

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH BIBLICAL VERSION





A FOURTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH BIBLICAL VERSION

EDITED BY

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DEDICATED

 \mathbf{TO}

J. E. KENNEDY.





PREFACE.

THE text which appears for the first time in this volume was printed for private circulation in May 1902 as a thesis for the degree of Phil. Dr. at the University of Upsala. was preceded by a few introductory chapters on the history of Middle English Biblical Versions, a subject which had scarcely been touched since the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden gave a historical survey of early English Scriptural translations in the first volume of their great quarto edition of the Wycliffe Bible, published in 1850. I had succeeded in discovering a fair amount of new material and I found that it was impossible to treat the subject at all adequately within the limited space of an introduction. In consideration of this the Syndics of the University Press with their accustomed courtesy and kindness agreed to a change of plan, and have allowed me to publish the text with an introduction special to itself. I hope later to complete the historical introduction and expand it into a separate volume.

With regard to the work in its present form, a few words of explanation may be necessary. In the chapter on 'Language' I have, for instance, limited myself to the English and Scandinavian elements since an enquiry into these proved sufficient for my purpose, viz. to establish the composite nature of the text and determine the dialects of the different parts.

In the Notes the principal deviations from the text of the Vulgate have been recorded and when possible explained by reference to Old Latin and other sources. As a basis of comparison I have adopted *Codex Amiatinus* which M. Berger in



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his *Histoire de la Vulgate* (p. 37) pronounces to be 'le meilleur et le plus célèbre des manuscrits de la Bible latine.'

The list of words found at the end of the volume makes no pretension to being a complete glossary. It is mainly intended to explain such words as could not be readily understood by the average English reader without reference to a Middle English dictionary.

In conclusion I have to express my grateful thanks to the Syndies of the University Press for undertaking the publication of this book, and to the Staff for great assistance in the course of the printing; to the Master and Librarian of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and the Earl of Leicester, of Holkham Hall, Norfolk, for the loan of manuscripts; to the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for facilities offered in copying MS. Parker 434; and to Miss Haggitt, of 6, Clifton Place, Hyde Park, London, for the loan of a transcript of MS. Douce 250.

I also wish to express my indebtedness to the Staff of the University Library for much kind assistance given and many facilities offered, especially to the Librarian, Mr Francis Jenkinson, to Mr Magnússon and Mr Rogers.

Further I have to thank Docent Eilert Ekwall of Upsala for reading the proof-sheets of Chapter III. of the introduction, and for many helpful suggestions in connection therewith, and last, but not least, my friend and former teacher, Miss J. E. Kennedy, for helping me to transcribe part of the MS. Parker 434, and for reading the proof-sheets of the text and the greater part of the introduction. Her warm interest and unfailing sympathy have proved the greatest encouragement and help to me during the whole course of my work.

A. C. PAUES.

Newnham College, Cambridge. April 1904.



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ERRATA.

```
Page 23, l. 8 from above, for vnleffel read vnlefful.

" 26, l. 2 " below, for bodylyche read bo[l]dylyche (=H.).

" 40, l. 13 " " for sunne read s[o]ne (=H. P.).

" 42, l. 1 " " for haue read haue [herde] (=H.).

" 45, l. 9 " above, for comaundementes) read comaundementes.

" 62, l. 17 " below, for [heo] read he[o].

" 105, l. 8 " " for poro3 read poro3.

" 113, l. 9 " " for nerewes read ne[u]ewes (=H.).

" 119, l. 6 " " for pinges read pinges.

" 153, l. 3 " " for Holygoste 19 read Holygoste 19).

" 153, l. 2 " " for Criste) read Criste.

" 174, l. 11 " above, for pupul read pupul.

" 207, l. 14 " " for falsly * read falsly.

" 207, l. 15 " " for 3e5 read 3e2.

" 210, l. 6 " below, for doune read do[m]e (D. doune).

" 218, l. 7 " above, for br[o]pur[hede] read br[e]ur[hede].
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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS, CONTENTS AND SOURCE OF THE VERSION.

This version, now for the first time printed, has come down to us in five MSS., of which three are preserved in Cambridge libraries, the fourth in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the fifth in the private collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Norfolk.

The MSS, are as follows:

(1) S = Selwyn College 108 L. 1.

This copy formerly belonged to the Rev. Canon W. Cooke, F.S.A., of Trinity Hall, and was bequeathed by him together with other MSS. and books to Selwyn College. It is a small quarto, written according to the opinion of Dr Montague James about the year 1400. The vellum is coarse and soiled in many places, the handwriting is large and uneven. Two scribes were probably at work, one supplying ff. 86—101^b, the other the preceding and following parts of the volume.

Folios 1—19 have black initials of later date, ff. 86—93 have contemporary red ones, in the remaining parts they are omitted. The volume has been corrected throughout by a nearly contemporary hand, designated in the notes as the 'first corrector'.' The same hand has further repeated in the margin at irregular intervals certain words of the text, surrounding them with a line. Other corrections have been made by hands belonging to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

¹ To judge from some of his notes and additions this 'first corrector' must have been a Kentishman, e.g. sen (O.E. synn) Eph. v 27, brynggynk Acts xiv 12, bynke? (binge P.) Heb. xi 13. For other examples of his dialect, see p. 8 l. 9, 1 Pet. iii 3, Acts vii 59, xxi 20, xxii 28.

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The names Maria, Jesus, Johannes occur without any apparent reason at the head of the first page of this MS. as well as of the Parker copy. I am indebted to Mr Jenkinson, the University Librarian, for the excellent suggestion that they in all likelihood originally explained a picture of the crucifixion in some earlier illuminated MS., and that the scribe in copying wrote the names down as if the picture were still there.

S. is not homogeneous in dialect. The Prologue, Peter, James, 1 John and the Pauline Epistles are Southern, see p. lxvi \S 92; 2—3 John, Jude, Matthew and the Acts are Midland with a more or less strong intermixture of Southern forms, see p. lxvii \S 93; the Acts moreover retain pronounced traces of a North Midland dialect, in character similar to that of C., see \S 91, e.g. in chap. i—ii 7 all the pres. participles (16) end in -ande; the 3 sg. pres. ind. has -(e)s in has, byhoues i 16, byhouys i 21; further occasional characteristic forms like wore iv 1, or xxiii 16, mykel i 5, whulke xxiii 21, gaf (pt. pl.) i 26, schal (plur.) i 8, ii 17, 38, brake (plur.) ii 46, the pronoun he pis i 11, 18, iii 3, hym pis iii 12, the def. article po i 15, ii 10 (4×), ii 11 (3×) etc.

S. was unknown to the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, who in the first volume of their great quarto edition of the Wycliffe Bible gave a historical survey of early English Scriptural translations (Oxford, 1850). It was brought to my notice through a note in the Librarian's catalogue of the Parker MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This note, appended to MS. Parker 434, states that it had been transcribed in 1882 for the Rev. Canon Cooke, who had another copy. In 1884 S. formed part of the Wycliffe Exhibition in the British Museum, lent for the purpose by Canon Cooke; it is shortly described by Sir E. M. Thompson in the catalogue of the exhibited MSS. (p. 13 f.). I have found no further mention of this MS.

S., being the older and better of the two complete MSS., has been taken as the basis of the present edition. The text of the Prologue, of the Epistles, and Gospel of St Matthew, is printed from it.

(2) P. = Parker 434, Corpus Christi College.

An octavo volume written on vellum in the earlier half of the fifteenth century, in a clear pretty court hand, the same throughout. The dialect of P. is Southern with a fair intermixture of Kentish forms:—e.g. amonk Acts iv 17; bet ib. xxiii 28; bing for bink Prol. 7. 5; pet 2. 29; heden 3. 13; dedest 3. 22; hel, 10. 9, 11, 12; wrezed 13. 29; feer 13. 30, 1 Pet. i 7 etc. The scribe of P. writes regularly fram, nat, nauzt, borw, eny, wele, in other respects he scarcely deviates from the orthography and phonology of S. In the Acts P.



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exhibits the same Northern peculiarities as S. The contents of the two MSS, are the same.

A short account of this MS. and its contents, together with a few extracts from the text, is given by Forshall and Madden, Wycl. Bible, I p. xii f. They state that it is 'in the western dialect and probably the original copy.'

(3) C. = University Library Dd. XII. 39.

A duodecimo on vellum from Bishop John Moore's library, which was bought and subsequently given to the University of Cambridge by George I. in 1715. It was written in the latter part of the four-teenth century in a small square court hand. The volume contains several religious pieces¹ of considerable interest, and on ff. 16—72^b our version of the Acts of the Apostles.

For the dialect of C. see p. lxv § 91. The text of the Acts is here printed from C., as it is the oldest of our MSS. and comes nearest to the original.

C. was unknown to the editors of the Wycliffe Bible, and I have found no reference to it elsewhere.

(4) D. = Douce 250, Bodleian Library.

A small octavo written on vellum circa 1400. Two handwritings are discernible, remarkably like those of S. Ff. 8—8^b and f. 58 are written by one hand, the remaining parts by the other.

The contents of the volume are as follows:—f. 1, Matthew i 1—19, iv 7—v 34; f. 8, Acts i 1—19, iv 7—xv 32, xv 34—xvi 28, xvii 7—xxiii 24, xxiii 26—xxviii (verse 29 missing); f. 58, James; f. 62, 1 Peter (iii 19—22, iv 2—6 missing); f. 67^b, 2 Peter (i 19 missing); f. 72, 1 John; f. 77^b, 2 John; f. 78, 3 John (verses 9, 10, 12 missing); f. 78^b, Jude. The translation of Matthew and the Acts found in this volume agrees with that of the preceding MSS. The Catholic Epistles, however, represent an entirely different version from which the early compiler evidently borrowed 2—3 John and Jude and introduced them into his collection of Biblical books. See on this point p. lxx.

MS. D. is referred to by the editors of the Wycliffe Bible, I p. xiii note h.

¹ These are: f. 1, Of be seven vertewes, a part of the so-called Dan John Gaytrigg's Sermon, edited by Perry, G. G., E.E.T.S. Original Series No. 26; f. 3, Of wedded men ande ber wyves ande ber childer, attributed to Wycliffe and printed by Arnold, S.E.W. III 188—201; f. 72^b, be Pater noster in Englysche, attributed to Wycliffe by Thomas Waldensis, Doctr. Fidei, III 34, printed in S.E.W. III 93—97.



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The Catholic Epistles of D., with the exception of 2—3 John, Jude which appear in the body of the text, are printed in Appendix I, p. 209 ff.

D. is a Southern transcript of a Midland text. The dialect scarcely deviates from that of the corresponding parts of S. Matthew differs only in the following cases: 3eftys ii 11, fulfullud ii 17, whas iii 11, 12, by3ande iv 15, schepe iv 21, meny iv 25, pristyn v 6, candylstyke v 15, further in having the pres. part. regularly in -inge as compared to the frequent -enge in S. The Acts have as a rule the same Northern and North Midland peculiarities as S., and in addition whorto v 9, wore vii 21, ix 21, bore xxv 14, whas ix 11, x 6, xi 28, beir xxiii 32, bat at vii 44, x 15, xi 9, bou ert x 26, eftyr xxvii 14. James, Peter, 1 John have also traces of the same Northerly dialect: or 1 Pet. i 20, ware (prt.) ib. iii 16, wore ib. v 8, beire ib. ii 8, 2 Pet. iii 16, hald (imp.) 1 Pet. iii 15, bat at ib. iii 16, iv 14, v 2, 2 Pet. ii 14, 1 John ii 24, late (imp.) 1 John iii 7, seke 1 Pet. iii 11, bysekynge 2 Pet. iii 1, He bis 1 John v 20 etc. 2—3 John and Jude differ from S. in the following instances: haue 2 John 1, whyche 3 John 6, Jude 4, puple Jude 5, angel 6, fyre 7, beire flesche 8, haruest 12, hem silf 19, oupere 23.

(5) $H = Holkham \ Hall \ 672$.

A small folio written on vellum soon after 1400. The contents are as follows:—ff. 1—132 'pe Myrrour,' a collection of homilies on the Gospels for the Sundays and principal festivals of the year—other MSS. are found in Magdalene College, Cambridge 2498, Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. 282, and Harl. 5085, which latter was known to the editors of the Wycliffe Bible (see Bible, 1 p. xx note); ff. 132—161b the Catholic and Pauline Epistles as contained in MSS. S. and P. and printed on pp. 18 l. 5—122 (end) of our text; ff. 161b—256 the four Gospels with prologues according to the so-called Earlier Wycliffite Version. The text of the Gospels is complete but divided up into the various Gospels of the Church Service, each division being preceded by a heading in red telling for what Sunday or other festival it is appointed to be read, e.g. Mt. i 1—17, 'The gospel of be natyuyte of oure lady and of be concepcyoun of hir.'

Four hands are discernible; the first extends from f. 1 to f. 16^b, the second wrote ff. 17—25 l. 2, the third ff. 25 l. 3—161^b (to the end of the Epistles), the fourth ff. 161^b—256 comprising the Gospels with their respective prologues.

The volume belonged in 1592 to Johannes Forestius 'rector de Ramseton in Comitate Essex' (f. 7); later on it passed into the hands of the famous Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552—1634), as his autograph is found on the first page; it evidently never left the



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family, for the book-plate now bears the name and crest of Thomas William, Viscount Coke and Earl of Leicester of Holkham.

The dialect of the Epistles of H. with the exception of 2—3 John and Jude is Southern, and deviates but slightly from that of S., the tendency of the scribe evidently being to introduce Midland forms and omit the most pronounced Southern peculiarities of his original, e.g. always synne, whiche, chirche, breheren; further seye, fell(en), mostly haueh, for sugge etc. § 4, fullen § 4, habbeh etc. § 77; the pt. sg. 3af, bar for 3ef § 73, ber § 72, often sche for he(o) § 63. As further illustration I give the variations of H. in the first chapter of 1 Corinthians:—i 10 suggen seye, bote bute, 12 sugge seye, bote bute, saih seih, 13 oher wheher or wher, 14 honke hanke, 15 sugge seye, 19 y-wryten y wryte, 20 mad ymaad, 21 wes was, 24 bote bute, 26 bryheren breheren, mony many, 30 bote bute, for-buggynge forbyggynge.

2—3 John and Jude are Midland with a fairly strong mixture of Southern forms; for the sake of comparison I give its dialectical variations from S.:—2 John 1 whuche whiche, not nost, bote bute, han haue, 2 be ben, 4 ych I, 5 not nost, fro from, 7 knowlechep knowlechen, comen come, 8 lese lose, han haue, wrost wroust, 9 not nost, 10 not nost throughout, 12 bote bute.—3 John 1 whuche whiche, 4 pise pes, 5 feipfully feipfulliche, 6 whuche whiche, 8 beth be, 9 not nost, 10 moue meue, churche chirche, 11 not nost, 12 knowe y knowe, 13 not nost, 14 schul schal.—Jude 4 come comen, whuche whiche, 5 not nost, 6 not nost, bote bute, 9 not nost, 10 pise pes, bethen, 12 heruest haruest, 13 whuche whiche, 14 aseyn asen, 15 whuche whiche, wrouste wrousten, aseyns asens, 18 whuche whiche, 19 not nost, 23 fyre fuyr, opere outer, whuche whiche.

H. is a good and serviceable copy, in many instances it corrects the readings of S. and supplies omissions, e.g. 1 Pet. i 13, ii 4, 25, iii 21, 2 Pet. ii 10, Jam. iii 16, iv 10, 1 John vi 20, 2 John 6, Rom. vii 5, viii 7, xii 2, 18, xiii 2, 1 Cor. vi 4, xi 12, Phil. ii 12 etc. In other cases it is inferior to S., e.g. Jam. v 16, 1 John iii 18, Rom. vi 12, viii 4, 36, 1 Thes. iv 7, Heb. vi 8 etc. Its deviations from S., that is from the text here printed, are noted in Appendix II, as owing to defective cataloguing and consequent misinformation I only discovered this MS. after the whole of the text had been printed.

¹ It is almost incredible that H. should have remained unknown to or at all events unnoticed by the editors of the Wycliffe Bible. The Holkham MS. catalogue was compiled in 1815 by William Roscoe (1753—1831, vide *D.N.B.*); his catalogue was collated and enlarged in 1828 by Sir Frederic Madden, one of the two editors of the Wycliffe Bible. By some curious oversight they both failed to identify the important Biblical texts contained in MS. 672, evidently looking upon them as part and parcel of the 'Myrrour.' It was through a chance visit to the library that I first became aware of the actual contents of H.



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In reproducing the text from these MSS. I have corrected the most obvious scribal errors, but mistakes on the part of the translator have only been rectified where the sense of the passage absolutely required it. Every deviation from the MS. has been duly recorded in the foot-notes. Brackets are used to denote additions whether of a letter, a word or a whole phrase or sentence not occurring in the MS., e.g. p. 11 l. 36 go[1]d, 2 Pet. i 1 [in], Jam. ii 8 [by nexte neigeboure], the original reading being in every case given in the foot-notes. Letters or words which have dropped out of all the MSS. are supplied without further reference, e.g. Eph. vi. 6, Col. iii. 7. Parentheses again are used where alternative readings or explanatory glosses are inserted, especially when denoted as such by underlining in the MS. The readings of the various MSS. are given in the foot-notes¹, but I have ignored mere orthographical variations and phonetic ones of no consequence.

Throughout the volume the numbering of chapters and verses follows that of the Vulgate, which was generally taken as a basis of mediæval English translations. Headings and superscriptions like 'Prologue,' '1 Peter' etc. have been added for the sake of clearness.

The establishment of the relationship between our five MSS. does not present great difficulties. A glance at the foot-notes at once shows the close agreement between S. and P., and a further examination proves that P. was evidently copied from S. after the 'first corrector' had made his emendations of the text. His corrections are almost in every instance adopted by the scribe of P. and introduced into the text². The errors of S. are also repeated by the scribe of P., e.g. 1 Pet. iv 2, Rom. vi 5, 6, 1 Thes. iv 9, Heb. ii 1, v 12, ix 23 etc. The differences between S. and P. are very slight, being mostly due to careless readings or omissions on the part of the scribe of the later MS.³ or to unimportant changes made in the course of copying, and probably due to a comparison with the Latin text.

¹ The readings of MS. Holkham 672 are printed in Appendix II, p. 226.

² e.g. p. 5. 2 to kepe, 8. 9 hes, 10. 15 have, 10. 17 þei, 16. 30 ren\overline{y}nge, 1 Pet. iii 3 serklenge; 1 Cor. ii 14 ded goslech, carelessly written in the margin with the g as a mere curve, was misread by the scribe of P. and inserted in the text as ded sobliche; Gal. v 8 or euidence, inserted before the word it was to explain because this happened to begin the line; Col. iv 2 lordes in S. is one of the ordinary marginal repetitions, standing before the line beginning 'And be 3e.' The scribe of P. adopts it in the text. Cf. 2 Tim. iii 10, Acts iii 2 etc. A few corrections passed over by the scribe of P. occur in the following places: 1 Pet. i 14, i 18, Jam. i 13, iv 10.

 $^{^3\,}$ e.g. 1 Cor. v 7, iii 12, Phil. ii 8, 15, iii 3 etc.



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As regards the relationship between S. and H. it is clear from the following instances that S. cannot have been copied from H .:--1 John v 4, Jude 10, p. 47 l. 11, p. 48 l. 8 f., Rom. vi 12, xii 2, 1 Cor. i 25, Heb. vi 18 etc.; nor can H. have been copied from S .:-1 Pet. ii 24, 1 John iii 4, 10, Rom. xii 2, 18, xiii 2, 1 Cor. xi 17 etc. On the other hand, as can be seen from the few and unimportant variations between the two manuscripts, the agreement between them is so close as to make it certain that they could not have been far removed from the same Southern original. The exact degree of relationship is of course impossible to determine. An interesting scribal error makes it further appear as if the original of H. were Kentish. In Rom. vii 13 the copyist writes seye 'peccans,' which makes no sense; but P. has sunge and S. has synnyng in a late hand on erasure; from this it is easy to see that the original of H. must have had senye (seye), a distinct Kentish form. Then there are a few stray forms bisyeb 3ou Gal. v 15, bonkynges 1 Thes. iii. 9, possibly by for $b\bar{e}o(n)$ Jude 25, 2 John 3, 1 Tim. vi 5, cf. § 28, which point in the same direction. If we then consider that a fair number of Kentish forms appear in S. (§§ 2b, 8, 28, 92), in spite of its chief characteristics being South-Western (§ 92), it seems a natural inference to draw that the common original of S. and H. was Kentish. For a geographical connection with Kent speaks further the fact that the contemporary 'first corrector' of S. was a Kentish man (p. xi), and that P. a later transcript from S. (p. xvi) is strongly tinged with Kenticisms (p. xii).

The Prologue, James, Peter, 1 John, and the Pauline Epistles are only found in S.(P.) and formed, as I take it, the nucleus of the original composition, additions being subsequently made in all likelihood from some already existing version. I infer this from the following: (1) The introductory lines to 1 Peter i (p. 18), where only Peter, James and John are mentioned as writing 'pysteles to be pepel how they schulen lyue,' while on p. 47 the name of Jude is added, probably after the later insertion of his Epistle. (2) The concluding words addressed to the 'sister' at the end of the Pauline Epistles (p. 122), which indicate that the work there comes to an end. (3) The fact that all the above-mentioned Epistles and probably the Prologue are the work of one translator, while 2—3 John, Jude, the Acts and Matthew contain a different rendering. See on this point under translation § 95—98. (4) The fact that these Epistles together with the Prologue and intervening pieces of dialogue (pp. 47,



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48, 122) are in the same Southern dialect (§ 92), whereas the remaining parts are Midland (§§ 91, 93).

The Epistles 2—3 John and Jude occur in S.(P.), H. and D.; of these the text of S.(P.) and H. cannot have been copied from D., see 3 John 9, 10, 12, nor from any immediate common original, see 2 John 9, 11, 3 John 2, 11, Jude 4, 6 etc.

These Epistles were probably an early, possibly a contemporary addition to the monk's collection of Biblical books, as they retain less of their Midland character (§ 93) than the Acts and Matthew (p. xii and § 93), and follow 1 John as a matter of course both in S.(P.) and H.

As regards the text of the Acts, S.(P.) and D. form a group from which C. stands apart, S. and D. being derived through some intervening link from the same original (S.D.*). The coincidences between S.(P.) and D. on the one hand and C. on the other are, however, so great as to make it probable that (S.D.*) and the original of C. (C*.) had a common source (C.S.D.*)².

The text of the Gospel of St Matthew was in all likelihood found in (S.D.*), and, we may surmise, in (C.S.D.*) as well, as it has the ordinary introductory line addressed to the nun, 'Matheu seip in be firste chapytyl on bis wyse' and further represents the same translation with the same kind of explanatory glosses as the Acts (p. lxxi f.).

We may now proceed to a short account of the contents of our MSS.

The two fuller copies are preceded by a Prologue which opens with a brief account of the creation of man and his state in paradise, of the pride and fall of Lucifer, of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve and their subsequent life upon earth, of the flood, of Noah, and finally how God put his 'reyn-bowe in be cloudes of heuene & be streng toward be erbe in tokene of pees bytwen hym & man.'

The narrative then assumes the form of a dialogue (p. 4) between

 $^{^1}$ e.g. Acts viii 32, 34, 36, 40, ix 1, 3, 14, x 1, 3, 10, xii 19, 20, xiv 12, xvi 26, 27 etc.

² This view is supported by:—The introductory lines, 'Als saynte Luke telles and writes of po dedes of po apostuls, ande sais vpon pis wise,' originally addressed to the nun for whom the compilation was prepared, are the same in the four MSS. Verse xxviii 29 is omitted in all. The glosses introduced into the text are, with a few exceptions (e.g. ii 18, 23, xi 3, xiv 12), the same in the four MSS., e.g. i 2, 7, 13, 17, 31, 35, v 28, xi 3, 17, xiii 7, xv 9, 22 etc.



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a 'lewed and vnkunnynge' brother and sister, that is, a monk and a nun', on the one hand, and on the other their brother superior', whom they implore for the love of Christ to teach them what is needful for the welfare of their souls. The brother superior is, however, somewhat loth to undertake this task. He answers, 'Brober, y knowe wel bat y am holde by Cristis lawe to parforme byn axynge; bot nabeles we beb now so fer y-fallen a-wey from Cristis lawe, bat 3 if y wolde answere to byn axynges y moste in cas vnderfonge be deb.'

The ignorant brother, however, argues in a lengthy speech against these fears and doubts of his learned superior, winding up with an expression of the hope that God might exercise his judgment upon him in the 'dredeful day of dome' if he did not truly answer the questions put to him.

The brother superior answers (p. 8), 'Brober, bou hast agast me sumwhat wib byn argumentys. For bou; bou ne hafe no;t yben a-mong clerkes at scole, bi skelis bat bou makest beb y-founded in loue bat is a-bofe resoun bat clerkes vseb in scole: & berfor it is hard for me to a;eynstonde byn skelys & byn axynges.' He then goes on to describe the calling of the people of Israel, their sojourn in Egypt, their deliverance from the power of Pharaoh, and their guidance into the land of promise. 'Dus borou; an argument of loue God almy;ty boro; hys my;t delyferyd his pepel out of bodylyche braldom...And so nedilyche y bat am his serfaunt & bi brober mot graunte byn argument of loue, & parforme byn axynges by my power: for bi loue hab ouercome my resoun. And berfore axe noube what bou wylt.'

¹ Broper, suster (Prol. 3. 9, 15. 18 etc.), the usual way of addressing a monk or a nun, cf. the Ancren Riwle (Morton, Camden Soc. 1853), where the author calls the three anchoresses 'mine leoue sustren' throughout; Commentary on Richard Rolle of Hampole's Psalter, MS. Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 129^b 'al pese yuelis ben doon for-to gete goodis to be brepered & sustrid and to haue sikirnesse of worldly prosperite amonge pese couentis'; Aungier, History of Sion and Isleworth, Additions to the Rules, p. 364 'Of the servise of sustres unlettred,' ib. chap. xxii 'The observaunces at the autyrs longeth to the brethren and not to the sustres' etc.; Eckenstein, Woman under Monasticism, p. 364 'The nuns both of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders...are usually spoken of not as nuns but as sisters.' See further Sir E. Maunde Thompson's description of MS. S., Catalogue of the Wycl. Exhibition, 1884, p. 13 'A treatise, chiefly cast in the form of a dialogue between a brother and sister, or monk and nun.'

² Note how his superior degree is indicated by the more respectful address 3e Prol. 4. 27, 10. 1, 3, 30w 4. 32, 10. 3, 30u 9. 33, 34, whereas the ignorant 'brother' and 'sister' are merely styled bou Prol. 5. 2, 8. 1, 2, 3 etc.



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In answer to several questions put by the nun, he then gives an account of the law, moral, civil and ceremonial¹, but whilst he is engaged in this latter narrative a sudden break occurs in the MSS. in the middle of a sentence. A few words then introduce the translation of the Catholic Epistles:—'Suster, be aposteles but weren most pryfe wib Crist, Petur & Iames & Ion, wryteb pysteles to be pepel how bei schulen lyue; & Peter seib on bis wyse.'

The translation of the Pauline Epistles is likewise preceded by a short introductory dialogue (p. 47 f.), wherein the nun asks the monk 'wheher hat Poule, hat wes a postel of mysbeleued men, tauzte hem eny hing ellys han to byleuen in Crist, & ben y-folewed in his name.'

The monk then answers: 'Suster, bou schalt vnderstonde bat Poule wryteb many epysteles to dyuerse men bat he turned to be byleue, how bei schulen byleuen, & how bei schulleb lyuen; bote y ne may no3t at bis tyme wryte to be alle his pysteles as bei stondeb; bote nabeles, 3ef it be Goddus wylle, bou schalt habbe hem heraftur.' He then relates how Paul teaches three things in his Epistles, the first thing being that men and women should believe in Jesus Christ, the second 'bat it is no3t nedful for cristen men to kepe be poyntes of be olde lawe,' the third 'how men schulleb forsake synne in kepynge Cristes lawe of charite, & of bis poynt, suster, boro3 Goddes grace ich wole telle be what he seib in his pisteles, & of be ober poyntes when ich haue gretter leyser.'

The translation then follows (p. 48), the Pauline Epistles being all represented with the exception of that to Philemon.

Each separate Epistle, again, has a few introductory and usually a few final words addressed to the nun, e.g. p. 48 'Seynt Poule wryteb to be Romaynes, & seib'; p. 56 'pus, suster, seynt Poule wryteb to be Romaynes, how thei schuleb lyuen bat byleueb in Crist'; ib. 'And to be Corynthes he wryteb, & seib'; p. 69 'Suster, in bis manere seynt Poule wryteb to be Corynthes'; p. 71 'To be Epheses, suster, he wryteb, & sayb'; p. 109 'pus, suster, seynt Poule hab y-taujt men for-to lyfen bat byleueb in Crist in his pystelis. And to Tymothe he wryteth on pistel, how he schulde hafen hymself in good ensampel to ober men, & seib in bis wyse.'

¹ Wycl. Bible, Prologue, p. 3. 'The old testament is departed into thre parties, into moral comaundementis, indicials and ceremonials.'



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At the end of the Pauline Epistles (p. 122) there are a few lines which lead us to believe that the monk-translator now considers himself to have fulfilled the request of the ignorant 'sister' and 'brother': 'pus, suster, seynt Poule techep how Cristene men schulep lyfe, & his techyng acordep wip Cristis techynge in pe gospel, as pe techynge of pe opere aposteles dop. And now, suster, my counseyl is pat pou lyfe vertuouslyche after Cristes techynge, & kepynge his hestes whyles pou art in pis world; & panne pou schalt poro; his mercy come to an eferlastynge lyf of blysse, bope in body and in soule. Amen.'

It is probable that this passage points to an earlier copy in which fewer books were included, the Pauline Epistles there occupying the last place. In our two MSS., however, the Acts immediately follows (p. 123) with the usual introductory sentence, 'Als saynte Luke telles ande writes of bo dedes of bo apostuls, ande sais vpon bis wise.'

The first chapters of the Gospel of St Matthew (i—vi 13) close the series of translations given by the monk.

The source of the present version is the Latin Vulgate. The text used by the translator of Peter, James, 1 John and the Pauline Epistles is fairly pure with a comparatively small amount of readings from other sources. Similarly the text used for the Gospel of Matthew does not present any notable divergences, e.g.

1 Pet. iii 7 with wymmen, ib. 15 of pe feip & of pe hope, ib. 21 oure Lord, 2 Pet. i 16 vnwyse fables, Jam. ii 2 on his hond, v 10 of an efel yssew, 1 Cor. ii 16 bote pe Spiryt of oure Lord, Col. iii 8 ne passe nozt forp, 1 Thes. v 5 Goddes chyldren, 1 Tim. ii 6 is y-confermed.

Matthew ii 22 & Joseph was amonestyd in his sleep by an aungel.

The text used for the Acts, 2—3 John and Jude is on the other hand very considerably corrupted by the introduction of a number of readings from older Latin versions and other sources, e.g.

Acts v 34 He comanded pat pe apostuls schulde gange oute a lytel, ib. 36 pat he was hymselven grete, vii 2 bifore pat he schulde dye in Charre, ib. 19 ande ordeynde pat of oure 30nge childer pat were panne borne po knavechilde schulde not life, ib. 21 he was putte forpe into po flode, ib. 24 Ande whanne pat he sawe one of his kynne, viii 1 pat dwelled stille in Ierusalem, x 25 ande worschipped hym...as pow erte, ib. 30 I have fastud ande preyed, xi 1 ande worschipped God peroffe, ib. 17 werne oure Lorde forto gife hem po Holygoste pat trowed in po name of Iesu Criste, xiv 3 Bot God grawnted sone pees, ib. 6 Ande alle po multitude was stired in per doctrine; ande Poule ande Barnabas dwelled in Lystris, ib. 9 To pe I saye in pe name of oure Lorde Iesu Criste, rise etc., ib. 12 he wolde have done sacrifice vnto Poule ande



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Barnabas, xv 2 ande Poule saide vnto hem pat þei schulde abide in þo same trowþe þat þei wore inne, ib 29 ande þat 3he wille noghte were done vnto 3ove, dos hit noghte vnto an-oþer, ib 30 Ande Poule, Barnabas, Iudas ande Sylas wente fro þo apostuls ande kome vnto A....þo multitude of þo disciplis, ib. 31 þei ioyed in a grete ioye for þo comforþe þat þei hade, ib. 35 wiþ oþer discipuls of Criste, ib. 39 Ande so amonge hem was made discencyone, ib. 41 confermande þo congregacyone of holy chirche & bade hem þat þei schulde kepe þo biddynges of þo apostuls ande of þo eldars, xvi 1 Ande whanne þei hade gone abowte þise nacyons...a trewe wydowe sone, ib. 40 þei tolde hem whatte God hade done wiþ hem, xvii 6 þise ben þei þat stiren alle þo worlde ande hider þei come, ib. 11 wheþer hit wore so as hit was preched to hem, xix 9 fro þo houre of sexte to þo houre of tenne, xxii 28 Lyghtly sais þou þat þow erte a buriase of Rome, xxviii 16 wiþouten þo castels, ib. 30 þo Iewes ande þo naciones þat wore called gentiles etc.

2 John 9 Wyte 3e pat, ib. 11 Lo, y have warned 30w byfore, pat in pe day of oure Lord 3e be nost confounded, ib. 13 pe grace of God be with pe. Amen. 3 John 4 in sopfastnesse of charyte.

Jude 6 in pe grete dome of God, ib. 9 God ouercome pe.

Some of the curious and interesting readings found in the Acts can be traced back to the Old Latin text of Codex Bezae (d), e.g. x 25, xv 2, 29, xvi 40, xix 9, others to Gigas librorum (g), e.g. vii 57, xi 1, xxi 16, or to Codex Laudianus (e), e.g. xxvi 18. The reading of xxii 28 'Lyghtly sais bou bat bow erte a buriase of Rome' does not occur in any of the above-mentioned O.L. texts, but we find it in the Vulgate of the famous Codex Armachanus (see notes). In many instances our text of the Acts exhibits the same peculiarities of readings as MS. Bibl. Nat. 11532—3, written in Corbie and anterior to the Theodulfian and Alcuinian recensions, e.g. v 34, vii 20, x 25, 26, xi 17, xvi 1, 40'. In fact amongst the many Vulgate texts described by M. Berger in his Histoire de la Vulgate it is closer to this MS. than to any others, though on the whole I have been unable to find any one text which shares all its peculiarities.

For a number of curious readings and interpolations I have not succeeded in finding any authority, e.g.

i 18 fledde away, iv 22 fourety 3here ande twoo more, ib. 23 laten oute of po kownseile to wende farpe per way, pei komen vnto per breper pat wore converted, v 23 faste sparred as hit was lefte, ib. 39 bot suffure hem, vii 55 hise fadire, ib. 57 two falses wytnes, viii 4 how he was Goddes sone, ib. 15 pat wore turned, ix. 2 of po company of pe apostuls or hemselven, xii 13 to loke who was pere, ib. 18 pat hym kepped, xix 9 sexte, xxvii 5 in twelve days, xxviii 15 po merket of Appii, po senator etc.

¹ Berger, Vulgate, p. 106 f.



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Another class of corrupted readings is due to scribal errors in the Latin text, uncritically reproduced by the English translator, e.g.

1 Pet. i 3 Vulg. spem uiuam on hope (evidently unam read), iv 16 in isto poro; a riztful (iusto), Ephes. iv 18 uita pe wey (uia?), iv 11 sanctorum of pe worldes (sæculorum), Hebr. ix 8 uiam lyfynge (uitam), xi 30 muri men (uiri), xi 35 mortuos housbondes (maritos?), xiii 21 bono place (loco?), Acts i 17, 25 ministerii priuete (mysterii), xvi 19 spes spiritte (spiritus) etc.

The letters u and n were evidently no more distinguishable in this text than in others of the time, as can be seen from the following misreadings:—

1 Pet. i 3 nos 3ow, iv 4 uobis we, ib. 17 nobis at 3ow, cf. 2 Pet. iii 11, Jam. v 17, 3 John 9, 2 Cor. vi 3, Col. ii 14, 1 Thes. i. 8, 2 Thes. ii 12, Acts v 30, vii 44; 3 John 10 commonebo y schal moue (commouebo), Acts iv 19 iudicate telle vs (indicate), vii 7 iudicabo I schal schewe (indicabo).

Deus (d \bar{s}) and its oblique cases were frequently misread or miswritten for a corresponding case of *Dominus* (d $\bar{n}\bar{s}$), and vice versa, e.g.

Jam. i 7 a Domino of God, cf. 1 Cor. i 31, iii 6, 1 Thes. iii 13, 1 Cor. iii 6, Acts xix 9 etc.

In other cases words, phrases, even whole sentences have been left out. It is of course impossible to decide whether the fault lies with the Latin or English scribe or the Euglish translator, e.g.

1 Pet. i 3 et, ib. 8 nunc quoque, ib. 11 in quod vel quale, ib. 24 omnis... tamquam, ii 24 ut peccatis mortui iustitiæ viveremus, 1 John ii 24 si in vobis permanserit quod ab initio audistis, Rom. xiii 2 potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Qui autem resistunt, Acts iii 8 exiliens—et intravit cum illis in templum—et exiliens etc.

For further examples see the notes.

In spite of all these errors and deficiencies the Latin originals of our text were no doubt fairly typical specimens of the current versions of the Vulgate. Indeed, the writer of the Prologue to the Later Wycliffite Version bears special testimony to the sadly corrupted state of the Latin Bibles of his time:

'First this symple creature hadde myche trauaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris, and comune glosis,...to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe.'

Further down in the same page he warns any intending corrector of his translation to

'examyne truli his Latyn bible, for no doute he shal fynde ful manye biblis in Latin ful false, if he loke manie, namely newe; and the comune Latyn biblis han more nede to be corrected, as manie as I haue seen in my lif, than hath the English bible late translatid.'

¹ Wycl. Bible, I 57.



CHAPTER II.

THE 'RAISON D'ÊTRE' OF THE VERSION.

From the explanatory pieces of dialogue found in the Prologue and referred to above, p. xviii ff., it is evident that our version was undertaken at the urgent request of the inmates of some religious house, more especially, to judge from the repeated references to the 'Suster' at the beginning and end of the various Epistles, of a woman vowed to religion.

Many works during the later Middle Ages—and some of the more important ones—were thus written for the use of women and at their request.

Such was for instance the Ancren Riwle¹, written in the first half of the thirteenth century for three sisters who in the bloom of youth had forsaken the pleasures of the world to become anchoresses (l. c. p. 192). To about the same time belongs A Luue Ron, a spiritual love song, one of the most beautiful productions of the early mystics². Again the Wooing of our Lord, a prose rhapsody dating from the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, was designed for a nun if we may believe the concluding words of the treatise, 'Prei for me, mi leue suster, bis haue i writen be' etc.³

One of the later mystics, Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole, translated the *Psalter* together with Peter Lombard's Commentary upon it 'at a worthy recluse prayer cald dame Merget Kyrkby'.' For the same 'Margaretam anachoritam, suam dilectam discipulam' he composed a beautiful prose-tract *The Form of Perfect Living*; for another, 'Moniali de Zedingham,' he wrote the equally beautiful

- ¹ Morton, J., Camden Soc. 1853.
- ² Morris, Old Engl. Miscellany, E.E.T.S. 1872, p. 93 'Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum Minorum ad instanciam cuiusdam puelle Deo dicate.'
 - 3 Morris, Old English Homilies, First Ser., Part II, p. 269 ff.
 - ⁴ Bramley, The Psalter...by Richard Rolle of Hampole. Oxford, 1884, p. 1.



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Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat; for a 'Sorori de Hampole,' The Commandment of Love to God'.

At various periods, from Anglo-Saxon times onwards, the Rule of St Benet was translated into English for the benefit of nuns. In a metrical version, written in the Northern dialect and found in a MS. belonging to the beginning of the fifteenth century, the translator takes care to explain his reason for undertaking the work?:

'Monkes & als all leryd men
In Latyn may it lyghtly ken,
And wytt þarby how þay sall wyrk
To sarue God and haly kyrk.
Bott tyll women to mak it couth,
pat leris no Latyn in þar 30uth,
In Ingles is it ordand here
So þat þay may it lyghtly lere.'

There is also an interesting MS in Trinity College, Cambridge (B. 14. 19 of the fifteenth century), containing amongst other devotional treatises an epistle entitled the *Chastisyng of Goddis children*, clearly written for a nun as can be inferred from the opening lines (f. 5^b): 'In drede of almy3ti God, religious sister, a schort pistle I sende 50u of be mater of temptacions which pistle as me benkib mai resonabli be clepid chastisyng of Goddis children.'

Again, the *Myroure of oure Ladye*³ is written for a community of nuns. It is as the title-page tells us 'a devotional treatise on Divine Service with a translation of the offices used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.' Sion Monastery was founded in 1415, and the 'Myroure' was probably written between the years 1415 and 1450 (*l. c.* p. viii).

From the fact that all these various works are in the vernacular, it may be inferred that the average nun's knowledge of Latin was somewhat scanty. Indeed during the fourteenth century the convents as educational training grounds had greatly deteriorated. Excluded from the Universities and practically from all access to secular learning, with their time and mind given up to devotional exercises and ritual, it is small wonder if the nuns found it in-

¹ Horstman, Richard Rolle of Hampole. London, 1895, 1 pp. 3 ff., 49 ff., 61 ff.

² Kock, E. A., Three M.E. Versions of the Rule of St Benet, E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser. No. 120, London, 1902, p. 48.

³ Ed. Blunt, E.E.T.S. 1873.



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creasingly difficult to grapple with Latin service-books and Psalters, not to mention less familiar devotional works or texts of Scripture. (Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, Cambridge, 1896, chap. x.)

Then down to the middle of the fourteenth century French was the legal and official language. It was spoken at Court and by the upper classes¹, and presumably also in the nunneries, where it often replaced Latin as the official language if one may judge from entries in their registers, from petitions and other documents of the time². Consequently the nun who had little or no knowledge of Latin could always have recourse to the French missals, breviaries, ordinals and texts of Scripture which were found in great numbers throughout the country. In the small priory of Easebourne, for instance, numbering five or six nuns, the inventory of goods taken 1450 shows that there was one French Bible and two 'ordinalia' in French³.

But during the second half of the fourteenth century French gradually fell into disuse⁴, and we may surmise that French service-books and Scriptural versions soon became as much of a dead letter to the ordinary inmate of a nunnery as the corresponding Latin volumes.

French maintained itself longest in the religious houses of the South⁵, and we can therefore record but a single Biblical translation into English in this part of the country. This one instance is the text of James, Peter, 1 John and the Pauline Epistles printed in this volume.

Further North, to judge from the number of translations extant, the imperative need of versions in the vernacular must have been earlier felt. Before the middle of the fourteenth century the Book of Psalms had been twice rendered into English, once in Yorkshire by the Hermit of Hampole, once well up in the West Midlands by an unknown translator. Gradually, and in all likelihood before the great Oxford versions attributed to Wycliffe and his school had spread over the country, the whole of the New Testament had been

- ¹ Paul's *Grdr*. 1 p. 952 ff.
- 2 Dugdale, Monasticon, 'Shaftesbury' II 471, 'Romsey' II 507 note, 'Davington' IV 288 'Ankerwyke' IV 229 etc.
- ³ Blaauw, Sussex Arch. Collections, 1x 2; cf. Berger, La Bible française au moyen âge. Paris, 1884, list of MSS. p. 385 ff., E.B.V. p. xvii ff.
 - 4 Paul's Grdr. 1 957.
 - ⁵ Eckenstein, l.c. p. 358.
- ⁶ Bülbring, Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, E.E.T.S. No. 97, cf. E.B.V. p. lvi.



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translated into English of the North or of the North Midlands. These Northerly versions are as follows: Commentaries upon the Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke¹; the Acts and Catholic Epistles as printed in this volume on pp. 123 ff., 42 ff., 209 ff., cf. pp. iv, lxv; the Pauline Epistles with a Commentary² found in MS. Parker 32, Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge; finally the Apocalypse with a Commentary. This last was for a long time attributed to Wycliffe³, but I found that in reality it is nothing but a verbal rendering of the famous Norman Apocalypse which dates back as far as the latter half of the twelfth century.

Thus we see that after the Conquest the earliest home of the English Bible was the North of England.

There is no reason to suppose that these versions were anything but orthodox in origin; in fact, as has been pointed out above, Hampole's Psalter and the version here printed were compiled for nuns. The Commentary on the Apocalypse represents the very pink of orthodoxy, exalting the prelates and the religious orders, likening for instance the 'eyes' of the 'Maiden's Son' to 'be wyse clerkis of hooli chirche, bat listnen obere wib teching & techen hem wib good ensaumple of goode werkes,' his 'head' to 'be goode prelatis of hooli chirche,' his hair to 'men of trewe religioun þat shulen be whijte pur; hoolinesse & good lijf4.' Moreover, the earliest known copy of it (MS. Harl. 874), written in the second third of the fourteenth century, has the name of the owner inscribed in a nearly contemporary hand as Richard Shepard presbiter. The Commentaries on the Gospels referred to above were undertaken, as the translator tells us, 'at the suggestyon of Goddys seruant,' and he adds 'gretly in this doyng I was comforted of other Goddys seruauntes dyuers5, whereby he cannot very well mean anything but that they were in some way within the pale of the Church.. Again, the Catholic Epistles of MS. Douce 2506 were evidently glossed for the benefit of men in religious orders, if one may judge from a commentary

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¹ Cf. Wycl. Bible, I p. ix. The Commentary on the Gospel of St John has not come down to us in any MS., but its existence can be inferred from the fact that its prologue together with those of the other Gospels precedes the Commentary on Matthew in MS. Camb. Univ. Libr. Ii. 2. 12.

² Wycl. Bible, 1 p. xiii.

³ See Forshall and Madden, Wycl. Bible, 1 p. viii, cf. E.B.V. p. xxi ff., Berger, La Bible française, Paris, 1884, p. 78 ff.

⁴ MS. St John's Coll. Cambr. G. 25, f. 19^b, cf. E.B.V. p. xxix.

⁵ MS. Camb. Univ. Libr. Ii. 2, 12, f. 1.

⁶ See Appendix I.



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added to James ii 2, '& perfore if eny man come in-to 3 oure si3t, pat is, in-to 3 oure cumpenye pat beb Godes religiouse men in what degre so 3e be.' Concerning the Pauline Epistles referred to above (MS. Parker 32) there is no direct evidence to connect them with either side, but, as far as I have been able to examine them, they contain nothing but what is strictly orthodox, being, in fact, a mere verbal translation of the Latin, with occasional brief comments on the text.

Concerning the reading and use of these vernacular versions it may be of interest to know the opinion of an evidently fair-minded and moderate member of the orthodox party. The author of the 'Chastisyng of Goddis children' (see p. xxv) sets forth his views on this point in the following way:—

f. 62^b 'I seie in he maner as it was ordeyned; for summe now in hese daies use to seie on Englische her Sawter and Matyns of oure Ladi and he vii Salmes and he Letanye.

Many men repreueb to haue be Sawter or Matyns or be Gospel in Englisch or be Bible, bicause bei moun not be translatid in-to no vulgar word bi be word as it stondib wiboute greet circumlocucioun aftir be felyng of be firste writeris whiche translatiden pat in-to Latyn bi be teching of be Hooli Gost. Nebeles I wole not repreue suche translaciouns, ne I repreue not to haue hem on Englische, ne to rede on hem where bei mowe stire 30u to more deuocioun and to be loue of God. But utterli to vse hem on Englische and leeue je Latyn I holde it not commendable, and nameli in hem pat ben bounden to seie her Sawter or Matyns of oure Ladi. For a mannys confessour 3yueb him in penaunce to seie his Sawter wipouten ony opir wordis, and he go forp and seie it on Englische and not in Latyn as it was ordeyned, bis man, I wene, doib not his penaunce. Skilis I mai schewe resonable and manye, but bi-cause pat I truste to God pat 3e wole not vse 30ur Sawter in þat maner, þerfore I leeue off to speken of þis mater and counseile 30u, as I seide bifore, pat 3e preie enterely in tyme of 30ure seruyce wherto 3e ben bounden, bi be ordynaunce of hooli chirche and in be maner as it was ordeyned bi oure hooli fadres.'

It is a noteworthy fact that the author of this tract must have lived and written during the earlier part of the Wycliffite movement, as he begs the 'sister' to beware of 'summe þat now holde plainli and 3it not openli, but priueli for drede, a3ens confessiouns & fastyngs, a3ens worschiping of ymagis and schortli as men seien a3ens alle statis and degrees & lawe or ordinaunce of hooli chirche.' Further, he must have written before 1408, as he seems unaware of any prohibition of the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular, such as was afterwards made for clerics and laymen alike by the famous