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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180) Preparation A4r. Tracy was not alone in seeking Cromwell’s patronage—see numerous references in McConica, ch. 5–6 although he does not mention this example. The humility formula of the late middle ages was generally replaced in devout treatises of a Protestant nature, by unsolicited dedication to an influential person or by a prefatory advertisement, during the 1540’s.


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.


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 iii 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 Judgement, (STC. 14549) or Bateman's The doome warning all men to the Judgemente (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) C5V-6F; Lupset Of dieyling well (ed. J.A. Gee) p. 278; Whitford's Dayle exercyse C5V-D1; Werdmüller's A moste fruteful... 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, 2068, pp. 142-3.

192) The chapter on "Mors" in Bromyard's Summa Predicantium is one of his longest; Speculum Sacerdotale (EETS 200, 2000) talks about forms of burial and the office of the dead ch 61 - 2; Mirk's Festial (EETS.es.96, 3000) has two similar sermons, Nos. 71, 72. Oost PME and LPME also Blench see indexes under "death" for further references.
Among those who seem to over stress the preoccupation with death, at least so far as England was concerned:
Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, (Peregrine 1965) ch.11 whose views are often applied to England; Beaty *The Craft of Dying* pp. 38, 46, 50 etc.; Paternostor, 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.

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 Sensodella 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.

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 *Tractatus 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.


198) Erasmus, *De Contemptu Mundi* (ed. 1533) D7T-V cp. Montaigne ixix (translated by Florio, p. 83 in the series *Tudor Translations*.)


200) For the decade 1530 - 40 Erasmus' list seems to be the only one in devout treatises. For preachers, Owst *PME* pp. 341 - 2; Blench pp. 234 - 5. For later examples, *A New Treatise* by Jonson's *Volpone* at the end of Act I, scene iv, and Taylor *Holy dying* chapter 15.

202) Signs of death are listed Orologium p.363; The mirroure of golde (STC.6895) G3v; Cordiale A5v; More's Quatuor novissima, English Works 1557 p. 77; Werdmüller A moste frutefull piththye and learned treatise B1r; Skelton's poem Upon a Dead Man's Head; More's A new treatise C4r; Parkyn p.64. Bodl. Ms Tanner 407 includes the verse from the Fasciculus morum — see Woolf Lyrics p. 81 - 2 — with the Latin prayer added to each line: "Whan ye hed quaketh memento. whan ye lyppys blackyth confessio | Whan ye nose scharpyth. Contricio.....Whan ye eyne fylmyn. libera me.domine. whan deth folowyth 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.9r and even in James Nayel Whissus (London 1560) p. 140.

203) STC nos. 3320, 13522, 24199 - 24207.


205) Quatuor novissima, English Works, 1557, pp.77, D-F.

206) Quotation from L.Martz, The Poetry of Meditation p. 137, see pp.135 - 44. St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises, Second Exercise of Death. Examples in Donne include his "Second Anniversary" and Devotions upon emergent occasions.

207) Owst LPME p.533.

208) A selection of these authorites are cited by Legrand M3r, in the Cordiale A5v 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 M3r; Erasmus Preparation to death A5v;
More English Works p.77c; Whitford Dayly exercyse C6r; 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 Dyeinge well is overshadowed by his admiration for the pagan's courage and virtues.

211) Certaine prayers. G3r.

212) Isidore, The gathered covnsailes of saincte Isidore (STC. 14271) A3r; Legrand M3r; Whitford Dayly exercyse C8r; The mirroure of golde E6r; Cordiale A5v. Longland, (STC. 16795) E2v cp.2 Henry IV,ii.4, Doll.... "When wilt thou leave fighting o' days, and fo'ning o' nights, and begin to patch up thine old body for heaven?" Falstaff: "Peace, good doll! do not speak me like a death's head: do not bid me remember mine end".

213) e.g. A Kempis I:xxiii; Lupset p. 287.

214) Mirroure of golde G2v cp. among others Legrand M3r, "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".


216) e.g. Frith The Preparation to Deathe ch.I (I,8r); A myrrour...for them that be syke I3v.

217) To teche a man to dye E2v-3v.

218) Orologium p. 362.

220) Hughe I.85ʳ, **Certeine prayers** H7ʳ; *A myrrouer...for them that be syke* I.8ʳ.

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.8ʳ.

223) e.g. More English Works p. 776; a brief exercise is given in a **Primer** of 1531 (STC.15966) A2r-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 *Davly 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) **Davly exercyse** A6r.


228) **Op.cit.** C8ʳ.

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 are 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 D1r-v; Exornatorium (STC.10630) B5v.

231) Dayly exercyse D2r-3v.

232) Op.cit. D2v. cp. The Corpus Christi Carol (Davies, Medieval English Lyrics No. 164) where the stone bears the words Corpus Christi.

233) Op.cit. D2v. Versions of this popular prayer were to be found in various primers e.g. STC.15986) I3r; STC 16000 E5v - 6r; in the Caxton Ars moriendi A3r; The Dyenge creature c4v; A deuoute Intercessyon (STC.14547) 4v; The Dialogue betwene our sauior Thesu Chryste and a synner (STC.14548) D6r; Remors of consygyence (STC.20882 - dated ? After 1532 in RSTC) B3v and in an extended form, Horstman Wv II p.306.


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.


237) Op.cit C5v - 6r, D2r - 3v. Marlowe's Dr. Faustus in his last desperate speech says: "See see where Chriosts blood streames in the firmament./ One drop would saue my soule, halfe a drop, ah my Christ" echoes a widely held belief, stated also in the Dayly exercyse's monologue, D2v, "For I knowe well that one drope alone of that most holy sacred
blod, were suffyci[ent, and ynough/and ferre more than
ynoughe/to wassehe and clense all the synne of the worlde/
and yet shed he all his blode euery drope".


239) Op.cit D4\textsuperscript{V} - 5\textsuperscript{T}.

240) Other examples may be found Golden Epistle (STC. 1911,
RSTC 1915.5) A3\textsuperscript{T}; The mirroure of golde A3\textsuperscript{V} where it is
attributed to St. Bernard; Medytacyons of saynt Bernarde
A5\textsuperscript{V}. Definitions of Death and the three-fold meditation
will be discussed in more detail later.

241) Dayly exercyse E3\textsuperscript{V} - 4\textsuperscript{T} 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{K-V}.

244) Whitford's "...so that you shall ever y day (whan you wyll)
be as verely deed..." (D4\textsuperscript{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 death 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.


In the 1578 edition, the signs of the End, the xv tokens run from f.58r - 61r, 78 - 81v, at the bottom of ff.61r, 81v appears a version of the Verard print - e.g. Hodnett 1516, 2225; the Dance of Death with various repetitions runs from f.82r - 137r 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, 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.
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.


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° and *A myrroure...for them that be syke* K5v.

258) *Ludus Conventriale* EETS 120, 1628, pp. 174 - 7 cp. Erasmus' *Preparation to death* B1r "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, 1866, 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° cp. Hughe, *Troubled mans medicine* I. A5 from 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.118v 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.85v; Gough liturg.3 (English or Flemish 1470-80?) f.72v, and a shrouded corpse being lowered into a grave is found in Rawl.liturg.g.6. f.110v.

261) e.g. among Bodleian mss. Engl.poet a.1 (Vernon ms) f.126v; 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.121v 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. 1382.6 f.12v 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*

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 Shepardes* series, Hodnett nos. 961, 985, 1531, 2240, (2370) show Death carrying a coffin.

264) Hodnett nos. 412, 529.

265) The first English language (an approximation to English) versions of *The crafte* and *The Kalender* were printed in Paris by Verard, 1502. See Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* II,651 - 2, 660 - 3, 729.

266) Such as those reproduced by Tenenti, *La Vie et la Mort* pl.10 and *Il Senso della Morte* pl.1, 57 or Grünewald's *Damnation of Lovers* in Hughes *Heaven and Hell* p.203.

267) A copy recently acquired by the Bodleian library, RSTC 13828.6. The first cut, f.12\(^{v}\) death bearing an arrow and scythe plucks a sick man from his bed; f.1xxii\(^{r}\) shows two skeletons, one cadaver by a cross with a surround of bones and worms and thirdly f.1xxxi\(^{v}\) has monks in choir around a bier and above a soul "sum condemnatus" in the clutch of a Devil.

268) For example in the edition by Julian Notary (*STC.22410*) on G5\(^{v}\), 7\(^{v}\), M3\(^{r}\).

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 Pynerral 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, 538, 545, 645, 803.

272) Examples are to be found from Anglo-Saxon times onwards e.g. "The wanderer" and "Widsith". Probably Fisher's ubi sunt passage EETS es. 27, pp. 145-6 comes nearest of the prose writers to capturing something of the sense of wistfulness for what has passed.

273) The occasion when devout treatise writers are most likely to lament the past for its superior moral virtues is when they are castigating the vices of the present age. The past is not regarded as a golden age in an ubi sunt context.

274) RSTC 15399.5, copies at John Rylands Library, Manchester and Ushaw College, Durham (imp.). It consists of books IV and V of Legrand's Book of Good Manners.


276) Quotations are from the 1507 de Wodye edition of Legrand's
Lists may be found - of ranks as often as of actual names - in the Cordiale a³v, b⁵rv; The mirroure of golde E⁷v; Dives and Pauper IX;x; Meditacyons of saynt Bernarde B²v. 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 of the Sayings. Also in Erasmus De Contemptu mundi D³v; A goodly treatise of faith, hope and charite L⁴rv; Hughe A troubled mans medicine I.D³v; Fisher on Psalm 102 EETS es. 27, 1929 pp.145 - 6; Owst LPME p.293; Blench p.228.


In the Cordiale b²rv 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 D⁵rv is very similar to Erasmus' to which Hughe may be indebted.

Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D⁴v.

On the smallness of the grave, Cordiale b²v talks of a "tombe of viii fote longe", also More English Works p.83 and Dyalogue of comforte III.vi; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions (Nonesuch edn. 1939) p. 510; Owst PME p. 343; Woolf Lyrics pp. 82 - 4.

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.


286) Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* D5\(^r\).

287) *Orologium* p. 359 It claims to be a paraphrase of "Sapience Liv" 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 conforte* 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 followed", "That Beatie is a vaine thyng", "That force and valiantnesse 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.Cxii\(^v\)
292) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi D7⁷, 8⁷. etc; Lupset Of dieyng well p. 279 - 80; Legrand M2⁷; Hugh II A7⁷-8⁷; Frith Preparation to deathe cap.ii; Vives Introduction to Wisedome STC 24845+, 1539, E8⁷ cp. Ludus Coventriae EETS es 120 p. 218 - 9; Towneley Plays EETS es 71 p. 390; Werdmüller A moste fruteful treatyse (STC.25251) I.ch.18.

293) Mirroure of golde E6⁷; Legrand L3⁷, 5⁷-⁷; Cordiale A3⁷; Erasmus Preparation to deathe A5⁷, More English Works p.80 - 1; Whitford Davly exercyse B5⁷; 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 E1⁷; Certeine prayers G1⁷; Donne Devotions upon emergent occasions p. 552; Werdmüller op.cit p.30 - 1.

295) Erasmus, De contemptu mundi E1⁷; Preparation to deathe C2⁷; Mirroure of golde E6⁷; A Kempis I.xxiii; Cordiale B6⁷; Werdmüller op.cit 150.

296) Erasmus De contemptu mundi B8⁷; Hughes II Br⁷; Whitford Davly exercyse B6⁷; Cordiale C4⁷-⁷; Kalender of Sheperdes 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 A8⁷, Br⁷ 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 E4⁷ 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. B1r.

298) Cordiale A7r.

299) Cordiale C3v. 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 D8v - E1r.

301) There is an optimism in Shakespeare's sonnets LX, LXIII, LV, 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 B3r; Legrand M4r; Erasmus De contemptu mundi D8r; Lupset Of dieynge well p. 287 - 8; Certeine prayers G2v. 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 D1r; Lupset op.cit. p. 287.

307) Erasmus Preparation to deathe C2v; To teche a man to dye (STC. 11390) B8v - C1r; 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* (C8v – D1r).

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 death* C6r gives a list of men who refused to heed the warning and died unprovided – A Kempis D8v.


312) *op. cit. D8f.*

313) *op. cit E1r.* 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 pylgymages" which is much concerned with the brevity of man's earthly life* and *Gray, Themes and Images* p. 212ff.

314) Printed at the end of the third volume of Becon's *Works* 1563.

315) Some of the topics will be discussed at more length in later sections.

316) *Works*, vol III.f.513r.


318) *op.cit. f. 514r.*

319) *op.cit. f.516r.*

321) Preparation to Death C7.

322) Erasmus op. cit. C7V.

323) STC 3320 and 13522 both printed by Wyer without date, but perhaps from 1550's rather than 1530's.


325) Dives and Pauper, I.xlvii - viii.

326) op. cit. ed. 1536 f.66; Whitford Werke for Houholders (ed. Redman 1531) B8r - Cl.

327) op. cit. I.xlIii f.60V.

328) Among numerous prayers against sudden death, A devoute intercessyon (STC 14547) 3V and The Pater noster (STC 16820) D1r; Garade The interprescyon...of the Masse, f1V and see also Hoskins pp. 124, 132.

329) e.g. To teche a man to dye (STC 24250) E2V ff. Concern to allay fear of death was not confined to Protestants cp. Whitford's Dayly exercise.

330) The mirroure of golde E6r; 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 fourteenth century Apocalypse, ch.2, "Monasticism and Perfection".

332) See, for example, the series Christianisme et valeurs humaines - La Doctrine du Mepris du Monde en occident.

333) *PL* CCXVII. 701 – 46. It appeared in an English translation by H. Kirton, 1577 (*STC* 14094)

334) Hughe A troubled mans medicine. I. D8r.

335) Cordiale Cl–V; Rolle Contra Amatordes Mundi, p. 87; Kalender of shepardes ca 13; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E5r; P. Bush, The Extripacion of ignorancy (*STC. 4186*) Hughe Troubled mans medicine I. E2v; Persons Christian Directory (1607) p. 501 – 2.

336) Cordiale b1r; The mirroure of golde E1r; Hughe II. Clv, Person’s Christian Directory pp. 491 – 5.

337) The mirroure of golde E2v; Erasmus De contemptu mundi E8r.


340) Cordiale b1r; Treatise of faith, hope and charite f 72. Persons *ibid*.

341) The mirroure of golde E4v – 5r.

342) Treatise of faith, hope and charite E8r–v; The same passage is to be found in *The declaracyon and power of the Chrysten fayth* (*STC. 5160*) C4r which probably implies that both authors used a common original.
343) Matthew XXV: 31 - 46.

344) Thomas, The Vanitee of this world D7\textsuperscript{V}; Hughe I.D7 - E1; Becon Sick Man's Salve PS III p. 89.

345) Mirroure of golde E2\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{X} cp. Hughe I.B5\textsuperscript{F}.

347) Thomas, Vanitee of this world D7\textsuperscript{V} - 8\textsuperscript{F}.

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\textsuperscript{F} cp. Innocent PL \textsuperscript{c}x \textsuperscript{c}x VII, 702

350) Innocent cp. 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\textsuperscript{F} (YW I p. 220); The gathered covnsailes of saincteIsidorie (STC.14271) A2\textsuperscript{V} (YW II p. 367); Whitford Dayly exercise D7\textsuperscript{F-V}; The Assaute...of heuen B4\textsuperscript{F-V}; J.G. The myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe (STC 11499) C2\textsuperscript{V}; A newe Treatys...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, \textsuperscript{c}x\textsuperscript{c}x\textsuperscript{c}x p. 156.

351) N.P. Williams The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin,
Bampton lectures 1924, lecture V.

352) Bernard Meditations A5\(^V\), cp. Lydgate, "An Holy Medytacion", EETS es 107 p. 46 - 7; *A newe Treatys* C1\(^V\).

353) Ecclesiasticus X: 13 (Vulg.)

354) Meditations 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 Meditations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V We ought} & \quad \text{Paste} \\
\text{continually} & \quad \text{That we have unprofitably spent} \\
\text{to remember} & \quad \text{That good which we have left undone} \\
\text{these three} & \quad \text{That evil which we have committed} \\
\text{things: that} & \quad \text{Of the shortness of man's life} \\
\text{is to saye} & \quad \text{Of the difficulties to be saved} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tyme} & \quad \text{Of the small number that shall be saved} \\
\text{Present} & \quad \text{Of death most miserable} \\
\text{To come} & \quad \text{Of the last judgement(sic) most horrible} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Of the paynes of hell intollerable}
\end{align*}
\]

356) e.g. Complaynte of the soule ed. 1532 A5\(^F\), "thy body is but a dounghylle and a sacke of stynkynge myste"; *A myrrour... for them that be syke* K4\(^V\) describes the body as "thys fylthy sack" and Simon, *The fruyte of redeempcyon* ed 1530, A3\(^F\) "a frayle man fylth and wormes meet". Longland's *A sermond... vpon good fryday...MCCCC.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, Serpentes, wormes, and toodes, shall gnawe, eate, and deuoure..."
thy beautyfull face, thy fayre nose, thy clere eyes, thy whyte handes, thy gudly bodye"...cp. *Ludus Coventiae*, EETS es 120, p.177; *Towneley Plays* EETS es 71 p. 390 - 1

357) *Mirroure of golde A4r*.

358) *A myrrour...for them that be syke* is unusual in its brief reference, see in 356 above.

359) *Certeine prayers H2v*. Gararde, *The interpretacyon...of the Masse r2v* also mentions beggars at the church doors.

360) This in contrast to Donne, *Holy Sonnet IX*, *Divine Poems*. ed. H.Gardner, Oxford 1952, who sees a correspondence between outward form and inward virtue: "To wicked spirits are horrid shapes assign'd,| This beauteous forme assures a pitious minde".

361) *Preparation to deathe cap.ii*.

362) cp. n.342

363) Just the effect which love of the world, one particular sin, has upon worldly persons.

364) I. Corinthians XV:22.

365) In the "Consolacyon", a translation of Luther's *XIV Consolatione*, seven "images" of evil are balanced by seven concerning good things while Thomas' *Vanitee of This world* divides into two halves, the first on human miseries and vanity, the second on the love and goodness of God.

366) Devereux, *English Translations of Erasmus* notes two editions, c.1531 and 1533 and variant states of each, C.36 v 1 - 25.
367) In addition to the printed editions, *STC* 6157 - 9, it also occurs in Bodl. MS. Tanner 118, f.24 - 45 together with a version of Lupset's *A compendious treatise teaching the way of dying well*, f.58 - 75; Fisher's *Spiritual Consolation*, f.87 - 97 and Phisicke for the Soule verye necessaries to be vsed in the agonye of death, f.107 - 118 which seems to be a version of *A godly and holsom preseruatyne against dispension* (*STC*.20204 - 5)

368) Erasmus himself says it was written "whan I was scantly .xx.yeres of age", but Pineau, *Erasme 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* 17ème siècle, *livre seconde et provisoire*, *Nieuwkoop*, 1967, 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.
The plight of Everyman is also reflected in *The dynec creature* and the *Complaynt...of the soule*. For a fuller summary of the contents of the whole work, Post *op.cit.* pp. 660 - 70.

Pineau p. 31 n.3.

Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi* L8⁰, f.88.

Tree&am.xii. frutes C3⁹.

Erasmus *De contemptu* C3⁹.

E.g. *The Orchard of Synon* septima pars EETS. 258, 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 A4⁹.

Erasmus *De contemptu* G7⁰ - 8⁰.

See n.8 - 12 above; also Cyprian's *Sermon...of mortalitie* (edn. 1539) B2⁰, C4⁰. For later use of the theme by Puritan authors such as Downname, *The christian warfare*; William Gouge, *IT ex Vol* CTO: 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.

The idea behind Erasmus' *Enchiridion* cp. his *Preparation to deathe* D2⁰ - 3⁰.

Erasmus *De contemptu* H4⁰ - 5⁰; cp. A Kempis II.iii - iv.

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 - 8V.

384) op.cit.K.8.

385) op.cit I.8V.

386) op.cit. KiV.

387) For a useful summary, Post op.cit. chapter 8 pp.314 - 42

388) Erasmus op.cit K1F - V.

389) Pineau, Erasme sa pensée religieuse p. 35.

390) Erasmus op.cit. I.6V - 7F; Lupset Of dieyng well p.277 - 8.

391) Erasmus op.cit.I.7F.

392) Ibid.

393) Among other writers on the contemptus mundi and the ars moriendi to make considerable use of the classics are Lupset, William Hugh 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.4V, 7F.

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.


397) Cyprian Of mortalitie A3\(^\text{V}\) 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. Bevenot: The Tradition of Manuscripts, Oxford 1961.

399) Cyprian Of mortalitie B3\(^\text{r}\).

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\(^\text{V}\)f. where the author explains the significance of Jesus' warning that the time is come, the kingdom of God draws nigh, do penance and believe the Gospel, and points particularly to the need for faith in God's promises; Hugh II.D6\(^\text{r}\) - E2\(^\text{V}\).

402) Cyprian Of Mortalitie B4\(^\text{r}\). Simeon is also cited in Hugh II B7\(^\text{V}\) to which an young man replies that Simeon was old and ready to die whereas he, like the Man in Becon's The Praye of Death, feels aggrièved because he might have lived longer.
403) Cyprian op.cit. B5r.

404) See n. 294 above.

405) Cyprian op.cit. C5v – 6r

406) Some of the Reformers undoubtedly felt that in sixteenth century England they too were a minority group possessed of the faith.


408) Cyprian op.cit. C4r – v. Some of the images, the soldier tried in battle, the threshing of corn and earlier B8v... "haue pacience in thine humiliyte, for as well golde as siluer be tryed with fyre" are also to be found in the tribulation treatises.

409) Cyprian op.cit. B8v.

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 DiR.

412) Certeine prayers G3v; Hughe II.B4r.

413) Compare for instance their teaching on the way in which
God receives his own. Cyprian op. cit. D7 "More ower the holye goste teacheth by Salomon, that they, with whom god is pleased, be the soner taken away and delivered from hense, lest if they shulde abyde lenger, they shulde be polluted with worldly infections. Therefore Enoch was rapte and taken away sodainly, lest sensualle appetite shoulde corrupte his vnderstandynge. For his soule was vnto god pleasynge, and therefor he hastened to bringe him out of the myddes of iniquite".

In Hughe's Troubled mans medicine II C1 we read: "The holye ghoste teacheth by Salomon, that they whyche please God best be quickely and rathe taken frome this world, lest they shulde be polluted with the wyckednes of the same. He was taken awaye, sayeth he, lest 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 Idf; 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.


418) Cyprian, Of mortalitie D8 - E1: Let us "come vnto god whan he calleth, whiche sens it oughte to be done of
them, whiche be the seruauntes of god, mouch rather
nowe the worlde decayenge, and in paynte to falle,
and also compassed with tempestes of euilles continually
assaultinge it. Also we perceyue that great myschiefe
is all redy begonne, and we knowe that mouch gretter is
commyng: Let vs reken the grettest aduantage to deparde
shortelye from hense, whiche shal be for our speciall
comodite". Hughe II. G2 - 3: Be ready to depar when
God calls us, "The whiche thynge as the seruauntes of
god shulde alwayes be redy to doo, so at this tyme moost ready.
For as mouch as this miserable world, besette
with the horrible tempestes, stormes and troublesome
whorle wyndes of all kyndes of ayull, begynneth to decaye.
Moreover as greuous thinges haue all redy chaunseth to
nations, so more greuouse thynge are to be loked for in
that synne dayly encresseth among men more prouokeyng the
inst ire of god. Wherefore I can not but thinke it a
great gaine quickly to deparde 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 - Hughe II
D1; the idea that it is best to die young, Cyprian C6 - 7 -
Hughe II B6; the promise of the great ruler, Cyprian B6 -
Hughe II. B6 and the description of heaven, Cyprian E1 -
3 - Hughe II G3 - 4.

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

420) Dives and Pauper IX.x; Doctrynall of dethe C2v; Exornatorium curatorum (RSTC. 10627.5) C2r; Werdmuller A moste frutefull ....treatise pt. I. ch.25; Becon, Sickman's Salue, Works 1560 f.235.

421) Erasmus Preparation to death (edn.1543 used in this section) C4v; Werdmüller op.cit. p.155; Exornatorium curatorum C2r 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 B3r.

424) op.cit. B3v.


426) On babewyns in general, Evans, English Art p.38 - 44, plates 24 b - c, see also M.D.Anderson, History and Imagery in British Churches pl. 58 for a preaching fox.

427) [Note: the text is unclear, but it appears to be referring to "Whe[r] vnto is adioyned," possibly discussing a printed work from the 1570s or 1550s, and mentions Lowndes ascribing it to George Gascoigne.]
a Dyet for diuers of the Deuylles dearlinges, commonly called, dayly Dronkardes" and Jones printed a work by Gascoigne, "A delicate diet for daintie mouth-de droonkardes" in 1576.

428) The will of the Deuill A2r and B3v.

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-CCXVIII cover 1530 - 40 cp. Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc. 2 (1835) nos.LXXI - 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 N2r; To teche a man to dye B2v; Becon, Sickmans Salue, Works 1560. f.235v - 7v.
433) A myrrour or glasse N2r; Foundation and summe of Holy Scripture G1r.

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 necessarie Treatyse.

436) Legrand, op.cit. M4v - N1r.


438) Lupset also cites the example of Theodore and his lack of concern for burial, Of dieyng well. p.281.

439) Dives and Pauper, I:1xiii.

440) Erasmus Preparation to deathe E1.ff.

441) Doctrynall of dethe A4v allows the physician no place. Frith's Preparation to the crosse, cap.x allows considerable scope to the physician, cp. Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII: 1 - 8 etc. Erasmus is rather more cautious, Preparation to deathe E4r. In his Declamation in laudern noblissimae artis medicinae (Devereux, C.37, c.1536 - 7) he defends medicine against superstition (ms. and the Reformers attacked superstitious practices that corrupted religions) but he is critical of its practitioners.

442) cp. Doctrynall of dethe C3r.

443) Doctrynall of dethe A4v cp. Exornatorum curatorum (RSTC.10627.5) C3r; and J.G, The myrrour/lokynge glasse of lyfe..03r.
444) Frith, *Preparation to death* ca.xiv; *A myrrour*...*for them that be syke*. G.3f.

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 death*, C8-r-v, E3; Lupset *Of dieynge well* p. 276 - 7.

447) *Ars moriendi* STC 786 A1r.


449) Whitford, *Dayly exercyse* E5; *Primer*, 1531 (STC 15966) A4v; *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 freynde". 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.


455) In his *Preparation to death* 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, Pp 2pQq provides a series of examples of good and of bad deaths.
456) Preparation to deathe E\textsuperscript{V} - V on the disagreement of physicians etc.

457) Preparation, C\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{E} Erasmus comments: "They do devoutly, which when death draweth nere, do send to the monastery of the Carthusians, or friers observerantes 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 thereof."

459) Preparation D1\textsuperscript{V} - 2\textsuperscript{F}. The individual's membership of the communion of saints is stressed by several Protestant authors, e.g. A myrour...for them that be syke I.6f; Certeine prayers I.3\textsuperscript{F}.

460) Fumus, B6\textsuperscript{V}.

461) Preparation F5\textsuperscript{F} describes how people attempt to allay the fear of purgatory by remedies which Erasmus considers ineffectual: "Some dyd promyse to be sure and redeemed from the fyre of Purgatory by byenge of pardons: but I feare lest this was not, to succour and conforte the syckeman, but rather a mockyng and a mere dissimulation."

462) Preparation E4\textsuperscript{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 Chrysny men* declares that it is not for St. Francis' sake that a man will possess the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can his holy cowl save anyone from hell. L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* pp. 131 - 45.

463) Funus C3 V.

464) Preparation C3 V.

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

466) Hugh, *The troubled mans medicine* II. F5 V.

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.


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

472) Among a vast number of authors who refer to the body as the prison of the soul: Erasmus, Preparation to death A3, C2; The Book of the Craft of Dying, YW II, p. 407; Legrand, Good Manners I6; Lupset Of dieying well p. 272; Whitford Dayly exercyse A6 ascribes the view to St. Ambrose; Hughe Troubled mans medicine II, C4, 8; the Primer of 1545 contained a prayer for the 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 and 3 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.


474) cp. Werdmüller p. 182


476) cp. Exornatorium curatorum B5 – 6; the first exercise of Whitford's Dayly exercyse is based on the imagined experience of death and declares, D2, "I will now in helth study and exercise my selfe wt this fourme: specially how I shal answere ye lothly best ye fende".

477) Erasmus, Preparation to death 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 traite La science de bien mourir ou médecine de l'amé de Jean Gerson" Le Moyen Age LXX (1964) pp 265 – 84.

480) STC.6931 - 2, printed c.1498 and 1532, quotations from the latter.

481) Printed Horstman VW 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 XVe 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 El.ff.

487) It was clearly considered important that a man should, where possible, receive the Last Rites and St.Barbara
was particularly concerned to protect men from dying without them — she appears in company with St. Lawrence, St. Katherine and St. Stephen in the xylographic edition's illustrations of the Good Angel's inspiration to patience.

488) Ecclesiastes VIII:1 is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YWIIp.407; Legrand Good Manners M1 v etc.

489) Gerson, ed. Glorieux VII. p.405 cp. Lylyll treatysse A2 r — v
The doctrynall A2 v — 4 v.

490) cp. The Rote, ch.xv. n.61 above.

491) Lylyll treatysse A2 r.


493) Lylyll treatysse A1 r; The doctrynall B1 v; Erasmus, Preparation E8 r. cp. the line "Hold thou thy cross before my closing eyes" from the hymn "Abide with me".

494) e.g. Hodnett nos. 502, 510.

495) Quoted from The boke of the craft of dying YW,II p. 410 from which it found its way into The doctrynall B4 r — v and The craft of deving (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 Myrour 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.
Among English illustrations Bodl. M.S. Gough Liturg. 3. (English c.1500) f.95v 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) f18v. 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 - 1vi 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.

O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well pp.27 - 31, discusses some of the sources. The temptations receive some discussion or are described in The boke of the craft of dying; The doctrynall, Exornatorium curatorium; The Cordiale; The complaynt of the soule, Erasmus' Preparation to death; Whitford's Dayly exercyse; Frith in The preparation to deathe and The preparation to the crosse; A myrrour... for them that be syke; Hughe The troubled mans medicine II; A godly and holsom preseruatyue against disperacion.

Erasmus, Preparation Fl\textsuperscript{v} f. cp. A godly and holsom preseruatyue D3\textsuperscript{v}.

Erasmus, Preparation Fl\textsuperscript{v}.

Hughe, Troubled Mans Medicine II. Fl\textsuperscript{v} - 3\textsuperscript{v}.
502) Bonde, A deuoute Epystle (STC. 3276) f.xvii\(^V\). The whole of the chapter, xv, in which this passage occurs is printed anonymously in the 1583 edition of the Jesus Psalter C6\(^V\) f.


504) Suicide is discussed at some length in More's Dyalogue of conforte II:xvi.


507) St. Peter and St. Mary Magdalene are mentioned among others in The boke of the craft of dying YW II.p. 410 and The doctrynall B4\(^V\) also in Bonde's Deuoute Epystle f.23\(^V\) and Erasmus' Preparation E8\(^r\). In the xylographic editions the illustration to "Bona inspiratio angli contra desperationem" includes St. Peter, St. Mary Magdalene, the repentant thief of the crucifixion and St. Paul.


509) His example is cited in The boke of the craft of dying, YW II p. 412; The doctrynall and Erasmus' Preparation to deathe.

510) The only name to appear with this and The Preparation to the Crosse is that of the translator, Richard Tracy. The
reason for the ascription to Frith appears to be derived from its appearance, together with Frith's Mirrour of Glasse to know thyselfe in the anonymous volume entitled Vox Piscis (RSTC. 11395) printed in 1627. Tracy may well have come into contact with Frith over the matter of his father's will and so it is not impossible that the work is by Frith. The first edition Of the Preparation to the Crosse, and to Death (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 (STC 24250) 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 ofChristes Gospell" and "The Myrrrour 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 i.e. Johannes Hoochstraten of Antwerp who had still other pseudonyms, "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century) "The Library" 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.

514) e.g. Becon's denunciation of holywater, holy bread etc. *Sick Man's Salve*, PSTII. 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* - 5r.

517) cp. The doctrynall's reference to the grace received in baptism, A4r and to the faith taken at the font stone, B2r.

518) To teche a man to dye Blv - 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 creator 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* Blvvf laments the false and beguiling teaching of former "crafty sole maisters" who bound the people to the traditions of Rome.

520) To teche a man to dye CsR; A *myrrour...for them that be syke K7f* 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* (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*.

522) *Certeine prayers*, the seventh image of the first table and *A myrrour*, B5 includes "A declaration and exhortation to suffer all troubles paciently & faythfully..."

523) *A Myrrour* (about I 6) and *Certeine prayers* H7, "Here is Iesus Chryst crucifyed the hed of all christen/the capteyn of all theym that suffer" also L3ff. 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* - 3. 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*; Erasmus *Preparation A3*; *Certeine prayers G2*; *A myrrour...for them that be syke I.3*; Hughe *Troubled mans medicine II C5*; Werdmüller *A moste frutefull...treatise* 2 - 3; *A newe Treatise F3*.

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 Exv STC. 24250.

528) More Dyalogue of conforte 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 B1v, 4r; Whitford Dayly exercise A3r; Certeine prayers G.3r and Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermon before Edward VI ed. E.Arber, London 1869 p. 200.

532) Certeine prayers G1v.

533) cp. The Homily of the Fear of Death which deals in its three parts with the three causes why worldly men fear death: "one, because they shall lose thereby their worldly honours, riches, possessions, and all their heart's desires; another, because of the painful diseases and bitter pangs which commonly men suffer either before or at the time of death; but the chief cause above all others is the dread of the miserable state of eternal damnation both of 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 Corinthians XV: 18 In the Dayly exercise C2r 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\textsuperscript{r} that in death the body is "oppressed with slepe".

535) A myrrour...for them that be syke K\textsuperscript{8} 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 A\textsuperscript{5}F\textsubscript{3} quoting St. Bernard's Myrrour of monkes approves the deterrent aspect of the memento\textsubscript{mori}, saying that whoever bears the remembrance of death "in his mynde in what place soever he go shall never 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\textsuperscript{y} make vs dispysse the world\textsuperscript{c}/ allueiate oure passyon\textsuperscript{c}/ and eylls": he refrains from comment on the effectiveness of the threat.

537) Erasmus Preparation A\textsuperscript{2}R.

538) Erasmus, Preparation B\textsuperscript{3}V - 4\textsuperscript{R}.

539) A myrrour...for them that be syke. I\textsuperscript{3}R\textsuperscript{v}

540) In addition to the printed versions in the Collected works and the separate editions of 1534 and 1541, STC 16932 - 35, a slightly abbreviated version was copied in Bodl. MS. Tanner 118 (probably early XVII century) This version begins after the pagan examples at the
beginning, with "This dienge well is in effecte to
dye gladlye..." (p.271 ed.Gee) and omits the references
to John Walker towards the end, but it is an otherwise
close copy.

541) Walker was a member of Reginald Pole's household. For
contemporary references to him L and P Henry VIII, V.
No. 530; VIII No. 511; XIII (i) No. 422; preferments are
recorded L and P. Henry VIII. V.838 (25) cp.III.(i) 405 (ii).
Although I have found no record of his having attended
either university in England, he may have studied abroad
or acquired the considerable familiarity with classical
history, which Lupset assumes, informally in Pole's house-
hold, on which see W.Schenk, Reginald Pole (London 1950).

542) Cato the younger was famous enough, Plutarch's Lives
(ed. Loeb vol.8.pp.399 - 409) and Seneca's De Tranquillitate
Animae XVI:1. Catulus and Merula committed suicide in
anticipation of trial and execution after the occupation
of Rome by Marius and Cinna, 87 B.C. (H.M.Last, Cambridge
Ancient History IX (1932) p. 264 - 5)

543) Lupset declares, p. 269, that "Euer by goddes mere goodnes
man knewe what was well to be done, and what was contrarye
yuelle to be done. It is a lawe written in the harte of
man with the fynger of god in our creation, to be enduced
by reason to praise alway vertue, and to thynke synne
worthye of disprayse". St.Paul had tried to shame Jewish
Christians into recognition of their sinfulness by pointing
out the natural virtues of the Gentiles, e.g. Romans II:
12 - 16 (see C.K.Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans (London
1962) p. 51 - 2) and perhaps Lupset was attempting to do the
same; but in its context the passage sounds more like a
commendation of pagan virtue and powers of reason.
544) The stories of Theodorus and Canius, especially the latter, are virtually word for word translations of the stories of Seneca's *De Tranquillitate Anima* XIV: 3 - 10.

545) Who may have been the Spanish sympathizer mentioned in 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 faith 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* B4V - 5F, C4V - 5F. Stoic philosophy taught men to sit light to the things of this world and warned them against the fickleness of fortune.

550) Erasmus, *Preparation* A4F.

551) The view was common enough in medieval works but Erasmus, e.g. *Preparation* B5V, and Lupset may well have made direct use of classical sources, such as Cicero's *Cato Maior de Senectute* (Bude edn. Paris 1940) II.4,XIX - XX etc.

552) Lupset, p. 274, "Hloude in his measure and temperance between cold and hotte, kepeth lyfe in the body: the which bloud by innumerable waies of chanses may be altered and
constrayned to leaue his nouryshyng, whervpon shall insue the losse of lyfe."

553) Lupset lists living things in their hierarchial order of the great chain of being-life being defined as use of the sense and ability to move and he implies growth.

554) Lupset, Of dieyng well p.274.

555) cp. Simon, The fruyte of redempcyon (ed.1530), A4r, "it hath pleased the amonge al thy blessed werkes to make me a reasonable man".

556) Lupset would probably not have gone quite a far as Alberti's "Men are themselves the source of their own fortune and misfortune" or Pico della Mirandola's "0 supreme generosity of God the Father, 0 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.


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 C8v.

560) Erasmus, Preparation C5v.

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 ever continually without ceasing you must", but he goes on to describe what prayer is: "the very prayer is to be ever well mynded, to be ever in christie, to haue ever the honour of good in rememberance, to suffre no rancore, none yre, no wrath, no malice, no syn to abyde in your delyte, but to be in a continual good thought... neuer perauenture you can pray better, than whan you must giue your selfe to serue your maister (Pole)". It is a noble list, but rather a summary of Stoic ideals than a distinctively Christian summary.

563) Ecclesiasticus VII:40 etc. (Vulg).


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.
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", "Doomesday", "Hells Horrour", "Right Purgatory" and "Heavens Happiness".

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.

A. Michel *The Last Things* p.9.

Erasmus *Preparation to deathe* Cl-F-V.

The first edition, printed without date, is given 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'ame dannée*, GW 7264 - 8, although the same type of work is in verse and the English is not a direct translation.

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 os. 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.


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 Map 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. Time exercised in virtue will lead to joy hereafter but unless the residue of his time is well spent "all shall tourne the to greate punysshement" cp. Fisher Consolacyon p.355 and one of the virtues of the mass was claimed to be restoration of time to the sinner.

582) Complaynt A3. For similar emphasis on the importance of man's reason, Simon, Fruyte of redempcyon (1530) A4, Lupset Of dieving well p. 274 - 5.

583) Job X:1 (cp. Pety, YW II p. 382) was part of the second lesson of the Dirige.

584) Complaynt B1.

585) Complaynt A2. 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 0 thou lord of lyfe, send my roots rain".

586) Complaynt B1. The prayer begins: "O moost mercyfull lorde whiche arte the well of pyte of grace from whome the flood of celestyall glorye dothe streme vpon all the heauenly courte..."


588) cp. n.6. supra.

589) Complaynt C4.

590) Complaynt D1.

591) Complaynt D1 – 2.
592) cp. Lupset Of dieynge 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 Kr\textsuperscript{r} - v

597) Dyenge creature A2\textsuperscript{r}; Hamlet V.ii. "This fell sergeant, death, Is strict in his arrest..." For the widespread popularity of such dramatic summons, Owst LPME p.531 - 2.

598) For a similar reluctant condemnation by a Good Angel, The Castle of Perseverance, EETS. 262 p. 92 - 3

599) In the ars moriendi books conformity to the belief of the Church is expressed in the Interrogations and the recitation of the Creed cp. Erasmus Preparation to deathe F1\textsuperscript{v}; More Dyalogue of conforte I.xii and Hilton Scala II.x.

600) Everyman is forbidden any advocate.

601) Dyenge creature B2\textsuperscript{v}. The language is that of numerous prayers from the Primer, The Rosarye of our Lady and Copland's 1529 edition of the xyoos 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...

605) Doctrynall (ed.1532) B1v.

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

607) Lytyll trytys A3v.

608) Orologium p. 346.

610) XV.Cos (STC 20196) B3′ - C1′, the same prayer as that from a York Horae printed EETS 71pp. 199–200.

611) Jesus Psalter (STC. 14503) A8′-V "Thy blissed moder be mediatryce for me and purchase a contrite hert for yt I haue offended the".


613) Deynege creature B2′, C1′, C4′ 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.


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.

In his meditation "Doomes-day", *Compleat Works*, 1674 p. 406.

The introduction promises that the Fifteen signs "shall be declared by order here-after" although they are not given.

In *The Doome warning all men to Judgemente*, 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 read the same, that they may perceiue to what end thy gracious goodnesse hath pretended this worke as a fragment among other moste holy edictions, to warne this later age, by the comming and dayly appearing of vnaccustomed prodigies, to be the onely foretoken of mans destruction for sinnes, as in the times of olde, hayles, fires from heauen, thunderinges, Eclipses, blasing starres, Elementall shewes of armies, raining of blood, milkes, 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, inceste, 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. 38V and from M. R. James' *Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* 1895, MSS. 51 (42); 53 (46); 56 (8). Among woodcuts Hodnett nos. 790 and 2367 (many more show the torments of souls in hell, devils etc.) and a continental cut in _The mystic rosary_.

627) For descriptions of hell and judgement CLST PME
pp. 336 - 41; LPME pp. 294 - 302, 516 - 24 etc.
cp. Becon's A New Pastil, 1566, f. 11v etc.

628) To teche a man to dye C8v cp. The Dialogue... betwene
our Saviour Ihesu Chryste and a synner D6v f. where
Christ blesses those who remember and fear the
judgement.

629) To teche a man to dye C8r - v.

630) Bonde, Deoute Epystle fol. 4r.

631) Bonde op.cit. fol 25r.

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. 37v, 49v.

634) Bernard Medytacyons ca. ii, A5 V cp. Cordiale fol 38r 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
Plays pp 294 - 9

638) Longland: A Sermon... upon good fryday L2v - 3r.
639) Longland, ibid G3. According to The to lyue well and to dye well (STC 74) f.68, a view derived from Chrysostom.

640) A lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv tokens, STC.24222, sig. G3r - D4r.

641) XV Tokens D4r.


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, F5v.


646) Pomander of prayer G8v - DIv.
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* p. 269 ff, *Speculum Sacerdotale EETS* 200 p. 224 ff, and in Van Os, *Religious Visions* ch. 7.

The pains are described *A4r* - *B4v*.

*Erasmus* *Preparation to deathe* *F5v*.

*To teche a man to dye* *C8v*.


See *A Revelation of purgatory*, Horstman *YW I* p. 391.

See n. 489 above.

*Festial EETS* es 96 p. 269.

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".

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

663) Dyalogue of conforte 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.


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.


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
e.g. the woodcuts illustrating Lazarus' vision of the pains of hell found in the French and English editions of The Shepherds' Calendar by Nicholas Le Rouge, Verard, Pynson, de Worde and Julian Notany (also in the Verard and de Worde editions of The crafte to lyue well and to dye well) are all closely related.

Cordiale G8, cp Mirk Festial EETS es 96 p. 238, and for the various senses of hell, EETS es 19 p. 317.

Kalender of Shephardes G7, (STC 22410).


I Enoch XXXVII:1 and XL:8; XLVI:2.

Out LPME p. 295 (especially n.3)ff.

I,Enoch LXII:12


Mirooure of golde, final chapter "Of the Ioyes of paradys/e and paynes of hell"; Cordiale part 3.
683) Pseudo-Augustine Pl XXXIX, 1929 sermo xcvi; Comester Pl.CXCVIII, 1597 cap. cxvi.


686) Goodly treatyse, ed 1532, A4° - Bl.

687) Becker op.cit. respectively pp 83, 90, 89, 76, 79.

688) The section in question covers sigs. Qq5° - Ss4° in the 1521 edition.

689) Examples A3°, A3°, Bl°.

690) A lytell treatyse called...the (Myrrour or lokynge glasse of lyfe) STC 11499. sigs. m.1°.

691) Bernard, Medytacyons ca.vi.B.3°.


693) Certeine prayers F7°.

694) Erasmus, De Contemptu Mundi. II°.

695) Myrrour...for them that be syke about M5.


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...wyppon good fryday...M.CCCCxxxvi. K2v – 3v.


709) Cordiale K8v.

710) Whitford, Dayly exercyse E2v.

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
kynghs folke, alies and frendes euerlastingly in the glorious blysse of heauen!

712) Whitford, *Dayly exercyse* E3r - v.

713) *Orologium* p. 389.

714) *A Kempis* III: 53.


716) Bernard *Medytacyons* B4r.

717) Hilton *Scala Perfectionis* II: 40, edn. 1533, X.r.

718) *Certeine prayers* H.7r.


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.


3. Both Cardinal Gasquet's The Eve of the Reformation (London 1900) and H. Maynard Smith's Pre-Reformation England are too general with regard to the period covered and too selective in their choice of literary illustrations.

4. The Skot reprints include The golden letany RSTC 15707.5; The Rosary RSTC 17545.5; Nychodemus gospell STC 18570A (all 1536 - 7); there was also another edition of Cura clericalis, STC 6127 in 1537 and Dives and Pauper STC 19214 the previous year; even the number of traditional Sarum or York Horae published is dramatically reduced.

5. Traditional Latin service books re-appeared during Mary's reign as did a few Henrican authors e.g. More, STC 18076, 18082; Fisher STC 10896-7, 10908 - but none of the medieval works were apparently reprinted. The Recusant reprints were, for the most part new editions and included A & R nos. 102 (STC 1860 =17552); 128 (STC 3268/9); 304 (STC 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 (= 23968A); 23987 - 92).

7. These include *Speculum Vitae Christi* 1494; 1517, n.d., 1525, 1530 (STC 3261, 3264–7); *Three Kings of Cologne* (1496), c.1499, 1511, 1526 (and Duff, *Handlists* 1530) (STC 5572 – 5); *Doctrynall of dethe*, (1498), 1532 (STC 6931 – 2); *The abbaye of the holy Ghost* (1496), (1500), (and 1531 Duff *op.cit* and Maunsell’s *Catalogue* (1595)p. 1), (STC 13609 – 10); Hilton’s *Scala Perfectionis* 1495, 1525, 1533 (STC 14042, 14044 – 5); Mirk’s *Festial* 1493, 1496, 1499, (1508), 1515, 1528, 1532 (STC 17962, -5, -7,17971 – 2, -4, -5); *XII profytes of trybulacyon* (1499) 1530 (STC 20412 – 3); *The Rote or myrrour of consolacyon* (1496), (1499), 1511, 1530 (STC 21334 – 7); *Wednesdays 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 Vaisier 1967 suggesting that it, like the *Dyetary* which includes woodcuts linked with Syon (Hodnett nos 457,2277–2379) may have been printed at the request of Syon.

9. R. Whitford, *Pype or Tonne* (STC 25421) f.19v.


11. Whitford *Ibid* f.205v recognizes that it can have a more general application.


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 Manae 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.

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 works

STC 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

Dedication to Gregory, Thomas Cromwell's son.

STC 256
ST ALBAN. Here begynnethe the glorious lyfe and passion of saint Albon prothomartyr of Englande / and also the lyfe and passion of saint Amphabel / whiche converted saint Albon to the fayth of Christe. 4°. [St. Albans, J. Herford], 1534.

Translated by John Lydgate.

STC 281

The work was printed "at the Instaunce of the reuerende
relygious fader Thomas Pryour of the house of saynt Anne ye ordre of ye Chartouse".

STC 292
ALESIUS, Alexander. Of the auctorite of the word of god agaynst the bishop of London / wherein are conteyneyd certen disputacyons had in the parlament howse betwene the bishops abowt the number of the sacraments and other things / very necessary to be known ...

STC 397
___ A spirituall Almanacke. wherein every Christen man and woman may se what they ought dayle to do, or leave undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papistes, nor after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other Heythen Astronomers, but out of the very true & wholsome doctrine of God our almyghty heuenly father, shewed vnto vs in his wordes, by his prophets Apostels, but specially by his dere sonne Iesus Christ And is to be kept not onely this newe yeare but contynuall ynto the daye of the Lordes commyng agayne. 8°.
R. Kele [?1546]

Wing A.2992
AMBROSE, Isaac. The Compleat Works Of that Eminent Minister of Gods Word Mr. Isaac Ambrose. fol. for Rowland Reynolds, 1674

STC 659
___ An answere to a letter. 8°. T. Godfray, [?1535]

STC 770
___ (ARISTOTLE) [ The secret of secretes] 4°. R. Copland, 1528
See EETS es.74 and es.66.
Here begynneth a lytyll treatyse schortely compyled and called ats moriendi / that is to saye the craft for to d耶e 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.).)

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.

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])

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


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 Tavener at the commandment of Thomas Cromvell.
STC 937

St AUGUSTINE. A little pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise. Very woorthy and needful to be read of every Christian that is willing to tread the steps which lead to Heaven. 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 (A1V) as "olde / scabrous / rough / & not of the englysshe comynly vsed in these partyes".

STC 967

St AUGUSTIN of Abingdon (St. Edmund) [The devoute treatyse called the myrroure of the chyrche] 4°. Peter Treveris (n.d.)

(Other edns. 1521, 1527 and see after STC 11210)


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 Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion 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 weewe [sic] booke 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 Sunday Gospelles, that be redde in the Church thorowout the yeare : lately set foorth vnto the great profite not onely of all 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 conforte 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 liyng, contaynyng the hole summe and effect of al vertue ... translated by Thomas Paynell. 8°. T. Petty. [1545?]

RSTC 1910·5
This is a Latin version of Bernard Sylvester's Of the cure & governaunce of a housholde, RSTC 1967·5, and despite the title, not by Bernard of Clairvaux.

STC 1911 (RSTC 1915·5)
St BERNARD. An epistle of saint Bernarde / called the golden epistle / whiche he sent to a yong religyous man whom he moche loued. And after the sayd epistle / foloweth four reuelations of saint Birget. 8°. T. Godfray [?c.1535]

STC 1912
St BERNARD. Here begynneth a goodly treatyse / and it is called / a notable lesson / otherwyse it is called the golden pystle. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 - 23 Nov. (also at 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 monycon, or counsayle of the cure & gouernaunce of a housholde / accordyng 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 profyttable treatyse compendiously drawn out of many & dyuers wrytyngs of holy men / to dyspose men to be vertuously occupiied 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
Includes "Saynt Bernarde to a newe beginnner in relygyon".

**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 Harburg 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 diverse other moste Christian prayers, translated by Richard Tauerner. 16° (in 8's). [R. Banks] 1539.

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

**STC 2987**

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

**STC 3014**

(Ned Bibli 3906)

Storys and prophesis out of the holy scriptur / garnyschede with faire ymages / and with deuoute praiers / and thanck geuings vnto God. With grete diligence oursien and aprouued by the inquisitor of the Christen faiithe / maester Nycolas Coppijn / de Monitibus / Dean of saincte Peters / and Chanceler of the vniuersite of Louen. 8°. Antwerp, Symon Cowke, 1536 (Copy also at M).
A compendious olde treatysse / showyng / how that we ought
to haue ye scripture in Englyshe. 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)

(c.p. STC 25588)
This was the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible.

= an edn of 3036-41)

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

The summe of the holye scripture / and ordinarye of the
Christen teachyng / the true Christen faihte / by the which we be
all justified. 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].)

[The concordance of the new testament most necessary to be had
in the handes of all soche as, (deleyte) in the communicacion of
any place contayned in ye new Testament. 8°. T. Gybson, 1535.
(First part of title supplied in ms)
BICKNOLL, Edmund. A Swoorde against swearyng, conteyning these principal poyntes. 1. That there is a lawful use of an oath, 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 usuall swearyng leadeth vnto perjurie. 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)

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 worshipful esquyer Mayster Robert Langdon. 1525. (repr. EETS 170, earlier edn. [?1478] ) (Copy also at M)

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

Translation by Nicholas Love of Mountgrace Charterhouse.
St BONAVENTURA. The crosrowe or A.B.C. Here foloweth two Opuscules or small werkes of saynt Bonauenture / moche necessarye and profytable vnto all chrystyanes specyally vnto relygyous persones / put in to englysshe by a brother of Syon Rychard Whytforde. 4° W. de Worde. 1532 (Copy at O10)

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

BONDE, William. A deuote treatyse for them that ben tymorouse and fearefull in conscience whiche treatyse 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. Pawkes, ?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 devote relygious woman of Dennay. At ye instance of her spirituall frendes. And by that same frende overseen & deuyded in to xx. chapitres ...". Chapter xv, "Good remedyes ageynste spirituall temptacions", was reprinted anonymously with the Jesus Psalter in STC 17263 etc.

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

On CS  "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

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.

[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. xii. proffites of tribulacyon (see STC 20412-3): A
compendious abstracte ... out of the holy rule of saynte Benet
(see EETS 120)

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

A boke of prayers called ye ordnary fasshyon of good
lyuynge. [?8"] W. Myddylton [?1541-3]
The boke of wysdome, folowynge the auctoryties of auncyent phylosophers / Dyuydynge / and spekyenge of vyces and vertues / wherby a man maye be praysed / or dyspraysed / with the maner to speke alwayes well and wysely to all folkes / of what estate so euer they be. 8°. R. Wyer, 1532 - 20 January (Other edns 1565, [?1575])

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

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

BRINKELLOW, Henry. The complaunt 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 ... 6° Savoy, F. de Turona (?Zurich: ?1550] (3 earlier issues c.1548: See EETS es.22)

BRUNSFELSIUS, Otto. A very true pronosticacion / with a Kalender / gathered out of the moost auncyent bokes of ryght holy astronomers, for the yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.xxxvj. And for all yeres here after perpetuall. Translated out of latyn in to Englysshe by John Ryckes preest. 8° J. Byddell (1536)
STC 4021

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

STC 4054

BULLINGER. Heinrich. A commentary vpon the seconde epistle of S. Paul to the Thessalonians. In ye which besydes the summe of oure faythe, ther is syncerelye handled & set forth at large, not onely ye fyrst comynge vp & rysyng with the full prosperyte & dominion, but also the fall and ytter 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 modycynes necessary to be vsed among weldisposed people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of pestilens / thus collecte and sette forth in ordre by the diligent laboure of the religyous brother syr Paule Bushe preste and bonehome in the good house of Edyndon. 8° R. Redman [1530s]. Bushe became bishop of Bristol in 1542.

STC 4186

BUSHE, Paul. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in Englysshe / called the Extripacion of ignorancy: and it treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people / shewyng them howe they are bounde to feare god / to loue god / and to honour their prince. Which treatise is lately compyled by sir Paule Busshe preest / and Bonhomme of Edyndon: and dedicate vnto the yong and most hye renomed lady Mary / princes & doughter vnto the noble progenytour / our worthy souerayne kyng Henry the eight / kyng
of Englande and of Fraunce / & hye defender of ye christen faythe &c. 4° R. Pynson [1526]

STC 4240

BYGOD, Sir Francis. A treatise concernyng impropriations of benefices. 8° T. Godfrey, [?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


STC 4615

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 mannens soule. fol. W. de Worde 1519 – 28 Sept. (An edn. EETS 258)

STC 4624

CATHARINE Parr. Prayers or meditacions, wherin the mind is stirred paciently to suffre all afflictions here, to sette at naught the vaine prosperitee of this worlde, and alwaie to long for the euerlastyng felicitee: collected out of certayne holy workes 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)
CATHARINE Parr. The lamentacion of a synner. made by the moste vertuous lady Quene Caterine, bewailyng the ignoraunce of her blind life: set foorth & put in print at the instant desire of the right gracious lady Catherine duchesse of Suffolke, and the ernest request of the right honourable Lord William Parr, Marquesse of North hampton. 8° E. Whitchurch, 1548 - 28 March. (Edns: 1547; 1563, and in Harleian Miscellany V, 1808).

After STC 4891

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


STC 5098

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
reproud. 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
1540)
STC 5292
CICERO. Tullius de senectute bothe in latyn and englysshe tonge
Translated by Robert Whitinton poete laureate. 8°. J. Byddell
[?1535]

STC 5313
CICERO. [The Paradox of M.T. Cicero, translated by R. Whittinton]
8°. J. Redman for R. Redman [1540]

STC 5547
COLET, John. A ryght frutexful 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. 5°. T. Berthelet [?1530] (repr.
E. Nugent op.cit. pp.358-64)

STC 5574
— The thre kynges of Coleyne. 4°. W. de Worde, 1511.
(Other edns. [1496], [1499], 1526 and EETS 85. See Dibdin,
Typographical Antiquities vol. II (London 1812) pp.167-8 for note
of a 1530 edn. apparently translated by Whitford.)

STC 5606 = 20882-3

STC 5610
— Here begynneth a lamentable complaynte that ye soule
maketh of the wretched lyfe of the body. 4°. W. de Worde,
1532, (Anr. ed. c.1520)

Complainte douloureuse de lame dampnea. 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 Englende / this lytell boke named Contemplacyon of synners is compyled & fynysshed. the sayd blessyd fader in god desyrynge gretly all vertue to encreace and vyce to be exyled / hath caused this booke to be enprynted to the entente that oft redynge this booke may surely, aerche 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 eyull 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

STC 5892

COVERDALE, Miles. Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawn out of holy scripture, for the conforte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his worde. 4°. John Gough [?1539]

(repr. Coverdale, Remains, PS pp.533-90)

Music is printed for each set of verses.

STC 6035a

— The dyenge creature. 4°. W. de Worde [? after 1532]

(Other edns 1507, 1514 and, unrecorded, before STC 6034, de Worde 1506, Bamb)

STC 6127

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

STC 6156

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

STC 6158

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

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

STC 6431

DAY, Richard. A booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, wworthy to be read vvith an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungorous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull vnvo vs. 4°. J. Dave, 1590.
STC 6455

A declaracion of the seremonies anexid, to the sacrament of baptyme, what they sygnyffie and how we owght to vnderstande them. 8°, 1537.

RSTC 6456.5

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

STC 6794 (2 edns)

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

STC 6833

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

STC 6837

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

STC 6894 = 15531

DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The lyfe of prestes ... 8° R. Redman [?1535]
STC 6895  
DIONYSIUS, Carthusianus. The mirroure of golde for the syn full soule. 4° (in 6's) W. de Worde, 1522-29 March (Other edns 1522, 1526, n.d.)  
   For a modernized version of chap. 5 and for a note on the attribution of authorship to Jacobus de Gruytroede, see E. Nugent The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance pp.364-6. 

STC 6904  
    [......] that be tymorous or ferfull in co [iu] cyence / compiled by one of the fathers of Syon & now put in impressyon at the instant request of another devout religyous man &c.  
    This is a slightly different (earlier) version of STC 3275-6. 

STC 6928  
    A dyurnall: for devout 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 doctrynall of dethe. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 (Anr ed. [1498]). 

STC 6933  
    The doctrynall of mekenesse. 8°. R. Copland, 1529 - 28 Sept. 

STC 7137  
DOWNAME, John. The christian warfare against the Deuell World
and Flesh Wherein is described their nature, the maner of their fight and meanes to obtaine victorye. fol. William Stansby, 4th edn 1634 (Other edns include 1604, 1608, 1612-9).

STC 7260

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

STC 7270

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

STC 7630

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

STC 7635

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

STC 7668

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Of the knowledg whiche maketh a wise man. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns 1534, [after 1548] ).
ELYOT, Sir Thomas. Pasquil the playne. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1533 (Other edns. 1532, 1540).

ELYOT, Sir Thomas. A preservative agaynst deth. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1545

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

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


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]

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)

After STC 10468 — see p. 456 below.

STC 10471 (Devereux C36.2/2a/2b)

STC 10474 (Devereux C38.2)

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 englishe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of ixix. 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."
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.)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. An epystell of ye famous doctor Erasmus of Roterdam / vnto the reuerende father & excellent prince / Christofer bysshop of Basyle / concernyng the forbedyng of eatynge of flesshe / and lyke constitutyons of men &c. 8°. T. Godfray [c.1534] (Anr ed about same date)

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

ERASMUS, Desiderius. A ryght frutefull epystle / deuysed by the moste excellent clerke Erasms [sic] / in laude and prayse of matrymony / translated in to Englyshe / by Richard Tauernour /
which translation he hath 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 [1546], and of Paraclesis alone,

STC 10495
(Devereux C41)
ERASMUS, Desiderius. An exhortacyon to the study of the Gospell.
8°. R. Wyer [c.1533-4] (Other
edns about same date and [1546], and of Paraclesis alone,

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. commandementes of goddes law / newly made and put forth by the famous clarke / Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame / at the requeste of the moste honorable lorde / Thomas erle of wyltshiye: father to the moste gracios and vertuous Quene Anne wyf to our moste gracyous soueraygne lorde kyng 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 devout as eloquent ... 8°. T. Berthelet, 1543 (Anr. edn.1538).

STC 10508 (Devereux C26)
ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon made: by the famous Doctor Erasmus of Roterodame. 8°. R. Wyer [?1533]

STC 10509 (Devereux C27)
ERASMUS, Desiderius. A sermon of the chylde Iesus made by the most famous clerke doctour Erasmus of Roterdam. To be pronounced and preached of a chylde vnto chyldren. 8°.
R. Redman [?1536]

STC 10608
— The example of euyl tonges. 4°. W. de Worde [?1500]

After STC 10608
— [Anr. ed.] Of euyl 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 myrrou or glasse of Christes passion, See STC 14553

FIDATI, Simone de. Egregii Evangelicae veritatis enarratoris Simonis de Cassia opus in Quatuor Euangelia ... fol. [Cologne] Eucharius Ceruicornius, 1533.

One of Fewterer's sources.

STC 10691

FISHER, John. Here after foloweth a mornynge remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the noble prynces Margarete countesse of Rychemonide & Darbye moder vnto kynge Henry the .vii. & grandame to cure scuerayne 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 Fyssher 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 concernyng the fruytfull sayinges of Dauyd the kyng and prophete in the seuen penytyencyall psalmes. Deuided in .vii. sermons, was made and compylyed by the ryghte reuerente father in god Iohn Fyssher douctour of diuynity and byshop of Rochester, at the exortacion and steryng of the most excellente Prynces Margaret countesse of Richemount and Derby, and mother to our soueraygne lorde kyng 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 & compylyed by the ryght reuerende father in god Iohn Fyssher / doctour of dyuynyte and byshop 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 every man, dylygently to recorde. And after
do folowe thirtene 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 A•Kempis.

STC 11181 = 24625  (A & R 143)
A brief fourme of confession, instructing all Christian
folke how to confesse their sinnes, & so to dispose them-
seles, that they may enjoy the benefite of true penance,
doing the woorthy frutes therof, according to the use 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
reprinted with STC 24627 etc and cp. STC 17236 etc.

After STC 11210
The foundement of contemplacyon, Howe a man shall
contemple / and se god in creatures. 8°. R. Wyer (Bodley,
Douce Add. 142. Title-page only. The list of contents
shows it is drawn from The myrrour of the churche (STC 967)
chaps 6, 7, 20, 28-30)

STC 11211  (cp. Nald Bibl. 545,3034-6)
The fountayne or well of lyfe / out of whiche doth
springe most swete consolations / right necessary for troubled
consciences / to thentent ye they shall nat despeyre in
aduersite and trouble. Translated out of latyn into Englyssh.
8°. T. Godfray (?1534] (Anr. ed. RSTC 11211-2, 1548-9)
Wing F.2035


After STC 11314 – STC 11356.

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

STC 11386

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

The two latter pieces also occur together in STC 11390 and 11395. The last piece was printed alone 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 pacently 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.
FRITH, John. Of the preparation to the crosse, and to deathe, and of the comforte vnder the crosse and deathe, two bokes very fruictefull for deuoute people to rede, translated from latyn to englysshe, by Rycharde Tracy. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1540

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

STC 11394 (Ned.Bibl. 3044)

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

STC 11395

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

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

STC 11407=22559

STC 11489


STC 11499

Hugh, 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 0, 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 deveute 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 deveoutly here masse. And how salutaryly they shall confess them. And how reuerturely and honourably they shall go to the holy Sacrament or table of our sauyour Ihesu chryste / with dyuere other profytable documentes and oraysons or prayers here conteyned ... 8°.

STC 11594
GARDYNARE, Germen. A letter of a yonge gentylman named mayster Germen Gardynare, wryten to a frend of his, wherein 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 STC XII, 1886-7)
GERSON, Jean Charlier de. Tabula d'Arte moriendi. 4° Strassburg, 1482

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

STC 11809-11549

STC 11917

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

Includes Bernard Sylvester's Cure & gouernaunce of a housholde

STC 11918

A glasse of the truthe. 8°. T. Berthelet [?1530]

(Anr. ed [?1531])

STC 12005-17788

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

STC 12006

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

STC 12143

GOWER, John. Io. Gower de confessione amantis. fol. T. Berthelet, 1532 (Other edns, 1493, 1554).
STC 12436
GUEVARA, Antonio de. The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius emperour and eloquent oratour. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1535. (Other edns: 1536, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1553, 1557 (2), 1559, 1566 (2), 1573, 1586)
Translated from French "by Iohn Bourchier knyghte lorde Barners ... at the instant desyre of his newewe syr Francis Bryan ..." See E. Grey: Guevara, a forgotten renaissance author, The Hague. 1973

STC 12511a
GUILLELMUS de Occam. A dialogue between a knyght and a clerke, concernynge the power spiritual and temporall. 8°. T. Berthelet (?)1540] (2 earlier edns, 1 Latin)

STC 12549
GUILFORDE, Sir Richard. This is the begynnynge / and contynuance of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde knyght... And howe he went with his servauntes and company towards 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 sondrie 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].
Before STC 12799

HARRINGTON, William. In this boke are conteyned the commendacions of matrimony the maner & forme of contractyng solemnnyng & lyuyng in the same with the declaracion of all such impedimentis as doth let matrimoney to be made & also certeyen other thingis whiche curates be bounden by the lawe to declare often tymes to theyr parishens. Emprented at the instaunce of master Polydore Vergil archedекane of welles. 4°. John Rastell [71512-3] (Bamb) (Other edns: 1528 (2 issues) and another)

STC 12944

HAWES, Stephen. The convercyon of swe-ress. 4°. John Butler [c.1530] (Other edns: 1509, 1551 - RSTC 12944-5 Repr. EEETS 271)


STC 12947

HAWES, Stephen. Here foloweth a compendious 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], [71520], repr. EEETS 271)

STC 12955a=17034
STC 13012

HAYWARD, William. The general pardon, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly confirm'd, by our Almighty Father, with many large privileges, grauntes, and bulles graunted for euer, as it is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche, into English. 8°.

By W. Howe, for W. Pickeringe, [?1560] (Anr edn: 1602)

STC 13052

A pore helpe, The buklar and defence of mother holy kyrke, and weapon to driveauence all that against her wircke. 8°

[J. Day & W. Seres, ?1547]. (Anr. ed. printed by Wyer ?)

See The Library4 IX (1929) 169-83

STC 13277

(H & R 395)

HIDE, Thomas. A consolatorie epistle ... 8°. (Lousaine, 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 case / ioye and conforte of all the catholykes ...

8°. Strasburg: [ H. Singleton], 1554

For Bale as possible author, The Library4 XXI (1941) 143-59 and The Library5 XVI (1961) 210-5; 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 reserved. 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)

STC 13609

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 13827=3305 (part of)

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)

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 they three ) newe corrected
and augmented. 16°. Argentine, by me Francis Foxe [i.e.
Antwerp, M. de Keizer], 1530
See C.C. Butterworth, The English Primers, Chaps 3 - 4

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 Wylyam Hugh, to his frynd lyeng on his death
tede. 8° (2 pts). J. Herford, 1546 - 4 June.

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.]

HYLTON, Walter. Here begynneth the medled lyfe compiled by
mayster Water [sic] Hylton / to a deuoute man in temperall estate /
howe he shulde rule hym / whiche is right expediyent for every
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.

HYLTON, Walter. Scala perfectionis with "to a deuoute man
(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 judgement: the
other of the ioyes of heauen. 8°. T. Creed, 1600. (Copy at 0)

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, 1693)

STC 14094
INNOCENT III, Pope. The mirror of mans lyfe. Plainely desc-
ribing, what weake moule we are made of: what miseries we
are subject vnto: howe vncertaine this life is: and what
shal be our ende. Englished by H. Kirton 8°. H. Bynnewman,
1577. (Other edns: 1576 (2), 1586)

STC 14270
St ISIDORE. Here be the gathered counsailes of saynct
Isodore to informe a man howe he shuld flee vices and folowe
vertues. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534. (Anr. edn. 1544 - this
same version was also printed among Lupset's works, STC 16932.
A quite different translation was included in Whitford's Holy
instrucyons, STC 25420. For a repr. of one ms. version,
Horstman YW II pp.367-74)

STC 14277
ISOCRATES. The doctrinal of princes made by the noble oratour
Isocrates, & translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr
Thomas Eliot knight. 8°. T. Berthelet, [?1534]. (Other edns:
about same date, [?1548])

STC 14503 = ?before 21790
(By Savonarola not St Jerome)

STC 14505

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

R. Wyer, [c.1542]

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

?STC 14539-40

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

The two copies at 0, (8° S.221, Th 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 decoute intercessyon and prayer, to our sauyour Ihesu Chryste. (8°) R. Wyer [c.1541]

STC 14548

(JESUS) [From colophon] The dialogue or communicacion betwene our sauiour Ihesu Chryste and a synner / lately
translated out of the Latin tongue 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 serving as well to awaken the drowsie and carelesse worldling, as to comfort and renewe 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 noster. 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 Pewterer of Syon Abbey, and based, at least in part, on Ludolphus of Saxony's Vita Christi
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 Deuote prayers in englyshe, RSTC 20193.5.

After STC 14553

(JESUS) Here begynneth ye new notborune mayd vpon ye passion of cryste. (4°). "by John Skot dwellyinge in Foster lane wt in saynt Leonarde's perysshe" [?1535-7].

STC 14554


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 deuot contemplacions exemples / and ex­posicyons of ye same. 4°. W. de Worde, 1532 - 6 October.

(Anr. edn: 1521)

Translated from French by Andrew Chertsey.

STC 14561

(JESUS) A proclamacyon of the hygh empour Iesu Christ vnto all his faythfull christen. Concernyng the castell of fayth which nowe by the grace of God is lyke to be wonne in to the Chrysten mennes handes agayne. 8°. R. Redman, (1534).

(Other edns: [1537], [before 1540], [1547])
STC 14563
(JESUS) Ihesus. An innocacyon gloryous named ye psalter of Iesus. 16° (in 8's) R. Copland, 1529. (For later edns see A & R 413-9 : a version from BM ms Arundel 285 is edited by J.A.W. Bennett, STS3 XXIII, 1949. See also S.H. Sole Jesu's Psalter, London 1688)

STC 14566=pt. of 17263

STC 14571=pt. of 3277
(JESUS) Here begynneth the roary of our Sauyour Iesu / gyueng thankes and prayse to his holy name / by maner of meditacion & prayer ... 4°. R. Pynson [1526]

STC 14572
(JESUS) The .vii. shedynges of the blade of Ihesu Cryste. 4°. W. de Worde, 1509.

This is a later edition of STC 14546.

STC 14575
(JESUS) A treatise wherein Christe and his techinges, are compared with the pope and his doinges. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1534.

Before STC 14620 (Ned.Bibl. 3261)
JOANNES, Campensis. A paraphrasis / vpon all the Psalmes of Dauid / made by Iohannes Campensis / reader of the Hebrue lecture / in the vniuersite of Louane / and translated out of Latyne into Englyshe. 16° (in 8's) [Antwerp, widow of C. van Ruremund (Endoviensis)], 1535.

STC 14620
JOANNES, Campensis [Anr. ed.] A paraphrasis vpon all the
Psalmes of Dauid, made by Iohannes Campensis ... and translated out of Latine in to Englyssh. 8°. T. Gybson, (1539).

STC 14639

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

STC 14667 (Ned.Bibl.3268)


STC 14789


H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1557 (2nd ed) p.303 notes (STC 14789.1) an English translation - for which see Dibdin III p.205, but the only extant translation, RSTC 20193.5, is anonymous, with a different title. Durham ms Cosin V.V.12 has the prayers in Latin but rubrics etc. in English, while BM ms. Arundel 285 has a free translation in Scottish dialect - STS^3 XXIII, 1949, pp.213-37.

STC 14821

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

STC 14842
(Devereux C57.2)
JULIUS II, Pope. The dyaloge bytwene Iullius the seconde / Genius / and saynt Peter. Reader refrayne from laughynge.
4°. J. Bydell, 1535 (An earlier edn, [1533-4], Devereux C57.1, and repr. The "Julius Exclusius" of Erasmus, translated by P. Pascal, Bloomington - London, 1968)

STC 15118
LACTANTIUS. L. Lanctantii Firmiani carmen. De passione dominica De resurrectione. De phenice. Guil. Lilii In laudem virginis deipare carmen eruditum ab Erasmo institutum christianii hominis feliciter editum. 4°. [?1530]

LACTANTIUS. Anthologia Lactantii Firmiani, elegantissimas sententias... complectons: recentem 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 prouyng howe and after what sorte it is captyue and bonde, and not free ... Newelye translated into Englishe by N. L[esse]. 8°. J. Dave & W. Seres, (1548)

STC 15179
LAMBERT, François. The summe of christianitie gathered 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.
A lamentation in which is shewed what ruine and
destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon. 4°. T. Berthelet,
1536.

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

LATIMER, Hugh. The sermon that the reverende father in
Christ, Hugh Latimer, byshop of worcester, made to the
clergie in the convocation ... nowe translated out of latyne
in to englyshe, to the intent, that thingis well said to a
fewe, may be vnderstanede 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, ESpp.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.

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

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 govern them in
good maners. 8° (in 4's) R. Wyer 1531 (Copy at Ushaw
College, Durham)

STC 15453

LE MAIRE, John. The abbreuacyon of all generall counsellys
holden in Grecia, Germania, Italia, and Gallia / compyled by
Ioyn le maire de belges, most excellent hymoryograffer to
kyrne Lowys the xiiij. of late frenche kyngs dedycaled to the
sayd kyng lowys. Anno domini 1519. Translated by Ioyn gowgh
the prynter herof ... 8°. J. Gough, 1539

STC 15515

L'ESPINNE, 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
By W. I, 1619

STC 15531=6694

STC 15671

LINDSAY, Sir David. The complaynte and testament of a
popinjay which lyeth sore wounded and maye not dye, tyll
every man hathe herd what he sayth: Wherfore 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 englyssh. 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, B7f (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 15966a (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 15966 (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 15967 (Hoskins no.116)

STC 16000  (Hoskins no.131)
LITURGIES. This primer in English for children, after the use of Sarum. 8° [c.1537]

STC 16795
LONGLAND, John. A sermon spoken before the kynges his maiestie at Grenwiche, vpon good fryday ... 4° [?T. Petyt: ? 1536]

STC 16796
LONGLAND, John. A sermonde made before the kynges, his maiestye at grenewiche, vpon good Frydaye. 4°. T. Petyt, [?1538]
(Substantially reprinted by Foxe, Acts and Monuments)

STC 16815 = pt of RSTC 20200.3
LORD'S PRAYER. In the name of the Father / of the Sonne / and of the holy Ghoste. Amen. The pater noster in Englysshe. 8°. R. Redman, [?1535]

STC 16818
LORD'S PRAYER. The pater noster spoken of ye sinner: God answerynge him at euery peticyon. 8°. T. Godfray, [n.d.]
This piece (based on Luther's Büchlein für die Layen und Kinder or "Bedebog") was also printed in STC 11688=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 accordyng to the commaundement & iniuncyons: gyuen by thauortoryte of the kingses hyghnes: through e 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 rodly lessons / ryght necessary for youth & al other to lerne & knowe: accordyng to the commandement & injiunctions gyuen by thauctorite of the kynges hyghnes through this his realme. 8° (in 4's).
J. Byddell, 1537.

**STC 16932**
LUPSET, Thomas. Tho. Lussets 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 Chryssostome, that, no man is hurted but of hymselfe [STC 14639]; A swete sermon of S. Cyprian of the mortalitee of man [amd] 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**

**STC 16936**
LUPSET, Thomas. An exhortation to yonge men. perswadinge them to walke in the patheway that leadeth to honeste and goodnes: written to a frend of his by Thomas Luspete 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

STC 16988
LUTHER, Martin. Here after ensueth a propre treatyse of good workes. 8°. R. Wyer, [?1533-4]

STC 17000

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 slouthfulness of her chapleyns, with her lamentable departyng vnto her father the Pope. 8°.
----- 1548.

**STC 17192**

Here is a necessarye treatysye for all maner persons to reade, and hath to name, the Maydens Crosse rewe. 4°.
R. Wyer, [?1543-8] J

**STC 17241**

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

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.

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. Dave], 1547 (Other edns: 1547, 1548 (2)).

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

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 / wrytten by the
holy man Martyne, bysshop of Dumienne / vnto ye ryght famouse
kyng Myto, king of Galitie in spayne. And now (beyng founde
in an auncyant copy) is faythfully translated out of latyn
tonge in to Englyshe. For theyr sakes that be desyrous to
rede englyshe bokes onely for vtylyte and encrease of vertue.
Here vnto is added a proper booke called: the Encheridyon of
a spyrtytuall 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
lyuyenge 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 Englyssh he lately translated by Robert Whyttynton,
poet laureate. And nowe newelye imprynted. 8°. W. Middleton,
1547.

STC 17532
The Martilo ge in englysshe after the vse of the chirche
of salisbury / & as it is redde in Syon / with addicyonis
(Repr. HBS III (1893)).

STC 17535-pt of 14552
STC 17536
MARY, the Blessed Virgin. An exposicion vpon the songe of the blessed virgine Mary, called Magnificat, where vnto are added the songes of salue regina, Benedictus and Nunc dimittis. Translated out of latine in to Englysh by Ihon Hollybush. [i.e. M. Coverdale] 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538.

STC 17537
MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The lamentacyon of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde [before 1519]

STC 17541
MARY, the Blessed Virgin. The myracles of our lady. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 (Other eds [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 peticions
directe to our lady. 16° (in 8's) J. Skot, 1537 (Copy at M)

STC 17568
St MARY MAGDALEN. [Colophon] The complaynt of the louver 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

STC 17626
_____ The dysclosyng of the canon of ye popysh masse, with a
sermon annexed vnto it of ye famous clerke of worthy memory
D. Marten Luther ... (32° in 8's) "Imprynted haue at al
Papistes by me Hans Littprycke" [?1548] (Anr ed [?1549])

STC 17629
_____ A plaine and godlye treatise, concernynge the masse &
the blessed sacrament of the aulter, for the instruccion of
the symple and vnlerned people. 8°. [?1557] (Anr.

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 booke. Which concerneth such matters of Diuinitie.
MELANCHTHON, Philip. The justification of man by faith only: made and written by Phlyp Melanchthon and translated out of the Latyn in to this our 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 all vngodlines committed thorowe the whole earthe, made by the sayde Nicholas Lesse. 8°. W. Powel, 1548 - 11 Oct.

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)).

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)

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


STC 18076


STC 18078.5

MORE, Sir Thomas. The boke of the fayre gentylwoman, that no man shulde put his truste, or confyidence in: that is to say, Lady Fortune: flaternitynge everyman that coueysteth to have all, and specyally, them that truste in her, she deceueth them at laste. (4°) R. Wyer [?after 1550]

STC 18083

(A & R 549)


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, Johannes. Consolatorium timorate conscientie /
venerabilis fratri Johannis Nyder. *Parisius per magistram
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
(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 / wherein 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. Compilyed 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.
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.


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


PIERS PLOUGHMAN) A godly dialogue & dysputacyon betwene Pyers plowman, and a popysh preest / concernyng the supper of the lorde / no lesse frutefull then necessarye to be noted
of all christen men specially considering the great controverses & variynaunces had ther in now in your tyme. 8°. [?1530]

STC 20036

(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


STC 20061

(Devereux C84.2)

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

POMANDER of Prayer - see RSTC 25421.3 etc.

STC 20178

POYNET, John. A shorte treatise of politike power, and of the true obedience which subjectes owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall English men, compiled by D.I.P.B.R.W. 8° [Strassburg?] 1556. (Facs. repr. English Experience vol. 484 (1972): Anr ed 1639)
STC 20193

Certene prayers and godly meditacyons very nedefull for every Christen. 16°. "Marlbrow. per me Ioannes Philob criterion" [i.e. Antwerp. J. Hoochstraten], 1538.

Contents closely related to STC 15966 and RSTC 20200-3.

RSTC 20193.5

Deowbe prayers in englyssh e of thac tes of our redemption. 8°. R. Redman [c.1574-5]

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 occupied in numerous Horae, first in Latin and then, as in STC 15966, 15987 etc. in English)

STC 20200

Praierys of holi fathers, patryarches, prophetes, judges, kynes, and renowned men and women of eyther testamente. 8° R. Crafton 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 Bibliace.

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 trans. 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 15966, 15968, 15992-3,
15998)

STC 20204

A godly and holsome preseruatyue against dispersacion
at all times necessarie for the soule: but then chiefelye
to be vsed and ministred when the deuil doth assault vs
most fieresly, & doth approcheth nieste... 8°. W. Cound
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 necessarie to be
vsed in the agony of deathe ...")

STC 20413

The .xii. profytes of tribulacyon. 4°. W. de Worde.
1530 - 28 May (Other edns. [1498] and in STC 3205: repr.

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.CCCC.xlviii. and perpetually 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 ayynste
ed. 1549)
A spirituall purgation sent vnto al them that laboure
of Luthers errour, as touching the bodely presens of Christe
our sauiour in the sacrament. and to al them that have espied
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. Synkelton [?1555]

Dedicated to Sir Thomas Wyatt.

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 souerayn
lorde Henry the eyght ... in erth the supreme heed next and
immediate vnder Christe of the Churche of Englande. with
hartye prayse and thankes gyuing 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 0)

Dedicated to Thomas Cromwell.

REGIUS, Urbanus. A comparison betwene the oldie learnynge &
the newe. Translated out of latyn into Englysh by Wyliam
Turner. 8°. Southwark, J. Nicolson, 1538 (Other eds 1537, 1546)

The remedy ayens the troubles of temptacons. 4°.
W. de Worde, 1519 - 21 Jan. (Fr. ed. 1508, STC 21262 -
repr. IV II pp.106-28

Includes "devoute medytacyon in sayenge devoutly ye psalter

STC 20877

A remedy for sedition, wherin are conteyned many thynge, concernynge the true and loyall obeyssence, that commes owe vnto their prince and soueraygne lorde the kynge. 4°. T. Berthelet, 1536.

STC 20882=5605

The remors of conscience. 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 very devout treatise (named Beniamyn) of the myghtes and vertuoses of mannes soule / & of the way to true contemptacyon / compiled by a noble & famous doctoure a man of grete holynes & deuocyon / named Rycharde of saynt Vycor. 4°. Henry Petwell, 1521 - 16 Nov.

Contents: (i) Benjamin Minor (repr. YW I pp.162-72; (ii) dyeurs doctrynes ... out of the lyfe of ... saynt katheryn of Seenes; (iii) A shorte treatise of contemptacyon ... taken out of the boke of Margery Kempe; (iv) Epistle of prayer; (v) Walter Hilton's Of the songe of angellyes; (vi) Epistle of dyscrecyon in sterynges of the soule; (vii) A devout treatise of dyscernyng 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)
RIDLEY, Lancelot. A commentary in Englyshe vpon saynte Paules epystle to the Ephesayns / for the instruccyon of them that be vnlerned in tongues / 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]

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

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)

The sum of the actes and decrees made by diuere bishops of rome. 8°. T. Gybson, [?1539]
STC 21318

The mystic sweet rosary of the faythful soule: garnished rounde aboue / as it were with fresche fragrante flowers / accordyng to the truthe of the Gospel ... 8°. Antverpe at Martyne Embrowers, 1533.

Copy also at L with 9 leaves of 7 mid XVI century ms prayers bound in front. Other eds in Latin (1531-6) (Ned Bibl 01054, 3610, 3611, 1607, 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 conforte. 4°. W. de Worde, 1530 – 23 March. (Other eds [1496], [after July 1499], 1511 (ann. copy 010).)

STC 21427


STC 21472


STC 21568

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

STC 21753=10465

SARCERTUS, Erasmus. Common places of scripture ordrely and after a compendious forme of teachynge, set forth with no little
labour, to the great profyte and helpe of all suche students
in goddes worde as haue not had longe exercyse in the same ...
translated in to Englyshe by Rychard Tauerner. 8°. J. Buddell,
1536 - 12 Aug. (Other edns, 1553 (3 issues), 1577)

Before STC 21790=14503

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

The exposition is entirely in English and to it are added
"A devout short prayer to Iesus" (in verse): "The pater
noster / spoken of the synner / God answerynge hym at euery
psalmyon" (cp. STC 16818; and in 11686=19525); A prayer
for the kynge, and the queene. On the various edns of the
Savonarola expositions see The Library 9 VI (1951) 162-70

STC 21790

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

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

STC 22141

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

STC 22216

SENeca. Lucii Annae Senecae ad Gallioneni de Remedio
Fortuitorum. The remedies agaynst all casuall chaunes.
Dialogus inter sensum et rationem. A dialogue betwene
sensulyte 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
Remedia Fortuitorum" and the Elizabethans, ed. R.O. Palmer,
Institute of Elizabethan Studies, publ. 1: Chicago, 1953)
STC 22410

Here begynneth the kalender of shepards. 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 fuyte of redeempcyon. 4°. W. de Worde,
1530 - 21 May. (Other edns: 1514 (facs. repr. in The
Churchwardens Accounts of All Hallowes, ed. C. Welsh, London 1912);
1517; 1531 - RSTC 22559-5 (at M); 1532)
Arch. Assoc.3 XVI (1953) 74-86. The work is mentioned in
Bonde's Pilgrimsace, (STC 3278) fol. CCII.

STC 22897

SOLME, Thomas. Here begynneth a treatyse callyde the Lord's
flayle handlyde by the Bishopes powre thresshere Thomas Solme.
6°. Basyll by me Theochyll Emlos, [?1540].

STC 22899

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

STC 23243

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

STC 23407

STURMIIUS, Joannes. The epistle that Iohan Sturmius, a man of great
lerninge and iugement. sent to the cardynalles and preslotes, that
were chosen and appointed by the bysshop of Rome, to serche out
the abuses of the churche, translated into englysshe by Rychard
Horrysine. 8°. T. Berthelet, 1538.

SU30. Orologium sapientiae, see STC 3305.

STC 23552

SWINNERTON, Thomas. A mustre of scismatyke byssshoppes of Rome / otherwyse naming themselves popes / moche necessarype 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 catecheisme 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 Banke, 1539. (Other edns: 1539, [c.1547], [c.1550], [c.1556])

STC 23877

Ihesus. The floure of the commaundementes of god with
many examples and auстольytee extracts and drawn as well of
holy scriptures as other doctours and good auncyente faders /
the whiche is moche vstyle 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 10612 is a later extract
of part of The floure.

STC 23965

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

STC 23965

THOMAS à Kempis. [Anr. ed.] A boke newly translated out of
Latyn in to Englishe, called the folowing of Christe, with
the golden epystel of saint Barnard. 8°. W. Myddylton,
[?1545]. (Copy also at O) (Other edns - for which the STC
dating is not very reliable --: Atkynson's transl: 1503;
[?1515], 1517 (2 issues), [1520-8], [?1525] - STC 23960a=23968 -
repr. BEES es.63; Whitford's transl: [ ?1531], [ ?1532],
[?1531], [?1540], [?1545], 1556 (2 edns), 1585. There were
also later translations by Rogers, Hake and B.P [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 24022

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


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

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

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, preserved and to be scene in the printers hall. Set forth and allowed according to the queenes iniluctions and now fyrst imprinted. 16° (in 8's) H. Denham
for J. Charlewood, 1564. (Other edns 1563, 1568, 1572, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581)

STC 24216 (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

Here beginneth a lytel treatyse the whiche speketh of the xv. tokens the whiche shullen bee shewed afores yt dreffull daye of Iugement. And who that oure lorde shall aske rekenyng of evry body of his wordis worke 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 acknowledgment, 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 24226

Here begynmeth a newe treatyse deuyded in thre partes. The fyrst parte is to know & hace in aynde the wretchednes of all mankynde. The seconde is of the conlycion 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. Mver [?after 1541]

This seems to correspond to Pts. I-III of Prick of Conscience - see art. cit. by Schulz, STC 3350 above.

STC 24234  (Duff 307)

___ This treatise is of loue. fol (in 6's) W. de Worde

[1493-4] (Repr. EEBO 225)

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

STC 24237

___ A treatise concernyng generall counclles, the bysshoppes of Rome, and the clery. 3". 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 ducour emperours, that pycutures & other ymages which were wont to be worshypped / ar in no wise to be suffred in the temples or churches of Christen men ... The authurs of this litle treatise ar the open preachers of Argtonyne. 8".

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

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

STC 24250

___ A treatysse to teche a man todye / and not to feare dethe.

8". R. Redman, [?1538-9]

STC 24322

TUNSEAL, Cuthbert. A seremon of Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, made vpon Palme sondaie laste past, before the maiestie of our sovresyne lorde kyng 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, John 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 yts. 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 huntinge of purgatorye to death, made dialogue wyse by Ihon Veron Senonoys. Newly set foorth and alowed, accordinge too the Queenes Haiesties iniuictions. 8°.

J. Twadale, 1561.

Before STC 24847

VIVES, Juan Luis. [Introduction to wisdom] 8°. T. Berthelet, 1539 (Copy at 0) (Other edns: 1540, 1544, 1550, [?1550], 1564)

Dedicated to "Master Gregory Cromwell" 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 Leues 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*], W. de Worde 1521 (Dur3 - copy defective) (Other edns [1483], [1487], 1493, 1498, 1503, [?1510], 1512, 1527: repr. Holbein Society).

STC 25127


STC adds, translated by William Turner.

STC 25223

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

STC 25251

WERDHEUSER, Otto. *A moste frutefull / pithythe 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 cute of thyse worlde, moste necessarye for this our vnfortunate age and sorrowfull dayes*. 16° (in 8's) [?1553]. (Other edns: [?c.1553], [1579], n.d. and repr. *Remains of Bishop Coverdale, FS* pp.37-132)

STC 25412


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

A werke for householders / or for them that haue the guidyng or gouernaunce of any company. Gathered and set forth by a professed brother of Syon / Richarde Whitforde: and newly corrected and prynted agayn with an addicication 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 contents of this boke. A werke of preparacion / or of ordinaunce vnto communion / or howselyng. The golden pystle, an alphabete or a croswre called an A.B.C. and the werke for householders 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 householders is not included.

**STC 25414**


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

**STC 25416**

WHITFORD, Richard. A dialoge or communicacion bytwene the curate or ghostly father; & the parochiane or ghostly chylde. For due preparacion vnto howselynge. The werke for householders wt the golden pystle and alphabete or a crosrowe
called an ABC. 6°. J. Wayland, 1537.

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

The werk for householders, nowe newly corrected and set forth into a dyaloge betwene the householder and his householde / by a professed brother of Syon Richarde Whytford with an addicyon of pollecye for housholsdyng / set forth also by the same brother. 6°. J. Wayland.

The werk 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 exposicionys. And also ye same rule agayn onely in englysshe without latyn or exposicyon ...

The translatour doth aduyse & counseyll all ye discipes 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 - 26 Nov. (Anr. éd. 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 instructyons 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. Rydavston, 1541.

Contents: the boke of paciencye: 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 escheve 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 Pyge / or Tonne / of the lyfe of perfection. The reason or cause wherof dothe playnelly appere in the processe. 4°. R. Redman, 1532 - 23 March.

RSTC 25421.3

The pomeander of prayer. 4°. R. Cooiland, 1530 - 31 Oct. (05) (Other edns: 1528 - (See The Library4 XVII, 1937 pp. 189-95); 1531 (at N) - RSTC 25421.5; 1532 (at N) - 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 householders / or for them yt haue the gydynge or gouernaunce of any company. Cadred & 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 cut and collation, de Worde, 1533 - 2 May)

STC 25424


STC 25425

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

STC 25590

WICLIF, John. Wycklyffes wycket: whych he made in kyng Rychards days the second in the yere of our Lorde God a M.CCC.XLV ... 8°. Morenburch [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 chrystent people to repayre agayn the lordes temple, with certayne places of scripture truely applyed to satysfyte theyr myndes for ye expellyng of ydolatry, & to to instruct them, of loue and obedience compyled by nycholas wyse. 8°. J. Wayland, 1538 - 16 Oct.

STC 26069

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

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

STC 26138

ZWINGLI, Ulrich. The rekening and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik Zwingly / bisshoppe of Zürzych the cheif town of Helvetia / sent to Charles IV. that nowe is emprowr of Rome: holding a perlemente or downsaill at Aushrough with the cheif lordis & lerned men of Germanye. The yere of owr Lorde M.D.xxx. In the monethe of Iulye ... Translated & imprynted at Zijryk ... 8°. Zurich. 1543 - March. (Anr. ed. 1548).
Insert on p. 398:

After STC 10470 (Devereux C37)

ERASMUS, Desiderius. Declamatio in laudem nobilissimae artis medicinae. A declaration in the praise and commendation of the most hygh and excellent science of phisyke made by the ryght famous clere doctour Erasmus of Rotherdam / and newly translated out of latyn into Englyshe. 8° R. Redman, [1535-7]
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THE PARLIAMENT OF HEAVEN

From STC 13609, Holinshed 313

(See p.79)

Page references following the illustrations are all to vol. 1.
THE STAR OF GRACE

From W. Bond's Pilgrimage of Perfection

STC 2378, Huddart 870
(See p. 57)
The 12 graces called 12 graces, first given in His word, and in His word called the graces of predestination or missions, namely, of the called to be called by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word, to be sent by His word. The first epistle to the Corinthians, 1st chapter.
THE TREE OF GRACE

From W. Bond's 'Pilgrimage of Persecution'.

STC 3278, Hodnett 891
(see p.57)
From a brass to John de Campden, 1392: St. Cross, Winchester

From Horae 1535-6, STC 15907

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY
(See pp. 67, 365)
SEVEN SACRAMENTS WINDOW

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

(central figure restored)

(See p. 130)
PROPHETS FROM PARCLOSE SCREEN, ASHTON, S. DEVON

(See p. 283)
T. It was I that trode the wyne press all alone, and of all the folk he was ther not one man to help me. Esai. xviij.

THE MYSTIC WINE PRESS

From The mystic sfruit,

rosary, STC 21719 (repr. 370)

THE MASS OF ST.

GREGORY

Kirkham chantry,
Paignton, S. Devon
(see p. 350)

See also xxxiii a/below
a) THE VISITATION

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

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21318 (see p.375)
a) **THE RECEPTION AND CROWNATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN**

*From The mystic sweet rosary*  
*STC 21318 (see p. 375)*

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b) **THE TEMPTATIONS OF CHRIST**

*From The mystic sweet rosary*  
*(see p. 376, n. 266)*
"MARY GARDENS"
(Seep. 379, n. 284)
In an article in the *Reliquary* for April, 1882 (vol. 7.) p. 100, on 'The Instrument of the Rosary,' there is an illustration of a quarrel of stained glass at Whithby abbey, which is said to have originally belonged to Whitby abbey. It is thus described:—In the centre is seen the wounded heart of the Redeemer dripping 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 (fleur-de-lys) 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:—'Ves Pinxtum Virgo Maria quam ess rubens rosa et super omnes creaturas indumento divini amoris induta,' is translated, 'Hail, most pure 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 temptation
In the remembrance of Christ's Passion.'
a) The base of the rood, Cullompton church, S.Devon

b) From The kalender of shepheardes, STC 32410 (For a b see p. 390 n 322)

c) From: Bonde's Devoute epistle, STC 3276, Hodnett 2061
   (See p. 390)
A) STC 9160, Hodnett 1030

(See p. 404, n. 404)

THE SUFFERINGS OF JESUS

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

STC 21818 (See p. 406, n. 415)
THE PIETA

b) From: The mystic sweet rosary

c) Wives' window, St Neot, Cornwall (See p. 113)
a) THE SEVEN SORROWS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

From: Horae 1525-6, STC 15887 (See p.420)

b) IMAGO PIETATIS with instruments of The Passion

From: Horae 1525-6, STC 15887 (See p.425)
IMAGO PIETATIS with instruments of the Passion
and indulgence
Hodnett 2513 (see p. 125)
PIETA

With instruments of the Passion and indulgence
Hodnett 2512 (See p 425)
A) Pillar, rope, scourges.
Launcells, Cornwall

b) Cross and nails
Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon

c) Pincers, pillar, hammer, spear, sponge, sicle
Lanercost, Cornwall
THE FIVE WOUNDS (See p.434)

b) Benchend, Altermun, Cornwall
Gracious love for the great passion
Observe my prayer that I do repent
And on my soul take compassion
As my part for ye wounds great.
From: 'A glorious meditacion', STC 14550,
Hodnett 2042, 2043

From [Illustrated Life of Christ] (No STC 14552)
Hodnett 675 (reduced)
(See p. 440)
CHRIST'S WOUNDS
AS WELLS
(see p.440, n.615)

a) Five wounds window, Sidmouth parish church, S. Devon
b) From Aglaurus meditaevum,
ST14550, Hodnett 2093 (p. 677)
a) THE RESURRECTION
Bench-end at Loundalls,
Cornwall. (See p. 456)

b) THREE LIVING AND THREE DEAD
From Horae 1533 (STR 15981a)
(See p. 500)
Figure 9. Shroud-brass of the Rev. Ralph Hamsterley. c.1510-15. Oddington, Oxon


(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)
DEATH-BED ILLUSTRATIONS

(a) The pene by December taketh his ende. And so both man at the stone and stone to the pene with aye byll hym on mesage made. The ynde is come, that he must to hym felle.

(b) The Last Rites from Horae, 1533, S. 1599. (See p. 590)

(c) Salvation of a soul from The dyenge sctaare, 1506, before S. 6014, Hudson 510. (See p. 602)
There begynneth a lytell treasyle of the dyenge creature infected with syrenes vncreasable with many sorowfull complayutes.

(a) TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE OVERCOME.
From: before STC 6034, 1506, Hodnett 507
(See p.556)

(b) THE LAST JUDGEMENT
From: The myghtis sweet rosary, STC 1318
(See p.50, 500)

I tell ye for a sucetre, herce for the shal ye se the soume of man sittinge one the mightie righthande of 308 and at lasse...
S Michael with balance, flanked by SS Christopher and Peter.
N aise, Doddiscombsleigh, S. Devon.

THE WEIGHING OF SOULS (see p 936)

Devil weighing down the balance
N aise, Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire
CHRIST IN JUDGEMENT WITH EMLEMS OF THE PASSION

Hodnett. 1736

(see p. 600)
a) Pardon brass (reduced) to Roger Leigh, 1504, Macclesfield, Cheshire.
(See p. 205) See also XXV above for a similar inscription.

b) Harrowing of Hell. Painted woodcut from Summa Enchiridion, 1530. STE: 15065

c) Harrowing of Hell. From Myst. sweet rosary. STE: 24818. (See p. 617)