

THE FORM OF CONFESSION
A LATER MEDIEVAL GENRE FOR EXAMINING CONSCIENCE

Michael E. Cornett

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of English and Comparative Literature.

Chapel Hill
2011

Approved by:

Joseph S. Wittig

Fiona Somerset

Patrick O'Neill

Edward Donald Kennedy

Darryl J. Gless

I confess to you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to little ones. —Luke 10:21

© 2011
Michael E. Cornett
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

MICHAEL E. CORNETT: *The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience*
(Under the direction of Joseph S. Wittig)

The “form of confession” is a genre of religious instruction that circulated widely in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in northern Europe, especially in England, in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council’s official pronouncement that all Christians must confess their sins to a priest at least once every year. The form of confession was the most grassroots kind of text that taught the grammar of sin to a confessing society. No other kind of pastoral literature comes as close as the form of confession to representing what was to be said by the penitent in the practice of confession. The genre thus offers a compelling entry point for exploring religious history from the ground up. Despite its value to scholars of medieval religion, history, and literature, this genre has nearly escaped the notice of modern critical attention.

Functioning as a mirror for self-examination, the form of confession voices through a first-person speaker the manifold variety of sins that might be

acknowledged by the penitent. Reading the form of confession, or hearing it read aloud, penitents could recognize in the wide-ranging avowals of sin, in a voice that was to become their own voice, the sins they had committed, so that they could articulate them to their confessor. The form of confession was thus a written text that served an oral purpose, as an aid to the actual practice of auricular confession. This dissertation introduces and defines the genre and then documents in a catalogue all the known examples of Latin, French, and English forms of confession from ca. 1200 to ca. 1500, including Latin and Old English precursors dating back to the ninth century. In documenting the genre of the form of confession more fully than has ever been done, this study provides a substantial body of new evidence that can be used to study various questions of medieval confessional practice.

for my devoted mother

Frederica Schauss Cornett

and in loving memory of my father

Eugene Jones Cornett

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many years have passed since I began and drafted much of my dissertation and then returned to finish it at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Moving to a new position at Duke University, pursuing other professional opportunities, and raising four children left little time for me to complete the writing. It shouldn't have surprised me—but it did—that I let things lie for ten years. Though the Y2K scare was just that for most people, the change to the year 2000 on my ancient laptop actually did destroy all the formatting of what I had done. As an editor by profession, I have never been more horrified having to sort the contents of all the footnotes that got stripped from the text and dumped into one monstrous Note 1. Files had to be recovered and brought up to date before beginning work again. After such a long hiatus, the huge increase in research materials made available on the Internet meant that I had to update and enlarge what I had nearly completed before.

Compiling a documentary catalogue by nature requires an inordinate amount of reference help. I am grateful to the interlibrary loan staffs at both UNC Chapel Hill and Duke University for keeping up with endless requests. I

especially thank Tom Nixon of UNC's Davis Library for always taking time to help me find many old reference works that were lost, misshelved, or just hard to find, and Patricia Dominguez of collection development for purchasing some key microfilms and other materials for my work. Other reels of microfilm were funded by a grant from the UNC Department of English and Comparative Literature. I also thank the late Father Leonard Boyle, Nicholas Gray, Jill Mann, and Sara Ogilvie-Thomson for supplying me with copies of their or their colleagues' hard-to-find or difficult-to-access research and publications, and I thank my colleague at Duke University Fiona Somerset for sharing manuscript materials along with her expertise. During my research trip to the British Library, Michelle Brown went beyond the call of duty by allowing me to consult far far more than the daily limit of codices, and she kindly removed one critical manuscript from an exhibition for me to use. Many individual scholars and librarians from around the world supplied me with critical information without which many holes would have remained in catalogue entries. They are too numerous to name here, but I acknowledge them in the notes to my catalogue. I will name one here, though: Siegfried Wenzel. He offered his great expertise by identifying some forms of confession embedded in treatises I never would have discovered, supplied microfilm, and transcribed some material in scribal hands that few could read besides himself. I also offer my great appreciation to Mitchell

Whichard of Davis Library for allowing me to keep my closed carrel long after I left UNC as a graduate student, so that my research materials could remain assembled in one quiet place for me to return to over the years.

A long journey brings many companions. Many thanks go to Jean Moskall for speaking to me one afternoon, at the wedding of a mutual friend, about finishing the project. That got me hoping again and moving. And Mary Floyd-Wilson, director of graduate studies in the UNC Department of English and Comparative Literature, helped me jump through some administrative hoops. I've been blessed with such supportive colleagues at Duke University, who encouraged me to "get 'er done" (as some say in these parts): David Aers, Valeria Finucci, Margaret Greer, and Laurie Shannon. I also thank my employer, Duke University, for grants that paid for my tuition after I reenrolled to complete my dissertation. Throughout this long journey to the end, I have been accompanied emotionally and spiritually above all by my wife, Karen Mohler Cornett, and David Franzen, David Frauenfelder, Jim Vescovi, Steve May, Peter and Laura Brown, Elizabeth Keim Harper, and my parish family at Church of the Holy Family in Chapel Hill. My gratitude to my parents for their support and encouragement is too great for a sentence here; I'm so happy to be able to dedicate my dissertation to them. It took a community to "raise" my dissertation. Mea culpa for any doubts I may have raised in your minds.

Last, but not least, for all the detailed and incisive comments along the way, I thank my advisor, Joseph Wittig, who kept believing in my work. He was more than generous in helping me see this project to its conclusion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. THE FORM OF CONFESSION

Introduction	1
1. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE FORM OF CONFESSION	12
2. THE FORM OF CONFESSION DEFINED	40
A mirror of confession	41
First-person address of the speaking penitent	62
Direct address to the church	70
Framing by the <i>Confiteor</i>	80
Confessing sins in every way	109
3. A FORM OF CONFESSION FOR BENEDICTINE MONKS IN BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON GALBA E.IV	125
4. A FORM OF CONFESSION FOR LAYPEOPLE IN BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 6041	158
Conclusion: Pentecostal Vision	196
APPENDIX: PROVENANCE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FORM OF CONFESSION	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY	210

PART II. A CATALOGUE OF FORMS OF CONFESSION IN THEIR
MANUSCRIPT CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Cataloguing methodology	229
Format of the manuscript entries	241
Abbreviations used in the bibliography and catalogue	248
Short references for bibliography cited in the catalogue	251

CATALOGUE

A. Latin and Old English Precursor Forms of Confession, 800–1200	321
B. Latin Forms of Confession, 1200–1500	369
C. French and Anglo-Norman Forms of Confession, 1200–1500	496
D. Middle English Forms of Confession, 1375–1500	542
E. Verse Forms of Confession, 1300–1575	678

INDEXES

Indexes to the Catalogue of Forms of Confession	722
A. Latin and Old English Precursor Forms of Confession, 800–1200	724
B. Latin Forms of Confession, 1200–1500	732
C. French and Anglo-Norman Forms of Confession, 1200–1500	768
D. Middle English Forms of Confession, 1375–1500	781
E. Verse Forms of Confession, 1300–1575	806

PART I

THE FORM OF CONFESSION

Confession has so long been a foundational structure of the Christian Church, an identity-forming discourse and practice extending far beyond the medieval religious realm into the modern secular world that it is probably impossible for most of us today to imagine a time before which we did not “confess.” Peter Brooks observes that Western culture from the later Middle Ages to the present day “has made confessional speech a prime mark of authenticity, par excellence the kind of speech in which the individual authenticates his inner truth.”¹ That this may be even more the case for our own era, one needs only to note the tell-all confessional mentality that pervades therapeutic models of psychology and popular media.² We take it as a given that being responsibly human is to reveal

¹ Peter Brooks, *Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 4. Brooks looks at the problematic aspects of our modern culture of confession.

² In *The Seven Deadly Sins: Jewish, Christian, and Classical Reflections on Human Psychology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), Solomon Schimmel, a professor of Jewish education and a psychotherapist, insists that psychology needs to recover medieval insights about the seven deadly sins to address contemporary problems of well-being. He sees the Catholic practice of penance and Jewish *teshuva* as ideal models for dealing with sin and guilt, stating that secular

and own truths hidden within the heart, soul, mind, or, very recently, even within the gene.³ Not to reveal is to be naive, childish, unself-conscious, closed, or in fear or denial of what is to be found within the self—in short, to be unformed as a mature human. So Foucault famously describes the human being as a “confessing animal” and the West, through the wide diffusion of confession, as becoming “a singularly confessing society”:

[Confession] plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships, and love relations, in the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one’s crimes, one’s sins, one’s thoughts and desires, one’s illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling, with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell.⁴

culture does not provide a similar model for self-improvement in the moral sphere, and needs to (234–37).

³ One book by a microbiologist looks at the “biology” of the seven deadly sins, structured by Dante’s *Purgatorio*. See John Medina, *The Genetic Inferno: Inside the Seven Deadly Sins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). While this turn toward understanding how genetic factors influence human behavior does not address the issues of human will and responsibility—the study is “interested in human neurons rather than human categories” (328)—it does carry forward the desire for self-knowledge, to reveal what is within us all, if not within an individual personality.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 59. In part 3, “Scientia Sexualis” (53–73), Foucault describes confession as a Western truth technology originating in medieval penance (58–63), and then migrating into scientific paradigms, to produce especially sexual knowledge—“sexuality”—located in the hidden desires of the flesh, which ultimately has come to define human subjectivity itself. While Foucault’s analysis of the transmission of confessional discourse from medieval penance into scientific spheres is compelling, his notions about medieval culture often go astray as he pursues his singular (passionate) grand anti-narrative. For one thing, later medieval confession did not produce *previously unarticulated* norms of legitimate and illegitimate sexual behavior (as if that were the sole intention of sacramental penance). It is not as if confessors were unaware of sexual behavior around them and needed, for their sake, to extract the “truth” of it through the penitent’s confession; the priest was functioning to impart forgiveness to the penitent whose confession was part of the process of repentance, a process that the clergy did not merely oversee, but to which they, too, were subject. Furthermore, sexual behavior was only a small part of the subject of confession, and notions of sins in the West have a very long history

To confess, therefore, has become naturalized in modern life.

Yet the expectation in the later Middle Ages that citizens of the church, of the human community, confess the alienating evils that they've done, or even thought or said, with the hope of being restored to the unity of the church, was not natural. It was learned. Since the fall of man from Eden, sinning was the natural state of affairs; confessing sins to a priest was not. By the time that the church ordained that all Christians needed to confess their sins annually, what penitents were expected to say and what priests were expected to hear had to be taught. The form of confession was the most grassroots kind of medieval text that taught the grammar of sin to a confessing society. This grammar structured the discourse that constituted much of the matter (*materia*) of the sacrament of penance: the penitent's words of confession to the parish priest.⁵ The form of

beginning in the non-Western scriptures. Confession, too, has a very long history; auricular confession, as practiced from the later Middle Ages on, evolved from various public and private practices in the earlier Middle Ages. Karma Lochrie in *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), finds Foucault's understanding of medieval confession and sexuality, despite its suggestiveness, to be "plagued with inconsistencies, contradictions, and even nostalgia" (23). She critiques Foucault in chap. 1, "Tongues Untied: Confession and Its Secrets" (12–24), while she makes use of his ideas in discussing the role of secrecy in confession and ways in which confessional discourse can serve to conceal as much as reveal.

⁵ According to medieval scholastic theology, a sacrament is comprised of its matter (*materia*), the physical expression that can be perceived by the senses, and its form (*forma*), the sign of invisible and spiritual grace that is bestowed as an effect. The sacrament of penance is defined by Aquinas in *Summa Theologiae*, III, qu. 84. Thomas states that the penitent's contrition, words of confession, and satisfaction (purpose of amendment) are the matter, and the pronouncement of absolution by the priest, "I absolve you," is the form signifying God's forgiving grace. Other

confession was thus a written text that served an oral purpose, as an aid to the actual practice of auricular confession. A widespread type of religious writing, the form of confession survives in prose and verse from ca. 1200 to ca. 1500 in over 440 copies of 198 different Latin, French, and English texts. This dissertation introduces and defines this little-known and marginally understood genre and then documents these texts in a catalogue, including Latin and Old English precursors to the form of confession dating back to the ninth century.⁶ A history of the genre of the form of confession may contribute a critical textual source to the ever-growing history of penance.⁷

scholastic theologians regarded the absolution as the matter and form and the penitent's acts as a necessary condition for reception of the sacrament, but the Thomistic view prevailed and was endorsed at the Council of Trent. See Edward J. Hanna's still very useful article, "The Sacrament of Penance," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., 17 vols. (New York: Robert Appleton, 1907–12), 11:618–35, at 622–23; also readily accessible on the *New Advent* website at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11618c.htm>. Thomas's discussion of penance is in *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 60, *Penance* (3a. 84–90), ed. and trans. Reginald Masterson, O.P., and T. C. O'Brien, O.P (Cambridge: Blackfriars, 1966); III, qu. 84, art. 2 is on the proper matter of the sacrament (8–11), and art. 3 is on absolution as the form of the sacrament (11–19). The *Summa Theologiae* may also handily be found at the *New Advent* site, at <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/4084.htm>. That the matter of the sacrament of penance consisted in part of the sins that the sinner confesses posed some problems to theologians. See Thomas's discussion in III, qu. 84, art. 2, and Masterson and O'Brien's discussion in appendix 1 of *Penance* (3a. 84–90), 8–11, 175–79.

⁶ References throughout to entries in the catalogue are given parenthetically by their section and entry numbers.

⁷ The study of confession continues to occupy a great deal of scholarly interest, as can be seen in many recent articles and several recent books, such as Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998); Katherine C. Little, *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); Abigail Firey, ed., *A New History of Penance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Chloë Taylor, *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault: A Genealogy of the "Confessing Animal"* (New York: Routledge, 2009); and Annemarie S. Kidder,

The form of confession voices through a first-person speaker the manifold variety of sins that might be acknowledged by the penitent in confession. It is addressed to the priest, who absolves the penitent once a complete avowal has been made. Not the confession of any particular sinner, the form of confession presents a full range of possibilities of sin for anyone, or at least has this comprehensive purpose. It thus functions as a mirror for self-examination. Reading the form of confession, or hearing it being read aloud, penitents could recognize in the wide-ranging avowals of sin, in a voice that was to become their own voice, all the sins they had committed, so that they could articulate them to their priest when confessing. In their turn, priests could use the form of confession to verse themselves in what they should be hearing from penitents. There is no other kind of pastoral literature that came as close as the form of confession to representing what was to be said by the penitent in the practice of confession.⁸ Most examples of the genre are anonymously written, but a few

Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, A Michael Glazier Book, 2010).

⁸ One other type of text represents the voice of the priest in questioning the penitent about sins that may have been committed: the confessional interrogatory. Far more texts of the form of confession survive than the confessional interrogatory, and for obvious reasons the interrogatory exists mainly in Latin, but this genre, too, deserves to be fully discussed and documented. In some cases, the confessional interrogatory and form of confession can overlap. For example, texts can begin in the second-person interrogatory mode and then switch to the first-person confessional mode (see cat. B27, D22, and E7). They can also switch in the opposite direction (see D2.1, D2.3, D12, D14.4). Siegfried Wenzel believes the Latin form of confession found in London, British Library, Harley 211 (B27) was adapted from Robert Grosseteste's *Si scienter* confessional questionnaire, and that this interrogatory also served as the basis of "The

have known authorship: those by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (B1b, B3b, C20 in the catalogue), John Rigaud, a French Franciscan (B5), William of Pagula, a Berkshire parish priest (B8), Andreas de Escobar, a papal penitentiary (B24), Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris (B64, C23), Henry Duke of Lancaster (C19), John Ireland, a Scottish theologian who became James II of Scotland's chaplain and confessor (D57), and the Scottish poet William Dunbar (E24).

Yet it has never been quite clear just what a form of confession is. It is remarkable that such an important genre has never been fully or precisely defined or documented. The predominantly unedited state of the genre has meant that those who are most familiar with the form of confession are either editors of specific examples of the genre or cataloguers describing the contents of

Book of Penance," a versified form of confession appended to one manuscript version of *Cursor Mundi* (BL Cotton Vespasian A.iii; see E7). See Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 84 and 229 n. 65. Leonard E. Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30–43, in a diagram illustrating the relationships between types of pastoral literature, classifies the form of confession as a genre aimed at the laity for the examination of conscience, while classifying the confessional interrogatory as a type of practical *confessionalia* for the use of priests (38 and 43 n. 42). However, forms of confession were also aimed at monastic use and for priests as well, and it was possible for the confessional interrogatory to be used by the penitent, similar to the form of confession. Robert Grosseteste's *Speculum confessionis* (also known as the *Perambulavit Iudas*; see B1b), contains a form of confession for the use of an abbot or prior, followed by a confessional interrogatory meant to be used by the "simpler brothers" to examine their own lives. According to the work's editors, this interrogatory "is intended for their personal use, and not as a handbook to guide them in hearing the confessions of others." See Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "The 'Perambulavit Iudas . . .' (*Speculum Confessionis*) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste," *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 125–68, quotation at 133.

manuscript collections.⁹ Indeed, very few scholars of the history of parish life, pastoral care, lay religious practice, and penitential writings even know of the existence of the form of confession.¹⁰ Morton W. Bloomfield had remarked in *The*

⁹ P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), was the first to document the Middle English examples of the form of confession, including brief incipits of texts (section C, 67–74, with brief discussion on 39–42); and Robert R. Raymo, “Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,” vol. 7, pt. 20 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung and J. Burke Severs (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), 2255–2378, 2467–2582, briefly discusses the form of confession (2358–59)—but conflates this genre with the confessional interrogatory—and lists them in a bibliography (2562–64). Alexandra Barratt, “Works of Religious Instruction,” in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), mentions forms of confession, following Jolliffe, and recognizes the potential value in studying them (423–24). Philip Durkin, “Examining One’s Conscience: A Survey of Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession,” *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 28 (1997): 19–56, classifies the Middle English forms of confession in terms of different intended audiences, providing the most discussion to date. Surprisingly, however, none of these works actually defines the genre. Even Durkin’s dissertation, “A Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86, with Editions of Selected Texts, and with Special Reference to Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession,” 2 vols. (D. Phil. thesis, St. Hugh’s College, Oxford University, 1994), in a very brief section on the “structure of a model confession” (1:9–11), no more than mentions the typical kinds of topics covered in a form of confession. Many Latin and French forms of confession are listed in various catalogues of manuscript incipits, but without any discussion. I note these sources below in the introduction to my catalogue of the form of confession. For editions of specific examples of the form of confession, see the bibliography for each entry in my catalogue.

¹⁰ To take some notable examples, the following do not mention the form of confession: Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1896; repr. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Edward L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and Their People in the Middle Ages in England* (London, 1898); Leonard Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981); André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Biller and Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin*; N. J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005); Miri Rubin, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Firey, ed., *A New History of Penance* (whose index, s.v. “confession, forms of,” refers in several places to forms of confession but does not actually discuss the proper genre). Duffy comes closest to the

Seven Deadly Sins that the “confession formula is widespread and reflects, of course, religious practices,” and he noted that “these formulas are found in all European literatures and display a general similarity,” but he takes for granted a familiarity with the form of confession and does not in any way define the genre. His observation, quite possibly because it was buried in a single, lengthy footnote, did not lead anyone to pursue an account of the form of confession as a genre.¹¹ What little that has been said about the genre is itself confusing, because

form of confession when discussing a confessional interrogatory from a “remarkable” example of a manual “produced by experts for the instruction of parish clergy” (58–60); and he refers to a “Form of Confession” printed in sixteenth-century primers but without any reference to the medieval genre (61). In *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, a volume attempting to “observe” major practices including “people of all ranks at penance” (2), the section on confession and penance (135–51) represents early medieval practice with an *ordo* for public penance and a penitential diet from the Pseudo-Theodore penitential; but in representing later medieval practice, rather than featuring a form of confession or confessional interrogatory, the period of private auricular confession is represented by a literary passage from Chrétien’s *Contes du graal*, showing Perceval confessing on Good Friday and doing penance. A much better representation of later medieval religious instruction is in John Shinnors, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000–1500: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2007), “Instruction in the Faith,” 1–70. This section does not include a form of confession, but it does include an excerpt from William of Pagula’s handbook for parish priests called the *Oculus sacerdotis*—which, crucially, *does* contain an embedded form of confession (see cat. B8)—on what priests should teach their parishioners (14–18), and an excerpt from a tract on hearing confessions (19–25). The volume also includes an excerpt from the *Ménagier de Paris*, a manual on domestic life composed by a husband for his young wife, which includes instructions on hearing Mass and confession (283–90).

¹¹ Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952), discusses the genre (using the term “confession formula”) and mentions many examples in 387–88 n. 107. He is mainly interested in which of the seven deadly sins appear in forms of confession, and he briefly describes some Middle English examples (170–71, 173–76, 185–87, 204, 238), which he sees as sources for Langland and others. Following Bloomfield, Wenzel mentions “confession formulas” in *Sin of Sloth*, 83–84. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, in *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XIIe–XVIe siècle)* (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1962), discusses a few Latin forms of confession without any account of the genre: Jean Rigaud’s *Formula confessionum* (29, 56–57, 87), Andreas Escobar’s *Modus confitendi* (71–72), and a couple

so many different terms in different languages have been used to refer to the form of confession: *Beichte, Beichtformel, Beichtspiegel, confessio, confessio generalis, confession, confession formula, confession generale, confessional formulary, confessionale, confiteor, examen de conscience, examination of conscience, form of confession, forma de confessar, formule de confession, general confession, manera de confessar, modus confessionis, modus confitendi*. To make things worse, these terms of modern scholars often do not conform to manuscript rubrics, so that while the genre is under discussion, specific texts may be cited by a wide assortment of rubrics functioning as titles: *confessio, confessio generalis, confessio peccatoris, confessio peccatorum, confessio sacerdotis, confessionale generale, confessionis forma, forma confessionis, forma confessionum, forma confitendi, formula confessionis, materia confessionis, modus confitendi, oratio, ordo confitendi, summa de cassibus consciencie, summa de confessione, summa de paenitentia, summula de confessione, maniere confesser, confession generale, confessional, treatise of confession*, or rarely, in English,

other anonymous texts among what he calls *confessiones generales* (82 n. 12, 86–91, 93). Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, has given the most attention to Escobar’s *Modus confitendi*, which he calls a general confession (39–40, 49, 112–13), but he does not mention, for example, any other of the mostly anonymous forms of confession as listed by Jolliffe and others. Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 112–14, makes use of the form of confession as a model of penitential discourse; he also does so in “Sin and the Vices in the Middle English Mystics,” in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 213–14. Likewise, Pierre J. Payer makes use of two forms of confession to illustrate sexual sins, without discussing the genre, in *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150–1300* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 96–100.

form of confession. Add to this proliferation of medieval rubrics and modern terms the fact that the same rubric could be used to describe quite *different* texts, and that scholars not infrequently use these terms to refer to texts that are *not* in fact forms of confession, and it is no wonder that the genre has remained obscure, one ingredient in a big kettle containing much undifferentiated medieval penitential writing.¹² The author of the English adaptation of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, assessing the sheer volume of religious instructional works to be read, despairs of ever comprehending "so manye bokes and treetes of vyces and vertues, & of dyuers doctrynes, þat þis schort lyfe schalle rapere haue an ende of any manne thanne he maye owþere studye hem or rede hem."¹³ The form of confession is one of these works produced during a period of prolific religious prose, and evidence suggests it was a popular genre that monastics, priests, and laypeople found highly useful. Modern readers, on the other hand, have by and large overlooked this genre among the endless volumes of medieval religious instruction. Life may be short, but the form of confession should reward many scholars' interests.

¹² I use the term *form of confession*, and, to avoid awkward syntax and to allow a modicum of variety, *confessional form* and *confession* (when associated with a specific manuscript). I would prefer to use *mirror of confession* for its greater descriptive accuracy, as will become clear, but matters would not be helped by adopting an entirely new term.

¹³ C. Horstmann, ed., "*Orologium Sapientiae, or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdome*, aus MS Douce 114," *Anglia* 10 (1888): 328.

The chapters that follow define this genre structurally and rhetorically, establishing its use within the context of normative penitential practices of the later medieval church. I concentrate on the way that the genre itself imagines how it should be used by penitents. While I do, along the way, indicate a variety of interesting uses to which the form of confession could be put (e.g., in private prayer and devotions, in paraliturgical rites, in Lollard contexts, in contexts responding to heresy), the normative view of an unfamiliar genre has to be established fully before we can perceive and appreciate nuances that point to alternative uses and unconventional practices.

CHAPTER 1

Historiography of the Form of Confession

Historians of penance tend to be divided over when they think the practice of confession became normative throughout Europe, whether before or after 1215, when the Fourth Lateran Council made annual confession an obligation for all Christians before receiving the Eucharist at Easter.¹ As R. Emmet McLaughlin shows, this divide has tended to follow (until fairly recently) Catholic and Protestant ideological interests. Those with Catholic sympathies have wanted to see confession as having been widely practiced long before Lateran IV, giving the sacrament of penance an ancient history. Those with Protestant sympathies have wanted to see the sacrament of penance as a relatively late development in the medieval church, rendering it vulnerable to reformist criticism.² Modern

¹ For text and translation of the famous canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, see Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:245; and the convenient translation in John Shinnars and William J. Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 169–70.

² See R. Emmet McLaughlin, “Truth, Tradition, and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Firey, 19–71. McLaughlin presents a long view of scholarship on the sacrament of penance from the medieval scholastics to the present, so much of which was conducted in Latin and German

historiography, while having no privileged, neutral vantage point from which to assess evidence, has dropped most of the partisan controversy and focused on the relative merits of the evidence.³ In documenting the genre of the form of confession more fully than has ever been done, in Latin and the vernacular, in stand-alone texts and those embedded in longer works, along with the contexts of the manuscripts in which forms of confession appear, this study seeks to provide a substantial body of new evidence which can be used to study various questions of medieval confessional practice.

The catalogue that follows this account of the genre presents, for the first time, all the known Latin, French, and English manuscripts that contain the form of confession.⁴ Of the 442 extant copies, 69 Latin texts survive in 241 copies, 42 French texts in 62 copies, 62 Middle English texts in 94 copies, and 25 versified forms of confession, mostly in Middle English, survive in 45 copies. The

from the Reformation to the 1940s and concentrated on Protestant/Catholic controversy. Lea's *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, while still extremely useful for the range of its historical information and documentation, must be used with the understanding that the author is partaking, as a Protestant, in this history of controversy. See also Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2001), 1–13, for an efficient overview that highlights critical issues.

³ For helpful overviews of modern scholarship on later medieval confession, mainly conducted by English and French scholars, see McLaughlin, "Truth, Tradition, and History," 56–68; as well as Biller's introduction to *Handling Sin*, "Confession in the Middle Ages: An Introduction," 23–31. Hamilton highlights the critical issues of historical evidence in *Practice of Penance*, 13–23.

⁴ I do not include vernacular forms of confession that are not French or English, since I have been able to find very few in other languages, and little scholarship mentions forms of confession in other vernacular languages. See the introduction to the catalogue for a full description of the catalogue's methodology.

catalogue also presents 24 Latin and Old English precursors to the form of confession in 37 copies. The catalogue identifies texts by incipit and explicit, and it presents each text within its manuscript context, showing what kind of company the form of confession kept in manuscript codices. It thus creates a broad picture of the genre within the written culture of the later Middle Ages. Multiple indexes have been created to offer the widest possible access for searching the catalogue from many perspectives. This catalogue supplies the documentary basis for studying the genre of the form of confession and its place within later medieval confessional practices.

From its emergence in the early church to its ubiquitous presence in society by the time of the Reformation, confession was practiced in various public and private forms and has a long and complex history.⁵ My concern is with the later medieval practice of auricular confession that came to characterize the sacrament of penance and still does in many ways. How widespread was the practice of auricular confession before 1215? What can we know of the actual practice of medieval people, and what kinds of evidence do we have? These questions have occupied much recent work. I follow Alexander Murray and

⁵ A good place to start for orientation to this long and varied history of penance is Hanna, "Sacrament of Penance"; and see the bibliography in the works cited above in notes 15–16. Alexander Murray, "Confession before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 3 (1993): 54–63, gives an eloquent summary of this history with trenchant historiographical observations.

Joseph Goering in the view that oral confession of lay people could not have become a common practice before the thirteenth century, before conditions had emerged to support its administration and diffusion, such as the establishment of the parish structure and the provision of educational materials to train confessors. Confession was therefore “nothing like universal before the thirteenth century.”⁶ Innocent III did not “create” confession with canon 21 of Lateran IV, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, as if by the mere power of a papal decree, but Murray sees this council as “the mouth of a conduit” through which the pastoral theology developed in the previous century “could flow down the innumerable capillaries of the church.”⁷ Likewise, Goering regards the expectation that parish priests act as physicians of the soul and judges in the internal court of conscience and that laypeople learn to examine their consciences and confess their sins before the priest as being “scarcely imaginable” without “the legislation of Innocent III that created an institutional form to accommodate

⁶ A. Murray, “Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 279. By contrast, Bernhard Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, trans. and rev. Francis Courtney, S.J. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), sees that “the law of confession was to all intents and purposes universally enforced” by the twelfth century (140), leaving for the later medieval period only the fine points of theology to work out (155–93). Poschmann, however, focuses entirely upon early medieval synodal statutes and penitentials for his evidence, while, conspicuously, Lateran IV and the enormous literature on confession in its aftermath receive no discussion and go nearly without mention.

⁷ Murray, “Confession before 1215,” 63–64.

it.”⁸ The form of confession, located at the most fundamental level of such writing, that which reached the ears and often the eyes of penitents themselves, was an important genre in the architecture of the church’s construction of universal confession during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. The fact that it flourished especially in the fifteenth century suggests that it took quite a long time for it to become an effective textual technology, and may indicate that layfolk were not prepared to make extensive use of it until the “capillaries” of the church’s confessional program had reached deeply into European societies.⁹

⁸ Joseph Goering, “The Scholastic Turn (1100–1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Firey, 227.

⁹ The evidence of the form of confession should challenge those who see later medieval confession as primarily a ritual tied to Lent whose primary purpose was to purify Christians before receiving the Easter Eucharist. While this view is helpful for integrating the practice of confession within the liturgical year and within practical aspects the parish structure, it downplays far too much the level of internal engagement with the actual process. See, for example, W. David Myers, *“Poor, Sinning Folk”: Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 29–60, who claims that “confession played an important role, but it was not a continuous source of guilt, fear, worry, or joy” (59). For Myers, not until the practice became entirely private (separated from the public space of the church) and therefore focused on the encounter between priest and penitent could the spiritual dimension of confession become significant. But a genre like the form of confession shows that literate penitents (and even those who could hear such a text read out loud, say, within the home) could devote time to the spiritual work of examining conscience as preparation before going to see the priest, and not just during Lent. One rubric to a fifteenth-century form of confession illustrates how confession was not thought about only during Lent: “How a man schall confesse hym to God and to hys gostely fadyr thys holy tyme of Lent and odyr tymes of þe 3ere” (cat. D31). Many rubrics and directions accompanying examples of the genre indicate that the form of confession could be used frequently, even daily, and that both religious and laypeople were the audience. See, e.g., Jean Gerson’s *Modus brevis et utilis confitendi de defectibus et peccatis quotidianis* (B64); *A compendius forme of dayly confessions* (D47), for the use of religious, with directions on the daily practice of confession; *A shorte confessionalle for religious persons of euery day synnes aftir Bonauenture* (D51), also with notes on daily practice; *A confessioun to seie as oft as 3e wil be confessyde* (D34), for a religious woman; *A schort forme of confessioun for such men and women which ofte ben confessed* embedded in *The Clensyng of Mannes*

One problem for historians trying to learn about actual confessional practice is the fact that most of the sources we have for evidence were written by an educated class of clergy and are prescriptive in nature, indicating what *ought* to happen in confession. These official sources include theological discussions, treatises on confession, pastoral manuals, penitential canons, and synodal and diocesan legislation. Some historians have therefore looked in other places for evidence that is nonprescriptive, turning to unofficial sources, mainly narrative accounts that do not have the explicit purpose of teaching correct penitential practices. These narratives have been found, for example, in sermon exempla and miracle tales that describe episodes about the practice of confession.¹⁰ Of course, it is too easily overlooked that such narratives were didactic and had designs upon their audiences. Even so, such historiographical tactics are helpful for what they might reveal from a rhetorical standpoint that differs from “official” documents, and the form of confession should be put forward as another type of source meriting similar attention. Though it has a pedagogical intention, it is

Soule (D6.1–D6.3, D6.5, D6.6), owned by religious and lay families; *The forme of confession for all the yere* (D52), in a Book of Hours written and illuminated for Anne Withipoll, wife of a guildsman who became master of the Merchant Taylors Company in Ipswich.

¹⁰ Murray, for example, discusses this issue in “Confession before 1215.” The “trouble remains that surviving documents are mostly about principles rather than practice” (52). He relies on miracle tales in his attempt to assess the nature of confessional practice before 1215, because they “often describe to us otherwise inaccessible areas of social history,” and “this applies especially to confession” (65). In “Confession as a Historical Source,” Murray advises historians to look for “cracks” in the seal of confession to see what confessors might reveal, in moments of candor, about what goes on in confession (281–86).

quite different from other prescriptive sources because the form of confession was composed to be used by penitents themselves. It is presented as if from the penitent's viewpoint, and cannot be experienced as a passive form of instruction in the way that, say, one might listen inattentively to a sermon. Rather, the user must engage with the text in a process involving memory, recognition, and judgment, the outcome of which is to construct a personal history of sin to be confessed. Indeed, no two users will produce the same history, for the form of confession is designed for an individual to know himself individually as a sinner. The text remains inert and lifeless until the penitent does the work of self-examination, activating his conscience and memory in a retrospective survey of that aspect of his life that can be understood to be sinful. This is a source that has little meaning other than as an indicator (and stimulator) of confessional practice.

Goering broadly divides religious instruction in the thirteenth century into that which relied mainly on written culture and that which happened in a largely oral context. Written instruction was aimed mainly at monks and clerics for their study, while most laypeople learned from participatory engagement in rites and rituals. The written record has left a vast trail for us to follow, but "the unwritten instruction of the vast majority of medieval people is more difficult to

reconstruct and to appreciate.”¹¹ The form of confession is one type of written text that can give us a vivid glimpse at this by and large “unwritten” instruction of the majority.

McLaughlin states that students of the late medieval sacrament now “face the critical question: to what extent did the sophisticated creation of the schools reach the mass of the population, or even of the clergy?” The church clearly “invested a great deal in the effort to bring penance to the parish,” but were manuals of instruction in the sacrament sufficiently widespread to suit the pressing need?¹² The wide diffusion of forms of confession in many languages and in many places and the consistency of the genre’s presentation of confessional practice presents us with one major genre of pastoral instruction suggesting that the rigorous practice of confession was taken very seriously by the fifteenth century in northern Europe and served to indicate normative expectations of parish life. Unlike the manuals for confessors, mostly written in Latin for the use of clergy, the form of confession was written for penitents in the language of a penitent’s confession. While it could also be used by priests to help prepare themselves for what they might *hear* in a confession or perhaps even to

¹¹ Joseph Goering, “A Layman’s Penance,” in Rubin, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, 153; and Goering “The Thirteenth-Century English Parish,” in John Van Engen, ed., *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 208–22.

¹² McLaughlin, “Truth, Tradition, and History,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Firey, 68–69.

use with a penitent, the genre offers none of the advice in the cure of souls that the manuals of confession offered—direction for understanding the penitent as a person living in particular circumstances of life, helping a penitent overcome obstacles that would hinder or undermine confession, and leading a penitent to fulfilling all that was required for a “good confession.” As a practical text designed for a penitent’s examination of conscience before coming to a priest, the form of confession is a valuable and undeservedly little-used source of evidence for actual confessional practice.¹³

Above all, the form of confession brings us as close as the historian may possibly come to knowing what was said in private confession in the later Middle Ages. Modern conceptions of sin often vastly diverge from medieval ones; the form of confession offers the best evidence of what counted as sin for the majority of medieval Christians. While today we praise the joyous pleasures of food, for example, in terms of appreciating what goes into our bodies, the form

¹³ A recent article, for example, by Catherine Rider, “Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals,” *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 327–40, addresses the question of how much religious knowledge laypeople possessed in the later Middle Ages, arguing against a trend in historiography that finds low ecclesiastical expectations of the laity at the parish level. She turns to some short treatises inspired by Robert Grosseteste’s confessional interrogatory, *De modo confitendi*, as her evidence, but the form of confession offers much better evidence for the view that medieval Christians had a working knowledge of the church’s catechism that was put into practice when preparing for confession. Grosseteste himself composed three different forms of confession: part 1 of his *Speculum confessionis* (B1b.1–B1b.4); *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata* (B3b, C5), which advises that confession ought to be made in one’s native tongue; and his Anglo-Norman *Confessioun* (C20.1, C20.2).

of confession commonly mentions enjoying the taste of food, rather than eating purely out of necessity, as a mortal sin of gluttony. On the other hand, it can be surprising to see how medieval and modern notions are continuous. Not paying wages promptly was a sin of greed as much then as now. Furthermore, what the common parishioner needed to know about sin in order to make confession had little to do with elite theological discussion. Saint Thomas in his treatise *De malo*, when discussing the general branches of pride, is concerned to assign them properly to the category of *pride* as opposed to *error* or *disbelief*, but this could not help John the wheelwright or Mary the spinner know exactly what the mortal sin of pride meant in the specific terms of what constituted pride in their earthy thoughts, words, and actions.¹⁴ While Latin manuals of confession written for professional religious and priests and vernacular manuals of instruction that reached wider audiences did, of course, discuss the sins in specific detail, they were discursive as opposed to being a seriatim listing or cataloguing of them *in the voice of the sinner in the very act of confessing*. The form of confession cut to the

¹⁴In *De Malo*, one of Thomas's major works, he covers all the seven deadly sins in his investigation of moral evil. See *On Evil*, trans. Jean Oesterle (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), qu. VIII, art. 4, "On the Species of Pride," 332–35. Of course, many manuals of instruction spelled out things more specifically, such as Guillelmus Peraldus's immensely popular *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, but again, such works were not meant for John the wheelwright. Peraldus similarly covers the seven deadly sins, but with an effort to aid the confessor. It would be worthwhile to compare the details of this influential work to the contents of forms of confession. Judging from the detailed table of contents to *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* in one printed edition (Cologne, 1614), Peraldus was a Latin model that did filter down to the ground-level delineation of sin in the form of confession.

chase of sacramental practice.¹⁵ This genre illustrates what filtered down to the most basic level of the monastic house and the parish in the church hierarchy. The genre thus offers a compelling entry point for exploring religious history from the ground up.

Scholars interested in the history of specific sins, social history, gender relations, and literary history all will find much to explore in the genre of the form of confession. One can't help but observe, for example, that the popularity of first-person narrative fiction in the later medieval period coincides with the spread of the practice of confession to all members of society in the West. The sacrament of penance asked the penitent, in effect, to tell a story from the

¹⁵ For a masterful overview of the literature of penance and confession from Gratian through the fifteenth century, see Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," *Traditio* 59 (2004): 208–26. For other valuable overviews of the *pastoralia* produced following Lateran IV and the church's program of catechesis, see E. J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des péchés: Étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII^e siècle)* (Paris: E. Droz, 1940); Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession*; Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)* (Genève: Droz, 1967), 558–78; Boyle, "Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology"; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 28–53; W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy, 1980), 189–243; Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 198–205; Duffy, chap. 2 of *Stripping of the Altars*, "How the Plowman Learned His Paternoster," 53–87; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 25–30, 59–63; Judith Shaw, "The Influence of Canonical and Episcopal Reform on Popular Books of Instruction," in *Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Heffernan, 44–60; Barratt, "Works of Religious Instruction"; Rita Copeland's section in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 390–406; Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages," 7–13; Richard Newhauser, "Religious Writing: Hagiography, *Pastoralia*, Devotional, and Contemplative Works," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100–1500*, ed. Larry Scanlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 49–54; Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*, chap. 1 "The New Literature of Confession," 12–44.

individual's own point of view, to reveal what originates from within the confessing subject. Indeed, the sinner's story of himself told to the priest in confession is a story with eternal significance—salvation depended on telling it truly and fully. It is not hard to imagine that this mode of self-construction provided a cultural, social, and linguistic context within which poets discovered potentialities of writing in the first-person voice and point of view. The form of the dream vision, for instance, with its first-person narrative structure, emerges especially from the thirteenth century on, during the period when confession became a norm of religious practice. The psychology of self-awareness in confession may well have engendered a new literary interest in the possibility of emotional, psychological, and spiritual growth of fictional characters.¹⁶

Now that a catalogue of the known texts of the genre is available, it is possible to compare forms of confession to see how what counted as sin in

¹⁶ A few critics have explored the connection between confession and literary production, but the form of confession offers a valuable source for extending such study. See Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale*; Mary Flowers Braswell, *The Medieval Sinner: Character and Confession in the Literature of the English Middle Ages* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1983); Lee Patterson, "The Subject of Confession," in *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 367–94; Jerry Root, *Space to Speke: The Confessional Subject in Medieval Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); Lochrie, *Covert Operations*; Little, *Confession and Resistance*; and Donald Gene Pace, *Unfettering Confession: Ritualized Performance in Spanish Narrative and Drama* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2009). The English alliterative dream visions as a group, including *Piers Plowman*, *Pearl*, *Winner and Waster*, *The Parliament of the Three Ages*, *Mum and the Sothsegger*, *Death and Life*, and *The Crowned King* have in common a broad interest in the kind of social, religious, and moral reform promoted by penitential practice. To my knowledge, these poems have never been studied together in these terms.

confession might have differed between languages, regions, and audiences. The kinds of sins listed in texts aimed at a monastic audience certainly differed in many ways from those aimed at a lay one. Having the field of this genre surveyed, as it were, now allows us to map the sins onto a matrix of possibilities, and then to make finer distinctions between emphases and proportions within various examples.¹⁷ Through comparison, we may establish which sins are common to most examples of the genre, while identifying which are uncommon or even unique to a particular text. This is work that remains to be done but which has the potential of yielding intriguing results.

So far I have implied that the form of confession can give us a privileged view of the way medieval people themselves thought of sin when confessing. We do not have here, of course, the transcription of any particular penitent's confession, what *actually* was said in a historical moment of confessing. The seal of confession, prohibiting confessors from revealing what anyone confesses, has

¹⁷ The only work to date that has tried to differentiate audiences among forms of confession is Durkin, "Examining One's Conscience." As I discuss in the introduction to my catalogue, this is not easy to do, since, at least among Middle English examples, forms of confession tend to be composed for use by multiple audiences. Some texts, however, are clearly intended for an identifiable audience. For example, the Latin confessional form in British Library, Cotton Galba E.iv, from the Benedictine cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, focuses quite specifically on sins relevant to a monastic house, detailing the sins in a rich social context (B9 in the catalogue). By contrast, the Middle English form of confession in BL Harley 6041 is strongly inflected for a knightly class (D17). Both of these texts are discussed fully in chaps. 3 and 4 below.

insured that historians cannot have access to that.¹⁸ Some readers, however, not knowing what they were encountering, have completely misunderstood a form of confession in just this way. The editor of one vernacular Irish form of confession, considering the comprehensiveness of the confession, points out that anyone following this directive “and acquitting himself of that duty in the fashion of [this form of confession], must needs have been a reprobate.”¹⁹ Indeed! A form of confession could be the *actual* confession only of the devil who sins in every

¹⁸ One remarkable case of an actual confession can be found in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 340, a lavishly illustrated copy of Hrabanus Maurus’s *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis* made in the twelfth century at Anchin Abbey in Flanders. The scribe, one Rainaldus, has himself written a formal note, on a singleton sheet placed before the first figure in the text, a personal confession for messing up the rulings for the illustrations, which has led to them becoming mishapen. Following some initial comments on the value of confession, Rainaldus begs the reader’s pardon “for the abberation of [his] error. For I wrote this book less carefully than I ought, and I extended in length more than was right the squares of the pages [to be] laid out for figures—which I ought to have made square with the correct line. Wherefore, the painter was forced to make the circles which ought to have been round, more oblong than round.” The confession ends by urging scribes to “make the work square” when they do the ruling, or their copies, too, will be spoiled. See Richard Gameson, “A Scribe’s Confession and the Making of the Anchin Hrabanus (Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 340),” in Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts, and Images* (Paris: Peeters, 2005), 65–74, quotation at 67. Rainaldus here confesses to his readers, not to a confessor, but in this monastic context, a monk would confess his public faults to his brothers during chapter meeting. And the fellow brother in the scriptorium whose job it was to illustrate this expensive volume, as Gameson suggests, might well wish to be spared accusations of a major mistake in his execution of symbolic figures illustrating the notion of perfection. It was no minor mistake.

¹⁹ The Irish form of confession is in Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 598, fols. 36va–37vb. James A. Geary, who mistakenly refers to this form of confession as a homily, edits and translates it in “An Irish Homily on Confession: Text and Translation,” *Catholic University Bulletin* 18 (1912): 344–66, with quotation at 349. Geary’s “homily” also includes a tract on the fifteen conditions of a good confession that precedes the form of confession.

possible way.²⁰ The language of the form of confession presents the grammar of sin, the matrix of possibilities in a discourse for practice from which penitents must recognize what is relevant to their own cases.²¹ Yet apparently it did happen that contemporary readers coming to a form of confession for the first time could be misled. Instructions preceding forms of confession sometimes warn against merely reciting the entire text that is before them, as can be seen in a devotional compilation made by the Dominican anchorite John Lacy, who was attached to the church of St. Nicholas in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which he made

²⁰ An exemplum in *Of Shrifte and Penance*, a Middle English prose translation of the hugely popular *Manuel des péchés*, illustrates this point very well. A man making his confession to a priest confesses to all manner of sin—even to sinking a thousand ships at sea and burning cities on land; indeed, after telling so many sins, he asks if he should go on at length: “What scal I make longe tale? I haue do so gret efle [evil] þat I may for no þynge loue God almyzty ne no crystone man þat leueth on hym [who believes in him]. I am wrappud [enveloped] wyth al þe sefne dedly synnes and wyth [against] al þe comaundementes þat God tolyured [delivered] to þe peple. I lovode nevre þe sacrementes of holy chirche. Sacrilege and pryuey synne efre I haue loued.” The priest, to be sure, is astonished: “Þe gode man herkonede wel and strongly he wondrede þat o [one] man myzhte do so muche synne as he hadde tolde hym.” Of course, this is the devil’s confession, and the priest will not absolve him, even though the devil wishes to be like other Christians, who come to confession black as coal, but afterwards their souls are “clarefyed as cler as þe sonne in somer.” Because the devil loves to sin and will never repent, the priest will not absolve him: “a devel þow come, a devel þow go.” See *Of Shrifte and Penance: The ME Prose Translation of “Le Manuel des Péchés,”* ed. Klaus Bitterling (Heidelberg: Universitäts C. Winter, 1998), 123, lines 28–35, and 124, lines 4 and 11.

²¹ Even a recent editor of a form of confession, a specialist in devotional literature but who is not widely familiar with the genre, can be somewhat puzzled by the genre’s intentions. Alexandra Barratt, in her edition of the form of confession in the Bolton Book of Hours (D24), considers the fact that the text presents avowals of sins against the sacraments of *both* marriage and ordination evidence that “the persona of the penitent is entirely fictive” and that the text therefore “is really a broad-spectrum, all-purpose formula,” as opposed to one that reflects the concerns of a specific type of individual (“Enveloped in Synne,” 6). Such a mixture of avowals with varying relevance to potential audiences is routine for the genre. It is, rather, the exceptional case that presents avowals of sins that are consistent for a specific type of audience.

for his own use and then donated in 1434 to Roger Stonysdale, chaplain at the church. Explaining how to make use of his form of confession, Lacy notes that the penitent should mention only those things in which he has sinned, “and oþer lett passe. . . . Ffor a man or a woman nis not bounde to akusen his self bot in þat he is guilty in special.”²² After the confession of the seven deadly sins in “The Book of Penance,” a versified form of confession appended to one manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*, the author directs his readers not to confess all these branches of sin but only what pertains to them specifically:

And here þan has þe sinfule nede
To tell quat wijs did þe dede,
Of alle þe sinnes he has wrought
þe circumstance ne leue he noght;
O þe quilk i haf þe rede
For-wit in a certayn stede,
Bot þu reder thar þe noght scaw
þir branches als to reken on raw,
Bot als mani als þou wat
þat þou art plighti in þi state.

[And here, then, the sinful person has need
To tell what ways (he) did the deed,
Of all the sins he has committed,
Not leaving out any of the circumstances at all,
Of the which I have read to you
Before in a certain place;
But you, reader, do not need to show
These branches as if reciting row by row,
But only as many as you know

²² Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 94, fol. 144vb; see cat. D10.

That you are guilty of in your situation.]²³

While the sinful who have need to tell all their sins are warned not to leave out any of the circumstances, the reader is at the same time warned not to “reken on raw,” or recite in consecutive order, all the branches of these sins as they have been written about in row after row of this poem, but only as many as the reader knows himself to be guilty of.²⁴

If the form of confession does not represent any actual historical confession, whose voice are we hearing in this genre? We hear, of course, the voice of an institutional confession. It was not a genre written by the confessing subject but was produced by the institutional church whose aim was to teach the practice of penance to the faithful. The form of confession was one brilliant response to the need for educating confessors and penitents following the

²³ Richard Morris, ed., *Cursor Mundi: Four Versions*, 7 vols., Early English Text Society o.s., vols. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, and 101 (London, 1874–93; repr. Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay, 1961–66), lines 28548–557, 5:1558; and see cat. E7. The translation is my own. Further quotations are cited in the text by line numbers.

²⁴ Another example of this caution can be seen in London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687. Following the form of confession (D3.1), which itself is interspersed with Latin instructions to the priest to help guide the penitent in confession, the text shifts immediately into a summary and explication of the articles of faith and the seven virtues. At the conclusion of this part of the tract, the following statement is then made referring to the previous form of confession: “It is to knowe þat eche body [that] is sinful may seyn hys schrifte in þys maner as byforne is wreten addyngge or abreggyngge more other lesse as hym lyketh and after þat he hat grace of god beginning wyth þer wordys as byforen is wreten” (p. 377). The significance of the words of the *Confiteor* is then explained with directives for making a good confession, and this caution is given: “Þys manere of schrifte hys wreton here nought for þat eche man schal seye al þat is wreten here but þat it be diligentliche and ofte iseyn and alle þe synnis þat he felith hym giltif inne with contricioun sey hem to hys schrifte fader in þe manere as byforne is wretyn” (p. 381).

legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council. How better to show people how to confess than by giving them a grammar and a voice with which to do so, a form that could be put on for this solemn occasion, like one's best attire. The form of confession, indeed, was about ideal self-presentation. The genre is imbued with the attitudes of the ideal penitent, who is utterly sorrowful for being in a state of sin and separation from God, eager to scrutinize his whole life for sins committed (since the last confession), willing to confess every possible mortal fault without forgetting a single one, wholeheartedly wishing to amend and receive absolution and penance and thus restoration to the church's unity in grace. This idealized, institutional voice, however, once it was internalized through the form of confession, was turned into the many voices of common people engaged in the church's beliefs and practices, in the traditional religion of the late medieval church, to borrow Eamon Duffy's phrase. Indeed, the genre is especially an English one, as half of the extant corpus has an English provenance, and it flourished in the fifteenth century. The vigorousness of the genre of the form of confession certainly complements Duffy's view that "traditional religion had about it no particular marks of exhaustion or decay."²⁵ While Duffy's work has been justly criticized for not giving fair notice to heterodox opinion and practice, especially for not taking the Lollard movement seriously, and for not

²⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 4.

accounting for differences and conflicts between various segments of social reality—in short, for neglecting the heterogeneity of later medieval Christianities—my concern here is with a genre of religious writing that is all about participation in traditional, mainstream religion by the full spectrum of society, from the highly educated schoolman to the simple peasant.²⁶ Judging by the large numbers of extant forms of confession, written in Latin and the vernacular, aimed at monastics and layfolk alike, the genre was an effective facilitator of participation in a sacramental form of spirituality that conferred an astonishing level of importance on that participation. The clergy possessed the power to absolve, but by the later Middle Ages the individual penitent had to contribute a significant level of effort in self-knowing and self-revelation for the sacrament to have any meaning at all.

²⁶ I do not wish to evoke the nostalgic aspect of Duffy's view of the late medieval English church. I am here referring to the orthodox, or mainstream, dimension of traditional religion, which he vividly describes. Participation in confession was a core aspect of orthodox practice. For critique of Duffy, see particularly David Aers, "Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars*," *Literature and History*, ser. 3, 3.2 (1994): 90–105. See also Duffy's response in *Literature and History*, ser. 3, 4.1 (1995): 86–89; and Duffy's preface to the second edition of *Stripping of the Altars*, xiii–xxxvii. Katherine L. French, "Competing for Space: Medieval Religious Conflict in the Monastic-Parochial Church at Dunster," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997): 215–44, critiques Duffy's depiction of the unified parish identity by examining the often contentious parish rivalries of one church in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Her microhistorical study is a sober reminder that broad discussions of religious life must not lose sight of the realities of actual parishes. See also French's book-length study, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), which compares the parishes of the diocese of Bath and Wells.

That kind of participation, the degree of self-knowledge presupposed by the genre, might well lead to uncomfortable questioning and challenging on the part of the laity, as we see in Lollard reactions, for example, in which the role of the clergy in the sacrament is radically diminished in favor of the centrality of the individual penitent's commitments to reform sinful behavior. Once knowledge is effectively taught, it can lead to unanticipated new forms. Katherine C. Little argues that Wycliffite reformist thinking "sets aside the traditional cultivation of interiority concentrated on the confessional and provides alternative models of Christian identity based on Scripture."²⁷ The Lollard view of confession held that only God could see into the heart of a person to discern true contrition and forgive sin, that confession had to be voluntary to have any value, and that the priest could only serve a confirmatory role. Consequently, "schrift of mouþe is not nedeful to helpe of soule, but only sorowe of hert."²⁸ Yet it does not follow from this doctrinal point, as is usually assumed, that Lollards utterly rejected auricular confession to a priest and found no pastoral value in its practice.

²⁷ Little, *Confession and Resistance*, 1.

²⁸ See "Sixteen Points on Which the Bishops Accuse Lollards," in Ann Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, vol. 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 19 (point 2), with response on 20–21, and see Hudson's commentary on 146. See also the parallel discussion of confession in "Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," 27–28. For a review of Lollard views on confession and absolution, see Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 294–301.

Afterall, the genre represents a powerful discourse of reform of moral behavior. Indeed, some examples of the form of confession show Lollard influences, while some otherwise mainstream forms of confession appear in codices that contain Lollard writings, suggesting that audiences for these Lollard writings also would find a form of confession useful for penitential practice.²⁹

By defining the form of confession as an institutional form, as a penitential voice given to the church's members by ecclesiastical authority, I do not mean to reduce the genre (or the sacrament of penance) to a cultural form of domination

²⁹ The form of confession in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699 (cat. D7.1), for example, is decidedly Lollard in its form and style. Another form of confession in Bodleian Laud Misc. 210 (D14.2) features a Lollard-inflected commentary added to its end. The fact that this commentary is appended to a mainstream form of confession shows that the genre could be of interest to Lollard readers whether or not it was fully adapted as a Lollard text. See my commentary in the catalogue entries for these texts. Recent scholarship has been asking just what defines a "Lollard," and new evidence is showing that the term applies to a wide range of beliefs and practices, arguing that it has been misleading to define Lollards solely in terms of doctrinal argument and polemical controversy. Lollardy is a capacious term including more than the set of discrete issues upon which those identifying with Lollard thinking might be prosecuted by religious authorities. See J. Patrick Hornbeck III, *What Is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints* (forthcoming). Somerset is leading the way in showing how Lollardy "is not merely a narrow range of negative assertions condemned or abjured in juridical contexts by hostile observers," but rather features "a range of beliefs and practices everywhere enmeshed with mainstream religion, and diverging from it in style and emphasis" more often than in terms of stark opposition. "In their reading, their behavior, their ideas, lollards are often far more catholic (in the broadest sense) than Protestant or even Catholic grand narratives have wanted to admit." I thank Fiona Somerset for allowing me to quote a draft of her manuscript in advance of its publication. For commentary on the especially austere penitential system of the Waldensians in contrast to the lack of a penitential system among Cathars, see Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: An Introduction," in *Handling Sin*, 18–23.

of the subject by a disciplinary power, as Foucault would have it.³⁰ Institutions are structures within which communities define their formal relations of well-being. Goering makes the valuable point that Lateran IV did not create later medieval confession but rather recognized that “opportunities for orderly confession and penitential satisfaction in the Church were not readily available

³⁰ Foucault’s aim in analyzing confession is “genealogical,” that is, an effort to demonstrate that the desire to confess is not a “transhistorical human need or psychological compulsion” that can be traced from Augustine through to the present, but rather is a consequence of historical outcomes and even accidents, and that confession is a technique of both domination and self-care. See Taylor, *Culture of Confession*, 4–10. Taylor herself has the same aims. Scholars of the history of confession who emphasize its medieval or early modern practice as a form of social control tend to have as their focus a view of the late Middle Ages that the Reformation attacked and Counter-Reformation defended or reformed. Some examples include Tentler, *Sin and Confession* (see esp. 345–70); Myers, “Poor, Sinning Folk.” Lawrence G. Duggan, “Fear and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 75 (1984): 153–75, refutes the view that the later medieval church bred widespread fear and anxiety in people through the practice of confession and thus created a context for the Reformation to take hold; he rather regards the church as being quite incapable as an organization of doing so. John Bossy in his influential essay, “The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 25 (1975): 21–38, juxtaposes a primarily socially oriented concern in medieval confession to a decisive turn toward interiority in early modern practice. And in Bossy’s *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 35–56, the notion of penance is so thoroughly imagined in its social terms that one would scarcely think a penitent had spent any time at all examining his conscience and confessing his sins thoroughly to a priest—that would be something done in the early modern era of privacy under the influence of the Jesuits (127–28). An eloquent debate on medieval confession as a form of social control versus a form of pastoral care is staged by Thomas Tentler and Leonard Boyle in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, ed. Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974). In “The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control” (103–26), Tentler argues that “to understand the summa for confessors is to understand one of the principle contributions of intellectuals to control by the hierarchical, sacramental church,” and that “in the end, the great winner in this literature is the system of social control” (105, 122). Boyle’s response, in “The Summa for Confessors as a Genre, and Its Religious Intent” (126–37), argues that the *summae* “aimed at nothing less than the formation of an educated clergy” — placed in the parish context and mostly “removed from any contact with scholastic circles” (128)—to carry out their charge to be physicians of the soul (*cura animarum*); these parish priests were concerned not to enforce conformity in the interests of a social hierarchy, but rather to educate parishioners in the laws of God to which everyone was bound. Tentler’s “Response and Retractio” is on 131–37.

to all persons or in all places and times.” Innocent III took the bold step of providing for that need.³¹ The church as an institution seeks to give coherent form to the life of its members, and its forms are subject to questioning, internal correction, and resistance. Taking the chief Pauline analogy of the church as the body of Christ, in which all its members are fully incorporated as constituent parts and are to be equally valued, we can grasp in the broadest terms the role of confessional practice. While the church requires submission to its form and practices it also confers value upon all its parts: “present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God, your reasonable service. . . . For as in one body we have many members, but all the members have not the same office: so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another” (Rom. 12:1, 4–5).³² There is no more vivid example in the medieval church of this essential spiritual equality than the practice of confession followed by partaking in the Eucharist, in which everyone is in the same sinful condition, all needing to confess and be absolved, the peasant, the cleric, and the king alike, and then all coming to the eucharistic table together to receive the same bread.

The efficacy of this institutional metaphor is clearly illustrated in a ninth-century image of Charles the Bald, which Robert Deshman states is remarkable

³¹ Goering, “The Scholastic Turn,” 226–27.

³² All scriptural quotations in English are from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate.

for being the earliest image of a king, “the highest ranking secular official in medieval society,” kneeling humbly before the cross. This two-page illustration shows Charles brought to his knees (on the lefthand page) at the foot of the cross (on the righthand) as he begins his confession (written above him), “In cruce qui mundi solvisti crimina Christe / Orando mihi met tu vulnera cuncta resolve” [O Christ, you who on the cross have absolved the sins of the world, absolve, I pray, all (my) wounds for me].³³ Charles here, with knees bent, is leaning toward the cross on the opposite page, as if in motion reaching toward it, his outstretched hand extending beyond the image boundary into the gap between the pages separating him from the object of his devotion. The figural arrangement suggests that Charles’s sin has separated him from Christ, and that he urgently yearns for forgiveness. Dushman explains the striking imagery in terms of the Good Friday veneration of the cross, but what he does not notice is the possibility that the imagery may also be influenced by the presence in this prayerbook of the earliest precursor to the form of confession, a confessional prayer by Alcuin of York (cat.

³³ Robert Dushman, “The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald,” *Viator* 11 (1980): 390–91, 394, and fig. 1 on 418. The illustration appears in München, Schatzkammer der Residenz, *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, on fols. 38v–39r. See Percy Ernst Schramm and Florence Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768–1250*, 2 vols. (München: Prestel Verlag, 1962), plate 43, 1:249.

A1.4).³⁴ Alcuin's prayer enumerates sins according to all the parts of the body, and when avowing sins accomplished by the knees, the penitential speaker vividly confesses, "I bent my knees in fornication more gladly than in prayer" [Genua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem libenter flexi]. The Latin phrasing, like the imagery in the portrait of Charles, describes the motion of the knees bending *toward* an action ("ad fornicationem," "ad orationem").³⁵ Within the foundational idea of the church as the body of Christ, in which all have sinned and need forgiveness, lies the potential of *any* of its members being humbled by self-examination, correction, and reform.³⁶ An institution like the

³⁴ Dushman, "Exalted Servant," 385–404. Alcuin's prayer appears on fols. 14r–16r of the prayerbook, and it is rubricated "Confessio quam beatus Alcuinus composuit domno Karolo imperatori." The image of Charles is followed by a prayer on the adoration of the cross, and Ildar H. Garipzanov understands the text accompanying the image to be calling Charles's attention to the orthodox view of Christ's redemptive role in the Crucifixion, against Gottschalk of Orbais's heresy on predestination. See *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 248–50. But more than a theological statement, the image in this prayerbook, to be used by the king himself, suggests the king's imitation of Christ's humility on the cross (the word *vulnera* "wounds" is used to refer to his sins), and the text represents words of a confessional prayer for forgiveness. See Mariëlle Hageman, "Pictor Iconiam Litterarum: Rituals as Visual Elements in Early Medieval Ruler Portraits in Word and Image," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, Belg.: Brepols, 2005), 247–50.

³⁵ D. A. Wilmart, ed., *Precum Libelli Quattuor Aevi Karolini* (Roma: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940), 22; my trans. Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 89–90, notes that part of Alcuin's originality in this prayer lies in the way he animates the body parts by ascribing active motion to each part. The trope of the anatomized body in confessional prayer first appears in Alcuin's prayer and others in early-ninth-century English prayerbooks (85–86).

³⁶ William Langland's *Piers Plowman* is just such a work that imagines and explores the potentialities of the church as an institution capable, if often not successful, of reforming itself.

church based on the pursuit of specific virtues is one that can always be challenged to abide by commonly held standards of living in a human community, and confession is a practice that holds everyone's feet to the fire so to speak. The form of confession was perhaps the boldest attempt in writing to do this, for it directly modeled, at the most basic level of enunciation, the language of confession in the very words to be used in this rigorous institutional practice.

The work of David Aers has especially focused on this aspect of Langland's poem and of other late medieval English writing; see *Faith, Ethics, and Church: Writing in England, 1360–1409* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); and *Salvation and Sin: Augustine, Langland, and Fourteenth-Century Theology* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009). It is important to keep in mind that obedience within the medieval Christian polity of the church is a virtue that moves the will closer toward attaining those other virtues that shape one into the kind of moral being imagined by Christ as being of his fold. Stanley Hauerwas and Charles Pinches capture the correlative relation between obedience and authority when they observe that "authority cannot be exercised without obedience and obedience cannot be offered unless to an authority." Indeed, the person showing obedience possesses considerable power in the relation, for "if a *relation* of authority holds, it will depend on the consent of the one who obeys." See "Is Obedience a Virtue?" in *Christians among the Virtues: Theological Conversations with Ancient and Modern Ethics* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 129–48, quotation at 135. It is evident that the practice of confession in fact has "held" since the later Middle Ages, while from a different standpoint, the Lollards, for example, questioned certain aspects of one's obedience to priests that resulted in alternative views (confession to a priest is not required but only confession to God). The issue of obedience to the authority of the church as it formulated the virtues considered requisite for living within its polity was broadly engaged by the obligation that Christians admonish sinners, one of the seven spiritual works of mercy, and the issue of "fraternal correction" became a hotly debated and contested notion. See Edwin D. Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). This framework of correlative obedience and authority is critical for understanding how the form of confession is an instrument of moral reform and the pursuit of virtue in medieval practice as opposed to being (from a modern liberal standpoint) merely a form of social control, which would privilege the role of *authority* in a completely dominant relation to *obedience*.

The sheer prevalence of the form of confession and the vigor of its contents might lead to the impression that confession was a vibrant practice in the later medieval church, but it is difficult to know how widely or completely both confessors and penitents followed the ideal. Frequent warnings in confessional manuals about the negligent practice of confession suggest that only the most dedicated and devout would have confessed so ideally. Near the end of the Irish vernacular form of confession mentioned above is a marginal comment in a later hand that claims, "There are few people in Ireland who make their confessions as this book says."³⁷ We can expect that readers or hearers confronted by the expectations of a form of confession shrunk at the demands implied by such thorough self-examination. Yet the practice of confession including the examination of conscience has endured across the centuries into the present day. It was therefore practiced sufficiently enough to become rooted in Roman Catholic teaching on the sacrament of penance, and its practice today is not so much different from that of the later medieval church.³⁸ In the secular

³⁷ Geary, "An Irish Homily on Confession," 349.

³⁸ The current catechism of the Roman Catholic Church makes the same requirement of confession as has been done since it was originally decreed: "the disclosure or confession of sins to a priest is an essential element of this sacrament [of penance]"; "All mortal sins of which penitents after a diligent self-examination are conscious must be recounted by them in confession." *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994), 357, 365. The second statement is quoted directly from an article of the Council of Trent. The main differences in current practice lie in some details of confessional etiquette and in what exactly counts for sins of various types, since notions of sin are not transhistorical and can and often do

realm, the diffuse language of confession has become a lingua franca of self-consciousness.

change over time. For examples of modern day forms of self-examination that resemble medieval forms of confession, see the form for examination of conscience in the Roman Ritual *Rite of Penance* (Washington, D.C.: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2010), appendix III, 326–29, which presents a series of questions for penitents to ask themselves in light of the two Gospel commandments, “You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart” and “Love one another as I have loved you,” along with Christ’s command, “Be perfect as your Father is perfect.” Martin L. Smith, *Reconciliation: Preparing for Confession in the Episcopal Church* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley, 1985), 75–98, presents thirteen different topics for examining conscience, including according to the Gospel commandments, the Ten Commandments, and, for example, “Accountability to a God with a Passion for Justice,” “Sinning against Your Own Life,” “Sin as a Member of Christ’s Body, the Church,” and “Searching Questions about Life and Love.” Jim Forest, *Confession: Doorway to Forgiveness* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002), in the chapter “Tools for Examining Conscience,” 90–115, covers the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, the Last Judgment, and the elements of the prayer of Ephraim the Syrian. None of these modern manuals frames self-examination in the first-person viewpoint like medieval forms of confession, but instead offer a questioning technique to be used directly by penitents, which is an amalgam of the medieval form of confession and the confessional interrogatory.

CHAPTER 2

The Form of Confession Defined

The form of confession as a genre needs now to be fully defined. Doing so will give scholars a generic familiarity needed to observe continuities and differences within individual texts. My hope is that greater understanding of the genre will encourage scholars to seek out the form of confession as a vital form of later medieval writing for what it can teach us about specific kinds of sins, Christian formation in the virtues, institutional practices, pastoral education, vernacular reading, religious identity, social history, and the history of the sacrament of penance “on the ground.” Fortunately, many forms of confession, especially those in Middle English, feature rubrics or prologues that describe the way the form of confession should be used. Such comments offer valuable evidence for defining the genre.

A mirror of confession

Had *form of confession* not become the familiar term, I might have preferred to call this genre *mirror of confession*, for it functions like a mirror into which sinners may see themselves as they truly are. Herbert Grabes has documented in great detail the pervasive use of mirror imagery in titles and texts of the Middle Ages, probably stimulated by the rediscovery and use of glass mirrors.¹ Augustine's *Speculum* appears to be the earliest such title, a compendium of scripture passages meant to serve as a handy collection of divine precepts and prohibitions for readers to "see to what extent they were obedient or disobedient to God."²

The fifteenth century saw a huge increase in the use of mirror-titles paralleling

¹ Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Grabes's ultimate interest is to study the mirror imagery of English Renaissance literature during the period of its major use from 1550 to 1650. While the glass mirror was rediscovered in the twelfth century, not until the sixteenth century were metal mirrors (especially steel ones) beginning to be replaced by the glass mirror (72–73). It is interesting to note that following the technological development of the crystal glass mirror in the sixteenth century, which produced the first perfectly clear reflections, early modern moralists became suspicious of them for this very quality: "The crystal glass mirror was neither a distorted reflection, nor required polishing, and thus in no way served as a reminder that God alone sees and judges each person as he or she truly is." Rayna Kalas, "The Technology of Reflection: Renaissance Mirrors of Steel and Glass," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002): 519–42, at 521. Kalas argues that the material history of the glass mirror points to the emerging secularization of society in the Renaissance. By contrast, the pervasiveness of later medieval *speculum* literature suggests the great amount of confidence that was placed in the materiality of the *text* as mirror.

² Grabes, *Mutable Glass*, 23, and A1 in the book's appendix; Allan D. Fitzgerald, O.S.A., ed., *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 812.

the diffusion of forms of confession, and many manuscripts containing a form of confession also include *speculum* literature, particularly the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum peccatorum*.³ Grabes classifies *speculum* literature according to what is shown in the mirror. Two of his types include *works that reflect things as they are*, including encyclopedic works, comprehensive mirrors of compendia, and mirrors of specific branches of knowledge; and *works that show the way things should or should not be*, including mirrors of positive models and exemplary and

³ Section A of Grabes's appendix, listing medieval mirror-titles up to 1500 in Latin and vernacular languages (*Mutable Glass*, 236–79), illustrates the increase in mirror-titles in the fifteenth century. One copy of Andreas Escobar's form of confession, *Modus confitendi*, is rubricated "Modus confitendi . . . et generalis confessio que dici potest *speculum confitentium*" (B24.64). Another rubric describes how Andreas's form of confession is to be used like a mirror: "Nam si quis hic eam diligenter inspexerit aut perlegerit *quasi in speculo* omnia peccata videbit sua necnon obliorum recordabitur" (B24.35). For manuscripts containing a form of confession along with the ps.-Augustinian *Speculum peccatorum* or *Speculum peccatoris*, see B21.1, B24.55, B29, B30.1, B50.2, B50.3, B56, D2.2, D7.2, D13.1, and E15.1 in the catalogue; for the English translation of this work, *Mirror of Sinners*, see D5.6, D5.7, D6.5, D6.6, and D9; and for the French version, *Miroir de pecheurs*, C24 and C25. The manuscripts containing precursors to the form of confession (section A of the catalogue) contain no *speculum* literature at all. Other *speculum* literature that appears in manuscripts containing the form of confession include the following: Arnulfus de Boeris's *Speculum monachorum*, Bernard of Clairvaux's *Speculum monachorum*, Bernardus de Bessa's *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, Ekbert de Schönau's *Speculum animae in passione Christi*, Henry of Hassia's *Speculum animae* and *Speculum de contemptu mundi*, Herman of Westphalia's *Speculum sacerdotum*, Herman von Schildelsche's *Speculum manuale sacerdotum*, Honorius of Autun's *Speculum ecclesiae*, Hugh of St.-Cher's *Speculum missae*, Jacobus de Jüterbog's *Speculum sacerdotale*, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl's *Speculum amatorum mundi* and *Speculum mortis*, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*, the ps.-Augustinian *Minus speculum* and *Speculum animae*, William Durandus's *Speculum judiciale*, William of Nassyngton's *Speculum vitae*, and the anonymous *Speculum amatorum mundi*, *Speculum Christianorum*, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, *Speculum monachorum*, *Speculum peccatorum*, *Speculum sacerdotale*, *Speculum sacerdotis*, *Speculum sacerdotum*, *Mirror of Life*, *Mirror of Mankind*, and *Mirror of St. Edmund*. See the indexes to the catalogue for references to all these works.

admonitory mirrors of virtues and vices.⁴ The form of confession combines elements of all these functions.

As a mirror, the form of confession led users' contemplation in two different, but reciprocal, directions. First of all, it displayed a full range of sins that could be learned as a grammar of sinful behavior in its various manifestations according to how the church had defined this in its catechism. This transitive, pedagogical function pointed users outward toward apprehension of spiritual knowledge, directing attention to the church's teaching on sin. Once users were thus trained by the form of confession, its mirroring capacity could be turned back and inward upon users' own lives. In the process of self-examination before confession, sinners could see themselves in this mirror, reminded of those specific kinds of sins they have committed, as well as of virtues they have failed to practice which were considered the characteristics of those who claimed to be Christian. Gazing into this mirror, penitents found themselves inscribed as a particular sort of identifiable sinner, one who could be articulated as such, and therefore one who could be absolved as such.

⁴ Grabes, *Mutable Glass*, 38–63. Some forms of confession feature the word *compendious* or *compilation* in their rubrics (see B6, B24.61, B50.6, D19, D47); one is called a *confessio omnimoda* (B22). Two other types of *speculum* literature that Grabes describes are works that show the way things will be (prognostic literature) and those that show what is only in the mind of the author (fantastic literature), neither of which are relevant to the form of confession.

It is this second, reflective, mirroring aspect of the form of confession that especially distinguishes the genre—the inward turn that happens during the examination of conscience. Ritamary Bradley attributes the widespread use of the *speculum* image by the thirteenth century to Augustine’s sense of the twofold mirror of scripture: “In its resplendence it shows you what you should be, that is, pure of heart; and it also shows you what you are, that you may confess your deformity and begin to adorn yourself.”⁵ In his commentary on Psalm 103, Augustine notes that when the mirror reflects the face of the beholder, it will not be a pretty sight:

You will not find the mirror flattering to you, and neither must you beguile yourself. The reality that is yourself, that is what the mirror shows forth. Look at what you are, and if what you see disgusts you, seek to become otherwise. If in your ugly condition you find yourself repulsive, you are already pleasing to your beautiful bridegroom.

Augustine identifies this process as the essential working of confession:

What are you to do? Since your ugliness is offensive even to yourself, your first step must be to approach him [Christ] by confession. . . . Begin by admitting your ugliness, the deformity of your soul that results from sins

⁵ Ritamary Bradley, “Backgrounds of the Title *Speculum* in Mediaeval Literature,” *Speculum* 29 (1954): 100–115, quotation at 103. She paraphrases here the key text *Ennaratio in Psalmum 103*, where Augustine’s observation is made in the context of commenting on the beatitude, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God” (102–3 and n. 18), and she sees most medieval references to *speculum* in titles of works as having to do with this Augustinian sense of showing what is and what should be.

and iniquity. Initiate your confession by accusing yourself of this ugliness, for as you confess you become more seemly.⁶

Augustine here describes in essence just how a form of confession should be used.

While knowledge of the church's teachings on sin could be gained in other ways, such as from sermons, vernacular works on the vices and virtues, religious tales and exempla, or from other sources like the mystery plays—and certainly these forms provoked self-reflection in those who had eyes to see and ears to hear—the form of confession imagines that *anyone* using it will ultimately be led straight away to apply that knowledge personally. As the pastoral narrator of “The Book of Penance” states to his lay audience, the confession of sins provided in the text is presented “þat landmen mai sumquat lere, / To scape þair scrift wit þis samplere” (28072–73). Engaging with this textual model in the process of examining conscience can teach even simple country folk how to shape their shrift.

Rayna Kalas, discussing the nature of later medieval *speculum* literature, comments that “the mirror title was an important device not because it likened the book to a mirror per se, but because mirror, text, and nature were

⁶ Augustine, commentary on Psalm 103, in *Expositions of the Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos)* 99–120, trans. Maria Boulding, O.S.B., ed. Boniface Ramsey (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2003), 110–111.

interchangeable and indeed inextricable expressions of the divine logos.”⁷ While her observation is otherwise quite to the point, it doesn’t comprehend the reflective dimension of the form of confession. This genre does metaphorically point to its textuality as a material mirror capable of showing penitents who they are individually as sinners. The form of confession is part of the broad tradition of *speculum* literature, but it literalizes its form as a mirror by deploying the first-person viewpoint, promising to show the reflective beholder the particularities that constitute an individual sinner who is *not any other but himself*.⁸ By underscoring the reflective aspect of the form of confession, I do not mean to suggest a new notion of modern subjectivity (that of an autonomous subject), but rather a stirring of and movement toward individual subjectivity. While the penitent must see himself as an individual sinner who is not anyone else but himself, the nature of his individuality lies in being morally responsible for his own salvation, which he must think about and articulate as personal history through confession; he is otherwise like all the children of Adam, and his life has meaning only as part of God’s history. This purpose determines the form of confession’s generic contours. Knowledge and self-knowledge are two different

⁷ Kalas, “Technology of Reflection,” 523.

⁸ This literalization of the *speculum*, as far as I am aware, distinguishes the form of confession as a genre from all other types of mirror literature. Grabes’s survey of the typology and conventions of *speculum* literature in *The Mutable Glass* does not describe the first-person viewpoint being used as a structuring device in any such work.

matters, and self-knowledge, then as now, is harder to come by. Compared to gaining knowledge that exists “out there,” more is at stake in gaining knowledge that is “of me” and “in me.” For the medieval Christian, coming to know oneself in terms of sin that has been committed personally and then confessing it through the sacrament of penance is a matter of eternal import. It leads to salvation.

Scholastic theology and philosophy had a term for the intuitive capacity of reason to discern good and evil—*synderesis*.⁹ The form of confession embedded in the treatise *Disce Mori* mentions this faculty in the section confessing sins committed through the senses, those ports into the body and soul that the sinner has opened to the enemy (the devil) and to fleshly desires, and shut against the Holy Spirit and to the “goode sturryngges of my goode aungell . . . to the gladnesse of myn evel angel”:

⁹ Human conscience was divided into two aspects, *synderesis*, which is a spark of conscience that can never be extinguished even by sin, the part that enables man always to know he is a sinner, and conscience, which can be extinguished by sin. The concept of *synderesis* thus allowed medieval theology to assert that while man sins, he always knows better and is without excuse (see Rom. 2:15). For a good introduction, see Douglas Langston, “Medieval Theories of Conscience,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2008 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/conscience-medieval/>. For an excellent overview of the development of the concept of *synderesis* and its metaphorical expressions in medieval scholastic philosophy and its changing usage in early modern England, see Robert A. Greene, “Synderesis, the Spark of Conscience, in the English Renaissance,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52 (1991): 195–219. For a survey of medieval discussions of conscience that deal with *synderesis*, along with translated texts, see Timothy C. Potts, *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

. . . and þough that reson, Sinderesis, whiche is called the worme of conscience, haue many a tyme grucched [complained] that I haue leyne [lain] fro Lente to Lente bounden in synne and stirred me into the contrarie, I wold but seldom open to him the seide poortes of my v wittes but exclude him for the most part þentree [the entry], and not oonly hym but the Hooly Goost, which ofte hath knocked at the seide poortes, and for the stinke of þennemies [the enemies] herberowed in hem might neuer haue entree, ne abide in my soule.¹⁰

Synderesis is “the worme of conscience” whose purpose is to drive the sinner to apprehend the presence of sin in his life. The quoted passage has its source in Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Le Pèlerinage de l’âme*, a dream vision that follows the soul of a Pilgrim who must journey, accompanied by his Guardian Angel, through purgatory until he comes to sufficient comprehension of his sin, with the assistance of various personifications such as Synderesis, and can then be admitted into heaven. This popular work was adapted in the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, written about 1413 and later published by William Caxton.¹¹ In the poem, Synderesis, accusing the Pilgrim in the court of heaven,

¹⁰ This form of confession is chap. 80 of *Disce Mori* (see cat. D37), quoted here from Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 99, fol. 168v. In quotations from manuscript sources throughout, I have modernized punctuation for easier reading, capitalized proper nouns, and spelled out the ampersand, but I follow manuscript spellings. *Disce Mori* is a manual of religious instruction on virtuous living compiled by a priest, possibly confessor of Syon Abbey, for one Dame Alice, most likely a vowess connected to Syon Abbey. For background and commentary, see E. A. Jones, ed., *The “Exhortacion” from Disce Mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006).

¹¹ See Rosemarie Potz McGerr, ed., *The Pilgrimage of the Soul: A Critical Edition of the Middle English Dream Vision* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), xxi–xlv; and for the section of the poem on Synderesis, see 26–31. Only volume 1 of this edition has ever been published, which includes an introduction and book 1 of the poem. For an edition of the entire poem, see Merrel D. Clubb,

claims that she has lost all her teeth (“alle my teeth ben wasted and broken”) from constant biting and gnawing on the Pilgrim’s “harde and obstinat . . . wikkede herte,” to no avail. This figure of remorse of conscience has a monstrously deformed body composed of a scaly tail, “wonder hidous for to loke vpon and cruel of semblaunt”; the deformity is caused by the Pilgrim’s sin and his obstinacy in ignoring the stirrings of conscience, yet the Pilgrim is in denial about this truth.¹² Later in the journey, the Guardian Angel explains to Pilgrim that the deadly sins have deformed those who are marching into hell, and asks the Pilgrim to look at himself and see how he, too, has been disfigured. But the Pilgrim denies being like the other sinners: ““What say ye?’ quod I; ‘thanne I was neuere, as I trowe, of so foule facion disfigured in this wyse.” The Angel has the Pilgrim open up the “fardell” or bundle he is carrying, in which he finds all the marks of his own monstrosity—reminiscent of the ugliness and deformity Augustine says one will find in the process of self-reflection—his “hornes, long hoked nayles, dispietous scharpp tethe, . . . and suche othir filthe,” which the Pilgrim for the first time recognizes as his own features: “I hadde be so foule, and peraventure fouler than ony of hem alle þat I hadde seyn befor.” The Pilgrim

ed., “The Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*: An Edition of MS Egerton 615” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953). Greene, “Synderesis, the Spark of Conscience,” discusses Deguileville’s allegory on 202.

¹² *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, ed. McGerr, 26, lines 38–39, 11, respectively.

then laments how wrong he was about himself, affirming that pilgrims in the world don't look into a mirror as they should:

“A,” quod I, “der aungell, mercy! Late me bynde ageyn this vnthrifty fardell, for I haue folely spoke, be cause þat I knewe not myn selffe. Gret foli it is, and huge disauantage, that alle this pilgrymes þat passe be the world in þat dedly liffe will not behalde and euery day be see hire owne selffe in a good myrour, so þat thei myght voide the foule spottes and wonderfull deformites þat thei schuld seen in her owne persones.”

The Guardian Angel then reminds the Pilgrim how “a marchaunt with a myrroure” once gave the Pilgrim an opportunity to behold himself in a mirror, but how the Pilgrim, upon seeing his own filth, tossed it in a basket and forgot about it. The Pilgrim remembers this moment: “I remembre,” quod I, “full weel of that myrroure; and nowe holde I myselff a wrecche and a caitiff þat I sone forsoke it.” He now realizes how fortunate he is, heading to purgatory, that Christ has bound up and hidden his sins in his bundle so that they are not permanent features of his identity, so that they may be burned up separately from his person, unlike the sins of the damned souls.¹³ Seeing himself in the mirror of conscience is the difference maker.

The immediate theological context in which the speaking penitent of the form of confession finds himself is that of the parable of the Good Samaritan,

¹³ This part of the journey is from book 2 of *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, ed. Clubb, “Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*,” 115–16.

recounted in Luke 10, which is allegorically explicated at the beginning of one form of confession in Yale University, Beinecke MS 317 (cat. D42):

Beholde how þe seek soule of mankynde sore woundyd, knawyng his freelte, dystresse, and peryll, cryeth to our moste mercyful Lorde, hyr spovse and leche, to heele hyr. And how she is woundyd and rygth seek our Lorde shewyth yn a parable, Luce [decimo], wher he lykneþ hyr vnto a man þat wente fro Ierusalem to Iericho, and felle amongst thevys þat dyspoyled, bownde, and woundyd hym, and lefte hym nyghe ded. (fol. 42v)¹⁴

The exegesis goes on to describe the Christian soul as wandering unwarily in the desert of the world from birth to death, whose five inward and outward senses have been unwisely opened like gates to three enemies—the world, the flesh, and the devil—who enter into the soul and despoil it of all God’s gifts of grace. These enemies thus bind the near-mortally injured soul to the tree of despair (sprouting five branches of sin against the Holy Spirit) “with þe lynked yroun cheyne þat seynt Austyn spekyth off” in the *Confessions* (fol. 42v), and they wound the soul

¹⁴ In transcribing this passage, I have consulted Durkin’s dissertation, “A Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86,” vol. 1, appendix C, lxxv–cxv. This allegorical beginning to the confession frequently uses alliterative collocations. Beinecke 317 as a whole contains much that centers on the basic catechism of the faith that all Christians should learn, and there is a great deal of emphasis on ignorance and knowledge in a tract preceding a second form of confession earlier in the manuscript (see D41). Some elements suggest reformist attitudes, such as the emphasis on the individual Christian’s responsibility to learn the catechism; warnings that ignorance is no excuse for lacking awareness; emphasis on helping the needy with alms and on the works of mercy; exhortation that true penitence must be accompanied by amendment of life and substantiated by good works; and the concluding portion of a prose commentary to a verse tract on the virtues of the Mass, which explicates the “tokenys and condycionys of a vycyows preste” (fols. 29v–30r), explicating in very striking detail and colorful language the signs of a priest grossly failing to live according to his calling. This passage clearly was offensive to one owner of the manuscript, perhaps a priest, as it is crossed out.

with the darts of the deadly sins through the breaking of the Commandments.

The same reference from the *Confessions* is given in another form of confession from Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699, which is Lollard in character (see cat. D7.1). The Rawlinson confession comments further on Augustine's iron chain thus:

I was sijk, liȝt to [sick, prone to] haue be ouercomen wiþ synne, or al ouercomen in prisoun harde ybounde wiþ a stronge chayne of þe seuene deedli synnes, for þei ben so tackid togidir þat oon mai not be wiþouten alle seuene, as Seint Austyn seiþ, and in a book of his Confessiouns of him knowlechiþ to God, þat of ofte doynge synne he cam in to an vss [use], and fro vss to custom, and fro custom or consuetude to necessite, and so bounden hymself wiþ a greet chaine of necessite to þe seuene dedli synnes. Þerfore he crieþ as Daudid in þe Sauter, "Of my necessite delyuere me lord." And Saloman seiþ, "wiþ ropis of his synnes euery man is constreyned." (fol. 91r-v)

In book VIII of the *Confessions*, Augustine gives his well-known account of sin as enchaining the soul. Human will is immobilized by sin such that it is unable to move itself toward the good that it desires:

For the enemy had in thrall my power to choose, which he had used to make a chain for binding me. From bad choices an urge arises; and the urge, yielded to, becomes a compulsion; and the compulsion, unresisted, becomes a slavery—each link in this process connected with the others, which is why I call it a chain—and that chain had a tyrannical grip around me. The new will I felt stirring in me, a will to "give you free worship" and enjoy what I yearned for, my God, my only reliable happiness, could not break away from the will made stong by long dominance. Two wills were mine, old and new, of the flesh, of the spirit, each warring on the other, and between their dissonances was my soul disintegrating.¹⁵

¹⁵ Garry Wills's translation effectively captures the literary expression of Augustine's idea here. Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII.v.10, trans. Garry Wills (New York: Penguin, 2006), 168.

Beaten down by the world, flesh, and devil, and left for dead, following the allegory in the Beinecke confession, the sinner is without hope, bound to the tree of despair—that is, if left entirely to himself and a will that is chained from choosing to be helped. But the Samaritan, figured as Lord Christ the sovereign leech, comes to his wounded spouse (“But it happyth þat the Samarytane, our moste sofreyn leche Cryst Iesus, cometh to cure hys spouse our soule sore woundyd”), offering healing if the soul believes in the articles of faith (in Christ’s godhead and manhood), and takes the easy medicine of the cardinal and theological virtues and the strong medicine of the sacraments, and then offers up the seven petitions of the Lord’s Prayer, and, lastly, also fulfills the seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy—“somewhat to pay after thi power to my nedy seruauntes for thi restorynge to helth and oþir benefetys, fulfyllynge þe vii werkys of mercy bodyly and gostly” (fol. 42v). The works of mercy, traditionally based in part on Christ’s judgment of the nations in the Gospel of Matthew (25:31–46), puts the virtues into concrete action. This is exactly what Christ the Good Samaritan has done for the Christian soul left for dead by the thieves. On these conditions, Christ says, “I shall lede þe ynto þe stable of my chirche, wher all beestly people be restreyned with the brydell of areeste [restraint] of holy chirches ordynance frome gret wyldnesse, and brought to gret tamenesse, coreyed [curried] be sharpe penaunce, and clene wyped be þe sacramentall

absolucyon" (fol. 42v).¹⁶ And the Lord says he will thus be the beastly soul's keeper. The soul then responds to Christ the Samaritan's offer to heal the sinner by being willing to engage fully in the practice of confession:

Then, Lorde, syth it is soo þat my synfull soule thi spouse is tachyd [overcome] wyth þe seyð þevys, dyspoyled, bounde, and dedly woundyd with synne yn all his powerys, I wyll for my syngler comforte and helth *loke yn þis presente myroure of consyence*, rede, and studye hit, yn þe which I shall vereyli conceyve how fowle þi spouse my soule is spottyð and woundyd with synne to þi grett dyspleasure, trustynge fully yn thy abandant mercy, þat wher I may not heele mysylf, þou wolt, syth euery lovyng spouse hath compassyon vpon his spouse, and þerwith I wyll hertyli bothe pray and pay to the and thyne aftir my power. (fols. 42v–43r; my emphasis)

¹⁶The basic details of this allegorical exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan come from Origen, whose interpretation influenced all later allegorical understandings. Origen was the first to see the beaten man as Adam (i.e., all humankind), the thieves as hostile powers, the wounds as man's disobedience, Christ as the Good Samaritan, and the inn (*pandochium*) as the church. See Origen, homily 34, in *Homilies on Luke*, trans. Joseph T. Leinhard, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 137–41. Ambrose associates the robbers with the devil, and Augustine identifies Jericho with the mutable, sinful world, and he equates the inn with a stable (*stabulum*), while Haimo of Auxerre adds further, "In a spiritual sense the Church is called a stable, where every day the holy animals are refreshed by the fodder of the divine word"; and Richard of Saint-Victor sees the stable as the place where "sinners within the Church rid themselves of their sins through penance just as animals leave their filth in the stable." For these details and the tradition of interpretation of this parable, see Stephen L. Wailes, *Medieval Allegories of Jesus' Parables* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 209–14. Langland in Passus XIX.49 ff. of *Piers Plowman* dramatizes this same scenario along several levels of scriptural exegesis and with many original details. See *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-text*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008), 311 ff. Aers, *Sin and Salvation*, 88–119, offers a fascinating discussion of Langland's portrayal of Semivief (the half-dead, half-alive man) and Christ the Samaritan in terms of Augustinian theology of the will, the consequences of sin, and Christ's central role in helping the sinner. The Beinecke MS (dated 1470–80) conflates the traditional allegory of the parable with several commonplaces—that of Christ as the Great Physician, of Christ the bridegroom married to his spouse, the soul, and of the sinner as a beast, whose sinful appetite needs restraint as with a bridle for a horse—but the passage does not appear to draw upon Langland. Langland's version, however, does have Semivief wanting to confess his sins and repent, and the Samaritan Christ underscoring the condition of repentance as being requisite in order to receive mercy (XIX.280 ff.).

This “presente myroure of consyence” into which the sinner must look is no other than the form of confession that the allegory now directly leads into:

And syth þou vnder þe seyde condycyon hast brought me ynto the stable of þi chirche and commytted me to my curatt, thi mynistre yn thi stede, to be heelyd, I opyn and shewe my sores to hym, thus begynnynge my confessyon: I moste synfull wrecche knowleche to almyghty God, his blyssed modyr, all his seyntys, and to þe my goostly fadyr, þat I haue greuously synned ayenst my lord God. . . . (fol. 43r)

Elements of the allegorical exegesis of the parable are carried over into the form of confession itself.¹⁷ Most of the content of the confession proper is mentioned in the introductory allegory as being integral to belief in Christ. The exhaustive confession is organized according to the five outward and inward senses, the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, sins against the fourteen articles of the faith, the three theological and four cardinal virtues, the sacraments, the seven petitions of the Lord’s Prayer, and the seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy, followed by the concluding request for forgiveness. There is much emphasis on orthodoxy, including a condemnation of heresy and failure to

¹⁷ For example, the avowals of sin using the bodily and spiritual senses are framed in terms of the sinner opening the gates of his senses to sin, “And þus my seyde porterys þorou3 þeyr neglygent keypynge of þis outtyr warde haue suffred myn enmyes to entre ynto þe mydlewarde” (43v); the enemies of the soul bind the soul “with þe lynked yrony cheyne of synne, þat I may not lyztly breke out, neþer loose hit” (43v), and each link in the chain is identified in precise terms following Augustine’s psychology, and thus the chain binds the sinner to the tree with five branches of sin against the Holy Spirit; and in confessing to sins against the sixth Commandment, the sin of adultery is committed spiritually by “knyttynge my soule, Crystes spouse, to the fende” (45r).

believe in the doctrines of transubstantiation and in the divine authority vested in the sacraments as performed by the priest *ex opere operato*.¹⁸

This allegory of the sin-sick soul vividly describes the intended use of the form of confession as a mirror of conscience preparing the penitent for sacramental confession, a response to Christ's offering of grace and a condition for receiving it. Using the form of confession opens up entry into the stable of the church. It must not only be read but studied so that the sinner may "vereyli conceyve how fowle þi spouse my soule is spotty and woundyd with synne" (fol. 43r). And so an engagement in self-examination with the form of confession produces self-knowledge, a clear representation of the self as a specific sinner.

Having had the opportunity to look into the mirror of confession, ignorance is not an excuse for being unaware of one's sins. Indeed, this Beinecke confession appears in a codex that underscores the sinner's responsibility to have

¹⁸ On heresy, the text states, "I haue also ofte sythes erryd yn the conclusyones of þe artycles of þe feyth, affermyng þat fornicacyon with oper been no dedly synne, and ofte fallen ynto erroures and heresyces be þe fendys temptacyones and fals heretykes opynyones and oper synnystre doctrynes" (48v). On transubstantiation, the sinner avows not "sadly beleuyng yn þe blyssed Trynyte with angellys and seyntes assistyng yn tyme of þe consecracyon be his auctoryte and dewe mynystracyon of þe preste sayng þe sacramentall wordys, changeth þe substance of brede and wyne ynto þat ylke lorde God and man lyvyng þat was yncarnate and born of þe virgynes wombe, and þat dyed, roose, and ascendyd vnder þat ilke quantyte þat he was of when he consecrate[d] his awen moste blyssed body, alle hole ymportyble yn all þe hoole hooste and yn euery partye, þove [though] it be broke" (49r). On priestly authority, the sinner avows "demyng þe vertu of mynystracyon of þe sacramentys to haue procedyd only fro þe goodnesse and holynesse of the mynystres, and not of þe auctorite of God grauntyd to hem, so demyng vs unsure wheþer we haue receyved our sacramentys or noo, syth we be vnsure of þe holynesse and goodnesse of the mynystres, and not of þe auctoryte of God commyttyd and grauntyd to hem withoute emperyng of hyr vertu" (49v).

knowledge of sin. The manuscript also contains the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, a widely influential summary of the church's catechism meant for all the laity to learn, and a second form of confession. This second confession (D41) is a "fourme of a generall confessyoun þat euery crysten man and woman is bownde to kunne and knowe" (fol. 34v). A commentary preceding this confession outlines three types of ignorance: those who are mentally incapacitated are not to be blamed or punished; those who have not been taught about sin—but would be glad to learn—and so are not fully aware of sinning in certain instances, lack consciousness of their sin and therefore are not to be blamed, but because their confession is imperfect they must make amends in purgatory; and those who have knowledge but still sin are culpable and deserving of condemnation. The last of these, that is, most people, are not ignorant about sin and may be saved only through confession. Following this commentary on ignorance, the form of confession begins with and emphasizes sins against the practice of confession and of failing to learn the basics of the faith (Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria), followed by a rather cursory listing of sins according to the seven deadly sins, not reverencing the sacraments (especially the Eucharist), the seven bodily and spiritual works of mercy, and the five physical and spiritual senses, which are "here rehercyd generally," it is said, with no elaboration. But these "owyth to be declaryd more opynly yef a man wolle clerly be shryven," and the user of this

form of confession is encouraged to make a “more opyn declaracyoun” of the “many horyble and abhomynable vyces” that are detailed under each of the deadly sins in “þe tretys next before” (fol. 35r), probably referring to the second part of the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*, which immediately precedes this text, suggesting how a depth of knowledge is expected from the contrite sinner who would seek forgiveness through confession.

A rubric that identifies many copies of the widely circulating *Modus confitendi* by the papal penitentiary Andreas de Escobar (composed ca. 1416) notes that this form of confession can be used to make a recording in the memory of any forgotten sins: “Generalis confessio cuius causa peccatorum oblitorum fit recordacio” (see B24.1). One copy of the *Modus confitendi*, in a codex focused on the catechism and confessional practice (B24.35), written by one frater Wolfgang de Everding in the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary, Vienna, is rubricated more fully: “Confessio catholicorum generalis. Nam si quis hic eam diligenter inspexerit aut perlegerit quasi in speculo omnia peccata videbit sua necnon oblitorum recordabitur” [A general confession of orthodox Christians. For if anyone here diligently looks into it or reads it carefully, he will see all his sins, as if in a mirror, and will also recall forgotten ones].¹⁹ These rubrics indicate that

¹⁹ See, respectively, Gdańsk, Poland, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q. 22, fol. 18v, as described in *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, 6 vols. in 5 (Danzig: A. Schroth, 1892–1921), 5:497–500; and Vienna, Schottenkloster, MS 402, fol. 5r, as described in P. A. Hübl,

real work must be done, a significant effort of looking diligently into the mirror of the form of confession, of reading it over carefully, in order for it to have the effect of enabling users to recognize and remember sins they have committed, to record them in the mind, and thus to see themselves truly in their sinful state. Having done this, the penitent would be ready to go to confession with knowledge about what to confess.

While many penitents—perhaps even most—would need the assistance of the priest to help discern what sins needed to be confessed, the form of confession was an instrument that could be used independently from the priest or confessor, ahead of time. Ideally, penitents would take the necessary time for reflection required for a thorough self-examination. This is why some forms of confession begin with directions to do this advance work of searching the depths of the heart: “Whan þow þenkest to purge þi soule of synne by confessioun and penaunce doyng, first rekne bytwene God and þe in thine herte” (D15); “Ferst, or [before] thow go to schryfte, be in a priuey stede, beþynke what lyf thow hast led, seche þyne herte from day to day, from stede to stede, and from oure [hour] to oure” (D17); “Firste aftyr ye haue had a profound study to serch for youre

Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur (1899; repr. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1970), 437–38.

synnes and to reduce them to mynde . . ." (D56).²⁰ The level of self-scrutiny expected in using the form of confession and the knowledge of the self that this practice presumes to foster, indeed, points to Augustine's *Confessions* as a supreme inspiration for the genre.²¹

To be sure, Augustine thinks of confession in two different ways: the confession of praise to God and the confession of sin to God.²² The form of confession reduces this broader perspective of confession to its penitential aspect.

²⁰ London, British Library, Royal 18.A.x, fol. 55v; British Library, Harley 6041, fol. 97r; Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86, fol. 56v.

²¹ In comparing the form of confession to the *Confessions*, I am careful to say *inspiration* rather than *model*. The *Confessions* obviously is no textual model for the form of confession beyond the first-person expression, which is indeed a considerable influence; section A of my catalogue documents precursors to the genre. Of course, Augustine was writing long before the sacrament of penance was fully articulated in the West, but the *Confessions* was a touchstone for later discussion of the sacrament, and Augustine was seen, like David in the Psalms, as an exemplar of penitence. The Augustinian John Capgrave, for instance, in his fifteenth-century *Life of Saint Augustine* (before 1451), describes the *Confessions* as a work "in which bokes he schryuyth him ful deuoutly of his euel dedis." He goes on to exclaim, "I dar sauely sey þere is not so hard hertid man in þe world þat redith þese bokes and vndirstand hem, but þei wil stere [steer] his hert to swech deuocioun þat perauenture he hath not had experiens of swech deuocioun before." *Life of Saint Augustine*, ed. Cyril Lawrence Smetana, O.S.A. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001), 70. On the psalmist David as a "model of compunction," see Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, 81–119. In discussing "The Remnant of My Thoughts," an extended meditation on Psalm 75, Kuczynski shows how the form of confession serves as a model of first-person penitential expression that this meditation adopts as a way to provoke a reader's "passionate identification with David's sentiments and words" (112–14, quotation at 115). It is worth noting that while Kuczynski makes excellent use of the form of confession in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.74, at one point he suggests (quite mistakenly) that it "may, of course, be a record of an individual's personal examination of conscience"; but he wisely chooses to discuss it as "a model confession crafted to highlight the ways in which a person in religion might fall" (113).

²² "Dearly Beloved, there is no room whatever for doubt that the divine writings customarily use the word 'confession' to mean not only the avowal of sins but also the praises of God." See Augustine's commentary on Psalm 117 in *Expositions of the Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos)* 99–120, trans. Boulding, ed. Ramsey, 334.

I venture to say that the form of confession is a version of Augustine's *Confessions* writ small—very small—for the commonality of all the church's members. In a real sense, the form of confession partakes in the most elementary way in the kind of spiritual self-discovery that Augustine so momentarily demonstrated in his epic literary prayer to God, which recounts his journey toward God, whom Augustine comes to understand as the Trinity, and which culminates in his baptism and salvation. In the garden in Milan at his friend Simplicianus's home, just at the point of making his profession of faith, in the throes of trying to break free from the chain of habitual sin that has enslaved him, Augustine says that "from a hidden depth a profound self-examination had dredged up a heap of all my misery and set it 'in the sight of my heart,'" and this self-examination "precipitated a vast storm bearing a massive downpour of tears" of contrition (VIII.28).²³ The form of confession likewise is a literary construct, in this case a thoroughly established and traditional language, given to the individual Christian to help come to understand himself or herself in relation to God in a process of working out salvation.²⁴

²³ Here I quote from the translation by Henry Chadwick, *Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 152, rather than from Wills's more literary version.

²⁴ Cf. Paul, Philippians 2:12–13: "with fear and trembling work out your salvation. For it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will."

First-person address of the speaking penitent

The first-person form of address is the most salient literary feature of the form of confession. A form of confession from beginning to end voices the “I” of the speaking penitent.²⁵ “Confiteor Deo, et Beate Marie Virgini, et omnibus sanctis eius, et vobis, quia ego peccator peccavi nimis in vita” [I confess to God, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to all of his saints, and to you (father), because I, a sinner, have sinned exceedingly in life] (B42); “Ego sum homo malus uir, iniquus et michimet ipsi inimicus” [I am an evil man, a wicked man and hostile to my own self] (B2); “Je me faiz confés a Dieu, et a Madame Sainte Marie, et a tous sainz et a toutes saintes, et a vous, sire prestre, des pechez que je fis des l’ore que je fui né” [I make confession to God, and to my Lady Saint Mary, and to all the saints, and to you, sir priest, of the sins that I have done from the time that I was born] (C29.2); “I am aknowe [I acknowledge] to God, and to owre lady Sant Mary, and to all the holy company off hevynne, and to youe prest, my gostly fader att this tyme, þat I haue synnyd in the vii dedly synnys and all the branchis þat spreynge off them” (D60).²⁶ After such beginnings, the speaking penitent

²⁵ Forms of confession often begin with a prologue of instruction about making confession, and some texts are interrupted by other discourse like exposition and instruction, but the genre is identified by its first-person mode of presentation.

²⁶ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 523, fol. 117v (*vobis*, as a polite plural address, clearly refers to the priest here as is made clear elsewhere in this text; see more on the polite plural mode of address

confesses to the various sins that are possible to be committed.²⁷ The form of confession concludes with the speaking penitent's request for forgiveness and penance, often indicating sorrow and the intention to amend life: "et a vobis absolucionem et penitenciam salutarem michi pro peccatis iniungi" [and (I ask for) absolution from you and healing penance to be imposed upon me for my sins] (B21.2); "et en requier absolucion de Dieu, de la Benoite Vierge Marie, et de tous sainz" [and I ask for absolution from God, from the Blessed Virgin Mary, and from all the saints] (C32); "Y cry Godd merci, and his modir Marie, and alle companye of heuene, and Y biseche 3ow to pray for me" (D15).²⁸

As noted above, the form of confession is distinguished among *speculum* literature by using the first-person point of view as a structuring device. This has everything to do with the way the genre works as a textual technology. The first-

below); Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.29, fol. 5r; Saint-Brieuc, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1, fol. 181r, as described in Keith V. Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français: Nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques, corrections et tables des articles du Répertoire de Sonet* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978), no. 817; London, British Library, Sloane 1584, fol. 55v.

²⁷ The range of sins can vary widely from a condensed catalogue that identifies the main sin types of various categories (like the seven deadly sins or Ten Commandments) to extremely long texts that offer in great detail specific kinds of sin as examples of more general sin types. Whether long or short, the genre's aim is to present a matrix of possibilities.

²⁸ Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 628, fol. 52r, as described in Max Keuffer et al., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, 12 vols. (Trier: Jacob Lintz; Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1888–1990), 5:84–85; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 600, fol. 188v, as described in Pierre Rézeau, *Répertoire d'incipit des prières françaises a la fin du moyen âge: Addenda et corrigenda aux répertoires de Sonet et Sinclair nouveaux incipit* (Paris: Droz, 1986), no. R329; London, British Library, Royal 18.A.x, fol. 60r.

person rhetorical mode literalizes the mirror function of the genre, for it constitutes the *text-as-mirror* capable of reflecting the beholder who looks into it. All *speculum* literature shows the reader some truth about the world in a transitive sense, directing the reader's vision outward toward some aspect of God's creation, which may be "read" as God's book of nature. The form of confession, too, functions this way by showing the penitent what the full range of sins are that must be confessed to obtain forgiveness. But looking into the text and mistaking this function as a *reflection* of the individual using the text can lead only to complete confusion, as we have seen already. Such a reflection could only be that of the all-sinning Satan.²⁹ But the form of confession is able to do something that other texts can't: it can reflect the actual beholder using the text as a particular sinner (not anyone but himself). This is what the first-person viewpoint achieves, and it is the brilliance of the genre.³⁰ The action of looking

²⁹ Robert Grosseteste's *Speculum confessionis* (or *Perambulauit Iudas*), which includes both a form of confession and an interrogatory, among the earliest examples of each genre, makes clear that each part was directed to different audiences (see B1b). The form of confession was for a well-educated person in authority, most likely an abbot or prior, who had requested for his personal use such a text from *magister* Grosseteste—it was written ca. 1200–1230 before he became bishop of Lincoln—while the interrogatory was for the use of the "simpler brothers" of a monastery [propter simpliciorum fratres]. See Goering and Mantello, "The 'Perambulauit Iudas . . .' (*Speculum Confessionis*) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste," 132–33 and 158 (line 327). This distinction might suggest that in the earlier thirteenth century a form of confession could have been confusing to those of less learning, who would find it easier to be in the familiar position of being questioned by a putative confessor than having to figure out the new textual technology of the form of confession.

³⁰ Jennifer Bryan has recently studied how popular devotional literature in late medieval England "taught generations of English readers in the period between 1350 and 1550 to 'see themselves'

into the mirror of the text, however, is not a passive one. A passive user who does not do the work of self-examination sees only Satan. For the text to operate in a reflexive manner, the user must participate actively in creating his or her reflection, a reflection that must be apprehended before confession of sin to the priest can happen effectively.

The genre imagines a good deal of initiative and capability on the part of the user, and the numerous surviving texts of the genre suggest that many people were capable. For those (likely the majority) who were unable to do the work of self-examination on their own, the priest was to be available to question

and to reflect on what they saw, initially as a habit of reading and then as a habit of mind.” *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 3. Unfortunately, she does not include the form of confession in her book. In chapter 2, “Seeing a Difference: Mirrors and Texts” (75–104), Bryan discusses works that “made English readers visible to *themselves* in some fashion” (76). She sees mirror-titles around the mid-fourteenth century that are “explicit about reflecting readers back at themselves, not as they will be or should be but as they already *are*” (81), and she focuses on Syon Abbey as “a center for the dissemination of vernacular spirituality throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.” None of the works she discusses in this chapter deploy the first-person as a specular mode as does the form of confession, but forms of confession do appear in manuscripts belonging to Syon, including Beinecke MS 317 discussed above (e.g., D37.1, D41, D42, D51, D58). Of course, some of the mystical works Bryan considers elsewhere in her book are written in the first-person, but the “I” of these texts represent the authors and not the readers. Bryan, in another chapter, however (105–44), does bring to the fore the genre of the Passion meditation for its capacity to lead readers into self-reflexive devotion. “Nowhere,” she claims, “were late medieval English readers enjoined to ‘behold’ more frequently or more searchingly,” and their potential was “especially powerful in texts using the first-person voice to script readers’ private responses to visions of Christ and themselves” (109–10). She focuses on *A Talkynge of the Love of God*, which is extant in the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts, devotional compilations that both also contain prose and verse forms of confession (see D2.3, D2.2, E9.2, E10.2, E11.2, E12.2, E15.1, E15.2, E16). The form of confession and Passion meditation would be profitably compared as two sides of the same coin: as first-person texts that show readers who they are as sinners who have offended Christ and need his forgiveness, and as Christ’s bride, full of passionate desire for their Lord, who love him dearly.

penitents and lead them to this apprehension of their sin. The genre of the confessional interrogatory composed for the use of confessors amply testifies to this critical role of priest as spiritual director (in this basic way), and treatises for confessors are full of instruction on how to question penitents.³¹ The form of confession provided for the increasing number of those who wished and were able to do the spiritual work of preparing for confession independently and in private.

³¹ Confessional interrogatories often appear in manuscripts that also contain forms of confession (e.g., B7, B23.2, B24.28, B52, C12, D59, D60, D61). For good examples of the confessional interrogatory, see the early Latin one by Robert Grosseteste, *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi*, parts of which appear in over thirty manuscripts, edited by Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello in "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112; this work appears in British Library, Harley 211, which also contains three different forms of confession (B25, B26, B27). Grosseteste's *Si scienter*, a confessional questionnaire taken from a portion of *De modo confitendi* that circulated separately in over twenty manuscripts, also appears in several manuscripts containing a form of confession (B6, B41, B46, B49, C11). See Goering and Mantello, 61, and chaps. 12–19 of *De modo confitendi*, 82–86. In the treatise *Deus est*, Grosseteste gives his most elaborate interrogatory, but it differs from the shorter questionnaires in being "a genuine scholastic treatise which develops a rational system and places it neatly into the wider frame of Christian theology." See Siegfried Wenzel, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, 'Deus Est,'" *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970): 218–93, at 219. A later Latin example may be found in Jean Gerson's *Opus tripartitum* (exposition of Commandments, confessional interrogatory, and *ars moriendi*), found, for example, in Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 719, which also contains a form of confession (B50.5). For a Middle English example, see Cambridge, Saint John's College MS 257, fols. 1r–40v, the first half of a fifteenth-century confessor's manual, which contains an exhaustive interrogatory, questioning the penitent in the seven deadly sins, Ten Commandments, the seven deeds of corporal and spiritual mercy, the five inner and outer senses, the seven principal virtues, the virtues opposed to the seven deadly sins, the Beatitudes, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Then a much shorter series of questions attempt to determine whether the penitent is genuinely sorry for his sins. The Middle English section concludes with direction on how to advise the sinner in amending his life with virtues opposed to the sins and on imposing penance. The rest of the work (to fol. 89v) is in Latin.

This work of self-examination involves exercising one's memory, will, and understanding. Commenting on the Augustinian mirror-text, Jennifer Bryan observes that "reading initiates the project of self-knowledge, serving as the indispensable means of turning inward into the mind," such that "as the text turns the reader toward the inner self, it also displays a vision of the standard that the self has not met."³² This dual capacity to show the standard and reflect the reader's condition in relation to the standard sets the form of confession apart from other types of instruction in confession. Other works of *speculum* literature do attribute to themselves this mirroring functionality, such as *The Mirroure of the Worlde*, whose author intends for his book to work like a mirror:

I wille shewe the[e] this mirroure that thowe maiste ofte see thyselfe therin and to avice [take notice of] the spottes of the face of thyn herte and to konne [know how to] amende thy defautis and remembre thy synnes in beholdyng thy conscience and to confesse the[e] plainly and to ordeyne and amende thy liff and thyn herte and that thowe maye so beholde thyselfe on al sides that thowe maye see thy deedis as plainly as thowe maye see thy face in a mirroure. And therefore men sholde calle this booke the Mirroure of the Worlde, because that men seeith their synnes therin.³³

This vivid description, however, would apply far better to a form of confession.

It is hard to imagine that this prose compilation derived from the *Miroir du monde*

³² Bryan, *Looking Inward*, 78–80.

³³ *The Mirroure of the Worlde: A Middle English Translation of "Le Miroir du Monde,"* ed. Robert R. Raymo and Elaine E. Whitaker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Medieval Academy of America, 2003), 81–82. The *Mirroure* was most likely composed by Stephen Scrope, a major English translator of the fifteenth century (18–26).

and the *Somme le Roi*, at over 13,000 lines, could possibly have functioned as more than a compendium of religious knowledge for reference and study with broad applicability.³⁴

As Grabes points out, “the mirror shows an image only so long as the original is present, only so long as mirror and original are juxtaposed.”³⁵ Grabes is talking about the notion of the mirror metaphor in general, but his observation applies especially well to the form of confession, for this mirror-text has no meaning unless the user is in front of it, looking into it, recognizing in the speaking penitent an image of himself as a specific sinner, whose delineation is formed by identifying among the range of possibilities of sin which ones are his own, which, when assembled into a whole image, forms the sinful self, at a moment in the course of one human life, that must be confessed. If the image reflected by the form of confession were fixed by the text so that it remained constant no matter who was looking into it, it would no longer function as a mirror capable of revealing a changing image depending on who is in front of it. As one catechistic manual sums up its teaching on confession, “Pys maner of schrifte” —referring to a form of confession presented before commentary on confessional practice— “hys [is] wreten here nought for þat eche man schal seye

³⁴ Only a small section of *Mirrore of the Worlde* is devoted to confession itself (ibid., 299–308).

³⁵ Grabes, *Mutable Glass*, 113.

al þat is wreten here, but þat it be diligentliche and ofte iseyn [said], and alle þe synnis þat he fell[e]th him giltif [guilty] inne, with contricioun sey hem to hys schrifte fader in þe maner as byforn is wretyn.”³⁶ The compendious nature of the cataloguing of sins gives the genre its potential for capturing the image of any sinner, while the first-person speaking penitent, the “I” of the text, rhetorically places the user in an analogous relation to itself as an individual sinner such that the text applies only to the single person using the text.

This insistence on the individuality of subjectivity in confession can be observed in the way that confession manuals routinely direct penitents *not* to mention the sins of anyone else but themselves, and even if another person was involved in a sin, that other person’s name was never to be mentioned in confession. To mention anyone else’s name was evidence of self-defensiveness, deflection, or hypocrisy.³⁷ To be sure, the image depended in an ontological sense upon the text (how sin is catalogued), but only the penitent beholder could

³⁶ London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687, p. 381. This manual presents a form of confession (D3.1) followed by commentary on the articles of faith, the cardinal virtues, an exposition of the words of the *Confiteor*, and directions about the practice of confession. This material also appears in a manual owned by a parish priest near the Welsh border in Herefordshire; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 60, fol. 227v (see cat. D3.2).

³⁷ This instruction can be found in any number of places, but to take one example, from the *Mirrore of the Worlde*, when discussing the quality of “holeness” in a good confession, that is, its completeness, the author states that the penitent should confess all the seven deadly sins “after that hee felith hym coupeable withoute hydyng, fauoryng, or defendyng hym of anythyng and withoute accusyng any oother. Dauid confessyd hym thus the whiche seide in the Sauter: I shalle confesse me, and I shalle telle my synnes azeins me and not of oother, as ypocrites doo” (303).

generate the image of himself as a sinner. This was supposed to be the outcome of self-examination in general—the penitent had to express in words that applied only to himself the personal history of his sin—but as a textual form for facilitating the process, the form of confession’s first-person scripting most directly and literally leads its user to see himself as a sinner who is no other than himself.

Direct address to the church

The first-person presentation of the form of confession also illustrates just how the penitent should get started when confessing before the priest. Many examples of the genre are preceded by brief instructions in how to begin.³⁸ The form of confession in Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210 (D14.2) begins, like many others, with the formula, “I knowlech and zelde me gylty to God almiȝti, and to holy chu[r]che, and to þe gostly fader undur God, þat I ofte tymes siþen I was cristened and specialy siþen I was last schriuen” (fol. 157r). The penitent both recognizes his sin (“I knowlech”) and yields himself to this acknowledgment (“and zelde me gylty”). The reflexive form of *zelde*, “to yield, give oneself up,

³⁸ For accounts of how confession proceeded as an encounter between priest and penitent, see Goering, “Internal Forum and the Literature of Confession,” 187–202; and Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 82–95; and on public and social aspects of the confessional context, see Bossy, “Social History of Confession,” 24–26; and Myers, “Poor, Sinning Folk,” 27–60.

surrender, submit," signifies, with a glance backwards to his willfulness, the penitent's willingness to give up his own will for God's will.³⁹ This yielding is also a submission to the church, the people of God both living and dead, the community of saints.

Augustine in his *Confessions* speaks unequivocally and directly to God alone. He is the "I" and God is the "Thou" to whom he addresses his words. As Jeremy Tambling points out, Augustine is "contemptuous of the need to speak to man at all":

Why, then, does it matter to me whether men should hear what I have to confess, as though it were they who were to cure all the evil that is in me? They are an inquisitive race, always anxious to pry into other men's lives, but never ready to correct their own. Why do they wish to hear from me what sort of man I am, though they will not listen to you when you tell them what they are?⁴⁰

While the speaking penitent of the form of confession likewise addresses God, in contrast to Augustine the confession is made also to God's church, represented by the priest, an appointed member of the church on the earth, and to the saints who represent the church in heaven. By the time that all Christians of the Roman Church are expected to confess their sins, centuries after Christianity had become

³⁹ See *OED*, s.v. *yield*, v. III.15, citing, e.g., *Piers Plowman* B.XII.193, "He ʒelte hym creaunt to cryst on þe crosse & knewleched hym gulty"; and III.18.a. trans. "with compl. adj. or adj. phrase: to acknowledge or admit that a person or thing is so-and-so," citing, e.g., *Cursor Mundi* 28077, "Til our lauerd crist and þe, M. gastli fader, yeild i me Plighti for my syn o pride," and *Piers Plowman* B.V.374 in Glutton's confession, "I, glotoun, . . . gylyt me ʒelde."

⁴⁰ Tambling, *Confession*, 12, and quoting *Confessions* X.3.

the official religion in Europe, they have come to see themselves as part of a “universal” church comprised of the living and the dead across time, the church militant (those living on earth), the church dormant (those who are in purgatory awaiting judgment), and the church triumphant (those who are in heaven united with God). This idea of the universal church and of the Christian life as a pilgrimage through life and beyond to eternal union with God after the Last Judgment created the need for help on the journey, and confession was one kind of help for that part of the church living on earth.⁴¹ Those saints who had gotten to the end of this journey might provide help in this effort.

Forms of confession typically mention saints by name in their beginnings, nearly always including the Blessed Virgin and a reference to all the saints: “Confiteor Deo, et beate Marie Virgini, et omnibus sanctis eius, et vobis, quia ego peccator peccaui nimis in vita” (B42); “A Deu, et a ma dame Seinte Marie, et a touz les seins noustre Seignour, et a vous pere esperitel, me reng coupable” (C7.1).⁴² Often they cite specific names of saints: “Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beate Marie semper uirgini, beato Francisco, et omnibus sanctis” (B35); “Je me confesse à Dieu le Pere tout puissant, à la benoïste Vierge Marie, à monseigneur

⁴¹ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 19–20, 26.

⁴² London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 523, fol. 117v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fol. 7r, in Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, Early English Text Society s.s., vol. 16 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Saint Michel ange et archange" (C22); "I knowlege me gilty vnto God, and to oure lady Seynt Marye, to Seynt Benett, Seynt Byrynus, and to Seynt Swythune, and to all the holy company of heuene, and to you my gostly fader here beyng in Goddys stede" (D46).⁴³ This theological context is critical for understanding the social dimension of the form of confession.⁴⁴ The Apostle's Creed, the baptismal creed (rhetorically the confession of faith of an individual believer, "I believe"), asserts belief in "the holy catholic church, the communion of saints."⁴⁵ This was the creed that all later medieval Christians were expected to know, and

⁴³ Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82, fol. 218r, as described in Paul Saenger, *A Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 150–55; London, British Library, Add. 43472, art. 6b, fol. 67v, in Edmond Martène, ed., *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus Libri*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736–38; repr. in facsimile Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967–69), 3:492–95; and British Library, Harley 172, fol. 11r.

⁴⁴ See J. F. Sollier, "Communion of Saints," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 4:171–74; and for an in-depth survey of the history of the doctrine, see P. Bernard and R.-S. Bour, "Communion des Saints," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and É. Amann, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1930–50), vol. 3, pt. 1, cols. 429–80. For the wider context of various religious practices that depended upon these concepts of the communion of saints and the treasury of merits, see Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, vol. 3; Robert W. Shaffern, *The Penitent's Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (Scranton, Pa.: University of Scranton Press, 2007); and R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ The expression "communion of saints" was not present in early redactions of the Apostle's Creed and probably entered it as the creed's last addition. See Nicole Lemaître, "Communion of Saints," *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez, Barrie Dobson, and Michael Lapidge, trans. Adrian Walford, 2 vols. (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2000), 1:341–42. On the history of the expression, the doctrine of the communion of saints, and its meaning in spiritual life, see Valentin Breton, O.F.M., *The Communion of Saints: History—Dogma—Devotion*, trans. R. E. Scantlebury (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1934).

it formed a basis for confessors to test the beliefs of penitents in confession.⁴⁶

Forms of confession often include a section on failure to believe in the articles of faith.⁴⁷ The communion of saints (*communio sanctorum*) signifies the union of all Christians across time and space and their union with Christ, the head of the mystical body of the church. One form of confession, for example, concludes with the sinner asking to dwell in the perfect presence of God's communion of saints in eternal life ("perfectum presenciam tuam communionem sanctorum uitam eternam" [B18.1]).⁴⁸ The classic biblical statement of this notion is in 1 Corinthians 12:4–6, describing the "diversities of graces" exchanged among the different parts of the church's body in a reciprocal relationship unified by the Spirit of Christ, "For as the body is one, and hath many members; and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body, so also is Christ." "The community of life of the just," Nicole Lemaître writes, "implied the interdependence and solidarity of a body, common participation in the same

⁴⁶ The Nicene Creed, by contrast, rhetorically voiced in the nominative plural ("we believe"), was less widely diffused among laypeople and was heard as the Mass creed said by the priest (Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 16). Duffy notes how at baptisms godparents were charged with instructing the children in learning the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, and Apostle's Creed according to the law of the church, forming the foundation of the catechism (*Stripping of the Altars*, 53–54).

⁴⁷ See, e.g., D2.7, D16, D17, D22, D23, D24, D27, D28, D40, D42, D43, D46, D47, D53, D56, D57, D58, D61, D62. Andreas Escobar's *Modus confitendi* (B24) also has a section on the articles of faith.

⁴⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 555, fol. 110r.

means of sanctity and the pooling of the merits of all the saints.” The church managed and disposed of this treasury of virtue accumulated by its members. One way this happened was through prayers that sought the support of the saints (the church triumphant) in human activity.⁴⁹

Forms of confession most often conclude with a request for God’s mercy and forgiveness and for the church’s prayers of support: “Ideo supplico vos, omnis sancti angeli Dei, et omnis sancti, et te venerande sacerdos, . . . et indulgenciam per merita et intercessionem omnium sanctorum assequi merear” [Therefore, I beg you, all the holy angels of God, all you saints, and you, venerable priest, . . . and that I may deserve to obtain pardon through the merits

⁴⁹ Lemaître, “Communion of Saints,” *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 1:342. Bernard, “Communion des Saints,” captures this sense of interdependence and solidarity among the parts of the church thus: “Par leur entremise auprès de Dieu, les saints du ciel procurent aux fidèles de la terre comme aux âmes du purgatoire tout un ensemble de grâces et de faveurs, de même que les fidèles, par la prière et les bonnes oeuvres, s’unissent aux élus dans un culte d’honneur et d’amour qui provoque leurs bienfaits, et aux âmes du purgatoire dans une compassion effective qui apporte des soulagements à leurs peines” (*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 3., pt. 1, cols. 429–30). In the confessor’s manual in Cambridge, Saint John’s College MS 257, following a confessional interrogatory where the assignment of penance following confession is discussed, the priestly speaker (modeling confessional practice for his audience) notes that though the penitential canons stipulate seven years of penance for deadly sin, he will assign a lesser form—clearly being practically minded—granting an indulgence from the sinner’s good deeds and alms, from his sufferings patiently endured, and from the merits of Christ’s passion and of the Virgin Mary and the church to take the place of that amount of this penance that is owed but cannot be (realistically) performed (fols. 28v–30v). This fifteenth-century author is apparently still consulting an old penitential with its harsh penances, but he can be seen here in the process of adapting the work of satisfaction in confession to a more practical context in which everyone must be confessing.

and intercession of all the saints] (B43).⁵⁰ The *Saint Brendan's Confession* (D1), the earliest of Middle English forms of confession, expresses particularly well this sense of solidarity between the contrite sinner and all the church. It concludes, "I crie þee, my Lord Ihesu Crist, mercy, þat I principally haue trespassid to; and to þee, þou blessid Modir of my Lord Ihesu Crist wiþ al þe cumpany of heuene, mercy; and þou Chirche slepinge in purgatorye, and þou fiȝtynge Chirche in þis world, to which I haue trespassid in þouȝt, word and deede, mercy; and þou Lord to whom stretchþ al þe trespas [to whom all these trespasses apply]: mercy, Lord God, mercy."⁵¹ Throughout the confession, the speaker reiterates that his sin is against all the church, showing how the sin of one individual Christian reverberates throughout the body of Christ, as in this passage confessing to evil living:

I knowleche also to þee, þou Chirche fiȝtynge in þis world, þat I haue synned first to þee, my Lord God and my Saueour; for I haue not worschipid þee wiþ alle my þouȝtis, wordis and werkis, as I myȝte, ouȝte, coude, or myȝte haue coud, if I hadde do my bisynes.

That I haue trespassid also aȝens þee, oure Lady Seynt Marye, þat art my Lord Ihesu Cristis derworþe modir wiþ al þe blessid cumpany of heuene, in lettynge [hindering] of ȝoure ful ioie by my wickid lyuyng, þat schulde haue be moorid [enhanced]; if I hadde wel lyued. Wherefore, þou my Lord God and Saueour, I crie þee mercy; and þou blessid modir of him wiþ al þe cumpany blessid and holy in heuene, I crie þee mercy.

⁵⁰ Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Pap. Hs. 11, fol. 239r.

⁵¹ Fumio Kuriyagawa, ed., *The Middle English St. Brendan's Confession and Prayer: Edited from Lambeth Palace Library MS 541* (Tokyo: Keio Society of Art and Letters, Keio University, 1968), 23. Further references are given parenthetically in the text.

Also þou Chirche in purgatorye slepinge, I haue greuously trespassid to þee, þat myȝtist han be releued and holpen bi my good lyuyngē, good þinkyngē and almes-deede doynge. Wherefore, and to þee I crie mercy.

Also þou fiȝtyngē Chirche in erþe, I haue lettid [deprived] þee of grace þoru myn yuel lyuyngē: in wiþdrawyngē oþere men fro vertues to vicis, by yuel occasioun ȝeuyngē. Wherefore I crie þee mercy. (5–6)

In the section confessing sins of failing to do the works of corporal mercy, the *Saint Brendan's Confession* reaches an unusual moment of candor and height of emotion for a form of confession—attributable to its being both a confession and a prayer—when the speaking penitent acknowledges how hard this mandate is to fulfill. Here the sinner confesses not only for himself but even on behalf of his friends and for all people, because it is nearly impossible for anyone to fulfill what Christ demands of all Christians: “I crie mercy for my silf; mercy I crie for alle my frendis; and mercy for alle men qwike and dede; for truly Lord I trowe, þere was ne is ne neuere schal be but fewe, þat þei ne han errid [who have not erred], erren and schulen erre, in doynge þese deedis of mercy.” For according to the gospel, “O, Lord! and þou wolte axe acountis of hem [ask for an accounting from them] at þe dreedful day of doom, of ech man; and þo [those] þat han doon hem as is declarid aftir, schulen resseyue þi mercy, and regne wiþ þee in þi kyngdom, and þei þat han not doon it in þe foorme þat sueþ aftir [follows hereafter (i.e., according to Christ’s teaching that the text will detail)], or ellis doon it not, schulen resseyue þi straiȝt riȝtwisnes medlid [mixed] sumwhat wiþ

mercy in þi prisoun helle, where deuelis schulen regne wiþ hem in to worldis of worldis [forever and ever]" (19–20; see Matt. 25:31–46). While the *Saint Brendan's Confession* is exceptional for the explicitness of its rhetorical delineation of the church as the body of Christ, all forms of confession are addressed implicitly to the church and must be read in this context to rightly understand this view of the social effects of sins, a context that may seem alien to readers approaching the genre today, whose modernity prizes individual freedom and personal privacy.

The speaking penitent of the form of confession also directly addresses the priest confessor, who is commonly said to stand in the place of God in the internal forum of penance, and from whom the penitent asks for absolution and penance (the *sacerdos*, *pere esperital*, or *gostli fader*): “. . . a vobis absolucionem et penitenciam salutarem michi pro peccatis iniungi" [(I ask for) absolution from you and salutary penance to be enjoined for my sins] (B21.2).⁵² It is noticeable among precursor forms of confession before the thirteenth century that most of them do not include an address to the priest, as confession to a priest did not become universally expected from the laity until after Lateran IV, though some

⁵² Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 628, fol. 152r, as described in Keuffer et al., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, 5:84–85.

of these texts do contain such an address.⁵³ On the other hand, most precursor forms of confession are addressed to the church as the communion of saints.

Not all later medieval forms of confession mention the priest, which in some cases may be suggestive of anticlerical sentiments. A Lollard form of confession, for instance, in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699 (D7.1), as would be expected, contains no address to a priest: “I knowledge to God almyȝti, and to his blessid modir Marie, and to alle his seyntis, þat I, synful wrecche, haue ofte and greuouusli synned aȝens his wille” (fol. 88v). In other cases, the lack of address to the priest may be influenced by penitential prayer, such as the *Saint Brendan’s Confession* quoted above, whose rubric reads, “Here bigynneþ a confessoun which is also a preier þat Seynt Brandoun made, and it is riȝt needful to a Cristen man to seye and worche þer-aftir in his lyuyngē” (5).⁵⁴

While the first-person viewpoint of the form of confession underwrites the individual sinner’s private self-examination in the mirror of conscience, the implied audience of the form of confession’s direct address always keeps this

⁵³ See, e.g., A7, A12, A20 (which is to “minum scrifte þam gastlican læce” [my confessor, the spiritual leech]), A21, A22 (which is to the bishop “bisceop”), and A23.

⁵⁴ It is worth noting that one copy of the *Saint Brendan’s Confession* appears in the same MS as the Lollard form of confession in Rawlinson C.699. See D1.3 and D7.1 in the catalogue. For another confession that is a prayer, see, e.g., D18 in the catalogue. I have included these texts in the catalogue because they are in every way a form of confession except for this lack of address to a confessor. In some cases where the priest is not explicitly addressed at the beginning of the text, this address is made clear at the end of the text (see, e.g., D48), or other wording can indicate that the context is sacramental confession (see, e.g., D36).

penitential experience thoroughly within the social body of the church. The speaking penitent's words are textual, but once internalized by the text's specific user, their destination is oral through confession of mouth to God, the church, and the priest who administers the sacrament of penance. In *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, Walter J. Ong describes how "a textually supported religious tradition can continue to authenticate the primacy of the oral in many ways." He cites the example of reading the Bible during the liturgy, which communicates that "God is thought of as always 'speaking' to human beings, not as writing to them."⁵⁵ The form of confession does just this: it authenticates the primacy of the oral confession; reading or hearing a text of the form of confession should not stop there but should lead to, indeed produce, the all-important act of confessing to the priest in a performative oral event.

Framing by the *Confiteor*

As a sacramental rite, oral confession needed a formality of structure suited to its purpose. The confessor and penitent had to know where to begin and end, and likewise the form of confession needed a ritual form of beginning to initiate the confession of sins and a ritual conclusion to signal that the confession was over.

⁵⁵ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (1982; repr. London: Routledge, 1988), 95.

The *Confiteor*, the ancient liturgical prayer of confession, provided this ritual element and tied the form of confession to an ancient penitential mentality.⁵⁶ This prayer is composed of two sentences, in which sin is acknowledged to God and to the church and supplication for the church's help is made, but no catalogue of specific sins is given. The *Confiteor* is commonly known today as the "general confession," the penitential act said at the beginning of the Roman Mass by priest and people:

I confess to almighty God, and to you, my brothers and sisters, that I have sinned through my own fault in my thoughts and in my words, in what I have done, and in what I have failed to do; and I ask blessed Mary, ever virgin, all the angels and saints, and you, my brothers and sisters, to pray for me to the Lord our God.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ For the history of the *Confiteor*, see the useful chapter by Herbert Thurston, S.J., in *Familiar Prayers: Their Origin and History*, ed. Paul Grosjean, S.J. (London: Burns Oates, 1953), 73–89, but Thurston's estimation that the translation of the *Confiteor* into English was rare before the Reformation is far from the case, and in fact, judging from the evidence of the form of confession, it was translated into English more often than into other vernaculars. For the most authoritative account, see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum sollemnia)*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951–55), 1:298–311.

⁵⁷ This is a translation from the second typical edition of the Vatican II revised liturgy, which is in current use. See Catholic Church, *The Catholic Liturgy Book: The People's Complete Service Book* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1975), inside front cover and 266–67. The general confession is followed by the priest's declaration of forgiveness in the form, "May almighty God have mercy on us, forgive us our sins, and bring us to everlasting life," rather than the indicative form used in sacramental confession, "I absolve you from your sins." A revised version, which brings back the pre-Vatican II contritional *mea culpa* with threefold repetition and direction to strike the breast, appears in the *editio typica tertia* of the Vatican II *Missale Romanum* (2002), forthcoming in 2011 in the new English translation. See a comparison between the current text and the new one at United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Welcoming the Roman Missal Third Edition," at <http://uscbb.org/romanmissal/samples-people.shtml>.

Medieval versions of the *Confiteor* varied in their wording from place to place, and the *Confiteor* was not put into an official form for use throughout the church until the Tridentine *editio princeps* of the *Missale Romanum* published in 1570. Here are medieval examples of the *Confiteor* in Latin and English, both adapted for use in private confession, as is indicated by their references to the priest (in the Latin, the pronoun is a polite plural).

Confiteor Deo celi, beate Marie, beate Benedicto, et omnibus sanctis eius, et vobis, peccavi nimis in corde, cogitatione, locutione, ne omissione et opere, mea culpa. Precor beatissimam virginem Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, et vos, orare pro me.

I knowleche to God of heuene, and vnto the[e], blessid Marye, and vnto alle his halewis [saints], and unto thee, fadre, for that I, wreche synner, haue synned to moche, in thenking, spekyng, delityng, consentynge, in sizte, worde, and work: blame, thoruz my greatest blame. Therefore I preye the[e], blessid virgyne Marye, and alle the halowes of God, and thee, fadre, preye for me vnto God, that he haue mercy of me.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The first is a Latin *Confiteor* that begins a Middle English form of confession in London, British Library, Add. 60577 (D43), fol. 159v, which concludes, again in Latin, with the request for absolution, showing a strong sense of the reception of absolution as dividing those who are within the church and outside it: “In istis et in multis aliis peccatis peccavi, que non occurrunt memorie mee. In cogitatione, locutione, omissione, et opere, mea culpa. Ideo precor te, pater, me absolvas, et si indebite participauero cum aliquo excommunicato vel cum aliquibus excommunicatis, humiliter peto absolucionem a Deo et vobis” (fol. 179v). See Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 301, for one of the earliest examples of the *Confiteor*, which was used at Cluny in the late eleventh century, and nn. 21 and 22 for reference to other early examples. The second is a Middle English version from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 246, fols. 3v–4r, which is part of a catechism including the Creed, Ave Maria, Lord’s Prayer, Commandments, five senses, seven deadly sins, gifts of the Holy Spirit, works of mercy, and six ways of consenting to sin. See W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1882), 2:282, for this translation of the *Confiteor*.

It is crucial at this point to clarify what can be meant by the term *general confession*, because this term has at least six different meanings, which can lead to much confusion when it is not defined (as it often isn't). General confession can refer to (1) the *Confiteor*, the ancient prayer of confession as said in the monastic offices of prime and compline; (2) the *Confiteor* as part of the medieval *preces* or pre-Mass prayers said by the priest in preparation for the Mass; (3) a form of confession; (4) a medieval rite said during Lent by a congregation, led by the priest, as preparation for sacramental confession; (5) the Jesuit general confession, part of a spiritual exercise involving an extended examination of conscience as preparation for confession of sins of a lifetime; and (6) the general confession of the modern liturgy of the Mass said by the whole congregation.⁵⁹

Because of these multiple meanings, it is best not to refer to a form of confession

⁵⁹ Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession*, 82 n. 12, mentions these meanings of the term *general confession*; and Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 111–13, briefly notes some of these differences. The Jesuit general confession was popularized through Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*; see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24, 38–39, 136–52. As O'Malley explains, this was not the same as the usual confession to a priest in order to receive absolution for one's sins, but rather the culmination of week one in the *Exercises*, in which persons undertaking the "retreat" would come to know themselves more completely and be converted from the past's ways of thinking and living to a new life with a new purpose (imitating Ignatius's own leaving behind of a military career for a spiritual one). This conversion involved a week of self-examination, writing down all of one's sins of a lifetime up to this point of change and repenting of them. The *Exercises* were meant to help people in the position to make major life changes, such as entering marriage, changing a career, or deciding to live a notably different kind of life (such as a religious life).

as a general confession (even though medieval sources sometimes do refer to forms of confession in this way).

A form of confession typically begins with the first sentence of the *Confiteor* and ends with the second sentence, with the catalogue of avowals of sin sandwiched in between. While coopting the *Confiteor* in this way, the form of confession differs significantly from the *Confiteor*. As has already been indicated, the *Confiteor* lacks any specific avowal of sins, while the form of confession presents a catalogue of them. The general confession as said in the daily office or Mass is said together by monastic brothers or sisters or by celebrant and attending ministers, and is not said, in one direction, by a penitent to a confessor. Some versions of the medieval fore-Mass present a reciprocal confession, in which the celebrant says the *Confiteor* with the attending ministers responding with *Misereatur*, and then the ministers saying the *Confiteor*, with the celebrant responding with the *Misereatur* and then the *Indulgentiam*. Indeed, this reciprocal confession came to be the standard form down to the last edition of the pre-Vatican II Mass.⁶⁰ Another way of stating this important difference is that the

⁶⁰ See Catholic Church, *The Missal in Latin and English* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1963), 656–59. The reciprocal confession is a feature of Sarum Use in England; see J. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 216–17; and *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren, 2 vols. (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1913), 1:20–24, translating a 1526 missal. The reformed Vatican II liturgy removes this reciprocal confession between celebrant and ministers and instead has the congregation say the general confession along with the celebrant.

general confession is liturgical, and the form of confession is not; it is designed for a single user in preparation for sacramental confession.⁶¹ The general confession of the daily office and Mass, therefore, does not conclude with a request for absolution and penance, and the absolution is not given in the indicative form, “I absolve you from your sins,” which is requisite in sacramental confession, but rather is given in the deprecatory or declarative form, “May almighty God have mercy on you and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve you in every good work, and bring you, by the intercession of all the saints, to everlasting life.”⁶²

The way forms of confession begin is quite consistent with the first part of the *Confiteor*, but they conclude with much greater variation, though the endings usually express the ideas contained in the second part of the *Confiteor*. The great majority of Latin forms of confession begin with some form of “Confiteor Deo,” but a few begin in other ways. Some, especially, begin with an intensification of

⁶¹ An exception to this is the paraliturgical use of the form of confession, which I discuss below.

⁶² “Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni opere malo, conservet te in omni opere bono et perducatur te per intercessionem omnium sanctorum ad gloriam sempiternam” (Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:303). Aquinas’s view made the priest’s role indispensable for administering God’s grace. For Thomas, the words of absolution in the indicative form, “Ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis,” constitute the *form* of the sacrament of penance (*Summa Theologiae* III, qu. 84, art. 3, in *Penance* [3a. 84–90], ed. and trans. Masterson and O’Brien, 11–19). On absolution and its forms, see Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, 169–74; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 22–27; Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*, 72–73. Goering, “Internal Forum,” 195–203, discusses absolution in the larger context of the priest’s role as judge in the internal forum of penance.

the sense of contrition in a statement of the self's wickedness: "Ego, miser uite et reus auctor malorum . . ." [I, wretched of life and accused author of evils . . .] (B11). But these, too, then typically lead into the usual *Confiteor* beginning: "Ego, horrendissimus peccator, reus et conscius omnium malorum meorum, confiteor omnipotenti Deo" [I, a most horrendous sinner, wicked and conscious of all my evil deeds, confess to almighty God] (B65).⁶³ Most French texts begin with some form of "Je me confesse à Dieu," and likewise Middle English texts most often begin with the way the *Confiteor* was translated into English, "I knowleche [acknowledge] to almyghty God. . . ."

This connection of the *Confiteor* with the form of confession indicates how, on the one hand, the practice of confession in the later Middle Ages by laypeople was an extension of monastic practice that had been going on for centuries, and on the other hand, the connection points to the close association of confessional practice with the the celebration of the Eucharist. This prayer appears in two different medieval liturgical contexts. First of all, the *Confiteor* was part of the

⁶³ See, respectively, London, British Library, Harley 3077, fol. 94r; and København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1591 4to, fol. 157r, as described in Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (København: In Aedibus Gyldendaliansis, 1926), 92. For other examples of "Ego" beginnings, see cat. B2, B20, B23.1, B23.2, B27, B50.1–B50.6.

monastic and secular offices of prime and compline from the ninth century on.⁶⁴

The confession of monks to each other during daily chapter meeting or to a confessor was a common element of monastic life for many centuries before laypeople were universally required to engage in confessional practice, and it could be argued that this later medieval involvement of laypeople in confession was as an extension of monastic idealism to the laity. The confessing community had always been monastic, engaged in a rigorous project of spiritual formation within an idealist concept of human community.⁶⁵ The individual was part of

⁶⁴ On the *Confiteor's* appearance in the monastic and secular offices of prime and compline, see Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 299; and John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 84, 99, 103; and 168–76 on Thomas Cranmer's adaptation of the medieval offices into matins (morning prayer) and evensong (evening prayer) in the second 1552 Book of Common Prayer, whose basic forms and order have remained remarkably stable to this day. And see also Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1982; repr. 1995), 21–22 (no. 201).

⁶⁵ In the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, confession is recommended as a practice of humility and as a way to deal with any consciousness of faults: see 4:57–58 (confession to God daily in prayer), 7:44–48 (confession of secret sin to the abbot as the fifth degree of humility), chap. 45 (confession to the community of mistakes in saying the liturgy), and chap. 46 (confession to the community for faults done during work or to the abbot for secret sins), in *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011). Further citations of the *Rule* are given by chapter and verse numbers. The monastic orders down through the centuries preserved the early medieval notion of public penance in their practice of daily capitular confession, with provisions for confessing especially troublesome or private matters to the abbot or some other designated official. Private auricular confession was not required in monastic houses until the later Middle Ages, corresponding to the requirement for all Christians to confess, as stipulated by the Lateran IV Council. Canon 10 requires bishops to appoint penitentiaries in all conventual churches; Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:239–40. See Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 1:183–85, 197–205; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001), 66–68, 110–11; Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum, 2009), 113, 115–18, 122–27, 138–39.

one body seeking to be shaped into a complex wholeness with others in relation to the one God. Anything drawing the individual away from communal cohesion and unity would have to be purged for its threat to tearing apart that community. The individual was conceived as truly individual only when fully becoming a constituent part of the whole. The body could not be flesh of one's own to cherish and satisfy; it must be disciplined in a vow of chastity. Worldly possessions could not be considered valuables providing for and enhancing one's well-being; they must be shared with all equally in a vow of poverty. And the individual will could not be the center of governance leading toward the fulfillment of personal desire; it must be sacrificed in a vow of obedience to the destiny of the community. This, of course, was the ideal of community expressed in the monastic vows. Sin—that which separates one from God, others, and from one's true self—would always challenge and threaten its viability. Thus the practice of confession was integral to the creation of monastic community, because only through the avowal of self-seeking and its renouncement could such a community be maintained and thrive.

In many cases, forms of confession explicitly evoke this monastic context when they begin with the traditional monastic greeting: *Benedicite* with the response tag *Dominus*. This was a customary formula for religious in Benedictine and other monastic houses to use for initiating conversation, the initiator asking

for a blessing in the polite plural, “Benedicite” [Bless (me)], to which the other replies, “Dominus,” simply “the Lord,” who blesses.⁶⁶ *Dominus*, however, could also be a tag for another response, as indicated in the prologue to one of the two confessional forms in Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 317 (D41):

⁶⁶ The form *Benedicite* is used as the polite imperative plural. Albert Blaise, ed., *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi, praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens / Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), s.v. *benedicite* (indéc.) 2, “parole de salutation chez les moines.” The *Rule of Saint Benedict* directs that “whenever brothers meet each other, the junior should ask the senior’s blessing” (63:15). The *Regula Magistri* (Rule of the Master), a ninth-century monastic rule that served as a major source for Benedict, makes this practice quite clear: when brothers need to speak to a superior, they are to stand before the superior “with head bowed in humility” and “their mouth closed and stamped with the seal of gravity, until with the key of *Benedicite* they open their mouth which has been closed in silence.” This “key” is used in other situations as well: when greeting a visitor who comes to the monastery, when a brother arrives at another monastery, at meals, and before embarking on any task (“do everything after asking a blessing, saying *Benedicite* before doing anything, so that whatever you do may be blessed”). See *The Rule of the Master*, trans. Luke Eberle (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 108, 127–29, 168, 175, 231, 235, 284. In the *Life of Christina of Markyate*, we learn that Benedictines initiated conversation with the one saying *Benedicite* and the other replying *Dominus*. See *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth Century Recluse*, ed. and trans. C. H. Talbot (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959; repr. 1987), 142–43, where Christina greets her sister, Margaret, in St. Alban’s Abbey, “[p]ost oracionem dicto benedicite ut mos est [after a prayer, having said *Benedicite*, as the custom is, without saying anything else],” after which Christina relates the miracle of a healing of the monastery’s abbot. In a note to this passage, Talbot explains that “the reference is to the monastic custom of saying *Benedicite* before entering upon any conversation,” and after the person addressed “had answered *Dominus*, the conversation could begin.” *MED*, s.v. *benedicite* (n.) 1b, indicates the English use of *Benedicite* as a prayer said before confession. In *Piers Plowman*, ed. Pearsall, Sloth, in full character, begins his confession with *Benedicite* and a belch while knocking his breast (C.VII.6). Pearsall’s note to the line regards this formula as short for “Bless me, father, for I have sinned” (i.e., “*Benedicite, pater, quia peccavi*”), the interpretation given in John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 48. But I have found no example of this form of greeting in late medieval directions on confession, and it would not explain the priest’s reply of *Dominus* in so many other contexts. Repentance’s reply to Sloth here could not be *Dominus*, because Sloth falls asleep immediately after greeting the confessor with *Benedicite*; Repentance’s natural response is to tell Sloth to wake and hurry to confession. Sloth’s knocking his breast refers to the customary striking of the breast when saying *mea culpa* in the *Confiteor*.

Here folowyth a fourme of a generall confessyoun þat euery crysten man and woman is bownde to kunne and knowe, and þerfor whan a man comyth to his gostly fadir to be shryve, lete hym knele down or stonde as his gostly fadir wolle, and at the begynnyng he shall say, "Benedicite." Pan his gostly fadir wolle answer and say, "Dominus exaudiat nos." (fol. 34v)

Here the confessor replies to the penitent by asking God to harken to them in confession.⁶⁷ Another Middle English text begins with this Latin rubric: "Primo penitens, genuflectendo deuote coram sacerdote, dicat sic, 'Benedicite.' Sacerdos respondet, 'Dominus.' Tunc penitens dicet sic [leading into the form of confession]."⁶⁸ Most begin in a more typically abbreviated fashion: "Confitens dicat primo, 'Benedicite,' sacerdos 'Dominus.'"⁶⁹ It's clear that this monastic greeting had become, by the later Middle Ages, familiar outside of the monastic

⁶⁷ Directions in a manual for confessors in British Library, Sloane 1584, indicate that the *Benedicite, Dominus* greeting should be said, after which the priest should add "Christi exaudi nos" (fol. 71r). Commentary on confessional procedure in London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687, p. 377, gives the same directions. And in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913, in a chapter of a catechistic manual on how a confession should proceed, the penitent is directed to kneel meekly by the priest and say, "Benedicite," after which the priest shall say, "Dominus Christe audi nos" (fol. 17r). These two works are nos. E.2 and E.11, respectively, in Jolliffe, *Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*.

⁶⁸ London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687, p. 359; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 60, fol. 213r. See D3.1 and D3.2 in the catalogue, neither of which are monastic manuscripts; both are vernacular compilations for parish priests. Indeed, this formula for greeting is most common at the beginning of vernacular texts, particularly in Middle English.

⁶⁹ London, British Library, Harley 2391, fol. 134r (see cat. D22). Other forms of confession beginning this way, or whose rubrics give this direction, include B64, C1, C23.1–C23.8, D5.1–D5.7, D6.1–D6.6, D9, D17, D19, D24, D30, D40, D44, D45, D53, D59, D62.

house and had become customary, especially in England, as a greeting between penitent and confessor.⁷⁰

The second medieval liturgical context of the *Confiteor* was the Mass into which the prayer migrated from its use in the daily office.⁷¹ In the Middle Ages, the general confession was not said by laypeople in the Mass; it does not begin to be said by the congregation as a standard practice until the reformed Vatican II liturgy.⁷² The *Confiteor*, furthermore, was not said during the Mass proper. From the Middle Ages up to Vatican II, the general confession is said only by the celebrant and attending ministers, facing the altar and turned away from the people, as part of the fore-Mass ritual purification before handling the holy mystery of the Eucharist. This was in effect a private ritual, and the people, at a distance in the nave and separated from the choir by a screen, would not be able to hear much of what was being said. The extent of the people's involvement

⁷⁰ By the later Middle Ages, *Benedicite* had also become a colloquial expression of astonishment or good will. See *MED*, s.v. *benedicite* (interj.) 1b, "as an exclamation: bless us, bless my soul, my goodness, etc."

⁷¹ Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 299.

⁷² Rita Ferrone, *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium* (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 1–5, gives a lucid description of the people's experience of the Mass before the Vatican II reform. She notes how even in the 1940s and 1950s there were no missals or translations of the Latin Mass in the pews and describes how Communion was distributed to laypeople outside of the liturgy so as not to interrupt its performance. *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 14, called for the faithful's "full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy." Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1975), 7.

during the medieval Mass was limited to being present, hearing what they could hear (in Latin), seeing the performance of the various rituals culminating in the elevation of the host, and receiving the Eucharist at Easter.⁷³

William Durandus in his *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (completed ca. 1294–96), the foundational work that explicated the symbolic meaning of the thirteenth-century liturgy, discusses the *Confiteor* in book IV, chapter 7.

Durandus says that the priest “makes his confession so that he can approach the altar with purity and without stain.” This is done by confessing his sins “in a general way, for such requires no secrecy and can be done publicly, as did the priests in the temple of Solomon,” during which the breast is to be struck three times like the publican in the gospel who says, “O God, be merciful to me a sinner” (see Luke 18:9–14). Durandus describes the deacon placing the maniple

⁷³ In the Vatican II revision of the liturgy, the general confession is still said at the beginning of the Mass as a preparatory rite, but now is said in the vernacular by the celebrant and the people together. The nature of laypeople’s involvement is illustrated in the *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, a fifteenth-century translation of an Anglo-Norman devotional work, based on the Use of Rouen, that gives direction to literate laypeople in how to involve themselves rather than “jangling” during Mass. When they see the priest take the chasuble from the altar and put it on, they should kneel as the priest stands “and haldes to god vp bothe his hende” [and holds up both his hands to God] as he makes his confession “or he þo messe bigynne” [before he begins the Mass], and the ministers then make their confession to the priest “or þai bigynne to here þo mes” [before they begin to hear the Mass]. It is the visual elements of vesting and raising the hands that signify to the non-Latin speaking laity what is going on. While the celebrant and ministers are busy with their prayers, the layfolk are instructed to say their own confession in a versified form of the *Confiteor*, and then to add the Lord’s Prayer, Ave Maria, and Creed, “for bi þis tyme, als I gesse, þo prest bigynnes office of messe.” *The Lay Folks Mass Book, or The Manner of Hearing Mass with Rubrics and Devotions for the People*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons, Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 71 (London, 1874), 6.

(the ornamental garment worn over the left arm) on the priest following the confession, completing his vesting. Then the priest blesses and censes the altar.⁷⁴ This ritual, which could be quite elaborate, was associated with the vesting of the priest and his assistants and initially took place in the vestry. In the later Middle Ages the ceremony turned into a kind of devotion in and of itself (*preces* or *preparatio misse*) and included the procession to the altar, during which the choir sang the introit. At the altar, prayers composed from verses of scripture (especially from the Psalms) were said as versicles and responses. The rite began with *Introibo ad altare Dei* [I will go up to the altar of God] (Ps. 42:4), sounding the theme of the fore-Mass, and typically included recitation of the whole of Psalm 42 *Iudica me Deus*, followed by *Introibo* repeated as an antiphon, and other versicles and responses. The general confession (*Confiteor*), prayer for mercy (*Misereatur*), and absolution (*Indulgentiam*) were placed in the middle of these prayers, which concluded with a supplication to Christ to make the penitent worthy to enter the Holy of Holies (*Aufer a nobis*). Finally the altar was censed, after which the Mass proper began.⁷⁵ This explicit association between ritual

⁷⁴ William Durandus, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, Its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments, and Vestments, Books I, III, and IV*, ed. Trappist Abbey of Our Lady of Gethemani (Louisville, Ky.: Fons Vitae, 2007), 281–85. The translation of the chapters from book IV is credited to Father Rama Coomaraswamy.

⁷⁵ On the *Confiteor* as part of the pre-Mass preparatory prayers, I rely here on Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:290–311; and Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 83–84 (no. 503),

purity and the Eucharist expressed in this performative use of the *Confiteor* naturally lent itself also to the practice of sacramental confession, which customarily occurred for most people during Lent in preparation for the reception of the Eucharist at Easter.

One use of the form of confession makes this connection quite explicit. During Lent, on Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, and even on Easter day, priests in some locales had their parishioners meet together in the church, in a service outside of the Mass, to be led in reciting the contents of a form of confession. This paraliturgical vernacular practice was often referred to as a general confession and was considered by theologians to be a sacramental (*sacramentale*) as opposed to a sacrament (*sacramentum*), that is, a ritual that

98 (no. 521), 150–53 (no. 741). Jungmann explains that this fore-Mass arrangement was a specific Cluniac development in Norman France by the mid-eleventh century, which came to be a standard feature (with variations) in every *ordo* of the Mass from the twelfth century on (291–92, 298–99). Even in the reformed Vatican II liturgy, the penitential rite is considered to be part of the “introductory rites,” as stated in “The Roman Missal: General Instruction,” explaining the parts of the reformed Mass; see *The Roman Missal* (New York: Benziger, 1970), III.A. These introductory rites “have the character of a beginning, introduction, and preparation” (par. 24, p. x). Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Worship in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 28–35, discusses the significance of the general confession in the Anglican Communion service as a dramatic shift from the medieval emphasis on the private and individual to a public and communal orientation, which the Anglican general confession makes crystal clear in the prayer’s rhetorical shift from the first-person singular expression “I confess” to the first-person plural form “We confess.” It is also relocated to just before Communion (being called a general confession) and was preceded by a lengthy exhortation to the congregation stressing the holy reception of the Eucharist and the dangers of unworthy reception. For a comparison of the early editions and sources of the Book of Common Prayer, see F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. ed. (London: Rivingtons, 1921), esp. 2:665–83 on this section of the pre-Communion exhortation and general confession.

promoted devotion and conferred an element of grace, such as the forgiveness of venial sins, but it was not a substitute for sacramental confession.⁷⁶ One such example occurs in a late-fourteenth-century French sacramentary for the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne (C22).⁷⁷ This detailed general confession is to be said by

⁷⁶ Sacramentals could be material things used in a devotional manner (e.g., crucifix, icons, holy water, rosary, etc.) or acts (e.g., making the sign of the cross, prostrating oneself, saying a blessing, saying the divine office, etc.). See H. Leclercq, "Sacramentals," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13:292–93: "Apart from the ceremonies relating to the administration of the sacraments the Church has instituted others for the purpose of private devotion. To distinguish between them, the latter are named sacramentals because of the resemblance between their rites and those of the sacraments properly so-called." But sacramentals differ from sacraments, because they "do not produce sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*, by virtue of the rite or substance employed." In Aquinas's discussion of whether sacramentals can remove venial sins in *Summa Theologiae* III, qu. 87, art. 3, he states that sacramentals do effect the remission of sins implicitly or explicitly. Mentioning the saying of the *Confiteor* as a sacramental, he comments that because certain kinds of rituals "are accompanied by some act of hatred for sin," actions like "communal confession [confessio generalis (i.e., the recital of the *Confiteor* or other general confession)], the striking of the breast and the Lord's Prayer accomplish forgiveness of venial sins [operantur ad remissionem venialium peccatorum], for in the Lord's Prayer we plead, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'" *Summa Theologiae* III, qu. 87, art. 3, in *Penance* (3a. 84–90), ed. and trans. Masterson and O'Brien, 111. *Ancrene Wisse*, 5.19, similarly notes that "the *Confiteor*, holy water, prayers, meditations, signs of the cross, genuflections, every good word, every good work, wash away small sins that cannot all be confessed"; Bella Millett, trans. and ed., *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses; A Translation* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), 123. Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* also recommends various means of bridling venial sin: "Men may also refreyne venial synne by receyvynge worthily of the precious body of Jhesu Crist; by receyvynge eek of hooly water, by almesdeede, by general confessioun of *Confiteor* at masse and at complyn, and by oother goode werkes" (10.384–85). Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 299. Further citations of Chaucer are given parenthetically in the text by fragment and line numbers.

⁷⁷ London, British Library, Add. 43472, art. 6b, fols. 67v–70r. The manuscript rubric calls it a *confessio generalis*. For an early edition of this text, from which I quote, see Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus Libri*, 3:490–92. For other forms of confession with a similar communal, liturgical context, see C27.5, C34, and C38.1 in the catalogue. Nicole Lemaître, "Confession privée et confession publique dans les paroisses du XVIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 69 (1983): 197–200, 207, has identified several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century northern French sacramentaries containing this general confession to be said by parishes in French on Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, or Easter day. Also see Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica

the penitents as a group led by the priest (“Et pource ainsi commancerons cette confession generale et tous et toutes direz aprez moy . . .”), and the confession is made to the priest (“à vous, Sire, vicaire et lieutenant de Dieu”). Preceding the form of confession is an exhortation to parishioners to make their confession along with a set of instructions and admonitions concerning the reception of the Eucharist on Easter. The text states that, as is stipulated by *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, before receiving the Eucharist, confession of all of one’s sins must be made in one’s own parish to the local priest in the French language. As is made clear in these admonitions, saying this general confession does *not* suffice for sacramental private confession:

& aussi bonnes gens vous devez sçivoir qu’afin de mouvoir les coeurs des creatures à plus grande devotion pour remission des pechez veniels; & pour diminuer & relâcher les peines qui nous sont devës pour nos pechez, & grace impetrer, Il est accoûtumé de faire aujourd’huy une forme & maniere d’absolution generale en sainte Eglise: mais nul ne se doit fier ne croire qu’elle luy vaille pour absolution de quelque peché mortel: dont il ay[t] memoire, s’il n’est confessé secretement & particulièrement de sa bouche à prêtre bien repentant, & ayt fait satisfaction, ou promis à faire le plutôt que bonnement pourra, & qu’il le fasse sans fraude.

[And also, good people, you must understand that for the purpose of moving the hearts of people to a greater devotion for the remission of venial sins, and for lessening and slackening the pains (of purgatory) that are owed to us for our sins, and for obtaining grace, it is customary today to make a form and customary usage of general absolution in holy church. But no one should trust or believe that this (ritual) will avail him for the absolution of any mortal sin that might be remembered, if he is not

Vaticana, 1978), nos. 161 and 299, for sacramentaries containing this general confession in the Uses of the dioceses of Limoges (1518) and Sens (1555).

confessed privately and specifically with his mouth to a priest, being truly repentant, and might have made satisfaction, or have promised to do so most completely so that it will be faithfully done, and that he might do this without insincerity.]

The exercise, if used on Ash Wednesday, could serve as an occasion for the priest to help an entire parish spend time in self-examination before going to their private confessions during the Lenten season, illustrating how the form of confession could be used by illiterate people in a context of public recitation. If anyone remembers having committed a mortal sin as a result of saying this general confession, the person will have to seek out the priest to confess those sins in order to receive absolution. It is further said that the Eucharist is for those of an age of discretion who can discern good from evil, and who are truly repentant and confess all their mortal sins to their ability (“pour ceux qui ont ans de discretion, & sont en âge suffisant à connoître & discerner le bien du mal, & le mal du bien, & qu’ils soient vrais repentans & confessez de tous leurs pechez mortels à leur pouvoir”). Spending time in a congregational setting meditating on the words of a form of confession as they are being recited is meant to help penitents discern “le bien du mal, & le mal du bien,” good from evil and evil from good. When used during Holy Week, the parish form of confession may

also have served, like the pre-Mass *Confiteor*, as a ritual purification for the people before receiving the Eucharist.⁷⁸

The public use of such general confessions harkens back to earlier medieval rituals of public penance. Mary Mansfield, in her study of the persistence of public penance in medieval France, describes the use of “omnibus” confessions as part of a tenth-century public ceremony of penance on Ash Wednesday in the Romano-Germanic pontifical, which “became the most influential non-eucharistic liturgical work in western Europe.” Penitents were set apart from the church on Ash Wednesday and reincorporated on Maundy Thursday once they had fulfilled their penance that year or years later.⁷⁹ This

⁷⁸ One can only imagine, despite the admonitions about the difference between this sacramental and the proper sacrament of penance, that parishioners saying this form of confession on Easter day, the one day each year that the Eucharist is available to most of the laity, would consider the general confession to offer “something more” than mere remission of venial sins. There would be no time at this point for someone becoming aware of a mortal sin, who had not yet gone to confession, to seek out a priest to confess to before receiving the Eucharist. And if a mortal sin is recalled and has not been confessed at this moment, electing not to receive the Eucharist would be tantamount to saying to the local community that you are “in sin” and have not confessed, a public humiliation. This paraliturgical practice would have served much better as preparation for confession if done on Ash Wednesday, initiating the penitential season of Lent.

⁷⁹ Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 168–88. For an example of this confession in a Romano-Germanic pontifical in the catalogue of precursors to the form of confession, see Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, MS 451 (A11), which begins, “Confiteor tibi, Domine celi et terrae, tibi que bone et benignissime Iesus, cum Sancto Spiritu, coram sanctis angelis tuis et coram sanctis tuis, coram hoc altare et sacerdote tuo, quia in peccatis conceptus et in peccatis natus et in peccatis nutritus et in peccatis post baptisma usque ad hanc horam sum conversatus.” I include this as a representative example of this kind of confession. Mansfield claims that from the tenth century on “northern Europe, and particularly Germany, remained the region of greatest liturgical vitality for the sacrament of penance” (171), while the Roman

Ash Wednesday rite of confession and expulsion was not administered by a bishop in a cathedral for notorious sinners, as in earlier pontificals, but was intended for use in parishes for many Christians, and it included an extended confession of all kinds of sins. The influence of this earlier rite can be seen in northern French rituals of the fifteenth century and pre-Tridentine sixteenth century, such as the Easter day omnibus confession in the Châlons-sur-Marne sacramentary said by the parish in unison. English examples indicate a practice of using this communal confession at the Mass on Easter day before receiving Communion.⁸⁰ Mansfield sees such parish general confessions as turning Lent into a “simultaneous celebration of unity and collective expiation. . . . Everyone confessed and received absolution whether or not he or she was guilty of any of the mortal sins in the list.”⁸¹ Mansfield, however, is looking at this late medieval public form of confession through the eyes of early medieval public penance,

pontificals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries virtually eliminate the public penitential rite of Ash Wednesday except for the imposition of ashes, which were distributed to everyone; “instead of the scapegoating of the solemn penitent, we find the united participation of the whole Christian people” (181–84, at 184). By contrast, solemn penance survived far longer in France, and from the late fourteenth century to the Counter-Reformation “liturgical general confession became attached to Lent and especially to Maundy Thursday” (185).

⁸⁰ See, for example, D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, and D61 in the catalogue. The confession in British Library, Sloane 1584, fols. 10r–12r (D61), makes clear that private confession must already have happened before receiving the Eucharist. It begins, “All ye that bene cleyne schryuen and shall reyseue this day Crystes blessyd body in forme off bred shall knell downe apone yowre kneys and say devoutly after me, I do make aknowlege to God allmyghty, and to our lady Sent Mare, and to all the holy company off hevyne, and to youe my gostly ffather in Godes sted that I haue synnyd.”

⁸¹ Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 241.

which dealt with notorious sinners whose sins corresponded for the most part with criminal acts or sins of a public nature. By the time confession had become mandatory for everyone, the notion of mortal sin had become a totalizing condition implicating a human being's inner and outer life, thoughts, words, and deeds; everyone had to confess because everyone was guilty. Reading a long list of sins in a form of confession, no one with a conscience could fail to be convicted.⁸² This kind of parish form of confession is better seen as a sacramental in the context of preparation for confession and ritual purification before receiving the Eucharist.

Lastly, another kind of parish communal confession happened in some locales, especially in German lands—the *offene Schuld* or “open confession”

⁸² This will become clearer in the next section where the sins are discussed more fully. Comparing the kinds of sins listed in early medieval penitentials to those listed in a form of confession substantiates this point. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, eds. and trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal “Libri Poenitentiales”* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; repr. 1990), provides a convenient source for such a comparison. Most of the sins listed here are sinful actions and tend to be criminal acts (theft, perjury, murder, etc.), pagan practices (drinking blood, eating unclean flesh, practicing sorcery, idol worship, etc.), irregularities in marriage practices, believing in heresies or neglecting ordained religious laws, drunkenness, sexual sins, and so on. One can readily imagine that many Christians would not commit the sorts of sins described in the penitentials and not need confession. Forms of confession, on the other hand, penetrate the human condition far more deeply into the thought world and desires of the heart. On early medieval penance, see Rob Meens, “Remedies for Sins,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble, Julia M. H. Smith, and Roberta A. Baranowski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 399–415. Meens takes issue with the notion that an emphasis on interiority was invented in the later Middle Ages, that we may observe some concern with motivations and desires in the early penitentials, but he also acknowledges that scholastic theologians “explored the inner condition of the sinner certainly with much more acuity than before” and that “the scholastic approach certainly had a much greater impact on the cure of souls” (414).

regularly said at the Sunday Mass by the congregation in the vernacular.⁸³

Following the homily and before the Eucharistic prayer, this expanded form of the *Confiteor* was said by the people, led by the priest. This was a routine practice every Sunday, and it stemmed from episcopal legislation calling for priests to instruct their parishes in the basics of the catechism that had developed by the thirteenth century. Following the homily, or in place of it, was the favored spot for the priest to address his parishioners, explicating the meanings of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, seven deadly sins, Commandments, works of mercy, and the proper practice of confession. David Myers indicates that this practice had even come to replace private confession by and large in certain areas (though not in Bavaria). That saying such a general confession with general absolution in the vernacular would lead to much confusion about its significance is no surprise, and its practice was denounced by "scandalized" ecclesiasts. The Council of Trent took a clear stance on sacramental confession as consisting only of the private confession of enumerated mortal sins by the penitent to the priest who must give the absolution.⁸⁴ Practices like the Sunday vernacular general confession, according to the church's official decrees, could not replace proper

⁸³ This is yet another meaning of the term *general confession*. Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 490–94; Myers, "Poor, Sinning Folk," 88–101. These *Beichten* are some of the earliest examples of the German vernacular.

⁸⁴ Myers, "Poor, Sinning Folk," 88–101, discusses the struggles over this issue in late medieval and early modern Germany in relation to the Reformation.

self-examination by individuals, who needed then to confess to their priests, yet the controversial practice shows how the liturgical general confession and the form of confession as a genre could work in tandem in creative ways that responded to local needs.

We come back now to how the *Confiteor* was made use of during private sacramental confession in the later Middle Ages. That the liturgical *Confiteor* found a nonliturgical use in private confession is a fact about which scholars have been entirely unaware.⁸⁵ Evidence for this can be found in prologues to forms of confession, which sometimes describe this use, and in the texts themselves. The author of the confessional form in Leeds University, Brotherton Library, MS 501 (D25) writes to young people who don't yet know how to make their confession in order to instruct them: "O þu, my brothyr þat art yong of age, qwiche kanst not confesse thiself on to thy gostly fadyr, þerfor y shal wryght to

⁸⁵ Jungmann, for example, in *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:298–311, the most authoritative account of the history of the *Confiteor*, knows nothing of this use of the general confession. Goering, "Internal Forum," 187–95, says nothing of this in his discussion of procedure in the internal forum of confession. This lack of awareness of the important place of the *Confiteor* in confessional practice can be seen in other kinds of commentary, as, for example, in Pearsall's note on Envy's confession in *Piers Plowman*, which begins with "mea culpa" (C.VI.64). Pearsall attributes the phrase to the general confession as said at the beginning of the Mass, again, the same comment as found in Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations*, 45. But laypeople in late Medieval England would have been more familiar with the *Confiteor* from using it in confession. Laypeople did not say the *Confiteor* at Mass, and they would not have heard the priest saying it before the altar during the introductory rite of the liturgy. For *mea culpa* appearing at the beginning of forms of confession, see B3.2, B11, and B43 in the catalogue, but the expression is implied in numerous references to beginning confession with the first sentence of the *Confiteor*.

the how þu shalt haue the in thy confession whan þu comyst to thy gostly fadyr” (fol. 82r). The text then illustrates the catalogue of avowals as framed by the two sentences of the *Confiteor*. It begins, “Confiteor Deo, beate Marie, omnibus sanctis, et vobis, peccauī nimis in cogitacione, locucionē, et opere; mea culpa. I am aknowe to God, and to oure lady Seynt Marye, and to all the seyntys of heuyn, and onto yow, my gostly fadyr, þat y haue sennyd and trespasyd aʒens God, and oure lady”; and it concludes, “I aske God mercy, and oure lady Seynt Mary, and all the seyntys of heuyn. Ideo precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos dei, et vos, orare pro me” (fols. 82r and 88v). One manuscript of Robert Mannyng’s *Handlyng Synne* that contains a versified form of confession (E24) included within a long continuation of the poem that focuses on confession directs learned penitents to say the *Confiteor* in Latin before they begin their confession, while the unlearned should begin in the vernacular with “I am aknowe to God ful of myʒte . . .” (translating the *Confiteor* and beginning the confession according to the deadly sins).⁸⁶

The lengthy form of confession in Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86 (D54) directs quite specifically how to proceed in confession, illustrating both the

⁸⁶ See Cambridge, University Library, Ii.4.9, fols. 142v–90r, for this continuation of *Handlyng Synne*, which is about 3,000 lines and is, in effect, a catechistic manual covering the topics of confession, the virtues opposed to the deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, and the sacraments. The text of the form of confession appears on fols. 148r–65r.

monastic greeting, which had become customary for a penitent's greeting with a confessor, and the framing of the confession by the *Confiteor*:

Ye shal sitt down, and take youre confessour on your ryght honde, and make a crosse on youre forhede & another at youre mouthe, & oon at youre herte, & after say, "Benedycite." And whanne þe confessoure hath answeyrd þerto [i.e., with "Dominus"], ye shal say youre Confiteor in Latyn, tyl ye come at: "Ideo precor sanctam Mariam," and þer ye shal begynne in[to] þe ende of youre confessioun, and [then] make an ende of youre Confiteor.⁸⁷

At the end of the form of confession, the penitent is then reminded again, after completing the confession to the priest, to conclude with the last part of the Latin prayer: "þanne say þe residue of youre Confiteor in Latyn: 'Ideo precor sanctam Mariam et cetera.'"⁸⁸ The prologue to a form of confession in Cambridge,

⁸⁷ See D56 in the catalogue. I quote from Durkin's edition in "Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86, with Editions of Selected Texts," 2:87; the editorial insertions are my own. The text is a bit confusing here. I take the MS reading, "and þer ye shal begynne in þe ende of youre confessioun," to mean "in[to] þe end," i.e., "unto the end." Once the first sentence of the *Confiteor* has been said, the confession should be started in the vernacular and proceed all the way to its end. The chapter of a catechistic manual in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913 on how a confession should proceed says much the same thing. The sinner should say the *Confiteor* if he can until he comes to *mea culpa*, at which point he should then begin his confession. After the priest enjoins penance, the penitent is to say in his "moder langage" a slightly elaborated vernacular version of the *Confiteor*: "I knowliche me guilty to almyȝti God, & to our lady Seint Marie, & to alle þe holi companye of heuene, & to þe, my gostli Fadr, þat I, wrecched synner, haue broken þe x commaundementes, & synned in þe vii. deedli synnes, noȝt fulfilled the vii werkes of mercy, and mys dispended my v. wittis, wiþ eyen seyne, wiþ eris herde, wiþ nose smellid, wiþ mouþ spoken, wiþ hondis handelid, wiþ feet mys goen, wiþ herte mys þouȝt, & wiþ al my body synfully I wrouȝt. I crye God mercy, & his moder Marie, & al þe company of heuene, & the my goostli Fader to giue me penaunce & absolucone for charite." Then the penitent, if he is able, is to finish the Latin *Confiteor*, with "Ideo precor" (fol. 17r).

⁸⁸ Durkin, "Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86," 2:115. Other examples of Middle English forms of confession that begin or end with the Latin sentences of the *Confiteor* include D2.7, D5.1, D7.2, D22, D25, D27, D32, D34, D37.1–D37.3, D43, D46, D47, D51, D59, D62. The manual for confessors in British Library, Sloane 1584, fols. 63r–79r, describes in much detail how a priest

Magdalene College, Pepys 2125 (D9), commenting on how confession should proceed, notes that “dyuerse opynyons and vsages ther beth, both among religious and among seculers.” But, says the author, “two principal maneres whiche the most part of men vseth Y wul shewe yowe, of the whiche 3e mowe cheese [may choose] whiche 3e shul vse” (fol. 56v). The first choice, used by some “seculer men and wymen and for the moste part that beth lettrid [learned],” is to say the first sentence of the *Confiteor* in Latin before beginning the confession (some people say the whole prayer at the beginning, but the author thinks it is “most resonable” to say only the first sentence). The second choice, preferred by “some religious,” is not to say their *Confiteor* “til þey haf eal maad her [their] confession.” It doesn’t matter which way this is done: “whether manere 3e vse hit is litel charge” (fol. 57r).⁸⁹ The very fact that the choice of how to use the *Confiteor* here does not matter shows how much this prayer was in fact expected to be used as a formal beginning or conclusion of a confession.

The significance of the greeting *Benedicite, Dominus* along with the *Confiteor* as a framing context for the form of confession is most clearly

should conduct confession. The priest “aw [ought] to tech þaim [penitents] þe forme & þe ordur how þai suld schryff þaim, þa[t] is to say, when þe penitent is sett done [down], how he saull [shall] say, ‘Benedicite,’ etc. Þe prest salle answer hym & say, ‘Dominus,’ & yf þe penitent be a letterd man, he saull say his Confiteor vnto ‘Ideo precor’” (fol. 71v).

⁸⁹ Either way, however, everyone’s confession should first begin with the customary monastic greeting: “Euery man in euery estat or degre what he be whenne he cometh to confession, he shal bigynne and seye, ‘Benedicite.’ And when the confessour hath answerid, ‘Dominus,’” the *Confiteor* is then used (fols. 56v–57r).

demonstrated in the way that the very words of this greeting and prayer were thought to possess a special power to safeguard the penitent in the act of confessing sins to the priest. Appended to the form of confession in London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687 (D3.1) is an exposition of the words of the greeting and the first words of the *Confiteor*.⁹⁰ The devil is never more busy roaming about than when he tries to prevent man from making confession (“the fend is neuer so fast abouten to brynge man in synne þat he ne ys mor abowte to lette him for to schryue hym þerof”). Thus, confession should begin with “þys word, *Benedicite*, wyth þe whord þat þe prest schal seyn, *Dominus*,” after which the penitent should then cross himself, saying, “Cryst vs herk, *Christus audi nos*,” for “þys makyt þe deuel aferd and for to wythdrawe him of his temptacioun in tyme of schrifte” (p. 377). Once the devil is driven away in fear by this greeting, the *Confiteor* is to be said, for “this word *Confiteor* hath swche mith [such might] þat it closeth þe prestis mouthe þat he ne may by countenaunce, ne be spekyng, ne by signe, ne by nan other wey neuer diskeuer [reveal] word þat is seyde to him undyr þat word of schrifte, but rather to suffer deth þerof” (p. 377). Contrary to being in a vulnerable position of shame, the penitent, in this view, is given power in the words of the *Confiteor* to close up the priest’s mouth, for once a confession

⁹⁰ This commentary is also in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 60 (see D3.2), which contains the same form of confession that appears in Society of Antiquaries 687. The Society of Antiquaries MS is paginated rather than foliated.

has begun, the priest is under a grave obligation to keep what is revealed entirely secret and would rather die than break the seal of confession.⁹¹ Saying the words of the *Confiteor* also “makyt a sibrede bytwene hem” [establishes a spiritual bond between them], a bond that is established more surely with the penitent’s “gostleche fader þat schriue him of on dedli senne þan 3if he 3eue hym al the gold þat euer he hadde or haue mythe” [spiritual father who confesses him of one deadly sin than if he (the priest) gave him all the gold that he ever had or might have] (p. 377). This is a semantic extension of the usual meaning of the word *sibrede*, which the *Middle English Dictionary* (s.v. *sib-rede*, n.) defines as

⁹¹ Breaking the seal of confession was a grave offense warranting the deposition of the priest from his office and perpetual penance. The same canon of the Fourth Lateran Council that prescribed annual confession also prohibited a priest from revealing anything heard in confession: “Let him take the utmost care, however, not to betray the sinner at all by word or sign, or in any other way. . . . For if anyone presumes to reveal a sin disclosed to him in confession, we decree that he is not only to be deposed from his priestly office but also to be confined to a strict monastery to do perpetual penance [Caveat autem omnino, ne verbo vel signo vel alio quovis modo prodat aliquatenus peccatorem . . . quoniam qui peccatum in poenitentiali iudicio sibi detectum praesumpserit revelare, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponendum decernimus, verum etiam ad agendam perpetuam poenitentiam in arctum monasterium detrudendum]”; Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, canon 21, 1:245–46. According to a penitential canon in Henry de Susa’s *Summa* (1253), for example, which draws on Gratian’s *Decretum*, “A priest who reveals by word or sign what was told to him in confession is to be deposed from his office according to the ancient law, and he should spend the rest of his life wandering in ignominy as a pilgrim” (Shinners and Dohar, eds., *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, 187). On the seal of confession in canon law, its gradual acceptance as doctrine, and the complex canonical, legal, and practical problems surrounding its enforcement, see the informative chapter in Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 1:412–59. Lea shows how in the legal and pastoral literature “the confessor is instructed that he must at any moment be prepared to endure death in preference to violating the seal in any manner” (433). On the qualities of the ideal confessor and the reception of the penitent, see Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*, 53–56, who notes that confessors are commonly instructed in manuals to be “friendly, approachable, pleasant, prudent, discerning, mild, devout, and kind” (53); and Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 95–104, who comments that the confessor “would rather die than break the seal of the confessional” (102).

“consanguinity,” or “relatives, kindred, family, clan,” and figuratively as a “spiritual relationship, established by sponsorship at baptism or confirmation.” Here, the words of the *Confiteor* announced to the priest are seen to form a similar kind of spiritual kinship, with the priest acting as the penitent’s sponsor in the sacrament of penance, who offers the penitent far more than a sponsor at baptism or confirmation ever could—sanctifying grace that restores the sinner to full spiritual kinship with the church. Ultimately, if the sinner intends not to turn toward sin again, “þys word *Confiteor* makyt pes and vnite bytwene God and man þat byfor thorw sinne weren sundred.” It “restoryn a man aȝen to grace,” and it “openeth þe ȝates of paradys þat biforn weren scheten for synne” (pp. 377–78).⁹² We’ve already seen how a sacramental rite, such as the liturgical general confession, could activate some measure of grace. The words of the *Confiteor* wrap the form of confession, and by extension oral confession, in words that are more than powerfully symbolic of salvation—they open the gates to salvation, safeguarding the sinner who would enter through making his or her confession.

⁹² The rest of this exposition of the first sentence of the *Confiteor* (pp. 378–79) explicates the ways in which sin is committed against *Deo omnipotenti* (sin is forsaking God by putting him to death again on account of sin, and the sinner presumes upon God’s willingness to offer forgiveness and not punish the sinner), *beate Marie* (sin causes the Blessed Virgin to experience anew the insurpassable sorrow of her son’s passion), *et omnibus sanctis* (sin prolongs the day when the saints in heaven may enjoy their complete bliss, after the final Judgment when bodies and souls are joined together), *et tibi pater* (sin ignores the teaching of the priest who must answer to God for his flock).

All these instructions on the use of the *Confiteor* point to the form of confession's completion in the act of oral confession. A form of confession was to be used privately, reflectively for self-examination, but this was to lead to the penitent's confession to the priest and to receiving absolution. Like the voice heard in the reading of scripture during the liturgy, which, as Ong notes, signifies that God is speaking, the penitent voice of the form of confession is not just the silent voice of penitential self-reflection, but speaks to the priest in confession. The migration of the *Confiteor* from the liturgy to the form of confession as a framing structural device brought this context of orality to the genre's textual presentation, reminding the text's user that silent, meditative self-examination should find its sacramental end in confession of mouth.

Confessing sins in every way

The bulk of a form of confession—the part that is framed by the sentences of the *Confiteor*—consists of the cataloguing of specific avowals of sin. The genre does make gestures toward contrition and satisfaction. As we've already seen, the beginnings of texts sometimes enunciate epithets for the penitent such as wretched of life (*miser uite*), author of evil (*auctor malorum*), or most horrendous sinner (*horrendissimus peccator*), and the confessing voice often acknowledges

offending God and the church grievously (*graviter*) or unkindly.⁹³ The *Saint Brendan's Confession* (D1) reaches several moments of impassioned, contrite emotion with a quality of devotion found in penitential lyrics and other devotional writing. One instance occurs in the section confessing according to the eighth commandment (bearing false witness), where the sinner confesses to having made a promise to God and the priest to leave and forsake sin, “and algatis 3it I dwelle and waltre þere, as a fatte sowe in hoot somer turneþ and weendiþ hir in þe foule stynkinge slou3” [and yet, all the while, I tarry and roll around there (in sin), as a fat sow in the hot summer turns and wallows in the foul stinking slop].⁹⁴ While the typical confessional form implies genuine contrition by the *sincerity* of its confession, this one also conveys contrite emotion rhetorically in its sensual acknowledgment of sin's filthiness.

The issue of satisfaction in penance tends to be addressed in forms of confession in their conclusions. Desire to amend one's life and willingness to do

⁹³ For these Latin epithets, see B11 and B65, as well as B2, B3.1, B3.2, B20, B23.1, B23.2, B27, B30.1–B30.3, B50.1–B50.6, B51, E3. Other Middle English examples declare the sinner to be a wretched or sinful creature, a sinful wretch, a very sinner, and so on; see, e.g., D3.1, D3.2, D7.1, D7.2, D16, D21, D28, D34, D40, D41, D44, D50, D51, D53, D56, D58, E8, E21.1, E12.1–E12.6, E21.2, E13.1–E13.3. One text acknowledges sin “with veray contricion” (E23). French texts rarely begin with such epithets. The *mea culpa*, which came to be part of the standard form of the *Confiteor*, also appears in some forms of confession; see, e.g., B3.2, B11, B43, C4, D2.7, D6.1, D6.3–D6.6, D25, D43, D46, D48, D62. Middle English and French examples often begin their avowals with an acknowledgment of culpability, e.g., “Jeo me rend cupable” (C1), “I schryue me and knawes me culpabyllle” (D4), “I 3ilde me culpable” (D5.4), etc.

⁹⁴ *Middle English St. Brendan's Confession*, ed. Kuriyagama, 15.

penance is naturally expressed before being given absolution; a form of absolution often follows a form of confession in the manuscripts. The sinner may request that the priest impose salutary penance along with the granting of absolution (“et a vobis absolucionem et penitenciam salutarem michi pro peccatis iniungi” [B21.2]; “(I ask) 3ow goostly fader þat 3e graunt me absolucioun in þe name of holy chirche and þat 3e 3eue such penaunce as is moost helpinge to my soule” [D5.1]).⁹⁵ Or the penitent may indicate his sorrow and repentance before requesting pardon (“Porquei Je su[i]s doulourous et repenty et demande pardon a Dieu et a vous, pere” [C16]).⁹⁶ At several points following the confession of each of the deadly sins in a form of confession embedded in *Le Menagier de Paris* (C21), a manual on good living for a new bride, she is to voice her true repentance when asking for pardon and penance (“vrayement je m’en repens, si vous en requier pardon et penitance”).⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 628, fol. 152r, as described in Keuffer et al., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, 5:84–85; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 923, fol. 107r.

⁹⁶ Catania, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ventimiliana 42, fol. 39r, in Édith Brayer, “Un manuel de confession en ancien français conservé dans un manuscrit de Catane (Bibl. Ventimiliana 42),” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 59 (1947): 193.

⁹⁷ *Le Menagier de Paris*, ed. Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), par. 103 (39), following the confession of lust, and repeated after confessing each of the other deadly sins in par. 47 (26), par. 54 (27), par. 61 (28), par. 74 (32), par. 86 (34–35), and par. 95 (37); and see the translation by Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose, in *The Good Wife’s Guide, “Le Ménagier de Paris”: A Medieval Household Book* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 66–79. For more on these two works, see their entries in the catalogue, C19.1, C19.2, and C21.1–C21.3.

While the genre makes such gestures toward expressing a sense of sorrow for committing sin and the desire for amendment of life and willingness to do penance, the form of confession is almost entirely preoccupied with confessing sins. It thus focuses on one aspect of the sinner's work in the sacrament of penance, as the name of the genre indicates—confessing all the known mortal sins one has committed since the last confession. This is a spiritually demanding process, as discussions of confession often make clear. A sermon in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 649 likens confession to the conquest of Jericho (Josh. 6), in which the trumpets are sounded until the walls violently fall. The trumpets are understood to be Lenten sermons sounded in order to destroy sin and repair virtue (“in destruccionem peccati et reparacionem virtutis”). The preacher exhorts his audience to make a circuit around each of the seven towers of the city—the seven deadly sins corrupting the body and soul—and to rumage through and carefully examine each towering sin “so that you are able to cry out to God and relate an accurate account of your sins at the gates of confession” [quod poteris clamare ad Deum et veram narracionem referre ad portas confessionis]. Once all the circuits are made, the penitents, like Joshua's people, will cry out and the walls of the evil city of sin will come crashing down.⁹⁸ The

⁹⁸ This interesting sermon is on fols. 8r–13v, quotations at fols. 11v and 12r. The section on Jericho and confession progresses from one sin to another akin to a confessional interrogatory, questioning the audience about whether various sins of each type have been committed. For

image of confessional practice here is of embattlement, clamor, ruins, and picking up the pieces.

A portrait of the ideal penitent in confession is readily drawn from directives commonly set forth in later medieval tracts on the conditions of a good confession, such as that found in the *Mirrore of the Worlde*. The penitent proceeds wisely, seeking a confessor who has a solid grasp of sin's intricacies and can counsel the sinner, making sure this man has the power to give penance and absolution; and before going to confession he spends time diligently reflecting on his sins, searching his heart and conscience, recalling which ones he has committed, how often, and in what ways. Then he goes to confession hastily, because he wants to put out the burning fires of sin that can be extinguished only by confession, and likewise he wants to be healed of his sin sickness by the medicine of confession, for the hour of death is not known and this sinner does not risk leaving himself in sin by tarrying but repents today. When this penitent kneels before his confessor, he confesses openly, telling his sins without obfuscation so the confessor may clearly see what the nature of his sins are and know the best remedy for them. The sinner confesses everything wholly, telling

further reference, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 49–53, 160–65; it is O-02 in the inventory of manuscripts. And for description of this sermon, see Wenzel, "Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins," in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 160–63. I am grateful to Siegfried Wenzel for sharing with me a transcription of the confession section of this sermon.

only his own sins and not anyone else's part in them, revealing major sins and minor ones in all their circumstances, considering all the sins of the church's catechism, and he will not divide them up to different priests so as to make himself appear less sinful and be less liable to receive a harsh penance. He makes this confession meekly, as if speaking directly to God, and he doesn't savor and enjoy anything about the sins he recounts but instead feels their shame, and so fears God. This sinner does not store up many sins waiting until Lent to make one yearly confession, but he confesses frequently, never dwelling in sin and overtaxing his memory, but keeps himself spiritually clean and healthy and full of grace.⁹⁹

The anonymous thirteenth-century treatise *Speculum Iuniorum*, written for priests with cure of souls in England, lists thirteen conditions of confession at the beginning of its discussion: "Confessio debet esse: Amara, festina, integra, nuda,

⁹⁹ *Mirrore of the Worlde*, ed. Raymos and Whitaker, 300–306, lines 9866–10,093. The ideas conveyed here are commonplace in such explications of the conditions of a good confession, which appear in manuscripts both as stand-alone tracts and as sections of longer treatises on confession. The Irish vernacular form of confession in Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 598, follows immediately after a tract on the sixteen conditions for making a good confession that exhorts the penitent to "tell the story without any twisting at all"; Geary, "An Irish Homily on Confession," 351–59, at 351. For explications appearing as sections of longer works that also contain a form of confession, see the sixteen conditions of a good confession in *Compileison de seinte penance* (cat. C6.1 and C6.2), in Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.7, fols. 52va–64rb; and the six conditions in *Menagier de Paris* (cat. C21.1 and C21.2), ed. Brereton and Ferrier, I.3.20–25 (17–19); trans. Greco and Rose, 64–65. The six conditions given in *Menagier de Paris* are very similar to those in the *Mirrore of the Worlde*, both of which draw significantly from the two earliest vernacular treatises on the vices and virtues, the *Miroir du Monde* and the *Somme le Roi*, which was composed at Philip III's request by Lorens d'Orléans, the king's personal confessor. See Raymo and Whitaker, 7–11; Brereton and Ferrier, xxxiv–xxxviii.

voluntaria, fidelis, propria, accusatoria, vera, discreta, pura, morosa, et frequens” [Confession should be bitter, prompt, complete, unvarnished, voluntary, faithful, personal, accusatory, true, discrete, pure, deliberate, and frequent].¹⁰⁰ Bella Millett, in a study of the sixteen conditions of confession in *Ancrene Wisse*, charts how the tradition of the conditions of confession becomes full-blown in the post-Lateran IV period and is found mostly in practical rather than theological works aimed at helping priests and laypeople practice confession. Millett quotes a passage from Thomas of Chobham’s *Summa confessorum* indicating that priests needed to explain to penitents these conditions as a way of getting started and setting the right tone for confession.¹⁰¹ Pastoral manuals and sermons routinely

¹⁰⁰ This work is edited and translated by Joseph Goering in “Pastoral Texts and Traditions: The Anonymous *Speculum Iuniorum* (c. 1250),” in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press in association with the Boydell Press, 2009), 89–99, at 98. Goering notes that the list of conditions is extracted in serial order from Raymond of Penyafort’s long discussion of the topic; Raymond de Penyafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 3.34.23–30, cols. 817–28, in S. Raimundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de paenitentia*, ed. X. Ochoa and A. Diez (Roma: Commentarium pro Religiosis, 1976). Goering considers the *Speculum Iuniorum* “a unique amalgam of the latest teachings of the schools and the practical literature of pastoral care” (89).

¹⁰¹ Bella Millett, “*Ancrene Wisse* and the Conditions of Confession,” *English Studies* 80 (1999): 193–215, and quoting Chobham at 204. Millett traces the tradition to an anonymous Latin treatise called *De vera et falsa penitentia*, which came to be attributed to Augustine and therefore had much influence on writings about the practice of confession, and she finds the tradition developed most by Dominican writers. Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 1:347, quotes a quatrain discussed by Saint Thomas in the *Summa Theologiae* on these sixteen points, which circulated for centuries among theologians: “Sit simplex, humilis confessio, pura, fidelis, / Atque frequens, nuda, discreta, libens, verecunda, / Integra, secreta, lacrymabilis, accelerata, / Fortis et accusans, et sit parere parata” (Suppl. III, qu. 9, art. 4). There is much variation in the number and specificity of the conditions, but by the later Middle Ages, the conditions had become quite standard.

explicate the points of a good confession.¹⁰² The fifth section of *Ancrene Wisse* deals in large part with explicating the sixteen conditions of confession, including the stipulation that “confession ought to be thought out well beforehand” [Schrift ah to beon biþoht biuore longe] and that it be organized by topics (5.31).¹⁰³ And this preparation should be as complete (“ihal” or whole) as a thorough cleaning of a dirty home:

Þe poure widewe hwen ha wule hire hus cleansin, ha gedereð al þe greaste on an heap on alre earst, ant schuueð hit ut þenne. Prefter kimeð eft a ʒein ant heapeð eft togederes þet wes ear ileauet, ant schuueð hit ut efter. Prefter o þe smeale dust, ʒef hit dusteð swiðe, ha flaskeð weater, ant swopeð ut efter al þet oðer.

[When a poor widow wants to clean her house, first of all she gathers the worst of the dirt in a heap, and then clears it out. Then she comes back again and makes another heap of what was left earlier, and clears that out as well. Then if the fine dust is rising in clouds, she sprinkles water on it, and sweeps it out after all the rest.] (5.9)

¹⁰² On the conditions of confession in pastoral manuals, see Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 106–9; and in sermons, see Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching, and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002), 58–63. Thayer analyzes model late medieval sermon collections in terms of their teaching on penance as a way of assessing the receptivity of Reformation ideas in different regions.

¹⁰³ Sins should be organized by those committed during different stages of life, at places where one has lived, through the five senses and all the parts of the body, and by days and hours. As we shall see, except for the five senses, these are not standard topics in forms of confession. The sixteen conditions of confession are covered in 5.5–33. *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, vol. 1, ed. Bella Millett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); trans. Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, 115–29. The pagination of the text in both edition and translation matches; citations are given by part and paragraph numbers.

The widow's diligent passes through her dirty home might suggest a similar use for the form of confession: a process of successive reviews of the catalogued avowals, each time through cleaning out more and more sins retrieved from the memory, from the heaps of obvious ones easily spotted to the fine dust of sins that have receded into the corners of the memory and take more time to recall. This is not a level of penitential work considered to be normative only for religious either, for the author turns specifically to his anchoritic audience to comment on the relevance of all this discussion of confession to everyone: "My dear sisters, this fifth part, which is about confession, is relevant to everybody alike [limpeð to alle men iliche]; so do not be surprised that I have not spoken to you in particular in this part" (5.34).¹⁰⁴

As we have seen, one of the conditions of a good confession was that it be complete and exhaustive, or "whole," as *Mirrore of the Worlde* and *Ancrene Wisse* say.¹⁰⁵ An Ash Wednesday sermon in Worcester Cathedral, MS F.10 claims that

¹⁰⁴ This comment indicates that the author here is writing for a potentially broad audience that might read parts of *Ancrene Wisse* for profit; part 4 on the sins and 5 on confession are not adapted specifically to an anchoritic audience. At the end of part 5, the author presents a few further thoughts on confession just for anchorites. Elsewhere, two of the three saints' lives presented are explicitly addressed to layfolk, even to illiterate people who can listen to the tales. See Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, xiv–xvi.

¹⁰⁵ On the condition that confession be complete, see Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 1:348–52; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 109–11, who considers completeness as the "most ubiquitous criterion by which the work of the penitent is judged," pointing out also that the completeness of confession still "constitutes an essential difference between Catholic and Protestant forgiveness of sins" (109); Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching, and the Coming of the*

confession “closes the mouth of hell and opens the gates of paradise,” but to accomplish this effect two things must happen in confession: “first confession must be well prepared, and second, it must be made with completeness.”

Conscientious penitents will recall sins in their memory and write them in their hearts before they go to confession in order to give an account of their lives, but some people, complains the preacher, “come to confession so lighthearted and merry as if they set no store by it, and when they show up, they have little or nothing to say but ask their confessor, ‘Ask me, sir.’” These people who rely entirely on the confessor to question them and “don’t think ahead how they should show their sins,” alas, “seek hell with greater attention than heaven.”¹⁰⁶

Reformation, 59–61; Goering, “Internal Forum,” 193–94, who comments that such a complete confession “might have been expected of a monk or a seeker after perfection in an earlier period, [but] by the thirteenth century it was being held up as a model for all Christians”; and Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*, 58–61, 90, who also notes how it was the responsibility of the confessor to make sure this condition was met, which required the questioning of the penitent to be sure sins were not left out.

¹⁰⁶ Siegfried Wenzel, trans. and ed., *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 90–91. One can only imagine the immense burden it would be to a parish priest should most of the parish come to confession without any preparation, leaving him to do all the work of prodding their memories. The form of confession no doubt was in part an attempt to alleviate such a situation. Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, shows how manuals of instruction for parish priests expected priests to “cross-examine penitents on their religious knowledge as well as on their sins, and in this way the confessional was as important as the pulpit as a potential means of religious instruction” (189–219, at 192). However, preaching might have to be preferred in situations in which the priest was limited, as William of Pagula’s *Oculus sacerdotis*, a popular manual for priests, makes clear (this work contains a form of confession in the part on confession; see cat. B8): “But if the priest, on account of the shortness of time and the multitude of penitents, cannot explain such matters to each one individually, then he ought to preach them publicly at the beginning of Lent” (qtd. in Pantin, 192 n. 1). See Duffy’s comments on the necessity of pastoral realism in administering confession, *Stripping of the Altars*, 60.

The form of confession addresses this problem by providing the penitent with guidance in effective preparation. To help penitents fulfill the requirement to be complete (*integra*)—the most demanding condition of a good confession—the text had to function as a *matrix of the possibilities of sinning*, sufficiently enough that sinners could clearly recognize in its capacious mirror for reflection whatever sins they had committed, so that a “whole” self-examination could possess the virtue of leading sinners to spiritual wholeness. As one of the Beinecke 317 confessional forms (D42) puts it, “In this generall confessyon her wryten may euery man and woman see and vndirstande clerly how and wheryn þey haue offended God and goostly wounded þeyr sovles, and be þe vertu of þis seyde confession be mad perfyȝtly hoole in soule as þat howr þey came out of þe fonte stoon, and þerfor euery man and woman as þey fynde þeymsilf gylty, so confesse þeym” (fol. 42v). The form of confession shows *far more* than the sins of any one individual sinner in its text; it imagines the composite sins of “euery man and woman.” Even succinct examples of the genre, if not deep in detail, are broad in range. To miss this point is to misunderstand the comprehensive nature of the genre, as one cataloguer clearly does when he disparagingly describes “a form of confession of sins” as being “prolix enough.”¹⁰⁷ The form of confession

¹⁰⁷ See the description of the form of confession in British Library, Harley 1288, in R. Nares et al., *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–12), 1:649; and see D28 in the catalogue.

was, to use one rubric, a *confessio omnimoda*, cataloguing sins committed in every way.¹⁰⁸

The sins themselves are catalogued and arranged according to traditional topics of the church's catechism. The major sin types are given along with their species or varieties; as the author of one text states, "My purpos is to write now a manere fourme or rewle how 3e shulle make 3our confession and shrift after the comyn custome of holy churche and to shewe 3owe the pryncipal vices and the spices of hem."¹⁰⁹ The typology of the sins is represented as a tree, with the originating sin as the trunk or stem out of which its offspring branches. This arboreal genealogy of sin is an image widely used by medieval writers to depict the classifications of sin.¹¹⁰ Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, for example, elaborates a distinction between the fruitful tree of penitence, whose root is contrition, branches and leaves are confession, and fruit is satisfaction, and the barren tree

¹⁰⁸ Rein, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 49, fol. 28v; cat. B22.

¹⁰⁹ Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125, fol. 56v; see cat. D9.

¹¹⁰ The notion of sins growing as branches out of other sins is a widespread medieval commonplace, which is first introduced by John Cassian in book 5 of his *Collationes*, and Lorens d'Orléans's *Somme le Roi* was influential in spreading this imagery; see Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 70 and 379 n. 311, and 69–104 on the formulation of the seven deadly sins from Cassian to the later Middle Ages. See also David Lyle Jeffrey, ed., *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992), s.v. "Tree," "Tree of Jesse," "Tree of Knowledge," and "Tree of Life," 779–84. Sin and salvation often are grafted together in medieval tree symbolism drawing on biblical trees. On Christian trees of virtues and vices, see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 73–77.

of sin, whose root is pride, and “of this roote spryngen certein braunches” of the other deadly sins, and “everich of these chief synnes hath his braunches and his twigges” (10.388–89).¹¹¹ Such imagery and language had become common parlance even for layfolk, for forms of confession routinely refer to sins as branches or species in traditional classifications of sins. The sins featured in most forms of confession derive from the topics of the church’s catechism that had become standard religious knowledge that priests were expected to teach to their people. “Euery Cristene man & woman,” one catechistic treatise directs, “owȝt [ought] þerof to haue knowlich & enformacone of her [their] parisshe curatour in her moder langage iiij tymes in þe ȝeer,” alluding to Bishop John Pecham’s *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, canon 9 of his Lambeth Constitutions of 1281, where he applies the legislation of Lateran IV by stipulating that curates instruct their parishes in his syllabus four times a year in the vernacular.¹¹² Pecham’s program

¹¹¹ By contrast, penitence can be likened to a tree, whose root is contrition, and “Of the roote of Contricioun spryngeth a stalke that bereth braunches and leues of Confessioun, and fruyt of Satisfacioun” (10.112–13). The closest analogue to this passage in the *Parson’s Tale* is from *La Compileison de seinte penance*, which contains an embedded form of confession (see cat. C6.1, C6.2). On this analogue, with transcription and translation, see Richard Newhauser, “The Parson’s Tale,” in *Sources and Analogues of the “Canterbury Tales,” Volume 1*, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 568–69.

¹¹² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913, fol. 10r; administering confession takes up a third of this manual. Directions are given for how the penitent should accuse himself, including violating the Commandments, neglecting the works of mercy, misusing the five senses, and sinning according to the seven deadly sins “in alle her braunches in euery poynt like as he hap offended.” But if the priest sees that the penitent “can noȝt fourmabli accuse himself” [cannot accuse himself according to form], the priest is to “appose” [interrogate] and “enfourme” him [teach him the form] (fol. 16v).

of religious instruction included the fourteen articles of the faith, Ten Commandments, two Gospel commandments, seven works of mercy, seven virtues, seven deadly sins, and the seven sacraments.¹¹³ Forms of confession almost always include avowals of the seven deadly sins, and most of them begin with this topic.¹¹⁴ Other major classifications that appear in most forms of confession include violations of the Ten Commandments and the two Gospel commandments, sins committed through the five physical and spiritual senses, sins committed in thought, word, and deed, and negligence of the seven bodily and spiritual works of mercy. Failure to believe in the articles of the faith, failing to observe the sacraments, and negligence in practicing the seven virtues are classifications that appear in many forms of confession. Other classifications that

¹¹³ For Pecham's Constitutions, see F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, eds, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, II, A.D. 1205-1313*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 2:900–905. The Lambeth Constitutions are the most important and well known of the English bishops' directives for the clergy, which set the standard for many pastoral manuals that followed. See Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, 193–94; G. H. Russell, "Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes," *Journal of Religious History* 2 (1962): 98; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 59–61; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 53–58. Russell's account of vernacular manuals shows how they constitute a library of elementary dogmatic and moral theology, and the form of confession would certainly fit into this characterization.

¹¹⁴ Nearly all the Middle English forms of confession begin with the seven deadly sins, setting such a definite pattern that when a text does not include the deadly sins or minimally treats them we may detect a meaningful alteration of the norm. The form of confession in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699, is a case in point. It treats the Commandments and especially the works of mercy with much more attention than the deadly sins, which are cursorily covered. This feature, along with some other significant features, helps to identify this as being a Lollard text. See D7.1 in the catalogue, and another copy of this text in Bodley 789 (D7.2).

appear only occasionally in forms of confession include sins committed through the parts of the body, failing to live according to the Beatitudes, misuses of time and goods, neglecting to manifest the seven gifts or fruits of the Holy Spirit, sins of breaking monastic vows, and sins that cry out to heaven.¹¹⁵

To give a sense of the specific sins that can be covered in forms of confession, in the next two chapters I will focus on two examples in depth. It would be impossible here to present anything like a detailed account of the entire matrix of sins presented by the numerous surviving texts of the genre, as desirable as that would be. But even a select, limited view will convey a strong sense of the compendious scope of confessional forms and indicate the lexicon of the grammar of sin that penitents were expected to use when making confession. To cover both monastic and lay confession, I have selected one Latin form of

¹¹⁵ See Index D7 in the catalogue on topics covered in the Middle English forms of confession and Index E7 for topics covered in versified forms of confession. Index A7 also presents topics covered in Anglo-Saxon and Latin precursors of the form of confession, and topics covered in Latin and French forms of confession are selectively described in the notes to particular entries in sections B and C of the catalogue. There has been much recent interest in studying specific sins, following the lead of Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*; and Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*. See, for example, Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); the articles in Newhauser, ed., *In the Garden of Evil*; the articles in *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2007); the articles in *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*, ed. Edwin D. Craun (Kalamazoo, Mich: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007); Susan E. Phillips, *Transforming Talk: The Problem with Gossip in Late Medieval England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*.

confession addressed to Benedictine monks, which is thoroughly embedded in its monastic culture, and one Middle English form of confession addressed to a lay audience. These two examples are also especially worth focusing on because they both remain unedited and are virtually unknown to scholars.

CHAPTER 3

A Form of Confession for Benedictine Monks in British Library, Cotton Galba E.iv

I begin with a form of confession found in British Library, Cotton Galba E.iv (B9), which predates most vernacular forms of confession and is one of the earlier extant Latin texts of the genre; it has never been edited and has been virtually unknown until now. The manuscript, which dates to the first third of the fourteenth century, belonged to the Benedictine cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, the ecclesiastical center of England and home to one of the largest and most important medieval libraries.¹ Cotton Galba E.iv is the memorandum book of Prior Henry of Eastry (prior 1285–1331); it contains administrative and legal documents of Christ Church as well as the famous catalogue of the library's books (1,831 listed) compiled during Henry's rule as prior. Henry donated this manuscript to the monastery.² Judging from the

¹ N. R. Kerr, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), 36.

² A *terminus post quem* for the manuscript would be 1331, the year of Eastry's death when an inventory was compiled of eighty books he donated to his monastery. The inventory lists as

monastic context of this form of confession, it was composed for use in the Benedictine cathedral priory. The legal and administrative manuscript context for this form of confession is highly atypical, as most forms of confession appear in devotional miscellanies or pastoral manuals. On the other hand, as the head of a religious house, Henry may have seen this form of confession as a useful text for his oversight of penance in the priory, which therefore found an appropriate place among other administrative documents.

The text is rubricated *Forma confitendi ad minus semel in anno*, echoing the Lateran IV directive that sacramental confession be done at least once annually during Lent before the Easter reception of the Eucharist.³ We might therefore

item 69 “Memoriale multorum”; Cotton Galba E.iv begins with the general title “Registrum sive memoriale Henrici prioris monasterii Christi Cantuariensis.” Both Ker and M. R. James agree that “Memoriale multorum” refers to Cotton Galba E.iv. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 36; and M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), xlv–xlv, and 145 item 69, and 143–45 for the text of Eastry’s inventory (Christ Church MS 52, olim E.27). The library catalogue, “Tituli librorum de libraria ecclesiae Christi Cant., et contenta in eisdem libris, tempore H[enrici de Estria] Prioris,” is on fols. 128r–48r, printed in James, *Ancient Libraries*, 13–142. The library catalogue lists a “Libellus de vii alis confessionis” (Cotton Galba E.iv, fol. 135v, col. 1, book no. 514), which may refer to a collection of forms of confession once housed in the library (62). The form of confession is item no. 123 in this large folio codex (244 fols., 166 items). In addition to the form of confession and the library catalogue, Cotton Galba E.iv contains a copy of the 1225 reissue of Magna Carta and other statutes, administrative records of the diocese of Canterbury, forms of profession for bishops and abbots of Canterbury, for electing a prior, and for installing officers, inventories of properties, statutes of archbishops, a tract on the signs of Antichrist, etc., and some scientific texts added at a later date. For a list of contents, see J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), 356–59.

³ Canon 21 of the Lateran IV constitutions links confession to the reception of the Eucharist at Easter. The canon states that all the faithful must confess “at least once a year” [semel in anno], while in the next sentence, these same Christian faithful should receive the Eucharist “at least at Easter” [semel ad minus in pascha]. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:245.

imagine this confessional form being read in the refectory during Lent. The public reading of a form of confession may have proved to be an efficient way for the prior to promote penitential reflection among the monks before their Lenten sacramental confessions, as distinct from daily public confession that occurred in chapter. Another possibility is that it was used by a prior like Eastry to assist him as a confessor of his monks, or that it might be used by a monastic administrator in preparation for his own confession. It is hard to imagine, on the other hand, that this oversized folio volume containing such valuable records of the priory would have circulated privately among the monks for private reading in their cells. But it could well have been available for private reading within the confines of the library, or this copy might have served as a “master copy” from which working copies could have been made. The Cotton Galba confession affords an exceptionally vivid glimpse of the social and moral life of a Benedictine monastery in later medieval England. Its author goes to great lengths in describing concrete social contexts for so many of the species of sin. The confession is organized around the seven deadly sins, with an additional section on sins of omission and negligence. Nearly all of the avowals in this form of confession begin with the word *sepe* “often,” underscoring the repetitive nature of sinning and therefore implicating the sinner’s knowledge of sins and his will in

committing them.⁴ In order to illustrate the compendious range of sins that is characteristic of a form of confession, this account of the Cotton Galba text closely follows the penitent speaker's progress through all the sins, providing a good deal of the Latin to give a strong sense of the text's style and character. In presenting the sins, I refer to the speaking penitent or the sinful monk imagined by the text.

PRIDE [Primo per superbiam et inanem gloriam]. [fol. 92r] First, the sin of pride and vainglory, overall, consists of despising one's peers, superiors, and inferiors, "through being contemptuous toward their deeds, commands, counsel, and their admonitions, through considering no one as equal to me [nullum michi parem estimando]." This is spelled out more specifically in concrete actions. The monk has been disobedient toward superiors "being vexed about my subjection and about their jurisdiction and authority," and he has carried out the impositions made upon him "with annoyance and grief and with murmuring" [cum molestia et tristitia sum executus et cum murmure]. He has hurried things

⁴This form of confession is quite lengthy, taking up fols. 92r–95r of a large folio format with 47 lines to a leaf. My account of the text closely follows the order of its presentation in the manuscript, and I indicate folio references at the beginning of each new side. There are many quotations of scripture and patristic sources, particularly in the last section on sins of omission and negligence, which serve as proof texts for substantiating the nature of some sins, but in the interest of succinctness, I do not include much of this material in my review of the text, preferring to focus on the specific sins themselves. The Latin is sometimes strange or awkward syntactically and grammatically. My transcriptions follow the manuscript's spelling but capitalization, word division, and punctuation are modernized, and abbreviations are silently expanded. I have benefitted greatly from Joseph Wittig's expertise with Medieval Latin and thank him for his astute suggestions, especially in translating difficult passages.

requiring deliberation and delayed dealing with things that require immediate attention. Doing many things for “the favor and praise of men” has led to an exalted heart and putting on appearances of a holy and religious life, such that “my bendings of the knees might seem perchance as if they were doing honor in the presence of God” [uiderentur genuum flexiones meae si quas forte penes deum honorem]. Likewise, often the monk has imputed to himself some quality he did not possess and thus sinned through boasting, even about committing sins: “I often boasted about some vices which I committed, and often [about vices] which I have not committed” [et gloriabar sepe de aliquibus viciis que commisi, et sepe que non commisi]. Pride has led him not to attribute any good within him to the Lord, “but I credited that which I had to my own merits” [sed quod illud habui meritis meis ascripsi]. He has spoken insolently, contentiously, hurtfully.

The confession then turns to the way pride is exhibited through physical appearances:

Often my heart has been lifted up because of beautiful vestments in church, and outside because of my learning, voice [i.e., powers of speech], lineage, comeliness, my grace, and such, wherefore often I adorned my appearance, my hair, and I washed my hands and my feet, and I frequently bathed, not out of need, but rather for ostentation and appearance; often I have acquired garments and shoes otherwise than they would have been had I aquired them according to custom.

[Sepe exaltatum est cor meum propter vestimenta decentia in ecclesia, et extra propter litteraturam meam, vocem, parentelam, speciem, decorem

meum, et huiusmodi, unde sepe ornavi faciem meam, capillos meos, manus meas, et pedes meos laui, sepeque balneavi, non ad commodum meum, sed potius ad ostentationem et decorem; sepe pannos et sotularia aliter reperare feci quam in consuetudine haberentur.]⁵

This series of avowals grounds the abstract sin of pride in concrete behavioral detail as would be pertinent to life in a monastery. Monks, for example, washed and combed their hair at daybreak before Lauds, and they were required to wash their hands in the *lavatorium* before entering the refectory, “a practical and symbolic gesture of cleansing,” and monks washed each others’ feet once a week in commemoration of Christ’s doing so for his disciples, but this monk washes more often than what was prescribed for the sake of pandering to his appearance.⁶ Simple clothing was doled out according to regulations from a common wardrobe; according to the Benedictine Rule, monks were allowed two tunics and two cowls (one for wearing, one for washing) and a pair of shoes or boots, and they carried a needle with them in order to make repairs, but this monk has either acquired more items of clothing or better quality than he should

⁵ *Sotularia* “shoes” is a term of clerical dress. See McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 69, for discussion of this word.

⁶ Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, 22, 60–61, who notes that “bathing as such was considered a luxury and subject to restrictions.” The *Rule* states that “use of baths should be offered to the sick as often as expedient, but less readily allowed to the healthy, and especially the young” (36:8).

have or has replaced them more often than was authorized.⁷ Other acts of pride confessed include holding one's eyes aloft and looking upon a neighbor with contempt, exhibiting pride in singing, processing, eating, drinking, doing, and thinking, such as becoming indignant at not having a dignified place at meals and in other places, and "I refused to associate on equal terms with lesser brethren, and often [refused], with indignation, to eat with them" [cum minoribus familiaritatem habere et cum eis comedere sepe cum indignatione recusavi].

ENVY [Per inuidiam]. The monastic penitent has been full of envy toward a neighbor or brother who is his equal because of his learning, rank (authority), speech (influence), beauty, wealth, and so on; toward an inferior for fear that he might become an equal; and toward a superior because he is more advanced in learning, speech, and such. He has rejoiced in the adversities of his neighbor, who have suffered, for instance, fire, robbery, or violence [Sepe letatus sum in aduersis proximi mei, puta, incendio, vel rapina, violentia], and also rejoiced in "the illness or death of the powerful, and at other misfortunes that happen to them" [potentum infirmitate, morte, et aliis infortuniis eis accidentibus]. By

⁷ Directives for clothing are given in *Rule of Saint Benedict*, chap. 55; and see Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, 57–60. The *Rule* states that anything more than what is prescribed "is superfluous and should be eliminated" (5:11), and "if something is found that a brother did not get from the abbot, he should be subject to very severe discipline" (5:17).

contrast, the prosperity of a neighbor or a brother displeased him, leading him to grieve about it “with murmuring or whispering” [cum murmure vel susurrio]. Furthermore, he belittled the good fortune of his brother and neighbor, “by diminishing, perverting, and patronizing his reputation, and by denigrating [his] opinion in the presence of good people and those in authority, and by falsely and maliciously imputing evil to him which he has not done” [minuendo, peruertendo, adulando famam ipsius, et opinionem apud bonos et graues denigrando, et mala que non fecerit falso et maliciose ei imponendo]. Returning evil for evil, even evil for good, he has broken the Gospel commandment. [fol. 92v] Coming back to clothing, the penitent monk confesses to being so indignant if any brother had more beautiful clothing than he that “on such an occasion I ruined my own garments so that I might the more quickly obtain new ones” [vnde hac occasione quandoque eas fregi, vt citius noua optinerem].

ANGER [Per iram]. Sins of anger especially take the form of actions toward neighbors. While this section begins with confessing to being full of anger inside “without carrying it through to execution” [sed vsque ad effectum non produxi], either because he did not wish to or because he was not able to take action, “I thus fear that the intention is obliged to be reckoned as the consequence” [et sic timeo quod voluntas pro effectu debeat reputari]. The rest of the section, though, concerns sins of anger that have external consequences in

relationships with others. His anger “broke out . . . in insulting, indignant, malicious, vociferous, contentious, abusive words, filled with swelling of the mind and with rancor” [prorupit . . . ad verba contumeliosa, indignantia, maliciosa, clamosa, litigiosa, maledica, mentis tumore plena et rancore]. This anger often became manifest to the point of committing a “perverse deed” [prae operacionis], such as belittling and cursing his “neighbor” [proximum meum], setting about to perpetrate pillage, theft, acts of violence against him, “and whatever I was not able to do in my own person, I have offered help, and counsel, and favor, so that another might do such things to him” [et quaecumque in persona propria praedicta facere non potui, vt alius talia ei faceret auxilium prebui consilium et fauorem]. He has longed for every misfortune to come upon his neighbor, and even death. Anger has led to laying violent hands upon laypeople and even upon clerics, “sometimes to the point of shedding blood, sometimes just short of it” [quandoque ad effusionem sanguinis, quandoque citra]. He has nurtured discord and dissent and has engaged in conspiracies and conspiratorial alliances. He heedlessly swore, and did and spoke many things “in an insolently abusive way” [contumeliose], and even sometimes blasphemed against the Lord and his saints.

SLOTH [Per accidiam et tristitiam]. Siegfried Wenzel has argued that as the image of sloth moved out of the theologian’s lecture room to the confessional,

we can see a shift from an emphasis on a state of mind to external behavior. The popular image of sloth, then, “emphasizes not the emotional disorientation of disgust for the divine good, but rather numerous observable faults which derive from such a state.”⁸ This is just what we see in the Cotton Galba confession. The monastic penitent oddly begins by confessing to falling into the habit of playing with his companion at various dice games, something often mentioned in vernacular forms of confession, but clearly such pastimes also made their way into monasteries. Then he quickly comes to the cardinal notion of sloth as spiritual laxity or growing weary in the service of God. He has “said the Sunday prayers in whatever of the appointed hours” [in qualibet praedictarum horarum Dominicas orationes dixi], a hard-to-grasp notion that may mean he has not been attentive to saying the right prayers during the appropriate hours, and “I have not been terrified [despite my sins] to receive communion of the body and blood of the Lord” [et etiam communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini accipere non expau].⁹ He has taken part in masses, vigils, and divine hours “with spiritual sadness and bitterness” [cum tristitia et amaritudine], and has said and heard the

⁸ Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, 88, and see 198–99 for a transcription of the section of sloth from a form of confession embedded in the *Confessionale*, in British Library, Harley 211, a manuscript that contains two other forms of confession and Robert Grosseteste’s *Modus confitendi*, a confessional interrogatory. See B25, B26, and B27 in the catalogue.

⁹ These sins are actually mentioned at the end of the previous section on anger, but because they have to do with sloth, I think the scribe has just paragraphed the material incorrectly. This confusion here may have something to do with the oddity of beginning with gambling.

hours of the daily office with little devotion, “and often I came late to them, and I left before the end of them. Services which I was obliged to perform in person, so that I might escape that burden and labor, I completed through a stand-in, and often [I completed them] neither myself nor through another, wherefore scandals have frequently arisen” [seruitia que in propria persona facere debui vt onus fugerem et laborem per interpositam personam ea adimpleui, et sepe nec per me nec per alium, vnde propter hoc sepe scandala prouenerunt]. More generally, he has grieved about the life of religion he has taken on, entertaining the possibility of abandoning the religious life and returning “to the world” [ad seculum]. He’s wallowed in cowardice and despair, often imagining himself to be sick, weak, or frail, so that he could excuse himself from spiritual obligations, and because of this he did not fulfill his penance. During the liturgy, he let his mind “wander among illicit and superfluous things” [cum euagatione mentis mee circa illicita et ociosa], and that led to inconstant and careless behavior with the gestures of his body, words, and deeds [inconstans fui et dissolutus in gesticulationem corporis mei, in verbis, et factis]. Finally, he withdrew from services due to his negligence and torpor and out of exasperation of spirit and sadness, and he also managed to avoid situations that might have been beneficial to him, such as receiving counsel, rebuke, admonition, and such.

AVARICE [Per auaritiam et cupiditatem]. This section begins with sins of greed that further extend notions of vain glory confessed earlier. The sinner confesses to desires of acquiring “temporal goods” [temporalia], “ecclesiastical preferments” [honores ecclesiasticos], and “secular dignities” [dignitates seculares], all ambitions to gain human praise. He lingered in such desire, and his exertions led to his worst desire and covetousness bearing fruit [uoluntas mea pessima et cupiditas adduceretur ad effectum]. [fol. 93r] He went so far in his acquisitiveness that he conceived of and committed acts of betrayal, fraud, or injury toward his neighbor, and he pursued the misfortune or even death of a brother, or his removal from his monastic vow [affectaui mortem alicuius fratris, vel infortunium, vel amotionem alicuius fratris ab obedientia sua], so that he could take over the brother’s goods or privileges. In order to obtain “honors, clerical status, or high ecclesiastical offices” [honoribus, ordinibus, vel dignitatibus ecclesiasticis], the monastic penitent promised gifts: a “gift from the hand” [munus a manu] offering an earthly for a spiritual thing; a “gift from the tongue” [munus a lingua] using “flattery, disavowal, or base pleading” [adulacionem, vel detractionem, vel preces carnales] for personal gain; and a “gift from office” [munus ab officio], in which some kind of service or unwarranted honor is expended in order to acquire something spiritual. Simony is highlighted as a particular example, as the text shifts momentarily to the

rhetorical mode of questioning: “If therefore you have committed simony in religion or in the world, say in what instance or instances” [Si igitur comiseris symoniam in religione vel in seculo, dic in quo vel in quibus].

Sins of avarice now turn toward other kinds of illicit acquiring of worldly goods. The monastic penitent has deceived his neighbor “by means of buying or selling” [per emptionem vel vendicionem], or by not keeping “promises, contracts, and oaths” [promissiones, et pacta, et iuramenta]. He confesses to winning much “through usury, flattery, dice and other illicit games, illicitly contracted agreements, false reckonings, false payments and false calculations of them” [per vsuram, adulacionem, per talos, per ludos illicitos, per stipulaciones illicite contractas, per malas computaciones, per expensas falsas, et earum falsas rationes]. He has “hardened his heart against the poor” [Sepe obduracionem cordis habui contra pauperes] by showing contempt for them and “their cries of sorrow” [clamores eorum]. These sins encompass relationships between the monastery and the world outside it.

The confession then returns to forms of personal greed and their effects within the monastery. The monk has “delighted in small gifts and presents” [in munusculis et muneribus], giving, receiving, and keeping them without authorization for his own personal use and enjoyment. For the sake of earthly winnings, he subjected himself to many perils, rigors, injuries, and misfortunes,

“putting off love of God and neighbor in order to acquire and keep these things” [dilectionem dei et proximi pro eisdem acquirendis et retinendis postponens], while at the same time he neglected the daily office and masses on feast days but was “not loathe to perform base deeds” [opera . . . servuile committere non abhorens]. During the saying of the divine office or masses or at other times and places, he contemplated earthly things so much that they persisted into his dreams: “While sleeping, I dreamed of these same earthly things on which my mind had dwelled, in such a manner that I slept my dream, and I found nothing of riches in my hands, in which dreams I took pleasure after I awoke” [dormiens de eisdem terrenis de quibus cogitavi sompniavi, ita quod dormiui sompnum meum, et nichil inueni diuiciarum in manibus meis, de quibus sompniis delectatus sum postquam euigilavi]. On a more mundane level of actual accomplishment, the monk’s greed led him to hold onto garments that he didn’t need, and when he received new garments, new shoes, and other necessities, he didn’t give back the old ones, but distributed them according to his own will, sometimes to those who didn’t need them, including bread, beer, food, and “things that should have been distributed for the use of the poor” [ea que cedere deberent ad vsus pauperum], against the repeated prohibitions of his superiors. His greed also made its way into the scriptorium: “I set out to copy without authorization and to have made certain works for my own benefit, by which acts

I gave and made available for my own gain goods that ought to belong to the church" [scribere feci sine licentia et quedam opera ad opus meum fieri, quibus bona que ecclesiae esse deberent pro mercede dedi et concessi]. Lastly, in a kind of summation of the way greed distorts the perception of truth, the monk confesses to defending wrong-doers, promoting the unworthy, giving wicked advice, suppressing the truth, giving false testimony, straying from the truth, making unjust judgments, and burdening the poor unjustly — all on account of gaining rewards extended to him, "which blind the eyes of the wise" [que excecant oculos sapientum].

GLUTTONY [Per gulam et ventris ingluuiem]. The sin of gluttony, as the rubric underscores, focuses on the inordinate bodily appetite, located in the belly. The monk has anticipated the prescribed times for eating, and even on fast days he has eaten "many times during the day like a beast" [multis vicibus quasi bestia comedi in die], sometimes so late at night before a fast day that it had already become the fast day. He sought after feasts more sumptuous than would have been necessary, and sometimes, he confesses, "I enhanced them with seasonings in order that they would be more pleasing to my palate" [ea quandoque acui feci per salsamenta vt gustui meo magis complacerent]. He has eaten his food so eagerly and hastily that he's scarcely allowed himself to chew his food. This monk has tried to obtain "not one, two, or three, but many

portions" [non solum, duo, vel tria, sed plura fercula], "thinking and arranging in the evening what I would eat tomorrow, against the words of the Gospel, 'Do not think about tomorrow,'" paraphrasing Matthew 6:34 [in vespere cogitans et disponens quid in crastino essem comesturus, contra illud Euangelii, *Nolite cogitare de crastino.*] "I especially have kept that custom," he notes.¹⁰ [fol. 93v] A further avowal is suggestive of a monastic superior's gluttony: "I had brought before me in the refectory not one dish but many, which would have been sufficient for many brothers" [non vnum ferculum sed plura ante me feci deferri in refectorio, que pluribus fratribus sufficerent].

The next avowals concern the way gluttony leads to jealousy of others. The monk "murmured with bitterness and indignation of spirit" [murmur emisit cum amaritudine et indignatione animi] if more sumptuous foods were placed before his brothers than before himself. He "spoke ill of the head cellarer" [detraxi priori celerario] if less splendid foods were set before another brother.

The remaining avowals focus on eating intemperately. The monk has eaten without permission at improper and unsanctioned hours and places. He sneakily contrived a way of obtaining meat, which the Benedictine Rule

¹⁰ According to the *Benedictine Rule*, two cooked dishes are sufficient for the table, not for variety, but so that if for some reason an infirm brother cannot eat one, he can eat the other (39:1-2). "Above all," the *Rule* states, "excess is to be avoided so that indigestion never steals upon a monk, because nothing is so inappropriate to every Christian as excess" (39:7-8). Chapter 31, on the qualities of a cellarer, notes that he should be mature and like a father to the community, and "not a glutton" (31:1-2).

restricted to the sick and infirm: “I withdrew myself from the cloister and from silence of God, so that in the infirmary I might be able to be gratified by meats” [subtraxi me a claustro et silentio Dei, vt in infirmaria carnibus possem saciari].¹¹

He has drunk too much, even to the point of intoxication, sometimes knowingly but sometimes unintentionally, and he has urged others into drinking and eating [alios ad bibendum et ad comedendum inuitauit et coegi], which led to troubles for both himself and others. Finally, in summation, the penitent monk acknowledges that many sins arose from a gluttonous belly: “the revelation of secrets, boasting of sins, improper joys, scurrility, uncleannesses, and nighttime defilements, periods of dullness and negligence during the divine hours and during the observance of the Mass, garrulousness, dullness of the senses, of the memory, and of vision, pains of the head, and infirmities” [secretorum reuelacio, peccatorum gloriacio, inepta leticia, scurrilitas, immundicie, et polluciones nocturne, torpores et negligentie circa horas diuinas, circa obseruantiam ordinis, multiloquium, ebetudo sensus, et memorie, et visus, dolores capitis, et infirmitates]. Still thinking about meat, the avowals of gluttony end with the monk confessing that he bore it ill if his brothers were summoned more

¹¹ The *Rule* states that the monks “should all abstain entirely from the consumption of the meat of quadrupeds, except the gravely ill” (39:11); and “the consumption of meat should be allowed to the gravely ill for the sake of their recovery, but when they are better, they should all abstain from meat as usual” (36:9).

frequently than he to the prior's table, where meats were being eaten (perhaps at special occasions).

LECHERY [Per incontinenciam et eius species]. The section on lechery, or unchastity (*incontinentia*), as the rubric states, takes up far more than just sexual sins. Most of the other types of sins (*eius species*) included here involve sins committed through the body's senses, a common topic among forms of confession, which is folded into this section with incontinence, most likely because the author especially associated sexual sins with the body. The section begins, though, with a few avowals of sexual sins. The penitent confesses that "nighttime defilements have come to me often while sleeping with most foul nocturnal illusions" [nocturne polluciones michi sepe aduenerunt dormiendo cum illusionibus turpissimis], which sometimes was caused by intoxication, and "thus having been aroused I stayed awake, and I carried out while awake what occurred to me sleeping" [ita quod expergefactus, uigilauit, et uigilando perfecit quod aduenit dormiendo]. He acknowledges that those defilements are even greater sins when he gave into "longing of the flesh and delectations and consents" [pruritus carnis et delectaciones et consensus] while being awake and in control of them. But the most deadly kind occurred when such defilements came to him while "completely awake" [uigilanti].

At this point, the avowals turn to sins of the senses. The sense of smell is addressed first by a question about creating a pleasing personal exterior: “Did you not convey anything about yourself, so that you might give off a pleasing smell? Tell why and about what things” [Portasti ne aliquid super te ut bonum odorem emitteres? Dic quare et de quibus rebus].¹² The avowals then turn to sins resulting from loose speech. The monk has disparaged superiors, equals, and inferiors “by diminishing anything good in them and attributing evil things to them that are not in them” [minuendo bona que forsan in eis sunt, et attribuendo eis mala que non sunt], or, on the other hand, “with flattery by diminishing evil things that are in them and attributing to them good things that are not in them” [adulacione diminuendo mala que in eis sunt, et attribuendo eis bona que non sunt]. The monk has tried to please others by extolling them “lewdly, scurrilously, and jestingly” [impudice et scuriliter et ioculatorie]. He’s boasted arrogantly and made mendacious claims; he’s been angry with others “grievously, maliciously, superfluously, derisively, perversely, vulgarly” [dolose et maliciose, ociose, derisorie, peruerse], falsely excusing himself and his misdeeds; he’s judged with condemnation his companions and neighbors, given

¹² At a few points in the course of this form of confession, the text shifts momentarily into the form of the confessional interrogatory, perhaps suggesting that a confessor—transposing questions into avowals—was composing it for brothers of the cathedral priory. It happens once in the section on avarice and three times in this section of the text.

wicked counsel, resorted to murmuring, whispering, quarreling, contending, cursing, and sowing deceit; he's talked secretively without permission at illicit times and places, promising what he did not fulfill, vowing what he did not perform, and seducing women. All these are sins of the tongue.

Then sins of the eyes are itemized. The monk has lewdly looked upon "wanton wives, virgins, female religious, female relatives, and sometimes on males of a beautiful form" [solutas coniugatas, virgines, sanctimoniales, consanguineas, et quandoque masculos pulchre forme]; he's "made lewd nods" [nutus feci impudicos], haughtily and contemptuously regarded his neighbor by "holding his eyes aloft" [oculos habui sublimes], while disdainingly to consider the begging poor. He's looked more willingly upon gold and earthly things than upon spiritual things, and he's "more willingly looked in books where scurrilous words and useless things were contained than in books where sacred words and profitable things were accustomed to be contained" [libencius aspexi in libris vbi uerba scurrilia et inutilia continebantur quam in libris vbi verba sacra et vtilia consueuerunt contineri]. The monk has also delighted to gaze upon his own flesh and clothes.

Another question then is asked: "Have you ever felt the creepings in of the flesh or its itchings?" [Sensisti vmquam irreptiones carnis vel pruritus?]. Briefly, the text covers sins of hearing, with avowals of delighting in listening to

flatterers and detractors “yaking idly, scurrilously, and jestingly” [loquentes ociose et scurriliter ioculatorie], and to “impudent musical instruments and lewd songs” [impudice musica instrumenta et impudicas cantillenas]. More generally, the monk has dwelt on and taken pleasure in vain, illicit, and facetious things “in bed and in church between masses” [in lecto et in ecclesia inter missas], and at the canonical hours during which he dallied [et horas in quibus moram feci]. Even though his lusting after wanton married women, nuns, female relatives, and those related by marriage did not result in actions, he notes, “I would have sinned if I had had the opportunity” [peccassem si copiam habuissem]. [fol. 94r] And when he desired to sin but removed himself from it, it was on account of fearing scandal rather than out of fear of God and the salvation of his soul.

The next series of avowals deal with sins of touch and the hands. “I have handled my members shamefully” [tetigi membra mea inhoneste], the monk confesses. He’s touched or struck his neighbor or brother “sportively, idly, and sometimes out of malice and rancor” [iocose, otiose, et quandoque ex malicia et rancore]. Here the penitent is asked whether this happened to a layperson or cleric, and if it was a cleric and he “felt injury” [lesionem senserit], the penitent is told to “seek absolution for caution, for harmful jesting (might be) in fault” [absolutionem petas ad cautelam, quia ludus noxius in culpa]. Theft is accomplished with the hands, and the monk confesses to finding and not

returning things, against what Augustine said: “If you found anything and you did not return it, you stole it”; and the penitent is directed to relate the circumstances, “whether something of little value or precious” [vtrum viles vel preciosas], or “whether something belonging to the church or to the laity” [vtrum ecclesiarum vel laycorum].¹³ The monk, without authorization, gave, accepted, and kept things for his personal use and profit. He celebrated Mass before completing his penance [ante satisfactionem sepe celebraui], a sin pertaining to a monk who is a priest. Moving to a different sort of sin with the hands and arms, the monk avows, “I made idle, derisive, degrading, flattering, lewd gestures, and unnecessary ones, moving my companions sometimes to laughter, sometimes to anger” [signa feci ociosa, derisoria, detractoria, adulatoria, inpudica, et signa non necessaria, et mouencia socios quandoque ad risum, et quandoque ad iram]. He touched sacred things without being cleansed, including going up to the altar without washed hands, and “the morning after nightly defilements sometimes I

¹³ In a few places in this form of confession, passages from various sources are quoted as proof texts to reinforce a prohibition. Here the sin of keeping what has been found is “contra istud Augustinus: ‘Si quid inuenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti,’” which may well be taken from William de Montibus’s treatise *Errorum eliminatio*, in a comment clearing up a misconception about the requirements of restitution of things that are found: “Putant licitum esse rem alienam casu inuentam retinere, cum dicat Augustinus: ‘Si quid inuenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti’; et intellige ‘reddidisti’ actu uel propositio, et rem ipsam uel equipollens. Item Augustinus: ‘Si res aliena propter quam peccatum est reddi possit et non redditur, penitentia non agitur sed simulatur. Si autem uerasciter agitur, non remittitur [peccatum] nisi restituatur ablatum, si restitui potest.’” See Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–c. 1213): The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 156. William’s work is focused on eliminating errors that occur during the celebration of liturgical rites, but he has a section at the end on errors of the laity, in which this passage appears.

was an assistant of the one celebrating at Mass" [in crastino polluciones nocturne aliquando socius fui ad missam celebrantis].¹⁴ Lastly, the monk has sinned "through excessive and disordered gaits, perverting the natural function of my head, eyes, and arms, not observing dignity through gestures of my body" [per incessus inordinatos et incompositos, officium capitis oculorum et humerorum meorum peruertens, circa gesticulationem corporis mei grauitatem non obseruans].

The text covers one other aspect of sins through the body, those committed using the feet involving illicit movement within and outside the monastery.¹⁵ Without authorization the monk has left the cloister, sometimes with permission but for an unnecessary reason, and he has taken advantage of having permission by turning an authorization into an occasion for idle wandering and gossiping. He has "contrived disgraceful and false causes for

¹⁴ Durandus explains the many symbolic meanings of combing hair and washing hands before celebrating Mass, in book IV, chap. 3 of *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 257–58.

¹⁵ Sins of the feet are not normally included in forms of confession as part of the physical senses. The author here is drawing on another, similar tradition of examining sins committed through the various parts of the body, common in early medieval, especially Anglo-Saxon, precursors to the form of confession (see cat. A1.1–A1.8, A7, A9, A13.1, A13.2, A20.1, A20.2, A23), but not common in later medieval forms of confession (see cat. C19, D17, D29, D58, E2). As we have already seen, though, the *Ancrene Wisse*, composed about the same time as the Cotton Galba form of confession, recommends self-examination in terms of sins committed by parts of the body. Among the topics recommended for organizing a self-examination before confession, *Ancrene Wisse* directs penitents to "seek out and track down all the sins you have committed in your five senses; then, in all the parts of your body [bi alle þine limen], to see where you have sinned worst or most often" (5.31, ed. and trans. Millett).

riding and wandering, so that in this way I might more easily obtain leave” [inhonestas et causas falsas equitandi et euagandi sepe assignaui, vt sic facilius licentiam optinerem]. Inside the cloister, the monk has withdrawn from saying the daily office without a reasonable cause when he really could have been present. At other times, he arrived late to church for observing the canonical hours and “left from them unsaid or unheard” [ab eis indictis uel auditis recessi]. He could have come to church to do penance but neglected to do so. And lastly, apparently returning to wanderings outside the cloister, “Sometimes I entered into dances with inappropriate movements of my body, and also I listened to secular songs along with them, and I sang in the manner of of girls” [quandoque in choreis accessi cum inhonesta gesticulatione corporis mei, et etiam cum eis cantilenas audiui, et cantauit more puellarum].

SINS OF OMISSION AND NEGLIGENCE [Per omissionem et negligentiam]. The final section of the Cotton Galba confession, and the longest one, deals with sins of omission and negligence. This section is also the one that quotes numerous scriptural and patristic authorities as prooftexts for admonitions and prohibitions, revealing a kind of verbal-spiritual universe that shaped monastic consciousness of thoughts, words, and deeds to be lived and

breathed in a regular life.¹⁶ Included among sins of negligence are doubting the faith, failure to practice the virtues, to obey the Gospel commandments, to do the works of spiritual mercy, to practice the disciplines of conventual life, and to engage in penance sincerely.

The avowals begin with sins of doubt. The monk confesses to doubting the articles of the faith and “thinking most wickedly about them” [de illis pessime cogitando], and when the “articles of the catholic faith” [articulis fidei catholice] were believed, good works were not done as a result. Echoing the Apostle’s Creed, the monk has despaired about “obtaining joy of heaven, the mercy of God, and the forgiveness of sins” [de gaudio celorum optinendo, de

¹⁶ While, for the sake of expediency, I do not present much of this kind of quotation in my account of the text, it is worth commenting on it here to fill out further the text’s character. As might be expected, Augustine looms largest as an *auctoritas*. The author draws a large number of his citations, both biblical and patristic, from the *Liber scintillarum*, a late seventh-century ascetical compilation that circulated widely, often attributed to Bede, but by a monk of Ligugé near Poitiers known as the Defensor. Indeed, two copies of this book belonged to the Christ Church library, one an eleventh-century copy with an interlineated Anglo-Saxon translation. Of the twenty-nine citations of patristic and biblical sources in the Cotton Galba confession, fourteen can be found in the *Liber scintillarum*. The *Liber scintillarum* must have been found a handy work, as it organizes a great breadth of biblical and patristic material according to topics of concern for monastic readers. Most of the topics are vices or virtues, the seven deadly sins and their subspecies, though they are not arranged in any traditional order. It is easy to see how the composer of the Cotton Galba confession might have made use of this work. Its topics present admonitions on all aspects of the moral and religious life, so that any one of them could be turned into a self-accusation in the confessional form by being rephrased as a failure to follow the admonitions. See E. W. Rhodes, ed., *Defensor’s “Liber Scintillarum” with an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version*, Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 93 (London, 1889). The Christ Church library catalogue describes one of its copies of the *Liber* as a “libellus de diuersis generibus peccatorum,” indicating just how related this collection of “sparks” from the fathers was considered to be to a form of confession. See British Library, Royal 7.C.iv, no. 246 in the library catalogue; printed in Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 37; James, *Ancient Libraries*, 45.

clementia dei, et de remissione peccorum] because of the magnitude of his sins. He has sinned, he says, “namely concerning forgiveness and confession, mistrusting hope” [peccavi scilicet de remissione et confessione, diffidens confidens]. And whatever graces of God were given to him freely were not employed freely and graciously for others, but he rather expected a reward. As an example of failing to promote grace, he didn’t urge conflicting parties toward reconciliation but hoped for quarrels to carry on, and when he was able to help alleviate them, he was instead pleased by them and provoked and nurtured them.

Next are sins of devotional negligence. The monk has omitted prayers “in the morning after the sounding of the bells” [in mane post sonitum] and saying the *Miserere mei Dominus* “before prime and vespers and before lunch in the refectory” [ante primam et vespers et ante prandium in refectorio].¹⁷ He neither heard nor said masses or the daily office because of his negligence, or “out of contempt” [ex contemptu] or “due to pressing business” [ex occupatione necessaria]. When attending to devotions, he improperly performed liturgical gestures such as bowing and genuflecting “at choir and in other places” [in choro et aliis locis]. [fol. 94v] Concerning other customs, he was contemptuous toward

¹⁷ *Miserere mei Dominus* is most likely an alternative form for *Miserere mei Deus*, the beginning of Psalm 50 (Vulgate numbering), one of the penitential psalms whose verses were frequently used as prayers. It would have been appropriate to say before washing because of its well-known verse, “amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea et a peccata meo munda me” (50:4).

“exchanging dirty eating knives” [cultellorum mutaciones] and “keeping shoes clean” [sotularium mundicias], and he “arose in the morning before the ringing of the bells in order to go about in the monastery or cloister against the numerous prohibitions of superiors” [ante sonitum surrexi vt in monasterium vel in claustrum contra crebras prohibiciones prelatorum irem]. Likewise, he didn’t pay heed to precepts, prohibitions, counsel, and admonitions promulgated in chapter-meeting, nor to “articles of the rule of blessed Benedict, to the observation of which I am bound” [articulos regule beati Benedicti ad quorum observacionem teneor].

Neglecting the virtues occupies the next group of avowals. While the monk hated sin he has done little or no good, fearing the Gospel’s warning, “Any tree which does not produce good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire” (Matt. 7:19). He has not lived according to the two Gospel commandments. He hasn’t loved God, because he “put the love (*amor*) of worldly things before the love (*dilectio*) of God himself” [ipsius dilectionem sepe proposui amorem terrenorum]; and he did not love his neighbor, “whom I am bound to cherish as myself, just as the Lord directed in the Gospel” [quem teneor diligere sicut meipsum, prout precepit Dominus in Euangelio]. He did not exercise patience with God when encountering infirmities or misfortunes, and he did not exercise humility toward superiors or inferiors.

The avowals next become concerned with practicing penance. The monk did not bewail his sins committed against God and neighbor, “neither good things that I omitted, nor did I recall (bad things) which I performed” [nec bona que omisi, nec ad memoriam reuocaui que feci]. The penances enjoined upon him he completed with bitterness of spirit and without devotion, “and sometimes I did them while remaining in mortal sin” [et quandoque eas feci in mortali peccato existens]. Other times he confessed his sins and accepted his penance but without having the resolve to forsake them, and thus, he says, “I was not a penitent but a mocker, according to what Augustine (said): ‘Whoever commits things that ought to be bewailed bitterly is not a penitent but a mocker’” [et ita penitens non fui sed irrisor, iuxta illud Augustinus: *Qui deflenda committit non est penitens sed irrisor*].¹⁸ Regarding the forgiveness of others, if someone angered him, he did not forgive him quickly, coming to the altar to say masses or receive Communion in that state, and so he violated the Gospel precept: “If you offer your gift at the altar, and there will remember that your brother might have had something against you, leave your gift there, etc.” [Si offers munus tuum ad

¹⁸ The earliest occurrence of this passage that I can find appears in Isidore of Seville’s *Sententiarum libri tres*, II.16.1 (and it is repeated by others such as Peter Abelard and Gratian): “Irrisor est, non poenitens, qui adhuc agit quod poenitet; nec videtur Deum poscere subditus, sed subsannare superbus” [He is a mocker, not a penitent, who now does what penitents do; neither is he regarded by God as a subject earnestly begging, but as a haughty man mocking]. For the Latin, see Isidorus Hispalensis, *Opera omnia*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, vol. 83, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1850), col. 619B.

altare, et ibi recordatus fueris quod frater tuus habet aliqui adversum te, relinque ibi munus tuum, etc.] (Matt. 5:23–24). Lastly, he has not had “compunction or sorrow” for his sins [compunctionem vel dolorem pro peccatis meis].

The regulation of the flesh through spiritual discipline occupies the next avowals. The monk has fasted few days on bread and water, did not perform acts of abstinence or did so with bitterness and for the praise and good opinion of others. He didn’t practice the usual disciplines; for example, “I did not avoid brief (periods of) dozing; I often took care to obtain a soft bed in order to sleep a long time and to be able to pleasantly pamper my flesh” [breuem sompnum non effugi; molle cubile sepe procuravi vt diu dormirem et carnem meam suauiter possem enutrire]. He did “not dispise fleshly pleasures, worldly games, nor worldly spectacles, but I delighted to take part in them and to watch them” [non contempsi uoluptates carnales, lusus seculares nec spectacula mundi, sed interesse eis et videre delectatus sum]. He also took pleasure in a gathering of dishonorable people, becoming evil like them.

The text now comes to fear and knowledge. The penitent monk avows that he has not feared God or his superiors, neither abhorring the pains of hell, nor observing God’s commandments and the precepts of his superiors. Acknowledging that he owes fear, devotion, and tears to God; obedience and reverence to superiors; discipline and correction to inferiors; charity and mercy

to neighbors; and sobriety and sanctity to himself—he has not observed these precepts, “and so justice was not in me, because justice is to render to each person what is due to him” [et ita iusticia in me non fuit, quia iusticia est reddere vniquire quod suum est]. The monk has ignored what he was able to know and ought to have done, and conversely he became acquainted with many things that he should have been unaware of. He commended to forgetfulness and indifference what he should have kept in memory perpetually, and he despised learning many virtuous things.

The text returns to insincere or improper confession in terms of knowledge, being careful to address points of theological confusion about contrition and the Eucharist. I quote the whole passage here because of the relevance to confessional practice:

I did not uncover as quickly as I ought through confession sins, faults, weaknesses, and sins of omission that I committed, but I dallied in them, sometimes knowingly and purposefully, sometimes out of contempt, sometimes because of negligence, sometimes for the reason that I wanted to remain in them, and sometimes because I felt shame confessing them, and sometimes because I believed that they were blotted out through contrition alone, or through the reception of the body and blood of Christ.

[Peccata, delicta, fragilitates, et omissiones quas commisi per confessionem tam cito prout debui non detexi, sed in eis moram feci, quandoque scinter et ex industria, quandoque ex contemptu, quandoque ex negligentia, quandoque pro eo quod in eis moram facere uolui, et quandoque quia pudorem habui ea confitendi, et quandoque quia credidi quod per solam contricionem vel per assumptionem corporis et sanguinis Christi delerentur.]

While the role of contrition in confession was an integral part of the sacrament of penance and tensions about its relationship to confession persisted in medieval theology, in the thirteenth century the church confirmed the necessity of oral confession for absolution to be given.¹⁹ Likewise, since reception of the Eucharist was considered to forgive venial sins—similar to the sacramental rite of general confession discussed in the previous chapter—the avowal about believing that the Eucharist could blot out mortal sins is meant to dispel potential confusion about the necessity of confession.²⁰ [fol. 95r] The confession goes on: if the monk experienced feelings of devotion toward God and the saints and feelings of contrition for sins, or desires of doing well and of detesting sins, he hastily turned away from these inclinations and did not act upon them.

In the last part of this section of sins of negligence, the avowals focus on some of the works of spiritual mercy. It is worth noting that the works of bodily

¹⁹ See Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 1:101–3, 348–49, 2:5–24; Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, 156–67, 170–75, 181–83, 185–93; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 233–80.

²⁰ Saint Thomas argues that reception of the Eucharist can forgive venial sins, in *Summa Theologiae*, III, qu. 79, art. 4, quoting Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, IV.44: this sacrament “deletes venial sins and wards off mortal sins.” Thomas argues in art. 3 that the sacrament of the Eucharist does not forgive mortal sin for someone who “is not a fit recipient”; thus, “the sacrament does not effect forgiveness of sin in one who receives it while being conscious of mortal sin.” See *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 59, *Holy Communion* (3a. 79-83), ed. and trans. Thomas Gilby, O.P. (Cambridge: Blackfriars, 1975), 15 and 13 respectively. Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale*, for example, recommends reception of the Eucharist as one of several means of bridling venial sin: “Men may also refreyne venial synne by receyvynge worthily of the precious body of Jhesu Crist” (10.384–85).

mercy, which often appear in vernacular forms of confession, are not of concern here; the author most likely considered the works of spiritual mercy more relevant to monastic life since the monks would have limited contact with the world and because they would not have had the means to practice the bodily works of mercy, being committed to their vow of poverty. He was able but didn't want to do good, and he hindered others from doing good. He hated those who rebuked, admonished, or reproached him, especially anyone who contradicted his will, and he went on to persevere in deeds that were thus criticized. On the other hand, he neither admonished nor reproached a delinquent neighbor or brother, nor did he declare this person's transgression to those who were able to profit by it and not be harmed. Furthermore, he "declared and made known the faults of delinquent persons not that they might be corrected but that the shame about this might be made known, and thus I should have been called a traitor, not a corrector" [delicta delinquentium denuntiaui et manifesta feci non vt corrigentur, sed ut infamia propter hoc notarentur, et sic proditor dici debui non corrector]. He also revealed secrets privately confided to him, which injured the confidant.

The Cotton Galba confession concludes at this point with a final acknowledgment of the monk's sins, closing, as is usual for forms of confession, with the second sentence of the *Confiteor*:

By these and many other things of which there is no number, which I do not have in memory, I have sinned toward God and my neighbor and against the salvation of my soul, doing little good in consideration of the evil and sins I have committed. And if perhaps I may have performed some good, either it is pretended or incomplete, or so corrupt in some way that it should be justly displeasing to the Lord. Therefore, I beseech Mary the blessed mother of God, and all the saints of God, and you (father), that you pray for me.

[Hiis et multis aliis quorum non est numerus, que in memoria non habeo, erga dominum et proximum meum et contra salutem anime mee peccaui, pauca bona faciens respectu malorum et peccatorum que commisi. Et si aliquid bonum forsans perpetraverim, aut est simulatum aut imperfectum, aut aliquo modo corruptum taliter quod debeat merito Domino displicere. Ideo precor beatam Dei genitricem Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, et vos, vt oretis pro me.]

Finally, the text states that the priest should say the *Misereatur* and *Absolutionem*, the prayers for mercy and absolution. Then the penitent should be given a penance that he can understand to be profitable, such as “vigils, prayers, fasts, disciplines, and all good deeds that he will perform, so that all of (his) sins may be in remission for him” [vigilie, oraciones, abstinencie, discipline, et omnia bona que fecerit, vt sint ei in remissionem omnium peccatorum. Amen].

The Cotton Galba confession surpasses most forms of confession in the length to which the writer goes in describing concrete social contexts for so many of the species of sin. In doing so, the writer has given the text’s (unintended) modern audience an extraordinary window into the later medieval monastic conscience.

CHAPTER 4

A Form of Confession for Laypeople in British Library, Harley 6041

I turn now to a vernacular form of confession found in British Library, Harley 6041 (D17), on folios 97r–102v. It follows a composite A- and C-text of *Piers Plowman*, copied around 1425. Both texts, the only ones in the manuscript, are written in the same scribal hand.¹ Judging from the several shields of arms at the beginning and end of the manuscript, most of which were drawn by the scribe, the manuscript belonged to the Hoo family, whose chief seat and manor was Lutton Hoo in Bedfordshire. One of the shields is that of Sir William Hoo (d. ca. 1412–15), knight and officer of Richard II, who was from the area of St. Omer. His grandson Sir Thomas Hoo fought for Henry VI in France, and for his services was made Keeper of the Seals and then Chancellor of France and Normandy. In 1445, Thomas was granted the castle, lordship, and honour of Hastings, and he was elected Knight of the Garter. Two years later in 1447 he was created Baron of

¹ The manuscript is described in George Kane, ed., *Piers Plowman: The A Version* (London: Athlone Press, 1960), 6-7, Kane's sigil H². Kane refers to the form of confession as a "manual of confession." The Harleian catalogue lists this form of confession as "The Contrition of a Penitent"; R. Nares et al., *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–12), 3:313.

Hoo and Hastings.² This would indicate that *Piers Plowman* and the form of confession together were copied for a noble family for their edification and spiritual devotion.³ The Harley manuscript passed into the possession of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, where it eventually belonged in the early sixteenth century to the high-ranking monk, William Holyngborne, who served as the abbot's chaplain.⁴ The manuscript's provenance shows how a vernacular manuscript originally commissioned by a lay family could in turn become reading material for religious.

The contents of the form of confession are directed to lay penitents, and the text particularly reflects the kinds of sins that implicate a man of position such as a knight like Thomas Hoo. The section on avarice, for example, is richly suggestive of a lord's economic dealings. The Harley confession is a

² George E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, rev. Vicary Gibbs, 14 vols. (London: St. Catherine Press, 1910–98), 6:561–67. Thomas Hoo's barony became extinct at his death in 1454/55, and perhaps at this time Harley 6041 passed to St. Augustine's Abbey.

³ Two other manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* keep company with forms of confession: the Vernon Manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.1 (ca. 1380–1400), and London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687 (ca. 1400); see D2.3 and D3.1 in the catalogue. The Vernon MS, as is well known, is a major vernacular compilation with many works of a devotional nature along with many medieval romances. The Society of Antiquaries MS is focused on catechistic education and devotion, and the form of confession in this manuscript leads into a tract on the articles of the faith and cardinal virtues, with an exposition of the first words of the *Confiteor* and directions about the practice of confession.

⁴ See Kane, *Piers Plowman: The A Version*, 7 n. 1. This manuscript, like Cotton Galba E.iv, was associated with Canterbury.

comprehensive and detailed piece, organized into an introductory section giving directions on how to prepare for private confession, followed by confessions of the seven deadly sins, sins committed through the five bodily senses, violations of the Commandments, neglect of the physical works of mercy, of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, of the four cardinal and three theological virtues, and of the seven virtues opposed to the deadly sins, sins committed with parts of the body, and failure to believe in the articles of faith. This summary exhibits the author's concern to cover the syllabus of the church's catechism that was supposed to be preached in the dioceses of England, contrasting the Cotton Galba form of confession for monks at Christ Church priory, which is focused on the obligations of a religious profession according to the Benedictine Rule.⁵ The scribe of the Harley confession is clearly aware of this pattern of organization, as each topical section is set off by a decorative capital.

As with the Cotton Galba confession, in order to illustrate the characteristic wide-ranging presentation of sins mirrored for penitents in a form

⁵ Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions, which formulated the catechism for the English Church, called for the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments and two Gospel commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues, the seven deadly sins, and the seven sacraments to be preached in the vernacular four times a year in parishes. The influence of this legislation was not confined to southern England, as Archbishop Thorseby used it as the basis of his catechistic program for the York province. See Powicke and Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods*, 2:900–905; Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, 193–94; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 59–61; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 53–58.

of confession, I closely follow the speaking penitent's progress through all the sins, providing a good deal of the Middle English to give a strong sense of the text's style and character.⁶ In presenting the sins, again, I refer to the speaking penitent who is represented by the text in the first-person singular, underscoring the individual user's encounter with the text as it mirrors the possibilities of sin that might be committed by a lay person of noble rank.

PROLOGUE. [fol. 97r] The prologue supplies some direction on how to begin a confession. First, before the penitent goes to confession, he should spend time in a private place examining his life ("be in a priuey stede, beþynke what lyf thow hast led"). The penitent is directed to "seche þyne herte from day to day, ffrom stede to stede, and from oure to oure," which is reminiscent of the directions given in *Ancrene Wisse* to organize a self-examination by thinking of sins committed in various places and times, and, even further, by dividing them mentally by days and hours.⁷ Then the penitent should "sey wyþ grete deuocioun and with contricioun of herte" all the verses of *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is copied out in full in Latin. This use of the hymn as an act of devotion for preparing to confess is unique among Middle English forms of confession, but

⁶ My transcriptions follow the manuscript's spelling but capitalization, word division, and punctuation are modernized, and abbreviations are silently expanded.

⁷ *Ancrene Wisse* 5.31, ed. and trans. Millett. While forms of confession often direct penitents to "bethink" their lives in self-examination, it is not a common directive to parcel this out according to places and times.

the appearance of *Veni Creator* is not unique within the Harley manuscript, for just twelve folios earlier it is sung on Pentecost in a scene from *Piers Plowman*. This hymn is associated with Pentecost and the Holy Spirit's descent upon believers and with the ministry of the priesthood as custodians of God's grace.⁸ The opening line is cited in *Piers Plowman* when Conscience directs Will to sing this hymn with the new Christian community in response to seeing the Holy Spirit descend upon Piers and his followers just after the resurrected Christ gives Piers the power of the keys and gifts of grace to bestow: "Welcome hym and worshipe hym wiþ *Veni Creator Spiritus!*" (fol. 85v; C XXI.210). It would not be surprising if the author of the form of confession were inspired to use the hymn by the reference to it in *Piers Plowman* in this momentous scene of Passus XXI, for the *Veni Creator* is placed in a similar context of priestly custodianship of God's gifts and the reception of God's grace. It is certainly tempting to draw a parallel

⁸ The ninth-century hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, attributed sometimes to Rabanus Maurus, is given in its entirety in Latin, with each of seven verses beginning with a capital. Breviaries and other liturgical books from the twelfth century on assign the hymn to be sung at terce during the octave of Pentecost, at the ordination of priests and bishops, at the crowning of popes and kings, and as part of the priest's preparation while vesting before celebrating the Mass. It was sung with special solemnity in the Middle Ages, during which bells might have been rung, incense wafted, lights intensified, and the best vestments worn. The Day of Pentecost described in Acts 2 and Paul's discussion of the Spirit's gifts in 1 Corinthians 12 are important scriptural sources for the hymn's ideas. For a full discussion of the text and its liturgical uses, see S. G. Pimont, *Hymnes du Bréviarie Romain* (Paris, 1884), 125–43; *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. John Julian, rev. ed., 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1907; repr 1957), 2:1207–11; Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:274 nn. 15 and 17, 280 n. 28; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 183; and Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations*, 115.

between Conscience directing Will to sing *Veni Creator Spiritus* and the Harley confession leading its penitent reader to sing the same hymn before examining his conscience and preparing for the sacrament of confession.⁹

One of the manifestations of the Spirit coming upon the new Christian community is the gift of speaking in many languages the good news of the Gospel, and *Veni Creator* acknowledges the Spirit “endowing (our) throats with speech” [sermone ditans guttura]. The dramatic Day of Pentecost, with the coming of the Spirit as tongues of fire, inspires Peter’s preaching (as Acts 2 reports it) and a massive conversion to the new Christian church. The Pentecostal scene in *Piers Plowman* also takes place in the context of conversion. After Conscience’s recounting to Will the life of Christ up through the Resurrection and just before the Ascension, we are given an account of Piers receiving from Christ “pardoun and power” that may be granted to all people, “Myhte men to assoyle of all manere synnes” [the power to absolve people of all kinds of sins],

⁹ I am considering the author and the scribe of this text to be one and the same since this is the only extant copy of the text, and various aspects point to its being composed to accompany *Piers Plowman* in this manuscript. No other Middle English form of confession recommends this use of *Veni Creator*. The only other mention of this hymn in a Middle English form of confession occurs at the end of the confession in the Winchester Anthology, where the author suggests the *Veni Creator* may be assigned to the penitent as a prayer to say for penance. See *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577*, ed. Edward Wilson and Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981), fols. 159v–80v, at 180v. The *Veni Creator* does appear in several other manuscripts that also contain forms of confession; see cat. B38, C7.1, C40, D1.7, D2.3, D14.3, E9.2. *Ancrene Wisse* directs its anchoritic audience to begin the day by reciting the *Veni Creator* immediately after getting out of bed (I.1).

provided that they pay Piers's debt (*Redde quod debes*) by repenting and making restitution for ill-gotten gain and resolving to amend their lives (XXI.182–90).¹⁰ After this condition of grace is established, then the *Spiritus paraclitus*, whom Conscience names Grace, comes to Will and the followers of Piers to bestow his gifts, among which are two work horses who pull Piers's cart bringing home the sheaves of repentant believers into Holy Church: Contrition and Confession (XXI.330–34). Upon welcoming the Spirit by singing the *Veni Creator*, Will cries out, "Helpe vs, Crist, of grace!" (XXI.212).

The Harley confession can be seen as just the sort of help that Will and all Christians can use. This form of confession, likewise, situates the *Veni Creator* within a penitential context as an invocation of the Spirit who will help the penitent be "converted" through confession, which will be made manifest in the "tongue" of shrift. The text says to "beseche God ententeliche" for true confessional speech, "þat he 3yue wit [give understanding] to þe and konnyng [knowledge], þiselue ri3tfullich to acuse thi synnes for to schewe." God's grace

¹⁰ I quote from *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-text*, ed. Pearsall. Joseph Wittig observes that Langland here does not present what happens next in the Gospels—Christ's commissioning the apostles to go make disciples of the nations—but rather turns to an earlier moment when Christ declares Peter to be the rock and foundation of the church and gives him the "power of the keys" (Matt. 16:18–19), after which Langland turns to the Second Coming and Last Judgment before dramatizing the scene of Pentecost. Wittig sees this as a deliberate substitution on Langland's part that serves to lead Will in understanding that the scene of Pentecost "is not simply celebratory: What God has done demands something in return," which is a life of response to that grace that makes moral choices according to the virtues. Joseph W. Wittig, *William Langland Revisited* (New York: Twayne Publishers; London: Prentice Hall International, 1997), 137–41, at 138.

will defend the sinner, it is said, so that the devil will not “prevent” [distourble] the sinner from making confession on account of shame or any other “trickery” [engyn], enabling the sinner to reveal his sins openly.¹¹ Go “boldly to your confessor” [boldlich to þi shryftfadir], the text directs, and kneel at his feet and “frankly” [apertlich] tell your sins in the manner of the following avowals. After the first sentence of the *Confiteor* is said—“I ʒelde me coupable to God [I acknowledge that I am guilty before God], and to his modir Seynt Marie, and to alle haliken [saints], and to þe, fadir, þat I am synful, in synne begeten, in synne borne, and in synne haþe lad my lif siþe þe tyme þat I coude synne” [fol. 97v]—the avowals begin with “þe seuene heued [chief] synnes” and “alle here rotes [their roots]” (or causes) and “alle here spices [their species]” (or branches or subclasses).

PRIDE. In most forms of confession, the deadly sins are covered in fairly equal measure, but of all the kinds of sins confessed in this work, the sin of pride is treated at greater length, which is perhaps indicative of the original audience’s

¹¹ It is worth noting in *Piers Plowman* that during the nightmare of Antichrist’s attack on the church following Pentecost, Langland, in a moment of intervention responding to Envy and the friars’ perversion of confessional practice, says that parish priests, who are supposed to hear confessions and assign penances, are circumvented by the friars, because penitents wanting to avoid the shame from confession flee to the friars who gloss over that uncomfortable emotion (see XXII.279–84).

high social status.¹² Avowals of pride start with the notion of self-presumption. The penitent confesses to having praised himself in his heart and says he “wened more to be worþ þan oþre be sirquidrie” [hoped to be esteemed more than another because of (my) haughty pride].¹³ Pride has led him to “forsake my Lord God of his ȝiftes and of his grace þat he me haþ ȝiue in ensample [as a precedent].” He has “dressed up in finery” [me haue atyred] in order to sin with men and women whom he has seen “proudelich atyre” [proudly dressed]. He has sinned in thinking highly of himself on account of his “honor and attractiveness” [beaute], his “physical strength,” the “adulation of others” [preysing], because of his “dignity” [heyfulness] and “wealthy lineage” [perage of richesse], his “fayre clopes,” and the “shapeliness of his body and all its parts” [semelinese of my bodi and of al my membris]. He has gone to the lengths of frequently washing and dressing up his body to make himself appear fairer to look upon [I me haue ofte iwasshe, and I haue adubbid my body þe more fair for to seme].

¹² The portrayal of the sins of knighthood in the *Mirrore of the Worlde*, ed. Raymo and Whitaker, 102–4, is part of the discussion of pride in that work, and it meshes quite well with much of the content of this form of confession, especially in the emphasis on pride and vanity. The Harley confession, however, never mentions knighthood specifically.

¹³ This form of confession makes far more use of Anglo-French vocabulary than is usual for Middle English examples of the genre. An example is *sirquidrie*, from OF *sourcuiderie* and AF *surquiderie* “arrogance, haughty pride, presumption” (*MED*, s.v. *surquidrie*, n.; *OED*, s.v. *surquidry*, 1). In Passus XXI of *Piers Plowman*, when Pride enlists his agents to attack Conscience and the cardinal virtues, a character named Surquidous serves as Pride’s sergeant-at-arms (335–40). Pearsall glosses this name as “Arrogance.”

Pride has also led the sinner to be “disobedient” [vnbuxum] toward God, and “to his swete modir, and to alle his halwen, and to my gostlich fadir, and to my prelatis [superiors], and to my maistris [high officials].” He’s also been disobedient to relatives and those “þat han me chastisid of my synnes and of myn euel vices þat I haue don,” for which he has “had disdeyne of here chastising, and haue take in malice here chasttising, and here seggyng [recounting (of my faults)], and here dedis, and koude maugre of here vndirnemyng [have resentment toward their blaming].”

Next are sins of “detraccoun” or defaming others through his words. “I haue myspoke of myn euene [fellow] Cristens,” and “begabbyd [ridiculed] and skorned” them. If he heard evil being spoken, he “gave credence to it by it keeping it in mind” [leued it holdyng in mynde]. He “imputed to” [pult on] others things that he had no real knowledge about. By contrast, he has boasted about his own sins and even exaggerated them (“I haue avauntid me of yuel and of synne þat ich haue don, and iseide it more þan it was don”). [fol. 98r] And if anyone imputed to him something “that pleased him, whether true or false” [þat me lykid wel oþer soþ oþre fals], he didn’t make an excuse for it but rather “helde me stille.” He’s often confirmed what other people have said in situations when they asked him to, even though he knew nothing about their veracity

("grantide oþre mennes wordis where men me askide and whereof I noþyng couthe").

Sins of hypocrisy characterize prideful deeds to be confessed. The penitent has "ofte ishewid me wiþoute to þe pepvl" to appear "wel good and ful religious," while within he is "wel wikkide and ful synful." He's offered his services to others for which he had no resolve ("I haue profred me to don for oþre which I ne hadde no talent for to don"). He has not reciprocated the grace he's received from the Lord by rendering it back to him ("I ne haue izolde to oure Lord þe grace which þat me haþ ysent") and loving God as he ought. "I haue makyd fayre semblaunt" [appeared gracious or friendly], he avows, "to men and to wymmen þat I ne haue loued." He's been "quarrelsome" [discordable], and he's been an "instigator" [entissowr].¹⁴ Underscoring this sense of hypocrisy's undermining of truth, the penitent confesses that he has "stood by untruth" [meyntened fals], including false words and oaths, causing himself to love that which is false ("makid for to loue þing þat was fals"). His evil will has led to creating much discord.

This allegiance to falseness extends even to the sinner's blatant minimizing of sin that he knows to be sin and his inadequate confession of it (a

¹⁴This is a rare occurrence of *enticere* in ME. See the sole example, in a similar penitential context from Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* X.1017, cited in *MED*, s.v. *enticere*, n.

central concern in Passus XXI–XXII of *Piers Plowman*), and significant attention is given to various ways in which the points of a good confession are not fulfilled. The sinner acknowledges, “I haue in my shrifte excusid me ofte and my synne, and leide þe gilt vp oþre men where þat I sholde me acuse, and iseide in swich manere my synne þat it ne semed so gret as it was.” Moreover, he has “concealed” [ihelid] his great sins by not giving their “supporting circumstances” [behelpes], that is, “þe persone, þe tyme, and þe stede, ne þe houre, ne þe delite, ne how ofte, ne oþre circumstaunces þat made þe synnes so grete as þei were.” Thus, concealing great sins in this way, he’s turned them into especially grave ones (“I makid hem criminals”).¹⁵ Further, he has “remained” [beleued] in his sin for a long time, for when he had the opportunity to confess them he refused (“and whanne I miȝt be shryue I ne wolde”). He has despised his confessor as well as other fellow Christians for their sins (“I haue had in dispite my confessour and myn euene Cristen for here synne”), “judging their sins more than my own” [dampned here synne more þan myn owne]. [fol. 98v]

Finally, this disingenuous penitent has made his confession to a priest other than

¹⁵ The term *criminals* here derives from CL *criminalis* “culpable, grave,” which in ML especially refers to *peccata criminalia*, “capital or mortal sins.” See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975–), s.v. *criminalia*; *MED*, s.v. *criminal* adj. (a) “sinful, wicked”; and *OED*, s.v. *criminal* adj. 1, “grave.” That concealing great sins would make them mortal is, however, redundant. The author likely means, more generally, that intentionally concealing mortal sins would make them especially insidious, since unconfessed or inadequately confessed sin leaves the sinner in a state of perdition—a common warning in the penitential manuals.

his own parish priest, one who did not know him, which allowed him to avoid complete disclosure of his sin (“I haue be shreue of anoþer prest þan of myn owne, þat he ne knew not my synnes”).¹⁶

Lastly, the avowals of pride summarize the theme of vanity. The sinner has desired “worldlych honour, lordshipes, preysinges, heizfulnesses [imputations of dignity], and reuerences.” He has often gone to “ring dances” [caroles] and participated in “pointless diversions” [vanites], as well as “taking delight” [delited me] in “deceitful tricksters” [iugelours fals] and in other “entertainers” [minstrallis]. The sinner’s personal vanity has made him proud of his “contenance” and “alle myne membres of my bodi,” and of his ostentatious dress, “of robis of shon [resplendent clothing] and of gloues of gold, of siluer, of brochis, of rynges, and of oþre richesse.” The section concludes, as do all the sections, with a formal acknowledgment of guilt in sinning according to this type of sin: “In al þis manere and in many oþre þat I ne can nemene [enumerate] haue I synned be pride, whereof I zelde me gyldi.”

¹⁶ Because making confession to a priest not of one’s parish allowed a level of anonymity temptingly at odds with full disclosure, canon 21 of Lateran IV and the confessional manuals forbid this practice without special permission from one’s parish priest. It is noteworthy that a friar is not explicitly mentioned as being the “other confessor,” given the destructive activity of the friars in *Piers Plowman*, but Middle English forms of confession as a genre never mention mendicant confessors, a surprising fact given contemporary controversies surrounding the mendicant orders.

ENVY. Sins of envy damage relationships with other Christians whom the sinner should love as himself, as Christ commanded. The penitent confesses to being angry with others (presumably for their greater successes), people he has “litel ipreisyd.” He has not been “considerate” [resonable] to those who have treated him well (“þat me haue don good”). He has sinned because of “heartfelt malice and through wicked, calculated intention” [be malice of herte and be wikkid corage in forþou3t], entertained “wykkid suspicioun” toward “man and woman withoute open synne [public evidence of sin],” used cunning to conceive evil trickery against another (“iuel engynement haue idon to oþre be my wenyng”), and has judged others, saying “he is swyche and she is swych.” The sinner has done the opposite of Christ’s call to love others as oneself: “I haue ofte 3eld euel for good,” and “I haue had ioye of oþre mennes euel and sorwe of oþre mennes good.” He’s had a lack of “compassion” [vnmanhed] in not having pity for fellow Christians; nor has he “confortid” his brother “in his sorwe, ne visitide him in his sorwe and in his siknesse, ne at his nede iholpe him, ne socourid to my powere, ne 3eue ne lent,” all forms of neglecting the works of bodily mercy. Because of envy, he has obstructed and injured the reputation of his fellow Christian (“Igreued and apeyrid haue I þe state of myn euene Cristene”), doing all he could within his power to diminish his good reputation and to inflate his reputation for wrong-doing when his fellow Christian’s good qualities

displeased and greived him (“litled his gode los and encresid his wykkid whan his good me myslikede and ofpou3te”). [fol. 99r] “In þis manere and in manye spices haue I synned be envye, whereof I 3eue me gylty.”

IRE. Sins of anger mainly focus on disordered character that results from loss of control over one’s emotions. “I have created a shameful and contentious din by my conduct” [Vyleyne noyse haue I makid and discordaunte noise in contenaunce]; such “rage of wrapthe” has “enpeyrid my body and my soule.” His own sorrows (“sorwe of herte and drerynesse”) have caused him to be angry, doing and saying things that he shouldn’t, and neglecting things that he should have done and said. The penitent avows that, on account of being angry, he left his meal unfinished (an offense to those at table and an act of wastefulness) to go do other things (read, sing, pray) consequently done in an uncharitable disposition (“I haue be wrapthe beleued mete and drynke to rede and to synge and to preyen”)—all such actions “come of my wykkid herte.” His anger has led him to desire “deþ and seknesse to men and to wymmen, and harme to here membres, and lere [i.e., lore, “loss”] of here frendis and worldis goodis, and oþre enpeyrementis [injuries].” In short, he has wanted evil to come upon others, whether caused by himself or by someone else (“oþre be me oþre be other”)—and “glad wolde I be þerof.” “In many oþre maner haue I synned be ire, where of I 3eue me gylty.”

SLOTH. The first half of sins of sloth pertain to “onmesurable doel,” or excessive or uncontrolled grief. Loss of temporal goods or their harm, death (of loved ones), and maladies “wherby þat my body haþ ben enpeyrid [impaired] and enloynd [removed] fro Godes seruise” has led to “ouerlong doel.” Overall, the penitent avows complaining too much to God about his fate in life (“to ful pleinte haue I mad to God and to my destineeꝝ”). He considers that he’s been cursed since the day he was born (“awaried haue I þat tyme þat I was born”).

The second half of this section on sloth pertains to sins of neglect. In general, the sinner has been negligent in doing well and saying well (“to moche haue I be neccligent for to wel don and wel seien”), and when he has managed to do good in word or deed, it was only half-heartedly (“þat haueþ ben to slowlich and feyntlich”), and such deeds were done on account of “veyneglorie.” [fol. 99v] The sinner has sunk into sloth to such an extent “þat I al haue lore talent [lost all inclination] for to wel don othir wel seyzen,” and so “þe good þat I began for to wel don sestede withoute ende þerof to make [was given up without coming to any completion].” Regarding confession, “Feyntlich haue I ben shreuen and lacheslich [inadequately] haue ydon my penaunce” due to “inpacience,” “grochyng” [complaining], “besynesse,” “obstacle,” “fraccoun noyse” [disruptive noise], “forzetyng,” or “hardnesse of herte,” so that no assigned penances were able to make the sinner receptive to doing right (“þat nought

wolde nesshen me for to wel don").¹⁷ This sinner came late to church, and a long service, the sermon, the prayers, and "Godes wordis" — each of these aspects of attending church services "irked" him [enjoyed me], though they were "profytable to þe soule." "In many oþre maneres haue I synned be slouthe, wherof y 3elde me gylty."

COVETOUSNESS. The section on greed is one of the most interesting in this form of confession, as it covers the sorts of sins that might be relevant to a person of noble rank powerful in making economic dealings. Such greed here is characterized as having a cruel effect on the poor and the powerless, and this stress on the effect of covetousness on the poor along with the specificity of some of the avowals in legal and social contexts is not common in most Middle English forms of confession.¹⁸ First, the penitent lists sinning through avarice, theft, "fylonye," usury, "distreynaunce," simony, treachery, and robbery. The terms *fylonye* and *distreynaunce* are legal terms. While *felonie* can refer to an act of treachery or betrayal, that notion is already conveyed in the mention of *trecherie*; as a legal term, *felonie* refers to "crime against a feudal superior involving forfeiture of a fee" or "crime against the crown (such as murder, rape, or theft) of

¹⁷ As the saying of prayers was a common form of penance, "disruptive noise" might be blamed for failing to perform penance.

¹⁸ These emphases might be connected to those of *Piers Plowman*. It is also interesting to note that this sin is referred to as covetousness rather than as avarice or greed, perhaps echoing Covetousness in Langland's poem.

a class more serious than ‘trespasses.’”¹⁹ The term *distreynaunce* is more complicated. It is apparently a variant form for *distreining*, an “act of constraining a person to fulfill certain obligations (such as payment of rent) by seizing his property; also the power or right of distraint.”²⁰ The notion of this as a sin must lie in the sense of taking something from someone by force, even if a thing is legally owed, as opposed to proceeding peaceably in court; or it’s possible that the legal concept itself is being cited as a sinful recourse to settling a dispute.²¹ The penitent has coveted worldly honor excessively at the expense of the death, injury, or personal loss of others (“I haue coueytid worldliche honour for to haue ouermesure othir mannes deth, damage, and lore”). Not only has he deprived the powerless of their goods through distraint, he’s enticed great lords to do the same by wrongfully seizing the property of their poor feudal tenants who can’t resist (“I haue entysid grete lordis for to benemen of here pore tenamites here goodis”).

¹⁹ See *MED*, s.v. *felonie*, n. 3.

²⁰ The MS reads *disteynaunce*, but *disteinaunce* or anything similar is unrecorded in *MED*. Given the apparent legal context here, the term evidently should be *distreynaunce*, a variant nominative form (unrecorded in *MED*) of *distreining*, ger. (a). See also *MED*, s.v. *distreinen*, v. 3, “to levy a distress (as for rents not paid, debts, or the like)”; and *OED* *distrain*, v. 7(c), “to constrain or force (a person) by the seizure and detention of a chattel or thing, to perform some obligation (as to pay money owed by him, to make satisfaction for some wrong done by him or by his beasts)”; and *distraiment* n., the act of distraining.

²¹ It is easy to imagine, for example, a lord using his power to take what is owed to him from a powerless peasant, rather than being forbearing and accommodating.

The next avowals treat covetousness in terms of wasting and not sharing resources, continuing with the emphasis on how covetousness harms the poor. The penitent confesses to wasting his own goods and those of others, and too infrequently and badly giving or distributing them to others (“to scarsliche and yuel haue Y 3euen and euel delid”). He hasn’t been inclined to give alms or wanted to help the poor (“I ne haue be almesful, ne þe pouere I holpe nele”), and he’s withheld paying his tithes justly due to the church (“þe ri3thes of holy chirche euel I 3olde”). He has “more loved finery and beautiful things, wealth, and vain things” [more loued delices and beautes, rychesse, and vanites] “than þe ioye þat euer shal laste.” He has said, done, and thought many untruths, and counseled others similarly. [fol. 100r] And while he has “purueyed erthelich richage” for himself, he has “muchel ihatide pouerte and trecherie haue iloued.” The sinner has “deprived the poor and rich of their goods,” including both strangers and neighbors (“benomen I haue þe pore and þe riche here goodis, and straunges and nei3bours”).²² And these are goods that he is unable to repay (“þat neuer I ne 3elde may”).²³ The sinner has bought things he had no need for (“I

²² As a noun, *straunge* could refer to an unknown or unfamiliar person, a foreigner, someone not related by blood, an outsider, someone not a citizen of a town, or a traveler (*MED*, s.v. *straunge*, n. 4). Here, it means unfamiliar people who may not live nearby (in contrast to *nei3bours*).

²³ Langland, of course, is deeply concerned with social justice, which includes restitution of goods wrongly gained. In Passus V, Repentance tells Covetousness that not even the pope and all his confessors can grant him pardon for his life of theft *sine restitutione*, and so Repentance certainly

haue purchasid þing withoutende nede”), and he kept possession of something he ought to have relinquished (“withholde þing þat I myght haue forboren”), which probably refers to giving up what he had no right to keep. Finally, he has sinned in many other ways, including in respect to “oþes [abusive oaths], be fiaunces [pledges of trust], be deþ of folk [that is, concerning their estates],” by manipulating these social or legal contexts for financial profit—“and al by euel couetyse, whereof I zeue me gylyti.”

GLUTTONY AND LECHERY. Gluttony and lechery are treated together in the last section on the seven deadly sins, because they are both sins of uncontrolled bodily appetites. Concerning food, the sinner has eaten and drunk too much, too soon (before designated meal times), too frequently, and too

can't (253–57, 296–99), to which Robert the Rifler, in the same condition, weeps when looking at *reddere* (315–16). Robert holds up the example of Dismas, the thief on the cross next to Jesus, a belated penitent who could not make restitution, who asks for forgiveness and receives it from Christ before he dies (318–24). Repentance grants that Dismas may be a possible model of salvation for such cases, but he states that “What byful of this feloun Y can nat fayre shewe” (325). See Wittig, *William Langland Revisited*, 80–82, for a reading of the requirement of restitution in tension (or balance) with salvation by grace. On restitution as a requirement for absolution in summas for confessors, see Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 340–43, who notes an allowance for those who do not have the means for making restitution; and on the wider history of restitution and the complications of its enforcement, with interesting case studies, see Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 43–72. For a fascinating contemporary look at enjoining penances for covetousness, see the manual for confessors (ca. 1450–1500) in British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xxv, fols. 55v–65r, with discussion of covetousness on 59v–61r. This work presents penances as ways of countering each of the seven deadly sins. Restitution (a *seth*) must be made for ill-gotten gains. If those who are owed restitution are unknown or dead or gone away, if the penitent has the ability to repay, he must donate that restitution to charity; any debts must be paid if they can be, and if they cannot, they must ask forgiveness; but whether rich or poor, a covetous penitent must give some alms according to his power. The text advises that thieves and robbers should make their restitution privately, and if they are unable, they should go “wolnward” (on pilgrimage) and give alms.

“delitiouslich,” that is, taking too much pleasure in the taste of food and drink. This has caused him often to lose his memory (“þat I haue ofte ilore memorie”), to commit many villainous deeds (“many vilonye idon”), as well as to neglect his devotional hours and prayers (“wherby I haue letten myn oures and orisones”) and to neglect doing other good deeds. The “oures” here surely refer to prayers in Books of Hours (*Horae*), which were produced for devout laity to use in their private devotions.²⁴ The penitent avows that he “nedide” [compelled] others to eat and drink more “than they wanted to” [þan þei wolde], on account of which he fears they fell into other sins as a result (“wherfore I doute me þat þei fallen in oþre synne”). His gluttonous eating and drinking then led to lechery when foul thoughts came to him, “wherof al my body was achaufyd [inflamed] and imeuede be lecherie.” He took it upon himself to sin by singing vile songs at someone’s urging and as a promise to someone (“I entermetid me for to synnen be vileyne songes be peryere and be beheste”); and he sinned by “fals othis,” “vileyne maneres” [vile behaviors], “vileyne kissynges” [vile kisses], and

²⁴ Many vernacular forms of confession appear in Books of Hours or in devotional anthologies that contain liturgical offices for laypeople; see cat. C3, C14, C17, C27.1, C29.1, C29.2, C32, C37, C38.1, C38.2, C40, C42, D1.7, D2.1, D2.3, D10, D24, D32, D48, D52, E6, E9.1, E9.2, E12.5, E12.6, E18, E19. On late medieval lay use of Books of Hours for private devotion, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 209–65. The English primers typically contained, for example, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, the penitential psalms, the Litany of Saints, and other prayers, which enabled laypeople to share in some aspect of monastic piety. Books of Hours were originally designed for an aristocratic readership, but being among the first books to be mass-produced through printing, editions also were made “for a wider and less affluent clientele” in the fifteenth century (211). Given the date of the Harley confession before printing, the mention of “oures” here points to a wealthy or aristocratic audience.

“vileynes lokynges” [vile oglings]. And it was no credit to him that he did not actually engage in the wicked pleasures of his body (“noug3t alongon me þat I ne hadde do þe delices wyckide of my body”) when he might well have committed sins in many other circumstances that would amount to about the same thing as lechery (“þat ne were noug3t mochel lasse þanne þe dede of lecherie”). He drove mad into irrational behavior married women and others (“ofte mad weddide wymmen and oþre”). [fol. 100v] Concerning his spouse, he has not honored his marriage vows (“ne haue nought iholde trouthe to my spouse as I scholde”), and he’s done many sins with her (“with here haue I many synne done”) during forbidden times of the year, such as during Advent and Lent, on “hey3e festes” [high feast days], “euenes” [vigils], “embyrdaies” [ember days], and on “dayes and ny3tes of holy halwe” and “sith that [during which] she was gret with childe.” It was standard teaching in confessional works that having intercourse during the penitential season of Lent, on major feast days, or during menstruation, pregnancy, or right after childbirth was a sin of lechery. What is striking here is that even the season of Advent and saints’ days (“dayes and ny3tes of holy halwe”), as distinct from the major feast days, are mentioned as times of abstinence, which would cover the majority of the liturgical calendar!²⁵ Furthermore, this husband has “nei3ede” or drawn near to his wife’s

²⁵ See Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession*, 174–87. While Advent is a

body “with grete delite and grete desire,” which makes clear how gluttony and lechery are connected: both are forms of excessive bodily appetite, indulging pleasures rather than needs.²⁶ Lastly, the husband admits that he has not treated his wife with the kind of courteousness that should be expected: he has not been as “tretable” [accommodating], “componable” [genial], “fiable” [trustworthy], or as “merciable” [forgiving] “to hire ne to oþre als I sholde.”²⁷

The next section is not clearly delineated, and this and the rest of the sections in the text do not go into the same level of detail as do those covering the seven deadly sins. It starts out as if it will focus on the Ten Commandments—“I

penitential season, traditional teaching did not designate it, like Lent, as a period of sexual abstinence. Vigils are evenings before feast days (feasts were considered to begin at vespers the evening before the feast); ember days are three designated days of special fasts observed during each of the four calendar seasons. The number of major feast days in the calendars of both the Temporale and Sanctorale that were universally observed in the later Middle Ages is nineteen, according to John Harper. Some of these major feast days were celebrated not only on the day of commemoration but during the week (octave) following, including Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter. This would mean that, according to the avowal on illicit marital sex in this form of confession, layfolk were expected to abstain from sexual intercourse for about twenty weeks of the year, as well as during pregnancy and menstruation, and this is not even counting all the saints’ days of a local Sanctorale. On the liturgical calendar and terminology, see Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 45–57, 237–41, and glossary.

²⁶ See *MED* s.v. *neighen* vb. 1, 2a, 5b, 7a, “drawn near to,” “had intercourse with,” or even “defiled.” Enjoying food or the body for the sake of pleasure as opposed to need was sinful. The canonist Thomas Chobham, as Payer points out, refers to having sex in order to satisfy lust as “impetuous intercourse” (181).

²⁷ This section on gluttony and lechery is the only one that is clearly gendered as being masculine. Most forms of confession are not especially gendered, and even those that are tend to show signs of being adapted for multiple users. The gendering of lechery here may have resulted from the author’s attempt to locate this confession within a well-imagined social context of an aristocratic man of power and influence. The details of the text as a whole consistently fit this kind of audience.

drede me þat I haue broke þe Ten Comaundementis that God gaf to Moyses for to holde” —but this topic will in fact be discussed later in the text, which here moves immediately to the five senses: “I haue synned be alle fyue my wittis.” The five senses, however, are not developed; instead a miscellaneous set of awowals are presented, first dealing with sins of the tongue. The penitent says he has sinned “routinely” [of custume] and frequently with “my tunge” by engaging in “ribaudrie,” “auvauntement” [boasting], “mysseynges” [slander], “fals othes,” “nemenyng [speaking the name] of þe deuel,” “heize [haughty] speche,” and in telling “talis” [idle tales], singing (bawdy) “songis,” uttering “conyoursones” [magic spells], and “be fayr beheste” [by making a flattering promise]. He has “dispendide” all of his body and soul in sin. The rest of the sins in this section address failing to respond to God’s grace. “Mochel haue I don,” the penitent says, “whereof þat I neuer was shryuen, which þat I haue forzete.” But he has not only forgotten his sins, he has committed many acts of deliberate neglect (“many forletyng haue I do”), for example, omitting that which he should have done and said (“byleft þat I shold haue idon and iseide”), while he has neglected to confess that which he has in fact said and done (“þat I haue seide and idon, for verilych I it haue seide and don”).²⁸ Thus, the penitent has “forsake

²⁸ This is the most difficult passage in the text to grasp, and it’s possible that some part of it is missing. The sentence reads thus: “Many forletyng haue I do, and byleft þat I shold haue idon and iseide, and þat I haue seide and idon, for verilych I it haue seide and don.” I have taken the

and caste away" the grace of God "whan he it me profrede" — "I dryuen it away whan he it me hadde sent, whereof I zeue me gylti."

SACRAMENTS. This section summarizes very generally failures in observing the sacraments of the church. After a general acknowledgment that the penitent has contemplated how to commit evil and to avoid doing good ("I haue þouȝt how I myȝt yuel don and how I miȝt cesse for to wel don"), he confesses that he has "nought iholde þe obligacion þat I made to God whan I reseyuede Cristondom," referring to the promises made for him at his baptism. Neither has he fulfilled the "obligacioun of my confirmament [confirmation]," nor of performing "my penaunce" nor of keeping "my sposailles" [marriage vows], nor has he fulfilled the obligation to respect the "holy ordre that God hath zeue to clerkis," nor "attended receptively" [wilych iherde] to the "seruise of God," nor "at þe masse iserued" [performed my duty at Mass]. Alluding here to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the sin is not said to be receiving the Eucharist unworthily, but not attending to the service willingly, a much more passive conception of a layperson's involvement during the Mass. Since a layperson's experience at Mass was not about receiving the Eucharist, except at Easter, the obligation would be to listen to Mass respectfully (by not talking and making a disturbance) and with devotion (by saying private prayers and honoring the

beginning of the third clause to be missing (the verb), and have tried to relate this to the previous avowal about neglect in confession.

Host).²⁹ [fol. 101r] Lastly, the penitent has not “iholde þe sar [sure] sacrament þat is iclepid þe laste vncture.”³⁰ The sacrament of last rites or holy unction is called “sure” because it guarantees spiritual safety against death. The section concludes with avowals of breaking “alle þe articles of þe feyth þat ben writen in þe Crede” and breaking “þe seuene peticiones þat ben writen in þe Pater noster, whereof I 3yue me gylty.”

TEN COMMANDMENTS. In place of the first command to have no other gods but the Lord, the first avowal is a reiteration of the two Gospel commandments: “I ne haue nou3t iloued God of al myn herte and al my powere as God comaunded, ne myn euene Cristene as myself.” The next three violations of the commandments are simply stated: “I haue falslich iswore Godes name and inemened [(falsely) spoken his name]”; “I haue evel ikep þe halidayes”; and “my kyn haue I nought honoured.” The committing of adultery receives elaboration that echoes avowals from the earlier topic of lechery: “I haue don many maner of lecherie,” including with “weddidwymmen,” and he has “iknowledgechid of [had intercourse with] my kynneswymmen and of weylydwymen [veiled (religious) women],” and he has “torn” [ireft] the maidenhead of many “wenches” who

²⁹ For a lively descriptive account of lay experience during the Mass, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 117–26.

³⁰ The *MED* records *sur* but not *sar* as a variant spelling for the adjective *seur* (“spiritually safe, on the right path to salvation” [1c]), but this is the correct meaning in the context; *sar* is most likely a scribal mistake for *sur* rather than an attestation of a variant spelling.

“were not known sexually before” [were nought iknowe before]. The committing of murder is treated mainly in spiritual terms: the sinner has “made homicide and slaughtur in thre maneres”; first, “in myn herte be hate of oþre men”; secondly, “I ne wolde to pouer no þing helpe whan I sauȝ hem perisschen” (sounding again the concern for the poor that marks this form of confession); and third, “with myn handis I haue men slawen, and be my consel and be my tunge hauen men ben don to deþ.” The last commandments are simply listed: he has “don þefte in many manere,” he has “bore fals witnessse,” and he “coueitide my neiȝebores wif and hese godis [his goods], wherof I ȝeue me gilty.”

WORKS OF MERCY. The seven works of bodily mercy are summarized without elaboration. “I ne haue ȝoue mete to þe hungri ne to þe thristful no drinke, ne iclopid þe pouere, ne herborwid [sheltered] tho þat nede hadde.” [fol. 101v] At this point, two of the works of spiritual mercy are mixed with the other works of corporal mercy. The sinner has not “conseilid ne tauȝt tho that nede hadde”; he has not “iuisytid” the sick or those “þat were in prisone”; and he hasn’t “confortid” those who are “in sorwe.” The section concludes with a general avowal of forgetting “alle þe oþre dedis of mercy,” which would include burying the dead and most of the spiritual works of mercy that have not been itemized. By failing to do the works of mercy, the penitent is uncertain about whether God will reprove him or not at the Judgment: “Whereof I doute me be

repreued of God þe Day of Iuggement." This candid expression of doubt is similar to the more strikingly worded moment of anxiety about how hard this mandate is to fulfill, which is sounded in the *Saint Brendan's Confession* discussed in chapter 2 (and cf. Matt. 25:31–46).

GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. Again, sinning against the gifts of the Holy Spirit is briefly summarized: "I haue the seuene 3iftis of þe Holy Gost trespaside." These include "sapience [wisdom], vndyrstonding in good, good conseil, strengthe to fy3te azens þe deuel, for I haue obeyed and i3oue stede [gave place] to the deuel," and also "science [knowledge] for to lere helthe of soule, pyte of oyle [compassion], doute [fear] of God and of synne and of þe peynes of helle."³¹

CARDINAL VIRTUES. The last three sections of the Harley confession deal with the virtues. First sins of failing to practice the four cardinal or classical virtues ("þe foure principal virtues") are enumerated in a brief list, reinterpreted in Christian terms: *temperantia*, "temperaunce and mesure," or the disciplining of desires; *prudentia*, "queyntyse of arestyng þe deuel" [the skill of holding the devil at bay]; *justitia*, "strengthyng wel for to iuggen betwene þe pore and þe riche"; and *fortitudo*, "strengthe me for to holden in Goddes seruise that I ne falle in

³¹ For oil as a figure for compassion (pity) and comfort, see *MED*, s.v. *oile*, n. 5a, "fig. something which comforts, heals, or saves spiritually; love, compassion, grace, etc."

dedly synne." The virtue of *justitia* is the one cardinal virtue that is inflected most by its context in a form of confession aimed at a wealthy audience: it is defined in terms of the treatment of the poor, which we've seen to be a recurring theme. This virtue, as it applies to an aristocratic audience, consists of strengthening one's resolve to judge between the poor and the rich, that is, to distinguish between poor and rich when determining what is just. This notion harkens back to the sins of covetousness, where, for example, using the legal power of distraint to seize property from a weaker party or enticing great lords to wrongfully seize property from their poor tenants are held up as unjust treatment of the poor. The sense of distinguishing between what is just respectively for poor and rich can also be seen in the wealthy sinner's wasting of riches on himself at the expense of sharing available resources with the poor. In short, the covetous sinner, as an earlier avowal, states, does not want to help the poor by giving alms. But there is also a sense here in the characterization of *justitia* that the sinner has not done what is just even in relation to the rich, as one of the avowals of covetousness indicates that the sinner has deprived the rich of goods that are rightfully theirs.³²

³² This inflection of *justitia* in the text is not the usual way that this virtue is defined in Middle English forms of confession and confessional manuals. It is usually defined as "righteousness," or doing good to all people and helping them in their need. The pastoral treatise in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913, which addresses all the syllabus of the catechism that, the text says, should be preached to the people in church four times each year, defines the obligation of "ri3twisnesse" as giving to "God and holi churche and þyn euen Cristen al þat þei ow3ten to haue of the[e]," including "helpe to þyn euen Cristen att his neede, takinge noþing of his goodis ne of his catell," and this virtue is said to combat "þe synne of covetise" (fol. 13v). For some

THEOLOGICAL VIRTUES. The three theological virtues are likewise enumerated in a brief list. They are called “the virtues þat been clepid *gratuite*” (i.e., *virtutes gratuita*) because they are given by grace from God. These include one rendered to God, *fides*, “feith of God”; and “charite” (*caritas*) rendered to fellow Christians, “myn euene Cristene for to helpe, loue, conseyl, socouren, and 3ouen [to give (to)],” which evokes in part the works of mercy—to counsel the doubtful and to comfort the afflicted—and again references the abiding concern for the poor in *caritas* as giving alms to the needy. The third theological virtue is hope (*spes*), which is defined in terms of its violation by the sin of despair: “I haue synned in wanhope wyckyde, for why I wote wel þat shal done for 3euenesse of alle synnes to hem [that forgiveness shall be given for all sins to those] þat been verry contrite and wel ishryuen, as it is iwrite in the Crede, *Remissionem peccatorum*.” To despair is a sin, because forgiveness is always available through confession.

VIRTUES OPPOSED TO THE DEADLY SINS. The avowals concerning the virtues conclude with the seven remedial virtues that are opposed to the seven

other examples, see John Drury’s *Tractatus de modo confitendi* (ca. 1435), ed. Sanford B. Meech, “John Drury and His English Writings,” *Speculum* 9 (1934): 70–83, defining *justitia* as “righteousness” (69); the manual for confessors in Cambridge, St. John’s College 257, defining “rightwisnes” as doing good and respecting all people, judging well (fol. 17v); and a tract on the cardinal virtues following the form of confession in Bodleian Library, Douce 60 (cat. D3.2), defining “rightfulness” as doing to others the service owed to them without guile (fol. 224r). None of these examples explicitly address *justitia* in terms of the relationship between the rich and the poor.

deadly sins: “I haue broke the seuene virtues that distroyen the seuene dedly synnes.” [fol. 102r] Teaching on the virtues commonly paired them with vices in this way: more effective than striving *not to sin* in the deadly sins is to fight actively against them and destroy them. These virtues are listed in summary order, with elaboration on combatting covetousness with generosity, and combatting gluttony and lechery with abstinence. The virtues of “humilite” (opposed to pride), “pacience” (opposed to anger), “loue” (charity opposed to envy), and “desyr to Godes seruice” (diligence to combat sloth) are just mentioned. Covetousness is to be destroyed by liberality, “largesse for to gyue to God and to pore men myn herte, and of my body, and of my countenance, and of myn membris”; and gluttony and lechery are to be destroyed by temperance and chastity in the form of “abstinence of metis and of drynkis and of myn [body].”³³ Largesse here is a total offering of the noble body to God and the poor, anticipating the final avowal below in this section on sinning through the body and all its parts. Here covetousness is combatted by the spirit of complete generosity, metaphorically expressed in terms of the heart, countenance, and all the body’s members.³⁴ This is loving God and one’s neighbor as oneself, echoing

³³ A word is missing in the text after “and of myn,” which would call for “body” in this context.

³⁴ In addition to the meaning of outward appearance or looks, *countenance* (*MED*, n. 1) can also mean “behavior, bearing, conduct, esp. good manners.”

the Dominical commandments. Further on abstinence, the sinner has observed this discipline only sometimes during vigils and ember days, or on Fridays in Lent, but not during other appropriate times of fasting (“I don summetyne abstinence be Vigiles and Embyr Dayes, Fridayes in Lente, ne in othir good tyme”).

The last sin in this section, which enumerates all the body’s parts, harkens back to an early medieval topos found in Latin and Anglo-Saxon precursors to the form of confession: “I haue synned in eche manere þat euere any man synned and dispendid al my tyme in the deuelis seruice, and al my body, that is to seye, myn heued, myn eyzen, myn eren, myn tunge, myn nastrellis, myn herte, myn handis, myn feet, and myn membris, and al myn entrayllis, wherof Y 3yue me gylty.” A prayer of confession by Alcuin of York, found in Carolingian prayerbooks of the ninth century and in English manuscripts of the eleventh, scrupulously anatomizes the body in all its parts in terms of the many ways the body in its totality succumbs to temptation and fails to desire and honor God. The penitent speaker of Alcuin’s prayer confesses to excusing the way each member has sinned in its natural function as a part of a sinful body (“In membris singulis naturae modum excessi”). The prayer constructs this penitential body by confessing sins committed through each of its parts, moving in a progression from foot to head, animating the feet, shin, knees, loins, belly, side, back,

shoulder, arm, hands, mouth, tongue, throat, ears, nose, eyes, head, and heart.

For example, the feet run toward evil following illicit desires, the stomach swells continuously from drunkenness.³⁵ A few later medieval forms of confession also anatomize the body's sinful parts. As if taking up the *Anrene Wisse's* charge to "seek out and track down all the sins you have committed in your five senses; then, in all the parts of your body, to see where you have sinned worst or most often," Henry of Lancaster in his *Livre de seyntz medicines* (C19) imaginatively constructs part 1 of this work as a form of confession that exhaustively analyzes and enumerates the seven deadly sins committed through the physical senses and parts of the body:

Now, Lord, if it please you, I shall show you my wounds, seven in all: The first is the ear: The second the eye: The third the nose: The fourth the mouth: The fifth the hand: The sixth the foot: The seventh the heart. Moreover, to speak in general, the whole body is a mass of wounds, and the abovementioned wounds are so full of all the seven deadly (as well as

³⁵ Wilmart, ed., *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, 22: "Pedes mei ad currendum in malum sequendo libidinem supra modum veloces fuerunt"; "Venter meus et viscera omni crapula sunt iugiter et ebrietate distenta." The "bending knees" of this prayer was discussed earlier in the introduction. See A1.1–A1.8 in the catalogue; and for comment on the prayer, see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*, 89–90, 114–15. Two manuscripts that contain Alcuin's prayer have a Canterbury provenance like the Harley 6041 manuscript: the Vespasian Psalter—British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.i (composed in the early eleventh century)—was at the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, in the fifteenth century; and British Library, Arundel 155, from the first half of the eleventh century, was at Christ Church, Canterbury. The copy in Arundel 155 along with three additional confessional prayers have interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses. See A1.6 and A1.7 in the catalogue. British Library, Royal 2.B.v, another manuscript containing a confessional prayer that anatomizes the body (A13.1), was also in the possession of Christ Church, Canterbury. The topos of confessing sins through the parts of the body was common in early medieval confessional prayers and derived from the Celtic *lorica* tradition; for other examples, see A1.1–A1.8, A7, A9, A13.2, A20.1, A20.2, A23.

venial) sins, that I fear very greatly, except insomuch as I entrust myself to, and have confidence in, your great kindness, dear Master, that you will, if it please you, help me heal completely.³⁶

In the Harley confession, this last avowal among sins against the virtues functions as a kind of coda, if you will, summing up a life of sinfulness that implicates the whole person through his physical being in the world.³⁷

Before moving to its conclusion, the Harley confession gestures toward failing to believe in all the articles of the faith, referencing Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions, which set out for English parishes instruction in the elements of the faith four times each year: "I haue yfalle in alle the artycles of sentence that in holy chyrche been yzoue foure tymes of þe 3eer, wherof Y 3yue me gylty."

Finally, the closing sentence of the *Confiteor* is said:

³⁶ *Ancrene Wisse*, 5.31, ed. and trans. Millett; Henry, Duke of Lancaster, *The Book of Holy Medicines: Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, trans. and ed. Catherine Batt, The French of England Translation Series (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, forthcoming). I thank Catherine Batt for kindly sharing with me her translation in advance of its publication. For the French text, see *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Text Society, vol. 2. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940), 8, lines 10–19. See a few other examples of this topic in cat. D17, D29, D58, E2.

³⁷ While the anatomized sinful body was a common topic in early medieval confessional prayers, it was not part of the later medieval church's catechistic syllabus (the five bodily senses is a different topos in both early and later medieval confessions), and it rarely appears in forms of confession. In addition to the form of confession in the Harley manuscript, the topos appears in a form of confession in Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 163 (D29), which just mentions sins of body parts without any elaboration. However, the form of confession in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 13 (D58), composed in 1518 for Jaspar Fylloll, a London Dominican probably at Syon monastery, incorporates all of Alcuin's prayer, following closely the structure and details of Alcuin's anatomization of the sinful body, with some elaboration in places.

I ʒelde me gyltif to God, and to his swete modir, and to alle his halwen, that I, synful wreche, haue synned in many manere, als I haue before ʒow tolde, syþthe the tyme that I was bore tyl nouthe [the present time], and I am redy to doon satisfaccoun and amendement be my powere to Godis wylle and to the, gostlych fadir, if God me ʒeue lyf and grace.

[fol. 102v] The sinner then asks for his deserved penance: “And I the beseke, dere fadir, that thou beseke for me, and that thou ʒeue me evene worthy penaunce, that I mowe in my lyf punysshyn thet that [that which] I trespasid haue in my lyftyme. Amen.”

* * *

Surveying the Cotton Galba and Harley forms of confession should more than sufficiently demonstrate the genre’s deep level of engagement with the church’s confessional practices and contemporary moral thought and ethics, and indicate how self-knowledge might lead to personal conversion. The tour through these works also illustrates the kind of knowledge about confession and its practice that flowed through the capillaries of ecclesiastical networks and reached to the most fundamental and intimate level of penitents’ private (and sometimes public) space of self-examination; such examples give us a vivid sense of what might have been said in auricular confession. Most forms of confession are not as embedded in social realities as are the Cotton Galba and Harley forms of confession, and the range of depth and detail among examples of the genre

varies, but the the genre as a whole aims to provide a grammar of sin sufficient to enable penitents to know themselves in that language so that they could play a significant role in the sacrament of penance, speaking their sins in confession, testifying to their conversion from spiritual death to life.

The form of confession, however, could not suffice apart from the confessor's active involvement in leading the penitent to a good confession. The form of confession functioned exceptionally well as a mirror for identifying within oneself types of sin expounded to parishioners in sermons and other kinds of catechistic instruction. The confessional literature for clergy, however, routinely discusses the need for confession to do more than name sins—the circumstances in which they were committed had much to do with assessing the relative significance of a sin in an individual's life. It should be apparent that the form of confession treats all sins rather much the same. It afforded a flattened perspective. Some sins might be emphasized by the amount of detailed elaboration they receive, but the form of confession could not represent, in any systematic way, the complexity of circumstances in which sins occur. As we saw in the two examples above, avowals might employ adverbs such as *sepe* or *ofte* to suggest that a sin was done frequently and so was significant, but committing adultery *once* is enough for it to be a grave offense, and how much is *too much* washing of the body for it to constitute a sin of pride? It is important to observe

here that the form of confession presents *all of its sins as mortal sins*. Looking into such a mirror, might its users have questions about whether they can see themselves implicated in certain sins, especially sins of word and thought which are not as easily delimited as deeds? The genre is content to expect penitents to identify *types of sins* that they see themselves as having committed; it is left for the most part to the confessor to question penitents about their circumstances.³⁸

The form of confession even came under attack for not being adequate enough precisely for the reason that aggravating circumstances were not much dealt with. Thomas Tentler cites the interesting example of a German treatise that actually condemns the genre for being no more than a *general confession*, “because its misuse can lead to inadequate realization of one’s sins.” The writer “complains that there are too many general confessions both in practice and in print,” and they are “worthless because they ignore the circumstances of sins and do not elicit either shame or fear.”³⁹ But this is a voice from the wilderness, as it were; the form of confession widely circulated because it must have been

³⁸ For a sense of how complicated confessing sins in their circumstances can be, and why the confessor’s job was considered an art, one may start with Jean Gerson’s treatise on hearing confessions, the enormously popular and influential *De arte audiendi confessiones* (ca. 1406). See the convenient translation, “On the Art of Hearing Confessions,” in *Jean Gerson: Early Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality, trans. and ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 365–77.

³⁹ Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 115. See Tentler’s discussion of this treatise in the context of scrupulosity along with discussion of aggravating circumstances (113–20).

considered an effective rhetorical instrument. The fact that it does not try to deal in circumstances in any deep way may have been thought a good thing, for penitents who thought too much about it might fall into despair over their situation. Yet the issue of excessive scrupulosity is rarely if ever mentioned, for example, in directions about confession appended to Middle English forms of confession. That seems to have become a point of contention for Martin Luther and Reformation polemicists.

Conclusion: Pentecostal Vision

Just as the scene of Pentecost in *Piers Plowman* is an ideal vision of the church which administers the Spirit's graces for the benefit of the faithful persevering in the Christian life, the form of confession is an idealized version of the penitential discourse of confession, a kind of penecostal vision of the speech of personal conversion. It voices the eloquent language of repentance that the church hoped to hear flowing out of the mouths of later medieval Christians. In *Piers Plowman*, the ideal vision gives way to the realities of a troubled world in which it can seem nearly impossible to figure out how faith can be lived in truth. We can only speculate about to what extent the speaking penitent of the form of confession assumed the flesh-and-voice of actual penitents. The genre shows us better than any other what pastoral educators hoped would actually be said in confession, and no doubt many of the faithful did their best to speak in the tongue of confessional discourse, but the varying levels of diligence among penitents would certainly determine what ultimately got said.

In the final nightmare vision of *Piers Plowman*, in which Antichrist destroys so much of what had been established in Holy Church, Will seeks

refuge by roaming through Contrition and Confession (“comsed to rome / Thorw contricion and confessioun”) in an attempt to come to Unity, but the seven Giants of the deadly sins assail Conscience in this effort (XXII.212–16 and ff.). A friend of Covetousness, an excommunicate priest, takes no account of Conscience as long as he has material gain at stake, “bi so Y cache suluer” [as long as I make money], and sixty others like him concur, eliciting Conscience’s desperate cry, “Helpe, Clergie, or Y fall / Thorw inparfit prestes and prelates of holy churchel!” (XXII.220–29), echoing the criticisms of Conscience at the very beginning of the poem: “Ac for it profiteth yow into pursward [profits your purses] ye prelates soffren / That lewed [unlearned] men in mysbileue lyuen and dyen. / I leue, by oure lord, for loue of youre coueytise / That al the world be the wors” (Prol. 101–4). Unfortunately, the friars come to offer the worst sort of help, as Langland depicts them. Langland’s friars undermine the core practice of a life of repentance by manipulating the sacrament of penance to accommodate every weakness of sinners to the point that sin is no longer an issue of concern about which to feel remorse:

Thus [the friar] goeth and gedereth and gloseth ther he shryueth
Til Contricioun hadde clene foryete to crye and to wepe
And wake for his wikkede werkes as he was woned bifore.
For confort of his confessour Contricion he lefte
That is the souereyne salue for alle synnes of kynde. (XXII.368–72)

Conscience, overwhelmed by the friars' corrupting of the penitential system, can't any longer call on Contrition for help in bringing people to authentic repentance and has no choice but to go wandering for answers. Langland bravely shows his readers real-world contingencies that are so destructive of faithful Christianity.

The form of confession was part of the same kind of world. It circulated throughout northern Europe, especially in England, in Latin and French from the thirteenth century and in Middle English from the late fourteenth through the fifteenth century, amidst the kinds of worries about the church that Langland dramatizes in his great poem (see the appendix on manuscript provenance).¹ It was widely available for disciplined confessional practice, and the genre shows us what ideal self-examination and confession might look or sound like. Indeed, it may be the case that the form of confession in Harley 6041 is placed

¹ Half of the extant corpus of the genre has an English provenance. 170 of 346 texts of the form of confession documented in separate entries in the catalogue have an English provenance: 26 Latin, 14 French, 93 Middle English, and 37 versified forms of confession; and 21 of 37 of the precursors documented in section A have an English provenance. These figures do not factor in forms of confession embedded in 31 additional copies of Jean Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* (B5) and in 56 additional copies of William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (B8), which do not have separate entries in the catalogue. None of the copies of Rigaud's work and most all of the copies of Pagula's have an English provenance. The number of Latin texts with an English provenance would thus be significantly higher if factoring in copies of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*. Also, nearly as many distinct texts (as opposed to multiple copies) of the form of confession survive in English (62) as in Latin (69). That the genre as a whole is predominantly a northern European one is also evident from the provenance of the manuscripts. Of the 146 Latin texts with separate entries in the catalogue, 73 have a German provenance, 26 English, 14 Austrian, 10 French, 8 Italian, 2 Polish, 1 Irish, 1 Swiss, and 15 have an uncertain provenance. The majority of the texts with a German provenance are copies of Andreas de Escobar's *Forma confitendi* (B24).

immediately following *Piers Plowman*—the only two works in the manuscript, both in the same scribal hand—as a readerly response to the poem in the face of the kind of world that *Piers* leaves us with, one in which Conscience wanders looking for help. Thought of this way, the Harley confession is an assertion of precisely the kind of penitential practice that Langland in part envisions as being essential to truthful repentance.²

But, of course, a form of confession, however eloquent and sincere, could not in itself guarantee that its admonitions would be rigorously internalized by the person who used it. Arguably, many did; very possibly others used, or possessed, such a document without such serious engagement with it. And so, despite the genre flourishing as it did, even into printed versions in the fifteenth century and beyond,³ historians of confession, and of medieval writing and spirituality more generally, must be content with exploring a genre that, at the very least, explicitly and eloquently characterizes an ideal vision of confessional practice.

² I hasten to add here that this is not the place to substantiate this idea; I intend to do that elsewhere, though I hope to have strongly suggested this possibility. Langland, too, insists on much more than contrition and confession as true repentance; restitution plays just as important a role.

³ Andreas de Escobar's *Modus confitendi*, for example, the form of confession that circulated in the most copies, appeared in over 86 fifteenth-century printed editions from 23 different cities. See B24.1 in the catalogue.

We can take a speculative look back much farther in the history of confession to find a pentecostal spark to what would spread throughout Christendom (and beyond) as confessional speech. The first words of the *Confiteor*, words that were often said at the beginning of a confession and that also typically begin forms of confession, may originally have come from the mouth of Jesus in the Gospels: “confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae” (Luke 10:21). Though this is not a moment from Pentecost as such, as described in the Book of Acts, the Gospel event foreshadows the preaching of conversion at Pentecost, which was modeled on Christ’s example in the Gospels and was a response to Christ’s command “that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem” (Luke 24:47, Douay-Rheims). In Luke 10, Jesus utters his prayer beginning “confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae” in the midst of upbraiding the cities for failing to hear his word and repent. Seventy-two disciples had been sent out to go door to door with Jesus’s message. But the disciples are lambs among wolves, as Jesus understands. If a city receives them, Jesus says, they are to heal the sick and tell the people, “The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you” (10:9). But if the city does not receive the disciples and their message, Jesus instructs them to say, “Even the very dust of your city that cleaveth to us, we wipe off against you” (10:11). Jesus then prophesies against those who would not repent:

Woe to thee, Corozain! Woe to thee, Bethsaida! For if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the mighty works that have been wrought in you, they would have done penance long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement, than for you. And thou, Capharnaum, which art exalted unto heaven, thou shalt be thrust down to hell. He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me. (10:13–16)

In this moment of truth, as it were, in which the Gospel might be received or rejected, the words that would centuries later come to begin the *Confiteor* and the individual confessions of medieval penitents are said when Jesus prays:

In that same hour, he rejoiced in the Holy Ghost and said: *I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth*, because thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones [in ipsa hora exultavit Spiritu Sancto et dixit *confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae* quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis]. . . . And turning to his disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see. For I say to you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them. (10:21–24; my emphasis)⁴

These words—*confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae*—appear nowhere else in the Vulgate than here in Jesus’s prayer as recorded by both Luke and Matthew. I’m not aware that anyone has made this observation before. This was not the *locus classicus* in the Gospels for later Roman Catholic defenses of the biblical

⁴ This incident is also recounted in Matt. 11:20–27, with the wording, “In illo tempore respondens Iesus dixit *confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae* quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis,” occurring at 11:25. The event is presented more fully in Luke 10:1–22.

origins of the sacrament of confession; that was Matthew 16:13–20, where Peter confesses that Jesus is the Christ and Jesus gives Peter the keys of the kingdom to bind and loose. Somehow, over the long centuries, however, it would appear that Jesus's words became attached to the liturgical prayer of confession, the *Confiteor*.

The "glue" may be found in Augustine's *Confessions*, for it is here that Jesus's words are repeated throughout this early autobiographical writing, forever linking Jesus's words to the notion of confession. Augustine himself is quite aware of this connection, for the first instance when this expression is used, early in Book I, is the only instance where Augustine quotes Jesus word for word:

"confiteor tibi, domine caeli et terrae, laudem dicens tibi de primordiis et infantia mea, quae non memini" (1.6.10; my emphasis).⁵ Henry Chadwick translates the passage, making clear that Augustine is citing scripture: "So 'I acknowledge you, Lord of heaven and earth' (Matt. 11:25), articulating my praise to you from my beginnings and my infancy which I do not recall."⁶ Augustine goes on to use

⁵ The word *Pater* is the only word that Augustine does not repeat. I quote from James J. O'Donnell, ed., *The "Confessions" of Augustine: An Electronic Edition*, at <http://www.stoa.org/hippo/>, which reproduces O'Donnell's edition of the *Confessions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁶ Chadwick, trans., *Confessions*, I. vi (10).

some form of this expression, always including the word *confiteor*, frequently throughout the rest of his book.⁷

Augustine, though, is confessing the truth of his entire life history to God, which only in part includes his sins. He is just as often confessing his praise to God, and in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, commenting on the word *confiteor* in Luke 10, Augustine says the word means “praise to God” and not avowal of sin.⁸ But Saint Augustine’s status in the Middle Ages as a great model of contrition and confession (along with David in the Psalms) and the influence of the *Confessions* itself may have been sufficient to etch the beginning of Jesus’s prayer into the liturgical *Confiteor* and therefore into the structure of the form of confession, thus transforming these words from their ancient context of prophetic warning to

⁷ The occurrences of phrases in the *Confessions* using the word *confiteor* include the following: “dum confiteor tibi quae vult anima mea, deus meus, et adquiesco in reprehensione malarum viarum mearum” (1.13.22); “dico haec et confiteor tibi, deus meus” (1.19.30); “deus meus (tibi enim confiteor, qui me miseratus es et nondum confitentem)” (3.6.11); “confiteor tibi, domine, recordationem meam” (3.11.20); “munera tua tibi confiteor, domine deus meus, creator omnium . . . munera tua tibi confiteor” (9.6.14); “ecce et hoc confiteor misericordiae tuae, pater orphanorum” (9.12.32); “domine, confiteor tibi in litteris” (9.12.33); “domine, etiam sic tibi confiteor” (10.3.3); “etiam hominibus coram te confiteor per has litteras adhuc quis ego sim” (10.3.4); “poenaliter me peccare confiteor” (10.33.50); “domine, confiteor? quod, nisi delectari me laudibus?” (10.37.61); “novi, confiteor tibi, domine deus” (11.7.9); “confiteor, deus meus, nescio” (11.18.23); “Et confiteor tibi, domine, ignorare me adhuc quid sit tempus, et rursus confiteor tibi, domine, scire me in tempore ista dicere” (11.25.33); “quam tibi confiteor scienti deo meo” (12.23.32); “si tibi non confiteor, ‘nescio’” (12.30.41); “qua tibi confiteor credere me, domine” (13.24.36).

⁸ Augustine thinks of confession as both the confession of praise to God and the confession of sin to God: “Dearly Beloved, there is no room whatever for doubt that the divine writings customarily use the word ‘confession’ to mean not only the avowal of sins but also the praises of God.” See Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 117 in *Expositions of the Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos)* 99–120, ed. Ramsey, trans. Boulding, 333–34.

repent into the prototypical way that confession to both God and to the priest should routinely begin. *Confiteor tibi Pater Domine caeli et terrae*. I hear in this expression an astonishing transmission of Christian history — that words from Jesus's prayer thanking God for *hiding* his message from the unrepentant wise and revealing it to his childlike followers would come to be on the tongues of a vast number of faithful through the ages. The form of confession humbly, but ingeniously, carried these words, with the call to repentance, to the conscience of generations of later medieval Christians.

APPENDIX

Provenance of manuscripts of the form of confession

TABLE 1

Texts and copies of the form of confession

	TEXTS	COPIES
Latin	69	241 ¹
French	42	62
Middle English	62	94
Verse texts	25	45
TOTAL	198	442
Precursors	24	37

¹ 154 of these copies are multiple copies of three texts: 64 of Andreas de Escobar's *Modus confitendi* (B24), 59 of William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (B8), and 31 of Jean Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* (B5).

TABLE 2

Provenance of Latin forms of confession

Germany	69 ²
England	31
Austria	12
France	9
Italy	8
Czech Republic	2
Poland	2
Ireland	1
Switzerland	1
Uncertain	16 ³
TOTAL	151 ⁴

² I have counted one manuscript with both a German and Austrian provenance here.

³ Most of these manuscripts are in German, Austrian, or Polish libraries.

⁴ This table does not factor in additional copies of Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* (31) and Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (59), for which there are no separate entries in the catalogue. The majority of the manuscripts with a German provenance are copies of Escobar's *Modus confitendi* (37), but that still leaves 31 other ones with a German provenance, showing that the majority of Latin forms of confession are in German manuscripts. However, all of the German manuscripts are dated to the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century, while almost all of the Latin texts from the thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century have an English, French, or Italian provenance, including Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* and Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*.

TABLE 3

Provenance of French forms of confession

France	39
England	15
Belgium	4
Netherlands	1
Cyprus	1
Ireland	1
Uncertain	1
TOTAL	62

TABLE 4

Manuscripts of the form of confession in all languages with an English provenance

	TOTAL IN SECTION	ENGLISH PROVENANCE
Latin	151	31
French	62	15
English	94	93
Verse	45	37
TOTAL	352 ⁵	176
Precursors	37	21

⁵ The total does not factor in additional copies of Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* (31) and Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (59), for which there are no separate entries in the catalogue. Most of the copies of the *Oculus sacerdotis* have an English provenance. The *Oculus* is an English work written by William of Pagula, a Berkshire priest. None of the copies of Rigaud's *Formula confessionum*, written by a French Franciscan originally from the diocese of Limoges, has an English provenance. Half of all the corpus of the genre has an English provenance.

TABLE 5

Provenance of versified forms of confession in all languages

England	37
Scotland	3
France	3
Germany	2
TOTAL	45

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

For manuscripts containing a form of confession, entry numbers from the catalogue are given in parentheses.

Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 13 (D58)

Magdalene College, Pepys 2125 (D9)

St. John's College, MS 257

Trinity College, O.2.29 (B2)

Trinity College, R.14.7 (C6.1)

University Library, Ii.4.9 (E24)

Catania, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ventimiliana 42 (C16)

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82 (B35)

Gdańsk, Poland, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q. 22 (B24.1)

Klagenfurt, Austria, Studienbibliothek, Pap. Hs. 11 (B43)

København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1591 4to (B65)

Leeds, Leeds University, Brotherton Library, MS 501 (D25)

London, British Library, Add. 43472 (C22)

British Library, Add. 60577 (D43)

British Library, Arundel 155 (A1.7)

British Library, Cotton Galba E.iv (B9)

British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.i (A1.6)

British Library, Harley 172 (D46)

British Library, Harley 1288 (D28)

British Library, Harley 2391 (D22)

British Library, Harley 3077 (B11)

British Library, Harley 6041, (D17)

British Library, Royal 2.B.v (A13.1)

British Library, Royal 18.A.x (D15)

British Library, Sloane 1584 (D60 and D61)

Lambeth Palace Library, MS 523 (B42)

Society of Antiquaries, MS 687 (D3.1)

Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 600 (C32)

Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 451 (A11)

New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 163 (D29)

Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 317 (D41 and D42)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 555 (B18.1)

Bodleian Library, Bodley 789 (D7.2)

Bodleian Library, Bodley 923 (D5.1)

Bodleian Library, Digby 86 (C7.1)

Bodleian Library, Douce 60 (D3.2)

Bodleian Library, Douce 246

Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.1 (D2.3)

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 99 (D37)

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210 (D14.2)

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699 (D1.3 and D7.1)

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913

St. John's College, MS 94 (D10)

Trinity College, MS E.86 (D54 and D56)

Rein, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 49 (B22)

Saint-Brieuc, France, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1 (C29.2)

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 628 (B21.2)

Vienna, Schottenkloster, MS 402 (B24.35)

Editions and Translations of Primary Works

Aquinas, Thomas. *Confessions*. Translated by Garry Wills. Penguin Classics deluxe edition. New York: Penguin, 2006.

———. *Confessions*. Translated by Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———. *The "Confessions" of Augustine: An Electronic Edition*. Edited by James J. O'Donnell. At <http://www.stoa.org/hippo/>. Reproducing James J. O'Donnell, ed. *Confessions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

———. *Expositions of the Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos) 99–120*. The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, pt. III, vol. 19. Translated by Maria Boulding, O.S.B. Edited by Boniface Ramsey. Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2003.

———. *On Evil*. Translated by Jean Oesterle. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995.

———. *Summa Theologiae*. Vol. 59, *Holy Communion (3a. 79-83)*. Edited and translated by Thomas Gilby, O.P. Cambridge: Blackfriars, in association with McGraw-Hill, New York, and Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1975.

———. *Summa Theologiae*. Vol. 60, *Penance (3a. 84–90)*. Edited and translated by Reginald Masterson, O.P., and T. C. O'Brien, O.P. Cambridge: Blackfriars, in association with McGraw-Hill, New York, and Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1966.

- Barratt, Alexandra. "‘Envoluped in Synne’: The Bolton Hours and Its Confessional Formula." In Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney, eds. *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A. G. Rigg*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. 3–14.
- Benedict, Saint. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. Edited and translated by Bruce L. Venarde. *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, vol. 6. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Bitterling, Klaus, ed. *Of Shrifte and Penance: The ME Prose Translation of ‘Le Manuel des Péchés.’* Heidelberg: Universitäts C. Winter, 1998.
- Brayer, Édith. "Un manuel de confession en ancien français conservé dans un manuscrit de Catane (Bibl. Ventimiliana 42)." *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 59 (1947): 155–98.
- Brereton, Georgine E., and Janet M. Ferrier, eds. *Le Menagier de Paris*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Capgrave, John. *Life of Saint Augustine*. Edited by Cyril Lawrence Smetana, O.S.A. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001.
- Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994.
- . *The Catholic Liturgy Book: The People’s Complete Service Book*. Baltimore: Helicon, 1975.
- . *The Missal in Latin and English*. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1963.
- . *Rite of Penance: Approved for Use in the Dioceses of the United States of America by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and Confirmed by the Holy See with Readings from the Revised Lectionary for Mass*. Washington, D.C.: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2010.
- . *The Roman Missal*. New York: Benziger, 1970.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Edited by Larry D. Benson. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- Clubb, Merrel D., ed. "The Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*: An Edition of MS Egerton 615." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953.

- Durandus, William. *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, Its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments, and Vestments, Books I, III, and IV*. Edited by members of the Trappist Abbey of Our Lady of Gethemani. Louisville, Ky.: Fons Vitae, 2007.
- Durkin, Philip N. R. "A Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS E.86, with Editions of Selected Texts, and with Special Reference to Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession." 2 vols. D. Phil. thesis, St. Hugh's College, Oxford University, 1994.
- Eberle, Luke, trans. *The Rule of the Master*. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1977.
- Flannery, Austin, O.P., ed. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1975.
- Geary, James A. "An Irish Homily on Confession: Text and Translation." *Catholic University Bulletin* 18 (1912): 344–66.
- Gerson, Jean. "On the Art of Hearing Confessions." In *Jean Gerson: Early Works*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. Translated and edited by Brian Patrick McGuire. New York: Paulist Press, 1998. 365–77.
- Greco, Gina L., and Christine M. Rose, trans. and ed. *The Good Wife's Guide, "Le Ménagier de Paris": A Medieval Household Book*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Grosseteste, Robert. *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi*. Edited by Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello. In "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste." *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112.
- . *Deus Est*. Edited by Siegfried Wenzel. In "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, 'Deus Est.'" *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970): 218–93.
- . *Speculum Confessionis*. Edited by Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello. In "The 'Perambulavit Iudas . . . ' (*Speculum Confessionis*) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste." *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 125–68.
- Henry, Duke of Lancaster. *The Book of Holy Medicines: Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*. Translated and edited by Catherine Batt. The French of England Translation Series. Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, forthcoming.

- . *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*. Edited by E. J. Arnould. Anglo-Norman Text Society, vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell, 1940.
- Horstmann, C., ed. “*Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdome*, aus MS Douce 114.” *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 10 (1888): 323–89.
- Hübl, P. A. *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur*. 1899; repr. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1970.
- Hudson, Anne, ed. *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, vol. 38. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Jones, E. A., ed. *The “Exhortacion” from Disce Mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006.
- Jørgensen, Ellen. *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis*. København: In Aedibus Gyldendaliansis, 1926.
- Julian, of Norwich. *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: “A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman” and “A Revelation of Love.”* Edited by Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, 6 vols. in 5. Danzig: A. Schroth, 1892–1921.
- Keuffer, Max, et al. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*. 12 vols. Trier: Jacob Lintz; Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1888–1990.
- Kuriyagawa, Fumio, ed. *The Middle English St. Brendan’s Confession and Prayer: Edited from Lambeth Palace Library MS 541*. Tokyo: Keio Society of Art and Letters, Keio University, 1968.
- Langland, William. *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-text*. Edited by Derek Pearsall. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008.
- . *Piers Plowman: The A Version*. Edited by George Kane. London: Athlone Press, 1960.
- Legg, J. Wickham, ed., *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.
- Martène, Edmond. *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus Libri*. 2nd ed. 4 vols. Antwerp, 1736–38; repr. in facsimile Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967–69.

- Maskell, W. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed. 3 vols. Oxford, 1882.
- McGerr, Rosemarie Potz, ed. *The Pilgrimage of the Soul: A Critical Edition of the Middle English Dream Vision*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990.
- McNeill, John T., and Helena M. Gamer, eds. and trans. *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "Libri Poenitentiales."* New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; repr. 1990.
- Meech, Sanford B. "John Drury and His English Writings." *Speculum* 9 (1934): 70–83.
- Millett, Bella, ed. *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, vol. 1. Drawing on the uncompleted edition by E. J. Dobson, with glossary and additional notes by Richard Dance. Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 325. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- , trans. and ed. *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses; A Translation*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009.
- Morris, Richard, ed. *Cursor Mundi: Four Versions*. 7 vols. Early English Text Society o.s., vols. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, and 101. London, 1874–93; repr. Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay, 1961–66.
- Origen. *Homilies on Luke; Fragments on Luke*. Translated by Joseph T. Leinhard, S.J. The Fathers of the Church, vol. 94. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996.
- Peraldus, Guillelmus. *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*. Cologne, 1614.
- Powicke, F. M., and C. R. Cheney, eds. *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, II, A.D. 1205–1313*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Raymo, Robert R., and Elaine E. Whitaker, eds. *The Mirroure of the Worlde: A Middle English Translation of "Le Miroir du Monde."* Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Medieval Academy of America, 2003.
- Rézeau, Pierre. *Répertoire d'incipit des prières françaises a la fin du moyen âge: Addenda et corrigenda aux répertoires de Sonet et Sinclair nouveaux incipit*. Paris: Droz, 1986.
- Rhodes, E. W., ed. *Defensor's "Liber Scintillarum" with an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version*. Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 93. London, 1889.

- Saenger, Paul. *A Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Shinners, John, ed. *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000–1500: A Reader*. 2nd ed. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2007.
- Shinners, John, and William J. Dohar, eds. *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Simmons, Thomas Frederick, ed. *The Lay Folks Mass Book, or The Manner of Hearing Mass with Rubrics and Devotions for the People*. Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 71. London, 1874.
- Sinclair, Keith V. *Prières en ancien français: Nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques, corrections et tables des articles du Répertoire de Sonet*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978.
- Somerset, Fiona, ed. *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*. Early English Text Society o.s., vol. 333. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Speculum Iuniorum*. Edited by Joseph Goering. In “Pastoral Texts and Traditions: The Anonymous *Speculum Iuniorum* (c. 1250).” In *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*. Edited by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker. Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press in association with the Boydell Press, 2009. 89–99.
- Talbot, C. H., ed. and trans. *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth Century Recluse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959; repr. 1987.
- Tanner, Norman, S.J., ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 vols. London: Sheed and Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990.
- Tschann, Judith, and M. B. Parkes, eds. *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*. Early English Text Society s.s., vol. 16. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Warren, Frederick E., trans. *The Sarum Missal in English*. 2 vols. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1913.
- Wenzel, Siegfried, trans. and ed. *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008.
- Wilmart, D. A., ed. *Precum Libelli Quattuor Aevi Karolini*. Roma: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940.

Wilson, Edward, and Iain Fenlon, eds. *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981.

Secondary Sources

Aers, David. *Faith, Ethics, and Church: Writing in England, 1360–1409*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000.

———. *Salvation and Sin: Augustine, Langland, and Fourteenth-Century Theology*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.

———. *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

Aimé-Georges Martimort. *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène*. Studi e Testi, vol. 279. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978.

Alford, John A. *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992.

Arnould, E. J. *Le Manuel des péchés: Étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII^e siècle)*. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1940.

Barratt, Alexandra. "Works of Religious Instruction." In *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. Edited by A. S. G. Edwards. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984. 413–32.

Bernard, P., and R.-S. Bour. "Communion des Saints." *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. Edited by A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and É. Amann. 15 vols. in 30. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1930–50. Vol. 3, pt. 1, cols. 429–80.

Biller, Peter, and A. J. Minnis, eds. *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998.

Blaise, Albert, ed. *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi, praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens / Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-Age*. Turnhout, Belg.: Brepols, 1975.

Bloomfield, Morton W. *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952.

- Bloomfield, Morton W., et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.* Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1979.
- Bossy, John. *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- . “The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 25 (1975): 21–38.
- Boyle, Leonard E. “The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology.” In *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*. Edited by Thomas J. Heffernan. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. 30–43.
- . *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200–1400.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.
- . “The Summa for Confessors as a Genre, and Its Religious Intent.” In *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*. Edited by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974. 126–37.
- Bradley, Ritamary, C.H.M. “Backgrounds of the Title *Speculum* in Mediaeval Literature.” *Speculum* 29 (1954): 100–115.
- Braswell, Mary Flowers. *The Medieval Sinner: Character and Confession in the English Literature of the Middle Ages.* Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1983.
- Breton, Valentin, O.F.M. *The Communion of Saints: History—Dogma—Devotion.* Translated by R. E. Scantlebury. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1934.
- Brightman, F. E. *The English Rite.* 2 vols. London, 1915; repr. 1970.
- . *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer.* 2 vols. 2nd rev. ed. London: Rivingtons, 1921.
- Brooks, Peter. *Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Bryan, Jennifer. *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

- The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. 17 vols. New York: Robert Appleton, 1907–12.
- Cockayne, George E. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*. Revised by Vicary Gibbs. 14 vols. London: St. Catherine Press, 1910–98.
- Craun, Edwin D. *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- , ed. *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*. Kalamazoo, Mich: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007.
- Cutts, Edward L. *Parish Priests and Their People in the Middle Ages in England*. London, 1898.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*. Translated by Eric Nicholson. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Deshman, Robert. "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald." *Viator* 11 (1980): 385–432.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580*. 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Duggan, Lawrence G. "Fear and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 75 (1984): 153–75.
- Durkin, Philip. "Examining One's Conscience: A Survey of Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession." *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 28 (1997): 19–56.
- Ferrone, Rita. *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium*. New York: Paulist Press, 2007.
- Firey, Abigail, ed. *A New History of Penance*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Fitzgerald, Allan D., O.S.A., ed. *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999.
- Forest, Jim. *Confession: Doorway to Forgiveness*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002.

- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983.
- French, Katherine L. "Competing for Space: Medieval Religious Conflict in the Monastic-Parochial Church at Dunster." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997): 215–44.
- . *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Gameson, Richard. "A Scribe's Confession and the Making of the Anchin Hrabanus (Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 340)." In *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts, and Images*. Edited by Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock. Paris: Peeters, 2005. 65–74.
- Garipzanov, Ildar H. *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Goering, Joseph. "A Layman's Penance." In *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. Edited by Miri Rubin. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009. 151–55.
- . "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Confession." *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175–227.
- . "The Scholastic Turn (1100–1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools." In *A New History of Penance*. Edited by Abigail Firey. Leiden: Brill, 2008. 219–37.
- . "The Thirteenth-Century English Parish." In *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*. Edited by John Van Engen. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004. 208–22.
- . *William de Montibus (c. 1140–c. 1213): The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992.
- Grabes, Herbert. *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*. Translated by Gordon Collier. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Greene, Robert A. "Synderesis, the Spark of Conscience, in the English Renaissance." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52 (1991): 195–219.
- Hageman, Mariëlle. "Pictor Iconiam Litterarum: Rituals as Visual Elements in Early Medieval Ruler Portraits in Word and Image." In *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*. Edited by Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert. Turnhout, Belg.: Brepols, 2005. 239–59.
- Hamilton, Sarah. *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2001.
- Hanna, Edward J. "The Sacrament of Penance." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. 17 vols. New York: Robert Appleton, 1907–12. 11:618–35.
- Harper, John. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Hauerwas, Stanley, and Charles Pinches. *Christians among the Virtues: Theological Conversations with Ancient and Modern Ethics*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.
- Hornbeck, J. Patrick III. *What Is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Horowitz, Maryanne Cline. *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Hudson, Anne. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982; repr. 1995.
- James, M. R. *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903.
- Jeffrey, David Lyle, ed. *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992.

- Jolliffe, P. S. *A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974.
- Julian, John, ed. *A Dictionary of Hymnology*. Revised edition. 2 vols. New York: Dover, 1907; repr 1957.
- Jungmann, Josef A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum sollemnia)*. Translated by Francis A. Brunner. 2 vols. New York: Benziger, 1951–55.
- Kalas, Rayna. "The Technology of Reflection: Renaissance Mirrors of Steel and Glass." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002): 519–42.
- Kerr, Julie. *Life in the Medieval Cloister*. London: Continuum, 2009.
- Kerr, N. R. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*. 2nd ed. London: Royal Historical Society, 1964.
- Kidder, Annemarie S. *Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, A Michael Glazier Book, 2010.
- Kuczynski, Michael P. *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- . "Sin and the Vices in the Middle English Mystics." In *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Richard Newhauser. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005. 206–33.
- Langston, Douglas. "Medieval Theories of Conscience." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Fall 2008 edition. Edited by Edward N. Zalta. At <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/conscience-medieval/>.
- Latham, R. E., ed. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975– .
- Lawrence, C. H. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. 3rd ed. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*. 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1896; repr. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.
- Leclercq, H. "Sacramentals." *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. 17 vols. New York: Robert Appleton, 1907–12. 13:292–93.

- Lemaître, Nicole. "Communion of Saints." *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. Edited by André Vauchez, Barrie Dobson, and Michael Lapidge. Translated by Adrian Walford. 2 vols. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2000. 1:341–42.
- . "Confession privée et confession publique dans les paroisses du XVIe siècle." *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 69 (1983): 189–208.
- Little, Katherine C. *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.
- Lochrie, Karma. *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Mansfield, Mary C. *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- McLaughlin, R. Emmet. "Truth, Tradition, and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance." In *A New History of Penance*. Edited by Abigail Firey. Leiden: Brill, 2008. 19–71.
- Medina, John. *The Genetic Inferno: Inside the Seven Deadly Sins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Meens, Rob. "Remedies for Sins." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*. Edited by Thomas F. X. Noble, Julia M. H. Smith, and Roberta A. Baranowski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 399–415.
- Michaud-Quantin, Pierre. *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XIIIe–XVIe siècle)*. Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1962.
- Millett, Bella. "Ancrene Wisse and the Conditions of Confession." *English Studies* 80 (1999): 193–215.
- Murray, Alexander. "Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century." In *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*. Edited by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. 275–322.
- . "Confession before 1215." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series*, 3 (1993): 51–81.

- Myers, W. David. *"Poor, Sinning Folk": Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Nares, R., et al. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London*. 4 vols. London, 1808–12.
- Newhauser, Richard. *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- , ed. *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005.
- . "The Parson's Tale." In *Sources and Analogues of the "Canterbury Tales," Volume 1*. Edited by Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2002. 529–613.
- . "Religious Writing: Hagiography, Pastoralia, Devotional, and Contemplative Works." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100–1500*. Edited by Larry Scanlon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 37–55.
- , ed. *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. 1982; repr. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Pace, Donald Gene. *Unfettering Confession: Ritualized Performance in Spanish Narrative and Drama*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2009.
- Pantin, W. A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955; repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Medieval Academy, 1980.
- Patterson, Lee. *Chaucer and the Subject of History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Payen, Jean-Charles. *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)*. Genève: Droz, 1967.
- Payer, Pierre J. *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150–1300*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009.

- Phillips, Susan E. *Transforming Talk: The Problem with Gossip in Late Medieval England*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- Pimont, S. G. *Hymnes du Brèviarie Romain*. Paris, 1884.
- Planta, J. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum*. London, 1802.
- Poschmann, Bernhard. *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*. Translated and revised by Francis Courtney, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1964.
- Potts, Timothy C. *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Pounds, N. J. G. *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Raby, F. J. E. *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
- Raymo, Robert R. "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction." Vol. 7, pt. 20 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*. Edited by Albert E. Hartung and J. Burke Severs. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986. 2255–2378, 2467–2582.
- Rider, Catherine. "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals." *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 327–40.
- Root, Jerry. *"Space to speke": The Confessional Subject in Medieval Literature*. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.
- Rubin, Miri, ed. *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Russell, G. H. "Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes." *Journal of Religious History* 2 (1962): 98–119.
- Schimmel, Solomon. *The Seven Deadly Sins: Jewish, Christian, and Classical Reflections on Human Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Schramm, Percy Ernst, and Florence Mutherich. *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768–1250*. 2 vols. München: Prestel Verlag, 1962.
- Shaffern, Robert W. *The Penitent's Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375*. Scranton, Pa.: University of Scranton Press, 2007.
- Shaw, Judith. "The Influence of Canonical and Episcopal Reform on Popular Books of Instruction." In *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*. Edited by Thomas J. Heffernan. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. 44–60.
- Smith, Martin L. *Reconciliation: Preparing for Confession in the Episcopal Church*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley, 1985.
- Sollier, J. F. "Communion of Saints." *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. 17 vols. New York: Robert Appleton, 1907–12. 4:171–74.
- Somerset, Fiona. *Feeling Like Saints* (forthcoming).
- Swanson, R. N. *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Tambling, Jeremy. *Confession: Sexuality, Sin, the Subject*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Targoff, Ramie. *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Worship in Early Modern England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Taylor, Chloë. *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault: A Genealogy of the "Confessing Animal."* New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Tentler, Thomas. *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- . "The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control." In *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*. Edited by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974. 103–26.

- Thayer, Anne T. *Penitence, Preaching, and the Coming of the Reformation*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002.
- Thurston, Herbert, S.J. *Familiar Prayers: Their Origin and History*. Edited by Paul Grosjean, S.J. London: Burnes Oates, 1953.
- United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. "Welcoming the Roman Missal Third Edition." At <http://usccb.org/romanmissal/samples-people.shtml>.
- Vauchez, André. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*. Edited by Daniel E. Bornstein. Translated by Margery J. Schneider. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.
- Wailes, Stephen L. *Medieval Allegories of Jesus' Parables*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Wallace, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- . "Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins." In *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Richard Newhauser. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005. 145–69.
- . *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
- Wittig, Joseph W. *William Langland Revisited*. New York: Twayne Publishers; London: Prentice Hall International, 1997.

PART II

A Catalogue of Forms of Confession in Their Manuscript Contexts

Cataloguing methodology

Part II of this dissertation presents, for the first time, a catalogue of all the known Latin, French, and English forms of confession in prose and verse from ca. 1200 to ca. 1500, including Latin and Old English precursors to the form of confession dating back to the ninth century. The catalogue presents each example within its manuscript context. The following sections are included:

- A. Latin and Old English precursor forms of confession, 800–1200
- B. Latin forms of confession, 1200–1500
- C. French and Anglo-Norman forms of confession, 1200–1500
- D. Middle English forms of confession, 1375–1500
- E. Verse forms of confession, 1300–1575

The catalogue documents 442 copies of 198 different Latin, French, and English texts from ca. 1200 to ca. 1500, along with 24 Latin and Old English precursors to the form of confession in 37 copies.

This is a catalogue of catalogues; it culls from a forest of documentary cataloguing specific information about the form of confession that has long remained hidden to all but a few scholars. The result reveals the form of confession to be a major northern European genre of penitential writing in the later Middle Ages. I have identified texts of the form of confession by searching numerous indexes of incipits and manuscript catalogues, both in print form and in online databases. Others I discovered by a sort of expected serendipity while immersed in the materials over a long period of time. Following tracks through the notes of earlier editors of this genre (mainly of Romance texts) led to several finds. I would never have found some texts had it not been for the expertise and help of Siegfried Wenzel; my debt to him is clear in several citations in the notes.

While this is a catalogue of catalogues, I have myself consulted numerous manuscripts containing the form of confession. I have read nearly all of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon precursors to the form of confession in section A, most of which have been edited. I've read nearly all of the Middle English prose and verse forms of confession in sections D and E; only a few of the prose forms have been edited, while all of the verse forms have been edited. And I've been able to

read only some of the Latin and French forms of confession in sections B and C. Nearly all of the Latin forms of confession are unedited, and many are very difficult to access. A few of the French forms of confession have been edited, but again, most are unedited and many are difficult to access.

The catalogue aims at being comprehensive, yet bibliographic control over a genre that is predominantly anonymously written and that ranges over a broad geographical and linguistic area cannot be exhaustive, and over time other forms of confession may be expected to be identified. I do not include vernacular forms of confession that are not French or English. I have been able to find very few in other languages, and little scholarship mentions forms of confession in other vernacular languages. Some evidence points to the existence of German examples, most of which are late, appearing mainly after 1450 and into the sixteenth century.¹ I've found only a handful of other examples in Irish, Italian,

¹ Cataloguing vernacular German texts of the form of confession would helpfully complement this catalogue, further filling out the predominantly northern European provenance of this genre. One may begin with several "Beichtspiegel" in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, listed by Weidenhiller (239–43). These manuscripts date from 1450 to 1500 and beyond, and most from 1469 on. See also the following: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, qu. Cod 46, 118r–19r (ca. 1457), which also contains three Latin forms of confession (see catalogue entries B24.41, B51.1, and B57.2); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. nova 252, 1r–6r (14th cent.); and two *beichtspiegel* in Ser. nova 9315, 23v–24v, 26r–30v (1468–69); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 690, 273r (1478/1486); and Cgm. 1121, 224ra–26ra (1450–75); and Köln, Stadtarchiv, GB 4o 23, 70v–71r (ca. 1500). In addition, see also four Old High German formulas dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, edited by Müllenhoff and Scherer; see *Denkmäler deutscher* 1:295–98, 301–6, 310–11, 313–14. In each case, a credal statement precedes a *confessio*, which includes formulas such as "Ih pin sculdic in . . .," "I han gesundet in . . .," and so on, as in, for example, the "Wessobrunner Glaube und Beichte." I thank Siegfried Wenzel for the reference to this text.

Spanish, and Dutch.² The fact that so few vernacular forms of confession are known in languages other than French and English starkly illustrates the northern European provenance of the form of confession. While other texts may be discovered in southern European vernaculars, I am confident that the northern European dominance of the genre will hold true. Not until the Roman penitentiary Andreas de Escobar's *Modus confitendi* was widely printed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century would the form of confession become much known in southern Europe beyond communities of religious. This popular

² An Italian form of confession, beginning "Domine, mea culpa. Confessu so ad mesenior Dominideu et ad matdonna sancta Maria . . .," in Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Cod. B. 63, 232r–33r, dates to the end of the eleventh century and is known as one of the earliest extant examples of Italian vernacular prose in Umbrian dialect; see *Early Italian Texts* 18–24, Monaci and Arese 6–7, Ruggieri 2:28–31, *GRLMA* 6/2:244. Confession in one's own mother tongue is here illustrated even at this earliest stage of Italian vernacular, yet the genre does not take hold as a common form of religious writing in Italian. Another Italian example, beginning "Eo me confesso a Dio . . .," appears in a MS containing a Latin form of confession (B1.4), Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 392 (D.2.24), 39v–41r; see *Angelica* 187–89. One Italian example (14th–15th cent.) is in the Sicilian dialect but written in Greek characters, in Grottaferrata, Italy, Biblioteca della Badia Greca, MS Γ.α.VI (301), 290v–93r; see Pagliaro 283–300; Rocchi 215 ff., *GRLMA* 6/2:246. And Domenico Cavalca wrote a very unusual penitential work called the *Specchio de' peccati*, which discusses sins in terms of "motions of the heart," that is, from an emotional standpoint, from the angle of desire. Chapter 12 of this work is a "short form of confession," but it does not maintain a first-person address; it is more of a third-person set of directives, with some passages of first-person address given as exemplification. The various sins are enumerated like a form of confession, but more in terms of the author telling the reader which ones to confess (see Del Furia's edition, 100–103). There is a Dutch form of confession (1400–1425), beginning "Ich arme sundige mensche, ich bekenne god vater dem almechtigen und der jungvrouwen sente Marien unnd allin gotis heyligen . . .," in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Magdeb. 192, 159r–66r; see *Berlin Magdeb.* (2) 90–93. An Irish form of confession (later 15th cent.) appears in Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 598, 36va–37vb; see Geary 344–66, *Cat. gén. Dépt.* (8^o) 24:255–60, Bloomfield 387 n. 107, Todd 9. A Spanish example (1450–1500), beginning "Por ende concluyendo a ti padre digo mj muy grand culpa, commo yo me confieso aver desfallescido . . .," appears in New York, Hispanic Society of America, HC397/378a, 73r–74v; see *NY Hisp. Soc.* 1:22, 112–13.

Latin work, issuing from the papal curia around 1427–37, might be expected to have inspired many vernacular versions, but only one Spanish and one Italian version has been identified.³

Because the form of confession was usually enclosed between the beginning and ending of the *Confiteor*—the liturgical prayer of confession said in the offices of prime and compline and as part of the priest’s preparatory prayers before the Mass—incipits of texts of the form of confession are quite conspicuous. They begin with some variation of “I confess to God almighty, and to all the saints in heaven . . .” or “I, a wretched sinner, confess. . . .” The incipit almost always indicates the first-person mode of the confessional form. What is not always obvious at first is whether a text is a form of confession to be used in preparation for the private sacrament of penance or whether it is the liturgical *Confiteor*. Yet because the *Confiteor* is only a paragraph long (lacking an enumeration of sins) and can therefore never occupy more than two leaves (bottom and top of consecutive leaves), texts of more than two leaves are conclusively not the liturgical prayer. As it turns out, however, the manuscript contexts for forms of confession and liturgical prayers are for the most part quite different. The *Confiteor* is found in liturgical texts of the offices and, in the

³ Indeed, the provenance of most of the extant manuscripts of the *Modus confitendi* is Northern and Central European, and the majority of printed editions issued from Northern Europe. Roberto Rusconi has identified only one Spanish version in manuscript and one Italian one printed in Venice in 1481; see Rusconi 201.

vernacular, in Books of Hours, while the form of confession is mainly found in pastoral or devotional compilations. There are only a very few cases in which, having not seen a manuscript and lacking enough information from bibliographical sources, I have not been able to determine with certainty whether a text is a form of confession or the *Confiteor*. In these instances, this fact is made clear in the notes.

One of the most significant aspects of the dissemination of the form of confession is that some texts were embedded in longer treatises, some of which have known authors. Unlike stand-alone texts of the form of confession, most of which are extant in single manuscripts and are anonymously written, these embedded texts often circulated widely and can be quite lengthy. None of these embedded forms of confession have previously been documented as such or discussed, except for one that constitutes part 1 of Robert Grosseteste's *Speculum confessionis* (4 MSS; see B1b). Embedded forms of confession are found in John Rigaud's *Formula confessionum* (32 MSS; see B5), William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (60 MSS; see B8), and Andreas de Escobar's *Modus confitendi* (65 MSS; see B24); in Henry Duke of Lancaster's *Livre de seyntz medicines* (2 MSS; see C19), the *Menagier de Paris* (3 MSS; see C21), and in two French treatises called *La Compileison de seinte penance* (2 MSS; see C6) and *Sainte doctrine pour briefment et saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, which contains

two embedded forms of confession (1 MS; see C31 and C34); and in two anonymous Middle English treatises, the *Cleansyng of Mannes Sowle* (7 MSS; see D5 and D6) and *Disce Mori* (3 MSS; see D37), and John Ireland's *Of Penance and Confession* (1 MS; see D57). Whenever possible, I have supplied references to where in a longer work the form of confession appears. Due to issues of access and other practical limitations, it has not been possible to catalogue every extant manuscript of embedded forms of confession that survive in numerous copies. For the *Formula confessionum* and *Oculus sacerdotis*, I have catalogued one manuscript fully and then listed all the others at the end of the main entry. My list of manuscripts for the *Oculus sacerdotis* is the most up-to-date available, correcting many mistakes of earlier lists. On the other hand, I have catalogued completely all the extant manuscripts of Andreas de Escobar's *Modus confitendi* because of the special importance of this work to the genre. First of all, the contents of the form of confession take up the vast majority of this work (it is preceded only by a short prologue). The *Modus confitendi* survives in numerous manuscript witnesses and then appears in eighty-six printed editions in the fifteenth century from 1471, testifying to the importance of this work. Escobar, a Roman penitentiary, composed the *Modus confitendi* by request while attending the Council of Constance, and therefore much about the context of this work might illuminate the religious, political, and social significance of the form of

confession in the fifteenth century, the century in which the genre chiefly circulates in all languages. I have also catalogued all the surviving texts of the *Cleansyng of Mannes Sowle* and the *Disce Mori*, as they are the only known Middle English treatises to embed a form of confession (two in the case of *Cleansyng*), and neither Jolliffe, Raymo, nor Durkin include embedded forms of confession in their work.

No catalogue of Latin manuscripts of the form of confession has previously been compiled. I have relied most heavily on Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500*, which provides detailed indexing by rubric and subject. In compiling this work, Bloomfield and his collaborators searched the manuscript catalogues of most of the major depositories in Western libraries, while his team consulted only about twenty percent of the manuscripts listed. I have been able to add many other texts unnoticed in *Incipits* by searching the indexes of incipits of manuscript catalogues that were unavailable to Bloomfield, including many new online databases of Latin manuscript collections, and by consulting some manuscripts myself. Texts of Latin forms of confession were identified by their incipit, which consistently begin with the words *confiteor, ego, or peccavi*, and by searching subjects and rubrics. Latin forms of confession are variously rubricated *confessio, confessio generalis, confessio peccatoris, confessio peccatorum, confessio sacerdotis,*

confessionale generale, confessionis forma, forma confessionis, forma confessionum, forma confitendi, formula confessionis, materia confessionis, modus confitendi, oratio, ordo confitendi, summa de cassibus consciencie, summa de confessione, summa de paenitentia, and *summula de confessione*. Bloomfield's principle for identifying Medieval Latin texts holds true in the case of the confessional form, that incipits rather than rubrics—which are no more than generally descriptive terms—provide the surest identifications.⁴ These rubrics sometimes refer to forms of confession and sometimes do not. On the other hand, nearly all texts beginning “Confiteor . . .,” “Ego miser/peccator/reus . . .,” “Ego sum homo malus . . .,” and “Peccavi . . .” are forms of confession.⁵

As with the Latin manuscripts of confessional forms, no comprehensive list of manuscripts has been available until now for French and Anglo-Norman texts. I have relied on the catalogues of incipits by Brunel, Sinclair, Sonet, Rézeau, the relevant volumes of *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, and numerous indexes of incipits in manuscript catalogues, including all the volumes of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements* (Quarto Series). In addition, the subject index (*Index général*) to all the catalogues of the public libraries of France (Octavo and Quarto Series) was searched. French

⁴ *Incipits* 1.

⁵ None of the Psalms begin with *Confiteor*. They begin with *Confitebor tibi* (Ps. 9, 110, 137, 138b), *Confiteantur* (Ps. 144b), *Confitebimur tibi* (Ps. 74), and *Confitemini domino* (Ps. 104a, 105a, 106a, 117, 135). References are to the Latin numbering.

texts typically begin (often preceded by *Sire Dieu*) “Je me confesse,” “Jeo me rend coupable,” “J’ay pechié,” or “Je regehis al tout poissant Deu,” and are rubricated *confessio*, *confessio generalis*, *confession generale*, *general confession*, *formule de confession*, *maniere confesser*, or *modus confitendi*.

The Middle English manuscripts of the form of confession have been well documented in P. S. Jolliffe’s *Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (class C), with some additions given in Robert R. Raymo’s contribution to the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, “Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction.”

More recently, Philip Durkin, in “Examining One’s Conscience: A Survey of Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession,” has classified the manuscripts of the Middle English form of confession in terms of their implied audiences (e.g., for priests, religious, or laity) or in terms of their implied uses (e.g., for annual confession, daily confession, as an aid to a priest hearing confession). Durkin’s survey is useful for noting differences among the extant texts, but so much more is common than different to them. His classifications are also misleading in appearing to be more defined than they really are. Indeed, it is clear that texts that appear to have been composed for one audience were used by other audiences, and many of the Middle English forms of confession show evidence of mixed audiences, making it difficult to classify the extant texts

according to audience in any rigorous way.⁶ While I do not follow Durkin's system of classification, I do cite this work throughout section D of the catalogue as a valuable complement to Jolliffe and Raymo.

What my catalogue of Middle English manuscripts offers is a much fuller account of the texts that summarizes their contents as well as describes their manuscript contexts, with corrections and additions to both Jolliffe and Raymo. I have searched the indexes of incipits in catalogues of the major depositories in Britain, including the volumes of the *Index of Middle English Prose*, and in catalogues of datable manuscripts by P. R. Robinson and Andrew Watson. I have consulted the vast majority of these manuscripts myself, either firsthand or by using microfilmed copies or digital scans. Middle English texts usually begin "I knowlege me gyilty and yelde me to God" or "I am aknowe to God," and are

⁶ Durkin himself acknowledges in his own descriptions the mixed nature of so many of these texts. It is common for a text, for example, to contain enumerations of sins relevant for a monastic audience alongside others relevant for a lay audience; or even for a text written entirely in terms of a generically male audience to be specifically intended for a female audience. See, for example, *Disce Mori*, a manual of religious instruction containing an embedded form of confession written entirely with masculine pronouns as if for a broad male audience, in which the concluding section of the manual, the "Exhortacion," is addressed specifically to "the persone that hit was written to," Dame Alice, a female religious with a nonregular vocation, most likely a vowess connected to the Bridgettine Syon Abbey (E. Jones [2] xiii–xiv). The compiler has made no effort to adapt the treatise to his dedicatee, except in this concluding section. He has compiled the treatise from previous manuals of instruction, adding a new section for the new audience that moves from general moral instruction to specific instruction in contemplative life for his female audience. This example shows how sources could be recycled for new audiences with little attempt at complete adaptation for the new audience.

rubricated as a *confession*, *confessional*, *forma confessionis*, *form of confession*, *manner of confession*, or a *tretys þat perteyneth to confession*.

The last section of the catalogue contains verse forms of confession. The form of confession is essentially a prose genre, yet versions of it were cast into verse. In one important way, these later verse forms of confession differ from their prose models. Very few of the verse types are addressed directly to a confessor; they are more accurately termed *confessional prayers* addressed to God or Christ. Yet these poems do include avowals of sins and requests for mercy and clearly derive from the prose genre. They deserve, therefore, to be included in a separate section of this catalogue of manuscripts. However, it is not enough that a poem contain penitential material or a penitential tone to qualify here as a verse confession. To be included, a poem must feature a significant focus on confession per se; be presented in the first-person directly addressing a confessor, God, or Christ; contain at least summary avowals of sins; feature an appeal for forgiveness; and not be so diluted by other material as to lose a strong sense of being a confession. Many if not most religious poems from the later Middle Ages contain some confessional and contritional lines without having a primary focus on the act of confessing. This part of the catalogue is meant to inventory those poems that take the form of confession as their underlying model of discourse.

Peter Revell's *Fifteenth-Century English Prayers and Meditations*, Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards's *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (completely revising and updating Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins's *Index of Middle English Verse*), and *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* were searched for verse confessions. Sifting through Carleton Brown's anthologies of Middle English lyrics and Frank Patterson's anthology of Middle English penitential lyrics was also helpful. Because the verse confessions are structurally much freer and less formulaic than the prose forms, they do not begin with the first sentence of the *Confiteor*, and their various beginnings make them difficult to identify by incipit. Due to this lack of predictability, this section of the catalogue does not pretend to be comprehensive, particularly for Latin poems. Nevertheless, especially for the Middle English verses, it is a full section, amply representing the form of confession as it was cast into verse.

Format of the entries

Each section of the catalogue is arranged chronologically by date of manuscript witnesses, or by date of composition in those few cases where the date of composition is known. Since most forms of confession have a similar incipit, it is

more useful to display a chronological survey of the genre. Manuscripts with similar dates are sequenced alphabetically by incipit, and those forms of confession having the same incipit and similar date are arranged alphabetically by city location of libraries. Multiple copies of the same text are grouped together under the same entry number and are arranged in chronological order. Each entry contains the following kinds of information:

A. Incipit and explicit

An entry begins with the incipit of a text, followed by an ellipsis and then the text's explicit. In cases where catalogues provide no incipit and I have been unable to consult a manuscript, this has been noted. In some cases where catalogues provide no explicit and I have been unable to consult a manuscript, explicits are omitted. Abbreviations have been expanded silently and editorial readings bracketed; word division follows modern usage, but capitalization and punctuation have not been modernized. Where I have not seen a manuscript myself, transcriptions of incipits and explicits follow editions or reference works that have been consulted. In cases where a text begins with a prologue (i.e., any amount of text preceding the main text of the confession proper), the incipit to the prologue is given after the incipit and explicit of the main text of the form of confession. In cases where a text concludes with an epilogue (i.e., any amount of

text that follows the main text of the confession proper), the incipit to the epilogue is given after the incipit and explicit of the main text.

B. Rubric

Descriptive rubrics serving as titles or headings for a form of confession are italicized. Rubrics supplied by cataloguers or that otherwise are not clearly in the manuscript are enclosed within brackets.

C. Library and shelfmark of the manuscript

Following the practice of Kristeller in *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, native spellings of cities and libraries are used. Shelfmarks consisting only of a number are preceded by the designation *MS*.

D. Date and provenance of the manuscript

Dates and provenances of manuscripts, including names of scribes and owners, are taken from catalogues containing manuscript descriptions and from other bibliographical works. The reliability of this information, of course, varies, though I have tried to rely on the best sources available. Manuscripts with uncertain provenances are designated as such.

I have endeavored to arrange the catalogue entries chronologically by date of the extant manuscripts. In the very few cases where the date of composition of a work is known (e.g., B5 and B8), I have placed these works according to their date of composition. Following a chronological organization, however, is by no means an exact science. Because descriptive catalogues of medieval manuscripts, in most cases, can do no more than assign the dating of a manuscript to a date range (e.g., 1400–1425, earlier 15th cent., late 15th cent., etc.), trying to arrange the entries in this catalogue *chronologically* presents an obvious problem of interpretation. Most catalogues unfortunately do not explain their adopted terminology, such as the abbreviations *in.*, *med.*, and *ex.*, or the terms *beginning*, *early*, or *later*, as if these indicate self-explanatory date ranges. Does “s. xv. in.,” for example, mean the first few years, first decade, first quarter, or first third of the fifteenth century? Does “s. iv. med.” mean 1325–1375, the 1350s, or ca. 1350? For purposes of organizing the manuscripts in this catalogue, I have had to answer other questions of chronology. Which comes first, a dating of “ca. 1409” or a dating to the “early 15th cent.”? Where should a manuscript dated to a whole century be placed? There are no right answers, of course, but the sequencing of entries must be done according to some logical and systematic plan. The following protocols have guided my chronological arrangement of entries.

(a) A specific date precedes a date range that includes the date (e.g., 1436 precedes 1400–1450).

(b) Nonnumerical descriptors from manuscript catalogues have been interpreted in the following way:

beginning of a century as the first decade of the century;
early in the century as the first quarter of the century;
mid-century as the midpoint of the century;
late in the century as the last quarter of the century;
end of the century as the last decade of the century.

(c) Dating to a whole century is placed just before mid-century dating.

The following thus exemplifies the system's sequencing:

ca. 1409
late 14th–early 15th cent.
beg. 15th cent.
1400–1425
early 15th cent.
ca. 1436
1400–1450
15th cent.
ca. 1450
mid-15th cent.
1462
ca. 1470
1450–1475
ca. 1480
1450–1500
1475–1500
late 15th cent.
end 15th cent.

E. Contents

For the Old English and Latin precursors of the form of confession (section A), the Middle English prose forms of confession (section D), and the versified forms of confession, the majority of which are Middle English (section E), I systematically supply an outline of the contents of each text presented according to the various schemas under which sins are categorized. This summary of a text's contents indicates the breadth of a text—though not necessarily the depth—and also provides a ready comparison to the church's syllabus of basic Christianity as it was elaborated in the catechistic literature of the period. Because of limited access to the mostly unedited state of the Latin and French forms of confession in sections B and C, I selectively supply information about their contents in the notes to those entries, especially for those texts with known authorship that circulated widely.

F. Context

This section lists other texts appearing in the manuscript, allowing the form of confession to be contextualized within its manuscript environment. Such information is critical for assessing the circulation of confessional forms—who their audiences were, where in the religious and social strata the texts are to be found, with what kind of texts they were associated, and how they might have

been used. As with the information on dating and provenance, this section has been compiled from manuscript catalogues and other bibliographical work, and the same cautions apply. This information cannot substitute for full bibliographic catalogue descriptions. My aim here is to provide a general picture of the manuscript context for each of the catalogued texts and to facilitate comparison among the manuscripts. To make comparing the manuscripts of the form of confession as easy as possible, I have not presented manuscript contexts in the strict order in which texts actually appear in a given manuscript; instead, I follow two principles of order: (a) major texts and texts of known authorship precede minor and anonymous ones; and (b) texts of similar genre are grouped together (e.g., commentary, exposition, meditation, prayer, sermon, tract). Such a presentation more readily shows the kinds of texts that appear together with forms of confession and reveals patterns of association. The texts should be understood to be in the same language as the form of confession unless otherwise noted. When other forms of confession appear in the same manuscript, these are cross-referenced to their separate entries.

G. Bibliography

At the end of an entry, bibliography on the text and its manuscript is supplied. If a text has been edited or translated (few have been), these are cited first. Then

catalogue descriptions of the manuscript are given and other important bibliographical work. Since very few substantial discussions of the form of confession exist, the citations are mainly to bibliographical information or to other supplementary material. The bibliography concluding an entry uses short-title forms for works cited; these are listed in the cumulative bibliography below. Note that volume and part numbers of works cited are separated by a slash, while volume and page numbers are separated by a colon.

Abbreviations used in the bibliography and catalogue

AN	Anglo-Norman
anon.	anonymous
art.	article (in MS)
attrib.	attributed to
Aug.	Augustinian
bef.	before
Ben.	Benedictine
Carm.	Carmelite
Carth.	Carthusian
cath.	cathedral

cent.	century
chap.	chapter (in MS)
Cist.	Cistercian
con.	convent
dial.	dialect
dioc.	diocese
Dom.	Dominican
EETS e.s.	Early English Text Society, extra series
EETS o.s.	Early English Text Society, original series
EETS s.s.	Early English Text Society, supplementary series
ed.	edited
epil.	epilogue
esp.	especially
frag.	fragment
Fr.	French
Fran.	Franciscan
Germ.	German
Ital.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
MD	Middle Dutch

ME	Middle English
MF	Middle French
MHG	Middle High German
misc.	miscellaneous
mon.	monastery
MS	manuscript
n.d.	no date given
OE	Old English
par.	paragraph (in MS)
Prem.	Premonstratensian
prol.	prologue
prov.	province
ps.-	pseudo-
pt.	part
sec.	section (in MS)
trans.	translation of, translated by

Short references for bibliography cited in the catalogue

Advocates' MSS

Elspeth D. Yeo and Ian C. Cunningham,
Summary Catalogue of the Advocates'
Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland
(Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office,
1971).

Alexander

J. G. G. Alexander and Elzbieta Temple,
Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College
Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor
Institute (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

Allen

Hope Emily Allen, "Wynkyn de Worde and a
Second French Compilation from the 'Ancren
Riwle' with a Description of the First (Trinity
Coll. Camb. MS 883)," *Essays and Studies in*
Honor of Carleton Brown (New York: New York
University Press, 1940), 182–219.

Andrieu

Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut*
moyen âge, 5 vols., *Spicilegium Sacrum*
Lovaniense, *Études et Documents*, vols. 11, 23,

24, 28, 29 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum
Lovaniense, 1948–61).

Angelica

Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicum
manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in
Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii sancti Augustini
de Urbe* (Roma, 1893).

Anna Amalia Bib.

Betty C. Bushey, with Harmut Broszinski,
*Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen
Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek: Die lateinischen
Handschriften bis 1600, Band 1; Fol max, Fol und
Oct* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004).

Arnould (1)

E. J. Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés: Étude de
littérature religieuse anglo-normande* (Paris:
Librairie Droz, 1940).

Arnould (2)

E. J. Arnould, ed., *Le livre de seyntz medicines:
The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of
Lancaster*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, vol. 2
(Oxford: Blackwell, 1940).

Arsenal

Henry Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la
Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1885–92).

- ASM *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile.*
Vol. 2: *Psalter I*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano; Vol. 8:
Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials, ed.
Jonathan Wilcox (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval
and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994, 2000).
- Atlas* Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael
Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval
English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen
University Press, 1985).
- Augsburg* Wolf Gehrt, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und
Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: 4^o Cod 1-150,*
*Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und
Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden:
Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999).
- Balliol MSS* R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of
Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1963).
- Bamberg* Hans Fischer and Friedrich Leitschuh, *Katalog
der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu*

- Bamberg*, 3 vols. (Bamberg: C. C. Buchner Verlag, 1887–1912; vol. 1 repr. 1966).
- Bannatyne* Denton Fox and William A. Ringler, eds., *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 1.1.6* (London: Scolar Press, 1980).
- Barker-Benfield B. Barker-Benfield, "Notable Accessions: Western Manuscripts," *Bodleian Library Record* 12.6 (1988): 489–90.
- Barratt (1) Alexandra Barratt, "Books for Nuns: Cambridge University Library MS Add. 3042," *Notes and Queries* 44 (1997): 310–19.
- Barratt (2) Alexandra Barratt, "'Envoluped in Synne': The Bolton Hours and Its Confessional Formula," in Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney, eds., *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A. G. Rigg* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 3–14.

- Batt Henry of Lancaster, *The Book of Holy Medicines: Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, trans. and ed. Catherine Batt, French of England Translation Series (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, forthcoming).
- Bawcutt (1) Priscilla Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- Bawcutt (2) Priscilla Bawcutt, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1998).
- Berlin Görres Fritz Schillmann, *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Dritter Band: Die Görreshandschriften* (Berlin: Behrend, 1919).
- Berlin Magdeb. (1) Ursula Winter, ed., *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Teil 1: Ms. Magdeb. 1–75* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001).
- Berlin Magdeb. (2) Ursula Winter and Kurt Heydeck, eds., *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu*

- Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Teil 3: Ms. Magdeb. 170–286* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008).
- Berlin Preuss.* Gerard Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, 1 vol. in 2 parts (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979–84).
- Bibl. Apos. Pal. lat.* Henricus Stevenson, Jr., and I. B. De Rossi, *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Roma, 1886).
- Bibl. Apos. Reg. lat.* Andreas Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937–45).
- Bibl. Roy.* Joseph Van Den Gheyn et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 13 vols. (Bruxelles: Henri Lamertin, 1901–48).
- Bischoff* Bernhard Bischoff, “Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat,” *Scriptorium* 22 (1968): 306–14.

BL Add. MSS [dates]

Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, in the years [1841–] (London, 1850–); cited by acquisition years of a given volume and page nos.

BL Arundel

J. Forshall, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum, New Series*, 3 pts. in 1 (London, 1834–40).

BL Cotton

J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802).

BL Harley

R. Nares et al., *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 4 vols. (London, 1808–12).

BL Illum. MSS

London, British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Egerton 3277, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6851>.

BL Royal

Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old*

- Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921).
- BL Sloane S. Ayscough, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed*, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1782).
- BL Sloane unpub. *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Sloanianae* [1837–40], vol. 1 (unpublished printed volume in the British Library).
- Black Anthony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London: Burns and Oates; Shepherdstown, W.V.: Patmos Press, 1979).
- Blatchly John Blatchly, "Changing Times and Symbols," *East Anglian Daily Times* 109 (June 9, 2007): 22.
- Bloomfield Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952).

- Blume Clemens Blume, ed., *Pia Dictamina: Reimgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters*, part 6, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 33 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1899).
- BN cat. gén. fr. (1) *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, 5 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1868–1902).
- BN cat. gén. fr. (2) Henri Omont et al., *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: Ancien supplément français*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895–96).
- BN cat. gén. fr. (3) Henri Omont et al., *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: Anciens petits fonds français*, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897–1902).
- BN cat. gén. fr. (4) *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: Nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, 4 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1918).
- BN MSS anglais Gaston Raynaud, *Catalogue des manuscrits anglais de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1884).
- BN MSS lat. (1) Lauer, Philippe et al., *Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 7 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939–88).

- BN MSS lat. (2) Léopold Victor Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613*, 6 pts. in 1 (1863–71; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974).
- Boethius MSS M. T. Gibson and Lesley Smith, with Joseph Ziegler, eds., *Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius, Volume 1, Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland* (London: Warburg Institute, 1995).
- Boniface-Delcro J. Boniface-Delcro, "Un livre d'heures de Me. Jehan Quentin," *Bulletin du Bouquiniste* 4, no. 73 (Paris: Auguste Aubry, Jan. 1, 1860): 712–13.
- Bouly de Lesdain Anne-Marie Bouly de Lesdain, "Les manuscrits didactiques antérieurs au XIVe siècle: Essai d'inventaire," *Bulletin d'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 14 (1966): 43–82.
- Bowers (1) R. H. Bowers, "The Middle English St. Brendan's Confession," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 175 (1939): 40–49.

- Bowers (2) R. H. Bowers, "Middle-English Poems by Mydwynter," *Modern Language Notes* 64 (1949): 454–61.
- Boyle Leonard E. Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 5 (1955): 81–110; repr. in Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200–1400*, Collected Studies Series, vol. 135 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), article IV, 81–110.
- Brayer (1) Édith Brayer, "Livres d'heures contenant des textes en français," *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 12 (1963): 31–102.
- Brayer (2) Édith Brayer, "Un manuel de confession en ancien français conservé dans un manuscrit de Catane (Bibl. Ventimiliana 42)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 59 (1947): 155–98.

Breymann

Hermann Breymann, *La dime de penitance: Altfranzösisches Gedicht verfasst im Jahre 1288 von Jehan von Journi*, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 120 (Tübingen, 1874).

Brit. Lit. MSS

British Literary Manuscripts from the British Library, London, Series Three: The Medieval Age, c. 1150–1500. An Inventory to Parts One and Two of the Harvester Microform Collection, based on the Sloane and Additional Manuscript series. Britain's Literary Heritage (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press Microform Publications, 1985).

Brown

Beatrice Daw Brown, "Religious Lyrics in MS Don. c. 13," *Bodleian Library Quarto Record* 7 (1932–34): 1–7.

Brunel

Clovis Brunel, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal* (Paris: Droz, 1935); cited by entry numbers.

Budapest

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, *Codices Manuscripti Latini*, vol. 1, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, *Catalogus Bibliothecae*

Musaei Nationalis Hungarici, vol. 12
(Budapestini: Sumptibus Musei Nationalis
Hingarici, 1940).

Buuren

Catherine van Buuren, ed., *The Buke of the
Sevyne Sagis: A Middle Scots Version of "The
Seven Sages of Rome" Edited from the Asloan
Manuscript (NLS Acc. 4233), c. 1515, Germanic
and Anglistic Studies of the University of
Leiden, vol. 20 (Leiden: Leiden University
Press, 1982).*

Camb. CCC

M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the
Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi
College, Cambridge, 2 vols. (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1912).*

Camb. Emmanuel

M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the
Library of Emmanuel College: A Descriptive
Catalogue (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1904).*

Camb. Gon. Caius

M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the
Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius*

- College*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907–8); *Supplement* (1914).
- Camb. Magdalene* M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1909).
- Camb. Pepys* Rosamond McKitterick and Richard Beadle, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1992).
- Camb. St. John's* M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).
- Camb. Trin.* M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900–1904).
- Candal (1)* Manuel Candal, S.J., "Andrés de Escobar, Obispo de Megara, firmante del Decreto

- Florentino 'pro Graecis,'" *Orientalia Christiana periodice* 14 (1948): 80–104.
- Candal (2) Andreas de Escobar, *Tractatus polemico-theologicus de Graecis errantibus*, ed. Emmanuel Candal, S.J., *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptorum*, Series B, vol. 4, fasc. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1952).
- Casagrande Carla Casagrande, "'Motions of the Heart' and Sins: The *Specchio de' peccati* by Domenico Cavalco, O.P.," trans. Helen Tooke, in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 128–44.
- Cat. des MSS datés* Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu, ou de copiste*, 7

vols. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959–84).

Cat. gén. Dépt. (4°)

Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements (Quarto Series), 7 vols. (Paris, 1849–85).

Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°)

Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements (Octavo Series), vols. 1–48 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1886–1933); vols. 49–58 (Paris: Bibliothèque National, 1951–71); vols. 59 ff. to date (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980–).

Chastising

Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge, eds., *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957).

Clark

Andrew Clark, ed., *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, 3 vols., EETS o.s., vols. 129–30, 142 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905–11).

- CMCA-S N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957); cited by entry and article numbers.
- Connolly Margaret Connolly, "Books for the 'helpe of euery persooone þat þenkiþ to be sauēd': Six Devotional Anthologies from Fifteenth-Century London," *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 170–81.
- Costa António Domingues de Sousa Costa, O.F.M., *Mestre André Dias de Escobar, figura ecuménica do século XV, Estudos e textos da idade média e renascimento, vol. 2* (Roma and Porto: Editorial Franciscana, 1967).
- Craigie (1) W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, 2 vols., Scottish Text Society n.s., vols. 7 and 20 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1919–27).
- Craigie (2) W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse Written by John Asloan in the Reign of James the Fifth*, Scottish

Text Society n.s., vol. 14 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1923).

CUL

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 7 vols. in 6 (Cambridge, 1856–67); repr. in 6 vols. with new preface and intro. (München: Kraus Reprint, 1980).

Cumming

William P. Cumming, "A Middle English MS in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris," *PMLA* 42 (1927): 862–64.

Cursor Mundi

Richard Morris, ed., *Cursor Mundi: Four Versions*, 7 vols., EETS o.s., vols. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, and 101 (London, 1874–93; repr. Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay, 1961–66).

Darragon

Benoît Darragon, *Répertoire des pièces euchologiques citées dans le "De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus" de Dom Martène*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia, vol. 57 (Roma: CLV—Edizioni Liturgiche, 1991); cited by entry numbers.

- Day Mabel Day, ed., *The Wheatley Manuscript: A Collection of Middle English Verse and Prose Contained in a MS now in the British Museum Add. MSS 39574, EETS o.s., vol. 155* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921).
- De Poorter (1) A. De Poorter, "Catalogue des livres d'heures et de prières de la Bibliothèque de Bruges," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 29 (1933): 344–64.
- De Poorter (2) A. De Poorter, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges* (Gembloux, Belg.: J. Duculot, 1934).
- De Ricci Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935–40).
- Del Furia Francesco Del Furia, ed., *Specchio de' Peccati del P. Domenico Cavalca dell' ordine de Predicatori* (Firenze, 1828).
- Denis Michael Denis, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis latini*

- aliarumque occidentis linguarum*, 6 parts in 2 vols. (Wien, 1793–1802).
- Denkmäler deutscher* K. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII–XII Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1892).
- Deshman Robert Deshman, "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald," *Viator* 11 (1980): 385–432.
- Dessau* Jutta Fliege, ed., *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Dessau* (Berlin, 1986).
- Digital Scriptorium* Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, *Digital Scriptorium*, <http://SCRIPTORIUM.COLUMBIA.EDU>.
- Doyle A. I. Doyle, "Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* n.s. 25.2 (1958): 222–43.
- Doyle and Piper A. I. Doyle, unpublished typescript catalogue of Cosin MSS housed in Durham University Library, rev. A. J. Piper.

- Doyle diss. A. I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Early Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein" (diss., Cambridge University, 1953).
- Dreves Guido M. Dreves, ed., *Pia Dictamina: Reimgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters*, part 7, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 46 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1905).
- Driscoll Michael S. Driscoll, *Alcuin et la pénitence à l'époque carolingienne*, *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. 81 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999).
- Dublin Trin. Coll.* Marvin A. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, Hampshire: Scolar Press, 1991).
- Durham* Thomas Rud, *Catalogi veteres librorum Ecclesiae cathedralis dunelm: Catalogues of the library of*

Durham Cathedral, Surtees Society, vol. 7

(London, 1838).

Durkin

Philip Durkin, "Examining One's Conscience: A Survey of Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 28 (1997): 19–56; cited by entry numbers.

Durkin diss.

Philip N. R. Durkin, "A Study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, with Editions of Selected Texts, and with Special Reference to Late Middle English Prose Forms of Confession," 2 vols. (D. Phil. thesis, St. Hugh's College, Oxford University, 1994).

Dyboski

Roman Dyboski, ed., *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems from the Balliol MS 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace-Book*, EETS e.s., vol. 101 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1908; repr. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1975).

Early Italian Texts

C. Dionisotti and C. Grayson, *Early Italian Texts*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972).

- Edinburgh Catherine Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1916).
- Eichstätt Karl Heinz Keller, ed., *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt, Bd. 2: Aus Cod. st 276–Cod. st 470* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999).
- Everett Walter K. Everett, "The Clensyng of Mannes Soule: An Introductory Study," *Southern Quarterly* 13 (1975): 265–79.
- Everett diss. Walter K. Everett, "A Critical Edition of the Confession Section of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974).
- Fitzpatrick John Francis Fitzpatrick, "Courtly Love and the Confessional in English Literature from 1215 to John Gower" (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1979–80).

- Forshaw
 Helen P. Forshaw, ed., *Edmund of Abingdon: "Speculum Religiosorum" and "Speculum Ecclesie"* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1973).
- Förster (1)
 Max Förster, "Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche," *Anglia* 66 (1942): 1–51; and "Zu den AE. Texten aus MS. Arundel 155," 52–55.
- Förster (2)
 Max Förster, "Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde III," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 121 (1908): 30–46.
- Förster (3)
 Max Förster, "Die altenglischen Beigaben des Lambeth-Psalters," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 328–35.
- Fowler
 Roger Fowler, "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1–34.

Frankfurt am Main

Gerhardt Powitz, *Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Volume 1: Die Handschriften des Dominikanerklosters und des Leonhardstifts in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1968).

Frankfurt am Main Datable MSS

Gerhardt Powitz, *Die datierten Handschriften der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1984).

Frantzen (1)

Allen J. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database* (2010), at <http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/>. Cited by sections of the website.

Frantzen (2)

Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

Furnivall (1)

F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Part II, EETS o.s., vol. 117 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901).

- Furnivall (2) Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, EETS o.s., vol. 15, rev. ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1903).
- Gdańsk* *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, 6 vols. in 5 (Danzig: A. Schroth, 1892–1921).
- Geary James A. Geary, “An Irish Homily on Confession: Text and Translation,” *Catholic University Bulletin* 18 (1912): 344–66.
- Gerson (1573) Jean Gerson, *L’instruction des curez, tant en latin qu’en françois, necessaire à tous curez, vicaires, maistres d’ecole* (Lyon, 1573).
- Gesamtkatalog* Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. to date (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann; New York: H. P. Kraus, 1968–).
- Glasgow Hunt.* John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908).

- Glorieux Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. M. Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris: Desclée et Cie, 1960–73).
- Goering and Mantello (1) Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, “The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112.
- Goering and Mantello (2) Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, “*Notus in Iudea Deus*: Robert Grosseteste’s Confessional Formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499,” *Viator* 18 (1987): 253–73.
- Goering and Mantello (3) Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, “The ‘Perambulauit Iudas . . .’ (*Speculum Confessionis*) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste,” *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 125–68.
- Graz Anton Kern, ed., *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz; Wien: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei; Wien: Georg Prachner, 1942–67).

- Greatrex John Greatrex, *A Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1066 to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Greco and Rose Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose, trans. and ed., *Le Ménagier de Paris: A Medieval Household Book* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).
- GRLMA Jean Frappier et al., eds., *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, 13 vols. to date (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968–); cited by volume, part, and entry numbers.
- Guddat-Figge Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976).
- Hallander Lars-G. Hallander, "Two Old English Confessional Prayers," *Stockholm Studies in Modern Philology* n.s. 3 (1968): 87–110.

- Hammond Eleanor Prescott Hammond, "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts," *Anglia* 30 (1907): 320–48.
- Hanna (1) Ralph Hanna, "Producing Magdalen College MS lat. 93," *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 142–55.
- Hanna (2) Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010).
- Heref. Cath.* R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, with Michael Gullick, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1993).
- Hirsch John C. Hirsch, "Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England: MS Bodley 789," *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979): 55–66.
- HMC 9th Report* *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 2 pts. in 1 vol. (London, 1883–84).

- HMML Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn., <http://www.hmml.org>; citation is by MS source (or project) number (entries include information from unpublished inventory cards now available online).
- Hodgson Phyllis Hodgson, "Ignorancia Sacerdotum: A Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions," *Review of English Studies* 24 (1948): 1–11.
- Holthausen (1) Ferdinand Holthausen, "Altenglische interlinearversionen lateinischer Gebete und Beichten," *Anglia* 65 (1941): 230–54.
- Holthausen (2) Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., *Vices and Virtues, Being a Soul's Confession of Its Sins, with Reason's Description of the Virtues*, 2 vols., EETS o.s., vols. 89 and 159 (London, 1888).
- Hopton Hall MS* Keio University Library, HUMI Project, *Treasures of Keio University*, "The Hopton Hall Manuscript," <http://www.humi.keio.ac.jp/>

treasures/manuscripts/Hopton_web/page/high
/top.html.

Horrall

Sarah M. Horrall, gen. ed., *The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi*, 4 of projected 5 vols. to date, Ottawa Mediaeval Texts and Studies 5, 13, 14, and 16 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1978–90).

Horstmann

Carl Horstmann, ed., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Part I, EETS o.s., vol. 98 (London, 1892; repr. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1987).

Hudson (1)

Anne Hudson, "A New Look at the *Lay Folks' Catechism*," *Viator* 16 (1985): 243–58.

Hudson (2)

Anne Hudson, "The *Lay Folks' Catechism*: A Postscript," *Viator* 19 (1988): 307.

Illum. MSS Bodl.

Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966–73); cited by volume and entry numbers.

IMEP 4

Laurel Braswell, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist IV: A Handlist of Douce Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987).

IMEP 6

O. S. Pickering and Susan Powell, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VI: A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Yorkshire Libraries and Archives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989).

IMEP 7

James Simpson, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VII: A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Parisian Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989).

IMEP 8

S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VIII: A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991).

- IMEP 9 L. M. Eldredge, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist IX: A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Ashmole Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992).
- IMEP 10 Irma Taavitsainen, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist X: Manuscripts in Scandinavian Collections* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994).
- IMEP 11 Linne R. Mooney, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XI: Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995).
- IMEP 12 Ralph Hanna III, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XII: Manuscripts in Smaller Bodleian Collections* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997).
- IMEP 13 O. S. Pickering and V. M. O'Mara, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XIII: Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, Including Those*

Formerly in Sion College Library (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999).

IMEP 16

S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XVI: Manuscripts in the Laudian Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000).

IMEP 17

Kari Anne Rand Schmidt, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XVII: Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

IMEP 19

Margaret Connolly, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XIX: Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Dd–Oo)* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2009).

Incipits

Morton W. Bloomfield et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1979); cited by entry numbers.

- Inventari* Giuseppe Mazzatinti, gen. ed., *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, 110 vols. to date (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1890–1997).
- IPMEP* R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, eds., *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985), cited by entry numbers.
- Ipswich MSS* John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided for the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989).
- Jagiellońska* Maria Kowalczyk et al., eds., *Catalogus codicum mancriptorum medii aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur, Vol. 2: Numeros continens inde a 332 usque ad 444* (Wratislaviae: Institutum Ossolinianum Officina Editoria, 1982).
- James* Montague Rhodes James, "Description of the Ancient Manuscripts in the Ipswich Public Library," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of*

Archaeology and Natural History 22 (1936): 86–
103.

Jolliffe P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, Subsidia Mediaevalia, vol. 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974); cited by section letters and entry numbers.

Jones, E. E. A. Jones, ed., *The "Exhortacion" from Disce Mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39*, Middle English Texts, vol. 36 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006).

Jones, L. Leslie Webber Jones, "Cologne MS 106: A Book of Hildebald," *Speculum* 4 (1929): 27–61.

Kane *A-Text* George Kane, ed., *Piers Plowman: The A Version* (London: Athlone Press, 1960).

Karlsruhe Wilhelm Brambach et al., *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, 12 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970–91).

Keio Univ. Takami Matsuda, ed., *Mostly British: Manuscripts and Early Printed Materials from*

- Classical Rome to Renaissance England in the Collection of Keio University Library* (Tokyo: Keio University Library, 2001).
- Kengen J. H. L. Kengen, ed., *“Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People Edited from Bodley MS Tanner 201”* (diss., Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen, 1979).
- Kinsley James Kinsley, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
- Klagenfurt* Hermann Menhardt, *Handschriftenverzeichnis der Kärntner Bibliotheken.*, vol. 1, *Klagenfurt, Maria Saal, Friesach* (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1927).
- Klosterneuburg* (1) Alois Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophische-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, no. 168 (part 1) and 225 (part 2)

(Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften, 1983–91).

Klosterneuburg (2)

Hermanno Pfeiffer and Bertholdo Černík,
*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in
Bibliotheca Canonorum Regularium S. Augustini
Claustroneoburgi asservantur*, 2 vols. in 1 (Wien:
Claustroneoburgi, 1922–31).

København

Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum
Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis*
(København: In Aedibus Gyldendaliansis, 1926).

Koblenz

Christina Meckelnborg, ed., *Die
nichtarchivischen Handschriften der
Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 1-190, ergänzt
durch die im Görres-Gymnasium Koblenz
aufbewahrten Hs. A, B und C* (Wiesbaden:
Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998).

Köln

Joachim Vennebusch, ed., *Die theologischen
Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln*, 5 vols.
(Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1976–89).

- Kórnik Jerzy Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej (Catalogus codicum manuseriptorum medii aevi Bibliothecae Cornicensis)* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1963).
- Kristensson Gillis Kristensson, ed., *John Mirk's "Instructions for Parish Priests,"* Lund Studies in English, vol. 49 (Lund: Gleerup, 1974).
- Kuhn Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).
- Kuriyagawa (1) Fumio Kuriyagawa, ed., *The Middle English St. Brendan's Confession and Prayer: Edited from Lambeth Palace Library MS 541* (Tokyo: Keio Society of Art and Letters, Keio University, 1968).
- Kuriyagawa (2) Fumio Kuriyagawa, ed., *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection, Studies in the Humanities and Social Relations*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1967).

- Lam. Pal.* M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).
- Långfors Arthur Långfors, "Notice et extraits du manuscrit Additional 44949 du Musée Britannique," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 49 (1948): 97–123.
- Legge Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Lemaître N. Lemaître, "Confession privée et confession publique dans les paroisses du XVI^e siècle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 69 (1983): 189–208.
- Leroquais *Heures* V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris: n.p., 1927); *Supplement* (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1943).

- Leroquais *Psautiers* V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, Fr.: Protat Frères, 1940–41).
- Leroquais *Sacram.* V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: n.p., 1924).
- Liddell Mark H. Liddell, "A New Source of *The Parson's Tale*," in *An English Miscellany: Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of His Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 254–77.
- Linc. Cath.* R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989).
- Littlehales Henry Littlehales, ed., *English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books*, EETS e.s., vol. 90 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1903).
- Logeman (1) H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia* 11 (1889): 97–120.

- Logeman (2) H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia* 12 (1889): 497–518.
- Lüneburg (1) Martin Wierschin, *Handschriften der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, vol. 1: Miscellanea und Historica* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1969).
- Lüneburg (2) Irmgard Fischer, *Handschriften der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, vol. 2: Die theologischen Handschriften, Part 1; Folioreihe* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1972).
- Mansfield Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995).
- Martène Edmond Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus Libri*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Antwerpen, 1736–38; repr. in facsim. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967–69); cited by volume and column numbers.
- Martimort Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène*, *Studi e Testi*,

vol. 279 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978); cited by entry numbers.

Maskell

W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1882).

Mass

Clifford W. Maas, "German Printers and the German Community in Renaissance Rome," *Library*, 5th series, 31 (1976): 118–26.

Mazarine

Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 4 vols. with supplement (Paris, 1885–98).

McGladdery

Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1990).

McKitterick

Rosamond McKitterick, "The Palace School of Charles the Bald," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1990), 326–39.

- McNeill and Gamer John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, eds.
and trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "Libri Poenitentiales"* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; repr. 1990).
- Melk* Christine Glassner, ed., *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk, Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400*, 2 vols. in 1 (Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000).
- Menagier* Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier, eds., *Le Menagier de Paris* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
- Meyer (1) P. Meyer, "Le MS. Bourguignon Addit. 15606," *Romania* 6 (1877): 600–604.
- Meyer (2) P. Meyer, "Les manuscrits français de Cambridge" [part 2], *Romania* 15 (1886): 236–357.
- Meyer (3) P. Meyer, "Les manuscrits français de Cambridge" [part 3], *Romania* 32 (1903): 18–120.

- MHOB *Mittelalterliche Handschriften in österreichischen Bibliotheken* website database, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <http://manuscripta.at>; cited by MS ID no.
- Michaud-Quantin Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XIIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1962).
- Mirk John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Edward Peacock, 2nd rev. ed., EETS o.s., vol. 31 (1902; repr. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1981).
- MLGB N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 3, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964); Andrew G. Watson, *Supplement to the Second Edition*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 15 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987).

- MM *Manuscripta Mediaevalia* website database,
Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,
www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de; cited by
city of library, shelfmark, and article number.
- MMBL N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British
Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1969–92).
- MOEP Karen J. Quinn and Kenneth P. Quinn, *A
Manual of Old English Prose* (New York:
Garland, 1990); cited by entry numbers.
- Monaci and Arese Ernesto Monaci and Felice Arese, *Crestomazia
italiana dei primi secoli con prospetto grammaticale
e glossario* (Roma: Societa Editrice Dante
Alighieri, 1955).
- Moran Patrick F. Moran, ed., *Acta Sancti Brendani:
Original Latin Documents Connected with the Life
of Saint Brendan* (Dublin, 1872).
- Munich Bay. Staat.* Carolus Halm, G. Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus
codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae
Monacensis*, vols. 3–4 [CIm MSS] of *Catalogus*

codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis (München: Bibliothecae Regiae, 1868–81); repr. with continuations (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1968–); cited by volume, part, and page numbers.

Newberry

Paul Saenger, *A Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Newhauser

Richard Newhauser, "The Parson's Tale," in *Sources and Analogues of "The Canterbury Tales," Volume 1*, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 529–613.

NIMEV

Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005); cited by entry and manuscript numbers, with an asterix designating the verse form of confession.

- Ninguarda
 Ninguarda, Feliciano, ed., *Liber precationum quas Carolus Caluus Imperator . . . scribi aueris mandauit* (Ingolstadii: Davidis Sartorii, 1583).
- NY *Hisp. Soc.*
 Charles B. Faulhaber, ed., *Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Religious, Legal, Scientific, Historical, and Literary Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1983).
- Ogilvie-Thomson
 S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Other Related Manuscripts*, EETS o.s., vol. 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Ogilvie-Thomson diss.
 S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, "An Edition of the English Works in MS Longleat 29, excluding 'The Parson's Tale'" (diss., University of Oxford, 1980).
- O'Mara (1)
 Veronica M. O'Mara, "A Checklist of Unedited Late Middle English Sermons That Occur Singly or in Small Groups," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 19 (1988): 141–66.

- O'Mara (2) Veronica M. O'Mara, "A Middle English Versified Penance Composed of Popular Prayer Tags," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 33 (1986): 449–50.
- Osnabrück Udo Kühne, Bernhard Tönnies, and Anette Haucap-Nass, eds., *Handschriften in Osnabrück: Bischöfliches Archiv, Gymnasium Carolinum, Bischöfliches Generalvikariat, Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Diözesanmuseum, Pfarrarchiv St. Johann* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993).
- Ottobeuren Hermann Hauke, ed., *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften in der Abtei Ottobeuren: Kurzverzeichnis erstellt im Auftrag der Generaldirektion der Bayerischen Staatlichen Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1974).
- Ouy Gilbert Ouy, *Gerson bilingue: Les deux rédactions, latine et française, de quelques oeuvres du*

chancelier parisien, Études christiniennes, vol. 2
(Paris: Champion, 1998).

Oxf. Bodl. Ashmole

William Henry Black, *A Descriptive, Analytical,
and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts
Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias
Ashmole* (Oxford, 1845); cited by column
numbers.

Oxf. Bodl. Douce

H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue of the Printed Books and
Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to
the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1840).

Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.

H. O. Coxe et al., *Catalogi codicum
manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Quarto
Series). Part 2 (Laud MSS), *Pars secunda Codices
latinos et miscellaneos Laudianos complectens*, ed.
H. O. Coxe, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1858–85). Part 4
(Tanner MSS), *Codices . . . Thomae Tanneri . . .
complectens*, ed. A. Hackman (Oxford, 1860).
Part 5 (Rawlinson MSS), *Partis quintae . . .
Ricardi Rawlinson . . . complectens*, ed. G. D.
Macray, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1862–1900). Part 9

(Digby MSS), *Pars Nona, Codices a . . . Kenelm Digby . . . complectens*, ed. G. D. Macray (Oxford, 1883). Parts 2, 4, and 9 repr. as *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1973, 1966, 1999). Cited by part, volume, and column or page numbers.

Oxf. Coll.

H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuseriptorum qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adseruantur*, 2 vols. in 8 and 11 parts (Oxford, 1852); vol. 1 only repr. as *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Oxford Colleges* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1972). Cited by volume, part, and page numbers.

Oxf. Exeter Coll.

Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Exeter College Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Oxf. Keble Coll.

M. B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford* (London: Scolar Press, 1979).

Oxf. St. John's Coll.

Ralph Hanna and Jeremy Griffiths, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval*

- Manuscripts of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Oxf. Sum. Cat.* Falconer Madan, H. H. E. Craster, and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953); cited by catalogue numbers.
- P.R.O. No. 35* Public Record Office, London, *Lists and Indexes, No. 35* (1912; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963).
- Pagliariò Antonio Pagliariò, *Saggi di critica semantica*, 2nd ed. (Messina, Italy: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna, 1953), 283–300.
- Pantin W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (1955), Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, vol. 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
- Parkes Malcolm B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

- Patterson Frank Allen Patterson, ed., *The Middle English Penitential Lyric: A Study of Early Religious Verse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911).
- Payen Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)* (Genève: Droz, 1967).
- Peerage George E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, rev. Vicary Gibbs, 14 vols. (London: St. Catherine Press, 1910–98).
- Pickering O. S. Pickering, "Brotherton Collection MS 501: A Further Study," *Manuscripta* 26 (1982): 38–42.
- PL J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
- Pontifical romano-germanique* Cyrille Vogel with Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols., *Studi e Testi*, vols. 226, 227, 269 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963–72).

- Powell Sue Powell, "The Transmission and Circulation of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*," in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 67–84.
- Power Eileen Power, trans. and ed., *The Goodman of Paris (Le ménagier de Paris): A Treatise on Moral and Domestic Economy by a Citizen of Paris (c. 1393)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1928); repr. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006).
- Powicke et al. F. M. Powicke et al., eds., *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, 2 vols. each in 2 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964–81).
- Praha Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, 2 vols. (Pragae: Sumptibus Regiae Societatis Scientiarum Bohemicae, 1905–6).

- Pulsiano and McGowan Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii," *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 189–216.
- Rand Edward Kennard Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours I: A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1929).
- Raymo Robert R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," vol. 7, pt. 20 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung and J. Burke Severs (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), 2255–2378, 2467–2582; cited by entry number and MS number assigned in the bibliography.
- Regan diss. Charles L. Regan, *The Cleansing of Man's Soul: Edited from MS Bodley 923 with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1963).

- Register* Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1916–20).
- Reinsch Robert Reinsch, "Mittheilungen aus einer franz. Handschrift des Lambeth Palace zu London," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 63 (1880): 51–96.
- Rel. Lyr. XIV C* Carleton Brown, ed., *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, 2nd ed., rev. G. V. Smithers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).
- Rel. Lyr. XV C* Carleton Brown, ed., *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).
- Revell Peter Revell, *Fifteenth-Century English Prayers and Meditations: A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library* (New York: Garland, 1975); cited by entry numbers.
- Rézeau Pierre Rézeau, *Répertoire d'incipit des prières françaises a la fin du moyen âge: Addenda et corrigenda aux répertoires de Sonet et Sinclair*

nouveaux incipit (Paris: Droz, 1986); cited by entry numbers.

Ridley

Florence H. Ridley, "Middle Scots Writers," vol. 4, pt. 10 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung and J. Burke Severs (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1973), 961–1060, 1105–1284; cited by entry number and MS number assigned in the bibliography.

Robbins

Rossell Hope Robbins, "The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics," *PMLA* 54 (1939): 369–90.

Robinson

P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–c. 1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988).

Rocchi

A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano* (Tusculani, 1883).

- Rubio
Jordi Rubio, "Del Manuscrit 129 de Ripoll del Sigle XIVè," *Revista de bibliografia catalana* 8 (1905): 285–378.
- Ruggieri
R. M. Ruggieri, *Testi antichi romanzi*, 2 vols. (Modena: Società tipografica modenese, 1949).
- Rusconi
Roberto Rusconi, "Confessio generalis: Opuscoli per la pratica penitenziale nei primi cinquanta anni dalla introduzione della stampa," in *I Frati Minori tra '400 e '500: Atti del XII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 18–19–20 ottobre 1984* (Assisi: Univ. di Perugia, Centro di Studi Francescani, 1986), 190–227.
- Sainte-Geneviève
C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1893–96).
- Salmon
Pierre Salmon, *Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: Contributions à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne*, *Analecta Liturgica Studi e Testi*, vol. 273 (Città del

Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1974);

cited by entry numbers.

Sankt Florian

Albin Czerny, *Die Handschriften der*

Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian (Linz, 1871).

Schøyen

Martin Schøyen, "The Schøyen Collection: 700

Manuscripts Spanning 5000 Years,"

<http://www.schoyencollection.com/index.html>.

Schramm and Mutherich

Percy Ernst Schramm and Florence Mutherich,

Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein

Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem

Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768–1250,

Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für

Kunstgeschichte in München, vol. 2, 2 vols.

(München: Prestel Verlag, 1962).

Scott-Stokes

Charity Scott-Stokes, trans. and ed., *Women's*

Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected

Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman

French, and Middle English with Introduction and

Interpretive Essay (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer,

2006).

- Serjeantson Mary S. Serjeantson, "The Index of the Vernon Manuscript," *Modern Language Review* 32 (1937): 222–61.
- Sinclair Keith V. Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979); *Supplement* (Greenwood, 1982); cited by entry numbers.
- Solothurn* Alfons Schönherr, ed., *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn* (Solothurn: Zentralbibliothek, 1964).
- Somerset Fiona Somerset, ed., *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, EETS o.s., vol. 333 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Sonet Jean Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français* (Genève: Droz, 1956); cited by entry numbers.
- Sonet-Sinclair Keith V. Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français: Nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques*,

corrections et tables des articles du Répertoire de Sonet (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978); cited by entry numbers.

Stowe Edward John Long Scott, *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1895–96).

Stuttgart *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, 2nd ser., 6 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965–75).

Stuttgart Datable MSS Herrad Spilling, *Die datierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Teil 1: Die datierten Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991).

Suchier (1) Hermann Suchier, *Denkmäler Provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, vol. 1 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1883), 98–106, 517–18.

Suchier (2) Hermann Suchier, “Provenzalische Beichtformel,” *Romanische Forschungen* 23 (1907): 425–35.

- Sullens Robert Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 14 (Binghamton, N.Y.: MRTS, 1983).
- Teetaert A. Teetaert, "La 'Formula Confessionum' du Frere Mineur Jean Rigaud (d. 1323)," *Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Alberti De Meyer*, 2 vols. (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1946), 2:651–76.
- Tentler Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- Thomson S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln, 1235–1253* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940).
- Thorpe Benjamin Thorpe, ed. and trans., *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, folio ed. (London, 1840).

- Todd James Henthorn Todd, *Some Account of the Irish Manuscript Deposited by the President de Robien in the Public Library of Rennes* (Dublin, 1867).
- Trier Max Keuffer et al., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, 12 vols. (Trier: Jacob Lintz; Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1888–1990).
- Tschann and Parkes Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, EETS s.s., vol. 16 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Urtel Hermann Urtel, "Eine altfranzösische Beichte," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 33 (1909): 571–75.
- Utley Francis Lee Utley, "Dialogues, Debates, and Catechisms," vol. 3, pt. VII of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1972), 669–756, 829–902; cited by page number and MS number assigned in the bibliography.

- Van Dijk S. J. P. van Dijk, *Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, unpublished typescript, 7 vols. in 8 (1957–60).
- Vernon MS A. I. Doyle, ed., *The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. poet. a.1* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987).
- VFL Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library, Saint Louis University, unpublished catalogue of microfilms (St. Louis, n.d.); cited by microfilm reel numbers.
- Vising Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (1923; repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970); cited by entry numbers.
- Vorau Pius Fank, *Catalogus voraviensis seu codices manuscripti Bibliothecae canonicae in Vorau* (Graecii: Sumptibus canonicae voraviensis, 1936).
- Wadsworth Christopher Wadsworth, *Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary according to the Use of the Illustrious Church of*

- York, Surtees Society, vol. 132 (Durham: Andrews and Co., 1920).*
- Wakelin Martyn F. Wakelin, "The Manuscripts of John Mirk's *Festial*," *Leeds Studies in English* 1 (1967): 93–118.
- Waldhoff Stephan Waldhoff, "Memoria im privaten Beten des frühen Mittelalters: Anhand der Gebetstexte der Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 512," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 38–39 (1996–97): 173–250.
- Wallace Wilfrid Wallace, *Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury* (London, 1893).
- Watson *Dated MSS BL* Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–c. 1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (London: British Library, 1979); cited by entry numbers.
- Watson *Dated MSS Oxf.* Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–c. 1600 in Oxford*

- Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); cited by entry numbers.
- Weidenhiller P. Eginio Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters* (München: C. H. Beck, 1965).
- Wenzel (1) Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
- Wenzel (2) Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).
- Whiting Ella Keats Whiting, ed., *The Poems of John Audelay*, EETS o.s., vol. 184 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).
- Wien Palat. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 11 vols. (Wien: Typis Caroli Geroldi Filii, 1864–1912); repr. 10 vols. in 5

- (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965).
- Wien Schott. P. A. Hübl, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae seruantur* (1899; repr. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1970).
- Wien Ser. Nov. Otto Mazal, Franz Unterkircher, and Rosemary Hilmar, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Series Nova*, 5 vols. (Wien: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1965–97).
- Wilmart (1) D. A. Wilmart, *Precum Libelli Quattuor Aevi Karolini* (Roma: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940).
- Wilmart (2) André Wilmart, "Le Manuel de prières de saint Jean Gualbert," *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936): 259–99.
- Wilson E. Wilson, "A Middle English Manuscript at Coughton Court, Warwickshire, and British Library MS Harley 4012," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 24 (1977): 295.

- Winchester Anth. Edward Wilson and Iain Fenlon, eds., *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995).
- Wolfenbüttel *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek*
Wolfenbüttel: Die alte Reihe, 9 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1964–66).
- Worcs. Misc. Nita Scudder Baugh, ed., *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400: Edited from British Museum MS. Add. 37787* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1956).
- Wormald Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, Volume 1; Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).
- Wright C. E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

Würzburg

Hans Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, 4 vols.

(Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970–90).

Xenia Bernardina

Xenia Bernardina: Sancti Bernardi . . ., part 2, *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, 2 vols. (Wien, 1891). P. Anton Weis, Rein MSS, 1:1–114; Conrad Schimek, Lilienfeld MSS, 1:481–561; R. Pavel, Vyšší Brod MSS, 2:165–461.

Yale Beinecke

Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, 3 vols., *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, vols. 34, 48, and 100 (Binghamton, N.Y.: MRTS, 1984–92).

York Annual Report

The Friends of York Minster, *16th Annual Report* (1944): 14–18; and *17th Annual Report* (1945): 27–28.

York. Writers

C. Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole an English Father of the Church and His Followers*, 2 vols., *Library of Early*

English Writers (London, 1895–96); repr. in one
vol. with a new preface by Anne Clark Bartlett
(Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1999).

A. Latin and Old English Precursor Forms of Confession, 800–1200

A1.1

Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae, deus immensae pietatis, deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . per Iesum Christum unigenitum filium tuum dominum et salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum spiritu sancto unus est dominus per immortalia regnans saecula saeculorum.

Confessio

Confessio pura

Prayer of Alcuin of York, from a *libellus precum* attrib. Alcuin

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1742, 52v–80r, art. 18¹

France, ca. 804; written at Saint-Martin of Tours under Alcuin's supervision; Clairvaux

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer, without reference to a confessor,

¹ Alcuin's prayer appears in a devotional prayerbook that comprises fols. 52v–80r of the MS, and the catalogued prayer is no. 18, the last in the collection. This prayer is well known in early medieval devotional prayerbooks (*libelli precum*), and this is the earliest extant text. It was translated into English in an eleventh-century devotional book (see A1.8), and it also appears much later translated and incorporated into one Middle English form of confession (see D58). In addition to the other texts of Alcuin's prayer catalogued together here for the first time, the prayer also appears in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiani C.vi.173 (see Salmon 299), and in Jean Gualbert's prayerbook or *Manuale precum*; see Wilmart (2) 259 ff., esp. 282 and n. 5.

enumerating sins according to parts of the body, moving in a progression from foot to head (feet, shin, knees, loins, belly, side, back, shoulder, arm, hands, mouth, tongue, throat, ears, nose, eyes, head, heart), e.g., “I bent my knees in fornication more gladly than in prayer” [Genua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem libenter flexi]; the eight principal sins are mentioned, etc., and sorrow for sin is emphasized.²

CONTEXT: Alcuin of York *De virtutibus et vitiis*, an Alcuinian *libellus precum* with the seven penitential psalms.³

² According to Frantzen, Alcuin’s originality here lies in the way he reverses the head-to-foot pattern of anatomizing the body from the Irish *lorica* tradition, and in the way he animates the body parts by ascribing active motion to each part. Alcuin is first in the English tradition to make use of the trope of the anatomized body in confessional prayer. Driscoll describes this prayer as a “sort d’acte de contrition ou du moins un examen de conscience” (13); the prayer indeed scrupulously anatomizes the body in all its parts in terms of the many ways the body in its totality succumbs to temptation and fails to desire and honor God. The quality of analysis meant to promote self-understanding of the human condition of sin conforms to Alcuin’s theology of penitence requiring a sincere confession to obtain pardon, though the notion of priestly absolution would be a later development in confessional prayers (Driscoll 177–79).

³ Bound into Troyes MS 1742 is a second manuscript of canticles dating to the eleventh century. Driscoll notes that this manuscript is a rare example of religious instruction in personal devotion directed toward lay people that has been preserved from the period. Compiled near his death in 804, it presents Alcuin’s conception of penitence and confession from the point of view of the lay (noble, literate) penitent rather than from the point of view of a priest-confessor. Alcuin’s treatise on the virtues and vices, the most substantial theological treatment of penance in the ninth century, stresses the importance of contrition or genuine sorrow for committing sins and on the willingness to receive penance in order for forgiveness to be granted (see Frantzen 114–17). Wilmart refers to the Alcuinian prayerbook as the *Libellus Trecensis*. It is a devotional compilation for the literate nobility that includes prayers of various attributions, brief prayers to be said at each of the daily hours, and the seven penitential psalms. Most of the prayers in this prayerbook are penitential, but *Deus inestimabilis misericordiae* is the only one that is rubricated a *confessio*, and it is the longest of all the prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wilmart (1) 21–24, *PL* 101:524–26, Martène 3:679–80;
Wilmart (1) 5, Rand 1:113–14, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.

A1.2

Deus inestimabilis misericordiae, deus immense pietatis . . . regnans in saecula
saeculorum amen.

Confessio

Prayer of Alcuin, from a *libellus precum* attrib. Alcuin

Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 106, 62r–63r

Germany, ca. 805; Cologne, produced for Hildebald, archbishop of

Cologne⁴

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: Prayers for various occasions, letter of Alcuin to Bishop
Arno of Salzburg, Alcuin exposition of the seven penitential psalms
and prayers in response to them, tract on confession by Alcuin for
oblates of Saint-Martin of Tours, tract on vices, hymns (two by
Bede), an Alcuinian *libellus precum* containing other confessional

⁴ L. Jones, "Cologne MS 106," citing others who believe the manuscript is from Tours, persuasively argues for the Cologne provenance.

prayers, Litany (see A2, A3).⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *PL* 101:524–26, Martène 3:679–80, Wilmart (1) 56; L. Jones 27–61, Wilmart (1) 5–6, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.

A1.3

Deus inæstimabilis misericordiæ, Deus immensæ pietatis, Deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . Per Jesum Christum unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum sancto Spiritu unus est Dominus, per immortalia regnans sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Confessio

Prayer of Alcuin, from a *libellus sacrarum precum* attrib. Alcuin

Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 184⁶

Austria, 800–850; Upper Austria

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: Isidore of Seville *De ortu et obitu patrum*, sayings, treatise on the soul, ways of death and life, hell, penance, and on

⁵ In the *De confessione peccatorum ad pueros sancti Martini* (ed. *PL* 101:650–55), Alcuin addresses oblates of the monastery of Saint-Martin of Tours, where he was abbot from 796 to his death in 804, on the importance of confession in monastic life. For a critical edition with French translation and full discussion of this treatise, see Driscoll 147–51 and 185–93, 143–46 and 151–76. Wilmart refers to this Alcuinian prayerbook as the *Libellus Coloniensis*. It contains prayers to be said for various occasions, prayers in response to the seven penitential psalms, comments on the Lord's Prayer, prayers for matins and compline, prayers of confession, etc.

⁶ The *libellus precum* is on pp. 260–356 of the MS; the Orléans catalogue does not indicate on which pages the confession specifically is to be found.

virtues of sobriety and peacemaking; Alcuinian *libellus sacrarum precum*, containing another confessional prayer (see A4), followed by an OHG confessional prayer.⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *PL* 101:1404–5, Martène 3:679–80; *Cat. gén. Dépt (8°)* 12:85–86, Darragon no. 8801, Martimort no. 1131, Bischoff 311, Förster (1) 54–55, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.

A1.4

Deus inestimabilis misericordiae, Deus immensae pietatis, Deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . per Iesum Christum unicum et salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum spiritu sancto unus est Dominus per immortalia secula seculorum⁸

*Confessio quam beatus Alcuinus composuit domno Karolo imperatori*⁹

Prayer of Alcuin, from a *libellus precum*

München, Schatzkammer der Residenz, Prayerbook of Charles the Bald,

14r–16r

⁷ The OHG text is rubricated *Confessio pura* (see Alcuin's prayer with the same rubric in A1.1) and begins on p. 328: "Truhtin dir wir duih pigih tik. . ."

⁸ My thanks to Jill Gage, reference librarian in the Department of Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago, for supplying me with the incipit and explicit of this prayer from Ninguarda's 1583 edition of the prayerbook.

⁹ This rubric suggests that Alcuin may originally have composed this prayer for Charlemagne's personal use. Charles the Bald did not become Holy Roman emperor until 875, and Alcuin composed the prayer ca. 804 during Charlemagne's reign as emperor.

France, 846–869; produced by Palace School of Charles the Bald at Compiègne for his personal use¹⁰

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, a *libellus precum* which contains penitential prayers, psalms, prayers for various occasions and times of day, for the living and the dead, and litanies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Ninguarda 11–16, *PL* 101:524–26, Martène 3:679–80; Schramm and Mutherich 1:130–31, McKitterick 333–34, Förster (1) 54–55, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19, Deshman.

A1.5

Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae, Deus immensae pietatis, Deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . Per Jesum Christum unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una eum sancto Spiritu unus est Dominus, per immortalia regnans saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Confessio peccatorum pura Alcuini

Prayer of Alcuin, from *Officia per ferias*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1153, 13v ff.

¹⁰ Schramm and Mutherich note that this is the earliest known royal prayerbook of the Middle Ages. The portrait of Charles in this ornamented manuscript on fols. 38v–39r (plate 43, 1:249) depicts him kneeling in prayer before Christ on the cross, quite unlike all the other extant portraits of Charles, in which he is enthroned (or standing, in one coronation painting). See McKitterick. The binding of the prayerbook itself is bejeweled with a cross.

France, ca. 850; Saint-Denis

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: *Officia per ferias* attrib. Alcuin, containing psalms with prayers to be said with them, seven penitential psalms, prayers of various attributions, hymns, and Litany; Isidore of Seville

Synonyma.¹¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *PL* 101:524–26; *BN MSS lat.* (1) 1:420–21, Wilmart (2) 262–65 (esp. 263 n. 2), 282, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.¹²

A1.6

Deus inestimabilis misericordiae. Deus immensae pietatis. Deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . Per Iesum Christum unigenitum filium tuum dominum et salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum spiritu sancto unus est dominus per immortalia regnans saecula saeculorum.

Prayer of Alcuin, from a *libellus precum*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13388, art. 2, part 4

¹¹ Wilmart notes that the title *Officia per ferias* is misleading, because the arrangement of the psalms in this collection indicates that the compilation was meant for daily private devotion rather than for liturgical use (262–63).

¹² In *PL* this MS is referred to as “Cod. Reg.,” i.e., Codex Regius 1153, now BN lat. 1153. See Wilmart (2) 282 and n. 5 for a couple other manuscripts containing the *Officia*, which have not been catalogued here.

France, ca. 850; made at abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours and housed in
abbey of Corbie

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: A long prayerbook containing much penitential
material including a confessional prayer attrib. Fulgentius and
another prayer of confession for nuns (see A6, A12), devotions,
litanies, penitential psalms, hymns, canticles, psalm attrib. Bede.¹³

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *PL* 101:524–26, Martène 3:679–80, Wilmart (1) 73–75;
Wilmart (1) 6, Rand 1:169, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.

A1.7

Deus inestimabilis mis[e]ricordiae, Deus immense pietatis, Deus conditor et
reparator humani generis . . . Per Ihesum Christum unigenitum filium tuum
dominum et salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum sancto spiritu unus est
dominus per immortalia regnans secula seculorum. amen.

Confessio ad dominum

Prayer of Alcuin

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.i, 156v–57v

England, early 11th cent.; at Ben. abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, in

15th cent.; belonged to William Cecil, Lord Burghley in 16th cent.

¹³ Wilmart calls this prayerbook the *Magnus Libellus Turonensis*.

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: The Vespasian Psalter containing Lat. psalter (8th cent.) with continuous OE gloss (9th cent.), canticles, hymns; and added early in the 11th cent. at the end of the MS: Te Deum and Athanasian Creed, both glossed, and a few prayers, including Alcuin's prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuhn 316–17, Logeman (1) 115–20, *PL* 101:524–26; *BL Cotton* 433, *ASM* 2.43–49, *CMCA-S* 203, *MLGB* 43, Förster (1) 54–55, Kuhn v–vi, 312, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19.

A1.8

Deus inestimabilis misericordie, Deus immense pietatis, Deus conditor et reparator humani generis . . . / [interlinear gloss] eala god untwynigendre mildheortnesse ormætre arfæstnesse scyppend 7 edniwigend mennisces cynnes . . . per Ihesum Christum unigenitum filium tuum saluatorem nostrum qui tecum et cum spiritu sancto unus uiuit et regnat deus per immortalia secula / [interlinear gloss] þurh hælend crist ancennedan sunu þinne hælend urne se mid þe mid gaste haligum ana leofað 7 rixað god þurh undeadlice worulda.

Oratio Sancti augustini. Quicumque hanc orationem cotidie coram deo deuote orauerit et in presenti saeculo beatus erit et in futuro cum sanctis gaudebit.

Prayer of Alcuin, mistakenly attrib. to Augustine

London, British Library, Arundel 155, 175v–77v

England, 1000–1050; Christ Church, Canterbury; owned by William Hadlegh, John Waltham, and William Ingram, monks of Christ Church, Canterbury; William Howard 16th-cent. owner¹⁴

CONTENTS: See A1.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. *De virtutibus psalmorum*, psalter, liturgical calendar, canticles and hymns, Athanasian Creed, Litany and prayers, and a collection of prayers that contain interlinear OE glosses, including this and three other confessional prayers (see A15, A16, A17.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Logeman (1) 115–20, *PL* 101:524–26; *BL Arundel* 1/1:42–43, *ASM* 2.19–37, *MOEP* H051, *CMCA-S* 135 esp. art. 12, *MLGB* 35, Förster (1) 54–55, Frantzen (2) 89–90 and 114–15, Driscoll 113–19, Greatrex 187, 209, 314.

A2

Domine deus omnipotens, trinitas sancta inseparabilis, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, — mea culpa, domine, veniam peto . . . De meis culpis et de meis negligentis, domine praecor te perseverantiam bonam habere usque in finem.
Amen.

¹⁴ Hadlegh was possibly licensed as confessor in 1486; he died in 1500. He gave the book to Waltham (tonsured 1483, d. 1525), who passed it on to Ingram (tonsured 1483), who was appointed penitentiary in 1511 by the chapter upon the death of the penitentiary Henry Arundel (d. 1533). See Greatrex.

De confessione peccatorum

Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 106, 63v–64r

Germany, ca. 805; Cologne, produced for Hildebald, archbishop of

Cologne

CONTENTS: Prayer addressed to God directly and not to a confessor, with misc. itemizing of sins “in word, deed, and thought” [in verbo, in facto, in cogitatu] , e.g., five senses, theft, fornication, false testimony, perjury, sacrilege, murder, the eight principal sins (referred to but not listed), and concludes with a long expression of sorrow and request for mercy.

CONTEXT: Prayers for various occasions, letter of Alcuin to Bishop Arno of Salzburg, Alcuin exposition of the seven penitential psalms and prayers in response to them, tract on confession by Alcuin for oblates of Saint-Martin of Tours, tract on vices, hymns (two by Bede), an Alcuinian *libellus precum* containing other confessional prayers, one by Alcuin, Litany (see A1.2, A3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wilmart (1) 56–57; L. Jones 27–61, Wilmart (1) 5–6.

A3

Mea culpa peccavi domine Iesu Christe, veniam peto coram te et coram angelis
tuis . . . Remissionem omnium peccatorum tribuae mihi, omnipotens deus;
adiutor et protector sis amen.

Oratio utilis animae

Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 106, 64v

Germany, ca. 805; Cologne, produced for Hildebald, archbishop of

Cologne

CONTENTS: Prayer addressed to Jesus Christ, all angels, and all the saints, without reference to a confessor, citing various sins in general, “in thought, word, and deed” [in cogitationibus, in verbis, in operibus], e.g., fornication, defilement, theft, lust, blasphemy, envy, anger, falsehood, vainglory, pride, “and other of my innumerable sins” [et multa alia peccata mea innumerabilia sunt]. The confession is of “all sins since birth, following baptism, and up to the present” [tibi confiteor omnia peccata mea quae ego ab infantia mea commisi et post lavacrum sacrae fontis contraxi usque hodiae]. An expression of sorrow follows, and request for mercy.

CONTEXT: Prayers for various occasions, letter of Alcuin to Bishop Arno of Salzburg, Alcuin exposition of the seven penitential psalms

and prayers in response to them, tract on confession by Alcuin for oblates of Saint-Martin of Tours, tract on vices, hymns (two by Bede), an Alcuinian *libellus precum* containing other confessional prayers, one by Alcuin, Litany (see A1.2, A2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wilmart (1) 58; L. Jones 27–61, Wilmart (1) 5–6.

A4

Deus justorum gloria, et misericordia peccatorum, qui dixisti: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat: suscipe me, piissime Pater, poenitentem famulum tuum, quia tibi confiteor omnia delicta et peccata mea . . . et in futuro æternam lætitiā possidere quod ipse nobis præsta, Filius Dei maneus et regnans cum Patre et Spiritu sancto, unus Deus in trinitate et in unitate perfecta in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratio

From a *libellus sacrarum precum* attrib. Alcuin of York

Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 184¹⁵

Austria, 800–850; Upper Austria

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to God, without reference to a confessor and lacking any formal order, that notes sins committed

¹⁵The *libellus sacrarum precum* is on pp. 260–356 of the MS; the Orléans catalogue does not indicate on which pages the confession specifically is to be found.

“in thought, word, and deed” [in cogitationi, in verbo, et opere], mentioning numerous sins in general terms, e.g., pride, disobedience, contentiousness, obstinancy, gluttony, scurrilousness, drunkenness, fornication, lasciviousness, five senses, wicked counsel, avarice, perjury, theft, false testimony, anger, impatience, blasphemy, vainglory, arrogance, hypocrisy, etc., concluding with great emphasis on sorrow for sin and God’s mercy toward the sinner.

CONTEXT: Isidore of Seville *De ortu et obitu patrum*, sayings, treatises on the soul, ways of death and life, hell, penance, and on virtues of sobriety and peacemaking; prayers, Alcuinian *libellus sacrarum precum*, containing a prayer of confession by Alcuin (see A1.3), followed by an OHG confessional prayer.¹⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Martène 3:680–82, *PL* 101:1405–6; *Cat. gén. Dépt.* 12:85–86, Darragon no. 8802, Martimort no. 1131, Bischoff 311.

A5

Consecrata Dei ministeria, et sanctas reliquias, et sanctos codices, et sancta vasa indignus et pollutus tetigi, et sordide atque negligenter contrectavi. Corpus et

¹⁶ The OHG text is rubricated *Confessio pura* (see Alcuin’s prayer with the same rubric in A1.1) and begins on p. 328: “Truhtin dir wir duih pigih tik. . . .”

sanguinem Domini polluto corde et corpore, sine confessione et poenitentia . . . et
misereatur animæ meæ, et pareat et remittat ac deleat omnia peccata mea
præterita, præsentia et futura, et perducatur me et introducat in vitam æternam.
Amen.

Confessio peccatorum

From *De Psalmorum usu liber*, part 2, cap. 9

MS unknown¹⁷

Composed in Italy, ca. 850

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer for monastic use, without reference to a confessor and not organized by a formal topical structure; mentions sins of mishandling spiritual things (e.g., eucharistic elements) before making confession, dishonoring parents, being impatient with misfortunes, disobedience to superiors, failure to perform works of mercy, sins of the five senses, malice, murder, adultery, false testimony, theft, robbery, perjury, sacriligious acts, usury, etc.

CONTEXT: *De Psalmorum usu liber*.¹⁸

¹⁷ Migne reprints the edition of Alcuin's works edited by Frobenius Forster, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Abbatis . . . Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Ratisbon, 1777), but he does not specify which manuscript is presented in his edition, and Wilmart states that no manuscript of this work has yet to be identified; it is known only in its printed editions.

A6

Ego confiteor tibi domine pater caeli et terrae coram hoc altari tuo sancto et istius loci reliquiis. Et coram hoc sacerdote tuo omnia peccata mea . . . Supplico te dei sacerdos, ut de his omnibus sis mihi testis in die iudicii, ne gaudeat de me inimicus meus. Et dignare pro me dei misericordiam deprecari, ut donet mihi veniam indulgentiae, et omnium peccatorum meorum remissionem.

Confessio Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi ad penitentiam dandam

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13388, art. 1

France, ca. 850; made at abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours and housed in abbey of Corbie

CONTENTS: Prayer of confession attrib. Fulgentius. Prayer to a confessor (“Et coram hoc sacerdote tuo”), with misc. enumeration of sins, e.g., sacrilege, envy, slander, perjury, theft, cursing, obscene

¹⁸ *De Psalmorum usu liber* is comprised of a treatise on the devotional use of the Psalms followed by a collection of prayers designed for monastic use, which includes various prayers for daily living, as the rest of the work’s title suggests (*De Psalmorum usu liber cum variis formulis ad res quotidianas accommodatis*). The work has long been attributed to Alcuin of York, but Wilmart’s argument has been accepted that it is a French work from the milieu of Carolingian spirituality. In addition to the confessional prayer catalogued here, par. 2 cap. 9 of *De Psalmorum usu liber* contains directions for making a confession to God and the company of heaven and other confessional prayers, all brief; one includes a general inventory of sin types, and another lists general shortcomings of monastic living (see PL 101:498–501). None of these prayers indicates the presence of a confessor, but Alcuin taught the necessity and value of confession to priests in his letters (see PL 101:85–86) and in *De confessione peccatorum ad pueros sancti Martini* (ed. and trans. Driscoll 143–66, 185–93).

speech, scurrility, lying, mockery, insults, grumbling, sloth, pride, fornication, drunkenness, murder, dishonoring parents and family, neglecting the sabbath and holy days, failing to perform the works of mercy, sins of the five senses, swearing by the cross or holy relics or by the church, greed, contentiousness, neglecting prayer, receiving the Eucharist without making confession, not respecting bishops, priests, monks, and all clerical orders of the church, etc. Followed by expression of sorrow and request for penance. Then follows a prayer of absolution said by a priest, beginning “Misereatur tui omnipotens deus. . . .”

CONTEXT: A long *libellus precum* containing a confessional prayer by Alcuin and another prayer of confession for nuns (see A1.6, A12), collections of prayers, litanies, penitential psalms, hymns, canticles, psalm attrib. Bede.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wilmart (1) 65–67; Wilmart (1) 6, Rand 1:169.

A7

Confiteor tibi, Domine, Pater cæli et terræ, coram hoc sancto altare tuo, et istius loci reliquiis, et coram hoc sacerdote tuo, omnia peccata mea . . . Supplico Dei Sacerdos, ut de his omnibus sis mihi testis in die iudicii, . . . et post hujus sæculi finem concedat mihi sine fine requiem cum sanctis omnibus æternam. Amen.

Confessio omnimoda per quam confiteri potest peccator peccata sua deo et sacerdoti suo

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9430, 263r–66r

France, end of 9th cent.; cathedral of Saint-Gatien, Tours, probably copied at abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours

CONTENTS: The longest of the early medieval confessions and the one most closely related to the later forms of confession. Following an interrogatory Creed is an order for confession (“Incipit ordo qualiter confiteri debet homo reatum suum”), with confession to God, the saints, “and to this your priest” [et coram hoc sacerdote tuo],¹⁹ and with emphasis on a monastic and priestly audience (sinning “contra sanctos canones, et contra sanctam regulam, et contra praecepta divina”): misc. listing of general sin types, five senses, sins of various parts of the body with some elaboration (“membra in omni malitia consentanea feci”: head, hair, neck, ears, eyes, nose, mouth, throat, belly, kidneys, thighs, genitals, arms, hands, elbows, legs, knees, feet, flanks, heart), misc. violations of Commandments, section on failure to observe monastic rule or pastoral responsibilities (e.g., not teaching the Lord’s Prayer or the

¹⁹ This formula is repeated at the end of the enumeration of sins and at the beginning of the final section expressing sorrow and asking for forgiveness.

faith of the holy Trinity, vomiting the Eucharist because of being drunk, neglecting holy days, leaving early from daily offices and masses, instigating laughter and silly songs, with much on sexual sins (e.g., sexually polluting oneself on holy days and before going to the altar, “masturbating alone and with others” [manibus meis a me ipso et ab aliis semen virile excitavi], sinning with women “naturaliter” and with other men “extra naturam,” with boys and girls, virgins and wives), sins against the seven works of mercy, then more on monastic life (mishandling church or monastic properties such as consecrated vestments and books, and the like, taking the Eucharist without confession, not respecting bishops, priests, monks, canons, and other church authorities), etc., followed by a section on sorrow for sin and on God’s mercy in forgiving sin. Then, after the confession, the priest is to give an absolution, though the formula “Ego absolvo te” is not used. Some postconfessional prayers follow.

CONTEXT: Sacramentary in Use of Tours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Martène 1:775–79; Darragon no. 2586, Martimort nos. 320 and 602, Leroquais *Sacram.* 1:52, *Cat. des MSS datés* 3:628, Mansfield 177 and nn.

A8

Multitudinem criminum et enormitatem scelerum meorum . . .

Confessio vel accusacio per octo vicia principalia

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 512, 2r–[10r]

France, end of 9th cent.; composed at the Ben. abbey of Saint-Éloi in

Noyon in the north of France²¹

CONTEXT: Prayerbook containing liturgical and devotional prayers with some hymns (see two much later copies of this text at B3.1, B3.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mazarine* 1:198–200, Waldhoff 181–82 and ff.

A9

Dryhten þu halga god þu eart ælmihtig 7 ece god Ic forworht 7 synful . . . Ic

ondette eallum halgum sawlum 7 eac menniscummen minum scrifte gastlicum

²⁰ Mansfield states that this “general confession” presents “all possible sins exactly like the one in the Romano-Germanic pontifical,” but while this text begins similarly to that in the Romano-Germanic pontifical and includes some similar traditional content, this text for monastic use is by no means identical to the pontifical’s text for use by layfolk. In contrast to this detailed monastic form of confession, which looks much like the later rite of private confession, Martène presents an Ash Wednesday rite for public lay penance from another Saint-Gatien manuscript (1:782–84), also commented on by Mansfield, which directs sinners to make confession but does not give any list of sins, only a prayer for forgiveness and penance.

²¹ The Mazarine catalogue dates the MS to the eleventh century, but Waldhoff’s detailed study dates it far earlier to the end of the ninth century.

læce for mine sawle 7 lichoman þe Ic on gesyngode . . . Ic eac bidde ealle godes englas 7 ealle godes halige þæt hie me sien arfulle þingeras wið þone ælmihtigan dryhten þære halgan þrynesse 7 ðære soðan annisse.

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xx, 87r–92v

England, mid-10th cent.

CONTENTS: Misc. enumeration of sins to a confessor (“minum scrite gastlicum læce”) from childhood and after baptism (e.g., sexual sin, lying, greed, unbelief, recklessness, gluttony, slander, jealousy, strife, boasting, pride, frivolity, vainglory, parsimony, murder, being unthankful for blessings, neglecting good works, esp. on holy days, etc.), and in general is mentioned sins committed with various parts of the body (e.g., eyes, ears, mouth, hands, feet, leg, teeth, tongue, bone, vein, hair, etc.).

CONTEXT: Lat. Halitgar of Cambrai *Ordo ad dandam paenitentiam*.²²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Logeman (1) 97–100; *BL Cotton* 478, *MOEP* C417, *CMCA-S* 212, Frantzen (2) 131–32, 170–71.

²² This is the penitential customarily referred to as the *Poenitentiale Romanum* (ca. 830), owing to Halitgar’s claim to have found it in a book repository of the Roman Church, but it derives from the *Penitential of Theodore* and other Celtic sources. See *Incipits* 5086 for the identification of this text; and McNeill and Gamer 295–314, for commentary and translation of excerpts. Frantzen points out that this manual was “used strictly for devotional rather than judicial or disciplinary purposes,” as it contains no penitential tariff, but it may have been used in private as well as liturgical contexts.

A10

Ego peccaui quando non [in]dulgebam in me peccantibus et modo dimitto ex toto corde ad omnes homines qui [i]n me peccauerunt . . . Ego peccaui quod non custodiui secundum sacrificium sanctimonialum [sic] legem et ego peccaui quaendo [sic] confessus fui.

Pis siondon ondetnessa to gode seolfum

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xv, 68r–69v

England, mid-10th cent.; Exeter?

CONTENTS: A confessional prayer supposedly to God alone, but the confession is also “to you, a man of God” [homini dei].

CONTEXT: Pontifical with order for consecrating an abbot of Exeter (frag.), *Penitential* of Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, Isidore of Seville treatise on confession and penances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Cotton 477, Incipits 1892, CMCA-S 211, MOEP C225, Frantzen (2) 132, 171.*

A11

Confiteor tibi, domine celi et terrae, tibi que bone et benignissime Iesus, cum sancto spiritu coram sanctis angelis tuis et coram sanctis tuis, coram hoc altare et sacerdote tuo, quia in peccatis conceptus et in peccatis natus et in peccatis nutritus et in peccatis post baptismum usque ad hanc horam sum conversatus.

Confiteor etiam quia peccavi nimis in superbia . . . Obnixte etiam te, sacerdos Dei, exposco, ut intercedas pro me et pro peccatis meis ad dominum Deum nostrum, quatinus de his et de aliis omnibus sceleribus meis veniam et indulgentiam per merita et intercessionem omnium sanctorum assequi merear. [Followed by absolution.]

From the Romano-Germanic pontifical (ca. 950–1000)²³

Confessio penitentis

Italy, ca. 1000

Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 451, 98v–160r, art. 50a²⁴

CONTENTS: General confession to be said by penitents on Ash Wednesday before the public rite of reconciliation. Seven deadly sins, perjury, theft, drunkenness, adultery, receiving the body and blood of Christ unworthily, lying, usury, doing evil toward clergy,

²³ A form of general confession was featured in the Romano-Germanic pontifical. In some manuscripts, it preceded the Ash Wednesday public rite of penance for penitents seeking reconciliation with the church during Lent. This semiliturgical confession was to be said by the penitents as a group to the priest at the altar before the parish. For the text of the whole *ordo*, see *Pontifical romano-germanique* 2:14–23. For other of the earliest pontifical manuscripts containing this general confession, see Andrieu 1:27 and 5:3–4; and the comparative list of manuscripts for item XCIX in *Pontifical romano-germanique* 1:xxxii ff. For examples of later medieval use of public general confessions in northern French parishes, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, D61 for English uses.

²⁴ The whole of the pontifical is contained on 98v–160r; the general confession is contained within the Ash Wednesday *ordo*, in *Pontifical romano-germanique* art. 50a, 2:16–17.

neglecting the works of mercy, not honoring and celebrating solemn occasions or feast days, blaspheming, dishonoring elders and instructors, not repaying debts to friends and supporters, contemplating bestiality, profaning the church and neglect of its services, sins of thoughts and speech, sins of the five senses, etc.

CONTEXT: Pontifical in Romano-Germanic Use, various liturgies (e.g., consecrations, as of a virgin or cemetery, ordinations of pope, bishop, abbot, deacon, and monk, blessings, as of a new church, dedicatory masses, as for a church that had formerly been a synagogue, rites of excommunication, exorcism, etc.), prayers, sermons, Apostles' Creed, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Andrieu XVIII.11, 5:108–27, *Pontifical romano-germanique* XCIX.50a, 2:16–17; Andrieu 1:176–211, *Pontifical romano-germanique* 1: xii–xiii, xvi ff., Mansfield 173–77.

A12

Confiteor domino et tibi domine sacerdos omnia peccata et scelera mea . . . Ego inter concordantes. discordiam misi. et inter pacem habentes et se invicem.

[*Monialis confessio*]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13388, 3r–4r

France, 10th–11th cent. addition to original MS (ca. 850 made at abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours and housed in abbey of Corbie)

CONTENTS: A prayer of confession for nuns (“Ego misera et peccatrix contra abbatissam et congregacionem . . .”), without reference to a confessor, confessing a miscellany of sins relevant to monastic life, e.g., failing to keep holy promises, greed for clothes and food, yielding to the love of men, dissipation, adultery, sacrilege, sodomy, fornication, drunkenness, “not observing the excommunication of the abbess” [De abbatissae excommunicacione quod non observavi], “giving and receiving [goods] without permission and writing deeds and transmitting [property] without permission” [De quod sine comiatu donavi et recepi et sine comiatu scripsi et transmisi], disobedience, harboring secret anger, excessive talking, pride, envy, sloth, excessive attention to making the body attractive, impure thoughts, listening to and believing false testimony, not observing silence before and after meals, thinking about and imitating secular forms of dress, joking and foolish laughter, failing to persevere in prayer, neglecting masses and devotions, receiving the Eucharist unworthily, etc. The text ends abruptly before a request for penance, suggesting that the text is

imperfect, yet the rest of the folio following the text is blank.

CONTEXT: A long *libellus precum* containing many prayers, including a confessional prayer by Alcuin of York and a confessional prayer attrib. Fulgentius (see A1.6, A6), litanies, penitential psalms, hymns, canticles, a psalm attrib. Bede.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wilmart (1) 63–64; Wilmart (1) 6, Rand 1:169.

A13.1

Min drihten ælmihtig god si þe wuldor 7 þonc þæs þe ðu me oþþe ænigum men
æfre to miltsum forgeafe . . . mid fæder 7 mid suna 7 mid þam halgum gaste in
ecnesse. amen.

London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v, 192r–96v

late 10th–early 11th cent.; Ben. abbey of Holy Trinity, Virgin, and St. Peter,
Hyde (formerly New Minster, Winchester), Hampshire; belonged to
Christ Church, Canterbury in 11th cent.; owned in 16th cent. by
Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and John Lord Lumley

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer, without reference to a confessor,
for forgiveness of sin in general conceived as participation, through
the various parts of the body, in the various acts of the Passion of
Christ that caused his suffering. As a sort of confessional
meditation, Christ's Passion is anatomized by its parts, the penitent

speaker asking for mercy on behalf of each part of Christ's Passion experienced for the sake of man's sin in like form (e.g., praising Christ's inward parts for being filled with Godlikeness, and then asking, "for Thy inward parts' mercy," forgiveness for inward sins of evil desires that caused Christ's suffering, that these inward parts be made clean).

CONTEXT: Regius Psalter; a Lat. psalter and canticles with interlinear OE glosses, proverbs and maxims, prayers, directives for confession, two other confessional prayers (see A14.1, A18.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Hallander 102–10, Logeman (2) 504–11; ASM 2.57–64, CMCA-S 249 esp. art. e, *BL Royal* 1:40–41, *MOEP* C415, *MLGB* 104.

A13.2

[M]in drihten ælmihtig god si ðe wuldor 7 þanc þæs þe þu me oððe ænigum
men æfre to miltsun forgeafe . . . mid fæder 7 mid suna 7 mid þam halgan gaste
a on ecnesse. amen.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, 48r–50v

England, mid-11th cent.; Christ Church, Canterbury

CONTENTS: See A13.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. Rule of St. Benedict and *Regularis concordia* with OE interlinear glosses, prognostications, *Handbook* for use of a

confessor (see A20.2), confessional prayers (see A14.2, A18.2, A21) and directives (some in Lat.), OE interlinear gloss to Ælfric *Colloquy*, Ælfric letter to Wulfstan, two chaps. of Alcuin *De virtutibus et vitiis*, homilies, life of St. Margaret, lapidary, charm; Lat. tract on feastsdays, episcopal capitulary of Aachen, prayers and devotions, prognostics, form for examining a bishop at ordination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Pulsiano and McGowan 212–16, Hallander 102–10, Logeman (2) 504–11; *CMCA-S* 186 esp. art. 9f, *MOEP* C415, *MLGB* 35, Pulsiano and McGowan 189–90, 204, Frantzen (2) 164, 172.

A14.1

Myn drihten god ælmihtig ic þe eom andetta minra synna þara þe ic in minre gemeleste wiþ þe geworhte . . . Nu ic halsige þa cristes þegnas for hiora ealdorlican setle þæt ge me synfulne mon ne sceadon on þa earmfulra þeostra for minum yflum weorcum. Per te Ihesu Christe saluator mundi qui in trinitate perfecta uiuis et regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v, 190v–92r

England, late 10th–early 11th cent.; Ben. abbey of Holy Trinity, Virgin, and St. Peter, Hyde (formerly New Minster, Winchester), Hampshire;

belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury in 11th cent.; owned in 16th cent.

by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and John Lord Lumley

CONTENTS: Prayer of confession to God without enumeration of specific sins and without mention of a priest, but does conclude with prayer for God to spare the penitent, for the sake of the Virgin and saints (several named), from being cast “into the dark of the wretched.”²⁵

CONTEXT: Regius Psalter; a Lat. psalter and canticles with interlinear OE glosses, proverbs and maxims, prayers, directives for confession, two other confessional prayers (see A13.1, A18.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Hallander 100–102, Logeman (2) 501–3; *BL Royal* 1:40–41, *ASM* 2.57–64, *CMCA-S* 249 esp. art. d, *MOEP* C217, *MLGB* 104.

A14.2

Min drihten god ælmihtig ic þe eom andetta minra synna þara þe ic on minre gymeleaste wiþ þe geworhte . . . Nu ic halsige þa cristes þegnas for heora ealdorlican setle þæt ge me synfulne man ne sceadon on þa earmfullan þystra for minum yfelum weorcum. Per te Iesu Christe saluator mundi qui in trinitate perfecta uiuis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, 47r–48r

England, mid-11th cent.; Christ Church, Canterbury

²⁵ Hallander 91–92, describes this as a “confessional prayer” meant for private use and not for sacramental penance, which would require an enumeration of sins.

CONTENTS: See A14.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. Rule of St. Benedict and *Regularis concordia* with OE interlinear glosses, prognostications, *Handbook* for use of a confessor (see A20.2), confessional prayers (see A13.2, A18.2, A21) and directives (some in Lat.), OE interlinear gloss to Ælfric *Colloquy*, Ælfric letter to Wulfstan, two chaps. of Alcuin *De virtutibus et vitiis*, homilies, life of St. Margaret, lapidary, charm; Lat. tract on feastdays, episcopal capitulary of Aachen, prayers and devotions, prognostics, form for examining a bishop at ordination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Pulsiano and McGowan 210–12, Hallander 100–102; *BL Cotton* 31–32, *CMCA-S* 186 esp. art. 9e, *MOEP* C217, *MLGB* 35, Pulsiano and McGowan 189–90, 203–4, Frantzen (2) 164, 172.²⁶

A15

Confiteor tibi domin[e] deo celi omnia peccata mea quia peccaui nimis coram te et sanctis tuis / [interlinear gloss] ic andette þe drihtne gode heofenes ealle synna mine forþi ic syngude ðearle beforan þe 7 halgum þinum . . . conserues me in omni bono ac perducas me ad uitam eternam / [interlinear gloss] þu gehealde [me] on eallum gode 7 þu gelæde [me] to life ecum.

²⁶ Hallander edits the text from *BL Royal 2.B.v*, providing substantive variants from this MS.

Confessio ad dominum

London, British Library, Arundel 155, 180r

England, 1000–1050; Christ Church, Canterbury; owned by William Hadlegh, John Waltham, and William Ingram, monks of Christ Church, Canterbury; William Howard 16th-cent. owner²⁷

CONTENTS: A *Confiteor* without reference to a confessor and without enumeration of sins.

CONTEXT: Lat. *De virtutibus psalmorum*, psalter, liturgical calendar, canticles and hymns, Athanasian Creed, Litany and prayers, and a collection of prayers that contain interlinear OE glosses, including this and three other confessional prayers (see A1.8, A16, A17.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Holthausen (1) 247–48; *BL Arundel* 1/1:42–43, *CMCA-S* 135 esp. art. 15, *MLGB* 35.

A16

Confiteor tibi domine omnia peccata mea quecunque feci omnibus diebus uite mee / [interlinear gloss] ic andette þe drihten ealle synnna mine þa ðe ic dyde on eallum dagum lifes mines . . . et custodi me uigilantem ut hic feliciter uiuere

²⁷ Hadlegh was possibly licensed as confessor in 1486; he died in 1500. He gave the book to Waltham (tonsured 1483, d. 1525), who passed it on to Ingram (tonsured 1483), who was appointed penitentiary in 1511 by the chapter upon the death of the penitentiary Henry Arundel (d. 1533). See Greatrex.

ualeam et cum sanctis tuis merear habere uitam eternam / [interlinear gloss] 7
geheald wæccendne þat her gesæliglice lybban ic mæge 7 mid [haligum] þinum
ic geearnige habban life ece.

Confessio coram altare

London, British Library, Arundel 155, 180r–v

England, 1000–1050; Christ Church, Canterbury; owned by William
Hadlegh, John Waltham, and William Ingram, monks of Christ Church,
Canterbury; William Howard 16th-cent. owner²⁸

CONTENTS: A prayer of confession without enumeration of sins
and without reference to a confessor, with elaboration on the
request for forgiveness, apparently for liturgical use by a priest
before the Eucharist.

CONTEXT: Lat. *De virtutibus psalmodum*, psalter, liturgical calendar,
canticles and hymns, Athanasian Creed, Litany and prayers, and a
collection of prayers that contain interlinear OE glosses, including
this and three other confessional prayers (see A1.8, A15, A17.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Holthausen (1) 248–49; *BL Arundel 1/1:42–43*, *CMCA-S 135*
esp. art. 17, *MLGB 35*.

²⁸ Hadlegh was possibly licensed as confessor in 1486; he died in 1500. He gave the book to
Waltham (tonsured 1483, d. 1525), who passed it on to Ingram (tonsured 1483), who was
appointed penitentiary in 1511 by the chapter upon the death of the penitentiary Henry
Arundel (d. 1533). See Greatrex.

A17.1

Confiteor tibi domine pater celi et terræ quia ego peccator peccaui nimis coram te
et coram angelis tuis sanctis et coram facie omnium sanctorum tuorum /

[interlinear gloss] heofonas 7 eorþan for þi þe ic synful syngede swiðe toforan þe
7 toforan þinum halgum englum ansene . . . Tu pius et misericors tribue mihi
plenam misericorditer indulgentiam qui uiuis et regnas deus per omnia secula
seculorum.

Confessio pro peccatis ad deum

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427, 182v–83v

England, 1000–1050; Aug. priory of Virgin and St. John the Baptist,

Lanthony, near Gloucester

CONTENTS: Misc. enumeration of sin types without particularity
or specific context of private confession (e.g., “per superbiam et
elationem per fornicationem et adulterium per auaritiam et uanam
gloriam per iram et tristitiam,” etc.), with mention of neglecting the
Ten Commandments and sins through the five senses, and for
sinning according to thought, word, and deed.

CONTEXT: Lat. psalter and canticles with interlinear OE glosses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Förster (3) 329–31; *Lam. Pal.* 588–90, *MOEP* H039, *CMCA-S*
280 esp. art. 2, *MLGB* 111.

A17.2

Confiteor tibi domine quia ego peccaui nimis coram te et coram angelis tuis /
[interlinear gloss] ic andette þe drihten forþi ic syngude ðearle beforan þe 7
beforam englum þinum . . . Sed tu domine qui es pius et misericors mihi tribue
plenam misericorditer indulgentiam et remissionem. Qui uiuis / [interlinear
gloss] ac þu drihten þu eart ærfast 7 mildheort me syle fulle mildheortlice
forgyfenesse 7 forlætincge.

London, British Library, Arundel 155, 179v–80r

England, 1000–1050; Christ Church, Canterbury; owned by William
Hadlegh, John Waltham, and William Ingram, monks of Christ Church,
Canterbury; William Howard 16th-cent. owner²⁹

CONTENTS: See A17.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. *De virtutibus psalmorum*, psalter, liturgical calendar,
canticles and hymns, Athanasian Creed, Litany and prayers, and a
collection of prayers that contain interlinear OE glosses, including
this and three other confessional prayers (see A1.8, A15, A16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Holthausen (1) 246–47; *BL Arundel 1/1:42–43*, *CMCA-S 135*

²⁹ Hadlegh was possibly licensed as confessor in 1486; he died in 1500. He gave the book to Waltham (tonsured 1483, d. 1525), who passed it on to Ingram (tonsured 1483), who was appointed penitentiary in 1511 by the chapter upon the death of the penitentiary Henry Arundel (d. 1533). See Greatrex.

esp. art. 14, *MLGB* 35.³⁰

A18.1

Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasegendlicere mildheortnesse eala þu god una
metenre arfæstnysse ealu þu god scyppend . . . Hælend crist gehyr þas word þu
ðe leofast 7 rixast mid þam ælmihtigan fæder 7 þam halgan gaste butan anginne
7 ende. Amen.

Confessio et oratio

London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v, 197r–98r

England, 11th cent.; Ben. abbey of Holy Trinity, Virgin, and St. Peter,
Hyde (formerly New Minster, Winchester), Hampshire; owned in 16th
cent. by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and John Lord Lumley

CONTENTS: The eight cardinal sins (“heafod leahtras”): pride,
gluttony, lechery, avarice, wrath, sadness (“tristitia”), sloth, and
vainglory, with no reference to a confessor.³¹ After a general
enumeration of these sins, the second half of the prayer consists of

³⁰ While neither Holthausen nor Kerr connect this prayer to that of A13a, it is clearly the same prayer, with only very minor differences, mainly of a few omitted phrases.

³¹ This is John Cassian’s order of sins, except that *superbia* is moved from the end to the beginning as in the Gregorian list. See Bloomfield 69–75, on the two major sin lists associated with Cassian and Gregory. The Cassianic order was especially popular in penitential books and in Britain, but Gregory’s list eventually became standard.

general requests for deliverance from sin, protection from the devil, help to live in good works and in true belief, and for eternal life.³²

CONTEXT: Regius Psalter; a Lat. psalter and canticles with interlinear OE glosses, proverbs and maxims, prayers, directives for confession, two other confessional prayers (see A13.1, A14.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Logeman (1) 111–15; *BL Royal* 1:40–41, *ASM* 2.57–64, *CMCA-S* 249 esp. art. g, *MOEP* C217, *MLGB* 104, Förster (1) 54–55, Wenzel (2) 83–84 and n. 62.

A18.2

Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse. Eala þu god unametenre arfæstnesse. Eala þu goda scyppend . . . Hælend crist gehyr ðas word þu þe leofast 7 rixast mid þam ælmihtigan fæder 7 þam halgan gaste butan anginne 7 ende. amen.

Confessio et oratio ad deum

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, 44r–45v

England, mid-11th cent.; Christ Church, Canterbury

CONTENTS: See A18.1.

³² Logeman, and later Pulsiano and McGowan, point out how this text in part derives from Alcuin's prayer in the *Vespasian Psalter* and the Arundel MS (see A1.7, A1.8). This prayer translates the beginning of Alcuin's prayer, but diverges into a different set of avowals. This prayer, for example, does not contain the anatomizing of the body, which takes up the majority of Alcuin's prayer.

CONTEXT: Lat. Rule of St. Benedict and *Regularis concordia* with OE interlinear glosses, prognostications, *Handbook* for use of a confessor (see A20.2), confessional prayers (see A13.2, A14.2, A21) and directives (some in Lat.), OE interlinear gloss to Ælfric *Colloquy*, Ælfric letter to Wulfstan, two chaps. of Alcuin *De virtutibus et vitiis*, homilies, life of St. Margaret, lapidary, charm; Lat. tract on feastdays, episcopal capitulary of Aachen, prayers and devotions, prognostics, form for examining a bishop at ordination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Pulsiano and McGowan 206–8, Logeman (1) 111–15; *BL Cotton* 31–32, *CMCA-S* 186 esp. art. 9a, *MOEP* C217, *MLGB* 35, Pulsiano and McGowan 189–90, 199–201, Förster (1) 54–55, Wenzel (2) 83–84 and n. 62, Frantzen (2) 164, 172.³³

A19

Confiteor omnipotenti deo patri in conspectu unici filii sui domini mei ihesu christi et spiritus sancti et coram sanctissima genitrice dei maria . . . et coram te sacerdos dei altissimi omnia peccata mea . . . et te deprecor sacerdos dei uiui et adiuro per nomen aeterni dei et saluatoris nostri ihesu christi ut sis mei testis debis omnibus in die magni . . . et nunc obsecro te ut sis assidue pro me in

³³ Logeman edits the text from BL Royal 2.B.v with variants from this MS.

orationibus tuis ad dominum deum meum ihesum christum cui est cum deo
patre et spiritu sancto honor et gloria per omnia.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 175–76, 171³⁴

England, mid-11th cent.; associated with Winchester's New Minster

CONTENTS: The confession is part of a tract on how to conduct confession that begins, "Quando aliquis uolerit confessionem facere peccatorum suorum. . . ." Sins types are listed without any elaboration: failing to remember all of one's sins or to tell them sufficiently by mouth [peccaui enim in tantum ut nec mens mea recordari ualeat nec lingua narrare sufficiat], sins according to the five bodily senses and five senses of the mind or soul (fear, love, joy, hatred, and sorrow), in thoughts, words, and deeds, according to the eight principal sins [in octo uitiiis principalibus id est in superbia in gastrimargia in luxuria in auaritia in ira in accidia in tristitia mala in uana gloria] and other sins stemming from these. It ends with a plea for the confessor to be a witness of the confession

³⁴ Pages 171–74 are presently misbound before pp. 175–76. Following the manuscript as it is thus bound, the prayer begins on pp. 175–76 and concludes on p. 171.

at Judgment.³⁵

CONTEXT: OE Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* and homilies (major source), *Handbook* for confessors (see A20.1), frag. of *Regularis concordia*, Bede *De die iudicii* and other alliterative verse including Lord's Prayer and Gloria, legal codes, *Institutes of Polity*, *Northumbrian Priest's Law*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Benedictine Office, trans. of portion of Genesis; Lat. form of confession, absolution, prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Camb. CCC* 1:485–91, *CMCA-S* 49 esp. art. 50 and 58, Frantzen (2) 139–40 and n. 64, Wormald 204–10.

A20.1

Ic andette ælmihtigum gode and minum scifte þam gastlican læce ealle þa synna þe me æfre þurh awirgede gastas on besmitene wurdon . . . þæt þu to drihtene beo min þingere þæt ic mote myne sinna and mine giltas gebetan and oðres swilces gewican. To ðon me gefultumige se drihten se ðe leofað and rixað a buton ende on ecnesse. Amen.

³⁵ The prayer bears some resemblance to the OE confession that appears earlier in the manuscript as part of the *Handbook* for use of a confessor (A20.1). It is part of a tract on confession that begins with directions on confession (repeated from the Latin material that precedes the OE confession), other prayers to say following confession, an absolution, and directions on confession for women. This tract is in a different hand from the one that wrote the OE *Handbook*.

Prol. Efter þisum arise eadmodlice to his scrite and cweðe þonne ærest . . .

From an OE *Handbook* for use of a confessor³⁶

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 115–17

England, mid-11th cent.; associated with Wulfstan, archbishop of York

CONTENTS: Confession is to a confessor (“minum scrite þam gastlican læce,” “Drihtenes mæssepreoste”) and includes a misc. listing of sins (e.g., gluttony, envy, slander, swearing, neglecting daily office), anatomization of sinful parts of the body (eyes, ears, mouth, flesh, bone, sinew, artery, gristle, tongue, lips, teeth, hair, soft and hard parts, dry and wet parts), and a plea for the confessor to be a witness at Judgment.

CONTEXT: OE Wulfstan’s *Canons of Edgar* and homilies (major source), *Handbook* for confessors, frag. of *Regularis concordia*, Bede *De die iudicii* and other alliterative verse including Lord’s Prayer and Gloria, legal codes, *Institutes of Polity*, *Northumbrian Priest’s*

³⁶ The *Handbook* begins, “Incipit ordo confessionis Sancti Heronimi qualiter confiteri debeat cristianus peccata sua,” and is found on pp. 114–125. The *Handbook*, extant in a shorter and longer version in six manuscripts, is an assemblage of several sections on different topics with differing styles: general directions in Latin on conducting confession (I), a form of confession (II), advice to confessors (III), the enjoining of penances (IV), further advice to confessors (V), and advice on commuting penances for powerful men (VI). Section II containing the confession is extant in two manuscripts of the longer version, both from the mid-eleventh century. While the shorter version appears to be the original form of the work, the longer version dates to Wulfstan’s time, and Fowler gives strong evidence for thinking “that Wulfstan had the *Handbook* compiled,” that is, under his auspice rather than by himself directly. See Fowler 1–12.

Law, Apollonius of Tyre, Benedictine Office, trans. of portion of Genesis; Lat. form of confession (see A19), absolution, prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Thorpe 402–4, Fowler 17–19, Frantzen (1) s.v. “Texts, OE Handbook, Manuscripts, CCCC 201”; trans. Frantzen (1) s.v. “Translations, OE Handbook, From CCCC 201”; Fowler 1–34, *Camb. CCC* 1:485–91, *CMCA-S* 49 esp. art. 50b, Frantzen (2) 139–40 and n. 64.³⁷

A20.2

Ic andette ælmihtigum gode 7 minum scrifte þan gastlican læce ealle þa synna þe me æfre þurh awirgede gastas on b[e]smitene wurdon . . . þæt þu to drihtene beo min þingere þæt ic mote mine synna 7 mine giltas betan 7 opres swilces geswican. To þon me gefultumie se drihten se þe leofað 7 rixað a butan ende on ecnesse. amen.

Prolog. [E]fter þissum arise eadmodlice to his scrifte 7 cweðe þonne ærest . . .

From an OE *Handbook* for use of a confessor³⁸

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, 55v–56r

England, mid-11th cent.

CONTENTS: See A20.1.

³⁷ Thorpe conflates the *Handbook* (402–15) with the *Canons of Edgar* (395–402), which has misled earlier scholars to think this collection of confessional works is part of the *Canons of Edgar*, now accepted as Wulfstan’s work.

³⁸ The *Handbook* appears on fols. 55r–56v, 94v–97r.

CONTEXT: Lat. Rule of St. Benedict and *Regularis concordia* with OE interlinear glosses, prognostications, *Handbook* for use of a confessor, confessional prayers (see A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A21) and directives (some in Lat.), OE interlinear gloss to *Ælfric Colloquy*, *Ælfric letter to Wulfstan*, two chaps. of Alcuin *De virtutibus et vitiis*, homilies, life of St. Margaret, lapidary, charm; Lat. tract on feastdays, episcopal capitulary of Aachen, prayers and devotions, prognostics, form for examining a bishop at ordination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Fowler 17–19, Frantzen (1) s.v. “Texts, OE Handbook, Manuscripts, Cotton Tib. A3”; Fowler 1–34, CMCA-S 186 esp. art. k, *BL Cotton* 31–32, Frantzen (2) 164, 171–72.³⁹

A21

Ic eom andetta ælmihtigum gode 7 eac minum scrifte ealle þa synna . . . Ic bidde þe eadmodlice þe min gastlica lareow eart þæt ðu me foreþingie 7 æt mines drihtnes þrym setle on domes dæge minre andetnyssa gewita si.

³⁹ Fowler edits the text from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, with significant variants from this MS.

Prolog. Man mot hine gebiddan swa swa he mæg 7 can mid ælcum gereorde 7 on
ælcere stowe [paragraph of direction on confession]⁴⁰ . . .

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, 45v–46r

England, mid-11th cent.; Christ Church, Canterbury

CONTENTS: Paragraph-long confession in general terms to a
confessor (“minum scrifte”) with request for the confessor (“min
gastlica lareow”) to be a witness to the confession at Judgment Day,
followed in Lat. by a supplication to the confessor for absolution
and the absolution.

CONTEXT: Lat. Rule of St. Benedict and *Regularis concordia* with OE
interlinear glosses, prognostications, *Handbook* for use of a
confessor (see A20.2), confessional prayers (see A13.2, A14.2, A18.2)
and directives (some in Lat.), OE interlinear gloss to Ælfric
Colloquy, Ælfric letter to Wulfstan, two chaps. of Alcuin *De*
virtutibus et vitiis, homilies, life of St. Margaret, lapidary, charm;
Lat. tract on feastdays, episcopal capitulary of Aachen, prayers and

⁴⁰ The directions indicate that confession should be done any way a person can, using any speech, making confession in any place. An exemplary prayer in English is offered for an aid, but the directions caution the user not to say anything that he has not actually done [Nu is her on englisc andetnyss 7 gebed. Ac se ðe þis singan wylle, ne secge he na mare on þære andetnyssse þonne he wyrrende wæs, forþon ðe ure hælend nele þæt man on hine sylfne leoge, ne eac ealle menn on ane wisan ne syngiað]. These directions on confession also appear in BL Royal 2.B.v, fol. 198r.

devotions, prognostics, form for examining a bishop at ordination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Förster (2) 45–46; *CMCA-S* 186 esp. art. 9b, *MOEP* C414,
MLGB 35, Frantzen (2) 164, 171–72.

A22.1

Ic andette þe drihten ælmihtig god 7 sancta marian þinre haligan moder 7 eallum halgum 7 þe bisceop ealle mine synna þe ic erminge fram minre iuguðe oð ðas tid ongean godes gesetnysse gefremede . . . 7 on eallum þweorum dædum forþam ic bidde þe 7 sanctam mariam ures drihtenes moder . . . 7 þe bisceop þæt ge gebiddan for me þam unwyrðestan synfullan to þam ælmihtigan gode þæt he us for urum synnum gemiltsige [followed by absolution].

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i, 161r–v

England, 1050–1100; Salisbury Cathedral (see was at Sherborne prior to 1078)

CONTENTS: Confession to God, Virgin, saints, and to a bishop; misc. enumeration of sins, including, e.g., greed, drunkenness, adultery, envy, hatred, litigiousness, deceit, lying, vainglory, false witness, murder, and according to the five senses, concluding with

absolution.⁴¹

CONTEXT: Lat. pontifical with homilies in Lat. and OE, and OE confessional prayers following the section on confession in the pontifical and the Lord's Prayer and Creed in OE (see A23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Logeman (1) 102–3; *BL Cotton 37*, *ASM* 8.30–45, *MOEP* C218, *CMCA-S* 197 esp. art. f, *MLGB* 171.

A22.2

Ic andette þe drihten ælmihtig god 7 sanctam marian þinre haligan moder 7 eallum haligum 7 þe bisceop ealle mine synna þe ic earminge fram minre iuguðe oð þas tid ongean godes gesetnysse gefremede . . . 7 on eallum þweorum dædum for þam ic bydde þe sanctam mariam ures drihtenes modor . . . 7 þe bisceop þæt ge gebiddan for me þam unwurþestan synfullan to þam ælmihtigan gode þæt he us for urum synnum miltsige.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190, p. 365

England, 1050–1100; Exeter Cathedral, probably the MS donated by

Leofric which he calls in his will “scrift boc on Englisc”

CONTENTS: See A22.1.

⁴¹ The familiar *Confiteor* beginning and conclusion, the address to a bishop, the presence of plural pronoun forms, and the absolution suggests this prayer was used in a sacramental rite of penance.

CONTEXT: Scriftboc, Old English Penitential (trans. from *Penitential of Halitgar*), confessor's exhortation to penance, excerpts trans. from *Penitential of Theodore*, chap. on forgiveness of sins, Ælfric letters to Wulfstan and Wulfsige, Ælfric homily, sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Förster (1) 12–20; *Camb. CCC* 452–63, *MOEP* C215, *CMCA-S* 45B esp. art. 13, *MLGB* 82, *Frantzen* (2) 132–34 and ff., *Wormald* 220–24.

A23

Ic eom þe ealra andettende 7 þinum englum mid hreowe 7 minum gastlicum scrifte for mine sawle 7 lichaman þe ic on gesingode . . . 7 ic bidde ælmihtigne god for his miclan mildheortnyse þæt he me syg arfæstra þone ic wið hine geworhtage ðæt he me ne læte sceððan þa fyrenfullan æt minum ende dæge ne minum lichaman ne minum gaste. Amen.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i, 160r–61r

England, 1050–1100; Salisbury Cathedral (episcopal see at Sherborne prior to 1078)

CONTENTS: Confession to God, angels, and confessor (“minum gastlicum scrifte”); misc. enumeration of sins (e.g., sexual sins, avarice, unbelief, murder, slander, strife, disobedience, recklessness, pride, neglecting spiritual works, gluttony, etc.), and also mentioned are sins committed through parts of the body (flesh,

bone, sinew, mouth, tongue, feet, hair, tears).

CONTEXT: Lat. pontifical with homilies in Lat. and OE, and OE confessional prayers following the section on confession in the pontifical and the Lord's Prayer and Creed in OE (see A22.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Logeman (1) 101–2; *BL Cotton 37*, *ASM* 8.30–45, *CMCA-S* 197 esp. art. e, *MOEP* C218, *MLGB* 171.

A24

[Beginning lost] . . . æni mann mai don alle hie bieð forsakene on godes awene muðe . . . Giet is an oðer derne senne ðe me 7 manize oðre saule hafð beswiken. hie hatte tristicia ðat is sarinesse . . . and lardest ðat ic scolde bien icnawe of mine sennes nu ðu hafst iherd mine bemone þat ich am swa swiðe forzelt for ðe luue of gode ic ðe besieche ðat [tu] me wissi ʒiet an hwælche wile ic mihte betst sahtlin wið [min]e halend criste . . . And ic bliðeliche ðine rad wile hlesten and micheles ðe bliðeliker ʒif ðu me ðin uncuðe name woldest kyðen.⁴²

From *Vices and Virtues* (ca. 1200)

London, British Library, Stowe 34, 2r–8r

⁴² The entire work concludes with the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is cited in other forms of confession: “alswa swa we habbeð niede him to bidden be daiʒ and be nihte and ofte and ʒelome alswa hit is niede him to herizen. amen. Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum uisita implet superna gracia que tu creasti pectora” (fol. 49r).

England, ca. 1200; East Midlands; owned by William Fleetwood of
London in 16th cent.

CONTENTS: The beginning of this dialogue between Soul, Reason, Body, and other allegorical personages contains the Soul's confession of sorrow, sloth, pride, disobedience, swearing, lying, backbiting, deceit, cursing, impatience, self-will, unrighteousness, five senses (allegorized as the five talents in the Gospels). Soul then shifts into a description of the pains of hell before concluding with a request that Reason give instruction in reconciliation.

CONTEXT: *Vices and Virtues*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Holthausen (2) 2–21; *Stowe* 1:21, Bloomfield 119–20, Wenzel (2) 229 n. 63, Utley 26.1, Wright 3.

B. Latin Forms of Confession, 1200–1500

B1.1

Confiteor tibi Domine pater celi et terre tibi que gloriose . . . [text imperfect]

Confessio sacerdotis vel clericorum

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13453, 14 ff.

Provenance uncertain, 12th cent.; owned by the Harlay family, who donated the MS to the Ben. abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés

CONTEXT: Tracts on penance, Eucharist, Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BN MSS lat.* (2) 2:104, app. ix–x, *Incipits* 0939.¹

B1.2

[Con]fiteor tibi domine . . . tibi que . . . [incipit and part of text damaged] . . . per intercessionem Beate dei genitricis marie quoque omnium sanctorum tuorum

¹ Because this text is a form of confession and not a precursor to the genre, I have included it here in section B with the other copies of the text, rather than in section A despite this manuscript's twelfth-century dating. I thank Pierre-Jean Riamond, curator of the Bibliothèque Nationale's Manuscript Department, for confirming the dating of this manuscript. *Incipits* lists another copy of this text as being in Lilienfeld, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 23, 59v–66v, but this is a mistaken identification. The incipit begins similarly, as far as "Confiteor tibi Domine pater celi et terre," but the work in the Lilienfeld manuscript is a manual for confessors and not a form of confession.

cunctis diebus uite mee. Amen.

[*Confessio generalis*]

London, British Library, Royal 10.A.viii, iir–v

England, 13th cent.

CONTEXT: Ivo Bishop of Chartres *Panormia* (canon law), Ivo sermons, constitutions of Westminster, Rule of St. Augustine, ceremony for monastic profession, some ME glosses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Royal* 1:304–5, *Incipits* 0939.

B1.3

Confiteor tibi pater creator . . . qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Explicit
confessio generalis beati Augustini

Prol. Has horas canonicas cum deuocione Christo tibi recolo pia racione vt qui
tibi pia racione vt qui pro me passus es amoris ardore sis mihi solacium in mortis
langore.

Oxford, Exeter College, MS 28, 248v–49v

England, 14th cent.; at Exeter College in 14th cent.

CONTEXT: William of Wheatley commentary on ps.-Boethius *De disciplina scolarium* and commentary on Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy*, ps.-Aquinas *quaestiones* on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, ps.-William of Montibus sermon collection *Filius Matris*, ps.-

Augustine tract on predestination and grace, Augustine sermons 49 and 99, Robert Grosseteste treatises *De veritate*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De statu causarum*, and *De Dei scientia*.²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oxf. Exeter Coll. 39–42, Boethius MSS 227–28.

B1.4

Confiteor tibi domine pater celi et terre tibi que gloriose . . .

Confessio generalis pulcra nimis atque deuotissima

Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 392 (D.2.24), 9–10a

Italy, 15th cent.; Rome, Aug. church of S. Maria del Populo

CONTEXT: Tracts on Communion, seven deadly sins, reserved cases for the archbishop of Naples, and reserved cases for the bishop, life of St. Eustace, hymn; Italian Rule of St. Augustine, verse on death, devotional songs, guidelines for dress in the Augustinian community of S. Maria del Populo, form of confession, examination in the seven deadly sins, Communion, five senses, works of mercy, and gifts of the Holy Spirit, devotional uses of saying the daily office, life of St. Jerome, meditation on the Passion, legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, Litany and prayers.

² The MS, which dates from 1300 to 1325, is composed of four separate sections. The first section containing Wheatley's commentaries on Boethius's works and the Ps.-Aquinas *quaestiones* concludes with the form of confession, which was added sometime later in the 14th cent.

B1b.1

Perambulabat Iudas v ciuitates . . . Iam, si placet, accedat Iudas ad superiores partes regionis et perambulet v ciuitates interioris hominis, que sunt voluntas, racio, memoria, ymaginacio, cogitacio. Explicit.

Prologus de quinque sensibus

Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*, part 1³

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 83, 72r–78r⁴

³This work by Robert Grosseteste consists of two parts. Part 1 (lines 5–327 of Goering and Mantello’s edition), is a form of confession addressed to an unnamed friend who requested a *forma confessionis* from Grosseteste, most likely an abbot or prior of a monastic house (“postquam me rogasti vt tibi scriberem formam confessionis” [16]). Part 2 (lines 327–645) is a confessional interrogatory, or *speculum confessionis* as it is described, and it is addressed to the simple brothers under the supervision of the superior to use for examining all sins committed in the world and in the cloister (“propter simpliciores fratres, ut habeant speculum confessionis de omnibus peccatis et in seculo et in religione commissis” [327–29]). This interrogatory is for the brothers’ use in their personal confession and not for use in directing other penitents in confession. Part 1 begins with an exegesis of 1 Macc. 3:8 and Isaiah 19:8 (3–37) similar to that in another Grosseteste form of confession (see B3b). Judas is the *confitens*, who passes through the five cities (bodily senses) of *terra Egypti* (the sinful body), eradicating sins. This leads into the form of confession’s examination of the five external and five internal senses, those interior and hidden sins, as opposed to manifest sins committed consciously (“consensu rationis” [325]). The interrogatory, by contrast, covers the seven deadly sins and sins against the sacraments. Goering and Mantello give as a title of this work *Speculum confessionis*, taken from internal references (“Ecce, dilectissime, speculum confessionis tibi poposui” [646; and 328 quoted above]). While only the two fifteenth-century copies of this work ascribe it to Robert Grosseteste, Goering and Mantello give a great deal of linguistic evidence for Grosseteste’s authorship, for this work is closely related to two other works by Grosseteste, *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata*, a form of confession in Lambeth Palace Library 499 (see B3b), and *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi*, a widely copied confessional interrogatory that appears in one manuscript containing three forms of confession (B25, B26, B27). They date the work to the period before Grosseteste became bishop of Lincoln, when he was a *magister* at the University of Paris.

England, 1200–1250

CONTEXT: Questions on Peter Lombard *Sentences*, extracts on the soul, imagination, and dreams, many misc. tracts including on the seven deadly sins (one in French), five senses, the Commandments, and on making confession, and a treatise on the sacraments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Goering and Mantello (3); *Incipits* 3889, Thomson 125 no. 81, *Camb. Emmanuel* 74–75, Goering and Mantello (3) 145–46.

B1b.2

Perambulauit Iudas v ciuitates, et perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram ab Israel .

. . In conspectu Dei omnipotentis et omnia uidentis, et beate Marie, et omnium angelorum, et omnium sanctorum, confiteor me miserum reum et indignum peccatorem . . . Hec, dilectissime, sine preiudicio de interioribus et occultis dicta sunt. Nam de [manifesto] consensu rationis siue aperta [perpetracione] operis non arbitror necesse scribere studiis tuis.

Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis* (1200–1230), part 1

Tractatus de confessione

⁴ This copy of the text is incomplete. According to Goering and Mantello (3) 146, it is lacking paragraphs 3, part of 5 and 6, all of 8, much of 10 and 12, part of 13, most of 17, and all the rest of the work. This abbreviated version, then, includes only the allegorical introduction of the five cities and confession according to the five physical senses in part 1.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 527, 257r–62v⁵

England, 1250–1300

CONTEXT: Gratian *Decretals* excerpt, papal decisions on various English episcopal and other cases, lexicon of Roman legal terminology, Bernard of Clairvaux *De diligendo Deo*, Richard of Wetheringsett *Summa Qui bene praesunt*, Alexander of Villedieu *Carmen de algorismo*, Aelius Donatus *Ars minor* excerpt, Peter of Limoges *De oculo morali*, theological commonplaces, sayings, and notes, exposition of ps.-Aristotle *Physiognomia*, notes on Aristotle *Meteora* bk. 4, Anselm of Laon *De animabus hominum* excerpt, *Physiologus de naturis animalium* excerpt, moralized tales from the bestiary, sermons, tracts on simony, Antichrist, the sacraments, and on the order of ecclesiastical offices, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, exposition of the Mass, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, admonitions on the moral life of priests, *Directorium sacerdotum simplicium* (a guide for simple priests).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Goering and Mantello (3); *Incipits* 3889, Thomson 125 no. 81, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 2/2.381–85, Goering and Mantello (3) 143–44.

⁵ This is the only surviving copy of the complete text, which Goering and Mantello use as the base text for their edition. My incipits and explicits for the other copies of the *Speculum confessionis* are based on the critical apparatus provided in this edition.

B1b.3

Perambulauit Iudas quinque ciuitates set implicita et que sit in genere non ita.

Tractatus Magistri Roberti Lincolnensis Episcopi de vera conscientia

Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*, part 1

London, British Library, Harley 5441, 142v–46v⁶

England, early 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Chronicle of the Three Kings of Cologne, rhetorical exposition of Psalms and Canticles, exposition of difficult words in troparia (liturgical musical settings), John de Grandison life and passion of Saint Thomas, Albertanus Brixiensis De doctrina dicendi et tacendi, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux De interiori domo, Bernard meditation, Edmund of Abingdon Speculum ecclesiae, exposition of the words “Deus contulit, Deus abstulit” (about the Incarnation).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Goering and Mantello (3); Incipits 3889, Thomson 125 no. 81, BL Harley 3:268, Goering and Mantello (3) 144–45, Forshaw 3–4.

⁶ The two fifteenth-century versions of the text are incomplete, but they ascribe the work to Robert Grosseteste in their incipits and explicits. They omit paragraphs 17–24 (confession of the five internal senses in part 1), part of 25, and 35–43 (everything following questions according to the deadly sins in part 2) in Goering and Mantello’s edition.

B1b.4

Perambulauit Iudas quinque ciuitates set implicita et que sit in genere non ita.

Explicit tractatus de confessione secundum magistrum Robertum Lincolniensem episcopum, in quo non solum secularibus sed etiam religiosis et perfectis patet speculum uere confessionis

Tractatus magistri Roberti Lincolniensis episcopi de confessione

Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*, part 1

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 519 (E.I.29), 63r–66v⁷

England, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Benet Burgh English verse trans. Cato's *Distichs*, Johannes de Hildesheim *Gesta trium magorum*, Albertanus Brixiensis *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, Edmund of Abingdon *Speculum ecclesiae*, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *De interiori domo*, John Deverose letter of consolation to a friend for the loss of his children, Marcus Ratisbonensis *Visio Tundali*, John de Grandison life and passion of St. Thomas, Robert Grosseteste *De probacione virginitatis Beate Marie*, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, tract on the afterlife, ps.-Saint Melito

⁷ The Trinity College text was copied from the Harely version (B1b.3). See Goering and Mantello (3) 144–45, Forshaw 4.

De transitu et Assumptione Beate Virginis Marie, tract on Christ's ministry and marriage to the Church, Guido de Columnis *Historia destructionis Troiae*, some verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Goering and Mantello (3); *Incipits* 3889, Thomson 125 no. 81, *Dublin Trin. Coll.* 2:1011–16, Goering and Mantello (3) 144–45, Forshaw 4.

B2

Ego sum homo malus uir iniquus et michimet ipsi inimicus . . . Meque tua misericordia a uitiiis omnibus exuat quem reatus proprie conscientie grauat.

Forma confessionis

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.29, 5r–7r

England, 13th cent.; Ben. abbey (nuns) of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga, Barking, Essex (later 15th cent.)

CONTEXT: Shepherd of Hermas *Pastor* (principally on penance), Jerome *Sermo de Quadragesima*, *Sermo de duabus beatitudinibus et miseriis* attrib. Anselm of Canterbury, Innocent III *De miseria humanae conditionis*, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Bernard of Clairvaux meditation, patristic extracts on various topics (Augustine on sloth, Basil on penance, etc.), tracts on monastic virtues, devotional practices, confession, vices and virtues and parts of confession, transubstantiation, Commandments, Creed, allegorical method of

interpretation; OF commentary on Creed and Lord's Prayer,
sermons on gospels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Camb. Trin. 3:122–26, Doyle 242–43, *MLGB* 6, *Incipits* 1899.

B3.1

Multitudinem criminum et enormitatem scelerum meorum . . .

Confessio penitentium

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 513, art. 2⁸

Italy, 13th cent.; Cist.

CONTEXT: Collection of prayers, portion of a missal, liturgical
offices (and see A8 for a much earlier copy of this prayer).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mazarine 1:201.

B3.2

Multitudinem criminum et enormitatem scelerum meorum . . . mea culpa, mea
maxima culpa. Amen.

Confessio optima de octo principalibus uitis

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82, 182v–83r

Italy, 1400–1450; Gubbio, for member of Fran. order

CONTEXT: Franciscan Book of Hours in Roman Use, containing

⁸ The seventh text in a group of eight other prayers on fols. 7r–23r.

other prayers of confession (see B34, B35, B36; and see A8 for a much earlier copy of this prayer).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Newberry 150–55, Wadsworth 26.

B3b

In conspectu Dei omnia uidentis et omnipotentis, et beate Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, pater, quia ego peccator in peccatis conceptus, et in peccatis natus, et in peccatis nutrius . . . ou kil par la priere de sa duce mere e de tuz seins et totes seintes vus doit tele uie demener en co secle e si espurger uostre uie par sainte confessio un ke vus pussez apres le curs de ceste uie consequi uitam eternam, ou ke Deu vus doit ben uiure, e ben morer, e a la grant ioie paruenir.

Amen.

*Prol. Psalmus: "Notus in Iudea Deus. . . ." Iudea interpretatur confessio . . .*⁹

De confessione et modo confitendi peccata

⁹ The brief prologue presents a catena of scriptural quotations allegorically illustrating the penitent turning toward God, e.g., Ps. 75:2 ("Notus in Iudea Deus") and Ps. 113:1–2 ("In exitu Israel de Egipto . . . facta est Iudea sanctificacio eius"): Israel (the sinner) leaves Egypt (the world) and enters Judea (confession) where God is known and has made his sanctuary. How this is to be done is shown in 1 Macc. 3:8 ("perambulauit 5 ciuitates, et perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram ab Israel"): the hero Judah (the true penitent) destroys the wicked in the five cities (sins of the five senses) in *terra Egypti* (the corrupt body); thus the penitent should come to the priest accusing himself of sins committed through the senses. The prologue then leads into the form of confession itself, with confession according to the deadly sins, deficiencies of previous acts of confession and penance, lechery and lust, the five senses, and other miscellaneous sins. The text also emphasizes that confession ought to be made in one's native tongue (see C5 and C20), and a medieval editor has interpolated material from Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum* into various sections of the text. It ends with an admonition in French for members of regular orders along with the *Confiteor* and absolution also in French. See Goering and Mantello's excellent description of the text introducing their edition.

Robert Grosseteste, *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata* or *Notus in Iudea Deus*
(1235–53)¹⁰

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 499, 186r–87v

England, 1250–1300; Grosseteste's name is frequently mentioned in the
MS; compiler from Grosseteste household or circle; Anglo-Norman, from
Whalley Abbey (Cist.), Hailes, Gloucestershire

CONTEXT: Lat. collection of notes and excerpts largely on
theological topics, including material from Gregory's *Dialogues*,
Peter Comestor, Augustine's *Enchiridion*, and ps.-Augustine tracts
on the Trinity and against heresies, history of the Cross, epitome of
Bible history, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, tract on vices and
virtues, list of sermon texts for feast days, commentary on Christ's
genealogy in Matthew, miracle tales, stories from saints' lives,
sermons, many tracts on events in the life of Christ, Psalter of the
Blessed Virgin (usually scribed to St. Bonaventure), Lat. and ME
verses, Grosseteste decretals, administrative pieces on electing
prelates, admitting novices, settling disputes, etc., many official

¹⁰Goering and Mantello (2) have given the title *Notus in Iudea Deus* to this work, based on the
scriptural quotation from Psalm 75:2 that begins the work, but this title does not readily
indicate at all the nature of this text. The actual rubric that is given in the manuscript, *De*
confessione et modo confitendi peccata, is more to the point.

letters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Goering and Mantello (2) 265–73; *Incipits* 3452, *Lam. Pal.* 691–701, Thomson 125–26 no. 82, Goering and Mantello (2) 258–65, Michaud-Quantin 30 n. 22.

B4

In conspectu Dei operis . . .

Confessio quedam bona et utilis

Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 122, art. 3

France, ca. 1309

CONTEXT: Peter the Blessed *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum*, vita of Martha, exposition on Rule of St. Benedict, treatise on living solitary life, extracts from a theological compendium, sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o)* 5:604–5, *Cat. des MSS datés* 5:51, *Incipits* 2529.

B5

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate marie virgini beati michaeli archangelo et omnibus angelis . . . et vobis pater qui locum dei optinetis et primo confiteor me esse reum . . . et in hoc terminabitur applicationem formule praecedentis Pater misericordiarum Christe sic des nobis peccata mea confiteri ut ex hoc possumus in cursu misericordie gratiam et in gustu seu fructu eterne patrie gloriam per mereri. Amen.

Modum confitendi

From John Rigaud, *Formula confessionum* (1309–1312), part 6¹¹

London, British Library, Arundel 379, 20vb–22vb¹²

France, ca. 1349; Avignon; written by a priest, Johannus Arfelt (Mainz, Carth.)

CONTEXT: John Rigaud *Formula confessionum* and *Formula confessionis* also attrib. Rigaud, Henricus de Frimaria treatise on making confession, tracts on seven deadly sins and on mortal and venial sins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Arundel* 1/1:111–12, *Watson Dated MSS BL* no. 466, *Incipits* 0927 and 5707, *Teetaert* 651–76, *Michaud-Quantin* 56, *Bloomfield* 388 n. 107. Also 31 other MSS listed below.¹³

¹¹ John Rigaud (d. 1323) was a French Franciscan, originally from the diocese of Limoges, and served as a papal penitentiary and became bishop of Tréguier in 1317 in the province of Tours. Most manuscripts of the *Formula confessionum* are attributed to him, yet because another Franciscan of fame shared the same name and was a major force in the spread of confessional practice, the text sometimes was attributed to John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, who, however, had died in 1292 before the composition of this treatise. See *Teetaert* 672–73.

¹² The *Formula confessionum* in *Arundel* 379 begins on fol. 2r, concluding on 22v. The embedded form of confession is part 6, the last part of the treatise. See *Teetaert* 662–63, for a table of contents for the whole work. The embedded form of confession covers the seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of mercy, sacraments, theological and cardinal virtues, and aggravating circumstances.

¹³ These manuscripts are listed in *Incipits* 5707 (19 MSS), and *Teetaert* 656–57 (24 MSS), with much overlap. *Incipits* cites Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. F VI.855 as F IV.855, while *Teetaert* cites it as F VI.6855. I have given the shelfmark as it is given in *Bloomfield* 388 n. 107. There is only a local manuscript catalogue in the library to consult for a description.

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale (de la Ville), MS 322

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 555

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 644

Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1100

Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll MS 175

Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, MS 57

Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, MS 205

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Theol. A.55

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, MS 548

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. IV Sin. 11

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. F VI.855

Lambach, Austria, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, MS 176

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1304

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3234

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14625

Olomouc, Czech Republic, Státní archiv, CO 235

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3725

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6622

Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, Jean Masson 41

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 95

Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, D.278

Praha (Prague), Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, MS 42

Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, MS 1069 (VI.C.11)

Saint-Mihiel, France, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 50

Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 384

Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 404

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 640

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1523

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1161

Wien (Vienna), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. Palat. 3648

Wien, Schottenkloster, MS 118

B6

Confiteor deo et beate Marie . . . in remissionem peccatorum.

Compilatio brevis qualiter confessio sit facienda

Edinburgh, University Library, MS 107 (formerly Laing 50), 112r–20r

England, late 13th–early 14th cent.

*CONTEXT: Innocent III De contemptu mundi, Robert Grosseteste Si
scienter confessional interrogatory, other quaestiones, Martin of
Braga Formula vitae honestae, Hugo de Folieto De claustro animae
book 2, anon. Summa de confessione, verses on monastic abuses,*

miraculous tales, Invention of the True Cross from *Legenda Aurea*,
penitential poem *Peniteas cito*, short accounts of martyrdoms,
Decalogue in Lat. and OF, tract on penance, tract on contrition
attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, meditation on Lord's Prayer; OF
Commandments, articles of faith, sacraments, seven deadly sins,
form of confession (see C11); calculations for dates of Easter in Lat.
and ME, five meditations from Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Edinburgh* 168–70.

B7

Domine deus omnipotens . . . intercedere peccatore. Amen.

Confessio peccatoris deo confitentis

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 588, 83r–91r

Germany, beg. 14th cent.; St. Matthew's, Trier

CONTEXT: Paschasius Radbertus treatise on Eucharist,

Confessionale, and a confessional interrogatory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Trier* 5:42–43, *Incipits* 1731.¹⁴

¹⁴*Incipits* lists a copy of this text in Sankt Florian, Austria, Augustiner-Chorherren
Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.90.A, 9r–33r, and possibly one in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.
14869. The Sankt Florian MS is a misidentification; the text begins similarly, but it is a manual
for confessors and not a form of confession. The description of the BN MS in B. Hauréau,
Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. 3 (Paris, 1891), 182–
88, does not list this text among the contents.

Confiteor deo et beate marie virgini gloriose et matri misericordie et omnibus
 sanctis et tibi pater quia in peccatis natus fui et vsque ad hunc diem in eis sum
 conuersatus . . . ideo precor gloriosam virginem mariam matrem misericordie et
 omnes sanctos dei et te pater et cetera.

From William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis, Pars oculi* (1326–1328), chap. 13¹⁵

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham misc. 21, 6va–8ra¹⁶

¹⁵I am very grateful to Siegfried Wenzel for making me aware of the presence of a form of confession in the *Oculus sacerdotis* and for sharing his transcription of it from BL Royal 8.C.ii. The text of this form of confession is embedded in part one, *Pars oculi*, of the Berkshire priest William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*, beginning "Cum ecclesie quibus preficiuntur personae minus idonee." The form of confession usually comprises chap. 13 of the treatise. It follows sections on how priests should question penitents in the seven deadly sins and five senses, and on qualities of a good confession, and it precedes a section on assigning penances. The *Pars oculi* was composed between 1326 and 1328, while the second and third parts, the *Dextera pars oculi* (*Incipits* 3129) and the *Sinistra pars oculi* (*Incipits* 2499), were composed between 1320 and 1323. For the work's dating, see Boyle 105–6, who has discussed this work with the most depth. There are 60 extant manuscripts of the immensely popular *Pars oculi* of this work, which was copied much more often than the other parts. Richard Rolle's *Judica me Deus* abridges Pagula's work, but omits the form of confession. This embedded form of confession covers confession according to things seen with the eyes and not seen with the eyes, in thought, word, and deed, according to the Commandments (mentioned), the seven deadly sins (elaborated), three theological virtues and four cardinal virtues (mentioned), seven works of mercy (elaborated), and other miscellaneous sins, e.g., not being devoted to saints' days, the Lord's day, or other feast days and services, not listening to the cries of the poor sympathetically and cheerfully, not honoring prelates or father and mother and not coming to them with spiritual aid in time of death, wasting time, scorning canonical statutes concerning legal processes, ecclesiastical trials, and practicing abstinence, not defending ecclesiastical judgments, touching holy vessels and performing the offices in church with an impure heart and polluted hands, eating the body and blood of Christ unworthily, saying prayers and psalms and listening to services without desire or devotion, sins of thought (false suspicion, rash judgment, wicked counsel, etc.), sins of speech (blasphemy, excessive talking, false testimony, failing to make good on promises to God and others, etc.), sins of action (defilement day and night, insincere contrition, neglecting or diminishing confession, neglecting penance, sowing strife and discord, not fearing divine judgment, abusing God's kindness and patience, not thinking upon death, not enduring with equanimity and patience physical infirmity and afflictions of the world, not praying for benefactors, etc.), and according to the five senses (mentioned).

England, ca. 1400

CONTEXT: Contains only the *Oculus sacerdotis*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 1088, Boyle 81–110, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:777, Pantin 195–202. Also 59 other MSS listed below.¹⁷

Berkeley, University of California Law School Library, Robbins MS 4¹⁸

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 1908–9

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 62

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 87

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 352

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 443

¹⁶ The majority of manuscripts of this treatise are scholastic compilations written in double-column format in highly abbreviated hands. Holkham misc. 21, by contrast, is a deluxe copy containing only this treatise, written in a single-column format in a professionally disciplined, spacious, and somewhat cursive Anglicana bookhand. The text is preceded by an index of chapter topics, and it features artfully drawn gilt capitals and a remarkable historiated and floriated initial containing a portrait of master Pagula at the lectern with his book. This copy may well have been made for a wealthy confessor.

¹⁷ These additional manuscripts are cited in *Incipits* 1088; and Boyle 109–10. Boyle's list contains only manuscripts in British and American libraries and omits some of these, while *Incipits* includes those in Continental libraries, but omits some of the British manuscripts. I have corrected several errors in both inventories. For manuscripts I have myself consulted, folio references are given for the section containing the form of confession. Oxford, Jesus College, MS 27, listed in *Incipits*, does not contain the *Oculus* contrary to what is indicated in the Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogue. The Bodleian's own copy of the catalogue in the manuscript reading room corrects this error to the *Regimen animarum*. London, British Library, Royal 8.B.ii, listed by Boyle, dates to ca. 1540 and does not contain the *Oculus*.

¹⁸ Boyle lists Bramshill House, Hampshire, MS 14, but this is the manuscript's former designation in the library of Sir John Cope at Bramshill House. It passed to the library of Lloyd Robbins in 1952 and is now MS 4 in the Robbins collection at the University of California Law School Library.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 487

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 248

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 281

Cambridge, St. John's College, B.14

Cambridge, St. John's College, D.18

Cambridge, St. John's College, E.5

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.16.36, 6r–7v

Cambridge, University Library, Gg.1.13, 7v–9v

Cambridge, University Library, Gg.4.10, 43v–44v¹⁹

Cambridge, University Library, Gg.6.12²⁰

Cambridge, University Library, Ii.2.7, 11vb–12vb

Cambridge, University Library, Mm.5.33

Canterbury, Cathedral and Chapter Library, D.8

Canterbury, Cathedral and Chapter Library, D.9

Columbus, Ohio State University Library, lat. 1

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 18.3.6

Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Library of Lord Salisbury, MS 290²¹

¹⁹ Boyle mistakenly lists MS Gg.6.10 for Gg.4.10, and *Incipits* mistakenly cites this MS as Gg.4.

²⁰ This manuscript is missing leaves containing the form of confession.

²¹ *Incipits* mistakenly cites the library as "Hartfield House."

Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Library of the Earl of Leicester (now of Viscount Coke), MS 159

Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Stadtarchiv), GB (f) 148

Leicester, Museum and Art Gallery, W. Hosp. 10

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 213 (B.5.11), 6r–7v

London, British Library, Egerton 655, 4va–5rb

London, British Library, Harley 233, 134v–35v

London, British Library, Harley 1307, 3v–4v

London, British Library, Harley 2379, 97v–98v

London, British Library, Harley 5201, 7v–9r²²

London, British Library, Harley 5444²³

London, British Library, Royal 6.E.i, 5rb–5vb

London, British Library, Royal 8.B.xv, 6v–8r

London, British Library, Royal 8.C.ii, 55vb–56va

London, British Library, Royal 8.F.vii²⁴

London, Guildhall Library, MS 249

²²Boyle mistakenly lists MS 5021 for 5201.

²³The text is practically unreadable, and *Incipits* considers it a fragment. I could not locate the form of confession.

²⁴*Incipits* 1088 mistakenly gives 8.E.vii for 8.F.vii. This fragmentary text lacks material from the beginning, including the form of confession.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 216, 5rb–6ra

London, Sotheby's, Harmsworth Trust Library (6), 1945, no. 2052

London, Sotheby's, Harmsworth Trust Library (6), 1945, no. 2053

Manchester, John Rylands Library, lat. 339

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16173

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22353

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22375

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 83, 5va–6rb

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 828, 6rb–7vb

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 11, 108va–109ra

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.361, 7vb–9ra

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.370, 8v–10r

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.84, 3v–4r

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.565, 44v–46v²⁵

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 145²⁶

Oxford, New College, MS 292, 5vb–6va

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 18, 9rb–10vb

²⁵ Seven chapters of the text are lost beginning with the end of chap. 13, but only a small portion of the end of the confession is missing.

²⁶ This text lacks the form of confession.

Oxford, University College, MS 122, 10r–12v

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Lat. 33

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 401

Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q.92

B9

Peccavi per superbiam et inanem gloriam . . . et omnia bona que fecerit. vt sint ei
in remissionem omnium peccatorum. Amen.

Forma confitendi ad minus semel in anno

London, British Library, Cotton Galba E.iv, 92r–95r

England, 1300–1331; Ben. cath. priory of Christ Church, Canterbury;

belonged in 16th cent. to John Troyne, master of King's School,

Canterbury, and his son John of Gray's Inn

CONTEXT: Memorandum book of Prior Henry of Eastry (1285–1331), including a copy of the 1225 reissue of Magna Carta and other statutes, administrative records of dioc. of Canterbury, form of profession for bishops and abbots of Canterbury, for electing a prior, and for installing officers, inventories of properties, statutes of archbishops, library catalogue of Christ Church, tract on signs of Antichrist, etc., scientific texts added later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Cotton* 356–59, *MLGB* 36, *Incipits* 3796, *Bloomfield* 388 n. 107,

Greatrex 144–45.

B10

Confiteor deo . . . exultemus secum in s.s. Day to boze y ssuata marzy. Explicit
confessio satis bona.

Confessionale

Praha (Prague), Národní knihovna České republiky, XIV.F.5, 26r–31v

Czech Republic, 14th cent.

CONTEXT: Episcopal statutes of archbishop of Prague (1349),
Innocent III *De miseria conditionis humanae*, Bernard of Clairvaux
Liber de conscientia, commentary on penitential poem *Peniteas cito*,
tract on sacraments, questions on administration of confession,
exposition of Lord's Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Praha* 2:323–24, *Incipits* 0928.

B11

Ego miser uite et reus auctor malorum. Confiteor domino patri omnipotenti et
filio et spiritui sancto. Et beate Marie semper uirgini . . . et tibi patri. Mea culpa
peccaui nimis . . . sensum aperit hominem iuuenem castigat.

Summa eius [Bernardi] de confessione

London, British Library, Harley 3077, 94r–95r

England, 14th cent.

CONTEXT: Treatises attrib. Augustine or Bernard of Clairvaux on justice, obedience, devotions, discipline, misery of body and soul, and honest life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Harley 2:733, Incipits 1891.*

B12

Omnipotens et misericors deus . . .

Confessio generalis peccatorum

Vyšší Brod (Hohenfurt), Czech Republic, Klášterní knihovna, MS 31, 130r–31r

Germany, 14th cent.; Cist., belonging to frater Erhard

CONTEXT: Bernard of Clairvaux *Speculum monachorum*, excerpts from Augustine, Bernard, and Henry of Hassia, John of Heisterbach treatise on hearing confession, treatises on preaching and comforting penitents, form of absolution, tracts on temptation, signs of folly, gifts of the Spirit, celebrating Mass, giving benediction, and refusing advances of women, exempla, sermons, exposition of Lord's Prayer, religious poems, Latin-German lexicon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Xenia Bernardina 2:244–47, Incipits 3659.*

B13

Confiteor deo patri omnipotenti et beate Marie virgini contra precepta dei

grauiter deliquisse ac nequiter pecasse . . . sed eos sepe blasvemando [*sic*] et malis verbis vituperando.

Formula confessionis

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 192, 80v

Austria, ca. 1370; mon. of Aug. Canons, Klosterneuburg

CONTEXT: Johannes Marchesinus *Mammotrepton super Bibliam*, verses on the Commandments, sacraments, etc., table of days for celebrating Eucharist and other services.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Klosterneuburg* (1) pt. 2:145–47, *Incipits* 0934, HMML 5162.

B14

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate Marie virgini . . . et vobis sacerdoti, quod ego miser peccator peccavi nimis in vita mea. Item primo peccavi in septem criminalibus peccatis . . .

*Summula de confessione omnium peccatorum et diffinitiones eorundem*²⁷

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat.

qu. 236, 2r–8r

Germany, ca. 1385; Ben. abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, Erfurt

CONTEXT: Heinrich Suso *Horologium sapientiae*, Andreas de

²⁷ The form of confession begins this treatise, which also includes definitions of the seven deadly sins, Commandments, sacraments, and gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Escobar form of confession and another form of confession (see B15 and B24.36), Alcuin of York *De Psalmorum usu liber* (preface only), ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris*, constitutions of Erfurt, tracts on Passion and phlebotomy, many sermons, prayers in Lat. and MHG.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berlin Preuss. 1:159–63, MM Berlin Ms. theol. lat. qu. 236, art. 1.6.

B15

Confiteor omnipotenti deo et b[eate] Marie semper virgini . . . quod ego miser peccator peccavi in vita mea: cum quinque sensibus meis quibus non sum usus ad laudem dei . . .

[*Formula confessionis*]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. qu. 236, 23v–28r

Germany, ca. 1385; Ben. abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, Erfurt

CONTEXT: Heinrich Suso *Horologium sapientiae*, Andreas de Escobar *Modus confitendi* and another form of confession in the treatise *Summula de confessione* (see B14 and B24.36), Alcuin of York *De Psalmorum usu liber* (preface only), ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris*, constitutions of

Erfurt, tracts on Passion and phlebotomy, many sermons, prayers
in Lat. and MHG.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berlin Preuss. 1:159–63, *MM Berlin Ms. theol. lat. qu.* 236, art.
1.12.

B16

Confiteor tibi domine ihesu christe saluator mundi omnia peccata mea . . . et
animae omnium fidelium defunctorum per dei misericordiam in pace
requiescant. amen.

*Oracio beati anselmi archiepiscopi*²⁸

London, British Library, Add. 37787 (Worcestershire Miscellany), 113v–
14v

England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. abbey of St. Mary,
Bordesley, Worcestershire; later owned in 15th cent. by Lady Goditha
Throckmorton Peyto, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton, wife of Sir
Edward Peyto, and possibly mother of Cardinal William Peyto; also
owned by Goody Throckmorton (probably a niece of Goditha), and in
16th cent. by Susanna Willescott and by the wife of John Rudall

CONTEXT: Lat. Visio Sancti Pauli, treatise on form of monastic life,

²⁸ This is a confessional prayer attributed to Anselm of Canterbury and is not addressed to a priest.

tale of sleepy monk, disputation between body and soul, sermons, meditations, prophesy of John on Antichrist, hymns, extracts from Augustine and Jerome on the Psalms, directions for special masses, prayers, indulgences, charms; ME (all in verse) prayers, *Debate of Body and Soul*, *Stations of Rome*, Commandments, works of mercy, five senses, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, hymns, religious lyrics, including four confessional prayers, Hours of the Cross, and prose vision of St. John of the sorrows of the Virgin, a form of confession (see D2.1); a couple OF prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Worcs. Misc. 13–17 ff., *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2, 1959/3, 1969/2, 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4.

B17

Confitebor tibi, domine pater celi et terre, quia ego peccator peccaui . . .
indulgeas quicquid impie gessi qui uiuis et regnas omnipotens deus in saecula
seculorum. Amen.²⁹

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 312, 147v–48r

England, 1350–1400

²⁹ *Confitebor* is clearly an error for the standard beginning *Confiteor*; the scribe undoubtedly is recalling several psalms that begin with *confitebor* (and never *confiteor*).

CONTEXT: Innocent III *De miseria humanae conditionis*, Hugo de Scotia *De ociositate hominis*, ps.-Basil admonitions on spiritual life, ps.-Cyprian *De abusivis saeculi*, Thomas de Hibernia *Manipulus florum*, treatises on confession, tracts on election of *magistri*, on Mass, Eucharist, penance, marriage, sins and virtues, Commandments, Judgment and fifteen signs of Doomsday, exposition of Creed and of Gospel passages, Gospel of infancy of Jesus, Rule of St. Benedict, commonplaces, many prayers, instructions for celebrating Mass; OF poems on sinfulness, *Vision of Tundale*, prayers, hymns, devotions, proverbs; ME verses on signs of death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dublin Trin. Coll.* 1:621–34.

B18.1

Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater quia peccavi . . .
finem perfectum presenciam tuam communionem sanctorum uitam eternam.

Amen.³⁰

*Tractatus brevis penitentibus tamen utilis de modo confessionis ac etiam inquisitionibus
faciendis de peccatis*

³⁰ The text continues to folio 112v with a second-person interrogatory classified under the seven deadly sins, and then continues to 114r with directives on behavior in prayer, chapter meeting, and refectory.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 555, 109r–10r

England, late 14th–early 15th cent.; Aug. priory of St. Mary, Merton,

Surrey

CONTEXT: St. Patrick's Purgatory, part of Gospel of Nicodemus,

Bernard of Clairvaux meditations and lamentations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oxf. Sum. Cat. 2329, MLGB 131, Incipits 0929.

B18.2

Confiteor deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis . . . Verba sunt sancte matris ecclesie ac preparatoria sacerdotis antequam altare accedat etc. Isto sacro tempore quadragesimali habeat se quisque sicut mater familias . . . et procul dubio tunc consequeris Veniam. Amen.

[*De confessione*]

Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek, Praed. 156, 8r–29r

Germany, 1518; written by Sebastian Neuwel, monk of Pforzheim, and chaplain to the Dom. convent of St. Maria-Reuthin bei Wildberg im Nagoldtal³¹

CONTEXT: Sayings of Gregory and Bede, treatise on confession

beginning with a form of confession, Lenten sermons, treatise (an

³¹ Sebastain Neuwel wrote the texts on fols. 1–167 of this manuscript; fols. 168–263 date to ca. 1500.

Abcdarius) on abuses of confession, treatise on humility, two treatises on the sacrament of the Eucharist, treatise on Advent, commentary on the hymn “*Salve Regina*,” treatise on the Blessed Virgin.³²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankfurt am Main 348–50, Frankfurt am Main Datable MSS 85, *Incipits* 0929.

B19

Confiteor Deo et beate Marie et uobis patri quia peccavi . . . ut sint in remissionem omnium peccatorum Amen.

Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, O.VI.7, 222v–27r

England, end 14th cent.; London, Westminster Abbey

CONTEXT: David of Augsburg *De compositione hominis exterioris et interioris*, James of Milan *Stimulus amoris*,³³ ps.-Bede meditation on Passion, Anselm of Canterbury prayers, Isidore of Seville

³² The form of confession begins the treatise on confession, and in this context it is recommended as a prayer for the priest to say before the altar in preparation for the Eucharist during Lent. That the priest—in this case Sebastian Neuwel—is to consider himself as a mother of his parish family (“*sicut mater familias*”) may suggest that the confession is to be said on behalf of or with his congregation, thus exemplifying how a text developed earlier for sacramental confession could become used as a liturgical *Confiteor* or general confession before the Mass (compare the rubric for the copy of this text, from a hundred years earlier, in B18.1) .

³³ This work is often considered ps.-Bonaventure.

Synonyma, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux meditations, Hugh of St.-Victor treatise on sins, Alcuin of York *De virtutibus et vitiis*, tract on sins and virtues, homilies, prayers to Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Heref. Cath. 41–42.

B20

Ego reus fragilis et indignus peccator confiteor deo omnipotenti . . . antequam mentiremini menciendo efficieris, quod vitaris.

Incipit confessio facta per quendam magistrum in theologia

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 531, 90v–101v

Austria, ca. 1400; Sankt Lambrecht, Ben. abbey of St. Lambrecht

CONTEXT: Justinian Casus super institutiones, decretals of Pope Boniface VIII, excerpts of canon law cases dealing with popes, bishops, patriarchs, and priests, *quaestiones* on canon law, John of Freiburg *Confessionale*, tract on sin and confession, proverbs, directions for saying Mass in the Roman Use, prayers, liturgical calendar, notes on the elections of emperors, articles of the faith, sacraments, Commandments, works of mercy, virtues, Lord's Prayer, Beatitudes, gifts of the Holy Spirit, the sin of *luxuria*, and

genealogical notes.³⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graz 1:308–9, MM Graz Ms. 531, art. 1.13.

B21.1

Confiteor omnipotenti deo etc. ideo deprecor etc. confiteor me peccasse scienter,
ignoranter . . . Johannes . . . papa . . . hic est vicesimus hoc nomine papa
secundus.

Modus confitendi

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. q. 97, 207r–9r

Germany, 1403; southern-central Germany, dioc. of St. Augustine's

CONTEXT: Paul of Hungary *Summae confessionum* and tract on
confession, excerpts from James of Milan *Stimulus amoris*, ps.-
Augustine *Speculum peccatoris*, penitential sermons, tracts on
confession, virtues of Mass, exposition of Lord's Prayer, psalter,
register of names from the Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Würzburg 2/2:125–27, Incipits 0936.

B21.2

Confiteor omnipotenti deo . . . et a vobis absolucionem et penitenciam salutarem

³⁴ The form of confession includes sins against the Commandments and articles of faith, according to the deadly sins, and sins of failing to perform the seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

michi pro peccatis iniungi. Amen.

Summa confessorum

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 628, 149r–52r

Germany, 15th cent.; St. Matthew's, Trier

CONTEXT: Innocent III De contemptu mundi, Speculum sacerdotum, Speculum peccatorum, tracts on confession, articles of faith, proverbs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Trier 5:84–85, Incipits 0936.

B22

Confiteor deo et omnibus sanctis eius me contra precepta dei grauiter deliquisse .
. . sed miserere propicius et indulge Qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre in vnitate
spiritus sancti deus per omnia secula seculorum Amen.

Confessio omnimoda

Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 49, 28v–29v

Austria, beg. 15th cent.; Cist.

CONTEXT: Anselm of Canterbury meditations and prayers, Bernard of Clairvaux Liber de conscientia, De consideratione ad Eugenium III, Liber de praecepto et dispensatione, homilies on Missus est, De cura rei familiaris, and meditations and prayers on the Cross.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Xenia Bernardina 1:34–35, Incipits 0930, HMML 7446.

B23.1

Ego reus et culpabilis et indignus peccator . . . penitet me fecisse. Ideo precor etc.

Växjö, Sweden, Stifts- och Läroverksbiblioteket, MS 4° 400, 22v–24r

Germany, ca. 1414; Erfurt, Carth. mon. of Salvatorberg

CONTEXT: Speculum humanae salvationis, tracts on Mass, catechism, sententiae.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Lehman, Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksösen 22

(1935): 1–24, pp. 8–10, Incipits 1895.

B23.2

Ego reus et culpabilis et indignus peccator confiteor et reddo me culpabilem omnium peccatorum meorum que commisi et perpetravi a diebus vite mee vsque ad diem hodiernitatem . . . quod non fui pacificus cum verbis et factis hoc ora pro me f[rater].

Confessionale bonum pro religiosis

London, British Library, Add. 22086, 42v–49r

Provenance uncertain; Germany? 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Laurence of Dacia Stella clericorum, Ars moriendi, decretal extracts, treatise on Seven Hours of the Passion, meditation and prayers to Christ (Lat. and Germ.), liturgical calendar, astrological notes (Lat. and Germ.), tracts on sins and penance,

confessional interrogatory, and another form of confession (see B52).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Add. MSS 1854–1875 1:585–86, Incipits 1895.

B24.1

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est confessionem dicere . . . Ego magister Andreas Hyspanus . . . hanc generalem confessionem ex multis sanctorum patrum dictis collegi brevioribus verbis quibus potui, quia diffusius in alia mea maiore confessione processi . . . et statim illud confitere. Et sic est finis huius confessionis.

[form of confession begins] Ego reus et peccator maximus confiteor omnipotenti deo et beate marie semper virgini et beato mychaele archangelo et sanctis apostolis N et N cum ceteris omnibus sanctis dei . . .³⁵

Confessio generalis cuius causa peccatorum oblitorum fit recordacio

³⁵The *Modus confitendi*, sometimes called the *Confessio generalis minor*, begins with a short paragraph of prologue preceding the confession proper. I have taken the beginning of the confession itself from the catalogue entry for Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. lat. 431 (B24.33). All manuscript catalogues identify this work, however, by the incipit to the brief prologue. The text covers sins of thought and speech, the seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses, seven works of mercy, articles of faith, sacraments, three theological and four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit, eight Beatitudes, sins that cry out to heaven, nine unusual sins, sins against the Holy Spirit, aggravating circumstances, and a brief confession to conclude all. This description is based on my examination of the printed edition (Nuremburg, 1508), sigs. A2r–B2v, in the Duke University, Perkins Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, and on the description of contents supplied in the catalogue description of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. lat. 431 (see *Bibl. Apos. Reg. lat.* 2:545–46) and in the catalogue description of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 185 Helmst. (*Wolfenbüttel* 1:169). A few of the topics vary from copy to copy.

Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi* (1416)³⁶

Gdańsk (Danzig), Poland, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk,

Mar. Q. 22, 18v–23v

Provenance uncertain, Czech Republic? ca. 1416.³⁷

CONTEXT: Henry of Hassia (Langenstein) tracts, Johannes de

Tambaco *De consolatione theologiae*, excerpt from Gregory *Moralia*,

Arbor virtutum et vitiorum, tracts on Eucharist, purgatory, turpitude,

³⁶ The *Modus confitendi* is extant in 65 manuscripts and over 86 fifteenth-century printed editions from 23 different cities. It has been dated to the period 1427–37 by Candal (1) 92, without offering any evidence other than the ascription of Escobar's penitential works to this time. However, there is manuscript evidence to date the work to 1415 or 1416 (see B24.23 and B24.39), and the earliest extant manuscripts of this work are dated earlier than the decade of 1427–37 (see B24.1–B24.3). Costa 37–38, 51–52, 99, 115, 124, establishes that Escobar wrote the *Modus Confitendi* in 1416 while at the Council of Constance. For the printed editions, see *Gesamtkatalog* 2:220–44, 777–78, nos. 1769–1855. The first printed edition by Adam Rot appeared in 1471/74 in Rome. Numerous different printed editions may be seen in facsimile online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum Digitale Bibliothek, at www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=startseite&l=en&projekt= and search in "Digital Collections" s.v. "Andreas de Escobar." The distribution of fifteenth-century printed editions is as follows: Italy (34: 33 from Rome and 1 from Venice), Germany (22), France (17), Netherlands (8), Switzerland (2), Belgium (1), Spain (1), and one is lost. None of them were printed in England, or in Portugal, Escobar's home country, and similarly, none of the extant manuscripts are from England. It is telling that most all of these early editions were published by German printers and mainly produced in German blackletter type, witnessing to the strongly German interest in this work. All of the editions from Rome were printed by German printers (Adam Rot, Johann Gensberg, Bartholomäus Guldinbeck, Ulrich Han, Stephan Planck, Eucharius Silber, Sigismund Mayr, Johann Besicken, Martin von Amsterdam, Andreas Freitag, Petrus de Turre), except for one by Escobar himself, who printed editions in Rome and Paris. On the dominant presence of German printers in Rome, see Maas 118–26.

³⁷ The suggested provenance is based on correspondence recorded at the end of the MS to one Johannes Reppin, a student from Prague at the University of Leipzig. The manuscript's cataloguer dates the MS to the beginning of the fifteenth century, which is slightly earlier—if "beginning" is taken to mean the first decade of the fifteenth century—than the composition date of Andreas's work ca. 1416. I therefore offer "ca. 1416" as the manuscript's date.

attack on Hussite view of Eucharist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, *Gdańsk* 5:497–500, *Costa* passim, esp. 13, 22, 37–38, 51–52, 98–99, 115, 124, 230, *Candal* (1) passim, esp. 92, *Candal* (2) xvii–lxxvii, esp. l–liii, *Michaud-Quantin* 71–72, 120, *Tentler* 39–42, 112–13, 324–27, *Black* 85–91.³⁸

B24.2

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . . .
. ideo ad utilitatem michi confitencium Ego magister A. hispanus . . . hanc
generalem confessionem que quasi omnia peccata continet ex multis patrum
sentenciis quantum brevis potui collegi.

Gdańsk (Danzig), Poland, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk,

Mar. F. 88, 359v–62r

Provenance uncertain, 1400–1425

CONTEXT: Confessional works of John of Freiburg including

Summa confessorum, *Statua summe confessorum*, *Tabula super summa confessorum*, and *Confessionale*.

³⁸ The cataloguing of the *Modus confitendi* here is by far the most complete listing to date of manuscripts of this work (65 MSS), presenting almost twice as many manuscripts as the inventory in *Incipits*, and includes a newly identified copy of the text in a Robbins MS at the University of California at Berkeley (see B24.52). *Candal* (2), xiv, lists München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16164 among the extant manuscripts, but the library's catalogue description of this MS supplies too little information to justify including it here. *Incipits*, no. 4989 (35 MSS), lists Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, Theol. fol. 160 as a copy of the *Modus confitendi*, but this is rather a copy of Escobar's *Lumen confessorum*. I give here in this initial entry references to the best discussions of Escobar and his *Modus confitendi*—*Costa*, *Candal*, *Michaud-Quantin*, *Tentler*, and *Black*—but these are not repeated in the succeeding entries.

B24.3

Quoniam omni confitenti generalem confessionem necessarium est dicere cuius
tanta est virtus . . . non cum devotione recepi sacramentum unctionis.

Tractatus de confessione

Melk, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1241, 164r–66v

Austria and Germany, ca. 1422 or after; Melk; Nürnberg, scribe Hainricus
monk at the Ben. mon. of St. Egidien; author and scribe Johannes de
Spira³⁹

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Opusculum tripartitum*, Johannes de Spira
De esu carniū monachorum, Adamus Magister *Summula de Summa*
Raimundi, Gerhard de Vliedervoven *Cordiale de quattuor novissimis*,
Henry of Hassia tract on sin, Bernardus Ayglerius exposition of the
Rule of St. Benedict, Bonaventure *Quaestiones in quarto libro*
Sententiarum, *Pauper monachus* treatise on the vices, rite of orders for
the mon. of Subiaco, Pope Gregory IX bull for the province of Gallia
Narbonensis, a florilegium of ascetical excerpts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Melk* 1:406–8, HMML 1885.

³⁹ The part of the MS written by Hainricus (fols. 97–279, the majority of the MS), dated ca. 1422 or later, includes the *Modus confitendi*. Other parts of the MS are dated to the third quarter of the 14th cent., to 1432 (the part by Johannes de Spira), and to the second quarter of the 15th cent.

B24.4

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . .

sacerdoti pandas et confitearis.

Confessio generalis

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 887, 47v–51r

Austria, ca. 1430–1434; Cist. abbey of Neuberg

CONTEXT: Works of Henry of Hassia (Langenstein): *De officio misse, De discretionem spirituum, De oratione dominica, Speculum animae, Tractatus super Pater noster, Tractatus super salutatione angelica, De antichristo et schismate, De pace ecclesie sancrosancte*; Andreas de Escobar *De forma absolventi*, Aquinas exposition of Hassia's *Symbolum apostolorum* (Apostles' Creed), Albertus Magnus *Paradisus animae*, sermon on the Passion, patristic definitions of God, *De modo vario metrificandi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Graz* 106–8, HMML 26956, MM Graz Ms. 887, art. 1.15.

B24.5

Quoniam omni confitenti . . . modus operacionis. Oracio pro confitente.

Confessio generalis

Praha (Prague), Národní knihovna České republiky, IX.C.7 (1718), 157v–

60v

Czech Republic, 1432–1433

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar *Lumen confessorum*, Henry of Hassia *De meditatione mortis*, Jean Gerson *Liber de consolatione theologiae*, portion of Gregory *Decretals*, sermon by Johannis Stojković de Ragusio (Dubrovnik), prayers, sermons, articles of an ecclesiastical-diplomatic meeting held in Egra in Bohemia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Praha* 2:13–14.

B24.6

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . . dignemini in forma ecclesie me absolvere. Amen.

Generalis confessio cuius causa peccatorum oblitorum sit recordacio

Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, GB qu. 156, 115r–21r

Germany, ca. 1435–1437; Lüttich, Köln, Order of the Holy Cross; scribes Zegerus (Lüttich), Conradus de Grunenberg (Köln), and Rodolphus de Gravia, all canons regular of the Order of the Holy Cross

CONTEXT: Johannes Nider *Consolatorium timortae conscientiae*, Rodolphus de Gravia (?) *De infernalibus nequitiis caelistibus* and *De remediis contra spirituales tentationes spiritualium nequitiarum et falsorum prophetarum*, Petrus de Ciperia *Liber de oculo morali*, Albertanus Brixiensis *De arte loquendi et tacendi*, William Peraldus

Summa virtutum excerpt, tract on humility and prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Köln 2:166–70, MM Köln quart. 156, art. 154.

B24.7

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere et
facere . . . timorem mundi loqui et predicare [ends imperfectly].

[*Generalis Catholicorum confessio*]

Kórnik, Poland, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS 116,
430r–32r

Provenance uncertain; Poland? 1446–1447; signatures of scribes

Leonardum de Schydlow and Petrus de Mirkovicze

CONTEXT: Matthew of Cracovia De modo confitendi, Augustine
treatise on Christian life, Bonaventure treatise on priesthood,
Andreas de Escobar Lumen confessorum, Berengarius de Landora
Lumen anime, De penitencia, Secreta secretorum, Dialogi mortuorum,
tracts on Mass, penance, ignorance of priests, poverty, gluttony,
sleep, patience, tribulation, and abstinence, Lord’s Prayer,
Commandments, Dieta salutis treatise on catechism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Kórnik 282–87.

B24.8

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . . si

fecisti aliquo tempore in speciali peccatum consimile et statim illud confitere etc.

Peccatorum oblitorum fit recordacio

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 108, 158r–63r

Germany, 1447; Ben. mon. of Weingarten; scribe Jodocus Musserlin

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *De indulgenciis, Stella clericorum*, penitential sermons, notes on penance and Passion, office of the dead, another form of confession following Escobar's *Modus confitendi* (see B30.3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stuttgart* 1/1:196–201, *Stuttgart Datable* MSS 13 and fig. 116, *MM* Stuttgart HB I 108, art. 1.150.

B24.9

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem dicere confessionem . .

. et perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam Amen.

Confessio generalis

Lüneburg, Germany, Ratsbücherei, Miscell. D qu. 30,

England, 1448; written in England by scribe and owner Johannes Hagen,

Fran. mon. of Lüneburg, and donated to the mon.

CONTEXT: Johannes Hagen *Vocabularius* and tract on logic and grammar, Alexander de Villa Dei *Doctrinale* pt. 1, verse on grammar, a few OHG verses.

B24.10

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

Ottobeuren, Kloster Ottobeuren, MS O.42, 141ra–43ra

Germany, 1400–1450

CONTEXT: Herman von Schildelsche *Speculum manuale sacerdotum*, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *Confessionale*, *Casus missae*, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, and sermon on the body of Christ, Johannes Müntzinger *quaestiones* and exposition on the Lord's Prayer and a tract on the body of Christ, a theological disputation between Müntzinger and a Dominican in Ulm, Jean Gerson *Praeparatione ad missam*, Henry of Hassia (Langenstein) (?) tract on the body of Christ, Johannes Wilhelmita *quaestio* on mendicacy, Henry of Hassia dialogue on the celebration of the Mass, Heinrick Totting von Oyta theological notes, *Stella clericorum*, tracts on the sacraments, indulgences, celebrating the Mass, and on a defective Mass, *quaestiones* on penance, metrical prayer on the elevation of the Host, verse on the fruits of the Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ottobeuren* 46–49, MM *Ottobeuren Ms. O. 42*, art. 1.34.

B24.11

Quoniam omni confitenti . . . nunquam a te separari merear. Per dominum etc.

Modus confitendi [appended to Escobar's *Lumen confessorum*]

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 101, 232v–35v

Germany, 15th cent.; Carm. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar *Lumen confessorum*, Johannes de Marienwerder *Expositio symboli apostolorum*, Albertus Magnus *Biblia beatae Virginis*, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl treatise on seven deadly sins and virtues opposed to them, treatises on vices and virtues, Commandments, and usury, exposition of Lord's Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, Bamberg 1/1:656–58.

B24.12

Quoniam enim confitenti necessarium est . . . nunquam a te separari merear. Per dominum etc.

Qualis confessio qua quis sumere debet ordinem bene confitendi

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 211, 64r–69r

Germany, 15th cent.; Carm. mon. of Bamberg; scribes Johannis Burner,

Conrad Cunstadt, and Conrad Salueld

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar *Lumen confessorum*, Jean Gerson treatise on ecclesiastical positions, Johannes de Auerbach *Summa de*

sacramentis, Bernardus de Parentium exposition on the Mass,
Johannis de Francofordia tract on business contracts, tracts on
usury, visitation of sick, and restitution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Bamberg 1/1:783–84.

B24.13

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . .
. et ad adquisicionem gracie in presenti et vite eterne in futuro seculo in nomine
patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.

Confessio megarensis Episcopi

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Görres 152

(lat. qu. 710), 262r–71v

Germany, 15th cent.; Trier, Ben. mon. of St. Maximin⁴⁰

CONTEXT: Hugh of Saint-Cher Expositio missae, sermons, tales
from the *Physiologus*, *Visio Philiberti*, *De forma vivendi*, *Gesta
Romanorum*, expositions of the Mass, Lord's Prayer, and matins for
the dead, penitential canons, tracts on the Eucharist, preaching,
prayer, confession, sacraments, articles of the faith, gardening,
confession, the condition of women, temptation, seven deadly sins,

⁴⁰ The MS is made up of two parts, the first of which dates to the 14th cent., and the second of which dates to the 15th cent. The second part contains the *Modus confitendi*. Two of the items were copied in 1419 and 1422.

cardinal virtues, works of corporal and spiritual mercy, sacraments,
joys of paradise, and pains of hell, versified sayings of
philosophers, account of the ordination of Pope Martin V,
provincial statutes of Mainz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berlin Görres 214–20.

B24.14

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, BB 3613, 82r–89r

Germany, 15th cent.; Ben. mon. of Ballenstedt; owned (?) by monk

Nicolaus Hoppener

CONTEXT: Thomas à Kempis *De imitatione Christi*, Smaragdus
Diadema monachorum, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux hymn to Christ,
Paulus Nivis *Latinum ideoma pro parvulis*, Hours of the Passion of
the Virgin, verses on the Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dessau* 114–16.

B24.15

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere cuius
tanta et virtus . . . et illud statim confiteri debes. Etc. Explicit confessio generalis
magistri Andree Episcopi Civitatensis.

Confessio generalis

Fiecht, Benediktinerkloster St. Georgenberg, MS 284, 39r–44v

Austria, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Johannes de Hesdinio commentary on Job, ps.-Henry of
Hassia *De proprietate*, Humbertus de Romanis *Epistola de tribus*
votis substantialibus religiosorum, John Chrysostom *De compunctione*
ad Demetrium monachum, Jean Gerson *Opusculum de probatione*
spirituum, Bernard of Clairvaux tract on the spiritual fight, ps.-
Bonaventure *Officium de compassione BMV*, dialogues on the *via*
purgativa, *via illuminativa*, and sufferings of Christ, *Horologium*
sapientie excerpt, tract on the Blessed Virgin Mary, tract on fifteen
doubts about the spiritual life, treatise on the three Benedictine
vows, sayings attrib. Nicholas Dinkelsbühl, prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HMML 28809.

B24.16

[Incipit unavailable]

Ordo confitendi

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS 384, 259v–65v

Germany, 15th cent.; signature of scribe Henricus Partensis, monk of

Magdeburg

CONTEXT: Bernard of Clairvaux *Floretus*, commentary on Peter Lombard *Sentences*, *Stella clericorum*, *Historia de spiritu Guidonis*, Legend of the Cross, commentary on Book of Job.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, Karlsruhe 4:49.

B24.17

Quoniam omni confitenti . . . animam meam ad celestem gloriam.

København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1634 4to, 230r–41r

Germany, 15th cent.; Aug. mon. of Bordesholm

CONTEXT: A humanist poetic compilation (with much comic material): Petrarch *Historia Griseldis*, Ovid *De remedio amoris*, Godefridus de Thenis *Asinarius*, *Rapularius*, *Militarius*, and *Rixe mulierum*, Theobaldus *Physiologus*, Vitalis Blesensis *Geta*, Nigel Wireker *Brunellus azinus*, Marbodus *De lupo*, Pamphilus Maurilianus *De amore*, Henricus Septimellensis *De diversitate fortunae*, Bernardus Geistensis *Palpanista*, Bonifacius (Bonvicini) de Ripa *Vita scholastica*, Rainerus Alemannicus *Facetus*, Bernardus Morlanensis (Morlaix) *De contemptu mundi*, Avianus *Fabulae*, metrical life of Saint Alexi, lives of saints, epitaphs, eclogues of Virgil and Theodulus, an elegy of Maximianus, some lyrics on love, epitaphs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, København 347–51.

B24.18

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalis confessio cuius tanta est utilitas secundum magistrum 4^{to} sentenciarum di. XXI c. V quod innumerabilia peccata debet venalia, criminalia vero et mortalia, quorum quis non recordatur . . . concedat que mihi bonum finem et perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam amen.

[*Modus confitendi*]

Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Theol. fol. 41, 1ra–3va

Germany, 15th cent.; Fran. mon. of Lüneburg

CONTEXT: Adamus Magister Summula Raymundi (a metrical version of Raymund of Pennafort's *Summa de poenitentia*), musical sequence on the Blessed Virgin, a motet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lüneburg (2) 80–82, MM Lüneburg Theol. fol. 41, art. 1.3.

B24.19

Quoniam omni confitenti generalem confessionem necessarium est dicere cuius tanta et virtus . . . et corporis christi communionem facere neglexi nec cum

deuotione recepi sacramentum unctionis.⁴¹

Tractatus de confessione

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1832, 34v–42r

Austria, 15th cent. (after 1420)

CONTEXT: Henry of Hassia (Langenstein) *De proprietate religiosorum*, Aegydius exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Annunciation, sayings of Innocent III on religious life, Matthew of Cracovia *Disputatio rationis et conscientiae de modo accedenti ad sacramentu eucharistiae* and *Tractatus de confessione*, Bernard of Clairvaux *Meditatio super Salve regina*, Bonaventure *Super Pater noster et Ave Maria*, Conradus Kügelin *Historia vitae venerabilis Elizabeth Reyttensis [St. Elizabeth of Reute] inclusae quae obiit 1420*, excerpts from church fathers, tract on the sins that cry out to heaven and other teachings, hymn on the cross.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HMML 2140.

B24.20

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est . . . Explicit bonum opus generalis confessionis.

⁴¹ I thank Matt Heintzelman, curator of the Austria/Germany Study Center and rare book cataloguer at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, for providing me with scans of this text.

Alia summula ad usum confessorum

Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 86, art. 2

France, 15th cent.; cath. of Metz

CONTEXT: Batholomew of Pisa Summa casum conscientiae.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o) 5:34.

B24.21

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 672, 10r–[25r]

Provenance uncertain; Austria? 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Vita Christi, tract on how to interrogate a penitent, stations and distances for a journey from Vienna to Rome, indulgences and principal relics of Rome, tract on Dominican and Franciscan orders, saints' lives including life of St. Hartmann bishop of Brixen, the eighty names of the divine Mary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Munich Bay. Staat. 3/1:173.

B24.22

[Incipit unavaivable]

Tractatus de confessione

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8541, 98–111

Germany, 15th cent.; Munich, Aug. mon. of St. Augustine

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Opus tripartitum*, Johannis Paltz treatise on Gospels and Passion, *Dicta sanctorum*, stations of Rome in Lent, sermons, treatises on monastic vows, remedies against temptations, fear of the world and the flesh, prayer, patience.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/1:39.

B24.23

[Incipit unavailable]⁴²

Confessio

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14656, 250r–54v

Germany, 15th cent.; Ben. mon. of St. Emmeram, Regensburg, Bavaria

CONTEXT: Hugo of St.-Cher sermons, tract on the Mass, collection of sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/2:211, Costa 13, Candal (2) xiii.⁴³

⁴² The description of this MS in the Munich catalogue cites an ascription stating that Escobar's *Modus confitendi* was written in 1415 at the Council of Constance ("confessio scripta a. 1415 in concilio Constantiensi"). For another manuscript that indicate a similar dating and context for its composition, see B24.39.

⁴³ Candal (2) lists this MS as a copy of a work by Escobar he calls the *Confessio*, one that is distinct from the *Modus confitendi*, while Costa classifies it among manuscripts of the *Modus confitendi*. I follow Costa whose familiarity with the manuscripts he discusses is clear by his numerous quotations of them.

B24.24

[Incipit unavailable]

Formulae confessionis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14887, 2, 13–16⁴⁴

Germany, 15th cent.; Regensburg, Bavaria, Ben. mon. of St. Emmeram

CONTEXT: Aquinas on articles of faith and sacraments,
administrative material of abbey, notes on confession, tract on
clerical concubines, verses on Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/2:247.

B24.25

[Incipit unavailable]

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16173, 229–[36]

Germany, 15th cent.; collegiate church of St. Nikolaus near Passau,

Bavaria

CONTEXT: William of Pagula *Oculus sacerdotis* (see B8), Andreas de
Escobar *De decimis*, John of Freiburg *De confessione inquirenda* from

⁴⁴ *Incipits* (4989) suggests that this MS may contain a fragment of a different copy of the *Modus confitendi* on fol. 64. The MS catalogue indicates that Andreas de Escobar, *De confessione*, is to be found here, but no incipit is given, and the catalogue does not state that this is a fragment of the *Modus confitendi*. Andreas's *Lumen confessorum* also could be rubricated in this way.

Summa confessorum, tracts on the Commandments, impediments to marriage, and canon law, decretals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/3:56, Candal (2) xiv.

B24.26

[Incipit unavailable]

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18988, 89–[98]

Germany, 15th cent.; Ben. mon. of Tegernsee Abbey, Bavaria

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl Speculum mortis, Henry of Hassia (Langenstein) Speculum de contemptu mundi, Raymond Lull Ars Magna, William Durandus Speculum judiciale excerpt, Johannes Keck (prior of Tegernsee Abbey) tract on authority of abbots, Confessionale, Johannes de Palomar reply to a sentence of excommunication, tracts on defects in celebrating the Mass, on feast days and masses, and the visitation of monasteries, provincial statutes of Salzburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/3:228–29, Candal (2) xiv.

B24.27

[Incipit unavailable]

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22375, 196–[99]

Germany, 15th cent.; Prem. abbey of Windberg, Bavaria

CONTEXT: William of Pagula *Oculus sacerdotis* (see B8), Andreas de Escobar *Lumen confessorum*, tract on canon law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/4:45, Candal (2) xiv.

B24.28

[Incipit unavailable]

De confessione

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23803, 166–71

Provenance uncertain; Germany? 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Guido de Monte Rocherii *Manipulus curatorum*, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *Speculum amatorum mundi*, Jean Gerson *De arte moriendi* and *De arte audiendi confessiones*, Henricus de Frimaria tract on vices, confessional interrogatory, tracts on penance, Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/4:95–96.

B24.29

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarius est . . . humilitati . . .

Instructio pro confessio generali

Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 835, 59ra–64rb

Italy, 15th cent.; Cremona (?)

CONTEXT: Rufinus trans. of the *Sententiae* of Greek philosopher Sixtus, Raymund of Pennafort *Summa poenitentialis brevis*, Giacomo Florensoli bishop of Sutri and Nepi tract *De eadem materia* and several letters to ecclesiastical and political dignitaries (including to Emperor Frederick III), Antonio Pierozzi tract on penitential restitution, Lombardus Assiria letter to Petrarch, Jerome *Epistulae* 6 and 95, tract on confession, biblical and patristic *sententiae*, exposition of Matt. 22, articles of faith, calendar of the divine office, prayers (some for official occasions), a sonnet in Italian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Costa 13, unpublished catalogue of the Biblioteca Casanatense.⁴⁵

B24.30

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . .

.

Modus confitendi

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale, MS 126, 205r–20r

Provenance uncertain; France or Germany? 15th cent.

CONTEXT: meditations, prayers, notes on making confession,

⁴⁵ I thank Isabella Ceccopieri, curator of the Biblioteca Casanatense, for her generous help in sharing with me her work-in-progress for a catalogue that includes this manuscript.

sermon, proverbs, tracts on pains of hell, tribulation, abstinence, and studying theology, exposition on Mass; in German, dialogue between Christ and his Bride, recipes for washing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Cat. gén. Dépt. (8^o) 47:89–90.

B24.31

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem . . . et ad acquisitionem gratie in praesenti et vite eterne in futuro seculo. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.

De confessione

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. qu. 144, 93r–107[r]

Provenance uncertain, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Henry of Hassia Speculum animae, Herman von Schildesche Speculum sacerdotum, Liber contra Judaeos, De arte bene moriendi, Errores Graecorum, Jean Gerson De modo audiendi confessionem, De distinctione peccatorum, and Tractatus distinctionum orationum, treatise on the complexions, Moralitates gestorum Romanorum, treatise on the seven deadly sins.

B24.32

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . .
. quatinus dignemini me absolueri in forma ecclesiae [followed by a form of
absolution].

Modus confitendi

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 176, 31r–40v

France, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Manual of devotional prayers with directions for
confession, ps.-Aquinas questions on confession and penance with
reserved cases for bishop and pope.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Bibl. Apos. Reg. lat. 1:412–16.

B24.33

Quoniam omni confitenti est hanc generalem dicere confessionem . . . Nam si
eorum materiam haberem libentissime vobis revelarem et ut conferat michi
graciam ne in posterum consimilia peccata faciam concedat michi que finem
bonum et perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam. Amen.

Modus confitendi

⁴⁶ My thanks to Magdalene Popp-Grilli of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek for sending me a photocopy of the description of MS qu. 144 from the library's handwritten catalogue.

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 431, 63r–73v

Germany, 15th cent.; Bremen

CONTEXT: Liber Floretus (verses on articles of faith, Commandments, seven deadly sins, sacraments, eight beatitudes, virtues, death), Bonvicini de Ripa *Vita scholastica* (verse), treatise on faculties of the soul, penitential canons, Henricus de Bitterfeld *De horis persolvendis*, tract on excommunication, sermon on priesthood, exposition of Mass, tract on pastoral interdicts, commentary on Lord's Prayer, spurious letter on the death of St. Jerome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, *Bibl. Apos. Reg. lat.* 2:543–49.

B24.34

Quoniam omni confitenti . . . ad adquisicionem graciae in presenti et vite eterne in futuro seculo. Amen.

Modus confitendi

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. Palat. 13048, 1r–11v

Provenance uncertain, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: John of Garland Liber metricus de modo confitendi, Historia de Buridano magistro et regina Franciae Nopherra (sic), medical and astronomical notes, theological notes in Latin and German.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wien Palat. 7:180, HMML 20059, Candal (2) xiv.

B24.35

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est . . . Confessoribus dare consueuerunt

Amen.

Confessio catholicorum generalis. Nam si quis hic eam diligenter inspexerit aut perlegerit quasi in speculo omnia peccata videbit sua necnon oblitorum recordabitur

Wien, Schottenkloster, MS 402, 5r–21v

Austria, 15th cent.; Ben. abbey of St. Mary, Vienna; written by frater

Wolfgang de Everding (signed at end of *Modus confitendi*)

CONTEXT: Penitential canons, treatise on conduct of confessor, excerpts from church fathers on penance, tracts on contrition and restitution; lists of sins, virtues, sacraments, and other catechistic material; German Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ave Maria, medical recipes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Wien Schott. 437–38, HMML 3917.

B24.36

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc dicere confessionem . . .

concedatque michi finem bonum et perducatur animam meam ad celestem

gloriam. Amen.

Modi confitendi

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat.

qu. 236, 58ra–61vb

Germany, ca. 1450 (added later to MS); Ben. abbey of St. Peter and St.

Paul, Erfurt

CONTEXT: Heinrich Suso *Horologium sapientiae*, two other forms of confession (see B14 and B15), Alcuin of York *De Psalmorum usu liber* (preface only), ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris*, constitutions of Erfurt, tracts on Passion and phlebotomy, many sermons, prayers in Lat. and MHG.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Berlin Preuss.* 1:159–63, *MM Berlin Ms. theol. lat. qu. 236*, art. 1.57.

B24.37

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5932, 223[r]–[27r]

Germany, mid-15th cent.; Ben. mon. of Ebersberg; scribe Chunradum in

Graefing

CONTEXT: Aquinas *quaestiones* on confession, Conrad Vatti sermons, *Historia trium regum*, *Passio Sancti Quirini*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits 4989, Munich Bay. Staat.* 3/3:55–56.

B24.38

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . . ne
consimilia peccata faciam . . . et perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam.

Amen.

Modus confitendi [*recensio brevior*]

Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S I 213, 152r–54v

Switzerland, mid-15th cent.; scribes Rudolf Mecking, a Prem. monk, and
Petrus Molczheim (Peter von Molsheim), pastor in Wohlen (canton Bern),
and onetime prior of a Hospitaller commandery in Münchenbuchsee
(canton Bern); owned by wife of Peter Hans Meckings of Solothurn in
1504⁴⁷

CONTEXT: Bonaventure *Breviloquium* and treatise on preparation
for Mass, Jean Gerson *Opus tripartitum*, excerpt from Raymond of
Pennafort *Summula*, Antonius Azaro Parmensis homily on Passion,
Henricus de Frimaria treatise on Commandments, *Modus vivendi*
for monks, Honorius Augustodunensis *Speculum ecclesiae*, *De*
symbolo Apostolorum, moralized bestiary, sermons, tracts on
penance, Mass, ecclesiastical topics, and Eucharist.

⁴⁷ The copy of the *Modus confitendi* in another Solothurn manuscript (see B24.53) is in a hand very similar to that of Rudolf Mecking in this manuscript.

B24.39

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est dicere generalem confessionem . . .
absolucionem et penitenciam.⁴⁸

Confessio catholicorum generalis

Kraków, Poland, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, cod. 423, 98r–99v

Poland, ca. 1452; Kraków; produced in Silesia among Dominicans of
Kraków, and partly written in Wałdów near Legnica ca. 1467; marginal
notes in hand of Michael Falkener, a student at the University of Cracovia
in the later 15th cent.⁴⁹

CONTEXT: Stefano Fieschi da Soncino *Synonyma* in Lat. and Germ.,
Cicero *Synonyma*, Benedict of Alignan *Summa contra haereticos*
excerpts, Magister Zdeslaus exhortation to Arabs and Jews on the
Incarnation of Christ, Aquinas *De regimine Iudaeorum ad ducissam*
Brabantiae, Petrus Wartemberg sermon, Giles of Rome sermon on

⁴⁸ At the end of the text, the following ascription is made: “Hanc quidem confessionem composuit episcopus Civitatensis Hyspanus in Constancia tempore Concilii anno Domini M^o CCCC XVI.” It is known that Andreas did attend and play a role in the Council of Constance (Costa, 22, 37–38, 51–52, 99, 115, 124, 230). For another manuscript with a similar ascription, see B24.23.

⁴⁹ The MS catalogue gives an overall date of the MS as 1450–1500, but the part of the MS containing Escobar’s text is dated to 1452 based on Briquet’s watermarks.

vices and tract on original sin, legal formulas in Lat. and Germ., a list of vices and virtues; tracts on the seven deadly sins, sins against nature, violating virgins, prayer, the trial of Christ, nocturnal pollution, marriage, virginity, against the Wycliffites and Hussites, on canonical privileges of mendicants, on disputation against the Jews, the doctrines of the Talmud, usury, royal succession, and the corruption of monks; sermons on the seven deadly sins, venial sins, the Commandments, seven criminal vices, on dissipation, the sacraments, works of mercy, gifts of the Holy Spirit, sins against the Holy Spirit, buying and selling, marriage, heresy; theological notes and *quaestiones* on receiving the Eucharist following sins of pollution, whether sins of ignorance may be excused, on motive and consent in sinning, angels, marriage, topics of canon law; decretals from the Council of Basel on veneration of the body of Christ and the doctrine of the immaculate conception, and legal topics in Germ.; much correspondence between the papacy and George Podiebrad and the Bohemian kingdom concerning the Hussite controversy and issues of ecclesiastical allegiance, Nicolaus Tempelfeld of Brzeg *Tractatus contra Georgium Podiebrad*, Paul II's

sentences of excommunication of Podiebrad.⁵⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jagiellońska 269–98, MM Krakau 423, art. 1.28.

B24.40

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est . . . in terram missus.

Modus confitendi

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1865, 99r–104r

France, ca. 1453; Blois; owned by Charles d'Orléans; scribe Nicolaus

Astesanus, secretary of Charles

CONTEXT: Gregory Dialogues, Bede homily, Lupus de Olmeto rule for monks, ps.-Eusebius epistle on death of Jerome and other pieces on Jerome, vitae of Jerome and Gregory, John the Deacon Vita Gregorii Magni, Robertus de Tumbalena commentary on Canticles, Speculum ecclesiae, Liber regulae pastoralis, Modus vivendi ad principes, notes on Commandments, virtues, confession, five senses, tract on

⁵⁰ Over a third of the manuscript is taken up by communications between the papacy and the Bohemian kingdom (ca. 1458–69) over the Hussite controversy. A great deal of this material consists of letters from Pope Pius II (pope 1458–64) to George Podiebrad (king of Bohemia 1458–71, who tried to reform the Bohemian church following Hussite teachings), to the bishops, dukes, barons, and citizenry of Kraków and Bohemia, and to the Bohemian legates to Rome, as well as papal bulls granting indulgences for Bohemian citizens who reject their heretical ruler or bulls threatening citizens with excommunication for keeping their allegiance with the Hussite king. In 1466, Paul II excommunicated Podiebrad and forbade Catholic citizens of Bohemia from keeping their allegiance with him. Some of these communications are by George Podiebrad himself, Pope Paul II (pope 1464–71), Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, Emperor Frederick III, Rudolf of Rudesheim bishop of Breslau, etc.

the Lord's Prayer, mnemonic verse about the Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, BN MSS lat. (1) 2:205–6, Cat. des MSS datés 2:93.

B24.41

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . . in
forma ecclesie me absolvere. Amen. etc.

Modus confitendi

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, qu. Cod 46, 2r–9v

Germany, ca. 1457; Augsburg; scribe Georgius Somervelt, Ben. mon. of St.

Ulrich and St. Afra

*CONTEXT: Rufinus Historia monachorum excerpt, Smaragdus
Diadema monachorum excerpt, commentary on Peter Lombard's
Sentences, Bartholomew of Pisa Summa de casibus conscientiae
excerpt, Peter the Deacon De inventione corporis S. Benedicti excerpt,
Franciscus Castellensis De monacho ad exemplum Christi crucifixo, De
ingressu religionis, and Libellus epistolaris quaestionum regularium de
vita sanctimonialium virginum, Hugo de Folieto De claustro animae
excerpt, Jerome commentary on the Book of Proverbs, Haimo of
Auxerre sermon, Haimo of Halberstadt homily, William of Tournai
Flores Bernardi excerpt, glossed Benedictine Rule, commentary on
Benedictine Rule, letter of Abbot Theodemar of Monte Cassino to*

Charlemagne, several official letters from various popes concerning the abbey of Monte Cassino, statutes of Innocent IV on the reform of the Benedictine Order, papal bulls, catalogue of abbey library by Georgius Somervelt, a life of Saint Prisca, a form for petitioning to enter the Benedictine Order, tract and sermons on the dedication of a church, an order for Mass, two forms of confession (see B57.1 and B57.2); OHG form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Augsburg 82–89, MM Augsburg quart. Cod 46, art. 1.8.

B24.42

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem habere . . . me indignum in forma ecclesie absolvere velitis. Amen.

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28202, 67r–71r

Germany, ca. 1460; Neuberg (?), Eichstätt (?)

CONTEXT: Martinus Künlein Collatio ad clerum, Matthew of Cracovia De modo confitendi et puritate conscientie, Jean Gerson De arte audiendi confessiones, De remediis contra recidiuum peccandi, and De probatione spirituum, Peter John Olivi De remediis contra tentationes spirituales, Interrogatio sancti Bernhardi ad quinque monachos, Andreas de Escobar De decimis, primiciis et oblationibus ecclesiae

solvendae, Jacobus de Jüterborg *Speculum sacerdotale*, *Stella clericorum*, commentary on *Omnis utriusque sexus* (penitential canon 21 of Lateran IV), Peter of Compostella *Tractatus super Salve regina*, James of Milan *Stimulus amoris* excerpt, Jacobus de Cessolis *Libellus de moribus et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum*, Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach sermons, Bernhard de Waging letter to abbess of the convent of Bergen, ps.-Augustine *Dialogus inter beatam virginem et animam*, sermons, tracts on Quadragesimale, the canonical hours, and predestination, exposition on the Passion, verses on *Salve regina*, indulgence, a form of absolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/7:147–56, *MM München Clm* 28202, art. 1.31.

B24.43

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . . et peccatori consilium non dedi.

Generalis catholicorum confessio cuius causa sit peccatorum recordacio

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Széchényi Library of the National Museum), MS 339, 43r–47v

Germany, 1400–1461; Erford?; scribe Herman de Mitelczhussen

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *Confessionale*, David of Augsburg

Formula novitiorum, Bonaventure *Lignum vitae*, commentary on Peter the Blessed *Carmen de poenitentia*, *Dicta patrum*, commentary on the seven deadly sins, five senses, works of mercy, and sacraments, exposition of Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, tracts on the Passion and body of Christ, patience, good works, Trinity, paradise, fear of God, four complexions, and monastic living, prayers, verses on penance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Budapest* 297–303.

B24.44

Quoniam enim confitenti necesse est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . . . me rehabilitare et restituere in statum gratie et participationem sancte matris ecclesie et sanctorum eius.

Confessio generalis

Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 165, 72r–78r

Germany, 1433–1466; Aug. mon. of Virgin Mary in Niederwerth; owned in 16th cent. by the Jesuit college in Koblenz

CONTEXT: ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *De ordine vitae et morum institutione*, papal bull of Urban V *Ne in vinea*, Geert Groote *Epistula ad reatricem monialium in monasterio constitutam*, *Epistula ad fratres in Camp*, and *Epistula ad abbatem in Camp*, Johannes de Deo *Decretum*

abbreviatum, Theodoricus de Monasterio *De vitio proprietatis ad sanctimoniales conventus sancti Aegidii Monasteriensis*, Bonaventure *De quinque festiuitatibus pueri Iesu*, a tract on reading.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koblenz 348–51.

B24.45

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . .
pura corde meditari et post hanc vitam nunquam a te separari merear per
dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum [incomplete].

Confessio generalis

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Magdeb. 21,
293rb–95va

Germany, 1450–1462; Leipzig; scribe Petrus Rode

CONTEXT: Several works of Jacobus de Jüterbog including *Passio*

Jesu Christi secundum IV Evangelia, *De malo huius saeculi*, *De*

concertatione super cruore de Wilsnack, *De actionibus humanis*, *De*

mystica theologica, tract on the Mass for the dead, and sermons;

Andreas de Escobar *Lumen confessorum*, Augustinus Triumphus de

Ancona tract on the Magnificat, Pope Pius II letter to the papal

legate to Bohemia Cardinal Juan Carvajal, Nicholas of Cusa *Contra*

Bohemos, *Chronica summorum pontificum et imperatorem*, meditation

on the Passion, *De mulieribus fugiendis*, tract on the Sabbath.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berlin Magdeb. (1) 69–73, MM Berlin Ms. Magdeb. 21, art. 1.127.

B24.46

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere et facere . . . et liberacionis penarum inferni et purgatorii, quas pro eis meruisti et ad adquisicionem gratie in presenti et vite eterne. Amen.

Modus confitendi

Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. st 334, 104r–11v

Germany, 1450–1473; Ben. mon. of Plankstetten

CONTEXT: Nicholas of Lyra Postilla super Hiezechielem, Samuel Karoch de Lichtenberg Dialogus inter adolescentem et virginem, Jerome Vita Malchi, Marcus Tullius Cicero Somnium Scipionis, commentary on Galfredus de Vino Salvo Poetria nova, Paul Lescher Modus epistolandi, an Ars dictandi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eichstätt 45–48, MM Eichstätt Cod. st 334, art. 1.16.

B24.47

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalis confessio . . . ne in posterum conciencia peccata committam concedatque in bonum finem et perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam. amen.

Modus confitendi

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 3 an: I. t. q. L, 6r–10r

Austria, 1463–1470; Vienna; scribe frater Iohannes Walsee of Carm.

convent of Vienna

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *De remediis adversum recidivum peccandi a confessoribus dandis*, *De habitu morali et intellectivo*, sermons (one by Matthias Fabri) and tracts including on the seven last words of Christ, the Trinity, etc., notes on the *Glossa ordinaria*, prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Würzburg 4:125–26.

B24.48

Quoniam omni confitenti . . . statim illud confiteris.

Confessio generalis, cuius causa peccatorum oblitorum sit recordacio

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 214, 77r–82r

Germany, ca. 1470; Carm. mon. of Michelsberg

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Opus tripartitum*, Matthew of Cracovia treatise on Mass, Aquinas *De modo confitendi et puritate conscientiae*, Henricus de Frimaria treatise on vices, tracts on confession, Eucharist, and astrolabe, exposition of Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, Bamberg 1/1:787–89.

B24.49

Quoniam omni confitenti necessaria est . . .

Tractatus de confessione vel de modo confitendi

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 185, 201r–6v

Germany, 1471; Hannover, Hildesheim, mon. of St. George (1525)

CONTEXT: Alain of Lille *De planctu naturae* and *Liber parabolarum*, Bernard of Cluny *De contemptu mundi*, Henricus Septimellensis elegy *De inconstantia* with commentary, Theodulus *Eclogues* with commentaries, Alani de Rupe *Compendium psalterii ad laudem Ihesu Christi et Marie virginis*, *Testamentum duodecim patriarcharum*, *Salutaris poeta*, Aesopian fables, elegies for Charles VII of France, *Epistola de dissuasionem Valerii ad Rufinum* with commentary, religious epigrams, *Vita Iude* and *Vita Pylati*, *Statua scholarium*, *Triuita studentum*, *Dogmatile paternum*, news from Hungary on the Turkish advance, *De puncte der broderschup des salters*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, Wolfenbüttel 1:167–70.

B24.50

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est . . . Sed quando potui, vindicavi etc.

[incomplete].

Generalis catholicorum confessio

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 305, 174v–75v

Austria, ca. 1472–1473; mon. of Aug. Canons, Klosterneuburg

CONTEXT: Peter Lombard *Sentences* books 3–4, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *Confessionale*, Jean Gerson *De modo confessionis* and treatise on excommunication, Bartholomeus de S. Concordio excerpts on excommunication from *Summa Pisani*, *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi*, tracts on confession, cases for excommunication, greed, and on the Mass and Eucharist, sermons including some by Dinkelsbühl and eight sermons on confession by Thomas de Haselbach, decretal with commentary on Communion in both kinds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Klosterneuburg* (2) 2:58–62, HMML 5276.

B24.51

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7644, 88–[98]

Germany, ca. 1478; Aug. mon. of Indersdorf; scribe monk Augustinus

Augustae

CONTEXT: Jacobus de Gruytrode *Lavacrum conscientiae omnium sacerdotum*, Dionysius the Aeropagite *Epistola ad Timotheum de morte Pauli*, Henry of Gorcum *De superstitiosis quibusdam casibus*, Jean Gerson tracts *De eruditione confessorum*, *De simonia*, and *De remediis*

contra recidivum peccandi, Antoninus Florentinus *De eruditione confessorum*, Pope Sixtus IV *De conceptione Mariae*, Bartholomaeus de Chaimis *Confessionale*, John Chrysostom sermon on penance, Matthew of Cracovia *Confessionale*, tract *Bona puncta*, tracts on celebrating feast days, simony, and on the canonical hours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Candal (2) xiv, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 3/3:181.

B24.52

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere et facere . . . Quis Quid Quare Quantum Quociens Quod Quomodo Quando Quis scilicet si est homo doctus vel ignorans prelatus vel subditus clericus vel laycus aut religiosus quid id est quod primus scilicet furtum vel homicidium.

Berkeley, University of California Law School Library, Robbins MS 127,

1r–14r

Provenance uncertain, 1490

CONTEXT: Escobar's *Modus confitendi* and Jean Gerson *De eruditione confessorum*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Digital Scriptorium* s.v. Robbins MS 127.⁵¹

⁵¹ This is the first time that this MS of the *Modus confitendi* has been identified. The website catalogue entry for this MS in the *Digital Scriptorium* refers to this text simply as a "confession." The entry includes images of both the first and last pages of the text.

B24.53

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere et
facere . . . confessoribus dari consueverunt.

Modus confitendi [*recensio brevior*]

Solothurn, Switzerland, Zentralbibliothek, S 725, 1r–6v

Provenance uncertain, ca. 1490

CONTEXT: MS contains only the *Modus confitendi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Solothurn* 103–4, 157.⁵²

B24.54

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium . . .

Modus confitendi

Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 261, 314r–20v

France, ca. 1497; Cambrai, abbey of Saint-Sépulcre

CONTEXT: Thomas à Kempis *Ortulus rosarum*, Honorius of Autun

Elucidarium, Aquinas *Ars moriendi*, Isidore of Seville *Synonyma*,

Bernard of Clairvaux *De formula honeste vite*, Henry of Hassia

Speculum animae, Augustine meditation, excerpts from Seneca's *De*

remedis fortuitorum, Augustine's *Soliloquies*, and Thomas de

⁵² This copy of the *Modus confitendi* is written in a hand very similar to that of Rudolf Mecking in another Solothurn manuscript containing the *Modus confitendi* (see B24.38).

Cantimpré's *Bonum universale*, Fran. rule of Giles of Assisi, Marian *Super salutatione angelica*, tracts on sacraments, Passion, articles of faith, manner of keeping daily office, begging, continence, and cardinal virtues.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Cat. gén. Dépt. (8^o) 17:96–98.

B24.55

[Incipit unavailable]

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11587, 89–[93]

Germany, 1430–1500; Aug. mon. of Polling, Bavaria; scribe Nicolaus

Newmayr

CONTEXT: Isidore of Seville De summo bono, ps.-Augustine Speculum peccatoris, Jean Gerson tract on preparation for Mass, Augustine commentary on Psalm 85, Anselm of Canterbury prayers based on the penitential psalms, Johannes Andreae tract on advising parochial clergy, Antonio de Butrio De modo confitendi, Pope Eugenius IV consutations, treatise giving directives for making confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/2:29–30, Candal (2) xiv.

B24.56

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem dicere confessionem . .

. Confitens ergo accedens ad confessionem facto signo crucis dicat: Ego reus
peccator indignus . . . perducatur animam meam ad celestem gloriam. Amen.

Modus confitendi [wrongly attrib. Thomas Aquinas]

Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Stadtarchiv), W* 198, 1r–7v

Provenance uncertain, 1450–1500

CONTEXT: Caesarius of Arles sermon, tract on confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Köln* 5:57–58, *MM Köln* W* 198, art. 1.2.

B24.57

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem dicere confessionem . .

. si fecisti . . . aliquod peccatum consimile et statim illud confiteri.

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28384, 52r–56r

Germany, 1450–1500; Carth. mon. of Vrach; owned by Johannes Meßkirch
of Güterstein

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *Confessionale* and treatise on

seven deadly sins, Jean Gerson *De examinatione conscientiae*,

Johannes Pfeffer von Weidenberg sermon on body of Christ,

sermon on the Passion, various excerpts on confession and pastoral

theology, tract on confession, list of contents of catechism with mnemonic verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Incipits 4989, Munich Bay. Staat. 4/8:190–94, MM München Clm 28384, art. 1.102.

B24.58

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere cuius tanta et virtus . . . et statim illud confiteri debes.⁵³

Confessio generalis

Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 157, 112r–15v

Austria, 1450–1500

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar Tractatus de decimis, archiepiscopal statutes probably of Eberhard III von Neuhaus, prince-archbishop of Salzburg, Henricus Lang penitential canons and Tractatus de poenitentia, Guido de Senis Summa distinctionum Bibliae, form of examination of heretics, cases for excommunication, constitutional cases of the province and synod of Salzburg, synodal constitutions of Frankfurt, cases of canonical prohibition, suspension, disgrace, and impediments to the exercise of sacred orders, excerpts of

⁵³ I thank Matt Heintzelman, curator of the Austria/Germany Study Center and rare book cataloguer at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, for providing me with scans of this text.

decretals of the Council of Basel, constitutions from the Council of Vienna, Pope Pius II letter to the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II (1460), Pius II bull proclaiming a crusade against the Turks (1463).⁵⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vorau 82–84, HMML 7155.

B24.59

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere, cuius tanta est virtus . . . in forma ecclesie absolvere. Aviso te confitens . . . peccatum consimile et statim confitere illud.

Generalis confessio

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Vor: I. t. f. 159, 30r–33v

Germany, 1450–1500; eastern Franconia; owned by Johannis Kewsch, vicar of Würzburg, and Jeorius Geysel; in possession of Dom. abbey of Würzburg in 17th cent.

CONTEXT: Guido de Monte Rocherii Manipulus curatorum and Escobar Modus confitendi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Würzburg 4:91–92.

B24.60

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est generalem confessionem dicere . . .

⁵⁴ The *Modus confitendi* is immediately followed in the MS by a form for examining heretics in the faith, *Examinatio hereticorum de fide*.

maledicciones non sustinui etc.

Confessio generalis

Gdańsk (Danzig), Poland, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk,

MS 2031, 371r–73r

Provenance uncertain; Czech Republic? 1465–1500

CONTEXT: Henricus de Frimaria sermons, life of St. Anthony the abbot, Hussite Bohemian king Georgs von Podiebrad 1463 proposal for a European Christian alliance against the Turks, followed by the 1464 alliance between Podiebrad and Louis XI of France, *quaestio* on reserved cases for confession, constitutions of the Franciscan antipope Alexander V on the Franciscan order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Gdańsk* 3:162–63.

B24.61

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium est hanc generalem confessionem dicere . .

. confessoribus dari consueverunt.

Modus confitendi optimus et compendiosus sive generalis confessio

Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, GB oct. 116, 213r–21r

Germany, 1475–1500; scribe Johannes Ruysch monk of Ben. mon. Groß St.

Martin of Köln

CONTEXT: Tilmannus Dulmaniensis *De perfectiore institutione*

novitiorum, Bernardus de Bessa *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*,
Theodericus de Homborch *Exercitium pro novellis fratribus ordinis S.*
Benedicti, Johannes Brugman, OFM, letter to brother of fraterhouse
in Daventer, the Netherlands, *De imitatione Christi* books 1–2,
Seneca *De moribus*, ps.-Seneca tract on death, Jean Gerson *De*
mystica theologia excerpt, Bonaventure *De triplici via*, John Cassian
De institutis coenobiorum excerpt, tract similar to Matthew of
Cracovia *De puritate conscientiae*, *Formula honestae et spiritualis vitae*,
decretals, tracts on temptation and the five fingers of Christ, a verse
on fortune.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Köln 3:110–14, MM Köln GB oct. 116, art. 1.57.

B24.62

[Incipit unavailable]

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15185, 178–[84]

Germany, end 15th cent.; Bavaria, Aug. collegiate library of Rebdorf;
scribes Johan Gaza and Wolfgang Aygelspeck

CONTEXT: Defensor *Liber scintillarum*, Origen commentary on
“Maria stabat,” *Liber de anima*, *Speculum sacerdotale*, prayers, Daily
Office, tracts on guidance for novices.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 4/3:8.

B24.63

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

Osnabrück, Gymnasium Carolinum, Hs. 22, 54r–62r

Germany, 1490–1500; Ben. mon. of Iburg

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson treatises *De differentia peccatorum venialium et mortalium*, *Apologetica sive responsiva*, *Considerationes ad propositum*, *De elevatione mentis in Deum*, *De remediis contra pusillanimitatem*, *Contra professum inobedientem*, *Pro devotis simplicibus*, and *De mystica theologica practica*, Bonaventure *Epistola continens XXV memoralia*, *De perfectione vitae*, and *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, David of Augsburg *Formula novitiorum*, Bernard de Bustis sermon, and treatises on the episcopate and on dangers in celebrating the Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Osnabrück* 113–14.

B24.64

Quoniam omni confitendi necessarium est . . . differentia inter Quadragenam et Septenam Karenam.

Modus confitendi . . . et generalis confessio que dici potest speculum confitentium

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 225, 137r–45v

Germany, 1503–1509; Carm. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Raymund of Pennafort *Summula*, Antonio de Butrio treatise on confession, Johannis Bacon history of Carm. order, Albertus Magnus *Paradisus animae*, *Ars moriendi*, *Miraculum de morte Guidonis* (Guido of Cortona?), tracts on the Mass, another form of confession (see B63).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 4989, *Bamberg* 1/1:805–7.

B24.65

[Incipit unavailable]

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 1329, 78v–[82r]

Germany, 16th cent.; Aug. mon. of Diessen⁵⁵

CONTEXT: Silvester de Rebdorf *Tractatus de passione Domini*, ps.-Bonaventure *Fasciculus morum*, Johannes Dominici de Eugubio tract on the miraculous hosts of Andechs Abbey, *Chronicle of Andechs Abbey* with catalogue of its famous relics, sermons for the

⁵⁵ The Augustinian monastery of Diessen became in 1455 the Benedictine abbey of Andechs. Situated in the Alps along the Ammersee River, it became a famous pilgrimage site following the rediscovery of its miraculous Host relics at the end of the fourteenth century, and versions of its history served to advance Counter-Reformation polemics.

dedication of a church, exposition of the Mass, dialogue between a pope and a priest on the celebration of Mass, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, statutes of the province of Salzburg, psalter with commentary, tract on the Waldensian heresy, Augustinian Rule.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Candal (2) iv, *Munich Bay. Staat.* 3/1:252.

B25

Confiteor tibi domine deus omnipotens pater celi et terre tibi que bone ihesu christe vna cum sancto spiritu et coram sanctis angelis tuis et coram omnibus sanctis et presenti altari tuo . . . Et ideo supplico vobis omnes sancti dei . . . sed sit gaudium in celo de me sicut dixit dominus in euangelio de vno peccatore penitentiam agente ipso adiuuante. Qui vivis et regnis.

Confessio bona ad sanctam trinitatem

London, British Library, Harley 211, 123v–24r

England, early 15th cent.; Carm. convent of Norwich

CONTEXT: Robert Grosseteste *Modus confitendi* (confessional interrogatory), *Confessionale* (a form of confession; see B27), another form of confession (see B26), fifteen psalms, Matins to the Virgin for liturgical year, meditations, Mass for the dead, over a hundred devotional prayers to Christ and Virgin (some in verse, many of which are penitential, a few in ME), forms of absolution, litany of

saints; ME Richard of Lavynham *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, treatises on Commandments, visiting the sick, seven deadly sins, and remedies against sins, tract on penance, recipe for kidney stones.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Harley 1:66–68, Bloomfield 388 n. 107, Arnould (1) 49 n. 1, Goering and Mantello (1) 75.

B26

Confiteor tibi domine deus omnipotens quia ego peccator peccaui nimis coram te et coram angelis tuis . . . Non ergo sim tibi vilis ad saluandum qui non fui vilis ad redimendum sed miserere pocius et indulge. Qui viuis et regnas deus.

London, British Library, Harley 211, 109r–v

England, early 15th cent.; Carm. convent of Norwich

CONTEXT: Robert Grosseteste *Modus confitendi* (confessional interrogatory), *Confessionale* (a form of confession; see B27), another form of confession (see B25), fifteen psalms, Matins to the Virgin for liturgical year, meditations, Mass for the dead, over a hundred devotional prayers to Christ and Virgin (some in verse, many of which are penitential, a few in ME), forms of absolution, litany of saints; ME Richard of Lavynham *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, treatises on Commandments, visiting the sick, seven deadly sins,

and remedies against sins, tract on penance, recipe for kidney stones.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Harley* 1:66–68, *Incipits* 0938, Bloomfield 388 n. 107, Arnould (1) 49 n. 1, Goering and Mantello (1) 75.

B27

Ego reus et indignor confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater me grauitur pecasse in hiis que subiungau . . . et a te pater impendi absolucionem. Ideo precor beatam virginem mariam etc.

Prol. [on how to begin confession] Ut ex compendiosa leccione possit occurrere penitenti in quocumque gradu constituto quid debeat in confessione proferre . . .

Epil. [on circumstances of sin] . . . Quando scilicet vt tempore sancto vel non sancto ante acceptam penitentiam vel post.⁵⁶

Confessionale

London, British Library, Harley 211, 104v–8v

England, early 15th cent.; Carm. convent of Norwich

CONTEXT: Robert Grosseteste *Modus confitendi* (confessional

⁵⁶ Wenzel (2), 84 and 229 n. 65, believes that this form of confession is an adaptation of Grosseteste's *Si scienter* confessional questionnaire, showing how the second-person confessional questionnaire could readily be adapted to the first-person form of confession. Wenzel also believes Grosseteste's questionnaire is the basis of "The Book of Penance," a versified form of confession appended to one manuscript version of the *Cursor Mundi* (BL Cotton Vespasian A.iii; see E7). And see a ME prose form of confession that exhibits this same kind of rhetorical shift (D22).

interrogatory), two other forms of confession (see B25, B26), fifteen psalms, Matins to the Virgin for liturgical year, meditations, Mass for the dead, over a hundred devotional prayers to Christ and Virgin (some in verse, many of which are penitential, a few in ME), forms of absolution, litany of saints; ME Richard of Lavynham *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, treatises on Commandments, visiting the sick, seven deadly sins, and remedies against sins, tract on penance, recipe for kidney stones.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Section on *acedia* printed in Wenzel (2) 198–99; Wenzel (2) 229 n. 65, *BL Harley* 1:66–68, *Incipits* 6199, Bloomfield 388 n. 107, Arnould (1) 49 n. 1, Goering and Mantello (1) 75.

B28

Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis me graviter peccasse contra legem dei . . .

Modus confessionis

Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Stadtarchiv), GB 4° 174, 11r–17r

Germany, end 14th cent.–1436; Köln, mendicant Order of the Holy Cross

CONTEXT: Conrad de Grunenberg *Tractatus sive summatio de confessione*, Guilelmus de Tolosa *Visio de poenis purgatorii et inferni*, Ekbert de Schönau *Stimulus amoris* and meditation on Christ and

Virgin, Henricus de Bitterfeld treatise on canonical hours, Gerardus de Rivo St. Mariae treatise on reserved sins, Radulphus de Rivo *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, Henricus de Frimaria (?) treatise on vices, ps.-Augustine tract on visitation of sick, Rodolphus de Gravia (?) treatise on evil, treatise on vices, tracts on nine torments of hell, misery of the world, and clerical living.⁵⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Köln 2:190–95.

B29

Confiteor deo omnipotenti . . . et beato Benedicto . . . quod proxima mea confessione non custodiui me a peccatis . . . oretis deum pro me. Amen.

[*Beichtspiegel*]

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 208, 125r–v

Germany, ca. 1437; Ben. mon. of Wiblingen

CONTEXT: ps.-Albertus Magnus Tractatus de virtutibus animae, ps.-Augustine Speculum peccatoris and Minus speculum, David of Augsburg Formula novitiorum, ps.-Jean Gerson De imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi, Arnulfus de Boeris Speculum monachorum, Petrus de Alliaco Meditationes super psalmos

⁵⁷ The form of confession, originally separate from the MS and in another hand, was interfoliated by Conrad de Grunenberg himself into his *Summatio de confessione* following article 32.

poenitentiales and exposition of Psalm 42 *Judica me*, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux tract on body of Christ, Ekbert de Schönau *Speculum animae in passione Christi*, versified monastic rule, prayers, form for absolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stuttgart 1/2:99–102, Stuttgart Datable MSS 19 and figs. 62 and 76.

B30.1

Ego reus et conscius cunctorum malorum meorum confiteor Deo patri omnipotenti . . . Item peccavi in ira domini portando in corde meo iram propter timorem.

Confessio generalis

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 615, pp. 718–22

Austria, late 14th–ca. 1438; Melk, scribe Conradus [de Geisenfeld?]⁵⁸

CONTEXT: Ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatoris*, Bonaventure *Stimulus amoris*, *De arbore lignum vitae*, and *Praeparatio ad missam*, Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis) expositions of the Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Lord's Prayer, Te Deum, Apostles' Creed, Athanasian Creed, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux meditation on

⁵⁸ The scribe Conradus copied both the *Confessionale* and this form of confession that immediately follows and concludes the MS.

the Passion, ps.-Augustine *De dignitate sacerdotum*, Henricus Egger
of Kalkar meditation on the Passion, Johannes Schlitpacher (prior of
Melk abbey) exposition on the Rule of St. Benedict, Johannes
Contractus sermons, Petrus de Sancto Benedicto sermons, Gregory
the Great homily, *Confessionale*, life of St. Bruno founder of the
Carthusian order, prayers, sermons, Carthusian exemplum on
death, verses on *contemptu mundi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Melk 1:276–80, HMML 1504.

B30.2

Ego reus et conscius cunctorum malorum meorum confiteor deo patri
omnipotenti. Et beate marie virgini et omnibus sanctis et uobis pater quorum ego
indignus peccator et miserimus peccaui . . . Vxorem alicuius procatus fuisti. Tunc
peccasti quociens vbi [then switches on fol. 83v to questions according to the
Commandments].

[*Confessio generalis*]

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. Palat. 4014, 179v–
83v

Provenance uncertain, 1418–1440

CONTEXT: Henry of Hassia (Langenstein) *Tractatus de confessione*,
Dominicus de Capranica *Ars bene moriendi*, a large sermon

collection including one by Albert bishop of Ratisbon (Regensburg), and a list of themes for sermons, treatise on confession, restrictions from receiving the Eucharist, tract on human condition and nature of Christ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wien Palat. 3:139–40, Incipits 1894, HMML 17213.

B30.3

Ego reus et conscius omnium malorum meorum confiteor deo patri omnipotenti . . . penitenciam salubrem pro peccatis meis ut absoluar ab eis. Amen.

[*Beichtspiegel*]

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 108, 163v–65v

Germany, 1447; Ben. mon. of Weingarten; scribe Jodocus Musserlin

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar Modus confitendi (see B24.8),

Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *De indulgenciis, Stella clericorum*, penitential sermons, notes on penance and Passion, office for the dead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stuttgart 1/1:196–201, Stuttgart Datable MSS 13 and fig. 116, MM

Stuttgart HB I 108, art. 1.153.

B31

Confiteor etc. Cogitatione: temporalia, vana, inutilia . . . De olfactu habetur parum quia inter cetera animalia . . . omnium sanctorum piam interventionem Agnus dei immaculatus . . . Amen.

[*Formula confessionis*]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat.

qu. 262, 22r–24v

Germany, ca. 1445; Erfurt, Carth. mon. of Salvatorberg

CONTEXT: Matthew of Cracovia *De modo confitendi et puritate conscientiae*, Henricus de Frimaria treatise on making confession, Alain of Lille exposition of Psalms, verses on reserved cases of confession for bishop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Berlin Preuss.* 1:197–98.

B32

Confiteor Deo et beatae Mariae beato Benedicto et omnibus sanctis et vobis pater

...

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28601, 106v–7r

Germany, 1446; Ben. mon. of Wiblingen

CONTEXT: David of Augsburg *De exterioris*, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl sermons, Malachias Hibernicus *Venenum viciorum*, Jordanus von Quedlinburg *Meditationes de passione Christi*, ps.-Basil admonition on spiritual life, sermon on Lent and other sermons, tracts on Eve and Mary, vices and virtues, confession, Mass, and Eucharist,

exempla.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/9:227–29.

B33

Confiteor Deo celi beate Marie et cetera quia peccavi per superbiam . . . Ideo de alicuius te interrogabo tu ergo [word illegible] ne diabolo instigante aliquod peccatorum tuorum occultare presumat.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 736, ir–v

England, 1400–1450; Cathedral Church of St. Peter, Exeter, Devon

CONTEXT: Bartholomew of Pisa Summa de casibus conscientiae, preceded by confession and followed by a tract in ME on cases for excommunication and a Lat. form of excommunication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oxf. Sum. Cat. 2727, MLGB 85.

B34

Confiteor deo [et] beate Marie et beato Francisco et omnibus sanctis quia peccavi . . . Primo contra deum per ignorantiam . . . orare pro me.

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82, 205v–11r

Italy, 1400–1450; Gubbio, for member of Fran. order

CONTEXT: Franciscan Book of Hours in Roman Use, containing other prayers of confession (see B3.2, B35, B36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Newberry 150–55, Wadsworth 26.

B35

Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie uirgini, beato Francisco et omnibus sanctis . . . Miserere michi omnipotens deus et dimittat in omnia peccata mea . . . perducatur me in uitam eternam. Amen.

Prol. Cum uis orare ut deus te liberet uel perseueret a persecutione linguarum.

Circunderunt me uiri mendaces sine causa . . .

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82, 218r–v

Italy, 1400–1450; Gubbio, for member of Fran. order

CONTEXT: Franciscan Book of Hours in Roman Use, containing other prayers of confession (see B3.2, B34, B36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Newberry* 150–55, *Wadsworth* 26.

B36

Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie uirgini beato Francisco et omnibus sanctis quia peccaui . . . orare pro me.

Prol. Cum uolueris perigrinari ut deus iter tuum faciat prosperum, dic ut sequitur. Omni tempore benedic deum et pete ab eo . . .

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 82, 215r–v

Italy, 1400–1450; Gubbio, for member of Fran. order

CONTEXT: Franciscan Book of Hours in Roman Use, containing other prayers of confession (see B3.2, B34, B35).

B37

Confiteor igitur tibi bone ihesu et gloriose matri tue et omnibus sanctis . . .

promissa amittendo et quantum in me fuit penas sine fine mansuras

promerendo.

Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 93, 158v–60r

England, 1420–1450; written by the Oxford lawyer and priest John Dygon,

later recluse of Sheen

CONTEXT: Sermon sequence based on ps.-Haymo of Halberstadt's commentary on the Pauline epistles, Book 2 of Gregory the Great's homilies on Ezechiel, ps.-Augustinian *De fide*, two tracts from ME *Pore Caitif*, Anselm of Canterbury *Proslogion*, meditations attrib. Augustine, tracts attrib. John Chrysostom, Arnauld of Bonneval tracts on the words from the cross, Quodvultdeus of Carthage sermon against heresy, Gerard Zerholt of Zutphen *Ascensiones*, Thomas à Kempis *Imitatio Christi*, Alcher of Clairvaux *Manuale*, ps.-Origen sermon on Mary Magdalene, Walter Hilton letter to Adam Horsley encouraging him to become a Carthusian, macaronic sermons, sermon notes, devotional tracts, form of confession with sections on the deadly sins followed by instructional materials,

poem "O homo velox."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanna (1) 142–55, Watson *Dated MSS Oxf.* 2: plate 386, Wenzel (1) 31–32, 180–82.⁵⁹

B38

Confiteor tibi pater Rex celi et terre tibi que benignissime ihesu vna cum sancto spiritu coram sanctis angelis tuis et omnibus sanctis quia in peccatis sum natus . . . depelle a me queso tenebras tocius iniquitatis et perfidie et accende in me lumen misericordie tue et ignem sanctissimi et suauiissimi amoris tui qui viuus regnas deus et cetera.

Warminster, Wiltshire, Longleat House, Collection of the Marquess of Bath, MS 29, 31v and 30r⁶⁰

England, 1422–1450; owned by Goldwell family, later by Sir John Thynne

CONTEXT: Major MS of Richard Rolle's works, including in ME *The Form of Living*, *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment*, *Desire and Delight*, *Ghostly Gladness*, lyrics, and excerpt from a meditation on the Passion; Chaucer *Parson's Tale*, Walter Hilton *Mixed Life*, ME version of William Flete *De remediis contra temptationes*, treatise *The*

⁵⁹ I thank Ralph Hanna for sharing valuable information from his forthcoming catalogue of the Magdalen College medieval manuscripts.

⁶⁰ The middle sheet of the quire is bound back to front so that folio 31 should precede folio 30.

Ladder of Heaven, treatise on love, tract on virtues, devotion, meditation on the Lord's Prayer, meditation on the Five Wounds, prayers, *Fifteen Oes*, religious lyrics, proverbs, lamentation of Virgin, treatise *A Revelation of Purgatory*, and a form of confession in ME preceding but unrelated to the Lat. one (see D14.3); Lat. tract on Corpus Christi, tract on devotion to Crucifixion, questions and answers on theological topics, sayings of church fathers, meditation on the Lord's Prayer, hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus," passage attrib. Hugh of St.-Victor; macaronic poem on the signs of death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ogilvie-Thomson xvii–xxxi.

B39

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate marie . . .

Modus confitendi

Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS 1383, 323v–26r

Poland, 1442–1450; scribe Andreus de Strzezevo of Cracovia

CONTEXT: Aquinas exposition on Lord's Prayer, Creed, articles of the faith, and sacraments, Matthew of Cracovia *De modo confitendi et puritate consciencie*, John of Garland *Carmen de misteriis ecclesie*, Nicolaus de Blonie *Sacramentale*, Benedictus Hesse *De redemptionibus*, tracts on hearing confession, contrition, penitential

canons, and preaching, commentary on Psalms, tract on the
disputation of the Jews with the Christians, tract on preaching
attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, liturgical calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kórník 530–38, Incipits 0933.

B40

[B]enedicite. Dominus. Confiteor Deo celi et terre . . . et ceteros sanctos Dei et te
orare pro me.

Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 108, 85v–86v

England, 15th cent.; Midlands

*CONTEXT: John of Garland Liber de aequivocis, Heinrich Suso
Horologium sapientiae (portion), Epistola Valerii ad Ruffinum, notes on
theology, moral topics, and Eucharist.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Linc. Cath. 82.

B41

Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater quia peccavi nimis in
cogitatione superbie . . . Deinde si prescripta non placent querat que placeant.

Confessio optima

London, British Library, Royal 8.C.vii, 71v–77v

England, 15th cent.; Ben. abbey of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire

CONTEXT: Penitentials of Alain of Lille and William of Montibus,

Robert Grosseteste *Si scienter* confessional interrogatory, Innocent III *De contemptu mundi*, Thomas à Kempis *Imitatio Christi*, Hildegard of Bingen *Scivias* excerpts, Hugh of St.-Victor *De septem petitionibus et septem viciis et septem beatitudinibus*, Isidore of Seville *Synonyma*, Stephen Langton commentary on hymn "Ave maris stella," meditation attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, *Prophessiae Jeremiae prophetae de sacerdotibus*, *Symbolum apostolorum* (Apostles' Creed), verses on penance, commentary on Ave Maria, tracts on Passion, Lord's Prayer, and Creed, canons on negligence regarding Eucharist, lectionary for saints' days, two other forms of confession (see B46, B49), notes on distances from England to Rome, Jerusalem, Sanai, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Royal 1:234–36, MLGB 188, Goering and Mantello (1) 78.

B42

Confiteor deo et beate marie virgini et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis quia ego peccator peccaui nimis in vita . . . Ideo precor beatissimam dei genitricem virginem mariam et omnes sanctos et electos dei et te pater orare pro me.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 523, 117v–18r

Ireland, 15th cent.; Dublin, owned by Sir Thomas Belle (or Bette), a parish priest at St. Michan's

CONTEXT: Robert Grosseteste *De oculo morali* and *De veneno*, liturgical calendar, tract on tribulation, misc. sermons and extracts mainly on confession, account of Edward VI's coronation in Dublin; ME tract on tribulation and verses on complexions; and a fragment of an OF form of confession from an earlier hand (see C35).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lam. Pal.* 723–25.

B43

Confiteor deo et cetera usque mea culpa. Imprimis de multis bonis que facere potui et non feci . . . Ideo supplico vos omnis sancti angeli dei et omnis sancti et te venerande sacerdos . . . et indulgenciam per merita et intercessionem omnium sanctorum assequi merear. deo gracias amen.

Modus et forma confitendi

Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Pap. Hs. 11, 232r–39r

Austria, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Rule of St. Benedict, preacher's materials including sermons, legenda, and excerpts, treatise on confession, order for baptism from Gregorian sacramentary, exempla in Lat. and German.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Klagenfurt* 103, *Incipits* 0935, *HMML* 13007.

B44

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate marie virgini et beato benedicto et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater de omnibus peccatis que feci a principio vite mee vsque ad istum diem . . . et peto penitenciam et absolucionem propter deum. psalmus Miserere mei. Veni creator. Hortone.

Confessio deuotissima peccatoris ad deum per Ricardus Hortone

London, British Library, Harley 2432, 31v–35v

England, 15th cent.; later owned by John Lane, Robert Lane, and others

CONTEXT: Ricardus Horton *De spirituali milite*, Bernard of Clairvaux *De diligendo Deo*, Hugh of St.-Victor *De operibus et dierum*, *Poeniteas cito* (poem on penance), vita of Adam and Eve, tract on man's image in God, a rhetoric.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Harley* 2:691, *Incipits* 0931.

B45

Confiteor deo patri omnipotenti . . .

Instructio deliberate confiteri volentium

[*Beichtspiegel*]

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 226, 313r–16r

Germany, 15th cent.; Dom. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Johannes Auerbach *Summa de sacramentis*, Johannes

Grunberger *Compendium morale, Stella clericorum, Summa de paenitentia*, commentary on Raymond of Pennafort *Summula*, synodal statutes of dioc. of Bamberg, tracts on making restitution, visitation of sick, and preaching.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bamberg 1/1:807–11.

B46

Confiteor tibi pater celi et terre tibi que bone et benignissime ihesu una cum spiritu sancto cum sanctis angelis tuis et omnibus sanctis tuis et coram isto sacerdote tuo . . . Qui trinus in unitate et in trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.⁶¹

Confessio bona

London, British Library, Royal 8.C.vii, 36r–44r

England, 15th cent.; Ben. abbey of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire

CONTEXT: Penitentials of Alain of Lille and William of Montibus, Robert Grosseteste Si scienter confessional interrogatory, Innocent III De contemptu mundi, Thomas à Kempis Imitatio Christi, Hildegard of Bingen Scioias excerpts, Hugh of St.-Victor De septem petitionibus et septem viciis et septem beatitudinibus, Isidore of Seville Synonyma,

⁶¹ I have found a 15th-cent. form of confession very similar to this one, but too late to include it here. The text is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Magdeb. 192, 317r–18r, a manuscript that also contains a 14th-cent. Middle Dutch form of confession.

Stephen Langton commentary on hymn "Ave maris stella,"
meditation attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Visio Sancti Pauli*,
Prophessiae Jeremiae prophetae de sacerdotibus, *Symbolum apostolorum*
(Apostles' Creed), verses on penance, commentary on Ave Maria,
tracts on Passion, Lord's Prayer, and Creed, canons on negligence
regarding Eucharist, lectionary for saints' days, two other forms of
confession (see B41, B49), notes on distances from England to
Rome, Jerusalem, Sanai, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Royal* 1:234–36, *Incipits* 0940, *MLGB* 188, Goering and
Mantello (1) 78.

B47

Confiteor tibi pater celi et terre tibi que ihesu bone et benignissime vna cum
sancto spiritu . . . quia in peccatis natus conceptus . . . Per omnia secula
seculorum. Amen.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, li.6.43, 131v–33v

England, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: ME catechism including the Commandments, seven
deadly sins, works of bodily and spiritual mercy, seven gifts of the
Holy Spirit, seven virtues, five physical and spiritual senses, and
the fifteen conditions of charity, Gospel reading from Matt. 5,

exposition of the Lord's Prayer, prayers in prose and verse, including a verse form of confession (see E13.3), hymns, mystical text describing the visions of a Cist. nun, vision of St. John of the Virgin, legend of St. Bernard and the devil; Lat. prayers and meditations attrib. Anselm of Canterbury, other prayers and hymns, including "Stabat mater," a Passion of St. Bernard, letters from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CUL 3:540–42, NIMEV 241/3, 1027/1, 1341/1, 1370/2, 1687/1, 1727/5, 1971/1, 2119/37, 2577/5, 3233/2, 3241/3.

B48

Confiteor tibi, Pater celi et terre . . .

Confessio

Dole, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92, 109r–10[r]

France, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Bonaventure meditation, treatise on the soul, another form of confession (see B50.4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°) 13:401–2.

B49

De ordine et missa attendendum est quanta sint peccata delinquentium in sacramentis uel in sacris ordinibus. Peccauit baptizando in alio liquore quam in

aqua multi feci. Item mutau i uerba multi feci . . . Ideo in tempore laboris parum laboro psalmos non dico similiter nec quando fui in infirmitorio sed semper quero ocium uel uanas uagaciones.

De ordine et missa [for a priest's confession]

London, British Library, Royal 8.C.vii, 77v–79r

England, 15th cent.; Ben. abbey of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire

CONTEXT: Penitentials of Alain of Lille and William of Montibus, Robert Grosseteste *Si scienter* confessional interrogatory, Innocent III *De contemptu mundi*, Thomas à Kempis *Imitatio Christi*, Hildegard of Bingen *Sciuias* excerpts, Hugh of St.-Victor *De septem petitionibus et septem uiciis et septem beatitudinibus*, Isidore of Seville *Synonyma*, Stephen Langton commentary on hymn "Ave maris stella," meditation attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, *Prophessiae Jeremiae prophetae de sacerdotibus*, *Symbolum apostolorum* (Apostles' Creed), verses on penance, commentary on Ave Maria, tracts on Passion, Lord's Prayer, and Creed, canons on negligence regarding Eucharist, lectionary for saints' days, two other forms of confession (see B41, B46), notes on distances from England to Rome, Jerusalem, Sanai, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BL Royal* 1:234–36, *MLGB* 188, Goering and Mantello (1) 78.

B50.1

Ego miser et infelix . . .

[*Beichtformel*]

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 72, 57v–59r

Germany, 15th cent.; Cist. mon. of Langheim (18th-cent. notice)

CONTEXT: Manual on John of Freiburg *Summa confessorum*, Guido de Monte Rocherii *Manipulus curatorum*, treatise on confession with decretals, *Regulae juris*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bamberg 1/1:621–22.

B50.2

Ego miser peccator . . .

Summa de penitencia qualiter se debet habere confessor et confitens in confessione. hec est forma . . .

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 106, 41r–44v

Germany, 15th cent.; Dom. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Burchard of Worms *Corrector et medicus*, Jacobus de Losanna *Compendium moralitatem*, Jacobus de Benevento *Viridarium consolationis de virtutibus et vitiis*, Albertanus Brixienensis *Summa de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, treatise on confession attrib. Bonaventure or Aquinas, ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatorum*, Hugh of St.-Cher

treatise on Mass, Cassiodorus treatise on friendship, Innocent III *De contemptu mundi*, Matthew of Cracovia treatise on frequent Communion, Bonaventure *Soliloquium* and *Incendium amoris*, St. Patrick's *Purgatory*, Hugh of St.-Victor epistle on virginity of Mary and *Liber de institutione novitiorum*, ps.-Hugh of St.-Victor *Liber de domo conscientiae aedificanda*, Bridget of Sweden *Revelations*, David of Augsburg *Formula novitiorum*, Gerardus de Vliederveen *Cordiale, Tundalus, Speculum amatorum mundi*, treatise on perfect virtue and on soul's fight against its enemies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bamberg 1/1:666–71, *Incipits* 1890, Michaud-Quantin 93.

B50.3

Ego miser et [infelix] peccator confiteor Deo . . .

Confessionale generale

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 108⁶²

Germany, 15th cent.; Dom. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: John Pecham *Oculo morali*, ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatorum*, Innocent III *De contemptu mundi*, Albertanus Brixiensis *Summa de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, Hugh of St.-Cher *Summa super*

⁶²The catalogue does not give the incipit or make clear exactly on which folios the text appears (nor does *Incipits* cite a fol. ref.). It is either *Summa de paenitentia* on fols. 286r–91r, or *Tractatus de paenitentia* on fols. 291v–302r.

canonem missae, Jacobus de Losanna *Compendium moralitatum*,
Cassiodorus treatise on friendship, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux
Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris, Burchard of
Worms *Corrector et medicus*, exposition on Canticles and on biblical
sentences, *Historia septem sapientum*, *Feniculus rosae*, treatise on
Eucharist and penance, synodal statutes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bamberg 1/1:676–78, *Incipits* 1890, Michaud-Quantin 93.

B50.4

Ego miser et peccator confiteor Deo . . .

Humilis et devota confessio et meditatio

Dole, France, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92, 105r–9r

France, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Bonaventure meditation, treatise on the soul, another
form of confession (see B48).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°)* 13:401–2, *Incipits* 1890, Michaud-Quantin 93.

B50.5

Ego miser et infelix peccator confiteor Deo . . . absolutionem et poenitentiam.

Confessionale generale

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 719, 13r–15r

Germany, 15th cent.; St. Matthew's, Trier

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Opus tripartitum* (exposition of Commandments, confessional interrogatory, and *ars moriendi*) followed by this form of confession, several other tracts by Gerson on remedy for faintheartedness, fruitful living, devotional exercises, celebrating Mass after committing sexual sin the previous night, resisting temptation, on Carthusian abstinence from meat, John Ruysbroeck tract on spiritual marriage, Johannes de Schöen defense of Ruysbroeck against Jean Gerson with Gerson's reply, Pierre D'Ailly tract on Carthusian abstinence from meat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Trier 6:58–59, *Incipits* 1890, Michaud-Quantin 93.

B50.6

Ego miser peccator confiteor deo omnipotenti etc. quod hew miser peccavi in omni vita . . . quod vero contra solum timorem agitur conscientie peccato non inputatur.

Confessio compendiosa

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 690, 305v–[6r]

Germany, 1478/1486; West Bavaria: owned by frater Urbanus Currificis de Kauffpeyren from Ben. mon. of St. Peter in Wessofontani (Wessobrun)

CONTEXT: David of Augsburg *Formula novitiorum, glossarium*, commentary on and translation into German of difficult words

from the lectionary, treatise on grammar, tracts on Passion, devotion, Creed, Canon of Mass, preparation for Mass, sermons on monastic life, meditation on the Passion and Commandments, mnemonic verse on syllabus of catechism, form of confession in German (in which Urbanus Currificis names himself), sayings and notes.

*BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 5/4:421–32.*⁶³

B51

In conspectu dei omnipotentis et omnia videntis et beate marie et omni angelorum et sanctorum confiteor me miserum reum et indignum peccatorem . . . Ideo precor beatam virginem mariam et omnes sanctos dei et te pater orare pro me.⁶⁴

Confessio

London, British Library, Sloane 982, 118r–20v

England, 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Excerpts from St. Bridget Revelations, a hundred

⁶³ A note in the catalogue refers to another text of this confession as being in Clm 4783, fols. 138v–52v, but no incipit is given in the entry for this MS.

⁶⁴ This form of confession may draw on Robert Grosseteste's form of confession found in his *Speculum confessionis* (see B1b.2). It begins in the same way as the confession proper in Grosseteste's text. See the edition in Goering and Mantello (3), lines 37 ff.

extracts on the Passion; ME tract on cleanness of soul, prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Sloane unpub. 191, BL Sloane 25, Incipits 2528.

B52

Venerabilis pater Ego confiteor omnia peccata mea cum quibus cottidie offendo deum pa[trem] et in hoc quod ego non rego me sicut homo religiosus qui debet se regere ad omniam quae spectant . . . non curavi personam [cuius] esset condicionis et vite.

De ordinationis essentialibus votis

London, British Library, Add. 22086, 49v–50v

Provenance uncertain; Germany? 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Laurence of Dacia Stella clericorum, Ars moriendi, decretal extracts, treatise on Seven Hours of the Passion, meditation and prayers to Christ (Lat. and Germ.), liturgical calendar, astrological notes (Lat. and Germ.), tracts on sins and penance, confessional interrogatory, and another form of confession (see B23.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Add. MSS 1854–1875 1:585–86, Incipits 1895.

B53

[Incipit unavailable]⁶⁵

[*Beichtspiegel*]

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 111, 122r–[23r]

Germany, 15th cent.; Dombibliothek (cath. library) of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Liturgical book, including liturgical calendar, prayers,
etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bamberg* 1/1:258–59.

B54

Confiteor deo et beatae Mariae regine et omnibus sanctis et vobis, pater, quia
peccavi . . .

[Among prayers under rubric] *Variae orationes, meditationes, aliaque ad vitam
contemplativam spectantia*

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. q. 125, 71v–72r

Germany, mid-15th cent.; Würzburg, Carth. mon. of St. Stephen

CONTEXT: Collection of prayers (many ps.-Augustine), ps.-
Augustine soliloquy of a soul to God, excerpts from church fathers,
treatise on Passion.

⁶⁵ While the Bamberg catalogue does not supply an incipit for the text, it describes this text as enumerating sins of the heart, mouth, etc., and ending on death and original sin.

B55

Confiteor deo omnipotenti, beate Marie virgini, beato Michaheli archangelo . . . et vobis, patri, qui tenetis locum dei, at primo me reddo culpabilem . . . absolvere et orare pro me misero peccatore. amen. Peccavi in octo felicitatibus . . . peccavi in duodecim articulis fidei . . . penitet me. etc.

[*Formula confitendi*]

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f. 269, 145v–50r

Germany, mid-15th cent.; eastern Franconia

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *De delictione Dei et proximi* and treatise on the Commandments, Henry of Hassia *De contractibus*, ps.-Aquinas *De vita Christi*, sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Incipits* 0932, Würzburg 4:259–60, Michaud-Quantin 90.⁶⁶

B56

Confiteor domino deo patri et filio et spiritui sancto omnipotenti et sancte Marie matri dei . . . omnia peccata mea que feci a die qua fui baptizatus . . . defende deus hic et in futuro cum electis tuis qui es benedictus in secula seculorum.
Amen.

⁶⁶ *Incipits* reports the incipit in slightly different wording from the Würzburg catalogue.

Prol. Ante missam dic hanc oracionem [granting indulgences of 20,000 years for venial sins and 10,000 for mortal sins!]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 321, 53r–v⁶⁷

England, mid-15th cent.

CONTEXT: ps.-Augustine Speculum peccatoris, Robert Grosseteste De penis purgatorii, Richard Rolle De Dei misericordia, Augustine sermons, Thomas à Kempis Imitatio Christi (excerpts), ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux De interiori domo, William of Remington meditation, prayers with indulgences, sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dublin Trin. Coll. 1:651–59.

B57.1

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate Marie virgini beato Benedicto . . . me graviter pecasse per superbiam in lege dei . . . [text incomplete]

Formula confessionis

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, qu. Cod 46, 122r–v

Germany, ca. 1457; Augsburg; scribe Georgius Somervelt, Ben. mon. of St.

Ulrich and St. Afra

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar Modus confitendi (see B24.41),

⁶⁷ This confession is among several prayers with indulgences, and as such (it is called an *oratio* and not a *confessio*) is most likely a general prayer that does not include avowals of specific types of sin.

Rufinus *Historia monachorum* excerpt, Smaragdus *Diadema monachorum* excerpt, commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Bartholomew of Pisa *Summa de casibus conscientiae* excerpt, Peter the Deacon *De inventione corporis S. Benedicti* excerpt, Franciscus Castellensis *De monacho ad exemplum Christi crucifixo*, *De ingressu religionis*, and *Libellus epistolaris quaestionum regularium de vita sanctimonialium virginum*, Hugo de Folieto *De claustro animae* excerpt, Jerome commentary on the Book of Proverbs, Haimo of Auxerre sermon, Haimo of Halberstadt homily, William of Tournai *Flores Bernardi* excerpt, glossed Benedictine Rule, commentary on Benedictine Rule, letter of Abbot Theodemar of Monte Cassino to Charlemagne, several official letters from various popes concerning the abbey of Monte Cassino, statutes of Innocent IV on the reform of the Benedictine Order, papal bulls, catalogue of abbey library by Georgius Somervelt, a life of Saint Prisca, a form for petitioning to enter the Benedictine Order, tract and sermons on the dedication of a church, an order for Mass, another form of confession (see B57.2); OHG form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Augsburg 82–89, MM Augsburg quart. Cod. 46, art. 1.10.

B57.2

Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate Marie virgini beato Benedicto . . . me graviter
pecasse per superbiam in lege dei . . . et peto absolucionem propter deum.

Formula confessionis

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, qu. Cod 46, 156v–57v

Germany, ca. 1457; Augsburg; scribe Georgius Somervelt, Ben. mon. of St.

Ulrich and St. Afra

CONTEXT: Andreas de Escobar *Modus confitendi* (see B24.41),
Rufinus *Historia monachorum* excerpt, Smaragdus *Diadema
monachorum* excerpt, commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*,
Bartholomew of Pisa *Summa de casibus conscientiae* excerpt, Peter the
Deacon *De inventione corporis S. Benedicti* excerpt, Franciscus
Castellensis *De monacho ad exemplum Christi crucifixo*, *De ingressu
religionis*, and *Libellus epistolaris quaestionum regularium de vita
sanctimonialium virginum*, Hugo de Folieto *De claustro animae*
excerpt, Jerome commentary on the Book of Proverbs, Haimo of
Auxerre sermon, Haimo of Halberstadt homily, William of Tournai
Flores Bernardi excerpt, glossed Benedictine Rule, commentary on
Benedictine Rule, letter of Abbot Theodemar of Monte Cassino to
Charlemagne, several official letters from various popes concerning

the abbey of Monte Cassino, statutes of Innocent IV on the reform of the Benedictine Order, papal bulls, catalogue of abbey library by Georgius Somervelt, a life of Saint Prisca, a form for petitioning to enter the Benedictine Order, tract and sermons on the dedication of a church, an order for Mass, another form of confession (see B57.1); OHG form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Augsburg 82–89.

B58

Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie semper uirgini, beato Francisco et omnibus sanctis . . . et peto misericordiam et absolutionem a domino deo et a uobis patres. Amen.

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 90.1, 29r–v

Italy, 1456–1469; Umbria, Fran. compendium; northern scribe friar

Wolfgang of Austria; part of MS written for Antonio da Viterbo of Fran. convent of Santa Maria del Paradiso in Viterbo

CONTEXT: Ps.-Augustine Speculum animae, Augustine sermons, Augustine De triplici habitaculo liber I, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux Epistola de gubernatione rei familiaris, ps.-Bonaventure Stimulus amoris, Bonaventure Epistola viginti quinque memorialium and De triplici via, Haymo of Faversham Ordinatio misse, compendium of

reform decrees of Fran. Chapter General of 1430 followed by
Constitutiones familiae by the Chapter General of Osimo in 1461,
treatise on vices and virtues, tracts on confession, penitential
canons, list of reserved cases of papal excommunication,
florilegium of excerpts on the Mass, biblical quotations, glossary of
legal abbreviations, topically arranged excerpts from classical
authors, church fathers, and humanists, excerpts from tragedies of
Seneca, Lucan, Boethius, and Ovid; Ital.: extracts from Dante *Divine
Comedy*, Antonio de Massa *Regola e uite degli amatori di Iesu Cristo*,
Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Newberry 166–69.

B59

Confiteor deo patri beatissime virgini Marie sancto Kiliano omnibus sanctis et
vobis omnia peccata mea . . .

Modus confitendi

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28460, 87r–103r

Germany, 1450–1500; Carth. mon. of Buxheim

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl *De dilectione Dei et proximi* and *De
decem praeceptis decalogi*, Matthew of Cracovia *De modo confitendi et
de puritate conscientiae*, tract on administering penance to the dying,

and a short form of confession that follows the *Modus confitendi* (see B60).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/8:290–91.

B60

Confiteor omnipotenti deo . . . sancto Kyliano . . . et vobis quod nimium peccavi .
. . . quod dies indulgentiarum per te habendi relaxent tibi dies penitencie
iniunctos [followed by absolution].

Confessio generalis

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28460, 103r–4r

Germany, 1450–1500; Carth. mon. of Buxheim

CONTEXT: Nicholas Dinkelsbühl De dilectione Dei et proximi and De decem praeceptis decalogi, Matthew of Cracovia De modo confitendi et de puritate conscientiae, tract on administering penance to the dying, and a long form of confession preceding the Confessio generalis (see B59).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munich Bay. Staat. 4/8:290–91.

B61

Quoniam omni homini penitenti . . .

Confessio generalis Episcopi megorensis

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. lat. 362, 82r–84r

Germany, 1460–1500; Möchern, Prussian prov. of Saxony

CONTEXT: Aquinas questions on confession and penance with papal and episcopal cases, and tracts on articles of faith, sacraments, John Chrysostom tracts, Henry of Hassia excerpts, Bernard of Clairvaux *Speculum* and letters, Nicholas of Cusa letters, Herman of Westphalia *Speculum sacerdotum*, Basil tract on discipline, Hugh of St.-Victor tract on Canticles, lectionary for saints' days, tracts on Eucharist, vices and virtues, and Mass, meditations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bibl. Apos. Pal. lat.* 95–98, *Incipits* 4991.

B62

Confiteor tibi domine deus omnia peccata mea que feci . . .

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4662, 190r–97[v]

Germany, ca. 1500; Ben. mon. of Benediktbeuren, Bavaria

CONTEXT: prayers, meditation on Passion, calendar of dioc. of Augsburg, Little Office of BVM, Office of Dead, penitential psalms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Munich Bay. Staat. series nova* 3/1:306–9.

B63

Pater venerabilis ego reddo me culpabilem . . . saluare animam meam. Ideo precor . . .

Confessio bona et ualde salutifera

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 225, 125r–34v

Germany, 1503–1509; Carm. mon. of Bamberg

CONTEXT: Raymund of Pennafort *Summula*, Andreas de Escobar *Modus confitendi* (see B24.64), Antonio de Butrio treatise on confession, Johannis Bacon history of Carm. order, Albertus Magnus *Paradisus animae*, *Ars moriendi*, *Miraculum de morte Guidonis* (Guido of Cortona?), tracts on the Mass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bamberg 1/1:805–7, *Incipits* 3745, Michaud-Quantin 93.

B64

Benedicite pater. Confiteor Deo, etc. Primo confiteor de peccato superbie . . . et secundum illud se accusare humiliter et breviter, sine magna narratione verborum sine causa. Deo gratias.

Jean Gerson, *Modus brevis et utilis confitendi de defectibus et peccatis quotidianis*

Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 342, 95r–97r

France, end 15th–beg. 16th cent.; frere Pierre Gringnon (owner?)

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson treatises on Carthusians, excommunication, advice on hearing confession of religious, and on resolving irregular cases, Bernard of Clairvaux tract on religious life and meditation on Virgin attributed to him, Radulpho de Porta

tract on doctrine, treatise on redemption attrib. Anselm of
Canterbury, fifteen ways to serve God in the spiritual life, many
prayers in prose and verse, sermons on Annunciation and
Crucifixion, meditations, tracts on the cross, devotions, seven
deadly sins, and confession, exposition of Lord's Prayer, order of
Mass in Roman Use, indulgence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Glorieux 9:84–86; Glorieux 9:x, *Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°)* 27:254–62.

B65

Ego horrendissimus peccator reus et conscius omnium malorum meorum
confiteor omnipotenti Deo . . . Explicit confessio generalis sive credo generale
cum suis exhortationibus.

Confessio generalis vere contritum mundans ab omni culpa

København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1591 4to, 157r–61r

Germany, beg. 16th cent.; Ben. mon. of St. John in Cismar, Prussian prov.
of Schleswig-Holstein

CONTEXT: *Speculum monachorum*, *Dicta patrum*, prayers, rules for
cloister life, patristic sermons on monastic obedience, charity, etc.,
commentary on Ben. Rule.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *København* 92, *Incipits* 1889.

B66

Confiteor deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater Quia peccaui nimis
in uita mea . . . et orare pro me peccatorem.

Confessio generalis

Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Oct. 56, 185r–88r

Germany, 1500–1550; Erfurt, Carth. mon. of Salvatorberg

CONTEXT: Henricus de Bitterfeld *De horis canonicis*, Henricus de Calcar meditation on the Passion, Ekbert de Schönau *Stimulus amoris*, Gerardus de Vliedervoven *Cordiale sive de quattuor novissimis*, Guigo Cartusianus *Scala claustralium*, Peter Damian *Dominus vobiscum*, ps.–Bernard of Clairvaux meditation and tract on charity, Richard of St-Victor *Benjamin minor*, Hugo de Folieto *De clauastro animae*, commentary on John of Paris *Librum complexionum*, book 1 of *Mensa philosophica*, prayers, several patristic florilegia on monastic life, poems on monastic life, notes on celebrating the Eucharist, medicinal recipes, notes on dealing with a plague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Anna Amalia Bib.* 317–25.

B67

O Creator et Domine celi et terre . . .

Sequitur modus confitendi ordinis S. Benedicti

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 180, 27r-[45r]

Germany, 16th cent.; Ben. abbey of St. Michael, Bamberg

CONTEXT: Lat. and German prayers, dietary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bamberg* 1/1:332, *Incipits* 3520, Michaud-Quantin 93.

C. French and Anglo-Norman Forms of Confession, 1200–1500

C1

Jeo me rend cupable a nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist et a nostre dame sainte Marie
et a tuz les seinz Deu e seintes de tuz les pecchez ke jeo ai fet pus ke jeo fu né
deske ore . . .

*Ici commence la manere de confesser. Benedicite Dominus. In nomine Patris et Filii et
Spiritus sancti*

[*Formule de confession*]

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.45, 6–7

England, 1248–1300; Anglo-Norman, Cerne, Dorset, Ben. abbey of St.

Mary, St. Peter, and St. Ethelwold

CONTEXT: Prayers in AN, ME, and Lat.; Lat. verses on the
Crucifixion, cross, enigmatic, proverbial, and satiric topics, on
clerics, monks, and magistrates; Lat. treatises on mathematics,
astronomy, physiognomy, and computus, liturgical calendar; AN
goliardic poems of Walter Map, prose stories and satires, collection
of proverbs and misc. verses (some in ME).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Camb. Trin. 3:150–60, Sinclair 3006, *GRLMA* 6/2:252, *MLGB* 49,
Meyer (3) 110, Vising 168.

C2.1

Hieu fortz peccayre e non digne fau ma cofessio à dieu nostre senhor et a
madona sancta Maria et a totz lo sans e la sanctas de paradis, et a vos, cars payres
esperitals . . . So son los angels els archangels, las vertutz, las potestatz, las
dominatios . . . e sobrietatz la trinitatz. Amen.¹

Aysso es la cofessio et en cal manyeyra deu hom cofessar sos peccatz e sos falhimens

[*Beichtformel*]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1745, 143r–46r

France, 13th cent.; dioc. of Agde, Provençal

CONTEXT: Frère Laurent d'Orleans, confessor to King Philip III

Somme des vices et vertus (or *Somme le roi*), verse Passion, seven
sorrows and seven joys of the Virgin, ten pains of hell, fifteen signs
of Doomsday, tract on contrition, hymns to Virgin, verse life of St.
Alexi, Psalm 108 in verse, liturgical calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Suchier (1) 98–106, 517–18; *BN cat. gén. fr. (1)* 1:302–3,

GRLMA 6/2:236, Brunel 154.

¹ The text presents avowals of the five corporal senses, Commandments, sacraments, works of corporal and spiritual mercy, twelve article of the faith, seven criminal sins, seven deadly sins, and cardinal and theological virtues.

C2.2

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi amen. Eu fort peccaire e non dignes fas ma colpa e ma confession a dieu nostre senhor . . . E a vos, car paire, me ren cofes e colpables dels peccatz . . . Senher dieus, perdona me mos peccatz e mos fallimens. Amen.

Hec est confessio generalis, quam debet facere quilibet fidelis semel vel bis in anno et maxime in articulo mortis

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 11795, 168r–74r

France, ca. 1282; Provençal, Montpellier

CONTEXT: Customary of Montpellier with various records related to the administration of the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Suchier (2) 425–35; *BN cat. gén. fr.* (2) 2:390, *GRLMA* 6/2:2364, Brunel 177.

C3

Je regehi[s] al tout poissant Deu et a la bien aourouse Virgine sa mere . . .

Kant on doit faire general confession

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 288, 1r–2r

Belgium, 13th cent.; Liège

CONTEXT: Hours associated with Lambert le Bègue in Use of Liège.

C4

Sire, je me fais confès à Dieu et à mademme sainte Marie et à touz sainz et à toutes saintes . . . Mès de touz ceus que j'ai faiz et que j'ai obliéz je m'en rent confès et coupables, sire Diex, moie coulpe, etc.

Modus confitendi [Formule de confession]

Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 265 (III), 125v

[France], 13th cent.

CONTEXT: Jean de Cornouailles *Eulogium*, quaestio on the Eucharist.²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Arsenal* 1:151–53, GRLMA 6/2:268, Sonet 2033.

C5

Io me faz confes a deu e a nostre dame seinte Marie et a tuz seins e a vus pere ke io par me mauveite ai mut pecche e offendu mon creatour e trespasse ses comaundemenz. Io ai mut pecche en penser, en parole e en fet.³

² Arsenal 265 is comprised of three different MSS bound together. The form of confession is in the third MS along with the other contents listed above.

³ Despite being only the beginning of a French form of confession cited within a Latin form of confession by Robert Grosseteste, this text is included here as an example of how one of the most influential theologians of pastoral care recommends beginning a form of confession in the French language. Grosseteste in this Latin confession emphasizes that confession should be made in one's familiar native language rather than in Latin. Even though this form of confession is in Latin, to be used for an examination of conscience prior to making confession, "Confessio autem facienda est gallice uel ydiomate magis noto" (fol. 187v), he says, with the

From Robert Grosseteste, *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata* (1235–53)

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 499, 187v

England, 1250–1300; Grosseteste's name is frequently mentioned in MS;
compiler from Grosseteste household or circle; Anglo-Norman, from
Whalley Abbey (Cist.), Hailes, Gloucestershire

CONTEXT: This complete text serves as an example of the beginning of a vernacular form of confession inserted in the text of Grosseteste's *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata*, a Latin form of confession (see B3b), and is part of a miscellany of verse and prose: Lat. collection of notes and extracts largely on theological topics, including material from Gregory *Dialogues*, Peter Comestor, ps.-Augustine on the Trinity, heresy, etc., history of the cross, epitome of Bible history, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, tract on vices and virtues, list of sermon texts for feast days, commentary on Matthew, saints' lives; Lat. and ME verses, exempla, miracle tales, sermons, verse on Virgin, meditation on Virgin, Grosseteste decretals, administrative pieces on electing prelates, admitting novices, settling disputes, etc., official letters.

recommendation that it begin as the French passage shows ("hec enim sunt prima uerba"). The passage is valuable for indicating that the practice of articulating one's most intimate experience of sin to a priest is best done in the language with which one is most familiar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Thomson 155, Goering and Mantello (2); *Lam. Pal.* 691–701,
Sinclair 3003, *GRLMA* 6/2:260.

C6.1

A deu tut puissant e totes choses ueant e a ma dame seinte marie e a tu3 sein3 e a
vos pere espirituel Ieo regehis. Ieo ai greument pecche par ceo les cinc sens de
moun cors . . . ne dit fors generaument ne fet pas issi.

Coment homme se doit confesser de sa ueue

From *La Compileison de seinte penance* (composed 1257–74) , part 3, subpart 3⁴

Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.7, 67rb–68vb⁵

⁴ I thank Siegfried Wenzel for pointing out this embedded confession formula to me and for generously sharing his microfilm of the Trinity College MS; he is probably the only person who knew of this very hard-to-find material in a treatise that has received very little attention. The *Compileison de seinte penance* (fols. 36r–111v) is a long treatise addressed to an audience of religious, while being broad enough to be used by the laity as well. The treatise discusses the full range of teaching on the sacrament of confession, including, for example, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, the fourteen conditions of a good confession, hindrances to fulfilling penance, penances for religious, and purgatory. This treatise is the second in a larger project of compilation, known generally as the *Compileison*, that also includes treatises on the deadly sins, Commandments, the pains of purgatory, and the religious life. The treatise on confession is by far the longest of the five and comprises about one-half of the *Compileison*. The *Compileison* has been identified as a French expansion of the *Ancrene Riwe*, and the embedded form of confession catalogued here is part of this expansion and not in the *Riwe*. This copy was written by a professional scribe in a double-column format, organized in the scholastic manner, and illustrated marginally with animal and human forms.

⁵ This embedded confessional formula occurs in part 3 (on confession) of this treatise on penance, and in subpart 3 on how religious ought to confess (“nus mustre especiaument coment e de queus choses gent de religion se deuiet confesser,” fols. 64rb–72vb). This section begins in the expository mode explaining how to conduct one’s confession, then switches to first-person confession mode when the writer presents the kinds of sins to be confessed, according to the five senses, seven deadly sins, and sins against the sacraments. This intervening model confession is given only for the five senses (fols. 67rb–68vb); with the deadly sins and sacraments, the author reverts to the expository mode, listing all the species of sins in each schema. The author seems to have felt there was need to demonstrate the process only once,

England, 1272–1322; Anglo-Norman, cath. priory of Norwich; written for religious

CONTEXT: A compilation known generally as the *Compileison* (made up of five treatises on the seven deadly sins, confession, the Commandments, the pains of purgatory, and the religious life), the Apostles' Creed in Latin with French trans. and commentary, and French commentary on the Lord's Prayer. A later addition of the 16th cent. includes a brief chronicle of England in Latin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Camb. Trin.* 2:289–91, Trethewey xii–xiv, xviii–xxv, Newhauser 537, 568–69, Allen 193–212.

C6.2

[Incipit unavailable]

From *La Compileison de seinte penance*, part 3, subpart 3

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 6276

after which readers could then apply the model on their own. In addition, preceding this embedded confession a bit earlier in this section, the expository mode shifts momentarily to first-person confession mode: “E diez: Deus mea culpa, ceo est, deu, la moie coupe. Ieo ai pecche. Merci vos en ti sire deu par uostre douce pite” (fol. 66va); and then again shifts into a very brief model for making confession (fol. 66vb): “ieo ai pecche par me cinc sens, par omission de bien, par comission de mal. Ieo ai pecche encountre ma reule, encountre ma profession, encountre constitucions, e encountre les amonitions de mes souereins, de ces pecchez e de quanque ieo ai pecche encountre la uolunte deu e encountre le salu de ma alme ou corporaument ou espiritaument, ieo me rend, e si me regehis coupables a dampne deu et a vous, e si requer uostre absolucion, e ma penance.” The penitent is then directed to say the *Confiteor* immediately following the confession (“tantost apres ceo, si dites uostre general confiteor”) and then to ask the confessor for absolution.

England, late 13th–early 14th cent.

CONTEXT: *Compileison*, the Apostles' Creed, commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BN cat. gén. fr. (2)* 1:18, Trethewey xiv–xv, xviii–xxv, Allen 193–212, Thomas 2:586–98, Bryan and Dempster 726–28, 745–58.

C7.1

A deu et a ma dame seinte marie et a touz les seins noustre seignour. et a vous pere esperitel me reng coupable. de quant qui ieo ay pecche. en penser. en parole. en fest . . . de touz mes pecches requer merci et pardoun. et de vous pere esperitel absolusioun.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, 7r–8v

England, 1272–1282; Anglo-Norman; dioc. of Worcester; probably copied by Richard de Grimhill II for his own use, then owned by the Underhill family, and later by Thomas Allen in the 16th cent.

CONTEXT: Lat., AN, ME miscellany: Lat. Theophilus *De diversis artibus* (medico-botanical treatise), recipes, tract on interpretation of dreams, fifteen signs of Doomsday, Gradual Psalms, Penitential Psalms, liturgical calendar, directions for calculating movable feasts, songs, prayers, and devotions; AN tracts on deadly sins, confession, Commandments, twelve articles of faith, and

sacraments (followed by form of confession), *Letters of Hippocrates*,
Letter of Prester John, prayers, tract on hunting birds, trans. Petrus
Alphonsus *Disciplina clericalis*, Guischart de Beaulieu *Le sermon du*
siècle, religious and other lyrics, lais, fables, romances, excerpt from
Robert Grosseteste *Chasteau d'amour* on Four Daughters of God,
L'Assumption de Nostre Dame attrib. Hermann Valenciennes, moral
and courtly instruction, miracles of St. Nicholas; AN and Lat.
prayers, charms, and prognostications, *Veni Creator Spiritus*; ME
verse on harrowing of hell, fifteen signs of Doomsday, life of St.
Eustace, sayings attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vision of St. Paul*,
religious and secular lyrics, *Fox and Wolf*, *Dame Sirith*, *The Thrush*
and the Nightingale, proverbs, charms, five joys of the Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Facsimile ed. Tschann and Parkes 7r–8v; Tschann and Parkes
xi–xxxviii and lvi–lx, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 1687, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 9:91–97, *Illum.*
MSS Bodl. 3:470, Sinclair 2387, *MLGB* 215, Watson *Dated MSS Oxf.* no. 422,
GRLMA 6/2:232, Vising 168, Bloomfield 170 and 387–88 n. 107, Stengel
Abhandlung 3.

C7.2

A deu e a madame seynte marie e a tuz les seynz deu e a vus, pere espirital, de
tuz les pechiez, ke ay fait, me renc culpable . . . e cri merci devant deu e sa

treschere mere e tuz les seynz del ciel, e devant vus, pere espirital, de tuz mes
pecchiez requer merci e pardun e de vus, prestre, absolucion. Misereatur, etc.

[*Beichtformeln*]

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522, 145r–49v

England, late 13th–early 14th cent.; Anglo-Norman, Canterbury, St.

Augustine’s Abbey (Ben.)

CONTEXT: Robert Grosseteste *Chateau d’amour*, verse *Gospel of Nicodemus*, verse meditations and prayers to Virgin, exposition of Commandments, collection of prose prayers interspersed with poems on death, Passion, the world, fifteen signs of Doomsday, the two advents, name of Jesus, sin and repentance, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lam. Pal.* 715–23, *MLGB* 45, Sinclair 2387, *GRLMA* 6/2:232, Vising 168, Reinsch 64.

C8

Io me reng cupable a deu e a ma dame seinte marie e a tu3 sain3 e tutes saintes e
a vus pere de quant que io ai peche en pensers en paroles e en fet . . . deuant deu
e deuant sa benaite mere e tu3 sain3 e tute saintes el num del pere e del fi3 e del
seint espirit de tu3 mes pechez demand merci e pardun e de vus pere espirital
absoluciun. Amen.

[*Formulaire de confession*]

London, British Library, Add. 30508, 191ra–93ra

England, late 13th cent.; Anglo-Norman, in 15th cent. connected to Yorkshire; owners Agnes Winterseth (late 14th cent.) and John Cay (15th cent.)

CONTEXT: Lat. tracts on articles of faith, Lord's Prayer, Commandments, sacraments, vices and virtues, and confession; AN tracts on moral and canonical offences, matrimony, consanguinity, and points of casuistry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sinclair 3004, *BL Add. 1876–1881* 85, Bouly de Lesdain 50.

C9

Sire, je di me coupe à Dieu et a me dame sainte Marie et a tous chiaus sains et a toutes saintez et a vous, de quanques, je me suis mesfais envers Dieu et envers mon ordre des l'eure que je fui nés . . .

[*Traduction de confiteor; confiteor développé*]

Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 83, 106v–7v

[France], late 13th cent.

CONTEXT: Maurice de Sully sermons, exposition of Lord's Prayer, histories of John the Baptist and of Barlaam and Josaphat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt (8^o)* 25:28, *GRLMA* 6/2:264, Sonet 2030.

C10

Je reiehi3 a nostre seigneur ihesu crist et a madame sainte marie et a tou3 sain3
et a toutes saintes et a vous sires prestres . . . Et si en pri la glorieuse vierge mere
nostre seigneur iehsu crist et tou3 sains et toutes saintes et vous sire prestres que
vous en deprie3 nostre seigneur que il ait pitie et merci de moi. Amen.

Ci fenist la confession des vii pechiez mortie3 et des branches qui en issent

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fr. f. 1, 103v–5v

[France], ca. 1300

CONTEXT: Lord's Prayer in prose and verse, Creed, Ave Maria,

Commandments, prayers to Virgin, treatise on deadly sins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 32220, Réseau R334.

C11

Jeo me renc cupable a nostre Seignur Deu . . .

Edinburgh, University Library, MS 107 (formerly Laing 50), 166v

England, late 13th–14th cent.; Anglo-Norman

CONTEXT: Innocent III *De contemptu mundi*, Robert Grosseteste *Si*

scienter confessional interrogatory, other *quaestiones*, Martin of

Braga *Formula vitae honestae*, Hugo de Folieto *De claustro animae*

book 2, anon. *Summa de confessione*, form of confession (see B6),

verses on monastic abuses, miraculous tales, Invention of the True

Cross from *Legenda Aurea*, penitential poem *Peniteas cito*, short accounts of martyrdoms, Decalogue in Lat. and MF, tract on penance, tract on contrition attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, meditation on Lord's Prayer; MF Commandments, articles of faith, sacraments, seven deadly sins; calculations for dates of Easter in Lat. and ME, five meditations from Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Edinburgh* 168–70, Sinclair 3005.

C12

Jeo me rend coupable a nostre seignur ihesu crist e al seint esprit treis persons e vn dieu en trinite. E a nostre dame seinte marie pucele e mere ihesu crist et a tu3 seinz e a seinte eglise. E a uers mon espiritel pere e cri merci . . . e a vous mon pere espiritel me rend coupable e de ceo demand venie ou pardoun.⁶

Confessio

Cambridge, University Library, Gg.1.1, 628r–29r

England, 1300–1307; Anglo-Norman

CONTEXT: *Manuel des pechez*, miracles of Virgin, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, treatise on seventeen points for a good confession, tract on fifteen signs of Doomsday, several romances, many religious lyrics (many on the Virgin), metrical homilies, verse

⁶The text is followed by a Latin form of absolution.

Penitential Psalms, proverbs, Peter Langtoft's chronicle, abridged
Brut chronicle to Edward I, tract on physiognomy,
prognostications; ME verse proverbs; Lat. confessional
interrogatory, exposition of Lord's Prayer, patristic excerpts, tracts
on baptism, body of Christ, Mass, perjury, sacraments, dreams,
rules for interpretation of dreams, joys of heaven, reception of
medicine, and state of man. Many illuminations in the MS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CUL 3:1–8, Sinclair 3007, Meyer (2) 340, Vising 168.

C13

Je me ran confes a la benoite trinite lou pere lou fil lou saint esperit . . . reuoi le
durez au deuble. Amen.

[*Formule de confession*]

London, British Library, Add. 15606, 158ra–59vb

France, beg. 14th cent.; Burgundian dialect

CONTEXT: Verse *Vision of St. Paul*, *Cato Distichs*, verse and prose
tracts on vices, temptations, and Judgment Day, calendar of saints'
days, religious verse, Penitential Psalms in verse, hymns to Virgin
and Christ, life of St. Denys of Paris, verse romance of William the
Conqueror, liturgical calendar; Lat. Gloria and Creed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Add. MSS 1845 32–33, Meyer (1) 603, Sonet 818, GRLMA

6/2:248.

C14

Je me confesse a dieu et a la uirge marie et a touz sains et a toutes saintes et a uous sire peres . . . Lassolacion et le pardon que nostre sires donna a marie magdalaine nous uuilli donner et otroier a touz et a toutes. Amen.

Confessio peccatorum multum proluxa

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. lat. 315, 23ra–24rb

France, 14th cent.

CONTEXT: Lat. Litany of saints, Bartholomew of Moiliens *Miserere* in verse; MF Hours of Virgin, prayers for various occasions, Ave Maria, Creed, Penitential Psalms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Vatic. Bibl. Apos.* 2:193–99, Sinclair 4511, VFL 5582.

C15

Je me confesse a Dieu et a nostre dame sainte Marie et a vous qui estez en lieu de nostre Seignour . . .

[*Formule de confession*]

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1375, 44v–45r

France, 14th cent.; Jumièges

CONTEXT: Form of confession added in 14th cent. to 13th-cent.

Jumièges Psalter; Lat. lives of church fathers (11th–12th cent.).

C16

Je me confesse a nostre Seignour Jhesu Crist et a sa benoite sainte mere, ma dame sainte Marie, virgene gloriouse royne et dame de misericorde, et a tous sains et a tous saintes, et a vous, beau pere, que je ay por orguel peché mortelment et venialment . . . Porquei je sus douloureux et repenty et demande pardon a Dieu et a vous, pere.⁷

La confession generale des pechés mortieus, et tout premier d'orguel et des pechés mortieus quy issent de superbe d'orguel

Catania, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ventimiliana 42, 27r–39r

Cyprus, 14th cent.; Cyprus, or kingdom of Jerusalem

CONTEXT: Maurice de Sully paraphrase of Lord's Prayer, questions on the Catholic faith attrib. Aquinas, Giordano Ruffo

Traité d'hippiatrique, Proverbs of Salomon, Vision of St. Paul,

Athanasian Creed, Nunc dimittis, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Brayer (2) 173–98; Brayer (2) 155–60, *Inventari* 20:155.

C17

Je te pri sire tres debonnaire par les proieres par les resquestes et par les passions

⁷ This lengthy confession follows closely the seven deadly sins and ten sins of the tongue as treated in the *Somme le roi* by Frère Laurent d'Orléans.

et par les suffrages de touz les sains anges . . .

Quant tu te vourras confessier tu diras cette oroison

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. lat. 315, 14r

France, 14th cent.; dioc. of Troyes

CONTEXT: Lat. Litany of saints, Bartholomew of Moiliens *Miserere*

in verse; MF Hours of Virgin, prayers for various occasions, Ave

Maria, Creed, Penitential Psalms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Vatic. Bibl. Apos.* 2:193–99, Sinclair 3028, VFL 5582.

C18

Douce sire ihesu qestes soul esperaunce de ma vie et de ma saluacion voiles vi
ceo iour receiure ma confession . . . qe ieo puisse vostre seint corps et vostre
precieuse saunk dignement et nettement receiure deuaunt ma mort et uenir a la
ioie pardurable. Amen.⁸

London, British Library, Add. 44949, 18r–19r

England, mid-14th cent.; Anglo-Norman, northern England, secular use

CONTEXT: Prayers in verse and prose, among which this

confession is a prayer to Christ, poem on the Mass; Lat. liturgical

calendar, psalter, Canticles (with AN trans.), Athanasian Creed

⁸This is a brief confession mentioning the Commandments, seven deadly sins, the works of mercy, and other miscellaneous sins.

(with AN trans.), *Litany*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Långfors 108–9; Långfors 100–123, *BL Add. MSS 1936–1945* 53–55, Sinclair 2806, *MLGB Supp.* 66.

C19.1

Tresdouz Sires Jesus Crist, ceo qe jeo par l'eide de vous pense cy enapres a
escrire, jeo vous requere, Sire, et humblement vous prie qe vous plese a moy
doner grace de ensi ceste oevre comencer et acomplir, qe ceo soit a la plesaunce
de vous et al honour de vostre douce miere et a la loenge de touz les seyntz et
seyntes de paradys . . . De celle mordure et male mort nous en garde touz Celuy
qi outre touz est tout puissant; et la mort nous tourne a la vie pardurable, a la
quel nous ameigne Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

Henry Duke of Lancaster, *Livre de seyntz medicines* (1354), part 1⁹

⁹This embedded confession is the only prose form of confession in any later medieval language that receives imaginative, literary treatment, and it is much the longest confession, filled with concrete detail often couched in Henry's own social and physical milieu. Henry presents his confession as a prayer to Christ—and, notably, not to a priest—detailing all his sins in part 1. Sins are confessed in terms of the body's senses, limbs, and organs, which are sorely wounded by sin; enumeration of the seven deadly sins is constructed in these bodily terms: "Now, Lord, if it please you, I shall show you my wounds, seven in all: The first is the ear: The second the eye: The third the nose: The fourth the mouth: The fifth the hand: The sixth the foot: The seventh the heart. Moreover, to speak in general, the whole body is a mass of wounds, and the abovementioned wounds are so full of all the seven deadly (as well as venial) sins, that I fear very greatly, except insomuch as I entrust myself to, and have confidence in, your great kindness, dear Master, that you will, if it please you, help me heal completely" (Batt's trans.; see Arnould [2] 8, lines 10–19). I thank Catherine Batt for allowing me to quote her translation in advance of its publication. At the same time, the body is also conceived of as a castle, and the senses and parts of the body as gates through which sin may enter. Then following the confession of sins proper, in part 2 of the work, Henry asks for the remedies against the sins, allegorized as healing medicaments. This overarching structure of prayer is elaborated with

Whalley, Lancashire, Stoneyhurst College, MS 24, fols. 1r–67v

England, ca. 1360; autograph ownership inscription of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the great-grandson of the author by marriage

CONTEXT: Livre de seyntz medicines occupies all of the MS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Arnould (2) vii–xv, 1–130, trans. Batt; Pantin 231–33, *MMBL* 4:394.

C19.2

Tres douz sire Jesus crist ceo qe ieo par laide de vous pense cy en apres a escrire
Jeo vous pri et requer Sire humblement qil vous plaise a moy doner grace de ensi
cest eneure comencer et accomplir . . . et la mort nous tourne a la vie pardurable,
a la quel nous ameigne Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

Henry Duke of Lancaster, *Livre de seyntz medicines*, part 1

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 218

[England or France], late 14th cent.

CONTEXT: Livre de seyntz medicines, and a Latin version of King Louis IX of France's final advise to his son made by the king's confessor, Frère Geoffroi de Beaulieu.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Arnould (2) vii–xv, 1–130, trans. Batt; Pantin 231–33, *MMBL*

many expository digressions, employing allegorical figures that illustrate various aspects of his ideas. Henry notes that he writes his book in order to know and despise himself and to seek a cure in the Master Physician.

C20.1

Sire dieu omnipotent tut pussaunt, donez moy dreite creance . . . ieo reconuise qe
ieo ai este orguillous e surquiders des biens que uous m'auetz preste . . . e uous,
piere espiritual, que uous pries pur moy que dieu eit merci de moy e me mette a
bone fin et me doint uie pardurable. Amen.

Cest confessioun fist seint robert, li euesque de nichole, de set mortels pecchez

Robert Grosseteste, *Confessioun*

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 296, pp. 59–66

England, 1350–1400; Anglo-Norman

CONTEXT: AN form of confession by Robert Grosseteste, followed
by the form of absolution (*Misereatur*) and *Confiteor*.¹⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Urtel 571–75; Sinclair 3648, Vising 169, Arnould (1) 48–49,
Thomson 155 no. 114, Bloomfield 142, 387 n. 107, 400 n. 159, Legge 222–23, 226 n.,
Michaud-Quantin 30 n. 23.

C20.2

Sire dieu omnipotent tut puissant donez moy dreite creance . . . Sire dieu ieo
reconuise qeo ieo ai este orguillous e surquiders des biens qe uous mauetz preste .

¹⁰ The volume is comprised of two separate manuscripts, one dated to the fifteenth century, which includes Pomponius Laetus's *Antiquitates urbis Romae* and Johannes Marius Philelphus's *Carmina*, and the manuscript that contains Grosseteste's *Confessioun*. The confession covers the seven deadly sins.

. . e uous piere espiritual que uous pries pur moy que dieu eit merci de moy e mette a bon fin et me doint uie pardurable. amen.

Cest confessioun fist seint roberd li eueske de nichole de set mortels pecchez

Robert Grosseteste, *Confessioun*

London, British Library, Egerton 3277, 166r–68v

England, ca. 1356–ca. 1373; London?; owned by the Bohun family and possibly made for Humphrey Bohun (either the 7th or 8th Earl of Hereford) or for Mary de Bohun, wife of Henry of Bollingbroke

CONTEXT: The Bohun Psalter and Hours in Use of Sarum (Lat. except for *Confessioun*), an illuminated Gothic MS, including a liturgical calendar, psalter, canticles, litany and prayers, Hours of the Virgin, penitential psalms, Office of the Dead, Memorials of the Apostles, and four gospel lessons. The *Confessioun* begins with a historiated initial showing Bishop Grosseteste kneeling in prayer to God, who looks down from a cloud upon Robert. The *Confessioun* is followed by the *Misereatur* and then the *Confiteor*.¹¹

¹¹ The *Misereatur* begins with a historiated initial showing the priest's hand raised with the sign of absolution above the kneeling penitent. The *Confiteor* begins with a historiated initial showing a man dressed in wealthy attire kneeling before the priest. The *Confiteor*, here adapted for use in private confession (note the polite plural address to the priest), reads: "Confiteor deo celi et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et uobis quia ego miser peccator peccaui nimis in uita mea in cogitacione locucionem dilectacionem consensu uisu uerbo et opere mea culpa mea maxima culpa ideo precor sanctam uirginem mariam et omnes sanctos et sanctas dei et uos orare pro me."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Urtel 571–75, electronic facsimile *BL Illum. MSS Egerton 3277*; Goering and Mantello (3) 257 n. 17, Watson *Dated MSS BL 1:167, BL Add. MSS 1936–1945 1:376–81, BL Illum. MSS Egerton 3277, Sinclair 3648, Vising 169, Arnould (1) 48–49, Thomson 155 no. 114, Bloomfield 142, 387 n. 107, 400 n. 159, Legge 222–23, 226 n., Michaud-Quantin 30 n. 23.¹²*

C21.1

Et le pecheur ou pecheresse doit commencer sa confession en ceste maniere: Sire, qui estes vicaire et lieutenant de Dieu, je me confesse a Dieu le tout puissant et a la benoite Vierge Marie et a tous les sains de Paradis et a vous, chier pere, de tous mes pechiez lesquels j'ay faiz en moult de manieres . . . Et a la fin doit dire: Chier pere, j'ay mespris et pechié comme j'ay dit ou pechié de luxure. Et vrayement je m'en repens, si vous en requier pardon et penitance.

From *Le Menagier de Paris* (ca. 1394), Bk. I, art. 3, par. 37–47, 54, 61, 70–74, 86, 95, 103¹³

The entire manuscript may be viewed in the British Library's online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, s.v. "Egerton 3277."

¹² This copy of Grosseteste's *Confessioun* was unknown to Thomson and Urtel; Goering and Mantello (3) first noted its existence.

¹³ I thank Siegfried Wenzel for this reference. This lengthy confession is embedded in the *Menagier de Paris*, Book I, article 3, the longest article of Book I, which contains a commentary on the Mass with devotions, explication of the conditions of a good confession, exposition of the seven deadly sins along with their confession, and exposition of the opposing virtues. Much of this draws considerably from the immensely popular *Somme le roi* (1279) by the Dominican Laurent d'Orléans, confessor to Philippe le Hardi. The author, a member of the bourgeoisie of Paris, was a wealthy older man who had recently married a fifteen-year-old bride, who was an orphan brought up in another region. He writes much as a father to a child to instruct her in managing her person and her household. The text of the form of confession

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10310–11

France, 15th cent.; Paris; features arms of Philip III, Duke of Burgundy, and belonged to the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy by 1467.

CONTEXT: Le Menagier de Paris and some devotional pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Menagier 23–39, trans. Greco and Rose 68–79, Power 68–86;

Menagier xiii–xv, xvii–lxv, Greco and Rose 1–46, Power 1–40.

C21.2

Et le pecheur ou pecheresse doit commencer sa confession en ceste maniere: Sire, qui estes vicaire et lieutenant de Dieu, je me confesse a Dieu le tout puissant et a la benoite Vierge Marie et a tous les sains de Paradis et a vous, chier pere, de tous mes pechiez lesquels j'ay faiz en moult de manieres . . . Et a la fin doit dire: Chier pere, j'ay mespris et pechié comme j'ay dit ou pechié de luxure. Et vrayement je m'en repens, si vous en requier pardon et penitance.

From *Le Menagier de Paris* (ca. 1394), Bk. I, art. 3, par. 37–103

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12477, fols. 9v–16v

France, 15th cent.; northern France or Hainaut; belonged to the library of the Dukes of Burgundy by 1467.

CONTEXT: Le Menagier de Paris, which contains an embedded

appears within the exposition of the deadly sins (par. 28–103); it is divided up and presented in various sections following the expositions (par. 37–47, 54, 61, 70–74, 86, 95, 103). This manual of instruction is remarkable for the specificity of its context as well as its detailed representation of daily life for a wealthy household in late-fourteenth-century Paris.

poem by Jehan Bruyant called *La Voie de povreté et de richesse*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Menagier* 23–39, trans. Greco and Rose 68–79, Power 68–86; *Menagier* xii–xiii, xvii–lxv, *BN cat. gén. fr. (2)* 2:540, Greco and Rose 1–46, Power 1–40.

C21.3

Et le pecheur ou pecheresse doit commencer sa confession en ceste maniere: Sire, qui estes vicaire et lieutenant de Dieu, je me confesse a Dieu le tout puissant et a la benoite Vierge Marie et a tous les sains de Paradis et a vous, chier pere, de tous mes pechiez lesquels j'ay faiz en moult de manieres . . . Et a la fin doit dire: Chier pere, j'ay mespris et pechié comme j'ay dit ou pechié de luxure. Et vrayement je m'en repens, si vous en requier pardon et penitance.

From *Le Menagier de Paris* (ca. 1394), Bk. I, art. 3, par. 37–103

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 6739

France, 1450–1485; probably owned by Marguerite de Ghisteltes, wife of Pierre (or René) de Roubais, member of the household of the Dukes of Burgundy

CONTEXT: *Le Menagier de Paris* takes up the whole MS, except for a few additional culinary recipes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Menagier* 23–39, trans. Greco and Rose 68–79, Power 68–86; *Menagier* xv–lxv, *BN cat. gén. fr. (4)* 3:36, Greco and Rose 1–46, Power 1–40.

C22

Je me confesse à Dieu le Pere tout puissant, à la benoiste Vierge Marie, á
monseigneur Saint Michel ange et archange . . . et à vous Sire vicaire et lieutenant
de Dieu, de tous les pechez que j'ay fais . . . veilliez absoudre sous la tres-grande
misericorde de nostre Siegneur à laquelle je me soumets. Ceux qui sçavent
Confiteor Deo le disent, et les aultres *Pater noster, Ave maria, Presbyter Amen.*

*Confessio generalis*¹⁴

London, British Library, Add. 43472, art. 6b, 67v–70r

France, late 14th cent.

CONTEXT: French sacramentary for dioc. of Châlons-sur-Marne.¹⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Martène 3:492–95; Martimort 83, 161, 299, 1093, *BL Add.*

¹⁴ Preceding the confession is an exhortation to confession and a set of instructions and admonitions concerning the reception of the Eucharist on Easter (Martène 3:490–92). The rubrics state that, as is stipulated by *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, before receiving the Eucharist, confession of all of one's sins must be made in one's own parish to the local priest in the French language. This detailed general confession is to be said by the penitents as a group led by the priest ("Et pource ainsi commancerons cette confession generale et tous et toutes direz aprez moy"), and the confession is made to the priest ("à vous Sire vicaire et lieutenant de Dieu"). However, as is made clear in these admonitions, saying this general confession does *not* suffice for sacramental private confession. See C27.5, C34, and C38.1 for other forms of confession with a similar communal, liturgical context; and for similar forms of confession in English, see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, D61. Also see A11 for the roots of this practice in an early medieval Romano-Germanic pontifical.

¹⁵ Nicole Lemaître, 197–200, 207, has identified several sixteenth-century northern French sacramentaries containing this general confession to be said by parishes in French on Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, or Easter Day. Also see Martimort nos. 161 and 299 for sacramentaries containing this general confession in the Uses of the dioceses of Limoges (1518) and Sens (1555). Martène believed this text derived from a much earlier source, and indeed, the public use of such general confessions harkens back to early medieval rituals of public penance; see A11 for an example, and Mansfield 173–74.

C23.1

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la glorieuse Vierge Marie et a vous, premierement de tous mes pechiés generalment, et en especial de ceulz des quelz je n'ai point esté vrai confés et repentant . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra penitance et absolution.

Ci s'ensuit une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 13258, 43r–47v

France, 1405; Paris; Gerson autograph MS

CONTEXT: *Livre des dix commandemens* (or *Mirouer de l'ame*), letter, prayers in Lat. and MF, benedictions, excommunications, and pastoral formulas for various occasions, all composed by Jean Gerson.¹⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Ouy xv–xxv, lxi–lxiii, Glorieux 7:xviii.

¹⁶ BN fr. 13258 is Gerson's autograph MS of several vernacular works of pastoral care. At some point no later than 1413 and probably by 1407, Gerson assembled the *Livre des dix commandemens* with his *Examen de conscience* and *Art de bien mourir* into a compilation known as the *Livre des trois parties*. The French compendium was likely translated from his Latin version, *Opus tripartitum*, dated to the same period of Gerson's career (see Ouy xvii–xxi). The compilation covers the basic tenets of the Christian faith, the proper practice of confession, and preparation for a holy death. In some MSS of the *Livre des trois parties*, Gerson's *Examen de conscience*, a confessional interrogatory based on the seven deadly sins, is replaced by the form of confession *Briefve maniere de confession*, which is based on the sins of the five senses.

C23.2

Sire, je me confesse a Dieu . . . recevra penitence et absolucion.

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11133–35, 15r–16r

France, 1405–1410; owned most likely by a member of the royal household of Burgundy, and then by Marie of Hungary, daughter of Philip III, Duke of Burgundy, and Joanna “the Mad” of Castile

CONTEXT: Catechistic tracts by Gerson: *Livre des dix commandemens*, *Livre des diverses temptacions de l’ennemi*, *Livre qui enseigne qui est pechié mortel ou veniel*, sermon on death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Ouy xliii–xlv, lxvii–lxviii.

C23.3

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la glorieuse Vierge Marie et a vous, premierement de tous mes pechiés generalment, et en especial de ceulz des quelz je n’ai point esté vrai confés et repentant . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra penitance et absolution.¹⁷

Cy ensuit une briefve maniere de confession pour jone gens

¹⁷ Incipit and explicit are taken from Ouy’s edition of Paris, BN fr. 13258.

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 214, 77r–[78r]

France, 15th cent.; Dijon, Carth. mon. of Chartreuse de Champmol

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson tracts on temptations, mortal and venial sins, contemplative life, meditation on death, and *Livre des dix commandemens* (first part of *Triparti*, followed by this form of confession).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux 7:xxxvi–xxxvii, *Cat. gén. Dépt.* (8°) 5:64–65.

C23.4

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse à Dieu . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra penitance et absolution.¹⁸

Briesve maniere de confesser pour jeunes gens

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1003, 10v–11v

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson texts *Livre des dix commandemens*, *Science de bien mourir*, *La mendicité spirituelle*, tracts on temptation, mortal and venial sins, contemplative life, and prayers.

¹⁸ Explicit is taken from Ouy's edition of Paris, BN fr. 13258.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux 7:xviii, *BN cat. gén. fr. (1)* 1:173.

C23.5

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la glorieuse Vierge Marie et a vous, premierement de tous mes pechiés generalment, et en especial de ceulz des quelz je n'ai point esté vrai confés et repentant . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra penitance et absolution.¹⁹

Confession [sic] abregée pour monstrer et introduire à soy bien confesser [sic]

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1796, 27v–31v

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: *Le livre du trésor de sapience*, verse prayers to Virgin, devotions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux 7:xviii, *BN cat. gén. fr. (1)* 1:314–15.

C23.6

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse à Dieu, à la glorieuse Vierge . . . aultrement il ne seroit point obeissant.

Briefve maniere de confession pour jeunes gens

¹⁹ Incipit and explicit are taken from Ouy's edition of Paris, BN fr. 13258.

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1861, 14–[16]

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Triparti* (confession follows *Livre des dix commandemens* and precedes *Examen de conscience*), *A.B.C. des simples gens*, tracts on Creed, mortal and venial sins, temptations, and on remedies against blasphemy; tract on pains of hell.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–54, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux 7:xviii, *BN cat. gén. fr. (1)* 1:327.

C23.7

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la glorieuse Vierge Marie et a vous, premierement de tous mes pechiés generalment, et en especial de ceulz des quelz je n'ai point esté vrai confés et repentant . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra penitance et absolution.²⁰

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 25548, 104v–5v

France, 15th cent.; Aug. abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson *Livre des dix commandemens* and *Le jardin amoureux de l'ame dévote*, *Speculum Christianorum*, *Lucidaire*, history

²⁰ Incipit and explicit are taken from Ouy's edition of Paris, BN fr. 13258.

of three deaths and three lives, life of St. Victor of Marseilles trans.
by a monk of abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, fragment of Alain
Chartier's *Dit de la paix*, treatise on cardinal virtues attrib. Seneca,
general confession and absolution for Easter, indulgences of Urban
IV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–53, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux
7:xviii, *BN cat. gén. fr.* (3) 2:637.

C23.8

Sire, je me confesse à Dieu et à la glorieuse vierge Marie et à vous de tous me
pechiez generaulment . . . A la fin dira son *Confiteor* au long, puis recevra
penitance et absolution.²¹

Une briefve maniere de confesser pour jeunes gens

Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens* (1405)

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1465, art. 7

France, 15th cent.; Clairvaux

CONTEXT: Jean Gerson tracts on temptations, mortal and venial
sins, contemplative life, meditation on death, *Livre des dix*
commandemens, *Examen de conscience*, and *Science de bien mourir*
(*Triparti*), and *A.B.C. des simples gens*; Bernard of Clairvaux

²¹ Explicit is taken from Ouy's edition of Paris, BN fr. 13258.

meditation, two tracts on preparing for confession, account of a deceased man's appearance before his wife.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Gerson (1573), Ouy 52–53, Glorieux 7:408–9; Glorieux 7:xxxviii–xxxix, *Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^e)* 2:613–16.

C24

Je me confesse a Dieu le tout puissant et a la benoyte Marie toujours vierge . . .
pour ce je te prie, prie pour moy.

Selon la constitution nouvelle les oblatz son tenus de dire tous les jours L. patenoutres .

..

Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 344, 85r

France, end 14th–16th cent.; mon. of Avignon

CONTEXT: *Le Jardin amoureaux de l'ame devote*, a ballade, and a prayer by Pierre d'Ailly, *Miroir de pecheurs* (trans. of *Speculum peccatorum* attrib. d'Ailly), compendium of devotional instruction, verse disputation between body and soul, catechism “le Doctrinal de la foy catholique, fait en françois pour les simples gentz” (a version of the *Doctrinal de sapience* by Guy de Roye), order for prayer for each day of the week, account of Franciscans Johan Arnaut and Antoyne making a pilgrimage to the church of St. Sepulchre in the Jubilee year 1425, fifteen signs of Doomsday, tracts

on tribulation and patience, twelve degrees of humility in
Benedictine Rule, meditation on the Passion, thirty rules for living
by the Spirit of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°) 27:264–67, Rézeau R325.

C25

Je regehis a Dieu, a ma dame sainte marie et a tous sains . . .

Une generalité a dire en lieu des pechiés oubliés

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9297–302 (1166), 110v–16r

Belgium, 1400–1415; arms and signature of Antoine of Burgundy, Duke of
Brabant (d. 1415)

CONTEXT: Miroir de pecheurs attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux (trans. of
Speculum peccatoris), trans. Augustine *Soliloquies, La création de l'ame*,
treatise on wisdom, complaint of a sinner facing death and
damnation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bibl. Roy. 2:186–87, Sinclair 3017.

C26

Beaux sire dieu tut pussant que estes vn dieu et treis persones et que eites un
soul espersaunce de ma vie et de ma sauacioun deigneꝝ huy ou ma confession . .
. et confession que pusse nostre precieuse sanc dignement et nettement deuant
ma mort receiuere et pardount de mes pecches et uie pardurable. Amen.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 9, 86r–87v

England, 1425–1450; Anglo-Norman, possibly from Canonsleigh,

Devonshire, abbey of BVM, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Etheldreda

(Aug. nuns)

CONTEXT: Lat. Sarum calendar, *Te Deum*, litany; Lat. and AN psalter of Jerome, prayers; AN poems on education and death, treatise on humors; ME treatise on conduct of life, poem of advice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 1851, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:921, Sinclair 4003, *MLGB* 29, Vising 187.

C27.1

Je me confesse à Dieu et à la benoïste vierge Marie . . . de ce que Dieu m'a donné savoir.

Ensuit la manière et le principe de se bien confesser

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1426A, 23v–26v

France, 1426–1500; owned by a family from parish of Saint-Germain

l'Auxerrois, Paris (1480–1557)

CONTEXT: Hours of the Compassion de Notre Dame and of St. Catherine, prayers, proverbs of Solomon, verse exposition of Athanasian Creed, medical treatise; Lat. Nicole Oresme sermon, prayers.

*BIBLIOGRAPHY: BN MSS lat. (1) 1:538–39, Sonet 813, Sonet-Sinclair 813,
Leroquais Heures 1:270–72.*

C27.2

Je me confesse a Dieu et a benoiste vierge Marie . . .

Epinal, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 59, 29r

France, 15th cent.; Ben. abbey of Senones

CONTEXT: Collection of prayers, songs, proverbs, and Hours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o) 3:422, Sonet 813, Sonet-Sinclair 813.

C27.3

Benedicite pater, etc., Je me confesse à Dieu et à la benoite Virge Marie . . .

Cy s'ensuit une bonne confession

Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 640, 133r–37r

France, 15th cent.; belonging to monks of Metz

CONTEXT: Grammar in Lat., followed by confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o) 5:220, Sonet 813, Sonet-Sinclair 813.

C27.4

Je me confesse à Dieu, à la benoicte [*sic*] Vierge Marie et à tous les benoits saintz .

..

Confession bien generale

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 24434, 380v–83r

France, 15th cent.; Aug. abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris

CONTEXT: Jean de Venette *Histoire des trois Maries*, Thomas Benoist (canon of St.-Geneviève, Paris) versified Augustinian Rule, gloss on Augustinian Rule, Petrarch's tale of Griselda from the *Familiar Letters*, Jacques le Grand treatise on vices and virtues, William of Auvergne (bishop of Paris) exposition on penance, exposition on Seven Penitential Psalms and *Miserere mei Deus*, meditation on the Passion and death, thirty steps to paradise, prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BN cat. gén. fr. (3)* 2:370–72, Sonet 813, Sonet-Sinclair 813.

C27.5

Je me confesse a Dieu et a la benoiste vierge Marie . . .

Prol. Bonnes gens, vous devez et estes tenus aujourduy recevoir le saint sacrement . . . Cy ensuit une confession et absolucion generale acoustumee a faire es parroisses le jour de pasquez avant que le peuple soit administré.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1212, 47r–55v²²

France, 15th cent.; Paris, St.-André-des-Arcs

CONTEXT: Lat. *rituale* according to the Use of St.-André-des-Arcs,

²² This confession is for use in church before Easter reception of the Eucharist. The confession proper begins on fol. 52r. For other examples of forms of confession with a similar communal context, see C22, C34, and C38.1; see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, and D61 for English examples; and A11 for an early medieval example.

Paris, including rites of baptism, marriage, benedictions, visitation of sick, prayers, liturgical calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BN MSS lat. (1) 1:448, Sonet 249 and 813, Sonet-Sinclair 813, Mansfield 420–21, Lemaître 197–200.

C28

Ge dy ma coulpe à Dieu et à vous, sires prestres . . . et mes presumpcions et mes repostailles et à vous, sires prestres.

[*Formule de confession, examen de conscience*]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 939, 92r

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Frère Laurent d'Orleans, confessor to King Philip III

Somme des vices et vertus (or Somme le roi), tract on three states of the soul, sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BN cat. gén. fr. (1) 1:160–61, Sonet 809, Sonet-Sinclair 809.

C29.1

Je fas confession a Diu et a me dame sainte Marie . . .

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, MS 7, [unfoliated]

France, 15th cent.; Arras

CONTEXT: Hours in Use of Arras.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sonet 817, Rézeau 817.

C29.2

Je me faiz confés a Dieu et a Madame sainte Marie et a tous sainz et a toutes
saintes et a vous sire prestre, des pechez que je fis des l'ore que je fui né . . .

[incomplete at end due to missing leaf].

C'est la confession general

Saint-Brieuc, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1, 181r–82v

France, 15th cent.; dioc. of Bretagne

CONTEXT: Hours in Use of Bretagne, prayers, a few lives of saints.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt. (8°)* 13:358, Sonet 817, Sonet-Sinclair 817.

C30

Je me confesse a Dieu et a la Vierge Marie et a tous sains . . .

C'est la confesse

[*Examen de conscience*]

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genviève, MS 1302, 108r

France, 15th cent.; owned by Jehan Bray and Pierre Choppin (15th cent.),

frere Pierre Berry (15th–16th cent.)

CONTEXT: Lives of saints, lectionary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sainte-Genevieve* 1:605–6, Sonet 814.

C31

Je me confesse a Dieu et a Nostre Dame et a toute le court de paradis et a vous,

sire prestre . . .

La maniere de soy confesser

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 10042, 20v–27r

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Treatise for priests called *Sainte doctrine pour briefment et saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, in which this form of confession and another form of confession (see C34) are embedded toward the end; Jean de Meun *Codicil*, tracts in prose and verse on Judgment, pains of hell, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BN cat. gén. fr. (4) 4:9*, Rézeau R323, similar to Sonet 817 and Sinclair 4512.²³

C32

Je me ranz corpable [*sic*] a Dieu, a la benoste vierge Marie, a tous sainz, de tous les pechiez que j'ay fait dez que je vins en vie . . . et en requier absolucion de Dieu, de la benoite vierge Marie et de tous sainz. Amen.

Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 600, 188r–v

France, 15th cent.; mon. of Metz

CONTEXT: Book of Hours in Use of Paris, Jean Gerson *Tenor fidei*,

²³ Another text similar to this one is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. f. 33, 178r–81v (see Rézeau R326), not catalogued here because of its late date of 1566.

prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o) 5:208–9, Rézeau R329.

C33

O tu peres, filz du saint Esperit . . . je, tes povres pecherres, croy en toy
parfaitement de cuer et confesse de bouche . . .

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1971, 169r–72r

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Collection of prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cat. gén. Dépt. (4^o) 2:807, Sinclair 4909.

C34

Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la Virge Marie, a monseigneur saint Mickiel . . .²⁴

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 10042, 27v–29v

[France], 15th cent.

CONTEXT: Treatise for priests called *Sainte doctrine pour briefment et
saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, in

²⁴The confession follows pastoral instructions on conducting annual confession before the Easter Eucharist, “Comment les prestres doibvent enseigner leurs paroissiens quand ilz viennent au jour de Pasches a le table Nostre Seigneur pour commener” [How priests ought to guide their parishioners who have come at the same time on Easter day to the table of our Lord to receive Communion]. The priest leads the parishioners in the confession: “Tres douces gens, qui estez chy venus au jour de huy pour recevoir le saint sacrement de l’autel . . . et dictes apres moy. . . .” [All you sorrowful people, who are here in this place today to receive the holy sacrament of the altar . . . say after me . . .]. See C22, C27.5, and C38.1 for other forms of confession to be used in a similar communal context; see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, and D61 for English examples; and A11 for an early medieval example.

which this form of confession and another form of confession (see C31) are embedded toward the end; Jean de Meun *Codicil*, tracts in prose and verse on Judgment, pains of hell, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BN cat. gén. fr. (4)* 4:9, Rézeau R1200, similar to Sonet 249, Mansfield 420–21, Lemaître 197–200.

C35

[Beginning of text missing] . . . ke ie ai fet pus qe ie naqui de ma mere encuntre deu e en[cuntre] mun prosme e encuntre memeimes e de tuz me peches ubliez ie cri a deu merci e de vus bele pere ke vous me asoilez e puse si ditez voster *confiteor*.²⁵

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 523, 124v

Ireland, 15th cent.; Dublin, owned by Sir Thomas Belle (or Bette), a parish priest at St. Michan's

CONTEXT: Lat. texts of Robert Grosseteste *De oculo morali* and *De veneno*, liturgical calendar, tract on tribulation, misc. sermons and extracts mainly on confession, form of confession (see B42), account of Edward VI's coronation in Dublin; ME tract on tribulation and verses on complexions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lam. Pal.* 723–25.

²⁵This textual fragment consists of four concluding lines to a form of confession, a relic of earlier writing that is unerased in the MS.

C36

Il me desplait des offences que j'ay commis contre la bontet et volenté de Dieu
mon createur et devant vous . . . de tout mon coer devant Dieu le createur et
devant vous . . . [incomplete at end].

[*Formule de confession*]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 16428, 97v

France, 1450–1500

CONTEXT: Book of prayers of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rézeau R306.

C37

Je me confesse a vous mon Dieu, mon pere et mon createur tout pouissant . . .
*S'ensuyt Confiteor et Misereatur, pour soy confesser a Dieu quant on se lieve, ou quant
on se couche en pensant pour ses pechés*

Brugge, Stedelijke Bibliotheek, MS 320, 161r–62r

[Netherlands], late 15th–beg. 16th cent.

CONTEXT: Book of Hours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sonet 816, Brayer (1) 49, De Poorter (1) 347, De Poorter (2) 357–
58.

C38.1

Je me confesse a Dieu le Pere tout puissant . . .

Confession generale

Jehan Quentin, *Examen de conscience*

Cherbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6, 6r–8r

France, 1500–1503; owned by family from Caen in Normandy

CONTEXT: Jehan Quentin's Book of Hours in Use of Rome,
almanac for 1503–23.²⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt.* 10:154–55, Rézeau R324, Boniface-Delcro.²⁷

C38.2

Je me confesse a Dieu le Pere tout puissant . . .

Confession generale

Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 224, 160v–63r

²⁶ Quentin's authorship is stated at the end of the MS: "Cy finist le bon examen de conscience, composé par maistre Jehan Quentin, doctor en théologie, pénitencier de Paris." Jehan Quentin was a doctor of theology at the University of Paris and a penitentiary of Notre-Dame de Paris. The ascription might suggest that Quentin assigns "le bon examen de conscience" as a title for the whole of his Book of Hours, indicating that the compilation is to be used for penitential purposes. Quentin's Book of Hours was published in various editions in Paris around 1500. One 1507 edition presents the authorship in a more detailed way, that the work is a Book of Hours containing the litany of saints, the Hours of the Conception of the Virgin, a tract on living and dying well, and an examination of conscience, which indicates that "examen de conscience" refers to one part of the whole, the form of confession to be used for self-examination before confession. The work also contains some original religious verse. See Boniface-Delcro 712–13.

²⁷ Rézeau cites six early printed editions, one that contains the rubric, "Absolution et confession generale qui se dit communement le jour de Pasques aux eglises parochiales." This text appears to be similar to the one that Martène prints (3:492–95), though here it is found in a Book of Hours and not in a sacramentary. For other general confessions used in a semiliturgical context, see C22, C27.5, and C34; see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59, and D61 for English examples; and A11 for an early medieval example.

[France], 16th cent.²⁸

CONTEXT: Book of Hours, liturgical calendar, prayers, including fifteen joys of the Virgin, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cat. gén. Dépt.* 37:162–63, Rézeau R324.

C39

Sire, lieutenant de Dieu, par obeyssance a Dieu et a nostre mere l'Euglieze, je vient a confession de mon cueur . . . et Job de vermiens et passion . . .

[incomplete at end].

Confession generale

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, II. 4314, 108v–10v

Belgium, beg. 16th cent.; Liège

CONTEXT: Hours in Use of Rome, liturgical calendar of Liège.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rézeau R1217.

C40

Syre Dieu, j'ay pechié ainsy et ainsy contre vostre bonté et vos commandemens, si m'en desplait et m'en repens . . .

Confession a Nostre Seigneur

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10389 (813), 108v–9r

²⁸ The MS dates from the 15th cent., but the confession was added later in the 16th.

Belgium, 16th cent.; owned by Philip II, Duke of Savoy, Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, and his wife Margaret of Austria

CONTEXT: Lat. and MF collection of prayers, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ave Maria, indulgences, Hours of the Passion, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, *Stabat mater*, seven words of Christ to the Virgin, fifteen joys of the Virgin; confession is a prayer to God rather than a strict form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bibl. Roy.* 1:511–14, Sonet 1943, Sonet-Sinclair 1943.

C41

Vray Dieu, qui avez créé le cyel et la terre, a vous mon esprit se recommande . . .

Ichi commence une devote oraison en forme de confession a Dieu la createur

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, II. 6334, 4–5

Provenance uncertain, 1554; owned by Marie de Focan

CONTEXT: Collection of prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sonet 2361, Sonet-Sinclair 2361.

C42

Je me confesse a dieu le pere tout puissant, a la benoiste vierge marie . . .

Confession generale

New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 314, 76v–83v

France, 1557; reputed to have been made for Marguerite de Valois,

Duchess of Savoy

CONTEXT: Hours of Marguerite de Valois, including prayers, catechistic lists of virtues, sacraments, five senses, gifts of the Holy Spirit, deadly sins and virtues opposed to them, corporal and spiritual works of mercy, requirements for true penance (preceding form of confession); Lat. prayers, some with Fr. trans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yale Beinecke* 2:113–17, Sinclair 4513.

D. Middle English Forms of Confession, 1375–1500

D1.1

I knowleche to þee þou hiȝ increate and euerlastinge trinyte þat is to seie almyȝti god þe fadir almyȝti god þe sone almyȝti god þe holi goost and napelees not þre almyȝti goddis but oon almyȝti god þat madist al þing of nouȝt as it likide to þin hiȝ magiste my lord god and my saueour I knowleche also to þee þou moost blessid womman oure ladi seynt marye . . . I crie þee my lord ihesu crist mercy þat I principalli haue trespassid to and to þee þou blessid modir of my lord ihesu crist wiþ al þe cumpanye of heuene mercy and þou chirche [s]lepinge in purgatorie and þou fiȝtynge chirche in þis world to which I haue trespassid in þouȝt word and deede mercy and þou lord to whom stretchip al þe trespas mercy lord god mercy amen. Here eendiþ a cristen mannys confessioun þe which is also a deuoute orisoun.

Here begynneþ a confessyoun which is also a preier þat seynt Brandoun made and it is ful nedeful to a cristen man to seye and worche þere aftir.

*St. Brendan's Confession*¹

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds anglais 41, 162v–76r

England, later 14th cent.; East Midland dial.²

¹ This confession and prayer is attributed in all the manuscripts to Saint Brendan, abbot of Clonfert (ca. 484–ca. 577), but this ascription derives from the great fame of the Irish monastic saint, whose miraculous voyage to the Island of the Blessed is related in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*—dated to the first half of the tenth century and translated into many vernacular languages in the twelfth century—which became an allegory for the perilous journey of the soul through the earthly world toward heaven. A Latin prayer was attributed to Saint Brendan, called the “*Oratio Sancti Brendani*,” from which this ME form of confession likely found its putative author, though the Latin prayer is not the source of the form of confession (see Kuriyagawa [1] 2–4). The “*Oratio Sancti Brendani*” is a very long penitential prayer expressed in a modest level of affective rhetoric, though it contains only two brief paragraphs of confession in a manner that is anything like the form of confession. The prayer is structured around a series of petitions for deliverance from sin, each beginning “*Libera me Domine sicut liberasti . . .*,” which catalogue, in litany form, numerous examples of deliverance witnessed in scripture from creation through the gospels and the life of Paul. The prayer then concludes with the following parts: a request for forgiveness, a request for all the saints to pray for the sinner (listed in litany form), a request for God’s protection (in the form of the Irish *lorica*), a paragraph of sins that are confessed (“*Confiteor et accuso corram te, creatore meo, omnia peccata mea . . .*,” listing the seven deadly sins), an indication to repeat the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, and a final paragraph confessing a list of sins, concluding with the statement that God does not desire the death of sinners but that sinners be converted and live (quoting Ezek. 33:11). Except for the passages enumerating sins, this material is entirely absent from the ME *Saint Brendan’s Confession*, though it is easy to see how the author may have found in the Latin prayer a basis for attributing a form of confession to Saint Brendan. Both prayers are penitential, both prayers are addressed to Christ or God and not to a priest, both emphasize the trinitarian nature of God, and both prayers are addressed within the context of the church universal (many saints are listed in the Latin prayer, while the form of confession refers often to the “church sleeping” and the “church fighting”). But these similarities are superficial, and the “*Oratio Sancti Brendani*” could have been no more than an inspiration for the “*Saint Brendan’s Confession*.” Ten manuscripts of the Latin prayer are known to have survived, eight of which, notably, are of English provenance (see Kuriyagawa [1] 3 n. 2). For an edition of this prayer, edited from Rome, Bibliotheca Sessoriana, B.cxxvi, see Moran 27–44.

² Raymo dates this MS to ca. 1450, and Durkin follows Raymo, dating it to the mid-fifteenth century. But *BN MSS anglais* dates the MS to the fourteenth century, and Kuriyagama (1) in his edition of the text follows this earlier dating. Kuriyagama (2) offers the best description of this MS, where he explains the fourteenth-century dating based on earlier French descriptions of the MS, the style of illuminations, and on dialectical features (xiii–xxxvi). Additionally, one

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy. While the work is typical of the genre in its structure and topics, it is not typical in terms of its rhetorical mode, as no reference is made to a confessor, and it possesses much affective language.³

CONTEXT: *Pore Caitif*, Walter Hilton *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, portion of Hilton *Prickynge of Love*, and ME poem “*Quia Amore Languet*” (added in the 16th cent.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Raymo 211.45, *IMEP* 7 4–7, *IPMEP* 311, *BN MSS anglais* 16, Kuriyagawa (2) xiii–xxxvi,

other MS of the “*Saint Brendan’s Confession*,” which Kuriyagawa did not know, dates to the fourteenth century: Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1288 (see D1.2).

³ As an example of the rhetorical embellishment to be found in this work, in the section confessing according to the eighth commandment (bearing false witness), the sinner confesses to having made a promise to God and the priest “to leue and forsake synne, and algatis ȝit I dwelle and waltre þere, as a fatte sowe in hoot somer turneþ and weendiþ hir in þe foule stynkinge slouȝ” (Kuriyagama [1] 15). Interestingly, the one section that is heightened throughout in its feeling of great sorrow, which is also the longest section, is the confession for failing to fulfill the seven corporal works of mercy (19–22). Here the sinner confesses for himself and even on behalf of his friends and for all people, because it is nearly impossible for anyone to fulfill what Christ demands of all Christians: “I crie mercy for my silf; mercy I crie for alle my frendis; and mercy for alle men qwike and dede; for truly Lord I trowe, þere was ne is ne neuere schal be but fewe, þat þei ne han errid, erren and schulen erre, in doynge þese deedis of mercy.” For according to the gospel, “O, Lord! and þou wolte axe acountis of hem at þe dreedful day of doom, of ech man; and þo þat han doon hem as is declarid aftir, schulen resseyue þi mercy, and regne wiþ þee in þi kyngdom, and þei þat han not doon it in þe foorme þat sueþ aftir, or ellis doon it not, schulen resseyue þi straiȝt riȝtwisnes medlid sumwhat wiþ mercy in þi prisoun helle, where deuelis schulen regne wiþ hem in to worldis of worldis, amen” (19–20; see Matt. 25:31–46). In light of Christ’s judgment being determined by whether one fulfills the deeds of mercy or not, it is no wonder that the sinner exclaims, “O, Lord! it is hard to an erþeli man, but not to an heuenli man, to do þe deedis of mercy” (20).

D1.2

I knowleche to þee þou hiȝ increate and euerlastinge trynyte þat is to seie
almyȝti god þe fadir almyȝti god þe sone almyȝti god þe holy goost and
napelees not þre almyȝti goddis but oon almyȝti god . . . wherfore I crie þee my
lord ihesu crist merci þat I pryncipaly haue trespassid to and to þee þou blessid
modir of my lord ihesu crist wiþ al þe companye of heuene merci and þou
chirche slepinge in purgatorie and þou fiȝtinge chirche here in þis world to
which I haue trespassid in þouȝt word and deede mersy and þou lord to whom
strecchiþ al þe trespas merci lord god mersy amen.

*And here bigynneþ a cristen mannes confessioun to his lord god which bihouiþ deuoutly
be seid wiþ herte and mouþ and distunctifly wiþ remors of his conscience whoso kan and
hap oportunyte of tyme to do it and seie it*

St. Brendan's Confession

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1288, 112v–30r

England, 1375–1400

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

⁴ Raymo wrongly gives the fols. as 162b–79a. Kuriyagawa's edition of the text is based on Lambeth Palace Library MS 541 (see D1.6), collated with five of the other manuscripts, excluding Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1288 and Douce 322. Bowers's edition is based on Cambridge University Library MS Hh.1.12 (see D1.5), with collations only from Oxford, Queen's College MS 210 and British Library, Harley 1706.

CONTEXT: Liturgical calendar, *The Primer* (or *Lay Folks' Prayer Book*), followed by *St. Brendan's Confession*.⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, *IMEP* 9 47, Raymo 211.60, *IPMEP* 311, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 8176, *Oxf. Bodl. Ashmole* 1053–54, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:685.⁶

D1.3

I knowleche to þee þou hiȝ increate and euerlastinge trynytee . . . And þou lord

⁵ An early printed edition of John Mirk's *Festial* is bound at the end of the MS. In addition to the usual liturgical and catechistic forms found in primers like the *Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (such as the matins and Hours of the Virgin, evensong, compline, the seven penitential psalms and other psalms, the litany, Placebo and Dirige, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Commandments, and seven deadly sins), some of the earliest printed primers contained confessional materials. Maskell (3:293–300) presents a catechistic tract in question-and-answer form on sin, penitence, and the practice of confession, followed by a form of confession in the seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses, seven spiritual and corporal works of mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacraments, and eight beatitudes. The text is taken from *This prymer of Salysbury vse* (Rouen, 1538; STC 16002a). The major work on the use of primers in England is that of Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c. 1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), who cites an edition attributed to Robert Wyer around 1533 (STC 15983) and notes that it is "more Catholic than Protestant" (702–3), but Green does not include in his bibliography of English catechisms most of the editions of this early primer. The *English Short Title Catalogue* gives over forty editions dating from 1527 to 1549, at <http://estc.bl.uk>, s.v. "This prymer." A similar question-and-answer catechism on penance followed by a form of confession appears in a primer in the Use of York (Rouen, 1536), printed in *Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. Christopher Wordsworth (Durham: Surtees Society; London: B. Quaritch, 1920). All of this primer is in Latin except for the English confessional material attached at the end (147–54). Wordsworth lists editions from ca. 1510 to ca. 1556 (lvi–lvii).

⁶ Durkin has identified this text as a copy of the *St. Brendan's Confession*. Black's catalogue of Ashmolean MSS and Raymo note this form of confession in the MS but do not identify it as a copy of *St. Brendan's Confession*; neither Bowers nor Jolliffe are aware of it; *IMEP* lumps it in mistakenly with the *Primer* as its conclusion. The text had until recently evaded proper identification no doubt because it is not identified as such in the manuscript itself; other copies explicitly identify it in their rubrics.

to whom strecchip al þe trespas mercy lord god mercy. Amen. Her endiþ a
cristen mannes confessioun þe which is also a deuoute orisoun.

*Here bigynnep a confessioun which is also a praier þat seint Brandoun made and it is rizt
nedeful to a cristen man to seie and worche þeraftir in his lyuyng*

St. Brendan's Confession

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699, 162v–79v

England, beg. 15th cent.

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

CONTEXT: Liturgical calendar, another form of confession (see
D7.1), *Primer (or Lay Folks' Prayer Book)*, *Pore Caitif*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, Raymo
211.39, *IPMEP* 311, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 12513, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 5/2:352–53, *Illum.*
MSS Bodl. 3:860.

D1.4

[Begins imperfectly] . . . bodyly or gostly. Also my fadyr and my Modyr I shuld
haue worshypped with worshyp appropred vnto theym. Also I shuld sle no man
neyther bodyly ne gostly that ys nat by strook ne by wylle ne by worde . . .

Wherefore I crye the my lorde Ihesu cryste mercy that I principally haue
trespassed to . . . and thow churche slepyng in purgatory and thow fytynge
churche in thys worlde to whyche I haue trespassed in thought in worde and

dede mercy and thow lorde to whom strecheth alle the trespasse mercy lorde
god mercy. Amen. Amen.

St. Brendan's Confession

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 322, 99ra–vb, 98ra–vb, 101ra–vb, 100ra⁷
England, 1400–1450; Dom. priory of Blessed Virgin and St. Margaret at
Dartford, Kent; owned by Thomas Knollys of North Mimms,
Hertfordshire (d. 1445), whose daughter married William Baron of
Berkshire; gift of William Baron to priory for personal use of his “niece”
(probably granddaughter) Pernelle Wrattisley; owned in earlier 16th cent.
by Sir Christopher Barker of Norroy, Sir Thomas Wall of Garter⁸

CONTENTS: [Seven deadly sins missing], Commandments, five
corporal senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

CONTEXT: Devotional miscellany: trans. Richard Rolle *De*
emendatione vitae, Craft of Dying, Treatise of Ghostly Battle, trans. of

⁷ A leaf containing the beginning of the text has been lost, and the other leaves are out of order in the MS, which has confused both Jolliffe (stating that the text ends imperfectly) and *IMEP* (giving three separate fragments, items 15, 16, and 18). In fact, only the beginning of the text is missing, and, after the leaves are reordered, it is clear that there is one text, *St. Brendan's Confession*, and not three fragments. The quarto sheet containing 98r, 98v, 101r, and 101v has been bound inside of the sheet containing 99r, 99v, 100r, and 100v. The order of the leaves may be determined by comparison with Bowers's edited text.

⁸ Much of Douce 322 served as a model for Harley 1706 (see D1.8 and D2.6), and Doyle (222–43) has established the close connections between these two MSS and Bodley 923 (see D5.1 and D6.1), the communities of nuns at Dartford and Barking, and the Vere family.

Adam the Carthusian *Scala claustralium*, trans. Heinrich Suso
Orologium sapientiae chap. 5, *Charter of Heavenly Heritage* from *Pore Caitif*, John Lydgate and other religious verse, “Nine Lessons on the Dirige” in verse attrib. Rolle, penitential verse “Parce Michi Domine,” tracts on faith, hope, charity, humility, dying, Eucharist, tribulation, mercy of God, prayer, works of mercy, another form of confession (see D2.5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, *IMEP* 4 74–86, Raymo 211.40, *IPMEP* 311, *NIMEV* 561/2, 741/1, 1460/4, 1721/3, 1781/7, 1854/1, 2352/1, 2585/1, 3143/1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 21896, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:1097, *MLGB* 57, *Atlas* 1:148, Doyle 222–43.

D1.5

I knowleche to þe þou hiȝe increate and euerlastynge trinite þat is to sey almyȝti god þe fadir almyghti god þe sone almyȝti god þe hooly goost and neþeles not þre almyȝti goddes but oon almyȝti god þat madist all þinge of nouȝt as it likyd to thy hiȝe maieste my lord god and my savyour I knowleche . . . and þu chirche slepynge in purgatorye and þu fitynge chirche in þis worlde to whiche I haue trespassid in þouȝt in worde and dede mercy. And þou lorde to whome stretchipe alle þe trespasse mercy lorde god mercy. AMEN. Amen.

*Here begynneþ a confessioun whiche is also a prayere þat seynt Brandoun made and it is
ri3t nedeful to a cristen man to sey and to werche þeraftir in his lyuyngē.*

St. Brendan's Confession

Cambridge, University Library, Hh.1.12, 52r–59v

England, ca. 1450

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

CONTEXT: Trans. of James of Milan *Stimulis amoris* attrib. Walter Hilton, *Pore Caitif* (fifteen catechistic tracts for laypeople), *Treatise of Ghostly Battle*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, Raymo 211.42, *IPMEP* 311, *CUL* 3:264–65, *IMEP* 19 191–200.

D1.6

I knowleche to þee þou hi3 increate and euerlastyngē trynyte þat is to seie
almi3ty god þe fadir almi3ti god þe sone almyiti god þe holy goost and napelees
not þre almy3ti goddis but oon almy3ti god þat madist al þing of nou3t as it
likide to þin hi3 magiste . . . I haue trespasid in þou3t word and deede mercy
and þou lord to whom strecchiþ al þe trespas mercy lord god mercy amen. Here
endiþ a cristen mannys confessyoun þe which is also a deuoute orisoun.

*Here bigynneþ a confessyoun which is also a preier þat seynt Brandoun made and it is
ri3t needful to a cristen man to seye and worche þerafter in his lyuyngē.*

St. Brendan's Confession

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 541, 150v–65r

England, ca. 1450

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

CONTEXT: *Pore Caitif*, extracts from Walter Hilton *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, verse prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, Raymo 211.44, *IMEP* 13 47–49, *IPMEP* 311, *NIMEV* 874/1, 1719.5/1, 1736/1, 1947/1, 3454/1, *Lam. Pal.* 743–45.

D1.7

I knowleche to þe þou hy increat and euerlastyng trinyte þat is to sey almyȝti
god þe fadir almyȝti god þe sone almyȝti god þe holi gost not þre almyȝti
goddis but oon almyȝti god þat madist al þing of nouȝt as it likid to þin hy
maieste my lord god and my sauour . . . haue trespasyd in þouȝt word and
dede mercy and þou lord god to whom stretchiþ alle trespacis mercy lord god
merci amen. Her endiþ a confessioun þe whic is also a preyer þat seynt brandone
made and it is ful nedful to a cristen man to seye and werche þer aftir þerto god
ȝeue vs grace.

St. Brendan's Confession

Oxford, Queen's College, MS 210, 1r–11v

England, mid-15th cent.; possibly written for a tertiary of the Franciscan order⁹

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

CONTEXT: Hours of Virgin, liturgical calendar, hymn “Veni Creator Spiritus.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, Raymo 211.41, *IMEP* 8 81, *IPMEP* 311, *Oxf. Coll.* 1/6:46.

D1.8

I knowlege me to the thow hygh increate and euerlastyng trynyte that ys to sey
almighty god the fader almighty god the son almighty god the holy gost . . .
wherfor I crye the my lorde Ihesu cryste mercy that I pryncypally haue
trespassed to . . . And thow churche slepyng in purgatory And thow fytyng
churche in thys worlde to whyche I haue trespassed in thought in worde and
dede mercy And thou lorde to who[m] stretcheth alle the tresspasses mercy
lorde god mercy. Amen. Amen.

*Here begynneth a confessyon whyche ys also a prayer that seynt Brandon made and hit
ys ryght nedeffulle to a Crysten man to sey and to wyrche ther after.*

St. Brendan's Confession

⁹ A handwritten note added to the Queen's College copy of Cox's catalogue suggests this provenance, based on the calendar's mention of various saints in the Roman Franciscan calendar and the fact that only the name of Francis features the designation "Sancti" before it.

London, British Library, Harley 1706, 84rb–88ra

England, 1450–1500; Northamptonshire dial.; belonged to Barking abbey of Ben. nuns, Essex, then owned in early 16th cent. by Lady Elizabeth Beaumont (d. 1537, wife of William Beaumont and later John Vere, Earl of Oxford)¹⁰

CONTENTS: See D1.1.

CONTEXT: Devotional miscellany: John Lydgate and other religious verse, penitential poem “Parce Michi Domine,” trans. Heinrich Suso *Orologium sapientiae* chap. 5, *Craft of Dying, Treatise of Gostly Bateyle*, tract on Eucharist attrib. Albertus Magnus, trans. of Adam the Carthusian *Scala claustralium*, trans. of Richard Rolle *De emendatione vitae*, meditation attrib. Augustine, tract on prayer, another form of confession (see D2.6), *Charter of Heavenly Heritage* from *Pore Caitif*, verse *Aristotle’s ABC*, medical recipes.¹¹

¹⁰ She inscribes her name in different locations both as Elizabeth Beaumont and Elizabeth Oxford, indicating she owned the book from the time of her first marriage.

¹¹ The first half of Harley 1706, including the forms of confession, is a copy of Bodleian MS Douce 322 (see D1.4 and D2.5), which along with Bodley 923 (see D5.1 and D6.1) are all connected with the Vere family and illustrate ideals about vernacular religious reading in later medieval England. See Doyle 222–43. In the Harley MS on fol. 212v, a rubricated note prescribes what spiritual reading should involve: “We schulde rede and vse bokes in to þis ende and entente, for formys of preysynge and preyngne to god, to oure lady seynte marye and to alle þe seyntes, þat we myȝte haue by þe forseyd vse of redyngne vnderstondyngne of god of hys benyfetyng of hys lawe, of hys seruyce or sume oþer goodly and gostely trowþis, or ellys þat we myȝte haue good affeccyon toward god and hys seyntes and hys seruyce to be gendryd and geten” (my

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kuriyagawa (1), Bowers (1); Durkin 29, Jolliffe C.31, Raymo 211.43, *IPMEP* 311, Hanna (2) 97–99, *NIMEV* 469/2, 475/1, 505/1, 561/5, 741/2, 880/1, 1126/3, 1416/2, 1460/5, 1721/4, 1746/1, 1748/1, 1781/8, 1815/3, 1854/4, 1937/2, 2352/2, 2585/2, 2770/3, 3040/2, 3143/3, 3262/3, 3685/5, 3793/3, 4160/6, *BL Harley* 2:178–79, Revell 344, 349, and 350, *Atlas* 1:110.

D2.1

I knowleche me gulti. And yelde me to god almyhti. and to his blessed moder Marie. and to al þe cumpany of heuen. and to þe my gostly fader here in godes stude . . . I cri god merci. and his moder seynt Marie. and alle þe company of heuen. An[d] þe my gostely fader in godes stude. þat ye be my wittenes at þe day of dome. seeing my sinnes. and my defautes. holding hem stille and not shewing hem. but be Ioyed of hem. and of me sunger. as god seyep in þe gospel. þat Ioy shalle be to godes Angels vpon a sinner penaunce doing. he þat graunt þat liueþ ande regneþ God. Amen.

Here is a goode confession / That teches man to saluacion / How þat man shalle shryue him here / To teche him welle the manere

Epil. Hec confessio prescripta compilatur non ut quilibet eam totam dicat sed ut ea in quibus se reum esse cognoscit confiteatur.

transcription following MS punctuation). Doyle comments on the particularly “religious” meaning of this sort of reading, that is, that it stipulates “a regular habit of mind and living, shared by solitaries and widows in vows . . . besides monks, nuns, and friars, and accepted as something to be emulated, so far as possible, by earnest seculars, clerks and layfolk” (231).

London, British Library, Add. 37787, 3r–11v

England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. monk of St. Mary's Abbey, Bordesley, Worcestershire; later owned in 15th cent. by Lady Goditha Throckmorton Peyto, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton, wife of Sir Edward Peyto, and possibly mother of Cardinal William Peyto; also owned by Goody Throckmorton (probably a niece of Goditha), and in 16th cent. by Susanna Willescott and by the wife of John Rudall.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven corporal works of mercy, five corporal senses; then from here the text shifts from the confession proper to a catechism in question-and-answer form (fols. 7r–11v), including sections on the Commandments, seven deadly sins, five corporal senses, and seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy.¹²

CONTEXT: Worcestershire Miscellany, religious miscellany in Latin prose and ME verse: Lat. *Visio Sancti Pauli*, form of confession (B16), treatise on form of monastic life, tale of sleepy monk, *Disputation between Body and Soul*, sermons, meditation, prophesy of John on Antichrist, hymns, extracts from Augustine and Jerome on

¹² For other examples of such a shift from first-person to second-person in the form of confession, see D2.3, D12, D14.4; and see B27, D22, and E7 for a switch in the opposite direction.

the Psalms, directions for special masses, prayers, indulgences, charms; ME (all in verse) prayers, *Debate of Body and Soul*, *Stations of Rome*, Commandments, works of mercy, five senses, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, hymns, religious lyrics, including four confessional prayers, Hours of the Cross, and prose vision of St. John on the sorrows of the Virgin; a couple MF prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Worcs. Misc.* 87–95; Durkin 47, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.23, *IPMEP* 309, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2, 1959/3, 1969/2, 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4, *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Worcs. Misc.* 13–40, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11.

D2.2

I knowleche me gulti and zelde me to god almihti and to hys blessed moder seint marie and to al þe holy cumpanye of heuene an[d] to þe my gostliche Fader here in godes stude . . . Also I cri god merci þat I haue not worschuped Fader and Moder as I schulde do with goode prayers and almes dedes not byddyng for hem as I schulde do. I cri god merci [rest of text lost].

Here is a good confession / Þat techeþ mon to saluacion / How þat mon schal schriue hym here / And teche hym riȝt wol þe manere

London, British Library, Add. 22283, 170vb

England, 1380–1400; north Worcestershire near Bordesley, with 16th-cent. connections to south Staffordshire or Shropshire

CONTENTS: This fragment contains the seven deadly sins through the fourth commandment, after which the rest of the text is lost.

CONTEXT: Simeon Manuscript, religious miscellany mostly verse (half of which is lost): Richard Rolle *Form of Living*, Walter Hilton *Treatise on Active and Contemplative Life*, Northern Homily Cycle, William of Nassyngton *Speculum vitae*, *Prick of Conscience*, *Prick of Love*, trans. St. Edmund *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Disputation between Body and Soul*, trans. Robert Grosseteste *Chateau d'Amour*, *Book of Vices and Virtues*, trans. ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatoris*, *Vision of St. Paul*, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *Distichs of Cato* (in ME, AN, Lat.), *Stations of Rome*, *Pistel of Susan*, trans. James of Milan *Stimulus amoris* attrib. Walter Hilton, metrical romances *Ypotis*, *Robert of Sicily*, and *King of Tars*, treatise on virtues, versified gospel stories, verses on deadly sins, Eucharist, etc., poems to Virgin and Christ, meditation on five wounds of Christ and others, many other religious lyrics and hymns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 47, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.22, *IPMEP* 309, Hanna (2) 76–78, *NIMEV* index, p. 299, s.v. BL Add. 22283, *BL Add. MSS 1854–1875* 1:623–

D2.3

I knowleche me gulti and ȝelde me to God almihti. And to his blessed Moder seynte Marie. And to al þe holy cumpanye of heuene. And to þe. Mi gostliche fader. here in godes stude. Of alle þe sunnes þat ich haue greuouliche sunged Inne . . . I crie god Merci. And his dere Moder seynte Marie. And al þe cumpanye of heuene. And þe my gostliche fader in godes stude. þat ȝe be my witesse at þe day of dome. seoyng my sunnes and my defautes holdyng hem stille. and not schewyng hem. but be Ioye of hem and of me sungere as god seiþ in þe gospel. þat Ioye schal be to godes Angeles vppon a sungere penaunce doing. he hit graunte. þat liueþ and regneþ God Amen.

*Heer is a good Confession / Þat techep mon to sauacion / How þat mon schal schriuen
him here / To techen him wel þe Maneere*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.1, art. 369, 366vb–67rb

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire or Warwickshire; possibly associated with Bordesley's daughter houses at Stoneleigh or Merevale, or with another Cist. abbey in the area

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal mercy, five senses; from here to fol. 367vb the text shifts from the confession proper to a catechism in question-and-answer

form, including sections on the Commandments, seven deadly sins, five senses, seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy, four cardinal virtues.¹³

CONTEXT: Vernon Manuscript, religious miscellany mostly in verse: *South English Legendary* and another small collection of saints' lives, *Miracles of the Virgin*, *Northern Homily Cycle*, Gospel paraphrases with exposition, *Vision of St. Paul*, *Mirror of Life*, *Prick of Conscience*, *Prick of Love*, *Debate between Body and Soul* and other disputations, *Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard*, trans. Robert Grosseteste *Chasteau d'amour*, metrical romances *Ypotis*, *Robert of Sicily*, and *King of Tars*, *Distichs of Cato* (in Lat., MF, ME), *Stations of Rome*, *Susannah*, *Charter of Christ*, trans. *Stimulus amoris* attrib. Bonaventure, Richard Rolle *Form of Living* and *Ego Dormio*, Walter Hilton *Scale of Perfection*, *Mirror of St. Edmund*, *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *Ghast of Guy*, *A Talking of the Love of God*, *Ancrene Riwe*, William Langland *Piers Plowman A*-text, treatises on love, maidenhood, hearing Mass, pains of hell, etc., numerous prayers, hymns, meditations, and lyrics; ME and

¹³ For other examples of such a shift from first-person to second-person in the form of confession, see D2.1, D12, D14.4; and see B27, D22, and E7 for a switch in the opposite direction.

Lat. Hours of the Cross, hymn “Veni Creator Spiritus,” Lord’s Prayer; ME and MF proverbs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *York. Writers* 2:340–45, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; Durkin 47, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.26, *IPMEP* 309, Hanna (2) 156–58, *NIMEV* index p. 314, s.v. Bodl. Eng. poet. a.1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *IMEP* 12 4–8, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, Serjeantson 222–61, Guddat-Figge 269–80, Kane *A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148.

D2.4

I knowleche me gilte and zelde me to god almyghty and to his blessid modir seynt mary and to alle the holy compeny of heuene and to the gostly fader here in godys stede . . . that we haue the blys that euyr shal leste withowte mys and that it mote so be. Amen lorde par charite pro peccatis meis et pro peccatis nostris. Psalmus Miserere mei deus.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 596, 31v–34r

England, ca. 1415; Hertfordshire dial.; connected with Westminster Abbey

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal mercy, five senses.

CONTEXT: “Parce Mihi Domine” penitential poem, *Life of Adam*, Lamentation of Our Lady; Lat. treatises on sins, virtues, Lord’s Prayer, gifts of the Holy Spirit, and Commandments, treatise on estates behavior, dialogue between devil and angel on temptations

of man, petition from Westminster Abbey to king, historical lists and notes, short chronicle of kings of England and Westminster (1326–89), list of saint-kings, kings of England, and their burial places up to 1413, list of mayors and officials of London (1189–1413), form of coronation; Lat. and AN deposition of Richard II by Parliament in 1399.¹⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 48, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.21, *IPMEP* 309, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 2376, Parkes 14, *NIMEV* 561/1, 2574/2, 3612/1, *Atlas* 1:146.

D2.5

I knowlege me gylyt and yelde me to god almyghty and to hys blessed moder seynt Mary to alle the holy company of heuen and to the gostly fader here in godys stede . . . I knowlege me gylyt and beseche god allmyghty of mercy and hys dere moder seynt Mary and all the holy company of heuen.

These ben the seuyn dedely synnes

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 322, 17ra–vb

England, 1400–1450; Dom. priory of Blessed Virgin and St. Margaret at

Dartford, Kent; partly in the hand of a prolific London area scribe who

¹⁴ Bodley 596 contains four separate manuscripts bound together. The contents given here are from the first one in the volume (A in *Oxf. Sum. Cat.*). Durkin classifies this MS separately from D2.1, D2.2, and D2.3 above, but acknowledges that this MS substantially follows the others, only with some variations and omissions.

also wrote anthologies of works by Chaucer and Lydgate; owned by Thomas Knollys of North Mimms, Hertfordshire (d. 1445), whose daughter married William Baron of Berkshire; gift of William Baron to priory for personal use of his “niece” (probably granddaughter) Pernelle Wrattisley; owned in earlier 16th cent. by Sir Christopher Barker of Norroy, Sir Thomas Wall of Garter¹⁵

CONTENTS: Excerpt containing only the section on the seven deadly sins.¹⁶

CONTEXT: Devotional miscellany: trans. Richard Rolle *De emendatione vitae, Craft of Dying, Treatise of Ghostly Battle*, trans. Adam the Carthusian *Scala claustralium*, trans. Heinrich Suso *Orologium sapientiae* chap. 5, *Charter of Heavenly Heritage* from *Pore Caitif*, John Lydgate and other religious verse, “Nine Lessons on the Dirige” in verse attrib. Rolle, penitential verse “Parce Michi Domine,” tracts on faith, hope, charity, humility, dying, Eucharist, tribulation, mercy of God, prayer, works of mercy, another form of confession (see D1.4).

¹⁵ Much of Douce 322 served as a model for Harley 1706 (see D1.8 and D2.6), and Doyle (222–43) has established the close connections between these two MSS, Bodley 923 (see D5.1 and D6.1), the communities of nuns at Dartford and Barking, and the Vere family.

¹⁶ Because this MS contains only the opening part of the text on the seven deadly sins, Durkin classifies it separately from the other D2 MSS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 49, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.25, *IMEP* 4 74–86, *IPMEP* 309, Hanna (2) 152–55, *NIMEV* 561/2, 741/1, 1460/4, 1721/3, 1781/7, 1854/1, 2352/1, 2585/1, 3143/1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 21896, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:1097, *MLGB* 57, *Atlas* 1:148, Doyle 222–30.

D2.6

I knowlege me gylyt and yelde me to god almyghty and to hys blessed moder seynt Mary to alle the holy company off heuen and to the gostly Fader here in goddys stede . . . I knowlege me gylyt and beseche god almyghty off mercy and hys dere moder seynt mary and alle the holy company off heuyn.

These ben the seuyn dedely synnes

London, British Library, Harley 1706, 17va–18rb

England, 1475–1500; Northamptonshire dial.; belonged to Barking abbey of Ben. nuns, Essex, then owned in early 16th cent. by Lady Elizabeth Beaumont (d. 1537, wife of William Beaumont and later John Vere, Earl of Oxford)¹⁷

CONTENTS: Excerpt containing only the section on the seven deadly sins.¹⁸

¹⁷ She inscribes her name in different locations both as Elizabeth Beaumont and Elizabeth Oxford, indicating she owned the book from the time of her first marriage.

¹⁸ As with D2.5, this MS contains only the opening part of the text on the seven deadly sins, and for this reason, Durkin classifies this MS separately from the other D2 MSS.

CONTEXT: Devotional miscellany: John Lydgate and other religious verse, penitential poem "Parce Michi Domine," trans. Heinrich Suso *Orologium sapientiae* chap. 5, *Craft of Dying, Treatise of Gostly Bateyle*, tract on Eucharist attrib. Albertus Magnus, trans. Adam the Carthusian *Scala claustralium*, trans. Richard Rolle *De emendatione vitae*, meditation attrib. Augustine, tract on prayer, another form of confession (see D1.8), *Charter of Heavenly Heritage* from *Pore Caitif*, verse *Aristotle's ABC*, medical recipes.¹⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 49, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.24, IPMEP 309, Hanna (2) 97–99, NIMEV 469/2, 475/1, 505/1, 561/5, 741/2, 880/1, 1126/3, 1416/2, 1460/5, 1721/4, 1746/1, 1748/1, 1781/8, 1815/3, 1854/4, 1937/2, 2352/2, 2585/2, 2770/3, 3040/2, 3143/3, 3262/3, 3685/5, 3793/3, 4160/6, *BL Harley* 2:178–79, *Atlas* 1:110, Doyle 222–33.

¹⁹ The first half of Harley 1706, including the forms of confession, is a copy of Bodleian MS Douce 322 (see D1.4 and D2.5), which along with Bodley 923 (see D5.1 and D6.1) are all connected with the Vere family and illustrate ideals about vernacular religious reading in later medieval England. See Doyle 222–43. In the Harley MS on fol. 212v, a rubricated note prescribes what spiritual reading should involve: "We schulde rede and vse bokes in to þis ende and entente, for formys of preysynge and preyngne to god, to oure lady seynte marye and to alle þe seyntes, þat we myȝte haue by þe forseyd vse of redyngne vnderstondyng of god of hys benyfetyng of hys lawe, of hys seruyce or sume oþer goodly and gostely trowþis, or ellys þat we myȝte haue good affeccyon toward god and hys seyntes and hys seruyce to be gendryd and geten" (my transcription following MS punctuation). Doyle comments on the particularly "religious" meaning of this sort of reading, that is, that it stipulates "a regular habit of mind and living, shared by solitaries and widows in vows . . . besides monks, nuns, and friars, and accepted as something to be emulated, so far as possible, by earnest seculars, clerks and layfolk" (231).

D2.7

Benedicite. Dominus. Confiteor deo beate Marie omnibus sanctis et vobis peccau
mea culpa. I knowlege and yeld me gylty to god alle myghty . . .

Bristol, Public Library, MS 6, 134r–37v

England, 1502; hospital of St. Mark, Bristol

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven corporal
and spiritual works of mercy, articles of the faith, sacrament of the
Eucharist, four cardinal and three spiritual virtues, seven gifts of
the Holy Spirit, five spiritual and bodily senses.²⁰

CONTEXT: Tracts on tribulation, temptations, discernment of
spirits, rule of eremitical life of St. Augustine doubtfully attrib.
Richard Rolle; Lat. exposition of Sarum sequences and difficult
words of missal and psalter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 50, Jolliffe C.21, Raymo 211.27, IPMEP 309, MMBL
2:203.

D3.1

I be knowe to god and to owr lady seynt Marie and to alle þe seyntes in heuene
and to þe gostleche fader þat I synful creature þat was getyn and beryn in synne

²⁰ Because this MS contains some material not in other D2 MSS, Durkin classifies it separately; but most of the text here follows D2.

and sythen þat I was of age and of discrecyoun for to haue wythstonden synne . . .
. I ʒelde me giltif and aske merce and forʒeuenesse of god and of þe gostleche
fader mede bytwene god and me of special penance and absolucyoun þerfore
prayinge þat blyssed moder and mayden oure lady seynt marye . . . and alle þe
seyntes in heuene þat þey prayen for me to god almithi þat he wile for hys
derworthe passi[on] haue mercy vpon me.

*Hec est forma confessionis pri[m]o penitens genuflectendo deuote coram sacerdote dicat
sic Benedicite. sacerdos respondet Dominus. Tunc penitens dicet sic.*

London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687, pp. 359–73

England, ca. 1400; NW Suffolk dial.; archives of the Lord of Healing,
Lincolnshire in 16th cent.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, sacraments,
seven corporal works of mercy, five senses. Interspersed
throughout are Latin instructions for a priest to help guide the
penitent in confessing.

CONTEXT: The form of confession, at p. 373, becomes a tract on the
articles of faith and cardinal virtues, with exposition of the first
words of the *Confiteor* and directions about the practice of

confession (377–80).²¹ *Piers Plowman A-text, Prick of Conscience*,
Richard Lavynham *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, treatise on
Commandments, Lord’s Prayer, Ave Maria, and Creed, tract on
Eucharist and excommunication; Lat. *Speculum sacerdotis*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 21, Jolliffe C.17, Raymo 211.15, *MMBL* 1:314, *Atlas*
1:137, Kane *A-Text* 11–12.

D3.2

I be knowe to god and to our lady seynt Mary and to all þe seyntes in heuen and
to þe gostely fader that I sinful creatur þat was goten and born in syn and sithen
that I was of age and discrecion for to haue withstond syn . . . I me yeld gylytly and

²¹ Unlike Durkin, I have considered this tract as separate from the form of confession, as the tract begins with a new incipit: “Hic incipiunt quatuordecim Articuli fidei vnde septem pertinent ad deitatem et septem ad humanitatem” (p. 373). The tract itself does begin as if it is a continuation of the form of confession, with a first-person avowal of failing to believe in any of the fourteen articles of faith (“Also I preye to god almythi and oure lady seynte Marye and alle þe seyntes in heuene mercy and forʒeuenesse ʒif I haue trespaced in oni of þe fowrtene artecles of þe feth . . .”), but this first-person mode shifts immediately into a summary and explication of the articles of faith and the seven virtues that adopts a first-person plural form as in a sermon. At the conclusion of this part of the tract, the following statement is then made: “It is to knowe þat eche body [that] is sinful may seyn hys schrifte in þys maner as byform is wretin addyngge or abreggyngge more other lesse as hym lyketh and after þat he hat grace of god beginning wyth þer wordys as byforen is wreten” (p. 377). The significance of the words of the *Confiteor* is then explained with directives for making a good confession. And the tract concludes with another statement: “Þys manere of schrifte hys wreton here nought for þat eche man schal seye al þat is wreten here but þat it be diligentliche and ofte iseyn and alle þe synnis þat he felith hym giltif inne with contricioun sey hem to hys schrifte fader in þe manere as byform is wretyn” (p. 381). These comments about confession clearly link this tract on the articles of faith and the virtues with the preceding form of confession, and so both texts can be regarded as companion pieces. Failing to believe the articles of faith and practicing the virtues are common topics in forms of confession, and many forms of confession appear next to other catechistic tracts in the manuscripts.

aske mercy and foryeuenesse of god, and of the gostely fader, mede bitwixt god
and me, and special penaunce and absolucioun therfor praying that blisfull
moder and mayden oure lady Seynt Mary . . . and all the seyntes in heuen, that
they pray fore me to allmyghti god, þat he wol of his derworth passion haue
mercy on me.

*Hec est forma confessionis. penitens genuflectendo deuote coram sacerdote dicat sic,
Benedicite. Sacerdos respondet, dominus. Tunc penitens dicet sic.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 60, 213r–22v²²

England, mid-15th cent.; Pencoyd in Herefordshire; owned by parish
priest near Welsh border, but in Buckinghamshire or Northamptonshire
dial.

CONTENTS: See D3.1.

CONTEXT: John Mirk *Festial* and *Instructions for Parish Priests*,
Richard Lavynham *Litel Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, tract on
articles of faith and cardinal virtues with directions about the
practice of confession.

²² One sheet is blank (fols. 215v–16r), apparently a scribal mistake, as none of the text is missing. The text continues to folio 227v with commentary on the articles of faith, the cardinal virtues, an exposition of the words of the *Confiteor*, and directions about the practice of confession. Durkin treats this material along with the form of confession as a single text, but this tract clearly begins with a new rubricated incipit: “Hic incipiunt quatuordecim Articuli fidei, vnde Septem pertinet ad deitatem, Septem ad humanitatem” (222v).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 21, Jolliffe C.17, Raymo 211.14, *IMEP* 4 25–30, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 21634, Kristensson 20–21, Wakelin 104–5, *Atlas* 1:147.

D4

I schryue me and knawes me culpabylle to god alle myghty and to oure Lady seynt mary to seynt Petre and seynt Paule to seynt Benet oure holy fadyr and to alle þe fayre felyschyp of heuen and to yow gastely fadyr vndyr godde of alle my synnes þat is to saye etc. [entire text given].

Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 102 (D.27), 49r

England, ca. 1400; Ben. abbey of St. Mary, York

CONTENTS: This text is cited among directions on confession for female religious as the way to begin in English, preceded by “Quibus sic prima locutis confiteatur reus peccata sua in compunctione cordis et effusione lacrimarum prout deus dederit sic incipiendo in lingua materna.”

CONTEXT: Lat. consuetudinary of St. Mary's.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 17, Jolliffe C.35, Raymo 211.49, *Camb. St. John's* 135–37, *MLGB* 217, *Atlas* 1:64.

D5.1

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to almighty god and to his blisful moder marie and to all the companye of heuen and to ʒow goostly fader þat fro the tyme I was

last confessed or from tyme I had 3eres of discrecioun greuously I haue offended my god wiþ þought speche and dede and all my wittes bodily and goostly in þe seuene dedely synnes and in þe spices of hem nat performyng the ten comaundement3 ne fulfillyng þe seuen dedes of mercy . . . I 3elde me coupable to oure lord god and put me hooly in his mercy beseching his blesful modere oure lady seint mari and alle þe companye of heuene þat they prey for me and 3ow goostly fader þat 3e graunt me absolucioun in þe name of holy chirche and þat 3e 3eue such penaunce as is moost helpinge to my soule. Confiteor deo et cetera.

Prol. Ech body þat schal be confessed be he neuer so hegh of degre or of state oweth to schewe lowenesse in hert lowenesse in speche and lowenesse in body . .

A forme of general confessioun and how a man may schewe clerely be þe spices of þe seuen dedely synnes all oþer synnes and how ech dedely synne in þis forme is deuuyded in þre parties thought speche and dede

The Cleansyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), long form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7²³

²³ For the date of composition of the *Cleansyng of Mannes Soule*, see Everett diss. x–xii. The *Cleansyng* is a manual designed to teach the penitent how to participate in the sacrament of confession. It is divided into the three traditional parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession, and satisfaction; each part contains seven chapters. Part 2, chapter 7 presents both a long and a short form of confession.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 923, 72r–107r

England, late 14th cent.; dial. of Thames Valley in East Midlands; owned by Sibille de Felton, abbess of Ben. abbey of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga (1394–1419), Barking, Essex²⁴

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins subdivided according to sins of thought, word, and deed, with Commandments, five senses, and seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy covered under various of the seven sins.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with this long embedded form of confession followed by a second short embedded form of confession (see D6.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84.1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 27701, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:769, Everett diss. x–xii and xxxiv–xxxvi, Everett 265–79, Regan diss. viii–xii and liv–lvi, Liddell 258–61.²⁵

²⁴ Bodleian Douce 322 and BL Harley 1706, religious miscellanies containing forms of confessions (see D1.4 and D2.5, D1.8 and D2.6), are also connected to the communities of nuns at Barking abbey and Dartford priory and with the Vere family. Barking was the chief nunnery in later medieval England for promoting literacy, only surpassed by Syon abbey in the fifteenth century. See Doyle 239–43, for a description of extant manuscripts known to have been associated with Barking. Doyle notes that Bodley 923 was made “for a nunnery in the East Midlands by a clerical friend and confessor, and possibly for Barking itself” (240).

²⁵ Everett’s edition of the confession section of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule* is based on CUL MS li.i.2 (D5.4), with variant readings supplied from Bodley 923 (D5.1), Sloane 774 (D5.3), Harley 4012 (D5.6), and Throckmorton (D5.7). Everett did not know of the Hunter 15 excerpt or the Exeter Cathedral fragment. Regan’s edition of the entire work is based solely on Bodley 923.

D5.2

[B]enedicite etc. I knoweleche to god almyghty, and to his blessedde moder Marie, and al the companye of heuene, and to 3ow my goostly fader . . . trewely whiche I hadde byhoten or whiche I hadde taken in charge by seruice . . . [ends imperfectly].

Prolog. Euerybody that shal ben confessed be he neuere so heigh degree or of estate oweth to shewe lowenesse in herte, lowenesse in speche, and lowenesse in body . . .

A tretys made vpon the vii dedly synnes. in manere of a confession. And euery synne is diuuyded in iii parties. thought. speche. and dede.

Clensyng of Mannes Soule, excerpt from part 2, chap. 7

Durham, Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, Hunter 15, part 2, 44va–48vb

England, 1400–1425; late-16th- to early-17th-cent. annotation by Irish student James Forrest of Youghal, Cork; other owners include Mary Benson, Edmond Forest

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins subdivided according to sins of thought, word, and deed, with Commandments, five senses, and seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy covered under various of the seven sins, ending imperfectly in middle of sloth (the second

sin, following pride).

CONTEXT: Excerpt of the long form of confession from the confession section of *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, Thomas Wimbledon's sermon, regimen of health.²⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe C.5 and E.14, Raymo 84.6, *MMBL* 2:493–94.²⁷

D5.3

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to almyghty god and to hys blyssud modur Marie and to alle the companye of heuene and to ʒow goostly fadur. That from þe tyme that I was last confessud or from the tyme þat I hadde ʒerus of discrecioun. greuowsly I haue offendud my god wiþ thowgth speche and dede alle my wyttes bodyly and goostly in the seuene dedly sennes and in þe spyces of hem. not performyng the ten comawndementys nor fulfyllyd the seuene dedys of mercy . . . I ʒelde me cowpable to hym and putte me holly in hys mercy. Besechyng hys blessud modur marye and alle the companye of heuene that they preye for me and ʒow goostly fader that ʒe graunt me absolucioun in the name

²⁶ The MS is bound following another one (part 1) from the 13th cent.

²⁷ Durkin omits the Hunter 15 text from his catalogue, while Jolliffe considers it separately from manuscripts of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*.

of holy chyrche and that 3e 3eue me such penawnce as is most helply to my
sowle.

*A forme of a generalle confessioun how a man may shewe clerely by þe spices of þe vii
deedly synnes alle oþer synnes and how euery deedly synne in þis forme is diuidede in
thre parties þoght speche and dede*

Prolog. Every bodye þat shalle be confessede be he neuere soo hye degree oþer of
astate aght to shewe lownes in herte lowenes in speche and lowenes in body . . .

The Cleansyng of Mannes Soule, long form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7

London, British Library, Sloane 774, 1r–29r

England, 1400–1450; owned by Grene family

CONTENTS: See D5.1.

CONTEXT: Excerpt of this long form of confession followed by the
short form of confession (see D6.2) from the confession section (pt.
2, chap. 7) of *The Cleansyng of Mannes Soule*, devotional meditation,
another form of confession (see D19), a medical recipe, record of
births of Grene family.²⁸

²⁸ This registry of the Grene family at the end of the MS (fols. 46r–47r), written in cursive secretary, records the births of Margaret (1484), Elizabeth (1486), Robert (1489), John (1490), and a second John (1492). (Everett diss. xlvii–xlviii, wrongly reads the dates as 1444–1452.) Each entry details the exact day and time of birth and lists godparents and gifts given at the children’s baptisms by various friends, indicating that the MS was in the family’s possession at the time of the births. While the MS, then, should be dated no later than 1484, the rest of the MS is written in a Bastard Anglicana hand, with no secretary influence, datable most likely to the

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe C.5 and E.14, Raymo 84.5, *BL Sloane unpub.* 143, *BL Sloane* 1:49, Everett diss. xlvii–xlviii, Everett 265–79, Revell 343.²⁹

D5.4

Benedicite. I knowleche to almyȝti god. and to his blissid modir marie. and to alle þe cumpanye of heuene. and to ȝou goostli fadir. þat fro þe tyme þat y was laste confessid. or fro þe tyme þat y hadde ȝeeris of discrecion. greuously y haue offendid my god wiþ þouȝt speche and deede and alle my wittis bodili and goostli. in þe .vij. deedli synnes. and in þe spicis of hem. not parfoorming þe ten comaundementis. ne fulfillyng þe seuene deedis of mercy . . . I ȝilde me culpable to my lord god and putte me in his mercy. biseching his blissid modir oure ladi seynt marie and alle þe cumpanye of heuene þat þei preie for me. and ȝou goostli fadir þat ȝe graunte me absolucion in þe name of holi chirche. and þat ȝe ȝeue suche penaunce as is moost helping to my soule. Confiteor deo et cetera.

Prol. Ech bodi þat schal be confessid be he neuer of so hiȝe degree or of staat owiþ to shewe lownes in herte. lownes in speche. and lownes of bodi . . .

first half of the fifteenth century. Everett diss., xlvii, follows Ayscough's catalogue in dating the MS generally to the fifteenth century.

²⁹ Durkin omits this text from Sloane 774, while Jolliffe considers it separately from manuscripts of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*.

*A Foorme of general confession and hou a man may schewe cleerli bi þe spicis of þe
seuene deedli synnes alle opere synnes and hou ech deedly synne in þis foorme is dyuydid
in þre parties þou3t speche and dede*

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), long form of confession embedded in
part 2, chap. 7

Cambridge, University Library, li.1.2, 53rb–79ra

England, 15th cent.; Southeast Midlands dial.; owned by Henry Norgate,

Thomas Norgate

CONTENTS: See D5.1.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with this long embedded
form of confession and a second short embedded form of
confession (see D6.3), *A Declaracion of a Cristen Mannes Bileeue*
(commentary on articles of faith).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe E.14,

Raymo 84.2, *CUL* 3:314, Everett diss. x–xii, xxxvi–xl, and l–liv, Everett 265–79.

D5.5

[Beginning missing] . . . longe avisement & abidyngis to sich actuel synne wiþ
persoones of sich degree & speciali wiþ a wyf or wiþ an husbonde . . . for siche
causis, and þus longe vsid, which was a greuous synne azens þe precept of my
god where I am comaundid . . . [ending missing].

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), long form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7

Exeter, Cathedral Library, Fragment FMS 5, 1r–v

England, 15th cent.

CONTENTS: Fragment of long form of confession from section confessing deeds of lechery.³⁰

CONTEXT: A fragment of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, which contains part of the embedded long form of confession and a part of the embedded short form of confession (see D6.4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84, Everett diss. x–xii, xxxvi–xl, and l–liv, Everett 265–79.

D5.6

Benedicite. I knowliche too almyghty god and to his blessid moder mary and to alle þe company of heuyn and to you gostely fader þat from þe tyme I was laste

³⁰ This is a bifolium fragment kept in “The Exeter Book case drawer 2: uncatalogued medieval fragments,” in the envelope designated FMS 5. In response to a query from Avril Henry, who is preparing a forthcoming volume for the *Index of Middle English Prose* that includes Exeter Cathedral MSS, I have identified this fragment as coming from a copy of the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*. The fragment, following Everett’s edition, comes from the end of the long form of confession (p. 129, line 14 to p. 132, line 11). It is clear that this fragment once belonged to a complete copy of the text (or at least a complete copy of section 2 of the text), as is indicated by the headings on each folio: “of the sinne of leccherie in deed of confessioun capitulum vijm” (final section of long form) and “a schort foorme of confessioun in deede capitulum vijm” (beginning of short form [see D6.4]). This fragment may now be considered part of the extant textual tradition of the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*. I thank Professor Henry for providing me with information from her catalogue on this fragment.

confessid or from þe tyme þat I had yeris of dis[c]recoun greuously I haue
offendid my godd . . . I yelde me culpabill to oure lord godd and put me in his
mercy beseching his blessidfull moder oure lady sent mary and all þe company
of heuen þat þei pray for me and you gostely fader þat ye graunte me
absolucoun in þe name of holy cherche and þat ye yeue suche penaunce as is
most helping to my sawle. Confiteor deo et cetera.

Prol. Iche body þat shal be confessid be he neuer of so hy degre or state aught to
shew laulines in hert . . .

*A forme of general confession and how a man mai clereli sh[ew] þe spicis of þe vii dedli
sinnes and hou eche dedli sinne in þis forme were deuided and is in þought speche and
dede*

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), long form of confession embedded in
part 2, chap. 7

London, British Library, Harley 4012, 29r–45v

England, ca. 1460

CONTENTS: See D5.1.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with this long embedded
form of confession and a second short embedded form of
confession (see D6.5), *The Charter of Our Heritage, Mirror of Sinners*,
first four chaps. of *Mirror of St. Edmund*, commentary on Jesus's

words to St. Moll (i.e., Mary), treatise on meekness, commentary on articles of faith, tracts on attaining heaven and tribulation, pardon of Sion Abbey, a devotional poem, a few verse saints' lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84.4, Everett diss. x–xii and xl–xliii, Everett 265–79, *BL Harley* 3:103–4, *NIMEV* 3827/2.

D5.7

Benedicite. I knowleche to almyȝti god and to his blissid modir marie and to alle þe cumpanye of heuene and to ȝou goostli fadir þat for þe tyme þat y was laste confessid or from þe tyme þat y hadde ȝeeris of discrecion greuously y haue offendid my god . . .³¹ I ȝilde me culpable to our lorde god and putte me in his mercy biseching his blesful modir oure ladi seynt marie and alle þe cumpanye of heuene þat þei preie for me and ȝou goostli fadir þat ȝe graunte me absolucion in þe name of holi chirche and þat ȝe ȝeue suche penaunce as is moost helping to my soule. Confiteor deo et cetera.

Prol. Ech bodi þat schal be confessid be he neuer of so hiȝe degree or of staat owiþ to shewe lownes in herte . . .

A Forme of general confessyoun and a man may shewe clerly by þe spyces of þe vij dedly

³¹ The textual material has been reconstructed from Everett's critical edition.

*synnes alle opere synnes and hou ech deedly synne in þis foorme is dyuydid in þre parties
in þou3t speche and dede*

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), long form of confession embedded in
part 2, chap. 7

Warwickshire, Coughton Court, Throckmorton MS, 53v ff.³²

England, 1450–1475

CONTENTS: See D5.1.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with this long embedded
form of confession and a second short embedded form of
confession (see D6.6), *Mirror of Sinners*, *Treatise of Ghostly Battle*,
Charter of Heavenly Heritage, *Mirror of St. Edmund*, trans. Cato's
Distichs attrib. Benedict Burgh, meditation on prudence, tracts on
self-regulation, judgment day, Jesus's words to St. Moll (i.e., Mary),
and meekness, commentary on articles of faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 112–63; Jolliffe E.14,
Raymo 84.7, Everett diss. x–xii and xliii–xlvi, Everett 265–79, Wilson 295.

³² The texts of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule* and the *Mirror of St. Edmund* are mixed together in alternating sections in this MS. The complete text of *Clensyng* appears on 23r–45v, 51r–52v, and 53v–78r. Without being able to consult this MS, I cannot be certain where the confession ends; Everett diss. and Jolliffe indicate where it begins.

D6.1

Benedicite et cetera. I knoweleche to almyzty god and to his blissful moder marie and all þe companye of heuen and to 3ow goostly fadire þat greuously I haue offendid my god in manye spices of alle þe seuen dedely synnes siþen my last confessioun be þo3t speche and dede . . . I 3elde me cowpable to my god and put me in his mercy and aske absolucioun and penaunce for my synne in þe name of holy chirche. Confiteor deo beate marie omnibu3 sanctis et vobis pater quia ego peccat[rix] peccaui nimis in congitatione locucione delectacione omissione et opere mea culpa. Ideo precor vos orate pro me.³³

A schort forme of confessioun for such men and women which ofte ben confessed

The Cleansyng of Mannes Soule, short form of confession embedded in part 2, chap.

7³⁴

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 923, 107r–15v

England, late 14th cent.; dial. of Thames Valley in East Midlands; owned

by Sibille de Felton, abbess of Ben. abbey of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga

(1394–1419), Barking, Essex³⁵

³³Regan has *peccatorum* instead of *peccatrix* in the explicit, but the other manuscripts show that the abbreviated *peccat* should be expanded to *peccatrix*.

³⁴For the date of composition of the *Cleansyng of Mannes Soule*, see Everett diss. x–xii. The *Cleansyng* is a manual designed to teach the penitent how to participate in the sacrament of confession. It is divided into the three traditional parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession, and satisfaction; each part contains seven chapters. Part 2, chapter 7 presents both a long and a short form of confession.

CONTENTS: Sins of thought, word, deed, and omission.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with a long embedded form of confession (see D5.1) followed by this short embedded form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 133–49, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84.1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 27701, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:769, Everett diss. x–xii and xxxiv–xxxvi, Everett 265–79, Regan diss. viii–xii and liv–lvi, Liddell 258–61.³⁶

D6.2

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to almyghty god and to hys blysfyl moder Marie and alle the companye of heuen and to 3ow gostly fadur that greuowsly I haue offendyd my god in manye spices of alle the seuene dedly synnes sythen my laste confessioun by thowgth speche and dede . . . Wherefore as ferforth as god knowyth me [g]ultry I 3elde me cowpable to hym and putte me in hys mercy

³⁵ Bodleian MS Douce 322 and BL Harley 1706, religious miscellanies containing forms of confessions (see D1.4 and D2.5, D1.8 and D2.6), are also connected to the communities of nuns at Barking abbey and Dartford priory and with the Vere family. Barking was the chief nunnery in later medieval England for promoting literacy, only surpassed by Syon abbey in the fifteenth century. See Doyle 239–43, for a description of extant manuscripts known to have been associated with Barking. Doyle notes that Bodley 923 was made “for a nunnery in the East Midlands by a clerical friend and confessor, and possibly for Barking itself” (240).

³⁶ Everett’s edition of the confession section of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule* is based on CUL MS li.i.2 (D6.4), with variant readings supplied from Bodley 923 (D6.1), Sloane 774 (D6.3), Harley 4012 (D6.6), and Throckmorton (D6.7). Everett did not know of the Exeter Cathedral fragment. Regan’s edition of the entire work is based solely on Bodley 923.

and aske absolucioun and penaunce for my synne in the name of holy chyrche.

Confiteor deo et cetera.

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule, excerpt from part 2, chap. 7

A schort Forme of confessioun for men and women wyche vsen ofte to be confessud

London, British Library, Sloane 774, 29r–36v

England, 1400–1450; owned by Grene family

CONTENTS: See D6.1.

CONTEXT: Excerpt of the long form of confession (see D5.3)

followed by this short form of confession from the confession section (pt. 2, chap. 7) of *The Cleansyng of Mannes Soule*, devotional meditation, another form of confession (see D19), a medical recipe, record of births of Grene family.³⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 64–133, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe C.5 and

E.14, Raymo 84.5, *BL Sloane unpub.* 143, *BL Sloane* 1:49, Everett diss. xlvii–xlviiii,

³⁷ This registry of the Grene family at the end of the MS (fols. 46r–47r), written in cursive secretary, records the births of Margaret (1484), Elizabeth (1486), Robert (1489), John (1490), and a second John (1492). (Everett diss. xlvii–xlviiii, wrongly reads the dates as 1444–1452.) Each entry details the exact day and time of birth and lists godparents and gifts given at the children’s baptisms by various friends, indicating that the MS was in the family’s possession at the time of the births. While the MS, then, should be dated no later than 1484, the rest of the MS is written in a Bastard Anglicana hand, with no secretary influence, datable most likely to the first half of the fifteenth century. Everett diss., xlvii, follows Ayscough’s catalogue in dating the MS generally to the fifteenth century.

D6.3

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to almyȝti god and to his blissid modir marie and to alle þe cumpany of heuene and to ȝou my goostli fadir þat greuouli y haue offendid god in manye spicis of þe seuene deedli synnes siþen my laste confession bi þouȝt speche and deede . . . y ȝilde me culpable to my god and putte me in his merci and aske absolucion and penaunce for my synne in þe name of holi chirche. Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis pater quia ego peccatrix peccaui nimis in cogitacione locucione dilectacione omissione et opere mea culpa ideo precor vos orare pro me.

Epil. This is the eende of þe secunde parti Wherynne y haue schewid ȝou what is confession . . .

A Schort foorme of confession for suche men and wymmen þat ben ofte confessid

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), short form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7

Cambridge, University Library, li.1.2, 79ra–85rb

England, 15th cent.; Southeast Midland dial.; owned by Henry Norgate,

Thomas Norgate

³⁸ Durkin omits this text from Sloane 774, while Jolliffe considers it separately from manuscripts of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*.

CONTENTS: See D6.1.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with a long embedded form of confession (see D5.4) followed by this short embedded form of confession, *A Declaracion of a Cristen Mannes Bileue* (commentary on articles of faith).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 133–49, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84.2, *CUL* 3:314, Everett diss. x–xii, xxxvi–xl, and l–liv, Everett 265–79.

D6.4

[Beginning missing] . . . [kynge] of money or fals chartris seelis or keies of lettre or opere thingis. I haue also withholde temperal good vnlawefully . . . myspendid my fiue wittis rapere aboute [vices and] vanitees . . . [ending missing].

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), short form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7

Exeter, Cathedral Library, Fragment FMS 5, 2r–v

England, 15th cent.

CONTENTS: Fragment of short form of confession from section confessing sins according to deeds.³⁹

³⁹This is a bifolium fragment kept in “The Exeter Book case drawer 2: uncatalogued medieval fragments,” in the envelope designated FMS5. In response to a query from Avril Henry, who is

CONTEXT: A fragment of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, which contains part of the embedded long form of confession (see D5.5) followed by part of this embedded short form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 133–49, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84, Everett diss. x–xii, xxxvi–xl, and l–liv, Everett 265–79.

D6.5

Benedicite et cetera. I knowlige to allmyghty god and to his moder mary and to all þe company of heuyn and to you my gostely fader þat greuosly I haue offendid god in many spicis of þe vii dedly synnes si[th] my last confessioun bi pouʒt speche and deede . . . I yelde me culpable to my godd and put me in his mercy and ax absolucoun and pen[aunce] for my sinne in the name of holy cherche. Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis pater quia ego peccatrix peccaui nimis in cogitacione locucionem dilectacionem omissiōem et opere

preparing a forthcoming volume for the *Index of Middle English Prose* that includes Exeter Cathedral MSS, I have identified this fragment as coming from a copy of the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*. The fragment, following Everett's edition, comes from the beginning of the short form of confession (p. 143, line 7 to p. 146, line 4). It is clear that this fragment once belonged to a complete copy of the text (or at least a complete copy of section 2 of the text), as is indicated by the headings on each folio: "of the sinne of lecherie in deed of confessioun capitulum vijm" (final section of long form [see D5.6]) and "a schort foorme of confessioun in deede capitulum vijm" (beginning of short form). This fragment may now be considered part of the extant textual tradition of the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*. I thank Professor Henry for providing me with information from her catalogue on this fragment.

mea culpa ideo precor vos orate pro me.⁴⁰

Epil. This is the ende of the iide parte wherin I haue sheuid you what is
confession . . .

A shorte forme of confession for suche men and women þat be [o]fte confessid

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), short form of confession embedded in
part 2, chap. 7

British Library, Harley 4012, 45v–49v

England, ca. 1460

CONTENTS: See D6.1.

CONTEXT: *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, with a long embedded
form of confession (see D5.6) followed by this short embedded
form of confession, *The Charter of Our Heritage*, *Mirror of Sinners*, 4
chaps. from *Mirror of St. Edmund*, commentary on Jesus's words to
St. Moll (i.e., Mary), treatise on meekness, commentary on articles
of faith, tracts on attaining heaven, tribulation, pardon of Sion
Abbey, two devotional poems, a few verse saints' lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 133–49, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe E.14,
Raymo 84.4, Everett diss. x–xii and xl–xliii, *BL Harley* 3:103–4, *NIMEV* 3827/2.

⁴⁰The speaker identified as *peccatrix* indicates that this shorter form of confession was written with a female audience in mind.

D6.6

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to almyȝti god and to his blissid modir marie and to alle þe cumpany of heuene and to ȝou my goostli fadir þat greuouli y haue offendid god in manye spicis of þe seuene deedli synnes siþen my laste confession bi þouȝt speche and dede . . .⁴¹ y ȝilde me culpable to my god and putte me in his merci and aske absolucion and penaunce for my synne in þe name of holi chirche. Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis pater quia ego peccatrix peccauim nimis in cogitatione locutione dilectione omissione et opere mea culpa ideo precor vos orare pro me.

Epil. This is the eende of þe secunde parti Wherynne y haue schewid ȝou what is confession . . .

A Schort foorme of confession for suche men and wymmen þat ben ofte confessid

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule (1382–1419), short form of confession embedded in part 2, chap. 7

Warwickshire, Coughton Court, Throckmorton MS, [?]-78r⁴²

England, 1450–1475

CONTENTS: See D6.1.

⁴¹ The textual material has been reconstructed from Everett's critical edition.

⁴² The texts of *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule* and the *Mirror of St. Edmund* are mixed together in alternating sections in this MS. The complete text of *Clensyng* appears on 23r–45v, 51r–52v, and 53v–78r. Without being able to consult this MS, I cannot be sure where this confession begins; Everett diss. and Jolliffe indicate where it ends.

CONTEXT: The Clensyng of Mannes Soule, with a long embedded form of confession (see D5.7) followed by this short embedded form of confession, *Mirror of Sinners*, *Treatise of Ghostly Battle*, *Charter of Heavenly Heritage*, *Mirror of St. Edmund*, trans. Cato's *Distichs* attrib. Benedict Burgh, meditation on prudence, tracts on self-regulation, judgment day, Jesus's words to St. Moll (i.e., Mary), meekness, commentary on articles of faith

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Everett diss. 133–49, Regan diss. 163–75; Jolliffe E.14, Raymo 84.7, Everett diss. x–xii and xliii–xlvi, Everett 265–79, Wilson 295.

D7.1

I knowledge to god almyȝti and to his blessid modir marie and to alle his seyntis þat I synful wrecche haue ofte and greuouli synned aȝens his wille . . . Of þese goostli wittis spekiþ crist whanne he criep so ofte in þe gospel, he þat haþ eeris here he, and þat I seie to ȝou; to alle I seie, wake ȝe, for ȝe knowen not þe dai neiþer þe our.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.699, 88v–92r

England, beg. 15th cent.

CONTENTS: This is a Lollard form of confession. It contains no address to a priest, interpolates a Lollard tract on the works of

mercy, and cites scripture frequently and Augustine twice.⁴³ The confession includes the Commandments (but not distinctly enumerated), cursory coverage of the seven deadly sins and five physical and spiritual senses. It then shifts to an allegorizing commentary on Matt. 25:31–46 (Christ’s final judgment), in which Christ suffers from the failure of sinners to do the spiritual works of mercy.⁴⁴

⁴³ Raymo wrongly considers this text as part of the *St. Brendan’s Confession*. Durkin thinks it ends abruptly and may be incomplete, but the text interpolates a Lollard commentary on the works of mercy that is indeed complete. This commentary is quite similar to the text found in Dublin, Trinity College MS 245 (C.5.6), fol. 218r–v, but in the Rawlinson form of confession, the commentary on Matt. 25:31–46 presents the works of spiritual mercy from the point of view of Christ denouncing those who fail to do them, while the Trinity College tract presents the spiritual works of mercy from the point of view of Christ welcoming those who have successfully done them. The Trinity College manuscript is a Lollard compilation that contains, among many works, the tract on the works of mercy noted above, a tract that repudiates the orthodox sacrament of confession and advocates unmediated confession to God, and *A Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng*, “a free translation and adaptation of the first twelve chapters of Wyclif’s *Dialogus*.” For complete description of this manuscript with commentary and an edition of the dialogue, see Somerset. Two other copies of the works of mercy tract are in Brotherton 501, a manuscript containing a form of confession (see D25), and in Cambridge University Library Nn.4.12. I thank Fiona Somerset for these references and for generously sharing a transcription of the works of mercy commentary from TCD 245 and her expert opinion of the D7 form of the confession as being Lollard in character.

⁴⁴ This is one of the few forms of confession that cites patristic or scholastic sources. Here, the text, first quoting Matt. 22:37 and then a comment attributed to St. Augustine, says that God “comaundide to loue him wiþ al myn herte, þat is, as seint austyn seiþ, of al myn vndirstonding wiþouten errour, of al my soule, þat is, of al my wille wiþouten contrariouste, of al my mynde wiþouten forȝeting” (fol. 88v). This exposition actually comes from St. Bonaventure’s commentary on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, *Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum* Bk. I, dist. 3, pt. 2, art. 1, qu. 1, on the way that images are perceived by the trinitarian powers of the soul: “and this is clear through the exposition of [St.] Augustine on that verse in the twenty-second [chapter] of [St.] Matthew: *You shall love the Lord thy God with [thy] whole heart*, ‘that is, with an intellect without error, *with [thy] whole soul*, that is, with a will without contradiction, *with [thy] whole mind*, that is, with a memory without forgetting” [et hoc

CONTEXT: Liturgical calendar, *St. Brendan's Confession* (see D1.3),

Primer (or *Lay Folks' Prayer Book*), *Pore Caitif*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 30, Raymo 211.39, Somerset xxix–xxxvi, xlix–lii, *Oxf.*

Sum. Cat. 12513, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 5/2:352–53, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:860.

D7.2

I knowleche to god almiȝti and to his blesside moder marie and to alle his seyntis
þat I synful wrecche haue ofte and greuouſli synned . . . And þat I sey to ȝow to
alle I seye wake ȝe for ȝe knowen not þe day neþ þe hour.

Confiteor deo celi et cetera

patet per expositionem Augustini super illud verbum Matthaei vigesimo secundo: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde*, “id est, intellectu sine errore, *ex tota anima*, id est, voluntate sine contradictione, *ex tota mente*, id est, memoria sine oblivione”. For the Latin text of Bonaventure’s commentary, see the Quaracchi edition, in *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, vol. 1 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi], 1882), 80–82, at 81b. For the English translation, see Alexis Bugnolo, O.F.M., et al., trans. and ed., *The Franciscan Archives*, “The [Bonaventure] Commentary Project,” <http://www.franciscan-archive.org/bonaventura/commentary-project.html>. This translation is conveniently presented in parallel format with the Quaracchi edition. Thomas Aquinas also attributes this exposition to Augustine, in his commentary on Lombard’s *Sentences* (*Sent.* Bk. III, dist. 27, exposition of the text), while in another place he attributes it to the *Glossa interliniarus* (*Catena Aurea*, Matt. 22:37). But, according to the Quaracchi edition editors (81 n. 8), the wording of this comment does not originate in Augustine’s works at all; it is similar to that of the *Glossa interlinearus* but follows Bonaventure exactly. The text of the form of confession in Rawlinson C.699 does cite Augustine elsewhere, in the *Confessions*: “I was sijk liȝt to haue be ouercomen wiþ synne or al ouercomen in prisoun harde ybounde wiþ a stronge chayne of þe seuene dedli synnes, for þei ben so tackid togidir þat oon mai not be wiþouten alle seuene as seint austyn seiþ, and in a book of his confessiouns of him knowlechip to god, þat of ofte doynge synne he cam in to an vss, and fro vss to custom, and fro custom or consuetude to necessite, and so bounden himsilff wiþ a greet chaine of necessite to þe seuene dedli sinnes” (fol. 91r). The author references *Confessions* VIII.v (10), where Augustine explains bondage to sin in terms of a chain of links, from passion to habit to necessity, that imprisons the will, depriving it of freedom to love God; but the author connects this chain specifically to the seven deadly sins.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 789, 105r–8v

England, 1400–1450; owned in 1601 by Edmund Smith

CONTENTS: See D7.1.

CONTEXT: *Lay Folks' Catechism* with Wycliffite interpolations, Bonaventuran meditation on Passion, trans. Book 5 of Heinrich Suso *Horologium sapientiae*, *Craft of Dying*, devotional verses, treatise on meditation, *ABC of the Passion*, exposition of Lord's Prayer, tracts on friendship with God and comforting the sick, prayer of Bede; Lat. ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatoris*, ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux *Formula honeste ad fratrem suum*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 56, Jolliffe C.26, Raymo 211.32 and 24.4, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 2643, NIMEV 241/1, 406/C4, 1711/1, 1523/3, 1707/1, Hirsch 55–66, Powell 73 n. 24.

D8

. . . yuel tho3tis yuel delit assentyngis to synne . . .

London, National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), E.101/185/1

England, 1409–1412; London

CONTENTS: MS fragment consisting of two lines.

CONTEXT: King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, accounts relating to France during Henry IV 11–13 pertaining to constables and controllers of Calais.

D9

I knowleche to almy³ti god and to owre blessed lady seynte Marie and to al the holy companye of heuene and to ³owe my gostly fader that wilfulliche and wityngliche priueliche and apertliche ych haue ysynned and trespassed my god . . . And to that entent that ³e shal bisye ³ow to wasshe ³oure sowle and clense hit by open confession y seyde in the bigynnyng be ³e wasshe and be ³e clene.

Lauamini et mundi estote etc.

Prol. Lauamini et mundi estote. Be ³e wasshe and be ³e clene. My purpos is to write now a manere fourme or rewle how ³e shulle make ³our confession and shrift after the comyn custome of holy churche and to shewe ³owe the pryncipal vices and the spices of hem [with description of how to proceed in confession] . . .

Here bygynneth a fourme of a general confession wyth special synnes 3if a man fynde hym greuyd in eny of hem

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125, 56v–60v

England, late 14th–early 15th cent.; West Midland dial., possibly

Payneswyk, Gloucestershire

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, five senses, Commandments, seven

corporal and spiritual works of mercy.⁴⁵

CONTEXT: Richard Rolle *The Commandment, Form of Living, Ego Dormio*, tracts on works of mercy and meditation, *Chastising of God's Children*, excerpt on Passion from Ps.-Bonaventure *Meditationes vitae Christi*, excerpts from St. Bridgit *Revelations*, verse *Mirror of Mankind*, Thomas Wimbleton's sermon, *Legend of Cross, Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, Mirror of Sinners* (trans. of *Speculum peccatoris*), verse meditation on the Passion, treatises on mercy of God and on contemplation, tracts on Virgin, faith, virtues, vices, and Doomsday, aphorisms on patience, verses on Virgin and Crucifixion, verse *Ghost of Guy*, exposition of Lord's Prayer; Lat. prayers, vision of St. Thomas of Canterbury, vision of St. John on the sorrows of the Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 58, Jolliffe C.2, Raymo 84.3, *Camb. Pepys* 5/1: xxv and 54–61, Hanna (2) 8–12, NIMEV 1128/1, 1194/1, 1259/4, 1409/1, 1761/4, 1825/1, 2250/5, 2270/5, 2725/1, 3397/2.

⁴⁵ The author of this manual on confession presents a sample form of confession on fols. 57r–58r; the remainder of the work is an explication of the seven deadly sins and their varieties, to be used, as the author says, as a form of self-examination prior to confession. The catalogue of Pepys MSS and Raymo consider this text to be excerpted and reduced from *The Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, but Everett (265 n. 5) and Durkin reject the connection based on their examination of the MS.

D10

I knowleche me to god and to oure lady and to alle seinttes and to þe fader þat I haf synned in many þinges . . . I cry god mercy and 3ow and aske mercy of god . . . Now god grantes vs vere contricion. Amen. Amen.

Prol. Confession may nouȝth been departith for to telle to oon prest and maken open and to an oþer preste to helen . . .

Heer begynneth þe trecty[s] þat perteyneth to confession

Oxford, St. John's College, MS 94, 144va–50va

England, ca. 1420; copied and illuminated by John Lacy, Dom. anchorite at church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for his use and then donated in 1434 to Roger Stonysdale, chaplain at the church; Herefordshire/Shropshire dial.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins.

CONTEXT: Epistle of Jerome, portions of Walter Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, tract on Eucharist, summaries of sins, corporal and spiritual senses, corporal and spiritual works of mercy, seven ways for sin to be forgiven, Commandments, sacraments, virtues, gifts of Holy Spirit, exempla, tracts on the dangers of confession, verse on confession; Lat. Hours of the Virgin, liturgical calendar, prayers, sentences from church fathers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 22, Jolliffe C.4, Raymo 211.3 and 24.12, *IMEP* 8 87–89, *Oxf. St. John's Coll.* 125–30, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/6:26–27, *NIMEV* 2372/1, *MLGB* 222, *Atlas* 1:153, Alexander 418.

D11

God fadir almyȝti þat art oo god in þre persones . . . y be knowe to þe lord þat y haue fowliche synned azens þi wille . . . þat y mowe come into þe lufe wiþoute ende amen. and sey þi Confiteor to þe preest whan he goþ to masse.

Prol. Seynt Edmunde þe archebischope prechid þis confessyon to þe peple to teche hem þe bettere to kunne schryue hem and he hymself seyde it eche day to god. *Omnia est confiteri domino et psallere et cetera.*

Confessyon of seynt Edmond archbischope

St. Edmund's Confession

London, British Library, Royal 18.A.x, 60v–61v

England, 1400–1425

CONTENTS: Confession in the form of a prayer, attributed to Saint Edmund of Canterbury, loosely according to the seven deadly sins and five corporal senses, with emphasis on contrition.

CONTEXT: Trans. Hugh of St.-Victor *De arca Noe morali*, trans. of section on virtues and vices from *Somme le roi*, another form of confession (see D15), verse *Disputation between Body and Soul*, trans.

of *Epistle of Jerome* (i.e., of Pelagius to Demetrius), *History of Three Kings of Cologne*, penitential poem “Parce Mihi Domine,” tracts on Commandments, seven deadly sins, prayer, remedy for temptations, and four tokens of charity, poems on Annunciation, backbiting, dialogue between Virgin and Cross, and on festivals of Church; Lat. exposition of Lord’s Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Wallace 362–64; Durkin 39, Jolliffe C.9, Raymo 211.6, *BL Royal* 2:265–67, *NIMEV* 351/4, 561/6, 964/1, 2718/3, 2864/1, 3415/1, 3918.5/27.

D12

I am aknowe to god almiȝti ant to our ladi seynt marie ant to al þe holi cumpanye in heuene ant ȝow fadir al my synnys and al my trespassys þat I haue don aȝens þe worchipe of god almyȝti and þe saluacyon of myn owen soule seþen þat I was born and nameli seþen I was last schreuy[n] at þe bygynny[n]ge . . . þat he haþ shewed and do to me boþ bodilich and gostlich and also þat y haue nouȝt þankid hym bisiliche for þe payne and þe passion þat he sufered for me and for al mankyne[d] on rode tre I haue nouȝt born hym in dere . . .

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. th. e.181, 11r–v

England, 1400–1425

CONTENTS: Fragment of a form of confession, including only the opening and sections on the negligence of liturgical and other

duties (e.g., missaying the divine office), misspending time, and unkindness (incomplete at end). At the end of the section on negligence, the first-person mode shifts temporarily to second-person voice with a set of confessional interrogations.⁴⁶

CONTEXT: A portion of a redacted version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, with a possibly Wycliffite exposition of the Lord's Prayer and Wycliffite expositions of the Ave Maria and Apostles' Creed.⁴⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 20, *IMEP* 12 12–14, Hudson (1), Hudson (2), Barker-Benfield 489–90.

D13.1

I am aknowe to god þat I haue synned in brekyng of þe .x. comaundementes . . . into þat hie blisse þat he bouʒt us too. Amen. Explicit confessio.

Tabula de decem preceptis cum septem peccatis mortalibus et vii opera misericordie cum aliis que necessaria sunt

Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 210, 85v–87v

⁴⁶ For other examples of such a shift from first-person to second-person in the form of confession, see D2.1, D2.3, D14.4; and see B27, D22, and E7 for a switch in the opposite direction.

⁴⁷ According to Hudson (2), the first ten leaves of this MS (comprising eleven leaves) at one time belonged to a version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* found in Bodleian Library, Douce 274, which is missing the beginning of the work. These ten leaves constitute the beginning portion of the Douce MS, which is dated to the later fourteenth century. Hudson notes that the eleventh, last leaf of Eng. th. e. 181, containing the form of confession, is in a different hand and was not part of the earlier form of the Douce MS.

England, 1400–1425; owned by William Brande, canon of York and archdeacon of Cleveland, also owned by a York priest, later bequeathed to Robert Edmundson with request that after his death the MS be given to Ben. abbey of St. Mary, York

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy, five physical and spiritual senses.

CONTEXT: Lat. *summa* for confessors based on John of Freiburg's *Summa confessorum*, extract from Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Spiritualis gratiae*, *Speculum peccatoris*, extracts from fathers, tracts on Creation, ages of man, vices, virtues, Lord's Prayer, hell, purgatory, confession, qualities of a prelate, power of the pope, qualities of a ruler, tribulation, *ars moriendi*, visitation of sick, exposition of Lord's Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 8, Jolliffe C.27, Raymo 211.35, *Linc. Cath.* 170–73.⁴⁸

D13.2

I am a know to god and to the gostly fadyr þat y haue synnyd in brekyng off þe x comowndementes off god. Ffyrst y haue not louyd god ouer ale thyng . . . I haue

⁴⁸ See D28 for a text that, according to Durkin (9), borrows some material that is common to the three versions of D13.

synned in slewþe. I haue be slow to lerne goddys lawhis slow to lerne to fle syn
slow to be sory for synn slow . . . [incomplete at end].

Cambridge, University Library, Ee.1.18, 175v–76v

[England], ca. 1450

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins (breaking off in
sloth).

CONTEXT: Lat. dictionary of theological phrases from the church
fathers, short address to the soul attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 8, Jolliffe C.27, Raymo 211.34, *CUL* 2:16–17, *IMEP* 19
105.

D13.3

Y knowlyche to God and to my gostly fadyr þat Y haue synnyd yn the brekyng
of þe x commaunmentys of God . . . Of þes synnys know and vnknow þat Y haue
do sythe Y was bore ynto þis day Y mekelyche ʒeld me gylty and put me
fullyche and holy into þe mercy of God and hertelyche aske grace and
forʒeuenys and pray yow my gostely fadyr þat art her yn Goddys stede to ʒeue
me penaunce and to haue absolucion of all my trespase and teche me suche
menys and medicynys þat Y may þe better fle all maner synnys to my lyfeys end
and þat ʒe wold pray for me to allmyʒthty God þat he of his endelese grace and

mercy wold wytsafe to assoyle me of all my synnys þat Y may cum to his blyse
þat he hathe ybowʒthe me to. Amen.

London, British Library, Harley 2383, 57r–60r

England, 1450–1475

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven corporal works of mercy, five corporal senses, seven works of spiritual mercy, five spiritual senses.

CONTEXT: Lat. *Speculum sacerdotis* attrib. Edward the Confessor, notes on various indulgences issued from English bishops, tracts on the sacraments, granting absolution, Commandments, temptations, and abstinence, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, form for absolution (following the form of confession); ME form of confession for use in church (see D38), exhortation to a dying man, tracts on tithing, excommunication, and the seven deadly sins, a catechism (including the articles of faith, Commandments, two gospel commandments, works of mercy, seven deadly sins, four cardinal virtues, and sacraments), a rite of baptism, sermons, an exemplum on gossiping in church, poem attrib. Johannes Mydwynter on the joys of heaven, pains of purgatory, and seven deadly sins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss., vol. 1, app. B, xlix–lxv; Durkin 8, Jolliffe C.27,

Raymo 211.33, *BL Harley* 2:675–76, Bowers (2) 454–61, *NIMEV* 461.22/2, 621.5/9,
879.5/9, 2063/1, 2079/1, 4110.5, 15.

D14.1

I knowleche me to god and ʒeelde me gulty to hym þat is almyʒtti and to hooly
churche and to þee goostely fadir vndir god þat I often siþes syþen I was
cristened and specialli siþen I was schriuen . . . And of alle þese synnes and of
alle oþir þat god knowiþ me gylyt in I crie god mercy and axe penaunce and
absolucioune of god and hooly churche and prey þe fader vnder god to prey for
me to god of mercy wiþouten dampnacyowne. Amen.

*Here sueþ a special confessyoun þe whiche is ful Iustely compilyd out of þe vii deedly
synnes*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1286, 252ra–60vb

England, 1400–1425; Northamptonshire dial.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five physical and
spiritual senses, misuses of goods, seven spiritual works of mercy,
misuses of time.

CONTEXT: *Pore Caitif*, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*,
Azenbite of Inwit, trans. of James of Milan *Stimulus amoris* attrib.

Walter Hilton, tracts on works of mercy and cleanness before
receiving Eucharist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 37, Jolliffe C.20, Raymo 211.19, *IMEP* 9 45–47, Ogilvie-Thomson diss. 232–37, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 8174, *Oxf. Bodl. Ashmole* 1051–53, *Atlas* 1:145.

D14.2

I knowlech and zelde me gylty to god almiȝti and to holy chirche and to þe gostly fader undur god þat I ofte tymes siþen I was cristened and specialy siþen I was last schriuen . . . I crye god mercy and aske penaunce and absolucion of god and of holy chirche and preie þe fadur þat þow preye for me to god.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210, 157r–65r

England, 1400–1425; scribal dialects of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire; name of Streynsham (Worcestershire) appears under a pastedown; owned by Archbishop William Laud in 1634

CONTENTS: See D14.1.

CONTEXT: Richard Rolle *Form of Living*, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, devotional treatise *Book to a Mother*, *The Life of Soul*, treatise on tribulation attrib. Peter of Blois, trans. of sect. 9 of *De duodecim abusionem gradibus*, expositions of the Lord's Prayer, Psalms and New Testament passages, Commandments, sacraments, and combatting sins, glosses on scriptural sentences against preaching of the friars, Richard of St.

Victor letter of the Virgin to St. Ignatius of Antioch, tracts on the sixteen conditions of charity, visitation of the sick, temptation, and Commandments, a Lollard-inflected tract on things necessary for salvation, in particular, keeping the Commandments and doing the works of mercy (this tract follows the form of confession).⁴⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 37, Jolliffe C.20, Raymo 211.18, *IMEP* 16 27–33, Ogilvie-Thomson diss. 32–37, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 1292, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 2/2:182–83, Hanna (2) 160–62.

D14.3

I knowleche and yeld me gilty to god almyghty and to holy chyrch and to þe gostly fader vnder god cristis vicarie in erth that I oft seth I was cristned and speciali seþ I was last schryven . . . Of þese synnes and of al oþers þat god knoweth me gilty in I cri god mercy and ask penaunce and absolucioun of god and of holy chyrch and pray þe fadyr vnder god to pray to god of myght for me.

Confessio in anglicis

⁴⁹ From the end of the confession proper to fol. 168r the text shifts to exposition on salvation, the deadly sins, the Commandments, and the seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, followed by warnings about keeping one's Christian duty and against clerks who add anything to Christ's teachings, showing clear Lollard inflection. A new scribal hand takes over following this exposition. The fact that this commentary is added onto a form of confession that is not Lollard-inflected shows that the genre could be of interest to Lollard readers whether or not it was adapted as a Lollard text.

Warminster, Wiltshire, Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 29, 24v–29v,
31r⁵⁰

England, 1422–1450; Anglo-Irish dial.; owned by Goldwell family, later by
Sir John Thynne

CONTENTS: See D14.1.

CONTEXT: Miscellany of religious verse and prose in ME and Lat.,
and the major MS of Richard Rolle's works, including in ME Rolle's
The Form of Living, *Ego Dormio*, *The Commandment*, *Desire and
Delight*, *Ghostly Gladness*, lyrics, and excerpt from a meditation on
the Passion; Chaucer *Parson's Tale*, Walter Hilton *Mixed Life*, ME
version of William Flete *De remediis contra temptationes*, treatise *The
Ladder of Heaven*, treatise on love, tract on virtues, devotion,
meditation on the Lord's Prayer, meditation on the Five Wounds,
prayers, *Fifteen Oes*, religious lyrics, proverbs, lamentation of
Virgin, treatise *A Revelation of Purgatory*; Lat. form of confession
following but unrelated to the ME one (see B38), tract on Corpus
Christi, tract on devotion to Crucifixion, questions and answers on
theological topics, sayings of church fathers, meditation on the

⁵⁰The middle sheet of the quire is bound back to front so that fol. 31 precedes fol. 30.

Lord's Prayer, hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus," passage attrib. Hugh of St.-Victor; macaronic poem on the signs of death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Ogilvie-Thomson diss. 232–83; Durkin 37, Jolliffe C.20, Raymo 211.20, Ogilvie-Thomson xvii–xxxii, Hanna (2) 208–12, *NIMEV* 200/2, 229/3, 241/5, 1367.5/9, 1761/9, 2007/B2, 2017.5/27, 2119/46, 2121/1, 2169/1, 2250/9, 2270/10, 2668.44/1, 3191/1, 3238/7, 3730/3, 3743/1, 4034.77/9, 4056/26, *Atlas* 1:137.

D14.4

[Beginning missing] . . . shappes & of diuerse colours & ofte to be chaunged & diuersed fro opere . . . [ending missing]⁵¹

London, British Library, Harley 4172, 116r–22v

England, 1475–1500

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins (starting in the middle of pride), Commandments, five physical and spiritual senses, and leaving off in the middle of the misuses of goods. The first-person forms have consistently been changed to second-person forms, in effect turning this original form of confession into a confessional interrogatory for use by a priest.⁵²

⁵¹ By comparison to the copy in Longleat House (D14.3), this text is missing lines 1–51 and 399 to the end. See Ogilvie-Thomson diss. 233–34 and the edition of the text from 243–81.

⁵² Ogilvie-Thomson (diss. 234) discusses the ease with which a form of confession might be adapted to a confessional interrogatory, in this case probably for use by a priest. For other examples of such a shift, see D2.1, D2.3, D12. Wenzel (2), 84 and 229 n. 65, notes how the

CONTEXT: Lat. and ME: instructions for a parish priest, Basil of Caesarea tract on reform of monastic life, tract on tribulations and temptations of the soul, a confessional manual, tract on publishing bans for marriage, treatise on pious living.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 37, Jolliffe E.17, Raymo 88.4, *BL Harley* 3:121, Ogilvie-Thomson diss. 232–37, Ogilvie-Thomson xxiii.

D15

I knowleche to god and to oure lady Marie and to alle þe seyntes of heuene þat ofte tymes sithen y was cristenede and specialy sithen y was laste yschryue y haue falle into dedli synne . . . y cry godd merci and his modir marie and alle companye of heuene and y biseche 3ow to pray for me.

Prol. Whan þow þenkest to purge þi soule of synne by confessioun and penaunce doyng First rekne bytwene god and þe in thine herte . . .

Modus confitendi in anglicis verbis

London, British Library, Royal 18.A.x, 55v–60r

process could also be reversed, as in the adaptation of Grosseteste's *Si scienter* confessional questionnaire into a Latin form of confession (cited by Durkin 54 n. 50); and see a ME example (D22). For this Latin form of confession, see B27. Wenzel also believes Grosseteste's questionnaire is the basis of "The Book of Penance," a versified form of confession appended to one manuscript version of the *Cursor Mundi* (BL Cotton Vespasian A.iii; see E7). An excellent example of a ME versified confessional interrogatory appears in John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* in a section called "De modo audiendi confessionem" (21–43), which shows the parish priest how to question the penitent according to the seven deadly sins and five physical senses.

England, 1400–1425

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, five corporal senses, Commandments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

CONTEXT: Trans. Hugh of St.-Victor *De arca Noe morali*, trans. of section on virtues and vices from *Somme le roi*, *St. Edmund's Confession* (a form of confession; see D11), verse *Disputation between Body and Soul*, trans. *Epistle of Jerome* (i.e., of Pelagius to Demetrius), *History of Three Kings of Cologne*, penitential poem "Parce Mihi Domine," tracts on Commandments, deadly sins, prayer, remedy for temptations, and four tokens of charity, poems on Annunciation, backbiting, dialogue between Virgin and Cross, and on festivals of Church; Lat. exposition of Lord's Prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 38, Jolliffe C.43, Raymo 211.57, *BL Royal* 2:265–67, Revell 352, *NIMEV* 351/4, 561/6, 964/1, 2718/3, 2864/1, 3415/1, 3918.5/27.

D16

I synful creature knowleche and schryue me to god þat is fader and sone and holi gost þre persones and o god in trinite and to oure ladi seynt marie and to al þe cumpeny in heuene and to þe gostli fader beyng in goddes stede in þat þat I haue synned and trespassed in þe seuen dedly synnes . . .

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3390, 52v–57r

England, 1400–1425; north Warwickshire dial.; owned by Alexander Abernethy, fourth Lord Saltoun (south Perthshire, Scotland)

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses, articles of faith (then text shifts to statement of Creed).

CONTEXT: *Lay Folks' Catechism*, Richard Rolle *Form of Living* and *Ego Dormio*, commentary on Commandments, exposition of Creed, Lord's Prayer, tracts on theological virtues, lechery and its remedy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 45, *IMEP* 7 22–28, *Sainte-Geneviève* 2:672, Ogilvie-Thomson xxxvi and xlv, Doyle diss. 2:38–39, Hanna (2) 191–92, Hudson (1) 246, Cumming 862–64, Powell 74 and n. 27, 75 and n. 30, 78–79 and n. 47, 80.

D17

I 3elde me coupable to god and to his modir seynt marie and to alle haliken. And to þe fadir, þat I am synful in synne begeten In synne born and in synne haþe lad my lif siþe þe tyme þat I coude synne . . . And I the beseke dere fadir that thou beseke for me and that thou 3eue me euene worthy penaunce that I mowe in my lyf punyshen that that I trespasid haue in my lyftyme. Amen.

Prol. Ferst or thow go to schryfte be in a priuey stede beþynke what lyf thow hast led seche þyne herte from day to day, From stede to stede, and from oure to oure . . . Sithe go boldlich to þi shryftfadir and knele to hise fete and sei benedicite and sithe apertlich telle þi synnes to god in þis manere.

London, British Library, Harley 6041, 97r–102v

England, ca. 1425; originally owned by Sir William Hoo (officer of Richard II) family of St. Omer, Bedfordshire, and at early date passed on to a monk of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury; William Holyngborne, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, 16th-cent. owner

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses, seven corporal works of mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, four cardinal virtues, three theological virtues, seven virtues opposed to deadly sins, parts of body (mentioned), articles of the faith (mentioned).

CONTEXT: William Langland *Piers Plowman* (composite A and C text).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 40, Jolliffe C.8, Raymo 211.5, *BL Harley* 3:313, Kane *A-Text* 6–7, *Greatrex* 201–3, *Peerage* 6:561–67.

D18

A lord god almiȝti ihesu blessid mote thu be thu madest me thu boughtist me thi
suffrance is ful gret in me for thu woldest neuir take vengeaunce on me for all
the gret vnkyndenis that I haue doon to the ou[r] lord thou hast isauid me and
kepte me and shewid me . . . therfor my due lord with a sorowful harte I
knowelych to the that I haue falsly and euyl iledde my lyfe . . . and yef me grace

to do theraftir and to lyue the lyuing that may be queemful to the for iwis dere
lord that is leuest to me for þi gret charite haue merci on me.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, 45r–47v

England, 1400–1450; assoc. with Stoke-by-Hartland, Devonshire

CONTENTS: A confessional prayer to Christ partly in the form of a confession mentioning the Commandments, seven deadly sins, five senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.⁵³

CONTEXT: Robert Brunne *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord Iesu*, devotions to saints, verse and prose prayers to Christ, Sacrament, Virgin, and Trinity, Trental of St. Gregory; Lat. liturgical calendar, Fifteen Oes, other prayers, hymns, psalms, suffrages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymo 211.63, *IMEP* 13 52–54, *Lam. Pal.* 765–68, *NIMEV* 248/5, 723.55/1, 775/4, 984/1, 1030/4, 1325/1, 1372/5, 1684/4, 1780/3, 1727/11, 1761/7, 2112/1, 2116/2, 2118/3, 2119/44, 2451/1, 2512/1, 3231/7, 3883/5.

D19

Benedycyte et cetera. I knowleche to almyghty god and to hys modur and to alle

⁵³ Durkin rejects this text as a form of confession (see Durkin 44, MS b), and it is true that this text is a prayer to Christ rather than a confession addressed to a priest, yet I include it here because it does overlap with the form of confession in presenting avowals of sins precisely according to the usual schemas found in the form of confession. The text illustrates how the structure of the form of confession could significantly influence the form of a confessional prayer, or rather, how the practice of confession could be transposed into a form of personal devotion. Of course, Wycliffite theology recommended confession directly to Christ without the need of the mediating priest.

the companye of heuene and to 3ow goostly fadyr that greuowsly I haue
offendyd god . . . Also I haue not louyd myn nehebore . . . [ends imperfectly].

A compendyos general confessioun

London, British Library, Sloane 774, 40r–45v

England, 1400–1450; owned by the Grene family

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, sins against the two Gospel
commandments.

CONTEXT: Excerpt of long form of confession and short form of
confession from the the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule*, pt. 2, chap. 7 (see
D5.3, D6.4), devotional meditation, a medical recipe, record of
births of Grene family.⁵⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 54, Jolliffe C.5, Raymo 84.5, *BL Sloane unpub.* 143, *BL
Sloane* 1:49, Everett diss. xlvii–xlviii, Everett 265–79, Revell 343.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ This registry of the Grene family at the end of the MS (fols. 46r–47r), written in cursive secretary, records the births of Margaret (1484), Elizabeth (1486), Robert (1489), John (1490), and a second John (1492). (Everett diss., xlvii–xlviii, wrongly reads the dates as 1444–1452.) Each entry details the exact day and time of birth and lists godparents and gifts given at the children’s baptisms by various friends, indicating that the MS was in the family’s possession at the time of the births. While the MS, then, should be dated no later than 1484, the rest of the MS is written in a Bastard Anglicana hand, with no secretary influence, datable most likely to the first half of the fifteenth century. Everett diss., xlvii, follows Ayscough’s catalogue in dating the MS generally to the fifteenth century.

⁵⁵ Jolliffe conflates this form of confession with the two forms of confession excerpted from the *Clensyng of Mannes Soule* and a meditation (C.5), but this text, and the meditation, are not part of the *Clensyng*; this is a separate form of confession, which follows the meditation in the manuscript.

D20

I am aknowe þat I haue synne with herte mouwthe & dede . . .

Tokyo, Keio University Library, Hopton Hall MS (formerly Derbyshire, Hopton Hall MS and Chandos-Pole-Gell MS), 11v–13r

England, 1400–1450; Norfolk; compiled (?) by William Hall

CONTENTS: Sins of heart, mouth, and deed.

CONTEXT: A second form of confession (see D21), variant version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, treatise on breaking God's law and deadly sin and on the significance of baptism and the Eucharist, which incorporates this present form of confession, verse "Dialogue between Christ and Man," tract on pleasing God, tract on divine mercy and against despair, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, fragment of Walter Hilton's *An Epistle on Mixed Life*, exposition of the Commandments, manual on prayer and fasting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 41, Jolliffe C.12, Raymo 211.9, *Keio Univ.* 56–63, *HMC 9th Report* pt. 2, appendix p. 384, *Hopton Hall MS*, *NIMEV* 406/12, 1786/3, Hudson (1) 247 and n. 20.

D21

I am aknowyn to almyghty god and to Seint Mary his blyssyd modre, welle of mercy, and to alle godd and holy; to the, fadir, under got, I, wrecchid sinfulle

creature, was broute into these wer[l]de with synne dan vycyously . . . & more sumtyme be þougte me of my synne to haue lykyng þan repentaunce & cetera.

Tokyo, Keio University Library, Hopton Hall MS (formerly Derbyshire, Hopton Hall MS and Chandos-Pole-Gell MS), 1r–3v

England, 1400–1450; Norfolk; compiled (?) by William Hall

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, with no formal conclusion.

CONTEXT: This form of confession begins the MS, variant version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, treatise on breaking God's law and deadly sin and on the significance of baptism and the Eucharist, which incorporates another form of confession (see D20), verse "Dialogue between Christ and Man," tract on pleasing God, tract on divine mercy and against despair, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, fragment of Walter Hilton's *An Epistle on Mixed Life*, exposition of the Commandments, manual on prayer and fasting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 41, Jolliffe C.13, Raymo 211.10, *Keio Univ.* 56–63, *Hopton Hall MS*, *HMC 9th Report* pt. 2, appendix p. 384, *NIMEV* 406/12, 1786/3, Hudson (1) 247 and n. 20.

D22

Son if þer be anythyng on þi conscience þat þu has nogt beyn schreuyng of I cownsyllē þe to avise þe weylle and haue no dred nor no schame þerof . . . I cri

god mercy and our lady saynt mare and alle þe fayr compane of heuen to pray
for me. Misereatur tui et cetera.

Prol. Confitens dicat primo benedicite, sacerdos dominus. deus ita fundat tibi
gratiam suam ad confitendum peccata tua vt ab ipso valeas consequi veniam
omni delictorum tuorum. In nomine patris etc. Deinde moneat sacerdos
penitentem vt nullum celat peccatum per verba salutaria hoc modo.

Explicit bona confessio pro salute humani generis

London, British Library, Harley 2391, 134r–38v

England, 1400–1450; northern England; dialects of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire,
Nottinghamshire

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, twelve articles of
faith, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, sins of faulty
practice of confession. Beginning with the Commandments, the text
switches from a second-person interrogatory to a first-person
avowal. The text is inserted into Mirk's *Festial*.⁵⁶

CONTEXT: John Mirk *Festial*, another form of confession (see D23),
sermon on deadly sins, verse *Northern Homily Cycle*, long poem on
Virgin, verse legenda for use on Sundays; Lat. exemplum on delay

⁵⁶ For other examples of such a shift from the second-person interrogatory mode into the first-person mode in forms of confession, see B27 and E7. For examples of a switch in the opposite direction, see D2.1, D2.3, D12, D14.4.

in confession, note on confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 11, Raymo 211.70, *BL Harley* 2:680–82, *Atlas* 1:112,
NIMEV index p. 304, Wakelin 100.

D23

[Beginning lost] . . . haue trespassed and forfeit [. . .] xiiij Articules of þe fayth of
g[od] . . . Also I haue not done þe vij gostly deydes of mercy, þat is to say not
cownselde nor wyssed þam þat wer wylle, nor refrenyd þem þat wyld . . .
[incomplete at end].

London, British Library, Harley 2391, 238v (fragment)

England 1400–1450; northern England; dialects of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire,
Nottinghamshire

CONTENTS: Fourteen articles of faith, Commandments, seven
deadly sins, seven virtues, seven corporal and spiritual works of
mercy.

CONTEXT: John Mirk *Festial*, another form of confession (see D22),
sermon on seven deadly sins, verse *Northern Homily Cycle*, long
poem on Virgin, verse legenda for use on Sundays; Lat. exemplum
on delay in confession, note on confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 11, Jolliffe C.45, Raymo 211.59, *BL Harley* 2:680–82,
NIMEV index p. 304, Wakelin 100.

D24

Benedicite. Dominus. I knawe me gilty to god almyghty and to oure lady saint mary and to alle þe fayre felyshyppe of heuen and to þe my gastly fadyr [in] god[es] stede . . . And noght bene redy to leryn þam þise to owre evyn crystyn er full nedfull and to þam þat dos þam wondyr . . . [incomplete at end].

York, York Minster Chapter Library, Add. 2, 1r–4r, 209r–10v⁵⁷

England, ca. 1450; made for John Bolton, merchant, alderman, mercer, and mayor of York (d. 1445)

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, sacraments, seven virtues, articles of faith, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

CONTEXT: Bolton Book of Hours in Use of York: Lat. Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, *Confiteor*, Hours of the Cross, Penitential Psalms, Litany, Five Joys of the Virgin, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Office of Dead, etc.; ME verse prayer.

⁵⁷ This form of confession was added in the first half of the fifteenth century (in a different scribal hand) at the beginning and end of the MS, in effect enclosing the Bolton Book of Hours within the text of the form of confession. While this "alpha-and-omega position" was likely a choice made in order to fill in available space, Barratt (2) comments on this textual arrangement as "epitomiz[ing] the pervasive penitential mentality of the later Middle Ages, and the importance of the sacrament of penance in medieval life" (4–5). She also considers this form of confession to be unusual for being addressed to an all-inclusive male and female, clerical and lay audience, and because it is exhaustive in its scope (6), but these features are in fact common to the genre.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Barratt (2) 3–14, trans. Scott-Stokes 140–44; Durkin 24, Jolliffe C.32, Raymo 211.46, *IMEP* 6 61–62, *MMBL* 4:786–91, *Atlas* 1:168, *York Annual Report*, *NIMEV* 1734/1.

D25

Confiteor deo beate marie omnibus sanctis et vobis peccauī nimis in cogitacione locucionē et opere mea culpa. I am aknowe to god and to oure lady seynt marye and to all the seyntys of heuyn and onto yow my gostly fadyr þat y haue sennyd and trespasyd azens god and oure lady . . . I aske god mercy and oure lady seynt mary and all the seyntys of heuyn. Ideo precor sanctam mariam omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.

Prol. O þu my brothyr þat art yong of age qwiche kanst not confesse thiself on to thy gostly fadyr þerfor y shal wryght to the how þu shalt haue the in thy confession whan þu comyst to thy gostly fadyr . . .

Leeds University, Brotherton Library, MS 501, 82r–88v⁵⁸

England, ca. 1450; Lincolnshire; owned by George Sheldrake in 16th cent.,

Thomas Pell

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

⁵⁸ The confession proper concludes on fol. 86r; it is followed to fol. 88v by instruction on resisting temptation.

CONTEXT: *Prick of Conscience*, Thomas Wimbledon's sermon, Richard Lavynham's *Litil Tretys of the Sevene Dedly Synnys*, trans. William Flete's *De remediis contra temptationes*, *Prickyng of Love* trans. of *Stimulus amoris* chaps. 11 and 19, exposition on the Commandments, a Lollard tract on the works of mercy, miracle of the Virgin, tract on nine things pleasing to God, Complaint of Our Lady, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, *South English Legendary* Invention of the Cross and Life of Theophilus, *Gast of Guy*.⁵⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 42, Jolliffe C.39, Raymo 211.53, *IMEP* 6 7–12, Pickering 38–42, *MMLB* 3:67–70, *Atlas* 1:97.

D26

I am aknow to god and to our lady seynt mary and to alle þe blyssyd company of heuen þat I haue synnd in keynge of þe x comavnmentis . . . [ends imperfectly].

The morow off screfte

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 59, 130v (fragment)⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The Lollard tract on the works of mercy in this MS is the same tract that is interpolated into a Lollard form of confession found in Bodley 789 (see D7.1). Other copies of this tract are in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245, a Lollard compilation, and Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.4.12, a MS that contains a number of Lollard works. I thank Fiona Somerset for references to this works of mercy tract.

⁶⁰ Most of folio 130 has been cut away, and folio 131 recto is blank; therefore, the confession was either one leaf long, or other leaves of this text are missing from the manuscript. Judging from

England, ca. 1450; written by John Shirley; owned by David Garet in 1486, and in 1614 by poet William Browne

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins, five senses, misusing goods given by God (are mentioned at the beginning as the topics of coverage, but text ends just after section on Commandments begins).

CONTEXT: Trans. of *Secretum secretorum*, extract from John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, names of order of Knights of the Garter, sayings on fleeing vice attrib. Isidore, treatise attrib. Augustine on contempt of the world, tract on swearing, *Chronicle of Three Kings of Cologne*, many religious and secular lyrics mostly by Lydgate, John Gower, and Geoffrey Chaucer, verse list of kings of England; Lat. verse chronicle to 1433.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Printed *IMEP* 9 2–4; Durkin 51, Jolliffe C.14, Raymo 211.11, *Oxf. Bodl. Ashmole* 95–104, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 6943, *NIMEV* index p. 311, Hammond 320–34.

D27

I knawe me to god and to our lady saynt Marie and to alle þe blyssed felaghschip

the full list of topics cited at the beginning to be covered in the text, most likely other leaves have been lost.

of heuen and to þe my gostly fadir þat I haue lyfed vnwyttely and wrangwisly . .
. I aske grace and forgifnes and I pray our lady saynt Mary and alle þe court of
heuen and þe gostly fadir in godes stede I aske absolucoun and penaunce þat it
may be to wurschip and louyng of my maker and saluacoun to my saule. Ideo
precor gloriosam virginem genetricem dei et omnes sanctos et sanctas domini et
te pater orare pro me. Amen.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 131, 136v–39r

England, ca. 1450; written by John Morton, with York and Scarborough
associations; Yorkshire, West Riding

CONTENTS: Misuse of time, Great Commandment, seven deadly
sins, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five spiritual and
physical senses, Commandments, sacraments, fourteen articles of
faith.

CONTEXT: Nicholas Love *Mirror of Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*,
treatises on temptation and confession, verses on kings of England;
Lat. meditation on Passion, verse on monastic duties, theological
tracts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 32, Jolliffe C.33, Raymo 211.47, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 1999,
NIMEV 444/2, *Atlas* 1:146.

D28

I am ak[n]awe to god and to oure lady saynt mary and to alle þe holy cumpany of heuene and to þe fadyr in godes stede þat I wreche haue synned in alle the vii dedly generaly . . . with grace and comforth of the holy gost and strenthe to withstande syn and euer to encrease in vertuouse lewyng. Amen.

[*A form of confession of sins, prolix enough; general confession*]

London, British Library, Harley 1288, 76r–81v

England, mid-15th cent.; Lincolnshire dial.; owned in 16th cent. by Roger Hill

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal mercy, five corporal and spiritual senses, seven works of spiritual mercy, articles of faith, sacraments, mispending time and other miscellaneous items.⁶¹

CONTEXT: *Speculum Christiani*, Richard Lavynham *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, *Chastising of God's Children* 2 chaps., John Mirk *Festial* excerpts, tract on sexual pollution; Lat. version of Nicholas Bozon *Contes moralisés*, exempla.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 9, Jolliffe C.15, Raymo 211.12, *BL Harley* 1:648–50,

⁶¹ Durkin notes that this text incorporates some common material from the three versions of D13, but it is “an otherwise quite different model confession” (9).

D29

I knowlich me to my lord ihesu cryst and to his blessid moder oure ladi seynt marie and to all his seyntis and to the prest my gostly fader of all thatt ych haue trespassed . . . ffurst your schryfte mote be wilfull nott ayenste your will. Allso your schrift mote be betyme nott thatt ye ly too long yn synne. Also your schrift mote be shamefull thatt ye be ashamed of your synne. Also your schrift mote be trew so þat ye ly nott vpon your selfe telleth no more than ye haueþ to tellyng trewly. Also your schryft mote be naked that is to seyyng ye shul nott excuse your selfe butt [b]lame you and telle the naked trowthe.

Confessio

New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 163 (formerly Petworth 8), 179r–83v

England, mid-15th cent.; Southwest Midlands; probably owned by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses and parts of the body (mentioned), seven works of mercy (mentioned), seven virtues, concluding with points for making a valid confession.

CONTEXT: Wagstaff Miscellany: Edward Duke of York *Master of*

Game (treatise on hunting), tracts on care of horses with recipes, the virtues of herbs, and on astronomy, wine recipes, verses on hawking and hunting, medical recipes, charms, prognostications; Lat. Petrus Hispanus *Tractatus mirabilis aquarum*, Giordano Ruffo *Marescalcia equorum*, *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, *De modo parliamentum*, *De spiritu Guidonis*, excerpt on interpretation of dreams attrib. prophet Daniel, medical recipes, charms, prognostications, Goliardic poems and other verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 19, Raymo 211.65, *Yale Beinecke* 1:216–23, De Ricci 2:1902, *NIMEV* 242.5/1, 1727/18, 2119/49, 2371/2, 2820/6, 3381/2, 3693/1.

D30

Benedicite. I knowleche to our lord almyȝty god ihesu to our lady seynt marye to alle the blessyd cumpeny of hevene and to þe my gostly fader þat I have wickidly and vnkyndely synned . . . and yow my goostly fadur at þis tyme of your goode counseile and also þat ye wolde vouchesafe to prey for me. Amen. And þus eendiþ þis Confessioun.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 142, 107vb–10va

England, 15th cent.

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins, five corporal senses, seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy.

CONTEXT: Nicholas Love *Mirror of the Life of Christ, A Treatise of Ghostly Bateyle*, saints' lives of Nicholas, Margaret, and Katherine, treatise on Eucharist, form of excommunication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 36, Jolliffe C.30, Raymo 211.38, *Camb. CCC* 1:327–29.

D31

I k[n]owlege me gylty onto almyti god and to owre lady sent mari and to all þe haly campani of heuine and to þe my goostely fadir þat sythe my last confessyon I haue offendid my gud greuosly . . . betwene god and me and þat 3e wyll praye for me to almyty god þat he wyll of hys endeless merci and grace forgyffe mye my synnys þat I may com to hys endles blys þat he bowght me to amen.

How a man schall confesse hym to god and to hys gostely fadyr thys holy tyme of lent and odyr tymes of þe 3ere

Oslo, Schøyen Collection, Schøyen 1371, 206r–9r

England, 15th cent.; probably at Longbridgy Church, Dorset, in the 16th cent.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses, seven works of corporal mercy.

CONTEXT: Lat. psalter with liturgical calendar, indulgence; ME

poem on love and form of confession added at the end.⁶²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 26, *IMEP* 10 31–32, Schøyen MS 1371 (s.v. 11.4
Medieval calendars).⁶³

D32

I knowliche me gylty to god almyȝty and to oure lady synt mary and to all . . .

[incomplete]

Prolog. Benedicite domino. Confiteor deo celi . . .

Bristol, Public Library, MS 14, 2r

England, 15th cent.; made for use of Isabel Ruddok

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins (breaking off in section on envy).

CONTEXT: Book of Hours (beg. of 15th cent. with confession added
in 15th cent.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 25, Jolliffe C.22, Raymo 211.28, *MMLB* 2:209–10.

D33

I knowlech to god and to ȝou my goostly fadir þat y greuously haue synned not
keping þe obseruaunce of [my *canceled*] releyoun as I haue be tauȝt . . . As

⁶² The psalter is from Arras or St. Omer in northern France and is dated to the mid-13th century, while the Latin indulgence, from England, is dated to 1356, and the ME contents are dated to the 15thc.

⁶³ *IMEP* and Schøyen treat this text as four separate confessions, but the incipit and explicit make clear that one text is intended. The manuscript is not catalogued in Martin Schøyen, *The Schøyen Collection: Checklist of Western Manuscripts 1–2000*, 13th ed. (Oslo: In Principio Press, 1995).

ferforþ as he knowiþ me gilty, lowly y aske him mercy, and 3ou goostly fadir to
zeue me such penaunce as is most plesing to god and sauacyoun of my soule.

Heere bigynneþ a maner of a confessioun for religious persouns

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.1.74, 60r–64v

England, 15th cent.; London; written for a religious woman, later owned
by William Drurye⁶⁴

CONTENTS: Sins of breaking vows of obedience, poverty, and
chastity, for the use of female religious.

CONTEXT: Another form of confession (see D34), *Counsels of
Isidore*, a manual of devotion including tracts on the corporal
senses, spiritual senses, seven spiritual virtues, works of corporal
mercy, works of spiritual mercy, sacraments (from *Mirror of St.
Edmund*), and three goods of grace, tract on belief, excerpt from
Fervor amoris on how to love God,⁶⁵ tract on twelve hindrances to
prayer, instruction in daily prayer, meditation on the Passion.

⁶⁴ Connolly places this MS within a group of six “devotional anthologies” that were produced in London in the fifteenth century. These compilations share a common set of materials meant to instruct readers in the basic elements of the Christian faith as set out at the Lambeth Council in 1281 and reaffirmed by Archbishop John Thorsby of York in 1357. They also indicate the ways in which such manuals could be adapted to various audiences and contexts. Among this group, only Trinity College O.1.74 contains forms of confession.

⁶⁵ This devotional work is also called the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*. Connolly refers to this as the “Eight Points of Charity.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 15, Jolliffe C.28 and O.26, Raymo 211.36 and 24.29,
IMEP 11 81–84, *Camb. Trin.* 3:74–75, Connolly.⁶⁶

D34

I synful wrecche accuse me to þe mercy of god. And knowleche here to god and to 3ou þat from þat tyme þat y was borne in to þis tyme greuously y haue synned . . . and pray 3ou goostly fadir þat 3e pray for me and 3eue me such penaunce as is helping and saluasioun to my soule. Confiteor.

A confessioun to seie as oft as 3e wil be confessyde

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.1.74, 64v–70r

England, 15th cent.; London; written for a religious woman, later owned by William Drurye

CONTENTS: Miscellaneous ordering of sins relating to contemplative life.

CONTEXT: Another form of confession (see D33), *Counsels of Isidore*, a manual of devotion including tracts on the corporal senses, spiritual senses, seven spiritual virtues, works of corporal mercy, works of spiritual mercy, sacraments (from *Mirror of St. Edmund*), and three goods of grace, tract on belief, excerpt from

⁶⁶Raymo conflates this confession with a second one that follows it in the MS.

Fervor amoris on how to love God,⁶⁷ tract on twelve hindrances to prayer, instruction in daily prayer, meditation on Passion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 16, Jolliffe C.37 and O.28, Raymo 211.36 and 24.29,

IMEP 11 81–84, *Camb. Trin.* 3:74–75, Connolly.⁶⁸

D35

Pray we all to god almyȝty of mercy & forgyvenes and be ȝe aknow of ȝour synnes and trespasses. And devoutly all say after me, I am aknow to god almyȝtye ffader son and holy gost thre persons and oon god to oure lady seynt marye moder of mercy to all þe holy company of heven to all holy chyrch and to þe my gostly ffader that I synful wretch in synne born lyved noryshed and forth broght into þis day I synnfull wrech and vntrew haue synned and trespassed in wyll in worde consent thought and in dede. In þe vij dedly synnes I know me gylty agaynes god allmyȝty. In pride in envye in wrath in slowth In glotany In covetyse In lechery And in all spyces and braunches of them as god knoweth me gylty I put me in his mercye and aske hym lawly of mercy and forgyvenes. The x comowndmentes of my lord . . . [imperfect at end]

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 803/807, fragment 53

⁶⁷ This devotional work is also called the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*. Connolly refers to this as the “Eight Points of Charity.”

⁶⁸ Raymo conflates this confession with a form of confession preceding this one in the MS.

England, 15th cent.

CONTENTS: Sins of thought, word, and deed, seven deadly sins, Commandments. The congregational address, the placement of the text right after a sermon on the Eucharist, and the fact that the sins types are only mentioned and not elaborated indicate that this text is a general confession used for public recitation prior to Communion rather than a form of confession to be used privately in preparation for the sacrament of penance.

CONTEXT: Fragments of a sermon and form of confession (one leaf).⁶⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 6, Jolliffe C.40, Raymo 211.54, *IMEP* 17 117–18, *Camb. Gon. Caius Supplement* 47, O'Mara (1) 147–48.

D36

I crye god mercy And oure Lady seynt Marye, And alle þe holy company of heuen, of alle þat euer I haue synned and trespassed fro þat tyme þat I was born

⁶⁹The fragment appears to contain the end of a sermon (on the recto side of the leaf) and the beginning of a form of confession (on the verso side, of which all the surviving text is given here). The sermon fragment comments on the power of God's word evidenced in Christ's blessing of the Eucharist and in Moses's parting of the Red Sea. This reference to the Eucharist suggests it could be an Easter Day sermon accompanied by the form of confession led by the priest prior to receiving Communion. The Easter Day sermon in CUL Add. 2829 (see D50) is followed by such a form of confession. Other forms of confession for use in church include D38, D40, D54, D59, D61; and for similar forms of confession in French, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1. Also see A11 for the roots of this practice in an early medieval Romano-Germanic pontifical.

into þis oure and in specyalle fro þe tyme þat y was last confeste into þis oure y
zelde me gyltye . . . Besychyng Almygty god fadyr of mercy þat he wolle
vawchsaf to sette his innumerable mercy aʒeyns myne innumerable offenses,
And þat blessed lady þat bare cryst Iesu and alle þe holy company of heuen to
pray for me at þis tyme, And þe goostly fadyr of helthfulle penaunce yn
remyssyoun of my synnes and saluacyoun of my soule. Ideo precor.

London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.ii, 69v–70r

England, 1446–1460; Southeast or Southeast Midlands dial.

CONTENTS: Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven corporal
and spiritual works of mercy, five senses.

CONTEXT: Verse romances *Sir Eglamour*, *Octavian*, Thomas Chestre
Sir Launfal, *Libeus Desconus*, *Emare*, *Ypotis*, *Siege of Jerusalem*,
Chevelere Assigne, and *Sir Isumbras*, *Pistill of Susan*, *Stations of Rome*,
St. Patrick's Purgatory, *The Vision of Tundale*, *Brut Chronicle*, *Sir*
Isumbras, John Lydgate religious lyrics, *South English Legendary* lives
of Jerome and Eustace, *Charter of Christ*, verse tract on
Commandments, *Brut Chronicle* to Edward IV, and added at a later
date Constitutions of Carth. chapterhouse of the Salutation of the
Virgin, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 43, Jolliffe C.18, Raymo 211.16, *BL Cotton* 42–43,

D37.1

I knowleche to almighty god and to his modre and to alle þe company of heuene
and to you goostly fadre þat greuously I haue offended god fro þat tyme þat I
wis bore in to þis houre in alle þe vii dedely synnes and in many spices of hem . .
. Wherof I axe lowly mercy and foryeuenesse and aske absolucioun in þe name of
holy chirche and penance for my synnes. Confiteor deo celi etc.⁷⁰

A fourmel confession

From *Disce Mori* (1453–1464), chap. 80

Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39, pp. 411–21

England, 1453–1464; southeast/central Midlands dial.; owned by Dorothe
Slyght of St. Albans, nun of Syon Abbey (entered 1534); later owned by
James Perrot of Pembrokehire (1571–1637), author and member of
Parliament

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, two gospel commandments,
Commandments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five
physical and spiritual senses.

⁷⁰ I am very grateful to Eddie Jones, who has done the most work on *Disce Mori*, for kindly supplying me with digital scans of the form of confession from the Jesus College MS and for sharing information on the other manuscripts of *Disce Mori*.

CONTEXT: *Disce Mori*.⁷¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Jones xv–xvii, xxvi–xxx, xli, *IMEP* 8 38–39, Jolliffe A.6, *Oxf.*

Coll. 2/7:14–15, Raymo 11.2.

D37.2

I knowleche to almighty god, and to his modre, and to alle the company of
heuen, and to you goostly fadre, that greuously I haue offended god fro that
tyme that I was bore into this houre, in all þe vij dedly synnes and in many spices
of hem . . . Wherof I aske lowly mercy and foryeuenese, and axe absolution in the
name of hooly cherche and penaunce for my synnes. Confiteor deo celi etc.⁷²

A fourmel confession

From *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* (1453–1464), a derivative of *Disce Mori*⁷³

⁷¹ *Disce Mori* is a manual of religious instruction on virtuous living compiled by a priest, possibly confessor of Syon Abbey, for one Dame Alice, most likely a vowess connected to Syon Abbey. The work mainly derives from the hugely popular thirteenth-century *Miroir du monde* (also called *Somme le roi*), which survives in several ME versions, and from the ME *Chastising of God's Children* and the fifteenth-century Latin *Speculum Spiritualium*. But the last part of *Disce Mori*, the “Exhortacion,” which directly addresses Dame Alice on the contemplative life, is original. Also original to *Disce Mori* is the form of confession, along with preceding chapters that include a summary of the seven deadly sins and how the penitent might be questioned in confession by a confessor according to the deadly sins, and summaries of the works of mercy, the seven principal virtues, twelve articles of faith, the sacraments, and the Commandments (pp. 367–421 in the Jesus College MS). This section corresponds to the syllabus of religious instruction as outlined by John Pecham in his Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 (see Powicke et al. 2/2:900–901).

⁷² The form of confession is set off with a flourished initial capital.

⁷³ This compilation of religious instruction abridges and rearranges *Disce Mori* (using the Jesus College MS) for the use of parish priests in carrying out their duties. The same author may have composed both works. As the work's title indicates, the compiler is responding to Archbishop John Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions of 1281. Indeed, the work begins by quoting canon 9, *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, and then an original prologue urges “symple curates [r]urales

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. th. c.57, 127v–31v

England, 1453–1464; for use by parish priests; owned by W. Brown (in 1555), Thomas Lonson

CONTENTS: See D37.1.⁷⁴

CONTEXT: *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*; Lat. prophesies of Johannes de Rupescissa, Augustine *De ressurectione mortuorum* and sermon *In depositione defuncti*, ps.-Augustine sermon *De decem plagis et decem praeceptis*, *Prophecies of Merlin* excerpt, a verse prophesy, a riddle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Jones xx–xxiii, xxvi–xxx, xli, Hodgson 2–11, *IMEP* 12 9, Jolliffe A.2, Raymo 12.

D37.3

I knowleche to almyghty god and to his modre and to all the companye of heuene, and to you goostly fadre that greuously I haue offended god fro that

or vpplandishe . . . hou thei shal declare vnto theire parissshens the matieres conteyned in the seid constitucioun in fulfillyng of þe charge leide vpon hem bi the same" (fol. 3r, quoted from E. Jones xii). The form of confession is the same text as that found in the Jesus College MS of *Disce Mori*, but in the *Ignorancia* it is located right after the section on confession ("Of confession"), whereas in *Disce* the form of confession is separated from the section on confession by sections on prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and on the basic catechism of the faith.

⁷⁴ The *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* quotes the entirety of canon 9 of Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions, which is followed by a long English commentary that includes the form of confession. Canon 9 circulated widely on its own apart from the other canons of Lambeth, and John Thoresby, archbishop of York, issued a version for York in 1357 along with a commissioned rhythmical prose translation made by John Gaytryge, which became the most popular vernacular manual of religious instruction in later medieval England. See Powicke et al. 2/2:887–88 and 888 n. 3; Raymo 19.

tyme that I was bore in to this hour in alle the vij dedly synnes, and in many
spices of hem . . . wherof I aske him lowly mercy and foryeuenese and aske you
absolucion in the name of hooly chirche and penance for my synnes. Confiteor
deo celi etc.⁷⁵

Confessio

From *Disce Mori*, chap. 80

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 99, 165v–69r

England, after 1470; produced in London area; owned in the 16th cent. by
Alexander Horden of Putney (married to Dorothe Brooke) and family,
and in the earlier 17th cent. by Oxford preacher Matthew Griffith, who
donated the book to Archbishop Laud

CONTENTS: See D37.1.

CONTEXT: *Disce Mori*, letter of Matthew Griffith to Archbishop
Laud donating the volume (1638).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Jones xvii–xx, xxvi–xxx, xli, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 1123, *Oxf. Bodl.*

Quarto Cat. 2/2:104, *IMEP* 16 16–18, Jolliffe A.6, Raymo 11.1.

D38

Good men and women y charge yow by the auctoryte of holy churche . . .

⁷⁵ The form of confession is set off with a space break preceding it and with a flourished initial capital.

London, British Library, Harley 2383, 60v–61r

England, 1450–1475

CONTENTS: A brief public confession, led by the priest, to be recited in church prior to receiving the Eucharist.⁷⁶

CONTEXT: Lat. *Speculum sacerdotis* attrib. Edward the Confessor, notes on various indulgences issued from English bishops, tracts on the sacraments, granting absolution, Commandments, temptations, and abstinence, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, form for absolution (following the form of confession); ME form of confession (see D13.3), exhortation to a dying man, tracts on tithing, excommunication, and the seven deadly sins, a catechism (including the articles of faith, Commandments, two gospel commandments, works of mercy, seven deadly sins, four cardinal virtues, and sacraments), a rite of baptism, sermons, an exemplum on gossiping in church, poems by Johannes Mydwynter on the joys of heaven, pains of purgatory, and seven deadly sins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 5; Jolliffe C.11, Raymo 211.8, *BL Harley* 2:675–76, Bowers (2) 454–61, *NIMEV* 461.22/2, 621.5/9, 879.5/9, 2063/1, 2079/1, 4110.5/15.

⁷⁶ For other general confessions to be recited publicly before receiving the Eucharist, see D35, D40, D50, D54, D59, D61; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

D39

I haue not loved god aboue all thyng I haue not dred hym ne worshiped hym . . .

Prudence righthfulnes temperance and gosteli strengthe.

Oxford, St. John's College, MS 195, 168r–69r

England, 1450–1475

CONTENTS: Commandments, five spiritual and five corporal senses, seven spiritual and corporal works of mercy, seven deadly sins, seven virtues, sacraments, four cardinal virtues (most of these merely tabular lists).

CONTEXT: Lat. *Distichs of Cato*, Richard Rolle's commentary on the Psalter and Canticles and commentery on the Office of the Dead, Johannes de Sacro Bosco treatise on the spheres, table of Gratian's *Decretum*.⁷⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Printed IMEP 8 91; *Oxf. St. John's Coll.* 281–84, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/6:66.

D40

Alle þat salle be howsyllytt at þis messe knele downe on þour kneys & says after me Benedicite. Respondo Dominus. In nomine patris [etc.]. I wrychyd & synfulle

⁷⁷ The codex is composed of five separate manuscripts dating from the mid-14th cent. to ca. 1475. The third MS, dated 1450–1475, contains Rolle's *Expositio super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (a liturgical commentary on the nine readings from Job contained in the Office of the Dead) along with the form of confession.

c[r]eat[u]re makes aknowledge to god almyghty to hys moder Mary & to alle þe glorius company of heven & to þe fadere þat has cure of my salle . . . Off þe synnys knawyn & unknowyn þat I haf done seen I was borne unto þis day to þe almyghty god I mekely zelde me gylyt & puttes me fully in þi holy mercy & hereof haske þe grace & forʒefenese & penance for my synnys & absolucoun etc. [followed by Lat. absolution].

Confessio generalis die pasche

Durham, University Library, Cosin V.iv.2, 159r–60v

England, 1477; written by a chaplain, Thomas Olyphaunt; Westmorland dial.; owned in 17th cent. by John Tempest, who gave it to George Davenport in 1665.

CONTENTS: A general confession to be said in church on Easter prior to receiving the Eucharist. Seven deadly sins, Commandments, sacraments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, fourteen articles of faith.⁷⁸

CONTEXT: Tracts on the Sabbath, excommunication, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Commandments, seven deadly sins, five senses, works of mercy, sacraments, seven virtues, and articles of faith,

⁷⁸ For similar general confessions to be said on Easter Day before receiving the Eucharist, see D35, D38, D50, D54, D59, D61; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

exhortation to curates, bidding prayers for various classes of people, form of baptism, sermon on Christian duty; Lat.

abridgment of *Fasciculus morum*, tracts on baptism, marriage, and visitation of sick, allegorical exposition of scriptural passages, notes on churching women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 3, Jolliffe C.1, Raymo 211.1, Doyle and Piper, *Durham* 174–75, *Atlas* 1:87.

D41

I knowlech to god to oure lady seynt marye to all þe seyntes yn heuyn and to you my gostly fadir here beynge yn goddys stede þat I synfull wrecche haue synnyd full moche and many tymes . . . I crye god mercy and his modir seynt marye and all þe seyntes of heuyn and you my gostly fadir vndir god here beynge yn goddys stede, of penawnce and absolucyoun for charyte.

Prol. Here folowyth a fourme of a generall confessyoun þat euery crysten man and woman is bownde to kunne and knowe, and þerfor whan a man comyth to his gostly fadir to be shryve lete hym knele down or stonde as his gostly fadir wolle, and at the begynnyng he shall say, Benedicite. þan his gostly fadir wolle answeere and say, Dominus exaudiat nos. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Than he þat comyth to shryfte shal say . . .

*Here folowyth a fourme of a generall confessyoun þat euery crysten man and woman is
bownde to kunne and knowe*

New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 317, 34v–35r

England, 1470–1480; compiled and copied possibly at Carth. priory of
Sheen, Richmond, or double monastery at Syon Abbey, London; owned
by Richard Towneley

CONTENTS: Sins against right practice of confession, neglecting to
learn the basics of the faith (Creed, Lord’s Prayer, Ave Maria),
seven deadly sins, mentioning the Commandments, not
reverencing the sacraments (especially the Eucharist), seven works
of physical and spiritual mercy, and the five physical and spiritual
senses. The confession is preceded by a commentary on ignorance
about sin.⁷⁹ A note following the confession comments that “this
confessyoun here rehercyd generally owyth to be declaryd more

⁷⁹ The text is preceded by a brief discussion (fol. 34r) of the necessity of confession, which accounts for sin in terms of ignorance. Three types of ignorance are explained. Those who are mentally incapacitated are not to be blamed or punished; those who have not been taught about sin—but would be glad to learn—and so are not fully aware of sinning in certain instances, lack consciousness of their sin and therefore are not to be blamed, but because their confession is imperfect they must make amends in purgatory; and those who have knowledge but still sin are culpable and deserving of condemnation. The last of these, that is, most people, may be saved only through confession. Following this emphasis on ignorance, the form of confession begins with and emphasizes sins against the practice of confession and of failing to learn the basics of the faith, followed by a comprehensive listing of sins (“here rehercyd generally,” it is said, with no elaboration) that follows the catechism as presented in the *Lay Folks’ Catechism* preceding this form of confession.

opynly yef a man wolle clerly be shryven,” encouraging the user to make “more opyn declaracyoun” of the “many horyble and abhomynable vycys” that are detailed under each of the deadly sins in “þe tretys next before,” probably referring to the second part of the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*, which immediately precedes this text and the notes on ignorance.

CONTEXT: Symon Wynter *Life of St. Jerome*, *Lay Folks’ Catechism*, another form of confession (see D42), two verse tracts on virtues of the Mass with prose commentaries, *Vision of Virgin’s Five Sorrows*; Lat. devotional verses, an alphabetical subject index to Gregory’s *Dialogues*, tract on how to conduct confession.⁸⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 33 (and see 54 n. 45), *Yale Beinecke* 2:120–23, *NIMEV* 406/18, 455.55/1, 3268/3, 3426.55/1, Hudson (1) 247 and n. 21, Powell 74 n. 27, 79 n. 47.

⁸⁰ The manuscript as a whole contains much that centers on the basic catechism of the faith that all Christians should learn, and there is a great deal of emphasis on ignorance and knowledge. Some elements suggest reformist attitudes, such as the emphasis on the individual Christian’s responsibility to learn the catechism; warnings that ignorance is no excuse for lacking awareness; emphasis on helping the needy with alms and on the works of mercy; exhortation that true penitence must be accompanied by amendment of life and substantiated by good works; and the concluding portion of a prose commentary to a verse tract on the virtues of the Mass, which explicates the “tokenys and condycionys of a vycyows preste” (fols. 29v–30r), outlining in very striking detail and colorful language the signs of a priest grossly failing to live according to his calling. This passage clearly was offensive to one owner of the manuscript, perhaps a priest, as it is crossed out.

D42

Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum sana me. Psalmo sexto [Ps. 6:3].

Beholde how þe seek soule of mankynde sore woundyd knawynge his freelte dystresse and peryll cryeth to our moste mercyful lorde hyr spovse and leche to heele hyr. And how she is woundyd and rygth seek our lorde shewyth yn a parable, luce [decimo].⁸¹ Wher he lykneþ hyr vnto a man þat wente fro Ierusalem to Iericho, and felle amongst thevys þat dyspoyled bownde and woundyd hym, and lefte hym nyghe ded . . . I moste synfull wrecche knowleche to almyghty god, his blyssed modyr, all his seyntys and to þe my goostly fadyr þat I haue greuously synned ayenst my lord god (fol. 43r) . . . Now of alle þise synnes rehercyd and of all oþer foryoten which I wolde reherce and þey kame to my mynde and yn especyall of þe gret ignorance contynuall reygnynge yn me, yn þat I knawe not neþer wole knawe tho þynges to the which I am bownde yn eny maner wyse perteynyng to me, and also of þe contynuall negligence yn þat I neþir haue provysyoun, neþir do dewe execucyoun withoute delay or omyssioun of þynges knawe[n] longynge to me, neþer yn attendance takynge hede to my dayli thoughtes, wordes and dedys lyke as I am bownde. Wherfor I nowe wele avysed and for repentaunce with fulle wylle and purpose to eschewe

⁸¹ The MS clearly reads "luce ii°," but since the parable of the Good Samaritan is in Luke 10:25–37, "luce x°" must have been intended.

outtyrly all occasyones þat shulde ynduce me to synne yn tyme comynge, offre
me hoolly to þe ynfenyte mercy of our most mercyfull lord Iesu cryste now and
euer. Amen. Explicit forma generalis confessionis ac et specialis provt patebatur
autem.

Prol. In this generall confessyon her wryten may euery man and woman see and
vndirstande clerly how and wheryn þey haue offended god and goostly
wounded þeyr sovles, and be þe vertu of þis seyð confession be mad perfyztly
hoole in soule as þat howr þey came out of þe fonte stoon, and þerfor euery man
and woman as þey fynde þeymsilf gylty, so confesse þeym.⁸²

Confessio generalis ac specialis

New Haven, Conn., Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 317, 42v–50v
England, 1470–1480; compiled and copied possibly at Carth. priory of
Sheen, Richmond, or double monastery at Syon Abbey, London; owned
by Richard Towneley

CONTENTS: Following a discussion of the sinner's spiritual plight
that allegorizes the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37)
in terms of the sinner as a traveler beset by sin and in need of

⁸² This prologue is written in the bottom margin of fol. 42v, in the same hand as the text, but it clearly is meant to introduce the text and its purpose as a form of confession. The text begins with a quotation from Psalm 6, the first of the seven penitential psalms, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak: heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled" (6:3, Douay-Rheims).

healing, the confession proper is according to the five outward and inward senses, Commandments, seven deadly sins, sins against the fourteen articles of the faith, three theological and four cardinal virtues, and seven sacraments. Elements of the allegorical exegesis of the parable are carried over into the form of confession itself.

Then follows a prayer expressed in the first-person plural according to the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, after which the first-person confession picks up again with the seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy and the concluding request for forgiveness. There is much emphasis on orthodoxy, including a condemnation of heresy and failure to believe in the divine authority vested in the priest and in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

CONTEXT: Symon Wynter *Life of St. Jerome, Lay Folks' Catechism*, another form of confession (see D41), two verse tracts on virtues of the Mass with prose commentaries, *Vision of Virgin's Five Sorrows*; Lat. devotional verses, an alphabetical subject index to Gregory's *Dialogues*, tract on how to conduct confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. C, lxvi–cxv; Durkin 34 (and see p. 54 n. 45), *Yale Beinecke* 2:120–23, *NIMEV* 406/18, 455.55/1, 3268/3, 3426.55/1,

D43

[C]onfiteor deo celi beate marie beate benedicto et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis
peccauī nimis in corde cogitacione locucio ne omissione et opere mea culpa,
precor beatissimam virginem mariam et omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.

[I] wreche knowleche myselfe gyltye to almyghty god and to hys blessyde moder
oure ladye Seynt Marye and to alle the holy companye of hevene and to yowe
my goostly fadere here beyng in goddys stede . . . Off alle theyse synnes and
offences whiche I haue rehersyde or wolde yf they come to my mynde y yelde
me gyltye and mekely crye god mercye and aske forgifnes. And of Charyte you
my goostlye fader heere beeyng in goddys stede of penaunce and absolucyone.

[I]n istis et in multis aliis peccatis peccauī, que non occurrunt memorie mee. In
cogitacione locucione omissione et opere mea culpa. Ideo precor te pater, me
absoluas, et si indebite participauero cum aliquo excommunicato vel cum
aliquibus excommunicatis humiliter peto absolucionem a deo et vobis. Amen.

*[H]ere begynneth the howe and in whate wyse a crystene mane schulde lede hys lyffe frome
that he be of lawefulle age vnto hys laste ende of dethe . . .*⁸³

⁸³ The places where decorative capitals in the text were to have been drawn are left blank. The scribal hand of this MS is the same as that of BL Harley 172, which also contains a form of confession (see D46), and both MSS share the same provenance.

London, British Library, Add. 60577, 159v–79v⁸⁴

England, ca. 1487; comp. by a monk of Ben. priory of St. Swithun's,

Winchester; Hampshire dial.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, five corporal and spiritual senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, Commandments, twelve articles of faith, sacraments, seven cardinal virtues.

CONTEXT: Winchester Anthology: catechistic manual including tracts on Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Commandments, works of mercy, inner and outer senses, eight tokens of meekness, how spiritual love is turned into earthly love, four tokens of salvation, Beatitudes, and tribulation, tracts from *Mirror of St. Edmund* on deadly sins, virtues to combat deadly sins, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, four cardinal virtues, sixteen conditions of charity, sacraments, twelve articles of faith, and exposition of the Lord's Prayer, Walter Hilton *Eight Chapters on Perfection* chap. 8, *The Twelve Degrees of Meekness*, Earl Rivers *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, verse sermon, prayers, courtly love lyrics, trans. *demaundes d'amour*, tracts on grammar and scientific topics, verse trans. of Petrarch

⁸⁴ Following this form of confession, on fol. 180r, is an English form of absolution with notes on giving penance, and on fols. 180v–81r follows a plenary indulgence for all persons of the Benedictine order granted by Pope Pius II (1458–64) with forms of absolution in Latin.

Secretum secretorum Book I; MF *demandes d'amour*; Lat. devotions, proverbs, medical recipes.⁸⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Facsimile *Winchester Anth.* 159v–79v; Durkin 44, Raymo 211.69 and 24.40, *BL Add. MSS 1976–1980* 1:155, *Winchester Anth.* 1–38, *MLGB Supp.* 68, *Atlas* 1:103, *NIMEV* 11.51/1, 471/2, 906/22, 935/21, 1825/2, 1872/4, 1875.55/1, 1982/5, 2627/17, 2676/2, 2825.55/1, 3122/7, 3436/3, 3793/8, 3985/14, 4049.6/3, 4184/23, 4215/5.

D44

Benedicite. dominus. I synful creature knowleche me gilty and synfyl and schriue me with all my herte and mouthe to almyȝty god and to my ladi ladi [*sic*] seynt marie and to all þe holy cumpany of heven and to my gostly fadir of my synnys and trespasses bothe dedly and venially þat I haue wrowte syn þat I was borne in to þis day, In thinking in delyting in consentynge in willyng in spekyng and in dede [*doynge*]. I hygh god mercy and beseke hym hertely of forgifnes.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 201, 1r

England, 1450–1500; Herefordshire dial; owned by Richard Horne (15th cent.?), John Robinson (16th cent.?), and later by Archbishop William

⁸⁵ There are also 16th-cent. additions of songs with music, sermons, and other miscellaneous pieces.

Sancroft (17th cent.)⁸⁶

CONTENTS: See above full text.⁸⁷

CONTEXT: *Memoriale Credencium*, a tract on the seven deadly sins, cardinal virtues, corporal and spiritual works of mercy, corporal and spiritual senses, and Commandments, followed by a prayer.⁸⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 53, Jolliffe C.36, Raymo 211.50, Kengen 3–5, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 10027, *Oxf. Bodl. Quarto Cat.* 4:638, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:1164, *Atlas* 1:152.

D45

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to alle myȝty . . . and to hys blessed modyr . . .
and to alle þe compeny of heuyn and to . . . fader þat sythe my laste confessyon .
. . also I haue sumtyme take mete and drynke onely for luste aftur vnresonable
maner and sufycyant sustynaunce [imperfect at end].⁸⁹

London, British Library, Harley 7578, 1rb–vb

⁸⁶ The MS is dated 1400–1425, but this confession is written in a later mixed Anglicana-secretary hand at the beginning of the MS, probably by one of its owners such as Richard Horne.

⁸⁷ Jolliffe considers this text a fragment, but it may well be complete, as there is plenty of space on the folio for it to have been extended had the author wished. It appears to be a formal “beginning” to which the penitent would add his specific avowals as needed.

⁸⁸ The *Memoriale Credencium*, despite its Latin title, is a manual of religious instruction composed for “lewed men that konne not understonde latyne ne frenssche” (Kengen 37; Raymo 17). And despite Kengen’s reference to the work as a “manual of theology,” it is better termed a manual of religious instruction for “Man and womman þat wilneþ to fle synne and lede clene lyfe” (Kengen 37). One of its major sources is William of Pagula’s *Oculus sacerdotis* (Kengen 13–18), which contains a form of confession (see B8).

⁸⁹ Because of cropping and the poor state of the text, much of the incipit can be read only by ultraviolet light, and some text is illegible.

England, 1450–1500; owned in 16th cent. by John Rutherford, William Walker, Humphrey Wanley in 1687

CONTENTS: This fragment includes the seven deadly sins, breaking off with gluttony; preceded by a versified version of the Commandments.

CONTEXT: Geoffrey Chaucer lyrics including “Gentilesse,” “Lak of Stedfastnesse,” “Against Women Inconstant,” “ABC Hymn to the Virgin,” “The Compleynt unto Pite,” other Chaucerian lyrics, John Lydgate “Doublenesse” and “Prayer for King Henry VI and His Queen and People,” carols, drama of “Nebuchadnezzar’s Fiery Furnace,” some 16th- and 17th-cent. verses, many set to music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 52, Jolliffe C.44, Raymo 211.58, *NIMEV* 239/10, 674/5, 1635/1, 2029/3, 2218/4, 2756/7, 3097.6/1, 3190/8, 3348/8, 3436/7, 3487/3, 3504/5, 3656/4, 3687/16, 3914/2, 4230/6, *BL Harley* 3:538–39.

D46

[C]onfiteor deo celi et beate marie beato benedicto et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis et cetera. [I] knowlege me gilty vnto god and to oure lady seynt Marye. To seynt Benett Seynt Byrynus and to seynt Swythune, and to all the holy company of heuene and to you my gostly fader here beynge in goddys stede, of all that I haue offendyd and synnede Inne sythe the tyme that I was bore and toke the

Name of cryste in my crystondome vnto thys tyme, And specyally of that I haue synnede Inne sythe the laste tyme that I was reconsylede . . . And also penaunce and absolucyon for charyte. et sic ego peccator peccauī nimis in corde ore et opere omissione mea culpa. ideo gloriosam mariam et omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.⁹⁰

London, British Library, Harley 172, 11r–19r

England, 1475–1500; Ben. priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester; annotated in 16th cent. by John Stow

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, virtues, fourteen articles of faith.

CONTEXT: John Lydgate *Fall of Princes* excerpt and lyrics, William Hoccleve *Ars sciendi mori* and lyrics, *Fifteen Ooes*, Peter Idley's *Instructions to His Son* excerpt, Benedict Burgh trans. of *Cato Major*, articles of faith, indulgences; Lat. Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 23, Jolliffe C.23, Raymo 211.29, *BL Harley* 1:60–61, *Winchester Anth.* 4, 39–40, Revell 346.

⁹⁰ The places where decorative capitals in the text were to have been drawn are left blank. The scribal hand of this MS is the same as that of BL Add. 60577, which also contains a form of confession (see D43), and both MSS share the same provenance.

D47

Confiteor deo et cetera cogitacione locucione opere et omissione. Specyally I haske god mercy that I haue not kepytt his commaundmentis and þe counsellis of þe gospell . . . Off these and of all other, as farre as god knowys me gyltye I knawe my selffe gylty, and I aske god mercy oure lady sanct mary and alle þe cowrte of hewyn. Et te pater orare pro me.

A compendius forme of dayly confessions

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.iii, 135v–37r

England, 1475–1500;⁹¹ Carth.; Yorkshire, West Riding

CONTENTS: Sins against monastic order and pertaining to religious life, seven deadly sins, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, sacraments, articles of the faith, and five corporal senses are mentioned without detail.

CONTEXT: (12th cent.) Lat. Aelred of Rievaulx *Institutis inclusarum*, saints' lives of Simon the monk and Virgin, sayings of church fathers on monastic life, Augustine treatise on election and purgatory; MF tract on Commandments; (15th cent.) Lat. general statutes of Ben. order, form for admitting novices (Lat. and ME),

⁹¹ The MS is composed of twelfth- and fifteenth-century materials, the form of confession among the latter texts.

form for Mass, Lat. form of absolution following form of confession with additional notes on daily or frequent confession in ME,⁹² statutes of Carth. order for novices, directions for distributing alms, rubrics for celebrating Mass on feast days, directions on how to pronounce lectionary and music, graces at meals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Maskell 2:279–81; Durkin 13, Jolliffe C.42, Raymo 211.56, *IPMEP* 136, *BL Cotton* 202, *Atlas* 1:106.

D48

Good lorde that knowest alle thyng whom I offende fro day to day thy swete mercy 3ette on me spryng. And my defautes to knowe alle way to thi mercy be I meke ay in fulle hope to haue it with alle my mende thus I the praye to thyne oune love make thu me knyght . . . I crye godde mercy with alle myne hert andoure lady seynt marie seint Augustyne and alle the seyntes in hevene and the mygostly fadere mea culpa nowe and euer. Ihesu blessed be thi name. Amen.⁹³

⁹² The form of confession is followed by “Alia nota de confessione,” brief notes on frequent confession that advise those who confess daily to be brief, focusing on those sins with which “hys consciouce is most grewyd wip . . . and thoo that he is in dowt, whether they be dedly or weniall.” And then venial sins should be confessed in a general manner, such as “dulnes in redyng or prayng, losse of tyme, distraccyon of hart or wanderyng mynd in saying his seruice or other prayers, vnthankfullnes of the gudnes of god,” etc. (137r). Durkin observes that these notes are related textually to notes on frequent confession that follow the form of confession for religious in BL Harley 494 (D51).

⁹³ At the beginning of the text, space for an initial capital and first word is provided, but the word is not drawn in.

Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3042, 79r–80v

England, 1475–1500;⁹⁴ dial. of Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire; probably belonged to house of Aug. canonesses; Hugh Grine 16th-cent. owner

CONTENTS: The text begins as a prayer but shifts to the usual mode of a form of confession. Misc. avowals of sin, mentioning Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, sacraments.

CONTEXT: Richard Rolle meditation on Passion, *Speculum Christiani* excerpt (fifth table) on sins of heart, mouth, and deeds, commentary on chap. of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* on temptation, tract on contemplation, vision of St. John on sorrows of the Virgin, prayers on five wounds and five senses of Christ; Lat. fragmentary devotions to St. Etheldreda from a Book of Hours, Hours of the Holy Spirit, meditations on the Passion for daily office; French and Latin prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Barratt (1) 315; Durkin 28, Jolliffe C.10 and O.12, Raymo 211.7, Barratt (1) 310–15, Hanna (2) 41–43.

⁹⁴ The MS is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, but the form of confession was added in the later part of the century.

D49

I knowlege me to god and to oure lady sai[nt] marie and to alle holy cumpany of heuene and to þou my gostly fadyr þat I syner haue synnyd . . . I cry god mercy and oure lady and alle þe holy cumpanye of heuynn and to you my gostly fadyr precor [last two words illegible].

London, British Library, Add. 37075, 39v–40v

England, 1475–1500; London, probably belonging to a student at St.

Anthony's grammar school

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses.

CONTEXT: Lat. grammar, Lat.-ME lexicon, Cato *Distichs*, treatises on grammar and manners, hymnbook.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 46, Jolliffe C.24, Raymo 211.30, *BL Add. MSS 1900–1905* 344–49, Revell 347.

D50

I Synfull creature knowlege my selfe to god allmyȝtty And to his blissid modire mary and to all þe holy sayntis þat be in þe blis of hevyn and to þe my gostly fadir in goddis sted . . . bowe don ȝoure hedes all to almyȝty god and take ȝoure absolucion. Dominus Ihesus cristus

Prol. Sey affire me as I byd ȝou sey . . .

Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2829, 284r–85v

England, 1475–1500

CONTENTS: A brief form of confession for reading aloud by a priest to a congregation before receiving the Eucharist on Easter day, including the seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, sacraments, five physical senses, concluded by an extensive plea for forgiveness.

CONTEXT: Lat. Augustine *De divino Iudicio*, exempla, religious tales, saints' lives; ME indulgences, Easter day address including the form of confession followed by a versified prayer to be said as penance.⁹⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 7, O'Mara (1) 150, O'Mara (2) 449–50.

D51

Confiteor deo beate marie omnibus sanctis et vobis. I knowleg to almighty god to
oure blessid lady seynt Marye to alle the holy seyntes of heuen and to yow my
gostly father in goddis stede þat I haue offended my lord god greuously sen I was
last confesside . . . I submyt me to his mercy desiryng of Hym mercy and
forgivenes and grace of amendement and of yow my gostly fader penaunce and

⁹⁵ O'Mara (2) provides the full text of the versified penance with commentary. For other forms of confession meant for public recitation, see D35, D38, D40, D54, D59, D61; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

absolucoun. I aske for godes sake. Ideo precor sanctam mariam beatam virginam
[sic] omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.

Here foloweth a shorte confessionalle for religious persons of euery day synnes aftir

Bonauenture

London, British Library, Harley 494, 91r–94r

England, ca. 1500; owned by Lady Anne Bulkeley (abbess of Syon or
Barking?)

CONTENTS: For female religious: negligence in services,
disobedience, mispending of time, unthankfulness, forms of sloth,
pride, breaking silence, misdeeds of the body. Notes on practicing
frequent confession follow.⁹⁶

CONTEXT: Treatises on form of living, penance, ten virtues and
seven sorrows of the Virgin; Lat. and ME prayers and meditation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 14, Jolliffe C.25 and O.25, Raymo 211.31, *BL Harley*
1:329, Revell 348.

D52

Fyrst I knowledge myself gylty . . . and to optayne the endelesse blysse that God
hath bowght me to. Amen.

⁹⁶ Durkin observes that these notes are related textually to notes on frequent confession that follow the form of confession for religious in BL Cotton Nero A.iii (D47).

The forme of confession for all the yere

Ipswich, Ipswich School, Ipswich Town Library, MS 7, 282r–87v

England, ca. 1500; written and illuminated in London for Anne Withipoll⁹⁷

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacraments, eight beatitudes.

CONTEXT: Withipoll Book of Hours mostly in Latin with many English rubrics explaining their use, including English prayers, many indulgences, followed by a Sarum Hours of the Virgin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 27, Raymo 211.62, *Ipswich MSS* 69–70, James 95–99, *MMBL* 2:991–92, Blatchly 22.

D53

Benedicite. Dominus. I knowleche to god of heuene and to oure lady seynt mary and to all the holy company of heuene and to the gostely fader that I synfull wrecche haue synned . . . I besech my lorde ihesu cryst of hys mercy and hys swete moder seynt mary and all the company of heuyn and the gostly fadyr pray for me and of penaunce for my mysdedes and of absolucion for charyte. Amen.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Anne was the daughter of Robert Curson of Brightwell, and survived two husbands, William Freville and William Rede. An opening prayer in the MS is for William, one of these husbands. She married Paul Withipoll in 1510, who became Master of the Merchant Taylors Company in Ipswich (*Ipswich MSS* 69; Blatchly 22). I thank John Blatchly for providing me details about the provenance of this MS that he writes about in a hard-to-find article.

Oxford, Trinity College, E.86, 1r–19v

England, ca. 1506; Warwickshire; owned in later 16th cent. by Edward

Marowe of Warwickshire

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal mercy, articles of faith, doubting the sacraments (especially doubting the doctrine of transubstantiation), five corporal senses, associating with excommunicated persons (that is, eating and drinking with them).

CONTEXT: Three other forms of confession (see D54, D55, D56),⁹⁹ catechistic summaries of Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five corporal and spiritual senses, four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, six offenses against the Holy Spirit, sixteen conditions of charity, eight beatitudes, five signs of judgment (attrib. Augustine), four signs for knowing if one is saved or not (attrib. Augustine), seven ways conscience is provoked, and four

⁹⁸ The confession is followed by three Latin forms of absolution on fols. 20r–21r.

⁹⁹ The MS is written in four different hands. The two forms of confession on 1r–19v and 48r–v (ca. 1506) are in the same hand, while the two on 56v–69r and 69r–71v (after 1506) are in a separate hand. Raymo and *IMEP* date the MS 1475–1500, but Durkin's close analysis shows that the earliest hand is dated ca. 1506, while the rest of the MS was composed at the beginning of the 16th cent. after 1506.

things needed for good living, biblical sayings, order for visitation of sick, rite of matrimony, cases for excommunication, exemplum on nonpayment of tithes, sentence of excommunication, reserve sins for bishop; Lat. absolutions following first confession, order for visitation of sick, Athanasian Creed, Lord's Prayer, Apostle's Creed, *Visio Pauli* treatise on pains of hell, and *De amissione virginitate* (directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), directions on making confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. 2:46–78; Durkin 12, Durkin diss. 2:1–45, Jolliffe C.29, Raymo 211.4, *IMEP* 8 97–101, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/5:34–35.

D54

Sytte ze doune vpon zowre knees and sey aftur me I knowleche to gode and to oure lady seynt Marye and to all the holy companye of heuen that I haue synned in the seuen dedly synnys . . . And thereof I zelde me gyilty and beseche god mercy. And pray the for seynt charite therof to assoyle me. dicat presbiter misereatur et absolucionem.

The form of Confessioun [later hand]

Oxford, Trinity College, E.86, 48r–v

England, ca. 1506; Warwickshire; owned in later 16th cent. by Edward

Marowe of Warwickshire

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses (only listing them). A general confession for congregational reading, led by the priest.¹⁰⁰

CONTEXT: Three other forms of confession (see D53, D55, D56),¹⁰¹ catechistic summaries of Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five corporal and spiritual senses, four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, six offenses against the Holy Spirit, sixteen conditions of charity, eight beatitudes, five signs of judgment (attrib. Augustine), four signs for knowing if one is saved or not (attrib. Augustine), seven ways conscience is provoked, and four things needed for good living, biblical sayings, order for visitation of sick, rite of matrimony, cases for excommunication, exemplum on nonpayment of tithes, sentence of excommunication, reserve sins for bishop; Lat. absolutions following first confession, order for

¹⁰⁰ For other forms of confession intended for reading aloud in public, see D35, D38, D40, D50, D59, D61; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

¹⁰¹ The MS is written in four different hands. The two forms of confession on 1r–19v and 48r–v (ca. 1506) are in the same hand, while the two on 56v–69r and 69r–71v (after 1506) are in a separate hand. Raymo and *IMEP* date the MS 1475–1500, but Durkin’s close analysis shows that the earliest hand is dated ca. 1506, while the rest of the MS was composed at the beginning of the 16th cent. after 1506.

visitation of sick, Athanasian Creed, Lord's Prayer, Creed, *Visio Pauli* treatise on pains of hell, and *De amissione virginitate* (directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), directions on making confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. 2:128–29; Durkin 4, Durkin diss. 2:1–35, Jolliffe C.41, Raymo 211.4, *IMEP* 8 97–101, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/5:34–35.

D55

I haue not disposyd me afore þe sacrament of confessioun to contricion ne to serche my synnes nor beyn playn in tellyng of my synnes wyth their circumstaunce . . . I knowlege myself gylty in þe syght of god wherefore I beseche þe holy and gloryouse trynyte my sauour ihesu of mercy and his gloryouse moder alle thaungels of heuen al seyntyng men and wymen afore whom I make þis confession to pray for me at þe howre of deth þat I haue be confessyd of alle þese þat I haue be confessyd of to þe confusoun of my gostely ennemye þat þanne wyl accuse me and to thencreas of grace and only consolacyoun of my sowle. Amen.

*Here folowyth a lytyl addicioun for more perfyte serche of confession*¹⁰²

¹⁰² Contrary to the suggestion by this rubric that the material in this confession might be added to the confession immediately preceding it (see D56), this text does not in any way naturally extend that of the previous one. The word *addicioun* here most likely means “supplementary,”

Oxford, Trinity College, E.86, 69r–71v¹⁰³

England, 1506–1510; Warwickshire; owned in later 16th cent. by Edward

Marowe of Warwickshire

CONTENTS: Miscellaneous listing of various sins, some of which are pertinent to a priest's clerical duties (e.g., "I haue be negligent in keypyng and mynystryng of suche þingys as be commytty[d] and put to my cure"; "I haue songe and redde for lawde and veynglory of þe worlde and done þe seruyse of God negligently").

CONTEXT: Three other forms of confession (see D53, D54, D56),¹⁰⁴ catechistic summaries of Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five corporal and spiritual senses, four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, six offenses against the Holy Spirit, sixteen conditions of charity, eight beatitudes, five signs of judgment (attrib. Augustine), four signs for knowing if one is saved or not

that is, this material can be used as a supplement to the longer, more orderly form of confession that precedes it.

¹⁰³ The folio numbering in the MS is faulty; my foliation follows Durkin, which corrects that of Jolliffe and *IMEP*.

¹⁰⁴ The MS is written in four different hands. The two forms of confession on 1r–19v and 48r–v (ca. 1506) are in the same hand, while the two on 56v–69r and 69r–71v (after 1506) are in a separate hand. Raymo and *IMEP* date the MS 1475–1500, but Durkin's close analysis shows that the earliest hand is dated ca. 1506, while the rest of the MS was composed at the beginning of the 16th cent. after 1506.

(attrib. Augustine), seven ways conscience is provoked, and four things needed for good living, biblical sayings, order for visitation of sick, rite of matrimony, cases for excommunication, exemplum on nonpayment of tithes, sentence of excommunication, reserve sins for bishop; Lat. absolutions following first confession, order for visitation of sick, Athanasian Creed, Lord's Prayer, Creed, *Visio Pauli* treatise on pains of hell, and *De amissione virginitate* (directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), directions on making confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. 2:117–27; Durkin 55, Durkin diss. 2:1–35, Jolliffe C.19, Raymo 211.4, *IMEP* 8 97–101, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/5:34–35.

D56

I knowlege to god to hys blyssed moder and to alle þe courte of heven and to yow my gostely fader þat I wrecchyd synner haue offendyd my lorde . . . I aske god mercy and grace by þe merytys of hys gloryouse passyoun to amende and beseche yow my gostely fader of penaunce and absolucyon. þanne say þe residue of youre confiteor in latyn. Ideo precor sanctam mariam et cetera.

Prol. Firste aftyr ye haue had a profound study to serch for youre synnes and to reduce them to mynde . . . and after [saying the Confiteor up to “Ideo precor sanctam Mariam”] say þus . . .

Oxford, Trinity College, E.86, 56v–69r¹⁰⁵

England, 1506–1510; Warwickshire; owned in later 16th cent. by Edward

Marowe of Warwickshire

CONTENTS: Sins of thought, word, and deed, sinning against the persons of the Trinity, seven deadly sins, Commandments, five corporal senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, three theological virtues, twelve articles of faith, four cardinal virtues, sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, eight beatitudes.

CONTEXT: Three other forms of confession (see D53, D54, D55),¹⁰⁶ catechistic summaries of Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, five corporal and spiritual senses, four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, six offenses against the Holy Spirit, sixteen conditions of charity, eight beatitudes, five signs of judgment (attrib. Augustine), four signs for knowing if one is saved or not (attrib. Augustine), seven ways conscience is provoked, and four

¹⁰⁵ The folio numbering in the MS is faulty; my foliation follows that of Durkin, which corrects Jolliffe and *IMEP*.

¹⁰⁶ The MS is written in four different hands. The two forms of confession on 1r–19v and 48r–v (ca. 1506) are in the same hand, while the two on 56v–69r and 69r–71v (after 1506) are in a separate hand. Raymo and *IMEP* date the MS 1475–1500, but Durkin's close analysis shows that the earliest hand is dated ca. 1506, while the rest of the MS was composed at the beginning of the 16th cent. after 1506.

things needed for good living, biblical sayings, order for visitation of sick, rite of matrimony, cases for excommunication, exemplum on nonpayment of tithes, sentence of excommunication, reserve sins for bishop; Lat. absolutions following first confession, order for visitation of sick, Athanasian Creed, Lord's Prayer, Creed, *Visio Pauli* treatise on pains of hell, and *De amissione virginitate* (directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), directions on making confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. 2:79–116; Durkin 35, Durkin diss. 2:1–35, Jolliffe C.7, Raymo 211.4 and 24.14, *IMEP* 8 97–101, *Oxf. Coll.* 2/5:34–35.

D57

I Synfull persone humilie confessis and schryvis me to god almychti my fader makere ransomere and saluatoure and to his glorius moder þe vergin marie and þe haly court of hevynne prayand þaim humilie to mak prayere and Intercessioun for me and ask forgeveness of my synnis at almychti god and to ʒow spirituale fader in erd goddis stede . . . Prayand and requyrand god almychti of forgeveness and ʒow of absolucioun efter þe gret merit of god and my redemptour Ihesu Trastand and takand me to his hie and Infynit mercy and nocht to his extreme Iustice. [Followed by paragraph of instruction to priest on assigning penance.]

Heir followis the table of confessioun

Part 2 of *Of Penance and Confession* by John Ireland¹⁰⁷

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 4233 (Asloan MS), 33v–40v

Scotland, ca. 1515; Edinburgh; John Asloan scribe; Scottish dial.

CONTENTS: Five senses, seven deadly sins, seven virtues opposed to the deadly sins, Commandments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, twelve articles of faith, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacraments, seven cardinal virtues.

CONTEXT: John Ireland *Of Penance and Confession*, verse trans. of Jacobus de Cessolis *Game of Chess*, trans. of chaps. of Ranulf Higden *Polychronicon*, “The Wertuis of Nobleness” trans. of Alain Chartier poem, two treatises on Scottish origins, chronicle of Scottish history 1420–1460, *A Compendious Chronicle of the Scots* (Gathelus to James IV), G. Myll *The Spectacle of Love*, *The Buke of Sevyne Sagis*, William Dunbar religious lyrics, Robert Henryson *Tale of the Uplandis Mous and the Borowstoun Mous* and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Sir Richard Holland *The Buke of the Howlat*, *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*, John

¹⁰⁷ The complete treatise is on pp. 1–80 in Craige’s edition. Ireland’s name is not mentioned in the treatise itself but in Asloan’s table of contents to the MS preceding fol. 1: “The table of confessioun efter master Ihon Irland.” Most scholars accept the attribution to Ireland, a distinguished theologian who became James II of Scotland’s chaplain and confessor. Fitzpatrick (80) notes that this text has not been discussed in any survey of sacramental penance.

Lydgate *The Mayng and Disport of Chauceir*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Craigie (2) 66–80; Craigie (2) v–xv, Buuren 5–42, 414–19,
McGladdery 116–17, *NIMEV* 54/1, 1507/8, 1554/2.

D58

O glorious maker and lorde of heuyn and of erthe, of the see, and of euery
creature, holy, stronge, dredefull, allmyghty, and merciful lorde god, I vnworthi
wretchyd and graceles, knoulaige and recognise me heretofore to haue ben, and
also nowe to be, the vilest and most wicked synner lyuyng . . . Geuyng marcifully
to vs harty contricoun, pure and clene confession of all oure synnes, and grace to
make sufficiaunt satisfaccoun here, of all owre dettes wronges mysdedis,
amendement of oure lyfe, in this worlde, connyng and grace to deserve lyfe and
Ioye in heuyn euerlastyngly, yf it may so please the good lorde. Amen.

*A deuoute prayer to god the fathur of heuyn and therwith a good forme of confession
sumwhat generall*

Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 13 (F.4.13), 123v–35r

England, 1518; written by or for Jaspar Fyloll, a London Dom. probably at
Syon mon.

CONTENTS: Begins with sinner's condition of sin and need for
salvation, followed by confession according to the misuse of bodily
parts (feet, knees, thighs, genitals, sides, back, neck, shoulders,

arms, hands, mouth, tongue, heart, ears, nostrils, eyes, head, and heart again),¹⁰⁸ then according to the seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, twelve articles of the faith, sacraments, seven theological and cardinal virtues, seven gifts and twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit, beatitudes.

CONTEXT: Notes on phlebotomy, rule for finding Easter, table of

¹⁰⁸ This schema for confessing according to the parts of the body is unique among the Middle English forms of confession (the text in BL Harley 6041 merely mentions body parts [see D17]), yet it was a popular schema in early medieval England deriving from Celtic origins. Alcuin of York is first in the English tradition to make use of the trope of the anatomized body in confessional prayer, and his prayer is the earliest precursor to the genre of the form of confession (see A1). The text in Magdalene College MS 13 incorporates Alcuin's prayer, following closely the structure and details of Alcuin's anatomization of the sinful body, with some elaboration in places. For other early medieval confessional prayers using this schema, see A7, A9, A13, A20, and A23. A brief prayer of confession that is part of a service for the visitation of the sick, in BL Add. 30506 (15th cent.), fol. 51v, echoes this theme of body parts (see *IPMEP* 111, Littlehales 8). The prayer is as follows: "I knowliche to god, and to owre lady seynt marie, and to alle þe halwen of heuene, that I haue senned, with mowth spoken, with feet goon, with eyen seyen, with eren hered, with nose smelled, with herte þowht, and with al myn senful body myswrowth; therefore I preye owre ladi seynt marie and alle the halwyn of heuene, prey for me; and the prest, þat thow beseche for me, and me asoyle, for charite." The prayer is clearly connected to sacramental confession, as it is followed by a direction for the priest to absolve the sick man once he has made his confession: "ʒif the seke mai speke after that he is schriue, and hath mad his general confessioun, asoyle the prest hym of þis wyse." Perhaps the prayer is meant to be said as a way of beginning the confession. The vernacular manual of religious instruction, *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, contains a passage on the Passion in which the wounds of Christ's body are sustained in order to forgive man's sins committed through the parts of the body (fol. 19v, not part of the form of confession in this work [see D37.2]). Christ's seven wounds on the cross atone for and heal, part for part, man's entirely sinful being: "to eueriche of oure synnes . . . corespondent a sufficiant medecyne, a satisfaccioun superhabundant suffred for vs." Hodgson 6–7 quotes the entire passage. The embedded form of confession in Henry of Lancaster's *Livre de seyntz medicines* presents the most elaborate avowals of the seven deadly sins committed through the senses and parts of the body (see C19). And see an Irish form of confession that contains avowals of sins according to parts of the body (E1).

tides, medical recipe, liturgical calendar, rule to know moon's position, table of moveable feasts, tract on four complexions; Lat. and ME prayers to Christ and saints for various occasions of need.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 31, Raymo 211.61, *Camb. Magdalene* 24–37.

D59

Benedicite. Dominus Christe Audi nos. In nomine patris et filii etc. Confiteor deo celi et beate marie et omnibus sanctis etc. I make aknowledge to god allmyghty and to owr lady saynt mary and to all sayntys off hevyn and to you prest my gostly ffather . . . and my vnderstandyng my knowyng and my resone was away by the which I shuld haue rewlyde me with both in my sowle inward and owtward to myn evyne cristyn wherffor I cry god mercy [followed by a Lat. absolution].¹⁰⁹

*Confessio generalis*¹¹⁰

London, British Library, Sloane 1584, 50v–54v

England, 1475–ca. 1531;¹¹¹ written by John Gysborn, canon of Prem. abbey of Blessed Virgin, Coverham, Yorkshire¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ For other forms of confession intended for similar public uses, see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D61; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

¹¹⁰ The confession is the second part of an exhortation, entitled “Breuis exortacio ad populum in die pasche,” to be given before the Easter Eucharist, which begins, “Venite congregamus ad cenam magnam dei. Cometh and beth gaderyd together gladly vnto the grett Fest off god. . . .” The Latin absolution is said over a group of penitents.

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy, five physical and spiritual senses. The confession is preceded by an exhortation to confession at the Easter Mass (fols. 46r–50v), and the confession is to be said by the congregation in unison.

CONTEXT: Two other forms of confession (see D60, D61), tracts on ministering in Prem. order, confessional interrogatory for various estates, patristic sentences in Lat., directions on confession for priests, account of Innocent IV's vision of his mother in torment, copied out of a book from Exeter Cathedral fastened by a chain to

¹¹¹ Copies of letters in this MS cite the dates “The xj yer of The Reyne off Kynge Henry The Viiijth” [i.e., 1520, the earliest dated item] (fol. 31r), “Anno domini Milissimo cccc^{mo} xx^{mo} ij^o” [1522] (36v), and “the xxij yere” of Henry VIII [i.e., 1531, the latest dated item] (87v), while others cite the reign of Henry VIII generally. The entire MS appears to be Gysborn's own reference book written over a period of time from the end of the fifteenth century to ca. 1531. In addition, Gysborn writes out capital letter forms in cursive, uncial, and Gothic styles for his own reference (fols. 25r and 27r–28r), as he evidently was employed as a secretary, probably for his own abbey. The MS is therefore highly valuable as a rare example of handwriting by a single person (from Gisborn, Yorkshire, West Riding) from a specific locality (Coverham, Yorkshire, North Riding) over an extended period of time, and as an example depicting a script in transition from late medieval cursive to early secretary hand.

¹¹² Gysborn describes himself on fol. 35r as a curate of Alyngton, a parish in the diocese of Lincoln: “ego dominus Iohannes Gisborne Curatus De alyngton lincolnensis Diocesis audiui confessionem T.R.” He appears to have been appointed confessor to the parish church of Alyngton as there was need (one of the letters is to the rector of this parish, Peter Wickham). The following names are cited in letters copied by Gysborn: Richard Tonnell (?) of Grantham draper, Robert Langley clothier, John Do[nn?]yngtone of Lincoln yeoman, John Raynold, Richard abbot of Prem. mon. of St. Mary of Newbo in Lincolnshire, Sir Roger Turner canon also of St. Mary's, Peter Wikame [Wickham] rector of the parish church of Alyngton in Lincolnshire, Thomas Newell of Welbeke [Welbeck] in Nottinghamshire, Robert Wright, Ezella Wynter, and Wylliam Steuenson.

Bishop Lacy's tomb, followed by Lat. masses for her relief, directions about proper objects of prayer before Communion, Lat. directions for counseling the dying, religious poems in Lat. and ME, letter forms for penmanship and copies of letters written for various employers in Lat. and ME, directions for enameling and engraving, medical recipes, treatise on confession for confessors, tract on pains of hell, another confessional interrogatory, treatise on heremetical life attrib. Celestine V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, xviii–xxvii; Durkin 1, Jolliffe C.3, Raymo 211.2, Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, i–xvii, *Brit. Lit. MSS* 20–22, *MLGB* 55, *Atlas* 1:116, *NIMEV* 914/3, 1214.9/4, and see notes 108 and 109 above.

D60

I am aknowe to god and to owre lady sant mary and to all the holy company off hevyne and to youe prest my gostly fader att this tyme þat I haue synnyd in the vii dedly synnys and all the branchis þat spreynge off them . . . Off thes synnys and all other synnys þat I wold be schreyne off and haue fforgyffnes off att this tyme and thay wold come to my mynd I cry god mercy and our lady sant mare and all the sayntys off hevyne and youe my gostly father off penance and

absoluc[i]one ffore saynt charyte [entire text].¹¹³

London, British Library, Sloane 1584, 55v, 62r

England, 1475–ca. 1531; written by John Gysborn, canon of Prem. abbey of Blessed Virgin, Coverham, Yorkshire

CONTENTS: The beginning (fol. 55v) and ending (fol. 62r) of a confession as quoted by the priest to the penitent as a model of how to begin and end the confession, contained in a confessional interrogatory that questions the penitent in the seven deadly sins, Commandments, seven works of corporal mercy, five senses, neglecting confession.

CONTEXT: Two other forms of confession (see D59, D61), tracts on ministering in Prem. order, confessional interrogatory for various estates, patristic sentences in Lat., directions on confession for priests, account of Innocent IV's vision of his mother in torment, copied out of a book from Exeter Cathedral fastened by a chain to Bishop Lacy's tomb, followed by Lat. masses for her relief,

¹¹³ These brief passages, cited in a confessional interrogatory titled "Forma audiendi confessionem," are meant to illustrate how the penitent should begin and end a confession. The illustrative beginning comes just after directions for beginning confession: "primo genuflectit penitens dicens Benedicite deinde sacerdos dicit dominus christe audi nos . . . et dicat penitens sub hac forma: . . ." The illustrative conclusion comes after the priest has questioned the penitent in every manner and the penitent has nothing more to confess and expresses sorrow for his sins: "Sune say after me. . . ." Following the penitent's conclusion, the priest gives the absolution.

directions about proper objects of prayer before Communion, Lat.
directions for counseling the dying, religious poems in Lat. and
ME, letter forms for penmanship and copies of letters written for
various employers in Lat. and ME, directions for enameling and
engraving, medical recipes, treatise on confession for confessors,
tract on pains of hell, another confessional interrogatory, treatise on
heremetical life attrib. Celestine V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, xxxviii–xlvi; Durkin 10, Jolliffe
C.16, Raymo 211.13, Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, i–xvii, *Brit. Lit. MSS* 20–22,
MLGB 55, *Atlas* 1:116, *NIMEV* 914/3, 1214.9/4, and see notes 108 and 109 above.

D61

In the name off the father and The sone and the holy gost thre persons and one
god in trinite etc. All ye that bene cleyne schryuen and shall reyseue this day
cristes blessyd body in forme off bred shall knell downe apone yowre kneys and
say devoutly after me I do make aknowleg[e] to god allmyghty and to our lady
sent mare and to all the holy company off hevyne and to youe my gostly ffather
in godes sted that I haue synnyd . . . and then ytt shall be plesyng to god and
gretly prophetyng yowr sowllys ffore this confessione ye shalle say a pater noster
and aue maria and a crede.

London, British Library, Sloane 1584, 10r–12r

England, 1475–ca. 1531; written by John Gysborn, canon of Prem. abbey of Blessed Virgin, Coverham, Yorkshire

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins, Commandments, twelve articles of faith, sacraments, seven works of corporal mercy, five senses, followed by absolution in Lat. and commentary. This confession, to be said by a group of penitents at Easter who are expected to have been to confession, is described as a general confession useful for forgiveness of venial and forgotten sins but not for mortal sins. It is preceded by a confessional interrogation (fols. 7r–10r).¹¹⁴

CONTEXT: Two other forms of confession (see D59, D60), tracts on ministering in Prem. order, confessional interrogatory for various estates, patristic sentences in Lat., directions on confession for priests, account of Innocent IV's vision of his mother in torment, copied out of a book from Exeter Cathedral fastened by a chain to Bishop Lacy's tomb, followed by Lat. masses for her relief, directions about proper objects of prayer before Communion, Lat. directions for counseling the dying, religious poems in Lat. and ME, letter forms for penmanship and copies of letters written for

¹¹⁴For other forms of confession intended for similar public uses, see D35, D38, D40, D50, D54, D59; for French examples, see C22, C27.5, C34, C38.1; and see A11 for an early medieval example.

various employers in Lat. and ME, directions for enameling and engraving, medical recipes, treatise on confession for confessors, tract on pains of hell, another confessional interrogatory, treatise on heremetical life attrib. Celestine V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, xxxiv–xxxvii; Durkin 2, Jolliffe C.34, Raymo 211.48, Durkin diss. vol. 1, app. A, i–xvii, *Brit. Lit. MSS* 20–22, *MLGB* 55, *Atlas* 1:116, *NIMEV* 914/3, 1214.9/4.

D62

Benedicite pater Christie etc. Confiteor deo et b[eate] Marie etc. . . . maxima culpa. I a very synner knalegyth mysel[f] culpable and gylty unto my lord god my maker . . . and I aske him mercy and forgyfnes.

Forma confessionis generalis cuiusdam deuote

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 229¹¹⁵

England, 16th cent.; many northern dial. forms¹¹⁶

CONTENTS: For a woman in religious orders. Commandments, seven deadly sins, miscellaneous sins under the heading “willful

¹¹⁵ The MS is a roll that is four and three-eighths inches wide and nineteen feet long.

¹¹⁶ This sixteenth-century parchment roll is a transcription of the ME form of confession. See Durkin 52 n. 27. Durkin dates the roll to the seventeenth century, but I follow Raymo and M. R. James, the cataloguer of the Emmanuel College MSS. James notes that the roll was transcribed by Wilfrid Smith (“a cotype of an ancient manuscript . . . Transcribed by me Wilfrid Smith”) and that it was later a gift to Emmanuel College from William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventeenth century.

poverty," seven corporal works of mercy, five senses, sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven spiritual works of mercy, four cardinal virtues, articles of faith.

CONTEXT: The entire roll consists of the confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Durkin 18, Jolliffe C.38 and O.29, Raymo 211.52, *Camb.*

Emmanuel 130–31.

Rejected texts

Cambridge, University Library, Ii.6.2, 3r. Raymo (211.68) lists this as a form of confession, but it is rather a prayer emphasizing the need for contrition and confession. See *IMEP* 19 220.

London, British Library, Add. 17010, 77v–80r. Raymo (24.37) lists this as a form of confession, but it appears to be nothing more than a brief description of sacramental confession in a catechistic manual.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 246, fols. 3v–4r. Raymo lists this as a form of confession (24.9 and 211.67), but it is rather a translation of the *Confiteor*, which is part of a catechism (fols. 4r–10v) including the Creed, Ave Maria, Lord's Prayer,

Commandments, five senses, seven deadly sins, gifts of the Holy Spirit, works of mercy, and six ways of consenting to sin. See *IPMEP* 135, and Maskell 2:282 for this translation of the *Confiteor*.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 246, 58v. Raymo 211.64 erroneously lists a second form of confession on fol. 58v.

E. Verse Forms of Confession

Latin

E1

Memorans novissima, / cogitans futura / Quam horrida, quam aspera / sit mortis
hora dura . . . Tibi preces offero / benigne rex caelorum/ Ut dones eis requiem / in
saecla saeculorum.

"Planctus Paenitentis"¹

91 stanzas

London, British Library, Arundel 248, 133r-[35r]

England, 14th cent.

CONTENTS: This Latin poem begins as a lamentation of sin, then turns to a confession of sin (stanzas 43–67), beginning, "Confiteor humiliter / indignus et peccator . . .," and concludes with expressions of hope in God's forgiveness. The last stanza indicates that this penitential prayer is offered on behalf of the souls of parents, friends, and all the dead, differing from the usual form of

¹ I thank Siegfried Wenzel for this reference.

confession, which attends specifically to the need of the sinner to be reconciled to God.

CONTEXT: Albertus Brixiensis *Summa de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, *Liber de amore et dilectione Dei et proximi*, and sermons, Hugh of St.-Cher *Speculum missae*, proverbs, epigrams, *index locorum* of Scripture, excerpts of church fathers, hymns to the Virgin, mystical tract on monastic life attrib. to Jerome, exposition of biblical names attrib. to Jerome, exempla on the virtues and vices, *Arbor virtutum et vitiorum*, many other Lat. religious poems, some with musical notations; ME religious lyrics with musical notations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Dreves 340–49; *BL Arundel* 1:73–75, *NIMEV* 888/1, 1697/1, 3432/1, 4223/3.

E2

Recognosco, quod erravi, / Deus pater, et peccavi . . . Ut laudent creatorem, / Pie corrigant erratum / Inscium et occupatum / Excusent dictatorem.

“Modus Confitendi”

23 sections in goliardic stanzas

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Palat. 883, 64r–75r

Germany, 14th cent.; Cist. mon. of Kamp Abbey, Kamp-Lintfort, dioc. of

Cologne

CONTENTS: Seven deadly sins (sec. 1–7), sins of the tongue (sec. 8–14, 16), sins of the heart (sec. 15), wicked deeds (sec. 17), sins of neglect (sec. 18), violations of the Commandments (sec. 19), false belief (sec. 20), sins against the sacraments (sec. 21), sins committed through parts of the body (sec. 22), and neglect of the virtues, devotional practices, gifts of the Holy Spirit, works of bodily and spiritual mercy (sec. 23). The verses list these topics without much expansion.

CONTEXT: Everardus Bethuniensis *Labyrinthus*, Theodolus *Eclogues*, John Pecham *Philomena* (verse meditation based on daily office), *Speculum humanae salvationis*, poem “Pergama flere volo” on fall of Troy, Gumpertus de Goch “Rhythmi morales,” Marcus Poeta poem “Elegia de destructis a Benedicto idolorum fanis,” Ambrosius Autpertus poem on the conflict between the virtues and vices, fables of Avianus, Theobaldus Cretensis “Biblia rythmica,” ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux exhortation to religious, verse prayers, canticles, hymns, and other verses on various moral and religious topics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Blume 238–58; *Wien Palat.* 1:148–50, Denis 1.2: cols. 2310–23, *MHOB* 10212, *HMML* 14201.

E3

Ego reus et peccator maximus confiteor omnipotenti deo celi . . . blasphemans
hereticus omnis adulter.

Köln, Stadtarchiv, GB 4° 23, 68v–70r

Germany, ca. 1500; Köln, Ben. mon. of St. Pantaleon

CONTENTS: This poem in hexameters begins as a *Confiteor*, then simply lists mnemonically the various categories of virtues and vices.

CONTEXT: Petrus de Alliaco meditation on the penitential psalms, John Chrysostom homily, Rabbi Samuel *Epistola ad Rabbi Isaac* (on the coming of the Messiah), Pontius Pilate's apocryphal *Epistola ad Tiberium*, Thomas á Kempis treatise on spiritual education of monks, and a German form of confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Köln* 2:15–17.

French

E4

Sire, je me confesse a Dieu / Et a tous et a toutes saintes . . . Sans metre nul
escusement.

From Jean de Journy, *La dîme de pénitence* (1288), lines 1488–1506

London, British Library, Add. 10015, 39r

[France?], ca. 1300

CONTENTS: The *Dîme de pénitence* ("Penitential Tithe"), written by the knight and artisan Jean de Journey in Cyprus while recovering from an illness (as he states in the poem), is a long, little-discussed allegorical poem on penitence in 3,296 lines of couplets. In this section, the narrator, advising on how to proceed with confession, gives as a model the words with which one ought to begin (lines 1488 ff.). Then the narrator says the penitent must relate every sin in detail: "Après li doit mot a mot dire / De ches peccies toute la tire."

CONTEXT: *Dime de penitance, L'image du monde.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Breymann 42–43; Sinclair 5204, *GRLMA* 6/2:2372, *BL Add.*

MSS 1836–1890 4, Breymann 97–98, Payen 569–76.

E5

A Dieu le Pere tout puissant me confesse / Et a le benoite glorieuse Vierge . . .

23 lines

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4600, 259v

France, beg. 14th cent.; Rouen

CONTENTS: Text not seen.

CONTEXT: Psalter in Lat. and OF, collection of prayers, Office of the dead in Sarum Use, liturgical calendar of Rouen with Cistercian influence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rézeau R4, *BN cat. gén. fr. (4)* 2:219–20.

E6

Je me confesse a Dieu et a sa mere / Et a tous sains, car par ma grant misere . . .

Confiteor

1 douzain

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1179, 149v

France, 1468–1475

CONTENTS: As the rubric and length of the verse indicates, this is undoubtedly a vernacular version of the *Confiteor*, but I include it here for its interest as a versified vernacular form of this prayer.

CONTEXT: Hours of Macé Prestesaille in Use of Tours, containing Office of the dead, Gloria, Creed, Passion of St. Matthew and other evangelists, prayers to Virgin, Mass of Holy Spirit, votive Mass of Virgin, Mass for the dead, prose prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sonet 815, Sonet-Sinclair 815, *BN MSS lat. (1)* 1:433.

Middle English

E7

Bot nu sal i tell þe herness / Hu þu sal sceu þi scrift to preist / And i will first at
pride begin / þat prince es of all oper sin / þat landmen mai sumquat lere / To
scape þair scrift wit þis samplere / Qua þat o sin o pride will rise / He sal him
scriue on þis kin wise / Til our lauerd crist and þe / Mi gastli fader yeild i me . . .
And prai for me to crist alsua / þat he ha merci of my plight / þat i am redi for to
right / And forgiue if his will be / þat i can noht here telle to þe.

From part 2 of the *Book of Penance*, appended to *Cursor Mundi* (1300–1325)²

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.iii, 155rb–58rb

England, ca. 1340; West Riding, Yorkshire

CONTENTS: Confession to a priest according to the seven deadly
sins, followed by some directions about confessing and a post-
confession prayer.

² For the entire poem, see *Cursor Mundi* 5:1470–1586, ll. 25684–29547. The MSS of the Southern version of *Cursor Mundi* do not contain the *Book of Penance*; all three MSS of the Northern version contain it, but only the Cotton Vespasian MS (the earliest *Cursor* MS) contains the form of confession. See Horrall 1:10–13 and 24–25 for discussion of the differences between Northern and Southern versions of the poem. Wenzel (2) 84 and 229 n. 65, believes that the form of confession appearing in Cotton Vespasian A.iii is based on Robert Grosseteste's Latin confessional *Si scienter* questionnaire, showing how readily the second-person mode of the questionnaire form could be adapted into the first-person form of confession. Grosseteste's questionnaire is also the basis for a Latin form of confession (see B27). See also a ME prose form of confession that exhibits this same quality (D22). The reverse process of adaptation from first-person to second-person mode is evident in BL Harley 4172 (see D2.1, D2.3, D12, and D14.4).

CONTEXT: Cursor Mundi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Cursor Mundi* 5:1551–59, lines 28068–613; *BL Cotton* 433, Horrall 17–18, Wright 11, Wenzel (2) 84 and 229 n. 65, Bloomfield 175–76, Raymo 31.6, *IMEV* 694, *Atlas* 1:108.

E8

Swete Ihesu crist to þe / a synful wreche I zelde me . . . þat þis be fulfillid in dede
/ ilc gode man sai Pater noster, Aue and crede.

46 long lines of couplets

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don. c. 13, 166rb

England, 14th cent.; dial. of Yorkshire, North Riding; owned in 15th cent.

by Lord John Coldane, Master T.C., and John Savage in 16th cent.

CONTENTS: The prayer mentions but does not elaborate on the seven deadly sins, Commandments, and the five senses. It is addressed to Christ, including a request that the sinner be confessed at death; then the address shifts to the Virgin Mary, for her grace and help, including prayers for the sinner's friends, and then it shifts to a request that the saints, prophets, martyrs, virgins, and souls in purgatory pray for the sinner.

CONTEXT: Lollard sermon cycle, *Lay Folks' Catechism*, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, religious lyrics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brown 1–7, *Atlas* 1:147, NIMEV 110/2, 406/2, 1053/1, 1320/1, 1733/1, 2080/2, 3232/1*, 3567/1.

E9.1

Inwardlyche lord biseche I þe. / Al my trespas for-ʒif it me . . . For-ʒif me nou
and alle men. / Ðat han broken þi commaundemens ten. Amen.

Decem precepta domini

14 couplets

London, British Library, Add. 37787 (Worcestershire Miscellany), 159r–60r
England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. monk of St. Mary's
Abbey, Bordesley, Worcestershire; later owned in 15th cent. by Lady
Goditha Throckmorton Peyto, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton,
wife of Sir Edward Peyto, and possibly mother of Cardinal William Peyto;
also owned by Goody Throckmorton (probably a niece of Goditha), and in
16th cent. by Susanna Willescott and by the wife of John Rudall.

CONTENTS: Confession to Christ according to the
Commandments, treated in cursory fashion.

CONTEXT: Worcestershire Miscellany, religious miscellany in
Latin prose and ME verse: Lat. *Visio Sancti Pauli*, treatise on form of
monastic life, tale of sleepy monk, disputation between body and
soul, sermons, meditation, prophesy of John on Antichrist, hymns,

extracts from Augustine and Jerome on the Psalms, directions for special masses, prayers, indulgences, charms; ME (all in verse) prayers, *Debate of Body and Soul*, *Stations of Rome*, Commandments, works of mercy, five senses, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, hymns, religious lyrics, including four confessional prayers, Hours of the Cross, and prose vision of St. John on the sorrows of the Virgin; a couple OF prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Worcs. Misc.* 148; *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Worcs. Misc.* 13–40, *Raymo* 24.78, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2,* 1959/3, 1969/2, 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4.

E9.2

Inwardliche lord biseche I þe / Al my trespas forziue þou me . . . Forziif me now
and alle men / Pat haue broken þi comaundemens ten.

*An orisoun for negligence of þe .x. commandemens*³

14 couplets

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 116ra

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: See E9.1.

³This title is taken from the contemporary index of contents at the beginning of the manuscript.

CONTEXT: Vernon Manuscript, religious miscellany mostly in verse: *South English Legendary* and another small collection of saints' lives, *Miracles of the Virgin*, *Northern Homily Cycle*, Gospel paraphrases with exposition, *Vision of St. Paul*, *Mirror of Life*, *Prick of Conscience*, *Prick of Love*, *Debate between Body and Soul* and other disputations, *Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard*, trans. Robert Grosseteste *Chasteau d'amour*, metrical romances *Ypotis*, *Robert of Sicily*, and *King of Tars*, *Distichs of Cato* (in Lat., OF, ME), *Stations of Rome*, alliterative poem *Susannah*, *Charter of Christ*, trans. *Stimulus amoris* attrib. Bonaventure, Richard Rolle *Form of Living* and *Ego Dormio*, Walter Hilton *Scale of Perfection*, *Mirror of St. Edmund*, *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *Ghast of Guy*, *A Talking of the Love of God*, *Ancrene Riwe*, William Langland *Piers Plowman* A-text, treatises on love, maidenhood, hearing Mass, pains of hell, etc., numerous prayers, hymns, meditations, and lyrics; ME and Lat. Hours of the Cross, hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus," Lord's Prayer; ME and OF proverbs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Horstmann 36, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, NIMEV 1602/1* and index, p. 314 s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1, Raymo 24.60, Serjeantson 222–61, Guddat–Figge 269–80, Kane *A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148.

E10.1

Lord I zelde me gulty. / Pat I neuer fedde þe hungri . . . Pat I may comen aftur
my ded. / And wonen euere lord wiþ þe. Amen.

Septem opera misericordie

4 six-line stanzas

London, British Library, Add. 37787 (Worcestershire Miscellany), 158r–59r
England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. monk of St. Mary's
Abbey, Bordesley, Worcestershire

CONTENTS: Confession to Christ according to the works of
corporal mercy, treated in cursory fashion.

CONTEXT: See E9.1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Worcs. Misc.* 146; *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Worcs. Misc.* 13–40, *Raymo* 24.78, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2, 1959/3,* 1969/2, 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4.⁴

E10.2

Lord I zelde me gulti / Pat I neuere fedde þe hungri . . . Pat I may comen aftur
my ded / And wonen euere lord wiþ þe. Amen.

⁴ *NIMEV* 1959/2 repeats the mistake of *IMEV* in listing a copy of this poem as being in the Simeon MS (BL Add. 22283, 158r). While Simeon has many of the same works as Worcestershire and Vernon, it does not have this poem.

*A confessioun for negligence of þe dedes of mercy*⁵

4 six-line stanzas

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 115vc–16ra

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: See E10.1.

CONTEXT: See E9.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Horstmann 34–35, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; *Oxf. Sum.*

Cat. 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, *Raymo* 24.60, *NIMEV* 1959/1* and index, p. 314

s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1, *Serjeantson* 222–61, *Guddat-Figge* 269–80, *Kane A-Text* 17,

Atlas 1:148.

E11.1

Lord syngud haue I ofte. / In my .v. wittus wiþ wille & þouhte . . . And also lord
in synful felyng. / 3if þi wille be. Amen.

De quinque sensibus hominis

2 six-line stanzas

London, British Library, Add. 37787 (Worcestershire Miscellany), 159r

England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. monk of St. Mary's

Abbey, Bordesley, Worcestershire

CONTENTS: Confession to Christ according to the five physical

⁵ This title, which accurately describes the contents of the prayer, is taken from the contemporary index of contents at the beginning of the manuscript.

senses, treated in a cursory fashion.

CONTEXT: See E9.1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Worcs. Misc.* 147; *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Worcs. Misc.* 13–40, *Raymo* 24.78, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2, 1959/3, 1969/2,* 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4.

E11.2

Lord sunged haue I ofte / In my fyue wittes wiþ wille and þouȝte . . . And also
lord in synful felyng / ȝif þi wille be. Amen.

*An orysoun for sauynge of þe fyue wyttes*⁶

2 six-line stanzas

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 116ra

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: See E11.1.

CONTEXT: See E9.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Horstmann 35, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, *Raymo* 24.60, *NIMEV* 1969/1* and index, p. 314 s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1, *Serjeantson* 222–61, *Guddat-Figge* 269–80, *Kane A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148.

⁶This title is taken from the contemporary index of contents at the beginning of the manuscript.

E12.1

Swete Ihesu cryst to the / A gulti wreche I yelde me . . . Pray for me to oure lady /
That Ihesu on me haue mercy / Alle haluen þat evur were / That botep crist boþe
lef & dere / Pray ye for me.⁷

Couplets

London, British Library, Add. 37787 (Worcestershire Miscellany), 14r–16r
England, ca. 1388; compiled by John Northwood, Cist. monk of St. Mary's
Abbey, Bordesley, Worcestershire

CONTENTS: A confession to Christ. The first quarter of the poem merely cites the seven deadly sins, Commandments, and five senses, which is followed by supplications for mercy to the Father, Virgin, and saints. The number of lines in this poem varies among the manuscripts.

CONTEXT: See E9.1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Worcs. Misc.* 101–3; *BL Add. MSS 1906–1910* 140–50, *Worcs. Misc.* 13–40, *Raymo* 24.78, *Atlas* 1:102, *MLGB* 11, *NIMEV* 310.5/1, 351/6, 701/4, 775/2, 779/2, 780/2, 965/2, 975/2, 1172/3, 1202/2, 1372/4, 1602/2, 1959/3, 1969/2, 2119/41, 3027/4, 3231/5*, 3238/5, 3241/5, 3883/4.

⁷I do not include among texts of E12 a copy of the poem in a 17th-cent. MS, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.14.26, 42v–45r.

E12.2

Swete Ihesu crist to þe / A gulti wrecche Ich ȝelde me . . . Prayep̃ for me to vre
ladi / Pat Ihesus of me haue merci. / Alle halewen þat euere were / Pat beoþ crist
lef and dere / Prayep̃ for me to vre ladi / Pat Ihesus of me haue merci.

Couplets

A confessioun to Ihesu crist

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 114va–c

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: See E12.1.

CONTEXT: See E9.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Horstmann 19–21, Patterson 50–53, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; Raymo 24.60, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, Serjeantson 222–61, Guddat-Figge 269–80, Kane *A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148, *NIMEV* 3231/1* and index, p. 314 s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1.

E12.3

. . . So þat at myn endyng day / Clene of synne dye I may / With shrift and hosel
at myn ende; / So þat my soul mai wende . . . Preyep̃ for me with oure lady / Þat
Ihesus on me haue mercy. / Holy patriarkes and prophetes / All y pray ȝow and

bysekes: / Preyep for me with oure lady / Pat Ihesus on me haue mercy . . .⁸

Couplets

Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Library, MS 114 (formerly Laing 32),

i^r

England, early 15th cent.

CONTENTS: See E12.1.

CONTEXT: This is a 15th-cent. German manuscript, containing Latin and German religious material, from a monastery of regular canons in Nuys near Dusseldorf. The end papers containing this poem and other fragments were taken from an early-15th-cent. English manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Edinburgh* 183–85, 334–35, *NIMEV* 1759/2, 2118/2, 3027/5, 3231/6*, 3241/6.

E12.4

Swete Ihesu crist to þe / A gulti wrecche Ich zelde me . . . Prayep for me to vre ladi / Pat Ihesus of me haue merci.⁹

Couplets

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, 14v–15r¹⁰

⁸ This text is fragmentary, including lines 39–52, 55–56, 59–74 of the poem as edited by Horstmann.

⁹ Most of the text in the MS is washed out; I have taken the incipit and explicit from E12.2.

England, 1400–1450; assoc. with Stoke-by-Hartland, Devonshire

CONTENTS: See E12.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. liturgical calendar, devotions to Saint Osmund and Saint Nectan of Stoke-by-Hartland, psalms, “Stabat Mater,” other religious verse; ME prayers mainly in verse, Robert Mannyng of Brunne “Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord,” meditation on the Passion, “Fifteen Oes,” “Saint Gregory’s Trental.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lam. Pal.* 765–68, *NIMEV* 248/5, 723.55/1, 775/4, 984/1, 1030/4, 1325/1, 1372/5, 1684/4, 1708/3, 1727/11, 1761/7, 2112/1, 2116/2, 2118/3, 2119/44, 2451/1, 2512/1, 3231/7*, 3883/5.

E12.5

Swete Iesu to the / A gyilty wrecche I yelde me . . .

Couplets

Cambridge, University Library, Dd.8.2, 5r

England, ca. 1493; priory of Blessed Virgin (Ben. nuns), Kington, Wiltshire;

John Baker of Bridgwater noted as a benefactor

CONTENTS: See E12.1.

CONTEXT: Obituary calendar of persons connected with the monastery of Kington, Wiltshire (made by its prioress, Katerine

¹⁰ *NIMEV* repeats the mistake of *IMEV* in citing the poem as beginning on fol. 14r.

Moleyns in 1493), prayers, documents connected with the priory, brief list of kings of England, a few religious verses, Hours of the Virgin added a little later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CUL 1:334–36, MLGB 106, MLGB NIMEV 241/3, 981/3, 1790.5/1, 3231/2.*

E12.6

Swete Ihesu crist to þe / A gulti wrecche Ich ʒelde me . . . Prayep for me to vre
ladi / Pat Ihesus of me haue merci.

Couplets

London, British Library, Harley 210, 34v

[England], n.d.

CONTENTS: See E12.1.

CONTEXT: Lat. Hours of the Virgin, prayers, psalms of the Passion;

ME verse prayers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BL Harley 1:66, NIMEV 462/6, 3027/3, 3231/4, 3241/4.*

E13.1

Swete ihesu crist, to þe, / Copable wrecche ich ʒeld me . . . yn-to þat blisse of þyn
empyre / Per þou regnest lorde and syre. Amen.¹¹

¹¹ Brown, *Rel. Lyr. XIV C*, 271–72, relates this poem closely to E12, dividing these manuscripts into those with *culpable* in the second line and those with *gulti*. The Burton MS is the earliest of the *culpable* group, and the Worcestershire Miscellany and Vernon MS are the earliest of the *gulti*

40 lines in couplets¹²

London, British Library, Add. 47663, fragment L (formerly the Burton MS, privately owned by John R. Burton, Ludlow)

England, late 14th cent.

CONTENTS: Confession according to the seven deadly sins and five senses, though without any elaboration; half of the lines expresses sincere contrition.

CONTEXT: A single leaf removed from the binding of a book printed in Antwerp in 1535. The verso side (fol. 84v) contains the end of a life of St. Gregory in OF verse, and the recto side (85r) contains the ME verse confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr. XIV C* 109–10, 271–72, Furnivall (1) 785–86; *BL Add. 1951–1955* 1:33, *NIMEV* 3233/3.

E13.2

Swete Ihesu Crist to þe, / Coubabil wreche Y ʒild me . . . Into þat blis withoutyn
pere / Per ʒe dwel, Lord and Syre, Amen. / Loke ʒe say þis oresoun / Dewoutle
with deuocion.

group. Brown considers these to be metrical paraphrases of the general confession, but they in fact include more than the general confession, which does not list specific sins.

¹² The poem is written in two columns, and four lines are missing at the bottom of the first column. I have taken the incipit and explicit from *Rel. Lyr. XIV C*, which supplies the missing lines from Cambridge Ii.6.43. *NIMEV* lists a fourth copy of this poem (*olim* Fellowes MS), but it was sold to a private owner in 1964.

De confes[s]ione generali

40 lines in couplets

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 302, 12va (Audelay's MS)¹³

England, early to mid-15th cent.; Staffordshire dial.; Aug. priory of St.

John the Baptist, Launde, Leicestershire

CONTENTS: See 13.1.

CONTEXT: John Audelay's book of religious and didactic verse written for the Aug. monks of Haghmond Abbey near Shrewsbury, Shropshire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Whiting 80–81, 237–38; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 21876, NIMEV 3233/1, Whiting vii–xvi, *Atlas* 1:148, *MLGB* 112.

E13.3

Swete ihesu crist to þe / Culpable wrecche y ʒeld me . . . Into þat blysfulle
empyre / There þat þu reygnest lorde and syre. Amen.

40 lines in couplets

Cambridge, University Library, li.6.43, 90v–91v

England, 15th cent.

¹³ John Audelay places this poem in the context of a longer poem on the indulgence granted by Pope Gregory, and others after him, in honor of the appearance of Jesus to Gregory while he was saying Mass. Anyone free from deadly sin may obtain this indulgence by saying five Pater Nosters and five Aves. But Audelay directs the reader to say in addition this confession devoutly, which he terms a general confession, and one other prayer.

CONTENTS: See 13.1.

CONTEXT: A catechism including the Commandments, seven deadly sins, works of bodily and spiritual mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven virtues, five physical and spiritual senses, and the fifteen conditions of charity, Gospel reading from Matt. 5, exposition of the Lord's Prayer, prayers in prose and verse, hymns, mystical text describing the visions of a Cist. nun, vision of St. John of the Virgin, legend of St. Bernard and the devil; Lat. prayers and meditations attrib. Anselm of Canterbury, other prayers and hymns, including "Stabat Mater," Passion of St. Bernard, letters from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne, form of confession (see B47).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr. XIV C* 109–10, 271–72; *CUL* 3:540–42, *NIMEV* 241/3, 1027/1, 1341/1, 1370/2, 1687/1, 1727/5, 1971/1, 2119/37, 2577/5, 3233/2*, 3241/3.

E14

Alweldand god of myhttis most / ffadir and sone and holy gost . . . Amen amen
par charite / God of his mercy graunt it so be.

Here beginniþ a general confessiun maad to Iesu cryst of gret deuociun

40 couplets

London, British Library, Egerton 3245 (formerly Gurney MS), 180v–82r¹⁴

England, 1380–1400; Suffolk

CONTENTS: This prayer to the Trinity confesses the seven deadly sins, five senses, and Commandments, but the sins are recited in the most summary fashion, while the majority of the poem consists of a lamentation for sin with supplications to God the Father, the Son, Virgin, and saints for forgiveness and spiritual health.

CONTEXT: *Pricke of Conscience*, *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, devotional poems (“Gurney Lyrics”).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Robbins 372–73; Raymo 211.71, Robbins 369–71, *Register* 1:469–70, *BL Add. MSS 1936–1945* 1:358–60, *Atlas* 1:109, *NIMEV* 196.5/1, 246/2, 271/1,* 615/1, 790/1, 981/4, 1197.1/1, 1368/1, 1691/1, 1729/3, 1761/8, 1781/16, 1950.5/1, 1951/1, 2035/1, 2096/1, 3428/70, 3557/1, 3769.8/1, 3882/1.

E15.1

As I wandrede her bi weste / Fast vnder a forest syde . . . Þi swete face þat we
may se. / Nou Merci, God, And Graunt Merci.¹⁵

London, British Library, Add. 22283 (Simeon MS), 131r

¹⁴ There is some confusion about the foliation of the poem. The description of the MS in *BL Add. MSS*, *Register*, and Robbins in his edition give fols. 180v–82r, while *NIMEV* and Raymo give 183v–85r. I follow the former.

¹⁵ I have not been able to see this MS and take the incipit and explicit from E15.2.

England, 1380–1400; north Worcestershire, with 16th-cent. connections to south Staffordshire or Shropshire

CONTENTS: This poem deserves special notice for being the most imaginatively constructed of versified confessional prayers. It is constructed with a framing fiction patterned after the French lyric *chanson á personnages*, in which the narrator, while wondering, overhears the complaint of a penitent in a forest reclined under a tree. The confession covers the five senses and seven deadly sins in no clear-cut order. After the penitent's complaint concludes, the narrator concludes the poem with a kind of envoi, his own plea for mercy.¹⁶

CONTEXT: Simeon Manuscript, religious miscellany mostly verse (half of which is lost): Richard Rolle *Form of Living*, Walter Hilton *Treatise on Active and Contemplative Life*, Northern Homily Cycle, William of Nassyngton *Speculum vitae*, *Prick of Conscience*, *Prick of Love*, trans. St. Edmund *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Disputation between Body and Soul*, trans. Robert Grosseteste *Chateau d'Amour*, *Book of Vices and Virtues*, trans. ps.-Augustine *Speculum peccatoris*, *Vision of St. Paul*, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy*

¹⁶This description of the contents is based on the version found in the Vernon MS (see E15.2).

Ghost, Distichs of Cato (in ME, AN, Lat.), *Stations of Rome, Pistel of Susan*, trans. James of Milan *Stimulus amoris* attrib. Walter Hilton, metrical romances *Ypotis, Robert of Sicily*, and *King of Tars*, treatise on virtues, versified gospel stories, verses on deadly sins, Eucharist, etc., poems to Virgin and Christ, meditation on five wounds of Christ and others, many other religious lyrics and hymns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanna (2) 76–78, *NIMEV* 374/3 and index, p. 299, s.v. BL Add. 22283, *BL Add. MSS 1854–1875* 1:623–26, Guddat-Figge 145–51.

E15.2

As I wandrede her bi weste / Fast vnder a forest syde . . . Bi swete face þat we
may se. / Nou Merci, God, And Graunt Merci.

12 eight-line stanzas

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 409va–c
England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: See E15.1.

CONTEXT: see E9.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Patterson 54–57, 163–65, *Rel. Lyr. XIV C* 164–67, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, *NIMEV* 374/1 and index, p. 314 s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1, Raymo 24.60, Serjeantson 222–61, Guddat-Figge 269–80, Kane *A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148.

E15.3

As I wandrede her bi weste / Fast vnder a forest syde . . .

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.3.1 (1305),

91r¹⁷

England, 1450–1500; dial. of Yorkshire, West Riding; written by a scribe named "Heeg" or "Hyheg"

CONTENTS: See E15.1.

CONTEXT: Metrical romances and poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Advocates' MSS* 103, *Atlas* 1:88, *NIMEV* 374/4 and index p. 297, s.v. Edinburgh, NLS Adv. 19.2.1.

E15.4

As I walked here by west, / Ferre vnder a forest side . . . Thi swete face þat we may se, / With marcy, Lorde, and gramarcy.

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, 145r–46r

England, end 15th–beg. 16th cent.; commonplace book of Richard Hill, citizen and grocer of London

CONTENTS: See E15.1.

CONTEXT: Collection of many ME romances and tales, ballads,

¹⁷The Advocates MS preserves only the first twelve lines of the poem. I have not been able to see this MS and take the incipit from E15.2.

prayers, carols, excerpts from John Gower *Confessio Amantis*, ordinances for London curates, treatises on managing horses, purchasing land, grafting trees, and wine, record of number of parish churches, towns, bishoprics, and shires in England, extracts from Statutes of the Realm on various guilds, assizes for various guilds, tables of money, weights, and measures, account of Henry VI's siege of Rouen, many religious and proverbial verses, hymns, and carols, list of mayors and sherrifs of London with chronicle notes and anecdotes for 1414–1536, various memoranda of Richard Hill; Lat. questions that priests should use in confessing penitents, verse on the Commandments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Dyboski 54–57; *Oxf. Coll.* 1/2: 110–15, *Balliol MSS* 352–54, *NIMEV* 374/2 and index pp. 310–11, s.v. Oxford, Balliol 354, Dyboski xiii–lix.

E16

Lord Swete Ihesu crist / Haue merci of me . . . And bring vs into paradys / Þer endeles blisse schal beo. Amen.

An orisoun to vr lord Ihesu

10 long-line monorhyming quatrains written in half-lines

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS), 115rc–va

England, 1380–1400; Worcestershire

CONTENTS: A small part of this penitential and devotional prayer to Christ contains avowals of sins, citing generally pride, the Commandments, and the five senses.

CONTEXT: see E9.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Horstmann 29–30, Patterson 80–82, and facsimile in *Vernon MS*; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 3938, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:676, *NIMEV* 1970/1* and index, p. 314 s.v. Eng. poet. a. 1, Raymo 24.60, Serjeantson 222–61, Guddat-Figge 269–80, Kane *A-Text* 17, *Atlas* 1:148.

E17.1

Almyȝti God, maker of heuene, / Eyr and erþe, watir and wynde . . . And
in heuene to haue a place; / Now, Ihesu, þou haue mercy on me. Amen.

7 eight-line stanzas

London, British Library, Add. 39574 (Wheatley MS), 52v–53v

England, early 15th cent.; East Midland dial.

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to Christ, asking for mercy and expressing repentance, mentioning contrition and confesion of sins.

CONTEXT: Religious miscellany in verse and prose, including prayer on the Passion, hymn to the Virgin, penitential psalms, Nine lessons of the Dirige, life of Adam and Eve, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Day 67–69; *BL Add. MSS 1916–1920* 48–50, *NIMEV* 253/2*, 528/1, 985/1, 1038/1, 1761/6, 1961/8, 2101/1, 2119/42, 2924/1, 3533/3, 3612/4, Day

E17.2

Almyȝti God, maker of heuene, / Eyr and erþe, watir and wynde . . . And
in heuene to haue a place; / Now, Ihesu, þou haue mercy on me. Amen.¹⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. e. 17, 51r–53r

England, early 15th cent.; made in northern England for use of a Lady

CONTENTS: See E17.1.

CONTEXT: An illuminated prayerbook containing private prayers
(some in ME verse) and offices in Latin and English, Use of Sarum,
with instructions to the illuminator in English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Van Dijk IV-B: 315, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:809, NIMEV 253/3*,
1120.3/1, 1838.5/1, 3102/7, 3685/10, 3695.5/1, 4227.5/1.

E17.3

Almyȝti god, maker of Heuene, / Erthe & Eyre, Water & Wynde . . . In Heuene
þer to haue a place / Wher, Ihesu, þu haue mercy on me. Amen.

Prayere to our lord Ihesu

5 eight-line stanzas¹⁹

¹⁸ Because I have not seen this MS, and the incipit is unavailable in any reference work, I have taken the incipit and explicit from the copy in BL Add. 39574 (E17.1). A catalogue of the Bodleian Latin liturgical MSS is in progress. The Bodleian Library website gives a preliminary description with some images from the MS; see “Checklist of Medieval MSS Acquired since 1916: MSS Lat. liturg.,” s.v. Lat. liturg. e. 17, at <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/chklst/chklatli.htm>.

Cambridge, University Library, Kk.1.6, 197r–v

England, 15th cent.

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to Christ, asking for mercy and expressing repentance, mentioning sins against the Commandments, sins of negligence, and sins of speech.

CONTEXT: Exposition of penitential psalms, meditation on the Crucifixion, treatise on the Passion, John Lydgate religious lyrics, other verse, prayers to Virgin, tales from *Gesta Romanorum*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr. XV C* 214–15, 336; *CUL* 3:563–65, *NIMEV* 186/2, 253/1*, 401/3, 915/2, 1025/1, 1683.3/1, 2081/2, 2784/4, 2791/6, 2802/1, 2833/1, 3184/1, 3845/7.

E18

O Blisshed god, þat art al-mizti, / þu arte ful of goodnesse, euer full of mercy . . .

That fully what we hope trustely graunt vs þat graciously. / Ihesu þat art almizti,

Nowe and euer, þi mercy. Amen, Ihesus.

94 long lines, mostly couplets

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 850, 87v–90r

¹⁹ This version of the poem differs from that in the Wheatley MS (E17.1). This version has five rather than seven stanzas. The first three stanzas and the last one correspond to each other in the two versions, while the other stanzas differ.

England, early 15th cent.;²⁰ owned in early 15th cent. by Byddeck and Gavell families, and by the Sidney family from 1482–1554

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to Christ, meditating on the Crucifixion with summary avowals according to the five senses, Commandments, seven deadly sins, expressing contrition and hope for mercy.

CONTEXT: Lat. liturgical calendar, Hours of the Virgin, penitential psalms, litany, Office of the Dead, and other Lat. prayers; ME prayers, "Fifteen Oes."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr. XV C* 217–21; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 2604, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:1087, *NIMEV* 1761/1, 2119/32, 2390/1*.

E19

The ten commawndementis that I haue broke / many a tyme wiþ wickede skylle .
.. To thi mercy I me take / For sothe I can no bettur grope.

7 quatrains

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson liturg. e. 7, 14r–v

England, 1425–1450

CONTENTS: In the manuscript, this text is embedded in a Latin office of the Easter Vigil (*uigilia pasche*), following the *Confiteor* and

²⁰ The dating of 1383–1400 given in *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* is erroneous (for 1483–1500?).

Misereatur. The confession is focused on the Commandments.

CONTEXT: Lat. Primer including Hours of the Virgin and Hours of the Cross, liturgical calendar, misc. psalms and prayers, “Salve Regina” with exposition, penitential psalms, Burial office, and the ME verse confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr. XV C* 211–12; *NIMEV* 3483/1, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 15839, *Illum. MSS Bodl.* 3:945.

E20

Fadyr & sone & holy gost, / Grete god in trinite . . . Lorde, haue mynde of
mannys care, / Parce mihi, domine.

“Parce Michi, Domine”

6 quatrains

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189, 105v

England, 15th cent.; Somerset dial.; Ben. abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul,

Mulcheney, Somerset

CONTENTS: Prayer to the Trinity containing miscellaneous
avowals of sins.

CONTEXT: Astronomical tracts, hymns, religious lyrics.²¹

²¹ These contents make up the second of four distinct fifteenth-century manuscripts bound together in Ashmole 189. The codex was clearly assembled as a collection of astronomical material, as all four manuscripts contain primarily astronomical tracts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr.* XV C 210–11, 336; *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 6777, *Oxf. Bodl.*
Ashmole 150–53, *NIMEV* 773, *Atlas* 1:145, *MLGB* 133.

E21.1

Ihesu, mercy! mercy, I cry: / myn vgly synnes þou me forgyfe . . . Mercy þou
graunt! amen! amen! / Ihesu, mercy for my myse dede! Amen.

A deuoyt meditacione

22 eight-line stanzas with refrain

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.10.12, 53r–55r

England, 15th cent.; dial. of Yorkshire, West Riding; owned in mid-16th
cent. by Robert Hare

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to Christ, with summary avowals
of the seven deadly sins and sins of neglect, expressing contrition
and repentance, and asking for mercy.

CONTEXT: Trans. of Bonaventure *Life of Christ* widely illustrated,
canticle, alliterative verse catechism including fourteen articles of
faith, Commandments, sacraments, works of mercy, seven virtues,
and seven deadly sins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Patterson 75–80, 171–73, Furnivall (2) 133–38; *Camb. Trin.*
1:307–10, *NIMEV* 406/6, 1732/1*, 1780/1, *Atlas* 1:65.

E21.2

Ihesu, Ihesu, mercy I cry! / myn huge synnes þou me forgyf! . . . Wasche away al
my mysdede, / And graunte me blysse wiþ-outen ende. Amen.

Oracio deuota ad dominum Ihesum

Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6690 (Mun. A.7.1), 133ra–34va

England, mid-15th cent.

CONTENTS: See E21.1.

CONTEXT: Nicholas Love *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, Richard Rolle
Form of Living, "Fifteen Oes of St. Bridget," Walter Hilton *Media
vita*, prayer on seven wounds of Christ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. *Rel. Lyr.* XV C 222–29, 337; *MMBL* 3:343–44, *NIMEV*
1732/2*, 1780/2, 2017.5/21, 4056/20.

E22.1

Lorde allemyghty blessud thu be / That hast me formed and redemyd . . . And
graunt that nevyre hereafter y do amysse.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 344, 13r

England, 15th cent.; Aug. abbey of Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist,
Notley, Buckinghamshire; owned in 15th cent. by John Brehyll of Shotley,
Suffolk

CONTENTS: Confessional prayer to Christ with miscellaneous

avowals of sin, expressing contrition and repentance, asking for mercy.

CONTEXT: John Lydgate *Life of Our Lady* and other religious lyrics, Chaucer's "Truth" and "Lak of Stedfastnesse," verse Litany.²²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lam. Pal.* 454–55, *MLGB* 140, *NIMEV* 222/2, 809/16, 1830/1, 2483/2*, 2574/34, 2791/10, 3190/11, 4246/10.

E22.2

O lord allmyghty, blissid thou be, / That hast me formyd and redemyd . . . latt
thy pitee spryng and sprede, / And graunte that nevir here-after y do amys.

3 eight-line stanzas and 1 four-line stanza

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 73, 121r–v

England, mid-15th cent.; owned in early 16th cent. by Gertrude Powlet,

Lady Margaret More, and Lady Elizabeth Windsor

CONTENTS: See E22.1.

CONTEXT: John Lydgate *Life of Our Lady* and other religious lyrics, Geoffrey Chaucer's "Truth" and "Lak of Stedfastnesse" (in a slightly later hand).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ed. Rel. Lyr.* XV C 216–17, 336–37; *NIMEV* 222/1, 674/2, 809/4, 2483/1*, 2574/3, 2791/3, 3190/2, 3845/3, 4246/2, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 4119, *Illum. MSS*

²² All but one of the poems in Lambeth Palace 344 also appear in Hatton 73 (E22.2).

E23

I knowlech to god, with veray contricion / Vn-to seynt mary, and his seyntis alle .
.. That y may come to þi kyngdome.

Confiteor deo, et cetera

11 rime royal stanzas

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.408, 4v–5v

England, 1450–1460; Ben. nunnery of Godstow near Oxford²³

CONTENTS: This confessional poem to God, the Virgin, and saints is more than a rendering of the *Confiteor* into English. After the first stanza which loosely translates the *Confiteor*, ten more follow containing avowals according to the Commandments, seven deadly sins, five senses, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, and negligence of the sacraments in the manner of a form of confession. Near the end of the poem, the confession amusingly states that if all the branches of sins were acknowledged, there would be enough for many clerks to write them all down: “Al þis I knowlech in

²³ The prologue to the English Register states that the nuns were effective managers of their estates but could not read Latin and did not like having to consult outsiders (on the Latin Register) when needing to review the terms of various charters. In order to grant them more independence in their work, therefore, “a pore brodur and welwyller” to the abbess, Alice Henley (1445–51, d. 1470), supplied this translation. See Clark xviii–xxv, and Wright 22.

general, / Of synnes doyng, and leuyng good workes. / 3if I shulde
nombre þe branches especial, / I shulde occupy to wryte þer-of
many clerkes" (ll. 64–67).

CONTEXT: Articles of excommunication, *An ABC of Devocione* (a
versified compendium of devotional poems in 36 rime royal
stanzas, mainly renderings of prayers from the Breviary, which
includes the form of confession), and a metrical liturgical calendar
prefixed to an English Register of the charters and estates of
Godstow Abbey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Clark 1:8–11, Patterson 48–50, 160–62; *NIMEV* 121/1, 664/1,
1069/1, 1283/1, 1324/1,* 1340/1, 1557/1, 1600/1, 1721/1, 1972/1, 2316/1, 2702/1,
Raymo 30.1 and 211.74, *Oxf. Sum. Cat.* 11755, *Atlas* 1:150, *MLGB* 93, Wright 22,
Clark 3:ix–xxv and ff.

E24

I am aknowe to god ful of myzte / And to hys moder þat maydyne bryzte / And
to alle þe cumpany of heuene / Archangelis and aungelis zeuene / And to þe
prest withowtyn blame / Pat syttyst here in goddes name / My gostly fader for to
be . . . If þat þu dey with mylde steuene / þu xalt gone to þe blysse of heuene /
Ihesu lorde god 3yf vs grace / To come to þat holy place. Amen.

Confessio; Explicit Confessio vii peccatorum mortalium et quinque sensus [sic].

Part of a continuation of Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*²⁴

Couplets

Cambridge, University Library, li.4.9, 148r–65r

England, 1475–1500; Norfolk; owned by Sir William Crat (?), Robert Hawe

CONTENTS: After explication of the three parts of confession, the poem gives directions for making confession, noting that learned penitents should begin with the *Confiteor*, while the unlearned should begin with “I am aknowe to god ful of myȝte . . .” (translating the *Confiteor* and beginning confession according to the deadly sins). After 14 lines in the first-person mode, the poem shifts to an interrogatory and explanatory mode (covering the deadly sins and the senses), then on fol. 164v it shifts back to the first-person for 17 lines, concluding the confession. This text shows how closely related were the genres of the form of confession and confessional interrogatory.

²⁴The copy of *Handlyng Synne* in this MS (fols. 97r–142v) contains only the first part of the treatise on the Ten Commandments (lines 147–2988 of Sullens's edition with several lines missing). The continuation (fols. 142v–90r, about 3,000 lines) is in effect a catechistic manual, covering the topics of confession, the virtues opposed to the deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the sacraments (giving holy orders as the first, because all sacraments must be performed by priests), the seven cardinal and spiritual virtues, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, all liberally illustrated with exempla. The confession section of this continuation is focused much more than the main text of *Handlyng Synne* on the actual practice of confession. It describes the requisite parts of the sacrament—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—and how to make confession, providing questions for self-examination in the seven deadly sins and the five senses. The continuation begins, “God þat deyd for manys nede / ȝeue vs grace wyl to spede.”

CONTEXT: Religious miscellany mostly in verse: Robert Mannyng *Handlyng Synne* section on Commandments with continuation on confession, the virtues opposed to the deadly sins, seven works of mercy, sacraments, seven cardinal and spiritual virtues, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; *Northern Passion, Lamentation of Mary, Commandment of Our Lord, Lay Folks' Mass Book, Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, metrical romance *Robert of Sicily, Life of Edward the Confessor*, meditation at Mass and on Eucharist, tracts on Commandments, seven deadly sins, Lord's Prayer, Ave, Creed, virtues, and mortality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CUL 3:448–50, Guddat-Figge 100–103, Sullens xxv–xxvi, *Atlas* 1:68, Raymo 1.10, Bloomfield 173–74.²⁵

E25.1

To The, O marcifull saluioir myn, Jesus / My king, my lord, and my redemer
sueit, / Befor thy bludy figour dolorus / I schriffe me cleyne with humile spreit
and meik . . . Thou mak my schip in blissit port arrive / That saillis heir in
stormes violent, / And saife me, Jesu, for thy woundis five: / I cry the marcy and
laser to repent. Heir endis the tabill of confessioun compilit be Mr William

²⁵ NIMEV 976 and 2314 index the two sections on confession (deadly sins and senses) as separate poems, but they are two of several parts of this continuation of *Handlyng Synne*.

Dunber.²⁶

William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confessioun"

21 stanzas with refrain

London, British Library, Arundel 285, 1r-4v

England, 1540–1560;²⁷ owned by Lord William Howard of Naworth in

Cumberland in later 16th cent.

CONTENTS: The text is a confession to Jesus, with stress on contrition, according to the five senses, seven deadly sins, seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, neglect of the sacraments, Commandments, twelve articles of the faith, seven theological and cardinal virtues, seven commands of the church, sins against the Holy Spirit, and other miscellaneous enumerations of sins of speech, pride, covetousness, and deceit. Each topic is given a single stanza and is thus covered in tabular form.

CONTEXT: Devotional miscellany of Scottish prose and verse containing prayers, verse meditations on the Passion, devotions to the Crown of Thorns and name of Jesus, and two other poems by

²⁶ I follow Kinsley's text for these lines in this entry. Both Kinsley and Bawcutt, in their editions, base their text of this poem on the Arundel MS, supplying corrected readings from the other MSS. Bawcutt notes that while the Arundel MS is the earliest witness, the Bannatyne MS and Maitland Folio modify the text in order to alter material that was offensive to Protestant sensibilities ([2] 485–86).

²⁷ Most all of the witnesses for Dunbar's poetry date later than his lifetime (born ca. 1460).

Dunbar on the Passion and confession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Kinsley 15–21, 238–41, Bawcutt (2) 267–73, 485–89; *Arundel* 1:82–84, Kinsley xiv–xv, Bawcutt (2) 6, Bawcutt (1) 164–65, 171–74, Raymo 211.73, Ridley 104.3, *NIMEV* 1119/1, 1343/1, 1703/6, 1727/8, 2464/5.

E25.2

To the o marcifull sauioir Iesus / My king my lord and my redemer sueit / Befor
thy bludy figour dolorus / I repent my synnys with humile hairt contreit . . .

Thow mak my schip in blissit port aryife / That salis heir in stormys violent /
And sayffe me Iesu ffor thy woundis ffywe / That cryis the mercye and layser to
repent. Finis quod Dumbar [*sic*].

William Dunbar, “The Tabill of Confessioun”

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Bannatyne MS Draft, pp. 9–11

Scotland, ca. 1568; made by George Bannatyne, Edinburgh merchant

CONTENTS: See E25.1.

CONTEXT: An earlier draft of a portion of the Bannatyne MS and
bound with it. See E25.3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Facsimile ed. *Bannatyne* 9–11, ed. Kinsley 15–21, 238–41,
Bawcutt (2) 267–73, 485–89; *Bannatyne* ix–xl, Kinsley xiv–xv, Bawcutt (2) 6–7,
Ridley 104.5, *NIMEV* index pp. 296–97, s.v. NLS Adv. 1.1.6.

E25.3

To the o mercifull salviour Iesus / My king my lord and my redemar sweet /
Befoir thy bludy figor dolorus / I repent my synnys with humill hart contreit . . .
Thow mak my schip in blissit port to arryif / That sailis heir in stormis violent /
And saif me Iesu for thy woundis fyve / That cryis the marcy and lasir to repent.
Finis quod Dumbar [*sic*].

William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confessioun"

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 1.1.6 (1104;
Bannatyne MS), 17v–19v

Scotland, ca. 1568; compiled by George Bannatyne, Edinburgh merchant

CONTENTS: See E25.1.

CONTEXT: Major Scottish poetical miscellany and most important
witness for Dunbar's poetry, including verse by Chaucer,
Henryson, Alexander Scott, William Stewart, and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Facsimile ed. *Bannatyne* 17v–19v, ed. Kinsley 15–21, 238–41,
Bawcutt (2) 267–73, 485–89; *Bannatyne* ix–xl, Kinsley xiv–xv, Bawcutt (2) 6–7,
Ridley 104.5, *Advocates' MSS* 88, *NIMEV* index pp. 296–97, s.v. NLS Adv. 1.1.6.

E25.4

To the o mercifull saluitour myn Iesus / My king my lord and my redeymar sweet
/ Befoir thy bludie figour dolorus / I schryve me syn with humill hart and spreit .

. . Thow mak thy schip in blissit port arryve / That fallis heir in stormis violent /
And sauf me Iesu for thy woundis fyve / That cryis the mercy and lasar to repent.

Heir endis ane confessioun generale compylit be maister Williame Dunbar.

William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confessioun"

Heir endis ane confessioun generale compylit be maister williams dunbar

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2553 (Maitland Folio), pp. 199–203

Scotland, ca. 1570–1586; copied for Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington,

later owned by Maitland's great-grandson John, Duke of Lauderdale in

17th cent.

CONTENTS: See E25.1.

CONTEXT: Poetical miscellany and important MS of Dunbar's poetry, also containing poems of Richard Maitland, Gavin Douglas, Robert Henryson, and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed. Craigie (1) 1:224–29, 2:103–4, Kinsley 15–21, 238–41, Bawcutt (2) 267–73, 485–89; Ridley 104.2, Bawcutt (2) 7–9, *NIMEV* 223/2, 265/1, 277/1, 399/10, 429/1, 704/7, 758/1, 1820/3, 1855/1, 2551/1, 2818.8/2, 3190/3, 3660/2, 3942/1, 4095/3.

Rejected text

British Library, Add. 37049, 87v–88r, listed in Raymo (211.72), is not a versified form of confession but rather a tract on confession.

Indexes to the Catalogue of Forms of Confession

The indexes presented here are organized by catalogue sections, sections A through E. Organizing the indexes this way, as opposed to indexing all the sections together, allows the user to focus on one section at a time, while comparisons between sections can be made without too much inconvenience. The different types of indexing make virtually all the data in the catalogue accessible through multiple approaches.

Within each of the sections are seven (in some cases eight) indexes. The first is an index of manuscripts containing the forms of confession. The second presents a snapshot chronological view of the manuscripts' dating. The third indicates provenance, listing places associated with the manuscripts, which may include countries, regions, or specific places where manuscripts were produced, or places known to have possessed a manuscript. The fourth index lists scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts. The fifth is an index of incipits to the forms of confession (acephalous incipits are given last). For texts surviving in more than one copy, an incipit is given only for the earliest copy. The sixth index gives titles and rubrics for the forms of confession, while the

seventh presents topics covered in the texts themselves (as in the catalogue, only sections A, D, and E include full topical indexing). The last index presents authors and works that appear in the same manuscripts as the forms of confession (i.e., material included in a catalogue entry's manuscript "context").

In the section A index of authors and works, works are in Latin unless otherwise indicated as being in Old English (OE). Works listed in the indexes of authors and works in sections B, C, and D are in Latin, French, and English respectively, unless otherwise indicated. Works listed in the section E index of authors and works are in English unless otherwise indicated. Titles of works are listed under authors' names if known. Names of medieval authors are alphabetized by the first element of a name. Cross-referencing to general topics is featured in the indexing of authors and works, but to prevent these indexes from becoming unnecessarily lengthy, anonymous works are cross-referenced to familiar topics, while works listed under author names are not, in the expectation that users will be familiar with the kinds of works written by particular authors.

References in the indexes are to entry numbers from the catalogue. When using the indexes, it is important to keep in mind that manuscripts sometimes contain more than one form of confession and that each form of confession has its own entry in the catalogue.

Index A

Latin and Old English Precursor Forms of Confession, 800–1200

1. Manuscripts

Cambridge

Corpus Christi College

MS 190, A22.2

MS 201, A19, A20.1

Köln

Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und
Dombibliothek

MS 106, A1.2, A2, A3

London

British Library

Arundel 155, A1.8, A15, A16,
A17.2

Cotton Tiberius A.iii, A13.2,
A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

Cotton Tiberius C.i, A22.1, A23

Cotton Vespasian A.i, A1.7

Cotton Vespasian D.xv, A10

Cotton Vespasian D.xx, A9

Royal 2.B.v, A13.1, A14.1, A18.1

Stowe 34, A24

Lambeth Palace Library

MS 427, A17.1

Monte Cassino

Archivio e Biblioteca dell' Abbazia

MS 451, A11

München

Schatzkammer der Residenz

Prayerbook of Charles the Bald,
A1.4

Orléans

Bibliothèque municipale

MS 184, A1.3, A4

Paris

Bibliothèque Mazarine

MS 512, A8

Bibliothèque Nationale

lat. 1153, A1.5

lat. 9430, A7

lat. 13388, A1.6, A6, A12

Troyes

Bibliothèque municipale

MS 1742, A1.1

Unidentified manuscript, A5

2. Dating of the manuscripts

ca. 804, A1.1
ca. 805, A1.2, A2, A3
800–850, A1.3, A4
ca. 850, A1.5, A1.6, A5, A6
846–869, A1.4
end of 9th cent., A7, A8
mid-10th cent., A9, A10
10th–11th cent., A12
late 10th–early 11th cent., A13.1, A14.1
early 11th cent., A1.7
1000–1050, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.1, A17.2
11th cent., A18.1
mid-11th cent., A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A19,
A20.1, A20.2, A21
1050–1100, A22.1, A22.2, A23
ca. 1200, A24

3. Provenance of the manuscripts

Augustinians, A17.1
Austria, upper, A1.3, A4
Benedictines, A1.6, A1.7, A6, A8, A12,
A13.1, A14.1, A18.1, A19
Canterbury, Ben. abbey of St.
Augustine, A1.7
Canterbury, Christ Church, A1.8, A13.1,
A13.2, A14.1, A14.2, A15, A16, A17.2,
A18.2, A21
Clairvaux, A1.1
Cologne, A1.2, A2, A3
Compiègne, Palace School of Charles
the Bald, A1.4
Corbie, Ben. abbey of, A1.6, A6, A12
East Midlands, A24
England, A1.7, A1.8, A8, A9, A10, A13.1,
A13.2, A14.1, A14.2, A15, A16, A17.1,
A17.2, A18.1, A18.2, A19, A20.1,
A20.2, A21, A22.1, A22.2, A23, A24
Exeter, A10
Exeter Cathedral, A22.2
France, A1.1, A1.4, A1.5, A1.6, A6, A7,
A8, A12
Germany, A1.2, A2, A3
Gloucester, A17.1
Hampshire, A13.1, A14.1, A18.1
Hyde, Ben. abbey of Holy Trinity,
Virgin, and St. Peter, A13.1, A14.1,
A18.1
Italy, A11
Lanthony, near Gloucester, Aug. priory
of Virgin and St. John the Baptist,
A17.1
Noyon, Ben. abbey of Saint-Éloi, A8
Saint-Denis, A1.5
Salisbury Cathedral, A22.1, A23
Sherborne, A22.1, A23
Tours, abbey of Saint-Martin, A1.1,
A1.6, A6, A7, A12
Tours, cathedral of Saint-Gatien, A7
Winchester, New Minster, A13.1, A14.1,
A18.1, A19
Unknown provenance, A5

4. Scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts

Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, A1.7
Charles the Bald, A1.4
Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of
 Canterbury, A13.1, A14.1, A18.1
Fleetwood, William, of London, A24
Hadlegh, William, monk of Christ
 Church, Canterbury, A1.8, A15, A16,
 A17.2
Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne, A1.2,
 A2, A3

Howard, William, Lord, A1.8, A15,
 A16, A17.2
Ingram, William, monk of Christ
 Church, Canterbury, A1.8, A15, A16,
 A17.2
Leofric, bishop of Exeter, A22.2
Lumley, John, Lord, A13.1, A14.1, A18.1
Waltham, John, monk of Christ Church,
 Canterbury, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.2
Wulfstan, archbishop of York, A20.1

5. Incipits of the form of confession

Confiteor domino et tibi domine
 sacerdos omnia peccata et scelera
 mea, A12

Confiteor omnipotenti deo patri in
 conspectu unici filii sui domini mei
 ihesu christi et spiritus sancti et
 coram sanctissima genitrice dei
 maria, A19

Confiteor tibi domin[e] deo celi omnia
 peccata mea quia peccaui nimis
 coram te et sanctis tuis / [interlinear
 gloss] ic andette þe drihtne gode
 heofenes ealle synna mine forþi ic
 syngude ðearle beforan þe 7 halgum
 þinum, A15

Confiteor tibi domine omnia peccata
 mea quecunque feci omnibus diebus
 uite mee / [interlinear gloss] ic
 andette þe drihten ealle synna mine
 þa ðe ic dyde on eallum dagum lifes
 mines, A16

Confiteor tibi domine pater celi et terræ
 quia ego peccator peccaui nimis
 coram te et coram angelis tuis sanctis
 et coram facie omnium sanctorum
 tuorum / [interlinear gloss] heofonas
 7 eorþan for þi þe ic synful syngede
 swiðe toforan þe 7 toforan þinum
 halgum englum ansene, A17.1, A17.2

Confiteor tibi, domine celi et terrae,
 tibi que bone et benignissime Iesus,
 cum sancto spiritu coram sanctis
 angelis tuis et coram sanctis tuis,
 A11

Confiteor tibi, Domine, Pater cæli et
 terræ, coram hoc sancto altare tuo, et
 istius loci reliquiis, et coram hoc
 sacerdote tuo, omnia peccata mea,
 A7

Consecrata Dei ministeria, et sanctas
 reliquias, et sanctos codices, et sancta
 vasa indignus et pollutus tetigi, et

sordide atque negligenter contrectavi, A5	Ic andette þe drihten ælmihtig god 7 sancta marian þinre haligan moder 7 eallum halgum 7 þe bisceop ealle mine synna þe ic erminge fram minre iuguðe oð ðas tid ongean godes gesetnysse gefremede, A22.1, A22.2
Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae, deus immensae pietatis, deus conditor et reparator humani generis, A1.1–A1.8	Ic eom andetta ælmihtigum gode 7 eac minum scrifte ealle þa synna, A21
Deus justorum gloria, et misericordia peccatorum, qui dixisti: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat, A4	Ic eom þe ealra andettende 7 þinum englum mid hreowe 7 minum gastlicum scrifte for mine sawle 7 lichaman þe ic on gesingode, A23
Domine deus omnipotens, trinitas sancta inseparabilis, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, — mea culpa, domine, veniam peto, A2	Mea culpa peccavi domine Iesu Christe, veniam peto coram te et coram angelis tuis, A3
Dryhten þu halga god þu eart ælmihtig 7 ece god Ic forworht 7 synful, A9	Min drihten ælmihtig god si þe wuldor 7 þonc þæs þe ðu me oþþe ænigum men æfre to miltsum forgeafe, A13.1, A13.2
Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse eala þu god una metenre arfæstnysse ealu þu god scyppend, A18.1, A18.2	Myn drihten god ælmihtig ic þe eom andetta minra synna þara þe ic in minre gemeleste wiþ þe geworhte, A14.1, A14.2
Ego confiteor tibi domine pater caeli et terrae coram hoc altari tuo sancto et istius loci reliquiis, A6	Multitudinem criminum et enormitatem scelerum meorum, A8
Ego peccaui quando non [in]dulgebam in me peccantibus et modo dimitto ex toto corde ad omnes homines qui [i]n me peccauerunt, A10	[Beginning lost] . . . æni mann mai don alle hie bieð forsakene on godes awene muðe, A24
Ic andette ælmihtigum gode and minum scrifte þam gastlican læce ealle þa synna þe me æfre þurh awirgede gastas on besmitene wurdon, A20.1, A20.2	

6. Titles and rubrics of the form of confession

- Alcuin of York: Prayer of Alcuin, from a *libellus precum*, A1.1, A1.2, A1.3, A1.4, A1.6, A1.7, A1.8; from *Officia per ferias*, A1.5; prayer attrib. to Alcuin, A4
- Confessio*, A1.1, A1.2
- Confessio ad dominum*, A1.7, A15
- Confessio coram altare*, A16
- Confessio et oratio*, A18.1
- Confessio et oratio ad deum*, A18.2
- Confessio omnimoda per quam confiteri potest peccator peccata sua deo et sacerdoti suo*, A7
- Confessio peccatorum pura Alcuini*, A1.5
- Confessio penitentis*, A11
- Confessio pro peccatis ad deum*, A17.1
- Confessio pura*, A1.1
- Confessio quam beatus Alcuinus composuit domno Karolo imperatori*, A1.4
- Confessio Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi ad penitentiam dandam*, A6
- Confessio vel accusatio per octo vicia principalia*, A8
- De confessione peccatorum*, A2
- De Psalmorum usu liber*, A5
- [*Monialis confessio*], A12
- Old English *Handbook* for use of a confessor, A20.1, A20.2
- Oratio*, A4
- Oratio Sancti augustini. Quicumque hanc orationem cotidie coram deo deuote orauerit et in presenti saeculo beatus erit et in futuro cum sanctis gaudebit*, A1.8
- Oratio utilis animae*, A3
- Prayer of confession attrib. Fulgentius, A6
- Prayer of confession for nuns, A12
- Prayer from a *libellus sacrarum precum* attrib. Alcuin of York, A4
- Romano-Germanic pontifical, A11
- Bis siondon ondetnessa to gode seolfum*, A10
- Vices and Virtues*, A24

7. Topics covered in the form of confession

- confession, in general terms, A21
- eight principal sins, A1.1–A1.8, A2, A19
- five senses, A2, A4, A5, A6, A7, A11, A17.1, A17.2, A18.1, A18.2, A19, A22.1, A22.2; allegorized as the five talents in the Gospels, A24; of the mind or soul, A19
- general confession for Ash Wednesday before public rite of reconciliation, A11
- miscellaneous enumeration of sin types, A6, A7, A9, A17.1, A17.2, A20.1, A20.2, A22.1, A22.2, A23; relevant to monastic life, A12
- monastic rule and pastoral responsibilities, failure to observe, A7
- parts of the body, A1.1–A1.8, A7, A9, A13.1, A13.2, A20.1, A20.2, A23
- seven deadly sins, A11

seven works of mercy, A5, A6, A7,
A11 sins according to thought,
word, and deed, A2, A3, A4,

A17.1, A17.2, A19
Ten Commandments, A7, A17.1,
A17.2

8. Authors and titles of works appearing with the form of confession

Aachen, episcopal capitulary of, A13.2,
A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

absolution, form of, A19, A20.1, A22
(OE)

Ælfric: *Colloquy*, OE gloss to, A13.2,
A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21; homily
(OE), A22.2; letters (OE), to Wulfsig,
A22.2; to Wulfstan, A13.2, A14.2,
A18.2, A20.2, A21, A22.2

Alcuin of York: exposition of seven
penitential psalms and prayers in
response to them, A1.2, A2, A3; letter
to Bishop Arno of Salzburg, A1.2,
A2, A3; tract on confession for
oblates of Saint-Martin of Tours,
A1.2, A2, A3; *De virtutibus et vitiis*,
A1.1; OE excerpt from, A13.2, A14.2,
A18.2, A20.2, A21; Alcuinian *libellus
precum* containing confessional
prayers, A1.2, A1.3, A2, A3;
containing seven penitential psalms,
A1.1

alliterative verse (OE), A20.1; including
Lord's Prayer and Gloria, A19

Apollonius of Tyre (OE), A19, A20.1

Apostles' Creed, A11

Athanasian Creed, A1.7, A1.8, A15, A16,
A17.2

Bede: *De die iudicii* (OE), A19, A20.1;
hymns, A1.2, A2, A3; psalm attrib.
to, A1.6, A6, A12

Benedictine Office (OE), A19, A20.1

Bible: *De Psalmorum usu liber*, A5; *De
virtutibus psalmorum*, A1.8, A15, A16,
A17.2; OE trans. of portion of
Genesis, A19, A20.1. *See also*
canticles; psalms

bishop, form for examining at
ordination, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2,
A20.2, A21

calendar, liturgical, A1.8, A15, A16,
A17.2

canticles, A1.6, A1.7, A1.8, A6, A12, A15,
A16, A17.2; with OE glosses, A13.1,
A14.1, A17.1, A18.1

charms (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2,
A20.2, A21

confession: *Scriftboc* (OE), A22.2;
directives for (OE, some in Lat.),
A13.1, A13.2, A14.1, A14.2, A18.1,
A18.2, A20.2, A21; *Handbook* for
confessors (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2,
A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21

creed (OE), A22.1, A23; (Lat.) A1.7, A1.8,
A11, A15, A16, A17.2

De Psalmorum usu liber, A5

De virtutibus psalmorum, A1.8, A15, A16,
A17.2

death and life, treatise on, A1.3, A4
devotions, A1.6, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2,
A20.2, A21

episcopal capitulary of Aachen, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

Gloria (OE), A19, A20.1

Halitgar of Cambrai, *Ordo ad dandam paenitentiam*, A9

Handbook for confessors (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21

hell, treatise on, A1.3, A4

homilies (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21, A22.2; in Lat. and OE, A22.1, A23. *See also* sermons hymns, A1.2, A1.5, A1.6, A1.7, A1.8, A2, A3, A6, A12, A15, A16, A17.2

Institutes of Polity (OE), A19, A20.1

Isidore of Seville: *De ortu et obitu patrum*, A1.3, A4; *Synonyma*, A1.5; treatise on confession and penances, A10

lapidary (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

legal codes (OE), A19, A20.1

libellus precum, A1.6, A6, A12

Litany, A1.2, A1.4, A1.5, A1.6, A1.8, A2, A3, A6, A12, A15, A16, A17.2

liturgy: form for examining a bishop at ordination, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21; Gloria (OE), A19, A20.1; liturgies, A7, A10, A11, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21, A22.1, A23; liturgical calendar, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.2; order for consecrating an abbot of Exeter, A10; Te Deum, A1.7; tracts on feastdays, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21. *See also* Litany; Lord's Prayer

Lord's Prayer (OE), A19, A20.1, A22.1, A23

Margaret, Saint, life of (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

maxims (OE), A13.1, A14.1, A18.1

Northumbrian Priest's Law (OE), A19, A20.1

Officia per ferias attrib. Alcuin, A1.5

Old English Penitential (trans. from *Penitential of Halitgar*), A22.2

order for consecrating an abbot of Exeter, A10

Ordo ad dandam paenitentiam, of Halitgar of Cambrai, A9

penance: exhortation to (OE), A22.2;

treatise on, A1.3, A4. *See also*

confession; penitentials; penitential psalms

penitentials: excerpt on forgiveness of sins from Theodore's *Penitential* (OE), A22.2, *Handbook for confessors* (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21; *Old English Penitential* (trans. from *Penitential of Halitgar*), A22.2; *Penitential of Theodore*, archbishop of Canterbury A10; *Scriftboc* (OE), A22.2. *See also* confession

penitential psalms, A1.5, A1.6, A6, A12.

See also psalms

pontifical, A11, A22.1, A23; with order for consecrating an abbot of Exeter, A10

Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, A1.4

prayers, A1.2, A1.4, A1.5, A1.6, A1.7, A1.8, A2, A3, A4, A6, A8, A11, A12, A13.1, A13.2, A14.1, A14.2, A15, A16, A17.2, A18.1, A18.2, A19, A20.1, A20.2, A21; confessional (OE), A22.1,

A23; confessional (OHG), A1.3, A4; penitential, A1.4; for various occasions, A1.2, A1.4, A2, A3; with devotions, A13.2, A14.2; with OE glosses, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.2. *See also* Lord's Prayer

prognostications (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21; (Lat.) A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

proverbs (OE), A13.1, A14.1, A18.1; (Lat.) A1.3, A4

psalms: *De Psalmorum usu liber*, A5; *De virtutibus psalmorum*, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.2; psalms, A1.4, A1.7, A1.8, A15, A16, A17.2; with OE glosses, A1.7, A13.1, A14.1, A17.1, A18.1; attrib. Bede, A1.6, A6, A12; penitential, A1.5, A1.6, A6, A12; Vespasian Psalter, A1.7

Regularis concordia (OE), A19, A20.1; Lat. with OE glosses, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

Romano-Germanic Pontifical, A11

Rule of St. Benedict, A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

sacramentary, in *Use of Tours*, A7

saints' lives, Margaret (OE), A13.2, A14.2, A18.2, A20.2, A21

Scriftboc, A22.2

sermons, A11, A22.2 (OE). *See also* homilies

soul, treatise on, A1.3, A4

Te Deum, A1.7

Theodore, *Penitential*, excerpt on forgiveness of sins (OE), A22.2

Vespasian Psalter, A1.7

vices, tracts on, A1.2, A2, A3

Vices and Virtues, A24

virtues: treatise on sobriety and peacemaking, A1.3, A4

Wulfstan, *Canons of Edgar* (OE), A19, A20.1

Index B

Latin Forms of Confession, 1200–1500

1. Manuscripts

- Angers, France
Bibliothèque municipale (de la Ville)
MS 322, B5
- Assisi
Biblioteca Comunale
MS 555, B5
MS 644, B5
- Augsburg
Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
qu. Cod 46, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Avignon
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 342, B64
MS 1100, B5
- Bamberg
Staatsbibliothek
Msc. Lit. 111, B53
Msc. Lit. 180, B67
Theol. 72, B50.1
Theol. 101, B24.11
Theol. 106, B50.2
Theol. 108, B50.3
Theol. 211, B24.12
Theol. 214, B24.48
Theol. 225, B24.64, B63
Theol. 226, B45
- Barcelona
Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
Ripoll MS 175, B5
- Berkeley, Calif.
University of California Law School
Library
Robbins MS 4, B8
Robbins MS 127, B24.52
- Berlin
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—
Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Görres 152 (lat. qu. 710), B24.13
Magdeb. 21, B24.45
Theol. lat. qu. 236, B14, B15,
B24.36
Theol. lat. qu. 262, B31
- Bruxelles (Brussels)
Bibliothèque Royale
MS 1908–9, B8
- Budapest
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár
(Széchényi Library of the National
Museum)
MS 339, B24.43
- Cambrai, France
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 261, B24.54

- Cambridge
 Cambridge University Library
 Gg.1.13, B8
 Gg.4.10, B8
 Gg.6.12, B8
 Ii.2.7, B8
 Ii.6.43, B47
 Mm.5.33, B8
 Emmanuel College
 MS 83, B1b.1
 Gonville and Caius College
 MS 62, B8
 MS 87, B8
 MS 352, B8
 MS 443, B8
 MS 487, B8
 Pembroke College
 MS 248, B8
 MS 281, B8
 St. John's College
 B.14, B8
 D.18, B8
 E.5, B8
 Trinity College
 B.16.36, B8
 O.2.29, B2
- Canterbury
 Cathedral and Chapter Library
 D.8, B8
 D.9, B8
- Charleville-Mézières, France
 Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 122, B4
- Chicago
 Newberry Library
 MS 82, B3.2, B34, B35, B36
 MS 90.1, B58
- Columbus, Ohio
 Ohio State University Library
 lat. 1, B8
- Cortona, Italy
 Biblioteca Comunale e
 dell'Accademia Etrusca
 MS 57, B5
 MS 205, B5
- Dessau, Germany
 Stadtbibliothek, BB 3613
 B24.14
- Dole, France
 Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 92, B48, B50.4
- Dresden
 Sächsische Landesbibliothek
 Theol. A.55, B5
- Dublin
 Trinity College
 MS 312, B17
 MS 321, B56
 MS 519, B1b.4
- Edinburgh
 National Library of Scotland
 18.3.6, B8
 University Library
 MS 107 (formerly Laing 50), B6
- Eichstätt, Germany
 Universitätsbibliothek
 Cod. st 334, B24.46
- Erlangen, Germany
 Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-
 Nürnberg
 MS 548, B5
- Fiecht, Austria
 Benediktinerkloster St. Georgenberg
 MS 284, B24.15
- Firenze (Florence)
 Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
 Plut. IV Sin. 11, B5
 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
 Conv. Soppr. F VI.855, B5

Frankfurt am Main	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Stadtarchiv)
Stadtbibliothek	GB (f) 148, B8
Praed. 156, B18.2	GB 4o 174, B28
Gdańsk (Danzig), Poland	W* 198, B24.56
Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej	København (Copenhagen)
Akademii Nauk	Kongelige Bibliotek
Mar. F. 88, B24.2	Gl. kgl. S. 1591 4to, B65
Mar. Q. 22, B24.1	Gl. kgl. S. 1634 4to, B24.17
MS 2031, B24.60	Kórnik, Poland
Graz, Austria	Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej
Universitätsbibliothek	Akademii Nauk
MS 531, B20	MS 116, B24.7
MS 887, B24.4	MS 1383, B39
Hatfield House, Hertfordshire	Kraków, Poland
Library of Lord Salisbury	Biblioteka Jagiellońska
MS 290, B8	cod. 423, B24.39
Hereford	Lambach, Austria
Hereford Cathedral Library	Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts
O.VI.7, B19	MS 176
Holkham Hall, Norfolk	Leicester
Library of the Earl of Leicester (now	Museum and Art Gallery
of Viscount Coke)	W. Hosp. 10, B8
MS 159, B8	Leipzig
Karlsruhe, Germany	Universitätsbibliothek
Badische Landesbibliothek	MS 1304, B5
MS 384, B24.16	Lincoln
Klagenfurt, Austria	Lincoln Cathedral Library
Studienbibliothek	MS 108, B40
Pap. Hs. 11, B43	MS 213, B8
Klosterneuburg, Austria	London
Stiftsbibliothek	British Library
MS 192, B13	Add. 22086, B23.2, B52
MS 305, B24.50	Add. 37787, B16
Koblenz, Germany	Arundel 379, B5
Landeshauptarchiv	Cotton Galba E.iv, B9
Best. 701 Nr. 165, B24.44	Egerton 655, B8
Köln (Cologne)	Harley 211, B25, B26, B27
Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln	Harley 233, B8
GB oct. 116, B24.61	Harley 1307, B8
GB qu. 156, B24.6	

Harley 2379, B8	Metz
Harley 2432, B44	Bibliothèque municipale
Harley 3077, B11	MS 86, B24.20
Harley 5201, B8	München (Munich)
Harley 5441, B1b.3	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Harley 5444, B8	Cgm 690, B50.6
Royal 6.E.i, B8	Clm 672, B24.21
Royal 8.B.xv, B8	Clm 1329, B24.65
Royal 8.C.ii, B8	Clm 3234, B5
Royal 8.C.vii, B41, B46, B49	Clm 4662, B62
Royal 8.F.vii, B8	Clm 5932, B24.37
Royal 10.A.viii, B1.2	Clm 7644, B24.51
Sloane 982, B51	Clm 8541, B24.22
Guildhall Library	Clm 11587, B24.55
MS 249, B8	Clm 14625, B5
Lambeth Palace Library	Clm 14656, B24.23
MS 216, B8	Clm 14887, B24.24
MS 419, B3b	Clm 15185, B24.62
MS 523, B42	Clm 16173, B8, B24.25
Sotheby's	Clm 18988, B24.26
Harmsworth Trust Library (6),	Clm 22353, B8
1945, no. 2052, B8	Clm 22375, B8, B24.27
Harmsworth Trust Library (6),	Clm 23803, B24.28
1945, no. 2053, B8	Clm 28202, B24.42
Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire	Clm 28384, B24.57
Collection of the Marquess of Bath	Clm 28460, B59, B60
MS 29, B38	Clm 28601, B32
Lüneburg, Germany	Olomouc, Czech Republic
Ratsbücherei	Státní archiv
Miscell. D qu. 30, B24.9	CO 235, B5
Theol. fol. 41, B24.18	Osnabrück, Germany
Manchester	Gymnasium Carolinum
John Rylands Library	Hs. 22, B24.63
lat. 339, B8	Ottobeuren, Germany
Melk, Austria	Kloster Ottobeuren
Stiftsbibliothek	MS O.42, B24.10
Cod. 615, B30.1	Oxford
Cod. 1241, B24.3	Balliol College
Cod. 1832, B24.19	MS 83, B8
	Bodleian Library

Bodley 555, B18.1
 Bodley 736, B33
 Bodley 828, B8
 Hatton 11, B8
 Holkham misc. 21, B8
 Laud Misc. 527, B1b.2
 Rawlinson A.361, B8
 Rawlinson A.370, B8
 Rawlinson C.84, B8
 Rawlinson C.565, B8
 Corpus Christi College
 MS 145, B8
 Exeter College
 MS 28, B1.3
 Magdalen College
 lat. 93, B37
 New College
 MS 292, B8
 Trinity College
 MS 18, B8
 University College
 MS 122, B8
 Paris
 Bibliothèque Mazarine
 MS 513, B3.1
 Bibliothèque Nationale
 lat. 1865, B24.40
 lat. 3725, B5
 lat. 6622, B5
 lat. 13453, B1.1
 École des Beaux-Arts
 Jean Masson 41, B5
 Parma
 Biblioteca Palatina
 MS 95, B5
 Philadelphia
 University of Pennsylvania Library
 Lat. 33, B8
 Pistoia, Italy
 Biblioteca Forteguerriana
 D.278, B5
 Praha (Prague)
 Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli
 MS 42, B5
 MS 1069 (VI.C.11), B5
 Národní knihovna České republiky
 IX.C.7 (1718), B24.5
 XIV.F.5, B10
 Rein, Austria
 Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 49, B22
 Roma
 Biblioteca Angelica
 MS 392 (D.2.24), B1.4
 Biblioteca Casanatense
 MS 835, B24.29
 Saint-Mihiel, France
 Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 50
 Solothurn, Switzerland
 Zentralbibliothek
 S 725, B24.53
 S I 213, B24.38
 Strasbourg
 Bibliothèque Universitaire et
 Régionale
 MS 126, B24.30
 Stuttgart
 Württembergische Landesbibliothek
 HB I 108, B24.8, B30.3
 HB I 208, B29
 Theol. qu. 144, B24.31
 Toulouse
 Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 384, B5
 Tours
 Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 404, B5

- Trier
 Stadtbibliothek
 MS 588, B7
 MS 628, B21.2
 MS 640, B5
 MS 719, B50.5
- Vaticano
 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Ottob. lat. 401, B8
 Palat. lat. 362, B61
 Regin. lat. 176, B24.32
 Regin. lat. 431, B24.33
 Urb. lat. 1523, B5
 Vat. lat. 1161, B5
- Växjö, Sweden
 Stifts- och Läroverksbiblioteket
 MS 4^o 400, B23.1
- Vorau, Austria
 Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 157, B24.58
- Vyšší Brod (Hohenfurt), Czech Republic
 Klášterní knihovna
 MS 31, B12
- Weimar
 Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek
 Oct. 56, B66
- Wien (Vienna)
 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 Cod. Vind. Palat. 3648, B5
 Cod. Vind. Palat. 4014, B30.2
 Cod. Vind. Palat. 13048, B24.34
 Schottenkloster
 MS 118, B5
 MS 402, B24.35
- Wolfenbüttel, Germany
 Herzog August Bibliothek
 Helmst. 185, B24.49
- Worcester
 Cathedral Library
 Q.92, B8
- Würzburg
 Universitätsbibliothek
 3 an: I. t. q. L, B24.47
 M. ch. f. 269, B55
 M. ch. q. 97, B21.1
 M. ch. q. 125, B54
 Vor: I. t. f. 159, B24.59

2. Dating of the manuscripts

- 12th cent., B1.1
 1200–1250, B1b.1
 13th cent., B1.2, B2, B3.1
 1235–53, B3b
 1250–1300, B1b.2
 ca. 1309, B4
 1309–1312, B5
 late 13th–early 14th cent., B6
 beg. 14th cent., B7
 1326–1328, B8,
 1300–1331, B9
 14th cent., B1.3, B10, B11, B12
- ca. 1370, B13
 ca. 1385, B14, B15
 ca. 1388, B16
 1350–1400, B17
 late 14th–early 15th cent., B18.1
 end 14th cent., B19
 ca. 1400, B20
 1403, B21.1
 beg. 15th cent., B22
 ca. 1414, B23.1
 ca. 1416, B24.1
 1400–1425, B24.2

ca. 1422 or after, B24.3	ca. 1453, B24.40
early 15th cent., B1b.3, B25, B26, B27	ca. 1457, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
ca. 1430–1434, B24.4	ca. 1460, B24.42
1432–1433, B24.5	1400–1461, B24.43
end 14th cent.–1436, B28	1433–1466, B24.44
ca. 1435–1437, B24.6	1450–1462, B24.45
ca. 1437, B29	1456–1469, B58
late 14th–ca. 1438, B30.1	1450–1473, B24.46
1418–1440, B30.2	1463–1470, B24.47
ca. 1445, B31	ca. 1470, B24.48
1446, B32	1471, B24.49
1446–1447, B24.7	ca. 1472–1473, B24.50
1447, B24.8, B30.3	ca. 1478, B24.51
1448, B24.9	1478/1486, B50.6
1400–1450, B3.2, B24.10, B33, B34, B35, B36	1490, B24.52
1420–1450, B37	ca. 1490, B24.53
1422–1450, B38	ca. 1497, B24.54
1442–1450, B39	1430–1500, B24.55
15th cent., B1b.4, B1.4, B21.2, B23.2, B24.11, B24.12, B24.13, B24.14, B24.15, B24.16, B24.17, B24.18, B24.19, B24.20, B24.21, B24.22, B24.23, B24.24, B24.25, B24.26, B24.27, B24.28, B24.29, B24.30, B24.31, B24.32, B24.33, B24.34, B24.35, B40, B41, B42, B43, B44, B45, B46, B47, B48, B49, B50.1, B50.2, B50.3, B50.4, B50.5, B51, B52, B53	1450–1500, B24.56, B24.57, B24.58, B24.59, B59, B60
ca. 1450, B24.36	1460–1500, B61
mid-15th cent., B24.37, B24.38, B54, B55, B56	1465–1500, B24.60
ca. 1452, B24.39	1475–1500, B24.61
	end 15th cent., B24.62
	1490–1500, B24.63
	ca. 1500, B62
	1503–1509, B24.64, B63
	end 15th–beg. 16th cent., B64
	beg. 16th cent., B65
	1518, B18.2
	1500–1550, B66
	16th cent., B24.65, B67

3. Provenance of the manuscripts

Augsburg, B24.41, B24.57, B57.1, B57.2
Augsburg, Ben. mon. of St. Ulrich and
St. Afra, B24.57, B57.1, B57.2

Augustinians, B13, B18.1, B24.17, B24.22,
B24.44, B24.50, B24.51, B24.55,
B24.62, B24.65

Austria, B13, B20, B22, B24.4, B24.15,
 B24.19, B24.21, B24.3, B24.35, B24.47,
 B24.50, B24.58, B30.1, B43
 Avignon, B5
 Ballenstedt, Ben. mon. of, B24.14
 Bamberg, Ben. abbey of St. Michael, B67
 Bamberg, Carm. mon. of, B24.11, B24.12,
 B24.64, B63
 Bamberg, Dom. mon. of, B45, B50.2,
 B50.3
 Bamberg, Dombibliothek, B53
 Barking, Essex, Ben. abbey (nuns) of St.
 Mary and St. Ethelburga, B2
 Bavaria, West, B50.6
 Benedictines, B1.1, B2, B9, B14, B15, B20,
 B24.3, B24.8, B24.13, B24.14, B24.23,
 B24.24, B24.25, B24.26, B24.36,
 B24.46, B24.54, B24.57, B24.61,
 B24.63, B29, B30.3, B32, B41, B46,
 B49, B50.6, B57.1, B57.2, B62, B65,
 B67
 Benediktbeuren, Bavaria, Ben. mon. of,
 B62
 Blois, B24.40
 Bordesholm, Aug. mon. of, B24.17
 Bordesley, Worcestershire, Cist. abbey
 of St. Mary, B16
 Bremen, B24.33
 Buxheim, Carth. mon. of, B59, B60
 Cambrai, Ben. abbey of Saint-Sépulcre,
 B24.54
 Canterbury, Ben. cath. priory of Christ
 Church, B9
 Canterbury, King's School, B9
 Carmelites, B24.47, B24.48, B25, B26, B27
 Carthusians, , B23.1, B24.57, B31, B54
 Cismar, Prussian prov. of Schleswig-
 Holstein, Ben. mon. of St. John, B65
 Cistercians, B3.1, B3b, B16, B22, B24.4,
 B50.1
 Cremona, B24.29
 Czech Republic, B10, B24.5, B24.60
 Diessen, Aug. mon. of, B24.65
 Dominicans, B18.2, B24.59, B45, B50.2,
 B50.3
 Dublin, St. Michen's, B42
 Ebersberg, Ben. mon. of, B24.37
 Eichstätt, B24.42
 England, B1.2, B1.3, B1b.1, B1b.2, B1b.3,
 B1b.4, B2, B3b, B6, B8, B9, B11, B16,
 B17, B18.1, B19, B24.9, B25, B26, B27,
 B33, B37, B38, B40, B41, B44, B46,
 B47, B49, B51, B56
 Erford, B24.43
 Erfurt, Ben. abbey of St. Peter and St.
 Paul, B14, B15, B24.36
 Erfurt, Carth. mon. of Salvatorberg,
 B23.1, B31, B66
 Exeter College, B1.3
 Exeter, Devon, Cathedral Church of St.
 Peter, B33
 France, B4, B5, B24.20, B24.30, B24.32,
 B24.40, B24.54, B48, B50.4, B64
 Franciscans, B3.2, B24.18, B34, B35, B36,
 B58
 Franconia, eastern, B24.59, B55
 Germany, B7, B12, B14, B15, B18.2,
 B21.1, B21.2, B23.1, B23.2, B24.3,
 B24.6, B24.8, B24.10, B24.11, B24.12,
 B24.13, B24.14, B24.16, B24.17,
 B24.18, B24.22, B24.23, B24.24,
 B24.25, B24.26, B24.27, B24.28,
 B24.30, B24.33, B24.36, B24.37,
 B24.41, B24.42, B24.43, B24.44,
 B24.45, B24.46, B24.48, B24.49,
 B24.51, B24.55, B24.57, B24.59,
 B24.61, B24.62, B24.63, B24.64,
 B24.65, B28, B29, B30.3, B31, B32,
 B45, B50.1, B50.2, B50.3, B50.5, B50.6,

B52, B53, B54, B55, B57.1, B57.2, B59,
 B60, B61, B62, B63, B65, B66, B67
 Germany, southern-central, dioc. of St.
 Augustine's, B21.1
 Gubbio, Fran. order of, B3.2, B34, B35,
 B36
 Hailes, Gloucestershire, Whalley Abbey
 Hannover, Hildesheim, mon. of St.
 George, B24.49
 Iburg, Germany, Ben. mon. of, B24.63
 Indersdorf, Aug. mon. of, B24.51
 Ireland, B42
 Italy, B1.4, B3.1, B3.2, B24.29, B34, B35,
 B36, B58
 Klosterneuburg, Austria, mon. of Aug.
 Canons, B13, B24.50
 Köln (Cologne), mendicant Order of the
 Holy Cross, B28
 Köln, Ben. mon. Groß St. Martin, B24.61
 Kraków, B24.39, B39
 Langheim, Cist. mon. of, B50.1
 Leipzig, B24.45
 London, Westminster Abbey, B19
 Lüneburg, Fran. mon. of, B24.18
 Lüttich, Köln, Order of the Holy Cross,
 B24.6
 Melk, Austria, B24.3, B30.1
 Merton, Surrey, Aug. priory of St. Mary,
 B18.1
 Metz, cath. of, B24.20
 Michelsberg, Germany, Carm. mon. of,
 B24.48
 Midlands, England, B40
 Möchern, Prussian prov. of Saxony, B61
 Münchenbuchsee (canton Bern),
 Hospitaller commandery in, B24.38
 Munich, Aug. mon. of St. Augustine,
 B24.22
 Neuberg, B24.42
 Neuberg, Cist. abbey of, B24.4
 Niederwerth, Aug. mon. of Virgin
 Mary, B24.44
 Norwich, Carm. convent of, B25, B26,
 B27
 Nürnberg, Ben. mon. of St. Egidien,
 B24.3
 Oxford, B37
 Passau, Bavaria, collegiate church of St.
 Nikolaus near, B24.25
 Plankstetten, Germany, Ben. mon. of,
 B24.46
 Poland, B24.39, B39
 Polling, Bavaria, Aug. mon. of, B24.55
 Premonstratensians, B24.27
 Rebdorf, Aug. collegiate library of,
 B24.62
 Regensburg, Bavaria, Ben. mon. of St.
 Emmeram, B24.23, B24.24
 Rome, St. Maria de Populo, B1.4
 Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Ben. abbey of,
 B1.1
 Sankt Lambrecht, Austria, Ben. abbey
 of, B20
 Sheen, England, B37
 Silesia, B24.39
 Switzerland, B24.38
 Tegernsee Abbey, Bavaria, Ben. mon. of,
 B24.26
 Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, Ben.
 abbey of St. Mary, B41, B46, B49
 Trier, Ben. mon. of St. Maximin, B24.13
 Trier, St. Matthew's, B7, B21.2, B50.5
 Umbria, Franciscans, B58
 Vienna, Ben. abbey of St. Mary, B24.35
 Vienna, Carm. convent of, B24.47
 Viterbo, Fran. convent of Santa Maria
 del Paradiso, B58
 Vrach, Germany, Carth. mon. of, B24.57
 Wałdów near Legnica, Poland, B24.39
 Weingarten, Ben. mon. of, B24.8, B30.3

Wessofontani (Wessobrun), Ben. mon.
of St. Peter, B50.6
Wiblingen, Germany, Ben. mon. of, B29,
B32
Wildberg im Nagoldtal, Dom. convent
of St. Maria-Reuthin, B18.2
Windberg, Bavaria, Prem. abbey of,
B24.27
Wohlen, canton Bern, B24.38

Würzburg, Carth. mon. of St. Stephen,
B54
Würzburg, Dom. abbey of, B24.59
Provenance uncertain, B1.1, B24.1, B24.2,
B24.7, B24.21, B24.28, B24.30, B24.31,
B24.34, B24.52, B24.53, B24.56,
B24.60, B30.2, B52

4. Scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts

Andreas de Strzezevo, B39
Antonio da Viterbo, B58
Arfelt, Johannus, B5
Astesanus, Nicolaus, B24.40
Augustae, Augustinus, B24.51
Aygelspeck, Wolfgang, B24.62
Belle (or Bette), Sir Thomas, B42
Burner, Johannus, B24.12
Charles d'Orléans, B24.40
Chunradum of Graefing, B24.37
Conradus [de Geisenfeld?], B30.1
Conradus de Grunenberg, B24.6
Cunstadt, Conrad, B24.12
Dominicans of Kraków, B24.39
Dygon, John, B37
Erhard, frater, B12
Falkener, Michael, B24.39
Gaza, Johan, B24.62
Geysel, Jeorius, B24.59
Goldwell family, B38
Gringnon, Pierre, B64
Grosseteste, Robert, B3b
Hagen, Johannes, B24.9
Hainricus, B24.3
Harlay family, B1.1
Herman de Mitelczhussen, B24.43
Hoppener, Nicolaus, B24.14

Johannes de Spira, B24.3
John of Gray's Inn, B9
Kewsch, Johannus, B24.59
Koblenz, Jesuit college, B24.44
Lane, John, B44
Lane, Robert, B44
Leonardum de Schydlow, B24.7
Mecking, Rudolf, B24.38
Meckings, Peter Hans, wife of, B24.38
Meßkirch, Johannes, B24.57
Molczheim, Petrus (Peter von
Molsheim), B24.38
Musserlin, Jodocus, B24.8, B30.3
Neuwel, Sebastian, B18.2
Newmayr, Nicolaus, B24.55
Northwood, John, B16
Partensis, Henricus, B24.16
Petrus de Mirkovicze, B24.7
Rode, Petrus, B24.45
Rodolphus de Gravia, B24.6
Rudall, John, wife of, B16
Ruysch, Johannes, B24.61
Salueld, Conrad, B24.12
Somervelt, Georgius, B24.41, B57.1,
B57.2
Throckmorton Peyto, Lady Goditha, B16
Throckmorton, Goody, B16

Thynne, Sir John, B38
Troyne, John, B9
Urbanus Currificis de Kauffpeyren,
B50.6
Walsee, Iohannes, B24.47

Willescott, Susanna, B16
Wolfgang de Everding, B24.35
Wolfgang of Austria, B58
Zegerus, B24.6

5. Incipits of the form of confession

Benedicite pater. Confiteor Deo, etc.
Primo confiteor de peccato superbie,
B64

Confitebor tibi, domine pater celi et
terre, quia ego peccator peccaui, B17

Confiteor deo, B10

Confiteor Deo celi beate Marie et cetera
quia peccaui per superbiam, B33

Confiteor Deo celi et terre, B40

Confiteor Deo et beatae Mariae beato
Benedicto et omnibus sanctis et vobis
pater, B32

Confiteor deo et beatae Mariae regine et
omnibus sanctis et vobis, pater, quia
peccavi, B54

Confiteor deo et beate Marie, B6

Confiteor deo [et] beate Marie et beato
Francisco et omnibus sanctis quia
peccaui, B34

Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus
sanctis et tibi pater quia peccaui,
B18.1, B18.2

Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus

sanctis et tibi pater quia peccaui
nimis in cogitacione superbie, B41

Confiteor deo et beate Marie et omnibus
sanctis et tibi pater Quia peccaui
nimis in uita mea, B66

Confiteor Deo et beate Marie et uobis
patri quia peccaui, B19

Confiteor deo et beate marie virgini et
omnibus sanctis eius et vobis quia
ego peccator peccaui nimis in vita,
B42

Confiteor deo et beate marie virgini
gloriose et matri misericordie et
omnibus sanctis, B8

Confiteor deo et cetera usque mea culpa.
Imprimis de multis bonis que facere
potui et non feci, B43

Confiteor deo et omnibus sanctis eius
me contra precepta dei grauiter
deliquisse, B22

Confiteor deo omnipotenti . . . et beato
Benedicto, B29

Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie
et omnibus sanctis et vobis me

- graviter peccasse contra legem dei,
B28
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie
semper uirgini, beato Francisco et
omnibus sanctis, B35
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie
semper uirgini, beato Francisco et
omnibus sanctis, B58
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti beate Marie
uirgini beato Francisco et omnibus
sanctis quia peccauit, B36
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti, beate Marie
virgini, beato Michaheli archangelo,
B55
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate
marie, B39
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate
Marie virgini, B14
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate
marie virgini beati michaeli
archangelo et omnibus angelis, B5
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate
Marie virgini beato Benedicto, B57.1,
B57.2
- Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate
marie virgini et beato benedicto et
omnibus sanctis et tibi pater de
omnibus peccatis, B44
- Confiteor deo patri beatissime virgini
Marie sancto Kiliano omnibus
sanctis et vobis omnia peccata mea,
B59
- Confiteor deo patri omnipotenti, B45
- Confiteor deo patri omnipotenti et beate
Marie virgini contra precepta dei
grauiter deliquisse ac nequiter
peccasse, B13
- Confiteor domino deo patri et filio et
spiritui sancto omnipotenti et sancte
Marie matri dei, B56
- Confiteor etc. Cogitatione: temporalia,
vana, inutilia . . . De olfactu habetur
parum quia inter cetera animalia,
B31
- Confiteor igitur tibi bone ihesu et
gloriose matri tue et omnibus
sanctis, B37
- Confiteor omnipotenti deo et b[eate]
Marie semper virgini, B15
- Confiteor omnipotenti deo etc. ideo
deprecor etc. confiteor me peccasse
scienter, ignoranter, B21.1, B21.2
- Confiteor omnipotenti deo . . . sancto
Kyliano, B60
- Confiteor tibi domine deus omnia
peccata mea que feci, B62
- Confiteor tibi domine deus omnipotens
pater celi et terre tibi que bone ihesu
christe vna cum sancto spiritu et
coram sanctis angelis tuis et coram
omnibus sanctis et presenti altari
tuo, B25
- Confiteor tibi domine deus omnipotens
quia ego peccator peccauit nimis

coram te et coram angelis tuis, B26	et filio et spiritui sancto, B11
Confiteor tibi domine ihesu christe saluator mundi omnia peccata mea, B16	Ego reus et conscius cunctorum malorum meorum confiteor Deo patri omnipotenti, B30.1–B30.3
Confiteor tibi Domine pater celi et terre tibi que gloriose, B1.1–B1.4	Ego reus et culpabilis et indignus peccator, B23.1, B23.2
Confiteor tibi, Pater celi et terre, B48	Ego reus et indignor confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi pater me grauiter pecasse in hiis que subiungauit, B27
Confiteor tibi pater celi et terre tibi que bone et benignissime ihesu una cum spiritu sancto cum sanctis angelis tuis et omnibus sanctis tuis et coram isto sacerdote tuo, B46	Ego reus fragilis et indignus peccator confiteor deo omnipotenti, B20
Confiteor tibi pater celi et terre tibi que ihesu bone et benignissime vna cum sancto spiritu, B47	Ego sum homo malus uir iniquus et michimet ipsi inimicus, B2
Confiteor tibi pater Rex celi et terre tibi que benignissime ihesu vna cum sancto spiritu coram sanctis angelis tuis et omnibus sanctis quia in peccatis sum natus, B38	In conspectu Dei omnia uidentis et omnipotentis, et beate Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, pater, quia ego peccator in peccatis conceptus, et in peccatis natus, et in peccatis nutrius, B3b
De ordine et missa attendendum est quanta sint peccata delinquentium in sacramentis uel in sacris ordinibus, B49	In conspectu dei omnipotentis et omnia videntis et beate marie et omni angelorum et sanctorum confiteor me miserum reum et indignum peccatorem, B51
Domine deus omnipotens, B7	In conspectu Dei operis, B4
Ego horrendissimus peccator reus et consciens omnium malorum meorum confiteor omnipotenti Deo, B65	Multitudinem criminum et enormitatem scelerum meorum, B3.1, B3.2
Ego miser et infelix, B50.1–B50.6	O Creator et Domine celi et terre, B67
Ego miser uite et reus auctor malorum. Confiteor domino patri omnipotenti	Omnipotens et misericors deus, B12

Pater venerabilis ego reddo me
culpabilem, B63

Peccavi per superbiam et inanem
gloriam, B9

Perambulavit Iudas v ciuitates, et
perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram
ab Israel, B1b.1–B1b.4

Quoniam omni confitenti necessarium
est confessionem dicere, B24.1–
B24.65

Quoniam omni homini penitenti, B61

Venerabilis pater Ego confiteor omnia
peccata mea cum quibus cottidie
offendo deum pa[trem], B52

[Incipit unavailable], B53

6. Titles and rubrics of the form of confession

Alia summula ad usum confessorum,
B24.20

Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*,
B24.1, B24.10, B24.11, B24.14, B24.18,
B24.21, B24.30, B24.32, B24.33,
B24.34, B24.37, B24.40, B24.41,
B24.46, B24.47, B24.51, B24.53,
B24.54, B24.56, B24.57, B24.63,
B24.65. *See also other copies of B24 that
lack this rubric*

[*Beichtformel*], B50.1

[*Beichtspiegel*], B29, B30.3, B45, B53

*Compilatio brevis qualiter confessio sit
facienda*, B6

Confessio, B24.23, B48, B51. *See also
Andreas de Escobar, Modus confitendi*

Confessio bona, B46

Confessio bona ad sanctam trinitatem, B25

Confessio bona et ualde salutifera, B63

Confessio catholicorum generalis, B24.39;
*see also Andreas de Escobar, Modus
confitendi*

Confessio compendiosa, B50.6

*Confessio deuotissima peccatoris ad deum
per Ricardus Hortone*, B44

*Confessio facta per quendam
magistrum in theologia*, B20

[*Confessio generalis*], B1.2, B30.2

*Confessio generalis cuius causa peccatorum
oblitorum fit recordacio*, B24.1. *See also
Andreas de Escobar, Modus confitendi*

Confessio generalis Episcopi megorensis,
B61

Confessio generalis peccatorum, B12

*Confessio generalis pulcra nimis atque
deuotissima*, B1.4

*Confessio generalis vere contritum mundans
ab omni culpa*, B65

Confessio generalis, B24.4, B24.5, B24.9,
B24.15, B24.25, B24.26, B24.27,
B24.42, B24.44, B24.45, B24.55,
B24.58, B24.60, B24.62, B30.1, B60,
B66. *See also Andreas de Escobar,
Modus confitendi*

*Confessio generalis, cuius causa peccatorum
oblitorum sit recordacio*, B24.48. *See
also Andreas de Escobar, Modus
confitendi*

*Confessio catholicorum generalis. Nam si
quis hic eam diligenter inspexerit aut*

- perlegerit quasi in speculo omnia peccata videbit sua necnon obliorum recordabitur*, B24.35. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Confessio megarensis Episcopi*, B24.13. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Confessio omnimoda*, B22
- Confessio optima*, B41
- Confessio optima de octo principalibus uitiiis*, B3.2
- Confessio peccatoris deo confitentis*, B7
- Confessio penitentium*, B3.1
- Confessio quedam bona et utilis*, B4
- Confessio sacerdotis vel clericorum*, B1.1
- Confessionale bonum pro religiosis*, B23.2
- Confessionale*, B10, B27
- Confessionale generale*, B50.3, B50.5
- De confessione*, B18.2, B24.28, B24.31. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- De confessione et modo confitendi peccata*, B3b
- De ordinationis essentialibus votis*, B52
- De ordine et missa*, B49
- Forma confessionis*, B2
- Forma confitendi ad minus semel in anno*, B9
- Formula confessionis*, B15, B31, B57.2
- Formulae confessionis*, B24.24. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Formula confessionum*, *see* John Rigaud [*Formula confitendi*], B55
- [*Generalis Catholicorum confessio*], B24.7; *see also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Generalis confessio*, B24.59. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Generalis confessio cuius causa peccatorum obliorum sit recordacio*, B24.6. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Generalis catholicorum confessio*, B24.50; *see also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Generalis catholicorum confessio cuius causa sit peccatorum recordacio*, B24.43; *see also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Humilis et devota confessio et meditacio*, B50.4
- Instructio deliberate confiteri volentium*, B45
- Instructio pro confessio generali*, B24.29; *see also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Jean Gerson, *Modus brevis et utilis confitendi de defectibus et peccatis quotidianis*, B64
- John Rigaud, *Formula confessionum*, B5
- Modi confitendi*, B24.36. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Modum confitendi*, B5
- Modus brevis et utilis confitendi*. *See* Jean Gerson
- Modus confessionis*, B28
- Modus confitendi*, B21.1, B32, B39, B59; *see also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Modus confitendi . . . et generalis confessio que dici potest speculum confitentium*, B24.64. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Modus confitendi optimus et compendiosus sive generalis confessio*, B24.61. *See also* Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*
- Modus et forma confitendi*, B43
- Notus in Iudea Deus*, B3b
- Oculus sacerdotis*. *See* William of Pagula
- Oracio beati anselmi archiepiscopi*, B16
- Ordo confitendi*, B24.16. *See also* Andreas

de Escobar, *Modus confitendi Peccatorum oblitorum fit recordacio*, B24.8. See also Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*

Prologus de quinque sensibus, B1b.1. See also Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*

Qualis confessio qua quis sumere debet ordinem bene confitendi, B24.12. See also Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*

Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*, B1b.1–B1b.4

Sequitur modus confitendi ordinis S. Benedicti, B67

Summa confessorum, B21.2

Summa de penitencia qualiter se debet habere confessor et confitens in confessione. hec est forma, B50.2

Summa eius [Bernardi] de confessione, B11

Summula de confessione omnium peccatorum et diffinitiones eorundem, B14

Tractatus brevis penitentibus tamen utilis

de modo confessionis ac etiam inquisitionibus faciendis de peccatis, B18.1

Tractatus de confessione, B24.3, B24.19, B24.22. See also Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*

Tractatus de confessione, B1b.2. See also Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*

Tractatus de confessione vel de modo confitendi, B24.49. See also Andreas de Escobar, *Modus confitendi*

Tractatus magistri Roberti Lincolnensis episcopi de confessione, B1b.4. See also Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*

Tractatus Magistri Roberti Lincolnensis Episcopi de vera conscientia, B1b.3. See also Robert Grosseteste, *Speculum confessionis*

Variae orationes, meditationes, aliaque ad vitam contemplativam spectantia, B54

William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis, Pars oculi*, B8

7. Authors and titles of works appearing with the form of confession

absolution. See confession

abstinence, tracts on, B24.30, B24.7

Adam and Eve, life of, B44

Adamus Magister, *Summula Raymundi* (metrical version of Raymund of Pennafort's *Summa de poenitentia*), B24.3, B24.18

Advent, treatise on, B18.2

Aegydius: exposition of Lord's Prayer, B24.19; exposition on the Annunciation, B24.19

Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor*, excerpt,

B1b.2

Aesopian fables, B24.49

Alain of Lille: *De planctu naturae*, B24.49; exposition of Psalms, B31; *Liber parabolarum*, B24.49; Penitential, B41, B46, B49

Alani de Rupe, *Compendium psalterii ad laudem Ihesu Christi et Marie virginis*, B24.49

Albertanus Brixiensis: *De arte loquendi et tacendi*, B24.6; *Summa de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, B1b.3, B1b.4, B50.2,

- B50.3
- Albertus Magnus: *Biblia beatae Virginis*, B24.11; *Paradisus animae*, B24.4, B24.64, B63
- Alcher of Clairvaux, *Manuale*, B37
- Alcuin of York: *De Psalmorum usu liber*, B14, B15, B24.36; *De virtutibus et vitiis*, B19
- Alexander V (Franciscan antipope), constitutions on the Franciscan order, B24.60
- Alexander of Villedieu, *Carmen de algorismo*, B1b.2; *Doctrinale*, B24.9
- Alexi, Saint, metrical life of, B24.17
- Andechs Abbey, *Chronicle of Andechs Abbey* with catalogue of its relics, B24.65
- Andreas de Escobar: *De decimis, primiciis et oblationibus ecclesiae solvendae*, B24.25, B24.42, B24.58; *De forma absolvendi*, B24.4; *Lumen confessorum*, B24.5, B24.7, B24.11, B24.12, B24.27, B24.45
- angels, theological notes and *quaestiones* on, B24.39
- Anselm of Canterbury: meditations and prayers, B19, B22, B24.55 (based on the penitential psalms); *Proslogion*, B37; *Sermo de duabus beatitudinibus et miseriis* (attrib.), B2
- Anselm of Laon, *De animabus hominum*, excerpt, B1b.2
- Anthony, Saint, life of the abbot, B24.60
- Antichrist, tract on, B1b.2; tract on signs of, B9
- Antoninus Florentinus, *De eruditione confessorum*, B24.51
- Antonio de Butrio: *De modo confitendi*, B24.55; treatise on confession, B24.64, B63
- Antonio de Massa, *Regola e uite degli amatori di Iesu Cristo* (Ital.), B58
- Antonio Pierozzi, tract on penitential restitution, B24.29
- Antonius Azaro Parmensis, homily on the Passion, B24.38
- Apocrypha: Gospel of infancy of Jesus, B17; *Gospel of Nicodemus*, B18.1
- Apostles' Creed. *See* creed
- Aquinas. *See* Thomas Aquinas, Saint *Arbor virtutum et vitiorum*, B24.1
- Aristotle, *Meteora*, notes on, B1b.2
- Arnauld of Bonneval, tracts on the words from the cross, B37
- Arnulfus de Boeris, *Speculum monachorum*, B29
- Ars dictandi*, B24.46
- Ars moriendi*, B23.2, B24.64, B52, B63
- Articles of faith, B6 (OF), B20, B21.2, B24.24, B24.29; tracts on, B24.13, B24.54, B61
- ascetical life, florilegium of excerpts on, B24.3
- astrology: tract on astrolabe, B24.48; astrological notes (Lat. and Germ.), B23.2, B52
- astronomy, notes on, B24.34
- Augsburg, Ben. mon. of St. Ulrich and St. Afra, catalogue of abbey library by Georgius Somervelt, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Augustine, Saint: commentary on Psalm 85, B24.55; *De triplici habitaculo liber I*, B58; *Enchiridion*, B3b; excerpts from, B12; extracts on the Psalms, B16; meditations, B24.54, B37; sermons, B1.3, B56, B58; *Soliloquies*, B24.54; treatise on Christian life, B24.7
- Augustinian Rule, B1.2, B1.4 (Ital.), B24.65

- Augustinus Triumphus de Ancona, tract on the Magnificat, B24.45
- Ave Maria, B24.35 (Germ.), B58 (Ital.); commentary on, B41, B46, B49
- Avianus, *Fabulae*, B24.17
- Bamberg, synodal statutes of dioc., B45
- baptism, order for, from Gregorian sacramentary, B43. *See also* sacraments
- Barlaam and Josaphat, legend of (Ital.), B1.4
- Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, *Confessionale*, B24.51
- Bartholomeus de S. Concordio, excerpts on excommunication from *Summa Pisani*, B24.50
- Bartholomew of Pisa, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, B33, B57.1, B57.2
- Basil, Saint, tract on discipline, B61
- Bede: homily, B24.40; sayings of, B18.2
- Benedict of Alignan, *Summa contra haereticos*, B24.39. *See also* heresy
- Benedictine order: form for petitioning to enter, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; Innocent IV, statutes on reform of, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; treatise on vows of, B24.15. *See also* monastic life
- Benedictine Rule, B17, B24.41, B43, B57.1, B57.2; commentary on, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2, B65; exposition of, B4; exposition of by Bernardus Ayglerius, B24.3
- Benedictus Hesse, *De redempcionibus*, B39
- Bennet Burgh, English verse trans. Cato's *Distichs*, B1b.4
- Berengarius de Landora, *Lumen anime*, B24.7
- Bernard de Bustis, sermon, B24.63
- Bernard of Clairvaux: *De diligendo Deo*, B1b.2, B44; *De formula honeste vite*, B24.54; excerpts from, B12; *Floretus*, B24.16; lamentations, B18.1; *Interrogatio sancti Bernhardi ad quinque monachos*, B24.42; legend of St. Bernard and the devil (ME), B47; letters, B61; *Liber de conscientia*, B10, B22; meditations, B2, B18.1, B24.19, B41, B46, B49, B64; passion of, B47; *Speculum monachorum*, B12, B61, B64; tract on religious life, B64; tract on the spiritual fight, B24.15; ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris*, B50.3
- Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, B24.49
- Bernardus Ayglerius, exposition of Benedictine Rule, B24.3
- Bernardus de Bessa, *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, B24.61
- Bernardus de Parentium, exposition on the Mass, B24.12
- Bernardus Geistensis, *Palpanista*, B24.17
- Bernardus Morlanensis (Morlaix), *De contemptu mundi*, B24.17
- Bernhard de Waging, letter to abbess of convent of Bergen, B24.42
- bestiary, moralized, B24.38
- Bible: commentary on Book of Job, B24.16; commentary on Book of Proverbs by Jerome, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; commentary on genealogy of Christ in Matthew, B3b; commentary on Psalms, B39; epitome of biblical history, B3b; exposition of biblical sentences, B50.3; exposition of Canticles, B1b.3, B50.3; exposition of Gospel passages, B17, B24.29;

- exposition of Psalms, B1b.3; extracts on the Psalms by Jerome, B16; fifteen psalms, B25, B26, B27; Gospel reading from Matt. 5 (ME), B47; penitential psalms, B62; psalter, B21.1; psalter with commentary, B24.65; prophesy of John on Antichrist, B16; quotations from, B58; *sententiae* on, B24.29; register of names from, B21.1; tract on allegorical method of interpretation, B2
- bishops: reserved cases for, B1.4; treatise on episcopate, B24.63; verse on reserved cases for, B31
- Blessed Virgin Mary: commentary on "Salve Regina," B18.2; eighty names of, B24.21; exposition of words "Deus contulit, Deus abstulit" on the Incarnation, B1b.3; Hours of the Passion of, B24.14; Little Office of, B62; musical sequence on, B24.18; Psalter of, B3b; *Super salutatione angelica*, B24.54; tracts on, B1.1, B24.15; tract on Eve and, B32; treatise on, B18.2; verses on, B24.14, B24.42; vision of St. John of the sorrows of (ME), B16; vision of St. John of the Virgin (ME), B47
- Boethius, tragedy, B58
- Bona puncta*, B24.51
- Bonaventure, Saint: *Breviloquium*, B24.38; *De arbore lignum vitae*, B30.1; *De perfectione vitae*, B24.63; *De quinque festivitibus pueri Iesu*, B24.44; *De triplici via*, B24.61, B58; *Epistola continens XXV memorialia*, B24.63; *Epistola viginti quinque memorialium*, B58; *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, B24.63; *Lignum vitae*, B24.43; meditations, B48, B50.4; *Praeparatio ad missam*, B30.1; *Quaestiones in quarto libro Sententiarum*, B24.3; *Soliloquium* and *Incendium amoris*, B50.2; *Stimulus amoris*, B30.1; *Super Pater noster et Ave Maria*, B24.19; treatise on preparation for Mass, B24.38; treatise on priesthood, B24.7
- Boniface VIII, pope, decretals, B20
- Bonifacius (Bonvicini) de Ripa, *Vita scholastica*, B24.17, B24.33
- Book of Hours in Roman Use (Franciscan), B3.2, B34, B35, B36
- Bridget of Sweden, Saint, *Revelations*, B50.2, B51
- Bruno, Saint, founder of Carthusian order, life of, B30.1
- Burchard of Worms, *Corrector et medicus*, B50.2, B50.3
- Caesarius of Arles, sermon, B24.56
- canon law: cases dealing with popes, bishops, patriarchs, and priests, B20; on negligence regarding Eucharist, B41, B46, B49; *quaestiones* on, B20, B24.39; tracts on, B24.25, B24.27; theological notes on, B24.39
- Canterbury, Ben. cath. priory of Christ Church: library catalogue of, B9; Prior Henry of Eastry's Memorandum book of, B9
- Canterbury, diocese of, administrative materials, B9
- Cassiodorus, treatise on friendship, B50.2, B50.3
- catechism, B23.1; *Dieta salutis*, treatise on, B24.7; *Liber Floretus* (verses on Articles of faith, Commandments, seven deadly sins, sacraments, eight beatitudes, virtues, death), B24.33;

- list of contents with mnemonic verses, B24.57; lists of sins, virtues, sacraments, and other material, B24.35; manual containing expositions of Commandments, seven deadly sins, works of bodily and spiritual mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven virtues, five physical and spiritual senses, and the fifteen conditions of charity (ME), B47; mnemonic verse on syllabus of, B50.6; on Beatitudes, B20; on virtues, B20. *See also* vices; virtues
- Cato, *Distichs*, English trans. of, B1b.4
- Charlemagne, letters from Pope Leo III to, B47.
- Charles VII, king of France, elegies for, B24.49
- charms, B16
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Parson's Tale*, B38
- Christ: commentary on genealogy of Christ in Matthew, B3b; dialogue between Christ and his Bride (Germ.), B24.30; exhortation to Arabs and Jews on Incarnation of Christ by Magister Zdeslaus, B24.39; exposition of Passion of, B24.42; exposition of words "Deus contulit, Deus abstulit" on the Incarnation, B1b.3; extracts on Passion of, B51; five fingers of Christ, B24.61; Hours of the Cross (ME), B16; hymn on the cross, B24.19; Invention of the True Cross from *Legenda Aurea*, B6; Legend of the Cross, B3b, B24.16; meditations on, B23.2, B52; meditation on Cross, B22; meditations on Passion of, B1.4 (Ital.), B24.45, B38, B50.6, B62; notes on Passion of, B24.8, B30.3; prayers on the Cross, B22; sermons on Passion of, B24.4, B24.57; tract on Christ's ministry and marriage to the Church, B1b.4; tract on Corpus Christi, B38; tract on the Cross, B64; tract on devotion to Crucifixion, B38; tracts on events in life of Christ, B3b; tract on human condition and nature of Christ, B30.2; tract on seven last words of, B24.47; tract on trial of, B24.39; tracts on Passion of, B14, B15, B24.36, B24.43, B24.54, B41, B46, B49, B50.6; treatise on imitation of, B24.61; treatise on Passion of, B54; treatises on seven hours of the Passion, B23.2, B52; veneration of body of, B24.39; *Vita Christi*, B24.21
- Chronica summorum pontificum et imperatorem*, B24.45
- Chronicle of Three Kings of Cologne*, B1b.3
- church dedication, tract and sermons on, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- church fathers: excerpts from, B2, B24.19, B54; excerpts on penance, B24.35; patristic definitions of God, B24.4; sayings of, B24.43, B38, B65. *See also* *sententiae*
- Cicero: *Somnium Scipionis*, B24.46; *Synonyma*, B24.39
- clergy: admonitions on moral life of, B1b.2; *Directorium sacerdotum simplicium* (guide for simple priests), B1b.2; *Stella clericorum*, B24.8, B24.10, B24.16, B24.42, B30.3, B45; tract on clerical concubines, B24.24; tract on clerical living, B28; tract on ignorance of priests, B24.7; tract on order of ecclesiastical offices, B1b.2; tract on poverty, B24.7; treatises on, B21.2, B24.62

- Communion. *See* Eucharist.
- complexions: tract on, B24.43; treatise on, B24.31
- confession: absolution, form of, B12, B24.42, B25, B26, B27, B29;
 commentary on *Omnis utriusque sexus* (canon 21 of Lateran IV), B24.42; confessional interrogatory, B7, B23.2, B24.28, B52; excerpts on and pastoral theology on, B24.57; manual of devotional prayers with directions for confession, B24.32; notes on making confession, B24.24, B24.30, B24.40; prayers of, B3.2; *quaestio* on reserved cases, B24.60; questions on administration of, B10; sermons and extracts on, B42; tracts on, B1b.1, B2, B20, B21.1, B21.2, B24.13, B24.29, B24.48, B24.50, B24.56, B24.57, B32, B39, B58, B64; tracts on contrition, B6, B24.35, B39; treatises on, B6, B17, B18.2, B30.2, B43, B50.1 (with decretals), B50.2; treatise (an *Abcdarius*) on abuses of, B18.2; treatise on conduct of confessor, B24.35; treatise giving directives for making confession, B24.55; verses on reserved cases for bishop, B31; versified form of confession (ME), B47. *See also* absolution; indulgences; penance; restitution; sacraments
- Confessionale*, B24.26, B26, B30.1, B7
- Conrad de Grunenberg, *Tractatus sive summatio de confessione*, B28
- Conrad Vatti, sermons, B24.37
- Conradus Kügelin, *Historia vitae venerabilis Elizabeth Reyttensis [St. Elizabeth of Reute]*, B24.19
- contrition. *See* confession
- Council of Basel, decretals on doctrine of immaculate conception, B24.39; decretals on Council of Vienna, constitutions, B24.58
- creed: Apostles' Creed, B24.43, B46, B49; commentary on (OF), B2; exposition of, B17; tracts on, B2, B41, B46, B49, B50.6; treatise on, B24.38; vernacular (Germ.), B24.35.
- Cross. *See* Christ
- Crucifixion. *See* Christ
- Daily Office. *See* liturgy
- Dante Alighieri, *Divine Comedy* (extracts), B58
- David of Augsburg: *De compositione hominis exterioris et interioris*, B19, B32; *Formula novitiorum*, B24.43, B24.63, B29, B50.2, B50.6
- De arte bene moriendi*, B24.31
- De consideratione ad Eugenium III*, B22
- De cura rei familiaris*, B22
- De distinctione peccatorum*, B24.31
- De forma vivendi*, B24.13
- De habitu morali et intellectivo*, B24.47
- De imitatione Christi*, B24.61
- De ingressu religionis*, B57.1
- De modo vario metrificandi*, B24.4
- De mulieribus fugiendis*, B24.45
- De penitencia*, B24.7
- De puncte der broderschup des salters*, B24.49
- De symbolo Apostolorum*, B24.38
- death: Carthusian exemplum on, B30.1; *Dialogi mortuorum*, B24.7; verse on (Ital.), B1.4
- Debate of Body and Soul* (ME), B16
- Defensor, *Liber scintillarum*, B24.62
- devotions, B17, B38, B64; to body of Christ, B24.39; devotional songs

- (Ital.), B1.4; Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, B3b; tracts on devotional practice, B1.4, B2, B37, B50.6; treatise on devotional practice, B11. *See also* meditations; prayers
- Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi*, B24.50
- Dicta sanctorum*, B24.22
- Dieta salutis*, treatise on catechism, B24.7
- dietary, B67
- diocesan cases: of excommunication, B24.58; of canonical prohibition, B24.58; of disgrace, B24.58; of impediments to the exercise of sacred orders, B24.58; of suspension, B24.58. *See also under specific names of dioceses*
- dialogues: between pope and priest on celebration of Mass, B24.65; Gregory, *Dialogues*, B3b; on sufferings of Christ, B24.15; on *via illuminativa*, B24.15; on *via purgativa*, B24.15; on death, B24.7; *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi*, B24.50; disputation between body and soul, B16
- Dionysius the Aeropagite, *Epistola ad Timotheum de morte Pauli*, B24.51
- Dogmatile paternum*, B24.49
- Dominican order, tract on, B24.21. *See also* mendicant life; monastic life
- Dominicus de Capranica, *Ars bene moriendi*, B30.2
- dreams, extracts on, B1b.1
- Easter, calculations for dates of (Lat. and ME), B6
- Eberhard III von Neuhaus, prince-archbishop of Salzburg, archiepiscopal statutes, B24.58
- Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum ecclesiae*, Bib3, B1b.4
- Edward VI, king of England and Ireland, account of coronation in Dublin, B42
- Egra in Bohemia, articles of an ecclesiastical-diplomatic meeting held in, B24.5
- Eckbert de Schönau, meditation on Christ and Virgin, B28; *Stimulus amoris*, B28, B66; *Speculum animae in passione Christi*, B29
- election of *magistri*, tract on, B17
- emperors, notes on elections of, B20
- Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, B40, with commentary, B24.49
- epitaphs, B24.17
- Erfurt, constitutions of, B14, B15, B24.36
- Errores Graecorum*, B24.31. *See also* heresy
- Eucharist: examination in (Ital.), B1.4; notes on, B40, B66; restrictions from receiving, B30.2; table of days for celebrating and other services, B13; theological notes and *quaestiones* on receiving following sins of pollution, B24.39; tracts on, B1.1, B1.4, B17, B24.1, B24.13, B24.38, B24.48, B24.50, B32, B61; tract on transubstantiation, B2; treatise on, B18.2; treatise on Eucharist and penance, B50.3. *See also* sacraments
- Eugenius IV, pope, constitutions, B24.55
- Eustace, Saint, life of, B1.4
- Eve and Mary, tract on, B32
- excommunication: form of, B33; reserved cases for pope, B58; tracts on, B24.33, B24.50, B33 (ME)
- exempla, B12, B32, B43 (Lat. and Germ.)
- fate and fortune, verse on, B24.61
- fear: of God, tract on, B24.43; treatise on fear of world and flesh, B24.22
- Feniculus rosae*, B50.3

- Fifteen Ooes*, B38
 five senses: commentary on, B24.43,
 examination in (Ital.), B1.4; in ME
 verse, B16; notes on, B24.40; tract on,
 B1b.1
- Formula honestae et spiritualis vitae*,
 B24.61
- Franciscan order: *Constitutiones familiae*,
 B58; reform decrees, B58; rule of
 Giles of Assisi, B24.54; tract on,
 B24.21. *See also* mendicant life;
 monastic life
- Franciscus Castellensis: *De ingressu
 religionis*, B24.41, B57.2; *De monacho
 ad exemplum Christi crucifixo*, B24.41,
 B57.1, B57.2; *Libellus epistolaris
 quaestionum regularium de vita
 sanctimonialium virginum*, B24.41,
 B57.2
- Frankfurt, synodal constitutions of,
 B24.58
- Galfredus de Vino Salvo, commentary
 on *Poetria nova*, B24.46
- gardening, tract on, B24.13
- Geert Groote: *Epistula ad abbatem in
 Camp*, B24.44; *Epistula ad fratres in
 Camp*, B24.44; *Epistula ad reatricem
 monialium in monasterio constitutam*,
 B24.44
- genealogical notes, B20
- George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia:
 1464 alliance between Podiebrad and
 Louis XI of France, B24.60; 1463
 proposal for a European Christian
 alliance against the Turks, B24.60;
 correspondence with papacy on
 Hussite controversy and issues of
 ecclesiastical allegiance, B24.39;
 Nicolaus Tempelfeld of Brzeg,
Tractatus contra Georgium Podiebrad,
 B24.39; Pope Paul II sentences of
 excommunication of, B24.39
- Gerard Zerholt of Zutphen, *Ascensiones*,
 B37
- Gerardus de Rivo St. Mariae, treatise on
 reserved sins, B28
- Gerardus de Vliederveen *Cordiale sive
 de quattuor novissimis*, B24.3, B50.2,
 B66
- Gesta Romanorum*, B24.13
- Giacomo Florensoli, bishop of Sutri and
 Nepi: *De eadem materia*, B24.29;
 letters to ecclesiastical and political
 dignitaries (including Emperor
 Frederick III), B24.29
- gifts of the Holy Spirit. *See* Holy Spirit
- Giles of Assisi, Franciscan rule of, B24.54
- Giles of Rome: sermon on vices, B24.39;
 tract on original sin, B24.39
- Glossa ordinaria*, notes on, B24.47
- glossarium*, B50.6
- glossary, of legal abbreviations, B58
- glosses (ME), B1.2
- Godefridus de Thenis: *Asinarius*, B24.17;
Militarius, B24.17; *Rapularius*, B24.17;
Rixe mulierum, B24.17
- Gospel of Nicodemus*, B18.1
- grammar, treatise on, B50.6; verse on,
 B24.9
- Gratian, *Decretals*, excerpt, B1b.2
- Gregory IX, pope, bull for province of
 Gallia Narbonensis, B24.3
- Gregory the Great, Saint: *Decretals*,
 B24.5; *Dialogues*, B3b, B24.40;
 homilies, B30.1, B37; life of, B24.40;
Moralia, B24.1; sayings of, B18.2
- Guido de Columnis, *Historia
 destructionis Troiae*, B1b.4
- Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus*

- curatorum*, B24.28, B24.59, B50.1
 Guido de Senis, *Summa distinctionum Bibliae*, B24.58
 Guigo Cartusianus, *Scala claustralium*, B66
 Guilelmus de Tolosa, *Visio de poenis purgatorii et inferni*, B28
- Haimo of Auxerre, sermons, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
 Haimo of Halberstadt, homilies, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
 Haymo of Faversham, *Ordinatio misse*, B58
 heaven: *Ladder of Heaven* (ME), B38; tract on, B24.43; tract on afterlife, B1b.4; tract on joys of, B24.13; *Visio Sancti Pauli*, B16, B41, B46, B49
 Heinrich Suso, *Horologium sapientiae*, B14, B15, B24.36, B40
 Heinrick Totting von Oyta, theological notes, B24.10
 hell: *A Revelation of Purgatory* (ME), B38; *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, B2, B18.1, B50.2; tract on afterlife, B1b.4; tracts on pains of, B24.13, B24.30, B28; tract on purgatory, B24.1; *Visio Sancti Pauli*, B16, B41, B46, B49
 Henricus de Bitterfeld: *De horis canonicis*, B28, B66; *De horis persolvendis*, B24.33
 Henricus de Calcar, meditation on the Passion, B66
 Henricus de Frimaria: sermons, B24.60; treatise on Commandments, B24.38; treatise on making confession, B5, B31; treatise on vices, B24.28, B24.48, B28
 Henricus Egger of Kalkar, meditation on the Passion, B30.1
 Henricus Lang: penitential canons, B24.58; *Tractatus de poenitentia*, B24.58
 Henricus Septimellensis: *De diversitate fortunae*, B24.17; *De inconstantia* (an elegy) with commentary, B24.49
 Henry of Eastry, prior of Ben. cath. priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, Memorandum book of, B9
 Henry of Gorcum, *De superstitiosis quibusdam casibus*, B24.51
 Henry of Hassia (Langenstein): *De antichristo et schismate*, B24.4; *De contractibus*, B55; *De discretione spirituum*, B24.4; *De meditatione mortis*, B24.5; *De officio misse*, B24.4; *De oratione dominica*, B24.4; *De pace ecclesie sancrosancte*, B24.4; *De proprietate religiosorum*, B24.19; dialogue on the celebration of the Mass, B24.10; excerpts from, B12, B61; *Speculum animae*, B24.4, B24.31, B24.54; *Speculum de contemptu mundi*, B24.26; tract, B24.1; tract on body of Christ, B24.10; tract on sin, B24.3; *Tractatus de confessione*, B30.2; *Tractatus super Pater noster*, B24.4; *Tractatus super salutatione angelica*, B24.4
 heresy: attack on Hussite view of Eucharist, B24.1; Benedict of Alignan, *Summa contra haereticos*, B24.39; *Errores Graecorum*, B24.31; form for examination of heretics, B24.58; Nicholas of Cusa, *Contra Bohemos*, B24.45; ps.-Augustine tract on, B3b; sermons on, B24.39, B37; tract on Waldensian heresy, B24.65; tract against Wycliffites and Hussites, B24.39. *See also* George Podiebrad; Jews; works dealing with

heresy in B24.1, B24.39
Herman of Westphalia, *Speculum sacerdotum*, B61
Herman von Schildelsche, *Speculum manuale sacerdotum*, B24.10, B24.31
Hildegard of Bingen, Saint, *Scivias*, B41, B46, B49
Historia de Buridano magistro et regina Franciae Nopherra (sic), B24.34
Historia de spiritu Guidonis, B24.16
Historia septem sapientum, B50.3
Historia trium regum, B24.37
Holy Spirit: catechism on gifts of, B20; examination in (Ital.), B1.4; sermon on gifts of, B24.39; seven gifts of (ME verse), B16; tract on, B12; "Veni Creator Spiritus," B38
Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis): *Elucidarium*, B24.54; expositions of Athanasian Creed, Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and Te Deum, B30.1; *Speculum ecclesiae*, B24.38
Horologium sapientie, B24.15
Hours of the Cross (ME), B16
Hours of the Passion of the Virgin, B24.14
Hugh of Saint-Cher: *Expositio missae*, B24.13; sermons, B24.23; *Summa super canonem missae*, B50.2, B50.3
Hugh of St.-Victor: *De operibus et dierum*, B44; *De septem petitionibus et septem viciis et septem beatitudinibus*, B41, B46, B49; epistle on virginity of Mary, B50.2; *Liber de institutione novitiorum*, B50.2; tract on Canticles, B61; treatise on sins, B19
Hugo de Folieto, *De claustro animae*, B6, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2, B66
Hugo de Scotia, *De ociositate hominis*, B17

Humbertus de Romanis, *Epistola de tribus votis substantialibus religiosorum*, B24.15
Hussites. *See* heresy.
hymns, B1.4, B16 (ME), B17, B24.19 (on the cross), B47 (ME and Lat.); commentary on "Salve Regina," B18.2; "Veni Creator Spiritus," B38
imagination, extracts on, B1b.1
indulgences, B16, B24.21, B24.42, B56, B64; tract on, B24.10.
Innocent III, pope: *De contemptu mundi*, B2, B6, B10, B17, B21.2, B41, B46, B49, B50.2, B50.3; sayings on religious life, B24.19
Innocent IV, pope, statutes on reform of Ben. order, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
Isidore of Seville: *De summo bono*, B24.55; *Synonyma*, B19, B24.54, B41, B46, B49
Ivo, bishop of Chartres: *Panormia*, B1.2; sermons, B1.2
Jacobus de Benevento, *Viridarium consolationis de virtutibus et vitiis*, B50.2
Jacobus de Cessolis, *Libellus de moribus et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum*, B24.42
Jacobus de Gruytrode, *Lavacrum conscientiae omnium sacerdotum*, B24.51
Jacobus de Jüterbog (or Jüterborg): *De actionibus humanis*, B24.45; *De concertatione super cruore de Wilsnack*, B24.45; *De malo huius saeculi*, B24.45; *De mystica theologica*, B24.45; *Passio Jesu Christi secundum IV Evangelia*, B24.45; sermons, B24.45; *Speculum*

- sacerdotale*, B24.42; tract on Mass for the dead, B24.45
- Jacobus de Losanna, *Compendium moralitatem*, B50.2, B50.3
- James of Milan, *Stimulus amoris*, B19, B21.1, B24.42
- Jean Gerson: *Apologetica sive responsiva*, B24.63; *Considerationes ad propositum*, B24.63; *Contra professum inobedientem*, B24.63; *De arte audiendi confessiones*, B24.2, B24.28; *De arte moriendi*, B24.28; *De differentia peccatorum venialium et mortalium*, B24.63; *De elevatione mentis in Deum*, B24.63; *De eruditione confessorum*, B24.51, B24.52; *De examinatione conscientiae*, B24.57; *De modo audiendi confessionem*, B24.31; *De modo confessionis*, B24.50; *De remediis contra pusillanimitatem*, B24.63, B64; *De remediis contra recidivum peccandi*, B24.2, B24.47, B24.51; *De probatione spirituum*, B24.42; *De simonia*, B24.51; *Liber de consolatione theologiae*, B24.5; *De mystica theologia*, B24.63, B24.61; *Opus tripartitum*, B24.3, B24.22, B24.38, B24.48, B50.5; *Opusculum de probatione spirituum*, B24.15; *Praeparatione ad missam*, B24.10, B24.55; *Pro devotis simplicibus*, B24.63; tracts on Carthusian abstinence from meat, B50.5; on celebrating Mass after committing sexual sin the previous night, B50.5; on devotional exercises, B50.5; on fruitful living, B50.5; on remedy for faintheartedness, B50.5; on resisting temptation, B50.5; treatises on Carthusian manner of life, B64; on ecclesiastical positions, B24.12; on excommunication, B24.50, B64; on resolving irregular cases, B64; Johannes de Schöen's defense of Ruysbroeck against Jean Gerson with Gerson's reply, B50.5
- Jerome, Saint, commentary on Book of Proverbs, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; *Epistulae* 6 and 95, B24.29; extracts on the Psalms, B16; life of, B1.4 (Ital.), B24.40; *Sermo de Quadragesima*, B2; spurious letter on the death of, B24.33; *Vita Malchi*, B24.46
- Jews: *Liber contra Judaeos*, B24.31; tract on disputation against, B24.39; tract on disputation of Jews with Christians, B39; tract on doctrines of Talmud, B24.39. *See also* heresy
- Johannes Andreae, tract on advising parochial clergy, B24.55
- Johannes Auerbach, *Summa de sacramentis*, B24.12, B45
- Johannes Brugman, letter to brother of Fran. fraterhouse in Daventer, the Netherlands, B24.61
- Johannes Contractus, sermons, B30.1
- Johannes de Deo, *Decretum abbreviatum*, B24.44
- Johannes de Hesdinio, commentary on Job, B24.15
- Johannes de Hildesheim, *Gesta trium magorum*, B1b.4
- Johannes de Marienwerder, *Expositio symboli apostolorum*, B24.11
- Johannes de Palomar, reply to a sentence of excommunication, B24.26
- Johannes de Schöen, defense of Ruysbroeck against Jean Gerson with Gerson's reply, B50.5
- Johannes de Spira, *De esu carniuum monachorum*, B24.3

- Johannes de Tambaco, *De consolatione theologiae*, B24.1
- Johannes Dominici de Eugubio, tract on miraculous hosts of Andechs Abbey, B24.65
- Johannes Grunberger, *Compendium morale*, B45
- Johannes Hagen, tract on logic and grammar, B24.9; *Vocabularius*, B24.9
- Johannes Keck, prior of Tegernsee Abbey, tract on authority of abbots, B24.26
- Johannes Marchesinus, *Mammotrepton super Bibliam*, B13
- Johannes Müntzinger: exposition on Lord's Prayer, B24.10; *quaestiones*, B24.10; theological disputation between Müntzinger and a Dominican in Ulm, B24.10; tract on body of Christ, B24.10
- Johannes Nider, *Consolatorium timortae conscientiae*, B24.6
- Johannes Pfeffer von Weidenberg, sermon on body of Christ, B24.57
- Johannes Schlitpacher, prior of Melk abbey, exposition on Rule of St. Benedict, B30.1
- Johannes Wilhelmita, *quaestio* on mendicacy, B24.10
- Johannis Bacon, history of Carmelite order, B24.64, B63
- Johannis de Francofordia, tract on business contracts, B24.12
- Johannis Paltz, treatise on Gospels and the Passion, B24.22
- Johannis Stojković de Ragusio (Dubrovnik), sermon, B24.5
- John Cassian, Saint, *De institutis coenobiorum*, B24.61
- John Chrysostom: *De compunctione ad Demetrium monachum*, B24.15; sermon on penance, B24.51; tracts, B37, B61
- John Deverose, letter of consolation to a friend for loss of children, B1b.4
- John de Grandison, life and passion of St. Thomas, B1b.3, B1b.4
- John of Freiburg: *Confessionale*, B20, B24.2; *Summa confessorum*, B24.2, B24.25, B50.1; *Statua summe confessorum*, B24.2
- John of Garland: *Carmen de mysteriis ecclesiae*, B39; *Liber de aequivocis*, B40; *Liber metricus de modo confitendi*, B24.34
- John of Heisterbach, treatise on hearing confession, B12
- John of Paris, commentary on *Librum complexionum*, B66
- John Pecham, *Oculo morali*, B50.3
- John Rigaud, *Formula confessionis*, B5
- John Ruysbroeck, tract on spiritual marriage, B50.5
- John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, B24.40
- Jordanus von Quedlinburg, *Meditationes de passione Christi*, B32
- Judgment: tract on Judgment and fifteen signs of Doomsday, B17
- Justinian, *Casus super institutiones*, B20
- Ladder of Heaven* (ME), B38
- Lamentation of Virgin, B38
- Lateran IV. See *Omnis utriusque sexus*
- Laurence of Dacia, *Stella clericorum*, B23.2, B52
- lectionary: for saints' days, B41, B46, B49, B61; commentary on lectionary

- and translation into German of difficult words from, B50.6
- legal formulas (Lat. and Germ.), B24.39;
- legal lexicon, B1b.2, legal topics (Germ.), B24.39
- legend, of St. Bernard and the devil (ME), B47.
- Leo III, pope, letters to Charlemagne, B47.
- letters, from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne, B47; official letters, B3b
- lexicon, Latin-German, B12
- Libellus epistolaris quaestionum regularium de vita sanctimonialium virginum*, B57.1
- Liber de praecepto et dispensatione*, B22
- Liber regulae pastoralis*, B24.40
- liturgy: Daily Office, B24.62; tracts on Daily Office, B1.4 (Ital.), B24.42, B24.51, B24.54; exposition of difficult words of *troparia* (liturgical musical settings), B1b.3; exposition of matins for the dead, B24.13; Litany, B1.4 (Ital.); Litany of saints, B25, B26, B27; Little Office of BVM, B62; liturgical book including calendar, prayers, etc., B53; liturgical calendars, B20, B23.2, B24.29, B42, B52, B62; liturgical offices, B3.1; Matins to the Virgin, B25, B26, B27; portion of a missal, B3.1; tracts on feast days and masses, B24.26, B24.51; tract on giving benediction, B12. *See also* Book of Hours; lectionary; Lord's Prayer; Mass
- Lombardus Assiria, letter to Petrarch, B24.29
- Lord's Prayer, B3b, B20, B24.7, B24.35 (Germ.), B58 (Ital.); commentary on, B2 (OF), B24.33; expositions of, B1b.2, B10, B12, B21.1, B24.11, B24.13, B24.43, B24.65, B47, B64; meditations on, B6, B38; tracts on, B24.40, B41, B46, B49
- Lucan, tragedy, B58
- Lupus de Olmeto, rule for monks, B24.40
- Magister Zdeslaus, exhortation to Arabs and Jews on Incarnation of Christ, B24.39
- Magna Carta and other statutes, B9
- Mainz, provincial statutes, B24.13
- Malachias Hibernicus, *Venenum viciorum*, B32
- man's image in God, tract on, B44
- Marbodus, *De lupo*, B24.17
- Marcus Ratisbonnensis, *Visio Tundali*, B1b.4
- marriage: theological notes and *quaestiones* on, B24.39; sermon on, B24.39; tracts on, B17, B24.39; tract on impediments to, B24.25
- Martha, Saint, life of, B4
- Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae*, B6
- Martin V, pope, account of his ordination, B24.13
- Martinus Künlein, *Collatio ad clerum*, B24.42
- martyrdoms, short accounts of, B6
- Mary. *See* Blessed Virgin.
- Mass: directions for saying, B17, B20, B30.1 (by Bonaventure); directions for special masses, B16; expositions of, B1b.2, B24.12 (by Bernardus de Parentium), B24.13, B24.33, B24.48, B24.65; florilegium of excerpts on, B58; Mass for the dead, B25, B26, B27; order for, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2,

- B64; tracts on, B12, B17, B23.1, B24.7, B24.10, B24.23, B24.28, B24.30, B24.38, B24.50, B24.64, B32, B50.6, B61, B63; tracts on a defective Mass, B24.10, B24.26; treatise on dangers in celebrating, treatise on preparation for by Bonaventure, B24.38; B24.63; verses on, B24.10, B24.24; virtues of, B21.1
- Matthew of Cracovia: *Confessionale*, B24.51; *De modo confitendi et puritate conscientiae*, B24.7, B24.42, B24.61, B31, B39, B59, B60; *Disputatio rationis et conscientiae de modo accedenti ad sacramentu eucharistiae*, B24.19; *Tractatus de confessione*, B24.19; treatise on frequent Communion, B50.2; treatise on Mass, B24.48
- Maximianus, elegy, B24.17
- medicine: notes on, B24.34; notes on dealing with a plague, B66; phlebotomy, tracts on, B14, B15, B24.36; recipes, B24.35, B66; recipe for kidney stones, B25, B26, B27; recipes for washing (Germ.), B24.30
- meditations, B16, B24.30, B25, B26, B27, B47, B61, B64; on Christ, B23.2, B52
- mendicant life: tract on begging, B24.54; tract on canonical privileges of mendicants, B24.39. *See also* Dominican order; Franciscan order
- Mensa philosophica*, B66
- tales, miraculous, B3b, B6
- Miraculum de morte Guidonis* (Guido of Cortona?), B24.64, B63
- misery of life: tract on misery of the world, B28; treatise on misery of body and soul, B11; verse on, B30.1
- Modus vivendi ad principes*, B24.40
- monastic life: ceremony for monastic profession, B1.2; *Modus vivendi* for monks, B24.38; patristic florilegia on, B66; rite of orders for mon. of Subiaco, B24.3; rules for cloister life, B65; sermons on, B50.6, B65; tract on, B24.43; tract on admitting novices, B3b; tract on corruption of monks, B24.39; tract on electing prelates, B3b; tract on guidance for novices, B24.62; tract on monastic virtues, B2; tract on settling disputes, B3b; tract on visitation of monasteries, B24.26; treatise on, B21.2; treatise on Benedictine vows, B24.15; treatise on form of, B16; treatise on living solitary life, B4; treatise on monastic vows, B24.22; verse on monastic abuses, B6; verse on on monastic life, B66; versified monastic rule, B29
- Monte Cassino, abbey of, papal letters concerning, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Moralitates gestorum Romanorum*, B24.31
- music: motet, B24.18; musical sequence on the Blessed Virgin, B24.18
- Naples, reserved cases for archbishop of, B1.4
- Nicholas Dinkelsbühl: *Casus missae*, B24.10; *Confessionale*, B24.10, B24.43, B24.50, B24.57; *De decem praeceptis decalogi*, B59, B60; *De dilectione Dei et proximi*, B55, B59, B60; *De indulgentiis*, B24.8, B30.3; *De vitiis et virtutibus*, B24.10; sayings attrib. to, B24.15; sermons, B32; sermon on the body of Christ, B24.10; *Speculum amatorum mundi*, B24.28; *Speculum mortis*, B24.26; treatise on

- Commandments, B55; treatise on seven deadly sins, B24.11, B24.57
- Nicholas of Cusa; *Contra Bohemos*, B24.45; letters, B61
- Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super Hiezechielem*, B24.46
- Nicolaus de Blonie, *Sacramentale*, B39
- Nicolaus Tempelfeld of Brzeg, *Tractatus contra Georgium Podiebrad*, B24.39
- Nigel Wireker, *Brunellus azinus*, B24.17
- Office for the Dead, B24.8, B30.3, B62
- Omnis utriusque sexus* (penitential canon 21 of Lateran IV), commentary on, B24.42
- Origen, commentary on "Maria stabat," B24.62
- Ottomans, news on Turkish advance against Hungary, B24.49
- Ovid: *De remedio amoris*, B24.17; tragedy, B58
- Pamphilus Maurilianus, *De amore*, B24.17
- papal bulls, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- papal decretals, B1b.2, B23.2, B24.25, B24.61, B52; with commentary on Communion in both kinds, B24.50; from Council of Basel, B24.39; of Boniface VIII, B20
- paradise. *See* heaven
- Paschasius Radbertus, treatise on Eucharist, B7
- Passio Sancti Quirini*, B24.37
- Passion, of St. Bernard, B47.
- pastoral interdicts, tract on, B24.33
- Pater noster. *See* Lord's Prayer
- Paul II, pope, sentences of excommunication of George Podiebrad, B24.39
- Paul Lescher, *Modus epistolandi*, B24.46
- Paul of Hungary: *Summae confessionum*, B21.1; tract on confession, B21.1
- Paulus Niavis, *Latinum ideoma pro parvulis*, B24.14
- penance: notes on, B24.8, B30.3; penitential canons, B24.13, B24.33, B24.35, B58; penitential sermons, B21.1, B24.8, B30.3; penitentials, B41, B46, B49; *quaestiones* on B24.10; tracts on, B1.1, B6, B17, B23.2, B24.7, B24.28, B24.38, B25, B26, B27, B52; tracts on administering penance to the dying, B59, B60; tract on contrition and restitution, B24.35; tract on how to interrogate a penitent, B24.21; tract on penitential canons, B39; penitential psalms, B62; treatises on, B21.2, B24.7, B45; treatise on comforting penitents, B12; treatise on Eucharist and penance, B50.3; verses on, B24.43, B41, B46, B49; *Peniteas cito* (penitential poem), B6, B44; commentary on *Peniteas cito*, B10. *See also* confession; indulgences; restitution; sacraments
- Peniteas cito* (penitential poem), B6, B44; commentary on, B10
- Peter Comester, excerpts, B3b
- Peter Damian, *Dominus vobiscum*, B66
- Peter John Olivi, *De remediis contra tentationes spirituales*, B24.42
- Peter Lombard: *Sentences*, B24.50; commentary on the *Sentences*, B24.16, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; questions on the *Sentences*, B1b.1
- Peter of Compostella, *Tractatus super Salve regina*, B24.42
- Peter of Limoges, *De oculo morali*, B1b.2

- Peter the Blessed: *Carmen de poenitentia*, commentary on, B24.43; *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum*, B4
- Peter the Deacon: *De inventione corporis S. Benedicti* excerpt, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Petrarch, *Historia Griseldis*, B24.17
- Petrus de Alliaco, *Meditationes super psalmos poenitentiales* and exposition of Psalm 42 *Judica me*, B29
- Petrus de Ciperia, *Liber de oculo morali*, B24.6
- Petrus de Sancto Benedicto, sermons, B30.1
- Petrus Wartemberg, sermon, B24.39
- Physiologus*, B1b.2, B24.13; moralized tales from, B1b.2
- Pierre D'Ailly, tract on Carthusian abstinence from meat, B50.5
- pilgrimage: notes on distances from England to Rome, Jerusalem, Sanai, etc., B41, B46, B49; stations and distances from Vienna to Rome, B24.21; Stations of Rome, B16 (ME), B24.22
- Pius II, pope, bull proclaiming crusade against Turks (1463), B24.58; letter to Ottoman ruler Mehmed II (1460), B24.58; letter to papal legate to Bohemia Cardinal Juan Carvajal, B24.45
- Adamus Magister, *Summula Raymundi*, B24.3, B24.18
- poetry: Adamus Magister, *Summula Raymundi*, B24.3, B24.18; humanist compilation of, B24.17; lyrics on love, B24.17; macaronic poem on the signs of death, B38; Maximianus elegy, B24.17; metrical life of Saint Alexi, B24.17; miscellaneous verses, B1b.4; mnemonic verse about Bible, B24.40; mnemonic verse on syllabus of catechism, B50.6; "O homo velox," B37; OHG verses, B24.9; on Blessed Virgin, B24.14; on Commandments, B13; on complexions (ME), B42; on *contemptu mundi*, B30.1; on death (Ital.), B1.4; on fortune, B24.61; on grammar, B24.9; on monastic abuses, B6; on monastic life, B66; on penance, B24.43, B41, B46, B49; on sinfulness (OF), B17; on the Mass, B24.10, B24.24; on reserved cases of confession for bishop, B31; on sacraments, B13; on *Salve regina*, B24.42; on signs of death (ME), B17; *Peniteas cito*, B6, B44; religious lyrics, B12, B16 (ME), B38; sonnet (Ital.), B24.29; versified form of confession (ME), B47; versified monastic rule, B29; versified sayings of philosophers, B24.13
- Pore Caitif* (ME), B37
- Prague, episcopal statutes of archbishop, B10
- prayers, B1.4 (Ital.), B3.1, B14 and B15 (Lat. and MHG), B16 (Lat., ME, and OF), B17 (Lat. and OF), B20, B24.5, B24.15, B24.29, B24.30, B24.36 (Lat. and MHG), B24.43, B24.47, B24.62, B29, B30.1, B38, B47 (Lat. and ME), B51, B54, B62, B64, B65, B66, B67 (Lat. and Germ.); metrical prayer on elevation of Host, B24.10; of confession, B3.2, B16 (ME); to Christ (Lat. and Germ.), B23.2, B52; to Christ and Virgin (Lat. and ME), B25, B26, B27; to Virgin, B19; with indulgences, B56; tracts on, B24.13, B24.39; treatise on, B24.22

- preaching. *See* sermons
- predestination, tract on, B24.42
- priesthood, priests. *See* clergy
- Prisca, Saint, life of, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Prophessiae Jeremiae prophetae de sacerdotibus*, B41, B46, B49
- proverbs, B17, B20, B21.2, B24.30, B38
- ps.-Albertus Magnus, *Tractatus de virtutibus animae*, B29
- ps.-Aquinas: *De vita Christi*, B55; *quaestiones* on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, B1.3; questions on confession and penance with reserved cases for bishop and pope, B24.32
- ps.-Aristotle, *Physionomia*, excerpt, B1b.2
- ps.-Augustine: *De dignitate sacerdotum*, B30.1; *Dialogus inter beatam virginem et animam*, B24.42; soliloquy of a soul to God, B54; *Speculum animae*, B58; *Speculum peccatoris*, B21.1, B24.55, B29, B30.1, B56; *Minus speculum*, B29; *Speculum peccatorum*, B50.2, B50.3; tract on predestination and grace, B1.3; tract on visitation of sick, B28; *De fide*, B37
- ps.-Basil, admonitions on spiritual life, B17, B32
- ps.-Bede, meditation on Passion, B19
- ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux: *De interiori domo*, B1b.3, B1b.4, B56; *De ordine vitae et morum institutione*, B24.44; *Epistola ad Raymundum militem de cura rei familiaris*, B14, B15, B24.36; *Epistola de gubernatione rei familiaris*, B58; hymn to Christ, B24.14; meditation and tract on charity, B66; meditation on the Passion, B30.1; meditations, B1b.3, B19; tract on body of Christ, B29
- ps.-Bonaventure: *Fasciculus morum*, B24.65; *Officium de compassione BMV*, B24.15; *Stimulus amoris*, B58
- ps.-Cyprian, *De abusivis saeculi*, B17
- ps.-Eusebius, epistle on death of Jerome and other pieces on Jerome, B24.40
- ps.-Henry of Hassia, *De proprietate*, B24.15
- ps.-Hugh of St.-Victor, *Liber de domo conscientiae aedificanda*, B50.2
- ps.-Jean Gerson, *De imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi*, B29
- ps.-Origen, sermon on Mary Magdalene, B37
- ps.-Saint Melito, *De transitu et Assumptione Beate Marie*, B1b.4
- ps.-Seneca, tract on death, B24.61
- ps.-William of Montibus, sermon collection *Filius Matris*, B1.3
- Psalms and psalters. *See* Bible
- purgatory. *See* hell
- Quadragesimale, tract on, B24.42
- Quirinus, Saint, *Passio Sancti Quirini*, B24.37
- Quodvultdeus of Carthage, sermon against heresy, B37
- Radulpho de Porta, tract on doctrine, B64
- Radulphus de Rivo, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, B28
- Rainerus Alemannicus, *Facetus*, B24.17
- Raymond Lull, *Ars Magna*, B24.26
- Raymond of Pennafort: *Summula*, B24.38, B24.64, B63; *Summa poenitentialis brevis*, B24.29; commentary on the *Summula*, B45
- reading, tract on, B24.44

- redemption, treatise on attrib. Anselm of Canterbury, B64
Regulae juris, B50.1
 restitution, tracts on, B24.12, B24.35, B45.
See also confession; penance
Revelation of Purgatory, A (ME), B38
 rhetoric, treatise on, B44
 Ricardus Horton, *De spirituali milite*, B44
 Richard of Lavynham, *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins* (ME), B25, B26, B27
 Richard of St-Victor, *Benjamin minor*, B66
 Richard of Wetheringsett, *Summa Qui bene praesunt*, B1b.2
 Richard Rolle: *The Commandment*, B38; *De Dei misericordia*, B56; *Desire and Delight*, B38; *Ego Dormio*, B38; *The Form of Living*, B6, B38; *Ghostly Gladness*, B38; lyrics, B38; meditation on the Passion, B38
 Robert Grosseteste: *De Dei scientia*, B1.3; *De oculo morali*, B42; *De libero arbitrio*, B1.3; *De penis purgatorii*, B56; *De probacione virginittatis Beate Marie*, B1b.4; *De statu causarum*, B1.3; *De veneno*, B42; *De veritate*, B1.3, *Decretals*, B3b; *Modus confitendi*, B25, B26, B27; *Si scienter* confessional interrogatory, B6, B41, B46, B49
 Robertus de Tumbalena, commentary on Canticles, B24.40
 Rodolphus de Gravia (?): *De infernalibus nequitiis caelistibus*, B24.6; *De remediis contra spirituales tentationes spiritualium nequitiarum et falsorum prophetarum*, B24.6; treatise on evil, B28
 Rome, principal relics of, B24.21
 royal succession, tract on, B24.39
 Rufinus: *Historia monachorum*, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2; trans. of *Sententiae* of Greek philosopher Sixtus, B24.29
 Sabbath, tract on, B24.45
 sacraments: commentary on, B24.43; order for, from Gregorian sacramentary, B43; sermons on, B24.8, B24.39, B30.3; tracts on, B1b.2, B6 (OF), B10, B20, B24.10, B24.13, B24.54, B61; treatise on, B1b.1; verses on, B13. *See also* confession; Eucharist; penance
 saints: lives of, B3b, B24.17, B24.21. *See also* under individual names of saints
Salutaris poeta, B24.49
 Salzburg: constitutional cases of province and synod, B24.58; provincial statutes of, B24.26, B24.65
 Samuel Karoch de Lichtenberg, *Dialogus inter adolescentem et virginem*, B24.46
 scientific texts, B9
Secreta secretorum, B24.7
 Seneca: *De moribus*, B24.61; *De remediis fortuitorum*, B24.54; tragedy, B58
sententiae, B23.1, B50.6; biblical and patristic, B24.29; commonplaces, B17; religious epigrams, B24.49; topically arranged from classical authors, church fathers, and humanists, B58; versified sayings of philosophers, B24.13. *See also* church fathers
 sermons, B1b.2, B3b, B4, B12, B14, B15, B16, B19, B24.5, B24.13, B24.22, B24.23, B24.30, B24.36, B24.38, B24.42, B24.47, B24.50, B30.1, B30.2, B32, B37, B43, B55, B56; for dedication of a church, B24.65; Lenten, B18.2; list of sermon texts for feast days, B3b; list of themes for, B30.2; macaronic, B37; on Annunciation and Crucifixion, B64;

- on buying and selling, B24.39; on Commandments, B24.39; on dissipation, B24.39; on gifts of the Holy Spirit, B24.39; on gospels, B2; on heresy, B24.39; on marriage, B24.39; on monastic life, B50.6, B65; on *Missus est*, B22; on Passion of Christ, B24.4, B24.57; on priesthood, B24.33; on sacraments, B24.8, B24.39, B30.3; on seven criminal vices, B24.39; on seven deadly sins, B24.39; on sins against the Holy Spirit, B24.39; on venial sins, B24.39; on works of mercy, B24.39; penitential, B21.1, sermon notes, B37; tracts on preaching, B24.13, B39, B45; treatise on preaching, B12
- seven deadly sins. *See* vices
- Shepherd of Hermas, *Pastor*, B2
- Silvester de Rebdorf, *Tractatus de passione Domini*, B24.65
- simony, tract on, B1b.2
- Sin and sin types. *See* vices
- Sixtus IV, pope, *De conceptione Mariae*, B24.51
- sleep, tract on, B24.7
- Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, B24.14, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- soul: *Liber de anima*, B24.62; extracts on, B1b.1, treatises on, B48, B50.4; treatise on faculties of, B24.33; treatise on misery of body and soul, B11
- Speculum amatorum mundi*, B50.2
- Speculum ecclesiae*, B24.40
- Speculum humanae salvationis*, B23.1
- Speculum monachorum*, B65
- Speculum peccatorum*, B21.2
- Speculum sacerdotale*, B24.62
- Speculum sacerdotum*, B21.2
- spiritual life: fifteen ways to serve God in, B64; tract on fifteen doubts about, B24.15
- St. Emmeram, Ben. mon. of, administrative materials, B24.24
- St. Maria de Populo in Rome, guidelines for dress in Aug. community (Ital.), B1.4
- St. Patrick's Purgatory*, B2, B18.1, B50.2
- Statua scholarium*, B24.49
- statutes, episcopal, B10. *See also under specific city names*
- Stefano Fieschi da Soncino, *Synonyma* (Lat. and Germ.), B24.39
- Stella clericorum*, B24.8, B24.10, B24.16, B24.42, B30.3, B45
- Stephen Langton, commentary on hymn *Ave maris stella*, B41, B46, B49
- Summa de confessione*, B6
- Summa de paenitentia*, B45
- tales: legenda, B43; tale of sleepy monk, B16
- temptation: tracts on, B12, B24.6, B24.13; tract on refusing advances of women, B12
- Ten Commandments, B3b, B6 (OF), B16 (ME verse), B20, B24.7; meditation on, B50.6; notes on, B24.40; sermon on, B24.39; tracts on, B1b.1, B2, B6 (Lat. and OF), B17, B24.25; treatises on, B24.11, B25, B26, B27; verses on, B13
- Testamentum duodecim patriarcharum*, B24.49
- Theobaldus, *Physiologus*, B24.17
- Theodemar of Monte Cassino, abbot, letter to Charlemagne, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2
- Theodericus de Homborch, *Exercitium*

- pro novellis fratribus ordinis S. Benedicti*, B24.61
- Theodoricus de Monasterio, *De vitio proprietatis ad sanctimoniales conventus sancti Aegidii Monasteriensis*, B24.44
- Theodulus: *Eclogues*, B24.17; with commentaries, B24.49
- theology: commonplaces on, B1b.2; extracts on theological topics, B1b.2, B4; notes on, B1b.2, B24.34 (Lat. and Germ.), B40; questions and answers on theological topics, B38; tract on studying, B24.30; tract on transubstantiation, B2; tract on the Trinity, B24.43
- Thomas à Kempis: *Imitatio Christi*, B24.14, B37, B41, B46, B49, B56; *Ortulus rosarum*, B24.54
- Thomas Aquinas, Saint: *Ars moriendi*, B24.54; *De modo confitendi et puritate conscientiae*, B24.48; *De regimine Iudaeorum ad ducissam Brabantiae*, B24.39; exposition of Hassia's *Symbolum apostolorum*, B24.4; exposition on Lord's Prayer, Creed, Articles of faith, and sacraments, B39; *quaestiones* on confession, B24.37; *quaestiones* on confession and penance with papal and episcopal cases, B61; treatise on Articles of faith and sacraments, B24.24
- Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale*, B24.54
- Thomas de Haselbach, sermons on confession, B24.50
- Thomas de Hibernia, *Manipulus florum*, B17
- Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach, sermons, B24.42
- Tilmanus Dulmaniensis, *De perfectiore institutione novitiorum*, B24.61
- Tractatus distinctionum orationum*, B24.31
- transubstantiation, tract on, B2
- tribulation, tracts on B24.30, B24.7, B42 (Lat. and ME)
- Trinity, tract on, B24.43; ps.-Augustine tract on, B3b
- Trivita studentum*, B24.49
- Tundalus*, B50.2
- Urban V, pope, bull *Ne in vinea*, B24.44
- verse, B3b (Lat. and ME). *See also under specific topics*
- vices: commentary on seven deadly sins, B24.43; list of, B24.39; examination in seven deadly sins, B1.4 (Ital.); tracts on, B2, B3b, B17, B19, B23.2, B32, B52, B61; on gluttony, B24.7; on greed, B24.50; on *luxuria*, B20; on mortal and venial sins, B5; on nocturnal pollution, B24.39; on seven deadly sins, B1.4 (Ital.), B1b.1, B5, B6 (OF), B24.13, B24.39, B64; on signs of folly, B12; on simony, B24.51; on sins against nature, B24.39; on sins that cry out to heaven, B24.19; on turpitude, B24.1; on usury, B24.12, B24.39; on violating virgins, B24.39; *Pauper monachus* treatise on vices, B24.3; sermons on, B24.39; treatises on, B24.11, , B24.31, B28, B58; on remedies against sins, B25, B26, B27; on remedies against temptations, B24.22; on seven deadly sins, B24.31, B25, B26, B27; on usury, B24.11; theological notes and *quaestiones* on motive and consent in sinning, B24.39. *See also* catechism; virtues
- Virgil, eclogues, B24.17

virtues: list of, B24.39; notes on, B24.40, B40; tracts on, B2, B3b, B17, B19, B23.2, B32, B38, B52, B61; on cardinal virtues, B24.13, B24.54; on charity, B65; on cleanness of soul (ME), B51; on continence, B24.54; on good works, B24.43; on humility and prayer, B24.6; on patience, B24.43, B24.7; on virginity, B24.39; treatises, on discipline, B11; on honest life, B11; on humility, B18.2; on justice, B11; on love, B38; on obedience, B11; on patience, B24.22; on perfect virtue and soul's fight against its enemies, B50.2. *See also* catechism; vices

Visio Philiberti, B24.13

Visio Sancti Pauli, B1b.2, B1b.4, B16, B41, B46, B49

vision, of a Cist. nun (ME), B47; of St.

John of the Virgin (ME), B47

Vision of Tundale (ME), B17

visitation of sick; tracts on, B24.12, B45;

treatises on, B25, B26, B27

Vita Christi, B24.21

Vita Iude, B24.49

Vita Pylati, B24.49

Vitalis Blesensis, *Geta*, B24.17

Walter Hilton: letter to Adam Horsley

on becoming a Carthusian, B37;

Mixed Life (ME), B38

Westminster, constitutions of, B1.2

William Durandus, *Speculum judiciale*, B24.26

William Flete, *De remediis contra temptaciones* (ME trans.), B38

William of Montibus, Penitential, B41, B46, B49

William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis*, B8, B24.25, B24.27

William of Remington, meditation, B56

William of Tournai, *Flores Bernardi*, B24.41, B57.1, B57.2

William of Wheatley: commentary on ps.-Boethius *De disciplina scolarium*, B1.3; commentary on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, B1.3

William Peraldus, *Summa virtutum*, B24.6

women, tract on condition of, B24.13

works of mercy: catechism on, B16 (ME verse), B20; commentary on, B24.43; examination in, B1.4 (Ital.); sermon on, B24.39; tract on, B24.13

Wycliffites. *See* heresy.

Index C

French and Anglo-Norman Forms of Confession, 1200–1500

1. Manuscripts

- Avignon
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 344, C24
- Brugge
Stedelijke Bibliotheek
MS 320, C37
- Bruxelles (Brussels)
Bibliothèque Royale
II. 4314, C39
II. 6334, C41
MS 9297-302 (1166), C25
MS 10310-11, C21.1
MS 10389 (813), C40
MS 11133-35, C23.2
- Cambridge
Corpus Christi College
MS 218, C19.2
Fitzwilliam Museum
MS 288, C3
Trinity College
O.2.45, C1
R.14.7, C6.1
University Library
Gg.1.1, C12
- Catania, Italy
Biblioteca Universitaria
Ventimiliana 42, C16
- Cherbourg, France
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 6, C38.1
- Dijon
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 214, C23.3
- Edinburgh
University Library
MS 107 (formerly Laing 50), C11
- Epinal, France
Bibliothèque municipale
MS 59, C27.2
- Hamburg
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
Philol. 296, C20.1
- Lille, France
Musée des Beaux-Arts
MS 7, C29.1
- London
British Library
Add. 15606, C13
Add. 30508, C8
Add. 43472, C22
Add. 44949, C18
Egerton 3277, C20.2
Lambeth Palace Library
MS 499, C5
MS 522, C7.2
MS 523, C35

Metz	nouv. acq. fr. 16428, C36
Bibliothèque municipale	Bibliothèque Sainte-Genviève
MS 600, C32	MS 1302, C30
MS 640, C27.3	
Oxford	Poitiers
Bodleian Library	Bibliothèque municipale
Bodley 9, C26	MS 83, C9
Digby 86, C7.1	Rouen
Fr. f. 1, C10	Bibliothèque municipale
Paris	MS 1375, C15
Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal	Saint-Brieuc, France
MS 265 (III), C4	Bibliothèque municipale
Bibliothèque Nationale	MS 1, C29.2
fr. 939, C28	Tours
fr. 1003, C23.4	Bibliothèque municipale
fr. 1745, C2.1	MS 224, C38.2
fr. 1796, C23.5	Troyes
fr. 1861, C23.6	Bibliothèque municipale
fr. 6276, C6.2	MS 1465, C23.8
fr. 11795, C2.2	MS 1971, C33
fr. 12477, C21.2	Vaticano
fr. 13258, C23.1	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
fr. 24434, C27.4	Regin. lat. 315, C14, C17
fr. 25548, C23.7	Whalley, Lancashire
lat. 1212, C27.5	Stoneyhurst College
lat. 1426A, C27.1	MS 24, C19.1
nouv. acq. fr. 6739, C21.3	
nouv. acq. fr. 10042, C31, C34	

2. Dating of the manuscripts

1248–1300, C1	1272–1322, C6.1
13th cent., C2.1, C3, C4	late 13th–early 14th cent., C6.2, C7.2
1250–1300, C5	late 13th–14th cent., C11
1272–1282, C7.1	1300–1307, C12
ca. 1282, C2.2	beg. 14th cent., C13
late 13th cent., C8, C9	14th cent., C14, C15, C16, C17
ca. 1300, C10	mid-14th cent., C18

ca. 1360, C19.1	C27.3, C27.4, C28, C29.1, C29.2, C30,
1350–1400, C20.1	C31, C32, C33, C34, C35
1356–1373, C20.2	1450–1485, C21.3
late 14th cent., C19.2, C22	1450–1500, C36
1405, C23.1	late 15th–beg. 16th cent., C37
1405–1410, C23.2	1500–1503, C38.1
end 14th–16th cent., C24	beg. 16th cent., C39
1400–1415, C25	16th cent., C38.2, C40
1425–1450, C26	1554, C41
1426–1500, C27.1	1557, C42
15th cent., C21.1, C21.2, C23.3, C23.4, C23.5, C23.6, C23.7, C23.8, C27.2,	

3. Provenance of the manuscripts

Agde, Provençal, dioc. of, C2.1	C8, C11, C12, C18, C19.1, C20.1, C20.2, C26
Anglo-Norman, C1, C5, C6.1, C7.1, C7.2, C8, C11, C12, C18, C20.1, C20.2, C26	France, C2.1, C2.2, C4, C9, C10, C13, C14, C15, C17, C19.2, C21.1, C21.2, C21.3, C22, C23.1, C23.2, C23.3, C23.4, C23.5, C23.6, C23.7, C23.8, C24, C27.1, C27.2, C27.3, C27.4, C27.5, C28, C29.1, C29.2, C30, C31, C32, C33, C34, C36, C38.1, C38.2, C42
Arras, C29.1	Hainaut, C21.2
Avignon, mon. of, C24	Ireland, C35
Belgium, C3, C21.2, C25, C39, C40	Jumièges, C15
Bretagne, dioc. of, C29.2	Liège, C3, C39
Burgundy, C13, C21.1, C21.2	London, C20.2
Canonsleigh, Devonshire, abbey of BVM, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Etheldreda (Aug. nuns), C26	Metz, mon. of, C32
Canterbury, St. Augustine's Abbey (Ben.), C7.2	Montpellier, C2.2
Cerne, Dorset, Ben. abbey of St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Ethelwold, C1	Netherlands, C37
Chartreuse de Champmol, Carth. mon. of, C23.3	Norwich, cath. priory of, C6.1
Clairvaux, C23.8	Paris, C21.1, C23.1, C23.7, C27.4, C27.5
Cyprus, C16	Provençal, C2.2
Dijon, C23.3	Saint-Victor, Paris, Aug. abbey of, C23.7, C27.4
Dublin, C35	
England, C1, C5, C6.1, C6.2, C7.1, C7.2,	

Senones, Ben. abbey of, C27.2
St.-André-des-Arcs, Paris, C27.5
Troyes, dioc. of, C17
Whalley Abbey (Cist.), Hailes,
Gloucestershire, C5

Worcester, dioc. of, C7.1
Yorkshire, C8
Provenance uncertain, C41

4. Scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts

Allen, Thomas, C7.1
Antoine of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant,
C25
Belle (or Bette), Thomas, parish priest at
St. Michan's, C35
Berry, frere Pierre, C30
Bohun, Humphrey, C20.2; Mary de
Bohun, C20.2
Bray, Jehan, C30
Burgundy, member of the royal
household of, C23.2
Caen, Normandy, family from, C38.1
Cay, John, C8
Choppin, Pierre, C30
Grosseteste circle, C5
Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, C19.1
Margaret of Austria, C40
Marguerite de Ghistelles, wife of Pierre

(or René) de Roubais, member of the
household of the Dukes of
Burgundy, C21.3
Marguerite de Valois, Duchess of Savoy,
C42
Marie de Focan, C41
Marie of Hungary, daughter of Philip
III, Duke of Burgundy, and Joanna
"the Mad" of Castile, C23.2
Metz, monks of, C27.3
Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, C40
Philip II, Duke of Savoy, C40
Philip III, Duke of Burgundy, C21.1
Richard de Grimhill II, C7.1
Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris, family
from parish of, C27.1
Underhill family, C7.1
Winterseth, Agnes, C8

5. Incipits of the form of confession

A deu et a ma dame seinte marie et a
touz les seins noustre seignour et a
vous pere esperitel me reng
coupable, C7.1, C7.2

A deu tut puissant e totes choses ueant e
a ma dame seinte marie e a tu3 sein3
e a vos pere espirituel Ieo regehis,
C6.1, C6.2

Beaux sire dieu tut pussant que estes vn
dieu et treis persones et que eites un
soul espersaunce de ma vie et de ma
sauacioun, C26

Benedicite. Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et
a la glorieuse Vierge Marie et a vous,
premierement de tous mes pechiés
generalment, C23.1–C23.8

Douce sire ihesu qestes soul esperance
de ma vie et de ma saluacion voiles
vi ceo iour receiure ma confession,
C18

Et le pecheur ou pecheresse doit
commencer sa confession en ceste
maniere: Sire, qui estes vicaire et
lieutenant de Dieu, C21.1–C21.3

Ge dy ma coulpe à Dieu et à vous, sires
prestres, C28

Hieu fortz peccayre e non digne fau ma
cofessio à dieu nostre senhor et a
madona sancta Maria, C2.1, C2.2

Ie me confesse a dieu et a la uirge marie
et a touz sains et a toutes saintes et a
uous sire peres, C14

Ie me confesse a dieu le pere tout
puissant, a la benoiste vierge marie,
C42

Ie me confesse à Dieu et à la benoiste
vierge Marie, C27.1–C27.5

Ie reiehi3 a nostre seigneur ihesu crist et
a madame sainte marie et a touz
sain3 et a toutes saintes et a vous
sires prestres, C10

Ieo me rend coupable a nostre seignur
ihesu crist e al seint esprit treis
persons e vn dieu en trinite, C12

Il me desplait des offences que j'ay
commis contre la bontet et volenté
de Dieu mon createur et devant
vous, C36

Io me faz confes a deu e a nostre dame
seinte Marie et a tuz seins e a vus
pere ke io par me mauveite ai mut
pecche, C5

Io me reng cupable a deu e a ma dame
seinte marie e a tu3 sain3 e tutes
saintes e a vus pere, C8

Je me faiz confés a Dieu et a Madame
sainte Marie et a tous sainz et a
toutes saintes et a vous sire prestre,
des pechez que je fis des l'ore que je
fui né, C29.1, C29.2

Je me confesse a Dieu et a la Vierge
Marie et a tous sains, C30

Je me confesse a Dieu et a Nostre Dame
et a toute le court de paradis et a
vous, sire prestre, C31

Je me confesse a Dieu et a nostre dame
sainte Marie et a vous qui estes en
lieu de nostre Seignour, C15

Je me confesse a Dieu le Pere tout
puissant, C38.1, C38.2

Je me confesse a Dieu le tout puyssant et
a la benoyte Marie toujours vierge,
C24

Je me confesse a nostre Seignour Jhesu
Crist et a sa benoite sainte mere, ma
dame sainte Marie, virgene gloriouse
royne et dame de misericorde, C16

Je me confesse a vous mon Dieu, mon
pere et mon createur tout pouissant,
C37

Je me confesse à Dieu le Pere tout
puissant, à la benoiste Vierge Marie,
à monseigneur Saint Michel ange et
archange, C22

Je me ran confes a la benoite trinite lou
pere lou fil lou saint esperit, C13

Je me ranz corpable [*sic*] a Dieu, a la
benoste vierge Marie, a tous sainz,
de tous les pechiez que j'ay fait dez
que je vins en vie, C32

Je regehi[s] al tout poissant Deu et a la
bien aourouse Virgine sa mere, C3

Je regehis a Dieu, a ma dame sainte
marie et a tous sains, C25

Je te pri sire tres debonnaire par les
proieres par les resquestes et par les
passions et par les suffrages de touz
les sains anges, C17

Jeo me renc cupable a nostre Seignur
Deu, C11

Jeo me rend cupable a nostre Seigneur
Jhesu Crist et a nostre dame sainte
Marie, C1

O tu peres, filz du saint Esperit, C33

Sire dieu omnipotent tut pussaunt,
donez moy dreite creance . . . ieo
reconuise qe ieo ai este orguillous e
surquiders des biens que uous
m'aeuz preste, C20.1, C20.2

Sire, je di me coupe à Dieu et a me dame
sainte Marie et a tous chiaus sains et
a toutes saintez et a vous, C9

Sire, je me confesse a Dieu et a la Virge
Marie, a monseigneur saint Mickiel,
C34

Sire, je me fais confès à Dieu et à
mademme sainte Marie et à touz
sainz et à toutes saintes, C4

Sire, lieutenant de Dieu, par obeyssance
a Dieu et a nostre mere l'Euglieze, je
vient a confession de mon cueur, C39

Syre Dieu, j'ay pechié ainsy et ainsy
contre vostre bonté et vos
commandemens, si m'en desplait et
m'en repens, C40

Tresdouz Sires Jesus Crist, ceo qe jeo par
l'eide de vous pense cy enapres a
escrire, C19.1, C19.2

Vray Dieu, qui avez creé le cyel et la
terre, a vous mon esprit se
recommende, C41

[Beginning of text missing] . . . ke ie ai
fet pus qe ie naqui de ma mere
encuntre deu e en[cuntre] mun
prosme e encuntre memeimes e de
tuz me peches ubliez ie cri a deu
merci e de vus bele pere ke vous me
asoilez e puse si ditez voster
confiteor, C35

6. Titles and rubrics of the form of confession

- Ayso es la cofessio et en cal manyeyra deu hom cofessar sos peccatz e sos falhimens*, C2.1
- [Beichtformel], C2.1
- [Beichtformeln], C7.2
- Briefve maniere de confession pour jeunes gens*, C23.6
- Briesve maniere de confesser pour jeunes gens*, C23.4
- C'est la confesse*, C30
- C'est la confession general*, C29.2
- Cest confessioun fist seint robert, li euesque de nichole, de set mortels pecchez*, C20.1, C20.2
- Ci fenist la confession des vii pechiez mortieux et des branches qui en issent*, C10
- Ci s'ensuit une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens*, C23.1
- Coment homme se doit confesser de sa ueue*, C6.1
- Confession [sic] abregée pour monstrier et introduire à soy bien confesser [sic]*, C23.5
- Confessio*, C12
- Confessio generalis*, C22
- Confessio peccatorum multum proluxa*, C14
- Confession a Nostre Seigneur*, C40
- Confession bien generale*, C27.4
- Confession generale*, C38.1, C38.2, C42
- Confession generale*, C39
- Cy ensuit une brieve maniere de confession pour jone gens*, C23.3
- Cy s'ensuit une bonne confession*, C27.3
- Ensuit la manière et le principe de se bien confesser*, C27.1
- [Examen de conscience], C30
- [Formulaire de confession], C8
- [*Formule de confession, examen de conscience*], C28
- [*Formule de confession*], C1, C13, C15, C36, C4
- Hec est confessio generalis, quam debet facere quilibet fidelis semel vel bis in anno et maxime in articulo mortis*, C2.2
- Henry Duke of Lancaster, *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, C19.1, C19.2
- Ichi commence une devote oroison en forme de confession a Dieu la createur*, C41
- Ici commence la manere de confesser. Benedicite Dominus. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*, C1
- Jean Gerson, *Une briefve maniere de confession pour jones gens*, C23.1–C23.8
- Jehan Quentin, *Examen de conscience*, C38.1
- Kant on doit faire general confession*, C3
- La Compileison de seinte penance*, C6.1, C6.2
- La confession generale des pechés mortieus, et tout premier d'orguel et des pechés mortieus quy issent de superbe d'orguel*, C16
- La maniere de soy confesser*, C31
- Le Menagier de Paris*, C21.1–C21.3
- Modus confitendi*, C4
- Quant tu te vourras confessier tu diras cette oroison*, C17
- Robert Grosseteste, *Confessioun*, C20.1, C20.2
- S'ensuyt Confiteor et Misereatur, pour soy confesser a Dieu quant on se lieve, ou quant on se couche en pensant pour ses pechés*, C37
- Selon la constitucion nouvelle les oblatz son*

tenus de dire tous les jours L.
patenoutres, C24
[Traduction de confiteor; confiteor
developpé], C9
Une briefve maniere de confesser pour

jeunes gens, C23.8
Une generalité a dire en lieu des pechiés
oublies, C25

7. Authors and titles of works appearing with the form of confession

absolution (*Misereatur*), form of, C20.1,
C20.2. *See also* confession
administration, ecclesiastical, pieces on
electing prelates, admitting novices,
settling disputes (Lat. and ME), C5
Alain Chartier, *Dit de la paix*, fragment
from, C23.7
Alexi, saint, verse life of, C2.1
almanac, for 1503–23, C38.1
articles of the faith, C11; tracts on, C7.1,
C8 (Lat.). *See also* catechism
Assumption de Nostre Dame, attrib.
Hermann Valenciennes, C7.1
astronomy, Lat. treatise on, C1
Augustine, *Soliloquies*, trans. of, C25
Augustinian Rule, C27.4; gloss on,
C27.4; Thomas Benoist's versified
version of, C27.4
Ave Maria, C10, C12, C14, C17, C40. *See*
also Blessed Virgin
Barlaam and Josaphat, history of, C9
Bartholomew of Moiliens, *Miserere* in
verse, C14, C17
Benedictine Rule, twelve degrees of
humility in, C24
Bernard of Clairvaux: meditation, C23.8;
sayings attrib. to, C7.1
Bible: Canticles (with AN trans.), C18;
epitome of Bible history (Lat.), C5;
Matthew, commentary on C5 (Lat.).

See also Psalms
Blessed Virgin: *L'Assumption de Nostre*
Dame attrib. Hermann Valenciennes,
C7.1; fifteen joys of, C38.2, C40; five
joys of, C7.1; Hours of the Virgin,
C202; hymns to, C2.1, C13; lyrics on,
C12; meditation on (Lat. and ME),
C5; miracles of, C12; prayers to, C10;
seven sorrows and seven joys of,
C2.1; seven words of Christ to, C40;
Stabat mater, C40; verse meditations
on and prayers to, C7.2; verses on
(Lat. and ME), C5; prayers to Virgin,
C23.5. *See also* Ave Maria
Book of Hours, C32, C37, C38.2;
associated with Lambert le Bègue in
Use of Liège, C3; in Use of Arras,
C29.1; in Use of Bretagne, C29.2; in
Use of Rome, C38.1; of Marguerite
de Valois, C42; Hours of the
Compassion de Notre Dame and of
St. Catherine, C27.1; Hours of the
Passion, C40; Hours of Virgin, C14,
C17. *See also* devotions; liturgy;
prayers
Brut chronicle (abridged) to Edward I,
C12
Canticles, C20.2, C18 (with AN trans.).
See also Bible
casuistry, tract on, C8

catechism: *Compileison* (treatises on the seven deadly sins, confession, the Commandments, the pains of purgatory, and the religious life), C6.1, C6.2; “le Doctrinal de la foy catholique, fait en françois pour les simples gentz” (a version of the *Doctrinal de sapience* by Guy de Roye), C24. *See also* articles of the faith; confession; sacraments; senses; seven deadly sins; Ten Commandments; vices; virtues; works of mercy

Cato, *Distichs*, C13

charms and prognostications (AN and Lat.), C7.1

Christ: history of the cross (Lat.), C5; hymns to, C13; Lat. verses on Crucifixion, C1; meditation on the Passion, C24, C27.4; seven words of to the Virgin, C40; tract on body of, C12; verse on the Passion, C2.1

chronicle, of England (Lat.), C6.1

Compileison (five treatises on the seven deadly sins, confession, the Commandments, the pains of purgatory, and the religious life), C6.1, C6.2. *See also* catechism

computus, Lat. treatise on, C1

confession: confessional interrogatory (Lat.), C12; *Confiteor*, C20.1, C20.2; form of absolution (*Misereatur*), C20.1, C20.2; general confession and absolution for Easter, C23.7; penitential poem *Peniteas cito*, C11; requirements for true penance, C42; tracts on, C7.1, C8 (Lat.); tracts on preparing for, C23.8; *Sainte doctrine pour briefment et saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, C31, C34; sermons and extracts on, C35; penance, tract on penance, C11; treatise on seventeen points for a good confession, C12. *See also* absolution; catechism; contrition

contrition, tract on, C2.1; tract on attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, C11. *See also* confession

creed, C10, C12, C13 (Lat.), C14, C17, C40; Apostles’ Creed: C6.2, C16; in Lat. with MF trans. and commentary, C6.1; Athanasian Creed: C16; with AN trans., C18; verse exposition of, C27.1.

cross: history of (Lat.), C5; Invention of the True Cross from *Legenda Aurea*, C11; verses on (Lat.), C1

customary, of Montpellier, C2.2

Dame Sirith (ME), C7.1

death, meditation on, C27.4

Denys of Paris, saint, life of, C13

devotions, C7.1, C23.5; instruction in, C24. *See also* Book of Hours; prayers

dreams: tract on, C12; tracts on interpretation of, C7.1, C12

Easter, calculations for dates for (Lat. and ME), C11

Edward VI, king of England, account of coronation of, C35

Eucharist, quaestio on, C4. *See also* sacraments

Eustace, saint, life of (ME), C7.1

exempla, C5 (Lat. and ME)

fables, C7.1

five senses, C42

Fox and Wolf (ME), C7.1

- Geoffroi de Beaulieu, advice of King Louis IX of France to his son (Lat.), C19.2
- Giordano Ruffo, *Traité d'hippiatrique*, C16
- Gospel of Nicodemus*, C7.2
- Grammar (Lat.), C27.3
- Guischart de Beaulieu, *Le sermon du siècle*, C7.1
- heaven: thirty steps to paradise, C27.4; tract on joys of, C12;
- hell: complaint of a sinner facing death and damnation, C25; ten pains of hell, C2.1; tracts on fifteen signs of Doomsday, C2.1, C7.1, C12, C24; tract on Judgment Day, C13; tract on pains of hell, C23.6; tracts in prose and verse on Judgment and pains of hell, C31, C34; verse on harrowing of hell (ME), C7.1
- Holy Spirit: gifts of, C42; thirty rules for living by the Spirit of God, C24
- Hugo de Folieto, *De claustro animae* book 2, C11
- hunting, tract on hunting birds, C7.1
- hymns: *Veni Creator Spiritus*, C7.1, C40
- illuminations, C12
- indulgences, C40; of Urban IV, C23.7
- Innocent III, *De contemptu mundi*, C11
- Jacques le Grand, treatise on vices and virtues, C27.4
- Jean de Cornouailles, *Eulogium*, C4
- Jean de Meun, *Codicil*, C31, C34
- Jean de Venette, *Histoire des trois Maries*, C27.4
- Jean Gerson: *A.B.C. des simples gens*, C23.6, C23.8; benedictions, C23.1; *Examen de conscience*, C23.6, C23.8; excommunications, C23.1; *Le jardin amoureux de l'ame dévote*, C23.7; letter, C23.1; *Livre des diverses temptacions de l'ennemi*, C23.2; *Livre des dix commandemens*, C23.1, C23.2, C23.3, C23.4, C23.6, C23.7, C23.8; *Livre qui enseigne qui est pechié mortel ou veniel*, C23.2; meditation on death, C23.3, C23.8; *La mendicité spirituelle*, C23.4; pastoral formulas for various occasions, C23.1; prayers (Lat. and MF), C23.1; *Science de bien mourir*, C23.4, C23.6, C23.8; sermon on death, C23.2; *Tenor fidei*, C32; tracts, on contemplative life, C23.3, C23.4, C23.8; on creed, C23.6; on mortal and venial sins, C23.3, C23.4, C23.6, C23.8; on remedies against blasphemy, C23.6; on temptations, C23.3, C23.4, C23.6, C23.8
- John the Baptist, history of, C9
- Judgment. *See* hell
- Laurent d'Orleans, *Somme des vices et vertus* (or *Somme le roi*), C2.1, C28
- Letter of Prester John*, C7.1
- Letters of Hippocrates*, C7.1
- letters, official, C5 (Lat. and ME)
- liturgy: calendar, C2.1, C7.1, C13, C18 (Lat.), C26 (Lat.), C35, C38.2; calendar of saints' days, C13; *Confiteor*, C20.1, C20.2; directions for calculating movable feasts, C7.1; Eucharist, quaestio on, C4; Gloria (Lat.), C13; Lat. *rituale* according in Use of St.-André-des-Arcs, Paris, including rites of baptism, marriage, benedictions, visitation of sick, prayers, calendar, C27.5; list of sermon texts for feast days (Lat.), C5;

Lord's Prayer: C12, C16, C40, C5 (Lat.); in prose and verse, C10; commentary on, C6.1, C6.2; exposition of, C9, C12; meditation on, C11; tract on (Lat.), C8; Litany, C26; Litany of saints (Lat.), C14, C17; Nunc dimittis, C16; order for prayer for each day of the week, C24; poem on the Mass, C18; sacramentary, for dioc. of Châlons-sur-Marne, C22; Te Deum, C26; tract on the Mass, C12; treatise on calendar (Lat.), C1. *See also* Book of Hours; prayers *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, C19.2 *Livre du trésor de sapience, Le*, C23.5 Lord's Prayer, C12, C16, C40, C5 (Lat.); in prose and verse, C10; commentary on, C6.1, C6.2; exposition of, C9, C12; meditation on, C11; tract on (Lat.), C8. *See also* liturgy; prayers *Lucidaire*, C23.7
Manuel des pechez, C12
 marriage: tract on consanguinity, C8; tract on matrimony, C8. *See also* sacraments
 Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae*, C11
 Mary. *See* Blessed Virgin
 mathematics, treatise on (Lat.), C1
 Maurice de Sully: paraphrase of Lord's Prayer, C16; sermons, C9
 medicine: tract on reception of medicine, C12; treatise on, C27.1; treatise on humors, C26
Menagier de Paris, Le, C21.3
 miracles, tales of, C5 (Lat. and ME), C11
Miroir de pecheurs, C24, C25
 Nicholas, saint, miracles of, C7.1

Nicole Oresme, sermon (Lat.), C27.1
 paradise. *See* heaven
 Peter Langtoft, chronicle, C12
 Petrarch, tale of Griselda from the *Familiar Letters*, C27.4
 Petrus Alphonsus, *Disciplina clericalis*, trans. of, C7.1
 physiognomy: tract on, C12; treatise on (Lat.), C1
 Pierre d'Ailly: ballade, C24; *Le Jardin amoureux de l'ame devote*, C24; prayer, C24
 pilgrimage, by Franciscans Johan Arnaut and Antoyne, account of, C24
 poems: C1 (some in ME), C5 (Lat. and ME); goliardic by Walter Map, C1; on advice, C26; on clerics, monks, and magistrates (Lat.), C1; on complexions, C35; on the cross (Lat.), C1; on the Crucifixion (Lat.), C1; on death, Passion, the world, fifteen signs of Doomsday, the two advents, name of Jesus, sin and repentance, C7.2; on education and death, C26; on enigmatic, proverbial, and satiric topics, C1; on harrowing of hell (ME), C7.1; on the Mass, C18; on monastic abuses, C11; on the Passion, C2.1; on vices and temptations, C13; on Virgin (Lat. and ME), C5; *lais*, C7.1; metrical homilies, C12; penitential poem *Peniteas cito*, C11; religious and other lyrics, C7.1, C12, C13; verse exposition of Athanasian Creed, C27.1; verse life of St. Alexi, C2.1; verse meditations and prayers to Virgin, C7.2, C23.5; verse prayers (Lat. and ME), C1;

- verse tracts on vices and temptations, C13; versified penitential psalms, C12, C13; versified proverbs (ME), C12; versified Psalm 108, C2.1
- prayers: C1, C7.1 (AN and Lat.), C7.2, C18, C23.4, C26, C27.1, (MF and Lat.), C27.4, C29.2, C32, C33, C38.2, C40 (Lat. and MF), C41, C42 (Lat. and MF); book of for Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, C36; for various occasions, C14, C17; to Virgin, C10; order for prayer for each day of the week, C24; verse prayers to Virgin, C23.5. *See also* Lord's Prayer
- priests: *Sainte doctrine pour briefment et saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, C31, C34
- prognostications, C12
- Proverbs of Salomon*, C16, C27.1
- proverbs, C1, C7.1, C12
- Psalms: C7.1, C15, C18; Bohun psalter, C20.2; gradual, C7.1; Penitential Psalms, C7.1, C14, C17, C20.2; Penitential Psalms in verse, C13; Psalm 108 in verse, C2.1; psalter of Jerome (Lat. and AN), C26; verse Penitential Psalms, C12; exposition of Penitential Psalms and *Miserere mei Deus*, C27.4
- recipes, C7.1; culinary, C21.3
- Richard Rolle, *Form of Living*, C11
- Robert Grosseteste: *Chateau d'amour*, C7.2; *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata* (Lat.), C5; *De oculo morali* and *De veneno* (Lat.), C35; decretals (Lat. and ME), C5; excerpt from *Chateau d'amour* on Four Daughters of God, C7.1; *Si scienter* confessional interrogatory (Lat.), C11
- romances, C7.1, C12
- sacraments, C11, C42; sacramentary, for dioc. of Châlons-sur-Marne, C22; tracts on, C7.1, C8 (Lat.), C12. *See also* catechism; confession; marriage
- Sainte doctrine pour briefment et saintement enseigner les simples gens à bien vivre et à bien confesser*, C31, C34
- saints: lives of, C5 (Lat.), C15 (Lat.), C29.2; martyrdoms, short accounts of, C11. *See also* individual names of saints
- satires, C1
- sermons: C5 (Lat. and ME), C28; on confession, C35; on death, C23.2; list of sermon texts for feast days (Lat.), C5; metrical homilies, C12
- seven deadly sins, C11; tract on, C7.1; tract on and virtues opposed to sins, C42. *See also* catechism; vices
- songs, C7.1
- soul: *La création de l'ame*, C25; tract on three states of, C28; verse disputation between body and, C24
- Speculum Christianorum*, C23.7
- Stabat mater*, C40. *See also* Blessed Virgin stories, C1
- Summa de confessione*, C11
- tale, of a deceased man's appearance before his wife, C23.8
- Ten Commandments, C5 (Lat.), C10, C11 (Lat. and MF), C11; exposition of, C7.2; tracts on, C7.1, C8 (Lat.). *See also* catechism; virtues

theology: notes and extracts on
theological topics (Lat.), C5; patristic
excerpts, C12; questions on the
Catholic faith attrib. Aquinas, C16;
tract on state of man, C12

Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, C7.1

Thomas Benoist, versified Augustinian
Rule, C27.4

The Thrush and the Nightingale (ME), C7.1

tribulation, tracts on, C24, C35 (MF and
ME)

Veni Creator Spiritus, C7.1, C40

vices: *Manuel des pechez*, C12; *Miroir de
pecheurs*, C24, C25; tract on moral
and canonical offences, C8; tract on
perjury, C12; tract on seven deadly
sins and virtues opposed to them,
C42; tracts on vices and virtues, C5
(Lat.), C8; treatise on deadly sins,
C10; verse and prose tracts on vices
and temptations, C13; verses on
monastic abuses, C11. *See also*
catechism

Victor of Marseilles, saint, life of, C23.7

virtues: catechistic lists of virtues, C42;
moral and courtly instruction, C7.1;
tract on patience, C24; tract on seven
deadly sins and virtues opposed to
them, C42; tract on vices and virtues,
C5 (Lat.); treatise on cardinal virtues
attrib. Seneca, C23.7; treatise on
conduct of life (ME), C26; treatise on
wisdom, C25. *See also* catechism

Vision of St. Paul, C13, C16, C7.1

William of Auvergne, exposition on
penance, C27.4

William the Conqueror, verse romance
of, C13

works of mercy, C42. *See also* catechism;
virtues

Index D

Middle English Forms of Confession, 1375–1500

1. Manuscripts

- Bristol
Public Library
MS 6, D2.7
MS 14, D32
- Cambridge
Corpus Christi College
MS 142, D30
Emmanuel College
MS 229, D62
Gonville and Caius College
MS 803/807, D35
Magdalene College
MS 13 (F.4.13), D58
Pepys 2125, D9
St. John's College
MS 102, D4
Trinity College
O.1.74, D33, D34
University Library
Add. 2829, D50
Add. 3042, D48
Ee.1.18, D13.2
Hh.1.12, D1.5
Ii.1.2, D5.4, D6.3¶
- Durham
University Library
Cosin V.iv.2, D40
- Edinburgh
National Library of Scotland
Acc. 4233 (Asloan MS), D57
- Exeter
Cathedral Library
Fragment FMS 5, D5.5, D6.4
- Leeds University
Brotherton Library
MS 501, D25
- Lincoln
Cathedral Chapter Library
MS 210, D13.1
- London
British Library
Add. 22283, D2.2
Add. 37075, D49
Add. 37787, D2.1
Add. 60577, D43
Cotton Caligula A.ii, D36
Cotton Nero A.iii, D47
Harley 172, D46
Harley 494, D51
Harley 1288, D28
Harley 1706, D1.8, D2.6
Harley 2383, D13.3, D38
Harley 2391, D22, D23
Harley 4012, D5.6, D6.5
Harley 4172, D14.4

Harley 6041, D17	Eng. th. c.57, D37.2
Harley 7578, D45	Eng. th. e.181, D12
Royal 18.A.x, D11, D15	Laud Misc. 99, D37.3
Sloane 774, D5.3, D6.2, D19	Laud Misc. 210, D14.2
Sloane 1584, D59, D60, D61	Rawlinson C.699, D1.3, D7.1
Lambeth Palace Library	Tanner 201, D44
MS 541, D1.6	Jesus College
MS 559, D18	MS 39, D37.1
National Archives (formerly Public Record Office)	Queen's College
E.101/185/1, D8	MS 210, D1.7
Society of Antiquaries	St. John's College
MS 687, D3.1	MS 94, D10
Oslo	MS 195, D39
Schøyen Collection	Trinity College
Schøyen 1371, D31	E.86, D53, D54, D55, D56
Oxford	Paris
Bodleian Library	Bibliothèque Nationale
Ashmole 59, D26	fonds anglais 41, D1.1
Ashmole 1286, D14.1	Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève
Ashmole 1288, D1.2	MS 3390, D16
Bodley 131, D27	Warwickshire
Bodley 596, D2.4	Coughton Court
Bodley 789, D7.2	Throckmorton MS, D5.7, D6.6
Bodley 923, D5.1, D6.1	York
Douce 60, D3.2	York Minster Chapter Library
Douce 322, D1.4, D2.5	Add. 2, D24
Eng. poet. a.1, D2.3	

2. Dating of the manuscripts

later 14th cent., D1.1	late 14th–early 15th cent., D9
ca. 1388, D2.1	ca. 1415, D2.4
ca. 1400, D3.1, D4	ca. 1420, D10
1375–1400, D1.2	1400–1425, D5.2, D11, D12, D13.1, D14.1,
late 14th cent., D5.1, D6.1	D14.2, D15, D16
1380–1400, D2.2, D2.3	ca. 1425, D17
beg. 15th cent., D1.3, D7.1	1422–1450, D14.3
1409–1412, D8	1400–1450, D1.4, D2.5, D5.3, D6.2, D7.2,

D18, D19, D20, D21, D22, D23
ca. 1450, D1.5, D1.6, D13.2, D24, D25,
D26, D27
mid-15th cent., D1.7, D3.2, D28, D29
15th cent., D5.4, D5.5, D6.3, D6.4, D30,
D31, D32, D33, D34, D35
1446–1460, D36
ca. 1460, D5.6, D6.5
1453–1464, D37.1, D37.2
after 1470, D37.3
1450–1475, D5.7, D6.6, D13.3, D38, D39
1477, D40
1470–1480, D41, D42

ca. 1487, D43
1450–1500, D1.8, D44, D45
1475–1500, D2.6, D14.4, D46, D47, D48,
D49, D50
ca. 1500, D51, D52
1502, D2.7
ca. 1506, D53, D54
1506–1510, D55, D56
ca. 1515, D57
1518, D58
1475–ca. 1531, D59, D60, D61
16th cent., D62

3. Provenance of the manuscripts

Anglo-Irish, D14.3
Augustinians, D48
Barking, Essex, Ben. abbey (nuns) of St.
Mary and St. Ethelburga, D1.8, D2.6,
D5.1, D6.1, D51
Bedfordshire, D17
Benedictines, D1.8, D2.6, D4, D5.1, D6.1,
D13.1, D17, D46
Berkshire, D1.4, D2.5
Bordesley, Worcestershire, Cist. abbey
of St. Mary, D2.1
Bridgettines, D41, D42
Bristol, hospital of St. Mark, D2.7
Buckinghamshire, D3.2
Cambridgeshire, D14.2
Canterbury, Christ's Church, D17; St.
Augustine's Abbey, D17
Carthusians, D41, D42, D47
Cistercians, D2.1, D2.3
Coverham, Yorkshire, Prem. abbey of
Blessed Virgin, D59, D60, D61
Dartford, Kent, Dom. priory of Blessed
Virgin and St. Margaret, D1.4, D2.5

Devonshire, D18
Dominicans, D1.4, D2.5
Dorset, D31; Longbriddy Church, D31
Edinburgh, D57
England, D1.1–D1.8, D2.1–D2.7, D3.1,
D3.2, D4, D5.1–D5.7, D6.1–D6.6,
D7.1, D7.2, D8, D9, D10, D11, D12,
D13.1–D13.3, D14.1–D14.4, D15, D16,
D17, D18, D19, D20, D21, D22, D23,
D24, D25, D26, D27, D28, D29, D30,
D31, D32, D33, D34, D35, D36,
D37.1–D37.3, D38, D39, D40, D41,
D42, D43, D44, D45, D46, D47, D48,
D49, D50, D51, D52, D53, D54, D55,
D56, D58, D59, D60, D61, D62
Essex, D1.8, D2.6, D5.1, D6.1, D51
Garter, D1.4, D2.5
Gloucestershire, D2.7, D9
Hampshire, D43
Herefordshire, D3.2, D10, D44
Hertfordshire, D1.4, D1.5, D2.4, D2.5
Huntingdonshire, D48
Ireland, D5.2

Kent, D1.4, D2.5, D17
 Lincolnshire, D3.1, D14.2, D22, D23,
 D25, D28, D48; archives of Lord of
 Healing, D3.1
 London, D1.5, D2.4, D2.5, D8, D33, D34,
 D37.1, D37.3, D41, D42, D43, D49,
 D51, D52, D58
 Merevale, Warwickshire, Cist. abbey of,
 D2.3
 Midlands: east, D1.1, D5.1, D6.1;
 southeast, D5.4, D6.3, D36, D37.1;
 southwest, D29; west, D9
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, church of St.
 Nicholas, D10
 Norfolk, D20, D21
 Norroy, D1.4, D2.5
 North Mimms, Hertfordshire, D1.4
 Northamptonshire, D1.8, D2.6, D3.2,
 D14.1
 northern England, D62
 Northumberland, D10
 Nottinghamshire, D22, D23
 Oxford, D37.3
 Oxfordshire, D37.3
 Payneswyk, Gloucestershire, D9
 Pembrokeshire, D37.1
 Pencoyd, Hereford, D3.2
 Perthshire, Scotland, D16
 Premonstratensians, D59, D60, D61
 Putney, D37.3
 Scarborough, D27
 Scotland, D16, D57
 Sheen, Richmond, Carth. priory of, D41,
 D42
 Shropshire, D2.2, D10
 St. Anthony's grammar school, London,
 D49
 St. Omer, Bedfordshire, D17
 Staffordshire, D2.2
 Stoke-by-Hartland, Devonshire, D18
 Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, Cist. abbey
 of, D2.3
 Suffolk, D3.1
 Syon Abbey, Bridgettine order, D37.1,
 D41, D42, D51, D58
 Warwickshire, D2.3, D14.2, D16, D53,
 D54, D55, D56
 Westminster Abbey, D2.4
 Westmorland, D40
 Winchester, Ben. priory of St. Swithun's,
 D43, D46
 Worcestershire, D2.1, D2.2, D2.3, D14.2
 York, D13.1, D24, D27; Ben. abbey of St.
 Mary, D4, D13.1
 Yorkshire, D4, D13.1, D22, D23, D24,
 D27, D47, D59, D60, D61
 Youghal, Cork, D5.2

4. Scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts

Abernethy, Alexander, fourth Lord
 Saltoun, D16
 Asloan, John, D57
 Augustinian canonesses, D48
 Barker, Christopher, of Norroy, D1.4,
 D2.5
 Baron, William, of Berkshire, D1.4, D2.5
 Beaumont, Elizabeth (wife of William
 Beaumont and later John Vere, Earl
 of Oxford), D1.8, D2.6
 Bolton, John, merchant, alderman,
 mercator, and mayor of York, D24
 Brande, William, canon of York and
 archdeacon of Cleveland, D13.1

Brown, W., D37.2
 Browne, William, D26
 Bulkeley, Lady Anne (abbess of Syon or Barking?), D51
 Davenport, George, D40
 Drurye, William, D33, D34
 Edmundson, Robert, D13.1
 Forest, Edmond, D5.2
 Forrest, James, of Youghal, Cork, D5.2
 Franciscan order, tertiary of, D1.7
 Fylloll, Jaspar, Dom. probably at Syon mon., D58
 Garet, David, D26
 Goldwell family, D14.3
 Grene family, D5.3, D6.2, D19
 Griffith, Matthew, D37.3
 Grine, Hugh, D48
 Gysborn, John, canon of Prem. abbey of Blessed Virgin, Coverham, Yorkshire, D59, D60, D61
 Hall, William, D20, D21
 Hill, Roger, D28
 Holyngborne, William, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, D17
 Hoo, Sir William (officer of Richard II), D17
 Horden, Alexander, of Putney (married to Dorothe Brooke), D37.3
 Horne, Richard, D44
 Knollys, Thomas, of Mimms, Hertfordshire, D1.4, D2.5
 Lacy, John, Dom. anchorite at church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, D10
 Laud, William, Archbishop, D14.2, D37.3
 London scribe, who also wrote anthologies of works by Chaucer and Lydgate, D2.5
 Lonson, Thomas, D37.2
 Marowe, Edward, of Warwickshire, D53, D54, D55, D56
 Mary, Benson, D5.2
 Morton, John, D27
 Norgate, Henry, D5.4, D6.3
 Norgate, Thomas, D5.4, D6.3
 Northwood, John, Cist. monk of St. Mary's Abbey, Bordesley, D2.1
 Olyphaunt, Thomas, D40
 parish priest, near Welsh border, D3.2
 Pell, Thomas, D25
 Percy, Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, D29
 Perrot, James, of Pembrokeshire, D37.1
 Peyto, Edward, D2.1
 Peyto, William, Cardinal, D2.1
 Robinson, John, D44
 Rudall, John, wife of, D2.1
 Ruddok, Isabel, D32
 Rutherford, John, D45
 Sancroft, William, Archbishop, D44
 Sheldrake, George, D25
 Shirley, John, D26
 Sibille de Felton, abbess of Ben. abbey of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga, D5.1, D6.1
 Slyght, Dorothe, of St. Albans, nun of Syon Abbey, D37.1
 Smith, Edmund, D7.2
 St. Anthony's grammar school, London, student of, D49
 St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, monk of, D17
 St. Swithun's, monk of Ben. priory of, D43
 Stonysdale, Roger, D10
 Stow, John, D46
 Streynsham, D14.2
 Tempest, John, D40
 Throckmorton, Goody, D2.1; Thomas,

D2.1
Throckmorton Peyto, Goditha, D2.1
Thynne, Sir John, D14.3
Towneley, Richard, D41, D42
Walker, William, D45
Wall, Thomas, of Garter, D1.4, D2.5

Wanley, Humphrey, D45
Willescott, Susanna, D2.1
Withipoll, Anne, D52
Wrattisley, Pernelle, D1.4, D2.5
York, priest from, D13.1

5. Incipits of the form of confession

A lord god almiȝti ihesu blessid
mote thu be thu madest me thu
boughtist me thi suffrance is ful
gret in me for thu woldest neur
take vengeaunce on me for all the
gret vnkyndenis that I haue doon
to the ou[r] lord thou hast isauid
me and kepte me and shewid me,
D18

Alle þat salle be howslylytt at þis
messe knele downe on ȝour
kneys & says after me Benedicite.
Respondo Dominus. In nomine
patris [etc.]. I wrychyd & synfulle
c[r]eat[ur]e makes aknawlage to
god almyghty to hys moder Mary
& to alle þe glorius company of
heven & to þe fadere þat has cure
of my salle D40

Benedicite. Dominus Christe Audi
nos. In nomine patris et filii etc.
Confiteor deo celi et beate marie
et omnibus sanctis etc. I make
aknawlege to god allmyghty and
to owr lady saynt mary and to all
sayntys off hevyne and to you
prest my gostly ffather, D59

Benedicite. Dominus. I knawe me
gilty to god almyghty and to oure
lady sant mary and to alle þe
fayre felyshype of heuen and to
þe my gastly fadyr [in] god[es]
stede, D24

Benedicite. Dominus. I knowleche to
god of heuene and to oure lady
seynt mary and to all the holy
company of heuene and to the
gostely fader that I synfull
wrecche haue synned, D53

Benedicite. dominus. I synful
creature knowleche me gilty and
synfyl and schriue me with all
my herte and mouthe to almyȝty
god and to my ladi ladi [sic] seynt
marie and to all þe holy cumpany
of heven and to my gostly fadir
of my synnys and trespasses
bothe dedly and venially, D44

Benedicite et cetera. I knoweleche to
almiȝty god and to his blissful
moder marie and all þe
companye of heuen and to ȝow
goostly fadire þat greuously I
haue offendid my god in manye

spices of alle þe seuen dedely
synnes siþen my last confessioun
be þoʒt speche and dede, D6.1–
D6.6

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to
alle myʒty . . . and to hys blessed
modyr . . . and to alle þe
compeny of heuyn and to . . .
fader þat sythe my laste
confessyon, D45

Benedicite et cetera. I knowleche to
almighti god and to his blisful
moder marie and to all the
companye of heuen and to ʒow
goostly fader, D5.1–D5.7

Benedycyte et cetera. I knowleche to
almyghty god and to hys modur
and to alle the companye of
heuene and to ʒow goostly fadyr
that greuowsly I haue offendyd
god, D19

Benedicite. I knowleche to our lord
almyʒty god ihesu to our lady
seynt marye to alle the blessyd
cumpeny of hevene and to þe my
gostly fader þat I have wickidly
and vnkyndely synned, D30

Benedicite pater Christie etc.
Confiteor deo et b[eate] Marie
etc. . . . maxima culpa. I a very
synner knalegyth mysel[f]
culpable and gylty unto my lord
god my maker, D62

Confiteor deo beate marie omnibus
sanctis et vobis. I knowleg to

almighti god to oure blessid lady
seynt Marye to alle the holy
seyntes of heuen and to yow my
gostly father in goddis stede þat I
haue offended my lord god
greuosly sen I was last
confesside, D51

Confiteor deo beate marie omnibus
sanctis et vobis peccauim in
cogitacione locucionem et opere
mea culpa. I am aknowe to god
and to oure lady seynt marye and
to all the seyntys of heuyn and
onto yow my gostly fadyr þat y
haue sennyd and trespasyd aʒens
god and oure lady, D25

[C]onfiteor deo celi beate marie beate
benedicto et omnibus sanctis eius
et vobis peccauim in corde
cogitacione locucio ne omissione
et opere mea culpa, precor
beatissimam virginem mariam et
omnes sanctos dei et vos orare
pro me. [I] wreche knowleche
myselfe gyltye to almyghty god
and to hys blessyde moder oure
ladye Seynt Marye and to alle the
holy companye of hevene and to
yowe my goostly fadere here
beynge in goddys stede, D43

[C]onfiteor deo celi et beate marie
beato benedicto et omnibus
sanctis eius et vobis et cetera. [I]
knowlege me gilty vnto god and
to oure lady seynt Marye. To
seynt Benett Seynt Byrynus and
to seynt Swythune, and to all the

- holy company of heuene and to
you my gostly fader here beyng
in goddys stede, D46
- Confiteor deo et cetera cogitacione
locucionem opere et omissione.
Specyally I haske god mercy that
I haue not kepytt his
commaundmentis and þe
councellis of þe gospell, D47
- Fyrst I knowledge myself gylty, D52
- God fadir almyȝti þat art oo god in
þre persones . . . y be knowe to þe
lord þat y haue fowliche synned
azens þi wille, D11
- Good lorde that knowest alle thyng
whom I offende fro day to day
thy swete mercy ȝette on me
spryng. And my defautes to
knowe alle way to thi mercy be I
meke ay in fulle hope to haue it
with alle my mende thus I the
praye to thyne oune love make
thu me knyht, D48
- Good men and women y charge yow
by the auctoryte of holy churche,
D38
- I am aknowe þat I haue synne with
herte mouwthe & dede, D20
- I am ak[n]awe to god and to oure
lady saynt mary and to alle þe
holy cumpany of heuene and to
þe fadyr in godes stede þat I
wreche haue synned in alle the
vii dedly generaly, D28
- I am aknowe to god and to our lady
seynt mary and to alle þe blyssyd
company of heuen þat I haue
synnd in kepyng of þe x
commaundmentis, D26
- I am aknowe to god almyȝti ant to
our ladi seynt marie ant to al þe
holi cumpanye in heuene ant
ȝow fadir al my synnys and al
my trespassys, D12
- I am aknowe to god and to owre
lady sant mary and to all the holy
company off hevyne and to youe
prest my gostly fader att this
tyme þat I haue synnyd in the vii
dedly synnys and all the branchis
þat sprenges off them, D60
- I am aknowe to god þat I haue
synned in brekyng of þe .x.
commaundmentes, D13.1–D13.3
- I am aknowyn to almyghty god and
to Seint Mary his blyssyd modre,
welle of mercy, and to alle godd
and holy; to the, fadir, under got,
I, wrecchid sinfulle creature, was
broute into these wer[l]de with
synne dan vycyously, D21
- I be knowe to god and to our lady
seynt Marie and to alle þe seyntes
in heuene and to þe gostleche
fader þat I synful creature þat
was getyn and beryn in synne,
D3.1, D3.2
- I crye god mercy And oure Lady
seynt Marye, And alle þe holy

company of heuen, of alle þat
euer I haue synned and trespassed
fro þat tyme þat I was born into
þis oure and in specyalle fro þe
tyme þat y was last confeste into
þis oure y zelde me gyltye, D36

I haue not disposyd me afore þe
sacrament of confessioun to
contricion ne to serche my synnes
nor beyn playn in tellyng of my
synnes wyth their
circumstaunce, D55

I haue not loved god aboue all thyng
I haue not dred hym ne
worshiped hym, D39

I knawe me to god and to our lady
saynt Marie and to alle þe
blyssed felaghship of heuen and
to þe my gostly fadir þat I haue
lyfed vnwyttely and wrangwisly,
D27

I knolege me to god and to oure lady
sai[nt] marie and to alle holy
cumpany of heuene and to þou
my gostly fadyr þat I syner haue
synnyd, D49

I knowlech to god and to 3ou my
goostly fadir þat y greuously
haue synned not keping þe
obseruaunce of releyoun as I
haue be tau3t, D33

I knowlech to god to oure lady seynt
marye to all þe seyntes yn heuyn
and to you my gostly fadir here
beynge yn goddys stede þat I

synfull wrecche haue synnyd full
moche and many tymes, D41

I knowleche me gulti. And yelde me
to god almyhti. and to his blessed
moder Marie. and to al þe
cumpany of heuen. and to þe my
gostly fader here in godes stude,
D2.1–D2.7

I knowleche me to god and 3eelde
me gulty to hym þat is almy3tti
and to hooly church and to þee
goostely fadir vndir god þat I
often siþes syþen I was cristened
and specialli siþen I was
schriuen, D14.1–D14.4

I knowleche me to god and to oure
lady and to alle seinttes and to þe
fader þat I haf synned in many
þinges, D10

I knowleche to almighty god and to
his modre and to alle þe
company of heuene and to you
goostly fadre þat greuously I
haue offended god fro þat tyme
þat I wis bore in to þis houre in
alle þe vii dedely synnes and in
many spices of hem, D37.1–D37.3

I knowleche to almy3ti god and to
owre blessed lady seynte Marie
and to al the holy companye of
heuene and to 3owe my gostly
fader that wilfulliche and
wityngliche priueliche and
apertliche ych haue ysynned and
trespassed my god, D9

I knowleche to god and to oure lady
Marie and to alle þe seyntes of
heuene þat ofte tymes sithen y
was cristenede and specialy
sithen y was laste yschryue y
haue falle into dedli synne, D15

I knowleche to þee þou hiȝ increate
and euerlastinge trinyte þat is to
seie almyȝti god þe fadir almyȝti
god þe sone almyȝti god þe holi
goost, D1.1–D1.8

I knowledge to god almyȝti and to
his blessid modir marie and to
alle his seyntis þat I synful
wrecche haue ofte and greuoussli
synned azens his wille, D7.1,
D7.2

I k[n]owlege me gylty onto almyti
god and to owre lady sent mari
and to all þe haly campani of
heuine and to þe my goostely
fadir þat sythe my last
confessyon I haue offendid my
gud greuoussly, D31

I knowlege to god to hys blyssed
moder and to alle þe courte of
heven and to yow my gostely
fadir þat I wrecchyd synner haue
offendyd my lorde, D56

I knowlich me to my lord ihesu cryst
and to his blessid moder oure
ladi seynt marie and to all his
seyntis and to the prest my gostly
fadir of all thatt ych haue
trespassed, D29

I knowliche me gylty to god almyȝty
and to oure lady synt mary and
to all, D32

I schryue me and knawes me
culpabyll to god alle myghty
and to oure Lady seynt mary to
seynt Petre and seynt Paule to
seynt Benet oure holy fadyr and
to alle þe fayre felyschyp of
heuen and to yow gastely fadyr
vndyr godde of alle my synnes
þat is to saye etc., D4

I synful creature knowleche and
schryue me to god þat is fader
and sone and holi gost þre
persones and o god in trinite and
to oure ladi seynt marie and to al
þe cumpeny in heuene and to þe
gostli fader beyng in goddes
stede, D16

I synful wrecche accuse me to þe
mercy of god. And knowleche
here to god and to ȝou þat from
þat tyme þat y was borne in to
þis tyme greuoussly y haue
synned, D34

I Synfull creature knowlege my selfe
to god allmyȝtty And to his
blissid modire mary and to all þe
holy sayntis þat be in þe blis of
hevyn and to þe my gostly fadir
in goddis sted, D50

I Synfull persone humilie confessis
and schryvis me to god almychti
my fadir makere ransomere and
saluatoure and to his glorius

moder þe vergin marie and þe
haly court of hevyn prayand
þaim humilie to mak prayere and
Intercessioun for me and ask
forgevenes of my synnis at
almychti god and to ʒow
spirituale fader in erd goddis
stede, D57

I ʒelde me coupable to god and to
his modir seynt marie and to alle
haliken. And to þe fadir, þat I am
synful in synne begeten In synne
born and in synne haþe lad my lif
siþe þe tyme þat I coude synne,
D17

In the name off the father and The
sone and the holy gost thre
persons and one god in trinite
etc. All ye that bene cleyne
schryuen and shall reyseue this
day crystes blessyd body in
forme off bred shall knell downe
apone yowre kneys and say
devoutly after me I do make
aknowleg[e] to god allmyghty
and to our lady sent mare and to
all the holy company off hevyn
and to youe my gostly ffather in
godes sted that I haue synnyd,
D61

Miserere mei domine quoniam
infirmus sum sana me. Psalmo
sexto [Ps. 6:3]. Beholde how þe
seek soule of mankynde sore
woundyd knawynge his freelte
dystresse and peryll cryeth to our

moste mercyful lorde hyr spovse
and leche to heele hyr, D42

O glorious maker and lorde of heuyn
and of erthe, of the see, and of
euery creature, holy, stronge,
dredefull, allmyghty, and
merciful lorde god, I vnworthi
wretchyd and graceles, knoulaige
and recognise me heretofore to
haue ben, and also nowe to be,
the vilest and most wicked
synner lyuyng, D58

Pray we all to god almyʒty of mercy
& forgyvenes and be ʒe aknow of
ʒour synnes and trespasses, D35

Son if þer be anythyng on þi
conscience þat þu has nogt beyn
schreuyng of I cownsyll þe to
avise þe weylle and haue no dred
nor no schame þerof, D22

Sytte ʒe doune vpon ʒowre knees
and sey aftur me I knowleche to
gode and to oure lady seynt
Marye and to all the holy
companye of heuen that I haue
synned in the seuen dedly
synnys, D54

[Beginning lost] . . . haue trespassed
and forfeit, D23

[Beginning lost] . . . yuel thoʒtis yuel
delit assentyngis to synne, D8

6. Titles and rubrics of the form of confession

- A compendius forme of dayly confessions,* D47
- A compendyos general confessioun,* D19
- A confessioun to seie as oft as ze wil be confesyde,* D34
- A confessyoun which is also a preier þat seynt Brandoun made and it is ful nedeful to a cristen man to seye and worche þere aftir,* D1.1, D1.3, D1.5, D1.6, D1.8
- A cristen mannes confessioun to his lord god which bihouiþ deuoutly be seid wiþ herte and mouþ and distunctifly wiþ remors of his conscience whoso kan and hap oportunyte of tyme to do it and seie it,* D1.2
- A deuoute prayer to god the fathur of heuyn and therwith a good forme of confession sumwhat generall,* D58
- [*A form of confession of sins, prolix enough; general confession*], D28
- A forme of general confessioun and how a man may schewe clerely be þe spices of þe seuen dedely synnes all oþer synnes and how ech dedely synne in þis forme is deuyded in þre parties thought speche and dede,* D5.1, D5.3, D5.4, D5.6, D5.7
- A fourme of a general confession wyth special synnes zif a man fynde hym greuyn in eny of hem,* D9
- A fourme of a generall confessyoun þat euery crysten man and woman is bownde to kunne and knowe,* D41
- A fourmel confession,* D37.1, D37.2
- A lytyl addicioun for more perfyte serche of confession,* D55
- A maner of a confessioun for religious persouns,* D33
- A schort forme of confessioun for such men and women which ofte ben confessed,* D6.1–D6.3, D6.5, D6.6
- A shorte confessionalle for religious persons of euery day synnes aftir Bonauenture,* D51
- A special confessyoun þe whiche is ful Iustely compilyd out of þe vii deedly synnes,* D14.1
- A tretys made vpon the vii dedly synnes. in manere of a confession. And euery synne is diuyded in iii parties. thought. speche. and dede,* D5.2
- Bona confessio pro salute humani generis,* D22
- Clensyng of Mannes Soule, The,* D5.1–D5.7, D6.1–D6.6
- Confessio,* D29, D37.3
- Confessio generalis,* D59
- Confessio generalis ac specialis,* D42
- Confessio generalis die pasche,* D40
- Confessio in anglicis,* D14.3
- Confessyon of seynt Edmond archbischope,* D11
- Confiteor deo celi et cetera,* D7.2
- Disce Mori,* D37.1–D37.3
- Forma confessionis generalis cuiusdam deuote,* D62
- Hec est forma confessionis pri[m]o penitens genuflectendo deuote coram sacerdote dicat sic Benedicite. sacerdos respondet Dominus. Tunc penitens dicet sic,* D3.1, D3.2
- Howe and in whate wyse a crystene mane schulde lede hys lyffe frome that he be of lawefulle age vnto hys laste ende of dethe,* D43
- Here is a goode confession / That teches man*

*to saluacion / How þat man shalle
shryue him here / To teche him welle the
manere, D2.1–D2.3*
*How a man schall confesse hym to god and
to hys gostely fadyr thys holy tyme of
lent and odyr tymes of þe zere, D31*
Ignorancia Sacerdotum, D37.2
*John Ireland, Of Penance and Confession,
D57*
Modus confitendi in anglicis verbis, D15
St. Brendan’s Confession, D1.1–D1.7
St. Edmund’s Confession, D11

*Tabula de decem preceptis cum septem
peccatis mortalibus et vii opera
misericordie cum aliis que necessaria
sunt, D13.1*
The form of Confessioun, D54
The forme of confession for all the yere, D52
The morow off screfte, D26
The table of confessioun, D57
þe tretys þat perteyneth to confession, D10
*These ben the seuyn dedely synnes, D2.5,
D2.6*

7. Topics covered in the form of confession

articles of the faith, D2.7, D16, D17, D22,
D23, D24, D27, D28, D40, D42, D43,
D46, D47, D53, D56, D57, D58, D61,
D62
Beatitudes, D52, D56, D58
body, parts of, D17, D29, D58
confession, sins against right practice of,
D22, D41, D60
creed, D16
Eucharist, D2.7
faith, neglecting to learn the basics of,
D41
goods, misuses of, D14.1, D14.2, D26
Gospel commandments, D19, D27,
D37.1–D37.3
Holy Spirit, seven gifts of, D2.7, D17,
D52, D56, D57, D58, D62; twelve
fruits of, D58
monastic vows, sins of breaking, D33
poverty, miscellaneous sins under the
heading “willful poverty,” D62
sacraments, faling to observe rightly,
D3.1, D3.2, D24, D27, D28, D39, D40,
D41, D42, D43, D47, D48, D50, D52,

D53, D56, D57, D58, D61, D62
senses, five, D2.3, D2.4, D3.1, D3.2, D5.1,
D5.2, D9, D16, D18, D25, D26, D36,
D46, D49, D52, D57, D60, D61, D62;
five physical, D1.1–D1.8, D2.1, D13.3,
D15, D17, D29, D30, D31, D47, D50,
D53, D54, D56; five spiritual, D13.3;
five physical and spiritual, D2.7,
D7.1, D13.1, D14.1–D14.4, D27, D28,
D37.1–D37.3, D39, D41, D42, D43,
D59
seven deadly sins, D1.1–D1.3, D1.5–
D1.8, D2.1–D2.7, D3.1, D3.2, D5.1–
D5.5, D7.1, D7.2, D9, D10, D13.1–
D13.3, D14.1–D14.4, D15, D16, D17,
D18, D19, D21, D22, D23, D24, D25,
D26, D27, D28, D29, D30, D31, D32,
D35, D36, D37.1–D37.3, D39, D40,
D41, D42, D43, D45, D46, D47, D48,
D49, D50, D52, D53, D54, D56, D57,
D58, D59, D60, D61, D62
sins of thought, word, and deed, D6.1–
D6.6, D20, D35, D56
Ten Commandments, D1.1–D1.8, D2.1,

D2.3, D2.4, D2.7, D3.1, D3.2, D5.1–D5.4, D7.1, D7.2, D9, D13.1–D13.3, D14.1–D14.4, D15, D16, D17, D18, D22, D23, D24, D25, D26, D27, D28, D29, D30, D31, D35, D36, D37.1–D37.3, D39, D40, D41, D42, D43, D45, D46, D48, D49, D50, D52, D53, D54, D56, D57, D58, D59, D60, D61, D62
time, misuses of, D14.1–D14.3, D27, D28
Trinity, sinning against persons of, D56
virtues, seven, D23, D24, D29, D39, D46;
 cardinal, D2.3, D2.7, D17, D39, D42,
 D43, D56, D57, D58, D62; theological,

D2.7, D17, D42, D56, D58; opposed to deadly sins, D17, D57
works of mercy, seven, D29; seven corporal, D2.1, D2.3, D2.4, D3.1, D3.2, D17, D28, D31, D53, D60, D61, D62; seven spiritual, D14.1, D28, D62; seven corporal and spiritual, D1.1–D1.8, D2.1, D2.3, D2.7, D5.1–D5.4, D9, D13.1, D13.3, D15, D18, D22, D23, D24, D25, D27, D30, D36, D37.1–D37.3, D39, D40, D41, D43, D46, D47, D48, D50, D52, D56, D57, D58, D59

8. Authors and titles of works appearing with the form of confession

The Abbey of the Holy Ghost, D2.2, D2.3, D14.2
An ABC of the Passion, D7.2
A Compendious Chronicle of the Scots, D57
A Declaracion of a Cristen Mannes Bileue, D5.4, D6.3
absolution. *See* confession
Adam the Carthusian, trans. of *Scala claustralium*, D1.4, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6
Aelred of Rievaulx, *Institutis inclusarum*, D47
ages of man, tract on, D13.1
alms, directions for distributing (Lat.), D47
Ancrene Riwe, D2.3
Apostles' Creed, D53 (Lat.); Wycliffite exposition of, D12. *Also see* Athanasian Creed; Creed
Aristotle's ABC, D1.8, D2.6
articles of the faith, D46; commentary on, D5.6, D5.7, D6.5, D6.6; tracts on, D3.1, D3.2, D13.3, D40, D43. *See also* catechism

astronomy, tract on, D29
Athanasian Creed (Lat.), D53, D54, D55, D56. *Also see* Apostles' Creed; Creed
Augustine, Saint, *De divino Iudicio*, D50; *De resurrectione mortuorum*, D37.2; sermon *In depositione defuncti*, D37.2; treatise on election and purgatory, D47
Ave Maria, D46 (Lat.), tracts on, D40, D43; treatise on, D3.1; Wycliffite exposition of, D12. *See also* Blessed Virgin
Azenbite of Inwit, D14.1
Basil of Caesarea, tract on reform of monastic life, D14.4
Beatitudes, catechistic summaries of, D53, D54, D55, D56; tract on, D43. *See also* catechism; virtues
Benedict Burgh, trans. of *Cato Major*, D46
Benedictine Order, general statutes of (Lat.), D47

Bible: allegorical exposition of scriptural passages (Lat.), D40; biblical sayings, D53, D54, D55, D56; drama of "Nebuchadnezzar's Fiery Furnace," D45; exposition of NT passages, D14.2; glosses on scriptural sentences against preaching of the friars, D14.2; Gospel paraphrases with exposition, D2.3; psalter (Lat.), D31; versified Gospel stories, D2.2. *See also* Psalms

Blessed Virgin: Complaint of Our Lady, D25; Hours of the Virgin, D52; Lamentation of Our Lady, D2.4, D14.3; *Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard*, D2.3; long poem on, D22, D23; miracle of, D25; *Miracles of the Virgin*, D2.3; tract on, D9; tract on Jesus's words to, D5.7, D6.6; treatise on seven sorrows of, D51; verse on, D9; vision of St. John on sorrows of, D2.1, D9, D48; *Vision of Virgin's Five Sorrows*, D41, D42

Bonaventuran meditation on the Passion, D7.2

Book of Hours, D32, D52; devotions to St. Etheldreda from (Lat.), D48; in Use of York, D24. *See also* devotions; liturgy

Book of Vices and Virtues, D2.2

Book to a Mother, D14.2

The Buke of Sevyne Sagis, D57

Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, excerpts from, D9; commentary on chap. on temptation, D48

Brut Chronicle, D36

carols, D45. *See also* hymns

Carthusians: constitutions of chapterhouse of the Salutation of the

Virgin, London, D36; statutes for novices (Lat.), D47
catechism (including articles of faith, Commandments, two Gospel commandments, works of mercy, seven deadly sins, four cardinal virtues, and sacraments), D38; catechistic summaries of seven ways conscience is provoked, D53, D54, D55, D56; *A Declaracion of a Cristen Mannes Bileeue*, D5.4, D6.3; *Disce Mori*, D37.1, D37.3; *Lay Folks' Catechism*, D7.2, D12, D16, D20, D21, D41, D42; Lollard-inflected tract on things necessary for salvation, in particular, keeping the Commandments and doing the works of mercy, D14.2; *Memoriale Credencium*, D44; notes on churching women (Lat.), D40; tract on belief, D33, D34. *See also* articles of the faith; Commandments; sacraments; senses; seven deadly sins; vices; virtues; works of mercy

Cato, *Distichs*, D49; trans. of attrib.

Benedict Burgh, D5.7, D6.6

charms, D2.1, D29 (Lat.)

The Charter of Christ, D2.3, D36

The Charter of Heavenly Heritage, D1.4,

D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D5.7, D6.6

The Charter of Our Heritage, D5.6, D6.5

The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost,

D2.2, D2.3, D9, D14.2, D20, D21

The Chastising of God's Children, D28, D9

Chevelere Assigne (verse romance), D36

Christ: commentary on Jesus's words to St. Moll (i.e., Mary), D5.6, D6.5;

Hours of the Cross (ME and Lat.),

D2.3; *Legend of Cross*, D9; meditation

on five wounds of, D2.2, D14.3;

meditation on the Passion, D9 (in verse), D27 (Lat.), D33, D34, D48 (Lat.); prayers on five wounds and five senses of, D48; tract on Corpus Christi (Lat.), D14.3; tract on devotion to Crucifixion (Lat.), D14.3; verse "Dialogue between Christ and Man," D20, D21; verse on the Crucifixion, D9

Chronicle of Three Kings of Cologne, D26

church fathers, sayings of (Lat.), D10, D13.1, D13.2, D14.3, D47, D59, D60, D61

The Clensyng of Mannes Soule, D5.1–D5.7, D6.1–D6.6, D19

clergy: tract on qualities of a prelate, D13.1

Commandments, D2.1; catechistic summaries of, D10, D53, D54, D55, D56; commentary on, D16; expositions of, D14.2, D20, D21, D25; tracts on, D11, D13.3, D14.2, D15, D38 (Lat.), D40, D43, D47 (OF); tract on Gospel commandments, D13.3; treatises on, D2.4 (Lat.), D3.1; verse tract on, D36. *See also* catechism; virtues

confession: confessional interrogatories, D59, D60, D61; confessional prayers, D2.1; *De amissione virginitate* (Lat. directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), D53, D54, D55, D56; directions on practice of, D3.1, D59, D60, D61; Easter day address on, D50; exemplum on delay in (Lat.), D22, D23; exposition of first words of the Confiteor, D3.1; form for absolution, D13.3, D38, D47, D53, D54, D55, D56; manual on, D14.4; note on, D22, D23; notes on daily or frequent confession, D47; "Parce Michi Domine" penitential poem, D1.4, D1.8, D2.4; reserve sins for bishop, D53, D54, D55, D56; tract on, D13.1; *summa* for confessors based on John of Freiburg's *Summa confessorum*, D13.1 (Lat.); summaries of seven ways for sin to be forgiven, D10; tract on articles of faith and cardinal virtues with directions about the practice of confession, D3.2; tract on the dangers of, D10; tract on granting absolution, D13.3, D38; tract on how to conduct (Lat.), D41, D42; treatise on for confessors, D59, D60, D61; treatise on penance, D51; treatise on temptation and confession, D27; verse on, D10. *See also* catechism; sacraments; vices

contemplation, tract on, D48; treatise on, D9

Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, D14.1

contempt of the world, treatise on, attrib. Augustine, D26

coronation, form for, D2.4

Counsels of Isidore, D33, D34

Craft of Dying, D1.4, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D7.2

Creation, tract on, D13.1

creed: Lat. version of, D46, D54, D55, D56; exposition of, D16; tract on, D40, D43; treatise on, D3.1. *See also* Apostles' Creed; Athanasian Creed

De amissione virginitate (Lat. directions for addressing sexual sins in confession), D53, D54, D55, D56

De duodecim abusionem gradibus, trans. from, D14.2

- death: directions for counseling the dying (Lat.), D59, D60, D61; exhortation to a dying man, D13.3, D38; "Nine Lessons on the Dirige" (in verse attrib. Rolle), D1.4, D2.5; tract on, D1.4, D2.5; tract on *ars moriendi*, D13.1
- Debate between Body and Soul* and other disputations, D2.3. *See also* soul
- Debate of Body and Soul*, D2.1. *See also* soul
- demandes d'amour* (OF), D43; trans. of, D43
- devotions, D14.3, D43; devotional meditations, D5.3, D6.2, D19; devotional poems, D5.6, D7.2; devotions to saints, D18; Innocent IV's account of vision of his mother in torment, followed by Lat. masses for her relief, D59, D60, D61; Trental of St. Gregory, D18. *See also* liturgy; meditations
- Disce Mori*, D37.1, D37.3
- discernment of spirits, tract on, D2.7
- Disputation between Body and Soul*, D2.1, D2.2, D11, D15
- Distichs of Cato*, D2.2 (in ME, AN, Lat.), D2.3 (in Lat., OF, ME), D39 (Lat.)
- dreams, excerpt on interpretation of attrib. to prophet Daniel (Lat.), D29
- Earl Rivers, *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, D43
- Edmund, Saint, trans. of *Speculum ecclesiae*, D2.2
- Edward Duke of York, *Master of Game* (treatise on hunting), D29
- Emare* (verse romance), D36
- enameling and engraving, directions for, D59, D60, D61
- England: chronice of kings of, D2.4; Knights of the Garter, names of, D26; list of kings of with burial places, D2.4; list of mayors and officials of London, D2.4; verse chronicle on to 1433 (Lat.), D26; verse list of kings of, D26; verses on kings of, D27
- Epistle of Jerome* (i.e., of Pelagius to Demetrias), trans. of, D11, D15
- Eucharist: directions about proper objects of prayer before Communion, D59, D60, D61; tracts on, D3.1, D10; tract on attrib. Albertus Magnus, D1.8, D2.6; treatise on D30. *See also* sacraments
- excommunication: cases for, D53, D54, D55, D56; form for, D30; sentences of, D53, D54, D55, D56; tracts on, D3.1, D13.3, D38, D40
- exempla, D10, D28 (Lat.), D50 (Lat.); on delay in confession (Lat.), D22, D23; on gossiping in church, D13.3, D38; on nonpayment of tithes, D53, D54, D55, D56; tale of sleepy monk, D2.1
- faith, tract on, D1.4, D2.5, D9. *See also* catechism
- Fasciculus morum*, abridgment of (Lat.), D40
- Fervor amoris*, excerpt on how to love God, D33, D34
- Fifteen Oes*, D14.3, D18 (Lat.), D46
- friars, glosses on scriptural sentences against preaching of, D14.2
- G. Myll, *The Spectacle of Love*, D57
- Gast of Guy*, D2.3, D9, D25
- Geoffrey Chaucer: lyrics, D26; "ABC Hymn to the Virgin," D45; "Against Women Inconstant," D45; "Gentilesse," D45; "Lak of

- Stedfastnesse," D45; "The Compleynt unto Pite," D45; other Chaucerian lyrics, D45; *Parson's Tale*, D14.3
- Giordano Ruffo: *De modo parliamentum*, D29; *De spiritu Guidonis*, D29; *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, D29; *Marescalcia equorum*, D29
- Gospel commandments, tract on, D13.3. *See also* catechism; Commandments; virtues
- Gospel of Nicodemus*, D25
- grace, tract on three goods of, D33, D34
- grammar (Lat.), D49; tract on, D43; treatise on, D49
- Gratian, *Decretum*, table of (Lat.), D39
- Gregory, Saint, *Dialogues*, Lat. alphabetical subject index to, D41, D42
- Grene family, record of births of, D5.3, D6.2, D19
- hawking and hunting, verses on, D29; Edward Duke of York, *Master of Game* (treatise on hunting), D29
- heaven: *The Ladder of Heaven*, D14.3; tract on attaining, D5.6, D6.5
- Heinrich Suso, trans. from *Orologium sapientiae*, D1.4, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D7.2
- hell: *A Revelation of Purgatory*, D14.3; tract on D13.1; tract on pains of, D59, D60, D61; tract on purgatory, D13.1; treatise on pains of, D2.3; *Visio Sancti Pauli*, D2.1, D54, D55, D56
- Henry IV, king of France, accounts during reign pertaining to constables and controllers of Calais, D8
- herbs, tract on virtues of, D29
- heresy. *See* Wycliffites
- History of Three Kings of Cologne*, D11, D15
- Holy Spirit: seven gifts of, D2.1, D10, D53, D54, D55, D56; six offenses against, D53, D54, D55, D56; tract on seven gifts of, D43; treatise on gifts of (Lat.), D2.4. *See also* virtues
- horses, tract on care of, D29
- Hours of the Cross (ME and Lat.), D2.3. *See also* Christ; liturgy
- Hours of the Virgin, D52. *See also* Blessed Virgin; liturgy
- Hugh of St.-Victor, excerpt from (Lat.), D14.3; trans. of *De arca Noe morali*, D11, D15
- hymns, D2.1, D2.2, D2.3, D18 (Lat.), D49; "Veni Creator Spiritus," D1.7, D2.3, D14.3
- Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, D37.2
- indulgences, D2.1, D31 (Lat.), D46, D50, D52; notes on issued from English bishops (Lat.), D13.3, D38
- Innocent IV, account of vision of his mother in torment, followed by Lat. masses for her relief, D59, D60, D61
- Jacobus de Cessolis, verse trans. of *Game of Chess*, D57
- James of Milan, trans. of *Stimulus amoris* attrib. Walter Hilton, D1.5, D2.2, D14.1
- Jerome, Saint, epistle, D10
- Johannes de Rupescissa, prophecies of (Lat.), D37.2
- Johannes de Sacro Bosco, treatise on the spheres (Lat.), D39
- John Gower, lyrics, D26
- John Ireland, *Of Penance and Confession*, D57

John Lydgate, lyrics, D26, D46;
“Doubleness,” D45; *Fall of
Princes* excerpt, D26, D46; *The Mayng
and Disport of Chauceir*, D57; “Prayer
for King Henry VI and His Queen
and People,” D45; religious verse,
D1.4, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D36

John Mirk, *Festial*, D3.2, D22, D23, D28;
Instructions for Parish Priests, D3.2

judgment: five signs of, D53, D54, D55,
D56; tracts on Judgment Day, D5.7,
D6.6, D9

King of Tars, D2.2, D2.3

kings: of England, verse list of, D26;
verses on D27; list of with burial
places, D2.4; tract on qualities of
a ruler, D13.1. *See also* England

Knights of the Garter, names of, D26

The Ladder of Heaven, D14.3

Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard,
D2.3

Laud, William, archbishop, letter of
Matthew Griffith to donating a
manuscript, D37.3

Lay Folks' Catechism, D12, D16, D20, D21,
D41, D42; with Wycliffite
interpolations, D7.2. *See also*
catechism

Lay Folks' Prayer Book, D1.2, D1.3, D7.1.
See also prayers; devotions

Legend of the Cross, D9. *See also* Christ

letters: letter forms for penmanship and
copies of letters written for various
employers in Lat. and ME, D59, D60,
D61; letter of Matthew Griffith to
Archbishop Laud donating a
manuscript,
D37.3

lexicon, Lat.-ME, D49

Libeus Desconus (verse romance),
D36

The Life of Adam, D2.4

The Life of Soul, D14.2

liturgy: directions on how to pronounce
lectionary and music (Lat.), D47;
exposition of Sarum sequences and
difficult words of missal and psalter
(Lat.), D2.7; Hours of the Cross (ME
and Lat.), D2.1, D2.3; Hours of the
Holy Spirit (Lat.), D48; Hours of
Virgin, D1.7, D10 (Lat.); liturgical
calendars, D1.2, D1.3, D1.7, D7.1,
D10, D18 (Lat.), D31 (Lat.), D58;
“Nine Lessons on the Dirige,” D1.4,
D2.5; rule for finding Easter, D58;
rule to know moon's position, D58;
table of moveable feasts, D58; table
of tides, D58; treatise on hearing
Mass, D2.3; verse tracts on virtues of
the Mass with prose commentaries,
D41, D42. *See also* devotions; prayers

Lollards. *See* Wycliffites

London, list of mayors and officials of,
D2.4. *See also* England

Lord's Prayer, D2.3, D16; Lat. version of,
D46, D53, D54, D55, D56; expositions
of, D7.2, D9, D11 (Lat.), D13.1, D13.3,
D14.2, D15 (Lat.), D38 (Lat.), D43;
meditation on, D14.3 (ME and Lat.);
tracts on, D13.1, D40, D43; treatises
on, D2.4 (Lat.), D3.1; Wycliffite
exposition of, D12. *See also*
catechism; devotions; prayers

Mary. *See* Blessed Virgin

Mass: directions for special masses,
D2.1; form for (Lat.), D47; rubrics for
celebrating on feast days (Lat.), D47.

- See also* liturgy
- Mechthild of Hackeborn, excerpt from *Spiritualis gratiae*, D13.1
- medicine: medical recipes, D1.8, D2.6, D5.3, D6.2, D19, D29 (ME and Lat.), D43 (Lat.), D58, D59, D60, D61; notes on phlebotomy, D58; regimen of health, D5.2; tract on four complexions, D58
- meditations: D1.8, D2.1, D2.2, D2.3, D2.6, D51 (Lat. and ME); on five wounds of Christ, D2.2, D14.3; on the Lord's Prayer, D14.3 (Lat. and ME); on the Passion, D27 (Lat.), D33, D34, D48 (Lat.); on prudence, D5.7, D6.6; tract on, D9; treatise on D7.2; verse meditation on the Passion, D9; *see also* devotions
- Memoriale Credencium* (including tracts on cardinal virtues, Commandments, corporal and spiritual senses, corporal and spiritual works of mercy, seven deadly sins), D44; *see also* catechism
- mercy of God, tract on, D1.4, D2.5, D20, D21
- mercy of God, treatise on, D9
- Mirror of Life*, D2.3
- Mirror of Mankind*, D9
- Mirror of Sinners*, D5.6, D5.7, D6.5, D6.6, D9
- Mirror of St. Edmund*, D2.3, D5.6, D5.7, D6.5, D6.6, D33, D34, D43
- monastic life: form for admitting novices (Lat. and ME), D47; rule of eremitical life of St. Augustine, D2.7; sayings of church fathers on, D47 (Lat.); treatise on form of D2.1; treatise on heremetical life attrib. Celestine V, D59, D60, D61; verse on monastic duties, D27 (Lat.)
- Nebuchadnezzar's Fiery Furnace" (play), D45
- Nicholas Bozon, *Contes moralisés* (Lat. version), D28
- Nicholas Love, *Mirror of Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*, D27, D30
- Northern Homily Cycle*, D2.2, D2.3, D22, D23. *See also* sermons
- Octavian* (verse romance), D36
- "Parce Michi Domine" (penitential poem), D1.4, D1.8, D2.4, D2.5, D2.6, D11, D15. *See also* confession
- penance. *See* confession
- Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, excerpt from, D46
- Petrarch, verse trans. of *Secretum secretorum* Book I, D43
- Petrus Hispanus, *Tractatus mirabilis aquarum*, D29
- Pistel of Susan*, D2.2, D36
- poetry: courtly love lyrics, D43; devotional verses, D5.6, D6.5, D7.2, D41 (Lat.), D42 (Lat.); "Dialogue between Christ and Man," D20, D21; "Ghost of Guy," D9; Goliardic poems and other verses, D29 (Lat.); lyrics, D2.3; macaronic poem on the signs of death, D14.3; "Nine Lessons on the Dirige" (in verse attrib. Rolle), D1.4, D2.5; on the Annunciation, D11, D15; on backbiting, D11, D15; on confession, D10; on dialogue between Virgin and Cross, D11, D15; on festivals of Church, D11, D15; on the joys of heaven, pains of purgatory, and seven deadly sins,

- attrib. Johannes Mydwynter, D13.3, D38; on love, D31; "Parce Michi Domine" penitential poem, D1.4, D1.8, D2.4, D2.5, D2.6, D11, D15; "Quia Amore Languedo," D1.1; religious lyrics, D1.4, D1.8, D2.1, D2.2, D2.5, D2.6, D14.3, D59 (Lat. and ME), D60 (Lat. and ME), D61 (Lat. and ME); religious and secular lyrics mostly by Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer, D26; verse Gospel stories, D2.2; verse on monastic duties, D27 (Lat.); verse prayer, D24; verse saints' lives, D5.6, D6.5; verse sermon, D43; verse tract on Commandments, D36; verse trans. of Jacobus de Cessolis *Game of Chess*, D57; verses on deadly sins, Eucharist, etc., D2.2; verses on hawking and hunting, D29; verses on kings of England, D27; verses on Virgin and Crucifixion, D9; verses, many set to music, D45; "The Wertuis of Nobleness" trans. of Alain Chartier poem, D57; D1.1; to Christ, D2.2; to Virgin, D2.2. *See also titles of specific verse romances*
- pope, tract on power of, D13.1
- Pore Caitif*, D1.1, D1.3, D1.5, D1.6, D7.1, D14.1
- prayers: D2.1 (OF), D2.3, D9 (Lat.), D10, D14.3, D18 (Lat.), D43, D44, D48 (OF and Lat.), D51 (Lat. and ME), D52; bidding prayers for various classes of people, D40; graces at meals, D47 (Lat.); instruction in daily prayer, D33, D34; manual on prayer and fasting, D20, D21; on five wounds and five senses of Christ, D48; prayer of Bede, D7.2; prayers to Christ and saints for various occasions of need, D58 (ME and Lat.); suffrages (Lat.), D18; tracts on D1.4, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D11, D15; tract on twelve hindrances to prayer, D33, D34; Trental of St. Gregory, D18; verse prayers, D1.6, D2.1, D24; verse and prose prayers to Christ, Sacrament, Virgin, and Trinity, D18; verse prophesy, D37.2 (Lat.). *See also* devotions; liturgy; Lord's Prayer
- Premonstratensian Order, tract on ministering in, D59, D60, D61
- Prick of Conscience*, D2.2, D2.3, D3.1, D25
- Prick of Love*, D2.2, D2.3
- Prickyng of Love* (trans. of *Stimulus amoris*), D25
- priests: exhortation to curates, D40; instructions for a parish priest, D14.4
- prophesy: prognostications, D29 (Lat. and ME); *Prophecies of Merlin*, excerpt from, D37.2 (Lat.); prophesy of John on Antichrist, D2.1; verse prophesy, D37.2 (Lat.)
- proverbs, D2.3 (ME and OF), D14.3, D43 (Lat.)
- ps.-Augustine, sermon *De decem plagis et decem praeceptis*, D37.2; *Speculum peccatoris*, D7.2; *Speculum peccatoris*, trans. of, D2.2
- ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Formula honeste ad fratrem suum*, D7.2
- ps.-Bonaventure, *Meditationes vitae Christi*, excerpt on Passion from, D9
- Psalms, D18 (Lat.); exposition of, D14.2; extracts from Augustine and Jerome on, D2.1; psalter, D31 (Lat.). *See also* Bible
- Ranulf Higden, trans.

from *Polychronicon*, D57
Revelation of Purgatory, A, D14.3
 Richard II, deposition of by Parliament
 in 1399, D2.4 (Lat. and AN)
 Richard Holland, Sir, *The Buke of the
 Howlat*, D57
 Richard Lavynham, *Litel Tretys on the
 Seven Deadly Sins*, D3.1, D3.2, D25,
 D28
 Richard of St.-Victor, letter of the Virgin
 to St. Ignatius of Antioch, D14.2
 Richard Rolle, *The Commandment*, D9,
 D14.3; commentary on the Psalter
 and Canticles (Lat.), D39;
 commentery on the Office of the
 Dead (Lat.), D39; *De emendatione
 vitae*, trans. of, D1.8, D1.4, D2.5, D2.6;
Desire and Delight, D14.3; *Ghostly
 Gladness*, D14.3; *Form of Living*, D2.2,
 D2.3, D9, D14.2, D14.3, D16; *Ego
 Dormio*, D2.3, D9, D14.3, D16; lyrics,
 D14.3; meditation on the Passion,
 D14.3, D48; rule of eremitical life of
 St. Augustine doubtfully attrib.
 Richard Rolle, D2.7
 riddle, D37.2 (Lat.)
 Robert Brunne, *Meditations on the Supper
 of Our Lord Iesu*, D18
 Robert Grosseteste, trans. of *Chasteau
 d'amour*, D2.2, D2.3
 Robert Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice*,
 D57; *Tale of the Uplandis Mous and the
 Borowstoun Mous*, D57
Robert of Sicily (verse romance), D2.2,
 D2.3
 romances. *See under titles of specific
 romances*
 Sabbath, tract on, D40

sacraments: exposition of, D14.2; rite of
 baptism, D13.3, D38, D40; rite of
 marriage, D53, D54, D55, D56;
 summaries of, D10; tracts on, D13.3,
 D33, D34, D38 (Lat.), D40, D43; on
 baptism, D40 (Lat.); on cleanness
 before receiving Eucharist, D14.1; on
 Eucharist, D1.4, D2.5; on marriage,
 D40 (Lat.); on publishing banns for
 marriage, D14.4; treatise on the
 significance of baptism and the
 Eucharist, D20, D21. *See also*
 catechism; confession
 saints' lives, D2.3, D50 (Lat.); of
 Katherine, D30; of Margaret, D30; of
 Nicholas, D30; of Simon the monk
 and Blessed Virgin, D47 (Lat.); verse
 legenda for use on Sundays, D22,
 D23; verse saints' lives, D5.6, D6.5.
See also South English Legendary
 salvation: catechistic summaries of four
 signs for knowing if one is saved or
 not (attrib. Augustine), D53, D54,
 D55, D56; tract on four tokens of
 salvation, D43
 scientific topics, tract on, D43
 Scottish history, chronicle of, D57
 Scottish origins, two treatises on, D57
Secretum secretorum, trans. of, D26
 senses: catechistic summaries of five
 corporal and spiritual senses, D53,
 D54, D55, D56; summaries of
 corporal and spiritual senses, D10;
 tracts on, D2.1, D40; on corporal
 senses, D33, D34; on inner and outer,
 D43; on spiritual senses, D33, D34.
See also catechism
 sermons, D2.1, D13.3, D35, D38; on
 Christian duty, D40; on deadly sins,

D22, D23; *Northern Homily Cycle*, D2.2, D2.3; verse sermon, D43
seven deadly sins: catechistic summaries of, D53, D54, D55, D56; tracts on, D11, D13.3, D15, D38, D40, D43. *See also* catechism; vices
seven virtues, tract on, D40. *See also* catechism; virtues
Siege of Jerusalem (verse romance), D36
Sion Abbey, pardon of, D5.6, D6.5
Sir Eglamour (verse romance), D36
Sir Isumbras (verse romance), D36
Sir Isumbras (verse romance), D36
Sir Launfal (verse romance), D36
Somme le roi, trans. of section on virtues and vices from, D11, D15
soul: *The Life of Soul*, D14.2; short address to the soul attrib. Bernard of Clairvaux, D13.2; tract on tribulations and temptations of the soul, D14.4
South English Legendary, D2.3; Invention of the Cross and Life of Theophilus, D25; lives of Jerome and Eustace, D36
Speculum Christiani, D28; excerpt on sins of heart, mouth, and deeds, D48
Speculum peccatoris, D13.1
Speculum sacerdotis attrib. Edward the Confessor, D13.3, D38
Speculum sacerdotis, D3.1
St. Patrick's Purgatory, D36
Stations of Rome, D2.1, D2.2, D2.3, D36
Stimulus amoris, trans. of, attrib. Bonaventure, D2.3
Susannah, D2.3
Symon Wynter, *Life of St. Jerome*, D41, D42
Talking of the Love of God, A, D2.3

temptation: dialogue between devil and angel on temptations of man, D2.4; tracts on D2.7, D13.3, D14.2, D38 (Lat.); treatise on temptation and confession, D27
theology: questions and answers on theological topics, D14.3 (Lat.); theological tracts, D27 (Lat.)
Thomas of Canterbury, Saint, vision of, D9
The Thre Prestis of Peblis, D57
Thomas Wimbledon, sermon of, D25, D5.2, D9
tithing, tracts on, D13.3, D38
Treatise of Ghostly Battle, D1.4, D1.5, D1.8, D2.5, D2.6, D5.7, D6.6, D30
tribulation: tracts on, D1.4, D2.5, D2.7, D5.6, D6.5, D13.1, D43; treatise on attrib. Peter of Blois, D14.2
The Twelve Degrees of Meekness, D43
"Veni Creator Spiritus," D1.7, D2, D14.3 (Lat.). *See also* hymns
vices: *Book of Vices and Virtues*, D2.2; expositions of combatting sins, D14.2; sayings on fleeing vice attrib. Isidore, D26; *Somme le roi*, trans. of section on virtues and vices from, D11, D15; summaries of sins, D10; tracts on, D9, D13.1; on lechery and its remedy, D16; on remedy for temptations, D11, D15; on sexual pollution, D28; on swearing, D26; treatise on, D2.4 (Lat.); on breaking God's law and deadly sin, D20. *See also* catechism; confession
virtues: aphorisms on patience, D9; catechistic summaries of four cardinal virtues, D53, D54, D55, D56; catechistic summaries of four things

- needed for good living, D53, D54, D55, D56; catechistic summaries of seven principal virtues, D53, D54, D55, D56; catechistic summaries of sixteen conditions of charity, D53, D54, D55, D56; meditation on prudence, D5.7, D6.6; *Somme le roi*, trans. of section on virtues and vices from, D11, D15; summaries of, D10; tracts on D9, D13.1, D14.3; on abstinence, D13.3, D38 (Lat.); on cardinal virtues, D3.1; on charity, D1.4, D2.5, D11, D15; on eight tokens of meekness, D43; on four cardinal virtues, D13.3, D43; on friendship with God and comforting the sick, D7.2; on hope, D1.4, D2.5; on how spiritual love is turned into earthly love, D43; on humility, D1.4, D2.5; on love, D14.3; on meekness, D5.6, D5.7, D6.5, D6.6; on nine things pleasing to God, D25; on pleasing God, D20, D21; on self-regulation, D5.7, D6.6; on seven spiritual virtues, D33, D34; on seven virtues, D40; on sixteen conditions of charity, D14.2, D43; on theological virtues, D16; on virtues to combat deadly sins, D43; treatises on, D2.2, D2.4 (Lat.); on estates behavior, D2.4; on form of living, D51; on love, D2.3; on maidenhood, D2.3; on pious living, D14.4; on ten virtues, D51; *The Twelve Degrees of Meekness*, D43; "The Wertuis of Nobleness" trans. of Alain Chartier poem, D57. *See also* catechism
- Visio Sancti Pauli*, treatise on pains of hell, D2.1, D54, D55, D56
- Vision of St. Paul*, D2.2, D2.3
- Vision of Tundale*, D36
- Vision of Virgin's Five Sorrows*, D41, D42
- visitation of the sick: order for (ME and Lat.), D53 D54, D55, D56; tracts on, D13.1, D14.2, D40 (Lat.). *See also* confession; sacraments
- Walter Hilton, *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, D1.1, D1.6, D10, D43; *An Epistle on Mixed Life*, D20, D21; *Mixed Life*, D14.3; *Prickyng of Love*, excerpts from, D1.1; *Scale of Perfection*, D2.3; *Treatise on Active and Contemplative Life*, D2.2
- Westminster Abbey, petition from to king, D2.4
- William Dunbar, religious lyrics, D57
- William Flete, trans. of *De remediis contra tentaciones*, D14.3, D25
- William Hoccleve, *Ars sciendi mori*, D45; lyrics, D46
- William Langland, *Piers Plowman* A-text, D2.3; *Piers Plowman* (composite A and C text), D17
- William of Nassyngton, *Speculum vitae*, D2.2
- wine, recipes for, D29
- works of mercy: catechistic summaries of seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, D53, D54, D55, D56; summaries of corporal and spiritual works of mercy, D10; tracts on, D1.4, D2.1, D2.5, D9, D13.3, D14.1, D40, D43; Lollard tract on, D25; on works of corporal mercy, D33, D34; on works of spiritual mercy, D33, D34. *See also* catechism; virtues
- Wycliffites: *Lay Folks' Catechism* with Wycliffite interpolations, D7.2;

Lollard-inflected tract on things
necessary for salvation, in particular,
keeping the Commandments and
doing the works of mercy, D14.2;
Wycliffite exposition of Apostles'
Creed, D12; Wycliffite exposition of
Ave Maria, D12; Wycliffite
exposition of the Lord's Prayer, D12

York, Ben. abbey of St. Mary,
consuetudinary of (Lat.), D4
Ypotis (verse romance), D2.2, D2.3, D36

Index E

Verse forms of confession, 1300–1575

1. Manuscripts

- Cambridge
Magdalene College
Pepys 2553 (Maitland Folio),
E25.4
Trinity College
B.10.12, E21.1
University Library
Dd.8.2, E12.5
Ii.4.9, E24
Ii.6.43, E13.3
Kk.1.6, E17.3
- Edinburgh
National Library of Scotland
Advocates' 1.1.6 (Bannatyne
MS), E25.3
Advocates' 19.3.1, E15.3
Bannatyne MS Draft, E25.2
University of Edinburgh Library
MS 114 (formerly Laing 32),
E12.3
- Köln
Stadtarchiv
GB 4o 23, E3
- London
British Library
Add. 10015, E4
Add. 22283 (Simeon MS),
E15.1
Add. 37787 (Worcestershire
Miscellany), E9.1, E10.1,
E11.1, E12.1
Add. 39574 (Wheatley MS),
E17.1
Arundel 248, E1
Arundel 285, E25.1
Cotton Vespasian A.iii, E7
Egerton 3245 (formerly
Gurney MS), E14
Harley 210, E12.6
Lambeth Palace Library
MS 344, E22.1
MS 559, E12.4
- Manchester
Chetham's Library
MS 6690 (Mun. A.7.1), E21.2
- Oxford
Balliol College
MS 354, E15.4
Bodleian Library
Ashmole 189, E20
Bodley 850, E18
Don. c. 13, E8
Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon MS),
E9.2, E10.2, E11.2, E12.2,
E15.2, E16
Hatton 73, E22.2
Lat. liturg. e. 17, E17.2
Rawlinson B.408, E23

Rawlinson liturg. e. 7, E19
Paris
Bibliothèque Nationale
lat. 1179, E6
nouv. acq. fr. 4600, E5

Wien
Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek
Cod. Palat. 883, E2

2. Dating of the manuscripts

ca. 1300, E4
beg. 14th cent., E5
ca. 1340, E7
14th cent., E1, E2, E8
ca. 1388, E9.1, E10.1, E11.1, E12.1
1380–1400, E9.2, E10.2, E11.2, E12.2, E14,
E15.1, E15.2, E16
early 15th cent., E12.3, E17.1, E17.2, E18
early to mid-15th cent., E13.2
1400–1450, E12.4
1425–1450, E19
15th cent., E13.3, E17.3, E20, E21.1, E22.1

mid-15th cent., E21.2, E22.2
1450–1460, E23
1468–1475, E6
ca. 1493, E12.5
1450–1500, E15.3
late 14th cent., E13.1
1475–1500, E24
ca. 1500, E3
end 15th–beg. 16th cent., E15.4
1540–1560, E25.1
ca. 1568, E25.2, E25.3
ca. 1570–1586, E25.4

3. Provenance of the manuscripts

Augustinians, E13.2, E22.1
Benedictines, E3, E12.5, E20, E23
Bordesley, Worcestershire, Cist. abbey
of St. Mary, E9.1, E10.1, E11.1, E12.1
Buckinghamshire, E22.1
Cistercians, E2, E9.1, E10.1, E11.1, E12.1
Cumberland, E25.1
Devonshire, E12.4
East Midlands, E17.1
Edinburgh, E25.2, E25.3
England, E1, E7, E8, E9.1, E9.2, E10.1,
E10.2, E11.1, E11.2, E12.1, E12.2,
E12.3, E12.4, E12.5, E12.6, E13.1,
E13.2, E13.3, E14, E15.1, E15.2, E15.3,
E15.4, E16, E17.1, E17.2, E17.3, E18,

E19, E20, E21.1, E21.2, E22.1, E22.2,
E23, E24, E25.1
France, E4, E5, E6
Germany, E2, E3
Godstow near Oxford, Ben. nunnery,
E23
Kamp-Lintfort, dioc. of Cologne, Cist.
mon. of Kamp Abbey, E2
Kington, Wiltshire, priory of Blessed
Virgin (Ben. nuns), E12.5
Köln, E2, E3
Köln, Ben. mon. of St. Pantaleon, E3
Launde, Leicestershire, Aug. priory of
St. John the Baptist, E13.2
Leicestershire, E13.2

Lethington, Scotland, E25.4
 London, E15.4
 Mulcheney, Somerset, Ben. abbey of St.
 Peter and St. Paul, E20
 Naworth, Cumberland, E25.1
 Norfolk, E24
 northern England, E17.2
 Notley, Buckinghamshire, Aug. abbey
 of Blessed Virgin and St. John the
 Baptist, E22.1
 Oxford, E23
 Rouen, E5
 Scotland, E25.2, E25.3, E25.4

Shotley, Suffolk, E22.1
 Shropshire, E15.1
 Somerset, E20
 Staffordshire, E13.2, E15.1
 Stoke-by-Hartland, Devonshire, E12.4
 Suffolk, E14, E22.1
 Wiltshire, E12.5
 Worcestershire, E9.1, E9.2, E10.1, E10.2,
 E11.1, E11.2, E12.1, E12.2, E15.1,
 E15.2, E16
 Yorkshire, North Riding, E8
 Yorkshire, West Riding, E7, E15.3, E21.1

4. Scribes, owners, and other names associated with the manuscripts

Baker, John, of Bridgwater, E12.5
 Bannatyne, George, E25.2, E25.3
 Brehyllor, John, E22.1
 Byddey family, E18
 Coldane, John, E8
 Crat (?), William, E24
 Gavell family, E18
 Hare, Robert, E21.1
 Hawe, Robert, E24
 Heeg (or Hyheg), E15.3
 Hill, Richard, E15.4
 Howard, William, E25.1
 Lauderdale, John, Duke of, E25.4

Maitland, Richard, E25.4
 Master T.C., E8
 More, Margaret, E22.2
 Northwood, John, E10.1, E11.1, E12.1,
 E9.1
 Peyto, Goditha Throckmorton, E9.1
 Powlet, Gertrude, E22.2
 Rudall, John, wife of, E9.1
 Savage, John, E8
 Sidney family, E18
 Throckmorton, Goody, E9.1
 Willescott, Susanna, E9.1
 Windsor, Elizabeth, E22.2

5. Incipits of the form of confession

Latin

Ego reus et peccator maximus confiteor
 omnipotenti deo celi, E3

Memorans novissima, / cogitans futura /
 Quam horrida, quam aspera / sit
 mortis hora dura, E1

Recognosco, quod erravi, / Deus pater,
 et peccavi, E2

French

A Dieu le Pere tout puissant me
confesse / Et a le benoite glorieuse
Vierge, E5

Je me confesse a Dieu et a sa mere / Et a
tous sains, car par ma grant misere,
E6

Sire, je me confesse a Dieu / Et a tous et
a toutes saintes, E4

Middle English

Almyȝti God, maker of heuene, / Eyr
and erþe, watir and wynde, E17.1–
E17.3

Alweldand god of myhttis most / ffadir
and sone and holy gost, E14

As I wandrede her bi weste / Fast vnder
a forest syde, E15.1–E15.4

Bot nu sal i tell þe herness / Hu þu sal
sceu þi scrift to preist / And i will
first at pride begin / þat prince es of
all oþer sin / þat landmen mai
sumquat lere / To scape þair scrift
wit þis samplere / Qua þat o sin o
pride will rise / He sal him scriue on
þis kin wise / Til our laurd crist and
þe / Mi gastli fader yeild i me, E7

Fadyr & sone & holy gost, / Grete god in
trinite, E20

I am aknowe to god ful of myȝte / And
to hys moder þat maydyne bryȝte /

And to alle þe cumpany of heuene /
Archangelis and aungelis ȝeuene /
And to þe prest withowtyn blame /
Pat syttyst here in goddes name / My
gostly fader for to be, E24

Ihesu, mercy! mercy, I cry: / myn vgly
synnes þou me forgyfe, E21.1, E21.2

I knowlech to god, with veray contricion
/ Vn-to seynt mary, and his seyntis
alle, E23

Inwardlyche lord biseche I þe. / Al my
trespas for-ȝif it me, E9.1, E9.2

Lorde allemyghty blessud thu be / That
hast me formed and redemyd, E22.1,
E22.2

Lord I ȝelde me gulty. / Þat I neuer
fedde þe hungri, E10.1, E10.2

Lord Swete Ihesu crist / Haue merci of
me, E16

Lord syngud haue I ofte. / In my .v.
wittus wiþ wille & þouhte, E11.1,
E11.2

O Blissed god, þat art al-miȝti, / þu arte
ful of goodnesse, euer full of mercy,
E18

Swete ihesu crist, to þe, / Copable
wrecche ich ȝeld me, E13.1–E13.3

Swete Ihesu crist to þe / a synful wreche
I ȝelde me, E8

Swete Ihesu cryst to the / A gulti wreche
I yelde me, E12.1–E12.6

The ten commawndementis that I haue
broke / many a tyme wiþ wickede
skylle, E19

To The, O marcifull saluour myn, Jesus
/ My king, my lord, and my redemer
sueit, / Befor thy bludy figour
dolorus / I schriffe me cleyne with
humile spreit and meik, E25.1–E25.4

6. Titles and rubrics of the form of confession

*A confessioun for negligence of þe dedes of
mercy, E10.2*

A confessioun to Ihesu crist, E12.2

A deuoyt meditacione, E21.1

*A general confessiun maad to Iesu cryst of
gret deuociun, E14*

*An orisoun for negligence of þe .x.
commandemens, E9.2*

An orisoun to vr lord Ihesu, E16

*An orysoun for sauynge of þe fyue wyttes,
E11.2*

*Ane confessioun generale compylit be
maister william dunbar, E25.4*

*Book of Penance, appended to Cursor
Mundi, E7*

Confessio vii peccatorum mortalium et

quinque sensus, E24

Confiteor, E6

Confiteor deo, et cetera, E23

De confes[s]ione generali, E13.2

De quinque sensibus hominis, E11.1

Decem precepta domini, E9.1

Jean de Journy, *La dîme de penitence, E4*

"Modus Confitendi," E2

Oracio deuota ad dominum Ihesum, E21.2

"Planctus Paenitentis," E1

Prayere to our lord Ihesu, E17.3

Robert Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne, E24*

Septem opera misericordie, E10.1

William Dunbar, *"The Tabill of
Confessioun," E25.1–E25.4*

7. Topics covered in the form of confession

articles of the faith, E25.1–E25.4

body, parts of, E2

church, commands of, E25.1–E25.4

contrition, focus on expression of, E1,
E13.1–E13.3, E14, E17.1–E17.3, E18,
E21.1, E21.2, E22.1, E22.2, E25.1–
E25.4

false belief, E2

five senses, E8, E11.1, E11.2, E12.1–
E12.6, E13.1–E13.3, E14, E15.1–E15.4,

E16, E18, E23, E24, E25.1–E25.4

heart, sins of, E2

Holy Spirit, gifts of, E2; sins against,
E25.1–E25.4

mercy, focus on request for, E1, E8,
E12.1–E12.6, E14, E15.1–E15.4, E17.1–
E17.3, E18, E21.1, E22.1, E22.2

miscellaneous sins, E2, E3, E20, E22.1,
E22.2, E25.1–E25.4

negligence, sins of, E2, E17.3, E21.1,

E21.2
 sacraments, E2, E23
 seven deadly sins, E2, E7, E8, E12.1,
 E13.1–E13.3, E14, E15.1–E15.4, E18,
 E21.1, E21.2, E23, E24, E25.1–E25.4
 Ten Commandments, E2, E8, E9.1, E9.2,
 E12.1–E12.6, E14, E16, E17.3, E18,
 E19, E23

tongue, sins of, E2, E17.3, E25.1–E25.4
 virtues, neglect of, E2, E3, E25.1–E25.4
 works of mercy, E2; corporal works of
 mercy, E10.1, E10.2, E23, E25.1–
 E25.4; spiritual works of mercy, E2,
 E23, E25.1–E25.4

8. Authors and titles of works appearing with the form of confession

A Talking of the Love of God, E9.2
Abbey of the Holy Ghost, E9.2, E14, E15.1,
 E24
 agriculture: treatises on grafting trees,
 purchasing land, wine, managing
 horses, E15.4
 Albertus Brixiensis, *Liber de amore et
 dilectione Dei et proximi*, E1; sermons,
 E1; *Summa de doctrina dicendi et
 tacendi*, E1
 Alexander Scott, verse by, E25.3
 Ambrosius Autpertus, verse on conflict
 between virtues and vices (Lat.), E2
An ABC of Devocione, E23
Ancrene Riwe, E9.2
Arbor virtutum et vitiorum, E1
 astronomical tracts, E20
 Avianus, fables (Lat.), E2
 Bible: Canticles, E2 (Lat.), E21.1;
 exposition of biblical names (Lat.),
 E1; exposition of penitential psalms,
 E17.3; Gospel paraphrases with
 exposition, E9.2; Gospel reading
 from Matt. 5, E13.3; *index locorum* of
 scripture, E1; penitential psalms,
 E17.1 (ME), E18 (Lat.), E19 (Lat.);
 Pontius Pilate's apocryphal *Epistola*

ad Tiberium, E3; prophesy of John on
 Antichrist (Lat.), E9.1; Psalms, E5
 (Lat. and OF), E12.4 (Lat.), E19 (Lat.);
 psalms of the Passion (Lat.), E12.6;
 versified gospel stories, E15.1. *See
 also* poetry
 Blessed Virgin: *Lamentation of Mary*, E24;
Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard,
 E9.2; *Miracles of the Virgin*, E9.2;
 poems to, E15.1; prayers to, E6 (OF),
 E17.3 (ME); tract on Ave Maria, E24;
 vision of St. John on sorrows of, E9.1,
 E13.3. *See also* devotions; liturgy
 Bonaventure, Saint, trans. of *Life of
 Christ*, E21.1. *See also* Christ.
 Book of Hours: Hours of Macé
 Prestesaille in Use of Tours (OF), E6.
See also devotions; liturgy
Book of Vices and Virtues, E15.1. *See also*
 vices and virtues
 carols, E15.4. *See also* hymns
 catechism: in alliterative verse including
 Commandments, fourteen articles of
 faith, sacraments, seven deadly sins,
 seven virtues, works of mercy, E21.1;
 including Commandments, fifteen
 conditions of charity, five physical

- and spiritual senses, seven deadly sins, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven virtues, works of bodily and spiritual mercy, E13.3; *Lay Folks' Catechism*, E8; Primer (Lat.), E19; tracts, on Ave Maria, E24; on Commandments, E9.1, E24; on Creed, E24; on five senses, E9.1; on Lord's Prayer, E24; on mortality, E24; on seven deadly sins, E24; on seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, E9.1; on works of mercy, E9.1; on virtues, E24; verse on the Commandments (Lat.), E15.4. *See also* poetry; vices and virtues
- charms (Lat.), E9.1
- Charter of Christ*, E9.2
- Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, E9.2, E15.1
- Christ: *Charter of Christ*, E9.2; "Fifteen Oes," E12.4, E18, E21.2; meditations, on five wounds of, E15.1; on Crucifixion of, E17.3; on Passion of, E12.4; *Northern Passion*, E24; poems to, E15.1; prayers, on seven wounds of, E21.2; on the Passion, E17.1; treatise on the Passion, E17.3; verse meditations on the Passion, E25.1. *See also* devotions; liturgy
- church fathers, excerpts from (Lat.), E1; extracts from Augustine and Jerome on the Psalms, E9.1
- Commandment of Our Lord*, E24
- confession: confessional prayers, E9.1; *Dime de penitance*, E4; form of confession (Ger.), E3; form of confession (Lat.), E13.3; questions priests should use in confessing penitents (Lat.), E15.4
- creed, tract on, E24. *See also* catechism
- Cursor Mundi*, E7
- Debate between Body and Soul* and other disputations, E9.2
- Debate of Body and Soul*, E9.1
- devotions: *An ABC of Devocione*, E23; "Fifteen Oes," E12.4, E18, E21.2; "Saint Gregory's Trental," E12.4; devotions, to crown of thorns and name of Jesus, E25.1; to Saint Osmund and Saint Nectan of Stoke-by-Hartland (Lat.), E12.4. *See also* liturgy; meditations; prayers
- Dime de penitance*, E4. *See also* confession
- Disputation between Body and Soul*, E9.1 (Lat.), E15.1
- Distichs of Cato* (in Lat., OF, ME), E9.2, E15.1
- Edmund, Saint, trans. of *Speculum ecclesiae*, E15.1
- England, record of parish churches, towns, bishoprics, and shires in, E15.4
- epigrams (Lat.), E1
- Epistola ad Tiberium*, E3. *See also* Bible
- Everardus Bethuniensis, *Labyrinthus*, E2
- excommunication, articles of, E23
- "Fifteen Oes," E12.4, E18, E21.2
- Gavin Douglas, poems of, E25.4
- Geoffrey Chaucer: poems, E25.3; "Lak of Stedfastnesse" and "Truth," E22.1, E22.2
- Gesta Romanorum*, tales from, E17.3. *See also* romances and tales
- Ghast of Guy*, E9.2
- Gregory, Saint, life of in OF verse, E13.1
- guilds, assizes for, E15.4

Gumpertus de Goch, "Rhythmi morales," E2

hell, treatise on pains of, E9.2

Henry VI, account of siege of Rouen, E15.4

Hugh of St.-Cher, *Speculum missae*, E1 hymns, E2 (Lat.), E9.1 (Lat. and ME), E9.2, E13.3 (Lat. and ME), E15.1, E15.4, E20; hymn to the Virgin, E1 (Lat.), E17.1; "Salve Regina" with exposition, E19; "Stabat Mater," E12.4, E13.3; "Veni Creator Spiritus," E9.2. *See also* devotions; poetry

indulgences (Lat.), E9.1

James of Milan, trans. of *Stimulus amoris*, E15.1

John Audelay, religious and didactic verse, E13.2

John Chrysostom, homily (Lat.), E3

John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, excerpts from, E15.4

John Lydgate, *Life of Our Lady*, E22.1, E22.2; religious lyrics, E17.3, E22.1, E22.2

John Pecham, *Philomena* (verse meditation based on daily office), E2. *See also* devotions; meditations

King of Tars (metrical romance), E9.2, E15.1

kings of England, list of, E12.5

Kington, Wiltshire, obituary calendar of persons connected with monastery of, E12.5; documents of priory at, E12.5

L'image du monde, E4

Lamentation of Mary, E24. *See also* Blessed Virgin

Lamentation of Our Lady to St. Bernard, E9.2. *See also* Blessed Virgin

Lay Folks' Catechism, E8. *See also* catechism

Lay Folks' Mass Book, E24. *See also* liturgy

Leo III, pope, letters to Charlemagne (Lat.), E13.3

Life of Edward the Confessor, E24

liturgy: Burial office (Lat.), E19; daily offices (Lat. and ME), E17.2; directions for special masses (Lat.), E9.1; Hours of the Cross, E9.1, E9.2 (Lat. and ME), E19 (Lat.); Hours of the Virgin, E12.5, E12.6 (Lat.), E18 (Lat.), E19 (Lat.); *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, E24; Litany (Lat.), E18; liturgical calendars, E5 (OF), E12.4 (Lat.), E18 (Lat.), E19 (Lat.), E23; Mass for the dead (OF), E6; Mass of Holy Spirit (OF), E6; Nine lessons of the Dirige, E17.1; Office of the Dead, E5 (OF), E18 (Lat.); treatise on hearing Mass, E9.2; verse Litany, E22.1; votive Mass of Virgin (OF), E6. *See also* devotions; meditations; prayers

Lollards: sermon cycle, E8

London, list of mayors and sherrifs of with chronicle notes and anecdotes, E15.4; ordinances for curates of, E15.4

Lord's Prayer, E9.2; expositions of, E8, E13.3; tract on, E24. *See also* devotions; liturgy; prayers

Marcus Poeta, "Elegia de destructis a Benedicto idolorum fanis," E2 meditations, E9.2, E13.3, E15.1; for use at

- Mass, E24; on Crucifixion, E17.3; on Eucharist, E24; on five wounds of Christ, E15.1; on the Passion, E12.4; John Pecham, *Philomena* (verse meditation based on daily office), E2; verse meditation on the Passion, E25.1. *See also* devotions; liturgy; prayers
- Miracles of the Virgin*, E9.2. *See also* Blessed Virgin
- Mirror of Life*, E9.2
- Mirror of St. Edmund*, E9.2
- monastic life: mystical tract on (Lat.), E1; ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux, exhortation to religious (Lat.), E2; Thomas á Kempis, treatise on spiritual education of monks (Lat.), E3; treatise on form of (Lat.), E9.1
- Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, E21.2
- Northern Homily Cycle*, E9.2, E15.1. *See also* sermons
- Northern Passion*, E24. *See also* Christ
- penitential psalms, E17.1, E18 (Lat.), E19 (Lat.); exposition of, E17.3; Petrus de Alliaco, meditation on (Lat.), E3. *See also* Bible; devotions
- “Pergama flere volo,” poem on fall of Troy, E2
- Petrus de Alliaco, meditation on the penitential psalms (Lat.), E3
- Pistel of Susan*, E15.1
- poetry: alliterative poem *Susannah*, E9.2; alliterative verse catechism, E21.1; Ambrosius Autpertus, poem on conflict between virtues and vices (Lat.), E2; ballads, E15.4; confessional prayers, E9.1; devotional poems (“Gurney Lyrics”), E14; “Fifteen Oes,” E12.4, E18, E21.2; life of Saint Gregory (OF), E13.1; lyrics, E9.2, E17.3; “Pergama flere volo,” poem on fall of Troy, E2; poems to Virgin and Christ, E15.1; proverbial verse, E15.4; religious verse, E1 (Lat. and ME), E8, E9.1, E12.4 (Lat.), E12.5, E15.1, E15.4, E20; “Saint Gregory’s Trental,” E12.4; verse Litany, E22.1; verse meditation on the Passion, E25.1; verse prayers, E9.1, E12.4, E12.6; verses on the Commandments (Lat.), E15.4; on deadly sins, Eucharist, etc., E15.1; on various moral and religious topics (Lat.), E2; versified gospel stories, E15.1. *See also under individual names of poets*
- prayers, E5 (OF), E6 (OF), E9.1 (OF and Lat.), E9.2, E12.4, E12.5, E12.6 (Lat.), E13.3 (Lat. and ME), E15.4, E18 (ME and Lat.), E19 (Lat.), E25.1; on the Passion, E17.1; on seven wounds of Christ, E21.2; to Virgin, E6 (OF), E17.3; confessional prayers, E9.1; exposition of Lord’s Prayer, E8, E13.3; illuminated prayerbook containing private prayers (some in ME verse), E17.2; verse prayers, E2 (Lat.), E9.1, E12.6. *See also* devotions; liturgy; meditations
- Prick of Conscience*, E9.2, E14, E15.1
- Prick of Love*, E9.2, E15.1
- proverbs, E1 (Lat.), E9.2 (ME and OF)
- ps.-Augustine, trans. of *Speculum peccatoris*, E15.1
- ps.-Bernard of Clairvaux, exhortation to religious (Lat.), E2
- Rabbi Samuel, *Epistola ad Rabbi Isaac* (on the coming of the Messiah), E3

- Richard Hill, memoranda of, E15.4
- Richard Maitland, poems of, E25.4
- Richard Rolle, *Ego Dormio*, E9.2; *Form of Living*, E9.2, E15.1, E21.2
- Robert Grosseteste, trans. of *Chateau d'amour*, E9.2, E15.1
- Robert Henryson, poems of, E25.3, E25.4
- Robert Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne* section on Commandments with continuation on confession, the virtues opposed to the deadly sins, seven works of mercy, sacraments, seven cardinal and spiritual virtues, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, E24; "Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord," E12.4
- Robert of Sicily* (metrical romance), E9.2, E15.1, E24
- romances and tales, E15.4; legend of St. Bernard and the devil, E13.3; life of Adam and Eve, E17.1; metrical romances, E15.3; *King of Tars*, E9.2, E15.1; *Robert of Sicily*, E9.2, E15.1, E24; tale of sleepy monk (Lat.), E9.1; tales from *Gesta Romanorum*, E17.3; *Ypotis*, E9.2, E15.1. *See also* poetry
- "Saint Gregory's Trental," E12.4. *See also* devotions; meditations
- saints' lives: Passion of St. Bernard (Lat.), E13.3; *South English Legendary* and another small collection of saints' lives, E9.2
- "Salve Regina" with exposition, E19. *See also* Blessed Virgin; hymns
- sermons, E9.1 (Lat.); Lollard sermon cycle, E8; *Northern Homily Cycle*, E9.2, E15.1
- South English Legendary*, E9.2
- Speculum humanae salvationis*, E2
- "Stabat mater," E12.4, E13.3. *See also* Blessed Virgin; hymns
- Stations of Rome*, E9.1, E9.2, E15.1
- Statutes of the Realm, extracts from on various guilds, E15.4
- Stimulus amoris*, trans. of attrib. Bonaventure, E9.2
- Susannah* (alliterative poem), E9.2
- tables of money, weights, and measures, E15.4
- tales. *See* romances and tales
- Theobaldus Cretensis, "Biblia rythmica," E2
- Theodolus, *Eclogues*, E2
- Thomas á Kempis, treatise on spiritual education of monks (Lat.), E3
- "Veni Creator Spiritus," E9.2. *See also* hymns
- vices and virtues: *Arbor virtutum et vitiorum*, E1; exempla on vices and virtues (Lat.), E1; tracts, on Commandments, E9.1, E24; on five senses, E9.1; on seven deadly sins, E24; on seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, E9.1; on virtues, E24; on works of mercy, E9.1; treatises, on love, E9.2; on maidenhood, E9.2; on virtues, E15.1. *See also* catechism
- Vision of St. Paul*, E9.1 (Lat.), E9.2, E15.1
- visions: of Cist. nun, E13.3; of St. John of the Virgin, E9.1, E13.3; *Vision of St. Paul*, E9.1 (Lat.), E9.2, E15.1
- Walter Hilton, *Media vita*, E21.2; *Scale of Perfection*, E9.2; *Treatise on Active and Contemplative Life*, E15.1
- William Dunbar, poems, E25.3, E25.4; poems on the Passion and

confession, E25.1

William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, E9.2

William of Nassyngton *Speculum vitae*,
E15.1

William Stewart, verse by, E25.3

Ypotis (metrical romance), E9.2, E15.1