

THE
MODERN LANGUAGE
REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY
J. G. ROBERTSON
AND
G. C. MOORE SMITH

VOLUME XV



Cambridge
at the University Press

1920

52

VERNACULAR BOOKS IN ENGLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THERE are some 7600 English mediaeval wills which are already printed, singly in the journals of archaeological societies or bishops' registers, or in collections¹, and the study of the cases of bookownership in these suggests broadly three facts: the extreme booklessness of the population as a whole, the rarity of vernacular books as opposed to Latin, and the preponderance, among vernacular books, of works of piety or devotion over secular books, such as romances or chronicles.

The booklessness of individuals is suggested by the calculation that, of 7568 wills examined, only 338 bequeathed books, and this although books were of quite equal value with the other chattels which are described with such care. Down to about 1420—1450 books were sufficiently valuable to be, as a rule, described singly when bequeathed; before that date a bequest of 'my books' or 'all my books' without further description is rare. Before 1400 valuable books, like the Vulgate, were almost always entailed if left to an individual, or bequeathed to the library of some community. The booklessness of individuals suggested by the wills was not mitigated, in most cases, by access to a library, either in the case of lay people, or the majority of clerks. Even wealthy nobles often possessed no books, apart from the service books which

¹ A table of such collections and single wills has been printed in the writer's *The Lollard Bible: and other Mediaeval Biblical Versions*. Camb. Univ. Press.

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

- Bibliom.* *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*. Merryweather, F. S. 1849.
Canterbury. *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. James, M. R.
CVD Catalogi... *Veteres Dunelm.* SS. 1839.
Early Linc. Wills. *Early Lincoln Wills*. Gibbons, A. 1888.
HMCB. *Historical Manuscripts Commission's Reports*.
Lambeth. *Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. James, M. R.
Linc. Dioc. Docs. *Lincoln Diocesan Documents*. Clark, A. 1914.
London Wills. *Calendar of Wills proved... in the Court of Husting, London*.
 Sharpe, R. R. 1889.
OEL. *Old English Libraries*. Savage, E. A.
Parker Coll. *Sources of Arch. Parker's Coll. of Manuscripts*. James, M. R.
 SS Surtees Society.
 TE *Testamenta Eboracensia*. SS.
 TV *Testamenta Vetusta*. Nicolas.
 VCH *Victoria County History*.
Westminster. *Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*. Armitage Robinson, J. and
 James, M. R.

formed part of the furniture of their chapels; and though seculars were sometimes allowed to borrow from monastic libraries, this was rare¹. Those parish priests again who were not holders of prebends in any cathedral or collegiate church almost certainly possessed no books except their office books before 1400, and very few books after². The better endowed clergy, the bishops, cathedral clergy and members of collegiate churches, and university teachers, formed almost the only class of the population who, occasionally before 1400, and frequently after, possessed small libraries of their own. The only other possessors of libraries are seen to have been certain members of the regular orders, great nobles, and lawyers. The better endowed clergy again were the only class which had access to libraries, particularly those of the secular cathedrals of York, London, Exeter, Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester and Wells³, and the small collections sometimes possessed by collegiate churches⁴.

The comparative rarity of vernacular books as compared to Latin is clear, not only in the case of books bequeathed, but from the numerous mediaeval catalogues which have survived to us. Since the clergy, and especially the higher clergy, were the most frequent bookowners, it is natural that the books bequeathed most frequently were service books (in very great preponderance), biblical books and commentaries, manuals, homilies and law books, all of course in Latin.

Among vernacular books again, secular books were rarely bequeathed, or possessed⁵. Few except bibliophiles actually possessed romances or vernacular chronicles, though a popular knowledge of romances was widespread through singing or recitation. The devout were more numerous than the bibliophiles, and those of the upper classes sometimes possessed French or English works of piety rather for their

¹ OEL, 178; HMCR, vi, 290.

² OEL, 189, 232.

³ See list of cathedral and other catalogues, *ibid.*, 268-85.

⁴ E.g. 1407, S. Mary of Warwick, VCH *Warwickshire*, ii, 127; 1498, Auckland, *Wills and Inventories*, SS. 101-3.

⁵ I have made no complete list of secular books bequeathed in the above-mentioned wills, but noted the bequest of: FRENCH BOOKS: 1405, *Tristrem*, TE, i, 339; *Tristram and Lancelot*, *Early Linc. Wills*, 92; other 'Romances' probably in French, *id.* 99, 118, 130; 1399, history of the *Chevalier à Cigne*, *Royal Wills*, Nichols, J., 181; the *Romaunt of the Rose*, *North Country Wills*, Clay, J., 39; in 1428, TE, iv, 12 n.; chronicles, *London Wills*, ii, 312; in 1406, *Barlaham and Josephath*, TE, i, 352. ENGLISH BOOKS: 1396, *Pers Plewman*, TE, i, 209; 1431, *Pers Plughman*, *id.* ii, 34; 1433, *Piers Plowman*, *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, Furnivall, F. J., 2; *Talys of Caunterbury*, *id.* 186; Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, in 1420, *id.* 136; in 1410, Harl. 44; *De Spiritu Guidonis*, in 1408, TE, i, 352; *De Fabulis et Narrationibus*, in 1482, *id.* ii, 34; *Polichronicon*, in 1458, *id.* ii, 227; in 1473, *id.* iii, 208, cf. *London Wills*, ii, 326; *le Crede Play*, in 1446, TE, ii, 117; 'all my books except the play books,' in 1537, *Bury Wills*, Tims, 129; 'my book with the siege of Troy,' in 1463, *id.* 35; Boccaccio, *De Casu Principum*, *Essex Archaeol. Soc.* v, 290.

religious than their literary value. It may be of interest to state which vernacular books are indicated by the wills as the most popular, including those of which there is any other contemporary evidence of ownership, but excluding the few cases of ownership of secular books, and whole Bibles.

The period before 1400 was so much more bookless than that between 1400 and 1525, that it may be considered first. French books were still commoner than English ones. Margery de Crioll, of Lincoln, left a 'mattins of our Lady,' possibly in French, in 1319¹; Henry, duke of Lancaster, made a *Livres de Seynts Medicines* in 1354²; Elizabeth, countess of Salisbury, possessed the French *Historia Scholastica* which was taken from king John at Poitiers, in 1356³; the earl of Warwick in 1359 bequeathed French gospels, psalter and apocalypse⁴, two apocryphal gospels, and the *Mirror of the Soul*, perhaps the second of the Deguilleville *Pèlerinages*⁵; the earl of Devon in 1377 left his three daughters one book each, the third of which was 'a French book,' probably, from the context, of devotional character⁶. John Pye owned a book of moral stories in French verse, at about this date⁷; in 1385 Richard de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, left to lady Isabella Fryskney 'the book of apocalypse which she has of mine,' which was more probably in French than Latin⁸; in 1392 sir Robert de Roos left a French psalter and legend⁹; in 1393 William Creyke, vicar of All Hallows, London Wall, bequeathed a *Manuel des Pechiez*¹⁰, and in 1399 Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed a *Legenda Aurea* in French, and two psalters glossed in French¹¹.

The English books bequeathed included: a 'psalter written in Latin and English,' by Robert Felstead, vintner of London, in 1349—a date rather early for Rolle's psalter to have been known in London, and a description which would fit rather the west midland psalter, or some interlinear version¹²; a west midland psalter, which belonged to John Hyde¹³; an English legend, given by John Katerington, canon of the

¹ *Early Linc. Wills*, 5; cf. *Canterbury*, 129.

² HMCR, ii, 145.

³ CVD, xxviii.

⁴ Either a prose apocalypse [see *A Fourteenth Cent. Eng. Bib. Ver.*, Paus, A., 1902, xxi, and *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii, 445], or the metrical version edited by P. Meyer in *Romania*, xxv, 174 ff.

⁵ *Bibliom.*, 193.

⁶ *Reg. of Thomas de Brantyngham*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, 1906, 381.

⁷ HMCR, ii, 145.

⁸ *Early Linc. Wills*, 68.

⁹ TE, i, 179.

¹⁰ *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, New Ser., iii, 232.

¹¹ TV, 148-9.

¹² *London Wills*, i, 636. Both Rolle's and the west midland psalter gave both Latin and English: but there is a slight probability that the will would have described Rolle's psalter as 'cum gloaa.'

¹³ HMCR, iv, 589; Trin. Dublin, 69.

church of S. Mary of Litchwick, to that church, about 1380¹, and a *Legenda Aurea* in English verse, bequeathed by Thomas Wotton, a layman, about 1400². The other books are all by Rolle, or were soon ascribed to him. Rolle's own manuscript of his English psalter was bequeathed by him to the Hampole nunnery; a 'book composed by Richard the hermit' was bequeathed by sir William Thorp in 1391³. The *Prick of Conscience* was not ascribed to Rolle before 1400⁴; between 1380 and 1400 John Staynis, a monk of Thetford, bequeathed it to Margaret Salis of Methwold⁵; and in Jan. 1396-7 William, prior of Newstead in Sherwood, pleaded in the borough court of Nottingham against John Ravensfield for the detention of this book⁶; in 1399 it was bequeathed by Thomas Roos of Igmanthorpe⁷.

Between 1400 and 1525 French was still used to some extent in nunneries, and French MSS. were still copied, but much less frequently than English ones. In 1401 Isabella Percy of York bequeathed a French psalter⁸; about that date Thomas Arnold gave two devout French books to the monastery of S. Augustine's, Canterbury⁹—which had an exceptionally large number of French books in its library¹⁰; in 1412 lady Alice Basset left 'a book called Apocalypse¹¹'; in 1449 Thomas Wentworth 'a book called *Lucidary* written in the French tongue¹²'; in 1450 sir John Fastolf had a *Meditations of S. Bernard* in French¹³; in 1480 Anne, duchess of Buckingham, bequeathed 'a book of French of the epistles and gospels¹⁴'; and about that year a French manual, the *Lumen Laicorum*, was given to Christchurch, Canterbury¹⁵, and an apocalypse in French and Latin, with pictures, was bequeathed to the same house by the countess of Huntingdon¹⁶. Devout French books were also bequeathed by sir John Holt in 1415¹⁷, and lady Margaret Zouch in 1449¹⁸.

Among English books, those of Richard Rolle seem to have been the most frequent—partly because his glossed English psalter was the only biblical book which the laity might use without license¹⁹. The English psalter bequeathed by Isabella Percy in 1401 was probably his²⁰; Katherine Hampton possessed it in 1413²¹; in 1415 Edward Cheyne of Bedford left

¹ Parker Coll., 84.² Lambeth, 82.³ London Wills, ii, 326.⁴ See *Authorship of Prick of Conscience*, Allen, H. E., Boston, 1910.⁵ Digby MS. 99.⁶ *Recs. of Borough of Nottingham*, i, 335.⁷ TE, i, 252.⁸ *Id.* i, 271.⁹ *Canterbury*, lxxiii.¹⁰ *Id.* 371-4.¹¹ *Early Linc. Wills*, 110.¹² TE, ii, 124 n. For the *Elucidarium*, see *S. Anselmi Opera*, Paris, 1675, 457-87; its authorship, *Pat. Lat.* 158, col. 39. It is found translated into English by a Lollard writer in li. 6. 26, f. 158 as the *Lucistrye*.¹³ HMCR, viii, 268.¹⁴ TV, 357.¹⁵ *Canterbury*, 371.¹⁶ *Id.* 210.¹⁷ *Early Linc. Wills*, 125.¹⁸ TE, ii, 156.¹⁹ *Concilia*, Wilkins, iii, 317.²⁰ TE, i, 271.²¹ Univ. Coll. 61.

a 'psalter glossed by Richard Hampole' in tail to his son John¹; in 1416 Thomas, lord Berkeley, had it written for him². It was possessed about then by Hugh Eyton, sub-prior of S. Albans³; about 1450 by John Colman, prior of Westwood⁴; bequeathed in 1467 by Robert Est of York⁵; and possessed in 1496 by Nicholas Williamson of Stone⁶. Rolle's *Twelve Chapters, or Mending of Life*, was bequeathed by Nicholas Holme, canon of Ripon, in 1458⁷; his *Meditation on the Passion* by Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468⁸; and books by him by Robert Helperby in 1432⁹, and Thomas Pinchbeck of York in 1479¹⁰. The *Prick of Conscience*, whether Rolle's work or not, was left in 1434 by a burgess of Yarmouth to Agnes Paston¹¹; by William Reeve, chaplain of York, in 1446¹²; by John Tapton, master of S. Catherine's hall, Cambridge, at about this date¹³; by Margery Carew about 1450¹⁴; by William Worthington in 1487¹⁵. Other wills which refer to 'a holy treatise in English of contemplation' probably thus describe a work of either Rolle or Walter Hilton¹⁶.

Nicholas Love's *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Crist*¹⁷ had an interesting history, and was probably more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century. Gospel harmonies had throughout Europe been considered safer reading for the laity than vernacular gospels, from the time when the early Waldensians learned the latter by heart, and based heretical arguments on the literal interpretation of the text. At the great anti-heresy campaign undertaken by the council of Toulouse in 1229 (a council attended by bishops, archbishops, princes and a papal legate), prohibitions were passed against lay Bible reading: 'lay people shall not have books of scripture, except the psalter and the divine office, and even these books they shall not have in the vulgar tongue'¹⁸. This prohibition was repeated in other European countries, and the popularity of vernacular gospel harmonies must be attributed partly to this suspicion of lay reading of the canonical scriptures. Translations of the latter of course existed, but only in the libraries of princes and great nobles: it was not their existence, but their popularisation which was condemned. A vernacular life of Christ, with the orthodox

¹ *Bedf. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, ii, 83.

² *Psalter*, Bramley, S. R., xxiii.

³ *Id.* xxii; Bodl. 467; *Incendium Amoris*, Deanesly, 122.

⁴ *Corpus Christi Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, James, ii, 287.

⁵ TE, iii, 160; Rolle's holograph. ⁶ Laud 286.

⁷ TE, ii, 219.

⁸ *Id.* iii, 163, 165 n. ⁹ *Id.* iii, 91.

¹⁰ *Id.* iii, 199 n.

¹¹ *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.*, iv, 826.

¹² TE, ii, 117.

¹³ *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, xxviii.

¹⁴ *S. John's Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 29; cf. HMCB, iv, 589.

¹⁵ Digby MS. 87.

¹⁶ E.g. sir John Scrope, TE, ii, 190; Arthur Ormsby, *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 116.

¹⁷ Ed. Powell, L. F., 1908.

¹⁸ *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, Mansi, xlii, 197.

editor's interpretations often inserted, was less likely to mislead the laity than the 'naked text' of the gospels—and no appeal could be made to it in support of theological argument. England was not troubled by Bible-reading heretics till the time of the Lollards, nearly two centuries later, when books were much commoner and cheaper, and a sweeping prohibition like that of Toulouse more difficult to enforce. Consequently, archbishop Arundel not merely took the negative measure of prohibiting, in 1408, the reading of English Bibles without episcopal license¹, but before 1410 he took the positive one of licensing a substitute. This was a free translation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*², long attributed to S. Bonaventura³, but perhaps by another Franciscan, John de Caulibus. It had been popular throughout Europe in its Latin form, and was translated into several vernacular languages. It was now translated into English by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, 'to the confutation of all false Lollards and heretics,' and, as a note copied into nearly all the manuscripts informs us, was before 1410 taken to London by its translator, and read and licensed by Arundel for the use of the faithful⁴.

This work, sometimes described as the *Mirror of the blessed life of Jesu*, sometimes as *Bonaventura's Meditations on the Life of Christ*, in English, was owned by a priest, John Langridge, between 1410 and 1450⁵; at about that date by Beatrice Beverley⁶; was bequeathed in 1467 by sir Peter Ardern⁷; to Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468⁸; and at about this date was owned by the canons of Osenev⁹, and by Sion abbey¹⁰. It is mentioned in 1520 in the *Day Book of John Dorne*¹¹, and a printed copy was mentioned in an anonymous York inventory in 1508¹². Its popularity is also shewn, not only by the relatively large number of surviving manuscripts¹³, but also by the fact that, in contrast with the never-printed Middle-English gospels, it was printed by Caxton in 1488, Pynson, 1495, and Wynkyn de Worde in 1517 and 1523. It was also, probably, in some cases, the *Vita Jesu* referred to as the possession of Master Woodcock, 1432¹⁴; Thomas Wright, 1487¹⁵; the duchess of

¹ Wilkins, iii, 317.

² Printed in Vatican (1609, Mainz) edition of *S. Bonaventurae Opera*, vi, 384–401.

³ See the Quaracchi ed. of *S. Bonaventura*, x, 25.

⁴ For Nicholas Love's original MS. see *Yorkshire Archaeol. and Topog. Journal*, ii, 380, xviii, 259.

⁵ Trin. Camb. 352.

⁶ *C. C. C. Camb. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 142.

⁷ TE, iv, 102.

⁸ *Id.* iii, 163, 165 n.

⁹ *Osenev Reg.*, Clark, A., 1–4.

¹⁰ *Census of Caxtons*, Ricci, S., 1909, 14.

¹¹ O.H.S. *Collectanea*, i, 109.

¹² TE, iv, 280.

¹³ 23 MSS. are mentioned by Powell, *Mirror*, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, p. xvii.

¹⁵ *Id.* xvii.

York, 1495¹; William Ward, chaplain, 1496²; an anonymous York inventory³; and possibly of William Byconnell, canon of Bath, 1448, and sir Thomas Cumberworth, 1451⁴. Other English harmonies of the gospels existed and were used to some extent: in 1517 John and Margaret Farmer owned one called the *Speculum Devotorum*, which had been composed, according to the author's preface, by a Carthusian of Sheen. This writer apologised for his work as partly unnecessary, since he had recently discovered that 'a man of our order of Charterhouse,' a reference clearly to Nicholas Love, had already turned Bonaventura's Latin life of Christ into English; his own chief authorities, however, had been Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and Nicholas of Lyra's glosses. He mentioned the existence of a prose English version of the *School History*, and the section of this work dealing with the gospels was also current in the late fifteenth century in English verse⁵.

Walter Hilton's works seem to have been most popular, after those of Rolle. Elizabeth Wilby, a nun, left the *Scale of Perfection*⁶, as did John Grant in 1493⁷. John Dygoun, recluse at Sheen about 1438, and one of the earliest English students of the *Imitatio Christi*, possessed Hilton's letter to the intending Carthusian, Adam Horsley⁸. The treasurer of York cathedral in 1432 bequeathed a 'devout book made by Walter Hilton⁹'; Eleanor Ross 'an English book called the first book of master Walter in 1438¹⁰'; sir Thomas Cumberworth an English book 'on active life' (perhaps so called from the early chapters in Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life*), in 1451¹¹; Robert Est of York left a work of Hilton's in 1467¹², as did Margaret Purdaunce of Norwich in 1481¹³, and the duchess of York in 1495¹⁴. The English translation of Bonaventura's *Stimulus Amoris* was ascribed to Hilton in two manuscripts, and another belonged to dame Alice Braintwath, prioress of the Dominican nunnery of Dartford¹⁵; the English version of Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Passion* was also ascribed to Hilton in one case¹⁶. The popularity of Hilton's work among lay people was perhaps partly due to the recommendation of it in Nicholas Love's *Mirroure*, and it was also much read in monastic houses, as can be seen from their catalogues.

¹ *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 8.

² TE, iv, 114.

³ *Id.* iv, 306.

⁴ *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 115. Cf. also *Westminster*, 50, and *Lambeth*, no. 328; *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.

⁵ Gg. 1. 6; HMCR, iii, 243.

⁶ *Parker Coll.*, 49.

⁷ *Lambeth*, no. 472.

⁸ *Magd. Oxford*, 98; *Eng. Trans. of the Imitatio Christi*, Copinger, W. A., vi.

⁹ TE, iii, 91.

¹⁰ *Id.* ii, 65.

¹¹ *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.

¹² TE, iii, 160.

¹³ *Norfolk and Norw. Archaeol. Soc.*, iv, 355.

¹⁴ See TE, ii, 227-8.

¹⁵ Hh. 1. 12; HMCR, ii, 88; Harl. 2254.

¹⁶ CVD, 168.

At the Carthusian house at Sheen it was copied out by Benet, the procurator, and studied by the monk Greenhalgh, who also presented a beautiful early printed copy to a friend of his, Johanna Sewell, nun of the neighbouring house of Sion¹.

Among less frequently owned books were the *Pore Caitiff*, which was owned by John Dygoun², and bequeathed by dame Margaret Erley about 1420—1450³, and lady Peryne Clanvowe in 1422⁴; and translations of the second of William de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages*, the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, known generally as the *Grace Dieu*. Joan Game wrote her name in her copy about 1400⁵, the chaplain of the chapel of S. Mary Magdalen at York left one in 1449⁶, as did Thomas Chaworth in 1458⁷. Sir Thomas Cumberworth, a rich and devout knight who left endowment in 1451 for two chantry priests, left to one his book of *Grace Dieu*, and to the other his book of *Grace Dieu of the Soul*⁸, probably the English versions of the first two *Pèlerinages*. The first *Pèlerinage* was less common than the second, and was generally known simply as *The Pilgrim*; it was translated in 1413 into English verse, and was bequeathed soon after by dame Joan Wentworth⁹. Dame Agnes Radcliffe bequeathed the *Grace Dieu*, the pilgrimage of the soul, to a nunnery, about 1450¹⁰; and a French prose version of this book was left in 1435 by George Pacy, canon of Ely¹¹. In 1466 Ewelme Almshouse, in Oxford, had 'a book of English, in paper, of the *Pilgrimage*, translated by doin John Lydgate out of French¹².'

The evidence for the possession of English primers, and the number of manuscripts surviving, are scantier than would have appeared probable; but primers before about 1380 were of course in Latin, and probably there were as many Latin as English primers throughout the period. At a visitation of Chichester in 1569 complaints of popery were made: 'many bring to church the old popish Latin primers, and use to pray upon them¹³.' The primer left by the earl of Devon to his daughter in 1377¹⁴ was, from the absence of specification as to language, almost certainly in Latin. Agnes Orges, who died at Harfleur in 1446, possessed an English one¹⁵, in 1479 Joan Fitzlowes had left to her 'my little English book like a primer¹⁶,' and in 1518 Isabel Alexander bequeathed one¹⁷.

¹ Trin. Camb., 854; *Incendium Amoris*, 82.

² Magdalen, Oxford, 93.

³ Rawl. C. 882.

⁴ *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Furnivall, F. J., 50.

⁵ Kk. 1. 7.

⁶ TE, ii, 151.

⁷ *Id.* ii, 227-8.

⁸ *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.

⁹ Caius, 124.

¹⁰ HMCR, vi, 288.

¹¹ Douce, 305.

¹² OEL, 280.

¹³ VCH Sussex, ii, 26.

¹⁴ See *supra*.

¹⁵ *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, Madan, F., iv, 567.

¹⁶ *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, Littlehales, H., xxxix.

¹⁷ *Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, i, 270.

John Lacy, the recluse of Newcastle who owned a Wycliffite New Testament, wrote for himself an English primer, and bequeathed it in 1434 to Roger Stonesdale, chaplain of the church of S. Nicholas at Newcastle, and to the chaplains who should succeed him, 'to remain in the said church till it is worn out!'

English legends, often in verse, and separate lives of saints in verse, were fairly frequent. William Reevetour bequeathed an English legend in 1446¹; Margery Carew part of the *South English Legendary* about 1450²; sir Thomas Chaworth the lives of SS. Alban, Amphiabell, etc., in 1458³; John Burton, a mercer of London, an English *Legenda Aurea*⁴; the duchess of Buckingham an English legend in 1480⁵; and Thomas Hornby to a nun of Swine a life of S. Katherine in 1485⁶. The lives of SS. Katherine of Sienna and Matilda, left by the duchess of York to her daughter in 1495, were probably in English⁷.

Certain other devout books were mentioned only rarely. The *Revelations* of S. Bridget of Sweden was left by Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468⁸, Margaret Purdaunce of Norwich in 1481⁹, and the above-mentioned duchess of York in 1495. Suso's *Horologium divinæ Sapientiæ* in English was left by Robert Semer in 1432¹⁰, by Alice Lego about 1450¹¹, and the same sir Thomas Chaworth in 1458. 'Books in English of the Paternoster,' or *De Oratione Dominica*, were left by the before-mentioned William Reevetour in 1446, sir John Scrope ('with mattins of the Passion') in 1455, and John Burn in 1479¹². The *Speculum Christianorum*, partly Latin and partly English, was left by Ralph Maynard about 1450¹³, Arthur Ormsby in 1467¹⁴, and perhaps as a 'book of English and Latin with divers matters of good exhortations' by John Baret, a layman, in 1463¹⁵. The *Chastising of God's Children* was owned by Sibylla Felton, abbess of Barking, 1401, and given to the Carthusians of Sheen by the first recluse there, John Kingslow, about 1415; it was bequeathed by Agnes Stapleton in 1446, and Mercy Ormsby in 1451¹⁶. The *Book of Tributions*, or *Twelve Profits of Tribulation*, was bequeathed by the Lollard sir Lewis Clifford in 1404¹⁷, Ormsby in 1451¹⁸. 'A book

¹ S. John Baptist's, Oxford, 94.

² TE, ii, 117.

³ S. John's Camb. *Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 29.

⁴ TE, ii, 227-8.

⁵ *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, iv, 610.

⁶ TV, 357.

⁷ TE, iii, 165 n.

⁸ See *supra*. The nunnery of Kilburn had two MSS. of the English *Legenda Aurea* in 1536: *Monast.* iii, 424.

⁹ TE, iii, 163, 165 n.

¹⁰ *Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, iv, 355.

¹¹ TE, iii, 91.

¹² *Caius Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 390.

¹³ TE, iii, 199.

¹⁴ *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 285.

¹⁵ *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 116.

¹⁶ *Bury Wills*, 35.

¹⁷ *Bodl.* 923; *Rawl. C.* 57; *North Country Wills*, 88, 48; *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 107.

¹⁸ *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 2.

¹⁹ *CVD*, 173.

called *Le doctrine of the herte*, or *Doctrina Cordis*, was left to the Durham monks in the fourteenth century,' and by the said Margaret Purdaunce in 1481. The above-mentioned Richard Firth, or Methley, translated into Latin the *Divine Cloud of Unknowing*, and the *Mirror of Simple Souls*¹. John Windhill, rector of Arnecliffe, left an 'English book of the expositions of the gospels' in 1431², and John Holland, a monk of Westminster, a *Gospel of Nicodemus* in English verse about that date³. Sibylla Felton, abbess of Barking, owned an English *Cleansing of Man's Soul* in 1401⁴; William Vyott, minstrel of Coventry, left John Awdley's *Concilium Conscientiae* in 1426⁵; sister Mary Hastings of Barking, and Matilda Hayle of Barking, owned a *Craft of Dying* in 1430⁶; William Reeveour a book of miracle plays; sir John Paston an *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* about 1479⁷; and *Dives and Pauper* and the *Knight of the Tower* were bequeathed in 1504⁸.

M. DEANESLY.

CAMBRIDGE.

¹ Pembroke MS. 221.

² *Westminster*, 24-5.

³ *Id.* iv, 586.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, Gairdner, J., 1901, p. cccxviii.

⁵ *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 111.

⁶ TE, ii, 34.

⁷ *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, v, 842.

⁸ Addit. 10596.