A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book and Two Franciscan Rules
A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book

AND

Two Franciscan Rules

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A
Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book

EDITED FROM THE MS. BY
R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., Litt.D.

AND

Two Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Rules

EDITED FROM THE MS. BY
WALTER W. SETON, M.A.

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A Generall Rule
toeache every man that is willynge
for to lerne, to serve a lorde or maister
in every thyng to his plesure

EDITED FROM A XVTH CENTURY MS.
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
(MS. Addl. 37969)

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Lit.
INTRODUCTION

It is almost exactly four years since Dr. Furnivall, during his last illness, asked me to edit the first of the tracts in this volume. 'A month ago,' he wrote, 'Quaritch sent me a little 15th-century MS. of twelve pages (I think) on the duties of the Marshal and other officers of a big household. Thinking it interesting and unique, I sent it on to Dr. Warren, and he, agreeing, bought it for the British Museum.'

MS. Addl. 37969, as it now is, consists of nine leaves. It contains, besides this part detailing the duties of officials, various memoranda about wood carried partly at Talatun (? Talaton in Devon), some medical recipes in English and Latin, and a vellum fragment which was formerly in the binding, and contains some fifteenth-century accounts. But the only thing of much interest is the 'generall Rule to teche euery man that is willynge for to lerne to serve a lorde or mayster in euery thyng to his pleasure'. So far as I can gather, Dr. Furnivall was right in describing this tract as unique; no other treatise seems to correspond to it closely in detail. But it is one of a very numerous class of which, in the opening years of the Early English Text Society, Dr. Furnivall made a special study. During the sixties he edited for the Society three volumes of Books ofCourtesy, Books ofNurture, Books of Carving, Babies' Books, and other treatises illustrating English manners.

It was during the fifteenth century that this type of book flourished peculiarly in England: in other countries—in Italy and Provence—it is found much earlier. It has been stated that the early Italian courtesy books 'are few and of little mark'. But probably there was a considerable body of Italian courtesy books which has been lost: and, in any case, some early and important

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Italian books of manners have been preserved. Thomasin von Zirklaaria, the author of the South German treatise *Der Wülische Gast*, was an Italian. *Der Wülische Gast*, though not essentially a courtesy book, contains the elements which go to make one. And Thomasin tells us that he had written in welhschen a book of courtesy, *buoch von der hüfscheit.* Then there is Ser Brunetto Latini, who wrote much concerning courtesy in his *Tesoretto*, the little book in which he treated of all things appertaining to the human race.

Above all, long before any courtesy book appeared in English, whilst Dante was still a young man, ‘Fra Bonvexino da Riva’ wrote his *Zinquanta Cortexie da Tavola*, ‘Fifty rules of courtesy for the table.’ In many ways these rules remind us of the English courtesy books of two centuries later. Cats and dogs are not to be fondled at meals:

‘The third rule after the thirtieth: not to stroke with the hands, so long as thou eatest at the table, either cat, or dog. It is not allowed unto the courteous to stroke animals with the hands with which he touches the dishes.’

Compare this with the English rule:

Where-sere jou sitt at mete in borde,
Avoide þe cat at on bare word;
For yf þou stroke cat ofþer dogge,
þou art lyke an ape teyzed with a clogge.

or

Yf þy noun dogge þou scrape or clawe,
Þat is holden a vyse emong men knawe.

or

Pley þou not with a dogge ne þit with a cate
Before þi better at þe tabull, ne be syde;
For it is no curtasy—be þou sure of þat—
In what place of crystendome þat þou dwelle or byde.

1 *Der Wülische Gast*, ill. 1174 etc.
3 La terza poxe la xxx: no brancorar con le man,
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can;
No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
Con le man, con le que el tocha li condugi.
5 Same, 87–8. But this second rule is a mistranslation of the Latin original.
6 *Stanz puer ad mensam*, 143–6 (MS. Ashmole, 61).
Introduction

Or again, take Bonvicino’s rule that a man should keep silence whilst his companion is drinking, and not disturb him with questions.\(^1\) With this compare the English *Urbanitatis*:

> Also when thou sest any man drynkyng  
> That taketh hede of py karpyng,  
> Soone anon thou sece pytale  
> Wheþþar he drynke wyne or Ale.\(^2\)

or again:

> And if pou be in any place wer þi better is drynkyng,  
> So þat þe coppe be at his hede, odour with ale or wyne,  
> Doctour Paler seys þee þus, and byddes þee sey nothing,  
> For brekyng of þi curtesy at syche a curtas tyme.\(^3\)

If the drinker is a great man, good manners demanded that those near should refrain from eating and drinking, as well as from speaking. If your neighbour is a bishop, says Bonvicino, you must not eat\(^4\) or raise your bowl\(^5\) so long as he is drinking. Compare the English rule:

> And yif þi lord drynk at þat tyde,  
> Drynk þou not, but hym abyde;  
> Be it at Evyne, be it at noone,  
> Drynk þou not tylle he haue done.\(^6\)

Yet here we see an essential difference between the Italian and the English instructions. The Italian writer thinks of guests dining together; the Englishman is thinking of the demeanour due from a subordinate to his lord. This distinction does not hold good universally. Once, at any rate, Bonvicino speaks as if he were addressing those who serve.\(^7\) But what is occasional in the Italian is almost universal in the English writers; they address youths who are supposed to be serving in the households of noblemen.

That a boy, instead of growing up at home, should be sent into some other house to learn manners, was, of course, an ancient

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1 Rule 37.  
2 l. 61–64 (MS. Cotton Calig. A. ii.).  
4 Mangiando apresso d’un vescho, tan fin ch’el beve dra coppe  
   Usanza drita prende: no mastegare dra bocha.  
5 Chi fosse a provo d’un vescho, tan fin ch’el beverave,  
   No di’ levà lo só napo, over ch’el vargarave.  
7 In his thirtieth and thirty-first rules, recommending the use of a pocket-handkerchief.
custom of chivalry. But it seems to have had greater vogue, and to have endured longer, in England than abroad. Young Thomas More served Cardinal Moreton as a page, notwithstanding the consideruble distinction to which his father had attained; and Scott, in his essay on Chivalry, records a survival of this practice into the eighteenth century in the case of a 'gentleman bred a page in the family of the duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, who died during the reign of George III, a general officer in his Majesty’s service'. And, in the form of apprenticeship, this custom of sending boys away from home was as prevalent in England among the middle as among the upper classes. It aroused the hostile comment of foreigners, as is shown in an Italian account of English customs, written about the year 1500:

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another seven or nine years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on enquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than would be by their own children. Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves, and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. If they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they make use of for themselves.2

The young man ‘willing to learn’, to whom the English book of manners is addressed, is accordingly assumed to be in the service of some lord: at the same time he is often himself assumed to be of good birth. Such books generally combine instructions as to deportment with practical hints as to serving.

Perhaps the most important of these books is the Boke of Nurture which goes under the name of John Russell. But the

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Sloane Boke of Curtasye is nearer akin to the ‘Generall Rule’ which is here printed: its first two sections give general instructions as to conduct and demeanour: in the third part the duties of the different officers are defined, in a manner which affords many close parallels to the ‘Generall Rule’. And practical hints are given which bring vividly before us the picture of the page serving his lord, placing slices of bread under the hot dish to avoid burning his hands:

Yf þo syluer dysshe wylle algate brenne,
A sotelte I wylle þe kenne,
Take þe brede coryn and lay by-twene,
And kepe þe welle hit be not sene;
I teche hit for no curtayse
But for þyn ese.

A duller work, and more nearly parallel to the ‘Generall Rule’, is the treatise ‘For to serve a lord’.

But the closest parallel of all is to be found in a paper roll many yards in length, printed at some uncertain date in the sixteenth century. A copy of this is in the Bodleian, and no other is known. This roll gives an account of the proceedings at the feasts held to celebrate the enthronization of George Neville as Archbishop of York, in 1466, and of William Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1504.

The Neville feast has been described as ‘the greatest entertainment that ever subject made’, and some account of it is given in Godwin’s De Praesulisbus Angliae. Earth, sea, and air appear to have been ransacked for victims of Neville’s archiepiscopal hospitality. Of more common dishes, we read that there were served 4,000 woodcocks, 4,000 ducks, 4,000 pigeons, 4,000 rabbits, and 3,000 geese. But what makes this ecclesiastical gluttony of importance to us is the elaborate instruction as to the serving of the feast, which is appended. Nowhere else, so far as I am aware, is so

1 Printed in the Relation of the Island of England, trans. by C. A. Sneyd, 1847 (Camden Society), and in Furnivall’s Early English Meals and Manners (Early English Text Society), p. 349, &c.

2 Reprinted (in part) in Hearne’s Lelandi Collectanea, vol. vi, 1770, and in Warner’s Antiquitates culinariae, 1791.


4 Cambridge, 1743, p. 695.
near a parallel to the 'Generall Rule' to be found. Most of the relevant passages I have quoted fully in the notes.

I have to thank Mr. John Hodgkin for having drawn my attention to this document; and Mrs. Crosland for valuable information, which I had overlooked, as to Spanish books of courtesy. And I ought to apologize for having been so long in carrying out so light a task. The delay enables this tract to be printed with two others, which, like it, throw that light upon the manner of life of our ancestors which always gave such keen joy to Dr. Furnivall.

The following books contain matter which illustrates the text printed here:


The Regulations and Establishment of the household of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, 1770.

Warner (Richard). Antiquitates culinariae, or curious tracts relating to the culinary affairs of the Old English. London, 1791.


J. Lelandi Collectanea, ed. T. Hearnius, Oxonii, 1715, Londini, 1770. 6 vols. [Contains the account of the Neville Feast.]

A GENERALL RULE

TO TECHE EVERY MAN TO SERVE A LORDE
OR MAYSTER
A generall Rule to teche every man that is
willinge for to lerne to serve a lorde or mayster
in euery thyng to his plesure.

The marshall in the mornyng ought to come into pe hall and se
pat it be clene of all maner thyng pat may be fond vnboneste
per In: pe stolis trestelles or elles formys yef only be, pat pey be set
in ther owne places at melis at pe bordes, and afore and aftur melis
in corners farthest from encombraunce: and all pe hallynges and 5
costers dressed in per kynde places and shaken or betyn wyth
Reddes yef nede be: and pat none houndes be abydyng in pe halle
from morne to evyn. And to parforme pese thynges seyd afore he
shall charge pe vsshere and pe grome of the hall per wyth.

Also in wynter tyme pe seyd grome by pe oversight of pe vssher
shall bryng into pe hall as moche wode and colis as shall be spent
dayle in the hall, and bere oute pe ashes and all oper fylthe of pe
hall. The seyd grome shall also kepe pe kay of pe woode and cole
and delyuer it oute dayle by taill to | pe kechyn, halle and leuereys, [Fol. 2 b]
and bryng the seyd taill to pe stywarde at pe wokes ende; pe seyd
grome shall also contenually be in pe halle at pe firste mete or
souper to bere away dysshes and kepe oute houndes and feche
sawces and to obey all oper commodmentes of pe hele officers, pat
to sey of stywarde, marshall and vssher.

Also halfe anoure or pe lorde go to mete or souper pe marshall
shall take pe Rodde in his hande and commonde pe panter and
ewer to cover and make redy for pe lorde and for pe housesold;
and assone as it is made redy pe marshall shall commond the
sewer to awayte when pe cokes be redye; and pen shall pe
sewer go to pe ewry and take a towell vppon his shulder and pe
marshall and he to go togeder and shewe afore the lorde, so
pat he may knowe per by when his mete is redy. And when it
lyketh pe lorde to axe water pen shall pe esquyres and pe marshall
and sewer goo by and by next pe lordis basyn and evyn at pe
A generall Rule to teche every man

lorde; pe sewer shall delyuer pe towell to pe worthyeste pat bethe aboute hym and go streight to pe kechyn with all pe men pat shall serue.

The marshall pen shall unconcer pe basyn yf it be coneryd and holde it in his handes also vnto pe lord haue wesshe, and pen make a salutacoum and take it to pe squire pat brought it theder, and he to bere it to pe ewry, and anone comonde water for all pem pat shall sytte at pe lordes borde, and go wyth pe lorde to | be sette, and per asketh hym howe his bord shall be set.

And pe yemen and gromys or grome of pe chambre yef it be per, or the vsshere or gromes or grome yef it be bere, shall set vp bordes and make redy pe stoles afore mete and haue hem redy at pe settyng of bordes, and bryng hem redy to pe marshall when he callithe, and also after mete bere away pe bordes, trestelles, and stolis; and when pe lord is set, and pe open bordes in his presence, the marshall shall feche in his courses wyth pe sewer by and by; pe marshall and sewer shall make a salutacoum when pey come almoast at pe borde, and none open pat berythe mete or drynke at pat tyme, to he be delyuered of pat pat he berythe.

And when all pe lordes messe is sewid, pen shall anopen esquyre next pe hande sewe pe open messes at the borde or in his presence. And anone forthiswyth pe amener shall bryng in pe almesse dyshe with a lofe per Iume and set it bynethe pe lordes salt or elles vppon pe copborde yf no Rome be vppon pe borde; and a littill afore pe seconde cours pe amener shall take of everye standarde or grete mete that comys byfore pe lorde at pe first cours a sertayne, wyth pe helpe of pe kerver, and put it in pe almes dysshe and send pe voyde dysshes to pe kechyn. And all pis mene while pe marshall shall loke bothe in pe chambre and halle pat per lake [Fol. 3a] nooper bred, | ale, wyne ne mete per as it ought to be servyd, and pe sewer shall loke pat per lake no sawee in pe lordes presence.

And when pe second cours is redy, pe sewer shall come and warne pe marshall, and pe marshall all esquyres and yemen waytors, to go to pe kechyn. And lyke as pe marshall and sewer dyd at pe first course so shall pey do at pe seconde; and when pe marshall seyth tyme, pat is to say wythin iij quarters of an our that pe laste messe be sette in pe halle, the marshall shall comonde to take vpe and all pe broke mete and broke brede to by cast into pe almes vessell; and when it comyth to pe vsher yemen of pe chambre or
 gentlemen Then pe cwer to be per, redy for to deluyere to pe grome of pe hall or mens servantes waytors towelles for pen pat shall wesse, and som men to be per redy with voyders for to take vp trenchoures and broken brede, and assone as pey hane wesse pe pat pe eyry be bore away and pe hall newe conertyd for pe latter mete. 5

And forthe wyth all, the amener shall send for voyders for pe lordes borde, and all oyer bordes in his presence, and call all yemen of chambr and yemen waytors for to awayte vppon, and he shall take vp at pe lowest borde in pe same wyse that it was set downe, and so at all oyer bordes. And pe seyd yemen shall be redy at his 10 bonde per to take at hym and bere pem to | pe kechyn. And when [Fol. 4 a] pe mete is vpe the amener shall take pe voyders wyth pe trenchors and broken brede and pe clothe also and take it to one pat stondyth aboute hym for to bere it to pe almesse vessell. Then shall the amener go to pe lordes borde and take of dyuerse metes as 15 it may goodly be forborne and augment per wyth pe almes dyshe, and all pis in pe lordes presence. And when it lykethe pe lorde to commande to take vpe, pe seyd yemen shall be redy per to awayte vppon pe amener to do in all wyse as it is seyde afore. And forthe wyth all as pe seyd mete is vpe pe voyders to be set vppon pe 20 borde, pe laste afore pe lorde. All esquyres pe awaytynge to put in broken brede and trenchors or oyer mete, and pen pe amesse dyshe to be take away wyth a salutacoun, and set vp into a sure howse and after yeysyn to one persone. Then shall pe amener take vp frute yef ony be, and pe voyders aftur pe panter, chese by it 25 selfe and fother wyth aftur pe salt, hole bred, hole trenchors, kervynges knyves, sponys and napkyns togeder.

Then shall pe sewer, ye if it be in a grete day and a durmant lye vnnder pe clothe, let pe surnape with pe towell Rynne vppon the durmant. In a mene day festyuall pe surnape and towelles rynne 30 vppon pe borde. When pe clothe is take away In a symple day pe towelles only vppon pe clothe, when | it is made redy from cromys. [Fol. 4 b] At all tymes pe towelles to be dubble, yeft per syt ony body before hym at his owne messe, and elles not. And yeft per be a messe by-nethe hym and anoper above, Then pe seyd towelles to be leyd 35 sengill afore hym selfe and turnyd In ayen at eyper ende of pe table as ferre as pe persons sytte afore. And yeft pe seyd towell be to shorte, pen pat per be ij short towelles to fullfille per defautes bore in pe handes of ij squyres or yemen of pe chambr or
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awaytours, and when pe surnape is leyde and pe estatte is made afore pe lorde, Then all pe esquyres to make a salutacoum at onys and go bake to pe ewry and per abyde to graces be seyd.

Then bryng in pe water in all wyse byfore pe lorde as pey dede byfore mete, save pe towell. And yef per sytte at pe lordes messe one or moo pat be egall in estatte wyth pe lorde, pen make pe estatte byfore ech of pem, and bryng hem a basyn or basyns yef per be nede of mo pen one. And yef per syt ojper persones at his messe pen of his estatte, pen let bryng a basyn or elles basyns vnconeroyd and set afore hem when pe lordes basyns be set afore hym, and set pe ewer in pe myddes of pe basyn till pe lorde haue weshe; and when pe lorde hathe weshe pen let pe squire pat bryngyth thee basyn knele still till all pe borde hathe weshe, pen pe seyd esquyre shall bere the basyn to pe ewry and pe ojper basyns [Fol. 5 a] shall pen | folowe hym. And wyth oute ony tareyng pe copbord clothe and pe ewry shall be take away and anone pe surnape and towelles shall be strechid; and pe marshall bygynynge at pe lowere ende and after at pe higher ende shall bryng all pat leythe vppon pe borde byfore pe lorde and per take it vpe wyth a salutacoum. Then shall be per redy yemen of pe chambre yef it be per, yemen wayters yef it be in pe hall, to take away stolis and bordes and trestelles, and set pem in per kynde places, and pe marshall shake pe lordes lape.

All suche poure, rule, and commondmentes as pe marshall hade at pe fyrst mete, whiles pe lorde sat, pe vsher shall haue at the seconde mete when pat pe marshall syttythe, wythouten pat it be countermaundid by pe stywarde or marshall.

Nota: as all these seyd servantes and ofcpecers haue don at mete so to do at souper; and in pe same wyse pe seware pat stondyth shall do as pe sewar pat knelythe except pe knelynge and pe assay. That is to say, he shall take the dyshes from pem pat bryngyth hem and vnconere every dyshe evyn byfore pe grettyst at pe borde, except potages and sawces pat shall be set afore ojper persones, and couere hem ayen and set hem afterward in per kynde places, neuer a dyshe above anoper and ouer pat next pe lorde pat he shall assay [Fol. 5 b] of firste aftur pe maner as it was sewid. And | pat none sawces come In wyth pe courses except mustard, but aftur set in wyth pe sewer and esquyres wayters to every mete as nedythe, or elles all sawces togeder afore the courses; and pat all esquyres waytors
or yemen yef esquyres take be attendant in pe mele tymes vpon pe comondmentes of pe marshall in all thynges of pe kerver, in feechyng voyde dyshes or wyne for sawce of capons of pe sewer, in feechyng of sawce or all pat sawce shall be made of.

Also pat pe marshall sewer or esquyres wayters at mele tymes 5 make honest chere wyth softe speche to strangers syttyng at pe lorde borde or in his presence, yef pey may goodly come to hem, and as pey se tyme. Also pat in pe lorde presence suche silence he kepte pat per be no lowde speche save only of pe lorde and suche as he speketh to. And in pe hall suche lowe communeacoun be 10 hade pat pe hede officers voyce be herde vnto all oper officers; and pat no gromys hede be coramunecacoun at meles yeman, ne yeman Ientilman, ne Ientilman pe stywarde; also pat pe Ientilmen and yemen serve all po in pe lorde presence; and onte of pe lorde presence yemen serve Ientilmen and set downe yemen and gromys 15 serve hem, set gromes and pages to serve pem.

Then pe marshall in a lorde howse is Ientilman herberoure and pe vsher of pe hall yeman of pe same; and after pe vsher of thee | chambre yef ony be, or yemen of pe chambre 1 in his absence haue [Fol. 6 a] take vpe logyng for his lorde and for hym selfe in his owne maner 20 or in oper places, pe marshall or pe vshire in his stede shall asignde all oper men per logynge, as well strangers as men of housold; and also he shall asignde pem bred, ale, wyne, wex, talowe, and fewell to per logynge after pe season of pe yere, and per degrees, and rekyn for it dayle and wokely as pe lorde bookes be made.

Then pe marshall and vsshér shall dayle reken all pe messes wythin pe howse, pat is to say pe lorde for ij messe and every lorde in pe same wyse at pe borde; afterward every man at pe borde for one messe, and peen aftur prouglhe pe howse Ientilmen, yemen, gromes and pages every ij to one messe; and in pe same 30 wyse bryng hem dayle and wokely to pe clerke of pe kechyn as pey been asked, and pe bokes made.

Also pe marshall hath the poure to correcte all suche as dothe grete offences wythin pe howse or wythoute, as in fightynge, oreble chydyng, makyng of debates, drawyng of knyves and stelynges, 35 affrayes and suche oper: to put hem into pe porters warde or in stokkes in all wyse as ferre forthe as pe stywarde, save in puttyng out of pe howse. And in all pes poyntes in lyke wyse pe vssher

1 yef ony be deleted.
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[Fol. 6 b] hathe pe same | powre in pe marshalles absence; all pis to be pus
vnderstond, pe styward above all the Lentilmen, pe marshall above
yemen, the vsher above grones and pages.

Also at all tymes of pe day pe marshall shall have his command-
5 ments fullfillid in euer office of pe house, and pe vsher in pe
same wyse; to it be contermaundid, restrayned, or moderd by
pe lord for per waste or importunyte.

Also at euer tyme pat pe lorde commandyth drynke, pe
marshall or vssher shall warne esquyres or yemen to awaye peron,
10 and pey shall goo wyth hym and comonde it at euer office; and
In case per be so many lordes and strangers pat peres shall nede pottes
wyth wyne, pen shall be marshall call euer lordes squyreu or assigne
oper squyres of his owne lordes for hem, and pen delyuer coppis to
pe seyd squy[rs]e for pe seyd lordes, coneryd or vnconeryd, as pat pe
15 case requeryth at pe seler dore; and he hym selfe shall take as many
coppis voyde ech wythin oper by twix his handes wyth his rodde
as he supposythe to servue pe remnant of pe howse, and so shall he
goo afore; all pe oper coppis, voyde save pe chef lordes, folow hym, and
lase of all pe boteler wyth pe copborde clothe on his shulder and
pottes of wyne in his handes; and when pey come into pe place per
20 as pe lordes be, pe marshall, kerwer, copberers shall make a saluta-

[Fol. 7 a] coun | and go streight to a bay wyndowe, a forme or copborde at pe
lower ende of pe house yef ony be per, and stond per in order lyke
as pey were delyuerd at pe seler dore, till pe coppis be fillid.

25 Then shall pe butler lay downe his copborde clothe and sette pe
pottes peron, and pe marshall all pe coppis pat he berythe in lyke
wyse. Then shall pe marshall call pe squyres wyth the coppis, and
do fell hem by order aftur per esstates, and when all pe coppis be
fillid he shall comonde hem to goo forthe to pe lordes, and forthe
wyth he shall call oper Lentilmen or yemen of pe chambr or
awayters and delyuer hem coppis suche as he brought, as many as he
supposyth will servue pe house and tell hem where pey shall servue;
and when pey haue all dronken pe marshall shall take ayen all pe
coppis pat he brought hym selfe, puttyng pe wyne lefte in pem, yef
ony be, in a voyde potte of suche as pe botteler brought. And
35 when he hathe ayen all pe seyd coppis, he shall take hem in lyke
wyse as he brought hem, and pe boteler caste his clothe ayen
vpon his shulder and take pe pottes in his handes, and forthwyth
pe marshall shall geve awarnyng to pe kerver and copberers and
all togeder shall make a salutacoun and perwyth departe, pe keruer first, pe copberers | next, pe marshall wyth pe coppis aftur pem, [Fol. 7 b] and laste of alle pe bottele wyth the pottes of wyne.

A generall Rule of all maner of fysshes, as pey shall be servuyd in order and course of sewynge.

The firste sprottes, rede beryng and whyte lyng, dogdrawght, grene fyshe, salt samon, salt elis, salt strogon and salt lamprey. 5 Then all maner of freyd metes, pat is freyd of salt fyshes or powderd; pen, folowynge pese fryed metes, all maner of see fyshe both rede, rounde and flat; and folowynge pem all reuer fyshe aftur as pey bethe of deynte and in gretnesse; and nexte folowyng all maner of pole fyshe and pem all maner of rostid fyshe, what so ever to pey bee; and pem folowynge all maner of shell fyshe; and folowynge pem all maner of bake metes, be it fishe or doucetes; lese pem ye haue many of pem pat ye lyst to departe som to pe firste course, som to pe seconde, and so to pe thyrde; and laste of all, all maner of leche metes and metes of deynte.

A generall Rule to euery Lentilman pat is a keruer to ony maner lorde.

The towell muste be layed vppon his shulder when he shall [Fol. 8 a] bryng his lorde brede, and yef he bryng frute his towell to be folden and leyd vppon his arme, what maner of frute so ever it be; and pe cause is pat pe towell ought to be spred vnder pe dyshe or pece or what so pat ye bryng it Inne; and ever yef pat pe esstate 20 pat ye servue stonde, pem aftur youre obeysance ye may stonde, and yef he sytte ye muste knele, and kepe pe dyshe or pece pat you bere in youre handes; etc.

Explicit a good techyng.
NOTES

p. 11, l. 9. *pe vsphere*] The duties of the Usher are explained in the Neville document:

First the Usher must see that the Hall be trymmed in every point, and that the Cloth of estate be hanged in the Hall, and that four Quayshions of estate be set in order upon the Bench, byeing of fine Silke, or cloth of Gold, and that the hygh Table be set, with all other Boordes, and Cubberdes, Stooles and Chayres requisite within the Hall, and that a good fire be made.

p. 11, l. 10. *wynter tyme*] Wood was brought in from All Saints’ Day to Candlemas Eve (Sloane Boke of Cartaue, 393–4).

p. 11, l. 21. *commonde pe panter and ever to cover and make redy*] This is more fully described in the account of the Neville Feast:

Item, the Yeoman of the Ewrie must cover the hygh Table with all other Boordes and Cubberdes, and the Ewrie must be hanged, and a Bason of estate thereupon covered, with one Bason of assaye, and thereupon one Cup of assaye to take thassy therof, and thereupon to lay thechie napkin: and of the ryght syde of the Ewrie the Basons and Ewers for therewarde, and of the left syde for the second messe.

Then the Panter must byng foorth Salt, Bread, and Trenchers, with one brode and one narrow Knyfe, and one Spone, and set the Salt right vnnder the middest of the Cloth of estate, the Trenchers before the Salt, and the Bread before the Trenchers towards the rewardre, properly wrapped in a napkyn, the brode knyfe poynct vnnder the Bread, and the backe towards the Salt, and the lesse Knyfe beneathe it towards the rewardre, and the Spone beneathe that towards the rewardre, and all to be covered with a Couerpane of Diaper of fyne Sylke. The Surnappe must be properly layde towards the Salt endlong the brode edge, by the handes of thatforenamed Yeoman of the Ewrie: and all other Boordes and Cubberdes must be made redy by the Yeoman of the Pantry, with Salt, Trenchers, and Bread.

Also at the Cubberde in lyke maner must the Panter make redy, with Salt, Bread, Trenchers, Napkyns, and Spooones, with one brode Knyfe for the rewardre.

Then the Marshall with the Careuer must go towards the hygh Table, and the Panter to folowe them, makynge their obeysance first in the middest of the Hall, and agayne before the hygh Desse: then the Marshall and the Panter must stonde styll, and the Careuer must go to the Table, and there kneele on his knee, and then aryse with a good countenance, and properly take of the Couerpane of the Salt, and geue it to the Panter, which must stonde styll.

Then the Careuer must remoue the Salt, and set it vnnder the left edge of the cloth of estate towards the seconde messe, and set your Bread beneath the Salt towards the seconde messe, and let it remain styll wrapped.

Then with your brode Knyfe remoue your Trenchers all at once tofore the Salt, or towards the rewardre, and then with your brode Knyfe properly vnclose the napkyn that the bread is in, and set the Bread all beneath the Salt towards the second messe: then the Table cleansed, the
Caruer must take with his brode Knyfe a little of the vppermost Trencher, and geue it to the Panter to cate for thassay thereof, and of the Bread geue assay in lyke maner: then vncouer your salt, and with a cornet of Bread touch it in four partes, and with your hande make a floryshe over it, and geue it the Panter to cate for thassaye thereof, who goeth his way, then cleanse the Table cleanly: that done, one Gentleman at the rewards, and the Yeoman of the Ewrie at the seconde messe, must let downe the Surnappe from the Table.

Then with your brode Knyfe take one of the Trenchers stockes, and set it in your napkyns ende in your left hande, and take foure Trenchers, eche one after another, and lay them quadrant one bydes another before the Lordes seate, and lay there principal a lofe on them, then set downe your Trenchers, and take up your Bread with your brode Knyfe, and cut therof three small peeces one after another, and lay them on the left hande of the Lorde, then cleanse the Table cleanly.

p. 11, l. 24. *pen shall pe sewer go to pe every and take a tovell vppon his shulder*] Cf. the *Neville Feast*:

That done, the Yeoman of the Ewrie shall arme the Caruer with one Towell from the left shoulder to vnder the ryght arm, and geue the napkyn of estate for thassay, and lay it vpon the same shoulder of the Caruer, and the Caruers owne napkyn vpon his left arm, and in lyke maner he shall arme the Sower with an other Towell, from the ryght shoulder to vnder the ryght arm.

p. 12, l. 5. The washing ceremony is more fully described in the account of the *Neville Feast* thus:

In the meane time the Yeoman of the Ewrie kysseth the Towell of estate, and layeth it on the Marshal’s left shoulder, and he taketh the assay of the water, and geneth the Cupbearer the bason of estate, with the Cup of assay. Then the Marshall with the Cupbearer goeth to the Lorde, and there maketh their obeysaunce. Then the Marshall kysseth the Towell for his assay, and so layeth it on the left shoulder of the Lorde of the house, or maister of the same, yf any such be, and the same Lorde or maister standeth on the left hande of the Baron bishop. Then the Marshall taketh the Cup of assay, & the Cupbearer putteth foorth water into the sayde Cup, and drynketh it for the assay therof, then he powreth forth water into the sayde Cup, and drynketh it, &c, and then powreth foorth water out of the Bason of estate, into the Bason of assay. Then the Lorde or maister of the house doth geue the Towell ende to the cheefe dignitie or prebendarie, to holde tyll the Bishop have washed, and then all other do washe in their degree in Basons prepared for them.

p. 12, l. 16. *pe marshall and sewer shall make a salutation*] This is described more fully in the *Neville Feast*:

When all is in course, the Marshall and the Sower goeth together before the course to the hygh Table, makyng their obeysaunce in the myndlest of the Hall even before the hygh Table. Then the Marshall standeth styll, and the Sower kneeleth on his knee besydes the Caruer, who receneth every dysh in course of kynde, and vncouereth them.

p. 12, l. 22. *pe amener shall bryng in pe almesse dyshe with a lofe pe Inne*] Cf. *Neville Feast*:

The Chaplyn must take the almes dyshe at the Cubborde, and bryng it before the boorde, and take the lofe of breade that standeth vpon the almes dyshe, and set it vpon the trecher that lyeth vpon the boorde, and then take the trecher and the lofe together, and set them vpon the almes
Notes on A generall Rule

dyshe, and with a good countenaunce take vp the dyshe, and deyuer to the Almoner, and so depart.

For the office of the Almoner cf. also Sloane Bokes of Curtase, 729-48.

p. 12, l. 30. *je sewer shall loke pat per lake no sawce in pe loride presence*] Cf. Neville Feast : 'The sewer must see that there want no sawces for any dyshe in his kynde.'

p. 13, l. 4. *trenchours and broken bread*] The trenchers are therefore still of bread, not of wood. In the tract *For to serve a lord*, mention is made of 'Trenchours of tree or brede'. In [John Russell's] *Boke of Nurture*, of the early fifteenth century, the trenchers are of bread, 'a loofe of trenchers'; and as late as 1465 the trenchers were clearly of bread at the Neville banquet, for 'cornets of trenchers' were tasted by the assayer.

p. 13, l. 29. For the bringing in of the towels at the end of the Banquet, cf. the Neville Feast : at the close of dinner, after the wine is brought in :

Then the Sewer byrnygeth the double Towell to thende of the rewardes upon both his armes, with an obeyeaunce, and kysseth it for his assay, and then the Marshall commeth before the Lorde, makyng his obeyeaunce. Then the Sewer layeth downe the Towell upon the Table, and geneth thende thereof to one Gentleman, and so from one to another tyll it be conveyed to the Marshall. Then the Marshall must properly uncloes thende of the Towell, and spreade it playne in the myddle of the Table before the Lorde : that done, he must have a rokke in his hande lyke unto an arrow stele, three quarters long, with a needle in the ende, puttynge the sharpe ende therof under the Towell, through the farre syde, holding the nearer syde to the rokke with his thombe, and also holding the end of the Towell towards the Lorde for the estate therof, then make your obeyeaunce, and gave the same ende to an other Gentleman towards the second messe.

Then the Sewer at one ende, and a Gentleman at thother ende, to pull the chiefe Towell harde and stragght. Then laye over the one Towell towards the neather syde of the boorde, and pull the chiefe Towell harde and stragght. Then the Marshall must put the sharpe ende of his rokke under the chiefe Towell against the Lordes ryght hande, and therewithall take hold of the farre side of the Towell, and holde fast the neare syde to the rokke with your thombe, and drawe the Towell halfe a yard over the rewardes, and lay the boughd backewarde for the estate therof towards the rewardes, and after that an other of estate in lyke maner towards the seconde messe. Then with thende of your rokke take up the narowe syde of the Towell, and lye it forwarder one hande brede, and stroke it over with your rokke from the estate to the other. Then lye the seconde Towell strayte wynyng it to that other Towell of estate, and so make your obeyeaunce all and depart, and stande in the mydwarde of the Hall.

p. 13, l. 29. For the laying of the surnape, elaborate instructions are given in the Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his household (*Ordinances and Regulations*, 119; the whole passage is quoted in *Early English Meals and Manners*, p. 92); instructions are also given in Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, 237. In the *Liber Niger domus* of King Edward IV it is ordained that the 'usher of the chambre' 'mакeth his towell or surnape, as dothe a Marchall when the King is in the hall' : 'if the Kinge kepe estate in his chambyr, these ushers make the estate in the surnape, like as the marshall doth in the hall' (*Ordinances and Regulations*, 34, 38).
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p. 14, l. 4. Then bryng in þe water] Cf. Neville Feast:

That done, the Lordes Cupbearer, with other Cupbearers, do bryng in water, and the Lordes Cupbearer taketh assay as he did before dyner, and so sseteth downe the Basone of assay, and putteth foorth Water of the Basone of estate before the Lorde. Then every man wasseth at the rewarde and seconde messe, and at the Church boorde, and dryseth. Then the Sewer and Gentleman wayter draweth the Towell as they dyd before the washyng, and the Marshall maketh his estate as he dyd before the washyng. That done, the Cupbearer bryngeth in Ale, the Lord bath his assay, ut supra, and drynkethe syttyng, and al others, then do they arysse, and ever the better the latter, and the Lord last of all.

Then the Yeoman of the Ewrie must take up the Table cloth, the Usher must see the table, chayres and stoole taken away in order. Then the Lorde must drynke Wyne standyng, and all other in lyke maner, and that done, every man departeth at his good pleasure.

p. 14, l. 30. For the custom of taking the Assay, cf. the following passage from the Neville Feast:

In the meane tyme [i.e. while the guests are seating themselves] the Sewer goeth to the dresser, and there taketh assay of every dyshe, and doth geue it to the Stewarde and the Cooke to cate of all Porreges, Mustarde, and other sawces. He taketh the assay with corretts of trenchers bread of his owne cuttyng, and that is thus: He taketh a cornet of bread in his hande, and toucheth three partes of the dyshe, and maketh a florisho ouer it, and geueth it to the aforesaid persons to cate, and of every stewed meate, rosted, boylde, or broyled, byeng fysh or fleshe, he cutteth a litle thereof, &c. And yf it be baken meate closed, vnclose it, and take assay therof as ye do of sawces, and that is with correttes of breade, and so with all other meates, as Custardes, Tartes, and Gelly, with other such lyke. The ministers of the Churche doth after the olde custome, in syngyng of some proper or godly Carol. . . .

And again, when the dishes are brought to the High Table and uncovered by the Carver:

Then the Carner of all potages and sawces taketh assay with a cornet of trencher bread of his owne cuttyng, he toucheth three partes of the dishe, and maketh a florisho ouer it, and geueth it to the Sewer, and to hym that beareth the dyshe, who kneelth in lyke maner, to cate for the assay therof. Then of your stewed meates, boyylde, fryed, or rost meates, be it fysh or fleshe, take assay therof at the myd syde with your brode Knyfe, and geue it to the Sewer, and to the bearer of the dyshe: and yf it be any maner of fowle, take the assay therof at the outsylde of the thygh or wyng: and if it be any baken meate that is closed, vncover hym, and take assaye therof with cornettes dypt into the grany, and geue it to the Sewer, vt supra. And of all Custardes, Tartes, Marchpaynes, or Gelly, take thassay with cornettes. And of all Suttlettes or Leches, with your brode knyfe cut a little of, and geue it to the Sewer and Bearer, vt supra.

And when the last dyshe of the first course is set in, the Sewer goeth to the dresser, and as he dyd at the first course, so he must at the seconde course in every poynt, as touching the assay with other thynges, and when he is rety the ministers of the Churche do syng solemnly.


The marshalle shalle herber alle men in fere,
That ben of any count of any mestere.
Notes on A generall Rule

p. 15, l. 33. *he marshall hathe powre to correcte*] For the marshall's power to correct, cf. Sloane *Buke of Curtasye*, 379, &c.:  
Now of marschalle of halle wylle I spelle  
And what falle to hys ofyce now wylle y telle;  
In absence of stuarde he shalle areste  
Who so euer is rebelle in court or fest;  
Somon-vsshere, and grome also,  
Vndur hym ar bes two . . .

p. 16, l. 8. For the serving of drink, cf. the *Neville Feast*:  
In the meane tyme the Marshall goeth to the Buttery, to see the couered Cup be right seuered, and geneth to the Butler his assay, and delyuereth to the Cupbearer the Cup of estate, and when the Cupbearer commeth to the Table, after his obeysaunce, he kuceleth on his knee, and putteth foorth three or foure droppes of Ale into the insyde of the couer of the Cuppe, and suppes it of for his assay. Then he settes the Cup besydes the Lorde and couereth it, and then all the Table is seuered with Ale. Marke when the first rost meate beyng fyshe or fleshe is broken, then the Cupbearer goeth to the Seller, and when the Cupbearer commeth to the Table, he vseth hym selfe as afore, &c.

p. 17, l. 12. *Doucetes*] Recipes for the making of these will be found in MS. Harl. 279 (see *Early English Meats and Manners*, 146), and in the *Fifteenth Century Cookery Books*, edited by Austin for the E. E. T. S.
The Thirde Order of Seynt Francisys
For the Brethren and Sisters
of the
Order of Penitentis.

EDITED FROM A XV CENTURY MS.
FORMERLY IN THE PENNANT COLLECTION

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY
WALTER W. SETON, M.A.
INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD ORDER

The Rule of the Third Order, or Ordo de Pcenitentia, as well as the history of the origin of that Order, is one of the subjects upon which criticism has been directed from the time, rather more than thirty years ago, when a serious study of Franciscan sources began. As in the case of so many other mediaeval problems, the not very extensive basis of ascertained facts and documents is liable in process of time to become overlaid and even concealed by the mass of theory and commentary which has been built upon such a basis. And yet there has not appeared in English a summary, first of the facts and documents which lie outside the region of doubt, and secondly of the criticism to which they have been subjected. As a Middle English version of the Rule is published here for the first time, it appears not unsuitable that an attempt should be made to provide such a summary.

Before, then, anything in the way of criticism or commentary is stated, it will be well to set out what are the actual materials and what facts are known about them.

1. In 1901 M. Paul Sabatier discovered in the Franciscan Monastery of S. John of Capestrano in the Abruzzi, in a fifteenth-century MS., a version of a Rule of the Third Order, having the following title:

Memoriale propostit fratrum et sororum de Pcenitentia in domibus propriis existentium inceptum anno Domini MCCLXXI tempore domini Gregorii noni Papae XIIII° Cal. Junii indictione prima tale est.

Whatever differences of view there may be as to this document in detail, all agree in regarding it as the earliest version of the Rule at present known. The full text will be found in Sabatier, Opuscules de Critique historique, Paris, 1901; and in Boehmer’s Analecten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi. Tübingen, 1904. This version, which consists of thirteen chapters, will be referred to as R 1.
2. In 1902 Père Mandonnet, commenting on Sabatier's discovery of the Capestrano text, called attention to the mention of a fourteenth-century MS. formerly in the library of the Convent of SS. John and Paul, Venice, and described in 1755 by Berardelli in his Catalogue of that Conventual Library as having the following title:

Memoriale propositi fratrum et sororum de poenitentia in domibus propriis existentium. Inceptum anno domini MCC.XXI, tale est.

It begins with the words: Vīri qui huius fraternitatis furent and ends: tānquam continent obligetur ad culpam. These words are identical respectively with the first words of chapter i and the last words of chapter xii of R 1.

This MS. is at present lost. Père Mandonnet and H. Boehmer have both made fruitless inquiries for it. The library of the convent was dispersed in the early part of the nineteenth century.*

3. Bernard de Bessa, writing about 1290, states that the Rule was the joint production of S. Francis himself and Pope Gregory IX:

In regulis seu vivendi formis ordinis istorum dictandis sacrae memoriae dominus papa Gregorius in minori adhuc officio constitutus, beato Francisco intima familiaritate coniunctus, devote supplebat, quod viro sancto in dictandi scientia deere.

4. On March 30, 1228, the Bull Detestanda † was issued, conferring certain privileges and exemptions upon the members of the Third Order.

5. A version of the Rule, differing from R 1 but containing a large portion of the material of the first twelve chapters of R 1, is contained in Wadding's Beati Patris Francisci Assisiatis Opera Omnia, 1623, and in other later writers based upon Wadding. This version is generally divided into twenty chapters. It will be referred to as R 2.

6. On November 21, 1234, ‡ Gregory IX issued letters to the

* It may be worth mention, in order to save trouble to other students, that the present editor in August, 1913, also made a search in Venice for this MS. He ascertained that there were only three public collections in Venice which were known to contain volumes from this convent, viz. the library of S. Mark, the Museo Civico which received the Cicogna Bequest, and the State Record Office in the Frari. He went through the catalogues of all three institutions and consulted the librarians, but failed to find the MS. It must have passed into private hands, if it has not perished.

† Sbaralea, i, p. 39.

‡ Potthast, 9768.
Bishops placing the Tertiaries under the protection of the Bishops, and at the same time committing to them the visitation and correction of the Tertiaries.

7. A version of the Rule, substantially the same as R2 in arrangement and contents, but nevertheless differing from it in certain respects, is incorporated in Nicholas IV’s Bull Supra Montem of August 18, 1289. This is the version of which the text here published is a translation. It will be referred to as R3. The best Latin text is contained in Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales, Quaracchi, 1897. This is the Rule which governed the Third Order from 1289 until 1883, when the Order was reformed by Leo XIII’s Bull Misericors.

8. On August 8, 1290, Nicholas IV published a Bull Unigenitus Dei Filii with a view to overcoming the hostility with which R3 was received in some quarters. The most important sentence in this Bull is as follows:

Ordinem ipsum approbando, ordinationes nonnullas salutaris persuasionis, nostris litteris in eodem Ordine duocimus observandas; inter caeteras eisdem fratribus, paterno consulentes affectu, ut huiusmodi normam vivendi sequentur, et sequendo amplercentur eamdem. Et cum naturalis persuadeat ratio et rationi aequitas acquiescat, ut praedicti Ordinis professores, ob ipsius Confessoris reverentiam dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Ordinis Minorum diri-gantur et regulentur doctrina, qui utriusque Ordinis alumnus existit institutor, de Ordine supradicto Fratrum Minorum visitatores et informatores assumere procurent.

Other documents of lesser importance could be mentioned, especially other Papal Bulls relating to the Tertiaries, but the documents already mentioned are those which are most important for a study of the Rule.

Something must first be said as to the date at which the Tertiaries were founded, a question which at once brings us into a region of some uncertainty. Here again it is safest to start from a fixed point, viz. a Papal document, and that fixed point is provided by the letter of Honorius III, dated December 16, 1221, to the Bishop of Rimini, which makes the first official reference to the Franciscan Tertiaries and recommends their protection: Significatum est nobis quod Faventiae et in quibusdam

* Potthast, 23355.
Introduction

aliis civitatis et locis vicinis quidam sunt, quisum illum Dominus inspiravit affectum ut ... semetipsos ad poenitentiam se convertent.

This letter is sufficient to show that at any rate by the date December 1221, the Order of Penitents had come into existence, and it may indicate that Faenza was the place of their origin. On the other hand, Mariano of Florence, whose authority as a sixteenth-century writer is not particularly high, claims that the first congregation of Penitents was established by S. Francis and Hugolino (Gregory IX) at Florence, in May 1221, a statement the accuracy of which is challenged by Boehmer. The traditional view has been that the Order was founded by S. Francis soon after his return from the East in 1221, in order to meet the need of the large multitude of lay folk, both men and women, who were anxious to 'do penance', but who owing to the circumstances of their lives could not become members of the First or Second Orders. Fourteenth-century tradition, as given by Bartolomeo de Tolomaeis, even specifies the names of the first members of the Third Order as Luchesio and Bonadonna, citizens of Poggibonsi. There is no evidence for the 'Luchesio' story earlier than the fourteenth century. The Bollandists have further confused the issue by identifying Luchesio with Lucius, mentioned by S. Antonino of Florence as being the first member of the Third Order. *

The authority of both Thomas of Celano and of the 'Three Companions' has been invoked for tracing the existence of the Third Order to an even earlier period, indeed to a period contemporaneous with the early preaching of S. Francis before his journey to the East; it must, however, be remembered that there is a tendency with these writers, even though they are describing events within their own lifetime, to ascribe much which was actually later to the early days of the Order, somewhat at the

* Curiously enough, both names are mentioned in the Latin extract from Bernardine de Bustis—contained in the Pennant MS. and printed on pp. 55-7. It will be seen that Bernardine places S. Luchesio at the beginning of his list preceded only by S. Louis and S. Ivo, and that he says of S. Lucius that he was primus sanctus de isto tercio ordine. This may be a clue to the way in which the whole story has originated. Lucius, who has never been canonized, but only beatified (Festival on April 15), has perhaps been confused with S. Luchesio. It is difficult to say why Bernardine describes him as he does. For it was not until long after Bernardine's time that Lucius was beatified by Innocent XII.
expense of historical accuracy and perspective. This at any rate however is certain, that the Third Order as a distinct organization must have come into existence by 1221.

It is scarcely then a coincidence that the first known version of the Rule, R 1, should contain the date 1221. Whatever view one may hold as to the Capestrano Document, there can be little doubt that it points to a Rule composed in 1221, which may or may not be wholly or partly contained in R 1 as it is now extant. Assuming that the Third Order received its first organized form not later than 1221 it would naturally be expected that the new organization would require a Rule.

The title of R 1* is in itself ambiguous. The most simple and obvious way of understanding it is that of Père Mandonnet, who merely places a full stop after the numerals 1221. If this is done, R 1 appears to be the original 'Memorial' or Rule of 1221 with its first twelve chapters, with a later addition of 1228, viz. chapter xiii. Salatier and Boehmer make emendations of the title by supplying words which they believe to have fallen out. Under their view the first twelve chapters are certainly in the main the Rule of 1221, but already subjected to a redaction in 1228; while chapter xiii contains material added not necessarily in 1228, but according to them probably later and at various periods. Both authorities see in chapter vi of R 1 an allusion to the Bull Detestanda of March 30, 1228, though the reality of that allusion seems questionable.† Père Mandonnet’s argument, based upon the Venetian MS., has not been successfully answered. It is much to be hoped that the lost MS. will ultimately be found, so as to place beyond doubt the actual form of the Rule of 1221, and to show whether chapter vi contains the same phrase now understood as an allusion to Detestanda or not.‡

The next question which naturally arises is as to the authorship

* See p. 25.
† The clause in question is: Omnes a invramentis solemnibus abstineant nisi necessitate cogente in casibus a summo pontifice exceptee in sua indulgentia videlicet pro pace, fide, calamia et testimonia.
‡ More recent evidence has been brought to bear on this question by P. Lemmens, who has published in Archiv. Franc. Hist., April 1913, a newly discovered version of the Rule of 1221 contained in Cod. 1159, Roy. Lib. of Königsberg. This version confirms Mandonnet’s view as to the understanding of the Capestrano title and Salatier’s view as to the allusion to Detestanda.
of R 1, or rather of that part of R 1 which came into existence in 1221. On this point there is the greatest variety of opinion, ranging from those who have claimed it as the unaided work of S. Francis himself, to those who deny S. Francis any hand in it at all. There are probably few, if any, to-day who would assert the Rule of 1221 to be the unaided work of S. Francis. On the other hand, Boehmer in his Analekten combats the view that the Saint was in any sense its author, and in publishing the works of the Saint he classifies it neither as genuine nor doubtful, but as spurious. Reference has already been made to the testimony of Bernard de Bessa, who probably derived his information from S. Bonaventura (who was himself in direct touch with the disciples of S. Francis), that the Rule of 1221 was the joint work of S. Francis and Hugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX. We have evidence that Hugolino took some part in the composition of the Rule of the Friars Minor in 1223, and there is reason to think that he also participated in writing the Rule of the Clarisses in 1218–19. There is no good reason to doubt the testimony of Bernard de Bessa, and it is not unsafe to attribute the Form of R 1 to Hugolino and its contents to S. Francis. This is the view taken by Père Mandonnet, as well as by Jürgensen and Father Cuthbert in their recent biographies of the Saint. After all, the extant body of undoubtedly genuine writings of S. Francis is so limited as to make it somewhat unsafe to argue, as Boehmer does, that R 1 cannot be in any sense the work of S. Francis, because it is so different from his ordinary style.

The Capestrano Rule, R 1, gives then a fixed point, namely, the date 1228 as the year of the composition of part or perhaps the whole of it. Sixty-one years later another fixed point is provided by the Bull Supra Montem, dated August 18, 1289, and containing a new Rule, R 3. What then lies between R 1 of 1228 and R 3 of 1289?

Somewhere between these two dates lies R 2, the Rule as known to Luke Wadding, the seventeenth-century chronicler, and published by him. At first sight it might be supposed that the differences between R 2 and R 3 are so small that they are in reality the same Rule. The differences, however, though perhaps few and slight in extent, are important, and serve, taken along
with other facts, as a clue to the processes lying behind the evolution of R 3. They may even at the same time throw light on the authorship of R 2.

Père Mandonnet * has worked out a theory showing how the various versions of the Rule of the Third Order reflect in their provisions the conflict which went on in the Franciscan Order between the Conventuals and those of the Strict Observance from a date even anterior to the death of the Founder. Into the precise meaning of the sundry titles given to the officers of the Order in R 1, viz. Ministers, Visitor, and the Spiritual Counsellor, later called Director, and what these terms exactly connote it is not possible to enter here, nor is it necessary, as the subject has been so fully discussed by Père Mandonnet and others. An examination of chapters i-xii of R 1, i.e. of the portion of R 1 which is mainly assignable to 1221, will show that although the Order of Penitents owed its origin to S. Francis and the movement which he founded, there is not a phrase or provision in those chapters which indicate a link between the Penitents and the Friars Minor. Neither the Visitor nor the Director need be a Friar Minor. On the contrary, the first chapters of R 1 define that the Director must be a religious, thus expressly leaving it open whether he is to be a Friar Minor or a religious of some other Order. In other words, the provisions of 1221 aim at separating the Penitents from the influence of the Friars Minor. The opposite process characterizes the provisions of chapter xiii, i.e. of 1228. Under these provisions a Friar Minor is to be placed as spiritual director to the congregation,† and the monthly gathering is to be in the 'place' of the Friars Minor. The Order of Penitents is thus deliberately brought back into a closer connexion with the Friars Minor. The alterations are so marked that they can scarcely fail to be a matter of intention. Now it will further be found that if R 2 as known to Wadding is

* Opusenl de Crif, hi&or. Fas&. IV, pp. 206-45.
† 4. Item visitator & ministri huinis fratemitatis petent a ministro vel custode fratrum Minorum num fratrem Minorem de conventu, eunius fratris consilio et voluntate fratrum ista fratemitatis gubernatur in omnibus et regatur.
5. Et quando ille frater recederet de convento, petent aliam loco eis, ita quod semper consilio fratrum Minorum regatur ista fratemitas que a beato FranciscO habitum fundamentum. 6. Item omnes frater* convenient in prima dominica cuivitget meneis ad missam in loco fratrum Minorum.
compared with R 3, contained in the Bull Supra Montem of 1289, the same process is at work. Leaving aside for the time the question of the date of R 2, it will be seen that in R 2 the Visitor must be a priest of some recognized religious Order, but there is neither a direction nor even a suggestion that he should be a Franciscan; moreover the work of Visitor must not be done by any other. Now in R 3 an effort is again made, due no doubt to the influence of Nicholas IV, who had himself been a Minister General of the Franciscan Order, to restore the dominance of the Friars Minor in the counsels of the Penitents. Under chapter xx of R 3 * the Visitors and Directors of the Penitents are to be Friars Minor nominated for the purpose by the 'Custodes' of the Franciscan Order; and it is defined that the Visitor must not be a layman. A smaller indication of the trend of policy is in chapter viii of R 3, where it is provided that those who labour may eat thrice a day from Easter until S. Francis's Day (October 4), instead of until Michaelmas as in R 2. To what date then, between 1228 and 1289, must the promulgation of R 2 be assigned? The date cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty, but an indication is afforded by the letters of Gregory IX, issued on November 21, 1231, by which the correction and visitation of the Tertiaries is committed to the Bishops. R 2 probably came into existence about 1234.

Thus, just as the process of separating the Penitents from the Franciscan Order in 1221 was reversed in 1228, so the same process which characterized R 2 in or about 1234 was reversed in 1289. In 1221 the influence which was dominant in the Franciscan Order was that of Elias of Cortona. In that year the Chapter had been held at which Elias had been called to the government of the Order; in that year the first outward organization of the Order of Penitents had taken place; in that year the Rule in its first form had been written. Even if Bernard de Bessa is right in his account of its authorship, that it was a joint work of S. Francis and Hugolino, it may be supposed that the dominating personality of Elias was not altogether absent in its composition. It was assuredly no part of the plan of S. Francis that that which he regarded as the one spiritual family should be split up, and that the Penitents should be

* See page 54.
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segregated from the Friars Minor. The policy represented by
the Rule of 1221 was the policy of Elias and also of Hugolino.
From 1226–32 Elias was under a cloud; his policy no longer
guided the Order; the Friars of the Strict Observance had gained
the upper hand. But about 1232 Elias returned to power, and
held the position of Minister General until his deposition in
1239. By 1234 Hugolino had been raised to the Pontificate as
Gregory IX, and Elias was still in his counsels and was trusted
by him. It is somewhat unlikely that the Rule of 1234 would
be drafted by the Pope himself. It is quite possible that in R 2
the handiwork of Elias himself may be seen. There is no docu-
mentary evidence in support of this theory, nor is there any to
refute it. Given the facts that the Rule, known to Wadding,
came into existence about 1234, and that it reflects faithfully the
known policy of Elias, there is scarcely any person to whom the
responsibility for the changes of 1234 and the composition of R 2
can be with more probability assigned than Elias of Cortona.

While the general accuracy of this explanation of the history
of the evolution of the Rules of the Third Order may be admitted,
too much weight must not be attached to it, especially so far as
the early form of R 1 is concerned. There may be another reason
why R 1 contains no reference to the Friars Minor, and why it
is not until 1228 that the visitation of the Tertiaries is committed
to them. The Tertiaries in the nature of things, whether originally
as individuals or later as congregations, were people with fixed
abodes. The Friars Minor in the early years of the Order were
without any such abodes. Even if in some districts it would have
been possible to rely on their services as Visitors or Directors of
the Tertiaries, it could not until a later period have been uniformly
possible. This consideration, which affects equally the visitation
of the Clarisses, has been effectively pointed out by Père Livarius
Oliger in his De Origine Regularum Ordinis S. Claræ.*

In the present somewhat incomplete state of knowledge regarding
the early beginnings of the Franciscan Order and of the forces
at work in the composition of the Rules, this fact is one for which
room must be left in theories as to the Rules.

The English Version of the Rule.

Having thus considered briefly the history and constitution of the Third Order of S. Francis or Ordo de Poenitentia, it remains to consider the special characteristics of the English version of the Rule here published.

It will first be observed that this version begins with a list of chapter headings or table of contents which is not found in the published Latin originals. It is an addition made probably for the convenience of the English Tertiaries for whom this copy of the Rule was written. The chapter headings thus given correspond exactly to the rubricated headings which introduce each chapter in the text. For the most part the English headings are close translations of the traditional chapter headings of the Latin Rule. It will, however, at once be noticed that, whereas the Latin Rule as generally found is divided into twenty chapters, the present version has been divided into twenty-four chapters. Before considering the reasons for this, it will be well to set out the divisions comparing the English text with the Latin text as published by the Quaracchi Fathers.*

Pennant MS.                  Quaracchi Text.

Chap. I. Of the catholik faith, &c. Preamble not treated as a separate chapter.

Chap. II. Chap. I and Chap. II, to 'proxinuis reconciliare procurt'.

Chap. III. Chap. II. From 'quibus omnibus ad effectum productis' to 'solicita consideratione discussis'.

Chap. IV. Chap. II. From 'Ordinans praeterea' to end.

Chap. V. Chap. III.

Chap. VI. Chap. IV.

Chap. VII. Chap. V down to 'tribus vicibus Pater Noster'.

* Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originalis, 1897, pp. 77-96.
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It is difficult to suppose that it is mere chance which has caused the writer of the Pennant text to divide his Rule into twenty-four chapters instead of twenty. The explanation is possibly much the same as that which Père Mandonnet * suggests in support of his theory that the so-called Capestrano Rule consisted of an original Rule of 1221 divided into twelve chapters, to which were added, in 1228, later additions forming a thirteenth chapter.† He attributes it to the important place occupied by the numeral 12 in Franciscan thought. He claims that the Rule of the Friars Minor of 1223 and that of the Clarisses were both divided into 12

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† This theory of Mandonnet is, however, much injured by Lemmens’s discovery that the text in the Königsberg MS. is divided into eight chapters (see note, p. 29).
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chapters; that as a parallel to the apostolic band of 12, S. Francis had 12 chief companions: that the Apostles’ Creed consists of 12 articles. ‘Ce que le Symbole était pour l’Église primitive, les règles Franciscaines devaient l’être pour chacune des fractions de l’ordre.’

It is true that Père Mandonnet’s theory on this point has been severely criticized by Père Livarius Oliger, O.F.M., who in his two articles ‘De Origine Regularum Ordinis S. Claræ,’* points out that, if we go back to the original Papal Bulls which are preserved, neither headings nor divisions of chapters appear, and that such divisions are arbitrary. It remains a significant fact that the ‘arbitrary’ division of the Rules of the First and Second Order, from whatever epoch the divisions date, do favour the numeral 12. And referring to the Pennant version of the Rule of the Third Order, it seems an inevitable conclusion that either the translator was translating from a Rule divided into twenty chapters and that he deliberately re-arranged his material so as to form twenty-four: or that having before him a Rule without any chapter divisions, he still divided his material into twenty-four. This latter possibility is very remote, for it will be seen that in the large majority of cases he translates the traditional chapter headings.

Another peculiarity of the English version will be found in chapter xix; in order to make this clear it is necessary to set out the English and Latin side by side:

Eche of them also muste devoutly take upon them all other occupacions and offices enioyed theme that this reule requireth and treuly execute them. Also every officer shalbe but for a tyme and none for terme of lyffe.

Ministeria quoque ac alia officia, quae praesentis formulae series exprimit, imposita sibi quisque devote suscipiat, curretque fideliter exercere. Officium autem cuinlibet certi temporis spatio linitetur. Nullus Minister instituatur ad vitam et eius ministerium certum terminum comprehendat.

The words in italics show how the English writer has slightly altered his material and curtailed his translation. The Latin text expressly states that no Minister is to hold office for life: the

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English text says 'none for terme of lyffe' but does not specify the Ministers. This may be a somewhat slender foundation, but it does suggest that in the place or places where this English version was current, it was not convenient to specify too exactly the conditions of tenure of the Ministers. It will be seen that the repeated injunction eius ministerium certum terminum comprehendat is left untranslated.

In chapter v the text as given on page 49 shows how a later hand has corrected the original version and brought it into line with the Latin original. It would appear that the first hand resorted to abbreviation, because he could not find the English equivalents of the Latin names of certain vestments. It will be noticed that whereas the English prescribes for the Sisters 'a wyde palumdelum of lynnen clothe', the Latin original gives 'paludellum amplum de cannabo, sive lino,' or as the Pont. Reg. gives, de canape.

A slight error in the closing words of the Bull is sufficient to show that the Pennant MS. is almost certainly a copy of a translation made probably by a scribe not very familiar with Latin, and that it is not the work of the actual translator. The word Kalender instead of Kalendes suggests that the scribe was unfamiliar with the Latin system of chronology.

The Quaracchi Fathers of the 'Collegium Sanctae Bonaventurae' have shown in their edition of the Rule of the Third Order in the Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales, that there are certain variants as between the Latin text generally published (e.g. in Sbaralea's Bullarium) and the more authoritative text contained in the Pontifical Register of the Vatican. An examination of the Pennant MS. will show that it is a translation of a text which in the main agrees with the more accurate text of the Pontifical Register; in one passage, however, it departs from the Pontifical Register reading in favour of the traditional reading; in another the original text agrees with the Register, while the later correction does not. The points of agreement and disagreement are as follows:

Preamble. 'The way to come to God.' Pont. Reg. viam accedendi. Traditional text, viam ascendendi.

* Quaracchi, 1897, pp. 9 and 77-96.
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Chap. V (Penn). 'A guarnellum ... made withoute any wrynkylle.' Pont. Reg. guarnellum ... consuetum. Trad. text, garnellum ... consuetum.


Finale. 'And if eny presume to attempte.' Pont. Reg. usu temerario. Trad. text, usu temerario.

On the other hand:


Chap. V (Penn). 'Vesture clasped close and not opyn.' Pont. Reg. non patulas. Trad. text, vel patulas. But the correction in later hand has 'kut or hole but opyn', thus departing from Pont. Reg.

Other variants exist as between the two Latin texts, but they are too slight to affect the English translation. But the examination of the variants given above is sufficient to show that the Pennant translator has had direct or indirect access to the text of the Pontifical Register, which in the matter of every variant is superior to the traditional text. It would appear further that the second scribe who added the correction in chapter v used the traditional text in spite of the words 'but opyn' giving such bad sense and that he probably did not fully understand his original, as he left the words guarnellum, placentinum, and palumdellum untranslated. The variant grandia (great rewards) in the Preamble is difficult to explain. Somehow this inferior reading must have crept into the Latin text which the Pennant translator was using.

The Pennant Manuscript.

The version of the Rule of the Third Order of S. Francis which is here published, is contained in a manuscript which has recently come into the possession of the editor. The manuscript is on thick vellum and measures 193 mm. x 130 mm. It consists of 19 leaves. The first leaf contains an illuminated picture of the
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Stigmatization of S. Francis, measuring 130 mm. x 90 mm. Leaves 2–14 inclusive contain the English version of the Rule of the Third Order; the writing is in black, with the chapter headings and some proper names in red. The index of the several chapters occupies leaves 2 and 3. This portion of the manuscript is written in a neat and legible English hand of the latter half of the fifteenth century; there are generally 19 lines to the page.

Leaves 15 and 16 contain a Latin fragment beginning De tercio eciam ordine Beatus Franciscus produxit multis flores. This fragment is an extract from the twenty-seventh sermon of Bernardine de Bustis' Rosarium Sermonum predicabilitium.* Part II. It is written in a different and smaller hand from that of leaves 2–14, and is certainly a later addition; the hand appears to be Italian. This portion of the manuscript contains 22 lines to the page, and the capital initials are written alternately in blue and red with great regularity. There is a finely illuminated initial D with elaborate scroll-work at the beginning of the Latin fragment. The Latin text consists of a list of the more important members of the Third Order, both men and women, including all those who at the time when Bernardine wrote, i.e. in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, had been canonized or beatified.

Leaves 17, 18, 19 contain illuminated pictures of Christ being taken prisoner in Gethsemane and of Christ before Pilate. Facing these are the twelve Paternosters and Glorias for Matins, and the seven Paternosters, the Glorias, the Credo, and the Miserere for Compline in accordance with the requirements of chapter xi of the Rule. The pages containing the Offices for the intervening hours have unfortunately been cut out, doubtless for the sake of the illuminations.

The history of the manuscript so far as it can be traced is as follows. It was one of the manuscripts acquired by the well-known antiquary and bibliophile, Thomas Pennant (1726–98), for his collection at Downing, Flintshire. The library of Thomas Pennant, including the Downing property, passed to Louisa Pennant, his great-grand-daughter, who was the first wife of the late Lord Denbigh. She died without issue some years afterwards, and left the property to her husband, from whom it passed to the present Lord Denbigh, his son by a second marriage. The

* Printed at Venice in 1498 by Georgius de Arrivabenis.
chief portion of the Downing Collection, including the present
manuscript, was sold by auction at Messrs. Sotheby's in March,
1913, and was ultimately purchased by the editor. It is now
at University College Hall, Ealing. There is no means of ascer-
taining from what source Thomas Pennant acquired it, probably
in the middle of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the
manuscript, which was unbound, gives no clue to show in what
place in England it was written or for whom; nor is it profitable
to conjecture whether it was written for some individual Tertiary
as a private book of devotion or for a Community. This manu-
script version in the English language is certainly rare, possibly
unique. There appears to be no English manuscript of the Rule of
the Third Order either in the British Museum or in the Bodleian
Library, nor has the editor heard of another similar manuscript,
though others perhaps exist.
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THE THIRDE ORDER OF SEYNT FRANCEYS

FOR THE BRETHREN AND SUSTERS OF THE ORDER OF PENITENTIS
[Note.—Contractions universally recognized are not indicated in the text. For instance, the scribe signified m or n sometimes by writing it in full, sometimes by putting a stroke over a preceding vowel. Which of these two methods he preferred to use in any particular word is of no more interest than which of two possible forms of the letter r, or s he may have preferred.

Italics are therefore reserved in order to indicate that the editor is departing from the MS. Where a letter is changed, that letter is put in italics and the MS. reading given in a footnote. Where a letter or a word is supplied, it is placed in italics between square brackets. This rule naturally applies to the English only. All Latin is in italics. The more common contractions are expanded without comment; more elaborate expansions forced upon the editor by the necessity of making his Latin intelligible are placed between square brackets.

This Note refers only to the Text of the Rule of the ‘Thirde Order of Seynt Franckeys’ and to that of the Rule of ‘Sustris Menouresses enclosid’. ]
Here beginnyth the Chapituris of the iii\textsuperscript{de} order of Seynt francyeys for the Brethren and Susters of the order of Penitentis.\footnote{The notes to which this and subsequent numbers relate will be found on pp. 58, 59.}

Of the catholike feyth of the Brethren and Susters of this reule.  
Capm. j.

Of the comyng of the brethren and susters to this reule.  
Capłm. ij.

Of the receuyung to profession of pe brethren and susters of this reule.  Capm. iij.

How it shall not be leasfull to the brethren and susters after 10 they be come in to go out of this reule.  Capłm. iiiij.

Of the vesture or clothing of the brethren and susters of this rule.  
Capm. v.

How it is forbidden going to eny wondringis, gasingis or to eny dishonest festis to the brethren & susters of this reule.  Capłm. vj.

Of the abstinenence frome Fleshe eting comauundid to the brethren and susters of this reule.  Capłm. vij.

Of the fasting of the brethren and susters of this reule.  Capłm. viij.

Of confession and comynion of the brethren and susters of this reule.  
Capm. ix.

How it is forbidden eny wepyn to be borne by the brethren of this reule.  Capitolum x.

Of prayer of the bretherne and susters of this reule.  Capitłm. xj.

Of the testamentis of the brethren and susters of this reule.  
Capłm. xij.

Of pece keping of the brethren and susters of this reule.  Capłm. xiiij.

How swering is forbidden to the brethren and susters of pis reule.  
Capm. xiiij.

Of hering of masse of the brethren and susters of pis reule.  
Capm. xv.

Of almus doing of pe brethren and susters of this reule.  Capm. xvj. [Fol. 3]
The Thirde Order of Seynt Franceys

Of seilens keping in the Chirche of the brethren and susters of pis reule. Cap'm. xvij.
Of the brethren & susters that be seke or dye after they be enterid into this reule. Ca'm. xviiij.
5Of office bering of the brethren of this reule. Capitolum xix.
How the visitour shall visit pe brethren and susters of this reule. Capi'm. xx.
Of the exchewing of striues and debatis emonge the brethren and susters of this reule. Cap'm. xxj.
10Of the dispensacion of Fastingis with the brethren and susters of this reule. Capitolum xxij.
Of suche as be incorrigible brethren and susters of this reule. Capi'm. xxiiij.
How that this reule and order byndith not vnder payne of deadely synne eny of the bretherne and susters of this reule. Capitolum xxiiiij.
In the name of god here beginnith the reule of [Fol. 4r] the liuing of the bretherne and susters of the order of penitentis.

Of the catholik feith of the bretherne and susters of this reule.

Caplm. j.

Nicholas 2 Busshoppe seruaunt of the seruauntes of god. To oure welbelouid sondes the bretherne and to oure welbelouid daughters in criste the susters of the order of the brethren of penaunce as well to them that be present as to suche as shal be in tyme to come, Gretyng and the apostolik blessing. It is knowne pat the stedfast grounde and foundement of cristen religion is setvpon the hill of the vniuersall feithe the whiche pe clene | deuocion of cristes discipuls brennyng with the fyre of [Fol. 4r] charite taught with the worde of besy predicacion the peple of Gentils that walked in derkeness. The which also the churche of Rome holdith & kepith, whose foundement and grounde neuer shalbe cast doune with troubles nor brosid with no flodes of tempestes, for this is the right and trew feith, withoute whose company no man is accepted nor may haue grace in the sight of god. It is he pat geuith the way to saluacion and pat pro-mittith the great rewardes of euerlasting felicite. Therfor the glorius confessor of criste Saint Fraunceys the founder of this order, shewing in worde and dede pe way to come to god taught his children in the clennes of the saide feithe & wolde that they shulde be professed therin & stedfastly kepe it and fulfill it [Fol. 5r] in deade, so | that they walking heilfully by the same wey might deserue to be made possessioners of euerlasting blisse after the disseace of this present lyfe.

Of the comyng of the brethren and susters to this reule. Capitu-lum ij.

We * therfor willing to depart oure fauor to the seid order and for the encrease of the same haue stabilyshte and ordeyned that all tho that shalbe receyued to the seid order before ther

* MS. He corrected in margin.
admission or recevey[ingen*] shalbe examened diligently of their
feith and obedience toward the forsade chirche of Rome. And
yf they beleue treuly and stedfastly, then they may be resceuyid
suuerly to the same order. Neuerthelesse it is to be ware
diligently that none heretike or suspect of heresy♭ or noysed
thereupon be admittyd in eny wyse to be observedance | of this lyfe
And yf eny suche were founde that he be commytted anon to the
Inquisitoures of heresies to be ponerishid by theme. Also when
eny shalbe admitted to enter into this fraternite, the mynisters
that bene deputed to receyue them shall enquire diligently of his
office astate and condicion, declaring to them the charges of this
fraternite, and specially that the must restore all that they haue
of oder mennes goodes, and after pat, if it pleasith pam, they
shalbe clothed after the forme of the reule. And then if thaye
haue teny goodes of other mennes, they must restore it in monye
or after the cawcion of the pleggis.4 And be reconsiled neuerthe-
lesse to their neyghbor.

Of the receuyuing to profession of the brethern and susters of pis

[Fol. 6r] The ✡ whiche all things so done after the space of oone yere wt
the counsell and aduyse of sume of the discrete bretherne, if they
thinke that he be worthy he shalbe receyued in this maner, That
is for to sey that he shall promitte to kepe all the commandeme-
ntis of god and make satisfaccion of all trespases that he shall
do ayenst this maner luying to the will of the visitour when he
shalbe required by hym, the whiche promes so made by hym
shalbe wrytte by a notary in an Instrument. And that none be
receyued otherwise by the seid ministers wtoute hem thought ✡ to
be done by the consideracion of the persons condicion and of his
instaunce and Desyre.

How it shall not be leafull to pe brethern and susters after they
be come in to go ✡ owt of this reule. Caphm. iiiij.

[Fol. 6r] Ouer this we ordeyne and stablishe that none after that he is
come to this fraternite may retorne in to the worlde but he may
haue neuertheles fre going in to eny other approved religion.6
And as for women that haue husbordes they shall not come in to
the seide fraternite but by the concent & licence of themse.

* MS. 'receveying'. † 'haue' is added in later hand.
‡ MS. Ehe corrected in margin to The.
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Of the vesture & clothing of the Bretherne and Susters of pis reule. Capitulum v.

FURTHERMORE the bretherne of this fraternite shalbe comyny clothed with meke clothes in price and colore not all whyte or all blakke w'oute it be dispensid with some by the visitours of the 5 counceil of the mynsters of the price of the clothe for a tyme & for a lawfull & an open cause. The forseid bretherne also [Fol. 7r] shall haue * vesture clasped close and not opyn before as honesti requirith and closed slevis. The susters also shall haue, vesture made w't soche meke clothe. AND as for mekenes of the clothes and furres of the susters it may be dispensed after the condicion of iche of theme and after the custome of the countrey. They shall not vse boundes and gyrdilles of sylke. Also the bretherne as well as the susters shall haue no furres but of lame skynnes and purses of leather and gerdillis w'oute eny silke & none other, All other vayne araye of the worlde layde aparte after the holsome counceil of the prince of the apostles.

How it is forbidden goyng to eny wondryngis, gasingis or to eny dishonest festis to the bretherne and susters of this reule. Capitulum vj.

THEY SCHALL NOT go in no wise to no dishonest festis dyners [Fol. 7r] or sopers, nor to no gasingis or woundring places nor to lordes courtes or daunces. They shall not also geue enything to Joglers or mynstrellys for loue of ther vaniteis and they shall forbide to their seruauntes that they gyue theim no thing.

Of the abstinence frome fleshe eting comaundid to the brethern and susters of this reule. Capim. vij.

ECHÉ OF THÉIM shall absteyne frome fleshe eting the Mounday, Wednisdaiy, Friday & Saterday withoute that they must do otherwise by cause of sekenes or febilnes of body. And as to theme that be lett bloode, they may ete fleshe iiij Dayes. And they pat travell by the way may also ete fleshe all that while. Also

* A later hand has deleted four lines from 'vesture . . . clothe' and has added in the lower margin: 'mantesles and pylches w'owe Scalatura kut or hole but opyn as honesty requireth and closyd sleives. The susters also shall haue mantele and curtellle mayd w' suche meke cloth or at the lest they shall haue w't the mantele a guarnellum or else a placenmum of whyte or els of blak or a wyde palumdelum of lymnen clothe made w'oute any wrynkylle.'
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[Fol. 5r] every one of them | may ete fleshe in principall festis when other cristen men of olde custome do ete fleshe, and in other dayes pat be not fastyng they may ete eggis and cheese but when they come in any howse of religion they may ete soche as is sett before theme. Also they must holde theme content wi iij meles a day dyner and soper except tho that bene seke or traveling by the way. They that bene hoole must ete & drinke temperatly, for asmoche as the gospel seithe 'Loke that your hartis be no greuid with gloteney and drounkenesse'. Euermore befor dyner and before soper they shall saye a Pater noster, and aifter euery mele a nother Pater noster, wt Deo gracias, and if thay faile so to doo they shall say Pater noster thries perfyr.

Of the fasting of the bretherne & susters of this reule. Capitulum viij.  

[Fol. 8r] They schall fast euery Friday of the yere without eny sekenes or other lauffull cause lett theme or without cristemasse day fall vpon the friday. Frome alhalowtide vnto ester day thei shall fast wednisday and friday and they must kepe neuerthelesse all oper fasting dayes that bene ordeyned by the churche and pat be commandid by the ordinaries for a comyn cause. In seint martin lente vnto Cristemas day and frome the sonday of Quinquagesime tyll ester day they muste faste euery day excepte sondayes withoute sekenes or eny other cause lett theme. The susters that bene with childe vnto the day of þer purificacion if they will shall do no thynge of bodeley occupacion except prayers. Thei that labore for cause of ther werines frome estyr tyll seint Fraunceys may | ete lauffullly thries in the day when they laubor. And when they shall worke for other men they shall ete such as is sett before them * euery day excepte fridaies or other fasting dayes ordeyned generally by the churche.

Of confession and cominion of the brederne & susters of this reule. Capi. ix.

Also euery brother and suster iiij tymes in the yere, that is Cristemasse, Ester, and Whitontide, must be shreven and houseled10 denouly and be reconsiled with ther neighbours restoring also other mennys goodes.

* 'every day' added in a later hand.
lond. at elles by the lewes of minsters.
Of prayer of the brutherne and sisters
of the realfe. Caputuliny,

The of theme muste fare every
day ther seruice. that is matins.
Prime and divers. Epynions and Complin.
and the that be darker that can s Faul
ter. shall say at Prime. Deus i nole
and Beati mando
to.
Legem pone. whys other psalms (v
Slova patris. as clerkes done. And when
they go not to the churche they shall say
for matens the psalms that the clerks
or the Cathedral churche sathe. or elles
as other onlered men done. for ma
tens. by. Pater noster. and for every
olure. by. Pater noster. Hie
So that at prime. and at Complene.
ther. that can it shall sey son. Pede.
and. miserere mi dei. and if they
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How it is forbidden eny wepyn to be borne by the bretherne of this reule. Capitun. x.

The bretherne shall bere with theme no wepyn withoute it be for the defence of the churche of Rome or for the cristen faith or for ther owne | londe or ellis by the lycens of pe ministers. [Fol. 97]

Of prayer of the bretherne & susters of thes reule. Capitulum xij.

Eche of them muste say euery day ther service, that is Matyns, Prime and owers, Evynsong & Comlyn, and thei that be clarke that can pe Saulter shall say at prime *Deus, in nomine tuo* and *Beati immaculati* vnto *Legem pond* whith other psalmys with *Gloria patri* as clarke done. And when thei go not to the churche they shall sey for matens the psalmis that the clerks or the Cathedrall churche saith, or ellis as other onlerned men done, For matens xij *Pater noster*, and for euery owre vij *Pater noster* with *Gloria patri*. So that at prime and at Complene they that can it shall sey oon *Credo* and *Miserere mei Deus*, and if they say not in dewe tymes, they muste sey [Fol. 10r] iij *Pater noster*. They that be seke be not bounden to sey the said owers whowten they will. In SAINT Martyn lent & also in the great lent they shall go to matens to the parishe chirche wher they dwell withoute they haue a laufull excuse.

Of the Testamentes of the bretherne and Susters of this reule. Capitun. xij.

Also iche of them that may by the lawe muste make his Testament and dispose his goodis anon with iij monethis after that they be comyn in so that none of them discese withoute testament.

Of pece keping of the bretherne and susters of this reule. Capitul. xiii.

And as for peace making betwene the bretherne & susters or betwixit strangers it shalbe as the | mynisters woll have it with [Fol. 10r] the councell of the diosesan if nede be to be hade in this party. And if the bretherne or susters wer vexed by the inges or gouerners of the places wherein they dwell ayenst the lawe or ther privileges, the mynysts of ther places must go to the Busshopis and ordinaries and must Do after per counsell and ordinaunce.
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How swering is forboden to the brethern and susters of this reule.

Capim. xiiiij.

They muste also absteyne fro Solempne othes withoute nede require it and in causes admitted by the pope, that is for the peace for the faithe and for a maner of a nothe pat is callyd De calumnia, for witnesse bering and for contractis of byeng & selling & of Donacion wher it shall be sene expedient, and in ther comen speche they muste excchew as moche as tha may othes and swering. And he that eny day onwarly swerith by lightnes of toung, as it fortuneth often tymes in moche Jangeling, he must sey at enyn whan he remembrith hym selfe what he hath done iiij Pater noster for soche ondescrete othes. Also iche of theim muste haue goodly mynde to teche his seruauntes and to stere theim to goddes seruice.

15 Of hering of masse of the bretherne & susters of pis reule.

Capim. xv.

Every brother and suster pat hathe ther helthe, of what countre or place that so euer they be, ye if they may goodly, must here masse euery day and euery moneth they must appere to pat churche or place wher the mynisters shall assigne theim ther to here solempne masses.

[Fol. 11r] Of almus doing of the bretherne and susters of this reule.

Capitulu. xvj.

Eche of theim also muste geve a peny of customably money to the storer,21 the whiche shall receyve it and departe it congruently by the counfel of the ministers betwixte the poore bretherne and susters and specially amonge tho that be seke and amonge suche that haue not wherwith to be buryed and aftyr that amonge the poore men.

30 Forthermore they shall offer of the same money to the churche abone saide. And then, if it may be, they shall gett theme a Religious man competently lettered, the whiche shall stere theme and enduce them besily to penance and to the fulfilling of the dedis of mercy.

* 'moche as' added in later hand.   † 'and' added in later hand.
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Of * silence keping in the ch[r]che of the brethren & susters of this reule. Cap[m], xvij.

Eche of theme muste kepe his silence whan the masse is† [Fol. 12r] in doing, and whan the worde of gode is saide, tha must take hede to prayer and to the office withoute he be letted for cause of the 5 comen profet of the fraternite.

Of the brethren & susters pat be seke or dye aftyr they be enterd in to pis reule. Cap[m], xviii.

And when eny of the brethren shalbe seke, the ministers must visit them or sum other in ther place if they haue knowlege thereof ones in the weke stering theim besily to pennaunce in the best maner that they shall thinke expedient for theim, geffyng theim also that is necessary to theim of the comen goodes; and if eny of them disseace, it must be notysied to all the brethren [Fol. 12v] & susters of the place wher he is deade, the whiche must be present to the deade man exequies and not Departe till the masse be done and the body be buried. And this also must be observed to the Susters that be seke and pat disscasen. Ouer this every brother & suster w[4in] viij dayes of the obite of hym pat is disseased shall say for his soule, that is for to sey, preistis shall sey one masse for hym, and they that can pe psalter shall sey l. psalmus and they pat be vnletterd shall say l. Pater noster and at the ende of iche they shall sey Requiem eternam, and besyde all this they shall ‡ cause to be sayd every yere iiij masses for the welthe of the bretherne and susters quike and deade, | and [Fol. 13v] they that can pe psalter they shall say it ones and other shall sey an hunderd Pater noster with Requiem eternam & cetera at the ende of iche.

Of office bering of the bretherne of this reule. Cap[m], xix.

Eche of theme also muste devounly take vpon theme all 30 other ocupacions & offices enioyned theme that this reule requireth and treuly execute them. Also every officer shalbe but for a tyme and none for terme of lyffe.

* MS. reads 'licence'.
† MS. adds 'be' which is deleted and then apparently restored.
‡ MS. 'say' deleted.
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How the visitoure shall visit the bretherne & susters of pis reule. Capm. xx.

Also the ministers and bretherne & susters of every Cyte and [Fol. 13r] place must gader theme in some Religiouse place or in a chirche when ther is no religiouse place and ther they muste haue a preist of sum religion approv'd, the whiche shall enioyne thame penmaunce for ther trespaces. So that none other may execute this office of visitacion vpon theme. And forasmuche that this maner of lyffing was ordeyned and stablisshed by Seynt Fraunces, we gene counsell that the forseide visitores and techars be taken of the Frere menores suche as the Custodis or Wardenis of the saide order when they be required shall assigne. And we woll in no wise that suche congregacion bene visit by laye men. And this visitacion shalbe doon ones in the yere withoute it be nedfull to be done ofter, and if eny of theme bene rebellis and will not be corrected, afyr thryes warnyng they shalbe put oute of the congregacion by the counsell of Discrete men.

Of the exchewing of Stryves and debatis emonge the bretherne and susters of this reule. Caplm. xxj.

Also the brethern & susters in all that tha may must exchewe stryves and Debates emonge theme, and if eny hap, they must besili amend it or ellis they must annswer in the lawe before hym that hath the Jurisdiction.

Of the dispensacion of fastingis withe the bretherne and susters of this reule. Caplm. xxij.

Also the ordinaries and visitor may despence with all the [Fol. 14v] bretherne and susters in ther abstinences, Fastingis & other observaunces, whan nede causes resonabill shall require it.

Of suche as be incorrigible brethern and susters of this reule. Capm. xxiiij.

The mynisters also shall denounce to the visitoure the opyn fautis of the bretherne & susters and he shall punyshe theme. And yf eny of theme be incorrigible afyr thryes warnyng, the ministers muste denounce theme by the counsell of sum of the discrete bretherne to the visitour, the whiche shall putt hym oute of the feliship and this muste be afyrwarde publisshid in the con[gre]gacion.
vere detince postfationem. Deo
fratres Inunias:

Et tene cream ordinem.
Beatus Iulianus, de suos flores, s. sem. Lin
domini testem fraternus est
qui comite armam: qui cum beate Desphina
sua in matrimono nuntum praebuit
vitam. Et sanctum Iunius misit
summem terrae et consors se
quorum nomen
qui sunt magni dicentes et contemplati
neque
se ulterius claritatem se scribere;
qui habuit et in loco non qui est in tua
monet impias ubi est caeret corpus e. Et monas
terum non appellat sa lucem sine lucem.
De
sunt lucis coelestis qui sunt numini suis
de isto tergo ordinem. Et sanctus Hierosolimae
de suis Jacobui de laude sacerdotis et numinis claire.
Et beatus Petrus Romanus qui sub solido sunt
The Thirde Order of Seynt Francyeys

How that pis reule & order byndithe not vnder payne of dedly synne eny of pe brethren & susters of | this reule. [Fol. 15r] Capitulum xxiiiij.

Neuerthelesse we woll not that toychyng the premisses eny of the bretherne or susters of pe order fall in eny deadely synne 5 for soche thynges in the whiche they be not bounden by the commaundementis of god or by the statutes of the churche but that they rescyeue mekely & affectually fulfylle soche pennaunces as is put vpoun theme for ther offencis.

Therfor be it not leafull to no maner of man to Intrepryte or come ayenste thisoure present statute and ordinaunce.

And if eny presume to attempte ther ayenste, let hym wytt pat he fallith in to the indignacion of almyghty god & of hys apostles Seynt Petir and seynt Powle.

Gouen at Reate24 the xv Kalendes * 25 of Septembre pe secunde 15 yere of our pontificacion 26. Deo gracias. [Fol. 15v]

Beatus Franciscus

DE TERCIO ECIAM ORDINE

Beatus Franciscus produxit multos flores, scilicet sanctum Ludo-nicum regem francie, Elzearium comitem ariani, qui cum beata 20 delphina vxore sua in matrimonio iurauit † perpetuam virginitatem. Item sanctum Iuonem ‡ iuris vtriusque doctorem et presbyterum et confessorem de britania minori, qui fuit magne denocionis et con- templacionis atque miraculis claruit; ac semel cum missam celebraret in elevacione sacramenti visus est globius igneus super caput eius. 25 Item beatum lucensem siue lucencium § de podio bonai eius capud ego in manibus habui, et est in loco nostro qui est in tuscia super montem imperialem, ubi est eciam corpus eius. Et monasterium nostrum appellat[ur] sancti lucensis siue lucensis. † Item produxit sanctum lucium confessorem qui fuit primus sanctus de isto tercio 30 ordine Et sanctum Nicholucium de senis ac beatum Jacobum de laude sanctotem et miraculis clarum, Et beatum Petrum Romanum qui sub soldano fuit † martirizatus, Sanctum bonazicum de vulterra, Et [Fol. 16r] beatum Petrum de colle, Ac beatum Alexandrum de perusio, Et

* MS. ‘Kalender’.
‡ MS. ‘Inonem’.
† Printed edit. ‘servavit’.
§ Printed edit. ‘Luchesium, Luchesii’. 
beatum leonem Archiepiscopum Mediolani, Gualterium episcopum triuii, Et beatum Richardum episcopum fossombrioni, Ac beatum alexandrum magistrum theologii Et beatum Carolum * Ac beatum L audonem de monte feltro, Et beatum Iohannem de vrbino, Ac 5 beatum Iohannem de Ranena Et beatum torelum de pupio, Ac beatum bartolom de sancto gemmano† Et beatum petrum pectinariae de senis Ac beatum Robertum dominum arimini, Et beatum thoma- succium de fulgenio prophetam ac miraculis clarissimum: similiter quo ad mulieres produxit Sanctam elizabeth filiam regis hungarie que fuit vxor landeganiu dueis lothorninge. Item sanctam Rosam de viterbio, Sanctam Margaretam de Cothona, Sanctam bonodonam de bodio bona vxorem sancti luchesii, Beatum emilianam de florencia, Et beatam Claram de monte falcie in cuius corde inuentus est sculptus crucifixus cum omnibus misteriis passionis, & tres parue 15 pille in eius pectore reperte sunt quarrum vna tantum ponderat quantum due et quantum omnes tres simul. Et non plus ponderant omnes tres simul quam vna sola: Per quod significatur quod ipsa [Fol. 16*] habuit continuam memoriam passionis cristi et perfectam | fidem 20 nensis diuine essencie et equalitatis trium personarum diuinarum. Que omnia Ego propriis oculis aspexi. Item beatam elizabeth imperatricem Romanorum vxorem caroli quarti regis francorum et Imperatoris que miraculis coruscavit, Et beatam blanacam reginam francie, matrem sancti Ludouici regis francorum, que signis et miraculis claruit, Et beatam mean de senis, Et beatam paschalinam 25 de fulgineo, Et beatam michelinam de pensauro, Ac beatam angelam de fulgineo que duodecim annis quotidie sumpsit dominicum corpus [nihil]† alius manducans sed illo cibo celesti refecta oracione et contemplacioni vacabat. Item beatam beatricem de Rushonibus comitissam que nostris temporibus fuit et a septem annis§ ctna mortua est multisque miraculis claruit et est sepulta Mulier in ecclesia nostra sancti angelii. Vt etiam dicit Magister bartholomeus pisanius vbi supra Iste ordo commendari potest de nobilitate, Nam multi magni homines de diversis regnis christianitatis, Comites, Duces, principes, barones & nobiles, tam viri quam mulieres, fuerunt de tercio ordine [Fol. 17*] beati Francissi. Inter quos ultra superius enarratos | fuit illa Regina vngaric que fecit monasterium campi regis in austria Et alia regina vngarie, mater regis ludouici; istum quoque habitum induit quedam Imperatrix Constantinopolis, Et vna regina cathalonie, Et rex Iacobus dux sarbundie, & Magister magnifici Domini Iohannis Jacobi de triuleio Et dominus Bartholomeus de vgnate cuius proaui fuerunt Domini ciuitatis laudensis. Et dominus lanzalotus de decio iuris 40 * MS. 'Caralum'. † MS. 'gemmano'. § MS. 'annos'. ‡ MS. 'vel'.
vtriusque doctor peritissimus ac lector in studio papiensi cum aliis quasi in\[n\]umerabilibus * Et inbulla que incipit 'Sacri predicatorum et minorum ordines'. que aurea appellatur concessit fratribus et sororibus tercii ordinis et eorum congregacionum omnes gracias et privilegia que vnquam ipsis fratribus minoribus per sedem aposto-5 licam sunt concessa dummodo eorum statui non repugnant, sicut est predicare, Confessiones audire et huiusmodi. Et consequenter gaudeant privilegiis omnium fratrum mendicancium, sicut ipsi fratres minores ut per eandem bullam patet per Sixtum † papa quadrum, ut patet in parte secunda rosarii Bernardini de busti ‡ Sermone 10 vicessimo septimo.

* The quotation from Bernardine de Bustis ends here.
† MS. 'Sixtam'.
‡ MS. 'Rusti'.
NOTES

1 Third order of Seynt Francys...of the order of Penitentis. This title is interesting as showing the earlier as well as the later name of the Tertiaries. From their origin and until nearly the end of the thirteenth century they were known in ecclesiastical documents and also popularly as Fratres de Poenitentia or Ordo de Poesitentia. It was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the title ‘Third Order’ was used as an official designation of the Franciscan Tertiaries. It will be noticed that the title, though appearing here in the heading, does not occur anywhere in the text of the Bull of Nicholas IV (1289). For full discussion of this topic see Mandonnet, Les Regles et le gouvernement de l’Ordo de Poesitentia au XIIIe siècle. Paris, 1902. Pp. 194-5.

2 Nicholas. This is Nicholas IV (Hieronymus of Ascoli), a cardinal and Bishop of Palestrina. He was raised to the Pontificate on February 15, 1288, and occupied it until April 4, 1292. As stated at the end of this Bull, 1289 was the second year of his Pontificate. Nicholas was himself a Franciscan: he was indeed Minister General of the Order from 1274 to 1279.

3 None heretike or suspect of heresy. This clause indicates the fear which the Holy See entertained lest the new penitential ‘fraternities’, which were multiplying rapidly in the thirteenth century, might become heretical and a danger to the Church. Consisting largely of lay folk, they were constantly liable to drift into conflict with the hierarchy and even to lapse into heresy. Or noysed thereupon, Latin ‘aut etiam infamatus’.

4 After the cawcion of the pleggis. A literal translation of the original ‘secundum exhibitant pignoris cautioinem’.

5 Wente hem thought, ‘Unless it seems to them’, i.e. to the ministers.

6 Eay other approved religion. The mediaeval use of the word ‘religion’ is more limited in sense than the modern use. It implies an organized branch of religion, a religious order.

7 Price of the clotte. This chapter shows the necessary development from the primitive simplicity of the early days. In R 1 it is prescribed that the price of the cloth must not exceed six ‘solda’ of Ravenna, a local measure which would obviously be useless for general use.

8 Saint Martin lente, often referred to as the lesser Lent, was the period from S. Martin’s Day, November 11 until Christmas.

9 Tyll seint Francys, i.e. until the feast of S. Francis, October 4. For note on substitution of this feast for Michaelmas, see p. 32.

10 Houseteit = ‘communicated’.

11 Beareng of weapons. This was one of the points which brought the ‘Penitents’ into collision with the secular authorities. They were thus prevented by the Rule from taking up arms in merely secular disputes. The creation of this Order and others with similar principles was one of the factors which contributed to the breakdown of Feudalism.
Notes

12 Matyns . . . Complyn. These are the seven canonical hours, Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline. In the Latin text the 'hours' are enumerated in full.
13 Deus, in nomine tuo. The opening words of Psalm liv.
14 Beati immaculati. The opening words of Psalm cxix.
15 Legem pone. The opening words of verse 33 of Psalm cxix.
16 Crede, that is the Apostles' Creed.
17 Missere mei Deus, i. e. Psalm li.
18 The great lent, i. e. the Lent preceding Easter, in contradistinction to 'St. Martin's Lent' or 'the lesser Lent'.
19 Absteyne from solemne othes. The provisions relating to the taking of oaths appear also in the Capestrano Rule and form one of many parallels with the Rule of the Humiliati. Whether there is a distinct reference here and in the corresponding chapters of R 1 to the Bull Detestanda is discussed on p. 29. R 2 and R 3 go further than R 1 in extending the circumstances for the taking of oaths 'for contractis of byeng and selling and of donacion', &c.
20 Here masse evry day. In this respect R 3 is decidedly stricter than R 1; for under R 1 the Penitents were bound to hear Mass only once a month.
21 Storer. Latin 'massarius' = treasurer.
22 Welthe = well-being. Latin 'salute'.
23 If any of them be incorrigible. It will be noticed that the provisions relating to 'incorrigible brethren' appear twice, here in chap. xxiii and also in chap. xx.
24 Reate. A town in Umbria lying between Assisi and Rome. It has many Franciscan associations.
25 XV Kalendes of Septembre = August 18. For note on 'Kalender' see p. 37.
26 Seconde yere of oure pontificacion = 1289. Nicholas IV ascended the Papal throne in 1288.
The Rewle
of
Sustris Menouresses enclosid

EDITED FROM A XV CENTURY MS.
(MS. Bodl. 585)

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY
WALTER W. SETON, M.A.
INTRODUCTION

THE ORDER OF S. CLARE.

The connexion between the several branches of the great movement in the life of the Church, the Order of S. Francis, is so intimate and close that it is almost impossible to treat of any one branch of the Order without treating of the others. Most particularly is this the case when the Second Order or Order of S. Clare is considered. For while its history is interwoven with that of the Third Order or Order of Penitents, its history is quite inseparable from that of the First Order or Order of Friars Minor.

The Order of S. Clare has recently been the subject of much of the most valuable research which has been carried out in the field of Franciscan Studies. For the time being at any rate Père Livarius Oliger, O. F. M., has in his two articles in the Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, *De Origine Regularum Ordinis S. Claræ,* so thoroughly and exhaustively reviewed both the materials and the criticism based upon them, that a restatement of the whole case is superfluous until new material comes to light. This does not imply that there are not some controversial points in Père Oliger's statement of the case, to certain of which reference will be made later. Again, Father Cuthbert's introduction to Mrs. Balfour's Life and Legend of the Lady S. Clare reviews very clearly one particular aspect of the Order, viz. the life-long struggle of S. Clare to keep alive the tradition of the early Franciscan spirit and to win for her whole spiritual family the Privilege of Poverty. Nor are these two works the only ones of importance in connexion with the story of the Clarisses. Much material will be found dealing with every aspect of the subject.

This being so, it appears unnecessary, in presenting an edition of the particular Rule of the Second Order which is here published, to

* Tom. v. Fasc. II and III. An. 1912.
restate in detail the facts already ascertained or to reargue the case. It will be sufficient to recapitulate very briefly the outstanding facts up to the year 1253 and then deal in greater detail with the so-called 'Isabella Rule'.

The birthday of the Order was Palm Sunday, 1212, when Clare left her home in Assisi and in the Chapel of the Portiuncula entered the religious life as a follower of S. Francis. In the following year she was placed by S. Francis in San Damiano together with a small band of sisters who had already followed her example. Whether there was a written Rule in existence between 1212 and 1218 is a disputed question, but at any rate no such Rule is at present known, and it would appear more probable that there was nothing more than a 'formula vitae' given to S. Clare by S. Francis, which is found quoted in the later Rule of 1253: Quia divina inspiratione fecistis vos filias et ancillas altissimi summii Regis Patris coelestis, et Spiritui sancto vos desponsastis eligendo vivere secundum perfectionem sancti Evangelii: solo et promitto per me et Fratres meos semper habere de vosis tantum de ipsis curam diligentem, et sollicitudinem specielem.

This 'formula vitae' is important because it contains in embryo two of the most vital matters in the history of the Rule, viz. the 'evangelical perfection' or Privilege of Poverty and the dependence of the Clarisses upon the Friars Minor and their identification with the Franciscan Order.

The next fact of consequence is that in or about 1215 S. Clare obtained from the Pope Innocent III an oral grant of the so-called 'Privilege of Poverty'. It must here be explained what was the essential feature of the Privilege of Poverty as understood and practised by S. Francis and S. Clare. It did not mean merely that they personally and their followers individually renounced private property: that would have been no new feature, for it was one quite familiar in religious life. The essential feature was that property was not to be held by the community as a whole or as a corporate body: in other words, the community was to be dependent on the voluntary gifts of the faithful.

The first extant Rule of the Clarisses is what is generally known as the Hugoline Constitutions, so-called because they were drawn up in 1219 by Ugolino, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, under authority granted to him by Honorius III. The text of the Hugoline
Constitutions will be found in a Bull of Gregory IX.* The aim of these Constitutions was to bring the newly formed Order more directly under the authority of the Curia and to make it conform to a greater extent to the existing religious orders. But the Constitutions deliberately left out the Privilege of Poverty, and indeed made definite provision for property to be held in common and inherited by each house. It would seem that after the return of S. Francis from the East, Ugolino was persuaded by him to modify the Constitutions in the case of S. Clare’s own house of San Damiano, outside Assisi, by recognizing the oral grant of poverty given to her by Innocent III, but this concession did not extend to the case of the other houses of the Clarisses.

The Hugoline Constitutions remained in force as the Rule of the Clarisses from 1219 to 1247, although it may be doubted whether they were ever really observed by the mother-house of San Damiano or indeed by certain other houses. The Papal records between those dates contain numerous Bulls relating to the Rule, some addressed to S. Clare and some to Blessed Agnes of Prague. It may here be mentioned that probably in the past too little attention has been paid to the part taken by Bl. Agnes in the negotiations with the Holy See as to the Privilege of Poverty.

The year 1247 was marked by the issue of a new Rule by Innocent IV, contained in the Bull Cum omnis vera Religio.† This Rule left the question of the Privilege of Poverty unaltered; there was still provision for the sisters to hold property in common for the use of the community. It marked progress, however, in this respect, namely, that it omitted the references to the Benedictine Rule, which had raised scruples in the minds of the Clarisses and of which more will be said later, and it defined their position as part of the Franciscan Order. Thus it provides that they are to live ‘according to the Rule of Saint Francis so far as it relates to three things, obedience, surrender of private property, and chastity’. In the profession of the sisters the vow is made ‘to God, and to Blessed Mary ever-Virgin, to Blessed Francis and all the Saints’. But, what is still more important, the care of all the houses of Clarisses is handed over to the Minister General and Provincials of the Order of Friars Minor. Such then was the second Rule of the Clarisses.

* Sbaralea, i. 263. † Sbar. i. 476.
The year 1253 was that in which S. Clare's victory was won. Two days before her death, viz. on August 9, 1253, Innocent IV issued the Bull Solet annuere,* which gave to the Order of Clarisses, not at San Damiano alone but everywhere, the long-coveted Privilege of Poverty. Neither the individual sisters nor the congregations were to be compelled to receive or inherit property.

S. Francis himself had died in 1226, i.e. twenty-seven years before the issue of this third Rule; thus during more than a quarter of a century S. Clare had stood fast for the primitive ideals which had governed S. Francis and which had led her in the beginning into the path of complete self-renunciation.

Before passing on from this point to the later history of the Rule which concerns more intimately the particular version here published, it is necessary to turn back and examine in somewhat greater detail one aspect of the question, viz. the significance of the references to the Benedictine Rule in the earlier versions of the Rule of the Clarisses.

Ever since the middle of the eighteenth century the question has been debated whether S. Clare at her profession adopted the Benedictine Rule, and whether and if so in what sense the Clarisses in the early history of the Order were Benedictines. Some of the outstanding facts are these :

The day following her profession S. Clare was committed by S. Francis to the Convent of S. Paulo near Bastia, which followed the Benedictine Rule, whence shortly afterwards she was transferred to another Benedictine House, S. Angeli de Panso on the slopes of Mount Subasio. It was not long, however, before she was brought to San Damiano, and there formed the community of Poor Ladies, living, as far as can be ascertained, in accordance with the 'formula vitae' given to her by S. Francis.

As has been seen, the first known form of the Rule of the Poor Ladies is found in the Hugoline Constitutions of 1218-19. Now these Constitutions contain the following words :

"Regulam Beatissimi Benedicti, in qua virtutum perfectio et summa discretio noscitur instituta, quae et a sanctis Patribus a principio devote suscepita est, et ab Ecclesia Romana venerabiliter approbata, vobis concedimus observandam in omnibus, in quibus eadem vivendi formulae vobis a Nobis traditae, cum adhuc essent in minori officio constitutis, contraria minime comprobatur."

* Sbar. i. 671.
These facts Père Oliger* explains by referring to the XIIIth Canon of the Lateran Council, which had been held in 1215 and which required that no new ‘religion’ should be founded in the Church, but that those who felt led to a religious vocation should attach themselves to one of the already existing Orders, e.g. the Benedictine or the Augustinian. As an illustration, he asserts that S. Dominic ‘formaliter Regulam S. Augustini accepit’. He infers that the references to the Benedictine Rule in the Hugoline Constitutions and in the later Bulls of the Holy See addressed to S. Clare must not be understood to imply that the Poor Ladies were regarded as following the Benedictine Rule otherwise than ‘formaliter’, that is as a kind of ecclesiastical fiction. It is of course quite true that Pope Innocent IV, writing to Bl. Agnes of Bohemia, had ruled that the obligation in respect of the Benedictine Rule implied no more than observance of the vows of canonical obedience, poverty, and chastity.† On the other hand it is clear that, whatever interpretation was put by the Curia upon the clauses requiring observance of the Benedictine Rule by the Poor Ladies, however much its significance was minimized by Innocent IV, the question was a very vital and acute one in the minds of the Poor Ladies themselves, at any rate at Prague. The Bull In Divini timore nominis, already mentioned, makes clear that it was issued because Bl. Agnes had written to the Pope, saying that the words in the Rule ‘The Rule of S. Benedict’, troubled their consciences, as they feared that by attempting to serve two Rules simultaneously they were committing mortal sin. Nor was this doubt confined to Bl. Agnes and her sisters at Prague. For in August, 1244, the Pope sent to S. Clare—whether in response to a remonstrance from her or not, we do not know—precisely the same ruling ‡ upon the words ‘The Rule of S. Benedict’ which he had sent in November, 1243, to Bl. Agnes. In November, 1245, the Hugoline Constitutions were reaffirmed in the Bull Solet annuere addressed to all the congregations of Poor Clares, and still the observance of the Benedictine Rule is required. Reference has already been made to the Rule of Innocent IV of 1247 § and to the fact that from this Rule

† Bull In Divini timore nominis, Sbar. i. 242.
‡ Bull Cum universitati vestrae, Sbar. i. 350.
§ Cum omnis cera Religio, see p. 65.
the references to the Benedictine Rule disappear for the first time. That Rule was probably granted in response to representations made by S. Clare and Bl. Agnes, for the Pope refers to himself as being ‘vestris piis precibus inclinati’, and it may be supposed that one of the matters upon which they petitioned the Holy See—and this time successfully—was the elimination of the reference to the Benedictine Rule.

This repeated protest on the part of the Poor Ladies themselves and the tone of the responses from the Holy See make it difficult to accept Père Oliger’s view that the observance of the Benedictine Rule by the Clarisses was a mere formality, and that it must not be understood as having constituted a real obligation; they make it hard to suppose that it is in any sense comparable with S. Dominic’s relation to the Augustinian Rule. One illustration which Père Oliger himself gives seems to prove rather more than he intends it to show. He quotes the case of the Clarisses of Barcelona* who, in 1514, refused to be reformed, and contended that they were not Clarisses, but in reality Benedictines, giving as evidence for this the Bulls of Innocent IV, in which they were hidden to live after the Rule of the Holy Father Benedict; and ultimately they went over to the Benedictine Order. This may certainly show the confusion which arose in later years as to the Rules which governed individual Houses of Poor Clares, some of which had no desire to accept the settlement of 1253; but it also proves that the Benedictine character of the Hugoline Constitutions was something real as well as formal, if the Sisters at Barcelona were able thus successfully to appeal to the Hugoline Constitutions to show that they were Benedictines and not Franciscans. Special emphasis has been laid here on this matter as it is one of the few doubtful conclusions among those reached by Père Oliger in his otherwise most valuable treatise, which one must challenge.

The death of S. Clare in 1253 was an important event in the development of the Rule. With her passed away one of the last direct links between her Order and the great Founder. It is true that her tradition was carried on for more than a quarter of a century after her death by her friend and correspondent, Bl. Agnes, who died in 1281/82. But the years which followed 1253 were marked by a falling away from the ideals of S. Clare in the Order.

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generally, rather than by the development of them further. Taking then 1253 as a fresh starting-point, we find the Rule formulated in exact accordance with the life-long desires of S. Clare; the Privilege of Poverty duly granted and acknowledged; the Clarisses occupying their spiritual birthright as part of the Order of S. Francis. But it may well be doubted whether all the Houses of Poor Clares were imbued with the fervent spirit of the mother-house.

The next stage in the history of the Rule centres around a new House, which did not regard the Privilege of Poverty as an essential feature of its loyalty to S. Clare. It was in 1254 or 1255 that Blessed Isabella, sister of S. Louis, King of France, founded in the Diocese of Paris the Monastery of Longchamp, known more generally as 'Abbatia Humilitatis Beatae Mariae'. The first stone was laid by S. Louis himself on June 10, 1256. For this new House, Isabella did not desire to adopt any one of the existing Rules of the Clarisses, but her plan was to secure the Papal approbation for a new Rule which was to be an amalgam of previous Rules. To her the absolute poverty which was sought after by S. Clare was too hard a path; she was content that the sisters of Longchamp should hold property, which was to be administered for them by a Procurator according to the provision made by the Rule of 1247. On the other hand, she desired to incorporate provisions making clear their lineal connexion with the Franciscans and placing them under the direction of the Minister General and the Provincials of the Friars Minor. A life of Bl. Isabella by Agnes de Harcourt tells us that the new Rule was drawn up by five of the Friars Minor who were learned masters of theology. The names given by Agnes de Harcourt are: Frater Bonaventura, frater Guilielmus de Milletonne, frater Odo de Roni, frater Godfriedus de Vierson, frater Guilielmus de Harcombour.

According to Père Oliger this Rule was approved by Alexander IV: later, namely on July 27, 1263, it was confirmed with some alterations by Urban IV in the Bull Religionis augmentum. Still later, the Rule thus prepared under the supervision of Bl. Isabella was slightly modified by Boniface VIII, and it is the English version of this Rule as revised by Boniface VIII which is here published.

* Sbar. ii. 477.
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It was for some time believed that the text of the Rule as originally approved by Alexander IV was no longer in existence. That was the view expressed by Sbaralea in his publication of vol. ii of the Bullarium Franciscanum in which Religionis augmentum is contained. The same view has been quite recently repeated by Père Oliger, who in his work already mentioned, writes:

*Opus quinque Magistrorum primum approbatum est ab Alexandre IV, cuius tamen diploma non superest.*

Père Oliger appears to have overlooked the fact that Sbaralea himself had by the time he published his third volume discovered an original autograph copy of the Bull of Alexander IV with the leaden seal in the Archives of the Convent of Holy Cross, Florence: the Bull, which is dated February 2, 1259, has the following ending:

Explicit Regula Humilium Ancillarum Gloriosissimae Mariae Virginis Matris Dei, quam Frater Mansuetus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum de mandato Summi Pontificis et Cardinalium quorumdem diligentii consilio composuit et dictavit.

Now the name of Frater Mansuetus does not occur among the names of the five masters of theology who, according to Agnes of Harcourt, prepared the Rule. Further, Agnes states:

*Prae ceteris volebat ut sorores abbatae nominarentur 'sorores minores', neque ullo modo Regula illi sufficeret poterat, nisi istud nomen illi fuisset insertum.*

Now the name *sorores minores* is precisely one of the alterations made by Urban's Bull *Religionis augmentum* upon the work of Alexander IV.

'And we ordeynid and establissin pat pis rule be clepid from pis time forbe Menoressis enclosid'; whereas in the Bull of Alexander IV the name *Sorores Minores* does not occur and the sisters are called *Sorores Ordinis Humilium Ancillarum Beatissimae Virginis Gloriosae.* The inference is obvious. The Bull approved by Alexander IV in 1259 is anterior to the one composed by the five Masters of Theology, and was probably composed not by them, but by one Frater Mansuetus by the direction of the Pope. It must be, however, admitted that the only evidence for this theory is the unique copy of the Bull mentioned by Sbaralea and

*See p. 81, l. 26.*
reprinted also by Flaminius Annibal in his Supplement to the Bullarium.

The first sisters of the Monastery of Longchamp came apparently from the House of San Damiano at Rheims, as is shown by a Bull of Alexander IV dated from Anagnia, February 12, 1259, i.e. just ten days before the Bull which first approved the Isabella Rule. It appears that the Isabella Rule never had a very great vogue outside France. It was soon superseded to a great extent by the Urbanist Rule of 1263. Père Olliger refers to only one House in Italy adopting this Rule, and he makes no reference at all to the English colony which will be described later. There is, however, one other House, following the Isabella Rule, which has an interesting link with the manuscript here published, and that is the Monastery of S. Catherine of Provence. A Bull of Urban IV, dated June 22, 1264, states in the preamble that the Rule granted by Alexander IV to Longchamp had been revised by Cardinal Simon de Bria, and that he (Urban) was moved to this revision by the King of Navarre (Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Regis Navarre illustris precibus inclinati). This King of Navarre was Henry III, who died in 1270, and was the first husband of Blanche, whose part in bringing the Clarisses to London will appear later.

In order to complete this brief sketch of the development of the Rule of the Clarisses, reference must be made to the final Rule, which also was issued by Urban IV in 1263. The Bull Beata Clara * of October 18, 1263, approved a new Rule written by Cardinal Caietanus, the Protector of the Order. The new Rule is to a large extent a compilation based on the previous Rules, and among other innovations it abolishes the various names by which the Sisters had come in process of time to be known, and gives to the whole Order the name of the 'Order of S. Clare'.

This Rule became the final and authoritative Rule, and has not since then been superseded.

The English Version of the Rule.

The English version of the Rule of the Second Order or 'Menouresses enclosid' is contained in MS. Bodl. 585 = 2357 in the Bodleian Library. The volume, which consists of 104 leaves of

* Sbar. ii. 509.
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parchment, is made up of two separate MSS. bound together. Both MSS. were apparently written in England in the fifteenth century.

The first MS. in the volume is in Latin, and contains:

Fol. 1r–17v. Tractatus de vita et nobilitate et marturio sanctorum Albani et Amphibali de quodam libro gallico excerptus et in latinum translatus.

Fol. 18v–47r. De Granario magistri Iohannis Wetanstede.

Atfolio 48r the second MS. begins. It is written in English in a neat and legible book-hand.

Fol. 48r–72r contain the Rule of the Clarisses which is here published. It is divided into chapters or sections of varied length, and each chapter is begun with a finely illuminated Capital. There are no other illuminations, and otherwise the writing is entirely in black.

Following immediately after the Rule, and contained in folios 72r–101r, is a treatise by the same hand, and clearly forming part of the same Manuscript, consisting of instructions relating to the ordering of the services.

The Manuscript measures 219 mm. by 143 mm., and is bound in limp vellum.

The Catalogue* gives the information that the second MS. was presented to the Bodleian Library by Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, in 1604.

Fortunately it is possible to determine practically with certainty the particular convent for which this MS. was written.

The Rule which it contains is, as has already been stated, substantially the Rule of Blessed Isabella of 1263. The fact that the language of this version is English indicates that it was written for use in an English convent. The fact that it is the Isabella Rule and not the ordinary Urbanist Rule (also of 1263) would lead us to expect that it would belong to a daughter-house of the Monastery of Longchamp in the Diocese of Paris.

The opening words of the Rule are sufficient in themselves to establish the connexion with this celebrated religious house.

The house in question is none other than the former convent of

*Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library, by F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, 1912
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Clarisses or 'Minoressis' just outside the walls of the City of London, near Aldgate, in the street now known as 'Minories'. A very full account of the house, its foundation, history, and ultimate dissolution, is contained in a paper read by Dr. Fly before the Society of Antiquaries, June 23, 1803. An account is also given in Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum under the general heading of Franciscans in England, and also in Tanner's Notitia Monastica. A more modern account will be found in the Victoria History of London (1909), edited by William Page, vol. i, pp. 516-19.

It has generally been held the first colony of Clarisses was brought over to England from the Diocese of Paris from Longchamp by Blanche, widow of the King of Navarre, and, later, wife of Edmund, Duke of Lancaster, brother of King Edward I. She was the daughter of Robert, Count d'Artois and Maud of Brabant. The earliest record relating to this colony of Clarisses is a charter of Edward I authorizing his brother Edmund to convey a parcel of land given by Thomas de Bredstrete in the parish of S. Botolph outside Aldgate:

dilectis nobis in Christo monialibus de ordine Minorum, quae per nobilem dominam Blancom reginam Navarrai, consortem eiusdem fratri nostri, in Angliam sunt ventuarae, et infra regnum nostrum moraturae, ac Deo et beatae Marie ac beato Francisco servitutae.

This document is dated from Westminster, June 28, 1293, and shows that at that time the Sisters were about to arrive, but had not done so.

There is, however, some reason to suppose that the Convent was in existence at least twelve years earlier. Sbaralea gives a Bull of Martin IV Locu Sanctorum omnium dated October 9, 1281, addressed to all the Faithful and granting an indulgence of one hundred days to those visiting this church (among others) on the Sunday after Ascension Day and its Octave. As this was a somewhat exceptional privilege, it seems improbable that it would have been conferred on the church immediately after its founda-

† Monumenta Franciscana, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), Appendix xxviii, p. 625.
‡ Sbar. iv. 339.
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tion, and so probably both Church and Convent were in existence a good deal earlier than 1281. Moreover, the House is mentioned in the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas about 1291.*

The first Abbess of the English house was, according to Dr. Fly, Isabella de Lille and the second Joanne de Nevers, both French names, which are a further indication of the French parentage of the 'Minories'.

Six Papal Bulls are extant relating to the Convent of the Minories, up to and including the reign of Boniface VIII.

The first is dated September 13, 1294,† and reminds the Sisters of certain privileges to which they were entitled, and of which apparently they were not availing themselves.

The other five belong to the reign of Boniface VIII.

The second, Vestræ religiônis ‡ of April 6, 1295, grants to the 'Minoressis' a church which is in the patronage of Edmund, brother of the King, subject to the reservation of a portion of its income for the support of the vicar.

The third, dated July 3, 1295,§ confines the convent to the 'inclosid Minoresses' who observe the Rule that prevails in the monastery of the Humility of S. Mary in the Diocese of Paris.

The fourth, Romana Ecclesia, dated August 31, 1295, places the Convent under the direct jurisdiction of the Roman See, and removes it from that of the Bishop of London.||

The fifth, Religiosam vitam,¶ dated March 13, 1296, commands that the Sisters are to be protected, and confirms their privileges and possessions.

The sixth, Petitio vestra,** dated March 3, 1298, gives the Minoressis permission to take possession of the church of Hertindon.

† Dr. Fly and, following him, the later editions of Dugdale attribute this Bull to Boniface VIII, in spite of the date: but Boniface did not become Pope until December 1294. I have been unable to trace this Bull in Potthast or Sbaralea. If it is rightly dated, it must belong to the reign of Celestine V.
‡ This is apparently the same as the Bull given by Potthast, Laudabilis sacra religio 24359, which is a re-issue of an earlier Bull (Pott. 24316) addressed to all Houses of Clarisses, relieving them of the obligation of tenths.
|| Sbar. iv. 365. Both Dr. Fly and The Victoria Hist. of London inaccurately assign this Bull to August 1294, when Boniface VIII was not yet Pope.
¶ Sbar. iv. 385.
** Sbar. iv. 462.
of which Edmund was patron, notwithstanding the fact that the revenues of that church exceeded 40 marks a year.

The Bodleian MS. makes clear that the Rule used in the London Convent was the Isabella Rule, but in some details revised by Boniface VIII. It will be observed, for example, on fol. 52r (p. 84), that in the vow of profession the sister undertakes 'to lyve after pe rule of myne lorde pe apostle Boneface pe cytip correctid and approuid', whereas in the Rule as issued in 1263 she undertook to live according to 'the rule granted to our order by the Lord Pope Alexander IV and corrected and approved by the Lord Pope Urban IV'. Again, in the Appendix to the Rule on fol. 75v (p. 100) the following sentence occurs:

'And it as we recordin ourf blessid predecessoures pope boneface pe VIII pat after a constituciounn bi hem ordeynid vppon pis same religioun vnder vertuous rule, pat alle the Sustris schulden dwelle and abide vnder stedefaste and perpetuel closinge,' &c.

In this sentence the word 'pope' is rubbed out, and the words 'boneface pe VIII' are crossed through.

Another document relating to the 'Minories' belongs to the year 1296, when King Edward I confirms a grant of ten acres of land de dominico suo in campo de Hertindon in comitatu Derbiae made by his brother Edmund to dilectis nobis in Christo abbatissae de gratia Beatae Mariae ordinis Sanctae Clarae extra muros Londoniae et eiusdem loci sororibus Deo ibidem servientibus.

The house was surrendered to Henry VIII by Elizabeth Savage, the last Abbess, in 1539, and in 1540 the site was granted by the King to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. It appears, however, at a later date to have reverted to the Crown. In 1797, according to Dugdale, a fire took place in the neighbourhood which exposed to view larger remains of the conventual offices than had before been visible.

So far, then, as the history of the Bodleian MS. is concerned, it appears probable that it remained in the Convent of the Minories until its dissolution in 1539. Reference has already been made to the fact that the Manuscript was presented to the Bodleian Library in 1604 by Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. Now it appears, from information courteously supplied by the authorities of the Bodleian Library, that Charles Howard presented

* Wriothesley, Camden Soc. i. 94.
also sixteen other MSS. and thirty-four printed books: of the seventeen MSS., all except five can be proved to have come from the Library of King Henry VIII, and MS. Bodl. 585 is among these five. Other sources from which Charles Howard's books came are the Libraries of Cranmer, of Sir Thomas Coppley, and of William Devenishe, but there is nothing to connect MS. Bodl. 585 with any one of these. On the whole, it would appear probable that the MS. came, like the majority of Charles Howard's MSS., from the Library of King Henry VIII. It may accordingly be reasonably supposed that the MSS. of the Convent of the Minories passed into the hands of the King in 1539 at its dissolution.

There is further evidence that the MS. remained in conventual hands until the dissolution. In every case where the words 'pope' or 'papal' occur in the MS. they have been either erased or crossed through with a pen. It is known that about 1536 the King issued an order requiring such erasures to be made in the service-books and other MSS. in the possession of religious houses. Gairdner* gives an interesting illustration of the way in which this order was received. Sir William Sherbourne, the parish priest of Woburn Chapel, was rebuked by the Abbot, Robert Hobbes, for using a knife to raise the Pope's name, telling him to do it with a pen, for 'it will come again one day'. The following year (1538) the said Abbot was hanged on an oak-tree before the gate of his own Abbey. The erasures made so thoroughly in MS. Bodl. 585 point to the fact that it was in 1536–7 in the hands of its original owners, who executed the royal command. It is interesting to note that in cases where the word 'apostle' is used as referring to the Pope, the word is not erased, probably because it was misunderstood.

An examination of the English version shows that it is probably a translation from a French version of the original Latin, and, moreover, by no means a good translation. Throughout, the translator slavishly follows the original text, both in the construction of the sentences and in the choice of words. In many cases it is quite clear that the translator has entirely failed to understand the original, and consequently the English makes no sense. In editing the text, where the sense can be rectified by the addition

Introduction

or alteration of a word or two (e.g. sometimes by the addition of a negative!), this has been done; but in cases where the sense cannot be restored without entirely rewriting the sentence, it has been deemed best to leave it uncorrected and to give the Latin text in the notes. This applies, in particular, to the first six folios, which are especially bad.

It remains to say something in conclusion about the material which forms an Appendix to the Rule in the Bodleian MS. It follows on to the Rule itself without a break, and is in the same hand as the Rule. It will, however, readily be seen that it is not one document, but a compilation of two or more documents. The first part, from fol. 72v to fol. 78v (to 'wijowte any variaunce or lettinge') is clearly a Papal document; it would appear to be a portion of a Bull containing a confirmation of the Rule and some modifications of its practice. It contains some material which also forms part of the Rule itself in other words. The reference to 'pope boneface pe viii' on fol. 75v as a predecessor may suggest that this Bull was the work of Benedict X, but it does not necessarily follow that the immediate predecessor is meant. No Bull containing this material is found either in Potthast or in Sbaralea's Bullarium Franciscanum. The material beginning on fol. 78v: 'At alle pe honres', is not in the form of a Papal Bull, and consists of regulations setting out the practice of the Convent. Towards the end, viz. on fol. 100v, it drifts into the first person narrative. 'We make vtas of Noel'; the same happens earlier on fol. 80v 'til we sey Fidelium animae', but in the context this looks like a slip for 'pey'. There is, at present, no further evidence as to the authorship or provenance of the material forming the Appendix.

The Editor wishes to record his great indebtedness to Mr. A. G. Little, Chairman of the British Society of Franciscan Studies, who called his attention to the Bodleian MS.; to Dr. R. W. Chambers, who has given much help in revising the text; and to Mrs. Geoffrey Tomes, who made the transcript of the text from the MS. with great skill and accuracy.
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THE REWLE OF
SUSTRIS MENOURESSES ENCLOSID
[Note.—The Reader is referred to the note on p. 44 for an explanation of the practice with respect to contractions, italics, and brackets in this text.]
Urban bishop servant
of servantis of god to
this blessed doynis and
pe libbe ye content
of hynis acenowith
endow of ye monaster of our land of ye
dioce of Paris. Greetyng a blessinge
of ye apostle. for as moche we purthas
ye more with ye enuys of religion as
by pat ye contumencis of our lande
been endowid. ye helpe of soules. part
of mony to proste. and for pat wep,
our distr. tillander. our par
cells of good werke recordinge. onde
endinge ye endowyd to ye suppliaions
of our dere son in ariste ye noble kinge
of straus to alle ye hende myndis
of this ariste world by takinge ye do
ing proffesyon in owre monaster which
ye enuysyd of so noble name of ye me

Folio 48 v. of MS. Bodl. 585.
THE REWLE OF
SUSTRIS MENOURESSSES ENCLOSID

Urbân * bisschop seruaunt of seruauntis of god, to his bilouid [Fol. 48r] dowtris in crist, pe Abbes & pe coutent of sustris Menowressis enclosid of pe monestre of oure ladi of pe diocese of Paris, Greting & blessyng of pe apostle. For as moche we purchasin pe more willi[uglye] pe encrese of religionoun, as bi pat pe continementis of owre 5 lorde been encresid, & pe helpe of sowles peroen comip to profite; And for pat wipowte dowte, Alisaunber² pope‡ oure predecessour of good werke recordinge, condescendinge & enclinyd to pe suppliacions of oure dere sone in criste pe noble kinge of Frauns³, to alle pe hende maydeuis of Ihesu criste pis worlde forsakinge & doigne 10 professioun in owre monestre ⁴ whoche ys enfayrid of so noble name of pe me|kenesse of blessid marie, pe whoche Minster when hit was [Fol. 48r] nyew made none body per was dwellinge, as hit is sayde, grauntid pe rule whoche ys writyn here after for to holde & kepe perpetueli in pe same mynster, and beene clepid bi pe name of sustris enclosid⁵. 15
And werevpon alle ⁶ Hit was to us prayde lowli bi pe same kynge that [we] pe forseyde rewle in some chapitres diden amende, & pat [we] † schulden take bysines, porw beningnite of apostle to put to at pe schewinge of pis rewle pe name of meneres. And than [we] § encliniid to pe preyers of pe same kynge, pe same rule by owre 20 lound some Symon Deutre⁷ pe pree Cathedral of pe title of seynt Cecile did amende, so pat it was || done as it was in name⁸. But nameli pat ye same mynster, as hit is aboue sette, haue worschippid pe house of humilithe of oure | ladi & pat pis rewle may be fayrid bi [Fol. 49r] pe profit3 of pe same humilithe, to pe name of pe sayde rule, we 25 sette to pe forseyde name of menours. And we ordeynid & establissin⁹ pat pis rule be clepid from pis time for pe, Menoressis enclosid, & pat it be kept perpetuall in pe same mynster & in other ministeris whoche schal be founded here after or plantid, In pe

* The numbers given in the text refer to the notes which will be found on pages 117–19.
† Word erased, but legible.  ‡ MS, 'pey'.
§ MS, later hand, 'pey' over an erasure.  || Word erased before 'done'.

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whiche pe same sustris schal make profession to pis reddure, as it is amendid. The whoche rule & pe life of pis same sustris enclosid we haue do notefiyd here after, pe which is pis.

Eche womman whiche bi pe grace & gifte of pe holi goste schal be brouht to entre in pis ordre for to nyge to god owre lorde Ihesu Criste & to his ful swete moder, after pe counsayle of pe perfeccion of pe gospel, Lyue alle dayes in obediens, & cha[st]ite, wipowte properte, And for to dwelle alle dayes of her life enclosid as a tresoure kepte to pe souereyne kynge.

Alle po whoche schal leuen pe vanite of pe worlde & in to pe forseyde abbey schal comen, pis religion for to resseyue, schal kepe bysili pis maner of lyninge alle here life, after pat time pat pey been professid, & been bowndin be obediens for to dwelle enclosid wip in pe cloyster of pe abbey, But zif so be10 pat sehe haue en-

15 special conge of pe [pope *] or of pe general mynistre of pe ordre of Frere menowris or of pe provincial of pe same provice in pe whiche pe same Abbey is foundid, & pat bi cause for to ede[se], or to plante pe same religion, or for cause of gouernaus of somme place of pe forseyde religion, Some haue been sent in to oper places, pe | whoche haue bihouyd afterwarde to returne to pe same places from whoche pey comyn bi pe licence of one of hem forseyde, zif hit sete good & expedient to pe Mynistre or to one of hem for to do. And zif hit happe so be werre, or be water, or be fire, or for oper like case pat pe same Abbey falle to be destruyid or pat it be like pat pe hous schal falle downe or for drede of enemies, pey were putte in soche verray & experte informacioun, pat wip oute greuous peril & opun destrucion none bodi may dwelle ne abide pere, for to haue pe counsayle & pe conge of pe Mynster, pat pan bi pe counsayle & con-
sentement of alle couent & bi pe comoundement of pe Abbes, pe 25 Sustris per may leueli renew pennis in to anoper place sure, where pat pey may dwelle honestli & saudi enclosid vntil pe time pat it schal be oper weyes wiseli ordeynid for hem what pat pey schul doo.

30 And zif pe couent bi any cause resonable here Abbey oper place edifi, pan pe sustryyn bi licence of pe Ministre general may remuyn in to anoper place couenable.

* Word deleted in MS.
Alle þe Nonnes þer which happen for to dyse þer professid or nonices or sustris or seruauntis schal be byriyd wipinne þe cloyster of þe abbey. Alle þo whoche þis religiou schal take in þe forseyde Abbey & in oþer whoche of nyew schal be foundid, to þe whoche þis noble rule schal be grauntid & holdin, bifore þat þey haue here 5 abite & þat þey schul enter into religiou, þat it be wel declarid to hem þe hardiness & þe scharpeness by whoche þey comip to Ioye of Paradise, & þese whoche þey schullen be bown|dyne to after þis [Fol. 51r] religiou.

None womman schal be resseyuyd, woche for age or for sikenesse 10 or for oþe simplesse 11 after þe iugement of hem whoche hane for to do þer of, be nat couena[b]le & suffisaunt for to kepe þe maner of life, & also bi any oþer 12 aventure, þat þan in oþer place bi counsel of þe most wise susteris of þe place, be for þe forseyde Ministre or one of hem dispense to another soche & þat bi cause 15 resolvable.

Alle þo þat wolen in þis holi abbey abiden & in ani oþer whoche schal be foundid here after, to þe whoche þis rule schal be grauntid & holden, And * þat wolde þis holi religiou resseyue, allegatis for-sake prides & vaniteis of þis schort life. And as þey schul be 20 resseyuid wip in þe cloyster, abide þey þere, & as sone as þey [Fol. 51v] schullen be schorne, þey schullin leue þe robis of þe worlde. Thanne a wise maystresse & moste denowte sustre in þe Abbey be ordeyned & be I-take to hem for to exite hem to holinesse & to holî vertues & for to speke to hem in feruent deuocioun & also for to 25 teche hem for to abide & þere † hem in sweetnesse of charite in alle poyntes whoche longin to holi religiou & bisili for to repreue hem of alle þinges whoche been reprenable. And þat þey be nat suffrid to entre in to þe chapitre duringe þe þere, but zif so be þat it be for cause of amonissinge & repreuinge. The þere fulliid, make þey pro- 30 fessiouin in hondes of þe Abbesse biforn âle þe couent in þis manere. 'I Suster ... † bihote to god & owre ladi blissid mayde marie & to |

* MS. adds 'sche', which is superfluous. † MS. 'here'. ‡ No gap in MS.
The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

[Fol. 52'] seynt Fraunces, to myne ladi seint Clare\(^{15}\) & to alle seyntis, in 3oure hondes, moder, to lyue after pe rule \(^*\) of myne lorde pe apostle Boneface pe eytip\(^{14}\) correctid & approuid be alle pe time of myne life, In obedience, In chastite, wipowte properte or voyse in pe 5 Cloyster, After pat whoche is ordeynid bi pe same Rule in alle poyntis.'

This like maner to make professioun holdyn pey whoche been ordeyned to serue & seche. Suche schulyn [nat] goo owte of pe Abbey, But alwayis zif hit happe be any riht & necessari cause 10 for to sende owte of pe cloyster hem whiche servyn & been professid, In same maner bi leue of pe ministre general, Soche algatis be sent whoche been honeste & demurid in vertues & in age. Pe whiche whan pey schul so go oute of pe Cloyster, pey schul be [Fol. 52'] ho|sid & schod beringe none cordis\(^{15}\) & pey schulle nat go alone.

\(^{15}\) EChe suster schal be clopid in stamyn or heyre & zif here likip, sehe may haue two cotis or pre or foure, after pat as it schal beste lyke to pe Abbesse, euermore eschuyenge pe owtrage of clopes & of robis in gode maner; Soo pat sehe haue a mantel or tweyne covenable longe & brode . These robis schullen be of buystouse clope & 20 low prise & of pouer colour . And sehe schal nat vse here one resticote\(^{16}\) alle white ne alle blacke. Pes sustris, after pey been professid, pey schul use bfore gerdellis cordes whiche schal be made wip corionste\(^{17}\). And pey schul usyn kerchiues honestli in one maner of kerchiues & of colleres, whoche schal be alle white & nat | precious. And also pat pe forhede & pe ygen been couerid, as it bihouip, & in none oper maner be pey nat so hardi for to apere bfore strawngeris ; for it fallip nat to hem whoche ys weddid to pe kyunge perpetuel pat sche chiere none oper but him, ne delite her in none oper but in him. And also pat pey haue a blacke veyle [Fol. 53'] I|spred aboue her hedis so large & so longe, pat hit may streche from ech parti to pe schuldris & behinde at pe backe resonabli, wipowte whiche pey schul now be on nytes & some time on dayes bi licence of pe abbesse. Alle pese jinges pe forseyde sustris schullin haue & kepe, And pey whoche seruyn & whoche been or-

\(^*\) The words ‘of myne lorde pe apostle Boneface pe eytip’ are underlined in MS.
For to do 

The office & seruise of god by day & be nyht to 

preysing of god & to 

the gladnes of his glorie, The sustris schul 

have hem & gouerne hem, as it is wriiten here after.

De sustris whoche canne rede & singe schal do 

the office reuerentli 

& mesurabli after 

pe custome & 

pe ordre of freris menoures, & 

pe oper schal sey 

Pater noster | for matyns, v for landis; For [Fol. 54 b] 

prime, tierce, sexte, none, & complin, For eche owre 

Pater 30 

noster, And for euynsonge, xii Pater noster. And in pis same 

maner be alle 

inges in 

office of oure blissid ladi; be hit kepte 

wip deuwote preyinge for 

de dede. And 3if 

per be any sustris 

couenable & of gode witte, The abbes, 3if 

schel penkip hem goode, to 

ordeyne & assigne a maystresse couenable & honeste for to 

techte 

hem songe, to performe 

the office & seruise of god stedfastli. The
sustris & pey whiche servyn in werkis & placis stabelliche, be hit ordeynid pat pey schul been ocupiiday in profitable & honest trauayles, bi pe whiche maner pat slowpe & schlugri whoche been grete enemes continueli to pe sowle* schal be skerid awaye & eschewid, pat it lette nat ne stawnche | nat pe spirit of preyere & denocioun, to whom alle oper wordli pinges schulde do servuce, So pat oure lorde Ihesu criste espouse 30 te pe soule be take aboue al pinges: for as moche pat pe soule may be per fed & refestid of pe comfortabel wordiis of his espouse.

10 Pe sustris first wole be confessid when it nedip & schul resseyue twies eche moniip in reverence & denocioun pe ful holi bodi of ovre lorde Ihesu criste, & also jif it likip hem eche souday in lentyn & in pe Auent, but jif it so be pat ani of hem bi resonable cause leene hit & bi licence of pe Abbesse.

15 The sustris & pey whocho seruyn Schal fast fro pe fest of seint Fraunces 21 til pe fest of pe resurræxioun of our lorde, And from pe Assencioun of ovre lorde vnto Pentecoste, Forasmoche pat pey [Fol. 55r] may plentiuowliscliche | resseyue pe grace of pe holi gost, owte take pe souday onliche & pe fest of alle Halwyn 22 & Cristmas day & pe fest of sent Stephin & Seint Iohn euangelist & pe Circumsicioun & Epiphanye & pe purificacion. But from pe resurræxioun of our lorde till pe Assencioun & fram Pentecost til pe Fest of seint Fraunceseyse pey be nat boundin to fast, but pe Fridayes & oper fastis whoche been ordeynid & boundyn generali bi holi chirche. 25 And pey may sureli drinke wyne & ete fishe & eyrin & chese & soche oper pinges as perteynïp to mylke. And also fro pe Natiniute of ovre lorde til septuagesme pey may, jif pey wole, to-dite here metis wip grece owtaike Friday & saterday. Also fram pe Fest of aller halwyn [Fol. 56r] til the Fest of pe Natiniute of ovre lorde & in Lentoun & in | Fridayes 30 and in fastendayes whoche been generalli I-stablid bi holi chirche, pe Sustres schul nat ete Eyrin ne cheese, ne none oper pinge pat perteynïp to Milke, but in all oper times pey may use hit. The sustres beinge in gode hele & pey pat seruin kepin hem alle dayes fram etinge of fische. And also pey whocho been hole in bodi 35 schul faste eche Friday wipowe fishe, but jif it falle so pat pe Abbesse dispense wip hem, as it is acustumyd, jif any Fest solempne

* MS. ' & pat', superfluous.
come on a Friday. This maner of Fastinge & of abstinence forseyde, 
pe ʒouge sustris wip inne pe age of xv ʒere be nat boundin to kepe, 
ne pe ouer agid, ne pe fiebel, ne pe sike, to pe whiche after her 
febelnesse pe Abbesse may merciabl pursuyte comunliche alle dayes, & 
in oper jinges necessaries to pe sustris. And to hem whoche seruyyn, [Fol. 56r] 
& to pe ʒouge sustris wip inne xviii ʒere pe Abbes may dispense in 
fastinge after pat it schal like to here goodli, saue in advent, & in 
leuont & in friday & in fastinge dayes whiche been enstablid bi 
holi chirche. The sustris whoche been lete blode been nat boundin 
to fastinge in pe time duringe bi þre dayes, safe in leuont & in 10 
fridayes & in time of advent, And in þe time bitwene þe Asyencioun 
& pentecoste, & þe fastinges whiche been enstablid bi holi chirche 
generali. 

And also þe Abbesse muste be ware þat sche suffer nat þe 
sustris to be lete blood ouer iii times 33 bi þe ʒere, but ʒif it be for 15 
certayne cause enspecial & necessarie. And algatis þat þey be 
nat lete blode of any seculere persone straungere, | & nameli of [Fol. 57r] 
a man by none resoun, ʒif it may be as goodli. 

Of þe syke sustris whan sykenesse fallip bi grete cure & diligence, 
as fyrforþ þat men schul mowe or se for to do, þat þey been seruid 20 
bi alle maner jinges in metis & drinkes whoche been gode for þoo 
maladies, And in alle oper jinges nedeful be wey of charite feruent 
benyneli, couenabelliche & ententifeliche. And þey whiche been 
sike schullin haue proper place in þe whiche þey schul dwelle 
desuerid from hem whoche been in helpe of bodi, For as mochel 25 
þat þe reste & þe ordinaunce of [j/f] Couent be nat distourbid be 
none wey.

The abbesse, for as mochel þat sche schulde be a clere myroure 
& ensaemple to alle þe sustris, þat sche eustrengþe her as mochel 
as sche | may for to suen contynuelli þe conent & þe comune life. The [Fol. 57r] 
abbesse þat wolte nat ne may nat lede þe comune life, be assigned 24 
wiþowte tariyunge of þe office for to gouerne oper bi þe mynster or 
bi þe visitouris of þe ordre, [bot] ʒif it so be þat þe Abbey had 
none harme, bi cause of here longe dwellinge in þe office or ellis 
þat mani grete & schewynge profites þere of comne *.

Silence, be it of alle Sustres holden in soche maner, þat þey speke 
nat wiþoute licence ne one to oper, ne to none oper, sauyngþ þe

* MS. 'comune'.

The Rowl of Sustris Menouresses enclosid 87
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

...febel & pe syke. But alle gates pat pe Abbesse, or presedente take kepe ententifeliche in whoche place, whan, & howe sche schal gif licence to sustris for to speke. And pat alle sostres estrengpe hem to vse signis religious & honestis. At doubwe festis & at Festis | of apostles, & any oper dayes after pat it schal best like to pe Abbesse, * from pe howre of none til euynsonge or ani howre couenabel, The sustris may speke ofoure lorde Ihesu criste & of pe solempnuitie of pe Feste present & of good ensaumplis of seyntis & of oper jinges honeste of whoche pey haue for to speke.

10 Whan anybodi to any of pe Sustres schal speke, First schal pe Abbesse be warnd þer of or pe president, & þif sche graunt, þanne schal pe suster speke wip þe straunger so pat sche haue two oper sustris at pe leste wip here, pat þey mow see & here what þat þey doo or speke, bope on pat one syde & on pat oper. And allegatis pat þe sustris whiche haue for to speke to any straunger, þat þey be welware þat þey aboundyn nat hem | for to speke in vayne wip owtyn profite & houre longe.

Neuerþeles whan any of þe Sustris wole confess her, bi þe perlour make her confession in privite alone to one. The confessour, þe whoche schullin be assingnid bi þe Minster general or bi þe prouincial, assoyle hem of alle sinnis. None of hem schal speke bi þe grate of yryn bi þe whiche þey schullin be hulsid & here diuine office & sermones, but be auenture þat it be for cause resonable & necessarie & wip compani, after þat it is ordeynid & establid to speke ; & algatis þat it be seeldyn. This grate 25 of yren be hangin wipin a blacke clope, so þat bi resoun none suster may be seyne þer þorw & þat none bodi may see none pinge wip inne, but þif it so be for a resonabel cause, þat þe same clope þe drawyn agayne bi licence of þe Abbess ; & in þe same maner schal be holden a blacke clope at þe perlour whiche some may be done aweye bi licence of þe Abbess & of þe Assentement of grate parti of þe covent ; & þis gratis schullyn haue doris of yren bund & maylid whoche schal be alwey closid but þif it be for þe causes forseyde.

þe perlour be of many & picke roddis of yren, of stronge werke forgid. þis perlour to confessiou schulle be made in þe Chyrche, oper in oper place couenabel after hit schal beste seme to þe mynster, & þat þe gratis be of mani & thicke roddis of yrin bisili forgid & of stronge werke. Allegatis in one of þe sydis of þe

* MS. adds 'And'. 
forsydge grate be a smalle wyndow I-made wip a goget of yrin, bi þe whiche þe preest, whan he schal hene vp his honde, may mynstre to þe Sustris goddis bodi, and þat none bodi may putte his honde| wipinne þe grate be ani particie of þe grate. And þe forsydge [Fol. 59r] goget alwey schal be closid wip two keyis, in þe warde of a persone 5 convenabel & honeste, sauing whan þe sustris schullin resseuyue goddis bodi & here sermons, or bi ðer cause resonable after þe Iugement of þe Abbes. Wipowte licenc of þe Ministre þer schal nat be in þe coutent but one whole convenabel, bi þe which we takip to þe sustris þat whiche schal * nede to hem & take awey þat 10 which is nedeful; & þat þis whyle be made & ordeynid in soche wise þat none pinge may be seyne bi þat. Bi þis whyle schal none Suster speke to nobodi, but two whiche kepın þis whyle wip grete diligence.

And also like as þe abbesse berip here, make scehe alle þe sustris for to kepe be hem alle bisili | þe ordnaunce of silence of þis present [Fol. 60r] rule. † For as moche þat alle materis to speke wip inne be for-barrid in alle þingis to alle sustris, sauing þat þe Abbesse may speke to here sustris at houris & in places convenable as it schal be moste plesamnt to god. The sustris sike in þe time of here maladi in þe fermeri, & þey whiche been seruamitis, & ðer hole sustris bi 20 cause for to visite þe sike charitabli bi licence of þe Abbesse entringe in to þe fermeri, may speke wip sike sustris after disposition of þe Abbesse.

MOREOuer we comawnde estreyteli in vertu of obedience þat none Abbesse ne ani suster suffer nat ani persone,26 what euere he 25 be, for to entre wipowte especial licence of | þe apostle wipinne þe [Fol. 60v] Abbey or cloyster, ne wip inne none place where þat þe sustris been abindinge, be he religious or secularer or of what maner dignite. And also we defendin þe entre to alle maner folke, excepte þe kynge27 in whocche Reine þis Abbey is foundin, whoco kynge may 30 entre to hem wip þe numbre of x personis, & excepte þe Minister general of þat ordre of Freris Menoures, wip ii honest felowis, And except þo whiche of þe comauandement of the Abbesse & bi consaylle & assentement of þe moste wise suster schal enter inne to hem for a grete nede wel schewing of ani werke nedeful or mater 35 profitable; þe whiche, þif þer be many, þan þat þer be many

* MS. adds 'nat'. † MS. repeats 'for as moche': crossed through.
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

suffisaunlti ordeynid pe same werke to performe. And whan pat |
werke is doon, pat wipoute tariynge pey been made go oute of pe |
place; & in soche materes & causis pat pe asentement of pe Ministre |
provincial be requirid whan it may be done couenabli, for as moche |
pat pe clerete of here renouns be sauid & kepte. The ministre pro- |
vincial of pe same province may entre into pe Abbey wip ii honest |
falawis bi cause necessari for to visite & refourme pe conuent. And |
also in oper materis & causes whoche happen for to come, pat may |
nat be reformid wipoute entre amongis hem, pe forseyde Ministre |
provincial schal entre, if* pat pe Ministre general bi counsayle of |
most wise sustris per schal to hem graunt. 3if it happe bi aventure |
pat any Cardinal wole come & entre in pe Abbey, pat he be res- |

[Fol. 61r] |

[0x0]|

[Fol. 61v] |

[Fol. 62r] |

[Fol. 62v] |

* MS. af. |

† MS. repeats 'here' superfluous.
godei come to pe perloure for to be confessid or for to resseyue goddes bodi or oper sacramentis of holi chirche, þan here confessoure arayid in vestimentis longynge to a preest excepte þe chesiple schal wipinne, & his felaw reuestrid alle in white; þat þan þe sike suster confess þe so sche maner þat iiii oper 5 sustris be so myþe þat þey may se þe same confessoure & also her whoche is confessid. And whan þe confessioun schal be herde or any oper sacrament ministrid, like as þey come inne reuestrid, so goo þey owte, ne dwelle þey þer inne, ne wip any oper Suster speke þey nat, but in þe forseyde maner. And also whan any comendacioun [Fol. 63r] schal be done for sowlis of Susstris, or for obsequies of any of hem dede, ii freris menoutres or preestis preuoyres or þe, whan þe bodi is brought to enteriament, schalle mowe entre reuestrid wip ornementis longynge to a preest, and þey for to do alle þat longip to a preest in soche cas. And be þey alle wey to gyderes bi alle þe time 15 þat þey schullin be ocupied abowte þe execucion of þe same office, and þat fulfiliid for to departe þennis wipowte tariynge. And also þat gode kepe be takyn of the Ministris, & bi him whoche schal be visitoure in þat tyme of hem whoche schal entre in to þe Abbey for any soche werks to make 3if þey be necessari, whan & how þey 20 schullin entre, & gonerne & haue hem wipinne. And up þat þey ordeyne and disþosin þer of as hem schal best like, so allegatis þat [Fol. 63v] þe name & þe gode fame of þe Susstris be sanid in alle poynis.

For to kepe þe forseyde entre durninge þe tyme, one of þe sustris best louynge god, wise & vertuouse, be ordeynid & establid & in alle 25 maner of diligence þat þe keyes of þe same entre be saneli kepte & putte in sane warde of þe forseyde susstre keper in þat case assignid, so þat none dare ne gate þer be nat openid wipoute verray knowinge of þe same Suster. The ðer keye alle diuers schal þe Abbesse kepe. And also þat þer be assignid & ordeynid an oper suster for to be 30 felow & helpinge to þe forseyde porteresse in alle times & in alle pinges longinge to þe same kepinge, whan þe chief porteresse schal be ocupiid ðoper weyes reþsonabeli in þe nedis of þe Abbey necessari. [Fol. 64r] And ful ententli þat þis porteresse suffer nat þat þe dore be nat openid but whan þat grete nede askip it, & þat þe dore diligentli 35 be kepte & schet & þe Guyches of barris of yrin & þe openinge be nat any tyme lefte wipoute warde of one of þe forseyde porteresse, & þat it be schette be day & be niht wip ii keyes, & þat it be nat openid to sone at eche knockynge, but 3if hit so be þat þe porteresse
firste see bi pe smalle wyndow who pat he is, & pat it is none dowte but pat he pat knockip be soche a persone whoche may lefolli come inne after pe rule of pe same religioun aforseyde. We wole of alle pinge, pat pe 3ate be of hihenesse pat per may nat come per to but wip a ladder,29 whoche be lefte | vp & vnder a chayne of yrin, & schet wip a keye; & in pe mornyninge when it is day, bi pe chayne avale bfore iii of pe sustris. We grannt that pey hame a lowe 3ate, where porwe pat pey may bringe Inne grete pinges as tunmys of wyne & oper pinges like, & pat it be schet wip locke & 10 keye & diligentli I-kepte . And 3if it hap any tyme pat any werke be for to do wip inne pe Abbey, & pat seculeris persones muste enter pere for pat, pan pe Abbesse purnoye & ordreye iii sustris wise, sad, & vertnouses of pe Conent, which kepe hem in silence to alle pe persones which schal make werke, & algates pat none oper 15 persones entre. And 3if it happe pat per be multitude & prees, pat oper persones honest & coenable be ordneynid & chaunlgid38 for to helpe pe forseyde sustris to kepe pe same 3ate sureli & bysili.

 OF pe visitacion of his religioun: be alle weyes ordeynid pat who pat schal be establid Generall or special visitoure, pat he be soche 20 one whoche is wel known of stedfastnesse of religious life & gode vertuais; pe whoche whan he comip to pe Abbey & is entrid wip inne, pat he bere him & schewe him soo pat he may drawe pe Sustris from goode in to beter, & pat he enstrengpe hem in pe loue of oure lorde, & pat he alwey estabel amonges hem feruent desire in 25 charite. And whan he schal entre bi resoun [of visitacion *], pat he take him ii religious felawes honest & coenable, pe whoche felawes, [Fol. 65*] wille pey be wipinne pe Cloyster, schulle nat departe | asunder by none tyme. Alle pe Abbeyes of pe same religioun been I-visitid eche 3eer ones or at pe leste in ii 3ere ones. The visitoures be algatis of 30 pe ordre of Freris menoures & pat he be I-sent by pe minister general of the ordre.

 AT alle 3eres pat pe Abbey may nat be visitid bi pe visitoure, whoche ys sent fro pe mynister generale, 3if it be nedeful, pat pan pe abbey be visitid bi pe Mynister of pe same pronince after pe

* Words supplied by comparison with Latin original.
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forme of pe Rule of pis religiou forseyde. The visitoure whiche wole goo ferper in his visitacion, after tyme pat pe rule ys reddle, enquire he besili pe trouppe of alle Sustris & of eche of hem bi hemselfe generali, & especiali pe estate of alle pe sustres & how pey kepyn here religioun; & pere he fyndip any defawte, for to amende [Fol. 66r] & refourme hit in pe principal & in pe membris in jelse of charite & in pe loue of rihtwisnesse & bi grete discresioun in alle times.

WHan pat he visitip in alle times any of pe Sustres, pe Abbesse schal abide oute of pe chapitre, & * resigne pe seele, & sce he schal nat be at here owne visitacioun; & none pinge be purposed of one suster to anoper, but pat whoche may be proud haue be done by comune spekyngye or bi apert knowyngye. An ouer alle pinges pat he take kepe & penke bisili & nameli in pe visitasioun of pe Sustres, pat stere nat to any pinge but to pe loue of god for to speke of, & of pe amendement of pe Sustris whoche wole nat knowe here trespace & pe defaultes whoche been putte on hem, 3if | pey [Fol. 66r] wole excuse hem of pe same; & 3if it be grete pinges, audience schal nat be denied to hem. And poe sustres whoche ancip oper of greuousis pinges, 3if pey faylen in prouing per of, after pe blame whoche is put vppon hem, be lawfullich punischid. And pe trespace or defaute whiche hap be punischid biforme bi a visitour, schal [nat] be redressid of newe. The visitoures schullin kepe pe maner of spekyngye forseyde, pat is for to vnderstonde, pat pey speke to alle pe sustris or to ii at pe lest bi fore mani whiche be nat ferre; & also when he is oute of pe place & wole speke to one or to many of 25 pinges whiche perteynip to his office.

And we wole pat pe visitoures spede hem of here visitacioun of alle wip owte greauns | of pe Abbey, & algatis pat wipinne iiiii dayes or [Fol. 67r] v atte moste bi here visitacioun, but 3if it so be pat it nedip lenger to abide for hope & grete nede. And after pat pey for to hauue none 30 power to entre in to pe Abbey. The time of pe visitacioun whoche is aboue seyde schal nat be esloignid wipowte special conge of pe Mynistre. And we wole nat pat pe generalle Minister dwelle ne

* MS. adds 'pe'.
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abide longer but pe same time, but 3if it so be for a grete certayne cause. Allegatis at pe nyhte from pe sonne goynge to reste til in pe morwe at pe sonne risinge, pat none be suffrid for to dwelle or to entre wip inne, neyper visitoure ne oper, of what auctorite pat he be * warnid, but 3if it so be pat it be for confession to for here of any | sike Suster gretli syke or for any grete peril schewyng. And wolyn & monestyn 34 ententifeli, pat pe Sustres in praine & aperte po pinges whiche after pe forme, as it semip to doo to kepe here rule, whoche been to establid & to amende, After pat whoche schal best sene to hem & per vppon pat pey myngin & preposin couenabli & besili to visitoure to whom pey been holden by vertn of obedience for to obeye stedfastli wip in pe time forseyde In alle pinge longinge to pe visitoures office. And 3if per be any Suster pat hap trespassid agenst pe Rule, be sche punyschid rihtfulli bi pe visitoure, as it longip for to be done. The abbesse also, 3if here meritis & here defawtes axen hit, be sche assoylid of here office bi pe visitoure & bi him also corectid. The cuent & oper familiieres, 3if pey be re-prouable in any pinge, pat pey be repreuid; & 3if pey wole nat be repreuid, pat pey be algiati remuyd. The confessoures & here feloues be of pe ordre of freris Menoures, whoche pey schulllyn dwellin pe & minister pe sacrament of pe awter & oper sacramentis, but 3if it so be pat Ministres general or provincial ordeyne in oper maner bi cause resonnable & honest. And 3if pe visitoure fynde any cause notable ageynist pese confessoures, he is holdin to enforme per of pe Ministre provincial, whoche schal redresse hem or putte hem awey owte of pe place.

After pat we emmonestyn straytli pe visitoure, pat po pinges...
The eleccion of þe Abbess perteynip alle oneli to þe couent, but þe confirmacioun quassacioun & deposing | perteynip to þe Ministre [Fol. 69r] general of þe ordre of Freris Menoures, 2if he be present in þe prouince; & 2if he be nat, þat it schal pertien to þe Minister prouincial, In þe whiche þe forseyde Abbey is foundid, To whom pertenip þe ordinaunce of þis ordre, þe gournaunce, þe cure, þe visitacioun, þe correcceion, & reformacioun, & bi hem & bi oþer visitouris 10 after þat at it be enioynid hem in place & in time; bi þe whiche visitoures þe abbesse schal be assylyid of here office, as it is expressid aboue. And þere for þan in vertu of obedience we commande stratylti senden & enioynen alle Abbessis & Sustris of þis religioun, þat þey be obedientis to þe Minister general of þe ordre of frene 15 Menoures & to þe Minister prouincial of þe same prouince, in þe whiche þe same | Abbey is sette, in þinges whiche been nat ageynis [Fol. 69r] here sowlis, ne ageynis þis present rule. For we wolte þat þey be alwey sogettis to here gournaurs. Also we enioynen to alle þe sustris of þis same religion, þat þey obey diligentli to here Abbesse, 20 after þat þe Abbesse be confermid, as longe as þat sche dwellip & abidip in here office. Whan for maladi or for any oþer caus þat þe Abbey be destitute or voyde of an Abbesse, þat þan þe sustris schal *chesyn a president to whom in þe mene time þey schul be obedientis til a nyew Abbesse be confermid & ocupie here office. And þis same 25 president schal vse & execute in þe mene time þe office who ys longynge to þe Abbesse.35 The mynistris [and†] þe visitouris 36 schul reforme alle dishoneste & amende alle þingis whoche been for to [Fol. 70r] amende boop in spiritualite & in temporalite. And it [is] for to eschiewen comynges & goinges of straungeris bi occasion of temporal 30 þinges & forasmoche þat þe Sustris may lyne more in pees for to serve god allegatis, þat þey haue in comune & for to resseyue þe proufes of rentis & possessions & sureli to kepe. And for to tret þe forseyde possessions in riht maner, haue þey in þe forseyde Abbey a procuratoure 37 wise & trew, whoche schal be establid of 35 the counsayle of the Abbesse & bi consentement of þe couent & be

* Before ‘chesyn’ a word erased, probably ‘mow’.
† MS. whoche.
he put owte at alle time, whan hem schal seme goode & profitabel; & pat pe procuratoure be holdin to seelde acounte resonable to pe

[Fol. 70r] Abbesse & to pe wise Sustres enspeciali bi pe couent per to assignid, & to pe visitouris whan pey wolen herin of alle pinges whoche have 5 be deliurid to him & pat he hap despendid. And pis procuratoure schal nat in none maner selle, ne hynde ne draw away any goodes or catallis of pe Abbey, & alle pat which is done in damage to pe Abbey bi so che maner of bad gounaunce, we Juge it for nawt & of none auayle. And for as moche pat in oper place is oure life 10 perpetuel, we wole aboue alle pinges pat pe sustres of pis religiou eschuen outrage & pe sourfait of bigginge & of alle maner curiosite, whiche been contrarious to alle godenesse & whoche god hatip in alle pinges.

The seel of pe couent be kepte after pe ordinanunce of pe same [Fol. 71r] couent. And alle pe letres whiche | schul be sent from pe couent schal be firste I-redde in pe chapitre. None of pe Sustres sende ne resseyue any letres but soche whoche pe Abbesse schal rede first, or ellis pat pe same letres be I-redde bfore pe Abbesse be anoper suster per to assignid. The Abbesse schal holde chapitre eche wike twies at pe leste, one of coreccioun & amonischment, & anoper of pe ordinanunce of Sustris. And ouer alle pinge we defende pat none Ministre ne visitoure bi here auctorite make none constitucionis in pe Abbey ageynis pe forme & rule aforseyde, wher porwe pe sustres be bounde or enclinid to any vice or payne, but 3if so be pat it be 25 done bi consentment of alle pe couent; and 3if ani soche nyew ordinanunce be made, by no maner pat pe sustres schul be boundyn per to. 38

[Fol. 71r] We seyn pe pat none persone of holi chirche ne seeculer take in despite ne varie ne transpose pis present rule correctid & approuid, 30 ne any pinges whoch been comprehendid per inne, ne for to go folili per ageynis. And 3if any be so hardi pat dare take pat vpon him, knowe he pat he remilp in pe wrap of god almyhty & indignacioun of pe apostles Peter & poule. This was 30uin at vien39 pe vi kalendis of august pe secunde 3er of oure dignite.
This is rule of sustris enclosid, whoche haue lefte alle pinges of pis worlde for lone of god. Certis pey do grete understondinge, for in pis worlde may no man dwelle in profitabel pees. At alle dayes per been enemies And perfor pat pe sustres put here powtes for to lone god ententifely, whoche schal putte hem in goode place. 

And | for as mochel pat pey been enclosid, allemihti god schal 3eue [Fol. 72r] to hem of his fayre pinges & pat is fayre paradise, bi cause pat pey haue louid him in vertuouse servise. Now prey we pis gode ladies pat pey preyen for oure sowles pat we may come & haue pe Joye of heuyn bi his blessid grace perpetuelly for to endure. Amen. 

Here enclp Pe Reule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid.
F

Or as moche pat it is couenabel lowli seruauntes & denowtes hand maydenes of owre lorde Ihesu criste for his lone pe worlde wip alle vaniteis to forsake, And pe batayle for to undertake agaynes pe deuel & him for to wipstonde & his temptacions, & hem selfe to refreyne bi name of profession, bi whoche pey been submittid to diuerses obseruauncis of religioun, so pat pey mowen bi pe forseyde avowe of regulere obseruaunce helpe in sowle & bodi haue in pis worlde, And after here departinge for to reioyse perpetualli pe rewarde of blisse, whoche ys ordeynid for here rewarde, we perfor fader spirituel of his pingis penkinge wip gode diligence, hauin ordeynid pat pe sustris whoche been or schal been vnder pe gounernauce in pe cure of freris Menowres, alle pow pat pey be clepid Menowressis or of pe ordre of Seint Clere or of seynt damian, or of what oper name pat pey hauyn or berin, pat in eche place wher pey been dwellinge bi pe ministris provincial of pe Freris Menours & bi pe Abbesse of pe same place & of pe | couent or of pe gretter parti of pe couent be per ordeynid beoure auctorite certeyne nombre of hem after pe quantite & sufficiant of godes & rentis longinge to pe same Abbey, so pat pey may of here godes couenabli be sus-taynid. And ouer pat certayne nombre bi pis maner assigned, pat none be resseyuid in pe same hous wipowte special licence of pe apostle, But ʒif so be pat here godes & rentis been of soche encrese whoche may suffice to moo; & algatis before any soche resseyuinge, pat pe encrese of here godes bi pe grace of god be denounsid to pe chapitre general of freres Menoures. Atte whiche chapitre it schal be ian ordeynid how many persone may per putte inne ouer the nombre of olde time, bi resoun of pe encrees of here goodes & recenynys, as it is forseyde. And ʒif it happe bi pe grace of god any persone or many persone for to be resseyuid ouer pe olde nombre, Algatis pat none soche resseyyte be made wip owte licence of pe Ministre general or provincial, to pe whoche Ministris we comauundin straytli pat bfore ani soche graunt schal be done, pat pey anise wel, pat none couenaut t per in be made vnduli, ne

* The numbers given in the text refer to the notes which will be found on pp. 120–3.
† MS. *comenaut*.
The Reule of Susiris Menouresses enclosid

ani pinges pat towchip Simoni. And 3if it happe bi aventure pat any of pe kynrede or oper Frenedes make legacioun, denise or 3ifte of ani maner possessioun, gode, catelles or Inuyelles to any Suster, pat it schal be resseysuid bi pe Abbesse & dispendid in profite to Couent; & seche bi cause of whom pat giftes is done for, pat allegatis seche 5 in here necessitees be holpyn & releuyd to here ese goodli. And [Fol. 74v] pat pe ministres be wel ware, bope general & provincial, pat for none leue before grauntid ne after, bi none wye, for none coloure ne requeste, ne for any oper occasioun, none maner suster of pis religion bi here selve ne be any oper do resseyne or take any pinges whoche 10 is longyne to ani frere or to any Couent or to pe chirches or werkis of pe fersyde ordre. And also pat bi resoun of soche resseyte none pinges be procurid ne 3oun, & pat none pinge be sufrid to be resseyuid bi resoun of custume, ne bi any oper wye, For alle soche dedis we recconn*e corrucioun. And 3if any ministre do or suffer pe 15 contrarie, be he cursid in so mochel pat he may nat be assyoild 8 but ouli of pe pope & excepte peryl of deep, & 3if he be connicild [Fol. 74v] per of, pat pan he schal be deposed of pe office of Ministre perpetuei.

And more ouer we ordeyne pat pe Abbessis & alle oper whiche pe goodis of pe Abbey schal gader, resseyne, ministre, or despende, 20 eche 3ere pat pey schal 3eede aconute biore pe Ministre general or provincial & before ani wyse Sunstres I-chosin peyre bi pe Couent, of alle maner resseytis & expensis & of alle oper pinges in diew maner, & of alle pat whiche is owynge bi any persone, & of pe astate of pe Abbey. And we wole also pat in eche hous of pe ordre in pe 25 biginynge of pe Abbes, after pat sehe is in pelis possesionem of pe godes, & alle pinges whoche longyn to pe hous, pat wip inne ii monpis in pe present of pe Ministre general or provincial or | of [Fol. 75r] pe visitoure of pe house, & in presens of vi wise Susiris of pe same place be an Inuentari made of alle here godes & catallis meuabel & 30 not meuabel; & pis Inuentari schal be regestrid or dowblid in alle poyntis acordinge & enselid wip pe seesles of pe Abbesse & of pe Couent; and amongis oper pinges in pe fersyde register be conteynd what bestis pey haunyn, & what pey been worpe, & what corne pey haunyn, & what wynes, & alle oper maner store, & pe 35 dettis whoche pe hous owip, & pe dettis whoche been owynge to pe house, & to whom pey been bowndyn & pe names of here dettours, & what ornementis, & what vessel & couertours, & what oper

* MS. 'retoume'.
† Word rubbed out, but still legible.

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The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

soche thingis been in pe hous. And ȝit any Abbesse resseyne pe hous in gode estate & sche doop enpeyre hit, bi alienacioun or destruecioni of here godes or bi dette & foli obligacioun, ȝan be sche deposid of here astate, & ouer ȝat be sche punyschid as it longiþ to. And we wolde ȝat pe forseyde Inuentaries or regestris been redde opunli & playlnli in ȝe Chapitre before ȝe pe Conent; and after tymel pe ȝey been redde, one register dwelle wip pe Abbesse, & ȝat oper wip ȝe Conent, & ȝe transcrite wip ȝe Ministre general or prouincial.

And ȝit as we recordin oure blessid predecessoures pope boneface pe VIII *, ȝat after a constitucioun bi hem ordeynid vppon pis same religioun, vnder vertuouse rule, ȝat alle pe Sustris schulden dwelle & abide vnder stedefast & perpetuel closinge, & as we been efformid in some placis of ȝe ordre ȝat pis poynt is nat kepte holi. And perfor owre wille is, ȝat pis same constitucioun be kepte outerli. Wherfor we comawnde straytli to alle Ministris & Abbessis & to alle ȝo to whom soche kepinge of closure pertenip, ȝat ȝey alle doo here fervent diligence for to kepe truli, ȝat none Suster priuyli ne a pertli passe nat oyte bi none maner wey. But ȝif so be in case ȝat any of hem been sent & ordeynid for to edifie & ocupie a newe place of ȝe same religioun, or ellis ȝat it happe ȝat ani of hem be in so stronge maladie opunli, ȝat sche may nat dwelle ne abide per inne wip owte grete schuander or perille importabel.

And ouer ȝat we wolde ȝat pe none religioun ne seculere, of what astate or dignite ȝat he be, ȝat he enter nat to hem wipowte licence of ȝe Apostle, owtake ȝes persones to whom is gravantid conge, bi here rule & bi ordinaunce of owre predecessoures. And ouer ȝat we comawnde styglytli to ȝe Ministri, Custodis & wardeynis bi pis tenoure present, ȝat ȝey distreyne alle here freris to hem sogettis, ȝat in here comynges & abidings in ȝe Abbey ȝey gonerne hem vertuoussli in alle poyntis after ȝe rule of seynt Fraunceys & statu[t]es of holi popis† & oper holi † Freris of ȝe same ordre. And alle ȝoo whiche doo ȝe contrari schullin be punyshid & chastisid after ȝe ordinaunce in Ȝe same statutes assignydyd.

And also sauynge in ȝe same rule of ȝe Sustris made bi seynt

* The word 'pope' is rubbed out and a line drawn through 'boneface pe VIII' in MS.
† Words have been rubbed out, but are readable.
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

Clare is a clause conteynyd, pat in eche house per may be resseuyyd certayn his personis for to serue hem & pe whiche schal be con-[Fol. 77r] streynyd to alle maner observaunces of profession like as oper been wip inne, owtakne closure, &c., we neforpat, for pe honeste & gode fame of pe Sustris of pe ordre of seynt Clare or Menaressis or of seynt 5 Damyan, Oper weyes we ordeyne at pis time, & wolyn pat our ordinaunce endure endure perpetuelli, whiche is pis pat we commaundin straytli pat from pis time forpe, soche seruauntis pat now been or schullin been, pat pey been as servor & astraytli boundin to pe observaunce of profession as oper sustryn in pe same Abbey vnnder obedience, 10 & pat pey dwellin & abide perpetuelli vnnder closure. Neforpan pey schul move haue in eche house of soche religion certaines wommen but fewe, pe whiche schullen be of gode age & wel aynsiding & of [Fol. 77r] goode maneris & honeste in seculere habite; & soche schal entre nat in pe closure of pe Sustrres, but for profite of pe Abbey & for 15 grete necessite to pe Sustrres, after pat is enioynid to hem, & pat pey be pere of warnid. And 3if pe Abbesse take vppon here ageynes our comande ment for to goo owte of pe forseyde closure, or gene licence to any of pe Sustris, pat pan bi pe Ministre in pe counsayle of pe feres, The same Abbesse schal be renewid of here 20 gournaunce, & pe Sustris bi pe maner goynge owte of pe closure, but in case sufferablis, schullyn be made onables to alle offices of pe ordre, & neuerpelese pat pey been enioynid to do pe pennaunce assignyd & ordeynid in pe ordre | for greuouses trespassis. [Fol. 78r]

And also we defenden straytli pat pe Sustris of pe order, haue 25 none cellis in here dortoure, & 3if any per be, we senden & commaunden pat bi pe ministris or be visitoures in pe nest volatacioun pat pey do destroye vterli alle soche maner cellis; & 3if any oper be counsaylinge procuringe or helpinge pere ageynes, pat pey been chastised & punishid sadli by censure & sentence of holi chiche & that by 30oure autorite. And 3if any of pe forseyde Ministris or oper feres of pe same ordre presumyn now or in tyme comynge to make oper statutis or observaunces ageynes owre ordinanzae forseyde, we bi autorite papal* enioynyn & commaundyn pat soche constitucions been holden for nauhte & of none valu. And we wolen | & commaunden [Fol. 78r] straytly pat alle pe Ministris provincialis in alle here provinces do sende to alle Abbeyes of pe same ordre whoche been or schulde been vnnder eure & gournaunce of feres Menoures, The copies

* Word rubbed out, but readable.
pis ordinaunce enselid vnder pe sele of pe mynistre & of pe diuynituers, And pat pey been redde to pe sustris in here couentiis opynli & pat pe Ministris commaunden stray[†]li pat pis ordinaunce from pis time forpe be I-kepte entierli & holdin stedefactli wip owte any 5 variaunce or lettinge.

At alle pe houres pey schal first a litel ringe & make a suffisaunt restinge, so pat pe Sustris may make hem redi & assemble in pe chirche wip owte tariynge, & pan schal pe belle be rungyn wel lenger, & pis maner ringinge be vsid in alle times, safe | in dobel Festis. For pan we schal ringe iii tymes longe bope to euensonge & to matynnis, bi espaics suffisauntis. And at pe tierce twey tymes longe with couenabel espace, & after pe tierce iiiii time to pe masse couenabli. Eche day we schal ringe in time longe biforn pe biginninge of pe Imitatorie. On sundayes, at dobel Festis, & semydobel pey schal ringe, whan pe[y] byginne Te deum [audamus] tille soche a verse pleni sunt celi & terra. And on sundayes whan pey syngen pe ix respons, while Gloria patri is asingeinge, pan pey schal ringe til pe biginninge ageyne of pe response. Whan pey been at pe leuacioun, pey schal ringe a litel in pe masse couentiuel withowte more. At pe mete & at pe soper in alle times pey schal sowne pe smale belle, And after | til pe Sustren haue wasschin here hondis & assembel togyderes biforn pe freytoure, & after here refecceoun pey schalle smytli iii strokes on pe belle of pe freytoure. And after pis smytinge pe Sustris schullin rise & entre honestli in to pe Freytoure, & after pat pey schal sowne pe belle, bi pe space of seyinge of iiii Ave maries. And after pat pe Chauntresse in seyngen of pe sowninge schal seye Benedicite. And pe Couent schal answere in pe same tane. And pan pe Chauntresse schal bigynne pe verse, & alle pe couent schal sey after.

At Iube d'onne Sche pat schal rede fromme pe ende of pe Couent til sche come in myddis of pe Couent schal sey Iube d'onne & bowynge schal resseyne pe blessyng. And in pe end of pe mete, pe refreynousesse schal smyte | iii strokes on pe smale belle, & anone pe reder schal sey Tu autem. And pe Sustris at pe tabel schul seye Deo gratias. And after anone pe Somenerere schal sowne pe smale belle as longe til pe sustris been fro table, & in renges biforn, one
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Suster ageynis anoper. And þan þe chaunterere schal biginne þe verse & alle þe couent after, & atte Gloria patri Eche Suster schal turne ageynis oþer. Whan alle is done, þe almoynere schal turne here towarde þe ymage & sey Agimus tibi wip Benedictus deus in doe[nis]. And after þat þe Chaunterere schal bigynne for to go to þe 5 Mynstre wip Miserere mei, deus, & alle þe couent & þan þe quere on þat one syde schal take his verse, & þe Quere on þat oþer syde schal take anoper verse. And assone as þey | haue bowid hem to þe [Fol. 80r] ymage renerentli, þey schul go in to þe chirche singyng þe same note. And at þe entre of þe Quere þey schul bowe towarde þe awter, & 10 whan þey been entrid in here segis þey schul stonde one ageynes anoper, til þey sey Retribuere. And þanne alle schal bowen at Per dominum, & þanne turne hem to þe auer til me seyþ * Fidelium animæ. And whan þey haue answerid Amen, þey schul bowe & sey Pater nostra, 3if it be Fest, stondinge; 3if hit be Feri, 15 knelinge; And after in þe ende smyte þe forme & seye Deus det nobis es[vam] þ[aecem] and þe couent answeringe Amen.


And also at þe colacioun whiche schal be done ech day in þe freytoure, First þey schul sown þe belle in Monastre bi espacio aecuanant, & refectuonere schal sowne þe smale belle of þe Cloyster 25 be as longe time þat þe þe Sustris may be redili ensemble in þe Freytoure. And anone after þe Redere schal sey Inbe domine, &c., & resseuye blessinge bowinge, as hit is forseide. The benisoun is þis: Noctem quietam & finem perfectum concedat nobis omnipotens & misericors dominus. R Amen. And after þe firste or secunde 30 verse of þe lessoun þe Reder schal sey Benedicte wip | titel & poynt- [Fol. 81v] ing in tone of a lessoun. þe blessing is Potum ancellarum suavum, &c. In nomine patri[e] filii & spiritus s[ancti]. R Amen. And in þe ende of þe lessoun þe Reder schal sey Fratres, sobrii estate &c. Tu autem d[ominæ] &c. R Deo gratias. The sustris schul go to monastre 35 ordeyneþ seyinge, Miserere mei, deus wip owte note, & þan þey schul

* 'me' and the þ of 'seyþ' erased and 'þey sey' in later hand in margin.
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

inge pe grete belle in pe clogere for complin, whan it is rouge & seyd in pe chirche Adiutorium &c. & Pater noster knelinge. Pan pey schal sey Confiteor &c. & Misereatur &c. And as oftyn pat fastynge day is, Collacionn schal be done & seye & nomore. And in oper tyme pey schal come to Complyn as to oper hours of pe day. And pe time pat pey schal slepe bi day Fro Pasche vnto seint Croyse. . Sche pat hap redde at pe tabel, as sone as sche hap etin, sche schal sowne pe smale belle of pe freytour bi pe space of an Aue maria. And after anone pe Sustris schullin rest hem in pees & silençe & in pe time of slepinge none persone schal be wip in pe cloos but pe sustris oneli.

Whan pey schullin goo in to chapiter, pey schul sowne pe smale belle longeli, & anone wip owte tarinige pe Sustres schal assemble in pe Chapitre; & whan pe Sustris been ensembled at pe Monastre & pat pe last stroke is smytyn, pe ebdomedari make a tokin in smytinge pe forme wip here honde honestli, & anone pe sustris schul bowyn hem ʒif it be a Fest; but if it be a feri, knelinge & seyinge Pater noster. And after pat pe ebdomo[dc]ri make a syngyne,

as | hit is aboue seyde, for to make hem redi & pan sche schal bigynne pe office in here sege & here visage turnid to pe awter. And so schal alle pe sustris do til Gloria patri. And pan schal pe one syde of pe Quere turne hem ageynis pe oper in obeyinge. Alle in pis maner schal pey be whan pey seyn pes psalmes wip owte note in pe Quere. Alle sustrs schul stonde vpriht saue in pe psalmodiinge at pe seurice of dede, for pey schul sitte. Whan ¹¹ psalmis or ¹¹¹ been seyde vpon one antime, pe quer schal stande vp while pe antym ys bigonne excepte at prime & in tyme of Pasche & at Comlin. In alle oper times bope one & oper schul stonden & sitte chaungeabli sauing at Laude d[omini] de celis, Quicunque vult, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, & Magnificat, Wher pey schuollen alwey stonde, wheper pey rede or singe, & an oper time, at pe office of our ladi, whan it is seyde wip owte note. But at pe lessons whan pey schul sey psalmodi, pan pey schul sey distinctly & atrete, & also whan pey haue seyde & endid on pe one syde pe verse til time pat pe oper syde schal bigynne pe oper verse, & specialli in pe offices of our ladi & of pe dede. Whan pey syngye, pat pey make none treme ne poyn of metre, but pat pey make pause eneuli & auenauntli. For to ʒeue pe antemes & for to tune pe psalmis
per schul be ii chaunteres-is, one in pat one syde & one in pat oper side in eche quere ordynid & assignid, whiche schullen | 3emin pe [Fol. 83v] antemis & entune pe psalmis eche on here syde, & pe chauntressse whiche schal 5ene pe anteme schal entune pe psalms. And a anteme schal neuer be bigonne of tweyne before pe psalme. Pe 5 lessonis schellen be redde in myddes of pe quere; pe responses bop bi day & bi nihte schul be songoun sittinge in here seges, like as antemis been. Whan pat * Iube domne riht in middis of pe quere, sche schal obey to pe awter for to resseyue pe benysoun, & pe Ebdomodari schal sey pe benisons sittinge, after time pat sche is 10 sette. But pe benisons of pe Gospellis sche schal enuer sey boop bi day & be nihte & nat chaunge here voyse, but in one poynt, & nameli benisons chaungan neuer for festis ne for feri. The absolutions 19, as Exaudi, domine, Ipsius pietas & A vinculis, alle wey [Fol. 84r] schullen be seyde in here places & in dayes ferialis pe one after pe 15 oper, alle powe pat a Gospel be seyde. The benisons 20 been Evangelica loccio &c., & pe oper II schul alle wey be seyde whan pe Gospel is seyde, be it lest, be it feri. The absolutions schullin be seyde in pe tune of chapitres, pe benisons in pe tune of lessonis. And also pe orisouns at pe houres of pe day, of prime, of mydday, 20 & of none, schul be determinyd vnder pe tune of chapiteris; & pe Ebdomodari whiche schal sey pe orisoun schal sey Domine exaudi & Benedictamus domino in pe same tune, & pey schul answere Deo gratias, holdinge wppe. And pe orisons whiche schullen be seyde at euynsonge & atte matyns pey schul be seyde vnder pe 25 same tune as orisouns | at masse solemnli. And in pe tyme of entre- [Fol. 84v] dite general 21 pe Sustrin schul sey alle maner offices distinctly & sympli wp owte note. Whan pe orisoun is seyde in ferial day, hit schal be seyde knelinge til per dominum & so schal pe orisouns of owre ladi & of seynt Francesse, but pe orisoun after preciosa schal 30 be seyde at alle tymis like as pe Pater noster schal be seyde. At pe bigynninge of houres, & in pe ende whan pe pater noster ys seyde boop before lessonis, & at pe blessinge of pe tabel, & whan graces schul be seyde in pe Freytour, pey schul nat knelin, & at pe preces of prime & of complyn & at pe suffragis of euensonge & 35 matynnis, whoche been seyde in lowe & pe orisons 22 whiche been songoun schul be songoun (schal be seyde) stondinge; & whan pe preface 23 is seyde at masse, pey | schul knelyn at pe orisoun til [Fol. 85r] Dominus vobiscum, be it Feest or feri, & nat biforne & so for to

* Some words must be supplied here, e.g. ‘sche seyb’.
stonde til *Per dominum*. And also after *pat pe Offertorie*\(^\text{24}\) is songoun til *orate, frates*, *pe sustres schul turne hem riht towarde pe awter*. And *[whan] Orate* is seyde, *pey schul knelin til *Per omnia, & *panne rise yppe & bowe hem towarde pe awter* til *Sanctus, & pan pe one syde of* pe *Quere agaynes* *pe oper & singe Sanctus, & after *pat for to knelin duringe* *pe leuacioun of pe bodi of ourlorde Ilies criste, & *pan rise & worship* demowtli on knees towarde pe awter, & *pey schul dwelle grenelinge*\(^\text{25}\) til *Per omnia* at *Pax domini*. And whan *Agnas dei* is seyde, *[pey] schal lye greueninge til *pe Post con[munions]*.\(^\text{26}\) And in festivale dayes & Festis of ix lessons

\[\text{[Fol. 85r]}\]

& in masses of *Requiem* whoche been songyn in soche Festis, *pey schul nat make prosternacioun whan *Sanctus* is in seyninge, til *pe* leuacioun, but after *pe leuacioun *pey schul make prosternacion til *Per omnia* of *pe* *Pater noster*. And of masse of *Requiem* for bodi present, of whom vigilys were done bi note in a Ferial day, *pey schal do as in a festival day & so schul pey doo at masse of pe holi goste, of oure ladi, of seint Francses, and in massis for anniurersiis, & of oper seintis; & in pis massis of seyntis *pey schal sey Kyrie, Sanctus & agnas*, as of Festival dayes, *pow it be feri*. Item

\[\text{[Fol. 86r]}\]

*pey schul knelin in ferial dayes at Salue, sancta parens, & at Veni sancte spiritus, & in *pe* massis of *pe* holi goste & of oure ladi, & in lentyn at *pe* verse of *pe* tracte,\(^\text{27}\) *Adiuna nos deus salutaris noster* & at *Salue regina & Ave regina*, & at *pe* bigyn[ninge of *pe* verse O eorux, aue, spes unica &c.* And in eche time & place *pat pey knelin in ferial dayes, pey schul knelyn in festival dayes, except at preces*\(^\text{28}\) of prime & of complyn. And also *pat pe sustris been riht turnid eche agaynis oper*. In *pe masse whan *pe Offertori is songoun, pey schulle turne hem towarde *pe* awter, & after *pe Sanctus* also *pat pey been vprilht, & at alle times *pat any is souge in comune*. Item alle times *pat Gloria patri* is seyde, *pey schul bowe hem lowli, & at Te *devum laudamus, whan *Te* oryo quaequam* is seyde, & at *Credo* whan *Homo factus est, & at Gloria in excelsis, whan suscipe deprecationem is seyde, & in *pe* endis of ymphin, & whan *pe* last verse same one of Benedicto*\(^\text{29}\) is seyde. Item *pe* benisoun after complin *schal be seyde bfore *pe* anteme & after *pe* anteme *pey schul sey Fidelix*. Item *Te devum & Credo* schal be songoun, as it was ordeynid at *pe* chapitre general. Item *pey may singe som sequence*\(^\text{30}\) bi ordinancc general, as *pe* ordinal makip mencionn except at *pe* masse of holi goste.
In lentoun pey schul sey pe Intrat *Dum sanctificatus nos fuero* Item pe antemes *Lux orta est insto* And to oper soche lyke instede of *In eternum* For *Alleluia*, whan one *Alleluia* ys seyde. And also *Rex gloriæ* & soche like may be songin some time for a Fest solemnne in pe note of *Eterna lux.* Oper ymnys 5 schallin be souge in alle times after pe ordinal, whoche schal nat be chaungid for Auent ne for any Fest ne for lentoun. Item pey schul nat lenyn for masse of pe holi gost, or of oure ladi, ne for | any *[Fol. 87v]* oper masse, but for pe masse of pe ordinari schal be souge in his place & at pe riht hour. Inuitatoriis & alle oper verses & 10 *benedicite* schul be seyde in alle times of one Suster in here sege in Festis of ix lessons & of iii lessons, & zif it be dubbil fest or half dobel, ii Sustris schul sey pe verse bifor pe awter. And in feriis bitwix paske & pentecostec, *Alleluia* in pe masse schal be seyde alwey wip ii Sustres. And in festis of ix [e]c[ions] & in sondayes, 15 Inuitatori & pe last Respons & *Alleluia* in pe masse schal alle wey be souge of ii sustris at pe lectroun in myddes of pe Quere. In Festis half doweble pe orison alwey schal be seyde in myddis of pe Quere at pe first cuynsonge & at pe secunde & at pe matyns & in pe III & VI | Respons & at pe grayel of pe masse & of ii sustris & *[Fol. 87v]* pe smale verset, but zif pe chapitre at pe secunde cuynsonge be chaungid. For a feste simple pan be it done as pe may godeli, & zif it may be atte cuynsonge & at matyns pat per be had an cierge or a chaundel of wexe & especialli in half dowbel festis & on sondayes. Peze been pe half dobel Festis.31 Seint lucy, seint 25 Nicholas, pe fest of Innocentis, of seint Thomas of Caunterbiri, pe vtas of pe Epiphanie, pe fest of seint Anneys, & of seint Agase, pe fest of pe holicrosse, pe apparicioun of michel, pe octaues of pe ascencioun & of seint Antony, & of seint John Baptist, pe fest of seint Marie magdalene, pe translacioun of seynt thomas, & pe fest 30 of seynt | Margare, pe vtas of seint laurence, & of seynt lowis, & pe *[Fol. 88]* fest of pe decollacioun of seint Iohn, pe vtas of pe Natuïte of oure ladi, the fest of seint Martin, pe fest of seynt Elizabep, & of seynt Ceele, & of seynt katerin, & pe vtas of corporis cristi.

In festis douce dobles,32 pe Abbes or sche whiche schal do pe 35 office in pe ende of pe thrid stroke, hop of pe one cuynsonge & of pe oper 33 & of Matyns, schal go to pe lectroun in myddis of pe Quere. And pere ii sustris 30gest apparylid schullen holde ech of hem a cierge in here honde. pe one in pe riht syde, & pe

* So the MS. it should be *Dum sanctificatus fuero in cohib.*
The Revue of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

oper in pe lefte syde, & pe prid schal holde a censer ful of fyre; & as sone pat sche schal see a token made for to bigynne pe office, [Fol. 88r] pat sche turne here bifore here whoche schal bigyne | pe office & anone encense III times bifor pat pe signe be made, pean turne here 5 towarde pe awter, And pe Quere pe one syde agaynes pe oper, whan pe Pater noster is seyde. Pan anoer tyme schal pe signe be made & alle pe sustris schul ryse up & stonde riht towarde pe awter at Deus in adiutorium & singe also, and whan pey come to Gloria patri, alle schul bowe, pe one Quere agaynes pe other. Whan pey come to Sicut erat, sche whoche biganne pe office returne here to here syge, & pan pe cierges schullyn be I-sette bifore pe awter ordeynli. The chaunteresses schul stonde in middis of pe quere & bigynne to gyder alle pat longip to here office. Sche whoche dope pe Office schal biginne alle pe antemes of Magnificat & benedictus [Fol. 89r] & pe | Invitatori & Benedictus schal be seyd of III, & pe bigynnings of pe Respons of matyns & alle pe smale Responses at alle pe houres schullen be seyde of II in myddes of pe quere bifore pe awter. Whan pey encense in pe quere, 3if it be a dowbel fest, pey schul first encense here whoche doop pe office, And after pe chaunteresse in myddes of pe quere, & pan pey schal encense ech syde of pe quere, & pan pey schal encense pe ceroferessis II * times of III times at pe moste. In pis maner pey schul yeue pe pees. Whan it is dowbel Feste or encense, pey schul biginne towarde pe semennere & perfor to gyffe of pe pees. Whan pey schal sey pe orison, hit be seyde in myddis of pe Quere. Sche whoche doop pe office & oper wip cierges schullin be vprihnt as longe pat pe orison [Fol. 89r] is aseyinge, & pe ebdomodarie schal | goo to here seege & sey pere Fidelium.

This been pe Festis doubles. Noel, Fest of seynt Stephen, seynt Iohn, pe Circumsicioun, pe Epiphanie, pe fest of conversioun of seynt poule, pe purificacioun, & alle pe festis of oure ladi, pe fest of seynt antoun, & his translacion, Cathedra sancti petri, pe Fest of seint Mathee, of seynt Gregori, of seynt Benet, Pasch wip II dayes after, pe Fest of seynt Marke, pe fest of pe ascencioun, & of Pentecoste wip II dayes after, & of pe blessid Trinite, & of Corpus cristi, & * MS. 'III times or II times at pe moste'.
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

pe Fest of seint Fraunces, & pe vtas of seynt barnabe, & seynt Iohn Baptiste, of seint Petir & Paule, & pe commemoracion of seynt paule, pe vtas of seynt Petir & seynt paule, of seynt Iames, & ad unica sancti petri*, of seynt laurence, of seint Clare, & pe vtas of owre ladi, & pe fest of seint lowis bisschop, of seint [Fol. 90'] barth[olem]na, of augustyn doctor, of seint Mathew, of seint Misshel, of seint Ierome, of seint lake, of seynt symon & seynt Inde, pe Fest of alle halwyn, pe translacioun of seynt lowis, pe fest of dediciacioun, of seynt andrew.

In alle þese festis þey schal haue IIII ciergis at masse, at euinsonge, & at matyns, II at þe aouter & II IO at þe chandelabris. In alle oper times þey schal haue II ciergis.

At masse, whan þat þey syngin in þe quere, Comunly þey one syde of þe quere schale turne hem to þe oper side, but at þe chapitres towarde þe aouter, & at þe orisoun whan þey bowen hem or makyn prostracioun & whan þey offertori is seyde, þey schul turne hem 15 towarde þe aouter til Sanctus, whan þey enclene hem or make prostracioun. At orisoun, be it at masse or | houres, þey schul [Fol. 90'] stonde vp whan Per dominum ys in seyinge & turne towarde þe aouter til amen ys seyde. Whan one suster seyp þe Inuitatori or biginnip an anteme or seyp a schort Response or Benedictus, sche 20 schal turne here to þe aouter, & þe [syde] of þe Quere ageynis þe oper. Whan þey sey Flectamus ge[ma], leuate, þey schullin turne hem to þe aouter after leuate til þe ende of þe orisoun. At alle þe orisoun þey schal do so, same at þat whan þey seyp Dominus nobiscum, at þe whiche þey schal knelin til Per dominum. At 25 alle þe orisoun of þe masse & of houres þey schul turne to þe autter, & at þe orisoun after Asperges.25

Item whan masse of þe feri ys seyde in a Festiuall day, alle maner obseruauns schal be kept as in a feri. Item whan þe office of owre ladi is seyde, þey schal | haue a cierge or a chaundel 3if it [Fol. 91'] may be. Item in þe ende of alle þe houres þey schul sey Fidelium anime &c. & pater noster, 3if þere schal nat be bigune a masse or a houre anone after, & to make a signe wip prosternacioun & sey dominus det u[obis] s[uum] 2[acem], but 3if it be after Complyn or after matyns, & þe sustris schul answere Amen. Whan þey sey 35 many houres to gederis 36 wip in þe couent or owte, þey schal sey Fidelium after eche houre & pater noster, & anone after bygyne anoþer houre. Whan þey haþe L-smyten þe forme for to enclene or

* MS. 'scé petre'.
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

for to rise vp, pey schul sey Fidelium anime &c. & when pey haue seyde pe pater noster, pey schal seye Dominus det &c.

In festis [of] IX l[e][c][ions] II Sustris schul sey Alleluia at pe lectroun zif it be to sey; zif pe trachte be louge, hit may [be] songen of IIII or of VI, pe one after | o[er]. In festis half doubles & in sondayes II sustris schul saye pe Grayel & III Alleluia & mo zif it lyke for to do. When pey syngip Alleluia in Ferialles dayes at pe first tyne wip owte endyng of pe newme after pe verse, be it songyn til pe ful ende of pe newme. And when pey syngip II Alleluia, as in tyne of pasche, from pe vta of pasche til pe vta of Pentecost, pey schal singe pe firste Alleluia alle & his verse & it schal nat be bygonne ageyne bifor his verse ne after. Pe secunde Alleluia schal be bigunne bifo pe verse & after.

The sustris schul kepin hem from goynge & comyng custumabli 15 forwpe pe Quere but because of neces site grete.

The maner for to hoselin pe sustris in massis conuentuales: first [Fol. 92r] pey schul sey her confessor in here | places kneelinge lowliche, & when pe preest hap assoylid hem beinge in here places, Eche of hem wip lowe voys ones schal sey Non sum digna &c. And pan 20 anone II sustris schulle be redi for to holdin a towayle bifo pe preest. And pe frereis whoche schal hosel hem, schal first hosel pe ministressis of pe awter, & after pat hem of pe Quere II & II to gydris of pe syde of pe quere, ordeynli alle with deuocioun & kneelinge & pan for to drinke of pe chalis, and after pat for to 25 returne in here places agayne.

The Recite of Sustris Menouresses encloisid


Whan pey etip but ones on pe day, pey schul sey benisoun & graces as at soper wip pe psalme Miserere mei deus. This ordinaunce of pe Benysoun & of graces schal be kept in all times except in festis whoche hap propre.


On schere p[ursday| Absolute* wip owte note & wip more se[y[i]nge 30 at pe mete Cristus factus est pro nobis [bodiers] usque ad mortem,

* MS. 'Absoluium'.
The Reule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

& than schal be seyde Pater noster lowli & wiþ owte ani more blese þe tabel, & wiþ [avo] Tude ñ[omne] & wiþ owte Tu ø[utem]. And whan þe lesson is redde & endid, & after þat þey hap smetyn vpþon þe tabel, as it is vsid at þe lessons of þe dede, þan þey schul sey as bifonne cristus factus est ðe. psalme Miserece wiþ owte Gloria patri, but þe Pater noster alle lowe; & after wiþ owte seyinge Oremus, Respcio, quesvamus domine ðe. & wiþ owte pro-nunsinge Qui tecum & Fidelium, but after þe orisoun þe schul seye Pater noster & nat sey Dominus det nobis.


psalme Confitemini.


The auct of oure lorde alwey schal bigynne on þe sunday bitwix þe v. kal. of December & þe III. Nones of december, & also general rule þat þe IIII times namyd ymber days schul be holdyn þe first wednesday after þe Fest of seynt lucie & þe First sunday of clene lent & in pentecoste wike & after þe day of exaltacioun of þe holi Croys.
The Reve of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

And also a general rule, if any fest of any apostle or evangellist or of seynt michel | of or of pe holi Croys, or any oper fest whoche hap [Fol. 95v] proper respons, or any other fest generalli double fal on a sonda, pe as none estori 45 shal be first entrid, pe offise shal be seyde of pe fest, & memori of pe sonda, at pe first & secunde euynsonge 5 & at matyns & at masse; & pe ix lessoun schal be of pe sonda. And whan a stori schulde be first entrid & may nat be I-putte ouer vnto anoper sonda, pe fest so fallinge schal be deferrid til monady nexst after, & 3if pe stori whoche schulde be songyn in pat same sonda be deferrid in to pe nexst sonda after, pan pe fest shal be 10 songen in pat sonda wiþ a memori of pe sonda, except pe fest of alle halwyn. But oper festes, whoche be nat doble, schul be deferrid til after, as it is forseyde. What maner festis of ix lessonis oper pan | pe forseyde comyn on pe sonda schullyn be [Fol. 95v] deferrid vnto monady, except pe fest of seynt Thomas Caunterbiri, 15 & pe festis of seynt Siluester; 44 of seynt leon, & seynt Eustache; & 3if in pe same Monday be anoper fest of ix lessons, hit schal be deferrid til tiewesday nexst after, & so schullin oper festis be seruid pat fallyn on oper dayes, til pey been seruid, But 3if it be a Fest of apostel or Euangelliste or anoper feste whoche hap 20 propre Respons or ani oper fest double generalli. And soche simple festis of ix lessons whoche may nat be seruid for soche maner festis bforseyde been seruid on pe morwe after. Also festis solenmis in oper londes & places schullyn be seruyn in pe same dayes whiche pey fallin on. For pe courte of Rome doop in pe same maner. Whan many festis | of ix lessons simple fallin [Fol. 96r] continuell togyder ech fest after oper, at pe secunde euynsonge of pe first feste, pey schalle change pe chapitre of pe fest folwinge; but 3if* pe fest whoche comyp after fallip on oper of whom pey makep solenpne memorie, at pe first euynsonge after pe first 30 orisoun, per schal be seyde a memorie of pat same fest, & after pat a memorie of pe fest biforme. And pis is for to understonde, pat festis simples or lasse be pe festis whoche be nat dowblis, ne of pe holi Croys, ne of pe awngelis, ne of pe apostlis, ne of pe Euangellistis, ne festis solenpnis in some londis & some placis. Eche 35 vtas pat is nat double is Iugid for a fest simple or lasse, excepte pe vtas of pe Epiphancie. Eche fest of ix lessons which is seruid on | Saterday, be it of pe apostlis or oper, whoche be nat doubles [Fol. 96v] * MS. adds 'in'.

1
except pe fest of Innocentis, pey schul change at pe chapitre of pe sonday or of pe fest or of pe vtas; wherfor pat pe seruise of sonday is lefte, & pey schul make memori of pe fest biforme, but 3if it be a dobel fest, pey schul make only memori of pe sonday. 5 And whan any fest is seruid on pe sonday, pey schal nat change at pe chapitre at pe secunde euynsonge, but 3if it be soche a fest on pe monday of whoche pe seruise schal be seyde on pe sonday, 3if it falle per vppon. Of a fest pat is nat doubl whoche is seruid on pe monday, at euynsonge of pe sonday pey schul make memori per of wip owte more, 3if it be nat a fest of apostle, or of euangeliste, or anoper fest whoche hap propre Respons, | or a fest solempne generali in some londis & in some placis; For soche maner of festis, pey schal change pe chapitre at euynsonge, & make memori of pe sonday. At pe secunde euynsonges of festis doublis of pe holi Croys, of angelis, of apostlis, of euangelistis, of festis solempnis generali in some londes & in some places, pey schul make memori oneli of pe feste folwynge on pe morwe, 3if it be nat a fest double or anoper feste whiche is equypollent, pat is for to understonde, a fest of pe same dignite, or pe vtas of a fest when pey chawngh at pe chapitre of pe fest folwinge; except pe festis whoche hauen vtas, whoche Festis comyn wip in pe vtas of Noel, pe whoche hanyn secunde euynsonges; except pe feste of translacioun of seynt Fraunceys, of whom is made memori when it fallip in pe vigillis of assencioun, or Pentecost, but 3if pe seyde Fest Translacioun of seynt Fraunceesse come on pe morwe of Ascensioun, pey memori schal be seyde of pe translacioun of seynt Fraunceys, But 3if so be pat in som place pe chirche of pe freris be halwid in pe name of seynt Fraunceys; For in soche places, & in soche chirchis pe euynsonge schal be seyde of seynt Fraunceys & memorie of pe Ascensioun. And it is for to knowe pat in pe vigil of a double fest, pe euynsonge schal be seyde of pe dobel fest, & 3if in pe same day be a fest nat dobel or sonday neyper of pe one ne of pe oper schal be made memori except in lentyn & in aduent, for in pe times memori schal be made of pe sonday. And it is for to knowe pat at alle double Festis, pe | antemys schullyn be doublid at euynsonge & matyns wip owte more. Also 3if a fest of ix lessons come wipin any vtas wipin which vtas pey seyn of pe Fest pat so fallin, pe euynsonge schal be seyde fro pe chapitre forpe of pe Fest, whiche so fallip, but 3if so be pat pe fest come on a monady or on
for pope, at befest of beynsonge be schole of Magnificat pe of Also After in note. pe have first a commemoration of 5 pe vses and memoria of pe fest. And 3if pe fest come on a sonday, hit schale be deferrid 3if it haue none propre Respons, except pe fest of seynt leon pope, whoche schale nat be deferrid. And hit is [Fol. 98r] for to vnderstonde pat in alle times pat wip inne any vtas, festis been seruyd cuermore at euynsonge and matyns, pe last memorie schal to be seyde of pe vtas. And hit is for to know pat wip inne vtases alwey pey schal sey at Magnificat pe antym of pe secunde euynsonge of pe Fest. But at pe first euynsonge of pe vtas pey schal sey at Magnificat pe antempe uppone Magnificat in pe vigile of pe feste. Also 3if a fest of III lessons come on pe daye folwinge after pe fest 15 of IX lessons, at pe secunde euynsonge of pe fest [of] IX lessons, pey schul make memoria of pe fest of III lessons. But 3if per be none fest on pe daye whoche comyp before pe day in whoche is pe fest of III lessons, pey schal chaunge at pe chapitre at euynsonge, like as [Fol. 99r] of a fest of IX lessons. The Inuitatori schal be songen feriali 20 pe ympuis of pe fest at pe nocturne schullin be songyn wip his note. The psalmis feriallis wip here antemes, pe versetis and alle oper pinges schul be seyde of pe festis as of a fest of IX lessons. After None seyde pey schal riht nauht do, but like of festis of commemoracions. 3if it happe a fest of IX lessons to be differrid to 25 a day of pe fest of III lessons, or pat a fest of III lessons come on a sonday of pe fest of III lessons, memori onli schal be made at pe first euynsonge and matyns and at masse and at pe IX lesson 3if it haue propre, 3if it haue none propre legende, pe IX lesson schal nat be of pe fest of III lessons. Also 3if a fest of whom pey [Fol. 99r] makip onli a memori come on a sonday, of pe same feste schal be made memoria in pe masse and at pe firste euynsonge and matyns in versicle and anteme and orison and in pe laste lesson, 3if it haue propre legende. And 3if it so be pat in pe sonday, pey sey of a fest of IX lessons and memoria made of pe sonday, pan pe last 35 lesson schal be of pe Omelie of pe sonday, and pe propre legende of pe feste of commemoration schal be lefte and pe memoria of pe sonday schal be made bifoire pe memori of pe feste of commemoration. Also in festis whoche been seruyd in lentyn, alwey memori schal be
made of pe ferie at euynsonge & at matyns & pe last lesson, 3if it have an omeli. At pe festis whiche comyn in aduent, pey schal do in pe same maner, except pe laste lesson, 3if pe fest come nat in any | of pe ymbre dayes. In none oper tyme pey schal nat make any | memorie of a ferie in pe day of a fest. 3if any fest hath propre stori & is nat entier, but is fullfillid of pe commune sanctorum,* pey schal bygynne at pe secunde Respons. And generali alle times pat pey make none ping of properte of a fest, pey schul make recours of pe commune sanctorum. We make vtas of Noel, & III dayes nexst after Epiphanie, of pasche, of Ascencioun, of Pente-
coste, of seynt Antonye, of Corpus cristi, of Natiuite of seynt
Iohn Baptiste, of seynt peter & poule, of seynt laurence, of seynt
Clare, of pe Assumpcioun of owre ladi, of seynt lowis, of pe Natiuite
of owre ladi, & of seynt Fraunceys. Hit is for to ynderstonde
pat Te devun laudamus schal be seyde anone after pe laste lesson
[Fol. 100v] from pasche | til pe vtas of pentecost, as wel in feriis as in festis,
& in alle times pat pey redip IX lessons, except pe sondayes fro pe
bigynnynge of auent til Noel & from septuagesme to pasche & in
day of Innocentis, 3if it come nat on a sonday. And also it is for
20 to know pat whan pey redip nat IX lessons, pey schal rede III
lessons & singe III responsis, except from pe day of pasche til pe
Ascencioun & bi pe vtas of pentecoste & in pis pey singip II responsis,
alle pou pat III lessons be redde.
And also it is for to know pat Gloria patri is alwey seyde at pe
25 III respons, & at pe VI & at pe IX or last, except from pe sonday
of pe passioun til pasche But in pis time pey schal sey Gloria patri
in Festis whiche comyn perce, And in pe office [of] pe blessid virgin |
[Fol. 101r] marie, owre swete ladi. And also it ys for to know pat in alle
festis pe antemis of pe laades schullin be seyde at prime, at tierce,
30 at mydday, at none, bi order; But evermore pe III antem is
lefte; & also pey schal sey hem at euynsonge, but 3if per be oper
assignid. And it is for to know also pat in alle sondayis & alle
festis of IX lessons & of III lessons, pe orisonn whiche is seyde at pe
first euynsonge schal be seyde at alle oper houris except at prime
35 & at complin & at euynsonges in lentyn, & in pe quarter temps of
pe aduent whar pey singip pe grete antymes, 46 pat is to ynder-
stonde, O sapiencia & oper.

This gode werke is ful complete blessid be pe holi Trinity, whiche
be his grace ever gouerne pis holi ordre in prestie churite. Amen.

* MS. adds ' &.'
NOTES ON THE RULE OF SUSTRIS MENOURESSES

1 Urban. This is Urban IV (James Pantéléon, Patriarch of Jerusalem). Elected August 1261, died October 1264.
2 Altsunder. This is Alexander IV (Raynaldo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia). Elected December 1254, died May 1261.
3 Kings of France. This is S. Louis, otherwise known as Louis IX of France. He was brother of Bl. Isabella, who founded the monastery of Longchamp.
4 In owre monestre. Latin 'in vestro Monasterio'.
5 And beene clepid bi pe name of sustris enclosid. Latin 'cum Sororum inclusarum vocabulo nuncupandam concessit'.
6 And werevpon. Latin 'Porro ex parte dicti Regis Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut dictain Regulam in aliquibus capitulis corrigi facientes nominationis ejus Minorum vocabulum adjicere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur'.
7 Symon Deutre. Latin 'Simonem tituli Sanctae Ceciliae Cardinalem'. This is Simon de Bria, afterwards Martin IV, elected February 1281. Died March 1285.
8 So that it was done as it was in name. Latin 'ut sicut re, ita et nomine', 
9 We ordeynid & establissin. Latin 'duximus statuendum'.
10 But jif so be. . . forseyde. The construction is here broken by misunderstanding of the Latin, 'Nisi de licentia, &c. . . ad aliquem locum ejusdem Religionis aliquae transmittantur: quibus ad ipsum Monasterium, a quo transmissae fuerint, reverti liceat &c.'
11 Fole simplesse. Latin 'fatus simplicitate'.
12 & also bi any . . . resonable. Misunderstanding of Latin, 'nisi forte cum aliqua interdum causa valde rationabili exigente alciuli fuerit de consilio discretarum Sororum loci per prætactos Ministros, vel ipsorum aliquem dispensandum'.
13 To myne ladi seint Clare. This is an addition peculiar to the English version and without anything to correspond to it in the Bull.
14 Of myne lorde þe apostle Boneface. The Bull of Urban IV reads 'regulam a Domino Alexandro Papa IV Ordini nostro concessam, prout a Domino Urbano Papa IV est correcta, et approbata'. See also Introduction, p. 69–71.
15 þey schal be hosid & schoed beringe none cordis & they schulle not go alone. Latin 'Soleas autem nunquam deferant, neque chordam'.
16 Resticote. Latin 'superiores tunicae'.
17 Whiche schall be made vilp corionste. Latin 'nullatenus curiosam'.
18 From þe resurrexionn . . . ladi, i. e. from Easter until September 8.
Notes on the Rule of the Sustris Menouresses

19 xx Pater noster. In Latin Bull XXIV.
20 So flet oure lorde . . . al pinges. Latin 'cui [i.e. spirit of prayer] se debet Sponsa Christi mancipare'.
21 Fest of seint Francies, i.e. October 4.
22 Fest of alle Halwyn, i.e. Allhallows, November 1.
23 Over iii times bi be yer. Latin 'ne ultra quam sex vicibus'.
24 Be assigned . . . of be ordre. Latin 'sine morae dispensabo a suo regimine per Ministrum, seu per Visitatores Ordinis absolutur'.
25 This grate of yren . . . clothe. The cloth hangs within the grating. Latin 'Hujusmodi siquidem cratibus ferreis niger pannus interius apponatur'.
26 Nat ani persone, what oer he be, for to entre. In the early days of the Order, the Friars Minor were allowed to visit the Houses of Clarisses, but the Bull of Quo elongati published in 1290 forbade them to do so without a special licence from the Pope.
27 be kyngge in whoche Reine, &c. Latin 'rege Franciae'.
28 Ano per predate, &c. The translation has run two sentences into one. Alius autem Praefatus, cui forte aliquando intrare a Summo Pontifice sit concessum, duobus honestis sociis sit contentus. Quod si forte pro beneficione . . . alicui Episcopo concessum fuerit . . . tribus aut quatuor sociis sit contentus.'
29 A ladder, whoche . . . before iii of be sustri. Latin 'Porta . . . ad quam per scalam ligneam ascendatur, quae catena ferrea elevatur in sero; et cum clavibus firmetur et manu de die lucescente tribus praeistentibus deponatur'.
30 Claungit. Possibly a mistake for 'chargid'.
31 The visitoure whiche wole goo ferfer in his visitacionu. Latin 'visitator ad visitationem procedens, &c.'
32 Whan put he visitip . . . seele. Latin 'Cum autem visitatur aliqua soror, extra Capitolum cumonetur. Similiter Abbatisa resignato sigillo, &c.'
33 Au ower alle pinges. This passage is hopelessly corrupt. Latin 'Caveant autem Sorores et considerent diligentem praecipue in visitatione Sororum, ut nihil aliquid, quam amor Divinus, et suarum Sororum correctio cas moveat al loquentem. Illis autem, quae nonerint recognoscere culpam, quae ipsis impingitur, si excusare se voluerint, praesertim si gravia fuerint, audientia non negetur.'
34 And wolyn & monestyn. Text corrupt. Latin 'Volumus et attente monemus, ut ea, quae secundum vitae suae formam et regularem observantiam statuenda fuerint, et emendum, publice, ac privativum Sorores, sicut melius videbitur faciendum, Visitatorii diligentius suggesterent; cui per obedientiam teneantur in iis, quae ad officium suum pertinent, infra praetextum tempus firmiter obedire'.
35 be office who ys longynge to be Abbesse. Latin 'qua ad Abbatissae officium pertinent'.
36 The monestry and [MS. whoche] be visitoures, &c. Latin 'Minister autem et Visitation'. Note singular converted into plural in English version. The same occurs below (p. 96, l. 4) 'to be visitours'.
37 Procuratorum. The procurators were first formally instituted by the Bull of Innocent IV of August 6, 1247, Cum omnis. (Sbar. i. 452.)
38 Ad haece licet vobis in communi reditibus et possessiones recipere et habere,
Notes on the Rule of the Sustris Monouresses

ac ea libere retinere. Pro quibus possessionibus modo dicto pertractandis Procurator unus prudens pariter et fidelis in singolis Monasteriis vestri ordinis habeatur, quandocumque expedire videbitur, qui per visitatorem constitui et amoveri debet, sicut viderit expedire.

But, as Père Olier points out, the Procurators can be shown to have existed at a much earlier date, even in connexion with S. Clare's House at San Damiano.

58 Nothing in English to correspond to Latin: 'Volumus etiam et attente monemus, ne aliquid eis praeципiant, seu praeципiatur sine magna utilitate et valde evidentis et manifesta necessitate.'

59 *Jouin at vies.* Latin 'Urbem Veterem' (Orvieto).

40 *This is rule . . . perpetually for to endure. Amen.* This paragraph is peculiar to the English version. There is nothing in the Latin Bull to correspond to it.
NOTES ON APPENDIX TO RULE

[The following Notes do not aim at commenting on or explaining the multitude of liturgical practices mentioned in this Appendix. Much of the material cannot be explained by separate notes. For example, the regulations as to the transference of Feasts cannot possibly be explained without setting out the Rubrics in the Roman Breviary, which deal fully with them. The author has made much use in these notes of Charles Walker’s Ritual, ‘The Reason Why’ (1908), and Addis and Arnold, Catholic Directory (1903); and he has received valuable assistance from the Rev. Dr. Francis Aveling.]

1 Seynt damian. The Clarisses were frequently known as ‘Damianites’ or ‘of Saint Damian’, because the mother-house of the Order was that of San Damiano, where S. Clare was placed by S. Francis about a year after her profession and where she lived until her death in 1253.

2 So fat they may of here goodes conceanbli be sustayned. These regulations show a very marked departure from the ideals of S. Francis and S. Clare. Not only were the sisters to hold possessions, a thing quite repugnant to the principles which dominated S. Clare, but the number in any particular convent was to be determined having regard to the goods available for their support.

3 He may nat be assoylid but outi of he pope excepte peryl of depe. For some offences it could be enacted that the guilty person could receive absolution from no one except the Pope, unless it were necessary to give him absolution when in imminent danger of death, lest he should die in mortal sin. Such are known as ‘Reserved Cases’. The Bishops similarly have power of reserving cases so that absolution from them cannot be validly given by any ordinary confessor (Council of Trent, sess. xix, De Poenit. can. 11).

4 Oure blessed predecessours pope boniface he viii. These words indicate that these constitutions were issued by some Pope later than Boniface VIII.

5 Dobel Festis. Certain feasts are known as ‘double’ because the anthem sung at the Magnificat and Benedictus was ‘doubled’, i.e. sung throughout before as well as after the Canticles on the major festivals. Other feasts are known as ‘semi-doubles’, when half of the Antiphon was repeated before and the whole after the Psalm.

The above is the more modern explanation of the terms. An older explanation was that double feasts were so called because on them it was necessary to say the office of the Feast as well as that of the Feria.

6 Invitatorie is the Anthem of the Psalm ‘Venite’ (Ps. 94), chanted before, after, and interpolated with the verses of the Psalm: it is chanted at the beginning of Matins on all days except the Epiphany and the last three days of Holy Week.

7 Je ix respons, i.e. the words said antiphonally after the ninth Lesson, when the Te Deum is not sung.
Notes on Appendix to Rule

8 _pe tenacioun_, i.e. the elevation of the Host in the Mass.

9 _Benedicite_. This whole section will be readily understood only by comparing it with the Benedictio Mensae in the Roman Breviary. The main lines of the Benedictio Mensae are followed, with some slight variations of local custom.

10 _Iube donne_. It is doubtful whether the words in MS. should be transcribed as 'Iube donna' or 'Iube done'. On the whole, the latter seems the more fitting as being the normal form. Moreover in one place [fol. 31r] it is contracted 'dne'.

11 _Tu autem_. The versicle sung by the Lector at the end of the Lecion at the close of the meal. In full it is 'Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis'.

12 _be ymage_, i.e. the crucifix generally hung in the Refectory.

13 & _ey 'Agimus tibi' with 'Benedictus Deus in donis'._ Here two alternative forms are given: 'Agimus tibi, &c.' is said after Dinner (Prandium), and 'Benedictus Deus' after Supper (Coeva).

14 _Retribuere_. The beginning word of the prayer: 'Retribuere dignare, Domine, omnibus nosibus bona facientibus propert nomen tumm vitam aeternam'.

15 _Fidelium animae_. The end of the office of Benedictio Mensae: it proceeds 'per mericicordiam Dei requiescant in pace'.

16 _And also at pe colacium_. 'Collation' meant originally conference or edifying books read aloud in the Refectory after supper and before Compline. This is a practice required by the Benedictine Rule. Subsequently the word acquired a derived sense, viz. the light refreshment taken before the reading of the 'collations'. Addis and Arnold (Cath. Direct. 1903) refer to a statute of the congregation of Cluny (1308) where the word is used for this refreshment. In the present passage the office of Compline follows after 'collation' quite properly.

17 _pe ebdomodari_. These are the two sisters who for a week at a time lead the saying of the Hours in Choir.

18 _Antune_, i.e. Antiphon, a verse sung before the Psalm or Canticle, giving the key-note of it. In the Mass, the Introit, the Offertory, and the Communion are regarded as Antiphons.

19 _Absolucion_. These, each with its three appropriate 'Benedictions', will be found at the beginning of the Breviary. The first, 'Exaudi Domine', is used in the first Nocturn of an office of nine Lessons and on Mondays and Thursdays for offices of three Lessons. The second, 'Ipsius pietas', is used in the second Nocturn and on Tuesdays and Fridays. The third, 'A vinculis', is used in the third Nocturn and on Wednesdays and Saturdays. They are said before the Lessons.

20 _Bensons_. In an office of three Lessons when a Homily is read with the Gospel, the first Benediction is 'Evangelica lectio', and _pe ojer II_ are 'Divinium auxilium' and 'Ad societatem'.

21 _Eutredite general_. If the clergy of a country or town were under an interdict, the religious orders were not affected unless the interdict specifically included them.

22 _pe orison whiche been songen shal be songen (shal be seyde) stondinge_. The words in brackets indicate the alternative practice: the orisons can either be sung or said.

23 _When pe preface is seyde at masse_. The preface comes immediately
before the Sanus in the Mass and begins 'Vere dignum et iustum est'. There are a number of Proper Prefaces for the several seasons.

24 *pe Offertorie.* Immediately after the Creed the celebrant places the Elements on the Altar with accompanying prayers. This is known as the Offertory. At the end of the Offertory the celebrant turns to the people and begins the 'Orate, fratres'. Then follow the secret Prayers for the day, ending with 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum'.

25 *pe schal dwelle grevelinge til* 'Per omnia' at 'Pax dominii,' i.e. they remain kneeling from the Sanctus throughout the Consecration and Elevation ('during pe leucacium') until after the celebrant has made the Fraction. He then says aloud 'Per omnia', &c., and 'Pax Domini sit semper vobisum';

26 *pe Post communiones,* i.e. the Post-communion prayers for the day, said aloud by the Celebrant. They come at the end of the Mass, just before the 'Ite, missa est'.

27 *In lentyn at pe verse of pe tracte.* During the Procession before the reading of the Gospel, the choir sing the Gradual for the day, consisting of a few verses of Holy Scripture. The Gradual is followed by the chant known as the Alleluia, but in penitential seasons instead of the Alleluia is sung the 'Tract', which consists of two or three verses of a Psalm. Le Brun explains the term Tract as something sung 'tractum', i.e. without break or interruption of other voices, by the cantor alone.

28 *Praces of prime & of complyn.* The 'Preces' begin with Kyrie, Pater, and Creed; and continue with versicles, responsories, and the Confession, first of the Hebdomodarius and then of the people, with the Absolution. There is no Conitector in the 'preces' of Compline.

29 *pe last verse save one of Benedictite.* This verse is 'Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum sancto Spiritu: landemus et superexaltemus eum in saecula'.

30 *Sequence.* A metrical composition which is sometimes attached to the Alleluia. An example of a Sequence is the Dies Irae of Thomas of Celano sung in Masses of the Dead.

31 *Half dobel Festis.* Seint Lucy (Virgijn and Martyr, Dec. 13); Seint Nicholas (Bish. and Conf., Dec. 6); Fest of Innocentiis (Dec. 25); Seint Thomas of Caunterbiri (Bish. and Mart., Dec. 29); pe vtas (octave of) Epiphanie (Jan. 13); Seint Anneys (Mother of Our Lady, July 26); Seint Agase (Virg. and Mart., Feb. 5); Holierosse (Sept. 14); Apparicioun of Michel (Archangel, May 8); Octane of Ascension (eighth day after Ascension); Octane of Seint Antony (Abbot, Jan. 24); Octane of seynt John Baptyst (July 1); Seint Marie Magdalene (July 22); Translacioun of Seynt Thomas (i.e. of Canterbury, July 7); Seynt Margare (Virg. and Mart., July 26); vtas of Seint Laurence (Mart., Aug. 17); Seynt Lowis (Conf., his feast is Aug. 25, but does not generally have an octave; probably his octave (Sept. 1) was observed at Longchamp on account of his connexion with that House); Decollacioun of Seint John (Aug. 29); vtas of Nativity of our Ladi (Sept. 15); Seint Martin (Bish. and Conf., Nov. 11); Seynt Elizabeth (i Queen of Lusitania, widow, July 8); Seynt Cecile (Virg. and Mart., Nov. 22); Seynt Katerin (Virg. and Mart., Nov. 25); vtas of Corporis Cristi (eight days after Thursday following Trinity Sunday).

32 *Festis dooce dobles,* i.e. Feasts described in the Roman Kalendar as 'Duplex primae classis'.
Notes on Appendix to Rule 123

33 Boh of pe one evensonge & of pe oper. All Double Feasts have two evensongs, i.e. their observance begins with the evensong of the evening before (known as ‘first vespers’), while the evensong on the day itself is called ‘second vespers’.

34 Festis doubles. The first eight feasts named need no comment. Seint Antoun (Abbott, Jan. 17); Cathedra sancti Petri (it is doubtful whether Cathedra S. Petri Romae, Jan. 18, or Cathedra S. Petri Antiochiae, Feb. 22, is meant: both are ‘Duplex majus’); Seint Matheo (Apos., Feb. 24); Seynt Gregori (presumably S. Gregory the Great, Pope and Conf., March 12); Seynt Benet (Abbott, Mar. 20); vtas of Seynt Barnabe (June 18); vtas of Seint Petir and Paula (July 6); Commemoracioun of Seynt Paule (June 30); Ad uincula Sancti Petri (MS. Sancte Petre, Aug. 1); Seynt Laurence (Mart., Aug. 10); Seint Clare (Virg., Aug. 12); Seint Lowis Bischopp (i.e. of Toulouse, Aug. 19); Seint Bartholemu (Apos., Aug. 24); Augustyn, doctor (Aug. 28); Seint Missel (i.e. Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli, Sept. 29); Seint Jerome (Pres., and Conf., Sept. 30); Translation of Seynt Lowis: no prescribed date for this: probably a local cult.

35 Asperges. The short service before the Principal Mass when the celebrant makes a procession and sprinkles the holy water.

36 When pey say many hours to gederis. Sometimes several ‘hours’ were said one immediately after the other: this is sometimes called saying them ‘by accumulation’.

37 Neume. A term in mediaeval music theories denoting generally either a kind of melody or a notational sign. The Catholic Encyclopaedia describes it thus: ‘Applied to a melody, the term means a series of tones sung without words, generally on the last vowel of a text. . . . The usual place of such neums is, in responsorial singing, especially at the end of the Alleluia which follows the Gradual of the Mass. In the later Middle Ages, however, from about the twelfth century onwards, the custom grew up of adding neums, definite formulae, one for each mode, to the office antiphons.’ Cath. Enc. x, pp. 765–773 (H. Bewerunge).

38 pe blessinge of pe tabel. This is to some extent a repetition of what has already been preserved earlier on fol. 79–81; but it is given more in detail here, and includes the special Benedictions for the chief Festivals.

39 ‘Miserere mei deus’ wip alle pe versis, i.e. the whole of the Miserere is said antiphonally.

40 Seyinge wip owte orenus. The word ‘Orenus’ is omitted at this point before the ‘Retribuere’.

41 Schere pardslay, i.e. Maundy Thursday, the Thursday in Holy Week.

42 Lowli wip ponde an more. Breviary ‘Totum secreto . . . sine pronuntiatione aliqua’.

43 pere as none estori shall be first entrid, i.e. in which no ‘history’ shall be first entered, that is to say, in which the lesson is not the beginning of a historical book.

44 SeyntSilvester (Pope and Conf., Dec. 31); Seynt Leon (Pope, Conf., and Doct., April 11); Seynt Eustache (i.e. SS. Eustace and his companions, Mart., Sept. 20).

45 Fest of translation of Seynt Fruanneys, May 25. The nominal date of the Translation was May 25, 1230, but it is practically certain that the actual
Translation of the Saint's remains to the church of San Francesco had been carried out by the Minister General, Elias of Cortona, several days earlier.

46 *Grete antymes.* The so-called 'great Antiphons' are sung at Evensong before and after the Magnificat on the last eight days of Advent, that is from December 16 onwards. They were formerly called the O's, as each Antiphon began with the word O. The first of them, on Dec. 16, is 'O Sapiencia', and is so marked in the Kalendar.
GLOSSARY

[For *A Generall Rule to teche every man that is willynge for to lerue to serve a lorde or mayster.*]

A
Amerer, almoner, 13. 6.
Assay, the formal tasting of a dish by a servant, to see if it is poisoned, 14. 30.

C
Coster, a wall-hanging, 11. 6.

D
Dogdrawght, dogdrawe, an unknown fish, possibly cod, 17. 4.
Doucet, a sweet dish (see note), 17. 12.
Durmant, a fixed table, 13. 28.

E
Ewer, ewerer, the official in charge of arrangements for washing, 11. 22.
Ewry, the place where ewers, towels, etc., were stored, 11. 25.

H,
Hallyng, tapestry or painted cloth for a hall, 11. 5.
Herberoure, guest-master, entertainer, 15. 17.

K
Kynde, natural, proper, etc., 11. 6, etc.

L
Leche, slice, a dish consisting of sliced meat, 17. 15. (O. F. *lesche.*
Lese pen, unless, 17. 12.

P
Panter, the officer in charge of the pantry (originally 'baker'), 11. 21.
Pece, cup, 17. 20.

S
Sewe, serve, 12. 21.
Sewer, a waiter, 11. 24.
Sprottes, sprats, 17. 4.
Surnape, a second cloth laid on the table immediately before the lord, 13. 30.

T
Take, deliver, 13. 13.
To, till, 12. 18.
Trenchour, trencher of bread (see note), 13. 4.

V
Vnto, until, 12. 5.
Voyder, tray for removing broken meats, etc., 13. 6.

W
Woke, week, 11. 15.
### GLOSSARY

[For The Thirde Order of Seynt Franceys and The Rewte of Sustris Menouresses enclosid]

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<td>Algatis, in any case, 87. 16.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alle Halwyn, All Saints, Alhallows, 86. 19.</td>
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<td>Apostle, Pope, 89. 26.</td>
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<td>Assentement, assent, agreement, 88. 31.</td>
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<td>Assigned, transferred, removed, 87. 31.</td>
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<td>Assoyle, absolve, 88. 21.</td>
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<td>Assoylid, excused of, deprived of, 94. 16.</td>
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<td>Atrete, slowly without break (≡ tractim), 104. 34.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avale, let down. 92. 7. [OF. avaler.]</td>
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<td>Axen, demand, 94. 16.</td>
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<td>Ayenst, against, 48. 25.</td>
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<td>Besili, carefully, diligently, 54. 22.</td>
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<td>Bigginge, buying, 96. 11. Sourfait of bigginge, excessive buying.</td>
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<td>Bihothe, promise, 83. 32.</td>
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<td>Boundes, bands, sashes, 49. 13.</td>
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<td>Brennyng, burning, 47. 15.</td>
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<td>Brent, burnt, 94. 30.</td>
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<td>Buystouse, rough, coarse, 84. 19.</td>
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<td>Familieres, members of the household, servants, 94. 17.</td>
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<td>Fayayrd, adorned, 81. 24.</td>
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<td>Fori, an ordinary week-day (not a festival), 103. 15.</td>
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<td>Fermeri, infirmary, 89. 20.</td>
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<tr>
<td>For as mochel, forasmuch, in order that, 87. 25.</td>
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<td>Freyto, refectory, 102. 22.</td>
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<td>Catallis, chattels, possessions, 96. 7.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cawcion, bond, security, 48. 16.</td>
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<td>Ceroferessis, acolyte, taperer, 108. 21.</td>
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<td>Chausures, shoes, 85. 4.</td>
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<td>Chesiple, chasuble, 91. 4.</td>
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<td>Chesyn, choose, 95. 24.</td>
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<td>Clepid, called, 98. 12.</td>
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<td>Clerete, honour, 90. 5.</td>
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<td>Cloger, belfry, 104. 1.</td>
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<td>Cloos, cloister, 104. 11.</td>
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<td>Conge, leave, permission, 82. 15.</td>
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<td>Congruently, suitably, 52. 25.</td>
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<td>Continemences, holdings, property, 81. 5.</td>
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<td>Couenable, suitable, 82. 35.</td>
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<td>Couent, convent, 82. 29. etc.</td>
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<td>Decollacioun, beheading, 107. 32.</td>
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<td>Demurid, demure, 84. 12.</td>
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<td>Denounsis, reported, 98. 25.</td>
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<td>Depart, bestow, impart, 47. 31.</td>
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<td>Desseuerid, separated, 87. 25.</td>
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<td>Dislawnder, slander, 90. 34.</td>
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<td>Distreyne, constrain, compel, 100. 29.</td>
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<td>Dortre, Dortoure, dormitory, 85. 7, etc.</td>
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<td>Efformid, informed, 100. 13.</td>
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<td>Enfayrd, adorned, 81. 11.</td>
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<td>Enpeyre, injure, impair, 100. 2.</td>
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<td>Ententiifiche, carefully, 87. 23.</td>
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<td>Equypollent, of equal rank, 114. 18.</td>
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<td>Esoignid, extended, protracted, 93. 32.</td>
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<td>Estori, history, 113. 4.</td>
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<td>Estreyteli, strictly, 89. 24.</td>
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<td>Exchew, eschew, 52. 8.</td>
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<td>Eyrin, eggs, 86. 25.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaslingis, spectacles, 49. 18.</td>
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<td>Goget, Guyches, wicket, grating, 91. 36. [Fr. guichet.]</td>
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<td>Grayel, gradual, 107. 20.</td>
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<td>Greuelinge, prostrate, 106. 8.</td>
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<td>Greueninge, prostrate, 106. 9.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Halwid, consecrated, 114. 27.</td>
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<td>Heilfully, in a wholesome or salutary way, 47. 26.</td>
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Glossary to the Thirde Order, and Sustris Menouresses 127

Hele, health, 86. 23.
Hende, gentle, gracious, 81. 10.
Hene, lift, 89. 2.
Holpyrn, helped, 99. 6.
Houseled, communicated, 50. 35.

I
Importabel, unbearable, 100. 23.
Inrat, introit, 107. 1.
I-pus tie ouer, transposed, 113. 7.
Inyelles, jewels, 99. 3.

J
Jangeling, disputing, 52. 10.

K
Kepe, care, 90. 31.

L
Leafull, lawful, 48. 31.
Lefolli, lawfully, 92. 3.
Legacioun, bequest, 99. 2.
Legacion, request, 99. 2.
Lentoun, Lent, 107. 1.
Leuacioun, elevation, 102. 19.
Leueli, with leave, 82. 30.
Listresse, woman-lector, reader, 110. 31.

M
Meke, humble, plain, 49. 4.
Menours, Meneres, Menouresses, Franciscan Friars or Clarisses, 81. 2.
Menabel, movable, 99. 30.
Mo, more, 110. 6.
Monestyn, admonish, exhort, 84. 7.
Mow, must, 84. 32.
Myngin, remember, 94. 10.

N
Nameli, especially, 87. 17.
Neforjaft, nevertheless, 101. 4.
Noysed, rumoured, 48. 5.
Nyze, draw near to, 82. 5.

O
Obey, bow, 105. 9.
Obeyinge, bowing, doing obeisance, 104. 22.
Obite, death, 53. 19.
Owers, hours, 51. 8.
Owte take, except, 86. 18.
Owtrage, superfluity, excess, 84. 17.

P
Pasche, Easter, 116. 21.
Ponitiacion, papacy, 55. 16.
Possessioners, proprietors, 47. 27.
Promitte, promise, 48. 23.
Porposid, put forward, present, 93. 10.

R
Recordinge, remembrance, recollection, 51. 8.
Reddure, strictness, 82. 1. [N. F. redur.]
Refestid, refreshed, 86. 8.
Refreytouresse, the sister in charge of the 'refectorium' or refectory, 102. 32.
Reine, kingdom, 89. 30.
Remew, remove, 82. 30.
Repreue, reprove, 83. 27.
Repreueable, reprovable, 83. 28.
Resticote, upper part of tunic, 84. 21.
Reuestrid, arrayed, 91. 8.
Rihtwunessse, righteousness, 93. 7.
Rowndid, cut round, 85. 22.

S
Sad, grave, 92. 13.
Sadli, seriously, 101. 30.
Schet, shut, 91. 36.
Sahlugri, laziness, sloth, 86. 3.
Sege, place, seat, 107. 11.
Seint Croyse, Holy Cross, 104. 7.
Skerid, frightened, 86. 4.
Sogetts, subject, 95. 19.
Somenereere, Semenere, apparitor, 102. 35.
Stabelriche, constantly, 86. 1.
Stamyn, an open woollen fabric, 84. 15. [Fr. estamine.]
Stawnche, quench, 86. 5.
Stere, guide, direct, 52. 14, etc.
Storer, treasurer, 52. 25.
Suen, follow, 87. 30.

T
To-dite, dress, 86. 27.
Porwe, through, 110. 15.
Treyne, pause, 104. 38.

V
Vtas, octave, 107. 31, etc.

W
Warnid, furnished, 94. 5.
Werre, war, 82. 23.
Wytt, know, 55. 12.

Y
Yen, eyes, 84. 25.
Ymage, crucifix, 103. 4.
Ympnis, hymns, 106. 33.

Z
Jouin, given, 96. 33.
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On the starting of the Society, so many Texts of importance were at once taken in hand by its Editors, that it became necessary in 1867 to open, besides the Original Series with which the Society began, an Extra Series which should be mainly devoted to fresh editions of all that is most valuable in printed MSS. and Caxton's and other black-letter books, though first editions of MSS. will not be excluded when the convenience of issuing them demands their inclusion in the Extra Series.

During the fifty years of the Society's existence, it has produced, with whatever shortcomings, and at a cost of over £30,000, an amount of good solid work for which all students of our Language, and some of our Literature, must be grateful, and which has rendered possible the beginnings (at least) of proper Histories and Dictionaries of that Language and Literature, and has illustrated the thoughts, the life, the manners and customs of our forefathers and foremothers.

But the Society's experience has shown the very small number of those inheritors of the speech of Cynewulf, Chaucer, and Shakspere, who care two guineas a year for the records of that speech. The Society has never had money enough to produce the Texts that could easily have been got ready for it; and Editors are now anxious to send to press the work they have prepared. The necessity has therefore arisen for trying to increase the number of the Society's members, and to induce its well-wishers to help it by gifts of money, either in one sum or by instalments. The Committee trust that every Member will bring before his or her friends and acquaintances the Society's claims for liberal support. Until all Early English MSS. are printed, no proper History of our Language or Social Life is possible.
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A gratifying gift is to be made to the Society. The American owner of the unique MS. of the Works of John Metham—whose Romance of Amoryus and Cleopas was sketched by Dr. Furnivall in his new edition of Political, Religious and Love Poems, No. 15 in the Society’s Original Series—has promised to give the Society an edition of his MS. prepared by Dr. Hardin Craig, and it will be issued as No. 132 of the Original Series. The giver hopes that this example may be followed by other folk, as the support hitherto given to the Society is so far below that which it deserves.

The Original Series Texts for 1912 were, No. 114, The English Register of Osney Abbey, by Oxford, Part II, containing Forewords, Grammar, Notes and Indexes, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark, and No. 145, The Northern Passion, Part I, containing the four parallel texts of the poem, with variants from other manuscripts, edited by Miss Frances A. Foster.

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The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society’s work has called forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society’s life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society’s efforts.

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