# The <br> Southern Version of cursor MUNDI 

## Volume V

Edited by
Laurence M. Eldredge and
Anne L. Klinck

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## Previously published

Volume I. Lines 1-9228. Edited by Sarah M. Horrall
Volume II. Lines 9229-12712. Edited by Roger R. Fowler Volume III. Lines 12713-17082. Edited by Henry J. Stauffenberg Volume IV. Lines 17289-21346. Edited by Peter H. J. Mous

# The <br> Southern Version of CURSOR MUNDI 

Volume V

Lines 21845-23898

Edited by<br>Laurence M. Eldredge<br>and<br>Anne L. Klinck<br>General Editor<br>${ }^{\dagger}$ Sarah M. Horrall



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In memory of Alphonsus P. Campbell (1912-1983)
and
Sarah M. Horrall (1940-1988)

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## PREFACE

In undertaking to complete the work left unfinished by our late colleague, Dr. Sarah M. Horrall, we have been conscious of the high scholarly standards she set for herself and her collaborators. In her absence we have tried to set and observe comparable standards for ourselves. As we divided the editorial tasks between us, primary responsibility for work on the manuscripts was undertaken by L.M.E.; the Glossary and Index were prepared by A.L.K.; the revisions to Dr. Horrall's drafts were undertaken jointly.

On her death in 1988 Dr. Horrall left drafts of the Introduction, the Text itself, the Explanatory Notes, and Appendices C, on the Finding of the True Cross, and D, on the Legend of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Our general principle has been to allow as much of her work as possible to stand without amendment, changing only those bits where additional scholarship made updating necessary and the few places where error had uncharacteristically crept in. We have also tried to maintain the unspoken editorial assumptions that have informed both the earlier volumes of this edition and the drafts that Dr. Horrall left when she died.

Specifically, the General Introduction is almost wholly as Dr. Horrall left it, our contribution being to reconstruct the stemma according to her account of the manuscripts, to fill in missing line numbers, and to supply the bibliographical details. Likewise the text of MS H is very nearly as Dr. Horrall left it, we having supplied only the portions taken from MS T where H was defective. Of course we verified her readings of H against the manuscript and have made one or two minor changes. Having found no draft of the Textual Notes, we have added these.

The Explanatory Notes to the Text here edited, lines 2184523898, as well as those in Appendices C and D, have been thoroughly
checked and brought up to date with current scholarship, but essentially they represent notes on lines that Dr. Horrall thought deserving of annotation. Since earlier volumes in this edition have contained an appendix with corrections of Morris' readings of the manuscripts in his edition and another appendix, where necessary, giving the portions of B that follow the text of the Pricke of Conscience rather than that of Cursor Mundi, we have maintained consistency with our Appendices A and B.

Had Dr. Horrall lived to see this final volume through the press, we have no doubt that it would have appeared in the early 1990's. In the event, our later arrival on the editorial scene has delayed publication until, ironically enough, scholarly progress has in some instances overtaken the assumptions on which this edition is based. Recent work in codicology and early book production, perhaps best exemplified in this instance by John J. Thompson, The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts, has questioned the notion of an authorial final text mutilated by a succession of wretched scribes. In its place Thompson has proposed a more amorphous and difficult manner in which the poem might have been compiled, with drafts of early versions cobbled together, revised, augmented, edited, and so forth-thus challenging significantly the place of the southern version of Cursor Mundi in the poem's textual history.

Ironically again, Dr. Horrall was during her lifetime at the forefront of codicology studies, having cofounded, with Professor Martha Driver of Pace University, the Early Book Society. Had she found herself at this juncture in the editorial process and at this date, later than envisaged, we do not doubt that her work would have reflected fully all the advances that have been made. As it is, however, we are the ones charged with seeing her work through to completion, and we do not think it possible or just for us to formulate a more recent editorial position on her behalf. What follows is, as far as we can determine, what Dr. Horrall wanted to say about Cursor Mundi in 1988.

Of course, in a work of this magnitude one consults many people along the way for help. In gathering together all that Dr. Horrall left, we are especially grateful to her widower, Stanley Horrall, for allowing us unlimited access to all Dr. Horrall's drafts, and to the subeditors of previous volumes: Roger Fowler, Henry Stauffenberg, and Peter Mouss.

We have also relied upon the advice of colleagues and friends, especially J.P.S. Ferguson, Tony Hunt, George Keiser, C.W. Marx, Douglas Moffat, Jean-Pascal Pouzet, Glyn Redworth, William Schipper, Richard Š̌paček, Mary Swan, and R.C. Yorke. We have taken their advice where we could, ignored it when we thought we had to, and take full responsibility for the errors that may remain in our work.

Publication of this book has been made possible by support from the Universities of New Brunswick and Ottawa, and by a grant from the Humanities and Social Sciences Federation of Canada, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

## L.M.E.

Oxford, 1999
A.L.K.

Fredericton, N.B., 1999

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## INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

H Arundel LVII, College of Arms, London
T Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.8
L Laud Misc. 416, Bodleian Library, Oxford
B Additional 36983, British Library, London
C Cotton Vespasian A iii, British Library, London
F Fairfax 14, Bodleian Library, Oxford
G Göttingen University theol. 107r
E Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh
Add Additional 31042, British Library, London

## STRUCTURE OF THIS SECTION (TITLES TAKEN FROM MORRIS' EDITION)

21847-23898 The Sixth Age of the World; the Day of Doom
21975-22426 Of Antichrist
22427-22710 The Fifteen Signs that Shall come before Doomsday
22711-23194 What Shall Happen on Doomsday
23195-23350 Description of Hell and its Nine Pains
23351-23652 Heaven and the Seven Gifts of the Blessed
23653-23704 The State of the World after Doomsday
23705-23898 The Author's Exhortation to his Fellow Men

## EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The sources for this volume are those listed in the Abbreviations and in the Explanatory Notes. The text is presented in accordance with the principles described in Volume I of this edition, pp. 25-27. Expansions of abbreviations in the manuscript are indicated by italics, emendations by square brackets. The first letter of each verse line is capitalized, according to scribal practice. Punctuation and section marking are scribal.

The Appendices provide additional information about the closing sections of Cursor Mundi. Following the policy of previous volumes in this edition, we have noted the errors in Morris' texts in Appendix A, and in Appendix B have recorded the lines where MS B substitutes for the last 1900 lines of Cursor Mundi some 2300 from the Pricke of Conscience (a manuscript version not recorded in Morris' edition of Pricke). Appendix C offers explanatory notes to lines 21347-846, the Finding of the True Cross, omitted from the southern version of Cursor Mundi. Appendix D provides explanatory notes to lines 23909-24968, Mary's lament at the crucifixion and the establishment of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, also omitted from the southern version.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION ${ }^{1}$

## SOURCES

Early investigators of the poem showed that the $C M$ poet had used a number of readily available medieval works as sources for his work. Dr. Haenisch, the pioneer in the field, listed nine works which the $C M$ poet had clearly used:
(1) Peter Comestor, Historia scholastica
(2) Wace, La conception Nostre Dame (11. 10123-11232 and 24731-967)
(3) Robert Grosseteste, Le château d'amour (11. 9877-10094)
(4) Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium (11. 11595-12576)
(5) The Vulgate Bible
(6) The Evangelium Nicodemi
(7) The Assumption of Our Lady
(8) Isidore of Seville, De vita et morte sanctorum
(9) Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea.

Shortly afterwards, Max Kaluza pointed out the use of Honorius Augustodunensis' Elucidarium and Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi. Of the sources named at this time, however, only the Historia

[^1]scholastica of Peter Comestor was seen to have been used throughout $C M$, as a source for both Old Testament and New Testament information. Later commentators have therefore assumed, and still assume, that the Historia is the primary source for $C M$ and that it gives the English poem its essential structure.

Later scholars, however, pointed out the dependence of $C M$ on long works in Old French, notably the Bible of Herman of Valenciennes. These, in fact, are far more important sources for the poem, providing interesting details of commentary, dramatic scenes between characters, and an overall structure for the $C M$ poet to imitate.

The present edition of the poem has discovered a much larger number of sources for $C M$ and has reexamined and reevaluated those already known. As a result a more complete list of the sources can be drawn up and a better assessment of the poet's use of those sources can be made. The implications of the new information for the provenance of the poem and the circumstances of its composition will be found below.

The world history which the $C M$ poet is recounting is obviously based on the Bible, and the poet often has recourse to the Vulgate text throughout the work. The Vulgate, however, is not the principal narrative source. Large portions of the work are based on Herman of Valenciennes' Bible, which survives in many manuscripts, some of them produced in England. From Herman, the $C M$ poet takes the basic shape of his narrative, at least until the assumption of the Virgin, and many episodes are translated directly from Herman. Another Old French biblical paraphrase, the Traduction anonyme de la Bible entière, provides the $C M$ poet with extra details and incidents in the Genesis story and, more importantly, with much of his account of the wood of Christ's cross from the time it grew from seeds planted under Adam's tongue until it was found by St. Helena. In the Trad. anon. this cross wood story is a continuous narrative added after the Passion, but the $C M$ poet has interpolated each of its events into its appropriate place in his chronological narrative.

The CM poet was, however, more interested in theological matters than either of the Old French paraphrasers. His most important source for this sort of information is the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis. Information from this manual of basic instruction for priests
crops up throughout the $C M$, from the account of the Trinity and the creation of the world to the aftermath of the Last Judgement.

The Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor is also used throughout the poem, but not as a main source for either narrative or commentary. Quotations from Comestor often occur as interesting additional details in a story. For instance, the story of the drunkenness of Noah (11. 2021-40) is taken from Herman's Bible, but at the end the CM poet adds that Noah's self-exposure shows that underwear had not yet been invented (11. 2047-48); cf. Historia scholastica, PL CXCVIII 1087A.

Aside from these four works which are used all through the poem, the $C M$ poet characteristically used a single short source for a specific narrative. He thus translates the Latin Legende version for the story of Adam and Eve and the Cross Wood (11. 1237-1430); Honorius Augustodunensis' De imagine mundi for a comparative chronology relating Judges to Greek history (1l. 6993-7082); Grosseteste's Château d'amour for the allegories of the Four Daughters of God and the Castle of Love (1l. 9517-10122); Wace's Conception Nostre Dame for the conception and early life of the Virgin (ll. 10123-834), the Doubting of Joseph (11. 11123-76), and the miracle of Abbot Elsis (11. 24731-967); the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew for the enfances of Jesus (11. 1192912576); the Gospel of Nicodemus for events after the Resurrection and the Harrowing of Hell (ll. 17289-18582); the Letter of Lentullus for the description of Christ's person (ll. 18817-56); the De ortu et obitu patrum in two versions for the Fates of the Apostles (11. 20849-21262); an allegory on the Four Evangelists by Petrus Riga (11. 21263-344); the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi (11. 21971-22424); Les quinze signes du Jugement Dernier (1l. 22427708); and Oglerius de Tridino's Quis dabit (ll. 23945-24658). These sources usually come to him in Latin, but those of Grosseteste and Wace and the Quinze signes were in Old French. The Middle English poem known as the Southern Assumption was also included in its entirety (11. 20065-848), although the $C M$ poet is careful to say that he has translated it from a southern dialect to a northern one (1l. 20061-64).

Although these shorter works are generally translated all in one place in the poem, there are instances in which a few lines of the work are translated apart from the rest. Twelve lines from Grosseteste's

Château d'amour, on the greater beauty of the universe before the Fall, appear near the beginning of the poem (11. 701-10), 9000 lines before the main translation of the work begins. In 9133-228, on the line of Solomon down to the Babylonian exile, Honorius' De imagine mundi is interpolated with other material over the course of 96 lines. Presumably most of these texts were available to the author for the entire time he was working on the poem.

In addition to these major sources, the poet also seems to be quoting briefly from other works. For example, he echoes Hugh of St. Victor's Adnotationes elucidatoriae in Pentateuchon, the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius, the Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville, Innocent III's De contemptu mundi, the Speculum ecclesiae of Honorius Augustodunensis, Sedulius Scotus' Carmen paschale, John Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew, a work in the bestiary tradition, and the Legenda aurea.

Both the Rev. Meth. passage and that from John Chrysostom occur when the $C M$ poet has been using Peter Comestor, who mentions that his source is Methodius or Chrysostom. Like a conscientious researcher, the $C M$ poet seems to have gone back to check the originals, for he quotes more of Pseudo-Methodius and Chrysostom than Comestor does.

The Legenda aurea presents a special case. Each of the editors has discovered small details in $C M$ which are to be found in corresponding chapters of the Legenda. As these details are relatively small, as they might be found elsewhere, and as the Leg. aur. is such a long work, we cannot be entirely sure that this is the direct source for this material. However, because of the easy availability of the Leg. aur, its use by the $C M$ poet seems likely.

The $C M$ poet seems unusually conscious, for a medieval writer, of having to work with several versions of the same story. Most of the time he tacitly interpolates and reconciles, as when he suppresses most of the distinctively French details in the story of Joseph's exile in Egypt as told in Herman's Bible and substitutes the Vulgate equivalents. In addition to this work of combining and reconciling various sources, however, he comments several times on what he is doing. After describing the 30 silver circles that David put around the Cross tree, which later became the 30 pieces of silver paid to Judas, the poet adds cautiously:

And pus sais sum opinion,
But sua sais noght pe passion. (1l. 8843-44)
After an account of St. Helena's finding of the true Cross and the nails, the poet adds:

Pis tale, queper it be il or gode,
I fand it written o pe rode,
Mani telles diuersli,
For pai find diuers stori. (MS C 21805-8; the section on the
Finding of the Cross is omitted from the southern version)
Although the story has already been completed, he then proceeds to summarize the story of Judas/Quiriacus' finding of the cross, as it is told in the Acta Quiriaci and the Leg. aur.

This is not to say that the poet knew each of these works in a separate manuscript. He quotes from only one chapter of Hugh's Adnotationes, which it is reasonable to assume came to him in some sort of florilegium. He almost certainly knew Petrus Riga's De Quattuor Evangelistis in such a form. The suggestion that he used a copy of the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius to supplement the extracts from that work copied in the Historia scholastica rests on the present inadequate knowledge of Comestor manuscripts. The additional material might have appeared in an interpolated or glossed Historia scholastica, or the two texts might have often circulated together, which would have facilitated their being used to supplement each other. Similarly, his apparent combination of the Isidorean De ortu et obitu patrum and the PseudoIsidorean version of the story is paralleled by John Capgrave's use of the two texts in his Abbreuiacion of Cronicles. Perhaps they had already been combined in the CM poet's (and Capgrave's) source, or perhaps they circulated together. The borrowings from Isidore's Etymologiae, Honorius' Speculum ecclesiae, and Sedulius' Carmen paschale are so slight that they probably came to the $C M$ poet via an intermediate source.

Some of the short works which the poet translates extensively undoubtedly came to him in one or more anthology volumes containing a selection of apocryphal material. The most likely works to be found in
this format are the Latin Legende, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of Nicodemus, the De ortu et obitu patrum, the Letter of Lentullus, Riga's De Quattuor Evangelistis, the Quis dabit, and perhaps also Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi. In French, the Château d'amour and Quinze signes usually appear in this sort of volume as well.

The remaining works are of more substantial length, however. Suggestions have been made that the $C M$ poet found the rest of his material already compiled for him. G.L. Hamilton, for instance, was sure that he was using an interpolated version of Wace which would have included all the information on the early life of Mary and Christ (Hamilton, p. 238). The manuscript to which he referred, BL Add 15606, has been carefully checked against the $C M$ text, however, and it can be shown that this was not the source used by the ME poet. There exists in MS Arsenal 3516 a text which combines parts of the Trad. anon. with material from Herman's Bible, but again this text shows a different combination of material from that in $C M$. As conscientious investigation has failed to turn up any appropriate compilations, any continuing attempt to deny that the $C M$ poet compiled most of his materials himself may rest on nothing more substantial than a reluctance to allow that so early a ME writer was capable of such a feat.

The implications of the poet's use of sources as evidence for the provenance of the works will be discussed below.

## GENRE

Literary historians have had some trouble classifying the $C M$ and have usually been content to describe it in terms of its length, as encyclopaedic, one of the comprehensive "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," etc. (Severs-Hartung 2276 [31]). In fact, $C M$ belongs in the genre of biblical paraphrases which have their medieval vernacular beginnings in Old French in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, presumably in response to the renewed interest in the literal exegesis of scripture witnessed in Latin by such works as Peter Comestor's Historia scholastica. Many of the French paraphrases were known in

England, however, and it is these works to which the $C M$ poet refers when he says:

Frankis rimes here I redd
Communlik in ilk[a] sted
Mast es it wroght for frankis man:
Quat is for him na frankis can? (MS C 11. 237-40; not in the southern version)

The earliest and most popular of the Old French paraphrases is the Bible or Bible de sapience of Herman of Valenciennes, probably written in the mid-twelfth century. The work survives, in whole or in part, in 34 manuscripts, at least seven of which were copied in England. The poet begins by telling of Creation, and continues with the stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Joseph. Moses, David, and Solomon are briefly mentioned before the poet continues with the birth of the Virgin, the life of Christ, the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

No other Old French paraphrase was so widely copied, but the continued production of these very long works throughout the thirteenth century shows that they must have aroused a genuine interest. Roger d'Argenteuil's Bible en françois survives in at least 12 manuscripts in French and a partial translation into Middle English. The stories given prominence are those of the Creation, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, the life of Christ, and the stories of Veronica and Vespasian, followed by accounts of Doomsday.

The so-called Traduction anonyme de la Bible entière survives in only three manuscripts, all of them now in France, but was also known in England, for the author of $C M$ translates it extensively. It is not in fact a translation of the whole Bible, but it does contain a very full account of the stories contained in Genesis and much of Exodus, a brief account of the Passion, and then, tacked on the end, the story of the wood of Christ's cross from Adam through Moses, David, Solomon, and St. Helena.

Other Old French paraphrases are enormously long and show a tendency to include everything the author knows, rather than to summarize. The latest and longest of the paraphrases, the Bible of Mace de la Charité, written about 1283-1300, deals very fully with Old Testament
history, including non-historical books such as Job and Canticles. In spite of its enormous length ( 44,000 lines) it was copied at least twice. Other paraphrases survive in only one manuscript each. The ambitious Bible of Jehan Malkaraume attempted to combine biblical history with Benoît de Sainte Maure's Roman de Troie. The biblical material tells the stories of Genesis and Exodus in detail and continues through early Old Testament history, breaking off abruptly (after about 40,000 lines) in the early life of David. The Old Testament story also contains a genealogy of the Virgin, however, which may indicate that Jehan intended to pursue his story through New Testament history as well.

The comprehensive Bible des sept états du monde of Geoffroi de Paris bears the strongest structural resemblance to $C M$. Both poets divide world history into ages, both poems begin with a versified table of contents and an elaborate description of paradise. Both poets have interpolated the events of the history of the wood which became Christ's cross in their proper chronological places in the biblical narrative. Both poets carry their histories right down to the moment of the Last Judgement, with subsequent descriptions of the other world as well. However, in spite of structural similarities, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the CM poet knew Geoffroi's work. The parallels seem to have occurred because of the common vision of history which the two poets shared.

Biblical paraphrases appear early in the history of Middle English as well. In the thirteenth century, a lone manuscript survives of the Middle English Genesis and Exodus, a translation of the events of Genesis and of the life of Moses, taken largely from the Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor. Early on in its life, manuscripts of the South English Legendary acquired a body of prefatory material which, in nine manuscripts, included a summary of Old Testament history. This related the stories of the Creation and Fall, Noah, Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, Moses, Samson, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Elijah and Elisha, and Daniel.

The third paraphrase of interest is known as the Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament. It is a loose translation of an AngloNorman work which circulated in its original verse form in eight manuscripts and in prose in a further two. Like its parent, this ME paraphrase
deals at length with the stories in Genesis and Exodus, as well as with later events ending with the fourth book of Kings.

It is with this group of biblical paraphrases that the monumental $C M$ most clearly belongs.

## STRUCTURE

The $C M$ has recently been characterized as an "open" or "unstable" poem (Görlach, p. 6; Thompson, Robert Thornton, p. 25), one which, like the South English Legendary, scribes felt free to rearrange, or to add to or subtract from at will. The "openness" of the poem must not be exaggerated, however. A glance at the structural outline published by Morris and modified in this edition shows instead that there is a very stable core to the poem, although at certain recognized places additions and deletions could be made. In addition, some manuscripts exhibit changes which reveal the $C M$ being adapted to newer forms of popular spirituality as they arose.

Judging by the author's versified table of contents, the fragmentary MS E is the only remaining witness to the poem as its author originally intended it, for MS E ends, as the poet suggested it should, with the Institution of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Early in its manuscript history, probably in the first half of the fourteenth century, $C M$ had added to it a penitential handbook with an anti-fraternal bias, as well as an exposition of the Creed and Pater Noster and two prayers. These appear in MSS C and F, and MS G also added a song on the Five Joys of Our Lady.

The southern, or Lichfield, version of $C M$ is also an attempt to tailor an older text to a changed market. One manifestation of the change is, of course, the translation of the work into a South Midland dialect. Another indication is in the nature of the manuscripts themselves. Although most of the northern copies had been produced in quite undistinguished formats, both G and T are handsome parchment volumes with wide margins and, in H , several fairly elaborately decorated initials.

The change in taste also appears, however, in the excisions that were made in the text which the reviser was almost certainly using. The
southern version retains almost nothing but the chronological narrative portions of $C M$. The reviser has deleted the Book of Penance and other catechetical material which had become attached to the northern versions (CFG, ll. 24971-29547). He has also deleted several of the more affective sections of the original poem (ll. 23909-24970), although his versified table of contents continues to refer to the sorrows of Mary (ll. 23945-24658) and the story of the establishment of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin (ll. 24731-970). The omission of the latter narrative, the tale of miraculous events which led William the Conqueror to establish the feast, seems to indicate an unwillingness to include stories from secular history. This is borne out by the omission from HTLB of the story of the finding of Christ's cross by St. Helena (11. 21347-846), a story that came to the original CM poet as an integral part of the Old French Cross Poem.

Another substitution in the southern version which has not been adequately noticed occurs at 1.10835 , in the middle of the Nativity story. While the CM poet had been translating the story from Herman's Bible, and the northern MSS show that he continued to do so, the southern reviser suddenly switches to the biblical account of the event. There seems no stylistic or theological reason for him to object to the original version, and in fact the switch is more likely to have had a physical cause. There are 66 substituted lines (Il. 10835-901) or the number which would probably have been contained in two columns of the exemplar. Should the outer half of a folio have been lost, as often happens, the reviser might well have turned to the Vulgate to continue his story and supplement his exemplar.

Interestingly enough, the southern version calls itself a "boke of storyes" rather than a "tretis." The excisions of the southern version, coupled with the increased number of headings breaking the poem into chunks suitable for an hour or so's reading, suggest that this version of the work may have been aimed even more directly than its original at men who " 3 ernen iestes for to here."

In addition to these three main stages in the poem's evolution, individual scribes also felt able to modify the poem to their tastes. The scribe of MS B, working in the mid-fifteenth century, rejected CM's account of Christ's Passion and of Doomsday, and substituted instead
extracts from the Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and from the Pricke of Conscience. Robert Thornton, also writing in the midfifteenth century, copies the poem up to the story of Christ's passion, but then abandons it in favour of the Northern Passion.

Even manuscripts which had been copied earlier were not immune from this sort of tinkering. During the fifteenth century, an owner of MS C removed part of the CM's Passion story and substituted lines from the Southern Passion usually attached to the South English Legendary. In order to do this, he scraped off the text of fol. 93 r and the first eight lines of fol. 93 v col. 1 (11. 16749-848). He then copied his preferred text, a pastiche of the Southern Passion and CM, on an inserted single leaf, fol. 92, on fol. 93r, and on the first eight lines of fol. 93 v . On fol. 95 v he again scraped off a portion of the $C M$ text, the last 28 lines of col. 2 (11. 17289-316). On the free space thus created he began to copy more of the pastiche. In order to continue his revisions, he then inserted three leaves, now fols. 96-97 (a bifolium) and 98 (a singleton with the stub of a cancellation visible before fol. 96). On fol. 98 v he finished copying the pastiche and then recopied 11 . 17289-316 of $C M$, which had been erased on fol. 95 v .

The characteristic that all these insertions share is that they are considerably more affective than the original text of $C M$. They thus reflect a shift in public taste towards a more affective piety, a shift which is reflected elsewhere in the enormous popularity of the pseudoBonaventuran Meditationes vitae Christi, among other texts.

## DATE, PROVENANCE, AND AUTHORSHIP

The generally accepted date for the composition of the CM is 1275 1325 , and I know of no evidence which would either specify the date more closely or call this into question.

The provenance of the poem has been more often discussed. Morris' edition called $C M$ simply a Northumbrian poem, but much early controversy centred around whether it was written in Scotland or northern England. This issue is much less burning than once it was, for Angus McIntosh's researches into ME dialects have served to place the
dialect of the northern manuscripts of $C M$ further south than earlier scholars had been inclined to believe. Whereas older scholars had held that MS C was copied in Durham and MS E even further north, McIntosh places both of these manuscripts in the West Riding of Yorkshire (McIntosh et al., 1: 259). The earlier controversy deserves to be reviewed, however.

Two kinds of evidence discussed were those of language and national feeling. Max Kaluza showed that some of the original text of the poem contained what he considered to be Scottish vocabulary. Rolf Kaiser continued this argument, producing a list of 50 words, including demonstrably original rhyme words, which he found elsewhere only in Scottish texts, a list which is still referred to (Kaiser, pp. 5-8).

Since these scholars wrote, however, many more ME texts have been unearthed and edited, and Kaiser's list no longer has so much authority.

The question of nationalism was also much discussed. Otto Strandberg suggested that the emphasis on England in a passage in the prologue precluded the possibility that the writer could have been working in Scotland:

> Efter haly kyrc state
> Pis ilk bok is es translate
> In to Inglis tong to rede
> For the loue of inglis lede,
> Inglis lede of Ingland,
> For the commun at understand.
> Frankis rimes here I redd,
> Communlik in ilk[a] sted, Mast es it wroght for frankis man:
> Quat is for him na frankis can?
> Of Ingland the nacion,
> Es Inglis man par in commun;
> Pe speche pat man wit mast may spede,
> Mast par-wit to speke war nede;
> Selden was for ani chance
> Praised Inglis tong in france;

Giue we ilkan pare langage,
Me think we do pam non outrage.
To laud and Inglis man i spell
Pat understandes pat i tell. (MS C 11. 231-50)
Because of these lines, he suggested Northumberland as the place of composition of the $C M$ (Strandberg, p. xv).

Kaiser tried to refute the claims of nationalism by showing that the terms "English" and "Scottish" in the Middle Ages referred to the English language as opposed to Gaelic. This seems to be correct as far as language names are concerned, but he also attempted to show that all the territory south of the Clyde-Forth line was known as England. He demonstrated that Scotland was feudally subject to England after 1217, and that English influence was particularly strong after 1286, but he could not find any instance of a writer calling the territory between the Clyde-Forth and the present Scottish border "England." He did point to Higden's Polychronicon, which says that "Scotia" extends from the Clyde-Forth line to the Norwegian Sea, and he also showed that medieval Scots, like their modern descendants, made a distinction between those living north of the Clyde-Forth line and those living south of it.

However, since Kaiser wrote, careful research into Scottish history has shown that the boundary between England and Scotland was formally fixed in its present position by the Treaty of York in 1237. The treaty agreement merely confirmed a boundary which had come to be generally accepted in the east in the eleventh century and on the western side of Britain in the mid-twelfth century. The feudal relationship with England was also much less strong and far less well established than the English kings liked to claim. Furthermore, a conscious revival of nationalism in the mid-thirteenth century led to an even greater split. By the time Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296, already between the English-speaking Scot and the English-speaking Englishman, subjects of different kingdoms, a mental and emotional line of division was fixed which ran as clear as those ancient boundaries the Tweed and the Redden Burn. The idea of a contemporary Scottish poet insisting over and over that he was writing for the Englishmen of England is clearly impossible.

The poet's use of sources has important implications for an investigation of the provenance of the poem. The poet apparently had continuous access to books. Line-by-line comparison of the poem with its sources everywhere shows that he translated these texts directly, and did not rely on memory. He has the habit of interpolating a quotation from another work into the one he is currently translating, suggesting that he worked with several volumes open before him. Several texts are thus quoted at various places in the work: Herman de Valenciennes' Bible, the Trad. anon., Comestor's Historia scholastica, Honorius' Elucidarium, and to some extent De imagine mundi, the Latin Legende, Grosseteste's Château d'amour, and, of course, the Vulgate Bible.

The Latin works used by the poet, although numerous, are not especially rare or esoteric. A comparison of the major Latin sources of $C M$ with R.M. Wilson's examination of surviving library catalogues indicates that the poet was using works which would have been found in many libraries of reasonable size (Wilson, pp. 85-111). French manuscripts are much less common, and would be much more helpful indicators of provenance. Unfortunately few such manuscripts survive and fewer still can be traced to specific medieval libraries.

No one can be sure how long the $C M$ poet would have needed to spend with his books to produce the 25,000 lines which were probably in the original version of the poem. However, the translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory into 24,000 lines of Anglo-Norman seems to have taken Angier seven years, and even Lydgate, at his supposed rate of composition of 5000 lines annually, would have taken at least five years to finish $C M$. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the $C M$ poet had fairly continuous access to a decent library over an extended period of time.

Another factor must influence the discussion of the provenance of $C M$. The conditions of the time in which the poem was composed have been largely ignored by scholars trying to determine its place of composition. Murray tacitly recognized the necessity of considering historical factors when he said the poem was composed "about 1275-1300 (while Alexander III reigned in Scotland)" (Murray, p. 30).

When Alexander III died in 1286, his only direct heir was his three-year-old granddaughter Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway. In spite of some disturbances in favour of other claimants to the
throne, six Guardians were appointed and, by the Treaty of Birgham, in 1290, Margaret was pledged to marry the son of the English king Edward I. On her way to her wedding, the Maid of Norway died at sea and the struggle for power in Scotland began in earnest. In 1295 the Scots made an alliance with France, and in March, 1296, the period known to Scottish historians as "The War of Independence" began. A Scottish army invaded north-western England and laid waste the northern counties as far as Hexham. Two days later, Edward I marched into eastern Scotland, slaughtered the male inhabitants of Berwick, and went on to subdue, temporarily, all of the country. By spring of 1297, most of Scotland was in revolt. Northumberland and Cumberland were raided again and the Northumberland clergy fled south to County Durham.

Although there were no doubt some periods of relative calm, it is estimated that in the 61 years between 1296 and 1357, 39 or 40 were marked by active warfare. The chronicles tell again and again of the northern clergy from all but the largest monasteries being scattered. Edward II's preoccupation with his own troubles in the south left the north increasingly vulnerable, and the devastation in 1311, for instance, was appalling.

For a time the Scots could be bought off with money payments. County Durham did this eight times between 1311 and 1327, sometimes at a cost of one-third the annual value of lands, but the smaller counties were less well organized and suffered more from the raids. The records of Bolton Priory, of Lanercost, and of various other institutions tell of several occasions on which all their inhabitants had to be billeted in other houses, while the Scots raided and burned. Even in years when the Scots were not actively raiding, normal life was difficult because of the fear of the inhabitants that they would return.

As if the war were not enough, the harvests of 1315 and 1316 were a disaster because of torrential rain, causing a famine of major dimensions, which was accompanied by a virulent epidemic, and, in the following years, by a sheep and cattle plague (Prestwich, pp. 247-49).

Under these dreadful conditions someone sat, in a reasonably well-furnished library, over a number of years, composing $C M$. The only conclusion possible is that the poem is a product of one of the larg-
est and most secure northern monasteries, probably Durham, or possibly somewhere in York, places which were a great deal less vulnerable to the general chaos.

## OWNERSHIP AND HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Some manuscripts bear no indication of their medieval ownership, but others give substantial clues at least to the profession or social status of those who possessed them.

MS L is the only manuscript which was in religious rather than secular hands in the Middle Ages. The name and date of its scribe are recorded: "scriptus Rhodo per Johannem Newton die 25 Octobris 1459" (fol. 226v). The same hand also wrote MS Jesus College Oxford 39, a copy of Disce mori. On the back pastedown of $L$ appears the inscription "Syster Anne Colvylle" and, visible under ultra-violet light, "of youre charyte prey for sustyr clement thasebirght." Anne Colvylle was a nun of Syon in 1518 as was the owner of the Jesus College Manuscript of Disce mori, Dorothy Slyghe. However, the manuscript need not have been commissioned by a religious. Another of Sister Anne Colvylle's books survives as MS BL Harley 993, but with a colophon indicating that it was a common profit manuscript, commissioned by a layman and given to a religious in return for prayers for the soul of the donor:

This book was maad of pe goodis of robert holond for a comyn profite $b a t$ pat persoone pat hap pis book commitid to him of pe persoone pat hap power to committe it haue pe vss perof pe terme of his lijf preiynge for the soule of pe same Robert and bat he pat hap pe forseid vss of commissioun whanne he occupiep it not leene he it for a tyme to sum oper persoone also pat persoone to whom it was committid for pe teerme of lyf vndir pe forseid condiciouns deliuere it to a noper persoone pe teerme of his lijf and so be it deliuered \& committid from persoone to persoone man or womman as longe as pe book endurip. (fols. $38 \mathrm{r}-\mathrm{v}$ )

All other manuscripts of $C M$ would seem to have been exclusively in lay hands.

Something can be deduced about early owners of the other copies of the southern version of the poem. MSS H and T survive in what was presumably the original format of this edition, copied on parchment with wide margins. MS T has some handsome penwork initials and MS H handsomely painted ones. The manuscripts were thus probably fairly expensive, but the names which appear in their margins give little clue to the status of the owners. At the end of the text in MS T is the name John Digbye (fol. 142v) in a late-fifteenth-century hand, and on the following folio, 143v, are the names Francis Stacye, Thomas Stacye, John Digbye, and Jeames Stacy. Although the dialect indicates that the manuscript was copied in Staffordshire, Digby is a name frequently found in Warwickshire records and the Stacys were a Bedfordshire family. This indicates that the manuscript may have moved by the late fifteenth century. It was given to Trinity College by George Wilner.

MS H contains only a few faint pencil annotations in a hand of the sixteenth century: Christus anno dominj 1546 (fol. 152v); William Udyll (fol. 155v); and "by me Wylliam" (fol. 154v). Although it is kept with the manuscripts donated to the College of Arms by the Duke of Norfolk, it was not part of his donation, and there is no record of how it reached the College.

MS B was produced in Bedfordshire and probably remained in that county since medieval times, as it was owned by the Bedfordshire General Library until it was acquired by the British Library in Sotheby's sale of June 18, 1904. All that remains to indicate medieval ownership are some barely legible accounts on fol. Ir relating to sheep. These are enough, however, to suggest that this manuscript belonged to a member of the merchant class.

Some of the northern copies have little evidence of early ownership. All that is known of MS E from the time it was copied in the West Riding of Yorkshire until the eighteenth century is that it was bequeathed to the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh by Dr. John Drummond in 1741. He had been President of the College from 1722 to 1727.

One of the northern manuscripts seems also to have belonged to merchants. Several names occur in MS C in hands of the fifteenth cen-
tury. The most extensive note of ownership is on fol. 56r: "Wylliam cosyn wylliam cosyn ownep bis boke who so euer fynd." Hupe speculated at some length on the identity of this man, finding the name in records from Lincolnshire, where he thought $C M$ was composed, and in London. As MS C more probably belongs in the West Riding of Yorkshire, however, there seems little reason to suppose that the family or families he documented are connected with it. Other names are also to be found in the manuscript: Jamys Hyrst (fols. 30r, 90r), Iohn Robynsun (fol. 60r), Wylliam (fols. 82r, 88v), John (fols. 82r, 157v), Rychyrd (fol. 163r), and on fol. 163v Richard Brus, John Kearnforth, Iohn Cosyn, and other names less readily legible. In view of the manuscript's connection with Yorkshire, and the appearance of the name Brus on fol. 163 v , it seems more reasonable to suppose that the Cosyn family who owned the manuscript was the one which appears in records over several centuries in Linthorpe, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, a part of the county in the Brus fee.

More significant for determining the social class of the owners of MS C are the beginnings of two indentures on fols. 163 r and 163 v : "Thys indenture made the iiiiiiij dai of merche" (fol. 163r) and "The indentur made pe iii dai of may betwyx richard brus" (fol. 163v). These indicate that at least one of its fifteenth-century owners was of the merchant class.

In the sixteenth century, the manuscript was in the collection of Henry Savile of Banke in Yorkshire, from whom Robert Cotton obtained many of his manuscripts. MS C was in Cotton's collection by 1621. It used to be thought that Savile got most of his collection from "northern monasteries" but this assumption has been questioned for all the manuscripts and it is probably not true that MS C came to him from such a source.

Two manuscripts were owned by members of the landed gentry. MS BL Add 31042 was copied and owned by Robert Thornton, the landed gentleman of the West Riding of Yorkshire whose career and milieu have been well documented.

MS F is in the dialect of Lancashire and its colophon also records its place of origin: "Stokynbrig scripsit istum librum willelmo keruour de lancaster." Other names appear in hands of the sixteenth century: on
the verso of an unnumbered fiyleaf at the beginning are the names Tomas, Tomas of canterbere, Thomas Belyngham, Robartus Belyingham, and Robertus Crank; fol. 1r Wilelmus Belyngham, fol. 1v Nycholas Batson ... of York. Fol. 3v contains notes on burgages of Lancaster. The Middle English Dialect Atlas also reads "Iste liber restat domino Iohanni de croft," in other words Sir John Croft of Dalton in Kendal, Lancs. The Crofts were indeed a prominent family in Lancashire, and various members of the Bellingham family are recorded there too, including a Thomas Bellingham who had the advowson of the Church of St. Chad, under the patronage of Nicholas Croft, from June 10, 1437 until October 1445, and a Robert Bellingham who died in 1540.

The most intriguing question of ownership is posed by MS G. It was copied in the second half of the fourteenth century in Yorkshire, but from an exemplar which was partly in a dialect of south Lincolnshire. Its decoration, which seems to have been done in York, and the illegible coat of arms on its first folio indicate that it was commissioned by an armigerous patron. Furthermore, it contains a request for prayers for the person who commissioned the manuscript, whose name is given:

> And speciali for me ze pray
> Pat pis bock gart dight
> Iohn of lindbergh, i 3 u sai
> Pat es mi name ful right. (11. 17099-102)

At this time, the name de Lindbergh (of Lindbergh) could have been used either as a family name or a place name. As a family name, it appears in records from Dorset and Yorkshire, in the latter case probably deriving from the tiny village of Limber Magna, near Whitby. The name is most often recorded in Lincolnshire, however, where, for instance, two members of the family, both named Adam, gained national prominence. Although the surname turns up fairly often in Lincolnshire records, no suitable John de Lindbergh has been found.

If Lindbergh is considered as a place name, however, some suggestions are possible. The commissioner of the manuscript was armigerous, as is witnessed by the coat of arms on fol. 1r, and fairly wealthy, as is witnessed by the quality of the manuscript he commissioned. No suitable candidate is recorded from Lindbergh Magna in

Yorkshire, nor from Lindbergh Parva in Lincolnshire. Attention must centre on Lindbergh (now Limber) Magna in southern Lincolnshire, a site close to the source of the dialect layer underlying the first 11,000 lines of MS G.

Hupe considered that John of Lindbergh was the author of $C M$. He identified Limber Magna, but stated that it was the site of a monastery, implying that this explained the commissioning and copying of the manuscript.

This is not possible, however. In the mid-twelfth century, the manor and church of Limber Magna were given to the Cistercian abbey of Aunay-sur-Odon in Normandy by Richard de Hument, constable of Normandy, and his wife Agnes. The Cistercians operated it as a grange, with perhaps one monk in charge of the property, but it is doubtful that there was ever a larger establishment, such as a priory, there. The church continued in this fashion until 1393, when at the suppression of alien priories, the manor and church were sold to the Carthusian priory of St. Anne in Coventry.

The only other religious presence in the village in the fourteenth century seems to have been the Knights Hospitallers, who had a manor or camera there, associated with Willoughton, but again this was a small establishment, consisting of a secular chaplain, a bailiff, and a few others.

Fairly recently, Charles C.V. Ross has suggested that the wording of the curse on anyone stealing the manuscript (ll. 17103-10) implied that its owner was a priest. He discovered two priests named John (John Tumby and John Whittyl) who held the benefice of Limber Magna in the 1370's. However, there is nothing in the routine wording of the curse which would specifically suggest it was composed by a priest, and such a supposition ignores the rubbed coat of arms on fol. 1.

It seems very likely that the manuscript was commissioned by the family who held the manor in Lymbergh Magna. In the early part of the reign of Edward III, the holder was Henry Beumys (also spelled Bealmeys, Beaumys), who held a court which his tenants, including one Hugh de Keleby, attended. Henry's son was named John, and it is he who is the probable commissioner of the manuscript. He seems to have been dead by about 1351, for Hugh de Keleby's son, who died in that year, is
said to have held his lands in Lymbergh from "Tecia, late the wife of John de Baumys." Tecia, John's wife, lived on until 1381, when she died on the feast of St. Lawrence. John's and Tecia's lands then passed to their son Thomas, aged 30, who had been born after his grandfather Henry's death.

However, an older son, Henry, aged 46, turned up to claim the manor. Thomas was summoned "to be before the king in the Chancery," but failed to appear, and so the manor was given to his older brother. If Thomas was 30 years old in 1381, his father, John, must have been alive in 1351, and if Henry was 46 in 1381, John must have been of marriageable age in 1335.

The hand and decoration of the manuscript have been variously dated in the second half of the fourteenth century, with art historians leaning towards a date around 1375 for the decoration. The history of the production of the manuscript is not straightforward, however, for it was clearly produced in at least two stages, using at least two exemplars, one from south Lincolnshire and one from Yorkshire. A shift in the underlying dialect was noticed at the beginning of this century by Curt Barth. The first 11,000 lines of the poem, corresponding roughly to the first 74 folios, were taken from an exemplar in a dialect of south Lincolnshire, while the rest of the poem was copied from an exemplar in a more northern dialect, probably of Yorkshire. There is also physical evidence of the division of folios. That of fols. $1-74$ is different from that of fols. 75-169. Furthermore fols. 73-74 are a separate bifolium, interrupting the regular 12-leaf quire structure. Each of the columns on this bifolium holds $46-47$ lines of the poem, as compared with $36-38$ on the leaves of regular quires. There is a jotted note on fol. 75 r which reads "This haf was in hys ... bock." Having copied the first part of $C M$, crowding the last bit onto a separate bifolium, the scribe of G presumably had to pause to find an exemplar for the second part, as is indicated by the change of dialect, the change of ink, the addition of a bifolium to carry the last of the text of the first part, and the note on fol. 75. The difficulties did not end with the copying of the manuscript. It may be that the heirs of John Beawmys were executing a commission which had been put in hand by their father, and interrupted by his death, or it may be copied from an earlier exemplar into the later copy.

The case for this John Beawmys of Lindbergh and his heirs as commissioners of MS G is far from proven, but in the absence of a better candidate, they stand as possible commissioners of the work.

Little is known of the later history of the manuscript. Marginal notes indicate that it remained in England for some time. A few Middle English proverbs and recipes appear in late-fifteenth- and early-six-teenth-century hands, and running headlines of the same era appear on the early folios. Two names appear on fol. 123v, Annes Lopton and Dorathe Darlyngton. Lopton or Lipton is a Yorkshire name and suggests that the manuscript had a continuing Yorkshire connection. Other folios contain English glosses in a hand which is quite late, perhaps even eighteenth century. However, a note on the flyleaf records in German that the manuscript was purchased at auction in Hannover on June 14, 1786, and it has remained in Germany ever since. A bookplate on the flyleaf bears the signature C.I. Sullon.

Overwhelmingly, then, the evidence available in extant manuscripts suggests that $C M$ circulated almost exclusively in lay circles, predominantly among merchants and landed gentry.

## DECORATION

A major problem with a poem as long as $C M$ is to orient the reader in the text, to help him find his way around it easily. In its original form, now most clearly seen in MSS E and C, the poem was not frequently broken up by headings or chapter divisions. However, even the earliest and plainest of the manuscripts have, or were intended to have, some sort of visual aids to guide the reader to a certain story.

The programme of rubrication in MS E was never carried out. Although the sections of the manuscript containing part of the Northern Homily Cycle have many headings in red, the portion of the manuscript containing the $C M$ has none. Spaces were left for headings, however, on fols. $37 \mathrm{r}, 3 \mathrm{v}, 10 \mathrm{r}$, and 14 r , and spaces for decorated initials were left on fols. 14 r and 47 r . A late hand, possibly seventeenth-century, has jotted headings or running headlines on some of these folios, and these were printed by Morris as if they were original headings in text columns.

Although it has red initials to indicate divisions of the poem, MS C does not contain headings in the text. However, many folios, especially at the beginning of the manuscript, show running headlines, which again Morris has printed as headings in the text. Presumably more of these once existed but were cropped by a binder.

MS F has initials and paragraph marks in red, but few headings. The scribe of this manuscript has, however, greatly facilitated the consultation of the text by providing a table of contents with 90 numbered items. These chapter numbers are keyed to red numbers at the top of folios (fols. 5 r and 5 v are marked i , fol. 6 r ii , etc.), and the headings from the table of contents are often repeated as marginal notes beside the appropriate lines. Later users of the manuscript have also jotted further marginal notes in it.

MS G also has a table of contents, copied in red, on fol. 1r. This lists the contents of the manuscript, but its wording is not directly reflected in headings or marginal notes in the manuscript itself. MS G, however, also has an elaborate scheme of decoration which will be discussed later.

The layout of the edition of the southern version of the poem was originally planned to make finding one's way around the work easier. The extant witnesses which most closely reflect this original layout are MSS H and T. This version of the work has many more rubricated headings inserted into the text than any of the others. Red and blue paragraph marks abound in MS T, and are represented in MS H by double slashes in the margin. A sixteenth-century reader of MS T has also heavily annotated the margins.

MSS $L$ and $B$ continue the use of the headings of the southern version and have many initials and paragraph marks in red and blue. MS L also has a table of contents. The scribe has simply listed the headings which appear in the manuscript and has indicated the page on which each may be found. This table of contents appears before the poem, on a single leaf of paper (fol. 65) with a different watermark from the paper on which the rest of $C M$ is copied. The table of contents probably did not, therefore, come to the scribe with the poem, but was added as an afterthought by him to make location of specific parts of the poem easier.

Robert Thornton, who copied MS Add, left spaces for more headings than are found in MS F , the nearest textual relative to his own copy.

He also decorated his text with red initials, probably penned by his own hand.

Aside from these pragmatic schemes to facilitate reading of the text, however, almost all the manuscripts of $C M$ show at least vestiges of a more ambitious programme of decoration. The southern version appears to have been issued in a rather handsome format, on parchment, with generous margins. MS H now contains two fairly elaborate initials painted with gold, one at the beginning of the section of the creation of the world (fol. 1v), and one at the beginning of the Passion narrative (fol. 87v), reproduced in vol. 3, p. xxi of the present edition. Others may have appeared on missing leaves in the manuscript.

MS T, while it does not have painted decoration, has fairly elaborate penwork initials in red and blue with a design of ivy leaves and a border on fols. 1 r and 92 v , again at the beginning of the poem, and at the opening of the Passion story. MS L has a less elaborate initial, in red and blue with some gold, at the beginning of the poem (fol. 66r), and only MS B shows no attempt at such decoration.

A more intriguing feature of $C M$ manuscripts, however, is the indication given by four of them (ECGAdd) that they were intended to be decorated not simply with ornamental initials, but with some sorts of pictures or representational devices. This is very rare in manuscripts of Middle English texts before the beginning of the fifteenth century, and even after that period only a narrow range of vernacular texts is ever illustrated.

MS E, dated by Neil Ker at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Ker, p. 539), contains three spaces in its text columns which seem to have been intended to hold pictures. On fol. 39 v col. 2 , a space of 14 lines has been left at the beginning of the story of Paul's conversion (before 1. 19477). On fol. 41r col. 1, a space of 12-13 lines has been left before a section telling of God sending Ananaias to baptize the still blind Paul (before 1. 19657). On fol. 46v col. 1, a space of seven lines has been left in the middle of a discussion of the cross (before 1. 21717). The first space occurs at a place which the other manuscripts regard as a significant division of the poem, and the second occurs at a minor division, but the third occurs at a place where no other manuscripts note a division.

There seems little reason for picture spaces to appear at just these places. St. Paul was never a popular saint with the laity, and histories of Christian iconography record relatively few representations of him. It is possible that the commissioner of the manuscript had a special devotion to St. Paul. He is the patron saint of rope makers and of basket makers but the scenes which inspired this are not the ones which were chosen for illustration here. His blinding and conversion are clearly an important moment in his story, and in the history of the Church, but his baptism and the regaining of his sight are much more rarely shown. The 6000 lines preserved in MS E would have allowed an artist to illustrate other more commonly shown events: the story of Simon Magus from the life of Peter and Paul, for instance, figures of the apostles to accompany their biographies, the Assumption of Our Lady, Antichrist, the Apocalypse, the Fifteen Signs before Judgement, hell, heaven, etc. Yet these were ignored and the story of Paul apparently given two spaces.

The third picture space, on fol. 46 v col. 1 , is both smaller (seven lines, or half the size of the others) and easier to explain. It occurs just after a mention of a tau cross:

Staue and croice bape er als an
Bot taue hauis gierd aboun nan.
To the left of the space is a crude tau, presumably a direction to the artist what to draw in the space.

This kind of illustration, not a scene but a drawing of a simple device, also appears in the margins of the next oldest manuscript of the poem, MS C, and may have been copied from its exemplar. The manuscript contains a series of marginal drawings in the hand and ink of the scribe, labelled in Latin. The first occurs at the bottom of fol. 7 v . It is a simple diagram of the rivers of Paradise, a circle divided into quarters, each one containing a name of one of the rivers, with the whole labelled quatuor flumen paradisi. The folio contains a description of Paradise.

The second, at the bottom of fol. 12 v , is a drawing of a ship labelled archa noe. The ship has not been abstracted or simplified from a more complete Noah's ark scene, for it shows none of the usual attributes of the ark. It is not enclosed, there are no signs of the window and door mentioned in Genesis, and there are no people, animals, or birds nearby.

The third drawing is at the bottom of fol. 13 v . The text tells of the division of the world among the sons of Noah and the sketch is a T-O map dividing the world into Asia, Europe, and Africa. The label reads diuisio terrarum tribus fratribus Iaphet cham (Shem is not mentioned).

The fourth sketch, on fol. 14 v , is of a tower and is labelled Turris babilonie.

There are no other labelled drawings in the manuscript, but a rough sketch of the tablets of Moses' law between the text columns of fol. 36 v may indicate that there were others throughout the exemplar.

The evidence of the tau cross in MS E and the marginal drawings in MS C suggest that a certain kind of illustration may have appeared in the earliest copies of $C M$. The earliest manuscripts probably contained not scenes but simple drawings of single objects-a map, a ship, a tower-to mark divisions in the text and to guide a reader through a manuscript.

There are also some further spaces in the text columns of the Cotton manuscript. Originally the copyist left spaces ranging from 16 to five lines at the beginning of the histories of the first six ages of the world. Five of the six spaces are now filled with crude diagrams, in the hand and ink of the scribe, of the genealogy of the prominent men of the preceding era. The first space, on fol. $2 v$ after 1.270 , is awkward, as there is no genealogy of a preceding era to fill it. The space is instead filled, for no particular reason, with a list of days of the week and their corresponding planets.

John Thompson has suggested that these spaces too were originally intended to hold some sort of pictures to preface each of the ages of the world (Thompson, Robert Thornton, pp. 60-61). The genealogies, however, seem to have been in an early archetype of all but two of the present manuscripts, although there is slight evidence to suggest that they may not have been in the original poem.

Lines 1625-26, which end the account of the first age, announce that a genealogy will follow:

> Bot first a tre, ar i. bigin,
> I sal sette hire of adam kin. (MS C)

The lines also appear in the related MSS G, H, T, and B, which announce a genealogy of Noah's kin, although no such genealogy appears. The scribe of MS L omits the lines, presumably because he noticed that no genealogy followed. The lines are also omitted, however, in MS F, which descends from a different archetype than the ancestor of all the manuscripts which preserve the lines. MS F could, of course, have omitted the lines independently, but it is also possible that this reference to a genealogy only occurs in the descendants of the exemplar of MS C.

Another anomaly occurs in the lines preceding the sixth age. MS C does not have any lines announcing a genealogy, although its last diagram occurs here on fol. 70v. After 1. 12732, however, all the extant manuscripts except $C$ have:

> Pis ilk tre I dede be-gyn.
> is alle sette for mary kyn.
> pat ilkan may knaw weterly
> of Ioseph kin \& of mary
> for pai come bap of a man.
> pat had leuy to his nam. (MS F)

All the extant manuscripts except $C$ then have eight lines roughly outlining the ancestry of Mary and Joseph. MS G, however, whose scribe has lately switched exemplars to follow a more northern version of the text, has, in between the announcement of the genealogy and the new lines, a five-line list of names very similar to the ones appearing in C's genealogical table. It seems reasonable to suppose that G's new exemplar had, in fact, a genealogical table like the one which remains in MS C, but that the scribe of $G$ ignored its frame and simply copied the names.

Although the genealogies may have been present in the exemplar of $C$, it is not impossible that drawings, such as those preserved in $C$, were also present in the exemplar to mark the transition from one age of the world to another. The rivers of paradise would serve to introduce the first age, Noah's ark the second, the tablets of the law the fourth. In this scheme emblems for the third, fifth, and sixth ages are missing in MS C, and the T-O map and Tower of Babel are outside the scheme, but additional sketches might easily have been present in the exemplar or archetype.

The kind of decoration I am suggesting is not unknown elsewhere. Almanacs and calendars often represent saints pictorially by their attributes (the hand of St. Faith, for instance). They may also contain brief world histories or chronological schemes in which each age is accompanied by a suitable, though simple, pictorial representation very like those in MS C. Chronicle histories may also contain this kind of illustration, although their form is somewhat more elaborate.

It seems that the marginal drawings in MS C have been displaced from their usual spot within text columns of the manuscript, where they, and probably others like them, served as pictorial chapter headings to break up the narrative. In the same way, Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall suggest that miscellaneous scenes of battle and procession "are dotted about [secular] manuscripts, more, it seems, with the intention of providing visual relief and variety, or of punctuating the narrative in a visually convenient way, than of providing a visual commentary on or interpretation of the narrative" (Salter and Pearsall, p. 103). It is notable that the northern manuscripts, including MS C, have few rubricated headings to guide the reader to the contents of particular passages. In contrast, the South Midland manuscripts of the poem, which show no signs of ever having been illustrated, have many more rubricated headings to guide the reader.

MS Add, copied by Robert Thornton, is another CM manuscript which gives some indication that its copyist thought it should be illustrated. An indeterminate amount of material is missing at the beginning of this manuscript, but the 4400 extant lines contain 10 spaces which he presumably left for pictures. His choice of material to illustrate cannot be directly compared with the choices made by the scribes of E or $C$, for $E$ preserves lines from a different part of the poem, and this part of C shows no indication of illustration.

Thornton's choices of scenes for illustration are much more conventional than the choices of the Edinburgh text. Large spaces are provided in columns to hold scenes of

- the conception of John the Baptist (fol. 4 v col. 2)
- the presentation of Jesus at the temple (fol. 7 r col. 2)
- the three kings and their offerings (fol. 7 v col. 2)
- the angel warning the three kings (fol. 8 v col. 2)
- the flight into Egypt (fol. 9r col. 2)
- Christ at school (fol. 12v col. 2)
- Christ restoring sight to the blind man (fol. 21v col. 2)
- the healing at the Piscina Probatica (fol. 23 v col. 1)
- Christ forgiving Mary Magdalene (fol. 25 v col. 1).

In addition, at the top of fol. 24 v , space has been left for a doublecolumn picture, probably of Christ preaching in the temple.

Of the New Testament scenes which Thornton planned to include, only one, Christ healing the blind man, is roughly comparable to a scene in the more fully illustrated MS G which will be discussed below. As MSS Add and G show almost no correlation in scenes illustrated and are not related to each other stemmatically either, it can safely be said that the Thornton and Göttingen manuscripts were not drawing on a common tradition of illustrated CM manuscripts for their work. MS F, the manuscript which is most closely related to Thornton's textually, although it is not his exemplar, is the only northern manuscript which bears no indication of illustration at all. It seems likely, then, that the impulse to leave spaces for pictures in the manuscript came to Robert Thornton independently.

Most of the projected pictures would have shown commonly illustrated biblical scenes. The conception of John the Baptist is not a usual subject, but the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth is and this may have been what was intended here. An exception is the picture which would have shown Christ at school, a story told in the rarely illustrated apocryphal stories of the childhood of Christ. Even this could have been provided from an orthodox source, however, by adapting a standard preaching or teaching scene.

Salter and Pearsall remark about the illustration of secular romances that "the availability of appropriate compositional models is an important consideration for the professional illustrator" (Salter and Pearsall, p. 104), and Hugo Buchthal has shown how widely available biblical scenes were adapted to illustrate such secular works (Buchthal, pp. 11-13). The most likely explanation of Robert Thornton's picture spaces is that he too planned to illustrate the $C M$ with pictures from an illustrated Bible cycle in an unrelated text.

For unknown reasons, Thornton never filled in the picture spaces, and instead wrote in many of them. The headings are clearly an afterthought, however, as they do not correspond with headings in any of the other manuscripts, and as they occasionally duplicate other headings already in place. The heading on the picture space on fol. 4 v col. 2 , for instance, "Off the concepcyoun off Iohn pe Baptiste," duplicates the usual heading on fol. 5 r col. 2, "Be concepcyoun of Saynt Iohn of [sic] Baptiste."

The most lavish programme of illustration in any $C M$ manuscript is found in MS G. The first 96 folios of the manuscript contain quite elaborate decoration. This was almost certainly executed ca. 13751400 in York, where there was a flourishing trade in book production. The decoration of the manuscript stops partway through the volume, although unfortunately not at the same place that other changes occur. Only the first 97 folios of the manuscript are illustrated, in other words all but two leaves of the first eight quires. The colophon too comes in an odd position. Rather than being at the end of the poem (or even at the beginning), the name of the commissioner of the manuscript comes partway through, at 1.17099 , following the story of Christ's Passion and a 98 -line passage of devotional prayer translated from Robert Grosseteste.

Unlike the illustrations planned for MSS E, C, and Add, those in MS G are connected with the initials of the poem. Eighty-eight initials receive some kind of painted ornamentation. Some are simply decorated with vines and leaves, which can extend into a border spanning as many as 22 lines. Other initials are decorated with some kind of living creatures. There are 14 birds, 11 dragons, lizards or serpents, two dogs, two human-headed grotesques, one fish, one ape, one ox, and 12 other creatures which defy classification.

An even more interesting group of initials, however, is decorated with scenes or figures directly related to the poem. These scenes are not simple marginal drawings, as in MS C, nor are they placed within columns of text, in spaces like those in MSS E and Add. The pictures are not contained within the form of the letter itself either, as in historiated initials. Rather, they extend out into the margin beside the letter. Most of the scenes are fairly small and the figures are integrated into the
design of the letter itself. In a more elaborate scene, such as David and Goliath, however, the picture moves into the margin.

As MS G holds a complete text of $C M$, except for some accidental losses, its scheme of decoration can be compared with those in all of the other manuscripts except $E$, for the decoration stops in MS G before the story of Paul. At almost no point does MS G illustrate the same scenes as appeared or were to have appeared in the other manuscripts. Of the Old Testament passages it illustrates, only one, the tablets of the law, corresponds very roughly with a drawing in MS C. Of New Testament scenes, only the healing of the blind man and perhaps Christ preaching are comparable to the scenes which would have appeared in MS Add.

Often the subjects chosen for illustration in MS G seem somewhat eccentric, and not all of the scenes are placed at major divisions of the poem. The story of the fall of Lucifer and the confirmation of the good angels in heaven opens with an initial showing an angel with a drooping wing (fol. 4r). This is not exactly a scene, but it does show an adaptation of the initial decoration to the text. The second representational scene, at the beginning of the Fall story (fol. 6 v ), shows a kneeling man eating part of the initial. None of the Genesis drawings from MS C appears here in MS G.

The next scene shows a kneeling Isaac being blessed by Christ, who leans out from behind the letter $O$ (fol. 24v). Fol. 32v shows Joseph in exile and in prison, sitting in the stocks. These two are not subjects which are frequently illustrated, and the picture of Joseph appears at a point which is not seen as a major division of the poem by any other scribe. Two lines are copied in red here as if they were a heading, but these lines are treated as normal parts of the text in all the other manuscripts.

Fol. 45 v shows a horned Moses, carrying the tablets of the law, being blessed by Christ, who appears from behind the initial. MS C also had a hasty sketch of the tablets of the law, but nothing in the treatment of the subject is similar.

Fol. 52v shows David and Goliath in one of the largest scenes in the manuscript. This is the only scene to be framed in any way and to have a patterned background of arabesques. Two pictures of buildings represent Solomon's Temple (fol. 60v) and the allegory of the Château d'amour (fol. 68r).

The New Testament is the only part of the $C M$ which survives in MS Add, and is therefore the part which Robert Thornton clearly intended to have illustrated, yet the spaces in his manuscript rarely coincide with the pictures in MS G. Again, MS G's choice of subjects to illustrate is somewhat eccentric. There is no Nativity scene, for instance, but instead a picture of a man (fol. 76v). Some of the miracles of the infancy of Christ are illustrated, which is quite unusual. There is a scene of the palm tree bowing to Christ (fol. 79v) and of Jesus sowing seeds, and taming a lion (fol. 83v). The scene from the infancy gospels which was to appear in MS Add was of Christ at school, so again there is no common subject. The illustrations in MS G end with some scenes from Christ's ministry. Christ blessing the man born blind (fol. 91v) was also to appear in MS Add (fol. 21v), and there is an initial showing Christ preaching (MS G, fol. 93 v ), which is also the presumed subject of the double-column picture space in MS Add. Thornton's picture, though, would presumably have been much larger and surely much more elaborate. The last picture in MS G is of the dying Lazarus in front of his house (fol. 95 v ).

This examination of the decoration of $C M$ manuscripts, from the simplest to the most elaborate, suggests a pragmatic approach on the part of the scribes. Simple coloured initials, paragraph marks and rubricated headings, as well as tables of contents and running headlines, are easily seen as simple devices to orient a reader in the pages of this very long poem. The most common early forms of drawings in the manuscripts were probably simple sketches of individual objects, similarly used to punctuate the text. The evidence suggests that illustrations were provided for very early in the history of the transmission of the poem. However, there is little evidence for a proto-cycle of illustrations, or even for a set of agreed places where illustrations ought to occur. The eccentric choice of subjects, and their placement at lines which are not major divisions of the poem suggest that some of the decoration at least was used to break up visually monotonous pages, rather than to indicate logical breaks in the text.

The question remains why manuscripts of $C M$, almost alone of fourteenth-century texts, should show so much evidence of intended illustration. The answer, I think, lies in its subject matter. Because the
poem dealt with world history, its early manuscripts could use the schematic pictorial shorthand of the almanacs, calendars, and chronicles. Because it dealt with biblical history in particular, later copyists could count on being able to draw on the cycles of biblical pictures which increasingly appeared in psalters, bibles, and books of hours.

## INFLUENCE

From time to time, various scholars have suggested that the $C M$ influenced other works. On examination, many of these suggested influences turn out to involve very general similarities or a sharing of a commonplace idea or topos. In the following discussion, such similarities will not be taken to show influence, nor will close similarities of incident or structure which could result from use of the same, usually widely known, source. In order to show influence, a passage must demonstrate either close verbal similarity to $C M$ or the sharing of an idea or incident so rare in Middle English that no other source could plausibly be suggested.

One of the most persistent of the rumours of influence is that the $C M$ was in some way a source for the cycle plays. Baker, Murphy, and Hall take for granted that this is so: "We can be reasonably sure that parts of the $C M$ and various devotional treatises lay behind the plays" (Introduction, p. Ixxxix). There has, however, been very little precise demonstration of this influence. Some scholars rely on the undeniable similarity of structure between $C M$ and the cycles. In a fairly recent Ph.D. dissertation, Anna Lathrop Wade has constructed tables for these correspondences of subject matter, but all that these prove is a very general similarity, a similarity which is shared with most of the biblical paraphrases discussed above under Genre.

George C. Taylor argued for the influence of the Planctus Marie section of CM (ll. ca. 24128) on The Digby Burial of Christ (Taylor, pp. 624-31). Most of his argument hinges on emphasis, for he argues that both poets choose to stress the same otherwise commonplace topoi of the Planctus. He also demonstrates that both use similar rhetorical devices of repetition and the same rhyme scheme (aab ccb), and sug-
gests that the Digby refrain "Who can not wepe com lern at mee" might have been suggested by CM I1. 24440-41, where MS F reads:
qua-sim of sorou nane has here, herkin to me \& ze mai lere.

Again, however, the parallels are neither close nor exclusive. The rhetorical device and rhyme scheme are found in many other works, and the refrain survives in a more closely related form in two other Planctus, as Taylor himself shows.

No close verbal parallels have ever been demonstrated between $C M$ and any of the cycle plays. Norris suggested that the passage in the Comish Ordinalia giving the distance from earth to heaven at the time of Christ's Assumption reflected CM 11. 507-10 giving the distance Lucifer fell from heaven to hell (Norris, 2: 445-46). However, the Cornish play is far more orthodox in its use of this motif than $C M$, and the playwright could have taken his version from a number of standard sources, including the Legenda aurea. Anna Lathrop Wade has set out several parallel passages to demonstrate borrowing from $C M$ by the cycle playwrights (Wade, Chap. 3). The most nearly convincing is her comparison of CM 379-84 with Towneley I 37-44, but even here the verbal echoes are not overwhelming.

Pe thrid day pat drighten did
Pe watters draw unto a stid,
And bad a dri sted suld be;
Pe watters al he cald pe see,
Pe dri cald erth pat lauerd kyng. (CM, MS C 379-83)
Waters, that so wyde ben spred, be gedered to geder in to one stede, that dry the erth may seym;
that pat is dry the erth shall be, the waters also I call the see:
this warke to me is queme.
Out of the erth herbys shal spryng,
Trees to florish and frute furth bryng. (Towneley I 37-44)

The same sort of examination demolishes most suggested links between CM and the Pricke of Conscience. In the notes to his edition of the Pricke, Morris printed extracts from CM on Antichrist, the resurrection of the body, and the pains of hell. The latter is included for linguistic comparison, but the two former seem to invite comparison as if one were the source of the other. Both poets are, in fact, simply translating independently very similar and very commonly known Latin works. The passage on Antichrist comes from Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi, and the other two passages are largely based on the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis.

George R. Coffman thought that the Pricke, 11. 766-803, was the source for CM 11. 3555-94 (Coffman, p. 265). As CM was composed about 50 years earlier, the suggestion is, of course, impossible, but even if the suggested line of influence is reversed the similarity is very weak:

Quen pat sua bicums ald His blode pan wexus dri and cald,
Til vnwelth windes al his wald;
Pe heued biginnes for to scak, His hend vnquemli for to quak, It crepes crouland in his bak, And pe banes for to crak, Pe freli fax to fal of him, And pe sight to wax well dim; Pe front it fronces pat was scene, Pes nese it droppes ai bi-tuine Be teth to rote, be aand at stinc, Allan to liue trauail him thinc;

He praises al thing pat es gon O present thing he praisses non Pan es eth to mak him wrath, To saxtend be es sumdel lath; (CM, MS C 3562-74, 3577-80)
Bot als tyte als a man waxes alde, ..... 766
Pan waxes his kynde wayke and calde, ..... 767
And his heved feble and dysy; ..... 771
Alle his touches er tremblande: ..... 779
His bak waxes croked, stoupand he gas ..... 777
His haire moutes, his eghen rynnes; ..... 781
His sight wax dym pat he has, ..... 776
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare; ..... 773
His nese ofte droppes, his hand stynkes, ..... 775
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes, ..... 784
He prayses ald men and haldes pam wyse, ..... 794
An yhung men list him oft despyse; ..... 795
He loves men pat in ald tyme has bene, ..... 796
He lakes pa men pat now are sene; ..... 797
He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward, ..... 786
Bot to turne hym fra wrethe it es hard; ..... 787 (Pricke)

Line by line comparison simply shows that both are using a common topos, probably related to the discussion of old age in Innocent III's De contemptu mundi.

A suggestion that a short poem giving a physical description of Christ was also based on CM can be similarly discounted. Both poems are independently translating the Latin Letter of Lentullus, which circulated widely during the Middle Ages.

Frances Foster is much more cautious in discussing parallels between the expanded version of the Northern Passion and $C M$, suggesting that a common ME ancestor accounted for the combination of the Latin Legende and Vita which are found in both works (Foster, p. 80). The six verbal parallels which she adduces to show even this much influence, however, are not at all convincing. Five show only comparable rhyme words. Only one is close enough to suggest that the poet of the Northern Passion might have known CM or its immediate source:

Sone he sayde.I.sal pe say.
How-gate pou sal take pi way.
"Pat gresse sal teyche pe pi gate.
Rizt to paradise 3ate;" (CM, MS F 1249-50, 1263-64)
"And sun," he said, "I sall be say
Wharby pou sall ken pe way:
Pou sall sone find a grene gate
Euyn vnto paradis 3 ate." (Northern Passion, 149/139*-142*)
Even if influence is admitted here, the question remains why the poet should copy only four lines from so many.

Charlotte D'Evelyn also tried to show that the composer of a ME verse translation of the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius used a copy of $C M$ to augment his work (D'Evelyn, p. 147). The contents of the parallels, however, are extremely common in exegetical writing, and show no real similarity to $C M$ at all. She cites specifically their passages on Creation (CM 344ff. / Rev. Meth. 16-24), on the study of astronomy (CM 22111-16 / Rev. Meth. 865-70), the parentage of Antichrist (CM 22023ff. / Rev. Meth. 825f.), the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah (CM 22373-74, 22381-84 / Rev. Meth. 937-43), the education of Antichrist (CM 22111-16 / Rev. Meth. 865-70), Antichrist in the temple (CM 22117-22 / Rev. Meth. 871-78), and the miracles of Antichrist (CM 22141-62 / Rev. Meth. 881-904). The passages she prints to show verbal similarities between the two seem rather to show the opposite:

Of Iareth eild pe yeir fourti-and
Was passed werld pe first thusand
and v .1464 :
Pat was pe fiuet kne fra seth. (CM 1465-66)
In pe forty zere pan of jareth
Be a compte in scripture caste
bat was pe fyrste gre of sethe
Of pe ward fyrste thousande paste. (Rev. Meth. 129-32)
There is, however, hard evidence that $C M$ did influence some later works. Four manuscripts of the Pricke of Conscience contain Lollard interpolations. In two of these the interpolations include a quotation of 58 lines from the introduction to CM. In Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 90, fols. 6 r and 7 r , the lines are copied continuously with the Pricke, as if they were a normal part of the poem and appeared
as such in the exemplar. In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 60, fols. $4 v-5 r$ and $5 v$, the interpolation appears in a separate quire, copied in the same hand as the text, with its first folio missing. A note in the text on fol. 10 (edited 1.192 ) directs the reader to turn to the interpolation. Some of the interpolated lines also appear in a third manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 198, fols. 173r-v, where they give the appearance of being a separate poem.

The lines are here reproduced from the Rylands MS, with variants from Ashmole in square brackets. The e Mus. copy is too faded to serve as a reliable witness to the text.
Hem is leuer forto hereRomauns off many a dou3ti fereOff alisaundre pe conquerourOff iulius cesar pemperourOff grece and troie pe strong striue5Ther many a pousant lassten her liueOff bruit pat barn bald off handThe furst conquerour off EngelandOff king arthour bat wes so riche
To whom in his time wes non lic[h]e ..... 10
Off ferlees pat to his knyztes felle
And off auentures as 3 e han herd telle
And off gawayn kay and opur stable
Which pat weren off pe round tableHow king charles and rouland fauzt15
Wip saresins wold pei han no sau3t
Off tristrem and off his leoff IsotHow he for hure bicom [a] sot18
Off edan and off amadas ..... 20
How didan deied for ennias ..... a
Off felice and off Vimmafon ..... b
That liutul profit hangep apon ..... c
Off pirremus and off ti[s]bese ..... d
Ther was gret sorwe wipouten sese ..... e
Off paris and off Elina ..... f
Achilles and polexina ..... g
Stories also off serecen pinges ..... 21Off princes prelates and off kingesSanges fair off selcoup rime
Englisch frensch and latin
To rede and here ilk a mon is prest These pinges [pat] hem likep best ..... 26
For bi pe fruit men mai see ..... 33
Off what vertue is ilk a tree
A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos
Off ilk a fruit pat men mai finde
Hit fettep fro pe rote his kiunde
Off good peritree god peres
Worse tre wors fruit beres
This two spices off pis tree
Bitokenep man bope pe and me ..... 40
The spirit bitoknep alle our dedesBope good and ille who so rizt redes
Oure dedes fro oure hert taken rote
Wheper pei ben wrouzt to bale oper to bote
For bi ping pat men drawen hem tille ..... 45
Men schal hem knowe for good opur for ille
Ensample bi hem hier i say
That halden hem in her riot ay
In welfol riot and in ricolage
And in alle folie spenden her age ..... 50Rylands: 10 licke; 18 om; 20 o amadas; 20d tibese; 26 om.Lines 20a-g of this passage do not appear in any of the extant manu-scripts of $C M$. They are consistent in style and content with the authenticlines they follow. It may be, of course, that the interpolator composedthem to expand the passage, as he adapted other lines to fit their new con-text or added new ones. There is a slight possibility, however, that thesemanuscripts preserve seven authentic lines of $C M$ which have otherwisebeen lost.

Two other authentic borrowings from $C M$ have been discussed in detail elsewhere. Cleanness shares with CM a most unusual motif in its
story of the Flood (Horrall, Cleanness). Close verbal parallels and the common use of unusual details show that the writer of the Old Testament section of Caxton's Golden Legend was using CM (Horrall, "William Caxton").

Because of its great length, and because it deals with so many topics which were of supreme importance to the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that $C M$ was suspected of being a source for many other works in the period. When these claims are examined carefully, most turn out not to be valid, but enough remain to show that $C M$ was read and valued and quoted beyond its own manuscript tradition.

## MANUSCRIPT RELATIONS ${ }^{2}$

Four stemmata have been proposed to explain the relations among the $C M$ manuscripts. Two are included in Hupe's discussion of the manuscripts in Morris' edition. The first includes independent copies of the ME Southern Assumption, an independent poem incorporated into CM:


[^2]After criticism of this stemma, Hupe produced another one:


In 1888, meanwhile, Max Kaluza who had produced the glossary for the Morris edition, set out a much more acceptable manuscript stemma:


The only challenge to Kaluza's work in recent years has been a stemma constructed in a 1971 Oxford B.Litt. thesis by Charles C.V. Ross. Using evidence almost exclusively from the 4000 or so lines of the text which are present in MS E, he deduced the following set of relationships:


All of the above stemmata were constructed using word-by-word groupings of shared readings. Little account was taken of the Latin and French sources from which most of the lines had been translated, many of which were not known until work began on the present edition. Comparison of these sources with the ME text often reveals which readings of a given line are closest to the source, and hence to the poet's original, and which readings are variants. On the basis of such a comparison, the following stemma is proposed: ${ }^{3}$


Kaluza's findings about the relationship among CGHTLB are basically sound. Overwhelming numbers of instances occur in which MS C clearly translates the source, while $G$ is a variant of this, and the south Midland group, HTLB, shows a variant of G. Because both C and $G$ show independent errors, however, $C$ cannot be the direct ancestor of G nor G of $\delta$. MS G rarely preserves a unique original reading, and when it does C and $\delta$ show independent errors. The clearest example of this is at 1. 828. The source, the Old French Trad. anon., reads "Toutes li firent laide chiere." G preserves the translation "lourid," which was corrupted to "blurded" in C, changed to "A was wrap" in F, and abandoned entirely in HTLB.

The main problem with Kaluza's stemma is his placement of MS F. This manuscript is the product of a scribe (or series of scribes) who

[^3]copied so freely that they seem at times to be paraphrasing $C M$ rather than copying it. However, source study shows that MS F preserves a considerable number of unique but clearly original lines. Some of these correct readings are biblical:

2697 xiij zere F; thritti yeir CGHTLB; tredecim annos Gen. 17.25.

14322 iiij dayes F; thre dais CGHTLB; quatriduanus Ioan. 11.39

14451 viij \& xxx zere F; theritti zere CGHTLB; triginta et octo annos Ioan. 5.5

In addition, lines 7137-44 appear only in F, and translate Iud. 14.18, and lines 7273-86 appear only in F and translate I Reg. 4.18.

It could perhaps be argued that a particularly alert scribe corrected the errors in his exemplar from his knowledge of scripture. However, MS F also preserves original readings which are derived from other sources:

F 521-22 CGHTLB om
His heued ys rouned as a balle
\& squabys pe firmament alle
F 4682-83 CGHTLB om
\& alle pe baronage so til him bare Patte alle pai louted til his lare

F 8300
Pi wille is worshepely to wirk
Pat is to dizt [C dright]

## Elucidarium I 59

Caput ejus est rotundum in caelestis sphaerae modum

Bible, Herman de Valenciennes 1420-21
Les barons de la terre faire tous son plaisir, Tout le vont enclinant tout le vont servir.

Trad. anon. fol. 269 v col. 2
Il scert bien que tu li uues faire I temple or pense de la traire.

In Kaluza's stemma, as in Ross', original lines preserved only in F would have to have been dropped independently and consistently in two other places, at C and $\gamma$. However, Kaluza discovered several instances in which F and E shared common readings which comparison with sources showed were original. He therefore proposed to account for unique correct readings in $F$ as a product of the influence on $F$ of $\varepsilon$, a more complete ancestor of E .

In the newly proposed stemma, however, correct readings preserved by E and F but lost elsewhere were in the poet's original, and
were still present in $\alpha$, but were lost at $\beta$, and hence do not appear in CGHTLB. Correct readings which still appear in E were lost to the other manuscript families at $\alpha$, and hence do not appear in FCGHTLB. Later additions to the poem, such as the penitential manual (CM ll. 24971-29555) were also made at $\alpha$, and hence appear in FCG, although these lines, along with 11. 23899-24968 and 21347-846, the Finding of the True Cross, were removed at $\delta$ and do not appear in HTLB. The correctness of this stemma is further shown by the fact that F and $\delta$ never agree in either an original reading or a common substantive error against CG. When only MS C preserves the original reading, MS F does not share a mistake in common with GHTLB, but has an independent reading.

An example of this appears at ll. 7048-49:

C
Alexandre, in pat squar Pat paris hight, raiuist elayn

GHTLB
Alysaundir in pat time pare
Pat paris aght, rauyscht helayn, F
Pen come alisaundre wibout doute And asked quo walde stande agayne.

Obviously more than one scribe missed the point that Alexander and Paris are the same person. However the scribes of $F$ (or $\eta$ ) and $\delta$ solved their problem in different ways.

Other examples of confusion resolved in different ways by different scribes are:

21320

7487

| C | Luce has of ox, marc o leon |
| :--- | :--- |
| F | Lucas of ox for pis resoun |
| GHTLB | Luk has of ox, ai lokis dun |
| C | gerard |
| F | leaund |
| GHTLB | Goly. |

In summary, then, when FE have a common correct reading, the error was introduced at $\beta$, and thus affects CGHTLB. When $\mathrm{FC}(\mathrm{E})$ share a common correct reading, this disappeared at $\gamma$. In those lines in which C or CE alone preserve a correct reading, the misinterpretations of $F$ can be shown to be independent errors, unrelated to the misinterpretations of G or of $\gamma$ (GHTLB).

Related to the problem of MS F is that of the placement of MS Add, which is not considered in any of the other stemmata. E and Add are fragments of different parts of the poem and thus cannot be compared against each other. Among the other manuscripts, however, Add is most closely related to F . They share several passages which are not found in any other copies of the poem: 11. 11907, 11993-94, 12485-86. As these are not to be found in the poem's sources, they are probably common additions. Add and F also retain some original lines which translate the sources but have been lost in all other copies of the poem. Other evidence supports the relationship. Lines 12575-76 are omitted only in MSS F and Add. The end of the introduction to the sixth age of the world varies in different manuscripts, but F and Add agree in having only 11. 12733-38. Only MSS F and Add begin a new division of the poem at 1. 13886. Certain pairs of lines are reversed only in F and Add as against CGHTLB: 11. 13310-11 and 13988-89.

Neither manuscript could have been copied from the other, for in many places either $F$ or Add shares an original reading with other $C M$ manuscripts, while the other contains an independent variation. F agrees with CGHTLB against Add in lines 12435-44, 12800-85, and 14279-89, for instance. On the other hand, Add agrees with CGHTLB against $F$ in lines 11704, 11791-92, 11979-80, and 13069-70. MS Add also contains many passages which are not textually close to any other manuscripts, including several lines which have no counterparts elsewhere.

MS Add was copied by Robert Thornton, and fortunately enough of his work survives for us to judge his accuracy as a scribe. Although he makes minor errors and changes when he copies, he never paraphrases his exemplar to the extent shown by the scribe of MS Add. The unusual readings on Add's copy of $C M$, therefore, are probably not Thornton's but came to him in his exemplar, $\zeta$, an intermediate stage between $\alpha$ and Add.

Kaluza correctly recognized that MS E represents a different manuscript family. It ends at 1.24968 and is thus the only $C M$ manuscript to finish precisely where the poem's table of contents said it should. MS E is textually very close to C , but neither copies the other. The similarity occurs because both are conservative copies of their
exemplars, which were close to the poet's original. MS E contains several unique readings which comparison with the poem's sources shows to be original. These readings were lost in $\alpha$, and thus do not appear in FCGHTLB. The penitential manual which is common to CFG was also added at $\alpha$. Original readings shared by $F$ and $E$, on the other hand, were dropped at $\beta$, and so do not appear in CGHTLB.

The four South Midland manuscripts HTLB clearly form a closely related group, transmitting a shortened form of the text. The relations among the manuscripts of this group are not so obvious, because the revision which occurred at $\delta$ has obliterated many of the original readings. However, there is evidence for the relationship I propose.
$H$ and $T$ seem to have been close copies of the same exemplar (Ross says same scribe), and were produced near Lichfield, a centre for the translation and dissemination of northern texts for readers in the southern part of the country. Variants in either manuscript are usually minor and clearly understandable scribal slips, but occasional larger errors show that it is unlikely that either was copied from the other.

Neither L nor B could have served as an exemplar for the others either. However, a glance at the variants printed in this edition shows that $L$ and $B$ share a variant against $H$ and $T$ too often for this to be coincidental. $L$ and $B$, then, are very probably copied from a common exemplar, closely related textually to HT.

Further information about the format of this exemplar may be deduced from the evidence of L and B . MSS H and T share a similar manuscript format, both being of about the same dimensions and with a very similar layout of text and decoration. In both manuscripts the text is copied in double columns of 40 lines each, on vellum which has been ruled to receive it. The layout of both is very clear and tidy. After 1. 11912, MS L copies ll. 12077-78 before cancelling these and copying 1. 11913. After 1.18564 the scribe copied 11. 18731-42 before realizing his error, cancelling these lines, and proceeding with 1.18565 . In each instance, the scribe must have accidentally turned over two leaves of his exemplar, an exemplar which was copied at a rate of 160 lines per leaf, i.e., like H and T , in regular double columns of 40 lines each.

The southern version of $C M$, then, seems to have been issued in a fairly uniform "edition," two copies of which survive and at least one other copy whose existence can be inferred.

Although the manuscript group represented by HTLB has been translated and revised quite extensively, there are a few instances in which only this group preserves a reading which is demonstrably original. Kari Sajavaara pointed out that several lines in MSS HTLB translate lines of Grosseteste's Château d'amour which do not appear in any other CM manuscript (NM 68: pp. 184-93):

HTLB 18711-12
Pat is to vche creature
For pei shulde in troupe be sure

Château 1429-30
A universe creature
C'est sul a home par dreiture

There are several other small instances of the same kind of preservation of an original reading in the southern texts:

HTLB 4579
Ful of corn were pei set po
CFG Sa wel war sette me thought selcuth
HTLB 6525 holes; CF hepes; G helpis

## HTLB 9179

He regnede nyne \& twenty 3 ere
CFG He regnd thritte yeir and nine
HTLB 9558
As him to haue in his bailye
CG (F missing) Als is man for to be baillie
HTLB 11038
goostly grace
CG (F missing) godds grace
HTLB 11321-32
Bi pe holy goost him sent
Pat pus seide to him present
CGom ( F missing)
HTLB 17017-18
Heryng speche sizte smelyng
\& fele are wittes fyve.
CG (F missing)
Hering sight smelling and fele
Cheuing er wittes five.

Herman's Bible 1355
Les vii cargies de ble

Herman's Bible 2133 fosses
IV Reg. 18.2
viginti novem annis regnavit in
Jerusalem
Château 246
Fors d'aveir li en lur

Wace, p. 45
saint esprit

Luc. 2.26
Et responsum acceperat a Spiritu
Sancto

Château 1157-59
C'est le oir e le veer,
Li odorer e le parler,
Ele taster

One correct reading is shared by HTLB and E:
HTLBE 22525
Into pe erpe shul somme ryn CFG Right to pe air al sal pai rin

These pieces of evidence, although few in number, may indicate that the reviser at stage $\delta$ consulted two manuscripts while preparing his translation, one $(\gamma)$ an ancestor of $G$, and the other a lost version of indeterminate status represented by a? on the stemma.

## ABBREVIATIONS

| Acta Quiriaci | Acta apocrypha [de S. Juda Quiriaco] in the Acta Sanctorum maii tomus primus, pp. 439ff. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Adso | Adso Dervensis, De ortu et tempore Antichristi. |
| Apoc. Thom. | D.P. Bihlmeyer, "Un texte non interpolé de l'Apocalypse de Thomas." |
| Blickling | Richard Morris, ed., The Blickling Homilies. |
| Château | Robert Grosseteste, Le château d'amour. |
| CM | Cursor Mundi |
| De miseria | Lotario dei Segni (= Innocent III), De miseria condicionis humane. |
| EETS, os/es | Early English Text Society, Original Series / Extra Series |
| Eluc. | Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium, book III. |
| $E T$ | Evernew Tongue, in Heist, pp. 73-88. |
| Förster | Max Förster, "Der Vercelli Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift." |
| Friedberg | Aemilius Friedberg, ed., Corpus iuris canonici. |
| Heist | William W. Heist, The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday. |
| Historia Scholastica | Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica. |
| IMEV | Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse. |
| IMEV 796 | E. Stengel, Codicum manu scriptum Digby 86. |
| IMEV 1823 | F.J. Furnivall, ed., Hymns to the Virgin and Christ. |
| IMEV 3367 | F.J. Furnivall, ed., Early English Poems and Lives of Saints. |
| IMEV 3368 | Hermann Varnhagen, "Zu mittelenglischen Gedichten X: zu den Signa ante Judicium." |
| Leg. aur. | Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea. |
| ME | Middle English |


| MED | Middle English Dictionary, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis, complete through to vaporacioun. |
| :---: | :---: |
| MS(S) | manuscript(s) |
| OED | Oxford English Dictionary, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 2nd ed. |
| Oglerius | C.W. Marx, "The Quis dabit of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio." |
| $P G$ | J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca. |
| PL | J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina. |
| Pouzet | Jean-Pascal Pouzet, "The 'Invention of the Cross' in Cursor Mundi." |
| Pricke | Richard Morris, ed., The Pricke of Conscience. |
| Ps-Bede | Pseudo-Bede, De quindecim signis. |
| Quinze signes | Erik von Kraemer, ed., Les quinze signes du Jugement Demier: poème anonyme de la fin du xii e siècle ou du début du xiiie siècle ... |
| Rev. Meth. | Charlotte D'Evelyn, "The Middle-English Metrical Version of the Revelations of Methodius ..." |
| Sackur | Ernst Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. |
| SnR | Saltair na Rann, in Heist, pp. 2-21. |
| Templum Dei | Robert Grosseteste, Templum Dei. |
| TLL | Thesaurus linguae latinae, complete through princeps. |
| Trad. anon. | Julia C. Szirmai, ed., La Bible anonyme du MS. Paris BN f. fr. 763. |
| Vercelli von Kraemer | D.G. Scragg, ed., The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts. see Quinze signes. |
| Wace | William R. Ashford, ed., The Conception Nostre Dame of Wace. |
| Wright | Thomas Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes. |

# Text of the Southern Version of Cursor Mundi <br> (College of Arms MS Arundel LVII) 

Lines 21845-23898

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[Now is good for to wende
To speke of pis worldes ende
pe seuenpe is calde pe tyme of grace
Pat bigon at cristis come
And lastep to be day of dome 21850
Whenne hit shal be woot no man
He shal al ende pat al bigan
For whenne he furst pis world wrouzt
Euer to stonde he made hit nouzt
Pe terme is set to ende hit in 21855
Shal hit neuer ouer ryn
Per may no mon wite in lede
But his owne lordhede
But bi tokenes witerly
Men woot wel pat hit is ny 21860
Of pese tokenes pat I say fol. 130r col. 2
Men may se hem vche day
po pat god himself of telles
In pe boke of gospelles
Tokenes he seip shul per be 21865
In sonne mone londe \& see
Muche in erpe shal be pe wrong
Pat shal be penne men among
For po pe see shal rise \& route
Mony mon perof shal doute 21870
Folk shal azeyn folke rise
And werre togider in mony wise
Hongres \& deep vpon to mynne
In erpe shal rise for monnes synne
Muchel wo hem shal bityde 21875
Pat is sett pat tyme to bide
We may pese seen vche day
If we knowe hem ou3te may
He sendeb pis in warnyng
To be war of his comyng 21880
Oure soulis alle to make redy
Azeyn his coome so dredefuly
But pe moo tokenes pat we se
pe worse warned are we
Pat we wol not be warnyst
21885
Pat hit greuep ihesu crist
For euery creatoure sure
Aftir be state of his nature 21888
Bettre her makere knowe pen mon 21891
Alas what may we saye pon
To him whenne he sittep as iustise
Of oure feint \& oure fals seruise
Meke to vs we him fynde ..... 21895
And noping louep more pen oure kynde
So muche he zyuep vs euer oure wille
bat we him waite euer wip ille
Bestes doumbe leouns \& beres
Alle lyuynge pingis on her maneres ..... 21900
Done her deuer \& werne nou3t
Ponkynge pe makere pat hem wrouzt
Heuen \& erpe sonne and monefol. 130 v col. 1
And al pat in pis erpe is done
Pei serue him alle vpon her wise ..... 21905
And man wibdrawep his seruyseSo filled wib couetise is he
Pat he of god hap no pite
Muche leuer him were to here
How Roulande fauzte \& olyuere ..... 21910
Of worldly ping to rede \& synge
pen of pe passioun of pis kynge
Whiche he suffered wip greet despit
Fro pyne of helle to make vs quyt
Whi are we penne so proude \& bolde ..... 21915
Crist hap to him oure dayes tolde ..... 21916
po dayes pat we may not skape ..... 21919
Dep shal take vs al in rape ..... 21920
Po pat bifore wol not be war
Penne shul pei fynde no 3 eyn char
To wroperhele he zaf vs wit
But if oure lif be lad wip hit
With eze \& ere pe sope we seen ..... 21925
And neuer pe bettur 3itt we ben
Warned we be bi operes wrake
Vnnepe wol any ensaumple take
If any warnyng be to cast
Litil while hit shal vs last ..... 21930
For if hit be at vndren tide
Hit shal not til noone abide
Pat makep pis foule worldes delite
Pat euer we sene awaywarde wite
What bote is hit so faste to holde ..... 21935
Pat we may neuer of be bolde
If we peron haue holde vmwhile
Hit is to vs but for a gile
Whenne we best wene to haue al
From al shul we sonnest fal ..... 21940Hit is fallyng as I haue seideAlweyes til hit be doun leidePerfore for crist teche I 3owAnd namely for zoure owne prow21944
3e pat in pis lake be lendefol. 130 v col .2
Haue euer pouzte on 3 oure ende
Pat ze not for zoure heuen hit chese
And so zoure rizt heuen lese
For oon of hem we most forgo
Mony men haue heuenes two21950
Here to haue al flesshely game
And aftirwarde pe soule pe same
Bettur is here wipstonde oure wille
Pat we may hit pere fulfille
Pis lif not an bour of a day ..... 21955
To pat lif pat lastep ay
Al bat I saye is for a resoun
Pat we alwey be redy boun
Redy azeyn his comyng
For vche day we se tokenyng ..... 21960
His furste come was smepe ynowze
Pe toper shal be wondir rowze
Furst he coom vs alle to queme
Pe toper shal be vs alle to deme
Furst he coom demed to be21965
Pe toper coome to deme shal he
Of pis come shul be tokenes sere
Bifore comyng pat ze shul here
Wipouten pat we se alwaysEuer risyng more of greet vnpays21970
Of alle pingis pere shal oon rise
Moost cristen men to do agrise
Pat al pis world on lengbe \& brede
Shal do his wickednes to sprede
Pat anticrist of danes sede ..... 21975Somping of him is to rede
He pat is so ful of goddes grame
Whi he shal haue suche a name
Anticrist he called is
For azeyn crist shal he be Iwis ..... 21980
Azein crist hit is to sayAzein his werke shal he werray
Crist coom meke in his tide
He shal com brem al in pride ..... 21984
Crist coom to do pe lawe to rise ..... fol. 131 rcol . 1
And synful to make riztwise
He shal com pe meke to felle
And synful reise seip pe spelle
Alle godenesses wip his mayn
He shal werre hem azayn21990
Pe gospel \& al holy writt
He shal fordo wo worpe his wit
He shal do reise al maumetry
And clepe himself god almy3ty
Pis anticrist hap hade ful fele21995
Pat to his seruyse han ben lele
Al antioche \& domiciane eke
And now per is ful mony seke
What maner mon so euer hit es
Out of be rule of riztwisnes ..... 22000Ouper lewed or religioun
Clerke monke ouper chanoun
And werren on pat pei shulden wereOf anticrist pe name pei bereNow is good to here hit red22005How pat anticrist shal be bred
// Noping shal I feyne newe
But pat I fond in bokes trewe
Pese clerkes seye po pat be wise
Pat he of iewes kyn shal rise ..... 22010
Of danes kynde he seib anone
Pe prophete pus makep his mone
Dane he seip is neddre in strete
Waityng hors to stynge in feteTo do pe rider falle bi pe way22015
Pis is as myche to say
By way as nedder shal he sit
And alle pe men pat he may wit
Ridyng in pe rule of rizt
He shal hem smyte \& do to lizt ..... 22020
He shal hem zyue ful attry dynt
Out of her troupe make hem stynt
Of fadir \& modir he shal be born
As opere men were him biforn ..... 22024
Bitwene a mon \& a wommone ..... fol. 131 rcol .2
But not of a mayden alloneAs hit is foly tolde of sommeNot betwene a bisshop \& a nonne
But of a bismare breme \& balde
Geten of a glotoun foule scalde ..... 22030

Pere may be no foulere tweyn
Alle in synne geten certeyn
Geten in synne pat cursed wizt
Of god he shal be maledizt
In his getyng pe fend of helle 22035
Shal crepe in his modir to dwelle
Maister of errour \& of pride
BereIn he shal his burpe abide
Pouze he be now in prisoun bounden
As hit is in holy writt penne founden 22040
bat seynt gregore himseluen wrouzt
Perfore he seip he liep nou3t
Pe kynde of strengbe he hap pat he had ere
Pouze his my3te more were
Pat my3t is not so now knowen
22045
Oure lord hap done for his owen
For if he my3te al wolde he quelle
Perfore he bounden hap pat felle
He shal be lesed penne of bonde
And muche wo worche in londe
22050
Pis is he pat cursede brede
In pe apocalipse pat we of rede
An aungel he seide he say ledonde
Wip a muchel cheyne in honde
And bar pe key of pe muchel pit 22055
As seip seint Ion in holy writ
To pat dragoun soone he wan
Pat men callen deuel sathan
And in bat pit him spred fast
Whil a pousonde zeer wolde laste 22060
Whenne bat pousonde zeer were gone
To be loused soone anone
To walke his wey fro pat while
And mony men for to bigile 22064
Pe kynge of pride pis ilke is he fol. 131 v col. 1
And euer hit shal him folewyng be
And as in oure lady po lizt
Pe holy goost bi goddes my3t
And vmbileide hir wip his leme
To brede pat blessed barneteme
22070
Pat al pe burpe she pere shulde brede
Shulde holly be of his godhede
Rizt so pe deuel shal descende
And in anticristis modir lende
To fulle pat caitif so vnclene
22075
And vmbilay hir al bidene
Into his wille hir to weyueAnd do hir pourze a mon conceyue
Pat al pe burpe pat pere is born
Shal be wicked fals \& forlorn22080
Perfore his name is calde ful rizt
Son of los pe maledizt
In al pat he may worche perto
Al monkynde he shal fordo
Of his getyng I tolde $30 u$ ore22085
Of his burpe I wol telle more
For rizt as crist himseluen chese
Be born in bedleem for oure ese
His monhede for to bringe in placePat he toke for vs of his grace22090
Rizt so shal pe fend he pis
Chese him a burp stude Iwis
Pe beest is ordeyned to his stal
Where is pe rotes of eueles al
Pere leest of god men maken myn ..... 22095
Pe toun of babilone wibIn
Pis toun was whilom cheef of pers
Of mony opere also dyuers
A toun of wondir muchel prideHeed of maumetri pat tide22100
Bethsaida \& corozaym
Pese two citees shul susteyne him
Oure lord wariep pese two townes
And pus seip in his sermownes22104
Corozaym euer be be wo ..... fol. 131 v col. 2
And pe bethsaida eke also
Capharnaum euer wo pe be
Pe synful son shal regne in pe
Pei pou pe reise vp to heuen
To helle depe shaltou be zeuen ..... 22110
Norisshe him shul enchauntours
Nigromaunceres and Iogelours
Of alle manere craftis ille
Of al falshede pei shul him fille
Wickede goostis him vp to bere ..... 22115
Folwynge him monyone to fereTo ierusalem shal he penne fare
Alle pat he cristen fyndep pare
If bei leue not his techyng
To deolful dep he shal hem bring ..... 22120
In pe temple salomone
Penne shal pat traitour set his trone
Pat pat was felde longe gone
He shal hit reise efte of stoneCircumcise him pere he shalle22125
And goddes son him do to calle
Pe grete caiseres \& be kyngis
And alle suche obere lordyngis
Turne to him pei shul raperestAnd sipen opere at pe leest22130
Oueral bere crist was wont to go
He shal ouergone hem also
Furste he shal destrye new
Pat halewed was of god ihesu
Siben ouer al pis world wide ..... 22135
Shal be sende wip muchel pride]
His prechouris for to spelle his wille ..... fol. 123 r col. 1
Al pe cristen lawe to spille
Fro see to see fro norb to soup
He shal do make his sarmoun coup ..... 22140He shal do mony token to sene
Pat bifore hap not done bene
Pondir on lofte shal he rere
And trees blossomes brode to bere
He shal do pe see be rowze22145
And also to be smepe Inowze
Dyuerse pinges fro her naturis
Shal he turne to dyuerse figuris
Azeyn kynde bi pe deueles craft
Pe wattris for to ryse on baft22150
Be wynde also reuly to ryse
And stormes do men sore to gryse
To reise pe dede to monnes sizt
So selcoubely to shewe his my3t
But hit be goddis chosen ping ..... 22155
He shal him to his errour bryng
But alle po merueiles done with art
Of sobfastenes shul haue no part
Wip iogeleri pei shul be wrou3t22160
As symon magus in his whyle
So shal he pe folke bigyle ..... 22162
Gode men pat shul se pis wrou3t ..... 22165
Shul be studying al in pouzt
Wheper hit be cryst or not sure
Pat pei haue herd of in scripture
Per is no lond pat men con neuen
Vndir be roof of cristis heuen22170
But he shal do hem to be sou3t
To brynge pe cristen men to nou3t
He shal himseluen do to ryse
Azeyn pe troupe on pre wyse
Pat is to sey wip 3ifte wip awe22175And wip tokenes pat he shal shaweWho in his troupe wol bi holde
Shal plente haue of siluer \& goldeFor alle po herdes pat ben hidfol. 123 r col. 2
In his tyme shul be kid ..... 22180Pat he may not wip 3iftis draweInto his hond he shal wip aweBere he may not wip drede
Wip signes shal he fonde to spede
And who pat wol not leue him so22185He shal hem worche mychel wo
Mony sorweful pyne to dryAnd siben deolful dep to dyPenne shal rise in pat tyme pere
A sorwynge siche was neuer ere22190
Sip man was made bitwene \& pan
Ny siben pe world firste bigan
Penne shul pei fle pat wolde be hid
And to pe hilles shul pei bid
Hilles falle vpon vs doun22195
And hide vs fro pis fals feloun
And he pat in hous is stad
In pat tyme shal be so rad
Neuer shal he recche how to twyn
To leue al his worldes wyn ..... 22200
To founden how shal he not rek
On hize to lepe his nek to brek
Penne shul alle po shortly to say
Pat trewe be founden in cristis lay
For ihesu cristis holy sake ..... 22205
Suffere myche wo \& wrake
Wip yren fuyr or attri beest
How pat euer pei may hardest
So wip dyuerse maner pyne
In crist pei shul haue blisful fyne ..... 22210
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And he comen pe sone of pride
Pat is but if discorde \& stryf
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Pat be kindom of grace \& pers
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But rome shulde haue hem vndir honde ..... 22235And as to o heed trewage zelde
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Bat owe pe empire of rome to wis
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// Oure maistris tellen of pis chaunce Bat per shal be a kyng of fraunce
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Bope shal he be pe mastfol. 123 v col. 2
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For he shal be more my3tyere
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No word shal bei 3 it sowne ..... 22485
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// Pe eiztep tokene hap no makeBifore noon of so myche wrake
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For to fle pat day so breme
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// What shal be pe fiftenpe day22700Men seyn \& soop hit may bifalle
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Po are pat ben not born in lyues22850
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Heuen \& erpe he vpholdep
Mizty god pat al woldep
May we not se how of a sede ..... 22875
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And bi his wille dop pat kyng
Out of pe harde tre to spryng
Firste pe leef \& penne pe floure
And siben fruyt wip his sauoure22880
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How he dop alle pinge to note
Pat were but surfete vche grote
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Pat I fond in a book of seynt gregory
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A crafty clerke \& wys of lore ..... 22890Asked hym a questioun
Of a wolf and a lyoun
And of pe pridde pat was a man
Pus his tale he bigan
// A mon welke pourze a wod his way ..... 22895
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Pis wolf was vnmesure mete
Al pis monnes flesshe he ete
Anoon as he so had done
An hongry leoun met he soon ..... 22900Vp \& doun his prey sekonde
Whenne he noon oper beest fonde
pis wolf he felde \& eet him al
Laft he nouper greet ny smal
Pe leoun aftir dyzed in hy22905
Deed pere con his careyn ly

| And so was roten al to nou3t |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Where shal now pis mon be sou3t |  |
| For I may leue on no wyse |  |
| Pat pis mon to lyf may ryse | 22910 |
| Sip noon is I wene pat kan |  |
| Twynne pe erpe pat coom of man |  |
| Fro pe erpe pat coom of beest |  |
| Seynt gregore zaf vnswere honest |  |
| To pat mon pat was in were | 22915 |
| Be soop shewed he him al clere |  |
| And proued hit wip questioun |  |
| Pat at pe grete resurrexioun |  |
| Wip alle his lymmes hool \& fere |  |
| He shulde come pe doom to here | 22920 |
| For pouze his body were al brynt | fol. 127 v col. 2 |
| And blowen \& pe poudir tynt |  |
| 3it may god geder hit wib mayn |  |
| And newe hit at his wille azayn |  |
| Al pe flesshe pat was of mon | 22925 |
| Sopely shal be reised pon |  |
| Pat was of man shal com to craft |  |
| Pat was on beest shal be laft |  |
| He pat made bope wip his art |  |
| Ful wel he con hem depart | 22930 |
| So holly shul pei ryse pere |  |
| Hem shal not want of heed on here |  |
| Ny not a nayl of foot ny honde |  |
| And 3 it shal we vndirstonde |  |
| Pat nail \& heer pat hap ben shorne | 22935 |
| Bep not pere hit was biforne |  |
| But as pe potter dop ful wel |  |
| Whenne he fordop his newe vessel | 22938 |
| He castep sone al in a bal | 22941 |
| A better for to make wipal |  |
| Not he lokep whiche was whilke |  |
| But makep anoper of pat ilke |  |
| Feirer pen pe firste was wrou3t | 22945 |
| So shal crist doute we nou3t |  |
| He pat is lord of erpe \& heuen |  |
| May of pat ilke selue euen |  |
| Pat firste was molten into lame |  |
| Make a wel feirer licame | 22950 |
| And if hit were more or les |  |
| To mesure hit as his wille es |  |

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And in siche tyme he harwed helle ..... 22960
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And breke pe bondes of her trespace
I shal hem coumforte \& solace
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Wheper hit laste short while or long
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In nythe \& onde \& lecchery
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As hit we[re] dyntis of a stipy
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Suche derknes pat men may grope
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Derfore pei shul euer brenne pere
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Pei shul haue euer bat watir cold
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And wip bacbytynge wolde kipe ..... 23280
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Mercy shul pei euer forgoon
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Deme vs mot pat lorde so
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Also soone may pou come pidir
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bat [pou] woldes like to petur be ..... 23530If pou pat wole pou maist wele
Wibouten taryinge any dele
Like to petur to be I say
But to be petur say I nay
If pou to petur woldes be brouzt ..... 23535
Penne zernest pou piself be nouzt
If pou pi beyinge wolde not be
Penne woldes pou were nouzt of pe
But pere is not to zernen more
Pen pei bi seruyse worbi wore ..... 23540
But in pat greet stabulnes
Noon shal zerne be but pat he es
For if pei zerned so Iwis
Penne were pei not in ful blis ..... 23544
Vche mon shal haue pe folle ..... 23547
Of al pat he aftir wilne wolle
// Miche also shal be her my3t
Pat in pat welbe shul be so wizt ..... 23550
So my3tily her my3te to fille

## bat if hit stood hem in wille

To make anober erbe \& heuen
Pei my3te hit do as pei wolde neuen
For pei wip crist ben heires alle
fol. 130 v col. 1
Pere wip him stad in stalle 23556
Gode pei are \& goddis heires
To do her wille my3te is peires
Whi make pei not sip pei mow
Anoper heuen benne say pow
23560
Blepely sir I shal pe telle
For god hap wrou3te al hool to dwelle
Of his werkis vnhool is noon
But in weizte mesure \& tale vchon
If pei anoper heuen wrouzt
23565
Hit were surfete \& for nou3t
Mony pingis may we do
Pat better were vndone pen so
As for to skoupe \& to ryn
Whenne bettur tyme were to blyn 23570
Whorto shulde we furper stryue
Pen for to be in seyntis lyue
Wite we may hit alle wel
We shal be lyke to aungel
And not forpi pouze pei be alle 23575
In oure dere fadris halle
Pei shul in wonynge stides sere
Vchone haue her ioye plenere
Of her worshepe what may we mene
Pat crist him kipep to hem clene 23580
Aungels shal hem menske dere
And seyntis as pei goddis were
To worshepe pat god pat hem di3t
And made hem bope in mood \& my 3 t
Heuen \& erpe \& creatour
23585
Shal bere hem worshepe \& honour
Sonne mone watir \& sterne
Pat now renneb in cours 3ern
Into better state shal stonde
Fro penne no lengur to be rennonde 23590
Perfore pei shul hem worshepe bere
Pat als myche as in hem were
Wip al her worshepe as pei my3t best
For to brynge hem into rest
For fro pe welpe pat pei are In Is no ping may hem twyn
Ny no mystyme may hem bityde For pei are triste on euery syde 23600
Pat god hap zyuen hem to mede
To lose pei woot is no drede
Her ioye \& gladshipe who con tel
No mon forsope in flesshe ny fel
For to biholde pe trinite 23605
How he is oon god in pre
Him to se face to face
bat euer shal be \& euer wase
Pei shul haue ioye wipynne \& oute
And on vehe syde aboute 23610
Ouer \& vndir \& euerywhere
Oure lord zyue vs wonynge pere
Pese are pe ioyes \& mony elles
God 3yuep to hem pat wip him dwelles
But als pese goddis frendes shalle 23615
Worshepe haue among hem alle
So shal po wrecchis for her sake Laste in pyne wipouten slake
Pese shul be feire \& my3ty bope
Pe oper shul be grisly \& lope 23620
Pei shul be lizte as foul to flye
Pe opere heuy wo to dryze
Pei shul be wondir strong \& wizt
Pe opere febel wipouten my3t
Pei shul lyue in fredome fre
23625
Pe opere euer in bondage to be
Pei shul euere lyue in delite
Pe toper euermore in despite
In helle shul pei lyue euermore
Euer to be seke \& sore 23630
Pei shul be euer in lastyng lyf
P[es]e ober \& dep shul euer stryf
Pei shul haue wit hem to wyse
Pese opere filled of alle folyse
For if pei ou3te witen pare
fol. 131r col. 1
Hit is but of sorwe \& care 23636
Pei shul of swete frenshepe be treste
Pei shul of vche fredome freist
Pei shul acorde wip alle pinge
Pes opere euer debatynge 23640
Pei shul haue weldenes at wille
Be opere vnwelde in likyng ille

| To pese shal worshepe alle creaturis Pese opere of alle haue dishonures |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pese are for trist blype \& glad | 23645 |
| Pese opere quake euer for drad |  |
| Pese lawzen for ioye pei ben in lende |  |
| bese opere wepen in woo wipouten ende |  |
| Fro pat sorwe \& al pat wyte |  |
| Ihesu crist make vs quyte | 23650 |
| And zyue vs grace so to do |  |
| Pat we may come to his blisse so |  |
| Off blisse \& ioye haue 3 e herd |  |
| Now shal I telle 300 of pe werd |  |
| Pat fordone is \& al fordryuen | 23655 |
| Aftir bat doom is 3yuen |  |
| Hit shal be brent so deep \& dry |  |
| As noe flood roos vp on hy |  |
| Penne shal hit haue a shap al newe |  |
| Euermore to stonde trewe | 23660 |
| Alle pe elementis pat we se |  |
| Pei shulen alle clensed be |  |
| Pat now be stirynge alle shul stonde |  |
| Shal penne be no peyne in londe |  |
| Suche as we now vche day are In | 23665 |
| Pat god sent us for oure synne |  |
| Of hoot ny colde reyn nor wynde |  |
| Shal penne be no storme to fynde |  |
| No myste no merke in no manere |  |
| Of wedir pis world for to dere | 23670 |
| And as oure bodyes pat we here bere |  |
| Ben feirer pen pei euer were |  |
| So pis world shal haue new shroud |  |
| Had hit neuer noon so proud |  |
| An hundride sipe of feirer hewe | fol. 131r col. 2 |
| Heuen \& erpe shal be made newe | 23676 |
| Sunne \& mone sterre \& lift |  |
| Pat bi strengpe be now shift |  |
| Alle wattris now rennynge wete |  |
| Shul be in better astate to mete | 23680 |
| Fro pat tyme shul pei stille stonde |  |
| Wip mychel blis to be lastonde |  |
| pe sonne shal haue scripture sayes |  |
| Pe briztenes penne of seuen dayes |  |
| Pe watir pat wette cristis flesshe | 23685 |
| And bi bapteme his seyntis wesshe |  |
| Fro pat tyme ouerpasse hit shal |  |


| Pe shene shynyng cristal |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pe erpe pat cristis cors in bred |  |
| Of paradis shal ben a sted | 23690 |
| And for sum tyme made reed hit was |  |
| Wip seyntis blood shed in plas |  |
| Hit shal be filled wip mony flouris |  |
| Swete smellyng of dyuerse colouris |  |
| Pat neuermore shal falle ne dwyne | 23695 |
| But as paradise shal shyne |  |
| be erpe pat firste was maledizt |  |
| To pornes for oure eldre plizt |  |
| Penne shal hit blessed be \& quyte |  |
| Of labour sorwe \& of wite | 23700 |
| Neuermore from pat day |  |
| Knowe of harmes noon hit may |  |
| Pus shal he make hit stande |  |
| Pe lord pat is al weldande |  |
| 3e cristen men aboute 3e loke | 23705 |
| Alle pat euer hap herde pis boke |  |
| Of zoure lif pat 3 e here lede |  |
| 3 e turne hit not into wanspede |  |
| Whoso wol him wel bipinke |  |
| Pe world is fals \& ful of swynke | 23710 |
| $\mathrm{Fa}[1] \mathrm{s}$ hit is we may se how |  |
| And we wol algate peron trow |  |
| Pis litil lyf we haue in hond |  |
| We wene hit be euerlastond |  |
| Dep we wene alwey to stille | fol. 131v col. 1 |
| Pat dop vs myche spedyng spille | 23716 |
| Hit blendep vs a litil zele |  |
| bat we con not oureseluen fele |  |
| Dam fortune turnep hir wheel anone |  |
| Pat castep doun monyone | 23720 |
| Of pat douncaste we may bi chaunce |  |
| Anent pis world get coueraunce |  |
| And come to worldis welpe azeyn |  |
| A while to holde wip myche peyn |  |
| But perwip fynde we anoper stryf | 23725 |
| Pat waitep noping but oure lyf |  |
| Dep vs hap biset oure strete |  |
| Wol we or nyl we we shul him mete |  |
| Alle shul we renne into his lace |  |
| Oper wey shal noon apace | 23730 |
| Euer he waitep vs pat quede |  |
| Is noping certeynour pen dede |  |

Ny vncerteynour pen his tyde
Berfore we owe him euer to abydeTo passe a pace pat is so hard23735
And we woot neuer whodirward
We shul alle hepen wende
Here is good to make vs frende ..... 23738
Perfore pis lyf he hap vs lent ..... 23741
To serue him euer wip oure entent
Pat his commaundementis be done
If we do mys to mende hit sone
To trauaile ordeyned he pis lyf ..... 23745
Azeyn oure foos pre to stryfOure flesshe pis world \& pe werlawe
We are bounden in her awe
Oure flesshe is euer to synne crous
Pe world hateful \& couetous23750
Pe fend seruep of wrappe \& pride
pis werre wib vs on euery syde
bese pre may we wel fordryue
If we wole treuly lede oure lyue
For bope may falle hem mon \& wif ..... 23755
Azeyn hem stalworbely to stryf
If we wol strongly vs sterefol. 131v col. 2
Cristis help shal be vs nere
His helpe \& oure wittis eke
If we wole him trewly biseke ..... 23760
Forsope if we wol do oure peynPei haue no myzte to stonde azeyn
3 if we wole note on hem oure my3t
Certis pei ben felde in fizt
Pat londe is esy for to wynne ..... 23765
bat no mon is to kepe hit Inne
And he is also a foul coward
bat nobing may pole of hard
Pat zeldep him ar he be sou3t
And lesep so himself for nou3t23770
Fizte he shulde if he dud riztAnd fle whenne he no lenger my3t
// Fele per ben of vs in drede
Pat zelden hem er pei haue nede
Vnto pe fend ful of plizt23775
Wipouten any assaut of fizt
But euer to falle ben redy
Who my3te do more cowardly
Pen to falle bifore pe torn
And wole not bide to 3yue a sporn ..... 23780Alle pat oure flesshe vs ledep tilleOf al oure wele hit is oure willeAnd pouze we knowe hit myswrou3t
Hit to fulfille we fyne nouzt
Alas for a litil lust ..... 23785
A dreury pat is but a dust
We pralle vs to oure fulle fo
In prisoun forlye I in wo
Of siche are pere mony now
Alas how dar pei pat avow23790
Whi selle we vs to pat sorwe
pat no ping may vs aftir borwe
We wrecchis willefuly forsake
pe selynes pat neuer shal slake
Bope of sorwe \& of pat sele ..... 23795
3e haue herd bifore sum dele ..... 23796
We haue bifore vs wezes two ..... 23801 fol. 132 r col. 1
Pat on to wele pat oper to wo
F[r]ely to whidir we wole to gon
To oure frendis or to oure foon23805
To chese vs to oure foos to wende
Penne dar I seye \& lye nouzt
In sorweful tyme were we wrouzt
A sorweful tyme to oure bihoue
But god forbede pat we hit proue23810
Whenne we hit proue hit is to late
Pen is no mendyng of oure astate
Per is no wey bifore vs rud
But to go rizt as we dud
For who pat dop not whenne he may ..... 23815
Whenne he wolde hit wol be nay
Here is tyme for to grete
Here is tyme synne to bete
Ouper here or nowhere ellis
Pat witnessep alle holy spellis23820
// Vche day we haue somounFor to make vs redy boun
Pat euery day we se \& here
We owe hit not to holde in were
Pe prechours fynen not to spelle ..... 23825
be sope pei spare vs not to telle
To do vs of helle to be wareBut neuer pe bettur mony are
Selden come we sermoun nere
Lop vs pinkep hit to here ..... 23830Oure ere selden perto we lay
But fer is oure hert away ..... 23832
Wherfore of hem lete we so ille ..... 23835
But for pei speke azeyn oure wille
He pat me seip moost pat me likes
God hit woot moost he me swikes
For if we wel vs vndirstoode
Oure wille dop vs litil gode ..... 23840
But ofte oure skil makep vs blynde
Her aftir shal we hit fyndeFynde we shal hit leest whenne we wenefol. 132r col. 2
Alle shul we to pe deep bidene
From hit may we no way skape ..... 23845
For no wile pat we con make
Miche wolde I herof mote
Wiste I hit were any bote
Euer to speke \& not to spedeWastyng hit is of goddis sede23850Hit is not worpi to tile pat felde
Pat not pe seed azeyn wole zelde
What bote is hit of rizt to rede
bat neuer founden is in dede
Miche to here \& litil to holde ..... 23855
But were a ribaudy vs tolde
Of a fantum or a fabul
Pat wolde we holde in herte stabul
In herte pat is a sory hord
To kepe hit raper pen cristis word ..... 23860How may he to himself be holdePat chesep leed \& leuep goldeAl pe wrytyng in holy writIs writen to teche vs wit
How we owe to lede oure lyf ..... 23865
Cristen folk mon \& wyfIn eldre men may we seWhat to folwe \& what to fle
pingis pat we noot ne conFor to aske at oper mon23870
And he pat more con pen oper
Debonerly penne to teche his broper
Alle are we breper 3 onge \& olde
Crist for vs was bou3t \& solde
He hap vs in his noumbre tolde23875As for sheep of his folde
Pourze herdis pat oure lord hap set
For he wole his sheep begetHe hap vs chosen for oure medeHis holy folk for to fede23880Vche mon riztly to demeHis owne soule hap to zemeAnd vche of vs witturlyfol. 132 v col. 1
Hap receyued goddis tresory
Riche besauntis of gold pei ben ..... 23885
Somme lasse \& somme mo to sen
po besauntis so pat we bi set
bat we may wel paye oure det
To acounte wel shul we gon
Aftir pat we toke vchon ..... 23890
Somme for more \& somme for les
Aftir pat oure 3iftis wes
He zyue vs grace so to acounte
Pat we may to heuen mounte
Pat sprad was on an harde tre ..... 23895
Nailed naked beronne to be
Oure fadir maker of alle pingPat neuer shal haue endyng
AMEN

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## TEXTUAL NOTES

In the Textual Notes, the word or phrase appears as in MS H, followed by a square bracket, then the variant readings for that word in the other MSS. Different variants are separated by semicolons. Italics indicate expansions of MS abbreviations.

21345-844 om THBL.
21845-22136 missing from $H$, supplied from $T$.
21846 pis] be B.
21847-48 om B.
21849 at] of $L$; Pat bigon at cristis] Now pis tyme pat is to $B$.
21850 And] om B.
21853 pis] pe B.
21857 wite] with B.
21858 lordhede] godhede B.
21863 himself] hym B; of] om B.
21865 shul per] per schall B.
21866 sonne mone] som many $B$.
21867 wrong] prong B.
21869 pol om B.
21870 perof shal doute] schall gris aboute B.
21873 vpon] on B.
21875 hem shal] schall hem B.
21876 second pat] pis B.
21877 We may pese seen] Wele may pis we se $B$.
21882 coome] comyng B.
21887 sure] sere B.
21893 sittep] syt L; sitt B.
21894 feint \& oure fals] falsnes \& of our B.
21896 louep more] louep he more B; oure kynde] mankynd B.
21899 Bestes] Pe bestis B; doumbe leouns] dome be lions B.
21900 lyuyng pinges] lying ping $B$.
21901 Done] Do B; deuer] kynde B; werne] were B.
21904 erpe] worlde B.
21907 wib] of B.
21909 leuer] were B.
$21910 \quad \&]$ with L .
21911 ping to rede \& ping \& to rede B.
21912 pis] heuen $\mathbf{B}$.

21913 Whiche] What B; wib] for B.
21922
no] $o m$ L; penne] om B.
21923
To] So B.
21924
wib] affter $B$.
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pe] om $\mathbf{B}$.
to cast] to vs cast $B$.
vs] om B.
peron haue] haue pan $B$; vmwhile] sumwhile $B$.
best wene] wene best LB.
we] $o m \mathrm{~L}$; From al shul we sonnest] Pe sonner schall we perffro B .
I haue] offte is $B$
lende] kynde $\mathbf{B}$.
on] of B.
And so] So pat B.
we] vs $B$.
men] a man $L$; mony] may $B$.
al] a B.
pe] in $B$; pe same] schame $B$.
is here] it is $B$.
lif not] lyffe is not $B$.
second bat] at L.
we alwey] we schull allway B.
His] Pe B.
vs] om B.
coome] comyng B; to] om B .
come] comyng B.
Bifore] Off pis B.
more] om B ; vnpays] pais B .
agrise] gris B .
on] in $L$; on] of $B$.
is] om $\mathbf{L}$; ful] om $\mathbf{B}$.
he shal] schall he $B$.
hit is] is it $B$.
brem] brennyng $L$.
to rise] arise B .
And] pe $B$; seip pe spelle] as I zow tell $B$.
godenesses] gode men B.
al] pe B .
maner mon] maner a man B ; so] pat B .
lewed] lewere $\mathbf{B}$.
ouper] ffrere or $\mathbf{B}$.
on] om B; shulden] schull not B.
B replaces the normal text with ll. 4085-6407 of the Pricke of Conscience. See Appendix $B$.
danes] dauidis L .
dane] dave $L$.
first pe] thy L ; second be] om L .
were] was L .
foly] folyly $L$.
Not] om L.

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scalde] \& vnwold L.
now] om L.
pe] $o m \mathrm{~L}$.
say] hath L .
him] $o m$. .
men] a man $L$.
he] euyn $L$.
pers] pes L .
wondir muchel] wonder \& muche L .
Bethsaida] Bethaida L; corozaym] corozathyn L. bethsaida] betheida L .
Capharnaum ] Capharmayn $L$; pe] pou $L$.
monyone] man pou $L$.
token] tokyns L .
hap not] not hath $L$.
on] and $L$.
iogeleri] iogelyng $L$.
fantome] fantesies $L$.
on] in $L$.
And] That $L$.
po] the L; herdes] hordes TL.
so] slo $L$.
Mony] Many aL.
pe] in L ; world] world syn L .
And to] Vnto L.
hide $v s$ ] hie the $L$.
is] in L .
rad] drad $L$.
crist] blis L.
drewery] dredefull L. pridde] thre L .
is] $o m L$.
pe] pis T; this L ; ronnen] comyn L .
coome] comyng L .
wers] vers T.
forme] forne $L$.
o] om TL.
hit struid] hit be struyed $T$; struid] stryve $L$; partye] patie $L$.
empire] emperoure $L$.
of] alle L .
mony day] so mony a day $T$.
am comen] am I comen $L$.
pol be T.
to] til T.
Pe] po T.
hedde] shed TL.
hap] had $L$.
wel] wille L .
shul come penne] penne shul com $T$; then shulle come $L$.
warnyst] wariest $L$.

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22781
22806

Pe] Po T; Tho L.
and hal] \& an half T ; hal] half L .
pol pe T.
lizt] my3t $T$.
papilon] babilon L ; felle] selle L .
stabely] savully $\mathbf{L}$.
bete] $o m \mathrm{~L}$.
Pat] There L.
rubrics] HL.
three-line initial $N$ ] $\mathbf{H}$.
Pe] Po T, tho L; pe] bo TL.
soob] suche L .
hool] om L; rewe] rowe $T$.
entervale bituix] enten vale bituir $T$; euyr vale bittir L .
in] on $L$.
wel] wolle $\mathbf{L}$.
a] and L .
leuen] leme L .
left ] lost TL.
pe] to TL .
hayre] aire L .
shal sol shal be so $L$.
is tolde] is to told L .
strenger] strength L .
to] be T .
out] ought $\mathbf{L}$.
pe] $o m \mathrm{~L}$.
:] om TL.
holes] hores T; heris L .
hizt light $L$.
perfo] thereto L .
pat] then L .
kne] knele TL.
pus shull shul pus T .
leuen] leme L .
droune] drow L .
pe] be pe T.
ar] as L .
rubrics H .
be we] we be T .
four-line initial P] H.
fourme] fortune L .
mon] a man L .
vp was] vpwad L.
hit to] be it L .
nol om TL; ny] vp L.
At] Alle L.
lawes] sawes T ; sawis L .
at] of $L$.
world] worle $\mathbf{T}$.

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22964 Iohel] josell L.
22978 to] of $L$.
22983 Pei] The L.
23002 karked] harkenyth L.
23018 while] om L.
23028
23047
23064
23071 And her] And yaf her L.
23073 willeful] willyng L.
23091 wagering] wandryng L.
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22963-23126 missing from H, supplied from T.
22972 con pis not] pus can not L.

23106 do hem in two] hem in ijo do hem $L$.
he] be L .
brouzt] boust $T$.
Ny] Ay L.
pe] pei T; they $L$.
stature] statute L .
fairhede] $o m \mathrm{~L}$.
goodnes] godenesses T.
Po] That L .
he] hym L.
were all al were T ; alle were L .
at] as L .
on] none L .
brynge] brynggyng L .
punctus elevatus om L .
lasten] leftyn L .
onne to] vnto L .
stad] bestad $L$.
renayed are] euyr were $L$.
Fro] For $L$.
ep] eche L.
won] wont L .
mende] amend $L$.
nythe \& onde \& lykyng and in L.
$\mathrm{On}] \mathrm{In} \mathrm{L}$.
sey pat] sey to them and L .
hennes] yon L .
ofte] of $T$.
wreche] wrethe T ; him] $o m \mathrm{~L}$.
euer to] euer there to L .
nay] om T ; pat] om L .
forbi] that L ; callep] callyd L .
two-line initial $N$ H.
he] hit T.
out of] withoutyn $L$.
spitouse] dispitous T .
we] were T, were L.
Po] The L .
Pat noon] To oon L .
bo] the L.

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To pat] To po pat T; To them that $L$. deolful] dynfull L .
po] the L .
is] in $L$.
of] or $L$.
po] the L .
euol] ille $L$.
were here] here were T .
on oon] oon and oon L .
Mercy] Myrthe L.
not] no T.
\& ] and of $L$.
for] fro $L$.
he] pe $T$.
Pei to] Therto L .
two-line initial A] H.
to shul] shul to T .
pe] om TL.
\&] in $L$.
But] Bothe L.
himself] hemself T.
Pat woldes] Pat pou woldes T; That pou woldyst L.
be] om L .
beyinge] bethyng L .
Vche mon] Echon L.
if] is $T$.
als] alle L .
heuy wo] drery for $L$.
wizt] lizt T.
Pese] Pere H; Pe T; The L.
swete] swe T.
freist] fest $L$.
euer] om L .
Fro] For $L$.
two-line initial $O] \mathrm{H}$.
30u] om T.
roos] was T.
sent us] settep $T$; sent] set $L$.
hoot] hete T.
Fro] For L.
dwyne] twynne L .
four-line initial 3] H .
Fas] Fals TL.
coueraunce] gouernaunce L .
third we] om L .
pat] to L .
hepen] hennes T; whethyn $L$.
Pis] Pese T; thise L.
drede] dede L .
vs] $o m$ L.

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23872
23875
23882
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after amen]
fulle] foule L .
forlye I] for to lye T; I] om L .
Flely] Frely TL; we wole] wille we L.
astate] state T .
fynen] faynen $L$.
swikes] beswikep T.
shal hit] hit shul T.
were] where $L$; a] as $L ; v s]$ is $L$.
or a] or of a $L$.
golde] be gold L .
mon] none L .
penne] om L; his] as L .
vs] om L.
hap] he hathe $L$.
sen] seme $L$.
wel] wen T ; when we shalle L ; we] om T .
explicit cursor mundi L; Iohn Digbye T.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTES

The events described in this portion of the $C M$ are mentioned in the versified table of contents, lines 213-16: Antichrist, the fifteen signs of doom, and the Judgement itself. For notes on lines 21347-846, missing from the southern version, see Appendix C.

21847ff. Honorius Augustodunensis, De imagine mundi II lxxv in PL CLXXII 156 mentions six ages up to but not including the Last Judgement. See also the note to 1. 12715 in Vol. III of this edition.

21848-86 These lines appear to be original with the $C M$ poet.
21887-915 Taken from Quinze signes 11. 3-29.
21916-60 These lines appear to be original with the $C M$ poet.
21961-66 These contrasts between Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by Grosseteste's comparison of the old and the new Adam, in his Château 11. 1457-66:

Li premer home vint de terre
E par li avium la guere.
Li autre del ciel est venuz,
Ki la pes nus a renduz.
Li premer home fu charnal
Ki a tut le mund fist tant mal.
De parais fu engete
E lie trestut sun ligne,
Mes Jhesu Crist li nostre Pere
Nos heritez nus sent arere.
21971-22424 An account of Antichrist, taken from the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso, pp. 105-28 in Verhelst's edition. This account differs from the standard text of Adso, ibid. pp. 20-30, in that it lacks the epilogue, it substitutes for Adso's dedication to Queen Gerberge a dedication to Charlemagne, and there are several additions, noted below, to the text itself. Unless otherwise indicated, citations are by line number to the Pseudo-Alcuin text.
21985 "lawe" = low, Latin humiles, 1. 6.
21993 "maumetry" translates demonum culturam in mundum, 11. 9-10.
21997 "Al." Cf. CG "Als," Latin qualis fuit Nero etc. 1. 13. The southern redactor's "Al" inadvertently transforms Antioch and Domitian into place names.
21998-22004 The Latin is clearer in stating that all who behave like Antichrist are in fact Antichrists: Nunc quoque, nostro tempore, multos Antichristos nouimus. Quicumque enim laicus, siue canonicus, siue etiam monachus, contra iustitiam uiuit et
ordinis sui regulam impugnat et quod bonum est inblasphemat, Antichristus est, minister satane est, 1l. 15-18.

## 22013-15 Gen. 49:17.

22028-31 Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, 11. 31-33.
22041 Gregory the Great, Moralia, xxxii, 15 in PL LXXVI 649B. Pseudo-Alcuin adds this passage to Adso at l. 38, with attribution to Gregory. The quotation extends from 22037-48.
22051-66 Арос. 20:1-3, I1. 43-48.
22082 "son of los" translates filius perditionis, 1. 58; cf. CFG's "tinsel" (= damnation, perdition: $O E D$ ).
22093 This line seems to correspond with Pseudo-Alcuin's diabolus ... locum nouit aptum (unchanged from Adso), 1. 64, but it offers a translation unwarranted by anything in the surviving MSS.
22095 This line corresponds with nothing in either Adso or the Pseudo-Alcuin.
22100 "Heed of maumetri" appears to translate caput regni Persarum, 1. 66, as does "cheef of pers" in 22097.
22103-6 Mt 11:21.
22107-10 Mt 11:23, mentioned by neither Adso nor Pseudo-Alcuin.
22111-12 These terms translate magos et ariolos, maleficos, et incantatores et diuinos, 11. 70-71.

22115-16 Somewhat distorted translation of maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indiuisi, 11. 72-73.
22119 "leue" translates ad se conuertere, 11. 74-75.
22139 Ps. 71:8, quoted at 1.80.
22143 "Pondir" translates ignem de celo, 1. 87.
22155 The CM poet exempts "goddis chosen ping" from Antichrist's influence where Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin include them: ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi, ll. 92-93, citing Mt 24:24.
22157-62 A sentence from Haymo of Halberstadt's commentary on Epistula II ad Thessalonicenses, PL CXVII 782A, inserted by Pseudo-Alcuin into Adso's text at 11. 93-96.

22175-76 " 3 ifte," "awe," and "tokenes" translate, in rearranged order, terrore, muneribus et miraculis, II. 100-1.
22179 "herdes." Cf. CFT "hordes." This and 22180 translate 1l. 103-4, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
22195-96 These lines translate l. 112, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
22197-202 A distortion of 11. 113-15: qui est supra tectum, non descendet in domum suam, ut tollat aliquid ab ea, sed seipsum dabit precipitem. The est and the sed ... precipitem are Pseudo-Alcuin's additions to Adso. The phrase is taken from Mc 13:15.
22212 "half pridde zere" translates tribus annis et dimidio, l. 119.
22219-22 II Thes 2:3, glossed at 22223-26, 11. 123-25.
22227 "wers." Cf. FGT: "vers."
22228 "grace." Cf. CFG: "grece."
22237-39 i.e., a repetition of II Thes 2:3, quoted at 22219-22, again following Pseudo-Alcuin, 11. 133-34.
22253 "Oure maistris" = doctores nostri, 1. 141, Pseudo-Alcuin's alteration of Adso's quidam uero doctores.
22261 "cele." Cf. CFGT: "sele" = happiness, blessedness.
22271 Again a reference to II Thes 2:3.

22273 "men." Cf. CFG: "man," which translates homo peccati, 1. 149.
22277 "his owne sone" translates filius diaboli, l. 151.
22286 "sarazyn" translates pagani, 1. 161.
22310-14 Jhn 5:43, 11. 173-75.
22315-60 The sibylline passage is Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, Il. 176-98, taken from the version known as the Tiburtine Sibylle. Cf. Sackur, pp. 185-86.
22317 Reims, Bibl. Munic. MS. 1392, fols. 234-36, the base MS of Verhelst's edition, gives this name as clodoueus. Verhelst prints simply "C," 1.177 , perhaps reflecting the textual uncertainty of the name. Sackur, p. 185, prints Constans, following his base MS and three others.
22320 Pseudo-Alcuin does not mention Greece, but the Sibylline text does; Sackur, p. 185.

22327 "met" translates modius, 1. 181.
22335-42 The CM poet's addition? Or possibly based upon Pseudo-Methodius' account of the end of the world; cf. Sackur, p. 90.
22347 "sarazines" translates paganorum, l. 190.
22349 "maumetrye" translates paganos, 1. 191.
22361-62 Cf. Apoc 11:3-8, where neither Enoch nor Elias is named, though Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin presume that illos refers to them. Biblical warrant for identifying one of the two witnesses as Elias is Malachi 4:5 and Mc 9:11-13. The tradition that the two are Enoch and Elias is well established by the middle of the second century. See, e.g., Irenaeus, Contra haeresis 5, 5 in PG VII 1134B-C; Hippolytus, De Christo et Antichristo 43 in PG X 762A; Pseudo-Hippolytus, De consummatione mundi 21 in PG X 922C; Tertullian, Liber de anima 50, PL II 735B. Other early commentators are listed in W. Bousset, Der Antichrist, pp. 136-37, and in J. Haussleiter, "Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius, und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse."
22371 Apoc. 11:7, quoted at 11. 206-8.
22373 Pseudo-Alcuin, 1. 209, specifies three days.
22381 "fendis brid" translates diaboli filius, 1. 209.
22399-402 e.g., Bede, Epistola 15, in PL XCIV 707B: divina virtute perimatur quod beatus papa Gregorius per Michaelem archangelum patrandum fore ...
22403-4 "Papilon" is a variant spelling of Babylon, but cf. 1. 227: Antichristus occidetur in papilione et in solio suo, that is in his own tent and on his own throne.
22411-14 "Fourty dayes." So Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin, quadraginta dies, 1. 234. Cf. also Eluc 1164A. But cf. Daniel 6:7 and 12: dies triginta, the period fixed by Darius during which his subjects were forbidden to worship any god or king other than himself.
22427-708 These lines are a close translation of the Anglo-Norman poem Quinze signes, written between 1180 and 1225, and edited by von Kraemer from 22 manuscripts. For a full discussion of the legend see Heist, Fifteen Signs. Heist and von Kraemer refer to earlier scholarship on the subject. The four other ME versions of the AN poem will be designated in these notes by the number given them in IMEV: $3367,3368,796$, and 1823 . The last two are really slightly different texts of the same version, though 796 lacks the invocation which opens 1823 and, because of a missing leaf in the MS, lacks days 5-10.

In the following discussion references will be made by author's name and sign number to other influential versions of the fifteen signs legend. These are found in Peter Damian, De novissimis et Antichristo iv, PL CXLV 840; Pseudo-Bede, De quindecim signis, PL XCIV 555; Peter Comestor, Historia scholastica cxli, PL CXCVIII 1611; Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea, ed. Th. Graesse. I refer also to various

Celtic versions of the legend because they may represent the material in an earlier form, accessible to the CM poet but now vanished. They are printed in Heist: Saltair na Rann, an addition to the tenth century Irish poem, pp. 2-21; Evernew Tongue, a tenth-century Irish prose work, pp. 73-88; Airdena, Irish prose, pp. 73-88.
22427-38 A loose translation of Quinze signes 41-54.
22439-40 These names occur in Quinze signes 55-56. They are not to be taken as sources, but rather as referring to prophets who spoke generally about the Day of Judgement. See Jer $4: 23$, Is $13: 10,26: 18-19,34: 4$. The AN poem goes on to list Daniel, Ezechiel, Aaron, and Moses, while variant readings in other MSS mention also David, Amon, Maon, Naaman, Jonas, and Amos. Von Kraemer, p. 95, tries to link the list up with various Ordines prophetarum, but the CM poet follows the traditional attribution to Jerome in 22441.
22441-46 Peter Comestor: Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebraeorum invenit signa ... sed utrum continui futuri sint dies illi, an interpolatim, non expressit. The attribution to Jerome is also found in descriptions of the 15 signs in Ps-Bede, Peter Damian, Leg. aur. p. 6, and in most of the works dependent on them. The Annales Hebraeorum have never been identified, nor can any work of Jerome's be construed as the source. See Heist p. 24 and passim.
22447-50 Quinze signes 61-63.
22451-58 Quinze signes $65-70$ contain an invocation here, but it is not the same as CM's.
22459-74 Quinze signes 71-86. The bloody rain appears in Apoc. Thom., p. 272, and in sermons based on it, as well as in several Celtic works. See $\operatorname{SnR}$ 11. 8029-36; Airdena 7; Vercelli XV, p. 256; Blickling VII, p. 91; Hatton Hom. in Förster, p. 131, and in a twelfth-century OFr work, Li ver del Juïse (von Kraemer, p. 16). Cf. Apoc 8:7. Many other versions of the legend have a bloody dew instead, possibly influenced by IV Esr 5:5. See Yrymes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71; Peter Damian 10; Ps-Bede 6; Peter Comestor 5; Leg. aur. 5. A Greek acrostic poem, translated by Augustine in $D C D$ XVIII xxiii PL XL 579, mentions that all earth will sweat before the Day of Judgement, but not with blood. IMEV 3367 omits the bloody rain altogether.
22465-74 This crying of the unborn children is found only in the Quinze signes and its ME derivatives. It may have been suggested by IV Esr 6:21, although the resemblance is slight. The scene caught people's imagination, however, for it appears in several later works; see von Kraemer, pp. 17-18.
22467 Quinze signes reads "A clere vouiz" (1. 79), reflected in F's "voice." CGHTLB have "note."
22475-92 Quinze signes 87-104. The fall of stars is a common signal that Judgement is near: cf. Mt 24:29, Mc 13:25, Apoc 6:13, 8:10, 9:1. Cf. Celtic versions: $\operatorname{SnR}$ 8161-63, ET 125, Airdena 11-2. See also Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, and Leg. aur. 12. Peter Damian 7 has both stars and planets scattering fiery hairs from themselves, like comets.
22481-82 CFG preserve the translation of Quinze signes 93-94: the stars run about on the ground. This detail is omitted also in the ME versions IMEV 1823, 796, and 3367.

22481-92 The subsequent fate of the stars is unique to the AN poem and its ME derivatives.
22488-89 CM omits entirely Quinze signes 100 , which is corrupt in many MSS.
22492 E's "And par of wil we neuir blin" is clearly in error.

22495-504 Quinze signes 123-32. The CM poet reverses the AN signs 3 and 4 . Based on Apoc 6:12, but cf. Joel 2:31 (quoted in Acts 2:20). Cf. also Airdena 12, ET 126, and von Kraemer p. 19 for citation from Assumption Moses 10 . However, this is not one of the signs in the other Latin versions.
22498 There is some confusion over Quinze signes 126 , where most MSS repeat the idea that the moon was red as blood ("sanc") or mud ("fanc"). $C M$ on the other hand somewhat resembles the variant in MS Q: "A Deu qe frunt dunc li mescreant."
22507-18 Quinze signes 107-20. This is another common sign from Joel 2:31, Mt 24:29, and Apoc 6:12. It also occurs in Apoc. Thom. 5, p. 272, and is found in its Celtic derivatives; see Airdena 12, ET 126. The other Latin versions, however, ignore it.
22510 "Haire" translates directly AN "haire" (111), which in turn translates Apoc 6:12, "saccus cilicinus," a hair shirt. The other English versions of Quinze signes have trouble with the word. IMEV 3367 says the sun becomes green and wan, then "blak as pe cole" (1.66). IMEV 1823 reads "swarte as any pych" (1. 99), and IMEV 3368 omits the concept altogether.
22514 CG's "stime" translates AN "goute" (1. 115).
22519-30 Quinze signes 135-46. This sign is also characteristic of the AN version of the legend and its ME derivatives. In the Latin and some Celtic versions, it is the sea creatures who bellow unintelligibly. See SnR 8059-60, 8109-12; Peter Damian and Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 3, probably based on IV Esr 5:7. The following verse of IV Esr adds, "et bestias agrestes transmigrabunt," and the restless and/or noisy animals are found in Airdena 14, ET 129, and Peter Damian 12. The closest analogue to the AN, however, is the Debate between the Body and the Soul in BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 346-49. Although it speaks of only seven signs before Judgement, these lines are clearly connected somehow with the AN version:

The fyfte day him cometh $y$-wis
Everuch best that lyves ys,
Toward hevene ys hed halt,
Ant thuncheth wonder wed this byhalt
Ant wolde clepe to oure Dryhte,
Ah hy to speke ne habbeth muhte. (p. 348)
22525 E and the southern versions (HTLB) preserve a correct reading, "erpe," which CFG corrupt to "air." Quinze signes 141 has "Droit a ces granz fosses courront."
22531-44 This sign is made up of three separate motifs: (1) the levelling of mountains and valleys (cf. Ps-Bede 10, Peter Comestor 9, SnR 8213-16, Airdena 11); (2) the earthquake at 22539 (cf. Peter Damian, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 8, Ps-Bede 9, Yrymes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71, $\operatorname{SnR}$ 8202); and (3) the collapse of buildings at 22540-44 (cf. Ps-Bede 7, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 6). Analogues are found in other signs. Quinze signes 149-60. Peter Damian 11 has mountains crumble to dust and the ruin of buildings. $\operatorname{SnR} 8213-16, E T 122,128$, speak simply of the mountains falling, but the Welsh Yrymes Detbrawt (Heist p. 71) and Airdena 11 mention that mountains and valleys will then be level. The only other version to include both the levelling of mountains and valleys and the collapse of buildings on the same day is the Debate of the Body and Soul, day 4, from BL MS. Harley 2253, ed. Wright, pp. 347-48.
22534 E's "Pe wallis, touris, pe felles to falle" is in error.
22538 Heist p. 92 would see the conversion of peace to war as a separate motif here, but the Irish parallels cited are inexact and unconvincing. See $\operatorname{Sn} R$ 8065-71, 8168,

Airdena 8. Cf. however Apoc 6:4 where power is given to the rider of the red horse "ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se interficiant [sc. homines]."
22543 Heist p. 179 says that the $C M$ poet postpones the fall of the trees until sign 7, but in fact he follows the AN closely. "Wode" here translates AN "abre" (1. 159). Trees are overturned in Airdena 9.
22545-60 Quinze signes 161-76. This sign is only found in works deriving from the AN version of the legend. Heist pp. 93-94 wants to derive it from Irish versions of the Antichrist legend, but cf. von Kraemer p. 23, who cites a parallel in an OFr translation of the Antichrist legend. Innocent III uses the motif in his De miseria (ca. 1195) 8, p. 107, to characterize the vileness of mankind, and from there it gets into Pricke 672-87.
22561-78 Quinze signes 177-94. This sign is often divided into parts: (1) the sea rises (SnR 8047-48, 8105-8, Airdena 1, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1); (2) the sea sinks almost to nothing (SnR 8113-16, Airdena 2, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 2); (3) the sea returns to its usual place (SnR 8117-20, Airdena 3, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 3).
22568 The attribution to Moses, taken from Quinze signes 184, makes no sense.
22569-70 The Latin versions tend to echo Gen 7:20, saying that the water rose 15 cubits (Peter Damian 1, Airdena 1) or 40 cubits (Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1) over the tops of the mountains. Only $\operatorname{SnR} 8105-8$ mentions reaching to heaven, although the passage is apparently a difficult one and may indicate only that the sound reaches to heaven:

The great-maned sea will rise
from the many-sided [?] earth;
it will raise its voice-performing uproar
to the clouds of heaven.
22571-74 The flight of the fish has analogues in $\operatorname{SnR}$ 8059-64, 8109-12, Airdena 1, 4. Cf. also Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 3.

22579-90 Quinze signes 195-206. Analogues for this are lacking in other versions of the signs, although Heist p. 92 cites the passage quoted above, $\operatorname{SnR} 8105-8$, as a possible parallel. A more convincing analogue is from a sermon of Gregory, preserved in the works of Haymo of Halberstadt: "Tradunt enim nonnulli, quod circa finem saeculi mare, flumina et rivuli, juxta qualitatem et quantitatem suam, voces et mugitus emittent, interitum suum quibusdam luctuosis vocibus deplorantes, et per hoc non parvum timorem hominibus audientibus incutient" PL CXVIII 19D, cited in von Kraemer p. 25.
22581 The AN has "tuit li fleuve parleront," which the CM poet translates as "al bing." Heist p. 179 points out that MS. Trinity College Cambridge B.11.24, one of the MSS of IMEV 1823, reads:

Thatt all pynge schall speke pan,
And cry in erthe aftyr be steuyn off man.
See IMEV 1823, 11. 102-3. There is a slight confusion in the AN MSS here, $M$ and E reading: "toutes aigues." Perhaps another variant existed at one time: "toutes choses." Cf. von Kraemer p. 76 and the textual note to 1. 197.
22583 The citation of Augustine seems to refer to no work of his, except his translation of the Greek acrostic poem on the Signs before Doom in DCD XVIII xxiii in PL XLI 579, esp. l. 15. But the connection is in any case slight.
22591-626 Quinze signes 207-38. This sign demonstrates the reaction in heaven and hell to the coming Judgement. Analogues are few. Fear of the coming Judgement is found in ET 122, but it is difficult to say whose fear it is. Von Kraemer also cites

Haymo of Halberstadt, PL CXVIII 21, and cf. also Il. 159-66 of the Debate of the Body and Soul from BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 347-48. Devils come out of hell and fill the world in $\operatorname{SnR}$ 8284-88. In Vercelli sermon 15 devils fill the earth on Saturday; see Vercelli p. 258. Demons are on earth on the fourth day in the Hatton homily; see Förster pp. 131-34.
22597-98 The angels in Quinze signes tremble at 213-14 (crolera, se tremblera), but no cause is assigned as in 22598.
22605-8 Cf. Quinze signes 219-22:
Car il [sc. sainz Pierres] verra le ciel partir
Et si pourra la terre oir
Braire mont angouisseusemant
Et criera: "Rois Diex, je fent".
Von Kraemer makes "la terre" the subject of "criera." The CM poet takes "le ciel" as the subject, apparently interpreting 1. 220 as an interpolated clause which he could safely omit.
22612 Quinze signes 226 also attributes this observation to Paul, but Paul says nothing to this effect.
22615 Von Kraemer l. 229 rejects a variant reading "qui nos feis," found in ten MSS, in favour of "qui nos meis." The CM poet, however, was clearly using a MS that read "feis."
22620 Von Kraemer 1. 234 prints "Qui l'angouisse d'enfer andure," but eight MSS, including, obviously, the CM poet's exemplar, replace "enfer" with "feu."
22621-22 HTLB omit two lines here:
Caitiues pat nu sorus mare
Pan euer in hell we won war ar (quoted from C)
These lines make it clear that the devils want to go back to hell, not to heaven, for even the pains of hell are preferable to the troubled state of earth before the Judgement. The devils know that they have lost heaven through their own folly, so 22624 can only refer to their being unceremoniously rousted out of hell. The omission of the two lines in the southern version makes it seem that they want to get back to heaven, as Heist p. 92 wrongly assumes the AN version does as well.
22625-26 These lines are found in only three MSS of the AN.
22630-47 Quinze signes 240-59. A great wind is found also in Airdena 10, Debate of the Body and Soul 4 (in Wright, pp. 347-48). The air is agitated in Hatton homily 5 (Förster pp. 131-34) and is moved on day 7 in Apoc. Thom., p. 272.
22633-34 Apoc. Thom. sign 2, p. 272: the earth moves from its proper place but because of a great voice in the firmament, not a wind.
22635-58 Quinze signes 245-46 says that bodies of the newly dead are blown about by the wind. The $C M$ poet probably thought that the reference was to the devils who were pleading to be returned to hell in the previous sign and are about to get their wish.
22639 The descent of the rainbow here puzzles commentators. Heist pp. 176-77 assumes that "arc-en-ciel" is a corruption of "archangel," which does appear in one MS of a prose recension of the AN poem. The angels' victory over the devils is of course a common motif in apocalypse literature. However, von Kraemer pp. 27-29 shows clearly that "arc-en-ciel" is the only possible reading in the line. He further demonstrates that the rainbow was associated with the Day of Judgement, sometimes through connection with archangels, sometimes alone. The scribe who copied IMEV 796 in BodL MS. Digby 86, however, omits the passage altogether.

22644 The CM omits Quinze signes 255-56 here, describing the heat, the cold, the pains, the grinding of teeth, the weeping. However, these same lines are also omitted from six AN MSS.
22647-52 The CM poet deviates here from Quinze signes which continues at 259-66:
Li termes vient que vos avroiz
Plantei de janz en vos destroiz."
Lors commanceront tuit a rire.
He, Diex peres, tu qui es sire(s),
De cele joie nos deffent
Quar trestuit cil seront dolant
Qui seront parconnier dou ris
Don deables ert poteis.
The sense of 22648 is not very clear. In the AN the devils laugh at the thought of the people who will come into their power, and the poet prays to be saved from their clutches. These people pray, 22650-52, as the devils had done, to be allowed to hide under the earth, presumably from the Judgement. While the subject of the original 22649 could have been either the devils or the souls who would arrive in hell, the context and the content of the cry make it seem that the devils are speaking, and the southern redactor has altered his text to make it clear.
22653-70 Quinze signes 267-86. This sign consists of two parts: the closing of heaven and the angels begging for mercy. Heist p. 92 suggests an analogy with $\operatorname{SnR} 8261-$ 62 , but the resemblance is slight and unconvincing. This sign is closely related to sign 10 , where the heavens open and the angels become frightened. While the opening of the heavens is a common occurrence in apocalypse writings (cf. Apoc. Thom. 2, Vercelli homily 15, Friday), the locking of the firmament is unique to this version. But cf. the rolling up of heaven like a scroll in Apoc 6:14 and the derivative image of the book folded and closed in Vercelli homily 15 Wednesday, Hatton homily 7.
22661-62 This is intended to be direct discourse, as the Quinze signes 276-78 makes clear:

Chascuns dira: "Ge me mervoil"
Que nos poons ici ester
Quant toute riens veons finer."
The southern redactor, by changing 22660, transforms the lines into a rhetorical question asked by the poet. Von Kraemer p. 29 points out an analogy with Apoc. Thom. 3: "et dicent homines, putamus finis adpropinquabit ut pereamus."
22667-68 Quinze signes 283-84 have many variant readings. The ME lines do not correspond with any of those printed by von Kraemer.
22669-70 Von Kraemer p. 29 and n. 4 cites several instances in Latin and French of this fear of angels and men before the coming of the judge.
22671-88 Quinze signes 287-312. The Apoc. Thom. 6 mentions the splitting of rocks during the earthquake, and it is found in most other versions of the signs. Cf. SnR 8083-84, Airdena 9, Peter Damian 9, Ps-Bede 8, Leg. aur. 7. Peter Comestor 7 has the stones smashing together but does not mention their splitting.
22672 The CM poet omits two lines of Quinze signes (289-90) which mention Japheth and Abraham. MSS C and X of the AN also omit these lines.
22681-84 These lines translate Quinze signes 305-6 and then 303-4, the latter of which are found only in MSS EDQ of the AN. But von Kraemer p. 104 argues that they are probably authentic, corresponding to details found in Peter Damian and

Ps-Bede. Line 303 reads: "Des cox qu'eles s'antredonrront." CM MS E has "thrawing," C "thran[g]ing" or, as Morris' gloss suggests, read "thrauing."
22686 CM omits Quinze signes 309-10. AN MSS NRQP also omit these lines.
22688 The base MS of Quinze signes says: "Se desouz terre" (1.312), but seven other MSS refer to a mountain. Von Kraemer p. 30 points out that in several other accounts of the Last Judgement fearful men hide themselves under mountains (see e.g. Apoc. Thom. 6, Vercelli homily 15 Friday, Hatton homily 6, Blickling homily vii 5). The detail derives ultimately from Apoc 6:16. Cf. Os 10:8, Lc 23:30.
22689-98 Quinze signes 313-24. Many accounts of the Last Judgement refer in general terms to storms and agitations of the air. Cf. Apoc. Thom. 1 (thunder and lightning), 5 (thunder), Airdena 7, 9, 14, SnR 8130, 8151, 8205, Vercelli homily 15 Monday, Hatton homily 1,5 , Blickling homily vii 1,4 . The clouds do not hide under the sea elsewhere, but this is probably an extension of the AN poet's penchant for having everything fall into the abyss.
22692 Quinze signes 316. "De nois, de grelles et d'ores," but MSS LUV have "De nois de glaces et de grelles."
22698 The CM poet omits Quinze signes 325-8, which describe the mingling of earth and sea and the uncovering of heaven. This is a neat recollection of the primal state of the world when there was only heaven and earth, and the various elements of matter had not yet been separated from one another. Cf. note to 22699-708 following. Among the AN MSS CR omit 11. 325-26, and AOX omit 11. 327-28.
22699-708 Quinze signes 329-40. The final consummation of the world by fire is often found where Doomsday is discussed; see Peter Damian 6, Ps-Bede 5, 15, Peter Comestor 14, Leg. aur. 14, Apoc. Thom. 2, 6, Hatton homily 3. In this sign the AN poet (and the CM poet following him) continues the reversal of the creation process begun in sign 14 (see note to 22698 above). After the fire earth and sea are not simply reduced to ashes, but become nothing again.
22702 CM omits Quinze signes $333-34$, where the poet names the process he is describing: "consumations."
22710 The CM poet omits the remainder of Quinze signes, 341-434, describing God's division of souls into saved and damned.
22711 pe blast of beme is mentioned in Eluc 91164 A . Cf. the seven trumpets of Apoc 8:2-9:13.
22711-23704 The description of the Last Judgement itself depends chiefly upon Honorius Augustodunensis' Elucidarium, book III, as well as upon accounts in the New Testament. There are two accessible editions of Honorius: Yves Lefèvre, L'elucidiarium et les lucidaires, pp. 361-477, which is based upon a survey of extant manuscripts in French libraries; and the edition found in PL CLXXII 1109-76, which is a reprint of J.A. Giles, ed., Lanfranci opera quae supersunt omnia, II, 200-98. Giles' edition, from a single manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Reg. 5134 (possibly = Paris, BN lat. 3001), contains material not found in Lefèvre. I shall refer to book III of Lefèvre's edition by Eluc section and page number, and to book III in PL by Eluc section and column number. The numbering of sections in the two editions does not correspond.
22716-22 Accounts of Jesus and his disciples after the resurrection are in Mt 28, Mc 16, Lc 24, and Jhn 20-21. The CM poet here depends chiefly on Mc 16:14.
22723-28 Acts 1:9-11. The joy of 22726 is not in Acts.
22731-32 Cf. Eluc 51 p. 457: Ita Christus in ea forma qua ascendit cum omnibus ordinibus angelorum ad judicium veniens; angeli crucem ferentes praeeunt ... The CM poet seems to have compressed this passage in Eluc. Cf. Eluc 54 p. 458:
D. Quali forma apparebit ibi Dominus? M. Electis in ea forma qua in monte apparuit; reprobis vero in ea forma qua in cruce pependit.
22737-44 This contrast of Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by a comparison of the old and the new Adam in Grosseteste's Château 1457-66. Cf. the note to 21961-66, above.
22745-68 These lines, presenting the dread of those who are to be judged (22745-57), Christ in glory as judge, surrounded by saints (as seip pe boke) (22758-68), appear to be original with the $C M$ poet.
22769-80 Cf. Eluc 60, p. 459: D. Qui sunt qui judicant? M. Apostoli, martyres, monachi, virgines. Cf. Eluc 13 1166C, which adds confessores. But the CM poet is more elaborate here.
22755-61 The imagery in altered form and without the cross as banner is in Eluc 51 p. 457: D. Qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium? M. Sicut imperator ingressurus civitatem. Corona et alia insignia praeferuntur, per quae adventus ejus cognoscitur; ... angeli crucem ejus ferentes praeibunt; mortuos et tuba et voce in occursum ejus excitant, omnia elementa turbabuntur, tempestate ignis et frigoris mixtim undique furente; ... The image of the cross as banner was familiar from Venantius Fortunatus' seventh century hymn, Vexilla regis prodeunt, / fulgit crucis mysterium, / quo carne carnis conditor / suspensus est patibulo, 1.6.1-4; Venance Fortunat: Poèmes, ed. M. Reydellet, I, 57.
22816-22 Cf. Rom 6:4-5: ut quomodo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus / si enim conplantati facti sumus similitudini mortis eius simul et resurrectionis erimus.
22818-20 Eluc 44 p. 456 mentions that the souls will be resurrected as they were at age 30: D. Qua aetate vel qua mensura? M. Qua erant, cum essent triginta annorum; vel futuri erant, si ante moriebantur. The CM poet's treatment of this motif is, however, more elaborate than Honorius'.
$22849-56$ Cf. Eluc 48 p. 456: D. Quid sentis de abortivis? M. Inquantum est semen patris resurget in patre; in quantum est sanguis matris, resurget in matre. Very different in CM.
22887-930 This story is told briefly in Eluc 45 p. 456 . The question posed in the CM is both more elaborate, in that it describes the circumstances of the eating and the lion's death and rotting, details not found in Honorius, and less detailed in that Honorius' wolf is first eaten by a bear, the bear in its turn by a lion. Honorius attributes the story to Gregory; see Gregory the Great, Homiliarum in Ezechielem libri II, II viii 8 in PL LXXVI 1032-33, who also eliminates the bear and perhaps served as the $C M$ poet's direct source.
22931-52 Eluc 46 p. 456 supplies the hair and nails, though he does not specify hand or foot but simply ungues. The image of the potter reshaping his material and its application to Christ (so CM; Deus Eluc) is also found here.
$22953-62$ Cf. Eluc 50 p. 457: D. Qua hora fiet judicium? M. Media nocte. Qua hora angelus Aegyptum devastavit et Dominus infernum spoliavit, ea hora electos suos de hoc mundo liberabit. Cf. also Eluc 11 1164C: D. Qua die? M. In die Paschae, ea hora qua Christus resurrexit.
23003 "Vp in pe sky." Cf. Eluc 52 p. 457: In valle ergo fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo, scilicet in aere ...
23039-206 The division of souls into four groups, two good and two bad, is adumbrated in Eluc 59-74 pp. 459-61. Cf. Richard of St. Victor, In Apocalypsim libri vii in PL CXCVI 857, who also divides the souls into four groups. The CM poet, however, provides far more detail. Cf. Mt 25:32-33, where there are only two groups.

23080-96 Probably the CM poet took these lines directly from Mt 25:34-36. Cf. also Quinze signes 11. 371-84, where the deeds of the blessed are in a different order: shelter, food, nakedness, visitation, illness, burial; thirst and prison are omitted. Cf. also the list in Grosseteste's Château 1563-76, where only visitation is omitted.
23158-68 Based on Mt 25:41-2. Cf. Quinze signes 11. 396-406.
23181-82 Сf. Apoc 21:4.
23189-94 Cf. Apoc 21:8, 20:14-15, and 19:20.
23202 Apoc 21:8: in stagno ardenti igni. Perhaps the CM poet is thinking of ME stang, a pond or pool (cf. CM 8936), or perhaps of the past tense of ME stink (cf. MED s.v. stinken), or perhaps of ME stang, a sting or pain (cf. CM 20960).

23207-350 The nine pains of hell, their correspondence with the nine orders of angels, their suitability to the souls of the damned, the inverse posture of the damned, and the increased joy and pain respectively of the blessed to see the suffering of the damned and of the damned to see the joys of the blessed, are all taken from Eluc 4-51159-61.
23219-24 Eluc 41159D has Si igneus mons immitteretur, in glaciem verteretur. The CM poet appears to have had a variant text.
23231-32 The image of seeing fish swim in the water is from Eluc 4 1160A: qui ut pisces in aqua ita vivunt in flamma. "lowe" translates Honorius' "flamma;" cf. $M E D$ loue n . (2).
23235 The fifth pain begins here unremarked. Cf. Eluc 4 1160A: Quinta flagra caedentium, ut mallei ferrum percutientium.
23261-64 Original with CM poet?
23265-350 These explanations of sin and punishment are taken from Eluc 4 1160B and correspond with the nine pains just described. The wavering of the correspondence at the eighth and ninth sins is original with Honorius.
23339-42 Eluc 51161B: sicut nobis cum videmus pisces in gurgite ludere. The summer day seems to be the CM poet's addition.
23351-68 Original with the CM poet?
23369-594 Eluc 17 \& 19 1169-72. 18, the first elaboration of the fourteen gifts, is omitted by the CM poet.
23373-75 Swiftenes = velocitatem, feirhede $=$ pulchritudinem, fredome $=$ libertatem, strengpe $=$ fortitudinem, euer lyf to lede $=$ immortalitatem, likynge $=$ voluptatem, lastynge hele $=$ sanitatem: all terms translated from Eluc.
23377-79 Wisdome $=$ sapientiam, frenshepe $=$ amicitiam, acorde $=$ concordiam, pouste $=$ potestatem, worshepe $=$ honorem, sikernesse $=$ securitatem, ioyeful ro $=$ gaudium: all terms translated from Eluc.
23381-92 Swiftness. Eluc 19 1171B.
23393-408 Beauty. Eluc 19 1171A.
23409-22 Freedom. Eluc 19 1171C.
23423-28 Strength. Eluc 191171B-C. Wip pi fyngur to ouercaste an hille $=$ et omnem molem terrae pede vertere vellent.
23429-62 Pleasure. Eluc 19 1171D-72A. The southern redactor has omitted lines 23437-48, which make an awkward comparison in both Eluc and the northern version, namely that the pleasure of heaven is internally and externally as intense as the pain would be in this world of a red-hot iron bar passing through the head and body.
23463-70 Health. Eluc 19 1172C.
23471-74 Immortality. Eluc 19 1172C.

23481-512 Wisdom. Eluc 20 1172D-3B. The southern redactor omits lines 23489-90, which in the northern version simply lend emphasis to the two preceding lines. Eluc is the origin of the digression into the knowledge of the saved of one another's sins.
23513-18 Friendship. Eluc 201173 D.
23519-48 Concord. Eluc 20 1173D, including a longish discourse on the concord of wills in heaven.
23524 pe boke = Honorius' Elucidarium.
23527-28 Omitted by the southern redactor, perhaps because it translates a question from the Discipulus, and normally the poet omits these.
23549-70 Power. Eluc 20 1174A.
23559-60 A question from the Discipulus, translated exceptionally by the $C M$ poet: Et si possunt, quare non aliud coelum faciunt?
23564 tale = numero in Eluc 20 1174B: omnia in mensura numero et pondere perfecte absoluit. Cf. Sap 11:21, where the verb is disposuisti [sc. Deus].
23571-78 Joy. Eluc 20 1174B-D.
23579-94 Honour. Eluc 10 1174D. The CM poet seems to revert to Eluc 15 1168C for the image of the sun, moon, water, and stars that no longer run in their courses but are changed into stabilty: coelum, sol, luna, stellae, aquae, quae nunc festinant cursu irretardibili, quasi cupientes in meliorem statum immutari, tunc fixa stabiliter manebunt. Cf. 23677-82 below.
23595-602 Security. Eluc 20 1174D-5A.
23603-14 A summary of the state of the blessed taken from Eluc 20 1175A-B.
23615-48 A comparison point by point of the blessed with the damned, based loosely on the fourteen gifts just discussed in greater detail, taken from Eluc $211175 \mathrm{~B}-6 \mathrm{~A}$.
23649-52 Eluc 21 1176D ends here with a prayer, though not the same as the $C M$ poet's prayer. Where the poet includes all in his wish for Christ's grace, Honorius' Discipulus wishes well to his teacher alone.
23653-704 Eluc 15 1168C.
23657-58 Cf. also Honorius Speculum Ecclesiae Dominica xxiii in PL CLXXII 1077A.
23668-70 Perhaps elaborated from Eluc 15 1168C: frigus, aestus, grandines, turbines, fulgura, tonitrua, et aliae incommoditates.
23683-84 Cf. Isaiah 30:26: et lux solis erit septempliciter sicut lux septem dierum, cited in Eluc 1168C: sol septempliciter plus quam nunc lucebit, ut dicitur: Sol habebit lumen septem dierum.
23689 translates Eluc 15 1168D: Terra, quae in gremio suo Domini corpus confovit ... 23696 The comparison to paradise is based on Eluc 15 1168D, which says that the earth immarcessibiliter erit perpetuo decorata with flowers.
23705-897 Having finished his narration of the Last Judgement and, a fortiori, of the entire Bible, the $C M$ poet now draws on his experience as a preacher to identify the moral of his extended exemplum. Evidently he had not anticipated doing this, for there is no mention of it in the opening lines of the poem, which go from Judgement Day to verses on Mary, 11. 216-17.

## APPENDIX A

## Errors in Morris' Texts

In this list of corrections, the reading in Morris' printed text is followed by a square bracket, the initial representing the MS, and the correct reading. In cases where the MS reading has become obscured by damage, pointed brackets are used, correcting Morris' square brackets used for emendations.

| 21347 | [O]f] G of |
| :---: | :---: |
| 21348 | criste] F criste |
| 21355 | iesu] G ihesu |
| 21357 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21359 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21364 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21367 | crist] F crist |
| 21368 | valde] F walde |
| 21372 | pat] C pat |
| 21379 | [A]ls] G als |
| 21405 | cristes] F cristes |
| 21410 | iesu] G ihesu. criste] F criste |
| 21418 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21433 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21437 | F fol. 89 rcol .2 |
| 21443 | [b]an] G pan. benciras] C bonciras |
| 21465 | [b]an] G pan |
| 21486 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21487 | quene] F quene |
| 21497 | [G]odd] G godd |
| 21504 | maistris] F maistris |
| 21517 | priuely] F priuely |
| 21521 | went him] G went wid him |
| 21523 | quen] $G$ quen |
| 21526 | criste] F criste |
| 21533 | F fol. $89 . \mathrm{col}$. 2 |
| 21545 | iesu] G ihesu. criste] F criste |
| 21547 | to] F on |
| 21558 | cristen] F cristen |
| 21561 | [p]is] G pis |
| 21564 | cristened] F cristened |

21585
[V]r] G vr
21601 E fol. 46r col. I
21602 processiune] E processiune
21603 kirke] E kirk
21605 nevir] E neuir
21606 schinande] E schinande
21608 tre] E tre
21609 paim] E paim
21610 emperur] E emperur
21613 eftir] E eftir
21614 perdun] E perdun. parte] E parte
21615 Seterdai] E seterdai
21616 Cristin] E cristin. cristen] F cristen
21618 croce] E croice. man] E man. wont] E wont
21619 man] E man
21622 thaim] E paim
21624 undir] E undir
21627 grace] E grace. [b]e] G pe
21629 lauerd] E lauerd. wro3t] E wro3t
21631 unselie] E unselie. F fol. 90 r col. 2
21633 unnepis] E unnepis
21634 grant] E grant
21635 thinc] E pinc. the] E pe. sothe] E sope
21636 That] E Pat. wro3te] E wro3te. pat] G pat
21638 and] E and. in (2nd)] E in
21639 undir] E undir
21642 finde] $E$ finde
21643 E fol. 46 rcol col 2
21649 hande] E hande
21653 wro3t] E wrozte. [A ]nd] G and
21654 Vndir] E Vndir
21655 Thare] E Pare. driztin] E driztin
21656 perdune] E perdune
21657 [p]e] G pe. blod] G blode
21658 Quen] E Quen. bropir] E bropir
21659 tre] E trie. ping] E ping
21660 hid] G kid
21662 him] E him
21663 quarnere] E quarnere. made] E ma[de]
21664 Croice] E croice. lange] E lange. and] E and. brade] E brade
21666 iesus] G, C ihesus
21667 Qua] E Qua. him] E him
21668 rode] $E \operatorname{rod}[\mathrm{e}]$
21669 lauerd] E lauerd. [V]r] G vr
21670 Maisteris] E maistris. in] E in. hande] E hande. maistri] F maistri
21671 Sithin] E sipin. and] E and. aftir] E aftir
21672 herde] E herde
21675 in (2nd)] E in
21676 Quen] E Quen. Israel] E israel. 3ede] C yede
21678 croice] E croice

[^4]21748
21749 togideris] E togideris
21752 neu] E new
21753 on] E on. scaping] E scaping. knawin] E knawin
21754 And] E And. drawin] E drawin
21755 in] E in. and] E and
21756 elemens] E elemens
21757 strenpis] E strenpis. prin] E prin
21758 Croice] E croice. bar] E bar
21759 Quen] E Quen. pat] E pat
21761 proueid] E proueid
21763 mende] E mende. E fol. 47 r col. 1
21765 croice] E crois. wro3t] E wro3t. crafte] E crafte
21768 wande] E wande
21770 quar] E quar
21772 bro3te] E bro3te
21777 [E]line] G eline
21778 nailis] E nailis. and] E and
21779 driuin] E driuin
21781 paim] E paim. wro3t] E wro3t
21782 bridil] E bridil
21783 cristal] E cristal
21785 Quider] E Quidir. sum] E sum
21787 bridel] E bridel. brizte] E brizte
21788 trouthe] E troupe. drizte] E drizte
21790 Quen] E Quen. ending] E ending. nere] E nere
21792 cro3] E croiz. paim] E paim
21793 uirtu] E uirtu. sithin] E sipin. wrohte] E wro3te
21794 crist] F crist
21795 and] E and. France] E france
21796 mustrance] E mustrance
21799 and] E and
21800 getin] E getin
21801 brozte] E bro3te
21802 defende] E defende
21803 Qua] E Qua. bettir] E bettir. attende] E attende
21804 loue] E loue. mende] E mende. cristis] F cristis
21805 quepir] E quepir
21806 writin] E writin. E fol. 47 r col. 2
21807 tellis] E tellis
21808 diueris] E diuers
21809 [b]at] G pat
21811 turnid] E turnid
21813 Quen] E Quen
21815 quat] Equat
21817 wro3te] E wro3te
21818 fande] $E$ fande
21819 Sawlis] E sawlis
21824 quite] E quite
21825 Anopir] E Anopir. Anoper] C Anoder. F fol. 91r col. 2

| 21826 g | grise] E grise |
| :---: | :---: |
| 21828 i | iesu] G ihesu. iesu] C ihesus |
| 21831 h | herde] $\mathbf{E}$ herde |
| 21832 N | Neuir] E Neuir. ferde] E ferde |
| 21833 w | wipir] E wipir |
| 21834 C | Criste] E criste. lauerd] E lauerd. pat] G pat. crist] F crist |
| 21836 E | Euir] E Euir |
| 21837 | [p]at] G pat |
| 21838 | Quar] E Quar. spredde] E spredde. iesu] G ihesu. iesus] C ihesus |
| 21839 | spere] E spere |
| 21841 i | in] E in. herte] E herte |
| 21842 | in] E in |
| 21844 | iesu] G ihesu. iesu] C ihesu |
| 21845 | frende] E frende |
| 21846a | title not in $E$ |
| 21847 | brozte] E bro3te. [S]Ex] G sEx |
| 21849 | crist] F crist |
| 21856 | it] G itt |
| 21863 | iesus J C, G ihesus |
| 21882 | cruse] E cruse |
| 21886 | iesu] C, G ihesu. crist] F crist |
| 21895 | sa] E sua |
| 21911 | rotoygne] C rotougne |
| 21923 | F fol. 91v col. 2 |
| 21936 | Pat] E Pate |
| 21943 | criste] F criste |
| 21952 | Pat] E Pate |
| 21955 | is] Ees |
| 21962 | and] E ande |
| 21980 | iesu] C, G ihesu |
| 21981 | pat] C pat |
| 21985 | the] C be. crist F crist |
| 21989 | and] G ad |
| 22001 | of] C or |
| 22004 | antecrist] F antecrist |
| 22005 | you] C yow. [ N$] \mathrm{v}$ ] G nv |
| 22006 | antecrist] F antecrist |
| 22009 | pat] C pat |
| 22010 | Pat] C Pat |
| 22021 | F fol. 922 col .2 |
| 22023 | [O]f] G of |
| 22026 | maydene] G mayden |
| 22029 | brim] G brine |
| 22034 | Ouer] C Ouer |
| 22038 | per] F per |
| 22041 | Pat] E Pate. C Pat. seint] C sent |
| 22042 | hene] E he ne. per] F per |
| 22046 | $\mathrm{Ur}_{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{E} \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r}}$ |
| 22054 | cheuy] F cheny |
| 22067 | [A]nd] G And |

22085 [O]f] G of
22089 plac] E place
22098 other] C oper
22110 bei] F be
22117 F fol. $92 v$ col. 2
22120 spare] E sperare
22122 trature] E traiture
22127 [p]e] G pe
22133 alle] C all
22134 iesu] C, Gihesu
22145 de] G do
22181 hene] $E$ he ne
22188 do] E to
22205 iesu] C, G ihesu
22212 lf 49, bk, col. 2] E 22213. F fol. 93 r col. 2
22234 Pat] E Pate
22235 Pat] E Pate
22246 geret] E gret
22253 [V]r] G <v>r
22266 pis] F his
22267 derc] E dere. iesu] C, G ihesu
22270 sone] C son
22279 feluni] C felunni
22295 lete] $G$ bete
22300 Pat] E Pate
22306 hail] $C$ haal
22309 crist] F crist. F fol. $93 v$ col. 2
22312 gram] C gram
22315 [A]ls] G als
22341 and] E ande and. wimmen] E wimmen
22355 tuelve] C tuelue
22358 all] C als
22359 kyngrik] C kingrik
22360 iesu] C, G ihesu
22361 [T]ua] $G$ tua
22366 strength] C strengh
22374 our] E ur
22381 [B]ot] $G$ bot
22390 driue] Edriue
22394 filthes] C filthes
22399 [A]nd] G and
22405 F fol. 94 r col. 2
22408 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
22427 [N]u] G nu
22439 il] C it
22443 Queper] C Queper
22447 little] C littel
22448 of] Co
22450 nan] C man
22454 hene] $E$ he ne

| 22456 | If 1, col. 2] E 22459 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 22459 | [b]e] G pe |
| 22472 | com] E torn |
| 22473 | iesu] E, C, G ihesu |
| 22482 | quen] $G$ quen |
| 22485 | queper] E queper |
| 22493 | [e]fter] G efter |
| 22505 | [p]e] G pe |
| 22507 | F fol. 94 v col. 2 |
| 22510 | Dune] C Dime |
| 22519 | [V]gli] G Vgli |
| 22531 | [b]e] G pe |
| 22539 | leaf 1, col. 4] E fol. $1 v$ col. 2 |
| 22545 | [S]orful] G sorful |
| 22550 | murthes] C mirthes |
| 22554 | of] Co |
| 22561 | [b]e] G pe |
| 22563 | we] F be |
| 22566 | Alkin] C Allkin |
| 22568 | Moses] C moyses |
| 22574 | wen pat] E pat wen |
| 22579 | [b]e] G pe |
| 22591 | [p]e] G pe |
| 22605 | F fol. 95 r col. 2 |
| 22613 | now] E nov |
| 22615 | lesus] C, G Ihesus |
| 22626 | ogain] E ogain |
| 22627 | [p]e] G pe |
| 22644 | alle] C alle |
| 22653 | of] E es. [p]e] G pe |
| 22658 | iesu] C, G ihesu |
| 22660 | quain] C quain |
| 22671 | [pe]e] G pe |
| 22689 | xvius] C [xivus]. [p]e] G pe |
| 22694 | droue] E drone |
| 22698 | com] E com |
| 22699 | xvus] C [xvus]. [Q]uat] G quat |
| 22701 | F fol. 95v col. 2 |
| 22706 | that] C pat |
| 22711 | [b]an] G pan |
| 22719 | iesu] E ihesu. iesus] C, G ihesus |
| 22737 | [Q]uen] G quen |
| 22756 | al pan] E pan al |
| 22769 | [A]tt] G att |
| 22774 | pat] E that |
| 22781 | [A]II] G all |
| 22784 | pat] G pat |
| 22797 | F fol. 96 rcol .2 |
| 22813 | [A]ll] G all |
| 22840 | ah haf] E haf ah |

22849 [b]e] G pe
22861 feluni] C felunni
22879 leaf G leif
22883 alkin] C ilkin
22893 F fol. 96 v col. 2
22894 Quer] C Quer
22895 [A]] Ga
22929 toper] G toper
22953 [O]n] G on
22963 [b]e] G pe
22982 fol. 129r col. 1] C 22983
22989 F fol. $97 r$ col. 2
23006 iesu] G ihesu
23019 [b]ai] G pai
23028 par] E thar
23036 plihtes] E plhtes
23039 [A]T] GaT
23061 Iesu] E, C Ihesu. Iesus] G Ihesus
23063 [p]e G pe
23081 Y]E Ye
23085 F fol. $97 v$ col. 2
23099 iesu] E ihesu. bring] E bring. vs] E vs. iesus] G ihesus
23103 [b]ar] G par
23127 [b]e] G pe
23134 nauthir pat will E nauthir wil
23138 enst $]$ C cust (?). enst] $G$ erist (?)
23139 in] E in. vntelland] E vntelland
23148 browht till E til browht
23151 pat] G bat
23175 [H]a] G ha
23181 F fol. 98 rcol .2
23187 heuin] E heuin
23200 wit-outen E wit-outen
23219 [b]e] G pe
23225 [b]e] G pe
23229 wlacsum] E wlatsum
23233 [b]e] G pe
23238 pair G pari
23241 [b]e] G pe
23244 oper] G oper
23245 [p]e] G pe
23246 neuer] C neuer
23249 [p]e] G pe
23250 pat] C pait
23256 and] E ad
23265 [A]nd] $G$ and
23268 paim] C pam
23271 [A]nd] $G$ and
23272 wip] E wit
23281 F fol. $98 v$ col. 2

| 23283 | [A]nd] G and |
| :---: | :---: |
| 23286 | baim] E paim |
| 23289 | [A]nd] G and |
| 23293 | [A]nd] G and |
| 23301 | [A]nd] G and |
| 23319 | [b]e] G pe |
| 23323 | [b]e] G pe |
| 23345 | pai] E pa |
| 23351 | [Q]vem] G quem |
| 23352 | Iesu] E, G Ihesu. Iesus] C Ihesus |
| 23367 | at] E Pat. iesu] E ihesu. iesus] G, C ihesus |
| 23369 | [b]a] G pa |
| 23373 | swecnes] E swetnes |
| 23377 | haue wisdome] F [haue wisdo]me. F fol. 99 rcol c 2 |
| 23381 | suift] $C$ suitf. [I]n] $G$ in |
| 23390 | euir] E euir. wil] E pou wil |
| 23393 | [O]f] G of |
| 23412 | pirpe] E thirpe |
| 23423 | [b]u] G pu |
| 23429 | [LJiking] G liking |
| 23449 | [I]n] G In |
| 23451 | wommen] E wommen |
| 23465 | [H]ele] G hele |
| 23477 | F fol. 99v col. 2 |
| 23479 | [b]e] G pe |
| 23498 | paim] E pam |
| 23507 | neuir] E neuir |
| 23510 | witering] E witering |
| 23513 | [F]renschip] G frenschip |
| 23525 | [p]at] G pat |
| 23549 | [M]ekil] G mekil |
| 23566 | and] E and |
| 23573 | F fol. 100r col. 2 |
| 23577 | woning] E woning. sli] C in |
| 23595 | [O]f] G of |
| 23596 | $\operatorname{tar}] \mathrm{Etan}$ |
| 23599 | mistime] G mistime, pace Morris' note |
| 23603 | kan] E kan |
| 23613 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23623 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23625 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23629 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23631 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23633 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23637 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23639 | [W]id] G vuid |
| 23641 | [b]ir] G pir |
| 23643 | [b]ir] G pir |
| 23645 | [p]ir] G pir |
| 23647 | [b]ir] G pir |

23650 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
23653 [O]f] G of
23669 F fol. 100 v col. 2
23674 are] not erased in F, pace Morris
23683 [p]e] G pe
23685 [p]e] G pe
23686 batism] C baptism
23689 [b]e] G pe
23745 [T]o] G to
23750 couaitus] E covaitus
23753 [b]ir] G pir
23758 certis] F cristis
23763 F fol. IO1r col. 2
23773 [A]lsua] G alsua
23792 nankin] E nankin
23818 ur] E vij
23863 [A]II] G all. F fol. 101v col. 2
23878 pat (2nd)] G pat
23899-894 E printed twice pp. 1367-69 and 1636-37
23909 [L]Euedi] G IEuedi
23913 the] E pe (1367)
23926 Ratheli] E Rapeli (1367). Iesu] G Ihesu
23934 euir] E euir (1369)
23935 [b]is] G pis
23941-42 C no gap
23945 [S]pell] G spell
23946 C not indented
23957 [H]ir] G hir. F fol. 102 rcol .2
23963 [I]n] G in
23969 [H]e] G he
23981 [W]ede] G vuede
23984 him] E him
23985 sli] G ssli
23987 [S]ai] G sai
23993 [I] G <l>
23999 [O]f] $G$ of
24000 tung] E tung. and (2nd and 3rd)] E and
24005 [A]ll] G all
24011 [W]idvten] G vuidvten
24012 mumand] E murnand. man] E man
24017 cri] E cri
24021 pat] C bat
24023 [V]nreufulli] G vnreufulli
24029 [b]ai] G pai
24035 [V]nto] G vnto
24039 blublid] G bublid
24041 [T]o] G to
24047 [b]ar-for] G parfor
$24051 \mathrm{mad}]$ E mad
24053 F fol. $102 v$ col. 2

## 24060 iesu] C ihesu

24079 E fol. $10 r$ col. 2
24081 now] E nou
24092 Quen] E Quen
24095 and] E and
24097 him] E him
24099 nan] E nan
24101 sterun] E sterun
24102 seluin] E seluin
24103 Quen] E Quen
24106 brastin] E brast in
24107 wroht] E wroht
24114 hang] E hang. apon] E apon. croice] E croice
24118 sum] E sum
24119 E fol. llv col. 1
24121 apon] E apon. him] E him
24122 sun] E sun
24125 lif] E lef. sun] E sun. qui] E qui
24126 moder] E moder
24128 ping] E ping
24129 moder] E moder
24131 outen] E outen. witvten] C witvten
24133 frend] E frend
24138 sun] E sun. moder] E moder
24139 samin] E samin
24141 strif] Estrif
24142 gamin] E gamin
24143 graiper] E graiper. gamin] E gamin
24144 moder] E moder
24146 apon] E apon
24147 and] E and
24148 samin] E samin
24149 F fol. 103 rcol c 2
24155 opir] E opir
24156 moder] E moder
24159 E fol. $11 v$ col. 2
24162 quam] E quam. cri] E cri. and] E and
24164 outin] E outin
24165 and] E and. strife] E strife
24166 Quat] E Quat
24171 pan] E pan
24172 nan] E nan
24173 qui] Equi
24174 fra] E fra
24175 Quen] E Quen
24176 paim] E paim
24178 uneuin] E uneuin
24179 cri] Ecri
24180 moder] E moder. merci] E merci
24183 murning] E murning. moder] E moder

24184
24185 moder] E moder
24186 togider] E togider
24188 in] E in
24191 in] E in
24192 sum] E sum
24194 fadir] E fadir
24196 murning] E murning
24199 faderles] E faderles. E fol. $12 r$ col. 1
24202 quarfor] E quarfor. qui] E qui
24203 [T]int] G tint
24204 in] E in
24207 neuer] E neuer. moder] E moder
24209 [M]i] G mi
24211 me] E mi. len] E lend
24212 Quat] E Quat. quat] E quat. grace] E grace. quat] E quat. quat] E quat
24215 [S]ipen] G sipen
24217 euin] E euin
24218 Quen] E Quen. murning] E murning
24219 Sum] E Sum
24220 him] E him. steuin] E steuin
24221 [p]ou] G pou
24225 in] E in
24226 outin] E outin
24227 [He]] G he
24229 murne] E murne
24230 quat] E quat
24231 moder] E moder. mend] E mend
24232 fader] E fader
24233 [b]u G pu
24234 fader] E fader
24237 s.] Go
24238 and] E and
24239 moder] E moder. E fol. 12r col. 2 . [b]u] G pu
24240 seruin] E seruin
24241 lengin] E lengin
24243 him] E him. seruis] E seruis
24245 moder] E moder. tender] E tender. F fol. 103 v col. 2
24246 quert] Equert
24251 moder] E moder. dar] E der. [M]i] G mi
24252 nam] E nam. and] E and. resun] E resun. qui] E qui
24253 apon] E apon
24254 manis] E manis
24255 in] E yn. propheciis] E propheciis
24257 [B]ot] G bot
24258 mornin] E mornin
24261 schauen] E schauen
24263 ris] E ris ris. [N]u] G nu
24264 fader] E fader
24266 fundin] $E$ fundin

| 24267 | in] E in |
| :--- | :--- |
| 24268 | ander] E ander |
| 24269 | [F]or-pi] G forpi |
| 24270 | quiken] E quiken. again] E again |
| 24272 man] E man. quen] E quen |  |
| 24275 | fader] E fader. [p]e] G pe |
| 24276 | Moder] E Moder. pink] E pink |
| 24279 | fader] E fader. E fol. 12v col. 1 |
| 24280 | Ouer] E Ouer |
| 24281 moder] E moder. [N]e] G ne |  |
| 24283 fra] E fra |  |
| 24285 | outen] E outen |
| 24286 | euirmar] E euirmar |
| 24287 | mostin] E mostin. vndirlie] E vndirlie. [N]u] G nu |
| 24288 | faderis] E faderis |
| 24289 | quel] E quel |
| 24290 | Quepin] E Quepin. plain] E plain |
| 24292 | Quen] E Quen |
| 24293 | [I]] G I |
| 24294 | cum] E cum |
| 24297 | quil] E quil |
| 24299 | Ioon] E Ion. [I]ohn] G Iohn |
| 24300 | moder] E moder |
| 24301 | serue] E serue |
| 24302 | moder] E moder |
| 24304 | grace] E grace. Wit] C [wi]t |
| 24305 | Quils] C [Qu]ils. iesus C, G ihesus. [Q]uilis] G quilis |
| 24308 | soruing] E soruing. dumb] E dumb |
| 24310 | stand] E stand. apon] E apon |
| 24311 | men] E men. [p]ir] G pir |
| 24312 | and] E and. maiden] E maiden |
| 24313 | Quen] E Quen. Cristis] E cristis |
| 24315 | neuir] E neuir. Come] F [Come] |
| 24316 | for him pai sagh on] F [for him pai sagh on]. him] E him. croice] E croice |
| 24317 | [W]id] G vuid |
| 24318 | him] E him |
| 24319 | E fol. $12 v$ col. 2 |
| 24320 | outen] E outen |
| 24321 | neuir] E neuir |
| 24323 | fra] E fra. [V]r] G vr |
| 24325 | quat] E quat |
| 24328 | phoh] E poh |
| 24329 | com] E com. [A]lsuith] G alsuith |
| 24330 | cristis] E cristis |
| 24332 | and] E and |
| 24333 | apon] E apon |
| 24334 | smitim] E smitin |
| 24336 | pan] E pan |
| 24338 | and] E and |
| 24339 | moder] E moder |

## 24340 wroht] E wroht. him] E him

24341 [V]r] G vr. F fol. 104r col. 2
24342 and] E and
24344 tim] E tim
24345 Quen] E Quen. him] E him
24347 [H]ad] G had
24348 dun] $E$ dun
24350 soruing] E soruing
24353 outen] E outen. croice (2nd)] E croice. [W]id-vten] G vuidvten
24354 croicid] E croicid
24355 Quen] E Quen. him] E him
24356 him] E him. wrang] E wrang
24357 stang] E stang
24359 him] E him. [p]e] G pe
24360-519 E no evident gap in MS, but the 159 missing lines probably occupied a single leaf, now missing
24365 [Q]uen] $G$ quen
24366 [F]and] $G$ fand
24371 [B]ot] G bot
24377 [L]euedi] G leuedi
24383 piss] F pus. [F]ul] G ful
24389 [T]0] G to
24393 al] G ai
24394 \&] Fa
24395 [Q]uen] G quen
24401 [Q]uen] G quen
24413 [p]e] G pe
24419 [p]e] G pe
24425 [Q]uen] G quen
24437 [I]] G I. F fol. 104v col. 2
24443 [I]] G I
24455 [L]uue] $G$ luue
24459 wende] F we[nde]
24461 [bo3t must]] F p[o3t m]u3t. [M]e] G me
24467 [H]a] G ha
24473 [N]u] G nu
24479 [H]ere-wid] G herewid
24485 [leaf 104]] F fol. 105 r col. 1. [W]id] G vuid
24491 [Q]uen] G quen
24495 wald] $G$ wad
24497 [B]ot] G bot
24503 [ O$] \mathrm{n}$ ] G on
24508 dide] not crossed through in F, pace Morris
24509 [N]ay] G nay
24510 suffers like] G suffer slike
24515 [H]ere] G here
24521 [M]e] G me
24524 sun] E sun. murning] E murning. mend] E mend
24525 send] E send
24527 mikel] E nikil. [p]at] G pat

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## 24563

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24570
24572
24573 him] E him. witouten] E witouten. strif] E strif
$\begin{array}{ll}24573 & \text { him] E him. witouten] E witouten. strif] E strif } \\ 24575 & \text { leuir] E leuir. driuen] E driuen. [L]euer] G leuer }\end{array}$
24576 eftir] E eftir. liuin] E liuin
24578 wind] E wind
24581 euir] E euir. in] E in. [L]euedi] G leuedi
24584 strif] E strif
24587 [p]i] G pi
24588 don] Edon
24589 lite] G lete
24590 Pho] E Poh
24593 [S]uilk] G suilk
24597 and] E and
24599 Quen] E Quen. likham] E likham. in] E in. stan] E stan
24600 E fol. $13 v$ col. 1
24601 him] E him
24603 languris] E languris
24604 paim] E paim
24605 quat] E quat. [O]f] G of
24606 trai] E trai. and] E and
24608 Quen] E Quen. opir] E opir. men] E men
24609 Apon] E Apon
24611
gret] E gret
$\min ] E \min$
him] E him. frunt] E frunt. and] E and. [I]] G I. F fol. 105 r col. 2
and (2nd)] E and. ein] E einn. and ( $3 r d$ )] E and
quen] $E$ quen
apon] E apon
murnand] E murnand. moder] E moder. [I]] G I
staking] E staking
strife] E strife
and] E and. [N]u] G nu
Bunden] E Bundin
and] E and
[b]an] G pan
paim] E paim
[I]] G I
neuir] E neuir. moder] E moder
euir] E euir
him] E him. fain] E fain. E fol. 13 rcol 2
him] E him. main] E main
Frendis] E Frendis. [F]reindes] G freindes
drihtin] E drihtin
praier] E praier
quil] E quil. him] E him
sipin] E sipin. quat] E quat
derling] E derling
on] F on. him] E him. [Oln] G on
quen] E quen. him] E him
him] E him. in] E in
allan] E allan. [A]t] $G$ at
euir] E euir
24614 Iohan] E Iohan
24616 fra] E fra. sunder] E sunder
24617 hand] E hand. [T]0] G to
24618 moht] E moht. stand] E stand
24620 led] E bed
24621 oper] E oper. wimmen] E wimmen. murnand] E murnand
24622 pider] E pider
24623 [M]ani] G mani
24624 gret] E gret
24626 twin] E twin
24629 langing] E langing. [p]ar] G par
24630 vprising] E vprising
24633 moder] E moder. him] E him
24634 him] E him.
24635 and] E and. forsoruin] E forsoruin. [S]ua] G sua F fol. $105 v$ col. 2
24636 Quen] E Quen. mornin] E mornin
24637 prang] E prang
24638 piderward] E piderward
24640 E fol. $13 v$ col. 2
24641 [F]ul] G ful
24642 pan] E pan
24644 opir] E opir. wimen] E wimen. him] E him. wimmen] G wimmen
24647 [O]f] G of
24648 briht] E briht
24651 confort] E confort
24652 Quen] E Quen. samin] E samin
$24653 \mathrm{him}]$ E him. [p]u] G pu
24654 fulfil] E fufil
24655 strang] E strang
24656 him] E him. in] E in
24657 piderward] E piderward
24659 [I]ohan] G Iohan
24660 moder] E moder
24661 keping] E keping
24662 maidin] E maidin. pat] G pat
24663 witoutin] E witoutin
24666 nan] E nan
24668 cristis] E cristis
24669 pris] Epris
24670 Nan] E Nan. certis] E certis
24671 [T]o] G to
24672 tresorer] E tresorer
24673 traister] E traister
24674 grapeli] E graibeli. grace] E grace. grant] E grant
24675 moder] E moder
24677 [b]ar-till] G par till
24678 maidinhad] E maidinhad
24679 taim] E taim
24680 wimman] E wimman. queper] E queber. E fol. 14 r col. 1

| 24681 | in] E in. virginite] E virginite |
| :---: | :---: |
| 24683 | in] Ei. [H]e] G he |
| 24685 | virignis] E virginis |
| 24688 | euir] E euir. and] E and |
| 24689 | [W]ele] G vuele |
| 24690 | couering] E couering |
| 24692 | oper] E oper. virtu] E virtu |
| 24693 | paim] E paim. couir] E couir |
| 24695 | buxumnes] E buxumnes |
| 24696 | turn] E turn. and] E and |
| 24698 | and] E and |
| 24699 | and] E and |
| 24701 | [I]f] G If |
| 24702 | him] E him |
| 24706 | couer] E couer. euir] E cuir |
| 24707 | wete] F wele. [b]is] G pis |
| 24712 | priuest] Epriuest |
| 24713 | Chamberlain] E Chamberlain. gret] E gret. honure] E honure. [C]hamberlain] G chamberlain |
| 24714 | moderis] E moderis |
| 24716 | seruid] E seruid. main] E main. and] E and |
| 24717 | neuer] E neuer |
| 24719 | [T]o] G to |
| 24720 | moder] E moder. and] E and. E fol. 14 r col. 2 |
| 24722 | erand] E erand |
| 24725 | cristis] E cristis. [I]n] G In |
| 24726 | euir] E euir. apon] E apon |
| 24727 | murne] E mume |
| 24728 | liuedi] C leuedi |
| 24730 | quen] E quen. Amen] E Amen |
| 24731 | F. fol. 106 rcol .2 |
| 24733 | men] E men. [L]Istes] G IIstes |
| 24734 | gref] E gref |
| 24736 | pink] E pink |
| 24737 | louing] E louing |
| 24740 | moht] E moht. in] E in. louing] E louing. spend] E spend |
| 24743 | man] E man |
| 24745 | manis] E manis. neuir] E neuir. straite] E straite |
| 24746 | bring] E bring. into] E into |
| 24747 | neuir] E neuir |
| 24748 | Quen] E Quen. mining] E mining |
| 24749 | Quat] E Quat |
| 24754 | getin] E getin |
| 24755 | lauerdinges] E lauerdinges |
| 24756 | Quat] E Quat. and] E and. term] E term |
| 24757 | getin] E getin |
| 24758 | outin] E outin. wid-vten] C witvten |
| 24760 | resun] E resun. E fol. 14 v col. 1 |
| 24761 | and] E and |
| 24762 | seruis] E seruis |

24765 Willam] E Willam. [A]] Ga
24766 ingeland] E ingeland
24767 man] E man. hand] E hand
24768 wan] E wan. land] E land
24770 hiht] E hiht
24771 danis] Edanis
24772 qui] Equi. him] E him
24773 Willam] E Willam. Sengnurie] E sengurie
24774 ingeland] E ingeland. and] E and. normundie] E normundie
24775 Danemarche] E danemarche. onan] E onan
24776 king] Eking
24777 wend] E wend
24778 him]E him. was] E was
24779 him] E him
24780 ingeland] E ingeland
24781 Apon] E Apon. Norman3l E norman3
24782 witoutin] E witoutin. riht] E riht
24783 king] E king. heuin] E heuin
24784 heuin] E heuin
24785 King] E king. Willam] E Willam. broht] E broht
$24786 \mathrm{him}]$ E him
$24788 \mathrm{him}]$ E him
24789 gaderit] E gadrit. and] E and
24790 and] E and
24793 consail] E consail
24800 E fol. 14 v col. 2
24801 resun] E resun
24802 in] E in
24810 mister] E mister
24815 [E]lsis] G Elsis
24827 F fol. $106 v$ col. 2
24830 and] E and
24832 presantes] G presantes
24839 opir] E oper.
24849 Strangli] E Strangli
24854 drerili] C dreleli
24858 drun] E drunn
24861 Pai] EPa
24863 iesu] G ihesu
24875 [B]ot] G bot
24879 Dun] E Dun
24882 Efol. $15 r$ col. 2
24884 come] F comme
24890 won] C wou
24904 neuir] E neuir
24921 proper] E proper
24925 F fol. 107 r col. 2
24928 pisw ord] C pis word
24935 [O]f] G of
24937 and] E and

| 24949 | comandment] E comandment |
| :---: | :---: |
| 24953 | conception] E conception |
| 24954 | pardon] E pardon |
| 24966 | Efol. 15 v col. 2 |
| 24975 | iesu] G ihesu |
| 24987 | [G]od] G god |
| 24995 | behouis him] C behouis o him |
| 24997 | [F]Ader] G FAder |
| 25013 | iesus] C, G ihesus |
| 25019 | F fol. 107v col. 2 |
| 25026 | mind] C mind |
| 25103 | [F]Ader] G fader |
| 25113 | [C]rist] G crist |
| 25117 | F fol. 108 rcol .2 |
| 25123 | leaf 141] C leaf 140 |
| 25125 | [F]Adir] G fadir |
| 25167 | leaf 810 back] F fol. 108 v col. 1 |
| 25176 | (last occurrence) [and]] C <and> |
| 25177 | [pil] C <pi>. An[suer]] C an<suer> |
| 25186 | grace] G grace |
| 25220 | wirck] $G$ winck |
| 25221 | F fol. 108v col. 2 |
| 25237 | oper] C vper |
| 25257 | [b]is] G pis |
| 25273 | [b]e] G pe |
| 25289 | fless] G fles |
| 25299 | [F]orgiue] G forgiue |
| 25318 | met] the F scribe has expunged the final e in mete, pace Morris |
| 25327 | F fol. 109 r col. 2 |
| 25342 | forgiffes] C forgiftes |
| 25357 | [b]e] G pe |
| 25377 | [ S lipen] G sipen |
| 25387 | [A]men] $G$ amen |
| 25394 | pe) C be |
| 25403 | [F]adir] G Fadir |
| 25415 | [ H ]ali] G hali |
| 25418 | iesu] G ihesu |
| 25427 | [p]u] G pu |
| 25429 | F fol. 109v col. 2 |
| 25439 | [R]ape] G rape |
| 25451 | [F]ul] G ful |
| 25463 | [ N$] \mathrm{u}] \mathrm{G}$ nu |
| 25464 | me ] C ne |
| 25465 | nee) C ne |
| 25475 | [ O ]f] G of |
| 25487 | Iesus] C, G Ihesus |
| 25496 | lauerd] C lauend |
| 25505 | [S]uete] G suete |
| 25508 | pai] G paa |
| 25520 | Iesus] C Ihesus. [I]esus G Ihesus |

25522 F fol. 110r col. 2
25524 iesu] C, G ihesu
25538 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
25556 [A]t] G at. iesus] G ihesus
25574 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
25580 stei] C <stei>
25581 iesu] C <iesu>. iesu] G ihesu
25590 iesus] G ihesus
25592 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
25607 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
25613 F fol. $110 v$ col. 2
25624 [M]i] G mi
25631 ....] G no gap
25639 [b]e] G pe
25640 [it]] G <it>
25644 [p]e] G pe
25659 [b]e] G <p>e
25684 [D]rightin] G drightin
25685 C not indented
25690 [Forbi]] G <Forpi>
25697 saulis] G saulis
25702 pail] G paim
25705 [care]] G <care>
25707 [mai he rise]] G <mai he rise>
25708 [bord]] G <bord>
25709 [ford]] G <ford>
25710 [sin]] $G<\sin >$
25727 [Ne]] G <Ne>
25728 [In fin]] G <In fin>
25734 [be flemed]] $G$ <be flemed>
25740 sus[taining]] G sus<taining>
25742 [schrift]] G s<chrift>
25747 he] G he
25750 ha[s]] F ha<s>
25758 [vs het]] $G$ <vs het>
25760 1[ete]] G l<ete>
25772 F fol. 111 r col. 2
25780 iesu] C ihesu
25782 has] C haf
25785 iesu] C ihesu
25868 F fol. 111 v col. 2
25961 h[e?] Fh<e?>
26019 suungen] C suangen
26058 F fol. 112 v col. 2
26150 F fol. 113 rcol .2
26246 F fol. 113 v col. 2
26281 him nane] F him agh nane
26344 F fol. 114 r col. 2
26375-77 F not indented
26444 F fol. 114 v col. 2

| 26471 | iesus] C ihesus |
| :---: | :---: |
| 26540 | F fol. 115 rcol . 2 |
| 26548 | iesu] C ihesu |
| 26636 | F fol. 115 v col. 2 |
| 26676 | for bakbiter] C bakbiter for |
| 26707 | lf. 148, bk, col. l] C 26706 lf. 148, bk, col. 1 |
| 26732 | F fol. 116 rcol .2 |
| 26800 | [pat] C <pat> |
| 26804 | [in scrift]] C <in scrift> |
| 26828 | F fol. 116 v col. 2 |
| 26856 | wille] C will |
| 26924 | F fol. 117 rcol .2 |
| 26989 | traisting] C traisting |
| 27020 | F fol. 117 v col. 2 |
| 27024 | $\mathrm{cu}[\mathrm{m}]] \mathrm{C}$ in |
| 27035 | lijs] C lijf |
| 27037 | iesu] C ihesu |
| 27042 | ha lin] $C$ halm |
| 27055 | kepe] F were. pat] C bat |
| 27067 | bis] F his. birthing] C birching |
| 27075 | alle] C all |
| 27115 | War] C Par |
| 27118 | F fol. 118 rcol .2 |
| 27168 | wiit] C witt |
| 27169 | falle] C fall |
| 27186 | quy] F quy |
| 27211 | F legible only with ultra violet lamp |
| 27212 | F fol. 118 v col. 2 |
| 27263 | \& stulp] F legible only with ultra violet lamp |
| 27309 | smert] F s<mert> |
| 27310 | birthin] C birchin. F fol. $119 \mathrm{r} \mathrm{col}$. |
| 27322 | [w]ife] F wife |
| 27374 | [?pat do]s] F <pat do>s |
| 27397 | d[iuer]sis] F d<iuer>sis |
| 27404 | F fol. 119v col. 2 |
| 27409 | bett] C bete |
| 27502 | F fol. 120 rcol .2 |
| 27508 | iesu] C ihesu |
| 27543 | Pat] C Pat |
| 27553 | Bat] C Pat |
| 27559 | bat] C bat |
| 27606 | F fol. 120 v col. 2 |
| 27612 | pat] C pat |
| 27629 | C no gap |
| 27631 | C no gap |
| 27724 | F fol. 121 rcol .2 |
| 27666 | gain] C gan |
| 27700 | brin] C brinn |
| 27741 | Pat] C Pat |
| 27743 | wiit] C wijt |

$27786 \sin ] C$ sinn
27805 pat] C pat
27818 C col. 2
27830 lauerding] C lauerdinges
27838 F fol. $121 v$ col. 2
27850 wiit] C wijt
27855 be] F pat
27859 b[in]e] F binne
27881 insightt] C insighit
27884 wate] C wat
27898 wiit] C wijt
27900 [\& hit is]] C <\& hit is>
27984 sal C so
28034 bii] C bij
28035 bii] C bij
28042 o] C of
28255 spelle] C spell
28300 falle] C falle
28302 iesu] C ihesu
28401 bair] C paire
28442 iesu] Cihesu
28472 iesu] C ihesu
28508 delt crist] C delt to crist
28528 lechur] C lethur
28576 sinnes scriuen] C sinnes es scriuen
28613-14 C no gap
28663 wille] C will
28711 iesu] C ihesu
28867 alle] C all
29259 iesu] C ihesu
29299 slain] C slan
29308 purchad] C prechad
29373 asoille] C asoill
29406 in renaijng) $C$ in rauyng renaijng
N.B.: C was rebound 26 June 1967 so tightly that the initial letters of the following lines are no longer visible: 21869-916, 22057-102, 29124-69, 29322-370, and 29524-547.

## APPENDIX B

## MS B, II. 22005-23898: Pricke of Conscience, II. 4085-6417

Expansions of manuscript abbreviations are indicated by italics, emendations and editorial insertions by square brackets.
Some clerkis say pat one schal come
Pat schall holde pe empyre of Rome
All holy and his croune bere
Well \& in pece withouten wer
He schall be pe last emperour pat pere schal be
And most ouer all kynggis of povste4090
Pe which schall wele maynten his stat
And pe empire withoute bate
And it gouerne purgh law of witt
As long as he schall holde itt
Bote afftirwarde at pe last ende ..... 4095
Vnto lerusalem schall he wende ..... fol. 159 r col. 2
He schall pe septur of Rome sett ..... 4098
On pe mount off olyuete ..... 4097
And his croune lay doune also
And leue ffor euer \& fro hem go ..... 4100
Pus schall ende pe dignite of Rome
And sone afftir antecrist schall come
As clerkis say pat haue vndirstonding
Off danyell \& saint poule saying
Pan schall antecrist tyme bygyn4105
Pat sait poule callep pe man of sin
For alle pat he be man nerpeles
He schall be well of all wickidnes
Pe deuill son he schall be callid
Bote purgh kynde men schull hym pus hald ..... 4110
Bote purgh his tourmenting fro gode to ill
For he schall pe deuils ffullfill
All pe power of pe deuill of hell
And all his witt of in hym schall duell
In whom all treson \& malice ..... 4115Schall be hid with all maner vice

He schall to crist contrarius be And to all his lymmes pat he schall se And high hym purgh pryde pat he schall hold Aboue all pat er paynis tolde 4120
Pat is to say iubiter \& mercury
And apolyn \& erculy
And not onely aboue pes godis all
Pat be paynis her godis call
He schall hye hymselff to be 4125
Aboue pe holy trenite
bat all creatoures more \& les
Schuld honour ouer all ping pat is
fol. 159 v col. 1
Full synffull schall be his begyning
And wondirffull all his lyvyng
And his endyng schall be sodayn
Purgh might of god he schall be slayn
In his tyme schall be so moch tribulacion
And so moch persecusioun
Pat unnep any schall per graunt
Pat he is cristen \& crist seruaunt
For more persecucion schall be pan
Pan euer was sen pe world began
Antecrist is pus moche to say
As he pat is azenst crist ay
Pan may iche man be clepid be skill
Antecrist pat dothe azens godis will
Pan may all pes antecrist be cald
Pat azens pe right will halde
Bote many swich mow we know
bat moche dop azens pe lawe
Bote antecrist saip holy writt Schall come bote he comep not 3 itt As most teraunt withoute pete
Bat euer was or euer schall be 4150
Perfore I holde pes grete mysdoers
Antecristis fforgoers
Whoso will a while duell
Aparte here I will tell
Off pe maner of antecrist begyning4155

And of his lyffe \& of his ending
He schall be geten as clerkes shew can
Of two synffull man \& woman
And afftir bat he consayved be
Pe fende schall entre purgh his povste
fol. 159 v col. 2
Within his modir womb sone
Pus saip pes clerkes it schall be done
Purgh whos myght he schal be forp brozt
And wondris purgh hym schal be wro3t
He schal be cald pe child of lom
And in corazaym he schal be born
Off a woman of pe kynde of dan
Bote cristendom schall he haue nan
He schal be malicious \& ful of envy
Pus of hym spekith pe prophecy ..... 4170
Pe dan he saip schall pe neddir be ..... 4177
Smyting in way as men may se
And schall byte pe hors be pe bones hard
And make be sterop fall bakward4180
Pat is pus moche ffor to say
Pat antecrist as a neddir schall sit in pe way
And bite hem all bop more \& les
bat walkep in pe way of rightwisnes
And sle hym of pe venym4185
And of pe venym pat comep of hym
3itt schall he be circumcised
Purgh pat his malice schall habide
And also to hym assignid schal be
A gode angell pat he schall not se ..... 4190
Afftir his birpe in his begynning
Pat of hym schall haue keping
Bote for he azen pe trewp is
Schall be hardnes in wickidnes
His gode angell schall fro hym wende ..... 4195
And leue hym in keping of pe fend ..... 4196
In pe cite of bethsayda ..... 4199
And in capheenam schall regne swa ..... 4200
$\mathrm{b} e$ which caphernam \& bethsayda ..... fol. 160 rcol .1
And corazaym god waried all way
For god spak to pes pre citees pus
As pe gospell here schewith vs ..... 4204
Wo to pe corazaym mote com ..... 4207
And to bethsayda \& caphernam
In pe ffirst he schall be born \& bred
In pe second be norischid \& regne in pe iiid ..... 4210
He schall gader fast to hym pan
Alle pat of pe ffendis crafft can
As nigromonsers \& tregitours
Wichis \& ffals enchauntours
Pat be ffendis crafft schall hym ken ..... 4215
Perepurgh he schall dissayue many men
Afftirward purgh leding of pe fend
He schall to Ierusalem wende
And pere to duell in pat cite4220
And say to all pat pere schall won
Pat he is crist godis son
And make pe ffolk hym to honour
And say he is her sauyour
He schall say pat no rightwis cristen man ..... 4225
Neuer sith pe world began
Bote fals antecristes he schal hem call
And say pay lyuid in fals trup all
Pat haue be ffro pe world begyning
Vnto pe tyme of his comyng4230
He schal be lusty and lecherous
Dissayv col. 1 ble \& tricherous
He schall hym make first holy
And shew pan apert ipocrosy
To dissayue cristen men and lele ..... 4235
As saip pe prophet daniel ..... 4236 fol. 160 rcol .2
First he saip he schall apertly ..... 4239
Feyne ffals ipocrosy ..... 4240
Pat he may pe lightlyer begile
Bote pat tyme schall last bote a while
He schall kyngges \& princis to hym draw
And torne hem all to his lawe
And purgh hem pe peple tornid schal be ..... 4245In eche a lond \& eche a contreIn all pe stedis he schall walk \& pas
Pat crist walked when he here was
In swich a presumpcioun he schall falle
Pat he schall hym pink lorde ouer all42503urgh pride he schall azens god riseAnd hym disclaunder \& his lawe dispiceAnd afforce hym \& be besyHis lawe to chaunge \& do holily
He schall tome all his peple to his lawe ..... 4255On foure maners \& hem to hym drawOne maner schal be purgh prechingAnoper purgh myracles fals worchingPe thrid purgh zifftes large to 3 if of prisAnd be fourp purgh turmentis gris4260
Purgh fals preching in iche a contreMany to hym tornid schall beFor he schall sende purgh all pe world wideHis prechours to prech on ich a sidePe which schull preche undir fals colour4265
And say pat cristes lawe is bote errour
And antecristes lawe pay schull comend
And azens sopffastnes it deffend
And forbede ech man pat pay it not holde ..... fol. 160 v col. 1
Pis lawe pat is cristis lawe tolde4270
And his mynnistris schall so lett it
Pat no man schall expound holi writt
Pat is to say right vndirstonding
For pay schall say it is bote a lesing
And make pe peple leue holy4275
Pat pay schull not be sauid perbyPus schull pay bring pes folk in errourPurgh her preching with fals colour
Pus his lawe schall passe purgh his pouer Fro pe est into pe west in pe world here ..... 4280
And fro pe soup to pe north also
His lawe \& his pouer schullen go
Purgh fals myracles \& wonders sere ..... 4284
He schall turne men to oper manere ..... 4283
For he schall pan shew wonders many ..... 4285
burgh enchansment \& nigromaunsy
So gretely bat be peple schall se
And pat myght purgh pe ffend schal be
Of which wondris I will tell sum
He schall do fire doun fro heuen com ..... 4290
And pat schall be on euill spirit
Pat oute of be ayre schall com tyte
And among his disciples pere doun lizt
And with sere tungis do hem speke right
As did to pe apostles be holi gost4295
And pat sight in mens sight most
For po pat his disciples schal be cald
Schall hem auaunce \& hemselff hold
Better of lyffe \& to god more dere
pan euer were cristes apostels herefol. 160 v col. 2
So purgh be deuils craffte \& myght ..... 4301
He schall feyn hym to dy in mans syzt
And on pe prid day purgh deuils redeHe schall feyn hym to rise fro dede\& pe fendis afftir schall bere hym eue[n]4305Into pe aire as he schuld stye to heuenAnd he beffore schall be sen
As he fro dep rose men schul wen
And vp vnto heuen pan ravist
And trow pat he is veray crist ..... 4310
Pus schall antecrist countirffett
Pe wondris of god in erp so gret
Mo wondris 3 it work schall he
Pat be pepill schall openly se
He schall do trees grow \& florisch fair ..... 4315
And chas be wynde aboute \& be ayre
Fro heuen he schall doun fall rayn shouris
\& make watirs ryn azens cours
He schall trouble pe see when he will
And pes it make \& do it be still4320
He schall do chaung on wonder maner
Diuers kyndes in figures sere
He schal do dede ymages \& dome
Speke of pinges bat er to come
He schall also ded men upraise ..... 4325
Pat schall go about as pe boke sais\& pat schal be purgh pe ffendis queyntysPat he schall entre into dede bodys
And bere po dede bodies abouteSo pat perffite men schal be in doute4330
Wheper bat he is veray crist of noghtAnd pus schall men in errour be broztfol. 161 rcol . 1
On pe prid maner he schall begile
Many with 3 ifftis schort while
And torne hem alle to a fals beleue ..... 4335
Purgh large zifftes pat he schal zeue
For he schall ffynde all pe tresour
Pat is \& was in erpe hid beffore
Vndir be erpe or owhere ellis
Pat may not be gessid as sum men telles ..... 4340
Pat vndir pe erpe is more tresour hid
Pan abouen is knowe or kid
Off pe which he schall all rich make
Pat pe lawe of crist here will forsake
So schall he shew men welb worldly ..... 4345To dissayue hem pan perby
In pe fourpe maner afftir pan
He schall tome to hym many man
And do hem holy to folow his tracePurgh grete turmentries \& manas4350
And purgh drede of dep pat most may greue
For ellis he will not soffre hem liffe
Full grete tribulacions he schal hem shew
As seip pe gospell of saint mathew ..... 4354
He saip so moche tribulacion ..... 4357
Schall be pan to euery nacion
Purghoute pe world fer \& nere
Pat po bat god hap chosen here ..... 4360
3iff god wold soffre bat it were don ..... 4362
Pay schuld be broght in errour sone ..... 4361
Bote in pe pocalipcis apertly It saith pus mystely ..... 4364
He saip his ffete be lich laton bright ..... 4367
As in a chymny brennyng light ..... fol. 161 rcol . 2
And pis was pat john se in visionOf hym pat semyd pe virgin son4370
Be his fete pat as laton were semandCristis last lymmes men vndirstandPe which schall be men of perfite char[ite]
Pat azens pe worldis ende schall be
Pat is in pe tyme of antecrist ..... 4375Purgh whom many soulis schul be peristPe chymny brennyng with pe hete
Betokenith tribulacions grete
Pat antecrist when he schall comePurgh whom many schall haue marterdo[m]4380
Antecrist schall be pe most teraunt
Pat euer was for he schall haunt
All maner of turmentis kenIn which any martirs beffore haue benFor in sere maners he schall hem hent4385
pat will not to his lawe assentAnd putt hem to pe dep at lastPat duellith in pe troup ffast
Bote all cristen men in pat contre
Where crist walkid turment schal be ..... 4390
And Hamo saip pat a grete clerk was
Pe turmentry purgh pe world schall pas
Pe ffendis pat now be bounden so
Pat pay may noper ffle nor go
Ne noye so moche as pay wolde4395Schall pan be losed \& not in holdePat tyme schall preche no cristen man
For pay schal be holde as cursid pan
Ne none schall bye with hem ne sellNe felischip holde with hem ne duell4400
Bote with hem pat hape crist fforsaken ..... fol. 161 v col. 1And pe merk of antecrist had takenPat men may knowe \& vndirstondBat pay to antecrist were assentandFor all pay schall bere his merk4405
bat fforsaken to wirch cristis werk
And schall folow antecristis lawe
Be his merk men schul hem knowPat pay schall bere as I vndirstondOyper in pe ffronte or in pe hond4410Bote oper pat will not done his redeSchail be done to vilans dede
On pes foure maners as I haue shewed
He schall drawe to hym lered \& lewde
And cristis lawe schall be doun laide ..... 4415
As in pe pocalipcis it is saide ..... 4416
Pat with his taile he drawep doun euen ..... 4419
Pe prid parte of pe sterris of heuen ..... 4420
And into pe erb sende hem right
Pere pat pay my3t not 3 iff no light
Pis was pe tayle of pe dragon
Pat saint john se in vicion
Pat dragon we vndirstond pe ffend ..... 4425And his tayle antecrist pat folowep at ende
Pe prid parte of pe sterris bright
Be cristen men to vndirstond right
Pe which he schall fro pe troup draw
And do hem in erp to kepe his law4430
Pe men of pe world pat be couitous
He schall torne purgh 3 ifftis precious
For he schall ziff hem pat turnid will be
Off golde \& siluir grete plente
And also men of symple coning ..... 4435
He schall torne purgh fals preching ..... fol. 161 v col. 2Gode men pat holde cristis commandmentisHe schall torne purgh manas \& turmentisMany schull seme gode \& rightwis
Schall leue in hym \& cristis law dispice ..... 4440
First schall antecrist come in meknes
And prech azen pe troup pat is
And myracles schall purgh hym be done
Pat schall pe Iewis resayue sone
And be tornid to hym all holy ..... 4445And pat tyme schall com ennok \& elyAnd azens antecrist preche full harde
As ye may here afflirward
Ban schall anticrist begyn felly
To pursu men purgh tormentry ..... 4450
Grete persecucion pan schal he wirch
Azen cristen men \& holy chirch
Pan schall he distroy cristen law
And gog \& magog to hym draw$\mathrm{b} e$ which be holden as men tell4455
Pe werst ffolk pat in erp duell
Su $m$ ffolke say pat pay be closid holy
Bezond pe mountaynis of caspy
Bote pay be not so closid aboute
Pat pay may lightely come oute ..... 44603iff a king nere pat holdep hem in
burgh strength pat pat may not oute win
Pat is clepid pe son of Amazans
Vndir whos power pat folk wonis
Bote atte last pay schal breke oute ..... 4465
And distroy many londis aboute
For pe Iewes haue such a prophecy
And sayn magog hem comounly
Pat his ffolke azens pe worldis ende ..... fol. 162 r col. 1
Schall come oute \& to Ierusalem wende ..... 4470
With her cristis pat pay schall wirch
And pan schall pay stroy holi chirch
Sum clerkis say as pe glos tellis
bat gog \& magog is not ellis
Bote pe heste of antecrist pat schall com ..... 4475Sodaynly azens pe day of dome
And azens holi chirch werray
For to distroy it ziff pay may
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Pat be gog be vndirstond all po ..... 4480
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For pes clerkis pat grete clergy can
Clepep man bope inner man \& vtter man ..... 5845
Inner man as azens pe soule only
And vtter man azens pe body
Bote body \& soule betwix hem to
Makep one man \& no mo
Perffore men schal zeld count ioyntly ..... 5850
Bope of soule \& of body
And forpy pat god afftir his stature
Made man most worschipfull criature
Perffore ziff men be to god froward
Vnkynde to hym \& take no reward ..... 5855
Pat iche dingnite of man namly
Schall at bat dome zeld hem gilty
3itt schall men zeld acount not only
Of hemselffe bote of oper namly ..... 5859
Pat is to say afftir his myght ..... 5862
And bat is reson \& right
And po pat may help \& will not
Schall pan to acount be broght ..... 5865Also ffadirs \& modirs at pat daySchall zeld acount pat is to say
Off sonis \& doghtirs pat pay forp broght Pe which pat pay chastid noght And lordis also for her meyne5870Pat pay lete vnchastid beAnd maystirs of her disciplis alsoPat pay lete mysgouernid \& vntaght go
And chastid hem noght for to lere
Forpy saip salamon on pis maner ..... 5875 fol. 171 rcol . 1Pe zerd he saip of disciplyn smert5878Schall chace ffoly oute of pyne hert
Perffore maystirs usid sumtyme pe wande ..... 5880
Pat haue childir to lere undir her handePrelatis pe ordir of dingniteSchall acount zeld in sere degre
Off her sogettis vndir her power
How pay hem rewled in pis lyffe here ..... 5885
And ansuere of hem pat lyuid not wellFor pus saip pe prophet esechiel5887
God saip pus purgh pe prophet ..... 5890
Lo I schall aske my flok of schepe
Off pe heerd pat had hem undir hand
Off pes wordis oght prelatis be dredand
en schall also zeld rekening sere
Off all pe godes bat god hape 3 iff hem here ..... 5895
Off godes of kynde \& godes of grace
And of godes of hap pat men purchas
Pe godes of kynde be bodily strength
With semly schap of brede \& length
And delyuernes \& beaute of body ..... 5900
Swich godes of kynde be Imen
Godis of grace may pis be
Mynde witt \& sotilte ..... 5903
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Pe euill to leue pe gode to ffullfill ..... 5905a
Vertuous with grete deuocioun
And loue pe lyffe of contemplacioun
Godes of hap pes ben to geff
As honoures power \& riches
Of alle pes gode men behoues ..... 5910
3eld acount as pe boke proues
And ansuere straytely of hem allfol. 171 r col. 2
I drede pat many in pis schall ffall
And to perpetuall preson gone
For bay spende her godes wrong5915
For why god hape 3 iffe here noping
Bote pat he will haue of rekening
Sum schall zitt as I saide are
3eld acount full straytely pare
Off pe godes pat pay wold not bede ..... 5920
To oper pat of hem had nede
For all be we as one body here
For be apostil saip on pis manere ..... 5923
He saip we be all one body ..... 5926Pat hape dyuers lymes namelyAnd as a lyme of one body hereIs redy afftir pat it hape power
To serue pe oper more \& lesse ..... 5930
Off pat office bat it gouen isRight so iche man pat here leuithOff all pat god purgh grace hym 3evithSchuld oper serue pat perof haue nedeAs he wolde ansuere at pe day of drede5935
Ful many men lyuep here of po
Pat be bounden to do so
As he pat grete \& mighty isIs holden to deffende hem pat ar les
And pe riche pat moche riches haue ..... 5940
To zeffe hem pat in pouert craue
And men of lawe also to trauaileAnd to counsaile hem pat ilk counsaileAnd lechis also 3 iff pay wise wereTo hele hem pat be seke and sere5945
And maystirs of her sciens to kenAnd namly hem pat be vnlerid menfol. 171 v col. 1
And prechours pat godis wordis preche And pe way of lyffe oper teche Pus ech man is holden with gode entent ..... 5950
To help oper of pat god hape hem sent
Frely for godis loue and not ellis
As saint peter be apostell tellis ..... 5953
He saip ech man pat grace hape here ..... 5956
As he receyuep grace in pe same maner
He schuld it mynister \& ffrely bede
To ech man pat peroff haue nede
And pus ech man is holden perto ..... 5960
As pe gospell spekep perto ..... 5961
He saip pat he hap of grace fre ..... 5964
And ffrely receyue \& ffrely $z^{\text {eff }} 3$ e ..... 5965
Pus schall men zeld resons sere
Off all her lyffe as writen is here
Pat is of all tymes spend in vayne
And eche moment \& tyme certaynAnd iche idill worde \& poght5970
And of eche idill dede pat pay wroght
Eyper in her elde or in her zoupe
Afftir pe tyme pat pay witt coupe
Or se with ye or speke with moupe ..... 5973a
Est or west north \& soupe ..... 5973b
Bep openly \& priuely kide ..... 5973c
Off dedis pat pay purgh hering did ..... 5974
And not only of werkis vnwro3t bote wro3t ..... 5976As of werkis of mercy pat done were notOf her owne soulis pay schal rekyn pereAnd of pe bodies pat pay aboute bereAnd not only of ayper be hemselffe pan5980Bote of bope togedir as one manAnd not only be hemselffe of all
Bote of her neighbouris ansuere pey schall
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And maystirs of her disciples also
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And all oper bat wrong \& right ententPe godes mispendep pat crist hem sentAnd of all withholding of godis sere
Pat pay partid noght with oper here ..... 5995
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Pere pat noping schal be laynd
Of all pis men schal zelde accountis straite ..... 6000
Schal per noping be to laite
For wele is pat man or woman
Pat gode rekening may zeffe pan
So pat he may pas quite \& freOff all ping pat schall rekenid be6005
And so well may be all po
Pat fro hens in charite go
For he bat hape here gode ending
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At pe day of dome as I before tolde ..... 6010
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Bote some schal dem \& sum schal not
Som schal deme with pe domysman
Pat purgh dome schal not be demid pan
Som schal be demid pan rightwislyfol. 172 r col. 1
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Bote many opir schall seme
Pat schall nopir be demid ne deme
Po pat schall deme \& not demid beSchal be parffit men \& with god priue6025

Of hem pat demid schal be \& deme schal no3t
Schal sone be demid \& broght
And sum schal be demid to hell to wende
Pere payne schal be withouten ende
Bote all pat leue not as do we
Schall deme none nopir demid be
Bote for pay wold not to our treup com
Pay wend to hell withouten dome
First bo bat with crist schall deme pat day
And not be demid bote only pay 6035
Pat here forsoke pe worldis solas
And folow rightwisly goddis trace
As pe apostels \& opir mo
Pat for his loue soffred moche wo
Pay schall deme with crist \& not ellis6040

For in be gospell pus he tellis 6041
He saip ze pat ffolow me here lyuand 6045
Schall sitt on twelff setis demand
Pe twelff kynredis of israel
Pat be po bat here in right duell
Sum schall not deme ne demid be
To blis as men of charite
Pat gladly wirk pe dedis of mercy
And kepe hem wele fro syn dedely
Som schall not deme bote be demid
To hell and fro crist bay schal be flemid
As po pat be ffals cristen men 6055
Pat kepe not be comaundmentis ten
And wolde not here forsake her syn
fol. 172r col. 2
Bote whils pay lyuid ay duellid perin
Sum schall not be demid pat day
Pat schall wende to hell ffor ay 6064
As payinis \& sarsyns pat haue no lawe 6065
And iewis pat neuir wold crist knawe
Perffore pay schall wend to payne endles
Withoute dome as writen is6068
Po bat withouten lawe vsyd syn ..... 6071

Withoute lawe schall perisch perin
And berffore at pat dome namly
Ech man schall haue as he is worpy
A ffull harde day men schall pat day se 6075
When all ping schall pus discurid be
Pat day schall no man be excusid
Off noping pat he here wrong vsid
Pat sounep in cuill on any manere
Off pe which he was neuer delyuerid here
Pe synffull schall pere no mercy haue
For noping may pan hem saue
Why pey schall pan no help gete
Off seriaunt ne atomey ne vokett

| Ne of none opir for hem to plede | 6085 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Ne hem to counsaile ne hem to rede |  |
| Ne none halow schall for hem pray |  |
| Pis may be clepid a full hidous day |  |
| For as pe boke berith witnes |  |
| Pere schal be schewed bote rightwisnes | 6090 |
| And gret reddure withoute mercy |  |
| Vnto all synffull men namly |  |
| Po pat of her syn will not here stynt |  |
| Pay schall day for euer be tynt |  |
| Fro god withoute any recouerer | 6095 |
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| For grete reddure pay schall pan se | 6097a fol. 172 v col. 1 |
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| Pe grete day of delyuerauns | 6100 |
| Pe day of wrap \& of vengeauns |  |
| Pe day of bale \& of bitternes | 6103 |
| Pe day of wreche \& of wrechidnes | 6102 |
| Pe day of plening \& of akusing |  |
| Pe day of ansuere \& of strait rekening | 6105 |
| Pe day of iugement \& of iuyse |  |
| Pe day of angre \& of angwisch |  |
| Pe day of drede \& of tremblyng |  |
| Pe day of weping \& greting |  |
| Pe day of crying \& dolffull dyn | 6110 |
| Pe day of sorow pat neuer schall blyn |  |
| Pe day of drede \& of affray |  |
| Pe day of departing fro crist away |  |
| Pe day of mourning of sorow \& derknes |  |
| Pe day of pat is last \& most is | 6115 |
| Pe day when crist schall make an end of all |  |
| Pus men may discreue pis day \& call |  |
| Ooure lorde pat all can se \& wite |  |
| Att pe dredfull day schall sitt |  |
| As king \& rightwis domesman | 6120 |
| In dome to deme all pe world pan |  |
| Vpon pe sete of his mageste |  |
| Pat day schal all men beffore hym be |  |
| Pan schall be do noght bote rightwisnes | 6125 |
| Bope gode \& euill more \& les | 6124 |
| He schall deme men of eche degre |  |
| To ioy or payne pat demid schal be |  |
| As rightwis domesman \& stedffast |  |
| And zeffe a ffenall dome at pe last |  |
| And how he schal deme I pink to shewe | 6130 |
| As tellith pe gospell of mathew |  |
| His aungels pan afftir his wille |  |
| Schull first depart pe gode fro pe ill |  |

As pe heerd dope schepe fro pe gete
fol. 172 v col. 2
Pat schall be putt to pasture straite
6135
Be pe schepe vndirstond we may
Pe gode men pat schull be sauid pat day
And be pe gete vndirstond may we
Pe euill men pat dampnid schal be
Pe gode schal be sett on his right hand
And be euill on his lefft schall stand
Pan schal our lord say pus pat tyde
To hem pat stond on his right syde
He schall say pan come now to me 6147
My ffadirs blissid childer ar $z^{e}$
And weldep pe kingdom pat to zow is dizt
Fro pe first pat pe world was ordaynd rizt
For I hongred \& 3 e me ffed
And prestid \& 3 e me drink bede
Of herburgh grete nede I had
3 e herberd me with hert glad
Nakid I was as ze my3t se
3e zaue me clopis \& hillid me
Sik I was \& in ffebill state
3e visitt me erly \& late
In prison when I was holden still
To me 3 e com with full gode will 6160
Pan schall be rightwis men pat day
To our lorde ansuere \& say
Lorde when we se pe hongry
To 3 iffe pe mete we were redy
And when we might pe pristy se
We zaffe pe drink with hert ffre
When we se pe nedy of herber haue
To herber pe we vouchedsaffe
When pou were nakid we pe clad
And se pe sike \& in prison stad 6170
We visit pe with gode will
And comfort pe as it was skill
Our lord schall pan ansuere pus
fol. 173 r col. 1
And say as pe gospell tellith vs
Soply I se pat ze wroght
6175
Iche a tyme pat ze did oght
Vnto any of pe leste pat ze might se
Off my brepern 3 e did to me
pan schall our lorde to all hem say
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Bat on his lefft syde schall stond bat day } & 6180\end{array}$
And speke to hem with stern chere
Pes wordis pat ben hidous to here 6182
3e weried wightis wende fro my si3t 6186
Vnto pe ffire pat is 3ow dight
To pe deuill \& to his aungels
Pan schall say as be boke tellis
I hongred \& had deffaute of mete ..... 6190And 3 e wolde noght 3 effe me to eteI pristed \& of drink had nedeAnd 3 e nolde me no drink bede
I wantid herbere \& I 3ow besoght
And all pat tyme $3 e$ herberd me noght ..... 6195
Nakid withoute clopis I was
And withoute clopis ze lete me pas
Sike I was \& bedred I lay
And ze ne visit me nopir night ne day
In prison I was as well wist 3 e ..... 6200
And 3 e wolde not come to me
Pan schall bay ansuere as men schal here
To our lord on pis manere
Lorde when we se pe haue honger or prest
Or of herber had any brest6205
Or nakid or sike or in prison beAnd we noping did ne mynistrid pePan schall our lorde ansuere azenAnd say to hem pes wordis certaynSopely I say zow as fallep perto6210
All be tyme pat 3 e wold not do ..... fol. 173 rcol .2
To one of be lest pat min er kid
As long to me 3 e it ne did
Pus schall our lorde reherse openly
To rightwis men pe dedis of mercy6215
For to make hem openly kid
To grete worschip of hem it did
And schew pe synfull pat fallep perto
Her vnkyndenes pat wold not do
Pe werkis of mercy for his loue6220
To grete schenschip \& reproue
When he hap pus saide \& made an end
Pe synffull with be ffende schall wende
To hell ffyre bat neuyr schal slake
A foule hidous cry pan schall pay make ..... 6225
And say allas pat euer wer we wroght
In mans body why were we noght
Why ne had god made vs so
Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo
Now schall we bren in pe ffyre of hell ..... 6230
And wipoute ende pere duelle
Hell schall hem swolow also tyte
Withoute any lengger respyteAnd all pe ffyre schall pan be seneAnd all pe corupcion pat euer hape bene6235
And all pe ffilp \& all pe stynke
Off all pe worlde pat pan schall synk
Doun with hem to pe pitt of hell
To eche her payn pat pere schal duell
Bote rightwis men as be boke berith witnes ..... 6240Schall wende to blis pat is endles
With our lorde \& his aungels ichon
Shyning brighter ban euer svn schone
Now haue 3 e herd as is conteindIn pis party how pe world schal ende6245
And how crist at his last comyng
Schall in dome sitt \& discuse al ping ..... fol. 173 v col. 1
Here may a man rede bat hape tome
A long proces of be day of dome
Pat a long tyme afftir pat I haue red ..... 6250
Schuld be conteind be skill or all were sped
Bote 3 e schal vndirstand \& wite
As men may se in holy writt
Pat purgh wisdom and vertu
And pe might of our lorde ihesu ..... 6255Alle pe proces pat schall be pat dayPat any clerk can can speke or say
Schall pan so schortly be sped \& sone
Pat all schall be in a moment done
A moment is as of a tyme bygyning ..... 6260
As schort as of an ye twynkelyng
A grete wondir may pis be kid
Among all wondirs pat euir crist did
Pat in so schort while in his comyng
To deme \& discuse all bing ..... 6265
Bote of pis none schuld meve lered ne lewed
For as grete wondir crist hape shewid
As grete wondir was when he wro3t
With one worde all ping of noght ..... 6269
God saide and all was done ..... 6274
He bade and all was made sone ..... 6275
pus in schort tyme all ping made he
More wondir pan pis myght none bePan may he as schortly make an endOf all ping pat he made bygyning
For so witty \& mighty is he ..... 6280Pat noping inpossible to hym may be
Pe proces of pat day pat I haue tolde
Al be men lyuing zong \& olde
Schall se \& vndirstand it all
In so schort tyme it schall fallefol. 173 v col. 2
Now haue 3 e herd me speke \& rede ..... 6286Of pe wondirs pat pan schal be dredBote of pat ze herd me rede \& sayOf pe reddure pat schal be do pat dayVnto all synffull men namly6290
Pat schal be dampnid withoute mercy
As men may here writen seNo man schall perffore in dispaire be
For all pat haue mercy here schal be saffe And ask mercy pay schall it haue ..... 62953effe pay it ask whils pay lyue in body
And truly tret to goddis mercyAnd amend hem here \& syn forsakeBeffore pe tyme pat dep hem takeAnd of mercy here \& charite6300
Pan gete pay mercy \& saued schal beBote 3effe pe dep before haue hem tanOr pay ask mercy pan gete pay non
Bote reddure of rightwisnes only
For pan schal be schewid no mercy ..... 6305
Here may ech man 3 eff pat bay will
Haue mercy pat dope pat fallep pertill
3iff he had do neuir so moche syn
3effe he amend hym he my3t it win
For pe mercy of god is so moche here ..... 6310
And recheth ouir all ffer \& nere
Bat all pe synnis pat man hape do
It might quenche \& more perto
And perfore saip saint austen pus
A gode word pat may comfort vs ..... 6315
As a litell spark of ffire saip he ..... 6318
Were casten a mydward be see
Right so all mans wickidnes ..... fol. 174r col. 1
Vnto pe mercy of god is les ..... 6321
Here may men se pat his mercy
Fordop all syn \& ffoly
Forwhy a man 3 iffe he had done here
As moche \& as many synnis here6325
As all pe men in pe world haue doun
All myght his mercy ffordo sone
And 3eff possible were as it is not
Pat ech man as moche syn had wrozt
As all pe men pat in pe worlde euer was ..... 6330
3itt myght his mercy all her syn pas
Pan semyth it wele as men may se
Pat of his mercy here is grete plente
For his mercy spredep on eche a syde
Purgh all pe world brode \& wide6335
And schewep it be many waies
berffore dauid be prophet saysMisericordia eius super omniaoperta esPe erp he saip is ful of mercy6340
Pat men may fynde here plentevously
And he haue mercy or he hens wend
Atte grete dome schal fynd crist his frend
Where rightwisnes only schal be hauntidAnd no mercy pere be grauntid6345

Afftir pe dome all pe world brode
Schall seme as it were new made
Pe erp schal be pan euen \& all
And schyne as dope now pe cristall
And pe ayre aboute schall schyne brizt
Pan schal euir be day \& neuir night
For pe elementis schall all clensid be
Off all corupcion pat we here se
pan schall pe world be all partis
Seme as it were paradys
fol. $174 \mathrm{r} \operatorname{col} .2$
Pe planetis \& be sterrys echone 6356
Schall schyne brighter pan euer bay sch[one]
$e$ son schal be as sum clerkis demep
Sevyn sibes brighter pan it semyth
For it schall be as bright as it was 6360
Beffore pat adam did pe trespas
Pe mon schal be as bright \& clere
As pe sonne is now pat shyneth here
be sonne schall euen in pe est stond
And withoute renewing euer schynand 6365
And pe mon azenst it in pe west
And no more schall trauaile bote ay rist
As pay were sett in pe bigynyng
When god made hem \& all ping
Pay were pan as men may trow 6370
Moche brighter pan pay be now 6371
Pe mon \& heuens now aboute gop 6376
Pe sonne \& pe mon her cours dope
And pe opir planetis euerichone
Manan as pay her cours haue tan
And all pe elementis kyndly dose 6380
Pat is nedefull to manis vse
Pus ordayned god hem to serue man
And of all swich seruis sese pan
For all men afftir domys may
Schall be pere where pay schal duell ay 6385
Pe gode in blis in rist \& pes
be euill in payne pat neuir schall sese
What nede were pat pes criatours pan
Schewid swich seruis to man
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { No quik criature schall be pan lyuand } & 6390 \\ \text { In all pe world in no lande } & \end{array}$
Nopir schall grow pan gras ne tre
Ne crachis ne rotis schall pan be
fol. 174 v col. 1
Ne dale ne doun ne montayne
For all erp schall pan be playne 6395
And be made as clere faire \& clene
As eny cristall cuer was sene
For it schal be purgid \& ffyned withoute
And all oper elementis aboute

And no more travayled on no syde
Ne with no charge be ocupyed
Now haue 3 e herd me beffore rede
Off pe day of dome pat many may drede
And of pe wondirfull tokenis many
Pat schall ffall beffore pe dome namly
And how pe worlde as we now se
Afftir pe dome now made schall be
Now allmyghty god in trenite
One god and persons pre
And his modir pat swete floure
Quene of mercy \& mans socour
So saue vs lorde as pou well may
Purgh by mercy att our endyng day
And euer lady haue in py mynde
Pe ffebilnes of manis kynde
And sende vs grace pat day to rise
To blis with bat trew iustis amen
[rubrics] Explicit pe begynnyng off pe worlde off pe trenite pe ffadir \& son \& holi gost pe makyng off pe worlde \& of adam \& eue \& afftir of noye \& so ffro noye to abraham \& so donne pe genelagy of our lady $\&$ pe birth off crist $\&$ his pascion $\&$ resurrexion \& so many oper dyuers maters \& so to pe day of dome \& pe comyng of antecrist \& so to pe laste day of iugement

## TEXTUAL NOTES TO APPENDIX B ONLY

(Cf. Richard Rolle, Pricke of Conscience, ed. Morris, pp. 111-73.)
All omissions from the text are quotations in Latin which B does not give, except the following, which are in English in Morris' edition but omitted from B: 4197-98, 4576-77,4669-70, 4699-700, 4837-38, 4900-3, 4971-72, 5003-4, 5305, 5680-81, 5737-38, 5860-61, 5904, 5975, 6270-71, 6372-75.

The following lines appear in B but not in Morris' edition: 5196a, 5284a, 5306a, 5905a, 5973a-c, 6097a.

4935 sais] expunged in $B$, no alternative offered
5111 inadvertently omitted from Morris' numbering; nothing missing from $B$.
5150 Morris has misnumbered, counting five lines between lines 5144 and 5148.
6064 the jump in line numbers, 6055-64, where there are only five lines to be numbered, corresponds with Morris' numbering; nothing is omitted from B.

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## APPENDIX C

## The Finding of the True Cross (II. 21347-21846)

For some reason the southern redactor of $C M$ omitted these lines from his work, despite his having mentioned the burial of the cross at 11. 16913-22. The omission is difficult to account for. Certainly the story is lively enough, and it appears in CM's source, the Trad. anon., as the conclusion to the History of the Cross Wood, all the rest of which the redactor has kept. This is a somewhat unusual ending for cross wood stories, however, most of which end with the Passion, and the redactor might have omitted it in favour of the more customary conclusion. He might more probably have eliminated it on the grounds that it belonged to secular history, for he similarly excluded the story of William the Conqueror's institution of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Accidental loss in the exemplar seems the least likely reason for the omission, as the poem breaks off and starts up again so neatly at the end of proper narrative divisions.

For the origin and development of the story of St. Helena and the finding of the true Cross, see Stephen Borgehammar, How the Holy Cross Was Found; Jan Willem Drijvers, Helena Augusta; Mary Catherine Bodden, ed. \& trans., The Old English Finding of the True Cross, pp. 24-27; L.-J. Tixeront, Les origines de l'église d'Edesse et la légende d'Abgar, pp. 164-74; J. Straubinger, Die Kreuzauffindungslegende. Especially valuable is P.O.E. Gradon's Introduction to her edition of Cynewulf's Elene, pp. 15-22.

The CM poet has combined two versions of the story. Lines 21383-402, an abridged version of the battle at the Milvian Bridge and Constantine's conversion, come from Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea (Graesse, pp. 30311). Lines 21407-800, with some variations and omissions, are taken from Trad. anon. An edition of this work appeared in 1985, and references to it are made by line number to Julia C. Szirmai, La bible anonyme du ms. Paris BN f. fr. 763. Comparisons are made in her notes with the source of most medieval versions, the Acta apocrypha [De S. Juda Quiriaco] in the Acta Sanctorum maii tomus primus, pp. 439 ff .

21347-600 These lines are found only in CFG. They would presumably have occurred also on the missing leaves of E .
21356-78 This is expanded from Trad. anon. 8321-30.
21371 The CM dates this event 200 years after Christ's death. The Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 D, places it in the year 233 , and Leg. aur., p. 303, says more than 200 years after Christ's death. Trad. anon. says simply longuement (8327). Gradon, pp. 15-22, has some apposite comments on the date, and cf. Leopold Kretzenbacher,

Kreuzholzlegenden zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland, p. 5, who dates the finding to 3 May 320 (!).
21379-406 Trad. anon. omits the story of Constantine's conversion. The CM poet probably takes it from Leg. aur., pp. 305-6, although a few details of the scene seem to come from the Acta Quiriaci.
21382-84 The CM poet is vague about the details of the battle. Leg. aur. places it on the Danube, as does the Acta Quiriaci.
21385 Both Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci specify that the increasing size of the barbarian army made Constantine afraid: ... barbarorum crescente multitudine et jam fluvium transeunte Constantinus nimio terrore concutitur (Leg. aur., p. 305); Videns autem, quia multitudo esset innumerabilis, contristatus est et timuit usque ad mortem (Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 E).
21387-402 Leg. aur, p. 305. Cf. Pouzet p. 37, who has an extensive note on whether Constantine saw the cross by dream vision or direct vision.
21397 "euen." Possibly "euen" translates similitudinem: Qui coelesti visione confortatus similitudinem crucis fecit (Leg. aur., p. 305). Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 f., also has similitudinem crucis. Cf. $M E D$ s.v. even (adj.) sense 12 and s.v. evenen (v.) sense 5.
21407-13 Trad. anon. 8331-36. CM omits Constantine's baptism, about which Leg. aur., pp. 305-6, gives several conflicting reports.
21413 The messengers Benciras and Ansiers are called Bensillas and Amphire in Trad. anon. 8335. At 8422, however, the second name appears as Anfire. In Trad. anon.'s probable source, Li romans de Dolopathos, the name is Anfire, and in the analogous Roman des sept sages it is Aussire. The various versions appear to derive from scribal confusion of $f$ and $s$, and of the minims for $m, n$, and $u$. For discussion of the source and analogue, see Szirmai, n. to 8335, and p. 69.
21416-64 Trad. anon. 8360-457. The origins of this story of the pound of flesh have been well explored because of its appearance in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. L. Toulmin Smith, "On the Bond Story in the Merchant of Venice," pp. 18189, first pointed out the connection of this section of $C M$ with Shakespeare. Szirmai, pp. 68-69, discusses the similarities between the Trad. anon.'s version of the story and the only other extant European version which predates it, that in the Dolopathos, written in the twelfth century by Johannis de Alta Silva and translated about 1210 into French by one Herbert as Li Romans de Dolopathos.

Trad. anon. and CM are the only works which connect this story with the finding of the cross. The author of Trad. anon. penalizes the Jew for his anger, and the penalty forces him to discover the cross. The $C M$ poet repeats all this, but also gives at the end the more common version of the finding of the cross by Judas/Quiriacus.
21423 The sum is 100 sous in Trad. anon. 8370, centum argenti marcas in Dolopathos.
21425 F's word "couenand" may preserve the original form of the line. Cf. Trad. anon. 8375: Qu'il en fauroit de covenant.
21432 "beleue" translates abandoner, Trad. anon. 8381.
21436-38 These lines have no equivalent in Trad. anon., where the text is somewhat defective at this point (8386-89).
21443 In Trad. anon. 8389 only Bensillas speaks.
21447 F's "vs" translates Trad. anon.'s nos, 8394. CG's "me" is an error.
21452 CG's readings translate Trad. anon.'s dou il doit ouvrer, 8400. Pouzet p. 43 elaborates this observation with further analysis of Trad. anon. 8398-402.
21453 CG's "pe laue" is not mentioned in Trad. anon., but the definite article in et lou nes devant, 8401, may have caused confusion. Pouzet p. 43 thinks such confusion unlikely.

21467-68 F's lines are not in Trad. anon.
21471 CG's "maugre" and F's "maugrefe" attempt to translate Trad. anon.'s maldite, 8418.

21475 C's "anfrer" may reflect an original confused rendering by the poet of Trad. anon.'s frere Anfire, 8422. Pouzet p. 44 reads ansier in C; his extensive note, p. 45, further elaborates the various explanations for the confusion.
21489 Trad. anon.'s 8437 is defective in the only remaining manuscript. The editor conjecturally emends the line, but there is no mention of the Jew losing his tongue. Perhaps the original rhyme word was laingue.
21508 Trad. anon. 8455 gives the time as Trois jors antiers et une nuit, logically impossible. Pouzet p. 47 suggests that OF jors may be taken to mean a 24 -hour day.
21510 Trad. anon. 8457 says that he will be hanged on the third day: Vous seres au tier jor pendus. Pouzet p. 47 explores Trad. anon.'s probable sources and analogues for further clarification.
21515-18 CG's readings follow Trad. anon. more or less, but F has changed the lines completely.
21519-36 Trad. anon. does not go into detail about the finding of the cross. The CM seems here to revert to Leg. aur., p. 308, but the sign to Judas in Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci, p. 447 B , is a sweet smell, not an earthquake as here, 21524. Cf., however, the OE homily in Bodden, 11. 204-6, where the earth trembles: biofode eal seo stow, as well as exuding a sweet odour: se swetesta staenc ealra deowurpesta wyrtgemanga. See also Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae, "De inventione sancte crucis," PL CLXXII 948: locus contremuit, fumus thymiamatis de terra ascendit.
21532 The figure of 20 feet is xx passus in Leg. aur., p. 308, and passus viginti in Acta Quiriaci, p. 447 C . G's tuenti fadim may perhaps represent an attempt to cope with the Roman measure, the passus.
21537-626 Trad. anon. 8486-591.
21559-60 The lines are authentic, translating Trad. anon. 8518-19, although they are omitted from F .
21568-70 Not in Trad. anon.
21580 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8538-47, the Jew's speech.
21591 The correct reading is CG's constantinopil, not F's costentine. Cf. Trad. anon. 8560.

21593 F's line appears to be authentic, translating Trad. anon. 8562, La croix prant .iiij. pars en fit.
21595-96 These lines appear only in F, where they seem to be scribal rather than authentic. Trad. anon. does not mention again what happened to two of the pieces of the cross.
21597, 21599 F continues to renumber the pieces of the cross to make the distribution clear, but Trad. anon., like CG, mentions only L'une ... Et l'autre ... $(8564,8566)$.
21601 E's text begins here.
21610-26 See Szirmai, n. to 8582-91, for analogues.
21611 C's mande = maundy = Trad. anon.'s jor de la Cene (8577).
21626 Trad. anon. 8591 reads cite instead of CM's contre.
21627-776 Trad. anon. 8592-8884, a long interpolation on the symbolic attributes of the cross, which $C M$ abbreviates.
21631 ECG's mani translates Trad. anon.'s plusor, 8596. F's man is an error.
21639-42 Not in Trad. anon.
21647-48 An allusion to the cross wood being grown from seeds taken from the Tree of Life. Cf. Trad. anon. 7756-59.

21659 G's tre is an error for ECF's crie. Cf. Trad. anon.'s clamor, 8620.
21668 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8630-59, dealing with the nudity of Noah and the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph as they prefigure the cross. 21672 suggests that the $C M$ poet does not want to repeat these stories which he has already told in recounting the events of Genesis.
21682 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8672-75, dealing with further feats of Moses.
21694 Voice is taken directly from Trad. anon. 8683, vois, which Szirmai glosses as autorité, pouvoir.
21695 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8684-91, with further details about Moses and Amalek.
21702 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8700-3, the story of Helias and the woman gathering wood to bake bread, 3 Reg. 17: 9-16.
21706 Trad. anon. 8706-23 are omitted here. They tell the story of Heliseus and the son of the Sunamite woman, 4 Reg. 4: 18-37.
21711-18 Loosely based on Trad. anon. 8728-38.
21715 E's staue is an error.
21728 Not in Trad. anon.
21732 Trad. anon. 8749-8840 goes on to explain why mankind had to be ransomed. gun-fanun is taken from Trad. anon. 8740, where it is spelled confenonx.
21740 Trad. anon. 8847-52, dealing with the two parts of the cross and the two laws, are omitted here.
21743-44 Trad. anon. 8853 says that the cross has En .iij. fuz et en .iiij. bras.
21754 E's vi is an error for vii, the total of the four elements of the body and the three strengths of the soul.
21756-57 This theme is more extensively elaborated in Trad. anon. 8847-64.
21775 ECF's smele translates odour, Trad anon. 8883. G's mell is an error.
21777-80 Trad. anon. 8885-8910.
21788 EC's of drizt is correct, translating Trad. anon. 8894, Vers Deu.
21789 All manuscripts of $C M$ read three years, while Trad. anon. 8895 says four.
21797-98 Trad. anon. says that only one nail is at St. Denis. The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8905, which gives almost the only clue to the identity of the French author: Je l'i ai veu et baisie. He must, therefore, have belonged to or visited St. Denis. For a discussion of the authorship of Trad. anon. see Szirmai, pp. 16-17.
21801-8 The CM poet, having finished the cross story from Trad. anon., refers to another version, presumably that in Leg. aur. or in one of the MS of the Acta Quiriaci. Pouzet p. 73 disagrees here and offers a more elaborate interpretation.
21809-12 Leg. aur. p. 309.
21813-36 Leg. aur. p. 309.
21816 E's reading is closest to the original, provided me is taken as a possessive adjective and Iudas (i.e., Judas Iscariot) as the object of the preposition, gain. Cf. Judae meo contraria operatus es, Leg. aur. p. 309. F reworks this and the following lines completely.
21821-22 The lines, although omitted from F, translate Leg. aur. p. 309: per illum regnabam in populo, per te jam expellar a regno.
21829-30 Leg. aur. names the tyrant as Julian the Apostate who later tortures and kills Quiriacus. However, a marginal note in C identifies the tyrant as Antichrist.
21835 C's me is an error for pe, translating Leg. aur. p. 309: Christus te damnet in abyssum ignis aeterni.
21837-46 The CM poet's prayer, not in the sources.

## APPENDIX D

## Mary's Lament and the Establishment of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (II. 23909-24968)

These lines are omitted from the southern version but evidently intended for inclusion, according to lines 217-20 of the text above.

[^5]Mary by empathizing with her pain as she witnesses her son's crucifixion. Oglerius, echoing the Canticum canticorum and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mt 25: 1-13), first focuses on the lament for Mary of the daughters of Jerusalem (4-10), then on Mary's part in Jesus' birth and upbringing (10-15), then on her presence among the women who followed Jesus (15-23), and finally on her pain at the crucifixion (24-39). Only then does Oglerius speak in the narrator's own voice, seeking empathy with Mary. The CM poet omits one interesting detail from Oglerius 53-54: Sed quia iam glorificata flere non possum, tu cum lacrimis scribe que cum magnis doloribus ipsa persensi.
23999-4005 The CM poet's elaboration of Oglerius 63-64: et non erat mihi fere uox neque sensus.
24006 Ps 76:4, quoted by Oglerius 63.
24008 Oglerius 64 mentions Mary's sisters as well as other women: Erant mecum mee sorores, et alie femine multe ...
24010 Apparently the CM poet's addition.
24014-16 The CM poet embroiders Oglerius 65-66: Maria Magdalena que super omnes, illa excepta, que loquitur tecum, dolebat. The "illa" is Mary, the "te" the narrator.
24017 CFGE's bedel translates Oglerius 66: precone.
24021-22 Here the CM poet reverses the sense of Oglerius 67-69: factus est concursus populorum post ipsum euntes. Alii scilicet illum plangentes, alii ei illudentes ridebant.
24023-29 Apparently the CM poet's addition. Oglerius does not emphasize the hostility of the crowd but rather Mary's pain, and the hostile multitude in the gospels restrict their actions to shouting.
24030 Cf. Oglerius 70 where Mary is cum mulieribus.
24032-35 Here the CM poet trims away the more extravagant imagery of suffering in Oglerius 69-72.
24036-46 Apparently the CM poet's own contribution.
24047-60 A transition passage added by the CM poet to lend pathos to Mary's suffering.
24062-76 The CM poet transfers the focus from Jesus to Mary. Cf. Oglerius 72-77: Ante oculos eius [sc. Mary's] fuit in cruce leuatus et ligno dirissimis clauis affixus. Et ipse tanquam agnus coram tondente se uocem non dabat, nec aperiebat os suum (Is 53:7). Aspiciebat ancilla Dominum suum, intuebatur mater filium suum in cruce pendentem, morte turpissima morientem, et tanto dolore uexabatur in mente, quantus non possit explicare sermone.
24077-79 Here the CM poet translates freely, postponing the description of Christ on the cross, which follows immediately in Oglerius, in order to present the contrasting figure of Christ as he was, qui erat pre filiis hominum speciosus (Ps 44:3), a phrase interpolated into Oglerius at line 79.
24080-85 These lines compress the fuller description in Oglerius 77-79. The spittle of 24085 is the CM poet's addition.
24086-91 Again the CM poet's addition.
24092-94 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 82-83.
24095-100 A looser translation of Oglerius 84: ideo non poterat capi in me dolor meus.
24101-9 A compressed translation of Oglerius 84-87. The breaking in three at 24106 is the CM poet's addition and is not further developed.
24110 Translates Oglerius 88-89: Verba dabat amor, que raucum sonabant.

24111-12 Much of Oglerius 89-91 is either compressed or omitted here: nam lingua, uocis magistra, perdiderat usum loquendi. Videbam morientem, quem diligebat anima mea, et tota liquifiebam pre doloris angustia.
24113-21 The interjection may have been inspired by Oglerius 93: Fili mi, fili mi, but he puts the comment that follows in the $C M$ before the exclamation at 91-92.
24122-24 Cf. Oglerius 93-95: Fili mi, fili mi, quis mihi dabit ut ego moriar pro te? Moritur filius; cur secum non moritur mater eius misera? The CM poet omits Mary's first request, to die instead of Jesus, and stresses her empathy with her son instead of her sense of maternal sacrifice.
24128-30 Oglerius 95-96.
24131-36 Oglerius 97-99.
24137-42 Cf. Oglerius 99-101, which the CM poet has translated freely.
24143-48 Oglerius 101-3 is here compressed, with some of the extremes of sentiment eliminated.
24149-54 A fairly close rendering of Oglerius 103-4.
24155-60 Again the CM poet cuts down the sentiment of Oglerius 105-7: aut alia quacumque seua morte perimite, dummodo cum filio simul finiar meo. Male solus moritur. Orbas orbem radio, me uiduam filio, gaudio, dulcore.
24161-64 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 107-8.
24165-70 These lines seem to be the CM poet's own elaboration.
24171-72 Condensed from Oglerius 108-9.
24173-78 Clearly based on Oglerius 109-13 but considerably condensed.
24179-93 Although these lines express a good deal of emotion, they still eliminate considerable emotion from Oglerius 109-13.
24194-99 A fairly close rendition of Oglerius 117-18, though the CM poet has no way of translating the Latin verbs: Nunc orbor patre, uiduorque sponso, deseror prole.
24200-8 These lines seem original with the CM poet.
24209-14 Oglerius 118-22.
24215-50 This longish passage seems entirely the work of the CM poet. The only warrant in Oglerius is this brief phrase at 123-24: Cui Dominus oculis et uultu annuens, de Iohanne ait, "Mulier, ecce filius tuus" (Jhn 19:26). Cf. the brief account in Jhn 19:25-27, which offers little warrant for the CM poet's expansion.
24251-56 Oglerius 124-26. The CM poet has again eliminated some of the more exaggerated rhetoric: O mollis ad flendum, mollis ad dolendum, etc.
24257-62 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 127-28.
24263-68 Oglerius 128-31. The CM poet adds the wolf to Oglerius' image of the ovem erroneam which is found.
24269-70 A close translation of Oglerius 131-32: Moritur vnus ut inde totus reuiuiscat mundus.
24272-74 Oglerius 132-33: Vnius ob meritum, ceteri periere minores; saluantur cuncti nunc unius ob meritum. The $C M$ poet is unable to reproduce the neat rhetorical contrast of vnius ob meritum (i.e., Adam's) and unius ob meritum (i.e., Christ's). The "al ... all" faintly echoes "ceteri ... cuncti."
24275-80 The CM poet translates Oglerius 133-34: Quod placet Deo Patri, quomodo displicet tibi? in 24275-76. But the remainder of the stanza replaces Oglerius' image of the cup, 134-35, with Christ's literal pain: Calicem quem dedit mihi Pater non uis ut bibam illum?
24281-86 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 135-36.
24287-92 These lines seem to be the CM poet's own contribution, though the doctrine of the harrowing of hell is well established by this time.

24293-98 The CM poet paraphrases Jhn 18:11, quoted in Oglerius 139-41, and demotes John from nephew to friend, though he makes him and Mary cousins in 24312.

24299-302 These lines compress the more fullsome Oglerius 142-45: Inde Iohannem intuitus, ait, "Ecce mater tua. Serui curam illius habe; eam tibi commendo. Suscipe matrem meam; suscipe matrem tuam. Suscipe tuam; immo magis suscipe meam."
24303-4 These lines seem original with the CM poet.
24305-22 These lines, which repeat more or less the same thought three times (namely, that the two were struck dumb by Christ's words), echo Oglerius 146-50, who also repeats himself several times.
24323-28 The CM poet here transforms to direct quotation of Mary what Oglerius puts into the third person plural, thus making the utterance more immediate. The CM poet also eliminates the unabashed sentimentality and punning in Oglerius 151-53: Defecerunt enim spiritus eorum; amiserant uirtutem loquendi. Solus illis dolor luctusque remansit amicus. Amabant flere et flebant amare. Amare flebant, quia amare dolebant.
24329-94 An expansion of Oglerius 153-62. The Virgin's loss of consciousness at 24348-49 is either the CM poet's invention or a misreading of Oglerius 174-75: Cogitare libet quantus dolor tunc infuit matri cum sic dolebant que insensibilia erant.
24356 The only spear Oglerius mentions is 158-59: mente martyr Maria erat percussa cuspide teli quo membra Christi serui foderunt iniqui.
24359 E breaks off at this point and does not resume until 24520.
24378-82 Oglerius does not mention the image of the sword of Lc $2: 35$, where Symeon says to Mary, et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius. This was interpreted by Peter Damien PL CXLIV 748A Ac si aperte diceret: Dum filius tuus senserit passionem crucis in corpore, te etiam transfiget gladius compassionis in mente. Barré, pp. 243-46, sees the entire tradition of the planctus Mariae deriving from such attributions of sympathy to the Virgin, where earlier church fathers denied her such feelings; cf. Ambrose, "Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam," PL XV 1574B.
24395-402 Cf. Jhn 19:28 and Mt 27:34, both passages quoted by Oglerius 164-66.
24403-6 Cf. Mt 27:46 and Mc 15:34. Oglerius quotes neither passage.
24407-9 Cf. Jhn 19:30.
24410-24 Oglerius 169-73. 24410-12 are the CM poet's summary of events, and the details are provided by Oglerius.
24425-36 Cf. Oglerius 174-77. The CM poet rearranges Oglerius' order, taking 17677 at 24428-30 and 175-76 at 24431-33. He also changes Oglerius' third-person narrative description to a first-person account.
24437-42 Here the CM poet replaces a passage of puns and sentimentality from Oglerius 177-81: Vox non erat illi [sc. Mariae]; dolor abstulerat uires; limo strata iacens pallebat quasi mortua uiuens. Viuebat moriens, uiuensque moriebatur; nec poterat mori que uiuens mortua erat. In anima dolor seue seuiebat illius; optabat mori magis quam uiuere Christi post mortem que male uiuens mortua tamen erat.
24443-54 Cf. Oglerius 188-92. The CM poet omits Oglerius 182-87, where the Virgin is described as begging for Christ's body to be lowered from the cross, and is selective of details in the lines on which he depends. E.g., he omits 188-89: considerans [sc. Maria] uulto benigno Christum pendentem in crucis stipite seuo; but is more graphic in 24446-48 than Oglerius 189-90: pedibusque nitens in altum manus leuabat amplectens crucem. 24450-51 seem to depend upon Oglerius 19091: ruens in oscula eius Christi qua parte sanguinis unda rigabat. The $C M$ poet
seems to have taken ruens absolutely, as a description of Mary's collapse, where Marx's punctuation suggests a translation like rushing to kiss Christ from whom a wave of blood flowed.
24455-75 The CM poet here condenses and removes much of the sentimentality from Oglerius 191-203, where the emphasis lies on Mary's thwarted desire to embrace Christ, whom she cannot reach because he is still hanging on the cross. The CM poet also varies between direct quotation of Mary and narration of her actions, where Oglerius gives entirely third-person narrative, Oglerius' final sentence recalls his 190-91, cited in the previous note: Cadentes guttas sanguinis ore tangebat, terram deosculans quam cruoris unda rigabat.
24476-78 The CM poet's own interjection.
24479-90 The CM poet here continues to report direct discourse from Mary, where Oglerius 204-12 remains in the third person. Oglerius also provides more pseudohistorical detail, e.g., that both Joseph and Nicodemus were secretly disciples of Jesus and that they asked Pilate for his body. Oglerius' Joseph and Nicodemus bring more than just the god chere of 24485: secum instrumenta ferentes quibus clavis euulsis de cruce possent deponere eum. Moreover, Oglerius is more detailed in describing the restoration of Mary's health (cf. 24488-90): quasi de morte consurgens, paululum reuiuiscit spiritus eius et illis quod poterat adiutorium ministrabat.
24491-502 Cf. Oglerius 213-23. The CM poet omits some of the more graphic detail, e.g., super ipsum ruens pre incontinentia doloris et immensitate amoris quasi mortua stetit ... lacrimis faciem eius rigans ... Frontem et genas oculosque simul et nasum oraque frequentius osculabatur ipsius. C's animan (24495) should read ani man, like F .
24503-50 These lines, again rephrased to a direct quotation of the Virgin, seem to be the CM poet's own interpolation, though they bear some distant resemblance to Oglerius 224-50. 24503-14 lament the lack of justice in the crucifixion and may have been suggested by Oglerius 230-31: Non desperabat, sed pie iusteque dolebat quem genuit uirgo. 24515--50 rest, however, on the contrast between Mary's sorrow at the crucifixion and her joy at Christ's birth and infancy, a contrast which also forms the basis of Oglerius 224-50. The CM poet restricts the grief to Mary alone, where Oglerius involves quedam ... femine sancte quarum paruus erat numerus paucusque uirorum (232-33) and et angeli simul cum illa dolentes (234); and he likes the notion enough to elaborate it further on: O quis angelorum uel archangelorum contra naturam illic non flesset ...? (238-39). 24549 echoes more directly Oglerius 231: sperans tamen ipsum tercio resurgere die, but 24526, expressing a desire for the Holy Ghost, finds no counterpart in Oglerius.
24551-56 A closer translation of Oglerius 259-60.
24557-80 The struggle between Joseph and Nicodemus on the one hand, who want to bury Jesus, and Mary on the other, who wants to continue to hold him, is the CM poet's elaboration of Oglerius 263-67, where Oglerius unusually writes direct discourse for the Virgin. Morris' inverted comma in C should be moved from 24577 to 24580, where Mary's speech ends.
24581-96 The CM poet here interpolates his own response to the Virgin and his further question.
24597-607 Based on Oglerius 268-75, with some of the more extravagant images modified. Oglerius continues to emphasize the struggle between Mary and the disciples over whether to bury Christ's body or not. The CM poet, however, empha-
sizes the sorrow of the moumers for Mary, echoing two clauses in Oglerius 272-74: et super illam dabant potius planctum quam super extinctum Dominum suum. Maior illis inerat dolor de matris dolore quam fuerat de sui Domini morte.
24608-13 Again the CM poet removes some of the extravagance from Oglerius 27679 ; e.g., where the $C M$ poet has Mary lying on the tomb, Oglerius has sepulchrum mater amplectitur omni corde. The English poet also omits amaro Dominum nimis deplorans singultu.
24614-22 Cf. Oglerius 279-82, again omitting the more sentimental passages; e.g., Nam cruciata gemitibus, fatigata doloribus, afflicta ploratibus, pedibus stare fere nequibat is reduced to On fote vnethes moght i stand. 24620 C's i should read he; cf. FGE.
24623-29 Cf. Oglerius 283-93, again omitting most of the detail on the effect on others of Mary's continuing sorrow; e.g., Vix poterant lacrimas continere quicumque videbant eam plorantem. Tam pie plorabat et tam amare dolebat quod ex suo pio ploratu multos, etiam inuitos, trahebat ad luctum ... etc.
24632-34 Cf. Oglerius 293-94.
24635-40 Oglerius does not mention the resurrection and thus provides no basis for these lines nor for 24630 .
24641-58 The CM poet's addition, which turns the reader's attention to Mary's blessed state in heaven.
24659-730 This address to St. John, at least at its beginning, takes its warrant from Oglerius 293-99: O felix et beatus Iohannes cui talem Dominus commendauit thesaurum, even to the extent that the CM poet takes thesaurum literally and makes John the treasurer (24672). But where Oglerius concentrates first on John, who was blessed by both Christ and Mary, and then on all those who are blessed through their love of the Virgin, the CM poet interpolates a passage in praise of virginity at 24677-706, perhaps taking his cue from lines 1588-96 of Wace's poem on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception from which he takes the following story at 24731.

24731-967 This account of the institution of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception is based upon the Anglo-Norman poem by Wace commonly known as La conception Nostre Dame, probably composed between 1130 and 1140. The first part of the poem, all that the CM poet translates here, is called "L'etablissement de la feste de la conception Nostre Dame." I follow (citations by line number) the edition of William R. Ashford, The Conception Nostre Dame of Wace, based on Tours MS. Bibl. Munic. 927, collated with 17 other manuscripts.

Wace took the story, based on an actual incident, from a legend of a miracle of the Virgin, often attributed to St. Anselm but most probably written around the year 1070 by his biographer, Eadmer. See Herbert J. Thurston, S.J., "The Legend of Abbot Elsi," and the exceptionally detailed entry by X. LeBachelet, "Immacule conception," esp. 1001-3 for the legend of Abbot Elsis. I have followed the admittedly corrupt Latin text in PL CLIX 323-26 because it seems closest to Wace's version, but see Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis tractatus ... ed. Thurston and Slater, olim sancto Anselmo attributus nunc primum integer ad codicum fidem editus adjectis quibusdam documentis coaetaneis a PP H. Thurston et T. Slater S.J. The $C M$ poet seems to have depended wholly on Wace's version of events.
24753-54 See above, ll. 10123-574 and notes, in Vol. II of this edition.
24757 Cf. Wace 3: En quel tens, coment e par qui. But Wace refers to the establishment of the feast, where the $C M$ poet speaks still of the conception itself.
24762 Wace 9: Que a nul tens anceis fist on.

## 24765 Cf. Wace 11: le rei Guillalme.

24767 Wace 13-14 does not describe William's prowess but stresses his conquest: Par force e par bataille prist, / Viles, chastels, citez conquist.
24771 Wace does not mention Harold's Danish origins.
24778 Cf. Wace 20, a detail not found in Eadmer's Latin.
24781-82 The CM poet omits Wace 25: Qui le rei Aralt orent mort.
24783-84 Apparently original with the CM poet, though perhaps suggested by Wace 25.

24786-88 William's reaction, though alarmed, is less fearful than Wace 28: Dolenz en fu, paor en ot.
24792 FGE's vnderstode translates Wace 33: Cum cil qui mut saveit de guerre better than C's vnder stode, which should properly be one word.
24802 The CM poet's laconic litotes, Wit-vten ani mer in muth, condenses Wace's effusiveness: Qui mult par saveit bien parler / E un bien grant conseil doner / Si esteit de grant eloquence / E parlot par grant sapience (41-44). Wace has here substituted diplomatic competence for Eadmer's emphasis on Elsis' devotion: ... Jesu Christo devotissime famulabatur, ejusque genetricem, servitium ejus faciendo devotissime, venerebatur. PL CLIX 323B.
24804 E's cosin is clearly in error.
24807 Wace 47: Bailla lui mut bons garnemenz seems to have given the $C M$ poet difficulty, E's Wit tresori his schip was diht offering the best translation though at the expense of the rhyme with gift in the following line. C's triffor appears to be a nonce word, perhaps a misreading of long $s$ for $f$ in a word like tressor. $G$ at least manages to load the ship with cargo, but F only manages to get the abbot himself aboard. The AN MSS show considerable variation here, though nothing that might account for CFG's confusion. Eadmer says nothing of Elsis' preparations, only that on arrival he et salutes ac munera atque servitia ex Guillelmi regis parte obtulit to the Danish king. PL CLIX 323C.
24823-24 Cf. Wace 59-60: E tels i ot qui il promist; / L'ost fist remaindre, tant lor dist. The MSS show many variants, and Ashford's note, p. 93, which quotes CM 2482226, does not help much, nor does Eadmer's proceresque terrae muneribus et promissis oneravit. PL CLIX 323D.
24844 The CM poet's own interjection.
24855-56 The $C M$ poet generalizes what in Wace $80-82$ is specific: Ne l'uns ne puet l'altre aidier; / Li plus sage poi i savaient, / Eli plus prot poi i veeient. Eadmer has ... preces cum lacrimis Deo fundunt, et se graviter deliquisse miserabiliter gemunt. PL CLIX 324B.
24863 Wace 88: Deu reclaiment, where the $C M$ poet prefers Jesus.
24865-70 The CM poet's elaboration of Wace 89-91: E ma dame sainte Marie, / Que vers ton fil face aie / En lor vie petit se fient. Wace has omitted Eadmer's long prayer: O Deus clementissime, Pater misericordiae, dignare nos respicere mersos pro nostro crimine. Respice, clementissime, de sede tuae gloriae, visita nos iam positos in extremo vitae periculo. Assit nunc tua gratia! assit tua benignitas! assit maxima bonitas! assint bona gratuita dona! Succurre nobis miseris, pietas ineffabilis, ne nos sorbeat infernus nunc pro nostris criminibus. Pie Deus, cognoscimus quod graviter deliquimus, pejora commeruimus [sic], quia multum peccavimus. Etc. PL CLIX 324B-C. Perhaps Wace felt the prayer detracted from the subsequent prayer to Mary.

24875 Wace 94-95: A Deu s'esteient comande, / Quant uns angeles lor aparut differs from the $C M$ poet, who attributes the angel's arrival to Mary, sco [F ho, G scho] pat euer es bot o bale.
24880 selcuth clething misses Wace's ecclesiastical emphasis: Si ert d'un vesqual vestement, which he takes from Eadmer's ... quemdam pontificalibus vestibus ornatum. PL CLIX 324C.
24885 C's ferr cost should of course be one word, as it is in E; it translates Wace 103: la nef.
24887 The CM poet omits Wace 105-6: Li abes Helcin se dreca, / Cum il ainz pot vers lui ala, thus denying Elsis a moment of dignified recovery, also allowed him by Eadmer: Dum autem ... Elsinus surrexisset. PL CLIX 324D.
24899 C's Forgeten should read For geten; cf. FGE.
24898-908 Wace 118-24 is a good deal more frank about the carnal begetting of Mary: ... Fu conceue e engendree./ Voe, Helcin, a celebrer/E as altres faire honorer / Le jor que ot engenderment / Sainte Marie charnalment, / Que fu conceue en sa mere / E engendree de son pere. Eadmer is as reticent as the $C M$ poet: in alvo matris concepta fuit. PL CLIX 324D.
24923 The CM poet is content with mentioning Mary's birthday, where Wace 140-41 is more specific: Tot cel de la nativite / Qui est oit jorz dedenz Septembre.
24931-34 The CM poet's addition. C's propre refers to the proper of the mass; FG seem to have misunderstood.
24940 CGE's Vte of pair sight [F ship] is the CM poet's addition. Cf. Wace 152: Ezz vos l'angele d'iluec torne.
24944 The image of seamen dressing their tackle is more vivid than Wace 155: E cil lor nef repareillierent.
24947 CE's farnet and F's compani translate Wace 159: sa gent. G's fardel is wrong.
24950-52 The CM poet's emphasis on Elsis' public declaration is not found in Wace 161-62: Si reconta la oil pot / Ce que veu e oi ot.
24965-72 The CM poet's conclusion, not in Wace, who goes on to tell of Mary's conception, birth, and upbringing, matters already narrated in 11. 10123-654, above.

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## GLOSSARY

The Glossary aims to include all words which may give difficulty, that is, most words which are obsolete, have changed their meaning, or appear in unfamiliar spellings. In certain cases, only unusual forms or meanings of a particular word are given.

Slight variations in spelling are grouped together at the beginning of the entry; larger variations are listed separately. In each entry, where the meaning or spelling is not provided for a given line citation it is to be taken as identical with the meaning or spelling last cited.

3 follows $\mathrm{g} ; \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{i} ; \mathrm{p}$, th. Modern j appears as i ; initial u as v ; medial v as u . A note is indicated by n superscript, an emendation by an asterisk. The grammatical abbreviations are conventional.

Lines numbered Al-A60 replace CM 10835-906.

## a drad. See drëde, $\nu$.

abāde, $n$. delay 490, 7399, 7559, 12538: wipouten ~ without ceasing, without remission 10678.
abide, abȳde, $v$. wait 3008 ; stay 1151 ; await 955 ; endure 2249; live to see 6900 . pr. 3 sg. abidep lasts, exists 2124 ; awaits 12778 . imp. pl. wait! 15604. pa. $t$. abăde 8059; aböde 10569; abō̃d 1899.
aby(e), $v$. pay for $2036,7816,11948,13069$.
abȳde, $n$. delay, $3145,4527,6250,7337,15210$.
abyme, $n$. abyss 22487, 22678.
abōde, $n$. living, life 3083.
aboute, as adj. bent on, planning to, concerned to 14638, 14887.
abréde, adv. prominently 16578.
acombred, $p p$. embarrassed 12213.
affiaunce, $n$. trust 8896 .
af(f)ray, $n$. assault 16702; alarm 15570.
aftir, prep. (modern uses not cited) according to $493,3340,11288$; on behalf of, with regard to 19934; For ~ pe vs pinkep long You seem to have been away from us for a long time 20190.
agast, $a d j$. afraid 8224, 13073, 18200.
agrise, $v$. be terrified 21972.
a3ayn, ajein, azeyn, $a d v$. back 1865, 2623; in return 6722, 6754.
a3ayn, a3ein, azeyn(e), azeynes, prep. close to 2518 ; to meet 3324 ; against 448; instead of 7644 ; in preparation for 19103 ; in reply to 16243 ; stond $\sim$ withstand 7225 ; per $\sim$ against it 3094 ; in opposition to that 8701 .
azeynsawe, $n$. objection 8382 .
azeynseyinge, $n$. denial 1163 .
ay, adv. forever 126; constantly 497; always 3637 ; perpetually 5107 , on $\sim 8252$; continuously 12603.
aknowe(n), pp. acknowledged 3092, 7741; confessed 19101; I am -1 confess 5084, 9059.
al, pron. and adj.: ~ is oon it is the same thing 5062; ~ maner lede all people 1190.
al, adv. completely 15107.
al, conj. See alle.
aldur. See aller.
algăte, $a d v$. at any rate, in any case 4091; in any way 6208 ; in all cases 6360 ; in any circumstances 6365; in every way 6575; by every means 9597; nevertheless 23712.
alle (pat), conj. although 14458, 17659; al 2206.
aller, pron. gen. pl. of all 469, 4949, 11194, 11571; aldur 7263; alper 251, 1693, 2318, 4795.
almesdēde, $n$. almsgiving 10197, $10511,11350$.
almous, almes, $n$. pl. alms, charity, mercy 19764, 19813; for $\sim$ were pat he were dede it would be a mercy if he were to die 11874.
alowe, $v$. praise $15096,20765$.
als, $a d v$. also $137,402,3347,3678,3740$.
als, $a d v$. and conj. See also.
als fast as, conj. as soon as 823 .
alsō, $a d v$. as, equally 8105 .
alsō. conj. as 3431; als 3737.
alsō sōne, adv. immediately $339,617,860,7108$; als $\sim 8120$; als( $\overline{\boldsymbol{\sigma}}$ ) sōōne (as) as soon as 5105, 10773, 11719, 12043.
alsō swīpe, $\sim$ swȳpe. See swīpe.
alsō tīte. See tite.
alper. See aller.
alperhyzest, adj. superl. highest of all 10600 .
alperlēest, adv. superl. least of all 10423.
amy, $n$. friend 20193.
amyd(e), amydde, $a d v$. in it, interspersed 8462; along with other things 7522; around, alongside 14358; meanwhile 14015.
amydwarde, prep. in the middle of $13702,15026$.
among(e), $a d v$. at the same time 88 ; in the same place, here and there 2114,2526 ; meanwhile 10210; intermittently 17803.
and, conj. if 7456,15143 ; \& 13644.
anent(is), prep. concerning, with respect to 6880, 23722.
angur, $n$. discomfort, affliction 4505.
anō̄n, anōne, $a d v$. at once, immediately $885,1076,2441,19694$.
apāce, apās, adv. at a good pace, quickly 23730 ; at a walk 15872.
apayed, adj. pleased 12877, 17570.
apeire, $v$. contravene 13837.
apert, adj. open, public 13982.
apert(e), adv. openly $5839,6355,6534,12815,12922$.
aquyt, $p p$. acquitted 4477.
$\operatorname{ar}(\mathrm{e}), a d v$. and prep. See er.
ar, conj. See or.
aray, $n$. equipage, train 11522.
araye, v. prepare 20173.
āre, $n$. grace, mercy 2749; öre 10099.
arēde, $v$. explain 4474.
arēre, $v$. arouse 15678 .
arēsoun, $v$. explain 1122; question 14621.
arewe, adv. in turn 19781.
aromāte, $n$. spice 21299.
as(s)ay(e), v. test 3126, 12937, 12961, 13471; taste 3656. pa. t. asayed tested 3118.
as(s)oyne, $n$. legal excuse, pardon 2266, 16395.
aspyes, $n$. pl. spies 11541, 17349.
assise, assÿse, $n$. assize, legal hearing $9687,9707,19103,19344,22781$.
astāte, $n$. state, condition, situation $231,616 \mathrm{a}, 822 \mathrm{a}, 1587,4092$; high estate 9683.
at, prep. until 7672.
atrott, $a d v$. at a trot 15872 .
atteyne, $v$. atone 1113.
attrī, attry, adj. venomous, poisoned 22021, 22207.
atwyn(ne), adv. separately 17845; in two 8219; parted 11481.
au3t(e), $n$. property 3395,3963 ; household and possessions 3930,3997 ; property, mon-
ey 5398; possession 6765, 6771.
au3t(e). See owe.
aumenëre, aumonēr, $n$. distributor of alms $15219^{\text {n }}, 15969$.
auntres, $n$. pl. perilous enterprises, adventures 11 .
availe, avayle, $v$. prevail 4646; assist 13481.
$\bar{a} u \bar{e}$, excl. Hail! 18594.
Auerille, $n$. April $13249^{\text {n }}, 13259$.
auys, $n$. opinion 9068.
auÿsed, pa. t. informed 15745. pp. avised taken note of 15917.
auysioun, $n$. dream, vision 4603.
avowe, $n$. vow, solemn promise 10203 .
awayte, $v$. provide for, arrange $5416 . \mathrm{pr} .3 \mathrm{sg}$. awaytep is preparing 11592.
awāke, $v$. rouse themselves 15782 .
awe, $n$. fear 22182; stonde noon ~ have no fear 482; me stondeb - I am afraid 18050; property inspiring fear goddes $\sim 3000$, mannes $\sim 698$; reverence 12091, 12096.
aw(e)n, as $n$. own (name) 22313; come to myn ~ come into my possession 8692.
awrëke, $v$. avenge 11554 .
bachilēre, $n$. young knight 8541 .
bad. See bede, $v^{I}$
badde. See bë́de, $v^{2}$
bāde. See bīde.
baft, $n$. rear: on $\sim$ astern 22150.
baily(e), $n^{.}{ }^{1}$ officer of justice, king's officer 5008, 11006, 12914. pl. bailis 6445.
baily, baylye, $n .^{2}$ jurisdiction, control $9551,9558,10028,18554$.
baily, bayly, $n .{ }^{3}$ wall enclosing a castle courtyard 10023 , 10027. pl. bailyes, bayl( $\left.\bar{y}\right)$ es 1034, 9893, 10015, 10034.
bak, $n$. back: on - to the rear 10764; back, backward 15018,15756 .
balde. See bōlde.
bāle, $n$. doom, disaster 44; punishment 9398; evil 9787; horror 18505; torment 1864. pl. bāles evils, afflictions 105.
ban, $v$. curse 12050, 13631, 19458.
bandoun, $n$. power, control 9013; detention, captivity 15780.
banerere, $n$. standard-bearer $12723^{\text {n }}$.
barbicans, $n$. pl. fortified towers 9903, 10033.
baret, $n$. strife 4137, 5316, $9331,18740$.
barm(e), $n$. bosom 5442, 8621, 11778.
barn(e), bern, $n$. child $2563,2597,2628,2725,11957,20450$. pl. barnes, bernes 2945, 4673, 4681.
baronāge, $n$. coll. nobles 4549, 4627, 4649, 8161, 8533.
barn(e)tēm(e), barntēem(e), $n$. producing of children 3790 ; child 21127 ; children, brood 2044; progeny 2138 ; descent 8499.
batail wrizt, $n$. See wri3t.
batailed, adj. equipped with battlements 9902 .
bēde, $n$. prayer 17672,19209 . pl. bēdes 8261.
bede, $v_{.}{ }^{i}$ command 9608; intercede 16282. pa. t. bad prayed 20216; bode 19836. pp. bede(n) commanded 22645; prayed 11316; invited 13366.
běde, $v^{2}$ offer, present, show 5403, 10636, 12360, 12732, 14575; pa. $t$. bed(de) 14456, 15167 ; bē(e)de $880,881 . p p$. bed 6069 ; bet 23317 ; badde providing, serving as 16094; böden offered 16771.
bēestaile, $n$. coll. herds 2444 .
bēep. See bep $v$.
beget, $v$. acquire, have possession of 23878 .
beyinge, $n$. being 23537 .
belde, $n$. boldness 12237; comfort, succour 9963, 18152.
bëme, $n$. trumpet $22711^{\text {n }}$.
benesoun, benisoun, benysoun, $n$. blessing 1930, 2541, 3412, 3616, 5461 .
bēonde. See bep, $v$.
berde, byrde, $n$. maiden 9967, 10077, 12305.
bēre, $n^{I}$ bier 12515, 20703, 20708, 20724.
bēre, $n^{2}$ commotion, carrying on $10447,12496,15114,16055,23253$.
bëre, $v$. (modern uses not cited) thrust 7624; $\sim$ on honde treat 15922. pa. $t$. bare signified 14753. pp. born thrust, pierced 7625.
beringe, $n$. burial 16872 .
bẽryng, $n$. childbearing 11079 .
bern, bernes. See barn.
besauntis, $n$. pl. gold coins 4194, 23885, 23887.
bēse. See bep, $v$.
besēme. See bisēme.
bet, $a d v$. compar. better $7642,23162$.
bet. See bëde $v^{2}{ }^{2}$
bēte, $v$. amend 105, 748; cure 3279; rescue, save 9572, 22295; make amends for 13054. pa. t. bet(t) $2156,14415 . \mathrm{pp}$. bet redeemed 15550 ; atoned for 946 ; bette set to rights 15016.
bēp, pron. dual. both 3432 .
bep, pr. 3 sg. (modern uses not cited) as fut. will be, shall be 3109, 3206, 3614. pres. (proverbial) 4507. imp. pl. be! 6240; bēp 6087. pr. p. bēonde enduring, lasting 15312, 22388.
bēpe, pr. 3 sg. beats, drives? 21076.
bi dēne. See bidēne.
bi sȳde, adv. aside, apart 3622.
bic $\overline{00} \mathrm{~m}$, pa. $t$. came to be 5348 ; where $\sim$ what became of $8998,20684$.
biddyng, $n$. making requests 7131 . pl. biddyngis commands 9816 .
bide, byde, $n$. waiting 1761 ; delay 6275.
bide, byde, $v$. wait, remain 2517,22444 ; stay, rest 5873 ; wait, hold in readiness (refl.) 7469; await 21876; his biddyng ~ put off his command 12997. pr. 3 sg . bidep awaits 20402. pr. p. bïdynge 17725. pa. t. bāde stayed, waited 14238; bōd 13822; b्̄0d(e) 1907, 20829; bōde awaited 1752. pp. biden waited 1597; bëden 10991.
bidēne, bi dēne, bydēne, by dēne, adv. promptly (often largely meaningless) 1457, 1552b, 1814, 2923, 13628.
bie, by, $n$. town 19511, 21251; bij 13290, 21153.
biere, $n$. buyer 14730 .
biggyngis, $n$. pl. buildings 23453.
biggonde, pr. p. going 6830.
bigile, biḡ̄le, $v$. deceive, trick 716, 3880, 5991, 22064, 22162. pa. t. bigȳled 3734, 9009. pp. bigyled, bygȳled $8632,9004,9479$.
bihest(e), $n$. bidding 18753; promise 2349, 5723.
bihēte, $n$. request, behest 4171,10049 .
bihēte, $v$. promise 5431. pa. $t$. bihēt(e) 6872, 20835; prophesied 10720, 18106. pp. bihēt promised 3010, 3137.
bihēue. See bihōue.
bihōue, byhōue, $n$. use, benefit 7335,14883 ; concern, regard: to his $\sim$ on his behalf 3361 , to $b i \sim$ with regard to you 4384; requirement 3645 ; bihēue advantage 14707.
bihōuep, $v$. impers. is incumbent upon 5512, 13538, 18893. pa. $t$. bihōued, byhōued was necessary, was fitting 1208, nedeful - hit wore was necessary that it should be 422.
bij. See bie.
bikende, pa. $t$. handed over to 7242. pp. 8840.
bikur, $n$. dispute $14066^{n}$.
bilad, $p p$. situated, in a state (of) 16808 ; treated 17049.
bileft(e), $p p$. left, left behind 4403, 17592; bilēued 7736; bilaft left in the possession (of) 18558 .
bileid, bileyde, $p p$. surrounded 10003; wrapped (around) 1336.
bimēne, $v$. mean Al9.
binomen, bynomen, pp. taken away 17550; deprived 9490; amputated 22829 .
birst, $n$. breaking 6339 .
bisēme, besēme, v. be appropriate, be fitting. 8734, 22358.
biset, $v$. surround 23887 (guard). pa. t. bisette harassed, persecuted 195. pp. biset(t) surrounded 3962,7179 ; besieged 7056.
bisily, adv. diligently 11406, 19033.
bîsmare, $n$. shameful creature, whore 22029.
bispit, pp. spat upon 17771.
bisshopriche, $n$. apostleship 18892.
bistad(e), pp. situated 674, 1045, 2800, 4287; present 5254.
bisuylid, pp. defiled 23149.
biswīke, biswȳke, v. deceive, cheat 2998, 19231.
bisynes, $n$. agitation 18510 .
bitāke, $v$. entrust, grant, give 8743. pa. t. bitōke 12309. pp. bitake(n) 1126, 15971. Cf. bitēche.
bitande, pr: p. biting 5954.
biteche, $v$. hand over to 15445, commend 5307; entrust 12172; grant, give 20098. pa. t. bitau3t(e) gave 3539; conveyed 18768. pp. committed 14810; given over to (in bad sense) 14870 . Cf. bitake.
bityde, v. happen 5458, 22443, pa. $t$. bitidde 3024. pp. bitid placed (fig.) 13866.
bitȳme, adv. promptly, in good time 7578, 17433.
bitwēne, adv. also, at the same time 3572 .
by(e), byze, $v$. purchase 926,19574 ; ransom, redeem 152, 4420, 18592; atone for 822 , 1115, 1146, 2584. pa. $t$. bou3t(e) 1231, 14935.pp. 1280, 13849.
bygext, $n$. acquisition: euel $\sim$ ill-gotten gains 2206 .
by̆le, n. boil 6011 .
byrde. See berde.
by̆sen, adj. monstrous 16595 .
bysou3t, pa. $t$. sought after 5357.
bytwēne, conj. until 8497.
blăke, v. darken 14747, 17430.
blan. See blyn, v.
blenche, $n$. turning away, shrinking 19599, 23300, 23494.
blenched, pa. $t$. swerved aside 7626, 7668; shrank 19731.
blendep, pr. 3 sg. blinds 23717 .pr. p. blendyng $6834^{\mathrm{n}}$. pp. blende 17333, 17452; blent 819.
blew(e), pa. t. cast (of metal) 6503, 6575.
blisful, adj. blessed 4738.
blisfulhēde, $n$. blessedness, blessing 6852.
blyn(ne), $n$. ceasing 21280, 23038, 23246, 23312; wipouten $\sim$ without delay 1897; without stinting 17649; without restraint 881.
blyn(ne), $v$. cease 121, 265, 3309, 13942; delay 3641. pa. t. blan 744 .
blyndefeld, adj. blinded 19615.
blyue, adv. quickly 1399, 5021, 7508, 12478, 16355.
blō, adj. black (men) $2118^{\text {n }}, 8073$.
blōde, $n$. child 1055.
bobet, $n$. buffet 16623 .
bōd(e). See bīde, $v$.
bōde word, bödeword(e), n. message, instruction 1195, 6111, 8346, 13203, 20160; proclamation 17920.
boist, $n$. box 14003 .
bōlde, adj. courageous 19728; (as vague term of approbation) 10494, 12305; confident 10550 ; convinced 17427; assured, sure 19728; as $n$. hussy 8693 ; balde bold, immodest 22029.
bölde, v. hearten, encourage 17885.
bolle, $n$. bowl 3306. pl. bolles (larger) round vessels 5524 .
bollen, $p p$. swollen 12685; bolned 4726.
bollyng(e), $n$. swelling 6011, 10463.
bō(0)ne, $n .^{I}$ request, prayer $3690,8414,10499,16818,20166$.
bōne, $n^{2}$ destruction 7634 .
bonte. See bounté.
bōd(e). See bide, $v$.
bōst, $n$. false claim: (as a tag) wipouten - A39, 18715, 18758, 19543.
bōt, pa. t. bit 5955, 18723.
born, $p p$. See bere.
borwe, $n$. surety, ransom 6144 .
borwe, v. redeem, ransom 23792. pa. $t$. borwed 5286.
bō(o)te, $n$. profit 89 ; cure 4351 ; salvation 44 ; assistance 4734 ; satisfaction for an injury 8693; hit was no - it was no use, no good 1780, 5957.
botil(I)ëre, $n$. butler 4447, 4459, 4497, 4501, 4521 .
bouche, $n$. hump 8087, 22828.
bou3t(e). See by,$\nu$.
boun, bown(e), adj. bound to, sure to 1848; ready 2360, 2775, 3317; prompt 3411.
boun, $a d v$, promptly $9137,12269,20987$.
bountē, $n$. generosity, goodness 130, 9531, 10615; gift 12501, 12502; bonte goodness *12674 ${ }^{\text {n }}$
bour(e), $n$. small room 1697; bedroom 3921, 4411, 9806 (fig).
bourze, $n$. town 11069.
bowed, pa. $t$. submitted to, consented to 12307.
boxomnes. See buxomnes.
bray, $v$. make a loud noise 22607.
bred(d), brēed, pp. roasted 6079, 6081, 13373.
brēde, $n^{I}$ brood, scion 22051.
brēde, $n{ }^{2}$ breadth: on $\sim$ far and wide 23149.
brëdynd, $n$. pregnancy 3479 .
breech, $n$. breeches 2048.
breyd(e), $n$. sharp movement 7169 ; blow 15712; heave 16590, 18083; at a-in a flash 10374.
brēm(e), brēem, adj. fierce 1092, 4003, 4899, 21984, 22029.
brēmely, adv. fiercely, violently 5542, 15832, 18199, 19614, 23019.
brëue, $n$. brief, legal warrant 19606.
brewis, n. pl. brows 14747, 17430.
brid, $n$. young, offspring 22381 ${ }^{\text {n }}$; young bird(s) 11305; bird 21269. pl. briddes 12000. brȳdāle, $n$. wedding 10830.
brōde, brō̄d(e), adj. broad, great 1930, 2058, 5334; comprehensive 3713.
broiden, adj. adorned 1008.
brond, $n$. sword 7587.
brō̈de, n. coll. young 6153.
brouke, $v$. use 2427, 5881.
bulk, $v$. beat 18511 .
burgeis, $n$. townsman, citizen 12491. pl. townsfolk 11445.
burne, $n$. stream 22578.
burpe, $n$. offspring A43.
burben, $n$. load 8826.
busked, pa. t. (refl.) prepared 10556.
but, prep. except for 961,5346 ; nothing but, only 17537; - dayes pre in only three days 20173, 20186.
but, conj. unless 1114, 13054; if ... not 844.
buxom(e), adj. humble 8356; obedient 908.
buxomly, adv. humbly, obediently 3477, 15167, 15675.
buxomnes(se), $n$. humility, obedience 30.3197, 9569, 10042, 15291; boxomnes 15617.
caiser(e), cayser(e), n. emperor, ruler 2688, 3359, 7076, 22757; kaisere 9409. pl. caiseres 22127.
caitif, caytif, caytyue, $n$. wretch, villain $445,6268,11815,13632$; wretchedness 7353. pl. caitifs, caytifs $1801,1818,6634$.
caitif, caytif, adj. wretched $8987,9086$.
caitifte, $n$. wretchedness 18191.
cäle, $n$. cabbage 12523; cōll 12526.
can, $v^{\prime}$ know, know how to, be able to 12121, 20295; con 625, 9065; kan 4647. pa. $t$. coup(e) 438,2202, 19697; coude 7407, 7408; showed 17659. 2 sg. coudes could 4555.
can, $v^{2}$ See gan.
Cantica, $n$. pl. Canticles, the Song of Solomon 8472.
cäreful, adj. wretched 23116.
careyn, $n$. carcass 6737, 19247, 22906.
carke, $n$. burden: ouer ~ over-endowment 9843. Cf. karked 23002.
carked, pp. burdened 13747.
carnels, carneyles, n. pl. battlements 9901, 9924.
cast, $n$. decision 6205.
cast(e), $v$ (modern uses not cited) contrive 10066, 21929. pr 3 sg . castep forms, moulds 22941. pp. cast(en) composed 16686; constructed 9947.
catシ̈l(e), $n$. domesticated animals 6002; property 2361,2378 ; money 4954; riches, possessions 8557.
cēdron, $n$. coll. cedar trees 15739.
cēesoun, $n$. season, age 3509, 22881.
cêle. See sēle.
celëre. See selĕrre.
cêly, adj. See sëly.
Cenophē, $n$. the Feast of Tabernacles $14563^{\text {n }}$.
centenēr, $n$. centurion 19907.
certeyn, $n$. fixed extent, limit 23473.
certes, certis, excl. certainly! 1124, 4612, 4907, 5178; sertes 762.
chalengis, $n$. pl. criminal charges 6714.
chapmen, $n$. pl. merchants $4186,4239, * 14722$.
chär, $n$. turn, return, going back: 3eyn $\sim$ turning back, escape, 21922; turn of work, task 3172.
chäre, $n$. chariot, carriage 5184.
charge, $n$. burden of guilt 6448 .
charged, chargid, pp. loaded 8253; ouer $\sim$ over-burdened, over-endowed 9834.
chaules, $n$. pl. jaws 7510.
chaumberleyne, $n$. woman attending upon a lady in her bedchamber 10432 .
chaunce, $n$, happening, occurrence 1941; luck, fortune 2512 ; by no $\sim$ in no way 9769 .
chaungeours, $n$. pl. money-changers 14732 .
chēer, chēre, $n$. demeanour 1091, 7395; appearance 11144; countenance 7366; tidings 12495; mood 4232; joy 4220; make good ~ be in a good mood, be cheerful 10313; made him ~ greeted him in a friendly manner 12350.
chēes, pa. 1. chose 144, 174, 431, 737; took 5643.
chēpyng, $n$. bargain 15419.
chëpond, pr.p. selling, dealing in 14723 .
cherl(e), $n$. base fellow, villain $1736,13808$.
chēsyng, $n$. choosing, choice, selection 14430, 19674, 20932, 20936.
chēsoun, $n$. occasion, cause $2237,3854,7079$; cause, reason 16444; wik $\sim$ opportunity for doing mischief 10536.
childe, $n$. child, son 4532 ; young knight, young man 7520 , 19463. pl. childer, childre 2707, 4765.
childehēdes, $n$. pl. deeds done as a child 12577.
childing, chīldyng, $n$. childbirth, labour $3480,5541$.
chȳde, $v$. argue, quarrel 6681, 12972. pp. chid rebuked, harangued 13867.
chyn, $n$. crack in the skin 14012.
cisterne, $n$. tank in the ground 8206,8217 .
clang. See clyng.
clēne, adj. pure bright 9922 .
clēpe, $n$. call, summons 1118 .
clēpe, $v$. call 11668,15323 . pr. pl. clēpep 8474; clēpen 13361. pa. $t$. clēped 6384.pp. 3816.
clergy(e), $n$. learning 8422, 8423, 8436, 8438, 8479.
clerk(e), $n$. learned person, divine $648,1178,1921,4515$; unordained person in holy orders 12897. pl. clerkes, clerkis scholars 343, 11462.
clippe, $v$. embrace 15457.
clyng, $v$. wither, shrivel 8764. pr. 3 sg. clyngep 12227. pa. $t$. clang 4699. pp. clongen 4569, 4581.
cloff, pa. $t$. clung 20954.
cloos, $n$. protective enclosure 8770 .
clonp(e), $n$. clothes, clothing $3695,3809,4217,5264$. pl. clopis $15001,15025$.
clow, $n$. valley 17590 .
cockul, $n$. the weed corn-cockle 1138.
cöfur, $n$. chest 5614 .
comelynge, $n$. stranger 6837. pl. comelyngis immigrants 6785.
comyn(e), adj. common: be ~ the ordinary people 10388, 10400; ~ wommone loose woman, prostitute 13973.
comynly, adv, equally, alike 760 ; collectively 9659,9792 ; generally 14569 .
comynynge, $n$. congregation 23115 .
comoun, $n$. communication, speech; alle were bei of $o \sim$ they all said the same thing 19118.
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kĒe, $v$. preserve 7985; watch over 8210; protect 6194; guard 17368; exercise, use 625. inf. kēpen maintain, preserve 6446. pr. 3 sg. kēpep guards 1246. pr. pl. kēpen 10035. imp. pl. kēpep watch over! 20455. pa. t. kepte preserved 2419; guarded 17390. pp. kept taken care of 8640.
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langur(e), $n$. sorrow 10422; languishing, sickness 13792, 14153, 14179.
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lēue, $v^{2}$ go away from 948; cease 857; neglect 8328; avoid 10761; abstain 750; allow 5808. inf. lēuen remain 20199. pr. 3 sg . lēuep ceases 1131. imp. Iexf allow 20229. pa. t. laft(e) 4108; quitted 9668; abandoned 9053, ~ wip abandoned to 9872; rejected, neglected 3144; remained 7269, wip Dauid ~ pe feld the victory remained with David 7662; remained behind 4390; lĕfte ceased 3308. pp. laft(e) remaining 9669; lēued 13745; lêft 20866.
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lithur, liper, adj. vile, bad 7618; ~ hyne vile creature, loathsome boor 18013, 23032;pl. ~ hynes 23320.
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IVue, $n$. life: of $\sim$ dead, no longer living 9305, 12478; brynge of $\sim$ put to death 1593, 11570; pa. t. dide of $\sim 11563$; lyf: in ~ alive 11020; pl. ly̆ues: in ~ 22850 .

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10dly, adv. horribly, vilely 7358; lobely in an ugly fashion? 7448.
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lokyng, $n$. view, opinion 6698.
long(e), adj. ${ }^{\prime}$ : pinke $\sim$ to/aftir, impers. grow weary or impatient in waiting for, $\sim$ aftir hem pouzte Cornely Cornelius grew impatient in waiting for them 19917, hem bou3te to hir ful - they grew weary in waiting for her 20582.
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Iopely. See lōdly.
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māte, $v^{J}$ match, compete with 8479.
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maugre(i), maugrey, prep. in spite of $6424,18583, \sim$ his in spite of him 4305.
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messe, $n$. prepared food, dish 12559 .
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mysdédy, adj. sinful 18279.
mysdō, v. do wrong 9659. pr. 3 sg. mysdō̄p 1978. pp. mysdōne 859, 7914.
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mysfäre, misfäre, $n$. misfortune, ill-faring, unhappiness 315, 14304, 23337.
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molde, $n .^{I}$ top of the head 9098.
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$\boldsymbol{m o ̄ n}(\mathbf{e}), \boldsymbol{m o ̄} n(\mathrm{e}), n$. complaint, lamentation 4277, 4346, 4973, 13380.
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mōte, $n$. See mōt.
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nēre hönde, nērehönde, adv. and prep. close by 17937; close to 11129; approximately *9222.
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nesshe, adj. frail, weak 8986.
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nygromaunc $\bar{y}, n$. necromancy, black magic 19522.
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nyze hönd, nyzehб̆nd, adv. close, nearby 2844, 14247, 15459.
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ny3tertāle, nyztirtāle, nyzturtāle, $n$. night-time 7783, 14196, 15847, 18611; ny3te tāle 2783.
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not, pron. nothing 455, 1140, 1752, 4367; ~forpi nevertheless 22399.
nōte, $v$. use, make use of 23763.
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nou3t(e) pron. nothing: hit was ~ but ... there was no help for it but ... 10771; aboute ~ to no avail 7128.
noumbrārȳ, $n$. number 423.
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$\overline{\mathrm{o}}$, num. one $288,292,654,729,769$.
$\overline{\mathbf{0}}, a d v$. always, forever 19091.
occione, $n$. ocean 11395.
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$\overline{\overline{0}} \mathrm{n}$, pron. See $\overline{\mathrm{o}} \mathrm{ne}$.
$\overline{\mathbf{0}}(\mathbf{o}) \mathrm{n}$, num. and $a d j$. one, the same 4246; al is ~all the same, nevertheless 5062; one, a single 22932 ; alone, only $12949,18756$.
on slont, adv. obliquely, in a slanting direction 6200.
onde, $n$. hostility, malice 23138.
önde, $n$. breath 534, 541; hōnde 520.
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$\overline{0} r e, n$. grace, mercy 10099 .
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os, conj. as 5781.
ospring(e), ospryng(e), $n$. offspring, progeny 135, 228, 2056, 20528; family 10617; race 18529; person in a particular generation 11415.
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Öperhwile, Öperhwyle, adv. sometimes 3566, 7133, 10323; from time to time 4751.

च̈perwyse, $a d v$. in a different way 18262.
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outräge, $n$. injury, crime $248,812,1115,1972,2209$.
ouber, pron. one of two 6198.
ouper, conj. or 4230, 7461, 11305; either 7227, 7511, 23187.
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ouer rēke, $v$. get at, get hold of 22375 .
ouerbyde, $v$. live through 5457.
ouerfalle, $v$. fall upon 16661.
ouergōne, infl. go through 22132. pr. 3 sg. ouergōp overruns 5505. pa. t. ouer3ठde 1044; ouer30̄d went over 2228. pp. ouergōn(e), ouergōn caught 8644, 13700; surpassed 575; overcome 4721, 7765; transgressed 9644.
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$\bar{o} \mathbf{w h} \overline{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{re}$, adv. anywhere 15184; $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ whōre 1837.
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paeny, adj. pagan 19992.
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pardē, excl. by God! indeed! 11448.
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pēre, $n$. equal $450,451,776,1467,1701$.
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pire, $n$. pear tree 37.
pitē, $n$. piety, sense of duty (towards God) 21,908 .
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pride, prȳde, $n$. (modern uses not cited) pomp: wibouten $\sim 5609$; value, high cost 21050; arrogance, arrogant thought: toke $a$ ~ acted arrogantly 448; pouzte pat ~ conceived that proud thought 465 .
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propiciattory, $n$. the mercy seat 8281.
pröpur, adj. peculiar, characteristic 562.
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Zorobabel ${ }^{2}$
writer about the Last Days
$22440^{n}$


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[^0]:    (C) University of Ottawa Press, 2000

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[^1]:    1. This Introduction was written by Sarah Horrall shortly before her death. She had not yet added citations for references in the text. I have supplied these, with occasional, very minor, modifications. Spaces had been left for stemmata, which I have supplied, including Dr. Horrall's own, as reconstructed by me. On the rare occasions where Dr. Horrall appeared to have made an error I have silently corrected. A.L.K.
[^2]:    2. A discussion very similar to that which follows appeared in Dr. Horrall's "The Manuscripts of Cursor Mundi." In the present account, she adds an analysis of the stemma proposed by Ross, and refines her view of the relationships among HTLB. A.L.K.
[^3]:    3. A pencilled stemma was discovered among Dr. Horrall's notes, but this cannot represent her final intention as indicated by the text of her Introduction. In the pencil sketch, the arrangement of FAdd and of HTLB is slightly different from that indicated here, both C and the ancestor of FAdd descend directly from $\mathrm{O}^{1}$, and there is no? (question mark). A.L.K.
[^4]:    21679 croice] E croice. drawin] E drawin
    21680 lauerd] E lauerd. paim] E paim. awin] E awin
    21681 opir] E opir
    21682 unto] $E$ unto. dinte] $E$ dinte
    21683 Quen] E Quen. nedderis] E nedderis. [Q]uen] G quen. pat] G pat
    21685 Quen] E Quen. Wildemes] E wildernes. E fol. 46v
    21687 neddir] E neddir. was] E was was. tre] E tre
    21688 men] Emen
    21689 neddir] E neddir
    21691 Quen] E Quen. [Q]uen] G quen
    21692 hende] E hende
    21693 hende] E hende. croice] E croice
    21695 Quen] E Quen. striue] E striue. prest] E prest. [Q]uen] G quen
    21696 pai] Epa
    21697 twelue] E tuelue. men] E men. ta3t] E ca3t. wandis] E wandis
    21699 wande] E wande. ber] E ber
    21700 pristis] E pristis. dome] E dome
    21701 herde] E herde
    21703 Eliseus] E Eliseus. opir] E opir
    21705 apon] E apon
    21706 Croice] E croice
    21707 Quen] E Quen. David] E david. again] E again. [Q]uen] G quen
    21708 histan] E his $\tan$. forgetin] E forgetin
    21710 mare] E mare
    21711 in] E in
    21714 fra] Efra
    21715 Croice] E croice
    21716 aboun] E aboun. nan] E nan
    21717 testamente] E testamente
    21718 bisning] E bisning. quar-to] E quar to. cuthe] E cupe. tente] E tente
    21719 [Clroice] G croice
    21720 Banir] E Banir
    21721 herde] E herde. E fol. $46 v$ col. 2
    21722 thaim] E paim. them] G paim
    21724 ouircome] E ouircome
    21725 croice] E croice
    21727 Croice] E croice. F. fol. 90v col. 2
    21728 croice] E croice. wro3te] E wro3te
    21729 croice] E croice
    21730 croice] E croice. liuis] E liuis
    21731 rancun] E rancun
    21732 Gun-fanun] E gunfanun
    21735 croice] E croice
    21736 grete] E grete. honure] E honure
    21738 writte] E writte
    21739 Fundemente] E Fundemente
    21742 tre] E tre
    21743 tres] E tres. prine] E prinne
    21746 undirstande] E undirstande
    21747 tellis] E tellis. eiun] E euin

[^5]:    23909-44 Evidently original with the CM poet, these lines are in harmony with his devotion to Mary, as expressed for example in 11. 69-114 above.
    23945-4730 These lines, recounting a dialogue between the narrator and Mary concerning the crucifixion, derive from a text, variously attributed to St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Augustine, but actually written by Oglerius de Tridino, a late twelfth-century Cistercian from the monastery of Locedio, near Turin. The work in full bears the title De laudibus sanctae Dei genetricis and has been edited from MS. Turin E.V.4, fols. 1-68, by J.B. Adriani, Beati Oglerii de Tridino ... opera quae supersunt ... , and the portion of it, known from its incipit as the Quis dabit, used by the $C M$ poet for these lines, has been re-edited by C.W. Marx, "The Quis dabit of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio." All references to the text are by line number to Marx's edition.

    Oglerius' text is characterized by a strong effort to convey the sentiment of Mary's suffering at the crucifixion, and to this end the author relies heavily on rhetorical word play, e.g., viuebat moriens, uiuensque moriebatur; nec poterat mori que uiuens mortua erat, etc. The $C M$ poet tends to excise these more extravagant rhetorical flourishes, though he aims at creating a similar impression of Mary's suffering.

    There are many extant reworkings of Oglerius's text, in both Latin and various vernaculars, and H. Barré, 'Le 'Planctus Mariae' attribué à Saint Bernard," believes that it lies behind all later complaints of Mary at the foot of the cross. There is a full bibliography of later versions in C.W. Marx, "The Middle English Verse 'Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard' and the 'Quis dabit.'"
    23945-86 The CM poet's own introduction.
    23987-92 Cf. Oglerius 56-58. The CM poet adds 23990-92 where Oglerius has simply et vinctus ad Annam tractus.
    23993-95 Cf. Oglerius 59-60.
    23996-98 Cf. Oglerius 60-62. The CM poet here both condenses Oglerius' fuller account and specifies the Jews as Christ's torturers.
    23945-87 These lines, though here and there providing a distant echo of Oglerius (e.g., 23975 with $27-28,23969$ with $31-32,23976$ with $36-37$ ), actually offer a new beginning to the dialogue. The narrator seeks to establish a spiritual link with

