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241  
and  
Wit  
over lating of ony yunge  
7 m y haue no more swynk  
pen hat amon to lobe or wunke  
bote synful y i deyned schul be  
schul be febil on to se  
y yei schul vn neye stonde  
no haue myzt to stepe an honde  
to wye rens fro her epzern alway  
y febilnesse yei schul haue ay  
ye my blisse is fredome  
y yei schul haue y schul come  
to heuene yey al ioie is oye  
to do wat yei wot wit oute deye  
for yei schul neuer fele yung  
bote y y is here by kyng  
no noyng schal weyne no lette  
to wythe here wille yey hid is sette  
al yung schal be he bolbond  
7 no yung schal azern he stond  
yym no steil gras no tye  
ne nor ellis to fre yei schul be  
ye schul passe wiper yei wolle  
7 al her bykyng ouer fulfille  
yis fredam 7 yis franchise  
is appropuyd to saued bodies  
wit her souls y god schal chepe

TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE*  
 IN THE BROTHERTON COLLECTION,  
 UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

BY K. W. HUMPHREYS AND J. LIGHTBOWN

In 1950 two manuscripts of the *Pricke of Conscience* were purchased for the Brotherton Collection. As neither of these volumes has been fully described elsewhere, a detailed account of the two manuscripts may assist anyone working not only on the *Pricke of Conscience*, but also on the various shorter pieces contained in one of the volumes.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY, MS BROTHERTON COLLECTION 500.

Incipit: Hic incipit quidam tractatus Roberti Grosthed  
 episcopi lincolliensis [sic] qui nominatur [sti]mulus  
 consciencie. Prima pars qualiter homo factus est et  
 omnia propter eum.

þe myȝt of þe fader al myȝty

þe wytt of þe sone al witty.

Explicit: To þe wiche place vs alle brynge

Jhesus kyng ouer vch kynge. Amen.

After l 2689 is interpolated:

Querunt multi cur deus homines fecerit qui peccare  
 potuit . . . per septimum vitam nostram in fine debito  
 consummare.

Binding: Rebound in 1896 in imitation vellum. Lettered  
 on cover: PRICK OF CONSCIENCE BY RICHARD  
 ROLLE COMMONLY CALLED RICHARD DE  
 HAMPOLE. Lettered on spine: PRICK OF  
 CONSCIENCE BY RICHARD DE HAMPOLE.

Fly-leaves: f i. Examples of alliteration.

ff ij-ijj. Biographical sketch of Robert Grosseteste copied  
 from Rees' *Cyclopedia* xvii (London 1819), Sig. G 2.

ff iv-vj. J. B. Yates's description of his own MS of the  
 poem taken from *Archaeologia* xix (1821), 314-34, in the  
 handwriting of T. C. Neale, a former owner.

f vij. Notes on owners of this MS by Frederick A. Harrison, grandson of T. C. Neale.

f viij. The title-page of Morris's edition of the *Pricke* copied by F. A. Harrison.

Collation: 147 folios, paginated in last century, probably by T. C. Neale.

[i-x] A<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>8</sup> + 2 cancels, C<sup>8</sup>, D<sup>8</sup>, E<sup>9</sup> + cancel, F<sup>11</sup> + cancel, G<sup>8</sup>, H<sup>8</sup>, J<sup>7</sup> + cancel, K<sup>8</sup> - Q<sup>8</sup>, R<sup>10</sup> + two cancels, S<sup>6</sup>.

Signatures below last two words in the final line have mostly been trimmed away by the binder but are visible on several pages.

Text: Early 15th-century hand written on vellum with flesh side outside and like facing like throughout where not affected by cancels. There are some corrections in a slightly later hand and annotations in a much later hand. The text is not punctuated except at the beginning and at the end. All rubrication is in red. There are no paragraph marks, headings, running titles or rhyme brackets. There are damp stains on the lower fore edge of most leaves.

Ruling: The ruling is in ink: two vertical and two horizontal lines, now almost imperceptible, formed a frame for the text. In many cases the flesh side only is ruled. The text varies from 28 to 33 lines to a page with one column on each page.

Provenance: There is no trace of the history of this MS until it belonged in the nineteenth century to T. C. Neale, governor of the Essex County Jail at Chelmsford. It passed into the possession of Neale's grandson, Frederick A. Harrison, by 1898 and was sold in 1920 at Sotheby's. It was in the collection of Sir Leicester Harmsworth until 1945, when it was again sold at Sotheby's.

It is mentioned by H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle* (New York 1927), 377.

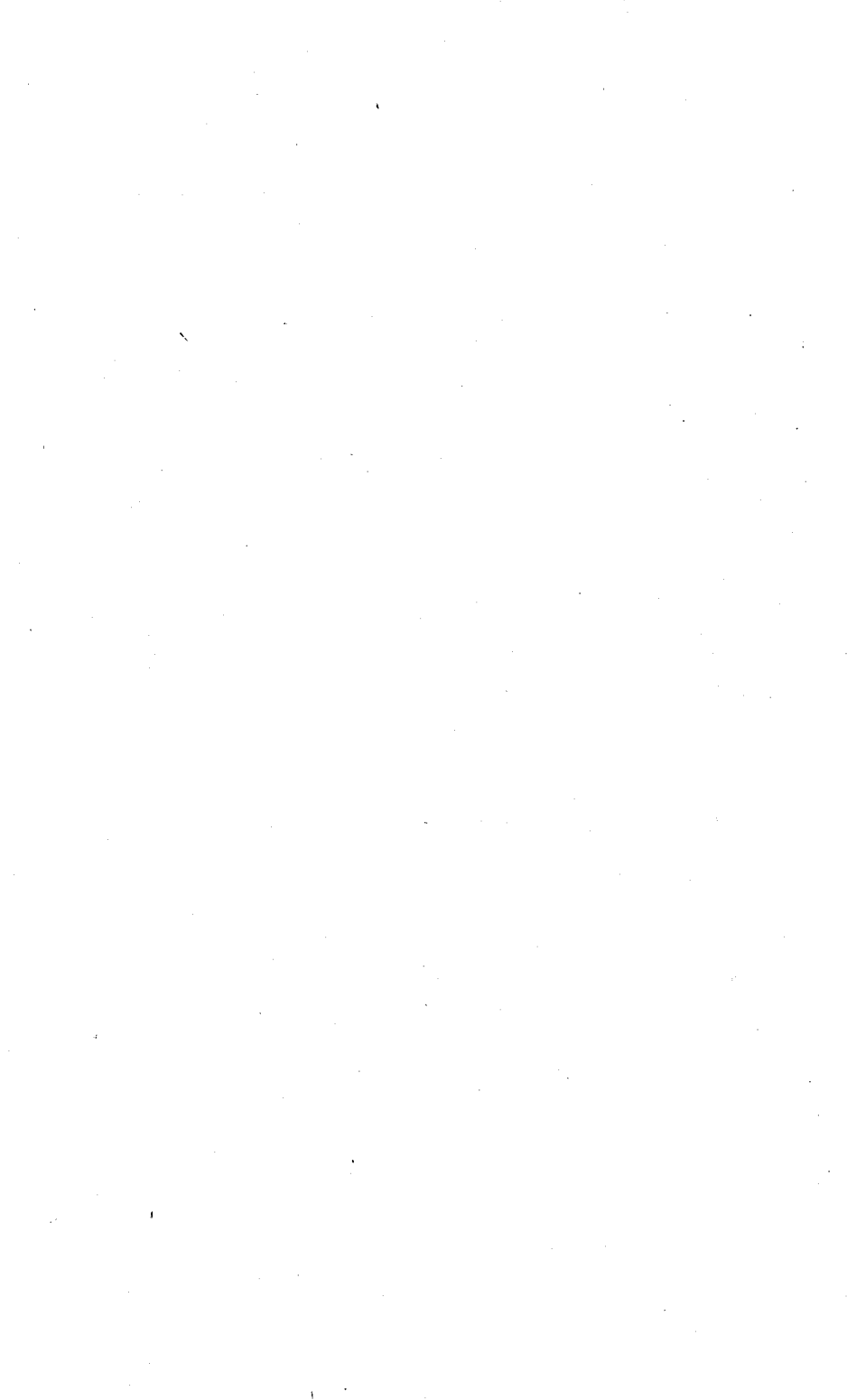
LEEDS UNIVERSITY, MS BROTHERTON COLLECTION 501.

*Contents:*

1. ff 1a-58b. *Pricke of Conscience*, ll 1130 to the end.

For all men after domys day // shal be there they shal dwelle ay  
 pe gode in blys wher rest a pes // the yll in peyn p nenyx ohal ces.  
 What use there p the creatyres than // shal they ony ocruse more to man  
 Than ohal neyther grow greo ne tre // ne bylde ne moynone shal p no be  
 ne dalye ne rochys for certayn // but all the erthe shal be than enyn playn.  
 And be made as fays and clene // as ony crystall that here ys oene  
 word have ye herd me here rede // of the day of dome p many may drede.  
 And of bondys p of tokyngs oere // p men byfore shal ce and here  
 And how the world p the wold ce // after the dome as nette shal be  
 Do men may fynde qtho so byll lake // in the fyfte party of thys boke.  
 Here on byll y no longer stande // but go to the next part folowand.  
 That opynly spekyth as wrotyne es // of the peyns of helle p an cardes.  
 The peyns ar full fell and hard // as ye may here after ward /  
 Eche man bothe yong p olde // may be hely to here ye rehersyd or told

**A**ntubi serum trinus usru.  
 Any man spekyth of helle // but of the peyns felde can telle  
 For here qtho so myght wyrt wele // what peyn the synful p shal fele  
 In grete drede they shuld be broght // ay qthan they on thes peyns thoght.  
 And therfor p men knoldyth not ryght // the peyns p in helle an dyght  
 Bythout ende for synful man // y shal othel yow as y can //  
 A party of the peyns oere // as ye after ward shal here //  
 fyfth byll y shold yow lbbere ys hell // as y have herd grete clark tell /  
 And wythen shal y othel yow more // and speke of peyns p an thore  
 Four clekyngs oeyn as the boke wytnes // p hell enyn i mydder the erthe es.  
 All the erthe be styll may be heryd be // to a rolland appyl of a tre /  
 p eny in the myddys hath a colt // so yt may be heryd to an egge zoll /  
 for as a dalk ys i mydd ward // the zelle of an egge qben yt ys hard /  
 So ys helle pytt as clekyng tellys // i myddys the erthe + no wyther qber ellys.  
 And as the zelle i myddys the egge lyde // p the llyte a boltt op same llyde  
 So ys the erthe wbut dont // i myddys the hemens p goth a boltt  
 whyn may men ce be an egge dyght // hold henyn p helle p erthe ys dyght  
 full mytt p herydons hell ys heryd // for qly i the erthe yt ys heryd  
 The hery the synful ohal be deryn // as oone as the dome ys genyn  
 whyn all the denys ether to dwelle // p wold arn in the ayer + i helle  
 there shal they than be all to gedre // wo shal they be p shal com ther  
 for ther ys so mykyl coroll and hale // p byttr peyns wout tale.  
 That all the clekyngs p enyr had wytt // or p enyr wal or leryth ptt



Incipit: Omne quod est in mundo aut est concupiscencia carius aut est concupiscencia oculorum aut superbia vite Concupyscens of flesh ys o thyng/þ<sup>t</sup> fallyth to fleshly lykyng.

Explicit: To whych place he vs all bryng/þ<sup>t</sup> for oure hele on rode ded hyng. Amen.

After l 9532 is interpolated:

Conclusio compilatoris . . . Preteria iste libellus *prefatus per idonium clericum fuit in loquela anglica compilatus et pro laicis ad intelligendum euocatus.*

2. ff 59a-67b. *Thomas of Wimbledon's sermon on the text 'Redde rationem villicacionis tue' preached at Paul's Cross, 1388.*

Incipit: Here beginnyth a notabill matyr extracte in the maner of a sermoun . . . puplyshid and prechid at Poulis cros in London the 3eris of oure lord crist jhesus þ<sup>t</sup> tyme beyng mccciiii<sup>ti</sup> et viij [sic].

Explicit: But ioye and ioye to hem that be sauyd, ioye in god, ioye in hemself, ioye in othir that be sauyd. Also ioye for here trauayle ys brought to so gracious an ende, ioye for they scapid the peyn of helle. Joye for the endeles blys that they haue in the syght of god. To whom be wurship *and* glorye in to worldis of worldis. Amen.

3. ff 68a-74a. *Prose treatise of the seven deadly sins.* [Imperfect.]

Incipit: Here begynnyth a notabyll tretys of the sevyn dedly synnys *and* of her braunchis.

Explicit: Now from thes sennys *and* al othyr cryst kepe vs thorw3 his grace *and* aftyr oure deth vs to brynge to his blyssyd *and* eternall place. Amen.

4. ff 74a-81a. *Prose treatise on the ten commandments.*

Incipit: Here beginnyth a tretys of the ten commandmentis as folwith here: O ye crystyn men ye shal vndyrstande that all manyr of pepill that shal be sauyd *and* go to blys.

Explicit: *and* lete we prey to hym nyght *and* day þ<sup>t</sup> he sende vs grace to fulfelle his comand *and* leue in this worlde to his blyssid plesing þ<sup>t</sup> whan we shal dye we may

come to that place þ<sup>t</sup> he hath promysid vs of his mercy *and* charyte. Amen.

5. ff 81a, b. *The seven deeds of mercy.*

Incipit: A declaracion of þ<sup>e</sup> vij dedis of mercy þat arn bodily here folwith. Of the seuynn dedys of mercy god shal speke at the day of doom.

Explicit: Departe ye fro me ye cursyd folk into euyrlastyng fyre that is ordeynde to the deuyll and his angelys for ye dede not the dedys of mercy neythyr bodyly ne gostly.

6. ff 82a-88b. *A form of confession.*

Incipit: O þu my brothyr þ<sup>t</sup> art yong of age qwiche kanst not confesse thiself.

Explicit: Qwiche lorde thurgh his precyous passyon felle the myght *and* the bost of the fende and sende vs grace to come to hys euerlastyng ioye and solace w<sup>t</sup> hym to regne w<sup>t</sup>outen ende. Amen.

7. ff 89a-90a. *Prose miracle of Our Lady.*

Incipit: Here begynnyth a lytyl matyr of the gloryous virgyne oure lady seynt marye . . . Wurshypfull frendys we rede among myraculys of oure lady .

Explicit: And than qwan hys tyme was come he deyde and went to the ioyes of heyn and there he ioyeth w<sup>t</sup> god and oure lady. To whiche ioyes god vs alle brynge. Amen.

8. f 90b. *Prose treatise on a good life.*

Incipit: Here þu shal weten how þu shalt plese most god . . . Synt Poule the fyrst hermyte.

Explicit: Crye to my blyssyd modyr *and* worship her wyth orysouns for she wyll gete the þe blysse of heyn. Amen.

9. ff 91a, b. *Prose treatise.* [Imperfect.]

[Begins]: 3yf þu offre thin herte to him and turne velany to wurship.

Explicit: þu shal sothfastly hate senne and all thi wykkydnes and be fastnyd wyth the bonde of loue to jhesu endeles spouse þ<sup>t</sup> he vs graunte the lyf þat euyr shal last. Amen.

10. ff 92a-99b. *Gast of Gy* (Metrical version).

Incipit: Here begynnyth a notabyll matere and a gret myracule don be oure lord jhesus cryst.



Lorde and god alway/lovere of all mankynde

Ys wont wondrys to werke al day/al oure feyth to amende.

Explicit: Mercyfull god graunt vs þ<sup>t</sup> blys/all wey there  
in to haue duellyng.

Dresse vs to go as thi wyl ys/euer whil we be here levyng.

Amen to that ioye he vs bryng/When we make oure  
endyng.

11. ff 100a, b; 114a, b; 113a, b; 112a, b; 110a, b; 111a, b;  
109a, b. *Prose treatise on the Passion of Our Lord.*

Incipit: Here begynnyth the passyon of oure lord cryst  
ihesus.

Explicit: And also that yt wryghtyth or redyth or heryth  
haue that ich blyssing and here parte *in* my sonys kyngdam  
wyth the fadyr *and* the sone *and* the holy gost thre  
personys and oo god that leuyth and reygnyth w<sup>t</sup>out  
ende. Amen.

Here endith the passion of crist . . .

12. ff 107a, b; 102a-106b; 101a, b. *A Metrical Declaration  
of the Holy Cross.*

Incipit: Here begynnyth a proces *and* a declaracion of the  
holy cros . . . The holy rode the swete tre/ys good  
to haf in mynde/For thurgh it fro deth to lyue/was  
brought al mankynde.

Explicit: Now jhesu thurgh thy holy Rode/Schylde vs fro  
the fende

And bryng vs to that mekyll ioye/that neuyr shal haf  
ende. Amen.

13. ff 109b; 108a, b; 115a. *Gospel of Nichodemus* (Prose  
version). [Imperfect.]

Incipit: And now here begynnyth the Epystyll of  
Nichodemus . . .

The gode man the Nobyll prynce Nichodemus.

Explicit: To the whyche he of hys mercy vs alle bryng.  
Amen.

14. ff 115b-116b. *Bonaventura. Stimulus Amoris.*

Incipit: O þ<sup>u</sup> my frend y wyll teche þ<sup>e</sup> a lityll lesson how  
þ<sup>u</sup> shal loue god *and* forstere thyself to kynde the  
herte *in* to his loue.

Explicit: Qwerfor lete vs hertly loue oure blyssid lorde ꝑ<sup>t</sup>  
we may duelle w<sup>t</sup> hym w<sup>t</sup>out ende. Amen.

15. ff 117a-122b. *The miracles of Our Lady* (verse).

Incipit: Here beginnith miraculis of *our* ladi seint Marie . . .  
Seint Teophile was a grete man *and* a grete clerk also  
Heiest man he was byfore all othir vndir the bisshop tho.

Explicit: And zeue vs swete lady thy glorious luff. ꝑ<sup>t</sup> we  
may here suche *grace* wynne

That we may com to the ioye where thi blyssid sone and  
the arn inne. Amen.

Binding: Modern half calf. Lettered on spine 'Rolle.  
Pricke of Conscience.'

At foot — 'MSS' [sic]. Many pages have been mounted  
and secured by stab binding.

Collation: 122 folios. As a result of the stab binding the  
volume is difficult to collate. The first eight gatherings  
were originally in 8<sup>s</sup> and are probably rebound in that  
form; but after H<sup>8</sup> it is impossible to decide on the existence  
of gatherings, particularly as in parts of the MS cognate  
leaves have not remained attached together, e g ff 100-15.  
There are no signatures on the gatherings except for  
recent pencil figures on the first eight gatherings. There  
are catchwords in frames on ff 8b, 16b, 24b, 32b, 40b, 48b,  
56b, 64b slightly to the right of the central position.

Text: Mid 15th-century hands, written on paper. The  
watermark, a hand surmounted by a crown, is not identifi-  
able with any of the specimens in Briquet. Changes of  
hands are found at ff 59a, 100a, 108a, 117a.

Provenance: There are names of probable owners at:—  
f 6b Mark Sheldrake on this booke witnes William. George  
Sheldrake; f 13a Jhon Marten; f 29b Mark Sheldrake;  
f 57a Thomas Fotucehithe (?). Thomas Pell (also twice  
at f 73a and again at f 121); f 122a Item George Sheldrake  
oweth Antonye Bowes some theye made there last  
accounte on Monday next before midlente Sunday—xs.  
No certain identification is possible of these previous  
owners.

## GENEALOGY OF THE BROTHERTON MANUSCRIPTS

The great length of the *Pricke of Conscience* coupled with the fact that more than one hundred MSS of the poem are known to have survived has deterred scholars from attempting any exhaustive study of the relationships of all MSS. Miss Allen points out that 'immense variations in the text were discovered when thirty-one copies of the poem were examined with a view to establishing the text. No copy was found to be the source of any other and the groups into which all were divided were badly confused'.<sup>1</sup> It is not therefore surprising that the articles so far published<sup>2</sup> on the genealogical relationships of certain MSS of this poem have each necessitated a modification of at least part of the pedigree set up by Andreae in his pioneer study,<sup>3</sup> which has nonetheless remained the basis of all subsequent research on the MS tradition. Andreae selected three test passages from approximately the beginning, the middle and the end of the poem, ll 1836-1927, ll 5126-5204 and ll 9335-9394, on which to establish the genealogical relationships of the eighteen MSS of the *Pricke* in the British Museum. This method can give only a partial answer to the problem since the choice of other passages might conceivably give different results; but in view of the ten thousand lines of the poem this basis for comparison has been adopted by later scholars.

Andreae's main classes of MSS from the archetype U were Q and Z. Z contained MS Harley 4196 and MS Galba E ix, which were used by Morris for his edition of the poem.<sup>4</sup> From Q descended a small sub-group C, an East-Midland recension Xij and a large sub-group Xj to which the Brotherton Collection MSS may be assigned.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle* (New York 1927), 387.

<sup>2</sup> K. D. Bülbring, 'On Twenty-Five MSS of Richard Rolle's *Pricke of Conscience*', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1888-90), 261-83. Cited hereafter as Br.

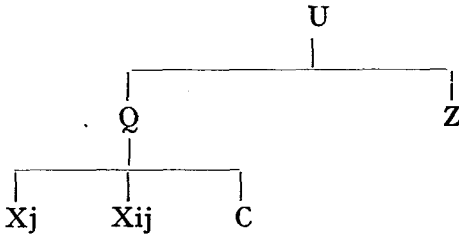
K. D. Bülbring, 'Zu den Handschriften von Richard Rolle's *Pricke of Conscience*', *Englische Studien* xxiii (1897), 1-30. Cited hereafter as B2.

C. D' Evelyn, 'An East Midland recension of the *Pricke of Conscience*', *PMLA* xlv (1930), 180-200.

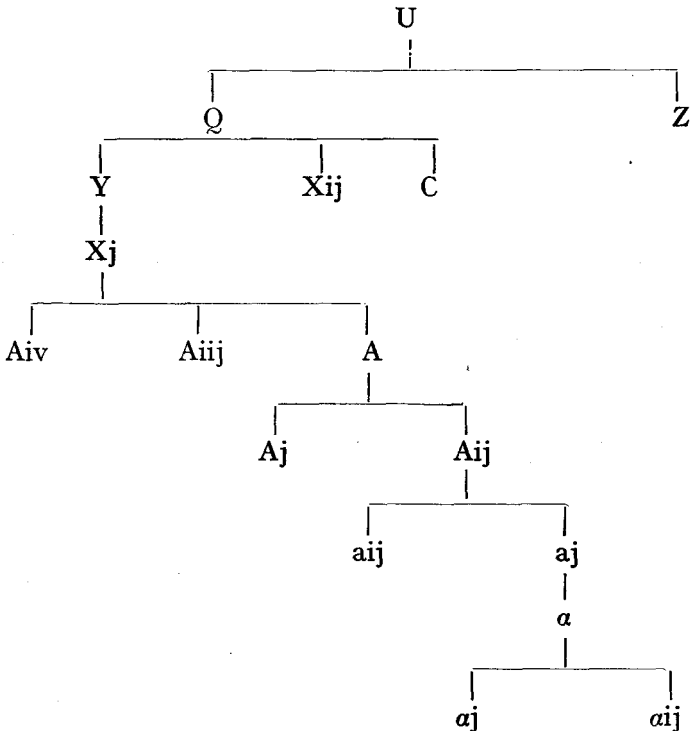
<sup>3</sup> P. Andreae, *Die Handschriften des 'Pricke of Conscience' von Richard Rolle von Hampole im Britischen Museum*, Berlin Diss. 1888.

<sup>4</sup> R. Morris, *The Pricke of Conscience*, Published for the Philological Society, Berlin 1863.

Andreae's genealogy:—



Bülbring (Br) modified the position of this Xj group by introducing a larger class Y from which Xj was descended, and Xj itself was sub-divided several times, viz:—



In accordance with Andreae's method the two Brotherton Collection MSS have been examined in order to establish, as far as possible, their place in Bülbring's scheme of classification. MS Brotherton Coll 500 satisfies 5 out of 8 test readings for Q, 1 out of 8 for C, 1 out of 3 for Xij,<sup>5</sup> and 13 out of 21 for Y. It satisfies 28 out of 37 readings for Xj, 3 out of 7 for Aiv, and 3 out of 10 for Aij. For A however it agrees in 25 out of 38 readings, although for the third test passage only 3 out of 8 readings agree. As we move further down the table the difficulty of placing new manuscripts increases. Until more copies in the sub-group Xj have been examined and the tree modified and extended, it will not be possible to be precise in establishing relationships. MS Brotherton Coll 500 satisfies only 1 out of 19 readings for Aj and 2 out of 5 for Aij, 5 out of 10 for aij but 2 only out of 7 for aj, 5 out of 15 for a, and 4 out of 19 for aij (aj is represented by one MS only which is a direct copy of aij). It would appear therefore that the Harmsworth MS may be assigned to class aij, but it would be injudicious to proceed further.

MS Brotherton Coll 501 satisfies 7 out of 8 tests for Q, only 2 out of 30 test passages for C, and none out of the three readings from the middle test passage which identify Xij as a sub-group. It agrees with Y in 15 out of 21 readings, in 34 out of 37 readings for Xj, in 3 out of 7 for Aiv, and in only 1 out of 10 readings for Aij. For A it satisfies 29 out of 38 readings. For Aj it agrees in 1 reading only out of 13, and in 2 for Aij. Only 1 in the 10 readings for aij agrees, but 4 out of 7 readings are satisfied for aj. As only one reading in each group a and aij is satisfied, it would be more dangerous than in the case of MS Brotherton Coll 500 to extend the classification further. This MS would seem to belong to the sub-group aj.

Over half a century ago Bülbring (B1) stated that 'a new edition [of the *Pricke of Conscience*], with all the many variations of its different copies, is much to be desired'. It is still

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that for the third test passage the MS agrees with 10 out of 11 readings of MS Lansdowne 384, which Bülbring (B2) assigns to Xij with little justification: his remark 'there are no proofs for the position of the end of Lansdowne 348 in the pedigree but presumably it was copied from Xij' is a confusing *non sequitur*.

unfortunately much to be desired, and our justification for endeavouring to describe and classify these MSS must be Bülbring's exhortation that he 'who has an opportunity of examining one or more of the remaining MSS should not hesitate to contribute his share of the work'.