A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book

and

100 Franciscan Rules
A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book

AND

Two Franciscan Rules

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A
Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book

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

AND

Two Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Rules

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

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THE THIRDE ORDER OF SEYNT FRANCEYS, FOR THE BRETHREN AND SUSTERS OF THE ORDER OF PENITENTIS

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THE REWLE OF SUSTRIS MENOURESSES ENCLOSID

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GLOSSARY FOR THE THIRDE ORDER AND THE REWLE OF SUSTRIS MENOURESSES ENCLOSID
A Generall Rule

to teche every man that is willynge

for to lerne, to serve a lorde or mayster

in every thyng to his plesure

EDITED FROM A XVTH CENTURY MS.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

(MS. Addì. 37969)

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Lit.
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare this with the English rule:

Where-sere þou sitt at mete in borde,
Avoide þe cat at on bare word;
For Þou stroke cat oþer dogge,
þou art lyke an ape teyþed with a clogg.

or

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

or

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

---

1 *Der Wälische Gast*, II. 1174 etc.
2 By 'welsh' Thomasin probably means 'Italian' (see Schönbach, *Anfänge des Minnesanges*, 62) though his editor has interpreted the word as 'French' (*Der Wälische Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 531).
3 *La terza poxe la xxx*: no brancorar con le man,
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can;
No è lecitto allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
Con le man, con le que el tochas li condugi.
5 Same, 87–8. But this second rule is a mistranslation of the Latin original.
6 Stans puer ad mensam, 143–6 (MS. Ashmole, 61).
Introduction

Or again, take Bonvicino's rule that a man should keep silence whilst his companion is drinking, and not disturb him with questions. With this compare the English *Urbaniatis*:

- Also when thou sest any man drynkyng
- That taketh hede of thy karyng,
- Soone anon thou sece thy tale
- Whefur he drynke wyne or Ale.

or again:

- And if thou be in any place wer thi better is drynkyng,
- So pat thy coppe be at his hede, odour with ale or wyne,
- Doctour Paler seys thee pus, and byddes thee sey nothing,
- For brekyng of thi cortasy at syche a cortas tyme.

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

- And yif thi lord drynk at pat tyde,
- Drynk thou not, but hym abyde;
- Be it at Evyne, be it at noone,
- Drynk thou not tylle he haue done.

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

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

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1 Rule 37.
2 Il. 61–64 (MS. Cotton Calig. A. ii.).
4 *Mangiando apresso d’un vescho, tan fin ch’el beve dra copa.*
   *Usanza drita prende: no mastegare dra bocha.*
5 *Chi fosse a provo d’un vescho, tan fin ch’el beverave,*
   *No di’ levà lo sò napo, over ch’el vargarave.*
7 In his thirtieth and thirty-first rules, recommending the use of a pocket-handkerchief.
Introduction

custom of chivalry. But it seems to have had greater vogue, and
to have endured longer, in England than abroad. Young Thomas
More served Cardinal Moreton as a page, notwithstanding the consi-
derable distinction to which his father had attained; and Scott,
in his essay on Chivalry, records a survival of this practice into the
eighteenth century in the case of a 'gentleman bred a page in the
family of the duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, who died
during the reign of George III, a general officer in his Majesty's
service'.¹ And, in the form of apprenticeship, this custom of
sending boys away from home was as prevalent in England among
the middle as among the upper classes. It aroused the hostile
comment of foreigners, as is shown in an Italian account of
English customs, written about the year 1500:

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

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

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

² A Relation of the Island of England, trans. by C. A. Sneyd. London,
1847 (Camden Society).
Sloane Boke of Curtasye is nearer akin to the 'Generall Rule' which is here printed: its first two sections give general instructions as to conduct and demeanour: in the third part the duties of the different officers are defined, in a manner which affords many close parallels to the 'Generall Rule'. And practical hints are given which bring vividly before us the picture of the page serving his lord, placing slices of bread under the hot dish to avoid burning his hands:

\begin{verbatim}
Yf Jo syluer dyshe wylle algate brenne,
A sotete I wylle je kemne,
Take je bredde coruyn and lay by-twene,
And kepe je welle hit be not sene;
I teche hit for no curtayse
But for jyn ese.
\end{verbatim}

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

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

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

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1 Printed in the Relation of the Island of England, trans. by C. A. Sneyd, 1847 (Camden Society), and in Furnivall's Early English Meals and Manners (Early English Text Society), p. 349, &c.
2 Reprinted (in part) in Hearne's Lelandi Collectanea, vol. vi, 1770, and in Warner's Antiquitates culinariae, 1791.
4 Cambridge, 1743, p. 695.
near a parallel to the ‘Generall Rule’ to be found. Most of the relevant passages I have quoted fully in the notes.

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

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


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

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


_A Book of Precedence, etc._ Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London, 1869 (E.E.T.S.),

_J. Lelandi Collectanea_, ed. T. Hearnus, Oxonii, 1715, Londini, 1770. 6 vols. [Contains the account of the Neville Feast.]

Henry of Aragon, Marquis of Villena. _Arte Cisoria, ó tratado del arte del cortar del cuchillo_. Madrid, 1766.
A GENERALL RULE

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

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

Also in wynter tyme pe seyd grome by pe oversight of pe vsshere shall bryng into pe hall as moche wode and colis as shall be spent dayle in the hall, and bere outhe pe ashes and all oper fylthe of pe hall. The seyd grome shall also kepe pe kay of pe woode and cole and deliuer it outhe dayle by taill to pe kechyn, halle and leuereys, and bryng the seyd taill to pe stywarde at pe wokes ende; pe seyd grome shall also contemnuall be in pe halle at pe firste mete or souper to bere away dysshes and kepe outhe houndes and feche sawces and to obey all oper commoundmentes of pe hede offycers, pat is to sey of stywarde, marshall and vsshier.

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

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

The marshall pen shall unicouer pe basyn yf it be coueryd and 5 holde it in his handes also vnto pe lord haue wesshe, and pen make a salutacoun and take it to pe sqyre pat brought it theder, and he to bere it to pe ewry, and anone commonde water for all pem pat

[Fol. 3 a] shall sytte at pe lordes borde, and go wyth pe lorde to | be sette, and per asketh hym howe his bord shall be set.

10 And pe yemen and gromys or grome of pe chambre yef it be per, or the vshere or gromes or grome yef it be per, shall set vp bordes and make redy pe stoles afore mete and haue hem redy at pe settyng of bordes, and bryng hem redy to pe marshall when he callithe, and also after mete bere away pe bordes, trestelles, and stolis; and when

15 pe lorde is set, and pe oper bordes in his presence, the marshall shall feche in his courses wyth pe sewer by and by; pe marshall and sewer shall make a salutacoun when pe come allmoste at pe borde, and none oper pat berythe mete or drynke at pat tyme, to he be delayuerd of pat pat he berythe.

20 And when all pe lordes messe is sewid, pen shall anofer esquyre next pe hande sewe pe oper messes at the borde or in his presence. And anone forthewyth pe amener shall bryng in pe almessey dyshe with a loose per Inne and set it byncthe pe lorde salt or elles vppon pe copborde yf no Rome be vppon pe borde; and a litill

25 afore pe seconde cours pe amener shall take of euerystandarde or grete mete that comys before pe lorde at pe first cours a sertayne, wyth pe helpe of pe kerver, and put it in pe almes dysshe and send pe voyde dysshes to pe kechyn. And all pis mene while pe marshall shall loke bothe in pe chambre and halle pat per lake [Fol. 3 b] noper bred, | ale, wyne ne mete per as it ought to be seruyd, and pe sewer shall loke pat per lake no sawce in pe lorde presence.

And when pe second cours is redy, pe sewer shall come and warne pe marshall, and pe marshall all esquyres and yemen waytors, to go to pe kechyn. And lyke as pe marshall and sewer dyd at pe first

35 course so shall pey do at pe seconde; and when pe marshall seythe tyme, pat is to say wythin iij quarters of an oure that pe laste messe be sette in pe halle, the marshall shall commonde to take vpe and all pe broke mete and broke brede to by cast into pe almes vessell; and when it comyth to pe vsher yemen of pe chambre or
Ientilmen Then þe ewer to be þer, redy for to delyuere to þe grome of þe hall or mens servantes waytors towelles for þem þat shall wesshe, and som men to be þer redy with voyders for to take vp trenchoures and broken breed, and assone as þey haue wesshe þat þe ewry be bore away and þe hall newe coueryd for þe latter mete. 5

And forthe wyth all, the amener shall send for voyders for þe lordes borde, and all ober bordes in his presence, and call all yemen of chambre and yemen waytors for to awayte vppon, and he shall take vp at þe lowest borde in þe same wyse that it was set downe, and so at all ober bordes. And þe seyd yemen shall be redy for to take at hym and bere þem to | þe kechyn. And when [Fol. 4 a] þe mete is vpe the amener shall take þe voyders wyth þe trenchors and broken brede and þe clothe also and take it to one þat stondyth aboute hym for to bere it to þe almesse vessell. Then shall the amener go to þe lordes borde and take of dyuerse metes as it may goodly be forborne and augment fer with þe almes dyshe, and all pis in þe lordes presence. And when it lyketh þe lorde to commonde to take vpe, þe seyd yemen shall be redy þer for to awayte vpon þe amener to do in all wyse as it is seyd afore. And forthe wyth all as þe seyd mete is vpe þe voyders to be set vpon þe borde, þe laste afore þe lorde. All esquyres þen awaytyng to put in broken bred and trenchors or ober mete, and þen þe amesse dyshe to be take away wyth a salutacoun, and set vp into a sure howse and after yevyn to one persone. Then shall þe amener take vp frute yef ony be, and þe voyders aftur þe panter, chese by it 25 selfe and forthe wyth aftur þe salt, hole bred, hole trenchors, kervynge knyes, sponys and napkyns togeder.

Then shall þe sewer, yf it be in a grete day and a durmant lye vnder þe clothe, let þe surnape with þe towell Rynne vpon þe durmant. In a mene day festyuall þe surnape and towelles rynne 30 vpon þe borde. When þe clothe is take away In a symple day þe towelles only vpon þe clothe, when it is made redy from cromys. [Fol. 4 b] At all tymes þe towelles to be double, yef þer syt ony body before hym at his owne messe, and elles not. And yef þer be a messe by-nethe hym and another above, Then þe seyd towelles to be leyd 35 sengill afore hym selfe and turnyd In ayen at eyper ende of þe table as ferre as þe persones sytte afore. And yef þe seyd towell be to shorte, þen þat þer be ij short towelles to fullfille þer defautes bore in þe handes of ij squyres or yemen of þe chambre or
Ayayturs, and when pe surnape is leyde and pe estate is made afore pe lorde, Then all pe esquyres to make a salutacoun at onys and go bake to pe ewry and per abyde to graces be seyd.

Then bryng in pe water in all wyse before pe lorde as fey dede byfore mete, save fey towell. And ye per sytte at pe lorde messe one or moo pat be egall in estate wyth pe lorde, pen make pe estate before eche of peym, and bryng hem a basyn or basyns ye per be nede of mo pen one. And ye per syt oper persones at his messe pen of his estate, pen let bryng a basyn or elles basyns

Then bryng in pe water in all wyse before pe lorde as fey dede byfore mete, save fey towell. And ye per sytte at pe lorde messe one or moo fat be egall in estate wyth pe lorde, pen make pe esstate byfore eche of peym, and bryng hem a basyn or basyns ye per be nede of mo pen one. And ye per syt oper persones at his messe pen of his estate, pen let bryng a basyn or elles basyns

And wythoute ony tareyn pe copbord clothe and pe ewry shall be take away and anone pe surnape and towelles shall be streccid; and pe marshall bygynnynge at pe lower ende and after at pe higher ende shall bryng all pat leythe vpon pe borde before pe lorde and per take it vpe wyth a salutacoun. Then shall be per redy yemen of pe chambre yef it be per, yemen waytors yef it be in pe hall, to take away stolis and bordes and trestelles, and set pen in per kynde places, and pe marshall shake pe lordes lape.

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

Nota: as all these seyd servantes and officeys haue done at mete so to do at souper; and in pe same wyse pe seare pat stondyth shall do as pe sewer pat knelythe except pe knelynge and pe assay. That is to say, he shall take the dyshes from peym pat bryngyth hem and vncoyere evey dysh evyn before pe grettyst at pe borde, except potages and sawces pat shall be set afore oper persones, and couere hem ayen and set hem afterward in per kynde places, neuer a dysh above anooper and euer pat next pe lorde pat he shall assay

That is to say, he shall take the dyshes from peym pat bryngyth hem and vncoyere evey dysh evyn before pe grettyst at pe borde, except potages and sawces pat shall be set afore oper persones, and couere hem ayen and set hem afterward in per kynde places, neuer a dysh above anooper and euer pat next pe lorde pat he shall assay

In wyth pe courses except mustard, but aftar set in wyth pe sewer and esquyres wayters to evey mete as nedythe, or elles all sawces togeder afore the courses; and pat all esquyres waytors
to serve a lorde or mayster

or yemen yef esquyres lake be attendant in þe mele tymes uppōn þe comondonmentes of þe marshall in all thynges of þe kerver, in fechyng voyde dyshes or wyne for sawee of capons of þe sewer, in fechyng of sawce or all þat sawee shall be made of.

Also þat þe marshall sewer or esquyres wayters at mele tymes make honest chere wyth softe speche to strauwgers syttyng at þe lordes borde or in his presence, yef þey may goodly come to hem, and as þey se tyme. Also þat in þe lordes presence suche silence be kepte þat þer be no lowde speche save only of þe lorde and suche as he speketh to. And in þe hall suche lowe communecacion be hade þat þe hede officers voyce be herde vnto all oper officers; and þat no gromys hede be coueryd seruyng at meles yeman, ne yeman Lentilman, ne Lentilman þe stywarde; also þat þe Lentilmen and yemen serue all þo in þe lordes presence; and oute of þe lordes presence yemen serue Lentilmen and set downe yemen and gromes serue hem, set gromes and pages to serue þem.

Then þe marshall in a lordes howse is Lentilman herberoure and þe visher of þe hall yeman of þe same; and after þe visher of thee chamber yef ony be, or yemen of þe chamber in his absence haue take vpe logyng for his lorde and for hym selfe in his owne maner or in oper places, þe marshall or þe vsshere in his stede shall assigne all oper men per logynges, as well strangers as men of housold; and also he shall assigne þem bred, ale, wyne, wex, talowe, and fewell to per logynges after þe season of þe yere, and per degrees, and rekyn for it dayle and wokely as þe lordes bookes be made.

Then þe marshall and vsshere shall dayle reken all þe messes wythin þe howse, þat is to say þe lorde for ij messes and euery lorde in þe same wyse at þe borde; afturward euery man at þe borde for one meesse, and þen aftur þroughe þe howse Lentilmen, yemen, gromes and pages euery ij to one messe; and in þe same wyse bryng hem dayle and wokely to þe clerke of þe kechyn as þey ben asked, and þe bokes made.

Also þe marshall hathe pour to correcte all suche as dothe grete offences wythin þe howse or wythoute, as in fightyng, oreble chydyng, makyng of debates, drawynge of knyves and stelynges, affrayes and suche oper: to put hem into þe porters warde or in stokkes in all wyse as ferre forthe as þe stywarde, save in puttyng out of þe howse. And in all þese poyntes in lyke wyse þe vssher

1 yef ony be deleted.
A generall Rule to teche every man

[Fol. 6 b] hathe pe same powre in pe marshall's absence; all pis to be pus vnderstond, pe styward above all the Intilmen, pe marshall above yemen, the vsher above gromes and pages.

Also at all tymes of pe day pe marshall shall haue his commandements fullfillid in euery office of pe house, and pe vsher in pe same wyse; to it be contermaundid, restrayned, or moderd by pe lord for per waste or inportunyte.

Also at euery tyme fat fe lorde commondyth drynke, fe marshall or vssher shall warne esquyres or yemen to awayte feron, and fe shall goo wyth hym and commonde it at euery office; and In case fer be so many lordes and strangers fer shall nede pottes wyth wyne, fen shall fe marshall call euery lordes squyre or assigne of er squyres of his owne lordes for hem, and fen delyuer coppis to fe sey [r]es for pe seyd lordes, coueryd or vncoueryd, as fat fer case requeryth at fe seler dore; and he hym selfe shall take as many coppis voyde eche wythin oper by twix his handes wyth his roddre as he supposythe to serue pe remnant of pe howse, and so shall he goo afor; all pe oper coppis, voyde save pe chef lordes, folow hym, and laste of all pe boteler wyth pe copborde clothe on his shulder and pottes of wyne in his handes; and when pe come into pe place fer as pe lordes be, pe marshall, kerver, copberers shall make a saluta-

[Fol. 7 a] coun | and go streight to a bay wyndowe, a forme or copborde at pe lower ende of pe house yef ony be fer, and stond fer in order lyke as pey were delyuerd at pe seler dore, till pe coppis be fillid. Then shall pe butler lay downe his copborde clothe and sette pe pottes feron, and pe marshall all pe coppis pat he berythe in lyke wyse. Then shall pe marshall call pe squyres wyth the coppis, and do fell hem by order after fer estates, and when all pe coppis be fillid he shall commonde hem to goo forthe to pe lordes, and forthe wyth he shall call oper Intilmen or yemen of pe chambre or awayters and delyuer hem coppis suche as he brought, as many as he supposyth will serue pe house and tell hem where pey shall serue; and when pey haue all dronken pe marshall shall take ayen all pe coppis pat he brought hym selfe, puttyng pe wyne lefte in pem, yef ony be, in a voyde potte of suche as pe botteler brought. And when he hathe ayen all pe seyd coppis, he shall take hem in lyke wyse as he brought hem, and pe boteler caste his clothe ayen vpon his shulder and take pe pottes in his handes, and forthwyth pe marshall shall geve awarnyng to pe kerver and copberers and
to serve a lorde or mayster

all togeder shall make a salutacoun and āerwyth departe, āe kuerer first, āe copherers | next, āe marshall wyth āe coppis aftur āem, [Fol. 7 b] and laste of alle āe bottele wyth the pottes of wyne.

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

The firste sprottes, rede herayng and whyte lyng, dogdrawght, grene fysh, salt samon, salt elis, salt storgon and salt lamprey. 5 Then all maner of freyd metes, āat āis freyd of salt fyshes or powderd; āen, folowyng āe āey fried metes, all maner of see fyshche both rede, rounde and flat; and folowyng āem all rener fyshes aftur as āey bethe of deytne and in gretnesse; and nexte folowyng āe maner of pole fysh and āen āll maner of rostit fysh, what so euer āo āey bee; and āen folowyng all maner of shell fysh; and folowyng āen all maner of bake metes, be it fishe or doucetes; lese āen ye haue many of āem āat ye lyst to departe som to āe firste course, som to āe seconde, and so to āe thyrde; and laste of all, all maner of leche metes and metes of deynete.

A generall Rule to euery Entilman āat āis a kuerer to ony maner lorde.

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

Explicit a good techyng.
NOTES

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

First the Usher must see that the Hall be triymmed in every poynt, and that the Cloth of estate be hanged in the Hall, and that foure Quyshions of estate be set in order vpon the Benche, beyng of fine Silke, or cloth of Gold, and that the hygh Table be set, with all other Boordes, and Cubberdes, Stooles and Chayres requisite within the Hall, and that a good fire be made.

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

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

Item, the Yeoman of the Ewrie must cover the hygh Table with all other Boordes and Cubberdes, and the Ewrie must be hanged, and a Bason of estate therevpon covered, with one Bason of assaye, and therevpon one Cup of assaye to take thassay therof, and therevpon to lay the chiefe napkin; and of the ryght syde of the Ewrie the Basons and Ewers for the rewarde, and of the left syde for the seconde messe.

Then the Panter must byng foorth Salt, Bread, and Trenchers, with one brode and one narrow Knyfe, and one Spoonne, and set the Salt right vnder the middest of the Cloth of estate, the Trenchers before the Salt, and the Bread before the Trenchers towards the rewarde, properly wrapped in a naplyn, the brode knyfe poynyt vnder the Bread, and the backe towards the Salt, and the lesse knyfe beneathe it towards the rewarde, and the Spoonne beneathe that towards the rewarde, and all to be coverd with a Coverpane of Diaper of lynke Sylke. The Surnappe must be properly layde towards the Salt endlong the brode edge, by the handes of thaforenamed Yeoman of the Ewrie: and all other Boordes and Cubberdes must be made redy by the Yeoman of the Pantry, with Salt, Trenchers, and Bread.

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

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

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

Then with your brode Knyfe remoue your Trenchers all at once tofofre the Salt, or toarde the rewarde, and then with your brode Knyfe properly vnclose the napyn that the bread is in, and set the Bread all beneath the Salt towards the second messe: then the Table cleansed, the
Notes on A generall Rule

Caruer must take with his brode Knyfe a little of the vppermost Trencher, and geue it to the Panter to eate for thassay thereof, and of the Bread geue assay in lyke maner: then vncouer your Salt, and with a cornet of Breade touch it in four partes, and with your hande make a forryshe over it, and geue it the Panter to eate for thassay thereof, who goeth his way, then cleanse the Table cleane; that done, one Gentleman at the rewarde, and the Yeoman of the Ewrie at the seconde messe, must let downe the Surnappe from the Table.

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

p. 11, l. 24. pen shall be sewer go to be ewry and take a towell vppon his shulder] Cf. the Neville Feast:

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

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

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

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

When all is in course, the Marshall and the Sewer goeth together before the course to the hygh Table, makynge their obeysaunce in the myddest of the Hall even before the hygh Table. Then the Marshall standeth styll, and the Sewer kneeleth on his knee besydes the Caruer, who receueth every dyshe in course of kynde, and vncouereth them.

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

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

dyshe, and with a good countenaunce take vp the dyshe, and deleyuer to
the Almner, and so depart.
For the office of the Almoner cf. also Sloane Boke of Curtasye, 729-48.
p. 12, l. 30. pe sewer shall loke pat per take no sawce in pe lordens presence]
Cf. Neville Feast: ‘The sewer must see that there want no sawces for any
dyshe in his kynde.’
p. 13, l. 4. trenchours and broken bread] The trenchers are therefore still
of bread, not of wood. In the tract For to serve a lord, mention is made of
‘Trenchours of tree or brede’. In [John Russell’s] Boke of Nyrute, of the
early fifteenth century, the trenchers are of bread, ‘a loofe of trenchurs’; and
as late as 1465 the trenchers were clearly of bread at the Neville banquet, for
‘cornetts of trenchers’ were tasted by the assayer.
p. 13, l. 29. For the bringing in of the towels at the end of the Banquet,
cf. the Neville Feast: at the close of dinner, after the wine is brought in:
Then the Sewer bryngeth the double Towell to thende of the rewarde
upon both his armes, with an obeysaunce, and kyseth it for his assay,
and then the Marshall commeth before the Lorde, makynge his obeysaunce.
Then the Sewer layeth downe the Towell upon the Table, and geyth
thende thereof to one Gentleman, and so from one to another tyll it be
conveyed to the Marshall. Then the Marshall must properly unclose
thende of the Towell, and spreade it playne in the myddel of the Table
before the Lorde: that done, he must have a rodde in his hande lyke unto
an arrow stele, three quarters long, with a needle in the ende, puttyng
the sharpe ende thereof under the Towell, through the farre syde, holdyng
the nearer syde to the rodde with his thombe, and also holdyng the end
of the Towell towards the Lorde for the estate thereof, then make your
obeysaunce, and geve the same ende to an other Gentleman towards the
second messe.
Then the Sewer at one ende, and a Gentleman at thother ende, to pull
the chiefe Towell harde and strayght. Then laye over the one Towell
towards the neather syde of the boorde, and pull the chiefe Towell harde
and strayght. Then the Marshall must put the sharpe ende of his rodde
under the chiefe Towell against the Lordes ryght hande, and therewithall
take hold of the farre side of the Towell, and holde fast the neare syde to
the rodde with your thombe, and drawe the Towell halfe a yarde forwarde
the rewarde, and lay the bought backewarde for the estate therof towards
the rewarde, and after that an other of estate in lyke maner towards the
secunde messe. Then with thende of your rodde take up the narowe syde
of the Towell, and lay it forwarde one hande brode, and stroke it over
with your rodde from the estate to the other. Then laye the secunde
Towell strayte wynyng it to that other Towell of estate, and so make
your obeysaunce all and depart, and stande in the mydwarde of the Hall.

p. 13, l. 29. For the laying of the surnape, elaborate instructions are given
in the Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his house-
hold (Ordinances and Regulations, 119: the whole passage is quoted in Early
English Meals and Manners, p. 92); instructions are also given in Russell’s
Boke of Nyrute, 237. In the Liber Niger domus of King Edward IV it is
ordained that the ‘ usher of the chambre’ ‘maketh his towell or surnape, as
dothe a Marchall when the King is in the hall’: ‘if the Kingke keppe estate
in his chambyr, these ushers make the estate in the surnape, like as the marchall
doth in the hall’ (Ordinances and Regulations, 34, 38).
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p. 14, l. 4. Then bryng in be water] Cf. Neville Feast:
That done, the Lordes Cupbearer, with other Cupbears, do bryng in water, and the Lordes Cupbearer taketh assay as he did before dyner, and so setteth downe the Bason of assay, and putteth forth Water of the Bason of estate before the Lorde. Then every man washeth at the rewarde and seconde messe, and at the Church boorde, and dryeth. Then the Sewer and Gentleman wayter draweth the Towel as they dyd before the washyng, and the Marshall maketh his estate as he dyd before the washyng. That done, the Cupbearer bryngeth in Ale, the Lord hath his assay, ut supra, and drynketh sytting, and al others, then do they arysse, and ever the better the latter, and the Lord last of all.

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

p. 14, l. 30. For the custom of taking the Assay, cf. the following passage from the Neville Feast:
In the meane tyme [i.e. while the guests are seating themselves] the Sewer goeth to the dresser, and there taketh assay of every dyse, and doth geue it to the Stewarde and the Cooke to eate of all Porreges, Mustarde, and other sawces. He taketh the assay with cornets of trenchers bread of his owne cuttyng, and that is thus: He taketh a cornet of bread in his hande, and toucheth three partes of the dyse, and maketh a florishe ouer it, and geneth it to the aforesaid persons to eate, and of every stewed meate, rosted, boyilde, or bryoled, beyng fyshe or fleshe, he cutteth a little thereof, &c. And yf it be baked meate closed, vnclose it, and take assay therof as ye do of sawces, and that is with cornettes of brede, and so with all other meates, as Custardes, Tartes, and Gelly, with other such lyke. The ministers of the Churche doth after the olde custome, in syngyng of some proper or godly Caroll.

And again, when the dishes are brought to the High Table and uncovered by the Carver:
Then the Caruer of all potages and sawces taketh assay with a cornet of trencher bread of his owne cuttyng, he toucheth three partes of the dishe, and maketh a florishe ouer it, and geneth it to the Sewer, and to hym that beareth the dyse, who kneeleth in lyke maner, to eate for the assay therof. Then of your stewed meates, boyilde, fryed, or rost meates, be it fyshe or fleshe, take assay therof at the myd syde with your brode Knyfe, and geue it to the Sewer, and to the bearer of the dyse: and yf it be any maner of fowle, take the assay therof at the outsyde of the thygh or wyne: and if it be any baked meate that is closed, vncover hym, and take assay therof with cornettes dypt into the grauy, and geue it to the Sewer, ut supra. And of all Custardes, Tartes, Marchpaynes, or Gelly, take thassay with cornettes. And of all Suttleties or Leches, with your brode kynye cut a little of, and geue it to the Sewer and Bearer, ut supra.

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

Notes on A generall Rule

p. 15, l. 33. *be marshall hathe power to correct*] For the marshall's power to correct, cf. Sloane *Boke of Curtasye*, 379, &c.:

Now of marshalle of halle wylle I spelle
And what falle to hys office now wylle y telle;
In absence of stuarde he shalle areset
Who so ever is rebelle in court or fest;
ynom-vyshere, and grome also,
Vndur hym ar jes two . . .

p. 16, l. 8. For the serving of drink, cf. the *Neville Feast*:

In the meane tyme the Marshall goeth to the Buttery, to see the covered Cup be right serued, and geueth to the Butler his assay, and deluyereth to the Cupbearer the Cup of estate, and when the Cupbearer commeth to the Table, after his obeysaunce, he kneeleth on his knee, and putteth forth three or foure droppes of Ale into the insyde of the couer of the Cuppe, and suppes it of for his assay. Then he settes the Cup besydes the Lorde and couereth it, and then all the Table is serued with Ale. Marke when the first rost meate beyng fysehe or fleshe is broken, then the Cupbearer goeth to the Seller, and when the Cupbearer commeth to the Table, he vseth hym selfe as afore, &c.

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

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

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY
WALTER W. SETON, M.A.
INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD ORDER

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

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

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

Memoriale propositi fratrum et sororum de Poenitentia in domibus propriis existentium inceptum anno Domini M\textsuperscript{CC}XXI tempore domini Gregorii noni Papae XIII\textsuperscript{o} Cal. Iunii indicatione prima tale est.

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

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

It begins with the words: Viri qui huius fraternitatis fuerint and ends: tanquam contumax obligetur ad culpam. These words are identical respectively with the first words of chapter i and the last words of chapter xii of R 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Sbaralea, i, p. 39.
‡ Potthast, 9768.
Bishops placing the Tertiaries under the protection of the Bishops, and at the same time committing to them the visitation and correction of the Tertiaries.

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

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

> Ordinem ipsum approbando, ordinationes nonnullas salutaris persuasiosis, nostris litteris in eodem Ordine ducimus observandas; inter caeteras eisdem fratribus, paterno consulentes affectu, ut huiusmodi normam vivendi sequerentur, et sequendo amplectentur eamdem. Et cum naturalis persuadeat ratio et rationi aequitas acquiescat, ut praedicti Ordinis profectores, ob ipsius Confessoris reverentiam dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Ordinis Minorum dirigantur et regulentur doctrina, qui utriusque Ordinis alumnus extitit institutor, de Ordine supradicto Fratrum Minorum visitatores et informatores assumere procurent.

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

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

* Potthast, 23355.
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aliis civitatibus et locis vicinis quidam sunt, quibus illum Dominus inspiravit affectum ut . . . se metipsos ad poenitentiam se converterent.

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

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

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

It is scarcely then a coincidence that the first known version of the Rule, R1, should contain the date 1221. Whatever view one may hold as to the Capestrano Document, there can be little doubt that it points to a Rule composed in 1221, which may or may not be wholly or partly contained in R1 as it is now extant. Assuming that the Third Order received its first organized form not later than 1221 it would naturally be expected that the new organization would require a Rule.

The title of R1* is in itself ambiguous. The most simple and obvious way of understanding it is that of Père Mandonnet, who merely places a full stop after the numerals 1221. If this is done, R1 appears to be the original ‘Memorial’ or Rule of 1221 with its first twelve chapters, with a later addition of 1228, viz. chapter xiii. Sabatier and Boehmer make emendations of the title by supplying words which they believe to have fallen out. Under their view the first twelve chapters are certainly in the main the Rule of 1221, but already subjected to a redaction in 1228; while chapter xiii contains material added not necessarily in 1228, but according to them probably later and at various periods. Both authorities see in chapter vi of R1 an allusion to the Bull Detestanda of March 30, 1228, though the reality of that allusion seems questionable.† Père Mandonnet’s argument, based upon the Venetian MS., has not been successfully answered. It is much to be hoped that the lost MS. will ultimately be found, so as to place beyond doubt the actual form of the Rule of 1221, and to show whether chapter vi contains the same phrase now understood as an allusion to Detestanda or not.‡

The next question which naturally arises is as to the authorship

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

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

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

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

† 4. Item visitator et ministri huius fraternitatis petant a ministro vel
custode fratum Minorum unum fratrem Minorem de conventu, cuius fratri
consilio et voluntate fratum ista fraternitas gubernetur in omnibus et regatur.
5. Et quando ille frater recederet de conventu, petant alium loco eius, ita
quod semper consilio fratum Minorum regatur ista fraternitas que a beato
Francisco habuit fundamentum. 6. Item omnes fratres conveniant in prima
dominica euislibet mensis ad missam in loco fratum Minorum.
compared with R 3, contained in the Bull *Supra Montem* of 1289, the same process is at work. Leaving aside for the time the question of the date of R 2, it will be seen that in R 2 the Visitor must be a priest of some recognized religious Order, but there is neither a direction nor even a suggestion that he should be a Franciscan; moreover the work of Visitor must not be done by any other. Now in R 3 an effort is again made, due no doubt to the influence of Nicholas IV, who had himself been a Minister General of the Franciscan Order, to restore the dominance of the Friars Minor in the counsels of the Penitents. Under chapter xx of R 3 * the Visitors and Directors of the Penitents are to be Friars Minor nominated for the purpose by the ‘Custodes’ of the Franciscan Order; and it is defined that the Visitor must not be a layman. A smaller indication of the trend of policy is in chapter viii of R 3, where it is provided that those who labour may eat thrice a day from Easter until S. Francis’s Day (October 4), instead of until Michaelmas as in R 2. To what date then, between 1228 and 1289, must the promulgation of R 2 be assigned? The date cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty, but an indication is afforded by the letters of Gregory IX, issued on November 21, 1234, by which the correction and visitation of the Tertiaries is committed to the Bishops. R 2 probably came into existence about 1234.

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

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

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

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

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE RULE.

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

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

**Pennant MS.**

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

Chap. II.

Chap. III.

Chap. IV.

Chap. V.

Chap. VI.

Chap. VII.

**Quaracchi Text.**

Chap. I and Chap. II, to 'proximis reconciliare procuret'.

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

Chap. II. From 'Ordinamus praeterea' to end.

Chap. III.

Chap. IV.

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

* Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales, 1897, pp. 77-96.
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Pennant MS.

Chap. VIII.
Chap. IX.
Chap. X.
Chap. XI.
Chap. XII.
Chap. XIII.
Chap. XIV.
Chap. XV.
Chap. XVI.
Chap. XVII.
Chap. XVIII.
Chap. XIX.
Chap. XX.

Quaracchi Text.

Chap. V. From 'Qualibet vero' to 'noscitur institutum'.
Chap. VI.
Chap. VII.
Chap. VIII.
Chap. IX.
Chaps X and XI.
Chap. XII.
Chap. XIII to 'inibi auditturi'.
Chap. XIII. From 'unusquisque autem' to 'et inducat'.
Chap. XIII. From 'Student quilibet' to end.
Chap. XIV.
Chap. XV.
Chap. XVI.
Chap. XVII.
Chap. XVIII.
Chap. XIX.
Chap. XX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Quaracchi, 1897, pp. 9 and 77–96.
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On the other hand:


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

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

**THE PENNANT MANUSCRIPT.**

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

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

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

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

* Printed at Venice in 1498 by Georgius de Arrivabenis.
chief portion of the Downing Collection, including the present manuscript, was sold by auction at Messrs. Sotheby's in March, 1913, and was ultimately purchased by the editor. It is now at University College Hall, Ealing. There is no means of ascertaining from what source Thomas Pennant acquired it, probably in the middle of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the manuscript, which was unbound, gives no clue to show in what place in England it was written or for whom; nor is it profitable to conjecture whether it was written for some individual Tertiary as a private book of devotion or for a Community. This manuscript version in the English language is certainly rare, possibly unique. There appears to be no English manuscript of the Rule of the Third Order either in the British Museum or in the Bodleian Library, nor has the editor heard of another similar manuscript, though others perhaps exist.
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THE THIRDE ORDER OF
SEYNT FRANCEYS
FOR THE BRETHREN AND SUSTERS OF
THE ORDER OF PENITENTIS
[Note.—Contractions universally recognized are not indicated in the text. For instance, the scribe signified m or n sometimes by writing it in full, sometimes by putting a stroke over a preceding vowel. Which of these two methods he preferred to use in any particular word is of no more interest than which of two possible forms of the letter s he may have preferred.

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

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

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

Of the comyng of the brethren and susters to this reule. Caplm. iij.

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

How it shall not be leafull to the brethren and susters after they be come in to go oute of this reule. Caplm. iiiij.

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

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

Of the abstinence frome Fleshe eting commaundid to the brethren and susters of this reule. Caplm. vij.

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

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

How it is forboden eny wypyn to be borne by the brethren of this reule. Capitulum x.

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

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

Of pece keping of the brethren and susters of this reule. Capm. xiiiij.

How sweryng is forboden to the brethren and susters of pis reule. Capm. xiiiij.

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

Of almus doing of pe brethren and susters of this reule. Capm. xvj. [Fol. 3r]
Of scilens keping in the Chirche of the brethren and susters of pis reule. Capm. xviij.
Of the brethren & susters that be seke or dye after they be enterid into this reule. Ca\textsuperscript{m}. xviiij.

5 Of office bering of the brethren of this reule. Capitulum xix.
How the visitour shall visit pe brethren and susters of this reule. Capi\textsuperscript{m}. xx.
Of the exchewing of striues and debatis emonge the brethren and susters of this reule. Capm. xxj.

10 Of the dispensacion of Fastingis with the brethren and susters of this reule. Capitulum xxij.
Of suche as be incorrigible brethren and susters of this reule. Capi\textsuperscript{m}. xxiiij.
How that this reule and order byndith not vnder Payne of deadely

[Fol. 3\textsuperscript{r}]

synne eny of the bretherne and susters of this reule. Capitulum xxiiiij.
IN the name of god here beginnith the reule of the living of the brethren and sisters of the order of penitentis.

Of the catholik faith of the brethren and sisters of this reule.

Caplm. j.

NICHOLAS Bussoppe seruaunt of the seruauntes of god. Tooure welbelouid sonnes the bretherne and tooure welbelouid daughters in christe the sisters of the order of the brethren of penaunce as well to them that be present as to suche as shal be in tym to come, Gretyng and the apostolik blessing. IT IS KNOWN pat the stedfast grounde and foundement of cristen religion is sett vppon the hill of the vniversall feithe the whiche pe clene | denocion of cristes discipuls brennyng with the fyre of charite taught with the worde of besy predicacion the peple of Jentils that walked in derkeness. The which also the churche of Rome holdith & kepith, whose foundement and gronnde neuer shalbe cast doune with troubles nor brosid with no flodes of tempestes, for this is the right and trew feith, withoute whose company no man is accepted nor may haue grace in the sight of god. IT IS he pat genith the way to saluacion and pat prohibits the great rewardes of euerlasting felicite. THEREFORE the glorius confessor of christe Saint Fraunceys the founder of this order, shewing in worde and dede pe way to come to god taught his children in the clennes of the saide feithe & wolde that they shulde be professed therin & stedfastly kepe it and fulfill it in deade, so | that they walking heilfully by the same wey might deserue to be made possessioners of euerlasting blisse after the disseace of this present lyfe.

Of the comyng of the brethren and sisters to this reule. Capitulum ij.

WE THEREFORE willing to depart oure fauor to the seid order and for the encrease of the same haue stablisyhcte and ordeyned that all tho that shalbe receyued to the seid order before ther

* MS. HE corrected in margin.
admission or resceying* shalbe examened diligently of their feith and obedience toward the forsaid chirche of rome. And yf they beleue treuly and stedfastly, then they may be resceyued suerly to the same order. Nevertheless it is to be ware diligently that none heretike or suspect of heresy or noysed therupon be admittyd in eny wyse to be observaunce | of this lyfe and yf eny suche were founde that he be comytted anon to the Inquisitoures of heresies to be ponyshid by theme. Also when eny shalbe admitted to enter into this fraternite, the mynisters that bene deputed to receyue them shall enquire diligently of his office astate and condicion, declaring to them the charges of this fraternite, and specially that tha must restore all that thay haue of oder mennes goodes, and after þat, if it pleasith þam, they shalbe clothed after the forme of the reule. And then if thaye haue ð ony goodes of other mennes, they must restore it in monye or after the cawcion of the pleggis. And be reconsiled nevertheless to their neyghbor.

Of the resceyuing to profession of the brethern and susters of pis reule. Cam. iii.

The † whiche all thinges so done after the space of oone yere wt the councell and aduyse of sume of the discrete bretherne, if they thinke that he be worthy he shalbe receyued in this maner, That is for to sey that he shall promitte to kepe all the commaundements of god and make satisfaccion of all trespases that he shall do ayenst this maner lining to the will of the visitour whan he shalbe required by hym, the whiche promes so made by hym shalbe wrytte by a notary in an Instrument. And that none be receyued otherwise by the seid ministers wtoute hem thought to be done by the consideracion of the persons condicion and of his instaunce and Desyre.

How it shall not be leafull to þe brethern and susters after they be come in to go | owte of this reule. Capim. iiiij.

Ouer this we oderyne and stablishe that none aftyr that he is come to this fraternite may retorne in to the worlde but he may haue newerthelesse fre going in to eny other approued religion. And as for women that haue husbondes they shall not come in to the seide fraternite but by the concent & licence of theme.

* MS. *resceying*. † *haue* is added in later hand.
† MS. EHE corrected in margin to THE.
Of the vesture & clothing of the Bretherne and Susters of this reule. Capitulum v.

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

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

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

Of the abstinence frome fleshe eting commaundid to the brethern and susters of this reule. Capi[m]. vij.

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

* A later hand has deleted four lines from 'vesture ... clothe' and has added in the lower margin: 'mantelles and pylches w'towte Scalatura kut or hole but opyn as honesty requireth and closyd sleves. The susters also shall haue mantelle and curtelle mayd w't suche meke cloth or at the leste they shall haue w't the mantelle a guarnellum or else a placentinum of whyte or els of blak or a wyde palumdelum of lynnen clothe made w'toute any wrynkylle.'
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[Fol. 8r] euery one of theim | may ete fleshe in principall festis when other cristen men of olde custome do ete fleshe, and in other dayes pat be not fastyng thay may ete eggis and chese but when thay come in ony howse of religion thay may ete soche as is sett before 5 theme. Also they must holde theme content w* ij meles a day dyner and soper except tho that bene seke or traveling by the way. Thay that bene hoole must ete & drinke temperatly, for asmoche as the gospel seithe ‘Loke that your hartis be no greuid with gloteney and drounkenesse’. Eenmore befyr dyner and 10 before soper thay shall say a PATER NOSTER, and afyr euery mele a nother PATER NOSTER, w* DEO GRACIAS, and if tha fayle so to doo they shall say PATER NOSTER thries perfor.

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

Capitulum viij.

[Fol. 8r] They schall fast euery Friday of the yere withoute ony sekenes or other lauffull cause lett theme or without cristemasse day fall vpon the friday. Frome alhalowtide vnto ester day thei shall fast wednisdaiy and friday and they must kepe neuerthelesse all ooper fasting dayes that bene ordeynde by the churche and pat 20 be commaundid by the ordinaryes for a comyn cause. In seint martin lente 8 vnto Cristemas day and frome the sonday of Quinquagesime tyll ester day they muste faste euery day excepte sondayes withoute sekenes or ony other cause lett theme. The susters that bene with childe vnto the day of per purificacion if 25 they will shall do no thynge of bodeley ocupacion except prayers. Thei that labore for cause of ther werines frome estyr tyll

seint FRANCEYS 8 may | ete lauffully thries in the day whan they laubor. And when they shall worke for other men they shall ete such as is sett before them* euery day excepte fridaies or other 30 fasting dayes ordeyned generally by the churche.

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

Also euery brother and suster iij tymes in the yere, that is Cristemasse, Ester, and Whitsonetide, must be shreven and 35 houseled 10 deuoutly and be reconsiled with ther neyghbours restoring also other mennys goodes.

*··‘euery day’ added in a later hand.
londe or elles by the bernes of ye minsters.
Of prayre of the bretherneassets of the seele. Capituliun. Pij.
The of theme must ye servy every
day ther servyce. that is aytynge.
Praye and divers. Antefong & Complin.
and they that be clarkes that can vsaul
ter. shall say at pryme. Deus I nosti
vio. and Scat m mmandati. intw.
Legem pone. which other psalmes with
floria patris. as clerke done. And when
they so not to the churchse they shal say
for matens the psalmes that the clerkys
or the Cathedrall churchse saith. or elles
as other onlerne men done. for ma
tens. Pij. Pater noster. and for every
olure. by. Pater noster. 
So that at pryme. and at Complene.
they that can it shall say son. Crede.
and. miserie mei Deus. and if they
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How it is forboden eny wepyn to be borne by the bretherne of this reule. Capi

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

Of prayer of the bretherne & susters of thse reule. Capitolum xj.

Ecce of theme muste say euery day ther service, that is Matyns, Prime and owers, Evynsong & Complyn, and thei that be clarkes that can þe Saulter shall say at prime Deus, In nomine tvo and Beati immaculati vnto Legem pone, whith 10 other psalmys wt Gloria patri, as clercis done. And when thei go not to the churche they shall sey for matens the psalmis that the clerkis or the Cathedrall churche saithe, or ellis as other onlermed men done. For matens xij Pater noster, and for euery owre vij Pater noster wt Gloria Patri. So that at prime and 15 at Complene they that can it shall sey oon Crede and Miserere Mei Deus, and if they | say not in dewe tymes, they muste sey For matens xij Pater noster. They that be seke be not bounden to sey the said owers wtowten they will. In SAINT Martyn lent & also in the great lent, they shall go to matens to the parishe chirche when they dwell withoute they haue a laufull excuse.

Of the Testamentes of the bretherne and Susters of this reule. Capi

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

Of pece kepying of the bretherne and susters of this reule.

Capitulu. xiiij.

And as for peace making betwene the bretherne & susters or betwixit strangers it shalbe as the | mynisters woll have it with the counceil of the diocesan if nede be to be hade in this party. And if the bretherne or susters wer vexed by the inges or gouerners of the places wherein they dwell ayenst the lawe or ther privileges, the mynysters of ther places must goo to the Busshopis and ordinaries and must Do after þer counsell and ordinaunce.
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How swearing is forbidden to the brethren and sisters of this rule.

They must also abstain from solemn oaths without need require it and in causes admitted by the pope, that is for the peace of the faith and for a manner of a noth pat is called De calumnia, for witness bearing and for contracts of buying and selling and of Donacion when it shall be seen expedient, and in ther comen speche they must excuse as moche as they may othes and swearing. And he that any day onwards swearith by lightnes of tongue, as it fortuneth often times in moche Jangeling, he must say at euyn when he remembrith the hym selve what he hath done ij PATER NOSTER for soche ondescrete othes. Also iche of theim muste haue good mynde to teche his seruauntes and to stere theim to goddes service.

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

Eche of theime also muste geve a peny of customably money to the storer, the whiche shall receyve it and departe it con- gruently by the council of the ministers betwixte the poore bretherne and susters and specially amonge tho that be seke and amonge suche that haue not wherwith to be buryed and after that amonge the poore men.

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

* 'moche as' added in later hand.  † 'and' added in later hand.
Of * silence keping in the church of the brethren & sisters of this reule. Ca\textsuperscript{m}. xvij.

Eche of them muste kepe his silence when the masse is \textsuperscript{†} in doing, and when the worde of gode is saide, tha must take hede to prayer and to the office without he be letted for cause of the 5 comen profet of the fraternite.

Of the brethren & sisters that be seke or dye after they be enterd in to pis reule. Ca\textsuperscript{m}. xviiij.

And when any of the brethren shalbe seke, the ministers must visit theim or sum other in ther place if they haue knowlege therof ones in the weke sterling theim besily to penance in the best maner that they shall thinke expedient for theim, geffyng theim also that is necessary to theim of the comen goodes; and if any of them dissease, \textsuperscript{15} it must be notyfied to all the brethren \textsuperscript{[Fol. 12\textsuperscript{r}]} & sisters of the place wher he is deade, the whiche must be present to the deade man exequies and not Departe till the masse be done and the body be buried. And this also must be observed to the Susters that be seke and pat diseasen. Ouer this ever brother & suster w\textsuperscript{in} viij dayes of the obite of hym pat is diseased shall say for his soule, that is for to sey, preistis shall sey one masse for hym, and they that can pe psalter shall sey l. psalmus and they pat be vnletterd shall say l. \textit{Pater noster} and at the ende of iche they shall sey \textit{Requiem eternam}, and besyde all this they shall \textsuperscript{†} cause to be sayd euer yere iiij masses for the welthe of the bretherne and susters quike and deade, \textsuperscript{21} and \textsuperscript{[Fol. 13\textsuperscript{r}]} they that can pe psalter they shall say it ones and other shall sey an hunderd \textit{Pater noster} with \textit{Requiem eternam} & cetera at the ende of iche.

Of office bering of the bretherne of this reule. Ca\textsuperscript{m}. xix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Also the ordinaries and visitor may despence with all the bretherne and susters in ther abstinences, Fastingis & other obseruaunces, whan nede causes resonabill shall require it.

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

The mynisters also shall denounce to the visitoure the opyn fautis of the bretherne & susters and he shall punyshe theme. And yf eny of theme be incorrigible aftyr thryes warnyng, the ministers muste denounce theme by the counsell of sum of the discrete bretherne to the visitour, the whiche shall putt hym oute of the feliship and this muste be aftyrwarde publisshid in the con[g]racion.
vere pro nostra pontificatis. Deo
gracias.

Beatus frra nasus:

Et ino etiam ordine.

Beatus frra nasus poutit
multos flores, s. fnm. Li

domui resum frra nce Else
arui comte artam: qui eum beata despinna
od sua m matrimono proartit yctua breg
mitate. Et eum Inonen miris vtrnus: de
tor pbrm qz et consesse de bratam mnora
qui sunt magne deuostms et contempla
ms atq; mraulis duxun, ac femeat eum has
celebrat m etuamone sacramentum, visus est
slobus utne super caput et. Xe bni luefem
fine luenius de podio bonui cui capud ego ina
msbus habu, et est in loco nro qui est in tusca se
monte impiale ubi est caa corpus e?. Et monas
treni uro appelat sa lucesis sine lucesis, Xe
pourit seu luau coperfect qui sunt inus satis
de uro terco ordine. Et seu Necedoc in de se
et bni Jacobini de laude sacreote et mraulis clax.

Et beati Extrum domani qui sub solano suti

FOLIO 15 V. OF THE PENNANT MS.
How that his reule & order byndithe not vnder payne of dedly synne eny of pe brethern & susters of this reule. [Fol. 15r]

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

Therfor be it not leafull to no maner of man to Interrupte or come ayenste this oure present statute and ordinaunce.

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

Gouen at Reate the xv Kalendes of Septembre pe secunde yere of oure pontificacion. Deo gracias. [Fol. 15r]

Beatus Franciscus

DE TERCIO EC1AM ORDINE

Beatus Franciscus produxit multos flores, scilicet sanctum Ludovicum regem francie, Elzearium comitem ariani, qui cum beata delphina vxore sua in matrimonio iuravit perpetuam virginitatem. Item sanctum luonem f uiris virtuose doctorem presbyterumque et confessorem de britania minori, qui fuit magne deuocionis et contemplacionis atque miraculis claruit; ac semel cum missam celebraret in eleuacione sacramenti visus est globius igneus super caput eius. Item beatum lucensem siue lucencium de podio bonai cuius capud ego in manibus habui, et est in loco nostro qui est in tuscia super montem imperialem, ubi est eciam corpus eius. Et monasterium nostrum appellat sanctii lucensis siue lucensii. Item produxit sanctum lucium confessorem qui fuit primus sanctus de isto tercio ordine Et sanctum Nicholucium de senis ac beatum Iacobum de laude sacerdotem et miraculis clarum, Et beatum Petrum Romanum qui sub soldano fuit martirizatus, Sanctum bonazicum de vulterra, Et beatum Petrum de colle, Ac beatum Alexandrum de perusio, Et

* MS. 'Kalender'.  † Printed edit. 'servavit'.
‡ MS. 'Inonem'.  § Printed edit. 'Luchesium, Luchesii'. 
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beatum leonem archiepiscopum Mediolani, Gualterium episcopum triuisii, Et beatum Richardum episcopum fossombroni, Ac beatum alexandrum magistrum theologie Et beatum Carolum * Ac beatum Laudonem de monte feltro, Et beatum Iohannem de vrbino, Ac beatum Iohannem de Rauena Et beatum torelum de pupio, Ac beatum bartolum de sancto gemmano‡ Et beatum petrum pectinarium de senis Ac beatum Robertum dominum arimini, Et beatum thomassuccium de fulgenio prophetam ac miraculis clarissimum; similiter quo ad mulieres produxit Sanctam elizabeth filiam regis hungarie quem vxor landegauii ducis lothoringie. Item sanctam Rosain de viterbio, Sanctam Margaretae de cithona, Sanctam bonodonam de bodio bona vxorem sancti luchesii, Beatam emilianam de florencia, Et beatam Caram de monte falcie in cuius corde inuentus est sculptus crucifixus cum omnibus mysteriis misteriis passionis, & tres parue pille in eius pectore reperte sunt quarum vna tantum ponderat quantum due et quantum omnes tres simul. Et non plus ponderant omnes tres simul quam vna sola: Per quod significatur quod ipsa habuit continuum memoriam passionis christi et perfectam | fidem unitatis divinae et equalitatis trium personarum divinarum. Que omnia Ego propriis oculis aspexi. Item beatam elizabeth imperatrice Romanorum vxorem caroli quarti regis francorum et Imperatoris que miraculis curseauit, Et beatam blancae reginam francie, matrem sancti Ludouici regis francorum, que signis et miraculis claruit, Et beatam meam de senis, Et beatam paschalinae de fulgineo, Et beatam Michelinam de pensauro, Ac beatam angelam de fulgineo que duodecim annis quotidie sumpsit dominicum corpus [nihil]‡ aliud manducans sed illo cibo celesti refecta oracioni et contemplacioni vacabat. Item beatam beatrixem de Rushonibus comitissam que nostris temporibus fuit et a septem annis§ citra mortua est multisque miraculis claruit et est sepulta Mulier in ecclesia nostra sancti angeli. Vt etiam dicit Magister bartholomeus pisanus vbi supra Iste ordo commendari potest de nobilitate, Nam multi magni homines de diversis regnis christianitatis, Comites, Duces, principes, barones & nobiles, tam viri quam mulieres, fuerunt de tercio ordine beati Francissi. Inter quos ulterius superiores narratos | fuit illa Regina hungarie que fecit monasterium campi regis in austria Et alia regina hungarie, mater regis ludowici; istum quoque habitum induit quodam Imperatrix Constantinopolis, Et vna regina cathalonie, Et rex Iacobus dux sar bundie, & Magister magnifici Domini Iohannis Iacobi de triulcio Et dominus Bartholomeus de vigneate cuius prouai fuerunt Domini culttatis laundensis. Et dominus lanzalotus de decio iuris

* MS. 'Caralum'.‡ MS. 'gemmans'.‡ MS. 'vel'. § MS. 'annos'.
vtriusque doctor peritissimus ac lector in studio papiensi cum aliis quasi in\textsuperscript{n}umerabilibus\footnote{MS. 'Sixtam'.} Et in bulla que incipit 'Sacri predicatorum et minorum ordines'. que aurea appellatur concessit fratribus et sororibus tercii ordinis et eorum congregacionum omnes gratias et priuilegia que vnquam ipsis fratribus minoribus per sedem aposto-\footnote{MS. 'Rusti'.} licam sunt concessa dummodo eorum statui non repugnant, sicut est predicare, Confessiones audire et huiusmodi. Et consequenter gaudeant priuilegis omnium fratrum mendicancium, sicut ipsi fratres minores ut per eandem bullam patet per Sixtum\footnote{The quotation from Bernardine de Bustis ends here.} papam quartum, ut patet in parte secunda rosarii Bernardini de busti\footnote{MS. 'Sixtam'.} Sermone 10 vicessimo septimo.
NOTES

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

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

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

4 After the cawesion of the peggis. A literal translation of the original ‘secundum exhibitam pignoris cautionem’.

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

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

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

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

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

10 Houseled = ‘communicated’.

11 Bearung of weapons. This was one of the points which brought the ‘Penitenta’ into collision with the secular authorities. They were thus prevented by the Rule from taking up arms in merely secular disputes. The creation of this Order and others with similar principles was one of the factors which contributed to the breakdown of Feudalism.
These are the seven canonical hours, Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline. In the Latin text the ‘hours’ are enumerated in full.

The opening words of Psalm liv.

The opening words of Psalm cxix.

The opening words of verse 33 of Psalm cxix.

Crede, that is the Apostles’ Creed.

Miserere mei Deus, i.e. Psalm li.

The great lent, i.e. the Lent preceding Easter, in contradistinction to ‘St. Martin’s Lent’ or ‘the lesser Lent’.

Absteyne from solempe othes. The provisions relating to the taking of oaths appear also in the Capestrano Rule and form one of many parallels with the Rule of the Humiliati. Whether there is a distinct reference here and in the corresponding chapters of R 1 to the Bull Detestanda is discussed on p. 29. R 2 and R 3 go further than R 1 in extending the circumstances for the taking of oaths ‘for contractis of byeng and selling and of donacion’, &c.

Here masse euery day. In this respect R 3 is decidedly stricter than R 1; for under R 1 the Penitents were bound to hear Mass only once a month.

Storer. Latin ‘massarius’ = treasurer.

Welthe = well-being. Latin ‘salute’.

Yf eny of them be incorrigible. It will be noticed that the provisions relating to ‘incorrigible brethren’ appear twice, here in chap. xxiii and also in chap. xx.

Reate. A town in Umbria lying between Assisi and Rome. It has many Franciscan associations.

XV Kalendes of Septembre = August 18. For note on ‘Kalender’ see p. 37.

Seconde yere of oure pontificacion = 1289. Nicholas IV ascended the Papal throne in 1288.
The Rewle
of
Sustris Menouresses enclosid

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

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY
WALTER W. SETON, M.A.
INTRODUCTION

THE ORDER of S. CLARE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Regulam Beatissimi Benedicti, in qua virtutum perfectio et summa discretio noscitur instituta, quae et a sanctis Patribus a principio devote suscepta est, et ab Ecclesia Romana venerabiliter approbata, vobis concedimus observandam in omnibus, in quibus eidem vivendi formulæ vobis a Nobis tradttae, cum adhuc essemus in minori officio constituti, contraria minime comprobatur.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Explicit Regula Humilium Ancillarum Gloriosissimae Mariae Virginis Matris Dei, quam Frater Mansuetus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum de mandato Summi Pontificis et Cardinalium quorum-dam diligentibus consilio composuit et dictavit.*

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

*Prae ceteris volebat ut sorores abbatiae nominarentur 'sorores minores', neque ullo modo Regula illi sufficere poterat, nisi istud nomen illi fuisse insertum.*

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

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

* See p. 81, l. 26.
The first sisters of the Monastery of Longchamp came apparently from the House of San Damiano at Rheims, as is shown by a Bull of Alexander IV dated from Anagnia, February 12, 1259, i.e. just ten days before the Bull which first approved the Isabella Rule. It appears that the Isabella Rule never had a very great vogue outside France. It was soon superseded to a great extent by the Urbanist Rule of 1263. Père Olinger refers to only one House in Italy adopting this Rule, and he makes no reference at all to the English colony which will be described later. There is, however, one other House, following the Isabella Rule, which has an interesting link with the manuscript here published, and that is the Monastery of St. Catherine of Provence. A Bull of Urban IV, dated June 22, 1264, states in the preamble that the Rule granted by Alexander IV to Longchamp had been revised by Cardinal Simon de Bria, and that he (Urban) was moved to this revision by the King of Navarre (Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Regis Navarre illustris precibus inclinati). This King of Navarre was Henry III, who died in 1270, and was the first husband of Blanche, whose part in bringing the Clarisses to London will appear later.

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

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

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE RULE.

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

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

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

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

Fol. 18r-47r. *De Granario magistri Iohannis Wetanstede.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dilectis nobis in Christo monialibus de ordine Minorum, quae per nobilem dominam Blancam reginam Navarrae, consortem eiusdem fratris nostri, in Angliam sunt venturae, et infra regnum nostrum moraturae, ac Deo et beatae Mariae ac beato Francisco serviturea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The other five belong to the reign of Boniface VIII.

The second, *Vestrae religionis* † of April 6, 1295, grants to the ‘Minoressis’ a church which is in the patronage of Edmund, brother of the King, subject to the reservation of a portion of its income for the support of the vicar.

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

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

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

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

† Dr. Fly and, following him, the later editions of Dugdale attribute this Bull to Boniface VIII, in spite of the date: but Boniface did not become Pope until December 1294. I have been unable to trace this Bull in Potthast or Sbaralea. If it is rightly dated, it must belong to the reign of Celestine V.
‡ Sbar. Suppl. p. 203.
§ This is apparently the same as the Bull given by Potthast, *Laudabilis sacra religio* 24359, which is a re-issue of an earlier Bull (Pott. 24346) addressed to all Houses of Clarisses, relieving them of the obligation of tenths.
|| Sbar. iv. 365. Both Dr. Fly and The Victoria Hist. of London inaccurately assign this Bull to August 1294, when Boniface VIII was not yet Pope.
¶ Sbar. iv. 385.
** Sbar. iv. 462.
of which Edmund was patron, notwithstanding the fact that the revenues of that church exceeded 40 marks a year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Editor wishes to record his great indebtedness to Mr. A. G. Little, Chairman of the British Society of Franciscan Studies, who called his attention to the Bodleian MS.; to Dr. R. W. Chambers, who has given much help in revising the text; and to Mrs. Geoffrey Tomes, who made the transcript of the text from the MS. with great skill and accuracy.
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THE REWLE OF
SUSTRIS MENOURESSES ENCLOSID
[Note.—The Reader is referred to the note on p. 44 for an explanation of the practice with respect to contractions, italics, and brackets in this text.]
Urban bishop servant
of servants of God to
this blessed district must
be Abbey and of Count
of this monastic this
enclosed of ye monastic of our lady of ye
dionale of Paris. Greeting a blessing
of ye apostle, so as more we purchase
ye more will ye ensare of religion as
by pat ye utensils of our loveeen enured 7 ye helpe of souls. pere
of comp to probste. 1 and for pat wis
over doubte. 7 Alexander praise our pa
tello of good works recording. and
ending ye enlaid to ye supplications
of our dear one in christ ye noble kings
of strains to alle ye hand maids
of this earths would in taking ye do
inge profession in our monastic which
ys enlayd of to noble name of ye me

FOLIO 48 r. OF MS. BODL. 585.
THE REWLE OF
SUSTERIS MENOURESSES ENCLOSID

URban * bisschop seruaunt of seruauntis of god, to his bilouid [Fol. 48*] dowtries in crist, pe Abbes & pe count of sustris Menovessis enclosid of pe monestre of oure ladi of pe diocese of Paris, Greeting & blessyng of pe apostle. For as moche we purchasin pe more willi[neglect]pe encrese of religioun, as bi pat pe continementis of owre 5 lorde been encresid, & pe helpe of sowles pereof comip to profite; And for pat wipowte dowte, Alisaunder pope+ oure predecessour of good werke recordinge, condescendinge & enclinyd to pe supplicacions of oure dere soone in criste pe nobel kinge of Frauns, to alle pe hende maydenis of Ihesu cristé pis worlde forsakinge & doinge 10 professioun in owre monestre whom ys enfayrid of so noble name of pe me|kenesse of blessid marie, pe whoche Minster whan hit was [Fol. 48*] nyew made none body per was dwellinge, as hit is sayde, grauntid pe rule whoche ys writyn here after for to holde & kepe perpetualli in pe same mynster, and beene clepid bi pe name of sustris enclosid. 15

And wevpon alle 6 Hit was to us pryade lowli bi pe same kyng that [we] pe forseyde rewle in some chapitres diden amende, & pat [we]† schulden take bysines, porw benignite of apostle to put to at pe schewing of pis rewle pe name of meneres . And than [we]§ encliniid to pe preyeres of pe same kyng, pe same rule by owre 20 lourid some Symon Deutre preest Cardinal of pe title of seynt Cecile did amende, so pat it was || done as it was in name. But nameli pat ye same mynster, as hit is aboue sette, haue worschippid pe house of humilite of oure ladi & pat pis rewle may be fayrid bi [Fol. 49*] pe profite of pe same humilite, to pe name of pe sayde rule, we 25 sette to pe forseyde name of menours. And we ordeynid & establissin 9 pat pis rule be clepid from pis time forpe, Menoressis enclosid, & pat it be kept perpetuali in pe same mynster & in other ministeris whoche schal be fownded here after or plantid, In pe

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

The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

which he same sustris schal make professioun to pis reddure, as it is amendid. The whoche rule & he life of pis same sustris enclosid we haue do note syd here after, he whiche is pis.

Eche womman whiche bi he grace & gifte of he holi goste schal be brouht to entre in pis ordre for to nyze to god owre lorde Ihesu Criste & to his ful swete moder, after he cownsayle of he perfectioun of he gospel, Lyue alle dayes in obediens, & chastite, wip oute properte, And for to dwelle alle dayes of her life enclosid as a tresoure kepte to he souereyne kynge.

[40] Alle he whoche schal leuen he vanite of he worlde & in to he forseyde abbey schal comen, pis religioun for to reseyyue, schal kepe bysili pis maner of luyinge alle here life, after pat time pat hey been professid, & been bowndin be obediens for to dwelle enclosid wip in he cloyster of he abbey, But 3if so be he whoche he has haue en-

15 special conge of he [pope *] or of he general mynistre of he ordre of Frere menowris or of he provincial of he same province in he which he same Abbey is foundid, & pat bi cause for to edefie, or to plante he same religioun, or for cause of gouernauns of somme place of he forseyde religioun, Some haue been sent in to oper places, he

[50] whoche haue bihouyd afterwarde to returne to he same places from whoche hey comyn bi he licence of one of hem forseyde, 3if hit seme good & expedient to he Mynistre or to one of hem for to do. And 3if hit happe so be werre, or be water, or be fire, or for oper like case pat he same Abbey falle to be destruyid or pat it be-like pat

25 he hous schal falle downe or for drede of enemies, hey were putte in soche verray & experte informacioun, pat wip oute greuous peril & opun destruxioun none bodi may dwelle ne abide bere, for to haue he cownsayle & he conge of he Mynster, pat pan bi he cownsayle & consentement of alle council & bi he comaundement of he Abbes, he

30 Sustris per may leueli remew pennis in to anoper place sure, where

[50] pat hey may dwelle honestljli & saueli enclosid vntil he time pat it schal be oper wayes wiseli ordeynid for hem what pat hey schul doo. And 3if he council bi any cause resonable here Abbey oper place edifi, pan he sustryn bi licence of he Ministre general may remuyn

35 in to anoper place couenable.

* Word deleted in MS.
Alle pe Nonnes per which happen for to dye pe per professid or nouncies or sustris or seruauntis schal be byriyd wipinne pe cloyster of pe abbey. Alle woo whichis reliquioun schal take in pe forseyde Abbey & in oper whoche of nyew schal be foundid, to pe whoche pis noble rule schal be grauntid & holdin, bifo re pat pey haue here 5 abite & pat pey schul enter into reliquioun, pat it be wel declarid to hem pe hardness & pe scharpeness by whoche pey comip to Ioye of Paradise, & pese which pey schullen be bown|dyn to after pis [Fol. 51r] reliquioun.

None womman schal be resseyuyd, woche for age or for sikenesse 10 or for fol e simplesse 11 after pe ingement of hem whoche haue for to do per of, be nat couena[bl]e & suffisaunt for to kepe pe maner of life, & also bi any oper 12 auenture, pat pan in oper place bi counsel of pe most wise susteris of pe place, be for pe forseyde Ministre or one of hem dispense to another soche & pat bi cause 15 resonalbe.

Alle po pat wolen in pis holi abbey abiden & in ani oper whoche schal be foundid here after, to pe whoche pis rule schal be grauntid & holden, And * pat wole pis holi reliquioun resseyue, allegatis forsake prides & vaniteis of pis short life . And as pey schul be 20 resseyuid wip in pe cloyste r, abide pey pere, & as sone as pey [Fol. 51v] schullen be schorne, pey schullin leue pe robis of pe worlde. Thanne a wise maystresse & moste deuowte sustre in pe Abbey be ordeyned & be I-take to hem for to exite hem to holinesse & to holi vertues & for to speke to hem in fervent deuocioun & also for to 25 techhe hem for to abide & bere † hem in swetnesse of charite in alle poyntes whoche longin to holi reliquioun & bisili for to reprehe hem of alle pinges whoche been repreueable. And pat pey be nat suffrid to entre in to pe chapitre duringe pe zere, but zif so be pat it be for cause of amonissinge & repreuinge. The zere fulfillid, make pey pro- 30 fessioun in hondes of pe Abbesse bifo re alle pe couent in pis manere. 'I Suster ... † bihote to god & owre ladi blissid mayde marie & to | * MS. adds ′ s che′, which is superfluous. † MS. ′here′. ‡ No gap in MS.
seyn Fraunces, to myne ladi seint Clare & to alle seyntis, in yours hondes, moder, to lyue after pe rule of myne lorde pe apostle Boneface pe eytip correctid & approuid be alle pe time of myne life, In obedience, In chastite, wipowte properte or voyse in pe Cloyster, After pat whoche is ordeynid bi pe same Rule in alle poyntings.'

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

EChe suster schal be clopid in stamyn or heyre & zif here likip, sche may haue two cotis or pre or foure, after pat as it schal beste lyke to pe Abbesse, euermore eschuyng pe owtrage of clopes & of robis in gode maner, Soo pat sche haue a mantel or tweyne couenable longe & brode. These robis schullen be of buystouse clope & low prise & of pouer coloure. And sche schal nat vse here one resticote alle white ne alle blacke. Pes sustris, after pey been professid, pey schul use bfore gerdellis cordes whiche schal be made wip coriouse. And pey schul usyn kerchiues honestli in one maner of kerchiues & of colleres, whoche schal be alle white & nat | precious. And also pat pe forhede & pe yzen been couerid, as it bihouip, & in none oper maner be pey nat so hardi for to apere bfore strawngeris; for it fallip nat to hem whoche ys weddid to pe kyngge perpetuel pat sche chiere none oper but him, ne delite her in none oper but in him. And also pat pey haue a blacke veyle I-spred aboue her hedis so large & so longe, pat hit may stretche from eche parti to pe schuldris & behinde at pe backe resonabli, wipowte whiche pey schul mow be on nytes & some time on dayes bi licence of pe abbesse. Alle pes pinges pe forseyde sustris schullin haue & kepe. And pey whoche seruyn & whoche been or-

* The words 'of myne lorde pe apostle Boneface pe eytip' are underlined in MS.
The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

deyneid nat for to passe oute. But oper seruauntes & nouicis schullin haue gerdellis of wolle & white veylis on here hedis. The abbesse schal ordeyne, after pat sche schal best se for | to do, of chausures for pe sustris & to hem whoche seruyn wip inne pe cloyster.

The Abbesse & alle sustres hole & alle oper schullen lye in pe comune dortre & eche bi here selne haue a bed disseuerid fram oper. The bedde for pe abbesse be made in soche place of pe dortoure pat sche may se here bed, 3if it may be couenably, alle oper beddis of pe dortoure wipoute any stoppynge ; & pat be alle 10 nyhte in pe dortoure bi clere & continuell liht. From pe resurrexioun ofoure lorde til pe Fest of pe Natiuite of oure ladi, after mete til pe houre of none pe sustris schulle slepe, fey pat wil; & fey pat nille nat slepen, ocupie hem in preyeres & powtes of god or in oper pesibel & gode trauayles. Eche may haue a sacke 15 I-fillid wip strawe or wip hey, oper ellis a cowche in stede of a sacke & a wol|lin clope buystus I-spred aboue & a cusschin I-couerid I-fillid wip linnyn clope, I-stoppid wip hey or strawe or grete wolle or federis, like as pe abbesse schal ordeyne; & pat pey haue couertoures wipoute skynnes wher wip pey may couer hem, But bi 20 licence of pe Abbesse po pat been syke may haue couertoures wip skynnes. Alle pe sustres schal haue here heris rowndid or alle clippid & pat at certeyne tyme to here eris.

For to do pe office & seruise of god by day & be nyht to pe preysing of god & to pe gladnes of his glorie, The sustris schul 25 haue hem & gouverne hem, as it is writen here after.

Pe sustres whoche canne rede & singe schal do pe office reuenerli & mesurabli after pe custome & pe ordre of freris menoures, & pe oper schal sey xx 19 Pater noster | for matyns, v for laudis ; For Pater noster, And for euynsonge, xii Pater noster. And in pis same maner be alle pinges in pe office of oure blissid ladi ; be hit kepte wip deuowte preyinge for pe de. And 3if pey be any sustris couenable & of gode witte, The abbes, 3if sche penkip hem goode, to ordeyne & assigne a maystresse couenable & honeste for to teche 35 hem songe, to performe pe office & seruise of god stedfastli. The
sustris & pey whiche servyn in werkis & placis stabelliche, be hit 
ordeynid pat pey schul been occupid in profitable & honest 
trauayles, bi pe whiche maner pat slowpe & schlugri whoche been 
grete enemies continueli to pe soile * schal be skerid awey & 
eschewid, pat it lette nat ne stawnche | nat pe spirit of preyere 
& deuocioun, to whom alle oper wordli pinges schulde do seurice, 
So pat oure lorde Ihesu criste espouse 28 te pe soule be take aboue 
al pinges: for as moche pat pe soule may be per fed & refestid of 
pe comfortabel words of his espouse.

[fol. 55r]

10 Pe sustris first wole be confessid whan it nedip & schul resseyue 
twies eche monip in reuerence & deuocioun pe ful holi bodi of owre 
lorde Ihesu criste, & also 3if it likip hem eche sonday in lenty & 
in pe Auent, but 3if it so be pat ani of hem bi resonable cause 
leeue hit & bi licence of pe Abbesse.

15 The sustris & pey whoche seruyn Schal fast fro pe fest of seint 
Fraunces 21 til pe fest of pe resurrexioun of oure lorde, And from 
pe Assencioun of owre lorde vnto Pentecoste, Forasmoche pat pey 
may plentiuowseliche | resseyue pe grace of pe holi gost, owte take 
pe sonday onliche & pe fest of alle Halwyn 22 & Cristmas day & pe 
fest of sent Stephin & Seint Iohn euangelist & pe Circumsicioun 
& Epiphanye & pe purificaciooun. But from pe resurrexioun of oure 
lorde till pe Ascencioun & fram Pentecost til pe Fest of seint 
Fraunceyse pey be nat boundin to fast, but pe Fridayes & oper 
fastis whoche been ordeynid & bowdyn generali bi holi chirche.

20 And pey may sureli drinke wyne & ete fishe & eyrin & chese & soche 
opner pinges as perteynip to mylke. And also fro pe Natuite of oure 
lorde til septnuagesme pey may, 3if pey wole, to-dite here metis wip 
grece owtakpe Friday & saterday. Also fram pe Fest of alle halwyn 
til the Fest of pe Natiuite of oure lorde & in lentoun & in | Fridayes 
and in fastingdayes whoche been generalli I-stablid bi holi chirche, 
pe Sustres schul nat ete Eyrin ne cheese, ne none oper pinge pat 
perteynip to Milke, but in all oper times pey may use hit. The 
sustres beinge in gode hele & pey pat seruin kepin hem alle dayes 
fram etinge of flesche. And also pey whoche been hole in bodi 
35 schul faste eche Friday wipowe fishe, but 3if it falle so pat pe 
Abbesse dispense wip hem, as it is acustumymd, 3if any Fest solempne 

* MS. ' & pat', superfluous.
come on a Friday. This manner of fasting & of abstinence forseyde, ye younge sustris wip inne ye age of xv 3ere be nat boundin to kepe, ne ye ouer agid, ne ye fiebel, ne ye sike, to ye whiche after her febelnesse ye Abbesse may merciabli purveye comunliche alle dayes, & in oper pinges necessaries to ye sustris. And to hem whoche seruyn, [Fol. 56r] & to ye younge sustris wip inne xviii 3ere ye Abbes may dispense in fastinge after pat it schal like to here goodli, saue in advent, & in lentoun & in fastinge dayes whiche been enstablid bi holi chirche. The sustris whoche been lete blode been nat boundin to fastinge in ye time duringe bi ye pre dayes, safe in lentoun & in ye fridays & in time of advent, And in ye time bitwene ye Ascencioun & pentecoste, & ye fastinges whiche been enstablid bi holi chirche generali.

And also ye Abbesse muste be ware pat sche suffer nat ye sustris to be lete blood ouer iii times bi ye 3ere, but 3if it be for 15 certayne cause especial & necessarie. And algatis pat pey be nat lete blode of any seculere persone straungere, & nameli of a man by none resoun, 3if it may be as goodli.

Of ye syke sustris when sykenesse fallip bi grete cure & diligence, as ferforpe pat men schul mowe or se for to do, pat pey been seruid 20 bi alle maner pinges in metis & drinkes whoche been gode for poo maladies, And in alle oper pinges nedeful be wey of charite feroent benyneli, couenabelliche & ententifeliche. And pey whiche been syke schullin haue proper place in ye whiche pey schul dwelle desseuerid from hem whoche been in hlep of bodi, For as mochel 25 pat pe reste & ye ordinaunce of ye Couent be nat distourbid be none wey.

The abbesse, for as mochel pat sche schulde be a clere myroure & ensaumple to alle ye sustris, pat sche enstrenge her as mochel as sche | may for to suen continueli pe couent & ye comune life. The [Fol. 57r] abbesse pat wole nat ne may nat lede ye comune life, be assigne 24 wipowte tariynge of ye office for to gouerne oper bi ye mynster or bi ye visitouris of ye ordre, [bot] 3if it so be pat ye Abbey had none harme, bi cause of here longe dwellinge in ye office or ellis pat mani grete & schewyng profites pere of comme *.

Silence, be it of alle Sustres holden in soche maner, pat pey speke nat wipoute licence ne one to oper, ne to none oper, sauynge ye

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

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

Neuerpeles whan any of pe Sustris wole confesse her, bi pe per- loure make her confessioun in privite alone to one. The confessoures, 20 pe whoche schullin be assingnid bi pe Minster general or bi pe provincial, assoyle hem of alle sinnis. None of hem schal speke bi pe grate of yryn bi pe whiche pey schullin be huslid & here diuine office & sermones, but be auenture pat it be for cause resonable & necessarie & wip compani, after pat it is ordeynid & establid to speke; & algatis pat it be seeldyn. This grate 25 of yren be hangin wipin a blacke clope, so pat bi resoun none suster may be seyne per porw & pat none bodi may see none pinge wip inne, but zij it so be for a resonabel cause, pat pe same clope | be drawyn agayne bi licence of pe Abbes; & in pe same maner schal be holden a blacke clope at pe perlour whiche some may be done awey bi licence of pe Abbes & of pe Assentement of grete parti of pe couent; & pis gratis schullyn haue doris of yren bund & Mayld whoche schal be alwey closid but zij it be for pe causes forseyde.

Pe perlour be of many & picke roddis of yren, of stronge werke 30 forgid. Pis perloure to confessioun schulle be made in pe Chyrche, oper in oper place couenabel after hit schal beste seme to pe mynster, & pat pe gratis be of mani & thicke roddis of yrin bisili forgid & of stronge werke. Allegatis in one of pe sydis of pe

* MS. adds 'And'.
forseyde grate be a smalle wyndow I-made wip a goget of yrin, bi pe whiche pe preest, whan he schal heue vp his honde, may mynistre to pe Sustris goddis bodi, and pat none bodi may putte his honde| wipinne pe grate be ani partie of pe grate. And pe forseyde [Fol. 59v] goget alwey schal be closid wip two keyis, in pe warde of a persone 5 couenabel & honeste, sauing whan pe sustris schullin resseyue goddis bodi & here sermonis, or bi oper cause resonable after pe Jugement of pe Abbes. Wipowte licens of pe Ministre pe schal nat be in pe counent but one whole couenable, bi pe which we takip to pe sustris pat whiche schal * nede to hem & take awey pat 10 whiche is nedeful; & pat pis whole be made & ordeynid in soche wise pat none pinge may be seyne bi pat. Bi pis whole schal none Suster speke to nobodi, but two whiche kepın pis whole wip grete diligence. And also like as pe abbesse berip here, make sche alle pe sustris for to kepe be hem alle bilisili | pe ordinance of silence of pis present [Fol. 60r] rule. † For as mochel pat alle materis to speke wip inne be forbarrid in alle pingis to alle sustris, sauinge pat pe Abbesse may speke to here sustris at houres & in places couenablis as it schal be moste plesaunt to god. The sustris sike in pe time of here maladi in pe fermeri, & pey whiche been seruauntis, & oper hole sustris bi cause for to visite pe sike charitabli bi licence of pe Abbesse entringe in to pe fermeri, may speke wip pis sustris after disposicioun of pe Abbesse.

MOreouer we comawnde estreyteli in vertu of obedience, pat none Abbesse ne ani suster suffer nat ani persone,25 what euer he 25 be, for to entre wipowte especial licence of | pe apostle wipinne pe [Fol. 60r] Abbey or cloyster, ne wip inne none place where pat pe sustris been abidinge, be he religious or seculere or of what maner dignite. And also we defendin pe entre to alle maner folke, excepte pe kynge 27 in whocche Reine pis Abbey is foundin, whocche kynge may 30 entre to hem wip pe numbre of x personis, & excepte pe Minister general of pat ordre of Freris Menoures, wip ii honest felowis, And excepte po whiche of pe comaunderment of the Abbesse & bi counsayle & assentement of pe moste wise sustris schal enter inne to hem for a grete nede wel schewinge of ani werke nedeful or mater 35 profitable; pe whiche, zif per be many, pan pat per be many

* MS. adds 'nat'. † MS. repeats 'for as mochel': crossed through.
fully seized the same works to perform. And when that the work is done, that the work pertained to that such endeavour that the work made in a different place; and in so place of that cause that the work assented to that the work provincial be required when it may be done conveniently for as much as that the work clerest of here renouned be sauid and kept. The minirst province of the same province may enter into that Abbey wish ii honest felawis be cause necessary for to visit and reform the same. And also in other matters and causes wherewith happen for to come, that may not be reformed without the consent of others, by force of fixed.}

10 Provincial shall enter, if that that the work Ministré general be counsaille of most wise sistris per schall to hem graunt. 3if it happen be aventure that any Cardinal were come and enter in that Abbey, that he be res-

Fol. 61v

15 apostle for to enter wish inne that Abbey for to blesse that Abbesse or for to sacre a sistré, or in any other manner that it be grauntid at any time to any Bishop for to singe masse wish inne, that schall suffice for to haue wish him iii or iii personis to ministre duli to him. And when that schall be grauntid to any man wish inné that gate for to abide, that Abbesse may speak wish him alle dayes, wish ii of moste demures and wise sustris of that coutent. 3if it happen any time that any woman have licence to enter in to that Abbey, that sistrés may speak to here be congé of that Abbesse. & Allegatis that sistris take gode kepe that wish alle diligens that speke of that Abbesse may speke without the licence.}

Fol. 62r

20 knowynge that noman that is entréd, but in that maner and that ordinauns forseyde, sauinge to vertuous men and to honest, that which been here confessoure, or to open in here stede, and that in convenient time to here + consolacioun and edificacioun of here sowlis, some times that may speke that licens of that Ministré generale or proportional or of that Abbés, so ii or iii Sustris be þere present to herin and to see. Of that same maner be take kepe, that þey whoche haue graunt to enter inne in that Abbey been so honest of spekyng and of here maneris and of her life and of here abit, that þey sistrés whoche seen hem may vertuousli be edified in here sowlis and none mater of dissawnder that of for to rise. Alle þoo which be licens of that apostle were enter wish inne, First þey schullen to that Abbesse and to open wise sistrés that of that coutent schew here letres of that apostle of here graunt.

Fol. 62v

When any of that sistris been greouted syke, that sche may not
The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

godeli come to pe perloure for to be confessid or for to resseyue
goddes bodi or oper sacramentis of holi chirche, pan here con-
fessoure arayid in vestimentis longyng to a preest excepte pe
tesple schal entre wipinne, & his felow reuestrid alle in white;
pat pan pe sike suster confess here bi soche maner pat iii oper
sustris be so ny3e pat pey may se pe same confessoure & also her
whoche is confessid. And when pe confessioun schal be herde or
any oper sacrament ministrid, like as pey come inne reuestrid, so
goo pey owte, ne dwelle pey per inne, ne wip any oper Suster speke
pey nat, but in pe forseyde maner. And also | whan any comendacioun [Fol. 63v]
schal be done for sowlis of Sustris, or for obsequies of any of hem
dede, ii freris menoures or preestis preuoyres or pre, whan pe bodi
is brought to enterment, schalle mowe entre reuestrid wip orne-
mentis longyng to a preest, and pey for to do alle pat longip to a
preest in soche cas. And be pey alle wey to gyderes bi alle pe time 15
pat pey schullin be occupied abowte pe executioun of pe same office,
and pat fulfillid for to departe pennis wipowte tariyng. And also
pat gode kepe be takyn of the Ministris, & bi him whoche schal be
visitoure in pat tyme of hem whoche schal entre in to pe Abbey for
any soche werkis to make if pey be necessari, whan & how pey 20
schullin entre, & gouerne & haue hem wipinne. And up pat pey
ordeyne & disposin per of as hem schal best like, so allegatis pat [Fol. 63v]
pe name & pe gode fame of pe Sustris be sauid in alle poynitis.

For to kepe pe forseyde entre durante pe tyme, one of pe sustris
best lonyng god, wise & vertuouse, be ordeynid & enstablid & in alle 25
maner of diligence pat pe keyes of pe same entre be saueli kepte &
putte in saue warde of pe forseyde sustre keper in pat case assignid,
so pat none dore ne gate per be nat openid wipoute verray knowinge
of pe same Suster. The oper keye alle diuers schal pe Abbesse kepe.
And also pat per be assignid & ordeynid an oper suster for to be 30
felow & helpinge to pe forseyde porteresse in alle times & in alle
pinges longinge to pe same kepinge, whan pe chief porteresse schal
be occupiid oper wayes re|sonabeli in pe nedis of pe Abbey necessari. [Fol. 64v]
And ful ententi pat pis porteresse suffer nat pat pe dore be nat
openid but whan pat grete nede askip it, & pat pe dore diligentli 35
be kepte & schet & pe Guyches of barris of yrin & pe openinge be
nat any tyme lefte wipoute warde of one of pe forseyde porteresse,
& pat it be schette be day & be niht wip ii keyes, & pat it be nat
openid to sone at eche knockyng, but if hit so be pat pe porteresse
The Rule of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

firste see bi pe smalle wyndow who pat he is, & pat it is none dowte but pat he pat knockip be soche a persone whoche may lefolli come inne after pe rule of pe same religiou aforseyde. We wolde of alle pinge, pat pe 3ate be of hihenesse pat per may nat come the to but wip a ladder,29 whoche be lefte | vp & vnder a chayne of yrin, & schet wip a keye; & in pe mornyninge when it is day, bi pe chayne avale before iii of pe sustris. We graunt that pey haue a lowe 3ate, where porwe pat pey may bringe Inne grete pinges as tunnys of wyne & oper pinges like, & pat it be schette wip locke & keye & diligentli I-kepte. And 3if it hap any tyme pat any werke be for to do wip inne pe Abbey, & pat seculeris persones muste enter pere for pat, pan pe Abbesse puruoye & ordeyne iii sustris wise, sad, & vertnous of pe Couent, whiche kepe hem in silence to alle po persones whiche schal make werke, & algates pat none oper 15 persones entre. And 3if it happe pat per be multitude & prees, pat oper persones honest & couenable be ordeynid & chaun|gid 30 for to helpe pe forseyde sustris to kepe pe same 3ate sureli & bysili.

OF pe visitacioun of pis religioun: be alle weyes ordeynid pat who pat schal be establid Generall or special visitoure, pat he be soche one whoche is wel knownen of stedfastnesse of religious life & gode vertuis; pe whoche whan he comip to pe Abbey & is entrid wip inne, pat he bere him & schewe him soo pat he may drawe pe Sustris from goode in to beter, & pat he enstrengpe hem in pe lune of oure lorde, & pat he alwey estabel amonges hem fernen desire in charite. And whan he schal entre bi reso [of visitacioun*], pat he take him ii religious felawes honest & couenable, pe whoche felawes, 25 30

wille pey be wipinne pe Cloyster, schulle nat parte | asunder by none time. Alle pe Abbeyes of pe same religioun been I-visitid eche 3eer ones or at pe leste in ii 3ere ones. The visitoures be algatis of pe ordre of Freris menoures & pat he be I-sent by pe minister general of the ordre.

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

* Words supplied by comparison with Latin original.
The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

forme of pe Rule of pis religioun forseyde. The visitoure whiche wole goo ferfer in his visitacioun,\textsuperscript{81} after tyme pat pe rule ys redde, enqure he besili pe trowpe of alle Sustris & of eche of hem bi hemselfe generali, & especiali pe estate of alle pe sustres & how pey kepin here religioun; & bere he fyndip any defawte, for to amende [Fol. 66\textsuperscript{r}] & resourme hit in pe principal & in pe membris in jelosie of charite & in pe loue of rihtwisnesse & bi grete discresioun in alle times.

WHan pat he visitip\textsuperscript{82} in alle times any of pe Sustres, pe Abbesse schal abide oute of pe chapitre, & * resigne pe seele, & sche schal nat be at here owne visitacioun; & none pinge be purposid of one suster to anooper, but pat whoche may be proud haue be done by comune spekyunge or bi apert knowynge. An ouer alle pinges\textsuperscript{83} pat he take kepe & penke bisili & nameli in pe visitasioun of pe Sustres, pat stere nat to any pinge but to pe loue of god for to speke of, & of pe amendement of pe Sustris whoche wole nat knowe 15 here trespace & pe defauhtes whoche been putte on hem, 3if | pey [Fol. 66\textsuperscript{r}] wole excuse hem of pe same; & 3if it be grete pinges, audience schal nat be denied to hem. And poo sustris whoche acusip oper of greuousis pinges, 3if pey faylen in prouing per of, after pe blame whoche is put vppon hem, be lawfullie punischid. And pe trespace 20 or defaute whiche hap be punischid biforn bi a visitour, schal [nat] be redressid of newe. The visitouris schullin kepe pe maner of spekyunge forseyde, pat is for to vnderstonde, pat pey speke to alle pe sustris or to ii at pe lestef bifore mani whiche be nat ferre; & also whan he is oute of pe place & wole speke to one or to many of 25 pinges whiche pertynip to his office.

And we wole pat pe visitouris spede hem of here visitacioun of alle wip owte greuauns | of pe Abbey, & alga\textsuperscript{84} pat wipinne iiiidayes or [Fol. 67\textsuperscript{r}] v atte moste bi here visitacioun, but 3if it so be pat it nedip lenger to abide for hope & grete nede. And after pat pey for to haue none 30 power to entre in to pe Abbey. The time of pe visitacioun whoche is aboue seyde schal nat be esloignid wipowte special conge of pe Mynistre. And we wole nat pat pe generalle Minister dwelle ne

* MS. adds ‘pe’. 
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abide lenger but ðe same time, but if it so be for a grete certayne cause. Allegatis at ðe nyhte from ðe sonne goynte to reste til in ðe morwe at ðe sunne risinge, pat none be suffrid for to dwelle or to entre wip inne, nepery visitour ne oper, of what auctorite pat he be * warnid, but if it so be ðat it be for confessioun for to here of any | sike Suster gretli syke or for any grete peril schewynge. And wolyng & monestyn ðat ðe Sustres in priue & aperte ðo pinges whiche after ðe forme, as it semip to doo to kepe here rule, whoche been to establid & to amende, After ðat whoche schal best seme to hem & ðer vppon ðat ðey myngin & preposin couenanbl & besili to visitoure to whom ðey been holden by vertu of obedience for to obeye stedfastli wip in ðe time forseyde In alle pinge longinge to ðe visitoures office. And ðif ðer be any Suster ðat hap tresspaid ðegenst ðe Rule, be sche punyschid rihtfulli bi ðe visitoure, as it longip for to be done. The abbesse also, ðif here meritis & here desawtes axen hit, be sche assoylid of here office bi ðe visitoure & bi him also corec|tid. The couent & oper familieres, ðif ðey be reprouable in any pinge, ðat ðey be repreuid; ðif ðey wele nat be repreuid, ðat ðey be algatis remuyd. The confessoures & here felowes be of ðe ordre of freris Menoures, whoche ðey schullyn dwellin ðere & minister ðe sacrament of ðe awter & oper sacramentis, but ðif it so be ðat Ministeres general or provincial ordeyne in oper maner bi cause resonebl & honest. And ðif ðe visitoure fynde any cause notable ageynist ðese confessoures, he is holdin to enforme ðer of ðe Minister provincial, whoche schal redresse hem or putte hem awey owte of ðe place.

After ðat we enmonestyn straytli ðe visitoure, ðat ðoo pinges whoche he fynt in his visitacioun ðat | he kepe priue, ne schewe hit nat bi his knowinge to none bodi, but assone as misledis schal be redde & penaunce enioynid, alle ðat whoche is writen schal be brent bifoer ðe couent, but ðif ðer be soche pinges whoche bi ðe coussayle of moste wise sustris of ðe couent schul be reportid to ðe Minister general of ðe ordre. And also ðif so be ðat ðe Minister provincial finde after ðe visitacioun any pinge notable ageynis ðe visitoure or ageynis his felawes, He is holdin to make enformacioun to ðe Minister

* MS. repeats ‘that he be’.
general. The felaws to þe visitoure schul nat be at þe visitacioun, but þif it so be þat þat it seme to þe visitoure for þe beste to doo.

The eleccioun of þe Abbesse perteynif alle oneli to þe couent, but þe confirmacioun quassacioun & deposing | pertenif to þe Ministre [Fol. 69" general of þe ordre of Freris Menoures, þif he be present in þe prouince; & þif he be nat, þat it schal pertien to þe Minister prouincial, In þe whiche þe forseyde Abbey is foundid, To whom pertenif þe ordnance of þis ordre, þe gouernaunce, þe cure, þe visitacioun, þe correccioun, & reformacioun, & bi hem & bi oþer visitouris 10 after þat at it be enioynid hem in place & in time; bi þe whiche visitoures þe abbesse schal be assoylid of here office, as it is expresid aboue. And þere for þan in vertu of obedience we comaunde straylthi senden & enioynen alle Abbessis & Sustris of þis religioun, þat þey be obedientis to þe Minister general of þe ordre of frere 15 Menoures & to þe Minister prouincial of þe same prouince, in þe whiche þe same | Abbey is sette, in þinges whiche been nat ageynis [Fol. 69"] here sowlis, ne ageynis þis present rule. For we wolþ þaty be alwey sogettis to here gouernouris. Also we enioynin to alle þe sustris of þis same religion, þat þey obeij diligentli to here Abbesse. 20 after þat þe Abbesse be confermid, as longe as þat sche dwellip & abidip in here office. Whan for maladi or for any oþer caas þat þe Abbey be destitute or voyde of an Abbesse, þat þan þe sustris schal
*chesyn a president to whom in þe mene time þey schul be obedientis til a nyew Abbesse be confermid & ocupie here office. And þis same 25 president schal vse & execute in þe mene time þe office who ys longynte to þe Abbesse. 35 The mynistris [and+] þe visitoures 36 schul reforume alle dis|honeste & amende alle þingis whoche been for to [Fol. 70"] amende boþ in spiritualite & in temporalite. And it [ìs] for to eschiewen comynges &goinges of straungeris bi occasioun of temporal 30 þinges & forasmoche þat þe Sustris may lyue more in pees for to serue god allegatis, þat þey haue in comune & for to resseyue þe profites of rentis & possessions & sureli to kepe. And for to tretæ þe forseyde possessions in riht maner, haue þey in þe forseyde Abbey a procuratoure 37 wise & trew, whoche schal be establid of 35 the counsayle of the Abbesse & bi consentement of þe couent & be

* Before ‘chesyn’ a word erased, probably ‘mow’.
+ MS. whoche.
he put owte at alle time, whan hem schal seme goode & profitabel; & pat pe procuratoure be holdin to yeldde acounte resonable to pe Abbesse & to pe wise Sustres especiali bi pe couent per;to assignid, & to pe visitouris whan pey wolen herin of alle pinges whoche haue 5 be deliurid to him & pat he hap despendid. And þis procuratoure schal nat in none maner selle, ne bynde ne draw awey any goodes or catallis of pe Abbey, & alle þat which is done in damage to þe Abbey bi soche maner of bad gouernaunce, we Juge it for nawt & of none auayle . And for as moche þat in oper place isoure life 10 perpetuel, we wole aboue alle pinges þat þe sustris of þis religioun eschuen outrage & þe sourfait of bigginge & of alle maner curiosite, whiche been contrarious to alle godenesse & whoche god hatip in alle pinges.

The seel of þe couent be kepte after þe ordinaunce of þe same [Fol. 71r] couent. And alle þe letres whiche | schul be sent from þe couent schal be firste I-redde in þe chapitre. None of þe Sustres sende ne resseyue any letres but soche whoche þe Abbesse schal rede first, or ellis þat þe same letres be I-redde biforn þe Abbesse be anoþer suster þer to assignid. The Abbesse schal holde chapitre eche wike twies 20 at þe leste, one of coreccioun & amonisschment, & anoþer of þe ordinaunce of Sustris. And ouer alle pinge we defende þat none Ministre ne visitoure bi here auctorite make none constiuicionis in þe Abbey ageynis þe forme & rule aforseyde, wher þorwe þe sustris be bounde or enclinid to any vice or payne, but þif so be þat it be 25 done bi consentment of alle þe couent; and þif ani soche nyew ordinaunce be made, by no maner þat þe sustris schul be boundyn þer to.38

We seyn þan þat none persone of holi chirche ne seculer take in despite ne varie ne transpose pis present rule correctid & approuid, 30 ne any þinges whoch been comprehendid þer inne, ne for to go folili þer ageynis. And þif any be so hardi þat dare take þat vpon him, knowe he þat he renniþ in þe wrap of god almyhty & indignacioun of þe apostles Peter & poule. This was 5ouin at vien39 þe vi kalendis of august þe secunde 3er of our dignite.
This is rule of sustris enclosid, whoche haue lefte alle pinges of pis worlde for loue of god. Certis þey do grete vnderstondinge, for in pis worlde may no man dwelle in profitabel pees. At alle dayes þer been enemyes And þerfor þat þe sustres put here powtes for to loue god ententifely, whoche schal putte hem in goode place. 5 And | for as mochel þat þey been enclosid, allemihti god schal þeue [Fol. 72’] to hem of his fayre þinges & þat is fayre paradise, bi cause þat þey haue louid him in vertuouse seruise. Now prey we pis gode ladies þat þey preyen for oure sowles þat we may come & haue þe Joye of heuyn bi his blessid grace perpetuelly for to endure. Amen. 10

Here endip þe Æwle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid.
For as moche pat it is couenabel lowli seruauntes & deuowtes hand maydenes of owre lorde Ihesu criste for his loue pe worlde wip alle vaniteis to forsake, And pe batayle for to undertake agaynes pe deuel & him for to wipstonde & his temptacions, & hem selfe to refreyne bi name of profession, bi whoche pey been submittid to diuères obseruauncis of religioun, so pat pey mowen bi pe forseyde avowe of regulere obseruaunce helpe in sowle & bodi hué in pis worlde, And after her departinge for to reioyse perpetualli pe rewarde of blisse, whoche ys ordeynid for here rewarde, we perfor

10 fader spirituel of his pingis penkinge wip gode diligence, haun ordeynid pat pe sustris whiche been or schal been vnder pe gouernaunce in pe cure of freris Menowres, alle pow pat pey be clepid Menowressis or of pe ordre of Seint Clere or of seynt damian,* or of what oþer name pat pey huyn or berin, pat in eche place wher

15 pey been dwellinge bi pe ministris prouincial of pe Freris Menours & bi pe Abbesse of pe same place & of pe | couent or of pe gretter parti of pe couent be per ordeynid be oure auctorite certeyne nombre of hem after pe quantite & suſſiciant of godes & rentis longinge to pe same Abbey, so pat pey may of here godes couenabli be sus-

20 tayn. And ouer pat certayne nomber bi pis maner assigned, pat none be resseyuid in pe same hous wipowte special licence of pe apostle, But ſif so be ſat here godes & rentis been of soche encrese whoque may suffice to moo; & algatis byfore any soche resseyuinge, pat pe encrese of here godes bi pe grace of god be denounsid to pe chapitre general of freres Menoures. Atte whiche chapitre it schal be ſan ordeynid how many persone may per putte inne ouer the nombre of olde time, bi resoun of pe encrees of here

25 goodes & reue|nuys, as it is forseyde. And ſif it happo bi pe grace of god any persone or many persone for to be resseyuid ouer pe olde nombre, Algatis pat none soche resseyte be made wip owte licence of pe Ministre general or prouincial, to pe whoche Ministris we commaundin straytli ſat before ani soche graunt schal be done, pat pey auise wel, pat none couenaunt † per in be made vnduli, ne

* The numbers given in the text refer to the notes which will be found on pp. 120-3.
† MS. 'comenaunt'.
The Rewele of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

ani pinge pat towchip Simoni. And 3if it happe bi aventure pat any of pe kynrede or oper Frendes make legacioun, devise or sifice of ani maner possessioun, gode, catelles or Iuyelles to any Suster, pat it schal be resseyuid bi pe Abbesse & dispendid in profite to Couent; & sche bi cause of whom pat gifte is done for, pat allegatis sche 5 in here necessitees be holpyn & rele|uyd to here esse goodli. And [Fol. 74r] pat pe ministris be wel ware, bope general & procurid, pat for none leue biforn grauntid ne after, bi none wey, for none coloure ne requeste, ne for any oper occasioun, none maner suster of pis religioun bi here selfe ne be any oper do resseyue or take any pinge whoche 10 is longynge to ani frere or to any Couent or to pe chirches orwerkis of pe forseyde ordre. And also pat bi resoun of soche resseyte none pinge be procurid ne zouin, & pat none pinge be suffrid to be resseyuid bi resoun of custume, ne bi any oper wey, For alle soche dedis we recouene* corrupcioun. And 3if any ministre do or suffer pe 15 contrarie, be he cursid in so mocel pat he may nat be assoylid* but onli of pe pope† excepte peryl of deep, & 3if he be consic|tid [Fol. 74r] per of, pat pan he schal be deposid of pe office of Ministre perpetueli.

And more ouer we ordeyne pat pe Abbessis & alle oper whiche pe goodes of pe Abbey schal gader, resseyue, ministre, or despende, 20 eche 3ere pat pey schal zeelede acounte biforn pe Ministre general or procurid & before ani wyse Sustres I-chosin pere bi pe Couent, of alle maner resseytis & expensis & of alle oper pinges in diew maner, & of alle pat whiche is owyge bi any persone, & of pe astate of pe Abbey. And we wole also pat in eche hous of pe ordre in pe 25 biginnynge of pe Abbes, after pat sche is in pisible possessioun of pe godes, & alle pinges whoche longyn to pe hous, pat wip inne ii monpis in pe present of pe Ministre general or procurid or | of [Fol. 75r] pe visitoure of pe house, & in presens of vi wise Sustris of pe same, place be an Inuentari made of alle here godes & catallis meuabel & 30 not meuabel; & pis Inuentari schal be regestrid or dowblid in alle poynitis acordinge & enselid wip pe seeles of pe Abbesse & of pe couent; and amongis oper pinges in pe forseyde register be con- teynid what bestis pey hauyn, & what pey been worpe, & what corne pey hauyn, & what wynes, & alle oper maner store, & pe 35 dettis whoche pe hous owip, & pe dettis whoche been owynge to pe house, & to whom pey been bowndyn & pe names of here dettoures, & what ornementis, & what vessel & couertoures, & what oper

* MS. 'retoune'.  † Word rubbed out, but still legible.
sothe thingis been in þe hous. And þif any Abbesse resseyue þe hous in | gode estate & sche doop enpeyre hit, bi alienacioun or destructioun of here godes or bi dette & foli obligacioun, þan be sche deposid of here astate, & ouer þat be sche punyschid as it longip to. And we wole þat þe forseyde Inuentaries or regestris been redde opunli & playnli in þe Chapitre bifore alle þe Conent; and after tyme þat þey been redde, one register dwelle wip þe Abbesse, & þat oþer wip þe Conent, & þe transcrite wip þe Ministre general or prouincial.

And þit as we recordin oure blessid predecessoures pope boneface þe VIII *,† þat after a constitucioun bi hem ordeynid wpon þis same religioun, vnder vertuouse rule, þat alle þe Sustris schulden dwelle & abide vnder stedefast & perpetuel closinge, & as we been eformid

In some placis of þe ordre | þis poynt is nat kepte holi, And þefor owre wille is, þat þis same constitucioun be kepte outerli. Wherfor we comawnde straytli to alle Ministris & Abbessis & to alle þo to whom soche kepinge of closure perteniþ, þat þey alle doo here seruent diligence for to kepe truli, þat none Suster priyli ne apertli passe nat oute bi none mauer wey, But þif so be in case þat any of hem been sent & ordeynid for to edifie & ocupie a newe place of þe same religioun, or ellis þat it happe þat ani of hem be in so stronge maladie opunli, þat sche may nat dwelle ne abide þer inne wip owte grete sclaunder or perille importabel.

And ouer þat we wole þat none religious ne secularere, of what astate or dignite þat he be, þat he enter nat to hem | wipowte licence of þe Apostle, owtake þes persones to whom is grauntid conge, bi here rule & bi ordinaunce of owre predecessouris . And ouer þat we comaundyn strytyli to þe Ministris, Custodis & wardeynis bi þis tenoure present, þat þey distreyne alle here freris to hem sogettis, þat in here comynges & abidinges in þe Abbey þey gouerne hem vertuouss in alle poytis after þe rule of seynt Fraunceys & statu[‡]es of holi popis † & oþer holi † Freris of þe same ordre. And alle þoo whicho doo þe contrari schullin be punischid & chastisid after þe ordinaunce in þe same statutes assignyd.

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

* The word 'pope' is rubbed out and a line drawn through 'boneface þe VIII' in MS.
† Words have been rubbed out, but are readable.
Clare is a clause conteynyd, pat in eche house þer may be resseyuyd certay[nis personis for to serue hem & þe whiche schal be con-
þstreynid to alle maner observaunces of professioun like as oper been wip inne, owttake closure, &c., we neforþat, for þe honeste & gode fame of þe Sustris of þe ordre of seynt Clare or Menoressis or of seynt 5 Damyan, Oper weyres we ordeyne at þis time, & wolín þat oure ordi-
naunces endure perpetuelli, whiche is þis þat we commaundin straylý þat from þis time forpe, soche seruauntis þat now been or schullin been, þat þey been as ferforþ & astraylþi boundin to þe observaunce of professioun as oper sustryn in þe same Abbey vnder obedience, 10 & þat þey dwellin & abide perpetuelli vnder closure. Neforpan þey schul move haue in eche house of soche religioun certay[nis wommen | but fewe, þe whiche schullen be of gode age & wel auysid & of goode maneris & honestes in seculere habite; & soche schal entre nat in þe closure of þe Sustres, but for profite of þe Abbey & for 15 grete necessite to þe Sustres, after þat is enioynid to hem, & þat þey be þere of warnid. And 3if þe Abbesse take vpþon here ageynes oure commaundement for to goo owte of þe forseyde closure, or geue licence to any of þe Sustris, þat þan bi þe Ministre in þe counsayle of þe freris, The same Abbesse schal be remewid of here 20 gouernaunce, & þe Sustris bi þe maner goynge owte of þe closure, but in case sufferablis, schullyn be made onables to alle offices of þe ordre, & neuerþelesse þat þey been enioynid to do þe penaunce assignyd & ordeynid in þe ordre | for grevouses trespasís.

And also we defenden straylý þat þe Sustris of þe ordre, haue 25 none cellis in here dortoure, & 3if any þer be, we senden & comaunden þat bi þe ministris or be visitoures in þe nexte visitacioun þat þey do destruye vtterli alle soche maner cellis; & 3if any oper be counsaylþi procuringe or helpinge þere agayne, þat þey been chastised & punischid sadli by censure & sentence of holi chirche & that by 30 oure auctorite. And 3if any of þe forseyde Ministris or oper freris of þe same ordre presumyn now or in tyme comynge to make oper statutis or observaunces ageynes owre commaundayse, we bi auctorite papal* enioynyn & comaundyn þat soche constitucions been holden for nauhte & of none valu. And we wolen | & comaunden [Fol. 78'] straylý þat alle þe Ministris provinciallis in alle here provines do sende to alle Abbeyes of þe same ordre whoche been or schulde been vnder cure & gouernaunce of freris Menoures, The copies of

* Word rubbed out, but readable.
At alle pe houres pey schal first a litel ringe & make a suffisaunt restinge, so pat pe Sustres may make hem redi & assemble in pe chirche wip owte tariynge, & pan schal pe belle be rungyn wel lenger, & pis maner ringinge be vsid in alle times, safe | in dobel Festis. For pan we schal ringe iii tymes longe bope to euensonge & to matynnis, bi espacios suffisauntis. And at pe tierce twey tymes longe with couenabel espace, & after pe tierce iiiii time to pe masse couenabli. Eche day we schal ringe in time longe bifore pe biginninge of pe Inuitorie. On sundeyes, at dobel Festis, & semydobel pey schal ringe, whan pe[ ]y byginne Te deum [audamus] tille soche a verse pleni sunt celli & terra. And on sundeyes whan pey syngen pe ix respons, while Gloria patri is asinginge, pan pey schal ringe til pe biginnynge ageyne of pe response. Whan pey been at pe leuacioun, pey schal ringe a litel in pe masse conuentuel withoute more. At pe mete & at pe soper in alle times pey schal sowne pe smale belle, And after | til pe Sustren haue wasschin here hondis & assembel togyderes bifore pe freytoure, & after here refeccioun pey schalle Smyht iiiii strokes on pe belle of pe freytoure. And after pis smytinge pe Sustres schullin ris & entre honestli in to pe Freytoure, & after pat pey schal sowne pe belle, bi pe space of seyinge of iiiii Ave maries. And after pat pe Chauntresse in sesynge of pe sowninge schal seye Benedicite. And pe Couent schal answere in pe same tune. And pan pe Chauntresse schal bigynne pe verse, & alle pe couent schal sey after. 

At Iube d[omne] Sche pat schal rede fromme pe ende of pe Couent til sche come in myddis of pe Couent schal sey Iube d[omne] & bowynge schal resseyue pe blessynge. And in pe end of pe mete, pe refrey- touresse schal smyte | iiiii strokes on pe smale belle, & anone pe red er schal sey Tu autem. And pe Sustres at pe tabel schul seye Deo gratias. And after anone pe Somenerere schal sowne pe smale belle as lange til pe sustres been fro table, & in renges bifore, one
The Revile of Sustris Menouresses enclosed

Suster ageynis anoper. And þan þe chaunterere schal biginne þe verse & alle þe couent after, & atte Gloria patri Eche Suster schal turne ageynis oper. Whan alle is done, þe almyynere schal turne here towarde þe ymage & sey Agimus tibi wip Benedictus deus in do[nis], And after þat þe Chaunterere schal bigynne for to go to ðe 5 Mynystre wip Miserere mei, deus, & alle þe couent & þan þe quere on þat one syde schal take his verse, & þe Quere on þat oper syde schal take anoper verse. And assone as þey | haue bowid hem to þe [Fol. 80r] ymage reuerentli, þey schul go in to þe chirche singyng þe same note. And at þe entre of þe Quere þey schul bowe towarde þe awter, & whan þey been entrid in here segis þey schul stonde one ageynes anoper, til þey sey Retribuere. And þanne alle schal bowen at Per dominum, & þanne turne hem te þe auter til me seyþ * Fidelium anime*. And whan þey haue answerid Amen, þey schul bowe & sey Pater noster; 3if it be Fest, stondinge; 3if hit be Feri, 15 knelinge; And after in þe ende smyte þe forme & seye Deus det nobis s[uam] p[acem] & þe couent answeringe Amen.


And also at þe colacioun 18 whoche schal be done eche day in þe freytoure, First þey schul sown þe belle in Monastre bi espac auenaunt, & refectnuere schal sowne þe smale belle of þe Cloyster 25 be as longe time þat alle þe Sustris may be redili ensemblid in þe Freytoure. And anone after þe Redere schal sey Iube domne, &c., & resseyue blessinge bowinge, as hit is forseyde. The benisoun is þis: Noctem quietam & finem perfectum concedat nobis omnipotens & misericors dominus. R Amen. And after þe firste or secunde 30 verse of þe lessoun þe Reder schal sey Benedictie wip | titel & poynt- [Fol. 81v] ing in tone of a lessoun. Þe blessing is Potum ancilarum suarum, &c. In nomine patri[s] & filii & spiritus s[ancti]. R Amen. And in þe ende of þe lessoun þe Reder schal sey Fratres, sobrii estote &c. . Tu autem domine] &c. R Deo gratias. The sustris schul goo to monastre 35 ordeyneli seyinge, Miserere mei, deus wip owte note, & þan þey schul

* 'me' and the þ of 'seyþ' erased and 'þey sey' in later hand in margin.
ringe þe grete belle in þe clogere for complin, whan it is ronge & seyd in þe chirche Adiutorium &c. & Pater noster knelinge. Þan þey schal sey Confiteor &c. & Misereatur &c. And as oftyn þat fastynge day is, Collacioun schal be done & seyde & nomore. And 5 in ðe ðyme þey schal come to Complyn as to ðe ðoper hours of þe day. And þe þyme þat þey schul slepe bi þe day Fro Pasche vnto

[fol. 82r] seint Croyse. . . Sché þat hæþ rede at þe tabel, as sone as sche hæþ etin, sche schal sowne þe smale belle of þe freytour bi þe space of an Ave maria. And after anone þe Sustris schullin rest hem in þe þyme þat þey schal sey Confiteor &c. & Misereatur &c. And as oftyn þat fastynge day is, Collacioun schal be done & seyde & nomore. And 5 in ðe ðyme þat þey schul slepe bi þe day Fro Pasche vnto
Reide absolutiones seyde bifore seyde e one & chaunge at 20 e 83 one fey middis whiche is of be words schullen alle of knelinge suifragis & 35 Sustris sesages, orisoun of be e orisons preces ladi [Fol. Euan...]

* Some words must be supplied here, e.g. 'sche seyj>.'
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stonde til *Per dominum*. And also after *pat* *pe* Offertorie *24* is
songoun til *orate, fratres, pe sustres schul turne hem riht towards *pe*
awter. And [when] *Orate* is seyde, *pe* schul knelin til *Per omnia,*
& *panne* rise vppe & bowe hem towards *pe* awter til *Sanctus,* & *pan*
5 *pe* one syde of *pe* Quere agaynes *pe* oper & singe *Sanctus,* & *after*
*pat* for to knelin duringe *pe* leuacioun of *pe* bodi of oure lorde Ihesu
criste, & *pan* rise & worship deuowtli on knees towards *pe* awter,
& *pe* schul dwelle greueninge *25* til *Per omnia* at *Pax domini.*
And whan *Agnus dei* is seyde, [*pey*] schal lye greueninge til *pe*
10 Post com*[munions]*. *And* in festiuale dayes *&* Festis of ix lessons
[Fol. 85*] *&* in masses of *Requiem* whoche been songyn in soche Festis, | *pey*
schul nat make pro sternacioun whan *Sanctus* is in seyinge, til *pe*
lenacioun, but after *pe* lenacioun *pey* schul make pro sternacion til
*Per omnia* of *pe* *Pater noster.* And of masse of *Requiem* for bodi
15 present, of whom vigilies were done bi note in a Ferial day, *pey*
schal do as in a festival day & *so* schul *pey* deo at masse of *pe* holi
goste, of oure ladi, of seint Fraunces, and in massis for anniuersa-
ris, & of oper seintis; & in *pis* massis of seyntis *pey* schal sey
*Kyrie, Sanctus & agnus,* as of Festival dayes, pow it be feri. Item
20 *pey* schul knelin in ferial dayes at *Salue, sancta parens,* & at *Veni*
sancte spiritus,* & in *pe* massis of *pe* holi goste & of oure ladi, & in
lentyn at *pe* verse of *pe* tracte, *27* *Adiuua nos deus salutaris noster*
& at *Salue regina* & *Aue regina,* & at *pe* bigyn|ninge of *pe* verse
*O crux, aue, spes unica &c.* And in eche time & place *pat* *pey*
25 knelin in ferial dayes, *pey* schul knelyn in festival dayes, except at
*preeses* *28* of prime & of complyn. And also *pat* *pe* sustris been riht
turnid eche agaynis oper. In *pe* masse whan *pe* Offertori is
songoun, *pey* schulle turne hem towards *pe* awter, & after *pe* *Sanctus*
also *pat* *pey* been vprhti, & at alle times *pat* any is songe in
30 comune. Item alle times *pat* *Gloria patri* is seyde, *pey* schul bowe
hem lowli, & at *Te deum laudamus,* whan *Te eryo quaesumus* is
seyde, & at *Credo* whan *Homo factus est,* & at *Gloria in excelsis,*
whan *suscipe deprecationem* is seyde,& in *pe* endis of ympnis, & whan
*pe* last verse saue one of *Benedicite* *29* is seyde. *Item* *pe* benisoun
[Fol. 86*] after complin | schal be seyde bfore *pe* anteme & after *pe* anteme
*pey* schul sey *Fidelium.* *Item* *Te deum & Credo* schal be songoun,
as it was ordeynid at *pe* chapitre general. *Item* *pey* may singe som
sequence *30* bi ordinaunce general, as *pe* ordinal makip menciou
except at *pe* masse of holi goste.
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In lentoun pey schul sey pe Intrat Dum sanctificatus nos fuero * Item pe antemes Lux orta est iusto And to oper sohe lyke instede of In eterno For alleluia, whan one Alleluia ys seyde . And also Rex glorioso & soche like may be songin some time for a Fest solempe in pe note of Eterna lux . Oper ymnys 5 schullin be songe in alle times after pe ordinal, whoche schal nat be chaungid for Auent ne for any Fest ne for lentoun . Item pey schul nat leuyn for masse of pe holi gost, or of oure ladi, ne for | any [Fol. 87'] oper masse, but for pe masse of pe ordinari schal be songe in his place & at pe riht houre . Inuitoriis & alle oper verses & 10 benedicite schul be seyde in alle times of one Suster in here sege in Festis of ix lessons & of iiii lesson, & 3if it be dubbl fest or half dobel, ii Sustris schul sey pe verse bifor pe awter . And in feriis bitwix paske & pentecoste, Alleluia in pe masse schal be seyde alwey wip ii Sustres . And in festis of ix [c]c[ions] & in sondayes, 15 Inuitoriis & pe last Respons & Alleluia in pe masse schal alle wey be songe of ii sustris at pe Lectroun in myddes of pe Quere . In Festis half doubl pe orison alwey schal be seyde in myddis of pe Quere at pe first euynsonge & at pe secunde & at pe matyns & in pe iii & vi | Respons & at pe grayel of pe masse & of ii sustris & [Fol. 87'] pe smale verset, but 3if pe chapitre at pe secunde euynsonge be chaungid . For a feste simple pe an be it done as pe may godeli, & 3if it may be atte euynsonge & at matyns pe per be had an cierce or a chaundel of wexe & especialli in halfe dowbel festis & on sondayes . Pese been pe half dobel Festis.31 Seint lucy, seint 25 Nicholas, pe fest of Innocentis, of seint Thomas of Caunterbiri, pe vtas of pe Epiphanie, pe fest of seint Anneys, & of seint Agase, pe fest of pe holicrose, pe apparicioun of michel, pe octaues of pe ascencioun & of seint Antony, & of seynt John Baptist, pe fest of seint Marie magdalene, pe translacioun of seynt thomas, & pe fest 30 of seynt | Margare, pe vtas of seint laurence, & of seynt lowis, & pe [Fol. 88'] fest of pe decollacioun of seint Iohn, pe vtas of pe Natiuite of oure ladi, the fest of seint Martin, pe fest of seynt Elizabeth, & of seynt Cecile, & of seynt katerin, & pe vtas of corporis cristi .

In festis douce dobles,32 pe Abbes or sche whiche schal do pe 35 office in pe ende of pe thrid stroke, bop of pe one euynsonge & of pe oper33 & of Matyns, schal go to pe Lectroun in myddis of pe Quere . And pepe ii sustris 3ongest apparaylid schullen holde ech of hem a cierce in here honde, pe one in pe riht syde, & pe

* So the MS. : it should be Dum sanctificatus fuero in vobis.
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oper in þe lefte syde, & þe þrid schal holde a censer ful of fyre;
& as sone þat sche schal see a tokene made for to bigynne þe office,
[Fol. 88v] þat sche turne here bifore here whoche schal bigynne | þe office &
anone encense iii times bifor þat þe signe be made, þan turne here
toward þe awter. And þe Quere þe one syde agaynes þe oper,
whan þe Pater noster is seyde. Þan anöper tyme schal þe signe
be made & alle þe sustris schul ryse up & stonde riht towarde þe
awter at Deus in adiutorium & singe also, and whan þey come to
Gloria patri, alle schul bowe, þe one Quere agaynes þe other. Whan
þey come to Sicut erat, sche whoche biganne þe office returne here
to here sege, & þan þe cierges schullin be I-sette bifore þe awter
ordeynli. The chaunteresses schul stonde in middis of þe quere &
byginne to gyder alle þat longip to here office. Sche whoche dope
þe Office schal biginne alle þe antemes of Magnificat & benedictus
[Fol. 89r] & þe | Invitatori & Benedictus schal be seyd of iiiii, & þe bigyn-
ninges of þe Respons of matyns & alle þe smale Responses at alle
þe hours schullen be seyd of ii in myddes of þe quere bifore þe
awter. Whan þey ensence in þe quere, 3if it be a dowbel fest, þey
schul first ensence here whoche doop þe office, And after þe chaun-
teresse in myddes of þe quere, & þan þey schal ensence eche syde
of þe quere, & þan þey schal ensence þe ceroferessis ii* times or
iiii times at þe moste. In þis maner þey schul 3eue þe pees.
Whan it is dowbel Festes or encense, þey schul biginne towarde þe
semennere & perfor to gyffe of þe pees. Whan þey schal sey þe
orisoun, hit be seyde in myddis of þe Quere. Sche whoche doop þe
office & oper wip cierges schullin be vpriht as longe þat þe orison
[Fol. 89v] is aseyinge. & þe ebdomodaric schal | goo to here seege & sey þere
Fidelium.

This been þe Festis doubles.34  Noel, Fest of seynt Stephen, seynt
30 Iohn, þe Circumsicioun, þe Epiphanie, þe fest of conversion of seynt
poule, þe purificaicion, & alle þe festis of oure ladi, þe fest of seynt
antoun, & his translacioun, Cathedra sancti petri, þe Fest of seint
Mathee, of seynt Gregori, of seynt Benet, Pasch wip ii dayes after,
þe Fest of seynt Marke, þe fest of þe ascencioun, & of Pentecoste
wip ii dayes after, & of þe blessid Trinite, & of Corpus cristi, &

* MS. ' IIII times or II times at þe moste'.
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pe Fest of seint Fraunces, & pe vtas of seynt barnabe, & seynt
John Baptiste, of seint Petir & Paule, & pe commemoracion of seynt
paule, pe vtas of seynt Petir & seynt paule, of seynt James, &
ad vincula sancti petri*, of seynt laurence, of seint Clare, & pe
vtas of owre ladi, & pe fest of seynt lowis bisschop, of seint [Fol. 90r]
barth[olem]a, of augustyn doctor, of seint Matheu, of seint Misshel,
of seint Ierome, of seint luke, of seynt symon & seynt Iude, pe
Fest of alle halwyn, pe translacioun of seynt lowis, pe fest of dedi-
cacioun, & of seynt andrew. In alle pese festis pey schal haue 111
cliergis at masse, at euinsonge, & at matyns, II at pe auter & II 10
at pe chandelabris. In alle oper times pey schal haue II cliergis.
At masse, whan pey syngin in pe quere, Comunly pe one syde
of pe quere schal turne hem to pe oper side, but at pe chapitres
toward pe awter, & at pe orisons whan pey bowen hem or makyn
prostracioun & whan pe offortori is seyde, pey schul turne hem 15
toward pe awter til Sanctus, whan pey encline hem or make
prostracioun. At orisoun, be it at masse or | hours, pey schul [Fol. 90r]
stonde vp whan Per dominum ys in seyinge & turne toward pe
auter til amen ys seyde. Whan one suster sey pe Inivitatori or
biginnip an anteme or sey a schort Response or Benedictus, sche
20
schal turne here to pe awter, and one [syde] of pe Quere ageynis
pe oper. Whan pey sey Flectamus ge[nua], leuate, pey schullin
turne hem to pe auter after leuate til pe ende of pe orisoun. At alle
pe orisons pey schal do so, saue at pat whan pey sey Dominus
uobisun, at pe whiche pey schal knelin til Per dominum. At 25
alle pe orisons pey schal of pe masse & of hours pey schul turne to pe awter,
& at pe orisoun after Asperges.32

Item whan masse of pe feri ys seyde in a Festivall day, alle
maner obseruauns schal be kept as in a feri. Item whan pe office
of owre ladi is seyde, pey schal | haue a cierge or a chaundel 3if it [Fol. 91r]
may be. Item in pe ende of alle pe hours pey schul sey Fidelium
anime &c. & pater noster, 3if peye schal nat be bigune a masse or
a houre anone after, & to make a signe wip prosternacioun & sey
dominus det a[obis] [s]uam [p[acem]], but 3if it be after Complyn
or after matyns, & pe sustris schul answere Amen. Whan pey sey 35
many hours to gederis wip in pe couent or owte, pey schal sey
Fidelium after eche houre & pater noster, & anone after bygynne
anoher houre. Whan pey haue I-smyten pe forme for to encline or
* MS. ‘see petre’.
The Reivle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

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

In festis [of] IX l[e][c][ions] II Sustres schul sey Alleluia at pe lectroun 3if it be to sey ; 3if pe tract be longe, hit may [be] songen of IIII or of vi, pe one after | opor. In festis half doubles & in sondayes II sustris schul say pe Grayel & IIII Alleluia & mo 3if it lyke for to do. Whan pey syngip Alleluia in Feriallis dayes at pe first tyme wip owte endynge of pe newme 37 after pe verse, be it songyn til pe ful ende of pe newme. And whan pey syngip II Alleluia, as in tyme of pasche, from pe vtas of pasche til pe vtas of Pentecost, pey schal singe pe firste Alleluia alle & his verse & it schal nat be bygonne ageyne bifor his verse ne after . Pe secunde Alleluia schal be bigunne bifoire pe verse & after.

The sustres schul kepin hem from goyne & comynge custumabli 15 porwe pe Quere but because of necessite grete.

The maner for to hoselin pe sustres in massis conuentuales: first pey schul sey her confiteor in here places knelinge lowliche, & whan pe preest haf assoylid hem beinge in here places, Eche of hem wip lowe voys ones schal sey Non sum digna &c. And pan anone II sustris schulle be redi for to holdin a towayle bifoire pe preest. And pe freris whoche schal hosel hem, schal first hosel pe ministressis of pe awter, & after pat hem of pe Quere II & II to gydris of pe syde of pe quere, ordeynli alle with deuocioun & knelinge & pan for to drinke of pe chalis, and after pat for to returne in here places agayne.

The Reivle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

Confiteantur tibi &c. [\(\checkmark\)] Gloria patri. Sicut erat. And sche whoche hap blessid pe tabel schal turne here to pe ymage, zif any be in pe freytoure, & seyinge on hye, & syngynge Agimus tibi gratias &c. answer Amen, & after pat seyinge pe psalme Miserere mei, deus wip all pe versis\(^9\), Gloria patri, Sicut erat, Kyrieleison, criste 5 eleison. Kyrieleison. pater noster. [\(\checkmark\)] Et ne nos wip alle pe versis & in pe ende [\(\checkmark\)] Sit nomen domini benedictum. [\(\checkmark\)] Ex hoc nunc & seyinge wip owte oremus\(^10\) Retribuere dignare &c. [\(\checkmark\)] Amen. [\(\checkmark\)] Benedicamus domino\(^{a}\). [\(\checkmark\)] Amen. [\(\checkmark\)] Edent pauperes &c. Gloria patri. Sicut erat. Kyrieleison. Criste eleison. Kyrieleison, as it is seyde aforne after Tu a\[utem\] & answere. Deo gratias. [\(\checkmark\)] Memoriam fecit. Gloria patri. Sicut erat. & after pat Benedictus &c., psalme laudate dominum &c.; & in alle times laudate schal be seyde atte 15 soper.

When pey etip but ones on pe day, pey schul sey benisoun & graces as at soper wip pe psalme Miserere mei deus. This ordinaunce of pe Benysoun & of graces schal be kep\(t\) in alle times excepte in festis whoche hap propre.


On schere pursday\(^t\) Absolute wip owte note & wip more sey\[inge\] 30 at pe mete Cristus factus est pro nobis o\[bediens\] usque ad mortem,

* MS. 'Absoluimus'.
The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid

& pan schal be seyde Pater noster lowli & wip owte ani more blese pe tabel, & wip [owte] Iube d[omne] & wip owte Tu a[utem]. And whan pe lessoun is redde & endid, & after pat pey hap smetyn vupon pe tabel, as it is vsid at pe lessons of pe dede, pan pey schul sey as biforne cristas factus est &c. psalme Miserere wip owte Gloria patri, but pe Pater noster alle lowe; & after wip owte seyninge Oremus, Respice, quesumus domine &c. & wip owte pronunisinge Qui tecum & Fidelium, but after pe orisoun pey schul seye Pater noster & nat sey Dominus det nobis.


On ascencioun day & be alle pe vtas, [V] Ascendit deus in jubila

loqui, alleluia. Gloria patri. Sicut erat. psalme Magnus dominus &c. And on pe Trinite sonday pey schul sey pe comune graces.

The auent of oure lorde alwey schal bigynne on pe sonday bitwix pe v. kal. of December & pe III Nones of december, & also general rule pat pe III times namyd ymber dayis schul be holdin pe first wednesday after pe Fest of seynt lucie & pe First sonday of clene lent & in pentecoste wike & after pe day of exaltacioun of pe holi Croys.
And also a general rule, if any fest of any apostle or evangelist or of seynt michel | or of pe holi Croys, or any oper fest whoche hap [Fol. 95v] proper respons, or any other fest generali double fal on a sonday, pere as none estori 43 shall be first entrid, pe offise shall be seyde of pe fest, & memori of pe sonday at pe first & secunde euynsonge 5 & at matyns & at masse; & pe ix lessoun schal be of pe sonday. And whan a stori schulde be first entrid & may nat be I-putte ouer vnto anoper sonday, pe fest so fallinge schal be deferrid til monady nextr last after, & zif pe stori whoche shulde be songyn in pat same sonday be deferrid in to pe nextr sonday after, pan pe fest shal be 10 songen in pat sonday wip a memori of pe sonday, except pe fest of alle halwyn. But oper festes, whoche be nat doble, schul be deferrid til after, as it is forseyde. What maner festis of ix lessonis oper pan | pe forseyde comyn on pe sonday schullyn be [Fol. 95v] deferrid vnto monady, except pe fest of seynt Thomas Caunterbiri, 15 & pe festis of seynt Siluester, 44 of seynt leon, & seynt Eustache; & zif in pe same Monday be anoper fest of ix lessons, hit schal be deferrid til tiewesday nextr last after, & so schullin oper festis be seruid pat fallyn on oper dayes, til pey been seruid, But zif it be a Fest of apostel or Euangeliste or anoper feste whoche hap 20 propre Respons or ani oper fest double generali. And soche simple festis of ix lessons whoche may nat be seruid for soche maner festis bforseyde been seruid on pe morwe after. Also festis solempnis in oper londes & places schullyn be seruyd in pe same dayes whiche pey fallin on. For pe courte of Rome doop in pe same maner. Whan many festis | of ix lessons simple fallin [Fol. 96r] continueli togyder eches fest after oper, at pe secunde euynsonge of pe first feste, pey schalle chaunge pe chapitre of pe fest folwinge; but zif* pe fest whoche comyn after fallip on oper of whom pey makep solempne memorie, at pe first euynsonge after pe first 30 orisoun, per schal be seyde a memorie of pat same fest, & after pat a memorie of pe fest biforne. And pis is for to vnderstonde, pat festis simples or lasse be po festis whoche be nat dowblis, ne of pe holi Croys, ne of pe awngelis, ne of pe apostlis, ne of pe Euangelistis, ne festis solempnis in some londis & some placis. Eche 35 vtas pat is nat double is Ingid for a fest simple or lasse, excepte pe vtas of pe Epiphanie. Eche fest of ix lessons whiche is seruid on | Saterday, be it of pe apostlis or oper, whoche be nat doubles [Fol. 96v] 

* MS. adds 'in'.
except þe fest of Innocentis, þey schul chaunge at þe chapitre of þe sonday or of þe fest or of þe vtas; wherfor þat þe seruise of sonday is lefte, & þey schul make memori of þe fest biforne, but 3if it be a dobel fest, þey schul make only memori of þe sonday.  
5 And whan any fest is seruid on þe sonday, þey schal nat chaunge at þe chapitre at þe secunde euynsonge, but 3if it be soche a fest on þe monady of whoco þe seruise schal be seyde on þe sonday, 3if it falle þer upon. Of a fest þat is nat doble whoche is seruid on þe monady, at euynsonge of þe sonday þey schul make memorie  
10 þer of wip owte more, 3if it be nat a fest of apostle, or of euangeliste, òr anoþer fest whoche hap propre Respons, | or a fest solemnep generali in some londis & in some placis; For soche maner of festis, þey schal chaunge þe chapitre at euynsonge, & make memori of þe sonday. At þe secunde euynsonges of festis dowblis of þe  
15 holi Croyis, of angelis, of apostlis, of euangelistis, of festis solemn-pnis generali in some londes & in some places, þey schul make memorie oneli of þe feste folwynge on þe morwe, 3if it be nat a fest double or anoþer feste whiche is equypollent, þat is for to vnderstonde, a fest of þe same dignite, or þe vtas of a fest whan  
20 þey chawngiþ at þe chapitre of þe fest folwinge; except þe festis whoche hanen vtas, whoche Festis comyn wip in þe vtas of Noel, þe whoche haun secunde euynsonges; except þe fest of translacioun| of seynt Fraunceys, 45 of whom is made memorie whan it falliþ in þe vigillis of assencioun, or Pentecost, but 3if þe seyde Fest Trans-lacioun of seynt Frauncesse come on þe morwe of Ascensioun, þan memorie schal be seyde of þe translacioun of seynt Frauncyes, But 3if so be þat in som place þe chirche of þe freris be halwid in þe name of seynt Frauncyes; For in soche places, & in soche chirchis þe euynsonge schal be seyde of seynt Frauncyes & memorie of þe  
25 Ascencioun. And it is for to know þat in þe vigil of a double fest, þe euynsonge schal al be seyde of þe dobel fest, & 3if in þe same day be a fest nat dobel or sonday neþer of þe one ne of þe oþer schal be made memorie except in lentyn & in aduent, for in þo times memori schal be made of þe sonday. And it is for to knowe  
30 þat at alle double Festis, þe | antemys schullyn be doublid at euynsonge & matyns wip owte more. Also 3if a fest of IX lessons come wipin any vtas wipin which vtas þey seyn of þe Fest þat so fallin, þe euynsonge schal be seyde fro þe chapitre forþe of þe Feste, whiche so falliþ, but 3if so be þat þe fest come on a monady or on
The Reule of Sustris Menouresses enclosid 115

pe morwe whiche hath vtas; For þan þey schul sey on þe sonday of þe vtas & memorie wip owte any of þe fest, 3iÞ if it be nat a fest of apostle or of Evangelist, or a fest whiche hap propre Respons, or fest solempne generali In some londis & placis. But at þe secunde euynsonge of a lasse feste, þey schal sey fro þe chapitre forþe of 5 þe vtas wip memorie of þe fest. And 3iÞ þe fest come on a sonday, hit schal be deferrid 3iÞ it haue none propre Respons, except þe fest of seynt leon | pope, whochrome schal nat be deferrid. And hit is [Fol. 98v]

for to vnderstonde þat in alle times þat wip inne any vtas, festis been seruyd euermore at euynsonge & matyns, þe last memorie schal 10 be seyde of þe vtas. And hit is for to know þat wip inne vtaes alwey þey schal sey at Magnificat þe antym of þe secunde euynsonge of þe Fest. But at þe first euynsonge of þe vtas þey schal sey at Magnificat þe anteme vpon Magnificat in þe vigil of þe feste. Also 3iÞ a fest of III lessons come on þe daye folwinge after þe fest 15 of IX lessons, at þe secunde euynsonge of þe fest [of] IX lessons, þey schul make memorie of þe fest of III lessons. But 3iÞ þer be none fest on þe day whoche comyp biforn þe day in whoche is þe fest of III lessons, þey schal chaunge | at þe chapitre at euynsonge, like as [Fol. 99r] of a fest of IX lessons. The Inuitatori schal be songen feriali & 20 þe ympnis of þe fest at þe nocturne schullin be songyn wip his note. The psalmiss feriallis wip here antemes, þe versetis & alle oþer pinges schul be seyde of þe festis as of a fest of IX lessons. After None seyde þey schal riht nauht do, but like of festis of commemoraciouns. 3iÞ it happe a fest of IX lessons to be differrid to 25 a day of þe fest of III lessons, or þat a fest of III lessons come on a sonday of þe fest of III lessons, memori onli schal be made at þe first euynsonge & at matyns & at masse & at þe IX lessoun 3iÞ it haue propre, & 3iÞ it haue none propre legende, þe IX lessoun schal nat be of þe fest of III lessons. Also 3iÞ a fest of whom | þey [Fol. 99v] makip onli a memori come on a sonday, of þe same feste schal be made memorie in þe masse & at þe firste euynsonge & at matyns in versicle & anteme & orisoun & in þe laste lessoun, 3iÞ it haue propre legende. And 3iÞ it so be þat in þat sonday, þey sey of a fest of IX lessons & memorie made of þe sonday, þan þe last 35 lessoun schal be of þe Omeli of þe sonday, & þe propre legende of þe feste of commemoracioun schal be lefte & þe memorie of þe sonday schal be made biforn þe memori of þe feste of commemoracioun. Also in festis whoche been seruyd in lentyn, alwey memori schal be
made of pe ferie at euynsonge & at matyns & pe last lessoun, 3if it have an omeli. At pe festis whiche comyn in aduent, pey schal do in pe same maner, except pe laste lessoun, 3if pe fest come nat [Fol. 100r] in any | of pe ymber dayes. In none oper tyme pey schal nat make 5 memorie of a ferie in pe day of a fest. 3if any fest hap propre stori & is nat entier, but is fullidlid of pe comune sanctorum,* pey schal bygynne at pe secunde Respons. And generali alle times patri pey make none pinge of properte of a fest, pey schal make recours pe comune sanctorum. We make vtas of Noel, & III 10 dayes nexst after Epiphanye, of pasche, of Ascencioun, of Pentecoste, of seynt Antonye, of Corpus cristi, of Natiuite of seynt John Baptiste, of seynt peter & poule, of seynt laurence, of seynt Clare, of pe Assumpcioun of owre ladi, of seynt lowis, of pe Natiuite of owre ladi, & of seynt Fraunceys. Hit is for to vnderstonde 15 pat Te devun laudamus schal be seyde anone after pe laste lessoun [Fol. 100v] from pasche | til pe vtas of pentecost, as wel in feriis as in festis, & in alle times pat pey redip IX lessons, except pe sondayes fro pe bigynnynge of auent til Noel & from septuagesme to pasche & in day of Innocentis, 3if it come nat on a sondaie. And also it is for to know pat whan pey redip nat X lessons, pey schal rede III lessons & singe III responsis, except from pe day of pasche til pe Ascencioun & hi pe vtas of pentecoste & in pis pey singip II responsis, alle pow pat III lessons be redde.

And also it is for to know pat Gloria patri is alwey seyde at pe 25 III respons, & at pe VI & at pe IX or last, except from pe sonday of pe passioun til pasche But in pis time pey schal sey Gloria patri in Festis whoche comyn þere, And in þe office [of] þe blessid virgin | [Fol. 101r] marie, owre swete ladi. And also it ys for to know þat in alle festis þe antemis of þe laudes schullin be seyde at prime, at tierce, 30 at mydday, at none, bi order; But euemore þe III antemis is lefte; & also þe schal sey hem at euynsonge, but 3if þer be oper assignid. And it is for to know also þat in alle sondayes & alle festis of IX lessons & of III lessons, þe orisoun which is seyde at þe first euynsonge schal be seyde at alle oper houris except at prime 35 & at complin & at euynsonges in lentyn, & in þe quater temspe of þe aduent whar þey singip þe grete antymes,44 þat is to vnderstonde, O sapiencia & oper.

This gode werke is ful complete blessid be þe holi Trinite, which be his grace euer gouerne þis holi oubre in þerlite charite. Amen.

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

1 Urban. This is Urban IV (James Pantelén, Patriarch of Jerusalem). Elected August 1261, died October 1264.

2 Alisaunder. This is Alexander IV (Raynaldo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia). Elected December 1254, died May 1261.

3 Kewge of Frauns. This is S. Louis, otherwise known as Louis IX of France. He was brother of Bl. Isabella, who founded the monastery of Longchamp.

4 In owre monestre. Latin 'in vestro Monasterio'.

5 And beene cleepid bi þe name of sustris enclosid. Latin 'cum Sororum inclusarum vocabulo nuncupandam concessit'.

6 And werepon ... meneres. Latin 'Porro ex parte dicti Regis Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut dictam Regulam in aliquibus capitulis corrigi facientes nominationis ejus Minorum vocabulum adijicere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur'. The later hand which has substituted 'þey' for 'we' has spoilt the sense.

7 Symon Deutre. Latin 'Simonem tituli Sanctae Ceciliae Cardinalem'. This is Simon de Bria, afterwards Martin IV, elected February 1281. Died March 1285.

8 So that it was done as it was in name. Latin 'ut sicut re, ita et nomine',

9 We ordeynid & establisin. Latin 'duximus statuendum'.

10 But zif so be ... forseyde. The construction is here broken by misunderstanding of the Latin, 'Nisi de licentia, &c. ... ad aliquem locum ejusdem Religionis aliquae transmittantur: quibus ad ipsum Monasterium, a quo transmissae fuerint, reverti liceat &c.'

11 Fole simplesse. Latin 'fatua simplicitate'.

12 & also bi any ... resonsable. Misunderstanding of Latin, 'nisi forte cum aliqua interdum causa valde rationabili exigente alicubi fuerit de consilio discretarum Sororum loci per praetactos Ministros, vel ipsorum aliquem dispensandum'.

13 To myne ladi seint Clare. This is an addition peculiar to the English version and without anything to correspond to it in the Bull.

14 Of myne lorde þe apostle Boneface. The Bull of Urban IV reads 'regulam a Domino Alexandro Papa IV Ordini nostro concessam, prout a Domino Urbano Papa IV est correcta, et approbata'. See also Introduction, p. 69-71.

15 þey schul be hosid & schod beringe none cordis & they schulle nat go alone. Latin 'Soleas autem nunquam deferant, neque chordam'.

16 Resticote. Latin 'superiores tunicae'.

17 Whiche shal be made wiþ coriouse. Latin 'nullatenus curiosam'.

18 From þe resurrexioun ... ladi, i. e. from Easter until September 8.
Notes on the Rule of the Sustris Menouresses

xx Pater noster. In Latin Bull XXIV.
So pat oure lorde ... al finges. Latin 'cui [i.e. spirit of prayer] se debet Sponsa Christi mancipare'.

Fest of seint Fraunces, i.e. October 4.
Fest of alle Halwyn, i.e. Allhallows, November 1.

Ouer iii times bi þe jere. Latin 'ne ultra quam sex vicibus'.

Be assigned ... of þe ordre. Latin 'sine morae dispendio a suo regimine per Ministrum, seu per Visitatores Ordinis absolvatur'.
This grate of yren ... clothe. The cloth hangs within the grating. Latin 'Hujusmodi siquidem cratibus ferreis niger pannus interius apponatur'.

Nat ani persone, what ever he be, for to entre. In the early days of the Order, the Friars Minor were allowed to visit the Houses of Clarisses, but the Bull of Quo elongati published in 1230 forbade them to do so without a special licence from the Pope.

Be kynge in whoche Reine, &c. Latin 'rege Franciae'.

Anoter prelate, &c. The translation has run two sentences into one. Alius autem Praeleatus, cui forte aliquando intrare a Summo Pontifice sit concessum, duobus honestis sociis sit contentus. Quod si forte pro beneficione ... alcui Episcopo concessum fuerit ... tribus aut quattuor sociis sit contentus.'

A ladder, whoche ... before iii of þe sustris. Latin 'Porta ... ad quam per scalam ligneam ascendatur, quae catena ferrea elevatur in soro; et cum clavibus firmetur et mane de die lucescente tribus prae sentibus deponatur'.
Chaungid. Possibly a mistake for 'chargid'.

The visitoure whiche wolde goo ferfer in his visitacion. Latin 'visitor ad visitationem procedens, &c.'

Whan þat he visitif ... seele. Latin 'Cum autem visitatur aliqua soror, extra Capitulum commoretur. Similiter Abbatissa resignato sigillo, &c.'

An ouer alle finges. This passage is hopelessly corrupt. Latin 'Caveant autem Sorores et considerent diligenter præcipue in visitatione Sororum, ut nihil alius, quam amor Divinus, et suarum Sororum correctio eas movet ad locumedium. Illis autem, quae noluerint recognoscere culpam, quae ipsis impingit, si excusas se voluerint, praesertim si gravia fuerint, audientia non negetur.'

And wolyn & monestyn. Text corrupt. Latin 'Volumus et attente monemus, ut ea, quae secundum vitae suae formam et regularem observantiam statuenda fuerint, et emendanda, publice, ac privatim Sorores, sicut melius videbatur faciendum, Visitatori diligenter suggerant; cui per obedientiam teneantur in iis, quae ad officium suum pertinent, infra praecatum tempus firmiter obedere'.

Be office who ys longynge to þe Abbesse. Latin 'quae ad Abbatisse officium pertinent'.

The mynistris and [MS. whoche] þe visitoure, &c. Latin 'Minister autem et Visitator'. Note singular converted into plural in English version. The same occurs below (p. 96, l. 4) 'to þe visitours'.

Procuratoure. The procurators were first formally instituted by the Bull of Innocent IV of August 6, 1247, Cum omnis. (Sbar. i. 482.)

Ad haec liceat vobis in communi redditus et possessiones recipere et habere,
ac ea libere retinere. Pro quibis possessionibus modo dicto pertractandis
Procurator unus prudens pariter et fidelis in singulis Monasteriis vestri
ordinis habeatur, quandocumque expedire videbitur, qui per visitatorem con-
stitui et amoveri debeat, sicut viderit expedire.'

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

38 Nothing in English to correspond to Latin: 'Volumus etiam et attente
monemus, ne aliquid eius praecipiatur, seu praecipiatur sine magna utilitate et
valde evidentia et manifesta necessitate.'

39 Jouin at vienfi. Latin 'Urbem Veterem' (Orvieto).

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

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

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

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

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

4 Our blessed predecessoures pope boniface pe vili. These words indicate that these constitutions were issued by some Pope later than Boniface VIII.

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

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

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

7 pe ix respons, i.e. the words said antiphonally after the ninth Lesson, when the Te Deum is not sung.
Notes on Appendix to Rule 121

8 *be leuacioun*, i.e. the elevation of the Host in the Mass.

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

10 *Tube domne*. It is doubtful whether the words in MS. should be transcribed as ‘*Tube domna*’ or ‘*Tube domne*’. On the whole, the latter seems the more fitting as being the normal form. Moreover in one place [fol. 81r] it is contracted ‘*dine*’.

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

12 *be ymage*, i.e. the crucifix generally hung in the Refectory.

13 & see ‘*Agimus tibi*’ with ‘*Benedictus deus in donis*’. Here two alternative forms are given: ‘*Agimus tibi, &c.*’ is said after Dinner (*Prandium*), and ‘*Benedictus Deus*’ after Supper (*Coena*).

14 *Retribuere*. The beginning word of the prayer: ‘*Retribuere dignare, Domine, omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen tuum vitam aeternam*’.

15 *Fidelium anime*. The end of the office of Benedictio Mensae: it proceeds ‘*per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace*’.

16 *And also at be colacioun*. ‘Collation’ meant originally conference or edifying books read aloud in the Refectory after supper and before Compline. This is a practice required by the Benedictine Rule. Subsequently the word acquired a derived sense, viz. the light refreshment taken before the reading of the ‘collations’. Addis and Arnold (*Cath. Direct. 1903*) refer to a statute of the congregation of Cluny (1808) where the word is used for this refreshment. In the present passage the office of Compline follows after ‘collation’ quite properly.

17 *be ebdomodari*. These are the two sisters who for a week at a time lead the saying of the Hours in Choir.

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

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

20 *Benedisons*. In an office of three Lessons when a Homily is read with the Gospel, the first Benediction is ‘*Evangelica lectio*’, ‘*and be ober II*’ are ‘*Divinum auxilium*’ and ‘*Ad societatem*’.

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

22 *be orisons whiche been songoun schul be songoun (schal be seyde) stondinge*. The words in brackets indicate the alternative practice: the orisons can either be sung or said.

23 *When be preface is seyde at masse*. The preface comes immediately
before the Sanctus in the Mass and begins 'Vere dignum et iustum est'. There are a number of Proper Prefaces for the several seasons.

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

25 pey shoul dwelle grevelinge til 'Per omnia' at 'Pax domini', i.e. they remain kneeling from the Sanctus throughout the Consecration and Elevation ('durate pe leuacioun') until after the celebrant has made the Fraction. He then says aloud 'Per omnia', &c., and 'Pax Domini sit semper volubiscum'.

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

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

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

29 pe last verse same one of Benedictiae. This verse is 'Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum sancto Spiritu: laudemus et superexaltemus eum in saecula'.

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

31 Half dobel Festis. Seint Lucy (Virg. and Martyr, Dec. 13); Seint Nicholas (Bish. and Conf., Dec. 6); Fest of Innocentis (Dec. 28); Seint Thomas of Caunterbiri (Bish. and Mart., Dec. 29); pe vtas (octave) of Epiphanie (Jan. 13); Seint Anneys (Mother of Our Lady, July 26); Seint Agase (Virg. and Mart., Feb. 5); Holicrose (Sept. 14); Apparicioun of Michel (Archangel, May 8); Octave of Ascencioun (eighth day after Ascension); Octave of Seint Antony (Abbot, Jan. 24); Octave of seynt John Baptista (July 1); Seint Marie Magdalene (July 22); Translacioun of Seynt Thomas (i.e. of Canterbury, July 7); Seynt Margare (Virg. and Mart., July 20); vtas of Seint Laurence (Mart., Aug. 17); Seynt Louiws (Conf., his feast is Aug. 25, but does not generally have an octave; probably his octave (Sept. 1) was observed at Longchamp on account of his connexion with that House); Decollacioun of Seint John (Aug. 29); vtas of Nativite of oure Ladi (Sept. 15); Seint Martin (Bish. and Conf., Nov. 11); Seynt Elizabe (i Queen of Lusitania, widow, July 8); Seynt Cecile (Virg. and Mart., Nov. 22); Seynt Katerin (Virg. and Mart., Nov. 25); vtas of Corporis Cristi (eight days after Thursday following Trinity Sunday).

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

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

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

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

36 Whan bo sey many houres to gederis. Sometimes several 'hours' were said one immediately after the other: this is sometimes called saying them 'by accumulation'.

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

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

39 'Miserere mei deus' wip alle be versis, i.e. the whole of the Miserere is said antiphonally.

40 Seyinge wip owte oremus. The word 'Oremus' is omitted at this point before the 'Retribuere'.

41 Scheere pursday, i.e. Maundy Thursday, the Thursday in Holy Week.

42 Lowli & wipoxide ani more. Breviary 'Totum secreto . . . sine pronuntiatione aliqua'.

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

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

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

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

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

| A | Leche, slice, a dish consisting of sliced meat, 17. 15. (O. F. lesche.) |
| Assay, the formal tasting of a dish by a servant, to see if it is poisoned, 14. 30. | Leuereys, retainers, servants in livery, 11. 14. |
| C | Panter, the officer in charge of the pantry (originally ‘baker’), 11. 21. |
| Coster, a wall-hanging, 11. 6. | Pece, cup, 17. 20. |
| D | Sewe, serve, 12. 21. |
| Dogdrawght, dogdrawe, an unknown fish, possibly cod, 17. 4. | Sewer, a sewer, waiter, 11. 24. |
| Douce, a sweet dish (see note), 17. 12. | Sprottes, sprats, 17. 4. |
| Durmant, a fixed table, 13. 28. | Surnape, a second cloth laid on the table immediately before the lord, 13. 30. |
| Ewer, ewerer, the official in charge of arrangements for washing, 11. 22. | Take, deliver, 13. 13. |
| Ewry, the place where ewers, towels, etc., were stored, 11. 25. | To, till, 12. 18. |
| F | Trenchour, trencher of bread (see note), 13. 4. |
| Herberoure, guest-master, entertainer, 15. 17. | Voyder, tray for removing broken meats, etc., 13. 6. |
| Kynde, natural, proper, etc., 11. 6, etc. | Woke, week, 11. 15. |
| Hallyng, tapestry or painted cloth for a hall, 11. 5. | Vunto, until, 12. 5. |
| Herberoure, guest-master, entertainer, 15. 17. | Voyder, tray for removing broken meats, etc., 13. 6. |
| K | V | W |
GLOSSARY

[For The Thirde Order of Seynt Franceys and The Beivle of Suztris Menouresses enclosid]

A
Algatis, in any case, 87. 16.
Alle Halwyn, All Saints, Allhallows, 86. 19.
Apostle, Pope, 89. 26.
Assentement, assent, agreement, 88. 31.
Assigned, transferred, removed, 87. 31.
Assoyle, absolve, 88. 21.
Assoylid, excused of, deprived of, 94. 31.
Atrete, slowly without break (= tractim), 104. 34.
Auenaunt, suitable, 103. 25.
Auenture, chance, 88. 23.
Avale, let down. 92. 7.
Avale, let down. [OF. avaler.]
Axen, demand, 94. 16.
Ayenst, against, 48. 25.

B
Besili, carefully, diligently, 54. 22.
Bigginge, buying, 96. 11. Sourfait of bigginge, excessive buying.
Bihote, promise, 83. 32.
Boundes, bands, sashes, 49. 13.
Brennyng, burning, 47. 13.
Brent, burnt, 94. 30.
Buystouse, rough, coarse, 84. 19.

C
Catallis, chattels, possessions, 96. 7.
Cawcion, bond, security, 48. 16.
Ceroferessis, acolyte, taperer, 108. 21.
Chausures, shoes, 85. 4.
Chesiple, chauble, 91. 4.
Chesyn, choose, 95. 24.
Clepid, called, 98. 12.
Clerete, honour, 90. 5.
Clogere, belfry, 104. 1.
Cloos, cloister, 104. 11.
Conge, leave, permission, 82. 15.
Congruently, suitably, 52. 25.
Continelementis, holdings, property, 81. 5.
Couenable, suitable, 82. 35.
Couent, convent, 82. 29, etc.

D
Decollacioun, beheading, 107. 32.
Demurid, demure, 84. 12.
Denounsid, reported, 98. 25.
Dopart, bestow, impart, 47. 31.
Desseluerid, separated, 87. 25.
Disclawnder, slander, 90. 34.
Distreyne, constrain, compel, 100. 20.
Dortre, Dortoure, dormitory, 85. 7; etc.

E
Efformid, informed, 100. 13.
Effyrid, adorned, 81. 11.
Enpeyre, injure, impair, 100. 2.
Ententifeliche, carefully, 87. 23.
Equy pollen, of equal rank, 114. 18.
Escloignid, extended, protracted, 93. 32.
Estori, history, 113. 4.
Estreyteli, strictly, 89. 24.
Exchew, eschew, 52. 8.
Eyrin, eggs, 86. 25.

F
Familieres, members of the household, servants, 94. 17.
Fayrid, adorned, 81. 24.
Feri, an ordinary week-day (not a festival), 108. 15.
Fermeri, infirmary, 89. 20.
For as mochel, forasmuch, in order that, 87. 25.
Forbarrid, forbidden, 89. 16.
Freytoure, refectory, 102. 22.

G
Gasingis, spectacles, 49. 18.
Goget, Guyches, wicket, grating, 91. 36. [Fr. guichet.]
Grayel, gradual, 107. 20.
Greuelinge, prostrate, 106. 8.
Greueninge, prostrate, 106. 9.

H
Halwid, consecrated, 114. 27.
Heilfully, in a wholesome or salutary way, 47. 26.
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Hele, health, 86. 33.
Hende, gentle, gracious, 81. 10.
Heue, lift, 89. 2.
Holpyyn, helped, 99. 6.
Houseded, communicated, 50. 35.

I
Importabel, unbearable, 100. 23.
Intrat, introit, 107. 1.
I-putte ouer, transposed, 113. 7.
Iuyelles, jewels, 99. 3.

J
Jangeling, disputing, 52. 10.

K
Kepe, care, 90. 31.

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

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

N
Nameli, especially, 87. 17.
Neforpat, nevertheless, 101. 4.
Noysed, rumoured, 48. 5.
Ny3e, draw near to, 82. 5.

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

P
Pasche, Easter, 116. 21.
Pontificacion, papacy, 55. 16.
Possessioners, proprietors, 47. 27.
Promit, promise, 48. 23.
Posposid, put forward, present, 93. 10.

R
Recordinge, remembrance, recollection, 81. 8.
Reddure, strictness, 82. 1. [N. F. redur.]
Refestid, refreshed, 86. 8.
Refreytouresse, the sister in charge of the ‘refectorium’ or refectory, 102. 32.
Reine, kingdom, 89. 30.
Remew, remove, 82. 30.
Repreeu, reprove, 83. 27.
Repreueable, reprovable, 83. 28.
Resticote, upper part of tunic, 84. 21.
Reuestrid, arrayed, 91. 8.
Rihtwisnesse, righteousness, 93. 7.
Rowndid, cut round, 85. 22.

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

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

V
Vtas, octave, 107. 31, etc.

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

Y
Y3en, eyes, 84. 25.
Ymage, crucifix, 103. 4.
Ympnis, hymns, 106. 33.

3
3ouin, given, 96. 33.