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Private devotion in England on the eve of the Reformation illustrated from works printed or reprinted in the period 1530-40

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- 178) See T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, London 1972, pp.42 - 3.
- 179) Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons I.6^{r-v} and The seventh chapter of the seventh image, L6^r ff. cp. Hughe I. G.4^v - 8^r.
- 180) Preparation A4^r. Tracy was not alone in seeking Cromwell's patronage - see numerous references in McConica, ch. 5 -6 although he does not mention this example. The humility formula of the late middle ages was generally replaced in devout treatises of a Protestant nature, by unsolicited dedication to an influential person or by a p^refatory advertisement, during the 1540's.
- 181) Examples of the nationalistic content of English Protestantism include Becon's A newe pathway vnto praier and The new polleeye of warre, both printed in 1542 (PS.I pp.180 - 2, 234 - 5); P^rynet A shorte treatise of politke power (edn 1556) E5^v - 7^v; Bradford's preface to Chrysostom on Prayer, (PS Sermons and Mediatations p.13) and from the following century Milton's Animadversions, section iv. (The Student's Milton, ed. F.A.Patterson, New York 2nd ed. 1933, p.492). Among general treatments, Einstein, Tudor Ideals (London, 1921) Part III, Sections 3 - 4 and H.Kohn "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism", Journal of the History of Ideas, I.1940 p. 69 - 94.
- 182) STC. 25255 - 9
- 183) Mainly to be found chapters 6 - 7, (PS. Fruitful Lessons pp.108 - 119) Among the similitudes he describes God as a father, a mother, a schoolmaster, a physician (cp. Bradford PS Sermons p. 431), a gardener and a goldsmith purging gold. He also describes the pressing of grapes in

the wine press, the threshing of corn and the trying of gold again and he cites the examples of Job. All these examples to be found in The xii profytes and The Rote.

- 184) Hide, A Consolatoire Epistle AR 395. A7^v. See Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose pp. 208 - 11. The quotation is from another edition than that given by Southern p.428, at Ushaw College, Durham. This edn. in 8^o, A - G in 8's but lacks A1 and G1.

- 185) STC. 5890 attributed to Coverdale. Bradford PS. Sermons pp. 412 - 33.

- 186) W.Stevens, Memoirs of the Life and Matrydom of John Bradford (London, 1832) e.g. letters nos. 87, 01, 94.

- 187) STC. 1716 See, for example, Becon PS III. pp.211, 216, 219.

- 188) The preparation to the crosse's chapter xiv suggests very much the idea behind The iiii tokens, (STC.14505) and developed later in the more explicit identification of tribulation and unnatural signs as precursors of the Last Judgement, e.g. The generall signes and forerunners of Christ coming to Iudgement, (STC. 14549) or Bateman's The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente (STC. 1582). Conjectures about the end of all things had always been susceptible to political interpretation in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic (D.S.Russell The Method and Message of Jewish Apolalyptic (London 1964) p.265 ff.); and in addition to sections like Mark XIII, epistles such as I Thessalonians and Jude, the Book of Revelation was much used for political ends, not least in the terminology of the English Protestants. Joye's translation of Osiander's The coniectures of the ende of the worlde uses Daniel, St.Paul's writings and the Apocalypse, in addition to

Jewish talmudic computations in an attempt to estimate when the end of all things and in particular Rome's tyranny, would end. See also M.Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford 1969) pp 107 f, 453 ff.

- 189) A list of brasses etc. of infants in swaddling clothes: M.Clayton, Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs. p. 138
- 190) For woodcuts showing hanging or execution Hodnett nos. 104, 758, 766, 929, 1031, 1725, 1783. See Knowles RO III p. 331 for Henry's threat against those implicated in the Northern Rising. Among others More and the London Carthusians and, even more cruelly, Robert Aske, hung in chains at York, were thus publicly exhibited. cp. the discussion between Adam and Mannoury about the corpse hanging from the gallows at the opening of The Devils by John Whiting.
- 191) e.g. Erasmus' Preparation to deathe (edn 1543) C5^V-6^r; Lupset Of dieyng well (ed.J.A.Gee) p.278; Whitford's Dayle exercyse C8^V-Di; Werdmüller's A moste frutefull...treatise p. 152. The sisters of Syon daily gathered around a bier and open grave to recite the De profundis, The myroure of Oure Ladye, EETS. es. 19, ~~1888~~, pp.142 - 3.
- 192) The chapter on "Mors" in Bromyard's Summa Predicantium is one of his longest; Speculum Sacerdotale (EETS 200, ~~1886~~) talks about forms of burial and the office of the dead ch 61 - 2; Mirk's Festial (EETS.es.96, ~~1888~~) has two similar sermons, Nos. 71, 72. Owst PME and LPME also Blench see indexes under "death" for further references.

- 193) Among those who seem to overstress the preoccupation with death, at least so far as England was concerned: Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, (Peregrine 1965) ch.11 whose views are often applied to England; Beatty The Craft of Dying pp.38, 46, 50 etc.; Paternoster, Thou Art There Also p. 59, who might have added that terror and disgust could be balanced by the elegaic beauty of some of the ubi sunt laments.
- 194) Among the most influential is Huizinga's The Waning of the Middle Ages. O'Connor's The Art of Dying Well is more concerned with the European rather than the specifically English developments of the ars moriendi, while Kurtz and Clarke on the dance of death both place England in a European context. Mâle's L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age is concerned mainly with French art and Réau's L'Art Chrétien gives very few English examples. Tenenti's La Vie et la Mort à travers l'Art du XVe Siècle like his II Sensus della Morte et l'Amore della Vita nel Rinascimento concentrates on French and Italian examples while Boase Death in the Middle Ages mingles English and European illustrations.
- 195) Woolf, Lyrics pp. 311, 353 cp. Gray Themes and Images pp.176, 179 - 81, Huizinga's chapter 11 over-emphasizes the physical and earthly side of death, this was only one strand of the English death-literature. He does not mention the balancing love and joy often associated with devotion to Jesus and the Blessed Virgin and so in isolating one strand of the death literature he seems to have produced a seriously distorted view. His whole thesis of the fifteenth century as a period of decline is challenged by E.F.Jacob, Essays in later medieval history, "Huizinga and the Autumn of the Middle Ages", pp. 141 - 53.

- 196) For example N.L.Beaty's argument, The Craft of Dying pp.50 - 3 on the virtues of the Tracatus artis bene moriendi seems to me to be misdirected because she has accepted Huizinga's estimate of the period's character (pp.37 - 48 and p.37 n 32) rather than the evidence of the work itself, which suggests a far less macabre interest.
- 197) A.Boinet, "Reliures à emblems macabres de la compagnie des confrères de la mort", Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1956 pp. 341 - 5 and in the xvii century Les Frères de la Mort, whose scapulars carried a death's head and whose perpetual recollection was of death, P.Helyot, Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires vol. 3. (Paris 1715) pp.341 - 5.
- 198) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi (ed.1533) D7^{r-v} cp.Montaigne I xix (translated by Florio, p.83 in the series Tudor Translations.)
- 199) R.T.Davies, Medieval English Lyrics No.153 and Brown XV century Religious Lyrics No. 148 Some of the detail in the latter is derived from Maximian on whom see Woolf, Lyrics, p.103 - 5 and G.R.Coffman "Old Age from Horace to Chaucer", Speculum IX (1936) p. 249 - 77.
- 200) For the decade 1530 - 40 Erasmus' list seems to be the only one in devout treatises. For preachers, Owst PME pp.341 - 2; Blench pp. 234 - 5. For later examples, ~~Waggoner~~ ^{v.517-24228} A New Treatise C3; Jonson's Volpone at the end of Act I, scene iv, and Taylor Holy dying chapter 151.
- 201) It was used to good effect by Chaucer in "The Pardoner's Tale", See J.M.Steadman "Old Age and Contemptus Mundi in The Pardoner's Tale", Medium Ævum XXXIII, 1964 pp.121 - 30.

- 202) Signs of death are listed Orologium p.363; The mirroure of golde (STC.6895) G3^V; Cordiale A5^V; More's Quatuor novissima, English Works 1557 p. 77; Werdmüller A moste frutefull piththe and learned treatyse B1^R; Skelton's poem Upon a Dead Man's Head; ~~Waggon~~ A new treatyse C4^R; Parkyn p.64. Bodl. Ms Tanner 407 includes the verse from the Fasciculus morum — see Woolf Lyrics pp. 81 - 2 — with the Latin prayer added to each line: "Whan ye hed quaketh memento. whan ye lyppys blackyth confessio | Whan ye nose scharpyth. Contricio.....Whan ye eyne fylmyn. libera medomine. whan deth folewyth venitis ad iudicium." They are also to be found in Isaac Ambrose's meditation, "Deaths Arrest," The Complete Works, 1674, p. 403 and in Becon's A New Postil, 1566 fol.9^R, and even in James Joyce's Ulysses (London 1960) p. 140
- 203) STC nos. 3320, 13522, 24199 - 24207.
- 204) In Medieval Studies XXXII, 1970, pp.282 - 58 see also Woolf, Lyrics pp. 78 - 82, 330 - 2.
- 205) Quatuor novissima, English Works, 1557, pp.77, D-F.
- 206) Quotation from L.Martz, The Poetry of Meditation p. 137, see pp.135 - 44. St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises, Second Exercise of Death. Examples in Donne include his "Second Anniversary" and Devotions upon emergent occasions.
- 207) Owst LPME p.533.
- 208) A selection of these authorities are cited by Legrand M3^R, in the Cordiale a5^R and The mirroure of golde chapter 6.
- 209) Among others to quote this view— most of them attribute it to Plato (Phaedo 67D, Cicero, Tusculan Disputations I. xxx, 74)—Legrand M3^R; Erasmus Preparation to deathe A5^V;

More English Works p.77c; Whitford Dayly exercyse C6^r;
Parkyn p.64; L'Espine, A Treatise tending to take away
the feare of death (STC. 15515) p.3.

- 210) As we shall see later the Christian content of his treatise
Of Dyenge well is overshadowed by his admiration for the
pagan's courage and virtues.
- 211) Certeine prayers. G3^r.
- 212) Isidore, The gathered covnsailes of saincte Isidore (STC.
14271) A3^r; Legrand M3^r; Whitford Dayly exercyse C8^r;
The mirroure of golde E6^r; Cordiale A5^v. Longland, (STC.
16795) E2^v ~~16795~~ cp.2 Henry IV,ii.4, Doll....
"When wilt thou leave fighting o' days, and foining
o' nights, and begin to patch up thine old body for heaven?"
Falstaff: "Peace, good doll! do not speak me like a death's
head: do not bid me remember mine end".
- 213) e.g. A Kempis I:xxiii; Lupset p. 287.
- 214) Mirrore of golde G2^v cp. among others Legrand M3^r, "For
a man yt thynketh he muste nedes deye....setteth lytel by
the worlde and by hym selfe/and also he is all cooled of
the vanytees and of al worldely pleasaunces".
- 215) Whitford, Dayly exercyse^{A9-B2}; Lupset p. 279.
- 216) e.g. Frith The Preparation to Deathe ch.I (I.8^r);
A myrrour...for them that be syke I3^v.
- 217) To teche a man to dye E2^v-3^v.
- 218) Orologium p. 362.

- 219) Orologium pp. 388 - 9.
- 220) Hughe I.B5^r; Certeine prayers H7^r; A myrrour...for them that be syke I.8^r.
- 221) The "Consolacyon" occurs both in Certeine prayers from which I have quoted and in Prayers of the Byble (RSTC 20200.3); it is a translation of Luther's XIV Consolations.
- 222) Certeine prayers H.8^r.
- 223) e.g. More English Works p. 776; a brief exercise is given in a Primer of 1531 (STC.15966) A3^{r-v}; for examples in art, Weber Aspects of Death pp. 26 - 8.
- 224) There is another edition at Lincoln without either printer or date, which I have not seen. Whitford says it was written "more then.xx.yeres ago" and Dame Elizabeth Gibbs, Abbess of Syon for whom he wrote it died in 1518, so the Lincoln edition could date from the earlier 1530's.
- 225) The sustained parallelism between Whitford's Dayly exercyse and St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercise suggested by W.A.M. Peters, "Richard Whitford and St. Ingatius' visit to England" Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu XXV, 1956, pp. 8 - 11 seems to me far from proven.
- 226) Dayly exercyse A6^r.
- 227) Op.cit. C6^r.
- 228) Op.cit. C8^r.
- 229) I have found no English work which portrays a death-bed scene as vividly as the Grimani Breviary (Boase, Death in the Middle

Ages, illustr. no.105). Although O'Connor lists no English xylographic ars moriendi editions, some printed abroad doubtless found their way into England and copies of the Verard death-bed scenes were used in many books printed by de Worde, e.g. Hodnett nos.501 - 4, 506 - 10.

- 230) Dayly exercyse D1^{r-v}; Exornatorium (STC.10630) B5^v.
- 231) Dayly exercyse D2^r-3^v.
- 232) Op.cit. D2^v. cp. The Corpus Christi Carol (Davies, Medieval English Lyrics No. 164) where the stone bears the words Corpus Christi.
- 233) Op.cit. D2^v. Versions of this popular prayer were to be found in various primers e.g. STC.15986, I3^r; STC 16000 E5^v - 6^r; in the Caxton Ars moriendi A3^r; The Dyenge creature c4^v; A deuoute Intercessyon (STC,14547) 4^v; The Dialogue ...betwene our sauour Ihesu Chryste and a synner (STC.14548) D6^r; Remors of consyence (STC.20882 - dated ? After 1532 in RSTC) B3^v and in an extended form, Horstman YW II p.306.
- 234) Op.cit. D3^v - 4^r.
- 235) It would have provided suitable reading for the collation before Compline, which betokens the end of man's life.
Our ladyes myrroure, EETS es. 19 p. 165.
- 236) Op.cit. A8^r - B1^r.
- 237) Op.cit. C5^v - 6^r, D2^r - 3^v. Marlowe's Dr. Faustus in his last desperate speech says: "See see where Christs blood streames in the firmament./ One drop would saue my soule, halfe a drop, ah my Christ"^{he} echoes a widely held belief, stated also in the Dayly exercyse's monologue, D2^v, "For I knowe well that one drope alone of that most holy sacred

blod, were sufficyent, and ynough/and ferre more than
ynoughe/to wasshe and clense all the synne of the worlde/
and yet shed he all his blode euery drope".

- 238) Dayly exercyse D4^r - cp. St.Paul, Philippians I: 23.
- 239) Op.cit D4^v - 5^r.
- 240) Other examples may be found Golden Epistle (STC. 1911, RSTC 1915.5) A3^r; The mirroure of golde A3^v where it is attributed to St.Bernard; Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde A5^v. Definitions of Death and the three-fold meditation will be discussed in more detail later.
- 241) Dayly exercyse E3^v - 4^r cp. The opening of Dame Julian's Revelations, chapter 3 (Penguin Classics) pp.64 - 6.
- 242) Questioned by his audience on the manner of contemplation to be used in this exercise, Whitford's answer was accompanied by the modest disclaimer "althoughe you can teche me that lesson better than I you" (D6^v) which may be no more than a conventional gesture of humility but which could, perhaps, imply a lack of personal experience.
- 243) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi, chapter 11, especially K^{r-v}.
- 244) Whitford's "...so that you shall every day (whan you wyll) be as verely deed..." (D4^v) is in marked contrast to Hilton's emphasis on the hard discipline and total dependence on God which underlies the mystic's experience, Scala Perfectionis II.xxxv.; also E. Colledge, The Medieval Mystics of England pp.8 - 9, and E.Underhill, Mysticism pp.319 - 56
- 245) Orologium p.362.

- 246) More, Quatuor novissima (English Works p. 77 D-E):
 "For those pictures [the Dance of Death in St. Paul's]
 expresse only, ye lothely figure of our dead bony
 bodies biten away ye flesh. Which though it be
 ougly to behold, yet neither the sight therof, nor
 the sight of al ye dead heades in ye charnel house
 nor the apparicion of a very ghost, is halfe so
 grisely as the depe conceived fantasy of deathe in his
 nature, by the liuely imaginacyon grauen in thyne owne
 heart".
- 247) For examples of English memento mori medals, rings and
 jewels see Weber, Aspects of Death, pp. 83 - 4, 85,
 91 - 2, 94 - 8 etc. for rings pp. 135 - 9, for ivories
 pp. 143 - 5 and jewels pp. 150 - 1. Most of his examples
 are from the mid-seventeenth century.
- 248) Tenenti, La Vie et la Mort p. 40.
- 249) For the Three Living and the Three Dead, E.W. Tristram
English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century pp. 112 - 4
 and p. 303 and for literary references Woolf Lyrics pp. 344 - 7
 and Gray, Themes and Images pp. 208 - 11. Tenenti, La Vie
 et la mort lists known locations of the Dance of Death in
 England and in Europe pp. 90 - 1. For full length studies,
 J.M. Clark, The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the
 Renaissance, L.P. Kurtz The Dance of Death and the Macabre
 Spirit in European Literature. The latter suggests that
 the Dance never achieved the same popularity in England as
 on the Continent pp. 142 - 3, 145 cp. Woolf Lyrics pp. 352 - 3
 and E.C. Williams "The Dance of Death in Painting and
 Sculpture in the Middle Ages", Journal of the British
 Archaeological Association ³I, 1937 pp. 229 - 57. It was
 not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the verses
 were printed in England, Woolf pp. 352 - 3 and about the same

time the Dance was illustrated in R.Day's A Book of Christian Prayers, 1578 and in a broadside, see Gray, Themes and Images pl.12 - for discussion of the illustrations of A Booke of Christian Prayers S.C.Chew "The Iconography of A Book of Christian Prayers" Huntington Library Quarterly VIII 1944 -5 pp.293 - 305. In the 1578 edition, The signs of the End, the xv tokens run from f.58^r - 61^r, 78 - 81^v, at the bottom of ff.61^r, 81^v appears a version of the Verard print - e.g. Hodnett 1516, 2225; the Dance of Death with various repetitions runs from f.82^r - 137^r with couplet verses accompanying each named figure and in the bottom of the margin; the upper and inner margins are filled with skeletons cp. the Horae margins printed in Paris by Pigouchet for Vostre 1496 - 7, A.M.Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, London 1935, Vol.II fig.429.

- 250) See n. 246 above and the woodcut, Hodnett no. 378 at the end of the Cordiale illustrates the legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.
- 251) Verses such as Job X:9, XXXIV:15; Ecclesiastes XII:7; Ecclesiasticus X:10 - 15, especially v,13 often provided a starting point for such meditations.
- 252) Charnel houses existed as separate buildings at Old St.Paul's, Worcester and Norwich and as part of the crypt at Gloucester^{ce}, Ripon, Hythe, St.Mary's Hitchin and Burford, see G.H.Cook, The English Medieval Parish Church, pp.129 - 30.
- 253) Their use was made obligatory in some parts of Germany, e.g. synods of Münster 1279 and of Cologne 1280. A fine XVth century example survives at Maria Saal, Kärnten Austria.

- 254) Fifteenth century examples include the tombs of Bishop Flemin, Lincoln; Archbishop Chichele, Canterbury; Bishop Beckington, Wells; Precentor William Sylke, Exeter; the so-called Wakeham cenotaph at Tewkesbury and Alice de la Pole Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme, Oxfordshire. There is one about the turn of the century at Hemingborough, E.Yorks and another undated one at Feniton, Devon. Sixteenth century examples include Bishops Fox and Gardener at Winchester, Canon William Parkhouse, Exeter and from the following century the Landsdowne tomb at Burford and Sir Robert Cecil at Hatfield House, See, Evans English Art p. 158 - 9, F.H.Crossley, English Church Monuments p. 182 - 3.
- 255) Among such monuments B.F.L.Clarke, Parish Churches of London lists ones at St. Botolph's Aldgate and at St. James', Clerkenwell Green. For lists of brasses of shrouded effigies and skeletons, Clayton, Catalogue of Brass Rubbings pp 136 - 8. An outstanding example of a shrouded skeleton upon which numerous worms are feeding (not listed by Clayton) is that of Radolphus Hamsterly at Oddington, Oxfordshire of 1500. On the manufacture and general distribution of brasses, M.L.Gadd "English Monumental Brasses of the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries", Journal of the British Archaeological Association³ II.1937, pp. 17 - 46.
- 256) The dance of death occurred on misericords at St. George's, Windsor and at St. Michael's Coventry (now destroyed); a skull was carved on a roof boss in the south of the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral but otherwise it is very difficult to find skulls and other macabre subjects used decoratively on funeral monuments etc. much before the seventeenth century when they become more common.

- 257) Certeine Prayers I8^r and A myrroure...for them that be syke K5^v.
- 258) Ludus Conventrialis EETS 120, ~~1927~~, pp. 174 - 7 cp. Erasmus' Preparation to deathe B1^r "Onely death with his cruell dart, | By thousand meanes maketh man to smart"; Everyman ed. A.C.Cawley, Manchester 1961, pp. 3 - 7; Macro Plays EETS 262, ~~1969~~, pp. 85 - 6 where Death carries a lance. The presence of Death is also implied by the synopsis of the incomplete Pride of Life, Non Cycle Plays and Fragments EETS ss1, 1970.
- 259) Dayly exercyse C7^r cp. Hughe, Troubled mans medicine I. A5^r who describes children frightened by the masks worn by their elders.
- 260) e.g. among Bodleian mss. Rawl. Liturg.g.3 (English 1450 - 1500) f.118^v contains a funeral procession while illustrations for the Office of the Dead are to be found in Bodley 850 (English xv cent.) f.42; Rawl.liturg.g.6 (English or Flemish xv cent.) f.85^v; Gough liturg.3 (English or Flemish 1470-80?) f.72^v, and a shrouded corpse being lowered into a grave is found in Rawl.liturg.g.6. f.110^v.
- 261) e.g. among Bodleian mss. Engl.poet a.1 (Vernon ms) f126^v; Douce 322, f.27. Two are of considerable interest in showing the juxtaposition of a man on his death-bed and Death: Douce 88 f.121^v shows death black and winged with a long flesh-hook reaching for a man on his death-bed, and Selden Supra 53 (English c.1430) shows an emaciated man lying in bed, a priest? beside him with an approaching skeleton brandishing a staff cp. Hortulus Animae, RSTC. 13828. ~~ms~~ 6 f.12^v where death bearing an arrow and a scythe plucks a sick man from his bed. Tenenti notes that Death does not appear in the standard death-bed scenes of the Ars

moriendi books, Il senso della morte p.93, pl.19,33.

- 262) Skeletons may be found in ms. Douce 322, f.19^V (see Woolf Lyrics pl.3A) and ms. Douce 104 (English c.1427) at the end of Passus xvi of Piers Plowman. Skulls may be found in the Luttrell Psalter, BM ms.Add.42130 f.213.
- 263) e.g. Hodnett nos. 386, 605, 633, 1370, 1432 show Death spearing or arresting somebody, and The Kalender of Sheparden series, Hodnett nos. 961, 985, 1531, 2240, (2370) show Death carrying a coffin.
- 264) Hodnett nos. 412, 529.
- 265) The first English language (an approximation to English!) versions of The crafte and The Kalender were printed in Paris by Verard, 1502. See Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut II.651 - 2, 660 - 3, 729.
- 266) Such as those reproduced by Tenenti, La Vie et la Mort pl.10 and Il Senso della Morte pl.1, 57 or Gr̃newald's Damnation of Lovers in Hughes Heaven and Hell p.203
- 267) A copy recently acquired by the Bodleian library, RSTC 13828.6. The first cut, f.12^V death bearing an arrow and scythe plucks a sick man from his bed; f.1xxii^R shows two skeletons, one cadaver by a cross with a surround of bones and worms and thirdly f.1xxxi^V has monks in choir around a bier and above a soul "sum condemnatus" in the clutch of a Devil.
- 268) For example in the edition by Julian Notary (STC.22410) on G5^V, 7^V, M5^R.
- 269) Hodnett no. 474

- 270) Standing at the beginning of the de Worde editions 1505, 1506 this poem (Index, suppl.2522.5) does not appear in the French or English editions by Verard.
- 271) The best collection of inscriptions still seems to be Weever's Ancient Fvnerall monvments, 1631. Evans, English Art pp.142, 146, 174 quotes several. The inscription chosen by the Black Prince to surround his tomb - see Tristram XIV Century, p.114 - reminding the passer-by that such as you are sometime were we etc. was echoed in numerous inscriptions, e.g. Weever pp. 413, 447, 497, 532, ⁵³⁴538, 545, 645, 803.
- 272) Examples are to be found from Anglo-Saxon times onwards e.g. "The wanderer" and "Widsith". Probably Fisher's ubi sunt passage EETS es. 27, ~~1876~~ pp. 145-6 comes nearest of the prose writers to capturing something of the sense of wistfulness for what has passed.
- 273) The occasion when devout treatise writers are most likely to lament the past for its superior moral virtues is when they are castigating the vices of the present age. The past is not regarded as a golden age in an ubi sunt context.
- 274) RSTC 15399.5, copies at John Rylands Library, Manchester and Ushaw College, Durham (imp.). It consists of books IV and V of Legrand's Book of Good Manners.
- 275) On whom see Coffman, art cit, Speculum IX and R.Ellis "On the elegies of Maximianus" American Journal of Philology V. 1884 pp.1 - 15.
- 276) Quotations are from the 1507 de Worde edition of Legrand's

Book of Good Manners L4^{-v}.

- 277) Lists may be found - of ranks as often as of actual names - in the Cordiale a3^v, a5^{r-v}; The mirroure of golde E6^v; Dives and Pauper IX.x; Meditacyons of saynt Bernarde B2^{-v}. A number of ubi sunt verses were derived, probably from the Latin version of the Meditations, e.g. Gray Themes and Images p. 188; J.E.Cross "The Sayings of St. Bernard and Ubi Sunt qui ante nos fuerount" RES ns.IX, 1958, pp. 1 - 7 who argues for the indebtedness of the poems to the Sayings. Also in Erasmus De Contemptu mundi D3^r; A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite L4^{r-v}; Hughe A troubled mans medicine I.D3^v; Fisher on Psalm 102 EETS es. 27, ~~1876~~ pp. 145 - 6; Owst LPME p. 293; Blench p. 228.
- 278) Arrian's Life of Alexander VII 27 - 9 gives an early ~~anc~~ encomium of him cp. Shakespeare's Hamlet V.i.222 - 39 and Person's Christian Directory (1607) p. 501
- 279) In the Cordiale b2^{r-v} the only words directly spoken by Alexander are quotations from Job XVI, XIX; in Erasmus and Hughe he speaks in the first person. The opening of Alexander's speech in Hughe D5^r is very similar to Erasmus' to which Hughe may be indebted.
- 280) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D4^v.
- 281) On the smallness of the grave, Cordiale b2^v talks of a "tombe of viii fote longe", also More English Works p. 83 and Dyalogue of comferte III.vi; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions (Nonesuch edn. 1939) p. 510; Owst PME p. 343; Woolf Lyrics pp. 82 - 4.
- 282) Legrand M3^v. Cordiale A7^v, The mirroure of golde E6^v, Lupset Of dieyng well p. 280.

- 283) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D4^v cp. Longland (STC16795) E2^{r-v}.
- 284) Erasmus op.cit. D6^r makes the point that the word mortal carries "mors" within it, thus warning men of their death.
- 285) Fisher EETS es.27, pp. 145 - 6.
- 286) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D5^r.
- 287) Orologium p. 359 It claims to be a paraphrase of "Sapiencie LI" but is actually based on Sap.V: 6 - 9 which also forms the basis of the quid profuit passage in A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite L3^v.
- 288) More Dyalogue of comferte III.vi.viii - ix, xi - xii. William Thomas in The Vanitee of this world covers much the same ground as his chapter headings suggest: "That the pleasures of the body ought not to be folowed", "That Beautie is a vaine thyng", "That force and valiauntnesse is vayne", "That riches deserue not to be esteamed", "That honour is not to be sought for", "That dominion ought not to be desired", "That fame is a vaine thyng".
- 289) Troubled mans medicine I.D7^v - 8^r.
- 290) Influential biblical passages include Job VII,XIV:1 - 2; Psalm C III; much of Ecclesiastes; Baruch III; James VI. Such views were to be found also in pagan authors, especially among the Epicureans, for example a number of passages in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura.
- 291) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe B5^v cp. The crafte to lyue well and to dye well (STC.792) f.Cxiii^vf

- 292) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D7^r, 8^r. etc; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 279 - 80; Legrand M2^r; Hugh II A7^v-8^r; Frith Preparation to deathe cap.ii; Vives Introduction to Wisedome STC 24845+, 1539, E8^r cp. Ludus Coventriae EETS es 120 p. 218 - 9; Towneley Plays EETS es 71 p. 390; Werdmüller A moste fruteful treatyse (STC.25251) I.ch.18.
- 293) Mirrore of golde E6^v; Legrand L3^v, 5^{r-v}; Cordiale A3^v; Erasmus Preparation to deathe A5^v, More English Works p.80 - 1; Whitford Dayly exercyse B8^r; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 288 and Fisher, EETS es. 27 p. 145; Werdmüller op.cit.p.152.
- 294) A Kempis I.xxiii; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E1^r; Certeine prayers G1^v; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions p. 552; Werdmüller op.cit p.30 - 1.
- 295) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi E1^v; Preparation to deathe C2^v; Mirrore of golde E6^r; A Kempis I.xxiii; Cordiale B8^r; Werdmüller op.cit 150.
- 296) Erasmus De contemptu mundi D8^v; Hughes II B1^r; Whitford Dayly exercyse B6^r; Cordiale C4^{r-v}; Kalender of Shepades the author's prologue. Donne, Devotions upon emergent occasions p.533 remarks that even trees live longer than man.
- 297) Many draw their images from biblical passages such as Psalm CIII: 14 - 6; Job XIV. Hughe II A8^v, B1^r quotes Isaiah XLV and Job; Thomas The Vanitee of this world on the vanity of beauty asks if there is anything more in it than pleasure in a new flower which is soon faded; Erasmus, De contemptu E4^v talks of the rose which fades once it is plucked, cp. the seventeenth-century "Moralische Pfenninge" illustrated by Weber Aspects of Death pp.92 - 4

bearing some version of the legend "Heut Rodt Morn Dodt";
Hughe II. B1^r.

- 298) Cordiale A7^r.
- 299) Cordiale C3^v. The allegory is based on the Eastern legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, Gray Themes and Images p. 179; Boase Death in the Middle Ages. p. 86.
- 300) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D8^v - E1^r.
- 301) There is an optimism in Shakespeare's sonnets LX, ^{LXXIII-IV,} ~~LXII-V,~~ etc. which is entirely foreign to these earlier authors, for whom there was no security in the love of anything or anyone earthly and no assurance that their writings would survive.
- 302) Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde B3^r; Legrand M4^r; Erasmus De contemptu mundi D8^r; Lupset Of dieyng well p.287 - 8; Certeine prayers G2^v. cp. Ludus Coventriae, EETS es 120, p. 214; Ross, M.E.Sermons EETS 209 p. 276
- 303) Lupset op.cit. p. 287.
- 304) Quotations in this paragraph are from the edition by William Middleton (STC. 23965).
- 305) The title of the second chapter of The dyetary of ghostly helthe.
- 306) cp. Erasmus Preparation to deathe D1^r; Lupset op.cit. p.287.
- 307) Erasmus Preparation to deathe C2^v; To teche a man to dye (STC.11390) B8^v - C1^r; Myrrour...for them that be syke also states that to desire longer temporal life is to wish for more chance to sin.

- 308) Whitford, Dayly exercyse (C8^v - D1^r).
- 309) cp. Orologium p.362 Where the Image of Death tells the Disciple "euery daye brynge me inwardly to thy mynde".
- 310) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe C6^rf gives a list of men who refused to heed the warning and died unprovided - A Kempis D8^v.
- 311) A Kempis D7^v - 8^r, f.xxix - xxx.
- 312) op. cit. D8^r
- 313) op.cit E1^r. The idea of man as a stranger and pilgrim in this world, based on Hebrews XI: 13 - 16, was, as might be expected, a popular one in the world-denying atmosphere of late medieval religion cp. Legrand's chapter "Of the state of pylgrymages" which is much concerned with the brevity of man's earthly life ^{and} ~~and~~ Gray, Themes and Images p. 212ff.
- 314) Printed at the end of the third volume of Becon's Works 1563.
- 315) Some of the topics will be discussed at more length in later sections.
- 316) Works, vol III.f.513^r.
- 317) The epsiode is based on Herodotus, Histories II. 78, cp. Montaigne Essays I. xix; Weber, Aspects of Death p.6.
- 318) op.cit. f. 514^r.
- 319) op.cit. f.516^v.

- 320) cp. Ecclesiasticus X:13.
- 321) Preparation to Deathe C7.
- 322) Erasmus op.cit. C7^V.
- 323) STC 3320 and 13522 both printed by Wyer without date, but perhaps from 1550's rather than 1530's.
- 324) On the authorship and mss. of the work, H.G.Pfander "Dives et Pauper", The Library ⁴ XIV 1934 - 5, pp.299-312.
- 325) Dives and Pauper, I.xlvii - viii.
- 326) op.cit. ed. 1536 f.66; Whitford Werke for Housholders (ed. Redman 1531) B8^R - C1.
- 327) op.cit. I.xlii f.60^V.
- 328) Among numerous prayers against sudden death, A deuoute intercessyon (STC(14547) 3^V and The Pater noster (STC 16820) D1^R; Garade The interprescyon...of the Masse, f1^V and see also Hoskins pp. 124, 132.
- 329) e.g. To teche a man to dye (STC 24250) E2^Vff Concern to allay fear of death was not confined to Protestants cp. Whitford's Dayly exercyse.
- 330) The mirroure of golde E6^R; A Kempis I.i; Erasmus De contemptu mundi ca.7.cp. Person's Christian Directory Chap. IV.
- 331) The term used by M.W.Bloomfield, Piers Plowman: a fouteenth century Apocalypse, ch.2, "Monasticism and Perfection".
- 332) See, for example, the series Christianisme et valeurs humaines - La Doctrine du Mēpris du Monde en occident

de S.Ambrose à Innocent III; IV.2.ed. R.Bultot,
Louvain/Paris 1964. There is also D.R.Howard's
unpublished thesis (Univ.of Florida 1954) The Contempt
of the World: A Study in the Ideology of Latin Christendom
with Emphasis on Fourteenth century English Literature.

- 333) PL.CCXVII. 701 - 46. It appeared in an English
translation by H. Kirton, 1577 (STC 14094)
- 334) Hughe A troubled mans medicine. I.D8^V.
- 335) Cordiale C1^{r-v}; Rolle Contra Amatores Mundi. p. 87;
Kalender of shepardes ca 13; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E5^V;
P.Bush, The Extripacion of ignorancy (STC.4186)^{C2^r}; Hughe
Troubled mans medicine I.E2^V; Persons Christian Directory
(1607) p. 501 - 2.
- 336) Cordiale b1^r; The mirroure of golde E1^r; Hughe II. G1^V,
Person's Christian Directory pp.491 - 5.
- 337) The mirroure of golde E2^V; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E8^r.
- 338) A Kempis I:i; Persons Christian Directory p. 502 - 3;
L'Espine A treatise (STC.15515) p. 69
- 339) Treatise of faith, hope and charite f72 - 3; Hughe I.
D8^V - E1^r; Persons op.cit. p. 509 - 10.
- 340) Cordiale b1^r; Treatise of faith, hope and charite f 72.
Persons ibid.
- 341) The mirroure of golde E4^V - 5^r.
- 342) Treatise of faith, hope and charite K8^{r-v}; The same
passage is to be found in The declaracyon and power of
the Chrysten fayth (STC.5160) C4^r which probably implies
that both authors used a common original.

- 343) Matthew XXV: 31 - 46.
- 344) Thomas, The Vanitee of this world D7^V; Hughe I.D7 - E1;
Becon Sick Man's Salve PS III p. 89.
- 345) Mirrore of golde E2^V cp. the opening of The Golden Epistle.
For Anselm's total rejection of the things of this world
and his implied belief that true contempt of the world
was only to be achieved in the cloister, Christianisme
et valeurs humaines, IV.2 ed. R.Bultot pp.105 - 9.
- 346) Certeine prayers H7^R cp. Hughe I.B5^R.
- 347) Thomas, Vanitee of this world D7^V - 8^R.
- 348) This is to be found in the Betson (STC.1978), Godfray
(STC.1911 etc.) and Middleton (STC.23965) versions but
not in Whitford's translation. Quotations in this
section are from STC.23965.
- 349) Cordiale b4^R cp. Innocent PL ^{CCX} VII, 702
- 350) Innocent op.cit.702 "Consideravi ergo cum lacrymis de
quo factus sit homo: quid faciat homo, quid facturus
(futurus) sit homo", and among others: Austin (Edmund)
of Abingdon The myrrour of the chyrche (STC 967) A4^R
(YW I p.220); The gathered covnsailes of sainteIsidorie
(STC.14271) A2^R (YW II p.367); Whitford Dayly exercyse
D7^{R-V}; The Assaute...of heuen B4^{R-V}; J.G. The myrrour
or lokynge glasse of lyfe (STC 11499) C2^V; ~~Magnus~~ A newe
Treatyse ^{STC 24228} - the beginning, middle and end of man's life
are considered in great physical detail in Book I. Also
Ross, Middle English Sermons EETS 209, ~~1948~~ p.156.
- 351) N.P.Williams The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin,

Bampton lectures 1924, lecture V.

- 352) Bernard Meditacyons A8^V, cp. Lydgate, "An Holy Medytacion", EETS es 107 p. 46 - 7; ~~Waghal~~ A newe Treatyse C1^V.
- 353) Ecclesiasticus X: 13 (Vulg.)
- 354) Medytacyons A5^V.
- 355) A Manual of prayers, 1583 C7^V sets out a schematized plan of the threefold meditations which relies far less on crude physical detail for its effect than did the Medytacyons:

V Ve ought continually to remember these three things: that is to saye	Tyme	Paste	That vve house vnprofitably spent That good vvhich vve haue left undonne That euill vvhich vve haue committed
		Present	Of the shortnes of mans lyfe Of the difficultie to be saued Of the small number that shall be saued
		To come	Of death most miserable Of the last Indgement(sic) most horrible Of the paynes of hell intollerable

- 356) e.g. Complaynte of the soule ed.1532 A8^T, "thy body is but a dounghylle and a sacke of stynkyng myste"; A myrrour... for them that be syke K4^V describes the body as "thys fylthy sack" and Simon, The fruyte of redempcyon ed 1530, A3^T "a frayle man fylth and wormes meet". Longland's A sermond... vppon good fryday...MCCCCC.XXXVI (STC 16795) gives a more gruesome picture of the body's state after death than any of the treatise writers of the same period...E2^V The body "is but earthe, ashes, duste, & wormes meate... Serpentes, wormes, and toodes, shall gnawe, eate, and deuoure

thy beautyfull face, thy fayre nose, thy clere eyes, thy
whyte handes, thy gudly bodye"...cp. Ludus Coventiae,
EETS es 120, p.177; Towneley Plays EETS es 71 p. 390 - 1

- 357) Mirrore of golde A4^r.
- 358) A myrrour...for them that be syke is unusual in its
brief reference, see n.356 above.
- 359) Certeine prayers H2^v. Gararde, The interpretacyon...of
the Masse r2^v also mentions beggars at the church doors.
- 360) This in contrast to Donne, Holy Sonnet IX, Divine Poems.
ed. H.Gardner, Oxford 1952, who sees a correspondence
between outward form and inward virtue: "To wicked
spirits are horrid shapes assign'd,| This beauteous
forme assures a pitious minde".
- 361) Preparation to deathe cap.ii.
- 362) cp. n.342
- 363) Just the effect which love of the world, one particular
sin, has upon worldly persons.
- 364) I. Corinthians XV:22.
- 365) In the "Consolacyon", a translation of Luther's XIV Consolacione,
seven "images" of evil are balanced by seven concerning good
things while Thomas' Vanitee of This world divides into two
halves, the first on human miseries and vanity, the second
on the love and goodness of God.
- 366) Devereux, English Translations of Erasmus notes two editions,
c.1531 and 1533 and variant states of each, C.36 v. 1 - 2b.

- 367) In addition to the printed editions, STC 6157 - 9, it also occurs in Bodl. MS.Tanner 118, f.24^v - 45^r together with a version of Lupset's A compendious treatise teaching the waye of dying well, f.58^r - 75^r; Fisher's Spiritual Consolation, f.87^r - 97^r and Phisicke for the Soule verye necessarye to be vsed in the agonye of deathe, f.107^r - 118^r which seems to be a version of A godly and holsom preseruatyne against dispercion (STC.20204 - 5)
- 368) Erasmus himself says it was written "whan I was scantly .xx.yeres of age", but Pineau, Érasme sa pensée religieuse gives his age as twenty-four, p.31 n.3. The book went through a dozen continental editions 1521 - 1529, Bibliotheca Erasmiana 1^{re} série, liste sommaire et provisoire, ~~Nieuwkoop~~, 1961, before its English translation.
- 369) Post, The Modern Devotion p.699 says that the twelfth chapter was not in the 1521 edition but was added in the (five) editions of 1523.
- 370) Respectively chapters 3, 4 and 5. cp. chapter headings of The mirroure of golde and Thomas' The Vanitee of this world.
- 371) The exhortation that men should rest content with that position in life to which it has pleased God to call them was reflected in works for religious in the emphasis on obedience, but it seems to have been increasingly emphasized from about 1540 onwards - see for example, Becon, PS III p. 36 - 38, p. 80; Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (2nd.edn.1941) p.134 - 6. Paynell, translator of De Contemptu mundi, seems by the end of the decade to have succeeded in his attempt to attract court patronage, McConica, p.138 - 40.

- 372) The plight of Everyman is also reflected in The dyenge creature and the Complaynt...of the soule. For a fuller summary of the contents of the whole work, Post op.cit. pp. 660 - 70.
- 373) Pineau^{op.cit} p. 31 n.3.
- 374) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi I8^v, f.88.
- 375) Tree~~and~~.xii. frutes C3^v.
- 376) Erasmus De contemptu G3^v.
- 377) e.g. The Orchard of Syon septima pars EETS. 258, ~~1966~~ p. 377f; Whitford's Pype or Tonne, the first board of the third part; Dyetary of ghostly helthe ca.xxii; The tree ~~and~~.xii.frutes A4^r.
- 378) Erasmus De contemptu G7^v - 8^v.
- 379) See n.8 - 12 above; also Cyprian's Sermon...of mortalitie (edn. 1539) B2^r, C4^r. For later use of the theme by Puritan authors such as Downname, The christian warfare; William Gouge, ΤΙ ἢ ΒΟΤΗΛΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ: the whole - armor of God; Thomas Taylor Christs combate and conquest; see W. Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (Harper Torchbook 1957) pp.151 - 5 etc.
- 380) The idea behind Erasmus' Enchiridion cp. his Preparation to deathe D2^v - 3^r.
- 381) Erasmus De contemptu H4^v - 5^r; cp. A Kempis II.iii - iv.
- 382) e.g. Bonde's Epystle...for them than ben tymorouse and fearefull in Conscience; The Chastising of God's Children

chapter 2; The Rote ca.xix.

- 383) Erasmus De contemptu K7^r - 8^v.
- 384) op.cit.K.8.
- 385) op.cit I.8^v
- 386) op.cit. K1^v
- 387) For a useful summary, Post op.cit. chapter 8 pp.314 - 42
- 388) Erasmus op.cit K1^{r-v}.
- 389) Pineau, Erasme sa pensée religieuse p. 35.
- 390) Erasmus op.cit. I.6^v - 7^r; Lupset Of dietyng well p.277 - 8.
- 391) Erasmus op.cit.I.7^r.
- 392) Ibid.
- 393) Among other writers on the contemptus mundi and the ars moriendi to make considerable use of the classics are Lupset, William Hughe The troubled mans medicine and William Thomas The Vanitee of this world all of whom show humanist interests. No author in the Catholic medieval tradition, before or after Erasmus seems to make such extensive use of classical sources.
- 394) Erasmus De contemptu I.4^v, 7^r.
- 395) The keen humanist, Lupset, was the only real exception whose works were printed during the 1530's. Sir Thomas More had the knowledge but was very restrained in his use

of classical quotations etc. in his devotional and controversial works.

- 396) On Erasmus' classical learning, M.M.Phillips "Erasmus and the classics", Erasmus, Studies in Latin Literature and its Influence ed. T.A.Dorey, London. 1970. It was the sort of attitude found in A Kempis III. xiviii "agayne ~~way~~ ^{and} seculer scyence" which Erasmus castigated in his Anti barbarorum Liber.
- 397) Cyprian Of mortalitie A3^V In this section quotation is from the 1539 edition.
- 398) It was probably written c.AD.252. On the transmission of Cyprian's treatises in general, M.Bévenot: The Tradition of Manuscripts, Oxford 1961.
- 399) Cyprian Of mortalitie B3^R.
- 400) e.g. Philippians I.21, 23.
- 401) e.g. Frith, The preparation to deathe ca.iii. (mis-numbered ii) "Two maner of deathes" and To teche a man to dye A8^Vf. where the author explains the significance of Jesus' warning that the time is come, the kingdom of God draws nigh, do penance and believe the Gospel, and points particularly to the need for faith in God's promises; Hughe II.D6^R - E2^V.
- 402) Cyprian Of Mortalitie B4^R. Simeon is also cited in Hughe II B7^V to which ^{the} young man replies that Simeon was old and ready to die whereas he, like the Man in Becon's The Prayse of Death, feels aggrieved because he might have lived longer.

- 403) Cyprian op.cit. B5^r.
- 404) See n. 294 above.
- 405) Cyprian op.cit. C5^v - 6^r
- 406) Some of the Reformers undoubtedly felt that in sixteenth century England they too were a minority group possessed of the faith.
- 407) Cyprian op.cit. C3^v.
- 408) Cyprian op.cit. C4^r - v. Some of the images, the soldier tried in battle, the threshing of corn and earlier B8^v... "haue pacience in thine humiliyte, for aswell golde as siluer be tryed with fyre" are also to be found in the tribulation treatises.
- 409) Cyprian op.cit. B8^v.
- 410) The martyr's place in the early church was more highly esteemed than in later ages (H.C.White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs, chap I.) and so even though martyrs were made on both the Catholic and the Protestant side during the sixteenth century there was not quite the same intense desire to court martyrdom.
- 411) Lupset Of dieyng well p. 277, for instance gives the examples of the two thieves crucified with Christ, whose manner of death was the same but whose eternal fate differed according to their faith cp. To teche a man to dye D1^r.
- 412) Certeine prayers G3^v; Hughe II.B4^r.
- 413) Compare for instance their teaching on the way in which

God receives his own. Cyprian op.cit. D7^r "More ouer the holye goste teacheth by Salamon, that they, with whom god is pleased, be the soner taken away ~~and~~ deliuered from hense, lest if they shulde abyde lenger, they shulde be polluted with worldly infections. Therefore Enoch was rapte and taken away sodainly, leste sensuelle appetite shoulde corrupte his vnderstandynge. For his soule was vnto god pleasyng, and therefore he hastened to bringe him out of the myddes of iniquite". In Hughe's Troubled mans medicine II C1^v we read: "The holye ghoste teacheth by Salamon, that they whyche please God best be quickly and rathe taken frome this world, lest they shuld be polluted with the wyckednes of the same. He was taken awaye, sayeth he, leste malice shulde chaunge his vnderstandynge, for his soule dydde please god, and he hath made haste to brynge hym from the myddes of iniquitie", Like Cyprian, Hughe then goes on to make use of Psalm LXXXIII.

414) cp. n.313 above.

415) PL IV. 603 - 24.

416) For example, To teche a man to dye, A myrrour...for them that be sycke, especially I3f; Hughe's Troubled mans medicine and Werdmüller's A most frutefull.... treatise, pt. I. chaps 15 - 23 capture something of the spirit of optimism and all stress the importance of faith and trust in God's promises.

417) See for example C.H.Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments and C.B.Caird The Apostolic Age, chap.12, "The Coming of the Lord".

418) Cyprian, Of mortalitie D8^v - E1^r: Let ũs "come vnto god whan he calleth, whiche sens it oughte to be done of

them, whiche be the seruauntes of god, moch rather nowe the worlde decayenge, and in poynte to falle, and also compassed with tempestes of euilles contynually assaultinge it. Also we parceyue that great myschiefe is all redy begonne, and we knowe that moche gretter is commynge: Let vs reken the grettest aduantage to departe shortelye from hense, whiche shal be for our speciall commodite". Hughe II. G2^V - 3^R: Be ready to depart when God calls us, "The whiche thyng as the seruauntes of god shulde alwayes be redy to doo, so at this tyme moost ready. For as moch as this miserable world, besette with the horrible tempestes, stormes and troublesome whorle wyndes of all kyndes of euyll, begynneth to decaye. Moreover as greuous thinges haue all redye chaused to nations, so more greuouse thynges are to be looked for in that synne dayly encreaseth among men more ^{and more,} prouokynge the iust ire of god. Wherefore I can not but thinke it a great gaine quikly to departe hense". Both then go on to give the examples of the house which threatens to fall and the ship in danger of foundering, from which sensible men would be eager to flee.

Other examples of Hughe's use of Cyprian include: the way in which man is besieged by sins, Cyprian B5^R - Hughe II D1^R; the idea that it is best to die young, Cyprian C6^V-7^R - Hughe II B8^V; the promise of the great ruler, Cyprian B6^R - Hughe II. B6^V and the description of heaven, Cyprian E1^V - 3^R - Hughe II G3^V - 4^V.

- 419) Whitford, who cites St. Augustine as his authority, Dayly exercyse A2^V; Legrand, Good Manners L5^V; Bernard Sylvester Of the cure and gouernaunce of a housholde b4^R; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 287; Parkyn p. 63; Donne's sermon "Death's Duell" (Nonesuch edn. p. 752) and ironically in the judgement of the first advocate at the end of Jonson's Volpone, "...since thou knowest not how to live well here, /

Thou shalt be learned to die well".

- 420) Dives and Pauper IX.x; Doctrynnall of dethe C2^V; Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC. 10627.5) C2^R; Werdmüller A moste frutefulltreatise pt. I. ch.25; Becon, Sickman's Salve, Works 1560 f.235.
- 421) Erasmus Preparation to deathe (edn.1543 used in this section) C4^V; Werdmüller op.cit. p.155; Exornatorium curatorum C2^R and cp.Montaigne I:19, 3 (p.74 Tudor Translations).
- 422) A useful survey of material dating from about the second century BC, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, to the nineteenth century which also suggests some of the ways in which the form was adapted to various literary ends is E.C.Perrow's "The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature", Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XVII, pt.1 (1911 - 13) pp.682 - 750.
- 423) The fantasy of the passyon of ye fox B3^R.
- 424) op.cit. B3^V.
- 425) Perrow, art cit. pp 701 - 2, 707. Text to be found in Petronii Satirae, ed. F.Bucheler (3rd edn. Berlin 1882) p. 241 - 2.
- 426) On babewyns in general, Evans, English Art pp.38 - 44, plates 24 b - c, see also M.D.Anderson, History and Imagery in British Churches pl. 58 for a preaching fox.
- 427) ~~Museum~~ ^{6794 and another edn.} STC | It was printed without date by R.Jones, probably during the 1570's. not the 1550's as suggested by Perrow p. 724. Lowndes ascribes it to George Gascoigne, with some reason, for the title continues, "Wher vnto is adioyned,

a Dyet for diuers of the Deuylls dearlinges, commonly called, dayly Dronkardes" and Jones printed a work by Gascoigne, "A delicate diet for daintie mouthde droonkardes" in 1576.

- 428) The wyll of the Deuyll A2^r and B3^v.
- 429) Even when allowance is made for the stereotyped formulas employed, most wills name the place of the burial, often in some detail, and in the majority the testator commits his soul to God, to St. Mary and the whole company of heaven. While most make some provision for commemorative prayers and masses for their own souls and those of kin and ancestors, some provided more detailed arrangements concerning the conduct of the funeral and burial such as those given in the will of George Talbot, Fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, no. CIV in North Country Wills, Surtees Soc. 116 (1908), where nos. XC-3 CXXVIII cover 1530 - 40 cp. Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc. 2 (1835) nos. LXXXI - III and G.H. Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, pp. 231 - 2.
- 430) e.g. M. Deanesly "Vernacular Books in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", MLR XV, 1920 pp. 349 - 58 makes extensive use of the evidence to be gained from wills as does Peter Heath in The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation e.g. pp 87 - 9.
- 431) One of the most notorious wills of the 1530's was William Tracy's (see Dickens, The English Reformation p. 139 - 40; Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 107 - 9) which was published with comments by Tyndale and Frith in 1535, STC. 24167.
- 432) A myrrour or glasse N2^r; To teche a man to dye B2^v; Becon, Sickmans Salve, Works 1560. f. 235^v - 7^v.

- 433) A myrrour or glasse N2^r; Foundation and summe of Holy Scripture G1^r.
- 434) e.g. North Country Wills, Surtees Soc. 116 (1908) pp. 136, 144, 190 etc.
- 435) Legrand, Good maners V:6 (quotations from 1507 edn.) in A Lytell necessarye Treatyse.
- 436) Legrand, op.cit. M4^v - N1^r.
- 437) Vives, The Instrvction of^a Christen Woman, edn.1541, f.131 cp. Becon, Sick Mans Salve PS III. p.125 against costly burials.
- 438) Lupset also cites the example of Theodore and his lack of concern for burial, Of dieyng well. p.281.
- 439) Dives and Pauper, I:1xiii.
- 440) Erasmus Preparation to deathe E1.ff.
- 441) Doctrynnall of dethe A4^v allows ~~no~~ the physician no place. Frith's Preparation to the crosse, cap.x.allows considerable scope to the physician, cp. Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII: 1 - 8 etc. Erasmus is rather more cautious, Preparation to deathe E4^r. In his Declamatio in laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae (Devereux, C.37, c.1536 - 7) he defends medicine against superstition (he and the Reformers attacked superstitious practices that corrupted religion) but he is critical of its practitioners.
- 442) cp. Doctrynnall of dethe C3^r.
- 443) Doctrynnall of dethe A4^v cp. Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC.10627.5) C3^r; and J.G., The myrrourⁱ/lokyng glasse of lyfe, .G3^v.

- 444) Frith, Preparation to death ca.xiv; A myrrour...for them that be syke. G.3^rf.
- 445) St.Barbara was particularly invoked for protection against sudden and unhallowed death and her legend gives instances of miracles in which she intervened or even raised the dead to allow them to receive the Last Rites before they died.
- 446) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe, C8^{r-v}, E3; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 276 - 7.
- 447) Ars moriendi STC 786 A1^r.
- 448) Exornatorium curatorum, B5^v - 6^r. cp. Gerson La Médecine de l'Ame (ed. Glorieux, vol.VII) p. 404.
- 449) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E5^v; Primer, 1531 (STC 15966) A4^v; The table of Cebes the philosopher contains a section, based mainly on classical examples. Cicero Seneca etc. on "The Maner to choose and cherishe a freende". H.R.Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, p. 74 n.3 gives a number of patristic and later references to the "Friend in need" theme.
- 450) Dives and Pauper IX: Cap xi. The story tells of two fools, a wise fool and a natural fool. The natural fool volunteers to go into a baker's oven to find out how hot it is, provided that the wise fool will cast a bowl of water into the oven when asked to do so. When the natural fool calls out that he is burnt to death, all the wise fool can do is laugh. The bowl of water represents the money left for almsdeeds, masses and prayers which is all too often squandered or misapplied. Some other stories of false executors are mentioned by R.W. Ackerman, p.560 in "The debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity", Speculum XXXVII (1962)pp. 541 - 65.

- 451) Dives and Pauper IX: cap xii.
- 452) See J.Conley, "The Doctrine of Friendship in Everyman", Speculum XLIV (1969) pp. 374 - 82.
- 453) For a description of the edition, A.F.Allison and H.M. Nixon, "Three Sixteenth Century English translations of Erasmus in a contemporary binding" BMQ.XXIII (1961) pp. 59 - 63; also the introduction to reprints of Funus and the Epicure ed. R.R.Allen (vol.3. Publications of the Renaissance English Text Society, University of Chicago Press, 1969) which text I have used. Dibdin 820 gives another edition of 1534 of which no copy is known, Devereaux C.19.2.
- 454) Printed in five editions in 1534 and translated into Dutch the same year and into French and English in 1538. Boleyn had asked Erasmus for such a work, Allen, Epistulae Erasmi, No. 2824. For Erasmus' notes about Boleyn, Allen op.cit. No.2315 L.129f; No.2846 L.84f and a more flattering view, No.2232 is balanced by Chapuy's estimate, Allen op.cit. 3090 L.29 - 53, also D.Mathew, The Courtiers of Henry VIII, (London 1970) p. 101 - 2. In addition to the De preparatione Erasmus had also dedicated to Boleyn, Enarratio triplex in Psalmum XXII and Explanatio Symboli, the latter having appeared in English in 1533.
- 455) In his Preparation to death C8^V Erasmus warns against judging a soul by the manner of his death, although like Lupset he insists that no evil may be imputed where a good life went before. But the emphasis given in ars moriendi books and others to the importance of a good death inevitably encouraged people to judge whether a death was good or bad, The floure of the commaundementes of god f.223ff, Pp2^r-Qq1^r provides a series of examples of good and of bad deaths.

- 456) Preparation to deathe E^r - V on the disagreement of physicians etc.
- 457) Preparation, C8^v warns against leaving confession until a man is on his death-bed and goes on to recommend sacramental confession three or four times a year and a brief daily examination of conscience.
- 458) Preparation C4 - 5, in a series of comparisons declares that while it is good to bequeath money for the relief of the poor it is much better to give regularly during life to the relief of personally known poor neighbours, and a little later, D2^r Erasmus comments: "They do deuoutly, which whan dethe draweth nere, do send to the monastery of the Carthusians, or fryers obseruautes to praye for the sicke person, but it is a stronger comfort, if the sycke man thynketh, that the hole churche is busy and thoughtful for him, a member therof."
- 459) Preparation D1^v - 2^r. The indivisual's membership of the communion of saints is stressed by several Protestant authors, e.g. A myrrour...for them that be syke I.6f; Certeine prayers L.3^rf.
- 460) Fumus, B6^v.
- 461) Preparation F5^r describes how people attempt to allay the fear of purgatory by remedies which Erasmus considers ineffectual: "Some dyd promyse to be sure and redemed from the fyre of Purgatory by byenge of pardons: but I feare lest this was not, to succour and comforte the syckeman, but rather a mockyng and a mere dissimulation."
- 462) Preparation E4^v condemns this use of a friar's or monk's habit which is often accompanied by a vow to be professed

in that order if he recovers, "it is suffyciente, if he pourpose to chaunge his lyfe in to better" and Nicholas Wyse in his Consolacyon for Chrysten people C8^v declares that it is not for St. Francis' sake that a man will possess the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can his holy cowl save anyone from hell. L.Cougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages pp.131 - 45.

463) Funus C3^v.

464) Preparation C3^v.

465) Like Erasmus, Werdmüller also warns against deferring provision for dependents and advocates the cultivation of faith in life by hearing sermons, receiving the sacrament and prayer, as well as daily "remorce of conscience".

466) Hughe, The troubled mans medicine II. F5^vf.

467) It occurs as the final piece in The table of Cebes the philosopher (STC.4891) and separately in STC.10510 and 10464 (Devereaux C32.1 - 4. He divides STC.4891 into 2 edns. c.1545 and c. 1555).

468) Quotations etc. are from STC.4891 (Devereaux C32.4) referred to as Cebes, H3^v. cp. Werdmüller III chaps 6 - 8 on patience and Gerson, Consolation sur la mort des amis (ed.Glorieux Vol. VII p. 316.

469) Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII: 18 - 23. Wermüller III:1, p.189 mourning should not be excessive. cp. Gerson op.cit. p. 319 - 20 Foundation and Summe of holy Scripture F8^v.


470) cp. Werdmüller, III. chap. 10 "of the death of younge personnes in especiall".

- 471) Cebes I7^V cp. Werdmüller III:1, p. 192.
- 472) Among a vast number of authors who refer to the body as the prison of the soul: Erasmus, Preparation to deathe A3^R, C2^R; The Book of the Craft of Dying, YW II.p.407; Legrand, Good Manners I6^V; Lupset Of dieyng well p.272; Whitford Dayly exercyse A6^R ascribes the view to St.Ambrose; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II. C4^R, 8^R; the Primer of 1545 contained a prayer for the ^{6th} to come, derived from Vives, which began: "This my body is the very dark and filthy prison of the soul". In the Exhortation Erasmus ascribes the view to Plato (Socrates), Cebes K1^R and 3^R and the implied opposition between body and soul may well have a platonic origin, C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image p.25 and S.C.Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life p. 250ff.
- 473) Werdmüller III: chap.6.
- 474) cp. Werdmüller p. 182
- 475) Weever, Ancient fvneral monvments, 1631 p. 412 - 3.
- 476) cp. Exornatorium curatorum B5^V - 6^R; the first exercise of Whitford's Dayly exercyse is based on the imagined experience of death and declares, D2^R, "I will now in helth study, ~~and~~ exercise myselfe wt this fourme: ² ~~and~~ specially how I shal answere ye lothly best ye fende".
- 477) Erasmus, Preparation to deathe F6
- 478) O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well and in addition, for the influence of Gerson, mentioned in passing in this discussion, G.A.Brunelli, "Le traité La science de bien mourir ou médecine de l'âme de Jean Gerson" Le Moyen Age LXX (1964) pp.265 - 84.

- 479) Printed by Wyer, RSTC 788.1 and mentioned O'Connor p. 167 - 9. Quotations are from the fascimile of STC.786. ed.E.W.B. Nicholson, London, 1891.
- 480) STC.6931 - 2, printed c.1498 and 1532, quotations from the latter.
- 481) Printed Horstman YW II 406 - 20 and described in some detail by N.L.Beaty, The Craft of Dying, chapter I who seems to imply (wrongly) p.4 that this was the only English version of the ars moriendi.
- 482) PL.158.685-8.
- 483) Gerson's La Médecine de L'Ame also lacks a formal temptation section.
- 484) O'Connor op.cit. p.188.
- 485) For example, the xylographic ars moriendi reproduced by the Holbein Society, 1881, ed.H.Rylands or the edition reproduced as Appendix C to Tenenti's La Vie et la Mort à travers l'art du XV^e siècle, consists of the five temptations to unfaithfulness, desperation, impatience, vain glory and avarice each of which is illustrated and the five inspirations of the dying man's good angel, again illustrated, against each temptation. These ten full-page illustrations with their facing pages of text are prefaced by two pages of introduction and followed by one illustration and one page of text. This edition then is principally concerned with the temptations.
- 486) Preparation E1^rff.
- 487) It was clearly considered important that a man should, where possible, receive the Last Rites and St.Barbara

was particularly concerned to protect men from dying without them - she appears in company with St. Lawrence, St. Katherine and St. Stephen in the xylographic edition's illustrations of the Good Angel's inspiration to patience.

- 488) Ecclesiastes VII:1 is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YWII p.407; Legrand Good Manners M1^V etc.
- 489) Gerson, ed. Glorieux VII. p.405 cp. Lytyll treatyse A2^r - v
The doctrynnall A2^v - 4^v.
- 490) cp. The Rote, ch.xv. n.61 above.
- 491) Lytyll treatyse A2^r.
- 492) Erasmus, Preparation F7^v. cp. Piccol della Mirandola, Rules of a christian lyfe (STC. 6158) E4^r.
- 493) Lytyll treatyse A1^r; The doctrynnall B1^v; Erasmus, Preparation E8^r. cp. the line "Hold thou thy cross before my closing eyes" from the hymn "Abide with me".
- 494) e.g. Hodnett nos. 502, 510.
- 495) Quoted from The boke of the craft of dying YW.II p. 410 from which it found its way into The doctrynnall B4^r - v and The craft of deying (Scot.text.Soc. 1939, P. 169) it was also to be found in the Orologium, in Dives and Pauper, the Legenda Aurea, Fewterer's The Myrrour of Glasse of Christes Passion and A generall free Pardon or Charter of heuyn blys.
- 496) O'Connor The Art of Dying Well comments on the illustrations p.9, and Hind An Introduction to a History of Woodcut I. pp224 - 30.

- 497) Among English illustrations Bodl. M.S.Gough Liturg. 3. (English c.1500) f.95^v shows a devil and an angel struggling for possession of a soul, while devils are pictured dragging souls to hell MSS.Bodley 283 (English - Dutch, XV cent.) f 87 and Bodley 883 (English 1500 - 50) f18^v. There is also the splendid record of expenses incurred at Winchester, 1549 which included "for screwing the nose on the Devil's face, putting a new hair on his head and glueing a bit on his tail, five shillings and sixpence" (From W.K.Jordon , Edward VI, the Young King, p.220) The visual representations were reinforced by numerous stories of souls which saw or struggled with devils on their death-bed such as two which were drawn from the Dialogues of St.Gregory and retold in the Cordiale, f.1v^v - 1vi^v and the Orologium p. 363, where the dying man is devoured or half devoured by a dragon, who may well be imagined in terms of the hell's mouth pictured in some of the ars moriendi woodcuts and used in the drama.
- 498) O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well pp.27 - 31, discusses some of the sources. The temptations receive some discussion  or are described in The boke of the craft of dying; The doctrynnall, Exornatorium curatorium; The Cordiale; The complaynt of the soule, Erasmus' Preparation to death; Whitford's Dayly exercyse; Frith in The preparation to deathe and The preparation to the crosse; A myrrour... for them that be syke; Hughe The troubled mans medicine II; A godly and holsom preseruatyue against disperacion.
- 499) Erasmus, Preparation Fl^r f. cp. A godly and holsom preseruatyue D3^v.
- 500) Erasmus, Preparation Fl^v.
- 501) Hughe, Troubled Mans Medicine II. Fl^v - 3^v.

- 502) Bonde, A deuoute Epystle (STC. 3276) f.xvii^V. The whole of the chapter, xv, in which this passage occurs is printed anonymously in the 1583 edition of the Jesus Psalter C6^Vf.
- 503) For a general survey, A.Sachs "Religious Despair in Medieval Literature and Art", Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp.231 - 56 and K.C.Brittain, "The Sin of Despair in English Renaissance Literature", DA xxiv (1963) p. 281.
- 504) Suicide is discussed at some length in More's Dyalogue of comforte II:xvi.
- 505) The boke of the craft of dying, YW II p. 409; More Quattuor Novissima, English Works p. 79; The Chastising of God's Children p. 151 ff.
- 506) p.153.
- 507) St. Peter and St.Mary Magdalene are mentioned among others in The boke of the craft of dying YW II.p. 410 and The doctrynnall B4^V also in Bonde's Deuoute Epystle f.23^V and Erasmus' Preparation E8^T. In the xylographic editions the illustration to "Bona inspiratio angli contra desperationem" includes St.Peter, St. Mary Magdalene, the repentant thief of the crucifixion and St.Paul.
- 508) The Chastising ch.xiv, Bonde Deuoute Epystle ch xix.
- 509) His example is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YW II p. 412; The doctrynnall and Erasmus' Preparation to deathe.
- 510) The only name to appear with this and The Preparation to the Crosse is that of the translator, Richard Tracy. The

reason for the ascription to Frith appears to be derived from its appearance, together with Frith's Mirroure of Glasse to know thyselfe in the anonymous volume entitled Vox Piscis (RSTC. 11395) printed in 1627. Tracy may well have come into contact with Frith over the matter of his father's will and so it is not impossible that the work is by Frith. The first edition Of the Preparation to the Crosse, and to Deathe (STC.11393) was printed by Berthelet in 1540 and contained a dedication to Thomas Cromwell. This dedication does not appear in STC.11392 which supports the view that it was printed later than STC 11393, after Cromwell's fall in 1540. RSTC. numbers it 11393.5 and suggests a date about 1548.

- 511) To teche a man to dye seems also to have been linked with Frith's name by virtue of its inclusion in Vox Piscis; it always appeared anonymously. It was probably first printed in Antwerp about 1533 (STC 11390), it seems then to have been printed by Robert Redman about 1538 (STC24250) and later, about 1540 perhaps, to have been printed in a volume with two other pieces by Frith (STC.11386), "A letter vnto the faythfull followers of Christes Gospell" and "The Myrrour or glasse to know thyselfe". The fact that it appeared fairly regularly coupled with works by Frith suggests that if not by Frith it came from the same kind of circle.

- 512) M.E.Kronenberg has identified Philoponos with Hans Luft of Marburg ~~ie~~ Johannes Hoochstraten of Antwerp who had still other pseudonyms, "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century) The Library⁴ IX (1928 - 9) pp. 139 - 63.

- 513) STC.17982, printed in about 1536^{by} James Nicholson of Southwark is moved to RSTC.11470.5 under Gnapheus.

- For Dutch editions, Ned. Bibl. 1010, 3108 dated 1531 and 1532 - A Dutch edition is printed in S. Cramer and F. Pijper, Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica Vol. I 1903.
- 514) e.g. Becon's denunciation of holywater, holy bread etc. Sick Man's Salve, PSIII. p. 156.
- 515) In the edition used, STC 11393 the chapters are misnumbered, chapter two occurring twice. I have used the numbers given in the original, simply distinguishing the two second chapters as chapter 2 and chapter 2 (3).
- 516) Frith, Preparation...to deathe L4^V - 5^r.
- 517) cp. The doctrynnall's reference to the grace received in baptism, A4^r and to the faith taken at the font stone, B2^r.
- 518) To teche a man to dye B1^V - quotations mainly from STC 11390 (this from STC 24250). The opening of L'Art ...de bien mourir (G.W. 2587) reads "Nostre dieu imperateur et createur du ciel et de la terre au commencement du temps et de toutes creatures crea toutes choses de rien". L'Art then goes on to give a detailed account of the first three days of creation to the creation of Adam and Eve, the fall of Lucifer and Man's fall and expulsion from Paradise.
- 519) cp. Wyse. A Consolacyon for chrysten people B1^V ff laments the false and beguiling teaching of former "crafty ^cole maisters" who bound the people to the traditions of Rome.
- 520) To teche a man to dye C8^r; A myrrour...for them that be syke K7^V f cp. Bonde's warnings Deuoute Epystle ch. xix, fol. xxv about the use of meditation on the judgements of

God, hell and damnation.

- 521) Certeine prayers I.8^V (the whole of the second chapter of the second image is mainly concerned with the two great advantages death brings for the Christian, the end of present miseries and evil and all sin, and the entry into the life of heaven) cp. A myrrour...for them that be syke K5^r - v.
- 522) Certeine prayers, the seventh image of the first table and A myrrour, B5^v includes "A declaration and exhortation to suffer all troubles patiently ~~and~~ [&] faythfully..."
- 523) A Myrrour (about I 6) and Certeine prayers H7^r, "Here is Iesus Chryst crucifyed the hed of all christen/the capteyn of all theym that suffer" also L3^rff. cp. Erasmus' Preparation where he recommends trust in the faith of the whole fellowship of the Church rather than buying up the merits of one house of religion however holy.
- 524) Iconographic representation of Christ's victory over death appears in a number of works by Lucas Cranach who worked in the centre of the Reformation, Wittenberg - see Schiller II. Plates 532 - 4; 537 also 535 and 538.
- 525) Whitford Dayly exercyse A2^v - 3^r. The extract is a good example of Whitford's tendency to over-indulge the use of doublets. The quotation from Aristotle is used among others in Cordiale A4^v; Erasmus Preparation A3^r; Certeine prayers G2^v; A myrrour...for them that be syke I.3^v; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II C5^v; Werdmüller A moste frutefull...treatise 2^v - 3^r; ~~Werdmüller~~ A newe Treatyse F3^v.
- 526) His view finds confirmation in a work by a biased Protestant author of the twentieth century, O. Pfister, Christianity and Fear (English translation 1948) e.g. pp. 271 - 3, 283 - 4.

- 527) To teche a man to dye E3^V STC. 24250.
- 528) More Dyalogue of comferte II.1.
- 529) The Two Books of Homilies, ed. J.Griffiths, Oxford 1859 pp. 91 - 104 and as a reminder that this type of preaching was not to the taste of every congregation, p.x.
- 530) Lupset Of dieyng well p. 273. Erasmus also noted that some trembled at the approach of death, not because of fear or sin or distrust but as the result of natural weakness.
- 531) Erasmus Preparation to deathe B1^V, 4^R; Whitford Dayly exercyse A3^R; Certeine prayers G.3^R and Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI ed. E.Arber, London 1869 p. 200.
- 532) Certeine prayers G1^V.
- 533) cp. The Homily of the Fear of Death which deals in its three parts with the three causes why wordly men fear death: "one, because they shall lose thereby their worldly honours, riches, possessions, and all their heart's desires; another, because of the painful diseases and bitter pangs which commonly men suffer either before or at the time of death; but the chief cause above all other, is the dread of the miserable state of eternal damnation both of ~~the~~ body and soul, which they fear shall follow after their departing out of the worldly pleasures of this present life", (ed.cit.p. 92).
- 534) The idea of death as a sleep probably goes back to St.Paul, I. Thessalonians IV:15, I Corinthisians XV: 18 In the Dayly exercyse C2^R Whitford describes sleep as the image of

death, cp. the references to sleep in Donne's sonnet, "Death be not proud". Hughe, Troubled mans medicine discusses the sleep of death at the end of Pt.I - beginning Pt.II. His concern is not with the sensation of death but with the state of the soul, to show that it does not sleep after temporal death until the day of Judgement as the "doting Anabaptistes" have suggested. However he does imply, Pt.I. H3^r that in death the body is "oppressed with slepe".

- 535) A myrrour...for them that be syke K8 is one of the more outspoken.
- 536) On the deterrent powers of hell, Walker The Decline of Hell pp. 3 -4, 40 - 2. The Cordiale A5^r; quoting St. Bernard's Myrrour of monkes approves the deterrent aspect of the memento mori, saying that whoever bears the remembrance of death " in his mynde in what place soeuer he go shall neuer synne" while the author of Certeine prayers is more critical remarking that remembrance "of this one euil", death, is used that it " may feare vs from synne/make vs dyspyse the world/ alleuiate oure passyon~~e~~/and eylls": he refrains from comment on the effectiveness of the threat.
- 537) Erasmus Preparation A2^r.
- 538) Erasmus, Preparation B3^v - 4^r.
- 539) A myrrour...for them that be syke. I3^{r-v}.
- 540) In addition to the printed versions in the Collected works and the separate editions of 1534 and 1541, STC 16932 - 35. a slightly abbreviated version was copied in Bodl. MS. Tanner 118 (probably early XVII century) This version begins after the pagan examples at the

beginning, with "This dienge well is in effecte to dye gladlye..." (p.271 ed.Gee) and omits the references to John Walker towards the end, but it is an otherwise close copy.

- 541) Walker was a member of Reginald Pole's household. For contemporary references to him L and P Henry VIII, V. No. 530; VIII No. 511; XIII (i) No.422; preferments are recorded L and P. Henry VIII. V.838 (25) cp.III.(i) 405 (ii). Although I have found no record of his having attended ~~with~~ university in England, he may have studied abroad or acquired the considerable familiarity with classical history, which Lupset assumes, informally in Poole's household, on which see W.Schenk, Reginald Pole (London 1950).
- 542) Cato the younger was famous enough, Plutarch's Lives (ed. Loeb vol.8, pp.399 - 409) and Seneca's De Tranquillitate Animae XVI:1. Catulus and Merula committed suicide in anticipation of trial and execution after the occupation of Rome by Marius and Cinna, 87 B.C. (H.M.Last, Cambridge Ancient History IX (1932) p. 264 - 5)
- 543) Lupset declares, p. 269, that "Euer by goddes mere goodnes man knewe what was well to be done, and what was contrarye yuelle to be done. It is a lawe written in the harte of man with the fynger of god in our creation, to be enduced by reason to praise alway vertue, and to thynke synne worthy of dispraye". St.Paul had tried to shame Jewish Christians into recognition of their sinfulness by pointing out the natural virtues of the Gentiles, e.g. Romans II: 12 - 16 (see C.K.Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans (London 1962) p. 51 - 2) and perhaps Lupset was attempting to do the same; but in its context the passage sounds more like a commendation of pagan virtue and powers of reason.

- 544) The stories of Theodorus and Canius, especially the latter, are virtually word for word translations of the stories of Seneca's De Tranquillitate Animae XIV: 3 - 10.
- 545) Who may have been the Spanish sympathizer mentioned L and P Henry VIII IV Nos. 2751, 3265, 3278 etc.
- 546) Lupset adds a statement on the importance of the good works charity inspires: "~~and~~ faithe can not be perfect, onles there be good workes, the whiche he may stur vp and quycken in vs faythe to take a beleue, that by Christes actes our final demerites may growe to be perfecte", which suggests that Lupset ascribed to good works greater importance than most Protestants would allow.
- 547) cp. n.419 above.
- 548) Traditional warnings against riches are to be found, p.286 and include Paul's warning, I. Timothy VI:10, "The loue of ryches is the rote of all syn".
- 549) Lupset, pp.279, 284 - 5 cp. Exhortacyon to yonge men B4^V - 5^R, C4^V - 5^R. Stoic philosophy taught men to sit light to the things of this world and warned them against the fickleness of fortune.
- 550) Erasmus, Preparation A4^R.
- 551) The view was common enough in medieval works but Erasmus, e.g. Preparation B5^V, and Lupset may well have made direct use of classical sources, such as Cicero's Cato Maior de Senectute (Budé edn. Paris 1940) II.4, XIX - XX etc.
- 552) Lupset, p. 274, "Bloudde in his measure and temperance between cold and hotte, kepeth lyfe in the body: the which bloud by innumerable waies of chanches may be altered and

constrayned to leaue his nouryshyng, whervpon shall insue the losse of lyfe.."

- 553) Lupset lists living things in their hierarchi^cal order of the great chain of being--life being defined as use of the senses^{uses} and ability to move and he implies growth.
- 554) Lupset, Of dieyng well p.274.
- 555) cp. Simon, The fruyte of redempcyon (ed.1530), A4^r, "it hath pleased the amonge al thy blessed werkes to make me a reasonable man".
- 556) Lupset would probably not have gone quite as far as Alberti's "Men are themselves the source of their own fortune and misfortune" or Pico della Mirandola's "O supreme generosity of God the Father, O highest and marvelous felicity of man. To him it is granted to have whatever he chooses, to be whatever he wills" but that was the general direction in which his thoughts were moving.
- 557) cp. St.Bernard, Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini, ca. vii. PL 184, 752 - 3.
- 558) The passage, p.277, seems to employ a deliberate circumlocution to avoid reference to the crucified Jesus - the emotional focus of so much devotional literature. Lupset avoids reference to Christ by saying of the thieves "he at the ryght hand, and he at the lefte".
- 559) Erasmus, Preparation C8^v.
- 560) Erasmus, Preparation C5^v.
- 561) Lupset op.cit. p. 284. The quotation is from Seneca's

De Tranquillitate Animae XI:6 "Qui mortem timebit,
nihil umquam pro homine vivo faciet".

- 562) For instance, Lupset's emphasis on the need for prayer is traditional enough, p. 289 - 30, "Pray euer continually without cessing you must", but he goes on to describe what prayer is: "the very praier is to be euer wel mynded, to be euer in chritie, to haue euer the honour of good in remembrance, to suffre no rancore, none yre, no wrath, no malice, no syn to abyde in your delyte, but to be in a continual good thought... ~~And~~ neuer perauenture you can pray better, than whan you must giue your selfe to serue your maister (Pole)". It is a noble list, but rather a summary of Stoic ideals than a distinctively Christian summary.
- 563) Ecclesiasticus VII:40 etc. (Vulg).
- 564) The Last Things are discussed, for example, by St. Thomas Aquinas (summarized U.E. Simon, The End is Not Yet, ch.5, The Doctrine of The Last Things) and they occur in Bernard of Chiny's long poem De contemptu mundi (R.C. Petry, "Medieval Eschatology and Social Responsibility in Bernard of Morval's De Contemptu mundi," Speculum XXIV (1949) pp. 207 - 17 and G.J. Engelhardt, "The De Contemptu Mundi of Bernardus Morvalensis" Medieval Studies, XXII (1960) pp. 108 - 35; XXVI (1964) pp. 109 - 42; XXIX (1967) pp. 243 - 72) but here as elsewhere the four last things are topics among others in a general treatment of aspects of eschatology.
- 565) A. Tenenti, Il Senso della Morte pp 94 - 99 on the early development by Rickel and the Cordiale.
- 566) A. Tenenti. op.cit. p.96.

- 567) Far more rigidly divided than most was Isaac Ambrose's Prima et Vltima printed in 1640 and reprinted in The Compleat Works, 1674 to which subsequent references are made. "Vltima", sub-titled "the Last Things" contains much traditional material, but Ambrose finds it necessary to expand the traditional four into six meditations, "Lifes Lease", "Death~~s~~ Arrest", "Doomes-day", "Hells Horrour", "Right Purgatory" and "Heavens Happiness".
- 568) e.g. Frith Preparation to deathe cap.ii (3) "Two maner of deathes" or Werdmüller, A moste frutefull...treatise ch.1. who distinguishes four kinds of death.
- 569) A.Michel The Last Things p.9.
- 570) Erasmus Preparation to deathe C1^{r-v}.
- 571) The first edition, printed without date, is given^{as} c.1510 in STC, but the state of the device, (McKerrow No.23) might suggest a rather later date (RSTC and BM Catalogue C.1519). The other edition dated 1532 (from which quotations are given) seems to have the same pagination as the earlier edition although that was gathered in eights and sixes while the later edition is in fours. The Complainte de l'âme damnée, GW 7264 - 8, although the same type of work is in verse and the English is not a direct translation.
- 572) Four extant editions, 1506, 1507, 1514 and an undated edition placed after 1532 in RSTC. It is also to be found in BM.ms.Harley 1706 dated C.1475 - 1500 or perhaps a little later, A.I.Doyle, "Books connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey", Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions, XXV n.s. ii (1958) p. 230. Quotations are

from the latest edition.

- 573) Although written 1534 - 5 it does not seem to have been printed until c.1578 (AR 304). The piece is also included in the early seventeenth-century miscellany, Bodley ms.Tanner 118. References are to the page numbers of The English Works of John Fisher, EETS ex. 27.
- 574) cp. the lament of the dying man in Orologium ch.5 pp. 358 - 63.
- 575) For earlier examples of a similar but more legalistic "trial", Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins p. 92 - 3.
- 576) cp. Mirrore of golde G4^r - 5^r. The literature on the Body and Soul Debate is vast, e.g. Woolf, Lyrics pp.89 - 102 etc; R.Willard "The Address of the Soul to the Body" PMLA L(1935) pp. 957 - 83. For an attempt to relate the genre to popular public teaching and ecclesiastical legislation, R.W.Ackerman, "The Debate of the Body and the Soul, and Parochial Christianity", Speculum XXXVII (1962) pp. 541 - 65 and for its relation to English morality plays, P.J.Houle, The English Morality and Related Drama, ^(Hamden, Connecticut, 1972) App.II, p.169.
- 577) For a summary of death's (or other allegorical figures taking on a similar role) summons' in moralities, P.J.Houle op.cit. App.I. pp. 167 - 8.
- 578) cp. the reiterated laments of the Father in Erasmus' Comfortable exhortacion or Man in Becon's Prayse of Death that he died too young or too soon.
- 579) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi H6f.
- 580) The same image is used in the Cordiale f.xxxii^v - iii^r where it is ascribed to St.Anselm.

- 581) Complaynt A2^V time exerci^sed in virtue will lead to joy hereafter but unless the residue of his time is well spent "all shall tourne the to greate punysshement" cp. Fisher Consolacyon p.355 and one of the virtues of the mass was claimed to be restoration of time to the sinner.
- 582) Complaynt A3^V. For similar emphasis on the importance of man's reason, Simon, Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) A4^R, Lupset Of dieyng well p. 274 - 5.
- 583) Job X:1 (cp. Pety ^{Job} ~~926~~, YW II p. 382) was part of the second lesson of the Dirige.
- 584) Complaynt B1^R.
- 585) Complaynt A2^V. Many of the requests for tears are based on Jeremiah IX:1 cp. the last line of G.M.Hopkins "Thou art indeed just, Lord", "Mine O thou lord of lyfe, send my roots rain".
- 586) Complaynt B1^R. The prayer begins: "O moost mercyfull lorde whiche arte the well of pyte ~~and~~ of grace from whome the flode of celestyall glorie dothe streme vpon all the heauenly courte..."
- 587) Complaynt B4^V.
- 588) cp. n.6. supra.
- 589) Complaynt C4^V.
- 590) Complaynt D1^V.
- 591) Complaynt D1^V - 2^R.

- 592) cp. Lupset Of dieyng well p. 280.
- 593) Fisher EETS es.27 p. 356.
- 594) ibid. p. 355 l.13 - 22; p. 358 l.7 - 11.
- 595) ibid. pp.360, 362. The same warning is also given in A Kempis I:23 and Dives and Pauper IX: 11 - 12.
- 596) Certeine prayers K1^r -v
- 597) Dyenge creature A2^r; Hamlet V.ii. "This fell sergeant, death, Is strict in his arrest..." For the widespread popularity of such dramatic summons, Owst LPME p.531 - 2.
- 598) For a similar reluctant condemnation by a Good Angel, The Castle of Perseverance, EETS. 262 p. 92 - 3
- 599) In the ars moriendi books conformity to the belief of the Church is expressed in the Interrogations and the recitation of the Creed cp. Erasmus Preparation to deathe Fl^v; More Dyalogue of comforte I.xii and Hilton Scala II.x.
- 600) Everyman is forbidden any advocate.
- 601) Dyenge creature B2^v. The language is that of numerous prayers from the Primer, The Rosarye of our Lady and Copland's 1529 edition of the xvooos includes the promise of "xM. yeres of pardon" for devout recitation of the prayer "Aue domina sancta maria mater dei regina celi/ porta paradisi/domina mundi lux sempiterna/imperatrix inferni...."
- 602) For Mary as mediator, C.Bernard, Mother of God: a study

of Mary in scripture and tradition, Dublin 1957, chapter 12, pp. 110 - 9

- 603) The occasions of her tears, when Simeon prophesied Jesus' Passion, when He was lost in Jerusalem and at various times during the Passion overlap with some of the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin.

- 604) Dialogue existed in other treatises concerned with death: the interrogations of the Ars moriendi books provided a kind of catechetical dialogue; there is the sophistic dialogue between the Devil and the Christian reported in Erasmus' Preparation to death while in A myrrour... for them that be syke Tobias, Timothy and Lazarus engage in dialogue as do Philemon, Eusebius, Theophile, Christopher and Epaphroditus in Becon's Sick mans Salve. The dialogue of the morality, however, is characterized by the speeches given to abstract qualities and by a more formal delivery than that found in speech between human characters as in the two latter pieces while being less stilted and abbreviated than in the two former pieces.

- 605) Doctrynnall (ed.1532) B1^v.

- 606) ed. Glorieux vol.VII p. 406, "Royne des cieulx et mere fe misericorde et refuge des pecheurs, racordez moy a vostre filz: racommandez moy a luy: priez luy que pour vostre amour il me pardonne tout et me preigne en sa grace".

- 607) Lytyll treatyse A3^v.

- 608) Orologium p. 346.

- 609) Exornatorium curatorum RSTC 10627.5, C3^v - 4^r. cp. Spiritus Guydonis, Horstman YW II. p.307.

- 610) XV.Oos (STC 20196) B8^v - C1^r, the same prayer as that from a York Horae printed EETS 71pp. 199-200.
- 611) Jesus Psalter (STC. 14563) A8^{r-v} "Thy blissed moder be mediatryce for me ²~~and~~ purchase a contrite hert for|| yt I haue offended the".
- 612) Deynge creature B1^v cp. C.Bernard Mother of God, ch.VI pp 48 - 52.
- 613) Dyenge creature B2^v, C1^r, C4^v etc.
- 614) Waterton, Pietas Mariana Britannica, p.240 declares that there was scarcely a church in England in which an image of Our Lady of Pity was not to be found. The second part of the book details shrines, sanctuaries etc., dedicated to Mary.
- 615) Mark XIII: 32.
- 616) The Anabaptists were probably the most active millenarians of the sixteenth century, but although there are references to them during the 1530's in England their influence there was probably negligible, Dickens The English Reformation pp. 326 - 8.
- 617) H.S.Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (2nd ed. Cambridge 1969) p. 118 - 20 gives several useful references.
- 618) W.W.Heist, The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday gives the fullest account of the history and variants of the legend, although he is not clear on which version occurs in L'Art de bien vivre. pp. 172 - 3; 198.

- 619) These include Cursor Mundi EETS 66, 68, pp.1282 - 99; 1616 - 20; The Pricke of Conscience (Philcological Society 1863)pp. 129 - 31; "St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday", in EETS 69 p. 92; Mirk's Festial EETS es 96 pp. 2 - 3; The Chester Plays EETS es 115pp. 397 - 9; among Lygate's poems, EETS es 107, pp.117 - 20 and The Minor Poems of Sir David Lindsay EETS 19, pp.178 - 9.
- 620) In his meditation "Doomes-day", Compleat Works, 1674 p. 406.
- 621) The introduction promises that the Fifteen signs "shall be declared by order here-after" although they are not given.
- 622) In The Doome warning all men to Iudgemente, 1581, Bateman indulges the fascination for unnatural, weird and bloody happenings which are gathered from all over the world spanning the time from creation to 1581. Its purpose was, like the Four Tokens, to give a general warning of God's judgement and there is surely an echo of the fifteen tokens in this quotation from p. 384: "Geue grace, most holy father, to all that shall reade the same, that they may perceiue to what end thy gracious goodnesse hath pretended this worke as a fragment among other moste holy edictions, to warne this later age, by the comming and dayly appearing of vnaccustomed prodigies, to be the onely foretoken of mans destruction for sinnes, as in the time of olde, hayles, fires from heauen, thunderinges, Eclipses, blasing starres, Elementall shewes of armies, raining of blood, milken, stones, earth, figures of dead bodyes, and instrumentes of warre, besides dreadfull voyces, after sundrye manners: On the Earth alteration of kingdomes, transmutations of religion, treasons, murthers, thefte, incest, whoredome, Idolatrie, vsurie, reuenge, persecution, sworde, fyre, famine, hunger, death and damnation, presently

followed" - a remarkably comprehensive list of apocalyptic motifs.

- 623) The scene took many forms and seems to have been frequently painted over the chancel arch, A.Vallance, English Church Screens, ch.3 "The Tympanum and The Doom" cp. Tristram, English Wall Painting of the XIV century pp. 295 - 6. It was also the subject of stained glass such as the west window of Fairford and parts of the east window at Tewkesbury and York. English churches did not follow the French custom of carving the judgement over one of the porches as at Bourges, Chartres and Paris; Lincoln cathedral is unusual in having a judgement porch and Bloxham church, Oxfordshire has a doorway above which Christ is carved sitting in judgement with angels bearing symbols of the Passion on either side of him. The judgement is also carved on roof bosses at Lichfield and Norwich cathedrals and it appeared on a misericorde, now destroyed, of St. Michael's, Coventry.
- 624) e.g. Ruislip, Middlesex; Lenham, Kent; South Leigh, Oxfordshire.
- 625) It was probably more often illustrated in Horae than in any other single class of work, e.g. Bodley ms.Liturg. 186 f.38^v and from M.R.James' Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 1895, MSS. 51 (42); 53 (46); 56 (8). Among woodcuts Hodnett nos. 790 and 2367 (many more show the torments of souls in hell, devils etc.) and a continental cut in The mystic^{sweet} rosary.
- 626) Woolf, The English Mystery Plays pp. 294 - 9; Sister Mary Margaret Walsh "The Judgement Plays of the English Cycles" American Benedictine Review XX.pp 378 - 94

- 627) For descriptions of hell and judgement OWST PME pp.336 - 41; LPME pp.294 - 302, 516 - 24 etc.
cp. Becon's A New Pastil, 1566, f.11^V etc.
- 628) To teche a man to dye C6^V cp. The Dialogue....betwene our Sauour Ihesu Chryste and a synner D6^V f. where Christ blesses those who remember and fear the judgement.
- 629) To teche a man to dye C8^R - ^V.
- 630) Bonde, Deuoute Epystle fol.4^R.
- 631) Bonde op.cit. fol 25^R.
- 632) It is referred to, for example, in the Complaynt of the soule, The dyenge creature; A Kempis I:24; Cordiale; To teche a man to dye; Erasmus De Contemptu mundi and Hughe Troubled mans medicine II.
- 633) Cordiale fols. 37^V, 49^V.
- 634) Bernard Medytacyons ca.ii, A5^V cp. Cordiale fol 38^R which refers to Bernard's fear of judgement as described in his Medytacyons.
- 635) EETS.26 p.16
- 636) EETS es 115 p. 440 cp. Mirk's Festial EETS es 96 p. 3; Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 113.
- 637) Quotation, EETS es 115 p.428; sentence-giving ibid pp.441 - 2. More generally, Woolf, English Mystery Plays pp 294 - 9
- 638) Longland: A Sermon...vpon good fryday L2^V - 3^R.

- 639) Longland, ibid G3^V. According to The^{craft} to lyue well and to dye well (STC 79²) f.Cx, a view derived from Chrysostom.
- 640) A lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv tokens, STC.24222, ~~sig.~~ C6^r - D4^r.
- 641) XV Tokens D1^r.
- 642) On Frith, R.E.Fulop: John Frith (unpubl. Ph D. Edinburgh 1956) ch.6 "A disputation of purgatorye"; For Rastell, A.W.Reed, Early Tudor Drama ch.1. pp.108 f, 217 - 23; P.E.Hughes, Theology of the English Reformers pp. 64 - 8 for rather later Protestant views. More generally, H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England pp.198 - 203 and for the origins of the belief, M. Chicoteau Studies in the Ephectic Attitude, No.IV, Exeter 1944, "Purgatory in the Eastern and Western Liturgies of Christian Worship."
- 643) The author of one of the pieces in this composite volume The nedyll of the fere dyuyne for to deye well in his first chapter warns against those who deny the doctrine of the purgatory and the tenth chapter of the treatise on the pains of hell, "the paynes of purgatorye", also warns against heretics who deny the existence of purgatory and say that if God forgives a man's sins his guilt is also remitted and the soul goes immediately into bliss.
- 644) Pomander of prayer, ed. 1531, F5^V.
- 645) English Works, 1557, pp.337 -8 quoted H.Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England p. 200 and A.G. Dickens The English Reformation p. 19.
- 646) Pomander of prayer C8^V - D1^V.

- 647) One of the most detailed descriptions of the pains occurs in a Revelation printed by Horstman, YW I. pp. 283 - 92 and other more general references to purgatory are to be found in various Sermon exempla, e.g. Festial EETS ^{es. 96} p. 269 ff, Speculum Sacerdotale EETS 200 p. 224 ff. and in Van Os, Religious Visions ch. 7.
- 648) The pains are described A4^r - B4^v.
- 649) Erasmus Preparation to deathe F5^r.
- 650) To teche a man to dye C8^v.
- 651) A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation pp. 284 - 301 gives a useful analysis of the effects of the 1547 Chantries Act. For further information about the working of the chantry system K.L. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain, Cambridge 1965, and for a more comprehensive, general survey G.H. Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, London 1968.
- 652) See A Revelation of purgatory, Horstman YW I p. 391.
- 653) See n. 489 above.
- 654) Festial EETS es 96 p. 269.
- 655) In the Lambeth sermon on Sunday, Middle English Religious Prose ed. N.F. Blake, p. 34 it is claimed that on Sunday "tha erming-saule habbeth ireste inne helle of heore muchele pine".
- 656) For Bisley, D. Verey, Gloucestershire: The Cotswolds, Penguin Buildings of England p. 114 plate 19, and also

being drawn up out of purgatory in a bucket by the mass and almsdeeds.

- 663) Dyalogue of comferte II.1 p.1171 in English Works 1557.
- 664) cp. Owst PME pp.336 - 8; LPME pp.293 - 4, 298 - 9, 413, 522 - 4 and the Jesuit's sermons in Joyce's Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.
- 665) Christian and non-christian traditions surveyed: James Mew, Traditional Aspects of Hell, Ancient and Modern; H.R.Patch The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature ch I. "Mythological Origins: Oriental and Classical".
- 666) Described in "A Revelation of Purgatory", Horstman YW I p. 392.
- 667) Hell's mouth may be suggested Isáiah V:14, more obviously I Enoch LVI:8 and see R.Hughes, Heaven and Hell pp.175 -7.
- 668) e.g. A Relief at Bristol Cathedral, also illustrations 1, 16 in J.Beckwith, Ivory Carvings in Medieval England (London 1972)
- 669) Plate 15, Boase Death in the Middle Ages.
- 670) Hughes Heaven and Hell pp 178 - 88 cp. Hodnett nos. 473, 534, 872, 962, 2242.
- 671) Anderson, Drama and Imagery pp 127 - 9; Chambers The Medieval Stage II pp.137, 142; Wickham Early English Stages vol.I. p.246f.
- 672) Hughes Heaven and Hell pp. 242 - 54. Anderson Drama and

Imagery pp.171 - 7 cp. Hodnett nos. 513 - 7, 534, 2241
etc. ~~[and see also Anderson, Brown and Prynne pp. 178-181]~~

- 673) e.g. the woodcuts illustrating Laza^{rus}' vision of the pains of hell found in the French and English editions of The Shepherds' Calendar by Nicholas Le Rouge, Verard, Pynson, de Worde and Julian Notany (also in the Verard and de Worde editions of The crafte to lyue well and to dye well) are all closely related.
- 674) Cordiale G8^V, cp Mirk Festial EETS es 96 p. 238, and for the various senses of hell, EETS es 19 p.317.
- 675) Kalender of Shephardes G7^V, (STC 22410).
- 676) R.H.Charles, The Book of Enoch or I Enoch, Oxford 1912.
- 677) I Enoch XXXVII:1 and XL:8; XLVI:2.
- 678) ~~Q8~~ LPME p. 295 (especially n.3)ff.
- 679) I.Enoch LXII:12
- 680) E.J.Becker A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, Baltimore, 1899; H.R.Patch op.cit. ch.IV, "The Literature of Visions"; M.Voigt Beitrage zur Geschichte der Visionen Literatur im MittelCalter, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1924.
- 681) Respectively second, fourth and sixth century. For translations of the first two, M.R.James, The Apocryphal New Testament, for Gregory Dialogues bk.IV; PL LXXVII 384f.
- 682) Mirrore of golde, final chapter "Of the Ioyes of paradyse/ and paynes of hell"; Cordiale part 3.

- 683) Pseudo-Augustine PL XXXIX, 1929 sermo xcvi; Comester PL.CXCVIII, 1597 cap. cxvi.
- 684) M.Voigt op.cit. vol I pp. 1 - 42; D.D.R. Owen The Vision of Hell pp 243 - 6.
- 685) John XII: 1 - 2.
- 686) Goostly treatyse, ed 1532, A4^V - B1.
- 687) Becker op.cit. respectively pp 83, 90, 89, 76, 79.
- 688) The section in question covers sigs. Qq5^V - Ss4^V in the 1521 edition.
- 689) Examples A3^R, A3^V, B1^R.
- 690) A lytell treatyse called...the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe) STC 11499. ~~sig.~~ m.1^R.
- 691) Bernard, Medytacyons ca.vi.B.3^V.
- 692) Cordiale I.7^V.
- 693) Certeine prayers F7^R.
- 694) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi. I1^R.
- 695) Myrrour...for them that be syke about M5.
- 696) Marlowe The tragicall History of Doctor Faustus, ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke, The Works of Christopher Marlowe, Oxford, 1910, p.163.
- 697) Milton, Paradise Lost Book IV lines 18 - 24 cp. 75 - 8.
- 698) The Works of Thomas Becon, The Catechism ~~and~~ PSII.p.33.

- 699) On the interpretation of the Petrine verses, J.A. MacCulloch The Harrowing of Hell pp.50 - 63.
- 700) MacCulloch op.cit. pp.1 - 34 etc.
- 701) MacCulloch op.cit. chapters 5 - 6 pp.45 - 82
- 702) MacCulloch op.cit. chapter 9, pp.152 - 73
- 703) Longland A sermond...vppon good fryday...M.CCCCC.
xxxvj. K2^v - 3^v.
- 704) See Introduction to The Middle English Harrowing of Hell, ed. W.H.Hulme, EETS es 100; cp. Cursor Mundi EETS 62 pp.1018 - 1060; Stanzaic Life of Christ, EETS 166 pp.266 - 74.
- 705) Piers Plowman B.Passus XVIII lines 249 ff. M.W.Bloomfield
Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth- century Apocalypse.pp 123 - 6.
- 706) Woolf, English Mystery Plays pp. 269 - 72.
- 707) MacCulloch pp 160 - 73 summarizes and evaluates Nicodemus' version, and the Chester play of the Descent is closely modelled on the Gospel of Nicodemus.
- 708) Exodus III:8.
- 709) Cordiale K8^v.
- 710) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E2^v.
- 711) cp. Sir Thomas More in a letter written shortly before his death (No. 211, Correspondence ed. E.Rogers) "so we may reioyce and enioy ech others company, with our other

kyn@ folke, alies and frendes euerlastingly in the glorious blysse of heauen!"

- 712) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E3^r - v.
- 713) Orologium p. 389.
- 714) A Kempis III: 53.
- 715) The Goad of Love, ed.^{C.} Kirchberger pp 212 - 3.
- 716) Bernard Medytacyons B4^r.
- 717) Hilton Scala Perfectionis II: 40, edn. 1533, X.7^r.
- 718) Certeine prayers H.7^r.
- 719) Catharine Parr, Prayers or meditacions, ed. 1545 A8^v.
- 720) Rolle, Ego Dormio in The English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. H.E.Allen, p.63.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. The continuity is suggested in the evidence of the lasting popularity of many of the works discussed by Dr.A.I.Doyle, A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the XIVth - XVth and early XVIth centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein, unpubl. Ph.D thesis, Cambridge 1953.
2. See A.G.Dickens The English Reformation ch.1; P.Janeite, L'Angleterre Catholique à la veille du schisme (Paris 1935) pp. 25 - 34; H.C.White The Tudor Books of Private Devotion pp. 24 - 30.
3. Both Cardinal Gasquet's The Eve of the Reformation (London 1900) and H.Maynard Smith's Pre-Reformation England are too general with regard to the period covered and too selective in their choice of literary illustrations.
4. The Skot reprints include The golden letany RSTC 15707.5; The Rosary RSTC 17545.5; Nychodemus gospell STC 18570A (all 1536 - 7); there was also another edition of Cura clericalis, STC 6127 in 1537 and Dives and Pauper STC 19214 the previous year; even the number of traditional Sarum or York Horae published is dramatically reduced.
5. Traditional Latin service books re-appeared during Mary's reign as did a few Henrican authors e.g. More, STC 18076, 18082; Fisher STC 10896-7, 10908 - but none of the medieval works were apparently reprinted. The Recusant reprints were, for the most part new editions and included A & R nos. 102 (STC 1860 =17552); 128 (STC 3268/9); 304⁽³¹²⁻¹⁰⁸³³⁾ (STC 14564 - 9); The Jesus Psalter and Golden Litany were included in Manual of prayers 495 - 519 (STC 17263 (=14566) -78); 549 (STC 18083); 572 (STC 18571); The Jesus Psalter was also found in Six spiritual bookes, 766 - 9 (STC 3369, 14569 - 70); 814 - 22 (STC 23968 (= 23968 (= 23960A); 23987 - 92).
6. R.L. De Molen Erasmus (London 1973) pp. 181 - 2 (Allen Epist.Erasm. XI pp. 215 - 7)

7. These include Speculum Vitae Christi 1494; 1517, n.d, 1525, 1530 (STC 3261, 3264-7); Three Kings of Cologne (1496), c.1499, 1511, 1526 (and Duff, Handlists 1530) (STC 5572 - 5); Doctrynnall of dethe, (1498), 1532 (STC 6931 - 2; The abbaye of the holy Ghost (1496), (1500), (and 1531 Duff op.cit and Maunsell's Catalogue (1595)p. 1), (STC 13609 - 10); Hilton's Scala Perfectionis 1495, 1525, 1533 (STC. 14042, 14044 - 5); Mirk's Festial 1493, 1496, 1499, (1508), 1515, 1528, 1532 (STC 17962, -5, -7, 17971 - 2, -4, -5); XII profytes of trybulacyon (1499) 1530 (STC 20412 - 3); The Rote or myrrour of consolacyon (1496), (1499), 1511, 1530 (STC 21334 - 7); Wednesdayes faste (1500), 1532 (STC 24224 - 5).
8. The first two were written by the Syon brethren, Bonde and Whitford. Manuscript and printed copies of The tre bear the names of Syon nuns (see Vassier ~~edn. pp. 200v, 200vi, 200vii-200viii~~) suggesting that it, like the Dyetary which includes woodcuts linked with Syon (Hodnett nos 457, 2277-42379) may have been printed at the request of Syon.
9. R. Whitford, Pyper or Tonne (STC 25421) f.19^v.
10. Whitford Ibid f.68^v - 70^v.
11. Whitford Ibid f.205^v recognizes that it can have a more general application.
12. See C.L. Powell English Domestic Relations (1917 repr. New York 1972) p. 121f.
13. For example The Chastising of God's Children and William Flete The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons.
14. For the fullest study of the remaining evidence, E. Waterton Pietas Mariae Britannica.
15. e.g. the case of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, RO III pp. 182 - 91; A. Neame The Holy Maid of Kent (London 1971).

16. cp. H. Maynard Smith Pre-Reformation England (London 1938) p. 114 who, describing popular belief in saints says "It was a business partnership between earth and heaven, and brought this world and the next very near together".
17. See L. Stone Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages (Pelican History of Art, 1955) ch. 15.
18. Their high standards were recognized by their contemporaries and found too demanding, Knowles, RO III pp. 159 - 60.
19. See M.M. & R. Dodds The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy (2 vols, Cambridge 1915) and F. Rose-Troup The Western Rebellion of 1549 (London 1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography that follows is divided into two parts. The first covers early printed books, most of them printed before 1550, used in the preparation of this study. The order followed is that of A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed ... 1475-1640 (London 1926), to which other items - additions to STC and works outside its scope - are added in alphabetical order. Except in cases of particular complexity, I have cited fully only one edition of each work, usually the one I have used, but dates of other editions are noted for the more important items. The place of printing is London, unless otherwise stated, and the names of printers are modernised except for a few cases. In the titles, most of them given in full, contractions are silently expanded and the different varieties of type reduced to lower case characters. Where I have come across a modern reprint or edition of a work, this is noted, but I have not attempted to list reprints for every item. Cross-references, where appropriate are provided to A.F. Allison & D.M. Rogers: "A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640" Biographical Studies III (1956) - (A & R); E.J. Devereux A Checklist of English Translations of Erasmus (Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Paper 3), Oxford 1968 - (Devereux); E.G. Duff Fifteenth Century English Books, Oxford 1917 - (Duff); E. Hoskins Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, London 1901 - (Hoskins); W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 to 1540, S'Gravenhage 1923 etc (Ned Bibl) and the Bodleian type-script of the RSTC, which has been consulted where possible

rather than systematically. Errors in STC have been corrected either from my own observation or on the authority of the above works - for the dating of works printed by Robert Wyer I am indebted to Mrs Betty Tracy. Occasionally I have added a note of comment. The second part of the bibliography covers the more important secondary sources used, with books and periodicals listed separately.

BIBLIOGRAPHY I

Early printed worksSTC 95

— An heavenly acte concernynge how man shal lyue, made by our suffraine lorde God the father, God the / sonne, and God the holye goost, and al the whole clergie in heuen consenting to the same. 8°. Amsterdam, J. Peterson [?1547].

STC 193

AGAPETUS. The preceptes teachyng a prynce or a noble estate his duetie / written by Agapetus in Greke to the emperour Iustinian / and after translated into Latin / and nowe in to Englysshe by Thomas Paynell. 8°. T. Berthelet [before 1534].

STC 202

AGRIPPA, Henricus Cornelius. The commendation of matrimony, made by Cornelius Agrippa, & translated into englishe by David Clapam. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1545 (anr. ed. 1540).

Dedication to Gregory, Thomas Cromwell's son.

STC 256

ST ALBAN. Here begynneth the glorious lyfe and passion of saint Albon prothomartyr of Englande / and also the lyfe and passion of saint Amphabel / whiche conuerted saint Albon to the fayth of Christe. 4°. [St. Albans, J. Herford], 1534.

Translated by John Lydgate.

STC 281

ALCOCK, John. Mons perfectionis / otherwyse in Englysshe / the hylle of perfeccyon. 4°. W. de Worde, 1501. (Other edns 1496, 1497, [1497-8] : modernized version in E.M. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, pp. 327-33).

The work was printed "at the Instaunce of the reuerende

relygyous fader Thomas Pryour of the house of saynt Anne ye
ordre of ye Chartrouse".

STC 292

ALESIIUS, Alexander. Of the auctorite of the word of god agaynst
the bisshop of London / wherein are conteyned certen disputacyons
had in the parlament howse betwene the bisshops abowt the nomber
of the sacraments and other things / very necessary to be known
... 8° [?Low Countries, ?1537]

STC 397

— A spirituall Almanacke. wherin euery Christen man and woman
may se what they ought dayle to do, or leaue vndone. Not after
the doctrine of the Papistes, nor after the lernynge of Ptolomy,
or other Heythen Astronomers, but out of the very true & wholsome
doctryne of God our almyghty heuenly father, shewed vnto vs in
his worde, by his prophetes Apostels, but specyally by his dere
sonne Iesus Christ And is to be kept not onely this newe yeare
but continually vnto the daye of the Lordes commyng agayne. 8°.
R. Kele [?1546]

Wing A.2992

AMBROSE, Isaac. The Compleat Works Of that Eminent Minister of
Gods Word Mr. Isaac Ambrose. fol. for Rowland Reynolds, 1674

STC 659

— An answer to a letter. 8°. T. Godfray, [?1535]

STC 770

(ARISTOTLE) [The secret of secretes] 4°. R. Copland, 1528

See EETS es.74 and es.66.

STC 786

(Duff 33)

___ Here begynneth a lytyll treatyse schortely compyled and called ~~ars~~ moriendi / that is to saye the craft for to deye for the helthe of mannes sowle. 4°. W. Caxton [1491]

(Other edns. [1497], 1506 and by Wyer during the 1530s, RSTC 788.1. A photolithograph of STC 786 was issued, with an introductory note by E.W.B. Nicholson, by Quaritch, London (1891).)

STC 792

___ The crafte to lyue well and to dye well. fol. W. de Worde, 1505

(Other edns. [1503], [1506]. A copy of STC 792 is also in the B.M. London.)

Translated by A. Chertsey.

STC 845

(Ned Bibl 3281)

ASHWELL, John. The letters which John Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde / sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne / in the yeare of our lorde M.D.xxxvij ... 8° [Antwerp. M. de Keyser], [?1531] (Other edns. [?1527], [?1548])

STC 862

___ The assaute and conquest of heuen translated out of frenche into englishe by Thomas Paynel. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1529

STC 908

___ [The confessyon of the fayth of the Germaynes] 8°. R. Redman, 1536 (Another edn. about the same date)

The STC entry presumably includes P. Melanchthon's "The Apologie that is to say the defense of the confessyon of the Germaynes", Redman, 1536, although bibliographically it is a separate work, which might be better before STC 17788. Both works were translated by Richard Taverner at the commandment of Thomas Cromwell.

STC 937

St AUGUSTINE. A litle pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise. Very woorthy and needful to be read of euery Christian that is willing to tread the steps which lead to Heauen. 8°. for E. Aggas [?1580] (RSTC 937.3 adds an edition of 1581)

Before STC 954

St AUGUSTINE. Here begynneth ye rule of our holy fader. s. Austen yt noble doctour. 4°. W. de Worde [?1510] (Bamb.)

This may be the translation referred to by Whitford in The rule of saynt Augustyne (AlV) as "olde / scabrouse / rough / & not of the englysshe comynly vsed in these partyes".

STC 967

St AUSTIN of Abingdon (St. Edmund) [The deuoute treatyse called the myrrour of the chyrche] 4°. Peter Treveris (n.d.) (Other edns. 1521, 1527 and see after STC 11210)

For editions of mss. versions. Horstman YW I pp 219-61 and for a modernized and abbreviated translation of the French version, E. Colledge The Medieval Mystics of England (London 1962) pp. 125-40

STC 1462

BARLOW, William. A dialoge describing the originall ground of these Lutheran faccions, and many of their abuses. 8°. J. Cawood, 1553 (Another edn. 1531: the later edn. reprinted, with introduction by J.R. Lunn, Dialogue on the Lutheran Factions, London 1897)

STC 1472

BARNES, Robert. The supplication of doctour Barnes vnto the moost gracyous kynge Henrye the eyght with the declaration of his articles condemned for heresy by the byshops. 8°.

H. Singleton, [?1550] (2 other edns c.1534: the contents are summarized by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 1582

BATEMAN, Stephen. The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente: wherein are contayned for the moste parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with diuers secrete figures of Reuelations tending to mannes stayed conuersion towards God ...

4°. R. Nubery assigned by H. Bynneman. 1581.

STC 1710

BECON, Thomas. The worckes of Thomas Becon. whiche he hath hytherto made and published, with diuerse other uewe [sic] bookes added to the same, heretofore neuer set forth in print diuided into thre tomes ... fol. J. Daye, 3 vols 1564, 1560, 1563. (Most of the works were reprinted in the 3 vol Parker Society edn of Becon's Works.)

See, in general, D.S. Bailey Thomas Becon (Edinburgh 1952)

STC 1736

BECON, Thomas. A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles, that be redde in the Church thorowout the yeare : lately set foorth vnto the great profite not onely of al Curates, and spirituall Ministers, but also of all other godly and faythfull readers. 4° (in 8's).

T. Marshe, 1566

After STC 1756

BECON, Thomas. The shelde of saluacion, newly sette forth in Englysshe, to the great comferte of all faythfull penytent synners. 8°. R. Wyer [1540's] (c.15)

This is a translation of Urbanus Regius': Doctrina certissima et consolatio solidissima atque firmissima

contra desperationem propter peccata ... Item Dialogus inter Satanam & poenitentem peccatorem. The English version is virtually that printed in Becon, PS II pp.626-40, apart from the omission of the last two paragraphs of the introductory dedication.

STC 1908

St BERNARD. A compendius & a moche fruytefull treatyse of well liu^yng, contaynyng the hole summe and effect of al vertue ... translated by Thomas Paynell. 8°. T. Petyt, [1545?]

RSTC 1910.5

St BERNARD. Epistola sancti Barnardi abbatis clareuallensis. Vtilissima & moralissima de bona gubernatione familie Omnibus cristianis valde necessaria. Single sheet fol. [?Pynson, ?1505] (0)

This is a Latin version of Bernard Sylvester's Of the cure & gouernaunce of a housholde, RSTC 1967.5, and despite the title, not by Bernard of Clairvaux.

STC 1911 (RSTC 1915.5)

St BERNARD. An epistle of saint Bernarde / called the golden epistle / whiche he sent to a yong religious man whom he moche loued. And after the sayd epistle / foloweth four reuelations of saint Birget. 8°. T. Godfray [?c.1535]

STC 1912

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called / a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 23 Nov. (also at 0¹⁰).

This is Whitford's version. For the Latin original see PL CLXXXIV, 1173-4.

STC 1913

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle.

4°. W. de Worde [?1531]

Whitford's version.

STC 1914

St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle.

8°. R. Wyer, 1531

Whitford's version.

STC 1915

St BERNARD. Here after foloweth an epistle of saynt Bernarde called the golden epistle / whiche he sent to a yong religious man whom he moche loued... 8°. T. Godfray [?1531]

Same version as STC 1911. This is part of STC 23963.

STC 1916

(Duff 41)

St BERNARD. Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde. 4°. W. de Worde, 1496 (other edns. [?1499], 1525)

STC 1967 = 5214

RSTC 1967.5

BERNARD Sylvester. Here begynneth a shorte monycyon, or counsayle of the cure & gouernaunce of a housholde / accordynge vnto policy : taken out of a pystle of a great lerned man, called Bernarde Syluestre. 8°. R. Wyer [1531] (cp. EETS 42)

For the Latin version see RSTC 1910.5. This piece is usually appended to R. Whitford's Werke for housholders.

STC 1978

(Duff 43)

BETSON, Thomas. Here begynneth a ryght profytable treatyse compendiously drawn out of many & dyuers wrytyngs of holy men / to dyspose men to be vertuously occupied in theyr myndes & prayers. And declared the Pater noster. Aue. & Credo. in our moder tonge with many other deuoute prayers in lyke wyse medefull to religyous people as to the laye people with many other moost holsomest Instruccyons ... 4° (in 6's) [W. de Worde]

c. 1500.]

Includes "Saynt Bernarde to a newe begynner in relygyon".
On the author see A.I. Doyle, The Library⁵ XI (1956) pp.115-8.

STC 2063

____ [Biblia the bible that is the holy scrypture] fol. ____ 1535.

Translated by Coverdale. STC suggests Zurich as the place of publication. T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, rev. A.S. Herbert Historical Catalogues of Printed Editions of the English Bible (London 1968) no.18, suggest Marburg or Cologne. They mention a possible connection with Antwerp, but it does not seem to have been noticed that most of the small woodcuts were used by an Antwerp printer, Symon Cowke, in his edition of Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur, 1536 (STC 3014), thus strengthening the claim of Antwerp.

STC 2748=23710

____ An epitome of the psalmes or briefe meditacions vpon the same, with diuerse other moste Christian prayers, translated by Richard Tauerner. 16° (in 8's). [R. Banks] 1539.

The Epitome which is based on Wolfgang Cavito's Precationes Christianae is preceded by a general confession and followed by the Pater, Ave, Credo and Decalogue. With a separate title and signatures there follows The principal prayers of the Byble moste necessary for Christen men, based, like STC 2379 etc, 2996, 20200, RSTC 20200.3, on O. Brunfels' Precationes Biblicae

STC 2987

____ An exposicyon vpon a pece of saint Iames epistle to the ende of ye second chapitre, begynnynge at D. in ye same chapitre ... 8°. J. Byddell, 1536

STC 3014

(Ned Bibl 3906)

____ Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur / garnyschede with faire ymages / and with deuoute praiers / and thanck geuings vnto God. With grete diligence oursien and aproued by the inquisitor of the Christen faithe / maester Nycolas Coppijn / de Monitibus / Dean of sainte Peters / and Chanceler of the vniuersite of Louen. 8°. Antwerp, Symon Cowke, 1536 (Copy also at M).

STC 3021

(Ned Bibl 3580)

___ A compendious olde treatyse / shewynge / how that we ought to haue ye scripture in Englysshe. 8°. Marlborow, Hans Luft [Antwerp. Johannes Hoochstraten] 1530 (Other edns: R. Banks, n.d. and repr. Arber's English Reprints vol.27, 1871. Also see Deanesly The Lollard Bible p.438)

STC 3033

___ The dore of holy scripture. 8°. John Gough, 1540-12 March. (c.p. STC 25588)

This was the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible.

STC 3034 (= an edn of 3036-41)

___ [The summe of the holy scripture] 8° [R. Redman ?1535]

STC 3036

(Ned Bibl 3912)

___ The summe of the holye scripture / and ordinarye of the Christen teachynge / the true ^hChristen faithe / by the which we be all iustified. And of the vertue of baptesme / after the teaching of the Gospell and of the Apostles / with an informacyon howe all estates shulde lyue / accordynge to the Gospell. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp] 1529 (Other edns: 3 about 1535, [1547], 1548, [?1550].)

STC 3046

___ [The concordance of the new testament most necessary to be had in the handes of all soche as, (delyte) in the communica]tion of any place contayned in ye new Testament. 8°. T. Gybson, 1535. (First part of title supplied in ms)

STC 3050

BICKNOLL, Edmund. A Swoorde against swearyng, conteyning these principal poyntes. 1. That there is a lawful vse of an oth, contrary to the assertion of the Manichees & Anabaptistes. 2. Howe great a sinne it is to sweare falsly, vaynely, rashly, or customably. 3. That common or vsuall swearyng leadeth vnto periurie. 4. Examples of God's iust and visible punishment vpon blasphemers, periurers, and such as have procured Gods wrath by cursing and blaming, which we call execration. 8°. for William Towreolde, by the assent of Richard Watkins [n.d.] (Another edn. 1579)

STC 3200

BOETHIUS. The boke of comfort called in Laten Boetius de Consolatione philosophie. Translated in to englesse tonge [by J. Walton]. 4° in the exempt monastery of Tauestock in Deushyre. By me Dan Thomas Rychard ... to the instant desyre of the ryght worshypful esquier Mayster Robert Langdon. 1525. (repr. EETS 170, earlier edn. [?1478]) (Copy also at M)

STC 3267

St BONAVENTURA. Vita Christi. 4° W. de Worde. 1530 (Copy also at M) (Other edns: [1486], [1490], 1494, [1494], [1506], ^{1509 (Pep.)} 1517, [n.d] , 1525: a modern edn. based on mss. not printed sources, L.F. Powell's The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Christ (London, 1908).

Translation by Nicholas Love of Mountgrace Charterhouse.

RSTC 3273.6

St BONAVENTURA. The crosrowe or A.B.C. Here foloweth two Opuscles or small werkes of saynt Bonauenture / moche necessarye and profytable vnto all chrystyanes specyally vnto relygyous persones / put in to englysshe by a brother of Syon Rychard Whytforde. 4° W. de Worde. 1532 (Copy at OlO)

An earlier (1523-30) edition by Richard Fawkes is described by F.C. Francis in The Library⁴ XVII (1937) pp.184-9. The pieces were also included in the following works by Richard Whitford: STC 25412, 25413, 25416.

STC 3275

BONDE, William. A deuote treatyse for them that ben tymorouse and fearefull in conscience whiche treatyse yf yt be well red ouer and folowyd wyl brynge ye reders out of al scrupulosite of conscience & saruyle feare / & brynge them to the holy feare and loue of almyghty God. 4°. [M. Fawkes, ?1534]

STC 6904 is an earlier version of the same treatise. The other edition, STC 3276 of ?1535, adds that the treatise was sent to a deuote relygyouse woman of Dennay. At ye instance of her spirituall frendes. And by that same frende ouerseen & deuyded in to. xx. chapitres ...". Chapter xv, "Good remedies ageynste spirituall temptacions", was reprinted anonymously with the Jesus Psalter in STC 17263 etc.

STC 3278

BONDE, William. A deuoute treatyse in Englysshe / called the Pilgrymage of perfeccyon: very profytable for all chrysten people to rede: and in especyall / to all relygyous persones moche necessary. The auctour of this present treatyse hath added vnto it the exposicyon of the Aue and the Crede / with dyuerse other thynges. fol. W. de Worde, 1531 (Another edn. 1526 which includes STC 14571)

STC 3288 (RSTC 3306.5)

— Here begynneth a boke of a Ghoostly fader / that confesseth
his Ghoostly chylde / the whiche speketh fyrst of the. vii.
deedly synnes / and after of the cyrcumstaunce that to them
belongeth. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde [J. Skot for] , [?1528]

On C5^r "Et sic finis. Anno domini. M.CCCCC.xx.viii die
mensis Martii." The main substance of the book is taken from
Mirk's Instructions, see EETS 31 p.33ff

STC 3296

— The boke of conforte agaynste all tribulacions. 4°

R. Pynson [?1510] (Earlier edn. ?1505)

See Durham Philobiblon I (March 1954) p.68. The dialogue alone
was subsequently reprinted in another translation, STC 14548.

STC 3305 = 13827

(Duff 55)

— [The book of divers ghostly matters] 4° (in 8's) W. Caxton
[1491]

The contents include Ye seuen poyntes of trewe loue (Orologium
sapientiae, See Horstmann, ed. Anglia X (1888) pp.323-89);
The. xij. proffites of tribulacyon (see STC 20412-3): A
compendious abstracte ... out of the holy rule of saynte Benet
(see EETS 120)

STC 3320

— The boke of knowledge / whether a sycke person beyng in
peryll / shall lyue, or dye &c. 8° R. Wyer [?c.1556] (2
issues). (Anr. ed. c.1542)

After STC 3326

— A boke of prayers called ye ordynary fasshyon of good
lyuyng. [?8°] W. Myddylton [?1541-3]

STC 3357

___ The boke of wysdome, folowyng the auctoryties of auntyent
 phylosophers / Dyuydyng / and spekyng of vyces and vertues /
 wherby a man maye be praysed / or dysprayed / with the maner
 to speke alwayes well and wysely to all folkes / of what estate
 so euer they be. 8°. R. Wyer, 1532 - 20 January (Other edns
 1565, [?1575])

STC 3360

___ Here begynneth a lytell boke that speketh of purgatorye:
 & what purgatorye is & in what place / and of the paynes that be
 therin / and whiche soules do abyde therin tyll they be poured
 of synne / and whiche abyde not there. And for what synnes a
 soule goth to hell / & of the helpe that soules in purgatorye
 may haue of thyr frendes that be on lyue: & what pardon aueyleth
 to mannes soule. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1533]

This is Pt IV of The Pricke of Conscience - see H.C. Schulz,
Huntington Library Quarterly XXIX, 1966, 325-36

STC 3762

BRINKELOW, Henry. The complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray
 fryre, vnto the parliament howse of Ingland his natural cuntry
 for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs and cruel
 decreys ... 8° Savoy, F. de Turona [Zurich: ?1550] (3
 earlier issues c.1548: See EETS es.22)

STC 3943

BRUNSFELSIUS, Otto. A very true pronosticacion / with a Kalender /
 gathered out of the moost auntyent bokes of ryght holy astronomers /
 for the yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.xxxvj. And for all yeres here
 after perpetuall. Translated out of latyn in to Englysshe by
 John Ryckes preest. 8° J. Byddell (1536)

STC 4021

BUGENHAGEN, Johann. A compendious letter which Ihon Pomerane curate of the congregation at Wittenberge sent to the faythfull christen congregation in Englande. 8° — (1536)

STC 4054

BULLINGER, Heinrich. A commentary vpon the seconde epistle of S. Paul to the Thessalonians. In ye which besydes the summe of oure faythe, ther is syncerelye handled & set forth at large, not onely ye fyrst commyng vp & rysyng with the full prosperyte & dominion, but also the fall and vtter confusion of the kyngdome of Antichriste: that is to say of Machomet & the Byshop of Rome. 8° Southwarke, J. Nicolson, 1538.

STC 4185

BUSHE, Paul. This lytell boke contayneth certayne goostly medycynes necessary to be vsed among weldisposed people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of pestilens / thus collecte and sette forth in ordre by the diligent laboure of the religyous brother syr Paule Bushe preste and bonehome in the good house of Edyndon. 8° R. Redman [1530s].

Bushe became bishop of Bristol in 1542.

STC 4186

BUSHE, Paul. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in Englysshe / called the Extripacion of ignorancy: and it treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people / shewyng them howe they are bounde to feare god / to loue god / and to honour their prince. Which treatise is lately compyled by sir Paule Busshe preest / and Bonhomme of Edyndon: and dedicate vnto the yong and most hye renomed lady Mary / princes & doughter vnto the noble progenytour / our worthy souerayne kyng Henry the eight / kyng

of Englande and of Fraunce / & hys defender of ye christen faythe
&c. 4° R. Pynson [1526]

STC 4240

BYGOD, Sir Francis. A treatise concernynge impropriations of
benefices. 8° T. Godfray, [?1535] (ed. A.G. Dickens, Tudor
Treatises, YAS CXXV (1959))

STC 4312 = 20510

STC 4602

CAPGRAVE, John. Here begynneth the kalendre of the newe legende
of Englande. 4°, 3 pts, R. Pynson, 1516

Pt.3, Hilton's Medled lyfe, is dated 1506. Capgrave's
authorship is questioned by P.J. Lucas, Library XXV (1970)
ppl-10

STC 4815

St CATHARINE of Siena. Here begynneth the orcharde of Syon /
in the whiche is conteyned the reuelacyons of seynt Katheryne of
Sene / with ghostly fruytes & precyous plantes for the helthe of
mannes soule. fol. W. de Worde 1519 - 28 Sept. (An edn.
EETS 258)

STC 4824

CATHARINE Parr. Prayers or meditacions, wherin the mind is
stirred paciently to suffre all afflictions here, to sette at
naught the vaine prosperitee of this worlde, and alwaie to long
for the euerlastyng felicitie: collected out of certayne holy
woorkes by the moste gracious Princes Catharine, Quene of
Englande, France, and Irelande. 16° in the hous of Thomas
Berthelette, 1545 [1547-53] (Another 6 edns 1545-53)

STC 4828

CATHARINE Parr. The lamentacion of a synner. made by the moste vertuous lady Quene Caterine. bewailynge the ignoraunce of her blind life: set foorth & put in print at the instant desire of the right gracious lady Caterine duchesse of Suffolke, and the earnest request of the right honourable Lord William Parr, Marquesse of North hampton. 8° E. Whitchurch, 1548 - 28 March. (Edns: 1547; 1563, and in Harleian Miscellany V, 1808).

After STC 4891(Devereux Checklist C32.4, incl. C87.3)

CEBES. The table of Cebes the philosopher. How one maye take profite of his ennemies, translated oute of Plutarche. A treatyse perswading a man paciently to suffer the death of his freende. 16° (in 8's) in the house late Thomas Berthelettes [i.e. after 1554] (0) (Anr. edn. ?1545)

Translated by Sir Francis Poyntz at the request of his brother, Sir Anthony Poyntz, probably between 1523 and 1527)

STC 5065

(Duff 85)

— The prouffitable boke for mannes^{soule} / and right comfortable to the body / and specyally in aduersitee & trybulacyon / whiche boke is called The Chastysing of goddes Chyldern. fol. W. de Worde [?1491-5]. (A critical ed. of mss. The Chastising of God's Children ed. J. Bazire & E. Colledge, Oxford 1957).

STC 5098

(CHAUCER, Geoffrey). Iack vp Lande compyled by the famous Geoffrey Chaucer. 8°. for John Gough [?1550s rather than ?1540] (Jack Upland, Friar Daws Reply and Upland's Rejoinder, - ed. P.L. Heyworth, Oxford 1968).

STC 5160

— The declaracyon the power of the chrysten fayth. 8°
R. Wyer [?1542]

STC 5163

— The institution of a christen man, contynynge the
 exposytion or interpretation of the commune crede of the seuen
 sacramentes, of the. x. commandementes, and of the pater noster,
 and the Ave Maria, iustification & purgatory. 4°. T. Berthelet,
 1537. (4 other edns 1537: repr. Formularies of faith ... ed.
 C. Lloyd (Oxford 1825) pp.21-211)

STC 5200

— The ordenarye for all faythfull Chrystians to leade a vertuous
 and godly lyfe here in this vale of miserie. Translated out of
 Doutche into Inglysh by Anthony Scoloker. 8°. At Ippeswych by
Anthony Scoloker, 1548 (Copy also at M. which is perhaps another
 edition)

From part of C. van der Heyden's Corte Instruccye

STC 5214 - 1967

— The churche of yuell men & women / wherof Lucyfere is heed.
 And the membres is all the players dissolute / and synners
 reprobued. 8°. R. Pynson [n.d.] (Anr. ed. [1522]. Also
 entered under St Bernardinus of Siena)

STC 5278

CICERO. The thre bookes of Tullyes offyces / bothe in latyne
 tonge & in englysshe / lately translated by Roberte Whytinton
 poete laureate. 8°. W. de Worde. 1534 - 30 Sept (Anr. ed.
 1540)

STC 5292

CICERO. Tullius de senectute bothe in latyn and englysshe tonge
Translated by Robert Whittinton poete laureate. 8°. J. Byddell
[?1535]

STC 5313

CICERO. [The Paradox of M.T. Cicero, translated by R. Whittinton]
8°. J. Redman for R. Redman [1540]

STC 5547

COLET, John. A ryght frutefull monycion, concernyng the ordre
of a good chrysten mannes lyfe, very profytable for all maner of
estates & other to beholde and loke vpon. 8°. R. Copland for
J. Byddell, 1534 - 7 Jan.

Other edns. 1563, 1577 and modernized repr. E. Nugent The
Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, pp.393-7:
there seems to be no evidence for the twenty editions claimed
for the work before 1577.

STC 5550

COLET, John. The sermon of doctor Colete / made to the
conuocation at Paulis. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1530] (repr.
E. Nugent op.cit. pp.358-64)

STC 5574

— The thre kynges of Coleyne. 4°. W. de Worde, 1511.
(Other edns. [1496], [1499], 1526 and EETS 85. See Dibdin,
Typographical Antiquities vol. II (London 1812) pp.167-8 for note
of a 1530 edn. apparently translated by Whitford.)

STC 5606 = 20882-3STC 5610

— Here begynneth a lamentable complaynte that ye soule
maketh of the wretched lyfe of the body. 4°. W. de Worde,

1532, (Anr. ed. c.1520)

___ Complainte douloureuse de lame dampnee. 4° (in 6's)

Paris, J. Trepperel. [?1505] (For earlier edns GW 7264-8). A quite different work from STC 5610.

STC 5643

(Duff 106)

___ Prologus. At the deuoute & dylygent request of the ryght reuerende fader in god & lorde Rycharde bysshop of Dureham and lorde pryueseall of Englande / this lytell boke named Contemplacyon of synners is compyled & fynysshed. the sayd blessyd fader in god desyrynge gretly all vertue to encrease and vyce to be exyled / hath caused this booke to be enprynted to the entente that oft redyng this booke may surely serche and truely knowe the state of his conscyence. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde, 1499 - 10 July. (See STS³ XXIII (1949) 64-169 for two ms. versions and ascription to Friar "William of Touris")

STC 5743

___ The copy of the commaundement generall by the abbot of euyll profytes. 4°. P. Treueris [?1530].

STC 5759

(Duff 110)

CORDIALE. [Memorare novissima ...] 4° (in 8's) W. de Worde [n.d] (Anr. edn. 1479)

STC 5879

COUSIN, Gilbert. Of the office of seruauntes, a boke made in Latine by one Gylbertus Cognatus and newly englyshed [by Thomas Chaloner] 8°. T. Berthelet, 1543 [not 1534 as STC] (cp. Ned Bibl 2682)

STC 5892

COVERDALE, Miles. Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of holy scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his worde. 4°. John Gough [?1539] (repr. Coverdale, Remaincs, PS pp.533-90)

Music is printed for each set of verses.

STC 6035a

___ The dyenge creature. 4°. W. de Worde [? after 1532] (Other edns 1507, 1514 and, unrecorded, before STC 6034, de Worde 1506, Bamb)

STC 6127

___ Cura clericalis. 8°. Thomas Petyt. 1537 (Other edns 1532, 1542)

STC 6156

St CYPRIAN. A sermon of S. Cyprian made on the Lordes prayer, that is to wytte, the Pater noster. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539.

STC 6158

St CYPRIAN. A svvete and deuoute sermon of holy saynct Ciprian of mortalitie of man. The rules of a Christian life made by Picus erle of Mirandula, bothe translated into englyshe by syr Thomas Elyot knyght. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (anr. edn. 1534)

This translation was also printed among Lupset's works, STC 16932 and copied in Bodley, ms Tanner 118.

STC 6431

DAY, Richard. A booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, vvorthy to be read vvith an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull vnto vs. 4°. J. Daye. 1590.

(Other edns 1578, 1581, 1608)

See also, S.C. Chew "The Iconography of A Book of Christian Prayers", Huntington Library Quarterly VIII (1944-5 pp293-305.

STC 6455

___ A declaracion of the seremonies a nexid, to the sacrament of baptye, what they sygnyffie and how we ought to vnderstande them. 8° ___, 1537.

RSTC 6456.5

___ A very declaracyon of the bond and free wyll of man. The obedyence of the gospell / and what the very gospell meneth ... 8°. Imprinted at saynt Albons [J. Herford], [1534-8].

STC 6794 (2 edns)

___ The wyll of the Deuyll, with his.x. detestable commaundes: directed to his obedient and accursed chyldren, and the rewarde promised to all suche as obediently will endeuer themselves to fulfill them. Very necessarie to be read, and well considered of all Christians. 8°. Richarde Iohnes, [?c.1577] (The Huntington and Durham copies are different editions)

STC 6833

___ The dyetary of ghostly helthe. 4°. W. de Worde, 1520 - 20 Nov. (Other edns 1521, [?1523], 1527)

STC 6837

___ Here begynneth the dyfference of astronom, with the gouernayle to kepe mans body in helth, all the foure seasons of the yeare. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c. ?1556]

STC 6894 = 15531

DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The lyfe of prestes ... 8° R. Redman [?1535]

STC 6895

DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The mirroure of golde for the syn full soule. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde, 1522-29 March (Other edns 1522, 1526, n.d.)

For a modernized version of chap. 5 and for a note on the attribution of authorship to Jacobus de Gruyetroede, see E. Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance pp.384-6.

STC 6904

— [.....] that be tymorous or ferfull in co [iu] cyence / compyled by one of the fathers of Syon & now put in impressyon at the instant request of another deuout religyous man &c.

4°. Laurence Andrewe[?1527] (title-page defective).

This is a slightly different (earlier) version of STC 3275-6.

STC 6928

— A dyurnall: for deuoute soules: to ordre themselfe thereafter. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1533] (Anr edn a few months later)

The piece is also copied in BM ms. Harley 494: See Joliffe, Checklist H.8/0.14.

STC 6932

— The doctrynnall of dethe. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 (Anr ed. [1498]).

STC 6933

— The doctrynnall of mekenesse. 8°. R. Copland, 1529 - 28 Sept.

STC 7137

DOWNNAME, John. The christian warfare against the Deuell World

and Flesh Wherein is described their nature, the maner of their fight and meanes to obtaine victorye. fol. William Stansby, 4th edn 1634 (Other edns include 1604, 1608, 1612-9)

STC 7260

— Here begynneth a lytyll new treatyse or mater intytuled & called The .ix. drunkardes whyche tratythe of dyuerse and goodly storyes ryght plesaunte and frutefull for all parsones for to pastyme with. 4° Rycharde banckys, 1523 - 5 Oct. (repr. English Experience vol. 504, 1973)

STC 7270

DU CASTEL, Christine. Here begynneth the booke whiche is called the body of polycy. And it speketh of vertues and of good maners / and the sayd boke is deuyded in thre partes. The fyrst party is adressed to prynces. The seconde to knyghtes and nobles: and the thyrde to the vnyuersal people. 4° (in 6's) John Skot, 1521 - 17 May (Copy also at M.) (repr. English Experience vol. 304, 1971)

STC 7630

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. The bankette of sapience. 8° T. Berthelet, 1539 (Other edns. 1542, 1545, 1557, 1564)

STC 7635

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. The boke named the gouernour, deuised by sir Thomas Elyot Knight. 8° T. Berthelet, 1531 (Other edns. 1537, 1544, 1546, 1553, 1557, 1565, 1580. Facs. repr. Scholar Press.)

STC 7668

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Of the knowledg whiche maketh a wise man. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns 1534, [after 1548]).

STC 7672

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Pasquil the playne. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns. 1532, 1540).

STC 7674

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. A preseruatiue agaynste deth. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1545

STC 10437

(Devereux Checklist C1.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Prouerbes or adagies with newe addicions gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus by Richard Tauerner. Here unto be also added Mimi Publiani. 8° [R. Bankes], 1539 (7 other edns 1539-77: facs. repr. of 1st edn: English Experience vol. 124, 1969).

In général, see M.M. Phillips, The Adages (Cambridge 1964)

RSTC 10453.5

(Devereux C19.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. [Ye dyaloge called Funus] 8° Robert Copland for John Byddell, 1534 - 5 Jan. (Repr. The dyaloge called Funus and the Epicure, ed. R.R. Allen, Publications of the Renaissance English Text Soc. III, Univ. Chicago Press, 1969)

STC 10454

(Devereux C21)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A dialoge or communication of two persons, deuysyd and set forthe in the laten tonge, by the noble and famose clarke. Desiderius Erasmus intituled ye pylgremage of pure deuotyon ... 8° ____ [1536-7]

STC 10465 = 21753RSTC 10465.5

(Devereux C73)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. The comparation of a vyrgin and a martyr.

8°. T. Berthelet, 1537 (facs repr, with introduction by W.J. Hirton, Gainesville, Florida 1970)

STC 10468

(Devereux C29.3)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De ciuilitate morum puerilium per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum, libellis nunc primum & conditus & aeditus. Roberto VVhitintoni interprete. A lytell boke of good maners for children ... 8°. J. Byddell, 1540 (Other edns 1532, 1534, 1554 (2), 1560)

After STC 10470 — see p.456 below.

STC 10471

(Devereux C36.2/2a/2b)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De contemptu mundi. 8° T. Berthelet, 1533. (An earlier edn c.1531, Devereux C36.1/1a and facs. repr. introd. W.J. Hirton, Gainesville, Florida, 1967)

STC 10474

(Devereux C38.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. De immensa dei misericordia. A sermon of the excedynge great mercy of god / made by ye moste famous doctour maister Eras. Rot. Translated out of Latine in to Englysshe [by G. Hervet] / at the request of the moste honorable and vertuous lady / the lady Margaret Countese of Salisbury. 4°. T. Berthelet [c.1531] (Other edns [c.1525], 1533, 1547. Modernized version in The Essential Erasmus, ed. J.P. Dolan, New York 1964, pp. 222-70)

STC 10477

(Devereux C69.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster / made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus / and tourned in to englysshe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of .xix. yere of age. 4°. T. Berthelet [c.1525-6] (Anr ed c.1531)

The translation usually attributed to More's daughter, Margaret Roper. Dedicated by "Richarde Hyrde / vnto ... Fraunces S."

STC 10479

(Devereux C42.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A booke called in latyn Enchiridion militis christiani / and in englysshe the manuell of the christen knyght / replenysshed with mosteholsome preceptes / made by the famous clerke Erasmus of Roterdame / to the whiche is added a newe and meruaylous profytable preface.

8°. W. de Worde for John Byddell, 1533 - 15 Nov. (Facs repr. English Experience Series vol.156: Other edns. 1534, 1538, 1541, 1544 (2), [c.1547], 1548, [c.1551-3], 1576 (2) + Coverdale's abbreviated version, 1545, reprinted, Coverdale Writings PS pp.489-528.) .

STC 10489

(Devereux C49.1)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An epystell of ye famous doctor Erasmus of Rotterdam / vnto the reuerende father & excellent prince / Christofer bysshop of Basyle / concernyng the forbedynge of eatynge of flesshe / and lyke constitutyons of men &c. 8°.

T. Godfray [c.1534] (Anr ed about same date)

STC 10490

(Devereux C52)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An epistle of the famous clerke Erasmus of Roterdame, concernynge the veryte of the sacrament of Christes body and blode, whiche Epistle is set before the excellent boke, intituled D. Algeri De veritate corporis et sanguinis dominici in eucharistia ... and dedycated by hym [Erasmus], vnto the Reuerende father Balthasar bysshop of Hyldesyn ... 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1538]

STC 10492

(Devereux C47)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A ryght frutefull epystle / deuysed by the moste excellent clerke Erasmns [sic] / in laude and prayse of matrymony / translated in to Englyshe / by Richard Tauernour /

which translation he hathe dedicate to the ryght honorable
mayster Thomas Cromwel most worthy counseloure to our
souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght. 8°. R. Redman [c.1532]

STC 10494

(Devereux C63.3, C65.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An exhortacyon to the dylygent study
of scripture [and, part of the same volume] An exhortacyon
to the study of the Gospell. 8°. R. Wyer [c.1533-4] (Other
edns about same date and [1548], and of Paraclesis alone,
1529, STC 10493 repr. English Experience vol.510, 1973)

STC 10495

(Devereux C41)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An expositoryon of the .xv. psalme made
by mayster Erasmus of Rotherdame in whiche is full purely
declared the pure and clene behauoure that ought to be in
the pure churche of Chryst which is the multytude of all
trewe chrysten people. 8°. J. Wayland, 1537

STC 10498

(Devereux C55)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A lytle treatise of the maner and forme
of confession / made by the most excellent and famous clerke.
M. Eras. of Roterdame. 8° J. Byddell for W. Marshall
[c.1535-6] (repr. English Experience vol 553, 1973)

STC 10503

(Devereux C66)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. The paraphrase of Erasmus Roterdame
vpon ye epostle of Saint Paule vnto his discyple Titus.
lately translated in to englysshe [by Leonard Cox] and
fyrste a goodly prologue. 8°. J. Byddell, [1534-5]

STC 10504

(Devereux C72.2a)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A playne and godly exposytion or
declaration of the commune crede (which in the Latin tonge

is called Symbolum Apostolorum) and of the x. commaundementes
 of goddes law / newly made and put forth by the famouse clarke /
 Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame / at the requeste of the moste
 honorable lorde / Thomas erle of wyltshyre: father to the
 moste gracious and vertuous Quene Anne wyf to our most
 gracyous soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .viii. 8° R. Redman
 [?1534] (Anr. ed. about same date)

STC 10506

(Devereux C40.2)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Preparation to deathe, a boke as
 deuout as eloquent ... 8°. T. Berthelet, 1543 (Anr.edn.1538).

STC 10508

(Devereux C26)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon made: by the famous Doctor
 Erasmus of Roterodame. 8°. R. Wyer [?1533]

STC 10509

(Devereux C27)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon of the chylde Iesus made by
 the most famous clerke doctour Erasmus of Rotterdam. To be
 pronounced and preached of a chylde vnto chyl dren. 8°.
R. Redman [?1536]

STC 10608

— The example of euyll tonges. 4°. W. de Worde [?1500]

After STC 10608

— [Anr. ed.] Of euyll tonges. 4°. J. Notary "at the
 sygne of the thre kynges" [c.1518] (Copy at M)

STC 10613

— Examples howe mortall synne maketh the synners
 inobedyentes to haue many paynes and dolours within the fyre
 of hell ... 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [1552 or after]

This is extracted from The floure of the commaundementes
 of God, STC 23876-7, "Peni inferni".

Before STC 10628

___ Exornatorium curatorum. 4°. W. de Worde [?1515] (Copy at Bamb not STC 10630 : other edns [?1515], 1519, [?1520](2), [?1530] (2), [?1532])

STC 10685

___ [colophon] Thus is ended the fantasy of the passyon of ye fox / lately of the towne of Myre / a lytell besyde Shaftesbury in the dyoces of Salysbury. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 16 Feb

FEWTERER, John. The myrrour or glasse of Christes passion, See STC 14553

FIDATI, Simone de. Egrégii Euangelicae veritatis enarratoris Simonis de Cassia opus in Quatuor Euangelia ... fol.

[Cologne] Eucharius Ceruicornius, 1533.

One of Fewterer's sources.

STC 10891

FISHER, John. Here after foloweth a mornynge remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the noble prynces Margarete countesse of Rychemonde & Darbye moder vnto kynge Henry the .vii. & grandame to oure souerayne lorde that nowe is / vppon whose soule almyghty God haue mercy. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde 1509 (Copy also at Bamb.) (Repr. EETS es 27 pp.289-310)

STC 10899

FISHER, John. A spirituall consolation, written by ~~John~~ Fisher bishoppe of Rochester, to hys sister Elizabeth, at suche tyme as hee was prisoner in the tower of London. Very necessary, and commodious for all those that mynde to leade a vertuous

lyfe: Also to admonishe them, to be at all tymes prepared to dye, and seemeth to be spoken in the person of one that was sodainly preuented by death. 8°. [Thomas East c.1578] (Repr. EETS es 27 pp.349-428 also facs. repr. English Recusant Literature vol XI, Scolar Press 1969)

STC 10908

FISHER, John. This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull sayinges of Dauyd the kynge and prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalmes. Deuided in .vii. sermons, was made and compyled by the ryghte reuerente father in god Iohn Fysher douctour of diuynity and byshop of Rochester, at the exortacion and steryng of the most excellent Prynces Margaret countesse of Richemount and Derby, and mother to our soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth. 8°. T. Marshe, 1555 (Other edns, 1508, 1509 (3)(- repr. EETS es 27 pp.1-267), 1510, 1525, 1529.)

STC 10909

FISHER, John. Here after ensueth two fruytfull sermons, made & compyled by the ryght reuerende father in god Iohn Fyssher / doctour of dyuynyte and bysshop of Rochester. 4°. W. Rastell "to sell at London in Southwarke by me Peter Treuerys", 1532 - 28 June.

STC 10996

FITZHERBERT, John. The boke of husbandry. 8°. T. Berthelet [not before 1534] (Other edns [1523], [?1525], [?1541], [?1547], 1548, [?1555], [?1560], 1562, 1568, 1598.)

After STC 11026

— Here ben conteyned fyue notable chapytres: moche

profytable for euery man, dylygently to recorde. And after do folowe thyrteene degrees of mortyfycacyon. 8°. R. Wyer (Bodley, Douce Add.142. Title-page and list of contents only but Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities vol III p.205 would suggest some connection with ÅKempis.

STC 11181 = 24625

(A & R 143)

— A brief fourme of confession, instructing all Christian folke how to confesse their sinnes, & so to dispose themselves, that they may enioy the benefite of true penance, dooing the woorthy frutes therof, according to the vse of Christes Catholique Church. Newly translated into English, and set foorth together with certaine other godly brief treatises and praiers ... 12°. Antwerp. J. Fowler, 1576

Includes Sir Thomas More's treatise to receive the sacrament, some of his prayers and meditations, some prayers from his treatise on the Passion: some prayers by Vives, The Jesus Psalter and the Golden Litany. Contents reprinted with STC 24627 etc and cp. STC 17236 etc.

After STC 11210

— The foundement of contemplacyon, Howe a man shall contempe / and se god in creatures. 8°. R. Wyer (Bodley, Douce Add. 142. Title-page only. The list of contents shows it is drawn from The myrrour of the churche (STC 967) chaps 6, 7, 20, 28-30)

STC 11211

(cp. Nad Bibl. 943, 3034-6)

— The fountayne or well of lyfe / out of whiche doth springe most swete consolations / right necessary for troubled consciences / to thentent y^e they shall nat despeyre in aduersite and trouble. Translated out of latyn into Englysshe. 8°. T. Godfray [?1534] (Anr. ed. RSTC 11211.2, 1548-9)

Wing F.2035

FOXE, John. Acts and monuments. 3 vols. fol. for Company of Stationers, 8th edn. 1641.

After STC 11314 - in STC 19596.

St FRANCIS of Assisi. In the name of god here begynneth the rule of the lyuynges of the bretherne and systers of the order of penytentes. 4°. W. de Worde, 1510 (Copy at Bamb.) (cp. EETS 148)

STC 11386

FRITH, John. The contentes of thys booke. The first is a letter which was wroten vnto the faythfull followers of Christes Gospell. Also an other treatyse called the myrrour or glasse to know thy selfe Here vnto is added a propre instruction, teaching a man to dye gladly, and not to feare death. 16° (in 8's) ____ [?1553]

The two latter pieces also occur together in STC 11390 and 11395. The last piece was printed along in STC 24250.

STC 11390

(Ned.Bibl. 4230)

FRITH, John. [A mirroure to know thyself] 8° [?Antwerp:?] 1533]

Also contains "A breffe instruccyon drawn out of holy scripture / for to teacheaperson wyllingly to dye ..." (repr. in STC 24250)

STC 11392 (RSTC 11393.5)

FRITH, John. The preparacyon to the crosse, and howe it muste be pacyently borne wyth. The preparacion to death, and howe they whiche be in poynte of deathe, shoulde be comforted. 16° (in 8's) T. Petyt [?1548]

This edition does not have the dedication to Thomas Cromwell and so is presumably after 1540.

STC 11393

FRITH, John. Of the preparation to the crosse, and to deathe, and of the comforte vnder the crosse and deathe, two bokes very fructefull for deuoute people to rede, translated from latyn to englysshe, by Rycharde Tracy. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1540

Dedicated to Thomas Cromwell. These treatises were reprinted in STC 11395

STC 11394

(Ned.Bibl. 3044)

FRITH, John. A pistle to the Christen reader. The Reuelation of Antichrist. Antithesis / wherein are compared to geder. Christes actes and oure holye father the Popes. 8°. Marburg, Hans Luft [i.e. Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten], 1529 - 12 July.

STC 11395

FRITH, John. Vox piscis: or, the book-fish contayning three treatises which were found in the belly of a Cod-fish in Cambridge market. on midsummer eue last, Anno Domini 1626. 12°. For Iames Boler and Robert Milbourne, 1627.

Contains: A preparation to the crosse and to death, A mirroure or glasse to know thyselfe and To teach a person willingly to die, and not to feare death.

STC 11407=22559STC 11489

FYLOLL, Jasper. Agaynst the possessyons of the clergie. Harkyn what great auctorytes shal nowe folowe / for proffe thereof. 8°. John Skot [?1530]

STC 11499

^{Tough?}
G^A, John. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse / called or named the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe) Expedyent and necessarye / for any Crysten man to beholde or loke in / for

comfortyng of the soule whiche desyreth the lyfe eternall.

8°. [R. Wyer. ?1531-2] (Copies O, C both imperfect. ending at sig. m 4.)

STC 11549=11809

GARARDE, Friar (Gherit van der Goude). The interpretacyon / and sygnyfycacyon of the Masse. Here begynneth a good deuoute boke to the honoure of god of our lady his mother / & of all sayntes / and ryght profytable to all good Catholyke persones / to knowe howe they shall deuoutly here masse. And how salutaryly they shal confesse them. And how reuerently and honourably they shall go to the holy Sacrament or table of our sauour Ihesu chryste / with dyuerse other profytable documentes and oraysons or prayers here conteyned ... 8°.

R. Wyer, 1532 - 14 Oct. (cp. Ned.Bibl. 982-7, 3071-6, 4233, 4437-8, 0584)

STC 11594

GARDYNARE, Germen. A letter of a yonge gentylman named mayster Germen Gardynare, wryten to a frend of his, wherin men may se the demeanour & heresy of Iohn Fryth late burned / & also the dyspycyons & reasonynge vppon the same, had betwene the same mayster Germen and hym. 8°. W. Rastell, 1534

STC 11686=19525

GAU, John. The richt vay to the kingdome of heuine is techit heir in the .x. commandis of God / and in the creid / and Pater noster / in the quhilk al chrissine men sal find al thing pat is neidful and requirit to onderstand to the saluation of the saul. 8°. Malmw / be me Ihone Hochstraten, 1533 - 16 Oct.

(ed. A.F. Mitchell STS XII, 1886-7)

GERSON, Jean Charlier de. Tabula d'Arte moriendi. 4°
Strassburg, 1482

GERSON, Jean Charlier de. Gerson de remediis contra pusillanimitatem scrupulositatem contra deceptionas inimici consolaciones et subtiles eius temptationes. 4° [?Cologne ?1470]

STC 11809=11549

STC 11917

___ A glasse for housholders, wherin thei maye se, bothe howe to rule theim selves & ordre their housholde verye Godly and fruytfull. 8° R. Grafton, 1542.

Includes Bernard Sylvester's Cure & gouernaunce of a housholde

STC 11918

___ A glasse of the truthe. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1530]
(Anr. ed [?1531])

STC 12005=17788

GOODALE, John. A ciuile nosgay wherin is contayned not onelye the offyce and dewty of all magestrates and Iudges but also of [of] all subiectes with a preface concernynge the lyberty of Iustice in this our tyme newly collected and gethered out of latyn and so translated in to the Inglys tonge by J.G. 8°. R. Wyer [?c.1552]

STC 12006

GOODALE, John. The lyberties of the cleargy collected out of the lawes of the realme [rest of title unreadable on film] 8°
(in 4's) R. Wyer [?1540]

STC 12143

GOWER, John. Io. Gower de confessione amantis. fol. T. Berthelet, 1532 (Other edns, 1493, 1554).

STC 12436

GUEVARA, Antonio de. The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius
emperour and eloquent oratour. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1535.
(Other edns: 1536, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1553, 1557 (2), 1559,
1566 (2), 1573, 1586)

Translated from French "by Iohn Bouchier knyghte lorde
Barners ... at the instant desyre of his neuewe syr
Francis Bryan ..." See E. Grey: Guevara, a forgotten
renaissance author, The Hague. 1973

STC 12511a

GUILLIELMUS de Occam. A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke,
concernynge the power spiritual and temporall. 8°. T.
Berthelet [?1540] (2 earlier edns, 1 Latin)

STC 12549

GUYLFORDE, Sir Richard. This is the begynnynge / and
contynuanee of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde knyght...
And howe he went with his seruauntes and company towardes
Iherusalem. 4° (in 6's) R. Pynson, 1511

STC 12574

(A & R 594)

H, R (Paeschen, Jan van). The spiritual pilgrimage of
Hierusalem, contayninge three hundred sixtie fiue dayes iorney,
wherin the deuoute person may meditate on sondrie pointes of
his redemption with particular declaration of diuers saints
bodies and holy places which are to be seene in the said voyage:
as also sundrie deuout praiers and meditations verie healpful
to the pilgrimes. 12° [Douai, C. Boscard, ?1604-5]

STC 12733 (RSTC 12731-8)

HAMILTON, Patrick. Dyuers frutful gatherynges of scripture and
declarynge of [f]ayth and workes. 8°. R. Redman [?1534].

(Other edns [?1532], 1598; repr. as Patrick's Places London, for J. Hatchard, 1807; also included in Foxe's Acts and Monuments.)

Before STC 12799

HARRINGTON, William. In this boke are conteyned the commendacions of matrimony the maner & forme of contractyng solempnissyng & lyuyng in the same with the declaracion of all such impedimentis as doth let matrimoney to be made & also certyen other thingis whiche curates be bounden by the lawe to declare often tymes to theyr parishens. Emprinted at the instaunce of master Polydore Vergil archedeakene of welles. 4°. John Rastell [?1512-3] (Bamb) (Other edns: 1528 (2 issues) and another)

STC 12944

HAWES, Stephen. The conuercyon of swe-rers. 4°. John Butler [c.1530] (Other edns: 1509, 1551 - RSTC 12944.5 Repr. EETS 271)

See A Morgan, "The Conuercyons of Swerers: another edition", The Library XXIV5 (1969) 44-50

STC 12947

HAWES, Stephen. Here foloweth a compendyous story / and it is called the exemple of vertu / in the whiche ye shall fynde many goodly storys & naturall dysputacyons bytwene foure ladyes named Hardynes / Sapyence / Fortune / and Nature ... 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 20 April (Other edns: [1510], [?1520], repr. EETS 271)

STC 12955a=17034

STC 13012

HAYWARD, William. The general pardon, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly conformed, by our Almightye Father, with many large priuileges, grauntes, and bulles graunted for euer, as it is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche, into English. 8°. By W. Howe, for W. Pickeringe, [?1560] (Anr edn: 1602)

STC 13052

— A pore helpe, The bukлар and defence of mother holy kyrke, and weapen to driue hence al that against her wircke. 8° [J. Day & W. Seres, ?1547]. (Anr. ed. printed by Wyer ?)

See The Library⁴ IX (1929) 169-83

STC 13377

(A & R 395)

HIDE, Thomas. A consolatorie epistle ... 8°. (Louaine, J. Lyon, 1580) (Copy also at Ushaw College, Durham: Anr ed.1579)

STC 13457

HILARIE, Hugh. The resurreccion of the masse / with the wonderful vertues of the same / newly set forth vnto the greate hartes ense / ioye and comferte of all the catholykes ... 8°. Strassburg [H. Singleton], 1554

For Bale as possible author, The Library⁴ XXI (1941) 143-59 and The Library⁵ XVI (1961) 210-3; for Bacon, J.F. Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles, p.343.

STC 13522

HIPPOCRATES. Prognosticacion drawen out of the bookes of Ipocras, Auicen, and other notable auctours of physycke, shewynge the daunger of dyuers syckenesses, that is to say, whether peryll of death be in them or not, the pleasure of almyghtie God reserued. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1556] (2 edns, anr. c.1542)

STC 13608

— A deuout treatyse called the tre & .xii. frutes of the holy goost. 4° (2 pts) R. Copland and M. Fawkes, 1534-5. (ed. from mss. by J.J. Vaissier, A deuout treatyse called the tre & xii frutes of the holy goost, Groningen, 1960)

After STC 13608

— A lettre fro the holy ghost: to preestes and religious persones / conceyued by ymagynacyon, With a lettre fro the Father and sone and holy ghost: dyrected to all men. And after foloweth the thre verytes. 4°. R. Wyer for R. Bankes [?1533-4] (05).

STC 13609

(Duff 1)

— The abbaye of the holy ghost. 4°. W. de Worde 1496 . (Other edns: [1500] and Maunsell, The First Part of the Catalogue, 1595, Al^v notes a 4° edn. by de Worde, 1531, apparently no longer extant. Versions of The Abbey and The Charter are reprinted by Horstman, YW I pp.321-62)

STC 13827=3305 (part of)After STC 13828

— Hortulus anime recentes diuersis ac odoriferis flosculis decoratus: cum additionibus variis ... In quo quidem hortulo: fidelis anima christi amore languida: saluberrima sibi comperiet predicamenta. 16°. Paris, 1531 - 30 June. (Copy at O Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae no.86, notes an imperfect copy at L2)

After STC 13828

— Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers (the which a certaine printer lately corrupted / &

made false to the grete sclaunder of thauthor & greter
desayte of as many as boughte and red thez) newe corrected
and augmented. 16°. Argentine, by me Francis Foxe [i.e.
Antwerp, M. de Keyser], 1530

See C.C. Butterworth, The English Primers, Chaps 3 - 4

STC 13910

HUGHE, William. The troubled mans medicine verye profitable to
be redde of al men wherein they may learne pacyently to suffer
all kyndes of aduersitie. [pt II] A swete consolation, and
the second boke of the troubled mans medicine, made and
pronounced by Wyllyam Hugh, to his frynd lyeng on his death
bedde. 8° (2 pts). J. Herford, 1546 - 4 June.

STC 13925=25417

STC 13970

HUN, Richard. The enquirie and verdite of the quest panneld
of the death of Richard Hune wich was founde hanged in Lolars
tower. 8° (in 4's) ____ [?1539.]

STC 14041

HYLTON, Walter. Here begynneth the medled lyfe compyled by
mayster Water ^[sic] Hylton / to a deuoute man in temperall estate /
howe he shulde rule hym / whiche is right expedyent for euery
man / and moste in especyall for them that lyue in the medled
lyfe / and it shewyth what medled lyfe is. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer
[1530.]

Usually printed with the Scala perfectionis, but also in
STC 4602. For a repr. of two ms. versions, Horstman YW I
pp.264-92.

STC 14045

HYLTON, Walter. Scala perfectionis [with "to a deuoute man

in temporall estate" added J. 4°. W. de Worde, 1533 - 27 May.
(Other edns: 1494, 1507, 1525. Modern repr. of ms. ed.
E. Underhill, London 1923)

After STC 14058

I, S. Two treatises, one of the latter day of iudgement: the
other of the ioyes of heauen. 8°. T. Creed, 1600. (Copy at O)

STC 14083

___ [From colophon] The informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the
holy lande. That is to wyte to Rome to Iherusalem & to many
other holy places. 4°. W. de Worde, 1524 - 26 July. (Other
edns: [?1498], 1515 and repr. ed. E.G. Duff, 1893)

STC 14094

INNOCENT III, Pope. The mirror of mans lyfe. Plainely desc-
ribing, what weake mouldre we are made of: what miseries we
are subiect vnto: howe vncertaine this life is: and what
shal be our ende. Englyshed by H. Kirton 8°. H. Bynnerman,
1577. (Other edns: 1576 (2), 1586)

STC 14270

St ISIDORE. Here be the gathered counsailes of saynct
Isodorie to informe a man howe he shuld flee vices and folowe
vertues. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534. (Anr. edn. 1544 - this
same version was also printed among Lupset's works, STC 16932.
A quite different translation was included in Whitford's Holy
instrucyons, STC 25420. For a repr. of one ms. version,
Horstman YW II pp.367-74)

STC 14277

ISOCRATES. The doctrynal of princes made by the noble oratour
Isocrates, & translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr
Thomas Eliot knight. 8°. T. Berthelet, [?1534]. (Other edns:

about same date, [?1548])

STC 14503=?before 21790

(By Savonarola not St Jerome)

STC 14505

___ As Iheronimus, sheweth in this begynnyng, so wyll I wryte of the .iiij. tokens, the whiche shall be shewed afore the dredefull daye of dome, of our lorde Ihesu Christe, for there shall we shewe ourself yonge and olde. &c. 8° (in 4's)
R. Wyer, [c.1542]

"Translated out of Duche into Englysshe by Iohn Dousbrugh".
This piece is extracted from STC 24222.

?STC 14539-40

(JESUS) A brife and faythfull declaration of the true fayth of Christ, made by certeyne men susspected of heresy in these articles folowyng. 8° Perme I.B., 1547. (Anr ed. same date.)

The two copies at O, (8° S.221.(3)Th³ and Tanner 25⁴) have different title-pages, but both have the same date and imprint.

STC 14546

(Duff 107)

(JESUS) Here begynneth a contemplacyon or medytacyon of the shedynge of the blood of our lorde Ihesu Cryste at seuen tymes. 4°. W. de Worde [before 1500] (Anr ed. 1509 at STC 14572)

STC 14547

(JESUS) A deuoute intercessyon and prayer, to our sauour Iesu Chryste. (8°) R. Wyer [c.1541]

STC 14548

(JESUS) [From colophon] The dialogue or comunicacion betwene our sauour Ihesu Chryste and a synner / lately

translated out of the Latin tonge into englysshe, and newly
imprynted ... 8° Southwark, J. Redman for R. Redman [c.1539]

This is another, rather different translation of the dialogue
in the first part of STC 3295-6

STC 14549

(JESUS) The generall signes and forerunners of Christs
coming to Iudgement soundly and sincerely collected out of
holy Scripture, and seruing as well to awaken the drowsie
and carelesse worldling, as to comfort and reuiue the godly
and afflicted Christian. 8°. By M.F., sold by H. Gosson,
[?1620]

STC 14550

(JESUS) A gloryous medytacyon of Ihesus crystes passyon.

8°. Rychard Fakes, [c.1523]

For some of the corresponding mss. versions, see EETS 46
pp.170-96

STC 14552 (includes 17535)

(JESUS) In honor of ye passion of our lorde. And the
compassyon of our blyssed lady moder of chryste. 16° (in
8's) R. Copland, 1522.

? After 14552

(JESUS) _____

15 leaves with woodcuts illustrating Christ's life,
accompanied by a verse couplet "Pater nr. Ave maria"
Begins A2; a number of pages missing - e.g. no nativity
or crucifixion, and imperfect at end. Hodnett lists it
as Reimed life of Christ

STC 14553

(JESUS) The myrrour or glasse of Christes Passion. fol.

R. Redman, 1534 - 12 Dec.

Written by John Fewterer of Syon Abbey, and based, at
least in part, on Ludolphus of Saxony's Vita Christi.

(see Medium Ævum XXXIII (1964) 26-35). Most of the prayers were translated from Jordanus of Quedlinburg's Meditationes (STC 14789) and Fewterer's translation of them was also issued separately as Deuoute prayers in englysshe, RSTC 20193.5.

After STC 14553

(JESUS) Here begynneth ye new notborune mayd vpon ye passion of cryste. (4°). "by Iohn Skot dwellynge in Foster lane wt in saynt Leonardes perysshe" [?1535-7].

STC 14554

(JESUS) Begins O glorious Ihesu O mekest Ihesu. single sheet fol. [W. Caxton: n.d.]

See Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae p.113 "Two devout prayers in English".

STC 14556

(JESUS) Our sauour Iesus Christ hath not ouer charged his chirche with many ceremonies ... 8° "At Zurik", 1543 - Feb.

STC 14559

(JESUS) [From colophon] A goostly treatyse of the passyon of Christ / with many deuout contemplacions exemples / and ex-
posicyons of ye same. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 - 6 October.
(Anr. edn: 1521)

Translated from French by Andrew Chertsey.

STC 14561

(JESUS) A proclamacyon of the hygh emperour Iesu Christ vnto all his faythfull Christen. Concernynge the castell of fayth which now by the grace of God is lyke to be wonne in to the Chrysten mennes handes agayne. 8°. R. Redman, (1534).
(Other edns: [1537], [before 1540], [1547])

STC 14563

(JESUS) Ihesus. An inuocacyon glorious named ye psalter of Iesus. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1529. (For later edns see A & R 413-9 : a version from BM ms Arundel 285 is edited by J.A.W. Bennett, STS³ XXIII, 1949. See also S.H. Sole Jesu's Psalter, London 1888)

STC 14566=pt. of 17263STC 14571=pt. of 3277

(JESUS) Here begynneth the rosary of our Sauyour Iesu / gyuen^g thanks and prayse to his holy name / by maner of meditacion & prayer ... 4°. R. Pynson [1526]

STC 14572

(JESUS) The .vii. shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Cryste. 4°. W. de Worde, 1509.

This is a later edition of STC 14546.

STC 14575

(JESUS) A treatise wherin Christe and his techinges, are compared with the pope and his doinges. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534.

Before STC 14620 (Ned.Bibl. 3261)

JOANNES, Campensis. A paraphrasis / vpon all the Psalmes of Dauid / made by Iohannes Campensis / reader of the Hebrue lecture / in the vniuersite of Louane / and translated out of Latyne into Englyshe. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp, widow of C. van Ruremund (Endoviensis)], 1535.

STC 14620

JOANNES, Campensis '[Anr. ed.] A paraphrasis vpon all the

Psalmes of Daud, made by Iohannes Campensis ... and translated out of Latine in to Englysshe. 8°. T. Gybson, (1539).

STC 14639

St JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. A sermon of saint Chrysostome, wherein besyde that it is furnysshed with heuenly wisdom & teachinge, he wonderfully proueth, that no man is hurted but of hym selfe: translated into Englishe by the floure of lerned menne in his tyme, Thomas Lupsete Londoner. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1542. (Copy also at M. Anr. edn. 1542 and in Lupset's Workes, STC 16932.)

STC 14667

(Ned.Bibl. 3268)

JOHNSON, John. An comfortable exhortation: of our mooste holy Christen faith / and her fruites. Written (vnto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande) after the poore worde of God. 8°. "At Parishe / by me Peter congah" [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten] 1535 - 20 Jan.

STC 14789

JORDANUS of Quedlinburg. Meditationes Iordani de vita et passione iesu christi. 16° (in 8's) R. Pynson, 1513 - 16 March (cp. Ned.Bibl. 3272)

H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1557 (2nd ed) p.303 notes (STC 14789.1) an English translation - for which see Dibdin III p.205, but the only extant translation, RSTC 20193.5, is anonymous. with a different title. Durham ms Cosin V.V.12 has the prayers in Latin but rubrics etc. in English. while BM ms. Arundel 285 has a free translation in Scottish dialect - STS XXIII, 1949, pp.213-37.

STC 14821

JOYE. George. A compendyouse somme of the the very Christen relygyon: gathered faythfully out of holy scripture: necessary for all them that rede the olde and new Testament ...

Translated by George Ioye. 8°. J. Byddell, 1535. (cp. Ned.Bibl. 1970)

STC 14842

(Devereux C57.2)

JULIUS II. Pope. The dyaloge bytwene Iullius the seconde / Genius / and saynt Peter. Reader refrayne from laughynge. 4°. J. Byddell, 1535 (An earlier edn, [1533-4], Devereux C57.1, and repr. The "Julius Exclusius" of Erasmus, translated by P. Pascal, Bloomington - London, 1968)

STC 15118

LACTANTIUS. L. Lanctantii Firmiani carmen. De passione dominica De resurrectione. De phenice. Guil. Lillii In laudem virginis deipare carmen eruditum ab Erasmo institutum christiani hominis feliciter editum. 4° _____ [?1530]

LACTANTIUS. Anthologia Lactantii Firmiani, elegantissimas sententias... complectens: recentior in locos digesta communes per Thomam Beconum. 8°. Lyons, C. Baudinus, 1558 (Dur⁵).

STC 15178

LAMBERT, François. The minde and iudgement of maister Fraunces Lambert of Auenna of the wyll of man, declarynge and prouynge howe and after what sorte it is captyue and bonde, and not free ... Newelye translated into Englishe by N. L[esse]. 8°. J. Daye & W. Seres, (1548)

STC 15179

LAMBERT, François. The summe of christianitie gatheryd out almoste of places of scripture ... translatyd, and put in to prynte in Englyshe, by Tristram Reuel. 8° [R. Redman] 1536.

Dedicated by the translator to Queen Anne Boleyn.

STC 15185

— A lamentation in whiche is shewed what ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1536.

STC 15225

— Here begynneth the lanterne of lyght. 8°. R. Redman [1530's] (For an edn. of ms. version EETS 151)

STC 15286

LATIMER, Hugh. The sermon that the reuerende father in Christ, Hugh Latimer, byshop of worcester, made to the clergie in the conuocation ... nowe translated out of latyne in to englyshe, to the intent, that thingis well said to a fewe, may be vnderstande of many, and do good to all them that desyre to be better. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1537 - 23 Nov. (Copy also at O. 2 other edns of same date, one Latin. Repr. Latimer's Sermons, PSpp.33-57)

LAUDENBURG, Reinhardus de. Passio domini nostri Iesu Christi predicata siue compilata per modum quadragesimalis a venerabili patre Reinhardo de Laudenburg sacre theologie lectore. 4° (in 8's) Nuremberg, 1501 - 7 April.

One of Fewterer's sources.

STC 15398

LEGRAND, Jacques. [From colophon] The boke named and intyttled good maners. 4°. W. de Worde, 1507 - 10 Dec. (Other edns: 1487, 1494, [1500], [?1500], [?1515])

RSTC 15399.5

LEGRAND, Jacques. Here begynneth a lytell necessarye treatyse / the whiche speketh of the estate of the comonalte /

and of the people / and how they ought to gouverne them in good maners. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer 1531 (Copy at Ushaw College, Durham)

STC 15453

LE MAIRE, John. The abbreuyacyon of all generall counsellys holden in Grecia, Germania, Italia, and Gallia / compyled by Iohn le maire de belges, most excellent hystoryograffer to kynge Lowys the xij. of late frenche kynge dedycated to the sayd kyng lowys. Anno domini 1519. Translated by Iohn gowgh the prynter herof ... 8°.. J. Gough, 1539

STC 15515

L'ESPINE, Jean de. A treatise tending to take away the feare of death, and make the faithfull man desire the same. Written first in french, and dedicated to the most illustrious and vertuous Princesse Iaqueline of Rohan, Princesse of Chastelaillon, &c. Newly translated out of the French. 12°. By W. I., 1619

STC 15531=6894

STC 15671

LINDSAY, Sir David. The complaynte and testament of a popinjay which lyeth sore wounded and maye not dye, tyll euery man hathe herd what he sayth: Wherefore gentyll readers haste you yt he were oute of his payne. 4°. J. Byddell, 1538. (Repr STS³ 1, 55-90; EETS 11 etc 223-62)

STC 15707

— The golden letany in englysshe. 16°. R. Copland, 1531 - 19 June.

STC 15707.5

_____ [Anr edn] The golden letany in englysshe. 16° (in 8's)
J. Skot [?c.1536]

For different ms. versions see STS³XXIII (1949) pp 205-12 and W. Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae vol. III (2nd ed. Oxford 1882) 263-74. It was also included in STC 11181=24625, STC 17263 etc. and Whitford recommends it, STC 25416, B7^r (cp. Ned Bibl 1346-51, 3383 etc)

STC 15966

(Hoskins no.92, Ned Bibl 1119)

LITURGIES. Hore beate marie virginis ad vsum ecclesie Sarum: cum multis ac varijs orationibus multum deuotis. 4° (in 8's)
Antwerp, Christopher Endouiensis, 1530 [title-page 1531] -
 October.

STC 15981a

(Hoskins no.109)

LITURGIES. This prymer of Salysbury vse is set out a long without ony serchyng / with many prayers / & goodly pyctures in the kalender / in the matyns of our lady / in the houres of the crosse / in the vij. psalmes / and in the dyryge. 16° (in 8's) Paris, F. Regnault, 1533 - 4 Nov.

STC 15986

(Hoskins no.115)

LITURGIES. A prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstonde not the Latyne tongue. 8°. J. Byddell for W. Marshall [?1534] (cp. STC 20193) (1535 edn. repr. E. Burton, Three Primers, 2nd ed Oxford 1848)

STC 15987

(Hoskins no.116)

LITURGIES. Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum / cum quindecim orationibus beate Brigitte / ac multis alijs orationibus pulcherrimus / & indulgentiis ... 4°. Paris, F. Regnault, 1536 [title-page 1535] - 25 May.

STC 16000

(Hoskins no.131)

LITURGIES. This primer in English for children, after the vse of Sarum. 8° _____ [c.1537]

STC 16795

LONGLAND, John. A sermond spoken before the kynge his maiestie at Grenwiche, vppon good fryday ... 4° [?T. Petyt: ? 1536]

STC 16796

LONGLAND, John. A sermonde made before the kynge, his maiestye at grenewiche, vpon good Frydaye. 4°. T. Petyt, [?1538]
(Substantially reprinted by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 16815 = pt of RSTC 20200.3

LORD'S PRAYER. In the name of the Father / of the Sonne / and of the holy Ghoste. Amen. The pater noster in Englysshe. 8°. R. Redman, [?1535]

STC 16818

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster spoken of ye sinner: God answerynge him at euery peticyon. 8°. T. Godfray, [n.d.]

This piece (based on Luther's Büchlein für die Layen und Kinder or "Bedebug") was also printed in STC 11686=19525 (repr STS XII 97-101) and in STC 14503 (see before 21790)

STC 16819 (RSTC 16821.7)

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster / and Aue Crede, and .x. commaundementes of god in Englishe with many other godly lessyons ryght necessary for youthe and all other to lerne and knowe accordynge to the commaundement & iniuncyons: gyuen by thauctoryte of the kinges hyghnes: throughe this his realme. 8°. R. Redman, 1539.

STC 16820

LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster, ye crede & the commaundementes

of god in englysh, with many other godly lessons / ryght necessary for youth & al other to lerne & knowe: accordyng to the commaundement & iniunctions gyuen by thauctorite of the kynges hyghnes through this his realme. 8° (in 4's).

J. Byddell, 1537.

STC 16932

LUPSET, Thomas. Tho. Lupsets workes. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1546 (Anr. ed. 1560)

Contents: Treatise of charite: An exhortacion to young men; A compendious treatise, teachyng the waie of dieyng well; A sermon of Chrysostome, that, no man is hurted but of hymselfe [STC 14639]; A swete sermon of S. Cyprian of the mortalitee of man [and] The rules of a Christian lyfe made by Iohn Picus the eldre erle of Mirandula [STC 6157-8, translated by Sir Thomas Elyot]; Gathered counsels out of saynt Isidore, [STC 14270-1]

STC 16935

LUPSET, Thomas. A compendious and a very fruteful treatyse teachyng the waye of dyenge well, writen to a frende, by the flowre of lerned men of his tyme, Thomas Lupsete Londoner, late deceassed on whose sowle Iesu haue mercy. 8°. "ex aedibus Thomae Bertheleti", 1541 (Anr. ed. 1534: repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, New Haven 1928, pp.263-90. An abbreviated version is copied in Bodley, ms. Tanner 118, ff.58-75)

STC 16936

LUPSET, Thomas. An exhortation to yonge men, perswadinge them to walke in the pathway that leadeth to honeste and goodnes: writen to a frend of his by Thomas Lupsete Londoner. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1535 (Other edns, 1538, 1544 - 1st edn. repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset pp.233-62)

STC 16939

LUPSET, Thomas. A treatise of charitie. 8°. T. Berthelet,

1533 (Other edns. 1535; 1539. 1st edn. repr. J.A. Gee, The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset pp.205-31)

STC 16962

LUTHER, Martin. A boke made by a certayne great clerke, agaynst the newe Idole, and olde Deuyll / whiche of late tyme, in Misnia shulde haue ben canonysed for a saynt. 8°. R. Wyer, (1534).

STC 16963

LUTHER, Martin. [The boke of the discrypcyon of the images of a verye chrysten byssshop ...] 8°. [R. Wyer for W. Marshall: ?1535-9]

STC 16988

LUTHER, Martin. Here after ensueth a propre treatyse of good workes. 8°. R. Wyer, [?1533-4]

STC 17000

LUTHER, Martin. A very excellent & swete exposition vpon the XXII. Psalme of Dauid called in Latine: Dominus regit me, &c. Translated oute of Hye Almayne in to Englyshe by Myles Couerdale. [Also] How and whether a Christen man ought to flye the horryble plage of the pestilence. A sermon out of the .xci. Psalme Qui habitat in adiuto. By Andrewe Osiander. Translated out of hygh Almayne into Englyshe. 8°. Southwarke, Iames Nicolson, 1538. (Anr edn. of 1st part, 1537 and anr. issue 1538. Anr. edn. of the second part, 1537, [1564] STC 18878-9)

STC 17025

LYDGATE, John. This boke is compyled by Dan Iohn Lydgate monke of Burye / at the excitacion & styrynge of the noble and

victorious prynce / kynge Henry the fyfthe / in the honoure
glorie & reuerence of the byrthe of our moste blessed lady /
mayde / wyfe / & mother of our Lorde Iesu Christe ... 4°.

R. Redman, 1531 - 1 Nov. (2 other edns 1484 and facs repr.
English Experience, vol 473, 1972)

STC 17034=12955a

LYDGATE, John. This boke called the Temple of glasse is in
many place amended / and late diligently imprynted. 4°.

T. Berthelet, [?1530] (Other edns: [1477-8], [n.d.], [1500]
and [?c.1530] by Berthelet, STC 12955: repr. from mss, EETS
es 60)

STC 17038

LYDGATE, John. The vertue of ye masse. 4°. W. de Worde
[n.d.] (repr. EETS es.107, pp.87-115)

STC 17137

M, J. A breife recantacion of maystres missa, and howe she
accuseth the slouthfulnesse of her chapleyns, with her
lamentable departyng vnto her father the Pope. 8°.

_____ 1548.

STC 17192

_____ Here is a necessarye treatyse for all maner persons to
reade, and hath to name, the Maydens Crosse rewe. 4°.

R. Wyer, [?1543-8]

STC 17241

MANCINUS, Dominicus. The englysshe of Mancyne apou the
foure cardynale vertues ... fol [R. Pynson: ?1520] (The
Latin part of this work is to be found in Bodleian, Douce
F.205)

STC 17242

MANCINUS, Dominicus [Anr. transl - verse] Here begynneth a ryght fruteful treatyse / intituled the myrrour of good maners, conteynyng the .iiii. vertues / called cardynall / compyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: And translate into englysshe / at the desyre of syr Gyles Alyngton knyght: by Alexander Bercley prest: and monke of Ely. fol. R. Pynson, "prynted / at the instance & request / of the ryght noble Rychard yerle of Kent", [?1523] (Anr. ed. [1570])

STC 17263 (incl. 14566) (A & R 495)

_____ A manual of prayers newly gathered out of many and diuers famous authours aswell auncient as of tyme present ... 16° (in 8's) [Rouen] 1583. (For the many subsequent editions see A & R 496-519)

Contents included the Jesus Psalter and Golden Litany and prayers of S. Thomas More.

STC 17314

MARCORT, Antoine. A declaration of the Masse, the fruite ther of, the cause and the meane, wherfore and howe it ought to be maynteyned. Newly perused and augmented by the first author therof. Maister Anthony Marcort at Geneue ... Translated newly out of French into Englishe. 8°. "Wittenberge by Hans Lufte" [actually London, J. Daye], 1547 (Other edns: 1547, 1548 (2)).

STC 17326

St MARGARET. Here begynneth the lyfe of saynte. Margarete. 4°. R. Redman [?1530] (Other edns 1493 and [?c.1530] cp. EETS 13)

STC 17498

MARTIN of Braga. Seneca moralissmus philosophus de quattuor

virtutibus cardinalibus. optimo commento illustratus. 4°.

W. de Worde, 1516 (Anr. ed. 1523)

STC 17500

MARTIN of Braga. The rule of an honest lyfe / wryten by the holy man Martyne, bysshop of Dumiense / vnto ye ryght famouse kyng Myto, king of Galitia in spayne. And now (beyng founde in an auntyant copy) is faythfully translated out of latyn tonge in to Englyshe. For theyr sakes that be desyrous to rede englyshe bokes onely for vtylyte and encrease of vertue. Here vnto is added a proper booke called: the Encheridyon of a spyrytuall lyfe. 8° [imperfect at end] _____ [?1538].

STC 17501

MARTIN of Braga. [Anr. transl. of 17500]. A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca named the forme and rule of honest lyuyng bothe in Latin tongue & in the Englyshe lately translated by Robert Whyttynton Poet Laureate and now newlye imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1546 - 21 July.

STC 17502

MARTIN of Braga. A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca called the myrrour or glasse of maners and wysedome bothe in latin and in Englysshe lately translated by Robert Whyttynton, poet laureate. And nowe newlye imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1547.

STC 17532

_____ The Martiloge in englysshe after the vse of the chirche of salisbury / & as it is redde in Syon / with addicyons [transl. R. Whitford] 4°. W. de Worde, 1526 - 15 Feb. (Repr. HBS III (1893)).

STC 17535=pt of 14552

STC 17536

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. An exposition vpon the songe of the blessed virgine Mary, called Magnificat, where vnto are added the songes of salue regina, Benedictus and Nunc dimittis. Translated out of latine in to Englysh by Ihon Hollybush. [i.e. M. Coverdale] 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538.

STC 17537

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The lamentacyon of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde [before 1519]

STC 17541

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The myracles of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 (Other edns [1496], 1514)

STC 17542

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of oure Lady very necessary for all relygyous persones. fol. Richard Fawkes, 1530 - 4 Nov. (repr. EETS es.19)

STC 17544

(Ned. Bibl. 3812)

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. Here begynneth the rosarye of our lady in englysshe with many goodly petycions dyrect to her. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp, W. Vorsterman: c.1525]

STC 17545

MARY, the Blessed Virgin. [Anr. ed.] Here begynneth the rosarye of our lady in englysshe with many goodly petycions dyrect to her. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1531

After STC 17545

MARY, the Blessed Virgin [Anr. ed.] The rosary / with the

articles of the lyfe & deth of Iesu Chryst / and petitions
directe to our lady. 16° (in 8's) J. Skot, 1537 (Copy at M)

STC 17568

St MARY MAGDALEN. [Colophon] The complaynt of the louer of
Cryst saynt mary Magdaleyn. 4°. W.de Worde [?c.1520]. (Also
included in STC 5088, c.1526, despite note to contrary by
R. Woolf, Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of
R.H. Robbins (London 1974) p.391 n.18)

STC 17626

_____ The dysclosyng of the canon of ye popysh masse, with a
sermon annexed vnto it of ye famous clerke of worthy memory
D. Marten Luther ... (32° in 8's) "Imprynted haue at al
Papistes by me Hans Littprycke" [?1548] (Anr ed [?1549])

STC 17629

_____ A plaine and godlye treatise, concernynge the masse &
the blessed sacrament of the aulter, for the instruccion of
the symple and vnlearned people. 8°. _____ [?1557] (Anr.
ed. [?R. Caly: ?1557] Dur⁵)

STC 17630

_____ The vpcheringe of the messe. 8°. J. Daye & W. Seres
[1547]

STC 17656

. MATTHEW, Simon. A sermon made in the cathedrall churche of
saynt Paule at London, the XXVII day of Iune ... by Symon
Matthewe. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1535 - 30 July.

STC 17669

MAUNSELL, Andrew. The first part of the catalogue of English
printed bookes. Which concerneth such matters of Diuinitie.

2 pts fol. J. Windet for A. Maunsell, 1595.

STC 1788=12005

STC 17792

MELANCHTHON, Philip. The iustification of man by faith only: made and written by Phylp Melanchthon and translated out of the Latyn in to this oure mother tonge by Nicholas Lesse of London. An apologie or defence of the worde of God, declaringe what a necessary thynge it is, to be in all mennes handes, the want wherof is the only cause of al vngodlines committed thorowe the whole earthe, made by the sayde Nicholas Lesse. 8°. W. Powell, 1548 - 11 Oct.

STC 17993

MELANCHTHON, Philip. A newe work concerning both partes of the sacrament to be receyued of the lay peple as wel vnder the kind off wine as vnder the kind of bread / with certen other articles concerning the masse and the auctorite off bisshops ... newly translated out off latyn. 8°. [?Zurich ? C. Froschouer], 1543 (Other edns. [?1546] (3)).

STC 17975

MIRK, John. The Festyuall. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 - 23 Oct. (Other edns: 1483, 1486, [1491], [1493], 1493, 1495, 1496, 1499 (3), 1502, [1507], [1508], 1515, [?1520] and repr.

EETS es.96)

STC 17982 (RSTC 11470.5)

____ GNAPHEUS, Gulielmus . A myrrour or glasse for them that be syke & in payne. Translated out of Dutche in English.

8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson for J. Gough, (1536)

For the Dutch edns, Ned.Bibl. 1010, 3108, repr: S. Cramer & F. Pijper Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, vol. I, S. Gravenhage, 1903.

STC 18076

MORE, Sir Thomas. The workes of Sir Thomas More knyght, sometye lorde chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge. fol. "at the costes and charges of Iohn Cawood, Iohn Waly and Richarde Tottell", 1557 - April.

RSTC 18078.5

MORE, Sir Thomas. The boke of the fayre gentylwoman, that no man shulde put his truste, or confydence in: that is to say, Lady Fortune: flaterynge eueryman that coueyteth to haue all, and specyally, them that truste in her, she deceyueth them at laste. (4°) R. Wyer [?after 1550]

STC 18083

(A & R 549)

MORE, Sir Thomas. A dialogue of cumfort against tribulation, made by the right vertuous wise and learned man, Sir Thomas More, sometime L. chancellor of England, which he wrote in the tower of London, An. 1534 ... 8°. Antwerp, J. Foulser, 1573 (Anr. ed. 1553 and repr. Everyman's Library no.461)

STC 18414

NAUSEA, Fridericus. A sermon of the sacrament of the aulter made by a famouse doctoure called Fryderyke Nausea in Almayne and lately out of latyn translate in to englysh by Iohn More. 8° (in 4's) W. Rastell, 1533.

STC 18570a

____ Nychodemus gospell. 4°. J. Skot [?1537] (Other edns 1507, 1509, 1511, [1512], 1518, 1529 [n.b. the colophon and

collation of the two Skot edns is identical, which might suggest a closer dating], 1532. (For verse versions: EETS es. 100)

NIDER, Iohannes. Consolatorium timorate conscientie / venerabilis fratris Iohannis Nyder. ¶Parisius per magistrum Vlricum Cognomento Gering, 1478 - 16 Decemb.

STC 18849

_____ The original & sprynge of all sectes & orders by whome, whan or were they beganne. Translated out of hye Dutch in Englysh. 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson for J. Gough, (1537) (2 var. issues)

STC 18877

OSIANDER, Andreas. The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, translated by George Ioye. 8° [?Antwerp], 1548 - May.

STC 19177

_____ A litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534

STC 19187

_____ A generall free pardon or charter of heuyn blys / very necessary for all true christen people / wherin standeth clene remission of all our synnes / to all penytent & faythfull hertes. Not gyuen by any popysh collusyon / but by Iesu Christ / son of the lyuyng God. Compyled in our old Englyssh tong / in the yere of our lorde God. M.iii.C. neither addyng to nor dymynyshyng fro saue only some old wordes / turned into our new maner and accostomed spekyng. 8° (in 4's) R. Lant for J. Gough [1537-43]

The piece is extracted from Pore Caitiff - see M.C. Spalding, The Middle English Charters of Christ (vol. XV monograph series, Bryn Mawr, 1914) p.99 ff, who does not mention the printed version.

STC 19211

PARKER, Henry (Lord Morley). The exposition and declaration of the Psalme, Deus ultionum Dominus, [Psalm 94] made by syr Henry Parker Knight, lord Morley, dedicated to the kynges highnes. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539.

STC 19214

(PARKER, Henry). Diues and Pauper. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1536 - 16 Oct. (Other edns 1493, 1496).

For various articles on the authorship and Pynson's ms: The Library⁴ XIV (1934-5) pp 299-312: XV (1935-6) pp 31-7; The Library⁵ VIII (1953) pp 217-28.

RSTC 19358.5

PERSONS, Robert. A booke of Christian exercise apperteining to resolution, that is, shewing howe that we should resolve our selues to become Christians in deede: by R.P. Perused ... by Edmund Bunny. 8°. _____, 1585 (Dur⁵)

STC 19371

PERSONS, Robert. The christian directory guiding men to eternall saluation. Deuided into three bookes. The first wherof teacheth how to make a good resolution. The second, how to begin well. The third, how to perseuere and end happily ... 12°. [S. Omer, F. Bellet] 1607. (This edn in facs. repr. English Recusant Literature, vol.41, Scolar Press, 1970. For other edns. of Person's Directory A & R 619-25).

STC 19525=11686STC 19903

(PIERS PLOUGHMAN) A godly dyalogue & dysputacyon betwene Pyers plowman, and a popysh preest / concernyng the supper of the lorde / no lesse frutefull then necessarie to be noted

of al christen men specyally considering the great controuerses & varyaunces had ther in now in your tyme. 8°. _____ [?1530]

STC 20036

(Ned Bibl 3763)

(PLOUGHMAN) The prayer and complaynt of the Ploweman vnto Christ: written nat longe after the yere of our lorde .M. & thre hundred. 8°. [Antwerp, M. de Keyser: 1531]

STC 20057

PLUTARCH. The education or bringinge vp of children / translated oute of Plutarche by Syr Thomas Elyot knyght. 4°. T. Berthelet [?1535]

Dedicated by Elyot to his sister, Margery Puttenham.

Before STC 20059

PLUTARCH. Tho. wyatis translatyon of Plutarckes boke / of the quyete of mynde. 8°. R. Pynson, [c.1527] (Facs. repr. ed. by C.R. Baskervill, Cambridge, Mass. 1931: Anr transl. 1589.)

STC 20061

(Devereux C84.2)

PLUTARCH. The gouernaunce of good helthe, by the moste excellent phylosopher Plutarche, the moste eloquent Erasmus beyng interpretoure. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer [c.1556] (Anr ed (RSTC 20060.5) [1542-8]; Anr. transl. 1543; Latin ed. 1513)

POMANDER of Prayer - see RSTC 25421.3 etc.

STC 20178

POYNET, John. A shorte treatise of politike power, and of the true obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men, compyled by D.I.P.B.R.W. 8° [Strassburg?] 1556. (Facs. repr. English Experience vol. 484 (1972): Anr ed 1639)

STC 20193

(Ned Bibl 3764)

_____ Certeine prayers and godly meditacyons very nedefull
for euery Christen. 16°. "Marlborow. per me Ioannem
Philononon" [i.e. Antwerp. J. Hoochstraten], 1538.

Contents closely related to STC 15986 and RSTC 20200.3.

RSTC 20193.5

_____ Deuoute prayers in englysshe of thactes of our
redemption. 8°. R. Redman [c.1534-5]

These are the prayers of Fewterer's Myrrour, STC 14553,
ultimately derived from the Meditationes of Jordanus,
STC 14789.

STC 20196

_____ The .xv. 005. 16° (in 8's) R. Conland, 1529. (Anr.
ed. 1491 and by Wyer, 1530's RSTC 20196.5 - but they
occurred in numerous Horae, first in Latin and then, as in
STC 15966, 15987 etc. in English)

STC 20200

_____ Praiers of holi fathers, patryarches, prophetes,
iudges, kynges, and renowned men and wemen of eyther
testamente. 8° R. Grafton to be sold by W. Tylotson [?c.
1543].

The same collection, with some variations, is also found
in STC 2379; 2748=23710; 2996; RSTC 20200.3, derived
from Otto Brunfels' Precationes Biblicae.

RSTC 20200.3

_____ Prayers of the Byble taken out of the olde testament
and the newe, as olde holy fathers bothe men and women were
wont to pray in tyme of tribulation / deuyded in vi partes.
32° (in 8's) R. Redman [c.1535]

The second part = STC 16815: The fourth part, a transl. of
Luther's XIV Consolations also occurs in STC 20193: pts 5-6

contain Savonarola's expositions on Psalms 51 and 31 - (cp. STC 21790-9 and one or both expositions were added to a number of primers e.g. STC 15986, 15988, 15992-3, 15998)

STC 20204

____ A godly and holosome preseruatyue against disperacion at al times necessarye for the soule: but then chiefelye to be vsed and ministred when the deuil doth assault vs most fiersely, & deth approcheth nieste ... 8°. W. Copland for R. Kele, 1551 (Anr. ed. [1559]. Another version of what seems to be the same work was copied in Bodley ms Tanner 118 ff. 107-118 as "Phisicke for the soule verye necessarye to be vsed in the agony of deathe ...")

STC 20413

____ The .xii. profytes of tribulacyon. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 28 May (Other edns. [1499] and in STC 3305: repr. YW.II pp.389-406: cp. pp. 45-60.

For the original, by Peter of Blois, see PL CCVII, 989-1006, and on the ms. versions, A.I. Doyle. Survey pp.177-9.

STC 20423

PROGNOSTICATION. A faythfull and true pronostication vpon the yere .M.CCCCC.xIviii. and parpetually after to the worldes ende gathered out of the prophecies and scriptures of god, by the experience and practise of his workes, very comfortable for all Christen hertes ... translated newly out of hye Almayne into englysh by Myles Couerdale. 8°. R. Kele, (1548)

STC 20499

PUNT, William. A new dialogue called the endightmen agaynste mother messe. 8°. W. Hyll & W. Seres, 1548 - 17 Dec. (Anr. ed. 1549)

STC 20510=4312

_____ A spirituall purgation sent vnto al them that laboure of Luthers errour, as touching the bodely presens of Christe our sauour in the sacrament. and to al them that haue espyed the libertie of the gospel as touching theyr fleshe, yet seke not the lybertie to make free theyr spyrite from this afore sayde errour. 8°. H. Syngelton [?1555]

Dedicated to Sir Thomas Wyat.

STC 20521

PYLBAROUGH, John. A commemoration of the inestimable graces and benefites of God, infused through the bryght lyght of the knowlege of his holy word, in our moste dradde souerayne lorde Henry the eyght ... in erth the supreme heed next and immediate vnder Christe of the Church of Englande, with hartye prayse and thankes gyuyng vnto God for the same, composed vpon the glad prophecy and ioyefull psalme of Benedictus dominus deus Israel &c. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1540
(Copy also at O)

Dedicated to Thomas Cromwell.

STC 20841

REGIUS, Urbanus. A comparison betwene the olde learnynge & the newe. Translated out of latyn into Englysh by Wylliam Turner. 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538 (Other edns 1537, 1548)

STC 20876=21263

_____ The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacions. 4°. W. de Worde, 1519 - 21 Jan. (1st ed. 1508, STC 21262 - repr. YW II pp.106-28)

Includes "deuoute medytacyon in sayenge deuoutly ye psalter

of our lady". On authorship see: M.B. Hackett "William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones" in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J. (Dublin 1961) pp.330-48; also B. Hackett, E. Colledge, N. Chadwick: "William Flete's "De Remediis contra Temptaciones" in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text", Medieval Studies XXVI (1964) pp.210-30.

STC 20877

_____ A remedy for sedition, wherin are conteyned many thynges, concernyng the true and loyall obeysance, that commens owe vnto their prince and soueraygne lorde the kynge. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1536.

STC 20882=5605

_____ The remors of conscyence. 4°. W. de Worde, [?1532-4]
(Other edns c.1510 - RSTC 20881.3 was STC 20883 and c.1515 RSTC 20881.7)

On the dating of the editions see The Library⁵ XIII (1958) 199-200 and for the poem by William Lichfield on which the work is based, Anglia XXXIV (1911) 508-25

STC 20972

RICARDUS of St Victor. Here foloweth a veray deuoute treatyse (named Benyamyn) of the myghtes and vertues of mannes soule / & of the way to true contemplacyon / compyled by a noble & famous doctoure a man of grete holynes & deuocyon / named Rycharde of saynt Vyctor. 4°. Henry Pepwell, 1521 - 16 Nov.

Contents: (i) Benjamin Minor (repr. YW I pp.162-72; (ii) dyuers doctrynes ... out of the lyfe of ... saynt katheryn of Seenes; (iii) A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon ... taken out of the boke of Margery Kempe; (iv) Epystle of prayer; (v) Walter Hilton's Of the songe of aungelles; (vi) Epystle of dyscrecyon in sterynges of the soule; (vii) A deuoute treatyse of dyscernynge of spirytes. (v. repr. YW I 175-82; all except (ii) and (iii) repr. EETS 231. The whole repr. as The cell of self-knowledge, ed. E.C. Gardner, London 1925)

STC 21038

RIDLEY, Lancelot. A commentary in Englyshe vpon sayncte Paules epystle to the Ephesyans / for the instruccyon of them that be vnlearned in tonges / gathered out of the holy scriptures and of the olde catholyke doctours of the Churche / and of the beste authors that nowe a dayes do wryte. 8°. R. Redman [?1540]

STC 21042

RIDLEY, Lancelot. An exposition in the epistell of Iude the apostel of Christ wherein he setteth playnly before euery mans eyes false apostels, and theyr craftes, by ye which they haue longe deceyued symple christian people. 8°. Thomas Gybson, (1538).

STC 21260

ROLLE, Richard. Rycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull in his contemplacyons of the drede and loue of god with other dyuerse tytles ... 4°. W. de Worde, [?1520] (Anr edn. 1506: repr. YW II pp.72-105)

STC 21263=20876STC 21305

____ Here begynneth a boke, called the faule of the Romyshe church, wyth all the abominations, wherby euery man may know and perceyue the dyuersitie of it, betwene the primatiue church, of the whyche our souerayne lorde and kynge is the supreme head, and the malignant church a sunder. 8°. _____ [?1540]
(Other edns [?1549], [?1550].)

STC 21308

____ The sum of the actes and decrees made by diuerse bisshops of rome. 8°. T. Gybson, [?1539]

STC 21318

(Ned Bibl 3813)

____ The mystic sweet rosary of the faythful soule: garnished rownde aboute / as it were with fresshe fragraunt flowers / accordynge to the trwthe of the Gospel ... 8°. Antwerpe at Martyne Emorowers, 1533.

Copy also at L with 9 leaves of ? mid XVI century ms prayers bound in front. Other edns in Latin (1531-8) (Ned Bibl 01054, 3810, 3811, 1807, 1808) and Dutch, 1534 (Ned Bibl 1809), the latter having an extra gathering of prayers, also French (Ned Bibl 2117)

STC 21337

____ The rote or myrrour of consolacyon and comforte. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 23 March. (Other edns [1496], [after July 1499], 1511 (anr. copy 0¹⁰).)

STC 21427

ROY, William. Rede me and be nott wrothe For I saye nothyng but trothe ... 8°. [Strassburg, J. Schott, 1528] (Anr ed. 1546: repr. Arber's English Reprints, vol.27, 1871 and English Experience vol.485, 1972)

STC 21472

RYCKES, John. The ymage of loue compyled by Iohn Ryckes / bachelor in diuinite / an obseruant fryre. 8°. W. de Worde for J. Gough [n.d.] (Anr. ed. 1525)

STC 21588

ST GERMAN, Christopher. A treatyse concerninge the power of the clergye / and the lawes of the realme. 8°. T. Godfray, [?1535]

STC 21753=10465

SARCERIUS, Erasmus. Common places of scripture ordrely and after a compendious forme of teachynge, set forth with no litle

labour, to the great profyte and helpe of all suche studentes
in gods worde as haue not had longe exercyse in the same ...
translated in to Englysh by Rychard Tauerner. 8°. J. Byddell,
1538 - 12 Aug.. (Other edns, 1553 (3 issues), 1577)

?Before STC 21790-14503

SAVONAROLA, Girolamo. An expositioun vpon the .l.j. psalme
made by ~~Hierom~~ Hierom of Ferrarye. (?16°) (in 8's) Paris, 1538.

The exposition is entirely in English and to it are added
"A deuout short prayer to Iesus" (in verse); "The pater
noster / spoken of the synner / God answeyng hym at euery
peticioun" (cp. STC 16818: and in 11686=19525); A prayer
for the kynge, and the quene. On the various edns of the
Savonarola expositions see The Library⁵ VI (1951) 162-70

STC 21790

SAVONAROLA, Girolamo. An expositioun vpon the .l.j. psalme.
made by Hierom of Ferrarye. [i.e. same tp. as above but Latin-
English edn with no additions]

STC 21791, however, contains expositions of both psalm LI
and XXXI.

STC 22141

_____ [The serche of confessioun] 16° (in 8's) R. Copland,
1529 - 20 Sep.

STC 22216

SENECA. Lucii Annei Senecae ad Gallioneni de Remedis
Fortuitorum. The remedies agaynst all casuall chaunces.
Dialogus inter sensum et rationem. A dialogue betwene
sensualyte and reason. Lately translated out of Latyn into
Englyshe by Robert Whyttynton poet laureat & nowe newly
imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton, 1547 (Repr: Seneca's "De
Remediis Fortuitorum" and the Elizabethans, ed. R.G. Palmer,
Institute of Elizabethan Studies, publ. 1; Chicago, 1953)

STC 22410

____ Here begynneth the kalender of shepardes. fol. J. Notary
 [?1520] (Other edns: 1503; 1506; 1508; 1528; 1559; 1560; [?1560],
 [?1570], [?1580] (2), [?1595] etc: repr. ed. G.C. Heseltine,
 London, 1930)

STC 22559=11407

SIMON, [APPLEBY] The fruyte of redempcyon. 4°. W. de Worde,
 1530 - 21 May. (Other edns: 1514 (facs. repr. in The
Churchwardens Accounts of All Hallows, ed. C. Welsh, London 1912);
 1517; 1531 - RSTC 22559.5 (at M); 1532)

On the identification of the author see R.M. Clay Jnl. Brit.
Arch. Assoc. 3 XVI (1953) 74-86. The work is mentioned in
Bonde's Pilgrimage, (STC 3278) fol. CCl.

STC 22897

SOLME, Thomas. Here begynneth a treatys callyde the Lord's
 flayle handlyde by the Bushopes powre thresshere Thomas Solme.
 8°. Basyll by me Theophyll Emlos, [?1540].

STC 22899

SOLOMON. The sayinges or prouerbes of king Salomon / with the
 answers of Marcolphus / translated out of frenche in to englysshe.
 (?4°) R. Pynson "and be for to sell at ye signe of saynt Iohn
 Euangelyst in saynt Martyns parysshe / besyde Charynge crosse",
 [?c.1525-8]

STC 23243

____ Stella clericorum. 4°. [R. Pynson: ?1503] (Anr ed. 1531)

STC 23407

STURMIUS, Joannes. The epistle that Iohan Sturmius, a man of great
 lerninge and iugement. sent to the cardynalles and prelates, that
 were chosen and appointed by the bysshop of Rome, to serche out
 the abuses of the churche, translated into englysshe by Rychard

Morysine. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1538.

SUSO. Orologium sapientiae, see STC 3305.

STC 23552

SWINNERTON, Thomas. A mustre of scismatyke bysshoppes of Rome / otherwyse naming themselues popes / moche necessarye to be redde of al the kynges true subiectes. 8°. W. de Worde for J. Byddell, (1534) (Trans. J. Roberts - pseud.)

STC 23707

____ Here ensueth a lytell treatyse named the tauerne of goostly helthe. 16°. R. Copland, 1522.

STC 23709

TAVERNER, Richard. [A catechisme or institution of the Christen religion.] 8°. _____, 1539 (Copy defective)
Based on Calvin's Instruction in Faith.

STC 23710=2748

STC 23712

(Devereux C7.2)

TAVERNER, Richard. [The garden of wysedome ...] 8°. [E. Whitchurch sold by W. Telotson: ?1545] (Other edns: 1539, [c.1547], [c.1550], [?1556])

STC 23713

(Devereux C8.2)

TAVERNER, Richard. The second booke of the garden of wysedome. wherin are conteyned wytty, pleasaunt, and nette sayenges of renowned personages collected by Rycharde Tauerner. 8°. Richard Bankes, 1539. (Other edns: 1539, [c.1547], [c.1550], [c.1556])

STC 23877

____ Ihesus. The floure of the commaundementes of god with

many examples and auctorytees extracte and drawn as well of holy scriptures as other doctours and good auntyente faders / the whiche is moche vtyle and profytable vnto all people. fol. W. de Worde, 1521 - 8 Oct. (Anr ed. 1510. The 1531 de Worde edn. noted by Duff, Handlists is not extant at Lambeth, and may be the result of confusion with the 1521 edn.)

Translated from La fleur des commandemens de Dieu ([1499], 1510, 1536 etc) by A. Chertsey. STC 10613 is a later extract of part of The floure.

STC 23963

THOMAS à Kempis. The folowyng of Christ lately translated out of latyn into Englysshe / and newly examyned / corrected / and imprinted. Also a lytell deuoute morall doctryne / called the spirituall glasse of the soule / dayly to be loked on. 16^o (in 8's) T. Godfray [?1531] (With STC 1915)

STC 23965

THOMAS à Kempis. [Anr. ed] A boke newly translated out of Latyn in to Englysshe, called the folowing of Christe, with the golden epystel of saint Barnard. 8^o. W. Myddylton, [?1545]. (Copy also at O) (Other edns - for which the STC dating is not very reliable -: Atkynson's transl: 1503; [?1515], 1517 (2 issues), [1520-8], [?1525] - STC 23960a=23968 - repr. EETS es.63; ?Whitford's transl: [?1531], [?1532], [?1531], [?1540], [?1545], 1556 (2 edns), 1585. There were also later translations by Rogers, Hake and B.F [Anthony Hoskins].

The Golden Epistle with STC 23965 is the Godfray version and is followed by the usual extracts from St Bridget's Revelations.

STC 24023

THOMAS, William. The vanitee of this world. 8^o. T. Berthelet, 1549.

STC 24045

(Ned Bibl 3007)

THORPE, William. The examinacion of Master William Thorpe preste accused of heresye before Thomas Arundel / Archebishop of Canturbury / the yere of ower lorde .M.CCCC. and seuen. The examinacion of the honorable knight syr Ihon Oldcastell Lorde Cobham burnt bi the said archbisshop / in the fyrste yere of kynge Henry the fyfth ... 8°. [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten: ?1530] (repr. A.W. Pollard, An English Garner, Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, Westminster, 1903, pp.97-189.)

STC 24164

TRACY, Richard. The profe and declaration of thys proposition: Fayth only iustifieth: gathered & set forthe by Richarde Tracy. 8°. [?R. Grafton: ?1540]

STC 24167

(Ned Bibl 3997)

TRACY, William. The testament of master Wylliam Tracis esquier / expounded both by William Tindall and Ihon Frith. Wherin thou shalt perceyue with what charitie ye chaunceler of worcetter burned whan he toke vp the deed carkas and made ashes of hit after hit was buried. 8° [Antwerp, J. Hoochstraten] 1535

Substantially reprinted in STC 25590 etc and in STC 24436, — see Tyndale, An Answer, PS pp.269-83.

STC 24191a

____ This booke is called the treasure of gladnesse, and semeth by the copy, being a very little manuell, and written in velam, to be made aboue .CC. yeares past at the least. Wherby appeareth how God in olde time, and not of late onely, hath bene truely confessed and honored. The copy hereof, is for the antiquitie of it, preserued and to be seene in the printers hall. Set forth and allowed according to the queenes iniunctions and now fyrst imprinted. 16° (in 8's) H. Denham

for J. Charlewood, 1564. (Other edns 1563, 1568, 1572, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581)

STC 24218 (RSTC 24219.5)

____ A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite necessary for all Christen men to know and to exercyse them selues ther in translated into englyshe. 8°. Southwark for J. Nicolson, 1537.

STC 24222

(Ned Bibl 2047)

____ Here beginneth a lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv. tokens the whiche shullen bee shewed afore yt drefull daye of Iugement. And who that oure lorde shall aske rekenyng of euery body of his wordis workis and thoughtes. And who oure lorde wyll shewe vs other .xv. tokens of his passion to theym that ben deyeth in dedely synne. 4°. [Antwerp]
Iohan fro does borch [?1505]

STC 14505 reprints, without acknowledgement, the four general tokens from this edition.

STC 24225

____ Wednesdayes faste. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 (Anr ed [1500])

STC 24226

____ A moche profitable treatise against the pestilence, translated into englyshe by Thomas Paynel Chanon of Martin Abbey. 8°. T. Berthelet [?c.1534]

STC 24228

____ Here begyneth a newe treatyse deuyded in thre parties. The fyrst parte is to know & haue in mynde the wretchednes of all mankynde. The seconde is of the condycion and maner of vnstedfastnes, of this world here. The thyrde parte in this boke you may rede of bytter death, and why it is to drede. 4°.

R. Wyer [?after 1541]

This seems to correspond to Pts. I-III of Prick of Conscience - see art. cit. by Schulz, STC 3360 above.

STC 24234

(Duff 307)

____ This treatyse is of loue. fol (in 6's) W. de Worde
[1493-4] (Repr. EETS 225)

Contents include the "sixe mayster" (H5^v-6^r), which precedes The xii profytes in STC 3305, 20412-3.

STC 24237

____ A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the bysshoppes of Rome, and the clergy. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1538. (Anr copy, with 2 additional leaves at L2)

STC 24239

____ A treatise declaryng & shewing dyuers causes taken out of the holy scriptur / of the sentences of holy faders, & of the decrees of deuout emperours, that pyctures & other ymages which were wont to be worshypped / ar in no wise to be suffred in the temples or churches of Christen men ... The authours of this litle treatise ar the open preachers of Argtenyne. 8°.

For W. Marshall [?1537] (Anr. ed. [?1535])

Translated by W. Marshall from J. Bedrote's Latin translation of Bucer's Das einigerlei Bild.

STC 24250

____ A treatyse to teche a man todye / and not to feare dethe. 8°. R. Redman, [?1538-9]

STC 24322

TUNSTAL, Cuthbert. A sermon of Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, made vpon Palme sondaye laste past, before the maiestie of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the .VIII ... defensor of the fayth ... and in erth next vnder Christ supreme heed of the

Churche of Englande. 8°. T. Berthelet. 1539 (Anr ed. same date and 1633 and summarized by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 24436

TYNDALE, William. The whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England, collected and compiled in one tome together beyng before scattered, & now in print here exhibited to the church. To the prayse of God, and profite of all good Christian readers. fol. 2 pts. J. Dave, 1573.

With the exception of the Protestation of the state of souls departed, and the two letters to Frith, all Tyndale's works included in The whole workes are reprinted in the 3 vol. Parker Society edn. of Tyndale.

STC 24625=11181

STC 24683

VERON, Jean. The huntynge of purgatorye to death, made dialoge wyse by Ihon Veron Senonoys. Hewly set foorth and elowed, accordinge too the Queenes Maiesties iniunctions. 8°. J. Tyndale, 1561.

Before STC 24847

VIVES, Juan Luis. [Introduction to wisdom] 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (Copy at O) (Other edns: 1540, 1544, 1550, [?1550], 1564)

Dedicated to "Master Gregory Crumwell" by the translator, Richard Morrison.

STC 24858

VIVES, Juan Luis. A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the instruction of a Christen woman, made fyrste in latyne, by the right famous clerk mayster Lewes Viues, and turned out of lateyne into Englysshe by Richard Hyrde. 4°. T. Berthelet,

1541. (Other edns [?1529], [?1540], 1547, 1557 (2), 1585, 1592 and repr. in F. Watson's Vives and the Renaissance education of Women, London 1912.)

After STC 24879:

VORAGINE, Jacobus de. [Legenda Aurea], ^{fol.} W. de Worde 1521 (Dur³ - copy defective) (Other edns [1483], [1487], 1493, 1498, 1503, [?1510], 1512, 1527: repr. Holbein Society).

STC 25127

WATT, Joachim von. A worke entytled of ye olde god & the newe / of the olde faythe & the newe, of the olde doctryne and ye newe / or orygynall begynnynge of idolatrye. 8°. J. Byddell, 1534 - 15 June.

STC adds, translated by William Turner.

STC 25223

WEEVER, John. Ancient funerall monuments within the vnited monarchie of great Britaine, Ireland, and the isles adiacent ... fol. T. Harper, to be sold by L. Sadler, 1631.

STC 25251

WERDMÜLLER, Otto. A moste frutefull / piththe and learned treatise, how a Christen man ought to behaue himself in the daunger of death: and howe they are to be releued and comforted, whose deare frendes ar departed oute of thys worlde, moste necessarye for this our vnfortunate age and sorowfull dayes.

16° (in 8's) _____ [?1553]. (Other edns: [?c.1553], [1579], n.d. and repr. Remains of Bishop Coverdale, PS pp.37-132)

STC 25412

WHITFORD, Richard. [A werke of preparacyon.] 8°. R. Redman [n.d.]

This volume also includes Golden Epistle (Godfray version) and

selections from St Bridget's Revelations; Crosrowe or ABC (see RSTC 3273.6 etc); Golden Epistle (Whitford's version, with apology for printing the wrong translation earlier). Bound with it, but a separate volume is:

A werke for housholders / or for them that haue the guidyng or gouernaunce of any company. Gadred and set forth by a professed brother of Syon / Richarde Whitforde: and newly corrected and prynted agayne with an addicion of polici for housholding / set forth also by the same brother. 8°. R. Redman, 1531 - 19 Aug.

For the polici for housholding cp. RSTC 1967.5

STC 25413

WHITFORD, Richard. The contentes of this boke. A werke of preparacion / or of ordinaunce vnto communion / or howselyng. The golden pystle, an alphabete or a crosrowe called an A.B.C. and the werke for housholders with a dayly exercyce and experience of dethe all duely corrected and newly prynted. 8°. R. Redman [n.d.: ?after 1537]

The Golden pystle is Whitford's version. The dayly exercyce has a separate title-page and new series of signatures. The werke for housholders is not included.

STC 25414

WHITFORD, Richard. A dayly exercyce and experyence of dethe / gathered and set forth, by a brother of Syon Rycharde Whytforde. 8°. J. Wayland, 1537.

This, together with the contents of STC 25416, would seem to make up a composite volume similar to, and probably earlier than, STC 25413.

STC 25416

WHITFORD, Richard. A dialoge or comunicacion bytwene the curate or ghostly father: & the parochiane or ghostly chyld. For a^{the} preparacion vnto howselynge. The werke for housholders wt the golden pystle and alphabete or a crosrowe

called an ABC. 8°. J. Wavland, 1537.

The golden bystle is Whitford's although the apology for printing the wrong version from STC 25412 is included. Again, as in STC 25412, The werke for housholders follows with separate title-page and signatures:

The werke for housholders, nowe newly corrected and set forthe into a dyaloge betwene the housholder and his housholde / by a professed brother of Syon Richarde Whytford with an addicyon of pollecyte for housholdynge / set forth also by the same brother. 8°. J. Wayland.

The werke is altered at the beginning and end to form a rudimentary dialogue.

STC 25417=13925

WHITFORD, Richard. The rule of saynt Augustyne / bothe in latyn and englysshe / with two exposicyons. And also ye same rule agayn onely in englysshe without latyn or exposicyon ... The translatour doth aduyse & counseyll all ye disciples of this rule to bere alway on of these bokes vpon them syth they ben so portatyue / & may be had for so small a pryce. 4°.

W. de Worde, 1525 - 28 Nov. (Anr. ed. 1527)

"Saynt Augustyns Rule in englysshe alone" with separate title-page, colophon and signatures, printed as a separable part of the above.

STC 25420

WHITFORD, Richard. Here foloweth dyuers holy instruccyons and teachynges very necessarye for the helth of mannes soule, newly made and set forth by a late brother of Syon Rychard Whitforde. 4°. W. Myddylton, 1541.

Contents: the boke of pacience; a worke of dyuers impedimentes and lettes of perfectyon (an expanded translation of a work by an unknown Latin author): an instruction to auoyde and eschewe vyces and folowe good maners (a version of the Counsels of St Isidore): Of detraction (based on a sermon by St John Chrysostom).

STC 25421

WHITFORD, Richard. Here begynneth the boke called the Pye / or Tonne / of the lyfe of perfection. The reason or cause wherof dothe playnely appere in the processe. 4°. R. Redman, 1532 - 23 March.

RSTC 25421.3

____ The pomander of prayer. 4°. R. Conland, 1530 - 31 Oct. (05) (Other edns: 1528 - (See The Library⁴ XVII, 1937 pp. 189-95); 1531 (at M) - RSTC 25421.5; 1532 (at M) - RSTC 25421.6.)

This work is not by Whitford but by a Carthusian of Shene, with a prefatory "exortacion to the reders by a brother of Syon" - who may or may not be Whitford.

STC 25422

WHITFORD, Richard. A werke for housholders / or for them yt haue the gydyngge or gouernaunce of any company. Gadred & set forth by a professed brother of Syon Richard Whytforde. And newly corrected & prynted agayne wt an addicion of policy for housholdynge / set forth also by the same brother. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 20 Dec. (Anr. ed. with same title-page lay out and collation, de Worde, 1533 - 2 May)

STC 25424

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders ... newly corrected & prynted agayne with an addicion of policy for housholdynge. 4°. Southwark, P. Treveris [n.d.: not later than 1532].

STC 25425

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders ... newly corrected and prynted agayne with an addicion of polici for housholding ... 8°. R. Redman, 1537 - 8 Nov.

STC 25426

WHITFORD, Richard [Anr ed] A werke for housholders / or for them that haue the gydyngge or gouernaunce of ony company. Gadred and set forth / by a professed brother of Syon. Rycharde Whytforde. 4°. R. Redman [n.d.]

STC 25590

WICLIF, John. Wycklyffes wycket: whych he made in kyng Rycharde's days the second in the yere of our Lorde God a M.CCC.XLV ... 8°. Norenburgh [London, J. Daye], 1546.
(Other edns: [?1548](2); 1612)

Includes "The testament of master Wyllian Tracie, expounded by Wylliam Tindall" see STC 24167.

STC 26063

WYSE, Nicholas. A consolacyon for chrysten people to repayre agayn the lordes temple, with certayne places of scripture truely applyed to satysfye theyr myndes for ye expellyng of ydolatrie, & to to instruct them, of loue and obedience compyled by nycholas wyse. 8°. J. Wayland, 1538 - 16 Oct.

STC 26069

XENOPHON. Xenophons treatise of householde. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1532. (Other edns: 1537; 1544; [?c.1548]; 1557; 1573)

Translated by "Gentian Heruet, at the desyre of maister Geffrey Pole", perhaps with some assistance from T. Lupset.

STC 26138

ZWINGLI, Ulrich. The rekenyng and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik Zwingly / bisshoppe of Zürych the cheif town of Helueta / sent to Charles .v. that nowe is emprowr of Rome: holdinge a perlemente or cownsaill at Ausbrough with the cheif lordis & lerned men of Germanye. The yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. In the monethe of Iulye ... Translated & imprynted at Zijryk ... 8°. Zurich, 1543 - March. (Anr. ed. 1548).

736
Insert on p. 398:

After STC 10470

(Devereux C37)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Declamatio in laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae. A declamacion in the prayse and commendation of the most hygh and excellent science of phisyke made by the ryght famous clerke doctour Erasmus of Rotherdam / and newly translated out of latyn into Englyshe. 8° R. Redman, [?1536-7]

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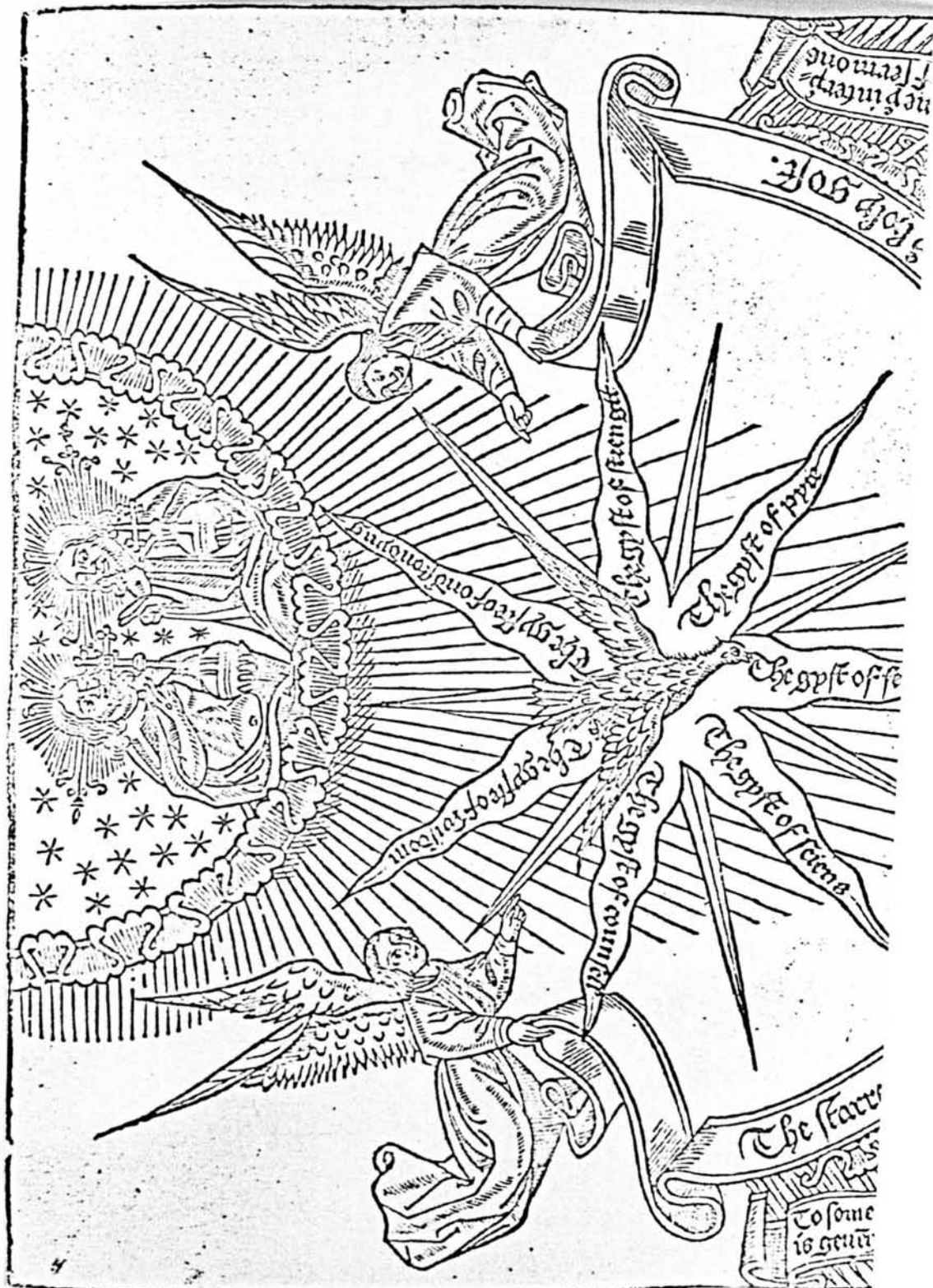
The abbaye of the holy Ghost.

THE PARLIAMENT OF HEAVEN

From STC 13609, Hodnett 313

(See p. 49)

Page references following the
illustrations are all to vol. I.



THE STAR OF GRACE

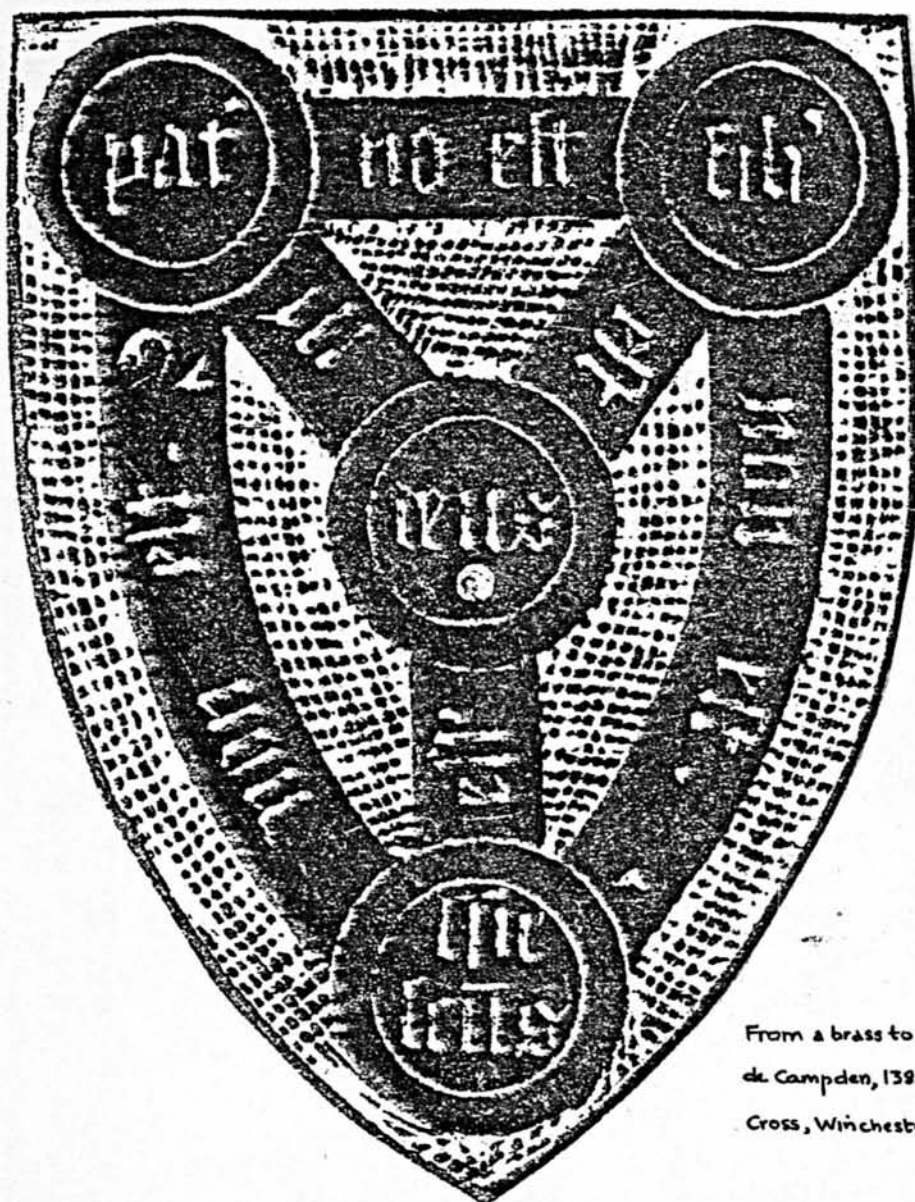
From: W. Bunde's Pilgrimage of perfeccyon

STE 3278 , Hodnatt 870

(See p 57)

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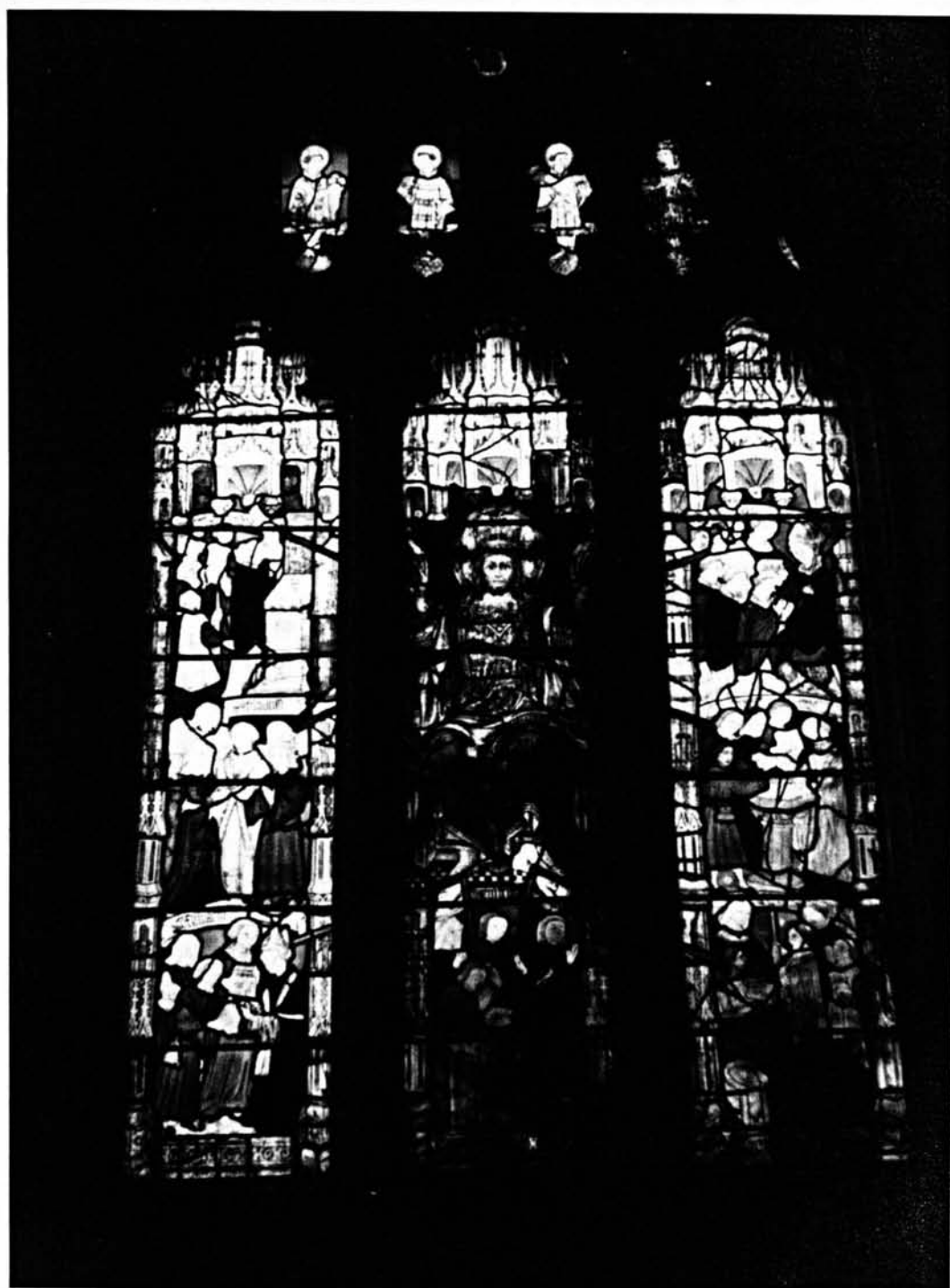
From a brass to John
de Campden, 1392: St.
Cross, Winchester



From Horae 1535-6,
StC 15287

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY

(See pp 67, 365)



SEVEN SACRAMENTS WINDOW

E. window, N. aisle, Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon

(central figure restored)

(See p. 130)



PROPHETS FROM PARCLOUSE SCREEN, ASHTON, S. DEVON

(See p. 283)

2)

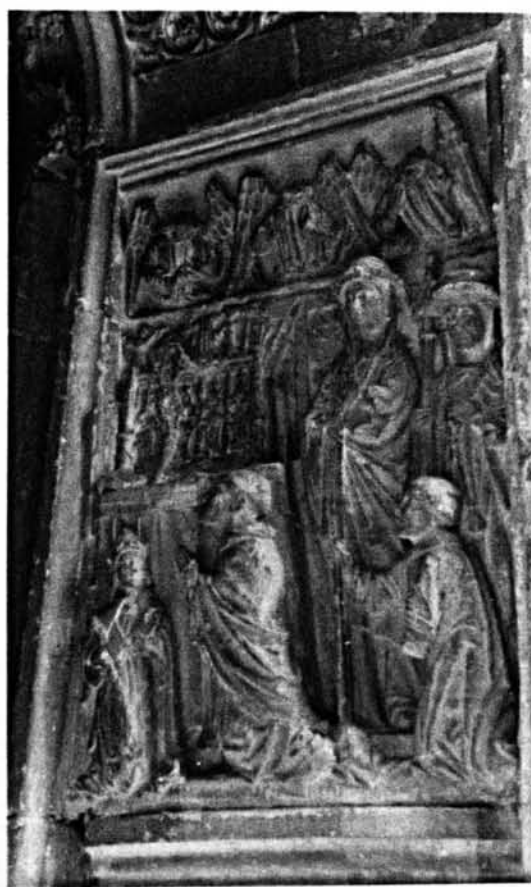


¶ It was I that trode the wyne
presse all alone / and of all the folke
he was ther not one man to help
me. *Isaie. lviij.*

THE MYSTIC WINE PRESS

From The mystic sweet
rosary, STC 21318 (see p. 340)

b)



THE MASS OF ST.

GREGORY

Kirkham chantry,

Paignton, S. Devon

(see p. 350)

See also XXXIIIa below



a)

THE VISITATION

Parclose screen, Ashton, S. Devon (See p. 358)



¶ Unto the wounde of the
left fote.
¶ Mayle holy wounde of the left
fote/wherby the plantis of Vertu



¶ The saluting of the wounde
of the right fote of our Lorde.
¶ All hayle holy wounde of the
right fote, whiche sweetely steepist

b)

From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318

(See p. 375)



¶ All fayer art thou my frende
by spouse and spot is ther none in
the. Come frō Libanus my spou
se come & be crowned. Canti. iiii.



a) THE RECEPTION AND CORONATION

OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318 (See p. 375)



¶ Jesus was led forth into the
deserte/ to be tēpted of his aduer-
sar. & ce. whose fyrer dartis he
boze of with the buckler of holy

b) THE TEMPTATIONS OF CHRIST

From: The mystic sweet rosary (See p. 376, n. 266)



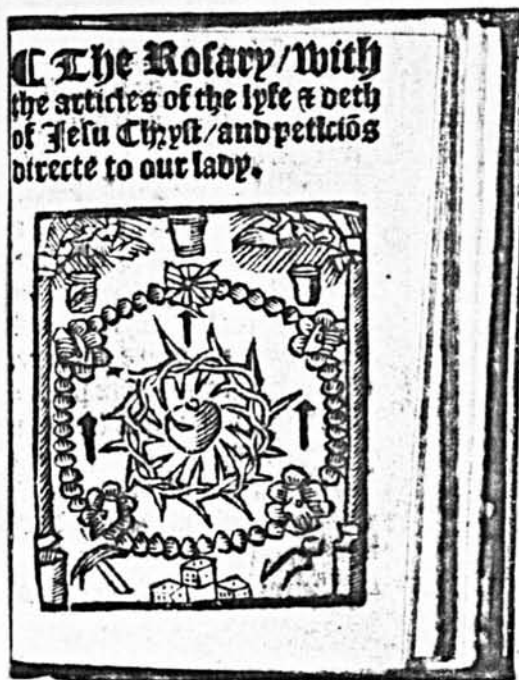
From: Horae, 1530. STC 15368



From: Horae, 1535-6. STC 15387

"MARY GARDENS"

(Seep. 379, n. 284)



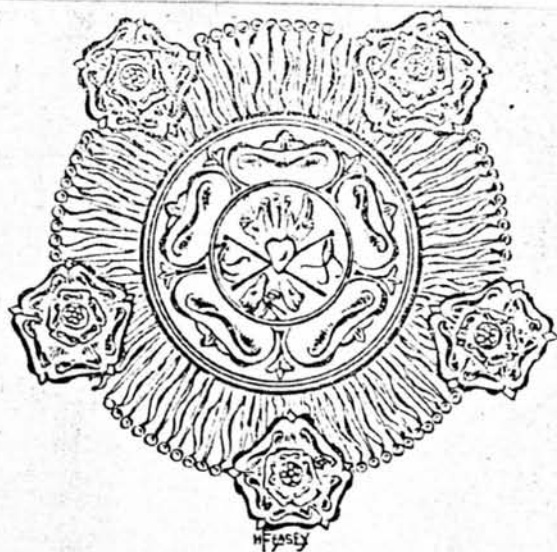
a)



b)

THE ROSARY AND THE FIVE WOUNDS

- a) From RSTC 17545.5
- b) From: *The Kalender of shepardes*,
STC 22410, Hadnett 2158
- c) From: An extra-illustrated edn. of W.
Fordyce's *The history and antiquities
of the county palatine of Durham*
vol. 3. (Seep 379, n. 287)



c)

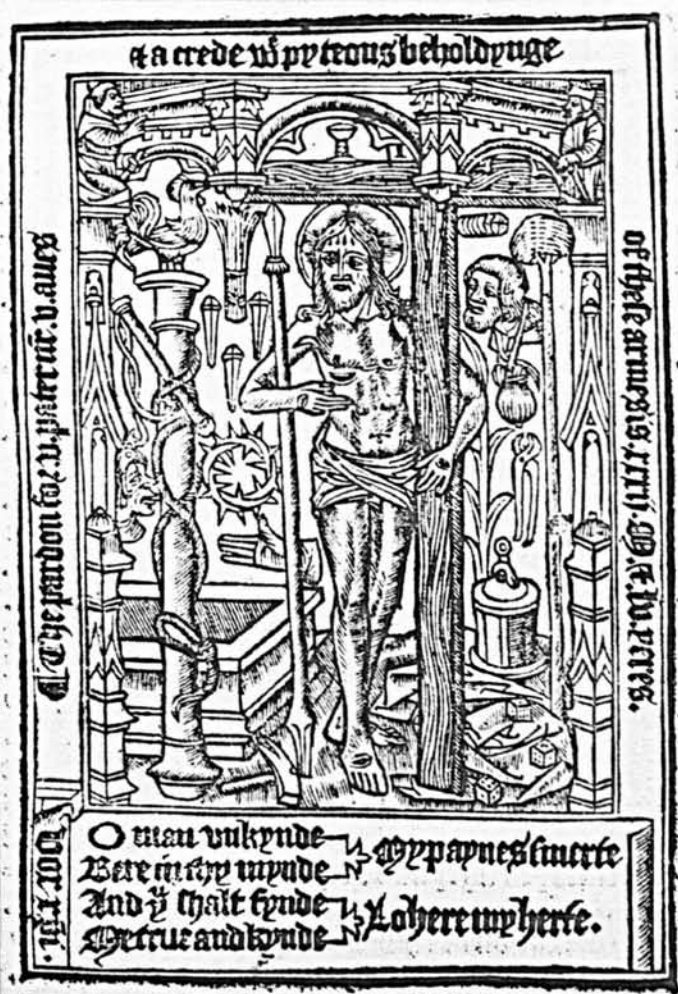
QUARREL OF STAINED GLASS AT RABY CASTLE.

In an article in the *Reliquary* for April, 1899 (vol. v.) p. 100, on 'The Instrument of the Rosary,' there is an illustration of a quarrel of stained glass at Raby castle, which is said to have originally belonged to Whithy abbey. It is thus described:—'In the centre is seen the wounded heart of the Redeemer dropping blood, surrounded by a crown of thorns, and three nails also dripping blood. The whole of this is encircled by a chaplet of five decades of beads, each decade separated by (Tudor) roses, the hearts of four containing one of the five wounded members—the two hands and the two feet, and the fifth being simply a rose. The Latin legend which accompanied: 'Ave Piissima Virgo Maria quae es rubens rosa et super omnem creaturam indumento divini amoris induta,' is translated, 'Hail, most pious Virgin Mary, who art a red rose and clothed with a vestment of divine love above every creature.' Below the legend runs this inscription:

'The greatest comfort in all temptacyon
Is the remembrance of Cryst's Passion.'

(b)

(c)



- a) The base of the rood,
Cullompton church, S.Devon.
- b) From: The Kalender of shepardes
STC 22410 (For a-b see p.390, n.322)
- c) From: Bonde's Demoute epystle
STC 3276, Hodnett 2061
(See p.390)

**The declaracyon and power
of the Chryſten fayth.**



**He that beleueth on me, hath
euerlaſtyng lyfe. Iohn. vi.**



a) STC 5160, Hodnett 2030
(See p. 404, n. 404)

THE SUFFERINGS OF JESUS



**It was euē he doutleſſe that
dyd beare our ſynnes & payne de-
we therunto. It was he that was
wounded of our tranſgreſſions &**

b) From: The myſtic ſweet roſary
STC 21318 (See p. 406, n. 415)



¶ When they had crucified Je-
sus / they deuided his clothes ca-
sting for the what eche mā shuld
haue. And it was a bout the thir

CHRIST NAILED TO THE CROSS

2) From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318 (See p.406, n.420)

THE PIETA

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

c) Wives' window, St. Neot,

Cornwall (See p.413)



¶ Unto the wounde of Cry-
stis herte.
The holy wounde i cristis flesshe
Heale our hertis & vyce repress,

(c)



**A deuout prayer of the. vii. sorowes
of oure blessyd ladye.**



Aue dulcis
mater xpi
q̄ dolebas
corde tristi
te docente
Sinecone/de dire mor-
tis microne. Sis meor
huius doloris/ nunc & i
omnibus horis: fac me
pie meorari pena mor-
tis tui chari. Ave Ma-
ria gra plena dñs tecū.
Aue dulcis mater xpi
que in egyptos fugisti/
flens ibi notis carebas
& labore tabescebas.
Nūc queso sis exilij/tui
memor ac filij: date mi-

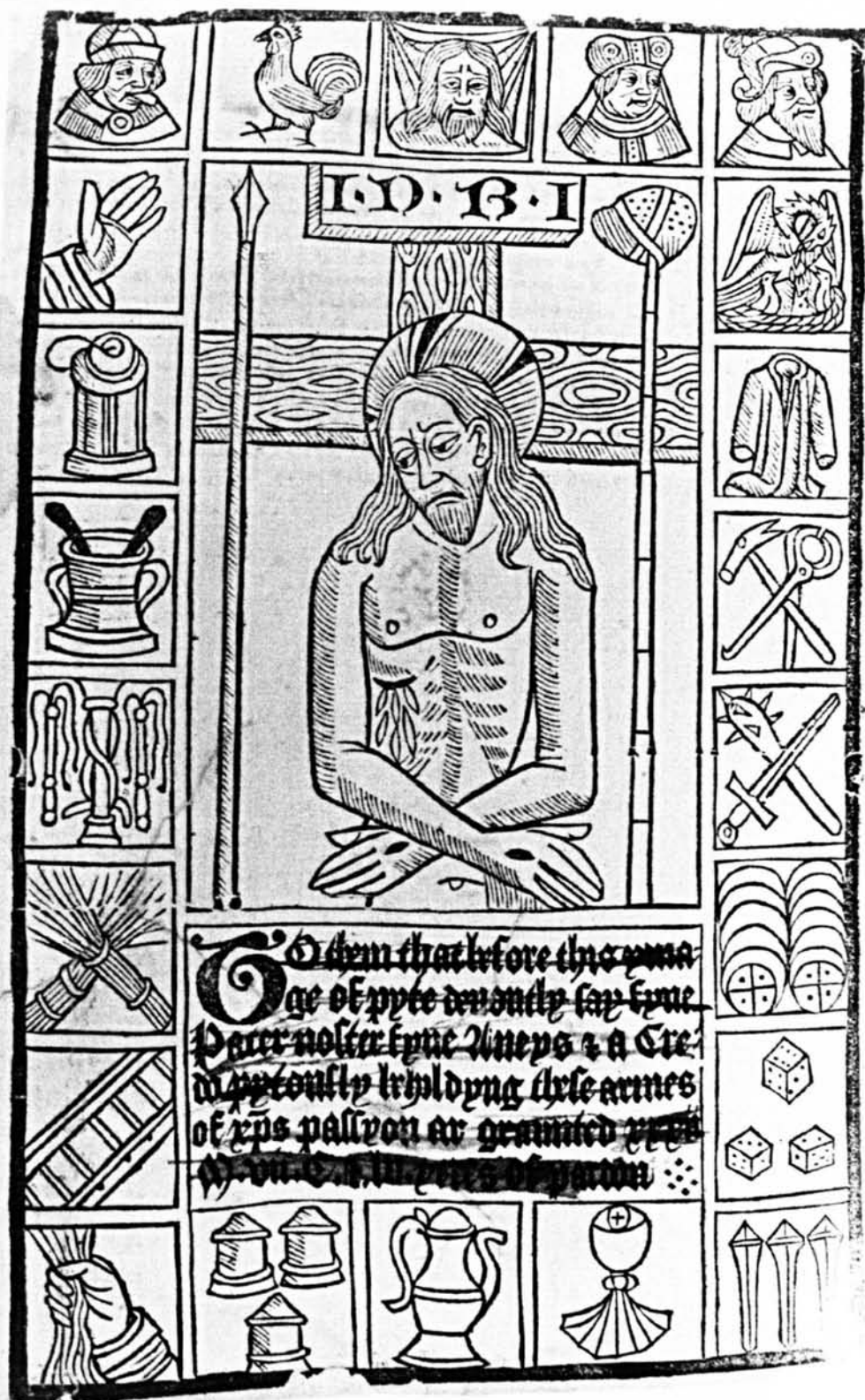
a) THE SEVEN SORROWS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

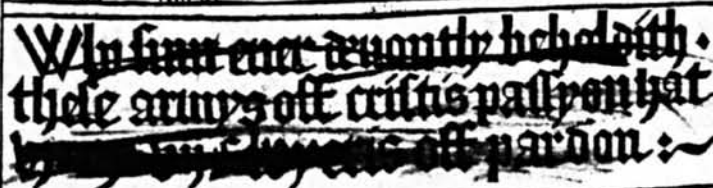
From: Horae 1535-6, STC 15987 (See p. 420)



b) IMAGO PIETATIS with instruments of the Passion

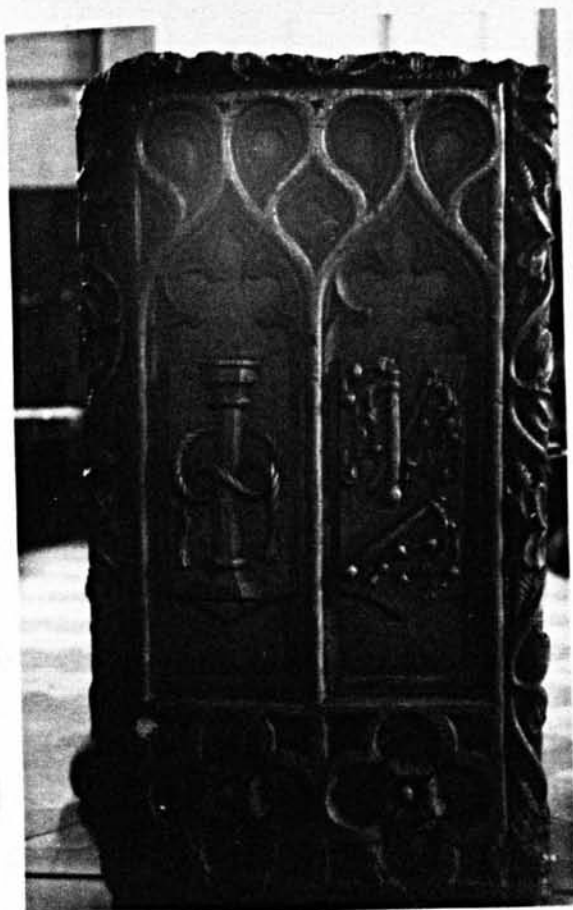
From: Horae 1535-6, STC 15987 (See p. 425)





with instruments of the passion and indulgence
Hodnett 2512 (Seep. 425)

INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION



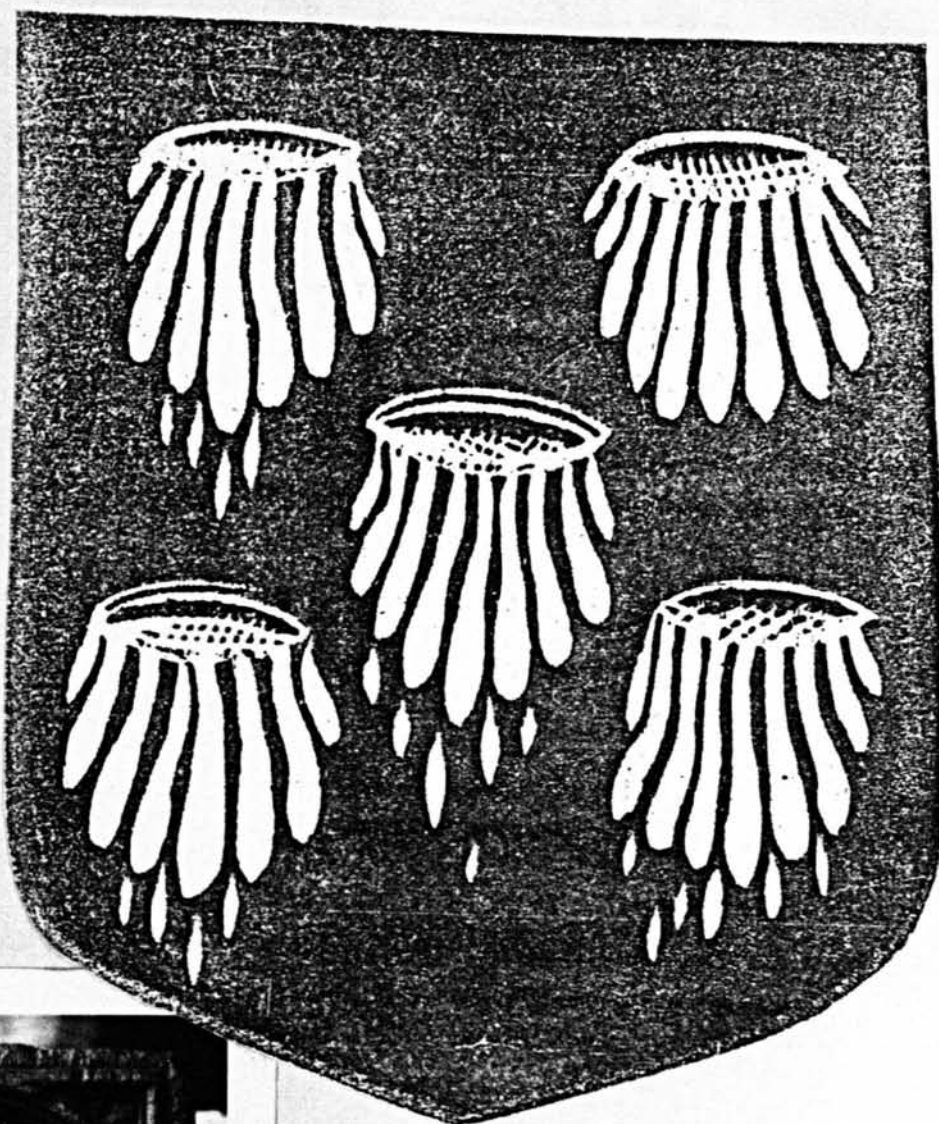
a) Pillar, rope, scourges,
Launcells, Cornwall



b) Cross and nails
Doddicombsleigh, S. Devon



c) Pincers, pillar, hammer, spear, sponge, dice
Laneast, Cornwall



a) From a brass to Robert Hacombleyn, †1528,
King's college, Cambridge

THE FIVE WOUNDS (See p.434)

b) Benchend, Altarnun, Cornwall



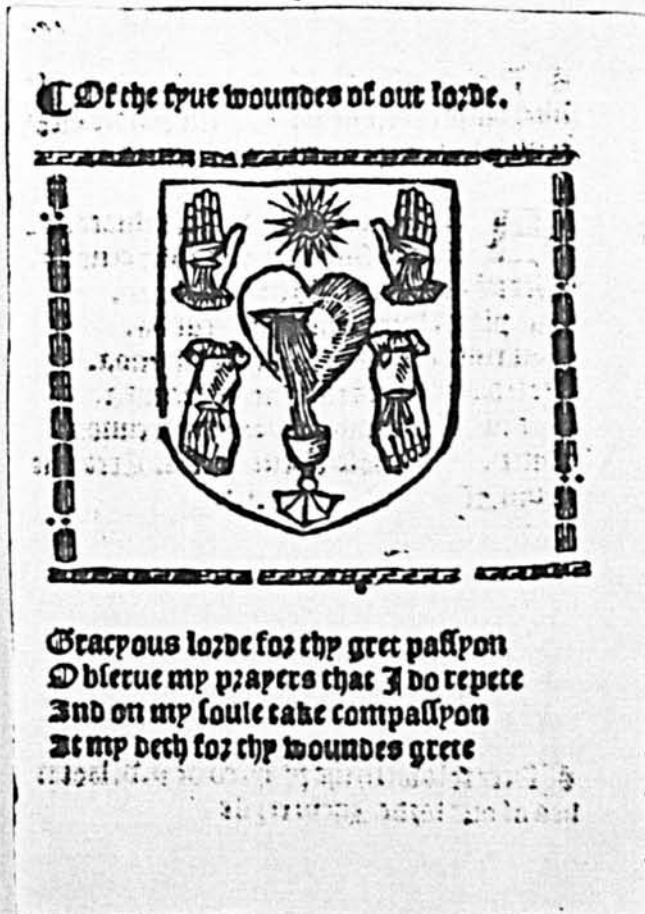
(a)



(b)



(c)



THE FIVE WOUNDS

(See p. 434)

a) The Arms of Christ from Sheen
Charterhouse. Hodnett #954a

b) Hodnett 2503

c) From: A glorious medytacyon
STC 14650 Hodnett 204

Of the ryght hande

Of mercy passinge all myghte.
Of mercy I praye that I may fynde.



Of the ryght face

The ryght hande lord of soules a myghte
That was through pite as a rugged harte.
Be my locout in the court of heuyn
Of the wynde by that me assaile

(a)

Of the ryght face



Of the ryght face

The ryght face with the wounde so myghte
Whiche in this worlde was all harte
Graunte me grace my self to fynde
That in the leturpe I may fynde

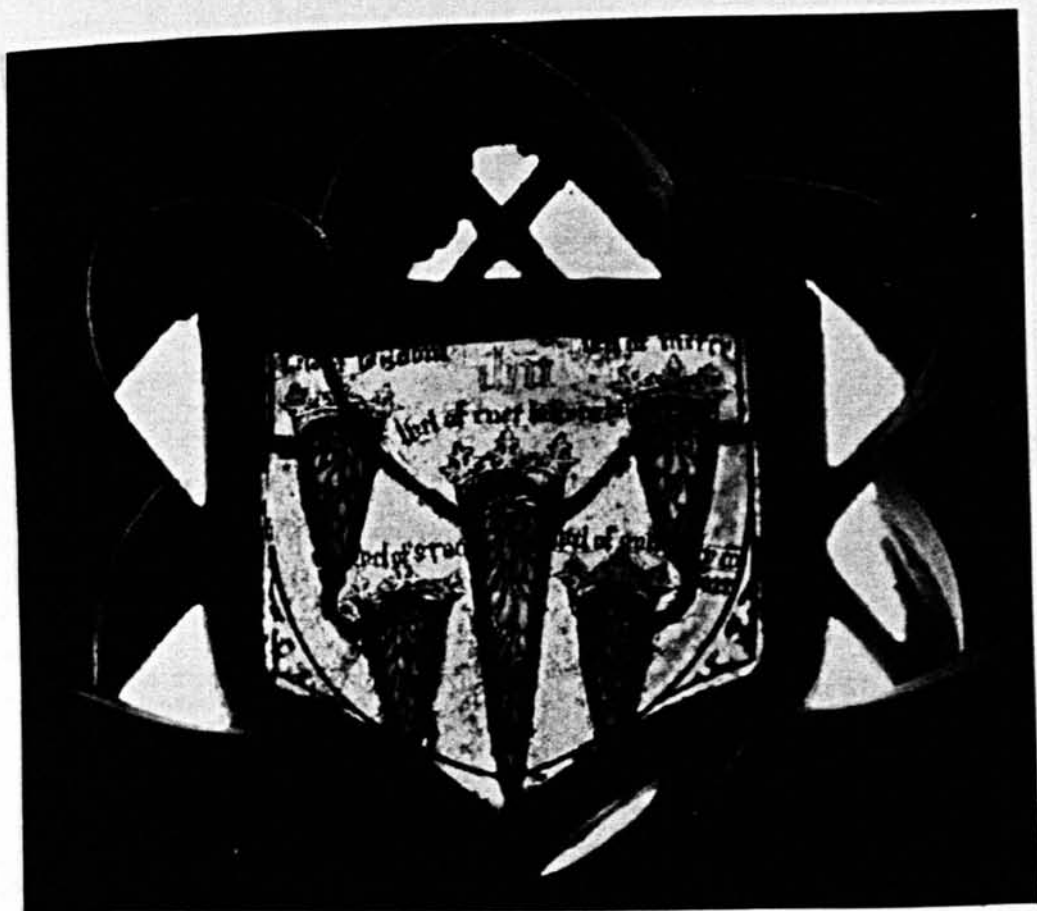
(b)

CHRIST'S WOUNDS AS WELLS

- a, b From: *A glorious medytacyon*, STC 14550,
Hodnett 2042, 2018
c From: *[Illustrated life of Christ]* (After STC 14552)
Hodnett 675 (reduced)
(See p. 440)

(c)





a)



CHRIST'S WOUNDS

AS WELLS

(See p. 440, n. 615)

a) Five wounds window, Sidmouth
parish church, S. Devon

b) From: A glorious medytacyon,
STC 14550, Hodnett 2043 (cp. 677)

b)



2) THE RESURRECTION

Bench-end at Launcells,

Cornwall. (See p. 456)

b) THREE LIVING AND THREE DEAD

From Horae 1533 (STC 15981a)

(See p. 500)





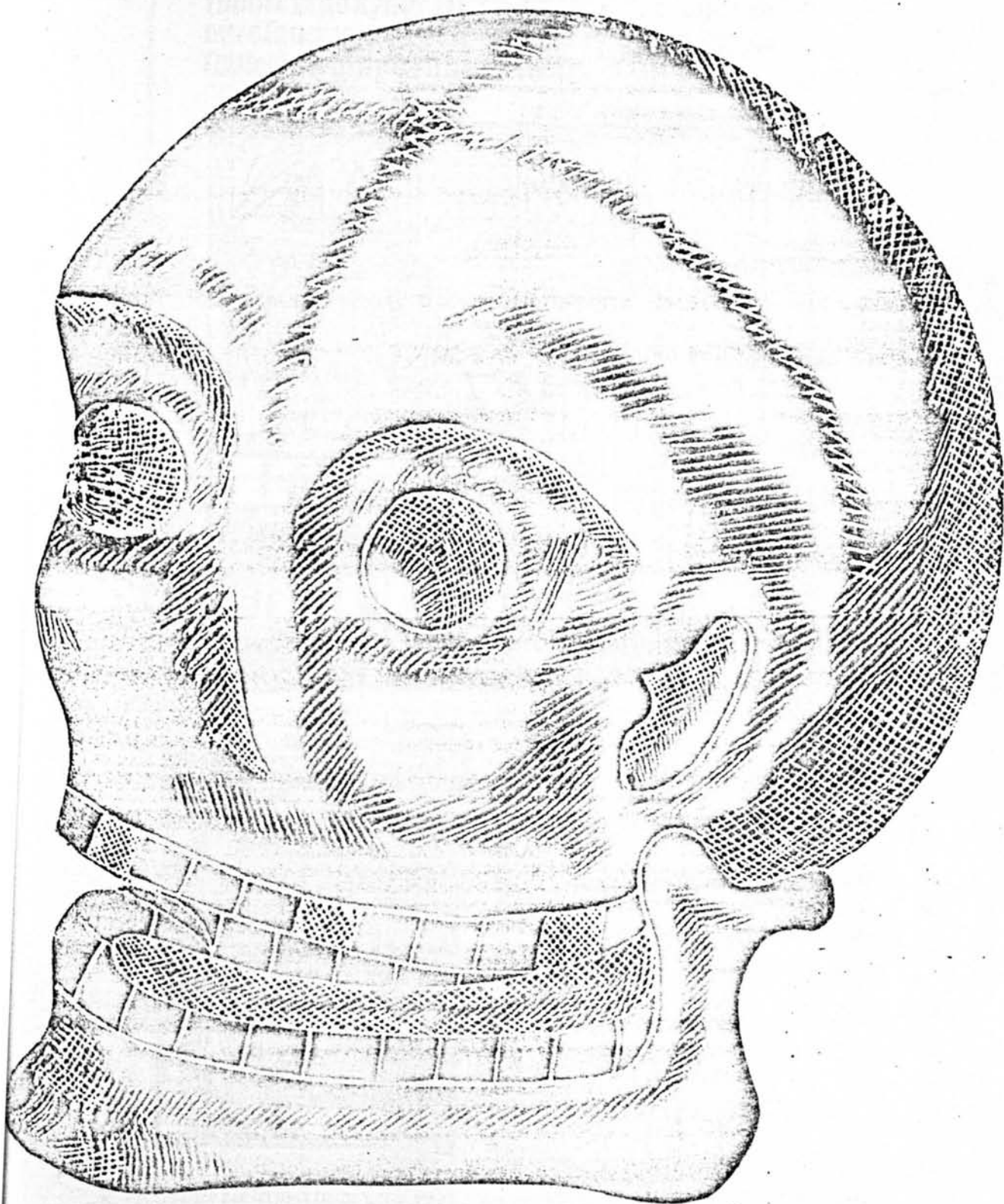
Dicitur p̄ eūa eūm Radulphū hamsterley quōdam sacri
 militem de merton in p̄gine et rectoris huius ecc̄ie
 quod obiit Anno d̄ m̄ ccc̄ lxxv die x̄p̄is

Figure 9. Shroud-brass of the Rev. Ralph Hamsterley. c. 1510-15. Oddington, Oxon

From: L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1955) p. 215.

(See p. 501)

Death's head (much reduced) from brass to John Daynes, 1527, Beeston Regis, Norfolk.





HEART BRASS (much reduced)

to Christ. Gonson et al. , 1543,
Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.

(See pp. 543; 420 n. 499)

There begynneth a lytell treatyse of the dy-
enge creature enfecte With sylenes vncu-
table With many sorowfull complayntes.



(a) TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE OVERCOME.

From: before STC 6034, 1506, Hodnett 507
(see p. 556)



b) THE LAST JUDGEMENT

From: The mystic sweet rosary, STC 21318
(See pp. 596, 600)

TI telle you for a suertye/hen
ce forthe sh all ye se the sonne of
man sittinge one the mighty
right hande of god / and at laste



S Michael with balance, flanked by SS Christopher and Peter.
N. aisle, Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon.

THE WEIGHING OF SOULS (see p 596)

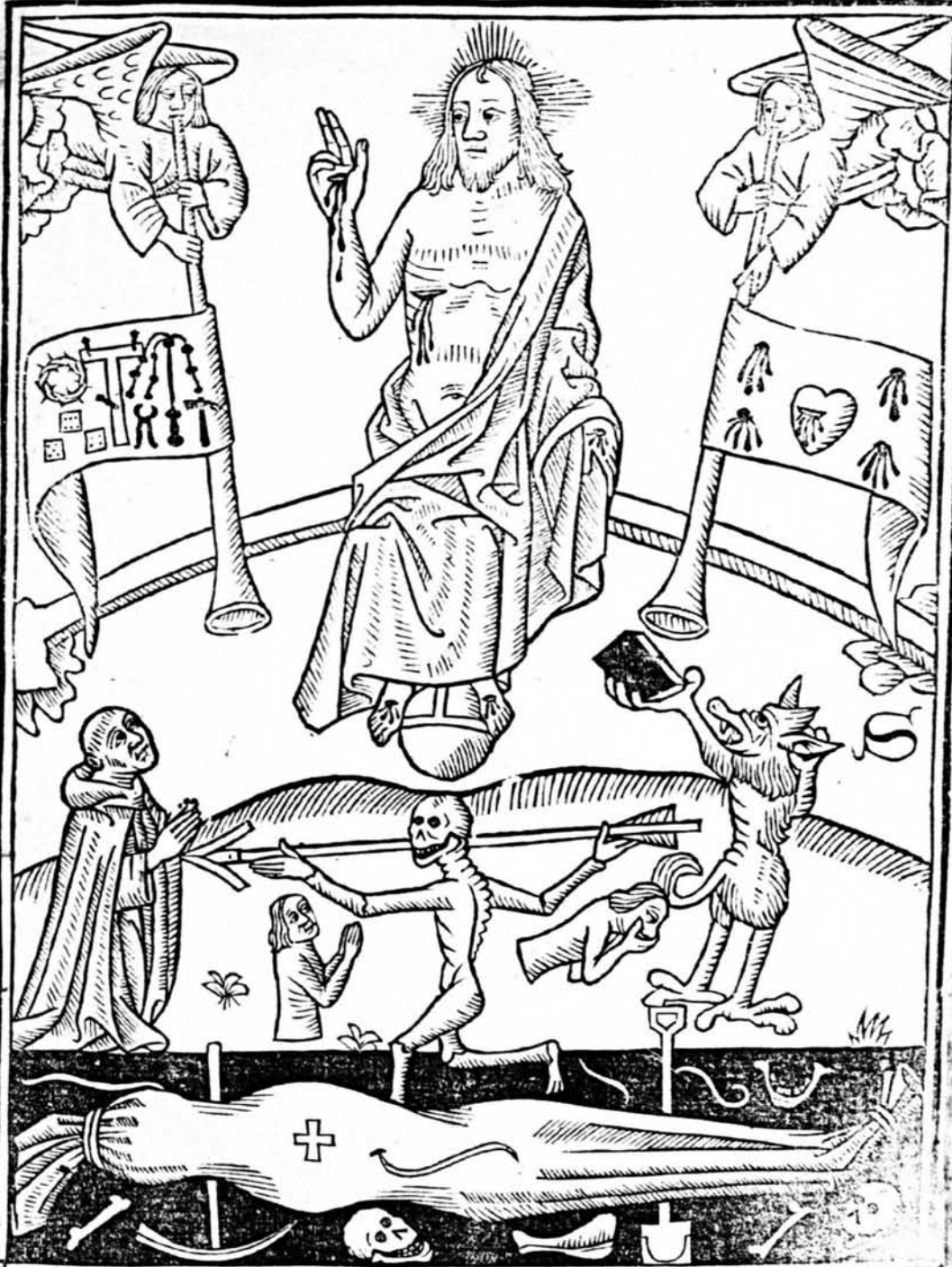


Devil weighing down the balance
N. aisle, Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire

Margite Mortui.



Venite ad Iudicium.



Arma Beate Virgite:



De Syon.



..

CHRIST IN JUDGEMENT WITH EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION

Hodnett # 1356^a

(See p. 600)



(2)

- a) Pardon brass (reduced) to Roger Legh
† 1506, Macclesfield, Cheshire.
(See p. 605) See also XXV above for a
similar inscription

(b)



- b) Harrowing of hell. Painted woodcut
from *Sorum Enchiridion*, 1530, STC 15965
c) Harrowing of hell. From *Mystic sweet
rosary*, STC 21318 (See p. 617)

(c)



In my tribulaciō I cried vnto
to the lord & he harde me. Euen
frome the bely of hell I cried and
thou hardst my prayer I sunke