, boþe fremyd & kouth [friend and stranger],  
 / Xul comyn with-outyn ly. / Per xal be gret asyce / Be-forn ihesu, þat hey  
 Iustyce, / With woundis al bloody [...]

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 mankende / 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 gylt? / 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 raansom 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, / Pat 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 suffrydyt  
 ded for me. Amen.<sup>667</sup>

The salvific significance to a worshiper 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 raansom 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 worshiper’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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<sup>667</sup> *ABC on the Passion*, in Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, p. 277-278, ll. 183-226. The ending 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 foolis 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 þou trow þat þe passioun of oure Lord is so precious and his mercy is so mikel þat þer schal no soule be dampned – and namly of no cristen man, do he neuer so hille – as summe foles wenen, sobly þu erres gretly.’<sup>668</sup> 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’.<sup>669</sup> 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’),<sup>670</sup> 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

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<sup>668</sup> Walter Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, in Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion’, p. 147.

<sup>669</sup> Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion’, p. 147.

<sup>670</sup> Walter Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, in Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion’, p. 147.

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'.<sup>671</sup> This well-known manuscript is a fascinating conglomeration of poems, chronicles, and devotional treatises, which has made it the subject of extensive scholarly scrutiny.<sup>672</sup> 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.<sup>673</sup> Jessica Brantley aptly describes one such Crucifixion on f. 67v:

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<sup>671</sup> 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](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_37049)>, last accessed 15/02/16.

<sup>672</sup> See bibliography in Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*; see also Douglas Gray, 'London, British Library, Additional MS 37049 – A Spiritual Encyclopedia', in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchinson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 99-116; James Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS Add. 37049', in *Essays in Honour of Erwin Sturzl on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. James Hogg, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 10, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1980), I, 241-84.

<sup>673</sup> See Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 41, 44, 47, 49, 64, 151, 156, 158. 'Christ suffers "from the sole of his foot 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.<sup>674</sup>

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).<sup>675</sup> 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 florebut.*’ The text makes no overt connections to Christ’s Passion other than in its concluding lines:

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 euerlastyng lyfe, & þai þat has done ylle þynges wit outhen þai hafe grace of amendment or þai dye sal go in to euerlastyng fyre, fro þe whilk our merciful lord Ihc crist þat sched his blode opon þe cros & dyed for vs safe vs all Amen.<sup>676</sup>

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

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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.

<sup>674</sup> Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, p. 271.

<sup>675</sup> See Peter Revell, *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations: A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library* (New York: Garland, 1975), no. 177; Alain Girard, ‘De l’Image en Chartreuse’, in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, ed. James Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 130, no. 3 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1995), 145-55 (151); Hogg, ‘Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS Add. 37049’, vol. 1, 254; Björn Wallner, ‘An Exposition of *Qui Habitat* and *Bonum Est*, In English’, *Lund Studies in English* 23 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954), 86-90.

<sup>676</sup> London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 18r.

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.<sup>677</sup> 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

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<sup>677</sup> '[Come] 3e blyst in to þe kyngdom of my fader'; 'Go 3e cursed in to euerlastyng fyer'.

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 Begynnyng of þe Warld and of þe Endyng’, from the text’s introduction.<sup>678</sup> 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 compenys of saynts, of  
patriarchs, prophets, apostils, martyrs, confessors, virgyns & of alsaynts [...] And  
þe rightwisemen sal be departed fro þe wykidmen [...] þe rightwisemen sal lyf euer  
& wit þe kyng of heuen sal ioy wit outen ende. And wikkyd men wit outen end  
sal be ponesched.<sup>679</sup>

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 byrntte’.<sup>680</sup> 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

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<sup>678</sup> IPMEP 404; *Manual*, XXI, no. 31; Gerrit H. V. Bunt, ‘The Middle English Translations of the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius’, in *Polyphonia Byzantina: Studies in Honour of Williem J. Aerts*, ed. Hero Hokwerda, Edmé R. Smits, and Marinus M. Woesthuis, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 13 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1993), 131-43 (136-42); See Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, p. 308 for full bibliography.

<sup>679</sup> London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 16v.

<sup>680</sup> See Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, p. 308; Revell, *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations*, no. 180; Cameron Louis, ‘Two Middle English Doomsday Poems’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 92, no. 1 (1991), 43-46.



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).<sup>681</sup> 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’.<sup>682</sup> The verse begins, ‘When þe day of dome sall be, / It is in gods pryuyte’, and ends, ‘þefore gracious 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.<sup>683</sup> 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.’<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>681</sup> Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, p. 308; *NIMEV* 4030; *Manual*, XXII, no. 419; Revell, *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations*, no. 181; Louis, ‘Two Middle English Doomsday Poems’, 43.46 (45-46); Douglas Gray, ‘London, British Library, Additional MS 37049 – A Spiritual Encyclopedia’, 103-4.

<sup>682</sup> Louis, ‘Two Middle English Doomsday Poems’, 44.

<sup>683</sup> Louis, *ibid.*, 44.

<sup>684</sup> 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,<sup>685</sup> forging that same connection between the Passion and individual death and judgement: ‘Ihesu þat wer wiþ loue so bounde, / þat suffred for me depwounde, / At my deyinge so visite me / And make þe fende a-way to fle.’<sup>686</sup> In the mind of a

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<sup>685</sup> 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 repete, / And on my soule take compassion / At my deth for all thi woundes 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 thought and unite, / Thorough perced with a rugged nayle, / Be my socoure in the extremite / Of deth when he shal me assaile.’ The final line truly adumbrates this theme, as it appears to call upon the protection afforded by Christ’s suffering at the Passion against assailement by the Judge.

<sup>686</sup> *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.<sup>687</sup> 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’.<sup>688</sup> 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).<sup>689</sup> 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

<sup>687</sup> 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).

<sup>688</sup> 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).

<sup>689</sup> 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.<sup>690</sup> 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 Wimbleton's well-known sermon, 'Redde rationem 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.'<sup>691</sup> 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.'<sup>692</sup> 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.<sup>693</sup> 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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<sup>690</sup> Mayumi Taguchi, 'The Pepysian "Meditation on Christ's Passion"', p. 507.

<sup>691</sup> 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).

<sup>692</sup> Mayumi Taguchi, 'The Pepysian "Meditation on Christ's Passion"', p. 487.

<sup>693</sup> 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 mygth 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 coroune 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 opened my syd with a spere to make my hert blede for þe.<sup>694</sup>

He then proceeds to arraign the sinful, explaining the direct significance of this suffering for the assize that he is now conducting:

Now vnderstand þou vnkynd man, lift vp þi heued & loke to me, bihald my syd, fote & hand, how I am digth for þe. Pus 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 righthwysnes wil þat ilke ane haf als þai haf seruede, outhire to dwel in payne or in blysse, for eeuer and aye.<sup>695</sup>

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

<sup>694</sup> MS Rawl. C 285, in Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, pp. 118-119.

<sup>695</sup> MS Rawl. C 285, in Horstmann, *YW*, vol. I, p. 119.

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 domesday’, 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 biholdynges þe woundis and prickyngis of nailis in þe same bodi wipoute doute, which was woundid for oure synnes[...]<sup>696</sup>

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

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<sup>696</sup> London, British Library, MS Harley 2339, ff. 38v-40v.

buffetis and spetyngis forto ʒeue to þee þe swetnesse of paradijs. I drank vynegre wip galle, I was crowned wip þornes for þee. I was nailid to pe cros and peersid wit a spere [...] þerfore þou vnpiteus man knowe what þingis I suffride for þee. Lo þe woundis whiche I resseyuede for þee. Lo þe hoolis of naylis bi which I was nailid and hangide in þe cros [...] Lo now my riʒtfulnesse mai euer oþer þing deeme, no but þat þat ʒoure werkes disseruen. þerfore holde ʒe þat þat ʒe haue chosen, ʒe haue dispisid liʒt, weelde ʒe derknessis.” What moornynge, what anguysch schal be, whanne þis sentence schal be seid aʒens vnpiteuous men.<sup>697</sup>

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.<sup>698</sup> 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.’<sup>699</sup> D’Evelyn has dated Additional 11307 to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>700</sup> 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.<sup>701</sup> 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’.<sup>702</sup>

<sup>697</sup> London, British Library, MS Harley 2339, ff. 38v-40v.

<sup>698</sup> *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).

<sup>699</sup> D’Evelyn, *ibid.*, pp. vii, viii.

<sup>700</sup> D’Evelyn, *ibid.*, p. viii.

<sup>701</sup> D’Evelyn, *ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>702</sup> D’Evelyn, *ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

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 comaundement / 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'.<sup>703</sup> The text later compounds this Christological affinity with Doomsday fully, once again through calling upon Mary as a ward against the Domesman's wrath:

Þerfore, 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;  
 Pou 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[.]<sup>704</sup>

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

<sup>703</sup> D'Evelyn, *ibid.*, p. 57, ll. 2171-2176.

<sup>704</sup> D'Evelyn, *ibid.*, p. 58.



he received on the ‘tre’ – the Rood. This tract fuses the two narratives of the Passion and the Doom to demonstrate that all of Christ’s sacrifices leading up to and including his death on the cross were undertaken specifically for the moment of Judgement, uniting the two events in an overarching account of salvation.

### **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.<sup>705</sup> 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.<sup>706</sup> 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.<sup>707</sup>

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.<sup>708</sup> To simplify Fulton’s extensive assessment, as time progressed, the increasing disappointment at the

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<sup>705</sup> 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.

<sup>706</sup> Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003).

<sup>707</sup> Fulton, *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>708</sup> 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.<sup>709</sup> 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.<sup>710</sup> Devotion to the Name was given 'fresh impetus and literary articulation at

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<sup>709</sup> 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.

<sup>710</sup> Rob Lutton, 'The Name of Jesus, Nicholas Love's *Mirror*, and Christocentric Devotion in Late Medieval England', in Ian Johnson and Allan F. Westphall, eds, *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, Medieval Church Studies, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 19-54 (24); Rob Lutton, "'Love this name that is IHC": Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England', in Elizabeth Salter and Helen Wicker, eds, *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1550*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 119-146 (122). See also Denis Renevey, 'The Name Poured Out: Margins, Illuminations and Miniatures as Evidence for the Practice of Devotions to the Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England', in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, ed. J. Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 130:9 (Salzburg: Salzburg University Press, 1996), 127-147 and 'Name above Names: the Devotion to the Name of Jesus from Richard Rolle to Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection I*', in *The*

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.<sup>711</sup> 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.'<sup>712</sup>

The Holy Name, then, represents a fundamental Christocentric devotion, which developed as part of the burgeoning focus on the humanity of God.<sup>713</sup> It is very arguably predicated upon anxiety about the Doom, its *raison d'être* being, according to Lutton, largely apotropaic.<sup>714</sup> 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,

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.<sup>715</sup>

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.'<sup>716</sup> 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

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*Medieval Mystical Tradition: England, Ireland and Wales*, ed. M. Glasscoe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 103-21.

<sup>711</sup> Lutton, "'Love this name that is IHC'", p. 122.

<sup>712</sup> Lutton, *ibid.*, pp. 125 and 119.

<sup>713</sup> 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.

<sup>714</sup> Lutton, 'Looking for Jesus:'.

<sup>715</sup> Lutton, "'Love this name that is IHC'", p. 120. Lutton also cites Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 236.

<sup>716</sup> *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.

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.’<sup>717</sup>

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:

Þe luf of god who so will lere  
 In his hert þe name of Ihesu he bere,  
 For it puts oute þe fende and makes hym flee,  
 And fils a man with chariyte.  
 Þefore to purches þe ioy þat euer shal laste,  
 Devoutely in Jesu ʒour herte ʒe caste.<sup>718</sup>

Another example, which further supports the association between the Passion and the Doom, can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 54:

Jhu for thy holy name  
 And for thy bytter passyon  
 saue vs from syn and schame  
 And from endles damnacion [...] <sup>719</sup>

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):

Forþi merciful Lord, for þin hooli name helpe me now in þis lijf and schewe to  
 me here þi greet mercie, puyrgynge me here with diuerse tribulaciouns aftir my

<sup>717</sup> *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm*, trans. Benedicta Ward, p. 224.

<sup>718</sup> 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.

<sup>719</sup> 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.

diurse trespassyngis, þat þereþorou I be made clene bifore þi dome, passyng  
forþ fro þens into þi blisse wiþ þe.<sup>720</sup>

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.’<sup>721</sup> 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.<sup>722</sup>

<sup>720</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 336, f. 136. Transcribed in Hanna, ‘The Three Arrows on Doomsday: Compilation Compiled’, p. 6.

<sup>721</sup> 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).

<sup>722</sup> Daniel McCann, ‘Heaven and Health’, p. 339.

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.<sup>723</sup>

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’.<sup>724</sup> An English version of a fourteenth-century hymn dedicated to the Cross corresponds with Mirk’s sentiment: ‘þenke we sadli on his deef. / þat shal saue us from helle.’<sup>725</sup> 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 *Myroure 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 *Myroure* translates as ‘Wolde god pat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden, and purueieden for the laste thynges!’<sup>726</sup> Contemplation of the end in this manner, the *Myroure* assures its reader (‘my deere brother’), extirpates sin:

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<sup>723</sup> Ryan Perry, “‘Thynk on God, as we doon, men that swynke’”: The Cultural Locations of *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord* and the Middle English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Tradition’, *Speculum* 86.2 (2011), 419-452 (445).

<sup>724</sup> John Mirk’s ‘Festial’, ed. By Sue Powell, EETS, o.s. 334-35, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), I, 157, cited in Rachel Canty and David Griffith, ‘The Passion Cycle in English Wall Paintings and Manuscript Art: Readers and Spectators in Midlands Communities in the Later Medieval Period’, in Kelly and Perry, *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe*, 267-289 (p. 267).

<sup>725</sup> Eleanor McCullough, “‘þenke we sadli on his deef’”, in Kelly and Perry, *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe*, 385-404 (p. 403).

<sup>726</sup> *Myroure of Synneres*, Oxford, University College MS 97, f. 253, in Horstmann, YW, vol. II, p. 436.

For þe bisy vnderstondyng of this sentence is distruccon of pruyde, quenchyng of enuye, medycyne of malice, dryuyng away of licherie, voidyng of boost and of vanytee, informacion of leernyng, perfeccion of hoolynesse, and reparaylyng of euerlastynghe heelthe [...]<sup>727</sup>

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 *Myroure* even makes direct reference to the benefits that such contemplation provides for one's 'everlasting health'. Therefore, a reader who pays heed to the *Myroure*'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.

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<sup>727</sup> *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.<sup>728</sup> The poem relates a dream experienced by the author, ‘while humankind were sleeping in their beds’;<sup>729</sup> in it, the dreamer is confronted with a vision of ‘the glorious tree of victory’ – the Rood.<sup>730</sup> 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’.<sup>731</sup> 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.’<sup>732</sup> 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.<sup>733</sup>

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,

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<sup>728</sup> *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Bruce Dickins and Alan S. C. Ross (London: Methuen & Co., 1934; Fourth Edition, 1954), p. 13; *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Michael Swanton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), p. 1.

<sup>729</sup> For a translation, see *The Dream of the Rood*, trans. by Richard Hamer (1970), in Mark Faulkner, *et al.*, ‘Old English Literature: A Hypertext Course Pack’ <<http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/oecoursepack/rood/translations/hamer.html>> (last edited summer 2009; accessed 13/04/2016), line 3.

<sup>730</sup> *The Dream of the Rood*, trans. by Richard Hamer (1970), line 13.

<sup>731</sup> Hamer, *ibid.*, ll. 30-33.

<sup>732</sup> Hamer, *ibid.*, ll. 53-55.

<sup>733</sup> 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.<sup>734</sup>

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.’<sup>735</sup> 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:

[...] and I wait each day  
 For when the cross of God, which here on earth  
 I formerly beheld, may fetch me from  
 This transitory life and carry me  
 To where there is great bliss and joy in heaven,  
 Where the Lord’s host is seated at the feast,  
 And it shall set me where I afterwards  
 May dwell in glory, live in lasting bliss  
 Among the saints [...] <sup>736</sup>

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.’<sup>737</sup> 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

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<sup>734</sup> Hamer, *ibid.*, ll. 117-122.

<sup>735</sup> Hamer, *ibid.*, ll. 128-129.

<sup>736</sup> Hamer, *ibid.*, ll. 147-155.

<sup>737</sup> 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).<sup>738</sup> The familiar parable of the

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<sup>738</sup> 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.<sup>739</sup> 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.'<sup>740</sup> 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.<sup>741</sup> This social polemical angle of the Doom has been touched upon but is yet to be fully unpacked,<sup>742</sup> 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

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<sup>739</sup> *Repertorium*, vol. 1, p. 566.

<sup>740</sup> *Repertorium*, vol. 1, p. 682.

<sup>741</sup> 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.

<sup>742</sup> '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 *Myroure of Synneres*, for instance, both propagate preparedness as the best defence against damnation. A pertinent quote in relation to this, referenced when discussing the *Myroure* 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).<sup>743</sup> 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

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<sup>743</sup> Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Additional MS 5338, 70r-73r, first half of the fifteenth century, for the Second Sunday in Advent, in the *Repertorium*, vol. 1, p. 6.



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 undoubtedly 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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Imagining Doomsday: Aspects of the Last Judgement in Late-  
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Vol. 2

Appendices

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and  
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## Appendix 1: Transcriptions

### (1) London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A. ii, 15<sup>th</sup> 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 cstes', sone of heue[n] was, to bye monkynd / out of þe 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 þe put [sic] of helle for eu[er] more. But þe furst /comy[n]g of cst' in to þys world, brogh ioy and blysse w[i]t hym, þ[e]r for holy chyrch vseth sum[m]e songes of melody as alliu'[?]<sup>744</sup> / [and] oþ[er]. And for þe secunde comy[n]g of crist to þe 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,<sup>745</sup> as te d[eu]m[?]<sup>746</sup> laudam[us], gl[or]ia in excels[is]. And / also weddyng for aft[ur] þ[a]t day schal neu[er] weddyng ben more, þus holy / chyrch leyth dou[n] songes of melody by fore in tokeny[n]g of vengia[n]s, / þ[a]t schal come aft[ur]. Þen of þe furst comy[n]g of cst' in to þ[i]s world, þus / seth senct austy[n] þer ben hee seth þre þyngys, þ[a]t ben ryvot[?] in þ[i]s wor- / -ld burth, trauel 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 excecuto[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 þe 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 þe erþe, and so holde mekenes

**4v.** in hys herte. He mote trauayle hys body in gode workes / and geten hys lyflode w[i]t swynk of hys body, and put a- / -way al ydulnes and slowth for he þ[a]t wol not trauayl hire

<sup>744</sup> Non-rubricated Latin, presumably a hymn, but difficult to decipher.

<sup>745</sup> 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.

<sup>746</sup> 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'.

w[i]t / men as seyth seynt Bernard he schal trauayl eu[er] w[i]t fendes / of helle.<sup>747</sup> 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 3er[e] to 3ere but also sone as he feleth himself in syn- / -ne<sup>748</sup> to stryve hym and mekely take þe dom of hys stryffad[ur],<sup>749</sup> þe[n] / schal he haue at þe day of dom<sup>750</sup> 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.<sup>751</sup> Þys ys seyde for þe furst comy[n]g of cryst in to þe worde [sic]. / The secu[n]de comy[n]g of cst' to the dom schal be so<sup>752</sup> 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 þe euedrons [sic; i.e., evidence?] of þe tokens, komy[n]g, / by for[e] a mon may knowe in p[rivi]ty[?]<sup>753</sup> þe grede horriblyte / and drede þ[a]t schal come at þe dom aftur. Þe furst day as / seth seyn<sup>754</sup> Jerom þe see schal ryson up in harre[?]<sup>755</sup> stude þ[a]t / þe wat[ur] schal ben herr[er][?]<sup>756</sup> þen any hul by fowrty kubytes. / stondy[n]g<sup>757</sup> style in hur[er][?] stude as hyt were<sup>758</sup> a wal. Þe secu[n]day þe see / falle a doun a3eyn so þ[a]t onneth[?] heo schal ben seyn. Þe þry- / -dde day alle þe see swy[n][?][and] gloppes<sup>759</sup> 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 schul<sup>760</sup> swete / blod and all foules schul come toged[ur] [and] neyþ[er] ete ne drynk /

<sup>747</sup> I.e., he who does not make amends in life among mankind will have to make amends with the fiends of Hell.

<sup>748</sup> 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.

<sup>749</sup> I.e., 'shrive father', or confessor.

<sup>750</sup> 'day of' inserted above the line.

<sup>751</sup> I.e., any sin of which a person has not been shriven will be shown to the whole world in shame.

<sup>752</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>753</sup> 'pty' and an abbreviation on the 'p' is clear, therefore 'privity' is a context-based guess.

<sup>754</sup> Indeterminate letter(s) at the end of the word.

<sup>755</sup> Air?

<sup>756</sup> Higher?

<sup>757</sup> End of word damaged, 'stondyng' is inferable.

<sup>758</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>759</sup> To be afeared; to weep.

<sup>760</sup> Inserted above the line.

**5r:** 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] horrybyl fure schal ryson at þe / [m]oone goyng doun [and] bren tulle þe rysyn[n]g of þe sone aʒeyn. / Þe seve<sup>ne</sup>th day alle stones [and] rockes schal behon' [?] breken / oþ[ur] [and] bete to gedur w[i]t an hydewys noyse þe which noyse / god himself schal know [and] vndurstond. Þe eghte day Þe erþe schal quake so orrybuly þ[a]t þ[e]r schal no mo[n] stonde on<sup>761</sup> hyt but / falle to gronde. Þe ix day alle hullus [and] þe erþe schul be ma- / -de playne [and] euen. Þe x day mo[n] schul gou out of hure- / -dene'<sup>762</sup> [and] gou as þey were myndles [and] neu[er] on schal speke to oþ[ur]. / Þe xi day all þe bones of dede men schul ryse [and] stonde upon / hys g[r]aue [and] þ[a]t alle g[r]aues schul open. Þe xii day sterres / schul falle from heue[n] [and] scheten out of ham breny[n]g bemes [and] / also bestes schal come in to þe feldes roryng [and] cryng [and] schal / neyþ[er] ete ne drynke. Þe xiii day alle me[n] schal dye for to / ryse w[i]t ham<sup>763</sup> ben dede by fore. Þe xiiii day heue[n] [and] erþe schal bren / so orribuly þ[a]t no mon may telle. Þe xv day heue[n] [and] erþe schul be / made new and alle men wy[m]me[n] [and] chyldr[en] schul ryse<sup>764</sup> vp in þe age of / þrytte ʒere [and] come to þe dome. Þen 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 bloody þe spere þe scorges, þe nayles [and] alle þe instrume[n]tes of / hys passyon. Þe[n] sorry may þey ben þat hau be wond [sic] to swere by / hys hert [and] oþ[e]r lymes of god. Þ[a]t schal ben a grete reþryf [and] gret<sup>765</sup> / gret confusyon to ham but þey ben me[n]ded þ[e]r of in þ[i]s world.<sup>766</sup> Þen lo / cst' schal heygly þonken ham [and] prayson ham Þ[a]t hau don m[e]rcy to hur[e]<sup>767</sup> / 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[ur] þ[a]t ys ordeynot to ʒow<sup>768</sup> / fro þe by gy[n]ny[n]g for whe[n] y was hongery ʒe fed me,<sup>769</sup> when y was þursty ʒe ʒeue me drynke [and]

**5v:** so alle þe work[us] of m[er]cy, for when ʒe dude to any of myne ʒe dide / to me, [and] þ[i]s for my loue ʒe dide yt to me. For when ʒe dide to þe lest of / myne so dide to me, þe[n]

<sup>761</sup> Or 'ou[er]'.

<sup>762</sup> Uncertain. Possibly one word, 'hiding', or two words, 'hure dene[s?]', i.e., 'their dens'.

<sup>763</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>764</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>765</sup> Scribal correction.

<sup>766</sup> Emphasis placed on shrift again, on making amendment within the Church in this life.

<sup>767</sup> I.e., 'their'.

<sup>768</sup> Somewhat obscured by ink soaking through from initial on 5v.

<sup>769</sup> 'whe[n] y was hongery ʒe fed me' is all inserted above the line. A crucial passage in the typical rendition of the Seven Works of Mercy, it was clearly mistakenly omitted through scribal error.

schal he horybuly rebuke ryche me[n] þ[a]t hau don / no m[er]cy [and] say to ham spytusly þus, go 3e cursed leftes in to þe pey- / -ne of helle for whe[n] y was hungry 3e 3af me no mete [and] c'[?] ut in e- / -ua[n]gelio þe[n] was may þey ben þ[a]t cst' ihu' þ[u]s schal rebuke, þ[er] schal no / pledur<sup>770</sup> helpe ne no gold ne selid [sic]<sup>771</sup> ne no[n] oþ[ur] 3yftes, but as a mo[n] / hath don he shal 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- / -schape. A boven hym schal be cst' ihu' hys dom[us] man so wroght / þ[a]t þ[e]r con no tonge telle for he<sup>772</sup> dede no m[er]cy. Wythinne hym hys o- / -wne co[n]scyens, 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] redyly where w- / -henne [and] how ofte he hath don amys. On þe oþ[e]r syde fendus chalan- / -gyng hym heres<sup>773</sup> as by ryght for hys wyked dedes. Vnd[e]r hym he- / -lle 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. / Þ[a]t day of dome pore me[n] schul sytte in dom w[i]t cst' [and] deme þe rich' for þe / woo [and] þe desee [sic]<sup>774</sup> þ[a]t pore mo[n] hau ys by ryche 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 kepeth 3o- / -wre vengea[n]s to me [and] y wol quite. Þ[e]r for whyl 3e 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 3ow / leste 3e ben by gyled dredeth þe peyne þ[a]t schal last eu[e]r w[i]t out ende. / Seyn<sup>775</sup> 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 euen tyde tyle þe morwoo, þe[n] he a roos [and] dep[ar]ted / hys gode<sup>776</sup> in þre p[ar]tees [and] hys p[ar]te he 3af to pore mo[n] and 3ode [and] was ma- / -ked a monk in an abbey, þ[a]t stod vpon a wateres syde in to þe whech /

**6r:** wat[er] vch nyght he 3ede were hyt neu[er] so cold [and] þ[e]r in lo- / -ng tyme of þe nyght [and] wha[n] he was asked why he put hy[m] / self in to so much' peyne, he sayde to

<sup>770</sup> I.e., an advocate, pleader, disputant; to contend legally, debate, argue in court.

<sup>771</sup> I.e., shilling.

<sup>772</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>773</sup> I.e., theirs.

<sup>774</sup> Possibly 'disease', which carries numerous nuances of meaning according to the *MED*.

<sup>775</sup> The same unusual spelling as for Saint Jerome previously.

<sup>776</sup> I.e., goods, chattel.

eschew þe mor[e] pey- / -ne þ[a]t he hade seyn, [and] he eto barly bred [and] dronk wat[e]r al hys / lyf aftur [and] tells to relygyous men þe payne þ[a]t he sogh þ[a]t / was so gret þ[a]t he couthe not telly h[y]t opynly. He sayde þ[a]t / a angel ladde hym in to a place þ[e]r on þe on syde was such a colde / þ[a]t no tong might telle þe peyne þ[e]r of. On þe op[e]r syde was so / grete hete þ[a]t no mo[n] myght telle þe peyne þ[e]r of [and] soules were ka- / -st out of þe on in to þe op[e]r, [and] so þe [angel]<sup>777</sup> schowed hym þe fyr[e] þ[a]t come out / of helle þ[a]t was so whot [sic]. Þ[a]t al so fer [sic] as he myght see hyt hym / þoght he brend for hete, [and] in þe lame [sic] þ[e]r of he segth soules bulme[n]<sup>778</sup> / up [and] doun crying [and] waylyng for woo [and] sorwe [and] horybul noyse of / fynd[es] crying sle sle sle sle sle. Put on þe broch<sup>779</sup> rost hote ka- / -st in to þe cawdren seth fast in pych and kode [and] bren stou<sup>780</sup> [and] hote led / þ[us] þe[n] þey þ[a]t ben da[m]pned to helle steton neu[er] to crye [and] zelle woe ys / hym þ[a]t þydur schal go[?].

**(b) ff. 110v-111v, Feat of St Michael (29<sup>th</sup> September)**

**110v:** Suche a day ze schul haue seynt Michael day goddys holy archangell. ze / 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 prerogatiues þ[a]t he hath be for / alle other. For he is wondurfull in appering, he is mervelus in miraculus wy- / -ching and victorius in hys fyghtyng. He is wondurful in appering, for os / seynt Gregory say[e]th whan god wol worchyn any wondurfull dede, þen he / sent forth' seynt mychael as hys howne banerer',<sup>781</sup> and he beruth hys schelde / and syne of hys armys, þ[er]line is þe syne of hys cros, where fore he was sent / w[i]t moyses and aaron in to egypte to worche þer' mervelys þ[a]t þer' weron<sup>782</sup> / 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[?]<sup>783</sup> / whyl þe pepul of isrl'<sup>784</sup> zode þorogh þe see drye fotte, he ladde hem fourety / zere in deserte, he broght hem oure from jordayne and helde þe watyr / azeine so þ[a]t þe watur rebounded azeine lyk to a grete hull

<sup>777</sup> Scribal error, word omitted.

<sup>778</sup> To well or surge up and down.

<sup>779</sup> Possibly a 'broche', i.e., a skewer or spit.

<sup>780</sup> I.e., brimstone.

<sup>781</sup> I.e., 'banner-bearer'.

<sup>782</sup> Obscured in the gutter by tight binding.

<sup>783</sup> Obscured in the gutter by tight binding.

<sup>784</sup> I.e., Israel.

whyl pepe- / -pul 3ode ou[e]r drye fott, and he broght hem in to þe londe of be heste. Also / he keputh paradysse 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 þorne, and alle other instrument[es] of hys passion / to schewen how rythewysly heo schul ben dapnyd.<sup>785</sup> Þ[a]t þei þ[a]t setteth noghte / be cristes passion þus sent michael apperuth wondurfully. [etc.]<sup>786</sup>

## (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 mannes 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] ny3eþ 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<sup>787</sup> 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 þes<sup>788</sup> 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,<sup>789</sup> for to confort, [and] for to eseli amoneste.<sup>790</sup> neþeles / þe doctryne of þe euangelie is my3tyer to þis þan al þe toþ[er] sc[ri]p- / -tures [and] more p[ro]phetable for þer ben yoner[?] conseles what þyng is / to be chosen, and also commandmentes what þyng is be be<sup>791</sup> / holden, þer ben esie<sup>792</sup> monestynges what is for to be doon, and also for- / -bedyngge what is to be left, þer ben also confortyngge þ[a]t maken / soft a mannys hert, and also

<sup>785</sup> I.e., damned.

<sup>786</sup> 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.

<sup>787</sup> 'Þe' is omitted, though there is an arrow beneath the line indicating that it was intended to be inserted in correction.

<sup>788</sup> Repetition, scribal error, struck through in red.

<sup>789</sup> Verb, 'undernimen': to receive (tidings, the Sacramental Bread), accept (a religion, teaching, etc.), have (faith in someone's words); to undertake; etc.

<sup>790</sup> I.e., 'admonish. Verb, 'amonesten': to remind, urge; exhort; encourage; warn, admonish; etc.

<sup>791</sup> Repetition, scribal error? Not struck through.

<sup>792</sup> Inserted above the line.

behestes þ[a]t drawn hit to lust of / vertues, þer ben pretyngs [and] feryngs þ[a]t w[i]tdrawn vs from / euyl dedis, hit is a conseil þ[a]t was yseid to a man: if þ[o]u wilt be p[ar]- / -fit go [and] selle al þyngs þ[a]t þ[o]u hast, hit is a co[m]mannedeme[n]t þ[a]t is / seid yn a nob[er] place. Loue ye youre enemyes, hit is an esey / monestyng þer as he seiþ þus: be ye wislich war as serpe[n]- / -tes, hit is a forbedyng whan he seiþ on þis maner: takeþ beseli / hede þ[a]t youre[?] hertis be not ou[er]chargid w[i]t ou[er] moche etyng and / drynkyng [and] bisynesses of þis world, hit is a comfortyng where / thorow som good þyng is be hiȝt, as whan our' lord seiþ, co- / -meþ to me 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 nob[er] place: many shullen come fro / þe eest [and] þe weest [and] þei shullen sitte w[i]t abrah<sup>a</sup>m Isaac [and] Iacob yn / þe kyngdome of heuene, hit is a þretyng[?] þ[a]t anon folweþ aft[er]: but / sones of þe kyngdom shuln be cast out in to vtt[er]more derkeness / þ[er] shal be wepyng [and] gnastyng [sic] of teep. But þ[er] ben 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 oute[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 sibile þe ful wise womman p[ro]- / -phecies a mong oþ[er] þyngs yn þis man[er] wordes: a kyng þ[a]t is to / comy[n]g shal come from heuen yn to world, þ[a]t is to say present yn / flessch for to deme þe world, [and] þan shal be weilyng [and] all wicked / shul gnast w[i]t þe teep, þe clernes 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]:<sup>793</sup> 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

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<sup>793</sup> 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 / cloudyes [and] of  
 whirlewynd, day of ferdful trumpyng and of / strichyng w[i]t trumpe. But now also goostli  
 þees forseid signes / mowen be referrid 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 riȝtwisnes and þes / ben þe signes of which he  
 spekiþ in a noþ[er] place; he shal be taken[?] / to þe heþen folk for to<sup>794</sup> be scornyd, for to be  
 spet, for to be<sup>795</sup> schorgid, for to / be crucified, for to be slayne, [and] þe þrid day he shal a  
 rise ayen, h[i]t / was also a ful gret signe þ[a]t be his dying he destroyed 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  
 riȝtworderful [sic] signe in þe mone, þ[a]t is to say / in holi chirche, þ[a]t hit had so gret a  
 bigynny[n]g of vntauȝt men / in letterure [and] ydiotis, [and] so gret a m[u]ltitude of heþen  
 folk was / so sone conuertid [and] beleued in to crist, and þ[a]t 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 amo[n]g þe cretikis [and] scismatikes, 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] riȝt 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- / -thrustyng seiþ oure lord in an oþ[er] place: I  
 cam not<sup>796</sup> 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 away what so eu[er] vicious þyng is in vs, [and] ou[er]comeþ / 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 p[re]ssure [and] seiþ: for confusi- / -ou[n] of sonne of þe see [and] of  
 flodes, he clepeþ þe see þis world þ[a]t is / p[er]ilous as þe see [and] bitt[er], þe flodes:  
 mouyng of þis world [and] diuers / happes of þyngs, which whil þ[a]t eche man riȝt inwardli  
 be holdeþ / he is a stonyed yn hym self for shenship of þees chaungeable þyn- / -ges, [and]  
 for drede of p[re]sent eueles, [and] abidyng of þynges to comyng, is ang- / -wisshid w[i]t gret  
 pressures of þouȝtis, [and] þis is þ[a]t is yseid aft[er]. Men wex- / -yng 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 gret t[ri]- / -bulaciou[n] in holi chirch, wich [and] how moche was not

<sup>794</sup> Inserted above the line

<sup>795</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>796</sup> Inserted above the line.



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 brouzt in to errour, for þouþ 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 myzti 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 worchyng of þe fend / in vertu in signes in gret wondres of lesyng in al begilyng, hit / folweþ ferþ[er]. And vertues of heuene shul be mouyd, þees þynges / [and] op[er] þ[a]t folwen ben ful wel referrid 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 þouþ / in þe abidyng of þis streit doom þei shul wex drie for fere þat / floressheden here in þis world erne[?]. þouþ þ[a]t feiþ shal wax drie / þ[a]t w[i]t out gode werkes semes to floriss her': siþ vertues of heue- / -nes þ[a]t is to say pouers of aungeles tremblyn at þe sizt 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 dampned shul see mannes sone / in þ[a]t forme þ[a]t he suffrid ynne [and] was ycrucified, and also þ[a]t cros brizt[er] / þanne sonne, þ[er] shal be shewid, þ[a]t þorouþ þe sizt þ[er]of þei þ[a]t shul be / da[m]pned be þe more aferd [and] confundid, for as whan a kyng comeþ to any / of his owen citees, þe hoost goþ be fore beryng synges [and] þe kynges / banere, [and] w[i]t goyng aboute of araiyng [and] w[i]t armes shewyng, þ[a]t þe kyng / is in comyng, so our' lord descendyng 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' hiz 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 mageste, as if þe / euangelist seid, þei shul see hym þanne in gret power [and] mageste, 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 bifore ben seid ayen þe re- / -proued peple, anon þe wordes now aft[er] ben turned to þe confo'tyng / 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- / -yzeþ ful fast, for now whil þe world is endid, to whom ye wern not / frendes, þe ayenbiyng þ[a]t ye souzten is maad to yow ful nyþ, for / þanne shul we stonde

bifore þe hiȝ doom of crist, þ[a]t eche man rece- / -yue as he did in bodi wheþ[er] good of [sic] euell. In wiche doom tweyn or- / -dres shul be, þ[a]t is of godis chosen [and] of hem þ[a]t shul be da[m]pned, but / naþeles þees shul be departid in to foure, þe first ordre is of þe / p[ar]fite þ[a]t demep w[i]t god almyȝti [and] shal not be demed, of whom also / crist seiþ hym self: ye shuln sitte vpon xii setes demyng þe xii / kynredes of isrl'. A noþ[er] ordre also is of þe chosen, to whom hit is / seid: I hungrid [and] ye yaue me for<sup>797</sup> to ete, þees certeyn shul be demed / [and] regne, also þ[er] 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', þees / shul not be demed but þei shul p[er]issh, of whom also seide [??] / wikked men shul not arise ayen in doom. A noþ[er] ordre is of þe / reproued of hem þ[a]t shul be demyd [and] shul<sup>798</sup> p[er]issh, to whom hit shal be / seid: I hungrid [and] ye yaue me not to ete, go ye cursid in to þe / feir euerlastyng, þerfor as moche as þe reprouyng of þe yuell / is for to be drad [and] eschewid: so moche þe chesyng [and] þe glorify[n]g / of þe gode is for to be desired, for þis is þe ayenbiyng þ[a]t oure / lord spekeþ of: your ayenbiyng neyȝep ful fast, and þei shul / be felawes of þis ayenbiyng 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 louyd our' ayenbier w[i]t a ful wel ordyned ensauple shewiþ / whan he seiþ aft[er]: bihold ye þe fig tree [and] al oþ[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 þe<sup>799</sup> trees, / riȝt so þe<sup>800</sup> kyngdom of god is knowen 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 dayes 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 þees / þyngs he confirmeþ þat þ[a]t [sic] he behiȝt bifore [and] seiþ: certeynly / I say to yow þis gen[er]aciou[n] shal not passe away to þ[a]t all þees / þyngs before seid be doon, þ[a]t is to say all þyngs þ[a]t I haue be / hiȝt to my trewe s[er]uauntes, 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]. / but my wordes shul not passe away, þ[a]t þei ne shul falle as / þei ben bifore seid of me. Neu[er]þeles here we now shortlich of / which heuen þis is seid, for hit

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<sup>797</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>798</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>799</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>800</sup> Inserted above the line.

is not þe<sup>801</sup> firmament þ[a]t is clepid / an heuen wher ynne þe fast stikyng sterris goon a bouthe / neyþ[er] þe heuen þ[a]t is clepid etheren', wher ynne pure [and] quyete / [and] ful of þe lizt of god, men supposen þe vii sterris to be bore[n] / a bouthe, but hit is þe heuen þ[a]t clerkes clepen celu[m] aeriu[m] þ[a]t is / next þe erth, þ[a]t þe wat[er] lost som tyme, whan þe flodes weren de- / -stroied upon erthe, and þis heuen þe fier of þe last doom wex- / -yng be þe space of þe same mesure shal destroy hit [and] bryng / hit in to bett[er] stat as hit is seid be fore, þe whiche wordes for / certeyn we owen not to feynyngli for to ou[er]passe. For as þe / apostle seiþ þe abidyng of þe doom to comyng is ful ferdful, / [and] also þe folwyng of þe fier þ[a]t not oonly shal consume wikked / but also hit shal brenne þe elementes of þe world in to a nob[er] / state, þerfor siþ we han yherd þo þyngs þ[a]t crist verray treuþ / haþ warnd vs of, drede we þe euyl þ[a]t he<sup>802</sup> haþ bifore seid, loue / we þ[er]for þe good þ[a]t he behoteþ, do we þ[a]t þyng þ[a]t he commau[n]deþ / flee we þ[a]t þyng þ[a]t sleep vs, sette we at little þ[a]t þyng þ[a]t passeþ / away, þ[a]t we mown deserue to haue þ[a]t þat shal dwell for euer / more amen.

### (3) London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160, mid-15<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>803</sup> 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<sup>804</sup> I seyde he shal come / to deme al mankynde, that dome shal be / dredful for thanne shal ~~he~~ be<sup>805</sup> rehersed to us / alle the dedys, that eu[er]e we dede ye and all[e] / the thoutes that eu[er]e we thout, 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<sup>806</sup> [etc.]. / For that day shal be a day of wrethe and of ven- / -iaunce 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 /

<sup>801</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>802</sup> Inserted above the line

<sup>803</sup> Matthew 21:1-9, Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

<sup>804</sup> I.e., coming of Christ.

<sup>805</sup> Scribal correction: 'he' struck through, 'be' inserted above the line.

<sup>806</sup> '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 heue- / -ne shal acuse the, and alle the deuels of helle shal / acuse the, seyenge to the Iuge in this wyse. Quis[?] / sime[?] index indica ~~iss~~<sup>807</sup> istu[m] esse meu[m]. [etc.]. y[o]u evenest / Iuge y[o]u rightful domes man, deme this wreched / soule to be myn and not thur[?] thyn he was be / makynge and myn<sup>808</sup> be seruyng, thin he was be / co[ue]naunte[?] but thi s[er]uyse he left, and serued me / y[o]u yaf hi[m] clothinge of clennes, the whiche he / for soke, and defowled, and ~~he~~<sup>809</sup> 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 / pleynte<sup>810</sup> up on hi[m], to the Iuge 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 wreched soule be /

**29v:** rightful jugement be delyu[er]ed to the t[or]mentours of helle / in fyr to brenne with outyn ende, be cause he wolde / not in this worlde leuyng, loue s[er]ue ne kepe the co[m]- / -maundementes of our' lord'. Than shal the blessed / Iugge 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 left 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.

<sup>807</sup> Struck through, scribal error.

<sup>808</sup> Inserted above the original word, which is hard to decipher, but which has been struck through.

<sup>809</sup> Scribal error, struck through.

<sup>810</sup> 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 whiche 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' desiryng to fynde /

**30v:** us al wey redy in clenness, sheweth us be scriptur[es] / tokenes of the ende of the of the [sic]<sup>811</sup> 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 anna- / -lib[us] ebreor[um] writeth tokenes xv, that shal fal / a geysns the day of dome the whiche tokenes / whedyr 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, quakyng 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 /

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<sup>811</sup> Uncorrected scribal error.

chirche in daunger', so that al theise tokenes 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 forseide / 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]ne sheweth us tokenes to make / us warr[e], that is syknesse, disese, tribulaciou[n], los / of worldes godys, los of good name, pestilens, / and oder', lo theise arn tokenys, 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 tokenes 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]t y[o]u may, and thenke wele y[o]u wete it / neu[er]e how sone 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 leuyng be al wey redy / for y[o]u stondist vnsekyrly. Est paratus ne cu[m] / uen[er]it domus inuenerit te dormientem.<sup>812</sup> /

**31v:** Beth redy seith our' lord god, that whenne thi lord / cometh y[o]u be not founde slepyng, that is for to / sey, be redy in good leuyng, that in dedly synne / y[o]u be not founde, slepyng, 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]t / 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 whele, that t[ur]neth rou[n]de / a bowte, the whiche whele hath' vii spokes. The / whele that is al wey voluble is vnder stonde / just ablenesse. The first spoke is labo[ur], the seconde / is sorow, the thirde disseyte, the iiij extorciou[n], / the v oppressiou[n], the vi lamentaciou[n], the vii / falshed. The signes of this wele [sic] 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 whele 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

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<sup>812</sup> Possibly the Homilies of Saint Gregory. Cf. Mark 13:36.

wete / In som[er] in wynter', in hete in colde, what herde / trauel y[o]u putttest 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 getyng 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 sellyng 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 hijs 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[n]t[es][?] / feith is ther' non, taketh hede; hony in mouthe / worde as mylke, galle in herte, disseyte in dede / be warr[e]; this I sey: 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[n]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 disease fal to the, syknesse tri- / -bulaciou[n], blynde or lame y[o]u makest sorow, / ther' fore, grotchest<sup>813</sup> a yens our' lord god, / ther' y[o]u shulde it haue gret mede if y[o]u suf- / -frest it mekely y[o]u purchest thi self dampnaciou[n] /

**32v:** with thi grotching<sup>814</sup> and with thi lamentaciou[n] / hast y[o]u sorow here, and with thi blasfemyng ge- / -tyng p[ur]chase, to the peyne with outyn ende. The / vii I sey is falshed, a ihu' s[er][?] su[m] tyme 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]nuaunte, 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]nuaunte / 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

<sup>813</sup> 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.

<sup>814</sup> As above.

thi neyb[ur] whan / y[o]u art fals to our' lord god, lo these arn the / vii spokes of the whele of this worlde [etc.] / The thirde I say is vnder stonde be the sterres / the peple that is vnrewly and of dy[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'.<sup>815</sup> 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 sine<sup>816</sup> op[er]ib[us] / est mortuu[m] sine aia[m] ita fides sine bonis op[er]ib[us] / est mortua.<sup>817</sup> 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 bylewe<sup>818</sup> 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. /

**33v:** sicut rep[ro]bi sunt enim in celo, tria gen[er]a stel- / -lar[um] stella ardens et lucens maiori claritate / et significat eos, qui ardent in caritate nel / lucent in bona op[er]a coe' et est stella [?] arde[n]s / [?] lucens ut sunt illi qui non hent' ardore[m] / caritatis. [?] lucent in bone op[er]a coe' hij su[n]t / in fideles [et] falsi [Christiam] qui designant[ur] / p[er] illam terciam p[ar]tem stellar[um]. Ther' fore / ye shal vnder stoned, that ther' ben iiij kyndes / of sterres that is to sey that ledith a man / sone [sic] to heuene. Tho ij sterres that shineth / cryeth to our'

<sup>815</sup> Cf. Matthew 13:43.

<sup>816</sup> 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]e', which our scribe interpreted as 'sue', but later either amended it or was himself corrected.

<sup>817</sup> Cf. James 2:26.

<sup>818</sup> The word is a little garbled. The scribe evidently made an error and had to squeeze the final letters in.



sauour', to saue mannes soule / The thirde sterr[e] that honowreth heuene. The / iiii 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 lyzt 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 gostly sterr[e] / shal brynge the to criste. The seconde sterr[e], the / whiche is shynyng 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- / -tificaciou[n] of flesh, that is to do bodily penau[n]ce / for synne. The thirde sterr[e] is honowryng he- / -uene as holy men don, that is for to sey pa- / -triarkes p[ro]fetyes aples' uirgyns marters and<sup>819</sup> con- / -fessiones [sic] and oder' holy men to come to heuene, / and ther' fore I may wele sey that eu[er]y cristen / man is a sterr[e] honowryng heuene. The fourth / sterr[e] is fallyng in to erthe as lucifer fel / out of heuene in to helle, for the soule sy[n]ne / of pryde and envye, that folwad hi[m], al so ther' / are iij kyndes of sterres, on is brennyng, / and shynyng, 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 shewyng in good werkys wirkyng, and / good dedys doynge. The seconde sterr[e] is bren- / -nyng and not shynyng that be tokeneth / hem that are in charite and in he[m] self /

**34v:** wyrkyng no good werkys to the plesaunce of / god, nor helpyng to her' eni cristen Et ides / docet[ur] in euan[gelio] sit luciat lux u[est]ra coram / ho[mi]nib[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 brennyng the whiche geueth no lyzt and / that be tokeneth wikked men and wo[m]me[n] / that ledyn her'

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<sup>819</sup> 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 leuyng and ther' fore / the tresour vn to hem shal be the peyne / of helle eu[er]e lastyng. And ther' fore eu[er]y / man couetyng to come graciously to / the lyte of heuene eu[er]e lastyng, 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 lastyng, to the whiche / blisse he bryng us that up on the crosse / dyed ihc' xpc'. Amen.

**(4) London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B. xxiii, mid-15<sup>th</sup> 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 weddyng leste þat oure lorde ihu' when þat / he co[m]meþ to be hold þe repreue þe not and to ordeyne þe to be putt in to / eu[er]y lastyng peyne for þin evill lyvyng Seyinge on þis wyze ffrends / how co[m]meþ þon hyd[er] as I seid at þe begynnyng In þis wyze þan as / I haue told þe þe kyngedome of heven is like to a kyng þ[a]t ordeynt wed- / -dyngg[us] to is sonne Þus[?] I counsell all man[er] of men fully to þenke on / þis dome for seynt Ierome seiþ wheþer þat he Ete drynke or slepe or what / eu[er] els þat he dothe it semeþ hym seiþ he þat þe angels trompe sowneþ<sup>820</sup> / in is eere seyinge þus ryse 3e 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 rygorsly full sturnely / and also of vs howe þat we haue spende þe vii werkes of m[er]cy as þe / gospell wittenes but for asmuche as en[n]y man [and] wym[m]an shall zeue / a countes of þe vii werkes of m[er]cye þ[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]cy ben þese: Fede þe hongery. Zeue drynke to þe þirsty. / Clothe þe naked [and] nedye. Herbowre þe

<sup>820</sup> This oft-cited passage is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

howslesse. Comforte þe seke. / Visite p[ri]soners. And bury þe dede. þese vij verkes þou arte bondon[?] / to fulfil by verke [and] dede, 3iff þi powere be or els by þi good will 3iff / þi powere fail in payne of eu[er]lastyng dampnacion 3iff 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 chastyse synners by moderate rep[re]vyng in charite. The<sup>821</sup> / Comforte sorowfull men w[i]t cristes passion. The v forzeue wronges / done to þi selfe as þou wolte bezeue of god. The vj suffre mekely / rep[re]ves for þe ryght of goddes lawe. The vij preye hertely for frend / and for foo þese verkes ben of goostlely m[er]cy 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]cy on þe and þan 3iff god assk þe at þe day of dome / Frende howe 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 reioyse þe kyngedome of heven þat þou haste / ordeynt for þi seruauntes. To þe wiche ioye and infinite blisse / bryng vs oure swete lorde ihc' Amen.<sup>822</sup>

**(b) ff. 59v-60v, Sermon for Twenty-Second Sunday after Trinity**

**59v:** Si iniquitates obseruaueris d[omi]ne d[omi]ne quis sustinebit. / Frenedes 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 hi3 contemplacion and endeþ / it by a manere of question seyng þe wordes of my teme, Lord 3iff þou kepe / vp wikkednesse lorde who shall suffre it. As who seyþ we knowe well / lorde þ[a]t þou haste made vs of no3the [and] oure soule to þe likenesse of þe moste / blyssed t[ri]nite Þre p[er]sons [and] oo god also þou haste endewed vs w[i]t þre man[er] / of goodes þat is to sey þe goodes of kynde þe goodes of forteyne [and] þe goodes / of grace ffor þ[er]more þou haste ordeynte to vs by þi hy3e 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

<sup>821</sup> Scribe has omitted the enumeration of this one through error.

<sup>822</sup> 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' ihc', by þe wiche lawe / of þe lord we shuld lyffe [and] be gou[er]ned [and] chese vertew [and] leue synne [and] / wrechednesse 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 loste [and] spilte þan aft[ur] þat þe fourtye days / þou styeste up to heven takynge w[i]t þe mankyend [and] madeste it hyzere / Þan anny 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 aft[ur] by þe wiche / grace en[er]y man [and] wy[m]man may so gou[er]ne hyme þat aft[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 loueþ þe gou[er]nuance of v[e]rtew / þe wiche þi law techet vs [and] zeueth 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 3iff 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 op[er] but fewe / shall mowe com to heven nob[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<sup>823</sup> est [etc.] So þa[n] / þis is grett ioye to vs a3eyn to þenke þat he is m[er]cifull and is [his] lawe / also þ[er]fore lat vs hasked here in þis worlde for aft[ur] redely it is to late / as all holy writ wittenesse it Now god zeue vs grace to vse kyendnes / a3eyne [and] loue hyme þat so many signes of loue haþ shewed to vs / all oure lorde ihu' cste' In þe begynnyng [etc.] / Si iniquitates [etc.]. Frenedes 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 3iff þou kepe vp wickednesse who shall suffre itt. / Sir here þou my3thes asske 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]y place of goddess lawe þat is holywritte is of like grete / auttorytes to take a teme of and þat op[er] shuld knowe also þe goodness / [and] p[ro]phite of op[er] place of holywritt as well as þe gospel op[er] þe pistell / for c[er]teynly þe leste worde of scripture þat is anny resone of holywritte / is teme I no3th to

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<sup>823</sup> Propitiatio.

anny man to take is teme of þis is redely sothe þan / I sey þus, “lord 3iff þ[o]u<sup>824</sup> 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 wy3e / 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 wym[m]an dothe levyng / in þis worlde [and] not all lonly þe wicked werkes but all wicked [and] ydell wordes / [and] vnclene þou3thes not oon lefte behynde redyly, þis wittnesse 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,<sup>825</sup> / of eu[er]y man[er] ydell worde what eu[er] it be þat men or wy[m]men speken þei / shall 3eue acountes þ[er] of at þe day of dome þis shall be a strete rekenyng / seþ þ[a]t eu[er]y man shall haue þ[er] even ryght [and] no grace, 3ey 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 fey3the it is no merveyll þan þo3 þat he drede hym in all / þe veynes of ys herte here þou may asske me Syr þo3 god kepe vp / alloure 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 all þe deuels ~~æ~~ all þe world shall ~~æt~~ knowe all þe / ~~æ~~ dede[us] þat euer[e] þa[is]o]u dydeste 3iff<sup>826</sup> þ[o]u haue be shryven of hem [and] contryte / but Sir þis knalage shall be no shame to þe 3iff þ[a]t þ[o]u be saued, but rap[er] / a wurshippe ryght as we rede of þe dedes of mary magdaleyne to hur[e] / wurshippe [and] not to hur repress<sup>827</sup> and also ryght as 3iff a man had be in / þe tempeste of þe see [and] were scaped þ[er] fro all men wold prese hym / 3iff he told þ[er] of so on þe same wy3e 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 answeare as to þe fyrste question þan þus I haue tolde þe / now, þat god þenkes vppon alloure wyckednes [and] kepes hem vn to / þe day of Iugemente [and] at þat tyme all þe worlde shall knowe itt / to good

<sup>824</sup> Omitted and squeezed in above the line.

<sup>825</sup> Cf. Matthew 12:36.

<sup>826</sup> What looks like ‘yo3’ is above this word.

<sup>827</sup> 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<sup>828</sup> [scribal repetition] seconde In what wyȝe þat is wraþe may be suffred at þe day /

**60v:** of Iugemente. The gret<sup>829</sup> clerke Athanasius answerþ in þe Credo, Qui bona eger[unt] [etc.] / þe good may suffre hym well for þere ioȝe shall be infynye to be hold ys face / [and] þe evell may in no veye be hold hym he shall seme so cruell ȝe 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]towte ende þan ons loke hym / in þe face<sup>830</sup> þ[er] fore davyd preyþ in holywryte [and] seyþ lorde rebuke þ[o]u not / me at þ[a]t tyme when þou shalte seme wode nob[er] chastise me not in þi wraþe<sup>831</sup> / For sothe þat chastismente is full harde þ[er] as shall be euerelastyng peyne / w[i]towte anny reste oþ[er] ese Syre þou may asske why god woll suffre men / to leffe ill þat þat ben c[ri]sten [and] so to des[er]ue peyne Syr I may sey þe for / to shewe is lordshippe [and] þat he ys lorde of all þe worlde þan in þat þat / he is lorde. Quia d[omini]us [??] tu es þan it longeþ to hym to be right- / -wisse þat is to sey to ȝelde goode men good þinges [and] to ewyll men evyll / þis 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 ȝiffe men trespas- / -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 amende þan oure ioȝe / shall be encresed ȝe Syr [and] take hede how gentilly [and] how frely he ordey[n]þ / for vs, he ordeynes vii sac[ra]mentes in holy churche þe wiche shall esely / bryng vs to þe blisse ȝiff we be of goode gouernaunce. In oure ȝonge / Bapteme þat clenseþ men of þe fyrste synne þat we hade of oure elders / [and] ȝeves gret g[ra]ce to vs þat ben purgett The seconde 2 sac[ra]mente / is confermyng of þe bishoppe by þe wiche þe holygooste afermeþ man / þat is christened. The þride sacrament is penaunce when þ[a]t we / com to age of discrecion 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] ȝeueþ strenghs / to man, þat he fall not aȝeyn to Synne The v ys þe order' / of prestes where by þ[a]t þei haue powere to mynystr' þe sac[ra]ment[is] / The vj ys mat[ri]mony þat defendeþ deadly synne in generaco[n] / of children be twyx man [and] wy[m]man The vij 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

<sup>828</sup> Scribal error, repetition.

<sup>829</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>830</sup> The damned will rather spend eternity in Hell than to gaze even once upon the face of God, according to Saint Bernard.

<sup>831</sup> 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 ioeye at oure / goyng henn[us] So þan 3iffe god kepe vp oure ~~oure~~ wickednes hoo / shall suffre itt. trewly none but þei þat bene predestynate to þe / ioeye þat ben þo3 þat dyen w[i]toute dedely synne þise alonly 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 delyu[er] he vs [and] brynge vs to þi ioeye 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 orit[ur] stella dei A rise wreche he / seis oute of þin synnes [and] p[ra]i 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 ffor 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 mucche repentaunce as / all þe world myght haue but he amend hym or þ[a]t he die els he shall / neu[er] haue g[ra]ce w[i]towten ende and þ[er]fore whils þat 3e haue tyme / ryse owte of þe werkes of derkenes [and] clothe yon in goddes armes / as I seid afore w[i]t clenness almusedede mekenes wakyng [and] holy p[ra]ere / stedefast beleve hope of cstes' m[er]cy also w[i]t charite [and] op[er] verteves [and] iff 3e / clothe yon in þis wise than may 3e securly abide goddess co[m]myng of / is burthe when þ[a]t he toke oure keend of þat blessed mayd marie þus / make youre sowles clene a3eyns goddess co[m]myng now [and] so abide stede- / -fastely vn to is last co[m]myng 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 3e dede / men [and] co[m]myþ to þe dome þ[e]r shall no ma[n] askape w[i]t no meynp[ri]se ne / for no drede ne favo[ur] of lordeshippe ne for no mede for þ[e]r 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 þow3 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' op[er] [and] so shall iche of yon be 3e seme. Vbi te inuenio / ibi te iudico þ[e]r as I fynde þe þ[e]r I deme þe yiff þ[o]u die in dedely synne / þan þ[o]u shallt be dampned in hell bothe bodie [and] sowle [and] ziff þ[o]u ende in / good liff þan þ[o]u shalte to heven bothe bodie [and] sowle even as þ[o]u arte here / but þi bodie shall þan be glorified what is þ[a]t þi 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 þa[n] whe[n] þ[e]r shall be / mo bodies gadered to þeþ[er] þan is sterres on heven or gr[a]weyll in þe / see [and] eu[er]yche of hem so bright þa[n] 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 ciuitate dei, he seis þ[e]r / þ[a]t þe angels in heven þan be many fold bryght[er] 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<sup>832</sup>**

**112r:** Benedictus<sup>833</sup> qui venit in nomine domini, Mat. 21. The helpe and þe / grace of almyghty god be w[i]t vs now and euer. Amen. Frenedes / þise 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- / -dyng on englis tounge, “Blessed mot he be þat co[m]meþ in þe name / of oure lorde.” 3e shall vndirstond þat as wittenes well holy writ / and doctours also seyn þat þer be ij co[m]mynges of oure lord in godhed / in manhede here in erthe þe wiche we aw3 grettely to blisse The / first co[m]myng of cst' is in þe godhed [and] manhode toþeþ[ur] [and] þ[a]t was

<sup>832</sup> Although I would conjecture a possible error has been made and that it is instead intended for the Second Soday in Advent.

<sup>833</sup> Guide letter ‘b’; 3-line space left blank for decorated initial.



þ[a]t tyme / when he was borne at cristemasse of is blessed mod[ur] oure ladie seynt / marie þan he for þe gret zele [and] loue of man shewed hym selfe / nowthe as lord [and] god of all þinge but as a pore childe bonden 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]yc[ri]sten man [and] wo[m]man oveþ 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 wize, Nunc autem liberati a pcco', serui aute[m] f[a]c[t]i deo /

**112v:** be Þe co[m]mynge [and] þe tyme of cstes' burthe we be delyverd from synne [and] made / þe seruant[es] of oure lord god. Sethen þan þ[a]t ill is so þat afor cstes' 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] seying / 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 cstes' co[m]mynge þ[e]r myght no man com to / heven wher[e] fore he raunsomed vs for þe wiche me thynke þ[a]t ichman / is grettely beholden to velcom[e] hym in ys co[m]mynge seyinge þe wordes / þat I seid att þe begynnynge, þat blessed mot he be, þ[a]t co[m]meþ in þe name / of oure lord [...]

**113r:** Anop[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 shall<sup>834</sup> / be, in erthe or on heven or els beneþ þe erthe ffor sothe ffreundes where / it shall be I shall tell þe as holy writ seyþ [and] also Þe maist[ur] of sentence / he seyþ þ[a]t itt shall be in þe vale of Iosaphate [and] þ[a]t vale is beside ierliu'<sup>835</sup> / 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' seyþ god [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 cstes' own' wordes / where þ[a]t he seys þus, de die illa u[e]l hora nemo scit nisi solus pat[er], / [and] 3itt he seiþ more dies d[omi]ni sicut fur in nocte i[t]a veniet but vndir / stond what þat

<sup>834</sup> 'loc[us] Iudicij' is inscribed in the margin at the end of this line.

<sup>835</sup> I.e., Jerusalem.

holy writte seyþ þe day of dome shall com ryght as / a theffe, how co[m]meÐ a theff 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 / ~~putt~~ shall putt holy soules  
 some w[i]t aungels some w[i]t arghaungels [and] so / aft[ur] hure lyvynges 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] t[ur]mentynge som w[i]t smale devels [and] som' w[i]t grett  
 devels so beynges / 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 anny 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 op[er] me[n] in þis / world to make hure wreched bodies  
 gaye [and] hur[e] eres ryche [and] som / shall be hangged be þe tounge [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[ri]sten [and] þise false queste- / -mongers<sup>836</sup> 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 is  
 ney3bore [and] co[m] to asyse / he will for apeyre of gloves of vi pens put hym from is londe  
 he þat / vseþ þus is tou[n]ge þ[a]t god haþ 3even hym for to preyseþ hym w[i]t [and] he vse /  
 it to suche falsehed[e] he shall be hangged in hell þ[e]r by for is falsehod[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 bowels 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 nob[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]

<sup>836</sup> 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.

**114r:** [the last few lines make mention of Christ's purchase of mankind's freedom, again want to relate it to 'ayenbiyng'] caste we / away seyþ 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 thowztes [and] all suche vices þ[a]t displeyseþ oure lorde god [and] lat vs / do suche werkes þe wiche mowe brynge vs to þe blisse þ[a]t est' in is co[m]myng / 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:** Frenedes for a p[ro]cesse 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 þise ij first were helpyng vn to ma[n]kend / but þe iij shall be to som joyfull [and] helpyng [and] to som ful dredefull [and] grisly / þ[e]r fore spekeþ seynt barnard of þis co[m]myng in synnefull 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 a3eyns 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 swallow hem c[er]teyn' seys Saynt Barnard like as þe clowde letteþ / þe li3the of þe sonne þ[a]t it may not shyne vppon þe Erthe Ryght so þ[er] shall / be a clowde of synnefull 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.<sup>837</sup> þe planet[es] / of þe firmament shall taken a3eyn' her li3the moche more li3the þan þei / haue now ffor þe p[ro]phete isaiee seyþ yse xxx, Erit lux lune<sup>838</sup> sic[u]t ia[m] [?] lux solis /

<sup>837</sup> 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.

<sup>838</sup> I.e., 'lunae'.

**169v:** et lux solis erit septiplicit[er] maior þe li3the of þe mone shall be now as is þe / li3the of þe son [and] þe li3the of þe son shall be vij sythes ly3t[er] þan it ys now / þan shall þe good soules com a forne hym [and] þei shall gretly joy of þe co[m]mynge / as Seynt Ierom Sup[er] Naum prophetam seyng þus v[en]iet dies demonib[us] terribilis / amara peccantib[us] et iustis amabilis et subdit poulo post Mali luent sue vo- / -luptatis delicias et iusti transferentur ad sedes gloriosas, þer sall com a dey he seyþ / dredefull ðf to dewels bitt[ur] to synnefull me[n] and swete to ryghtwisse men þe sy[n]ne- / -fulme[n] in igne[m] et[ernu]m et iusti in vita[m] eternam [...] <sup>839</sup>

**(5) London, British Library, Harley MS 2383, 15<sup>th</sup> century**

**(a) ff. 85v-88v (selected extracts), Sermon for Ash Wednesday**

**85v:** mEmento<sup>840</sup> homo etc. Now good frendys þat 3e / schall cu[m] to church [etc.]. For' hit ys þe hed [and] / the bygynny[n]g of all þ[i]s holy fastyng of lentt and / also we schuld þat day by gyn [and] be repentant / of owr' synnys [and] w[i]t sorow of herte and schryfte / of mowthe put hem a way [and] make vs clene y[n] / sowll yn hope to haue parte of þe p[ra]yers þ[a]t holy / churche gevyth þat day and all oþyr days of / the lentt to þe[m] þat bythe clene y schryfte and / owte of syn'. 3e schall cu[m] [and] fonge yowr' axyn'<sup>841</sup> /

**86r:** vppon yowr' hedys hauy[n]g mynd of þe word[es] þat ys seyð / þer[e]. Memento [etc.] that ys to sey cu[m] and haue mynd / þ[a]t þow art axyn' [and] powdyr' [and] y[n] to axyn' and powdyr' / þ[o]u shalt turn' a3en. Now me semyth þys ys a greuys / word and 3yfe hit wer[e] ynwardly yn wyll y vndyr- / -stond þ[a]t hit shuld meke a man[n]ys hert [and] make / hit low [and] geue hym cause to know hym sylfe [and] / draw hym to good levyng her[e] yn þ[i]s world þ[a]t lastyth / butt a whyle as a schadow þat passyth sone as Iob / seyth, Dies mei sicut vmbra pterent' [?]<sup>842</sup>. Lord my / days now passith sweytt as a shadew [and] her[e] y[n] þ[i]s / world þ[e]r ys no reste ne ioy but sorow [and] wo and / 3yte at þe end as we came of þe erthe : to the / erthe we schall turne agayn'. Now þ[i]s we knowyth / well þ[a]t we wer[e]

<sup>839</sup> According to the *Repertorium*, the sermon is unfinished.

<sup>840</sup> Another example of a blank space being left for a decorated initial (two lines in height) to be added. The small guide letter, 'm', is all that occupies the space. Interestingly, the 'E' appears to be capitalised, which is surely a mistake, since it is the second letter of the word. Perhaps this is a scribal error: the scribe did not understand what s/he was copying and therefore instinctively capitalised the first letter regardless. A very speculative notion, but the incident is intriguing nevertheless.

<sup>841</sup> Ashes.

<sup>842</sup> Uncertain. Cf. Psalm 101:12.

made of þe erthe [and] to þe erthe we / schall turne aȝen. But ȝyt now we bythe me[n] / levying yn flesche an bone [and] schall dy but ȝyt as / owr' Crede techyth we schall att þe laste dome t[ur]ne / to men' a gayn [and] leue and neu[er] aft[ur] dy for' this / seyth owr' Crede, Carnis resurrexione[m] et vita[m] / et[er]na[m] amen. That ys owr' flesche schall ryse a / gayn [and] leue for eu[er] op[er] ellys yn joy op[er] yn payn / aft[ur] þ[a]t we levythe her[e] be hit good op[er] evyll aft[ur] owr' / deservyng we schall be rewardyd. Now frendys / þ[i]s sythe þat we came of þe erthe [and] to þe erthe schal[l] / turne a gayn ȝytt now we bythe me[n] levying[e] [and] / to me[n] we schall t[ur]ne agayn hole as we bythe /

**86v:** now as þe gospels seythe þe leste her' of owr' hede / schall nott p[er]ysche. Now then þe whyll þ[a]t we bythe / men her' [and] havythe wytt [and] wysdom and a fre / wyll [and] mow chese whedyr' we wyll be good or / evyll : good hytt were me semythe to leve so her' / now þe whyle þ[a]t we bythe here me[n] þ[a]t we myȝthe / have joy [and] reste when we schall cu[m] ellys where / and t[ur]ne ageyn to men. Now hit semyth þ[a]t meny / þat bythe here yn þys world takythe lytyll hede / of þ[a]t lyfe þ[a]t ys to cu[m] þe whyche þ[a]t folowythe here / þere own' wyll Sinne yn prowde levying by techy[n]g / of þe fende jn wrathe [and] yn envy and su[m] by / covytyse of wordely godys settythe nowte by / trowthe. And su[m] levythe aft[ur] þe lekynge 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 wenythe / nevyr have op[er] lyfe ne geve a rekeny[n]g of þ[e]r / evyll dedys þ[a]t þey dothe her[e]. Now whan þey<sup>843</sup> beste / trystythe to hym [and] to þe welthe of þ[i]s world son[n]yst / þey bythe by gylyd be þey neu[er] so prowde þer[e] / for[e] me semythe þat hit were good þe whyle / þat we bythe here 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 seyde / fyrste ynwardly y[n] þyn hertt þ[a]t þ[o]u were axyn' / and to axyn' þ[o]u schaltte t[ur]ne ageyn. Meme[n]to [etc.] /

**87r:** And now yn þe begynny[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 [...]

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<sup>843</sup> '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 myrroure of sy[n]ners; [and] bigy[n]neþ anopir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday, to hem þ[a]t þere schulen be dampned’

**63r** Who so wole haue i[n] mynde / þe dredful day of doom, / so þ[a]t he may be moued wiþ dre- / -de to fle fro synne, as þe wise / man biddiþ his sone. memorare nouissima tua; et i[n]eternu[m] / non p[er]cabis. 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 3e mou[n] fynde / su[m]what writen þerof, how o[u]re / lord spekiþ bi ysaie þe p[ro]phete / 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 pla- / -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 / wiisnesse. 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 / ri3t- / -wysnesse, bifore 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- / -kis on þe ssaboth day. But out / of þis signe of þe liou[n]; he pas- / -side into þe signe of þe virgyn, / wha[n]ne he took mankynde, and / was born of þe virgyn mane. / And þa[n]ne was he maad more / redi to do merci, þan eue he w[a]s / to veniau[n]ce. þanne it bigan, [and] / 3itt 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, seiþ þus. / **64v** Nolo mortem peccatoris; set / magis vt conuertatur et uiuat. / þ[a]t is, I wole not þe deep of a sy[n]- / -nere; 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]l / wei3e alle oure þou3tis, wordis / [and] oure werkis in euene peys<sup>844</sup> of / his ri3twisnesse, þ[a]t he may 3elde / to euery man aftir þe truþe of his / deseert. And what he schal þa[n]ne / dom heere þou, what he seiþ now / bi þe p[ro]phete. Congregabo super / eos mala; et sagittas meas com- / -plebo in eis, þat is, I schal hepe[n] / **65r** vpon he[m] her yuelis; [and] I schal / dispende alle myne arowis vp- / -on hem. þre scharpe arowis /

<sup>844</sup> 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 clepinge to þe doom, / wha[n]ne as hi[m] silf seiþ. venit ho- / -ra vt omnes  
qui i[n] monume[n]tis / sunt audient vocem filii dei, et / p[ro]cedent qui bona egerunt in /  
resurreccionem vite, qui vero ma- / -la, in resurreccionem 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 caitiff 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]to wepinge. Now þi wrec- / -chid schort lust; schal  
passe into e- / -uerlastyng sorowe. Now it is / fully fallen fro þee, what so þou / desiridist to  
haue had. Now it is / comen to þee, al þat þou dreddist. / Now it is ago al þ[a]t þou louedist, /  
[and] now it is comen al þ[a]t þou ha- / -tidist. Cursid be þou, þou wrec- / **66r** -chid careyne,  
for i[n] peyne of þi / synnes, þi delicis [and] þi wickid- / -nessis siþ I, passide fro þee, I / haue  
bisili brent in helle. Cur- / -sid be þou helle brond ordained / to þe fier of helle þ[a]t neuere  
schal / be quenched. Cursid be þe tyme / in þe which I was first couplid / to þee, for now I mai  
not leue / þee, þi cursed cumpanye I may / not eschewe, wole I or uyle, I am / constreynd to  
be putt aȝen to þe[e]. / Go we þ[er]fore togidere bifore þe / dredful domesma[n], ye forto  
heer[e] / oure euerlastyng dampnaciou[n]. / þa[n]ne schulen alle wickide me[n] se / þe iust  
cause of her owne damp- / **66v** -naciou[n] writen wiþ her owne hon- / -dis in þe book of her  
consciencis / boþe lewid and lerid [and] reden it / hem silf. And if þou seiþ þat le- / -wid  
men can not rede, I seiþ þ[a]t / þ[e]r is noon so lewid, þat he ne / can rede þe letter of his  
owne / writyng. þa[n]ne þei schullen se þe / domesman as he were wood / for wraped aȝens  
he[m]. Of þis / woodnesse and þis wraþe 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  
ouercome me not w[i]t skil- / -lis, and chastise me not in þe wrap- / -pe.<sup>845</sup> 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] vengyng of  
sy[n]- / -ne; schal take effect of sicke 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  
peyned by / veniau[n]ce i[n] þe horrible peyne / **67v** of helle þ[a]t neuere schal haue en- / -de,

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<sup>845</sup> This could be wraþpe.

þe which is clepid here þe woodnesse of god. Al þis þe p[ro]phete / dauib siȝ in spirit, and þerfore / he in p[er]soone of ane sy[n]neris fe- / -lynge hi[m] vnmyȝty to bere euer / eiþir first askiþ to be delyuerid / of helle, [and] siþen of purgatorie / seiynge þus. Domine ne in fu- / -rore etc. As if he seide þus to oure / vndirstondynge. lord I biseche / þee þ[a]t in þe dredful day of doom, / where þou schalt schewe þee to / sy[n]neris as a man þ[a]t were wood / sparynge no þing; þ[a]t þou ouer- / -come me not wiþ skillis i[n] final / conclusiou[n], so þ[a]t I be not co[n]uyct / **68r** for euere [and] be ateynt in a scha- / -meful inco[n]uenient of euerlasty[n]- / -ge reprof [and] þ[er]fore I seie argue me not.<sup>846</sup> For arguynge as cler- / -kis knowe, is oon to ou[er]come / anopir w[i]t skillis. But ȝeue me / grace good lord so to argue [and] to / ouercome wiþ skillis of þi lawe / þe errouris of my blynd conscien- / -ce here in þis liif whilis tyme is / of mercy; þat I may hertily for- / -þenke he[m], [and] cleerly confesse hem / [and] lawfulli amende hem bi ensau[m]- / -ple of new clene lyuynge to / men, feruent in preier to god, [and] by / discreet chastisement of my liif / here whilis I lyue; so þ[a]t þ[o]u haue / no wille to chastise me i[n] þi wrappe / **68v** aftir þis liif in purgatorie. And / þ[a]t it be þus. Miserere mei d[omi]ne / qu[on]i[am] infirmus su[m]. Hauve merci on / me lord for I am syk [and] v[n]myȝty to / bere euer eiþer, þ[a]t is to seie, þin ar- / -guyng in þe doom, ne þi chas- / -tisement i[n] purgatorie but if it so / be þ[a]t I be up born wiþ þi mercy; / o, þ[a]t dredful day of oure lord, / þa[n]e schulen alle wickide men / se he[m] sitte in þe doom wiþ crist, / whom þei han dispisid here, and / in þis liȝt be troubled wiþ an hor- / -rible drede, seiynge þe word of / þe wiseman. Hii sunt quos ali- / -quando [habuimus] in derisum etc. / uos in sensati etc. þat, is, þese / **69r** ben þo þe whiche sumtyme we / hadden in scorn [and] dispiit, we / vnwitty wrecchis heelde[n] her liif / woodnesse, [and] her eende wiþoute[n] / honour, but lo now how þei be[n] / acountid among þe sones of god. / þa[n]e among al þ[a]t multitude þei / schal not fynde oon þ[a]t schal ha- / -ue compassiou[n] of he[m], but alle / schulen be glad [and] content with / god, i[n] her iust dampnacioun / aft[ir] þe word of þe salm seiyn- / -ge þus. letabitur iustus cu[m] vi- / -derit vindictam.<sup>847</sup> þat is, þe riȝt- / -wiisman schal be glad wha[n]e / he schal se þe ve[n]ia[n]ce, þane as / crist seiþ in þe gospel, þei schule[n] / **69v** seke for to entre into creueys of / stoonys, and i[n]to þe swolowis of / þe erþe, fro þe dreadful face of o[ur]e / lord. þa[n]e schulen þei preie moun- / -teyns to falle vpon hem, [and] hillis / for to hide hem, so woo þei schule[n] / be on euery side. And þis is the

<sup>846</sup> ‘[and] þ[er]fore I seie argue me not’ is in the margin, having been omitted from the main column, indicated by a mark.

<sup>847</sup> Psalm 57:11: ‘Laetabitur Justus cum viderit vindictam; manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris’; ‘The just shall reioice when he shall see the revenge: he shall wash his hands in the blood of the sinner.’



wou[n]- / -de of þe firste arowe. þe secu[n]de / arowe schal be an arowe of scharp /  
rep[ro]uyng 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 herbore. I was / syk [and] in  
p[ri]sou[n]; [and] 3e visitide[n] me n[o]t, / **70r** ne dide 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 nou3t to hi[m]. / And no  
wonder þou3 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 foorme of a / seruau[n]t for to be deemed of þe fal- / -se  
iewis; seide to hem þ[a]t sou3te[n] for / to take hi[m], I am he. And anoon þei / 3eden abak  
[and] fellen to þe erþe. If / he þ[a]t wha[n]ne he was deedly [and] cam / to be deemed hadde  
so feerdful a / voise, þ[a]t wiþ his [...] word þrewe to / **70v** grounde so manye sterne men /  
of þe iewis. Afer more feerdful / voise schal he hauve, whanne he / schal come vndeedly wiþ  
his oost / of au[n]gels [and] of seythis for to dee- / -me þe quyke and þe deede, ech / man  
aftir þ[a]t he haþ discerned. / And herfore seiþ Iob. Cum vix / paruam stillam sermonem cuis  
/ audire non possunt ~~possunt~~<sup>848</sup> toni- / -truu[m] magnitudinus eius quis po- / -test sustinere.  
þat is, siþ ma[n] mai / vnneþis heere alitis drope of hise / wordis; þe greete þundir of his /  
doom who schal mowe heere or / suffre, as who seiþ noon. And þ[e]r- / -fore seiþ seynt  
Bernard þus. Cum / **71r** peccator accusatus fuerit, et con- / -sciencia p[ro]pria testimoniū[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 a3ens him [and] euery crea- / -ture  
of god schal rise a3ens hi[m] in / ve[n]ia[n]ce greuou as an arowe wou[n]dis, / schal  
þa[n]ne be þe vois of god to / suffre. And þe p[ro]phete Ieremye seiþ. Sagitta vulnerans  
lingua eius. / þat is, þe tu[n]ge of hi[m] schal be as / an arowe wou[n]dyng. 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[rae] /  
p[ar]at[us] diabolo et angelis ei[us]. þ[a]t is. / Go 3e cursid wirtis[?] into euerlas- / -tyng fier,  
þe which is ordeyned / to þe feend and to þe au[n]gelis of / hi[m]. þis arowe schal wou[n]de  
he[m] þ[a]t / it falliþ on so greuouly, þ[a]t alle / þe lechis fisicians and surgyens, / ne 3itt alle  
þe creaturis i[n] heuene / [and] in erþe schal not mowe heele þe / wou[n]de of it. þa[n]ne  
schal þe ope[n] / erþe swolowe he[m] dou[n] into helle / where þei schal be turmentid w[i]t /

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<sup>848</sup> 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 seiþ seynt Eusebie þus. / ve ve quibus est datum priuis / 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 rihtside [and] seie þus to he[m]. / venite benedicti patris mei p[er]ci- / -pite regnu[m] quod vobis paratu[m] / est a patre meo ab origine mundi. / þ[a]t is. Come to me, 3e þ[a]t ben þe / blessid children of my fadir [and] be / **72v** 3e p[ar]teners of my ioie i[n] þe kyng- / -dom þat was ordeyned for 3ou / by my fadir fro þe bigy[n]nyng / of þe world. To þe which kyng- / -dom and ioie he bryngte us, / þ[a]t bou3te us wiþ his precious / blood. Amen. Here eendiþ þe / tretis of þre arowis. And here / sueþ anopir mater, how ech ma[n] / [and] wo[m]man 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 a3enbiyng of þe world be repreued of þe iewis, and be killid / **2v** of Iudas þe traitour, and forto be / bounden wiþ boondis, and as a meke lombe for to be led to cleyng of sacrificise bifore þe si3t of annas, and caiphas, and erode, vnsemyngly for to be offrid, and for to be accused of false witnessis, 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 reysid up in þe cros bitwyx two þeeues, and for to be 3ouen to drynke galle and aysel, and for to be wounded **3r** wiþ a spere. þou lord þoru3 þese moost holy peynes, þe whiche I unworþi wretche rehearse, and þoru3 þin holi cros, þat is þi passioun, delyuere me fro þe peyne of helle, and I vouche þou saak to leie me wiþ þee into paradiis wh[...]<sup>849</sup> þou leddist þe þeef; þe which was crucified wit þee, þere to be wiþ þin holy aungels wiþouten eende amen.

**(c) ff. 38v-41v, how crist schal appere at domesday**

**38v** Austyn in þe book of hice sermou[n]s in a sermou[n] þat bigy[n]neþ þus in þis present liif. Crist i[n] þe doom schal schewe to alle biholdyng þe wou[n]dis and prickyngis of nailis

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<sup>849</sup> 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 dispisyng me and my mau[n]dementis, haddist leuere to sve þe disseyuor þ[a]t is þe deuel. wherefore thou dampned bi in a pryson [...] <sup>850</sup> deyned to þe turmentis of helle. aftir I hadde merci on þee, and took fleisch, I dwelte in erþe among synneris, I suffride dispisyngis <sup>851</sup> and betyngis for þee, for to delyuere þee. I resseyuede buffetis and spetyngis, forto 3eue to þee þe swetnesse 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 sepulcre. I 3ede down 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 [...] <sup>852</sup> vnpiteus men knowe what þi[n]g[is] 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 deef, þat þou schuldist lyue wiþouten eende. I lay hid i[n] sepulcre, þat þou schuldist regne in heuene. I suffride alle þese þi[n]g[is] **40r** for 3ou, grettere þan þese what ou3te 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 liif, wha[n]ne I was god invisible and vnpassible, I wolde suffre for 3ou wilfully, for 3ou I was maad man, wha[n]ne I was riche, I was maad nedi for 3ou, but 3e euere forsakyng mekenesse and myn heestis sueden more þe disseyuour, þat is þe deuel, þan me. lo now my riztfulnesse mai noon op[er] þi[n]g deeme; no but þat, þ[a]t 3o[ur]e werks disseruen, þ[er]fore holde 3e þ[a]t, þat 3e haue chosen, 3e han dispisid **40v** li3t; weelde 3e derknessis, what moornyng, what anguysch schal be; whanne þis sentence schal be seid a3ens vnpiteuous me[n]. þa[n]ne to yuele men schal be hard departyng fro þe swetnesse 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 euerlastyng turment and schulen dwelle euere wiþouten eende i[n] moornyng and weilyng and þei fer excilid fro blisful p[ar]adijs, schulen be turmentid in euerlastyng peyne neuere to seyng li3t, neuere to **41r** getyng ketyng but bi þousandis of þousand 3eeris, schule[n] be turmentid in helle and neue[r] schulen be delyuerid þens w[i]touten eende, where he þat turmentid is neuere maad feynt, and he þat is turmentid, schal neue[r] die, for fier waastid so þere; þat it reserue 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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<sup>850</sup> MS damaged.

<sup>851</sup> A correction in the margin: 'and blood'?

<sup>852</sup> MS damaged again, reverse of earlier.

suffre þe peyne of helle, for þe[r] no þi[n]g schal be herd; no but wepi[n]ge and weily[n]ge and gnascynge of teep, þe[r] schal be doon oþir comfort, þan flawmes and dredis of peynes and **41v** þe wrecchis schulen bre[n]ne euere 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 makip ma[n]nys soule fro god to twy[n] / To wickide hiȝnes he wole ay / **117r** And loueþ to myche his owne noblay / Hi[m] silf he preisip in his þouȝt / And oþe[r] men he settip at nouȝt / 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 ioieþ w[i]ty[n]ne / he lauȝeþ 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 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 willip ay / wiþ riȝt or wrong gete wheþ[er] he m[a]y / Glotenyte haþ greet appetite / To ete eech plate<sup>853</sup> 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 worchip 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 doyn[ig] / Good werk he loþip to bigyn[n]e / And liȝth 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 aȝe[n]s þe .vij. deedli syn[n]es**

**117v** Wiþ scharpe þornes þ[a]t were[n] ful heue<sup>854</sup> / My[n] heed was crowned ȝe mou[n] wel seue / The blood ran dou[n] albi my cheke / þou proud man þ[er]fore be meke / **118r** Iff þou be wrooþ and wolt take wrecke / Biholde þe lessou[n] þat I þee teche / þoruȝ my riȝthond þe nail it gooþ / þerfore forȝeue and be nouȝt wrooþ / In al my þirst upon þe rode / Me[n] ȝauen 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 deep for ma[n]nys synne / Lecchour þ[er]fore of lust þou bly[n]ne / Thoruȝ my lifthond a nail was dryue / þenke þou þ[er]on if þou wolt lyue / And helpe þe pore wiþ almesdede / If you in heuene wolt haue þi mede / Wiþ aspere scharp þ[a]t was ful grill / **118v** Myn herte was

<sup>853</sup> Best guess, ink is faded.

<sup>854</sup> 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]fore 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 þerwiþ her soulis 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 þe[e] fro / sy[n]ne. here þ[o]u maiste  
 fynde su[m] what wretyn of how owre lorde spekeþe / by ysay þe p[ro]phete 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 / wyckydnes of the[m] þ[a]t dwellethe a  
 po[n] þe erthe. truly þis dome shulde sorely<sup>855</sup> / be dradde, for as myche as he dothe m[er]cy  
 now, so myche shal he þen do strayte ve[n]geabul rightwysnes, for why it is of god, in lyke  
 wyse / **7v** as it is of þe syne. The syne holding his coursepasethe out of þe bala- / -nis<sup>856</sup> 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

<sup>855</sup> 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.

<sup>856</sup> 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 homoeoteleuton, i.e., the scribe accidentally copied ‘balance’ instead of ‘lion’ through mixing up the lines he was currently copying.

yet h[i]t lasteþe þ[a]t he þ[a]t sayde, when a was in þe lyon, þe sowle þ[a]t sy[n]neþe, a /  
 no[n] h[i]t shal dye. a[n]i[m]a qu[a]e p[er]ccau[er]it, cito [sic] moriet[ur]. now he is in þe  
 vi[r]gy[n]ne, / and seythe þ[us]. nolo morte[m] p[er]cc[at]oris, set ut magis con[er]tat[ur] [sic]  
 et viuat. I wil / not þe deþe of a synn[er], but þ[a]t he be t[ur]ne þ[er] fro and leue. but truly  
 out of / þis syne þis of ve vi[r]gy[n]ne, he shalle passe in to þe syne of þe bala[n]ce, at þe /  
 day of dome, where he shalle wey alle oure thoughtis and dedus / and wordis in evyn peyse  
 by his rightwysnes, þ[a]t he may yelde to eu[er]y / man, aft[ir] þe truthe of his destre. and  
 what he shalle then do. hire þ[o]u / what a sethe by his p[ro]phete. Co[n]gregabo sup[er] eos  
 mala, et sagittas / meas co[m]plebo in eis. I shal hepe up a po[n] þem þ[er] owne evelys,  
 [and] y shal / spe[n]de alle myne arowis of my wrethe a po[n] þem. Thre sharpe arowis / shal  
 be shotte of o[w]re lorde in þ[a]t dreadful day, a po[n] the[m] þ[a]t there shal be / da[m]pnyd.  
 The firste arow shal be-callyng to þe dome, as a seythe / hy[m] self. Venit hora ut om[n]es  
 q[u]i in monume[n]tis su[n]t, audient vocem / filii dei, et p[ro]cedent qui bona egeru[n]t in  
 resurrecc[i]one[m] vite, qui vero / mala, in resurrecc[i]one[m] iudicii. tyme shal come þ[a]t  
 alle þo þ[a]t bethe in g[ra]- / -uis shal hyre þe voyse of þe sone of god, [and] so passe forthe  
 to þe dome, / **8r** then þi wrecchyd da[m]pnyd soule, shal come to þi body [and] saye to h[i]t.  
 Aryse þ[o]u / c[ur]syd caytefe caryne, fro þis tyme further w[i]t out ende, to be felowe to þe /  
 dule, [and] e[ne]my to al[mi]ti god,<sup>857</sup> for now þi ioye shalbe t[ur]ne in to wo, þi swete delits,  
 in / to bitt[ur]nes, [and] þi laught[ur] in to wepy[n]g, and now þi wrecched shorte luste, shal /  
 passe in to eu[er] lasty[n]g sorwe, now it iis fully falle fro þe þ[a]t þ[o]u desyredest, now / it  
 is come to þe, that þ[o]u draddest, now it is gone, al þ[a]t thow lovedest, [and] now / it is  
 come alle þ[a]t þ[o]u hatest. Cursyd be þ[o]u wrecchyd careyne, for sy[n]ne þe tyme / þ[a]t y  
 passyd fro þe. y haue bre[n]t ful bitt[ur]ly in helle, for þe sy[n]nis [and] false wycked- / -nes,  
 þ[a]t þ[o]u vsedest whe[n] y dwellyd w[i]t þe. Cursyd be þ[o]u helle bronde, ordeynyd / to þe  
 fyre of helle for eu[er] more, [and] neu[er] to be que[n]chyd. Cursyd be þe tyme / þ[a]t ever y  
 was cowplyd vn to þe, for now y may not leue þe, þi c[ur]syd co[m]- / -pany y may not a  
 voyde, wille y or nelly, y am co[n]strayd [sic] to be knytte / a gene to þe, y may not chuse.  
 Go we þ[e]n for to ged[ur] by fore þe moste drefulleste do- / -mys ma[n], there for to hure  
 owre eu[er] lesty[n]g da[m]pnacou[n]. then shal al wic- / -kyd me[n] se þe iuste cause of  
 þ[er] owne da[m]pnacou[n] [and] wrety[n] w[i]t þ[er] owne ha[n]dis, / in þe boke of þ[er]  
 co[n]syence, bothe lernyd [and] vn lernyd, [and] alle pepul shal rede / h[i]t the[m] sef [sic].  
 Then eu[er]y c[r]eat[ur] shal se þ[a]t dredeful domys ma[n]. as a were wode / for wrethe a

<sup>857</sup> The scribe has heavily abbreviated these two words, so my insertions are largely guesswork.

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 corripas / me. lorde in þi wodenes y beseche þe ou[er] come me not, [and] chastes me not / w[i]t þi wrethe, lo me[n] wolde wene þ[a]t wrethe or wodenes or any suche / trobul 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 ponisshy[n]g [and] ve[n]gyng / of sy[n]ne, þ[a]t shal take effecte of suche passyonis, as bethe wrathe [and] wode- / **8v** -nes in alle sy[n]neris, þ[a]t op[er] shal be chastysed by payne þ[a]t shal haue [an] ende, / as in p[ur]gatory, þe whiche payne is callyd here þe wrathe 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 op[er] sy[n]ner[is] and so to be fou[n]de / [and] take a fore þe a false tyt[?] a te[n]te for eu[er] more, and here for y say, / argu me not, for arguy[n]g as clerkys know[e]t welle is one to ou[er]come / a nob[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 errorys of my bly[n]de co[n]sye[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 li<sup>858</sup> 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 wyll to chastyse me, w[i]t þi wrethe 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 bore up by þi m[er]cy, O þ[a]t dredefulle 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 whiche / **9r** þ[o]u dispysed in by fore whe[n] þ[o]u were here in þis worde

<sup>858</sup> 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'.

[sic], and in þis 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,<sup>859</sup> and also þei shalle / wysse [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]y 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[us]. y was [an] hu[n]gred [and] ye gaue me no mete, y / was a thirte [and] ye gaue me no drynke, y was nakyd [and] ye gaue me / no cloþis, y was a geste [and] ye gaue me no herborowe, y was seke [and] in p[re]- / -son [and] ye vusyted me not nor dede me no co[n]m[un]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 dede not thes / thy[n]ge, to the[m] þ[a]t nede hadde in his name, so ofte þei dede 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 / **¶** 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 oste of [angels]<sup>860</sup> [and] of seyntis for to deme þe / q[ui]cke [and] þe dede eu[er]y ma[n] aft[ur] his des[er]uy[n]g and here fore seyde Iobe. Cu[m] / vix p[ar]ua stillam s[er]monu[m] eius audire no[n] possu[n]t, tonitruu[m] magnitudiis / eius q[ui]s 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[er]fore seyde sent barnarde þ[us]. Cu[m] p[er]cc[at]or ac- / -cusatus

<sup>859</sup> Reminiscent of the *Fifteen Signs*, with people cowering in caves.

<sup>860</sup> The spelling is bizarre: 'a[n]glus', with an abbreviation over the 'u'.



fu[er]it, et co[n]sci[enti]a p[ro]p[r]ia co[n]tra eu[m] testi[m]oniu[m] p[ro]hibuerit, et o[m]nis  
 c[re]at[ur]a / dei insurrexerit co[n]tra ea[m] in vind[i]c[t]am, g[r]auis ut sagitta erit uox  
 d[omi]ni / ad sustine[n]du[m]. That is to say, whe[n] þe synful man shal be accusyd, / [and]  
 his owne co[n]scye[n]ce shal bere wytnes a geinste hy[m], [and] eu[er]y rightful / creat[ur] of  
 god shal ryse a geinste hy[m] in ve[n]gense and as g[r]euus as [an] / arowe shal þen be þe  
 voyce of god to suffur and as þe p[ro]phete Ieremy / sethe. The tunge of hy[m] shal be as [an]  
 arowe woundy[n]g. Sagitta uul- / -neras' lingua eius. The thyrde arowe shal be [an] arowe of  
 endeles / da[m]pnacou[n] of al wyckyd me[n], whe[n] he shal say vn to the[m] þ[us]. Ite /  
 maled[i]c[t]i in igne[m] et[er]nu[m], qui p[re]paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. Go / ye  
 c[ur]syd synn[er]ys in to eu[er] lasty[n]ge fyre, þe whyche is ordeynyd to þe / fynde [and] to  
 þe anglus of hy[m], þis arowe shal wounde the[m] so sore þ[a]t h[i]t / shal fal a po[n] þ[a]t  
 alle þe lechis phesycyonis nor yet alle þe c[re]aturis in / heuyn [and] in erthe shal not hele þe  
 wounde of h[i]t, then shal þe opyn / erthe swalwe the[m] downe in to helle, where þei shal be  
 t[ur]me[n]tyd w[i]t / out ende. But a las y drede me þ[a]t þ[er] bene ful meny þ[a]t wille  
 neu[er] by / leue þes thyng, in to þe tyme þei fele h[i]t to who[m] seythe seynte Euseby /  
 þ[us]. Ve ue quib[us] datu[m] est hoc priue sentire qui' credere. wo wo be to / **10r** the[m] to  
 who[m] þis is rap[er] geuy[n] to fele þen to be leue. And þen shal criste t[ur]ne / to the[m]  
 þ[a]t bethe on his right syde, and to the[m] a wille sey þ[us]. Venite / b[e]n[e]d[i]c[t]i p[at]ris  
 mei p[er]cipite vobis regnu[m] q[uo]d vobis p[ar]atu[m] est a p[at]re meo ab / origine  
 mu[n]di. Comethe ye to me, ye þ[a]t bene þe blessyd chylryn of my / fadur, [and] be ye  
 parteneris of my ioy in þe kyngdo[m] þ[a]t was ordeynyd for / yow by my fadur fro þe  
 bygy[n]nyng of þis worlde. To þe whiche kyng- / -dome [and] ioy he bry[n]g us þ[a]t bought  
 us w[i]t his p[re]cius blode. Ame[n].

**(8) London, British Library, Harley MS 1706**

**(a) Extract from the calendar for the month of December**

Ayenst oure lordes hys secunde aduent / Att domysday that we be schent / O lorde Ihu' to the  
 we now cry / Whom we offendyd w[i]t synnes allas / haue mercy on vs for thy moder mary /  
 and for the loue off seynt Nycholas / as trewly lorde as thy moder was / kepte from synne in  
 her holy concepcion / Wasshe vs from synne w[i]t thy swete passyon / Saue lorde thy spouse  
 all holy chyrche / Fro errors and heresyas 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 natyuyte of cryst oure lorde / Steuen make vs all most  
 [and] leste / w[i]t seynt John' invertues thacorde / That we may sytte att Innocentes borde /  
 w[i]t seynt Thomas of cauntyrbury oure frende / Now saue vs fader w[i]t thy flessch 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 begynnyth atretye of iij / arowes that schullen be schot / at domesday to hem  
 that there / schullen be dampned.

[Begins with a flourishing initial 'W'] Who wolle 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 ineternu[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, seyng  
 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] habytten the erthe. Certys þis / doome schulde souereynly bee / **[B]** for  
 as muche as he dothe nowe m[er]cy / so myche shall he then do streyte / vengeable  
 ryȝtwysnesse. For yt ys / god in lyknesse. As yt ys of þe sone. the su[n]ne holdyng  
 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 syngne of / the balaunce, the lyon ys a stro- / -nge beste  
 [and] a felle, [and] in thys syg- / -ne was cryste the sunne of ryȝtewysnesse, 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 seyde, 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 vengauce, / than yt  
 be ganne and ȝite 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 morietur [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] vt 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 weyze alle / oure þou3tes, oure wordys, / and oure workys, in euen / **[B]** payse of  
hys ry3twysnese, þat / he may 3elde 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 p[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- / -rpe arowys schullen  
be schotte / of oure lorde in þat day, vpon / hem that ther schullen be damp- / -ned. 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 wrechyd 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 enemy to allmyty god. / Nowe  
thy ioye schalle be tur- / -ned in to woo, thy delythe in / to bytternesse, and thy lau3ter / in to  
wepyng, nowe thy wre- / -chyd schorte luste schalle pa- / -sse in to euerlastyng 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 synnys, thy / delyces and thy wrecchydnesses / sythyn I passyde fro the I / haue  
bysyly brent in helle, / cursyd be þ[o]u helle brond, or- / -deynyd to the fyre of helle / that  
neuer schalle be quenched, / cursyd 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 a3en to the / Goo we therfor to gydre byfore / the  
dredefule domysman, ther / to here oure euerlastyng da[m]p- / -nacyon. 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- / -ttinge, thanne they schullen see the  
domysman, as he / were woode for wrappyd a3ens / hem. Of thys woodnesse [and] / thys  
wraabe, spekyth the pro- / -phete in the fyrste psalme of / penaunce, wher he prayeþ to / be

delyuered of hem boþe sey- / -nge thus. D[omi]ne ne in furore / tuo arguas me neq[ue] in ira tua / corripas me. þat ys. Lorde i[n] / thy woodnesse ouercome me / not wyth skyles, and chasty- / -se me not in thy wraþe. No- / -man þenke that wraþe or / woodnesse, or ony suche troub- / -led mannes passyon may be / in god, but herfore they / been sette in scripture, for þe / workes of god in punyschyng / **[B]** [and] vengyng of synne, schullen / take effecte of suche passyons / as been wraþe and woodenesse / in all synnes, þat 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 þe / woodnesse of god. Alle thys / the prophete Dauid sawe in / spyryte [and] therfor he in the / persone of all synners fey- / -lynge hym vnmyȝty to bere / euer eyþer fyrste askyth to / be delyu[er]yd fro helle [and] siþen / of purgatorye seyng thus. / D[omi]ne ne in furore tuo arguas / me etc. As yf he seyde thus. / **112v[A]** to oure vndirstondyng. Lorde / I be seche the that in the / dreedfule day of doom, wher / þou schalte haue þee to synner- / -is as a man that were woode / sparyng no tynge, that þou / 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 lastyng re- / -p[re]fe. And therfor I sey arg- / -ue me not, for arguynge of / as clerkys knowen welle, ys / to ouercome a noþer wyth skyles, / but ȝeue me grace good lorde, / so to argue and for to ouercome / wyth skyles of þi lawe, the / erroures of my blynd co[n]science / here in thys lyfe whylle tyme / ys of mercy that I may her- / -tyly forþenke hem by ~~and~~ / cleerly confesse hem, and law- / **[B]** -fully amend hem, by / ensample of newe cleene / lyuyng to men, feruent / prayer to god, and by dys- / -crete chastysment of my- / -sylfe heere whyles I lyue / so that þou haue no wille / to chastyse me in thy wra- / -þe aftyr thys lyfe in pur- / -gatorie and that yt be / thus. Miserere mei d[omi]ne / quoniam infirmus sum. / þat hys. Haue mercy on / me lord for I am syke [and] / vnmyȝty to bere euer ey- / -ther, that ys to say, þine / arguynge in thy doome / ne thy chastyment [sic] in p[ur]ga- / -torye, but yt so be, that / I be vppen born wyth þi / mercy. O þat dreedfule / day of oure lorde, then / schulle alle þe wycked / **113r[A]** men see hem sytte in the doo- / -me wyth cryste, wom þei / haue dyspysyd here. And i[n] / thys syȝte be troubled wiþe / a horrible drede. Seyng / the wordys of the wysman / Hii sunt quos aliquando ha- / -buim[us] in derisum etc. Nos / insensati etc. þat ys þese / been þoo the wych sume / tyme we hadden in skorne / and dyspyte, we vnwyty / 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 / þat multytude þei schullen / not fynde oon þat schalle / haue compassyon of hem / but alle

þei schullen be glad / and content wyth god in / **[B]** her iuste dampnacyon. Aftyr / the wordys  
 of the psalme / seyyng thus. Letabitur / iustus cum viderit vindicta[m]. / þat ys, the ryztwyse  
 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 / dredfule 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 repreuyng of / false crysten men, whanne / he schalle seye to hem þus / I was an  
 hungred and ye / **113v[A]** 3auen me noo mete, I was a þriste / and ye 3auen me noo drynke, I  
 / was naked [and] ye 3aue me noo clo- / -thes, I was a geste and ye / 3aue 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 dredfule, wanne yt / schalle be seyð 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 þou3 þis / voyce schalle be dredful in the / day of doome, siþen 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, seyð to hem that / sou3ten to take hym, I am / he and a noon they eden a  
 bake / **[B]** and fellen to the erthe, yf he / that whan he was dedly and come to be / demed  
 hadde so ferdful 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  
 vndeed- / -ly wyth hys ooste of aungels / and of seyntyng, for to deeme / the quicke and the  
 deede, eche / man that he haþ deseruede / and therefore seyth Iob. Cum / uix paruam stillam  
 sermonu[m] / eius andire non possunt toni- / -truu[m] magnitudinis' eius quis / potest  
 sustinere, þat ys. Syþ- / -en man may vnnepis heere a / lytyle drope of hys wordys / the grette  
 þunder of hys doo- / -me who schalle mowe suffre / as who seiþ noon. And þ[er]for / **114r[A]**  
 seyth seynte Barnerde thus. / Cum peccator accusatus fuerit / et consciencia p[ro]pria contra  
 eum / testimoniu[m] [...]buerit<sup>861</sup> 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. þat ys, whanne the /  
 synnefule caytyf schalle be ac- / -cused and hys owen co[n]science / schalle beere wy3nese  
 azens / hym, and euery creature of / god schalle ryse azens hym / in vengeaunce, greuouse as  
 an / arowe schalle thanne be the / voyce of god to suffre. And þe / prophete seyth Ieremye  
 seiþ / Sagitta vulnerans lingua ei[us] / þat ys, the tunge of hym sch- / -alle be as an arowe

<sup>861</sup> 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 arowe of eendeles dampnyng of alle / [B] wycked men men [sic] whanne he schal / sey to hem. Ite 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- / -leþ on so greuously þat alle þe / lechys physycyens and surgenes / ne 3yt alle the creaturys 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 3o- / -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 mu[n]di, þat ys, comeþ / to me þe that been the bly- / -ssed chyltern of my fader. and / be þe partyners of my ioie / in the kyngdoome that was / ordeyned for þou by my fa- / -der fro the begynnge of þis / worlde to the wych kyng- / -dom and ioie he brynge vs / that bou3te 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)<sup>862</sup>

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<sup>o</sup> [vero] mala in resu- / -reccione[m] iudij<sup>863</sup>. 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

<sup>862</sup> 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.

<sup>863</sup> ‘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.

sone. And þey þ[a]t han don[e] good þingis / shulle gon[e] into aʒeyn[e]<sup>864</sup> rysing of liffe. But þey þ[a]t / hau don yuel þingis, in to aʒeyn rysing of dom, þ[a]t / ys to be demed. þan þe wrecchid dampnable soule / shal come to þe foule body, and seye to hit a ryse þow / cursid caytiffe careyne fro þis tyme forþ with / outen ende, to be felowe to þe fende, and enemy / to almygtty god. Now þi joie shal be turnyd in / to wo, þi delizt in to bytternesse, and þi lauʒtir in / to weping. Now þi wrecchid shorte lust, shal / passe in to eu[er] lastyng sorewe. No yt ys fully fall / fro þe, what so eu[er] þ[o]u desirist to haue hadde, now / yt ys passid fro þe al þ[a]t þ[o]u louest, and now yt ys come / all þ[a]t þ[o]u hatest. Cursid be þ[o]u wrecchid careyne / ffor in peyne for þi sinnes, and þi delicis, and þyn / wykkydnesses fro þ[a]t tyme siþen I passed fro þee / I haue besily brent in helle. Cursid be þow hell brond / ordeyned for þi sinnes to þe fier of helle, þ[a]t / neu[er] shal be quenched. Cursid be þe tyme in þe / whiche y was furst coupled to þe, for now y may / **1v** not leue þee ne þi cursid company I may not eschew / þe wille y or nylle I. I am constreynd to be knytt / a yeyne to þe. Go we þ[er]fore to gedyr by fore þe dr- / -edful and ryʒtful domys man to her oure eu[er]lastyng / dampnacou[n] þan shullen alle wykid men, so þe / just cause, of her owne dampnacou[n] writen w[i]t here / owne hondes, in þe boke of here owne conscience, the / which[e] bokke both[e] lered and lewde, shullen red hit hem- / -selfe. And yf þ[o]u say þe lewde men kun[n]e not rede / I say þ[e]r ys non so lewde, þ[a]t he ne can rede, þe lett[ur] / of his owne wrytyng, þan þey shullen se þe domisman / as he wer wood for wraþe a ʒens hem. Of þis woode- / -nesse and þis wraþþe, spekithe þe p[ro]fete dauyþ, war' / he praysþ [sic] to be deliu[er]ed, of hem both[e] seying þus: / D[omi]ne ne in furore tuo arguas me neq[ue] in ira tua cori- / -pias me. þat ys lord, in þi wodenesse ou[er] come me / not w[i]t skilis and chastise me not in þi wraþþe. No man / þenke þ[a]t wraþþe or wodenes, or eny suche troubled passi- / -ou[n]s of man[n]ys kinde, may be in god, but þ[er]fore þey ben / sett in scripture, for þe werkis of god in ponisshing / and venginge, of sinne in alle sinners, þ[a]t ben worþy to / take suche passiou[n]s, of ponisshing as be wraþe and wode- / -nes, þ[a]t ys eyþ[er] þey shullen be chastisid be peyne, þ[a]t shal haue a ende, as ys p[ur]gatory, þe which[e] ys clepid here þe / wraþþe of god, eyþ[er] elles þey shullen be peyned þrow / veniaunce in þe oryble peyns of helle, þ[a]t neu[er] shal haue / **2r** ende, þe which ys clepid her' þe wodenes of god. as / þis p[ro]fete dauyþ seyþ in spirit, and þ[er]fore in þe p[er]sone / of alle such[e] sinners, felyng him selfe vnmyʒtty, to / here eu[er] eyþ[er] first askith to be deliu[er]ed of helle, and / aft[er]ward of p[ur]gatory seiying þus: miserere mei do[m]i[n]e / qu[on]i[am] infirm[us] sum.

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<sup>864</sup> Difficult to decide whether these are abbreviations or otiose strokes.

þ[a]t ys, lord haue m[er]cy on me for I am / vnmyȝtty to ber' eu[er] eyþ[er], þ[a]t ys to say, I am vnmyȝtty / 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 siȝt be troubled / w[i]t an oryble drede, seying þe word of þe wyseman<sup>865</sup> / Hii su[n]t quos aliqu[ando] inderisum, habuim[us] et in si[mi]litudine[m] / in p[ro]perij Nos insensati vita[m] ipp[s]or[um] estimabam[us] in sania[m] / et fine[m] illor[um], sine honore. Quoni[am] ergo co[m]putati su[n]t int[er] / filios dei et int[er] s[an]c[t]os sors illor[um] est. Ergo erauim[us] a uia / ueritat[is], et iusticie, lume[n] no[n] luxit, nobis et sol intelli- / -gencie non est ortus nobis lassati sum[us], in via iniq[ui]tat[is] / et p[er]dicionis, et ambulauim[us] uias difficiles, via[m] aute[m] / d[omi]ni ignoraum[us]. Quid nobis p[ro]fuit sup[er]bia, aut diui- / -ciar[um] iactancia, quid nobis contulit. Transieru[n]t o[mn]ia illa / tamq[ua]m vmbra, et virtutis quid[e]m nullu[m] signu[m] vale- / -m[us] ostendere in malignitate autem nostra consumpti / sum[us].<sup>866</sup> þ[a]t ys: þese ben þoo þe which[e] sumtyme, we / hadden in to scorne, and in to likenes of shenshippe<sup>867</sup> / **2v** 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 mong 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 vndirstondyng 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] schewe no 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 wyttensith seying / þus: letabit[ur] iust[us] cu[m] vid[...]<sup>868</sup> vindictam. þ[a]t ys þe ryȝtw- / -ysman, shal be gladed whan he shall se veniaunce / þan as crist seyth him selfe: þey shullen seche / for to entryn in to creves, of stones, and in to swo- / -lowes of þe erþe, for þe dredful 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**

<sup>865</sup> Annotation on the left margin, 'sap', presumably referring to the Book of Wisdom, the source of this quotation.

<sup>866</sup> This is notably more expansive than in other versions of the text.

<sup>867</sup> Harm; destruction; ruin; trouble; misfortune.

<sup>868</sup> Manuscript stained, obscuring the word, but presumably it is 'viderit', inferring from other versions.



**damage begins here]** / The seconde aro[...] / alle fals cristyin[...] / þus. I was a hongrid[...] / was a þriste and 3e 3affe me [...] / and 3e 3affe me no clothis. I was a [...] / me no herborwe. I was sike and in p[ri]son and 3e [...] / -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 þou3 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 / þou3ten to take him: I am he. A a non þey 3eden / a bak, and fellen downe to þe erþe. 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, whan he shal come vndedly, w[i]t his / oost, of holy aungeles, 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]<sup>869</sup> / 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 p[ro]fete Ierome þus: Sagitta uul- / -nerans lingua eius. þat ys þe tonge of him, shal / be as a arowe wou[n]dyng, and þis ys the wounde of / þe secoude arowe. þis ys þe þridde arowe.<sup>870</sup> The þridde arowe shal be of endeles dampnyng / of alle wykkid men, whan he shal say to hem / þus: Discedite a me maledicti in ignem et[er]nu[m], q[ui] / p[rae]parat[us] est dyabolo<sup>871</sup> 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 3it 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 blessid childrin of my fader / take 3e in possession þe kyngdom' made redy, to /

<sup>869</sup> This has been added to the right of the line, so an afterthought/correction.

<sup>870</sup> Has 'III' marked in the margin, in red, to the right; a useful guide to a reader.

<sup>871</sup> Possibly transitioned back into English by accident!

3ou fro þe makynge of þe world, for y hungred / and 3e fedden' me I þristed and 3e 3eue me drink, I was / herborwles and 3e herbouwed me, I was nakyd / and 3e helyd me, I was sike and 3e viseteden me / I was yn p[ri]soun' and 3e come to me ffor as ofte / as 3e deden þese þingis to þe leste of myne 3e / deden hem to me. To þ[a]t blessid honour and kyngdom' / and joye eu[er] lastyng, bring vs ihu crist þ[a]t bouzttest / man w[i]t þi p[re]cious blode. Amen etc.

**(10) London, British Library, Additional MS 22283**

**(a) ff. 117r-117v,** Of þ<sup>e</sup> arwes þat schulle[n] be schot on doomes day.

**117r (a)** Ho [the H is illuminated] so wol haue in muynde, 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]phete seiinge þus. Egredietur d[omi]n[u]s de loco suo ut visitet iniquitatem 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 eorþe. Certes þis dom schulde 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] 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 incarnation. For þat tyme he was so fel, þ[a]t what mon þ[a]t brak his biddynge; 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 virgine, who[m] he tok mankuynde, and was born of

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<sup>872</sup> 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.

þe vi[r]gine Marie. And þanne was he maad more redi, to do merci, þe[n] eu[er]e he was to do vengeau[n]ce. Panne hit bi gon, and 3it hit lasteþ, þat he þat seide, who[n]ne he was in þe signe of ve lyoun. Anima que peccauerit cito morietur, 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, seiþ þus, Nolo mortem peccatoris, 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 t[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 þou3tes, vre wordes, and vre werkes, in euene peis, of his rihtwisnesse; þat he may zelde to eueri man, aftur þe troupe of his dissert. And what he schal þanne do, heere þ[o]u, what he saiþ 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 dampned. Pe furste arwe, schal ben of clepyng to þe doom. Whon as him self seiþ Venit hora ut om[n]es q[ui] in monume[n]tis su[n]t, audient voce[m] filij dei, et p[ro]cedent qui bona egeru[n]t in resurreccione[m] vite, qui vero mala in resurreccione[m] iudicij. 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. Þenne þe wrecchede dampnede soule schal come to þe bodi and seye to hit. arys cursede caityf careyne fro þis tyme forþ, w[i]t outen eny eende, to be felawe to þe deuel, and enemi to al mihti god. Now þi ioye, schal be t[ur]ned in to wo. þi delyt: in to bitterness. And þi lau3tre, to weopinge. Nou þi wrecchede schorte lust, schal **[b]** passe in to euerlastyng sorwe. Nou hit is fullliche 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 dreddest. 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 wrecchede careyne, for i[n] pyne of þi synnes, þi delices, and þi wikkednesses, 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 first 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 knut a3ein to þe. Go we þ[er]fore to gidere bi fore þe dredful domes mon, þ[er]e forte heere oure eu[er]lastyng dampnacioun. þenne schulle[n] alle þe wikkede men seo þe iuste cause of heore oune dampnacion, write[n] w[i]t heore owne hondes, in ve bok of heore consciences, boþe lered, and lewed, and reden hit hem self. And 3if þ[o]u sei3e þat lewede men ku[n]ne not rede: I seie þ[a]t þ[er] is non so lewede, þ[a]t he ne con rede, þe lettre of his oune writyng. þe[n]ne þei schullen se þe domes man, as he weore wood: for wrapþed a3eines hem. Of þis woodnesse, and þis wrapþe: spekeþ þe p[ro]phete, in þe furste salme of

penau[n]ce. Where he prei3eþ to beo dilyu[er]ed, of hem boþe: sei3ing þus. Domine ne i[n] furore 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 wrapþe. No mon þenke, þ[a]t wrapþe, 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 wrapþe, 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 wrapþe 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]fore, he in p[er]sone, of alle synners, felyng hi[m] vnmihiti to bere euer eiþer: furst asket to be diliu[er]ed of helle, and siþþen of purgatorie: sei3ing þus, D[omi]ne ne in furore. As 3if he sei3e þus to vre vndurstondynge. 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[a]t þ[o]u ou[er]come me not w[i]t skiles, in final conclusion: so þ[a]t I beo not conuikt for eu[er], and beo ateynt in a shameful 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 3if me grace goode lord so to argue, and forte ou[er]come w[i]t skiles of þi lawe þe errores of my blynde conscience, heere in þis lyf, whiles tyme is of merci: þ[a]t I mai hertly forþinke he[m], and clerly confesse hem, and lawefulli amende he[m], bi ensau[m]ple of newe clene lyuyng to men, feruent preyer to god; and bi descret 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 wrapþe after þis lyf, in purgatorie. And þ[a]t hit beo þus, Miserere mei d[omi]ne qu[on]i[am] i[n]firmus sum. þat is. haue merci on me lord, for i am vnmizti to bere euer eiþer. þat is þin arguyng in þi doom; ne þi chastiseme[n]t in purgatorie, but hit so beo þat I be vpboren w[i]t þi merci. þat dredful day of vre lord, þenne schulle[n] alle wikkede men beo hem sitte in þe doom w[i]t crist, whom þei haau heere dispysed, and in þis siht be[n] trouplet w[i]t an horrible dreede, seyinge þe word of þe wyse mon. Hii sunt quos aliquando habuim[us] 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. Pan[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 sei3ing þus. Letabitur iustus cum uiderit vindictam. þat is. þe rihtwis man schal be glade, whon he schal seo þe

vengeance. þe[n]ne as c[r]ist seiþ i[n] þe gospel, þei schullen seche forte entre in to creues of stones, and in to þe swolewes of þe eorþe, fro þe dredful face of vre lord. þe[n]ne schulle[n] þei preie mou[n]taynes to falle vppon hem, and hulles to huyen hem, so wo þey schullen beo on eueri syde. And þis is þe wou[n]de of þe furste arwe. Þe secou[n]de arwe schal beo an arwe of scharp repreuyng of all false c[r]istene men, whon he schal seye to hem þus. I was an hungred: and 3e 3eeue me no mete. I was a þurst: and 3e 3eeue me no drinke. I was naked: and 3e 3eeue me no cloþes. I was a gest and 3e 3eeue me non herborwe. I was seek, and i[n] p[r]isu[n]: and 3e visitede me not ne dude me no cu[m]fort. A[?]: þat þis voys schal beo dredful: whon hit schal be seid to he[m] þ[a]t as ofte as þei dude 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 voys 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 seruau[n]t forte beo deemed of þe false Iewes: seide to hem, þ[a]t souhte[n] forte take him: I am he. And a non þei 3eden a bac, and felle[n] to þe eorþe. 3if he þ[a]t whon he was dedly, and com to beo deemed, hadde so ferful a voys, þ[a]t w[i]t his o word falde to þe grou[n]de so mony steorne men of þe Iewes; a feor more ferdful voys schal he haue, whon he schal come vndedly w[i]t his oost of aungelis, 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 saint B[er]nard þus. Cu[m] p[re]c[or]tor accusatus fuerit et consciencia p[ro]pria cont[r]a eu[m] testimoniu[m] p[ar]iberit[?] et om[n]is creatura dei insurrexerit cont[r]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 witness a 3eynes him, and eueri creature of god schal rise a 3eines him in vengeau[n]ce: greuou as an arwe schal þanne beo þe voys 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]dyng. And þis is þe secou[n]de arwe. Þe þridde arwe schal be an arwe of endeles dampnyng of alle wikkede men, whon he schal sei to hem. Ite maledicti in ignem eternu[m], q[ui] p[re]paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. þat is. Go 3e cursede wihtes in to eu[er]lastyng fuir, þe whiche 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]t alle þe leches, phisiciens, and surgiens, ne 3it 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 down 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 seiþ seint Eusebij þus. Ve. Ve. quib[us] est datu[m] hoc p[r]ius sentire, quoniam[?] credere. þat is, Wo. Wo. beo to hem, to whom hit is 3euen 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 p[er]cipite 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]t beon þe blessed children of my fader, and beoþ partiners of mi ioie in þe kingdom þ[a]t was ordeyned for 3ou bi my fader, fro þe bigynnyng of þis world. To þe whiche kyngdom and ioie he bri[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 dampned

**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 seiynge 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 þee fro synne. Here we mowe fynde sumwhat writen þ[er] of, how oure lord god spekiþ bi Isaie þe p[ro]phete, seiynge þus: Egrediet[ur] d[omin]us de loco s[an]c[t]o suo ut uisitet iniquitatem habitatore[m] tre'. þat is oure lord schal wende out of his place to visite þe wickid-<sup>873</sup> **85v** –nesse 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 wiȝtwisnesse, 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 trespas. 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 3it it lasteþ þat he þat seide when he was in þe signe of þe lioun: Anima que peccau[er]it sito

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<sup>873</sup> 'Isaie' in the margin.

morietur; þat 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; þat is I wol nozt þe deþ of a synner, but more þat 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 þouztes, wordes, and oure werkes i[n] euen peis of his riȝtwisnesse þat he may ȝelde 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, þat 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 dampned. The furst arowe schal be of clepinge to þe dome, where of crist spekeþ in þe gospel seiynge þus: venit hora ut omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem filij dei et p[ro]cedent qui bona egerunt in resurreccionem vite qui vero mala in resurreccionem iudicii, þat is to seie þe houre comeþ in whiche alle men þat ben in graues, schullen here þe vois of godes sone, and þei þat haue dun good þinges schullen go in to agen risynge of lyf, but þei þ[a]t haue doun yuele þinges in to aȝen risynge of dome þat is to be demed. þanne þe wrecchid dampned 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 enemy to almyȝti god. Now þi ioie schal be t[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 **87r** 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 comen al þat þou hatidist. Cursid be þou wrecchid caityf careyne for in peyne 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, ordeyned to þe fyre 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 nouzt leue þee, þi cursid company I may nozt eschewe wolle I or nyle I. I am constreyned to be knyȝt aȝen to þee. Go we þ[er] fore to gidre bi fore þe dredful domesman, þ[er] for to here oure eu[er]lastinge dampnacioun. þanne schullen alle wickid men se þe iuste cause of here owyn dampnacioun, 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 nouzt rede, I seie þat [**folio torn, obscuring word**] is none so lewid, þat he ne can rede þe lett[er] of his owyn writing. þanne þei schulle se þe domysman as he were wood for wraþe aȝens hem. Of þis woodnesse and of þis wraþe spekiþ þe p[ro]phet dauyd, when he p[ro]pheteþ to be delyu[er]ed of hem boþe seiynge þus: Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neq[ue] in ira tua corripas 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[n]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 veniaunce 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 veniaunce 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 seiþ in spirit, and þer fore he in þe p[er]sone of alle synners, felynge him vnmyzti to bere eu[er] eiþ[er] furst askiþ to be delyu[er]ed of helle and aft[er]ward of p[ur]gatorie seiynge þus: Miserere mei d[omi]ne qu[on]i[am] infirmus sum, þat is lord haue m[er]ci on me, for I am vnmyzti to bere eu[er] eiþ[er], þat is to seie, I am vnmyzti to bere þine arguynge in þe dome eiþ[er] þi chastiment i[n] purgatorie, but if it so be þat I be upborn eiþ[er] supportid with þi m[er]cy 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 despisid, and in þis sizt ben troublid with an horrible drede, seiynge þe worde of þe wise man: Hii sunt q[u]os aliqu’ in derisum habuim[us] et in simili- **88v** – tudinem imp[ro]perii nos incensati uitam ip[s]or[um] estimabim[us] saniam et finem illor[um] sine honore. Quomodo [...] computati sunt int[er] filios dei et int[er] s[an]c[t]os sors illor[um] est, ergo erauimu[us] a viia v[er]itatis et iusticie lumen non luxit nobis et sol intelligencie no[n] est ortus nobis, lassati sum[us] in via iniquitatis et p[er]dicionis et ambulauim[us] vias difficiles viam autem d[omi]ni ignorauim[us], quid nobis p[ro]fuit sup[er]bia, aut duyucuar[um] iactancia, quid nobis contulit, t[r]ansierunt om[n]ia illa tamq[u]am umbra et uirtutis, quidem nullu[m] signu[m] habem[us] autem n[ost]ra consumpti sum[us], þat is þse ben þo, þe whiche so[m]me tyme we hadden in to scorn, and in to liknes of schenschep, 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** lizt of ryztwisenesse hath nozt schyned to vs, and þe sone of vndirstondinge haþ nozt spronge to vs, we ben made weri in þe waie of wickidnesse and of p[er]dicioun, and we haue gone harde waies, for þe wei of þe lord we knowe nouzt what haþ pride p[ro]fitid to vs or þe boost of rychesse, what haþ it brouzt to vs, alle þise 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 nozt fynde one þat schal haue compassioun of hem, but alle þei schullen be glad, and consente with god in here iuste dampnacioun as þe



p[ro]phete dauyd wisseþ 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]aie mounteyns' to falle apou[n] hem, and hilles for to hide hem, so wo þei schullen se on eu[er]y side and þis is þe wounde of þe first arowe. The secunde arowe schal be of scharp rep[r]iuyng of alle false c[r]isten men, when he schal seie to hem þus: I was an hungred, and ȝe ȝyue me no mete, I was a þurst, and ȝe ȝyue me no drinke, I was naked, and ȝe ȝaue me no cloþes, I was herboreles and ȝe herboreden noȝt me, I was sike and in p[r]ison and ȝe 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 þise dedes of m[er]ci to any of his þat nede hadde, so ofte þei diden it not to him, and no wondre þouȝ þis voise 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 souȝt to **90r** take him, I am he and anone þei ȝeden a bak, and felle to ve erþe. If he þ[a]t whan he was deedli and cam to be demed, hadde so ferdful a vois, þat w[i]t his oo worde þrewe to þe grounde so many sterne men of iewis, after more ferdful vois schal he haue, when he schal come vnedli with his oost of holi aungelis and of seyntis 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 i[n]tueri.<sup>874</sup> 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 wisse aȝens him, and eu[er]y creature of god schal arise aȝens 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 wickid men, when he schal seie to hem þus: Discedite a me maledicti in ignem et[er]nu[m] qui p[rae]paratus est diabolo et angelis eius, þat is to seie dep[ar]te þee ȝe fro me cursid wrecchis in to eu[er]lastinge fire þat is made redi to þe deuyll and to his aungelis, þis arowe schal wounde hem, þat it falleþ on so greuouli þat alle lechis ficysiens and surgiens, ne ȝit 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]

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<sup>874</sup> 'Job 26' in the margin.

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 rap[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 ri3t honde and seie to hem þus: Venite benedictē 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 3ow, 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 cloped 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 bou3tist man with þi precyous blode merciful 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** Sleyng, hurtyng, fi3tyng, chiding, pledyng, fals domes, and oþ[er] many harmes. Ira vel odiu[m]: Wraþe þat is willyng of veniaunce and of harme and doynge to hym þat he is wroþe [...] and when wraþe bileueþ stille in hert longe, wraþe bicomēþ to hate, and þ[er]of comēþ fals folwyng in to diu[er]se courtes, bacbityng, man sleyng, lesyng, manye oþ[er] folies and so he lost godes g[r]ace and charyte. Accidia: Sleuþe is heuynesse of gostliche werkes, ydelnesse þat aman haþ no likyng in god ne in his seruyse, ne in his synnes to schewe to cryst in schryft, þ[er]of comēþ wrecchednesse in gostliche delite in slepe, and in ydelnesse 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 oþ[er] þinge renuiable oþ[er] vnre- **93v** –nuiable, as lordschipes house, lond, vnri3tful brnymyng, purchasyng, in biggyng in sellyng and metyng in wey3yng in mesure of alle man[er] of mesures, and also gile trecherye, sacrilege, symonye, þefte, and wrong w[i]tholdyng. Gula vel crapula. Gloteny is loue out of mesure in likyng of mete and drynke þat men often synneþ inne, as in etyng and drynkyng to muche and to late, to raþe oute of tyme, as in fastyng daies, of fastyng iset b schryft oþ[ur] abow ymade, oþ[ur] herte of holi churche, in hauyng or makyng of metes and drinkyes to likyng of þe flesche

þe whiche is dedliche synne ofte, as when it makip̄ ama[n]nes bodi heuy to seruþ god, oþ[ur] dullip̄ his wit, oþ[ur] byueineþ aman his hele of bodi, oþ[ur] of stomak in brekyng oþ[ur] febleþ his hede oþ[ur] his wittis oþ[ur] his lym[m?]es oþ[ur] his body stereþ to synne in eu[er]y **94r** man[er]e degre[?]. Luxuria. For as muche þat þe dede of licherie in eu[er]y man[er]e wyl[s?]e ydo bitwene man and woman out of spousehode is dedliche synne holi church forbideþ no man to suffre his children his seruantes ne none oþ[ur] man ne woman of seuen 3ere olde oþ[ur] more ligge to gidre for peril of þis synne licherie. Of þis synne of licherie nedeþ no more to speke for eche man knowip̄ 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 fyre he schal deme, þere is þe fyren coldwre[?] / and þre arewes dyuerse ben sente out of þis boue of so- / -rowe of loue and of co[n]demnacou[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;<sup>875</sup> i[n] whiche eu[er]e day þ[o]u / etust of hit w[i]t deþ þ[o]u schalt dye bot þey not dredyng / eeton þer of and oure lored þanne his bowe anon and schet / to hem an arowe of sorowe and þ[is][?] w[i]t wondide mankynde / w[i]t myschewes hou[n]g[er] þurste and coolde and oþ[er] many mys- / -cheues þ[at] now mankynde 3ut felip̄ and so he smet w[i]t / þat arewe þe wou[n]de of deþ 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 sunt quare i[n] dign[... ] abibit sp[iritum] meu[m], þine / arewis ben styked i[n] me and iob seip̄ þine arewis bene / yne me þe i[n]dignacou[n] of whom drynkiþ up my spirit / man þ [us] wou[n]ded and trauelid of þe fend whe[n] he mi3t / **4v** not be saued of hyme silfe he schete up arowes or sent / messu[n]gerus of loue a3en i[n] to heuene þ[at] is to seie pr[a]yeris / terus and sykynges þe whiche perched þe planets and won- / -dirly wo[n]ded þe hi3e kyng of heuene. So þ[at] he was co[m]- / -pelled to come a dou[n]ne to vs p[er]schinge his heuen[us] oute / off þe place of heuene to helpe vs wou[n]ded wrecchis / wherefore c[r]ist seip̄ to þe chirche i[n] þe book of songes / vulnerati cor meu[m] i[n] vno oc[c]ulor[um] [sic] meor[um],<sup>876</sup> þou hast wou[n]- /

<sup>875</sup> Genesis 2:17.

<sup>876</sup> Song of Solomon 4:9, altered.

-ded myn herte in[] one of myne yzen þ[a]t is i[n] onhede off / charite and god þ[us]  
wou[n]ded seiþ þorou3 þi loue: I am com- / -pelled, I schalle weende dou[n] i[n] to þe wombe  
of a mayde[n] / and i[n]to a gibet of þe cros and so dou[n] i[n]to helle my wou[n]did / puple  
and so he bente his bowe a3en w[i]t þe stryngge of pi- / -tee, and schotte ful swetely to vs þe  
arowis of his so- / -ne, þ[a]t ben þe leueful swete wordes of his heuenely / techyngge to meue  
vs more spadely to loue hyme / 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 þis bowe bente upon þe / cros sende out an arowe i[n] his  
secou[n]de comyngge w[i]t / þe whiche þe deuele was smyte w[i]t þe fyre of his / god hede  
þ[a]t is w[i]t þreu<sup>877</sup> nayles and spere oure enemy / is ou[er]come and knitted a3en to hym or  
ellis wanne / a3en to hy[m]me þe loue of mankynde þorou3 þese þreu a- / -rowes, bot þese  
arowe heedus weren i[n] c[r]istis fleische / fuched[?] 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 fleysche þ[a]t mankynde schul- / -de be bou3te and 3if þe fayrenesse of  
ma[n] or wo[m]man / i[n] biholdyngge wole rauysche a longyngge herte as it wer[e] /  
wou[n]ded w[i]t lowe so þ[a]t for þe loue of heme þey leuen her [their] / bodily frende and  
wordly [sic] godes ne is[?] not þan[n]e þe face of / ihu c[r]iste and his fairnesse passyngge þe  
faynesse of any / creature as it was schewed i[n] his t[ra]nsfiguracou[n] [?] as / þe gospel  
telleþ whefore [sic] doutelles 3if we enterly by hoel- / -de hyme, w[i]t þe y3en of oure herte  
we schulde[n] so be / wou[n]ded w[i]t þe arowe of loue, þ[a]t non erþely þinge / schulde  
sauere or plese vnto vs bot we schulde rap[er] [?] / wille to suffre for his loue alle man[er]  
wordly noyes / þa[n] oones to offende hyme as steuene þ[a]t sau3[?] þe face / **5r** of c[r]ist:  
lapides torrentes illi dulces fueru[n]t, þ[er]fore weren þe / scharpe stones harde ful swete vnto  
hyme wherefore pa- / -risyence [?] seiþ þus ardor ei[m] dileccios' absorbet guttar[?] carnal'  
affeconis' þe brenyngge sobely of loue souper[?] þe drapus of / fleyschely affeccou[n] and as  
þe smyythe tendiþ þe hete of þe fire / w[i]t drop[us] of watur so doiþ þe watur of  
t[ri]bulacou[n] þe fyre of / lowe where it is grete Bot sum[m]e me[n] and wyme[n] ben so ar-  
/ -med þ[a]t w[i]t þese forseide arowes þey may not be persched / [...] any sparcle of þe  
fuyr[e] of loue may entre w[i]tynne he[m] and / þ[er]fore þey þ[a]t i[n] þis p[re]sent lyfe ben  
not wou[n]ded w[i]t c[r]istes a- / -rowes of loue i[n] þe þridde comyngge pey schulen be  
smyto[n] / 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 3e waried wrecchis / i[n]to þe fyre eu[er]lastyngge þanne as þe

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<sup>877</sup> Or 'yren', i.e., 'iron'.

sawter seip: Gladiu[m] / suu[m] vibrabit arcu[m] suu[m] tetendit<sup>878</sup> 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 3ut þei schule[n] / neu[er]e fully dy3e for as þe apocalips seip [...] desiderab[un]t mori et fugiet mors ab eis<sup>879</sup> þan[n]e þei schulen desire to dye bot deþe schal flee fro heme and azens 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**

**16v** Almyghty god for þi gret godenes, hafe m[er]cy of cristen pepyll, and / graunte þai[m] grace to stande strongly i[n] þe trewe fayth & belef / of holy kyrk i[n] kepyng þi co[m]mawndeme[n]ts right & fulfylling / of þe seuen warkes of m[er]cy, of þe whilk þai mon be accused / at þe gret dome, how þai hafe fulfyld þai[m] aft[er] þair gode will / & power & degre, and also to co[n]syder i[n]wardly þe gret vengeau[n]ce / **17r** And ponescheme[n]ts þe whilk has fallen opon pepyll for syn, / sen þe begy[n]nyge of þe world, and nowe is fallyng & sall falle, / þat þai may hafe su[m] grace to amende þair synfull lyfe, þat þai / may be of whome þe p[ro]phet says þ[us]. Pla[n]tati i[n] domo d[omi]ni, in / atriis dom[us] dei n[ost]ri florebu[n]t,<sup>880</sup> þ[a]t is plantyd i[n] þe hows of o[ur] / lord sal floresche i[n] þe halles of þe hows of o[ur] lord god, þe / hows of o[ur] lord is holy kyrk. And it may be cald a wyntyrr halle. / For it is ordaynd for pylgryms trauelyng i[n] þis lyfe, and / safes rightwis men fro colde of wykkydnes. Bot þe hygh / hows of o[ur] lord god is þe blys of heuen. And it may be cald a / so[m]mer halle wher men sal reste þai[m] esely i[n] þe hete of blyssyd / **17v** luf. And þa[n] þe rightwisemen þ[a]t ar plantyd i[n] haly kyrk þorow / stabyll trowthe w[i]t outen erro[ur]s or herysyes or fals fantasies, / and ar whikkynd & rotefelt i[n] luf & charite, noght blendyd / w[i]t pryde nor couetyce of þe world nor w[i]t oþ[er] fleschly sy[n]nes, / and lyfes vndyr þe sacrame[n]ts of holy kyrk. W[i]t meknes & / pacyence, and by þe v[i]ertews of þe sacrame[n]ts kepes þai[m] fro / cold of þe fende al þis tyme of wyntyrr.

<sup>878</sup> Psalm 7:13.

<sup>879</sup> Apocalypse 9:6.

<sup>880</sup> 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 knawynge, w[i]t oute[n] vayle / of myrknes, and luf of god sal fully ~~kepe~~ [or ~~lose~~] be felyd, w[i]t oute[n] / mellyng of op[er] affeciou[n], and þa[n] sal al fygyres 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 paynyns [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, martyrs, co[n]fesso[ur]s & holy v[er]gyns, and al op[er] / rightwis men w[i]t oute[n] mowmer 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[e] pacie[n]tes eru[n]t, vt a[n]nu[n]cie[n]t.<sup>881</sup> 3it sal þai 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 plentyvos. For 3itt sal / chosyn saules be multiplyed i[n] þe eld of holy kyrk be fulnes / of gyftes of grace, als plentyvosly 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 3itt, 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 plentyvosly, 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 multiply prenelly 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 & bry[n]nyng luf, / so fully þ[a]t þai sall þryste 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

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<sup>881</sup> Psalm 91:15.

lofyng & co[n]syder how sone deth ravesches / mans lyfe fro hym, & whyd[er] he sal he go  
 he is vnter- / -tayne. Ner[?] þe hos[?] saynt Austyn says, Q[ui] b[e]n[e] vixit no[n] / male  
 morit[ur], he þ[a]t wele has lyfed, dyes nocht ylle. / Also script[ur] says Q[ui] bona egeru[n]t  
 ibu[n]t i[n] vita[m] et[er]nam, / q[ui] v[er]o mala i[n] igne[m] et[er]num, þai þat has done  
 gode þyng[es] / sal go i[n] to eu[er]lastyng 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]lastyng 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]lym of þe day of dome**

**18r** The ordyr of þe dome sal be swylk. In þe day of dome / oure lorde cu[m]lyng to þe dome  
 fyre sal go before hy[m] w[i]t / þe whilk þe face of þis warld sal be byrntte, ~~heuenes~~ / heuens  
 & erthe sal p[er]resche nocht aftyr þe substance, / bot aft[ur] þe kynde, heuen þ[a]t is to say  
 þe ayre, & nozt 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 wastyng of yll men & women / þ[a]t ar  
 þan fon whylke, and i[n] gode men & women, þ[a]t / thyng þ[a]t is to be purged or clensyd  
 i[n] þai[m] sal be clensyd / by þat fyre. To op[er] p[er]fyte gode men & women it sal / nozt  
 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 mynstracou[n]  
 þai sal be takyn and / [...] vnto criste i[n] þe aere. And o[ur] lord cu[m]lyng vnto þe / [...], þe  
 son & þe mone ar sayd to be made dyrke, nozt / [...]outen þe puttyng away of lyght, bot for  
 clernes cu[m]lyng / of more lyght, & þe v[er]tewes of heuens & angels sal be / [...], nozt þe  
 w[i]t mofyng & trobyll, bot by mynysterynge, / **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[u]m nosce tempora & mome[n]ta  
 Que pater posuit in sua potestate  
 It fals not ȝow to knawe þe tyme of p[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 dredful 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]p[er] m[e]i videt[ur] illa tuba



sonare i[n] aurib[us] meis, surgite mortui<sup>882</sup>

He says whed[er] I ete or drynke

Or oght els do ay me thynke

Pat þe beme þat blawe sal at domesday

Sowndes i[n] myne ere & þ[us] says ay

Ryse 3e 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

Perfore þe p[ro]phet dauyd says

M[ise]ri[cordi]a d[omi]ni plena e[st] t[er]ra

Þe erth he says is full of gods m[er]cy

Þan 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 gracious god þat alle goodenes hasse

Gyf vs þi mercy here or we passe.

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<sup>882</sup> ‘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: 'þies 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]pcou[n]'

Querela divina

O man vnkynde

Hafe i[n] mynde

My paynes smert

Beholde & see

Þat is for þe

Percyd my hert

And 3itt 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 op[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 ~~þy~~ 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 3e 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 wrethe

Be holde þe lesson þ[a]t I þe teche

Thorow my 3y3t hande þe nail it gothe

Þ[e]rfore for3effe and be not wrothe

Aryse up unlustye 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 signifycacou[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]t þ[us] þ[o]u list opyn so wyde  
 Þi syde to hald for o[u]r rede[m]pcou[n]  
 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

To his house iofyng & co[m]placense Amen

**(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

Scewed vn to man

W[i]t paynes felt whe[n] he fro hell

Oure saules wan

Pou 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 3itt

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

Þoled 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

Per strang stowndes & depe wowndes

Þoled 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

**(14) London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A.III, *The Cursor Mundi*, Lines 23613-52**

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 fredom fre,

Þai sal liue euer in caituete;

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,  
 Pat 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:

Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)	Date	Liturgical Occasion	Content	No.
Cambridge, CUL, Additional 5338, 70r-73r (p. 6)	Fifteenth century (first half)	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Dominica Secunda, Respiciete et leuate capita vestra</i> (Luke 21:25-33)	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	1

			ought to behold the bitterness of judgement and fear it. Paul promises that those who do good will reap their reward.	
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 357 (p. 55)	Late fourteenth century	Quinquagesima	Contains a version of Thomas Wimbleton's <i>Redde rationem villicacionis tue</i> . see <i>Wimbleton's Sermon: Redde rationem villicacionis tue: a middle English sermon of the fourteenth century</i> , I. K. Knight, BX 890 Main Collection, this edition is based on the text found in CCCC MS 357; N. H. Owen, 'Thomas Wimbleton', <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> 24 (1962), 377-81.; N. H. Owen, 'Thomas Wimbleton's sermon: "Redde rationem villicacionis tue"', <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> 28 (1966), 176-97	2
Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 285, 62v-65r (p. 77)	First half fifteenth century	St Nicholas (6 <sup>th</sup> December); <i>Deum timete et mandata eius servate</i> (Ecl. 12:13)	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 ('[64r] At the general judgement "þere schal no xii men go on þe queste to make þe clene as þei doon at 3elde alle or at Westmynster halle"). '[...] 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.'	3

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 74, 111r-114r (p. 85)	Early fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Lent; II Cor. 6:2	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.	4
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.45, 24r-v (p. 120)	Thirteenth century	Unidentified occasion	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.	5
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.45, 41v-42r (p. 121)	Thirteenth century	Unidentified occasion; Matt. 12:36	At Doomsday every idle word will be accounted for.	6
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 10r-11r (p. 140)	Thirteenth century	Advent	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	7
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 34r-37v (p. 156)	Thirteenth century	First Sunday in Lent	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.	8
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, 69r-71v (p. 182)	Thirteenth century	On the Dead ( <i>de defunctis</i> )	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	9

			everyone fears. There is also a description of doomsday, emphasis on the unrepentant and damned.	
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 45r-47v (p. 225)	First half fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa in sole et stellie</i> (Luke 21:25)	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.	10
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 102r-103v (p. 261)	First half fifteenth century	Third Sunday after Easter	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.	11
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 241, 103v-106r (p. 262)	First half fifteenth century	Fourth Sunday after Easter	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.	12
Durham University Library, Cosin V.iv.2, 125r-128v (p. 287)	Late fifteenth century (c. 1477)	On Sunday Observance; <i>Deum time et mandata eius obserua</i> (Ecl. 12:13)	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	13

			– those who break the Sabbath will be punished in the temporal world, but also at the end; Christ will accuse them with his wounds; emphasis on confession and penance.	
Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 280, 112r-115r (p. 326)	Mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century	First Sunday in Advent	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 righteously.	14
Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 133, 98r-101r (p. 346)	Mid-late fifteenth century	Unidentified occasion	<i>Timor mortis conturbat me</i> ; an <i>exemplum</i> 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.	15
London, British Library, Additional MS 36791 (p. 376)	Mid-fifteenth century	Annunciation	<i>Exemplum</i> – 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	16



			Judgement-related, but an example of post-mortem Marian intercession, a recurring theme in the wider Doom-genre.	
London, British Library, Additional MS 36791 (p. 455)	Mid-fifteenth century	Conception of Mary (8 <sup>th</sup> Dec.)	Marian intercession.	17
London, British Library, Additional MS 37677, ff. 57r-61r (p. 459)	Early fifteenth century	Easter Week	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.	18
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 67v-68v (p. 490) (Wycliffite Sermons)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14	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.	19
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 73r-74r (p. 499)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa in sole</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25-33)	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	20

			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.'	
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 82r-83r (p. 512)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	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.	21
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 83r-84r (p. 514)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	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).	22
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 125r-126v (p. 560)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	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.	23
London, British Library, Additional MS 40672, ff. 130v-132r (p. 566)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	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	24

			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.	25
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.	26
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.	27
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	28

			benefit the saints; the latter appreciate their joy after seeing the pains of the former'; 'Kings and lords are also in danger because they use the religious to extort money from their tenants and imprison their people, contrary to the works of mercy.'	
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 <i>Fifteen Signs</i> .	32
London, British Library, Additional MS 41321, 8v-23v (p. 890)	First half fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; Luke 21:25	<i>Erunt signa in sole luna et stellis, etc.</i>	33
London, British Library, Additional MS	First half fifteenth century	Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16	The parable of the vineyard again.	34

41321, 61r-70v (p. 905)				
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**Repertorium Vol. 2:**

<b>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Liturgical Occasion</b>	<b>Content</b>	
London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, 4r-6r (p. 925)	First half fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent	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 <i>Fifteen Signs</i> , 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.	35
London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.ii, 110v-111v (p. 1027)	First half fifteenth century	Feast of St Michael (29 <sup>th</sup> September)	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.	36
London, British Library, Harley MS 26, 60v-61v (p. 1082)	Fifteenth century (early and first half)	First Sunday in Lent(?)	Sins should be remembered and written in one's heart like a song; forgotten sins will be written down by the devil (has an <i>exemplum</i> in which a man confessed his sins but did not complete the penance. The devil	37

			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 <i>Festial</i> 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 <i>festial</i> manuscripts employ this material on Jerome's fifteen signs in a sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent, see Bodl/Douce 108/001].	38
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. <i>Cursor Mundi</i> ); 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	39

			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.	
London, British Library, Harley MS 2276, 44v-47v (p. 1251)	Mid-fifteenth century	Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16	The parable of the workers in the vineyard.	40
London, British Library, Harley MS 2383, 85v-88v (p. 1333)	Second half fifteenth century	Ash Wednesday	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.	41
London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 56r-57r (p. 1388)	Mid-fifteenth century	Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14	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 leueree [livery] and I am þi man”	42
London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 59v-60v (p. 1391)	Mid-fifteenth century	Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity	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 <i>Elucidarium</i> , everyone will know about everyone else’s sins but no shame will be attached, if one is saved; the good will have infinite	43

			joy but the evil will be unable to look at God's face.	
London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 88v-90r (p. 1416)	Mid-fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent	Now is the time to repent, to be clothed in God's armour: purity, almsgiving, meekness, vigils, prayer, belief, hope of mercy, charity, and other virtues; once cleansed, one must remain steadfast until the Last Judgement when none of those stained by deadly sin will escape damnation, even if Mary and the angels pray for them (interesting, as there are many examples which would contest this notion. Mary especially is often attributed the capability of saving even the most sinful souls from damnation should they call on her sincerely. Indeed, the intercession of the saints during judgement is a well attested subject; St Lawrence interceding on behalf of the sinful emperor, Henry II, for example).	44
London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 112r-114r (p. 1437)	Mid-fifteenth century	Palm Sunday <sup>883</sup>	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.	45
London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 117v-121r (p. 1442)	Mid-fifteenth century	Third Sunday in Advent	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.	46

<sup>883</sup> One suspects that this is supposed to be the Second Sunday in Advent.



London, British Library, Royal MS 18.B.xxiii, 168r-169v (p. 1467)	Mid-fifteenth century	Advent; <i>Venturus est omnipotens</i> (Apoc. 1:8)	The three comings of Christ – when he came to make man; when he came to ransom man; when he shall come to judge man. ‘St Bernard says that when he thinks of the Last Judgement, his body quakes. No one will pray for anyone else. As a cloud hides the sun, so the cloud of wicked deeds will be between the sinful and God.’ Quick reference to the <i>Fifteen Signs</i> .	47
London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160, 25r-29v (p. 1486)	Mid-fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent	Not listed as Last Judgement again, but clearly discussed. Matt. 21:1-9, 12-13; Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple. This account is read twice a year, in Advent, signifying Christ’s coming to the world, and coming up to the commemoration of his death; it also signifies his coming in judgement. Christ will come to judge humankind; on that day all deeds and thoughts will be revealed; Bernard says the whole world will accuse each person; devils will claim souls as their servants and take them to hell; it would be better for these souls not to have been born; for not keeping God’s commandments they will burn eternally; the judge will comfort those who kept his commandments and those who have made amends for their sins will be rewarded with eternal bliss.	48
London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160, 29v-34v (p. 1488)	Mid-fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25-33)	Christ showed signs so that Christians would be ready for the day of judgement; Jerome lists 15 signs at the end of the world but Gregory states that many of them have already been seen; analysis of the sun, moon, and stars; avoid sin, live in charity and do good works if you want to get to Heaven.	49
London, Lambeth Palace	Late twelfth to	Septuagesima	No reference to Last Judgement in summary notes, but it is	50

Library MS 392, 180v-184v (p. 1551)	fifteenth century		relevant. Matt. 20:1-16, the parable of the workers in the vineyard; see also the preceding sermon in this manuscript which discusses the parable of the wheat and the tares, Matt. 13:24-30, but in a less explicitly judgemental context.	
London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, 51v-54r (p. 1581)	Late twelfth to early thirteenth century	On Sunday Observance	The important things that have happened on Sunday again, including that God will come to judge on a Sunday; on the last day each hill will burn and God will come in the form of fire to consume his enemies; the angels will blow their trumpets in the four corners, the dead will arise, and God will judge; the wicked will be sent to torment; the righteous, the true, monks, maidens, married women and so forth, will be summoned to God's right hand where there will be eternal joy.	51

**Repertorium Vol. 3:**

<b>Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Liturgical Occasion</b>	<b>Content</b>	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 4v-6r (p1629)	Second half fifteenth century	Third Sunday in Advent	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.	52
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 24r-26v (p1644)	Second half fifteenth century	Septuagesima	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.	53
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley	Second half fifteenth century	Palm Sunday	Last Judgement. The second person of the Trinity, who is wisdom as the father is	54

MS 95, 29v-32r (p1648)			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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 95, 105r-107r (p1693)	Second half fifteenth century	Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity	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.	55
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 3v-6v (p. 1703)	Late fourteenth century/early fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25)	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	56

			(rainbow?): sorrow, love, condemnation. The signs that this time is coming: the sun will grow dark, the moon will turn to blood, the stars will fall from the sky. This is a detailed sermon, which focusses heavily on the Last Judgement.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 23v-25v (p1718)	Late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century	Second Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany	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	57
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 31v-33v (p1724)	Late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century	Septuagesima; <i>Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias</i> (Matt. 20:1); Matt. 20:1-16	The parable of the workers in the vineyard. Extensive interpretation in the usual manner.	58
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 55r-57v (p1745)	Late fourteenth century/early fifteenth century	Easter Day	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?	59
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 57v-59v (p1747)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	First Sunday after Easter	The Four Dowry. 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	60

			banish all doubt and fear and will put the sheep of his flock who have never seen him alongside his disciples and bless them all. The wicked on Christ's left will be damned and the good will be gathered to him.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 806, 78r-80r (p1763)	Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century	Second Sunday after Trinity; Luke 14:16-24	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. "Trew men" who preach God's word will see the wicked being judged at the day of judgement.'	61
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 53, 1r-30r (p1811) (author: William Taylor)	Early fifteenth century	Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity (21 <sup>st</sup> November 1406)	William Taylor's sermon.	62
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 108, pp. 5-13 (p1823)	Mid-fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent	John Mirk's <i>Festial</i> . 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.	63
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 92v-97v (p1857)	Mid-fifteenth century	Ninth Sunday after Trinity; <i>Quid hoc audio de te redde rationem villicacionis tue</i> (Luke 16:2)	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.	64
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS	Mid-fifteenth century	Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity; <i>Beati oculi qui vident</i>	At the day of judgement all people must come before the judge and their own consciences and actions will accuse them. Those sinners	65

180, 111r-114v (p1864)		<i>que vos vidistic</i> (Luke 10:23)	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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 127v-133r (p1869)	Mid-fifteenth century	Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity; Luke 7:11-16	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.	66
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 165v-171v (p1880)	Mid-fifteenth century	Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 9:18-22	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.	67
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS	Mid-fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent; Matt. 21:1-9	Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The <i>exemplum</i> of the castle with three shields again. To enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, one must remember	68

180, 177v-185v (p1884)			the three shields of the <i>exemplum</i> : 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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 185v-190r (p1886)	Mid-fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25-33)	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	69

			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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 236r-241v (p1902)	Mid-fifteenth century	Fifth Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; Matt. 13:24-30	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.	70
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS, 180, 242r-247v (p1903)	Mid-fifteenth century	Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-8	Parable of the workers in the vineyard, etc.	71
Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Musaeo MS 180, 247v-251r (p1905)	Mid-fifteenth century	Sexagesima; Luke 8:4-15	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.	72
Oxford, Bodleian Library,	Fifteenth century (mid- to second half)	First Sunday in Advent; Matt. 21:1-9	Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The three advents of Christ again. In his first coming, Christ became human to	73



Greaves MS 54, 26r-29r (p1929)			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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Greaves MS 54, 34r-v (some missing) (p1936)	Fifteenth century (mid- to second half)	Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16	The parable of the workers in the vineyard, etc.	74
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 96, 66v-68v (p2023)	Mid-fifteenth century	St Michael (29 <sup>th</sup> September)	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.	75
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 5v-7r (p2048)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent	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	76

			a 'grettur tournament' at the Last Judgement.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 7r-8v (p2050)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25-33)	Christ's prophecies of the end of the world. Christ loves humankind and offers a warning of future tribulation. The older the world grows, the nearer it is to its end. As he says in the gospel, Christ will come to judge the whole world. He came previously to be judged when he took human form, as is noted in Advent. The angels will tremble in fear so what will sinners do at such a sight? This has some diverse, interesting content.	77
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 23v-24v (p2067)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	Septuagesima	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.	78
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 72r-74r (p2112)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	Eighth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 7:15-21	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	79

			be praised. Christians should repent because the axe is at the root; Christ is ready to judge and it is too late to repent when death comes.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 128r-v (p2157)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	First Sunday in Advent (?); <i>Ecce deus veniet et omnis sancti eius cum eo et erit in die illa lux magna</i>	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.	80
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 128v-129r (p2158)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	Second Sunday in Advent (?); <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25)	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.	81
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. MS 40, 130v-131r (p2162)	Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century	St Michael (29 <sup>th</sup> September)	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.	82
Oxford, Bodleian Library,	Late fourteenth or early	Unidentified (but one suspects	It is the end of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. There is no direct reference to	83

Holkham Misc. MS 40, 131r-v (p2163)	fifteenth century	Septuagesima); <i>multi sunt vocati set pauci vero electi</i> (Matt. 20:16)	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.	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 471, 131v-133v (p2179)	Second half thirteenth century	Sexagesima; <i>Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias</i> (Matt. 20:1)	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.	84
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C.751, 1r-25v (p2197)	Early fifteenth century	For the Dead	<i>The Sermon of Dead Men.</i> 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.	85

#### Repertorium Vol. 4:

Manuscript and Folio Numbers (and Repertorium Page No.)	Date	Liturgical Occasion	Content	
Oxford, University College MS 28, 86r-88r (p2249)	Mid-fifteenth century	Unidentified; <i>Intra in gaudium domini tui</i> (Matt. 25:21); <i>Ecce, venio cito reddere unicuique iuxta opera sua</i> (Apoc. 22:12); Matt. 25:14-30, the parable of the talents	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.	86
Oxford, University	Mid-fifteenth century	On Burial	Augustine says that there are three types of death. The first is physical death, the second is the	87

College MS 28, 88r-90r (p2251)			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.	
Oxford, University College MS 97, 162-170r (p2269)	Early to mid- fifteenth century	Unidentified	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.	88
Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 89v-92r (p2356)	Mid- fifteenth century	On Obstnacy of the Heart, Mouth, and Deeds	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.	89
Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 179r-181v (p2421)	Mid- fifteenth century	On Fear of Punishment	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.	90

Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 103, 213r-214v (p2449)	Mid-fifteenth century	On the Windlass, Rope, and Bucket	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.	91
Shrewsbury School MS 3, 67v-73r (p2468)	Late fifteenth century	Octave of Epiphany (?)	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.	92
Shrewsbury School MS 3, 73r-75r (p2470)	Late fifteenth century	First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany	As Christ says, many are called but few are chosen because many ignore his call. As people prepare for an appearance in court when	93

			a large amount of money or their life is at stake, how much more should they prepare for the day of judgement when the outcome is eternal life or death?	
Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 1v-3r (p2485)	c. 1409- 1413	First Sunday in Advent	The sermon addresses the multiple comings of Christ: his incarnation, to each Christian soul, in death, and in judgement.	94
Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 3r-4v (p2486)	c. 1409- 1413	Second Sunday in Advent; <i>Erunt signa</i> , etc. (Luke 21:25)	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. <i>Cursor Mundi</i> ).	95
Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 25v-27v (p2508)	c. 1409- 1413	Septuagesima; Matt. 20:1-16	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.	96
Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 82r-84v (p2559)	c. 1409- 1413	Ninth Sunday after Trinity; Luke 16:1-9	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	97

			<p>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.</p>	
<p>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 95v-98r (p2571)</p>	<p>c. 1409-1413</p>	<p>Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>98</p>
<p>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 106v-109r (p2581)</p>	<p>c. 1409-1413</p>	<p>Twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 22:1-14</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>99</p>
<p>Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 111v-113v (p2586)</p>	<p>c. 1409-1413</p>	<p>Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity; Matt. 18:23-35</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>100</p>

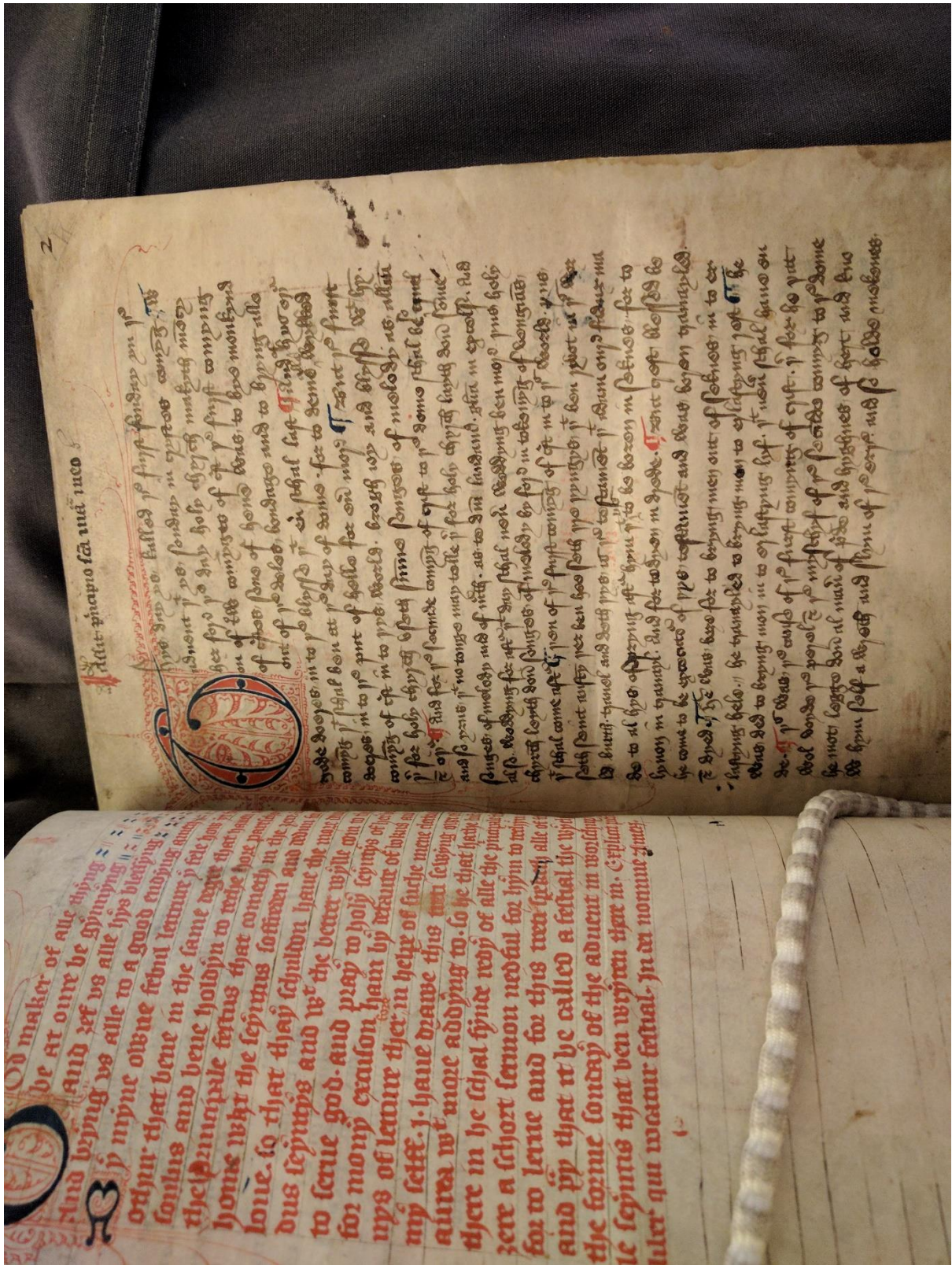


			servant. These words show the power of prayer in gaining forgiveness. Now Christ speaks words of comfort but at the judgement he will be sternly righteous in asking people to give back what they have taken from God, what they owe, and what they have borrowed.	
Warminster, Longleat House MS 4, 113v- 115v (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

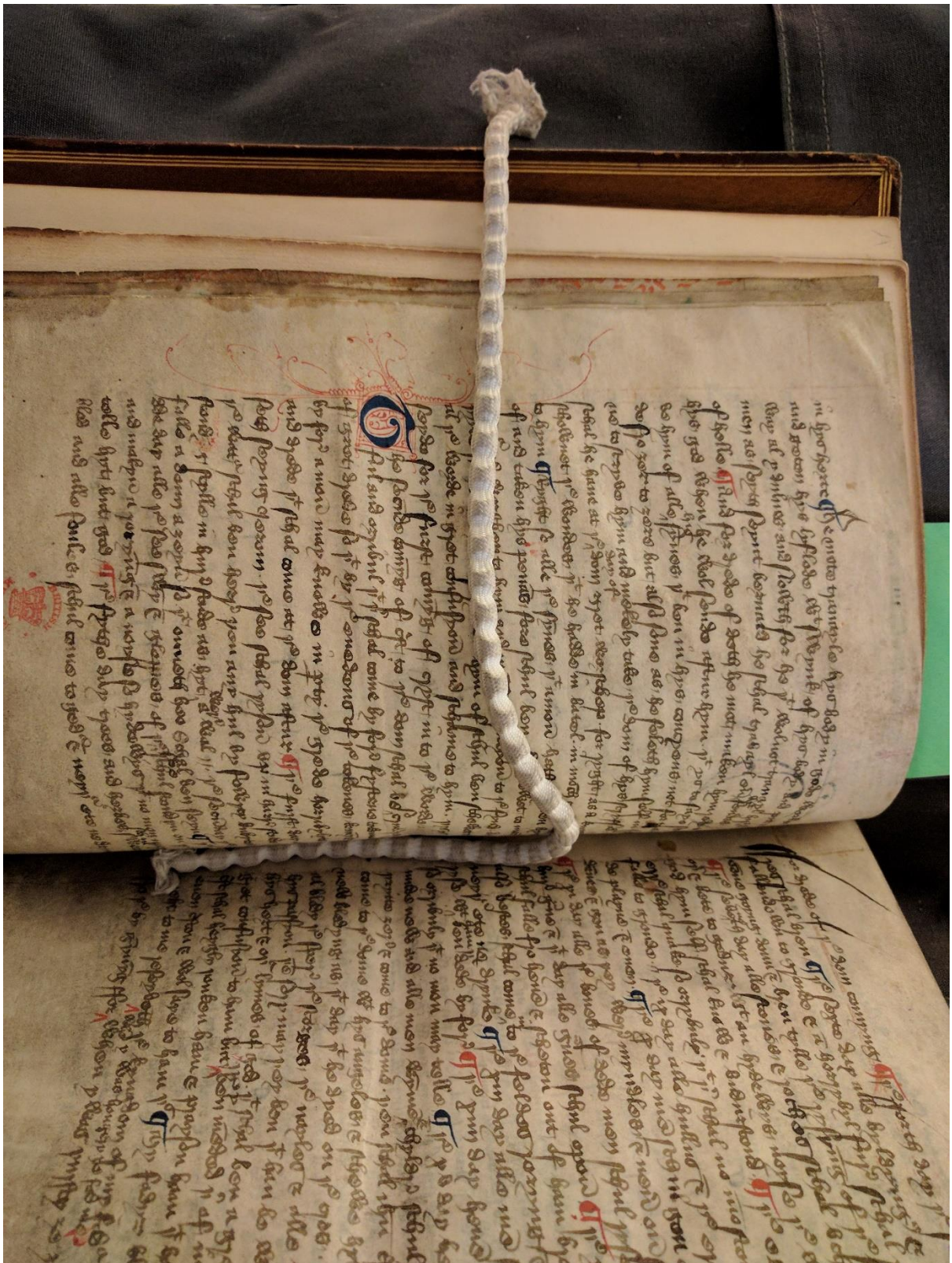
Appendix 3: Images

(1) London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A. ii

(a) f. 4r

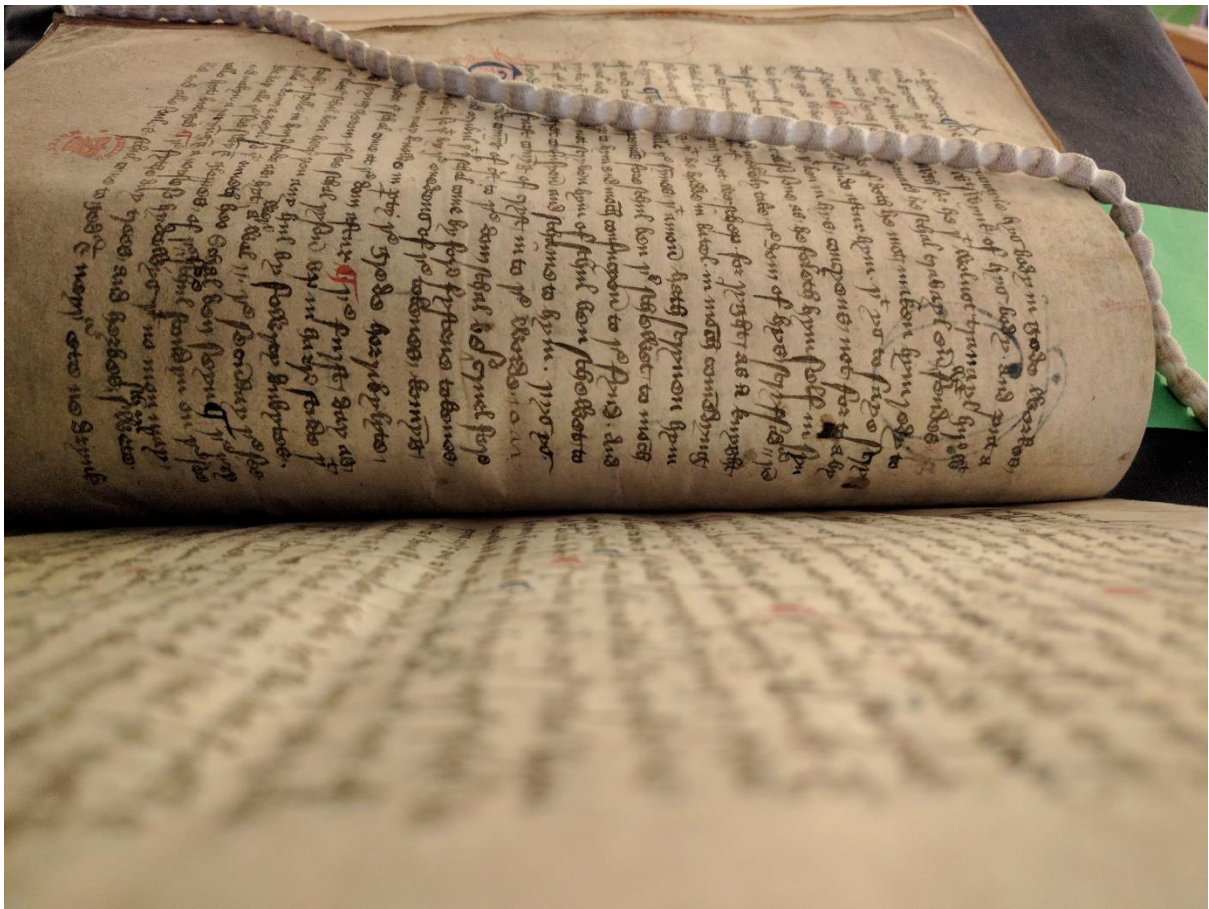


(b) f. 4v





(e) f. 4v detail, gutter

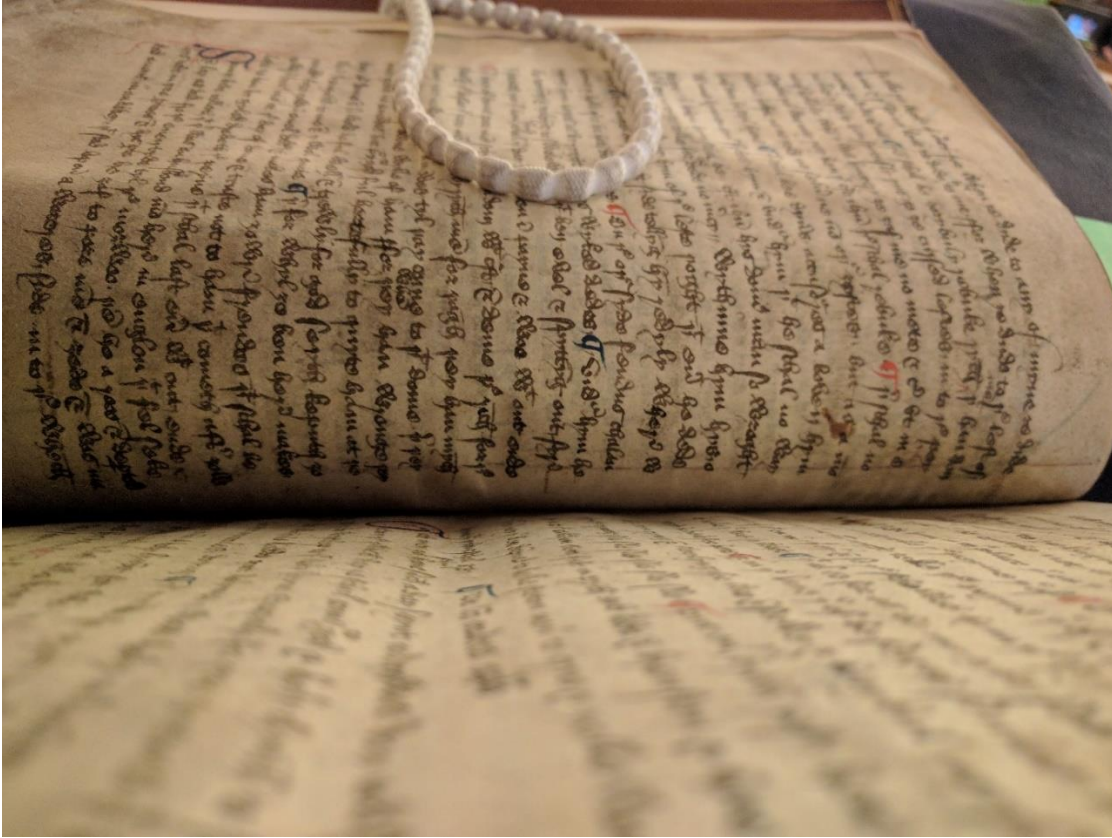




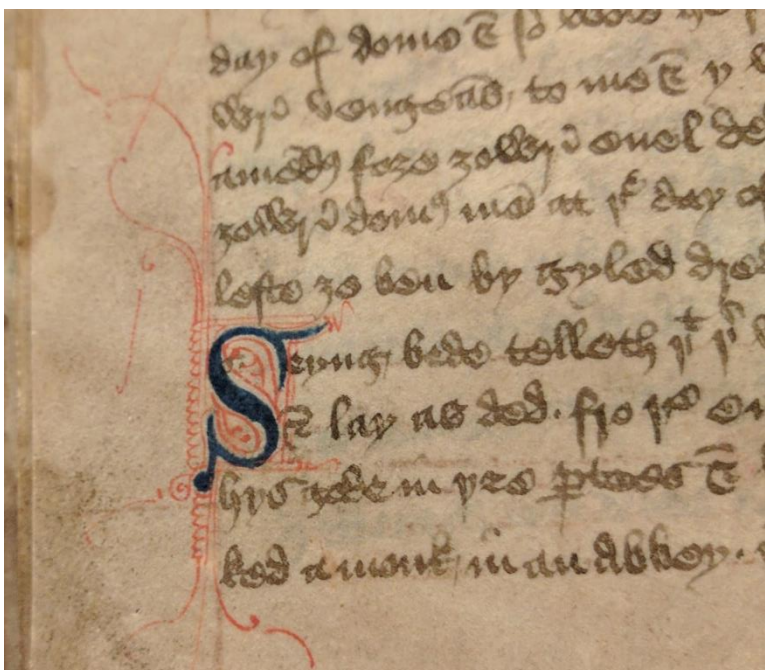
(g) f. 5v



(h) f. 5v, detail, gutter



(i) f. 5v, detail, initial





(j) f. 6r

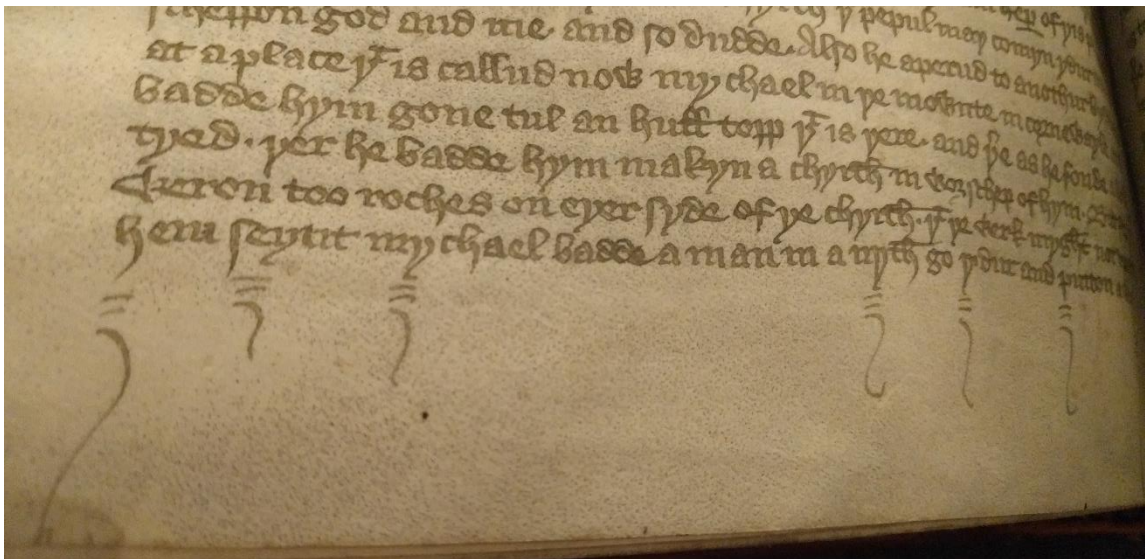
46

Wat' dat myght ho ze do d'eyd hrt non so cold e fad p' m lo  
 ngy tyme of p' myght e d'ha ho was asked d'hy ho put h'p  
 self m to so much payne. ho sayde to osthalls p' mayd per  
 ne p' he had soyn. e he sto barly bred e dyunt. Wat' al h'p  
 h'p astuz e tollo to yolygrous mon p' payne p' ho seyth p'  
 was so gret p' he couthe not telly h' oppuly. **Th**o sayde p'  
 a angel hadde hym m to place p' on p' ou f'ee was. such a colde  
 p' no tong myght tollo p' payne p' of. **O**n p' o' p' d' was so  
 grote hoto p' no m' myght tollo p' payne p' of e soules d'op ka  
 ft out of p' ou m to p' op. e so p' scholled hym p' f'ry' p' come out  
 of helle p' was so d'hot. **A**p' al so for as ho myght see h'p h'p  
 p'ght he bynd for hoto. **E**m p' lams p' of ho seyth soules b'lnue  
 up e down q'nyng e d'ap'lyng for d'ow e f'or' d'ow e hor' d'nl noyse of  
 frudy q'nyng slo slo slo slo slo slo. **S**pirit on' b'och yest hoto ka  
 ft m to p' call'yon d'eth fast m p'p'ch and kede e byon ston e hoto led  
 p' p' p'p' p' ben d'ap'ned to helle ston non to q'rs e zollo d'ow p'  
 hym p' p' d'ur' st'hal. **W**e l'ed andrea ap'lo  
**G**ode men ze hane such a day seruit and rolles day and fast p'  
 ebon p' p' d'ur' d'ay ze st'nl come god e holy d'p'ch to soo p'  
 ed e do d'ow'p'ch to p' holy seruit. **E**sp'aly for p'ze cont'ned p' ho had  
 do. **W**on for ho hadde gret d'ol'nos e was holy m l'nyng. p' so oide  
 for gret myraculos d'ow'ng. **A**p' p' d'ur' for gret pass'ou suff'nyng.

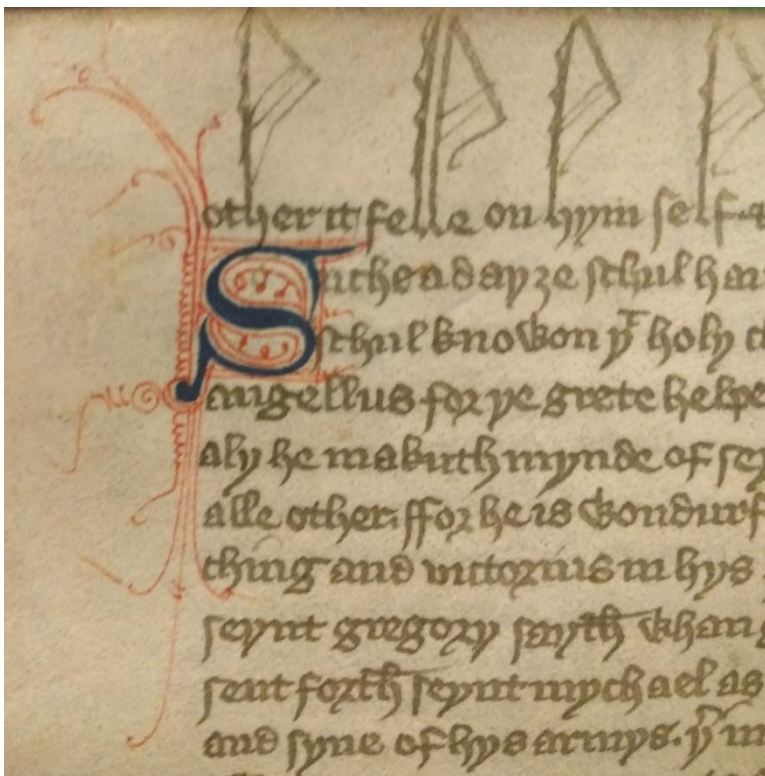
(k) f. 110v

Suche a day ze schul haue seynt michael day godys hohy arch  
 schul knoobon yf hohy chyrch maburth menaon yf day of alle  
 angellus for ye grete helpe and guise yf man kynde hath of alle  
 aby he maburth mynde of seynt michaell. for yre prerogatives yf he  
 alle other for he is vnderfull in appering. he is meruelus yf he  
 ching and victoris in hys fhyghtyng. he is vnderfull in appering  
 seynt gregory sayth whan god wol vortym any vnderfull  
 sent forth seynt mychael as hys hohne baneret. and he becom  
 and syne of hys armys. yf me is yf syne of hys croos. he sepe  
 & moyses and aaron in to egypte to vorthe per merueyls yf  
 done. for yogh ye syne were in moyses yf myght of ye vortym  
 be mychael. also he departe ye rede see and hylde ye vortym  
 chyl ye pepul of israhel yf yf ye sepe ye fone he larde hem  
 zere in deserte. he broght hem oure flom yf daye and helde  
 azyne so yf ye vortym rebounded azyne hyl to a grete huff  
 pul zode ou dnye fott and he broght hem in to ye londe of babilon  
 he kepurth paradysse and taburth in ye soules yf ben send yndur  
 slayne ante criste in ye monte of oliuete. he schal bydon alle ye  
 at ye day of dome. he schal bygon to ye dome ye croos of isre  
 ye spere ye crowne of peme. and alle other instrument of hys  
 to stheben hoh vrythe vryth hoo schul ben d apurth. yf ye vortym  
 ge cristes passion yus sent michael apparurth vnderfully. he  
 miracul meruellysh. for as he redon yf in apulea in yf antre  
 huff yf is callud gurgaur and a cyte nyght to it in ye vortym  
 aryeche man of dmerse catell. and for hys bestys larde on yf  
 tyne abul larde be hyme other bestys. where fore yis man  
 zedon to sechon yis hole. and so pondon hym standyng alle hym  
 ane hole of adan yf was ven on sthete a narogh at yis dulle bot ye  
 azyne and finote hym yf sthete it and choned hym fore  
 varon alle a ferde and zedon and toldon hem bysthope of yis  
 as yis bysthope preyed to han chyttering of yis ying. seynt michael  
 to hym and sayde hoh hrt was hys velle yf ye man was hurte  
 arco for so be yf doningmen schuldon knoobon yf iam sey of yis  
 fore go yf and make of yf den a chyrch yf pepul may comyn  
 stheyon god and me and so dnted. also he aperurth to anordur  
 at a place yf is callud nob mychael in ye montie in came dnted  
 hadde hym gone tur an huff topp yf is pere. and he as he fonde  
 tyed. per he hadde hym makyn a chyrch in dourtyse of hys  
 daren too rockes on eyre syde of ye chyrch yf ye dnted myghte not  
 hem seynt michael hadde a man in a nyght so yf dnted and pation

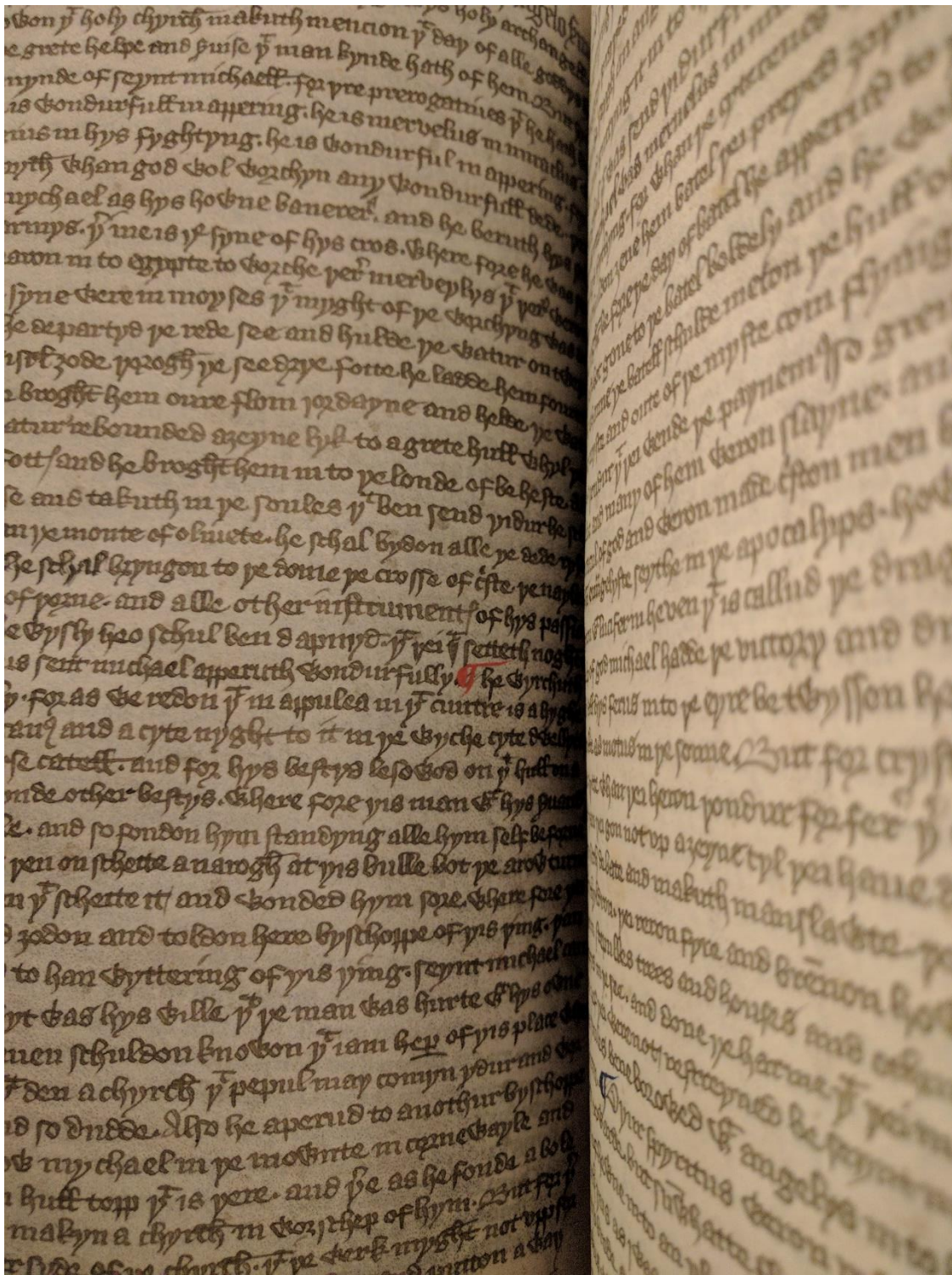
(l) f. 110v, detail



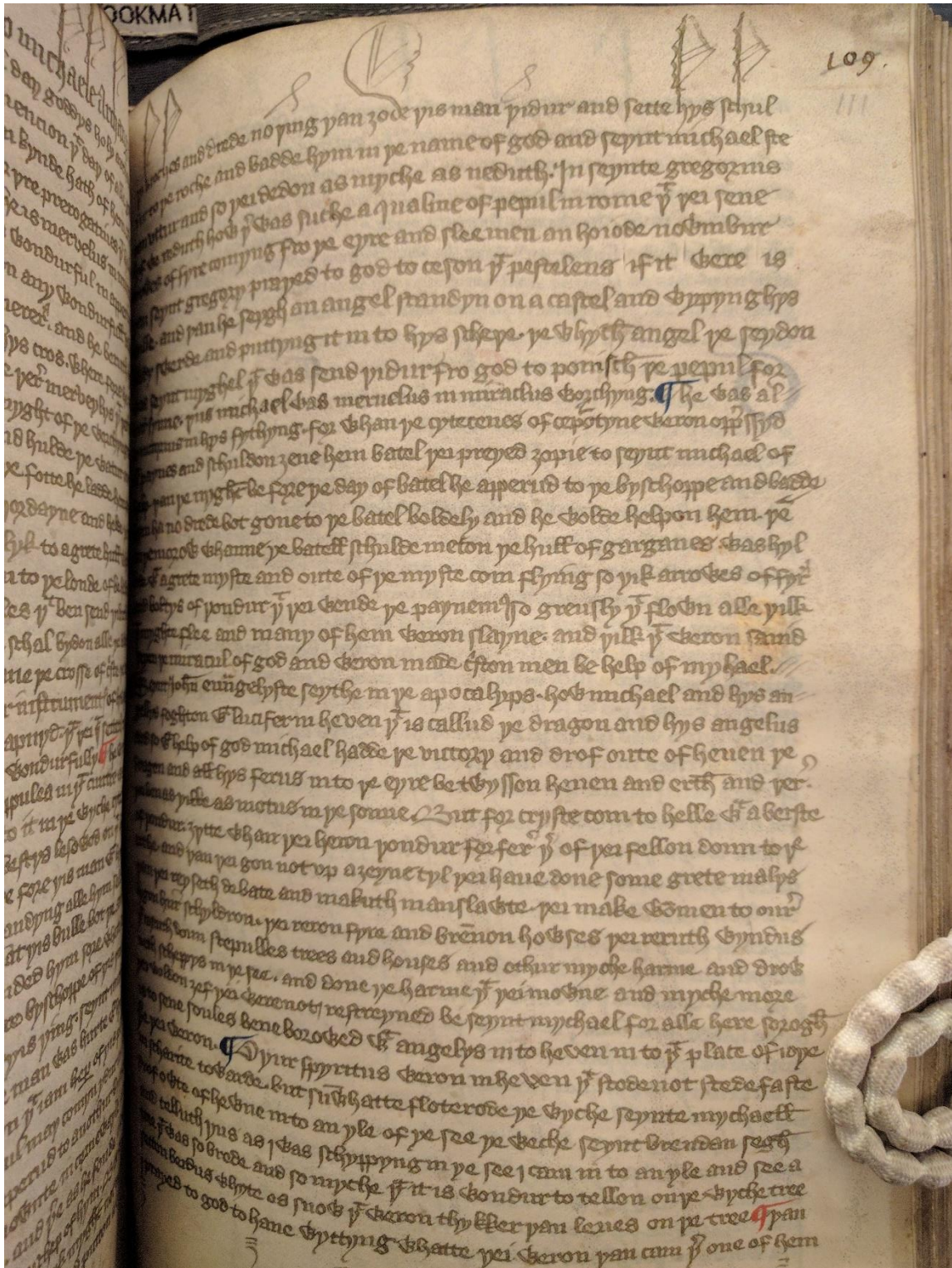
(m) f. 110v, detail, initial



(n) f. 110v, detail, gutter



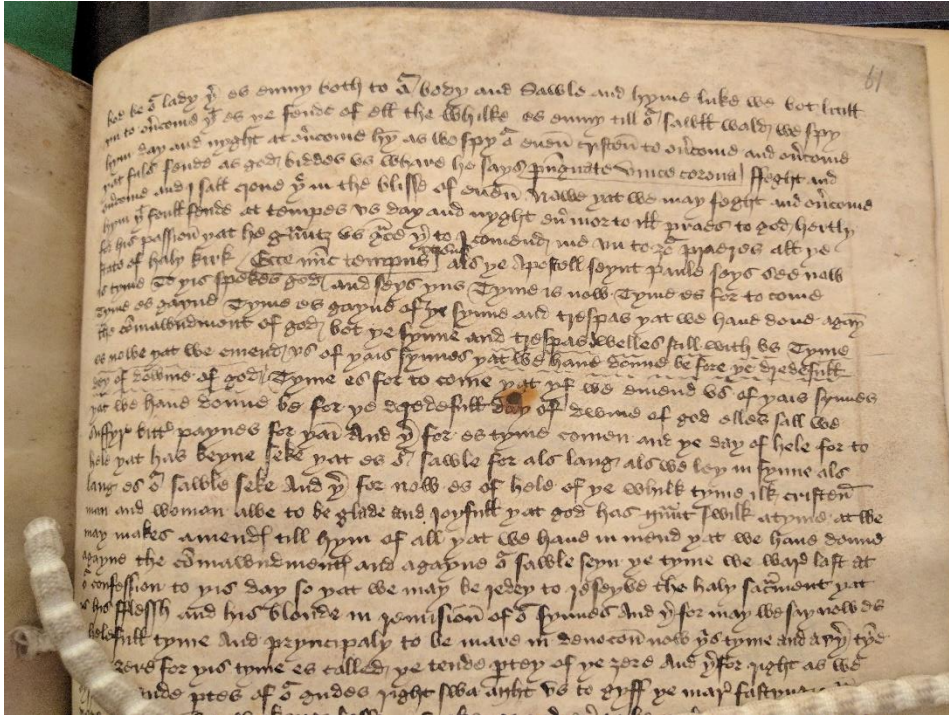
(o) f. 111r



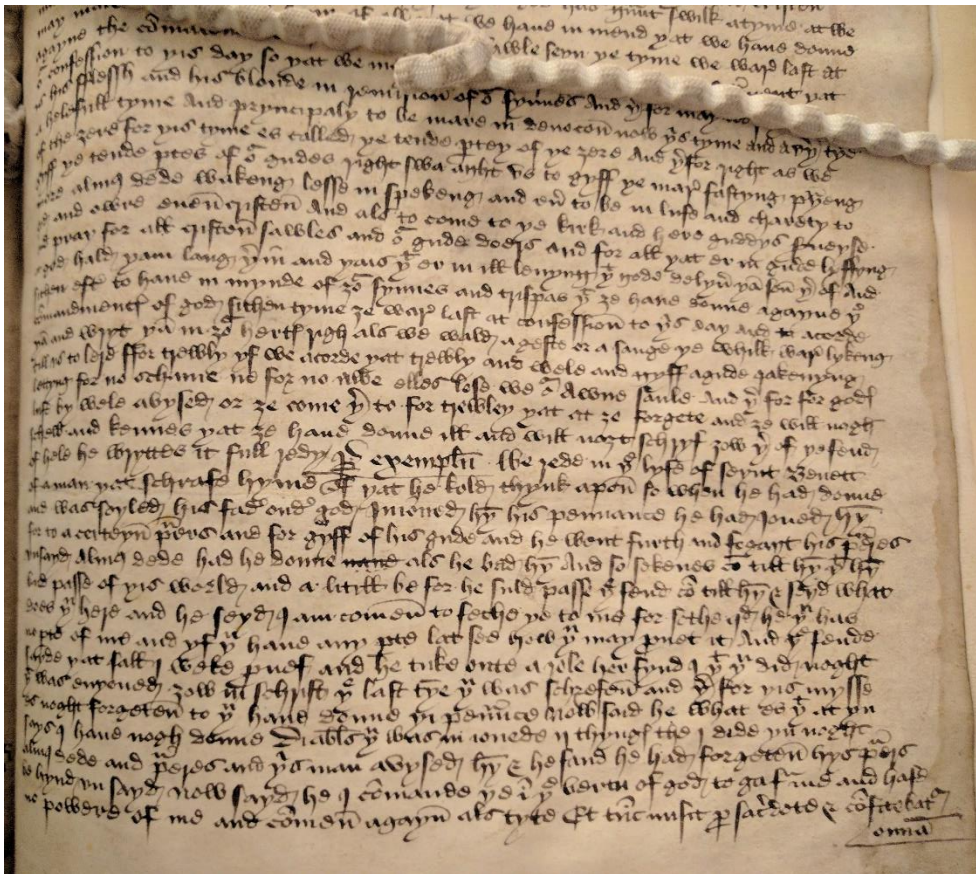




(b) f. 61r, detail, top half



(c) f. 61r, detail, bottom half





(d) f. 61v

and man come ye fonde agayne & when yo man salbe hym lute nobt an m jole fard he  
 and ye fende lute in his yonle and all ibas a lute And yo fende flet a way for a gote  
 of heft on more fozdofe and gafe a halone att fume and yfor jfor zoll hollley schzift  
 fozdofe fyne and y for zecore wole at mo emmy hafe nozt at do both zoll for ze foz  
 by comyn emys and expiens a lorde pat has a gafe or a degenit pat fall of y comte  
 anes in ye zere ym will lute holl thysely pat kan make y lute & y tylos at no  
 falre he folen for drede of pmyssyng of y body nobt lute the gods so melitt  
 pmyssyng of a body pat fall last in mo wordy hed a while for ye tyme pat the luff  
 here is body a cherey fard nobt melitt mane sild the gods ye jekemyng pat the  
 fall of y for zere ym will lute holl thysely pat kan make y lute & y tylos at no  
 ye will pat sild be lute to d fable on lafand pfor the fall be for hy juff jekemyng of  
 ye lute ydell wordy pat the spote here bot yf the make emendy of ym mo wordy  
 cherey fard the fall of y for zere ym will lute holl thysely pat kan make y lute & y tylos at no  
 a smill dedes had the emond pmyssyng or the passyng hyme and yf a comte of ym  
 nobt jekemyng to d schryft fard in goddes fede att schryft of month and seyth of heft  
 and of mey and fozmyng and he m lute to emond the mde ym as a comte wole ymde  
 for d fable for jufft all d body dore here ynt siba fall d fable hafe when the en  
 myme be it ynde or ill for y body did it and it mde non tale what y dore att it  
 out of y hode ym lute ym apnes it foles no fave had ydell ym fable of d be bydes  
 of m wole or m lute no the ordyn y for m d luff m te ye fone of god dnd yfor for y  
 lute of hym pat banht zoll and be be m lute nozt to fable for god ze may nest be  
 gyle for he mde be knawledge boty of gnde and emill And y for when ze come to  
 schzift to lute schryft zoll openly of all ze can thynk apen and thynk no schryft to  
 tell ze schryft m to hym pat ze schryft zoll to bod jufft m y same dore ym ze hite  
 the schryft to lute it openly till hy y schryft ym goddes fede and take gndely & melote  
 ze pmyssyng pat he yonle and thynk pat ze wole woorthy to hafe a gndely d melote

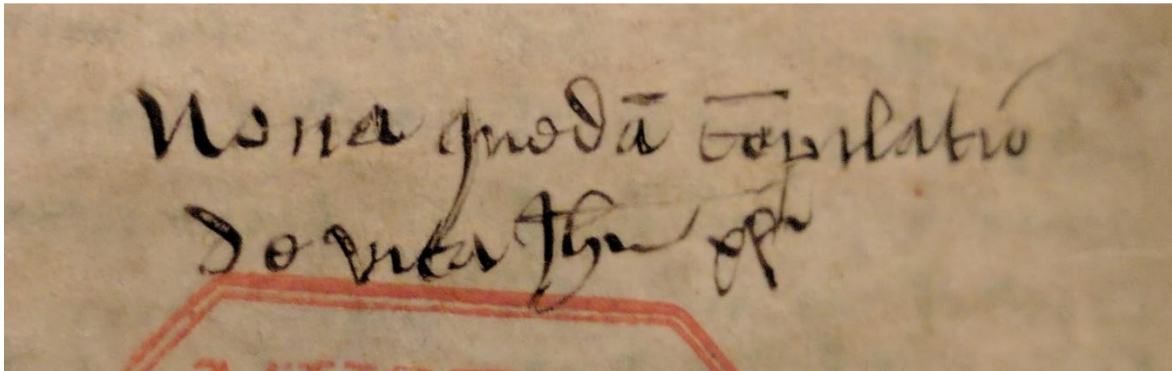
in die conu vt sup f. l. gna dmi. p. p. a  
 dmi moy solito si m loquo. m. p. 100. lauda  
 to dmi 100 g. in die paraffine vt in  
 die conu in die paraffine dicit anno  
 pndm bndico dmi. facti. q. d. alla.  
 q. d. d. a. b. g. g. l. a. p. a. e. c. no dicit  
 koyot t. p. i. j. f. facti. q. d. bndic dmi.  
 m. d. d. d. bndic. n. i. o. c. e. l. e. s. t. e. c.  
 l. e. f. i. q. m. p. i. s. t. a. d. y. d. f. i. s. s. i. d. f. i. t. q. d. i. o. u. i.  
 y. q. d. m. d. i. x. t. a. d. i. c. o. d. i. c. a. d. y. d. f. i. s. s. i. d. f. i. t.  
 f. a. p. i. t. o. n. e. q. d. f. u. y. t. a. m. // p. p. d. m. d. e. q.  
 p. a. d. a. d. // q. d. a. d. e. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. a. n. d. a.  
 d. m. o. d. o. r. o. g. l. o. r. i. a. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. n. o. f. a. c. t. i. o. n. e.  
 o. l. e. s. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. n. o. f. i. f. t. a. o. p. i. n. i. d. m. o. n. a. d. i.  
 d. m. o. d. o. r. o. p. d. i. n. i. m. b. u. n. c. t. i. o. n. e. s. u. b. s. i. d. i. o.  
 i. n. d. i. e. p. a. r. a. f. f. i. n. e. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. a. n. d. a.  
 i. n. d. i. e. q. u. a. f. i. d. o. r. o. g. l. o. r. i. a. p. a. t. a. e. c. l.  
 o. p. o. r. t. a. d. b. n. d. i. c. o. d. i. c. a. d. d. m. i. d. i. c. i. o.  
 d. e. m. u. n. d. i. c. a. d. m. i. o. s. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. f. a. c. t. i. o. n. e.  
 f. y. p. u. y. g. a. t. o. v. o. t. a. f. f. a. d. i. n. f. e. p. u. l. a. t. i. o. n. e.

post pndm dmi paraffine facti q. d. alla  
 dmi moy solito si m loquo. m. p. 100. lauda  
 to dmi 100 g. in die paraffine vt in  
 die conu in die paraffine dicit anno  
 pndm bndico dmi. facti. q. d. alla.  
 q. d. d. a. b. g. g. l. a. p. a. e. c. no dicit  
 koyot t. p. i. j. f. facti. q. d. bndic dmi.  
 m. d. d. d. bndic. n. i. o. c. e. l. e. s. t. e. c.  
 l. e. f. i. q. m. p. i. s. t. a. d. y. d. f. i. s. s. i. d. f. i. t. q. d. i. o. u. i.  
 y. q. d. m. d. i. x. t. a. d. i. c. o. d. i. c. a. d. y. d. f. i. s. s. i. d. f. i. t.  
 f. a. p. i. t. o. n. e. q. d. f. u. y. t. a. m. // p. p. d. m. d. e. q.  
 p. a. d. a. d. // q. d. a. d. e. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. a. n. d. a.  
 d. m. o. d. o. r. o. g. l. o. r. i. a. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. n. o. f. a. c. t. i. o. n. e.  
 o. l. e. s. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. n. o. f. i. f. t. a. o. p. i. n. i. d. m. o. n. a. d. i.  
 d. m. o. d. o. r. o. p. d. i. n. i. m. b. u. n. c. t. i. o. n. e. s. u. b. s. i. d. i. o.  
 i. n. d. i. e. p. a. r. a. f. f. i. n. e. p. a. t. a. e. c. l. a. n. d. a.  
 i. n. d. i. e. q. u. a. f. i. d. o. r. o. g. l. o. r. i. a. p. a. t. a. e. c. l.  
 o. p. o. r. t. a. d. b. n. d. i. c. o. d. i. c. a. d. d. m. i. d. i. c. i. o.  
 d. e. m. u. n. d. i. c. a. d. m. i. o. s. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. f. a. c. t. i. o. n. e.  
 f. y. p. u. y. g. a. t. o. v. o. t. a. f. f. a. d. i. n. f. e. p. u. l. a. t. i. o. n. e.

Nonna quoda copulatio  
 de vna f. m. p.



(e) f. 61v, detail



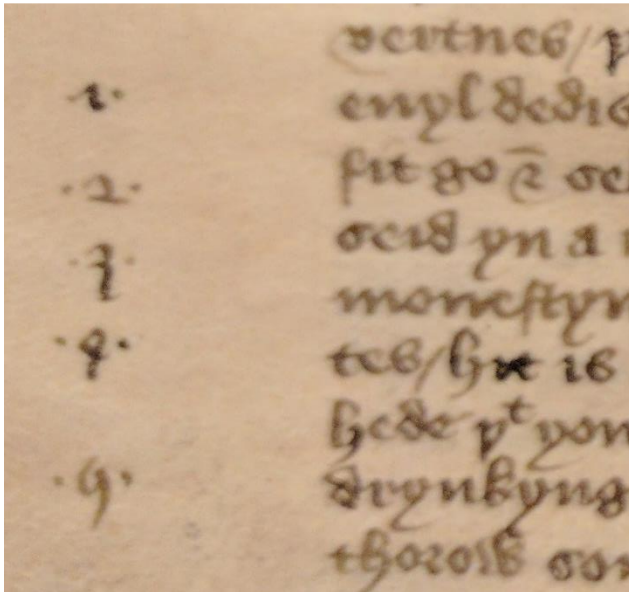
Uona quoda copulatio  
do vna thm

(3) London, British Library, Harley MS 2276

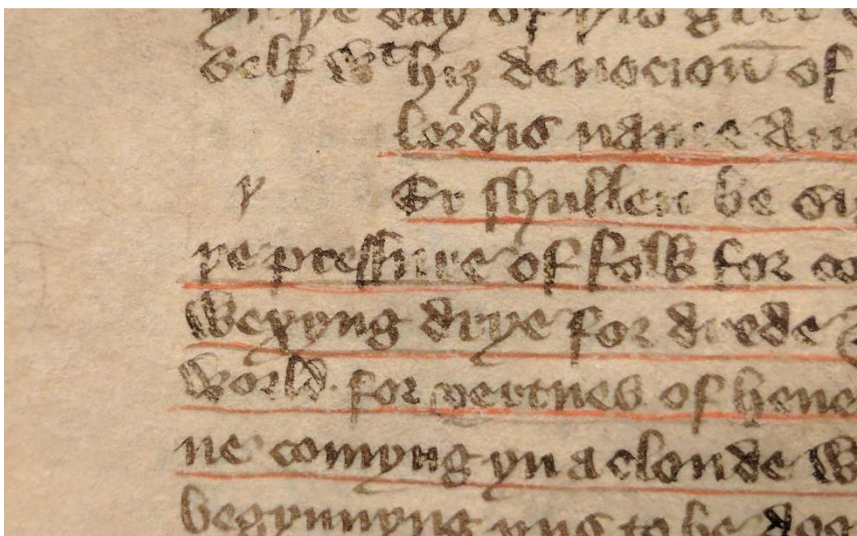
(a) f. 3v

y. suffise nat. ... of verrey knokkledy: & e pendimoe  
 smelly. ... god dispisep not ancy yestes p<sup>r</sup> for oynfulmen underfeng ye for  
 me of a sermannit / and so no man come fory is<sup>t</sup> out of bete melo  
 die of godlich preyfing / no man be stil at his sayng word of stam  
 yn ye day of his gret solomnte. but say al men & eche be hym  
 self w<sup>th</sup> his deuocion of bilene. blessid be he p<sup>r</sup> is comen yn our  
lordis name amen. ye ij onday of aduert. linc. xxij. 21.  
 y. Er shullen be signes yn some & moon & sterris yn er  
 ye presture of folk for confuson of some of ye see & flodes men  
 weyng dyre for drede & long a hidyng p<sup>r</sup> shullen come to al ye  
 world. for vertnes of heuens shul be moonyd & ye shul se mannes so  
 ne comyng yn a cloude w<sup>th</sup> gret vertu & w<sup>th</sup> mageste but yese pynges  
 begynnynng yns to be doon. loketh fory & lift vp yome hedes for yom  
 redempcion nyzey ful faste se he seide ye fig tree & al op trees whā  
 yei bryngen fory fruyt of hem selnen ye weten wel p<sup>r</sup> somer is ny  
 and on ye same maner whā ye seen yes forsed pynges be doon be  
 te ye wel p<sup>r</sup> kyngdom of god is ny. Certenli i say to yolk p<sup>r</sup> his ge  
 neracion shal not passe a wey to p<sup>r</sup> al yes yese pynges forsed be doon  
 heuens & erpe shul passe a wey. but my wordes shul not passe a way  
**C**pony eny scripture enspird of god be apheetable for to teche for to  
 ochark under nyne: for to confort & for to eseli amoneste nepeles  
 ye doctryne of ye euangehe is myxtver to yis pan al ye toy sip  
 tures & more apheetable for yer ben yomen counseles what pyng is  
 to be chosen / and also commamndementes what pyng is be be  
 holden / yer ben monestynge what is for to be doon / and also for  
 bedyngs what is to be left / yer ben also confortyngs p<sup>r</sup> maken  
 soft a mamys hert / and also behestes p<sup>r</sup> drawen hit to lust of  
 vertnes / yer ben preytyngs & feryngs p<sup>r</sup> drawen us from  
 enyl dedis / hit is a conseil p<sup>r</sup> was yleid to a man: if p<sup>r</sup> wilt be p<sup>r</sup>  
 fit go & selle al pynges p<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup> hast / hit is a commamndemet p<sup>r</sup> is  
 seid yn a noy place lone ye yom enemyes / hit is an esey  
 monestynng yer as ho sey yns: be ye wislich war as serpe  
 tes / hit is a forbedyng whā he sey on his maner / takep beseli  
 hede p<sup>r</sup> yom hertis be not onchargid w<sup>th</sup> on moche etyngs and  
 drynkynge & byfynesses of his world / hit is a confortyng whā  
 thowis som good pyng is be hit: as whā one lord sey. co  
 mep to me all p<sup>r</sup> tranelen & ben ychargid & q ohal restreffe

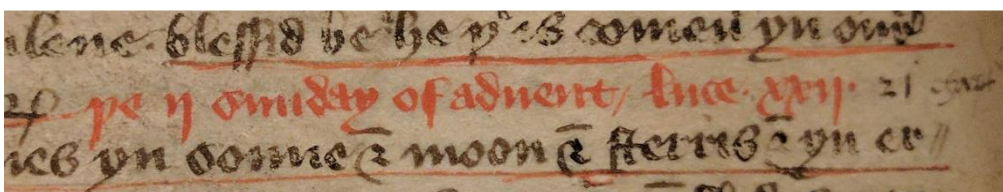
(b) f. 3v, detail



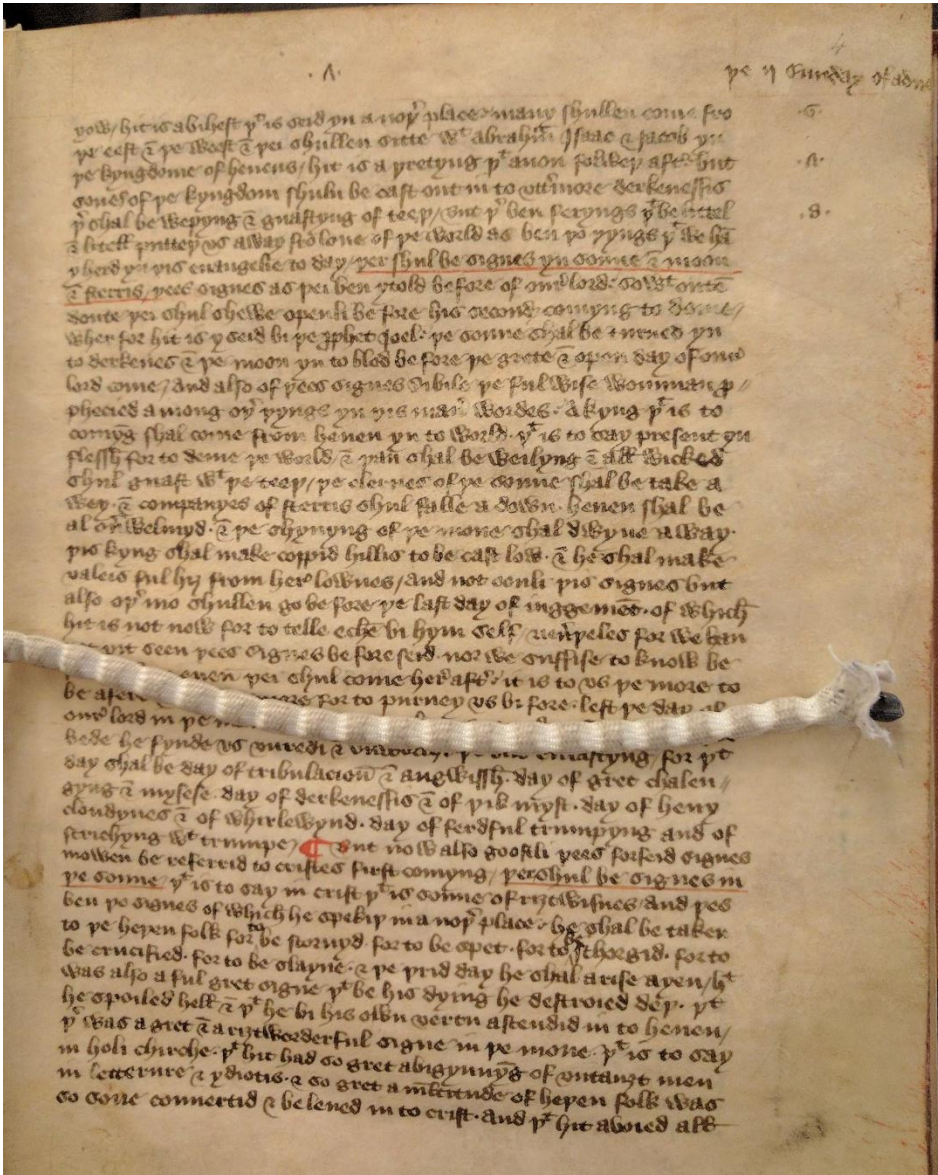
(c) f. 3v, detail, guide letter



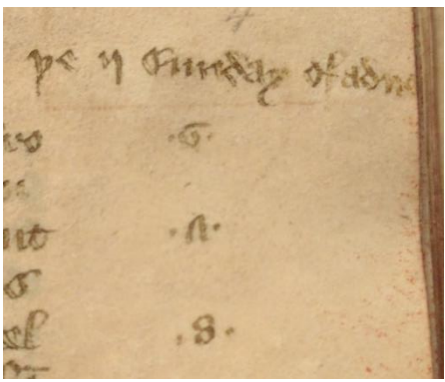
(d) f. 3v, detail



(e) f. 4r



(f) f. 4r, detail



(g) f. 4v, detail, top half

ye ceremonies of the olde lawe & also ye waissinging of fendes, and þat  
 hit a god schal wt out oncomyng among þe creature & castmattales, hit schal  
 why forþ in þe tyde, and in ftering þat is to say in creature. Whoo schal  
 chynne as ftering, wher hit gret synne is, wher not in creature þat  
 þei desyneden for crist þe glorie of þis world. þat þei wolden w  
 strongli for crist here þynne, þat þei schynnen w do many myn  
 cleas & certnes. þat þei dead not de þat we tomentis, hit schal þat  
 and in þe erpe þe schere of folk, be regnd of godes, of þis oner,  
 thysing sey one lord in an oþer place. I cam for to send þis but  
 oþer, þat is for to say gode hitail þat enel þis be taken a key for  
 þis schere buter a key, what so en creature þing is in us & oncomy  
 þe polkers of þe erpe, þat is to say enel þynne. Whom hit longer  
 for os wraite, he wopen to þe cause of þisne & sey, for confusi  
 on of some of þe oþer of fodes, he clepeþ þe oþer þis world þat is  
 þisone as þe oþer & but, þe fodes, monyngs of þis world & smere  
 þynne of þynne. Which whil þat eche man hit miltardli be holden  
 he is a stoned yn hym self for obenship of þis charygeable þyn  
 ge. & for dede of þis endes, & abiding of þynne to comyng is ang  
 wiffid, þat gret þis schere of þynne. & þis is þat þis ad aft, wren þa  
 þing dre for drede & abiding þat schullen come upon al þe world, þat  
 is to say in þe tyde of Antecrist, for þan schal be onch & oþer t  
 þat schal be on ch church, which schal makee þis not on þat schal be

(h) f. 4v, detail, bottom half

thyrsting sey om lord in an oy place: q cam for to send pecc but  
 othrs. yett is for to say gode butail p encl pccs be taken a they for  
 mo pbers butep as they what so en concious pping is m os. a oncomy  
 re palters of ye cur. p is to say encl ppritis. w whom hit longey  
 for es waste he wney to re cause of pssure a sey for confusi  
 on of some of ye ooe a of flosdes. he clepey ye ooe no world p is  
 pilons as ye ooe a but. ye flosdes monyngs of pis world a omers  
 happes of pping. which whil p eche man rit mltitudi be holdep  
 he is a stoned yn hym self for obenship of pecc changeable pyn  
 geo. a for drede of psem encl. a abiding of pping to comyng. is ang  
 wiffid w gret pssures of pping. a no is p is y seid aft. oven the  
ying drie for drede a abiding p shullen come upon al ye world p  
is to say in ye tyme of antecrist. for pan ohal be onch a gret t  
bulacion in holi church. which a holi masche was not on y folk be  
gannen to be upon ye erpe. a in so masche ye defert of rit ful  
dampnable man shal hane ye manstrie. so p po y ten y chosen  
if hit may be brought in to erron. for yong p w many maners  
he shal be ful redi to deceyne ye peple. ne peles w p ppinges  
speciali he shal cast heldyng in to erron cristen men p he shal  
fynde panne som oikerli w feryngs a petyngs as pore men  
som w yestes a plesyng speche ad mytti men. som w signes a  
gret wondres as religious men a wise. and no is y p apostle  
sey. p he ohal come here aft a woiche aft ye woichyng of ye foud  
in vertu in signes in gret wondres of lesyng in al begyng. hit  
folkep fery. And vertnes of henens shul be monyd. pccs ppinges  
a op y folken ben ful wel referrid to cristis second comyng. for  
pryme vertnes of henens p is to say ye y ordres of anngels  
shul be monyd. p is to say yei be for to come to ye doom. w herfor  
job sey on pis maner. ye pilers of henens tremblin to gode a  
wexyn afers at his comyng. And so hit is not to meruayle yong  
in ye abiding of pis fereit doom yei shul wex drie for fere pat  
floressheden here in pis world erit. yong p fery ohal wax drie  
p wout gode werkes semes to florish here. ay vertnes of hene  
nes p is to say poners of anngels tremblin at ye oyt of ye

- .1.
- .2.
- .3.

(i) f. 4v, detail

Dampnable m  
 if hit may be  
 he shal be ful  
 speciali he shal  
 fynde panne  
 som w yestes a  
 gret wondres as  
 sey. p he ohal  
 in vertu in sign

- .1.
- .2.
- .3.

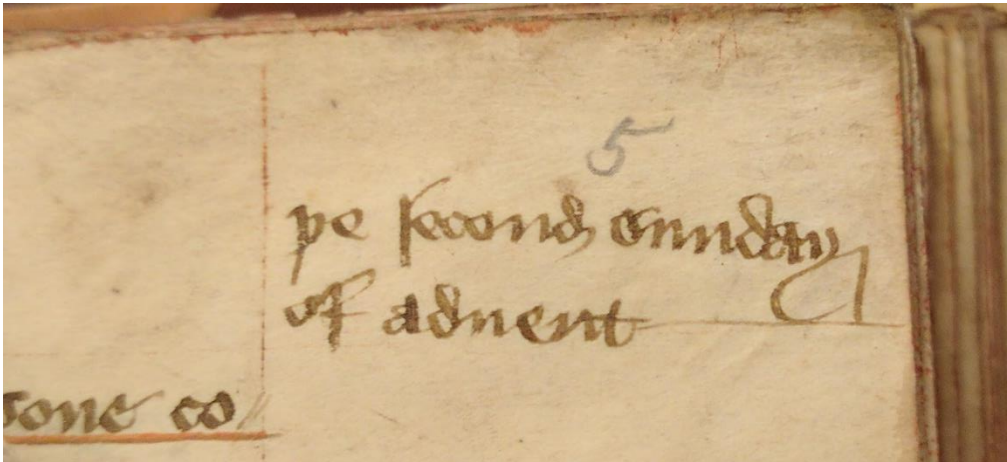
(j) f. 5r

ye pouds, vnt  
of aduent

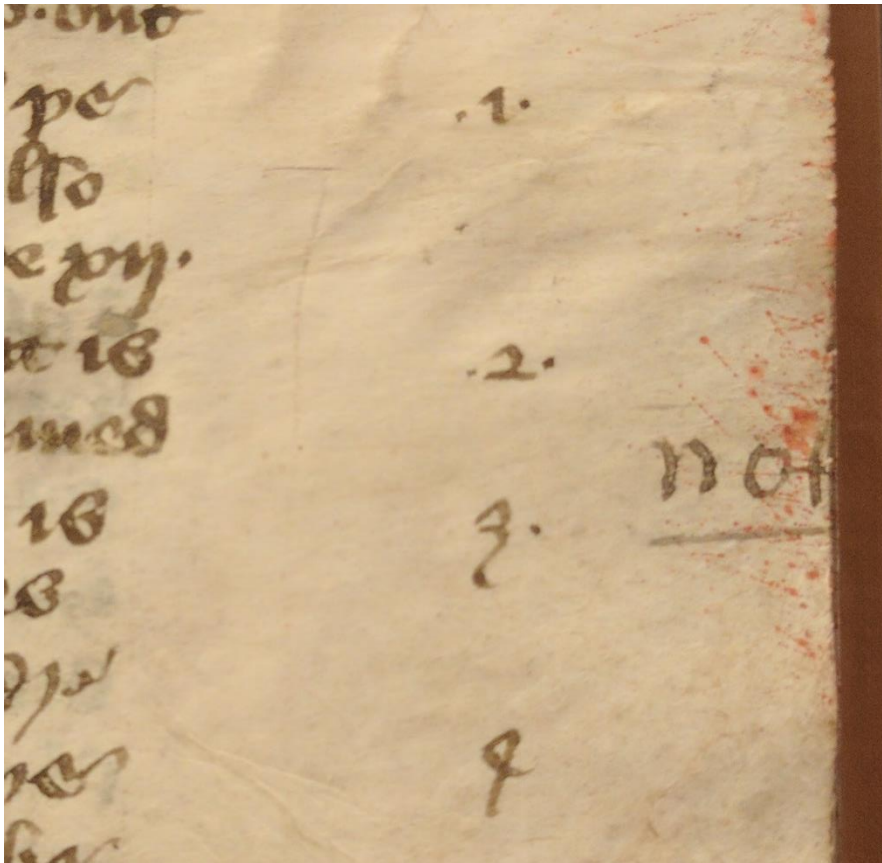
And pame pei shul see mannes done co-  
 mung in clondes, pat is yo p<sup>r</sup> shul be dampned shul see mannes done  
 m<sup>r</sup> in y<sup>t</sup> forme p<sup>r</sup> he suffrid y<sup>m</sup>me. Was yernapied and also p<sup>r</sup> aros bryt  
 pame done p<sup>r</sup> shal be shewid. p<sup>r</sup> poron; ye oyt p<sup>r</sup> of pei p<sup>r</sup> shul be  
 dapned be ye more aferd & confundid, for as whan a kyng comer to any  
 of his othen citees. ye hoost goy be fore bereng sygnes & ye kynges  
 banners. & w<sup>t</sup> goyng aboute of arayng & w<sup>t</sup> armes shewyng p<sup>r</sup> pe kyng  
 is in comyng. so our lord descendyng from heven & comyng to his  
 doom. ye oost of angeles & archyngles shul go be fore. & yei bereng p<sup>r</sup>  
 orane of pe holi croos a band of entore vpon her by shuldres. shul shew  
 the to quakyng folk for feer. ye godlich ymcomyng of her henenlich  
 kyng. wherfor hit follyp aft. W<sup>t</sup> gret polker & w<sup>t</sup> mageste as if pe  
 euangelist seid. pei shul see hym pame in gret polker & mageste. Who  
pei wold not heren her meke bi his manhed. em pees pyngs beyn  
nyng p<sup>r</sup> to be doon bi cause p<sup>r</sup> pyngs bifore ben seid ayen ye re-  
 proned people. anon ye wordes wold aft<sup>r</sup> ben turned to ye confotyng  
 of pe chosen people. to whom hit is seid. look forp and hft op yonre  
hedes p<sup>r</sup> to oay make yonre hertis merye for yonre ayenbyng. ne  
nyep ful fast for nolt whil ye wold is endid to whom ye wern not  
 frendes. ye ayenbyng p<sup>r</sup> ye sonyten is maad to wold ful nyep for  
 pame shul the stonde bifore ye hy doom of crist. p<sup>r</sup> eche man rec-  
 yne as he did in bodi. wher good of enell. In wiche doom tithen or-  
 dres shul be. p<sup>r</sup> is of godis chosen & of hem p<sup>r</sup> shul be dapned. but  
 wapeles pees shul be departid in to foure. ye first ordre is of pe  
 p<sup>r</sup>ite p<sup>r</sup> demer. w<sup>t</sup> god almyghti & shal not be demed. of whom also  
 crist sey hym self. ye shul sitte vpon ny. setes demyng ye py.  
 kyngedes of isrl. a noy<sup>r</sup> ordre also is of pe chosen. to whom hit is  
 seid. Thungrid & ye yane me to ete. pees certeyn shul be demed  
& regne also p<sup>r</sup> ben ny. ordres of hem p<sup>r</sup> shul be dampned. oon is  
 of hem p<sup>r</sup> shul be founden out of pe bilene of holi church. pees  
 shul not be demed but pei shul p<sup>r</sup>isth. of whom also seide Whil  
Wikked men shul not arise ayen in doon a noy<sup>r</sup> ordre is of pe  
 reponed of hem p<sup>r</sup> shul be demed. Whil to whom hit shal be  
 seid. Thungrid & ye yane me not to ete. go ye onsid in to ye  
 fear enerlastyng. per for as moche as pe reponyng of ye ynett  
 is for to be drid & estherid. so moche pe chespyng & ye glorifyng  
 of pe gode is for to be desyred. for me is ye ayenbyng p<sup>r</sup> onre  
 lord speker of. yonre ayenbyng neyep ful fast and pei shul  
 be felices of his ayenbyng p<sup>r</sup> dispikden ye glorie of his wold  
 & putten no pyng to fore crist and p<sup>r</sup> ye wold is to be dispiked &  
 not lonyd our ayenbier w<sup>t</sup> a ful wel ordyned ensamyle shewyng  
 whan he sey aft. bihold ye ye fig tre & al op trees whan pei



(k) f. 5r, detail



(l) f. 5r, detail



(m) f. 5v

19.

bryngen for fruyt of hem self ye write wel y<sup>e</sup> comer is nyz as if ye e  
 nangelist seyde ryz as hit is knolt y<sup>e</sup> comer is nyz of fruyt of trees.  
 ryz of kyngdom of god is knolt to be nyz of y<sup>e</sup>es mathes pat ye  
 world shal fulle dolben w<sup>it</sup> And wel is ye kyngdom of god likned to  
 somer. for y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>er</sup>me ye derk cloudes of our sorowbe shul passe abey  
 e enliffyng dayes of lif shul begyune to chyne w<sup>it</sup> clerenes of  
 ye some of ryzthines. And y<sup>e</sup> no man shold doute of all y<sup>e</sup>es  
 y<sup>e</sup>ngs he confirmey pat y<sup>e</sup> be behyt bifore e sey: getteynly  
 I say to y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>it</sup> no penacion shal not passe akey to y<sup>e</sup> all y<sup>e</sup>es  
 y<sup>e</sup>ngs be fore seid be doon y<sup>e</sup> to say all y<sup>e</sup>ngs y<sup>e</sup> have be  
 hyt to my twelve d<sup>er</sup>ntes. And bi cause y<sup>e</sup> be is twelve y<sup>e</sup> beho  
 ty y<sup>e</sup>es y<sup>e</sup>ngs. y<sup>e</sup> for hit folk<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> af<sup>e</sup>: heuen e erth shul y<sup>e</sup>ste  
 akey y<sup>e</sup> is to say ye p<sup>er</sup>ngid bi fier shul be chansid in to bett<sup>e</sup>  
 but my wordes shul not passe akey y<sup>e</sup> per ne shul falle as  
 ye heu bifore seid of me: eny p<sup>er</sup>les here we w<sup>it</sup>l shorthy of  
 which heuen y<sup>e</sup> is seid. for hit is not firmament y<sup>e</sup> is clepid  
 an heuen w<sup>it</sup>her y<sup>e</sup>me ye fast fallyng sterris goon a bonte  
 ney y<sup>e</sup> heuen y<sup>e</sup> is clepid etheren. w<sup>it</sup>her y<sup>e</sup>me pure e quyte  
 e ful of ye lzt of god men onpofen ye by sterris to be bore  
 a bonte. but hit is ye heuen y<sup>e</sup> clerkes depen celn acrn y<sup>e</sup> is  
 next ye erth y<sup>e</sup> ye w<sup>it</sup>l lost som tyme. When ye flosdes w<sup>er</sup>en de  
 stroyed upon erche and y<sup>e</sup> heuen ye fier of ye last doom w<sup>er</sup>  
 y<sup>e</sup>ng be ye opace of ye same mesure shal destruy hit e bryng  
 hit in to bett<sup>e</sup> stat as hit is seid be fore ye which wordes for  
 certeyn we oken not to feynyngly for to onpasse for as ye  
 ap<sup>er</sup>stle sey ye abidyng of ye doom to comyng is p<sup>er</sup>l p<sup>er</sup>ful.  
 e also ye folkyng of ye fier y<sup>e</sup> not oonly shal consume w<sup>it</sup>ked  
 but also hit shal brenne ye elementes of ye world in to a noy  
 steat: per for sey we han y<sup>e</sup>herd yo y<sup>e</sup>ngs y<sup>e</sup> crist w<sup>er</sup>ray trow  
 hap w<sup>er</sup>and us of. drede we ye onp<sup>er</sup> y<sup>e</sup> hap bi fore seid. lone  
 we y<sup>e</sup> for ye good y<sup>e</sup> be behotey. do we y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>ng y<sup>e</sup> be comandey  
 flece we y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>ng y<sup>e</sup> oleey us. sette we at lttel y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>ng y<sup>e</sup> passy  
 a key y<sup>e</sup> be w<sup>it</sup>l do seene to hane y<sup>e</sup> pat shal dwelt for ever

**W** more amon. ye prid s<sup>un</sup>day of aduent. g<sup>o</sup>t x<sup>o</sup>.  
 han john bap<sup>er</sup>st had herd in p<sup>er</sup>son ye w<sup>er</sup>kes of crist  
 he sent y<sup>e</sup> of his deciples e  
 or ellis abide we an  
 ye to john ye  
 hant men w<sup>it</sup>er  
 men ayen risen  
 he y<sup>e</sup> is not y<sup>e</sup> stannid in me. e p<sup>er</sup> w<sup>er</sup>ndyng for her a  
 we began to ye peple of john. what went ye in to desert for to

to sey

## (4) London, British Library, Harley MS 2383

## (a) f. 85v, detail, bottom half

Emento homo ¶ Now good frendes pat ze  
 shall en to churche ¶ for hit ys ys god t  
 the bygyngys of all y holly fastys of lentt and  
 also we schuld pat day by syn t be reuerent  
 of our synne t w sorow of herte and styffe  
 of mouthes put hem away t make w done y  
 swill yn herte to hane parte of y ppeys y holly  
 churche govtys pat day and all ovr days of  
 the lentt to ys pat bytys done y styffe and  
 avte of syn / ze shall en t fange yowr axyn

## (b) f. 86r, detail, top half

86  
 vpon yowr hedys hamp mynde of ys wordys pat ys seyd  
 yoy Emento ¶ that ys to sey man hane mynde  
 y yowr aft axyn t powdery t t to axyn and powdery  
 y shall tynne a zen. Now mo sempth ys ys a geynd  
 word and zysse hit woy ynwardly yn wylt y vudy /  
 fonde y hit schuld make a manye hert t make  
 hit low t gene syn cause to know syn selfe t  
 draw syn to good lovyng hert yn y world y lastyth  
 butt a whyle as a shadow pat passyth soule as Job.  
 seyth / Dies mei sicut umbra ptoyent / Lord my  
 days now passyth swyftt as a shadow t hert y y  
 world y ys no ieste no joy but sorow t wo and  
 zyt at ys ende as we came of y eythe. to the  
 eythe we shall tynne a gayn. Now y we knowyth  
 well y we woy made of y eythe t to y eythe we  
 shall tynne a zen. But zyt now we bytys mo  
 lovyng yn flestys and bone t shall dy but zyt as  
 myn tede tede we shall att y laste deme tne

(c) f. 86r, detail, bottom half

but a wylle / Dies mei sicut umbra p[ro]p[ter]it / Lord my  
 daye now passeth swyft as a shadow & hej y v  
 wylde y yd no rest no joy but sorow & wo and  
 zyt at yo end as we came of y o[ur]t[er]e. to the  
 o[ur]t[er]e we shall tyme a gayn. Now y we knowyth  
 well y we wyl made of y o[ur]t[er]e & to y o[ur]t[er]e we  
 shall tyme a zow. But zyt now we byt[er]e me  
 lovyng yu flesche and bone & shall dy but zyt as  
 owj Gode techyth we shall att y laste deme tye  
 to men a gayn & lene and non aft dy for the  
 seyth owj Gode / Carne resurrexione & vita  
 etna amen / That yd owj flesche shall yse a  
 gayn & lene for on of alys yu joy of yu payn  
 aft y we lovyt[er]e hej be hit gade of swyft aft owj  
 deseynyng we shall be payd yd. Now hendys  
 y flesche yat we came of y o[ur]t[er]e & to y o[ur]t[er]e shall  
 tyme a gayn zyt now we byt[er]e me lovyng &  
 to me we shall tyme a gayn hole as we byt[er]e

(d) f. 86v, detail, top half

now as ye godspell saythe yf lyste hys of our gods  
 shall nott ppytche 22 low thon yf whyll yf we bythe  
 men hys e habythe wytt e wysdom and a ffe  
 wytt e more chere whedys we wytt be good or  
 dytt: good hys weye me semytte to lobe so hys  
 now yf whyll yf we bythe hys me yf we mytthe  
 have joy e yeste when we shall en olys whys  
 and tis agayn to men. 22 low hys semytte yf mby  
 pat bythe hys ye yys worldy talyngs hysll gade  
 of yf hys yf ye to en yf whyll yf folowytthe hys  
 yeys own wytt sume yn ppowd lobyng by to  
 of ye fende yn wytt e yn endy and su by  
 ebyttys of wyddys gods semytthe uowts by  
 trowtys and su lobyng aft ye lobyng of yf hys  
 as yn Glawthys/ Glotony and lachery e semytthe  
 but hysll by hyslls uor of yf hys yf ye to enne  
 for yf debytte blyndytthe yem so yf yoy wonytthe  
 nobyl have of hys ne gade a wotound of yf

(e) f. 86v, detail, bottom half

pat bythe hys ye yys worldy talyngs hysll gade  
 of yf hys yf ye to en yf whyll yf folowytthe hys  
 yeys own wytt sume yn ppowd lobyng by to  
 of ye fende yn wytt e yn endy and su by  
 ebyttys of wyddys gods semytthe uowts by  
 trowtys and su lobyng aft ye lobyng of yf hys  
 as yn Glawthys/ Glotony and lachery e semytthe  
 but hysll by hyslls uor of yf hys yf ye to enne  
 for yf debytte blyndytthe yem so yf yoy wonytthe  
 nobyl have of hys ne gade a wotound of yf  
 dytt delyt yf yoy delyt hys 22 low when bests yf  
 trowtys to hys e to yf wyllys of yf worldy semyt  
 yoy bythe by gylde be yoy neu so ppowd yoy  
 for me semytthe pat hys weye good ye whyll  
 pat we bythe hys to take gods of yf hys yf ye to  
 en e for sake vycy e hys e pat ve to melle  
 nos e vtyng and en have mynd as yf hys  
 fytte ywalyng yf yf hys yf ye weye aynd  
 and to aynd yf straltes tno agayn/ ayment to e

(f) f. 87r, detail, top half

And now in yo bearyng of yre holy tyme make us claus  
 of hyn & pntt w to ppeys and fastyng & of god dede y  
 we may lobe in yeste when we heus wend. Now yf  
 we wyll do by counsell whyle y we bytts here a lyse we  
 now have yow y now yn y of lyse when we shall god  
 hense butt yow we muste do as amē dyd y wyttis by  
 counsell. A tale / Hyt tolytys y y weys. y. mē yat  
 went fer to a say ye weylde y one was a say man  
 and a senchy & a stronge y of was a wyse man and  
 a jedy dād as yow came yow agyts cyte yre senchy  
 man was strongly by hold of y peppil. When men of ye  
 land & of cyte cū to hym & seyde yat yow wold have  
 hyn to hys kyng he was glady & gawntyd to be y  
 kyng yn hys to lobe y yn gott wysshys on moys  
 So he was y made kyng & had full powe of y rone  
 and to do by all yre as wold & any lord dyd hyn oys 190  
 and ouage and pntt hē y full powe as a kyng. Now  
 yre wysman y was hys folow went & a sayd hys dē

(g) f. 87r, detail, bottom half

land & of cyte cū to hym & seyde yat yow wold have  
 hyn to hys kyng he was glady & gawntyd to be y  
 kyng yn hys to lobe y yn gott wysshys on moys  
 So he was y made kyng & had full powe of y rone  
 and to do by all yre as wold & any lord dyd hyn oys 190  
 and ouage and pntt hē y full powe as a kyng. Now  
 yre wysman y was hys folow went & a sayd hys dē y  
 man of y land yow yow toly hē y y kyng seuld yow  
 but one hys zoye & at y zoye ondy he stuld be y pntt  
 owte & say swoy ye land & non cū y no moys. Thys  
 wysman went to ye kyng & toly hē all y lawys and  
 custome y yow vshyd. Now when ye kyng hyn yre he  
 stod as a med yat coude no yed but dyd of yre wysman  
 what was his beste cūsell dād yow he seyde y wyll  
 wene home a goyn to y land y we cū frans & y  
 wyll toly ye kyng of yre adventys & of y custome  
 and ye he toly his lene & went hys wey in to his  
 own land & came to y kyng & toly hē of yre adventys

(h) f. 87v, detail, top half

and by swete hym of license to byll for hym again  
 his þe kyng galle hy license w good hope for he  
 wyse his lorde wold be amended by hym bothe yn  
 wysshyppe & yn strengthe. Of all þis y wysound  
 sette wyse to þe kyng and þer to send hy galle  
 he wold fowlyt and so he dyd sende hy galle & heln  
 y now at his own luste charyng boddys jowelle  
 hote & spynke & all y hy neddyd he prayd w þis  
 and all y 30ye whyle þat he was kyng he sette  
 to y wysound þe 70ye y now þe kyng wysound byllid  
 and a þerid hit all so w þe kyng þat was y non kyng  
 y had a fayre place & low when y twelmonthes was  
 goddys saugh kyng was exclud and y mad for swer  
 y lorde for ou moys þou he went to þe wysound &  
 found y jedy all man þis y hy neddyd & bothe þe  
 lorde to goddys in gote wysshyppe all y hys tyme  
 þrou frendys by þ. y. mid y went to say dnyse bndia

(i) f. 87v, detail, bottom half

and all y 30ye whyle þat he was kyng he sette  
 to y wysound þe 70ye y now þe kyng wysound byllid  
 and a þerid hit all so w þe kyng þat was y non kyng  
 y had a fayre place & low when y twelmonthes was  
 goddys saugh kyng was exclud and y mad for swer  
 y lorde for ou moys þou he went to þe wysound &  
 found y jedy all man þis y hy neddyd & bothe þe  
 lorde to goddys in gote wysshyppe all y hys tyme  
 þrou frendys by þ. y. mid y went to say dnyse bndia  
 bytys vnderstande gannys body & gannysowit y lode  
 ys semely wherfor he ys chose gote yn y wyse to  
 be a kyng & ys a kyng for he hatts a hys wyll to do  
 w his own þys what hym luste and he may chose  
 wher y he wyll be yll or good holy or vnholy or  
 draw hy to vncis & spynke of drow hy to vncis  
 & good leuyng y ys all y his dyspocord. But man  
 wongthys þat y kyngdom wyll en endys. But ys  
 wysound y ys þe sowll aspyrtye y hit ys nott so  
 but y custome of y kyng þe shall dnye but one  
 30ye & but strote whyle & y sowll comytys to

(j) f. 88r, detail, top half

88  
 ye body and tellyng hym so the body by god telen vnd  
 stondryng y hit ys so e pndryng yn yowte as a ma y can  
 no yode bit axyng ye soule wylt ye beste the soule  
 sayng as wylt to y same cōtyng y ho en fy y ye hōm  
 and y as affyngs lōs of y tynng for to byt. And ye  
 tynng of y wylt cōtyng of hōm gebyng hōm to  
 to byt y as well as the can dnd y yea ye soule byddet  
 ye body y ho wold y. w y wylt ho mōtō mōtō yod  
 a gōyng hō cōnyng. Now ye body stōlō vnd ystōlō  
 y yō wōld lōfyng bnt Awōpō and fōtō to ye wōld  
 mōd y soule gōlō e sōm aft hō powōl wōld by wōld  
 agōfyng. Now fōy sōtō by ye pōye nōdy mō to god's  
 hōm to lōns hōm to sōtō hōm w y god y all hō nōdy  
 yat god yn hōwō hōm gōlō y. Then tūly wylt hō  
 tynng hō to y soule hōlō w god pōyō.  
 Now y gōwōd y ye soule mōstō bytō apōn hō mōstō  
 to fōd fōfō by lōs by yowte ony cōfy. ye wallyō  
 gōd wōfyō wōld y sōn pōd w god pōyō. And fōd  
 ydōy wōld y hō mōd all mān gōdō y dōyng to hō

(k) f. 88r, detail, bottom half

mōd y soule gōlō e sōm aft hō powōl wōld by wōld  
 agōfyng. Now fōy sōtō by ye pōye nōdy mō to god's  
 hōm to lōns hōm to sōtō hōm w y god y all hō nōdy  
 yat god yn hōwō hōm gōlō y. Then tūly wylt hō  
 tynng hō to y soule hōlō w god pōyō.  
 Now y gōwōd y ye soule mōstō bytō apōn hō mōstō  
 to fōd fōfō by lōs by yowte ony cōfy. ye wallyō  
 gōd wōfyō wōld y sōn pōd w god pōyō. And fōd  
 ydōy wōld y hō mōd all mān gōdō y dōyng to hō  
 pōye ye wōfyō of mōy. What ye gōns mōtō e dōyng  
 to y hōngō e to ye tynng y yat nōdy ye w god wylt  
 wōld y y mōstō e aft hō ydōy and mayst e tynng  
 And gōns clōfyng to y natōy hōyōyō y pōye pōl  
 gōms y ye hōyōlō e of y nōdy hōyōyō. by fōd y.  
 fōtō e gōns hō cōfōtō e hōlō hōm e sōtō hōm by  
 ye nōdy e pōwōl. And yōm y hōtō yn pōn cōfōtō  
 yōm e tōll yōm ye bōstō wōy hōw pōy māy be hōlō  
 and en owō And yf hō be yn y pōwōl dōlō hōm of  
 yat wō and yōm god wylt dōlō ye of y mōstō wō.



(1) f. 88v, detail, top half

when y<sup>e</sup> haste moſte nede. Now whyle y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ayt man  
 here havyng ſyches tycche may y<sup>e</sup> ſend by foij to y<sup>e</sup>  
 byldyng of y<sup>e</sup> ſable and yon when y<sup>e</sup> ſhallt tynne  
 to ma a geyn tynly mayſte y<sup>e</sup> frud hit y<sup>e</sup> yn ſolty  
 and helpe to body & ſowle foij on moij foij god ye ſep  
 of y<sup>e</sup> tyeſye by y<sup>e</sup> poij y<sup>e</sup> ſourte and he ſeythe he  
 fylte // De moio mimumo facit in facit // That  
 ze dyd to ye leſte of myn & ze dyd to me & ſuche  
 a ſep nott nott fayle & zytte he wyll zeld a ſu  
 dyd fold for on and y<sup>e</sup> foij as y<sup>e</sup> fyrſte ſeyd  
exemento homo ze / have mynd pat y<sup>e</sup> wop aynd  
 and to aynd y<sup>e</sup> ſhallt me a zond we wotythe nott wſe  
 nay how ſone & y<sup>e</sup> foij y<sup>e</sup> ſigete whyle y<sup>e</sup> we bytys heij  
 me lett vs love yn hohnye & grad vtyre and ſend  
 owij tycche by foij yn deyn of y<sup>e</sup> wolye of me y<sup>e</sup>  
 when we ſhallt tynne to me a zond y<sup>e</sup> we more frud  
 hit y<sup>e</sup> yedy to owij wolye & zytte to body and  
 ſawll yn blyſſe foij on moij amoy //

Duica. m. <sup>ta</sup> xl. mo <sup>2</sup>

(5) London, British Library, Harley MS 2339

(a) f. 2r

wretchedis **F**lord graunte pat I  
 defende to heere pi mooste swete  
 te vois; seynge to me / come  
 my frend & my loued spouse;  
 for now I haue ordeyned thi  
 piens for to be ceuidid / come w<sup>t</sup>  
 me pat you sitte wip myn holi  
 aungels in my kyngdom for to  
 be glad & ioieful; & for to dwel  
 le wyouten ende ame **amen** |  
 pis orison pat folowyn is i my  
 de of ihu cristis passioun |  
**D**eus qui uoluiti pro re-  
 demptione mundi & c. |  
 Lord ihu crist pat woldist for  
 pe azenbyng of pe world be-  
 trepened of pe iewis. & be kyllid

(b) f. 2v

of Judas ye traitour. 7 for to be  
bounden wip booudis. and as  
ameke lombes for to be led to  
sleyuge of sacrifice bifoze pe  
sist of annas. 7 caphas. and  
eronde. vnschynugly for to be  
offrid. and for to be accusid of  
false witnessis. 7 for to be tū-  
chid wip betyugis and reproues.  
7 for to be crowned wip thornys.  
7 for to be vispit wip ipotil. 7  
for to be bete wip buffetis. 7  
for to be peersid wip scharpnes  
of naylis. 7 for to be reisid wip  
in ye cros bitwixte two pecues.  
7 for to be zouen to drynke gal-  
le and aylel. 7 for to be woundid

(c) f. 3r

wy aspyre. **T**hou lord yoxur  
 yese moost holy peynes. ye  
 whyche 7 vnyuorpi vbrethe re  
 herse. and yoxur ym holi croos.  
 pat is ym passiou. dehyuere me  
 fro ye peyne of helle. 7 vouche  
 thou saaf to led me wy yee fro  
 hadys. wher thou leddest ye  
 yee. ye which was crucified w<sup>t</sup>  
 yee. yere to be wy ym holy au  
 gels wyouten ende amen.

**Seynt austyn ye doctour ma  
 de yis orisoun pat folowip.**

**D**omine ihu xpe qui hinc  
 mudi 7 c. lord ihu crist  
 pat comest fro ye bosu of ye fa  
 der into yis world; for us syners.

(d) f. 38v

schal be forlaken; which vside  
 weddyngis for foullustis of flesch,  
 and if it offende ony etyely ping  
 to holy churche or to poore men. it  
 dide for yis eende. to haue more  
 plente of worldy goodis / This  
 few rabanus upon mathew / **how**  
**cryst schal appere at domesday**  
**A**ustyn in ye booke of hys sermons;  
 in a sermou pat bigynney yus in  
 yis present lif / Cryst i ye doom  
 schal schewe to alle biholdynges ye  
 woundis & prickyngis of nails i  
 ye same bodi wyoute doute. whi  
 ch was woundid for oure synes. &  
 yus he aeyuge syneris schal seie /  
 man 7 / fourmede yee of ye slym of

(e) f. 39

ye erpe wip myn hondis. ⁊ ⁊ ha-  
 ue sett yee in my paradys. which  
 you deseruedist not. but you dis-  
 pisyng me ⁊ my maūdemētis.  
 haddist leuere to sue ye disseyuō  
 yt is ye deuel. wherfore thou  
 dampned bi iust. ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ⁊  
 deyned to ye tūmentis of helle.  
 After ⁊ ⁊ hadde metā on yee. and  
 took fleisch. ⁊ ⁊ dwette in erpe a-  
 mong synners. ⁊ ⁊ sustide dispi-  
 syngis ⁊ betyngis for yee. for to  
 deliuer yee. ⁊ ⁊ relleyuede buf-  
 fetis ⁊ swetyngis; for to zeue to  
 yee ye libetuelle of paradys. ⁊ ⁊  
 drank wyne wip galle. ⁊ ⁊ ⁊  
 crownd wip porres for yee. ⁊ ⁊

⁊ ⁊ ⁊ ⁊

(f) f. 39v

was nailid to þe cros & þeersid w<sup>t</sup>  
 asþere / for þee & was þatt in sepul  
 cre / & zede down to helhs; for to þai  
 ge þee azen to þadns / & wente to  
 derknessis of helhs; þ<sup>t</sup> you schul  
 dist regne in heuene / þerfore you  
 knowe what yig  
 & suffride for þee / lo þe woundis whi  
 che & releyuede for þee; lo þe hood  
 lis of naylis bi which & was nailid  
 & hangide in þe cros / & releyuede  
 þi sorowis for to heele þee; & rel  
 leyuede þeyne. for to zeue glorie  
 to þee / & took deap; þat you schul  
 dist lyue wyouten synne / & lay hid  
 i sepulcre; þat you schuldist regne  
 in heuene / & suffride alle þese yigis

for you /

(g) f. 40r

for zou / gretteze pan yese wylt  
 onzte 3i do to zou 7 3i dide not /  
 seie ze to me now. qz scheuwe ze  
 what ze sustiden for me zoure  
 lord; qz what good ze han doon  
 to zou sif / whāne 3i was god in  
 visibile 7 unpallible; 3i wolde suf  
 fre for zou wilfully. for zou 3i was  
 maad man / whāne 3i was riche;  
 3i was maad uen for zou / but ze  
 euer forlakynge my mekenesse  
 7 myn heestis; sueden moze ye dis  
 seynour. yat is ye deuel pan me /  
 lo now my rztfulnesse man now  
 oþ pig deeme; no but yat. p<sup>t</sup> zoē  
 werkis disseuen / yfoze holde ze p<sup>t</sup>  
 yat ze han cholen / ze han dispitid



(h) f. 40v

lizt; weelde ze der knechtis / wylt  
 moornynge. what anguyfch  
 fchal be; whanne yis fentence  
 fchal be feid azens vnpiteuous  
 mē / pāne to yuele men fchal be  
 hard departynge fro ye fweet-  
 nelle of felowfchipe of feynit  
 And pāne vnpiteuous men zo-  
 nē into power of feendis; fchu-  
 len go in ye fame bodis wip  
 ye deuel into euerlaftynge tur-  
 ment. ⁊ fchulen dwelle euere  
 wip outen eende i moornynge  
 ⁊ weitynge / ⁊ yea fer exahd fro  
 blifful paradys; fchulen be tur-  
 mentid in euerlaftynge <sup>neyne</sup>  
 neuere to feynge lizt. neuere to

(i) f. 41r

getyunge ketyunge / but bi pou-  
 sandis of pouland zeeris. schu-  
 lē be turmentid in helle; 7 ueue  
 schulen be detyuerid pens w<sup>t</sup>.  
 outen eende / where he pat tur-  
 menty. is neuer maad feyt;  
 7 he pat is turmentid. schal ne-  
 ue die / for fier waasty so pere;  
 pat it reserve euere / so turmen-  
 tis beu doou; pat eue pei be  
 newid / w<sup>y</sup> pe maner of syne;  
 ech man schal suffre pe peyne  
 of helle / for ye no pig schal be  
 hard; no but wepige 7 weyge  
 7 gualtyng of teey / ye schal be  
 uou ovr comfort; van flaw-  
 mes 7 dreds of peynes / and

(j) f. 41v

ye wreathis schulen brene euere  
 in euerlastynges fier into worldis  
 of worldis / here we wou leme  
 schule go w<sup>t</sup> o<sup>r</sup> enemye. & how we

**W**ho euere coustreyned yee a  
 youland passis; go you wy h<sup>i</sup>  
 oyr tweyne / So yeh zeue you  
 to h<sup>i</sup> yat any of yee; & turre y<sup>e</sup>  
 uot awei fro h<sup>i</sup> yat wole bo  
 we of yee **F**oyr tweyne / **N**ot y<sup>e</sup>  
 you go in feet; be redy in soule  
 for in cristen stozie i which is an  
 tozre; no sich ying is foundeu to  
 be doou of seyntis. or of ye lord  
 hi self; syen almost i alle places  
 you fyndist hem to haue bere  
 to suffice wy patient soule.

(k) f. 62v

dredeful day of goddis grace  
 vemaūce. ⁊ letue weel or pou  
 go hens to saure and to vnder  
 stoude ⁊ wiseli to purueie yere  
 for pe laste pugis. so pat pou  
 be euermore redy. what tyme  
 yt oure lord comey to clepe pe  
 for to entre wy hī into pe blisse  
 yt euere schal laste. to pe which  
 blisse he bynge us. yt bouste  
 us wy his precious blood amē  
*There endy pe mytton of  
 syners; ⁊ bigynny anoyr treatis  
 of yre atowis pat schulen be  
 schot ou domedday. to hem yt  
 yere schulen be dampned.*

(1) f. 63r

**W**ho so wole haue ī mynde  
 ye dredful day of doom.  
 so yt he may be moued wy dze  
 de to fle fro synne. as ye wise  
 man biddiþ his sone **Nemo**  
zare nouissima tua; 7 ieternū  
non precabis / yat is. haue myn-  
 de of ye laste yngis; yt is ye  
 day of doom. 7 it schal kepe þe  
 fro synne / here ze mouū fynde  
 sūwhat writen þerof. how oē  
 lord speliþ bi ysaie þe pphete  
 seiunge þus / Egredietur dñs  
de loco suo. vt visitet iniquita-  
tem habitatoꝝ tꝛe / yt is. oure  
 lord schal wende out of his pla-  
 ce for to visite þe wickidnesse of

(m) f. 63v

hem pat enhabiten pe erpe. Cer  
 tis pis doom schuide be soue  
 reynly dzed, for as mythe as ye  
 dow now men; so mythe schal  
 ye pane do axt veugable wt  
 wysnesse, for it is of god i tak  
 nesse as it is of ye sime, ye sime  
 holdyng his cours. passyng out  
 of ye signe of ye hou into ye sig  
 ne of ye virgyn. and out of ye  
 signe of ye virgyn. into ye sig  
 ne of ye balaunce, ye hou is a  
 strong beest & a fel. And in pis  
 signe was crist ye sime of wt  
 wysnesse. bifoze ye incarnacion  
 for he was pane to fel. y<sup>r</sup> whit  
 man y<sup>r</sup> brak hys biddynge:

ALLOON

(n) f. 64r

anoon he schulde be deed / for  
 as it is said / a man was doon  
 to ye deey. for he gaderide sic  
 kis on ye saboth day / But out  
 of yis figure of ye lion; he pas  
 side into ye figure of ye virgyn.  
 whane he took mankynde. and  
 was born of ye virgynne marie  
 And pane was he maad more  
 redi to do meta. pan eue he wis  
 to vemaunce / pane it bigan. &  
 zitt it lasty. yt he yt seide whā  
 ue he was i ye figure of ye lion  
anima que peruenit ipa mori  
etur. pat is. ye soule yt synney.  
 it schal die / now whane he is i  
 ye figure of ye virgyn. say yus /

(o) f. 64v

Quodolo mortem peccatoris; sed  
 magis ut conuertatur & uiuat  
 ut is. I wole uot ye deap of asy  
 uer; but more pat he be turned  
 yfwo & tyue. But certis out of ye  
 figure of ye uirgin. he schal pat  
 se into ye figure of ye balaure.  
 at ye dai of doom. where he schal  
 werze alle oure pouztes. wordis  
 & oure werkis in euene peys of  
 his rixtuwifuelle. ut he may zelle  
 to euery man after ye trupe of his  
 defceert. And what he schal pane  
 do. heere you. what he ley uou  
 bi ye pphete. Congregabo super  
eos mala; & sagittas meas con  
plebo in eis. pat is. I schal hepe



(p) f. 65r

vpon hē her ynneis. ⁊ ⁊ schal  
 diſpende alle myne arowis vpon  
 on hem. ⁊ ye ſcharpe arowis  
 ſchulen be ſchott of oure lord on  
 yat day vpon hē yt ye ſchulen  
 be dampned. ⁊ ye ſharpe arowe  
 ſchal be of clepunge to ye doom.  
 Whāne as hī ſilf ſey Uenit ho-  
ra vt omnes qui i monumētis  
ſunt audiant vocem filii dei. ⁊  
paudent qui bona egerunt in  
reſurrexerunt vite. qui vero ma-  
la. in reſurrexerunt iudicii. pat-  
is. ⁊ yme ſchal come. that al-  
le yo yt ven i graues ſchulen hee  
re ye vois of ye ſoue of god. ⁊  
ſo paſſe fory to doom. yāne ye

A pe

(q) f. 65v

Wretched dampned soule schal  
 come to ye bodi and see to it  
 & rise you curtid cartif careyue  
 fro yis tyme fory wyoute any  
 ceude. to be felowe to ye deuyl  
 & euemye to almyrty god now  
 yu ioye schal be turned into wo.  
 yu delyt into bittynesse. and yu  
 lauztir into wepynge now yu wret  
 chyd schozt lust; schal passe into e  
 uerlastynge sorowe, now it is  
 fully fallen fro yee. what so you  
 desyrdist to haue had, now it is  
 comen to yee. al pat you dreddist  
 now it is ago al y<sup>t</sup> you louedist.  
 & now it is comen al y<sup>t</sup> you ha  
 tidist, curtid be you. you wret

(r) f. 66r

chid careyne. for i peyne of vi  
 synnes. vi delus & vi wickid  
 ueris lip i paffide fro pce. I  
 haue bilik bzent in helle / cur  
 tid be you helle brond ordeined  
 to ye fier of helle pt neuere schal  
 be quenched / curtid be ye tyme  
 in ye which i was first couplid  
 to pce. for now i mai not leue  
 pce. vi curtid amparye i may  
 not eschewe. wole i or wyle. I am  
 constryned to be putt azen to ye  
 So we yfore togidere bifoze ye  
 d:edful domelma. ye forto heer  
 our euerlastyng danyacion  
 pane schulen alle wickide me se  
 ye inst cause of her owne damp

(s) f. 66v

uacou written wy her owne hon  
 dis in ye booke of her consciences  
 bove leuid and leuid & reden it  
 hem self / And if you seist pat le  
 uid men can not rede. / seie pt  
 y is noon so leuid. pat he ne  
 can rede ye lettre of his owne  
 writynge / pane ye schulen se ye  
 doueliman as he were wood  
 for wraypid azens he / Of pis  
 woodnesse and pis wraype spe  
 kyv ye pphete in ye firste salme  
 of penaunce where he prey to be  
 deliuerid of hem bove saynge  
pus / Domine ne in furore tuo  
arguas me; neq; in ira tua cor  
ripias me / pat is. lord in pilla

(t) f. 67r

uerle ouertome me not w<sup>t</sup> Au-  
 us. and chastise me not in y<sup>e</sup> wra-  
 pe / Roman y<sup>e</sup>u<sup>e</sup>ke pat wra-  
 pe or woodnesse or ony lich trou-  
 blid manes passiou may be in  
 god / But herfoze y<sup>e</sup>u<sup>e</sup> be sett in  
 scripture for y<sup>e</sup> werlus of god i  
 p<sup>o</sup>nyschunge & bengynge of sy-  
 ne; schal take effect ofliche pas-  
 siou<sup>s</sup> as beu wra-  
 pe & wood-  
 nesse i alle synes. pat ouer-  
 schulen be chastid bi peyne y<sup>t</sup>  
 schal haue an ende. AS IS pur-  
 gatorie. y<sup>e</sup> which peyne is de-  
 pid here y<sup>e</sup> wra-  
 pe of god; or  
 ellis y<sup>t</sup> schulen be peyned bi  
 vemaunce i y<sup>e</sup> horrible peyne

(u) f. 67v

of heuē yt neuere schal haue en-  
de. ye which is clepid here ye wood-  
nesse of god. **A**ll vis ye pphete  
damp sū in spirit; and perfore  
he in p̄sone of alle synners fr-  
lyuge hī vūnyty to bere cust-  
cipr first any to be deliued  
of helle. ⁊ siven of ~~pruogatione~~  
seynge yus. Domine ne in fu-  
rore ⁊ c. As if he seide yus to of-  
vnderstandyng. Lord I beseeche  
pee yt in ye dzedful day of iudg-  
ment where you schalt schewe pee to  
synners as a man yt were wood  
sparyng no yng; yt you our  
come me not wylful in final  
conclusion. so yt I be not conyrt

(v) f. 68r

for euere & be ateynt in alcha  
 meful incoꝛuenient of euerlasty  
 ge reproff / for arguynge as cler  
 las knowe . is sou to oucome  
 anoyr w<sup>th</sup> skulis / But zeue me  
 grace good lord to argue & to  
 oucome w<sup>th</sup> skulis of y<sup>e</sup> lawe  
 pe errouis of my blynd conlaci  
 ce here in yis lyf whilis tyme is  
 of mercy; pat I may hertly for  
 yenke hē . & clerly confesse yon  
 & lawfull amende yem bi ensaū  
 ple of newe clene lymynge to  
 manfement in spier to god . & by  
 discreit chastisement of my liff  
 here whilis I tyme; so y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> have  
 no wille to chastise me ī y<sup>e</sup> usraype

(w) f. 68r, detail

& y<sup>e</sup> fore I seie  
 argue me not /

(x) f. 68v

after yis luf in purgatorie And  
 yt it be yus/ anferete mei dñe  
quā infirmus sū / hane menton  
 me lord for: þau lyk & vnyzty to  
 bete euer aþ. yt is to ſae. þu ar  
 guyng in ye doom. ne þi chaſ  
 tiſement i purgatorie but it wold  
 be yt & be vp born wiy þi mercy;  
 o. yt dreduful day of oure lord  
 þane ſchulen alle wiclude men  
 ſe hē litte in ye doom wiy criſt.  
 whou þei han diſpiſid here. and  
 in yis ſizt be troubrid wiy an  
 rible drede. ſeyng ye word of  
 ye wiſeman / hū ſunt quos au  
quando hūm? in deriſum & c  
uos in ſenſati & c / pat. 16. yelc



(y) f. 69r

ben yo. ye whicher tynnyng we  
 hadden in scoon & dyspnt. we  
 vmbity wretchis hoelde her hif  
 woodnesse. & her ende wywout  
 honour but lo now how ye be  
 accountid among ye ioncs of god  
 pane among al yt multitude ye  
 schal not fynde oou yt schal ha  
 ue compassion of he. but alle  
 schulen be glad & conent wth  
 god. i her iust dampnacion  
 att ye word of ye salm seyn  
 ge yus / letabitur iustus ai vi  
derit vndictam / yat is. ye iust  
 wysman schal be glad whane  
 he schal se ye veniuce / pane as  
 crist sey in ye gospel / ye schule

(z) f. 69v

selue for to entre into creuys of  
 stoonys . and into ye swolows of  
 ye erve . fro ye dreadfull face of de  
 lord . pane schulen per þis mon  
 teyns to falle vpon hem . ⁊ hallis  
 for to hyde hem . so wos þis schuld  
 be on enery side . And þis is þe woi  
 de of þe firste arrowe . **T**he secunde  
 arrowe schal be an arrowe of schep  
 repynge of alle fals cristen men .  
 whāne he schal see to hem þis  
**I** was an hyngetid . ⁊ ze zauen me  
 no mete . ⁊ I was a yrt . ⁊ ze zauen  
 me no dryu . ⁊ I was nauid . ⁊ ze  
 zauen me no cloop . ⁊ I was agret  
 ⁊ ze zauen me no herboze . ⁊ I was  
 fylk ⁊ in þis sou . ⁊ ze vultide me .

(Aa) f. 70r

we dide me no comfort. **D.** Whē  
 his vois schal be dreddful. Whāne  
 it schal be seid to hem / pat as ofte  
 as ye diden not yete pingis to  
 ony y<sup>t</sup> nede hadde in his name.  
 so ofte ye diden hem nouzt to hi /  
 And no wouder yowr his vois  
 schal be dreddful. at ye day of doo;  
 siven we reden in ye gospel y<sup>t</sup> cōt  
 whāne he come in foorme of a  
 seruaūt for to be deemed of pe fal-  
 se iewis: seide to hem y<sup>t</sup> souzte for  
 to take hi. I am he / and anon ye  
 zeden abak & fellen to pe erpe / If  
 he y<sup>t</sup> whāne he was dedly & cam  
 to be deemed hadde so ferdful a  
 vois. y<sup>t</sup> wiy his o. word preue to

(Ab) f. 70v

grounde so manye steepe men  
 of ye ieiuis. After moze feerdful  
 vois schal he hane. Whanne he  
 schal come vndeedly wip his cost  
 of aūgels & of seyntis for to deli-  
 uer me ye quike and ye derde. etc.  
 man after y<sup>t</sup> he hay discerued.  
 And herfore seip Job. Cum vix  
paruam stulam sermonem eius  
audire non possunt ~~possunt~~ ton-  
trū magnitudinis eius quis po-  
test sustinere pat is. Siy mā mā  
 vimeyis heere altil drope of hise  
 wordis; ye grete yūdit of his  
 doom who schal moue here or  
 suste. as who seip noon. And y<sup>t</sup>  
 fore seip seynt Bernard y<sup>t</sup> Cum

(Ac) f. 71r

peccatoꝝ accusatus fuerit. ⁊ con-  
 sciencia ppria testimoniuꝝ contra  
 eũ phibuerit ⁊ om̄is creatura dei  
 in succērit contra eum ī vindictā  
 gratis ut sagittas erit vox dñi  
 ad sustinendum / pat is. whāne  
 ye synful carit schal be accusid ⁊  
 his owne consciēce schal bere  
 witnesse azens h̄m ⁊ every crea-  
 ture of god schal rise azens h̄m in  
 viciānce grievous as an arrowe woundū  
 schal p̄ane be ye vois of god to  
 sustie / and ye pphete jeremye say /  
Sagitta vulnētans lingua eius /  
 pat is. ye tūge of h̄m schal be as  
 an arrowe woundyngē / and pis is  
 ye secūde arrowe / ⁊ ye pydde arrowe

(Ad) f. 71v

schal be an arowe of euyles  
 dampnacion of alle wikkede me.  
 Whanne he schal seie to hem / ye  
maledicti in ignem eternu qui p  
pat? diabolo z angelis ei / p<sup>r</sup>is  
 Go ze cursid wixtis into euylas  
 tynges fier. ye which is ordeyned  
 to ye frend and to ye aungels of  
 hi / pis arowe schal woude he p<sup>r</sup>  
 it fallip ou so greuously. p<sup>r</sup> alle  
 ye lechis filiauns and surgens.  
 ne zitt alle ye creaturis i heuene  
 z i erpe schal not moue heele ye  
 woude of it / pane schal ye ope  
 erpe sibolowe he don into helle  
 where yei schal be turmentid w<sup>t</sup>  
 frendis cumoze wyouten crude

But alas

(Ae) f. 72r

But alas ye ben 7 drede ful  
 manye yt neuere wolen beleue  
 yese yngis or yel fele hem / Of  
 whom sey seynt Eusebie yus /  
ve.ve. quibz est datum prius  
hoc sentire qm credere / woo woo  
 be to hē. to whom it is zouen in  
 ye to fele yese yngis; pan to bi-  
 leue hem / And yis is ye woude  
 of ye yndde arowe / But pane  
 schal crist turne to hē yt schulen  
 be on his rxtside 7 seie y<sup>r</sup> to hē /  
venite benedicti patris mei pa-  
pne regnū quod vobis paratū  
est apatre meo ab origine mundi /  
 yt is. Come to me. ze yt ben ye  
 blessid children of my fadir 7 be

(Af) f. 72v

3e pteners of my iouie i pe kyng-  
 dom pat was ordeyued for zou  
 bi my fadir fro pe bygyngunge  
 of pe world. So pe which kyng-  
 dom and iouie he byngunge us.  
 yt bouzte us wip his pious  
 blood Amen. *Here cendry pe*  
*texts of pre arduis. And here*  
*seye anoyr mater. how ech ma*  
*z woman may letue to loue*  
*letue god ech i his degre. talle*  
*ge euilumpie bi pre foolish*  
*Recypte volanna ech*  
**B**holde ze pe foules of he-  
 uene. for bi hem may me  
 letue. how pei schulden loue god.  
 In erpe ben pre degrees of foules.



(Ag) f. 100v

for me of which you soukedist for  
 And to yi fadir yi sint euetimate  
 Schewist yi woundis rent ou wite  
 How schuilde 7 of yi metta myste  
 pere yns manye helpers be haide  
 Now ihu lord you woel us wisse  
 And while we lyue sich gie us sente  
 pat we moue vider wy pte i blisse  
 wy aungels world wyoute ende  
 pat to yi cholene ordeyned is  
 metta ihu 7 wole auende **James**  
**here bigynney ye pre argumēt**  
**is. pat ye deuel wil putte to man**  
**in his dinge**  
**The** firste argument pat he  
 wole make is pis // pou  
 hast doon manye grete 7 orubk

(Ah) f. 101r

synys wyoute nonmyze. so y<sup>t</sup>  
 tyme pat you condit synne into  
 yis da. and now you hast no qua  
 re to do satisfacion for hem alle.  
 for yis is ye laste hour / and god  
 is ryght. and wole not pat our  
 synne be vuponschid. wherfore  
 bi goddis rysturacoe you unste  
 uedis be dampned. **H**ere be war  
 of ye lital feend. and luffe hi  
 not wy yis slezpe to come wy  
 ue yis swerdis poynt. pat is w<sup>t</sup>  
 me ye word of god / sturme out  
 yis swerdis in yis maner. & putte it  
 wooldy vnto his face. **T**erchid fed  
 il boue fully. pat god as you list  
 is ryght. but his metti passy

(Ai) f. 101v

his above. and he sey bi his pe-  
 fete. pat he wole not ye deey of  
 a synful man. but more nat he be  
 conuertid and thine. and also he  
 sey in anowre place. nat in what  
 euere hour. a synful man rejoynt  
 him. and may say for oure for his  
 synne. he shal be last. A yis the  
 wode weel in deede ye memful lord  
 in comfort of alle synful me be  
 synge on ye cruce. in ye peef of  
 herys bible. how pat in ye last  
 hour of his deey. seynge his or-  
 te seynge now. make thynke  
 of his peyne. pat he gynneth  
 he. not doun. nat he arise. but  
 us. euen our. ope. seynge. in

(Aj) f. 102r

my than pat d'm in blis **S**ind 7 woot  
 wat. pat he is as curtes 3itt pis  
 day: and enere wole be wipouten  
 ceade: and so 7 hope to his werr. as he wa  
 for alle my synnis. if 7 have sozo pame  
 we for he 7 p? kepe hi at ye swer  
 dis pobut: and he schal neuere do  
 yee harm. **T**he secunde argument  
 pat he wole wake is pis 7 was  
 dampned as you woost wat for  
 ou synne al souly: and you hast  
 to synnis vncoumbzable. as cre  
 nous or more geruous pan enere  
 was pat pame if god wole lau  
 ne me. pat dide but souly a synne.  
 and same yee pat hast to so manie  
 he muste nedis be virtuous: which

(Ak) f. 102v

man not be wherfore bi goddis next  
 wysnesse: you muste nedis be damp-  
 ned. **B**itt holde him out at ye point:  
 and answer him in his wise. **F**ear-  
 sid feend ye synne pat you didist. y  
 didist it of ym owne grete malice  
 wyouten ony oyr strange, and ye  
 synne pat y did. y did it at ye charge  
 of yee enyous feend. pat poung  
 gift in alwaite next and day upon  
 me for grete enyie pat you had.  
 pat y schulde restore ye place y<sup>t</sup> you  
 fel fro. and also at ye charge of  
 my flesh. fro which y may not fle  
 away. And also at ye charge of ye  
 world. pat is euere tofore mine y  
 zen. and for his cause ye blessed and

(A1) f. 103r

merciful lord azen whom I offen-  
 dite / took my kynde to saue me /  
 and neuere yf kynde to saue yee /  
 And yus I hope of his merci. to be  
 saued for alle my synnyss / ye as  
 you curliid feend. schalt be damp-  
 ned for pat oon synne. **I** ye ynd-  
 de argument pat he wole make  
 is yis / I was ye herte synge in  
 heuene and knew ye ye purte-  
 es of god. and yere I knew to-  
 fore. who schuide be dampned. &  
 who schuide be saued / & among  
 oye I knew yaf you schuldilte be  
 dampned. and pat. yf is tofore  
 ordeyned of god. may not be  
 chaungid / wherfore you muste

(Am) f. 103v

nedis be dampned. **But** take  
 god to ym help, and stonde with  
 in yis bateille. and holde hi at  
 ye siverdis poynt. and yanne  
 you schalt not faile to have ye  
 bettere. and fele to him in yis  
 maner / stals feend yis haye  
 so yu cullum. wy leynngis to  
 brig le man. as crist witness  
 of yee / you art ahere and fadir  
of leynngis. for wy yu leynngis  
 you disceinedist ome anicme  
 in paradys, and wy yu leynngis  
 you woldist have disceyned of  
 lord ihu crist. perfore y wondre  
 not youz you wy yu leynngis  
 woldist disceyne me. **stals fed**

(An) f. 104r

pere you best. where you list.  
 what you know in heuene. who  
 shal be saued. and who shal  
 be dampned. for you know  
 not ye ym oure dampnacion  
 and if you know not ym oure  
 dampnacion. whyche more  
 you know not mayn. and so for  
 alle ym curthe resungis. I hope  
 to ye merci of god. vt p̄ shal  
 neuere bring me to dispare  
 as you woldist. and thus p̄ shal  
 ouertome him in yese yre porus  
 vtu of yerrite. he shal turne  
 his back and fle. and neuer est  
 tumpis p̄. and thus thus shal  
 haue ye glorious victorie of



(Ao) f. 104v

pis d'ordrefin bateule pe which thū  
 grauntē for his teneles men  
 ¶ . . . ¶ . . . ¶ . . . ¶ . . .

**H**ere bigynney a lital trettys  
 azens pe opynyon of sumē  
 p<sup>r</sup> seyn pat no man hay pow  
 for to chaunge pe saboth fro  
 pe saturday to pe sonday. And  
 here is pleynly pved pe g<sup>r</sup>ue  
 bi hoh writt 7 dictours sente  
 ce acordyng pe w<sup>r</sup>ys.

**S**umme douten sy no  
 man hay leue for to  
 chaunge pe ten comāū  
 mens of god: how myste we  
 chaunge our saboth fro saturday  
 to sonday. Here we schal vn

(Ap) f. 116r

my fadir. & take ze for 3 de mede  
 ye kynngidm of god redi ordey  
 ned for 3ou fro ye bigynnyng  
 of ye world. yis kynngidm to  
 dissetne. ihc graunte us gre aue  
 here bigynen ye. & comanidmētis of god

**G**od thou schest hme o god & knowe  
 & oūm ying loue hi also.

**G**oddis name I idu take y' nonyt  
 & helpe bing yig y' he lay arrouzt

**H**ow ye spiden in dere luf  
 whi ely meyne and y' wylf

**G**oddis moder worship lye  
 whi redi dē cōfort mete & cloye

**G**oddis luf & oūm loute ye hille  
 whi dē ye anif ue wike wille

**H**ow ye schest you noou o.

(Aq) f. 116v

In wale ne word ne werk also.  
**G**hou schalt u' stele p' nezebons p'ig  
 In gile ne rauey ne wrog w' holdig  
**G**hou schalt u' speke fals witnesig  
 In word ne deede make no lesing  
**G**hi nezebons ho' conente y' noon  
 Ye vnnonable p'ig faeld ne ton  
**G**hi nezebons wylf desire y' nouzt  
 Seruañt ne douzt ne oý ping onzt  
**G**hede ven ye heefis ten  
 p'at god comañdy to alle men  
**W**ho so wole to heuene go  
 Hepe hē alle. breke noon of yo  
*pece be ye. vii. dedly synes y' sinen*  
**P**nd is head of al kyns syne  
 y' maky māny's soule fro god to wyl  
**G**o wylkude byznes he wole ay

(Ar) f. 117r

And louy to myche his owne noblay  
 Hi list he preisy in his port  
 And ope men he setti at nouzt  
 Quiye folowy þat comouly  
 Whane me faren wee he is sorry  
 Whane me fare yuel he ioiey wyne  
 He lauzey neuere but at hyme  
 Whaype vnto yese two is knytt  
 So take viciauce is al his witt  
 So fle to synite to youre woo  
 So wane folk to schandze also  
 The couento? ma knowe no skille  
 For al yis world mai hi not fille  
 The worldis weelye he withy ay  
 Wyt or wrong gets wlye he wy  
 Gloteny hay greet appetite  
 So ete cert: late is his delite

(As) f. 117v

**H**e louep us mesure of erunge  
 And ay he wole be drunke  
**T**he fyre synne is lecherie  
 So manye a soule it worthynoure  
**B**ut men it leue & hē amende  
 In fier of helle þe wole be brende  
**S**orrowes is a curid yng  
 For it is eue war of weel doyng  
**G**od werli he loyng to bigyne  
 And lizth þof he wole blyme  
**T**hele beu þe synnes lūene  
 þat reuen men þe blis of heuene  
*þe. vii. synnes aze þe. vii. doct. þe. vii.*  
**W**þ scitape þines v<sup>r</sup> were þat iour  
 My heed is crowned & mai wel saue  
**T**he blood ran dān al in my cheke  
 þou prouid man þe be meke

(At) f. 118r

**L**et you be wroth & wolt take wrothly  
 behold ye leston pat & yee terhe  
 yon; my nithond ye nail it goop  
 yefore forene & be noust wroth  
**I**n al my pinst upon ye wote  
 me zauen me drilus yt were n<sup>t</sup> gode  
 cyfel & galle for to d:ynke  
 Gloton peron & rede yee penke  
**O**f adene maiden & was born  
 So saue mankynde yt ws for lorn  
 So luffe dey for manys synne  
 letthour yfore of tust you blyne  
**T**horu my liffhond anail ws d:yne  
 penke you you if you wolt lyne  
 And helpe ye poore wyw almesde  
 If you in heuene wolt haue yr mede  
**W**hy alweie sharp yt ws ful grau

(Au) f. 118v

myn herte w<sup>3</sup> y<sup>3</sup>fid. it w<sup>3</sup> my w<sup>3</sup>  
 for lone of man pat was ful dere  
 Envyous man of lone you lete  
**R**ise up vniust out of yi bed  
 And biholde my feet y<sup>t</sup> are forbled  
 And nailid faste upon ye tre  
 p<sup>r</sup>aise me y<sup>f</sup>ore al was for yee  
**I**hu for yi woundis fyue  
 pou kepe hem weel in al her lyue  
 pat yese lessonis ouer wole rede  
 And yeryuip her soulis fede  
*Yese be ye. vii werlas of mi<sup>n</sup> bodi*  
**S**ent pou<sup>l</sup> ye apostle y<sup>e</sup> saye  
 Dow aile youre werlas i charite  
**F**or werk of merci anaihy nouy  
 But it in charite be wrouyt  
**W**hy vni diuencou<sup>n</sup> & good wil.

(Av) f. 119r

you breke yi breed pe hunger til  
**T**he needful pore y<sup>t</sup> man u<sup>t</sup> curylike  
 pat y<sup>t</sup> v<sup>t</sup>den zeue y<sup>t</sup>en of yi d<sup>t</sup>like  
**O**n a<sup>t</sup>raige & needi men you myne  
 and herborowe he y<sup>t</sup> ho<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup>ynne  
**O**n needful naine you cast yi list  
 and clape you he after yi mist /  
**T**he pat ven like or in d<sup>t</sup>sele  
 v<sup>t</sup>ite w<sup>t</sup> comfort hem to p<sup>t</sup>ese  
**L**as alle po pat in prison are  
 you comforte hem in al her care  
**B**me pe deede pat uete han  
 so d<sup>t</sup>ie talie pat hok<sup>t</sup> man /  
**T**hele ven pe werke<sup>t</sup> d<sup>t</sup>uene  
 st<sup>t</sup>idneze he y<sup>t</sup> uole<sup>t</sup> hane heuene  
 pat ven pe v<sup>t</sup> werke<sup>t</sup> of uia goaly  
**T**he v<sup>t</sup> man w<sup>t</sup> charite



(Aw) f. 119v

So kepe goddis heestis bryn̄ to be  
**G**o conuente eth man w<sup>t</sup> mylde stene  
 So take y<sup>t</sup> wey y<sup>t</sup> ledy to heuene  
**S**hou chaste me bi word & dede  
 pat synen & setten yerbi no drede  
**C**omforte alle men i cristis lawe  
 pat yer his zok loue yu to draue  
**H**orzene & venaunce take pou nouzt  
 helpe he to god. y<sup>t</sup> ha to y<sup>e</sup> unys wuzt  
**B**e suffynge man in al disese  
 And charge nouzt pouz me y<sup>e</sup> discipule  
**A**nd þie for eth man frend & foe  
 þe goipel byddy þou schalt do so  
**O**f yese werkis gothli et schil apete  
 whane he his doorn schal deme & dele  
*Yese beu ye seuene sacramētis y<sup>t</sup> sum*  
**G**hese beu ye sacramētis seuene



(Ay) f. 120v

Soye venial & dardh bi by vepētūre  
 And these knowleche & aley making  
**T**he sacrament of ye aut is yē tōye  
 y<sup>e</sup> fōurme of bread & wyne is  
 Crisus bodi & blood here tēye  
 So fūctye mā goth aze. m. cupis  
**T**he fitye is ordye of prestye  
 whi whi whi hā of god god  
 So mūstie latūētis frā tōye  
 and pche ye gūstie whi  
**T**he vi. sacrament is iudicā  
 whi whi whi whi whi whi  
 So mūstie tōye whi whi whi  
 and loye whi whi whi whi  
**A**ncōntig whi whi whi  
 In whi whi whi whi whi  
 whi whi whi whi whi whi

(Az) f. 121r

for allegiaunce of peyne i bodi & soule eke  
**S**hese sacramentis of goddis ge-  
 uen holi figures to vse weel here  
 for all trowe me schulen se his face  
 pat seintis ben fed wip bryzt & clare  
 yese ben yf syue bodily wittis /  
**K**epe yf sirt fro vauytee  
 pat yf not couerte yf yuel mai be /  
**S**hat heering pan zeue yf ens til  
 so leue ye good & loeue ye yf /  
**S**uethynge yat drawy yf to lust  
 & chere it eue mete yon wust /  
**S**hat tating yf wepe fro likerouste  
 In alle yonethis wifure yon yee /  
**S**hat tynching kepe i houeste  
 And wifure no vng yf tyn yf /  
**S**hese ben ye wittis yf

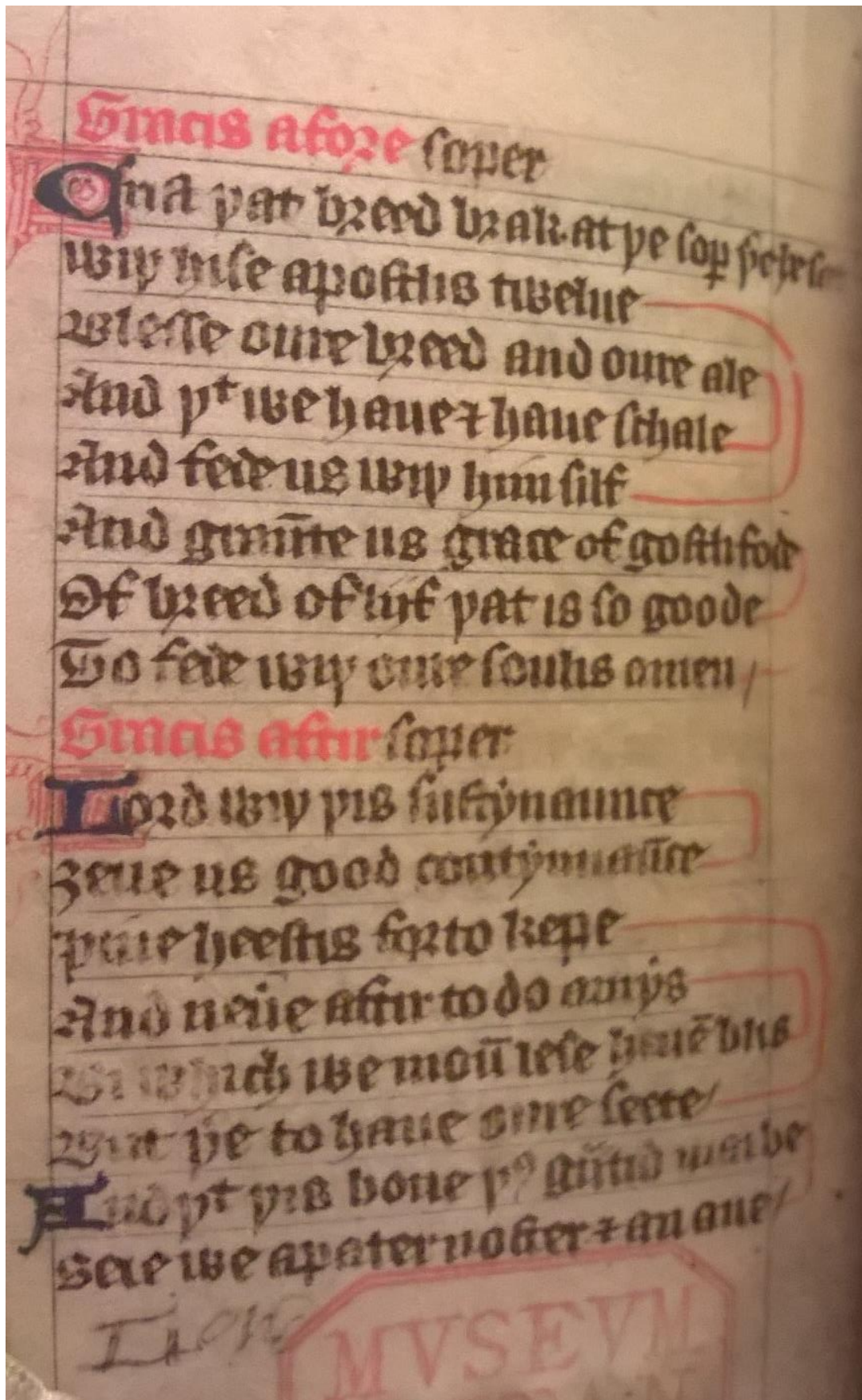
(Ba) f. 121v

That cite men schulden rule in lyue  
*These be the fyue wyttis goodly*  
**H**ane myde o pe blis yt uene schal blyue  
 & on greet peyne yt syners schal wyue  
 Welke yt goddis wille be wrouzt  
 In fleischli wille sette it at uouzt  
**R**ule ye ay bi reformi ryt  
 And so yt be vnd yee aft in myzt  
 Wirstode goddis kydenes & in  
 And yer azen ym vnkynde foli  
**I**magyne to alle men goodnes  
 ymagyne no wrong ne falsnes  
**O**f fyue wyttis ye rule is pis  
 yat helpen a man to heuene blis  
*These be the grans tofore merr*  
**A**lmyhti god so meritable  
 In fedinge you make us resonable

(Bb) f. 122r

for to serue yee here  
 And yerto lord you make us able  
 So be fed at ym heuenuh table  
 wy alle yi leuitis in fere amen  
**Gras after mete**  
 Thū pat dyedut ou ye wode  
 So fed māny's soule w<sup>t</sup> heuēh fode  
 And now halt fed us here  
 you make us able yee to serue  
 pat i helle hūgur we ueue serue  
 fro sirt of yi face so cleer  
 And y<sup>t</sup> pis boone graūnd may be  
 Seie we apater uolter ⁊ an aue  
 pat lord you us defende  
 fro falsnes of ye world so sikil  
 And frelnes of ye fleisch so brutil  
 And feines of ye foeude ame/

(Bc) f. 122v



## (6) London, British Library, Harley MS 2388

## (a) f. 1r

5 die Novembris, A. D. 1723.  
 cleping of y<sup>e</sup> dom. where of crist spakith in his  
 gospel seynig yuo **C**ome hora ut omnes qui in mo  
 numentis sunt audient vocem filij dei et procedent qui  
 bona egerunt in resurrectione vite. qui v<sup>o</sup> mala in resu  
 rectione mori **Q**uod pat y<sup>e</sup> to say. ye hour cometh in wh  
 che all men. y<sup>e</sup> ben in livell y<sup>e</sup> shallou have ye  
 voyce of goddys sone. And yey y<sup>e</sup> han don good yungis  
 shall goyd in to a joye vying of liff. But yey y<sup>e</sup>  
 han don yuel yungis. in to a zeynyng of dom. y<sup>e</sup>  
 to be demed. **E**ven so drowchid dampnable soule  
 shall come to y<sup>e</sup> soule body. & seye to hit a vyse poe  
 considy cartyffs careyne fro y<sup>e</sup> tyme fory with  
 outen ende. to be felow to y<sup>e</sup> soule. & onomy  
 to almyghty god. **W**od y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shall be turnyd in  
 to do. y<sup>e</sup> delict in to bytynesse. & y<sup>e</sup> langtur in  
 to drepnyng. **W**od y<sup>e</sup> drowchid shorte luff. shal  
 pass in to oyd lastym sorowe. **W**od yt y<sup>e</sup> fully fall  
 fro y<sup>e</sup>. what so ev y<sup>e</sup> desirist. to have hadde. wold  
 yt y<sup>e</sup> passid fro ye al y<sup>e</sup> louse. & wold yt y<sup>e</sup> come  
 all y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> hatost. **C**onsidy be y<sup>e</sup> drowchid careyne  
 for in peyne for y<sup>e</sup> synes. & y<sup>e</sup> delict. & y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
 dylligence fro y<sup>e</sup> tyme siven & passed fro y<sup>e</sup>  
 of hane desyly brent in helle. **C**onsidy be y<sup>e</sup> hell brand  
 ordyned for y<sup>e</sup> synes to y<sup>e</sup> fier of helle. y<sup>e</sup>  
 men shall be quenched. **C**onsidy be y<sup>e</sup> tyme in y<sup>e</sup>  
 whiche y<sup>e</sup> was first compled to y<sup>e</sup>. for noch y may.

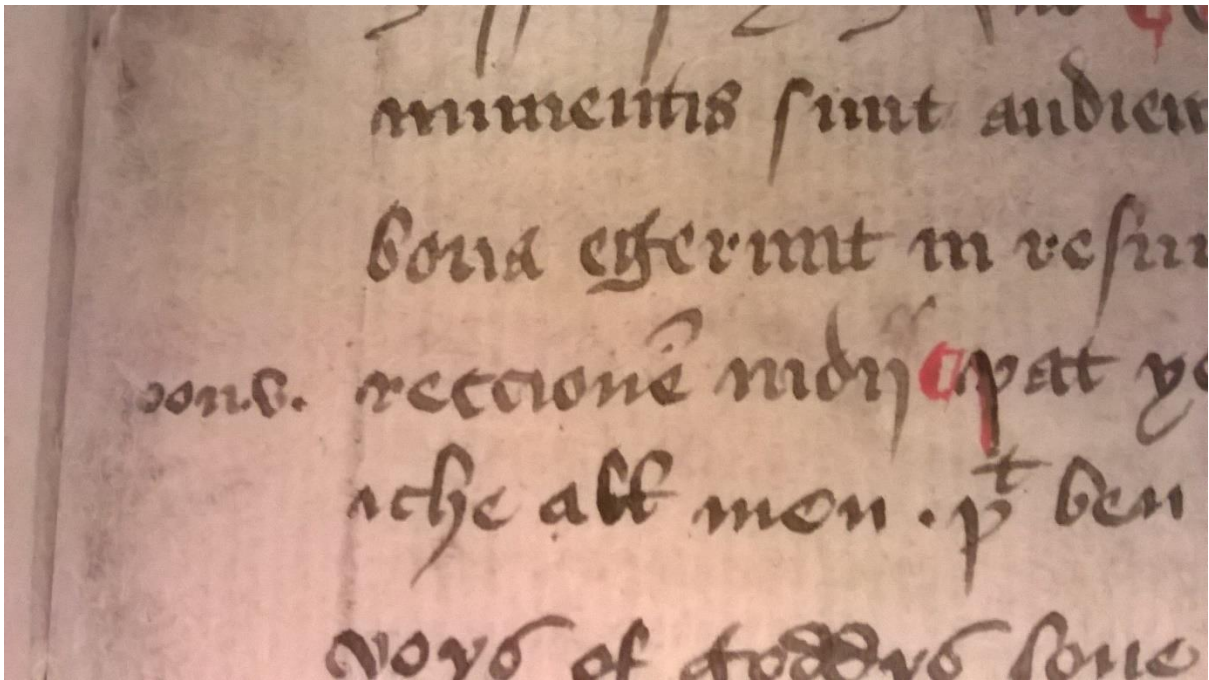
Jacobus de Pharaol.  
 Tractatus de Adam & Eva.  
 in S. Edwardi Regis et  
 alij. sine scriptura publica.

Sermon. 47.

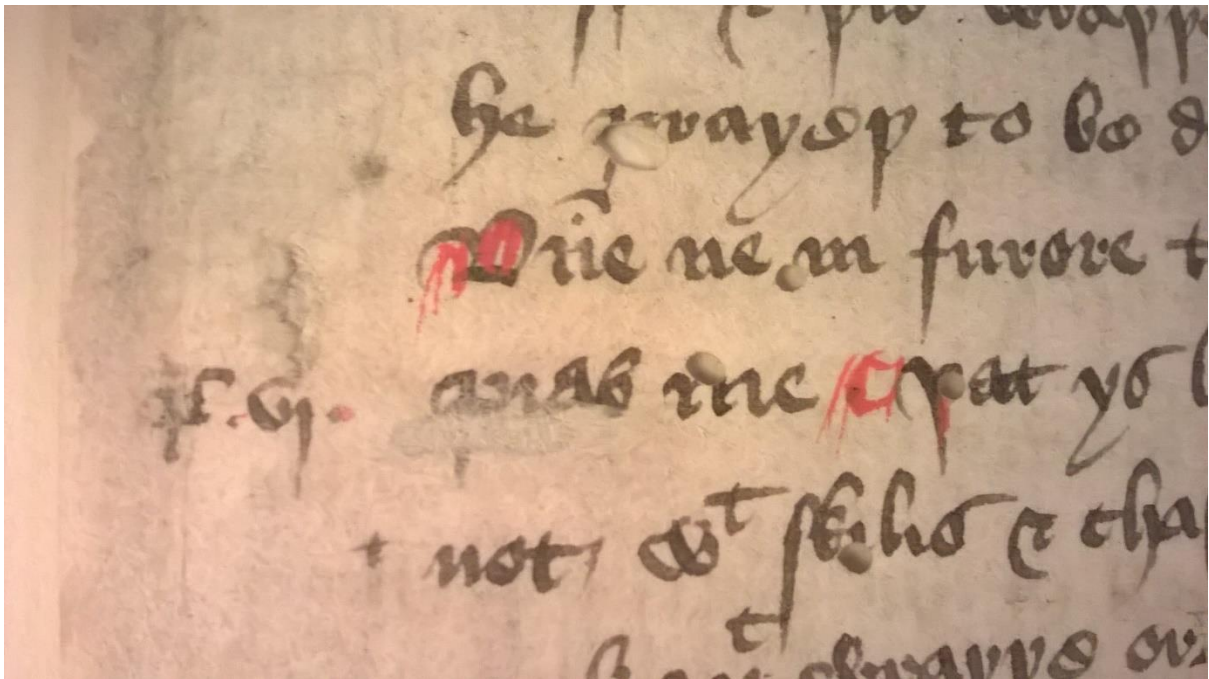
47



(b) f. 1r, detail



(c) f. 1v, detail



(d) f. 1v

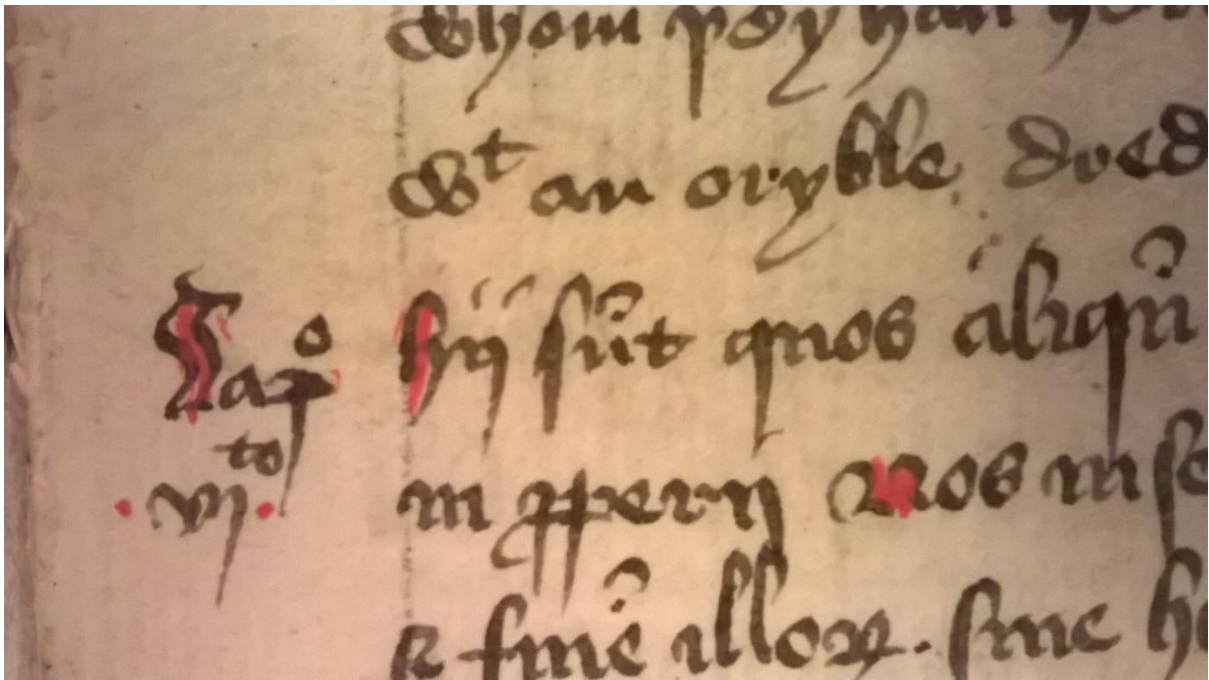
not lete yee ne y<sup>e</sup> cur<sup>r</sup> company I may not w<sup>o</sup>schall  
 y<sup>e</sup> wille y<sup>e</sup> or wille q<sup>u</sup> I am conf<sup>r</sup>oynd<sup>e</sup> to be knytt  
 a yeyne to y<sup>e</sup> G<sup>o</sup>d<sup>d</sup> w<sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fore to god<sup>d</sup> by fore y<sup>e</sup> dr  
 eful & wyrtful domyng man to her owne owlastyng  
 dampnacion y<sup>e</sup> shullen alle wyrt<sup>r</sup> mon. so y<sup>e</sup>  
 just cause. of her owne dampnacion w<sup>o</sup> w<sup>o</sup> hore  
 owne honde. in y<sup>e</sup> boke of her owne constienc<sup>e</sup>. the  
 which boke both lered & ledde. shullen rede hit hom  
 selfe. And yf y<sup>e</sup> say y<sup>e</sup> lode mon tyme not rede  
 y<sup>e</sup> say y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> non so lode. y<sup>e</sup> he ne can rede. y<sup>e</sup> lode  
 of his owne wyrt<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shullen so y<sup>e</sup> dom<sup>r</sup>man  
 as he der w<sup>o</sup> for w<sup>o</sup> a zeno hem. Of y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>  
 nesse. & y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>. speake y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> dany<sup>e</sup>. w<sup>o</sup>  
 he praye to be deliv<sup>r</sup>. of hem both seyng y<sup>e</sup>  
*Quie ne in furore tuo arguas me neq<sup>u</sup> in ira tua corri  
 pias me.* *pat* y<sup>e</sup> lord. in y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup> on come me  
 not. w<sup>o</sup> sk<sup>r</sup> & chastise me not in y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>. no man  
 y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup> or chedens. or any suche troubled<sup>e</sup> pass  
 ion of manye kinde. may be in god. but y<sup>e</sup> fore y<sup>e</sup> bon  
 fet in scripture. for y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup> of god in p<sup>r</sup>missyng  
 & vengyng. of synne in alle synners. y<sup>e</sup> bon w<sup>o</sup> to  
 take suche passion. of p<sup>r</sup>missyng as be w<sup>o</sup> & w<sup>o</sup>  
 nes. y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shullen be chastisid be poyne. y<sup>e</sup> shal  
 have a ende. as y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>gatory. y<sup>e</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> clepe<sup>r</sup> hore y<sup>e</sup>  
 w<sup>o</sup> of god. y<sup>e</sup> al<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shullen be poynd<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
 remanuce in y<sup>e</sup> wyrt<sup>r</sup> poyne of helle. y<sup>e</sup> shal have

(e) f. 2r

2

ende. ye which ye clauid her ye wodenos of god. al  
 pro psete dangy seyy in spirit. and yfere in yo psonc  
 of alle such sumero. felung him selfe vnnuygty. to  
 bere end oyy / first askith to be deluded of golle. &  
 afelward of p'gatory seying yuo **Q**uasiere mei d'ne  
 qua infirm) sum q' yo. lord hanc mey on me for I am  
 vnnuygty to ber end oyy p' yo to say. I am vnnuygty  
 to bere qm' argung in dom. oyy p' chastise mont in  
 purgatory. but yt so be p' yt be v' lord. oyy supported  
 et q' mey. **O** p' dreadful day of oure lordy. p' me  
 shullen all wyttid men. se him sit in doom et custo  
 whom yo' han hore. distrid. & in pro s'it be twentid  
 et an oryble doede. seying ye ebor) of yo dysoman  
 h' s'it quos aliqui mderisim. habuim) et in filitudinē  
 in p'ery nos insensati vitā ip'oy estimalam) in samā  
 & fine illoy. sine honore. Quom' ergo cōputati s'it mē  
 filios dei & mē s'ros s'ros illoy est. Ergo eramin) a mā  
 avertat. & iusticie. lūmē nō luxit. nobis & sol intelli  
 gencie non est ortus nobis lassati sum) in via m'itay  
 & p'dicoms. et ambulam) mas difficilis. mā antē  
 dñi ignoram). Quid nobis p'fuit supbia. aut dū  
 riaz iactancia quid nobis contulit. Transierūt oia illa  
 tamqm' vmbra. & virtutis ipudm' nullū signū vale  
 m' ostendere an maliginitate autem nostra confirmati  
 sum). q' yo. **E**pese ben pos yo which sum tymo. de  
 hadden in to scorne. & in to libones of shoushypp  
 MUSEVM

(f) f. 2r, detail



(g) f. 2v

We mullym breccchis hilden her liff dedened. & her  
 ende w<sup>t</sup> alten honow. but lo now god sey ben a con  
 unty. a mong yo soner of god. & a monge yo seyntis  
 of god. ye lot of hem yo. yfore we hane erred fro  
 r ye weye of trewe. & ye lye of ryzt wysdom. hath  
 not shyn to us. & ye some of vnderstandyng hape  
 not sprong to us. we ben made wry in the wey of  
 wyllidnes & p<sup>r</sup>idion & we han gon hard weyes.  
 for ye weye of yo lord. we knoe not. what hath  
 pryde g<sup>r</sup>eted to us. or boost of riches. what hath  
 yt breyt to us. alle yese yngis han passid. as a  
 schadowe. & we for sope man schewe no tokene of  
 holynes. for we ben casted in our wyllidnes.

**¶** Than a monge al y<sup>r</sup> multitudes of seyntis. yey shulle  
 not fynde oer. y<sup>r</sup> shal hane compassion. of hem. but  
 all shulle be gladdo. & consente w<sup>t</sup> god. in her iust  
 dampnacion do ye g<sup>r</sup>ete dampy wythnosith seyng  
 yne *et* *letabit* *in* *se* *cu* *vidit* *indictam*. **¶** y<sup>r</sup> yo y<sup>r</sup> wyll  
 yman. shal be gladed & han he shall se we man  
 pan as crist seyth him selfo **¶** yey shullen seche  
 for to outryn in to evyl. of stoues. & in to se  
 lobes of y<sup>r</sup> oer. for yo dooful face of our lord  
 panne yey shullen prayow more ynye. for to falle  
 up on hem. & hille for to hido hem so we yey sh  
 ullen be in our side. & yo yo yo woude of the first

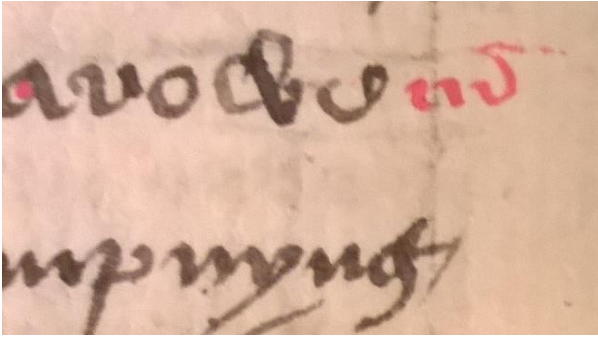
(h) f. 3r

avoðe **h**er  
**T**he secunde are  
 alle fals cristy  
 pns. of was a hongry &  
 was a pryete & ze zaffe me  
 & ze zaffe me no clothys. & was a y  
 me no herbarbes. & was sile & m pson & y  
 od not me noyþ dodeu me omj confort. **W**hat  
 pro voye shal be dredful. Whanne yt shal be seyde  
 to hem. þat as ofte as yoy deden not yose dodeu  
 of me. to omj of his þat noðe hadde. so ofte yoy  
 dodeu not to him. **A**nd no doubte þat pro voye  
 shal be dredful in ye day of dom. syon the voden  
 in ye gospel. þat dan crist come in ye forme of a  
 sernant to be demed of y fals iodes. he seide. þat  
 þoungton to take him & am he. **A** a now yoy gedon  
 a luf. & fellen dodeu to ye erpe. yf he þat hean he  
 was dody & com to be demed. & hadde so foreful a  
 voye. þat at his co word proð to ye grounde so ma  
 ny men. of ye reced. **A** foer more foreful voye  
 shal he have. when he shal come vndedy. w<sup>th</sup> his  
 oost. of holy dungeles. & of seyntes for to dome  
 ye quyt & ye dede echo man aft<sup>r</sup> þe hath de  
 fued. & her fore seyye **Job** **S**im **Q**ix **P**arnam **S**illa. **Job**  
 sermomi eius audire possunt temerum magnitudinis  
 eius que poterit intueri; þat ye **E**ithen man

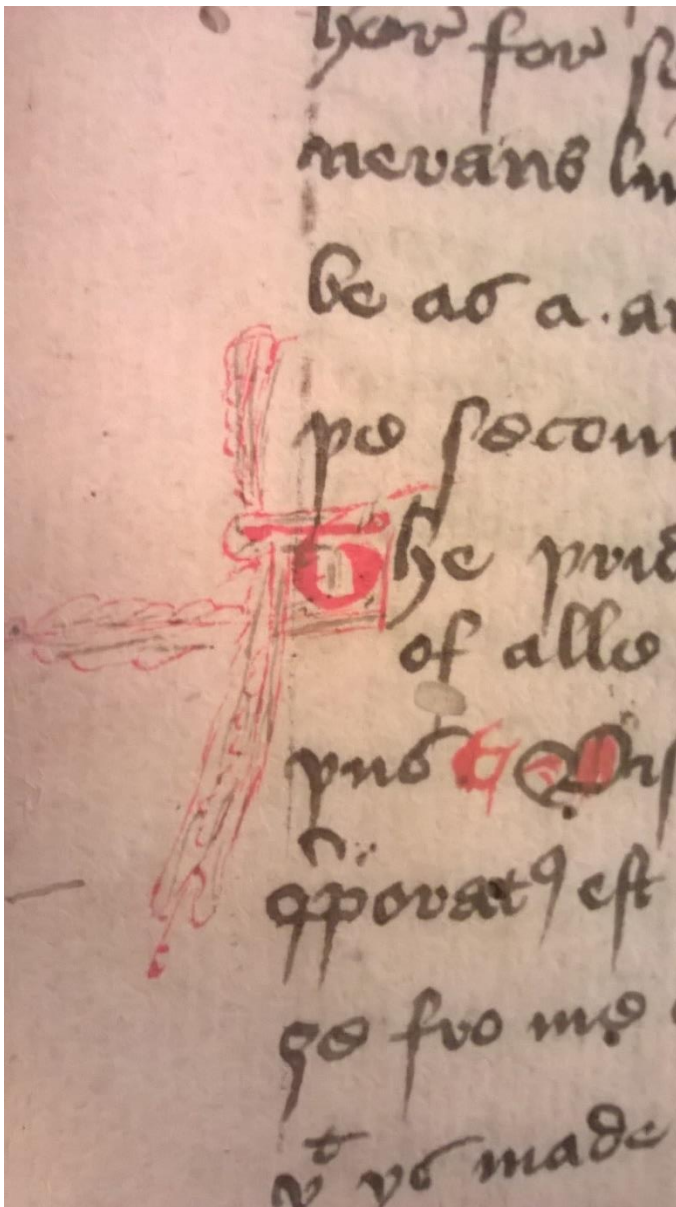
(i) f. 3v

o choyse ye  
 yalmod be holde  
 And yfoure south  
 ye synoful carytiffe shal  
 me conscience shal be dyt  
 him. in remance of venous ad a.  
 avoche. shal yau be ye voye of god. to suffre. a  
 how for syth ye pfoote yovome yuo. **S**ayitta un  
 nevans lingua eme / yat ye ye touge of hym. shal  
 be ad a. avoch boundyng. a yuo ye the domde of  
 ye secomde avoch / pris ye ye prude avoch **ad**  
**T**he prude avoch shal be of eucler dampnyng  
 of alle wyllid men. Chan ho shal say to hem.  
 yuo **Q**uistredite a me maledicti in ignem etim. a  
 pporat est dyabolo a angelis eme. y<sup>t</sup> ye **D**eparte  
 go fro me cursid breccid in to eu lastyng fur  
 y<sup>t</sup> ye made vedy to ye dedol a his angohe / pris avoch  
 shal adunde hem. y<sup>t</sup> ye fallhy on so yvononshy. yat  
 alle loches fusifoon. a swigron. no zyt alle ye  
 creaturis of hedow ne in eyre shal not mede.  
 hole ye domde of hntt / yan shal ye eyre opene  
 his moupe. a secolch hom doctno in to holle. **W**er  
 yey shullou be twumentid **W**t foudye eu more **W**t  
 outou ende. **B**ut alas y<sup>t</sup> dony dros ful many  
 y<sup>t</sup> now wolon bylene yose ymtrio. or yey fole

(j) f. 3v, detail



(k) f. 3v, detail







(7) London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B. xxiii

(a) f. 56r

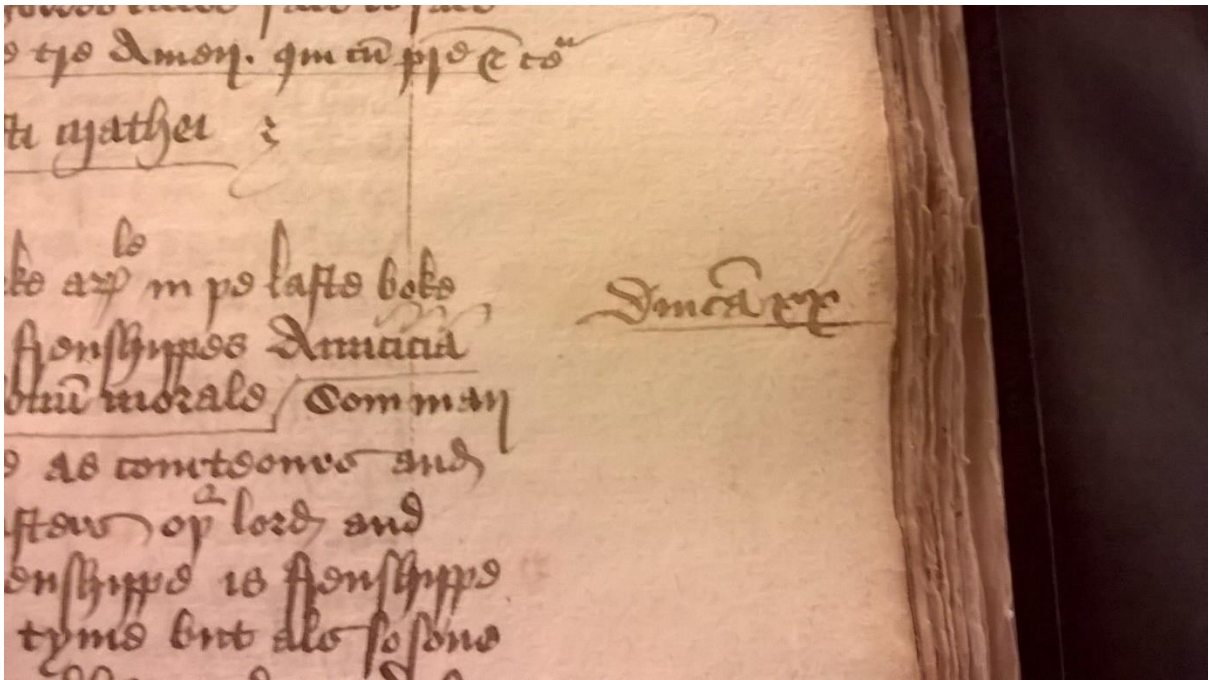
56

Articles Douho pat pat is contynued in hom dooey any iften man to belone in  
 upon ps popu of Conere lastyngs Sampnacon and p fore etto will pat sty  
 iften man undurstonde ps lalle do he soie to you by ps wordes of my tome  
 my peple undurstonde ps my lalle do I send at ps begynnyngs sw right as etto  
 is wolt payed w<sup>t</sup> sny man pat can is lalle and ps moie p<sup>t</sup> he can p of ps lalle  
 he is a poie. right so sny lalle man e laborers is exstufed genally to belone  
 as all hollychurche dothe w<sup>t</sup> doo more loyngs p of zyt he may not exstuf  
 hym but he muste do is diligens to knowe and to cume hem ps p  
 Articles as I have said hem ps x. Comandement ps. 6. w<sup>t</sup> the  
 and ps. 8. w<sup>t</sup> the of mys of ps wiche god at ps day of dome m<sup>t</sup> shall  
 shall w<sup>t</sup> the go and p<sup>t</sup> he may no iften man exstuf hym of ps but p<sup>t</sup>  
 he muste nodie kope hem and fulfill hem and zyt es so ps trobly pan  
 es shall w<sup>t</sup> the at ps days of dome undurstonde godde lalle face to face  
 w<sup>t</sup> the to gramute so he pat for so diad on yds tpe dmon. qm in ps e to

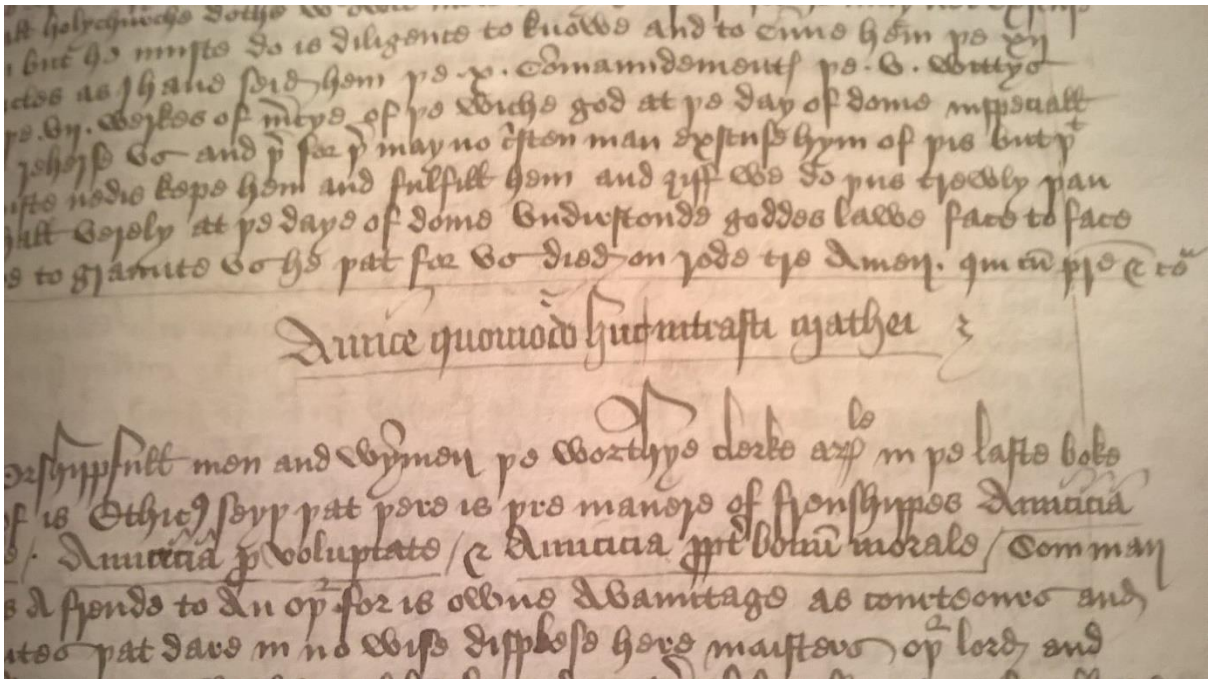
Dunice quouoio huc intrasta nyathet :

Exstufull men and wyman ps w<sup>t</sup> the doerle are in ps laste boke  
 of is Ethic<sup>is</sup> sory pat ps is ps manors of frenshypps Amiciaa  
 of is Amiciaa p voluptate / e Amiciaa p<sup>t</sup> bonu moralo / Com man  
 sory ps is a frende to du op for is obno abamitago as comtosome and  
 p<sup>t</sup> manuteo pat dare in no w<sup>t</sup> the dyploso here maustow of lord and  
 ps frenshypps is nob<sup>t</sup> the . The second man of frenshypps is frenshypps  
 of knys as locheyone men op wyman son for a tyme but also so some  
 as ps knys is fulfillid pan ps frenshypps is gone . The pryd man of  
 frenshypps is frenshypps of w<sup>t</sup> the ps w<sup>t</sup> the p on haths to an opnes  
 for is good by wyngs and w<sup>t</sup> theone ps is a w<sup>t</sup> the frenshypps pat holy  
 writis speky of I am non dico vos sequos s<sup>t</sup> darcos In ps wyze bene  
 all good lobeys called ps frendes of god do to my p<sup>t</sup> pose ones laed  
 god as ps goppell of ps days boys w<sup>t</sup> theone by ps wordes of my tome  
 calley an obill man lobeys is frende soymgs to hym on ps wyze  
 frende holde comeste pon h<sup>t</sup> dno do who sey all be ut p<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup> acts man  
 pat panut pon acts not c<sup>t</sup> oned e zyt pon be c<sup>t</sup> oned zyt panut pon  
 tenoste not as etto biddeste ps hold comos pon pan dmongs is mone  
 pon canste not sey but by feiths And p fore dyde pon lofte he do co  
 mamde to bynde ps honde e fote e put ps m to ps p<sup>t</sup> m<sup>t</sup> dorkenoss  
 but se pon southe panut etto calley ps frend and p fore he will do well  
 w<sup>t</sup> ps and shelle ps of is mys zo sw trobly pon acts frende to hym  
 zyt pon loue wyne and snyll loyngs and lone in good wyze for pm  
 fram abamitago for ps is good for pm soule for p is no frenshypps good  
 but pat pat is goodwilled of w<sup>t</sup> the And as to pat p<sup>t</sup> pon southe p<sup>t</sup> he

(b) f. 56r, detail



(c) f. 56r, detail







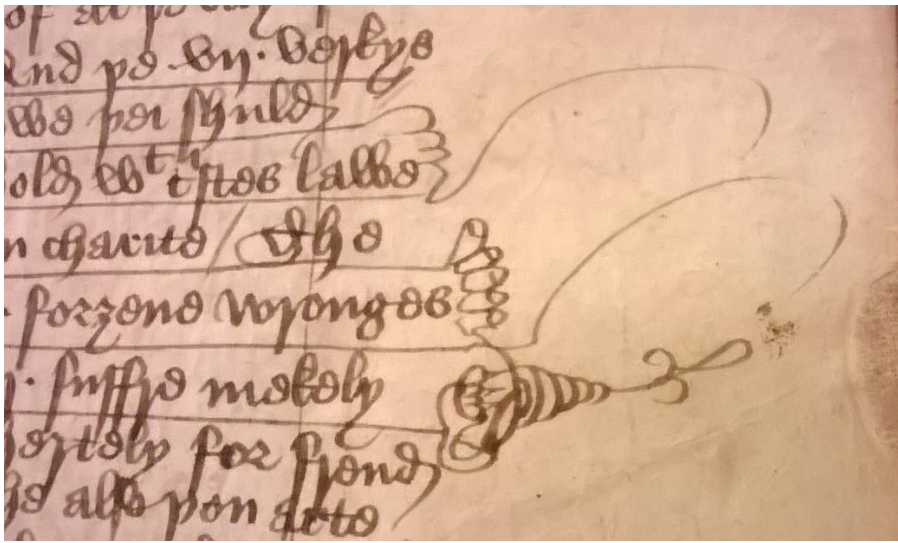
(f) f. 57r, top half

son pe lodes of domes of pat woddynge lode pat omes lodes ihu whon pat  
 he comer to be hold pe respone pe not and to orderyn pe to be putt in to  
 eny lastynge peryne for pm dult ldyngs Seynige on pe wyse ffende  
 godd comer von hyd' as I seid at pe begynnynge In pe wyse pan as  
 I haue told pe pe kyngdome of hodon is like to a kyngdome p' orderyn wodd  
 synng' it is some' dwo I comsolt all man of men fully to p'ntle on  
 pe some ffor Seynute seymes sey whon' pat he ete d'ynke or stepe or whitt  
 en els pat he dothe it somey hym sey he pat pe dugels t'ympe solency  
 m is sey' Seynige p'nt' Iys' z' d'ede men and com to pe dome I comsolt  
 and I p'p'ose enyngon of von to conz' me e' knolde pat omes lodes god at pe  
 say of dome shall shouds wght w' onto meys full p'gorysly full f'm'ndly  
 and alle of so hodes pat eos hand p'p'onde pe dy. w'yles of meys as pe  
 g'p'p'ett w'itones but for asynctis as eny man e' wyman shall z'ono  
 comtes of pe dy. w'yles of meys p' f'ors I p'p'ose fully to toche von  
 w'it' ben pe dy. w'yles of bodoly meys and of goostely bothe Jhs. dy.  
 w'yles of bodoly meys ben pe's Effode p' hongery / z'ond d'ynke to pe p'ustly  
 cloth' p' nald' z' uddy' / z'aybowys pe h'ow'st'offe / Comforte pe p'le  
 w'it' p'p'one / And bny' pe d'ede / pe's dy. w'yles von acts bondy  
 to fulfill by w'yles z' d'ede z' p' p'ow'ys he or els by pe good w'ill z'iff  
 p' p'ow'ys fault m' payud of en' lastynge dampnacion z'iff von resp'nto

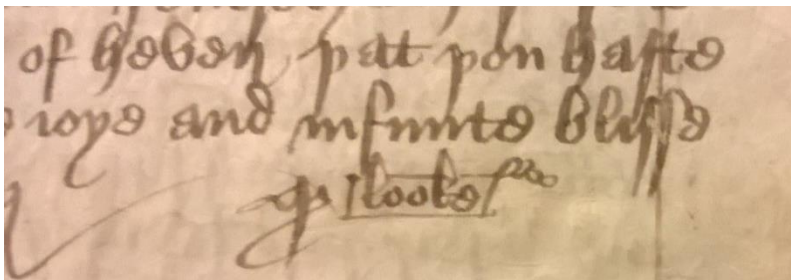
(g) f. 57r, bottom half

and alle of so hodes but for asynctis as eny man e' wyman  
 g'p'p'ett w'itones but for asynctis as eny man e' wyman  
 comtes of pe dy. w'yles of meys p' f'ors I p'p'ose fully to toche von  
 w'it' ben pe dy. w'yles of bodoly meys and of goostely bothe Jhs. dy.  
 w'yles of bodoly meys ben pe's Effode p' hongery / z'ond d'ynke to pe p'ustly  
 cloth' p' nald' z' uddy' / z'aybowys pe h'ow'st'offe / Comforte pe p'le  
 w'it' p'p'one / And bny' pe d'ede / pe's dy. w'yles von acts bondy  
 to fulfill by w'yles z' d'ede z' p' p'ow'ys he or els by pe good w'ill z'iff  
 p' p'ow'ys fault m' payud of en' lastynge dampnacion z'iff von resp'nto  
 but for of pe's w'yles of meys e' to shall d'yle m'p'caatt of at pe day of  
 dome I p'p'ose enyngon of von to haue pe m' m'nde And pe dy. w'yles  
 of goostely meys ben pe's f'ochs men pe t'ouths h'ow's pe shuld'  
 com to hodon Jhs p'p'one comsolt men w'oly to hold w' t'ose lalds  
 z' t'ose d'at'ys z'ymore by moderato resp'nges m' d'acut' Jhs  
 Comforte socod'f'ull men w' t'it'os passion Jhs. b. forz'one w'p'ng'os  
 d'ome to pe p'p' as von wolte beyond of god Jhs. dy. p'p'ose m'okely  
 w'p'ose for pe wght of godd'os lalds Jhs. dy. p'p'ose w'oly for p'end  
 and for so pe's w'yles ben of goostely meys pe w'it' alle von acts  
 bond' to knolde z' to fulfill hem m' d'ede f'or and von w'ales p'ntle w'oly  
 of pe d'ad'of'ull dome pan von shuld'of'os en' he l'osys w' p'oz'tly w'orde  
 and d'ede to p'lay' god e' to fulfill p'is w'yles of meys as von w'ales  
 pat god haue meys on pe And pan z'iff god ass' pe at pe day of dome  
 ffende h'olde ont'of'ost' pe hyd' pan von ma'k'os sey' lodes I haue  
 m' p' l'ow' and I am pe man and as pe man I ont'of' w'oly f'or  
 I p'p'ose pe l'ite me resp'ys pe kyngdome of hodon pat von ha'f'os  
 w'ap'ut for pe som'ant'os Jhs pe w'it'os roys and m'f'unt'os bl'iss  
 w'p'ng'os w' omes w'it'os lodes ihu d'auoy p' p'lates

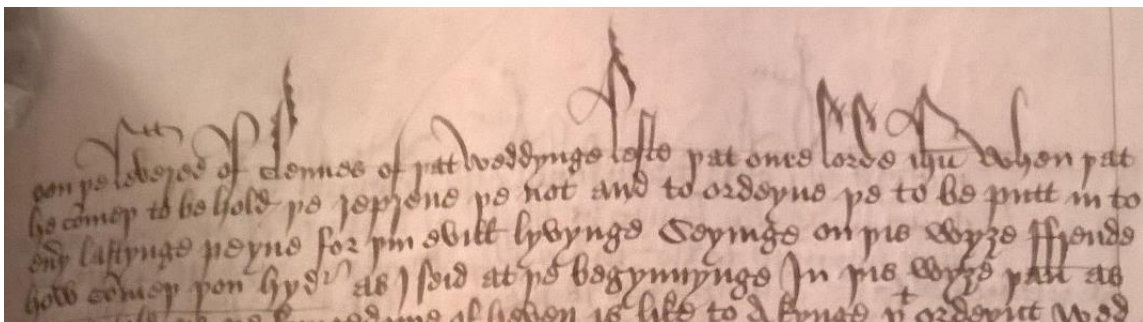
(h) f. 57r, detail



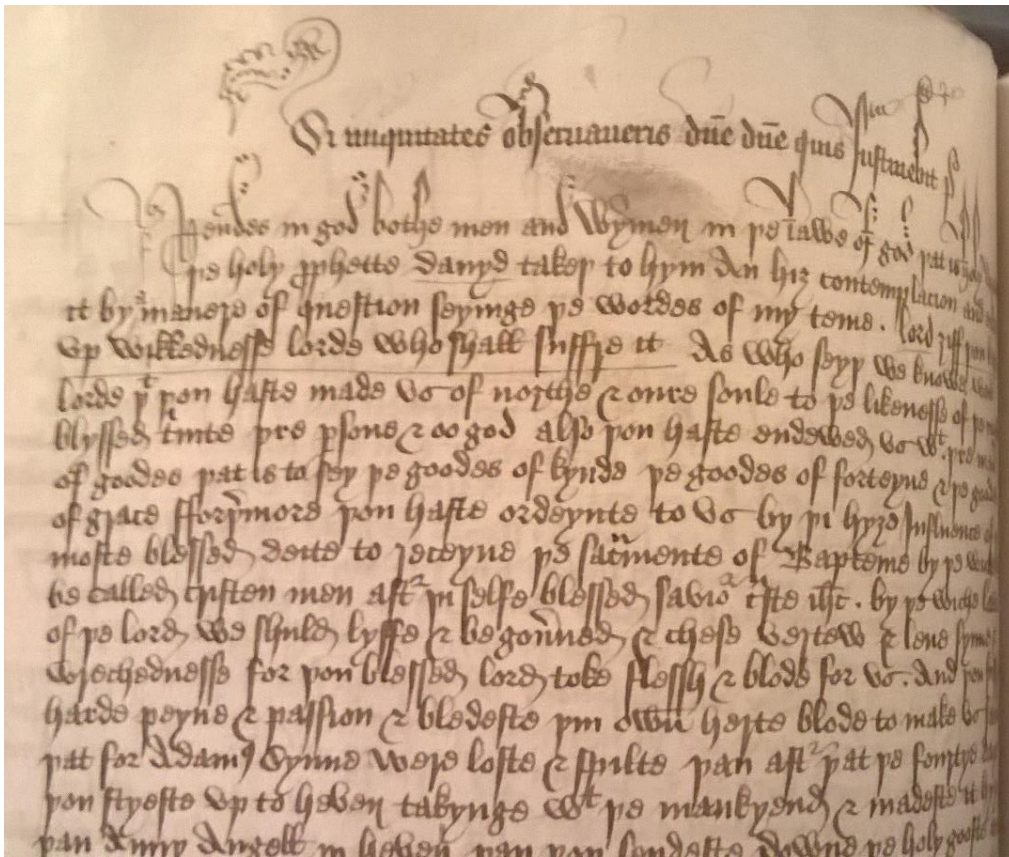
(i) f. 57r, detail



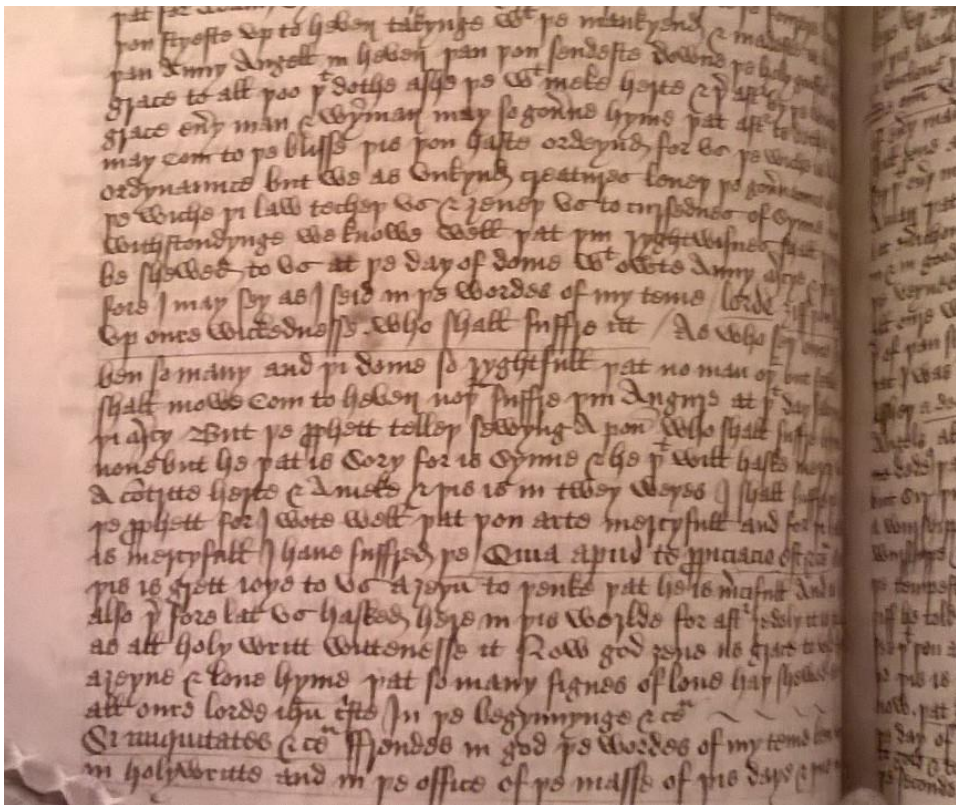
(j) f. 57r, detail



(k) f. 59v, top half



(l) f. 59v, bottom half









(q) f. 60v, top half

of p[er]sones the Duke Athanasius Ansb[er]ger in ye ep[ist]le  
 ye good may suff[er] hym well for yere iere shall be i[n]f[er]me to be held  
 ye deit may in us boys beheld hym he shall seme to quoll ye for ye  
 to hem as fyberne as a woods man So say forth as a gyt d[er]e  
 say pat ye samponed had lon be in holl w[or]lde ends pan one l[et]t  
 in ye face y[er] fore dabyd y[er] oyer in holy w[or]lde e[re] say lorde  
 ms at y[er] tyme when yon shallt seme gods noy chastyt ms her in  
 for l[et]t pat chastiments is full harde y[er] as shall be d[er]e  
 w[or]lde d[er]e d[er]e y[er]t[er]e of ob[er]e y[er]e yon may as the why god  
 to l[et]t ill pat pat ben i[er]e e[re] so to d[er]e y[er]e d[er]e  
 to sh[er]e is lordshyp e[re] pat he ye lords of all ye w[or]lde  
 he is lorde. Qma d[er]e d[er]e t[er]e d[er]e pan it l[et]t to hym to be  
 w[or]lde pat is to say to zelds goods men good p[er]g[er]e e[re] to d[er]e  
 ye l[et]t to y[er]e d[er]e ye mofts also suff[er] men to d[er]e y[er]e  
 ye may ye w[or]lde is d[er]e of ye d[er]e as d[er]e say for z[er]e  
 d[er]e ye n[et]t ye n[et]t not to h[er]e may So yon for y[er]e e[re] ye may  
 ones l[et]t he suff[er] do to don d[er]e ffor a w[or]lde d[er]e  
 shall be encofod z[er]e d[er]e take h[er]e h[er]e gentilly e[re] h[er]e h[er]e  
 for ye h[er]e ord[er]e. In. sac[er]mentes in holy w[or]lde ye w[or]lde  
 by[er]e go to ye bl[is]s z[er]e be of goods gonername. In once  
 Baptome pat d[er]e men of ye f[er]st d[er]e pat be h[er]e of once

(r) f. 60v, bottom half

ye w[or]lde h[er]e ord[er]e. In. sac[er]mentes in holy w[or]lde ye w[or]lde  
 by[er]e go to ye bl[is]s z[er]e be of goods gonername. In once  
 Baptome pat d[er]e men of ye f[er]st d[er]e pat be h[er]e of once  
 1. is p[er]g[er]e gyt gyt to ye pat ben p[er]g[er]e. The seconds 2. sac[er]ment  
 2. is conf[er]m[er]e of ye bishoppes by ye w[or]lde ye holy w[or]lde  
 pat is c[er]t[er]e. The th[er]d[er]e sac[er]ment is p[er]g[er]e when ye  
 3. com to age of d[er]e ye sac[er]ment dothe d[er]e all man of  
 d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e. The f[er]st ye ye sac[er]ment of  
 4. d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e pat conf[er]m[er]e p[er]g[er]e e[re] z[er]e h[er]e  
 to man pat he fall z[er]e not az[er]e to d[er]e. The 5. ye ye  
 of p[er]g[er]e w[or]lde by y[er]e h[er]e p[er]g[er]e to p[er]g[er]e ye sac[er]ment  
 5. The 6. ye w[or]lde pat d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e in gonername  
 of w[or]lde be t[er]e man e[re] w[or]lde. The 7. ye d[er]e  
 7. holy w[or]lde w[or]lde w[or]lde man ben d[er]e in p[er]g[er]e  
 for alleg[er]e of p[er]g[er]e in body e[re] souls So y[er]e all ye sac[er]ment  
 ben ord[er]e to helpe ye f[er]m d[er]e e[re] ye ye to l[et]t at  
 gonername h[er]e. So pan z[er]e god l[et]t ye ye w[or]lde  
 shall suff[er] it t[er]e none but ye pat ben ye d[er]e  
 l[et]t pat ben ye pat d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e d[er]e  
 he hym at ye d[er]e of d[er]e for ye may not suff[er] hym y[er]e  
 p[er]g[er]e of h[er]e ye ye w[or]lde d[er]e ye ye ye ye ye ye  
 ye ye d[er]e d[er]e for ye once l[et]t the d[er]e d[er]e

(s) f. 60v, detail

of Injuncto the Clerk Athanasius Injuncto in ye episto  
 ys good may suffe hym Well for yere 10ys shall be Injuncto to be hold  
 ys shall may in no boys beheld hym he shall some so quall ys sic  
 to hem as styborns as a Woods man So say forthe as a gyt clerke

(t) f. 60v, detail

ys may  
 shd not  
 ones besto  
 shall be or  
 for so he  
 byngs be  
 Baptome

- 7.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

is confes  
 pat is cy  
 Com to a  
 detnall  
 dut ifts  
 to man  
 of proste  
 the G.  
 of childy  
 holy oyle  
 for allos  
 ben ords  
 goyngs  
 shall inf

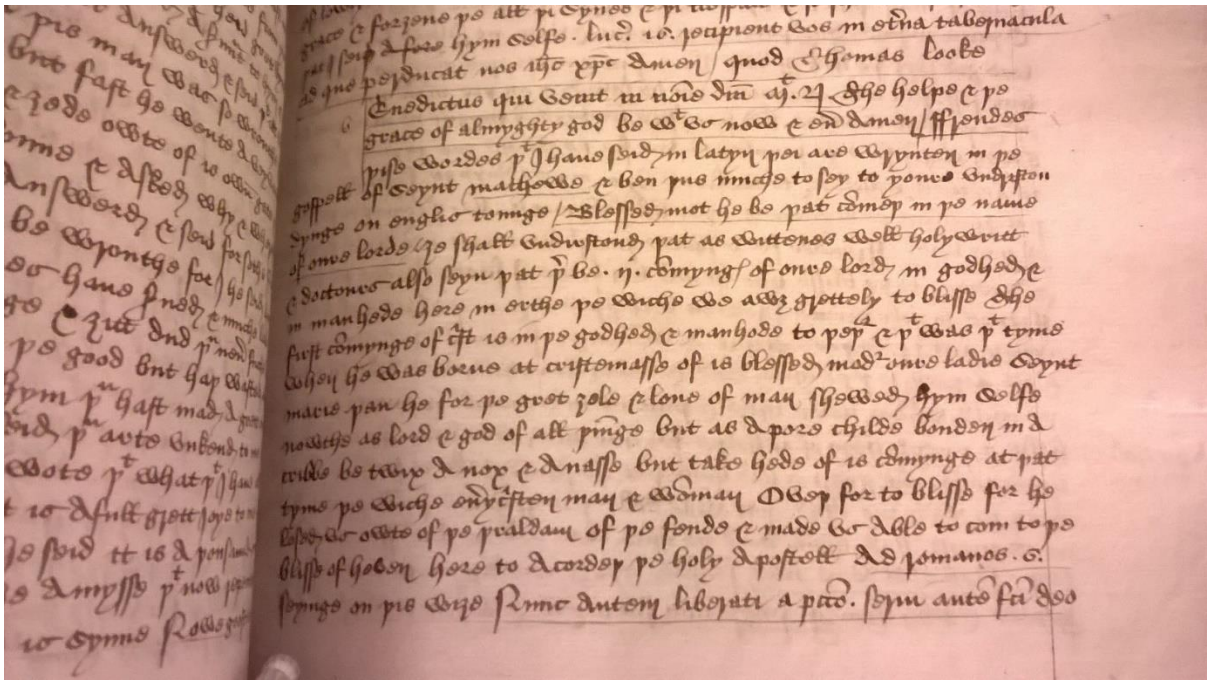


(v) f. 89v

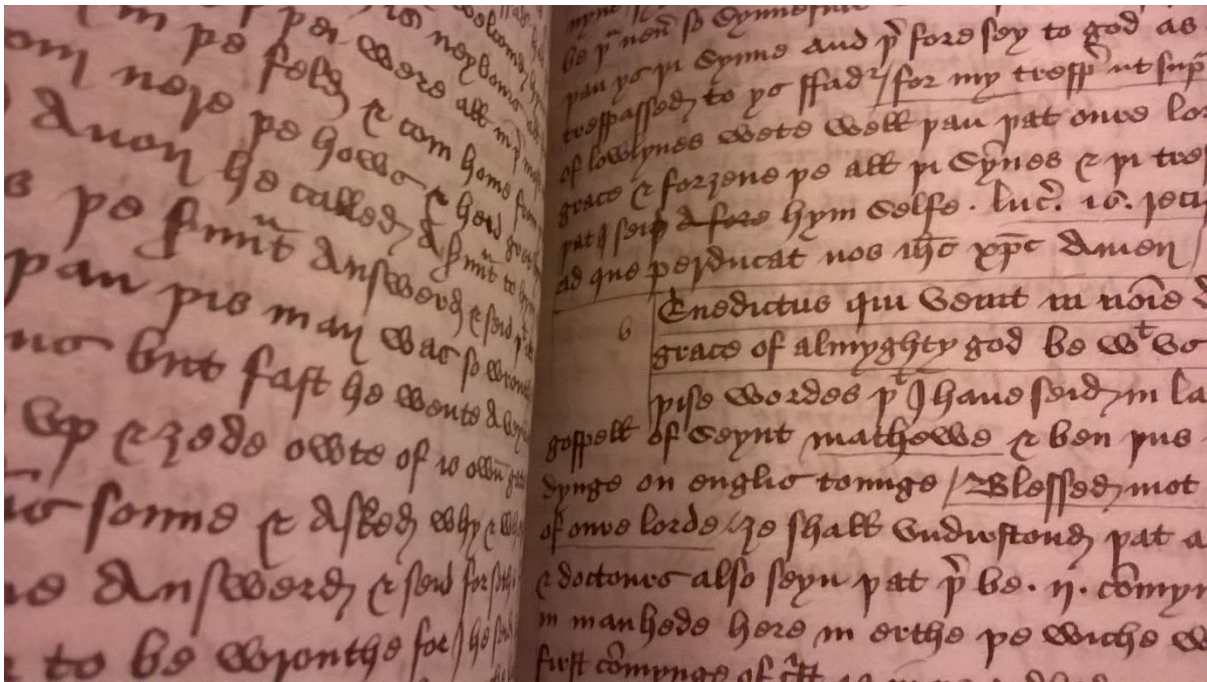
the tyme when y<sup>e</sup> bodie is ded had a man as muche joye  
 all the world myght have but he demerit hym or y<sup>e</sup> he do  
 non have gre<sup>t</sup> w<sup>o</sup>rtion ende and y<sup>e</sup> fore while y<sup>e</sup> he do  
 y<sup>e</sup> o<sup>u</sup>te of y<sup>e</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>ke of doctonoe & ch<sup>o</sup>th<sup>e</sup> yon in godde  
 as y<sup>e</sup> bid a fore w<sup>o</sup>rtion Almsde<sup>e</sup> motonoe w<sup>o</sup>rtion & ch<sup>o</sup>th<sup>e</sup>  
 Redofast beleve hope of ch<sup>o</sup>th<sup>e</sup> may also w<sup>o</sup>rtion & ch<sup>o</sup>th<sup>e</sup>  
 ch<sup>o</sup>th<sup>e</sup> yon in y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>rtion g<sup>o</sup>ttan may y<sup>e</sup> so<sup>r</sup>e<sup>n</sup>ly abide godde  
 is b<sup>o</sup>rtion when y<sup>e</sup> he toke on<sup>e</sup> t<sup>o</sup>nd<sup>e</sup> of pat b<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 make yon<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion clou<sup>e</sup> a<sup>z</sup>o<sup>r</sup>no godde comyng<sup>e</sup> no<sup>e</sup>  
 fastly on to is last comyng<sup>e</sup> pat is to y<sup>e</sup> Redofast dome  
 g<sup>o</sup>tt shall b<sup>o</sup>rtion a fore god y<sup>e</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> world shall y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 y<sup>e</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>de<sup>s</sup> / Emp<sup>o</sup>rt<sup>e</sup> mort<sup>e</sup> v<sup>o</sup>nt<sup>e</sup> ad Ind<sup>o</sup>rt<sup>e</sup> / y<sup>e</sup> is to y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 men & comyng to y<sup>e</sup> dome y<sup>e</sup> shall no ma<sup>o</sup>rtion w<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 for no d<sup>o</sup>rtion no s<sup>o</sup>rtion of lordshipp<sup>e</sup> no for no mo<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 s<sup>o</sup>rtion but y<sup>e</sup> o<sup>u</sup>te of dedely syme for and y<sup>e</sup> he y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 dedely syme. y<sup>e</sup> on<sup>e</sup> ladie & all y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> b<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 for y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shall not be herde. Why for y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> tyme of g<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 is y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>o</sup>rtion & y<sup>e</sup> fore for godde<sup>s</sup> l<sup>o</sup>rtion be y<sup>e</sup> now or y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>rtion & what y<sup>e</sup> shall be aft<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion dome y<sup>e</sup> shall  
 as y<sup>e</sup> be in y<sup>e</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>ld<sup>e</sup> do. J<sup>o</sup>rt<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> holy man w<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 C<sup>o</sup>rtion s<sup>o</sup>rtion ego y<sup>e</sup> & no alme s<sup>o</sup>rtion as I am now s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 be for god & noon of y<sup>e</sup> & so shall y<sup>e</sup> of yon be y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 w<sup>o</sup>rtion to y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> as I fynde y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> dome y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shall be dampned in h<sup>o</sup>rtion bothe bodie & s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 good liff y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> shall to h<sup>o</sup>rtion bothe bodie & s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 but y<sup>e</sup> bodie shall y<sup>e</sup> be glorified. What so y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> bodie y<sup>e</sup> is  
 & so h<sup>o</sup>rtion it shall be y<sup>e</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion / In<sup>o</sup>rtion s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 O<sup>u</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> g<sup>o</sup>rtion is a fayre s<sup>o</sup>rtion & a fayre b<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 no bodie<sup>s</sup> g<sup>o</sup>rtion to y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> is s<sup>o</sup>rtion on h<sup>o</sup>rtion or g<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 s<sup>o</sup>rtion & s<sup>o</sup>rtion of hom so b<sup>o</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> will be a gl<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 pat be but as a s<sup>h</sup>ad<sup>o</sup>rtion to y<sup>e</sup> b<sup>o</sup>rtion of godde<sup>s</sup> b<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 what s<sup>o</sup>rtion d<sup>o</sup>rtion s<sup>o</sup>rtion Et est in lib<sup>o</sup> do c<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> d<sup>o</sup>rtion in h<sup>o</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> be many fold b<sup>o</sup>rtion y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion  
 man<sup>e</sup> h<sup>o</sup>rtion may y<sup>e</sup> h<sup>o</sup>rtion muche y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>o</sup>rtion to s<sup>o</sup>rtion



(y) f. 112r, bottom half



(z) f. 112r, detail





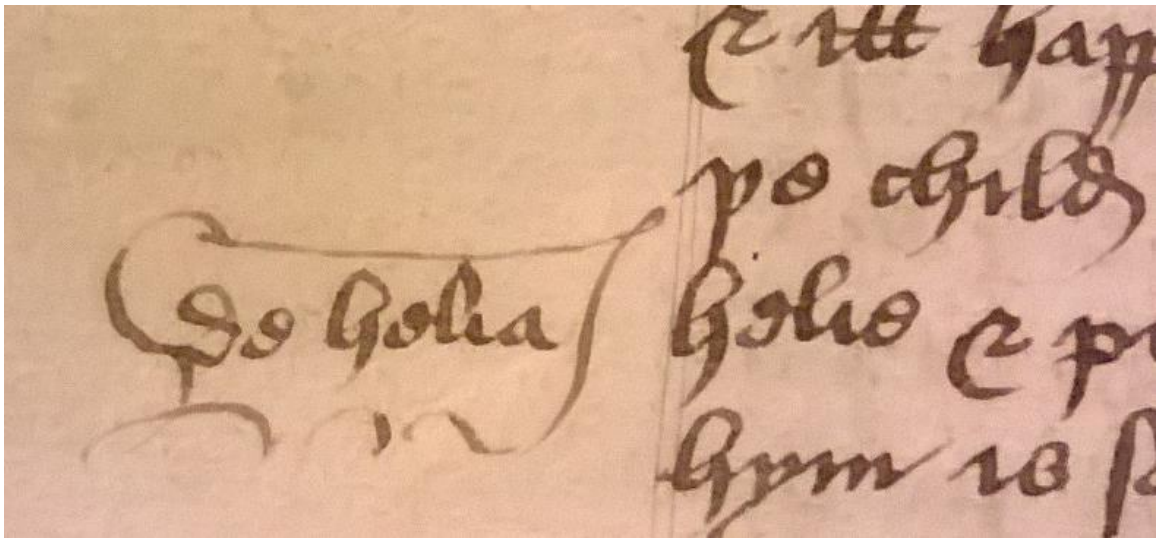
(Aa) f. 112v, top half

do ye comynge & ye tyme of othe lymys As he dellyvered from synne &  
 ye synne of our lord god, Dorigon pan y<sup>e</sup> ue is so pat dfore othe comynge  
 do wep & dndent for to com to ye blisse of heven & he m ye comynge  
 do abnt pan uerz do well to worshype & blisse hym as ones salu  
 to hym ye wordes p<sup>r</sup> toke to my tome / Blessed mot he be p<sup>r</sup> comynge  
 name of our lord / As I said at my begynnynge / ffondos ye shall  
 as I may see he holy scriptures & also he good p<sup>r</sup>son p<sup>r</sup> arte bomden  
 ye wepe of tendness for to blisse y<sup>e</sup> god m ye comynge ffor y<sup>e</sup> shall  
 fford but yiff he had comen & taken our londs y<sup>e</sup> shuld non may no  
 hane comen m to ye blisse of heven ffor he ffore othe comynge p<sup>r</sup> wep  
 godmen of byngs bothe pphotes & patarches & of I uolle pat hys  
 ye lades of moyses but yiff dore moyses hym selfe for all y<sup>e</sup> god  
 hym ye lade for to bepe when moyses died he wente to host & he  
 all of men & wymen m tokyngs pat itt was nedsfult y<sup>e</sup> ffe shuld  
 & p<sup>r</sup> fere ye shall endurstond pat all ye pphotes p<sup>r</sup>oyed hym of is  
 & myght & day tynge m to heven besolaud hym of is mcy ffor to  
 pite of man yuo besotye witenos y<sup>e</sup> lade ye pphote yuo he fere  
 Exata mquid dno potonnam tuam & com ut saluos facias  
 lord god sypp ye holy pphote y<sup>e</sup> lade put onto ye grett mcy do q<sup>e</sup>be  
 but yiff ye com do more not be saked & on ye man p<sup>r</sup>oyed  
 of & ye stit was ye p<sup>r</sup> dfore othe comynge y<sup>e</sup> myght no man com  
 heven wep fere he samfomed & for ye wiche mo thynke y<sup>e</sup> com  
 is grettoly beholden to delcom hym m ye comynge ffor ye  
 pat I said att ye begynnynge pat blessed mot he be p<sup>r</sup> comynge  
 of our lord / ffondos for to ffordos ye p<sup>r</sup> do myght non hane  
 & dcomen to ye blisse but itt had ben lerne I shall shewe ye  
 ffignes m holy writte I yede m holy scriptures & m ye lade of heven  
 wep pat I yede quo / That d w<sup>r</sup>man .i. simamyl she had lorne  
 & itt happed so p<sup>r</sup> ye child died & when h<sup>r</sup> child was dede she toke  
 ye child w<sup>r</sup> du hery chop & putt itt m d chamb<sup>r</sup> & com to ye  
 helio & p<sup>r</sup>oyed hym of is helpe for h<sup>r</sup> child was dede he called  
 hym is bermit g<sup>r</sup>ez & had hym pat he shuld take is staffe & lay  
 upon ye w<sup>r</sup>mans child pat was dede yuo pphote f<sup>r</sup>mt g<sup>r</sup>ez  
 as is maist<sup>r</sup> bad hym. dud ye child was non ye tott ffor as ye  
 sypp f<sup>r</sup>on orat boy neq<sup>r</sup> sensus / g<sup>r</sup>ez com d<sup>r</sup>ozu to is maist<sup>r</sup>  
 pphote & toke hym / g<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>oy non f<sup>r</sup>uoyit & what trewe

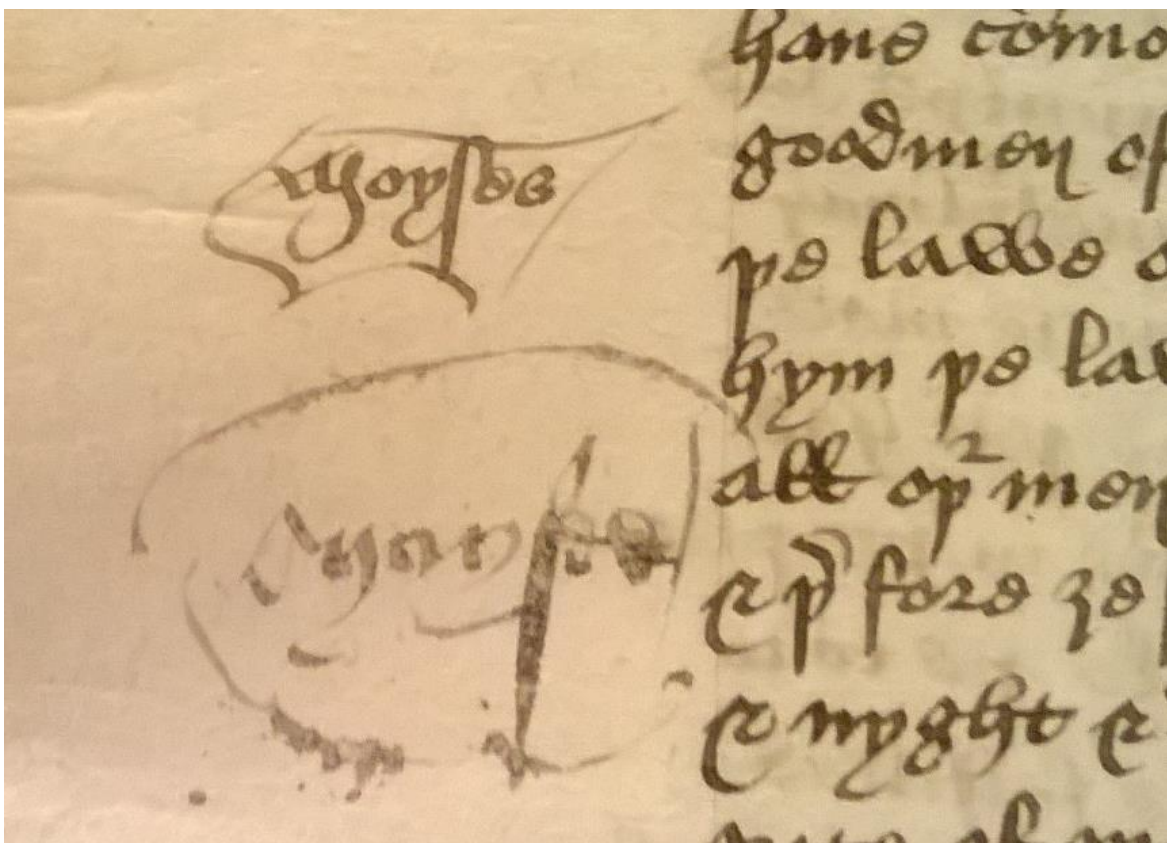
(Ab) 112v, bottom half

lord god sypp ye holy pphote y<sup>e</sup> lade put onto ye grett mcy do q<sup>e</sup>be  
 but yiff ye com do more not be saked & on ye man p<sup>r</sup>oyed  
 of & ye stit was ye p<sup>r</sup> dfore othe comynge y<sup>e</sup> myght no man com  
 heven wep fere he samfomed & for ye wiche mo thynke y<sup>e</sup> com  
 is grettoly beholden to delcom hym m ye comynge ffor ye  
 pat I said att ye begynnynge pat blessed mot he be p<sup>r</sup> comynge  
 of our lord / ffondos for to ffordos ye p<sup>r</sup> do myght non hane  
 & dcomen to ye blisse but itt had ben lerne I shall shewe ye  
 ffignes m holy writte I yede m holy scriptures & m ye lade of heven  
 wep pat I yede quo / That d w<sup>r</sup>man .i. simamyl she had lorne  
 & itt happed so p<sup>r</sup> ye child died & when h<sup>r</sup> child was dede she toke  
 ye child w<sup>r</sup> du hery chop & putt itt m d chamb<sup>r</sup> & com to ye  
 helio & p<sup>r</sup>oyed hym of is helpe for h<sup>r</sup> child was dede he called  
 hym is bermit g<sup>r</sup>ez & had hym pat he shuld take is staffe & lay  
 upon ye w<sup>r</sup>mans child pat was dede yuo pphote f<sup>r</sup>mt g<sup>r</sup>ez  
 as is maist<sup>r</sup> bad hym. dud ye child was non ye tott ffor as ye  
 sypp f<sup>r</sup>on orat boy neq<sup>r</sup> sensus / g<sup>r</sup>ez com d<sup>r</sup>ozu to is maist<sup>r</sup>  
 pphote & toke hym / g<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>oy non f<sup>r</sup>uoyit & what trewe

(Ac) 112v, detail



(Ad) 112v, detail





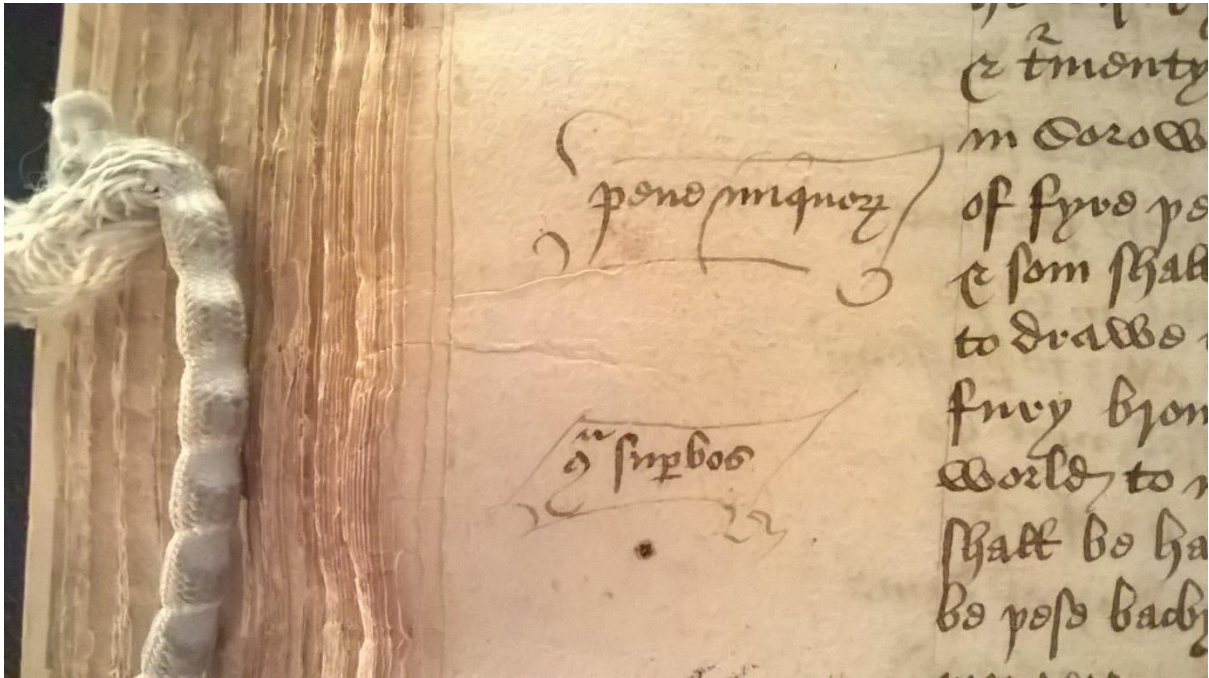
(Ag) f. 113v

not what tyme no what honer In yo wiche dome y shall  
 no gyle but alone wylfulnes for god hym selfe shall  
 all wylfulle & as clerkes seyn p luthu .ix. ordere of dngole  
 pntt shall pntt holy soules som w<sup>t</sup> dngole som w<sup>t</sup> dngole  
 aft hure lyfynge haths ben m ortho so shall be p soules m  
 hobon byght so per p shall be dampned m hell shall hane  
 & tmentynge som w<sup>t</sup> finale dore & som w<sup>t</sup> grett dore  
 m Carowe & cawe w<sup>t</sup> wton ends & som shall byome m p  
 of fyve yo wiche is .ix. tymes hou pan is dmy fyve m p  
 & som shall be hanggod be yo necke & dore w<sup>t</sup> dore natam  
 to drabe hne tymes m sondre & shall Smyte hore bodie thare  
 fny bymdes yo be all yis pronde mon p falsly jobber of  
 world to make hure wroched bodie gape & hne ors p  
 shall be hangod be yo tomge & dore In alle to timent p  
 be yis badyore & yis fals spokere of hore obon tten & yis  
 mongere pat for d litill money or ote for d good dyn wll stue  
 & dampne d trowmay & zitt & he be wrenthe w<sup>t</sup> is neybere  
 he wll for d poyre of gloses of G pons pnt hym fvd m  
 of pnt is tynge p god hap zoben hym for to presy p  
 it to fuche falschod he shall be hangod m hell p by for is fals  
 wton ends som shall also be drabon m to yo fyve & foud  
 noemb In alle d bowto hym & hore bodie shall be drabon  
 hore bodie as Judas was p<sup>t</sup> be trayod of for cobetys of  
 shall be yis fals cobetys men pat more sutes hore hore  
 of yo worldz pay per do on god. but trowe p wll p<sup>t</sup> god  
 to hane p wll hore m yo world p<sup>t</sup> he wll not pnyse p  
 d ney<sup>t</sup> worldz ffor p grett wchess I sey be p<sup>t</sup> non so grett m  
 lone not p god more pan p good lobe wll p<sup>t</sup> shall hane  
 p of Ensamptt hore to I fynde m croullt of cyssles  
 d stronge wche may m cyssle p<sup>t</sup> had muche goods & he had  
 p In pat he lobod bett yo good pan he dud god pat all  
 tyme as he went alone he bid wght pnt to hym selfe  
 god p<sup>t</sup> arto as mon sayn d grett lorde & nedis noman of  
 you be so grett granute me he sey p<sup>t</sup> I may liffe m yo  
 to die but to hane my luste w<sup>t</sup> my wyffe & w<sup>t</sup> my chyldren  
 wll make yo warrante p<sup>t</sup> Ino my wyffe no my chyldren

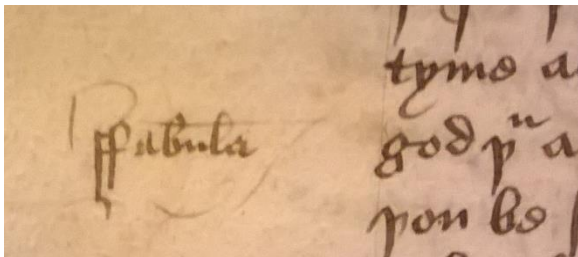
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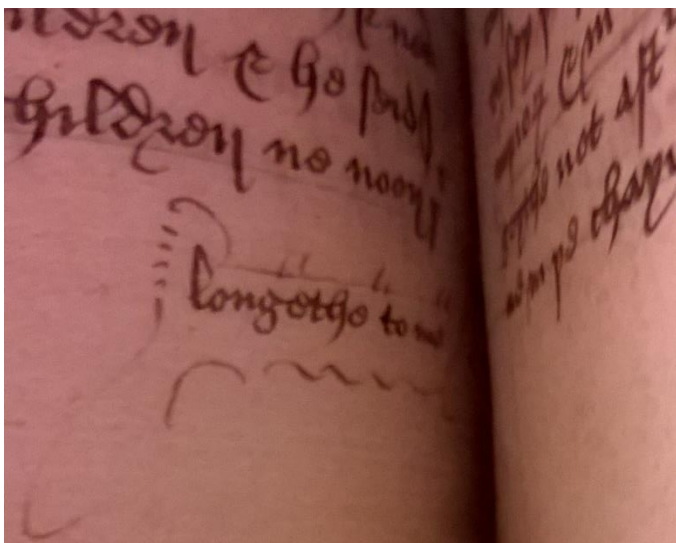
(Ah) f. 113v, detail



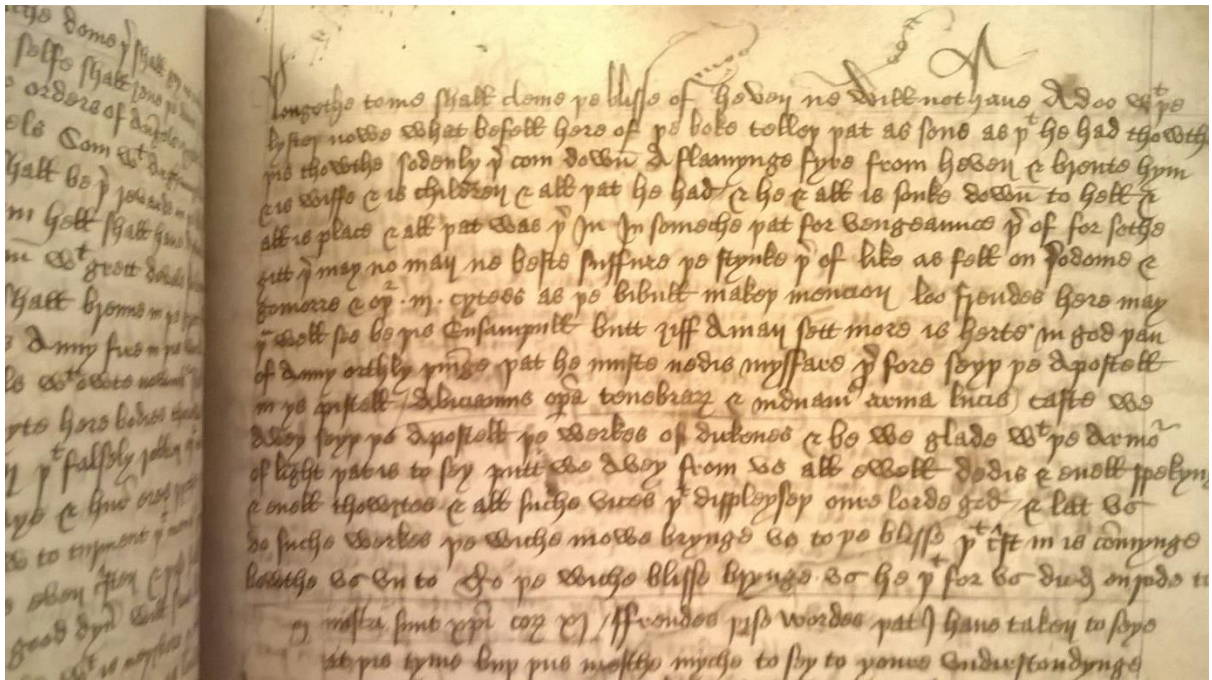
(Ai) f. 113v, detail



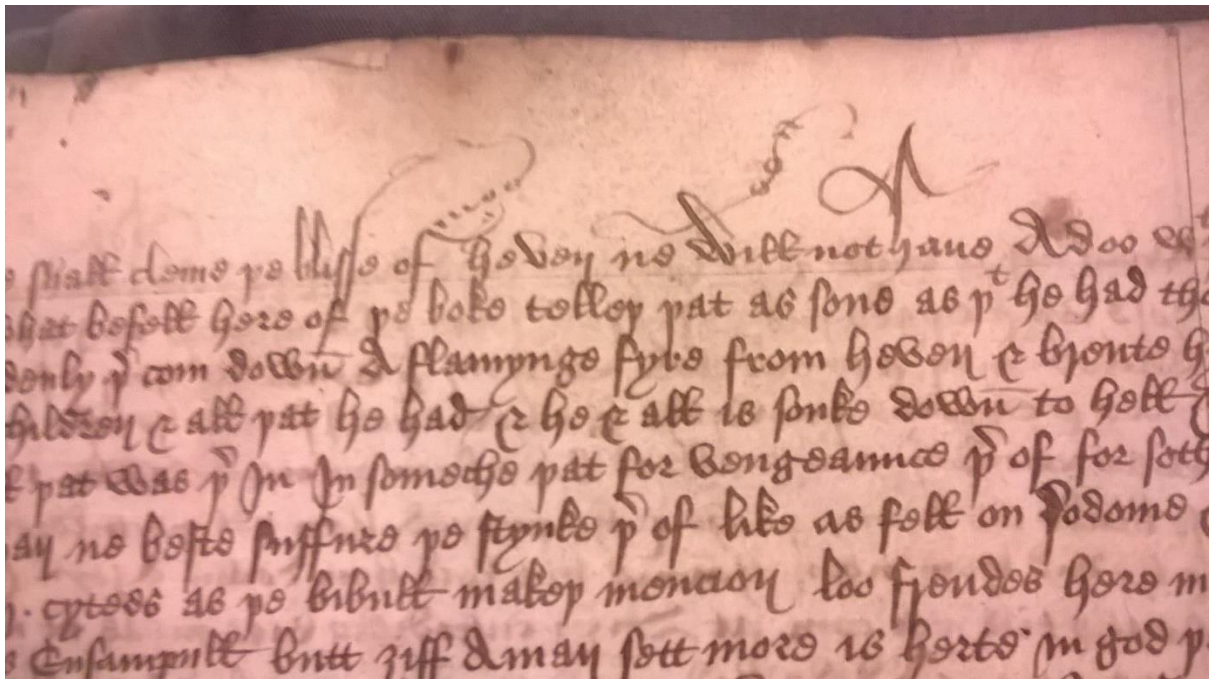
(Aj) f. 113v, detail



(Ak) f. 114r, top half



(Al) f. 114r, detail



(Am) f. 168r, bottom half

was fros & hore of had coparon onvs lord & wold not lesen vs handwarke  
 of good comynge was pphesied bo for of vs maid Ours for tmo comt  
 & maphotus mistus et saluator zacharye vs  
 & mpat he is make he is lonely & mpat he vs pphesied he will distre  
 as he had coparon of manbeand for p myght non earthly eatys postoy bo sans  
 only of & fore he tobe is blessed full mearnaton p myght neman co to p bliss  
 ffendes for drosses zo shall vnderstand p fynde m holy writt. m. comynge of on  
 lord the first was quon p he co to make man the second was quon he  
 to be man and vs. m. shall be quon he shall com to some may as  
 he vs first zo shall writt pat allmyghty god co mad ma worthest of all cramp

(An) f. 169r, top half

the first shuld last and he answered pom & bid till a mayde have bene dely  
 on vs comytte yus wordes Somple pacis est meum for per toward  
 non hand bene p a mayden shuld have qbered & aboue d'chyl  
 to have ben clond mayden But p lams myght p it was bene  
 done on too & fett to nowtys & pan per beloved vs pphesied the beates  
 no jesus fett on hie buess & warshypod onvs sabio truly p comyt  
 to and heretage for now vs shall have vs same joy m our solde  
 as herte can tynge & tynge can toll yus he was bene m onvs  
 as we bor of vs wold comytte pphesied by pphesied as it he self dert  
 m vs gossell of Egypt hie vs wiche by by ady he jehozephus Et  
 & d'bi d'fat Ope dm sup mo omphesias pampily mfit me Et sa  
 p d'caj captimo pmissond Coris visu d'metteyo c'pactoo  
 Crist shawoe p he com for by skilloe the firste is for vs d'fete  
 the second is to holoy hem p bon stes the m. to dely vs  
 pat wep m pson the m. to tecton hem pat wep ignorant the d.  
 freyne synofull mo her Gymeo the d. to yodemo manbeand and vs  
 cause to restes ma to strall blisse and pphesied as vs found co to the  
 bo do it co to zene bo liff & to helpe bo as he seip m vs gossell  
 John John I Ego mquid veni ut vitam habear et ut habm  
 the boy to zene he liff p per had lost m more plente  
 of d'etgo & of all pmpo





(8) London, British Library, Sloane MS 3160

(a) f. 26v, top half

temple seynge on this wyse hit is certeyn that myn  
 hand is an hand of preyenge. And ye han made it a  
 ben of thered and so he a bode. And ilke a day tyme  
 in the temple goralit. ffrendys this is the text  
 of the gospel of this day. the eschiche is us in  
 holy church. weyes a yep/oned a yend the conynge  
 of our lord. in to mankynde. And a noyed conynge  
 to his deth. And the thirde to the jngement. wher  
 he shal deme al mankynde. This day holy church  
 pncipally p'senteth his conynge in to mankynde  
 whiche tyme he enterd in to the blifful maye  
 of her toke the kyngdome of ~~hene~~ man. wher  
 alle the court of hene. sawe that man  
 alle to gedre in  
 fene of ac...  
de nata et passione xpi. ca. iij. The first copy  
 ned on this wyse. seynge gracions lord. of myght  
 mofte. that noble treatyd. that y madiste to the  
 litude mankynde. alas that it is losse. alas that so  
 sely treatyd. and so feyd. and so noble. that we  
 se it not heyd. with us. now my. thousand yep and  
 more. syn it was made. al myty god kyng. and  
 god. let mercy meke the. and hane pte of mankynde  
Quia nent tempus miserendum. Than our...

(b) f. 28v, bottom

moder in to white to  
 her the byng a yere that he shulde suffe the  
 dethe byng in this wyse. heil tabernacle  
 trinite flour of wheat. and of chapit  
 of may. and of thurte. my lene  
 to the  
 the fore I come from hevene to the  
 named soules from helle. and byng he  
 to joye. and make his peo. Thus losely this  
 byngly come the son of al myty god.  
 to take lene of his moder. wherme he shulde  
 take the dethe. Thus thanne was verified  
 the wordes that I toke to my tyme. wher  
 of syon be holde and p. how losely the  
 byng cometh nore to the. and this is for  
 the secunde. The thirde of syde he shal come  
 to deme al mankynde. that some shal be  
 dreadful for thanne shal he <sup>be</sup> reherped to no  
 alle the dedys. that ende see dede ye and all  
 the thurtes. that ende see thurte. that any  
 shal be so dreadful that al the creature  
 that ende were made shal be ferde in hevene

(c) f. 28v, detail

of syon be  
 byng come  
 the secunde  
 to deme al  
 dreadful for

(d) f. 29r

in erthe and in helle **Quia dies illa dies vespere**  
 for that day shal be a day of sorow and of den-  
 iance to he that hath ben trespassour. And  
 not kept the commandment of our lord that  
 day y<sup>e</sup> myshew shal be theyd thm accusers if y<sup>e</sup>  
 with este who. shal accuse the. seynt Bernard  
 sayth **Quod totus mundus te accusabit.** that al  
 the world shal accuse the. alle the creatures of bene-  
 ne shal accuse the. and alle the devils of helle shal  
 accuse the. seynge to the iuge in this wyse. **Quis**  
**sum index iudica** **quid estis meum** **he** y<sup>e</sup> beneft  
 iuge y<sup>e</sup> rightfull domes man. Some this wretched  
 soule to be myn and not thm. thyn he ead be  
 makinge and ~~thm~~ <sup>myn</sup> be servinge. thm he ead be  
 commande but the iuge he lefte and served me  
 y<sup>e</sup> yaf he clothyng of clemens. the cliche he  
 for soke and defrauded. And he is comyn hedyd  
 in clothyng of myn a my. thm he h. lyste and  
 myn he toke. to the rebel. to me obedient. and  
 bryng me y<sup>e</sup> seyd. **Qui bona egerunt ibunt in**  
**paradisum eternum qui vero mala in ignem et**  
**in.** aske this soule of right to be myn. And set  
 me in fyre of helle to brenne with vintyn ende.  
 alas. alas. ~~es~~ is that soule that shal here this  
 pleynte up on he. to the iuge sorow. al the world  
 brenne a boote he. helle open the devil redy  
 to drasse he in **Thom erat ei si natus non**  
**fisset.** he had ben good for he. that he had nere  
 be born. thanne shal the wretched soule be.

(e) f. 29v

rightful judgement he delivred to the timentours of here  
 in fyd to brene with outyn ende he canse he wote  
 not in this worlde leynge lone fine ne kepe the  
 mandementes of our lord Sanctus Malthe the blisse  
 Juge he trewe judgement. velen and coforte. his  
 frute that he loved and Jued in this worlde. and  
 kept his comandementes. thurme that he receyved  
 al tho that left her pyment whil thei were here  
 and made a menyge or thei passed out of this  
 worlde and in goodnesse made her ende. wherfor  
 that ende thei dede be fore so that thei shal have  
 the kyngdome of hevene. to her heritage. by and  
 joye with outyn ende. to the whiche joye and  
 blisse eve lastynge byynge yoes and me. qui  
 tu patre e spu sco. nunt e regnat deus p. p. n.  
 nra sta. Am. n.

**¶** Quinta n. adventus d. n.

**¶** Quint signa in sole luna e stellis e lina  
 21. Devotions lord god. for the goodnesse take us  
 in thy mercy. And ever shypful s. v. s. and d. n. s.  
 the. and that y. spake n. s. am. e. v. t. n. s.  
 in the g. l. s. and day. am. th. n. s. m. e. l. t. e.  
 signa and tokene. in the p. n. s. m. e. l. t. e.  
 and in the p. n. s. e. g. h. a. m. e. o. n. i. s. t. e. s. t. r. a.  
 monge his dysp. l. e. s. and t. r. e. a. t. e. h. e. t. h. e. c. o. n. g.  
 to the kyngdome of hevene. thei asked y.

(f) f. 29v, detail

**¶** Quinta n. adventus d. n.

**¶** Quint signa in sole luna e stellis e lina  
 21. Devotions lord god. for the goodnesse take us

(g) f. 30r

53  
30

the what knowynge the shalde have of the ende  
 of the worlde. Thanne answere he and seide  
emitt signa in sole et in lune thanne seide and laide  
 the shal be signed in the some in the mone and  
 in the sterres and in erthe a munge the peple  
 pressynge for confusion of noys of the se and of  
 flodes men excoynge drye for ferdenesse and drede  
 and exptacion the vchiche shal come sdenly to  
 alle the worlde vchiche for al aduers of hemene  
 shal be mened. Thanne shal the se the some of  
 man conynge in the floodes of hemene with  
 gret pociet and mageste. vchiche ye se the se  
 tokens be tyme lyfte up yowr hedy. he holde  
 and se yowr ransom and reward shal sone payed  
 be and be example. he holde the figge treis  
 and alle oved treis that bere frute. vchiche ye  
 se the frute is vyse ye knowe wele that it is  
 my herneft, right so vchiche ye se the tokens  
 be tyme. leneth wele the worlde endyng and  
 the kyngdome of hemene is ny. I lere yow  
 wete for sothe this yndacion shal not passe  
 til alle come hemene and erthe shal passe  
 and my word shal ende a lyde. this is the pcess  
 aft the lete of the gospel of this day. The ho-  
 ly doctor seynt Gregory sett in the same  
 gospel that our lord ihu desiryng to fynde

(h) f. 30v

no al they redy in thames. sheweth no the stripping  
 tokenes of the ende of the of the world. a geyn  
 the dreadful day of judgement that see wil not  
 for lone ne for asee ne for tethinge earth. since  
 ne from syne for drede of goden powere.  
 that is comynge a geyn the ende of the world  
 for to be wyppid for synt Jerome setteth in anno  
liby obroye setteth toknes 20. that shal be  
 a geyn the day of dome the schyde tokenes  
 whedyr the shal falle in on yep. and fyne a  
 noder. or eche yep or day. aft oden. he setteth  
 not that the holy doctre synt Gregory setteth  
 that many of hem ben comyn Signed in the  
 some he setteth. hane see synt Signed in the gonne  
 and in the ferrys. hane see synt pepulance a  
 amonge the peple. see hane in on place or in  
 oder. al exphymys see han had. qualyng of  
 the erthe see han filed. wyppid be tere ne remed  
 al they is in on pte. or in a noder. pressyng of  
 trechery. of filshed. and of conetyse amonge  
 the peple is al they hundered and destroyed  
 more than ende they see  
 So that the thynnyng  
 hane godys of holy chyrche or any man  
 chyrche in dange. so that al these tokenes. am  
 tomen. and the toden see drede can not be longe.  
 Of signed of noyse of the se. and of floodes see by  
 not of yet. these ben the wordes of the forsyde  
 holy doctre. synt Gregory. synt antyn

(i) f. 31r

De iudicio dno. senty he the soune is ended stonde  
 the soune of righteysnesse and lord of hevene  
 al myty. for the yone the world that is defraught.  
 and he the stered the peple that is surrealy.  
 this blessed soune shewyth us tokenes. to make  
 us wary. that is syknesse. disese. tribulation. los  
 of worldes godys. los of good name. pestilens.  
 and othe. so these are tokenyng. of the soune that  
 is to seye of our lord god. shewed to the to make  
 the wary. for if y<sup>e</sup> se any of these tokenes in thyn  
 emcriptur be right wyle wary and a wende the  
 lif. for ad myty is our lord god. for to sette his  
 talyd on the. as on a noddy. if y<sup>e</sup> se a man in  
 disese in syknesse in losse of catel. or take wyllyng  
 pestilens. have recourse of the. and helpe the to thi  
 possed wyllyng. y<sup>e</sup> may. and thanke wyle y<sup>e</sup> wyllyng  
 wende has soune. y<sup>e</sup> myt be takyn wyllyng the  
 same. for wyllyng. we proude help ful on sekely. as  
 the holy aplos pouke sent. **Ad philipenses vij.**  
**Qui se existimat stare uideat non cadat.**  
 If it seme to the that y<sup>e</sup> proude sekely. be wyle  
 wary. that y<sup>e</sup> falle not for thow y<sup>e</sup> be wende  
 so proude wende so hole wende so wyle at ese.  
 In reynyng of myte hit may wyllyng drasse  
 and the soune on the may sette his talyd  
 and thed fore in the lonyng be al wyllyng wyllyng  
 for y<sup>e</sup> proude sekely. **Est paratus in ui  
 uent domus inuenit te dormientem.**

(j) f. 31v

with vedy sette our lord god. that wehene the first  
 cometh y<sup>e</sup> be not founde slepyng. that is for to  
 sey. he vedy in good leryng. that in dedly synne  
 y<sup>e</sup> be not founde. slepyng. lest that the soune of  
 righteousnesse. set on the hys tokyd. The seconde  
 I sey. he the gyng. q. vnder fonde the ewelde y<sup>e</sup>  
 seconde he defuety. fals and swythy. **Patet ad oculu**  
 hit is shewed to the sight al day. for it fiveth be  
 the ewelde as it dothe be a ewele. that tyneth vnder  
 a boote. the ewelche ewele hat h<sup>e</sup> dy. spoke. The  
ewele that is al evey soluble is vnder fonde  
justableness. The first spoke is labo the seconde  
 is force the thirde diffyete the my. extortion  
 the d<sup>r</sup>. oppression the dy. lamentation the dy.  
fulfild. The signes of this ewele of this ewelde  
 is suftable for now y<sup>e</sup> art ewele. and now y<sup>e</sup>  
 art so. now y<sup>e</sup> art in epe. now in dysse. now in  
 bele now in syknesse. so that in this ewelde is  
 no stableness. The first spoke of this ewele is labo  
 ful herde labo y<sup>e</sup> takyft ny on the for to have  
 the plesance of this ewele. In dysse in ewete  
 In fowd in ewyter. in hete in colde. what herde  
 travel y<sup>e</sup> prittest the body to. y<sup>e</sup> gennest ny  
 spoke q. sey is force in getyng of ewelch gyng  
 herde care and study. how y<sup>e</sup> myte come ther  
 by. met care how y<sup>e</sup> shalt kepe it and met  
 care how y<sup>e</sup> shalt part fro it. **Sp.**  
**¶ Dives Sincias non congregat alij labore.**



(k) f. 32r

**Non tener absq̄ metu non deservit absq̄ dolore**  
 this is the seconde spoke. The thirde is disseyte  
 wedy for to disseyne. thyn unchristen for to please  
 the world with hyenge with sellyng with tre  
 very with ebyled with fals othys with colob of  
 the mouth with ful smethe in disseytes. for the  
 with the is ther non. **Am hys diez iam tūp**  
**factis nulla fides est in pactis. videte. oye**  
**in ore uba lactis fel in corde. frans in factis.**  
**tanete.** This day is seyth the doctor. In count  
 feth is ther non taketh hede. hony in mouth  
 corde as mylke. galle in herte. disseyte in dede  
 be sayd. this q̄. seyth the thirde spoke is disseyte  
the fourth q̄. seyth is extortion. be offys. be pover  
 the. be lordshyp. be fordwesse. have the pore manes  
 gode so that he may not thynne. he may not  
 up. so gret extorcions ben don to he. but feyn  
 to please his enemy. for to by his pes. the 8. is  
 oppresse the pore. to have his good. to  
 have his pryse. and for his pryse. yese he by  
 tel or ellys right wote. he dar not sey. a  
 geynt the. the remaninge of god shal veste  
 up on the thet fore. the 9. is q̄. seyth. lammen  
 tacion. if any dysese ful to the syknesse. tri  
 bulacion. blynde or lame. ȳ maketh sorow  
 thet fore. gretrest a yens our lord god  
 thet ȳ shuldest have gret mede if ȳ suf  
 frest it mekely. ȳ p̄meth the self dampnacion

(1) f. 32v

with the grettinge and with the lamentation  
 that y<sup>e</sup> shoulde here and with the charynginge  
 to the peyne with oute ende the  
 viij. sayng is fulfilled. A man shal  
not be fulfild. now it is so yone a mange  
 the peple that another eny man is a shamed  
 of A god of what is the cause truly for men  
 are now fuld to our lord god. art y<sup>e</sup> fuld to  
 our lord god ye truly. and that y<sup>e</sup> shal p<sup>r</sup>  
 madist y<sup>e</sup> not comente. whanne y<sup>e</sup> toke the  
 trustyngme at the prestys hande. for to be  
 tresser witten man. and be ye our lordes  
 lasse. and his comanmentes. y<sup>e</sup> truly. so  
 now the self eschep y<sup>e</sup> hast kept the comente  
 or noate. and y<sup>e</sup> tresser y<sup>e</sup> shal esche f<sup>r</sup>  
 that y<sup>e</sup> hast ben fuld to our lord god. lo  
 shuldest y<sup>e</sup> thanne be tresser to the newe  
 y<sup>e</sup> art fuld to our lord god. lo these are the  
 viij. spoken of the eschete of this worlde. c. d.  
The thirde q sayng is under stonde. be the stonde  
 that is surely. and of dyde comf<sup>r</sup>  
 now as y<sup>e</sup> shal see in this pistel. ad.  
 comf<sup>r</sup>es. Sten. cella in da  
vitate sic erit in resurrex.  
 That is for to say. to yone under p<sup>r</sup>  
 that on flessch is better than a wode in  
 nesse and in butnesse. Fight so shal it be  
 at the dreadful day of dome. in the resur<sup>r</sup>

(m) f. 33r

remon of dede men fume of the schul be bryte  
 and there in the sight of god. these be handryed  
 out of the world in ferty helene and stabl-  
 nesse of holy church and out of dedly fyne  
 and in ferty long and charite. a yene god and  
 a yene his neybor **Vnde sacra scriptura dicit**  
**fulgebunt iusti sicut sol.** And fume shal be  
 dyne and dusky in that tyme the whicher wep  
 shewe in good werkes byryng. and mozt ha-  
 ne don many good dedys and dede not for  
 stonthe of the self **Vnde scribitur fides sine opibz**  
**est mortua sine aut ita fides sine bonis opibz**  
**est mortua.** That is for to say. ferty wozt out  
 good werkes is as an ymage of dety for wight  
 as a body wozt out a soule is ded. wight so ferty  
 and bylde wozt out good werkes is ded. And the  
 fire her soules are deker and dymmer than  
 oder her whicher hitte don many good dedys  
 in her byt the fire ye shal onder stonde that  
 the are my kyndes of sterres that is for to  
 say. **Stella dicens ad xpm.** **Stella pferens xpm**  
**Stella adornans celum.** **et stella cadens in ter-**  
**ram.** **Stella dicens ad xpm est gna.** **Stella**  
**pferens xpm est uirgo maria.** **Vnde sicut**  
**serus radium pferit uirgo filium e celis.** **Tercia**  
**stella est celum ad ornans ut st.** **Vnde in**  
**ecclesiastico gna celis est splendor stellarum.**  
**Quarta stella est cadens sup terram.**

(n) f. 33r, detail

17. Stella dicens ad xpm. // Stella pferens xpm  
 stella adornans celum. et stella cadens in ter-  
 ram // Stella dicens ad xpm est gra // Stella  
 pferens xpm est virgo maria // Unde sicut  
 sicut radium pferit virgo filium e etc // Tercia  
 stella est celum ad ornans ut si. Unde in  
 ecclesiastico gra celum est splendor stellarum  
 Quarta stella est cadens sup terram.

(o) f. 33v

sicut vespere sunt enim in celo / tunc quida stel-  
 lax stella ardens e lucens maiori claritate  
 e significat eos qui ardent in caritate nec  
 lucent in bona opaco et est stella si ardens  
 si lucens ut sunt illi qui non hnt ardens  
 caritatis. si lucent in bone opaco hnt  
 in fideles e falsi xpm qui designantur  
 p illam tertiam ptem stellarum // Thei fore  
 ye shall onder stonde. that thei ben my kyndes  
 of ferred that is to sey that led th a man  
 soue to hevene. The ij. ferred that signet  
 argeth to our saluacion. to pure manned soue  
 the thirde stell that honoureth hevene the  
 myt stell is that fallt do in to erthe. that  
 fellt ledt manned soue in to hevene thurgh  
 the grace of god thurgh the egriche jee no  
 man is possible to come thes erthe out his  
 grace and mercy. hit signet be the jee of god  
 ad bothe the soue. that signet in to the hand  
 for if y spare the doer. and the conuersed  
 and poye out the lyt mychel verkwylle in  
 the hand that the soue of grace may not  
 enter. that is to sey. if y spare erthe june  
 thei best soue and conuersed  
 eris not p  
 confession. the ferre of jee. and mychell  
 may not enter. in to the soue. be cause of erthe  
 ledness of soue that is in the soue. and  
 thei fore if y cast hane jee duellyng in

(p) f. 34r

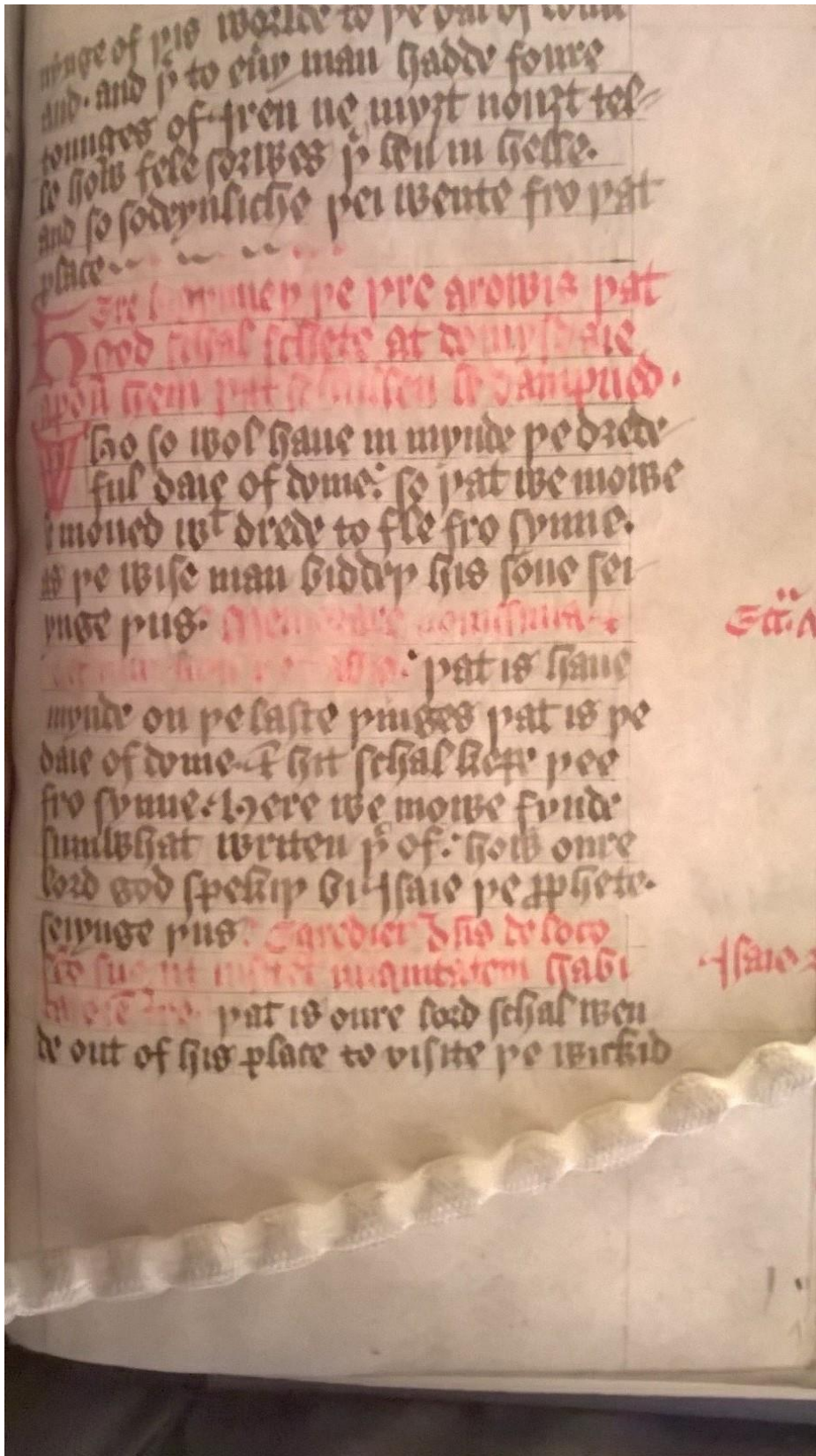
the soule. I must sayde hymne. be trewe confes-  
 sion and penance saynge. and that godly step<sup>o</sup>  
 that byngge the to wite. The secunde step<sup>o</sup> the  
 which is shynge. be tokeneth our lady saynt  
 mary. the which seced her dere sone. crist the  
 to the kynges of tolye. and the offred to the  
golde. myl<sup>o</sup> and succend. that is to say to yone  
under stonynge. that he is very god and man  
 be the succend is under stonde. devout prayere  
 with meknesse. be the myl<sup>o</sup> is under stonde. mor-  
 tification of flesch. that is to do bodily penance  
 for hymne. The thirde step<sup>o</sup> is honowryngge he-  
 nene as holy men doue that is for to say pa-  
 triarke of tolye. aples mynyng matters <sup>and</sup> con-  
 fessiones and oder holy men to come to henene.  
and the fore I may seele say that endy cristen  
 man is a step<sup>o</sup> honowryngge henene. The fourth  
step<sup>o</sup> is fallynge in to erthe. as luterfel fel  
 out of henene in to helle. for the soule syne  
 of pryde and envye. that folowes the. al so the  
 are in kynges of sterve. on is breynynge  
 and shynge. and more there than oder. and  
 that tokeneth good men and women that  
 are in pryde love and charite. echon with oder  
 and shynge in good werke. and shynge. and  
 good dedys doynge. The secunde step<sup>o</sup> is breyn-  
 ynge. and not shynge. that be tokeneth  
 hem that are in charite. and in the self.

(q) f. 34v

wyngunge no good everys to the plesance of  
 god. nor helpunge to her encreasen **Et idem**  
**doct. in euangelio sic dicitur hic nra coram**  
**gody etc** That is to say. hit is not q. nor. a  
 man to be in charite in the self. but al so to  
 the ody. the odyes of charite in example  
 to ody men. The thirde step. is. noder shynnyng  
 ne hremynge. the odye geneth no hert and  
 that he tokeneth wytted a man and odyne  
 that ledyn her bynes in many. seruyth and  
 odyng. and debated amonge the peple and  
 gene shewes ensample of wytted leryng  
 vader than of good leryng. and ther fore  
 the tresoure on to hem shal be the peyne  
 of helle. and lassyng. And ther fore evy  
 man cometyng to come graciously to  
 the herte of hemene. and lassyng. make hesty  
 and kepe the ody. from synne and lode the  
 hert in love and charite. and good everys  
 leryng. And thanne he shal come to y  
 joye and blisse. and lassyng. the odye  
 blisse he buyng no that ny on the cross  
 dyed the xpe. And

(9) London, British Library, Additional MS 10036

(a) f. 85r



(b) f. 85v

nesse of hem pat enhabiten pe erpe  
 certis pis dome schulde soueynly be  
 dradd. for in as myche as he uolt  
 do my; so myche schal he pan do  
 streyt venable rytisnesse. for it  
 is of god in liknes: as it is of pe  
 soune. pe soune holdis his cours:  
 passyng out of pe signe of pe lion in  
 to pe signe of pe borne. & out of pe  
 signe of pe borne in to pe signe of  
 pe balance. **T**he lion is a strong  
 best & a fel. & in pis signe was crist  
 pe soune of rytisnesse: bi fore pe in  
 carnacion. for he was pan so fel  
 pat what man pat brak his bid  
 ding: anone he schulde be dede. for  
 it is writen in holi writ. how ananias  
 was don to pe deeth bi godes comman  
 dement. for he gadrid stichis on pe  
 sabot daie. & dide no grett trespass  
 But out of pe signe of pe lion. he  
 passid in to pe signe of pe borne ma  
 ria. & pan he was made more redi to  
 do my; pan he was to do venance.



(c) f. 86r

name it bigan & zit it lastep pat he va  
 reide. when he was in pe signe of pe  
 lion: *Anna que precavit cito mori*  
*tur:* pat is pe soule pat symep anoue  
 it schal dre. Now when he is in pe sig  
 ne of pe boyne he seip pus: *Prolo*  
*mortem p[ro]p[ri]a sed ut magis comitat*  
*ur:* pat is 4 wol not pe dep of  
 a symer. but more pat he le tued aivan  
 & tyme. But certis out of pe signe of  
 pe boyne he schal passe in to pe sig  
 ne of pe balance at pe dai of dome.  
 when he schal pame weie alle oure  
 poytes. wordes & oure werkies i euen  
 pes of his rytwisnesse pat he may  
 rede to echie man after pe treupe of  
 his desert. And what he schal pando.  
 here now what he seip bi moises his  
 wyllete: *Congregabo sup eos mala &*  
*domus meam complebo in eis:* pat  
 164 schal heven apon hem here vnelis:  
 44 schal distruide alle myn arrowis  
 apon hem. & 17 scharp arrowis schul  
 len le schot of oure lord in pat daie

(d) f. 86v

Apon hem pat schullen se dampned.  
 The furst arouse schal be of clepunge  
 to pe doue: where of crist spekep in  
 goppel seynge pus. *Venit hora in  
 omnes qui in monumentis sunt and  
 erunt vocem filii dei & pcedent qui bonis  
 vero mala in resurrectionem vite qui  
 pat is to seie pe houre comep in whi  
 che alle men pat ben in graues. schullen  
 here pe vois of godes sone. & pei pat  
 haue donu good ynges schullen go  
 in to azen risynge of lyf. But pei p  
 haue donu yuele ynges in to azen ri  
 synges of dome pat is to be dmed.  
 panne pe wretched dampned soules  
 schul come to pe bodi & seie to it. ari  
 se pou enlyd cartif careyne fro mo  
 tyne forpe wt oute any cude. to be  
 felow to pe deuyl & enemy to al myghti  
 god. **S**row pi iou schal be tned in to  
 wo. pi delice in to bitnesse. & pi sawyt  
 in to weynge. Row wretched pi  
 schort lust: schal passe in to euylastyn*

(e) f. 87r

soue. Now hit is fulli ifalle to pee.  
 what so eue you desirist to haue had.  
 Now hit is passid fro pee al pat you  
 louest. & now hit is comen al pat you  
 hatid ist. Cursid be you wretched cartyf  
 careue for in pyne of m synnes &  
 m delias & m wickidnesses. fro pat  
 tyme siben & passed fro pee. & haue bi  
 sily brent in helle. **C**ursid be y helle  
 bond. ordyued to pe fyre of helle  
 pat uene schal be quenschid. Cursid  
 be pe tyme in which he & was furste  
 complid to pee. for now & mai nougt  
 leue pee. m cursid company & mai  
 nougt eschewe wolle. & or nyle. **C**  
 am constreyued to be kny & azen to  
 pee. So we y fore to gidre bi fore pe  
 oredful domesman. y for to here oure  
 enlastinge dampnacioun. **T**anne schul  
 en alle wickid uen se pe mste cause  
 of here owyn dampnacioun. witten  
 ist here owyn hondes in pe boke of  
 here conscience. pe which boke gope  
 lewid & lewid schullen rede it be self.

(f) f. 87v

and if pou seie pat leuid men comme  
 nouzt rede: & seie pat þis noug so  
 leuid. pat he ne can rede þe lett of  
 his ouyn writting. þaume þei schul  
 se þe dymysman as he were wood  
 for wrape azens hem. Of þis wood  
 nesse & of þis wrape spak þe pph  
 dauid. when he prey to & deliued  
 of hem hope seruiser þus: *Domine  
 in furore tuo arguas me: neq  
 in ira tua corripas me:* pat is  
 lord in þi wodnesse oucome me no  
 wt skullis: & chastice me not in þi  
 wrape. þo man þenke pat wrape  
 or wodnesse or any suche troublid  
 manes passioun may be in god. But  
 þe fory þei ben sette in scripture for þe  
 werkes of god in pmysshing &  
 remanuce of synne in alle synners  
 pat ben worpi to takee suche passioun  
 of pmysshing as ben wrape & wo  
 dnesse: pat is eny þei schuld & chast  
 tised bi þe yue pat schal haue an end  
 as is purgatorie. þe which is callid

(g) f. 88r

Here pe wrape of god. eip ellis per  
 schullen be peyued poris vemaunce i  
 pe horrible pyne of helle. pat uene  
 schal haue ende. pe wliche is callid  
 here pe wodnesse of god. Al pis pe  
 prophete dauyd seip in spirit. and per  
 fore he in pe pson of alle synners.  
 felynge him vniuyti to here eu eip  
 hurst astay to be deliued of helle &  
 affward of patorie seynge pis.  
*Miserere mei dñe qm̄ infirmus sum.* pat  
 is lord haue my on me. for I am vn  
 myti to here eu eip. pat is to seie. I  
 am vniuyti to here pme arguynge  
 in pe dome eip pi chastisment i pur  
 torie. but if it so be pat I be vpborn  
 eip supportid with pi my in p<sup>r</sup> dre  
 deful dan of oure lord. **T**han schulle  
 alle wickid men se hem fitte in pe  
 dome with crist whom per had here  
 despisid. & in pis syt ben troubrid  
 with an horrible dreed. seynge pe  
 word of pe wise man. *Non sunt ho  
 mīnū in derisum habundā in stultici*

(h) f. 88v

tudinem uisum nos incensati uitam  
 ipoz estuabim? famam & finem illa  
 sine honore. Quomodo & compita  
 ti sunt ut filios dei & ut stros  
 illor est. ergo erantur a via uirtutis  
 & iusticie. tunc non sunt uobis  
 sol intelligencie uo est ortus nobis  
 lassati sum? in via iniquitatis & u  
 diaonis & ambulamus? uias diffi  
 les uiam autem dñi ignoramus? quid  
 uobis pfuit supbia. aut dunciar  
 iactancia. quid uobis contulit. tñ  
 erunt omnia illa tñqñ umbra & uer  
 titis. quidem nullu signu habem? an  
 tem uia consumpti sum? p'at id  
 pise sen po. pe wliche some tyme  
 we hadden in to scou. & in to lukes  
 of schensche. we vultitty wrechtes  
 helden here luf wadnesse. & here ca  
 de wt outen hono. But so now how  
 per hem acountid amonge pe soncs  
 of god & amonge pe seruites of god  
 pe lote of hem is. p' fore we hanc  
 erris fro pe waie of treupe. & pe

(i) f. 89r

Act of ryttyfnesse hath nozt schyned  
 to vs. & pe sone of vnderstondinge hap  
 nozt spronge to vs. we ben made wery  
 in pe waie of wickidnesse & of p. dia  
 cum. & we haue gone harde waies. for  
 we wei of pe lord we knowe nouzt  
 what hap pride wrocht to vs or pe  
 goost of ryttesse. what hap it brougt  
 to vs. alle pise pnyges han passid as  
 a schadewe. & we forsope nowe schewe  
 no tokene of holynesse. for we ben  
 wasted in oure wickidnesse. p. au among  
 alle pat multitude of seruites. p. ei schul  
 den nozt fynde one pat schal haue com  
 passoun of hem. but alle p. ei schullen  
 be glad. & consente with god in here  
 wite dampnacion as pe p. hete dauid  
 wittnesse seynge pus. **Letabit iustus**  
**in uiderit uindictam.** pat is pe ryttyfne  
 man schal be gladdid. when he schal  
 se remaunce. p. au as crist seip him  
 self. p. ei schullen seeke for to entre i  
 to treues of stonnes. & in to swolens  
 of pe erpe. fro pe dredful face of oure

(j) f. 89v

lord. panne per schullen þie mounteyn  
 to falle apon hem. & gyltes for to hid  
 hem. so wo per schullen le on euys  
 d. & þis is þe wounde of þe first  
 arrowe. **T**he secunde arrowe schal  
 be of scharp reþuruge of alle false  
 csten men. When he schal seie to hem  
 þus. I was an hungred. & ye gawe  
 me no mete. I was a þurst. & ye gawe  
 me no drink. I was naked. & ye  
 gawe me no clothes. I was herboresed  
 & ye herboresed not me. I was sike  
 & in þisoun. & ye visitid not me ne de  
 den me any comfert. & what þis vo  
 ice schal be dredful. when it schal be  
 seide to hem. þat as ofte as þei diden  
 not þise dedes of miȝt to any of his  
 þat need hadde. so ofte þei diden it  
 not to him. and no wondre þou  
 þis voise schal be dredful in þe day  
 of dome. þyrou we rede in þe gospel  
 þat when hit cam in þe forme of a  
 seruaunt to be demed of þe false se  
 wis. he seide to hem þat souȝt to



(k) f. 90r

take him. & am he. & none per yow a  
 Gali. & fette to pe ere. If he p<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup>an  
 he was dweli. & came he demed. hadde  
 so ferdful avois. per wt his w<sup>o</sup> woude  
 weve to pe ground so many sterue  
 men of ierwis. after more ferdful vois  
 schal he haue. when he schal come  
 vndeli with his w<sup>o</sup>t of hola amige  
 his & of sevutis for to deme pe quyl  
 & pe dede. *In my p<sup>r</sup>iam p<sup>r</sup>estam ser*  
*moni ems audire possunt to intelli*  
*magnitudinis ems quo potit itueri.*  
 pat is sypen man mai vneyes. heve  
 alitel drope of his wordes. pe grete  
 pondre of his dome who schal moie  
 suffre. as who seip none. and p<sup>r</sup> fore  
 seip sevut zervard p<sup>r</sup>us. w<sup>h</sup>erane  
 pe synful cattif schal he accusid. & his  
 oibyn constiency schal heve witueste  
 azens him. & eiv creature of god  
 schal arise azens him in venance  
 vrenous as an aroise schal pan se  
 pe vois of god to suffre. and herfore  
 seip pe. *Whete. Jerevive p<sup>r</sup>us. S<sup>r</sup>oite*

(1) f. 90v

**vulnans** **linguans**: pat is pe tunge  
of hmi schal be an arowe wounding  
& pis is pe wound of pe secunde arowe  
pe pridde arowe schal be of euyles  
dampnacon of alle wickid men.  
Wher he schal seie to hem pus.  
**Discedite a me maledicti in ignem**  
**et in ignem qui paratus est diabolo & an**  
**gelis eius**: pat is to seie wythe pee  
ze fro me cursid wretched in to eu  
lastinge fire pat is made redi to pe  
dnyl. & to his anigelis. pis arowe  
schal wounde hem. pat it fallep ou  
so greuousli pat alle lechis fyre  
eys & surgens. ne zit alle pe cur  
turus of henene ne merpe schal  
moube hede pe wounde of it. panno  
schal pe erpe opne his moupe &  
swolwe hem dū in to helle. wher  
pe schullen be timentid w<sup>t</sup> fended  
eu more w<sup>t</sup> owten ende. zit alas  
p<sup>r</sup> hmi q<sup>d</sup> drede ful many p<sup>r</sup> uen wolle  
hylene pise purges. or pei felen  
hem of whom seyut & usele seip pus

(m) f. 91r

*De quibus datus est hic p̄us sententia q̄m  
 credere noli.* pat is wo h̄ to hem to pe  
 w̄liche hit is zonen rap̄ to fele pise  
 p̄nges. pan to bilene hem. & pis is pe  
 wounde of pe pridyde aroube. But pan  
 schal crist t̄ne to hem pat heu on his  
 ryt hounde. & seie to hem p̄us. *Venite  
 benedite p̄us mei possidite paratu  
 nobis regnū a constitucōne mundi.*  
 pat is to seie. Come ze pe blessed chil  
 dren of my fader. take ze in possionū  
 pe kyngdom made redi to zow. fro pe  
 malynge of pe worlde. for & hungred  
 & ze fedden me. & pristede & ze gaue  
 me drinke. & was herbores. & ze her  
 borden me. & was naked. & ze cloped  
 me. & was sike & ze visitid me. & was  
 in p̄son. & ze camen to me. for as ofte  
 as ze diden pise p̄nges to pe lest of  
 mi. ze diden to me. So pat blessed  
 hounde & kyngdom & ioye euylastynge  
 graunge vs ihu crist pat bouyst man  
 with p̄ precious blode merciful  
 god. amen. here endy a trectise p̄  
 is callid pe in. arrowes.

(n) f. 93r

flerunge. hurtunge. fytunge. chidung.  
 pledunge. fals domes. & of many har  
 mes. **III vel od m.** Wrape pat is  
 willdunge of remanuce. & of harue &  
 dunge to hym pat he is wrope w.  
 and when wrape biseuey stille in  
 hart souge. Wrape bicomney to hate.  
 and y of comey fals folwunge in  
 to diuse courtes. Sacbitunge. wan  
 slerunge. lesung. manye of folies  
 & so he lost godes gr. & charyte.  
**India.** Sleupe is heuynesse of gost  
 liche werkes. ydelnesse pat a man  
 has no likynge in god ne in his ser  
 uise. ne in his synnes to schewe to  
 cryst in schryft. y of comey wretched  
 nesse in gostliche delite in slepe. & in  
 ydelnesse in soule in wanthope & al  
 mane lette in soule hele. **Cupiditas**  
**vel avaricia.** Couetise is a lone out  
 of mesure of worldliche good pat  
 may be reuened as gold & silu. &  
 alle of punge remuable of vure

(o) f. 93v

unnable. as lord schyres hous. loud. vn  
 rytful by mynyng. purchasyng.  
 in buyyng in sellyng & metyng.  
 in weyng in mesure of alle man  
 of mesures. & also gyle tretherie.  
 sacrilege. synnour. pestie. & wroug.  
 wt holdyng. **Gula vel crapula.**  
 Gloteny is loue out of mesure in  
 likyng of mete & drynke pat men  
 ofte synne. June. as in etyng &  
 drynkynge to muche. & to late. to  
 rape oute of tyme. as in fastyng  
 daies. of fastyng iset b schryft op  
 a vow ymade. op herte of holi chir  
 che. in haryng or makyng of metes  
 & drynke to likyng of pe flesche  
 pe whiche is dedlych synne ofte. as  
 when it makyng amaued godi hery  
 to seruy god. op dullly his wit. op  
 byuetyng amau his herte of godi. op  
 of stomak in brykynge op febley  
 his herte op his wittis op his synnes  
 op his body steryng to synne in eny

(p) f. 94r

mane dre. **Inuria:** For as muche  
 pat pedde of licherie in eny mane  
 wyse yd bitwene man & woman  
 out of spousehode is dedliche synne  
 holi church forbiddyp no man to  
 suffre his children his seruautes  
 ne none of man ne woman of seven  
 yere olde of more lisse to gidre for  
 peril of his synne licherie. If  
 his synne of licherie nedyp no mo-  
 re to speke for eche man knowip  
 his owyn dvinge & in what mane  
 he trespasser.

**Decem precepta ueteris testamenti.**  
**Honora dnm dnm:** The first  
 of goddes ten hestes is pat you schalt  
 honour o god - & hym ouliche serue  
 in his heste is forbode al mane maner  
 mentrie. wychecraft. alle enchaun-  
 tementes. redyng of weteles &  
 alle unssilene. **Non assumes no-**  
**men dñi tui in uanum:** That of heste  
 is pat you schalt not take pi



(c) f. 4r, top

the conynge of manys sone the lyte & the faerful powder  
 Whanne he smyter he cleney ordeptyr & makey for  
 to stynde so god Whanne he schal smyte w<sup>t</sup> ful bit  
 ter pepnes alle the part of is aung body he schal to  
 cleue sopt no pty of hymne p<sup>t</sup> schal be dampned schal  
 to cleue sopt no pty of hymne p<sup>t</sup> schal be dampned  
 schalle be pame unpunished & vulner a body he schal  
 make it i helle for to styne of whom god say by ysaias  
Interferti eoz p<sup>t</sup>iaentur de cadaunly eoz astandet fetor  
 the styn of heme schal styre up styne // p<sup>t</sup>ore p<sup>t</sup> god be  
 of the fuste conynge & draddes of the laste conynge of  
 bope pepe is spoken of here // the is bitolunged by the  
 reyna bolke i whiche appere the coloure amedelid co  
 loure bryzt & furen by the which is signified the co  
 mynges of the // for i his fuste conynge schelbed the  
 medelid coloure Whanne he of vny p<sup>t</sup>relyssye p<sup>t</sup>u  
 de onpunished p<sup>t</sup>uance to oure foune fadris & hut  
 no fully as pei hadden disserued. w<sup>t</sup> bot medeled hit  
 w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> so p<sup>t</sup> finally hadampned hem not i the p<sup>t</sup>on  
 de conynge he was as wete w<sup>t</sup>ur for i v<sup>t</sup>our

(d) f. 4r, bottom

reyna bolke i whiche appere the coloure amedelid  
 loure bryzt & furen by the which is signified the co  
 mynges of the // for i his fuste conynge schelbed the  
 medelid coloure Whanne he of vny p<sup>t</sup>relyssye p<sup>t</sup>u  
 de onpunished p<sup>t</sup>uance to oure foune fadris & hut  
 no fully as pei hadden disserued. w<sup>t</sup> bot medeled hit  
 w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> so p<sup>t</sup> finally hadampned hem not i the p<sup>t</sup>on  
 de conynge he was as wete w<sup>t</sup>ur for i v<sup>t</sup>our  
 mildenesse & mekenesse of takynge of mankynde he  
 was made vnto us w<sup>t</sup>ur abul to be thowke i p<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup>idde  
 conynge he schalle deme the quike & p<sup>t</sup> dede & the w<sup>t</sup>ol  
 de alþ by f<sup>t</sup>ur he schal deme peye is the f<sup>t</sup>ur coldlye  
 & p<sup>t</sup>re m<sup>t</sup>elkaf d<sup>t</sup>uerye heu p<sup>t</sup>itte out of his bone of so  
 rolke of lone & of condempnacion to oure foune fadris  
 oure lorde beude his bolke Whanne he sepe Iniquitas  
die comadyf ex eo uorte uoreys i whiche die day p<sup>t</sup>  
 ctust of hit w<sup>t</sup> daep p<sup>t</sup> schalt die bot p<sup>t</sup> not d<sup>t</sup>edynge  
 actou per of & oure w<sup>t</sup>ed p<sup>t</sup>ame his bolke a uon & p<sup>t</sup>et  
 to hau in tholke of sorolke & i w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup>oude mankynde  
 w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup>relyssye houg<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup>urste & cooldes & of many m<sup>t</sup>ys  
 cherys p<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup>olk mankynde w<sup>t</sup> felip & so he p<sup>t</sup>uett w<sup>t</sup>  
 p<sup>t</sup>re arelle the w<sup>t</sup>oude of deap to ma wherfore heay  
 q<sup>t</sup> & p<sup>t</sup> Sagitta tue i fixe sic tunc t iob dit p<sup>t</sup>ratte  
tue i me p<sup>t</sup>ur quate i dignitate abibit spm melle p<sup>t</sup>me  
in abis ben styed tunc & iob p<sup>t</sup>ur p<sup>t</sup>me arellis bene  
p<sup>t</sup>ue me pe i dignitatu of whom d<sup>t</sup>uerye up my p<sup>t</sup>ur  
man p<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup>oude & traueled of the fend w<sup>t</sup>he he m<sup>t</sup>g





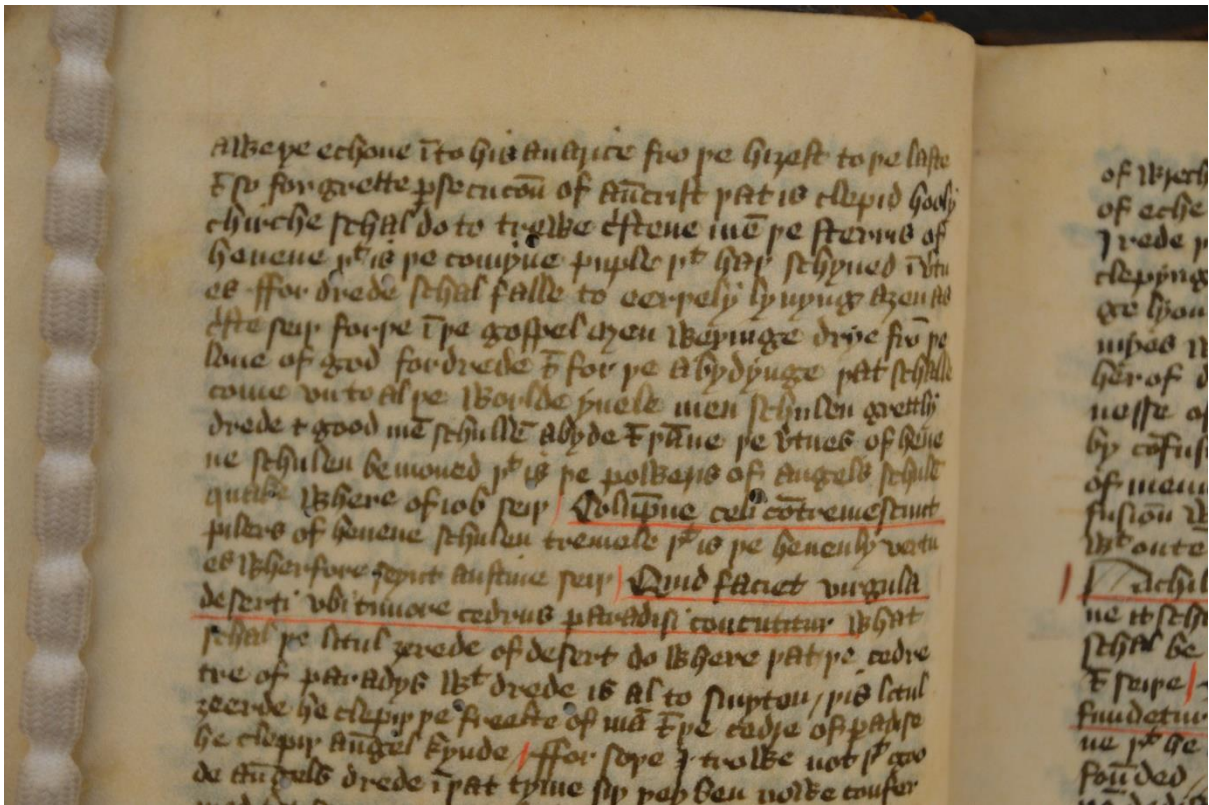
(g) f. 5r, top

of est lapides torquentes illi dulces fuerunt sive verum pe  
 schampe stones harde ful stete vuto hme wherofore pa  
 rissance sey pms ardor et dilectiois absorbet guttas caruaf  
affectionis pe byenunge sopeh; of loue pouper pe drapuo of  
 fleystich affectou; & as pe suppr the tendip ye herte of pe fire  
 wt drap of watu; so day pe watu of tbulacou pe fire of  
 loue wherofore it is grete. Bot sume me & lymie deu so ar  
 med wt wt pese forsaide arrolles per may not be perched  
 w any spacle of pe fire of loue may aucte wt yme he &  
 sfore per wt pe pshent life deu not woude wt after a  
 rolles of loue i pe prude compuge per schulen by suyto  
 wt arrolles of pdicou whene hit schal be seyde to hem  
pe maledicti i igne eternu weende ze waned wherof  
 i to pe fire euilastunge panue as pe pnter sey gladnu  
suu vobis abit am suu teteudrt he schal grandische hit  
 sberde & he schal beude his bolke & schetz pe folweye for  
 seyde arrolles & drine to helle his enemyes & poe woude  
 schulen uene be helud wt wt pese arrolles schulen be suyto  
 bot pynunge & drine auange

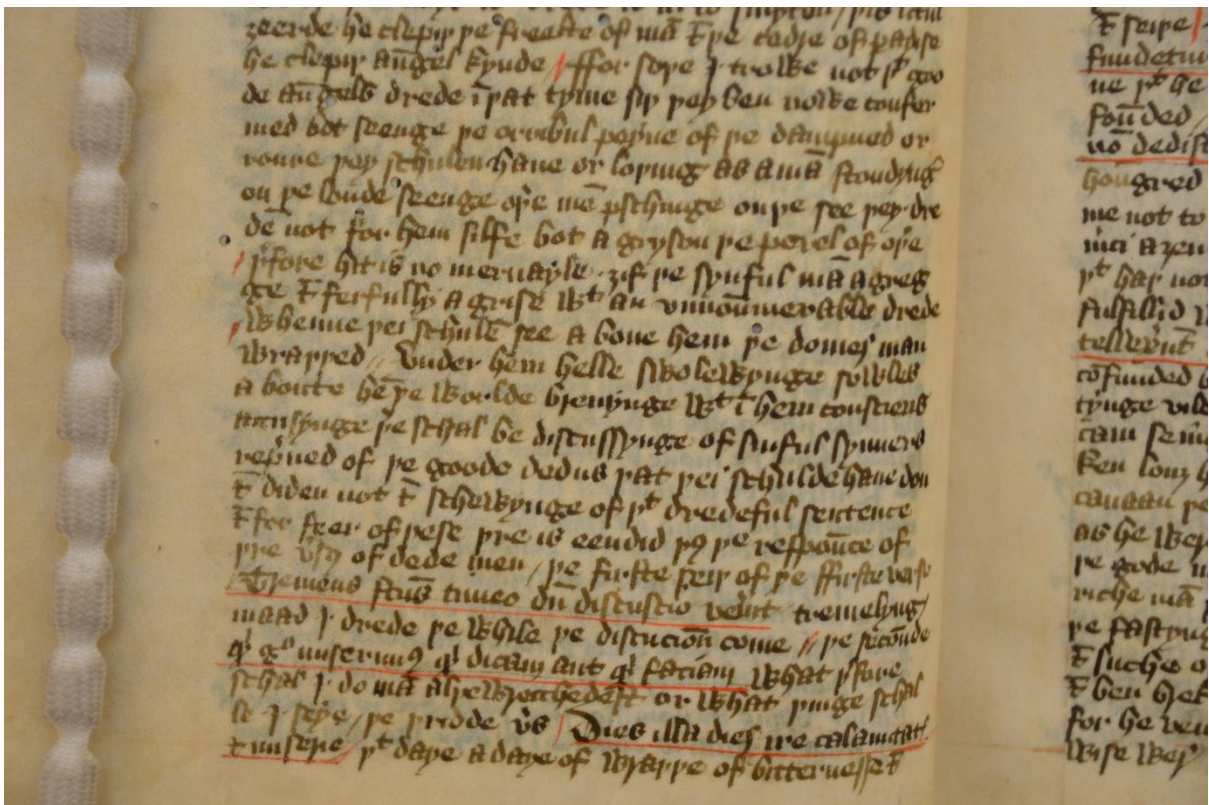
(h) f. 5r, bottom

seyde arrolles & drine to helle his enemyes & poe woude  
 schulen uene be helud wt wt pese arrolles schulen be suyto  
 bot pynunge & drine auange pe fender & zyt per schule  
 uene falli; dye for as pe apocalipo sey omne desiderabit  
monu & fugiet mors ab eis yane per schulen desue to dye  
 bot dere schal flce fro heme & azens wt daze sey est tpe  
 goppel fructus signa i vobis tokens schulen be pe soune  
 & pe moue i to derfenosse tpe moue i to blod as it is sey  
 de i mathalbis goppel pe staryns schulle falli; fro heme  
 for whi; pe soune pe moue & pe staryns for a tyme schulle  
 be prmad of hys lize to schelbe nyz honde pe laste co  
 nuge of est to pe doom pe soune bytokener est wt  
 his lize pat nolbe is derked & diffused & est puple pur  
 relud sfore pe moue bitokener pe churcha pa schulle  
 be Dulcia vt lina alata vt sol farye as pe moue  
 chofone as pe soune pe whiche churcha is nolbe a day  
 as turued i to blod azens pe ceude of pe warden by  
 tokener syne sfor nolbe al syne & curpednesse wol  
 nye is wartynted i pe churcha & gollpe is patte adou a  
psa vsp ad ptdote omes student auaricia duad i  
vidm suam declinatucit duquisque ad auaricia suam  
a suuo usque ad uomissio sfo pe pphete to pe pette al  
 per studye auaris eayne i to hys lize hys bolke

(i) f. 5v, top



(j) f. 5v, bottom





(m) f. 6v, top

wt schame Fyrt grette petee take pe palle of dedis of cha  
 rtee Fhule wt suchs myssese poreme pt ben pe membris  
 of hure fadir / Or des potous crapulaty a vme josung  
i iudicij / For warty god woldz dronken of vyne of pa  
 nence ac a milde lombe woldz sleepunge F suffyunge  
 F redy to forpue . schal use azen tpe doue t cause  
 yo sone of any Fpame as god say by malacthis in p[er]m[an]ent  
eos dies veniens que no relinquet t eis radicis Fpe d[omi]n[us]  
 compungo p[er] id to s[er]mo of veni[en]ce enflame / heule yo  
 whiche schal not leue rotes i he of goode pouzys or byan  
 ches of gade warkes bot pese blessed childre of noe pt  
 been peones of god by grace pt w[er]schypen he pt  
 fadir of heuene i hise mebris . schullen haue pebles  
 druge pat he bihetu pe corollus of lyfe he grante  
 us t heuene to haue pt cocolue t w[er]schypen in p[er]m[an]ent  
Qui audisset ioh[ann]es t iuuenit opa e[st]a of t[em]p[or]e  
 g[ra]t[ia] tollit hon[or]e i[st]e i[st]e i[st]e i[st]e i[st]e  
 h[ab]de herde pe lberis of criste sendunge t boof  
 his disciples he seide to hure artill

(n) f. 12v, detail, catch-word

is goddis

## (11) London, British Library, Additional MS 37049

## (a) f. 17r, Last Judgement





(12) 'The Crucifixion; The Last Judgement', Jan van Eyck and Workshop Assistant, Netherlands, c. 1440-41, oil on canvas, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





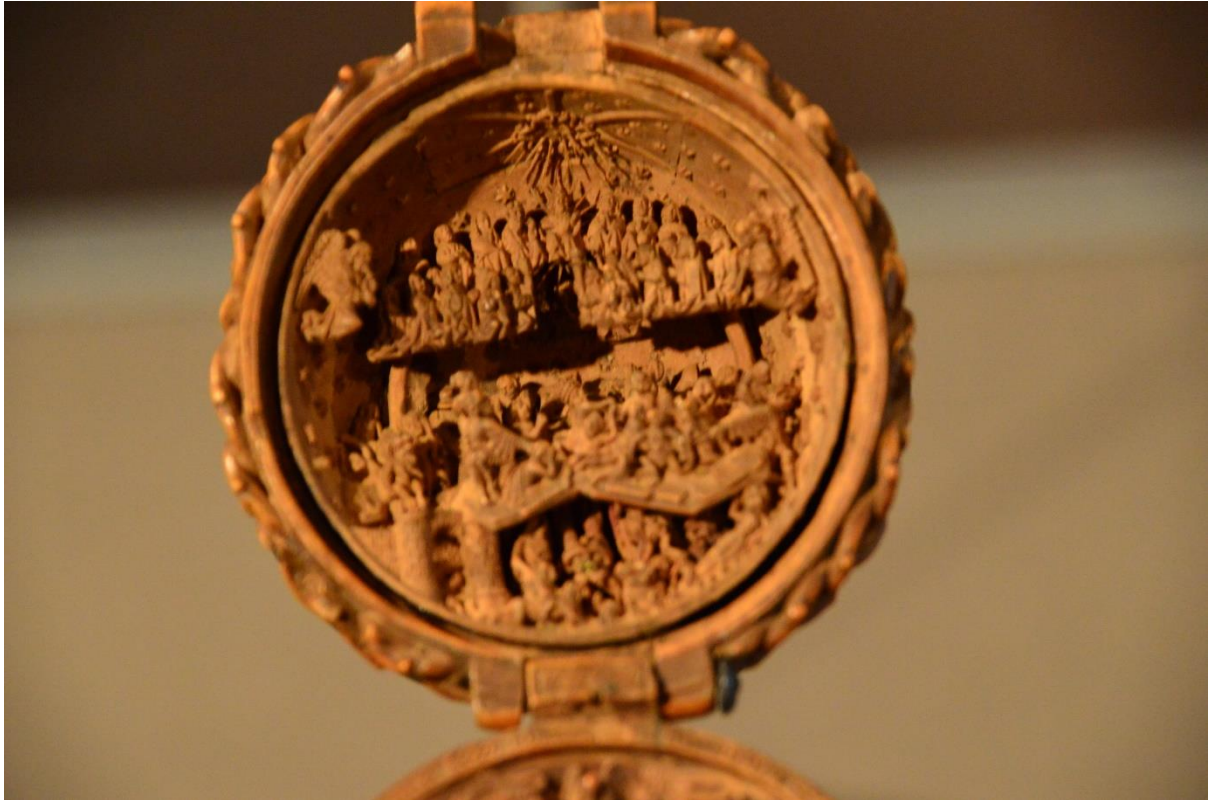
**(13) Prayer Beads, from ‘Small Wonders: Gothic Boxwood Miniatures’, at the Met Cloisters, New York, February 22<sup>nd</sup> – May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017**

**(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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.328)

