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An Edition of Three Late Middle English Versions of a Fourteenth-Century *Regula Heremitarum*

Domenico Pezzini

Introduction

1. Eremitic literature

Eremitic literature, like eremitic life, enjoyed considerable popularity in England during the Middle Ages, to a degree which has few comparisons in other European countries.¹ An enormous number of texts were produced in the British Isles which were either rules meant to help and direct people choosing this form of religious life, or spiritual treatises written by hermits or recluses such as Rolle's works, Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, and Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*. Among the texts which can specifically be labelled as *rules*, suffice it to mention two of the masterpieces belonging to this field: Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* (twelfth-century) and the anonymous *Ancrene Wisse* (thirteenth-century). Texts of this kind continued to be written both in Latin and English until the very eve of the Reformation.²

What is edited here for the first time is an English translation, in three versions, of a short Latin rule for hermits produced in the fourteenth century, first published by Livarius Oligier in 1928, who called it *Regula Oxoniensis*, to distinguish it from two other similar rules called *Dublinensis* and *Cantabrigensis*, from the places where the manuscripts are now held.³ Of these rules it was the *Oxoniensis* which apparently enjoyed the widest popularity, since it was translated three times, in independent versions. We may surmise that this was probably

¹ Four out of the nine Rules described by Philippe Rouillard, 'Regole per Reclusi', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols (Rome: Paoline, 1974–2003), vii, cols. 1533–36, are English. In a list provided by Livarius Oligier of Rules for recluses written between the 9th and the 13th centuries, one is from France (Grimlaicus), three are from Germany, and five from England: see 'Regula Recluserum Angliae et Quaestiones Tres de Vita solitaria, saec. XIII–XVI', *Antonianum*, 9 (1934), 37–84 (pp. 47–49).

² Ann K. Warren lists thirteen extant 'Anchorite Rules' written in England, ranging 'from the briefest of hortatory and didactic epistles to major ascetic treatises': *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 294–98.

³ 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saeculorum XIII–XIV', *Antonianum*, 3 (1928), 151–190 (introduction and *Dublinensis*), and 291–320 (*Cantabrigensis* and *Oxoniensis*). Rather surprisingly, Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, does not mention the *Regula Oxoniensis*, whose versions in English are edited here, while she amalgamates the *Cantabrigensis* with Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*, an opinion disproved by Watson (see next note).

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due to its being the shortest and the most practical in tone, especially by comparison with *Cantabrigensis*, from which it clearly derives. Nicholas Watson has described the contents of the Cambridge and Oxford *Regulae* in some detail, for practical purposes considering these two texts as two ‘substantially different Latin versions’ of an archetypal *Regula* which ‘survives’ in them. According to Watson, ‘it seems likely that many English hermits followed precepts similar to those laid down in the *Regula*’, and, while rejecting as ‘baseless’ the authorship long attributed to Rolle, he concludes: ‘I shall assume that this work crystallizes the behaviour that Rolle’s contemporaries would have recognized as proper in a hermit’.⁴

Beside the intrinsic merit of making unknown texts known, the publication of the three English translations offers a rare opportunity to analyse not only a single rendering from Latin, but to compare three different versions of the same text, and so to examine expansions, omissions and selections of various kinds, affording the possibility of guessing the reasons lying behind these different choices. In addition, since the *Oxoniensis* is incomplete, lacking the part written on the last folio, the translation allows the reconstruction of what is missing.

2. The *Regula heremitarum* as a literary genre

According to its etymological sense, a *rule* is meant to direct and regulate something. But within the rich tradition of monastic rules this is not to be taken as meaning primarily, and still less exclusively, exterior norms of behaviour. A rule is better described as a ‘spiritual directory’ concerned both with body and soul, or, to use a widely exploited Pauline phrasing, the exterior and interior man.⁵ Predictably, the boundary between these two parts of the human being are fluid, and the two spheres overlap to a significant extent. As such, a ‘rule’ resembles less a code of canon law than a spiritual treatise. This quality may explain why some of these rules became devotional reading beyond the field for which they were originally produced. This seems precisely to be the case with the three versions here published, as can be deduced from the context of the manuscripts in which they are found. Before the foundation of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, monastic life had two forms, cenobitic and eremitic, according to whether the religious vocation was fulfilled in a community or in solitude. Solitaries were further divided in two groups: they could be either *hermits*, if they were free to move around, or *anchorites* or *recluses*, if they were enclosed in an anchorage. This second possibility was particularly suited to women for reasons of personal security, amongst others. Within the larger context of monastic legislation the rules for hermits form a special group since this vocation was very distinctive and in fact fairly rare. At the beginning of *De Institutione Inclusarum*, a rule written for his sister, who was a recluse, Aelred of Rievaulx explains and justifies the choice of a life in solitude, giving three motives:

living in a crowd means ruin for some people; for others it will mean, if not ruin, at least injury; others again, unmoved by any apprehension, simply consider living in solitude to be more fruitful. The monks of old then chose to live as solitaries for several reasons: to avoid ruin, to escape injury, to enjoy greater freedom in expressing their ardent longing

⁴ Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 44. See also p. 205, fn. 21, in which the three English versions are mentioned, and the problem of the authorship of the Latin *Regula* is discussed, with the conclusion that ‘there is no grounds for thinking that Rolle wrote this work’.

⁵ The title of David of Augsburg’s *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* (c. 1240), a thirteenth-century Franciscan guide for the formation of novices and religious, is significant in and of itself.

for Christ's embrace.⁶

Freedom is a double-edged sword: it has its dangers. It is precisely because the status of a hermit, or a recluse, both male and female, was 'free' from the legislation ruling a community that it required all the more urgently to be regulated. Aelred's work is a good and successful example of how to organize anchoritic life.⁷ The plan develops in three parts, the outer and the inner rule, followed by a sample of how to meditate on God's benefits past, present and future. As to its length, Aelred's work stands half way between Grimlaicus' *Regula Solitariorum* and the *Regula Oxoniensis*. The former is a huge treatise stretching over ninety columns in the *Patrologia Latina*; the latter looks more like a booklet of practical advice, being three and a half folios long.

If Aelred's work was the most popular rule for hermits, Grimlaicus' *Regula* is important for being the first, establishing thus the peculiarities of this literary genre, which is formed of a curious mixture of numerous sub-genres. Grimlaicus was a French priest of the diocese of Metz. He composed the text, which he divided into sixty-nine chapters, towards the end of the ninth century. The materials show an extraordinary variety.⁸ The description of the meaning of reclusion and exhortations to the practice of virtues fit with canonical and legislative norms concerning enclosure; with rules for the organization of the liturgical office and, more generally, on how to regulate the use of time; and with norms about clothing, food and meals. In amongst all this we have commentaries on scriptural passages, interspersed with quotations from the classical Christian authors, stories drawn from the *Vitae Patrum*, and frequent complaints against the widespread corruption of the age, especially manifest in various sorts of reproachable behaviour among the very recluses to whom the *Regula* is addressed. Spiritual and biblical, narrative and legislative, hortatory and complaint passages all mingle in this complex literary genre, which can be simplified and reduced to two substantial parts which will later be distinguished as outer and inner rule, integrated with passages, whether of either biblical or patristic content, meant to be read as meditations. On this basis we can understand the progress in clarity and order of Aelred's three-part Rule, a plan he neatly summarises in his conclusion, in which, addressing his sister, he writes:

you have now what you asked for: rules for bodily observances by which a recluse may govern the behaviour of the outward man; directions for cleansing the inner man from vices and adorning him with virtues; a threefold meditation to enable you to stir up the love of God in yourself, feed it and keep it burning.⁹

If from the background thus established we move to the *Regula Oxoniensis* we may distinguish two interesting peculiarities: its brevity, further reduced in two of the three English

⁶ Quotes from Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* are taken from 'Rule of Life for a Recluse', trans. by Mary Paul Macpherson, in *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*, Cistercian Father Series, 2 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 43–102 (p. 45).

⁷ For the dissemination of Aelred's Rule in medieval religious literature in England and beyond see Aelredo di Rievaulx, *Regola delle Recluse*, ed. by Domenico Pezzini (Milan: Paoline, 2003), pp. 90–107.

⁸ Grimlaicus' *Regula* is printed in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), ciii, cols. 575–664. On the author and his work see M. C. Chartier, 'Regula solitariorum (Regula Grimlaici)', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols (Rome: Paoline, 1974–2003), vii, cols. 1598–1600. A rather detailed presentation of Grimlaicus' *Rule for solitaries*, together with another famous text, Peter the Venerable's Letter to Gilbert on eremitic life, can be found in *Regola delle Recluse*, ed. by Pezzini, pp. 27–58. See also Andrew Thornton, 'An Invitation to the Rule for Solitaries by Grimlaicus', in *The American Benedictine Review*, 59.2 (June 2008), 198–212, in which the author remarks that 'this Rule is far more than a set of regulations for an extreme form of the ascetical life, containing, as it does, a balanced theology of the contemplative life and a rationale for living the solitary life in a way that fosters spiritual, psychological and physical health' (p. 198).

⁹ Aelred, *Rule of Life*, p. 102.

translations, and its stress not so much on solitude as on poverty. This is probably due to the Franciscan context in which it seems to have been produced,¹⁰ so that the ideal of the separation from the ‘world’ was integrated with the choice of poverty and any other form of ‘simplicity’ typical of Saint Francis and his followers.

3. The *Regula Oxoniensis*

The three rules edited by Oliger, the first for anchorites and the other two for hermits, show clear connections with Aelred’s treatise, although none of these rules ever quotes him or his work by name. In the Cambridge rule, which was once attributed to the young Richard Rolle, Aelred’s presence is so pervasive that, in Oliger’s words, it is ‘just a new version of Aelred’s outer rule’.¹¹ It is quite natural, then, to examine their contents in relation to the tripartite pattern set up by the abbot of Rievaulx: outer and inner rules, followed by material for meditation and prayer. It is clear that this material is neither so clearly divided nor so well balanced in the proportion given to each of the three sections. Concerning the *Regula Oxoniensis*, a cursory examination of the index shows that the outer regulations form the main part, although some sparks of spiritual teaching can be found here and there, for example concerning poverty (chs. I–II), or silence (ch. XII), or simplicity of life (ch. VIII). We may ask whether the strong focus on the exterior rule might have been the reason for its success. In fact, at least two of the three versions of the *Regula* are found in manuscripts which had no apparent links with a community of religious. This might, perhaps, be taken as a sign that in the fifteenth century exterior practices of religion mattered more than interior attitudes, recalling the criticisms levelled later during the Reformation.

The Oxford rule (*Ox*), which is the one used by the translators/adaptors of the three English versions, shows clear links with the Cambridge rule (five passages are quoted verbatim), together with references to the Benedictine Rule and the Rule of St Francis.¹² It differs from the Cambridge rule mainly in that it greatly reduces certain spiritual passages to concentrate on some juridical principles, practical norms of daily life, and the order of prayers. The Oxford rule has in its present condition twenty-two chapters, not numbered in the manuscript but marked by underlined headings and initial capitals.¹³ However, it lacks the final part: a comparison with the longest of the three translations suggests that two or three chapters are missing. To give a cursory idea of the contents, here is the list of the chapter headings, as numbered by Oliger:

[Prologus]

- I. Qualis debet esse vera paupertas
- II. Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem
- III. De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus
- IV. De voto suo faciendo
- V. Qualiter recipiat res mundi
- VI. De providencia in cella sua
- VII. De humilitate in cibus et potibus
- VIII. De vestimentis suis

¹⁰ See Oliger, ‘Regulae tres reclusorum’, p. 155.

¹¹ Oliger, ‘Regulae tres reclusorum’, p. 158.

¹² It is worth noting that the extant manuscript of the Oxford rule belonged to a Franciscan community of religious, although this is not proof that it was produced there or by one of the friars. In any case no less than four passages were identified by Oliger as deriving from the Rule of St. Francis.

¹³ I follow the text as edited by Oliger, ‘Regulae tres reclusorum’, pp. 312–20.

- IX. De calciamentis suis
- X. De predicatione et mendicatione
- XI. De sustentacione eius per viam
- XII. De silencio heremite
- XIII. De abstinentia et ieiunio in domo propria
- XIV. Quando licet heremite domi comedere carnem
- XV. De proprietate quam habebit
- XVI. De labore heremite
- XVII. Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere
- XVIII. De matutinis dicendis
- XIX. Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis
- XX. De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditacionis
- XXI. De hora prima dicenda
- XXII. Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire

Spirituality and practicality go hand in hand. Poverty is a major theme. Sobriety in clothing, food, and possessions is highly recommended. The chapter on preaching implies that this rule is not for recluses, and in chapter VI the fact that the hermit may live in a town or in a village is explicitly mentioned. It must be observed, however, that the chapter titles do not always directly describe the content which may be deduced from their wording: for example chapter IX (*De calciamentis suis*) is not particularly about shoes, but illustrates a modest and sober way of moving around the country. Meanwhile, chapter III (*De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus*) has a paragraph about the duty to tell the truth even at risk of death which apparently has no direct connection with obedience. Liturgical offices, times of fasting, hours of rest, sleep and work are dealt with rather quickly.

As Oligier signalled already in 1928,¹⁴ there are three English versions clearly derived from the Oxford rule. The interesting point is that they have no connection with each other, and thus allow a number of synoptic observations concerning the layout of the text and especially the translation proper. They are found in MS London, British Library, Additional 34193 (fifteenth-century), folios 131r–36v; MS London, British Library, Sloane 1584 (early sixteenth-century), folios 89r–95v; MS Bristol City Reference Library 6 (dated 1502), folios 137v–140v. They will be hereafter referred to as A, S, and B respectively. While the source is common, the rendering varies greatly, as can be seen by simply considering the length of the text: while A has 4657 words, S has 2231, and B only 1454.

Although the three English versions are derived from the *Oxoniensis*, one wonders whether the text published by Oligier was in fact the one used by the translators. Two points would suggest that this is not the case. The first concerns the incipit. The opening statement starts with ‘quia’ (‘because, for which reason’) and seems to give a reason for something which is now missing. Moreover, the three English versions coincide in attributing the rule to Pope Celestine V, a claim of which there is no trace in the Latin *Oxoniensis*. Should we conclude that something has been lost right at the beginning of the text? I think so, and we may recover the possible original incipit if we take the incipit of the Sloane version, in which the sequence ‘quia licet...’ is preserved. In modern English it reads:

A pope of Rome, called Celestine, made this manner of life that is written here for the life of hermits who live alone without a rule given by the holy church. He shows this reason at the beginning and says: though the state of hermits is without a rule made by the holy

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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church [...] ¹⁵

‘This reason’ would render the Latin *quia*, while ‘though’ corresponds to *licet*. A second and more important remark concerns a ‘quotation’ present in the English versions and lacking in the Latin. It is a sentence attributed to St Augustine (S adds St Bernard) which is in fact by Gennadius of Marseille, whose text reads:

Bonum est enim facultates cum dispensatione pauperibus erogare: melius est pro intentione sequendi dominum insimul donare, et absolutum sollicitudine egere cum Christo. ¹⁶

Here are the three English translations:

A: Yt is [good] to geff almus to þe pore with dysponsacyon, but it is better, for intente follynge God, ones wyll to gyff and euer with Criste hevenly to lyffe.

S: Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt (*proper, suitable*) ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore Godis love vnto poure mene, but more perfeccione itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pouerness.

B: It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi-self intyndyng to folow Crist faithfully.

The very difference between these renderings obliges us to suppose a common Latin original. Since the sentence does not appear in the *Oxonienensis*, we must conclude that there was at least one other version of the Rule containing it, which has been lost. The consequence of this is that all remarks about the correspondence between the English version and the Latin original should be taken with a certain reservation.

4. The English versions: the manuscripts

All the three manuscripts containing the three English versions of the Rule are miscellanies of some sort, but it is not easy to find any single criterion for the collection of the items they contain.

British Library Additional 34193 (228 folios) is paper and vellum, and was compiled in the fifteenth century. ¹⁷ It is a huge volume of miscellaneous character, which seems to reflect the personal taste of a collector. The main pieces it contains include *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; a collection of liturgical hymns in Latin with an English version in royal stanzas; our *Rule for Hermits*; the *Sayings of the Philosophers*; the *Dysticha Catonis* in English, with parts in Latin; and smaller pieces such as a fragment of a life of St James the Greater, a vision, a religious poem ‘Howe holsum and glade is the memory’, a letter of Bernard of Chartres, a report of the synod held at Westminster on 9 Sept. 1125, and, strange as it may seem, a letter from ‘Baltizar by the grace of Mahounde [...] Sowdayn of Surry, Emperour of Babulon’ to the king of England and France and Edward his son, offering the latter his daughter in marriage.

British Library Sloane 1584, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, is a small paper codex (95 folios) which seems to have belonged to a parish priest. It is signed ‘Scriptum per me Johannem Gysborn canonicum de Coverham’ (‘written by myself, John Gysborn,

¹⁵ ‘A Pope off Rome, that hyght Celestyn, mad this maner off lyff that ys writyne here, for lyffing off hermettis þat lyffis a-lone with-owttnye certan rewle gyvne off holy kyrke. For that sckylle shewys he att his begynnyng and says: Thoffe all ytt be so that the state off hermettis be with-owtene rewle maid off holy kyrke [...]’

¹⁶ The sentence is taken from the *Ecclesiastica Dogmatica* by Gennadius of Marseilles. It appears in Thomas Aquinas’s *Catena aurea in Mathaem* (cap. 19, lectio 5) and is quoted again twice in the *Summa Theologica* (IIa IIae, quest. 32, art. 8; IIa IIae, quest. 186, art. 3).

¹⁷ For a description of this manuscript see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 19 vols (London: The Trustees, 1843–1970), ix, pp. 225–26.

canon of Coverham', f. 12r), a place-name of Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which is consonant with the language of the texts. The contents are again varied, although they appear more homogeneous, generally having a pastoral tone. There are liturgical pieces concerning the 'ministration of deacon and sub-deacon according to the Premonstratensian order'; a scattering of medical prescriptions; letter forms about how to request ecclesiastical licences; a model sermon for Easter day; questions for confessors; a form of confession and a small treatise on penances to be given as remedies against the seven deadly sins; instructions about enamelling and engraving; short passages on the pains of hell, on death, on the plague and various other illnesses; verses to the Virgin, the angels and the patriarchs; and a poem in which a woman complains about the hardness of heart of her lover, after which, as the final item in the manuscript, comes our Rule for hermits.

Bristol Public Library MS 6 (140 folios) contains mainly Latin pieces on liturgical matters.¹⁸ We are well informed about the origin of this elegant codex. Two items are dated: the first of the Sarum sequences on 13 September 1502, and the third, an 'exposicio verborum difficilium psalterii', on 31 October 1502, 'in domo sancti Marci evangeliste iuxta Bristoliam'. A. I. Doyle states that 'the hospital of St Mark followed the Benedictine rule, and like other such institutions, was virtually a religious house'.¹⁹ The short pieces in English concern tribulations, the discernment of spirits, the Rule for hermits, and finally, and somewhat surprisingly, the *Virtues of Rosemary*, whose leaves were to be boiled in water to make an infusion to be used to clean the skin. This last item is unique in what is otherwise a collection of religious material. This text is incomplete, and the catchword "also drye" on f. 140v indicates that the manuscript ends imperfectly.

5. The version of the *Regula Oxoniensis* in MS A

Before presenting the text of the three Middle English versions, it is worth remarking on the way each of them deals with and reacts to the Latin text they translate. The Additional version is the most complete of the three, and moreover includes the missing part of the incomplete Latin text, which appears in the other two manuscripts only in a drastically reduced form. The text is preceded by a table of contents in which the text is clearly divided in chapters each bearing a number and a title, although this is not always the same as that found in the Rule. The twenty-two surviving (probably originally twenty-five) chapters of the *Oxoniensis* have been reduced to seventeen. The difference in the numbering is due to the fact that in some cases Additional amalgamates shorter Latin chapters into larger units. This is easily seen in Table 1 below.

<i>Oxoniensis</i>	Additional Version
I. Qualis debet esse vera paupertas	1. Of the forsaking of this wretched world
II. Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem	
III. De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus	2. Of the obedience of an hermit
IV. De voto suo faciendo	3. Of his vow

¹⁸ This manuscript is described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977–2002), ii, pp. 203–4.

¹⁹ 'A Survey of Later Middle English Theological Literature', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1953), ii, 297, n. 31.

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V. Qualiter recipiat res mundi	4. Of his poverty
VI. De providencia in cella sua	5. Of his purveyance
VII. De humilitate in cibis et potibus	
VIII. De vestimentis suis	6. Of his clothes
IX. De calciamentis suis	7. Of his shoes
X. De predicatione et mendicatione	
XI. De sustentacione eius per viam	
XII. De silencio heremite	8. Of his silence keeping
XIII. De abstinentia et ieiunio in domo propria	9. Of his abstinence
XIV. Quando liceat heremite domi comedere carnes	10. When he shall eat flesh
XV. De proprietate quam habebit	11. Of his property
XVI. De labore heremite	
XVII. Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere	12. When he shall lie and when he shall rise
XVIII. De matutinis dicendis	
XIX. Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis	
XX. De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditacionis	13. Of the manner and time of his contemplation
XXI. De hora prima dicenda	
XXII. Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire.	14. What hour he shall do mass or hear mass
[XXIII]	15. Of silence at the table, labour and refection
[XXIV]	16. Of his shrift and housel
[XXV]	17. Of the service of a lay hermit.

Table 1: the contents of the *Oxoniensis* and Additional *regulae*

The text of this English version is marred by careless writing, exhibited in various types of errors: quite a number of words are omitted, misspelt, or simply wrong, and in some cases part of the sentence seems to be lost. A glance at the footnotes to the edition below will indicate the many corrections needed to reconstruct the text's probable original form. The difficulty of this operation is increased by the numerous expansions of the translator, which at times renders the comparison with the original Latin rather difficult. As far as the translational technique is concerned, I give here just one example in which different choices of the translator can be seen at work. It is taken from the chapter II of the Latin, which has become part of chapter I in the English version:

Et licet per alia pia opera, prout precepta Dei et opera misericordie, observando legem matrimonii, tenendo divicias seculi bene et pie expendendo et aliis modis bene operando, vitam eternam possit adipisci, melius tamen et verius regnum Dei acquirit, qui Christum per omnem paupertatem sequitur et mundum cum mundanis rebus ob amorem Christi contempnit. Sed longe est a vera Christi paupertate, qui clam vel palam divicias congregat, nisi opus pium et oportunum vel stricta corporis necessitas hoc deposcat.

And yf a man be þe preceptis of [God] and Goddis commaundmentis [or] by odur gude ocupacyons and werkis of mercy may get euerlastyng joye and blysse in kepyng the lawe

of trewe goynge and selling, in havynge and holdynge dyvers riches of this worlde, trewly and faithefully theme spendynge, and be odur trewe menys wylle workynge, nevyr-thelless a man gettis the kyndome of God more verely þe wylk followis Cryste in all maner mekenes and pouerte, and for-sakkis and dyspicias þe worlde with worldely thyngis for Crystis love. Of this bere wyttenes Saynt Austyn saynng on this wysse: ‘Yt is [good] to geff almus to þe pore with dysponsacyon, but it is better, for intente follynge God, ones wyll to gyff and euer with Criste hevenly to lyffe’. But he is farre fro Cristes trew pouerte þe wylke pr[i]vely and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse, but yf hit so be [that] he cast hym to do some gude þer-with, or els that þe streyte need of his body requere yt and aske [ytt].

The translation can be literal (‘bene et pie expendendo’~‘trewly and faithefully theme spendynge’), or expanded by a generous use of the doublet (‘tenendo divicias seculi’~‘in havynge and holdynge dyvers riches of this worlde’), or reduced (‘opus pium et oportunum’~‘some gude’), or wrong (‘qui clam vel palam divicias congregat’~‘þe wylke pr[i]vely and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse’: here we have a doublet for *clam*, ‘secretly’, but the antonym *palam*, ‘openly’, is not translated). The first sentence shows that the translator can create a different order of clauses, but this is rarely the case. The passage also contain one of the rare additions to the Latin original, the quotation from St Augustine, but this passage may exist in one version of the *Oxonienensis* no longer extant.²⁰

The main changes found in medieval translations are either expansions or additions, but the long Additional version has only two interesting relevant examples, both having to do with the hermit’s devotion and prayer. In one case (ch. 12) the order of psalms, collects, antiphons etc. to be said is expanded with many details and the insertions of prayers not contemplated in the Latin rule;²¹ in the other (ch. 13) the list of topics for contemplation at different hours of the day is drastically reduced. While in the first case the expansion consists mainly in indicating, by their incipits, the fifteen *psalmi graduales* simply mentioned in the Latin, or in giving the complete texts of the collects, versicles and so forth, the selection of meditative topics is more interesting and can reveal different spiritual attitudes. Suggesting themes for meditation according to the canonical daily Hours of the liturgy has a long tradition in the Church, and was particularly diffused in the Middle Ages. These themes were variously combined: normally they joined up events relating to the Incarnation, the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ; sometimes, as in our case, they also included events referring to the personal life of the devout. To indicate the selection made by the Additional translator, I give the original as Table 2 below, italicising the material which has been preserved in the translation.

²⁰ See p. 70 above. For other remarks on the type of translation found in these three versions, see Domenico Pezzini, ‘Three Versions of a Rule for Hermits in Late Medieval England’, in *35 Années de Recherche et de Spiritualité. Congrès International des Analecta Cartusiana, 23-26 Juin 2005, Chartreuse de Molsheim — France*, ed. by Robert Bindel, Analecta Cartusiana, 253 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2007), pp. 217–29, repr. in Domenico Pezzini, *The Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages*, Linguistic Insights, 69 (Bern: Lang, 2008), pp. 121–38.

²¹ The prayers detailed in A correspond to material generally contained in the *Primer*, a very successful book of prayer especially widely disseminated among lay people. These are: the Hours of Blessed Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead (*Placebo and Dirige*), the Commendations (a prayer for the dead). See *The Prymer, or Lay Folks’ Prayer Book*, ed. by Henry Littlehales, Early English Text Society, o. s., 105, 109, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895–97).

Three Middle English Versions of a Regula Heremitarum

Matins	Doomsday <i>Birth of Christ</i> <i>Passion of Christ</i>
Prime	One must judge his own misery Christ is judged by the Jews <i>Resurrection</i> (MS A adds <i>Ascension</i>)
Terce	Preparation of the heart to receive discipline Scourging of Christ <i>The sending of the Holy Ghost</i>
Sext	Man made of ashes in the image and likeness of God <i>Incarnation of Christ</i> <i>Crucifixion</i>
Nones	One's own death <i>The death of Jesus</i> <i>Ascension</i>
Vespers	How our prayers deliver souls from Purgatory Christ transfixd by the spear <i>Christ taken down from the Cross</i> Complaint of Our Lady
Compline	<i>The burying of Christ</i> <i>Christ's sweating of blood</i> Doomsday The pains of hell and the joys of heaven

Table 2: liturgical material preserved in the Additional version

Note that some themes appear twice: Doomsday in the Latin; Ascension in the English; and Incarnation and Passion in both, although in this case it is significant that *incarnation* means more than *birth*, and *crucifixion* means less than *passion*. On the whole, it seems that the translator has left out topics dealing with man's misery, his sinful condition and the last things (death, doomsday, hell and heaven), fixing instead his entire concentration on the life of Christ, and in general choosing one event only for each Hour. This amounts to a process of devotional simplification, since normally more events were appended to an Hour to obtain a contrapuntal effect (sorrow/joy, humiliation/glory, cross/resurrection, etc.).

6. The Sloane version

The second version, of Northern provenance, has some distinctive characteristics of its own. It is written as a running text, with no titles or any visible division into chapters. A good number of chapters are not translated: V (on worldly goods), VI (on begging), X and XI (on preaching), XV (on personal property), XVIII (on offices), XX (on subjects for contemplation), XXI (on Prime), and XXII (on Mass). Others are given in a form which is reduced (XIX) or modified (A xvi).²² These omissions form little basis on which to infer the intended audience of this version. While some of them seem to indicate the transformation of a rule into

²² Upper case Roman numerals indicate the chapters in the Latin, while lower case Roman numerals indicate the chapters in A.

a spiritual treatise, others, such as the suppression of themes for meditation, do not readily fit this interpretation. Either way, however, a changed audience seems to be implied by the disappearance of rules dealing with preaching and begging, supplemented by others concerning people living far from home, travelling, or working in the countryside.

The assessment of the quality of the translation is less problematic. Where the two allow a comparison, S is almost always superior to A, presenting a text which is clearer, more correct, and more restrained. As an example, I give the passage translating the same section presented above:

Fore yff all yit be so that the lyffe that euer ys lasting may be gottyne vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony, thorowe the keppynge off the commawndmentis, fleynge fro syne, neuer-the-lesse more sekerly and more perfytylly commys thos mene to the blesse off hevyne that folowys Crist by þe narew way off wyllfull powrnes, and for hys love fore-sakis the world with all his lykyns, nocht only þat he has but that he myght haue had, yff he had lvyd ther-in, als other mene done, as wyttnes sant Barnerd and the holy mane sant Awsten, ther he shewys the rygth-wysse way off lyffynge: ‘Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore Godis love vnto poure mene, but more perfeccione itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pouerness’; fore he says that he ys fare fro soth-faste pouernes þat other prively or openly gadyris rychis, butt yff ytt be so, to do þer-with ony gud ded, ore ellis to saue hyme fro harde bodily ned.

The adherence to the Latin is rather strict, although some changes are made, like ‘bene operando’ rendered by ‘fleyng fro syne’, or ‘regnum Dei’ which becomes ‘the blesse of hevene’; ‘omnem paupertatem’ is now ‘þe narew way off wyllfull powrnes’. The correct understanding of the Latin appears in the translation of ‘clam vel palam’ with ‘other prively or openly’, which in A becomes a doublet on *clam* with the omission of *palam*. The changes, omissions from and additions to the Latin are indicated in the footnotes to the text edited below.

7. The Bristol version

This version, probably the latest, is the best presented, with elegantly illuminated capitals, titles well marked out in red, and very clear handwriting. It is the shortest of the three, more like a small breviary of spiritual rules for a holy life. In passages where the comparison is possible, this is certainly the most accurate translation. The question it raises is whether this is an original selection/translation or whether it is derived from an existing one. The chapters omitted in this short rule are the same as in S, and this suggests that both may represent a second step from A, in a work which carries it further towards the production of a small spiritual treatise. The accuracy of this translator shows at least in two details. One is the perception of an underlying tripartite structure in what *Oxoniensis* presents as chapter III; the other is the fact that he gives the reference to the Augustinian work from which the quotation added in the three versions is said to be taken. I give again the passage quoted from A and S as it appears in B:

Not-withstandyng euerlastyng lyfe may be purchesyth by meke warkys as yn kepyng the x commaundementis of God and the vii warkys of mercy, observing the law of matrimony, expyndyng the ryches of the world well and mekely, and other goode warkys warkyng, never-the-lesse the kyngdum of hevyn ys gyttyn more better and profytelyer wyth all such that foloyng Criste with all pouerte forsaking the world with all hys descepcyons for the love of Ihesu Crist. Seynt Austyne yn hys dystynccyons of the feyth beryth wyttnes and sayth thus ‘It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi self intenyng to folow Crist faithfully’.

Three Middle English Versions of a Regula Heremitarum

The version follows the Latin in a very neat rendering, with practically no additions except for the quotation from St Augustine, which I have discussed above (§3). The name of the author is admittedly in the form *Austyne*, and moreover there is no work by St Augustine entitled ‘Distinctions of the Faith’. We may remark that the word *religio* of the original, rendered by ‘convent’ in S, is here translated by ‘wilderness’ — a term having a more general meaning, normally referring to monastic life, but applied especially to the eremitic vocation. The word appears in what we may take as a long title, in which it is said of Pope Celestine that he ‘was a hermit, and was chosen out of wilderness to be pope, and afterward left the papacy and returned into the wilderness again’.

A quick survey shows that the selection of chapters corresponds almost totally to S, with the exception of *Ox* XII (‘On Silence’), present in S and absent from B. Even the final chapters, for which only the comparison with A is possible, correspond in the main (xv and xvi appear in both), except for the rule concerning a lay hermit (A xvii), present in S and absent from B. This strong similarity leads one to suggest that S and B may translate a reduced form of *Oxonienensis*, which circulated together with the longer form, of which the translation is represented by A. Unlike S, B offers an elegant and ordered layout. After a Prologue bearing no specific indication, the text is divided in chapters, marked in red, and well demarcated also by the decoration of initial capitals. Here is the summary of this version:

- [Prologue (I-II)]
- Obedience (IIIa)
- Confessyon (IIIb)
- Of tyme of scilence (IIIc)
- Of the vowe of pouerte and chastite (IV)
- Of hys metys (VII)
- Of hys clothing (VIII)
- Of hoose and schone (IX)
- Of abstinence (XIII)
- Of the etyng of flesch (XIV)
- Of laboryng *with* hys handdys (XVI)
- Of slepyng (XVII)

The conclusion, with no specific title, gathers rules about the duty to hear the mass every day (*Ox* XXII); the keeping of silence; prayers to be said at meals (A xv), communion and confession once a week (A xvi); and a form of salutation when meeting other people. Note that chapter II in *Oxonienensis*, entitled ‘De obedientia’, is here split into three parts, entitled ‘obedience’, ‘confession’, and ‘time of silence’ respectively, a choice which perfectly captures the tripartite structure of the original Latin. While the general selection of chapters is in the main the same found in S, the rendering of single chapters is normally shorter. Here is an example, in which I have marked in italics the parts of the text selected by the translator:

VIII. — De vestimentis suis. Vestimenta habeat secundum ordinationem episcopi in cuius diocesi moratur vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie et discretus, ita quod *vestimenta sint humilia*, videlicet *non nimium curiosa* vel *nimium abiecta*, *secundum illud beati Bernardi*, ubi dicit in persona Domini: ‘*Paupertatem dilexi, sordes nunquam*’. *Et ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum, caveat omnino ne habeat habitum ullius religionis in omnibus conformem*. Die nocteque nunquam utatur prope carnem lineis, staminis vel molli-bus vestimentis, sed laneis et humilibus, ut predicatur, quales inveniri possunt in regno suo in quo habitat. *Et si ex devocione iuxta carnem cilicio uti voluerit, bene licebit*, nisi fuerit in oratione contemplationis, ita quod pro nimietate vermium ex cilicio provenien-cium posset impediri de contemplatione sua, et sic pocius intenderet dolori carnis quam

contemplacioni spiritus. Cilicium igitur consciencie relinquemus.

Of hys clothynge Let hys clothynge be humyle and not curius, after the sayng of Seynt Barnerd: 'I haue louyd pouerte but y neuer louyd fylth'. And loke that he gyfe noon occasyon of evyl to relygius man yn weryng any religyus habyte lyke yn all thing. And yf he wyll of devocyon were next hys flesh a cylyce it ys lauffull.

Compare this very careful selection, of the kind I have elsewhere called 'summary translation',²³ with the version in S:

It chargys nocht what hewe that his clothis be, butt that thei be nother to fayre nor to fovle, for the holy mane sent Bernard says that he has lovdyd wylfull pouerte for Goddis sake, butt neuer filth. Neuer-the-les ylke ane hermett awght to be ware that he wher no habbytt that ys lyke to ony oder order off releygon, so that they that he wonnys nocht among, noþer þey by hyme, ther-off ne slandar him. He may were the heyre, yff he wyll, next his fleych yff ytt lett nott grettly his deuocion in praynge for bytynge off wormis that breidis thar-vndyr. Here (*hair-cloth, cilice*) in his hart weres he euermore whene he thingkis off the passion off owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

This version too is selective (see A for comparison), but not as much as B, and moreover it adds the concluding sentence about a spiritual interpretation of the cilice.

8. Editorial principles

The Latin Rule has been drawn from Oliger's edition. Biblical passages, put in the footnotes by Oliger, have been reinserted into the text.

Given the brevity of the texts, I have gathered in the footnotes three types of annotations:

1. those concerning editing proper, that is corrections of wrong spellings, insertion of words missing in the text which needed to be supplied, either considering the original Latin or according to what the meaning of the sentence required;
2. the translation in modern English of words thought to be difficult to interpret, especially because of unfamiliar spelling;
3. remarks of certain choices of the translator, such as omissions or additions to the Latin original, references to biblical passages and other information and justifications for the correction of certain passages.

For the Middle English texts the following principles have been observed. Abbreviations have been expanded and marked in italics, with the exception of ampersand regularly rendered as 'and'. The abbreviation *Ihu* is expanded as *Ihesu*. The letter <þ> has been maintained; the letter <ȝ> is maintained when it corresponds to modern <y> or <gh>, while it is written as <z> when it corresponds to modern <z, s>. The punctuation, capitalization and paragraphing are editorial. Word-division follows the modern practice. A hyphen has been used to unite words which today are written without a space when they appear separated in the manuscript.

Emendations that consist in the alteration of what is written in the manuscript are denoted by square brackets [], and the manuscript reading is given in the footnotes. Additions required by logic or suggested by the Latin are put within angle brackets < >; when the case

²³ See Domenico Pezzini, *The Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages*, Linguistic Insights, 69 (Bern: Lang, 2008), p. 85.

the Latin reference is given in the footnotes. Emendations that result in the suppression of words or letters in the manuscript are also recorded in the footnotes. Word-initial <ff> has been transcribed simply as <f>, also in words which are joined by hyphen to another word. The beginning of a new folio is indicated in round brackets. Titles and headings in red ink are shown by bold lettering. Latin words are rendered in italics when they are underlined in the manuscript.

Regula eremitarum Oxoniensis (From Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson C. 72)

[Prologus]²⁴

(166v) Quia²⁵ licet status heremitarum regula careat canonica, nichilominus tamen omnibus, qui viam vere paupertatis pro Christo Ihesu elegerunt, valde necessarium est quod sancte vivant, iuxta illud apostoli: *Hec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra* (1Th 4:3).

I. — Qualis debet esse vera paupertas.

Ingrediendi statum heremitarum primo oportet presentem mundum cum omnibus blandimentis eius contempnere, propriam voluntatem pro amore Dei et zelo proximi abnegare; in solo Christo Ihesu confidere, eius voluntatem die nocteque scrutare et pro posse per bona opera exequi, videlicet custodiendo decem precepta decalogi et omnia opera misericordie iugiter exercendo.

II. — Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem.²⁶

In corde et animo semper habeat illud Evangelii: *Vade et vende omnia que habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesauros in celis et veni sequere me* (Mt 19:21; Lc 18:22). Et licet per alia pia opera, prout precepta Dei et opera misericordie, observando legem matrimonii, tenendo divicias seculi bene et pie expendendo et aliis modis bene operando, vitam eternam possit adipisci, melius tamen et verius regnum Dei acquirit, qui Christum per omnem paupertatem sequitur et mundum cum mundanis rebus ob amorem Christi contempnit. Sed longe est a vera Christi paupertate, qui clam vel palam divicias congregat, nisi opus pium et oportunum vel stricta corporis necessitas hoc deponat.

²⁴ The text is given here from the edition of L. Oligier, 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saeculorum XIII–XIV', *Antonianum*, 3 (1928), 151–190 and 291–320, (pp. 312–20). Besides the Latin text proper, religious sources (Rule of St Benedict, Rule of St Francis and the *Regula Cantabrigensis*) are here indicated, while the variant readings of the manuscript, to be found in Oligier's edition, are ignored.

²⁵ The absence of the title of the Prologue, supplied by the editor, and the incipit 'quia', that is 'since' or 'because', which is not normal for the beginning of a sentence, seem to imply that this *Regula* lacks not only the end, but also the beginning. We may suppose that the reference to Pope Celestine V as the author, which is found in all the three versions, and possibly the General Table appearing in the Additional version, were part of the incipit of the Latin Rule now lost.

²⁶ *Religio* means 'religious order'. The word is rendered by 'convent' in S, and 'wilderness' in B. This second part of the title (*licet non ingrediatur in religionem*) appears as the beginning of a sentence in S and B (A does not translate it), and it seems reasonable to think that this was originally the incipit of the chapter. The hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the second sentence of the chapter begins by 'Et licet' which suggests the presence of another *licet* at the beginning of the first sentence. Either the copyist, or the editor, has transferred it back to form part of the title.

III. — De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus.²⁷

Soli Deo debet heremita obedientiam facere, quia ipse est abbas, prior et prepositus sui claustrum, idest cordis sui, pro cuius amore omnia mundana non solum reliquit, immo per gratiam Dei voluntatem habendi deseruit. Episcopo etiam in cuius diocesi habitat et patri suo spirituali, qui noticiam habent condicionum eius, confiteri debet, et patrono loci, si fuerit prelatum ecclesie vel sacerdos bone discretionis, debet, sicut et episcopo notificare vitam et modum vite sue. Et si aliqua viderint in illo emendanda, obediunt consiliis eorum propter Christum magistrum suum, qui dicit: *Qui vos audit, me audit et qui vos spernit, me spernit* (Lc 10:16).²⁸

Omni tempore loquimini veritatem et neminem dubitet pro veritate dicenda, *sed illum solum timeat qui corpus et animam potest* (167r) *mittere in gehennam ignis* (Mt 10:28); et specialiter contra omnes iudeos, saracenos et falsos christianos catholicam fidem sancte romane ecclesie non credentes, pro huiusmodi erroribus destruendis mortem pro fide Christi subire, si oporteat, non formidet.

IV. — De voto suo faciendo.

Omnipotenti Deo faciat votum paupertatis et castitatis cum Dei adiutorio. Votum huiusmodi non debet fieri per preceptum alicuius hominis sive status, sed soli Deo, 'cui servire regnare est' faciat votum suum. Aliter enim videretur quod militaret sub regula vel homine. Sed tamen episcopo si velit faciat votum suum et secundum consilium suum vivat, si potest.

V. — Qualiter recipiat res mundi.

Heremita qui est verus pauper Christi nichil debet desiderare, habere, vel in Dei nomine petere, nisi pro stricta necessitate ad sustentationem sui corporis pertinente. Argentum vel monetam non portet per viam nisi tribus de causis, videlicet pro cella emendanda, vel pro nova construenda vel vestibus seu libris necessariis emendis vel aliis operibus nunc exercendis. Verbi gratia: Si libencius dent homines elemosinam sibi quam indigentibus, recipiat illas in nomine Domini et det pauperi qui plus indiget, et diu eas non retineat sed tempestive pauperiori erogat.

VI. — De providencia in cella sua.

Pauper heremita qui moratur in burgo, villa vel in civitate vel iuxta, ubi possit singulis diebus victum suum cotidianum comode mendicare, residuum victus sui, si quod fuerit, ante solis occasum pauperibus Christi distribuatur. Si vero longe maneat a predictis, prout in villa campestri vel loco deserto, ad unum miliare vel ad duo ab hominibus distante, tunc faciat providenciam stricte pro una septimana, videlicet a dominica in dominicam vel ab alia feria usque ad eandem feriam proximam; et si quid sibi remaneat, statim pauperibus erogetur, nisi certa ratione erga Deum seipsum legitime excusare poterit, hoc est si sit infirmus vel debilis vel infirmum custodierit vel aliqua spiritualia vel corporalia Deo placit[a]²⁹ domi faciat.

²⁷ The Bristol version divides this chapter in three new ones concerning obedience, confession and time of silence respectively. In fact it does not seem particularly in tune with the topic of obedience, as the title runs, especially the final paragraph concerning the duty to tell the truth even at cost of one's life. It may be that in the Latin original a title introducing a new theme has disappeared.

²⁸ This whole paragraph corresponds almost verbatim to a passage from ch. 2 of the *Regula Cantabrigensis*: see Oliger, 'Regulae tres', pp. 304–5.

²⁹ placita] Oliger (or ms.): placida.

VII. — De humilitate in cibis et potibus.

Non sit curiosus de cibariis corporalibus, sed pro Dei amore (167v) ipsa cibaria sociis indigentibus largiatur; et hoc est indicium magnum humilitatis et vere paupertatis.

VIII. — De vestimentis suis.³⁰

Vestimenta habeat secundum ordinacionem episcopi in cuius diocesi moratur vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie et discretus, ita quod vestimenta sint humilia, videlicet non nimium curiosa vel nimium abiecta, secundum illud beati Bernardi, ubi dicit in persona Domini: 'Paupertatem dilexi, sordes nunquam'.³¹ Et ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum, caveat omnino ne habeat habitum ullius religionis in omnibus conformem. Die nocteque nunquam utatur prope carnem lineis, staminis vel mollibus vestimentis, sed laneis et humilibus, ut predicatur, quales inveniri possunt in regno suo in quo habitat. Et si ex devocione iuxta carnem cilicio uti voluerit, bene licebit, nisi fuerit in oratione contemplationis, ita quod pro nimietate vermium ex cilicio proveniencium posset impediri de contemplatione sua, et sic potius intenderet dolori carnis quam contemplacioni spiritus. Cilicium igitur consciencie relinquemus.

IX. — De calciamentis suis.

Non utatur caligis sed sotularibus non curiosis,³² sed quales habere poterit pro amore Dei vel nudus pedes eat, si sine gravamine corporis hoc facere poterit; omnia tamen cum moderamine faciat. *Ve soli!* (Ecl 4:10). Sed non est solus *qui manet in caritate*, quia *in Deo manet et Deus in eo* (1Jo 4:16), ergo cum eo. Nunquam solus eat, si commode secum socius vel famulum habere poterit. Et non circuat patriam nimium, sed per servientem suum, si quem habere poterit, pro suis agendis in nuntium suum mittat, ne nimium solacium corpori suo per illicitas vagaciones tribuat et sic orationem seu devocionem suam, quod absit, per negligentiam perdat. Si vero ultra mare vel in peregrinationem longinquam transire debeat, de licencia patroni sui, si comode cum eo loqui poterit, hoc faciat. Nullam trutannizacionem vel adulacionem per patriam exerceat, sed simpliciter propter Deum victum suum et vestitum mendicet.

X. — De predicatione et mendicatione.

Si doctus sacerdos vel diaconus fuerit, ita quod predicare (168r) sciat et velit, de licencia eorum, quorum interest, verba evangelii pure ad Dei honorem 'et populi edificacionem'³³ cum fiducia et adiutorio Ihesu Christ predicet. Evangelizando igitur et mendicando, 'non oportet eum verecundari, quia dominus Ihesus Christus pro nobis omnibus se fecit pauperem (cf. 2Cor 8:9) in hoc mundo';³⁴ speret igitur *in Domino et faciat bonitatem et inhabitando terram pascetur in divitiis eius* (Ps 36:3).

³⁰ This chapter derives mostly from the Cambridge Rule, ch. 3 (Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', pp. 305–6).

³¹ Oliger remarks that this text, not found in Bernard's works, may be an adaptation from *Vita S. Bernardi* by Geoffrey of Auxerre, ch. 2, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), clxxv, cols 221–454B (col. 306B): 'In vestibus et paupertas semper placuit, sordes nunquam'.

³² See Cambridge, ch. 3, p. 306.

³³ See *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 9 (*Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis*, ed. by Caietanus Esser, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi, 12 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1978), p. 234).

³⁴ *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 6, ed. Esser, pp. 231–32, quoted almost verbatim.

XI. — De sustentacione eius per viam.

In quamcumque domum intraverit primo dicat: *Pax huic domui* (Lc 10:5), edens et bibens *que apud eos sunt* (Lc 10:7), nichil interrogans *propter conscientiam* (1Cor 10:27), sed contentus hiis *que sibi pro Dei amore apponuntur* (Lc 18:8).³⁵

XII. — De silencio heremite.

Quia secundum Scripturam *mors et vita in manibus lingue* sunt (Prv 18:21),³⁶ igitur heremita ad oppositiones, Dei honorem et proximi salutem continentes vel attingentes secundum quod experitur et sentit honeste et humiliter respondat; ‘verba autem ociosa’, frivola et maxime inhonesta ‘et ad risum moventia’³⁷ omnino non loquatur nec libenter audiat.

In cella autem a completorio usque post *Pretiosa*, que sequitur primam horam diei sequentis, non loquatur, nec extra cellam exeat, nisi grandis necessitas hoc deoscat, et tunc ‘cum brevitate sermonis’³⁸ et timore Domini.

XIII. — De abstinencia et ieiunio in domo propria.

Omni tempore heremita cum in propria cella fuerit, tribus diebus in septimana ad minus ieiunet, si sanus fuerit, in pane et aqua, sed propter vigiliam noctis poterit uno genere potagii seu pulmenti vesci, si sua debilitas hoc deoscat. Ieiunabit etiam XL dies ante natale Domini et a LXX^a usque ad pascha et, si posset sine gravamine, in crastino epiphanie hoc ieiunium incipiat,³⁹ et IX dies ante pentecosten et IX dies ante festum beati Michaelis, et singulis aliis diebus ieiunii per annum ab ecclesia romana constitutis. Omni die ieiunii quo ieiunat per annum, non manducabit carnes neque sanguinem nec alium, si posset habere pisses; et de uno (168v) genere pissium sit contentus, nisi caritas et presencia hospitem aliter exigat faciendum. Die vero ieiunii quo pissibus vescitur, ipso die carnibus seu sanguine, nisi urgeat causa legitima, non utatur.

XIV. — Quando liceat heremite domi comedere carnes.

In tribus eciam anni sollempnitatibus cum tribus diebus, si dies carniuum fuerint, sequentibus in heremitagio suo comedere licebit [carnes], videlicet diebus natalis Domini, pasche et pentecostes, et non amplius, nisi tribus ex causis, videlicet pro gravi infirmitate seu debilitate, quousque convaluerit, pro magno labore preterito seu futuro, si necessario indigeat, vel ex precepto alicuius episcopi vel prelati seu loci patroni, si presentes fuerint. Et hoc uno die tantum et non duobus, si sanus corpore fuerit. In illo autem loco et super mensam ubi omni die comedit, minime carnes comedat, si alium locum et aliam mensam habeat, ubi illas honeste comedere posset.

³⁵ This chapter is based on *St Francis' Rule*, ch. 3, ed. Esser, p. 230.

³⁶ The same quotation appears in *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 6.

³⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 6.

³⁸ See *St Francis' Rule*, ch. 9, ed. Esser p. 234.

³⁹ An optional fast between Epiphany and the beginning of Lent is also suggested in the *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 3, ed. Esser, p. 229.

XV. — De proprietate quam habebit.

Licet heremite ut in rebus temporalibus proprietatem habeat, ita quod de temporalitate non superbiat, sed avaricie signum fugiat et in tempore stricte necessitatis proximo suo magis indigenti pro Dei amore subveniat de elemosinis receptis. Quicquid enim recipit, pro Dei amore recipiat et quicquid diligit in celo et in terra, in Deo et secundum Deum diligit. Quicquid etiam largitur vel quicquid boni faciat, pro Deo largiatur et propter amorem Dei totum faciat, tantumque illa que ad victum et vestitum sunt omnino necessaria, cum timore Dei salva sibi reservet.

XVI. — De labore heremite.

Qui labores manuum suarum manducat beatus est et bene sibi erit (Ps 127:2). Igitur una vice ante prandium et alia vice post, quia dicit apostolus: qui non laborat, non manducet (2Th 3:10), in ferialibus diebus tantum, in omni tempore anni, in loco suo, si legitime poterit, aliquid manibus operetur, loco et tempore oportunis. Quoniam 'ociositas inimica est anime',⁴⁰ per qu[a]m⁴¹ diabolus multos solet decipere.⁴²

XVII. — Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere.

In tunica sua iaceat heremita cinctus zona vel corda⁴³ (169r) omni tempore anni. Media nocte, in quantum illam horam melius aptare potest, ad confitendum Deo surgat. A pascha autem usque ad exaltationem sancte crucis ad solis occasum cubat et ad ortum surgat et horam primam dicat et post prandium meridianum dormiat.⁴⁴ Et ab exaltatione sancte crucis usque ad pascha cum aurora diei surgat. In quadragesima vero usque ad claram diem dormiat et horam primam incipiat.

XVIII. — De matutinis dicendis.

Ante matutinum dicat ante crucem *Credo in Deum* et III *Pater noster* et quinquies *Ave Maria*; in choro *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*. Postea XV psalmos graduales et dividantur in tres turbas: Prima pro defunctis cum *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, oratio *Inclina Domine* vel *Absolve*. 2a turba pro peccatis suis et pro benefactoribus suis, cum *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, oratio *Deus cui proprium est*. 3a turba pro sancta ecclesia et pro pace et pro cuncto populo Dei: *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, oratio *Pretende Domine* etc. Et tunc matutinum de Domina, postea de die, secundum usum episcopatus, in quo moratur, vel de usu curie romane, si tales libros habeat. Qui autem de omni uso canonizato licite potest uti et monastico, pro eo quod non est regulata persona nec ad chori servicium per professionem obligata.

⁴⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 48, *Cantabrigensis* ch. 4 (Oliger, p. 306).

⁴¹ quam] quem.

⁴² This sentence is similar to what is found in the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, wrongly attributed to Augustine: 'Certe multi audacia diabolica decipiuntur' (*Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), xl, cols. 1235–1358 (col. 1355), l. 14).

⁴³ *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 22, *Cant.* ch. 3 (Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', p. 306).

⁴⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 48.

XIX. — Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis.

Ab exaltatione sancte crucis usque ad pascha ante vespervas dicatur *Placebo* et *Dirige*. Et quando de feria cantatur, tunc debet dici commendacio ante missam. Aliis vero diebus, quando sibi melius vacaverit, ante prandium dicatur commendacio. In estatis vero tempore, graciis dictis, et postea statim nona dicta, dicatur *Placebo*, et post sompnium meridianum ante vespervas *Dirige* cum laudibus dicatur. In paschali vero tempore et diebus IX lectionum dicere *Placebo* et *Dirige* nisi ex devocione minime tenetur.

XX. — De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditationis.

Media nocte ante matutinum vel post, primo de die iudicii ad yma humilitatis inquirenda, et postea de natali Christi et de passione eiusdem. Ad primam iudica teipsum miserum et quomodo Christus pro te a iudeis iudicatus est et de resurrectione cogita. Ad III^{am} ad veram penitenciam et disciplinam accipiendam cor tuum prepara, et de Christi flagellatione et de (169v) missione spiritus sancti cogita. Ad VI^{am} quomodo factus est homo de luto et cinere etc. et secundum animam ad ymaginem Dei et similitudinem eius factus est, et de incarnatione Christi et de crucifixione eiusdem cogita. Ad IX^{am} de tua hora novissima et de morte Ihesu Christi et de ascensione eiusdem. Ad vespervas quomodo suffragia nostra, si iusta sint, possunt animas a purgatorio liberare, et quomodo ante vespervas Christus est lanceatus et postea de cruce depositus, et de lamentacione beate Virginis circa crucem. Ad completorium de sepultura Christi et de sudore sanguineo, quando oravit ad Patrem. Similiter cogita post de dispersione bonorum et malorum in die iudicii et de penis inferni et de gaudiis celi. Et segura mente in timore Domini et amore postea requiesce. Ad horam autem sextam et nonam brevior sit contemplacio quam ad alias horas, quia illis horis plus concupiscit caro adversus spiritum quam aliis, quia tria omni carni humane omnino sunt necessaria, videlicet cibus et potus ad nutriendum, dormicio et sompnus ad dirigendum⁴⁵ et vestimentum ad corpus tegendum et frigus depellendum.

XXI. — De hora prima dicenda.

Tempore yemali in aurora diei heremita primam de die devote incipiat et postea de beata Maria primam dicat. Similiter post terciam, sextam, nonam et completorium de die, ipsas easdem horas beate Virginis eodem modo quo ad primam devote persolvat. Hiis dictis statim post pro seipso et pro benefactoribus suis et omni populo christiano septem psalmos penitenciales cum letania decantet. Et tunc vel ante primam, si in aliquo peccato conscienciam suam lesam senserit, patri spirituali, sacerdoti, si presens fuerit, confiteatur et pro commisso penitenciam peragat salutarem.

XXII. — Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire.

In diebus, in quibus laborare debet, dicta prima, ut premittitur, et in dominicis diebus celebret vel audiat missam et statim post finem misse, dicat: *Gaude Virgo, mater Christi*, cum versiculo: *Exaltata est* etc. cum oracione *Deus qui beatam Mariam Virginem in conceptu et partu* et cetera.

⁴⁵ Probably one should read 'digerendum'.

The reule and the levyng of heremytys (BL MS Additional 34193)

(131r) Here begynnys the chapitoris of the reule and of the levyng of heremytys.

The fyrst chapitour ys of the for-sakyng of this wrechyd worlde

The secounde of þe obdience of an hermyte

The thyrde his⁴⁶ of his wowe

The fourte ys of his pouerte

The fyfte is of his demenyng

The vi of his clothis

The vii is of his schoune

The viii is of his sylence keyng

The ix is of his abstinence⁴⁷

The x is when he shall ete flesche

The xi is of his *propurte*

The xii is when he shall lygge and when he shall rysse

The xiii is of þe *maner* and of þe tyme of his *contemplacion*

The xiiii is whatoure he shall do messe or here masse

The xv is of his silence at þe borde *with labour* and *refeccion*

The xvi is of his schryfte and housell

The xvii is of þe servys of a lay heremyte

Here begynnys þe Reule of heremytis made and compiled of the blessed pope Celestine þe v, the wylke pope Celestine whas an heremyte or⁴⁸ he whas pope.⁴⁹

Capitulum primum⁵⁰

The first chapitour is of forsakyng of this worlde⁵¹ (Ox I)

(131v) Yt behovys heremytis to dyspise and forsake þe worlde with all his mylde spechis and glosyng; his owne wyll for þe love of Cryste he must forsake sadly, and⁵² stedfastly to trast in Cryst Ihesu. Also þe wylle of Cryste, bothe be day and nyght, he owis to followe and to full-fylle *with* all his power and myght, warkyng and doying all *maner* of gude werkis and vertus occupacions, þat is to say in keyng and fulfyllinge the x *commaundementis* of God all-myghty, in vsyng and hawntyng vertuosly all gude werkys of mercy (Ox II) that he may holsomly and holyly do þe pore man of Cryste Ihesu, and all-way that he have in his herte <and> in his sawlle the intent and the worde of the holy gospell where is wretyn on this wysse: *Vade et vende omnia que possides et da pauperibus et veni sequere me* (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22).⁵³ Owur Lorde sais: ‘Goe and sell all þat thow hasse and gyffe it to þe pore, and come and follow me’.

⁴⁶ The manuscript uses *is* and *his* indifferently.

⁴⁷ abstinence] *abstynence*.

⁴⁸ *or* = ‘before’.

⁴⁹ This attribution of the Rule to pope Celestine v, present also in S and B, has no correspondent in Ox.

⁵⁰ Unlike S and B, A omits the translation of the Prologue of Ox, in which the need of a rule for hermits is justified precisely because their state is not ‘canonized’, that is not structured according to the canon law of the Church.

⁵¹ Latin title: ‘Qualis debet esse vera paupertas’.

⁵² and] *and and*.

⁵³ The Latin quotation is underlined in the ms. This long sentence amalgamates the conclusion of ch. I, the title and the beginning of ch. II of Ox.

And yf a man be þe *preceptis* of <God> and Goddis *commaundmentis* <or> by odur gude ocupacyons and *werkis* of mercy may get *euer*lastyng joye and blysse in kepyng the lawe of trewe goyng and selling, in havynge and holdyng dyvers riches of this worlde, trewly and faithfully theme spendyng, and be odur trewe menys wyll⁵⁴ workyng, nevyr-the-lesse a man gettis the kyndome of God more verely þe wyll followis Cryste in all maner mekenes and pouerte, and for-sakkis and dyspicyis þe worlde *with* worldely thyngis for Crystis love. Of this bere wyttenes Saynt Austyn sayng on this wysse: ‘Yt is <good>⁵⁵ to geff almus to þe pore with dysponsacyon, but it is better, for intente follyng God, ones⁵⁶ wyll to gyff and *euer* *with* Criste heavenly to lyffe’.⁵⁷ But he is farre fro Cristes trew pouerte þe wyllke pr[i]vely⁵⁸ and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse, but yf hit ‘so’⁵⁹ be <that> he cast hym to do some gude *þer-with*, or els that þe streyte need of his body requere yt and aske [ytt].⁶⁰ Thus endis þe first chapitour.

The secounde of þe obedience of an hermite (Ox III)

(132r) An herimite also owes to make his obedience all-only to all-myght God, for he is abote, prior and þe goernour of his cloyster, þat is to say of his hert, for whosse lawe⁶¹ he hase not for-sakyte all-only all wardely thyngis, but also þe varray worlde, and also his owne wyll be þe vertu and grasse of Ihesu Cryste. Also he owis to notyfie and shew his lyffe to þe byschop in whos diosice he dewllis, and þe patrone of þe plase yf he be a prelate of þe kyrke, or to a prest of gude dyscression and conuersacion. And yf so be þat they cane fynde or fele any thyng in hym to be a-mendyed, [yt]⁶² be-fallys hym to obey to there counsellis and theyr correccionys for þe love of Criste hys master, þe wilk says: ‘<He> tha[t]⁶³ heris yow <heris> me, and he þat dyspicyis yow dyspisis me’ (Lk 10:16).

Evyr þat he speke trewth and drede no maner for trouthe to be saide, but þat ‘he drede him þat may chaste bothe body and sowlle into *euer*-lastyng fyr’ (Mt 10:28), and yet he behovys hym not for to drede noder Ives ne Sarsonys,⁶⁴ and in aspecyall falsse Crystynn menn not be-levyng in þe feith of holy kyrk; for þis erysy and all oþer poyntis of errysy; and to susteyne, maynten and encris þe feith of Criste, yt be-hovys hym to dye.

⁵⁴ *wylle* = ‘well’.

⁵⁵ good] Lat. ‘Bonum est’.

⁵⁶ *ones* = ‘one’s’

⁵⁷ [Of this... to lyffe]: this passage with the quotation is not in the Latin, but it appears also in B and S, where the name of St Bernard is added. The sentence is taken from the *Ecclesiastica Dogmatica* by Gennadius of Marseilles, and appears in Thomas Aquinas’s *Catena aurea in Matthaem* (cap. 19, lectio 5) quoted again twice in the *Summa Theologica* (IIa IIae, quest. 32, art. 8; IIa IIae, quest. 186, art. 3): ‘Bonum est enim facultates cum dispensatione pauperibus erogare: melius est pro intentione sequendi dominum insimul donare, et absolutum sollicitudine egere cum Christo’. The translation in A is pretty literal, except for the concluding sentence in which ‘egere cum Christo’ (be poor with Christ) is rendered by ‘live heavenly’ with him. S has a more literal translation: ‘folowe Cryste in pouerness’.

⁵⁸ prively] *provely*.

⁵⁹ so written above the line.

⁶⁰ ytt] *yett*.

⁶¹ lawe: Lat. ‘amor’, S/B *loue*.

⁶² yt] *yet*.

⁶³ that] *tha*.

⁶⁴ *Ives ne Sarsonys* = ‘Jews nor Sarrazins’.

The thirde his of hys wowe (Ox IV)

Euery hermite be-fallys to make his wowe of pouerte and of chastyte with þe helpe of God. Nevir þe lesse þe wowe of suche a mann owys not to [be]⁶⁵ mad be þe precepte of any mann of⁶⁶ his state, but all-only to God, whome [to]⁶⁷ serue yt is a kyngdome, or ellis yt shuld seme þat he shuld forfett agayne his rewle or agayne mann. But nethelesse be-fore þe bysshop yf he wyll he may make hy[s]⁶⁸ wow aftyr his dyspo[si]cyon.⁶⁹

The forthe his of his pouerte (Ox V)

He that is a very pore herimite of Cryste shud no thyng desire nor ask no thyng in Godis name but yt be for grett indigence or streyt necessite to þe relevynge of his body. Also he shall not bere be þe way nedour gold nor sylyour nor no mony butt be thre⁷⁰ (132v) caussis, þat is to say: odur to mende his selle *with*, or ell⁷¹ to mak a new celle, or ellis for his clothis, or ellis for some necessary boke to be bought, or ellis to be hawnted *with* some othir gudde werkis of mercy. Yf so peraventure men gladly wyll gyffe hym allmesse <for> nedelyng, lett hym ressayve yt in þe name of God, and lett hym gyff yt to a porre man, and a nedyar⁷² man, and þat he holde it not longe.

The fyfte of his dymenyng⁷³ in his celle (Ox VI)

A pore herimite dewllynge in a cette, or in a burgh towne, or in any odur towne where he may commodusly begge his every day lyvelode and sustynauce, be-hovis to dele þe relyff⁷⁴ of his vitalis and lyvelod, what-some-euer þat he <has>,⁷⁵ be-for þe sone-sett to pore almus pepull of God. And yf so be [þat]⁷⁶ he dewell farre fro þe forsaide pepull, as in a deserte place, or in a grange in þe felde a myle or two for men, thane he muste make his purviaunce on owne day for all þe weke followynge, þat is to say from svnday to svnday, or from own⁷⁷ feryall day unto þe same foluynge, and that he levis be lyve⁷⁸ þat he dele to the pore, but yf so be þat he may excuse hym selfe lawfully agayne God *with* a resonabyll excuse, that is to say yf he <be> seke or ylle dyssposed, or ellis þat he kepe⁷⁹ a seke man, or yf so be that he do some odour gude dede at home þat is plessynge to God.

(Ox VII) He may not be lusty nor lycours⁸⁰ to no dilectabyll mete nor drynkis, butt for þe

⁶⁵ be] *me*.

⁶⁶ Lat. 'alicius hominis sive status'. A,S,B may have read 'sive/seu' as 'sui'.

⁶⁷ to] *he*: Lat. 'cui servire regnare est'.

⁶⁸ hys] *hye*.

⁶⁹ dysposicyon] *dyspocion*.

⁷⁰ thre] *there*: Lat. 'tribus de causis'.

⁷¹ The manuscript uses alternatively *ellis* and *ell* for 'else'.

⁷² *nedyar* = 'needier, more indigent'.

⁷³ *dymenyng* = 'behaviour, management' (Lat. *providencia*, translated 'purviaunce' in the chapter).

⁷⁴ *relyff* = 'remains (of a meal)', Lat. 'residuum'.

⁷⁵ has] Lat. 'si quod fuerit'.

⁷⁶ þat] *þe*.

⁷⁷ *own* = 'one'.

⁷⁸ *he levis be lyve* = 'he leaves by leave': Lat. 'si quid sibi remaneat'.

⁷⁹ kepe] *peke*, Lat. 'custodierit'.

⁸⁰ *licours* = 'lecherous'.

luffe of God be-fallis to gyffe to⁸¹ a preste⁸² *with* his pore and nedy fellowys, for this is þe dome⁸³ and þe payment of very pouerte and of gret mekenes and charite

The vjte is of his clothis (Ox VIII)

Hyt ys leuefull to a pore herimete to have his clothis fter þe ordinaunce and demenyd of þe bishop in whos dyosyce þat he dewellis, or of his patron⁸⁴ yf he be a prelate of þe kyrke, in so mykell þat [his]⁸⁵ clothis must be meke, þat is to say not ovir couryose nor ouer sluttishely: vnto this acordis saynt Barnarde where he sais in latyn in this vyse: *Paupertatem dilexi and numquam sordes*: I had loved pouerte (133r) and mekenes, but neuer fylthe nor vnclenlynesse. And he must have in mynde and vmbethyn[k]e⁸⁶ devowtly and gracyosly of his holy relygyon, also þat he be well ware and a-fore provide þat he have note [þe same]⁸⁷ or þe lyke schappe in all thyng nor no odur relygyon butt of hys [own],⁸⁸ and also⁸⁹ þat he may were no lynyn stamynes nor [no]⁹⁰ softe shyrtis, butt [be]-hovyis⁹¹ hym to were meke clothys and <woollen>⁹² clothys and honeste clothis als beforesaide.⁹³ And yf so be þat of devosyon agayne temptacion of fleshe þat he wyll were herre, well and lawfully he may yf so be þat yt be thourgh his owne devocyon. But yf this be an impediment to stere hym fro þat devocyon, þat yf it be thurgh bredyng of mykell *vermy*n be-twyne þe fleshe and þe heyre [that he is intent]⁹⁴ rather to þe flesshe þan to þe contemplacyon of þe sprite, rather or⁹⁵ yt shulde be so, as God for bede, *with*-drawe yt as for tyme, and thus we for-sake þe heyre [to]⁹⁶ his conscience.

⁸¹ gyffe to] *gyffe and to*.

⁸² a preste] not in the Latin.

⁸³ *dome*: Lat *indicium* has evidently been read as *iudicium*, unless this was the reading of some manuscripts.

⁸⁴ The ms. has here 'yf þe be his patron' which seems to be an unnecessary and intrusive repetition. See Lat.: 'vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatu ecclesie et discretus'.

⁸⁵ his] *is*.

⁸⁶ vmbethynke] *ymbethynge*. The verb (other forms: umbepenke, um(bi)thinke) means 'meditate'.

⁸⁷ þe same] *J sane*. Long J may easily be confused with þ.

⁸⁸ own] *don*.

⁸⁹ and also] *and also and also*.

⁹⁰ no] *nor*.

⁹¹ be] *þe*.

⁹² woollen] Lat. 'sed laneis'.

⁹³ als beforesaide] *als it saide beforesaide*.

⁹⁴ MS 'rather or yt shulde be so, as God for bede, *with*-drawe yt as for tyme, and so rather to þe flesshe þan to þe contemplacyon of þe sprite'. As it stands the sentence in italics does not make sense and it seems clearly misplaced, probably because the copyist was misled by the repetition of 'rather'. I have anticipated the sentence putting it before 'rather or yt shulde be', since it does not come as a conclusion (suggested by 'and so') to what precedes, which is an invitation to suspend the use of the hair-cloth for a time if it becomes an impediment to prayer. I have also inserted the phrase 'that he is intent' to make sense of what in the Latin is: 'et sic pocius intenderet dolori carnis quam contemplacioni spiritus'. The verb *intenderet* has not been translated making things even more confused.

⁹⁵ or = 'before'.

⁹⁶ to] *of*. The translator has read 'conscience' as a genitive of 'cilicium' instead of a dative as it should be.

The vijte off his shone (Ox IX)

Hose he may nott were by his religion but schone not cvryus, yf all he may⁹⁷ haue them⁹⁸ gyffyn in almus for þe l[o]ue⁹⁹ of Crest, or ellis þat he go barefote *with* this, þat he may do [yt]¹⁰⁰ *withoutyn* any grete greuauce of hys body, neuere-þe-lesse þat he do all thyng be his wyll *with* dyscressyon and moderacion *with* mesurabylnesse.¹⁰¹ Let hym be ware also þat he walke not¹⁰² ne wunder¹⁰³ not be feldis nor townis alone *without* a fellow or a *seruaunt*, and also þat he goe not into þe cuntre ovyr oftyn but by his owne *seruaunt*.¹⁰⁴ Whomesomeuer he may have to goe or to ride on his messages or on his erandis to be don, lete hym send to do his intent as far forthe as he may, leste he have not ovyr mykell solace and sporte vnto þe delyte of his body by vnfull wawerynge and *superfluite*, þat he schulde, as God for bede, [lose]¹⁰⁵ his dewete to *prayer* or his holy religion.

Also yf so be þat he caste hym to passe ouer see or more farre, and entre thes on pylgrymage, he oves to have licence of þe patron, yf he may esyly come to his speche, and in case be þat he have lycence to go, latt hym be well warre þat he vse nor excercyse no long dewellynge nor turtamyzacion¹⁰⁶ in þe cuntreth be þis way as he goos simplyly and mekely. His lyvelode and clothyng *comptenly*¹⁰⁷ he may begge in þe worship and in þe name of God.

(Ox X) And if so be þat he be a sufficient lerned man *odour* preste <who could preche>¹⁰⁸ þe wordis of þe holy gospel, then wyth þe leve of þe curett þat is to [say]¹⁰⁹ of þe person vicar or *parshe* preste of þe place þer he desyris to preche after his dysposicion,¹¹⁰ he may prech when yt be-fallis the wordis of (133v) gospell sadely, and dyscretely to prech in þe honoure of God and þe gostely wylfare of his neybouris. In prechyng and in beggyng hym houis not to be shamed.¹¹¹

(Ox XI) In what-som-euer hows he shall entyr in, furst he must say theys wordis in latyn *pax huic domui* (Lk 10:5), þe wiche er as mykell to say as ‘pes be in þis hows’, etyng and drynkyng the thynges þat he sees them do (see Lk 10:7) or heris them say. Yt be-fallys hym nott to aske for peryshyng of his consencie, butt it be-houes hym to holde hym content and plesyd *with* sich *almus* as ys sett be-fore hym (cf. Lk 18:8) for *preystis* loue.¹¹² (Ox XII) Ydell wordis and vayne and most vn honeste wordis he shall not speke in no wysse nor gladelly here.¹¹³

⁹⁷ may] *may not*. Lat. ‘quales habere poterit’. The translation in S and B is correct.

⁹⁸ by cancelled in the MS.

⁹⁹ loue] *leue*.

¹⁰⁰ yt] *yet*.

¹⁰¹ *with* dyscressyon and moderacion *with* mesurabylnesse: Lat. ‘cum moderamine’.

¹⁰² MS ~~walke not~~ walke not.

¹⁰³ *wunder* = ‘wander’.

¹⁰⁴ *seruaunt*] *service*. Lat. ‘sed per seruientem suum’; S/B: *seruaund*.

¹⁰⁵ lose] *and offer*. Lat. ‘perdat’, B *leese*. Did the translator read ‘offerat’ for ‘perdat’?

¹⁰⁶ *turtamyzacion*: Lat. ‘trutanizacio’, from ‘trutanus, trutanizare’, said of people who, not wanting to work, wandered around begging through feigning a condition of poverty.

¹⁰⁷ *comptenly* = ‘conveniently, properly’.

¹⁰⁸ who could preche] Lat. ‘ita quod predicare sciat vel velit’.

¹⁰⁹ say] *þis saide*.

¹¹⁰ [þe leve ... dysposicion] translates ‘de licencia eorum quorum interest’.

¹¹¹ Ox has here a sentence with quotations from the *Rules* of St Francis (ch. 6) and St Benedict (ch. 6) plus Prv 18:21 which are not translated.

¹¹² Lat. ‘pro Dei amore’.

¹¹³ This translates only the second part of the first paragraph of ch. XII.

The vijte is of his scilence kepyng (Ox XII)

[Fro]¹¹⁴ Complyne be saide vnto aftyr Preciosa,¹¹⁵ þe wylke folovys Pryme of þe day foluyng, he shall nott speke nodour *within* his celle nor *withowt*, nor he shall passe <out>¹¹⁶ *withowte* gretter necessite require yt, and after *with* þe moste short wordis and *with* gret drede of God he may speke.

The ix is of his abstyn[e]nce (Ox XIII)

Whane an hermite is in his owne celle, he owys to faste thre days in þe weke all tymes of þe 3erre [yf]¹¹⁷ so be þat he be holle¹¹⁸ and welle dysposed, þat is to say þe wedynsday, þe fryday and þe settur-day,¹¹⁹ and he shall fast brede and wader every fryday. Not-*with*-stondyng be cause of wacheyng in þe nyght, he may ete von¹²⁰ kind pottage, or fede yf his febulnes aske ytt, or require yt. He shall faste also for þe Exaltacyon of þe Holy Crosse, þat is to say fro Holy Rode messe to Passe yf he be in his owne celle, excepte xii days, þat is to say Crystemasse day, and viii dayis be-fore Wytsonday,¹²¹ and all þe oþer days be þe 3erre ordayned and constitute be þe holy kyrke of Rome. Eueri day þat he fastis thurght þe 3erre, he may ete no flesche, ne blode, nor wytmete,¹²² nor in specyall no eggis,¹²³ yf he may gete fyssche, and þen he must holde hym content and plessed *with* oonys kind fysshe, but yf so be þat yt be thorough þe cause of gestis þat he may take more vpon hym; not-*with*-stondyng he must do all thyng *with* moderacion and gude discrecyon.¹²⁴

(134r) The x is when he shall ette fleshe (Ox XIV)

In þe thre solempnites of þe yerre *within* iii days followyng, yf they be flesshe days, he may ette fleshe in his hermitage, þat is to say in Yolle day, Pasche day and Wyttynsvnday, and no moe butt thre causis, þat is to say: *odour* be gret sykenesse or febulnesse to þe tyme þat he be recomformed, for [his]¹²⁵ dyl labour passed or to com, but yf he nede greterly or all, butt yf yt be thorough þe *precepte* of any bysshopp or *prelate* or *patrone*. Yf any of those be present and gyffe hym licence, he may ette flesh, and yet yf he have his bodely hellth, he may ete but oon day in that plasse at þe borde that where he *etis* dayly lesse flesh late hym ette,¹²⁶ or ellis yf he have any othir plase or any othir borde wherre he may honestly ete his fleshe

¹¹⁴ Fro] *for*.

¹¹⁵ This is the antiphon 'Preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius'.

¹¹⁶ out] Lat. 'nec extra cellam exeat'.

¹¹⁷ yf] *ye*.

¹¹⁸ holle = 'whole, in good health'.

¹¹⁹ The specification of the days is not in the Latin.

¹²⁰ von = 'one'.

¹²¹ [He shall... Wytsonday] not in the Latin, where there are different rules; 'viiij dayis' translates 'ix dies'.

¹²² wytmete = 'food prepared with milk, *lacticinium*'.

¹²³ [nor wytmete ... eggis] for the Latin 'nec alium'.

¹²⁴ This last sentence is an addition to the Latin.

¹²⁵ his] *he*.

¹²⁶ Late hym ette: 'let him eat', Lat. 'minime carnes comedat'.

The xj is of his propurte (Ox XV)

Yt is lefeffull to any hermite þat he haue possession in temporall goodis, in so mekell þat he be gyue nott to wax provde and to syne temporaly¹²⁷ in þe syne of covetyssye, and þe tyme of streyte necessite he muste helpe and socour his neybour more nedynge þan he with suche goodis and almus be-fore rehersed in the name of God.¹²⁸ Whatsom þat he resayvis, he muste resayve þat in þe name of God, and what some evyr that he loffe ordur¹²⁹ in heven or in erthe, for þe loffe of God, hit befallis hym to love hit. Whatsom-euer he gyffe to any gude man for God and for the loue of God, he ys yet.¹³⁰

(Ox XVI) But blessed be and welle his hym þat etis or drynkis thyngis trewly getyn with þe dylygent travayle of his owne handis (see Ps 127:2). Vnto this acordis þe apostyll: ‘He þat wyll not labour, he sais, he shall not ete’ (2Th 3:10). All þe tymes of þe yerre in specyall days he owys to wyrke som-what with his handis a whylle afore mette and a whylle aftyr mete, so þat [be]¹³¹ don in a conve(134v)nabyll tyme, so þat he sett not ydell, for ydelnesse his a grete enmy to mannes sowlle, be þe wylke þe devyll hasse manny dyssaytis to cacche and brynge mannys soule to thorlledame.¹³²

The xij is wh[e]ne¹³³ he shall lygge and when he schall rysse (Ox XVII)

Hit be-hovys an hermite to lygge in cotte,¹³⁴ gyrd with a gyrdell or with a corde. All tymes of þe 3erre, he muste rysse at mydnyght to make knowlech¹³⁵ to God. Also fro Passe vnto Holy Rodemesse at þe sone-rysse he muste rysse Prime to be saide, and after mete [l]atte¹³⁶ hym scleppe his meredyan, and fro Holly Rode-messe vnto Passe he muste rysse with fraynge of þe day, and¹³⁷ in Lenton he shall rysse at lyght day, and thane he may scleppe lawfully att aftyr Nonys.¹³⁸

(Ox XVIII) Hys Mateyns he muste say be-for þe crosse. Also v Pater noster, v Aues and thre Credis. After þe xv psalmus¹³⁹ for alle his gude doerris,¹⁴⁰ and thes xv psalmus owe to be devydede in thre turbis: at þe ende of þe furst turbe hys collet shall be *Inclina*, in the ende of þe secunde turbe his collet shall be *Deus cui proprium*, at þe ende of the thryde turbe his collet shall be *Pretende*.

¹²⁷ Lat. ‘de temporalitate non superbiat’. The word *temporalitas* means an ecclesiastical revenue; the translator has misinterpreted the word.

¹²⁸ Here as in the following line the phrase translates ‘pro Dei amore’.

¹²⁹ *ordur* = ‘either’.

¹³⁰ See the Latin: ‘quicquid etiam largitur vel quicquid boni faciat pro Deo largiatur et propter amorem Dei totum faciat’. The rendering of ‘quicquid boni’ by ‘to any gude man’ is incorrect, and the clause ‘he ys yet’ apparently has no meaning, unless it is the beginning of what in the Latin appears as ‘tantumque illa que ad victum et vestitum sunt omnino necessaria, cum timore Dei salva sibi reservet’.

¹³¹ be] *he*.

¹³² *thorlledame* = ‘thralldom, slavery’.

¹³³ whene] *whne*.

¹³⁴ *cotte* = ‘coat’.

¹³⁵ *to make knowlech* = ‘to acknowledge’, Lat. ‘ad confitendum’.

¹³⁶ latte] *hatte*.

¹³⁷ MS ‘thane he may’ cancelled, probably copied from the line that follows, where it is rightly placed.

¹³⁸ Cf. Lat. ‘in Quadragesima vero usque ad claram diem dormiat’.

¹³⁹ The reference is to the so-called *Psalmi graduales*, that is Ps. 119–33.

¹⁴⁰ *gude doerris*: a calque on ‘bene-factores’.

And¹⁴¹ after this ordur of saynge [þer]¹⁴² followis sertayne psalmus,¹⁴³ that is to say: ps. *Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, ps. *Leuau*, ps. *Letatus sum*, ps. *Ad te leuau*, ps. *Nisi*, and all those psalmus forsad shall be saide withoutyn Gloria Patri. Also at the laste ende of theys psalmus he shall say *Requiem eternam et lux perpetua*,¹⁴⁴ Pater noster, Ave Maria, Et ne nos, Sed libera, A porta inferi erue, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oracio: *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*, <ad precem nostram et ne nos de manu tuae miseracionis excludas et, quia mirabilia tua non in tenebris sed in lumine cognoscuntur, tetra peccati nostri discute fulgore virtutis tuae et fac luce radiare iustitiae, ut, qui verbum vitae fide inclinabili continemus, dilectionis in te atque proximum tuo testimonio fulgeamus>, per Christum Dominum nostrum.¹⁴⁵ Amen. Aftur this folowis v psalmus¹⁴⁶ with Gloria Patri at þe ende of ylk on of theys, and thes er þe ps. *Qui confidunt*, ps. *In confitendo* ps. *Nisi Dominus*, ps. *Beati omnes*, ps. *Sepe expugnauerunt*, Gloria patri, Sicut erat, Kyryelleison, Christelleison, Kyryelleison, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos. Sed. *Memento Domine in beneplacito populi tui*, *Visita* (135r) *nos in salutari tuo*, *Memor esto congregationis tue quem possedisti ab inicio*, *Domine exaudi*, *Et clamor*, Oracio: *Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere* propiciare anime famuli tui et omnia peccata eius dimitte, vt [mortis]¹⁴⁷ vinculis absoluta, tuam sempre mereatur <transire> ad vitam.¹⁴⁸ And aftyr this follous ordur¹⁴⁹ v psalmus¹⁵⁰ with Gloria Patri at þe ende of ylke of them, and thesse ar they: Ps *De profundis*, ps *Domine non est*, ps *Memento* and ps *Ecce quam bonum* ps. *Ecce nunc*, Gloria Patri, Kyryelleison, Christelleison, Kyryelleison, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos, Sed libera, Domine saluos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus salutis mee, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oracio: *Pretende Domine famulis et famulabus tuis dexteram celestis auxilii, vt te toto corde perquirant, et que digne postulant assequantur*.¹⁵¹ *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

(XVIII) Aftyr theys he owes to be-gynne devowtely Matens of Oure Lady, and aftyr that of þe day.¹⁵² (XIX) And fro Holly Rodemesse vnto Pashe he owis to say *Placebo* and *Diryge* be-for Evynsonge, and Commendacion be-fore None.¹⁵³ Also in somor, after grace seyde, be lyffe he shall say þe IX Owre and *Placebo*, and aftyr hy[s]¹⁵⁴ meridian slepe, be-fore

¹⁴¹ All the following paragraph is an addition proper to A.

¹⁴² þer] þe.

¹⁴³ Ps. 119–23.

¹⁴⁴ The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

¹⁴⁵ The integration is from *Corpus Orationum*, ed. by Eugenius Moeller, Ioannes Maria Clément and Bertrandus Coppieters, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 160, 14 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992–2004), 160D, p. 39 (no. 3110).

¹⁴⁶ Ps. 124–28, here indicated by their incipits.

¹⁴⁷ mortis] *meritis*.

¹⁴⁸ See *Corpus Orationum*, 160A, p. 134 (no. 1141).

¹⁴⁹ ordur = ‘other’.

¹⁵⁰ Ps. 129–33.

¹⁵¹ See *Corpus Orationum*, 160F, p. 135 (no. 4587).

¹⁵² ‘secundum usum episcopatus, in quo moratur, vel de usu curie romane, si tales libros habeat. Qui autem de omni usu canonizato licite potet uti et monastico, pro eo quod non est regulata persona nec ad chori servicium per professionem obligata’: A *om*.

¹⁵³ ‘Et quando de feria cantatur, tunc debet dici commendacio ante missam. Aliis vero diebus, quando sibi melius vacaverit, ante prandium dicatur commendacio’: A translates only the last clause. The *commendacio* was a prayer for the dead. It may consist of Psalm 118 (*Beati immaculati*), Psalm 138 (*Domine probasti*), some versicles, Pater and a final Collect. A York *Primer* places the hymn *Gaude Virgo* in the Commendations (see Littlehales, *The Prymer*, lxxii).

¹⁵⁴ hys] *hy*.

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Evynsonge he owes to say *Dyryge with Laudes*. In tyme of Passhe, in festis of ix lessonys, he is not bindyn to say *Placebo* but of devocyon.

The xiiij is of þe maner and of the tyme of his contemplacion (Ox XX)¹⁵⁵

Aftyr Matens he owis to thynke devoutely of þe byrht of Cryste and also of his gloriys passyon; after Prima of þe resurrexion of Cryste and of his assencion, and after þe Thred Owre he owes to thynke of þe sonde¹⁵⁶ of þe Holy Goste, and after þe Sext Oure of þe Incarnacion of Cryste and the Crucifyng of þe same. After þe IX Owre of Crystis assencion and of his dethe. After Evynsonge of þe *sopur* of Ihesu and of his puttyng downe fro þe crosse; after Complyn (135v) he owyes to haue in mynde þe berynge¹⁵⁷ of Cryste and his body suetyng whane he prayed to þe Fader. In þe Sext Oure and þe IX Owre he must haue a schortter contemplacyon thane many *odur owrris* for in þesse ij ourris þe flesh fyghtes more fervently¹⁵⁸ þan in anny oþer owre. For therre be thre thyngis þat ar nessesary all-way in mannes fleshe, þat is to say, mete and drynke to be norryssed *with*, sleppe and fell¹⁵⁹ slombryng to be dysgestyd¹⁶⁰ *with*, and computent¹⁶¹ clothyng to be couered with.

(XXI) In winter sesonne in the mornynge owes þe hermite devoutely to be-gyne Prime of þe day, and afterwarde of *Owur* Lady. The Thried, Sext and IX Howris of þe day also he shall say, and aftur ylke an owre of *Owre* Lady. This saide anoyf for hym selfe and for all his gude doers and for all crystyn pepull, he shall be-gyne vij psalmus¹⁶² and þe lateny, excepte þe sundays and holydays þat when he owis to be shryven of his gostely *fadour*.

The xiiii is what owre he shall do masse or here masse (Ox XXII)

Prime of þe <day> fully saide, an hermite þat is a preste owis to do messe, and if he be a lay hermite, after Prime he owis to here messe. Whane messe is don, hym be-fallys be lyve to say þe salutacion of *Owur* Lady, be þe wilke followus and thus it begynnys:

Gaude uirgo mater Christi¹⁶³
que per aurem concepisti
Gabrielis nuncio.

Gaude quia deo plena
peperisti sine pena
cum pudoris lilio.

¹⁵⁵ Ch. XX of the Oxford Rule is starkly simplified in the A version. The subjects for meditation appended to the different Hours of the Day are reduced normally to one each Hour. Interestingly, what remains are the main events of Jesus' life, while all the topics dealing with personal life (creation and death) or the last things (doomsday, hell, purgatory and heaven) are eliminated. Concerning Jesus, the piercing of his breast by a spear and the complaint of Mary at the foot of the cross disappear, while the mention of the last supper is added and the ascension is named twice.

¹⁵⁶ *sonde* = 'dispensation, sending'.

¹⁵⁷ *beryng* = 'burying'.

¹⁵⁸ The phrase 'against the spirit' should be added. See the Latin: 'plus concupiscit caro aduersus spiritum'.

¹⁵⁹ *fell* = 'full'.

¹⁶⁰ Lat. 'ad dirigendum', probably for 'digerendum', which is more congruent with the context.

¹⁶¹ *competent* = 'suitable, appropriate'.

¹⁶² These are the seven Penitential Psalms, that is Ps. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142.

¹⁶³ Latin text, with some small variants, in *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, ed. by F. J. Mone, 3 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1853–55), ii, pp. 163–64.

Gaude quia tui nati
quem dolebas mortem pati
fulget¹⁶⁴ resurreccio.

Gaude Christo ascendente
and in celis te vident[e]¹⁶⁵
[motu]¹⁶⁶ fertur proprio.

Gaude quod <post> ipsum scandis
et est honor tui grandis
in Celi palacio.

Vbi fructus ventris tui
per te detur nobis frui
in perhenni gaudio.

Versus: Exaltata es sancta Dei genitrix super choros angelorum ad celestia regna. Oremus: Deus qui beatam virginem <et matrem>¹⁶⁷ Mariam, in [conceptu et partu]¹⁶⁸ virginitate seruata, duplici gaudio letificasti, quemcumque eius gaudia filio tuo resurgente multiplicasti, presta quesumus, vt ad illud ineffabile gaudium quo assumpta gaudet in celo eius meritis et intercessione valeamus peruenire. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

(136r) When þis orryson <and> messe ys done in feryall days, be leue he must be-gyne the Thirde Owre, and after þat is to say: Deus misereatur nostri et Ad te leuavi et De profundis,¹⁶⁹ Gloria Patri, Sicut erat, Kyryelleison, Christelleison, Kyryelleison, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos, Saluos¹⁷⁰ fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus sperantes in te, Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto, Et de Syon tuere eos, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oremus: Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum, omnesque misereris [quos tuos]¹⁷¹ fide et opere futuros esse pren[o]sti,¹⁷² te supplices exoramus, vt pro quibus effundere preces decreuimus, quos pie hoc presens seculum adhuc in carne retinet vel futurum iam exutos corpore suscepit, pietatis tue clemencia omnium delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia mereantur consequi eterna.¹⁷³ Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Whan thes ar saide, late hym werke or labour som gode labour with his handis where most nede requiris and most profitabyll. Vnto þe Sext Owre all odur days þe wylke is not leueful to wirke, he owes to occupie and spende þe tyme forsaide in vertuis medytacion, or in devovte praier, or ellys in holly lessons redyng or studyinge, and fro Holy Rode messe to Passhe after þe Sext Owre, messe owes to be don. And fro Passhe to Holy Rode messe, yt owes to be after þe Thirde Owre. Any fastyng day, whan he fastis after þe IX Owre, he owte to do messe or to here messe. The Sext Owre sayd, Comendacion followis for all Crysten

¹⁶⁴ fulget] *fulgis*.

¹⁶⁵ vidente] *vident*.

¹⁶⁶ motu] *mortu*.

¹⁶⁷ See *Corpus Oratorium*, 160A, p. 234 (no. 1387): only the incipit corresponds.

¹⁶⁸ MS has 'in conspectu virginitate', which does not make sense. Lat. has 'in conceptu et partu et cetera'. The translator must have read *conspectu* for *conceptu*. Here the Latin text of the Oxford Rule ends. The truncated last remaining chapter is in fact much shorter, since the *Gaude virgo*, the versicle and the collect, given in full in the translation, are only mentioned by their initial words in the original.

¹⁶⁹ These are Ps. 66, 122 and 129.

¹⁷⁰ Saluos] *Salua nos*.

¹⁷¹ quos tuos] *quod quos*.

¹⁷² prenosti] *prenasti*.

¹⁷³ See *Corpus Oratorium*, 160E, pp. 165–66 (no. 4064).

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sowllis, or ellis what tyme þat he may haue beste lesour, and þat all tymes of þe 3erre, þat it be saide be-for mete. And fro Pashe to Holy Rode messe yt owis to be saide after þe Sext Owre, except fastyng days. After this latte hym go to mete honestly.

The xv is of hys silence at þe borde with labour and refeccyon

He owes also to kepe silence at þe borde, in þe kyrke, and in þe cloister and *with-owte*, sayng fewe wordis and shorter, þe wylke pertyne to þe worship of God and profite to his neybour. Also after mete or *soper* he owes nott to goo *with-out* [or]¹⁷⁴ he say this psalme *Miserere mei deus*. And he owes to go to his prayng place and there to thanke God hyly of his gret grace. And after his merydyan (136v) þat thyng is moste nede to be don, lett hym wyrke vnto Euynsong tyme. All þe tymes of þe 3erre, att non in fastyng dayes, or Non,¹⁷⁵ he owes to say [the]¹⁷⁶ Evynsonge furst of Owre Lady, and after of þe day, and thane latte hym to go to *soper*.

Also in fastyng days, in þe stede of his *soper*, late hym rede some holy lesson. The wilke redd, yf nede be, late hym drynke his collacion *with* mesurabulnesse, for þer is no thyng more grevose to crysten-man þane excesse or gloteny. Be-fore Complyn, also yf nede be, knowleche he [his]¹⁷⁷ synnys, and then latte hym say: *Ivbe Domine benedicere*; thane folowes þe blyssyng: *<noctem>*¹⁷⁸ *quietam <et> vitam perpetuam tribuat nobis omnipotens and misericors Dominus. Amen.* Thane he shall say: *Fratres sobrii estote et vigilate in oracionibus*, and *Tu autem Domine miserere mei, Adiutorium nostrum in nomine, Qui fecit, Pater noster, Aue maria.* And after this he shall be-gyne Complyn of þe day, and after of Ouur Lady, þe wilke fully done, he owes to take his discipline with iij psalmus: *Miserere mei, Gloria patri, De profundis* withouten *Gloria patri*, and yf so be þat he have *with* hym a prest to his fellow, late hym say *Confiteor Deo etc.*, or ell late hym dyscipline hym selfe in saying of þis oryson: *Deus cui proprium.* After þis, *with* all scilence and *with* moste holy moderacion, late hym go to slepe.

This euery hermite is bonde to do þat euery owur of þe day or of þe nyght, whan eny man commes *with* whome it be-hoves hym to speke nedis *with*, he owes to be-gyne his language and his spech be this wordis vndyr wretyn: *Benedictum et laudandum sit dulce nomen Domini mei Iesu Christi. Amen*¹⁷⁹

The xvj is of his schryfte and housell

Euery hermite, wheder he be clerke or layman, owis in þe weke at þe lest¹⁸⁰ to schow his lyffe and his synnis to a prest, and euery svnday in þe 3erre, or ell som odur day of þe [wyke],¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ or] *o*.

¹⁷⁵ The phrase does not make any sense, since 'non' can be interpreted to mean either 'noon' or 'None', but either way, the rule makes no sense since Evensong obviously comes after both! Unfortunately no comparison with the original Latin is possible here.

¹⁷⁶ the] *to*.

¹⁷⁷ his] *is*.

¹⁷⁸ noctem] There is a blank in the MS here. And since the following *et* is also lacking it may be that the copyist or a reviser has amalgamated the two phrases into one by cancelling *noctem*, giving thus: *quietam vitam perpetuam*.

¹⁷⁹ The same form of greeting is found in S.

¹⁸⁰ Ms. has here *he owes*, which is clearly redundant.

¹⁸¹ wyke] *wylke*.

he owes to ressayve his Creature¹⁸² þat is to say to be howsylde.

The xvij is of þe seruise of a lay hermit

A lay hermite owes to say dayly xxiiij Pater noster and als many Aue Maria in stede of his Matens, for Prime x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria, for þe Threde and IX Owre, for euery Owre x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria. Also þat he say his Crede thrye on þe day, and as oftyr in þe nyght, at þe lest at Evynsonge x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria. At Complyn x Pater and x Aue. Also for his frendis and for all his gude doerris xl Pater and as many Aue Maria, for *Placebo* xvj Pater noster and as many Aue, for *Dirige* with Laudis xxx Pater and as many Aue Maria, for Commendacion xx Pater noster and as many Aue. Also for hym selfe and all his gude frendis and gude doerris, and for all thos þat he is boundon to pray for, he owes mekely and devowtely to say xx Pater noster and as many Aue Maria.

A maner off lyff for lyffing off hermettis (BL MS Sloane 1584)

(89r) A Pope off Rome, that hyght Celestyn, mad this maner off lyff that ys writyne here, for lyffing off hermettis þat lyffis a-lone *with-owt*tyne certan rewle gyvyne off holy kyrke. For that sckylle¹⁸³ shewys he att his begynnyng and says:¹⁸⁴ (Prol.) Thoffe¹⁸⁵ all ytt be so that the state off hermettis be *with-owtene* rewle maid off holy kyrke, neuer-the-lesse ytt ys ned to euerylke mane þat has for the love off our lorde Ihesu Chryst chosyne a way off wyllfull pouerte for to lyffe holyly, for Sent Paule says þat the wyll off God ys that we lyff holyly in lyffe: *Hec est voluntas Dei sanctificacio vestra* (1Th 4:3).

(I, i) Fyrst ytt behouys hyme that wyll lyff holy lyfe to for-sake this fals worlde and all the vanytis off this world, that ys his owne wyll and lustis off his owne flesch, for the loue off Gode (89v) allmyghty and hele off his owne sowle,¹⁸⁶ and truste onely in the gudnes off owre lord Ihesu Cryste, and be besy nyght and day forto do his wyll, doynge gud dedis, pursuande¹⁸⁷ hyme in all that he may, kepyng fullye the x commawndementis, fulfyllynge them in all his power, and the dedis off *mercy*e, and thene he may suithffastly, be Godys power, mane¹⁸⁸ and do right well.

(II, i) Thoffe all he entyr noyght in-to no con[v]ent,¹⁸⁹ he must thynke euer one the gospel that says: ‘Iff thowe wyll be *perfytt*, go sell all that thowe has, and gyffe yit to power men, and come, *pursew* me, and thowe shall haue tressure in hevyne *with-owt* end’ (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22). Fore yff all yit be so that the lyffe that euer ys lasting may be gottyne vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony,¹⁹⁰ thorowe the kepyng off the commawndementis, fleyng fro

¹⁸² *Creature* = ‘creator’.

¹⁸³ *sckylle* = ‘reason’.

¹⁸⁴ This statement about the author and the necessity to give a rule to a religious state which had none does not appear in the Latin text, and is preserved only in S and B. Since *Ox* begins by a ‘quia’, hinting at some preceding statement, we may suppose that this is the original incipit of the work.

¹⁸⁵ *Thoffe* = ‘though’.

¹⁸⁶ *hele off his owne sowle*: Lat. ‘et zelo proximi’.

¹⁸⁷ *pursuande* = ‘pursuing’.

¹⁸⁸ *mane* = ‘mean’.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Licet non ingrediatur in religionem.’ In Oliger’s edition of *Ox* this clause is part of the title of ch. II, but since S does not translate the titles, it may be that this was originally the incipit of the chapter itself.

¹⁹⁰ *vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony*, Lat. ‘observando legem matrimonii’.

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syne,¹⁹¹ neuer-the-lesse more sekerly and more *perfytylly* commys thos mene to the blesse off hevyne¹⁹² that (90r) folowys Crist by þe narew way¹⁹³ off wyllfull powrnes,¹⁹⁴ and for hys love fore-sakis the world with all his lykyns, noght¹⁹⁵ only þat he has but that he myght haue had, yff he had lyvyd ther-in, als other mene done, as¹⁹⁶ wyttnes sant Barnerd¹⁹⁷ and the holy mane sant Awsten, ther he shewys the rygth-wysse way off lyffynge: ‘Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt¹⁹⁸ ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore Godis love vnto poure mene, but more *perfeccione* itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pouerness’; fore he says that he ys fare fro soth-faste pouernes þat other prively or openly gadyris rychis, butt yff ytt be so, to do þer-with ony gud ded, ore ellis to saue hyme fro harde bodily ned. Here¹⁹⁹ ys shewyd opynly the begynnyng off holy lyffe, the qwylke²⁰⁰ butt yffe ytt spryng off þe (90v) rott off meknes, yt bryngis no frowt²⁰¹ to the hell[þ]e²⁰² off manis sowle.

(III, ii) And ther-for ylke²⁰³ a hermeytt owght fyrst to be buxum to God allmyghty and to his commawndmentys,²⁰⁴ fore he ys abbott and prior²⁰⁵ off his cloister, that ys to say off his hert and off his body, for whos loue he has nott forsakyne onely that he had, butt þat myght haue had yff he had dwellyd in the world. Hyme owght also to be buxum to the byschope in whos byschopryke he ys wonnyng²⁰⁶ in, and to his patron in whos place that he wonny in. And²⁰⁷ yff he be a *prelate person* ore preste and off gud and honest lyff and off dyscrecion, thene awght hyme forto shewe his lyff vnto hyme and wyrke after his cownsell in that att ys gud, for and²⁰⁸ he here hyme, he heris God hyme-selfe, for so says owre lord Ihesu Crist to his (91r) dyscypyllys: ‘That mane that herys youe heris me, and that mane þat dyspycys youe dyspycys me’ (Lk 10:16). Iff hys patron be no prest, then hyme awght to go to hyme that maid hyme heyrmett and schewe his lyff to hyme.²⁰⁹

Ilke a heyrmett owght euer more to say the sothe, and dred non erthly mane fore the sothfastnes, for hyme awe onely for to dred hyme that has pover off his body and off his sowle and may fore his trespas pyne them bothe in helle (cf. Mt 10:28). Agayne Iewys and Saressyns and fals cristyne mene that says owght ore doys agayne cristyne trovthe,²¹⁰ thene²¹¹ owght

¹⁹¹ *fleyng fro syne*, Lat. ‘bene operando’.

¹⁹² *the blesse off hevyne*, Lat. ‘regnum Dei’.

¹⁹³ narew way] *nare way narew way*. The phrase is an addition.

¹⁹⁴ *powrnes* = ‘poverty’.

¹⁹⁵ [noght only... in pouerness] addition to the Latin.

¹⁹⁶ as] *as as*.

¹⁹⁷ The other two versions mention St Augustine only; St Bernard is proper to S. The sentence is in fact by Gennadius of Marseilles: see note to A.

¹⁹⁸ *seytt* = proper, suitable.

¹⁹⁹ This final statement, a sort of summary conclusion, is an addition.

²⁰⁰ *qwylke* = which.

²⁰¹ *frowt* = fruit.

²⁰² hel[þe] *helpe*.

²⁰³ *ylke* = each.

²⁰⁴ Lat. ‘Deo’.

²⁰⁵ Lat. adds ‘prepositus’.

²⁰⁶ *wonnyng* = ‘dwelling’.

²⁰⁷ and] *and and*.

²⁰⁸ *and* = ‘if’.

²⁰⁹ [Iff hys patron... his lyff to hyme]: addition.

²¹⁰ cristyne trovthe: Lat. ‘catholicam fidem sancte romane ecclesie’.

²¹¹ thene] *then thene*.

hyme²¹² stedfastlye to stond for to maynteine *with* all *his* myght the trovthe off holy kyrke, and yff ned be ther-for to be redy to dye.

(IV, iii) Hermettis awe to make a vowe off wyllfull pouerte and off chastyte to God (91v) thorowe helpe off hym-selfe, noght thorowe the bydyngge off a-nother off his order, butt to bynd hyme sadly to God allmyghty. He may make ytt be-fore byschope, abbot or priore,²¹³ and do aftyr ther covnsyll and þer commawndment.

(VII, v) Hyme awght nott to be besy aftyr sere²¹⁴ mettis and drynkis, and yff he haue more then he nedys hym-selffe, then go gyffe yt gladlye to theme that has more myster,²¹⁵ for that <is> ensampyll off wyllfull pouerte opynly shewyngge off charite and off grett meknes.

(VIII, vi) It chargys noght what hewe that his clothis be, butt that thei be nother to fayre nor to fovle, for the holy mane sent Bernard says that he has lovyd wyllfull pouerte for Goddis sake, butt neuer filth. Neuer-the-les ylke ane hermett awght to be ware that he wher²¹⁶ no habbyt that ys lyke to ony oder order off releyon, so that they that he wonnys²¹⁷ noght among, noþer [þ]ey²¹⁸ by hyme, ther-off nor slandar thame. He may were the heyre, yff he wyll, next his fleych yff ytt lett²¹⁹ nott grettly *his* deuocion (92r) in prayngge for bytyngge off wormis that bredis thar-vndyr. Here in his hart weres he *euer*more whene he thingkis off the passion off owr Lord Ihesu Cryst.²²⁰

(IX, vii) He shall were shone, yff he may nott go barefott sykerlike, os he may gett fore the loue off God allmyghty, nother to prowde nore pykyd as provd mene done were,²²¹ butt off all thing he has ned to kepe hyme with mesure. Hyme owght nott to go alone yff he may gett a-nother hermett with hyme, or ellis any other child or *seruand*, nor ytt is nott full comly to compas²²² the contre yff *his* child ore *seruand* may do *his* herandis, and for dred of falling in temptacion off flescly lustis thorow vanites off the world and lykyngge off syzte, for [dred of] recheles²²³ deuocion and lykyng that we schuld gastely gett thorow lyght off owre soule.²²⁴

(XII, viii) When (92v) he ys wonand att home in his celle, fro Complyne be done to *Preciosa* be said, he schall say nore speyke *with* no mane no worde, nore whene he ys fro home allfarforthe as he may; and yff grett ned be that he schall owght speke, thene schall he speke schortly *with* dred off God all-mighty, begynnynge *with* *Benedicite*, and blysse hyme.

(XIII, ix) Be-for ilke a tyme of the yere awe hyme to fast iij *dais* off the weyke in *his* celle yff he be att home, the wedynsday, fryday and the settarday. Butt yff he be seke, the

²¹² [hyme] *hyme to dye*. The verb seems to have been anticipated from the conclusion, but here is an obrusion.

²¹³ [abbot or priore] added to the Latin.

²¹⁴ *sere* = particular.

²¹⁵ *myster* = 'need, necessity'.

²¹⁶ *wher* = 'wear'.

²¹⁷ *wonnys* = 'dwells'.

²¹⁸ [þey] *ney*. This sentence is difficult to interpret. It should render the Latin 'ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum', a caveat justifying the rule that the hermit should wear a habit not like one of any religious order. It seems that a phrase has been omitted. The version in A is of no help since this Latin sentence is not translated.

²¹⁹ *lett* = 'hinder, impede'.

²²⁰ This more spiritual interpretation of the hair-cloth is an addition distinctive to S.

²²¹ *provd mene done were* = 'proud men do wear'.

²²² *comly to compass* = 'convenient to go around'.

²²³ *recheles* = 'reckless'. The word probably renders 'per negligenciam' which in the Latin is the cause leading to a loss of devotion, not certainly an adjective applied to devotion as here. But see the following footnote.

²²⁴ [for dred ... owre soule]: the original Latin has been largely rewritten and paraphrased: 'ne nimum solacium corpori per illicitas vagaciones tribuat et sic orationem seu devocionem suam, quod absit, per negligenciam perdat'. The result is not satisfactory, and the insertion of [dred of] seems necessary to clarify the meaning of the sentence. See the much more literal translation in A.

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friday shall he fast only to bred and water. Butt yff ytt be dubbyll feste, for waking or for travylling, than shall he breke ij days and fast on the fryday to bred and ale and potage and whittmett yff he wyll. Forty days (93r) be-fore Pasche, the Aduent be-fore 3ole and ix days be-for Wytsonday, and ix days be-for Mi3helmes, awe ylke ane armett to fast vnto fyschmet, and ylke a day whene he *fastis*, yf he be att home, he schall fore-bere whitt mettt yff he may gett fysche, and yff do trauyll to whatt he may gett.

(XIV, x) In iij grett *festis* in the 3ere that commis ylke a 3ere, 3ole, Pase and Wytsonday, may ylke a hermett ett flesche in his celle iij days aftyr ylke fest, butt yff they be fysche days other tymes off þe 3ere, yff he be fro home, he may ette flesch sunday, monday, tuysdaye and the thursday, and he be occupyd with besynes or trauell of his body. The wedynsday shall he fore-bere flesche, butt be *this* skylly yff that ytt be a dubyll ffest, ore *ellis* he trauell, for than (93v) may he ette flesche, butt *neuer* in his celle butt iij princypall days as yt be be-fore said, and what-so-ever he do ore may get.²²⁵

(XVI, xi) Ane hermett awe ylke a day when ytt is tyme for to wyrke, a tyme be-for mett att none, and a-nother aftyr none, whene he may best for to do sume dedys *with* his *handis*, for ydylnes ys enmy off crysteine mene saule, and we ar borne vnto trauell as byrd for to flye,²²⁶ and ther-fore he that wyrkis²²⁷ nott ys not worthy <to> ette (2Th 3:10). The *prophit* Dauyd says in þe sawter boke that ‘what mane so etys þe warke off *handis* he ys blessyd and holy’ (Ps 127:2), and well shall he be fro the deuyll that thorowe dred drawes mene to ydylnes and so gydys them the way to fallyng to syn.

(XVII, xii) Ane hermeytt awght to lyge on nyghtis in his kyrtyll, gyrdyd *with* a gyrdyll, ore *ellis with* cord, and alfferforth as he *persaue* ytt, ore knowe he awght to rys²²⁸ (94r) att mydnyght, and he be att home forto say his Matyns yff he be a clerke, ore yffe he be nott letyrd, thane shall he say ther-fore, and yff he be seke ore ellys trauell sore, thane may he lyge in his bed and ryse whene hyme thynkys best, for to comfforth hyme-selfe agan that he may wyrke gud warkis plesyng to God allmyghty. Fro Pase vnto Holy Rode day in harvest shall he go to bed whene the sone settis, and ryse when the sone rysys for to say his Pryme; fro Holy Rod day on vnto Septuagesim, that ys iij wekis be-for clene Lentyn, he shall rys *with* the dawynge off the day, and fro thens to Pase he shall ryse *with* lyght day.

(XXII, xiiii) An hermeytt þat ys a prest shall one warkdays syng his masse sone after that he has said Prime, and yf he be no prest ore ellys syng nott, (94v) thene shall he here a mase alfferfurth, os he may, and right sone aftyr masse²²⁹ vnto midday he shall wyrke *with* his awne *handis*, and²³⁰ aftyr the houre of midday be sayd, he shall say *commendacion* for all crysteine savlys.

(xv) Ilke ane hermet awe to kepe sylens att mett tyme, butt yff grett ned make <breke> ytt or any grett lord. And whene he rysys fro his mett or fro his sopyr, he schall go to oretory

²²⁵ This chapter is very different from the original Latin. The norms concerning the reasons for eating flesh in abstinence days have not been translated; on the other hand what is said about the hermit being far from home or travelling do not appear in the Latin.

²²⁶ See Job 5:7: ‘homo ad laborem nascitur et avis ad volatum’.

²²⁷ *wirkis*] *winkis*.

²²⁸ *rys* = ‘rise’.

²²⁹ Here ends the correspondence with *Ox* XXII, a truncated chapter of four printed lines of which the first two appear in this translation. What follows is an indication of prayers to be said after Mass, that is the sequence *Gaude Virgo, Mater Christi* with a versicle and a collect, which in A appear in complete form in ch. xiiii. See also this same chapter for the rule concerning manual work and the Commendation for the souls.

²³⁰ and] *and a*.

with *Miserere mei deus*, and thanke God off that fod that he has hyme send.

(XIX, xiv) After mett one flesche days, shall he say att None *Placebo* and *Dirige* be-fore he slepe, and after his slepe ryse sume warke to wyrke vnto Euynsong tym.²³¹ Alfforforth as he may, he shall say on fasting days None be-fore mett. He awght²³² euermore this Rewle for to kepe: whene he any [tyme]²³³ after the ouris of the nyght or off the daye (95r) shall speyke with any man for any thing, loke that euery tyme his spekyng be-gyn with *Benedicite* and low[d]yng²³⁴ off the Godis [name]²³⁵ of owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

(xvi)²³⁶ Ilke ane hermett, als well leryd as lewd, awght iiij tymes of the 3ere for to clense hyme off his synne,²³⁷ that is a-for 3ole, Pasce, Wytsonday and My3helmes, and yff he fast thes iiij tymis vnto fysche mett, that is to say to Lentyne mett, ilke a tyme that he fastis and forberis Lentyne mett whitmett, hym awe to resave the sacrament off owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

(xvii) A lewyd heyrmett for his Matins ys holdyne to say xl *pater noster* and als many *aves*, for Laudis xvj *pater noster* <and> als many *aves*, for Prime xij *pater noster* and als many *aves*, for Vndren, Myday, None and Complyne for ylkone off this ix *pater noster* and als many *aves*, for Evyn(95v)songe xij *pater noster* and als many *aves*. Also his *Cred[o] in Deum patrem* thrys on the day and thrys on the nyght for his freyndys and his gud-doverys shall he say ylke day thirty *pater noster* and thirty *aves*.²³⁸

Ane heyrmett²³⁹ that dwellys att home in his celle this maner hyme awght to say, and in case that he be seyke or febyll off state, or ellis labur in the contray any gret trauyll, thene may he say his *seruys* on this wysse: att morne whene he rysys vpe of his rest to say xv *pater noster* and als many *avis*, that ys for to say v for qwike and v for the ded and v for thos that Godis mercy abydyng, besekynge God off his infenit mercy and helpe, and blyse hyme in his name, and thene do his jornay þat he has don to do, and also att evyne, when the day ys past, say other xv *pater noster* as he dyd be for att morne, and so end his lyff with dred off God all-myghty. Amen. Finis.

²³¹ The time to say *Placebo* and *Dirige* are dealt with in *Ox* XIX, but the rules are different. In winter season they are to be said 'ante vesperas', while in summer season *Placebo* must be said 'postea statim nona dicta', and 'post somnium meridianum *Dirige* cum laudibus dicatur'.

²³² [He awght ... lord Ihesu Cryst]: the passage is not in the Latin, but it appears in A xv, and in a reduced form in B as the final sentence of the Rule.

²³³ tyme] *thyng*.

²³⁴ lowdyng] *lowyng*, probably for *lawdyng*, 'praising'. A: 'Benedictum et laudandum sit dulce nomen Domini mei Iesu Christi'.

²³⁵ name] *mane*.

²³⁶ This chapter gathers rules on fasting and abstinence taken from XIV/ix and XIV/x, plus rules about shrift and communion given in A xvi, but presented here in a modified form. According to A the hermit should make his confession at least once in a week, and receive holy communion every Sunday or any other day of the week.

²³⁷ This rule is an addition proper to S.

²³⁸ In this version the number of Pater and Ave to be said are regularly inferior to those given in A.

²³⁹ All this final paragraph is original.

Rewles of the lyfe heremitalle (MS Bristol City Library 6)

(137v) Thyes are the notable rewles of the lyfe heremitalle as they folow here after, made be pope Celestyne, which was an heremyte and chosyn for hys holynes out of wyldernes to be pope, and afterwarde left the popase and returnyd yn to wyldernes ayens.²⁴⁰

[Prol.]²⁴¹ HOW be yt that the state of heremytes ys not cananizit,²⁴² neuer-the-lesse to all thoos that haue chosyn the wayse of trew poverté for the loue of Cryste, it ys necessary that they lyue holyly accordyng to (138r) scripture sayng thus: ‘Be ye holy for why y am holy’,²⁴³ and also: ‘It ys the wyll of God youre holynes’ (1Th 4:3).

[I] Therfor an heremyte muste dysdene thys present worlde changeable, and for the loue of God forsake hys owne wyll and trust yn God oonly, and to hys power serche hys wyll day and nyght by good werkys, that ys, yn kepyng the x commaundementis and excersysyng the vij werkys of mercy.

[II] For the poore man of Criste may leue ryght holyly though he enter not in wyldernes.²⁴⁴ In hert and soule let hym euer haue yn mynde thys text of the gospel: ‘Goo and sell all that thou hast and gyfe hyt to poore pepull, and thou shalt haue tresure yn hevyn, and come and folow me’ (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22). Not-withstondyng euerlastyng lyfe may be purchesyth by meke warkys as yn kepyng the x commaundementis of God and the vij warkys of mercy, observing the law of matrimony, expendyng the ryches of the world well and mekely, and other goode warkys warkyng, never-the-lesse the kyngdum of hevyn ys gytten more better and profytelyer wyth all such that foloyng Criste with all pouerte forsaking the world *with* all hys descepcyons for the love of Ihesu Crist. Seynt Austyne yn hys dystyncconys of the feyth beryth wyttnes and sayth thus ‘It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi self intenyng to folow Crist faithfully’.²⁴⁵

(138v) Obedience

[IIIa] A heremyte owght to make obedience to God oonly, for he ys abbot, pryor and prepositor of hys cloister, that ys to say, of hys hert, for whos loue he hath forsakyn all thing, for who so euer leve well²⁴⁶ of haueyng, leuith all thyng by grace of our saveoure Ihesu Criste.

Confessyon

[IIIb] Also an heremyte owght to be confessyd at hys enteryng yn to relygyon of the byschope

²⁴⁰ This is the most expanded version of a ‘title’ which is found in all the three versions of the *Oxonienensis*, although it is not in the original. The ascription of the Rule the Pope Celestine V has not been proved. The fact that this may be a ‘title’ shows in the larger characters used by the copyist, a choice which has been reproduced here.

²⁴¹ For easy reference, using the same procedure adopted for S, I mark in square brackets and large Roman numerals the corresponding chapters of the *Ox*, and in lower case Roman numerals the chapters in A which are missing in the Latin original. Scriptural quotations are inserted in the text.

²⁴² *cananizit* = ‘canonized’, that is formalized into an official ‘rule’, or ‘canon’.

²⁴³ This quotation from Lev 11:44 is an addition.

²⁴⁴ The sentence translates the title of ch. II in the *Oxonienensis*.

²⁴⁵ This reference to St Augustine is not in the Latin text, but is shared with A and S.

²⁴⁶ *well* = ‘will’.

of the dyosyce in the whych he doth ynhabyt hym self yn, or to þe patrone of hys place yf he be a *prelate* of the chyrch, or to a preeste of good dysposycion. To any of thes he owght to shreve hym, wher-fore yf ther were any thing yn hym amys, he mought obey to the councell of them for the loue of Criste hys master þat sayth: ‘He þat heryth [you]²⁴⁷ heryth me and he that despysyth you despysyth me’ (Lk 10:16).

Of tyme of scilence

[IIIc] For trowth and for our faythe it ys lefull to speke at all tymes yn defence of them, and yn thys case dowte no man for sayng trowth, but dowte hym oonly that hath power to send bothe body and soule yn to hell (Mt 10:28). And specyally a-gayns Iewes, Sarazens and fals christen men þat beleue not in þe chyrch; for to destroy such errorrs dowte not dethe yf nede be.

(139r) Of the vowe of pouerte and chastite

[IV] To all-mighty God vow he hys pouerte and chastite wyth the helpe of Gode. *Neuer*-thelesse ther owght not to be no vow made by the *commaundmentys* of any man of hys state, but to God allone by-fore the byschope, and then yf he wyll, he may make hys vowe after hys owne arbeterment.²⁴⁸

Of hys metys

[VII] That ys the iugement²⁴⁹ of trew poverté and grete mekenes, that he be *neuer* curyus of hys bodily metys, but such as he getys for the loue of God, lett hym depart gladely to the nedy.

Of hys clothyng

[VIII] Let hys clothyng be humyle and not *curius*, after the sayng of Seynt Barnerd: ‘I haue louyd pouerte but y *neuer* louyd fylth’. And loke that he gyfe noon occasyon of evyl to relygius man yn weryng any relygyus habyte lyke yn all thing. And yf he wyll of devocyon were next hys flesh a cylyce it ys lauffull.

Of hoose and schone

[IX] An heremyte shulde were no hooses but oonly schone, and they owght not to be *curyus* but sych as he may haue for the loue of God, or els goo barfote yf he may for greuaunce of hys body, but see that (139r) all thyngys be done wyth dyscrecyon. He owght *neuer* goo allone yf he may haue an heremyte or a *seruaunde* wyth hym. Also he owght not to goo offtyn abowte the contrey for hys errandys but he schuld send a *seruand* yf he may haue oone, for the yntent that hys body schuld not haue to much solace or conforte by unlefeful vagacyons or straying where-throw he might leese hys devocyon or prayere by negligens, the which God forbode to happyn by any wyse.

²⁴⁷ you] *hym*. Lat: ‘qui vos audit’.

²⁴⁸ *arbeterment* = ‘arbitrament (obsolete); free choice’.

²⁴⁹ Lat. ‘iudicium’, which the translator read as ‘iudicium’. The same misreading/mistranslation in A (*dome* = ‘doom’) while S correctly translates by ‘ensampyll’.

Of abstynence

[XIII] An heremyte being yn hys owne propyr sell owght to fast iij days yn the wyke throghe the yere yf he be hole, that ys to say wanneday, fryday and saterday,²⁵⁰ but he must fast the fryday yn brede and water, except hyt be dowbull feste, or yf he wach þat nyght for devocyon throw the whych he ys the weyker yn body: then he may take oone maner of potage. Also be-fore the Natyvyte of oure Lord he owght to fast xl days. Also xl days be-fore Ester. Also be-fore Whydsonday ix days. Also be-fore the feste of Seynt Mychaell the archangell ix days. Also it ys to be remembrede that all thes dayes that he fasty throwe the yere he shall ete no whyte,²⁵¹ that ys for to say that at cumunyth of mylke or eggys yf he may haue fysch. And then he owght to be content with oon maner of fysch, with-oute²⁵² charite (140r) or the presens of gystys other wyse require, or be any laful cause he be lett.

Of the etyng of flesch

[XIV] It ys lafull for an heremyte to ete flesch yn the solennytes of þe yere wyth fowre days folowyng yf they be flesche days, that ys to say: the Natyuyte of owre Lorde, Eester²⁵³ and Whytsonday, or yn sekenes whyles²⁵⁴ he haue recoverte hys helth, and also for grete labore past or labor for to come, yf nede axyt. And also by the commaundment of any pyschopp or the patrone of hys place, yf they be present. And that for oon day and no more yf he be hole

Of laboryng with hys handdys

[XVI] The apostyll sayth: 'He that laboreth not owght not to ete' (2Th 3.10). And also þe prophet sayth: 'He ys blessyde and well shalbe to hym that laboryth' (Ps 127:2). Therefore oon tyme be-fore mete, and a-nother tyme after mete, the feryall days all tymes of the yere in tyme convenyant he may werke, for 'ydelnes ys enemy to the soule',²⁵⁵ by whych as it ys rede 'the devyll hath deceyvyd many soulys'.

Of slepyng²⁵⁶

[XVII] It ys for to wyte that an heremyte owght to ly yn hys cote gyrde with a gyrdyll, or wyth a corde all tymes of the yere. And when he is yn hys propyr sell, he owght dilygently to provide how he may best dispose hym to ryse att mydnyght to pray vnto oure lorde gode. Also it (140v) ys for to be notyd that fro Ester to the Exaltacion of the holy Crose he owght to go to bede at the son goyng downe, and ryse wyth the son. And fro the Exaltacyon of the Crose to Septuagesyme yn the mornyng he owght to ryse, but in Lent he may slepe tylle it be clere day.

[XXII] Also euery day let hym hyre masse yf he may, for ther to he is bownde.

²⁵⁰ The specification of the days of the week is added by the translator.

²⁵¹ *whyte* = 'white meat' (eggs, milk and cheese).

²⁵² *with-oute* = 'except'.

²⁵³ Eester] *Heester*.

²⁵⁴ *whyles* = 'until'.

²⁵⁵ *Regula Benedicti* 48,1: 'ociositas inimica est anime'.

²⁵⁶ The title refers only to the first part of the chapter. The other rules concerning silence at dinner, prayer after meals, weekly communion and confession are, to be found in the final chapters in A.

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[xv] Also he ys bownd to kepe scylence at dyner and at supper *with*-out grete cause be contrary. Alle after grace ys sayde, he owght to go yn to hys oratory wyth thys psalme ‘Myserere mei *Deus*’, and there thank God for hys lyvyng, and pray for all thoes that he ys menteynyd by.

[xvi] Also euery heremyte owght to be *commenyd* or *howseled*²⁵⁷ onys a weke with dew preparacyon be-fore, that is for to say confessyd and contryte of all hys synnys. Amen.

Also or he speke to any levyng creature he owght to say ‘Sit dulce nomen domini mei Ihesu Christi benedictum in secula’.²⁵⁸ Deo *gracias*.

²⁵⁷ *to be commenyd or howseled* = ‘to receive communion’.

²⁵⁸ This last sentence has no correspondence in the Latin, but appears also in the other versions (A xv, S XIX).